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THE CREATION OF OTTOMAN DAMASCUS

Architecture and Urban Development of Damascus in the 16th and 17th centuries

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INTRODUCTION¹

Modern-day urban landscapes in the Near East are contemporary witnesses to their history. Thus, four hundred years of Ottoman presence (1516-1918) and cultural concepts left a distinctive imprint on urban centres in Syria. The cityscapes of both Aleppo and Damascus, for example, were largely modified by important trade centres and mosques during the first one hundred years after their incorporation into the Ottoman Empire. The urban skyline of both cities is marked by wide-span domes and variations on the typical Ottoman 'pencil shaped minarets', as well as by a series of civil foundations situated in the *sūq* and bearing the names of a number of Ottoman civil servants. The Ottoman presence is evident for the visitor to these cities.

To what extent can we talk of the 'Ottomanization' of the cityscape? Is the import of imperial art obvious, or do local modifications of the Ottoman principles of form dominate? The character of Ottoman constructions in the Ottoman provinces will be studied here using the city of Damascus as an example. The development of Ottoman architecture in Damascus in the 16th and 17th centuries can be divided into three stages.

a) A surprising continuity marks the preliminary phase of Ottoman rule in Damascus. Local traditions of construction remain almost unchanged at the beginning, even if one can already find interpretations of Ottoman architectural design in 932/1525-26, for the first time.

b) By the mid-16th century at the latest, more and more concepts of construction, design, and technique, which still cannot be considered genuine imperial art, are imported from the capital. A specific expression of cultural self-awareness, as a part of the Ottoman cultural sphere, derives from the adaptation of Ottoman forms of expression and structure and their merger with local traditions. This is how the Ottoman city of Damascus emerged. Hence,

¹ I would like to thank Jens-Peter Hanssen, Rafah Maduar and especially Simone Bass for their immense help in writing the English version of the text. Furthermore, I must express my thanks to Nazih Kawakibi, Akram Ulabi, Astrid Meier, Jean-Paul Pascual and Sarab Atassi for their help in enabling me to find my way around 16th century Damascus.

one can speak of the 'Ottomanization' of the urban skyline. The term 'Ottomanization' is used here in the sense of an integration of Ottoman architectural vocabulary, clearly distinguishing a building as Ottoman, without standardising its architecture as such. The city presents to every visitor an unmistakable Ottoman character, with its new city centre and the development of a commercial centre bearing Ottoman forms and structure. We will see how this occurred on the basis of local traditions.

c) The specific Damascene symbiosis of local and Ottoman forms and techniques finally leads to the canonisation of a local style based as much in the Ottoman concept of structure as in the local tradition of Damascus. It will be demonstrated that there is no contradiction between the emphasis on local traditions and their further use, and the simultaneous extensive integration of Ottoman forms and structures. The Ottoman conception of culture (*Kulturverständnis*) makes the expression of particular local forms straying from those of the capital possible, while still demonstrating their attachment to the cultural sphere of the Ottomans.

I. CONTINUITY

Is it commonly known that Ottoman rule in the Bilād aš-Šām was initially characterised by a remarkable continuity and relative tolerance on the political level. In Damascus, the Governor Ġānbirdī al-Ġazālī (924/1518 until 927/1521) was confirmed in his office and served until his rebellion, while the governor of the Mamluks in Aleppo, Ḥayrbak, was transferred to the same post in Cairo. The Mamluk Qādī al-Quḍā', Walī ad-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr, who had held the post of the highest Qādī of Damascus right up to the Ottoman conquest, regained his office in 924/1518.² The outstanding feature of the establishment of Ottoman institutions in Damascus was continuity.

The same is true of architecture. Sultan Selim I (1512-20) kept Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-'Aṭṭār as the Damascene chief architect, commissioning him to design new buildings. Buildings in Damascus seemed initially to inherit the Mamluk architectural tradition, as already demonstrated by Michael Meinecke.³ With a few notable exceptions, the continuity in the local building traditions of the first decades is striking.

² Terms of office of Ibn al-Farfūr (895/1490-937/1530): 924/1518-926/1520, 927/1520, 930/1524-936/1530. See: M. Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāṣawāt wa-'l-Quḍāt fī Dimašq*, in: Š. al-Munaġġid, *Wulāt Dimašq fī 'l-'Ahd al-'Uṣmānī*, (Damascus, 1949), pp. 1-10 and Š. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq, aṭ-Ṭağr al-Bassām fī Ḍikr man wulliya Qaḍā' aš-Šām*, (edited by Š. al-Munaġġid), (Damascus, 1956), pp. 182-184, 309-10, 312-15. See for the political history of the time: M. A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century*, (Beirut, 1982), and 'A. Rāfiq, *al-'Arab wa-'l-'Uṣmāniyyūn, 1516-1916*, (Damascus, 1993), pp. 55-226.

³ See: M. Meinecke, "Die osmanische Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Damaskus", in: G. Fehér (ed.), *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 1975*, (Budapest, 1978),

The lay-out of the early Ottoman prayer-halls clearly demonstrates a Mamluk conception of space. This is true of the prayer-hall of the famous Ġāmi' as-Salīm of Selim I in as-Šālihiya (924/ 1518, fig. 1). This mosque originally had only two aisles perpendicular to the qibla wall⁴ which recalled the prayer-hall of the Mamluk Sibā'iya mosque (fig. 2). The central dome-chamber construction of the Ottomans was not yet introduced.

If one compares the Turbat Luṭfi Bāšā (ca. 1534, fig. 3)⁵ with the façade of the Masġid as-Saqifa (1411-12, fig. 4), one can find a more-or-less similar shaping of the façades. Wide rectangular areas of decor are inserted in the typical Mamlukian ablaq stripes, and are framed with protruding bands. The medallions fitted into a frame and defined by knotted ribbons are typical. Only by taking a close look can one detect very subtle shifts in the decoration, for example, twisted ribbons running along the façade.

The continuity seems to be interrupted by the violent suppression of al-Ġazālī's rebellion in 927/1521 and the subsequent demolition of Mamluk structures, unlike those in Cairo and Baghdad. The province came under al-

pp. 575-595. For the city's architectural development of the time, also see: J.-P. Pascual, *Damas a la Fin du XVI^e Siècle d'après trois Actes de Waqf Ottomans*, (Damascus, 1983), and N. al-Kawākibī, "al-Hayāt al-'Umrāniya fi Dimašq fi-'l-'Ahd al-'Uṣmānī", *at-Turāt al-'Arabī*, 'Adad Hāss: *Dimašq wa-'l-Tārīḥ*, 55/56 (1994), pp. 177-195. For a wider context: A. Raymond, "The Ottoman Conquest and the Development of the Great Arab Towns", *IJTS*, 1, (1979/80), pp. 84-101 and A. Raymond, *al-'Awāsim al-'Arabīya, Imāratuhā wa-'l-'Umrānuhā fi-'l-Fatra al-'Uṣmāniya*, (Damascus, 1986), (Arabic translation from *Grand Villes Arabes à l'Époque Ottomane 1985 / The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries, An Introduction*, 1984).

⁴ In the beginning of this century, the prayer-hall of the Ġāmi' as-Salīm was enlarged by adding 2 aisles to give a total of four. For this building, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, pp. 15-16, fn. 79, 115-116; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Quḍāt*, pp. 3-4; Š. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Histoire des Gouverneurs Turcs de Damas*, in: H. Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans (658-1156), traduction des Annales d'Ibn Ṭūlūn et d'Ibn Ġum'a*, (Damascus, 1952), p. 148; Š. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Hillān fi Hawādīṣ az-Zamān, Tārīḥ Maṣr wa-'š-Šām*, 2nd Volume, edited by M. Muṣṭafā, (Cairo, 1964), p. 68; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", pp. 577, 582; M. Meinecke, "Der Survey des Damaszener Altstadtviertels as-Šālihiya", *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 1, (1983), No. 50; M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien 648/1250 bis 923/1517*, (Glückstadt, 1992), vol. 1, p. 206; 'A. ar-Rihāwī and E. Ouechek, "Les deux Takiya de Damas – La Takiya et la Madrasa Sulaymāniyya du Marġ et la Takiya as-Salimiyya de Šālihiyya", *BEO*, 27, (1975), pp. 217-226; J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, (Beirut, 1932), No. 109; M. A. Ṭālas, Appendix in Y. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, *Ṭimār al-Maqāsid fi Dīkr al-Masāgid*, edited by M. A. Ṭālas, (Beirut, 1975), No. 181; K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, (Berlin, 1924), DN VII.

⁵ For this building, see: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Quḍāt*, p. 12; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Gouverneurs Turcs*, p. 166; al-Kawākibī, "al-Hayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus II* (Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaft, V, Wien, 1855), p. 16; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 579; D. Sack, *Damaskus, Entwicklung und Strukturen einer orientalisches-islamischen Stadt*, (Mainz, 1989), No. 4.8; St. Weber, "Der Marġa-Platz in Damaskus – Die Entstehung eines modernen Stadtzentrums unter den Osmanen als Ausdruck strukturellen Wandels (1808-1918)", *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 10, (1998), No. 70; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, B/3-8.

most direct administration by Istanbul.⁶ Mamluk architectural principles are still used as late as 1534 in the turba of Luṭfī Bāšā, but already the Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya, erected in 934/1527, makes use of a central dome covering a square room. This is the Ottoman concept of the central dome-chamber (fig. 5, 6).⁷ It was most probably the patron of the building, Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīl aṣ-Ṣamādī (d. 948/1541-42)⁸, who instructed the local craftsman to build a central dome. He had been to Istanbul for an audience with Sultan Selim I, who gave him a fief, and it seems certain that he was deeply impressed by the Ottoman use of space in their mosques. Aṣ-Ṣamādī's craftsmen resorted to a known construction method, since the construction technique of an Ottoman central dome with its low pendentives was not yet known in Damascus. The inner space of the mosque appears to be a gigantic Mamluk turba. Squinches constitute the zone of transition to the polygonal two-storied drum on which a high rising cupola rests (fig. 6). Ten years after the Ottoman conquest, we already find in the Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya a typical Ottoman feature of construction – the central dome for a larger mosque executed in the style of the local tradition of construction. This indicates the direction of further development in Damascus. It is nevertheless not possible at this stage to speak of an Ottomanization of the urban architecture. This was soon to change.

II. THE CREATION OF OTTOMAN DAMASCUS

II.1. *The importation of construction features*

The well known Takīya as-Sulaymāniya (962/1554 until 967/1560, fig. 7-10)⁹ constitutes the turning point in the design of Ottoman buildings in Damas-

⁶ A non-local qādī (for a very short term) and wāllī was sent from Istanbul for the first time in 928/1521, for example, janissaries were stationed here, and a census was carried out in the province in 932/1525-26 (after the census of 922/1516 in Damascus). Compare: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 36; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, pp. 4-5; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, p. 311; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 183.

⁷ For this building, see: N. al-Ġazzī, *Luṭf as-Samar wa Qaṭf at-Ṭamar. Min Tarāğim 'A'yān at-Ṭabaqa al-'Ulā min al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Asr*, edited by M. aṣ-Ṣayḥ, (Damascus, 1981), vol. I, p. 130, fn. 5; vol. II, p. 600, fn. 2; Pascual, *XV^e Siècle*, tab.1; Talas, Appendix, No. 190. Further, see for the reconstruction of 1054/1644-45: H. Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, (Beirut, 1978), No. 194-95; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Pascual, *XV^e Siècle*, tab.1; D. Sack, "Damaskus, die Stadt intra muros. Ein Beitrag zu den Arbeiten der 'Internationalen Kommission zum Schutz der Altstadt von Damaskus'", *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 2, (1985), p. 288; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.66; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, F/6-2.

⁸ For Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣamādī, who had great influence in Damascus, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, pp. 183-84; al-Ġazzī, *Luṭf as-Samar*, vol. I, p. 130, fn. 5; vol. II, p. 600, fn. 2; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 39, fn. 1 (the editor al-Munağğid quotes al-Muḥibbī here); 'A. an-Nu'aymī, *ad-Dāris fī Tārīḥ al-Madāris*, edited by I. Šams ad-Dīn, (Beirut, 1990), vol. II, p. 171; Talas, Appendix, No. 190. An influence of Mamluk models, such as the Qubbat al-Faḍāwiya / Yašbak (1479-81) in Cairo, can be excluded because of the historical data available on aṣ-Ṣamādī.

⁹ For this building, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 116 (with further literature); E. Egli, *Sinan, der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, (Zürich, 1954), pp. 74-75; al-Ġazzī, *Luṭf as-Samar*, vol. III,

cus. The famous takīya of Süleyman I (1520-66), designed by Mimar Sinan (~1490-1588), is in many ways exceptional for Damascus. The Sultan in Istanbul commissioned the court architect to construct it, and this complex (at-Takīya as-Sulaymāniya and the nearby Madrasa as-Salīmiya of Selim II) is probably the only early Ottoman structure in Damascus which was not planned *insitu*. Local forms were integrated over the course of the construction, but the majority of the construction elements (tiles, carved stones, covering of the dome, etc.) were produced by craftsmen obviously familiar with these techniques and design, and not by local craftsmen. From this we may deduce that an Anatolian workshop was present during construction.

The mosque itself has a very simple ground plan. A central dome rests upon the rectangular cube, without any further division of space (fig. 10), but it is furnished with architectural elements which had been unknown before in Damascus. First of all, there are the Ottoman pencil shaped minarets which flank the building on the sides, then the flat and wide-span cupola with its lead cover and the small buttresses which support the bevelled, almost round, drum. Inside, the low pendentives make the transition from the rectangular room to the drum. The ante-chamber, with its double row of columns, is also a new feature. Besides the use of tiles inside the building and on the façade, which will be discussed below, this is the first appearance of the Ottoman folded capitals, rounded pointed arches, Ottoman twisted muqarnas, and many more details which are new to Damascus.

The takīya of Süleyman is the 'most Ottoman building' in Damascus despite the integration of local decorative elements and, as such, had an enormous impact on the architecture of its time. The architectural features of this building and its Ottoman forms of design were subsequently emulated throughout the town. A far reaching Ottomanization of the artistic style can be discerned from the early fifties of the 16th century onwards. The design of the decor and the lay-out evolves, with certain local adaptation, into the typical Ottoman one.

Let us discuss the lay-out first. Single elements of the cupola become integrated into the canon of the Damascene architectural features at this time, even if the local form of the cupola will later come to dominate again. This is true,

pp. 156-57; G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 256-57; G. Goodwin, "The Tekke of Süleiman I., Damascus", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 110, (1978), pp. 127-29, fig. 13b-14a; Ġ. al-Hasanī, "at-Takīya as-Sulaymāniya fī Dimašq", *Mağalāt al-Mağma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabi*, XXXI, (1956), pp. 222-37, 437-50; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", pp. 580-81; Meinecke, *mamlukische Architektur*, vol. I, p. 206-07; Pascual, *XV^e Siècle*, tab.1; 'A. ar-Rihāwī, "al-Abniya al-ʿAṭariya fī Dimašq, Dirāsa wa-Taḥqīq, I. at-Takīya wa-l-Madrasa as-Sulaymāniyatānī bi Dimašq", *AAAS*, VII, (1957), pp. 125-34; ar-Rihāwī and Quechek, "deux Takīya", pp. 217-226; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.6; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 71; ʿĀlas, Appendix, No. 142; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, DW/1-2.

above all, for the central dome which becomes the dominating principle of construction in the Damascene mosques. The squinch is replaced by low pendentives. However, only the dome of the Sināniya Mosque preserved a lead covering (999/1591, fig. 11)¹⁰, and buttresses of the drum can only be found at the mosque of Darwīš Bāšā (982/1574-75, fig. 12)¹¹.

At the turba of Darwīš Bāšā (982/1574-75, fig. 12, above left)¹², or the turba of Murād Bāšā (next to his mosque of 976/1568-69 until 983/1575-76, fig. 13, right)¹³ a mausoleum is separated from the mosque or the madrasa for the first time, and the turba of Darwīš Bāšā is octagonal like some of its Istanbul models. The ground plans of the Darwīšiya and Sināniya Mosques recall, albeit on a much smaller scale, the Mirimah Mosque in Istanbul.¹⁴ The Madrasa as-Salīmiya (974/1566, fig. 7, above left; fig. 29, 30)¹⁵ of Selim II (1566-74) introduces into Damascene architecture a madrasa-type, used in Istanbul and Anatolia, where the rooms are regularly distributed around a rectangular courtyard. The iwān type which was still used in the Mamluk period, either in its pure form, or strongly changed like the qā'a madrasas of the 15th century, vanishes completely. The typical Ottoman organisation of such a school is established in Damascus by the Madrasa as-Salīmiya.

Pencil-shaped minarets now appear in Damascus as a main feature of Ottoman architecture, and as the foremost symbol of an Ottoman presence. We have already examined the Takīya as-Sulaymāniya as a landmark. The mosques of Darwīš Bāšā (979/1571 until 982/1574, fig. 12), Sinān Bāšā (994/1586 until 999/1591, fig. 11) and Sīyāgūš Bāšā (1005/1596-97)¹⁶ all have a slightly

¹⁰ For this building, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 118; Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 89-91; al-Ġazzī, *Lutf as-Samar*, vol. III, pp. 348-49; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāsāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 20; P. K. Kappert, "Osmanische Inschriften in Syrien", *Damascener Mitteilungen*, I, (1983), pp. 108-09; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 188; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 14; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 585; Meinecke, *mamlukische Architektur*, vol. I, pp. 207-08; M. A. al-Muḥibbi, *Hulāṣat al-ʿAṣar fī 'A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Aṣar*, (Beirut, 1970), vol. II, pp. 215-17; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1, pp. 33-34, 44, 97 ff; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.59; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 79; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 146; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, D/5-8.

¹¹ For this building, see: 'A. Bahnasī, "al-Qāṣānī ad-Dimaṣqī" AAAS, 35, (1985), pp. 40 ff (about the tiles); Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 117; Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 143; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāsāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 16 and p. 17, fn. 1 (the editor al-Munaġġid quotes al-Ġazzī here); al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 186; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 14; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 584; Meinecke, *mamlukische Architektur*, vol. I, p. 208; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 108; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 77; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 105; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, C/4-6.

¹² For this building, see the literature of fn. 11 and: Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.23; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, C/5-1.

¹³ For this building, see: fn. 31.

¹⁴ Compare: Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", pp. 584-85.

¹⁵ For this building, see: fn. 9.

¹⁶ For this building, see: al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 188; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, "intra muros", p. 286; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.63; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 297; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/6-1.

changed pencil-shaped minaret which is clearly visible from afar. Many more examples can be given, but the 'Ottomanization' of the square Mamluk south-eastern minaret of the Umayyad Mosque, achieved by adding a pencil-shaped top, is the most striking one (fig. 14).

The same is true for the forms of decoration. The pointed bulbous arch of Persian origin makes its way to Damascus and can, among others, be found in large vaulted constructions such as the *riwāq* of the ante-chamber of the *Siyaḡūš Bāšā* Mosque (fig. 15).

II.1.1. Tiles

Tiles became the most remarkable decoration technique of the mosque. Large panels of locally produced tiles are to be found in several mosques and turbas of Damascus. Local production of tiles was started in the Mamluk period. Tiles appear at the beginning of the 15th century on different minarets, and first at the *Tawrīzī* Mosque and Turba (826/1423). These tiles are all ascribed to one workshop which did not survive the second half of the 15th century. Meinecke assumes a short period of production in the twenties of the 15th century.¹⁷ The Ottomans reintroduced this technique of decoration later on. The *Takīya as-Sulaymāniya* (962/1554 until 967/1560) constitutes the prelude of a whole series of tile-decoration. While no earlier example of Ottoman tiles is to be found in Damascus¹⁸ its introduction is supposedly connected to the restoration of the Dome of the Rock by Sultan Süleyman. Most probably, a workshop settled in Damascus after the conclusion of the work in Jerusalem.¹⁹ Much of the production after 1555 shows the influence of a Persian workshop followed by the late 16th century Iznik models in consequence.

The panels with the dark blue background at the *takīya*, or the extensive panels of the *Ḥammām al-Qīṣānī* (981/1573-74)²⁰ and the *Ġāmi' as-Sināniya* (994/1586 until 999/1591, fig. 16) recall Persian style and colours. The dark green tiles of the minaret of the *Ġāmi' as-Sināniya*, as well as the use of tiles on the exterior façade, point towards the Persian cultural sphere (fig. 11).

¹⁷ M. Meinecke, "Syrian Blue-and-white Tiles of the 9th/15th Century", *Damascener Mitteilungen*, 3, (1988), p. 211.

¹⁸ The tiles for the *Ġāmi'* and Turbat Muḥyī ad-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (924/1518), whose completion was commissioned by Sultan Selim, are dated later by an inscription: 996/1588 (turban) and 1174/1760-61 (mosque). Also see: Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 201.

¹⁹ A friendly hint by Dr. Julian Raby. For the Mamluk *Tawrīzī* Mosque a workshop from Tabriz is probable. Cf.: M. Meinecke, "Blue-and-white", p. 205 and M. Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī", *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine*, III, (1988), pp. 257-281.

²⁰ For this building, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 117; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāṣawāt wa-l-Qudāt*, p. 17, fn. 1 (the editor al-Munaḡḡid quotes al-Ġazzī here); al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-Umrāniya", p. 186; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 9; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, "intra muros", p. 268; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.32; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 82; Wulzinger and Wulzinger, *Damaskus*, E/4-6.

A turn towards models from Iznik is indicated by the example of the Ġāmi' and Turbat ad-Darwīšiya (terminated in 982/1574-75), Turbat al-Murādiya (terminated in 983/1575-76), and the Turbat Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn²¹. The examples of Damascene local production do not give a uniform picture. Forms, colours, size, and motives which are well known in Anatolia differ enormously from each other. Even key-motives, for example the medallions formed by ribbons enclosing a bunch of grapes, can be found in the Ġāmi' ad-Darwīšiya and the Turbat Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (1020/1611, fig. 17) on a white background, and in the Ġāmi' as-Sināniya on a blue background. Different examples of local tile-production, such as rectangular tile-panels finished with small arches, can be found at the Takīya Sulaymāniya, Madrasa as-Salīmiya, Ġāmi' Darwīš Bāšā, Ḥammām al-Qīšānī (981/1573-74), Turbat Darwīš Bāšā, Ġāmi' Sinān Bāšā (fig. 16), Turbat Murād Bāšā (fig. 18), Maṣṭabat Sa'd ad-Dīn al-Ġibāwī in Mīdān (by 982/1574)²², Ġāmi' Sinān Āġā (972/1564-65)²³, and Turbat Muḥyī ad-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (decorated with tiles in 996/1588).

The themes of decoration differ for the most part, and even in the rare cases in which they are repeated side by side, they are still treated in the same manner. Other motives, for example a tile-panel representing a prayer-carpet with a mosque lamp in the Darwīšiya Mosque, are unique and show no relation to other tiles of Damascene production. Another unique example is the restoration-inscription of 1054/1644-45 on the qibla wall and the fountain of the Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya. The style of the writing and the colouring are unique in Damascus, and immediate models are not known (fig. 19). The Ottomans, in common with the Mamluks before them, sometimes used and reused single tiles and panels as spolia in their constructions.²⁴ Some small inscription panels can be found in mosques or even in domestic buildings.²⁵

Local tile production, mostly independent of Iznik, began with the tiles for the Takīya as-Sulaymāniya and can be followed up well into the 19th century by using signed and dated examples.

²¹ The tiles of this Ayyubid turba are dated: 1020/1611, 1027/1618, and 1037/1627-28. For this building, see: Bahnasī, "al-Qāšānī", pp. 25-26; Sack, "intra muros", p. 1985; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 2.21, 2.22; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 188; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, F/3-9.

²² For this building, see: Bahnasī, "al-Qāšānī", pp. 36 ff; Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 182; Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 191-93; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 72; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 273; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, C/16-3.

²³ For this building, see: Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 88; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.2; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 145; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/2-3.

²⁴ For example: Ḥammām al-Qīšānī (façade), Ḥān az-Zayt (façade), Ḥān al-Ġūḥiyya (façade and centre of the arches).

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²³ For this building, see: Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 88; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.2; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 145; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/2-3.

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II. 2. The formation of an Ottoman cityscape

An Ottomanization of the architecture of Damascus can be defined as demonstrated above. Without denying the local traditions, new elements of construction were integrated into the urban architecture of Damascus, marking it as unmistakably Ottoman but in Damascus with Damascene characteristics. Thus far, we have concentrated on the features and architectural expression of the buildings, but now we will turn to the change wrought in vast parts of the urban texture in Damascus. A true Ottoman city developed along the Darwīšiya-Street *extra muros* in the West. Its main features are the Ottoman saray (the first Ottoman Governor Palace), and a series of important mosques of Ottoman governors which are closely connected to the new sūq-area *intra muros*. These are the three elements of the first Ottoman city. It will be called the "first Ottoman city" in contrast to the 'Tanzīmāt' city which emerged around the Marğa-Square in the late 19th century.²⁶

II.2.1. Darwīšiya-Street

Running along the western city wall from North to South, Darwīšiya-Street developed into the most important, or even *the* Ottoman street, of Damascus. A number of large mosques and their attached foundations found their place here. For example, the now defunct Ġāmi' ʿIsā Bāšā (936/1529)²⁷, the Takīya ad-Darwīšiya (as-Suyyās / al-Qaṣṣāšī),²⁸ also defunct and undated, or the Ġāmi' Darwīš Bāšā (982/1574-75) and the Ġāmi' Sinān Bāšā (999/1591). This series of large-scale Ottoman waqf foundations begins in the North with the complex of Lālā Muṣṭafā Bāšā (mosque of 974/1566, ḥān, ḥammām and sūqs of 971/1563-64)²⁹ and of Qaramānī (ḥammām and mosque of 969/

²⁶ For the Marğa-Square, see: St. Weber, "Marğa-Platz" and St. Weber, "Ottoman Damascus of the 19th century. Art- and city development as an expression of changing times," *Art Turk / Turkish Art. 10th International Congress of Turkish Art, Geneva, September 17-23, 1995*, Geneva (1999), pp. 731-740.

²⁷ For this building, see: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 13; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Talas, Appendix, No. 221.

²⁸ For this building, see: Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.24; Süriye Vilāyetiniñ Sāl-nāmesi, vol. 21, (1306/1888-89), p. 147; Talas, Appendix, No. 150; Weber, "Marğa-Platz", No. 77; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, C/4-3.

²⁹ For the mosque, see: Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.1; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, D/2-2. See for the ḥān (Ḥān al-Bāšā): Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 116; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 15; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, p. 330; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 107; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, D/2-2 (?). For the ḥammām (Ḥammām ar-Ra's), see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 116; M. Écochard and Cl. Le Cloeur, *Les Bains de Damas*, (Beirut, 1942-43), vol. II, pp. 91-94; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 15; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, p. 230; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, C/3-2 and for the sūqs (Sūq aṣ-Ṣarrāfīn and Sūq Lālā Muṣṭafā Bāšā): Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 116.

1561)³⁰, and ends in the South with the Ġāmi' Murād Bāšā (terminated in 983/1575-76)³¹. The Darwīšīya-Street was the main road passing through the city, and as such was the ideal location for a display of Ottoman hegemony through physical manifestations. The political character of the street becomes evident when one looks at its function as part of the Darb al-Ḥaġġ directing the huge numbers of pilgrims towards the South. Thousands of pilgrims from all northern and eastern countries came together in Damascus each year to set out together for the Ḥiġāz. The majority of them camped in the Marġ of Damascus, right next to the Takīya as-Sulaymāniya. The pilgrims travelled down Darwīšīya-Street facing south, passing the Ottoman saray and most of the important mosques of Ottoman governors.

The Ottoman saray is built *extra muros* at the very beginning of the Darwīšīya-Street in front of Bāb al-Naṣr in the middle of the 16th century (fig. 20). The new men in power in this region seem carefully to have avoided the local notables, while the Mamluk governor had still resided *intra muros* at the Dār as-Sa'āda.³² The central state of the Ottomans concentrated its administrative forces *extra muros*. Only the new supreme court of the province (Maḥkamat al-Bāb, fig. 21) was built inside the walls, but was next to the new Ottoman sūqs (see below) in the 16th century.³³

It is not easy to render this development meaningful. Do we deal with a kind of city-planning with a waqf as an urban nucleus or – let us say – as an deliberate urban impetus? Could this be compared to the re-urbanisation of Istanbul

³⁰ For these buildings, see: al-Ġazzī, *Luṭf as-Samar*, vol. II, p. 466, fn. 5; al-Kawākibī, "al-Hayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 239.

³¹ For this building, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 117; Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 153, 154; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Qudāt*, p. 16; al-Kawākibī, "al-Hayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 186; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 19; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 584; Meinecke, *mamlukische Architektur*, vol. I, p. 207; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.76; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 264; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, D/8-1.

³² The phenomenon of building the saray, the seat of the Ottoman governor, *extra muros* is not limited to Damascus. Compare: Raymond, *al-'Awāšim al-'Arabīya*, pp. 32-36. The saray in Damascus was heavily remade between 1830-32, changed into the residence of the military governor in 1271/1854-55, and its last remains were destroyed by the French Mandate powers in 1945. Compare: Fn. 48 and Weber, *Marġa-Platz*, No. 82.

³³ The Mamluks still used the Nuridic Dār al-'Adl south of the citadel as a court of law. The Maḥkamat al-Bāb is first mentioned in court files of the late 16th century, but the location of the court changed several times at the beginning of the 16th century. During the twenties and thirties of the 16th century the court was held in the Madrasa al-Ġawziya, then in the Madrasa as-Sumaysātiya, then in the Madrasat al-Bādirā'iya, then again in the Madrasa al-Ġawziya. In 987/1579 the Qādī 'Alī ibn Sinān ar-Rūmī moved the court to the Bayt ibn Aslān south of the citadel. See: Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, pp. 312, 333; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Ḥawādiṭ az-Zamān*, vol. II, pp. 47, 89. Compare: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 120. For the Maḥkamat al-Bāb: A. Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723-1783*, (Beirut, 1966) p. 309; Sack, "intra muros", p. 280; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.41; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/4-15. The Dar al-'Adl was partially destroyed by Aḥmad Šamsī Bāšā, who build his takīya at this spot (see below). Its last remains were still visible around 1032/1622-23, when Qāsim al-Kurdi erected his building on the place of the former Dār al-'Adl. Compare: al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-Aṭar*, vol. III, p. 293.

triggered by the erection of religious complexes by Mehmed II and his vizirs? This was a very common practice, as is demonstrated by the quarter of Darb al-Aḥmar in Cairo, where the Mamluk Sulṭān an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn (693/1294 until 741/1341 with tow interruptions) had arranged for his Umarā' to built their complexes. Darwīṣīya-Street is part of the Darb al-Ḥaḡḡ, or the Ṭarīq as-Sulṭānī, and furnishing this street with petite jewels of Ottoman architecture can be understood as the creation of an Ottoman self-image. There are nonetheless not enough examples to talk of an imperial program of construction or of imperial architecture in Damascus. An Ottomanization of the urban architecture in Damascus is not a declared goal, but it seems to be the product of a self-image by which high officials defined the city as Ottoman.³⁴

Sultan Selim I had tried, from the beginning of Ottoman rule, to integrate Damascenes into the empire, and it is probable that local notables themselves became promoters of the cultural change. The tomb of Muḥyī ad-Dīn ibn 'Arabī was restored right after the conquest and furnished with a takīya and a mosque by Sultan Selim I. On the other hand, he supported Ṣayḥs of mystical circles. During his stay in Damascus, Sultan Selim visited Ṣayḥ Ḥusayn al-Ġibāwī (d. 926/1519), who had played a key-role during the Ottoman conquest, in the Ṣayḥ's house. The Zāwīya al-Ġibāwīya was erected by the Sultan near the house of the Ṣayḥ.³⁵

The example of Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīl aṣ-Ṣamādī (d. 948/1541-42) who, with the financial support of Sultan Selim I, erected the Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādīya of the Qādrīya Order (aṭ-Ṭarīqa al-Qādrīya), was mentioned above. The erection of the Takīya al-Mawlawīya (993/1585)³⁶ and the undated Takīya ad-

³⁴ It is interesting to note that nearly every conquered city became Ottomanized in the same way. A process of Ottomanization of urban architecture took place after the conquest of Crete in the 17th century. Here no imperial decree was active, but rather a common idea of high ranking officials as to how an Ottoman city should look. See: I. A. Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete", in I. Bierman, R. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi, *The Ottoman City and its Parts, Urban Structure and Social Order*, (New York, 1991), pp. 53-75.

³⁵ Compare Bakhīt, *Damascus*, pp. 181-82. This is not to be confused with the Zāwīya as-Sa'dīya (962/1554-55) near the cemetery Bāb as-Ṣaḡīr or the Maṣṭabat Sa'd ad-Dīn al-Ġibāwī (982/1574, enlarged twice in 995/1587 and 1005/1596-97) in Mīdān, and which was built by his son and grandson. The zāwīya of Ḥusayn al-Ġibāwī was rebuilt, according to the inscription of 1311/1893-94. The importance of this building is proven by the fact that it was restored by Sultan Abdūlhamīd in the course of his politics of centralisation and Islamicization. The restoration inscription, with the ṭuḡrā' of the Sultan, mentions Abdūlhamīd explicitly. The restoration is also recorded in the official yearly report of the province of Syria. Compare: Sūriye Vilāyetiniñ Sāl-nāmesi, vol. 31 (1317/1899-1900), p. 132. For the Zāwīya as-Sa'dīya (962/1554-55) near the cemetery in Bāb as-Ṣaḡīr, see: Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 122, and for the Maṣṭabat Sa'd ad-Dīn al-Ġibāwī fn. 22.

³⁶ For this building, see: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāṣawāt wa-'l-Qudāt*, p. 19; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 186; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 583, fn. 25; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab. I; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.7; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 53; Weber, "Marḡa-Platz", No. 80; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, A/3-5.

Darwīṣīya (as-Suyyās / al-Qaṣṣāṣī, not to be confused with the nearby mosque of Darwīṣ Bāṣā) for the Mawlawī (Mevlevī) Order, are to be seen in this context. The same is true of the mosque of Murād Bāṣā (976/1568-69 until 983/1575-76), which offered rooms to the Naqṣbandīya Order. In this way parts of the society of Damascus were reached by Ottoman civil institutions. The objects of Ottomanization became carriers of Ottoman cultural institutions with membership in a ṭarīqa.

The individual patrons followed a unified concept even if central planning cannot be proved. This can only be explained through the acquisition of new elements of structure and design by means of a new cultural self-conception.

II.2.2. The sūq of Damascus

The Ottoman sūq encountered new urban territory in Damascus. The sūq finally moved from the trade centre of the earlier dynasties, around the Umayyad Mosque, along the Qaymarīya-Street, and the Via Recta, to the area south-west of the Umayyad Mosque. The contemporary Sūqs Ġaqmaq (Midḥat Bāṣā), al-Ḥayyāfīn, al-Qalbaqḡīya (Bāb al-Barīd), al-Ḥarīr, and al-Arwām formed the centre of the new commercial area of the city. In fact, the modern shape and structure of the sūq date from the 16th century onwards. The development of the sūq and Darwīṣīya-Street was initiated by the same patrons for the most part, and has to be understood as a single, connected urban development. Some reasons for this phenomenon will be discussed here, before the evolution of the new Ottoman sūq of Damascus is described in detail.

The large waqf foundations played an especially important role in this development. Not only the Ṭarīq as-Sultānī, but also the new commercial area, were shaped by the large waqfs. Like Aleppo, the city of Damascus witnessed a remarkable boom of waqf foundations. Sūqs, ḥāns and ḥammāms all settled in the new commercial area within the first hundred years after the Ottoman conquest. The Ottoman Empire was, in economic terms, a customs and trade union which also secured the long trade routes within the empire. The integration into the Ottoman Empire, and Damascus' special role for the Ḥaḡḡ, caused an economic boom which was manifested in the changing urban texture of the city. Members of prominent families and officials of the empire crossed the borders of the provinces to follow this economic boom, and invested in trade constructions all over the empire. Investors, like local governors or other high ranking officials, could expect high profits. Some of the high ranking officials showed an unusual energy. Sinān Bāṣā, for example, invested in his huge complex at the Bāb al-Ġābīya two months before he became a grand vizir, and he still constructed public buildings in Damascus after the end of his governorship.³⁷ Similar tendencies can be observed in Aleppo. Mu-

³⁷ Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 118. On Sinān Bāṣā, see: Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, pp. 32-35; and for an account of his enormous wealth: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāṣawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, pp. 20-22.

ḥammad Bāšā, a son of Sinān Bāšā, erected trade buildings in Aleppo without ever holding political office in this town.³⁸

The installation of a waqf had an immense potential for integration into Damascene society at the socio-political level. This is illustrated by the example of Barawīz ibn 'Abdallāh, since they provided necessary social and political commodities. Amīr al-Umarā Barawīz (Parviz) ibn 'Abdallāh (d. 1015/1606-07) built a small mosque for himself close to his home next to the Ḥammām al-Bakrī, and after he left his official position he became its mu'addin and imām.³⁹ The potential of a waqf for integration on a socio-political level was immense. The waqf of Sinān Bāšā, for example, provided 444 persons with livelihood, that is, livelihood for almost 444 families, 203 of whom lived exclusively in Damascus.⁴⁰ It is not to be forgotten that the waqfs were the economic insurance of high ranking government officials at a time in the last decades of the 16th century when the first signs of recession and decline had become evident. The ḥāns and sūqs were the sources of economic wealth during the beginning of economic crisis and inflation in 1584. This was true of mosques and madrasas as well, which secured the financial well being of individual notables. The desire for economic security was surely a motivation for construction activities.

Let us turn to the development of the Ottoman sūq. In Damascus, as in Aleppo, enormous transactions must have taken place to achieve the acquisition of appropriate plots of land. Several fires facilitated the erection of the new commercial area. The fire of the year 930/1524 destroyed the areas around Bāb al-Barīd and al-'Aṣrūnīya where the Ottoman trade institutions found their location later on.⁴¹ This event was the trigger for another important development. Still under the impact of the fire of the year 930/1524, the Qāḍī al-Quḍā' Walī ad-Dīn bin al-Farfūr built his new sūq from stone and most probably had the vaults covered with cupolas (932/1525-26). "Nothing of its kind had existed among the sūqs in Damascus."⁴² The now destroyed building

³⁸ Compare: H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Aleppo, Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole*, (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 137. More examples given there.

³⁹ Compare: K. Barbir, "From Pasha to Efendi: The Assimilation of Ottomans into Damascene Society, 1516-1783", *IJIS*, 1, (1979/80), p. 72. See for this building: al-Muhibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-'Aṣar*, vol. I, p. 451; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 2; and for the restoration of 1069/1658-59: Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 150; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrānīya", p. 189; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 108; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 2; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, I/3-2.

⁴⁰ Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, p. 103.

⁴¹ Compare: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, p. 8. For another fire in the sūqs north-west extra muros (taḥt al-Qal'a) in 927/1520, see: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-l-Quḍāt*, pp. 2-3.

⁴² "wu-lam 'aḥad 'ilā miṭl ḥadā fī-l-'aswāq bi-Dimašq", Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, p. 312. For this building, see: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, p. 312; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrānīya", p. 184; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1. Ibn al-Farfūr was perhaps inspired by his two journeys to Anatolia. Compare: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, pp. 309, 310. Further construction enterprises of the Qāḍī: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, pp. 312-13; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 172.

near the Tall al-Qāḍī was the first domed trade-building in Damascus, and is therefore of immense significance, as we will see. It is interesting to note that the first central dome in a mosque can be found in the same year at the Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya.

The construction of the Sūq al-Ḥayyāfīn (950/1543)⁴³, around which a number of public buildings sprang up, is significant for the locality of the Ottoman sūq. The building-boom began in the fifties of the 16th century, judging from the remaining structures. Šamsī Aḥmad Bāšā founded a takīya (964/1557)⁴⁴, and the Sūq as-Sibāhiya (962/1554 until 963/1556)⁴⁵ south of the citadel. The sūq was possibly the first Ottoman trade building in this area and stood on the very location of the palace of the Mamluk governor, Dār al-Sa'āda, and the Mamluk court of law, Dār al-'Adl. The two most important Mamluk administrative institutions vanished completely when their land was usurped, and their remains were probably reused as construction material.⁴⁶

Of the takīya, only the Aḥmad Bāšā Mosque survived, having been completely renovated in this century, but the Sūq as-Sibāhiya corresponds to the modern Sūq al-Arwām (fig. 22). The Sūq al-Arwām is therefore the oldest existing and largely unchanged Ottoman trade building in Damascus.⁴⁷ It played an important role in the urban development of the city. This sūq was not only the point of departure for the later Sūq al-Ġadīd, dating from the late 18th century, and as such for the Sūq al-Ḥamīdiya of the late 19th century. Its significance lies in its close connection with the undated saray and the construction of the takīya and sūq of Aḥmad Šamsī Bāšā on the location of the Palace of the Mamluk Governor. The saray already existed towards the end of the 16th century, and it could have been erected by Aḥmad Šamsī Bāšā as a logical outcome of the destruction of the Dār as-Sa'āda.⁴⁸ The commercial area moved further west *intra muros* during the development of Darwīšiya-Street with its

⁴³ See: al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185.

⁴⁴ For this building, see: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimāšq*, p. 328; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; al-Munağğid, *Wulāt Dimāšq*, p. 5, fn. 2 (quotes al-Būrīnī); al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-Aḥqar*, vol. I, p. 18; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1, p. 107, fn. 3; Sack, "intra muros", p. 276; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.26; Ṭalas, Appendix, No. 11; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, D/4.2.

⁴⁵ For this building, see: al-Ġazzī, *Lutf as-Samar*, vol. II, p. 653; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimāšq*, p. 328; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1, pp. 101, 107 fn. 3; Rafeq, *The Province*, p. 309; 'A. ar-Rihāwī, *Damascus, its history, development and artistic heritage*, (Damascus, 1977), pp. 74, 76; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.25.

⁴⁶ The columns of the Dār as-Sa'āda had already been reused in the construction of the mosque of Sultan Selim in aṣ-Ṣālihiya. Compare: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 16. Compare for the Dār al-'Adl fn. 33.

⁴⁷ The Sūq al-Ḥayyāfīn was decisively changed, and enlarged on the West-front at the end of the 19th century.

⁴⁸ The saray is mentioned on its location *extra muros* in the 16th century. Compare: al-Ġazzī, *Lutf as-Samar*, vol. I, p. 192 and N. al-Ġazzī, *al-Kawākib as-Sā'ira fī A'yān al-Mā'iya al-'Ashira* II, p. 151, quoted after al-Munağğid, in: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Quḍāt*, p. 17, fn. 1, compare fn. 32.

mosques and the saray. Perhaps Aḥmad Šamsī Bāšā undertook the decisive step in this direction in the fifties of the 16th century.

A number of inner-city caravanserais sprang up, one after the other, *intra muros* in the west of the old city. The Ḥān al-Ġūḥīya (973/1565-66, fig. 23)⁴⁹ is the oldest dated ḥān of its time, with the possible exception of the undated southern part of the Ḥān aṣ-Ṣadrānī.⁵⁰ The trade buildings of Darwīš Bāšā and Murād Bāšā, not far north of the Ḥān al-Ġūḥīya, constitute the actual commercial centre. Around the Sūq al-Qalbaqḡīya (Bāb al-Barīd) are situated the Ḥān and Sūq al-Ḥarīr (981/1573-74)⁵¹, the Hammām al-Qīṣānī (981/1573-74) of Darwīš Bāšā, the Bedesten Murād Bāšā's (later Ḥān al-Ġumruk)⁵², the Ḥān al-Murādiyya (1002/1593)⁵³, as well as the Qaysārīyat al-Ḥaramayn (1017/1608-09, the later Ḥān Šayḥ Qaṭanā al-Kabīr)⁵⁴ and the Coffeeshop al-Ḥaramayn (the later Ḥān Šayḥ Qaṭanā aṣ-Ṣaḡīr, the structure of which was later changed considerably).⁵⁵

The Sūq al-Arwām and the Sūq Ibn al-Farfūr established the new construction type of the *bedesten* (a hall for shops which can be locked) in the city. The

⁴⁹ For this building, see: Kappert, "Osmanische Inschriften", pp. 107-08; al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 185; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 10; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; ar-Rihāwī, *Damascus*, p. 73; G. Saba and K. Salzwedel, *Typologie der Chane in der Altstadt von Damaskus*, (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 40-41; Sack, "intra muros", p. 281; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 111; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/5-5.

⁵⁰ For this building, see: Sack, "intra muros", p. 268; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.37; M. Scharabi, "Der Sūq von Damaskus und zwei traditionelle Handelsanlagen: Ḥān Ġaqmaq und Ḥān Sulaimān Pāšā", *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 1, (1983), No. 11; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, F/4-10.

⁵¹ For the ḥān, see: Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 117; Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 68, 124; Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Qudāt*, p. 17, fn. 1 (the editor al-Munaḡḡid quotes al-Ġazzī here); al-Kawākibī, "al-Ḥayāt al-'Umrāniya", p. 186; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 8; Meinecke, "osmanische Architektur", p. 585; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, "intra muros", p. 267; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.34; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 76; Scharabi, "Sūq von Damaskus", no. 3; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, F/4-6. For the Sūq al-Ḥarīr: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Qudāt*, p. 17, fn. 1 (the editor al-Munaḡḡid quotes al-Ġazzī here); Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, "intra muros", p. 281; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.33.

⁵² For this building, see: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Qudāt*, p. 23, Fn. 6; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 9; Š. al-Munaḡḡid, "Ḥān Murād Bāšā, al-Bazzāstān", *Mašriq*, XLI, pp. 62-64; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1, pp. 79 ff, 108-15; 'A. ar-Rihāwī, "Ḥānāt Madīnat Dimašq", *AAAS*, 25, (1975), pp. 62-63; Saba and Salzwedel, *Typologie*, pp. 49 ff; Sack, "intra muros", p. 266; Sack, *Damaskus*, p. 60, No. 4.30; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 80; Scharabi, "Sūq von Damaskus", no. 14; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/4-2.

⁵³ For this building, see: Ibn Ġum'a, *al-Bāšawāt wa-'l-Qudāt*, p. 23, Fn. 6; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1, pp. 108; 110; 112; ar-Rihāwī, "Ḥānāt", p. 62; Saba and Salzwedel, *Typologie*, pp. 46-47; Sack, "intra muros", pp. 266-67; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.28; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/3-11.

⁵⁴ For this building, see: Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 9; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, p. 113; ar-Rihāwī, "Ḥānāt", p. 63; Saba and Salzwedel, *Typologie*, pp. 44-45; Sack, "intra muros", p. 266; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.29; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 80; Scharabi, "Sūq von Damaskus", no. 15; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/4-3. Markaz al-Waṭā'iq at-Tārīḫīya, 1212:33 (1321/1903).

⁵⁵ For this building, see: Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 9; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, p. 113. Markaz al-Waṭā'iq at-Tārīḫīya, 1212:33 (1321/1903).

typical Ottoman dome *bedesten* found its most beautiful example in Damascus in the *bedesten* of Murād Bāšā (1017/1608-09, fig. 24). In this shopping street, 58 larger and eight smaller shops are lined up together with 40 depots. The most outstanding features of this *bedesten* are its originally nine well-rounded typical Ottoman domes, which are arranged in an L-shape. Even if Murād Bāšā calls the *bedesten* in its waqfiya "...demeurant au cours des temps, unique..."⁵⁶, we have to note that already in 1553 a European traveller informs us about a *bedesten* 50 years earlier than the *bedesten* of Murād Bāšā and one year before the Sūq al-Arwām.⁵⁷ It is possible that he refers to the southern part of the Ḥān aṣ-Ṣadrānī, which can be dated to the 16th century, or the sūq of Ibn al-Farfūr, which had already been constructed as a domed trade building in 932/1525-26. Whether the latter initiated the exceptional form of the ḥāns in Damascus has to remain hypothetical, but the concept of a domed trade building like the *bedesten* had a strong influence on the shape of the ḥāns in Damascus.

What did the ḥāns look like? Many ḥāns, and several hammāms that survived up to our days are early Ottoman foundations, such as the Ḥān al-Ġūḥīya (1565-66), Ḥān al-Ḥarīr (1573-74), Ḥān al-Murādīya (1593), Ḥān az-Zayt (1601-02)⁵⁸, the *Bedesten* Murād Bāšā with the Qaysārīyat al-Ḥaramayn (Ḥān Ṣayḥ Qaṭanā, 1608-09), the Ḥān Ġaḡmaq⁵⁹ (in its present shape), and several other ḥāns. Unfortunately no Mamluk ḥān has survived in its original form, so we cannot determine the Mamluk influence on the Ottoman ḥān. A few of the Ottoman ḥāns follow the traditional Ottoman principles of construction. The Ḥān al-Ḥarīr, for example, with its closed galleries, and the Ḥān az-Zayt (fig. 25) with open galleries, correspond to the common elements of construction, a large court and galleries, similar to those elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire.

The oldest surviving Ottoman ḥān of Damascus, Ḥān al-Ġūḥīya (973/1565-66, fig. 23), already differs clearly. It initially stood out by virtue of its original dome-arrangement, which no longer exists. The idea of covering buildings with domes was perhaps transferred from the *bedesten* to the ḥān. If this conception originated in Damascus, it cannot be traced back to the Sūq al-Arwām, which was topped with cross-vaults. The only possible models are the Sūq of Ibn al-Farfūr or even the undated southern part of the Ḥān aṣ-Ṣadrānī. The

⁵⁶ Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, p. 79. The waqfiya contains the exact description of the building.

⁵⁷ Compare: L. D'Arvieux, *Waqf Dimāḡ fi-'l-Qarn as-Sābi' 'Aṣar, min Muḍakkarat ar-Rihāla al-Farāsi al-Fāris Dārwyā*, edited by Aḥmad Ībiš (Damascus, 1982), p. 73.

⁵⁸ For this building, see: Sack, "intra muros", p. 279; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 4.42; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, No. 75; Scharabi, "Sūq von Damaskus", No. 4; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/5-2.

⁵⁹ For this building, see: Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 5; Pascual, *XVI^e Siècle*, tab.1; Sack, "intra muros", p. 280; Sack, *Damaskus*, No. 3.67; Scharabi, "Sūq von Damaskus", no. 1; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, E/5-3.

bedesten of Murād Bāšā cannot have served as a model, since it was constructed 27 years after the Ḥān al-Ğūhīya. The Ḥān al-Ğūhīya, with its two domes placed behind each others, marks the very beginning of a special Damascene development of domed ḥāns, even if the origin of the idea is not totally clear. All over the city, one can find structures with one, two, three, or even four domes. This development reached its apogee in the Ḥān As'ad Bāšā al-'Aẓm (1753) and its famous nine domes (fig. 26).⁶⁰ The impressive hall, with its four pillars supporting the domes, is a perfect example of the Ottoman understanding of space. The ḥāns, which are resplendent with local techniques and decoration, and which also represent a Damascene variation in structure, are nevertheless the product of an Ottomanization of the Damascene architectural language. The Ḥān As'ad Bāšā is the climax of the local Ottoman style of Damascus. This paradox, of an evolution of a pronounced local style and the contemporary permeation of Ottoman principles of construction, will be analysed in the following section.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN OTTOMAN LOCAL STYLE IN DAMASCUS

The Takīya as-Sulaymānīya played a decisive role in the importation of Ottoman forms of construction. Ottoman forms of building previously unknown in Damascus can be found in Damascus following the takīya's erection. The Takīya Sulaymānīya is of course a product of Ottoman central politics and central planning, but this is not sufficient to define the architecture of its time as imperial: all other buildings, to my knowledge, were locally planned and designed.⁶¹ The buildings erected shortly after Mimar Sinan's Sulaymānīya point towards a local Ottoman style. The development of a local style proceeds as a continued evolution of local, formerly Mamluk, forms, and of a simultaneous Ottomanization of the architecture of Damascus. This is no contradiction, since buildings develop with an Ottoman understanding of space and form and primarily local techniques of construction and decoration. It is here that the local techniques receive the decisive encouragement for a further development. The coloured pastes, especially, evolve into the typical Damascene element of decoration. The technique of filling carved stone with multi-coloured pastes began under the Mamluks. The use and modulation of this tech-

⁶⁰ For this building, see: Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften*, p. 67, No. 123; Kremer, *Topographie*, p. 5; Rafeq, *The Province*, p. 180; Sack, "intra muros", p. 283; Sack, *Damaskus*, No.; Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques*, p. 115, No. 86; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pp. 81 ff., F/5-2.

⁶¹ The significance of this overall quite small takīya is demonstrated by the fact that members of the sultanic family were buried here after they were exiled. Apart from the last Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed VI Vahideddin (1861-1926, Sultan between 1918-22) himself, many descendants of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) and Mehmed VI rest here.

nique undergoes a pronounced change in the second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century (fig. 27) and lays the ground for the splendid colour pastes façades of the late 17th, 18th, and the early 19th centuries (fig. 28). Ottoman art in Damascus becomes strongly 'localised', a phenomenon which finds its parallels in the social-life of the city. The integration of Ottoman officeholders into Damascene society took place to a certain extent towards the end of the 16th century.⁶² This trend was manifested in art-historical terms as follows:

The Madrasa as-Salīmiya of Selim II (fig. 7 above left, 29), erected in the immediate neighbourhood of the Takīya as-Sulaymāniya, is an early and pleasant example of the fusion of different tradition of construction into a new concept. The fusion consists, basically, of an Ottoman plan of construction carried out by local craftsmen. They were ordered to erect an Ottoman building, using local construction techniques.

For the first time in Damascus a ground plan shows a typical Ottoman madrasa, with a rectangular court and a domed mosque at one end. The arcades with the living quarters, which enclose the courtyard, are covered with small domes using the typical folded capitals and pendentives. No Damascene drew this construction plan, but it was certainly implemented by local craftsmen. This becomes clear comparing the two domes. The wide and flat dome of the Takīya as-Sulaymāniya (fig. 10), with its lead cover, its sloping tambour and its small flying buttress, is a typical Ottoman dome. Eleven years later, the Madrasa as-Salīmiya presents a typical Damascene steep rising dome without a lead cover, with a polygonal drum (fig. 29). The origin of this form is to be traced back to examples from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. The building nevertheless remains an Ottoman construction with a central dome chamber which is connected internally by spherical pendentives. The pendentives used by the Ayyubids and Mamluks differ from the Ottoman ones in their decisively smaller construction. They never start at a low level, and they are often decorated with shallow muqarnas. The façade of the mosque of the Madrasa as-Salīmiya (fig. 30) uses Mamluk elements of decoration outside their context without copying them blindly. Such elements include pseudo-keystone-stripes, colour paste decoration and entwined ribbons.

All Ottoman buildings of the second half of the 16th century show the same tendency. The Darwīšiya and Sināniya mosque still uses the characteristic Mamluk combination of a portal topped with a minaret, but the minaret is now built in the Ottoman pencil-shape (fig. 11, 12). The façade is structured by using entwined ribbons, a feature commonly used in Mamluk mihrabs. A structuring of the façade by using ribbons can be observed at the beginning of the 16th century at the west-gate of the Sibā'iya Mosque (fig. 31). The Ottomans

adopted this feature, but changed the function of the ribbons. The ribbons not only structured and divided the buildings into different units, but were also used as frames for panels and cartouches. This form of decoration was applied extensively to street-façades under the Ottomans, even if it originated with the Mamluks.

The fountain of the Darwīšiyya Mosque (fig. 32), a landmark in the emergence of a local Ottoman style, shows a structuring corresponding to that of the west-gate of the Sibā'iyya Mosque (fig. 31). The same is true of the ḥāns. The portal of the Ḥān al-Ḥarīr (981/1573-74, fig. 33), for example, shows the predominant structuring of the façade with ribbons. Small panels of decoration are divided extensively by ribbons here, as in many minor mosques and ḥāns of this period. Isolated forms of decoration survive but are used in a new context, as for example are square panels formed by interwoven bands. This cannot be called a Mamluk influence, but is rather a continuation of a local tradition of design with some adaptations to a new contemporary style. The motif of the interwoven bands can still be found, with slight modifications, in the late 16th century, as in the Ḥān al-Ḥarīr, where it is now part of a kaleidoscopic façade decoration assembled out of many small motifs. The buildings of Darwīš Bāšā have a special significance in this context (Ḥān al-Ḥarīr, Ġāmi' Darwīš Bāšā with attached buildings). They show, for the first time, the principles of this new lay-out of the façade, while the structure of the buildings is an importation of models from Istanbul. We encounter this phenomenon everywhere: The Ottoman structure of buildings is interpreted, and then covered with local forms of decoration which changed under the influence of Ottoman principles of decoration and form.

CONCLUSION

After a short period of architectural and administrative continuity following the Ottoman conquest, a period began in which the Ottomans set out to shape the urban landscape according to their ideas, and to change the urban texture. This is demonstrated by the first Ottoman city, its sūqs, the saray, and its Darwīšiyya-Street *extra muros*.

The development of a local Damascene style started very early. The first central domed mosque and sūq were constructed in 932/1525-26, and we find an enormous input of Ottoman principles of design not later than the mid-16th century. An Ottoman city in Damascus emerged along Darwīšiyya-Street and westwards *intra muros*, while an Ottomanization of the Damascene skyline was effected. The foundations of a distinct local Ottoman style in Damascus were laid in the last decades of the 16th century, and culminated in its most impressive artistic expressions in the 18th century. This local style can always be

distinguished as Ottoman, but the term *Ottomanization* does not mean *Istanbulization* in the sense of a simple plagiarization of the capital's art. It involves the assimilation of new principles of design into local planning. Ottoman patterns of construction and decoration were integrated into the language of urban architecture by developing further local traditions of decoration, and became a part of the local canon of forms. All buildings followed a more or less similar conception of shaping while not involving central state planning. The same can be said concerning the shape and the lay-out of buildings. By the mid-16th century, no single mosque, madrasa, or trade-building shows any signs of Mamluk organisation. Local traditions were not ignored, however, so that an Ottoman madrasa would be topped with a Damascene dome and a centrally-domed mosque would also possess a portal-minaret. Thus, in artistic, architectural and urban developments one can observe commonly accepted and internalised principles of design which were not declared publicly. The Ottomanization of Damascus' urban landscape must therefore be a result of a new cultural awareness which was displayed to the public. Darwīšiya-Street is more than an arterial road.



Fig. 32 Ġāmi' Darwīš Bāšā, fountain.

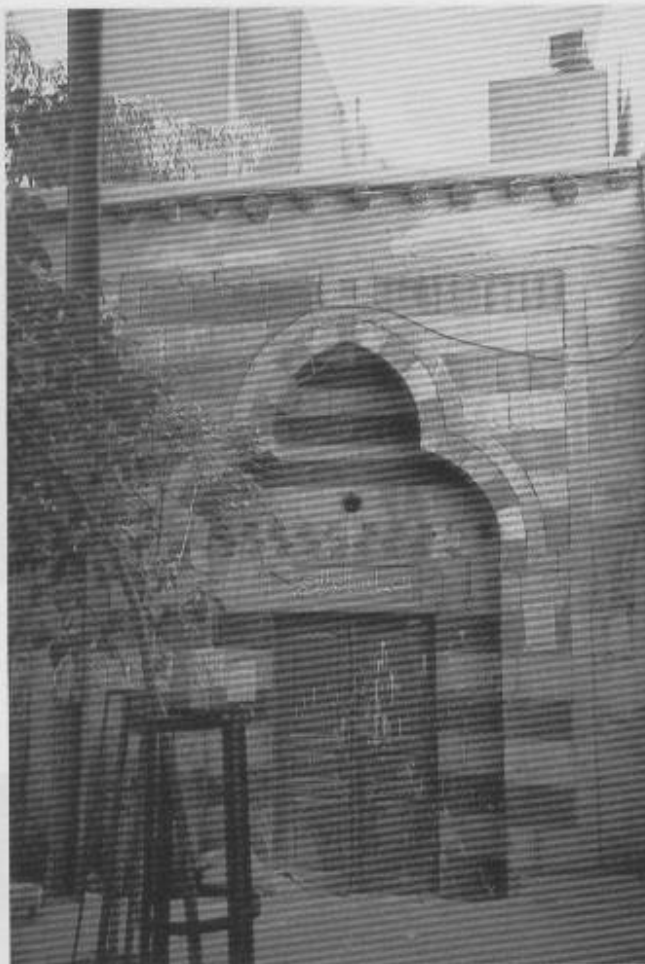


Fig. 31 Ġāmi' as-Sibā'īya, west-gate.

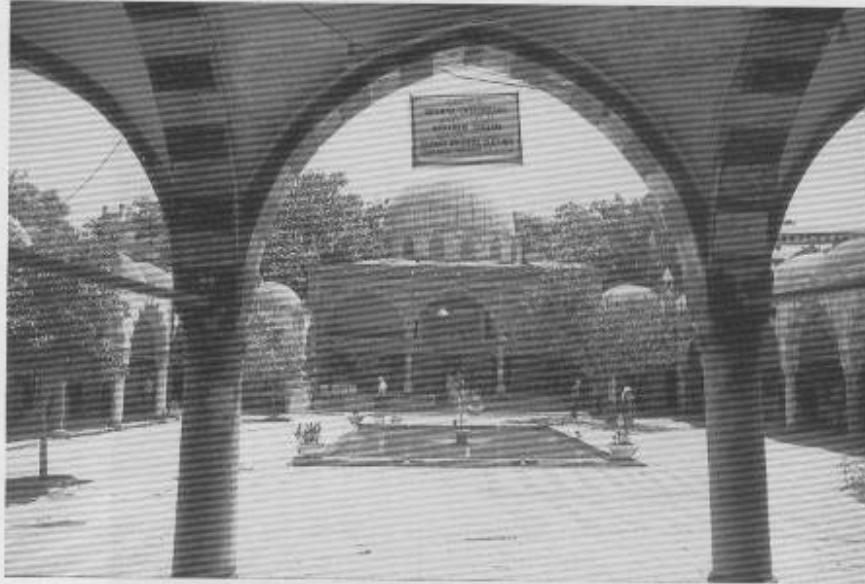


Fig. 29 Madrasa as-Salimiya, courtyard.



Fig. 30 Madrasa as-Salimiya, portal of the mosque.

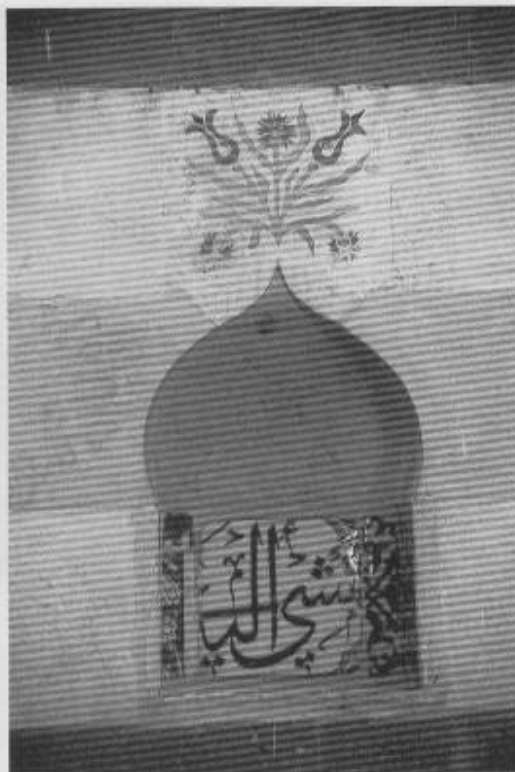


Fig. 27 Turbat Şalāḥ ad-Dīn.

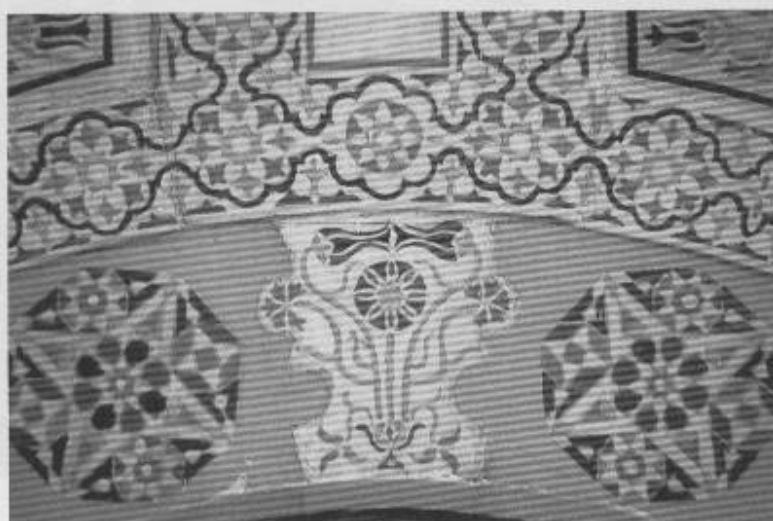


Fig. 28 Bayt al-Ġabrī (1107/1744-45).

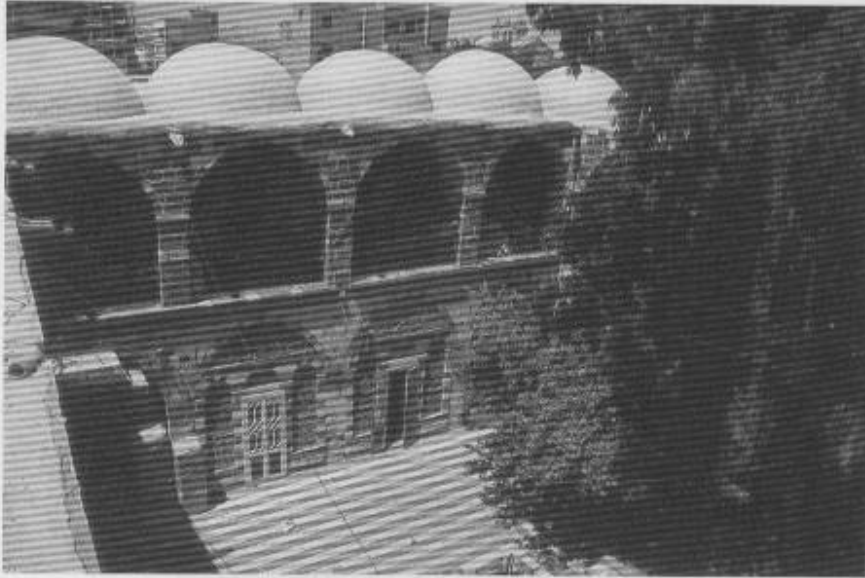


Fig. 25 Hān az-Zayt.

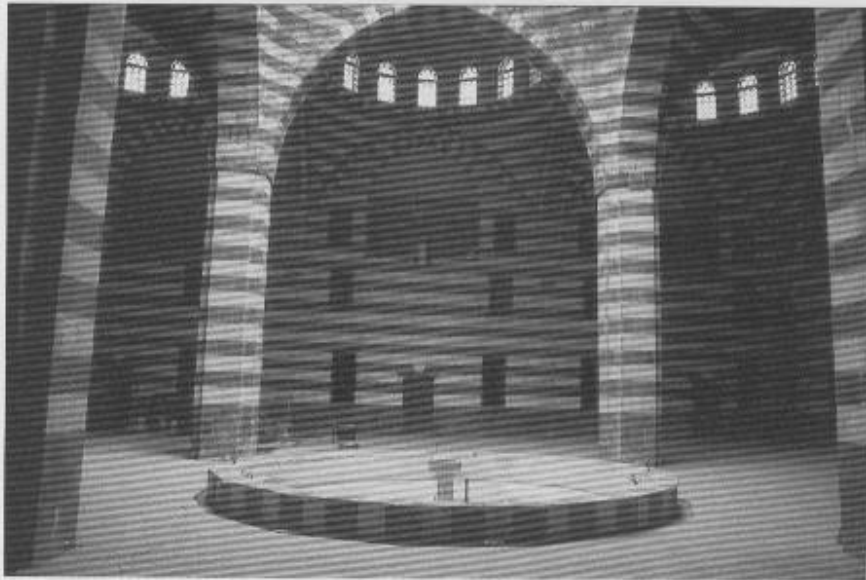


Fig. 26 Hān As'ad Bāšā al-'Azm.



Fig. 24 Bedesten of Murād Bāšā.



Fig. 23 Hān al-Ġūhīya.



Fig. 21 Mahkamat al-Bab, supreme court.



Fig. 22 Sūq al-Arwām.



Fig. 19 az-Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya, tiles.



Fig. 20 Ottoman Saray, Sāḥat al-Mušīriya (photo: IRCICA, c. 1880).



Fig. 18 Turbat Murād Bāšā, tiles.



Fig. 17 Turbat Şalāḥ ad-Dīn, tiles.



Fig. 15 Ġāmi' Siyāğūš Bāšā.

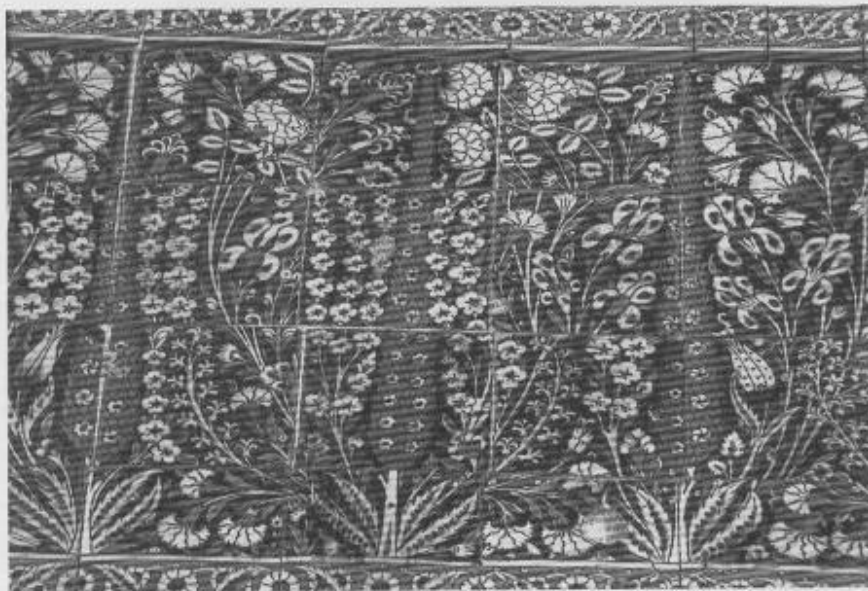


Fig. 16 Ġāmi' Sinān Bāšā, tiles of the portal.



Fig. 13 Ġami' Murād Bāšā.

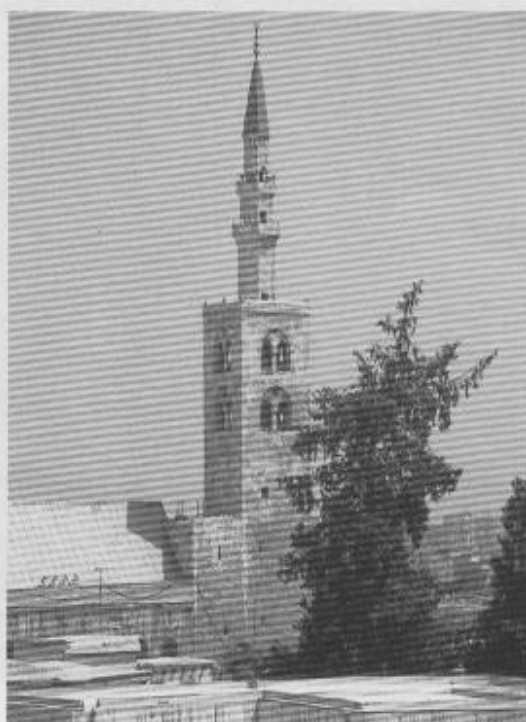


Fig. 14 Umayyad Mosque, south-eastern minaret.

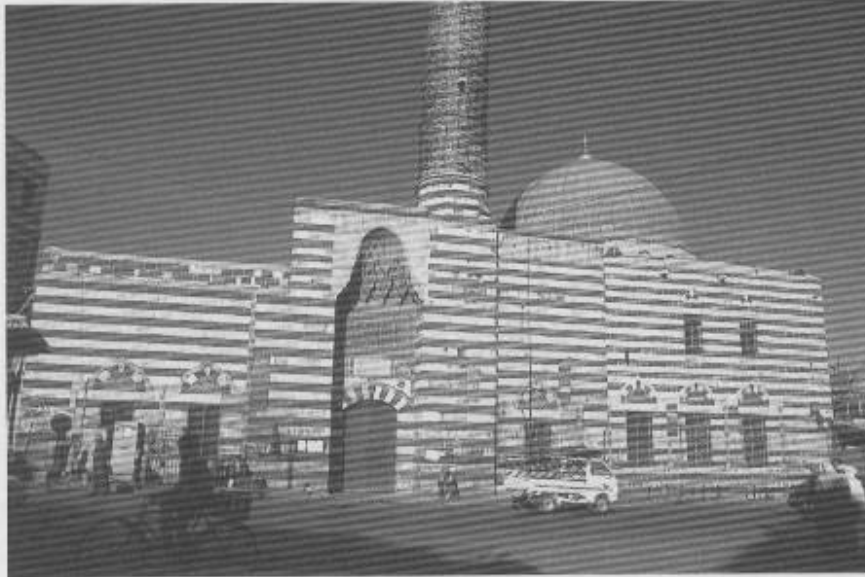


Fig. 11 Ġāmi' Sinān Bāšā.

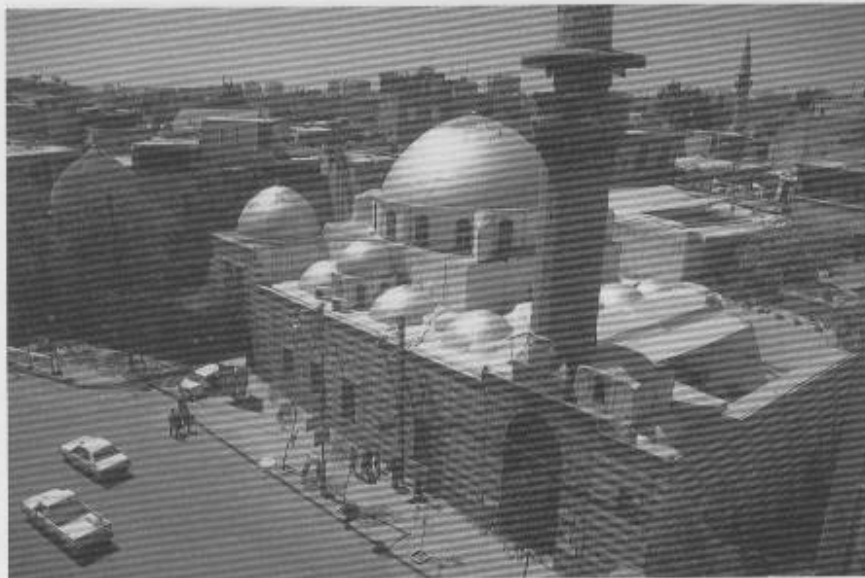


Fig. 12 Ġāmi' Darwīš Bāšā.



Fig. 9 at-Takīya as-Sulaymānīya, living units.

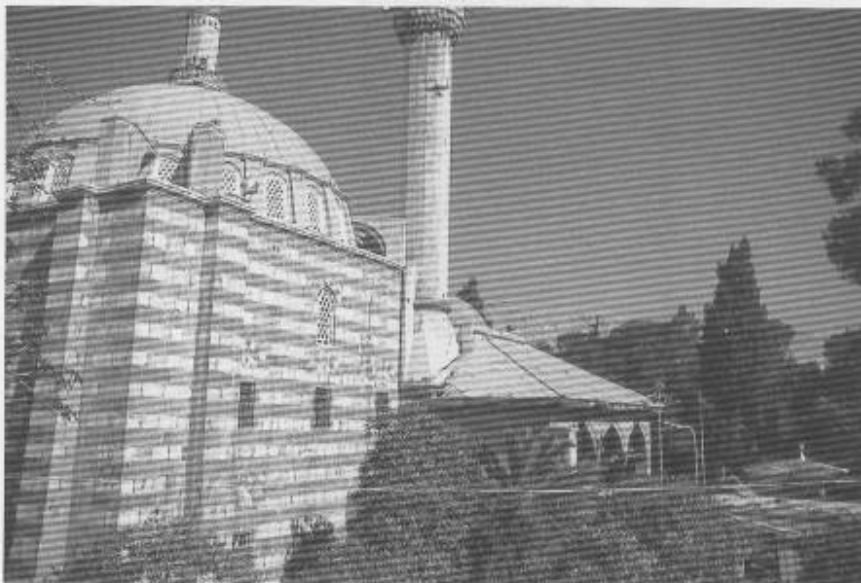


Fig. 10 at-Takīya as-Sulaymānīya, mosque.



Fig. 7 at-Takīya as-Sulaymāniya and al-Madrasa as-Salīmiya
(photo: IFAPO, c. 1935).



Fig. 8 at-Takīya as-Sulaymāniya, mosque.

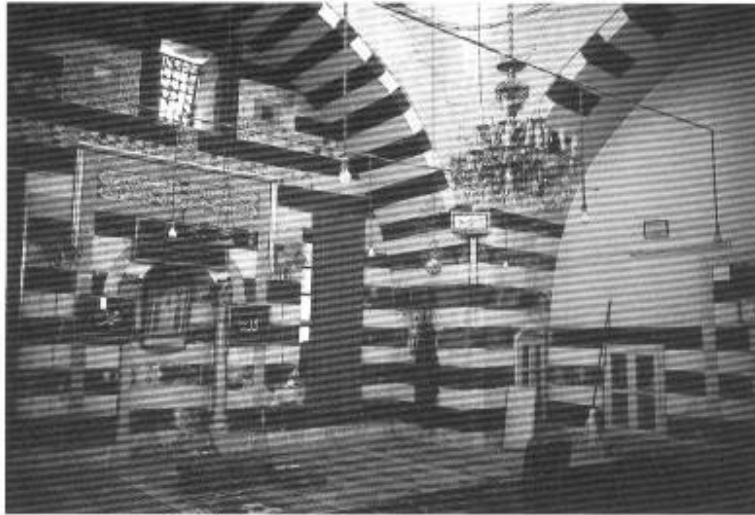


Fig. 5 az-Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya, prayer-hall.

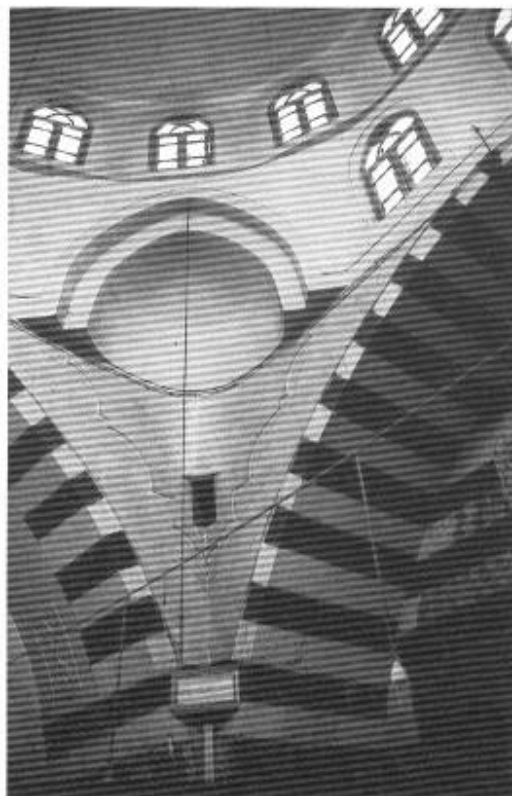


Fig. 6 az-Zāwīya aṣ-Ṣamādiya, prayer-hall.

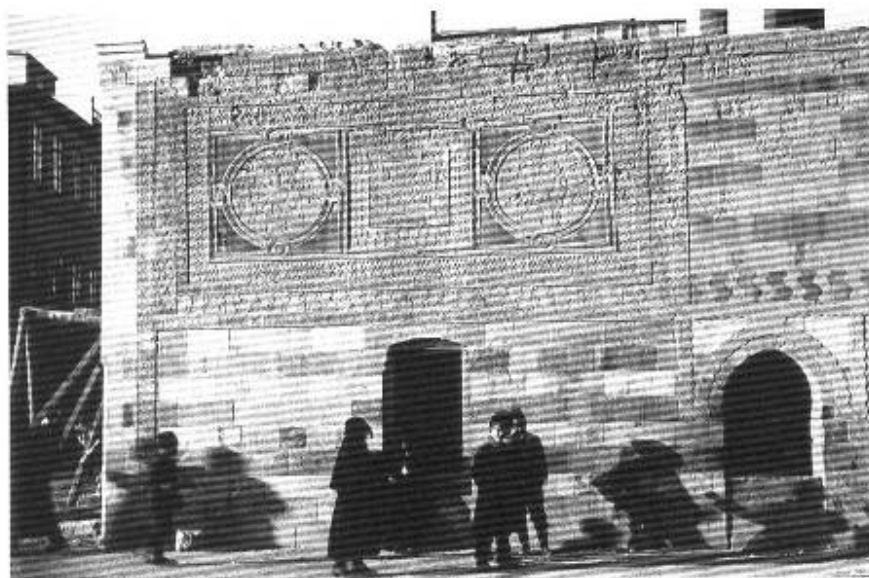


Fig. 3 Turbat Luṭfī Bāšā, façade (photo: DAI, c. 1917).

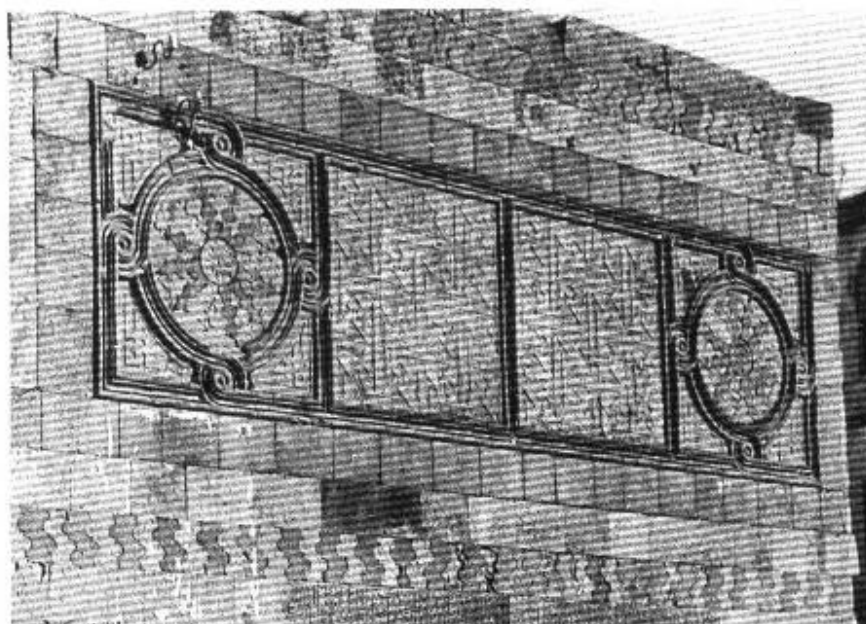


Fig. 4 Masġid as-Saqīfa, façade (photo: DAI, c. 1917).

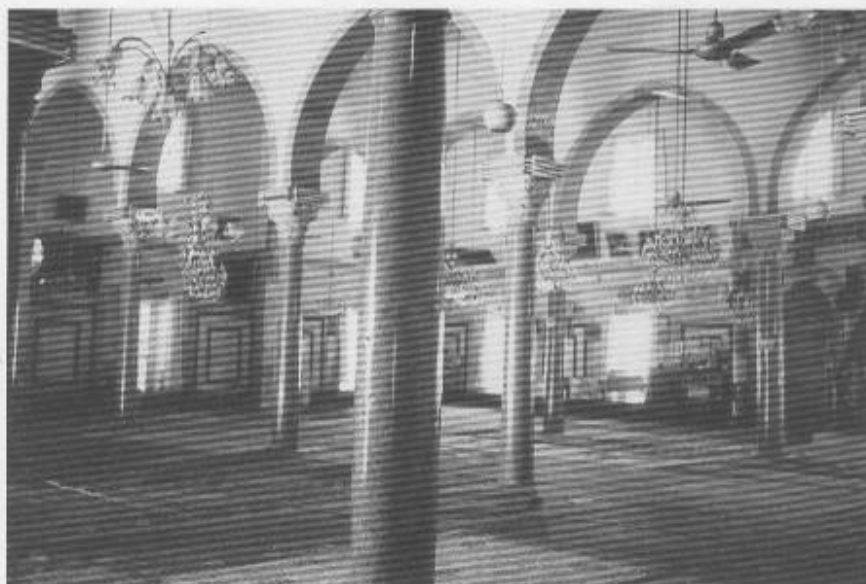


Fig. 1 Ġāmi' as-Salīmī, prayer-hall.



Fig. 2 Ġāmi' as-Sibā'īya, prayer-hall.



Fig. 33 Hān al-Ḥarīr, portal.