

HEGHNAR ZEITLIAN WATENPAUGH

THE IMAGE OF AN
OTTOMAN CITY

*Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience
in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*



THE IMAGE OF AN OTTOMAN CITY

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE

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BY

HEGHNAR ZEITLIAN WATENPAUGH



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*For my mother, Sona Simonian Zeitlian, and my sister, Garine Zeitlian
My first teachers*

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1537–8.
Istanbul, University Library, Ms. 5964, fols. 106v–105r.

ABBREVIATIONS AND FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

AS Aleppo	Damascus, Markaz al-Wathāʿiq al-Waṭāniyya (National Archives): Awāmir Ṣulṭāniyya (Imperial Decrees) for Aleppo
BBA	Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi (Prime Ministry Archives)
BEO	<i>Bulletin d'Études Orientales</i>
ET ²	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd ed., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956–present
Gaube and Wirth	Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, <i>Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole</i> , <i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i> , Beihefte, Reihe B, No. 58 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1984)
Ghazzī 2, I to III	Kāmil al-Ghazzī, <i>Kitāb Nahr al-Dhahab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab</i> , 2nd ed., 3 vols, edited and introduced by Shawqī Shaʿth and Maḥmūd Fākhūrī (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-ʿArabī, 1991–1993) [Orig. ed. Aleppo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Mārūniyya, 1923–26.]
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:1, 1:2, 2:1 and 2:2	Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, <i>Durr al-ḥabab fī tārīkh aʿyān Ḥalab</i> , Ed. M. Fākhūrī and Y. ʿAbbāra, 2 parts in 4 vols. (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thiqāfa, 1972–1974)
İUK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University Library)
MAE-Nantes	Nantes, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
MCIA 1:1, 1:2, and 2	Ernst Herzfeld, <i>Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Deuxième partie: Syrie du Nord, Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep</i> , 2 parts in 3 vols. (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1954–1956)

REMMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée</i>
Shaykh Wafā', <i>Awliyā' Ḥalab</i>	Ferdinand Taoutel, s.j. (Fardīnān Tawtil), <i>Wathā'iq tārikhiyya 'an Ḥalab</i> , vol. 2: <i>Awliyā' Ḥalab fī manzūmat al-Shaykh Wafā' ma' tarjamat ḥayāt al-Shaykh Muḥammad Abī al-Wafā' al-Rifā'ī</i> (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1941)
Tabbākh 2, I to VII	Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, <i>I'lām al-nubalā' bi-tārikh Ḥalab al-shahbā'</i> , 2nd ed., 7 vols. and index volume, edited by Muḥammad Kamāl (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-ʿArabī, 1988–1992). [Orig. ed. Aleppo, 1923–1926.]
ʿUrḍī	Abū al-Wafā' b. ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī, <i>Maʿādin al-dhahab fī'l-aʿyān al-masharrafā bi-him Ḥalab</i> , Edited by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghazālī (Kuwait: Dār al-ʿUrūba li'l-nashr wa'l-tawzīʿ, 1987)
VGM	Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Waqfs)

NOTE ON DATES AND TRANSLITERATION

Arabic is transliterated according to the system used in *IJMES*. For Ottoman Turkish, a combination of the *IJMES* system and that system used by *Turcica* is employed, in an effort to represent Ottoman orthography. Terms and names common in Modern Turkish, and most names of places in the Republic of Turkey, are given in Modern Turkish orthography (for example, Koza Hanı, and, Diyarbakır rather than Âmîd).

When Ottoman names and words are used in Arabic-language texts, I have transliterated them according to their textual context. However, for the sake of clarity and consistency, the names of all Ottoman patrons have been transliterated in Ottoman, but the names of structures which are today in the Syrian Arab Republic are given in Arabic (for example, I have transliterated the name of a patron as Hüsrev Pasha throughout, while the mosque named after him in Aleppo is transliterated Khusruwiyya rather than Hüsreviye).

Legal terms and terms relating to Muslim religious practice are rendered in Arabic (thus, *waqfiyya* is used throughout, rather than *vakfiye*).

Words that have entered the English language are spelled according to the dictionary and not transliterated (for example, Pasha rather than *Paşa* or *bāshā*).

Place names in Arabic have been rendered according to their classical vocalization rather than contemporary pronunciation (e.g. Hımş rather than Hıms) except for “Mđineh,” used to refer to a section of Aleppo specifically. If the contemporary toponym is different than the name used in the Ottoman period, the older name has been used whenever possible, the goal being to ensure easy recognition of the toponym (thus, Aintab rather than Gaziantep, but Diyarbakır rather than Âmîd).

Common era dates are used as a rule. On occasion, both common era and *hijrī* dates are used; the *hijrī* date comes first, separated from the common era date by a slash.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Situating Aleppo

The door leading into the prayer hall of the ‘Ādiliyya mosque in Aleppo bears the city’s only Ottoman-period inscription in the voice, as it were, of the craftsmen who built it (Pl. 1).¹ Engraved on the strap hinges nailed to the two panels of the door, each half of the inscription names a craftsman and asks God’s forgiveness for him. One of them, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, an inlayer, is qualified as “al-Shāmī” (“from the Bilād al-Shām”), the other, al-Ḥājj Khalīl b. al-Ḥājj Yūsuf, is “al-Ḥalabī” (“the Aleppine”). However, the inscription easily escapes notice. The composition of the mosque’s entrance more prominently displays the official foundation inscription above the lintel, which names the patron, Dûḳakînzâde Meḥmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of the vilâyet, or province, of Aleppo. A chronogram locates the Pasha’s act in time, in 963/1555–1556. The Pasha’s titles convey a sense of the social order, and of his position within it. By contrast, the craftsmen’s signature is undated. As if an afterthought, it discreetly occupies a lower position on the entrance bay, reflecting its lesser standing in Ottoman society. Yet even when hierarchically arranged, the composition of the ‘Ādiliyya’s entrance bay forms a unit; the traces of the patron and the craftsmen, the Istanbul-based official and the local journeymen, are locked together in one architectural ensemble.

This pair of inscriptions, and the two voices it makes visible, illustrate the series of encounters between the Ottoman imperial elite based in Istanbul and the societies of territories they conquered. The active, dynamic engagement between the center and the periphery as expressed through architecture and urbanism is at the heart of this study of Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The modes of

¹ Heinz Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1978), 27, in Arabic.

interpretation of the visual past of Middle Eastern cities, in particular those formerly part of the Ottoman empire, have occasioned debate. Ottoman provincial art and architecture from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century are often described by such vague terms as “traditional,” or “derivative.” They are said to be “traditional” to the extent that the architecture erected in the Ottoman period is seen as perpetuating older styles derived from “local traditions,” themselves vaguely defined; and “derivative” in the sense that they do not evince a new or original visual language, but rather follow either local older forms or mimic designs developed at the center of the empire. Despite the recent surge in scholarship in many disciplines, particularly history, on provincial Ottoman society and culture, these notions endure. Yet careful consideration of the material remains and their contexts suggest that these two labels and their cognates inadequately account for the complexity and variety of artistic processes.

Tradition as a concept implies a relation between the past and the present. At any given moment in time, people in the present imagine the past as a tradition.² As such, tradition is a dynamic concept, the accumulation of decisions that are constantly amended. Conceptually, tradition implies immutability, yet it is relentlessly under revision. In Ottoman society, the ruling group negotiated an ever-changing relationship with the past—the past of the Ottoman polity, as well as the “acquired” past of conquered territories. Then as now, material remains from the past—buildings or objects—were crucial sites for the articulation of such relationships. The treatment of such remains made visible the imagined relationship between the past and the present.

² Speaking of traditional forms in an Islamic context, Irene Bierman wrote: “Traditional forms provide images of the past: they enable a group to envision its origins, and they display its descent. The preservation of some forms and the alteration or obliteration of others are part of the ongoing fabrication, transformation, and maintenance of national, regional, and ethnic identities.” Irene A. Bierman, “Architecture: Traditional Forms,” In John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 118. For broader discussions of the concept of tradition, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” 1–14. For the concept of a traditional past as it relates to nationalist ideology, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London and New York, 1991). For an overview of concepts of tradition in contemporary architectural culture, see Nezar Al Sayyad, “Introduction,” in Al Sayyad, ed. *The End of Tradition?* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Cities, especially ancient cities where history has accumulated in layers, such as Ottoman Aleppo, are central to the investigation of society's evolving relationship with the past. In the case of newly created buildings and objects, the use of forms derived from the past, and the dissemination of standardized designs, were key elements in shaping the image of Ottoman rule.³ The cultural productions at the center of the empire, Istanbul, directed by court workshops, have been used as the main source for the study of Ottoman culture. However the extensive urban transformations and architectural campaigns in provincial cities, not to mention provincial workshops for the production of luxury goods, also provide valuable evidence about the evolving Ottoman view of the past and the present. To arrive at an understanding of provincial architecture, one must attend to the complexities of local settings as well as the close links with the imperial center.

The "voice" of the Pasha, the representative of central Ottoman rule, has long dominated the political, social, and cultural history of the Middle East. The "voice" of the craftsman has been heard less often, which makes the 'Ādiliyya inscription all the more exceptional. Yet the historian who views these signs can choose to understand them in different ways. Today's reader may identify the voice of the Pasha as one of an imperial, and imperialist régime, and may identify the voice of the craftsman as that of the indigenous worker, perhaps even a national subject—a notion that belongs to the twentieth century. In 1555, however, other identifications would have prevailed over this binary scheme. The Pasha was an Ottoman, yet he sought to install his family in Aleppo and to provide them with a permanent income through the endowment of the 'Ādiliyya mosque. As for the two craftsmen (assuming that their *nishas* reflect their origins), each hailed from a different vilâyet of the empire. They were probably recruited to work on this building project, in keeping with the Ottoman practice of sending skilled craftsmen gathered throughout the empire to major architectural campaigns. In 1555, Muḥammad and Khalîl were not Arabs, or Syrians, they were *re'āya*; Mehmed Pasha was not a Turk, or a Bosnian, rather he was an *'askerî*; all three men were Muslims, and servants of the Sultan. Yet the historiography of

³ Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps* (Paris: La documentation française, 1992): 195–216.

the former provinces of the Ottoman empire has largely privileged an interpretation linked to twentieth-century concepts of national identity.

Consequently, this interpretation places the scholar at the heart of the most poignant debates in the recent history of the Middle East. Any investigation of the past must necessarily begin in the present. In the present, Aleppo is the second city of the Syrian Arab Republic, and Istanbul, the cultural capital of the Republic of Turkey. Both nation-states were carved out of the Ottoman empire in the early twentieth century; both countries have struggled with the legacy of modern colonialist regimes—the late-Ottoman state as well as the French, German and British states. However, on the map of scholarship, these two cities fall into different sub-fields of inquiry. As dominant scholarship has conformed to the boundaries created by contemporary national borders, it has defined specific fields of inquiry that approximate national histories, tracing the history of an ethnic group from the distant past to the present, requiring specific linguistic skills, and circumscribed evidentiary fields. The implications of this scholarly partition have included the privileging of certain languages for research over others, and the use of certain archives, or pieces of material culture, over others. In most contemporary scholarship for any historical period, this entity, this city, Aleppo, has normally been given its modern, national identification, with an almost exclusive reliance on Arabic-language material. An inscription in Ottoman, for example, is not considered the responsibility of the specialist of Syria, as it falls into another field—Ottoman and Turkish studies—where it is relegated to the sub-field of provincial studies.⁴ As Ottoman historians privilege the study of the imperial center, or of the provinces now within the bounds of the Republic of Turkey, the Ottoman inscription in Aleppo falls through the cracks between academic fields.

In addition to the disciplinary divisions, the customary grand narrative of Ottoman history has cast the seventeenth century as a period of political decline and cultural decay. Compared to the celebrated era of rapid growth in the sixteenth century (often called the Classical

⁴ Few of the Ottoman-language inscriptions of the region are published. The corpora of epigraphy for the region gloss over the Ottoman period, including only occasional Arabic-language inscriptions from the sixteenth century onward. Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Deuxième partie: Syrie du Nord, Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 2 vols in 3 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1954–1956), and Gaube, *Inchriften*.

Age), the seventeenth century is less well known in the history of the Ottoman empire.⁵

How did the history of the former Ottoman provinces come to include such blank spaces? Regarding the manner in which the Ottoman past has been studied—or studiously ignored—in the context of nation-states formerly part of the empire, Rifa’at Abou-El-Haj argued that the crux of Arab scholarship on the Ottoman era revolves around the ascendancy of the nation-state, described as inevitable. In particular, Arab-nationalist scholarship “provided an ideological justification for the territorial divisions which the colonial (i.e. post-Ottoman) powers carried out and for forging a new identity for the local elites.”⁶ The relationship of modern Turkish-language scholarship to the Ottoman past in general, and to the Arabic-speaking provinces of the empire in particular, is similarly fraught. In addition, the role of the post-Ottoman colonial regimes, such as the French in the case of Syria, in assessing and judging the Ottoman past is yet to be fully confronted by each entity concerned.

These trends in scholarship have shaped the historiography of Ottoman cities in what is today Syria. In addition to limitations on research languages and evidence, these trends involve a broader framework about the cultural evolution of the region. Studies of Ottoman architecture in the provinces have tended to claim certain buildings as Turkish; conversely, local historians have been all too willing to give up these buildings as foreign and inauthentic, or to reclaim aspects of them as representing enduring national traits.⁷ Broadly, two views dominate scholarship: On the one hand, the “Arabic-speaking provinces” of the Ottoman empire are depicted as a culturally recalcitrant region which rejected new influences and retreated into a medieval past; on the other, an enduring *national* tradition, discernible but stifled under *foreign* Ottoman rule, ultimately rejected the imperialist oppressor.

This study addresses some of these lacunae by framing Aleppo as an Ottoman city, and combining evidence from both local and imperial sources for the study of its urbanism. In addition, by extending

⁵ Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1997–8): 30–75.

⁶ Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, “The Social Uses of the Past: Recent Arab Historiography of Ottoman Rule,” *IJMES* 14 (1982), 187.

⁷ See for example, Abdüsselâm Uluçam, *Irak’taki Türk Mimari Eserleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989).

the period under study to the seventeenth century along with the celebrated sixteenth, it seeks to undo the dominant periodization. Consideration of the substantial architectural and urban activities suggests that the seventeenth century was a period of reorientation and consolidation rather than decline. This study adopts a dynamic metaphor of encounter and exchange to conceptualize the relationship between the center and the periphery. In this exchange, visual culture emerged an essential tool with patronage as a pivotal mediating factor. These warrant consideration.

Imperial Architecture in the Center and the Periphery

Institutional complexes like the ʿĀdiliyya constitute the most visible signs of the Ottomanization of provincial cities. Ottoman patrons built them most systematically in Aleppo around the mid-sixteenth century, during the reign of Sultan Süleymân, known as the Magnificent in western historiography and as the Lawgiver (Kânûnî) to Ottomans, a crucial time in the history of the empire, viewed as a golden age, a classical period. As the administrative and legal structure of the Ottoman state received their most systematic formulation, a canon emerged for the official arts and architecture of the state as well.⁸ Sinân, the *mîmâr başı* or chief imperial architect under Süleymân I and Selîm II, elaborated what has been described as the classic canon of Ottoman architecture.⁹ At the imperial center, commissions such as the Süleymâniye Complex in Istanbul (1550's), and the Selîmiye Complex in Edirne (1568–1575), stand as examples of this new vision. In both instances, the use of topography—each complex is situated on a hill overlooking the city—ensured maximum visibility for the mosque. The exteriors of these structures appear as imposing pyramidal masses of cascading domes, punctuated by slender minarets. The mosques consist of central domed spaces flanked by subsidiary areas covered with smaller domes. They feature elements of what came to be the signature Ottoman style: the profile of the lead-covered hemispherical dome, and the soaring pencil-shaped minarets. In their evocation of the Byzantine building tradition, such Ottoman

⁸ Necipoğlu, “Kânûn for the State.”

⁹ A comprehensive study of Ottoman architectural culture in the age of Sinân is under preparation by Gülru Necipoğlu.

structures stood distinct from those conventions of imperial Islamic architecture derived from Timurid prototypes that constituted the reference for the visual language of the other great Muslim empires of the period, the Safavids in Iran and the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent. The biographies of Sinân describe the development of this architecture as the pursuit of the well-proportioned dome, with the dome of the Hagia Sophia as the exemplar.¹⁰ Scholarly accounts of Ottoman architecture echo the sixteenth-century texts by focusing on one architect's evolution and by privileging formal evolution as the main narrative motif.¹¹

Yet Sinân's task encompassed much more than the creation of masterpieces in the imperial capital and in select provincial centers. Rather, it extended to the creation of an imperial architecture tailored to the needs of the House of Osman. The office of the imperial architect, the *ser mi'mârân-i hâşşa*, staffed by numerous architects whose names we do not know, headed by Sinân, produced standardized designs for a multitude of less lavish Ottoman public structures throughout the empire.¹² Members of the imperial family and of the ruling elite patronized such structures in the provinces, a monumental task critical to the development of the classical Ottoman architecture of the sixteenth century. The need to formulate a recognizable Ottoman design capable of being replicated efficiently in the provinces drove the effort to crystallize a canon for Ottoman architecture.

A centralized system of production ensured the standardization and consistency of architectural elements. The office of imperial architects designed buildings in Istanbul, then sent groundplans to the provinces. As these plans have either not survived or have not yet been discovered, with rare exceptions, the modalities of this process cannot

¹⁰ Muştafâ Sâ'î's early modern biography of Sinân is published: *Tezkiretül Bünyân* (Istanbul, 1315/1897); archival materials and the biographies adapted to modern Turkish are published in Zeki Sönmez, *Mimar Sinan ile İlgili Tarihi Yazmalar-Belgeler* (Istanbul, 1988). For an English translation, see Metin Sözen, and Suphi Saatçi, *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül Bünyan* (Istanbul, 1989).

¹¹ Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971, reprint 1992), Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, DC: Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., 1987).

¹² Ülkü Ü. Bates, "Two Ottoman Documents on Architects in Egypt," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 121–127. Tülay Artan, "The Kadirga Palace Shrouded by the Mists of Time," *Turcica* 26 (1994), 90, critiqued the emphasis on Sinân's personal genius and creativity, suggesting instead a model of standardized production. See also Irene A. Bierman, "Franchising Ottoman Istanbul: The Case of Ottoman Crete" in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture. A Supra-National Heritage* (Istanbul: Yem Yayın, 1999) 199–204.

be entirely known. However, archival documents such as account ledgers indicate that architect-engineers and craftsmen often traveled between the provinces and Istanbul to work on specific projects.¹³

Given the range and centralization of Ottoman architectural production, public buildings by official patrons in the provinces can best be understood in the context of the imperial system. Conversely, the imperial nature of Ottoman architecture does not imply that the courtly arts were autonomous of the broader context of the empire. Studies of Ottoman visual culture often assume a model of cultural production whereby the dominant culture produced at the center was disseminated to the periphery. This model casts the periphery as the passive consumer of the high culture emanating from the center. In Ottoman art history, provincial artistic productions in the imperial idiom are often viewed as derivative and artistically inferior to those produced at the center.¹⁴ Similarly, histories of the architecture of former Ottoman provinces often gloss over or vilify the Ottoman period, echoing the assumption that imperial forms were alien, imported, and inauthentic. These assumptions generate questions that exclude a priori the possibility of an active engagement between the center and the periphery, or of the periphery's influence on the center.

Instead, the metaphor of encounter, of interconnection rather than that of influence reframes the hierarchical construction of the center-periphery relationship. This model aids in reassessing the development of Ottoman architecture, and in reevaluating the customary focus on the architectural production in the imperial capitals. In an imperial situation, the center does not solely act on and modify the

¹³ On groundplans: Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and Models in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45, no. 3 (September 1986): 224–243. On the office of imperial architects: Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (1963): 157–202; Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish architect," (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989), 11–41; Cengiz Orhonlu, "Şehir Mimarları," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım*, ed. Salih Özbaran (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1984). Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983).

¹⁴ For example, a discussion of painted woodwork in Damascene domestic architecture characterizes them as derivative of "imported" forms developed at the imperial center: Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, "The Nur al-Din Room: Damascus, 1707," in *Period Rooms in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and H. N. Abrams, 1996), 287–295.

periphery; rather, the periphery alters the center in its own right.¹⁵ In the sixteenth century, the need to Ottomanize the formerly Mamluk territories with their substantial architectural legacy, as well as the territories of Eastern Europe where no Islamic tradition existed, motivated the office of imperial architects to formulate an architectural design that could be standardized and reproduced at will, a sign that would index Ottoman rule. In this process, the image of Ottoman rule was redefined in turn.

The replication of central forms in the provinces responded to local contexts, available materials and skilled labor, as adaptability emerged as one of the characteristics of Ottoman public monumental architecture. The provinces absorbed ideas and forms from the center and recontextualized them. The structures patronized by Ottoman officials in the provinces ranged from modest fountains to rural caravanserais to urban building complexes that transformed the functions of cities. The mosques of these complexes most clearly exhibited the legacy of the standardized plans from Istanbul. More often than not, the profiles of the mosques of the provincial complexes were recognizably Ottoman, with their hemispherical domes and pencil-shaped minarets, while subsidiary elements such as public baths or caravanserais evinced the continued currency of local visual repertoires. In places such as Aleppo, the imperial formula was adapted to the local urban visual language, reflected in the siting of buildings or in architectonic details. Ottoman observers such as the traveler Evliyâ Çelebî recognized the imperial style as distinct and described it with the term *Rûmî* (*Rum tarzı*) (literally “Roman”), meaning “from the area of Rûm,” that is, the area around the capital of Istanbul, the former Eastern Roman Empire.¹⁶ Evliyâ and other Ottomans from the center of the empire clearly perceived the difference between the Ottoman style and other architectural forms, and expected this style to distinguish mosques sponsored by the dynasty.¹⁷

¹⁵ For an exposition of center-periphery issues, see Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, “Centro e Periferia,” In *Storia dell’arte italiana*, pt. 1, vol. 1, ed. Giovanni Previtali, (Turin: Einaudi, 1979): 285–332; Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

¹⁶ See for example, Evliyâ Çelebî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 9: *Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671–1672)* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), 374.

¹⁷ This point is discussed in Chapter 6. See also Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “‘In The Image of Rum:’ Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus,” *Muqamas* 16 (1999), 80.

Architectural forms were inseparable from the institutions and functions they housed. Just as in imperial Roman architecture, urban units such as fora, temples, and entire downtown cores were exported to the provinces, similarly in Ottoman architecture, Ottoman civic elements, that is, the institutions that supported the Ottoman version of the Islamic way of life were reproduced through the provincial complexes. Locating such complexes in cities was critical, since cities were the nodes of Ottoman governance in the provinces, the channels for the dissemination of power and cultural influence from Istanbul. However, while the tool of intervention—the institutional complex—was standardized, each city absorbed and transformed the forms from the center. In addition to their distinctive architecture, the combinations of functions which these complexes provided to the subjects of the sultan were also Ottoman in the sense that they served purposes ultimately beneficial to the empire. As this study makes clear, the choice of functions incorporated in the institutional complexes reflected the interests and needs of the Ottoman ruling elite.

Patronage and the Production of Space

The agency of patrons determined the development of Ottoman architecture, through the cumulative effect of myriad small and mid-level commissions. The cultural meaning of patronage in this society merits consideration. Patronage by members of the empire's elite through the legal means of the *waqf* endowment constituted one of the most important tools of urbanization. In Ottoman society, as in most early modern Islamic polities, the vast majority of communal structures, even structures one might term "civic," were the result of the patronage of individuals rather than corporate bodies (city councils, guilds, and the like). Through the legal mechanism of *waqf*, powerful individuals established agreements with the Islamic community to tie up resources devoted to religious or charitable purposes in perpetuity. While individuals at all levels of society created endowments, the major acts of patronage of the wealthy and powerful shaped cities most decisively.

The endowment of communal structures was an integral part of the social and cultural expectations from powerful individuals. The provision for the urban institutions of the Islamic community, and the fulfillment of religious dictates such as the *hajj*, were the responsibility

of members of the ruling group. Ottoman architecture could not be disseminated in the provinces without patrons willing to build. A great many powerful men and a few powerful women took on this responsibility. However, each building was not merely the direct result of an all-powerful imperial will expressed through the agency of individual patrons. Rather, each building entailed chains of compromises between the desires and ambitions of the individual, the requirements and expectations of social groups, the demands of the central authority, the ever-changing calculus of political life, and the thousand practical problems of planning, supplying and legal wrangling.

The powerful were expected fund their patronage activities for the betterment of the *umma* through the spoils of *jihād*, understood as war waged against non-Muslims, or Muslims who are not righteous. Communal expectations anticipated that profits derived from conquest would be redeployed in the service of society. Thus in a very real sense, conquest sustained empire-building. In *Nuṣḥat üs-selâṭîn*, his book of counsels for Sultans, Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî asserted that communal funds (the public treasury) should not be employed for the building of charitable endowments; rather the sultan's share of booty after a victorious campaign was to be spent on pious deeds.¹⁸ Furthermore, while the powerful and the wealthy bore the burden of creating waqfs, they also had to *merit* the privilege of endowing. Sultans who had not demonstrated their ability for conquest did not deserve to place their stamp on the empire's landscape. While this practice is most relevant to imperial philanthropy, it suggests the broader notion of a *decorum of patronage*.¹⁹ Unlike Jerusalem or Damascus, Aleppo received limited sultanic patronage. Rather, members of the Ottoman élite shaped the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Patronage of prominent structures allowed Ottoman officials to increase their social and political profiles, thus functioning as a legitimizing tool and contributing to their careers. In his book of etiquette for Ottoman gentlemen of 1586–1587, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idü'l-Mejâlis*, 'Âlî stressed just this point:

¹⁸ Gelibolulu Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî, *Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî's Counsel for Sultans of 1581: Edition, Translation, Notes*, ed. Andreas Tietze (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979–1982), vol. 1, 54 and 146.

¹⁹ Necipoğlu, "Süleymaniye Complex," explored the issue of funding public buildings out of spoils of war in relation to the Süleymâniye Complex in Istanbul.

To build mosques in the flourishing and prosperous seat of government and to construct dervish lodges or madrasas in a famous capital are not pious deeds performed to acquire merit in God's sight. Every wise and intelligent man knows that these are pious deeds performed in order to enhance one's role as a leader and to achieve a good reputation. There are thousands of cities whose inhabitants are in need of mosques and dervish lodges . . . Yet, those who wish to perform pious deeds for ostentation and display clearly wish to be renowned in cities which are seats of the throne.²⁰

This statement confirms that the expectations of powerful Ottomans included building the institutions of Muslim communal life, such as mosques, dervish lodges, or madrasas. It was a means to ascend the Ottoman hierarchy, to accumulate cultural capital, as it were. The political trajectories of the patrons of Aleppo's külliyes confirm the efficacy of this strategy: most of them were at one point beğlerbeğs of the province of Aleppo; many became Grand Viziers. Even persons who were practically invisible to the public (female members of the Ottoman dynasty) used monumental architecture in prominent locations, such as Istanbul, to make their power and importance visible.²¹

ʿĀlî counseled his audience to build judiciously, choosing a location where the structure's beneficial effect for its patron's status could be maximized. While Istanbul, the empire's capital, was clearly a most desirable location to showcase one's piety, wealth and power, all the cities of the empire received the patronage of the Ottoman ruling elite. Aleppo, the nexus of the East-West trade, emerged as a particularly desirable location for patronage for some of the most prominent Ottomans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That the elite patronized Islamic institutions throughout the empire bolstered imperial claims to justice, legitimacy and service to the Muslim community. In addition, Ottoman society provided powerful incentives of another order for provincial patronage.

A reminder of the nature of the Ottoman elite sets the stage for the importance of patronage through *waqf* to this social group as a shelter for income. Most of the officials who built in Aleppo came from the highest echelons of the Ottoman hierarchy. They were

²⁰ Muṣṭafâ Âlî, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idil-Mecâlis*, ed. Cavid Baysun (Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1956), 177–8. The translation is based on Necipoğlu's in "Süleymaniye Complex," 99.

²¹ Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 198–212; idem, "Gender and Sexual Propriety in Ottoman Royal Women's Patronage," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. F. Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 53–68.

recruited primarily through the *devşirme*, the practice whereby the state levied non-Muslim children as tax from certain rural regions, then trained them at the Palace in Istanbul.²² The *devşirme* system created well-trained officials whose sole allegiance was to the sultan, and who were recruited and assigned posts on the basis of merit. Unlike the established notable Muslim families, they were bereft both of a network of relatives and customary patron-client relationships; in other words, they had no allegiances outside the Ottoman dynasty. Also, unlike the tribal clans of the empire, such as the Jânbulâtoğlus in Aleppo's hinterland, they were bereft of landed property and of a power base in their native villages. Many *devşirme* individuals were aware of their village of origin, and many endowed structures in them, such as Merzifonlu Kara Muşafâ Pasha and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, both of whom also built in Aleppo. However, their integration into the imperial elite alienated them so thoroughly from their biological relatives that a "return" was impossible: these individuals had been Ottomanized.

The established Muslim urban notable or '*ulamâ*' families, in the capital or in provincial cities, created a power base for their social group through the appropriation of positions and stipends in charitable endowments and the deployment of the religious sciences of which they emerged as privileged interpreters. These professions were often monopolized by families across generations. These individuals received the longest entries in biographical dictionaries that constitute primary sources for the history of Aleppo. Such career choices were unavailable for men with *devşirme* origins. While the latter could obtain high offices in the empire, they often did not own their property: they merely disposed of its use until their death. All property, all land, was the ultimate possession of the state: "Money and material goods accumulated by powerful individuals in the service of the state (including members of the dynasty) were viewed as property on loan, the temporary usufruct of which ceased when the owner left office or died."²³ Ottoman officials of *devşirme* origin thus could

²² Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Provincial Government, 1550–1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

²³ "... systematic confiscation of the estates of deceased notables ... became a means of filling the state treasury ... estates were inventoried immediately upon the death of an individual and often ruthlessly siezed ... " Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 148.

not bequeath their property to their children, just as they could not bequeath them their social status: as free-born Muslims, their offspring could integrate into mainstream society.

The legal mechanism of *waqf* provided a method to control their wealth after their death, to bestow some of it to their children. Through *waqf*, real property and capital in possession of the patron could be turned into an endowment. The *waqfiyya*, or the endowment deed, often stipulated that some of the salaried positions of the *waqf* (often *tawliyya* or stewardship, but other positions as well) were to be held by the children of the patron, or the children of his or her siblings or clients. Often, a provincial endowment offered a financial base for a family to settle in a city, as in the case of the ʿĀdiliyya Complex in Aleppo. Other loved ones, such as slave concubines, sometimes received stipends from the usufruct of their *waqfs* for the duration of their lives.²⁴

In this light, the insistence of *waqfiyya* documents on the perpetuity of the contract they represent acquires a new light. The poignancy of the patrons' desire to order the future, to provide for their progeny comes through in *waqfiyya* documents: the list of conditions of the *waqf* concludes with formulas such as: “yabqā dhālika ʿalā mamarr al-ayyām waʿl-shuhūr waʿl-aʿwām . . .” (“This is to remain through the passing of days and months and years . . .”).²⁵ This is a standard expression for this type of document, to be sure, but its repetition suggests a deep-rooted social anxiety that the mechanism of the endowment addressed. For Ottoman officials, whose careers and lives were precarious, the notion of a perpetual contract to benefit the community and their descendants must have held a special significance. Indeed, of the patrons discussed in this study, Şoğollı Mehmed Pasha and İpshîr Pasha were executed; Hüsrev Pasha starved himself to death. Yet each of these men provided incomes for their households and placed their imprint on the imperial landscape through *waqf*.

²⁴ Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Charitable Endowments, henceforth VGM), Waqfiyya of Ahmed Pasha, Aleppo, 1596, defter 608/2, 177, provided daily stipends for three manumitted slave women (presumably the patron's concubines) for the duration of their lives. This endowment is analyzed in Chapter 3.

²⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of Hüsrev Pasha, Aleppo, 1561, defter 583, p. 150.

Waqf was the means through which the servants of the Sultan left a permanent mark on the terrain of the empire, on the city's surface. The makeup of the city, then, was a direct consequence of social and legal realities of the Ottoman empire.

Trends in Previous Scholarship

The visual culture of Ottoman Aleppo has not been the object of detailed art historical studies. Yasser Tabbaa examined the Ayyubid period of the city's architecture,²⁶ and Michael Meinecke's wide-ranging work on Mamluk architecture is valuable for the study of Aleppo's early Ottoman period.²⁷ In addition, an article by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu compared the sixteenth-century architecture of Damascus and Aleppo, focusing primarily on the style of the mosques of the major complexes endowed by Ottoman patrons.²⁸ Beyond art history, scholars from other disciplines have interpreted some of the material. The dominant threads in the historiography of Aleppo are the local urban studies and the French school of research on the city and its society.

A vibrant local tradition of historiography takes as its object the city of Aleppo as an entity in and of itself. The early modern antecedents of this discourse are analyzed in Chapter 6. Recent studies are profoundly indebted to the monumental local histories of Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh (1877–1951) and Kāmil al-Ghazzī (1853?–1933), completed in the early 1920's.²⁹ The two works have enjoyed a wide audience, both scholarly and popular, and their reissue in the early 1990's is a testament to their enduring appeal. *I'lām al-nubalā'*

²⁶ Art historian Yasser Tabbaa devoted a monograph to the Ayyubid architecture in Aleppo: *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); idem, "Circles of Power: Palace, Citadel and City in Ayyubid Aleppo," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 181–199.

²⁷ Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, 2 vols. (Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1992).

²⁸ Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus."

²⁹ The new editions of each work have been used here: Kāmil al-Ghazzī, *Kūtāb Nahr al-Dhahab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, 2nd ed., 3 vols, edited and introduced by Shawqī Sha'th and Maḥmūd Fākhūrī (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-ʿArabī, 1991–1993, Orig. ed. Aleppo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Mārūniyya, 1923–26); Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *I'lām al-nubalā' bi-tārīkh Ḥalab al-shahbā'*, 2nd ed., 7 vols. and index volume, edited by Muḥammad Kamāl (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-ʿArabī, 1988–1992, Orig. ed. Aleppo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿIlmiyya, 1923–1926).

bi-tārīkh Ḥalab al-shahbā' by Ṭabbākh and *Kitāb Nahr al-Dhahab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* by Ghazzī follow in form the most established genres of traditional Arabic historiography: the biographical dictionary and the historical topography. Faithful to the genre, these books are inter-textual: they extensively quote passages from previous histories of Aleppo. Both works rely on first hand knowledge of the city, and both quote from legal documents to discuss endowments. They preserve parts of earlier chronicles that are lost or inaccessible and provide a snapshot of the state of key buildings at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, like many works in the genres to which they belong, the two authors privilege information on the social use of buildings rather than their visual character, a phenomenon discussed in Chapter 6. The authors were leading intellectuals of Aleppo; their adherence to “traditional” historical formats notwithstanding, their production of knowledge about the history of the city has a modern sensibility.³⁰ The current study uses the wealth of information provided in each, but recognizes the books as modern, scholarly creations that are artifacts of the 1920's.

Ghazzī and Ṭabbākh are the most prominent representatives of historical writing by Aleppines on Aleppo that has thrived throughout the history of the city and has continued unabated since independence, when Aleppo became secondary to the political capital, Damascus. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this endeavor coalesced around the local historical association, Jam'īyyat al-ʿAdīyyāt (the Archaeological Society), founded in the early 1930's.³¹ It included monographs on history, collections of proverbs, annotated editions of archival and narrative sources on the city, by Ferdinand Taoutel and Gabriel Rabbath, among others, and more recently Maḥmūd Ḥiraytānī.³² The work

³⁰ For a discussion of the historical discourse of Ghazzī and Ṭabbākh, see Keith Watenpugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

³¹ The Jam'īyyat al-ʿAdīyyāt published a bilingual journal, *La revue archéologique syrienne/Majallat al-ʿAdīyyāt al-Sūriyya*. I am currently researching the institutions that fostered knowledge on the built environment in early twentieth-century Syria. See my “Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon,” in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004): 185–202.

³² Among their published work, the most relevant are, Ferdinand Taoutel, s.j. (Fardīnān Tawtil), *Wathā'iq tārīkhīyya ʿan Ḥalab*, vol. 2: *Awliyā' Ḥalab fī manzūmat al-Shaykh Wafā' ma' tarjamat hayāt al-Shaykh Muḥammad Abī al-Wafā' al-Rifāʿī* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1941); Gabriel Rabbath, “Les mosquées d'Alep. I: Mosquée at-Touté,” *Revue Archéologique Syrienne* 1932: 87–119 and “II: La Grande-Mosquée,”

of Khayr al-Dīn al-Asadī (1900–1971) was the most systematic: his numerous books and particularly the posthumously published encyclopedic *Mawsūʿat Ḥalab*, gave an exhaustive image of the history, as well as the contemporary state of the sites, neighborhoods, lore, cuisine and dialects of the city.³³ Formal and informal intellectual circles in Aleppo emphasize local history, constantly rehearsed through lectures, site visits, journal articles and monographs. During my fieldwork I attended lively discussions on local architecture at Aleppo University and the Syndicate of Architects and Engineers, among other local societies. These bodies contribute to a dynamic and multivocal discourse on the history of the city.³⁴ Published mostly in Arabic, this discourse is aware of the broader debates in the history of Aleppo, both in the Arab world and the West.³⁵

In Western scholarship, the most influential intervention is undoubtedly Jean Sauvaget's 1941 monograph, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIX^e siècle*.³⁶ A French *arabisant* profoundly interested in urban history, Sauvaget (1901–1950) was based at what became the Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, the Damascus branch of a network of similar French centers established in Middle Eastern capitals, that contributed in the interwar period to the creation of a *savoir colonial*.³⁷ His numerous articles and

Revue Archéologique Syrienne III (1934): 1–12, and IV (1935): 5–9, and Mahmūd Hiraytānī, *Ḥalab: Aswāq “al-Mdīneh,” tāṭawwūr al-mulkiyya al-ʿaqrāʾiyya waʾl-faʿāliyyāt al-iqtisādīyya waʾl-ijtimāʿiyya, 1927–1980* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1991).

³³ Muḥammad Khayr al-Dīn al-Asadī, *Mawsūʿat Ḥalab al-muqārana*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl, 7 vols. (Aleppo: Aleppo University, 1981–1988).

³⁴ See for example, Niqābat al-muhandisīn, Farʿ Ḥalab, Lajnat Qism al-handasa al-miʿmariyya, *Aʿmāl al-muhandis waʾl-miʿmār Bashūr Muhandis* (Aleppo: n.p., 1998). Najwā ʿUthmān, *Al-handasa al-inshāʾiyya fī masājīd Ḥalab* (Aleppo: Manshūrāt Jāmīʿat Ḥalab, 1413 [1992]).

³⁵ However, the significant discourse on Ottoman history in Turkish was largely unknown to this intellectual community.

³⁶ Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIX^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941). The book was published in the context of a series commissioned by the colonial French power to study the lands under mandate: Haut Commissariat de l'État Français en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XXXVI.

³⁷ The annual reports which Sauvaget and his colleagues wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic are preserved in Nantes, at the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. For a documentary history of IFEAD, see Renaud Avez, *L'Institut français de Damas au Palais Azem (1922–1946) à travers les archives*, (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1993). François-Xavier Trégan, “Approche des savoirs de l'Institut Français de Damas: à la recherche d'un temps mandataire,” in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 235–247.

monographs addressed aspects of Islamic architecture in what was then Syria under French Mandate, with an emphasis on the medieval period.³⁸ In addition to the volume and quality of his writing, Sauvaget's most enduring legacy was a conceptual framework for the study of the Arab lands, and particularly Syria.³⁹ Sauvaget's *Alep* pioneered the combined use of architectural evidence and medieval textual sources in Arabic. Several assumptions underlie Sauvaget's work. First, he equated political and administrative stability with social harmony, the construction of public buildings and the regularity of urban planning. He asserted this strict cause-and-effect relationship even in the absence of evidence. Second, Sauvaget's work assumed the Hellenistic-Roman grid-plan city as an ideal type and ascribed a moral superiority to this type. As a result of this conviction, his history of Aleppo demonstrated the slow and inexorable degeneration of this ideal type, which reached its lowest point during the Ottoman period.⁴⁰ As such, Sauvaget viewed the history of Aleppo as a moral parable which demonstrates, ultimately, the superiority of the European cultural ideal. In short, Sauvaget created a framework for the study of Muslim cities along the Mediterranean littoral that centered on a narrative of irreversible decline from the rational grid plan of classical antiquity to the slow degeneration into irrational diagonals, meandering alleys and culs-de-sac of the Muslim present. In addition, Sauvaget's definition of Aleppo as a "Syrian city" throughout

³⁸ For a list of his works, see the Bibliography. Many influential articles were reprinted in: Dominique and Jeanine Sourdel, *Mémorial Jean Sauvaget*, 2 vols. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1954–1961).

³⁹ Exemplified in his book: Jean Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman: Éléments de bibliographie* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1943); Revised by Claude Cahen in 1961, the book appeared in English as: *Introduction to the History of the Muslim East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965). Most appraisals of Sauvaget's work tend to be laudatory. The most powerful critique of Sauvaget's legacy has come from André Raymond, discussed below. Other important critiques include: R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 235–238. Nasser Rabbat pointed out that despite the critique, the main tenets for Sauvaget's framework have not been problematized: Nasser O. Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: *Qubba* or *Iwān*?" *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 217, note 8. See also: H. Adnan Erzi, "J. Sauvaget'nin 'Les lerets [sic] Mamlouks de Syrie' Adlı Eseri Hakkında," *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (1942): 475–476; and M. Fuad Köprülü, "J. Sauvaget'nin 'Les Caravanserais syriens de [sic] hadjdj de Constantinople' Adlı Eseri Hakkında," *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (1942): 468–472.

⁴⁰ The only redeeming feature of this period, according to Sauvaget's presentation, is the European presence in the city, which, he asserts, caused the prosperity of Aleppo. The work contains such statements as: "L'Alep des Ottomans n'est qu'un trompe-l'œil: une façade somptueuse derrière laquelle il n'y a que des ruines." *Alep*, 239.

its history reinforced its link with the twentieth-century state, rather than any pre-modern political, cultural or religious entity.

André Raymond, the most important historian of the Arab Middle East in the Ottoman period, formulated a powerful critique of Sauvaget's framework.⁴¹ Raymond, as well as scholars trained and influenced by him, dominate French-language scholarship on this region and time period; his method, a rigorous social history reliant on archival documents and interested in urban process, has been profoundly influential. Like Sauvaget, Raymond combines a conceptual vision with abundant scholarship of a comparative scope.⁴² Raymond's work addresses Aleppo from the point of view of urbanism, social and economic history and demography.⁴³ Without the work of Raymond, studies such as this would be bereft of basic factual and conceptual building blocks.

Building upon the social history of Raymond and others, the current book addresses issues they do not cover, including the complex history of urban form viewed both synchronically and diachronically, and the examination of patronage; it also contextualizes and critiques specific arguments. A detailed study of a specific city over a long period yields insights that are not discernible in broader comparative studies. The work of Raymond and others, particularly Michael Meinecke, implies the notion of a local "national style," identified with Mamlūk visual culture. In their discussion of provincial Ottoman

⁴¹ Raymond's critique of Sauvaget appears in a number of writings. He summed up the field of Islamic urban studies and provided a critical reassessment of Sauvaget's role within it in his "Islamic City, Arab City: Oriental Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1994): 3–18.

⁴² Raymond's ground-breaking study was: André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973–4).

⁴³ The most important articles which deal with Aleppo include: André Raymond, "Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain à Alep et au Caire à l'époque ottomane (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 31 (1979): 113–132; idem, "Groupes sociaux et géographie urbaine à Alep au XVIII^e siècle," In Philipp, Thomas, ed. *The Syrian Land in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience*, Berliner Islamstudien, Band 5, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992): 147–163; and idem, "The Population of Aleppo in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries according to Ottoman Census Documents," *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)* 16 (1984): 447–60. See also his comparative monograph, *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Paris: Sindbad, 1985); which also appeared in an English version: *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th–18th centuries: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1984). A recent volume includes reprints of some of the above: idem, *La ville arabe, Alep, à l'époque ottomane* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1998).

architecture, they opposed the persistence of the “national style,” that is, the native or traditional styles of the Arab provinces, to the imposition of the official and imperial style from Istanbul. He asserted that throughout the 350 years of Ottoman rule, the official style only superficially influenced the “national” style.⁴⁴ Michael Meinecke postulated the existence of local traditions of craftsmanship, whose work endured seemingly with little change through the Mamluk period and beyond.⁴⁵ While the simultaneous presence of a variety of visual repertoires in Ottoman Aleppo is clear, the current study examines the specific imperial, urban, visual and functional contexts that might have contributed to the choices made in architectural form.

Additional valuable interventions from a variety of disciplines have informed the current study. The urban geographer Jean-Claude David examined both the past and the present of Aleppo with an emphasis on the practice of space and the adaptation and reuse of historic structures.⁴⁶ The geographers Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth produced a detailed study of the urban fabric of Aleppo, with an emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and their detailed urban map constitutes a fundamental building block of any study.⁴⁷ The current book also relies on the work of ‘Abd al-Karīm Rāfiq on the socio-economic history of the Bilād al-Shām under the Ottomans,⁴⁸ of Abraham Marcus on the social history of eighteenth-century Aleppo,⁴⁹ and of Bruce Masters on economic and intellectual history.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Raymond, *Great Arab Cities*.

⁴⁵ Michael Meinecke, “Mamlūk Architecture. Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations,” *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 163–75, Plates 48–55.

⁴⁶ For a full list of David’s work, see the Bibliography. The most relevant studies are: Jean-Claude David, “Domaines et limites de l’architecture d’empire dans une capitale provinciale,” *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 62:4 (1991): 169–194; idem, *Waqf d’Iṣṣir Pāšā*; idem, et al., *La Suwayqat ‘Alī à Alep* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1998).

⁴⁷ Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole* (Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte, Reihe B, No. 58) (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1984).

⁴⁸ ‘Abd al-Karīm Rāfiq, *Al-‘arab wa’l-‘uthmāniyyūn 1516–1916*, 2nd ed. (Damascus: Maktabat Aṭlas, 1993; Orig. 1974); idem, *Buḥūth fi’l-tārīkh al-iqtisādī wa’l-ijtimā’ī li-bilād al-Shām fi’l-‘aṣr al-hadīth* (Damascus: n.p., 1985); idem, *The Province of Damascus 1723–1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966). For additional references, see Bibliography.

⁴⁹ Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo In the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

⁵⁰ Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600–1750* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988). This book rests on the notion that the Ottomans

The current book is also situated within the recent trend in the architectural and urban historiography of Ottoman cities within Ottoman cultural studies. While focusing primarily on the rich heritage of the imperial center, the wide-ranging work of Aptullah Kuran and especially Gülru Necipoğlu constitute the most fundamental references. Recent work on the urbanization of Ottoman Istanbul by Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak and Cigdem Kafescioğlu emphasized the role of mosque complexes and raised issues related to the imageability of cities.⁵¹ Beyond the capital, the work of Doris Behrens-Abouseif on Ottoman Cairo clarifies the relationship between social institutions and architecture.⁵² The essays included in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, exploring aspects of Ottoman urban culture, have suggested avenues for my research.⁵³ In particular, Irene Bierman's study of the Ottomanization of the cities of Crete in the seventeenth century raised an important set of issues on cultural practice at that time and place, which this study asks of early Ottoman Aleppo.⁵⁴

Sources and Method

The present study defines sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Aleppo as an Ottoman city. Conceptualized as a site of encounter, Aleppo can only be understood through the intersection of sources from the

suffered from an underdeveloped sense of mercantilist realities that eventually led to the preponderance of the West in the empire's economy. By contrast, Palmira Brummett develops a notion of Ottoman commercial agency in her *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

⁵¹ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Urban Development of Ottoman Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century," (Ph.D. Diss., University of London, 1997). Cigdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century," (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1996), and idem, "Heavenly and Unblessed, Splendid and Artless: Mehmed II's Mosque Complex in Istanbul in the Eyes of its Contemporaries," in *Essays in Honor of Aptullah Kuran*, eds. Cigdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Senocak (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi, 1999), 211–222.

⁵² Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment of Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo (16th and 17th centuries)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

⁵³ Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, eds., *The Ottoman City and its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide Caratzas, 1991).

⁵⁴ Irene A. Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete," in Bierman et al, eds., *Ottoman City*, 53–75; idem, "Urban Transformations and Political Hegemonies," *Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT II)* (Tokyo: The Middle East Culture Center, 1994), 301–309; idem, "Franchising Ottoman Istanbul."

center and the periphery. By combining sources in various languages from both the center and the periphery, local agency comes to light, along with a sense of processes of negotiation, cooptation and erasure. This necessitates for the scholar complex travels across disciplines and territory. The insistence on the study of a range of cultural productions at any given time, on the use of both Arabic and Ottoman-language sources, and archival materials preserved both in formerly provincial, now Syrian, and formerly imperial, now Turkish, locations entailed substantial fieldwork in Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Istanbul, and Ankara.⁵⁵ In terms of archival material, this study uses most extensively *waqfiyya* documents, or endowment deeds, preserved partly in Aleppo, but also at the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara, and at the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. Imperial decrees preserved at Markaz al-Wathā'iq al-Waṭaniyya in Damascus were also used. These types of documents are privileged because of their relevance to the study of architecture and urban life, and because they have been relatively neglected in the study of the region: many Ottoman social historians rely heavily on sharī'a court records.⁵⁶ Combining sources in various languages from both the center and the periphery makes it possible to emphasize local agency and brings to light processes of negotiation, cooptation and erasure that are integral to the imperial encounter.

Archival documents are artifacts that acquire meaning within a field of similar creations. They are not transparent sources of information; they need to be read critically. The importance of *waqfiyyas* for the study of architecture and urban life has long been recognized.⁵⁷ Typically such documents begin with a preamble that rehearses injunctions to build communal structures from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, underscores the religious importance of such projects, names

⁵⁵ Bruce Masters similarly uses materials in both Arabic and Ottoman.

⁵⁶ Numerous studies in Ottoman social history, have used sharī'a court records, including those by Marcus, Raymond, and Masters.

⁵⁷ For waqf in the Ottoman context, see John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1986). A classic study of Mamluk Cairo that relies on waqf documents is: M. Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa'l-ḥayāt al-ijtimā'iyya fī Miṣr 648–923/1250–1517* (Cairo, 1980). For recent evaluation, see Faruk Bilici, "Bilan des études sur les waqfs ottomans et perspectives à la fin du XX^e siècle," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 18 (2000): 105–26 and Miriam Hoexter, "Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41 (1998): 474–95.

the patron and enumerates his or her titles.⁵⁸ The body of the document lists, locates and describes every property endowed as *waqf*, as well as the structures entrusted with religious or communal functions, such as mosques, dervish lodges, and the like. The third section of the document outlines the conditions which govern the functions of each component of the *waqf* and the disposal of revenue. A concluding section reiterates the religious and cultural meaning of the act legitimized by the document, and includes the date and a list of witnesses. While often formulaic, *waqfiyyas*, like any document, are complex cultural artifacts to be read critically. It is often difficult to correlate the detailed yet conventional descriptions of architecture with material remains. However, the most important caveat in the use of a *waqfiyya* is that this type of document is essentially prescriptive: it records the intentions of the patron at a certain moment. As the life of the endowment progresses, the interpretation and implementation of the conditions of the endowment remain ongoing active processes shaped by many actors including the *mutawallī* or endowment administrator, judges and everyday users of the structures.

Additional material on the use of space in the central economic district of Aleppo was derived from the archives of the French *échelles*, or commercial centers in the Levant, now preserved at the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic in Nantes. The same location also preserves the archives of the French Mandate in Syria in the interwar period, which included inventories of historical buildings, maps, and annual reports by researchers such as Jean Sauvaget.

In addition to archival documents, narrative sources produced both in Istanbul and in Aleppo have been used, especially when they describe and discuss urban life. This approach revealed that in early modern Ottoman society, different kinds of knowledge were fostered in different places to reckon with the city: biographical dictionaries and historical topographies were produced locally and in Arabic; universal histories, universal geographies, dynastic histories, books of etiquette, and accounts of imperial journeys illustrated with city views were produced in Istanbul and in Ottoman. Chapter 6 discusses these sources in depth, in the context of an examination of the image

⁵⁸ Jihane Tate, "L'ordre de la description dans les *waqfiyya*," *Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale* 20/21 (1987): 22–25.

of the city as elaborated in textual genres. Biographical dictionaries on the notable men of a given city, while focusing on the lives and achievements of individual subjects, can be used to glean information about acts of patronage, and biographical anecdotes can provide insight onto the use and perception of certain buildings and neighborhoods. Of the biographical dictionaries of Aleppo, the most useful for reconstructing this type of social information are: Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī (d. 971/1563–4), *Durr al-ḥabab fī tāriḫ al-ʿayān Ḥalab*,⁵⁹ Abū al-Wafāʾ b. ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī (1585–1660), *Maʿādin al-dhahab fī l-ʿayān al-masharrafā bi-him Ḥalab*,⁶⁰ and Muḥammad Amīn Al-Muḥibbī (1651–1699), *Khulāṣat al-athar fī ʿayān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*.⁶¹ In addition, numerous now-lost sources are quoted by Ghazzi and Tabbakh. Of the biographical dictionaries of Damascus, among the most relevant is Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (1570–1651), *Al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-ʿayān al-miʿa al-ʿāshira*.⁶²

In addition to these locally composed works in Arabic, a travelogue in Ottoman, Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*, provides a comprehensive description of Aleppo as well as evidence of the manner in which a prosperous provincial city was perceived by a courtier.⁶³ In addition, early modern accounts of the city written by non-Muslims are mined for information. Particularly useful for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the travelogue of the Polish Armenian pilgrim Simeon Dpir Lehatsi (b. 1584)⁶⁴ and the memoirs of European

⁵⁹ Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-ḥabab fī tāriḫ al-ʿayān Ḥalab*, Ed. M. Fākhūrī and Y. ʿAbbāra, 2 parts in 4 vols. (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thiqāfa, 1972–1974) (Henceforth Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:1 through 2:2); also Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Az-zabad waʿd-darab fī tāriḫ Ḥalab*, Ed. Muḥammad Altūnjī (Kuwait: Manshūrāt markaz al-makhtūṭatwaʿl-turāth, 1988).

⁶⁰ Abū al-Wafāʾ b. ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī, *Maʿādin al-dhahab fī l-ʿayān al-masharrafā bi-him Ḥalab*, Edited by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghazālī (Henceforth al-ʿUrḍī). There are three editions of this unfinished text. I use al-Ghazālī's unless otherwise noted. The other two editions are by Muḥammad Altūnjī (N.p.: Dār al-Mallāh, 1987), and ʿIsa Sulaymān Abū Salīm (Amman: Markaz al-Wathāʾiq wa-al-Makhtūtāt, al-Jāmiʿah al-Urdunīyah, 1992).

⁶¹ Muḥammad Amīn Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī ʿayān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Maktabat Khayyāt, 1966).

⁶² Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-ʿayān al-miʿa al-ʿāshira*, ed. Jibrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīda, 1979).

⁶³ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 9: *Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671–1672)* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935). As this edition is in the modern Turkish alphabet, citations are not rendered in Ottoman transliteration.

⁶⁴ Simeon Dpir Lehatsi (b. 1584), “Simeon Tpri Lehats’woy Ughegrut’iwn (1608–1619),” ed. Nerses Akinian, in *Handes Amsoreay* (1932–1936). For a Turkish transla-

merchants who were longtime residents of Aleppo, Wolfgang Aigen,⁶⁵ William Biddulph,⁶⁶ and the French consul Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702).⁶⁷ Used in conjunction with modern travelogues by Europeans and Ottomans, the texts introduced above provide a rich resource from which an innovative account of the visual past of Aleppo can be woven. Most importantly perhaps, placing Aleppo in its Ottoman, pre-modern context opens up analytical possibilities and an awareness of both local knowledge and a wider cultural context which enrich any investigation of the city's evolution.

The key piece of evidence in this study, however, is the city itself, a repository of cultural meaning. Urban historians have recently begun to use the fabric of the city as a primary source for their investigations. While traditional urban history tends to privilege the social, political and economic contexts of the spatial environment, this approach recognizes the shape of the city as a repository of cultural meaning. What is productive in this approach is the notion that the shape taken by cities, that is, the appearance and interrelationship of structures and open spaces—houses, streets, quarters, civic buildings, public monuments, gardens—is not arbitrary, nor is it merely the result of authoritative decisions taken by the governing body; rather it is meaningful in and of itself.

Indeed, the forms taken by streets and thoroughfares, the configuration of neighborhoods, and the seeming idiosyncrasies of a skyline can all reveal the history of previous urban tenure. These urban forms expose a heritage of established social and cultural conventions, chains

tion see Polonyalı Simeon, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi, 1608–1619*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınları, 1964).

⁶⁵ Wolfgang Aigen, *Sieban Jahre in Aleppo, 1656–1663*, Ed. Andreas Tietze (Vienna: Verlag des Verbandes der Wissenschaftlichen gesellschaften Österreichs, 1980).

⁶⁶ William Biddulph, "Part of a Letter of Master William Biddulph from Aleppo," in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travells by Englishmen and Others*, ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905–07), vol. 8, 263–364. The letter was written around 1600.

⁶⁷ Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702), *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, edited by Jean-Baptist Labat, 6 vols. (Paris: C. J. B. Delespine, 1735). See my "A French Humanist in the Islamic City: The Chevalier d'Arvieux (1635–1702), Merchant and Consul in Aleppo," *Thresholds: The Critical Journal of Visual Culture* 27 (2004): 18–22. In addition to these sources, valuable information on the eighteenth century is provided in Alexander Russell (1715?–1768), *The Natural History of Aleppo: Containing a Description of the City, and the Principal Natural Productions in its Neighbourhood, Together with an Account of the Climate, Inhabitants, and Diseases, Particularly of the Plague*, 2nd ed., revised by Patrick Russell, 2 vols. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1794).

of compromises between the rights and desires of the individual, the requirements of social subgroups, and the will of the civic authority.⁶⁸ At the same time, however, each generation of urban dwellers remakes the city by manipulating the urban environment in accordance with its view of the past, and its current needs. By continually altering the urban landscape by means of erecting new structures, destroying existing structures and allowing others to remain, urban dwellers make visible the image which they have of their city. As this image cannot be monolithic for the entire population, the physical configuration of the city also retains evidence of civic diversity as well as adversity. Any investigation of a city must entail a diachronic understanding of the city in time and a synchronic understanding of the diverse factors that simultaneously alter the various contexts in which the city can be contained. These concerns have warranted detailed and systematic readings of each building complex in this study.

With its emphasis on uncovering the spatial orders created by architectural intervention and how they were perceived, this study draws on Henri Lefebvre's writing on the production of space, not simply as a physical entity, but also as a dynamic conceptual realm.⁶⁹ Thus space is understood not as an environment in which social life takes place, but a medium *through which* social life is produced and reproduced. In addition, through its concern with the manner in which users of buildings envisioned and navigated their cities, this study is inspired by the method of Michel de Certeau and the body of literature on cognitive mapping and urban practice. In *L'invention du quotidien*, de Certeau created a framework for discovering how pedestrians see and interact with urban space.⁷⁰ The city establishes a spatial environment that provides a range of choices for the pedestrian by showcasing some sites and obscuring others. The arrangement of city spaces controls the visual approach to salient features within the city and thus defines these features. While streets and sites are designed to force people to proceed in certain ways by preventing some actions and encouraging others, pedestrians always seek to alter

⁶⁸ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London, 1991), and *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History* (London, 1992).

⁶⁹ See especially Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974), and idem, "Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities," in *Writings on Cities*, trans. E. Kofman and E. Lebas (London: Blackwell, 1996), 228–240.

⁷⁰ Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien*, rev. ed. Luce Giard (Paris: Gallimard, 1990).

this order to match their own needs. Changes in the spatial environment reflect the tension between the spatial hierarchy imposed by civic authority and the way visitors and residents navigate urban spaces. Throughout this study, the choices staged for the pedestrian by the various Ottoman buildings and sites in Aleppo are examined and compared with the manner in which written texts (narratives and archival documents) conceptualize space.

Ottomanization and the Layering of Cities

Jean Sauvaget's classic photograph of Aleppo defines the skyline of the city with a parade of minarets (Pl. 2).⁷¹ One of the most photogenic aspects of Aleppo, reproduced many times in photographs, postcards and drawn views of the city, the row of Aleppo's minarets can appear to the art historian as a juxtaposition of architectural exemplars from various periods of Islamic history. The minaret of the Great Mosque of the Citadel has towered over the city since it was built by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, a son of Saladin, in the early thirteenth century.⁷² The square minaret of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, built by the Saljūq dynasty in 1090, is unique in the region, and certainly in the city. Alongside these imposing towers, the octagonal minarets of the Mamlūks display their elaborately carved shafts. For the pedestrian strolling in Aleppo at the end of the Ottoman period, all the minarets would have been, in a sense, contemporary. The most prominently visible ones, however, date from the sixteenth century when the large institutional complexes, which they surmount, were constructed. The distinctive Ottoman silhouettes of these complexes—their low hemispherical domes and graceful pencil-shaped minarets—redefined the skyline of Aleppo. No other provincial city in the empire, perhaps, retains the imprint of the Ottomans in such a way.⁷³ If the metaphor of the parade is appropriate to describe the minarets, it is because the Ottoman minarets, placed as they are, emphasize

⁷¹ Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate XL, probably taken in the 1930's, from a vantage point facing Bāb Anṭākiyya, looking East. With the accretion of modern high-rise buildings and smog since the 1940's, this view no longer exists with such clarity, even though all the minarets and the structures they surmount are still extant.

⁷² Tabbaa, "Circles of Power," 181.

⁷³ "... aucune autre ville arabe n'est aussi marquée par cette architecture tellement reconnaissable, venue d'Istanbul." David, "Domaines," 169.

the rectilinear axis of the central economic district. It is perhaps this carefully crafted skyline, more than any other clue, which indicated the Ottoman will to reshape the city, to make it Ottoman.

“Unless a conquered city is razed and rebuilt, the surviving signs, when considered diachronically, are viewed against the abiding shadows of other signs from other times and other powers.”⁷⁴ Every building project in an urban setting must necessarily reckon with the preexisting urban fabric. When an imperial power undertakes a prominent building project in a newly conquered city, its meaning is revealed not only through the shape and function of the novel addition to the landscape, but also in the manner in which the existing urban fabric is recontextualized. In her study of the cities of Crete in the mid-seventeenth century in the wake of their conquest by the Ottoman empire, Irene Bierman termed “Ottomanization” the process of their transformation, which incorporated a building program in these previously Venetian-controlled Christian cities. A crucial feature of this building program, the erection of an imperial mosque complex on a prominent topographic site, ensured that the mosque and its minaret would be the most visible structure to anyone approaching the island’s cities by land and sea. Through symbolically powerful modifications to the built environment and the skyline of the city, the process of Ottomanization both signaled and enforced Ottoman hegemony over the province.

The process of Ottomanization of provincial cities varied over time and place. The political, social and economic realities of early sixteenth-century Aleppo differed from those of mid-seventeenth-century Crete. However, an Ottoman system, similar yet distinct from that of any other Islamic state, which ordered city life with its laws and regulations, existed in both locations. This system supported—and was supported by—institutions, associated buildings and social functions. The Ottoman system, applied to Aleppo, adapted to the city’s unique situation. The study of Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presents a valuable insight into both the broader paradigm of the Ottoman empire and the specific conditions of a provincial city. In addition to the creation of new structures, this project recontextualized the existing features of the cityscape through reuse of certain sites and buildings, the modification and erasure of others. The reuse of layers of the city’s past are viewed as meaningful actions in the present.

⁷⁴ Bierman, “Ottomanization of Crete,” 53.

This study charts the manner in which Aleppo was integrated into the Ottoman empire by analyzing the architectural signs imposed by the Ottomans on Aleppo during the period immediately following conquest. It presents an analysis of the visual culture of this heterogeneous city at critical transitional points in its history. It combines a synchronic and diachronic study of architectural intervention in order to discern patterns of patronage, shifts in urban planning, and choices in architectural form. Pursuing these issues over a long period, the study shows that the Ottoman modification of the urban fabric was a highly flexible process with discernible patterns of imperial intervention in the local milieu. While the chapters are organized chronologically, the goal throughout is to present architectural and urban processes both synchronically and diachronically. Chapter Two analyzes the urban pattern of Aleppo in the Mamluk period and charts the subtle changes in architectural signs through the first half of the sixteenth century. It also situates Aleppo within the commercial networks of the early modern world and introduces the special urban character of the central economic district. Chapter Three analyzes the endowments that remade this district into one of the largest and most important covered markets in the world as well as a monumental corridor. In the second half of the sixteenth century Ottoman officials constructed large multi-functional building complexes which were integrated into an empire-wide network of charitable endowments (*waqf*). Deliberate choices in architectural form changed the profile of the city, creating a monumental corridor and a distinctive skyline, while choices in the assigned functions of buildings modified the uses of urban quarters. Chapter Four examines the institutional complexes built in the seventeenth century, when, following a major historic rupture, a series of violent rebellions at the turn of the sixteenth century, the dominant pattern and scale of Ottoman patronage in Aleppo shifted. New constructions were now dispersed in various sections of the city and included a greater variety of urban functions. Dervish lodges located on the urban periphery became the most important outlets for patronage, with implications for the shift in the boundaries between the city and the wilderness. Chapter Five returns to the central monumental corridor to map Ottoman intervention on older structures and the appropriation of specific formal elements associated with past layers of the city's history. This chapter shows that some structures assumed to have been medieval were in fact significantly altered in the Ottoman period. These alterations

constitute the Ottomanization of the past, that is, the appropriation by the ruling group of the visible past of the city. This chapter places new interventions on older structures in the context of an ongoing, multilayered dialogue between the ruling group, the urban dwellers, and the past of the city as embodied in buildings and spaces created by previous dynasties. Indeed, Ottomans remade the urban fabric of a provincial city not only by creating new buildings, but also by destroying older buildings, allowing others to remain, and modifying yet others according to Ottoman expectations of architecture and the needs of rituals reflective of the new social order. Through these different means, Ottoman hegemony was articulated in the urban space. Chapter 6 investigates the way the city was conceptualized and represented in text and painting. Textual genres from a number of traditions, and in both Arabic and Ottoman, are compared in light of what they reveal about the way people defined and perceived cities, how they understood urban life, and how they ascribed meaning to the built environment. Chapter Seven as an epilogue reviews and refines the critical issues in the Ottomanization of Aleppo, and considers the implications of the conclusions to other cities in the Ottoman empire and the early modern Mediterranean.

Throughout the book each building complex is systematically examined in terms of its conception as reflected in the endowment deed, its form and organization, its placement within the urban fabric and its relation to surrounding structures. Such detailed study of each building complex, which synthesizes various types of evidence, fills a gap in the scholarship and provides the foundation for the discussion of broader issues, including the choices in the form of buildings and their importance, and the urban hegemonies to which they bear witness. The book posits that an Ottoman way of integrating cities within the empire was a highly flexible yet recognizable process, whose evolution can be traced in Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus various kinds of evidence are brought to bear on the process of Ottomanization, to contribute to the ongoing discovery and interpretation of signs from the past, like those traced in writing on the doors of the 'Adiliyya Mosque.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ALEPPINE CONTEXT

This chapter considers the context of sixteenth century Aleppine architecture. It presents the urban character of the Mamluk city, and charts the manner in which Aleppo was integrated into the Ottoman empire by analyzing the architectural signs imposed by the Ottomans during the period immediately following conquest, and defining the character of patronage in the Ottoman period. It introduces the major urban developments of the sixteenth century and clarifies their link to the rise of Aleppo in the global networks of commerce and manufacture.

The Late Mamlūk City

The Ottomans inherited a city layered with monuments constructed by successive dynasties since the earliest periods of human civilization, and that most recently served as a Mamlūk regional capital (Fig. 1).¹ In terms of urban form, Aleppo's ramparts stood as urban boundaries and the gates provided controllable access points into the urban core, despite the development of suburban neighborhoods. The last Mamlūk sultan Qāṣṣauh al-Ghūrī renovated the ramparts as well as the citadel to render them able to withstand artillery.² Consequently, the ramparts, particularly at urban thresholds, often bear large-scale epigraphy in a Mamlūk hand displaying the name and titles of the patron, as well as roundels known as *ranks*, the distinctive circular Mamlūk blazons that were ubiquitous markers in that society.³

¹ On the urbanism of late Mamlūk Aleppo see Sauvaget, *Alep*, chpt. 9, and Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 1, 180–185.

² By the late Mamlūk period, Aleppo's ramparts were considered antiquated because they could not withstand artillery. Sauvaget, *Alep*, discusses the ramparts in each chapter; MCIA 1:1, Chapter 1: "Fortifications d'Alep," 29–76. Jean Sauvaget, "L'enceinte primitive de la ville d'Alep," In *Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas*, vol. 1 (1929): 133–159; Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power*, 19–23.

³ *ET*², s.v. "Rank," by Nasser Rabbat.

Beyond the walled city, extra-urban neighborhoods had grown since the medieval period, localized around an entrance to a commercial or ceremonial artery. They included the neighborhoods of Judayda (literally, “the little new one”) and Ṣalība to the northwest that housed the communal institutions of local Christians. Beyond the Gate of Bab al-Maqām to the south stood the neighborhood of Maqāmāt that contained Maqām Ibrāhīm, a shrine to the Prophet Abraham, and the ancient Ṣāliḥīn cemetery.⁴ Urbanization extended to the city’s eastern periphery, where industries related to the caravan trade were located on the northeastern “antenna” formed by the Banqūsa neighborhood.⁵

The large open space at the foot of the citadel’s gate, the Taḥt al-Qal’a, was a focus for commercial and ceremonial activities. There the Mamlūk troops paraded weekly, and a horse market was held. Nearby the Mamlūk governor hosted audiences twice a week at the Dār al-‘Adl (House of Justice).⁶ From the west foot of the citadel to Bāb Anṭākiyya (Antioch Gate) stretched the city’s ancient rectilinear spine, its *cardo maximus*, where its most ancient monuments were located, including the Great Mosque and the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya, both antique religious enclosures converted into mosques in the medieval period. This spine was also the focus of increased commercial activity in the fifteenth century. In the Ayyubid period, a ceremonial axis lined with monuments had linked the citadel to Maqāmāt, and the shrine of Abraham on the citadel to the shrine of Abraham outside the gate.⁷ While the Mamlūks did not maintain the Ayyubid ceremonies along this axis, they nonetheless added their own monuments along it as well, such as the Mosque-Mausoleum of Aqbughā al-Uṭrūsh (1399–1410), considered to feature the most elegant Mamlūk façade in Aleppo.⁸

⁴ The city’s association with the Prophet Abraham is ancient and will be discussed below. The extramural shrine of Abraham is paralleled by another Maqām Ibrāhīm in the citadel, marked by an Ayyubid mosque, Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power*. The Ṣāliḥīn cemetery was the most important extramural Muslim cemetery of Aleppo. For the locations of cemeteries, see Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate LXII.

⁵ Sauvaget, *Alep*, Chapter 9; Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, see Chapter IV: “The Commercial Institutions of a Caravan City,” 110–145. Banqūsa received almost no patronage in the Ottoman period.

⁶ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 169. Nasser Rabbat, “The Ideological Significance of the Dar al-‘Adl in the Medieval Islamic Orient,” *IJMES* 27:1 (1995): 3–28.

⁷ Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power*, 68–69, and fig. 18.

⁸ On the Mosque-Mausoleum of Aqbughā al-Uṭrūsh: Meinecke, *Mamlūkische Architektur*, Cat. no. 26A/2; MCIA 362–66; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 177, fig. 45, Pl. XXXVII.

Mamlūk monuments were the result of the patronage of powerful *amīrs* (military commanders) who favored building complexes that featured the patron's mausoleum prominently, signaled by a dome. In the major cities of their empire, like Cairo, Jerusalem, Aleppo and Damascus, Mamlūk patrons tended to place their monuments on pre-existing urban arteries, adjusting to the dense urban fabric, rather than isolating them as setpieces.⁹ This general feature was borne out in Aleppo, where Mamlūk structures were localized along the northeastern antenna, the citadel-Maqāmāt axis, and less prominently, the citadel-Antioch Gate road. The distinctive, elegantly carved stone masonry of the Mamlūk architecture of Aleppo and its polychrome decorative repertoire remained ubiquitous features of the city's visual language through the Ottoman period.

The patronage career of the last Mamlūk governor, Khā'ir Bak (d. 1522) is useful both to illustrate the urban distribution of monuments in the late Mamlūk period and to introduce the Mamlūk architectural "signature." His two major monuments in Aleppo, a mausoleum and a caravanserai reflect a customary emphasis on two urban areas.¹⁰ The mausoleum was built in 1514 outside Bāb al-Maqām, in the Maqāmāt quarter,¹¹ highlighting the continuing importance of this area as a locus of burial. In plan, the Turba of Khā'ir Bak (Pl. 3) consists of an *iḡwān* (three-sided vaulted room) flanked by two domed rooms. The domes resting on octagonal drums are clearly visible from the exterior. The façade features a series of recessed niches, along which runs a continuous band of large scale writing. Blazons appear between the niches, and the doors are flanked by horizontal bands of joggled, multi-colored stones (usually limestone and basalt), in a technique known as *ablaq*, considered typical of the Mamlūk period.¹² The visual idiom of this façade, typical of the

⁹ For an analysis of this process in Cairo, see Howayda al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space in Mamlūk Architecture," *Muqamas* 18 (2001): 73–93.

¹⁰ In addition, Khā'ir Bak built a fountain in the Suwayqat 'Alī quarter near the commercial spine in 1508 (Gaubé and Wirth Cat. No. 186; Gaubé, *Inscriften*, No. 11) and he renovated the Khān Ūjkhān (discussed below).

¹¹ It is datable by inscription: MCIA 1:2, 406–7, no. 276.

¹² On the Turba of Khā'ir Bak: Jean Sauvaget, "Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep," *Revue des études islamiques* 5:1 (1931), 96 (Henceforth Sauvaget, "Inventaire"); Gaubé and Wirth, 161, Cat. No. 656, fig. 38; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 2, 469, Cat. No. 47/95; Tabbākh 2, V, 406; This shrine is sometimes known today as Shaykh 'Alī: Muḥammad As'ad Ṭalas, *Al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya wa'l-tārīkhīyya fī Ḥalab* (Damascus: Maṭbū'āt Mudiriyyat al-Āthār al-'Ammā fī Sūriyya, 1956), 125.

Mamlūk monumental architecture of Aleppo, was to remain a feature of the city's architecture in the Ottoman era.

The last Mamlūk governor's second major work, the caravanserai known as Khān Khā'ir Bak¹³ represented a trend that had begun in the late fifteenth century: the concentration of major commercial buildings along the street which led from the Antioch Gate to the Citadel. Previously, caravanserais tended to be located outside of the walled city; now they occupied its center. Caravanserais built in the central location in the late Mamlūk period include the Khan of the Amīr Abrak (1510)¹⁴ (Pl. 4) and the Caravanserai of the Governor Azdamur, better known as Khān al-Ṣābūn (beg. 1479) (Pl. 5).¹⁵ Similar monumental caravanserais with street façades featuring elaborate inscriptions were built in other sections of the city as well, such as the Khān al-Qāḍī in the Bāb Qīnnesrīn quarter,¹⁶ Khān al-Ikīnjī outside Bāb Banqūsa on the northeastern "antenna,"¹⁷ and the Khān Ūjkhān in the al-Mar'ashlī quarter outside of the Bāb al-Naṣr to the north (Pl. 6).¹⁸ This flurry of commercial buildings corresponds in the historical record with the revitalization of trade with Aleppo's rich hinterland, and of the long-distance trade beyond. The trend of Mamlūk officials' endowing monumental commercial buildings in

¹³ Ghazzī 2, II, 151; Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 96, no. 59; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 172, n. 649, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXIII, LIX (groundplan); Gaube and Wirth, Cat. No. 171; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, v. 1, fig. 137 (groundplan), Cat. no. 47/94.

¹⁴ Also called Khān al-Qaṣṣābiyya: Ghazzī 2, II, 178; Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 94, no. 57; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXXI, LIX (Groundplan); MCIA 1:2, 403–404, inscription 271 and 272, MCIA 2, Plate CLXXb; Gaube and Wirth, Cat. No. 61; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, Cat. No. 47/72, vol. 1, Pl. 129b, groundplan: fig. 136.

¹⁵ Khān al-Ṣābūn will be discussed further later. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 1:1, 286–290; Ghazzī 2, II, 151; Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 97, no. 62; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 172, n. 649; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXII and XXIII; Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 137; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, Cat. No. 42/194, v. 1, fig. 134 (groundplan), v. 2, 435.

¹⁶ Khān al-Qāḍī is the oldest extant caravanserai in Aleppo. According to epigraphy it predates 1441. Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 107, no. 86; MCIA 1:2, 375–378, inscriptions 228, 230; Gaube and Wirth, Cat. No. 418; Ṭalas, 150; Tabbākh 2, II, 368.

¹⁷ Khān al-Ikīnjī ("the Second Khān") is the popular Aleppine pronunciation of the what would be in Modern Turkish orthography, *ikinci*. It was built around 1490 outside Bāb Banqūsa. Gaube and Wirth, 402, No. 555.

¹⁸ Or "Triple Caravanserai," Khān Ūjkhān is the popular Aleppine pronunciation of the what would be in Modern Turkish orthography, *Üç Han*. This caravanserai was renovated by Khā'ir Bak in 1515; its original date seems to be 1495–1498. Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 96, no. 60; MCIA 1:2, 373–375, 406; Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 333, fig. 243; Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 478; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, v. 2, 454–455, Cat. No. 47/24.

Aleppo prefigures the Ottoman practice of sponsoring similar structures. It seems that the Mamlūk caravanserais conformed to the same standards of formal quality regardless of their urban location. In other words, the level of patronage determined the form of Mamlūk caravanserais, whereas, as discussed in Chapter 3, in the Ottoman period urban context and location determined the form chosen for a caravanserai, evincing an awareness of the historical fabric of the city.

The style of the Mamlūk caravanserais set the tone for subsequent commercial structures in Aleppo. In their basic configuration their groundplans recall caravanserais anywhere in the Islamic world: two-story rectangular buildings centered around a courtyard with a single entrance, combining the functions of inn and warehouse.¹⁹ The local availability of stone and of skilled craftsmen determined the distinctive feature of Aleppo's Mamlūk caravanserais, the elaborate facades on the street, emphasizing the doorway framed by foundation inscriptions. The fronts of the Khān al-Šābūn, the Khān Ūjkhān and the Khān Khā'ir Bak exhibit epigraphy and geometric ornament. Those of the Khān Ūjkhān and the Khān Khā'ir Bak, which shared a patron, display a band of Mamlūk naskh writing on the upper part of the wall, surmounting an arch that frames the doorway. The area between the arch and the writing band is elaborately carved with vegetal motifs. The entrance to the Khān Khā'ir Bak (Pl. 7) features a motif ubiquitous in the Mamlūk architecture of Aleppo: horizontal rows of stone in alternating colors cover the entire façade. The relatively small door is set within a monumental arch, whose voussoirs are also striped. Breaking the monotony, a joggled stringcourse crosses the middle of the façade. Its center defines a symmetrical axis, and is aligned with the keystone of the arch below. This elaborate façade treatment can be found in all the major cities of the Mamlūk realm; however, its ubiquitous use on prestige monuments, combined with the local stone creates a version of the Mamlūk idiom typical of Aleppo. Michael Meinecke postulated the existence of an Aleppo school of stonemasonry, and attributed the similarity of Mamlūk architectural forms across the empire to the migration of artisans from

¹⁹ On commercial architecture see *ET*², s.v. "Khān," by Nikita Elisséeff; Eleanor Sims, "Trade and Travel: Markets and Caravanserais," In *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. G. Michell (New York, 1978), 80–111; Hillenbrand, Chapter on caravanserais, in *Islamic Architecture*, 331–376; 548–567.

this school.²⁰ Whether we assume that such a tradition of craftsmanship endured unchanged beyond the Mamlūk period, this format, or Mamlūk signature, as it were, was reused and transformed in Ottoman structures of the same type in Aleppo.

The epigraphic program of the Khān of Khāʾir Bak illustrates the continuity of the urban visual language between the late Mamlūk and the early Ottoman periods. Of the khan's two inscriptions,²¹ both accompanied by the patron's blazons, one, dated 1514, appears on the metal panes of the entrance door. The later inscription on the west wall of the courtyard, dated 1522, bears the name of the Ottoman Sultan Süleymân. Both inscriptions are in the same Mamlūk naskh style. An Ottoman hand was not chosen for the second inscription.²² Rather, the inscription evinces stylistic continuity while indicating a change in the socio-political order semantically. The Ottoman presence was signaled through other visual means.

The First Ottoman Signs

On 25 Rajab 922/24 August 1516, the Ottoman Sultan Selīm the Grim defeated the Mamlūk Sultan Qānṣauh al-Ghūrī at the battle of Marj Dābiq near Aleppo. As Khāʾir Bak had aided this victory by shifting his allegiance from one sultan to the other, the city was occupied peacefully, and was spared looting and destruction.²³

This victory signaled the integration of the vast Mamlūk realm into the Ottoman empire, with wide-ranging consequences for the new polity. Through this victory, the Ottoman sultan supplanted the

²⁰ Michael Meinecke, "Mamluk Architecture. Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 163–75, Plates 48–55.

²¹ MCIA 1:2, 404–405, inscriptions 273, 274; MCIA 2, Pl. CLXXa and b.

²² A variation in the blazon of Khāʾir Bak may or may not indicate a response to the Ottoman presence. Khāʾir Bak's blazon occurs three times in Aleppo: on the 1514 caravanserai inscription, on the exterior of his mausoleum, and on the exterior of Jāmiʿ al-Sharaf. The blazon is the same in all instances; however, the 1514 blazon is surmounted by a crescent and a star. Assuming the crescent and the star were perceived as Ottoman symbols, could this be a later (post-Ottoman conquest) addition to the most visible inscription in the caravanserai, to proclaim the new allegiance of the patron?

²³ Khāʾir Bak was rewarded with an appointment as governor-general of the province of Mişır. For an Aleppine account of these events, see the biography of Sultan Selīm I in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 1:2, 664–668. For compilations of local sources on the battle of Marj Dābiq and Selīm's entry into Aleppo, Tabbākḥ 2, III, 125–142, Ghazzī 2, III, 192–198.

Abbasid caliph as the custodian of the Two Noble Sanctuaries of Mecca and Madina, an important trapping of Islamic sovereignty. In Cairo, the Mamlūk capital, the Ottomans inherited a city Ibn Khaldun called “the mother of the world,” one of the oldest and most diverse Islamic cities, covered with monuments and shrines. Selīm relocated relics of the Prophet and of the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs from Cairo to Istanbul, forever enhancing the religious importance of the House of Osman. The concentration of Islamic memorials in the former Mamlūk cities set them apart from other towns the Ottomans had conquered, including Istanbul, the former Byzantine capital. Aleppo had been part of the *dār al-islām* (the Islamic realm) since 637. The name of the city in Arabic, Ḥalab, reflects the local tradition of its genesis in which the Prophet Abraham stopped at the site of the city and milked (*ḥalaba*) his goat.²⁴ Boasting shrines to Abraham and Khidr, relics of the Prophet Zakariyya and of the *ahl al-bayt* (family of the Prophet), Aleppo like Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo was the subject of a literature in the genre of *faḍā’il*, or virtues of cities celebrating its Islamic sites and the great deeds of its notable inhabitants.²⁵ Aleppo’s Islamic “credentials,” therefore, were well-established, as were its long-standing Muslim institutions. For Istanbul and the cities of Eastern Europe, Ottomanization entailed a process of Islamization in the sense of the introduction of Islamic signs in predominantly Christian landscapes. In the case of the former Mamlūk realm, Ottomanization entailed the incorporation of a pre-existing Islamic social order into new dynastic structures of administration, control and representation.

The immediate takeover or destruction of monuments or religious shrines usually follows the conquest of a city. Upon entering Constantinople, Mehmed II and his retinue collectively prayed in the city’s most prominent church, the Hagia Sophia, indicating publicly and dramatically its transformation into a mosque. Later architectural

²⁴ The earliest text recording the founding of Aleppo by Abraham is, Yāqūt, ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, *Muḥjam al-Buldān*, 1st ed., ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī al-Kutūbī, 10 vols. (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1906–1907).

²⁵ The nineteenth-century poem of Shaykh Wafā’ lists the shrines of Aleppo according to their location: Shaykh Wafā’, *Awliyā’ Ḥalab*. Julia Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung im urbanen Kontext am Beispiel von Aleppo (Syrien)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1995), lists the shrines of the city. The genre of biographical dictionaries and topographical histories focusing on Aleppo is discussed in Chapter 6. On the Ottoman perception of the religious importance of Mamluk cities, particularly Istanbul, see Kafescioğlu, “Aleppo and Damascus,” 71.

modifications, some visible from the exterior (the removal of the bell-tower and cross at the summit of the dome, the addition of minarets), and some marking the Muslim usage of the interior (the addition of a mihrāb and minbar indicating the direction of Mecca) made the monument's transformation permanent.²⁶ In a predominantly sunni Muslim city, a sunni Muslim conqueror's act of prayer at the Great Mosque could not have the same dramatic charge of transformation. Placing the stamp of Ottoman presence in such a space required other means. In many instances Ottoman practice consisted in placing a visually recognizable stamp on the most topographically salient site of a conquered city. For example, Cairo's earliest Ottoman mosque, that of Süleymân Pasha, was built on the citadel in 1528, featuring a prominent Rumi-style minaret.²⁷ While the mosque was a modest endowment, its location nonetheless ensured its visibility. In Damascus, conquered at the same time as Aleppo from the Mamlūk state, the Ottoman architectural imprint was immediate: Selīm I renovated the tomb of the mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī in 923–924/1517–1518 and constructed an institutional complex near it.²⁸ The buildings were in a style recognizable as Ottoman from the exterior, with pencil-shaped minarets and low hemispherical domes, imprinting a visually novel sign onto the cityscape. The complex did not replace any existing mosques in Damascus, as the shrine to Ibn al-ʿArabī was located in the suburb of Ṣālīhiyya on the slope of Mount Qāṣyūn. Rather, this act of patronage reinforced the Islamic legitimacy of the new

²⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. Robert Mark and Ahmet Çakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195–225.

²⁷ Ülkü Ü. Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," in Bierman et al., eds., *Ottoman City*, 129–172; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 244–250. For a discussion of early Ottoman monuments in Cairo and their reuse of Mamlūk forms, see Irene A. Bierman, "Architecture: Traditional Forms," in John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 118–128. In the seventeenth century, the placement of an Ottoman-style mosque on the most topographically salient site of a conquered city remained in force, as in Bierman, "Ottomanization of Crete."

²⁸ Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 1546), in Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans (658–1156/1260–1744): Traduction des annales d'Ibn Ṭūlūn et d'Ibn Ġum'a* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1952), 149. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 547–548. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimârisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri (886–926/1481–1520)* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1983), 447–448. Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1924), 127. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 1:2, 667; Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām* (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-taraqqī, 1925–1928), vol. 6, 142; Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, 105, No. 109; Al-Riḥānī and Ouéchék, "Deux takiyyas de Damas."

ruler without demolishing or reshaping any of the city's established sacred sites. However, the new complex competed with previous Damascene mosques, especially the Umayyad Great Mosque: possibly the new complex was conceived as an alternative to the Great Mosque, as reflected in the ceremonials enacted in it such as distribution of food and alms by the Sultan, and visits by the Ottoman governors on certain Fridays.²⁹ Thus in Damascus within two years of conquest the Ottomans established an alternative urban nucleus that competed with previous social and religious foci without demolishing them.

There were no such dramatic interventions in Aleppo in the wake of conquest. Contrary to expectation, the imposition of visually distinctive Ottoman mosque complexes in the city was delayed significantly.³⁰ The first among them, the complex of Hüsrev Pasha, was completed in 1546, about thirty years after the battle of Marj Dābiq. The case of Aleppo's citadel is particularly distinctive, as one would have expected the Ottomanization of Aleppo to open with the erection of a monument on it. Dominating the city and visible from all points, the citadel had been inhabited since the city's earliest history. It was shaped most thoroughly by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (r. 1193–1215), a son of Saladin.³¹ The last Mamlūk sultan Qānṣauḥ al-Ghūrī remodeled the main gate, making it the instantly recognizable visual sign it remains in Syria today, as the icon of Aleppo.³² Unlike Cairo, or Athens, where a Rumi-style minaret on the citadel signaled the Ottoman presence, in Aleppo's fort, no existing monuments were removed or modified, and the Ayyubid-period minaret of the Great Mosque of the Citadel remained the most visible indicator of Islamic rule, until today.

Nevertheless, the citadel was Ottomanized in less visually prominent ways. It was taken over *legally*, turned into the personal domain (*milk*) of the sultan. As such, it became extra-territorial to the city and beyond the authority of the provincial governor. It housed the military garrison and its commander, the *dizdār*,³³ as well as the mint, which

²⁹ Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus," 74.

³⁰ David, "Domaines," 179.

³¹ See Tabbā, "Circles of Power," 181, especially his discussion of the significance of the minaret of the Great Mosque of the Citadel and its visibility in the Ayyubid period.

³² The gate of the citadel appears on the paper currency of the Syrian Arab Republic, and on the logo of the University of Aleppo.

³³ Damascus, Markaz al-Wathā'iq al-Waṭaniyya (National Archives): Awāmīr

produced coins bearing the name of the reigning sultan and of the city.³⁴ The citadel was stamped with the first Ottoman architectonic sign in Aleppo: a tower bearing a Sultanic inscription. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence indicate that Süleymân built a tower to the west of the portal, and possibly carried out more extensive renovations as well (Pl. 8).³⁵ On this tower, an Arabic inscription dated Muḥarram 928/December 1521, prominent in size, was designed to be noticed—if not read—from below. In its semantic content, the description is a standard “renovation text.” However, the titles of the Ottoman ruler are different from those of a Mamlūk ruler as encountered in public writing. A careful reader in 1522 would realize that not only was there a new sovereign, but there was a new type of dynastic rule as well. In close proximity to monumental inscriptions by previous rulers, including, most recently, the defeated Qāṣauḥ al-Ghūrī, Süleymân’s also espoused a new visual style: Ottoman *naskh* rather than the Mamlūk calligraphic style. Thus both the semantic content and the visual style of the inscription indicated a new social order.³⁶ This sign was added alongside other signs by previous rulers on the exterior of the citadel.³⁷ This sign was not designed to overpower the previous ones. Instead, in its content and in its form, it denoted with great economy, to the cultured eye, the change in rule. In addition, the deliberate placement of the inscription on the citadel’s exte-

Ṣultāniyya (Imperial Decrees) for Aleppo (henceforth AS Aleppo), vol. 1, p. 106, document 222, dated 1690. The document is in Ottoman. (NB: No Awāmīr Ṣultāniyya are available for Aleppo in the sixteenth century).

³⁴ Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Osmanische Numismatik: von den Anfängen des Osmanischen Reiches bis zu seiner Auflösung 1922* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1973). For coins minted when the Sultan was in residence in Aleppo: Tabbākh 2, III, 146 (Süleymân I), 206 (Murād IV). See also İnalcık and Quataert, 56–57.

³⁵ Moritz Sobernheim, “Die arabischen Inschriften von Aleppo,” *Der Islam* 15:2/4 (1926), 166–7, inscription 6; MCIA 1:1, 110, inscription 56; MCIA 2, Pl. XXXII c, Pl. XXIVc (Groundplan). Herzfeld observed that this tower was part of Süleymân’s partial reparation of the towers rebuilt by Qāṣauḥ al-Ghūrī and interpreted the inscription to mean that the renovation outfitted the ramparts against artillery. No architectural discussions of Aleppo other than Herzfeld’s take account of this intervention. For Süleymân’s patronage in the provinces, see André Raymond, “Le sultan Süleymân et l’activité architecturale dans les provinces arabes de l’empire,” in Veinstein, ed., *Soliman le Magnifique*, 371–384.

³⁶ These distinctions from Mamlūk practice are significant even though the language of Süleymân’s inscription is Arabic rather than Ottoman. A model for the analysis of Islamic public writing in terms of semantic content and visual style as parallel orders of representation is provided by Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

³⁷ For a diagram of the inscriptions at the citadel and their dates, see Gaube & Wirth, 169, fig. 40.

rior wall maximized its visibility to the urban dwellers. This section of the wall overlooked one of the largest open areas in the city that was also one of the busiest: a temporary marketplace that served as the Mamlūk horse bazaar and later as the *sūq al-Jum‘a* or Friday market. This inscription remained the only official Ottoman stamp on the citadel until the nineteenth century.³⁸ This stamp on Aleppo’s citadel linked it to other provincial Ottoman cities in the Levant such as Damascus and Tripoli, whose citadels were similarly renovated by Süleymân.

The second earliest Ottoman architectural intervention in Aleppo, also by Sultan Süleymân, took the form of a relatively modest structure, a public fountain, which maximized its effect through a strategic location. The *Qaşal al-Sultân* occupied an urban threshold just outside *Bâb al-Faraj*, the city’s northwestern gate.³⁹ Originally built of stone, surmounted by a domed portico and bearing an undated inscription that listed the titles of Süleymân, the fountain probably dated to the mid-1530’s, around the time when the Sultan sponsored the construction of similar fountains in provincial centers such as Jerusalem.⁴⁰ It was part of a charitable endowment (*waqf*) and its upkeep was ensured by the income of an orchard and several shops nearby.⁴¹ It was demolished to make way for the clocktower erected by Sultan ‘Abdül-Ĥamîd II in 1316/1898–99.⁴²

³⁸ An apparently minor restoration of the Mosque of Abraham in the citadel was carried out by the *hazinedâr* Muştafâ: Sobernheim, “Arabischen Inschriften,” 206, inscription 42. In 1834 Ibrâhîm Pasha, son of Kavalalı Mehmed ‘Alî (Muḥammad ‘Alî of Egypt), who occupied Aleppo between 1831 and 1837 built barracks well within the citadel. Invisible to the pedestrian on the street below, the barracks bear an official inscription in the Ottoman language, and in an Ottoman epigraphic style.

³⁹ In her study of seventeenth-century Crete Bierman identified “urban thresholds” as a privileged location for Ottoman monuments, “Urban Transformations,” 301–309.

⁴⁰ The inscription is in Arabic. MCIA 1:1, 43, inscription no. 5. The calligraphic style was described as Kufic (top line), and as *naskhî* (bottom line). The description of the now-destroyed fountain is derived from M. van Berchem’s field notes. The fountain was restored in 1226/1811 according to an additional inscription. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 233, n. 882. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 366–7, described the fountain and quotes the inscription, whose form he identified as “celî.” Ghazzî 2, II, 163 quoted the undated foundation inscription and suggests a building date of 940/1533–34, the year of Süleymân’s first visit to Aleppo. However, elsewhere, Ghazzî 2, III, 205, dated the fountain to 956/1549, the year of Süleymân’s second visit to Aleppo. Raymond, “Activité architecturale,” 383, n. 9 suggested 1536–37, the dates when Süleymân built similar fountains in Jerusalem. For a list of Süleymân’s sojourns in Aleppo, see *ibid.*, 371.

⁴¹ For a summary of the fountain’s *waqfiyya*, see Ghazzî 2, II, 164.

⁴² The demolition of the fountain and the erection of the clocktower were part of ‘Abdül-Ĥamîd II’s urban renewal efforts in provincial cities, Ghazzî 2, II, 164.

Since the fountain has not survived, and only verbal descriptions are available, it is difficult to assess its style and impact. This fountain figures in a scholarly debate on imperial patronage that reveals the main assumptions about Ottoman architectural production in provincial centers. André Raymond asserted that Süleymân's fountains in Jerusalem and Aleppo were built in a common regional style, and he compared the surviving examples to Mamlūk-period fountains in Aleppo.⁴³ Like Michael Meinecke, Raymond postulated the existence of local architects and craftsmen in the employ of the sultan who "very naturally" employed the forms practiced in the Mamlūk period. In his view, this local style was distinct from and coexisted with the imperial style of contemporary commissions such as the Khusruwiyya in Aleppo and the Sulaymāniyya Complex in Damascus (1555).⁴⁴ From a quantitative point of view, according to Raymond, monuments in "local, traditional" styles predominated among Süleymân's commissions in the former Mamlūk provinces.⁴⁵ The evidence indeed suggests that in cities with strong local building traditions, as in former Mamlūk cities, but also Anatolian towns such as Diyarbakır and Van, more than one stylistic choice existed and was practiced simultaneously by Ottoman patrons. The next three chapters analyze such stylistic choices in Aleppo and their urban and architectural contexts. The discussion of the Fountain of Süleymân brings to the fore the assumption in the literature that in contexts such as

The gate of Bāb al-Faraj was apparently also demolished. A photograph of Bāb al-Faraj from before 1899 was published as an unpaginated plate Shaykh Wafā', *Awliyā' Halab*.

⁴³ Raymond, "Activité architecturale," 384, n. 15. In his judgment that the Qaṣṭal al-Sulṭān resembled Mamlūk-period fountains, Raymond is at odds with van Berchem, who described the fountain he studied before its demolition as being in a "style Soliman," cited in MCIA 1:1, 43, as well as Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "On Suleiman's Sabils in Jerusalem," In *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al., (Princeton, N. J.: Darwin, 1989): 589–607. For a discussion of Süleymân's building activity in Jerusalem, see Michael Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaiman Qānūnī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine* 3 (1988): 257–283, 338–360.

⁴⁴ The Khusruwiyya is discussed in Chapter 3; for the Complex of Sultan Süleymân in Damascus, also known as the Takiyya Sulaymāniyya, attributed to Sinân, see Godfrey Goodwin, "The Tekke of Süleyman I, Damascus," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* CX (1978): 127–129; Al-Rīḥānī and Ouéchék, "Deux takiyyas de Damas;" Aptullah Kuran, "Şam Süleymaniye Külliyesi," in Zeki Sönmez, ed., *Mimar Sinân dönemi Türk mimarlığı ve sanatı* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1988): 169–172; Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus."

⁴⁵ Raymond, "Activité architecturale," 377. Raymond uses the category "Arab provinces," while I use "former Mamlūk provinces" instead.

the Levant, with a history of local architectural production, there continued to exist a dichotomy of visual languages, central-Ottoman and local, that these visual languages remained distinct and autonomous, and that this dichotomy reveals deeper structures of identification. By contrast, the next chapters also show that in the provinces, the presence of features from various traditions in almost every single Ottoman monuments question the assumption of distinct and separate artistic traditions.

Beyond the issue of whether Süleymân's fountains quoted Rumi or Mamlūk architectural forms, it is significant that similar types of architectural interventions took place simultaneously in provincial cities. Süleymân's construction of a monumental public fountain and the renovation of the citadel in Aleppo were part of a broader project of marking provincial cities with the construction of public structures with similar functions and somewhat similar forms. In this manner Süleymân established the Ottoman presence in the former Mamlūk cities with a degree of standardization. He created signs, however modest, to bind those cities to each other, and to Ottoman rule. In addition to such standardized and understated interventions, in the early sixteenth century, Süleymân also undertook the Ottomanization of the most important Islamic shrines of the former Mamlūk empire, through the restorations of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Two Noble Sanctuaries.⁴⁶ The accumulation of these signs ultimately created a distinctive Ottoman cityscape that was characterized by the layering of architectural strata and an openness to formal diversity.

The Character of Architectural Patronage

Apart from the two interventions by Süleymân discussed above, members of the Ottoman dynasty undertook no major building projects in Aleppo until the very end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ By contrast,

⁴⁶ Beatrice St. Laurent and András Riedlmayer, "Restorations of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock and their Political Significance, 1537–1928," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 76–84.

⁴⁷ 'Until Abdül-Ḥamîd II's extensive urban projects in the late nineteenth century, only a few minor projects were patronized by sultans in Aleppo. An undated inscription in Arabic on the fourth tower south of Bâb Anṭakiyya commemorates the partial renovation of the ramparts by Aḥmed I (r. 1603–1617): MCIA 1:1, 58,

sultans and their relatives endowed major complexes in other former Mamlūk cities. In Damascus, the sixteenth century saw the construction of two sultanī complexes, both with a religious significance: the Complex of Selīm I centered on the tomb of Ibn al-‘Arabī, and the Takiyya Sulaymāniyya, which supported the annual pilgrimage (*hajj*) to the Two Noble Sanctuaries, for which Damascus was an important station.⁴⁸ Jerusalem, which like Damascus figured prominently in the Ottoman religious consciousness, received the patronage of members of the royal household such as Hürrem Sultan, Süleymân’s consort.⁴⁹ Instead, it was the patronage of Ottoman officials which transformed the urban landscape of Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In this study I distinguish, in a general sense, between two types of patronage: that of Ottoman officials based at the imperial capital, and that of the local notability. The Ottoman system of rotation ensured that the officials who administered the empire—governors, military men, judges and tax collectors—would move to a different district every few years, keeping them dependent on the central authority by preventing them from fostering regional ties and loyalties.⁵⁰

inscription no. 13. A renovation inscription of Maḥmūd I (r. 1730–1754) appears on the eastern ramparts: MCIA 1:1, 70, inscription no. 24. In 1291/1874, Abdül ‘Azîz donated a *kisva* to the cenotaph of Zakariyya in the Great Mosque of Aleppo: Ghazzī 2, II, 187.

⁴⁸ The religious significance of Damascus held an important place in the Ottoman consciousness, see Kafescioğlu, “Aleppo and Damascus,” 71. On the Takiyya Sulaymāniyya, see above. For Damascus and the pilgrimage, see: Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “New Light on the Transportation of the Damascene Pilgrimage during the Ottoman Period,” in Robert Olson, ed., *Islamic and Middle Eastern Societies: A Festschrift in honor of Professor Wadie Jwaideh* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1987); idem, “Le Mahmal en route pour la Mecque,” in Anne-Marie Bianquis, ed., *Damas, miroir brisé d’un Orient arabe* (Paris: Autrement, 1993); Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas: 450 foyers damascains en 1700* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1994), Chpt. 1.

⁴⁹ Leslie Peirce, “Gender and Sexual Propriety in Ottoman Royal Women’s Patronage,” in D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000): 53–68; Amy Singer, “The Mülknāmes of Hürrem Sultan’s Waqf in Jerusalem,” *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 96–102.

⁵⁰ On the Ottoman system of provincial administration, see Halil Inalcik, “State, Land, and Peasant,” in Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), vol. 1, 103–178; for the seventeenth century, see Chapter 2 of Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). Metin Kunt analyzed the social category and career paths of Ottoman officials, in “Ethnic Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,” *IJMES* 5 (1974), and idem, *Sultan’s Servants*.

While it was afforded a certain degree of political and administrative autonomy, the province of Ḥaleb with Aleppo as its capital was administered by governors (*beğlerbeğis* or *vâlîs*) appointed directly by Istanbul.⁵¹ Ottoman administrative policy ensured that the empire's officials were not drawn from the established Muslim-born urban notability, but rather from the pool of trainees of the Palace school that were of slave origin and therefore could not command loyalties of clan and kin. The local sources evince a sense of distinction between the members of the local Sunni notability, even when they were enmeshed in Ottoman bureaucratic and religious structures, and the Ottoman official class. Biographical dictionaries of great men of Aleppo such as that of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī record the deeds of both social categories, but dwell on the family interconnections of the local notables.⁵² Thus in Ottoman Aleppo, the nature of patronage changed. In the Mamlūk period governors, Amīrs as well as wealthy local merchants had endowed the most prominent monuments and the most significant infrastructural projects. For example, epigraphic evidence indicates that a wealthy merchant, Burd Bak, financed the entire refurbishment of the water system of the suburban northwestern neighborhoods at the end of the fifteenth century.⁵³ Patronage of such scope by merchants or other local luminaries was rare in the Ottoman period until the eighteenth century. The major patrons were now Ottoman officials, particularly *beğlerbeğis*, or governors-general.

For the two centuries under study, economic, social and ideological factors made the patronage of the ruling élite more significant than patronage by wealthy but less powerful members of the local urban élite. Both types of patronage occurred simultaneously. Constructions by Aleppines who were not members of the ruling élite from Istanbul

⁵¹ Raymond, *Great Arab Cities*, 3. The governors of the *vilâyet-i Haleb* held the rank of vizier of two feathers in the early Ottoman period. Their title was *paşa*. Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj has discussed the legitimation of Ottoman rule through provincial regulation manuals, "Aspects of the Legitimation of Ottoman Rule as Reflected in the Preambles of Two Early *Liva Kanunnameler*," *Turcica* 21–23 (1991), 371–383.

⁵² This type of literature is discussed in Chapter 6. On the local Sunni notability, see André Raymond, "Groupes sociaux et géographie urbaine à Alep au XVIII^e siècle," in Thomas Philipp, ed., *The Syrian Land in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992): 147–163; Abdul Karim Rafeq, "The Syrian 'Ulamā, Ottoman Law and Islamic Sharī'a," *Turcica* 26 (1994): 9–32; and Margaret L. Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

⁵³ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 181–182.

indicates that they had enough wealth to acquire *milk* (personal property), which they could then turn into *waqf* property.⁵⁴ Epigraphic and archaeological evidence records many such constructions after 1517.⁵⁵ Local notables endowed structures that constituted the focal points of neighborhoods and provided social services. In their style they often conformed to the visual repertory of the late Mamlūk period.⁵⁶ In the first two centuries of Ottoman rule in Aleppo, official Ottoman patronage played a more decisive role than the patronage of the local urban elite. It was the representative of official Ottoman power, the *beğlerbeği*, who built major complexes that transformed the cityscape and altered the focus of public life. The situation was reversed only in the eighteenth century, when the rising power of local notables was reflected in the construction of complexes that dominated the city, just as the patronage of Ottoman officials waned.

Earliest Ottoman Endowments

In the cities of the empire, most dramatically in Istanbul, giant *kül-lîyes* or institutional complexes built by sultans, occupy the summits of the urban hills.⁵⁷ The topography of Aleppo does not have an equally dramatic series of hills on which the institutional complexes

⁵⁴ In Islamic society there are three types of land ownership: *milk* or outright possession of land, *iqṭāʿ* or the revocable right to revenue from land that belongs to the state, and *waqf* or land that is tied in perpetuity to a charitable endowment. Only *milk* can be turned into *waqf*.

⁵⁵ Such constructions by the local urban elite are documented through material remains, endowment deeds, and epigraphy. For example, see VGM, *Waqfiyya* of the late Muḥī al-Dīn Shalabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Kamarshāh Khātūn, Aleppo, 1532, defter 589, p. 44. For epigraphic evidence see MCIA 1:2: Qaraqol near Bāb al-Hadīd, built in 1544 by Asad b. Ḥusayn al-Āmirī (?), inscription 282, p. 411. Maktab al-Ḥamawī, built in 1560–1 by al-ḥajj Muṣṭafā b. Dādā al-Qaramānī: MCIA 1:2, 410, inscription 280; Ghazzī 2, II, 303–304; Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 109, no. 98. The local sharīf al-sayyid Ibrāhīm b. al-sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥāshimī endowed a mosque known as Jāmiʿ Bish Qubba (Beş Kübbe in Ottoman, “Mosque of the Five Domes”) in the Quarter Jubb Asad Allāh in 1590: Ghazzī 2, II, 177; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 234.

⁵⁶ For example, the Mosque of al-Mīdānī (also vocalized Maydānī) is strikingly similar to late Mamlūk mosques. It was endowed by a local sharīf, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, known as Ibn al-Mīdānī, ca. 1527, in the northern suburb of al-Almajī. See David, “Domaines,” 179; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 234; Ghazzī 2, II, 328–329; Gaube & Wirth, Cat. No. 486.

⁵⁷ Speros Vryonis, “Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Imperial Iconography,” In Bierman et al., eds., *Ottoman City*, 13–52.

could be placed. Aleppo's major topographical feature is the citadel, on which the Ottomans chose not to build külliyes. They reshaped the skyline of the city in other ways. Official patronage in Aleppo—that is, patronage by members of the Ottoman ruling body who did not have kinship ties to the city—extended to various types of buildings in throughout the city. When viewed diachronically, patterns emerge as to the type of structures built and their location, which this and the following chapters explore. A few endowments do not fit the pattern, and include single buildings with a specific function which alter their surroundings in small ways, such as the Mausoleum of Gūhar Malikshāh of 1552.⁵⁸

Gūhar Malikshāh, a granddaughter of Sultan Bāyezid II (r. 1481–1512), was the mother of Dūḡakīnzāde Mehmed Pasha, the patron of the ʿĀdiliyya complex (discussed in Chapter 3). Having died in Aleppo on 9 Rabīʿ II 959/4 April 1552, upon her return from the *hajj*,⁵⁹ she was buried there (Pl. 9). The mausoleum's endowment provided a daily stipend of one *dīrhām* to no less than 30 Koran reciters.⁶⁰ In plan, the mausoleum is a simple domed square.⁶¹ In

⁵⁸ Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 108, No. 91; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXXIX; MCIA 1:2, 409, No. 279; MCIA 2, Pl. CLXXI, c (photograph of the inscription); Gaube and Wirth, No. 152; Ghazzī 2, II, 92–93.

⁵⁹ The circumstances of her death are indicated in the mausoleum inscription which states that she was the daughter of ʿĀʾisha, a daughter of Sultan Bāyezid II, MCIA 1:2, 409. Her biography in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 2:1, 69, indicates that she was Mehmed Pasha's mother and the granddaughter of Bāyezid. However, Mehmed Süreyyā states that Mehmed Pasha Dūḡakīnzāde's wife rather than mother was a daughter of Bāyezid, named Jevher-i Mulūk: Süreyyā, *Sijill-i ʿOsmānī*, v. 4, 114. The wife is not the same person as the woman buried in Aleppo, despite the similarity of their names, which are orthographed differently. The biography of Jevher-i Mulūk in the *Sijill-i ʿOsmānī* states that she was the wife of Dūḡakīnzāde Mehmed Pasha, died in 957/1550 and was buried in the mekteb of Zāl Pasha in Eyüp, Istanbul. See also the genealogy of the Ottoman dynasty published by Süreyyā, *Sijill-i ʿOsmānī*, vol. 1, 9. Dūḡakīnzāde Ahmed Pasha, father of Dūḡakīnzāde Mehmed Pasha, was married to ʿĀʾisha, the daughter of Bāyezid: Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 304, n. 55. Perhaps this ʿĀʾisha and Gūhar Malikshāh (this might not be her given name) were one and the same. The waqfiyya of the ʿĀdiliyya mosque preserved in Ankara does not name Mehmed Pasha's spouse or mother, though the handwritten catalog gives the spouse's name as Jevher Hâtûn, VGM, Waqfiyya of Dūḡakīnzāde Mehmed Pasha, Aleppo, 963/1555, defter 607, p. 1 (Henceforth VGM, Waqfiyya of Dūḡakīnzāde Mehmed Pasha).

⁶⁰ There is no known waqfiyya for this mausoleum. Some information about the endowment appears in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 2:1, 69. In the early 20th century the tomb was maintained out of the usufruct of the awqāf of the ʿĀdiliyya, the foundation of Gūhar Malikshāh's son (see Chapter 3) Ghazzī 2, II, 92–93; however the waqfiyya of the ʿĀdiliyya does not mention it.

⁶¹ For a groundplan, see the Gaube and Wirth city plan.

elevation, it is a cube topped by a high drum and a hemispherical dome, similar to late Mamlūk tombs such as that of Khā'ir Bak, discussed above.⁶² However the tomb's sober exterior, lacking the Mamlūk emphasis on external elaboration, recalls central Ottoman style. Located at the corner of two roads, four of the tomb's large windows open on the street, allowing the voices of the thirty Koran readers to be heard by passers-by throughout the day. A foundation inscription in Arabic surmounts the entrance on the northern wall, naming the deceased, her grandfather Sultan Bāyezid, and her son, the governor of Aleppo at the time of construction. The format of the inscription, four lines in a simple frame above the entrance, resembles late Mamlūk examples as in the Khān al-Qaṣṣābiyya; however, the form of the writing is an Ottoman *naskh*.⁶³ Thus the structure was a simplified version of a Mamlūk mausoleum, with an Istanbul-inflected sobriety, and with an inscription Ottoman in form and content. Despite these Rumi-style details, the building did not stand out among the surrounding urban fabric.

However, the siting of the tomb deviated from established patterns, as late Mamlūk freestanding tombs that were not part of larger complexes were often located in the Maqāmāt quarter to the south of Aleppo, including the tomb of Khā'ir Bak discussed above.⁶⁴ The Ottoman turba resembled the Mamlūk tombs, but its location did not conform to Mamlūk precedent. Rather, it foreshadowed the sixteenth-century Ottoman predilection for the central area of the intramural city, to the West of the citadel.

In addition to the patronage of members of the Ottoman élite, the patronage of Aleppine notables also indicates that the Mamlūk

⁶² Another comparable example is the Mausoleum of 'Uthmān b. Ghulbak (1476), see: MCIA 1:2, 384–385, No. 239; MCIA 2, Plate CLXIV, b: Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 93, No. 50; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate XXXIX; Gaube and Wirth list it collectively with other Mamlūk tombs, No. 659; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 1, 183, fig. 133.

⁶³ For the Khān al-Qaṣṣābiyya, see MCIA 1:2, op. cit., photograph MCIA 2, Pl. CLXXI, c. On the plate published in Sauvaget, op. cit., the Mausoleum of Gūhar is pictured along with a series of Mamlūk monuments, which reinforces the strong visual resemblance among them. For its inscription: MCIA 1:2, 403–404, Inscription No. 271, dated 916/1510; photograph MCIA 2, Pl. CLXXI, a. Gūhar Malikshāh's inscription does not resemble the usual format of inscriptions on late Mamlūk mausolea, as in that of Khā'ir Bak (continuous horizontal inscription along the façade), probably because Mamlūk inscriptions were part of a larger ornamentation program.

⁶⁴ Tombs located within institutional complexes could be found anywhere in the city. The Mausoleum of Gūhar Malikshāh was almost certainly a freestanding tomb, without any charitable or income-producing elements attached.

visual idiom for public buildings held currency in the first half of the sixteenth century. A case in point is the Jāmi‘ al-Ṭawāshī, “the Mosque of the Eunuch,” located along the axis connecting the citadel to Maqamāt, an area of the city strewn with Mamlūk monuments that received little official Ottoman patronage. Built by the eunuch Ṣaḥī al-Dīn Jawhar b. ‘Abd Allāh in the middle of the 14th century, the mosque was substantially renovated in 1537 by an Aleppine merchant, Sa‘d Allāh b. al-Ḥajj ‘Alī b. al-Fakhrī ‘Uthmān al-Maḥṭī (d. 1539), who augmented the mosque’s endowment as well (Pl. 10).⁶⁵ In form, it is reminiscent of such Mamlūk mosques as Jāmi‘ al-Uṭrush.⁶⁶ A hypostyle prayer hall opens onto a courtyard centered around a fountain and surrounded by arcades. Sa‘d Allāh al-Maḥṭī’s mausoleum is located near the prayer area. While the building is oriented towards Mecca, the façade swerves so that its entire length lines the street, echoing Mamlūk architecture’s concern with the shaping of street fronts.⁶⁷ The extensively decorated façade features vertical bays that contain windows flanked by elegant braided colonnettes. The capitals in the shape of acanthus leaves blowing in the wind recall the Early Christian capitals at the Madrasa Ḥallāwīyya near the Great Mosque, a former cathedral, and the shrine of Saint Simeon Stylites near Aleppo. The façade’s decoration showcases the elaborate portal bearing a renovation inscription in a Mamlūk *naskh* style that names the patron but not the sovereign. The fifteenth-century minaret, short and octagonal, is clearly visible from the street. The visual vocabulary employed in this renovation remains faithful to Mamlūk precedents. This was not limited to renovations, several new constructions by local patrons also followed Mamlūk forms.

While these projects provide evidence for the types of visual language current at the time, the urban development of Aleppo was shaped to a greater extent through the largescale monumental complexes endowed by Ottoman officials.

⁶⁵ The original building is mentioned in the medieval histories of Aleppo. On the renovation, and biographies of the restorer, see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:1, 660–662; Ghazzī 2, II, 293–294; Tabbākḥ 2, VI, 131–134. For a study of eunuchs in the Mamlūk state, see Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁶⁶ For the Jāmi‘ al-Ṭawāshī, see: Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 99; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 1, 208, Plate 128d, vol. 2, 253, Cat. No. 22/76; Gaube & Wirth, Cat. No. 365; MCIA 1:2, p. 349, inscription 198; MCIA 2, Pl. CL a & b; Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 233, Cat. No. 146.

⁶⁷ Al-Harithy, “Concept of Space,” esp. 87–90, discusses Mamlūk facades in Cairo.

The Urban Development of the Sixteenth Century

The first thirty years of Ottoman rule in Aleppo saw no radical transformation in the city's urbanism. While structures such as the Tower and Fountain of Süleymân dramatized the Ottoman rule and linked Aleppo to other provincial centers, this period was characterized by the continuity of late Mamlūk architectural forms, of patterns of monument placement, and of the main civic functions of the city: the seat of administration, courts, and central bazaar remained the same.

Over the sixteenth century, Aleppo like many former Mamlūk cities experienced a period of tremendous urban growth expanding beyond the ramparts to form suburbs, particularly along the northeastern edge of the walled city, near the access points of the caravans coming from the desert routes (Fig. 2).⁶⁸ Critical to this urban growth was the series of large scale institutional complexes, the "great waqfs," commissioned by high-ranking officials in the commercial center of Aleppo.⁶⁹ Over the second half of the sixteenth century, governors tied up land through *waqf* in Aleppo and beyond. Through this legal instrument, and by means of a series of discrete acts that amount to a larger urban development, they altered the fabric and the use of the city center. They constructed multi-purpose building complexes in the densely occupied urban core where real estate was at a premium: the Khusruiyya Complex (1546), the 'Ādiliyya (1555), the complex around the Khān al-Gumruk (1574), the Bahrāmīyya (1583), as well as the two smaller waqfs of Mûytâb Zâde Aḥmed Pasha and Nishânî

⁶⁸ Sauvaget, *Alep*, Chpt. 10. This urbanization extended to the entire eastern edge of the city, where many of the industries related to the caravan trade were located. Sauvaget has used the term "antenna" to describe the northwestern suburbs, particularly Banqūsa, which on a map resemble a long antenna stretching from the city into the countryside. A similar development took place in Ottoman Damascus: the long and narrow suburb of Midān, centered around a long thoroughfare, experienced exceptional growth in the Ottoman period. In the case of both cities, these suburbs were heavily involved in providing services related to the caravan trade: animals, caravan equipment, porters, etc. For a discussion of the development of Banqūsa see Sauvaget, *Alep*, 175–6 and Gaube and Wirth; for a discussion of the extramural northeastern quarters see Anette Gangler, *Ein traditionelles Wohnviertel im Nordosten der Altstadt von Aleppo in Nordsyrien* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1993). For a recent study of Midān in Damascus see Marino, *Faubourg du Midān*.

⁶⁹ Sauvaget coined the expression "grands waqfs," later used by Raymond in his important article, "Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain à Alep et au Caire à l'époque ottomane (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 31 (1979): 113–132.

Meḥmed Pasha. The importance of these complexes lies not only in the fact that they thoroughly altered the functions of the city and had a deliberate impact on urban form, but also in the fact that they shouldered the ideological burden of making visible the official Ottoman presence in Aleppo. They impacted the urban development of the city as well as its image.

Islamic dynasties have always built charitable endowments with multi-functional components. The former Mamlūk provinces in particular comprised many such endowments that provided needed communal services as well as symbolized the might of their patrons.⁷⁰ In its Ottoman version, a külliye usually refers to the charitable and educational dependencies of a great mosque.⁷¹ Ottoman patrons often aggressively used the construction of institutional complexes as a tool of urban development, or *şenlendirme*. Particularly in the case of depopulated cities, as in the case of Istanbul after the conquest by Sultan Meḥmed in 1453, this tool was deployed as a catalyst of urban growth.⁷² Unlike fifteenth-century Istanbul, sixteenth-century Aleppo did not suffer decline. Rather, in this case, the institutional complexes functioned to reorient the public functions of the city, particularly with regards to commerce, and created a new monumental core.

The street which stretched from the west foot of the citadel to the Antioch Gate (*Bāb Anṭākiyya*) and its adjacent area, locally called the *Mdīneh* (literally, “city,” local pronunciation of “madīna”), the *cardo maximus* of the Roman period, emerged as the economic center and the monumental core of Ottoman Aleppo. This section of the city had always been important economically and ideologically, as the location of markets and the city’s Great Mosque. The great Ottoman

⁷⁰ For a study of a Mamlūk institutional complex, see Leonor Fernandes, “The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History and Architecture,” *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 21–42.

⁷¹ Aptullah Kuran, “Onbeşinci ve Onaltıncı Yüzyıllarda İnşa Edilen Osmanlı Külliyelerinin Mimarî Esasları Konusunda Bazı Görüşler,” In *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1979): 798–99. The presence of a Great Mosque is not an absolute requirement of a külliye; any structure charitable or religious function can form its nucleus. In Aleppo, the mosques are sometimes a quite minor element of an Ottoman complex, as in the case of the Khān al-Gumruk.

⁷² Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, “The Urban Development of Ottoman Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century,” (Ph.D. Diss., University of London, 1997), and idem, “The Reasons for Building: The Cases of Rustem Pasa and Yeni Valide Mosques,” in Cigdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, eds., *Essays in Honor of Aptullah Kuran* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1999): 265–276.

awqāf (sing. *waqf*) established on this street, and on the thoroughfares parallel to it enhanced its centrality in urban life. The sheer extent of the covered *sūqs* of Aleppo, one of the largest in the world, uniformly vaulted in masonry, and the size and luxury of the commercial structures, established in the sixteenth century and modified incessantly since became the city's most distinctive feature.⁷³

The mosques in this new monumental spine exhibited Rumi features derived from imperial models as a row of pencil shaped minarets and hemispherical domes lined the *Mdīneh*. However, the Ottoman institutional complex also adapted to their specific context in the bazaar of Aleppo. The decoration of their caravanserais (locally known as *khān*, pl. *khānāt*, *han* in modern Turkish) echoed on a grander level the existing *khān* architecture in Aleppo, including Mamlūk motifs and façade treatments.

The creation of the monumental corridor with its many new social and economic functions radically reoriented the functions of the city towards the center. With few exceptions, the Ottomans did not destroy institutional complexes from previous dynasties that had formed ceremonial axes and economic foci. They were allowed to remain, but the great *awqāf* had the effect of rendering them obsolete. Structures endowed by past rulers and their ceremonial and ideological program were marginalized, left behind the hustle and bustle of the new Ottoman monumental core. It was this strategy of reorientation, rather than destruction, that characterized the process of Ottomanization in Aleppo.⁷⁴

Nonetheless, in a densely occupied and ancient urban fabric like the *Mdīneh*, any new construction involved the takeover of existing

⁷³ An excellent source on the *sūqs* of Aleppo is still Sauvaget, *Alep*. M. Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1983), draws on Sauvaget and contains inaccuracies. Gaube and Wirth is especially useful for the nineteenth century. See also Jean-Claude David, "Alep, dégradation et tentatives actuelles de réadaptation," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 28 (1975); idem, "Le patrimoine, architectures et espaces, pratiques et comportements, les souks et les khans d'Alep," in *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 73–74 (1994): 189–205; Hīraytānī, *Aswāq "al-Mdīneh"*; Mahmoud Hreitani, and Jean-Claude David, "Souks traditionnels et centre moderne: espaces et pratiques à Alep (1930–1980)," *BEO* 36 (1984): 1–78; M. Scharabi, "Bemerkungen zur Bauform des Sūqs von Aleppo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts—Kairo* 36 (1980): 391–410.

⁷⁴ Bierman observed a similar process in the urban functions of the cities of Crete a century later, although the Christian heritage of those cities made for a very different situation. Bierman, "Ottomanization of Crete."

structures, and the appropriation of land tied up as waqf by previous patrons. The Ottomans exhibited a complex and flexible policy towards existing charitable institutions. The major monuments from the previous periods were undisturbed, and were even repaired.⁷⁵ On occasion, however, the Ottomans demolished existing structures and expropriated existing awqāf, as Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563–4) the Aleppine historian and Hanbali Mufti of Aleppo duly noted.⁷⁶ Most of the reused sites had been open areas and commercial and residential structures; relatively few religious buildings were disturbed.

The constitution of this new economic and monumental core was the result of a gradual transformation. The functions and character of the complexes changed over time, responding to the variations in the uses and importance of the city to the central government, and the changes in its fortunes. The extensive building campaigns of the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Ottomans concentrated their building activity on the central market district and its immediate vicinity, constituted the first phase in the city's Ottomanization, and is discussed in Chapter 3. The transformation of the Mdīneh was achieved through the accretion of charitable endowments by individual patrons; however, collectively these interventions amount to an urban policy enacted through waqf. Jean Sauvaget in his 1941 study of Aleppo forcefully argued against the notion of a broader urban plan governing single acts of patronage. He attributed the homogeneous appearance of the central monumental corridor to a fortunate coincidence, which was “fallacious” in that it produced an impression of planning while it was in fact the result of unplanned, haphazard growth.⁷⁷ André Raymond's critique of Sauvaget addressed the historiographical and political context of that scholar's emphasis

⁷⁵ In some cases, the Ottomans added to existing endowments in the city, as in the case of the waqf of Nishānī Mehmed Pasha, see Chapter 3.

⁷⁶ See for example, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 2:1, 263–264.

⁷⁷ “... nulle autre région de la ville ne fut l'objet de pareils travaux de transformation. Engagés sans *aucun plan d'ensemble et sans intervention officielle des autorités*, nés du hasard des spéculations individuelles... ces travaux se complétèrent les uns les autres d'une manière si heureuse qu'ils donnèrent finalement à 'la Cité' l'apparence, *purement fallacieuse*, d'un ensemble monumental homogène... le secours de la critique archéologique est indispensable pour lui rendre son vrai caractère: celui d'une juxtaposition de constructions disparates, dont les dates respectives s'échelonnent sur près de 350 ans.” (Emphasis mine.) Sauvaget, *Alep*, 214. Sauvaget's overall conception of the “Islamic city” and his views on Ottoman Aleppo have been criticized, see Chapter 1.

on Ottoman decline.⁷⁸ A pernicious aspect of Sauvaget's view of the urban history of Aleppo, and of Islamic urbanism generally that needs emphasizing is his categorical denial of any type of urban planning, and the lack of a civic consciousness in the Islamic city. This assumption casts Islamic civilization as intuitive rather than rational, in contrast to the tradition of western urban planning, with an implied hierarchical construction of western society as rational and thereby superior. In the case of the urban development of Ottoman Aleppo, while the range of surviving evidence does not include master plans as proof of a broader urban organization, Sauvaget's own research on the architectural remains indicates a concerted, deliberate transformation of the city, not a random accumulation of individualistic acts of patronage. This notion of a purposeful transformation carried a meaning that does not hinge on each patron's intention. A series of actions taken by a succession of patrons can have a collective meaning independently of each individual action's circumstances. Even if there was no master plan, no civic or municipal body to devise such a plan, the coherence and continuity of the building habits over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggest the maintenance of a practice, the awareness of a local tradition, and the will to uphold it.

Trade and the Rise of Aleppo

The timing of the building campaign in the Mdīneh, with its emphasis on commercial structures was a function of an economic phenomenon on a global scale, namely the change in patterns of production and trade in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ While the regional trade with Aleppo's hinterland constituted the basis of the city's economy,⁸⁰ the long-distance trade made it relevant to wider economic flows. Economic historian Bruce Masters investigated the factors which contributed to the renewed centrality of Aleppo as a *plaque tournante* of the long-distance trade in the sixteenth century. Following the Ottoman conquest of Baghdad in 1534, products from the Indian

⁷⁸ Raymond has pointed out repeatedly that Sauvaget's conclusions about the Ottoman period contradicted his own evidence. See particularly Raymond, "Grands waqfs," and idem, "Islamic City, Arab City."

⁷⁹ James Tracy, ed. *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁸⁰ Marcus, *Aleppo*, 28–30.

subcontinent could now travel safely up the Euphrates and via the land routes to Aleppo, siphoning off some of the trade from the Red Sea.⁸¹ Ottoman rule ensured the safety of the caravans by keeping banditry at bay through intimidation or bribery, and by building caravanserais, located about a day's march apart sometimes with a resident garrison.⁸² Western merchants soon gravitated towards Aleppo to take advantage of the trading concessions known as the Capitulations (*imtiyāzāt*), which the Sublime Porte granted to European states.⁸³ Moreover, in the 1590's, the opening of a conveniently located new port on the Mediterranean, Alexandretta (al-Iskandarūna, or İskenderun), linked the caravan routes converging on Aleppo to the maritime trade. In the covered bazaar, spices and silks from India and Iran were exchanged for New World silver and English broadcloth.⁸⁴

The Ottoman building campaign, with its focus on the central bazaar and the omnipresence of commercial structures, was meant to both encourage the long distance trade, and to harness its profits. This concern explains the concentration of officially sponsored structures in precisely the marketplace section of the city:

These vast constructions more than doubled the city's core area, creating a vast interlocking network of miles of covered bazaar with shops, workshops, warehouses, and hostels for merchants all jostled together. . . . These pious endowments were undertaken to exploit Aleppo's rising economic fortunes, as the donors would not have invested their capital in projects to promote their eternal glory if they thought the projects were losing propositions. At the same time, however, this investment in the city's commercial infrastructure on such a vast scale gave impetus to the merchants traveling with the caravans to direct their movement toward Aleppo.⁸⁵

In addition to building institutional complexes, the Ottomans renewed the infrastructure of the covered market as well: the entire length of

⁸¹ This intensified after the end of the wars with the Safavids in 1555. Michel Tuchscherer, "Trade and Port Cities in the Red Sea-Gulf of Aden Region in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," In Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, eds., *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 28–45.

⁸² A seventeenth-century merchant provides the most thorough discussion of the caravan trade: Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de M. J. B. Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* (Rouen, 1713) [Orig. Paris, 1689], Vol. 1, 184–194.

⁸³ *EF*², s.v. "Imtiyāzāt," by Halil İnalcık.

⁸⁴ Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 11–18. See also *EF*², c.v. "Ḥarīr-II: The Ottoman Empire," by Halil İnalcık.

⁸⁵ Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 18.

this axis and of adjacent streets was lined with shops and vaulted, effectively turning this area into the empire's largest marketplace. Aleppo quickly emerged as the third city in the empire after Istanbul and Cairo.

Travelers and residents described the Mdīneh as the most striking aspect of the city. They commented on the beauty of its imposing stone structures, on the bewildering diversity of people, languages and products. A Jesuit missionary observed that despite the constant activity of the bazaar, a purposeful silence reigned, "as if commerce were a mystery."⁸⁶ The seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliyâ praised the fact that the interior of the bazaar remained refreshingly cool:

This city of Aleppo cannot be traversed from top to bottom, street by street, without encountering market after market. The *sūq al-Sultānī* [imperial market] consists of five thousand, seven hundred shops in all with two *bedestan* like khans. A goodly number of merchants possessing over 100,000 *ghurūsh* are there. Except for the elixir of life all sorts of rare and precious merchandise can be found in the city. . . . Most of the khans and markets are covered with lead roofing so that severe heat does not affect them; even in July, the market is cool like the cellars of Baghdad. On most of the streets, watersellers pass by dispensing coolness while the shopowners and their companions pass the time in comfort. . . . All the main thoroughfares are lined with Frankish sidewalks [i.e., paved]. Night and day, trash collectors are busy tidying up the streets with their baskets. The waste is then burned in the bath houses and the streets remain quite clean. . . .⁸⁷

The rise of the long-distance trade and the creation of one of the largest covered markets in the world had profound implications for the production of the space of the city. Aleppo's own diverse population was now supplemented by small communities of merchants from Europe as well as the Safavid and Mughal empires.⁸⁸ Among silk traders, the merchant diaspora of Armenians from New Julfa near Isfahan in the Safavid Empire established a satellite community in Aleppo.⁸⁹ The European merchants were spearheaded by the

⁸⁶ J. Besson, s.j., *La terre sainte, ou la mission de Jésus et des pères de la compagnie de Jésus en Syrie*, originally published in 1662, reprinted in 1862 as *La Syrie et la Terre Sainte au XVII^e siècle*, cited in Georges Goyau, *Un précurseur: François Picquet, Consul de Louis XIV en Alep et Évêque de Babylone* (Paris: Geuthner, 1942), 57.

⁸⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 377. Trans. from Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 126.

⁸⁸ Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁸⁹ Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of*

Venetians, who transferred their consulate from Tripoli to Aleppo in 1548.⁹⁰ The French consulate was established in 1557, and the British Levant Company's representative reached Aleppo in 1583.⁹¹ Granted special legal status, exempt from the taxes paid by the resident Ottoman non-Muslim population of dhimmīs, the European merchants were nonetheless restricted to the Mdīneh for residence. The foreign communities, often composed of temporary visitors as well as some long-term residents, moved into apartments in the caravanserais of the Mdīneh, which they transformed and inhabited according to their own practices of space.⁹² It is due to the presence of merchants that Aleppo boasts one of the oldest dated protestant cemeteries in the world (1584). The many memoirs and letters written by individual merchants enable one to reconstruct the life of the Mdīneh, with its constant anxieties over the rise and fall of the price of pepper, and the latest negotiations with the vâlî in office. The cast of characters included Ottoman Christians and Jews who as bilingual and bicultural dragomans mediated between the foreign merchant communities and the Ottoman legal and administrative structures, and catholic missionaries who followed foreign merchants, often living in the same quarters, creating makeshift churches within the caravanserais.

the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999); Artawazd Siwrmeian, *Patmut'ün Halepi Ha yots'* (History of the Armenians of Aleppo) (Paris: Araxes, 1950), especially Vol. 3, 1355–1908.

⁹⁰ The Venetian merchants had their *fondaco* in the Hāder district outside the city walls as early as the thirteenth century, Sauvaget, *Alep*, 147. In the sixteenth century they moved to the Mdīneh.

⁹¹ For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the most important accounts by foreign merchants who resided for significant periods in Aleppo are, Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702), *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Labat (Paris: C. J. B. Delespine, 1735), especially volume 6; and the letters of William Biddulph in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travells by Englishmen and Others*, ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905–07), vol. 8.

⁹² On the spaces inhabited by Venetian merchants, see Michele Lamprakos, "Inhabiting the *Suq*: The Venetians in Early Ottoman Aleppo," forthcoming. On the French community, see Jean-Claude David, and Thierry Grandin, "L'habitat permanent des grands commerçants dans les khans d'Alep à l'époque ottomane," in *Les villes dans l'empire ottoman: activités et sociétés*, ed. Daniel Panzac (Paris: CNRS, 1994), vol. 2, 84–124. Jean-Claude David, "Le consulat de France à Alep sous Louis XIV. Témoins architecturaux, descriptions des consuls et des voyageurs," *Res Orientales* 8 (1996): 13–24. For correspondence between the French consulate in Aleppo and the French Embassy in Istanbul, see Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Nantes, France (Henceforth MAE-Nantes), Constantinople (Ambassade), Série D (Commercial Correspondance with the Échelles), Alep, Cartons 1–108.

From the perspective of urbanism, the central corridor became an exceptional urban space, extraterritorial to the rest of the city. Even its colloquial name—the “Mdīneh,” literally “the city,” designates it as a special urban segment, a city within the city. The Mdīneh was a space of uncommon openness, a place of encounter, where religious communities and diverse social strata interacted: Muslims, Jews and Christians; Ottomans and foreigners from the East and the West; imperial officials and local notables; Bedouin, agriculturalists and urban dwellers; wealthy merchants and judges; journeymen, porters and beggars. In this openness, the Mdīneh contrasted with the customary discretion of most urban neighborhoods, with their strong social identity and often self-contained economies.⁹³ Dense with public and commercial buildings (mosques, legal courts, madrasas, as well as caravanserais, workshops, coffeehouses, and warehouses), the central market did not comprise conventional homes. The communities who inhabited its caravanserais were the foreign merchants (primarily from the Ottoman domains, Europe and the Safavid Empire) and the missionaries, who were by law and by profession exceptional and transitory sojourners. They were also almost uniformly male, as few merchants settled their families in Aleppo. By contrast, in the prestigious neighborhoods that surrounded the bazaar, families with strong local roots inhabited lavish courtyard houses.⁹⁴ Social boundaries governed the crossings from the Mdīneh to the rest of the city. Measures were enacted to prevent the European merchants from fraternizing with the local Christian communities beyond professional interaction, which effectively precluded their settlement into the majority Christian neighborhoods. Conversely, rules were issued to limit the forays of respectable women into the Mdīneh, particularly of local converts to Catholicism who wished to attend mass in the makeshift churches of the caravanserais.⁹⁵ With its institutions of administration, commerce, and

⁹³ An excellent description of neighborhood life in an early modern Ottoman city is found in Marcus, *Aleppo*, esp. Chapters 8 and 9.

⁹⁴ On domestic architecture in Ottoman Aleppo, see among others, Jean-Claude David, “Une grande maison de la fin du XVI^e siècle à Alep,” *BEO* 50 (1998): 61–96; idem, “La cour-jardin des maisons d’Alep à l’époque ottomane,” *Res Orientales* 3 (1991): 63–72; and idem, “Deux maisons à Alep,” in *L’habitat traditionnel dans les pays musulmans autour de la Méditerranée* (Cairo: IFAO, 1990), vol. 2, 467–517 and plates CXXXVI–CXL.

⁹⁵ Jean-Claude David, “L’espace des chrétiens à Alep: ségrégation et mixité, stratégies communautaires,” *REMMM* 55–56 (1990/1–2): 150–170; idem, “Les territoires de groupes à Alep à l’époque ottomane. Cohésion urbaine et formes d’exclusion,” *REMMM* 79–80 (1996): 225–255.

sociability, then, the Mdīneh was a dominantly male space. The social boundaries enacted to keep foreigners and locals in their place effectively created an extraterritorial space in the middle of the city. Perhaps this is the reason why the marketplace became known as the Mdīneh: in many ways, it was a city within a city.

The decisive urban development of sixteenth-century Aleppo, then, was the reorientation of the city center towards the Mdīneh which also emerged as the monumental corridor of the Ottoman city. Through myriad individual acts of piety, endowments were created that constructed, restored, rebuilt and expanded what came to be the new urban center, dedicated to commerce, craft, law and religious practice.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MONUMENTAL CORRIDOR: THE GREAT COMPLEXES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The architectural projects that have become emblematic of the Ottomanization of Aleppo created a monumental corridor along the city's ancient *cardo maximus* that stretched from the western foot of the citadel to Antioch Gate (Fig. 2). Commerce had always thrived in this section of the city where the Great Mosque and the law courts were located near the seat of government. As Aleppo emerged as the node in the profitable long-distance trade linking East and West, the predominantly commercial nature of the institutions represented the Ottoman drive both to encourage economic development and to profit from it. In addition, cumulatively these complexes led the elaboration of an urban language of forms and spatial interrelationships proper to Ottoman Aleppo. This chapter draws on a close reading of the architecture of the complexes, imperial archives as well as Aleppine chronicles to trace the development of this process and to detail its impact.

The Khusrūwiyya¹ Complex

In 1546, at the time of completion of Hüsrev Pasha's architectural complex which included a mosque, a *madrassa* or college for the study of law, and a caravanserai, nothing visually similar to it existed in Aleppo. The distinctive Ottoman silhouette of the mosque, its low hemispherical dome covered with lead tiles, and its graceful pencil-shaped minaret, were novel to the city, as was the spatial configuration of the complex, featuring a low fence around the structures which isolated the monumental ensemble and ensured its visibility (Fig. 3, Pl. 11, 12, 13). In its architectural style, this complex was the first

¹ An alternate spelling is Khusrūfiyya, since the name rendered in Ottoman transliteration as Hüsrev occurs in Arabic sources alternately as Khusrū, Khusruf, or Khusrūf.

to introduce the Rūmī aesthetic to Aleppo. In its form as well as its location, it signaled the Ottoman presence more than any other architectural intervention.

Date and Architect

The date of this complex has occasioned debate. The mosque's foundation inscription states that it was built in the reign of Sultan Süleymân by the vizier Khusrû (Ḥusrev) Pasha, and the chronogram yields the date of 953/1546.² The local sources clarify the circumstances of construction. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563–4) stated that Ḥusrev Pasha ordered the building of the mosque after he became vizier and the project was completed by 951/1544.³ Al-Baṭrūnī (d. 1046/1636) stated that the Mullā Muḥammad, the Nāzir of the Awqāf of Aleppo, ordered the destruction of the Madrasa Asadiyya to make way for the Khusruiyya in 935/1528.⁴ Possibly a scribal error transposed the Hijrī date 953, to obtain 935. Since 1531 is the earliest possible date for Ḥusrev Pasha's appointment in Aleppo, 1528 seems too early.

The sources present vague information regarding the identity of the architect. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī indicated that Ḥusrev Pasha's manumitted slave Furūkh supervised construction while his master served as vizier in Istanbul,⁵ and that an unnamed Rūmī Christian architect (*mi'mār rūmī naṣrānī*) built the structure. The term Rūmī implies

² MCIA 1:2, inscription 278, p. 409. Jean Gaulmier, "Note sur l'état de l'enseignement traditionnel à Alep" *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 9 (1942–43), 13–14. It is actually a double inscription. The first, published by Herzfeld and Gaulmier, is a semi-circular foundation inscription, which includes a Qur'ānic phrase (72:18) and the names of Sultan Süleymân and the vizier Ḥusrev Pasha. The second inscription, on a rectangular plaque, is a chronogram that yields the date 953. It is quoted by Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 374.

³ Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 1:2, 585. 951/1544 is also the date given in Ghazzī 1992, II, 93, who summarizes three endowment deeds of the Khusruiyya, 93–97.

⁴ Abu'l-Yumn al-Baṭrūnī (d. 1046/1636) edited *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Tārīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab* by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485). Information on events that occurred after Ibn al-Shiḥna's death is attributable to al-Baṭrūnī. Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Al-Durr al-muntakhab fī tārikh mamlakat Ḥalab*, Ed. Y. I. Sarkis (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1909), 199.

⁵ Biographical entry for "Furūkh ibn 'Abd al-Mannān al-Rūmī, al-Khusrawī, mawlā Khusrū Bāshā al-wazīr," in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 2:1, 10–13. See also Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:2, 585: Furūkh renovated a khān (which must be the Khān Qurt Bak) and set it up as waqf after his patron's death; which indicates that the Khān Qurt Bak was not completed by Ḥusrev Pasha's son Qurt Bak, as has been surmised. The first two waqfiyyas summarized by Ghazzī bear the name of Muṣṭafā b. Sinān, brother of Ḥusrev Pasha, better known as Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha.

either that the architect was Greek Orthodox, or that he was from the Rumelia region. The Office of Imperial Architects in Istanbul included non-Muslim architects while the chief architect tended to be a Muslim; thus Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's statement must mean that an architect from the imperial center supervised the Khusruwiyya's construction.⁶

Some sources attribute the Khusruwiyya to Sinân himself. The *Tezkiretül-Ebniye* (ca. 1586), an inventory of monuments attributed to the architect, lists it. Evliyâ Çelebî noted during his 1671 visit to Aleppo that the "Eski Husrev Paşa Camii" was the work of Sinân.⁷ This attribution has caused difficulty for those who wish to reconstruct a chronology of Sinân's career. On the basis of Sinân's known movements, including the fact that he had wintered in Aleppo between two military campaigns against the Safavid Empire, and he did not return to Aleppo after 1538, Goodwin dated the Khusruwiyya to 1536–1537.⁸ Bates suggested the possibility that Sinân built the mosque when he stationed in Aleppo in the 1540's on the *Hajj*.⁹ Either possibility assumes Sinân's physical presence during the construction of every structure on the *Tezkire* list. Aptullah Kuran who dated the mosque to the 1540's, admitted the possibility that it might have been designed by Sinân in Istanbul then executed by an assistant in Aleppo.¹⁰ Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's information supports the last hypothesis.

⁶ The chief architect was a Muslim, but not necessarily a native born Muslim. It is unlikely that Ibn al-Ḥanbalī would persist in calling a convert to Islam a Christian. For the composition of the corps of architects, see Bates, "Two Documents," and Kuran, *Sinân*; Turan, "Hassa Mimarları." Kafescioğlu, who did not use Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, hypothesized that the Husrev Pasha mosque was designed in the imperial center, then supervised by an architect sent from the capital, "Aleppo and Damascus," 84.

⁷ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 375.

⁸ Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 202. In a later work, Goodwin dated the complex to 1545–6, presumably on the basis of the epigraphy, *Sinân: Ottoman Architecture and its Values Today* (London: Saqi Books, 1993), 58. The 1536–37 date is generally accepted; see Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 217. Gaulmier, 13, who opted for the 1537 date, stated that the 400th anniversary of the mosque was celebrated in 1936. Raymond, "Activité architecturale," 379, and 383, n. 11, believed that the Khusruwiyya was built at the instigation of Süleymân I, possibly in 1535–36, when the sultan wintered in Aleppo, see 383, n. 11.

⁹ Bates, "Façades," 141.

¹⁰ On the basis of the patron's known movements, epigraphy and the style, Kuran presented two possible dates: 1534–1538, when Husrev Pasha "was Beylerbeyi of Damascus (of which Aleppo was part) [sic]"; and after 1541, the patron's appointment as vizier, Aptullah Kuran, *Sinân: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, DC and Istanbul: Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., 1987), 54. The city of Aleppo was never a part of the province of Damascus, rather it was the capital of the

Regardless of the period of the construction, the epigraphy securely provides 1546 as a completion date.¹¹ As for whether the architect was Sinân in person or a subaltern imperial architect, the design of the complex participates in the broader cultural practice of placing standardized Ottoman-style mosques in strategic locations throughout the cities of the empire. That the mosque of Hüsrev Pasha breaks no new ground in Ottoman architectural theory is not due to a lack of originality. Rather, it was precisely the fact that the mosque was faithful to the imperial model that constituted its meaning: the novelty of this structure was not its form, but rather the injection of a completely new style into the urban fabric of Aleppo.¹² Whether or not Sinân was personally involved in this project, the building certainly bears the stamp of “Sinân’s firm,” the Office of Imperial Architects; the “Rûmî Christian architect” was a member of the Office, dispatched to Aleppo to implement a project conceived in Istanbul.

Form

The central monumental cluster forcefully expresses the Ottoman visual idiom, particularly the mosque with its low hemispherical dome, dome-covered portico, and pencil-shaped minaret. The components of the külliye in its entirety occupied 4 to 5 hectares.¹³ The design clusters the central religious buildings and surrounds them with a low fence. A great mosque (*jāmiʿ*), a *madrasa* and dependencies surround

vilâyet of Haleb. While Kuran does not provide a source for his information on Hüsrev Pasha, the dates he cites for Hüsrev Pasha’s governorship of Damascus are inconsistent with the official’s biography, for which the sources are: Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, “Notes et documents sur Dîvâne Hüsrev Paşa,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 41:1 (1979), 21–55; idem, *ET*², s.v. “Khosrew Pasha,” *Süreyyâ, Sijill-i ‘Osmânî*, vol. 2, 272. According to Süreyyâ, Hüsrev Pasha served as beglerbeği of Aleppo between 938/1531 and 941/1534, was appointed vizier in 943/1536, and died in 951/1544 (note that the dates on p. 272 are to be corrected: errata section, 442). Süreyyâ may not be entirely reliable. According to Bacqué-Grammont, the record is unclear about Hüsrev Pasha’s appointment at Aleppo. At the time of his appointment to the beglerbeğlik of Damascus in 940/1534, he was sanjak-beği of either Aleppo or Tripoli, “Notes,” 40. Hüsrev Pasha served as beglerbeği of Egypt between Rajab 941/February 1535 and Jumâda al-Ukhra 943/December 1536.

¹¹ The waqfiyya preserved in Ankara does not specify the date of the structures’ completion, VGM, Waqfiyya of Hüsrev Pasha, Aleppo, 969/1561, defter 583, pp. 149–150.

¹² David, “Domaines,” 181.

¹³ Raymond, “Grands Waqfs,” 115, based this number on the components of the waqf detailed in the waqfiyyât summarized in Ghazzî, 2, II, 93–97.

a courtyard centered on an ablution fountain.¹⁴ The earthquake of 1821 heavily damaged these structures.¹⁵ The income-generating buildings of the endowment, as detailed in the waqfiyya,¹⁶ are located outside this enclosure. Only a caravanserai known as Khān al-Shūna is nearby, to the north.¹⁷ The remaining dependencies of the waqf, scattered throughout the city, include the caravanserai of Khān Qūr Bak named after the patron's son, a bath, the Ḥammām al-Naḥḥāsīn,¹⁸ stables, a bakery, shops, and houses for renting. Beyond Aleppo, the endowment impacted its hinterland as well, as it collected revenues from properties in the areas of Jabbūl (northeast of Aleppo), workshops including a *maṣbaḡha* (dyeing workshop) in 'Ayntāb, income from villages in the *kaṣā* of Kilīs (north of Aleppo), near Antioch, Ḥamā and Ḥimş.¹⁹

The centerpiece of the endowment, the great mosque, conforms to the classical Ottoman mosque type, with minor alterations (Fig. 3). It has been interpreted as a combination of the early Ottoman

¹⁴ All the contemporary documents—the waqfiyya, Ibn al-Hanbalī—refer consistently to a mosque, and a madrasa. Goodwin, and after him, David, speak of a double madrasa. Perhaps Goodwin mistook some of the dependencies (such as the kitchen, no longer functioning as such since at least the 1930's) for a second madrasa.

¹⁵ Jamīl Pasha, governor of Aleppo, repaired the southern part of the mosque in 1884; the northern façade (perhaps the madrasa, rather than the portico) was restored in 1911 as documented by an inscription; a further restoration took place in 1919, Gaulmier, 18, Ghazzī 2, II, 97, Tabbākh 2, III, 158. The original dome collapsed, David, "Domaines," 185. The original lead tiles covering the dome have not survived. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 203 commented on the poor renovation of the madrasa in 1901, without citing a source (I was unable to confirm Goodwin's restoration date). The Awqāf administration initiated a thorough restoration of the mosque in 1999.

¹⁶ The waqfiyya preserved in Ankara (VGM, Waqfiyya of Ḥusrev Pasha), is dated 969/1561. Ghazzī summarized three waqfiyyāt, of which the third is very close to the document in Ankara. The dates of Ghazzī's three documents are: Jumādā 965/April 1558, Rabī' I 967/December 1559, Jumādā 974/1566. Gaulmier, 13–18, translated the same three documents, without citing a source, presumably Ghazzī. The information in Ghazzī's waqfiyyāt does not conflict with the waqfiyya preserved in Ankara; the date seems to be the only divergence. For an analytical table of the dependencies of the waqf, see Gaube and Wirth, 131–132.

¹⁷ This caravanserai was renovated by the Syrian government in the early 1990s and now serves as the official handicraft sūq. The waqfiyya referred to it as a qaysāriyya. The current tenants of the Khān al-Shūna explained to me that the name of the building derives from a word in Egyptian dialect, meaning horse stable, which began to be used after the Egyptian occupation of the area under Ibrāhīm Pasha in the nineteenth century.

¹⁸ Ḥammām al-Naḥḥāsīn: Gaube & Wirth Cat. no. 110. Also known as Ḥammām al-Sitt, the name used in VGM, Waqfiyya of Ḥusrev Pasha, 148.

¹⁹ VGM, Waqfiyya of Ḥusrev Pasha, 148–149; Ghazzī, op. cit.

“inverted T” plan and the single-dome plan of classical Ottoman architecture.²⁰ A five-bay portico precedes a domed cube that constitutes the main prayer hall. The columns supporting the portico are set on a podium. The portico is wider than the prayer hall. Two small domed chambers flank the main hall, recalling the *tabhane* rooms of early Ottoman T-plan mosques that doubled as dervish lodges.²¹ The low dome rests on a drum pierced by sixteen windows and is supported by eight small flying buttresses. While the proportions of the dome, minaret and mosque may appear squat by Istanbul Ottoman standards, this cupola was significantly larger than any existing dome in Aleppo. With its diameter of approximately 18 meters, it enclosed an area of 290 square meters.²² In comparison, the main dome of the Mamlūk-period Bīmāristān Arghūnī (1354) covered a space of 70 square meters, and that of the Zangid-period Matbakh al-‘Ajāmī (12th century) topped a space of 90 square meters.²³

In her analysis of the façades and approaches to Ottoman mosques, Ülkü Bates noted that whenever a provincial mosque was built in the Ottoman style, certain architectural features were consistently and faithfully reproduced, while others occasionally deviated from the Istanbul model: “The unaltered part [i.e. the part which conformed to Rūmī models] of the mosque is the part that mattered most: its front with a portico, entrance, and minaret.”²⁴ Bates singled out features that were always visible from the exterior, the minaret and the main approach to the mosque with a portico and entrance door surmounted by a dedicatory inscription, as the salient features of provincial Ottoman mosques. Additional emblematic Ottoman features

²⁰ Aslanapa, *Turkish Art*, 217.

²¹ Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 478 n. 35. For Goodwin the architect used the “vestigial tabhane rooms” to “mask” the extremities of the too-wide portico. A similar device is used at two other mosques attributed to Sinân, Mihrimah Sultan at Edirnekapi and Şokollı Mehmed Pasha at Kadırga, both in Istanbul. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 203.

²² David, “Domaines,” 185. David observed that previous domes in Aleppo were not larger than eight meters in diameter in the case of domes made of stone, and not larger than nine meters in the case of brick. The much larger dome of the Khusruwiyya may have been a technical stretch for a local builder (assuming the builder was local), leading to the eventual collapse of the original dome. For a discussion on means of measuring domes by Ottoman architects, Gülru Necipoğlu, “Challenging the Past,” 174–175.

²³ David, “Domaines,” 181. He also notes that the walls of the prayer hall are thinner than those of the other Ottoman mosques of Aleppo (2m50 rather than 4m).

²⁴ Bates, “Façades,” 138.

included the low hemispherical dome, often visible to the pedestrian from the exterior, and in the interior, the vast prayer space under the dome, uninterrupted by columns or piers.

The Khusruviyya faithfully reproduces these critical elements. Its minaret conforms to central Ottoman models, and recognizably so: Evliyâ Çelebî described it as being in Rûmî style (*Rum tarzı*).²⁵ Its faceted shaft, interrupted by a balcony with a cut stone balustrade, is topped by a rather squat cone covered with lead tiles.²⁶ It is ornamented by a band of blue-and-white tiles under the balcony,²⁷ and a joggled stringcourse in the shape of crests slightly above the base.²⁸ The façade of the mosque also conforms to central models. The five arches of the portico feature voussoirs in alternating colors, while the central arch exhibits elaborate joggled voussoirs (*ablaq*). The central arch, which surmounts the entrance of the mosque, is singled out by other means as well: the roofline above it, and the dome which surmounts it, are slightly higher, and small *œil-de-bœuf* openings grace the spandrels on either side.²⁹ Columns with *muqarnas* capitals support the arches.³⁰ Four windows and two niches interspersed among them articulate the façade wall, but are out of alignment with the arches. The treatment of the windows is Ottoman with a grilled opening surrounded by a large stone frame. Surmounting the windows, semi-circular bands of polychrome underglaze tiles feature floral designs and an inscription cartouche.³¹

At the center of the façade, the elaborate main entrance to the *ḥarām* (prayer hall) also follows the classic Ottoman pattern, with local touches. The podium that supports the portico is interrupted at the

²⁵ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 374. Its placement at the northeastern side of the prayer hall was less usual. Minarets, when there was only one, usually appeared on the northwestern side of a mosque. Bates, "Façades," 137.

²⁶ The minaret cap is original. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 203.

²⁷ These are Damascus tiles according to Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 203.

²⁸ Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 203, characterized this as "Syrian influence," but noted that other mosques attributed to Sinân in Istanbul feature this band as well.

²⁹ Goodwin saw the *œil-de-bœuf* openings as an Aleppine particularism, but David, "Domaines," 193, n. 8, pointed out that this detail occurs for example in the Bali Pasha Mosque in Istanbul (1504). This feature occurs in the 'Âdiliyya, but not in the Bahrâmiyya.

³⁰ The two central columns of red granite from Aswan are nineteenth-century modifications: Ibrâhîm Pasha of Egypt replaced the originals during his rule in Aleppo in the 1830's.

³¹ These Qur'anic inscriptions are unpublished. The provenance of the tiles is unknown, but they were the first of their kind to be used in the former Mamlûk lands, Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus," 84.

bay in front of the entrance, which is level with the courtyard. Four steps on either side connect the podium to the lower floor of the entrance bay. Contrasting with the otherwise plain wall, a rectangular stone frame surrounds the entrance. Within this frame, a black stone band surrounds a handsome *muqarnas* niche. Two engaged braided colonnettes, reminiscent of local Mamlūk models, flank the wooden door.³² An arch with joggled voussoirs, a field of geometric ornament, a rectangular chronogram plaque, and a semi-circular foundation inscription surmount the door. Both inscriptions are in the Arabic language and in a *naskhī* Ottoman visual style. All the crucial elements of the mosque's entrance carefully reproduce Istanbul models, while the less essential features (e.g. the alignment of the windows with the arches) are not rigorously imitated. The design uses "local" forms associated with Mamlūk architecture, but discreetly: the *ablaq* arch above the entrance door, the decorative ring at the base of the minaret. Critics categorized such formal elements as "Aleppine," "Syrian" or even "Arab."³³ In fact they also occur in central Ottoman structures. The diffusion of such elements makes the filiation of particular forms a thorny issue, and suggests instead a visual conversation between the center and the periphery. Nevertheless, the portal of the mosque, while conforming to central Ottoman expectations, also clearly exhibited the combination of central and local formal elements.

The interior of the prayer hall, with its unified space under the dome, was novel in a city where the hypostyle mosque type predominated. A Rūmī feature, appearing in Aleppo for the first time, was the use of calligraphic discs painted on the pendentives bearing the names of God, Muḥammad, the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The miḥrāb of marble inlay recalls earlier local models. Two large candlesticks flanked the miḥrāb.³⁴

Beyond the Mosque, the cluster of buildings centered on the fountain in the middle of the courtyard, featuring an Ottoman-style *şadırvân*, flanked by large square planters with fruit trees, in the manner of interior courts in Aleppo.³⁵ To the enclosure's north, the

³² The braided engaged colonnettes and their Mamlūk precedents are discussed in the section on the Khān al-Gumruk.

³³ Kafescioğlu carefully analyzed the combination of central Ottoman and "Syrian" elements at the Mosque of Husrev Pasha, "Aleppo and Damascus," 84–85.

³⁴ The endowment deed stipulated that the candles be renewed every year. VGM, Waqfiyya of Husrev Pasha, 149.

³⁵ This feature obtains in public building as well as domestic architecture, such as Bayt Dallāl in the Judayda neighborhood.

much-renovated *madrasa* currently comprises ten domed cells each opening on the courtyard. An arcade formally integrates the façades of the mosque and the *madrasa*. The northern entrance aligned with the mosque door bears a dome as well. Modifications over the last two centuries make the identification of the other structures within the enclosure difficult. The building to the west of the courtyard, with eight small domes and comprising three rooms, possibly was the kitchen-bakery described in the waqfiyya.³⁶ A garden-cemetery to the south of the mosque includes a small domed mausoleum of unknown date, where the patron's wife, son and nephew are buried.³⁷ Despite their altered state, these dependencies form a unified architectural ensemble of lower buildings dominated by the mosque.

The Khān al-Shūna across the street architecturally conforms to the ensemble. Like the dependencies within the main enclosure, it has a lower roofline than the mosque. Although described as a qaysāriyya in the waqfiyya, the Khān al-Shūna's groundplan appears as a truncated version of a caravanserai.³⁸ The typical caravanserai comprises a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a two-story building. In the Khān al-Shūna, a triangular courtyard is lined on two sides by a single-story structure. Four pillars support a dome at the center of the northern wing. Site constraints explain this unusual plan: the main cluster of buildings arranged around a courtyard with a central axis, had to be placed on the irregularly shaped site, with the obligatory orientation towards the *qibla*. The trapezoidal plot left over produced a truncated caravanserai.

The remaining components of the endowment were located elsewhere in the city. Another caravanserai, Khān Qūrṭ Bak, in the Suwayqat 'Alī quarter, was a converted former Mamlūk palace with two monumental entrances. The Ottoman layer of the structure dates to ca. 1540.³⁹ The Ḥammām al-Naḥḥāsīn or Ḥammām al-Sitt, located

³⁶ In addition, an L-shaped structure with one large dome and a series of smaller domes lies to the west of the mosque.

³⁷ Hüsrev Pasha was buried in a mausoleum built by Sinân in 1545 in Yeni Bahçe, Istanbul, Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 206. The waqfiyya dated November 1566, summarized by Ghazzî and translated by Gaulmier, 15–18, indicates that Hüsrev Pasha's wife and son were buried in the Khusruwiyya. Mehmed Pasha son of Lâlâ Muṣṭafâ Pasha (d. 1578), Hüsrev Pasha's nephew, was also buried here, Tabbâkh 2, VI, 109.

³⁸ The architectural difference between these two types of commercial structures seems to be that a caravanserai often comprises a courtyard in its middle.

³⁹ See most recently, David, *Suwayqat 'Alī*, 25–33. An undated inscription and a

in the Mdīneh, also a preexisting structure incorporated into the Khusruwiyya's waqf, probably dates from the Ayyubid period.⁴⁰

Spatial Order

In addition to the replication of central forms, an Ottoman sense of monumentality and visibility dominates the design of the Khusruwiyya, and opposes it to the Mamlūk visual idiom. The Aleppo case echoes the divergent manner in which Mamlūk and Ottoman buildings engage the pedestrian, as analyzed by Ülkü Bates:

[The façade of an Ottoman imperial mosque] contrasts . . . with the imposingly composed façades and monumental portals of the Mamlūk-period buildings in Cairo. The Mamlūk façades, in fact, are part of the urban environment intimately connected with the public and its spaces. They are defined and in turn define the thoroughfares of Cairo by forming ornamental walls along them. The façade of the Ottoman imperial mosque is partly hidden behind layers of gates, colonnades, and courts. Such a mosque is meant to be seen in its awesome totality from afar, being raised on natural or artificial terraces.⁴¹

The spatial arrangement of the structures inside the Khusruwiyya's enclosure has no precedent in Aleppo: it presents series of freestanding buildings gathered within an enclosure. Previous complexes in this locale comprised a structural unit with a single façade on the street subdivided internally into sections with various functions (as in the Jāmi' al-Ṭawāshī discussed in Chapter 2). The Khusruwiyya affords an enclosed spatial experience where a clear hierarchy of size distinguishes among structurally independent buildings. The low fence and its surrounding streets spatially demarcate the central cluster from the surrounding urban fabric. Within the cluster, the lower rooflines

blazon remain from the Mamlūk layer of the structure. Gaube, *Inchriften*, 21, inscription no. 21. Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 97, no. 64; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 215 n. 808; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plates XXIII, XXIV, LXIII (groundplan); Ghazzī 2, II, 150. Gaube & Wirth, 374, No. 265; Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 376.

⁴⁰ The original name seems to have been ḥammām al-Sitt. It acquired the name of ḥammām al-Nahḥāsīn because of its proximity to the Khān al-Nahḥāsīn, built as part of the waqf of Dûḳakīnzāde Mehmed Pasha of 1555–56. It is listed in Ibn al-Shīḥna's medieval topography of the city: Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 104, no. 76. Jean-Claude David and Dominique Hubert, "Le dépérissement du ḥammām dans la ville: le cas d'Alep," *Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale* 10/11 (April 1982), 70, Groundplan: 64, fig. 66, photographs: 71, figs. 79, 80. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 142, fig. 32.

⁴¹ Bates, "Façades," 134.

of the subsidiary buildings show off the centerpiece of the ensemble, the mosque. Moreover, the axial approach to the mosque entrance is carefully staged. The northern entrance of the enclosure aligns precisely with the main entrance of the mosque with its foundation inscription, which in turn aligns with the mihrāb centered on the qibla wall, and with the small mausoleum beyond. Nothing obstructs this axis for a pedestrian standing at the northern threshold of the enclosure, except for the low fountain. However, the northern entrance is not itself prominent, located on the narrow street which separates the enclosure from the Khān al-Shūna. The mosque's façade is most clearly visible to the pedestrian when he/she stands outside the enclosure in the open space at the foot of the citadel (the northwestern angle of the mosque).⁴² Yet the principle of the axial organization of the central structure is retained. The same spatial organization on a grander scale governs the design of the central clusters of the imperial külliyes of Istanbul, such as the Süleymāniye (1550–7), representing a central concern of classical Ottoman public architecture. While many Mamlūk structures stage elaborate facades lining the street, reorienting the body of the building toward Mecca if needed (as in the Jāmi' al-Ṭawāshī, again), the Khusruwiyya echoes the Ottoman relationship to the street instead. Unlike Mamlūk architecture, the Ottoman mosque retreats from the street, and is meant to be seen from afar. Further, in Mamlūk architecture, a dome always and only denotes a mausoleum even in multifunctional buildings, whereas in Ottoman architecture mosques feature a central dome. Nevertheless, seen from the northwestern angle, the angle of maximum visibility, the dome, minaret and portico, the key architectonic elements indexing the "Ottomanness" of the mosque, so different from the visual regime of the Mamlūks, are readily apparent. The isolation of the ensemble and the lower rooflines of the subsidiary structures ensure precisely the legibility of the key Ottoman elements from the street.

Moreover, the angle of maximum visibility makes apparent the relationship between the new Ottoman sign and previous monuments. From this standpoint the pedestrian obtains an unobstructed view of the citadel's main gate and the Tower of Sultan Süleymân. Turning his/her head, the pedestrian standing here can view the

⁴² It is perhaps because this angle of the structure emerges as the most visible that the northwestern gate bears the sign which proclaims the contemporary function of the enclosure: *al-thānawiyya al-shar'iyya*, a state secondary school which emphasizes the study of Islamic law.

Mosque-Mausoleum of one of the most important builders of Aleppo, the Ayyubid al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī. It cannot be coincidental that this point of maximum visibility was the site of the weekly market. The city dwellers who came to trade and to socialize could not escape Ottoman rule made visible at this spot in the form of the Great Mosque of Ḥusrev Pasha and its spatial relationship with surrounding structures.

Beyond the viewpoint of the pedestrian standing at its threshold, the Khusruwiyya also altered Aleppo's skyline. This was visible from two critical viewpoints. The mosque complex was plainly apparent to anyone looking down at the city from the fortress, and seen from the western approach to the city, just beyond Antioch Gate, the new pencil-shaped minaret of the Ottomans soared in the shadow of the citadel.

Patron

The Khusruwiyya reproduced the distinctive form associated with Istanbul in its mosque, and introduced a new mode of spatial organization to the landscape of a provincial city. Through it, its patron appears to have fulfilled the mandate of the upwardly mobile Ottoman official by placing the stamp of the Rūmī-style institutional complex in a provincial setting. However, the study of the patronage of Ḥusrev Pasha in the provinces over his lifetime reveals that he did not always choose the canonical Ottoman form. He occasionally availed himself of the locally dominant style, as in the case of his *sabīl-kuttāb* (fountain-Koranic school) in Cairo, which reproduces late Mamlūk forms.⁴³ More than one stylistic choice was available to Ottoman patrons in each city, and the form of a public building sponsored by an official Ottoman patron was not always Rūmī, rather it was the result of a complex selective process that responded to the local context.

Ḥusrev Pasha, known as "Dīvāne,"⁴⁴ was an exemplar of a successful Ottoman official of the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ A Bosnian

⁴³ The *sabīl-kuttāb* of Ḥusrev Pasha is adjacent to the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Sultan Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (1535), on an important artery of Cairo, al-Mu'izz street, that already boasted several Mamlūk monuments. Bates, "Façades."

⁴⁴ The nickname of "Dīvāne," "Crazy," probably referred to his zeal in battle rather than to his mental state. Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 22. Süreyyâ used the synonym "Deli."

⁴⁵ The biographical information: *ET*², s.v. "Khosrew Pasha," by Bacqué-Grammont; Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 21–55; Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'Osmânî*, vol 2, 272 (the source used by Bates), and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:2, 584–585.

who had entered imperial service through the *devşirme*, or child levy, he ascended the military hierarchy. He distinguished himself during the campaign of Châldîrân in 1514 and participated in the conquest of Diyarbakır in 1515, which paved the way for the defeat of the Mamlūk empire. He then held a series of provincial governorates, including a post in Aleppo in the early 1530's,⁴⁶ and participated in a campaign against the Safavids in 1534–35, wintering in Aleppo.⁴⁷ Replacing Hâdım Süleymân Pasha he served as governor of the vilâyet of Mısr (February 1535–December 1536). The position was prestigious due to the value of the *irsâliyye-i hazîne*, the cash revenue of Mısr. The brevity of these appointments was characteristic of the Ottoman policy of rotating officials serving in the provinces, thus preventing them from creating a local base of power. He returned to İstanbul as the fourth vizier in 1541, at the time of the grand vizierate of Hâdım Süleymân Pasha. Rüstem Pasha, second vizier, was apparently able to pit the two former governors of Egypt against each other. The two came to blows in a widely reported incident in the Sultan's presence in 1544. As a result, the Sultan dismissed both from office, making Rüstem Pasha Grand Vizier. In shame, Hüsrev Pasha starved himself to death within a year.⁴⁸ The elder brother of Lâlâ Muştafâ Pasha,⁴⁹ Hüsrev Pasha was married to Shâh-i

⁴⁶ The rank and date of this post cannot be ascertained. Bacqué-Grammont was able to confirm only that he had been sanjak beği of Aleppo before 1534. Bacqué-Grammont's articles made no mention of Hüsrev Pasha's külliye in Aleppo. Süreyyâ stated that he was beglerbeği of Aleppo at some point between 928/1521 and 938/153. Ibn al-Ḥanbalî, 1:2, 584, also stated that he was a wâlî of Aleppo. Ghazzî 2, III, 203, was unable to pinpoint an exact date for Hüsrev's governorate of Aleppo.

⁴⁷ This "Campaign of the Two 'Irâqs" was described in Maṭrakçı's famous manuscript, the *Beyân-i menâzil*, discussed in Chapter 6. See facsimile edition: Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, *Naşühî's-Silâhî (Maṭrakçı) Beyân-i menâzil-i sefer-i 'Irâqeyn-i sultân Süleymân khân* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976).

⁴⁸ Bacqué-Grammont, *EP*², noted that this was a rare case of suicide among Ottoman officials. The incident between Süleymân Pasha and Hüsrev Pasha is reported in Ibn al-Ḥanbalî 1:2, 585, who normally tends to limit himself to reporting events of local relevance.

⁴⁹ Lâlâ Muştafâ Pasha's (d. 1580) biography: *EP*², s.v. "Muştafâ Pasha, Lâlâ," by J. H. Kramers. He is well-known as the patron of the historian Gelibolulu Muştafâ 'Âlî; he sponsored an extensive complex in Damascus in the 1560's, see Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus," 79. Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 22. Lâlâ Muştafâ Pasha must be the brother named Muştafâ who set up the two waqfiyyas summarized in Ghazzî after Hüsrev Pasha's death. His own extensive waqf is in Erzurum (mosque completed 1563); Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 305, fig. 294. Lâlâ Muştafâ Pasha was married to the granddaughter of the last Mamlūk Sultan, Qāṣṣauḥ al-Ghūrî.

Khūbān, daughter of Shādī Pasha.⁵⁰ Their son, Kūrd Bek, gave his name to one of the caravanserais in his father's waqf in Aleppo.⁵¹ Hüsrev Pasha's career follows the typical pattern of the Ottoman élite: devşirme origin, education at the palace, distinction in battle, appointments throughout the empire, culminating in the vizierate and return to the court. He traveled the length and width of the empire, and must have witnessed several architectural traditions.

Hüsrev Pasha's patronage comprised a mosque-madrassa in Diyarbakır which exhibits the strong influence of local building forms (1521–28),⁵² a late-Mamlūk-style sabīl-kuttāb in Cairo (1535),⁵³ and the very Ottoman Khusruviyya in Aleppo (completed 1546).⁵⁴ His mausoleum in Yeni Bahçe, Istanbul, built by Sinân in 1545 conforms to central Ottoman practice.⁵⁵ Ülkü Bates offered two possible

⁵⁰ Her name is preserved in the Khusruviyya's endowment deed, which stipulated Koran readings in the mosque in her memory. VGM, Waqfiyya of Hüsrev Pasha, 150.

⁵¹ Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 22, n. 2. Hüsrev Pasha's son Kūrd Bek is not to be confused with one of the sons of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, whose full name is Kūrt Kāsim Bek. The latter's biography is in Süreyyā, *Sijill-i 'Osmanî*, vol. 4, 63. Both Hüsrev Pasha and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha appear to have been devşirmes from the same village in Bosnia, Sokol, and may (*EP*, s.v. "Sokollu Mehmed Pasha," by Gilles Veinstein) or may not (Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 22, n. 5) have been related by blood.

⁵² Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 191; A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (Paris, 1940), 200; Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi* (Istanbul: Diyarbakır'ı Tanıtma ve Turizm Derneği Yayınları, 1971), 70–72, plan no. 20.

⁵³ Bates, "Façades," 148, fig. 7; Raymond, "Activité architecturale," 383, n. 10.

⁵⁴ Apart from institutional complexes, Hüsrev Pasha also executed smaller projects: a reservoir in the al-Aḡām quarter in Aleppo, al-Ḥanbalī 1:2, 584. Along with his tomb in Istanbul, these are the only foundations set up by Divāne Hüsrev Pasha. Gaulmier states incorrectly that Hüsrev Pasha also built a mosque-madrassa in Sarajevo. The complex in Sarajevo (1532) was endowed by Hüsrev Beğ, known as Gāzī, 1480–1541: *EP*, s.v. "Khosrew Beg"; Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 25, n. 22. Gaulmier was not alone in his confusion: in 1936, when the four hundredth anniversary of the Khusruviyya was celebrated, the Yugoslavian government sent a delegation to attend the festivities, Gaulmier, 13, n. 5. For the Sarajevo complex, see: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 187. The two Hüsrevs are often confused with yet a third Hüsrev Pasha, known as Köse ("the sparsely-bearded"), fl. second half of the sixteenth century (Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 25–26, n. 23), the patron of the mosque-mausoleum of Hüsrev Pasha in Van (1567), Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 307–309.

⁵⁵ Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 206; Aslanapa, *Turkish Art*, 227; Kuran, *Sinân*, 70, fig. 45. Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes," 55. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul: Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), 511; Hüsrev Tayla, "Mimar Sinân'ın Türbeleri," in Zeki Sönmez, ed. *Mimar Sinân dönemi Türk mimarlığı ve sanatı* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1988), 303–304, 331, fig. 35, 340, Photograph 3; E. H. Ayverdi, "Hüsrev Paşa Türbesi," *Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1, 31–38; F. Kurdoğlu, "Hadım Süleyman Paşanın mektupları ve Belgradın muhasara pîlânı," *Belleten* 4:13 (1940): Pl. XVIII and XIX.

explanations for Hüsrev Pasha's varied stylistic choices in the provinces. First, the structures which recalled late Mamlūk models were the work of local builders, while architects from Istanbul executed the "Ottoman" structures. This assumes that local builders always built in the "local" way. However, Bates' own archival research does not bear out this assumption, as she has shown that in the Ottoman period artisans and specialists of building crafts moved from province to province to work on large commissions, which counters the notion of local practitioners maintaining local styles. It seems instead, that specialists moved throughout the empire and were capable of executing any formal repertory a commission demanded. Her second explanation considers the patron's political intention: The patron may have chosen the Mamlūk style as a "local iconography in order to emphasize a continuity of rule with the conquered Mamlūks."⁵⁶ This assumes a political climate where a link with the Mamlūk state would be desirable for the Ottomans. However, the relationship of the Ottoman elite with the Mamlūk past was complex. At the construction of the Khusruwiyya, the Ottomans were at the height of their power, and therefore could place an Rumi sign without need for direct reference to the Mamlūks, whom they had eliminated from Aleppo some thirty years earlier. Conversely, how can one explain the form of the Süleymân Pasha mosque, with its highly visible Ottoman minaret on Cairo's citadel, where the Mamlūks still ruled under Ottoman suzerainty?

An underlying assumption of both hypotheses is that reproduced Mamlūk forms referred expressly to the Mamlūk dynasty. In fact, in 1521, or 1535, or 1546, what had been the Mamlūk empire was now the Ottoman empire, and pre-1517 Mamlūk buildings were now—literally—the domain of the Ottomans. They formed part and parcel of the urban fabric of provincial Ottoman cities. What appears to the architectural historian as a Mamlūk-style mosque built by an Ottoman patron might have well appeared to a dweller of Cairo or Aleppo in 1550 as a contemporary Ottoman mosque that recontextualized and reinterpreted older Mamlūk forms. Furthermore, Aleppo's example suggests that the answer to the issue of stylistic choice may partly lie in the specific urban contexts of the structures, and in the deliberate spatial relationships they staged with buildings

⁵⁶ Bates, "Façades," 139.

that were allowed to remain. When viewed both synchronically and diachronically, the patterns of use and of signification created by the Ottoman structures begin to emerge.

The Khusruwiyya stood facing the citadel's gate. The first large scale Ottoman official stamp on the city confronted the most dramatic existing monument from a previous dynasty. Alongside the spatial relationships created with the structures allowed to remain, the structures destroyed to make way for the Khusruwiyya render the choice of this site significant as well. Two Aleppine observers recorded the demolition of buildings with socio-political functions and the dissolution of several waqfs. Al-Baṭrūnī (d. 1636) identified one of the demolished buildings as the Madrasa Asadiyya.⁵⁷ Ibn al-Ḥanbalī reported in addition, that workers demolished a house set up as waqf, along with the adjacent maṣjid Ibn 'Antar.⁵⁸

Beyond the takeover of waqfs, the placement of the complex at the edge of the empty space at the foot of the citadel redefined the contours of that large open space which had served as a public market in the Mamlūk as well as Ottoman periods. Ḥusrev Pasha had thus taken over a heavily used site facing the most imposing topographical and architectural feature of the city.⁵⁹ The citadel had been "Ottomanized" with Süleymân's inscription of 1521. Now a larger section of the city was transformed. The specific urban context allowed Ḥusrev Pasha, and by extension the central authority, to make visual connections to the past and to make a statement about the present by means of an Ottoman-style building. The building of the Khusruwiyya necessitated an erasure of the city's older fabric, and of its history; it also allowed the new rulers of the city to remake that history, and to set the stage for different types of associations and functions.

Functions

Beyond the mosque's form and siting, the process of "Ottomanization" extended to the functions it housed and fostered. The great mosque

⁵⁷ Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Al-Baṭrūnī, *al-durr al-muntakhab*, 119. The Madrasa Asadiyya had been built by Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, and was also known as al-Ṭawāshiyya.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-Ḥanbalī 1:2, 584–585.

⁵⁹ The significance of this site, and of the visual interrelationships it created have been taken up only by Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 203, however he does not comment on the ideological significance of this spatial interrelationship.

and the madrasa fulfilled the religious-social purposes of the külliye. In particular, the endowment deed stipulated that the Ḥanafī madhhab—the preferred madhhab of the Ottomans—be taught in the madrasa.⁶⁰ The first professor at the madrasa, Dada Khalīfa (d. 1565), was an Ottoman rather than an Aleppine, and he became the first Rūmī muftī of Aleppo.⁶¹ The choice of the support of a school of Ḥanafī law in a province where the Shāf‘ī madhhab predominated was consistent with an empire-wide trend. The reign of Süleymân I was linked to the increased importance of legal institutions that trained bureaucrats, to the detriment of institutions which supported the Ġâzī sufi lifestyle, popular with previous Ottoman sultans. The Khusruwiyya then, besides being an architectonic sign of the newly canonical Ottoman way, also trained Ottoman subjects in the legal profession, which had newly reasserted itself as a crucial concern of the state. This trend did not endure in the city, however: no other Ottoman madrasa was founded in Aleppo until the construction by of the Madrasa Sha‘bāniyya in 1677. As a result, the Khusruwiyya remained the preeminent Ottoman-Islamic learning center in the region. Training officials to staff the Sunnī hierarchy of the city proved to be one of its enduring functions; it remains the most prestigious religious educational institution in Aleppo.⁶²

The presence of the tabhane rooms in the mosque raises the possibility that the Khusruwiyya also served as a dervish lodge; however, the absence of evidence in the endowment deeds or in the local narrative sources rules this out as an officially sponsored function.⁶³ The Khusruwiyya supported the Islamic dimensions of the Ottoman empire in yet another way: a significant portion of its revenues was earmarked for the aid of pilgrims on their way to the Two Noble Sanctuaries. The endowment deed stipulates that the

⁶⁰ VGM, Waqfiyya of Ḥusrev Pasha, 149.

⁶¹ Before his appointment at the Khusruwiyya Dada Khalīfa taught at the Ḥusrev Pasha madrasa in Diyarbakır. For biographies of Ibrāhīm b. Bakhshī, known as Dada Khalīfa, see: Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:1, 90–93; Tabbākh 2, VI, 72–73. See also Mantran and Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans*, 106; and D. Sourdél, “Les professeurs de madrasa à Alep aux XII^e–XIII^e siècles,” *BEO* 12 (1949–50): 85–115.

⁶² Gaulmier conducted a thorough study of the state of the madrasa in the late 1930’s, 18–27.

⁶³ The waqfiyya I consulted makes no mention of a dervish lodge among its list of prescribed functions at the complex. Ghazzī, in his summary of a waqfiyya, lists “takiyya” as one of the functions of the complex, Ghazzī 2, II, 93. There is no evidence in any of the sixteenth-century Aleppine narrative sources that a dervish lodge operated at the Khusruwiyya.

kitchen provide food to the students and staff of the complex, but also to *ḥājjīs*. In this manner, the complex supported another religious activity favored by the state: the supervision and facilitation of the Islamic pilgrimage.⁶⁴

The prominence at the Khusruwiyya of mercantile services, provided by the two caravanserais, Khān Qūrd Bak and Khān al-Shūna, was destined to be a hallmark of official Ottoman patronage in Aleppo. Commercial functions also reflect the persistence of the Mamlūk-period use of this urban section. The prominence of structures in the service of trade constituted the beginning of a trend that intensified in subsequent Ottoman commissions.

The ‘Ādiliyya Complex

The second Ottoman külliye of Aleppo, the Complex of Dûḳakînzâde Mehmed Pasha of 963/1555–56, known as the ‘Ādiliyya, is located west of the Khusruwiyya, slightly south of the main commercial artery (Fig. 4, Pl. 14, 15, 16).

Date and Patron

The waqfiyya of 1556 states that construction had been completed, constituting the most reliable date of the complex, confirmed by the foundation inscription on the mosque dated 963/1555–1556.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, several scholars dated it to 1517⁶⁶ and 973/1565–66.⁶⁷ The ‘Ādiliyya mosque figures on the list of Sinân’s projects and it conforms to central Ottoman models. The patron, Dûḳakînzâde

⁶⁴ Guests on their way to the ḥajj were to receive two bowls of stew, two pieces of mutton and four pieces of bread daily. Rice pudding flavored with saffron was to be cooked every Friday night and every night of the month of Ramaḍān. VGM, Waqfiyya of Hüsrev Pasha, 150.

⁶⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of Dûḳakînzâde Mehmed Pasha, Aleppo, Dhū al-Ḥijja 963/October–November 1556, defter 607, pp. 1–3 (Henceforth VGM, Waqfiyya of Dûḳakînzâde Mehmed Pasha); Ghazzī’s summary has the same date and contains much of the information, Ghazzī 2, II, 89–92. The waqfiyya is in Arabic.

⁶⁶ David stated that the incorrect 1517 date originated with Ghazzī, “Domaines,” 193, n. 9. However Ghazzī uses the correct date of 963/1555–56. The 1517 date is given in: Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 97, No. 63; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 213.

⁶⁷ Kuran dated the mosque to 973/1565–66, and one caravanserai to 963/1555–56, *Sinân*, 299–300, 66.

Meḥmed Pasha, the son of Dûḳakînzâde Aḥmed Pasha⁶⁸ and Gūhar Malikshāh,⁶⁹ served as beḡlerbeḡi of Aleppo from 1551 to 1553, when he began construction.⁷⁰ He had completed two khāns and the mosque when the sultan appointed him beḡlerbeḡi of Egypt (December 1553–March 1556).⁷¹ After his term ended he returned to Aleppo and built the remaining structures of the waqf including the Khān al-ʿUlabiyya. He drew up the endowment deed of his complex before his death in Rūm in 964/1556–57.

Meḥmed Pasha's endowment with its extensive commercial facilities encouraged the long-distance trade. At the same time, it represented an attempt by a Rūmī official to use *waqf* to secure his family's future as provincial notability. The endowment dedicated the usufruct of the waqf to the maintenance of the complex, the stipends of employees, and the support of the patron's family. The 'Ādiliyya's endowment deed stipulates that the mutawallī (administrator) of the endowment must be a descendant of the patron, with a daily stipend of 50 silver dirhāms, the highest salary.⁷² The dirhām was a unit of weight for silver, equivalent in this period to 3.207 grams.⁷³ Specifying the stipends in weight of silver rather than unit of currency ensured that the employees would receive the same amount of silver in the event of the debasement of the currency. In addition, the document ensures a daily support of 20 silver dirhāms for any elderly or indigent descendants of the patron.⁷⁴ The stipends for the descendants were substantially higher than the other salaries of the *waqf*, as the highest daily stipend of an employee amounts to 5 dirhāms for the *khaṭīb* (preacher). The prescriptions to the benefit of the family were largely carried out, since the descendants of the wāqif settled in Aleppo, in a handsome *dār* (mansion) in Sāḥat Biza, the same quar-

⁶⁸ Aḥmed Pasha was the ancestor of the Dûḳakînzâde clan, Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'Osmânî*, vol. 4, 691.

⁶⁹ See the discussion of her mausoleum in Aleppo, Chapter 2.

⁷⁰ These dates are mentioned only in Tabbākh 2, III, 202. Biographies of Dûḳakînzâde Meḥmed Pasha appear in: Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 2:1, 263–265, “Muḥammad [bāshā] b. Aḥmad bāshā b. Tūqadīn [sic]”; Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'Osmânî*, vol. 4, 114.

⁷¹ The dates of the governorate in Egypt: Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'Osmânî*, op. cit. and vol. 4, 835.

⁷² The mutawallī should be a male descendant of the patron. If none exist, a female descendant is to be appointed, and if none exists, a pious man should be appointed. VGM, Waqfiyya of Dûḳakînzâde Meḥmed Pasha, 2.

⁷³ İnalçık and Quataert, 988.

⁷⁴ Both male and female descendants were entitled to this money. VGM, Waqfiyya of Dûḳakînzâde Meḥmed Pasha, 2–3.

ter as their ancestor's waqf. The identification of the family with the waqf was such that the descendants of Meḥmed Pasha in Aleppo were called 'Ādilī rather than Dûḳakīnzâde.⁷⁵ While it is common for a patron to use the mechanism of the charitable endowment to secure an income for his descendants, it is of interest in this case that the provincial foundation contributed a solid economic basis in perpetuity, that allowed the descendants of the Rûmī patron to evolve into a local notable family. This constitutes another example where the periphery was crucial for the center, and counters the commonly held notion that Ottoman patrons were exploiters with a short-term interest in provincial settings—in this case, the patron went to great lengths to ensure that his descendants would settle in Aleppo.

Urban Context

Aleppines refer to the mosque of the complex as 'Ādiliyya because of its proximity at the time of construction to the Dār al-ʿAdl or the Dār al-Saʿāda, or seat of government.⁷⁶ Ibn al-Ḥanbalī recorded previous buildings dismantled and integrated into the 'Ādiliyya complex: the mosque and the Khān al-Farrāʾīn replaced the Sūq al-Zardakāshiyya, and the Khān al-Naḥḥāsīn and the Sūq Khān al-Naḥḥāsīn replaced the Sūq al-Kharrāṭīn.⁷⁷ Since both of these sūqs had been *waqf* property, the reuse of their sites required the legal dissolution of their endowments in addition to their physical demolition. The 'Ādiliyya complex also took over Tallat 'Ā'isha ("the hill of 'Ā'isha"), an open square in which the Mamlūks practiced lance-throwing (*laʿb al-rumḥ*).⁷⁸ Open spaces within the urban core where military exercises were staged as a public spectacle were crucial for

⁷⁵ Ghazzī 2, II, 107. Members of the family are buried in the garden of the 'Ādiliyya mosque, 90. Members of the family also maintain the mausoleum of their maternal ancestor, Gūhar Malikshāh, 93. On the 'Ādilī family see Tabbākh 2, III, 166–170.

⁷⁶ Ghazzī 2, II, 89. The waqfiyya uses the term "Dār al-Saʿāda," VGM, Dûḳakīnzâde Meḥmed Pasha, 1. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī does not use the name 'Ādiliyya, but states that the new mosque was located in the vicinity of the Dār al-ʿAdl, 2:1, 263. This dār, built in the Mamlūk period, continued to serve as seat of the administration in the Ottoman period.

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 2:1, 263–264. I have identified the structures by the names with which they are known today on the basis of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's topographical indications.

⁷⁸ The term Tallat 'Ā'isha is used in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 2:1, 264, and the waqfiyya, VGM, Dûḳakīnzâde Meḥmed Pasha, 2. Ghazzī 2, II, 92, calls this site Funduq 'Ā'isha, following the description of Aleppo by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (1192–1262).

the training of Mamlūk troops. They also supported the militaristic culture of the ruling group, as reflected in the extent of the literature on aspects of *furūsiyya*, the art of horsemanship, and the specific terms devised for each type of exercise. Creating and maintaining such open spaces played an important role in the patronage of the Mamlūk sultans.⁷⁹ By incorporating the square in his institutional complex, the Ottoman patron did not destroy any structures or dissolve any *awqāf*, but rather erased a space identified with the élite military culture of the Mamlūk state. The timing of the construction on the Tallat ‘Ā’isha may suggest a greater willingness to take over and remake sites associated with Mamlūk rule in the second half of the sixteenth century. The takeover of these sites allowed the elements of the new complex to be contiguous. An exception was made for the Ḥammām al-Naḥḥāsīn, part of the waqf of the Khusruwiyya, which was now surrounded on three sides by components of the ‘Ādiliyya complex. This suggests a conscious distinction between Ottoman endowments and sites from previous periods. Ottoman sites were allowed to remain, even if they occasioned constraints for the layout of the new endowment.

Functions

Commercial services predominated among the revenue-producing dependencies of the mosque. The ‘Ādiliyya waqf, which comprised 3 hectares,⁸⁰ included four khāns: Khān al-Naḥḥāsīn (“Caravanserai of the Coppersmiths”), Khān al-Farrā’īn (“of the Furriers”), Khān al-‘Ulabiyya (the largest, “of the Box-Makers”), and the smaller Khān al-‘Ādiliyya. Its four sūqs featured 157 shops: the Sūq Khān al-Naḥḥāsīn, Sūq al-Jūḥ, Sūq al-‘Ulabiyya, Sūq al-Farrā’īn, in addition to four qaysāriyyas: one unnamed, Qaysāriyyat al-Farrā’īn, Qaysāriyyat Sūq al-‘Ulabiyya, Qaysāriyyat al-‘Ulabiyya.⁸¹ The names are later, local appellations; the waqfiyya did not name any of the structures, not even the mosque but it clearly specified the location and function of each.

⁷⁹ *ET*², s.v. “Furūsiyya—In the Mamlūk State,” by D. Ayalon; idem, “Notes on the Furūsiyya exercises and games in the Mamlūk Sultanate,” *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961), 31–62.

⁸⁰ Raymond, “Grands waqfs,” 115.

⁸¹ Gaube and Wirth, 131, give a comprehensive analysis of the components of the *waqf* with their contemporary names and their location on their city plan, based on the summarized waqfiyya in Ghazzī.

Even though the commercial structures have been modified, repaired, and adapted to modern use, the graceful proportions of the double-story khāns, the quality of the building materials, the solid vaulting of the sūqs are unprecedented in Aleppo. Also remarkable is that the ‘Ādiliyya complex is compact and integrated. Thanks to the takeover of previously used sites, the ‘Ādiliyya located all the income-producing structures on adjacent plots. By contrast, in the case of the Khusruwiyya, in addition to income-generating properties outside Aleppo, the Hammām al-Sitt and the Khān Qurt Bak were separated from the main cluster. The facilities provided by the commercial structures of the ‘Ādiliyya had an enormous impact on trade, and redefined the use of that urban quarter. Memories of the days of the Mamlūks practicing lance-throwing and playing polo faded in favor of a growing economic role. While the Khusruwiyya combined religious and commercial functions (mosque, madrasa, as well as caravanserais), the ‘Ādiliyya’s religious role was limited to the mosque, while all other components served commercial interests.

Form and Siting of the Mosque

The religious focus of the endowment, the mosque, follows that of the Khusruwiyya in reproducing the canonical Ottoman format. A dome surmounting a cube constitutes the prayer hall, decorated with such Ottoman features as windows set in vaulted alcoves and crowned by bands of polychrome underglaze tiles, calligraphic discs on the spandrels of the pendentive arches and the concentration of ornament on the mihrāb and minbar. The dome of the ‘Ādiliyya is the only sixteenth-century dome in Aleppo to have retained its original sheath of lead tiles.⁸²

The most graceful and elegantly proportioned Ottoman minaret in Aleppo rises from the western corner of the mosque. An original lead-tile-covered cone caps a faceted shaft adorned with a balcony. A joggled crested stringcourse, identical to that at the base of the Khusruwiyya minaret, rings the shaft. A double portico precedes the prayer hall. As in the Khusruwiyya, the portico is wider than the prayer hall. The arches of the inner portico rest on a podium. Four windows and two muqarnas niches articulate the façade of the prayer

⁸² Evliyâ praised the lead-covered dome, and the interior filled with light, Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 375.

hall. Tile tympana featuring floral ornamentation and inscription cartouches surmount the windows, in the Ottoman way. Five domes top the inner portico while a flat roof covers the outer portico, which wraps around the inner one. The inner portico features six columns, and the outer one eighteen, placed closer together. Muqarnas capitals top all the columns. While the double portico occurs in the Sulaymāniyya in Damascus, it is an unusual feature, and the outer colonnade at the ‘Ādiliyya may be a later addition.⁸³

An arched *ablaq* frame jutting out of the façade showcases the central bay of the portico and the entrance to the prayer hall. This frame contains a muqarnas hood, a rectangular inscription plaque naming the patron and the date (963/1555–1556), and a delicate door frame of crested joggled voussoirs (the cresting recalls the string-course on the minaret). The wooden door displays elaborate marquetry. Its strap hinges bear an inscription naming two craftsmen from the Bilad al-Shām.⁸⁴ On this central bay the encounter between imperial and local actors is literally made legible.

Descendants of Mehmed Pasha were buried in a garden-cemetery behind the mosque.⁸⁵ None of the subsidiary structures of the waqf open onto the mosque courtyard; some such as the Qaysāriyyat al-‘Ulabiyya have windows that overlook it. The mosque with its courtyard and garden stand as a self-contained unit within the institutional ensemble.

In form, then, the mosque follows the central Ottoman format: it features a façade graced by a hemispherical dome, minaret and inscription plaque. However, despite this “canonical” front, the spatial arrangement prevents the customary axial approach from the north. The mosque’s two entrances lead into the courtyard from the east and the west respectively, neither provides an axial approach. Modest doors devoid of inscriptions open inconspicuously onto the street and lead to the mosque via corridors sandwiched between buildings.⁸⁶ The more distinguished eastern entrance consists of a

⁸³ David, “Domaines,” 182. The double portico of Takiyya Sulaymāniyya in Damascus (1555–59) is original. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 213, who assumes incorrectly that the ‘Ādiliyya mosque was built in 1517, speculates that the outer portico of the ‘Ādiliyya may have influenced Sinān’s design of the double portico of the Mosque of Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān in Üsküdar, Istanbul (1562–65).

⁸⁴ The inscriptions are discussed in Chapter 1.

⁸⁵ Ghazzī 2, II, 90.

⁸⁶ The plaque above the eastern entrance which reads “Jāmi‘ al-‘Ādiliyya” is modern. There do not seem to have been original inscriptions on the doorways. The entrances feature an Ottoman-period format similar to those found at the khāns

metal door under a trilobed arch with two stone benches at the base, set within the high enclosure wall of the complex (Pl. 16).

A pedestrian walking on the street to the south of the 'Ādiliyya would have had (and has) difficulty noticing the mosque, or catching a glimpse of it through an open door. The dome and the minaret are barely visible, hidden by the high walls of the garden, and by the structures around the mosque, including several from its own waqf, such as the Qaysāriyyat al-'Ulabiyya and the Khān al-'Ulabiyya. While the mosque retreats from the street, the other elements of the waqf spill onto it: the four sūqs are, in fact, vaulted thoroughfares. Unlike the Khusruwiyya, then, the 'Ādiliyya Mosque does not have a monumental presence on the street. There is no architectural event: no imposing profile, no visibly staged visual relationships with surrounding buildings. This seems to run counter to the prescribed choreography of the use of an Ottoman-style mosque.

An architectonic clue suggests a reason for this peculiar choice. The 'Ādiliyya mosque is raised on a podium like the Khusruwiyya; in addition, however, the entire mosque enclosure including the garden and the courtyard rise above the street level. Consequently, both entrances utilize stairs to lead up to the mosque. In the absence of shops or any other apparent use for the space created by this height, one must search a compelling reason for this elevation beyond the immediate surrounding. The mosque is raised to ensure the visibility of its crucial aspects—the minaret and distinctive dome—on the skyline. Indeed, seen from certain points of view on the citadel, or from outside the city, looking east from Antioch Gate, the minaret of the 'Ādiliyya appears prominent, contributing to the creation of the new Ottoman image of Aleppo. The silhouette of the mosque was not legible to the pedestrian, but it was designed to be legible from other privileged points of view.

The Bahrāmiyya Complex

The Complex of Behrām Pasha or Bahrāmiyya of 991/1583 presents a similar combination of an Ottoman-style mosque with commercial

of Aleppo. Doors consist of a skin of metal wrapped around a wooden core, held together with iron nails, which often create ornamental designs on the surface. A smaller door, about one meter in height, is set within the right panel of the larger double-door, and can be opened independently.

institutions (Fig. 5, Pl. 17, 18). The mosque conforms to the style associated with imperial structures, while the qaysāriyyas and khāns follow local building conventions.

Patron

Behrām Pasha's father, Ẓāra Shāhīn Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 1564), was a Bosnian recruited through the devşirme, who served as governor of Yemen (1556–1560).⁸⁷ Behrām Pasha held the beğlerbeğlik of Yemen and of Diyarbakır, as well as Aleppo in 1580.⁸⁸ In Diyarbakır he built a mosque complex dated by inscription to 980/1572–73 and attributed to Sinān.⁸⁹ The mosque consists of a domed cube preceded by a double portico and surmounted by an Ottoman minaret. Its façade features the regional ornamentation of horizontal bands of polychrome masonry, or *ablaq*. Both Behrām Pasha and his brother Riḍwān Pasha, who also served as beğlerbeği of Aleppo, were buried in this city after their deaths in 1585 and in 1586 respectively.⁹⁰ The waqfiyya, dated 1583, composed in Arabic by the distinguished Aleppine legal scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Kūrānī, is unusually elegant.⁹¹ One copy of the waqfiyya, a long scroll of high-quality paper, calligraphed with a clear hand in black ink preserved in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, seems to be a “presentation copy.”⁹²

⁸⁷ *ET*² s.v. “Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ẓāra Shāhīn,” by J. R. Blackburn. The Aleppine sources give his father's name as Muṣṭafā bāshā b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘īn.

⁸⁸ The date of his governorate of Aleppo is given in Tabbākh 2, III, 175, and in the *Sālnāme* 1908, 80. Other sources indicate that on 19 Safar 898/25 March 1581, Aḥmed Pasha b. Çerkes İkenler Pasha replaced “an aged Aḥmed” as governor of Aleppo: Istanbul, BBA, Kāmil Kepeci Tasnifi 238, Ru‘us Defterleri, p. 308, cited in Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 90, n. 53.

⁸⁹ *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “Behram Paşa Camii,” by Ara Altun, includes a ground-plan; Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques*, 310; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 310, calls it Mosque of “Bayram Pasha” [sic]; Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1971), 86–91. Kuran, *Sinān*, 103–104.

⁹⁰ Tabbākh 2, III, 175. Riḍwān Pasha was governor of Aleppo in 1585, *Sālnāme* 1908, 80.

⁹¹ For a history of the al-Kūrānī family see Tabbākh 2, vol. 6, 237–252.

⁹² Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi (Prime Ministry Archives), Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 991/1583, Aleppo. This is the only waqfiyya in Aleppo preserved in this archive. A conventionally presented copy of the document is preserved in VGM, Ankara, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 991/1583, Aleppo, Defter 588, pp. 139–146, sira no. 61.

Urban Context

The Bahrāmiyya's constituent units are located on both sides of the main commercial artery of the Mdīneh. The mosque, in retreat from the thoroughfare, sits at the southern end of a spacious courtyard. The waqfiyya emphasizes the dimensions of the courtyard: 29 cubits (*dhirāʿ*) from north to south, and 50 cubits from east to west,⁹³ probably because securing this space was difficult in an area dedicated primarily to commerce where property values were high. Unlike the internal courtyards of caravanserais, integral to their commercial function, the courtyard of a mosque could at most hold temporary vendors outside prayer hours. While the mosque is shielded from the view of pedestrians in the bazaar, the complex, nonetheless, has an prominent presence in it. The section of the main commercial artery to the North of the Bahrāmiyya mosque is lined on both sides by sūqs belonging to the endowment vaulted and lined with shops along approximately 50 meters.⁹⁴ The monumental entrances of both sūqs align with each other and with the central axis of the mosque. The meeting point of the two sūq entrances is emphasized by three domes, staging the approach to the mosque.

The façade of the southern sūq through which one enters the mosque courtyard is particularly elaborate. A *sabīl* or drinking fountain on this wall provides a much-needed service and ensures that some pedestrians will stop at that precise location.⁹⁵ A thick band of yellow marble carved with geometric ornament frames the entrance leading into the courtyard. Such bands appear on the facades of late Mamlūk caravanserais, like the Khān al-Šābūn and the Khān Ūjkhān (see Chapter 2). A pointed arch with black and white voussoirs sits within this band. Underneath it, a black stone band frames a plain rectangle, which may have originally held an inscription.⁹⁶ A segmented arch whose ablaq voussoirs create a positive-negative design in a trefoil crested shape surmounts the recessed door.

⁹³ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 140, Ghazzī 2, II, 41.

⁹⁴ David, "Domaines," 184.

⁹⁵ The *sabīl* is listed in Ghazzī 2, II, 64.

⁹⁶ This rectangle seems to retain traces of an ornament, perhaps an inscription. In comparison, the façade of the Khān al-Gumruk on the main thoroughfare does bear an inscription. A plain band where one would expect to find an inscription can also be seen at the Khān al-Wazīr, discussed in Chapter 5.

Mosque

Through this door on the bazaar one enters the courtyard. Originally an elaborate water basin (*hawḍ*) of yellow marble covered by a domed baldachin occupied the middle of the courtyard, supplied by water from the canals of Aleppo.⁹⁷ A modest pool with faucets for ablution replaced it in 1882, slightly east of the axis of symmetry.⁹⁸

David characterized the mosque as a “bastard” structure, ambitious yet awkward.⁹⁹ However, the vicissitudes suffered by the building and infelicitous renovations, rather than the design contribute to the impression of awkwardness. Evliyâ described the original minaret as the most beautiful in Aleppo.¹⁰⁰ The minaret collapsed during an earthquake in 1699, damaging the western section of the portico, and was rebuilt in the early eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ As in the other Ottoman towers of Aleppo, the restored minaret is topped by a cone, has a balcony, and features once again the joggled crested stringcourse.

Probably modified at the same time as the minaret, the portico is once again wider than the prayer hall. The three Eastern arches seem original, supported by three original columns with muqarnas hoods. Stone pillars support the remaining arches. The nine pointed arches are of unequal size, echoing the differing widths of the bays. The farthest arches to the east and the west are smallest, and the second arches on either side are largest. The largest arches lead to large bays, actually *iwāns* (three-sided room) abutting the prayer hall. Two windows in each overlook the garden-cemetery behind the mosque.¹⁰² The western *iwān* is smaller than the eastern one. The façade of the mosque thus reads, from east to west: corner, window, larger *iwān*, niche, window, entrance, window, niche, smaller *iwān*, corner.

David considered the *iwāns* an Aleppine feature, comparing them

⁹⁷ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 140, Ghazzî 2, II, 41. The employee in charge of ensuring the flow of water to this basin was appointed a daily stipend of 1 silver *‘uthmāniyya*. VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 144; Ghazzî 2, II, 43.

⁹⁸ Ghazzî 2, II, 44.

⁹⁹ David, “Domaines,” 184.

¹⁰⁰ Evliyâ visited Aleppo in 1082/1671–72, when the original minaret was extant, Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 375.

¹⁰¹ The renovation of the minaret was celebrated with an inscription above the door at the minaret’s base (the portico was probably also built at this time), composed by the poet Yahyâ al-Ḥalabî al-‘Aqqād, quoted in Ghazzî 2, II, 44. Tabbākh 2, III, 175.

¹⁰² The waqfiyya states that each *iwān* has a *mihrāb*, offering no functional explanation for these *iwāns*, except that the minaret was accessible from the western *iwān*.

to the larger iwāns at the Madrasa ʿUthmāniyya in Aleppo (1730–38). The waqfiyya offers no functional explanation for their presence. At the Bahrāmiyya the two *iwāns* which face the courtyard are balanced by two small *iwāns* inside the prayer hall, each with a window on the façade. Again, the western interior *iwān* is smaller than the eastern one, an indication that the mosque is not arranged in exact symmetry. The four *iwāns* also appear at the ʿUthmāniyya, however the interior *iwāns* are smaller than the exterior ones, and they are symmetrical. Apart from the Bahrāmiyya and the ʿUthmāniyya, there is no other example of the system of interior and exterior *iwāns*. In the Mosque of İskender Pasha in Diyarbakır (1551),¹⁰³ no *iwāns* grace the interior while on the exterior, rather than *iwāns*, rectangular chambers open onto the portico, without communicating with the prayer hall. They mediate between the *iwāns* of the Bahrāmiyya and the “vestigial tabhane rooms” of the Khusruwiyya, which opened into the prayer hall. Thus the peculiar feature of the interior and exterior *iwāns* in the same depth may be unique to the Bahrāmiyya.

Apart from this peculiar feature, the original façade of the mosque conformed to the central Ottoman model. The portico stands on a low podium, interrupted in front of the central bay, framed by a projecting pointed arch with *ablaq* decoration. Within it a smaller arch contains a plaque bearing the foundation inscription. Another arch, identical to the one on the door between the bazaar and the mosque courtyard, surmounts the door. The decoration emphasizes the importance of the central bay and the relationship of entrances placed along the axis of the complex.

Polychrome underglaze tiles surmount the recessed windows of the prayer hall. Having collapsed during the 1821 earthquake, the dome was rebuilt on four massive pillars.¹⁰⁴ According to the waqfiyya, the original dome rested on eight arches,¹⁰⁵ covering a space of 324 square meters.¹⁰⁶ This means that the Bahrāmiyya featured the largest prayer hall of the Ottoman mosques of Aleppo, as the original dome

¹⁰³ David illustrates the Mosque of İskender Pasha in Diyarbakır (1551), attributed to Sinân, but does not discuss it. See: Groundplan: David, “Domaines,” 183. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 310.

¹⁰⁴ After the structure stood in ruins for about forty years, a resourceful *mutawallî* sold the lead which had covered the original dome to raise funds for a new one, Tabbākh 2, III, 175. Evliyâ noted that the original dome was covered with lead, Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 375.

¹⁰⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 139; Ghazzī 2, II, 41.

¹⁰⁶ David, “Domaines,” 185.

of the Khusruwiyya covered a hall of 290 square meters, and that of the ʿĀdiliyya covered 255 square meters. Any one of the Ottoman domes dwarfed the older domes in the city.¹⁰⁷

Another feature particular to the Bahrāmiyya is the large five-sided apse, which the waqfiyya termed an *iwan*.¹⁰⁸ The apse, which prolongs the north-south axis of the mosque, contains a miḥrāb niche on its south wall and four engaged columns. The five-sided apse is not common in Ottoman architecture. An example close in date to the Bahrāmiyya is the Yeni Cami in Tosya (1574), where a five-sided apse containing a miḥrāb is surmounted by a half-dome on squinches.¹⁰⁹ Goodwin interpreted the five-sided apse as a Byzantine feature, incorporated in Ottoman architecture after the conquest of Istanbul as for example in the Dâvûd Pasha Mosque of 1485, that remained within the repertoire of the Ottoman mosque throughout the Classical period.¹¹⁰ However, a rectangular apse surmounted by a semi-dome appears to be a more usual choice. Perhaps one can distinguish between the five-sided apse based on Byzantine models, and the rectangular apse, which may be a logical result of the modular system of design in Ottoman architecture. Examples of rectangular apses closest to the Bahrāmiyya are found in the Selîmiye Mosque (1569–75) in Edirne,¹¹¹ and in Istanbul, the Mosque of Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha in Azapkapı (1577–78),¹¹² the Mosque of Kılıç

¹⁰⁷ The dome of the eighteenth-century Madrasa ʿUthmāniyya, also built in central Ottoman style, covered a prayer hall of 144 square meters. David, "Domaines," 185.

¹⁰⁸ "... an iwān supported by five small arches on columns..." VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 140; Ghazzī 2, II, 42.

¹⁰⁹ It is difficult to know if the apse of the Bahrāmiyya was originally covered by a half-dome. The Yeni Cami seems to be a variation, in plan, of the Istanbul Shehzāde Mosque by Sinān. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 310–311.

¹¹⁰ On the Mosque of Dâvûd Pasha in Istanbul, see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 115, groundplan fig. 107. David observes that the five-sided apse occurs in pre-Ottoman mosques and madrasas of Anatolia, as well as in Ottoman-period structures in an archaic style in Eastern Anatolia. He compares the Bahrāmiyya to the Mosque of Dâvûd Pasha and the Yeni Cami, following Goodwin. He also brings up comparisons from the late sixteenth century, however, the apse of the Mosque of Nishânjî Mehmed Pasha in Karagümrük, Istanbul (1584–1588) is not octagonal as he states, but rather rectangular; the Mosque of Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha in Kadırga Limanı, Istanbul of 1571 has no apse at all, but the Mosque of the same patron in Azapkapı, Istanbul (985/1577–78) has a rectangular apse; the apse of the Mosque of ʿAtîk Vâlide (991/1583) in Toptaşı, Istanbul is not hexagonal, rather it is rectangular. David, "Domaines," 193, note 12.

¹¹¹ Groundplan: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 262, fig. 250. Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus," 86, considers the Selîmiye the likely inspiration for the Bahrāmiyya apse.

¹¹² Groundplan: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 286, fig. 274.

‘Alī Pasha in Tophane (1580–81),¹¹³ the Mosque of ‘Atīk Vâlide (1583) in Toptaşı,¹¹⁴ and the Mosque of Nishânî Meḥmed Pasha in Karagümrük, Istanbul (1584–1588).¹¹⁵

While Ottoman architecture rarely employed the five-sided apse, several occur in Diyarbakır, the nearest major city. The earliest five-sided apse, surmounted by a half-dome, occurs in the 1489 mosque known as the Ayni Minare Camii or the Hoca Ahmet Camii,¹¹⁶ which predates the Ottoman conquest of Diyarbakır of 1515. The Mosque-Madrassa of Dîvâne Ḥusrev Pasa (1521–1528) located nearby, mirrors the groundplan of the Ayni Minare Mosque, including the five-sided apse, except that a hemispherical dome in the Ottoman manner surmounts the prayer hall. Another identical apse contains the miḥrāb of the Madrasa of ‘Alī Pasha (1537–1543), which has no domed prayer hall.¹¹⁷ Attributed to Sinân, this madrasa is located near the previous two mosques, along the ramparts between the Mardin Gate and the Urfa Gate. The Ottoman apses in Diyarbakır imitate forms that belong to the past of Diyarbakır in a specific section of the city. The practice of acknowledging the association of certain formal practices with specific locations by Ottoman builders can also be discerned in Aleppo in regards to the late Mamlūk visual style. In the case of the unusual feature of the apse, because of their proximity in time and space, the Diyarbakır examples may have influenced the Bahrāmiyya.

The ornamentation of the miḥrāb and minbar recall the format commonly used in Aleppo for these elements, and employ high quality materials.¹¹⁸ Polychrome marble mosaic graces the miḥrāb. Its complex interlace of masonry is strikingly similar to the famous Ayyubid-period miḥrāb of the Madrasa al-Firdaws (1235).¹¹⁹ The white marble minbar features polychrome geometric marble mosaic. Once again, then, the combination of an Ottoman-style mosque with a decorative scheme that quotes local examples is in evidence.

¹¹³ Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 287–288; groundplan: Kuran, *Sinan*, 217, fig. 226.

¹¹⁴ Groundplan: Kuran, *Sinan*, 194, fig. 202.

¹¹⁵ Groundplan: Kuran, *Sinan*, 235, figs. 253, 254.

¹¹⁶ Sözen, *Diyarbakır*, 52–54, groundplan: 53, fig. 13.

¹¹⁷ Sözen, *Diyarbakır*, 148–150, groundplan: 149, fig. 43.

¹¹⁸ The waqfiyya described the miḥrāb and minbar, VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 140 and Ghazzī 2, II, 42.

¹¹⁹ Sauvaget emphasized this similarity, “Inventaire,” 99, No. 65. For the miḥrāb of the Firdaws, see most recently Tabbāa, *Constructions of Power*, 169, and fig. 200; and idem, “Dayfa Khatun, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron,” in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 17–34.

The Bahrāmiyya mosque, like the ‘Ādiliyya mosque, is barely visible to the pedestrian from the street. The elaborate entrance on the thoroughfare signals its presence; however the mosque can only be glimpsed from the bazaar, the open courtyard a blinding surface of light contrasting with the constant semi-darkness of the covered market. Like the ‘Ādiliyya, however, the mosque of the Bahrāmiyya is visible on the skyline of the city, perfectly aligned with the Ottoman minarets of the Mdīneh.

The mosque enclosure has three entrances, to the north, on the north-south axis and with an elaborate entrance on the bazaar, and two less distinguished doors to the east and the west.¹²⁰ In a pattern similar to the Khusruwiyya and the ‘Ādiliyya, the charitable functions of the endowment, the mosque and the maktab (Koranic school) occupy the mosque enclosure along with subordinate buildings, while the revenue-producing structures lie beyond.

Apart from the mausoleum to the south, where the patron and his brother Riḍwān Pasha are buried,¹²¹ rebuilt in 1924,¹²² the courtyard contains two structures including a lavatory which have been heavily rebuilt.¹²³ The waqfiyya described a latrine and a *maktab* in their location. The latrine (*ṭahhāra*),¹²⁴ was unusually elaborate, with a tiled floor and equipped with running water.¹²⁵ As for the *maktab*, the endowment stipulated that it provide for the education of orphans who would receive a new shirt and a new skullcap (*‘arrāqiyya*) every year.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ The Western entrance was walled up at an unknown date. Ghazzī 2, II, 44.

¹²¹ According to the patron's wishes expressed in the endowment deed, VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 145; Ghazzī 2, II, 44.

¹²² It was rebuilt by ‘Abdallah Bak al-‘Ilmī, the mutawallī, a descendant of Behrām Pasha, Tabbākh 2, III, 176. He also renovated a latrine to the east of the mosque where he installed running hot water, the first in a public place in the city.

¹²³ In addition, David observed traces of an arcade on the north side of the courtyard, “Domaines,” 185. No such arcade is described in the waqfiyya.

¹²⁴ Both waqfiyyas used this term, however Ghazzī used the term *maṭhara*, which derives from the same Arabic root. For a discussion of historic latrines in Aleppo, which does not include any Ottoman-period ones, see Gaube and Wirth, 157.

¹²⁵ The waqfiyya specified a location to the west of the mosque, bounded by the latrines of the Madrasa Muqaddamiyya (1124) to the west, and by the Muqaddamiyya itself to the south. There is no trace of it today. A new latrine was built in 1924, Tabbākh 2, III, 176.

¹²⁶ The waqfiyya stated that the *maktab* was near the west door of the mosque VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 142; Ghazzī 2, II, 43. The children were to be educated by a teacher with a daily stipend of 3 silver ‘uthmāniyyas, VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 143; Ghazzī 2, II, 43.

Revenue-Producing Buildings

Among the revenue-producing institutions of the endowment were the two *sūqs* located on either side of the bazaar artery, to the north of the mosque enclosure.¹²⁷ The *sūq* to the south of the main thoroughfare contained seventeen shops according to the *waqfiyya*. The northern *sūq*¹²⁸ contained a total of 24 shops, and a *qaysāriyya* of 37 rooms occupied its second story.¹²⁹ Also on the second story of the northern *sūq* was a domed coffeehouse.¹³⁰ The *waqf* capitalized on its location in the heart of the market, with buildings for prayer, study, as well as commerce and entertainment, including the drinking of a newly popular social beverage.¹³¹

In addition, a beautiful *ḥammām* (public bath) with a *qaysāriyya* on its second story was constructed in the Judayda quarter to the northwest of the walled city, where no Ottoman public buildings had hitherto been built. Alternating stripes of limestone and basalt reminiscent of Mamlūk architecture decorate its façade on the street. In its façade as well as in the system of water circulation, the *ḥammām* followed older Aleppine models.¹³² The *waqfiyya* praised the *ḥammām*'s door ornamented with colored marble, its tiled floors, its pool of yellow marble, and its three spacious rooms.¹³³ Its location in Judayda suggests that by 1583, available space was limited in the Mdīneh, forcing patrons out.¹³⁴ However, the Judayda quarter offered both land and commercial possibilities in its own right, as a major secondary center of artisanal industry and trade. The largest Ottoman *waqf* of

¹²⁷ Sauvaget published a groundplan of these two *sūqs*, in *Alep*, 216, fig. 55. The city plan in Gaube and Wirth more faithfully reflects its contemporary state.

¹²⁸ The Northern *sūq* (Gaube and Wirth No. 40) is adjacent to the Mašjid al-‘Umarī (Gaube and Wirth No. 41) on its Northeastern corner. Gaube and Wirth state incorrectly that the ‘Umarī Mosque was part of the 1583 *waqfiyya* of the Bahrāmiyya, 349. Its date is unknown, Ghazzī 2, II, 61.

¹²⁹ VGM, *Waqfiyya* of Behrām Pasha, 141, Ghazzī 2, II, 42.

¹³⁰ VGM, *Waqfiyya* of Behrām Pasha, 141, Ghazzī 2, II, 43 and 67.

¹³¹ For a discussion of the urban coffeehouse, see Chapter 4.

¹³² David, “Domaines,” 184.

¹³³ VGM, *Waqfiyya* of Behrām Pasha, 141. Ghazzī’s summary of the *waqfiyya* does not include these descriptions. For a groundplan: David and Hubert, “Déperissement du ḥammām,” 64, fig. 65, and David, *Waqf d’Iṣṣir Pāšā*, Plate 30. See also Gaube and Wirth No. 446; Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 112, no. 117. This *ḥammām* is included in Tabbākh’s list of Aleppo’s baths in 1923, Tabbākh 2, III, 433. The *ḥammām-qaysāriyya* underwent modifications: a coffeehouse was built on its western side, shops were added to the bottom floor and added to the *waqf* in 1890, Ghazzī, 2, II, 44.

¹³⁴ Raymond, “Grands waqfs,” 116.

seventeenth century, that of İpshîr Pasha, located to the north of the hammâm of Behrâm Pasha, capitalized on this economic opportunity (see chapter 4).

The endowment also included rural properties, including a mill on the Quwayq river to the west of Aleppo (an area prominent in the Waqf of Şoğollı Mehmed Pasha discussed below), three rooms for rent and a mill on the river Jallâb in the Qaḍâ' of Raha, olive trees and fruit orchards in villages of Gaza. In Cairo, the patron created a cluster of income-producing structures that echoes those in Aleppo: a hammâm, a coffeehouse and shops in the Sûq al-Sibâhî, near the Mosque of Sultân Ḥasan.¹³⁵

Functions

The waqfiyya appointed the patron as waqf administrator for the duration of his lifetime, at a daily stipend of 25 silver *‘uthmāniyya istanbūlî*.¹³⁶ At his death, the waqfiyya specified that the position of administrator was reserved for the patron's male children and their descendants, then to their manumitted slaves, then to the manumitted slaves of his brother Riḍwân Pasha, and then to those of his father Muṣṭafâ Pasha.¹³⁷ Apart from the stipend, any income left over after the waqf's requisite expenses also belonged to the *mutawallî*, who supervised the finances of the waqf without interference from any *qāḍî* (judge).¹³⁸ As in the case of the descendants of Mehmed Pasha Dûḳakînzâde, the waqf enabled the families of Behrâm Pasha and his brother to settle in Aleppo, where they adopted the patronymic of ‘İlmî.

The waqfiyya of the Bahrâmiyya outlined custodial positions at the mosque, including sweepers, a *hawwâb* or doorman, a lavatory

¹³⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 142. Ghazzî 2, II, 43.

¹³⁶ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 142. Ghazzî does not mention this. It is unclear what type of currency is meant by “*‘uthmāniyya istanbūlî*.” The Ottoman silver coin akçe was often called an “*‘uthmānî*” in the Arab provinces, İnalcık and Quataert, 1001. However, “*‘uthmānî*” was also the name given to a ten-akçe piece minted in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Şevket Pamuk, “Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326–1914”, in İnalcık and Quataert, 976, n. 7. See also Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Osmanische Numismatik* (Braunschweig, 1973).

¹³⁷ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 144, Ghazzî 2, II, 44; Until the 1920's the *tawliya* remained at the hands of the descendants of Behrâm Pasha, who had taken the patronymic of ‘İlmî, Tabbâkh 2, III, 176.

¹³⁸ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 143, Ghazzî 2, II, 44. The waqfiyya enjoined the *mutawallî* to record the finances of the waqf in a notebook, VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrâm Pasha, 145.

attendant, and persons in charge of the water supply to the ablution fountain and the *ṭahhāra*. The endowment also earmarked sums for the purchase of specified amounts of oil, oil lamps, candles, and incense. The interior and the exterior of the mosque, as well as the *ṭahhāra* were to be lit during Ramaḍān.¹³⁹

In addition, the endowment deed prescribed regular and special religious services at the mosque. The waqfiyya specified the verses of the Koran to be read during certain times and days of the week, as well as the special readings for festival nights in the year,¹⁴⁰ to which prayers for the soul of the Prophet and the patron were to be appended daily.¹⁴¹ The *khaṭīb* or preacher was to be a *Ḥanafī*. The mosque's two imāms were to be a *Ḥanafī* and a *Shāfi'ī*. The mandated legal affiliations of these officials provide an insight into the intentions of the wāqif. He ensured that while Aleppines at this mosque could pray behind imāms of two madhhabs, the *khuṭba*—the sermon which addressed the congregation on Friday, and where allegiance to the ruler was proclaimed—would be entrusted to a *Ḥanafī*, the madhhab endorsed by the Ottomans.

This long list of prescriptions pursued three principal aims. First, the upkeep and cleanliness of the mosque and its enclosure, and the constant supply of running water to the latrines ensured the comfort of the congregation, to a degree expected from a great imperial waqf. Second, the choice of a *Ḥanafī* for a *khaṭīb* supported the madhhab endorsed by the Ottomans. Third, the performance of religious services such as the call to prayer, the five prayers, readings before and after prayer and in the evenings, and the marking of special days in the religious calendars made certain that the mosque would be “active” throughout the entire day and during holidays.¹⁴² In the heart of the marketplace, the mosque thus provided a communal environment where Muslim merchants and visitors could pray, listen to the Koran and socialize. The nearby coffeehouse created an additional social space where friendships and business partnerships could develop.

¹³⁹ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha 143–144, Ghazzī 2, II, 43–44. For Ramaḍān, in addition to the lamps, two giant candles are to be lit on either side of the mihrāb.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ VGM, Waqfiyya of Behrām Pasha, 143.

¹⁴² Because of its proximity, the call to prayer, and even some of the readings at the Bahrāmiyya could be heard by those passing through the market.

*The Complex of the Khān al-Gumruk**Patron*

The patron of Complex of the Khān al-Gumruk was Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha, one of the most important Ottoman statesmen of the sixteenth century, whose assassination in 1579 marks the end of the “Classical Age.”¹⁴³ Three pieces of information support this attribution. First, Ghazzī indicated that the recto of first page of the waqfiyya conserved in Aleppo bore “the tuğra of the Sulṭān Muḥammad son of the Sulṭān İbrāhīm Khān.”¹⁴⁴ The waqf is known in Aleppo, presumably on the basis of this tuğra, as “the waqf of İbrāhīm Khān.” This tuğra can only belong to Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87), son of Sultan İbrāhīm (r. 1640–48), who cannot be the patron, however, as the waqfiyya is dated Jumāda I 982/September 1574. Either the tuğra was added to the original waqfiyya at a later date, or Ghazzī saw a seventeenth-century copy of the document, endorsed by Mehmed IV. Yet another possibility suggests that the tuğra Ghazzī saw was in fact the seal of the İbrāhīm Hân Zâde family. İbrāhīm Hân was the son of Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha and İsmihân Sultan, daughter of Selīm II.¹⁴⁵ Mehmed Pasha’s descendants, known as the İbrāhīm Hân Zâde, constituted one of the most privileged families of the Ottoman empire.¹⁴⁶ This possibility supports the identification of the waqf with Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha, the progenitor of the İbrāhīm Hân Zâde family, even though Şoḳollı himself does not seem to have ever been referred to as “İbrāhīm Hân Zâde.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ The name is spelled Sokollu in modern Turkish. David suggested Şoḳollı as the patron of this complex in “Domaines,” 183, and in idem., “Le consulat de France à Alep sous Louis XIV. Témoins architecturaux, descriptions par les consuls et les voyageurs,” *Res Orientales* 8 (1996), 13, but without providing any support.

¹⁴⁴ Ghazzī 2, II, 416.

¹⁴⁵ Şoḳollı and İsmihân (1545–1585, also known as “Esmâ Sultan”) were married in 969/1561–62. *ET*², s.v. “Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha,” by Gilles Veinstein. Their son İbrāhīm Hân was born in 1565, Artan, “Kadırga Palace,” 80.

¹⁴⁶ For the İbrāhīm Hân Zâde family see Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i ‘Osmânî*, vol. 4, 679; *ET*², s.v. “İbrāhīm Khān,” by J. H. Mordtmann; *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “İbrahim Han,” by T. Gökbilgin; Artan, “Kadırga Palace,” 79–84. The genealogy of the family is studied in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Hans-Peter Laqueur, and Nicolas Vatin, *Stelae Turcicae II: Cimetières de la mosquée de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Kadırga Limanı, de Bostancı Ali et du türbe de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Eyüp*, Istanbul Mitteilungen, Beiheft XXXVI (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1990).

¹⁴⁷ David uses this family name to refer to him in “Consulat de France,” 13. However, “İbrāhīm Hân Zâde” was the patronymic of the descendants of Şoḳollı’s son İbrāhīm Hân, not of Şoḳollı himself.

Second, the waqfiyya summarized by Ghazzī names the wāqif as Muḥammad bāshā ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Sinān, which is consistent with the name taken by Şoḳollı's father upon conversion to Islam.¹⁴⁸ Third, the extensive complex at Payas mentioned in the waqfiyya can only be the complex of Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha at Payas. There is only one major complex at Payas, attributed to Sinān and dated 1574 by inscription, suggesting that Mehmed Pasha, patron of the Khān al-Gumruk in Aleppo, and Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha are the same person.¹⁴⁹ The language of the waqfiyya, written in Ottoman rather than in Arabic as in the case of the other complexes patronized by imperial officials in Aleppo, suggests the close connection between this particular endowment and the court. The impact of this waqf on Aleppo was tremendous, but its extent covered the length of the empire, well beyond a specific city or region.

Endowment

The vast extent of waqf of Mehmed Pasha prompted Sauvaget to speculate that it might be "the most considerable waqf of the Islamic Orient."¹⁵⁰ In fact the great sultanic endowments of the sixteenth

¹⁴⁸ *ET*², s.v. "Şoḳollu Mehmed Pasha," by Gilles Veinstein. For Şoḳollı's biography see also Artan, "Kadırga Palace," 80–84; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Mehmed Paşa, Şoḳollı, Tavil;" *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1st ed.), s.v. "Mehmed Paşa, Şoḳollı, Tavil" by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin; Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'Osmanî*, vol. 4, 122–123. A Serbian point of view is developed in Radovan Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch: Le destin d'un grand vizir*, trans. M. Begić (Lausanne: L'Age d'homme, 1994), originally published as *Mehmed Sokolovic* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1971).

¹⁴⁹ The inscription on the Payas mosque is dated 1574, and mentions Sultan Selīm II but not Şoḳollı. That Şoḳollı was the patron is indicated in *Tühfetü'l-Mi'mârîn*, and in Şoḳollı's waqfiyya. However the Payas complex is not listed in either *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* or *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye*, Kuran, *Sinan*, 270. The Payas complex is discussed in: Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 3, 42–43 (misdates the mosque according to Kuran, *Sinan*, n. 55); Cezar, *Commercial Buildings*, 141–144, figs. 90, 91; Kuran, *Sinan*, 152, fig. 154; Goodwin discusses the caravanserai which he attributes to Selīm II on the basis of the epigraphy, in *Ottoman Architecture*, 298–99, fig. 288, 982 n. 485; İsmet İler, *Tarihî Türk Hanları* (Ankara: K. G. M. Matbaası, 1969), 106; Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Lîvası*, 512, mentions Payas and Aleppo among a list of Şoḳollı's awqāf. Some of Şoḳollı's biographies mention the complex at Payas among his extensive list of patronage. See also *ET*², s.v. "Payas," by C. E. Bosworth; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* s.v. "Payas," by Besim Darkot.

¹⁵⁰ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 263. I was unable to find this waqfiyya in Ankara, probably because it is not filed under the waqfs of Aleppo, the only ones I was allowed to consult. Ghazzī published a translated summary of the waqfiyya in the possession of the waqf administrator, Ghazzī 2, II, 415–423. According to Ghazzī, the original was dated Jumāda I 982/September 1574, and was in Ottoman. Sauvaget,

century, like the Süleymâniye in Istanbul, exceed the waqf of Meḥmed Pasha in the extent of their properties,¹⁵¹ but it is arguably the largest provincial endowment. It is remarkable for the value of the properties and the amount of newly built structures, as well as the vast dispersion of the components of the waqf throughout the empire. The waqfiyya translated and summarized by Ghazzī shows that properties were set up as waqf in Mecca, Madina, Aleppo and Payas principally, but also in Antioch, Aintab, Birecik (al-Bīra in Arabic), Tripoli of Syria, Damascus, Hims and Hama; as well as rural areas ranging from Jabal Simʿān, to ʿAzāz north of Aleppo, to Rumkale, the Hawrān, Jūlān, and Nāblus. Today the properties and interests of the waqf fall in Southeastern Turkey, Northern and Eastern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, Israel and Saudi Arabia.

The waqf supported religious institutions and services in far-flung parts of the empire. The Two Noble Sanctuaries of Mecca and Madina received a large proportion of the waqf's profits. In addition to a school and a hospital in Mecca, and a ḥammām, a public fountain, and other waterworks in Madina,¹⁵² both shrines received funds to ensure the recitation of specified sections of the Koran.¹⁵³ Another major beneficiary of the waqf was the large complex in Payas centered around a Great Mosque at the foot of the citadel, which comprised a dervish lodge, a Koranic school (*maktab*) and a soup kitchen (*ʿimâret*), as well as waterworks.¹⁵⁴ In Aleppo, the waqf's charitable

Alep, 263–265, provided a list of the properties of the waqf located in or just outside of Aleppo, based on Ghazzī's summary, *Alep*, 263–265, with minor omissions. Gaube and Wirth provided an analysis of the properties of the waqf in Aleppo, matching some of them to extant structures, 132–133. Additional information regarding this waqf appears in Ottoman firmāns: AS Aleppo, v. 1, p. 100, document 206, dated 1102/1690, ratifying various appointments; AS Aleppo, v. 1, p. 134, document 251, dated 1161/1748: directing the disposal of rent income from properties located in Bāb Anṭākiyya; AS Aleppo, v. 1, p. 134, document 252, dated 1161/1748: Reiteration of the wāqif's wish to use the usufruct of khāns near Bāb Anṭākiyya to benefit the poor at the Two Noble Sanctuaries.

¹⁵¹ The waqfiyya of the Süleymaniye and various documents relating to its waqf have been published: Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi* (Ankara: Resimli Posta Matbaası, 1962), Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550–1557)*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972–9). See also Necipoğlu, "Süleymaniye Complex," Stéphane Yérasimos, *Istanbul: la mosquée de Soliman* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1997), idem, "Les registres de la Süleymaniye," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 127 (1988): 46–49.

¹⁵² Ghazzī 2, II, 416.

¹⁵³ Ghazzī 2, II, 423.

¹⁵⁴ Ghazzī 2, II, 416. For the conditions for the running of the mosque, the khānqah and the ʿimâret, 421–422. For the Payas complex, see references above.

institutions featured four neighborhood mosques. In addition to building institutions, the waqf sponsored charitable services such as professorships of law, fellowships for students and readings of prescribed passages of religious texts in mosques around the empire, but principally in the Two Noble Sanctuaries.¹⁵⁵

The vast properties of the waqf supplied the income for the charitable institutions and activities. A chief administrator (*mutawallī*) at a daily stipend of 50 akçe¹⁵⁶ presided over no less than 6 secretaries (*kātib*) and 10 revenue officers (*jāb*) in charge of collecting and tabulating the income from the properties. The waqfiyya included an incentive to maximize the income from the properties: if the chief administrator was able to increase the yearly revenue of the waqf by 100,000 akçe, his daily stipend would increase by 5 akçe; if he was able to raise the revenue above that amount, his daily stipend would increase by 1 akçe.¹⁵⁷ After every employee had been remunerated, all good works prescribed by the waqfiyya accomplished, and the properties of the waqf repaired, the mutawallī was instructed to place any remaining funds in a sack, seal it and send it to the supervisor (*nāẓir*) of all the awqāf of the empire in Istanbul, the ultimate beneficiary.¹⁵⁸

Unlike other endowments studied in this chapter, there were no provisions for appointing members of the patron's family to any of the positions, or providing them with an income. In a second departure from the typical provincial waqf, the charitable institutions and functions were spread in several locations, rather than focusing on a single major religious institution. Unlike the Bahrāmiyya, the waqf did not benefit a single Great Mosque; rather, the income from the properties supported a complex with a great mosque in Payas, along with a multitude of smaller structures and services, ranging from the

¹⁵⁵ For example, the waqfiyya appointed funding for a professor of Ḥanafī law and his students at the Prophet's Mosque in Madina. It also stipulated that thirty righteous men recite the *tawhīd* a thousand times a day at the same mosque. Ghazzī 2, II, 423.

¹⁵⁶ The Ottoman silver coin known as the akçe fluctuated in weight and value. While it appears that it continued to be minted from 90% pure silver until the end of the 17th century, its weight decreased from 0.73 gr in 1512, to 0.68 gr in 1582, to 0.38 gr in 1588, to 0.23 gr in 1669, Pamuk, "Money," 973, Table A:10. This makes it very difficult to calculate the actual values of each stipend. However the relative amounts of stipends within a waqf give an idea of their value.

¹⁵⁷ Ghazzī 2, II, 420.

¹⁵⁸ Ghazzī 2, II, 421.

four neighborhood mosques in Aleppo to the professorships in Madina. Thus, apart from Payas, where great Islamic institutions had previously been absent, the waqf of Mehmed Pasha enhanced Islamic institutions and functions in places where a strong Islamic infrastructure already existed.

In Aleppo specifically, the policy of multiple small endowments in various parts of the city rather than one major endowment in or near the commercial center arranged around a congregational mosque, distinguished this waqf from the other Ottoman endowments. Nonetheless, the most architecturally prominent structure is still located along the Mdīneh axis, which had emerged by now as the monumental corridor of Ottoman Aleppo.

Urban Impact

Urbanistically, the impact of the endowment on Aleppo was immense: at the time of completion, the waqf of Mehmed Pasha stood as the largest landlord in the city. The properties of the waqfiyya centered on three cores, in addition to properties dispersed inside the ramparts. Only a few of these are identifiable today.

Of these cores, the first was the quarter of al-Dabbāgha al-ʿAtīqa (“the old tannery”).¹⁵⁹ Its charitable institution, al-Masjid al-ʿUmarī, was a pre-existing structure adjacent to the old synagogue of Bandara.¹⁶⁰ The most elaborately endowed of the four mosques in Aleppo, this

¹⁵⁹ The waqfiyya identifies the quarter as al-Dabbāgha al-ʿAtīqa. The only identified structure from this group, the al-ʿUmarī mosque, is listed by Ghazzi under the al-Bandara quarter which is adjacent: they are No. 13 and 18 on Marcus’ map of the city’s residential quarters, Marcus, *Aleppo*, Fig. 8.1. Boundaries between quarters were never completely clear, despite the continuity of toponyms and the perception of boundaries.

¹⁶⁰ The synagogue: Gaube and Wirth No. 255. The waqfiyya indicates that the mosque in the al-Dabbāgha al-ʿAtīqa quarter was formerly known as the al-ʿUmarī mosque, 416. There are three mosques in Aleppo known as ʿUmarī. One is listed by Ghazzī as being located in the Bandara quarter; he does not link this mosque with the waqf of the Khān al-Gumruk but notes that a nearby bakery is part of the mosque’s endowment. He notes that the mosque’s waqf was renewed in 1857–58; he does not indicate the date of the original establishment of the mosque, Ghazzī 2, II, 155. Gaube and Wirth No. 254, do not include this mosque in the Khān al-Gumruk endowment, rather following Ghazzī they associate it with the nineteenth-century waqf. I suspect this mosque is the one described in the waqfiyya, because of its name, location, and the presence of the bakery. The topographical indications in the summarized waqfiyya are insufficient for a secure identification of the structure.

neighborhood maṣjid was provided with an imām and a muezzin, and funding for necessities such as lamps, candles, and mats.¹⁶¹ In the same quarter, the patron also built at least three separate income-producing properties.¹⁶²

The patron constituted the second “core,” located outside the ramparts across from Bāb Anṭakiyya, by building new structures and purchasing existing ones. He constructed two mosques, one at the eastern door of the tannery (dabbāgha, pl. madābigh),¹⁶³ the other facing one of the four khāns he endowed.¹⁶⁴ Extensive income-producing properties were set up in this area. The tannery, demolished in 1954, consisted of a large two-story structure with a courtyard, equipped with running water and close to the river Quwayq, in a quarter known as Maḥallat Jisr al-Salāḥif (“the Bridge of Turtles”).¹⁶⁵ This tannery supplanted the older one within the walled city, in the quarter of al-Dabbāgha al-‘Atīqa (“the old tannery”), mentioned

The two other ‘Umarī mosques, neither of which seem likely to be the one described in the waqfiyya, are: The ‘Umarī mosque in the Jallūm al-Kubra quarter, Gaube and Wirth, no. 41, adjacent to the northern suq of the Bahrāmiyya, Ghazzī 2, II, 61. It is of unknown date. The third ‘Umarī mosque, in the Baḥsītā quarter, is of unknown date but its fountain can be dated to the fourteenth century by inscription. Gaube and Wirth No. 232. Ghazzī 2, II, 162–163; MCIA 1:2, 327.

¹⁶¹ Endowment conditions, Ghazzī 2, II, 421.

¹⁶² The waqfiyya lists the structures built by the patron: “a building which contains two storerooms, a shop, a stable, a well and two millstones (madār)”, “a bakery and a well” (I suspect this is the bakery described in Ghazzī 2, II, 155), “a shop, and a structure which contains two storerooms and a shop and a press (maṣsara), in which is a well.” None of these structures can be identified today.

¹⁶³ Ghazzī 2, II, 416, conditions for this mosque, 421. Elsewhere Ghazzī noted that this mosque, known as Maṣjid al-Dabbāgha, has a square minaret, Ghazzī 2, II, 230. This mosque does not seem to be extant any longer; perhaps it was demolished in 1954 at the same time as the tannery.

¹⁶⁴ This mosque is mentioned only once in Ghazzī’s summary, II, 416. There is no mention of it in the section which details the stipends for the employees of each mosque and special stipulations. Possibly Ghazzī simply omitted that part of the original waqfiyya for the sake of brevity. As for the khān which faced the mosque, I suspect it is the largest khān of this core, built by the wāqif, described on page 417 by Ghazzī, numbered No. 22 by Sauvaget, *Alep*, 264. Since Ghazzī’s summary omitted the descriptions of the boundaries of each property, it is difficult to identify any of the structures with certainty, assuming they have survived.

¹⁶⁵ The tannery (Gaube and Wirth No. 653) measured 170 × 40 meters, Gaube and Wirth, 410; it had 53 rooms on the ground floor and 58 rooms on the top floor, and two shops near its northern door, Ghazzī 2, II, 417. Sauvaget published a photograph, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXIX. The waqfiyya suggests that the tannery was bought rather than built for the waqf, Ghazzī 2, II, 417, however the section listing the mosque near the tannery suggests that the patron built both the mosque and the tannery, 416. In any event, all the structures in this core seem to have been built and operational before 1574, the date of the waqfiyya.

above.¹⁶⁶ In addition the patron built two ḥammāms, one of them destined for the exclusive use of tanners, whose trade created a stench. The ḥammām for tanners also included nine shops, five storerooms, two bakeries, a spacious courtyard and a waterwheel (*dūlāb*),¹⁶⁷ which suggests that it was located on the Quwayq river, conveniently close to the tannery. The other ḥammām can be identified with the structure known as ḥammām al-Wīwaḍī, located opposite Bāb Anṭākiyya.¹⁶⁸ Near the tannery the patron bought a windmill or millstone (*madār*) and two watermills (*tāḥūn*). Four khāns supplemented these structures. One was dedicated to the commerce of grain, which complemented the mills in this core.¹⁶⁹ By 991/1583–84, taxes on flour were assessed near Bab Anṭākiyya, as evidenced by the presence of a special scale (Kapân-ı daḳīk).¹⁷⁰ All four khāns, two of them built for the waqf, were spacious, equipped with shops, storerooms, water-basins, stables, and other amenities. The patron also bought one, possibly two gardens (*bustāns*). Thus these new structures created both a self-contained suburban quarter for the tanners and their families, near the walled city but sufficiently distant from it to avoid the noxious odor associated with tanning, and a cluster of commercial structures, located just outside the city, close to the entrance of the central market district.

¹⁶⁶ The waqfiyya summarized by Ghazzī refers to the intramural tannery as “old” (al-Dabbāgha al-‘Atīqa), suggesting that the transfer of the tanneries outside Bāb Anṭākiyya had occurred some time before the waqfiyya was written: André Raymond, “Le déplacement des tanneries à Alep, au Caire et à Tunis, à l’époque ottomane: un ‘indicateur’ de croissance urbaine,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 7–8 (1977): 194.

¹⁶⁷ Ghazzī 2, II, 417. This ḥammām for tanners cannot be identified with certainty. The most likely candidate is Ḥammām al-Jisr outside Bāb al-Jinān, close to the Quwayq, mentioned in a list of functional ḥammāms of the city in 1923, Tabbākh 2, III, 433. Gaube and Wirth list several ḥammāms in that location. The ḥammām for tanners can also conceivably be identified with one of six ḥammāms in the area outside Bāb Antakiya, listed by Tabbākh, which were no longer extant by 1923, Tabbākh 2, III, 430.

¹⁶⁸ Ḥammām al-Wīwaḍī: Gaube and Wirth, Cat. No. 1, built in 1575. Ghazzī in his discussion of this ḥammām does not specify that it was part of the waqf of Şokollı Mehmed Pasha, Ghazzī 2, II, 230; see also Tabbākh 2, III, 433. Neither ḥammām is listed in David and Hubert, “Déperissement du ḥammām,” suggesting that they were no longer in use at the time of their study. Ṭalas, 287, was unable to identify the waqf’s two ḥammāms with any extant structures.

¹⁶⁹ It is difficult to identify these khāns with extant structures. Ghazzī indicates that the grain khān was located to the south of the Zaghālī mosque, however it is difficult to identify the latter. Gaube and Wirth, 87.

¹⁷⁰ Robert Mantran and Jean Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans: Les provinces syriennes* (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1951), 114.

In his study of tanneries in Ottoman provincial cities, André Raymond observed that they were generally located at the edge of urban areas. Tanneries required the proximity of slaughterhouses that supplied them with animal skins, and of a water source; they required open spaces to dry skins, and created noxious odors. Given the necessity to be located on the periphery, Raymond argued, the relocation of a tannery was an “urban sign” that indicated the expansion of the city limits.¹⁷¹ In this sense, the tannery cluster created at the edge of the city by Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha reflected the emergence of a “new” periphery for Aleppo at the end of the sixteenth century. Thus the patron intervened in what must have been a long-range urban development, and brought it in line with the process of Ottomanization by making the new tannery easily accessible to the Ottomanized commercial center. The new location was also calculated to take advantage of the river for the watermills and waterwheels. However, as the transfer of the tanneries cleared space in the Old Tannery quarter, and removed a key economic component from it, Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha’s creation of a core of institutions in the neighborhood of the old tannery can be seen as a solution to the problems occasioned by the removal.

In addition to clusters of structures that activated entire suburban neighborhoods (as in the case of the new tannery) or formed the new focus of an existing quarter, the patron also sprinkled individual income-producing structures throughout the city.¹⁷² These structures, bought rather than newly built, were located in quarters that received little or no official Ottoman patronage. Then, the patron’s aim in Aleppo was twofold: to buy income-producing structures wherever available; and in three instances not only to buy structures, but to buy land and to build, in order to create clusters of buildings to provide social and economic functions.

¹⁷¹ Raymond, “Déplacement des tanneries,” 192. Raymond emphasized the importance of such “concrete” evidence for the study of Ottoman cities in the absence of statistical data. For discussion of public baths as “urban signs,” André Raymond, “Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes à l’époque ottomane,” *BEO* 27 (1974): 183–193.

¹⁷² These structures included, for example, a qaysāriyya near the Jāmi‘ al-Uṭrush, in the quarter of al-Aṣjām, and a khān in Maḥallat al-Malandī, which may be the same as Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 535; see Gaube and Wirth, 132.

Khān al-Gumruk

The cores in the Old and New Tanneries had tremendous urban impact by reviving an old neighborhood and creating a new suburban neighborhood respectively. By contrast, the third core of the waqf of Şoḡollı in the Mdīneh followed the established pattern of official Ottoman patronage in Aleppo by its location in the central market district and the commercial focus of its functions. This group has attracted more scholarly attention than the others, partly because its centerpiece, the Khān al-Gumruk,¹⁷³ is remarkable for its architecture and for its importance in the commercial life of the city in the sixteenth century, as well as today.¹⁷⁴

The charitable institution of the “core” in the Mdīneh was the small mosque in the courtyard of the Khān al-Gumruk (Fig. 6).¹⁷⁵ In addition to constructing the Khān and its adjacent structures, the patron bought additional properties in the Mdīneh including the Sūq al-Dahsha with 88 shops.¹⁷⁶ The central cluster of structures, remodeled numerous times, occupies about one hectare, and consists of a qaysāriyya to the east,¹⁷⁷ and two sūqs to the north that are adjacent to the Khān al-Gumruk, and share its architectonic features. The suq known as Suwayqat Khan al-Gumruk abuts the north side

¹⁷³ The waqfiyya refers to this caravanserai simply as “al-khān al-kabīr,” however after the first mention Ghazzī replaces this with the term “Khān al-Gumruk,” which is a later, local appellation.

¹⁷⁴ The focus on this cluster of structures is reflected in the fact that, for example, David states incorrectly that the waqf of Mehmed Pasha in Aleppo includes only one mosque, that of the courtyard of the Khān al-Gumruk: David, “Domaines,” 183.

¹⁷⁵ At some point the Khān al-Gumruk became associated with the popular reverence of the Companion ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anṣārī. Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 178, no. 49. The name “Khān al-Gumruk,” “The Caravanserai of Customs,” is a later appellation reflecting the use of the structure.

¹⁷⁶ This suq was already extant, located northeast of the Khān al-Gumruk cluster, Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 169. The entrance to the suq: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate XXVI. Other properties in the Mdīneh incorporated into the waqf included: two shops in Sūq al-‘Abā (Gaube and Wirth No. 147), on the main axis to the east of the Khān al-Gumruk; also on the axis, to the west, in Sūq al-Hawā, also known as Sūq Bāb Anṭākiyya (Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 8), a bakery, three shops, six rooms, and a stable; a shop in Sūq al-Saqatiya (Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 105). The wāqif also bought a coffeehouse near the Khān al-Gumruk, and he built Khān al-Quṭun near the Khān al-Gumruk, neither of which can be identified. Ghazzī 2, II, 417.

¹⁷⁷ This structure must be either Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 87, which is adjacent to the khān on the western side, or, more likely, it is the structure adjacent to the southeastern corner of the khān. The waqfiyya describes it as “a stable surmounted by a qaysāriyya of 23 rooms.” Ghazzī 2, II, 417.

of the great caravanserai.¹⁷⁸ It features ground-floor shops on both sides, and cells whose windows overlook the thoroughfare occupy its upper floor on both sides. The waqfiyya identifies this second floor of the sūq as a qaysāriyya, considering them two separate units.¹⁷⁹ In a section of the city where land was not easily available, the waqf resorted to taking over the area above the shops for the first time, thus effectively creating an additional “zone” in the Mdīneh. A series of groin vaults punctuated by domes cover the thoroughfare between the shops, the dome above the entrance to the khān being the largest. The two sūqs contain ten domes crowned with oculi, the chief sources of natural light in the covered market. While the khān became a focus for the lucrative long-distance trade by attracting foreign consulates, the two sūqs housed a more pedestrian type of commerce: food and ordinary clothing products.¹⁸⁰

The fact that the section of the main axis of the Mdīneh adjacent to the Suwayqat Khān al-Gumruk was vaulted at the time of the construction of Ṣoḡollī's structures suggests that the surroundings of the entrance to the Khan were carefully planned as an architectural unit. As in the case of the Bahrāmiyya, domes surmount the meeting points of the two sūqs and the axis of the entrance of the khān, staging the presence of the Khān al-Gumruk on the main

¹⁷⁸ Suwayqat Khān al-Gumruk: Gaube and Wirth No. 86; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 216, fig. 54: section of the suq; the section of the main axis of the Mdīneh: Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 84. In addition, the waqfiyya describes two newly built structures: a qaysāriyya of 54 rooms “on top” of the suqs adjacent to the Khān to the North and East (identifiable with the qaysariyya on the second floor of the Suwayqat Khān al-Gumruk, illustrated in Sauvaget), and a structure comprising 15 rooms and a stable “on” the suq al-Saqāṭiyya which cannot be identified, Ghazzī 2, II, 417.

¹⁷⁹ The difference between the two commercial structures, khān and qaysāriyya could be one of form or one of use. A khān implies lodgings for merchants while a qaysāriyya implies a covered market or workshop that can be locked. Of course khāns could also be used as markets as were locked at night, and people often lodged in qaysāriyyas. On the level of form, it seems that a khān always includes, in the context of Aleppo at least, a courtyard. A qaysāriyya may be any building devoted to a commercial purpose, housing merchants or workshops or storerooms. A courtyard is not always present, in some cases the rooms are small and without windows. There seems to be a difference in the quality of construction and the degree of comfort: d'Arvieux distinguished between khāns and “caisseries,” which he described as “d'autres logements pour les étrangers, pour les Arabes ou Bédouins qui demeurent en la ville.” D'Arvieux, VI, 434. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 222, n. 832. Gaube and Wirth, 159–160. Antoine Abdel Nour, “Types architecturaux et vocabulaire de l'habitat en Syrie aux XVI^e et XVIII^e siècles,” In Dominique Chevallier, ed., *L'Espace social de la ville arabe* (Paris, 1979): 59–91.

¹⁸⁰ David, “Consulat de France,” 14.

thoroughfare. In other words, the domes mark the crossings between the main thoroughfare and the entrance axis, as well as the crossing between the Suwayqat Khān al-Gumruk and the entrance to the khān.¹⁸¹ Along the north-south axis of the entrance, the vault features small but remarkably carved details, such as the elaborate knob at the meeting point of two groin vaults. The façade featuring the entrance of the khān, and the interior façade on the khān's courtyard are most elaborately decorated, and merit consideration.

The only entrance to the khān is embedded within an elaborately decorated façade that announces the importance of the structure, but does not denote its exact function.¹⁸² The entrance here allows access to the caravanserai's courtyard and to the rooms on its second story (Fig. 19). This fastidiously composed façade is difficult to view both because it is plunged in a constant semi-darkness, as the only light filters from the oculus of the dome in front of it, and because the narrowness of the passage does not afford a good view. Since this was the original arrangement, one may wonder why such care was devoted to the elaboration of a façade allowed to be perceived only dimly. The emphasis on an ornate exterior for caravanserais in Ottoman architecture generally, and in Aleppo particularly, seems to require a laboriously rendered doorway, regardless of its degree of visibility.

In the context of 1574 Aleppo, the luxury of this façade was remarkable, but its formal arrangement was familiar, as it recalled late Mamlūk style. Specifically, the façade of the Khān al-Gumruk strongly resembles that of the Khān al-Ṣābūn (ca. 1479) (Pl. 5). However, the Khān al-Ṣābūn is a freestanding structure distinct from its surrounding commercial fabric, and its façade is not obscured. By contrast, the Khān al-Gumruk, while a separate structure, is architectonically linked to the sūq to its north. The dome above its entrance is the largest of the ten domes of the cluster, featuring exquisitely carved muqarnas squinches.¹⁸³ Between the two squinches, a semi-oval frame contains two small arched iron-grilled windows with a cutout star between them, surrounded by geometric motifs. Below, a thick square frame filled with geometric carving surrounds two larger windows. The practice of using a bold thick geometric square

¹⁸¹ The axis of the entrance of the khān, perpendicular to the suq axis, is Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 85.

¹⁸² David, "Consulat de France," 14.

¹⁸³ The original dome collapsed at an unknown date. All of the domes of Aleppo's covered market were restored around 1995 in brick.

to frame a doorway was frequent in Aleppo, as seen for example in the Khān al-Şābūn, where the frame encloses the doorway and the single window above it. At the Khān al-Gumruk, within this frame, the familiar joggled crested stringcourse appears. Below, broad horizontal bands of black and white stone are interrupted by the two windows with iron grilles, and by a rectangular inscription plaque surmounting the door. The placement of the inscription is also familiar. The Khān al-Şābūn features an exceptional kufic square inscription on its façade. Caravanserais such as the Khān al-Abrak feature a rectangular inscription plaque above an otherwise plain doorway. The inscription of the Khān al-Gumruk is in an Ottoman calligraphic style, and while it is in Arabic, its content is Ottoman since it refers to the Sultan of the time.¹⁸⁴ Under the inscription, the arch that contains the door displays voussoirs of bold contrasting colors. An enigmatic black ornament incrusting in the white keystone resembles a triangle pointing down, with a semicircle above and two cross-shaped designs attached to its sides. A connotative meaning for this technically complex motif does not readily present itself. On either side of the door, at eye level, Mamluk-style shields are carved into the wall.¹⁸⁵ Placing shields accompanied by the patron's blazon on the façade of a structure was common in late Mamlūk architecture, the Khān al-Şābūn nearby bears a blazon to the east of its entrance arch. Khān Khā'ir Bak bears a blazon on each pane of its metal door, surmounting an inscription (Pl. 7). Blazons also appear on the courtyard walls at the Khān al-Şābūn (northern wall), the Khān Qūrt Bak, and the Khān Khā'ir Bak. In the Ottoman context, shields and blazons did not have the same social meaning as in the Mamlūk. The motifs on the Khān al-Gumruk reproduce a form from a past artistic tradition, but without the original meaning. It seems that they formed part and parcel of a repertoire of prestigious decorative forms often used on the facades of caravanserais. This issue is treated in detail

¹⁸⁴ The inscriptions of the Khān al-Gumruk and the Khān al-Şābūn are unpublished. The Kufic inscription on the Khān al-Şābūn contains the Shahāda, that is, the statement, "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is his messenger." This is a formulaic statement of faith, not a foundation inscription that advertises the name of the patron and the date of construction. For the Mamlūk caravanserais, see Chapter 2.

¹⁸⁵ It is very difficult to photograph these motifs. Da'd al-Ḥakīm, "Al-Khānāt fī Ḥalab mundhu al-qarn al-sādis 'ashar." Unpublished Thesis, Syrian University [today Damascus University], 1956–1957, preserved at Markaz al-Wathā'iq, Damascus. I thank Madame Da'd for allowing me to read her thesis.

in Chapter 5, in the discussion of the Khān al-Wazīr, the last of the great Ottoman caravanserais in the central commercial district.

The architecture of Ottoman caravanserais commonly features elaborate doorways. These structures, which generally have only one door for security reasons, present a lavish front to the onlooker. For example, blue tiles surround the doorway of the late fifteenth-century Koza Hanı in the market of Bursa (completed 1491).¹⁸⁶ The earlier royal Seljuk khāns, most famously the Sultan Khān, also featured elaborate muqarnas portals. Thus the Khān al-Gumruk's emphasis on the entrance meshes with established conventions for this type of building. However, what is crucially distinct in the architecture of the Khān al-Gumruk is the manner in which its façade appropriates local Mamlūk-period forms. While the Ottoman mosques in Aleppo prominently used Ottoman forms that were new to their urban context, by contrast at the Khān al-Gumruk local building traditions were followed, but taken to an extreme degree. Indeed, the Khān al-Gumruk's elaborate façade features many of the conventions established by the Mamlūk khāns of the commercial artery. The extensive use of ablaq, the emphasis on the entranceway and its treatment, especially the presence of the Mamlūk shields, all follow local models. These older forms were reused in conjunction with Ottoman forms, such as the inscription's hand. In other words, Mamlūk forms were appropriated into the Ottoman architectural idiom in this section of the city. Furthermore, the fact that the waqf of the Khān al-Gumruk was far more extensive, and its monumental caravanserai was far larger and more lavish than any of the Mamlūk caravanserais of the Mdīneh suggests a drive to both appropriate and surpass Mamlūk precedents. Placed on the same urban artery as the Mamlūk buildings, the façade of the Khān al-Gumruk was meant to *compete* with the preexisting Mamlūk façades. Through the deployment ornamental strategies proper to the Mamlūks, and through the transformation of these strategies, the façade of the Ottoman khān became a site for the Ottoman appropriation of the Mamlūk built forms.

¹⁸⁶ The Koza Hanı was built under Sultan Bâyezid II (r. 1481–1512), its name (Caravanserai of the Cocoon) derives from the fact that it housed the silk trade. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 87, fig. 80, Plan of the central market area, 54, fig. 49; Cezar, *Commercial Buildings*, 61, fig. 34 (Ground floor plan of Koza Hanı), and 65; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimârisinde II. Bayezid, Tâvûz Selim Devri (886–926/1481–1520)* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1983), 73–77, fig. 28 and fig. 29.

Despite the fact that several large Ottoman caravanserais had already been built in Aleppo, none of them had received such a lavish façade. The Khān al-Gumruk was the first Ottoman caravanserai which Mamlūk ornamental forms embellished. The innovation may derive from the fact that none of the previous Ottoman caravanserais of the Mdīneh had doors on or near the main thoroughfare of the Mdīneh; they faced subsidiary or north-south streets. Perhaps the Khān al-Gumruk's location on this all-important passage necessitated a more lavish entrance. Further, about nine years after the construction of this façade, the entrance of the Bahrāmiyya mosque (already discussed), on the same thoroughfare, used similar means to call attention to itself: a series of domes over the thoroughfares and a treatment of the entrance which employed Mamlūk forms and conventions, with Ottoman modifications. Similar to the façade of the Khān al-Gumruk, and in contrast to the Mamlūk façades, the entrance vestibule of the Bahrāmiyya was not a freestanding building; it formed a continuous architectural unit with the covered thoroughfare. Thus at the Khān al-Gumruk, the Ottoman caravanserai appropriated the conventions of the Mamlūk caravanserai; this new formula became itself conventional for the Mdīneh, and the next major Ottoman commission, a mosque, borrowed those forms for its front on the commercial artery. First the Mamlūk form was Ottomanized for a khān, then it was used in a mosque, a structure with a distinct function and stylistic conventions. Through the accumulation of patronage, an urban language developed for the new Ottoman monumental corridor.

Entering the Khān al-Gumruk, one arrives at a rectangular courtyard surrounded by four wings. The northern wing of the khān, which presents the elaborate façade discussed above to the commercial artery, also presents an elaborate interior façade on the courtyard, unlike the other three wings (Pl. 20). The Khān al-Gumruk's interior façade also uses forms reminiscent of Aleppine "late Mamlūk" prototypes. At the lower level, the entrance arch sits within a plain stone frame. Above it, two recessed vertical bays each contain two windows. The bays are bounded to the left and right by braided engaged colonnettes. Bands of masonry in contrasting yellow and black stone frame the bottom windows, equipped with iron grilles. The windows rest on three joggled stones in alternating colors. Joggled crested stringcourses identical to the one on the exterior façade surmount the windows. Above these bands, miniature ogee arches with lobed voussoirs crown smaller windows. Muqarnas bands just under

the cornice of the roof complete the bays. The stalactites of the muqarnas band of the eastern bay are wider than those of the western bay. The Northern wing is surmounted by a dome visible from the courtyard. Features such as vertical bays covering the entire exterior façade, characterized by a larger and a smaller window, horizontal stone bands of alternating colors at the bottom, a muqarnas band just below the roof cornice, the roof surmounted by a dome with a high drum, all appear in Aleppo's Mamlūk structures such as the Jāmi' al-Uṭruṣh. Such Ottoman constructions as the Mosque of the Eunuch Jawhar, and the Takiyya Mawlawiyya (937/1530–31, discussed in Chapter 4) reproduce the motif of the vertical bays along the entire length of a façade. However, the Khān al-Gumruk exhibits the familiar configuration in a new way: the bays are restricted to the area above the entrance, concentrated on the upper half of the façade, rather than covering the entire façade with successive bays. At the Khān al-Gumruk Mamlūk forms were taken, but they were reduced in scale, used in new ways, to ornament a specific area of a wall rather than to articulate an entire façade. They were, in other words, appropriated and transformed.

Apart from the innovative exterior and interior facades, the Khān al-Gumruk did not represent a major departure from other khāns in Aleppo and of the Empire in terms of its basic configuration. It is a two-story rectangular building with a single entrance, centered around a courtyard.¹⁸⁷ However, its size, elegant proportions, and the quality of workmanship distinguish it from other caravanserais. Sauvaget considered it the masterpiece of Ottoman commercial architecture in Aleppo. A small octagonal mosque raised on piers occupies the middle of the courtyard, slightly to the East of the entrance axis. Under the mosque is a fountain. The mosque, reachable by an external staircase, consists of a single octagonal domed room. The interior of the mosque, with its single domed space and calligraphic discs stenciled on the spandrels of the squinches, is Ottoman. In a similar manner, the Koza Hanı (1491) has a central mosque raised on piers. It has been suggested that the practice of placing a raised mosque in the middle of a caravanserai's courtyard harkens back to the great Seljuk royal khāns.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Ghazzī 2, III, 65.

¹⁸⁸ Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 87.

On the east, west and south wings of the caravanserai, identical rooms on the lower floor open onto the courtyard, and an arcade articulates the second story, behind which are identical cells. Today *kishks*, the local name for a *mashrabiyya* or oriel screened by wood latticework, grace the courtyard façade.¹⁸⁹ The southern wing features a barrel-vaulted corridor behind the fourth arch from the eastern corner, that leads to another corridor, perpendicular to it, with a crossing surmounted by a dome. The second corridor serves two rows of cells. A similar wing—two rows of rooms on either side of a corridor—prolongs the western end of the north wing of the Khān. These two wings seem original, but their intended function is unknown. They served as the permanent lodgings of foreign Western European merchants since at least the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁰ The interventions on the khān to accommodate the European mode of practicing space are apparent on the northern wing of the khān, and deserve consideration.

The architecture of the northern wing of the khān is distinct. Not only does it feature two elaborate façades, but its second floor has no external arcade. Instead, it consists of a series of rooms arranged on either side of a central corridor. Two sets of stairs leading up from the entrance vestibule provide access to this corridor. A large room with four iwāns above the entrance vestibule punctuates this corridor. The northern and southern iwāns of this room correspond to the two elaborate façades on the sūq and on the courtyard of the khān.

Jean-Claude David reconstructed the sixteenth-century plan of this space and analyzed its alteration in the seventeenth-century, when it housed the consulate of Louis XIV in Aleppo (Fig. 7).¹⁹¹ David

¹⁸⁹ Illustrated in David and Grandin, “L’habitat permanent,” Photos 1, 2. the *kishks* here appear to date to the nineteenth century on stylistic grounds. Aleppo has stunning *khishks* of carved wood, sometimes bearing dates; the name comes from the Turkish “*köşk*,” “kiosk” in English.

¹⁹⁰ The second floor of the northwestern appendage was the home of the Picciotto family until the First World War. For a history of the use and transformation of this section from the seventeenth century to the present, see David and Grandin, “L’habitat permanent,” 107, fig. 6. David and Grandin discussed the fact that foreign European merchants inhabited the khāns, as well as the transformation of the interior space to accommodate a different mode of using space. David, “Consulat de France,” 20, fig. 1, shows the alterations of this space.

¹⁹¹ David and Grandin, “L’habitat permanent,” 104, fig. 3; Plan in 1950: David, “Consulat de France,” 20, fig. 1. See also Hreitani and David, “Souks traditionnels,” 63–69. The French Consulate in Aleppo was established in 1562, and appears to be located in the Khān al-Gumruk around the early seventeenth century. In the

likened the spatial organization of this four-iwān space to the *qā'a* of domestic architecture, that is, a grand reception room found in wealthy homes.¹⁹² Originally, the space was cruciform, with a square domed central area and four iwāns. The northern and southern iwāns had the windows on the two elaborate façades discussed above. Two domed rooms without windows flanked the northern iwān, and two barrel vaulted rooms flanked the southern iwān, with windows on the courtyard. A narrower section of the corridor ran parallel to the eastern and western iwāns; thus rather than being closed off and obstructing the corridor, the cruciform space in fact resided on the axis of circulation of the khān's northern wing. The eastern iwān was smallest, as part of the space symmetrical to the western iwān had been walled to create a small rectangular room with access to the corridor, possibly a kitchen or a latrine.

The original function of this distinctive interior unit is unclear, though the waqf administrators may have used it as a reception area.¹⁹³ The grand khāns of Aleppo of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries featured large domed rooms above the entrance, some of which seem to have had iwāns.¹⁹⁴ Among the Mamlūk caravanserais in Aleppo,

late seventeenth-early eighteenth century, the French consulate moved to the Khān al-Ḥibāl where it remained until the early twentieth century. David, "Consulat de France," 15, David and Grandin, "L'habitat permanent," and Sauvaget, *Alep*, 217–218, and notes 815, 820. The Khān al-Ḥibāl (1594) will be discussed below. After the departure of the French, the northern wing of the Khān al-Gumruk was occupied by the British consulate, which later moved to the Khān al-Ṭāf (discussed below), until the nineteenth century: David, "Consulat de France," 16, n. 10.

¹⁹² David, "Consulat de France," 14–15. David does not discuss specific examples of domestic architecture from the sixteenth century. Domestic architecture earlier than the seventeenth century in this part of the world awaits systematic investigation. The word "qā'a" was used to describe a similar space in the Khān al-Ḥarīr in a waqfiyya from the early seventeenth century: VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha, Aleppo, 1045/1635, defter 579, p. 274.

¹⁹³ David, "Consulat de France," 15. The waqfiyya as summarized by Ghazzī gives no clue as to the function of this space.

¹⁹⁴ Of the sixteenth-century Ottoman khāns, the Khān al-Farrā'in seems to have had originally a single room with an octagonal dome above the entrance vestibule (David and Grandin, "L'habitat permanent," 109, fig. 8). The Khān al-'Ulabiyya originally had a similar domed room above the vestibule, but not in a central position (David and Grandin, "L'habitat permanent," 112, fig. 10). Khān al-Ḥarīr which seems to date to the second half of the sixteenth century, had at least in its altered state, a large qā'a above the vestibule but it was not domed and had no iwāns (David and Grandin, "L'habitat permanent," 113–115, figs. 11–13; Gaube and Wirth No. 64; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 215, n. 808, *Alep* 2, Plate LXV). The Khān al-Ḥarīr's 1635 waqfiyya (which postdates its building) states that it has a qā'a above the entrance with two domes, VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha, 274;

only the Khān al-Şābūn comprises a comparable domed reception room, but in the middle of the southern wing, rather than above the main entrance. Stairs lead from the courtyard up a storey to a large arch, now walled, that originally led to a domed room.¹⁹⁵ The arch, framed by a simple checkerboard band, has a higher cornice than the rest of the wall, and is flanked by carved Mamlūk shields and blazons.¹⁹⁶ It appears, then, that the *qā'a* was one of the expected attributes of a grand Ottoman khān in the Mdīneh. From the *qā'a*, one had visual access to both the goings-on on the external thoroughfare and the activities in the interior courtyard. The *qā'a* was the only interior space in the caravanserai that afforded this privileged viewpoint.

Significance of the Endowment

In the context of Şoĸollı's immense patronage, the waqf in Aleppo differed from endowments that emphasized prestigious monuments in prominent locations. These included, in Istanbul, the complex in Kadirga Limanı (1571, which featured a mosque, madrasa, fountain, and dervish lodge),¹⁹⁷ the Mosque in Azapkapı (1577–78),¹⁹⁸ and the complex at Eyüp (completed in 1568–69, which includes the İsmihan Sultan mosque and mausoleum).¹⁹⁹ In addition to charitable institutions, in Istanbul, Şoĸollı built palaces such as the Grand Vizierial palace on the site of the future Sultan Ahmed mosque, a palace in Üsküdar, and a Sinân-designed palace at Kadirga Limanı.²⁰⁰ His

the later Khān al-Ĥibāl had a *qā'a* above the entrance vestibule. One of khāns of Şoĸollı Mehmed Pasha's waqf outside Antioch Gate had a "high *qā'a*," as described by the summarized waqfiyya, Ghazzī 2, II, 418. The seventeenth-century Khān al-Wazīr has a similar arrangement of two lavish façades which enclose a special area.

¹⁹⁵ Part of the wing of the Khān al-Şābūn behind the room under discussion was demolished to make way for a street. See the discussion of the Khān al-Wazīr, Chapter 5.

¹⁹⁶ It is difficult to point to similar spaces in other Mamlūk khāns of Aleppo. Khān al-Abraĸ and Khān Khā'ir Bak do not have domed rooms, rather they have large halls which could have served as reception rooms. The Khān Qurt Bak has a complicated arrangement, and it is difficult to distinguish the Mamlūk layer of the building; however it does have blazons on the courtyard walls, which may indicate a hall as in the Khān al-Şābūn.

¹⁹⁷ Attributed to Sinân. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 272–276, figs. 259–263.

¹⁹⁸ Groundplan: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 286, fig. 274.

¹⁹⁹ Attributed to Sinân. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 281, fig. 282. M. Cezar, "Le külliye de Şoĸollı Mehmed Pasha à Eyüp," in *Stelae turicae II*, 29–41.

²⁰⁰ The palaces were not endowments, but rather private property, which in most

patronage extended beyond the imperial capital, to a waqf in Belgrade (1566, including a caravanserai and covered market),²⁰¹ külliyes in Edirne,²⁰² Büyükçekmece,²⁰³ and Lüleburgaz (1549). The latter with a caravanserai, market, ḥammām, madrasa, cami and maktab, recalls the complex in Payas.²⁰⁴

The Aleppine waqf reflects some enduring concerns of Şoḳollı's patronage, such as the enhancement and facilitation of existing Ottoman-Islamic institutions, and the emphasis on fundamental services and infrastructure. Excluding perhaps the Khān al-Gumruk, the Aleppine waqf echoes the concerns of Şoḳollı's works such as the bridge at Višegrad on the Drina river, as well as the Don-Volga canal and the Suez canal, which he envisioned but did not complete.²⁰⁵

The importance of interventions on rural areas and minor towns in the waqf of Şoḳollı Meḥmed Pasha points to an empire-wide pattern of patronage that simultaneously established complexes within the cities as well as complexes away from urban centers, where caravanserais and other commercial buildings figured prominently. Aleppo provides ample evidence for the former. In an urban setting, caravanserais functioned as hostels for merchants, warehouses for their goods, and sometimes even as workshops and small factories. Away from cities, however, caravanserais were crucial in establishing a network of secure stopping stations for caravans. The rural caravanserais, sometimes described as "forts," could house garrisons. The complex at Payas must be seen in the context of the pattern of establishing such structures along trade and pilgrimage routes at distances of a day's journey from each other. Pilgrims journeying by land from Istanbul to the Two Noble Sanctuaries, as well as caravans bearing goods from the East used some of the same routes.²⁰⁶ Of course,

but not all cases reverted to the ruling family after the owner's death. The Vizierial palace: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 272; Palace at Kadirga: Artan, "Kadirga Palace," 55–124.

²⁰¹ *EF*, s.v. "Şoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha," by Gilles Veinstein.

²⁰² Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 272. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI asırda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, Istanbul, 1952.

²⁰³ Attributed to Sinân. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 293–294. Contains a masjid and a caravanserai.

²⁰⁴ Complex in Lüleburgaz, attributed to Sinân: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 295–298, groundplan fig. 287.

²⁰⁵ *EF*, s.v. "Şoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha," by Gilles Veinstein.

²⁰⁶ Jean Sauvaget, "Les caravansérails syriens du Hadjdj de Constantinople," *Ars Islamica* IV (1937): 98–121. Andrew Peterson, "Early Ottoman Forts on the Darb al-Hajj," *Levant* 21 (1989): 97–117.

rulers have always been intent on securing the routes outside of urban centers, and Mamlūk-period rural caravanserais already dotted these roads.²⁰⁷ However, in the Ottoman period, the building of caravanserais on this particular leg of the route, the leg connecting Aleppo to southwestern Anatolia, took place over a brief period in the second half of the sixteenth century. This accelerated building program resembles the building campaign in Aleppo's Mdīneh.²⁰⁸ Indeed, apart from the complex of Şoḳollı at Payas, Rüstem Pasha built a caravanserai in nearby Kurtkulaḡı,²⁰⁹ and in 1550, Süleymân I built a caravanserai in Belen (Arabic Baylān), to which Selīm II added a small mosque in 1566–1574.²¹⁰ Formally, these caravanserais are plain compared to the elaborate façade of the Khān al-Gumruk. The importance of the route at this period can be linked to the same economic realities that contributed to the rise of Aleppo as a center of world-wide trade. The other aspect of this campaign, however, the takeover of land outside the urban cores by the ruling group, and the dotting of the landscape by caravanserais in the Ottoman manner and Ottoman minarets, also speaks to ideological need of the ruler to appropriate the landscape. The expanding and secure trade routes both supported the trade and facilitated the ruling group's ability to mark a landscape that was traversed more frequently than before.

In addition to its impact on the empire's landscape, the waqf of Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha had a tremendous impact on Aleppo, being the largest landholder in the city. While its most architecturally distinguished component was placed in the Mdīneh, supporting the Ottoman patronage pattern of the sixteenth century, the waqf played a significant role in the long-range development of the city, particularly through the movement of the tanneries which defined a new urban edge.

The unusual patronage of Şoḳollı Mehmed Pasha reflects his unique status in Ottoman history: few men disposed of as much power and

²⁰⁷ Jean Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Age," *Ars Islamica* VI (1939): 48–55, and VII, pt. 1 (1940): 1–19.

²⁰⁸ I am currently preparing an essay on the Ottoman campaign of building caravanserais on this leg of the trade and pilgrimage route that probes this issue.

²⁰⁹ Kurtkulaḡı Han: İlder, *Hanlar*, 101, 110. The date of this khān is unknown but it must date to around the lifetime of Rüstem Pasha, if indeed he is the patron.

²¹⁰ The caravanserai at Belen is attributed to Sinân in *Tühfetü'l-Mîmârîn*. Sauvaget, "Caravansérails du Hadjdj," 99, fig. 3, and 101–102. Kuran lists but does not discuss the caravanserai, "Suleyman's Patronage," in Veinstein, ed. *Soliman le Magnifique*, 223. İlder, *Hanlar*, 64; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 299 (inaccurately dated).

property. However, the politics of his projects highlight key issues of patronage in this period. Şoğollı fulfilled Muştafâ 'Âlî's admonition by using patronage to enhance his reputation and to mark the capital city of the empire with an enduring institution bearing his name (see Introduction). He also fulfilled on a fundamental level his function as a servant of the state, through numerous small endowments dispersed throughout the empire, which served less to advertise his power, but rather supported in myriad ways the functioning of the empire. Indeed, the mosque of Şoğollı at Kadirga Limanı has endured and commemorates his name, but the demolished tannery outside Aleppo has lost its association with Şoğollı. Yet the establishment of this waqf could only have occurred in this fashion during a time of prosperity, when properties dispersed on the map of the Middle East could belong to one man, be within the same polity, and be tied up legally to benefit certain charitable institutions and activities. Şoğollı's endowment's support of the Two Noble Sanctuaries reflects another key issue in the use of waqf in this period: far-flung resources throughout the Ottoman empire were mobilized to support the concerns of the imperial center. In this sense, then, Şoğollı's waqf was imperial, and indeed imperialist.

Waqf of Nishânjî Mehmed Pasha

Two additional sixteenth-century waqfs continued to emphasize the Ottoman predilection for the central commercial district of Aleppo. Their reduced scale indicates that this pattern was beginning to wane.

The Khān al-Ḥibāl ("Caravanserai of Rope"), endowed by Nishânjî Mehmed Pasha was built in 1594.²¹¹ Mehmed Pasha held the governorship of Aleppo sometime in the late sixteenth century.²¹² The

²¹¹ Date and patron are mentioned in the inscription above the door, Ghazzī 2, II, 179 and 201. Gaube and Wirth No. 77; David and Grandin, "L'habitat permanent," 110–111, figs. 9a and 9b.

²¹² The *Sâlnâme* makes no mention of a beglerbeği of this name until 1593, when it mentions a Mehmed Pasha without a *laqab*. This man cannot be Nishânjî Mehmed, who died in 1592, rather it must be Öküz Mehmed Pasha, the patron of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, discussed in Chp. 4, who died as wālī of Aleppo in 1593 according to epigraphy. Ottoman sources indicate that Boyalı Mehmed, also known as Kara Nishânjî, was beglerbeği of Aleppo at an unspecified date. Both Na'īmâ, *Târîḫ*, cited in Tabbākh 2, III, 177, and the various documents cited by Fleischer indicate that Nishânjî Mehmed was wālī of Aleppo before his appoint-

son of a judge of Aleppo named Pîr Aḥmed, Nishânjî Mehmed Pasha held various positions as treasurer, chancellor (*nishânjî*), beğlerbeğî and vizier until his death in 1592. He is the patron of a handsome complex in Istanbul (begun 1584).²¹³

Nishânjî Mehmed Pasha intended the Khân al-Ḥibāl to augment the already substantial endowments of the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya.²¹⁴ Located on one of the northern secondary arteries of the Mdīneh, the khân's principal entrance on the sūq runs parallel to the main axis. To the north it abuts the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya, to the east it faces the Great Mosque of Aleppo. Like that of the Khân Abrak to its west, its façade simply bears a foundation inscription above the door. In form, it is a handsomely built caravanserai very similar to the Khân al-Naḥḥāsīn and the Khân al-Ḥarīr. Such quality of construction and materials had by then become customary in this part of the city.²¹⁵ The structure suffered severely in the earthquake of 1822, and was restored in 1860. From the early nineteenth century, it served as the French consulate.²¹⁶

Waqf of Mûytâb Zâde Aḥmed Pasha

This waqf of 1595 continued the pattern established by earlier Ottoman foundations in the Mdīneh, even though few of its prescriptions were realized.

Aḥmed Pasha b. Maḥmûd Beğ al-Jundî, whose name appears in different guises,²¹⁷ served as governor of Aleppo from 1596 until his

ment as vezier, which occurred in Jumāda II 988/August 1580 (Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 91, n. 55).

²¹³ For Mehmed Pasha's ancestry: Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 219, n. 13, citing a manuscript by Muṣṭafâ 'Ālî. For the Complex of Nishânjî Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 335–337, figs. 332, 333.

²¹⁴ Ghazzî 2, II, 173–174 (he does not cite a waqfiyya). I was unable to find a waqfiyya for this structure in Ankara. The khân incorporated one of the latrines which belonged to the waqf of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, see *ibid.*, 201.

²¹⁵ Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. LXIV, and LXV (labeled "Khân des Français").

²¹⁶ A 1830 firmân from Sultan Selîm III made it the property of the French state, Ḥiraytânî, *Halab: Aswâq "al-Mdīneh"*, 23; It continued to be considered French territory in the Mandatory period, Sauvaget, *Alep*, 218; David, "Consulat de France," 16 n. 10, 17; Michele Lamprakos, "Inhabiting the Suq."

²¹⁷ I use the Ottoman form of his name, as in Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'Osmânî*, vol. 1, 203: Aḥmed Pasha Mûytâb Zâde ("son of the hair rope maker"). There is inconsistency among Aleppine authors as to his name. Muṭâf is the *laqab* they most often give Aḥmed Pasha, but several versions of his name occur in each chronicler. Ghazzî 2, II, 59

death in 1599.²¹⁸ His tenure coincided with a major fire in the Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn in the Mdīneh, and an unsuccessful campaign to subdue a Bedouin chieftain engaged in banditry on the caravan roads.²¹⁹ His known relations include his wife Humâyûn Ḥatûn, who created a waqf in Aleppo in her own right in 1584,²²⁰ and his son Dervîsh Beğ, beneficiary of a large stipend in the waqf, who played an important role in the local politics of Aleppo where he was executed in 1605.²²¹ While he had origins in Aleppo where his descendants continued to reside, Aḥmed was part of the Ottoman bureaucratic elite.

The waqfiyya, dated 15 dhū al-ḥijja 1004/10 August 1596,²²² is a *waqf al-nuqūd*, translated as “cash waqf,” a legal innovation possible

lists his name as both Aḥmad Bāshā Muṭāf and Aḥmad Bāshā Mūtyāb b. Maḥmūd Bak al-Jundī. The waqfiyya in Ankara lists his name as Aḥmad Pasha b. Muḥmūd Bak al-Jundī without any *laqabs*. Both “Muṭāf” and the name of the khān in this waqf, Khān al-Ṭāf, come from the root “ṭ-ā-f,” which suggest circuiting around, circumambulation. For the religious practices associated with this khān, see Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 180–181, Cat. No. 57. An Ottoman firmān appointing a new mutawallī for this waqf gives the name of the wāqif as “Muṭāf Pasha,” AS Aleppo, vol. 1, Document 129, p. 66, dated 1102/1690. Since the late nineteenth century, the mutawallīs of this waqf were from the Ghannām family, who do not seem to be descendants of Aḥmed Pasha. On this family, based in the quarter of Jibb Asad Ullāh, to the north of the waqf of Aḥmed Pasha, see Ghazzi 2, II, 179.

²¹⁸ The oldest surviving Aleppine biography of Aḥmed Pasha: Abū al-Wafā’ b. ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī, *Maʿādin al-dhahab fiʾl-aʿyān al-masharrafa bi-him Ḥalab*, edited by Muḥammad Altūnji, (N.p.: Dār al-Mallāh, 1987) (henceforth ʿUrḍī, ed. Altūnji), 187–189. See also Tabbākh 2, III, 178. According to Süreyyā, *Sijill-i ʿOsmanī*, vol. 1, 203, after holding a number of offices, after 1577 Aḥmed Pasha became beglerbeği of Marash, then Aleppo, then Diyarbakır, until his death in 1582. The dates cited by Süreyyā must be inaccurate since the Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, drawn up in his lifetime, is dated 1596.

²¹⁹ This is precisely the reason why fortified rural caravanserais were so necessary. ʿUrḍī, quoted in Tabbākh 2, III, 177.

²²⁰ Ghazzi 2, II, 60. The handwritten catalog in Ankara refers to the waqf of Humâyûn Ḥatûn in conjunction to that of her husband, but the document does not mention her.

²²¹ Tabbākh 2, III, 177–178. Tabbākh, 178, mentions another son, Qubād Bak, as the first mutawallī of the endowment, but the Waqfiyya in Ankara makes no mention of him. Dervîsh Beğ is given the largest daily stipend of the waqf, 50 dirhāms a day, but he is not appointed mutawallī. The waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha appoints four male manumitted slaves as mutawallī, nāzir and kātibs of the waqf, with generous salaries, and it appoints lesser lifetime annuities to three female manumitted slaves. All of these individuals are sons and daughters of ʿAbdullāh, which suggests that they are converted dhimmīs. VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, Aleppo, 15 Dhu al-hijja 1004/Aug. 10, 1596, defter 608/2, pp. 177–179 (Henceforth VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha.).

²²² VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha. The waqfiyya is in Arabic. Tabbākh had access to the original waqfiyya held by the mutawallī of the waqf which he summarized, 178–179. Analysis of waqf based on Tabbākh’s summary: Gaube and Wirth, 139.

under the Ottoman interpretation of Ḥanafī law. In a cash waqf, currency rather than real property generates profit. Waqf administrators lend capital with certain restrictions, with the profit earmarked for the endowment. The waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha enjoined future administrators not to lend money to the wealthy and powerful.²²³ The cash waqf caused controversy since Islamic law usually regards the lending of money for profit as unlawful. Nonetheless Ḥanafī ‘ulamā’ upheld its legality;²²⁴ to preempt possible objections, the waqfiyya comprises a lengthy section defending the lawfulness of *waqf al-nuqūd*.²²⁵

Ten thousand gold dinārs constituted the capital. The waqfiyya outlined the charitable functions and services to be funded by the interest, but since no actual buildings seem to have been bought or built at the time of endowment, the entire document is prescriptive. Three major charitable institutions were projected. First, a mausoleum for the patron, adjacent to the Khān al-Ṭāf to the East, may have been partially built before the document was drawn up, however the waqfiyya stipulates that a dome should be added to it after the wāqif’s death.²²⁶ Thirty *ḥuffāz* (Koran readers) were appointed stipends in a three-tier system to read sections of the Koran over the grave daily beginning at dawn.²²⁷ This tomb seems reminiscent of the Mausoleum of Gūhar Malikshāh: both are mausolea located in the Mdīneh, and endowed with thirty Koran readers. Aḥmed Pasha was eventually buried in the tomb, for which a dome was built, but neither of the other projected institutions came to fruition until the late nineteenth century.

The waqfiyya also called for the building of a grammar school (*maktab*) for boys on or near the tomb.²²⁸ A school for the teaching

²²³ VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, 178.

²²⁴ Jon E. Mandaville, “Usurious Piety: The Cash-Waqf Controversy in the Middle East,” *IJMES* 10: 289–308; see also Masters, *Origins of Western Economic Dominance*, 160–163; Farouk Bilici, ed., *Le waqf dans le monde musulman contemporain (XIX^e–XX^e siècles)* (Istanbul: Institut Français d’Études Anatoliennes, 1994); and *Cumhuriyetten önce ve sonra vakıflar* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1937).

²²⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, 179.

²²⁶ The mausoleum: Gaube and Wirth No. 423. The wording of the waqfiyya suggests that unlike the other two institutions the site of the tomb was known, yet the it does not list it as a property, as it is customary.

²²⁷ The tomb was also given a *bawwāb* (doorman) at a daily stipend of two dirhāms and a *kalfā* (master builder) at a daily stipend of 5 dirhāms, VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, 178. The latter detail further suggests that the mausoleum had not yet been built.

²²⁸ The waqfiyya stipulates that the teacher in the *maktab* will have a daily stipend of 10 dirhāms, and that each year the mutawallī will spend 300 dirhāms to buy clothes and shoes for the boys.

of Prophetic traditions (*dār al-ḥadīth*) to be constructed in a suitable quarter of Aleppo, was to have a *muḥaddith* (traditionist) and three students.²²⁹ The patron also put up as waqf a library consisting of about 80 manuscripts on ḥadīth, Koranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), grammar and rhetoric to be used in the *dār al-ḥadīth*. The waqfiyya lists each book by genre, author, and number of volumes, a fascinating document on the curriculum of a *dār al-ḥadīth* in late sixteenth century Aleppo.²³⁰ The maktab and the *dār al-ḥadīth* briefly operated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but ceased to function with the reform of waqf administration in post-Ottoman Syria.²³¹ This indicates the strength and continuity of the bureaucracy of the religious endowments in the Ottoman period: a three-hundred-year-old prescription could be revived and implemented.

The waqfiyya further enjoined the mutawallī to buy real property in Aleppo to benefit the waqf.²³² Accordingly, the administrator purchased the entirety of the khān now known as Khān al-Ṭāf as a profit-generating property.²³³ The date of the khān's construction is

²²⁹ The muḥaddith was appointed a daily stipend of 30 dirhāms; the three students, a daily stipend of three dirhāms each; a bawwāb and a farrāsh (sweeper), a daily stipend of one dirhām each, VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, 178; Tabbākh 2, III, 179.

²³⁰ For example: “Kitāb ḥāshiyat al-hidāya li-Kamāl Bāshāzāda [Pāṣāzāde] fī jild wāḥid,” VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, 178–179. Tabbākh 2, III, 179, mentions the books but lists only *Kitāb Lisān al-ʿArab*.

²³¹ Apparently for a time the maktab functioned, adjacent to the tomb to the west, but was incorporated into the Church of the Franciscans in the Khān al-Shaybānī, on the plot adjacent to the Tomb to the west (Gaube & Wirth Cat. No. 422). The incorporation of an Islamic waqf into a church seems dubious. In 1882, the maktab was housed in a room in the Madrasa Sharafiyya, but the room was repossessed by the Dāʿirat al-Awqāf in 1924. The *dār al-ḥadīth* was established in 1893 in the Quarter of Suwayqat Ḥatīm, but it was an unsatisfactory arrangement. There was no trace of the library in Tabbākh's time. Tabbākh 2, III, 179, Ghazzī 2, II, 60.

The Maṣjid Khān al-Ṭāf, also known as Maṣjid al-Shaybānī, located to the east of the Khān al-Ṭāf with an entrance on the same street, is not part of this waqf, rather it dates from the Ayyubid period: Gaube and Wirth No. 425; Ghazzī 2, II, 59; MCIA 1:1, 251–251, inscription 120.

²³² VGM, Waqfiyya of Aḥmed Pasha, 178.

²³³ The purchase must have been subsequent to the waqfiyya. Ghazzī 2, II, 59, Tabbākh 2, III, 178. Other properties were also purchased, including two houses in the quarter of Jibb Asad Ullāh, and stores in Sūq al-Ḥibāl, the Bedestan, and Banqūsa, Ghazzī 2, II, 60. It seems that while the initial waqf was in cash, it was quickly converted into real property, whose revenues then supported the waqf, much like a conventional endowment. This meant that the legal “entity” buying property in the city was not the patron, but rather the endowment. This differs from the waqf of Şokollı Mehmed Pasha, where, before the waqf was set up, the property had to be bought.

unknown, but it predates the waqfiyya, that is, 1596.²³⁴ The caravanseraï conforms to the general arrangement of caravanserais in the Mdīneh, with the now customary elaborate entrance and interior arrangement and amenities. Its entrance features horizontal stone bands of alternating colors that mutate into the voussoirs of the entrance arch in a boldly decorative design. A teardrop shape is incrustated within the keystone. The interior arrangement of the khān was substantially modified in the nineteenth century when it served as residence and consulate for the British.²³⁵ Today the arches on both floors appear walled, and the interior façades feature several wooden kishks, which date from the early twentieth century.²³⁶

The waqf of Aḥmed Pasha, like the waqf of Nishânjî Meḥmed Pasha, while not a major endowment, continued the trend set by previous Ottoman official endowments in the city of focusing on the Mdīneh. While on a secondary artery parallel to the main axis, it incorporated a commercial structure which allowed it to profit from the trade flourishing in Aleppo. These two waqfs, much smaller than the earlier Ottoman endowments in the central commercial district, bear out Raymond's observation that the Mdīneh waqfs grew increasingly small as the sixteenth century progressed, no doubt partly because land became less easily available.²³⁷ If the patron's wishes had been implemented in a timely fashion, a small building complex would have resulted, including a khān, a maktab for the education of children and a dār al-Ḥadīth with a substantial library.²³⁸ A pedestrian walking in the street would have heard the Qur'ān recitation from the tomb. The waqf also continues the trend of a Pasha establishing a provincial economic base for his family, which

²³⁴ This is the date given by Raymond, who does not mention the endowment in his text but includes the Khān al-Ṭāf in his diagram of endowments in the Mdīneh of the 16th century, "Grands Waqfs," 129. David dates the khān to 1584 without mentioning a source, "Domaines," 185. Gaube and Wirth, 139, date it to 1588–1596. The khān occupies the site of the oldest Madrasa in Aleppo, the Madrasa al-Zajjājiyya: Gaube and Wirth, 82, 391. The Zajjājiyya, founded in 1122–1123 by Nūr al-Dīn Zengi, was ruined already in the medieval period: MCIA 1:1, 183–185.

²³⁵ David, "Consulat de France," 16 n. 10.

²³⁶ Photograph of the courtyard: Gaube and Wirth, 474, Plate 3, no. 2.

²³⁷ Raymond, "Grands Waqfs," 116.

²³⁸ A library of 80 volumes would have been considered middle-sized in Aleppo. For a list of libraries of Aleppo in 1903, see *Sālnāme-i Vilāyet-i Haleb: Otuz Üçüncü Sene* [Yearbook of the Province of Aleppo: Thirty-third Year], (Aleppo: Maṭba'a-yi Vilāyet, 1321/1903) (henceforth *Sālname 1903*), 239 (Each Sālnāme contains a similar table).

resulted, in this and other cases, in the long-term establishment of the patron's descendants in the city.

The waqf of Ahmed Pasha highlights the legal dimension of Ottomanization. The Ottoman legal system made the cash waqf possible. The first Ottoman legal act in Aleppo was to appropriate the citadel for the Sultan. By establishing the series of large complexes with a monumental presence along the Mdīneh, imperial officials created charitable endowments which owned large tracts of land in the economic district of the city.²³⁹ Thus the marketplace became, legally, a communal Islamic space. As the debate on the Orientalist concept of "the Islamic city" continues, the fact remains that the Ottoman system of waqf administration made Aleppo, like other cities, especially "Islamic": in a sense, through waqf, the Islamic community owned the land and controlled its use.

The process of Ottomanization in Aleppo employed a variety of architectural and urbanistic devices. The first few Ottoman signs had a limited impact on the life of the city even while they were important symbolically. As the sixteenth century progressed, however, public structures endowed by Ottoman officials from Istanbul shouldered the ideological burden of articulating Ottoman hegemony in the conquered territory, in the novel visual grammar of their monumental buildings, in the new spatial arrangements these buildings staged, and in the urbanistic impact of the functions they sponsored.

In the first century of Ottoman rule, institutional complexes reoriented the city towards the commercial corridor that stretched from the Citadel to Antioch Gate. As these complexes were charitable endowments, their establishment presupposed the legal takeover of the plots on which they stood, and the acquisition of further properties, within Aleppo or throughout the empire, or cash, endowed for their maintenance. Thus a legal Ottomanization accompanied the architectural intervention. These complexes, located on or near the new economic core of the city, reoriented the urban functions of Aleppo. Ottoman patrons only selectively destroyed monuments and civic foci associated with the previous ruling group, the Mamluks. They demolished previous structures or took over squares (such as Tallat 'Ā'isha) only when a takeover of the site was necessary for

²³⁹ The majority of land in the Mdīneh today belongs to the awqāf. Ḥiraytānī, *Aswāq "al-Mdīneh,"* 16.

the creation of the new institutional complexes. A more common strategy of Ottomanization consisted in reorienting the functions of the city towards the new monumental and economic center, and thus gradually to render obsolete the previous urban centers that had enjoyed Mamluk patronage, such as the Citadel-Maḡamāt urban axis. The rare exceptions to this spatialized pattern of patronage confirmed the rule: all the Ottoman mosques in the monumental corridor conformed to the Rumi style, and only the Mdīneh featured Ottoman-style mosques. Only the Aghājīq mosque (1585) departs from this pattern. This beautiful small structure overlooks a courtyard and a garden-cemetery, it is enclosed within high walls and is accessible from the street through a gate. The form and façade of the mosque conform to the central Ottoman idiom. Its current minaret, not in the Ottoman style, surmounts the outer gate and is the only feature of the mosque visible from the street. The name of the mosque, “little Aḡa,” may suggest the rank of its patron.²⁴⁰ The Aghājīq is exceptional as the only sixteenth-century mosque in the Ottoman style beyond the Mdīneh. Its neighborhood, Ṣājlikhān al-Taḡtānī, east of the citadel, attracted very little patronage in either the Mamlūk or the Ottoman periods, and there were no subsequent Ottoman foundations there. Significantly, the minimal size of its minaret means that this mosque does not register on the city’s skyline, thus it does not participate in the row of Ottoman domes and minarets of the Mdīneh that contribute so vividly to the creation of the image of Ottoman Aleppo.

In addition to recreating the city’s skyline, the monumental new mosques of the Mdīneh imitated central Ottoman models in their form, in the arrangement of space within the complexes, and in the axial approaches to the mosque entrances. However, the reproduction of Rumi forms accompanied the recontextualization of Mamluk motifs peculiar to the city, and echoing previous structures in specific urban sections. The caravanserais, the Khān al-Gumruk especially,

²⁴⁰ The name of the mosque (“aḡacak” in Modern Turkish orthography) means “little Aḡa.” For local lore regarding its name, see Ghazzī 2, II, 268. I am assuming that the title Aḡa indicates an Ottoman official, however it is possible that this Aḡa was a local notable. I am also assuming that the local appellation refers to the title of the patron, an assumption we are unable to test because the inscription is partly illegible, and the archives did not yield a waḡfiyya. Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 110, No. 108; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 234; Gaube and Wirth Cat. No. 572, p. 404; Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 145, and 199, No. 88. Tabbākh seems unaware of this structure. The urban setting of the mosque is explored in Gangler, *Traditionelles Wohnviertel*.

incorporated architectonic elements from earlier periods proper to this type of architecture in the same location in the city. The caravanserais became the site of the Ottoman appropriation of Mamlūk architecture in Aleppo; moreover, they became the site of the development of a new, contextual urban language.

The urban impact of Ottoman patronage in Aleppo was ensured through monumental structures, but also through the provision of infrastructure, and the refurbishment and construction of myriad modest public structures such as fountains, workshops, stables, and coffeehouses. They affected the urban development of neighborhoods and moved the city's edge ever further from the ramparts. Through waqf the functions of entire sections of the city were altered in perpetuity. The Ottoman endowments emphasized the support of the Hanafī madhhab, and education through maktab and the legal college at the Khusruwiyya. Most importantly, however, that function of the city most appealing to the imperial center the most, the long-distance trade, motivated Ottoman officials to build commercial structures in Aleppo, both to encourage and to profit from the trade. As the fortunes of the city rose in the second half of the sixteenth century, so its architecture and urbanism acquired their distinctive character. Ottoman official patronage along the Mdīneh artery was mirrored by the establishment of fortified caravanserais along the trade and pilgrimage routes that crisscrossed the imperial landscape beyond cities. These rural caravanserais not only secured the routes for the caravans of merchants and pilgrims, but through their distinctive Ottoman forms and construction techniques, they also established formal continuity between the city and the countryside; they created an Ottoman landscape.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DECENTERING OF PATRONAGE: DERVISH LODGES AND ENDOWMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Great Waqfs of the second half of the sixteenth century by privileging the central commercial district reoriented the urban center of Aleppo. Their monumental structures, great mosques, caravanserais and a madrasa, became permanent fixtures on the city's skyline as well as its social, economic and religious life. However, the momentum of patronage that produced an architecturally unified core through the accumulation of individual endowments waned towards the end of the sixteenth century, as Chapter 3 showed, as the official Ottoman waqfs diminished in scale. Global trends in the long-distance trade as well as local and empire-wide political unrest altered the fortunes of Aleppines and shifted the production of space in their town.

At the end of the sixteenth century Aleppo and its hinterland were convulsed by the Jelālî revolts (approx. 1590–1620).¹ The Jelālî revolts name the numerous small-scale rebellions in what is today Northern Syria, Central and Southern Turkey, where loosely organized bands of bandits (composed of disgruntled soldiers, religious students and landless peasants) fought the central Ottoman authority. The most threatening episode of rebellion occurred in the hinterland of Aleppo, successively led by two local landed notables of Kurdish origin, Jānpulâtoğlu Hüseyin Pasha and Jānpulâtoğlu 'Alî Pasha, the latter with the support of the duke of Tuscany and the Safavid shah, both enemies of the Ottoman state. Before their rebellion was crushed in 1607, they occupied the city twice.² The disruptions in trade, agriculture,

¹ William Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983); Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

² The Jānbulād clan (i.e. "steel-hearted," contemporary Arabic Junblāt, Turkish Jānpulâtoğlu), were local feudal lords of Kurdish origin. Abdul Karim Rafeq, "The Revolt of 'Alî Pāshā Jānbulād (1605–1607) in the Contemporary Arabic Sources and Its Significance," In *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara, 1983); Yūsuf Qar'alî, *'Alî Bāshā Junblāt, wālî Halab, 1611–1605* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār al-Makshūf, 1939).

and displaced populations left long-term scars. The global trade in luxury products never regained its momentum. An intensification of mystical piety in Aleppo matched this upheaval.

Compared to the era of rapid growth in the sixteenth century (often called the Classical Age), the seventeenth century is less well known in the history of the Ottoman empire, described as one of decline.³ In fact, the seventeenth century was a period of reorientation and consolidation. In terms of official architectural patronage, the large, central monumental endowments gave way to smaller architectural complexes that comprised modest neighborhood mosques and dervish lodges.⁴ This pattern of patronage by Ottoman officials that asserted itself at the turn of the seventeenth century (ca. 1580–1630) consisted in the support for sufis and sufi institutions, spread within the walled city and without. Institutions favored by the previous wave of patrons, such as monumental Great Mosques and madrasas were not built in the early seventeenth century. The endowments which supported sufi life in Aleppo were also relatively smaller than the sixteenth-century waqfs; often multiple patrons contributed minor endowments to a single lodge. The seventeenth century saw the establishment of only one complex of comparable magnitude and built in one campaign, the waqf of İpshîr Pasha. In terms of visual impact, the complexes of the seventeenth century did not display central Ottoman forms with the same confidence, rather their style and layout reflect the new, uncertain social and economic realities.

Another characteristic of the seventeenth century endowments was that rather than privileging a central urban location, they spread throughout the city (Fig. 8). Official patronage in the second century of Ottoman rule in Aleppo thus seems decentered. The implications of this trend were critical for Aleppo's urbanism. Rather than contracting, the urban development of Aleppo intensified, particularly in suburban neighborhoods, and sufi institutions played a critical role in pioneering the wilderness around the city and initiating its urbanization.⁵ The main axes of urban growth were the northeastern edge

³ Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1997–8): 30–75.

⁴ Dervish lodges had been built in Aleppo since the medieval period, but they dominate the patronage of the 17th century.

⁵ Some of these issues are explored in my essay, "Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo," forthcoming. I am exploring the role of sufi lodges in the urbanization of Aleppo in an essay in preparation, "Between Wilderness and Architecture: Antinomian Piety and Urbanization in Ottoman Aleppo."

of the walled city, near the access points of the caravans coming from the desert routes.⁶ Extending north from Bāb al-Naṣr were the emerging neighborhoods of Turab al-Ghurabā', Almājī, Aghyūr, 'Uryān and Mar'ashlī, in the urbanization of which the lodge of Shaykh Abū Bakr played a key role.⁷

Aleppo's centrality in commercial flows was paralleled in its status as a crossing place for mystical figures. While Damascus was well-known for its religious importance, its shrines and famous mystics (e.g. the tomb of Ibn al-ʿArabī), Aleppo too boasted sites related to relics of Prophets (Muḥammad, Zakariyya, Abraham), and venerated tombs of men whose lives had been exemplary. In addition to pilgrimage sites, it was connected to religious networks in the Ottoman empire and beyond as a station on the Istanbul-Mecca pilgrimage route.⁸ Alongside the venerable jurists, traditionists and sufi masters who received imperial appointments at the Ottoman-built madrasas and dervish lodges, Aleppo also attracted itinerant dervishes from within the Ottoman empire and without, who brought new forms of mystical piety to the city. While a new wave of Ottoman patrons endowed dervish lodges, takiyyas constructed by previous ruling groups continued to thrive.

This chapter focuses on the endowments of the seventeenth century. It introduces the Ottoman-period reuse of existing mystical centers to underscore another aspect of Ottomanization: the recontextualization and appropriation of popular piety. It then examines four major sufi lodges endowed by Ottoman patrons. Among them, the Takiyya Mawlawiyya and the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr had the largest endowments, were located near crucial urban thresholds and were consistently singled out by early modern observers as the most important.⁹ This chapter examines the origins and development of each lodge and its *ṭarīqa* (sufi order); it also suggests reasons for the popularity of sufism among Ottoman officials in the seventeenth century.

⁶ Sauvaget, *Alep*, Chp. 10. This urbanization extended to the entire eastern edge of the city, the location of the industries related to the caravan trade.

⁷ These neighborhoods had a heavily Turkic-Kurdish population. See Ghazzī 2, II, 324–327 (Aghyūr), 328–329 (Almājī), 342–343 (Turab al-Ghurabā'), 344–345 (Mar'ashlī), 346–347 ('Uryān, also called Juqur Qaşṭal).

⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517–1683* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994).

⁹ Both d'Arvieux and Russell noted that these two lodges were the most important sufi institutions in the city, in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century respectively. See below. Sauvaget set them apart for their monumentality, *Alep*, 235.

Then the largest endowment of the seventeenth-century, the waqf of İpshîr Pasha is discussed in terms of its urban context and its promotion of the coffeehouse, a newly popular urban site of sociability.

Ottoman Reuse of Sufi Sites

Evliyâ Çelebî estimated during his visit in 1671–72 that Aleppo boasted 170 takiyyas, ziyâretgâhs, and similar structures.¹⁰ Most were older sufi structures, where, along with the new lodges built by Ottoman patrons, the mystical life of Aleppines unfolded.

The tomb of the noted mystic Nasîmî (d. ca. 820/1417–18), located at the foot of the citadel, constitutes a famous Mamlûk-period site that elicited Ottoman interest.¹¹ A sufi from the Hürûfî movement, Nasîmî became a charismatic master and preacher in Aleppo, famous for his poetry strongly critical of conventional Islam: “Do not be deceived by legends, for the tales of each preacher who sells the Koran are long-winded legends.”¹² The ‘ulamâ of the city deemed such poems heretical. The Mamlûk Sultan Mu’ayyad enforced their *fatwa* (legal opinion) and executed Nasîmî by flaying. Once the threat of the living mystic was removed, however, the same elite that had persecuted him erected a sufi lodge on the site of his execution, supported by religious endowments, and it has been active ever since.

¹⁰ The number 170 is given in Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 378, for a list of the sufi orders in Aleppo see p. 381. In 1924, Tabbâkh put the number of sufi lodges of the city at 34. A catalogue of dervish lodges and devotion to walîs in Aleppo is in Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*. See also Eric Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1995); Barbara Rosenow von Schlegel, “Sufism in the Ottoman Arab World: Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabûlusi (d. 1143/1731),” (Ph.D. Diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1997); for a contemporary ethnography of Aleppine Sufism, see Paulo Pinto, “Mystical Bodies: Ritual, Experience and the Embodiment of Sufism in Syria” (Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 2002). In contemporary secular Syria sufi brotherhoods are banned; consequently the brotherhoods occupy an ambiguous space.

¹¹ For the Zāwiya of al-Nasîmî, see Ghazzî, II, 138, Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 256–257, No. 164; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 380; Simeon Dpir Lehatsi (b. 1584), “Simeon Tpri Lehats’woy Ughegrut’iwn (1608–1619),” ed. Nerses Akinian, in *Handes Amsoreay* (1935), 85; Talas, 253–254, Gaube and Wirth, 377. The two mysterious umbrella-shapes at the foot of the citadel in Matrâkçî’s depiction of Aleppo may represent this site (see Chapter 6).

¹² Translated in Colin Imber, “The Wandering Dervishes,” in *Mashriq: Proceedings of the Eastern Mediterranean Seminar, University of Manchester, 1977–78* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1980), 42. *ET*², s.v. “Nesimi,” by F. Babinger.

This example shows that the range of responses by established groups towards antinomian piety, namely persecution and reverence, were deployed sequentially. In 1504, the last Mamlūk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī renovated the lodge, which today comprises Ottoman tombstones of mystics and notables in its small garden-cemetery, indicating the continuing use of the site.¹³

The Zāwiya Hilāliyya constitutes an example of an Ottoman-period dervish lodge near the center of the city, in the Jallūm neighborhood. It was centered on the tomb of Muḥammad Hilāl al-Rāmhamdānī (1638–1734) who founded the Hilāliyya order in Aleppo, a branch of the Qādiriyya.¹⁴ At his death, he was buried in the courtyard of the mosque of Jallūm where he led the dhikr.¹⁵ Endowments were established to support the lodge, notably by the governor Muṣṭafā Pasha in the early eighteenth century.¹⁶

Most of Aleppo's lodges were built within the urban core and their functions were fully integrated into urban life. However, religious shrines had existed in the wilderness beyond the city's edge since the medieval period, particularly in two clusters. Ayyubid and Mamlūk patrons had privileged the tombs in Maqāmāt to the south, centered on the shrine of the Prophet Abraham (see Chapter 2). The thirteenth century saw the construction of two other shrines, to the west of the city, beyond the river Quwayq, on the mountain Jabal Jawshan. The Mashhad al-Ḥusayn, also called Maṣjid al-Mukhtār, houses a rock from Karbalā' which bears a blood drop of the Imam Ḥusayn, shed during the fateful battle.¹⁷ The Mashhad of Shaykh

¹³ Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate XLVI.

¹⁴ Thierry Zarcone, "Un cas de métissage entre Qadiriyya et Khalwatiyya: Dhikr et khalwa dans la zawiyya al-Hilaliyya d'Alep," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2 (2000): 443–455. For a contemporary ethnography at the Hilāliyya, see Pinto, "Mystical Bodies."

¹⁵ Ghazzī 2, II, 56–57, Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 248–250, Gaube and Wirth, no. 434.

¹⁶ Ruth Roded, "Great Mosques, Zawiya's, and Neighborhood Mosques: Popular Beneficiaries of Waqf Endowments in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Aleppo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990), 34. Roded uses the endowment deeds summarized in Ghazzī and Tabbākh.

¹⁷ Jean Sauvaget, "Deux sanctuaires chiites d'Alep," *Syria* IX (1928): 224–237: he considered the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn the most beautiful architectural work in Aleppo; idem., *Alep*, 125, n. 418; idem., "Inventaire," 79, no. 20; Gaube and Wirth, cat. no. 651; MCIA 1:1, 236–248, inscriptions nos. 112–118; MCIA 2, Pl. XCIV, XCV, XCIX; Gaube, *Inschriften*, 26, no. 33, 34; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 2, 12, cat. no. 4/27; Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 195–196, no. 81. Ghazzī 2, II, 211–212. Tabbāa, *Constructions of Power*, 110–121.

Muḥassin, also called Mashhad al-Dikka, commemorates the tomb of a stillborn son of Ḥusayn.¹⁸ Continual repairs indicate that successive generations of patrons recognized the importance of the two shrines. Today identified as Shīʿī, they figure on the pilgrimage route of ḥajjīs from Iran, but in the Ottoman period they were not viewed in such sectarian terms, since the *ahl al-bayt* were revered by all Muslims.¹⁹ Significantly, neither suburban monumental cluster attracted the patronage of Ottoman officials, who favored instead the two extramural lodges built after the Ottoman conquest.

The Takiyya of Bābā Bayrām constitutes an example of the continuous use of a shrine through the medieval and the Ottoman periods. It is also the earliest instance of an isolated shrine outside the city that pioneered the urbanization of a neighborhood. The takiyya was built around the tomb of Bābā Bayrām (d. 1362), along the White Road, locally known as Aghyūr, an artery that extended north into the wilderness from the northern gate of Bāb al-Naṣr.²⁰ Bayrām was remembered in Aleppo as a Persian saint²¹ from Khurasan who

¹⁸ Sauvaget, “Deux sanctuaires chiïtes,” 319–327; idem., “Inventaire,” 74, no. 14; Gaube and Wirth, cat. no. 652; MCIA 1:1, 193–201, inscriptions no. 93–97, MCIA 2, Pl. LXXX; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 2, 12, cat. no. 4/28; Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 196–197, no. 82. Ghazzī 2, II, 212–214. Tabbāa, *Constructions of Power*, 109–110.

¹⁹ In the nineteenth century, Sultan ʿAbdül-Ḥamīd II renovated the shrines. Mashhad al-Ḥusayn exploded in 1920, when King Fayṣal’s troops were storing gunpowder in it. It has since been restored. Sauvaget, “Deux sanctuaires chiïtes;” Ibrāhīm Naṣrallāh, *Āthār Āl Muḥammad fī Ḥalab* (Aleppo: Maṭbaʿat al-Waṭan al-ʿArabī, 1995), written by the current imām of Mashhad al-Ḥusayn, this book relies heavily on previous scholarship but provides information on the recent restoration of the two shrines; also idem, *Ḥalab waʾl-tashayyūʿ* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-wafāʾ, 1983). On the Shīʿī community in Aleppo in the seventeenth century: Marco Salati, *Ascesa e Caduta di una Famiglia di Asraf Sciiti di Aleppo: I Żuhrāwī o Żuhra-Żada (1600–1700)* (Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente C. A. Nallino, 1992); idem, “Toleration, Persecution and Local Realities: Observations on the Shiism in the Holy Places and the Bilād al-Shām,” In *Convegno sul tema: la shīʿa nell’impero ottomano (Roma: 15 Aprile 1991)* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1993): 121–148.

²⁰ On the neighborhood along the White Road (*al-darb al abyad* in Arabic, *aq yul* in Turkish), pronounced Aghyūr locally, Ghazzī 2, II, 324–327.

²¹ While some authors object to the term “saint” to render “walī,” and prefer to use “friend of God,” I have opted to use “saint” for convenience. *ET*², s.v. “Wali. General Survey,” by B. Radtke. The Aleppine sources state that Bayrām was a son of the Central Asian mystic Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 1166), based on an inscription at the site quoted in Ghazzī 2, II, 325–326. This is impossible since 196 years separate their deaths. However, even though Yasawī’s mysticism fell within the purview of shariʿa, he was claimed as a mentor by the Haydari group of deviant dervishes: Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 45. The shaykh

dwelled in a cave near the White road. After his death, a sufi lodge was established near his tomb, eventually forming the nucleus of the neighborhood of Aghyūr. The history of this takiyya is difficult to reconstruct.²² It attracted the patronage of prominent regional notables in the 1470s.²³ The fact that a wife of the Mamlūk sultan Qānṣauh al-Ghūrī was buried at the lodge at the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century indicates its importance. Inscriptions recorded Ottoman-period renovations in 1592, 1637 and 1698.²⁴ By the early twentieth century, the neighborhood around the takiyya was well-established, and hosted the *sūq al-aḥad* (Sunday market) weekly. The lodge, now largely destroyed,²⁵ included a mosque, the domed tomb of Bayrām and other mausolea around a large courtyard, all the Ottoman style.²⁶ The trajectory of the brotherhood at this lodge mirrors the broad transformations in Ottoman esoteric mysticism. The Lodge appears to have been initially Qalandarī; it was Bektashi in the seventeenth century, as stated by Evliyā and an inscription, and was Qalandarī according to all the twentieth-century sources.²⁷ The Takiyya of Bābā Bayrām is the earliest example of an esoteric religious site, initiated by a pioneering mystical figure in the wilderness

of the Takiyya of Bayrām in the 1920's stated that Yasawi had been the spiritual guide of Hājī Bektash (d. 1270–71), Tabbākh 2, vol. 7, 388–389. Clearly the two men never crossed paths but the invocation of Hājī Bektash confirms the esoteric, qalandarī associations of the Lodge.

²² Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:1, 97, one of the earliest and rare sources to cite the lodge, mentions it in passing as a landmark on al-darb al-abyaḍ. See also Shaykh Wafā', *Awliyā' Ḥalab*, 276.

²³ Tabbākh 2, VII, 150 and 388–389, Ghazzī 2, II, 325–326. Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 239–241. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 245. Gaube and Wirth No. 511, 398.

²⁴ No patron was given in the Ottoman-language 1592 inscription, quoted in Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 380. The two seventeenth-century inscriptions recorded repairs by the shaykhs of the lodge, quoted respectively in Tabbākh, 2, VII, 388 and Gaube, *Inschriften*, 56–57.

²⁵ The lodge was destroyed in the early 1980's. Asadī, *Ahyā' Ḥalab*, 86, Gaube and Wirth, 398.

²⁶ Talas, 245–248.

²⁷ On the Bektashiyya's early history as a branch of deviant dervishes before mutating into an authorized sufi brotherhood, see Karamustafa, 83–84. Ghazzī, Tabbākh, Asadī, among other twentieth-century writers, stated that the lodge housed a qalandarī dervish community. As many qalandars were absorbed in the 17th century in the Bektashiyya, a possible trajectory for Bayram's lodge is initially qalandarī, then folded into the Bektashi order, then reverted to qalandarism. It is possible that this lodge was the Qalandarī community of Aleppo visited by Bliss around 1912, though Bliss does not specify the location of their lodge, F. J. Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1912), 236. For a study of antinomian mysticism in Aleppo, see my "Deviant Dervishes."

whose tomb became the focus of urbanization, in this case the suburban neighborhood of Aghyūr. This pattern was repeated with the tomb of Shaykh Abū Bakr in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see below). Bayram was thus a precursor of Abū Bakr's as an antinomian dervish whose tomb pioneered a suburban neighborhood. In both cases, the movement of urbanization intensified in the Ottoman period and relied on the legal mechanism of the waqf.

Takiyya Mawlawiyya

The Takiyya Mawlawiyya's location to the walled city's northwest outside Bāb al-Jinān (Gate of the Gardens) near the Quwayq river placed it near an urban threshold. The western edge of the city had been only sparsely urbanized, the major exception being the neighborhood of the new tannery outside the Antioch Gate, part of the waqf of the Khān al-Gumruk (see Chapter 3). Long before the heavy urbanization of its surroundings in the late nineteenth century, the takiyya stood in relative isolation among gardens known as Bustān al-Kulāb (Gül Ab, "rosewater"), and the perceived distance of the area from the city was compounded by a fear of robbers, particularly at night.²⁸ A system of canals and a waterwheel provided the Takiyya with water from the nearby river, and irrigated the gardens which were the lodge's waqf.²⁹

Despite its importance in the sufi life of the city, information on the construction of the Takiyya Mawlawiyya is scarce.³⁰ Its foundation date is unclear; certainly it was built after Aleppo became part of the Ottoman empire, when the Mawlawī (Mevlevī in Ottoman) brotherhood was introduced to the province.³¹ The death date of the earliest shaykh of the Takiyya, 1530, can be taken as a chronological signpost.³² Apparently around this date, Mīrzā Fūlād and Mīrzā

²⁸ Tabbākh 2, III, 378: in 1883, the governor Jamīl Pasha built a palace for himself near the Takiyya Mawlawiyya, which became the nucleus of the quarter known as Jamīliyya.

²⁹ Waterwheel: Ghazzī 2, II, 235; canals: D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, VI, 464.

³⁰ The Takiyya Mawlawiyya is noted in Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 1, 208, and Plate 140c. Sauvaget did not include it in his "Inventaire," though he mentioned it in *Alep*, 235. See also Talas, 256–257; Asadī, *Ahyā' Ḥalab*, 284–285.

³¹ Ghazzī 2, II, 237.

³² The shaykhs of the Takiyya with dates are listed in Ghazzī 2, II, 236. The sufis buried there are listed without any dates in: Shaykh Wafā', *Awliyā' Ḥalab*,

‘Ilwān, two Persians (*fārisiyyān*) who were Sunnīs and followers of the Mawlawī ṭarīqa, leaving the Safavid state, made Aleppo their home and established the lodge.³³ This information coincides with the fact that Shah Ismā‘īl (r. 1501–1524) directed a decisive realignment in the ideology of the Safavid order, which led, among other things, to intolerance or downright suppression of rival sufi groups, including the Mawlawiyya.³⁴ Mawlawī lodges were ordered hierarchically, with the mother lodge in Konya at the apex; in this ladder, the lodge in Aleppo was an *āsatāna*, a more prestigious category than *zāwiya*.³⁵

Two endowment deeds dated 1616 further confuse the issue of the foundation date. Both were set up in the name of the deceased Ḥusayn Pasha b. Jān Bülād, a leader of the Jelālī revolts, by his son Muṣṭafā Bak. They endowed properties in Aleppo whose income was to support the *fuqarā’* (dervishes, or resident mystics) of the “Mawlawī khāna” (Mevlevīhāne) in Aleppo, of the mother lodge in Konya and at the Two Noble Sanctuaries.³⁶ The later document identifies one ‘Alī Pasha al-Wand (possibly a rendition of the Ottoman Levend?) as the original builder of the “Mawlawī khāna” in Aleppo.³⁷ Accordingly, the Takiyya probably dates to the mid- to late sixteenth century. However, it is clear that the building of the Takiyya was

60–62. Ghazzī’s date is not corroborated. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī is silent on the matter of the Mawlawiyya.

³³ Ghazzī 2, II, 236.

³⁴ Lapidus, *History of Islamic Societies*, 296–297.

³⁵ *ET*², s.v. “Mawlawiyya,” section by D. S. Margoliouth. Outside Anatolia, there were *āsatānas* in Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo and Nicosia; see Muḥammad al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī a’yān al-qarn al-hādī ‘ashar* (Cairo, 1874–1883), I, 329, and III, 116.

³⁶ VGM, Waqfiyya of Ḥusayn Pasha b. Jān Bülād, Aleppo, 1 Ramaḍān 1025/12 September 1616, defter 582/2, p. 529; and VGM, Waqfiyya of Ḥusayn Pasha b. Jān Bülād, Aleppo, 1 Shawwāl 1025/12 October 1616, defter 582/2, p. 551. Both waqfiyyas are in Arabic. Ḥusayn Pasha b. Jān Bülād, a key figure of the Jelālī Revolts, briefly served as beğlerbeğī of Aleppo in 1604. No other historical source mentions his posthumous patronage of the Takiyya Mawlawiyya. Tabbākh 2, III, 180–194; Ghazzī 2, III, 213–218. For a biography of Ḥusayn Pasha’s father, Jānbulāt Bak b. al-Amīr Qāsim al-Kurdī (d. 983/1576), see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, 1:1, 437–445; for his patronage of commercial structures in the city of Kilis: Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 362, and Cezar, *Commercial Buildings*, 120–121.

³⁷ This ‘Alī may be one and the same as ‘Alī b. ‘Ilwān Pasha, governor of Aleppo in 1576, Tabbākh 2, III, 174. ‘Alī Pasha al-Wand appears in a biography of Shaykh Abū Bakr, but with no indication of a date, al-‘Urḍī, 33–34. He is likely the father of Ḥasan Pasha b. ‘Alī Pasha al-Rand or al-Wand (Levend?), beğlerbeğī of Aleppo in 1601, and patron of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, see below. The only extant biography of a member of this family is that of Hasan’s brother Aṣlān pasha (d. 1625), al-‘Urḍī, 157–158.

an accretive process that continued through the twentieth century.³⁸

Though we cannot be certain when the Takiyya Mawlawiyya took shape, in form it echoes the Mamlūk rather than the Ottoman visual idiom (Pl. 21). An outer wall surrounds a cluster of freestanding buildings, pierced by a doorway that an octagonal minaret surmounts. Behind this façade, surrounding a courtyard and pool (*hawḍ*), loosely arranged structures from various periods include a mosque, a samāʿ khāna (a space for the Mawlawī spiritual concert), a kitchen, cells for the dervishes, and tombs.³⁹ In a manner typical of Mamlūk structures, five identical bays featuring two rows of windows divide the façade of the samāʿ khāna. Ablaḡ bands of bichrome masonry and joggled stringcourses frame the lower windows while pointed arches surmount the smaller upper windows. Braided engaged colonnettes define the bays at the bottom. A double band of muqarnas crowns each bay. A plain cornice lines a flat roof, from which one large and two smaller domes rise.

Evliya praised the plane trees in the complex; he noted, however that the mosque was unfinished.⁴⁰ The fact that the mosque was incomplete at this date (1671–1672) supports the notion that at the Mawlawiyya as well as the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, consistent with sufi practice, the mosque was not the focal point of the complex. Even though the Mawlawiyya had a minaret, whence presumably the call to prayer was performed, it does not seem to have had a congregation beyond the resident dervishes. However Aleppines, including women, were free to attend the dervish *dhikr* (ritual) once a week.⁴¹

³⁸ The great hall was rebuilt in the nineteenth century: David, *Waḡf d'İpşir Pāşā*, 38, n. 4. The only known inscription at this lodge is dated 1903 (tombstone of 'Alī Muḡassin Pasha), Tabbākh 2, III, 390. Meinecke dates it to 1530, presumably on the basis of the date in Ghazzī as well as style. In the 1920's and 1930's, the Mawlawiyya in Aleppo became the refuge of the Mevlevis of Konya, who were suppressed in the Turkish Republic after 1925 under Atatürk's secular rule: Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 242; Louis Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman 1954* (Paris, 1955), 201; *EP*², s.v. "Mawlawiyya," section by F. de Jong; I thank Ms. Aylin McCarthy of Istanbul for sharing with me her family history, particularly the episode of the last Çelebi's migration from Konya to Aleppo.

³⁹ Today the central courtyard includes a gated cemetery containing mostly nineteenth and early twentieth-century tombs. The functions of the buildings conform to the types of structures necessary in a Mawlawī lodge as described in *EP*², s.v. "Mawlawiyya," section by T. Yazıcı. Godfrey Goodwin, "The Dervish Architecture of Anatolia," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press), esp. 64–66.

⁴⁰ "... natamamdır," Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 378.

⁴¹ This was true of the eighteenth century: Russell, *Natural History*, vol. 1, p. 207.

Reports vary as to the number of dervishes living at this lodge, but they consistently indicate that the Mawlawiyya was less populous than the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr.⁴² The common features of these two lodges set them apart from other lodges in Aleppo: both were located at some distance from the city, among gardens. Furthermore, built after Aleppo's incorporation in the Ottoman empire, both lodges housed sufi orders new to the city, and benefited from official Ottoman patronage. The location of these two lodges was no accident. By supporting sufi institutions in previously deserted sites, the Ottoman patrons avoided supporting the shrine complexes patronized by previous ruling groups. The extramural location of the lodges indicates a self-conscious choice by the Ottoman patrons to distance their own structures from areas associated with previous ruling groups. The spaces they chose outside the city were open and available, more significantly, they were not associated with the Mamlūks or the Ayyubids. The patrons of the structures sought to associate each with Ottoman rule exclusively. Moreover, in the case of the lodge of Shaykh Abū Bakr, this association involves a particular faction of the Ottoman ruling élite. Indeed, while the local *sipahi* Jānbulād clan patronized the Mawlawiyya, their opponents at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the *devşirme*-generated *kullar* (slaves) of the Ottoman state, patronized the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. Archival evidence indicates that even patrons who had supported Mawlawī lodges elsewhere favored Shaykh Abū Bakr in Aleppo.⁴³ This suggests that many of the local intra-Ottoman power struggles of the period manifested themselves in the competitive patronage of sufi lodges. As will be made clear below, competitive patronage may also explain the divergent choice of form of these two lodges: while the Mawlawiyya echoes Mamlūk forms, the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr echoes Ottoman ones. Nevertheless, the paucity of resources for documenting patronage and building chronology hinders a fuller reading of this conflict.

⁴² D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, VI, 464: Mawlawiyya: 25 dervishes, Shaykh Abū Bakr: 40 dervishes. Russell, *Natural History*, vol. 1, 207: about 10 dervishes at Shaykh Abū Bakr, a smaller number at the Mawlawiyya. None of the Arabic and Ottoman sources mentions a number for the dervishes.

⁴³ As in the case of Öküz Mehmed Pasha, discussed below.

Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr

The Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr is located on a promontory north of the walled city at a distance of about three miles. It was the most important sufi institution of the Ottoman period and for a time, the residence of the governors of the province. No local early modern figure has generated as much comment in the local sources as its founding saint. The architectural integrity of the ensemble is preserved and still in use, even if its surroundings are much more densely populated today. This extraordinary structure, whose complex history is recorded in many sources, has largely escaped the notice of scholars. Sauvaget included it on his list of Aleppine monuments worth preserving, although he deemed it to be “without great archaeological interest.”⁴⁴ Not only does the continuous endowment of this structure by Ottoman officials from the late sixteenth century until the collapse of the empire illustrate its importance to the ruling group, but its prominence in local chronicles shows the relevance of this building to the inhabitants of Aleppo. Indeed, the takiyya may have operated as a special site in which the Ottoman élite interacted with the local provincial élite united by the mutual reverence of a walī.

From Antinomianism to Normative Sufism

The Takiyya, popularly known in Aleppine parlance as “al-Shaykhū Bakr,” is centered on the tomb of al-Shaykh Abū Bakr b. Abī al-

⁴⁴ Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 103, No. 75, drawing: fig. 13, Sauvaget, *Alep*, 232, fig. 61, and 235, n. 894. Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 236–239, cat. no. 152. I thank Dr. ‘Abd al-Razzaq Moaz for allowing me to see the photographs and drawings of his late father, Khaled Moaz, who researched the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr with Sauvaget and drew fig. 13 in *Alep*. The Takiyya is mentioned by a record number of travelers, in addition to those cited below, see: William Biddulph, “Part of a Letter of Master William Biddulph from Aleppo,” in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travells by Englishmen and Others*, ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905–07), vol. 8, 263–364; de Fermanel, *Le Voyage d’Italie et du Levant de M. de Fermanel* (Rouen, 1687), 26–27; Myller, 658; J. Barbié Du Bocage, “Notice sur la carte générale des paschaliks de Bagdad, Orfa et Hhaleb et sur le plan d’Hhaleb de M. Rousseau,” in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie*, Vol. II (Paris: Imprimerie d’Éverat, 1825), 224. The obscurity of the site today is compounded by the fact that its neighborhood was a center of Islamist resistance to the Ba’thist rule of president Hafiz al-Asad in the early 1980s, when aerial bombardment damaged the takiyya.

Wafā' (1503–1583), a personage emblematic of early modern antinomian piety.⁴⁵ He was a *majdhūb* (one enraptured by God), a category of Muslim saints, or *walīs* (friends of God). No other religious figure of Aleppo has attracted a comparable volume of literature by distinguished members of Aleppo's Sunni Muslim elite, still largely underused. I have discussed elsewhere the evolving construction of the image of the saint in the sources, particularly the manner in which the sources depicted the saint's practice of space, his oscillation between architecture and the wilderness, and his inversion of conventional gender hierarchies.⁴⁶ Shaykh Abū Bakr and the dervishes who gathered around him in his lifetime and around his grave after his death illustrate the trajectory of a saint and his community, and of their complex relationship to landscape and the built environment in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Abū Bakr shunned the city and conventional domesticity, living in the wilderness at its edge and inverting his society's rigid gender hierarchy. His followers formed a community of deviant dervishes whose antinomian asceticism rejected normative Islamic practice, risking persecution by the Ottoman state. However, a few years after the saint's death, these deviant dervishes adopted lawful behavior, metamorphosed into a respectable sufi brotherhood, and received the patronage of powerful Ottoman officials. The tomb of Abū Bakr soon formed the

⁴⁵ An erroneous death date of 1496 for Abū Bakr, given first in Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, 7 vols. (Paris: [Firmen Didot], 1788–1824), IV. ii. 622, has been repeated by many Western sources, including Russell, 410, Bliss, John P. Brown, *The Dervishes, or, Oriental Spiritualism*, ed. H. A. Rose (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 269; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1998; orig. ed. 1971), 278, and Gonnella. However, the Aleppine sources from the seventeenth-century, unused by these authors, clearly state the death date of 1583. I have found no indication that a saint named Abū Bakr existed in Aleppo in the fifteenth century. While these sources also use the term “Bakriyya” to denote the brotherhood at the lodge of Abū Bakr, this term is never used in the local sources. A few shaykhs of the lodge in the eighteenth century are given in the sources the laqab of al-Wafā'ī, in reference to the founding saint, as in Tabbākh 2, VI, 484–485. In some cases the brotherhood of the lodge is given as “Wafā'iyya,” Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām*, 3rd. ed., 6 vols in 3 (Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Nūrī, 1983), 148.

⁴⁶ See my “Deviant Dervishes,” for a detailed list of the hagiographies of the saints and his successors. The most important biographies of Abū Bakr are in chronological order, Ibn al-Hanbalī in the sixteenth century, 1:1, 394–395; al-'Urḍī in the seventeenth century, 32–35. Tabbākh's biographical entry of Abū Bakr, vol. 6, 110–129 quotes several earlier biographies, including the authoritative eighteenth-century version by Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī (1662–1740), from his work, *Murīd al-ṣafā' fi Tarjamat al-Shaykh Abī Bakr b. Abī al-Wafā'*.

nucleus of an architectural complex that served as one of Aleppo's most important sufi institutions and spurred the development of a suburban neighborhood. The community of dervishes that shared the saint's antisocial ways mutated into the custodians of substantial properties, and became salaried members of the central Ottoman religious hierarchy, accepting its norms along with its rewards. In other words, they allowed themselves to be co-opted into the urban religious hierarchy and in turn transformed their wilderness retreat into a settlement.

The son of the muezzin of the neighborhood of Suwayqat 'Alī in the heart of Aleppo, after attaining *jadhba* (rapture), Abū Bakr demonstrated his *kashf* (ability to see hidden things), and adopted the unconventional behavior of a saint. As fame of his miraculous deeds spread, people flocked to him to receive *baraka* (blessing). As reconstructed from his biographies, Abū Bakr's persona suggests a socially deviant mode of renunciation that adhered to the recognizable "script" of a mystical personality, whose elements I have categorized as spectacular asceticism and spectacular antinomianism. He adopted poverty; he practiced intense self-mortification: he slept on sheepskins spread on the ground,⁴⁷ he pulled out all of his own teeth in one day.⁴⁸ Abū Bakr never married, and with his followers practiced celibacy, or at least rejected conventional sexuality.⁴⁹ Most importantly Abū Bakr forsook life in a conventional home, rather he chose garbage heaps, cemeteries and ruins as alternative dwelling places. Reports place him in or near the mosque of the neighborhood of Turab al-Ghurabā' or among the abandoned cemeteries to the North of the city, in an area known as the Middle Hill.⁵⁰ At a time of urban growth in Aleppo, the presence of Abū Bakr at the edge of the city is significant because sainthood was the pioneering element in the taming of the wilderness, followed by urbanization.⁵¹

⁴⁷ al-ʿUrḍī, 110.

⁴⁸ al-ʿUrḍī 33.

⁴⁹ al-ʿUrḍī, ed. Abū Salīm, 244. H. Watenpugh, "Deviant Dervishes."

⁵⁰ The texts refer to the Middle Hill as *al-jabal al-awsaṭ* or more often in Turkish (*orta tepe*). Ghazzī 2, II, 353–356. The Turkish form of the name reflects the Turco-Iranian orientation of the area. The Middle Hill is located between Jabal al-Ghazālāt and Jabal al-ʿAzām.

⁵¹ Ömer Lütfi Barkan's "colonizing dervishes" theory described the urbanization and Islamization of medieval Anatolia by Turcoman groups spearheaded by sufis, and their instrumentalization of waqf, in "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör

By haunting the northern periphery Abū Bakr distanced himself from the most important Muslim cemetery of Aleppo, Ṣāliḥīn, which featured the tombs of saints and dignitaries of Aleppo, representatives of normative Islam.⁵² Combing the hagiographies, I mapped elsewhere Abū Bakr's spatial activity and discerned in it an alternative mystical geography of the city. The biographies recount anecdotes where Abū Bakr visited and interacted with other sacred sites, including the lodge of Bābā Bayrām, the coffeehouse of Aṣlān Dada (both discussed in this chapter) and the Khusrūwiyya mosque (see Chapter 3), conveying the links between these sites. By contrast, Abū Bakr was never portrayed in the most central religious places of Aleppo, such as the Great Mosque, or the shrines to Abraham.

In addition to asceticism, Abū Bakr violated social and legal norms. The intensity and permanence of his ascetic practices were themselves outside the norm, as most Sufis practiced asceticism at carefully timed and temporary intervals that ended with a return to productive life. Appearance and behavior comprised the two broad arenas of antinomianism. Ottoman society carefully regulated hygiene and sartorial conduct. The appearance of Abū Bakr and his dervishes included the shaving of the beard, piercing their ears, wearing rags, or going naked.⁵³ The transgressions of the early dervish community included the rejection of ritual requirements of Islam such as prayer and fasting,⁵⁴ the consumption of unlawful substances such as *ʿaraq* (an alcoholic beverage flavored with anise) and hashish.⁵⁵ Additionally, they

Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279–362. This theory bears out in the urbanization of Ottoman Aleppo, with the caveat that it had been an Islamic city since the 7th century. I address this point in "Between Wilderness and Architecture."

⁵² A study of the burial places of Aleppine notables in the seventeenth century suggests that the association of Ṣāliḥīn with normative Muslim figures with local roots endured, while many Ottoman dignitaries with Istanbul rather than local connections, as well as mystics, tended to be buried in the northern cemeteries. For example, Abū al-Yaman al-Baṭrūnī (d. 1636) and his son Ibrāhīm (d. 1647), both Ḥanafī muftis of Aleppo, were buried in Ṣāliḥīn, see Ghazali, Diss., 71–73, al-ʿUrḍī, 139–143, Tabbākh 2, VI, 233. By contrast, the cemetery near the lodge of Abū Bakr became the burial place for Ottoman officials deceased in Aleppo. An ethnic-cultural division may also be at work: The notables buried in Ṣāliḥīn were Arabs, while Turco-Persians were found in the northern cemeteries.

⁵³ On the saint's nudity, see Biddulph, 263. Abū Bakr shaved his beard and pierced his ears: al-ʿUrḍī, 33. His dervishes shaved their beards, and wore earrings: al-ʿUrḍī, 47. On the significance of shaving facial hair in antinomian piety, see Karamustafa, 19.

⁵⁴ Every biographer remarked on this except Ibn al-Ḥanbalī.

⁵⁵ On alcoholic beverages: al-ʿUrḍī, 110; Tabbākh 2, VI, 221. On the consumption of hashish by Qārī and the dervishes, see al-ʿUrḍī, 110; al-ʿUrḍī, ed. Abū

made a mockery of conventional domesticity by flaunting the squalor of their dwelling and admitting into it unclean and despised animals, especially wild dogs.⁵⁶ Another transgression was Abū Bakr's deviant use of language inverted hierarchies of gender and merits investigation. Using the Aleppine vernacular dialect only, rather than literary Arabic or Ottoman used by the educated men of his day, the saint addressed male interlocutors in the feminine grammatical gender.⁵⁷

Challenging temporal authority was a hallmark of the saint's image, expressed in irreverence towards men of rank and power. In a provincial city at a time of centralization and consolidation, Abū Bakr combined the majdhūb's scorn of conventional hierarchies with the topos of the local saint who dominated Ottoman officials through the strength of his esoteric knowledge, reversing imperial hegemony. When the judge 'Alī Efendi from Rumelia visited him, the saint attacked him with a cane.⁵⁸ Abū Bakr uttered an obscenity while groping the behind of Hasan Pasha (d. 1603), a well-connected Ottoman official from Istanbul who had just been appointed judge in Aleppo.⁵⁹ The majdhūb also infuriated Aleppo's governor, 'Alī Pasha b. Levend, who let loose on him a lion that he had starved for two days.⁶⁰ However, Abū Bakr, who like many saints could communicate with animals, subdued the lion.⁶¹ The defiance of temporal authority also appears in the biographies of Aḥmad al-Qārī (d. 1632), the saint's successor. When the governor Naṣūḥ Pasha attacked the dervishes with an armed retinue, Aḥmad's fearlessness humbled him.⁶²

Salim, 313; Tabbakh 2, VI, 221. The discovery of hashish as a hallucinogen was attributed to deviant dervishes, Karamustafa, 19. See Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1971). For a more extensive analysis of the transgressions of the dervish community, see my "Deviant Dervishes."

⁵⁶ Kurani, in Tabbākh 2, VI, 116, and 119, recounts the repulsion that the saint's squalid dwelling inspired respectable Aleppines.

⁵⁷ The expressions describing this deviance are, "yukhāṭibu al-rijāl bi-khiṭāb al-nisā'," al-'Urḍī 33; "yukhāṭibu al-jamī' bi-khiṭāb al-ta'nīth," al-Ḥusaynī, in Tabbākh 2, VI, 113. For a full analysis of Abū Bakr's inversion of gender norms, see my "Deviant Dervishes."

⁵⁸ al-'Urḍī, ed. Abū Salim, 244. On 'Alī Efendi b. Sinān Efendi (d. 1579), see N. Ghazzī, vol. 3, 60.

⁵⁹ al-'Urḍī, ed. Abū Salim, 245. On Hasan, N. Ghazzī, vol. 2, 40.

⁶⁰ 'Alī Pasha b. Levend was a patron of the Takiyya Mawlawiyya, see above.

⁶¹ The episode of 'Alī Pasha's lion, al-'Urḍī, 33–34. Another lion kept as a performing animal in the suqs escaped his cruel master to seek refuge near Abū Bakr, Kurani, cited in Tabbakh 2, VI, 118.

⁶² al-'Urḍī, 111–112: The governor Naṣūḥ Pasha and an armed retinue rode out of Aleppo to exterminate the dervishes. At their sight, many ran away. Al-Qārī confronted the governor: "There are three things you can do to us. You can kill us, in which case we will attain martyrdom; you can exile us, in which case we

The episodes of the inversion of power between the Ottoman officials and the saints always end with the official's recognition of the mystic's spiritual superiority. The same class of officials became the patrons of the Takiyya after its transformation into a conventional sufi brotherhood.

As I have shown elsewhere, the image of the mystic in the sources evolved to present a progressively more conventional saint who upheld Islamic norms and laws.⁶³ The shift in the image of the saint was paralleled by the transformation of the community's wilderness retreat. The shift was so thorough that by the early 1600s, the Shāfi'ī Muftī of Aleppo could opine, "[Any] supplication at the tomb of Shaykh Abū Bakr will be answered."⁶⁴ This statement marks the final co-optation of the memory of the saint and of the community of deviant dervishes into canonical Sufism, accompanied by the transformation of their wilderness retreat into a wealthy dervish lodge which in turn stimulated the growth of a neighborhood. Normative Islam appropriated deviant piety as the city absorbed the wilderness.

This appropriation occurred in the context of the movement in Ottoman society to neutralize, eliminate, or incorporate antinomian religious groups in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁵ Remnants of deviant dervishes were absorbed by conventional Sufi orders especially the Bektashiyya. A sense of the transformation of the community of dervishes is conveyed by the biography of the saint's *khalīfa* (successor) Aḥmad al-Qārī, which centers on a narrative of change.⁶⁶ After the saint's death Aḥmad led the dervishes in their antinomian lifestyle, shaving his beard, wearing rags, sleeping on sheepskins,

will wander, or you can imprison us, in which case we will practice mystical discipline. Can you do anything more to us?" The pasha, disarmed by the mystic's fearlessness, asked for his blessing. This incident is datable between 1598 and 1605 on the basis of the dates of Naṣūḥ's (d. 1614 or 1615) tenure as governor. Mustafa Na'īmā, *Tārīḥ-i Na'īmā* (Istanbul, 1864), vol. 2, 122–30; al-'Urḍī, 59, n. 15; Tabbākh 2, III, 178; Barkey, *Bandits*, 218.

⁶³ See my "Deviant Dervishes."

⁶⁴ Stated by 'Umar al-'Urḍī (d. 1615), al-'Urḍī, 35.

⁶⁵ Ahmet Karamustafa described the unification and institutionalization of the mystical anarchic movements, especially the Bektashiyya, in, "Kalenders, Abdals, Hayderis: The Formation of the Bektasiye in the Sixteenth Century," in Halil Inalcik and Cemal Kafadar, eds., *Süleyman the Second and his Time* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993): 121–129.

⁶⁶ Preserved biographies of al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Qārī: 'Urḍī, 110–113; a eulogy by the Aleppine poet Sayyid Aḥmad al-Naqīb (d. 1646), in Tabbākh, vol. 6, 223; Muḥammad Amin al-Muḥibbī (1651–1699), *Khulāṣat al-athar fī 'āyān al-qam al-ḥādī 'ashar* (Cairo, 1868–1874), vol. 1, 259; Ḥusaynī, in Tabbākh, vol. 6, 110–129; Shaykh Wafā', *Awliyā' Ḥalab*, and Tabbākh 2, VI, 221–223.

eating hashish and quicklime, drinking wine and ‘araq. Then, seemingly abruptly, the dervishes gathered around: “‘our wish is to have a sheikh who can establish an order (*niḡām*) among us.’ So they appointed [al-Qārī].”⁶⁷ The biography then intercalates episodes in the construction of the dervish lodge through the patronage of Ottomans with instances of adoption of lawful behavior by al-Qārī. For example, after Ismā‘īl Agha, the leader of the military garrison at the citadel, sponsored the water supply to the dervishes’ area, al-Qārī’s men began to observe the five daily prayers.⁶⁸ The endowments of the lodge soon grew, as in addition to the Pashas, Aleppines of various income levels gave awqāf of varying values to the fuqarā’. The biography catalogued how the dervish community entered the structures of “order”: al-Qārī bought orchards and houses as rental properties and established a religious endowment, effectively becoming the administrator of a Sufi lodge. Thus the causal link between obedience to the law and patronage of the lodge is absolutely unmistakable.

The acceptance of literacy and bureaucracy followed. Al-Qārī set up an endowed library,⁶⁹ and penned a biography of his master.⁷⁰ In contrast to his shaykh, al-Qārī was not an Aleppine, he was literate and fairly well-traveled within the Ottoman domains; more importantly, he spoke both Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, which equipped him to negotiate with the Ottoman ruling group. The succession struggle following his death in 1632 reveals how deeply the formerly anarchic community had become implicated in centralized Ottoman bureaucracy. Two dervishes produced documents in al-Qārī’s hand appointing each as his successor. The matter was resolved only with the arrival of a decree from the sultan.⁷¹

Between the death of Shaykh Abū Bakr in 1583, and al-Qārī’s death in 1632, the main structures of the Takiyya had already taken shape. The lodge soon became one of the most important brother-

⁶⁷ al-‘Urḍī, 110–111.

⁶⁸ However, al-Qārī continued to shave until his death: “this is how we saw our teacher [Abū Bakr] . . . we will not take the path of the beard.” al-‘Urḍī, 111.

⁶⁹ al-‘Urḍī, 112. Few of these volumes had remained by the early twentieth century, Tabbākh 2, VI, 128.

⁷⁰ Tabbākh 2, VI, 111. This biography, written in Ottoman Turkish, is lost. Information from it is reproduced in Husaynī, but not quoted, making it impossible to get a sense of the original text.

⁷¹ al-‘Urḍī, 112, Tabbākh, vol. 6, 322–324.

hoods in the city.⁷² The Ottomans in Aleppo had a privileged relationship to this lodge. An anecdote, not attested in the chronicles but preserved in the oral culture of the lodge's neighborhood, may explain the attraction a walī such as Shaykh Abū Bakr could exercise for Ottoman officials.⁷³ When the Ağa of the citadel found a treasure in the guise of a jug filled with gold coins, Shaykh Abū Bakr appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to bring water to his Takiyya. The Ağa obeyed the dream, using funds from the treasure. Malicious people denounced the Ağa to the Ottoman Sultan, since the former had not secured the proper permissions for the waterworks. Shaykh Abū Bakr appeared to the sultan in a dream and commanded him to forgive the Ağa, and to elevate him. This anecdote presents Shaykh Abū Bakr as a protector of Ottoman officials, one who furthers their careers, a patron saint of bureaucrats, as it were. This was far from the earlier image of the anti-omian saint who insulted and enraged Ottoman Pashas.

Patrons and Building Process

A building chronology of the lodge and its patrons can be derived from piecing together the hagiographies with epigraphic and archival records. Whatever the authenticity of the anecdote of the jar of treasure, evidence indicates that a certain Ismâ'il Ağa of the Citadel of Aleppo brought water to the promontory and built a *qaṣṭal* (public fountain) early in the development of the complex, probably in 1596.⁷⁴ One of the four large domes of the complex, and the large courtyard was built by the beğlerbeği Ḥasan Pasha b. 'Alī Pasha al-Rand

⁷² On the Wafā'iyya order, see Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 270. The Wafā'iyya in Aleppo is not to be confused with the order of the same name, a derivative of the Shādhilī order, popular in Egypt and the Bilād al-Shām, which originated with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Wafā' (701/1301–760/1359). For the latter group, see Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 49–50.

⁷³ Khayr al-Dīn al-Asadī collected this oral tradition from the neighborhood's inhabitants, al-Asadī, *Ahyā' Ḥalab*, 257. The motif of the jar appears in al-'Urḍī's hagiography only, but in another context, see my "Deviant Dervishes."

⁷⁴ al-'Urḍī, 35. The date is given in Tabbākh 2, VI, 127. The undated Ottoman inscription on the qaṣṭal is quoted in Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 379. The qaṣṭal has been renovated and the inscription seems to be no longer in situ. For a plan showing the pre-modern water distribution system in Aleppo, including the area surrounding the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, see Mazloum, *Ancienne canalisation*, unpaginated foldout map entitled "Plan du canal d'adduction".

(Levend?), in 1601.⁷⁵ That the son of the man who had set a starving lion loose to attack the saint would later patronize the dervish lodge built around the tomb of that saint reflects the scope of the site's transformation from an anarchic outpost to a focus of Ottoman patronage. The handsome qā'a, a domed structure preceded by a portico, was begun by Ḥamza, a lower-ranking official⁷⁶ and completed by Aḥmed Pasha Ekmekjî Zâde ("son of the Baker") (d. 1611), a former governor of the province.⁷⁷ 'Alî Ağa, the Ağa of the janisaries, also contributed to the takiyya.⁷⁸

In 1029/1619–1620, the beğlerbeği of Aleppo, former Grand Vizier Öküz Mehmed Pasha (1557?–1620) rebuilt the saint's mausoleum and constructed a tomb for himself nearby.⁷⁹ Öküz Mehmed Pasha had served as Grand Vizier twice and was a *dâmâd* (royal son-in-law), however having fallen from favor he was appointed governor of Aleppo, where he died.⁸⁰ He was associated with the Mawlawiyya order, for which he built a zāwiya in Cairo.⁸¹ In Aleppo, however,

⁷⁵ Al-ʿUrḍī, 111, and Tabbākh 2, VI, 221, indicate that he built the great qubba with large columns, without specifying which. The date of Ḥasan Pasha's tenure in Aleppo is derived from Tabbākh 2, III, 180; and *Sālnāme* 1903, 81. Ḥasan Pasha's father 'Alī Pasha was a patron of the Takiyya Mawlawiyya, see above.

⁷⁶ Ḥamza was a lower-ranking Ottoman official. His name is given as Ḥamza Buluk bāshī in al-ʿUrḍī, 111, and as Ḥamza al-Kurḍī al-Dimashqī in Tabbākh 2, VI, 221.

⁷⁷ Al-ʿUrḍī, 195; Tabbākh 2, VI, 222. Biographical entry of "Aḥmad Bāshā b. al-Akmaḳjī al-wazīr," al-ʿUrḍī, 114–116, see also al-ʿUrḍī, ed. Altunji, 199. Al-ʿUrḍī tells us Aḥmed Pasha was governor of Aleppo; Ghazzī 2, III, 218, gives 1616 for his governorate, however he is mentioned neither in the *Sālnāme* nor Tabbākh.

⁷⁸ Al-ʿUrḍī, 195; Tabbākh 2, VI, 222. What he built is not mentioned.

⁷⁹ Kātīb Çelebi, *Fedhileke*, I, 402, indicates that Öküz Mehmed Pasha was buried in the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. Al-ʿUrḍī, 111, does not give a construction date. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 378–379, incorrectly identifies Öküz Mehmed Pasha as the patron of the entire complex, without citing a date. Description of the structure: Tabbākh 2, VI, 222. The tomb of Mehmed Pasha was partly destroyed following an explosion in the neighborhood in the early 1980's during "the troubles;" the circumstances of the destruction were recounted to me by the family whose home is closest to the tomb of "Muḥammad Bāshā." Several nineteenth-century tombstones still stand beneath the ruined dome of the tomb of Öküz.

⁸⁰ Öküz Mehmed Pasha (also known as Dāmād, Kara (1557?–1620) was Grand Vizier from 1614 until 1616 under Aḥmed I, and again for a few months in 1619, under 'Osmān II: *ET*², s.v. "Mehmed Pasha, Öküz," by A. H. De Groot; *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Mehmet Paşa Damad" by M. C. Ş. Tekindağ. An incorrect death date of 1002/1593 for Öküz Mehmed Pasha is given in Tabbākh 2, VI, 127. Elsewhere, Tabbākh 2, III, 177, indicates that Öküz Mehmed Pasha died while he was governor of Aleppo in 1593, confusing him with another Mehmed Pasha. The information provided in the *Sālnāme* is inaccurate in this matter. "Öküz" means "ox," referring probably to the Pasha's physical strength.

⁸¹ *ET*², s.v. "Mehmed Pasha, Öküz," by A. H. De Groot, discusses his patronage but seems unaware of his endowments in Aleppo, though he mentions the türbe

he chose not to support the existing Mawlawī lodge. His interest in the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr was longstanding; a decade earlier, in 1610, he endowed a medium-size waqf in Aleppo centering on a masjid in the Kallāsa quarter, with provisions to benefit the dervishes of the lodge of Abū Bakr.⁸²

Two undated inscriptions in Ottoman Turkish commemorate Öküz Mehmed Pasha's and Ismâ'il Ağa's interventions in the complex. Assuming the inscriptions are contemporary with the buildings they commemorate, they are the earliest in Aleppo written in the Ottoman language.⁸³ This list suggests that Ottoman officials of varying ranks were creating endowments of variable sizes for the lodge. By the time of al-Qārī's death in 1632, then, the takiyya had taken shape.⁸⁴ While subsequent renovations and additions were made to the complex, the central structures, built in this period, are the focus of our investigation.⁸⁵

Architecture and Urban Context

Distinct structural units, built and rebuilt at different times, constitute the ensemble of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, evincing a mixture

inside the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. Persons initiated into more than one sufi order are by no means unusual.

⁸² VGM, Waqfiyya of Öküz Mehmed Pasha, Aleppo, 1019/1610, defter 573, pp. 31–34. It is the earliest waqfiyya for Aleppo I have seen which is written in part in Ottoman (with the exception of the earlier waqfiyya of Şoğollı Mehmed Pasha, which was not centered exclusively on Aleppo). It puts up as waqf shops, two hammāms and a coffeehouse to benefit a masjid in the quarter of the “Kireççi” (i.e. al-Kallāsa, quarter of the limemakers/limestone). There is no actual or documentary trace of this mosque. Among the stipends for employees of the waqf, an amount is dedicated to the *fuqarā'* (dervishes) of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. The document reinforces the notion that by 1610, the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr had become an important concern for Ottoman officials in Aleppo.

⁸³ The inscription of Öküz Mehmed Pasha is published in Tabbākh 2, VI, 128. Following the destruction of the tomb in the early eighties, this inscription is no longer extant. In June 1999 I observed a fragment of an Ottoman inscription used in a makeshift wall around the perimeter of the destroyed tomb. The inscription of Ismâ'il Ağa is published in Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 379. Another inscription in this group of early Ottoman-language epigraphy in Aleppo is the anonymous Ottoman inscription dated 1592 at the Takiyya of Bābā Bayrām, already mentioned, quoted in Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 380. A later seventeenth-century Ottoman inscription in Aleppo is at the mosque of İpshir Pasha, discussed below.

⁸⁴ David, “Domaines,” 186, gives this date without explanation. Sauvaget did not date the structure, see “Inventaire,” op. cit., and *Alep*, 231–232, 235 n. 894.

⁸⁵ For the structures added to the complex in the eighteenth century, see: Tabbākh 2, VI, 128–129; for the subsequent history of the surrounding area, see Ghazzī 2, II, 353–356.

of Istanbul-inspired trends and the distinctive local decorative techniques (Pl. 22, 23 Fig. 9). They were originally surrounded by gardens and cypress trees. A low wall encloses the structures of the Takiyya in the manner of Ottoman külliyes, as in the Khusruwiyya. Entering the enclosure in the early seventeenth century,⁸⁶ one would have seen the waterwheel, half submerged in a deep pit, used to lift water into the Takiyya.⁸⁷

The monumental structures of the complex stand in a row facing a courtyard, oriented towards the qibla. Some of them are contiguous and communicate through doors, yet their façades signal them as distinct. The westernmost structure is the fountain built by Ismâ'il Ağa, which has been renovated. It is attached on its east side to a structure identified as a qā'a, a domed cube preceded by a portico (Fig. 9).⁸⁸ Two large columns of yellow marble and corner piers support the portico's three small domes. An indoor pool occupied the middle of the hall, which the nearby waterwheel provided with water. The dome featured a Koranic phrase (al-isrā' 84) repeated several times (this is no longer visible). Eight small oculi appear above the drum. Eight pointed arches support the dome. Four of the arches contain windows, and a continuous row of windows with graceful ogee arches pierces the dado. The features that suggest a qā'a include the presence of the pool,⁸⁹ and variations in the levels of the floor. Differences in floor levels, even when slight, reveal the uses of the space and the attitudes the body would adopt in this setting.⁹⁰ In

⁸⁶ The entrance gate bore the Arabic inscription, *Fa-'udkhlūhā bi-salām āminān* (roughly: Enter in Peace), according to Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 379. The inscription cannot be found today. Ghazzī 2, II, 353, reported that the minaret on the entrance door used to belong to the Madrasa Ramaḍāniyya and was taken to the Takiyya after the former was demolished. The minaret is still in situ; one assumes that prior to this transfer the Takiyya had no minaret.

⁸⁷ The pit's (*qabū*) depth was 20 *bāgh*, Tabbākh 2, VI, 127. The waterwheel was moved by a mule: D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, VI, 466. An early twentieth-century photograph from Aleppo shows a similar waterwheel: Mazloun, *Ancienne canalisation*, Pl. 7.

⁸⁸ Sauvaget identified this space as a reception hall, a "Salle d'audience des Pachas," *Alep*, 232, fig. 61: represents a longitudinal section of this structure, drawn by Kh. Moaz. A contemporary inscription has been placed above the door, naming al-Qārī as the builder.

⁸⁹ An indoor pool is usually a part of a qā'a. However, early Ottoman "T-plan" mosques also included a pool in their middle. They also included two large side-rooms used for sufi practices (as in the Khusruwiyya), which is not the case of the qā'a of the Takiyya.

⁹⁰ David, "Consulat de France," Jean-Charles Depaule, "Deux regards, deux traditions: l'espace domestique perçu par les auteurs anglais et français au Levant,"

this hall, the floor sections closest to the walls (where people would sit to lean on the wall) are slightly higher. One would expect different floor patterns in a mosque, for example. While these features are consistent with a domestic setting, the domed portico is not usually paired with a qā'a, but rather with Ottoman-style mosques. This hall appears to have been a multifunctional space that combined formal elements not usually found together: the room was used at different times of the day to conduct *dhikr*, as well as for receptions and audiences by the Pashas when the Takiyya served as residence and administrative center for the province's governor.

A hallway connects this structure to a room to the east that contains the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qārī on its northern end, surmounted by a small dome. The façade of this structure differentiates it from the adjacent buildings. Its roofline is higher than that of the portico but slightly lower than the structure to the east. A band of muqarnas runs along the cornice. An upper row of two plain rectangular windows surmounts a middle ogival window, which in turn surmounts two grilled windows at floor level.⁹¹

East of al-Qārī's tomb, a building that contains a small mosque and the tomb of Shaykh Abū Bakr juts out into the courtyard. The exterior decoration unifies its various components: the lower half of the wall is covered by horizontal stripes of polychrome masonry, surmounted by a joggled stringcourse. A portico featuring two columns and three arches takes up a part of the lower section of the façade. Three ogival windows echo the three arches at the upper level. The remainder of the façade is occupied by large windows at eye level, also defined by polychrome masonry. The easternmost half of the building, behind the large windows, features the complex's most imposing dome. The portico leads into a hallway, whence one proceeds south to an iwān that precedes the mosque. Alternatively, one can turn east, and ascend a few stairs to enter the domed mausoleum of Shaykh Abū Bakr, which along with the qā'a, is built with handsome sobriety (Pl. 24). The dome, 11 dirā' in width,⁹² surmounts the

In Daniel Panzac, ed. *Les villes dans l'empire ottoman: activités et sociétés*, Vol. 2 (Paris: CNRS, 1994): 189–228. The fact that this qā'a includes a small miḥrāb is not inconsistent with an Ottoman domestic context: many reception rooms feature niches.

⁹¹ Closets in this room contained the remainder of the brotherhood's manuscript library until the 1920's. Tabbākh 2, VI, 128. Today, this is still where the books of the institution are kept.

⁹² Tabbākh 2, VI, 125.

cenotaph of Shaykh Abū Bakr. Black and white marble mosaic ornaments the yellow marble mihrāb of this room. Marble lintels and carved stone lunettes surmount the windows which feature elaborate woodwork.⁹³ Horizontal rows of muqarnas form elegant pendentives.

Beyond the mosque-mausoleum to the East stands a garden-cemetery, strewn with mostly nineteenth-century tombs, and featuring the domed mausoleum of Öküz Mehmed Pasha (today half-ruined). Öküz Mehmed Pasha's Ottoman inscription, mentioned above, appeared on the door leading into this structure.⁹⁴ This remarkable cemetery for Ottoman officials is the only one of its kind in Aleppo; however it was not uncommon for officials to use a famous dervish lodge as burial ground, as for example at the central Mawlawī Lodge in Konya.⁹⁵

The architecture of the monumental components of the Takiyya is Ottoman in its correspondance between the divisions of the interior and the decoration of the façades, as well as the form of the qā'a and mausoleum. Thus it is distinct from the architecture of the Takiyya Mawlawiyya, so reminiscent of Mamlūk models. The Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr's format of various structures loosely arranged around a central courtyard also resembles Ottoman külliyes—though it shares this arrangement with the Mawlawiyya. While külliyes usually center on a mosque, in this case, the design does not showcase a central structure: the tomb of Shaykh Abū Bakr has the highest dome, but the qā'a has the most architectonically distinguished entrance.

Subsequent to the construction of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, the area became a small suburb as the employees of the waqf settled there.⁹⁶ Prized for its sweet air and the beauty of the gardens, the Middle Hill was considered a pleasant promenade away from the crowded city.⁹⁷ Seen from afar, on the Middle Hill, the

⁹³ Ibid. The aphorism inscribed above the door of this room is quoted in Tabbākh 2, VI, 127.

⁹⁴ Tabbākh 2, VI, 127–128. In the eighteenth century, an additional room was built to the north of this one, containing the tombs of later Ottoman officials; an arch from its roof still stands. The mausoleum of Öküz Mehmed Pasha was damaged during the early 1980's.

⁹⁵ İbrahim Hakki Konyalı, *Abide ve Kitabeleriyle Konya Tarihi* (Konya: Yeni Kitap Basımevi, 1964). I thank Suraiya Faroqhi for suggesting this comparison.

⁹⁶ Ghazzī 2, II, 353, classified this area as a neighborhood onto itself, the Ḥārat al-Shaykh Abī Bakr. It was a quarter inhabited by Muslims only.

⁹⁷ 'Urđī, 195. Tabbākh 2, VI, 128. D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, VI, 62–63, describes an excursion that included a visit to the Takiyya.

Lodge of Abū Bakr in the late seventeenth century appeared as a series of cascading domes (Pl. 22).⁹⁸

From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, the Ottoman governors of Aleppo used the lodge as an occasional residence, administrative center and burial ground.⁹⁹ While Ottoman officials were frequently interred in mosques they patronized in the provinces, they did not often choose to live in a sufi lodge. Ever since Aleppo's conquest, Ottoman governors had resided and held court at the Mamlūk Dār al-ʿAdl (House of Justice), also known as Sarāyat al-Ḥikm (Palace of Rule), west of the Citadel, which they occasionally renovated; additional administrative offices were located in adjacent structures.¹⁰⁰ While the Dār al-ʿAdl continued to be used as a seat of government, the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr emerged as an alternative location in the late sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ The retreat of Ottoman officialdom from the heart of the city to a defensible location at its edge coincided with the Jelālī revolts. At a time of instability, the lodge's isolated, elevated site allowed its surroundings to be easily surveyed. Indeed, "all of Aleppo lying at one's feet can be contemplated with relish,"¹⁰² noted Evliyā Çelebi, whose travelogue reflects the perceptions of the Ottoman elite. This statement echoes the Ottoman predilection for staging privileged viewpoints.¹⁰³ In 1671,

⁹⁸ Photographs taken by Khaled Moaz in the 1930's, clearly show that the complex from the south appeared as a series of domes rising above walls; see also a postcard by Wattar Frères entitled "couvent du Cheikh Abou Bakr" (undated, ca. 1930's, collection of the author).

⁹⁹ Barbié du Bocage's 1811 map indicates that the Takiyya was still used by the Pashas for the same purposes, "Carte générale des paschaliks," 224. This pattern was apparently interrupted during occupation of Aleppo in 1831–38 by Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Kavalalı Mezmecī 'Alī of Egypt.

¹⁰⁰ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 232, discusses the location of various Ottoman administrative offices in the city, without periodizing. There is no evidence for Pashas building individual residences before the construction of Dār Rajab Bāshā in the Baḥsita quarter in the early 18th century (Gaube and Wirth, Cat. No. 233; today only the façade of this structure stands). The Dār al-ʿAdl continued to be used as the seat of government until the occupation of Ibrāhīm Pasha.

¹⁰¹ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 232, attributed this to the fact that many Ottomans, fearing uprisings, retreated away from the city; Ghazzī 2, II, 353, and Asadī, *Ahyāʾ Ḥalab*, 256, cite vague fears of Janissaries as a reason for the move.

¹⁰² "Cümle Haleb ziri payde temaşa olunur," Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 378.

¹⁰³ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303–342; and Lucienne Thys-Senocak, "Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture," In D. Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 69–89.

when he wrote these words, those admitted in the enclosure of the Lodge could view an Aleppo transformed after almost 180 years of Ottoman rule. From this angle, the distinctive pencil-shaped minarets crowning the Ottoman mosques built in the sixteenth century appeared perfectly aligned. Evliya's statement, then, reveals an ideal of Ottoman urban order.

Evliya's utterance signals that the Lodge, from being an antinomian outpost for the staging of a world-upside-down, had become a privileged viewpoint through which the powerful could gaze upon a conquered city. In other words, the deviant dervishes' retreat had been thoroughly incorporated into an Ottoman visual grammar of power.

Takiyya Ikhlaṣiyya

Simultaneous to the construction of extramural complexes, Ottoman officials continued to support sufi lodges within the walled city. Two of the more important examples are the Takiyya Ikhlaṣiyya and the Takiyya of Aṣlān Dada. Neither of the intramural lodges has the magnitude of the suburban endowments.

The Grand Vizier Arnavuṭ Meḥmed Pasha, also known as Tabanī Yassı ("the flatfooted") (1589?–1639) built the Takiyya Ikhlaṣiyya in 1634,¹⁰⁴ to support a group of dervishes led by Shaykh Ikhlaṣ (d. 1663).¹⁰⁵ Shaykh Ikhlaṣ, who was appointed the first mutawallī of

¹⁰⁴ Tabanī Yassı wintered in Aleppo in 1043/1633–1634, when he evidently built this complex, before going on a campaign against the Safavids. He was Grand Vizier from 1632 to 1636: *EF*², s.v. "Meḥmed Pasha, Tabanī Yassı," by A. H. De Groot. Kunt, *Sultan's Servants*, 131–133. The biography provided in Gaube, *Inscripfen*, 178 is inaccurate (he confuses Tabanī Yassı with a sixteenth-century governor of Aleppo, also named Meḥmed Pasha). The Aleppine sources refer to him only as "al-Arnaūṭ." Ghazzī 2, II, 303 correctly notes that Tabanī Yassı never held the beḡlerbeḡilik of Aleppo. The Arabic inscription which gives the construction date and the patron's name, is quoted in: Gaube, *Inscripfen*, 56, No. 100; Ghazzī 2, II, 302–303; Tabbākh 2, VI, 317–318; Shaykh Wafā', *Awliyā' Ḥalab*, 26.

¹⁰⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassı Meḥmed Pasha, Aleppo, 1045/1635, defter 579, p. 275. One of the expressions used to honor the shaykh is "zubdat al-atqiyā," ("the butter of the God-fearing"). For a biography of Ikhlaṣ, see 'Urḡī, ed. Altunjī 263–266. Tabbākh 2, VI, 316–317, reproduces the text of al-'Urḡī. Shaykh Wafā', *Awliyā' Ḥalab*, 26–29, lists the shaykhs of this lodge. The use of the term "nazil" in the Aleppine sources suggests that Shaykh Ikhlaṣ was a stranger to Aleppo. The name of the shaykh appears in the waqfiyya as: "al-Shaykh Ikhlaṣ Dada b. al-marḥūm. . . al-Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn al-Ṣadiqī." For a biography of the successor of Shaykh Ikhlaṣ at the head of this lodge, Muḥammad Ghāzī al-Khalwatī (d. 1670), see Tabbākh 2, VI, 325–326.

the waqf, belonged to the Khalwatiyya (or Ḥalvetiye), an order associated with the Ottoman empire.¹⁰⁶ This, and the fact that he was a Ḥanafī,¹⁰⁷ must have attracted the Grand Vizier's patronage.¹⁰⁸ In addition, members of Ikhlāṣ's spiritual *silsila* (chain of transmission) were associated with Ottoman rule; Shāh Walī (d. 1604), the master of his master Qāyā Jalabī, was a soldier in the Ottoman military before dedicating himself to the Sufi path.¹⁰⁹ By 1635, the waqf of Arnavuṭ Meḥmed Pasha provided Ikhlāṣ and his dervishes with a complex in the Bayyāḍa neighborhood to the northeast of the walled city that included a mosque and a takiyya, domed and preceded by porticoes, centered on a courtyard along with a kitchen, a cistern (*ṣihriḡ*) furnished with water from the canal of Aleppo, and a sabīl.

¹⁰⁶ On the Khalwatiyya order (Ḥalvetiye in Ottoman), see EI², s.v. "Khalwatiyya," by F. de Jong, pp. 991–993; Hans-Joachim Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 103 (1953): 233–289; B. G. Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwatiyya Order of Dervishes," in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions Since 1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972): 275–305; Nathalie Clayer, "La Khalwatiyya," in *Les Voies d'Allah: Les Ordres Mystiques dans l'Islam des origines à aujourd'hui*, ed. Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, (Paris: Fayard, 1996). Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 74–78. Whether the Khalwatiyya had existed in Aleppo before Shaykh Ikhlāṣ is unclear. In the later part of the seventeenth century, this Takiyya became associated with the al-Bakhshiyya branch of the Khalwatiyya order, founded by a khalīfa of Shaykh Ikhlāṣ, Muḥammad al-Bakhshī al-Ḥalabī al-Baqfalūnī (d. 1686): See Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1882), *Tibyan wasā'il al-haqā'iq fi bayān salās al-tarā'iq*, Muḥaq Fāṭih, mss. 430–2, I, 108b, cited in De Jong, 992; see also Shaykh Wafā', *Awliya' Ḥalab*, 27. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 379–380, lists dervishes buried here. The takiyya has been associated with the Rifā'iyya order since at least the eighteenth century, Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 250–252 and 263–268.

¹⁰⁷ Shaykh Ikhlāṣ was a Ḥanafī and he followed Islamic law: al-'Urḡī, ed. Altūnjī, 266. The endowment deed states that the wāqif wished the Takiyya to be a place for ṣalāt, dhikr and khalwa, VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Meḥmed Pasha, 273. In the case of both the Ikhlāṣiyya and the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, official Ottoman patronage of sufism accompanied the sufis' obedience to the Law.

¹⁰⁸ Shaykh Ikhlāṣ's master was Shaykh Kāyā, who was the khalīfa of Shāh Walī. al-'Urḡī, ed. Altūnjī, 264, observes that in this particular branch of the Khalwatiyya, a master was succeeded by one who was not his own son, following the Prophet's own succession model. In other branches, the succession was based on kinship, in order to keep the "khayr" within the family. The waqfiyya seems to address this issue directly when it lists as a condition of the waqf that *ajānib* (lit. foreigners, in this case, persons not related by blood) be excluded from the inner circle, VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Meḥmed Pasha, 276. For a discussion of models of succession among sufi orders, see Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 173–175.

¹⁰⁹ For biography of Shāh Walī, see Tabbākh 2, VI, 175. On the succession of Shāh Walī, see Tabbākh, VI, 178–179, where it appears that Shāh Walī resided in the neighborhood of Bāb al-Nayrab, to the northeast of the walled city, close to the neighborhood of Bayyāḍa where the Lodge was located.

A house nearby was reserved for the use of the Shaykh-mutawallī.¹¹⁰ The waqfiyya prescribes that all the employees of these structures be dervishes, and provides generously for supplies for the mosque and takiyya and provisions for the kitchen. The waqfiyya grants Shaykh Ikhlaṣ and subsequent shaykhs full control over the running of the takiyya, the number of dervishes to be housed, and the criteria for admitting them.¹¹¹

The income for the waqf was generated by the Khān al-Ḥarīr in the Mdīneh and its dependencies including a qīsāriyya, stables, a water tank and shops.¹¹² The patron also endowed the income of shops in the Bayyāḍa quarter, and of three coffeehouses, one opposite the entrance of the Khān al-Ḥarīr, one in Bayyāḍa and one outside of Bāb Banqūsa, near Khān al-Ikinjī.¹¹³ All three coffeehouses were associated with commercial structures such as shops. The coffeehouses did not constitute the only association of the endowment with coffee. On the occasion of the brotherhood's *khalwa* (periodic retreat or seclusion) every winter, the followers of Shaykh Ikhlaṣ fasted for three days, eating only a sweet and a loaf of bread in the evening, and drank no water, but rather coffee. They spent their nights in *dhikr* and prayed in the morning.¹¹⁴ The communal consumption of coffee is closely associated with Sufi ritual, as in the case of the early community of Shaykh Abū Bakr.¹¹⁵ However, Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha served as Grand Vizier to Murād IV, who had outlawed coffee and banned coffeehouses in Istanbul in 1633, only the year before the Takiyya Ikhlaṣiyya was built.¹¹⁶ The pres-

¹¹⁰ VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha, 273.

¹¹¹ VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha, 275–276. The waqfiyya makes no provisions for the wāqif's family members. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 380, reported that there were 40 to 50 dervishes resident at the takiyya.

¹¹² The waqfiyya does not name the khān, which was clearly built prior to its acquisition by the wāqif, VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha, 274. It can be identified with the Khān al-Ḥarīr (usually dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, see Chpt. 3), because its location and description match those given in the waqfiyya, and also because a document in the Sharī'a Court records of Aleppo for the later seventeenth century indicates that the income from Khān al-Ḥarīr was used to support a sufi lodge: Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 124.

¹¹³ VGM, Waqfiyya of Tabanī Yassī Mehmed Pasha, 274. On the late fifteenth-century Khān al-Ikinjī, see Chp. 2.

¹¹⁴ Al-'Urḍī, ed. Altūnjī. As its name indicates, the *khalwa* was the hallmark of the Khalwatiyya order.

¹¹⁵ Taking of coffee in conjunction with *dhikr*: Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 74. The value of coffee for sufis is discussed in *Safivat al-safwa fī bayān ḥukm al-qahwa*, by 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-'Aidārūs, cited in *EI*², s.v. "Qahwa," by C. van Arendonk.

¹¹⁶ On outlawing coffee and closing coffeehouses in Istanbul, see: Ayşe Saraçgil,

ence of coffee as a commodity and as an aspect of religious life in this waqf of a Grand Vizier at a time when coffee was banned, suggests that edicts promulgated at the center of the empire, even when supported by fatwas from the Şeyhülislâm, were selectively enforced in the provinces.

Tabanî Yassî Mehmed Pasha located this takiyya in the Bayyâda quarter inside the walls at the northeastern corner of the city, where it remained the sole Ottoman-period monument,¹¹⁷ across the street from a late Mamlūk structure, the Jāmi‘ al-Sarawī.¹¹⁸ The choice of location may be due to the fact that the Khalwatī order was localized here,¹¹⁹ or perhaps because available land had become scarce elsewhere in the city. Nonetheless, Tabanî Yassî succeeded in buying properties in central areas of the city, such as the Khān al-Ḥarīr and its dependencies. It is possible that Shaykh Ikhlās had a particular association with the Bayyāda quarter or had a constituency, prompting the patron to establish the Takiyya there. It is more likely, however, that by this time functions had emerged for different parts of the city. The dominant use of the central district was economic, therefore Tabanî Yassî maintained a profitable commercial structure in that area while he chose a different section of the city for his religious structure. In addition, locating the sufi lodge in a densely populated neighborhood, rather than away from the urban core like the two Takiyyas discussed earlier, seems more consistent with the notion of the sufi lodge as an urban phenomenon.

Takiyya of Aşlān Dada

The Takiyya of Aşlān Dada forms an architectural unit whose elements appear to date mostly from various interventions in the seventeenth

“L’introduction du café à Istanbul (XVI^e–XVII^e s.),” in *Cafés d’Orient revisités*, ed. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1997), 25–38; Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 102; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, I, 198; Marcus, *Aleppo*, 231–232. Mehmed Pasha served as Grand Vizier to Murād IV 1632–1636/37: see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, I, 197, 341, and De Groot.

¹¹⁷ For a description of the quarter: Ghazzī 2, II, 301–304.

¹¹⁸ Also spelled Jāmi‘ al-Şarawī. Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 1, Plate 129c, vol. 2, Cat. no. 23/4 and 47/96; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XLVI; Gaube, *Inchriften*, 49–51, nos. 87–90.

¹¹⁹ Shāh Walī was associated with the neighboring quarter of Bāb al-Nayrab. Tabbākh, VI, 178–179.

century (Fig. 10).¹²⁰ Originally built in 1115, substantially renovated in the late fourteenth century, and known as Khānqāh al-Ballāṭ, it was the earliest dervish lodge in Aleppo. It became known after Aṣlān Dada al-majdhūb (1538?–1638) who was buried there.¹²¹ Aṣlān Dada was a *nāʾib* (representative) for judges in Aleppo, which localizes him in the Mdīneh, near the central courts. According to the Aleppine biographer Abū al-Wafāʾ al-ʿUrḍī (1585–1660), Aṣlān was overcome by *jadhba* (rapture) in a coffeehouse in the city center, where he became a recluse for the rest of his life. The Coffeehouse became known as that of Aṣlān Dada, and attracted other mystics, including Shaykh Abū Bakr, who came to listen to music along with his dervishes.¹²² The coffeehouse stands today, much renovated, to the west of the Takiyya, and is a separate structure.¹²³ Built on the ruins of the medieval Madrasa al-Jardakiyya, the Coffeehouse could hold up to 2,000 persons according to Evliyā.¹²⁴ Aṣlān Dada spoke only Turkish, no Arabic.¹²⁵ During his lifetime, using the gifts of cash the saint received from visitors, his khalīfā ʿAlī, bought shops and houses for an endowment. The most substantial gift came from an illustrious visitor, the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Pasha, known as Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1631), who gave 1,000 gold dinars to the saint.¹²⁶ In his lifetime, the saint attracted the patronage of many, wealthy and humble; however, no single patron controlled the design of the takiyya. Ottoman

¹²⁰ David, *Suwayqat ʿAlī*, 113–126, provides a thorough analysis of the building structure. Gaube and Wirth, Cat. No. 142; Ghazzī 2, II, 147; Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung*, 201, No. 94.

¹²¹ For biographical entries of Aṣlān Dada, see: al-ʿUrḍī, 159–162; Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (1651–1699), *Khulāṣat al-aṭhar fī ʿayān al-qam al-ḥādī ʿasha* (Cairo: al-Matbaʿa al-Wahbiyya, 1868–1874), vol. 1, 419. Tabbākh 2, VI, 234–237; Shaykh Wafāʾ, *Awliyāʾ Ḥalab*, 73, verse 503.

¹²² al-ʿUrḍī, 47. Since Abū Bakr died in 1583, this dates the Coffeehouse to the sixteenth century.

¹²³ On the coffeehouse see David, *Suwayqat ʿAlī*, 108–111, who characterizes its architecture as resembling that of the seventeenth century, despite the fact that Ghazzī, the historian he relied on, only presented a nineteenth-century date for the coffeehouse. However, the seventeenth-century written sources such as al-ʿUrḍī, by mentioning the coffeehouse of Aṣlān Dada by name in the context of events in the late sixteenth century, suggest that the coffeehouse may be even earlier.

¹²⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 377, on the “Arslan Dede kahvesi.”

¹²⁵ al-ʿUrḍī, 160.

¹²⁶ On the gift, see al-ʿUrḍī, 162. On Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha see his biography in al-ʿUrḍī, 77–84, 158; also Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 148, and 245. He served as Grand Vizier under Sultan Murād IV, and spent time in Aleppo after a military campaign in Baghdad.

language-inscriptions at the Takiyya provide dates for the building of the structure's parts (1662–1672), but no sense of patronage.¹²⁷

In its form, the Takiyya strongly echoes buildings such as the Khān al-Wazīr (see Chapter 5), the waqf of Īpshīr Pasha, and many mansions of the period; Jean-Claude David discerned in them a recognizable seventeenth-century Aleppine architectural style.¹²⁸ The Takiyya consists of a single architectural ensemble centered on an interior courtyard where the units date from various periods, including possibly the 12th century. It has a modest presence on the street, lacking the elaborate façade of the Khān al-Wazīr, which it faces to the east across a narrow thoroughfare onto which its principal door opens. The domed hall to the north resembles the qā'a of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, and possibly was used for *dhikr*. A domed prayer hall to the south features a mihrāb and a wooden *hünkār mahfili* (balcony reserved for the ruler in Ottoman mosques) above the door. It communicates with a smaller domed room to the east, a mausoleum that contains three unmarked cenotaphs, of which one presumably belongs to Aṣlān Dada. All of the domes are constructed with great care and attention to architectonic detail. The ensemble recalls the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr with its focus on the interior, however unlike that structure, it does not seem to be designed to be visible from the exterior.

The takiyya of Aṣlān Dada, located in the heart of the Mdīneh, is one of the rare major architectural interventions related to Ottoman officials in this area of the city during the seventeenth century. While new constructions in the Mdīneh focused on commercial functions, the Takiyya of Aṣlān Dada provides an example of a remaking of a previous structure with the same function, that of dervish lodge. Along with the Coffeehouse by the same name, the Takiyya of Aṣlān Dada suggests that even in the middle of this most commercial area, spaces dedicated to mysticism and socialization were intercalated, as they formed an integral part of the urban practice of an Ottoman Islamic city.

Only one Ottoman monument deviates from the pattern of patronage of the seventeenth century. Sponsored by Sha'bān Agha b. Aḥmad

¹²⁷ The dates include 1072/1662–1663, 1082/1671–1672, David, *Suwayqat 'Alī*, 126.

¹²⁸ David, *Suwayqat 'Alī*, 120, 126; David, "Domaines," 186. David noted that contrary to most Ottoman-period domes in Aleppo, whose material is brick, the dome of this Takiyya is in stone, a feature it shares only with the dome of the coffeehouse of Īpshīr Pasha: David, *Waqf d'Īpshīr Pāšā*, 38, n. 3.

Agha, the imperial tax collector in Aleppo, the Madrasa Shaʿbāniyya, built in 1677 near the Khān Qurtbak (see Chapter 3) in the Suwayqat ʿAlī quarter, is one the few Ottoman madrasas in Aleppo.¹²⁹ Unlike the Khusruwiyya Madrasa in the sixteenth century, and the eighteenth-century Madrasa ʿUthmāniyya (1730–8) and Madrasa Aḥmadiyya (1759), all of which followed central Ottoman models in their design, the Shaʿbāniyya adheres to Mamluk-derived forms in its decoration, and recalls in particular, the nearby Khān Qurtbak.¹³⁰ In its spatial arrangements, however, the Shaʿbāniyya adopts the Ottoman model of freestanding buildings distributed around a large courtyard. They include an elongated prayer hall with a central dome, a garden-cemetery, and wings equipped with cells for students. Another sign of its central Ottoman orientation was its sponsorship of the teaching of Ḥanafī law, in a society where Shāfiʿī law predominated.¹³¹

The four Takiyyas discussed above represent a trend in seventeenth-century Ottoman official patronage in Aleppo that emphasized sufi lodges rather than complexes centered around a congregational mosque in the economic district, as had been common in the sixteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 3, in the late sixteenth century Ottoman officials built smaller and smaller endowments in the Mdīneh area. This fragmentation of patronage became accentuated in the seventeenth century, where many small endowments supported a sufi complex collectively, rather than a single large endowment supporting a major külliye. Likewise, single endowments supporting a lodge tended to be medium-sized. This atomization resulted from the vicissitudes occasioned by the Jelâli Revolts, as well as the downturn of the long-distance trade. On the other hand, as Raymond has pointed out, since real estate had become scarce in the central commercial district, patrons may have had little choice but to build elsewhere in the city and its vicinity. Another trend in the seventeenth century was the pioneering role of dervish lodges in the creation of suburban neighborhoods. In effect, while viewed as a period of decline, the seventeenth-century in Aleppo was in fact a period of

¹²⁹ Ghazzī 2, II, 116–117; Gaulmier, 29–30; Gaube and Wirth 139, 375; Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 107; Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, pl. XLV.

¹³⁰ The eighteenth-century madrasas are discussed in Chapter 5. Part of the madrasa was destroyed to make way for a modern road. David, *Suwayqat ʿAlī*, 128. Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, 210.

¹³¹ VGM, Waqfiyya of Shaʿbān Agha b. Aḥmad, Aleppo, 1132/1719, defter 611, p. 1719.

urban growth and dynamism in spite of vicissitudes of war. The next endowment also demonstrates the will to encourage economic activity in a peripheral neighborhood.

The Waqf of İpshîr Pasha

The Waqf of İpshîr Pasha is the only charitable endowment in the second century of Ottoman rule comparable in magnitude to the Great Waqfs of the sixteenth century. While it is located in the northern suburb of al-Judayda rather than the Mdîneh, it is dedicated to the support of trade and industry like the great waqfs. The endowment comprised elements outside the city which lent it an empire-wide significance, akin to the endowment of Şoğollı Mehmed Pasha on a smaller scale (Chapter 3).

In 1654, İpshîr Muştafâ Pasha consolidated structures he had built throughout the empire in an endowment dedicated to the support of the hajj, including salaried positions at the Two Noble Sanctuaries. In the following discussion, I analyze the endowment as a whole. I build on the structural and architectural analysis of Jean-Claude David's 1982 study of the complex İpshîr Pasha built in Aleppo as a part of the larger waqf, I examine his major conclusions and supplement them with archival information.¹³²

The patron, İpshîr Muştafâ Pasha b. 'Abd ül-Mennân (d. 1655), aided by his influential uncle, Âbâza Mehmed Pasha, rose through the ranks of the Ottoman hierarchy.¹³³ Taking advantage of the political instability and centrifugal forces in the empire, İpshîr Pasha

¹³² David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*. See also Raymond, "Grands Waqfs," 117–120; Gaube and Wirth, Cat. Nos. 447–452. Sauvaget listed the coffeehouse of the waqf in his inventory, which he identified as a police station (Karakol), reflecting the use of the structure in the 1930's: "Inventaire," 112, No. 116; idem, *Alep*, 234, n. 886.

¹³³ The sobriquets of both individuals are thought to reflect their Abkhazian origin. The major source of İpshîr Pasha's biography is Muştafâ Na'imâ, *Târîh*, 6:4–99. Evliyâ mentions İpshîr Pasha in the first volume of his *Seyâhatnâme*: see *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth century by Evliya Efendi*, trans. Joseph von Hammer (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1834), 146–148. *ET*², s.v. "İpshîr Muştafâ Pasha", by Münir Aktepe; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, I, 206; Gaube, *Inschriften*, 174; David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 63–64. For the Aleppine sources: al-Muhibbî, *Khulâsat al-athar* (n.p.: Khayyât, n.d.), 4:396; Ghazzî 2, III, 222–223; Tabbâkh 2, III, 212–214 (the date given for İpshîr Pasha's tenure in Aleppo is slightly earlier in the last two sources). None of the central Ottoman sources seem aware of İpshîr Pasha's complex in Aleppo.

created alliances with rebels (Jelâlis) in Anatolia. At the time of his appointment as beğlerbeği of Aleppo in 1652, he emerged as the leading figure among the rebel factions, and may have used Aleppo as a basis for his political ambitions.¹³⁴ However, in the Western Asia of the seventeenth century, dominated by the Ottoman and the Safavid empires, small breakaway states were not viable. Ottoman rule was able to prevail despite considerable internal opposition and rebellion.¹³⁵ While still in Aleppo, İpshîr Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier and granted the hand of the princess ‘Âyshe, daughter of Sultan İbrâhîm. This final honor was the instrument of his destruction; he was executed shortly after his arrival at the capital.¹³⁶ His building complex in Aleppo had been built by 1063/1653,¹³⁷ and endowed in 1064/1654, a decade before his death.¹³⁸

İpshîr Pasha’s waqf comprised a complex in Aleppo as well as structures in three other locations: Khân Tûmân (25 kilometers southwest of Aleppo), the city of Tokat in the province of Rûmeli, and a village near Tokat. The structures in and near Tokat were all income-generating: two urban caravanserais and mills in the countryside.¹³⁹

Khân Tûmân

Khân Tûmân had been a node in the network of caravan routes converging on Aleppo since at least 1189, when an Ayyubid official built a first caravanserai there.¹⁴⁰ Abutting its entrance, a second car-

¹³⁴ Jean-Pierre Thieck, “Décentralisation ottomane et affirmation urbaine à Alep à la fin du XVIII^e siècle,” In Guy Leonard, ed., *Mouvements communautaires et espaces urbains au Machreq* (Beirut: Centre d’Etudes et de Recherche sur le Moyen-Orient Contemporain, 1985), 117.

¹³⁵ Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 182. Barkey, *Bandits*.

¹³⁶ Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 147.

¹³⁷ The construction date is given by inscription. The four inscriptions at the complex have been published by David, *Waqf d’İpshîr Pâşâ*, some of the inscriptions are in Gaube, *Inschriften*. See below.

¹³⁸ VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Muştafâ Pasha, Aleppo, 15 shawwâl 1064/ 29 August 1654, Defter 582, pp. 258–261 (copy of the original, made in 1270/1853). This waqfiyya is in Ottoman. Ghazzî 2, II, 401–404 published an Arabic summary of the document, which was used by Raymond, David, and Gaube & Wirth. This summary is also published in David, *Waqf d’İpshîr Pâşâ*, 95–97, and partially translated into French. Gaube and Wirth, 133–134, analyzed the waqf on the basis of Ghazzî’s summary. Tabbâkh 2, III, 212–214; Talas, 200–201.

¹³⁹ VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 256.

¹⁴⁰ Jean Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Age [Part 1],” *Ars Islamica* VI (1939): 52–53, figs. 5 (groundplan) and 20; K. A. C. Creswell, “Two Khâns at

avanseraï was built under the Mamlūk Sultan Qā'itbay in 1478.¹⁴¹ A now-lost 1652 inscription recorded Īpshîr Pasha's intervention.¹⁴² Sauvaget described Īpshîr Pasha's modifications as minor after surveying the remains of the later caravanseraï in 1930.¹⁴³ Today the older caravanseraï, used to house cows, is dilapidated. Only a corner of the Ottoman caravanseraï remains; the rest was destroyed in the 1970's to make way for the Aleppo-Lattakia railroad that traverses the village. There is no trace of the fountain or the inscriptions, on the ground or in the living memory of today's inhabitants of Khān Tūmān.

Yet the waqfiyya details extensive repairs. Īpshîr Pasha constructed waterworks to bring water to the khān from a site 1,300 cubits (*dhirā'*) away for at least one new fountain.¹⁴⁴ He also built what the waqfiyya terms a "qaṣr-i behesht" ("Heavenly palace"—probably in the sense of a construction open to the sky) above the entrance of the later khān, consisting of two rooms flanking an iwān, visible in Creswell's photographs, which Sauvaget attributed to Qā'itbay.¹⁴⁵ Īpshîr Pasha also built 17 rooms and a stable whose income supported the fountain. Above the entrance of the older caravanseraï (which the waqfiyya calls a *kal'e*, or fortress) the patron built a similar two-room-and-iwān structure, in addition to a "selāmlık," which have not survived. He

Khān Tūmān," *Syria* 4 (1923), 134 and 139. For a contemporary survey of the village of Khān Tūmān, see Muṣṭafā Ṭalās, et al., eds., *Al-Muṣjam al-Jughrāfi li'l-Qaṭar al-'Arabī al-Sūrī* (Damascus: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-'Askariyya, 1990–1993), vol. 3, 208.

¹⁴¹ Sauvaget suggested this on the basis of epigraphic and stylistic evidence, in "Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Age [Part 2]," *Ars Islamica* VII (1940), 14–15, fig. 26; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 2, 414. Sauvaget's essays relied on a survey of caravanserais in northern Syria he conducted on 21–25 September 1930 with M. Le Cœur. See his report, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères—Nantes, Fonds Beyrouth, deuxième versement, Instruction Publique, Carton 128 (Bis): Letter from Sauvaget to the Délégué du Haut-Commissaire in Damascus, 3 October 1930.

¹⁴² The inscription was near the fountain. Its date, but not its content, was recorded by Max van Berchem in 1895; Berchem, and Edmond Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1914), 206–207.

¹⁴³ As he was relying on Ghazzī's summarized waqfiyya, which is cursory about Īpshîr Pasha's intervention at Khān Tūmān, Sauvaget may have underestimated its extent. Possibly, too, as Sauvaget's survey took place 35 years after van Berchem's, Īpshîr Pasha's layer might not have survived.

¹⁴⁴ The waqfiyya mentions a sabīl three times, but it is unclear whether it refers to one structure or two. Van Berchem, Creswell and Sauvaget found evidence of only one fountain. VGM, Waqfiyya of Īpshîr Pasha, 258.

¹⁴⁵ The photograph is reproduced in Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Age," (1940), fig. 26.

rebuilt the ruined mosque of the khān, endowing it with two iwāns, a marble dome and a minaret; no trace of this mosque exists. Also on the second floor of the older structure, the patron built a coffeehouse and two shops, whose income supported the fountain, and provisioned the mosque with mats and oil for lamps.

The waqfiyya reveals that Īpshîr Pasha's intervention at Khān Ṭūmān was extensive. Īpshîr Pasha's interest in supporting a rural caravanserai is reminiscent of Şoḡollı Meḥmed Pasha's patronage of the complex at Payas in 1574 (Chapter 3). Securing the routes for traders and pilgrims remained a primary concern for Ottoman patrons, even for one who challenged to the central authority in Istanbul. The waqfiyya eloquently describes the misfortune of pilgrims forced to put up with the dilapidated Khān Ṭūmān in the winter and summer, and speaks of the wāqif's desire to provide them with an adequate *manzil* (stopping point), and to cause water to flow abundantly, to quench the fire of their thirst ("âtesh-i 'aṭsh").¹⁴⁶ The hyperbole of the document should not detract from the importance of the need expressed, and its social meaning. Indeed, ensuring the safety of the routes for travelers and pilgrims was one of the first duties of a ruler, or a ruling group, and one of the bases of their legitimation.

The Complex in Judayda

The structures built in the northern suburb of Aleppo (known as *al-ḥāra al-shimālīyya*, "the northern quarter," or *al-judayda* "the little new [quarter]") constituted the largest unit of the waqf. The northwestern suburban neighborhoods had received no public buildings in the Ottoman period except the bath of Behrām Pasha of 1583 (Chapter 3). This section of the city had housed almost all the Christian communal structures since at least the 12th century, when the Byzantine-era churches in the central part of the city were converted into mosques.¹⁴⁷ The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw largescale resettlement and

¹⁴⁶ VGM, Waqfiyya of Īpshîr Pasha, 258.

¹⁴⁷ One of these former Byzantine churches was the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya, a 5th century structure converted into a mosque in 1149, discussed in Chapter 5. The only exceptions were the religious spaces of foreign missionaries, housed in the Mdīneh, such as the church of the Franciscans at Khān al-Shaybānī, since at least 1560, Sauvaget, *Alep*, 207 n. 774. Mid-sixteenth century court records confirm the predominantly Christian population of this quarter: Damascus, Markaz al-Wathā'iq, Maḥkama of Aleppo, register 5, years 957/1550–972/1565, in Raymond, "Grands Waqfs," 117, n. 1. David, "L'espace des chrétiens."

immigration from southern Anatolia by Christians of various denominations into this area, including textile workers.¹⁴⁸ As a result, Judayda and the adjacent neighborhood of Şalība became a center of manufacture of textiles sold in the Mdīneh and a significant secondary marketplace.¹⁴⁹ Before the establishment of the endowment, then, this urban section comprised substantial population and industries but few communal institutions beyond churches. In addition, taverns serving alcoholic beverages attracted Muslims from other quarters to partake in a transgressive pastime not usually tolerated in the quarters with a majority Muslim population,¹⁵⁰ making “entertainment,” or rather sociability, one of the industries of this neighborhood.

İpshîr Pasha began by legally expropriating the site in Judayda from the waqf of the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya.¹⁵¹ This site, to the north of the ḥammām of Behrām Pasha, called a *‘araşa*, or a vacant lot, may have been used as an open-air market.¹⁵² Additional legal maneuvers diverted water away from the Qaşal al-Sulṭān outside Bāb al-Faraj towards the new waqf.¹⁵³ Distinct structurally but abutting each other and connected by doors and through their roofs, the eight components of the complex occupy a lot shaped like a truncated rectangle (Pl. 25, Fig. 10). Designed as a coherent whole, it was executed in one campaign.

The functions and forms of the structures have evolved, but it is possible to reconstruct their seventeenth-century state on the basis of material remains and the waqfiyya.¹⁵⁴ An income-producing structure

¹⁴⁸ David, *Waqf d’İpshîr Pāşā*, 62, 66, and Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, Chapter 3: “Merchants Diasporas and Trading ‘Nations.’”

¹⁴⁹ Recent studies of the textile industry in Aleppo: Rīm Maṣṣūr al-Aṭrash, *Al-Ḥarīr fī Sūriyya: Liwā’ Iskandarūn, Sūriyya wa Lubnān* (Damascus: Maṣṣūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1997); Dominique Hubert, “Les Qaysariyya de textile: un équipement dans la ville d’Alep,” *BEO XXXVI* (1984): 127–135, Pls. I–VI; Jocelyne Cornand, “L’artisanat traditionnel du textile à Alep, survie ou dynamisme?” *BEO XXXVI* (1984): 79–126.

¹⁵⁰ For example, al-‘Urḍī, 34, H. Watenpaugh, “Deviant Dervishes.”

¹⁵¹ VGM, *Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha*, 258; Ghazzī 2, II, 402.

¹⁵² David, *Waqf d’İpshîr Pāşā*, 40–41.

¹⁵³ Water rights for charitable endowments were secured in perpetuity, and changing them required legal action. On the qaşal al-Sulṭān, endowed by Süleymān I, referred in the waqfiyya simply as “the çeşme outside Bāb al-Faraj,” see Chp. 2. The waqfiyya explains the modified water systems in detail, VGM, *Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha*, 258. The Mamlūk-period waterworks of Burd Bek (misspelled “Urḍī Beğ” in the waqfiyya, discussed in Chp. 2) were still in use.

¹⁵⁴ David, *Waqf d’İpshîr Pāşā*, provided an analysis of its transformations through the seventies, see especially 71–93.

of the waqf was a large caravanserai known as the Khān al-‘Araşa to the north of the lot.¹⁵⁵ Its long façade on the street features a monumental entrance flanked by rows of shops. The waqfiyya prescribes that the Khān be devoted to the commerce of grains including barley, lentils and chickpeas.¹⁵⁶ The appearance of a scale to measure flour in an eighteenth-century document suggests that flour was taxed at this location; in addition, structural modifications had allowed the installment of a *madār*, a millstone for grinding wheat into bulghur.¹⁵⁷

South of the khān are the eastern and western qīsariyyas, each equipped with an open court.¹⁵⁸ The function of these buildings is not specified in the waqfiyya. However, the long and narrow corridor which links each to the inconspicuous entrances on the street precludes the movement of large amounts of merchandise in and out of the qīsariyyas.¹⁵⁹

Further south, the large qīsariyya, known as *qīysariyyat al-dūlāb*, featured a modest entrance on the southern façade of the enclosure, while shops occupied its front on the street.¹⁶⁰ The patron intended to devote this largest unit in the waqf to weaving and to this effect equipped the upper rooms with silk looms (*ibrīshim dolābları*) for luxury textiles such as *kaţife* (velvet) and *aţlas* (satin).¹⁶¹ Another structure, a

¹⁵⁵ The waqfiyya names it Khān al-‘Aşa (‘Aşe), VGM, Waqfiyya of İpşîr Pasha, 258; it is named ‘Araşa by Ghazzî 2, II, 402, and by a now-lost account register of the revenues of the waqf, dated 1752–1753, cited by David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pâşâ*, 65. See *ibid.*, 18–22, figs. 9–10.

¹⁵⁶ VGM, Waqfiyya of İpşîr Pasha, 258.

¹⁵⁷ The scale (*qabbân daqîq*) is mentioned in the 1753 account book, cited in David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pâşâ*, 21; the *madâr* is discussed in *ibid.*, 23.

¹⁵⁸ Eastern qīsariyya: David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pâşâ*, 11–13, figs. 5–6; Western qīsariyya: *ibid.*, 13–14, fig. 7. In both cases, the waqfiyya document specifies that *yâzlık*s were built between the rooms on the upper floors: they must be David’s “terrasses intercalaires,” a system by which each room opens onto a mini-courtyard on the upper level. See *ibid.*, 13 and 18; the system is visible on the photograph on: Pl. 2. The term *yâzlık* (“summer place”) suggests a seasonal use. An attention to climatic concerns is apparent everywhere, as for example in the *bâdînj*, or “chimneys” for air circulation (in the mosque and the coffeehouse). Still extant open-air stone staircases, called *nerdibâns* in the waqfiyya, connected the lower and upper stories of the qīsariyyas.

¹⁵⁹ David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pâşâ*, 15–18. The waqfiyya mentions no functions for these two structures as it appoints no employees for any of the commercial structures of the waqf.

¹⁶⁰ David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pâşâ*, 8–11.

¹⁶¹ Based on the translation of the waqfiyya into Arabic in Ghazzî (“*dūlāb al-ḥarîr*”), but in the absence of any remains, David suggested that weaving might be an activity contemporary with Ghazzî, however the waqfiyya indicates that the weaving had been an integral part of the intention of the patron. David, *Waqf*

dye workshop (*boyâhâne*), no longer extant, served textile production as well.¹⁶²

A covered market, named Sûq al-Ghazl (“of yarn”) in the endowment deed, occupied the eastern side of the lot between the mosque and the eastern qīsariyya.¹⁶³ Dedicated to the sale of yarn, its function supported the textile industry. The sūq, which consists of a gallery that lines a rectangular courtyard, occupies the lower floor. The structures on its second story are related to other components of the waqf. This form is unusual for a sūq, recalling rather a miniature khān.¹⁶⁴ Its small size suggests that it specialized in the commerce of an expensive product, most likely the luxury textiles produced next door, or their raw material, silk yarn. Near the sūq, the waqfiyya lists a physician’s shop (*ṭabīb dūkkān*), of which no trace remains.¹⁶⁵ A bakery was located west of the western qīsariyya, communicating with the street and adjacent to the dye workshop.¹⁶⁶ A fountain occupied the southwestern corner of the site.¹⁶⁷

The most architecturally interesting component of the waqf is the coffeehouse, or *kahvehâne* (Figs. 13, 14, Pl. 26). The seventeenth-century merchant Wolfgang Aigen considered it one of the most remarkable public structures in the city, and reported that it could hold several hundred people.¹⁶⁸ Aleppo was rich in coffeehouses: it comprised one

d’İps̄r Pāšā, 15; VGM, Waqfiyya of İps̄hîr Pasha, 259. The popular name of the khān perhaps reflects a memory of an activity that once took place at the qīsariyya. For a study of dūlābs, see Cornand, “L’artisanat traditionnel.” A mid-sixteenth century plan (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, İstanbul, E. 6342) of an imperial textile manufactory in İstanbul features elaborate rooms devoted to designing textiles, spinning silk thread, and specialized looms: Tahsin Öz, *Turkish Textiles and Velvets: XIV–XVI Centuries* (Ankara, 1950), 57; Necipoğlu, “Kanun/Canon,” 199.

¹⁶² According to the waqfiyya, the textile dye workshop was located southeast of the eastern qīsariyya, it had two large arches and a floor paved with marble. VGM, Waqfiyya of İps̄hîr Pasha, 258. Ghazzī 2, II, translates the word *boyâhâne* as “*maşbagha*.” Modifications of this section make it difficult to locate the workshop, David, *Waqf d’İps̄r Pāšā*, 23–24.

¹⁶³ It is named Sūq Ghazl al-Şūf (“of wool yarn”) in the 1753 account book, David, *Waqf d’İps̄r Pāšā*, 65; Ghazzī 2, II, 402, lists it as “Sūq al-Nuwāl.”

¹⁶⁴ David, *Waqf d’İps̄r Pāšā*, 24–25. The waqfiyya describes it as having four *revāks/riwāqs* containing two shops each.

¹⁶⁵ VGM, Waqfiyya of İps̄hîr Pasha, 258; Ghazzī 2, II, 402.

¹⁶⁶ Equipped with a large oven (*fırn*), the bakery functioned until 1973, when it was converted into several shops. David, *Waqf d’İps̄r Pāšā*, 23–24.

¹⁶⁷ David, *Waqf d’İps̄r Pāšā*, 27. Known today as “qaşal Bashîr,” it is no longer functional and has been integrated into a shop.

¹⁶⁸ Wolfgang Aigen, *Sieban Jahre in Aleppo, 1656–1663*, Ed. Andreas Tietze (Vienna: Verlag des Verbandes der Wissenschaftlichen gesellschaften Österreichs, 1980), 32.

hundred and five in 1671–72, according to Evliya Çelebi.¹⁶⁹ This number included cafés in the busy Mdīneh (like the coffeehouse of Aşlān Dada), or in quiet neighborhoods (like the coffeehouse in Bayyāda whose income supported the Takiyya Ikhlaṣiyya), and ranged from modest stalls to monumental structures as in Judayda.¹⁷⁰ Coffee as a social beverage and the coffeehouse as an urban institution had become widespread in the Ottoman empire and throughout the Mediterranean since the fifteenth century.¹⁷¹ The coffeehouse of İpshîr Pasha represents one of the earliest surviving examples of a monumental coffeehouse; most of the ancient cafés of Cairo or Istanbul have disappeared, or have been rebuilt heavily.¹⁷²

The coffeehouse of İpshîr Pasha consists of a courtyard and a covered hall whose windows overlook the street to the south.¹⁷³ Its courtyard originally centered on a pool. Domes of varying shapes cover the hypostyle hall. Their distribution defines a cruciform design that centers on the space under the largest dome, crowned by an exquisite open lantern.¹⁷⁴ A portico separates the courtyard from the hall. For Jean-Claude David, the closest parallel of the coffeehouse's arrangement was domestic architecture. The covered and uncovered areas correspond to the two reception spaces of luxurious dwellings; the cruciform, domed *qā'a* for the winter, with a richly decorated

¹⁶⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 377. See also Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 132–134.

¹⁷⁰ Jean-Claude David, "Le café à Alep au temps des Ottomans: entre le souk et le quartier," in *Cafés d'Orient revisités*, ed. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and Francois Georgeon (Paris: CNRS editions, 1997), 113–126.

¹⁷¹ Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*. See more recently, Desmet-Grégoire and Georgeon, eds., *Cafés d'Orient revisités*. Jean-Paul Pascual, "Café et cafés à Damas: Contribution à la chronologie de leur diffusion au XVI^{ème} siècle," *Berytus* 42 (1995–96): 141–156. Michel Tuchscherer, ed., *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales: espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XV^e–XIX^e siècles)* (Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 2001). J.-L. Miège, ed., *Le café en Méditerranée* (Aix-en-Provence: CNRS, 1981). Hélène Desmet-Grégoire, ed., *Contribution au thème du et des cafés dans les sociétés du Proche-Orient*, 2nd rev. ed. (Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM, 1992).

¹⁷² On the architecture of Ottoman coffeehouses see, in addition to David, see Ibrahim Nûman, "Eski İstanbul Kahvehanelerinin İctimai Hayattaki Yeri ve Mimarisi Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar," *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 10:2 (1981), 57–74. I am preparing a study on the architecture of the coffeehouse in the early modern period.

¹⁷³ VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 259; David, *Waqf d'İpshîr Pâşâ*, 32–39.

¹⁷⁴ David, *Waqf d'İpshîr Pâşâ*, 35 and 38, n. 3: In David's view the stone carving technique and the decoration (the stalactite surfaces which mediate between the dome and the arches) are consistent with Aleppine practice, while the profile of the dome is unusually high, by about 30 centimeters. The material of the dome (stone) is exceptional for Ottoman Aleppo, where brick domes predominate. The only other stone dome of the Ottoman period is that of the Takiyya Aşlān Dada, discussed above.

façade, and a plainly decorated courtyard and iwān for the summer.¹⁷⁵ In the winter, receptions at wealthy homes were held in cruciform, domed, richly decorated *qā'as*, which resemble the hall of the coffeehouse with its elaborate façade. In the summer, the courtyard with its pool and the iwān would receive visitors and entertainers: this corresponds to the coffeehouse's courtyard with a pool, with the portico standing in for an iwān. While *qā'as* are associated with domestic architecture, many communal structures of Ottoman Aleppo feature them, including the room above the entrance of the Khān al-Gumruk, the audience room of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, and the hall of the Takiyya of Aṣlān Dada. What is exceptional about the coffeehouse of İpshîr Pasha is the fact that the *qā'a* overlooks the street and communicates directly with it through large windows and an entrance, while in all other cases the *qā'a* occurs in the interior of institutional complexes, and opens on the courtyard.

The coffeehouse's elaborate south façade on the street is highly unusual. Generally the exterior walls of the entire complex form a seamless continuity, where architectonic elements do not signal the interior divisions.¹⁷⁶ While each component communicates with the street through a separate entrance, those units with entrances and façades emphasized through decoration are devoted to extensive contact with pedestrians.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the degree of decoration of the façade correlates with the expected degree of interaction. Thus the *qīsariyyas*

¹⁷⁵ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pāšā*, 39. Many of the known examples of Aleppine domestic architecture of the Ottoman period are located precisely in the northern suburbs (the dated examples are listed in *ibid.*, 66, n. 3). A few examples of summer and winter reception areas in domestic architecture are known, especially for the eighteenth century. David also suggests in *ibid.*, 39, n. 3, the possibility that the architecture of the coffeehouse might have influenced the domestic reception rooms and not the other way around. The architecture of the coffeehouse also resembles that of the *qā'a* of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, which features a portico as well; however the latter lacks an elaborate façade, possibly because it was not designed to communicate with the street. On Ottoman domestic architecture in Aleppo, see Julia Gonnella, *Ein christlich-orientalisches Wohnhaus des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Aleppo (Syrien): das "Aleppo-Zimmer" im Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Mainz: Museum für Islamische Kunst, 1996), Maurice Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998).

¹⁷⁶ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pāšā*, 6, see also Pl. 28 (elevations of the waqf's exterior).

¹⁷⁷ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pāšā*, 42–43, and fig. 16. By comparison, this concern with the selective emphasis on "zones of contact" is completely inapplicable to a complex like the Khusruwiyya, or the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, which are walled enclosures with one or more common entrances on the street.

have modest doors; the khān a more monumental entrance; the sabīl and the bakery are easily accessible to the pedestrian; and the two façades of the mosque, emphasized by a distinct stonecarving technique, are decorated with *ablaq* and carved ornament. The most lavish section of the façade by far, however, graces the coffeehouse.¹⁷⁸ Two registers of windows and a door are emphasized through *ablaq* and bold bands of bichrome masonry at the lower level, and through intricately carved frames at the upper level.¹⁷⁹ While the decorative motifs on the façade have appeared in Aleppo since the Mamlūk period, the lavishness of the façade decoration is unique for a coffeehouse. Plausibly the decoration related to the structure's function, as a billboard of sorts to attract customers. In addition to the decoration, the coffeehouse's façade is unusual for the size and number of its windows, located at eye level, which allowed the café customers to look out onto the street, and allowed the passersby to look inside. In an overview of the architecture of coffeehouses in Aleppo, David singled out their resemblance to domestic reception rooms and their unprecedented openness to the street as key characteristics.¹⁸⁰ The coffeehouse of Ipshîr Pasha is singular in that the relationship it stages with the pedestrian is immediate and open. Even the most decorated street facades of Ottoman Aleppo, those of Khāns, did not feature this degree of transparency. The decorated sections of their façades were placed higher on the wall, and they did not include the large, inviting windows at eye level.

In addition to its function, the urban context of the coffeehouse might have determined the design of its façade. The desire to create a spatial relationship, or even compete, with the similarly decorated façade of the Ḥammām of Behrām Pasha (ca. 1583) across the street probably influenced the elegance of the decoration, along with the

¹⁷⁸ David, *Waqf d'Ipshîr Pāšā*, 32–34, Pls. 6, 7, 25.

¹⁷⁹ The waqfiyya states that the coffeehouse had 14 windows, which is correct if one excludes the *œil-de-bœuf* and the undecorated window on the façade. Other numbers given in the waqfiyya, however, do not match the architecture. For example, the waqfiyya lists 50 arches in the hypostyle hall (too many), supported by 7 marble columns (correct) and 20 pillars (there are only 12). David showed that the decorated façade does not correspond to the actual length of the hall, that the undecorated window opens onto the hall as well. David attributed what he saw as consciously perpetrated dissymmetry to theoretical concerns: see David, *Waqf d'Ipshîr Pāšā*, 33, 36, Plate 25. Perhaps the reason why the waqfiyya's description follows the illusion created by the façade was that the bureaucrat in charge of the redaction of the document was "fooled" by the façade?

¹⁸⁰ David, "Le café à Alep."

myriad details of construction and ornamentation which evince sophisticated theoretical concerns. This relationship included a complex interaction of surface design across the street, especially of the bold horizontal stripes of bichrome masonry. The narrowness of the street imposes a skewed vision of both façades to the pedestrian, which must have been the intended effect.¹⁸¹ The coffeehouse façade could not be seen head-on in its entirety. Perhaps it was not meant to be seen in elevation, but rather exactly as it appeared to the pedestrian in the seventeenth century: a complex, attractive interaction of diagonal forms on both sides of the street. Possibly the later Ottoman façade was meant to compete with the elaborate front of the earlier one in quality of construction and aesthetic effect. The unity of decoration of the two facing buildings is paralleled by a similarity of use: both the coffeehouse and the ḥammām were spaces for social interaction. Indeed, the positioning of these two structures together made this street the most luxurious “entertainment center” of Aleppo.¹⁸² Despite the fact that the patron adhered to a strict Islamic diet and abstained from coffee, he grasped the social importance of building such a structure to anchor a commercial and artisanal center.¹⁸³ Later evidence indicates that economic gain was less significant than the role of the café as a site of sociability: the coffeehouse furnished only 2.1% of the total profits of the waqf.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ If one stands today across from the corner where the fountain originally stood, a diagonal vision of the façade of the coffeehouse is still apparent. The coffeehouse's domes are not visible from the street; they are visible from the second stories and roofs of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century homes in the quarter, such as Bayt Ghazāle, and Bayt Ashiqbāsh (today the Museum of Popular Traditions, or Mathaf al-taqālīd al-sha'biyya). David acknowledged the relationship between the two façades, but perceived the narrowness of the street as detrimental to the overall effect, because it prevented one from being able to see the façade in its entirety: David, *Waqf d'Ipshir Pāšā*, 42.

¹⁸² David, *Waqf d'Ipshir Pāšā*, 66.

¹⁸³ According to Ahmed Refik, İpshir Pasha eschewed coffee in favor of milk, and disapproved of tobacco, espousing a severe attitude towards products that were becoming widespread. Cited in Tabbākh 2, III, 213. R. Mathee, “Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” In *Drugs and Narcotics in History*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 24–51.

¹⁸⁴ While the khān furnished 28.4% of the profits, and the bakery, 3.4%. David, *Waqf d'Ipshir Pāšā*, 65 (Table), based on the lost 1753 account book. The lower profit derived from the coffeehouse remains constant in a later 18th-century account book and a 19th-century account book, *ibid*. The price of coffee in Aleppo fluctuated as it was dependent on two variables: the safe passage of the ḥājī caravans from Mecca, purveyors of coffee from Yemen, and the competition with American coffee: Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 54–55.

The structures discussed above formed the income-producing components of the endowment. Its charitable components were the fountain, the mosque on the southeastern corner, as well as the *maktab* (Koranic school) on the roof of the mosque, accessible through a stone staircase.¹⁸⁵ The mosque is one of the smallest entities of the waqf (Figs. 15, 16).¹⁸⁶ While the form of the mosque is unusual in the context of official patronage in Aleppo, it was at the time of construction the largest Muslim religious structure in the northern suburbs.¹⁸⁷ Three bays compose the covered area. A dome surmounts the central bay while groin vaults crown the other two. A Koranic inscription surmounts a beautifully carved *mihrāb*, while a foundation inscription in Arabic sits above the door leading into the prayer hall from the courtyard.¹⁸⁸ By tilting the interior of the mosque by a twelve-degree angle, the builder correctly oriented the prayer hall and courtyard towards the *qibla*, maintaining the street façades of the mosque in line with the orientation of the complex as a whole.¹⁸⁹ A storage alcove in the prayer hall, latrines in the courtyard, and niches occupy the extra space thus created. A minaret is perched on the eastern wall of the courtyard.¹⁹⁰ The mosque has two façades on the street. The decoration is high-quality yet restrained compared to that of the coffeehouse, limited to bichrome emphasis on the windows and the entrance door, and to a niche at the corner which a small muqarnas hood surmounts. A muqarnas cornice crowns a foundation inscription in Ottoman above the door on the eastern façade.¹⁹¹ The semantic content of the Ottoman-language foundation inscription on the mosque's exterior duplicates that of the Arabic-language inscription on door of the prayer hall. They both name the patron,

¹⁸⁵ The maktab: David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 32.

¹⁸⁶ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 28–31. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 375, included the “İpşîr Paşa Camii” on his list of important mosques of Aleppo.

¹⁸⁷ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 31 and 64. The nearest pre-existent mosque, the Masjid al-Sharaf, built by Qāṣauḥ al-Ghūrī in the early sixteenth century, to the northeast of İpshîr Pasha's waqf, served the population of the Hazzāza quarter.

¹⁸⁸ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 97–98, Plate 14; Gaube, *Inschriften*, 40–41, No 66.

¹⁸⁹ This adjustment is not preceptible to the viewer, David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 31.

¹⁹⁰ Today a short concrete platform constitutes the minaret. However the waqfiyya describes a minaret “above the door of the mosque,” (VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 258) and David has found an original staircase which leads up to it, David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, 30. Ghazzî does not mention a minaret.

¹⁹¹ David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pâşâ*, Plate 14. The inscription does not resemble the sixteenth-century inscriptions by Ottoman officials. Other Ottoman-language inscriptions in Aleppo occur at the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr and the Takiyya of Aşlān Dada, discussed above.

but the Ottoman inscription does not mention the Sultan, while the Arabic does. In style and format the exterior inscription differs from both Arabic inscriptions. The latter are set in rectangular slabs and are composed of horizontal registers, divided by lines in the case of the mihrāb inscription. The Ottoman inscription is composed of three verses of two hemistichs each, with each hemistich placed in a cartouche, and it is in an Ottoman cursive calligraphic style.

The mosque of İpshîr Pasha only discreetly signals itself to the pedestrian. The dome of the mosque and its diminutive minaret are not visible from the street.¹⁹² The exterior of the structure does not announce its status as a mosque, except for the inscription. The “front” one would expect to see on an Ottoman mosque—defined by a minaret, dome and foundation inscription with chronogram—is here reduced to a small decorated door with inscription. A view of this canonical “front” is not afforded from the courtyard either: one can see the Arabic foundation inscription above the entrance to the ḥarām, but not the dome. The mosque of İpshîr Pasha lacks a garden-cemetery as well. In addition, on the outer façades of both the mosque and the coffeehouse, the entrances are not centered in the Ottoman tradition, rather they are asymmetrical, a feature common in Mamlūk architecture.

The waqf of İpshîr Pasha departs from the practice established by the sixteenth-century complexes in that its mosque has no presence on the skyline of the city through its dome or minaret. And while the coffeehouse’s exquisitely constructed main dome is larger, it also is too diminutive to affect the image of the city as seen from afar. It stands at roughly the same height as the domes of most of the churches in Judayda, which were rebuilt over the course of the seventeenth century.

Thus the complex as an architectural ensemble echoes the predominantly commercial concerns of the sixteenth-century külliyes, but departs from their practice through the modesty of its mosque, and the fact that all the components are gathered to one structural unit. The entire ensemble is isolated from its surrounding urban fabric by streets with an exceptionally large width of about six meters.¹⁹³ This

¹⁹² David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pāšā*, 28. If the original minaret was sizeable, it might have been visible from the street, however this is unlikely since no substantial structural supports had been built.

¹⁹³ David, *Waqf d’İpşîr Pāšā*, 46–47.

retreat from the surrounding urban fabric recalls the spatial isolation of Ottoman kulliyes behind a low wall. In this instance, the empty space of the streets acts to isolate the complex from its surroundings.

The complex of İpshîr Pasha provided much-needed services to a developing section of the city, by placing buildings devoted to the manufacture and trade of textiles near the skilled craftsmen.¹⁹⁴ İpshîr Pasha's waqf encouraged industry and commerce in this quarter, and helped make it a mercantile crossroads. The location of this complex in Judayda seems in hindsight both appropriate and inevitable. From the patron's viewpoint, however, many choices were available for the placement of a complex other than in the Mdîneh. Tabanî Yassî Mehmed Pasha opted for the Bayyâda quarter for the Takiyya Ikhâlâşîyya; Öküz Mehmed Pasha picked Kallâsa for his small mosque and income-generating structures (discussed above). Grand Vizier Dilâver Pasha (d. 1622) chose to locate his waqf inside Bâb Banqûşa, the access point for caravan trade.¹⁹⁵ Prompted by the discreetness of the mosque within the ensemble, the fact that it occupies, along with the maktab, only a small fraction of the space of the waqf, and utilizes a small part of its revenues, Jean-Claude David argued that the endowment in Judayda was created primarily for urbanistic rather than religious purposes. Thus the waqf did not indicate an incursion into a primarily minority space, but rather "tolerance" for *dhim-mîs*, the presumed principal beneficiaries of the waqf.¹⁹⁶ This argument echoes André Raymond's earlier assessment of the waqf. Noting the exiguity of the mosque, and the heightened size and decoration of the other components of the waqf, Raymond suggested that the mosque of İpshîr Pasha was not meant to fulfill any religious needs, given the predominantly Christian population of the neighborhood.¹⁹⁷ Therefore Raymond asserted that the construction of the waqf was

¹⁹⁴ David, *Waqf d'İpshîr Pâşâ*, 41. On the development of this quarter, Sauvaget, *Alep*, 226–227, fig. 59.

¹⁹⁵ Dilâver Pasha was Grand Vizier in 1621–1622. His waqf probably predated 1622 (the year of his death). No physical or documentary trace of this waqf survives. One of the qisariyyas included in it is mentioned in VGM, *Waqfiyya of Tabanî Yassî Mehmed Pasha*, 274.

¹⁹⁶ "L'ensemble du waqf n'a absolument rien d'un équipement de reconquête; la discrétion du minaret de la mosquée est un indice typique de l'effacement du caractère religieux islamique de la fondation devant des impératifs non religieux," David, *Waqf d'İpshîr Pâşâ*, 67, n. 2; The argument for "tolerance:" *ibid.*, 66.

¹⁹⁷ "... la construction d'une mosquée ... ne répondait sans doute à aucun besoin culturel ..." Raymond, "Grands Waqfs," 119.

based purely on economic concerns, where the mosque was a mere pretext for the building of a commercial-industrial complex: "... la mosquée du Pacha ne constituait évidemment que l'alibi religieux d'une opération surtout économique dont les principaux objectifs pieux se trouvaient ailleurs."¹⁹⁸ This argument requires consideration.

İpshîr Pasha's endowment was an artifact of an empire in the context of the mid-seventeenth century. Clearly, the most important components of the waqf were income-producing structures, whether commercial or "recreational": the qīsariyyas, the khān, the coffeeshouse, encouraged the development of an emerging section of the city. Certainly the mosque and maktab were rather modest. However, the fundamental aims of the endowment in its entirety, as reflected in the endowment deed, invalidate the interpretation of İpshîr Pasha's project as an act with minimal Islamic content and meaning. First, the stated intentions of the patron within Aleppo derive from Islamic cultural as well as political imperatives. The Islamic functions at the complex included, not simply the buildings themselves, but a long list of minutely detailed activities to be performed within their confines.¹⁹⁹ Provisions were made to equip the mosque with professionals to carry out a schedule of prayer, readings and educational activities. For the mosque alone, the waqfiyya listed the duties and salaries of an *imām* (prayer leader), a *mu'adhdhin* (one who performs the call to prayer), three *huffāz* (Koran reciters) to read specified Koranic chapters after the morning, noon, and evening prayers, 10 *qurrā'* (Koran reciters) to read 10 sections each of the Koran every evening, a learned person to read selections from books on the "ulūm-i 'aqliyye ve nakliyye" in the month of ḥarām, and two janitors.²⁰⁰ The boys at the maktab were educated by a *hıwaja* [*hoca*], and collectively received an annual stipend of 1,800 akçe, a considerable sum. By comparison, at the earlier Ottoman maktab of Aleppo, both located in the Mdīneh, made modest provisions for their pupils: the children at the maktab of Behrām Pasha received a new shirt and a new skullcap annually and those at the maktab of Mûytâb Zâde Aḥmed Pasha received clothing and shoes amounting

¹⁹⁸ Raymond, "Grands Waqfs," 120.

¹⁹⁹ Raymond's and David's studies do not account for the prescribed activities at the mosque, even though they are included in Ghazzî's summary. While these prescriptions may not have been carried out, they are crucial for understanding the meaning of the waqf at its inception.

²⁰⁰ VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 259, Ghazzî 2, II, 403.

to 300 dirhāms per year. As the northern suburbs had a predominantly Christian immigrant population, the schoolchildren (who had to be Muslim, as specified in the waqfiyya) must have come from the neighboring quarters rather than from Judayda. Seen in this light, the considerable cash “scholarship” functioned as an incentive for the children and—presumably—their parents to make the trek into another quarter.²⁰¹ One could speculate that the employment opportunities for Muslims at the waqf, as well as the generous provisions of the maktab were designed to attract Muslim inhabitants to this part of the city, a means to Islamize the neighborhood. The precision in the list of employees for the religious aspects of the waqf contrasts with the brevity of that of employees of the income-generating components, which indicates that while the uses of the latter may have been intentionally flexible, the uses of the former were codified.²⁰² While there is no evidence whatsoever that the waqf was meant to “reconquer” a Christian quarter, it was “Islamic” by virtue of being a charitable endowment, a communal Islamic space by definition, albeit one where dhimmīs were probably accommodated.²⁰³ One can only speculate whether İpshîr Pasha’s decision to build here rather than elsewhere in the suburbs of the city was related to the revival of eastern Christian culture in this period, the locus of which was slightly to the northwest of the waqf.²⁰⁴ That the endowment

²⁰¹ It is of course here a question of perceived distance rather than actual distance. For most inhabitants of the city, life centered on the quarter, causing the rest of the city to remain unknown: “The objective city as such did not exist in [the city dwellers’] minds; they knew or remembered what was physically distinctive and what was generally useful in their everyday patterns of spatial behavior, and their cognitive maps of the city mirrored the spatial patterns of regular activity. . . . most people never saw some parts of the city, which thus remained perceptually invisible.” Marcus, *Aleppo*, 288.

²⁰² The salaried employees of the waqf who were not religious specialists included a secretary (kâtib), an income collector (jāb), a treasurer, two *kanavâtīs* (one in charge of the water systems at the waqf in Aleppo, and one in charge of the water carrying system at Khān Tūmān), and a person charged with the care of the fountain. VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 259; Ghazzī 2, II, 403.

²⁰³ To be sure, the site itself was already a waqf, as it belonged to the Madrasa Hallāwiyya before construction.

²⁰⁴ The dynamism of the eastern Christian communities in seventeenth-century Aleppo can be discerned in their renewed support for the arts, but has not been systematically studied. This revival may be related to the efforts of European missionaries to gain converts from among the Christian communities in the empire. Some chronological landmarks for this revival in Aleppo are: renovations at the Armenian Apostolic Church of the Forty Martyrs in 1616 (by Sanos Çelebi, a merchant from New Julfa in the Safavid Empire, Simeon Lehatsi (1933), 321–322); the

supported Islamic institutions is further evidenced by the fact that the two most important salaried positions were earmarked for key figures of the Islamic religious hierarchy: the *naẓīr* of the waqf was to be the Sheyḫülislām in Istanbul, and the mutawallī of the waqf was to be the *naqīb al-ashrāf* (head of the *ashrāf* or *sayyids*, descendants for the family of the Prophet) in Aleppo.²⁰⁵ The *ashrāf*, the social group composed of those claiming descent from the Prophet, were exceptionally numerous in Aleppo, where they formed a political faction. They opposed the janissaries, who in this context were *askeris* (lit. military, i.e. members of the Ottoman ruling group) with connections to tribal groups in the city's hinterland.²⁰⁶ Perhaps his support of the *ashrāf* aligned İpshîr Pasha with one of the two main rival social groups in Aleppo.²⁰⁷ This inter-urban conflict, more than a desire to serve the population of the northern suburbs, probably accounts for the waqf's location. The northern suburbs were uninvolved

appearance of luxurious dwellings of Christian families in Judayda (David, *Waqf d'İpsir Pāšā*, 66, n. 3; see also my discussion of the qā'a of Khān al-Gumruk, Chpt. 3); the career and literary production in Arabic of Christian clerics like Jirmānus Farḥāt, the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo in 1725 (Marcus, *Aleppo*, 45); the development of a local school of icon painting (Sylvia Agémian, "Œuvres d'art melkite dans l'église des Quarante Martyrs d'Alep," *Études arméniennes: Annales de l'association libanaise des universitaires arméniens* (1974): 91–113; idem, "Ne'meh al-Muşawwir, peintre melkite 1666–1724," *Berytus XXXIX* (1991): 189–242.). See Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, "Trading nations" op. cit., and his *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab world: The Roots of Sectarianism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²⁰⁵ This condition, by appointing the holders of specific offices, precluded these salaried positions from becoming hereditary, as *tawliyas* often did. The Sheyḫülislām received the generous salary of 50 *sikka ḥasana* (gold coins) annually, and the mutawallī a daily stipend of 20 akçes. Of the waqf's employees, the only salary equal to that of the mutawallī is that of the *kanavâtî* at Khān Tūmān. An additional 20 akçes daily are to be paid outright, not related to the holding of a position, to an Aleppine, 'Abd al-Kāfi al-Zanābilī, and after him to his children in perpetuity. This man does not figure in any of the biographical dictionaries of Aleppo. VGM, *Waqfiyya* of İpshîr Pasha, 259; Ghazzī 2, II, 403. For a partial list of mutawallīs of this waqf, see *Tabbākh* 2, III, 214. Reinforcing the Islamic and imperial nature of this waqf, each appointment of employees had to be approved by imperial decrees; one of these, dated 1690, appointed a new secretary at the salary of 10 akçe a day in accordance with the *waqfiyya*, during the *tawliya* of al-sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zahrāwī: vol. 1, p. 95, document 192.

²⁰⁶ The law privileged both groups by exempting them from taxes. The janissaries, unlike the *ashrāf*, had *askeri* status, but the *ashrāf* like the janissaries were exempt from taxation. On the rivalry between the two factions in Aleppo, see Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 45–47; Abdul Karim Rafeq, "Local forces," 302–304; Bodman concentrates on the eighteenth century, Herbert L. Bodman, *Political Factions in Aleppo (1760–1826)* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1963).

²⁰⁷ David, *Waqf d'İpsir Pāšā*, 63. İpshîr Pasha was indeed assassinated by janissaries in Istanbul, Aktepe, EI², op. cit.

in the rivalry while janissaries predominated in the northeastern “antenna” outside Banqūsa, leaving the wealthy quarters of Jallūm al-Kubra and al-Sughra near the Mdīneh as the stomping grounds of the ashraf.²⁰⁸

Moreover, without discounting the importance of local politics, the full scope of the endowment identifies it as a product of an imperial culture. Much like the great waqf of Şoḡollı Mehmed Pasha, İpshîr Pasha’s endowment was made possible by and relied on the political and economic conditions created by the Ottoman empire; it turned resources from far-flung regions into waqf, thereby determining their ownership and use in perpetuity. The endowment benefited the patron by enhancing his reputation, but also the empire by contributing to one of the Sultan’s most important responsibilities as an Islamic ruler, and one of the bases of the legitimization of the House of ‘Osmân: the support and protection of the ḥajj.²⁰⁹ Most of the revenues of the waqf (including its components in Tokat, Khân Ṭūmān and Aleppo) were earmarked for the support of a great many employees and functions at al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn (the Two Noble Sanctuaries). This section of the waqfiyya, in fact, reads like a catalogue of the stations of the ḥajj.²¹⁰ The endowment’s central concern with facilitating the pilgrimage is reflected in the renovations undertaken at Khân Ṭūmān, which were meant to ensure the comfort and safety of pilgrims on the Aleppo-Mecca route.

Finally, the wording of the documents reveals cultural justifications for individual acts. The waqfiyya insists on the pious aspects of the endowment through appropriate quotations of ḥadīth.²¹¹ The formulaic

²⁰⁸ André Raymond, “Groupes sociaux et géographie urbaine à Alep au XVIII^e siècle,” In Thomas Philipp, ed., *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), esp. 156–160, Thieck, “Décentralisation ottomane.”

²⁰⁹ The endowment deed makes no provision for the support of the progeny of the patron, another feature it shares with the endowment of Şoḡollı Mehmed Pasha.

²¹⁰ The hundreds of stipends allotted to employees at the Two Shrines take up the majority of the income: VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 259–261; Ghazzī 2, II, 403–404. The manner of relaying the cash for stipends at the Two Noble Sanctuaries was as follows: every year, after all the expenses had been met, the remainder of the collected income would be sent to the Two Noble Sanctuaries through a trustworthy man in the pilgrimage caravan. After all the stipends were paid, any funds left over would be distributed among the poor in Madīna and in Mecca.

²¹¹ Of the numerous invocations at the beginning and end of the waqfiyyas, the one most commonly used is the ḥadīth, “man banā maṣjidān banā Allāhu lahu baytān fi’l-janna.” (For a man who builds a mosque, God builds a house in paradise.) VGM, Waqfiyya of İpshîr Pasha, 258.

aspects of these sections of the document do not render these phrases meaningless. The endowment of İpshîr Muştafâ Pasha is without a doubt, an act firmly within the boundaries of Islamic practice.

The waqf of İpshîr Pasha, like some of the complexes built by Ottoman officials in the seventeenth century, departs from the practice of the sixteenth-century külliyes. It is not located in the Mdîneh, it does not echo central Ottoman forms, and its effect on the city's skyline is minimal. The architecture emphasizes the coffeehouse component, rather than the mosque. Yet some of the practices established by the sixteenth century külliyes endured: its income-generating structures serve primarily commercial and industrial purposes. Also, the architecture exhibits a concern for theoretical issues and creates spatial relationships with previous Ottoman structures: the façade of the coffeehouse was conceived as a visual unit with the façade of the pre-existing hammâm of Behrâm Pasha across the street.

The sixteenth century külliyes, with few exceptions, concentrated in one area of the city, creating a monumental corridor with a consistent formal vocabulary that became emblematic of the city. The patrons of the seventeenth-century built in disparate locations and in a variety of forms. Set against the backdrop of the Jelâlî revolts, the seventeenth century has been seen as a period of decline in the architecture of Aleppo, while it is in fact a period of reorientation and consolidation. Distinguished Ottoman patrons continued to choose Aleppo as a site of patronage: İpshîr Pasha, Öküz Mehmed Pasha, Tabanî Yassî Arnavut Mehmed Pasha, Hâfîz Aḥmed Pasha, and Dilâver Pasha all served as grand viziers. Subaltern members of the Ottoman ruling group also participated in patronage, often by adding endowments to focal monuments in the city, such as the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr.

In terms of urban development, the central commercial district retained its importance to the economic life of the region, but did not attract large scale monumental structures by Ottoman patrons. Rather, the patronage of the pashas was now decentered: they placed their endowments at various points within the city, and most importantly, they chose to support sites outside the city, at the edge of the wilderness, and turned them into the nuclei of suburban developments. The main axes of urban growth were the northeastern edge of the walled city, near the access points of the caravans coming from the desert routes. In addition, the large endowment of İpshîr Pasha in the northwestern suburbs encouraged the development of a secondary economic and industrial center. Urban growth did not abate.

An intensification of mystical piety in Aleppo, probably related to the uncertainties occasioned by the Revolts, translated into the presence of many dervish communities. Some of the more unorthodox dervishes eschewed the city in favor of the wilderness at its edge. These communities functioned as pioneers of urbanism, as their places of gathering became the focus of patronage and transformed into suburban neighborhoods. The takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr constitutes of an example of the cooptation of an antinomian community of dervishes by the structures of normative Islam, through the instrument of waqf. The growing city absorbed the mystical communities and made them part of a socialized form of piety.

The architecture of the seventeenth-century complexes did not reference central Ottoman forms as pointedly as the sixteenth-century mosques. Rather, the takiyyas and in particular the new coffeehouses evinced the emergence of a recognizable local style that built on motifs from the past, combined in new and unexpected ways. While the sixteenth-century endowments altered the image of the city by recreating its skyline, the seventeenth-century complexes had modest domes and minarets that had a minimal effect on the city's skyline. The bold will to transform the profile of the city seemingly disappeared. However, the Ottoman concern with the imageability of cities asserted itself in a new way: one of the most important structures of the seventeenth century, the takiyya of Abū Bakr, afforded from a distant promontory a privileged view of the city that made its Ottomanized skyline visible.

Despite the fact that it was no longer a focus for monumental patronage, the Mdīneh continued to function as the economic, legal and social center of the city. The next chapter examines the social production of space in this part of the city in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE OTTOMANIZATION OF THE PAST

The central district remained the center of the political, economic, and legal life of Aleppo through the Jelâlî revolts. While in the seventeenth century the scale and number of official Ottoman acts of patronage diminished in this area, the urban institutions of the sixteenth-century complexes continued to sustain the religious and commercial services as provided by their endowments. Among the few new monumental structures in the Mdîneh was the Khân al-Wazîr. Its location and primarily commercial role, as well as the composition of its façade harked back to the conventions established in the sixteenth-century complexes. This chapter places the creation of this monument in the context of the production of space in the Mdîneh in the seventeenth century. Ottomanization did not only consist in erecting new structures in a recognizably imperial style; but it also included the modification and recontextualization of pre-existing structures. Notably, a series of interventions modified in crucial ways the most ancient and sacred structures of the center of Aleppo; in other words, they Ottomanized the city's past. This aspect of patronage participated in the elaboration of a ceremonial for which the Ottomanized Mdîneh constituted a privileged stage.

Ottoman Patronage and Ceremonial in the Monumental Corridor

Following the conquest of Aleppo, the Ottoman administration occupied the structures from which the Mamlûks had directed the affairs of the city and its province. Eschewing the citadel, the beğlerbeğîs took up primary residence in the Dâr al-‘Adl, located near the central economic district. In the seventeenth century, because of the Jelâlî Revolts, the Pashas moved their residence and administrative offices, at least intermittently, to the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr, three miles away from the urban core. An attenuation of official Ottoman patronage in the Mdîneh accompanied this transfer. As the caravan routes became safe again after 1630, the resumption of long-distance

commerce and the rise of silk production in Isfahan, the Safavid capital, compounded with the formation of Jewish, Armenian and Syriac trading diasporas, propelled Aleppo once more to the forefront of the world-wide diffusion of luxury goods, though not with the same intensity as the sixteenth century.¹

The Mdīneh remained central to Aleppo's participation in long-distance trade. Commercial structures established in the sixteenth century continued to function, sometimes in novel ways.² The seventeenth-century visitors and residents of the city, such as Evliyâ and d'Arvieux, described the Mdīneh as a bustling center of activity. They, like most urban dwellers, did not perceive its grand khāns as being of a different era; for them, the külliyes of the sixteenth century were contemporary to their own experience. Moreover, the religious and political importance of the Mdīneh's oldest structures remained undiminished, as evidenced by the ceremonies performed there. The decrease in official Ottoman patronage of new building projects did not indicate that Ottoman officials neglected the public structures of the Mdīneh. The oldest Islamic monuments of the city, especially the Great Mosque of Aleppo remained the sites of ceremonies and ongoing architectural attention.

The Ottomanization of the Great Mosque of Aleppo

The Great Mosque (also known as al-Jāmi' al-A'ẓam, Jāmi' Zakariyya, or al-Jāmi' al-Umawī) was reputedly built in ca. 715 A.D. by the Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān on the site of the city's Byzantine Cathedral. It houses a shrine containing the head of the Prophet Zakariyya.³ Since the Umayyads, each generation of rulers has continuously endowed the Great Mosque with

¹ Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 24–30; Matthee, *Politics of Trade*.

² For example, some caravanserais had become the permanent residences of European merchants. See Chp. 3.

³ The person buried in the Great Mosque is thought to be either Zakariyya, or Yahyā b. Zakariyya (St. John the Baptist in the Christian tradition). The identity of the original Umayyad patron is in debate. For a study of the Great Mosque, see MCIA, 1:1, Chapter 3: "La grande Mosquée", 143–173; MCIA 2, Pl. LIII (Groundplan); Muḥammad Kāmil Fāris, *Al-jāmi' al-umawī al-kabīr bi-Halab: Tārikhuhu wa-ma'ālimumu al-athariyya* (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 1995); Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 324; Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 75, no. 15; Gaube & Wirth, 155, fig. 34 (Groundplan), Cat. no. 100; Ghazzī 2, II, 180–202; G. Rabbath, "Les mosquées d'Alep II: La Grande-Mosquée," *Revue Archéologique Syrienne* III (1934):

numerous waqfs throughout the Islamic domains, and modified the structure in many ways. Inscriptions naming rulers as well as architectural fragments, notably the addition of the famous square minaret of the Saljūqs (ca. 1090), render the layers of patronage visible.⁴ The ceremonial of ruling groups also privileged the oldest mosque of the city, where the ruler attended Friday prayers. The Ottomans, too, made the Great Mosque a central element in their ritual use of the urban landscape. The arrival of a new beğlerbeği was celebrated with a solemn procession of all Ottoman officials to Friday prayer at the Great Mosque. The hierarchical procession included members of the Pasha's entourage as well as the notable men of the city, including the muftī, the qādī al-quḍāt (head judge), the lesser qāḍīs, and the Ağas of the janissaries. It began at the sarāy (Dār al-ʿAdl) and proceeded to the door of the mosque, through the covered market. On such occasions, all the shops of the Mdīneh closed; lamps were lit on the route, and left burning until the procession returned at the prayer's conclusion.⁵ All firmāns and imperial decrees were publicly read at the Great Mosque.⁶ These public actions made visible the close relationship between imperial rule and the most sacred

1–12, and IV (1935): 5–9; For the Zangid period, see Yasser Tabbaa, "The Architectural Patronage of Nur al-Din (1146–1174)," (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1982), 38–45; Terry Allen, "Some Pre-Mamluk Portions of the Courtyard Façades of the Great Mosque of Aleppo," *BEO* 35 (1983): 7–12.

⁴ For a study of Aleppo under the Saljūqs, see Muḥammad Ḍāmin, *Imārat Ḥalab fī zill al-ḥikm al-saljūqī* (Damascus: Manshūrāt dār Usāma, 1990).

⁵ The ceremony conducted in 1682 for the new governor Maḥmūd Pasha, is described in D'Arvieux, VI, 282. He does not specify whether the grandees at the procession walked or rode horses. The narrowness of the covered market precluded more expansive processional formations. It is certainly in response to needs created by this procession that the Ottomans renovated the three doors which communicated between the mosque and the covered market, see below.

⁶ These documents were read to the congregation from the roof of the northern riwāq: Ghazzī 2, II, 192. In a related practice, the Mamlūks inscribed their decrees on the walls of the mosque: *ibid.*, 196. Consider for example, a decree abolishing the commission levied on robes of honor imported from Egypt, dated 871/1467, carved on a wooden plaque placed on the wall of the passageway of the eastern entrance of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, originally painted: Jean Sauvaget, "Décrets Mamelouks de Syrie," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* II (1932): 18–20, no. 32, Pl. V; MCIA 1:2, 383–384, inscription no. 237, Photograph published in MCIA 2, Pl. LXVIIb. See also a fragmentary decree naming the Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, dated 903/1498, placed above the lintel of the eastern entrance of the Great Mosque, painted in blue and gold: MCIA 1:2, 399–400, inscription no. 263. Mamlūks carved official decrees in a number of public locations throughout the city: MCIA and Sauvaget, "Décrets Mamelouks," provide numerous examples.

mosque in the city; they also emphasized the continuity between the house of 'Osmân and the previous Islamic dynasties that had ruled the city.

Strategic renovations and interventions on the fabric of buildings suggest that Ottoman officials continued to Ottomanize the center of Aleppo in the seventeenth century in subtle yet semantically powerful ways. The Great Mosque was singled out with numerous interventions (Fig. 17, Pl. 27). In addition to being the most revered mosque of the city and the province, and a focus of official ceremonies, the Great Mosque was the most important center of intellectual activity in Aleppo. As Abu al-Wafâ' al-'Urḍî's seventeenth-century biographical dictionary demonstrates, the notables and literati of Aleppo held teaching circles in the porticoes of the Mosque at all hours. The Mosque features a large courtyard, the largest open space in the densely occupied Mdīneh. Riwāqs surround it on three sides, and a hypostyle prayer hall, three bays deep, occupies the south side. The minaret sits on the northeast corner. A single dome surmounts the central bay which contains the main mihrāb. Ottoman-period repairs modified all four entrances to the Great Mosque, one on each side.⁷ The renovated entrances to the south, east and west linked the mosque to the covered market; they must be related to the Friday procession from the Sarāy to the Great Mosque which traversed the covered market, and probably entered the mosque from the south, east or west.

In 1631, the Grand Vizier to Sultan Murâd IV, Bushnâḵ Ḥusrev Pasha, renovated the north façade of the prayer hall which fronts the courtyard. The renovated façade featured a series of arches supported by pillars.⁸ In keeping with the Ottoman practice of showcasing centralized entrances, a number of architectural features emphasize the three central bays of the portico. The roofline, which

⁷ The Ottoman-period repairs of the south, east and west entrances are evidenced by unpublished inscriptions, MCIA 1:1, 172. Their exact date is not given. Ghazzî 2, II, 184, quotes a renovation inscription in Arabic verse in the name of Murtaḍâ Pasha above the northern entrance to the Great Mosque. This man must be identical with Murtaḍâ Nūghây Pasha, beḡlerbeḡi of Aleppo from 1630 to 1633, as listed in: *Sâlnâme* 1903, 81; Ghazzî 2, III, 219; Tabbâkh 2, III, 198.

⁸ Today wood-and-glass doors fill the arches. Blind œil-de-bœuf openings grace the spandrels, similar to openings are found at the porticoes of the Khusruwiyya and the 'Adiliyya (Chapter 3).

a crenelated band surmounts, is higher over the three central bays. The three central arches are replaced by a door flanked by two windows embedded in blind arches. Ablaḡ bands surmount the windows and bichrome masonry appears on either side of the grilled openings. The pillar near the east window bears a miḡrāb. The entrance leads to the central bay in the prayer hall which is singled out by a dome and culminates in the main miḡrāb. A particularly elaborate pavement marks the threshold of the entrance (for the pavement of the courtyard, see below). The entrance bay on the façade which juts out from the wall and the roofline and features the tallest arch, elaborately decorated with an ablaḡ design reminiscent of Mamlūk prototypes. The tall arch creates a niche that in turn crowns the door. Joggled voussoirs featuring crested designs surmount the door. Above it, an intermediary zone bears a knotted black frame. Further up a lintel contains two inscriptions surmounted by a cruciform design embedded in an arch. The longest inscription, set in the central zone, is in Arabic verse and dated 1630.⁹ A two-part inscription in Arabic prose flanks the verses on the lintel. It names the reigning Sultan, Murād IV and the patron, Grand Vizier Ḥusrev Pasha.¹⁰ Another inscription surrounds the cruciform design; it is an aphorism in Arabic verse.¹¹ All three inscriptions are in Arabic, appropriate for a mosque setting. However, they are in an Ottoman hand, and in an Ottoman format: they are placed inside cartouches rather

⁹ The longest inscription is composed of 12 hemistichs (6 verses of two hemistichs each), arranged on three lines each containing four hemistichs. Published: Gaube, *Inschriften*, 34–35, no. 54; Ghazzī 2, II, 191 (first inscription on the page); Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 374 (contains inaccuracies, including an incorrect date of 1032/1622).

¹⁰ Bushnâḡ Ḥusrev Pasha was Grand Vizier in 1628–1631. The prose inscription: Gaube, *Inschriften*, 35, no. 55, line A; Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 374 (partially quoted; incorrectly attributes the entire building to Ḥusrev Pasha). Ghazzī does not quote this inscription, but identifies Ḥusrev Pasha as the patron on behalf of Sultan Murād IV.

¹¹ The aphorism: Gaube, *Inschriften*, 35, no. 55, line B; Ghazzī 2, II, 190 (second inscription on the page). The two prose inscriptions are dated 1631 by Gaube, *Inschriften*, 35. Fāris, *al-ġāmīʿ al-umawī*, 25, 86, quoted all three inscriptions, but attributed the façade to the Mamlūk period, presumably on the basis of style. The top of the cruciform design contains a square plaque which is blank today. Perhaps it contained an imperial tuḡra. The first inscription is possibly indicative of a separate building campaign, since the years 1630–1632 marked a period of intense building activity at the Great Mosque.

than in long horizontal bands in the Mamlūk manner, and they use the Ottoman calligraphic style, rather than the Mamluk *naskh* familiar in Aleppo.

The resultant façade combines Mamlūk building conventions in Aleppo with Ottoman expectations of mosques. The motifs used on the façade, and the composition of the bays, including the combinations of ablaq designs and carved frames, are all reminiscent of Mamlūk conventions for façade treatments, seen in Mamlūk buildings as well as sixteenth-century Ottoman structures in Aleppo. In fact the central bay of the Great Mosque bears a striking resemblance to the main entrances of the Khusruwiyya and ‘Ādiliyya mosques, and like them evinces the Ottoman sensitivity to urban context and to urban memory. The fidelity to forms perceived as Mamlūk is so striking that Fāris argued, against the epigraphic and architectural evidence, that while the inscriptions were placed in the Ottoman era, the façade itself dated from the Mamlūk period.¹² Decidedly Ottoman features include the centrality of the entrance bay on the façade, the symmetry of the entrance bay’s composition, and the creation of an axis. Indeed, not only is the entrance centered on the façade of the prayer hall, it is also on the axis of the main mihrāb, and the unique dome of the mosque. By contrast, Mamlūk structures do not evince this same concern with frontality and with axiality. Indeed, their entrances are almost never centralized on the façade.¹³ The arrangement of the front which the Ottomanized Great Mosque presents to the courtyard is reminiscent of the front of such Ottoman-style structures as the Khusruwiyya in Aleppo, or on a grander scale, the Sultanic Complexes in Istanbul and Edirne. Centralized entrances and ceremonial axes characterize Ottoman mosques, but also Ottoman structures associated with the administration of the state: the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul features three centralized gates and three courtyards arranged along an axis.¹⁴ Thus

¹² Fāris, *al-Jāmi‘ al-umawī*, 25.

¹³ Al-Harīthī, “Concept of Space,” esp. 87–90, discusses Mamlūk facades in Cairo.

¹⁴ Begun in 1459, the Topkapı Sarayı guiding spatial organization was based on three courtyards of varying accessibility, entered through centralized gates. Gülru Necipoğlu, “Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces,” *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303–306; and idem, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991).

the centrality of key entrances on buildings' façades is a recurring concept in Ottoman architecture. However, since the ancient Great Mosque of Aleppo was not completely rebuilt, the Ottoman axis can be perceived only from within the courtyard, not from the street as in the case of the Khusruwiyya. The north entrance of the Great Mosque, remodeled in the Ottoman period but kept in its original placement, did not prolong the axis: it was located off of it at the eastern corner of the northern *riwāq*.¹⁵

During the seventeenth century Ottoman patrons also modified the interior of the prayer hall. Two *miḥrābs* were added to the east of the main *miḥrāb*. The easternmost *miḥrāb* was dedicated to the Ḥanbalī madhhab. The Ḥanafī madhhab's *miḥrāb* was between these two, immediately to the west of the entrance which linked the prayer hall to the covered market to the south, conceivably the entrance used during the Friday procession.¹⁶ The prayer hall also featured three *maqṣūras* (areas screened off for the exclusive use of a dominant person or group), two of which date to the Ottoman period: from east to west, the *Maqṣūrat al-Qāḍī* (1587) created by an Aleppine judge, *Maqṣūrat Qarasungur*, and *Maqṣūrat al-Wālī* presumably named after an Ottoman governor.¹⁷ Additional improvements focused on the shrine of Zakariyya, housed in a square room just east of the main *miḥrāb*, which juts out of the south wall of the prayer hall. A grille flanked by two columns separates the room from the prayer hall. In 1708, a patron inscribed Ottoman poetry on the walls of Zakariyya's tomb, and placed tile panels on either side of

¹⁵ The exterior arrangement of the northern entrance in the premodern period is poorly known. Today's northern approach to the mosque was fashioned in 1953 when the Directorate of Awqāf in Aleppo, under the supervision of the Directorate-General of Antiquities, cleared the buildings which clogged the façade, and replaced them with an open space and a parking lot. See Fāris, *al-Jāmi' al-umawī*, 33–34.

¹⁶ The chronology of the various *miḥrābs* is not easily reconstructed. Ghazzī speaks of four *miḥrābs*, one for each madhhab, but only three can be documented. In 1524, the qāḍī 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb added the Ḥanafī *miḥrāb*: Ghazzī 2, II, 183. In 1587 a local qāḍī and sayyid, Muṣṭafā Abū Muḥammad, son of the amīr Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī, rebuilt the *miḥrāb*, added an inscription and a *maqṣūra* known as *Maqṣūrat al-qāḍī*: MCIA 1:1, p. 171, inscription no. 86. This inscription is in Arabic prose, in a naskhī Ottoman hand, but does not name the Sultan.

¹⁷ See Herzfeld's groundplan for the location of the *maqṣūras*. For the *Maqṣūrat al-Qāḍī*, see note above. The date of the *Maqṣūrat al-Wālī* is unknown, though it is presumed to be Ottoman. The *maqṣūras* were removed after Independence by the Directorate of Awqāf. See Fāris, *al-Jāmi' al-umawī*, 60.

the grille.¹⁸ Featuring geometric and vegetal motifs, the tiles use classical Ottoman techniques and forms.¹⁹

In addition to interventions by imperial officials, prominent local notables also patronized the mosque, endowing it with some of its best-known features. In 1632, Zayn al-Dīn Beğ repaved the courtyard of the mosque in a mosaic of pink, yellow and black stone, celebrated as one of the most remarkable achievements of the Aleppo school of stone carving.²⁰ The years 1630–1632 thus marked a period of intense building activity at the Great Mosque of Aleppo by a variety of patrons. Coinciding with the conclusion of the Jelālī revolts and the resumption of trade, the interventions at the Great Mosque mark a renewed optimism by the Ottoman as well as local élites of the city. Such a degree of concentrated patronage was not seen at the Great Mosque until the late nineteenth century, when Sultan ‘Abdül-Ḥamīd II embellished and endowed the mosque as part of an empire-wide campaign of support of Islamic institutions.

The Ottomanization of al-Madrasa al-Ḥallāwīyya

Ottomans patrons renovated another of the oldest Islamic monuments of Aleppo, al-Madrasa al-Ḥallāwīyya (Fig. 18, Pl. 28). Also in the Mdīneh, it is located to the west of the Great Mosque, separated from it by a narrow passage. Built as a church by Helena,

¹⁸ Ghazzī 2, II, 187 does not name a patron for the Ottoman poetry. Tabbākh 2, III, 250–251 provides the date and states that Çorlulu ‘Alī Pasha renovated Zakariyya’s tomb while ‘Abdī Pasha was governor of Aleppo; a miracle took place when the tomb was opened. Çorlulu ‘Alī Pasha was beğlerbeğ of Aleppo in 1703 (see *Sâlnâme* 1903, 82, he is listed as Silihdâr ‘Alī Pasha; Ghazzī 2, III, 229 and his biography in Tabbākh 2, III, 249). Çorlulu ‘Alī Pasha became Grand Vizier to Sultan Ahmed III in 1710 and was assassinated in the same year. ‘Abdī Pasha was governor of Aleppo beginning in 1707: Ghazzī 2, III, 230; *Sâlnâme* 1903, 82.

¹⁹ See the colorplate in Fāris, *al-Jāmi‘ al-‘Umayrī*, 91. Fāris, 59, claimed that the tiles were made in Aleppo in imitation of Iznik tiles. Aleppo in the seventeenth century produced tiles, including ones bearing figural narrative scenes, particularly Christian stories. These tiles are different in technique and in the nature of their decoration from those at the Great Mosque of Aleppo. Such a tile, made at Aleppo in 1699, now at the Musée du Louvre, depicts the biblical story of Elias and is signed by Mūsa b. Istifān (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Accession No. MAO 765, Gift of Jean Soustiel, 1985).

²⁰ Repaving: Ghazzī 2, II, 193–194; Tabbākh 2, III, 199–198, cites two pieces of poetry which commemorate the repaving, one of them by al-‘Urđī; Photograph in Sauvaget, *Alep*, 234, and Pl. XLII. A diagram of the pavement appears in MCIA 2, Pl. LIII.

mother of Constantine, the Ḥallāwiyya, turned into a madrasa in the early twelfth century, was one of the wealthiest communal institutions in the city.²¹ The fact that the Ḥallāwiyya's mandate was the teaching of Hanafī law was certainly related to the interest Ottoman patrons took in it, as it was the preferred madhhab of the Ottoman state. In 1594, Nishānjī Meḥmed Pasha endowed the Khān al-Ḥibāl to support the Madrasa, as discussed in (Chpt. 3). A thorough modification of the structure took place in 1660, when Abū'l-Nūr Meḥmed Pasha, beğlerbeğī of Aleppo under Sultan Meḥmed IV, renovated the prayer hall's facade on the courtyard, as well as the riwāqs, that is, all the facades on the courtyard. An inscription above the door leading to the prayer hall, in Arabic prose, and in an Ottoman naskhī hand, commemorated this intervention.²² Ottoman

A chronology of the renovations at the Great Mosque is given in MCIA, 1:1, 172; but it pays little attention to the Ottoman period. A brief list of the Ottoman-period renovations at the Great Mosque of Aleppo is given in: Sauvaget, *Alep*, 234, n. 884, and Fāris, *al-Jāmi' al-Umawī*, 18. Two additional interventions at the Great Mosque in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not discussed above: In 1653, a local notable donated a copy of the Qur'ān to the tomb of Zakariyya: Ghazzī 2, II, 187. In 1698, a group of Aleppines built a door in the ḥarām: inscription quoted in *ibid.*, 190.

²¹ The Ḥallāwiyya owned numerous properties in the Mdīneh, as well as gardens outside the city, and rural properties, Ghazzī 2, II, 167–176. The plot of land on which İpshir Pasha built his waqf in the northern suburb had belonged to the Ḥallāwiyya waqf (chapter 4). On the architecture of the Ḥallāwiyya: Tabbaa, "Patronage of Nur al-Din," 50–53; Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur al-Din (1146–1174)," In *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Gross and C. V. Bonstein (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 223–40; MCIA 1:1, 205–221, inscr. 100–103; MCIA 2, Pl. LXXXII (Groundplan showing various renovations), photographs: Pl. LXXXIII–LXXXV; Samuel Guyer, "La Madrasa al-Hallāwiyya à Alep," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 11 (1912): 217–231; Michel Écochard, "Note sur un édifice chrétien d'Alep," *Syria* 27 (1950): 270–283; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 122, fig. 16; Sauvaget, "Inventaire," 76, no. 15; Gaube & Wirth Cat. No 73; Ghazzī 2, II, 167–176.

²² The extent of the renovation is shown in the groundplan published by Herzfeld: MCIA 2, Plate LXXXII. The inscription is published in: MCIA 1:1, 220–221, inscription no. 103 (incorrectly dated to 1680), and Ghazzī 2, II, 172. Abū'l-Nūr Meḥmed Pasha was beğlerbeğī of Aleppo in 1071/1660: *Sālnāme* 1903, 81; Ghazzī 2, III, 225, Tabbaākh 2, III, 221. The inscription indicated that Abū'l-Nūr Meḥmed Pasha had the rank of vizier. The undesguised contempt Herzfeld expresses for the Ottoman intervention at the Ḥallāwiyya is typical of the attitude espoused by his generation of orientalist towards the recent past of the regions they studied: p. 221: "La réfection dont l'inscription parle est un lamentable travail et nous donne une juste idée des 'œuvres importantes' que ce régent du monde [i.e. Meḥmed IV] a achevées par ses 'idées brillantes'." MCIA 1:1, 221 (the words in quotation marks are excerpted from his translation of the inscription).

officials renovated the oldest Islamic monuments of Aleppo in precisely the same manner, even though the two renovation campaigns are thirty years apart. Indeed, in the case of the Great Mosque as in the case of the Ḥallāwiyya, Ottoman intervention remodeled the façade the prayer hall presented to the courtyard, and made this intervention legible through an inscription placed above the threshold between the courtyard and the ḥarām. At the Great Mosque, the intervention established an axis uniting the main miḥrāb, the door and the inscription. No such axis could be achieved at the Ḥallāwiyya, because of the particular layout of this former church. The miḥrāb indicating the qibla is on the south wall, however the entrance to the prayer hall faces east towards the former apse. The only way to place entrance and miḥrāb on the same axis would have required piercing a new door on the northern wall. That wall, however, abutted a khān that was part of an endowment,²³ consequently, an entrance to the north would not have a direct opening on the street. Thus the axial approach to the prayer hall was eschewed; however, the Ottomanization of the prayer hall's façade was carried out nonetheless: the front of the prayer hall bore the signature of the emperor and his servants.

Expressing Ottoman Hegemony

In addition to architectural interventions, the Ottomans took charge of legal matters regarding the endowments attached to the pre-existent structures. Thus in 1668, all of the income-producing properties of the Ḥallāwiyya, accumulated since its conversion to a madrasa, were listed in a single document for purposes of regulation.²⁴ One al-Ḥājj Faṭḥallāh b. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad, al-Mi'mār al-Sulṭānī bi-Ḥalab, numbers among the Ottoman bureaucrats who signed this document. The tasks of this imperial architect in a provincial city included record-keeping and supervision of endowments in addition to the supervision of architectural projects.²⁵ As evidence of the legal takeover of the city by Ottomans, the imperial decrees from the seventeenth

²³ The Khān al-Jadīd, Gaube and Wirth Cat. no. 71.

²⁴ In the 1920's, Ghazzī examined a later copy of the 1668 document which he summarized, Ghazzī 2, II, 173.

²⁵ On the duties of imperial architects sent to the provinces, see Cengiz Orhonlu, "Şehir Mimarları," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım*, ed. Salih Özbaran

and eighteenth centuries indicate that all previously established Islamic endowments in the empire came under the control and regulation of the Ottoman bureaucracy. Bureaucrats took over the day-to-day running of each endowment; the appointment of employees of the awqāf, from the most responsible to the most humble, had to be ratified in Istanbul. For example, a 1691 *firmān* (Imperial decree) addressed to Nāẓir al-Awqāf in Aleppo reinstated one ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ağa as mutawallī of the awqāf of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, at a daily stipend of 30 akçes, in addition to the awqāf of Nūr al-Dīn Zengi at a daily stipend of 20 akçes, and the awqāf of the Bimaristan (Hospital) of Arghūn al-Kāmīlī at a daily stipend of 30 akçes.²⁶ In 1722, a decree appointed a new mu’adhdhin (person in charge of the call to prayer) at the Jāmi‘ al-Ṭawāshī.²⁷ Taken as a whole, this process reveals a highly centralized, complex and self-conscious structure that integrated into the Ottoman system all aspects of urban life in the provinces.

The modifications of ancient Islamic structures in Aleppo favored relatively minor renovations, repairs and embellishments over wholesale replacement. The official Ottoman inscriptions announced the current ruling group to those users of the mosque who read them, which included members of the local notability and merchants.²⁸ The official Ottoman interventions were sometimes matched by renovations of prominent Aleppines, as in the case of the repaving of the Great Mosque. Nonetheless, each official modification was semantically powerful. The practice of Ottomanizing existing structures, selected for their religious or political importance, by adding key architectural elements was a hallmark of Ottoman urban practice. Elsewhere

(Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1984). The eighteenth century saw at least two renovation campaigns on the Ḥallāwiyya, one in 1727 (Ghazzī 2, II, 170), and one in 1775 (*ibid.*, 174).

²⁶ AS Aleppo, Vol. 1, p. 63, document 119, dated Jumāda I 1102/January 21, 1691.

²⁷ The mu’adhdhin: AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 25, document 56, dated 1135/1722. Other decrees include: A new mudarris is appointed at the Madrasa Shādbakhtīyya at a daily stipend of 4 akçes: AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 119, document 202, dated 1136/1723. A new mutawallī is appointed to Madrasat al-Firdaws outside Bāb al-Maqām, following the death of the previous mutawallī: AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 208, doc 351, dated 3 safar 1149/June 2, 1736.

²⁸ The biographical dictionaries produced in Aleppo by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and al-‘Urḍī are among the most useful sources for understanding the education and careers of the local notables and merchants.

in the empire, Ottomans proclaimed their presence by adding minarets to churches converted to mosques, as in the case of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, or the cities of Crete.²⁹ A pencil-shaped top added to the Mamlūk-period base of the Minaret of Jesus Ottomanized an Islamic monument such as the Great Mosque of Damascus.³⁰ In another famous example, Süleymân Ottomanized the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem by adding a ceramic tile revetment to its exterior walls and drum.³¹ The Two Holy Sanctuaries at Mecca and Madina were transformed through the addition of multiple pencil-shaped minarets, among other interventions.³² Each of these interventions was perceptible from the *exterior* of the pre-existing structures. In Aleppo, however, the Ottomans added no elements to the exteriors of such structures that expressed Ottoman power. All the interventions on pre-existing Islamic structures focused on their *interiors*.³³

The travelogue of a member of the Ottoman court elite suggests a clue as to why this mode was chosen in Aleppo. Evliyâ Çelebi's discussion of the Great Mosque indicates how the cultured viewer perceived these subtle Ottoman interventions. Evliyâ's narrative lingers over the mihrâb he described as being dedicated to the Ḥanafî *madhhab*, the Ottoman dynasty's preferred school of law. Evliyâ was

²⁹ Necipoğlu, "Hagia Sophia after Byzantium." Bierman, "Ottomanization of Crete," 68: "Three main additions to the exterior of the *cami* were sufficient expressive elements to convey the transformation from Christian function to Muslim function: the addition of an Ottoman shaped minaret, a chronogram plaque and a graveyard associated with the *cami*." None of these "expressive elements" were imposed on the exteriors of pre-existent Islamic structures of Aleppo.

³⁰ This intervention followed the minaret's partial collapse in the earthquake of 1759. See Qutayba al-Shihābī, *Ma'ādhin Dīnashq: Tārīkh wa tīrāz* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thiqāfa, 1993), 52, 61–63; and Bierman, "Traditional Forms," 123.

³¹ Raymond, "Activité architecturale," Beatrice Saint Laurent and Andrés Riedlmayer, "Restorations of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock and their Political Significance, 1537–1928," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 76–84.

³² Faruqi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*. Emel Esin, *Mecca the Blessed, Madinah the Radiant* (London: Elek Books, 1963).

³³ The exterior inscriptions which noted the renovations of the doors of the Great Mosque are all very discreetly placed. Even the more substantial imperial renovations of the nineteenth century avoided any Ottomanization of the exterior of either the Great Mosque of Aleppo or the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya. Ottoman sultans chose to place their tuğras on the riwāqs of the courtyard, not on the exterior, as in the case of the tuğra and inscription of Abdul Hamid II on the northeast corner of the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Aleppo (1908, Arabic verse composed by Ghazzī, Gaube, *Inschriften*, 36, #57; Fāris, *al-ġāmʿ al-Umawī*, 63–64), and the nineteenth-century tuğra on the southern riwāq of the Ḥallāwiyya (unpublished).

standing in front of the largest and most central mihrab of the mosque, which in fact was not dedicated to the Ḥanafī school.³⁴ In a slip reflective of his central-imperial viewpoint, Evliyâ assumed that the most prominent mihrâb would be the Ḥanafī. Reading the signs on the qibla wall, Evliyâ quoted an Arabic inscription commemorating a restoration by the Mamlūk Sultan Qalāʾūn.³⁵ Above it, Evliyâ noted a seal bearing the name of the Ottoman Sultan Süleymân I. The niche bearing these accumulated signs, said Evliyâ, is “so ornate that the tongue is deficient in its description . . .”³⁶ By reading these two signs in this manner, Evliyâ in fact read the layers of architectural signs at the site. In urban history, each generation remakes the city by manipulating the urban environment in accordance with its view of the past. By continually altering the urban landscape through erecting new structures, destroying existing structures and allowing others to remain, those who have the power to make these changes—usually rulers—make visible the image which they have of their city. In the case of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, the Ottomans added a certain sign to other, existent ones. They purposefully chose not to destroy, but rather to accrue. By adding a sign above an existing one—the superior position on the wall being perhaps equivalent to a superior position in temporal power—the Ottomans appropriated the Mamlūk inscription. Recontextualized in this manner, the Mamlūk inscription bolstered the impact of the Ottoman addition, contributing to it a sense of history, of Islamic legitimacy. The superimposition of the seal was a subtle but semantically powerful act, both in the city and in Evliyâ’s narrative.

In sum, while in the sixteenth century, Ottoman officials established alternative Great Mosques in the Mdīneh area, in the seventeenth century the city’s rulers sought to Ottomanize the most

³⁴ Judging from his description Evliyâ was standing before the main mihrâb of the Great Mosque, which bears the only inscription naming the Mamlūk sultan Qalāʾūn in the structure. The mihrâb dedicated to the Ḥanafī madhhab was to the east of the main niche, close to the southern entrance.

³⁵ Qalāʾūn restored the Great Mosque and rebuilt the main mihrâb following its destruction by the Mongols. The inscription is dated 1285: MCIA 1:1, 166, no. 79; photograph MCIA 2, Plate LXVb. Evliyâ quoted a portion of Qalāʾūn’s inscription in his text, the section equivalent to Line 1 in MCIA. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 373.

³⁶ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 374. The modern fabric of the mihrâb shows no sign of this seal, and no written sources confirm its presence. Perhaps seal was removed.

important pre-existing Islamic shrines. They employed various techniques, such as the “correction” of the axis of the mosque in conformity with Ottoman expectations of its “front”, the adjustment of entryways to fit the choreography of the Ottoman ceremonial and the creation of epigraphic layers, to achieve this goal. These modifications simultaneously emphasized Ottoman takeover of older structures and Islamic continuity. These relatively modest interventions were semantically powerful, and were recognized as such by the cultured eyes of Ottomans such as Evliyâ Çelebi.

The Khān al-Wazīr

While the Mdīneh retained its central role in the commercial, administrative, religious and political life, official Ottoman patronage of this section of the city diminished in the seventeenth century, with the exception of two structures, the Takiyya of Aşlān Dada, already discussed, and the Khān al-Wazīr.

Patron

The Khān al-Wazīr, the most remarkable of Aleppo’s great caravanserais, was part of an endowment, but an absence of inscriptions, of contemporary literary discussions, and of a waqfiyya make it difficult to know its date and patron precisely. Presumably the endowment comprised income-generating and charitable components, possibly throughout the empire; however only one caravanserai is extant in Aleppo.

It is commonly assumed that the building’s name, “Khān al-Wazīr,” “The caravanserai of the vizier,” indicates that its patron held the rank of vizier. Notwithstanding the fact that building names in the Mdīneh are popular appellations often at variance with the names they are given in endowment deeds, bestowed sometimes long after the building’s completion, it is nonetheless plausible that the caravanserai’s builder was a vizier. Most Ottoman patrons who built structures of comparable quality and in similarly prominent locations were beglerbeğis, and the rank of vizier was required to rule the Vilâyet-i Haleb. According to the *Sâlnâme*, Kara Mehmed Pasha, wālî of Aleppo between 1089/1678 and 1093/1682, built the khān known

as “vezir hânı.”³⁷ Modern historians have relied on this source, thus the patron and date for this structure are often accepted as *Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha* and 1678–1682.³⁸ Since *Evliyâ* does not include the *Khân al-Wazîr* on his list of the great caravanserais of Aleppo, it must postdate his visit (1671–1672).³⁹

Alternatively, Bruce Masters suggested that the patron was *Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Pasha*, *beğlerbeği* of Aleppo in 1066/1656.⁴⁰ A number of imperial decrees, preserved today in Damascus, direct matters relating to the waqf of Grand Vizier *Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Pasha* in Aleppo over a period of fifty years. The earliest *firmân*, dated 1101/1689, states that *Muṣṭafâ Pasha*, former Grand Vizier, had died in Belgrade.⁴¹ The Grand Vizier of the document is identifiable as *Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Pasha*, the commander of the unsuccessful second siege of Vienna, who died in Belgrade in 1095/1683.⁴² *Merzifonlu* is the only Grand Vizier in the late 1670's and in the 1680's named either “*Meḥmed*” or “*Muṣṭafâ*,” or bearing the sobriquet of “*Ḳara*.” This makes him a likely candidate for the patron of the *Khân al-Wazîr*, except that he never served as *beğlerbeği* of Aleppo. This jars with

³⁷ *Sâlnâme* 1903, 81.

³⁸ Ghazzî indicated that the *Khân al-Wazîr* was built in 1682: Ghazzî 2, II, 150 and idem, III, 227. He stated that *Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha* was governor of Aleppo in 1678: idem, III, 225. Tabbâkh gives the same information: Tabbâkh 2, III, 233. Later scholars followed Tabbâkh and Ghazzî: David, “*Domaines*,” 185; Ṭalas, 134–135, Cat. no. 71; Gaube & Wirth, 366, Cat. no. 180.

³⁹ *Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 376.

⁴⁰ Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, 124, stated that the *Khân al-Wazîr* was constructed by Grand Vizier *Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Pasha* in 1101/1681. The information that *Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Pasha* governed Aleppo in 1066/1656 comes from Na'imâ, *Târîḫ*, VI, 119–125. Neither the *sâlnâme* nor any other written sources from Aleppo mention a *Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Pasha* as governor of Aleppo around this date.

⁴¹ *AS Aleppo*, vol. 1, p. 25, document 44, dated 1101/1689. The *firmâns* I examined are numbered differently than those cited in Masters.

⁴² Masters did not make the connection between the individual in the document and *Merzifonlu. Hıraytânî, Halab: Aswâq “al-Mdîneh*,” 23, identified the patron of the *Khân al-Wazîr* as “*Merzifonlu Mehmed [sic] Pasha*,” and in Hreitan and David, “*Souks traditionnels*,” 17: “*Waqf of Marziqunli [sic] Qara Mustafa Pasha (1682)*” unfortunately without explanation or references. For biographies of *Merzifonlu: Meḥmed Süreyyâ, Sicill-i ‘Osmanî*, vol. 4, 402 (contains inaccuracies); *EI*², s.v. “*Ḳarâ Muṣṭafâ Pasha*,” by C. J. Heywood; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “*Kara Mustafa Pasa*,” 502–503; Merlijn Olon, “*‘A most agreeable and pleasant creature?’ Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasa and the Dutch in the Levant (1668–1682)*,” in *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*, ed. Kate Fleet and Maurits H. van den Boogert (Rome: L’Istituto per l’Oriente, 2002).

the Aleppine sources' insistence on the fact that the patron of the Khān al-Wazīr had been a wālī of Aleppo.⁴³ It is also unusual that the patron's name would be remembered incorrectly, while his sobriquet of "qara" would be preserved. Thus one can tentatively accept Merzifonlu as the patron of the Khān al-Wazīr. Merzifonlu was one of the most important Ottoman statesmen of the seventeenth century. Connected to the house of Köprülü, he held the prestigious positions of grand admiral (1661–1666), deputy grand vizier, and grand vizier (1676–1683). Representatives of European states with commercial interests in the Ottoman empire vilified him in their writings as a rapacious xenophobe who obstructed the smooth implementation of the Capitulations. It is ironic, then, that he would have constructed a caravanserai in the nexus of the long-distance trade that was granted the monopoly of housing silk merchants from Baghdad, Basra and the Safavid state, the main business partners of the European merchants.⁴⁴

The endowment complex treated in the imperial decrees includes a khān (named *hân-i jedîd*, or "new khān"), storage rooms, a qaysâriyya, ovens, shops as well as a maḥkama (legal court), all in Aleppo.⁴⁵ No such buildings are linked to the Khān al-Wazīr. But as there are no known waqfs of this scope in the Mđneh for this period, the endowment described in the decrees must be the Khān al-Wazīr.⁴⁶ The imperial decrees link these properties with others in Anatolia that they do not list. One infers that the decrees are addressing the Aleppo component of a larger waqf, directed by a mutawallī based in Aleppo.⁴⁷

⁴³ Na'imâ and the Aleppine sources insist that he served as governor of the province of Aleppo. Merzifonlu was briefly appointed as beğlerbeğ of Diyarbakır in 1071/1661; Ghazzî indicates that Muṣṭafâ Pasha became beğlerbeğ of Diyarbakır in 1093/1682: Ghazzî 2, III, 227.

⁴⁴ AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 201, document 340, dated 1149/1735.

⁴⁵ AS Aleppo, vol. 1, p. 102, document 211, dated 15 Rajab 1102/April 4, 1691.

⁴⁶ If the waqf described in the decrees is *not* Khān al-Wazīr, then it can only be a "mystery waqf" whose structures are no longer extant. Some discrepancies emerge between the facts contained in the decrees and biographical information on Merzifonlu. The decrees name 'Âbide Hânım as the daughter of Muṣṭafâ Pasha, AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 200, document 338, dated 1 muḥarram 1149/May 1, 1736. However, the name of Merzifonlu's known daughter was Fâṭime, *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, op. cit., 503. See also AS Aleppo, vol. 1, p. 102, document 212, dated 19 Ramadan 1102/June 6, 1691.

⁴⁷ AS Aleppo, vol. 1, p. 25, document 44, dated 1101/1689, appoints Mehmed Hamdi Efendi as the mutawallī of the waqf, based in Aleppo. Later decrees indicate that Merzifonlu's daughter 'Âbide Hânım served as mutawalliya of the endowment:

One further infers that the Khān al-Wazīr was built as an income-producing property for an endowment whose main religious or charitable component was located elsewhere. If Merzifonlu is indeed the patron, the Khān al-Wazīr may well have been one of the income-producing components for his largest known waqf in Anatolia, built in his mother's name in his birthplace, the village of Marınca (now Bahçekent) near Merzifon.⁴⁸ This would explain the fact that no waqfiyya exists for this building in Aleppo: the waqfiyya, if extant, would be classified under the administrative unit where it was established. The fact that the Khān al-Wazīr originally featured a small mosque does not necessarily indicate that it was a "freestanding" waqf in its own right with both charitable and income-producing elements. Constructions in Aleppo were frequently linked to properties and institutions elsewhere in the empire, as in almost every waqf examined in this study. Moreover, as in the case of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf, large endowments featured several clusters with both charitable and income-producing components in various locations, sometimes quite disparate.

Architecture

A commercial structure in constant use since the late seventeenth century, the Khān al-Wazīr has seen many of its sections remodeled and altered. The most thorough modern intervention involved the demolition and rebuilding of the entire northern façade of the Khān to make way for the new east-west road linking the citadel to

AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 200, document 338, dated 1 muḥarram 1149/May 1, 1736, and AS Aleppo, vol. 2, p. 201, document 340, dated 1149/1735.

⁴⁸ Merzifonlu's waqf in Marınca included a mosque, a fountain, a market and a library. See: Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 361–362; Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, II, (Paris, 1934), 71; Şehabeddin Uygun, *Merzifon İlçesi* (n.p., 1938), 7; *Amasya İl yılığı* (n.p., n.d.), 187–188. In addition to this waqf, Merzifonlu erected at least one fountain in Edirne in 1667: Oral Onur, *Edirne Türk Tarihi vesikalarından kitabeler* (Istanbul, 1975), 25; Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1939), pl. 30. Merzifonlu's head was buried in the Sarıca Pasha mosque in Edirne, see H. T. Dağhoğlu, "Edirne Mezarları," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* iii (1936): 167, 179. Other large waqfs included: in Jidda, a mosque, a caravanserai, and a bath; small mosques in a number of neighborhoods in Istanbul: see *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, op. cit., 503. Mustafa Denктаş, "İncesu Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasa Külliyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XXVI (1997): 191–224. There is no evidence in the biographical sources on Merzifonlu of any structures he may have built in Aleppo.

the Bāb al-Faraj.⁴⁹ Sometime in the late nineteenth century, the mosque in the middle of the khān's courtyard ceased to function as a religious site; turn-of-the-century wooden kishks adorned its northern façade until at least the 1930's.⁵⁰

The groundplan of the Khān al-Wazīr's original form as reconstructed by Müller, shows that site constraints forced an adjustment of the familiar rectangular caravanserai centered on a courtyard: the structure is trapezoidal (Fig. 19).⁵¹ Its single, monumental entrance faces east. Twin stairs in the entrance vestibule lead to a domed hall above, similar to the qā'as of the sixteenth-century caravanserais. Apart from this interruption on the western wing, all four sides of the khān consist of rooms on the lower level, two deep; and of a gallery and rooms on the upper level. The eastern wing comprises a long vaulted room with a central row of pillars.

An elaborate monumental vestibule marks the single entrance of the khān. The vestibule's two ornate façades, facing the exterior street and the interior courtyard respectively, feature higher rooflines (Pl. 29, 30, 31, 32). Seen from within the courtyard, the central section of the east wing which surmounts the entrance is framed by a thin band of geometric ornament which doubles as the cornice on the roof, and comes down to the ground on the left and right, where it ends in the shape of colonnettes. This frame sets the portal area apart from the wall of the khān.

The doorway arch is articulated by a simple carved line. Above it, two bays of two windows, strikingly similar to those on the interior façade of the Khān al-Gumruk, with a circular lunette in their middle, are flanked by two exquisitely carved windows. The two outer windows consist of narrow rectangular openings crowned by

⁴⁹ The new road was one of many urban renewal projects implemented by the city authorities in the 1950's. For the impact on the Khān al-Wazīr, see Ḥajjār, *Ma'ālīm*, 34. For an overview of urban renewal projects from the mid-nineteenth century to the late 1970's, see Stefano A. Bianca, Jean-Claude David, Giovanni Rizzardi, Yves Breton and Bruno Chauffert-Yvart, *The Conservation of the Old City of Aleppo: A Report Prepared for the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (n.p.: UNESCO, 1980), 16–34.

⁵⁰ The mosque has been put to many functions, including housing fabric shops, Asadī, *Ahyā' Ḥalab*, 190. The wooden kishks appear in a photograph: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXV.

⁵¹ Müller, Karl. *Die Karawanserais im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin: Der Zirkel, 1920) 44, fig. 44, Pl. VI. Mohamed Scharabi, *Der Bazar: das traditionelle Stadtzentrum im Nahen Osten und seine Handelseinrichtungen* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1985), 172, Plates 3c, 5a.

delicately carved stone that create negative designs in the shape of a series of crests in the window to the north, and a cross in the window to the south.⁵² The outer windows are framed by thick bands of varied geometric ornaments and a thin exterior band of a simple checkerboard design that ends at each corner in square loops. A similar checkerboard band with loops at the corners frames the lunette in the façade's middle. Within the band, carved lines trace two blind arches, surmounted by three rosettes and a frame in low relief surrounds the circular opening.

The two recessed bays which flank the lunette are identical to those on the Khān al-Gumruk, except the carving seems even more delicate at the Khān al-Wazīr. As seen often in the architecture of seventeenth-century Aleppo, large rectangular windows are surmounted by smaller arched windows. Braided engaged colonnettes mark the edges of the lower windows, and rows of bichrome masonry frame them. The lower windows rest on a lintel composed of bichrome joggled stones. Joggled stringcourses of crested stones surmount the lower windows. Above, miniature ogee arches with lobed voussoirs crown smaller windows. Muqarnas bands just under the cornice of the roof complete the bays. The stalactites of the muqarnas band of the Eastern bay are wider than that of the Western bay. Registers of carved knots underline the stalactite bands. Every detail is rendered exquisitely.

The interior façade, then, recalls the late Mamlūk architecture in Aleppo as filtered through the Khān al-Gumruk. During his survey of colonnettes formed by plaited strands, like the ones at the Khān al-Wazīr, in the architecture of Northern Syria, K. A. C. Creswell recognized the continuity of this motif from the late Mamlūk period through the first two centuries of Ottoman rule.⁵³ While the kinship

⁵² A popular belief maintains that these windows, carved by Muslim and Christian Arab artisans respectively, symbolize Islam and Christianity and their peaceful coexistence through the ages. This view is strongly representative of contemporary interpretations of the past in the Syrian Arab Republic. Elsewhere in Aleppo, two windows featuring identical carving appear on the second floor of the western façade of the Greek Catholic Church of St. George in Judayda, and probably date from the seventeenth century. Windows ornamented in this manner had become current in the visual vocabulary for elite structures in Aleppo regardless of function.

⁵³ The colonnettes occur on the facade of the Khusruwiyya's prayer hall as well. Creswell, "Two Khāns," 135–137. Creswell's discussion of the colonnettes formed by plaited strands was undertaken to confirm the date of the later caravanserai at Khān Tūmān (Chapter 4).

of specific formal elements is recognizable, the configuration of familiar motifs in the Ottoman structures is slightly different, especially since the vertical bays in Mamluk architecture tended to be lower on the wall, more directly engaging the viewer. The interior façade of the Khān al-Wazīr reproduces the configuration of the interior façade of the Khān al-Gumruk; both evoke Mamlūk motifs, but they do not duplicate the Mamlūk arrangement and their relation to the human user of the structure, as has been pointed out in the discussion of the Khān al-Gumruk (Chapter 3).

The exterior walls of the khān are plain, graced by a fountain to the north of the portal, which is no longer functional, and a few simple windows (Pl. 30). This minimalism is boldly interrupted by the most elaborate entrance of all the caravanserais of Aleppo. Just below the cornice is a blind arch, reminiscent of the one on the outer façade of the Khān al-Gumruk, intricately carved with geometric shapes, containing twin windows with ogee arches and a star-shaped lunette. Under it, a thick geometric band frames the two grilled rectangular windows above the entrance arch. Within frame, horizontal bands of bold bichrome masonry cover the wall, traversed at the upper end by the familiar joggled stringcourse of crested shapes. Between the two windows is a blank plaque, similar in format and location to the plaque at the Khān al-Gumruk. Here the inscription is either no longer in situ or was never completed. Beneath it, the keystone of the entranceway arch features a motif carved in low relief. A specially cut stone of a different color was probably placed there originally, as it was at the Khān al-Gumruk. Around the entrance arch, the bands of striped masonry deviate at sharp angles to form voussoirs, emphasizing the opening, as at the Khān al-Gumruk and other Ottoman caravanserais. Among the ablaq bands appear several carved roundels that are of particular interest. Before focusing on them, a consideration of the original urban setting of the khān is necessary to define the types of spatial interconnections created by this façade.

Urban Context

Before the 1950's intervention that made way for the modern east-west road, the visibility of the exterior façade of the Khān was obstructed by an Ottoman-style commercial structure that stood across it on the site today used as a parking lot (Pl. 29). This structure was

demolished along with the Khān's northern façade. Originally, then, the elaborate exterior front of the Khān al-Wazīr was barely visible to the pedestrian, because of the narrowness of the thoroughfare it overlooked. This is quite different from today's approach to the Khān al-Wazīr: the parking lot enables an unobstructed view of the entire façade. Historically, the pedestrian's experience of the façade of the Khān al-Wazīr was identical to that of the Khān al-Gumruk: in the half-darkness of the narrow, perhaps covered passage, the carefully carved details of the monumental opening were difficult to discern. Possibly the builders did not intend these elaborate façades to be clearly seen. Regardless of its visibility, the façade is composed in the manner expected from a prestigious commercial building. Along with size, quality of materials and craftsmanship, an elaborately ornate façade seems to have been considered part and parcel of a prestigious khān; that its urban setting precluded its prominent display may have been irrelevant to the builders. Thus, in addition to the form of the exterior façade, the approach to the Khān al-Wazīr was also closely modeled on that of the Khān al-Gumruk.

A consideration of monumental structures adjacent to the Khān al-Wazīr sheds light on the choices made in the design of its façade. In the previous discussion of the Khān al-Gumruk, the filiation of the forms of the façade of Khān al-Gumruk with the late Mamlūk caravanserais such as the Khān al-Şābūn was established. The latter stands about twenty meters to the west of the Khān al-Wazīr. Today the rear wall of the Khān al-Şābūn, adorned by a window with ablaq lintels, and the western façade of the Khān al-Wazīr are within view of each other across the parking lot. While the kinship of forms between the Khān al-Şābūn and the Khān al-Wazīr is strong, the latter does not follow the idiom of the Mamlūk structure directly, but rather the formula employed in the Ottoman Khān al-Gumruk. Ottoman caravanserais in the Mdīneh reproduced, with modifications, the form of pre-existing Mamlūk caravanserais in this location. Both the Khān al-Gumruk and the Khān al-Wazīr recall the formal conventions of Mamlūk commercial architecture in Aleppo, but they also exhibit a new formula, duplicated with remarkable consistency in these two structures which a century separates.

The specificity of the architectural allusion made by the Khān al-Wazīr becomes apparent when one considers its spatial context. Plate 29 shows the now-demolished structure, as well as the Jāmi' al-Fustuq whose northern and eastern walls were visible to one standing at the

entrance of the Khān al-Wazīr. Located across the narrow passage from the Ottoman caravanseraī, the Jāmi‘ al-Fustuq, formerly known as the Madrasa Ṣāhibiyya (1364), is a Mamlūk mosque-madrasa.⁵⁴ Its exterior features an elaborately carved entrance hood as well as regularly spaced windows along its walls, placed at eye level, surmounted by stone lintels carved with geometric ornaments of exceptional quality. To the south of the Jāmi‘ al-Fustuq stood the Takiyya Aṣlān Dada (chapter 4). Contemporary to the Khān al-Wazīr, the Takiyya’s architecture reproduces many of the same forms and techniques of construction, but in the *interior*. Its elaborately composed facades turn inward towards the courtyard. The Takiyya’s exterior, however, especially the front that faces the Khān al-Wazīr and that features the Takiyya’s main entrance, is plain. Rather than a large doorway, ablaq masonry, fountain and figural carving, the Takiyya’s entrance on this street is modest and undistinguished.⁵⁵ Significantly, the builders of the Khān al-Wazīr chose not to allude to the façade treatment of the buildings in its immediate vicinity, the Mamluk mosque-madrasa or the Ottoman takiyya. Rather they chose to follow the visual formula established at the Khān al-Gumruk, located further west on the Mdīneh axis, a structure with a similar function: services for the caravans of the prestigious long-distance trade. In addition to the fact that the Khān al-Wazīr duplicates the forms of the Khān al-Gumruk, then, it is equally important that the Khān al-Wazīr does not reproduce the forms at the Jāmi‘ al-Fustuq or the Takiyya. This can be explained by the structures’ diverging functions: the Khān al-Wazīr follows the convention for caravanserais, not those for mosque-madrasas and dervish lodges. The Khān al-Wazīr reproduces a well-established formula for Ottoman caravanserais in this location; for this purpose, certain forms were acceptable while others were not. Thus the Khān al-Wazīr seemingly evokes Mamlūk

⁵⁴ For al-Madrasa al-Ṣāhibiyya, now known as Jāmi‘ al-Fustuq (“Mosque of the Pistachio”), see: Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 90; idem, *Alep*, 178–179, fig. 47. The inscriptions are published in: Sauvaget, “Décrets Mamelouks,” 20–21, 24–28, nos. 33, 36, Pl. VI; MCIA 1:2, 340–342, 392–393, inscriptions nos. 186, 187, 253; MCIA 2, Pl. CLII a and b. The structure was restored in 1996, and its interior was repainted in extremely bright colors.

⁵⁵ David, *Suwayqat ‘Alī*, 120. since the wing of the takiyya overlooking the street has been modified many times, there are several entrances from various periods that are difficult to interpret. But this only confirms the fact that the Takiyya did not have a single, distinguished entrance like the Khān.

architecture, but it actually follows a modified, Ottoman version of Mamlūk commercial architecture which by 1678–1682 had been practiced for a century.⁵⁶ The Khān al-Wazīr follows the conventions for caravanserais in this location established at the Khān al-Gumruk; the Khān al-Wazīr takes these conventions further, to their maximum degree, in the sense that everything is more lavish at the Khān al-Wazīr. The proportions of the building are the most generous of any Ottoman caravanserai in the city: it is more spacious, and taller than all the others; the workmanship is superior; the detailing is more elaborate. Thus not only does the Khān al-Wazīr follow the formula established at the Khān al-Gumruk; it *competes* with it. This is especially apparent in the treatment of the façades: the later structure competes with the earlier one and supersedes it in splendor.

The Ottomanization of Mamlūk Motifs

The Khān al-Wazīr uses the repertory of forms employed at the Khān al-Gumruk, with the addition of feline imagery; a phenomenon that deserves consideration. The exterior façade of the Khān al-Wazīr features two types of roundels. One type consists of Mamlūk shields: one appears outside the ablaq zone, between the fountain and the doorway, and another surmounts the blank inscription plaque. The shields, which contain geometric ornament, are common in Mamlūk architecture, seem to have no connotative meaning, and are not associated with specific functional contexts. They seem to be part of the visual repertoire on which the Khān al-Wazīr façade draws. Two more roundels containing stylized feline figures that flank the entrance arch (Pl. 31). The faces of the animals are shown frontally, with the bodies in profile. The upturned tails curve in a stylized manner. Both are chained to stakes on the ground. The highly unusual presence of such figures on the façade of an Ottoman building requires interpretation.

Several architectural traditions could have provided precedents for the Khān al-Wazīr felines. They most obviously quote similar figures

⁵⁶ Creswell saw the visual kinship between late Mamlūk architecture and the Khān al-Wazīr; Sauvaget, however, said of this khān that it was the only Ottoman caravanserai where the influence of Istanbul was notable: Sauvaget, *Alep*, 215, n. 808.

in Mamlūk architecture. Felines within or without roundels, depicted with the same conventions, are common throughout Mamlūk architecture, where they appear as the emblems of certain persons.⁵⁷ For example, Sultan Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī (al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn, r. 1260–1277) placed his heraldic blazon, the panther, on his coins as well as on buildings.⁵⁸ For Baybars, the panther might have illustrated his name (which meant great panther in Qipchak Turkish), or it might have signified his power. Feline imagery in architecture was widespread beyond the Mamlūk context as well; images of animals, including lions, were an important feature of Seljuk architecture, where they often appeared on thresholds.⁵⁹ Aleppo was under Seljuk rule prior to its incorporation in the Mamlūk state. Constituting a third possible source for the Khān al-Wazīr felines, architectural decoration reminiscent of Seljuk models continued to be practiced in such places as Diyarbakır, Urfa, even as far east as Hoşap, around the time of the building of the Khān al-Wazīr. The entrance to the seventeenth-century castle at Hoşap features a pair of lions similar to those at the Khān al-Wazīr (Pl. 33),⁶⁰ A large blind arch sup-

⁵⁷ The similarity is so striking that a Khān al-Wazīr feline illustrated an article on Mamluk blazons, *EI*², s.v. “Rank,” by Nasser Rabbat.

⁵⁸ For the blazons of Baybars, see Creswell, “The Panthers of Bibars,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* XXVI (1926): 147–154; idem, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, 150–154. A stone plaque with a lion blazon (Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, 3796) has been associated with either Baybars I or his son and successor, Baraka Khān (r. 1277–1279), who used the same emblem: see Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamlūks* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 214–215, cat. no. 108. For a discussion of Mamlūk feline imagery, see Michael Meinecke, “Zur Mamlukischen Heraldik,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 28, 2, (1972[1973]), 217–219, Plate LII. See also L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 106–110; idem, “New Materials for Mamlūk Heraldry,” *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 17 (1937): 52–62; *EI*², s.v. “Rank,” by Nasser Rabbat.

⁵⁹ Among the studies that discuss animal imagery in Seljuk architecture, the following article treats lions specifically: G. Öney, “Anadolu Selçuk mimarisinde arslan figürü,” *Anadolu XIII* (1969 [published 1971]).

⁶⁰ The Hoşap Kalesi is located southeast of the city of Van in Eastern Turkey. The village at the foot of the castle has been renamed Güzelsu. Sarı Süleyman Mahmûdî, a local Kurdish ruler and a vassal of the Ottomans, renovated on the castle in the 1640s. See Goodwin, *History*, 188, figs. 181–183; O. Yalçın, *Van, Hakkârî* (Istanbul, 1961), 10; Ali Saim Ülgen, “Hoşap (Mahmudiye) kal’ası,” *İlâhiyet Fakültesi Dergisi* 2:4 (1953): 83–88; T. A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 1987), 212–215. For a comparison between the felines at Hoşap and similar figures which appear in Armenian monasteries, see J. M. Thierry, *Monuments arméniens du Vaspurakan* (Paris: Geuthner, 1989), especially 495, n. 76.

ported by engaged columns frames the door. Within the arch, a niche surmounting the door contains an inscription plaque with an elaborate geometric frame. Above the inscription in Persian, two carved lions face each other on either side of a tear-shape ornament. The lions are both chained, they have frontal faces, bodies in profile, upturned tails. Stones of contrasting colors emphasize the carved elements: inscription, lions and tear. The lion configuration appears in this case in a military context: on the exterior of the main portal to the fortress. In the seventeenth century, the castle at Hoşap was controlled by a local Kurdish clan, vassals of the Ottoman sultan. Feline imagery is thus widespread both in Seljuk and Mamlūk architecture, as well as in the later architecture of regions formerly part of these two states.⁶¹ Within Ottoman architecture, however, examples of animal imagery in are extremely rare. The closest parallels to the felines at Khān al-Wazīr in time and space occur in the Ottoman-period architecture of Mount Lebanon at a slightly later period.⁶² For example the palace of the Amīr Ahmad Shihābi and the palace of Bayt al-Dīn, from the early eighteenth century built by local lords under Ottoman suzerainty, both feature above their main entrances, a pair of felines facing each other. The felines appear in a similar configuration: they are always paired, they always face each other, they always appear at critical thresholds above important doorways, always on the exterior of buildings. The fact that workshops of stone carvers operated in both Aleppo and Mount Lebanon explain the similarity of motifs and carving techniques. Possibly the Khān al-Wazīr entrance treatment influenced these structures, or, all structures reflected a common visual convention for the treatment of facades.

The historical layers of Aleppo's own architecture provide further models and intriguing interpretive possibilities regarding spatial inter-relationships across the city. The felines at the Khān al-Wazīr are

⁶¹ Architectural achievements of the seventeenth century such as the castle at Hoşap, and the complex of İbrâhîm Pasha at Doğubayezit are inadequately known. They provide evidence that monumental architecture was patronized at the periphery of the Ottoman empire by vassal groups in distinct architectural idioms. Mahmut Akok, "Ağrı-Doğu Beyazıd'da İshak paşa sarayı rölöve ve mimarisi." *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 10:2 (1960): 30–48; Hamza Gündoğdu, *Doğubayezit İshak Paşa Sarayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991).

⁶² Stefan Weber, "L'architecture libanaise au temps des Ottomans," in *Liban, l'autre rive* (Paris: Institut du Monde Arabe, 1998), 273–75. Weber is preparing a longer study of Ottoman architecture in Mount Lebanon.

executed in roundels, in a highly conventional manner, and placed on the surface of the wall facing each other symmetrically, flanking a blank plaque that must have been intended to bear an inscription. Because of the specificity of this configuration, among the many possible comparisons of feline architectural carvings in Mamlūk, Seljuk, and “successor groups” architecture in Aleppo and its surrounding region, one can narrow one’s focus to almost identical Mamlūk felines in Aleppo in a similar configuration: a pair on a tower on the western ramparts, between Bāb al-Jinān and Bāb Anṭākiyya (Pl. 34).⁶³ The tower’s location near the terminus of the Mdīneh axis spatially links it to the Khān al-Wazīr as well. An “excavation” of the layers of the wall clarifies the use of the paired felines. The upper part of the wall bears an undated inscription written in a large-format Mamlūk naskhī hand that names the Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Abū’l-Naṣr Shaykh (r. 1412–1421) as the patron of a restoration of the ramparts in 1417–1420. His additions were limited to the upper one-fifth of the wall. The Mamlūk section of the wall features two loopholes (*meurtrières*) flanking an ornate lunette centered under the inscription. Smaller stone blocks, and columns inserted horizontally on the wall at irregular intervals indicate that the lower section of the wall predates al-Mu’ayyad’s restoration. Ernst Herzfeld suggested that the lower portion dates from the 1244–1245 renovation campaign by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (r. 1236–1260).⁶⁴ Three loopholes, of a design different from their Mamlūk counterparts, are the only openings of the Ayyubid layer. At the upper center of the Ayyubid layer, beneath the Mamlūk lunette a rectangular plaque contains a geometric ornament that a carved band frames. Two felines flank this plaque. Like the Ottoman felines, they face each other, with upturned tails, frontal faces, and a raised front paw; the difference is that the Ottoman felines are carved on single round stone blocks, and that one of them is chained. The medieval felines are carved in high relief on two large blocks of stone, which are distinct in height and width from the blocks used for the wall; an indi-

⁶³ MCIA 1:1, 44–47, inscription no. 7 (The discussion below of Herzfeld’s interpretation is drawn from this source); MCIA 2, Pl. VIII, Pl. Xa, Pl. XIb (elevation).

⁶⁴ Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf renovated the western ramparts and Bāb Anṭākiyya in 642/1244–1245, according to Ibn al-Shihna, *Al-durr al-muntakhab*, 36; MCIA 1:1, 26; Sauvaget, “L’enceinte primitive,” and idem, *Alep*, Chpt. 8.

cation that they predate the Ayyubid section. The felines were probably part of an even earlier rampart, and were reused by the Ayyubids for their apotropaic value. Herzfeld dated them to the Hamdanid period on the basis of their stylistic affinity with dated felines on the ramparts of Diyarbakır. The Hamdanids restored the walls of Aleppo around 944–945. Thus the Hamdanid felines continued to be used by each generation of restorers on the city's defenses, Ayyubids as well as Mamlūks. Herzfeld observed that elsewhere on Aleppo's ramparts, the Mamlūk restorers employed both reused felines and ones newly carved to resemble them.⁶⁵

Chronologically, the historic layering of the ramparts comprised Hamdanid, Ayyubid, and Mamlūk interventions. Nonetheless, with the Mamlūk remaking of the walls, the older layers, including the felines were recontextualized: they were now part of the Mamlūk architectural idiom. This notion is reinforced by the fact that the Mamlūks fashioned “new” felines in the older manner when no “older” felines were available to adorn the restored walls. Whether reused or new, then, the felines were part and parcel of the Mamlūk formulation of Aleppo's ramparts. A similar recontextualization seems to have taken place in the Ottoman period. Evliyâ recounted in detail his circumambulation of the city walls.⁶⁶ He recorded the measurements of towers and the distances between them, he registered their names, and copied inscriptions from all the periods of the city's history, including those by Ottoman patrons. For Evliyâ, the historical layers of the city were recognizably distinct, but the layers of the past were now firmly set within the Ottoman present. The layering of the western ramparts raises the possibility that the Khān al-Wazīr lions may be spolia as well. Nevertheless, whatever the date of their fabrication, the Khān al-Wazīr felines were Ottomanized in the same manner as the Hamdanid lions were recontextualized by the Mamlūks. The radical recontextualization of older forms, whether imitated or reused, makes them contemporary with the new architectural layer.

⁶⁵ A Mamlūk-period feline from Aleppo's western ramparts is carved on four stone blocks, and is chained: MCIA 2, Pl. IXe. The feline pictured on MCIA 2, Pl. IXf, is a reused older piece which occupies one block only, whose dimensions differ from the other blocks used on the wall.

⁶⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 369–370.

However, the functional context of the Khān al-Wazīr felines is different from the Mamlūk felines on Aleppo's ramparts. The Mamlūk felines, like the seventeenth-century felines at Hoşap discussed above appear on the exterior walls of fortifications, where they may have served either (or both) as the emblems of individuals or clans or as apotropaic devices. In stark contrast to all the comparable examples, the felines of the Khān al-Wazīr appear on the exterior wall of a commercial structure, securely located well within the city. Though they frame a doorway that required protection, they are not in a military context. The ramparts of Aleppo, the castle at Hoşap, and even the palace of Bayt al-Dīn, located in a fortified, remote mountain village, are part of military, defensive architecture. Rural caravanserais, located in isolated areas, partook of both commercial and military functions. They were often fortified, and occasionally housed garrisons; indeed, the waqfiyya of Ipshīr Pasha referred to the caravanserai at Khān Tūmān as a "qal'ce," a fortress. By contrast, the Khān al-Wazīr is an urban caravanserai located in the heart of one of the largest cities of the Mediterranean region. In a general sense, an awareness of the functional context of formal elements pervaded Ottoman architecture: the Khān al-Wazīr follows the formal convention for a caravanserai, not that of a mosque-madrasa. Similarly, in the sixteenth century complexes, mosques followed conventions for Ottoman-style jāmī's, while the commercial structures followed the conventions associated with their respective functions. In a limited, circumscribed way, form followed function. This makes the intrusion of forms associated with a military context into a commercial structure all the more intriguing.

Setting aside for now the fact that the Mamlūk felines belong to a military context, a possible interpretation emerges if one focuses on the fact that in all cases, the felines appear on or near thresholds, or liminal spaces. Two additional examples of paired lion figures from Aleppo clarify this issue. Two pairs of lions at the citadel flank ("protect") doorways in the main guardhouse (Pl. 34). They were placed in their current locations during al-Zāhir Ghāzī's building campaign on the citadel (ca. 1209–1214).⁶⁷ The lions on the citadel

⁶⁷ Each of the three doors of the citadel's main guardhouse is marked by animal imagery. The first door is surmounted by intertwined dragons. The second door features on the tympanum above its lintel two lions or leopards flanking a

like the felines of the Khān al-Wazīr mark thresholds. However, like the lions on the ramparts, they are associated with a military, protective function as well. In form, the lions of the citadel deviate from both the Ottoman and medieval ones.

Thus, their specificity of form and configuration suggests that the felines of the Khān al-Wazīr constitute a precise artistic quotation from the visual past of Aleppo. Specifically, in form and spatial disposition, the Ottoman felines allude to the paired felines on the city's ramparts. Such a quotation is consistent with the governing formal choice in the visual vocabulary of the Khān's façade: namely, the updated use of Mamlūk forms. With its incorporation of feline imagery, the façade of the Khān al-Wazīr went further in the recontextualization of Mamluk forms than its immediate models, caravanserais such as the Khān al-Gumruk. The exterior façade of the Khān al-Gumruk featured reproduced non-figural Mamlūk shields; the felines of the Khān al-Wazīr must be seen as an analogous formal element, a quotation. The motifs on the Khān al-Gumruk, produced in 1574, did not have the social meaning such emblems held in the Mamlūk state; rather they had been retained as part of a visual repertory, related to their spatial context (see Chapter 3).

Figural and non-figural blazons tend to appear in distinct architectural contexts, at least in Aleppo. Non-figural blazons appear regularly on the walls of Mamlūk-period caravanserais. This is the case at the closest Mamlūk model for the Khān al-Gumruk, the Khān al-Ṣābūn, where the blazon of the patron, Azdamur, appears on the exterior façade as well as on the courtyard walls. Similarly, the blazon of the patron occurs on the door of the caravanseraī of Khā'ir Bak (Chapter 2). Figural motifs, on the other hand, such as the feline configurations, were associated with a military context, or with important thresholds. In general there were no felines on Mamlūk commercial structures, which bore *ranks* of office, but no figural emblems.⁶⁸

plant motif: MCIA 1;1, 88, fig. 34. The third door features two reclining lions which emerge like consoles from the jambs. Herzfeld called these "lion qui rit et lion qui pleure:" MCIA 1;1, 85–88, inscriptions nos. 36, 37; MCIA 2, Pl. XXXVII (photograph), Pl. XXXVIII (elevation). We do not know whether any of these lion carvings were reused. For studies on the citadel see MCIA 1:1, Chapter 2; Tabbāa, *Constructions of Power*, 53–69; Shawqī Sha'ath, *Qa'at Ḥalab, dalīl atharī tārīkhī* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thiqāfa, 1986); Georges Ploix de Rotrou, *La citadelle d'Alep et ses alentours* (Aleppo: al-Maaref, 1930); Sauvaget, *Alep*, chpt. 8.

⁶⁸ There is one exception to this rule, but not in Aleppo: The portal of the Khān

Thus it would seem that at the Khān al-Wazīr, the felines constitute a visual quotation from the past of Aleppo that was originally associated with a different functional context (military), but the quotation retained the original's spatial configuration of a pair of facing felines flanking a critical threshold.

Another avenue in the interpretation of these prominently placed motifs addresses their connotative meaning. Mamlūk blazons could be figural (as in the felines), non-figural (displaying attributes of office), or even epigraphic; sometimes they featured a combination of these three formal registers. They were rendered as roundels containing motifs; for example, in a non-figural blazon, the motifs symbolized attributes of office (e.g. an inkwell for a secretary, a cup for a cup-bearer). Combinations of attributes recorded the offices held by Mamlūk officials serially or simultaneously, thereby referring to a particular person, rather than to the holder of an office in a generic sense.⁶⁹ The representations of felines at the Khān al-Wazīr seem analogous to blazons, in that they are emblematic of an individual (e.g., Baybars), or possibly his clan or household. Since the felines on the Khān al-Wazīr appear in a similar configuration as the non-figural motifs on the exterior façade of the Khān al-Gumruk, we must understand them as analogous signs with a similar visual currency—as understood in Ottoman provincial society. In the Ottoman context, the felines, like the non-figural blazons, could have referred to specific motifs in Mamlūk architecture. However they could not have referred to their Mamlūk function and meaning as emblems of specific powerful persons. There is a distinction between the motif chosen at the Khān al-Gumruk and that selected for the Khān al-Wazīr: The roundels at the Khān al-Gumruk reproduced the Mamlūk practice of affixing the patron's sign on a building's façade, a configuration seen specifically on structures of the same type in the same location, such as the Khān al-Şābūn. The felines of the Khān

Shifta at Urfa is flanked by two symmetrical lions: Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 337, fig. 245. The exact date and history of this structure are unclear.

⁶⁹ For Mamlūk blazons see, in addition to the sources cited earlier: Michael Meinecke, *The Mamlūk Heraldry* (Cairo, 1975); idem, "Die Mamlukische Heraldik in Ägypten und Syrien. Kurzfassung des Vortrages im Rahmen der 1979. Sitzung am 16.1.1990." *Der Herold* N.F. 13:2 (1990): 38–40, 47; idem, "Die Bedeutung der Mamlukischen Heraldik für die Kunstgeschichte," In *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Lübeck 1972– Vorträge*, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mongenlandischen Gesellschaft, Supplement 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974): 213–240.

al-Wazīr, however, do not evolve from a prototype within the Mdīneh, rather they reproduce a visual motif from the Mamlūk period from a different part of the city, and from a structure with a different function. The architectural quotation is different in the seventeenth century from that made in the sixteenth.

The social significance of the reproduced motifs had possibly evolved by the seventeenth century as well. Ruling groups were organized along different lines in the Ottoman and Mamlūk societies. Amongst the Mamlūk ruling group of imported military slaves, the sultan was a first among equals, at least in principle. Blazons, whether figural, emblematic, or epigraphic (that is, bearing figural imagery, stylized representations of objects, or writing), proliferated in Mamlūk society: they marked objects, buildings, clothing. Mamlūk society encouraged the public declaration of the ownership of objects or persons, or the patronage of a structure in a visually prominent short-hand. In Ottoman society, the sultan-caliph was a descendant of ‘Osmān. His ruling elite was composed of his own slaves and allies. The only analog to these Mamlūk visual emblems in Ottoman society was the tuğra of the sultan, the epigraphic emblem of the ruler. Produced by a workshop of specialists funded by the state, painstakingly personalized for each sultan, tuğras were affixed to official documents, coins, and sometimes to buildings.⁷⁰ Only the sultan’s cipher was allowed to appear *publicly* on coins, structures and decrees. The members of the ruling elite, the slaves of the sultan, the category of men who patronized endowments in Aleppo, could announce their patronage through inscriptions, but they did not have publicly visible, personalized visual emblems as the Mamlūk amīrs did.

An eighteenth-century structure from Cairo sheds light on the Ottoman perception of Mamlūk emblems. At the Madrasa-sabīl-kuttāb of Sultan Maḥmūd I in Cairo (1750) the Ottoman Baroque style was applied to a type of structure, the sabīl-kuttāb, that was extremely popular in Cairo.⁷¹ Imperial tuğras appear on the spandrels between

⁷⁰ On tuğras, see *EP*, s.v. “Tughra. B. In the Usage of the Ottomans,” by J. Deny. Suha Umur, *Osmanlı padişah tuğraları* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1980); Midhat Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Türklerinde tuğra* (Istanbul: Doğan Kardaş Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1975); Ernst Kühnel, “Die osmanische Tughra,” *Kunst des Orients* 2 (1955): 69–82; Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleymân*, 36–43. Tuğras of a different design were used by the şeyhülislam, the Grand Vizier and possibly other eminent officials, but were never affixed to buildings to my knowledge.

⁷¹ Bates, “Façades,” 161 and 164, photograph: 163, fig. 17.

the arches, the exact location where the blazons of the Mamlūks were displayed in similar structures.⁷² This choice suggests that for the Ottomans, at least in Cairo in the mid-eighteenth century, an imperial tuğra was analogous to a Mamlūk blazon as a sign. On this structure, the Ottoman patron—the sultan—replaced the Mamlūk emblem by his tuğra; he replaced the emblem of the former ruling group by his own, thus revealing that he gave them the same cultural currency. In seventeenth-century Aleppo, only one example of a publicly displayed Ottoman tuğra is documented: it is Evliyâ's report that he saw the seal of Süleymân I above the inscription of Sultan Qalā'ūn at the Great Mosque of Aleppo. As we have seen above, no evidence of this seal remains.⁷³ The Ottomanization of Mamluk emblems and forms operated differently in each urban context.

How, then, is one to understand the deployment of archaic emblems on Ottoman structures in Aleppo? Any interpretation must account for the different social and political contexts of each Ottoman province. In Vilâyet-i Mısr, the system of Mamlūk households endured and was incorporated into the Ottoman administration of that province, where the Ottoman governor was often ineffectual.⁷⁴ The situation was different in Aleppo, where, by the seventeenth century, all traces of Mamlūk social and military organization had been eradicated. Thus the referent of the feline emblem (to a specific Mamlūk ruler, or a clan) had no meaning in the context of this Ottoman province. How can we explain the appearance of what must have been an empty sign—a sign that could not have possibly retained its original meaning—in Aleppo by the end of the seventeenth century?⁷⁵

⁷² The reference is to non-figural Mamlūk blazons. Bates, "Façades," 164: "The imperial cypher is carved on the spandrels of the window arches of the sebil. Sultan Mahmud could not have decided on a better place to declare his patronage and power than in this Ottoman structure in Cairo. It is of interest that the tuğra of the Ottoman sultan is inscribed within a roundel, for the roundels of the Mamlūks bearing the blazon of their patronage were similarly displayed."

⁷³ At least three nineteenth-century Ottoman tuğras are displayed in Aleppine architecture. At the Great Mosque of Aleppo, a tuğra of Abdul Hamid II surmounts an inscription dated 1326/1908: Gaube, *Inchriften*, 36, no. 57; Fāris, *al-Jāmi' al-Umawī*, 63; and a tuğra of Sultan Mehmed Reşad appears on the south corner of the western riwāq, dated 1311/1329: Fāris, *al-Jāmi' al-Umawī*, 23.

At the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya, an unidentified nineteenth-century tuğra appears on the southern riwāq.

⁷⁴ Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: the Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁷⁵ In her discussion of the seventeenth-century Ottoman building programs in

While in Cairo, as in the *sabīl* of Maḥmūd I, the emblem of the previous ruling group was *replaced* by that of the Ottoman ruler, in Aleppo, the previous dynasty's emblem was rendered meaningless by being *reproduced in toto*. In Ottoman Cairo, a Mamlūk blazon still had meaning, it still had currency as a sign, which necessitated that the Ottoman cipher be displayed following similar conventions. In Ottoman Aleppo, a Mamlūk blazon was an empty sign, its referent was no longer existent. It could only refer to itself.

Thus an intriguing interpretation emerges for the the Khān al-Wazīr felines. If the felines were analogous to blazons, and blazons were meaningless, an empty sign, in Ottoman Aleppo, then a configuration including figural images from the Mamlūk past could be incorporated to the façade of a commercial building, even if it originated in a different functional context, the fortification. Further, by the 1680's, urban military architecture in Aleppo did not have the strategic importance it had possessed under the Mamlūks. Indeed, once Aleppo was incorporated in the well-protected domains of the Ottoman Sultan, its fortifications lost their defensive function; they became simply spatial markers delimiting the borders of the city. The city grew both inside and outside the walls. Unlike previous ruling groups, where the ramparts were renovated in each generation, the Ottomans made minimal repairs to the walls of Aleppo.⁷⁶ This is not to suggest that fortifications, and urban gates held no symbolic meaning for Ottomans. Evliyâ Çelebi carefully described the ramparts and gates of each city to which he traveled. Fortifications remained crucial urban landmarks for the Ottomans; however, in this province at least, their defensive function was rendered largely, and irrevocably, obsolete.

the cities of Crete, Irene Bierman used the term "empty sign" to qualify elements expressive of the power of the sultan which were deployed at a time when the authority of the sultan was withering, replaced by the rising power of members of the Ottoman military-bureaucratic hierarchy: Bierman, "Ottomanization," 62–63. I apply the term to a distinct phenomenon: it is not a question here of expressing Ottoman power through architectonic elements in an Ottoman form, but rather of utilizing architectonic elements from the past which no longer had a cultural currency in the Ottoman context.

⁷⁶ Two Ottoman renovations are documented. Sultan Aḥmed I (r. 1603–1617) rebuilt the fourth tower to the south of Bāb Anṭākiyya: MCIA 1:1, 58, inscription no. 13. Maḥmūd I (r. 1730–1754) repaired a section of the eastern ramparts: MCIA 1:1, 70, inscription no. 24.

In a situation where Mamlūk forms were rendered empty of their original referents, all Mamlūk forms, regardless of their meaning or context, could be reinterpreted and recombined at will, according to new formulae. Yet this type of “free” combination did not take place until the late seventeenth century; indeed, a strong sense of functional propriety pervaded Ottoman interpretations of Mamlūk forms. This may have been due to the fact that to the Ottoman walking the streets of Aleppo in the seventeenth century, Mamlūk-period caravanserais, ramparts, and Ottoman-period complexes were all contemporary to each other, sharing the urban landscape. The fact that sixteenth-century Ottoman caravanserais shared prominent visual features with the Mamlūk ones meant that the Mamlūk structures were to be seen with new, post-sixteenth-century eyes. The caravanserais which to the modern historian appear “Mamlūk,” an arbitrary periodization, possibly did not appear so in the seventeenth century. Their connotation—to us—of a previous era, of a different society—is not applicable to the seventeenth century, where the Khān al-Şābūn, like the Khān al-Gumruk, like the new entrance to the ḥarām of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, existed in the Ottoman present. The formal choices exhibited on the façade of the Khān al-Wazīr indicate that by this time, the end of the second century of Ottoman rule, the forms of Mamlūk architecture had been successfully appropriated by the Ottomans; indeed, in a sense they were no longer Mamlūk, but rather Ottoman.

The notion that the Mamluk past was becoming absorbed into Ottoman history seems supported by non-visual sources as well. Narrative texts indicate that after the incorporation of the Mamlūk empire into the Ottoman state, perceptions and valorizations of the Mamlūk legacy fluctuated. Literary productions from the later half of the sixteenth century demonstrate a renewed interest in, and an idealized vision of the Mamlūk past; particularly the reign of Sultan Qalāʾūn, depicted as the ideal Muslim ruler and horseman. Benjamin Lellouch interpreted these texts in the context of the appropriation of the Mamlūk past by the Ottomans.⁷⁷ Perhaps the historicizing

⁷⁷ Benjamin Lellouch, “L’Égypte d’un chroniqueur turc au milieu du XVI^e siècle. La culture historique de ‘Abdussamad Diyārbekrî et le tournant de la conquête ottomane,” (Ph.D. Diss., Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1999), and his “Le téléphone arabe au Caire au lendemain de la conquête ottomane: on-dits et rumeurs dans Ibn Iyās,” *REMMM* 75–76:1–2, (1995), 117–130. I thank him for sharing his ongoing research with me.

architecture of the Khān al-Wazīr is best understood in the context of this appropriation of the Mamlūk past. In this light, Aleppo's caravanserais became the sites for the Ottoman appropriation of the visual past of the city, and especially of its most recent Mamlūk layer. Ultimately, local forms with past referents became part of the Ottoman architectural idiom; a new, local urban visual language emerged, constituting the ultimate step of the process of Ottomanization.

The development of the Mdīneh of Aleppo by Ottoman officials through the patronage of major külliyes abated in the seventeenth century. However, the process of Ottomanization continued in the central commercial district. Ottoman officials as well as local notables, continuously renovated and modified pre-existing structures in the heart of the city. Most importantly, the oldest Islamic shrines of Aleppo were Ottomanized in subtle yet semantically powerful ways. The ceremonial choreography of the Ottoman provincial court enacted the links between Ottoman rule and Muslim public life in the city. The major new Ottoman structure in the Mdīneh, the Khān al-Wazīr, followed in form and function the conventions set in the sixteenth century for prestige commercial structures in this part of the city. In addition, the Khān al-Wazīr competed with all existing caravanserais by its lavishness; it represents the by now standard Ottoman formula taken to its maximum degree.

Another development is visible on the façade of the Khān al-Wazīr: the later stage of the process of assimilation and reinterpretation of forms from the visual past of the city, and specifically its Mamlūk past. The felines that appear on its façade constitute a visual quotation from the city's architectural history; the fact that this motif could be taken out of its original functional context and recontextualized, signifies the Ottoman appropriation of all forms of the past of Aleppo.

The Khān al-Wazīr was the last of the great Ottoman constructions in the Mdīneh endowed by imperial officials without family connections to Aleppo. In the eighteenth century, local notables emerged as the patrons of major urban külliyes.⁷⁸ While some of

⁷⁸ See Thieck, "Décentralisation ottomane," 115: "... l'époque est révolue des grands gouverneurs développant la ville par leurs fondations de waqf. . . . Au XVIII^e siècle ce sont les grands notables (Amîrî, Kawâkibî, Tahazâde) . . . qui inscrivent dans le paysage urbain la marque de leur puissance."

them were part of the Ottoman administration, most possessed local roots. ‘Osmân Pasha Durakî endowed the Madrasa ‘Uthmaniyya (1730–1739), a külliye in the Classical Ottoman idiom in the northern district of Bâb al-Naşr.⁷⁹ Aḥmed Ṭaha Zâde endowed the Aḥmadiyya Complex on the Mdîneh axis (around 1759).⁸⁰ Al-Ḥajj Mūsā al-Amîrî’s complex (1752–1763) included several components in the Mdîneh, including a mosque with an Ottoman profile.⁸¹

The eclipse of Ottoman patrons from the center was due to a number of reasons. With the shifting of the center of gravity of the profitable long-distance trade to Bursa and Izmir, Aleppo lost its appeal for imperial patrons.⁸² The changes in the administrative system also diminished the actual influence of the governor to the benefit of local landed notable clans.⁸³ The calculus of power in the city, and the power balance between the city and the imperial capital had shifted. Significantly, however, the eighteenth-century complexes continued to use the Classical Ottoman idiom for mosques. By this time, the realities of the empire had altered to such an extent that the cultural currency of this idiom had likewise changed. Instead of making visible central Ottoman hegemony as in the sixteenth century, eighteenth-century Ottoman mosques in Aleppo symbolized the cultural capital accumulated by rising local clans.

The legacy of the complexes of the first two centuries of Ottoman rule endures until today. The complexes in the Mdîneh have survived, and adapted to modern needs and technologies. The waqf system ensured the perpetuation of the functions chosen by the sixteenth and seventeenth century patrons. Anyone navigating the ceaselessly busy alleys of the Mdîneh today still performs an urban choreography composed almost four hundred years ago.

⁷⁹ Al-Madrasa al-‘Uthmāniyya is also known as al-Madrasa al-Riḍā’iyya. See Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 103, no.73, fig. 13; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 234 (groundplan), and Appendix 8; Ghazzī 2, II, 123–134; David, “Domaines,” 189–190; Gaulmier, “Note sur l’état de l’enseignement,” 28–29.

⁸⁰ Ghazzī 2, II, 45–52; Sauvaget, “Inventaire,” 107, no. 88; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 216 note 811, 224 note 839; David, “Domaines,” 186.

⁸¹ Ghazzī 2, II, 138–145; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 215, n. 808; David, “Domaines,” 186, 188; Jihane Tate, *Une Waqfiyya du XVIII^e siècle à Alep: La Waqfiyya d’Al-Ḥāḡg Mūsā al-Amîrî* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1990).

⁸² For an economic explanation, see Masters, *Origins of Dominance*, last chapter; Murat Çizakça, “A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500–1900),” *JESHO* 23, 142–152.

⁸³ Thieck, “Décentralisation ottomane,” 114–115. Kunt, *Sultan’s Servants*.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMAGE OF AN OTTOMAN CITY

This is how space begins, with words only, signs traced on the blank page. To describe space: to name it, to trace it, like those portolano-makers who saturated the coastlines with the names of harbours, the names of capes, the names of inlets, until in the end the land was only separated from the sea by a continuous ribbon of text. Is the aleph, that place in Borges from which the entire world is visible simultaneously, anything other than an alphabet?

Georges Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*¹

In the Ottoman empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries different types of knowledge were fostered in different places to explain and narrate urban life, to reckon with the city. Cities and urban life were central to Ottoman culture; they formed the nodes through which Istanbul's dominance was enforced. Ottomans reshaped cities, layered them with monuments and institutions, and described, categorized and praised urban life. The built environment was the privileged marker of civilization beyond which lay vast agricultural areas, rural centers connected by trade routes and divided by desert. The vast Ottoman bureaucracy surveyed it, quantified its population and production, assessed its potential for taxation, and assigned governors, janissaries and judges to administer it.² Landscape was deeply implicated in social and cultural values.³

¹ Georges Perec, *Espèces d'espaces* (Paris: Editions Galilée, 1974); Edited and translated by John Sturrock as *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 13.

² Within the broad category of rural land, a culturally loaded division exists between productive agricultural lands, and the desert. On Ottoman administration of land and labor resources, see Barkey, 27–55; Halil Inalcik, “State, Land, and Peasant,” in Inalcik and Quataert, *Economic and Social History*, vol. 1, 103–178. For a discussion of the distinction between productive land and the wilderness, see Heghnar Watenpugh, “Deviant Dervishes.”

³ Gülru Necipoglu, “The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as

Among the texts on cities and urbanity produced in this period in the imperial center and the provinces, the genres favored, and the languages in which they were written, were geographically circumscribed.⁴ More precisely, the types of books produced in Istanbul and in Ottoman, and those produced in provincial centers of learning, such as Aleppo, and in Arabic, were consistently different throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While scholars often use one set or another as sources for the city's history, a critical examination of the form and significance of each type of production in a comparative perspective reveals the divergent and convergent aspects of imperial and local realms. This chapter reviews the literature produced in Aleppo, then that produced in Istanbul, emphasizing those works most relevant to the concept of the city.

Texts Produced in Aleppo

In Arabic literature textual genres that treated the city as a subject included geographies and travelogues, *faḍā'il* or the description of virtues ascribed to cities, biographical dictionaries and topographical histories, in addition to legal sources such as endowment deeds and probate records. While the city and architecture were omnipresent subjects, early modern Arabic literature rarely produced architectural treatises, and the textual genres listed were rarely illustrated. Even when they treated visual or architectural themes, these texts contained little visual information.⁵ What Nasser Rabbat called the "unaesthetic quality" of these texts constitutes one of the challenges of using them as a source for architectural history in the pre-modern Islamic context.⁶ In the absence of discussions of explicitly formal or spatial aspects of buildings and cities, the historian must find other avenues to mine the texts for information on the perception of space.

a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Theory and Design of Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden, 1996), 32–71.

⁴ Writings about the city by non-dominant members of Ottoman society, such as minorities and foreigners, have been excluded from this chapter, though they have been cited elsewhere in this book as sources of information, including D'Arvieux and Simeon Lehatsi.

⁵ Nasser Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 155–176; idem, "Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society: The Perspective of the Sources," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52 (1998): 30–37.

⁶ Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture," 158.

The related genres of the biographical dictionary and the topographical history often focused on a single city.⁷ These texts conceptualized the city as an object of representation: the writing of a biographical dictionary of persons related to a given city (e.g. Baghdad, Jerusalem, Cairo, Damascus) indicated that for the biographers, the existence of this category of knowledge—a given city—preceded the process of writing about the important men (and the few women) associated with it. Thus for biographers at least, Ḥalab—the city of Aleppo—remained a consistently rehearsed concept, a category, through the Ottoman conquest.

The biographical dictionaries and historical topographies produced in Aleppo in the Ottoman period were rooted in an intellectual tradition of long standing in the Arabic language, and particularly in Mamlūk historiography. Tarif Khalidi attributed the growing importance of the theme of land and territory in the historiography of the Mamlūk era to the centrality of conquest and the competitive acquisition of land in that period, when small rival militaristic states replaced older, expansive empires. Since many historians of the Mamlūks were bureaucrats whose work included the cataloguing of the sultan's domain in addition to chronicling his life, territory and land became prominent concerns in historiography.⁸

The focus on territory converged with Arabic historiography's long-standing interest in the city. Books such as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's history of Baghdad, or *faḍā'il* literature on Jerusalem or Damascus took as their subject of inquiry specific cities, focusing on their past, their virtues, and the Islamic monuments they contained. In particular, the format and breadth of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 1071) *Ta'rikh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-salām* emerged as the model for biographical dictionaries of persons associated with a city, preceded

⁷ Michael Cooperson examined the development of the biographical tradition in early Arabic historiography in *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For discussions of cities and the visual, mostly in the early Islamic sources, see idem, "Baghdad in Rhetoric and Narrative," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 99–113, and "Images Without Illustrations: The Visual Imagination in Classical Arabic Biography," in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001), 7–20.

⁸ Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture." On Mamlūk historiography, see Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg i. Br.: D. Robischon, 1969).

by a topographical introduction which described that city.⁹ Perhaps the best known text in this vein is Taqī al-dīn al-Maqrīzī's (d. 1442) topography of Cairo, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*.¹⁰ Increasingly in the later medieval period, cities such as Aleppo came to be the object of similar books. Ayyubid- and Mamlūk-period histories and topographies of Aleppo are particularly rich and numerous, including Ibn al-ʿAdīm's (d. 1262) *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārikh Ḥalab*,¹¹ Ibn Shaddād's (d. 1285) *Al-a'lāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra*,¹² Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjamī's (d. 1479) *Kunūz al-dhahab fī tārikh Ḥalab*,¹³ Ibn al-Shihna's (d. 1485) *Al-durr al-muntakhab fī tārikh mamlakat Ḥalab*, among others.¹⁴ Under both dynasties, Aleppo was a regional power and an intellectual center, and rulers as well as local notables supported the city's scholarly life through the building and endowment of madrasas and lodges. Biographical dictionaries of persons associated with a given city represented and legitimized a specific group within it: urban, Muslim, madrasa-educated males with an acute consciousness of their biological as well as intellectual

⁹ Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 1071) *Tārikh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-salām*, 14 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1931). Partial translation of the topographical introduction: Jacob Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: Text and Studies* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970). See Cooperson, "Baghdad."

¹⁰ Taqī al-dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, 2 vols., (Bulāq, 1853; Reprint, Beirut, n.d.). Nasser Rabbat, "Writing the History of Islamic Architecture in Cairo," *Design Book Review* 31 (Winter 1994): 48–51 and idem, "Maqrizi's *Khiṭat*: An Egyptian *Lieu de Mémoire*," in *The Cairo Heritage. Papers in Honor of Layla Ali Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, American University of Cairo Press, 2001), 17–30.

¹¹ Kamāl al-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim ʿUmar Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārikh Ḥalab*, Ed. Suhayl Zakkār, 11 vols. (Damascus: Dār al-Ba'ṭh, 1988). Nuha Samir Khoury, "Aleppo and Its Historian Kamal al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm: A Historiographical Examination of 'Bughyat al-Talab fī Tārikh Ḥalab,'" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 1996); and David Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and his World: Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Aleppo as portrayed in his biographical Dictionary of People Associated with the City* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

¹² ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Al-a'lāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra. Tārikh Ḥalab*, Ed. D. Sourdél (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1953).

¹³ Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab fī tārikh Ḥalab*, Ed. Shawqī Sha'ath (Aleppo: Dār al-qalam al-ʿarabī, 1995), translated as: Jean Sauvaget, "*Les Trésors d'or*" de Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjami. *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1950).

¹⁴ Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Shihna, *Al-Durr al-muntakhab fī tārikh mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. ʿA. M. Darwīsh (Damascus: ʿĀlam al-turāth, 1984), translated as: Jean Sauvaget, "*Les perles choisies*" d'Ibn al-Shihna. *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1933).

genealogies. As such, biographical dictionaries created collective histories, and called upon the urban environment to define and support these histories.¹⁵

The Ottoman period was bound to introduce changes in the types of intellectual production fostered in the provinces. Consequent to its integration into the Ottoman state, Aleppo became part of a new social order, where the intellectual center of gravity was Istanbul. The practice of *belles-lettres* in this society, which necessitated constant support for scholars, and face-to-face transmission of knowledge, meant that the highest education in the madrasa sciences could be obtained only in the empire's capital, at the *saḥn-i semân*, the eight madrasas at the Complex of Fâtîḥ Sultan Mehmed in Istanbul.¹⁶ Provincial madrasas could only dispense a less prestigious education. Consequently, promising young scholars from Gallipoli such as Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî, or from Aleppo such as Muṣṭafâ Na'îmâ, left their hometowns after exhausting provincial schools to pursue better educational opportunities at the imperial capital, where they made their careers as bureaucrats and literati. The most visible and well-rewarded intellectual endeavors were produced at the center of the empire and in Persian or Ottoman.¹⁷ Crucially, this degree of centralization was particular to the Ottoman system: the Mamlūk system seems to have been somewhat more decentralized.¹⁸

¹⁵ For a discussion of biographical dictionaries as ways to define collective histories, see Cooperson, *Heirs*, "Introduction."

¹⁶ For an overview of the Ottoman educational system in the later sixteenth century, see Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, especially 25–28, and idem, "Between the Lines: Realities of Scribal Life in the Sixteenth Century," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994). In addition to the Fatih Complex, the madrasas at the Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul were among the highest institutions of learning in the empire.

¹⁷ Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986); Christine Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnameci in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555–1605," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983): 157–182.

¹⁸ See: Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Berkey, "Mamluks and the World of Higher Islamic Education in Medieval Cairo, 1250–1517," in *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam*, ed. Hassan Elbadoudrari (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1993): 93–116; idem, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

A commonly held view maintains that the Ottoman conquest of “Arab lands” ushered an era of intellectual stagnation.¹⁹ Yet if one considers the modalities of intellectual production in the empire as a whole, it appears that intellectual life after the conquest altered rather than declined. Established literary genres continued to be produced in provincial centers with a tradition in this domain. In Aleppo the Ottoman period saw the production of texts in the “traditional” format of biographical dictionary of the city, such as Ibn al-Ḥanbalī’s (1502–1563) *Durr al-ḥabab fī tārikh a’yān Ḥalab*,²⁰ al-Baṭrūnī’s (d. 1636) redaction of Ibn al-Shiḥna,²¹ and Abu al-Wafā’ al-‘Urḍī’s (1585–1660) *Ma’ādin al-dhahab fī ‘l-a’yān al-musharrafa bi-him Ḥalab*,²² and Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī’s (1651–1699) *Khulāṣat al-athar fī a’yān al-qam al-ḥādī ‘ashar*, to cite only those that have been preserved. It would be incorrect to assume that this type of intellectual activity survived *despite* Ottoman rule. Instead, Ottoman rule fostered these activities, as each of these men was educated in Aleppo and held official appointments, often at Ottoman endowments. Al-Baṭrūnī and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī held teaching appointments at the madrasa of the first major Ottoman foundation in Aleppo, the Khusruwiyya. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī served as the Ḥanbalī muftī of Aleppo; al-‘Urḍī served as the Shāfi‘ī muftī; and Al-Baṭrūnī served as the Ḥanafī muftī. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī was a sufi in the Qādiriyya order; al-‘Urḍī was named after Shaykh Abu Bakr’s father, to whom the muftī’s progenitor, the Aleppine lit-

¹⁹ See for example, Muḥammad Anīs, *Madrasat al-Tārikh al-Miṣrī fī ‘l-aṣr al-‘Uthmānī* (Cairo, 1962). Ghazali, Diss., 2, begins his study of al-‘Urḍī by stating, “In this period there was stagnation in literature. Al-Urdi is representative of this stagnation.” This trend in historiography is discussed in Abou-El-Haj, “Social Uses of the Past,” Gabi Piterberg, “The Tropes of Stagnation and Awakening in Nationalist Historical Consciousness: The Egyptian Case,” In *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. Israel Gershoni & James Jankowski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). New directions in the study of Ottoman-period historiography in Egypt were suggested: Lellouch, “Le téléphone arabe,” Jane Hathaway, “Sultans, Pashas, Taqwims and Mühimmes: A Reconsideration of Chronicle Writing in Eighteenth Century Egypt,” In D. Crecelius, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Egypt: the Arabic Manuscript Sources* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1990): 51–78 and Bruce Masters, “The View from the Province: Syrian Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114:3 (1994).

²⁰ On Ibn al-Ḥanbalī see Tabbakh 2, VI, 62–72, Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, pp. 27–28.

²¹ On Abū al-Yaman al-Baṭrūnī see Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*, 1:156, Tabbakh 2, VI, 233.

²² On Abu al-Wafā’ al-‘Urḍī, see Tabbakh 2, VI, 289–299. Each edition of al-‘Urḍī’s text comprises an introduction, see also Ghazali, Diss.

térateur ‘Umar al-‘Urḏī was devoted.²³ Abu al-Wafā’ al-‘Urḏī was appointed a professor of Shāfi‘ī law at the Madrasa Hallāwiyya.²⁴ Each of these appointments required imperial permissions.

These men of the pen wrote in Arabic, and spent the better part of their careers in Aleppine institutions of learning. Yet the fact that they were based locally did not mean that their cultural productions were not consumed at the imperial center: a biographical notice of Abu al-Wafā’ al-‘Urḏī merited inclusion in a list of important ‘ulamā’ of the empire in the *Sijill-i ‘Osmânî*.²⁵ The intertextuality of the books of these intellectuals reveals their close interrelationships, and their connections to Arabic-speaking literati in other major cities, such as Damascus. The biographies narrate lives that unfold within the sites of Aleppo and environs: teaching circles at the Great Mosque, visits to sufi masters and *majdhūbs*. Each of the biographies depicts a vibrant intellectual life, with its rivalries and achievements, links to intellectuals from other cities, visiting luminaries. Scions of local families predominate among the biographies, but also included are imperial figures: visiting officials, sultans, Sufis, wandering dervishes. The biographers often make distinctions between Rūmīs and others, but what they do not evince is a sense of being a backwater, to the contrary: for them, Aleppo is unquestionably central.

The biographical dictionaries are useful in reconstructing the life of the city, and contain information about patrons of architecture. While they often treat architecture and mention patronage, like the Mamlūk texts they rarely provide explicit information about the formal and spatial qualities of buildings. They never discuss facades of buildings, though they sometimes mention the materials used. To use them as a source about issues of space and spatial practice requires a particular method; and not all questions of interest to the architectural historian are answered. Elsewhere I analyzed the depiction of the spatial movements of Shaykh Abū Bakr in his successive biographies, to capture the perceptions of the categories of architecture and the wilderness in the sources.²⁶

²³ On ‘Umar al-‘Urḏī, see Tabbākh 2, VI, 191–200.

²⁴ This appointment was made possible by Aḥmed Pasha Ekmekjî, a patron of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abu Bakr (Chapter 4), al-‘Urḏī, 115.

²⁵ Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sijill-i ‘Osmânî*, vol. 1, 172.

²⁶ Heghnar Watenpaugh, “Deviant Dervishes.”

In addition, genres with a long literary tradition such as the biographical dictionary did not survive in an archaic manner, but evolved. The texts mentioned above broadened their scope to include world-wide and empire-wide events, they included biographies of Ottoman sultans and officials who visited the city. Crucially, however, the texts' focus consistently remained the city of Aleppo through the Ottoman period. The longevity of this literary genre is remarkable: modern works such as 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak's on Cairo, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's on Damascus, and Kāmil al-Ghazzī's on Aleppo, to cite only a few examples, adopted the same format.²⁷ Local chronicles and biographical dictionaries that focused on the city continued to present an image of the city from the inside, as it were, from the point of view of a specific community of people. Just as in the medieval period, in the biographies of prominent Muslims living or associated with the city, the built environment was mobilized to make meaning of these individuals' lives; except now it was the Ottomanized city which accomplished this task.

Texts Produced at the Imperial Capital

The biographical dictionaries discussed previously were produced and consumed mostly at a regional level. Parallel genres of writing about the city flourished at the center and at the periphery. Cultural producers who chose an empire-wide scope and audience tended to write in Persian or Ottoman and spent their careers either at the capital or on a succession of posts throughout the empire. If they had provincial roots, they chose the geographical mobility required for the career of the ambitious Ottoman intellectual over returning to their hometowns. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī is a case in point. His biographical dictionary, the *Menākub-ı hünerverân*,²⁸ written in Ottoman, focuses on an occupational category: the calligraphers and artists of the Islamic tradition. This work falls within a well-defined category of

²⁷ 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *Al-khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqīyya al-jadīda li-Miṣr al-qāhira*, 2nd ed., 5 vols., reprint (Cairo, 1980–1986); Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6 vols. (Damascus: Maṭba'at al-taraqqī, 1343–1347/1925–1928); Ghazzī 2, op. cit.

²⁸ Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, *Menākub-ı hünerverân*, Ed. İbnülemin Maḥmūd Kemāl [İnal] (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-yi 'Āmire, 1926); for an edition in the Modern Turkish alphabet see Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Hattatların ve kitap sanatçılarının destanları (Menakab-i Hünerveran)*, Ed. Müjgan Cınbur (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982).

biographical writing, the primarily Persianate tradition of biographies of artists.²⁹ Even though ʿÂlî completed this work while holding an administrative post in Aleppo,³⁰ as an Istanbul-trained cultural producer, the scope of his work is broader than that evinced by such self-consciously local compendia as Ibn al-Ḥanbalî.

Beyond the genre of the biography, historical texts of all types produced at the imperial center tended to espouse a broader perspective: they included universal histories, dynastic histories, and universal geographies.³¹ By their very nature, these types of compositions could not centralize Aleppo: it was the capital city of the empire, Istanbul, which occupied center stage. Following Aleppo's inclusion into a large empire the center of intellectual activity was redirected to Istanbul. While Aleppo as a category, and a subject of intellectual inquiry endured in the Ottoman period this was now a primarily local knowledge.

From the imperial capital of Istanbul one was empowered to survey the empire from a privileged point of view. From this position, Aleppo appeared as a provincial city among others whose fortunes rose and fell in relation to its utility for the imperial center. Aleppo was defined in terms of its relationship to the center, but also in terms of its relationship to other provincial cities.

Two key texts produced at the center and in Ottoman, separated by over a century, include Aleppo within their representation of the empire. The first is an illustrated manuscript that exists in a unique copy, and the second is a travelogue that was never illustrated, but exists in several manuscript copies.

Maṭrâkçî Naşûh's Portrait of Aleppo

Maṭrâkçî Naşûh's *Beyân-i menâzil-i sefer-i ʿIrâkeyn-i sultân Süleymân hân* ("A Description of the Halting Places of the Campaign of Sultan Süleymân in the Two Iraqs [i.e. Iran and Iraq]"), also known as *Mejmuʿa-i Menâzil* ("The Collected Halting Places") (1537–8)³² contains the only known Ottoman portrait of Aleppo from the sixteenth

²⁹ David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000).

³⁰ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 105, 123, 127.

³¹ As in the work of Kâtip Çelebi (1608–1657): O. Ş. Gökyay, *Kâtip Çelebi'den Seçmeler* (Istanbul, 1968).

³² Preserved at the Istanbul University Library, MS. 5964 (Henceforth referred to

and seventeenth centuries.³³ Incorporating aspects of the genres of illustrated history as well as cartography, the manuscript constitutes a first-hand account of Süleymân's 1534–35 campaign against the Safavid empire, and features depictions of many sites and cities on the army's itinerary. As J. B. Harley asserted, maps, like other types of representation, are historical artifacts, not neutral scientific documents.³⁴ The portrait of Aleppo in this volume reveals much about the perception of this city by the Ottoman center specifically, but it also reveals broadly the conceptualization of spatial categories at this time and place. Ottoman maps and city views, and this manuscript in particular, have recently attracted scholarly attention.³⁵ These discussions focus on the crafting of the maps, sometimes reproduce the point of view of the center, and often concentrate on the manuscript's depiction of the capital city. The present discussion contributes to this debate an emphasis on a city other than the imperial capital; this viewpoint serves to undo the hierarchical presentation of the cities in the manuscript, and to examine the staging of imperial power beyond the capital.

The *Menâzil* was produced at a time when representations of power were crafted in a variety of visual media.³⁶ The military campaign it narrates functioned as such a representation, since Sultan Süleymân's

as *Menâzil*), edited in facsimile with an introduction by H. G. Yurdaydın, *Naşühü's-Silâhî (Maṭrakî) Beyân-i menâzil-i sefer-i İrâkeyn-i sultân Süleymân khân* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976).

³³ The next earliest known Ottoman image of Aleppo is a wall painting in the interior of the 'Azm Palace in Hama, dated to the eighteenth century. Stefan Weber, "Images of Imagined Worlds: Self-Image and Worldview in Late Ottoman Wall Paintings," In *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2002), and Kafescioğlu, "Aleppo and Damascus," 80–82.

³⁴ J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26:2 (1989): 1–19.

³⁵ Albert Gabriel, "Les étapes d'une campagne des deux 'Irak' d'après un manuscrit turc du XVI^e siècle," *Syria* IX (1929): 328–349. J. M. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," In J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 2, Book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992): 228–255. İffet Orbay, "İstanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," (Ph.D. Diss, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001). Kathryn Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and the Visual Culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1603," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2002).

³⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71:3 (1989): 401–427.

progress through the territory of the empire included a ceremonial of power, featuring visits to prominent shrines, halts in important cities, and official receptions.³⁷ The *Menâzil* constitutes a record of this ceremonial progress. Its Ottoman text describes the stopping stations of the sultan's army with fairly stereotypical descriptions of each city or shrine encountered.³⁸ The accompanying illustrations, however, were unconventional in 1537. They document the landscape through which the Ottomans moved eastward. Human figures are excluded from these topographical representations which feature walled cities primarily, along with occasional isolated shrines or sites of interest. This category of illustration, the topographical representation, appeared in this manuscript for the first time in the context of a court history.³⁹ What is unique about this manuscript is that it features topographical illustrations exclusively.⁴⁰ While this type of illustrated text was discontinued, later sixteenth-century illustrated histories evince the impact of Naşûh's representations of cities even when they rendered human intervention visible. For example, city views similar to Naşûh's were populated with humans in active roles, as in the case of the depiction of Erzurum in the *Nuşretnâme* (*Book of Victory*) by Muştafâ 'Âlî (completed 1584).⁴¹

The *Menâzil* is structured as an itinerary. It narrates and depicts a series of sights, deployed for the reader in sequence as he/she follows the progression of the Sultan's campaign. The ubiquitous river which flows from folio to folio visually connects the cities on this itinerary. The river suggests the movement of the sultan's army, even

³⁷ C. Woodhead, "Perspectives on Suleyman," in *Suleyman the Magnificent and his Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, ed. Metin Kunt and C. Woodhead (London: Longman, 1995), 166–7. See also Orbay, 33.

³⁸ The text singles out Aleppo's ornate architecture, along with that of Baghdad and Tabriz, Yurdaydin, 283. Orbay, 40–42.

³⁹ Ian R. Manners and Kathryn Ebel, "Images of the City in European and Ottoman Cartography," Unpublished paper given at the conference "The City in the Middle East: New Perspectives," Austin, Texas, March 6–7, 1998, pp. 5–6. My analysis of the evolution of city views in the Ottoman context is informed by discussions with Ian Manners and Kathryn Ebel. See also Ian R. Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87:1 (1997): 71–102; and Ebel, *Diss.*

⁴⁰ The *Menâzil* shares this particularity with two other manuscripts executed by Maṭrakçı.

⁴¹ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Ms. Hazine 1365. The Erzurum painting is on fol. 196a. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 105, 110–111.

though the army is never represented, except for the occasional inclusion of tents.⁴² The organization of the manuscript means that Aleppo (indeed, any single city depicted within) stands not on its own but alongside all the other sights on the royal itinerary. Regarding the depiction of cities, scholars have noted the formal characteristics of the representation of urban space, including the use of more than one viewpoint in the same image. Yurdaydın and others placed the topographical representations in this book in the context of the concern in Ottoman histotography for the realistic documentation of contemporary events and phenomena. Most saliently, the city views feature monumental or public architecture prominently, including buildings from periods preceding Ottoman rule that are represented relatively accurately and with a concern for detail. This quality has prompted scholars to rely on the depictions as documents for the reconstruction of the historic appearance of cities or of specific monuments, as in the case of the image of Sulṭāniyya (Pl. 35).⁴³ Manners and Ebel argued that the careful depiction of monuments from previous rulers served to position the Ottomans as the successors to the dynasties associated with the monuments depicted: "... far from being an unwelcome reminder of old rivalries, cities and their surviving monuments were, for the Ottomans, emblems of their successorship to the great civilizations that preceded them."⁴⁴

A careful examination of the image of Aleppo in the context of this manuscript prompts a different reading based on two interpretive threads. First, the format for representing cities in this manuscript requires consideration. The urban elements consistently depicted for each city include ramparts and monumental architecture. In this regard the manuscript is reminiscent of Evliyâ's text, discussed below. Ramparts—even when shown in ruins as in the view of Sulṭāniyya—

⁴² "... the eastward progression of the images both documents the campaign and suggests the symbolic unfurling of Ottoman power from Istanbul (the first image) out to far-flung provincial cities. ... Matrakçi is using waterways as a device to visually concretize the idea of a *route* in the *Mecmua*." Manners and Ebel, 8. Quoted with permission of the authors. Orbay, 30.

⁴³ Sheila Blair used the painting of Sulṭāniyya as a source for her reconstruction of the Tomb of Oljaytu, an Ilkhanid monument of the early fourteenth century, in "The Mongol Capital of Sulṭāniyya, 'the Imperial,'" *Iran* 24 (1986): 139–51. The first image of the manuscript, that of Istanbul is studied in: Walter B. Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 49–63.

⁴⁴ Manners and Ebel, 6.

function in the manuscript to demarcate the city from the countryside. The countryside is depicted as an expanse of flat green color enlivened by a few oversize flowers, and traversed by the river, the connecting thread of the manuscript, and the possible stand-in for the Ottoman army. It is the domain of the unbuilt, of nature. By contrast, within the walls, urban space is characterized by what is built. This prompts a first conclusion: the imperial landscape is primarily defined in terms of cities. This meshes with Ottoman culture's emphasis on urban life, and the notion that cities were the nodes through which imperial power emanated.⁴⁵ As a corollary, cities appeared as aspects of the landscape that could be subjugated and Ottomanized. By contrast, the countryside, the wilderness, the unbuilt, had to be secured constantly and relentlessly, and could not be Ottomanized so readily.⁴⁶ A similar perceptual demarcation between architecture and the city on the one hand and the wilderness and the unbuilt on the other emerges from an analysis of Aleppine biographical dictionaries and mystical treatises that discuss the spatial movements of Shaykh Abu Bakr at the edge of the city.⁴⁷

The cities themselves are represented in a highly codified manner in the manuscript. Vernacular architecture rarely appears; rather cities are described through their monumental or public architecture. This refers to the fundamental Ottoman view of cities: as places endowed with communal structures, such as the mosques, madrasas, baths and mausolea shown in the *Menâzil*, and listed by Evliyâ in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, all the communal structures depicted in the *Menâzil* are *Muslim* structures. While the cities which appear in this book had been in the *dâr al-islâm* for centuries, in reality, their urban fabric was strewn with sectarian structures (churches, synagogues) that were not Muslim. Such structures, like vernacular architecture, have been omitted.

Views of cities from the *dâr al-ḥarb*, territories outside of the Islamic realm, shed light on this issue. Another manuscript by Naşûh, the

⁴⁵ Ralph W. Brauer, *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 85, pt. 6 (1995).

⁴⁶ Previous chapters emphasized the measures taken by the Ottoman state to secure the countryside, especially specific commercial and pilgrimage routes mapped onto it: the chains of fortified caravanserais was one way of securing them, a process that was constantly threatened.

⁴⁷ H. Watenpugh, "Deviant Dervishes."

Süleymânnâme (c. 1543),⁴⁸ features cities outside the Ottoman domains. Depictions of cities yet to be conquered were far more numerous in Ottoman topographical representations than Ottoman cities such as Damascus or Aleppo, a fact that can be linked with Ottoman territorial claims, and the Ottoman espousal of the Gâzî ideology through the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Iffet Orbay argued, "... topography as illustration betrays a 'mapping impulse,' a desire to make new territories 'visible.' ... topographical representation must have related to a consciousness of the Ottoman empire's rapid territorial expansion ... [Naşûh's] three illustrated chronicles indeed cover the territorial advance in three major areas, on land and at sea, and precisely at a moment when this expansion, ongoing since the mid-fifteenth century, attained its climax."⁵⁰ Naşûh's *Süleymânnâme* recounts admiral Hayreddîn Barbarossa's Western Mediterranean campaign of 1543. It contains views of Mediterranean ports and fortresses seen from the sea. Two French ports, Toulon and Nice, are depicted in a format similar to that of the *Menâzil*, in a somewhat different style (Pl. 36). The difference in style is probably due to the fact that the depiction of the ports relied on different sources: the careful cross-hatching of the roofs has been interpreted as an indication that these images drew on European, probably Venetian, engravings.⁵¹ Significantly, the views of the ports comprise no obviously Christian architectural landmarks—churches, belltowers, crosses that one might expect to see in a sixteenth-century city of France. In fact, in the Ottoman representation of these cities (even if based on European engravings), a choice was made to omit these architectural signs. The difference between the depiction of an Ottoman, Islamic city (one where emblems of Muslim communal structures are displayed) and the depiction of a French city (one where Christian communal structures are rendered unrecongizable) is not arbitrary. It is a clue about the way Ottoman courtly society in Istanbul imagined cities, and

⁴⁸ Naşûh's *Süleymânnâme* is preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum, MS. H. 1608.

⁴⁹ Manners and Ebel, 9.

⁵⁰ Orbay, 32.

⁵¹ See Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, Translated, expanded and edited by J. M. Rogers (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 216–217. Compare these images to those published in, Géza Fehér, *Turkish Miniatures from the Period of Hungary's Turkish Occupation*, trans. Lili Halápy (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1978).

specifically, what it imagined made Ottoman cities distinct from others. These topographical representations provide an answer to the question, *What made an Ottoman city an Ottoman city?* Naşûh's images suggest a first response: the presence of Muslim communal structures acted as an indicator of an Ottoman city; the Ottoman city was above all an Islamic city.

The issue of communal structures prominently displayed on the cityscape introduces the second interpretive thread. A careful examination of the *Menâzil*'s depiction of Aleppo suggests that the relationship between actual cities and their representation in 1537 was quite complex, and that more than one strategy was adopted for the depictions in the *Menâzil*. The issue of whether Naşûh depicted the cities on Süleymân's campaign "realistically" is a complex matter. In some cases, the *Menâzil* seems to describe cities "accurately" within the conventions of topographical representation. Thus Sultāniyya, or Baghdad, are shown with easily recognizable monuments depicted in a manner that seems faithful to the actual buildings' appearance and location, as demonstrated by Sheila Blair's comparison between the Naşûh image and the twentieth-century remains of the Mausoleum of Oljaytu (Pl. 35).⁵² However, the Aleppo image deviates from this pattern.

The double-page image of Aleppo (Pl. 37) features the ubiquitous river which connects the manuscript's images, except in this case it stands in for the river Quwayq, correctly flowing to the west of the city walls (Similarly in the depiction of Baghdad, the "connecting" river "merges" with the Tigris which divides the city). A number of details make this topographical representation recognizable as Aleppo: the correct relationship of the river Quwayq to the city; the importance if not the scale of the citadel and the ramparts. Aleppo is shown as a walled city; however its ramparts are generic rather than specific as at Sultāniyya. They are standardized renditions, no effort is made to describe the particularities of the place. The painted citadel, like the one that could be seen in 1537, is surrounded by a moat, connected by a stone bridge supported by arches, and features towers and barbicans. The conical tops of the entrance gate and the towers of the citadel, however, are not imitative of the actual citadel. The two enigmatic umbrella-like shapes across from the gate

⁵² Blair, "Mongol Capital."

of the citadel correspond in location, but not in form, to the Zāwiya of al-Nasīmī.⁵³ The walled city as well as the suburbs (whose spatial relationship to the walled city is realistically depicted) are filled with generic boxlike structures. Among them are buildings preceded by porticoes, surmounted by cascading blue domes, sometimes dotted with flecks of white paint, possibly indicating the glass-incrusted domes of baths. A number of larger structures, bereft of domes, feature minarets, which identify them securely as mosques. The minarets' pencil-shaped tops, cylindrical shafts and double balconies identify them as Ottoman; some of them are even shown covered in brightly colored tile mosaic in green, blue and white.⁵⁴

These mosques, then, are indexed as Ottoman. They fill the city with Muslim communal structures. Today, one could easily assimilate these structures with the sixteenth-century Ottoman mosques of Aleppo.⁵⁵ Yet in 1537, when this image was painted, many of the monuments we in the twenty-first century associate with Aleppo—the Ottomanized skyline, the covered market—were yet to be constructed. In particular, none of the Ottoman-style mosques of Aleppo had yet been built. The peculiar mosques of the painting serve to show the city as Islamic—in the Ottoman understanding of being filled with Muslim communal structures. They also show these communal structures as Ottoman. That Naşûh distinguished between minarets of different styles is clear throughout the manuscript, where minarets of varying forms are privileged markers for structures from

⁵³ See Chapter 4. This zāwiya has been described by travelers as different in their outlook as Evliyâ and Simeon, suggesting that the site was more visually prominent in the pre-modern period.

⁵⁴ Based on the fact that this image was painted before the Ottoman mosques of Aleppo were built, Kafescioğlu argued that it could be viewed as “a representation of the city as it appeared at the end of the Mamluk period.” She interpreted the image's mosques as being hypostyle in the Mamluk manner: Kafescioğlu, “Aleppo and Damascus,” 81. However, the painted mosques do not conform to Mamluk structures in Aleppo, especially when compared to the degree of accuracy in the depiction of pre-Ottoman architecture in images like that of Sultaniyya. I do not read the painted mosques as hypostyle, but rather as preceded by porticoes; more importantly, the Ottoman-shaped minarets, with conical tops and balconies, index a generic Ottoman form rather than a Mamluk form, even though they lack domes.

⁵⁵ None of the Ottoman mosques of Aleppo feature minarets covered entirely with tiles; A single row of tiles rings the lower part of the minaret of the Khusruviyya. No Mamluk minarets exhibit tiles in Aleppo, either. However the minaret of the Sināniyya mosque in Damascus (1586–1591) is covered entirely with bright green tiles: see Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, 84–86, No. 79. No Ottoman minaret of Aleppo features more than one balcony.

previous periods of history (cf. Sultaniyya image, the minarets of the Mausoleum of Oljaytu). Furthermore, Naṣūḥ certainly had the opportunity to acquaint himself with the specificities of Aleppo's cityscape since he, along with the Ottoman army wintered there during the campaign against the Safavids. Naṣūḥ had every opportunity to observe Aleppo's architecture first hand; that he chose to represent it selectively is not arbitrary. The minarets shown on Aleppo's painted cityscape, then, do not allude to any *existing* mosques; rather they allude to generic, *ideal* mosques, which are thus conceived as being Ottoman in form.

Equally important in this depiction is the choice *not* to represent the pre-Ottoman monuments of Aleppo, with the exception of the citadel. Identifiable landmarks from previous dynasties—the Great Mosque of Aleppo, the Mamlūk mosques with their distinctive carved minarets and ablaq facades—have been omitted. The specificity of Aleppo, then, is represented through the correct spatial arrangement of urban markers and zones (river, suburbs, ramparts), but the only monument to merit relatively faithful representation is the citadel. By contrast, to represent Baghdad, Sultāniyya, or Istanbul, the *Menâzil* deployed all or most of their major monuments from the past as well as the present.

Perhaps the depiction of one well-known landmark, the citadel, was felt to be sufficient to identify the painting as "Aleppo." Or possibly, Naṣūḥ made a distinction between the monuments associated with long-vanished dynasties, such as the Mongols in Sultaniyya, whose monuments are detailed, and those associated with newly conquered dynasties like the Mamlūks. In Aleppo in 1537, the Ottomanization of Mamluk architectural forms had not yet begun. And perhaps Naṣūḥ's image presents Aleppo as a city conquered and Ottomanized through the imposition of architectonic signs, even before the actual Ottomanization of the cityscape had taken place.

This raises the possibility that in this unique manuscript, conquered cities—some conquered cities—were depicted not as they were, but rather as they ought to be: as already Ottomanized. Specifically, they were represented as ideal Islamic cities, which in this context could only mean an Ottomanized city. One could argue, therefore, that the Ottomanized landscape, ultimately, constituted the trace of the victorious (but unrepresented) Ottoman army in a manuscript that recounts its movement. Invisible in a literal way, the might of the Ottomans was visible through the trace of Ottomanization.

In the case of some cities, like Istanbul and Baghdad, the traces from past Islamic dynasties, in the guise of their monuments, were also preserved and displayed.

Thus in Naşûh's painting, Aleppo had become the very image of an Ottoman city—a city remade to bear the signs that had emerged as the hallmarks of the domain of the sultan. Consequently, one can read this image as emblematic of an Ottoman program, or an imperial program of Ottomanization. The subsequent architectural interventions enacted this program on the urban landscape.

Evliyâ Çelebi's Seyâhatnâme

Another text produced at the imperial center that sheds light on the center's perception of Aleppo is Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*, or the *Book of Travels*. Evliyâ (1611–1684), an Ottoman official, recounted his travels throughout the Ottoman empire over the years 1640–1676.⁵⁶ This extraordinary source has attracted considerable scholarly attention, and several sections have been edited, translated, and published.⁵⁷ A treasure-trove of information for the study of Ottoman culture including art and architecture, scholars have mined the *Book of Travels* for data, with resultant debates on its greater or lesser reliability.⁵⁸ Few studies, however, have used this book as a source for the study of Ottoman attitudes towards, or modes of perception of, urban space.⁵⁹

Information provided by Evliyâ on structures in Aleppo has been cited frequently in this study. The following section tackles the larger issue of the modes of representing urban space in the travelogue, with special reference to the section on Aleppo.

⁵⁶ For an introduction to Evliyâ's life and work, see *ET*², s.v. "Awliyâ Celebî," by Irène Mélikoff; and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Evliya Çelebi," by Cavid Baysun.

⁵⁷ I refer for detailed references to Robert Dankoff, and Klaus Kreiser, *Materialien zu Evliya Çelebi, II. A Guide to the Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi, Bibliographie raisonnée* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1992).

⁵⁸ Robert Dankoff, "Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels* as a Source for the Visual Arts," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 16:1 (1992): 39–50; Klaus Kreiser, "Evliya Çelebi ve Başka kaynaklara göre Arap Âleminin doğusundaki büyük şehirlerde Mevlevihaneler," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* XIV (1994): 101–115.

⁵⁹ Bierman in "The Ottomanization of Crete" provides a critical, yet brief reading of Evliyâ, see for example 62, 64 and 68. A discursive context for the *Book of Travels* is provided in Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121–150.

The written accounts of travels to distant lands are an important source for the study of the interplay of material culture and intellectual history. The travelogue is the testimony of the traveler. It is his/her way of recording those aspects of his/her journey that are most memorable. Their common structure almost always includes a chronological list of the stages of the journey, and more or less detailed discussions of the cities, villages, and other stops along the route. By crafting a travelogue, the writer maps his journey. The mapping process includes the path the traveler takes in the world known to him/her towards his/her ultimate goal. It also includes the path the traveler plots through the cities he/she visits. The descriptions of cities found in the travel literature can be said to be mental maps, committed to memory through the act of writing.

The *Book of Travels*, like the *Menâzil*, can be read as an itinerary, excluding the first volume which concerns Istanbul and historical events of the author's lifetime.⁶⁰ Once the travels away from the capital begin, the text reads as a sequence of descriptions of Evliyâ's stopping stations. Like Naşûh's, Evliyâ's itinerary expresses its route primarily, though by no means exclusively, through the cities it encounters. Like Naşûh's manuscript, Evliya's journey partakes of imperial cartography, though one from a different time and place.

In Evliyâ's narrative, as in Naşûh's illustrations, cities are understood as walled places. Ramparts are the markers which divide the city from the countryside. Evliyâ's description of Aleppo (and of other cities he encountered, including Diyarbakir), begins with a narration in great detail of his circumambulation of the city's walls.⁶¹ He gives the measurements of towers and of the distances between them; he names each tower and gate; and reads (i.e. records) inscriptions from all periods of the city's history.

For Evliyâ, as for Naşûh, a city is a place where Muslim communal structures abound. A great city is a city that features many lavish Islamic institutions. After circumambulating the walls, Evliyâ

⁶⁰ For a recent edition, see: Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, Ed. Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Tekin (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

⁶¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 369–370. The same structure of description is maintained in Evliyâ's discussion of Diyarbakir, the closest large city to Aleppo, which also boasted many historical layers of architecture. See Machiel Kiel, "The Physical Aspect of the City," in *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir* ed. Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 53–63. On Evliya's circumambulation of the ramparts of Diyarbakir, see 53, and 128–131.

briefly lists the neighborhoods of the city. He then lists communal buildings by type, mentions the number of such buildings boasted by Aleppo, and describes the most important of each type in some detail. The first category of communal structures are Friday Mosques, followed by the categories of *madrasa*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, *maktab*, *dār al-qurrāʾ*, *ʿimāret*, *dār al-shifāʾ*, *ḥammām*, *khān*, *qaṣṭal*, shop, coffeehouse, palace, and *takiyya*.⁶² Thus the city, in Evliyâ's view, is judged on the basis of the presence and the quality of Muslim communal structures within it. Categories such as the presence of communal structures, allow Evliyâ to place Aleppo within a hierarchy of provincial centers, with the imperial capital, Istanbul, always at the apex. This echoes Naṣûḥ's choice of privileging monumental architecture over vernacular architecture in the depiction of cities. The importance of communal structures as a criterion for judging a city endured in Ottoman society. Indeed, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Sâlnâmes comprise tables similar to Evliyâ's lists of communal structures in the city; except in these modern documents, the hierarchy of importance of communal structures reflects modern concerns: the Sâlnâme of 1908 lists administrative buildings, hospitals and police stations ahead of the Great Mosques of the city.⁶³

Further, in Evliyâ's description, cities are places where history layers itself. This perception is manifested in two ways. First is Evliyâ's keen awareness of the Ottoman layer of the city and its relationship to previous layers. For example, in his list of the Friday Mosques, the first building described is, not unexpectedly, the Great Mosque of Aleppo,⁶⁴ but the second is the "Eski Husrev Paşa Camii" (i.e. the Khusruwiyya mosque). Evliyâ conveys the strength and beauty of the mosque's construction, the fact that it was a work of Sinân,⁶⁵ and its inscriptions; he also tells his readers that the minaret of the

⁶² I have transliterated the names of building types according to their original Arabic forms, except for *ʿimāret*, used by the Ottomans in the restricted sense of soup kitchen (in Arabic the word has the larger meaning of building, or the craft of building). These categories are exceptionally numerous in the case of a large city like Aleppo; Diyarbakir rated a smaller number of these categories. See *Evliya Celebi in Diyarbekir*.

⁶³ *Haleb Vilâyeti Sâlnâmesi* (Aleppo: Matbaʿa-yi Vilâyet, 1908), 222.

⁶⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 372–373. See the discussion of the Great Mosque of Aleppo and its Ottoman additions in Chapter 5.

⁶⁵ If a provincial mosque was attributed to Sinân, Evliya rarely failed to mention it. Kiel, "The Physical Aspect," 57.

Khusruwiyya is in the style of Rûm (*Rum tarzı*), understood to mean the Ottoman style.⁶⁶ This style of building is the only one that Evliyâ names in his discussion of Aleppo. Other styles of construction are not named; however the sense of the difference of the manner of Rûm is salient. The Ottoman cosmographer, Mehmed ‘Âshîk (b. 1555), writing about the Ottoman mosques in Damascus, made a distinction between the formal properties of the Rûmî style and the “style of Arab lands.” Prayer halls crowned by a single dome, domes covered by lead tiles, porticoes that precede prayer halls and pencil-shaped minarets were the recognizable signs of Ottoman mosques. As Cigdem Kafescioğlu pointed out, for ‘Âshîk, an Ottoman style was expected from a mosque built by an Ottoman sultan.⁶⁷ Thus among Ottoman officials from the center, a clear perception existed of the difference between Rûmî and other building styles, at least in the case of mosques. For Evliyâ, an awareness of the past memory layers of cities as expressed through ancient monuments accompanied the awareness of the specificity of Ottoman building form. In this aesthetic discourse, however circumscribed and limited, the Ottoman travelers from the center differ somewhat from the “unaesthetic quality” of the Aleppine biographers.

Evliyâ evinces an awareness of the historical layering of the city in another aspect as well. While he is clearly aware of architectural styles—at least, he is aware of what is Ottoman-style and what is not—, Evliyâ privileges inscriptions as memorials of rulers from the pre-Ottoman past. By reading inscriptions on the ramparts, and at the ancient communal structures of the city, Evliyâ in fact reads into the urban fabric the traces of past rulers. He does so in a reverse stratigraphy, as it were—his readings tend to culminate in the traces left by the House of ‘Osmân. Like Naşûh, then, Evliyâ was keenly interested in recording the traces of the former Islamic rulers of the Ottoman lands. For Evliyâ, the historical layers of the city were recognizable as distinct, but the layers of the past were now firmly embedded within the Ottoman present. While Naşûh recorded the memory layers of cities by depicting the distinctive appearance of

⁶⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 374.

⁶⁷ Mehmed ‘Âshîk b. ‘Ömer Bâyezîd, *Menâzirü'l-‘Avâlim*, ms. Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Halet Efendi 616, fol. 228r. Cited and analyzed in Kafescioğlu, “Aleppo and Damascus,” 80. See *EP*, s.v. “‘Âshîk, Muhammad b. ‘Uthman b. Bayezîd,” by F. Taeschner. ‘Âshîk lived in Damascus where he compiled his cosmography.

the architecture of the past in painting, Evliyâ reproduced the epigraphy of past rulers in his text for a similar purpose. Evliyâ's narrative lingers over architectural features and institutions because he, an Ottoman, saw these features as the signs that made a city an Ottoman city. His writing proves that to the cultured eye, the signs scattered across the urban landscape conveyed a specific meaning.

That Evliyâ's stratigraphic reading of the city's layers emphasizes its current Ottoman layer is not unexpected. When he visited Aleppo in 1671–1672, the cityscape had long been Ottomanized. The opening of Evliyâ's description of the city reveals the perspective of Ottoman officials towards this particular province of the empire (if not the provinces as a whole). A brief overview of the high points of the city's history quickly gives way to a detailed discussion of the administrative posts and tax farms that Ottoman officials could obtain in the province and city of Aleppo, along with the amount of the yearly stipends attached to each and their eligibility requirements, all in highly specific terms. For example, the position of *zîyâmet defterdâr* of the province, the reader is told, is worth 81,146 akçes.⁶⁸ He displays an intricate knowledge of the institutions of the empire and a mastery of specialized vocabulary—the type of “insider” information to which only someone in the ruling élite could be privy. The audience for such information could only have been his fellow Ottomans at the center of the Empire. The writing suggests that Evliyâ, reflecting the attitudes of his audience, considered Aleppo a fief to be exploited jointly by the members of the Ottoman élite. Yet this imperial privilege came with an imperial responsibility: echoing one of the oldest tropes of the “Mirror for Princes” genre, Evliyâ states that profits from the provinces can only be obtained in exchange for justice and the provision of security. One could perhaps call this “the Ottoman's burden.” This imperial slant is also apparent in the *Menâzil*, as discussed above.

In conclusion, Evliyâ's concerns and attitudes can certainly be described as imperial, or even imperialist. Paralleling the modes of representing urban space seen in the *Menâzil*, Evliyâ considers the ramparts markers of urban boundaries. Within the ramparts, the city

⁶⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9, 368. Similar tables were included in Evliya's discussion of Diyarbakir and Albania. See *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakir*, and Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid)* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

is defined primarily in terms of the Muslim communal institutions it houses. Evliyâ scans these institutions—buildings with a monumental architecture, and reads and records traces left by previous Islamic dynasties. Rhetorically in his text, these traces are always followed by those of the Ottoman dynasty. Indeed, unlike the city encountered by Naşûh, at the time of Evliyâ's visit, Aleppo's cityscape had long been Ottomanized. While Naşûh manipulated the representation of urban topographies to reflect an image of an ideal city, by the end of the seventeenth century, Aleppo had come to embody the very image of an Ottoman city. This was not lost on cultured observers such as Evliyâ.

This chapter mapped the texts that defined and described Aleppo and its urban practice. Two parallel realms of cultural production emerged among the Muslim elites of the empire. The locally based, madrasa- and dervish lodge-educated men of the city compiled biographical dictionaries and topographical histories that foregrounded Aleppo in the context of the empire. These texts defined, celebrated and reproduced a class of men who held salaried positions at the city's Islamic institutions. Their texts evinced a strong sense of place and of the centrality of urban life, but they eschewed any explicit descriptions of the formal and spatial characteristics of buildings, emphasizing instead their social, religious, economic and political contexts. A different context of production—the court and the capital city—fostered the production of images and texts that evince a hegemonic view in their mapping impulse. Productions such as Naşûh's image of Aleppo, or Evliyâ's description of the city reflect the concerns of the center, and create categories, such as the presence of communal structures, whereby Aleppo is located within a hierarchy of provincial centers. The imperial context, then, determined the manner in which the sultan's servants reckoned with the city. Whether resorting to well-established genres with a strong local resonance, or relying on broader works, Aleppo's image in the texts and paintings produced in both the capital and locally could be no other than that of an Ottoman city.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EPILOGUE

This study undertook to tackle the question, “What Made an Ottoman City an Ottoman City?” from the vantage point of a provincial center. Ottoman cities, regardless of their particular histories before Ottomanization, were produced by the unique context of an early modern empire. By examining a single city over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this study aimed at locating patterns of Ottomanization and examining their evolution both synchronically and diachronically.

What was at stake in focusing on Ottoman practice in a single city over two centuries was the reassertion of a sense of the local into discussions of Ottoman architecture. All too often, architectural history posits a model whereby ideas and forms emanating from the imperial center are absorbed and mimicked, often awkwardly, by the provinces. This study complicates this model by suggesting that each affected, and indeed produced, the other at every step. Visual culture, including architecture and urban topography, was an essential tool of Ottomanization. However, a model whereby the imperial center propagated a sense of identity through the dissemination of standardized forms has to be mitigated by the metaphor of encounter, of dynamic exchange between the center and the periphery. The center was forever affected by the provinces, and the peripheries actively negotiated their adoption and adaptation of the visual language of authority from the center. Even when the architecture and social practice of a locality showed continuities in cultural production over long periods, these were not natural, inevitable and immutable; rather they were the result of chains of choices and compromises. Tradition, in other words, was under relentless revision.

As previous chapters showed, the patronage of Ottoman officials from the center determined the urban development of Ottoman Aleppo through major institutional complexes in the central commercial district in the sixteenth century, and through smaller dispersed acts of philanthropy in the seventeenth. Recent research on the urban development of Istanbul after its conquest by Mehmed II

emphasized that mosque complexes contributed to the establishment of new neighborhoods and the revival of those in decline, often accompanied by the settlement of new populations.¹ The complexes endowed by royal and courtly patrons also defined monumental corridors, and emphasized and recontextualized sites that made visible the sediments of historical layers in the city. The case of Istanbul is unique as the imperial capital, and also because at the time of conquest it was not an Islamic city with established Muslim communal institutions.

The Ottomanization of cities in the former Mamlūk empire posed a different set of givens. Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, were layered with Islamic institutions, full of relics and shrines, and boasted a heterogeneous population with established Islamic customs. The challenge here was not to Islamize but rather to project an Ottoman urban order. In Aleppo, Ottoman patrons relied less on *şenlendirme* (the construction of institutional complexes as a tool of urban development), using it sparingly as in the development of the suburban neighborhood around the Dervish Lodge of Shaykh Abū Bakr in the early seventeenth century, where urbanization encroached on the wilderness. Rather, one can discern a number of urban strategies in the Ottoman reformulation of Aleppo's cityscape. In the sixteenth century, Ottoman officials through their individual endowments reoriented the urban center towards the central commercial district through the erection of a monumental corridor along the Roman-era grid of the ancient town. Only at the beginning of the sixteenth century did Ottomans destroy, reoccupy or reinscribe in a direct way the monuments and urban spaces associated with the previous rulers of the city, the Mamlūks, as in the case of the appropriation of the former military parade ground for the construction of the 'Ādiliyya complex. The Ottomans allowed the major Mamlūk monuments and the Citadel-Maḳāmāt ceremonial axis to remain; however, by reorienting the urban center, they rendered the previous monuments obsolete, less central to the economic and ceremonial life of the city.

The major trend of the period was the rededication of unprecedented large tracts of land in the urban core from private or

¹ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century," (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1996), and Özkoçak, "Urban Development of Istanbul."

semi-private property to *waqf*. In the two centuries under study, a privileged area of the city—the Mdīneh, or the Ottoman monumental core—became almost exclusively *waqf* land. Consequently, its use was determined in perpetuity. The Mdīneh included many *waqf* structures that provided services for the community: mosques, baths, schools, libraries, coffeehouses. The income-generating structures consisted primarily of buildings associated with trade: caravanserais, qīsāriyyas, stables, workshops, and shops. This insistence on developing the commercial aspects of the city certainly responded to its importance for trade; it also responded to imperial interests in the city. In a pattern characteristic of imperial behavior, Ottomans collectively invested in those aspects of cities most profitable from an imperial viewpoint (to be sure, many local actors profited from the long-distance trade as well). Compare the character of Ottoman intervention in Aleppo to that in Damascus: While projects in Aleppo had an overwhelmingly commercial nature, especially in the sixteenth century, projects in Damascus related to religious practice: the complex which houses the tomb of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, and the Takiyya Sulaymāniyya, built to support the ḥajj caravan from Damascus, are two sixteenth-century examples of this pattern. The built environment suggests, then, that for the Ottomans, Aleppo was a city of commerce, while Damascus was a city of piety.

Imperial power was exercised over each endowment, as the ultimate management of *awqāf* was concentrated in Istanbul. Changes in personnel were ratified through imperial decrees. As previous chapters detailed, the close supervision of communal structures extended to the past urban layers, as it included endowments built under previous eras: as Islamic structures, they were now the responsibility of the Ottoman state. In a sense, then, endowments tied up land for communal use; yet the management of the use was entirely in the hands of the state.

The nature of the Ottoman state also determined the flow of profits to and from these endowments. The size of the empire allowed patrons to assign the revenue from a shop in Sivas to support a Koranic school in Aleppo. Income from disparate regions of what we call today the Middle East, Eastern Europe and North Africa could be combined in an endowment. Conversely, sections of the usufruct of foundations in Aleppo could be dedicated to support structures in Mecca, Madīna, or anywhere else in the empire. Thus the wealth of certain parts of the empire could be redistributed to

others. Imperial realities dictated the convergence of large amounts of wealth on Istanbul and the Two Noble Sanctuaries.

Compounding the creation of a monumental corridor through the erection of new structures was the accretive modification of the most important sacred sites of the center with a view to Ottomanize them and render them compatible with the ceremonies of the provincial court. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu described in Istanbul the Ottoman reuse, revival and transformation of Byzantine urban arteries.² A similar strategy seems operative in the Mdīneh axis, whereby a pre-existing, Roman-period artery was revived, refined, revitalized. The façades of monumental caravanserais that overlooked the main thoroughfare acknowledged the Mamlūk visual idiom of this area, its urban memory. The facades of Ottoman khans continued Mamlūk conventions and recontextualized them, while the forms of the mosques emulated Rûmî models.

The monumental corridor did more than represent a new urban center. The presence of so many economic, social and religious functions, and the dynamic concentration of merchant communities from around the world produced a very special urban unit. The key legacy of the sixteenth century was creating a concentrated, energized commercial center. Foreign traders lived in the khans, and western Christian missionaries established beachheads there, effectively creating an extraterritorial space in the middle of the city, where few locals actually lived. Residential neighborhoods surrounded this space of movement and activity featuring spaces of religious practice, trade and sociability unlike any other neighborhood. It was a space of uncommon openness, a place of encounter, where religious communities and diverse social strata interacted. In this openness, the central district contrasted with the customary discretion of most urban neighborhoods, with their strong social identity and often self-contained economies. Even its colloquial name—the “Mdīneh,” literally “the city” designated it as a special urban segment, a city within the city.

² Kafescioğlu, “Ottoman Capital.”

Indexing Ottoman Power

The structures surveyed in this study indicate that certain forms and certain spatial configurations were privileged in the process of overlaying the Ottoman presence in cities. Previous chapters emphasized the special role of the Office of Imperial Architects in this process. The centralized production of standardized designs that were then implemented throughout the empire ensured the consistency of the image of Ottoman rule, especially in the shape of Ottoman mosques.

Yet the evidence also suggested that at any given point in the two centuries under study, an Ottoman form (what Evliyâ and Ibn al-Ḥanbalî called the Rûmî manner) was not the only choice available for major urban institutions. Recontextualized versions of Mamlūk forms were equally current in the Ottoman period. Previous chapters argued that location within the city was a key determinant for the choice of style: for example, Ottoman mosques in the Mdīneh consistently conformed to the Rûmî style.

However, whether built in the Rûmî style or in another, certain Ottoman expectations of buildings remained crucial and determined the manner in which new structures were built and existant ones remodeled. The centrality of entrances in the main façade and the special treatment of entrance bays that featured a foundation inscription were salient aspects of the Ottoman treatment of architecture in the two centuries under study, in contradistinction to Mamlūk or Ayyubid practice (to mention only building traditions well-represented in Aleppo). The importance of these expectations warranted the modification of older structures to accomodate them—a case illustrated in Aleppo by the Ottoman layers of the Great Mosque and the Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya.

Çiğdem Kafescioğlu argued that the façades of the mosques of the sixteenth century, in their display of a combination of stylistic elements from the Rûmî and local styles, emerged as mediating spaces between the Ottoman rule and the province. Analysis of Ottoman architecture in Aleppo over two centuries and particularly the gradual development of a distinctive Aleppine Ottoman idiom, as seen on the façade of the Khān al-Wazīr, shows another process: the appropriation and recontextualization of Mamlūk forms into a new urban visual language. This new visual language relied on its urban context and on the juxtaposition of buildings from the distant and the recent past in the commercial district for its full effect. It was a

language that became readable when viewed in its urban setting and functional context.

Chapter 6 examined the manner in which Ottomans represented cities in texts and in images. These representations and the layering of cities on the ground are distinct, if parallel, modes of cultural production. Yet some aspects of the Ottoman layer of Aleppo recall the ideas expressed in the city's representations, particularly in the matter of the visibility of monuments and the staging of privileged viewpoints.³ Only the earliest Ottoman complex of Aleppo, the Khusruwiyya, was laid out to be visible in its entirety to the pedestrian. The Khusruwiyya, the first to introduce a new style of architecture, was also the first whose logic of layout was observable from the street, as it overlooked the open area at the foot of the citadel. The later külliyes were sited carefully on key thoroughfares, but the pedestrian's vision of them was always fragmentary. The key components of the mosque (minaret, dome, portico, entrance door with foundation inscription) were always recreated, but their approach was not always managed canonically as at the Khusruwiyya and central Ottoman examples. However, these elements, especially the pencil-shaped minaret and dome, were manipulated to shape the city's skyline. Their impact on the skyline could only be discerned from the citadel and from points outside the city, especially from the west, facing Bāb Anṭākiyya.

On the Mdīneh axis, less expansive privileged viewpoints were staged from which one obtained a less dominant view over a limited expanse of the urban segment. For example, the qā'a above the entrance to the Khān al-Gumruk affords views onto the caravanserai's interior courtyard and the suq it overlooks on the exterior, as well as the Mdīneh rooftops. By contrast, the complex of Shaykh Abū Bakr was exceptional in that from the promontory on which it stood, a full view of the city was staged. In turn, the Takiyya was visible from afar. Chapter 4 analyzed how these hierarchical visual relationships participated in an Ottoman grammar of power as expressed through space. The importance of this unique viewpoint consisted in the fact that from it the Ottomanization of the urban landscape became discernible. Ironically, the view-point that rendered Ottoman

³ Kafescioğlu, "Ottoman Capital;" Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze."

spatial dominance legible coincided with the Jelâî revolts, at the time when the central authority only tenuously controlled the province.

A Historicist Architecture

A clue to understanding the Ottoman tolerance—indeed, fostering, of building styles associated with conquered states may lie in a building complex of a radically different order, the imperial palace in Istanbul as built in 1472 by Mehmed II Fâtîh. Fifteenth-century accounts describe the Şarây-ı Cedîd, known today as the Topkapı Sarayı, in terms of three pavilions set in “paradise-like” gardens. Each of the pavilions was built in a distinctive style: Persian, Ottoman and Greek (Byzantine). Only the Persian pavilion stands today, known as the Çinili Köşk (“Tiled Pavilion”). Its cruciform groundplan, extensive exterior tile decoration and construction technique are strongly reminiscent of Timurid architecture. Gülru Necipoğlu suggested that, as the Çinili Köşk was apparently the work of artisans from the recently conquered Persianate Anatolian principality of Karaman, it represented the “International Timurid” style as filtered through Karamanid practice. She argued that all three pavilions in their setting functioned as symbols of the incorporation of the two polities represented by buildings (the Karamanid and the Byzantine states) into the Ottoman polity, ultimately, as symbols of Ottoman victory.⁴

Unfortunately, the Ottoman and Byzantine pavilions have not survived. However, Mehmed II’s choice to build structures which catalogued the available imperial formal options of his day merits consideration. The design of this building complex had followed a major conquest—that of the city of Istanbul. The conquest transformed the Ottomans from an Anatolian principality into an imperial state, the heir of the Byzantine empire. Perhaps one can interpret the collection of buildings on the grounds of the Şarây-ı Cedîd as a manifestation of another Ottoman practice: that of historicism in architecture. Each pavilion was shaped in a form which embodied, to the cultured observer, the memory of imperial traditions to which the Ottomans saw themselves as heirs: the Timurids and/or

⁴ Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 210–212.

Karamanids (in either case, a *Persianate* vision of empire), and the Byzantines. To build pavilions in these recognizable forms was to appropriate both the architectural traditions from which they derived, and the politics which they represented. The third pavilion, “Ottoman” in form, represented the post-conquest empire of Mehmed II. Collectively, the three structures stood as memorials to the layers of recent Ottoman history.

True, the case of a planned palatial complex of 1472 in the capital is quite distinct from a series of foundations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries endowed by various patrons in a trading center. However, it is tempting to suggest that a similar principle motored the Ottoman tendency to appropriate styles from different periods of the past, and to display them juxtaposed with Rûmî-style structures. The sixteenth-century creation of the monumental corridor of Aleppo, too, had been preceded by a major conquest which altered the nature of the Ottoman state—that of the Mamlūk empire. This conquest afforded the Ottoman dynasty prerogatives and symbols of Islamic imperial power it had lacked, such as the title of “Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries” for the Sultan, and the many relics which the Ottomans carted off to Istanbul from Cairo, including the Mantle of the Prophet, the swords of the Four Rightly-Guided Caliphs, and other objects that are today displayed in a special room at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi. Each architectural complex (the fifteenth-century palace and the sixteenth-century city) appears hospitable to formal architectural diversity; even further, architectural styles from the past are appropriated and redeployed in conjunction with the imperial Ottoman style. This was perhaps, ultimately, the image of the Ottoman city: a city where formal diversity was embraced, and where distinct architectural idioms were mobilized to stand, in tandem, as memorials to a society ruled by the House of ‘Osmân.

The previous sections highlighted the issues tackled in this study of the urban development of Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focusing on the patronage of urban architectural complexes by Ottomans. The synchronic and diachronic study of architectural intervention were combined in order to discern patterns of patronage, shifts in urban planning, and choices in architectural form. The study placed each new structure in the context of an ongoing, multilayered dialogue between the ruling group, the urban dwellers, and the past of the city as embodied in structures

and spaces from previous ruling groups. At this time, Aleppo emerged as a key node in the long-distance trade linking the east and the west; merchants, bureaucrats and other cultural producers converged on a city of wealth and of learning.

Such detailed study over a long period showed that Ottoman intervention on the urban fabric—Ottomanization—was a complex and highly flexible process. In the sixteenth century, a series of governors and viziers reoriented the city towards a new economic center. These officials used the Islamic legal mechanism of *waqf*, or charitable endowment, to thoroughly transform the form and function of various sections of the city in perpetuity. These charitable endowments took the guise of large multi-functional complexes which forever changed the use of the urban core. Through careful choices in architectural form, they changed the profile of the city, creating a monumental corridor and a distinctive skyline. The structures they built, especially mosques, bore the hallmarks of the Ottoman imperial form, which was disseminated and adapted throughout the empire. However, following a series of rebellions in the early seventeenth century, official Ottoman patronage became decentered: the types of institutions supported changed, and they no longer focused on a single area of the city. The institutional complexes of the seventeenth century tended to be smaller than those of the sixteenth, but like them they became the focus of a number of economic, religious and social activities in their immediate surroundings. Thus new sections of Aleppo were developed: the extramural northeastern quarters, the northwestern quarter, as well as several locations at some distance from the city.

Yet new structures were not the only means to Ottomanize the urban landscape. In a process sustained over the centuries under study, Ottomans remade the urban fabric by destroying certain older buildings, allowing others to remain, and modifying yet others according to Ottoman expectations of architecture, and the needs of Ottoman rituals. Through these different means, Ottoman hegemony was articulated in the urban space.

In addition to urban form, this study explored a parallel form of cultural production: the representation of urban life. Various texts which wove accounts of life in the city were explored: the various textual genres devised to define and to describe the Islamic city, the Ottoman city, and Aleppo in particular. The evidence suggested that distinct areas of knowledge on the city were fostered in the provinces

and in the imperial center, yet the category of “the city” remained one which named a clearly defined area of inquiry, a critical space of Ottoman life. In addition to texts, painted images of cities included in books produced at the court were also examined. They evinced a similar preoccupation with the definition of urban space, and the primacy of the importance of Islamic communal life within it. Finally, through the use of a combination of evidence, the study showed that by the end of the second century of Ottoman rule, Aleppo had come to be remade in the very image of an Ottoman city.

GLOSSARY

N.B.: Ar. = Arabic, Ott. = Ottoman. Pl. = Plural
 Terms are in Arabic unless otherwise noted

<i>Ablaq.</i>	Polychrome masonry. Its use on major building facades is typical of the Mamluk visual idiom
<i>Ahl al-bayt.</i>	The family of the Prophet
<i>Akçe.</i> Ott.	Small silver coin, asper
<i>Bādīnī.</i>	Air shafts for air circulation
<i>Bawwāb.</i>	Doorman, concierge
<i>Beğlerbeği.</i> Ott.	Governor-general. See <i>wālī</i>
<i>Boyâhâne.</i> Ott.	Dye workshop
<i>Bustān.</i>	Gardens
<i>Dabbāgha,</i> pl. <i>madābigh.</i>	Tannery
<i>Dār.</i>	Mansion, a term that denotes a domestic structure
<i>Devşime.</i> Ott.	Child levy
<i>Dhikr.</i>	Sufi ritual that centers on the remembrance of God
<i>Dhīrāʿ.</i>	Cubits
<i>Dirhām.</i>	A unit of weight for silver, equivalent in the sixteenth century to 3.207 grams
<i>Faqīr,</i> pl. <i>fuqarāʾ.</i>	Lit. “poor ones.” Wandering dervishes, or mystics resident in a dervish lodge
<i>Fatwa.</i>	Legal opinion issued by a qualified Muslim religious authority
<i>Ḥammām.</i>	Public bath
<i>Ḥanafī.</i>	One of the four madhhabs (schools) of Sunni Muslim law, preferred by the Ottoman state
<i>Ḥarām.</i>	Lit. “sacred,” refers to the prayer hall of a mosque, usually covered
<i>Al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn.</i>	The Two Noble Sanctuaries of Mecca and Madina
<i>Hawḍ.</i>	Water basin
<i>Hünkâr mahfili.</i> Ott.	Balcony reserved for the ruler in an Ottoman mosque (hoca in Modern Turkish). Teacher
<i>Ḥwaja.</i> Ott.	Prayer leader in the Sunni context
<i>Imām.</i>	Soup kitchen. In Arabic the word has the broader meaning of building, or the craft of building
<i>ʿImâret.</i> Ott.	Three-sided room, usually vaulted. Local variant: <i>livân</i>
<i>İvân.</i>	Revenue officer, tax collector
<i>Ḵāb.</i>	(Ott. <i>jâmiʿ-i şerîf</i> , Modern Turkish <i>Ulu Cami</i>). Great mosque
<i>Ḵahvehâne.</i> Ott.	Coffeehouse
<i>Kapân-ı dakîk.</i> Ott.	A special scale for assessing taxes on flour
<i>Kâtīb.</i>	Secretary
<i>Ḵazâ.</i>	Administrative unit of land
<i>Khân,</i> pl. <i>khānāt.</i>	(han in Modern Turkish). Caravanserai
<i>Khānqāh.</i>	Dervish lodge, <i>Takiyya</i>
<i>Ḵaṭīb.</i>	Preacher in a mosque

<i>Khuṭba.</i>	The sermon which was addressed to the congregation on Friday, and where allegiance to the ruler was proclaimed
<i>Küllīye.</i> Ott.	Institutional complex
<i>Madār.</i>	Windmill or millstone
<i>Madhhab.</i>	A school of interpretation of Islamic law. There are four madh-habs in Sunni Islam
<i>Maktab.</i>	Koranic school for young boys
<i>Maqṣūra.</i>	In the prayer hall of a mosque, area screened off for the exclusive use of a dominant person or group
<i>Maşbagha.</i>	Dyeing workshop
<i>Ma'sara.</i>	Press (for olive oil or other)
<i>Maşjid.</i>	Neighborhood mosque
<i>Mdīneh.</i>	Aleppine pronounciation of <i>madīna</i> , lit. city, used to designate the central economic district
<i>Mihrāb.</i>	A niche in the <i>qibla</i> wall of a mosque
<i>Mi'mār.</i>	Architect, builder, engineer
<i>Minbar.</i>	Pulpit in a mosque
<i>Mu'adhdhin.</i>	Person in charge of performing the call to prayer at the mosque
<i>Mutawallī.</i>	Steward or chief administrator of a <i>waqf</i>
<i>Nāzir.</i>	Supervisor
<i>Naqīb al-ashraf.</i>	In a given city, the head of the <i>ashraf</i> or <i>sayyids</i> , descendants of the family of the Prophet
<i>Nerdibân.</i> Ott.	Open-air stone staircases
<i>Nishânçı.</i> Ott.	Chancellor
<i>Pasha.</i> Ott.	(Ar. Bāshā). Rank in the Ottoman military
<i>Qādī.</i>	Judge in an <i>shari'a</i> court
<i>Qārī</i> ?, pl. <i>qurrā</i> ?	Koran reciter
<i>Qaştal.</i>	Public fountain, also <i>sabīl</i>
<i>Qibla.</i>	The direction of Mecca, the canonical orientation for prayer and for mosques
<i>Qisariyya.</i>	Alternatively vocalized <i>qaysariyya</i> . Commercial structure
<i>Rank.</i>	"Color" in Persian; means a blazon or emblem in Mamluk society
<i>Rūwāq</i>	(Ott. revâk). Portico
<i>Rûmī.</i>	Literally, "Roman." In the Ottoman context, refers to the center of the empire
<i>Sabīl.</i>	Public fountain, also <i>Qaştal</i>
<i>Sabīl-kuttāb.</i>	(Fountain-Koranic school), a building type common in Ottoman Cairo
<i>Şadırvân</i>	Water spout in a fountain
<i>Samā' khāna.</i>	A space for the <i>Mawlawī</i> spiritual concert
<i>Şihriç.</i>	Cistern
<i>Sūq.</i>	Covered market, thoroughfare lined with shops
<i>Tāhūn.</i>	Watermill
<i>Takiyya.</i>	(Ott. tekke). Also <i>Khānqah</i> , <i>zāwiya</i> . Dervish lodge
<i>Tarīqa.</i>	Lit. "path." Sufi order or brotherhood
<i>Ṭāwan.</i> Ott.	(Ar. ṭawān). Ornate canopy roof, often extending out of a domestic iwān
<i>Turba.</i>	Mausoleum
<i>Vizier</i>	(Ar. wazīr, Ott. Vezir). Minister to the Ottoman sultan
<i>Wālī.</i>	(Ott. veli, also Beglerbeği). Governor-general of an Ottoman province
<i>Walī.</i>	Friend of God, often translated as "saint"
<i>Waqf.</i>	(Ott. vakıf). Charitable endowment in Islamic law

<i>Waqf al-nuqūd.</i>	A type of <i>waqf</i> where moneylending generates income to be used for charitable purposes
<i>Waqfiyya</i> , pl. <i>waqfiyyāt.</i>	(Ott. Vakfiye). Endowment deed
<i>Wāqif.</i>	Endower, patron
<i>Yāzlık.</i> Ott.	Lit. “summer place.” A mini-courtyard on an upper story
<i>Ziyâret.</i> Ott.	(Ar. Ziyāra). Visitation
<i>Ziyâretgâh.</i> Ott.	A place of visitation

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Figs. 1 and 8: based on Sauvaget, *Alep*, Plate LXII, redrawn by José Luis Argüello.

Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6: based on Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, City Map, digitized by Michael Osman.

Fig. 7: From: David, “Consulat de France,” 22, fig. 3.

Fig. 9: From: Sauvaget, *Alep*, 231, fig. 61.

Fig. 10: From: David, *Suwayqat ‘Alī*, Pl. 65.

Fig. 11: From: David, *Waqf d’Ipšīr Pāšā*, Pl. 15.

Fig. 12: Based on: David, *Waqf d’Ipšīr Pāšā*, Pl. 16.

Fig. 13: From: David, *Waqf d’Ipšīr Pāšā*, Pl. 23.

Fig. 14: From: David, *Waqf d’Ipšīr Pāšā*, Pl. 25.

Fig. 15: From: David, *Waqf d’Ipšīr Pāšā*, Pl. 21.

Fig. 16: From: David, *Waqf d’Ipšīr Pāšā*, Pl. 22.

Fig. 17: From: MCIA 2, Pl. LIII.

Fig. 18: From: MCIA 2, Pl. LXXXII.

Fig. 19: After Müller, 45, ill. 44.

Fig. 20: From: MCIA 2, Pl. XIb.

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Pl. 2: From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XL.

Pl. 4: From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXI.

Pl. 5: From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXII.

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Pl. 25: From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate IV.

Pl. 32: From: Dussaud, *Syrie antique*, Pl. 99.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

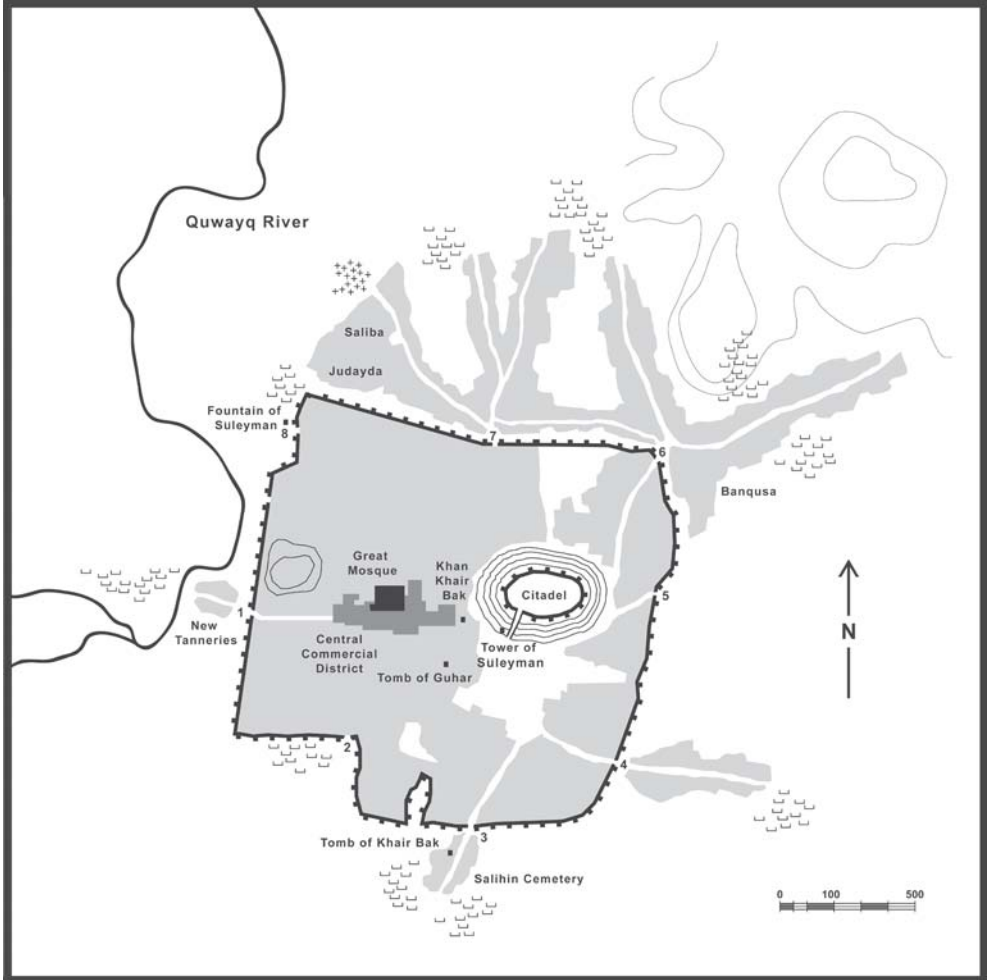


Fig. 1. Map of Aleppo in the Sixteenth Century. After J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Plate LXII. Redrawn by José Luis Argüello. Important City gates: 1. Bāb Anṭākiyya, 2. Bāb Qinnasrīn, 3. Bāb al-Maqām, 4. Bāb al-Nayrab, 5. Bāb al-Aḥmar, 6. Bāb al-Ḥadīd, 7. Bāb al-Naṣr, 8. Bāb al-Faraj, 9. Bāb al-Jinān.

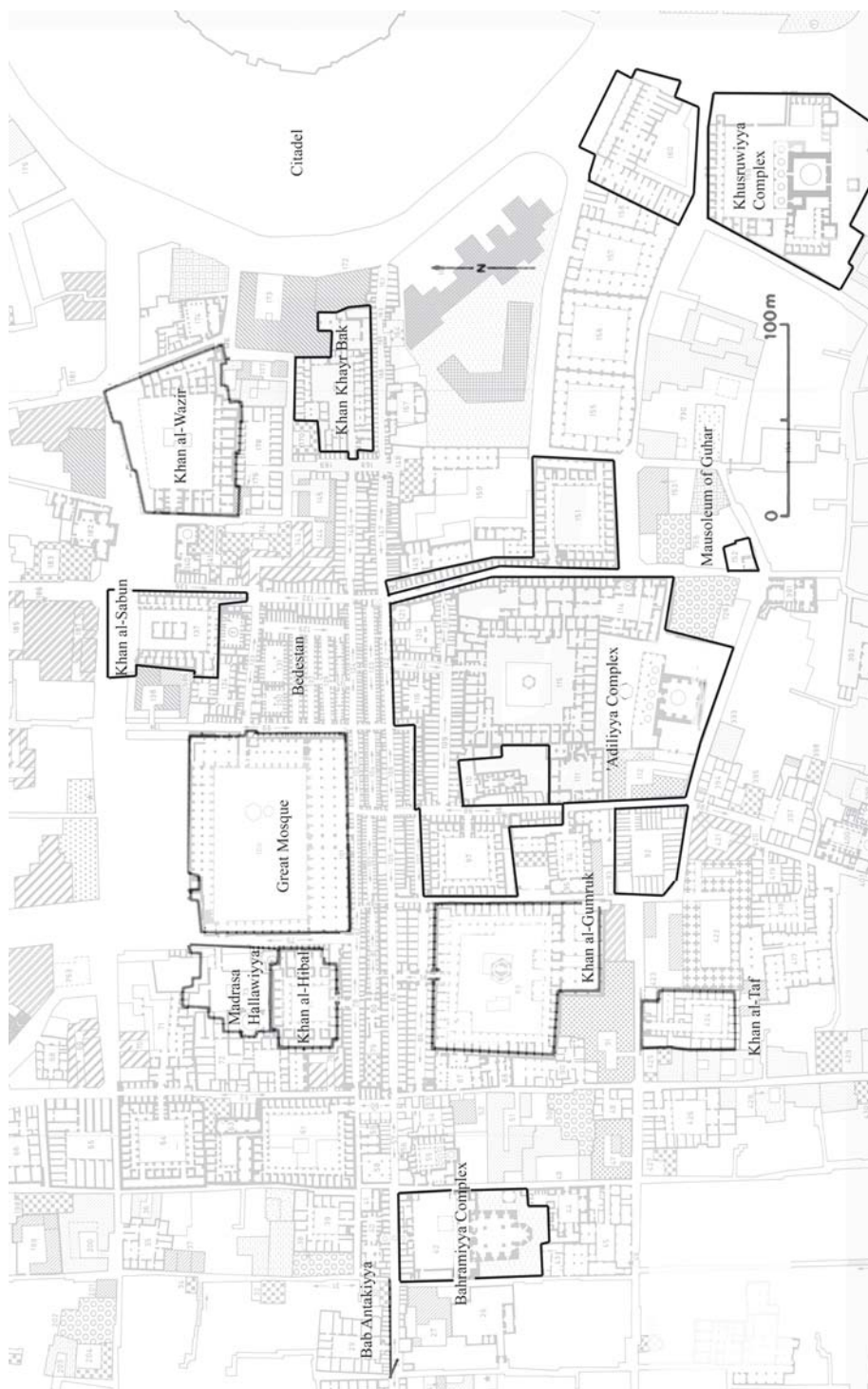


Fig. 2. The Great Waqfs of the Mdeh. Based on Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, City Map, digitized by Michael Osman.

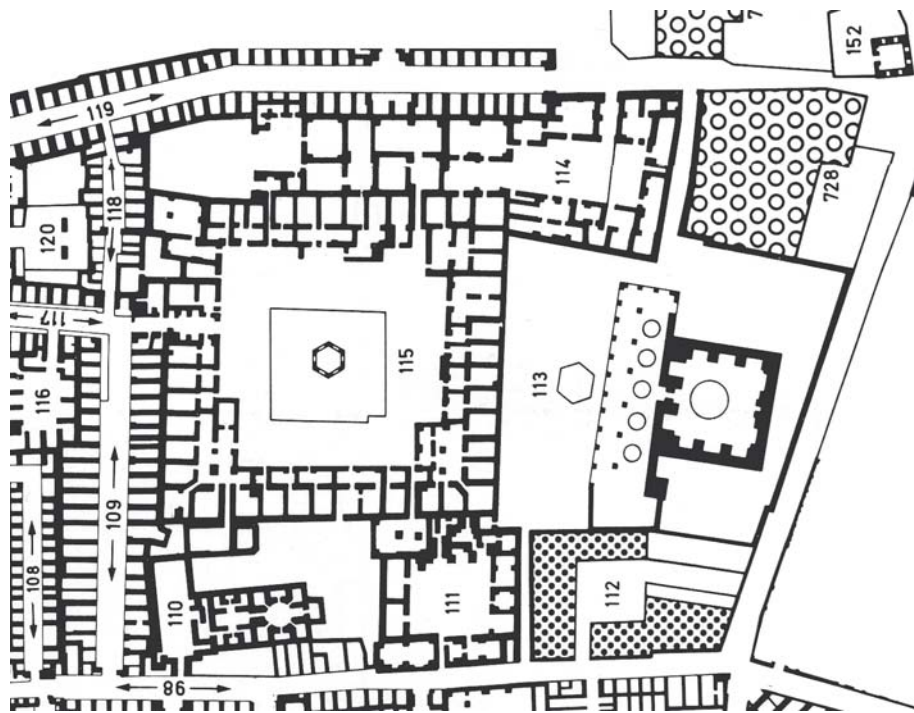


Fig. 3. Khusruiyya Complex. Plan. After Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, City Map.

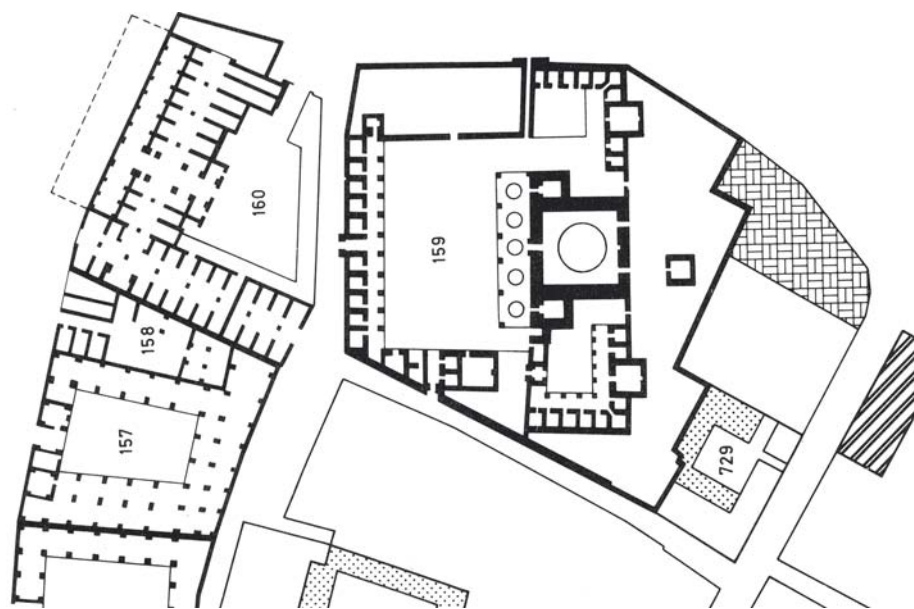


Fig. 4. 'Adiliyya Complex. Groundplan. After Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, City Map.

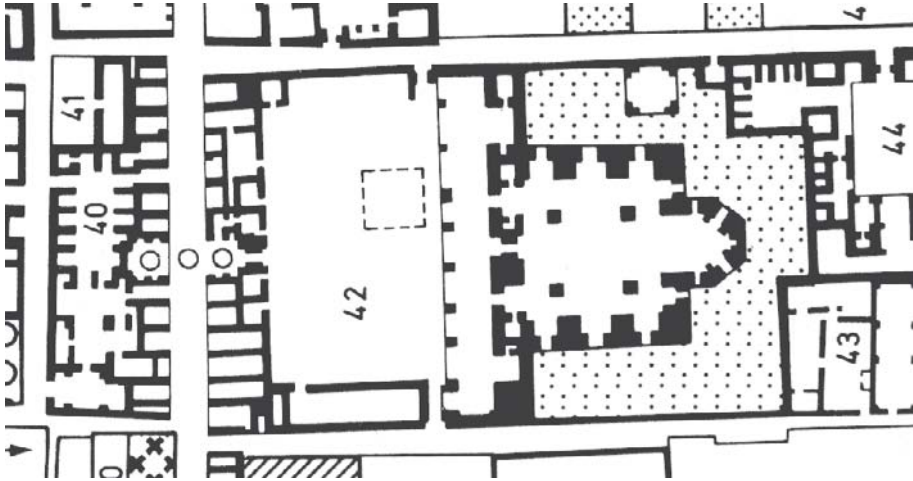


Fig. 5. Bahrāmiyya Complex. Groundplan of Complex. After Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, City Map.

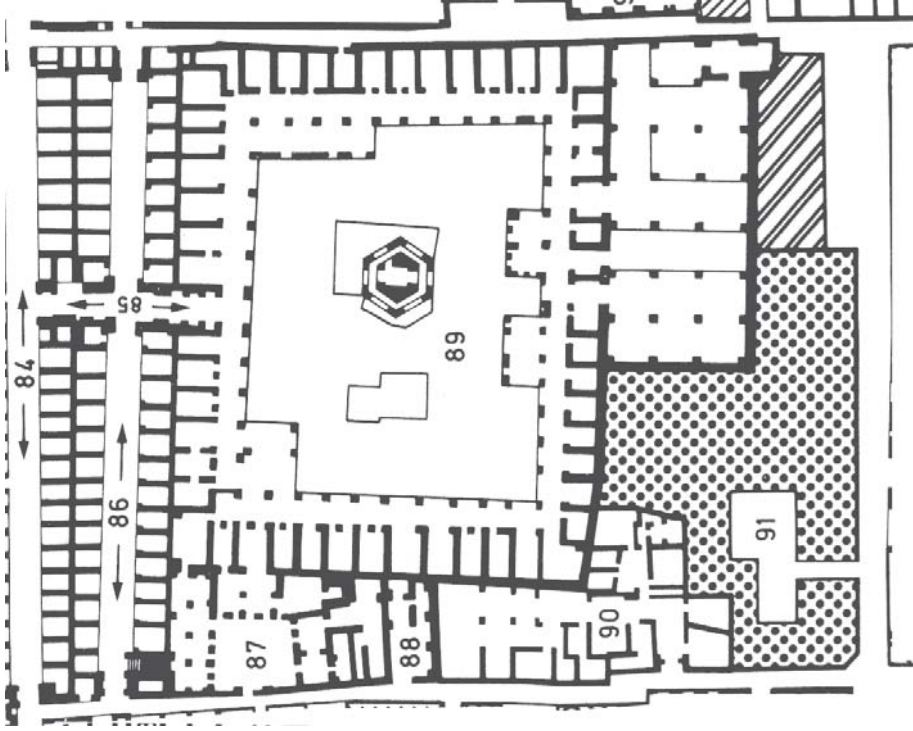


Fig. 6. Complex of the Khān al-Gumruk. Groundplan of the core of structures in the Mdineh. After Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, City Map.

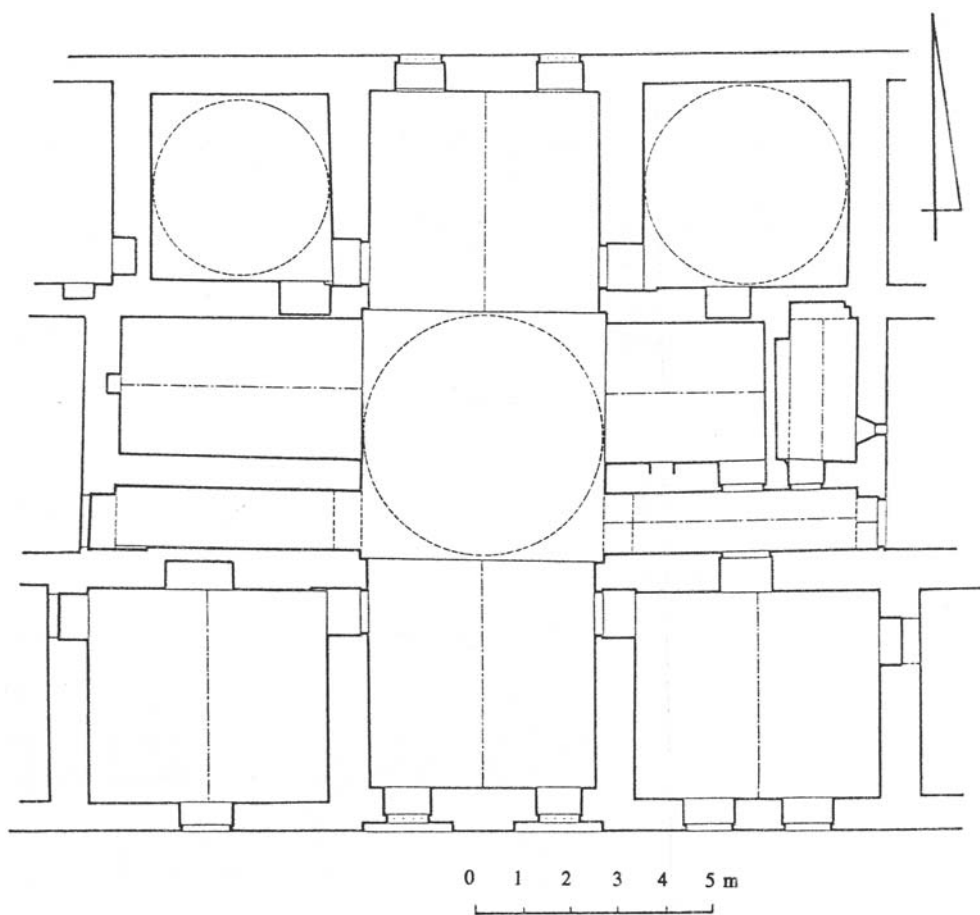


Fig. 7. Khān al-Gumruk. Plan of the qā'a in the sixteenth century. From: David, "Consulat de France," 22, fig. 3.

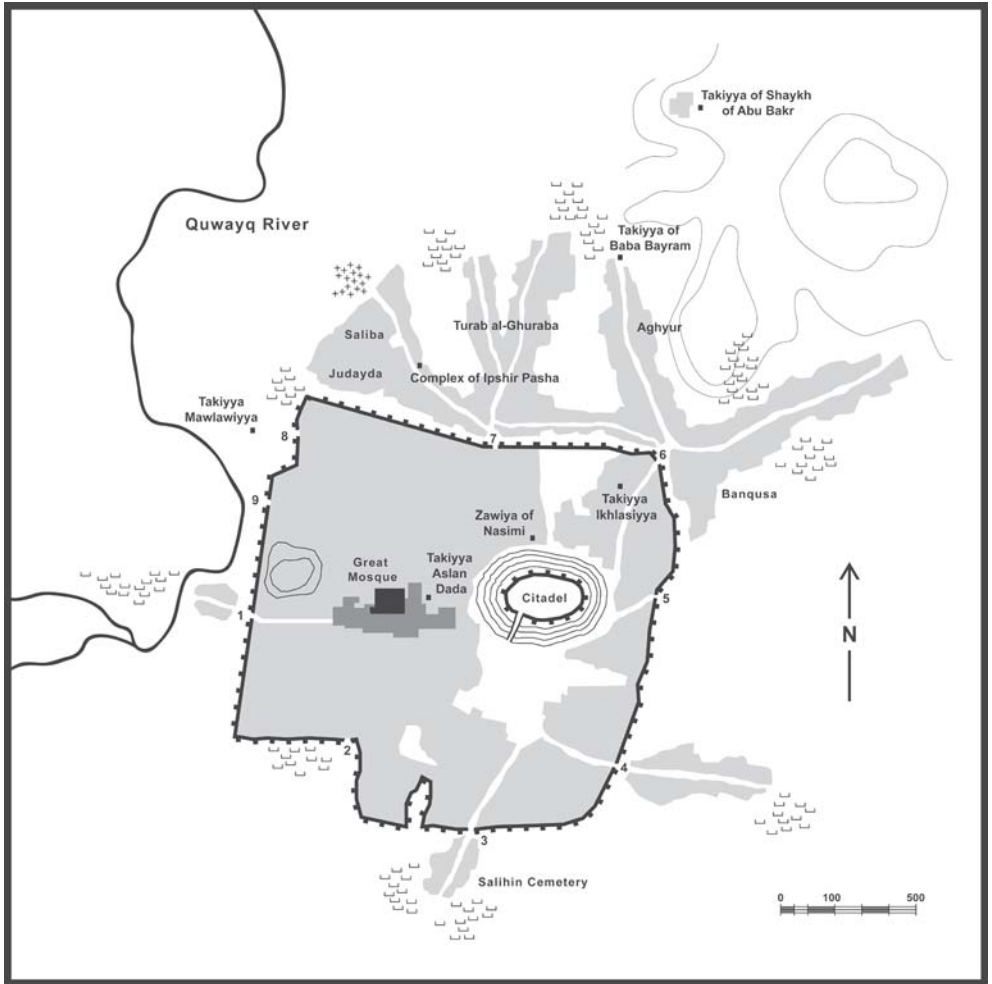


Fig. 8. Map of Aleppo in the seventeenth century. After J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Plate LXII. Redrawn by José Luis Argüello. Important City gates: 1. Bāb Antākiyya, 2. Bāb Qīnnesrīn, 3. Bāb al-Maḡām, 4. Bāb al-Nayrab, 5. Bāb al-Aḥmar, 6. Bāb al-Ḥadīd, 7. Bāb al-Naṣr, 8. Bāb al-Faraj, 9. Bāb al-Jinān.

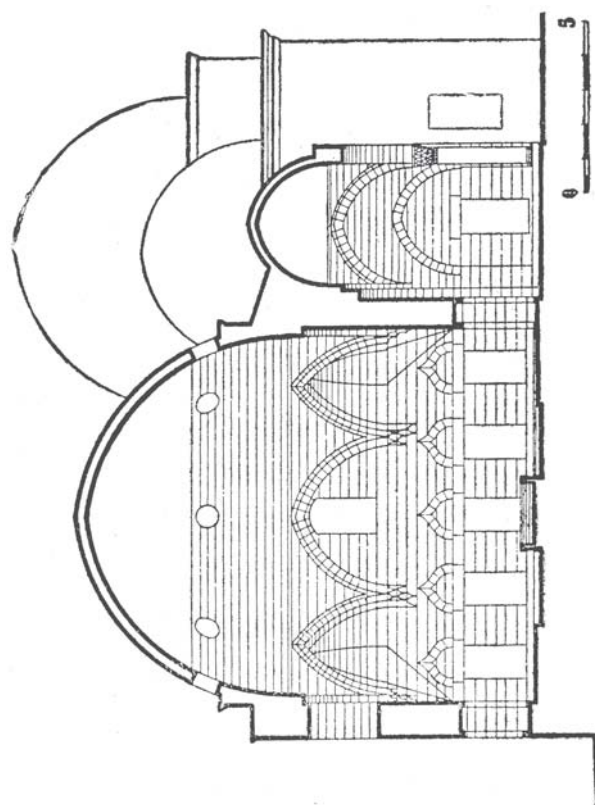


Fig. 9. Qā'a of the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. From: Sauvaget, *Alep*, 231, fig. 61.

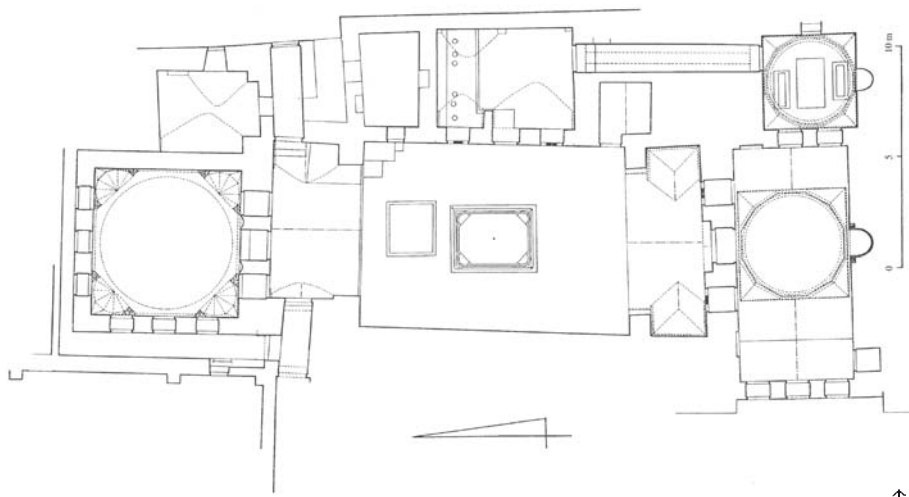


Fig. 10. Takiyya Aslān Dada. Groundplan. From: David, *Suwayqat 'Alī*, Pl. 65. →

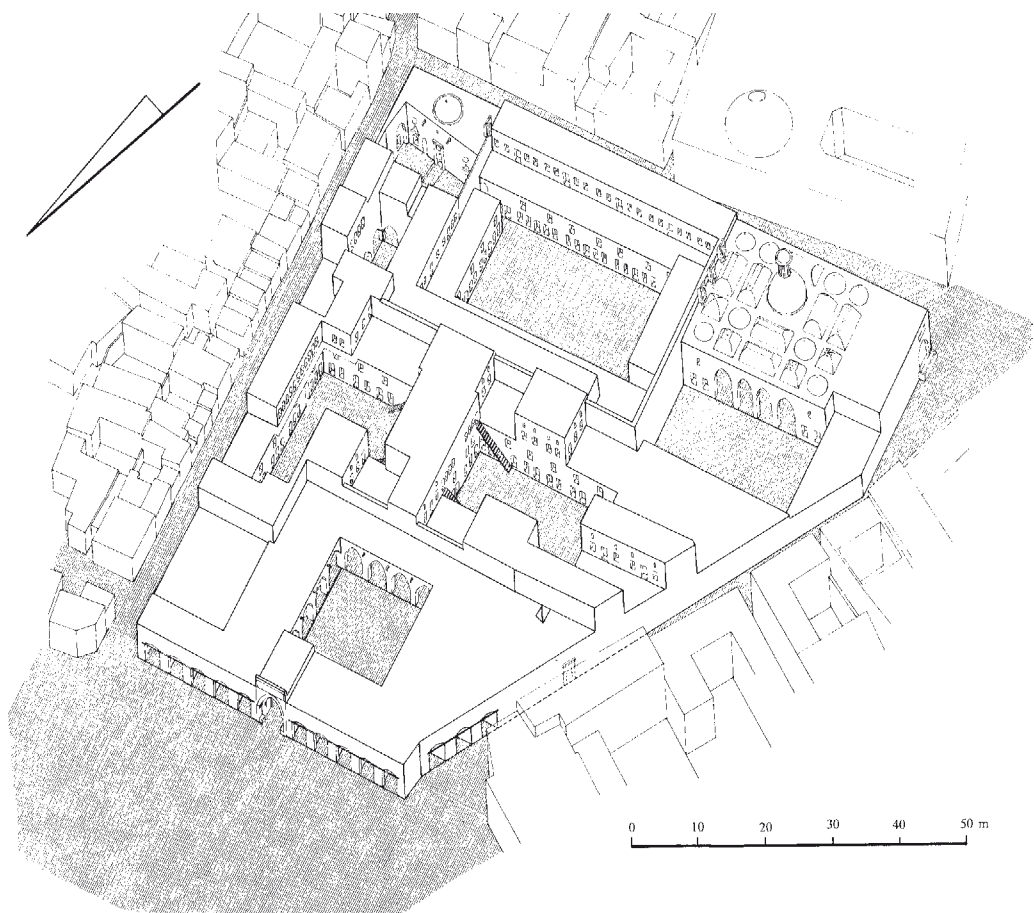


Fig. 11. Complex of İpshir Pasha in Aleppo. Axonometric View of core in Aleppo. From: David, *Waqf d'İpshir Paşa*, Pl. 15.



Fig. 12. Complex of İpşir Pasha. Groundplan showing structures' functions. Based on: David, *Waqf d'İpşir Pāšā*, Pl. 16.

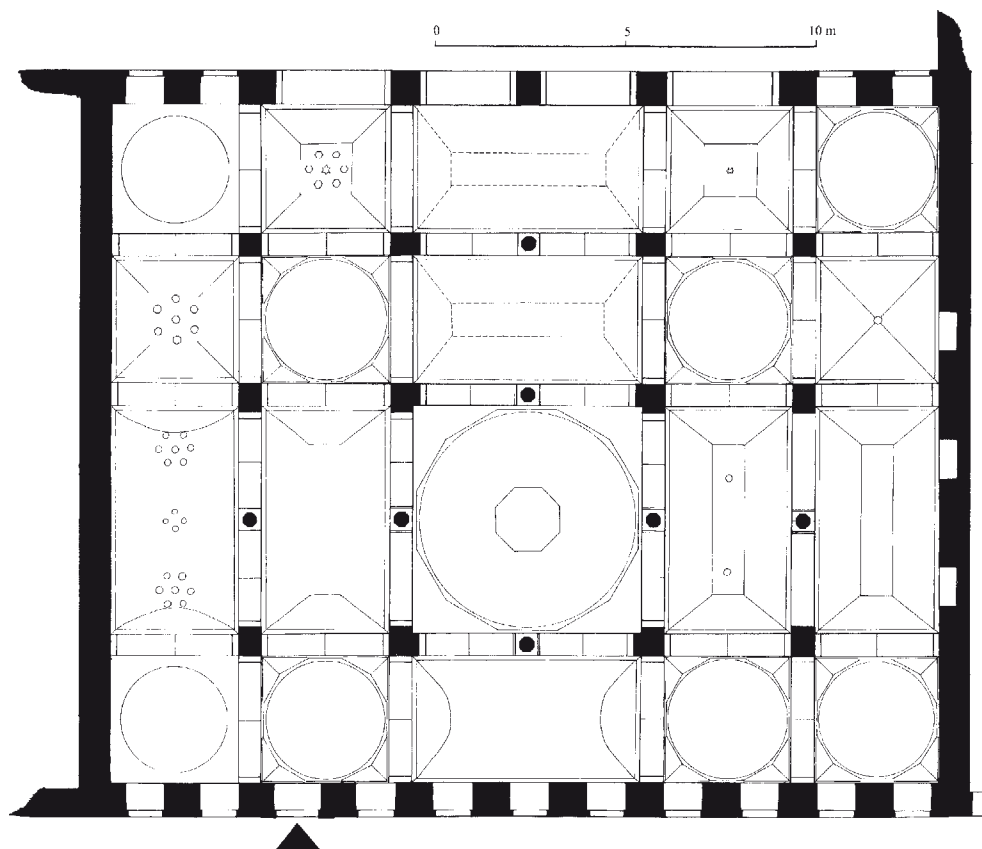


Fig. 13. Complex of İpshîr Pasha. Groundplan of coffeehouse. From David, *Waqf d'İpshîr Pāšā*, Pl. 23.

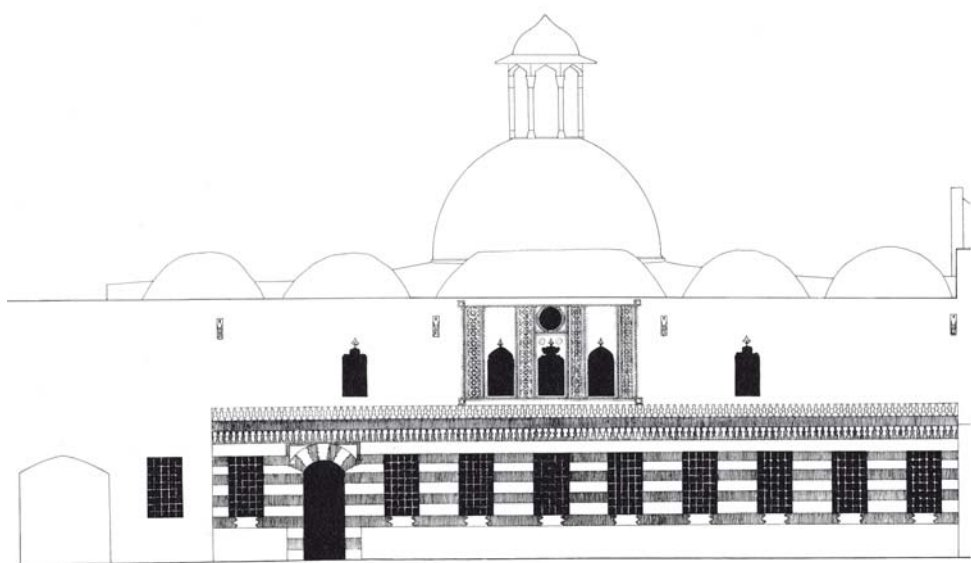


Fig. 14. Complex of İpshîr Pasha. Elevation of coffeehouse. From: David, *Waqf d'İpshîr Pāšā*, Pl. 25.

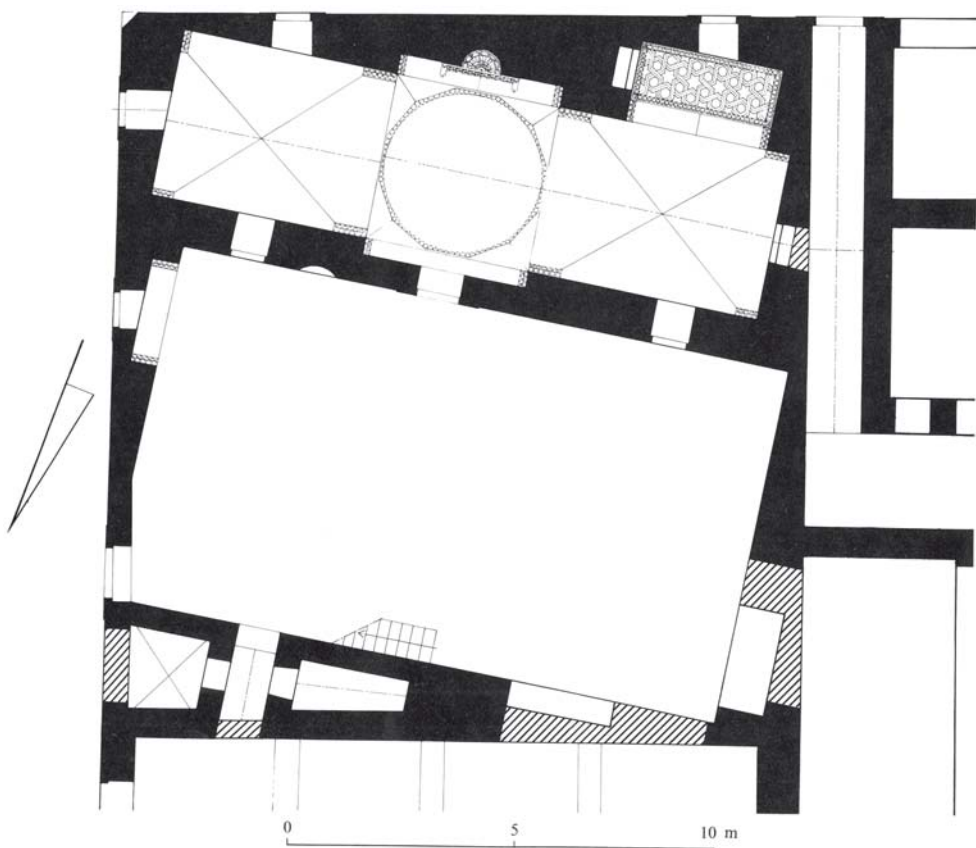


Fig. 15. Complex of İpshîr Pasha. Groundplan of mosque. From: David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pāšā*, Pl. 21.

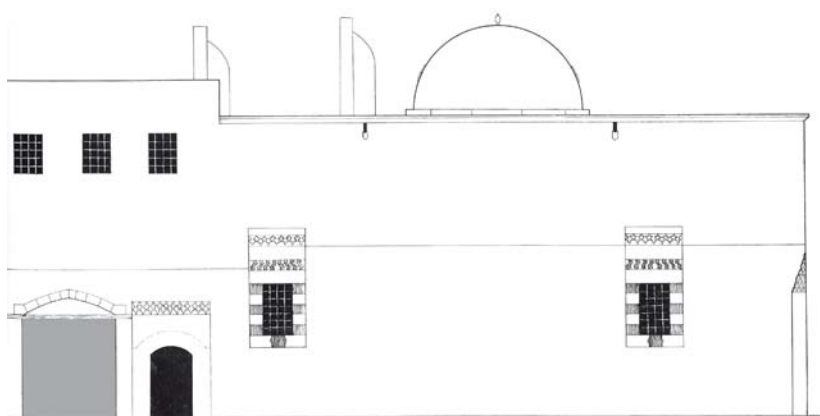


Fig. 16. Complex of İpshîr Pasha. Elevation of mosque. From: David, *Waqf d'İpşîr Pāšā*, Pl. 22.

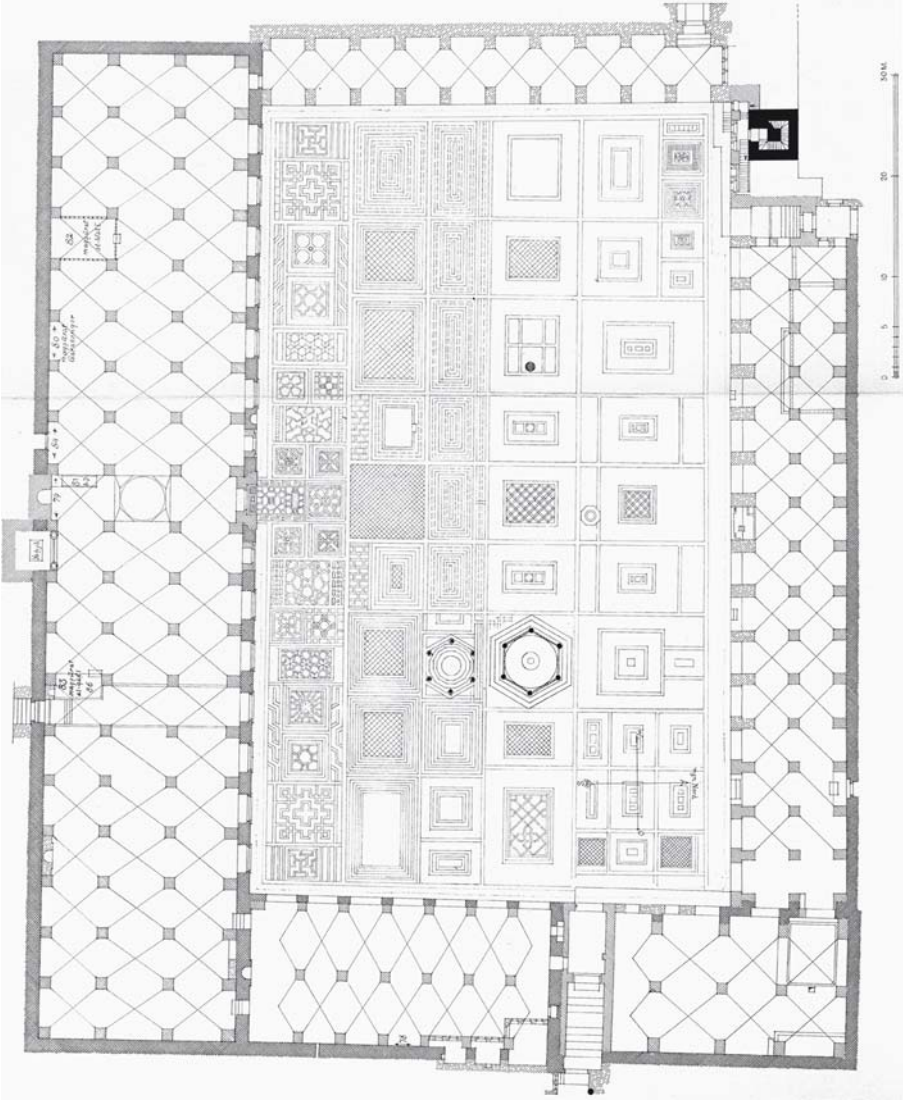


Fig. 17. Great Mosque of Aleppo. Groundplan. From: MCIA 2, Pl. LIII.

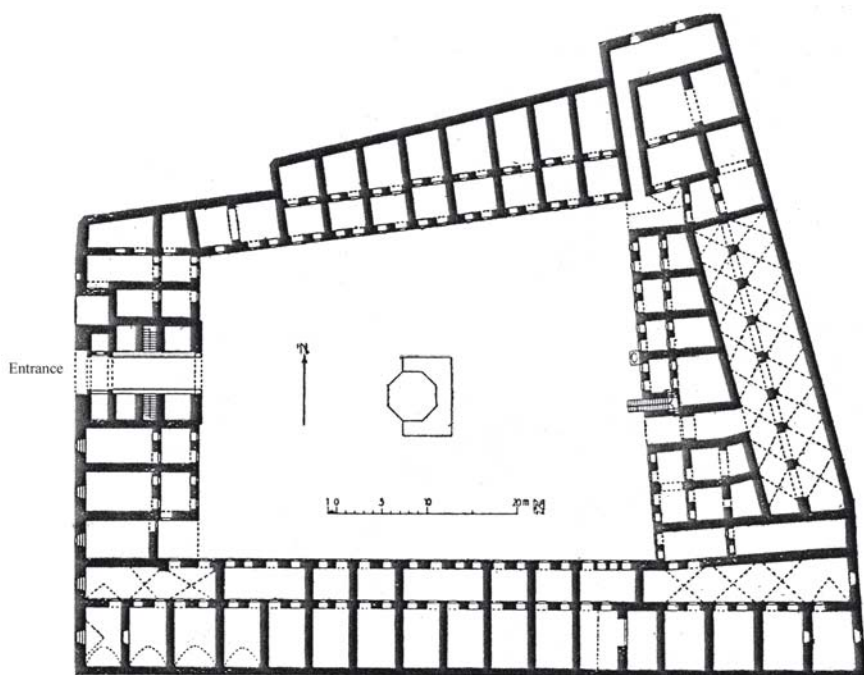


Fig. 19. Khān al-Wazīr. Groundplan. After Müller, 45, ill. 44.

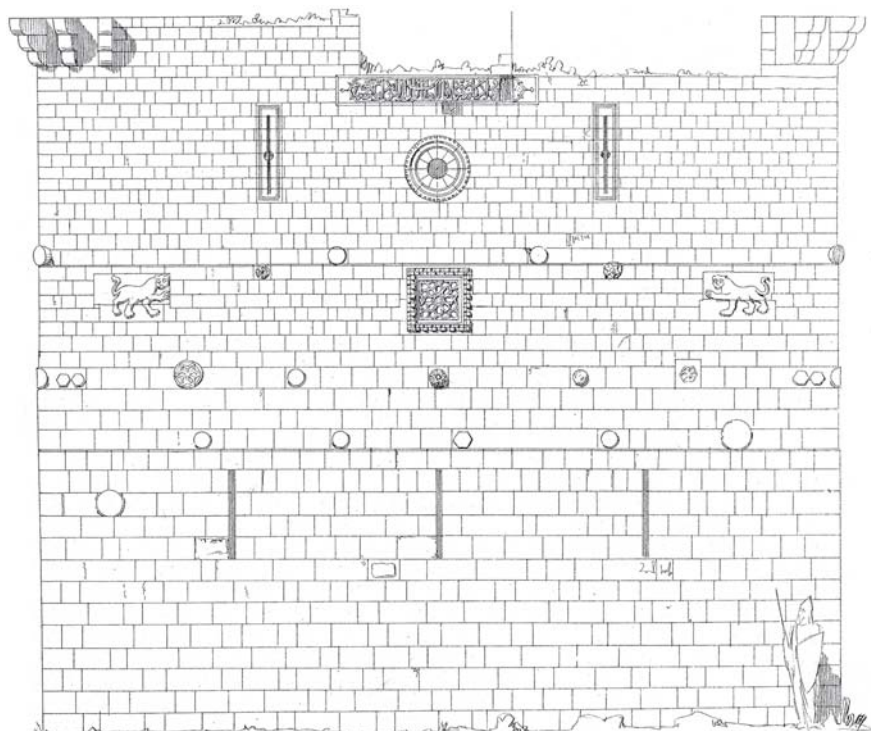
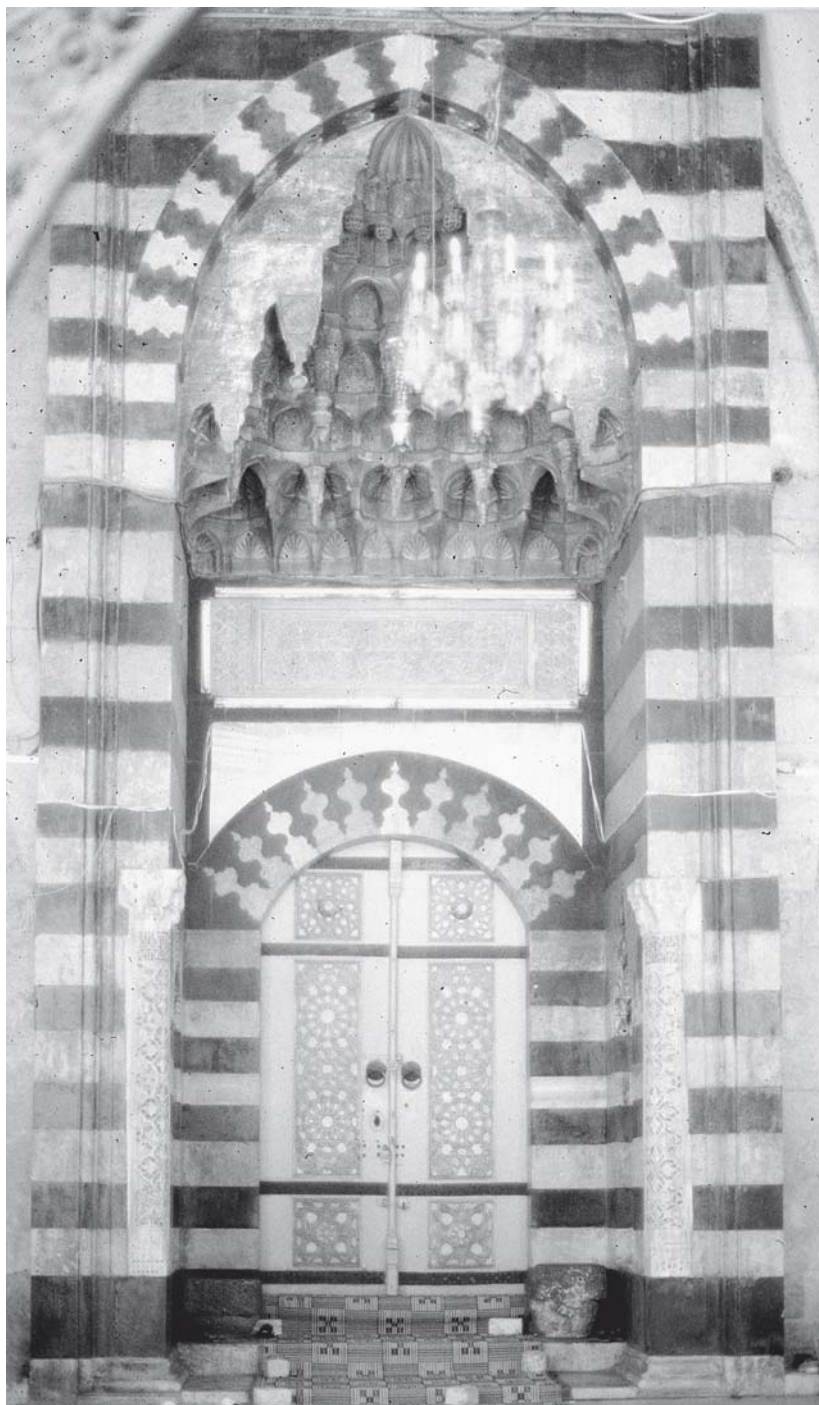


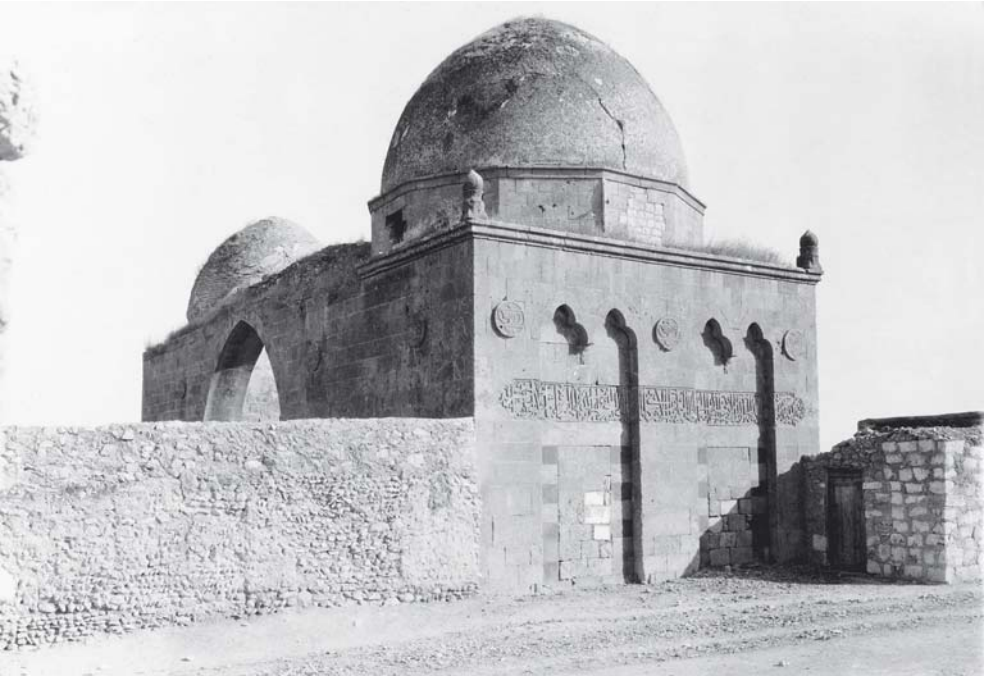
Fig. 20. Tower between Bāb al-Jinān and Bāb Anṭakiyya. Elevation. From: MCIA 2, Pl. XIb.



Pl. 1. 'Adiliyya Complex. Entrance to the prayer hall of the mosque.



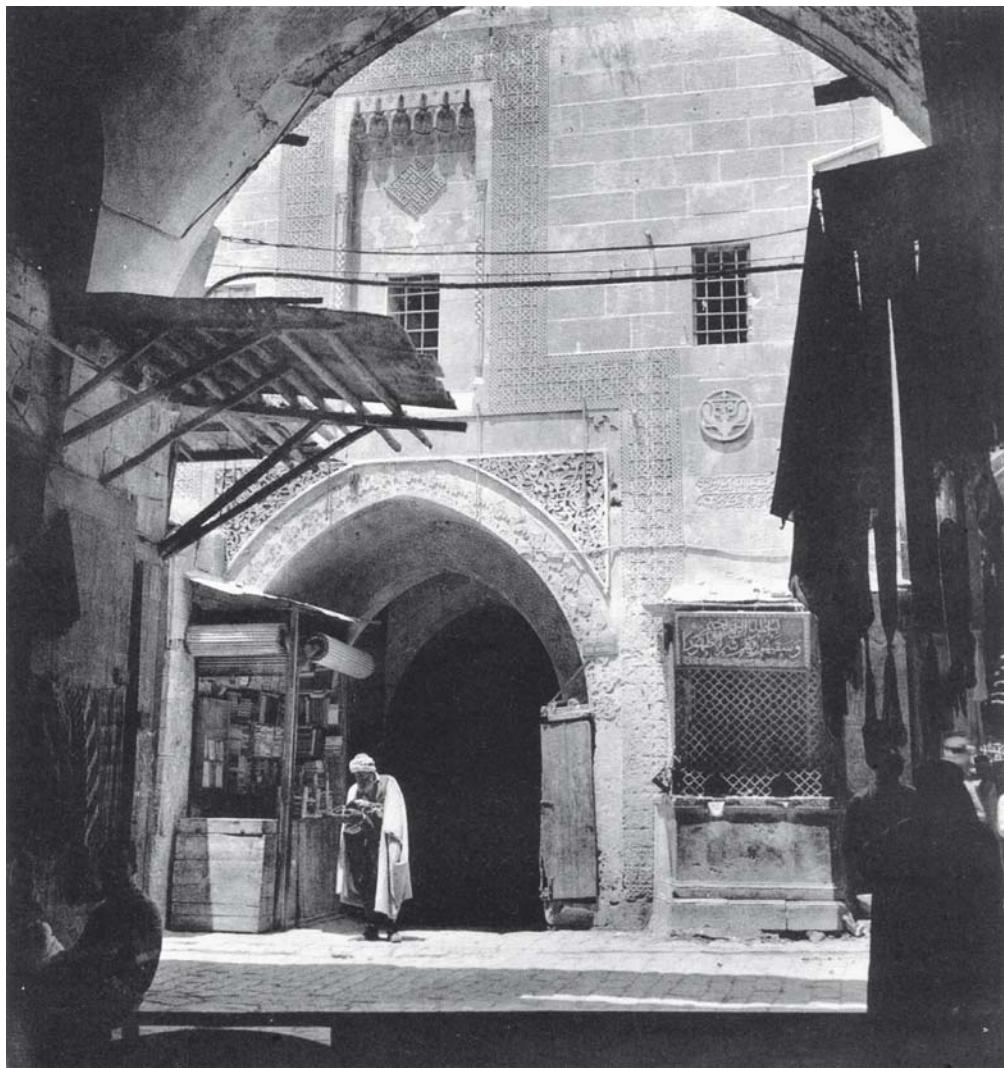
Pl. 2. Aleppo's skyline viewed from the West. From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XL.



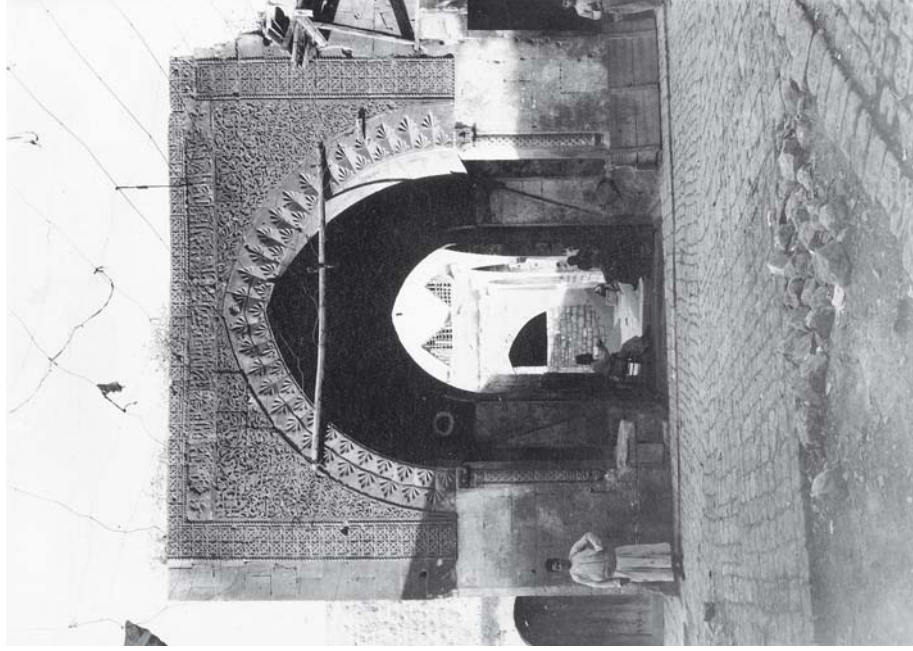
Pl. 3. Mausoleum of Khā'ir Bak. Exterior View. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, neg. image courtesy of Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



Pl. 4. Khan Abrak, also called Khān al-Qaṣṣābiyya. From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXI.



Pl. 5. Khan Azdamur, also called Khān al-Šābun. From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Pl. XXII.



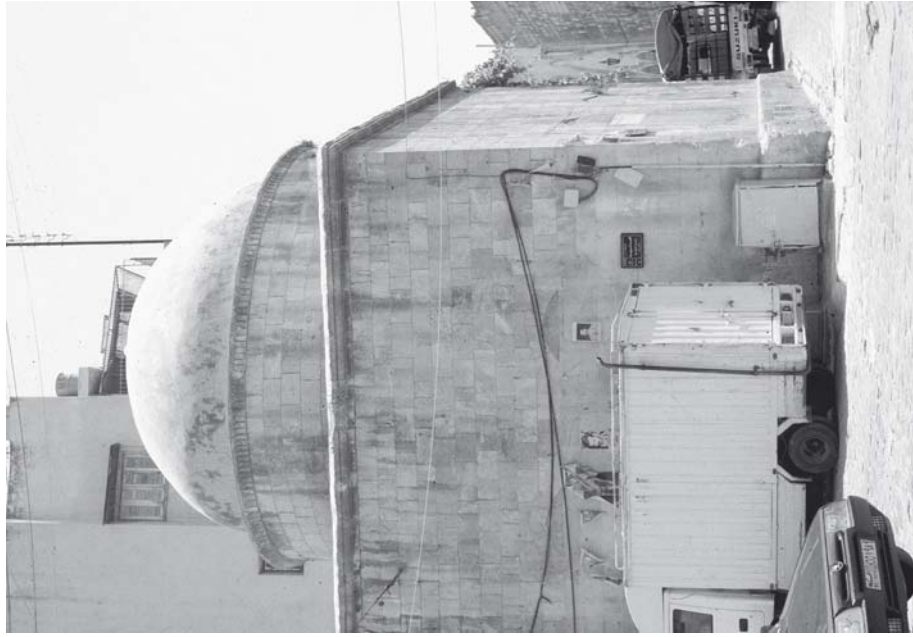
Pl. 6. Khan Ujkhān. Entrance. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, neg. image courtesy of Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



Pl. 7. Khan Khā'ir Bak. Entrance. Photo: Steven Wolf.



Pl. 8. Tower of Süleyman I.



Pl. 9. Mausoleum of Guhar Malikshah.



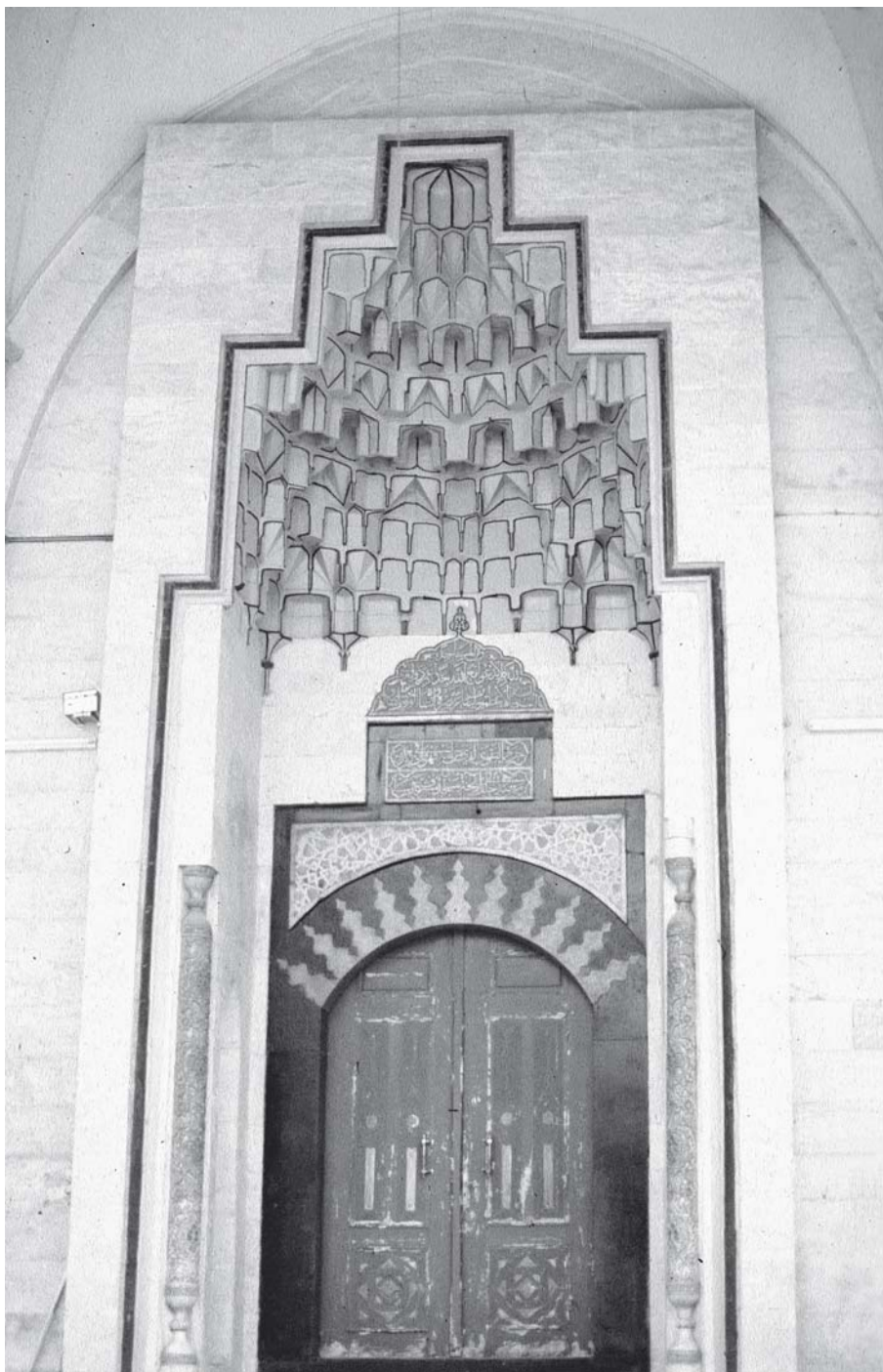
Pl. 10. Jami' al-Tawashi.



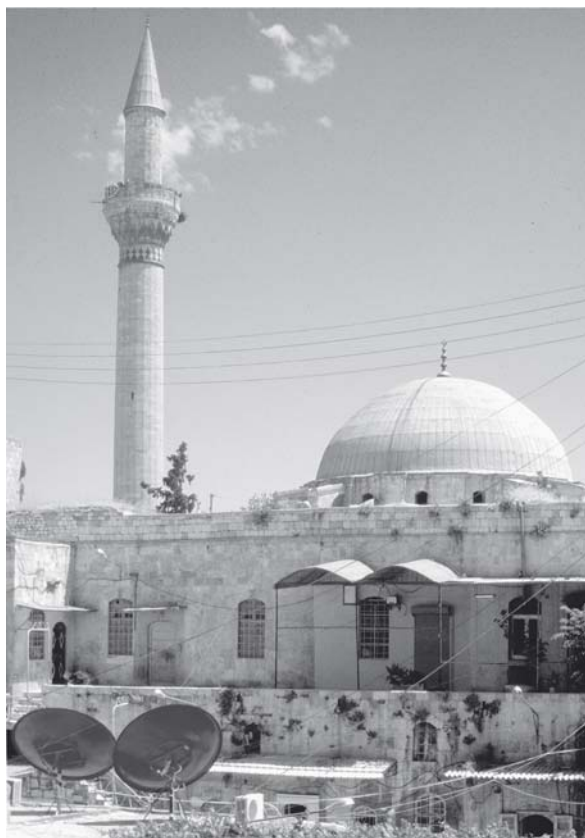
Pl. 11. The Khusruwiyya complex seen from the citadel.



Pl. 12. Khusruwiyya mosque. Façade of prayer hall.



Pl. 13. Khusruwiyya complex. Entrance to the Prayer Hall.



Pl. 14. 'Ādiliyya complex. General View.



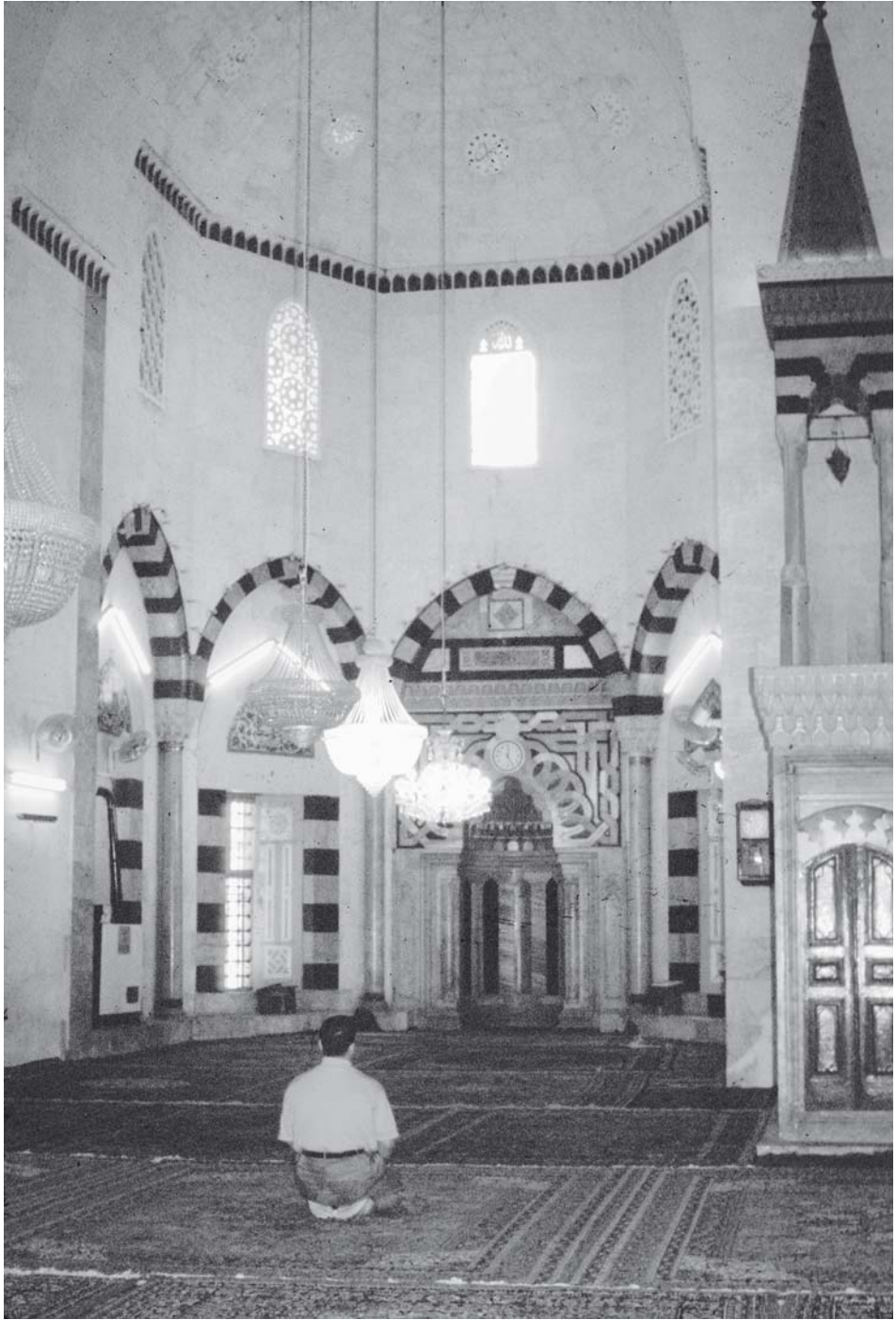
Pl. 15. 'Ādiliyya complex. Portico of the Mosque.



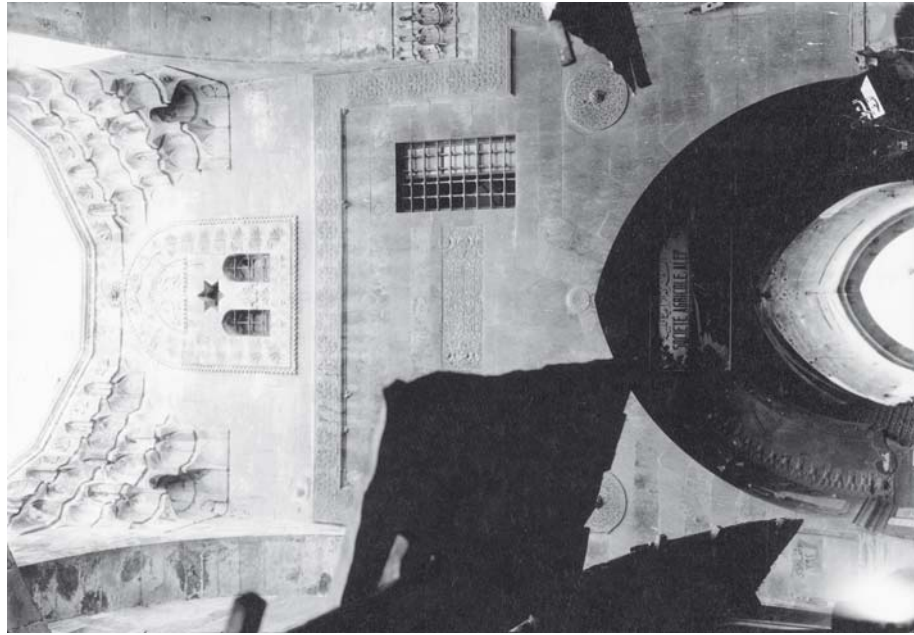
Pl. 16. 'Adiliyya complex. Eastern Entrance to the Mosque.



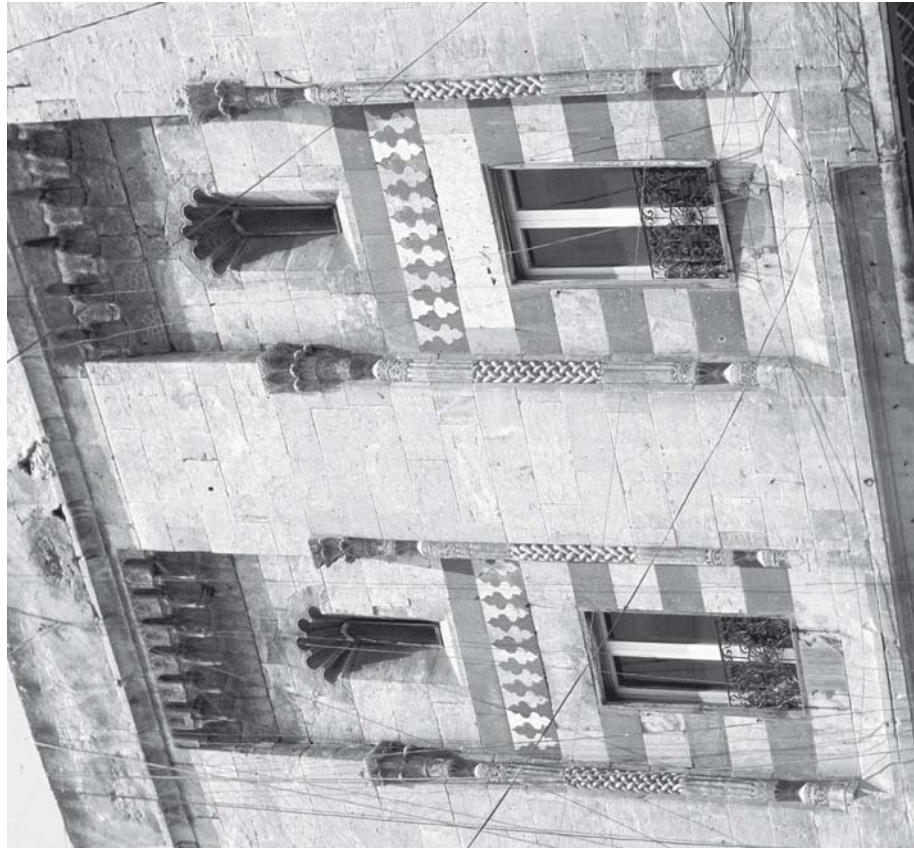
Pl. 17. Bahramiyya complex. Portico of the Mosque.



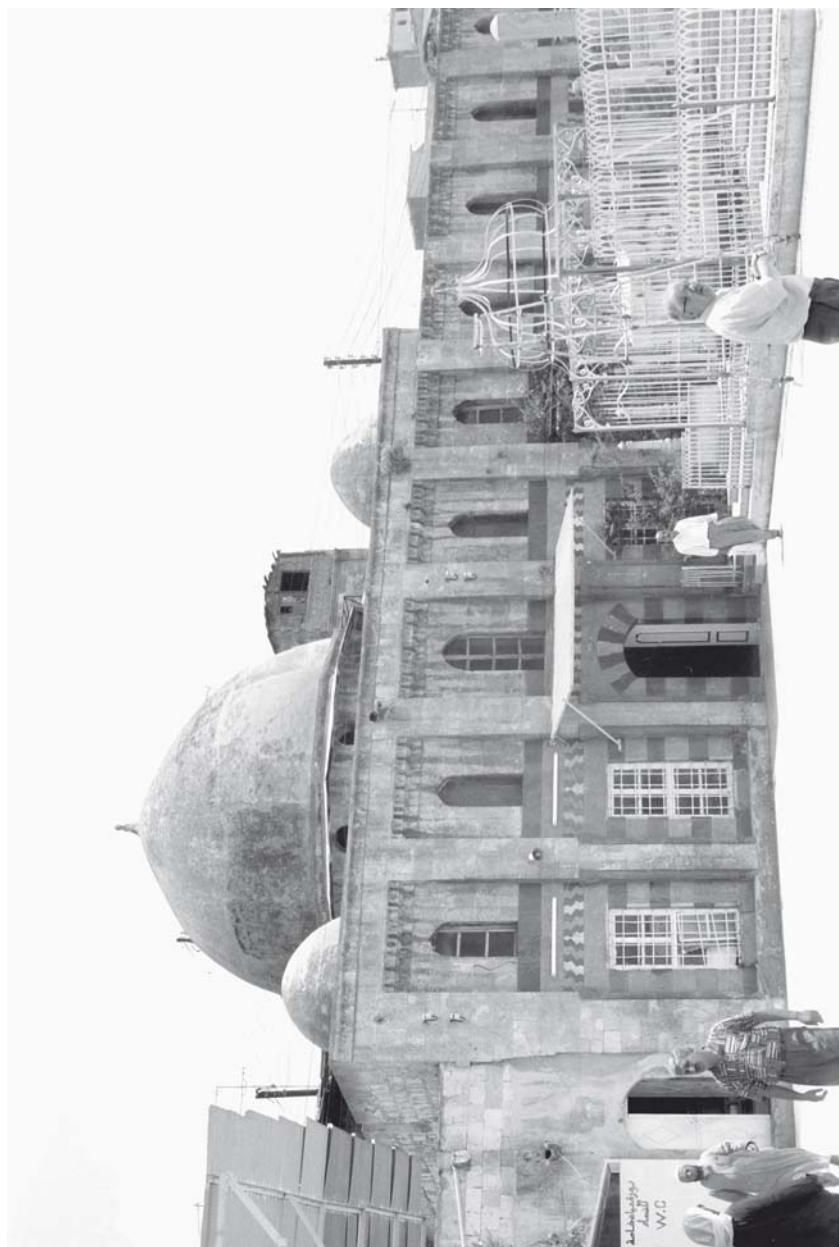
Pl. 18. Bahramiyya complex. Interior view towards the qibla.



Pl. 19. Khān al-Gumruk. Exterior façade. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, neg. image courtesy of Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



Pl. 20. Khān al-Gumruk. Interior façade overlooking the courtyard.



Pl. 21. Takiyya Mawlawiyya.

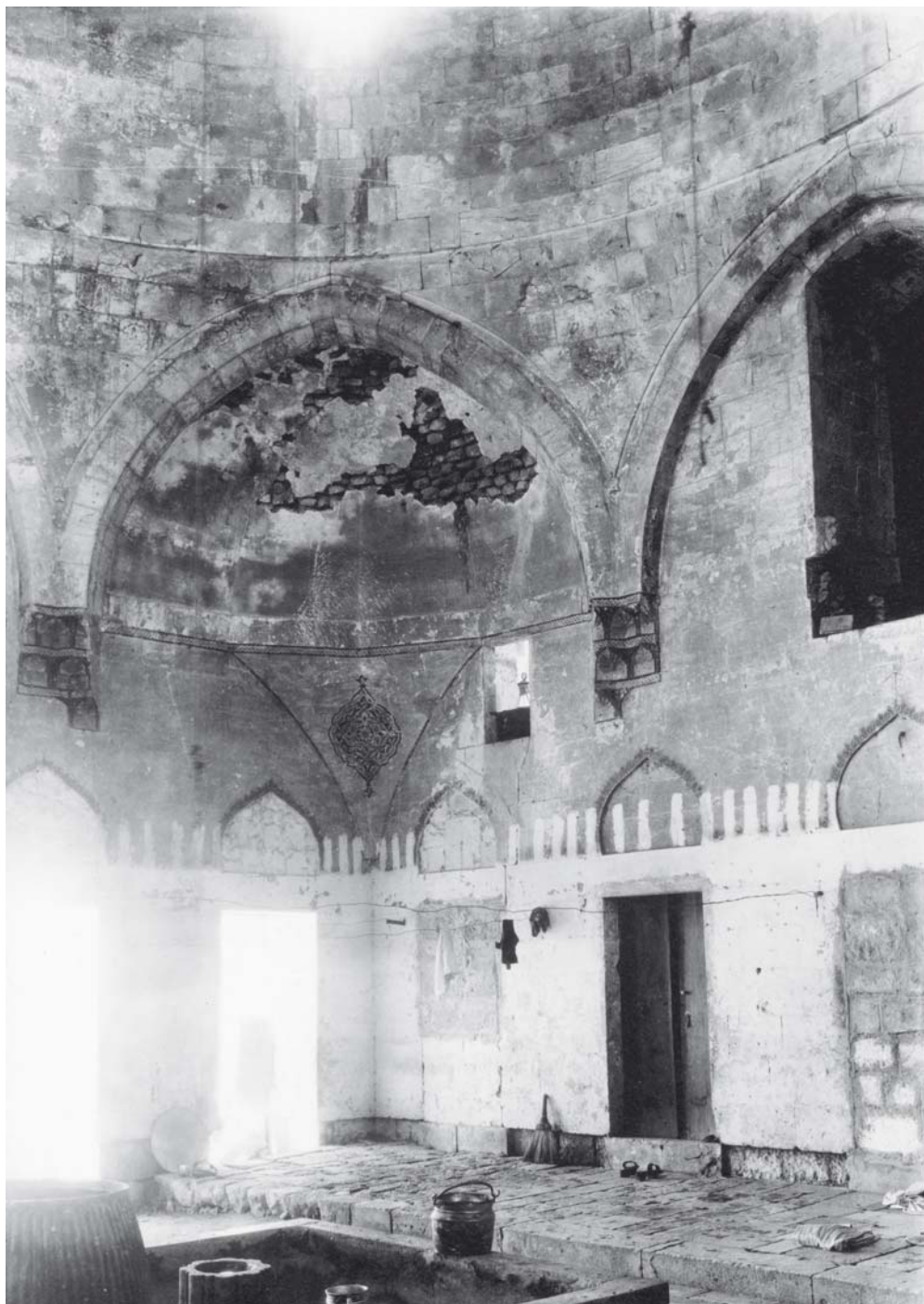
11. - ALEP (Syrie). - Au premier plan à gauche, l'Hôpital Militaire, au milieu, le Quartier Cheik-Abou Bakir, Mosquée antique



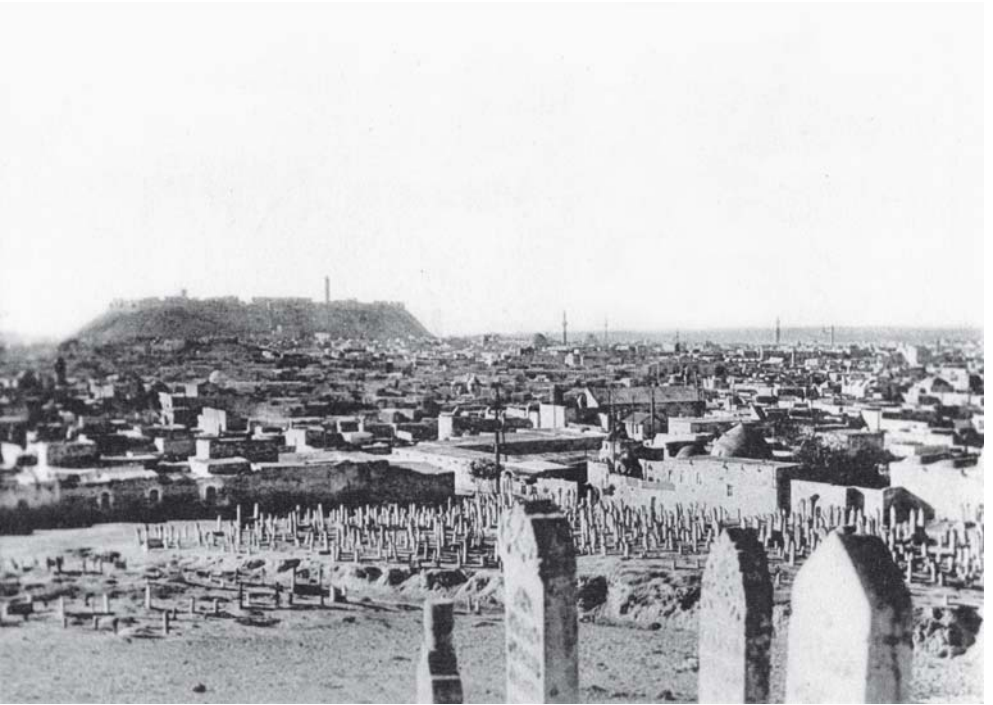
Pl. 22. Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr viewed from the south. Postcard by Wattar Frères, Aleppo, ca. 1930's, collection of the author.



Pl. 23. Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. General View.



Pl. 24. Mausoleum of Shaykh Abū Bakr. Interior of qā'a. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, neg. image courtesy of Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



Pl. 25. Aleppo seen from the Takiyya of Shaykh Abū Bakr. From: Sauvaget, *Alep* 2, Plate IV.



Pl. 26. Complex of İpshir Pasha. Façade of Coffeehouse.



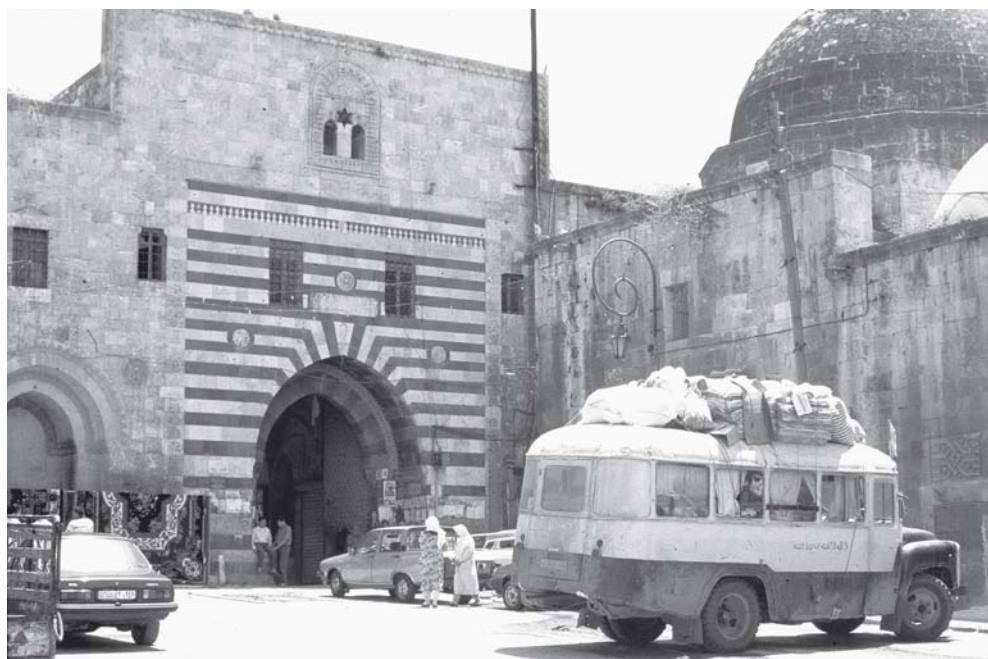
Pl. 27. Great Mosque of Aleppo. Façade of the Harām.



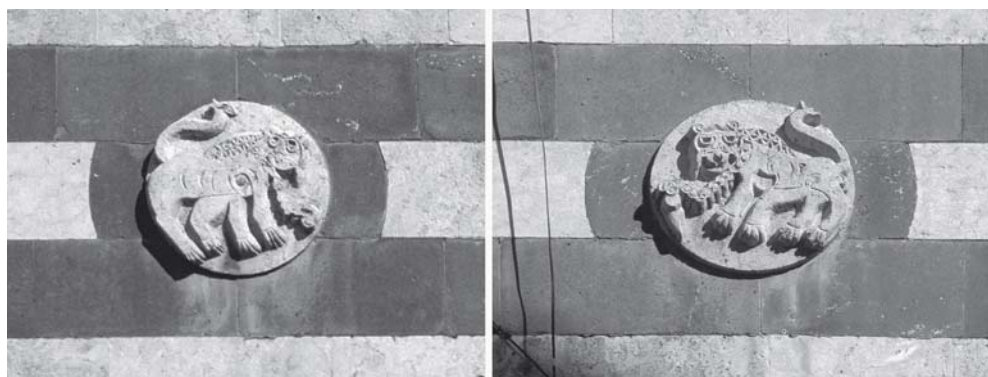
Pl. 28. Madrasa Ḥallāwiyya. Entrance to the Ḥarām.



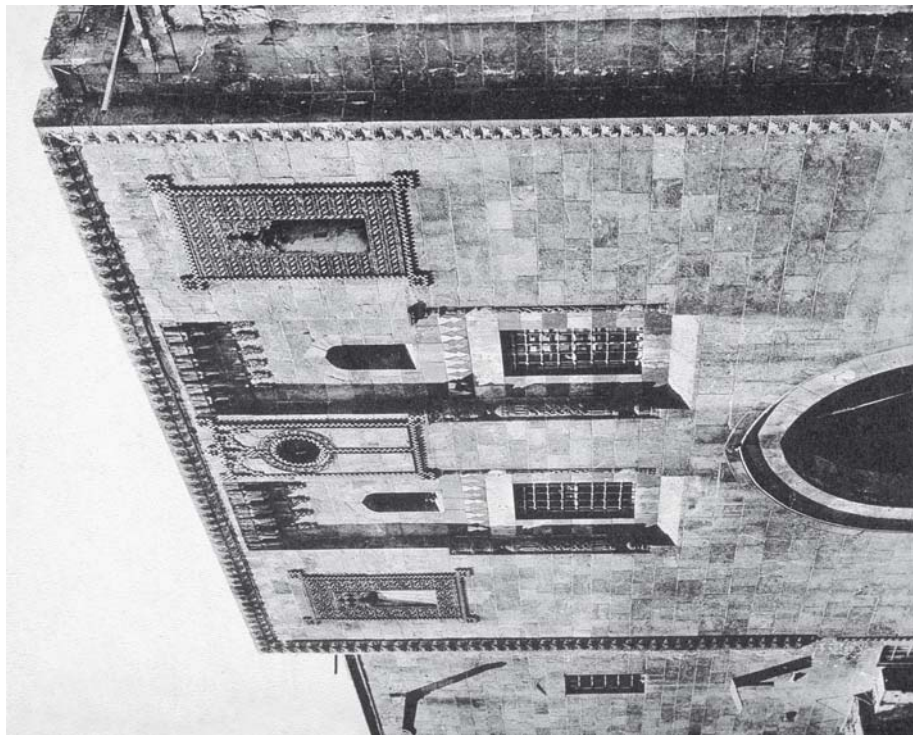
Pl. 29. Khān al-Wazīr. Exterior façade before 1950's. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, neg. image courtesy of Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



Pl. 30. Khān al-Wazīr. Exterior façade today.



Pl. 31. Khān al-Wazīr. Feline figures on the exterior façade.



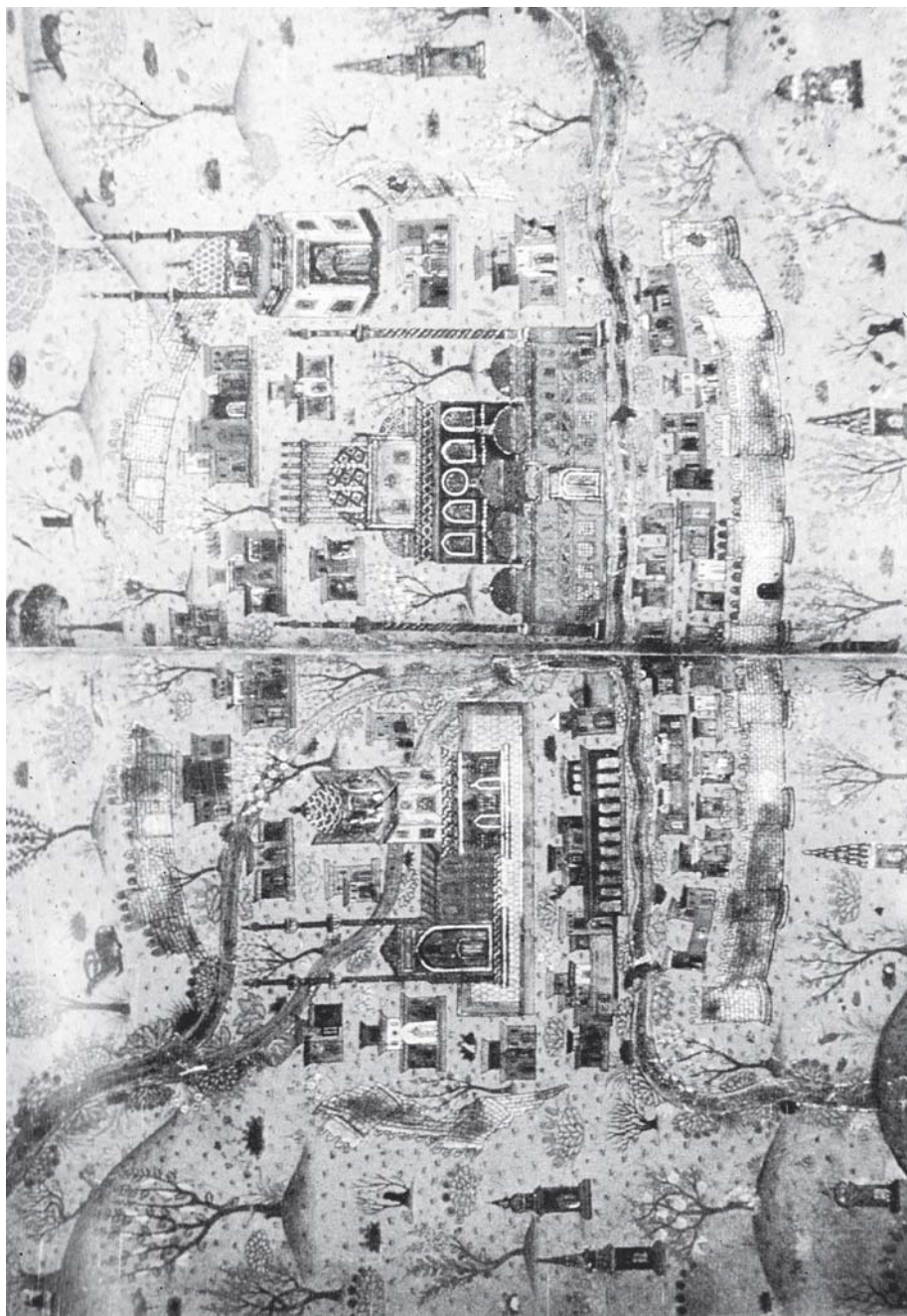
Pl. 32. Khān al-Wazīr. Interior façade overlooking the courtyard. From:
Dussaud, *Syrie antique*, Pl. 99.



Pl. 33. Castle at Hōsap. Entrance.



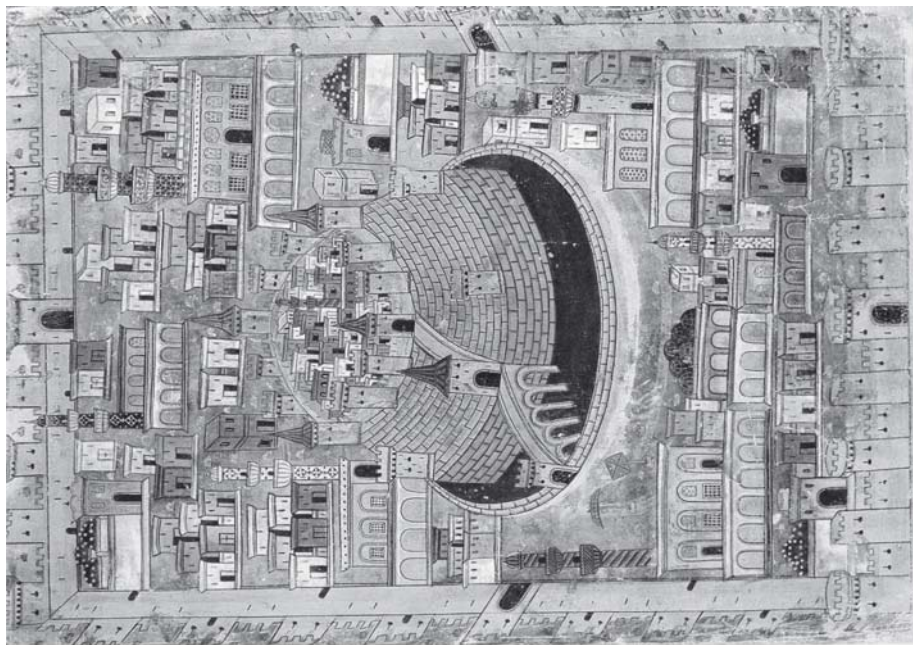
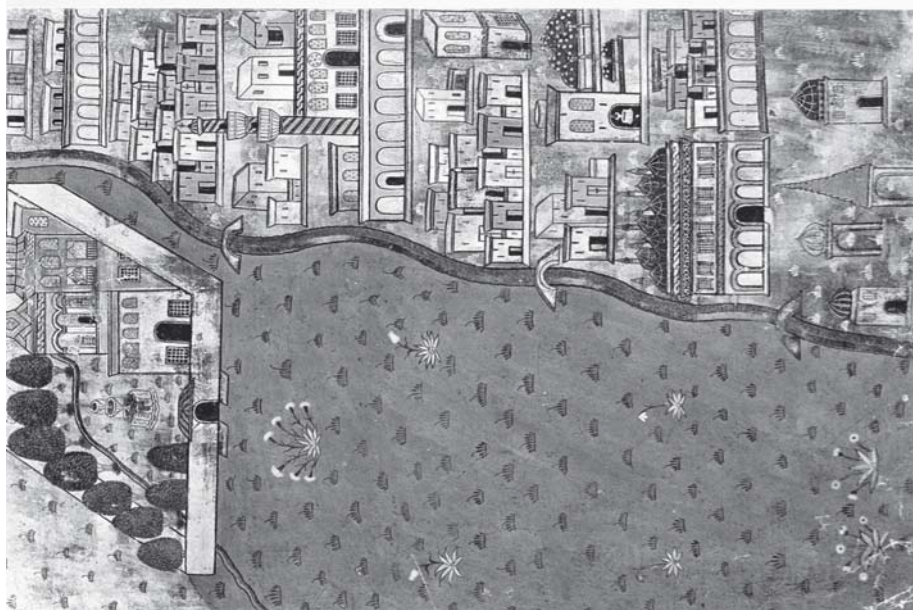
Pl. 34. Citadel of Aleppo. Second door with facing lions.



Pl. 35. *View of Sütlümen*, from *Makâm-ı Menâzil*, Istanbul, 1537-8. Istanbul, University Library, Ms. 5964, fols. 31v-32r.



Pl. 36. *View of Nice*, from *Matrakçı Nasûh, Süleymânâme*, Istanbul, ca. 1543. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, MS. H. 1608.
From: Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Manuscripts*, Pl. 147.



Pl. 37. *View of Aleppo*, from *Matrâkçı Naşûh*, *Mejmi' a-i Men'azil*, Istanbul, 1537-8. Istanbul, University Library, Ms. 5964, fols.106v-105r.

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