

“IN THE IMAGE OF RŪM”: OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ALEPPO AND DAMASCUS

Describing Damascus at the end of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman geographer and traveler Mehmed Aşık singled out four mosques built “during the rule of Ottoman sultans, whose building style and essential image (*tarz-ı bînâsı ve resm-i esâsı*) are not the style and image of the mosques of Arab lands; they are in the style and image of Ottoman mosques (*diyâr-ı Rûm cevâmi’ tarz ve resmindе*).”¹ Some decades later, Evliya Çelebi described several congregational mosques in Damascus and in Aleppo as in the “Ottoman style” (*tarz-ı Rûm*), noting their lead-covered domes “reaching the heavens” and their minarets built in the Rûmî manner.² The mosques noted by the authors were the centerpieces of large building complexes sponsored by the Ottoman governors of the cities and, in Damascus, by sultans as well. As both noted, they impressed an Ottoman “style and image” on the cityscape of the two provincial capitals.

Mehmed Aşık and Evliya Çelebi’s observations capture an aspect of the Ottoman architectural tradition that holds true for other imperial architectural traditions as well: a formal and functional vocabulary and syntax originating in the center was implanted in the provinces, providing the institutional settings for social and political interaction and at the same time visually proclaiming the power and hegemony of the center.³ Works of architecture in the provinces were rarely exact copies of those in the capital, however. Rather, they were the products of and the sites for interactions between the center and the province; they owed their formal and functional attributes and their meanings to the particularities of the relations between the two.

This paper explores the shape the imperial architectural undertakings assumed in a particular provincial setting in the Ottoman realm—namely, the two capital cities of Syria—through the sixteenth century. Ottoman architectural projects in sixteenth-century Aleppo and Damascus stand out in the study of Ottoman architecture: few urban centers beyond

the capital had endowments comparable in number and scale to those founded in the two cities during this period. Through a contextualization of these projects, this paper aims to shed light on the workings of Ottoman urban and architectural tradition in the provinces and to provide an interpretation of the meanings of Ottoman undertakings in the two cities. In particular, the urban framework in which the projects were realized, their patronage, and the interrelationships of Ottoman and Syrian architectural styles will be considered as factors that shaped the projects.

THE CITIES AND THE OTTOMAN WAQFS

The Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516 did not initially change the standing of the two urban centers of Syria vis-à-vis the center.⁴ Damascus remained the capital of the province of Syria, and a former Mamluk, Janbirdi al-Gazali, was named governor of the province. Only when he rebelled against the central government after Selim I (1512–20) died did the Ottoman state introduce measures for a more thorough integration of the province into the Ottoman administrative system. Syria was then divided into two provinces, with Aleppo and Damascus as their respective capital cities.⁵ Contrary to their standing during the Mamluk period, when Damascus had been second only to Cairo in importance and Aleppo a secondary center on the frontier, the two cities were now equal in rank with regard to Istanbul, their new capital. The relative political stability introduced to the area and the growth of an internal and international market meant that the two cities partook of the population growth that marked the Mediterranean world through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the urban expansion that accompanied it.⁶

In other respects, however, the two cities developed very differently. Strategically positioned between

the eastern trade routes and the Mediterranean, Anatolia, and the Arab lands, Aleppo had already become an important commercial center during the later Mamluk period.⁷ The city benefited from the newly created markets and secured trade routes that its integration into the Ottoman Empire provided. Internal trade grew as the hinterland of the city broadened to encompass an area including Diyarbekir and Mosul, while its position on international trade routes made it an important center of caravan trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸ By the end of the century Aleppo had become the major commercial center in the area, and the third largest city of the empire after Istanbul and Cairo.⁹ The indigenous population of Aleppo was involved in trade to some extent, but commercial activity was largely dominated by the European trading communities based in the city.¹⁰ Already an ethnically diverse city, Aleppo's population grew increasingly cosmopolitan.

Although it was economically and demographically surpassed by Aleppo soon after Ottoman rule was established in Syria, Damascus enjoyed a higher status. Home to memories and sites of a glorious early Islam and to a thriving scholarly life, it remained the capital of Syria in Ottoman consciousness. Its legacy as the political, religious and cultural center of Syria was influential in shaping Ottoman attitudes towards the city. The literature on Damascus, largely translations of works dealing with its early Muslim history, such as the *Tercüme-i Futûh al-Şâm* (The Translation of the Conquest of Syria), and the *Fezâ'il-i Şâm* (The Virtues of Syria), attests to the Ottoman interest in that legacy and the desire to appropriate it for its own purposes.¹¹ Architecture was another aspect of this act of appropriation: Damascus was one of the few cities beyond the Anatolian peninsula to be endowed with sultanic foundations.

The yearly gathering of the pilgrimage caravan to the Hijaz added to the significance of the city, as well as to the vitality of its economic life.¹² Along with Cairo, Damascus was one of the urban centers from which official pilgrimage caravans left for the Hijaz every year. Twenty to thirty thousand pilgrims from the northern parts of the empire and from Iran gathered in Damascus to leave for the holy places in a caravan led by a high-ranking Ottoman official. This was an important event for the Ottoman state: with the conquests of 1516 the Ottoman sultans had added to their titles that of *hâdim al-haramayn al-sharifayn* (the servant of the two holy sanctuaries). The safe

conduct of the pilgrimage had now become their responsibility. An ostentatious procession in which the governor, the military, and the notables of the city participated preceded the departure of the caravan, underlining the symbolic significance of the event.¹³

The commemorative structures Selim I built in Damascus near the tomb of the celebrated Sufi mystic Ibn 'Arabi in 1516 remained the only large-scale Ottoman undertaking in Syria for more than two decades. The construction of a complex in Aleppo by Husrev Pasha, the city's governor between 1531 and 1534, marked the beginning of a building activity which was to continue through the sixteenth century.¹⁴ Husrev Pasha chose a commercially advantageous location for his buildings, a site to the southeast of the main artery of the commercial center, which lay between the citadel and one of the city gates, the Bab al-Antakya. Situated below the monumental gates of the citadel and across from the governor's palace, the complex was at the same time near the political center of the city. It comprised a mosque and madrasa, a public kitchen, rooms for travelers, a qaysariyya, a khan, a suq, and a large number of shops on a five-hectare plot (fig. 1). The mosque, madrasa, and kitchen were situated in the southern part of the complex and surrounded on two sides by commercial structures.

Husrev Pasha's complex, completed in 1546, seems to have become the model for later patrons who undertook building activities in the city. Three complexes were built in the following decades, two of them sponsored by governors.¹⁵ Each was situated to the west of Husrev Pasha's complex and to the south of the main artery of the suqs. Each was a compound of commercial buildings, khans, qaysariyyas, and suqs, culminating, with one exception, in a mosque located at the southern end of the plot. Within four decades the city's commercial center had doubled in size (fig. 2).

The second complex, completed in 1555, was built by Dukaginzade Mehmed Pasha, governor of the city between 1551 and 1553.¹⁶ It had a mosque, 3 khans, and 4 suqs for a total of 157 shops situated on the western, northern, and eastern sides of the mosque. In 1574, Hanzade Mehmed Ibrahim Pasha built an enormous commercial complex with 125 pieces of endowed property, 34 of them in the commercial center. It is striking that no monumental religious building was attached to it; the major building of the complex was the Gümruk Han (customs khan). Sur-

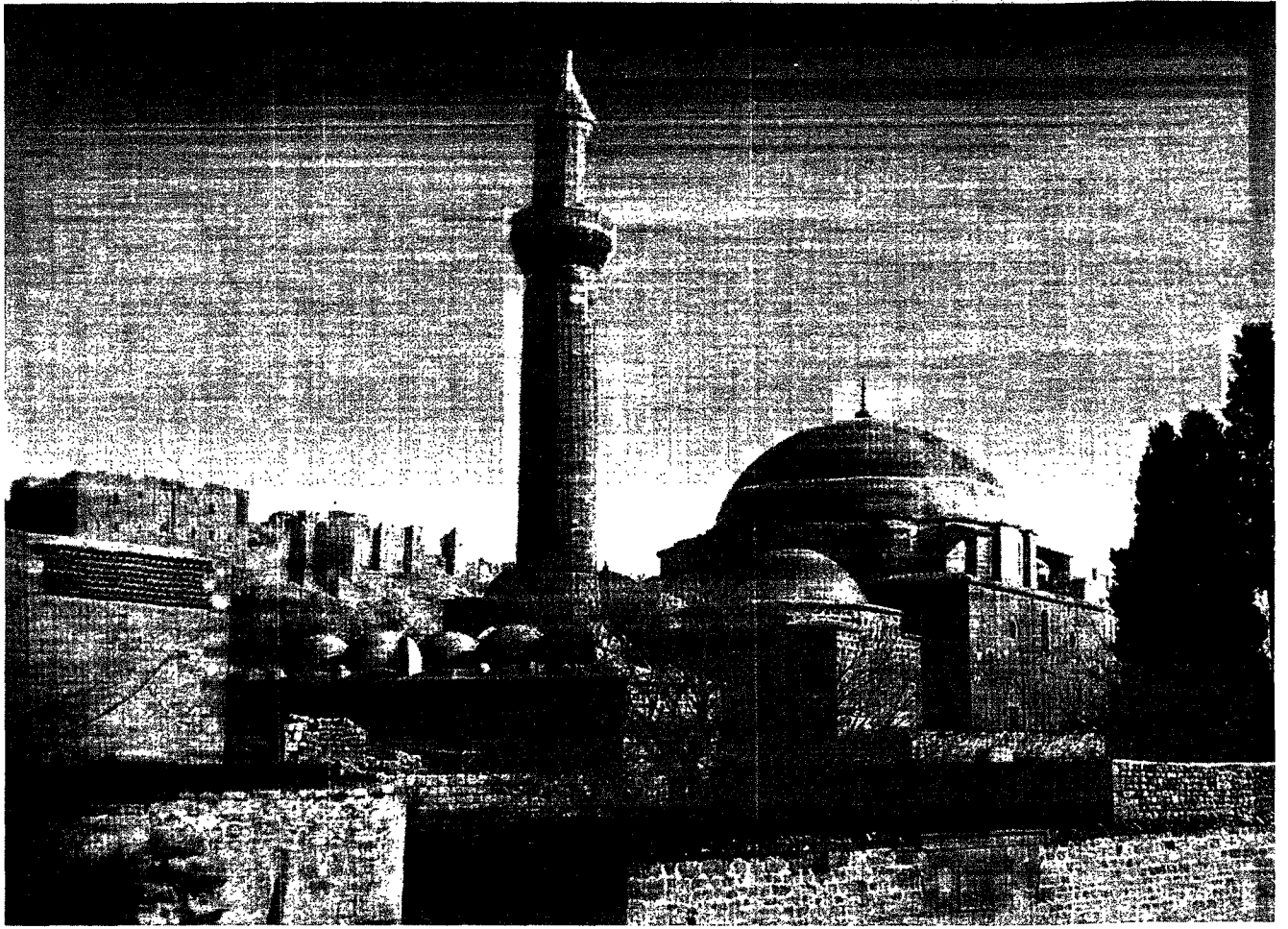


Fig. 1. Aleppo. Mosque of Husrev Pasha. (Photo: reproduced from Jean Sauvaget, *Alep* [Paris, 1941]).

rounding it were a qaysariyya and two suqs. Around the tanneries outside the walled city a large number of shops were built as part of the foundation.¹⁷ Behram Pasha, governor in 1580, built the last of the four complexes to the west of Mehmed Pasha's commercial complex. The Bahramiyya mosque, completed in 1583, was flanked by a public kitchen, rooms for guests, and a school for children. This core of religious and charitable buildings was entered through a qaysariyya connected to the main artery of the commercial center. Two suqs flanked the qaysariyya; the other commercial buildings belonging to the complex were scattered around the city.¹⁸

These four fairly similar projects, completed within several decades, demonstrate similar concerns on the part of the founders. Aware of the rising fortunes

of the city as a center of caravan trade, they expanded the commercial area and provided infrastructure for the increasing number of merchants who conducted business there.¹⁹ In terms of their siting, the new foundations followed the densely packed pattern of the Mamluk commercial center that lay to their immediate north, adding up to a "homogeneous monumental structure," as Jean Sauvaget described it.²⁰ While they were adapted to the local fabric and to the orthogonal layout of the city center, however, they also introduced a new, decisively Ottoman spatial and visual idiom to the area. Compounds of commercial and charitable buildings culminating in monumental mosques followed earlier models of Ottoman commercial complexes built along trade routes. The axial relationship between the buildings and the use

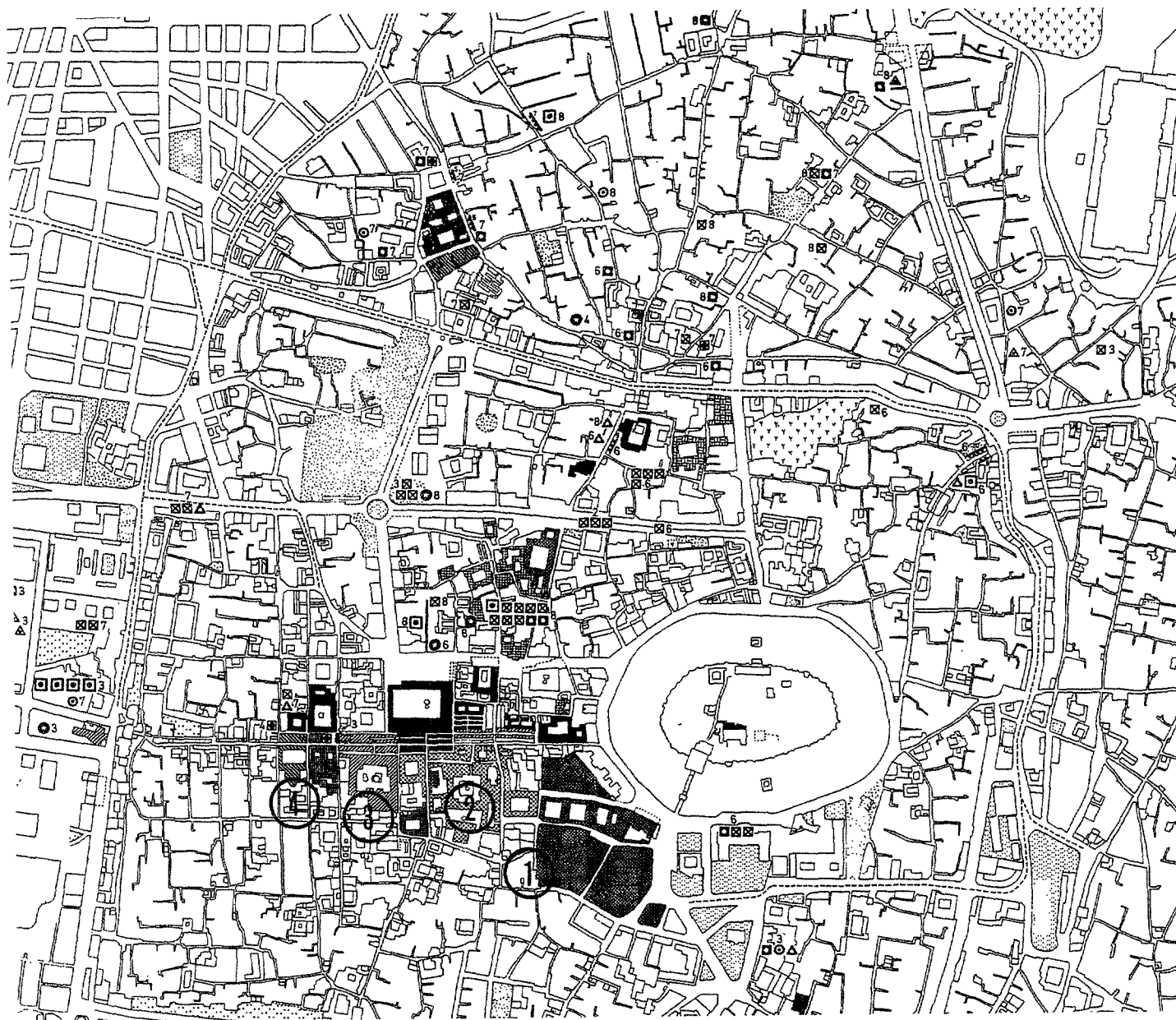


Fig. 2. Map showing the location of sixteenth-century Ottoman constructions in Aleppo. Legend: (1) complex of Husrev Pasha; (2) complex of Dukaginzade Mehmed Pasha; (3) complex of Hanzade Mehmed Ibrahim Pasha; (4) complex of Behram Pasha. (Map: from Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo* [Wiesbaden, 1984]).

of large courtyards around which the religious-charitable core of the complex was located characterized the site plans. Their construction marked a departure from the Mamluk practice of building major religious structures in the residential quarters of the

city. Thus the most central, and therefore the most prestigious, area of this city of commerce came to be dominated by Ottoman monuments.

In contrast to Aleppo, where all the foundations were endowed by members of the ruling elite and all

had primarily commercial functions, Damascus from the time of the Ottoman conquest was also a site of sultanic patronage.²¹ These buildings, endowed by Selim I and Süleyman, demonstrate the symbolic character of constructions sponsored by sultans outside the capital, compared to the relatively more utilitarian projects of the governors. Neither of these complexes could claim a central role in the urban life of Damascus. They were placed on the outskirts of the city, on sites that were chosen for their symbolic significance. Selim I's commemorative structure for Ibn 'Arabi was in the suburb of Salihyya, on the site of the shaykh's newly discovered tomb. Stopping in Damascus on his return from the Egyptian campaign, the sultan ordered the construction of a mosque and a convent-public kitchen on the site of the tomb. According to tradition Ibn 'Arabi had appeared to him in a dream and foretold his conquest of Syria and Egypt. While contemporary Ottoman sources tell of the sultan's act as one of gratitude for the shaykh's beneficence, it is possible also to interpret this act of patronage as an attempt to give religious sanction to the new regime in Damascus and to create an Ottoman locus in the city.²² However modest its dimensions and architecture compared to the Umayyad Mosque, the new complex was conceived as an alternative site to it: Selim I distributed alms and food at the construction site on holidays, before conducting prayers in the Great Mosque. Several of the Ottoman governors went there for the first Friday prayer after their appointment to that post. The building was perceived as an Ottoman locus by the Mamluk establishment of the city as well: one of the first acts of Janbirdi al-Gazali after he rebelled against the Ottoman state was to close down the mosque.²³

The second sultanic foundation in the city, Süleyman I's mosque, hospice, caravanserai, public kitchen, and madrasa complex was built on the site of the Qasr al-Ablaq, the palace the Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Baybars had constructed on the banks of the Barada river in 1264.²⁴ Built near the encampment of the pilgrimage caravan, Süleyman I's complex was primarily intended to provide services for the hajj. Choosing a site that replaced the Qasr al-Ablaq, however, suggests a secondary motive of giving new meaning to a site that had had royal significance for Mamluk rule.

Several of the city's Ottoman governors founded complexes in the decades following the completion of Süleyman I's constructions in 1554, suggesting that

the sultanic project may have provided a model for the Ottoman officials undertaking building activities in the city (fig. 3). Two Ottoman endowments dating from the 1550's and 1560's and founded by Ahmed Şemsi Pasha and Lala Mustafa Pasha, were placed outside the walled city, one to the south, the other to the north of the citadel.²⁵ The latter was the first large vizierial endowment in the city; in addition to the mosque, it included a bath, three khans, and two suqs.²⁶ Ahmed Şemsi Pasha and Lala Mustafa Pasha's projects were followed by three others. These constructions radically changed the visual structure of the Tariq al-Sultani, the main ceremonial axis of the city that connected it to the pilgrimage route, giving it an Ottoman character. The commercial property endowed for them substantially enlarged the commercial area to the south and the west of the Umayyad Mosque.

The first of these was the mosque of Murad Pasha (gov. 1568-70), located at the intersection of the main street with the maydan, the square where the pilgrimage caravan gathered to leave the city (fig. 4).²⁷ The mausoleum of the founder was situated to the east of the mosque, and rooms for the poor surrounded its courtyard. The second was the complex of Derviş Pasha (gov. 1571-73) founded in 1573 and consisting of a mosque, tomb, madrasa, three public fountains, and the Khan al-Harir built to house silk merchants. The mosque, tomb, madrasa, and one of the fountains were built on the main artery outside the walled city (fig. 5).

The third, and the largest, of the late-sixteenth-century foundations in the city was endowed by Sinan Pasha, one of the most prominent figures of the Ottoman world at that time. Five times grand vizier, Sinan Pasha governed Damascus for about a year and a half between 1586-87 and 1588, between his first and second terms as vizier.²⁸ The centerpiece of the complex he founded during his governorship was a congregational mosque located at the intersection of the main artery of the suqs and the Tariq al-Sultani (fig. 6). To place his monument at this central site, Sinan Pasha had to confiscate an important portion of the Tariq al-Sultani and pull down a mosque that occupied the plot he wanted.²⁹ A madrasa was built near the mosque, and a fourteenth-century bath was restored and enlarged to become part of the complex. To the south of these three structures and converging with the Tariq al-Sultani was an imposing piece of commercial architecture, the Suq al-Sinaniyya, a

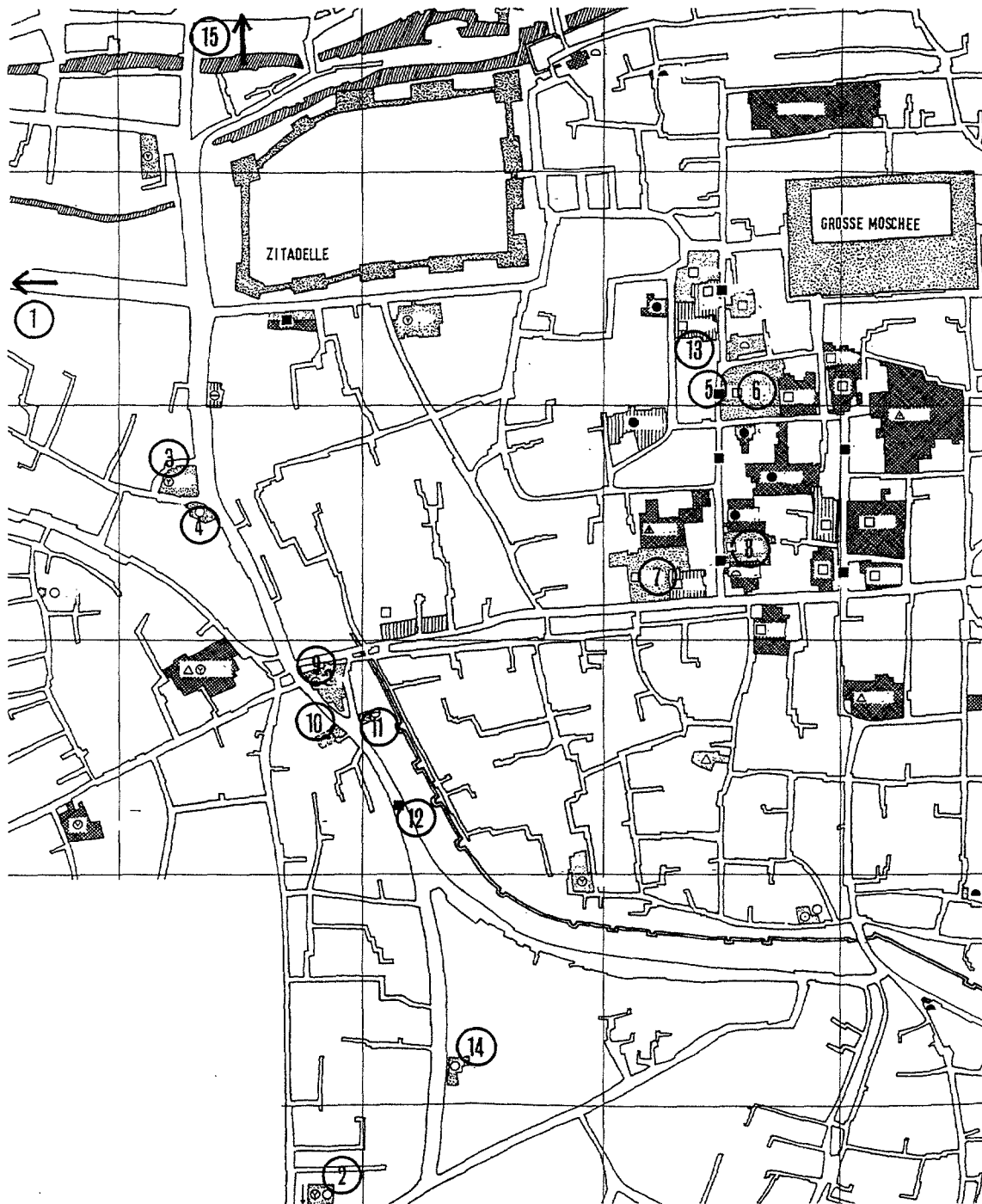


Fig. 3. Map showing location of sixteenth-century Ottoman constructions in Damascus. Legend: (1) complex of Sultan Süleyman; (2) mosque and mausoleum of Murad Pasha; (3) mosque of Derviş Pasha; (4) mausoleum of Derviş Pasha; (5) suq of Derviş Pasha; (6) Han al-Harir (khan of Derviş Pasha); (7) Han al-Zait; (8) Han al-Qumash; (9) mosque of Sinan Pasha; (10) bath of Sinan Pasha; (11) madrasa of Sinan Pasha; (12) suq of Sinan Pasha; (13) *bedestân* of Kuyucu Murad Pasha; (14) mausoleum of Ahmed Şemsi Pasha; (15) mosque and khan of Lala Mustafa Pasha (Map: reproduced from Dorothee Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisches-islamischen Stadt* [Mainz am Rhein, 1989])



Fig. 4. Damascus. Mosque of Murad Pasha.

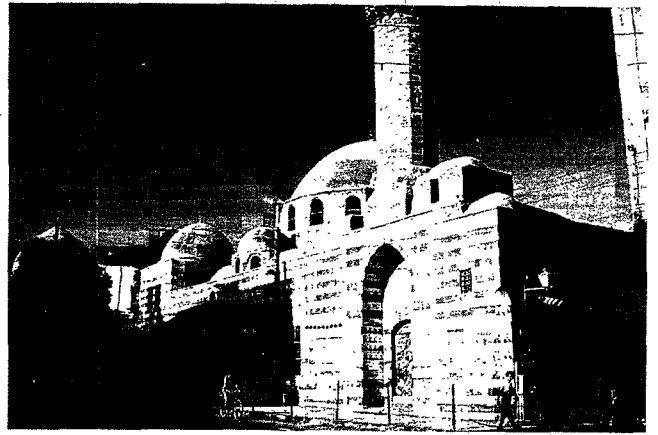


Fig. 5. Damascus. Mosque of Derviş Pasha.

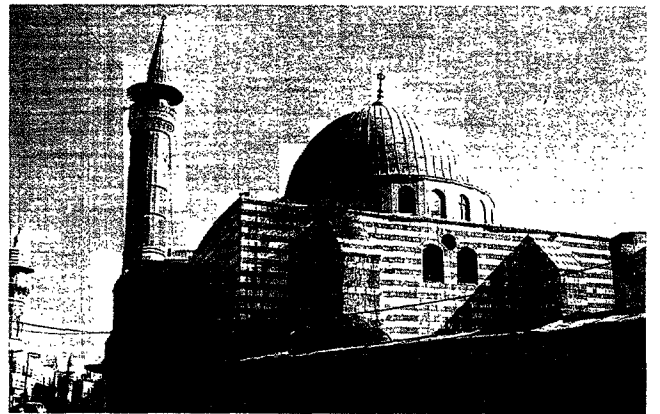


Fig. 6. Damascus. Mosque of Sinan Pasha.

street of shops covered with a timber roof supported by nineteen arches.³⁰ A large number of buildings in Damascus and its surroundings were included in the waqfiyya; of these, a masjid, a coffeehouse, a qay-sariyya, and two other structures called *manzil* in the waqfiyya were built inside the walled city.³¹

Unlike the earlier foundations, which included charitable and educational institutions, the last sixteenth-century Ottoman foundation in Damascus was primarily commercial in nature. Built by Kuyucu Murad Pasha, who governed the city in 1594–95,³² this commercial establishment included a suq of 47 shops, a coffeehouse, and a khan, all of which were situated near the Umayyad Mosque.³³ The suq was immediately outside the western gate of the Great Mosque, and the connection between the two struc-

tures was marked in a monumental manner by the construction of a large dome at its entrance, over the remains of the western propylaeum of the ancient temple of Jupiter.³⁴

Having chosen such a densely built-up area of the city as the site for his constructions, Murad Pasha had to clear the space for them. He confiscated and pulled down buildings, some of which were the endowed property of other waqfs. In 1608, while grand vizier, he founded another waqf whose sole asset was a *bedestân*, located near the earlier commercial structures endowed by himself and by Derviş Pasha, to serve the cloth merchants of the city.³⁵

In terms of their siting, the foundations of the governors followed Mamluk urban patterns. The construction of religious buildings along the *Ṭarîq al-*

Sultānī followed an earlier model: the major religious foundations of the late Mamluk period had been placed on either side of this axis, which had played a central role in the life of Damascus, both as a connection to the roads that led to it and as a ceremonial route that was the starting point of the pilgrimage caravan.³⁶ Their relation to the urban context was also more akin to that of their Mamluk predecessors than to models in Istanbul: unlike most religious complexes in the capital, where buildings were isolated from their immediate surroundings by enclosure walls, the Damascene structures, like the Mamluk ones, were immediately accessible from the street. Most Ottoman commercial structures were built to the south and the west of the Umayyad Mosque, the area which had housed the city's commercial center throughout the Mamluk period. These choices of site also relate the Damascene foundations to other urban Ottoman complexes, where the income-bringing property was generally removed from the religious-charitable core of the complex and placed in the commercial center of the town.

The property endowed for the Damascene foundations was largely agricultural land; rent on commercial property constituted a smaller portion of waqf incomes.³⁷ The urban commercial structures, on the other hand, were built at a time when there was no apparent economic growth in the city. This is a point of contrast with Aleppo where, by constructing commercial buildings, the governors were providing for the expanding volume of trade that was passing through the city. The measures taken by Kuyucu Murad Pasha, one of the waqf founders in Damascus, seems in fact to indicate that there was more commercial space in the city than there was need for: the governor integrated the Suq al-Sibahiyya built by Ahmed Şemsi Pasha to the first waqf he established, and had its merchants move into his new khan. Likewise, following the construction of the *bedestān*, he ordered the cloth merchants of the Suq al-Dira and the *ṣayh al-bazzāzin* to move into the new cloth market.³⁸ Pascual has suggested that the desire to stimulate economic activity in this culturally prestigious city may have been a reason behind constructing such a large number of commercial structures by the governors of the city.³⁹ The desire to benefit from commerce and competition with and imitation of Aleppo might also have encouraged these projects.

In the case of both cities, then, building infrastructure for commerce appears to have been one of the

reasons behind the foundation of complexes by Ottoman governors. In the case of Damascus, the projects sponsored by Selim I and Süleyman I can be construed as acts of appropriation of the political and religious legacy of the city by the empire, on the one hand, and acts of legitimization of Ottoman rule over it, on the other. But the extensive sponsorship of religious, charitable, and commercial buildings by the ruling elite in the two cities, which remained unparalleled in later Ottoman centuries, poses further questions concerning the factors that shaped these undertakings.

That a governor could acquire land and property to be endowed and undertake construction activities through a term of office that did not last more than a few years, and in most cases not more than a single year, is proof of the existence of an ethos and a mechanism for foundation patronage that had been embedded in the Ottoman polity from early on.⁴⁰ As was the case elsewhere in the Islamic world, the patronage of religious and charitable structures by the sultans and the ruling elite and the institutional framework of this patronage, the waqf, had been important components in the development of newly founded or conquered cities in the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹ Establishing religious, charitable, and commercial foundations were a basic means for creating networks of authority in newly acquired lands. They were also instrumental in the Ottomanization of these territories in institutional, spatial, and visual terms.

While this held true for Ottoman urbanization in general, the process had a further dimension in the Arab provinces where a waqf system was already well established. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of Aleppo and Damascus, where a large number of religious endowments had been established in the Mamluk period, the greater part of them by the ruling elite. Urban society was largely penetrated by religious foundations; these foundations and the commercial establishments that supported them constituted the framework for the relations between the ruling elite and the local population.⁴² When the Ottomans took over, they encountered this entrenched system of religious endowments founded in earlier times. Controlling and replacing that power structure and system of patronage was one of the prerequisites for establishing Ottoman authority in the Syrian cities, and the foundation of large endowments was one of the means of achieving it.⁴³ This was a situation comparable to that in Cairo, where, as Behrens-Abou-

seif has shown, the administration of earlier Mamluk waqfs and the founding of new ones were essential for the establishment of Ottoman authority in the city and the control of the religious elite. In Cairo, however, few waqfs comparable to the large Syrian ones were founded in the sixteenth century, and few prestigious building projects undertaken. Controlling the former religious establishment and maintaining the city appear to have been the primary concerns of the Ottoman administration. An Ottoman religious establishment eventually replaced the Mamluk one, but in contrast to the Syrian cities, this was not accompanied by changes in the urban environment in the form of a large number of new buildings to house those institutions.⁴⁴

Endowments established not only a new network of authority, but also a link between the local population and the center, through the people they employed, the services they offered, and the stipulations in the endowment deeds concerning overseers and employees. The foundation of an Ottoman waqf thus constituted an act of mediation between the central authority and the province. The foundation of Sinan Pasha in Damascus, for example, employed 444 people, 203 of them in the city proper. These numbers were surpassed only by the waqf of the Umayyad Mosque, which had 596 employees.⁴⁵ Supervisory and clerical positions were generally given to Ottoman officials; religious offices were held mainly by members of the local religious establishment. Appointment to these positions often required an imperial decree, which could be acquired only through the mediation of officials or influential figures in the capital.⁴⁶ Many traveled to Istanbul to petition in person for an appointment.⁴⁷ The foundations thus created networks of patronage that involved members of the local population as well as the state elite.

Through stipulations in their waqfiyyas patrons could influence urban life. A case in point was the patron's involvement in the religious life of the city through his imposition of the religious politics of the center, particularly where it concerned the four religious rites. The endowment deeds stipulate the school of law that the *ḥaṭīb* and the imam to be employed in a mosque and the *müderris* to be employed in a madrasa had to follow. Several waqfiyyas suggest that particularly the Hanafite and the Shafi'ite schools—the first, the official Ottoman school; the second, the legal school the majority of the Syrian population adhered to—were supported by the Ottoman admin-

istration. Here, a contrast between the foundations of governors and those of the sultans becomes apparent, suggesting that the former were more accommodating towards the local establishment than the latter: the waqfiyyas of both Mustafa Pasha's and Sinan Pasha's foundation direct that these positions be given to either a Shafi'ite or a Hanafite.⁴⁸ The endowment deed of Derviş Pasha has positions for two *müderris* in his madrasa, one Shafi'ite and one Hanafite.⁴⁹ The imperial foundation in the city, the Süleymaniye complex, on the other hand, would employ only those adhering to the official Ottoman school: its *ḥaṭīb*, imam, and *müderris* were Hanafites; the latter was also the Hanafite mufti of the city.⁵⁰

The practice of assigning the post of the *mütevelli* (overseer of the waqf) to the founder and to his descendants, which secured the income from the waqf for the family, was widespread. For endowments by the Ottoman ruling elite in the provinces, this had another consequence: the founder and his descendants continued to be in a position of influence in the province long after his term of office as governor had ended. The cases of Hüsrev Pasha in Aleppo and Sinan Pasha in Damascus demonstrate this well. As the overseer of the endowment Hüsrev Pasha's son Kurd Beg incorporated two Mamluk structures, the large khan named after himself and the Hammam al-Sitt, into the waqf, along with a number of shops.⁵¹ In 1566, Hüsrev Pasha's brother Mustafa Pasha made other additions to the waqf. The family must have been established in Aleppo, as both Kurd Beg and his mother were buried there, near the governor's mosque. In the case of Sinan Pasha's waqf, his son remained in Damascus to oversee the construction, as the founder's governorship ended shortly after construction on the mosque had begun. This son, Mehmed Pasha, was later appointed governor of the city, and according to Ibn Jum'a, it was during his term of office that the construction of the mosque of Sinan Pasha was completed.⁵²

Just as endowments provided channels for the Ottoman ruling elite into the social and economic life of the cities, so were they also a prerequisite for a successful career in the military bureaucracy. Governorships were steps in the administrative hierarchy that could lead to the grand vizierate. When appointed the governor of a provincial capital, some were at the same time appointed viziers to the imperial council. The patronage of urban institutions and of monumental structures to house them bespoke a

founder's prominence and generosity. It is not surprising, then, to find members of the state elite choosing the two Syrian capitals—one a locus of the Islamic realm and a city of cultural prestige, the other an international center of trade and home to a cosmopolitan population—as beneficiaries of their patronage. The praise heaped on these constructions by Damascene and Ottoman biographers and chroniclers also attests to the prestige and recognition donors could gain through their acts of patronage.⁵³

The case of Sinan Pasha, builder of several large-scale complexes in a number of provincial centers, is telling in this respect. The construction of the governor's mosque in Damascus began in the year of his appointment. The Damascene biographer of Sinan Pasha, Ibn Ayyub, tells us that the vizier had appealed to Murad III to make him governor of Damascus so that he would be able to acquire property for his waqf and build his tomb and a Friday mosque there.⁵⁴ The statement reflects not only the author's own sense of civic pride, but also the founder's awareness of the cultural and religious prestige of the city. Though he did not build his tomb there, Sinan Pasha did establish the largest Ottoman foundation in Syria during his brief term as governor, between his first term as grand vizier and his reappointment to the same post in 1589. In all probability, in establishing his largest waqf in Damascus and building his mosque in a prominent location, he was also competing with his lifetime rival, Lala Mustafa Pasha, who had founded a waqf in the same city (Mustafa Pasha's confiscations of land and property for this purpose had in fact made him one of the least popular figures in Ottoman Damascus).⁵⁵

A combination of factors, then, shaped both the conception and workings of the Ottoman foundations in the two cities. Piety, the provision of services to the local population and travelers, building infrastructure for trade, representing and legitimizing the authority of the center in the province, and prospects of political recognition and personal gain were all potent motives for founding an endowment. Endowments were one way of establishing new networks of authority and patronage in which members of the local population as well as the Ottoman administrative and religious elite were involved. The social relations they generated allowed them to assume an intermediary role between the center and the province. The new foundations introduced Ottoman ele-

ments into the social and spatial structure of the cities, but at the same time they adapted to, and absorbed, aspects of that structure to differing degrees.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MOSQUE IN OTTOMAN ALEPPO AND DAMASCUS

Alexander Russell, physician to the Levant Company in Aleppo in the 1740's and 1750's, included the following in his description of the city:

The mosques are numerous in Aleppo. Seven or eight of them are reckoned magnificent, though none have more than a single minaret, or steeple, whence the people are summoned to prayers. All the mosques are built nearly in the same style. They are of an oblong square form and covered in the middle with a large dome, on the top of which is a fixed gilt crescent. In front there is a handsome portico covered with several small cupolas, and raised one step above the pavement of the court. . . . The entrance into the mosque is through one large door. All these edifices are solidly built in freestone, and, in several, the domes are covered with lead. The minarets stand on one side joined to the body of the mosque. They are sometimes square, but more commonly round and tapered. The gallery for the maazeen, or cryers, projecting a little from the column near the top, has some resemblance to a rude capital; and from this the spire tapering more in proportion than before, soon terminates in a point crowned with a crescent.⁵⁶

Russell's *Natural History of Aleppo* is one of the most detailed among the Western accounts of the city; it includes descriptions of the various customs, habits, costumes, and houses of its various communities. Yet to him all the mosques in the city appeared to be more or less in the same style. He overlooked Aleppo's Great Mosque, whose tall square minaret still marks the skyline, and several others built during Mamluk rule; he described the basic characteristics of mosques built there throughout the sixteenth century. He must have identified these buildings as Ottoman, for when he wanted to compare them to others, he referred to their counterparts in the capital and in Edirne: "The mosques at Constantinople are much more magnificent. Grelot has given a description of St. Sophia, and of several other mosques. Some have four or five minarets. At Adrianople also the mosques are very magnificent."⁵⁷

Russell's description captures an important aspect of Ottoman building activity in Aleppo, which also

holds true for the city to its south: more than any other building type, the congregational mosques built by the Ottoman governors imprinted an Ottoman image on the cityscape. Like their counterparts in the capital, the mosques were the monumental structures that towered over the other edifices of the complexes and defined the urban skyline. Their hemispherical domes, dome-covered porticoes, and tall cylindrical minarets distinguished them from earlier monumental structures in the cities, introducing a formal and visual idiom that characterized the built environment of the imperial capital.

The descriptions of Mehmed Aşık and Evliya Çelebi, it will be remembered, indicate that the mosques also struck Ottoman observers by their Rūmī style. With the single exception of the Karamani bath in the account of Mehmed Aşık, this phrase was not attached to any other type of building. The Ottoman descriptions, however, capture other aspects of the architecture of these buildings, namely, their stylistic differences from the mosques built in the local tradition and their particular ways of juxtaposing Ottoman and Syrian styles.

The description of Mehmed Aşık demonstrates most eloquently the immediate visibility of stylistic differences between the Ottoman and Syrian traditions to an Ottoman viewer.⁵⁸ He says of the mosques built by Sultan Süleyman, Derviş Pasha, Sinan Pasha, and Murad Pasha that their "building style and essential image are not in the style and image of the mosques of Arab lands; they are in the style and image of Ottoman mosques." Clearly with an eye for the most characteristic features of Ottoman mosque architecture, he notes the prayer halls covered by a single dome, the lead covering of the main dome and the smaller domes of the porticoes and their dependencies, and minarets in the style of the Ottoman lands. He singles out the minaret of the Murad Pasha mosque as being the only one among them in "the image of the minarets of the Arab lands," though the rest of "the structure and its dome were in the style of the land of Rūm." He notes the use of a local element in the tile-covered minaret of the Sinan Pasha mosque: it was built in the Rūmī manner, but its balcony had an eave like the balconies of the minarets of Arab lands.

Something of his attitude towards the use of the local style in Ottoman buildings can be gleaned from his description of the small hypostyle mosque built by Selim I near the mausoleum of Ibn 'Arabi. It is

his shortest description of an Ottoman mosque; he notes that this exalted mosque and its minaret were built in the style and image of the mosques of Arab lands. Perhaps, he writes, in the days of the conquest of Damascus it was not considered proper to bring architects and builders from the Ottoman lands. The construction of the mosque was described in detail in the *Histories of the House of Osman*; but since it would not be appropriate to pass over the sultan's charity and benevolence in silence, he added this summary account.⁵⁹

To the two writers from the capital of the empire, the differences between the formal properties of the Ottoman and the Syrian styles were immediately apparent; they identified them as Rūmī and Arab. In Mehmed Aşık's summary treatment of the mosque of Ibn 'Arabi, and in the almost apologetic tone of that treatment, we find an awareness of the significance of style: to him an Ottoman sultan was expected to build in the style of Rūm. This would signify the patronage of the sultan and, by extension, the Ottoman origin of the building.

Two visual representations of Aleppo convey images of the city comparable to these literary descriptions. An eighteenth-century view, an engraving published in Alexander Drummond's *Travels through Different Cities*, represents the city in a way that is reminiscent of Russell's contemporary description (fig. 7). Below Aleppo's citadel, two Ottoman mosques stand out from the rest of the city with their characteristic hemispherical domes and tapering cylindrical minarets, their monumental dimensions in stark contrast with the small buildings that surround them.

A contemporary wall painting in the palace of Asad Pasha al-'Azm in Hama depicts Aleppo somewhat differently (fig. 8).⁶⁰ There, the city lying below its towering citadel is marked by myriad mosques and minarets. At first glance, large hemispherical domes and high cylindrical minarets convey the image of an urban skyline akin to that of the Ottoman capital and bring to mind contemporary views of Istanbul where, more than any other type of structure, domes and minarets define the urban image.⁶¹ A closer look, however, shows that this is a less homogeneous image than appears at first glance. To use Mehmed Aşık's words, some of the minarets are rendered as in the Arab manner; others, while built in the Rūmī style, feature eaves like those on Arab minarets. The anonymous painter of the 'Azm view captured a multiplicity of styles in the cityscape, particularly in the architecture of the mosques.

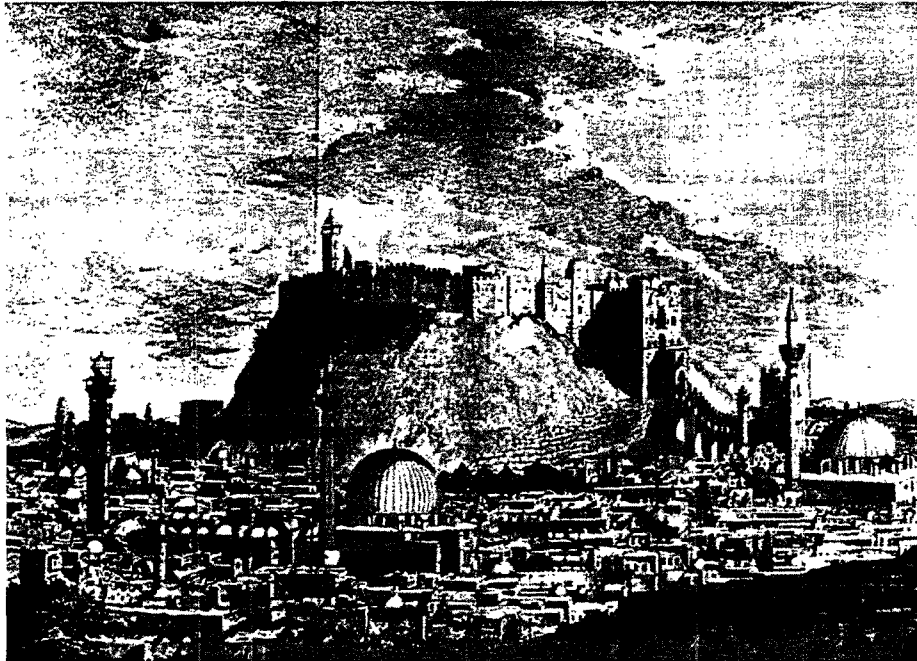


Fig. 7. Eighteenth-century view of Aleppo. A. Drummond, *Travels through Different Cities*. . . (London, 1734). (Engraving: reproduced from Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the 18th Century* [New York, 1989]).

While the two eighteenth-century views convey comparable images of the city, a comparison between them and an earlier representation of Aleppo dating from ca. 1537 underlines the transformation in the cityscape introduced by the Ottoman constructions. This is Matrakçı Nasuh's view of the city in his *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i 'Irakeyn*, a double-folio miniature painting with a representation of the walled city dominated by the citadel on one page and the extramural settlement on the other (fig. 9).⁶² Painted before any of the Ottoman complexes were built, it is possible to regard this as a representation of the city as it appeared at the end of the Mamluk period. The contrast between Matrakçı's Aleppo and the later images lies not only in their different representational conventions,⁶³ but also in the contrast between Mamluk and Ottoman forms of monumentality. The walls marked with corner towers and four main gates placed at the four points of the compass and the citadel in the exact center of the image are the immediately recognizable elements in the cityscape. A large number of significant buildings are distinguishable from the residential and commercial structures surrounding them by their more elaborate architectural details: baths by their bulbed domes, imarets or madrasas by their multiple domes and chimneys, mosques

by a series of arcades representing courtyards, topped with single-story buildings marked by arched windows conveying the image of hypostyle structures. Their minarets are the most conspicuous elements in the urban fabric; the painter chose to render them as colorful structures covered with decorative patterns, possibly in an effort to emphasize their prominence in a cityscape where monumentality was defined in horizontal rather than vertical terms. The minarets aside, no single type of monument dominates the urban environment in Matrakçı's Aleppo, as the mosques do in the Drummond and the 'Azm views.

Throughout the early medieval period, the monumental hypostyle mosques of Umayyad Aleppo and Damascus had remained the only congregational mosques in the two cities. Those built by Mamluk governors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were all small hypostyle structures that followed the Umayyad models, with double- or triple-aisled prayer halls preceded by courtyards.⁶⁴ The Ottoman mosques of Aleppo and Damascus exhibited a radical break from the mosque architecture of the area with their centralized ground plans, hemispherical domes, and cylindrical minarets. With these features, the Ottoman structures conformed to the established norms of the imperial architectural style. But as some con-

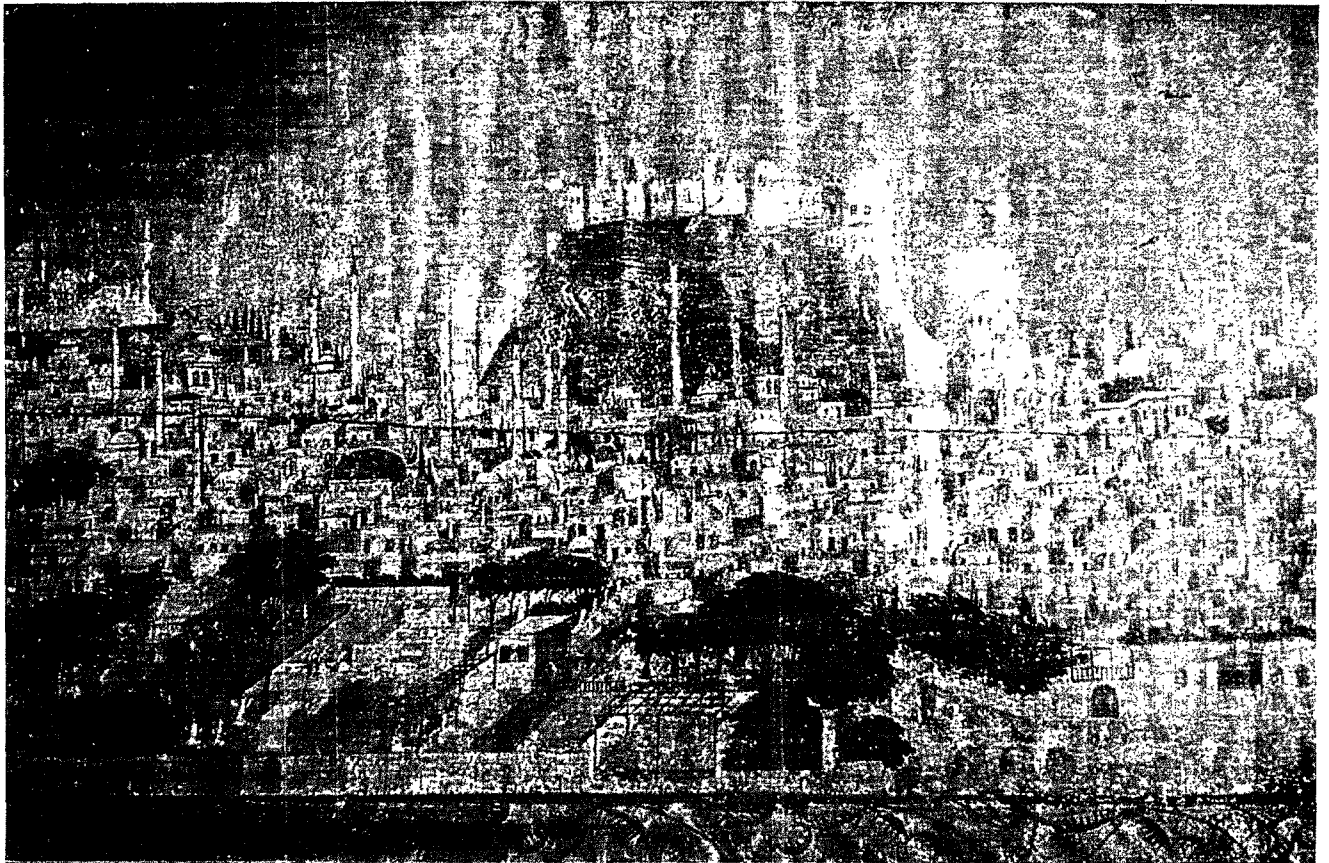


Fig. 8. An eighteenth-century view of Aleppo in the 'Azm Palace in Hama. (Photo: from Gerard Degeorge, *Syrie, art, histoire, architecture* [Paris, 1983])

temporary observers remind us, their formal vocabulary incorporated elements of the local tradition as well. They exhibited varying degrees of accommodation to regional conventions in their overall massing, utilization of structural elements, relation to their surroundings, and most of all in their decorative features.

This merging of the two traditions was in part an outcome of the organization of architectural activity by the Ottoman state. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman administration had established the means for disseminating the classical Ottoman style, whose characteristics had been conventionalized in the previous decades, to its provinces. The imperial architectural office (*cema'āt-i mi'mārān-i hāssa*) responsible for the design and execution of the architectural undertakings of the imperial family and the ruling elite in both the capital and the provinces was the vehicle for accomplishing this. While sultan-

ic and most vizierial constructions in the capital were designed and built under the direct supervision of the chief architect or his immediate subordinates, the imperial ateliers took part in varying degrees in the design and construction of provincial works. For sultanic constructions, court architects might be sent from the capital. Buildings for lesser patrons were more apt to be entrusted to local architects and craftsmen, though they might be provided with plans from the imperial atelier. Since Ottoman architectural drawings were for the most part limited to ground plans, deviations from the norm were most likely to occur in the features of the elevation and in the decoration.⁶⁵

The organization of architecture and construction was a product of the centralization of the Ottoman administration and of its claims to be the paramount Islamic state. An office of court architects was established to direct building activities for the ruling dy-

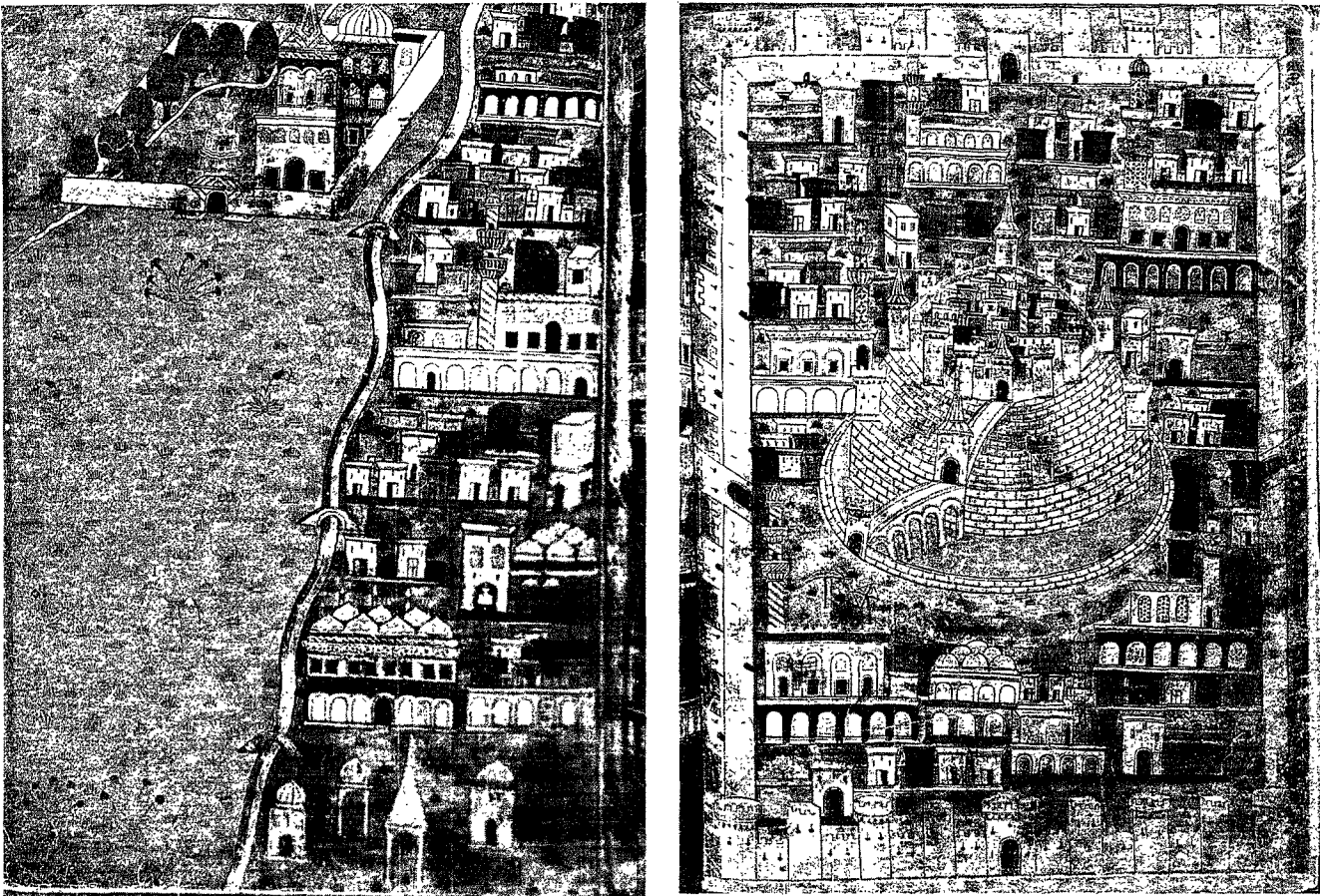


Fig. 9. Matrakçı Nasuh's view of Aleppo, ca. 1537. Nasuhü's-Silahi, *Beyân-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i 'Irakeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân*, Istanbul University Library, ms. 5964, fols. 105b–106a.

nasty and elite and make certain that any architectural work of importance in the Ottoman realm, whether in the capital or in the provinces, would properly display the immediately recognizable signs of an Ottoman presence. Beyond this, the standing of the patron in the Ottoman hierarchy, personal tastes and demands, status in the provincial setting, the extent to which a province was integrated into the empire, the local architectural tradition in the area, and Ottoman attitudes toward that tradition determined the particulars of the interaction between the imperial and the local styles. The contrast between Ottoman structures in the Arab provinces and in the Balkans demonstrates the latter point well. In the Balkan provinces, although a post-Byzantine style continued to shape the vernacular and religious architecture of the local populations, Ottoman religious

and charitable buildings were marked by a higher degree of stylistic purity.⁶⁶ Ottoman buildings in the Arab provinces, on the other hand, exhibit characteristics of the local traditions, though in different ways and degrees. Adapting to and absorbing aspects of the Islamic legacy were integral to the establishment of Ottoman rule in the Arab provinces, and architecture was part of that legacy.

A close look at three Ottoman constructions will serve to illustrate the ways the imperial style was transplanted to the Syrian cities by patrons of different standing. The mosque of Hüsrev Pasha (1545), the centerpiece of the first of the Ottoman complexes to be constructed in Aleppo, was included in the three treatises of Sinan as one of his buildings. Like the majority of provincial structures listed among the works of the chief architect, the mosque must have

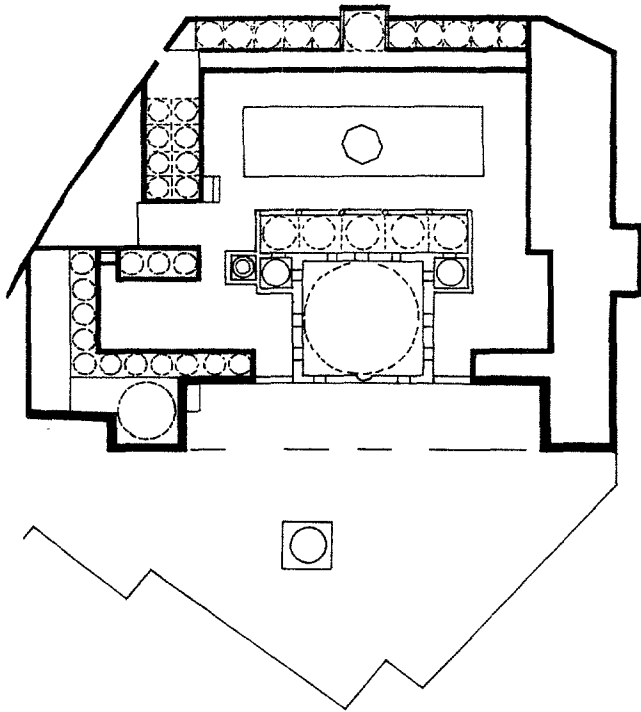


Fig. 10. Aleppo. Complex of Husrev Pasha. (Sketch plan redrawn by Naz Koyunlu from Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* [Baltimore, 1971])

been designed in the imperial architectural office in Istanbul, perhaps by Sinan or one of his subordinates, and supervised either by an architect sent from the capital or by a local architect who was sent the plans.⁶⁷

The main entrance to the complex is from the east, across from the grand double gates of the citadel of Aleppo. Guest rooms, situated at the two sides of a large iwan to the north, and the eight-domed public kitchen to the west define the edges of a rectangular courtyard, to the south of which is situated the mosque. Beyond this main courtyard, marked with a shadirwan at its center, to the southwest is the madrasa with its domed classroom and six cells behind an L-shaped portico. Corresponding to the classroom on the southeast is another domed hall.⁶⁸ This layout, which imposes an axial geometry on the roughly shaped plot, the consistent use of the domed square unit as the basic design element, and the architecture of the mosque attest to its being the work of the imperial atelier (fig. 10).

The mosque is the only building of the complex that has reached our day without major alterations. With a square prayer hall flanked on both sides by

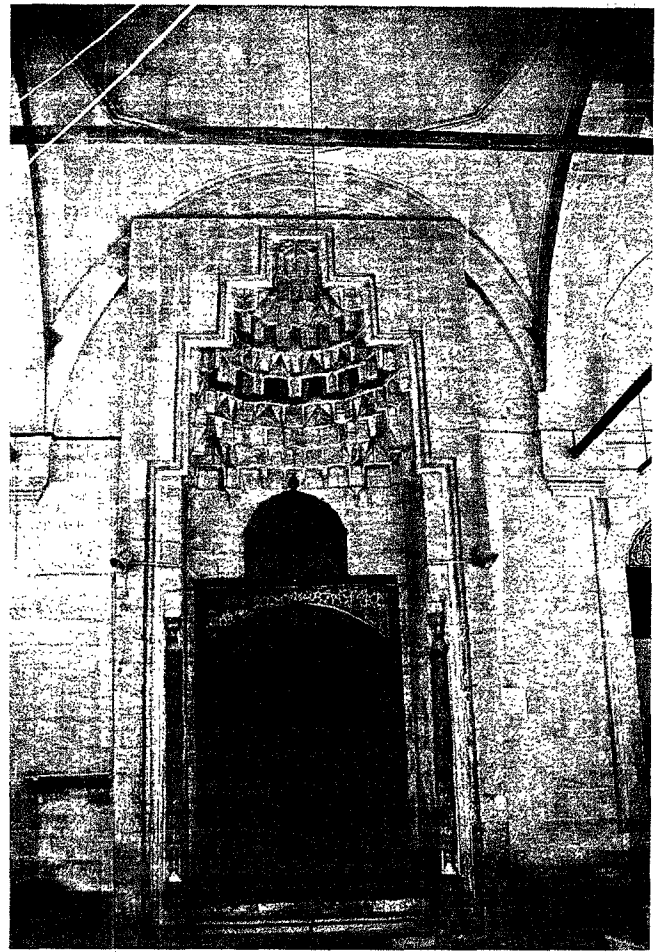


Fig. 11. Aleppo. Mosque of Husrev Pasha. The portal.

two *tabhâne* rooms, it is one of the last examples of a distinctively Ottoman type of structure, the multifunctional mosque-convent (fig. 1). Its relatively low dome rises behind a five-domed portico; to its west is the polygonal minaret. The portico, elevated above the courtyard level and running the whole length of the prayer hall and the two rooms, amplifies the proportions of the otherwise modest building. Ablaq masonry (alternating courses of different colored stone, generally limestone and basalt), a typical element of Syrian Mamluk and particularly Damascene architecture, frames the arches, the windows, and the base of the minaret. Polychrome underglaze tiles, the first of their kind to be used in Syria, decorate the arches of the windows. The portal, Ottoman in its tapering muqarnas, and Syrian in its joggled voussoir and marble inlay in geometric patterns over the doorway and the two flanking engraved columns, is one of



Fig. 12. Aleppo. Mosque of Husrev Pasha. Interior.

the parts of the building that most openly exhibit the juxtaposition of the two styles (fig. 11). Above the entrance, a small inscription plate gives the date of the building's completion.

Inside, a hemispherical dome on squinches covers a plain and spacious prayer hall (fig. 12). Like the windows of the entrance façade, the lower casement windows are topped with polychrome tiles. The arches framing the squinches are in ablaq masonry. The mihrab is the most pronounced element of the interior and also the part that most distinctly belongs to the Syrian Mamluk order. The semicircular prayer niche ending in a conch and its rectangular frame are decorated with geometric patterns in colored marble inlay. An interesting feature of the interior is the small room above the entrance opening into the prayer hall. The function of this space, which becomes a larger and more elaborately decorated gallery in the Adiliyya Mosque built two decades later, is unclear. Also found in several Ottoman mosques of Cairo,

it has been suggested that it might be a private prayer room, reminiscent of the royal balcony in the Green Mosque in Bursa (1424) or a *müezzin mahfili*.⁶⁹

Some unresolved details in the structure point to the hand of craftsmen working in a tradition other than their own: the connection of the portico to the entrance façade of the prayer hall appears to have posed problems for the architect, as the windows on the two sides of the entrance and the two exterior mihrabs collide with the springing of the arches carrying the domes. The rectangular form of the portal cuts through the arch behind it. Inside, the arches framing the squinches spring at a point below the level of the transition zone, impairing the structural clarity that characterized contemporary Istanbul buildings. In all, these unresolved details and a number of decorative elements that belong to the Syrian Mamluk tradition notwithstanding, the building is distinctively Ottoman.

The mosque of Husrev Pasha constituted a model

for other congregational mosques built in the city in the following decades: both the Adiliyya (1566) and the Behram Pasha (1583) mosques, though smaller in dimensions and lacking the convent rooms, emulate the Husrev Pasha mosque in plan, siting within the complex, and their restrained use of Ottoman and Syrian decorative elements. The impact of the imperial atelier in Istanbul can also be seen, as in the double portico of the Adiliyya mosque and the polygonal apse projecting out from the southern wall of the prayer hall in the Behram Pasha mosque. Possibly the inspiration was the projecting mihrab apse of the Selimiye in Edirne, designed by Sinan and completed in 1575.

The involvement of the chief architect was one factor that brought the first representational Ottoman building in Aleppo close to its counterparts in the capital; the shared aspects of the Aleppine and the Ottoman architectural traditions was another. The earlier medieval architecture of Syria was characterized by an orientation towards the interior rather than the exterior, a sobriety and restraint in the use of decorative elements, and particularly in the case of Aleppo, excellent workmanship in stone. These properties continued to mark the architecture of Aleppo throughout the Mamluk period. Although Cairene influences can be observed from the end of the fourteenth century onward, particularly in façade compositions, major Mamluk monuments of Aleppo never attained the highly elaborate exterior configurations of Cairene buildings. Nor did color become a major constituent of architectural decoration. Geometric stone insertia and ablaq masonry, elements of the Syrian tradition that came to characterize the Mamluk architecture of Cairo, were rarely used in Aleppine exteriors.⁷⁰ Workmanship in stone and restraint in the use of decoration were shared aspects of the Ottoman and the Aleppine traditions, which helped bring the Ottoman works in the city close to those in the capital.

The major Mamluk undertakings in Aleppo were small hypostyle congregational mosques and a number of hospitals, madrasas, and zawiyas scattered in residential areas, mostly to the south and southeast of the citadel. With the exception of the Utrush mosque (1400), whose carefully composed façade accentuated with vertical window niches and elaborate massing of portal, minaret, and mausoleum dome brings it closer to contemporary Cairene architecture than any other building in Aleppo, most are marked

on the exterior only with a muqarnas portal ending in a triconch. The Ottoman mosques thus stood out in the urban fabric, with their dimensions contrasting with the smaller scale of the earlier religious buildings and their location in the commercial center of the city.

The Mamluk tradition in Damascus, on the other hand, produced a different kind of interaction between the Ottoman and the Syrian styles. Growing out of the Ayyubid tradition in the earlier years of Mamluk rule, the architecture of Damascus exhibits formal and conceptual influences from the Mamluk capital throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. As was the case in Cairo, a strong emphasis was placed on the exterior configurations and the façades of the buildings along the main thoroughfares of the city. But unlike Cairene exteriors, which were articulated through compositions of mass and volume as well as decorative devices such as ablaq masonry and panels of marble inlay and stucco, many Damascene buildings were marked by a rectangular mass whose two-dimensional façade ran along the street. Polychromy was the distinguishing feature of the façades: ablaq masonry of limestone and basalt, to which pink limestone was added in some cases, medallions, and joggled stringcourses marked the exteriors. A muqarnas portal projected vertically from the middle of this rectangular mass accentuated with a series of vertical window niches, forming a symmetrical composition. The coloristic effect was enhanced in the interiors by the extensive use of marble revetments.

The first Ottoman buildings to be constructed in the city, the hypostyle mosque built by Selim I near the tomb of Ibn 'Arabi (1516) and the double-domed mosque-mausoleum of Ahmed Pasha (1537), followed the conventions of the Mamluk architecture of Damascus. The construction of the complex of Sultan Süleyman (1554–55), locally known as the Takiyya, marks the beginning of a new phase in the Ottoman architecture of the city (fig. 13). This complex represents a direct implantation of the architectural style of the Ottoman capital in the layout of its buildings, in their exterior configuration, and in their decorative features. Its main part, comprising a mosque, caravanserai, public kitchen, and hospice, was designed by Sinan and supervised by architects sent from the imperial architectural office.⁷¹ In 1566, a madrasa was added to the east of this group of buildings and was connected to them by an arasta.⁷² Strict axial

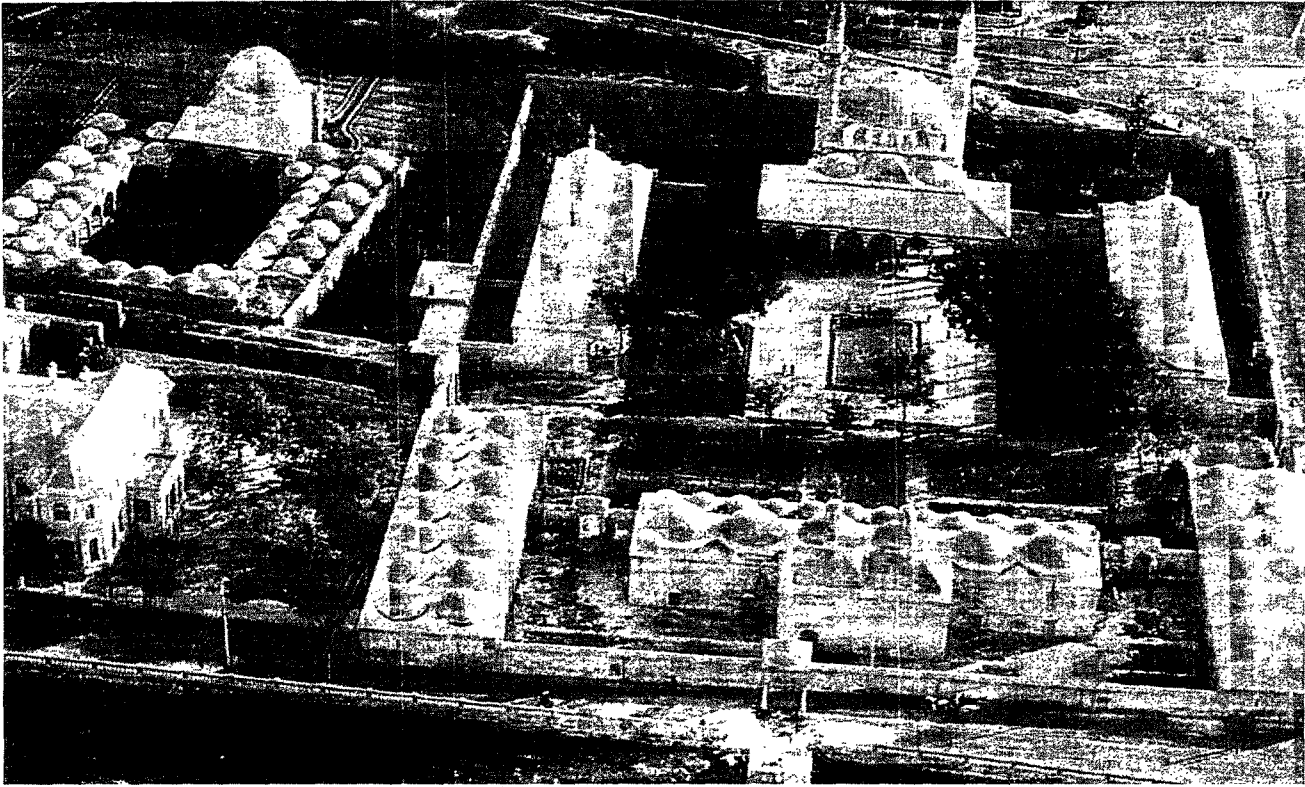


Fig. 13. Damascus. Complex of Sultan Süleyman. (Photo: from Aptullah Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* [Istanbul, 1986])

symmetry defines the layout of the original core: the mosque and the public kitchen are situated at the two ends of the main axis of a rectangular enclosure; two rows of six guest rooms each are situated along its longer sides, to the east and the west of the mosque (fig. 14). At the northern end of the courtyard, on the two sides of the public kitchen are located two caravanserais, separated from the guest rooms by the two entrances to the courtyard. The characteristically Ottoman configuration of the dependencies, all covered by domes and preceded by dome-covered arcades, lends a visual and spatial unity to the large courtyard. The large rectangular pool situated in the center of the courtyard is an accommodation to the Shafi'ite manner of making ablutions in still water; a *sadirvan*, or ablution fountain, would stand in its place in an Ottoman mosque.⁷³

The centerpiece of the complex, the mosque, free-standing at the southern end of the courtyard, reproduces the prototypical elements of an Ottoman mosque: a cubic mass with a hemispherical lead covered dome rising over pendentives and a low drum,

preceded on the entrance side by a double portico. The modest-sized building is marked as a sultanic construction by its twin minarets. It is built entirely of ablaq masonry. Elements of Damascene and Ottoman architectural decoration are used sparingly on the portico and in the interior of the building: marble paneling covers the portico wall up to the level of the windows; ablaq masonry in three colors covers the upper part. Polychrome tiles with floral motifs decorate the window arches in the portico as well as in the interior. The building is entered through a stone muqarnas-hooded portal, closer to the Ottoman prototypes with its triangular form than to the Damascene examples (fig. 15); its form is replicated in the mihrab niche inside.

Unlike the earlier mosques, which closely followed the Mamluk tradition even in their ground plans, all major Ottoman mosques built after the completion of the Takiyya share the basic elements of Ottoman mosque architecture. Like the Husrev Pasha mosque in Aleppo, the mosque of Süleyman I appears to have constituted a model for later Ottoman constructions

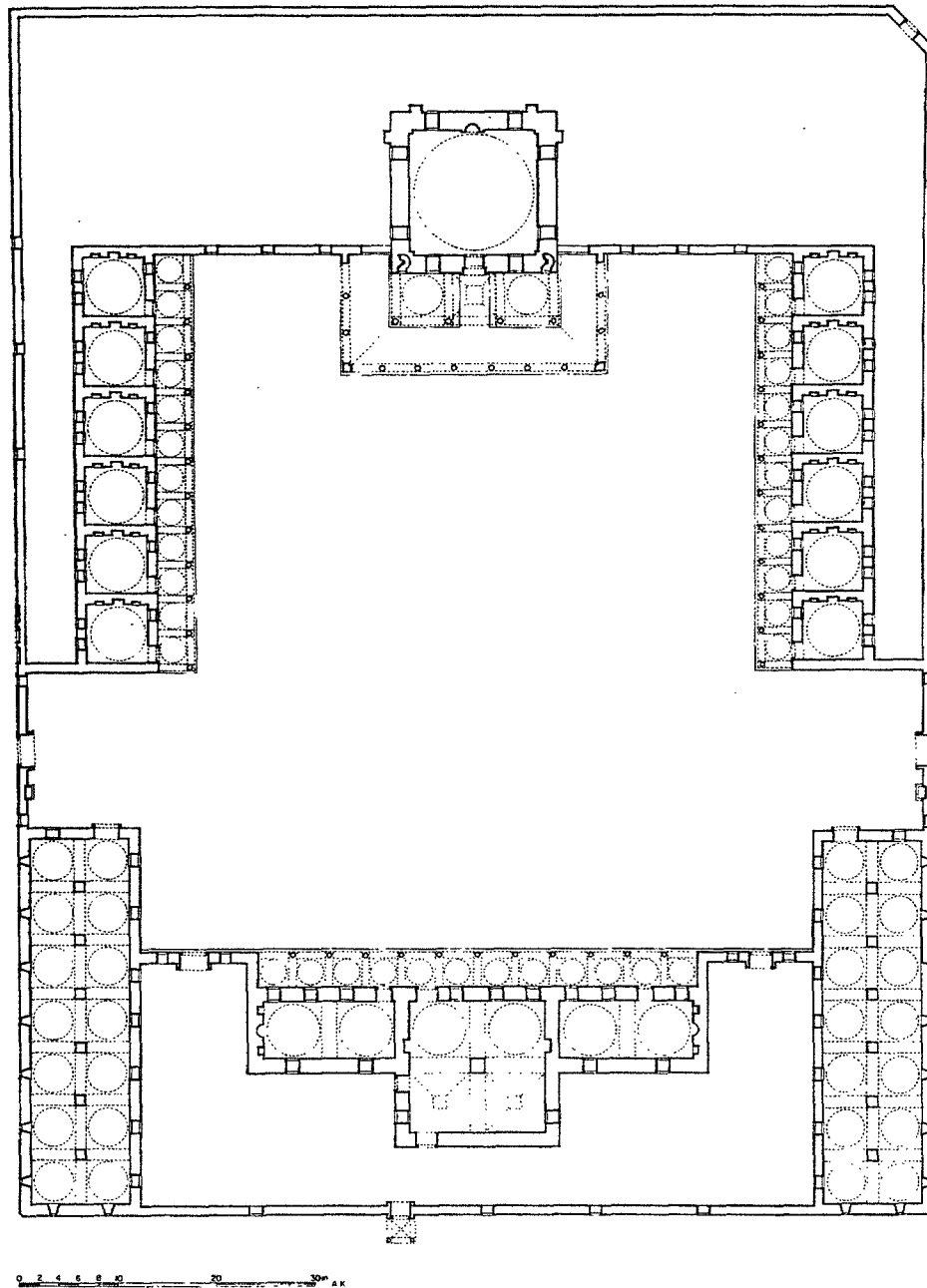


Fig. 14. Damascus. Complex of Sultan Süleyman. Site plan. (From Aptullah Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* [Istanbul, 1986])

in the city, and possibly some of the craftsmen who worked in the Süleymaniye remained in the city to work on other projects.⁷⁴ In their use of local stylistic elements and their siting, however, the works of the Ottoman governors stand in stark contrast to the major sultanic construction of the period. The mosque

of Sinan Pasha, the last of the large religious constructions of the sixteenth century, is an example (fig. 6). It is outside the walled city, at the intersection of the main commercial avenue and the Tariq al-Sultani. Its façade projects over the latter street, hiding behind it the mass of the prayer hall and the preceding

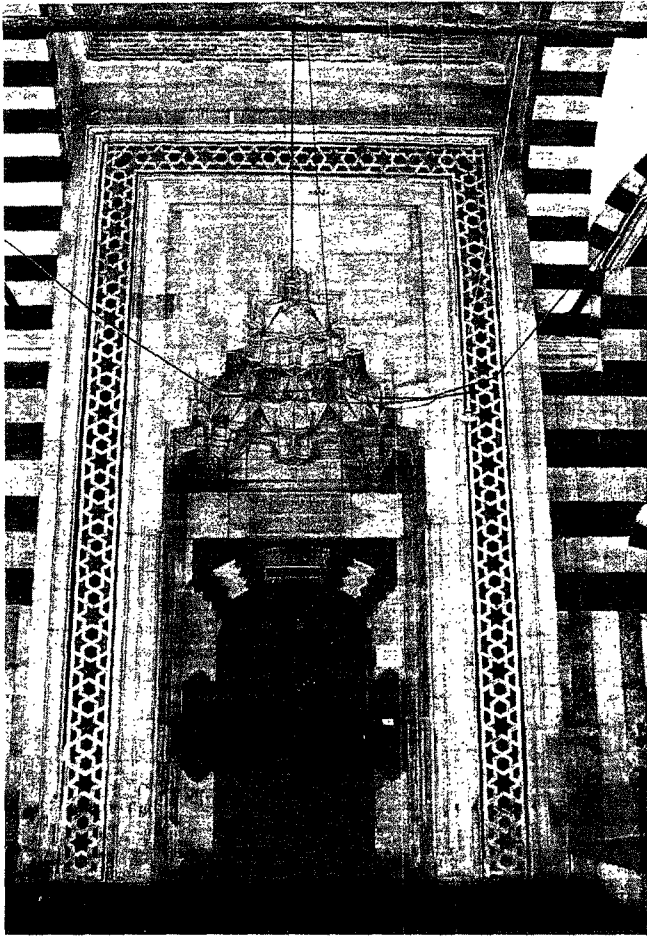


Fig. 15. Damascus. Mosque of Sultan Suleyman. The portal.

courtyard. The dome of the prayer hall rises over the southern half of this mass. It is an imposing structure with its walls of ablaq masonry and its cylindrical minaret completely covered with green tiles. While the hemispherical dome and the cylindrical minaret follow the conventions of Ottoman mosque architecture, the ablaq masonry of the façade that runs along the main street and the portal with its series of stalactites ending in a hemispherical conch establishes an affinity with the façades of the Mamluk buildings erected on the same street during the two preceding centuries (fig. 16). An element that distinguishes the Ottoman portal is the panel of blue and white tiles placed below the muqarnas, a location that would have had a panel of marble inlay in a Mamluk structure. The unusual tile covering of the minaret, unique in the architecture of the city and in the Ottoman tradition in general, is possibly the product of local

inspiration. Although it does not have a direct formal prototype, it is conceptually akin to the local tradition and the coloristic effects that Damascene architects strived to create from the later Mamluk period onwards.

In terms of its ground plan and articulation of interior space the building is decisively Ottoman, although several features of the layout suggest that the construction was executed according to a design that was altered at some points because of the limitations of the plot: the rectangular courtyard is altered, as its northern wall makes an extra angle in order to follow the street (fig. 17a). The seven-domed portico is not all visible; it is blocked by the base of the minaret on the western side and by the courtyard wall on the east. It will be remembered that Sinan Pasha confiscated and pulled down other structures

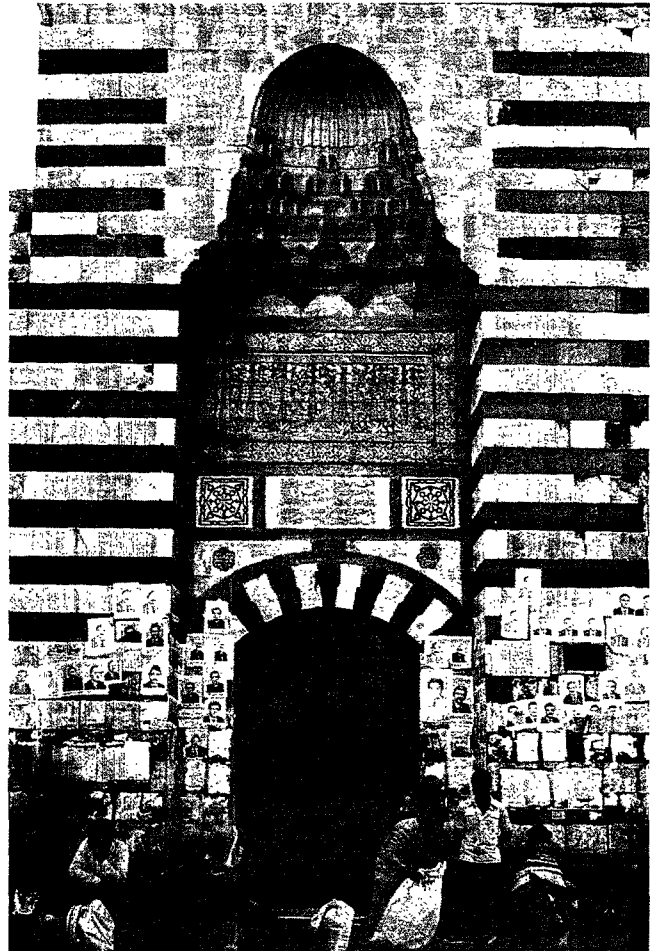


Fig. 16. Damascus. Mosque of Sinan Pasha. The portal.

in order to build this mosque in its very central location. Regularity of plan was thus sacrificed to a prominent, if awkward, site. As in the Takiyya, there is a pool in the middle of the courtyard instead of a *şadırvan*.

The prayer hall consists of a laterally placed rectangle covered by a single dome. Four large arches springing from the corners carry the dome on pendentives. The side galleries on two stories are separated from the main space by arcades. This scheme, first used in Damascus in the mosque of Derviş Pasha (fig. 17b), is another example of the impact Istanbul architecture had on that in the provinces, for it closely follows the ground plan and the support system of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Istanbul, built by the chief architect Sinan in the 1560's.⁷⁵ The similarity between the Mihrimah and the Damascene buildings, however, does not continue in the elevation or in the exterior configuration. The Mihrimah is one of Sinan's buildings where architectonic expression overrules the design concept, where all the structural elements of the baldachin are displayed with utmost clarity: massive corner turrets mark the four corners of the square, the arches that spring from them, visible from the exterior, frame window-pierced tympana. The contrast between the weight-bearing elements and the screening walls further underlines the structural clarity of the building. The Damascene buildings, on the other hand, remain closer to the Mamluk precedents: the rectangular mass of masonry running along the street hides the structural system rather than reflecting it.

In the courtyard, and even more in the prayer hall, the visual impact is created by an extensive and bold use of color (fig. 18). Ablaq masonry in the usual black-and-white combination of basalt and limestone covers the three walls as well as the ground of the courtyard; on the entrance façade of the mosque, pink stone alternates with the black and white. Panels of geometric marble inlay and polychrome tiles in the window arches decorate the façade.⁷⁶ Inside, geometric marble inlay covers the full length of the walls below the level of the transition zone, while ablaq masonry in three colors is used in the tympana of the arches carrying the dome. On the south wall, a band of inscription of blue-and-white underglaze tiles runs above the mihrab decorated with geometric marble inlay. Thus the building, Ottoman in terms of its structure, has a decorative skin that follows the conventions of the Syrian Mamluk tradition for the

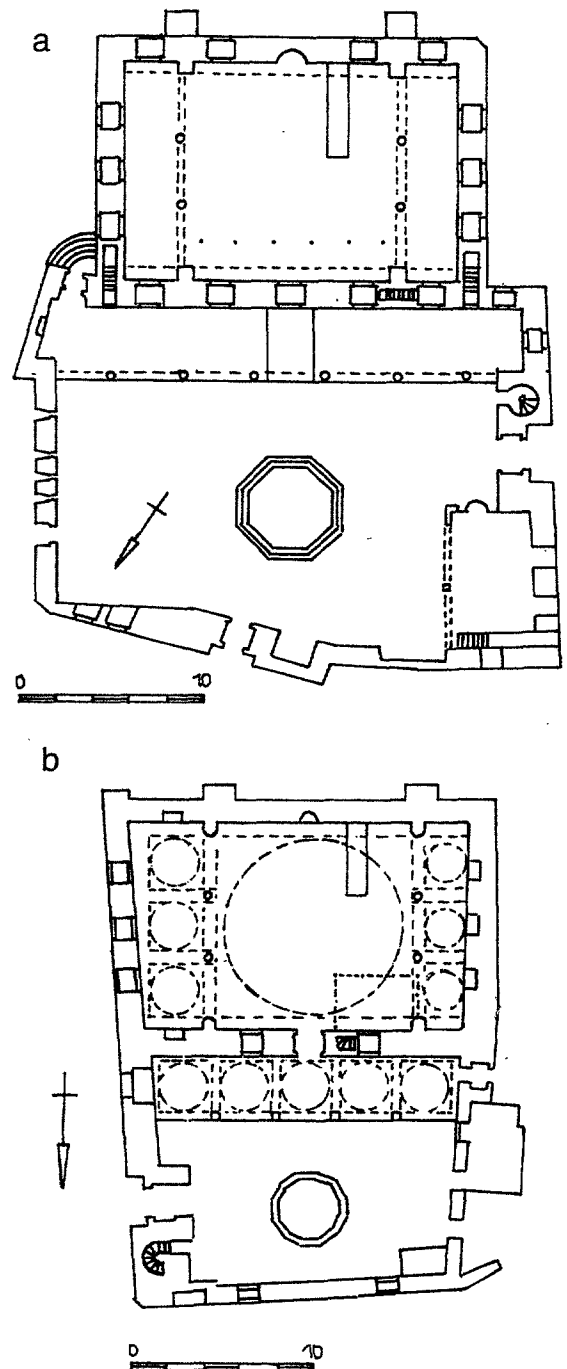


Fig. 17a-b, Damascus. (a) Damascus. Mosque of Sinan Pasha. Plan. (Redrawn by Naz Koyunlu from Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (684/1250 bis 923/1517)* [Glückstadt, 1992]). (b) Mosque of Derviş Pasha, plan. (Redrawn by Naz Koyunlu from Jean Sauvaget, *Les Monuments Historiques de Damas* [Beirut, 1932]).

most part. Underglaze tiles with an Ottoman decorative vocabulary are the only decorative elements belonging to the imperial style. They are used sparingly on significant parts of the building: the portal, the entrance, and the mihrab walls.

The sultanī mosque in Damascus and the vizierīal mosques in both Damascus and Aleppo share the basic elements that constituted the architectural iconography of the Ottoman mosque—the hemispherical lead-covered dome, the cylindrical minaret, and the domed portico. Contemporary and later accounts by Mehmed Aşık, Evliya, and Russell, and the city views in the 'Azm palace and by Drummond all suggest that these were the features by which these buildings were recognized. To Ottoman authors at least, they stood for a Rūmī presence in the Syrian cities. Beyond that, however, they use a variety of architectural idioms and communicate different meanings. The Takiyya was an imperial foundation; it was meant to communicate the grandeur and piety of the sultan and, in his person, of the empire. Built in the same years as the Süleymaniye in Istanbul, it bore the marks of growing religious orthodoxy and emphasis on imperial identity that shaped the grand building complex in the capital.⁷⁷ Its stylistic purity and the rigid geometry of its layout not only related the complex to its counterpart in the capital, but also lent it an iconic presence, further enhanced by its isolated location on the outskirts of the city. It is striking that the only local element used in the structure was one that referred it back to another sultanī building, the Mamluk Qasr al-Ablaq which had been pulled down to make room for it.

Contrasting the iconic presence of the sultanī building is the polysemy embodied in the constructions endowed by governors. Their juxtaposition of Syrian and Ottoman traditions, in part an outcome of the centralized organization of architectural activity by the Ottoman state, and in part a function of the greater involvement of the founders in city life, provided them with double meanings. Seen from afar, they were the unmistakable signs of the Ottoman presence, of the power and piety of the Ottoman state represented by its highest-ranking officials in the provinces. But inside the city, viewed down the streets and arcades of the urban centers where people conducted their daily affairs, that image began to blur. The gates through which they were entered, their prayer niches, and—in Damascus—their façades projecting over the Tariq al-Sultani emulated forms that

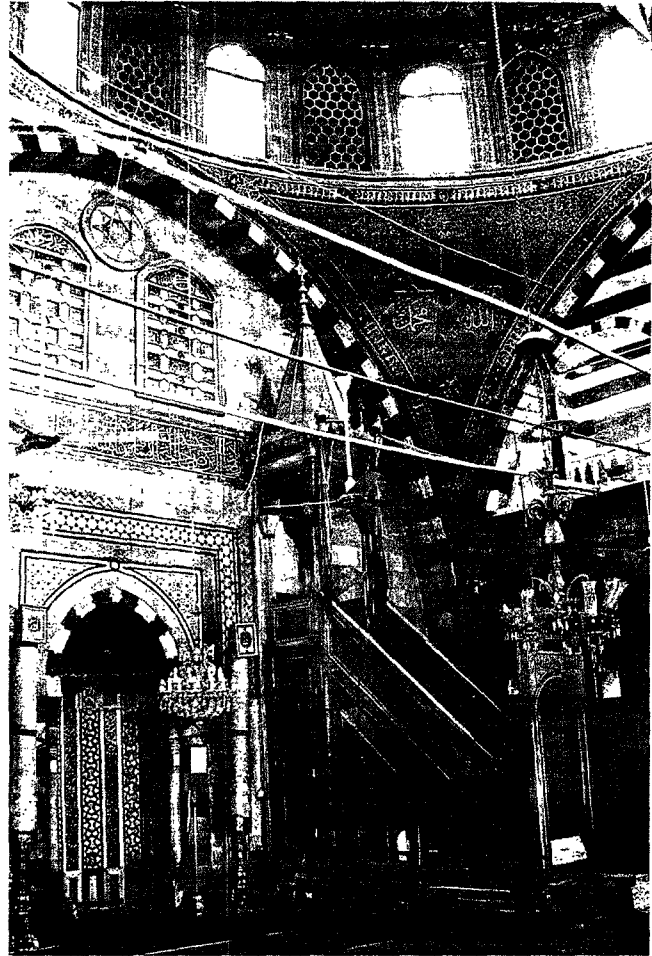


Fig. 18. Damascus. Mosque of Sinan Pasha. Interior.

had evolved in the cities in the medieval period and signaled the continuation of an earlier visual order. Possibly, they were the means through which people related to and accommodated these edifices built “in the image of Rum,” in the very center of their town. The foundations of governors, which were more thoroughly embedded in the social and spatial fabric of the cities than the sultanī foundations, could be interpreted as acts of mediation between the central authority and the local population. The juxtaposition of Ottoman and Syrian styles in the buildings they sponsored can be read as a formal embodiment of this mediation.

*Bogaziçi University
Istanbul, Turkey*

NOTES

Author's note: I would like to thank Oleg Grabar, Cemal Kafadar, and Gülru Necipoğlu for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. My thanks also go to the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and MIT for a grant which enabled me to travel to Syria for the initial research for this project.

1. Mehmed 'Aşık ibn 'Ömer Bâyezîd, *Menâzîrü'l-'Avâlim*, ms. Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi 616, fol. 228r. The term *Rûm*, literally "Rome", was used to denote the central lands of the Ottoman realm during this period.
2. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, ms. Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Beşir Ağa 452, fols. 75v-76r, 130v-105r.
3. Two recent studies have explored Ottoman architectural undertakings in the provinces in terms of their implanting of signs of Ottoman hegemony and power. See Irene Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete," and Ülkü Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-el-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New York, 1991), pp. 53-76 and 129-72. Doris Behrens-Abouseif's *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf, and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden, 1994), is a larger overview of Ottoman architectural undertakings in Cairo and their institutional framework.
4. On Ottoman rule in Syria, see Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1972), and Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus* (Beirut, 1966). On the development of the cities, see Antoine Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'Histoire urbaine de la Syrie ottomane (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Beirut, 1982); André Raymond, *Les grandes villes arabes dans l'époque ottomane* (Paris, 1985); and several urban studies, particularly Jean Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Ville de Damas," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 5 (1931): 59-114, idem, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1941); Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo* (Wiesbaden, 1984), and Dorothee Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisches-islamischen Stadt* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989).
5. In 1570 a third province, Trablus-Sham, was formed in the area, and Tripoli made its capital.
6. On the population of the cities, see Raymond, *Les grandes villes arabes*, pp. 447-60. According to Raymond's estimates, there was an increase of 40 percent in the population of Aleppo from 1537 to 1683.
7. Through the second half of the fifteenth century, commercial treaties between the Mamluk state and European seaport states had allowed the latter, particularly Venice, to exploit the trade of Syrian goods, as well as Iranian silk and luxury goods from India, initiating the transformation of the city into an international commercial center; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 266-67, 460-62.
8. On the development of Aleppo as a major commercial center, see Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East* (New York, 1988), pp. 13-30.
9. For a discussion of population estimates, see Raymond, *Grandes villes arabes*, pp. 447-60, Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, pp. 38-41.
10. Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, pp. 72-74.
11. Some examples are 'Abdulganî Efendi, *Tercüme-i Fezail-i Şam*, ms. Süleymaniye Library, Esad Ef. 2226, *Tercüme-i Futuh el-Şam*, ms. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 03328.
12. On the impact of the yearly pilgrimage on the economic life of Damascus, see Rafeq, *Province of Damascus*, pp. 73-74.
13. For a description of the Damascene procession that marked the departure of the pilgrimage caravan, see Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 10 vols. (Istanbul, 1314), 3:27-29. For a discussion of the significance of the ceremonies related to the departure of the caravan in Damascus and Cairo, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (London, 1994), pp. 32-42.
14. Husrev Pasha held the governorships of Diyarbekir, Aleppo, and Egypt and the post of second vizier in the imperial council; Peçevi İbrâhim Efendi, *Târîh-i Peçevî*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1283), 1:29, Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i 'Osmanî*, 8 vols. (Istanbul, 1311), 2:272. On his architectural patronage in Diyarbekir and Cairo, see Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," pp. 138-41. The mosque carries an inscription which dates its completion to 953 (1546). The project might have been conceived and the land for it acquired during the governor's term of office in Aleppo. The waqfiyya in the Archives of the Directorate of Pious Endowments in Turkey (hereafter VGMA), 583/149, dates to 969 (1561). The waqfiyya summaries published by Ghazzi, the early-twentieth-century historian of Aleppo, are dated 965 (1557-58) and 968 (1561); Kamil al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-dhahab fi tâ'rikh Halab*, 2 vols. (Aleppo, 1923-26), 2:116-17. Generally, the endowment deed was drawn up some time after the establishment of the waqf and the construction of the buildings.
15. André Raymond discussed these four projects in terms of the organization of space in the city center in his article, "Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain à Alep et au Caire à l'époque ottomane," *Bulletin des études orientales* 31 (1980): 113-28. See also Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, pp. 126-33.
16. Of Albanian origin, Mehmed Pasha held the governorship of Egypt following his service in Aleppo; Peçevi, *Târîh*, 1:32; Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i 'Osmanî*, 4:114. A summary of his waqfiyya is found in Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, 2:89-98.
17. The income from the foundation was endowed for two masjids situated in the courtyards of two khans Hanzade Mehmed Ibrahim Pasha built in Aleppo, a mosque and dependencies in Payas, a school and hospital in Mecca, and for the poor of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina; the waqfiyya of Hanzade Mehmed Ibrahim Pasha, Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, 2:416-23. The identification of Hanzade Mehmed Ibrahim Pasha is problematic; he is possibly Ibrahim Han, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's son and the founder of the Hanzade family, who held the governorships of Bosnia and Rumalia. That his endowment included buildings in Payas where Sokollu Mehmed had built a large complex supports this, but the date of the waqfiyya partly published by Ghazzi is rather early for the career of Ibrahim Han. See Tayyip

- Gökbilgin, "Ibrahim Han," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 5:894–96. The religious endowments of the Sokollu family will be discussed by Gülru Necipoğlu in the book she is now writing on Sinan.
18. The waqfiyya of Behram Pasha, VGMA 588/139, Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, 2: 41–44.
 19. Masters notes that the growth of the city's commercial infrastructure was initially of benefit to the mercantile sector. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, when the city's fortunes had begun to decline, there was more commercial space in the city than there was need for. Masters draws attention to the conflict between the overseers of the Gümrük Khan and the Vezir Han foundations over privileges of hosting foreign merchants in the city as an indication of this; Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, pp. 124–25.
 20. Sauvaget, *Alep*, p. 214. Raymond, depending on Ghazzi, argues that the areas where the complexes were built were vacant until that time; Raymond, "Les grands waqfs," pp. 116–17. This holds true for the constructions of Dukaginza Mehmed Pasha, which were built on the Mamluk hippodrome. It does not seem very likely that this amount of land would be vacant in the center of the city; as was the case in Damascus, some property might have been confiscated to clear land for the new buildings.
 21. For a survey of the major undertakings of the period and a catalogue, see Sack, *Damaskus*, pp. 31–34, 107–14. See also Taisir Khalil Muhammad el-Zawahreh, *Religious Endowments and Social Life in the Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Karak, 1992).
 22. A parallel to this can be found in Mehmed II's construction of a mosque, mausoleum, convent, and public kitchen on the presumed site of the tomb of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Ayyub, the Prophet's standard bearer, was known to have been present at the first siege of Constantinople by the Muslims (ca. 666) and was chosen the patron saint of the city by the sultan. Like the Ibn 'Arabi complex, this first Ottoman religious construction in Constantinople was built outside the walls; it too assumed a symbolic function when it became the place where the Ottoman sultans were girded at their enthronement; on the Ayyub complex and the district of Ayyub in the Ottoman period, see Tülay Artan, ed., *Eyüp, Dün, Bugün* (Istanbul, 1994).
 23. Ibn Tulun, *Histoire des Pachas et des Cadis de Damas*, trans. Henri Laoust (Damascus, 1952), pp. 149–54, 163, 173. (Laoust's translation also includes the work of the eighteenth-century chronicler Ibn Jum'a.)
 24. On the Mamluk Qasr al-Ablaq, see Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (684/1250 bis 923/1517)* (Glückstadt, 1992), pp. 29–31; and Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 199–200.
 25. Ahmed Şemsi Pasha (gov. 1552–55) built a mosque, a madrasa, a convent, and a khan. On his constructions, see Hasan ibn Muḥammad Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-a'yān min abnā' al-zamān* (Damascus, 1959), pp. 188–89; Ibn Jum'a, *Histoire des Pachas et des Cadis de Damas*, trans. Henri Laoust (Damascus, 1952), p. 185; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 33.
 26. Mustafa Pasha's buildings in Damascus were part of a larger endowment which included a complex comprising a mosque, a caravanserai, and a school for children in the town of Qunaytira; the waqfiyya of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha, VGMA 747/274. On Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha, who also served as governor of the provinces of Van, Erzurum, and Aleppo, and led the campaigns to Yemen and Cyprus, see Peçevi, *Tārīḥ*, 1:442, 2:20, Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Muṣṭafā Pasha," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 8:732–36, and Şerafettin Turan, "Lala Muṣṭafā Paşa Hakkında Notlar ve Vesikalar," *Belleter* 22 (1958): 551–93. Muṣṭafā Pasha's buildings in Damascus were demolished in the nineteenth century; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 33.
 27. Murad Pasha, called Kara (Black) by Peçevi, Şeytan (Devil) by Mehmed Süreyya, and "the great benefactor" by the Damascene chronicler Ibn Jum'a, also served as governor of Lahsa, Basra, and Şehr-i Zor. He died in Damascus and was buried in the mausoleum he had built there; Peçevi, *Tārīḥ*, 1:38, Süreyyā, *Sicill-i Osmānī*, 4:355, Ibn Jum'a, *Histoire de Pachas*, p. 187. That the mosque is referred to as al-Nakshibandi in several sources suggests that it also functioned as a convent for that order.
 28. On Sinan Pasha, see Peçevi, *Tārīḥ*, 2:16–17; Muṣṭafā 'Alī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*, Süleymaniye Library, ms. Fatih 4225, fols. 500r–v, and 420v–501r, passim; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i Osmānī*, 3:109–10; Şerafettin Turan, "Sinan Pasha," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 10:670–75. On his waqf in Damascus, see Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas à la fin de XVIe siècle d'après Trois Actes de Waqf ottomans* (Damascus, 1983). Apart from his constructions in Damascus, Sinan Pasha built religious and charitable structures in Istanbul and several provincial centers, among them Salonika, Mecca, and Cairo; the waqfiyyas of Sinan Pasha, Topkapi Palace Archives (hereafter TKSA), SP 191, 192, 194. On his mosque in Cairo, see Ülkü Bates, "A Study of Ottoman-Period Architecture in Cairo (1517–1789)," *Ars Turcica: Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Türkische Kunst. München vom 3. bis 7. September 1979* (Munich, 1987), pp. 136–43; Tarek Swelim, "An Interpretation of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 98–107, and Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, pp. 250–53. On the mosque and imaret complex he founded in Uzuncaova in present-day Bulgaria, which was supported by two baths, a khan and shops, two bakeries in the same locale, and other commercial property in Filibe, Tatarpazarı, and Hasköy, see Klaus Schwarz and Hars Kurio, *Die Stiftungen des osmanischen Grosswesirs Koga Sinan Pascha (gest. 1596) in Uzungaova/Bulgarien* (Berlin, 1985).
 29. The waqfiyya of Sinan Pasha; TKSA, SP191.
 30. A description of the building is found in Jean de Thevenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London, 1678), 2:15.
 31. Of the latter, the first is described as a small inn, and the second as a *rāb'* in the Cairene manner. Also constructed for the endowment were five mosques, three public kitchens, three khans, three baths, and a Koranic school in villages in the province of Damascus. This was the second largest waqf in the city in terms of the number of people employed; Sinan Pasha, waqfiyyas, TKSA SP 191, VGMA 583/188. See also Pascual, *Damas*, pp. 445–58, 103.
 32. Murad Pasha, known for his role in the suppression of the Celali rebellions, served as governor of Karaman, Cyprus,

- and Damascus, prior to his appointment to the imperial council as fourth vizier. See Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmānī*, 4:357, Cengiz Orhonlu, "Murad Pasha," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 8:651–54. On his governorship of Damascus, see Najm al-Dīn Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ghazzi, *Lutf al-samar wa qatf al-thamar min tarājim al-tabakati al-ʿulā min al-karn al-hādī ʿashar* (Damascus, 1982), 2:651–56.
33. Unlike the other founders, who stipulated that the revenues from the waqfs be used to support the religious and charitable buildings they sponsored, Murad Pasha directed the income from his commercial structures to the poor of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina; summaries of two endowment deeds of the Murad Pasha waqf are published by Pascual, *Damas*, pp. 65–84.
 34. The dome remained standing until the mid-nineteenth century, when it was probably pulled down during the construction of the Suq al-Hamidiyya; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus* (Vienna, 1855), p. 8.
 35. The description in the waqfiyya corresponds closely to the Ottoman conception of a *bedestān*: covered by nine domes supported by piers, it had four gates, and sixty-one shops aligned along the interior and the exterior walls. The building underwent major alterations in later centuries; the fact that the term *bedestān* was never used in Damascene sources—the building was referred to as a *khan* or *wakala*—makes its identification problematic. Sauvaget and after him Sack identified it as the *Khan al-Gumruk*, but Pascual takes the *Khan al-Gumruk* to be a separate building situated to the southeast of the *bedestān*; Sauvaget, *Les Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), p. 86; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 109; Pascual, *Damas*, pp. 79, 113–15.
 36. This road connected the suburbs of the city that had developed during the Mamluk period—the Suq Saruja to the north and the Midan, the hippodrome of the Mamluk city, to the south. The latter had a role in facilitating the pilgrimage caravan, as pilgrims could acquire provisions and camels there; Sauvaget, "Esquisse," pp. 456–58; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Social and Economic Structure of Bab al-Musalla (al-Midan), Damascus," *Arab Civilization, Challenges and Responses* (Albany, N.Y., 1988), p. 276.
 37. The endowments also included constructions outside Damascus, such as caravanserais, public kitchens, and bridges. As rent on commercial property inside the city constituted a smaller portion of the income of the waqfs compared to Aleppo, the endowed property was largely in rural areas. The waqfs of Lala Mustafa Pasha, Sinan Pasha, and Derviş Pasha (VGMA 747/274, TKSA SP 191, 192, VGMA 598/22) are examples.
 38. Local reaction to such measures was not lacking: the qadi, who had approved of the first act, returned the property to its original waqf and the merchants to their former building after the death of Murad Pasha. The merchants of the *bedestān*, however, remained there. Ghazzi, the Damascene biographer of Murad Pasha, provides details for the acts of the governor concerning his constructions; al-Ghazzi, *Lutf al-samar wa qatf al-thamar*, 2:653–56. The Ottomans were not alone in having recourse to these types of measures. There are also several instances in the Mamluk period of amirs forcing merchants to leave their old locations and move into new commercial structures to guarantee an income from their investments. Even commercial property belonging to the Umayyad Mosque could be subject to such acts. See Ira Lapidus, *Middle Eastern Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 60–61.
 39. Pascual, *Damas*, p. 119.
 40. On terms of office for governors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650* (New York, 1983), pp. 79–84.
 41. Barkan was the first scholar to draw attention to and study the use of pious endowments by Ottoman rulers as a method for settlement and colonization; see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 278–386, and his introduction to *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* (Istanbul, 1970): xvi–xix. See also Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, 1300–1600 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 79–83, 123–26. For broader studies of the Ottoman waqf, see Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *Institution du waqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie. Etude socio-historique* (Ankara, 1990), and Vera Moutafchieva, *Le Vakıf—un Aspect de la Structure socio-économique de l'Empire ottomane* (Sofia, 1981). On the political dimensions and uses of the waqf system, see Oded Peri, "The Waqf as an Instrument to Increase and Consolidate Political Power: The Case of the Khasseki Sultan Waqf in Late-Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Jerusalem," *Asian and African Studies* 17 (1983): 47–62, and Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, especially pp. 145–77.
 42. Lapidus notes that of the one hundred and seventy-one foundations established in Damascus during the Mamluk period, ten were financed by the sultan and eighty-two by amirs. The importance of the ninety-two foundations was great, as these were larger and more prominent institutions than the small and less ambitious foundations of merchants and the ulama. He gives comparable numbers for Aleppo; Lapidus, *Middle Eastern Cities*, pp. 73–78, 195–210.
 43. On the first Ottoman survey of earlier waqf records following the conquest of Syria, see Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 143–44. See also Karl Barbir, "From Pasha to Efendi: The Assimilation of Ottomans into Damascene Society, 1516–1783," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1979–80): 68–83.
 44. Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, pp. 145–77.
 45. The waqfiyyas of Sinan Pasha, TKSA SP 191, 192, 194; see also Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 220.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–18.
 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 138–39, el-Zawahreh, *Religious Endowments and Social Life*, pp. 239, 242.
 48. The waqfiyya of Lala Mustafa Pasha, VGMA 747/274; the waqfiyya of Sinan Pasha, TKSA SP 191, fol. 84r.
 49. The waqfiyya of Derviş Pasha, VGMA 598/77. One of the posts was assigned to Shaykh Ismail al-Nabulsi and to his descendants for as long as they remained Shafīʿites; Ghazzi, *Lutf al-samar*, 2:192.
 50. The waqfiyya of Süleyman I, VGMA 588/155, and Ghazzi, *Lutf al-samar*, 2:148, 354. On the position of the Hanafite

- and the Shafi'ite ulama, see the forthcoming work of Abdul-Karim Rafek on the Sunni legal schools and land rental in Ottoman Syria. Rafek notes that although a number of Shafi'i ulama shifted to the Hanafite school to curry favor with the Ottoman state, the majority were Shafi'ites throughout the sixteenth century. The number of Hanafites increased in this period, but in the later centuries Shafi'ite and Hanbalite ulama were more influential.
51. The waqfiyya of Hüsrev Pasha, in Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, pp. 93–97. Ghazzi notes that he acquired the waqfiyyas from a descendant of the founder in Damascus, Mehmed Beg ibn Abdullah Beg, another indication that the family remained in Syria.
 52. Ibn Jum'ā, *Histoire des Pachas*, p. 191. Possibly, these were early instances of the integration of the Ottoman ruling elite into provincial society, a process that has been better studied for the seventeenth century. Foundation patronage was one of the channels through which the Ottoman elite and their descendants were assimilated into local society. For a discussion of this process, see Barbir, "From Pasha to Efendi."
 53. See the biographies of Kuyucu Murad Pasha and Sinan Pasha in al-Ghazzi, *Lutf al-samar*, 2:651–56, 714–16, the biography of Ahmed Şemsi Pasha in Burini, *Tarajim al-a'yan* (Damascus, 1959), 1:188–89. See also Ibn Jum'ā, *Histoire des Pachas*, pp. 187–88, 191–92.
 54. Cited in Pascual, *Damas*, pp. 32–33, and Taisir Khalil Muhammad el-Zawahreh, *Religious Endowments and Social Life*, p. 162. The property endowed by Sinan Pasha was confiscated when he was dismissed from the grand vizierate for the second time, and later restored, possibly after his reappointment to the same post. For the petitions concerning the restoration of the waqf, see Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552–1615* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 187–89.
 55. On the property Lala Mustafa Pasha confiscated in Damascus to incorporate into his waqf, and on the complaints of former owners to the court, see Turan, "Lala Mustafa Paşa," pp. 569–71.
 56. A. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo* (London, 1794), pp. 15–16.
 57. *Ibid.*, p. 16, n. 23.
 58. Mehmed 'Aşık, *Menâzîrü'l-'Avâlim*, fols. 228r–229r.
 59. *Ibid.*, fol. 229v.
 60. On the Azm Palace in Hama, see John Carswell, "From the Tulip to the Rose," pp. 328–29 in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, ed. Roger Owen and John Naff (Carbondale, Ill., 1977). The painting has been reproduced in Gerard Degeorge, *Syrie, art, histoire, architecture* (Paris, 1983).
 61. See, for example, the view in Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris, 1680).
 62. Nasuhü's-Silahi, *Beyân-i Menâzil-i Sefer-i 'Irakeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân*, Istanbul University Library, ms. 5964, fols. 105b–106a.
 63. For a discussion of the representational conventions of the *Beyân-i Menâzil*, see J. Michael Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, bk. 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, pp. 228–55.
 64. The mosques of Altunbugha (1318) and Utrush (1400) in Aleppo, and those of Yaibugha (1346) and Sibay min Bahtga (1514) in Damascus are examples. See Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:121–22, 308, 462–63.
 65. On the office of court architects, see Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (1964): 157–202. On Ottoman architectural practice and its implications for provincial projects, see Aptullah Kuran, "Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and the Provinces." *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 13–14, and Gülru Necipoğlu Kafadar, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986): 224–43. On the organization of court architects in the provinces, see Cengiz Orhonlu, "Şehir Mimarları," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım*, ed. Salih Özbaran (Izmir, 1984).
 66. See Machiel Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Aldershot, Eng., 1990), and his *Art and Society in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: A Sketch of the Economic, Juridical, and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian Post-Byzantine Art and Its Place in the Development of the Art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70–1700* (Assen, Netherlands, 1985).
 67. Kuran suggests that the construction started in the 1540's, when Hüsrev Pasha was second vizier in the imperial council; Aptullah Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1986), pp. 45–46. Ülkü Bates notes that Sinan, who is known to have stopped in Aleppo while on the pilgrimage, might have supervised the construction; Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," p. 141.
 68. Both Kuran and Goodwin take this second domed hall to be the classroom of another madrasa, but in the foundation deed only one madrasa is mentioned, and a kitchen (*matbah*) to the east of the mosque; the waqfiyya of Hüsrev Pasha, VGMA 583/149. The buildings on the east side of the complex, possibly the stables and another six rooms also mentioned in the waqfiyya, were pulled down at the beginning of this century to clear land for a primary school.
 69. There is no reference to this space in the waqfiyya copies available to me. For a discussion of the Cairene examples, see Michael Rogers, "al-Kahira," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5: 436, and Swelim, "Mosque of Sinan Pasha," p. 104.
 70. For a survey and evaluation of the Mamluk architecture of Syria, see Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*.
 71. For a discussion of the complex and an evaluation of its layout, see Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 69–72.
 72. The madrasa, added to the east of the core of the complex, is known as the Selimiye and has generally been attributed to Selim II, but contemporary Damascene sources make clear that it was built by Süleyman and completed in 1566, the year of his death. For a discussion of the sources, see Abd al-Qadir al-Rihawi and Emilie E. Ouechek, "Les deux Takiyya de Damas: La Takiyya et la Madrasa Sulaymaniyya du Marg et la Takiyya as-Salimiyya de Salihiyya," *Bulletin des Études Orientales* 28 (1975): 217–21.
 73. According to Hanafite custom, although using running water was the preferred way of making ablutions, water from a pool which was 10 cubits on a side could also be used. I thank Gülru Necipoğlu for drawing my attention to this point.

74. As suggested by Michael Meinecke, in "Die osmanische Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Damascus," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest, 1977), pp. 575-95.
75. On the architecture of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, see Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 123-27.
76. Michael Meinecke suggested that manufacturers of polychrome tiles who worked in the Süleymaniye also worked in subsequent Ottoman constructions in the city. In all probability this accounts for the extensive use of Ottoman-style polychrome tiles in late-sixteenth-century Ottoman buildings; Meinecke, "Die osmanische Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Damascus," pp. 582-84.
77. On the Süleymaniye, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 92-118. On the change in cultural orientation in the Ottoman court and the growing emphasis on religious identity in the later years of Süleyman's rule; see eadem, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 61 (1989): 401-27.