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Damascus in the Ottoman Period (Sixteenth Century -Eighteenth Century)

-A Comparative Study-

Thesis of the doctoral (PhD) dissertaion

Supervisor **Dr. Papp Adrienn**

Opponents: Dr. Balázs Major, PhD

Dr. Gergő Máté Kovács, PhD

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DECLARATION

This thesis was submitted towards the fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a PhD degree in history and archaeology from Pázmány Péter Catholic University. It is the product of my own original work, unless otherwise mentioned through references, notes, or other statements.

SIGNATURE

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Arabic Letters Transliteration Table

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أ	a	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dz	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ	ء	ʾ
ض	ḍ	ة	a

Long vowels are indicated with a dash line.

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Glossary

Ablaq: The decorative technique of alternating layers of black and ochre stone on façades and doorways for visual contrast.

Amīr al-Ḥajj: The title given to the leader in charge of organizing and commanding the annual pilgrimage.

ʾĀʿyān: Notable and prominent figures favored by the Ottomans.

Bab: Gate or door.

Bayt: House.

Druze: A sect that separated from the Ismāʿili mainstream during the reign of the third Fatimid Caliph, Hakim (996–1021); primarily found in certain mountainous regions of Syria and Lebanon.

Hammam: Public steam bath.

Iwan: A room with an open side facing a courtyard, used for entertainment or instruction.

Janissaries: Elite Ottoman troops, including both locally recruited (Yerliyya) and Istanbul-based (kapikulu) forces.

Khanqah: A monastery for Sufi mystics, often stricter than a zawiya and typically named after a benefactor.

Madrasa (pl. madaris): A residential school for Islamic instruction, usually supported by a charitable endowment (waqf).

Maristan: A hospital and medical teaching institution.

Mihrab: A niche or alcove in the qibla wall of a mosque that indicates the direction of Mecca.

Mīdān: An open area used for military training.

Mongols: A group originally from the east of present-day Mongolia, whose empire reached its peak under Genghis Khan in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Muqarnas: A form of three-dimensional decorative ornamentation in Islamic architecture.

Shaykh: A dignitary or headman; also, a spiritual leader of a group of mystics.

Sūq: Market.

Tabhane: Hostels for dervishes.

Tekke: A Sufi monastery.

Türbe: A mausoleum or tomb chamber, typically domed.

Wālī: A governor responsible for civil administration.

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Abstract:

The Ottomans seized Syria in 1516, introducing a new era that endured for four hundred years. Early architectural changes, notably in Damascus and Aleppo, associated with the Ottoman occupation, confirmed their arrival. However, from the middle of the sixteenth century, when architecture was required to serve as a means of expressing sultanic authority, these architectural projects took a new direction. As a declaration of the primacy of the sultanic center and its strength, Ottoman architectural and cultural traditions began to spread throughout the provinces.

This dissertation presents the study of Damascus throughout the Ottoman era, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. It discusses how Damascus changed during the Ottoman period regarding the urban development of the city. Additionally, it examines the emergence of new architectural designs for religious, commercial, public, and residential structures, as well as the factors that contributed to the development of the local Ottoman style. Finally, it compares the Ottomanization process between two Syrian provinces, Damascus and Aleppo.

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I. Introduction

The Ottomans seized Syria in 1516, marking the beginning of a new era that lasted for four hundred years. Early architectural changes in cities like Damascus and Aleppo, associated with Ottoman occupation, served as visible signs of their presence. However, from the mid-sixteenth century onward, architecture took on a new role as a means of expressing sultanic authority. This shift led to a redirection of architectural projects, emphasizing the significance of the sultanic center and its power. Ottoman architectural and cultural traditions subsequently spread throughout the provinces, serving as declarations of sultanic primacy and strength.

During the Ottoman period, a new style of mosque, *madrasa*, and *türbe* emerged, reflecting a heightened interest in religious buildings that were regularly used by the majority of the populace. Additionally, religious institutions such as *tekkes*, which did not exist during the Mamluk period, began to appear. These religious structures served as reminders to the inhabitants of the strength and generosity of the sultans and rulers who founded them.

The relative political stability introduced to the area encouraged the growth of trade and commerce. This economic prosperity was marked by the relocation of the commercial center in Damascus and the emergence of new types of commercial buildings, such as the *bedestan*, which were previously unknown. Additionally, a new design featuring domed courtyarded *khans* became widespread in Damascus.

Although the Ottoman sultans and rulers primarily focused on religious architecture to affirm Ottoman grandeur and on commercial buildings to support trade and generate revenue for endowments, they did not pay particular attention to *hammams*. Despite the substantial financial resources required for their construction and maintenance, *hammams* were important social structures in Damascus during the Ottoman era, complementing religious and commercial buildings. Several Ottoman-era *hammams* have survived in Damascus, offering a glimpse into their historical significance.

Last but not least, Aleppo came under Ottoman control following the conquest in 1516, and it grew in prominence alongside Damascus. This was a contrast to the Mamluk era (1260-1516), when Aleppo functioned as a secondary border city while Damascus was second only to Cairo in importance. However, the two cities developed very differently under Ottoman rule. Additionally, Aleppo was supported with numerous vizierial projects, which gave it a recognizable Ottoman imprint.

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This dissertation intends to shed light on the adjustments made to Damascus' urban planning during the Ottoman era, as well as to offer an understanding of the significance of Ottoman architectural projects in Damascus, considering the urban context in which they were built, the patrons who funded them, and the connections between Ottoman and Syrian architectural styles. Lastly, since Aleppo and Damascus both developed under similar conditions, it is important to compare the Ottoman initiatives in these two provinces.

II. Scope

1. Geographical Focus: the study covers the old cities in Damascus and Aleppo.
2. Time Period: the study concentrates on the period between 1516-1800.

III. Problem and research questions

There is no denying that Damascus was significantly impacted by the Ottoman occupation (1516-1918), particularly in the architectural aspect of the city. The main question here is whether the Ottoman Empire's architectural art was imported and used in its original form, or if it was altered in accordance with regional arts.

The Ottoman occupation was preceded by a long history of previous civilizations. Damascus had a strong architectural tradition before the arrival of the Ottomans, with many significant structures clustered in key areas of the city. So how did the Ottomans use architecture to shape Damascus as an Ottoman city?

During the Ottoman period, Aleppo enjoyed a level of importance similar to that of Damascus due to its commercial significance. However, did the Ottomanization process proceed equally in both cities, or did each city undergo its own unique development?

IV. Objectives

This study examines how much Damascus evolved over the Ottoman era, especially between 1516 and 1800, in terms of urban growth and architectural achievements in religious, commercial, public, and residential structures. It will concentrate on investigating how these new projects contributed to Damascus' perception as an Ottoman city. Similarly, other examples of religious, commercial, and civic structures from Aleppo will be shown to compare the context of development between these two Syrian provinces during the Ottoman period.

Consequently, the study's objectives can be summed up as follows:

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1- Study the urban development of Damascus from its establishment until the Ottoman occupation, specifically focusing on developments until the end of the eighteenth century.
2- Provide examples of religious, commercial, and civic structures from the Mamluk period to evaluate changes during the Ottoman period and identify local influences in architectural projects.
3- Present architectural examples from the Ottoman Anatolian Peninsula to illustrate Ottoman influences on regional architecture in Damascus throughout the Ottoman era.
4- Compare Damascus during the Ottoman period with Aleppo to identify additional factors contributing to provincial Ottomanization, such as geographical location, religious significance, and commercial role.

V. Importance and Contribution

Despite numerous studies and descriptions of Damascus, the local influences during the Ottoman period, which gave rise to a unique style known as the local Ottoman style, are mostly ignored. This study analyzes Damascene buildings from the Ottoman period to identify both local and Ottoman influences. Although Damascus has been extensively studied, previous work often assumed a predominant Ottoman influence on Damascene architecture.

This dissertation examines Ottoman Damascus through the lenses of local artistic and architectural styles, presenting a comparison between Ottoman architecture in Anatolia and in Damascus, while highlighting the distinct evolution of both. Another contribution is the comparison between Damascus and Aleppo during the Ottoman period, emphasizing the effects of each city's function on its architectural image.

Additionally, in light of recent events in the two provinces—such as the Syrian War, the earthquake in Aleppo in February 2023, and the readaptation of several structures, including the ongoing *al-Suleimaniyya* Complex project, this study serves as documentation research for the most important Ottoman structures in Damascus and Aleppo.

VI. Methodology

This thesis adopts the bottom-up approach to construct the architectural development of Damascus and Aleppo, starting from the Mamluk period and ending with the Ottoman period. It aims to develop a detailed understanding of how Ottoman architectural styles and techniques from Anatolia influenced the built environments of both Damascus and Aleppo. This method is an excellent way to build a comprehensive understanding of the cities' historical and architectural evolution. Throughout this

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process, the study employs multiple methodologies to progress from specific observations to broader conclusions about architectural and cultural exchanges during the Ottoman period.

A. The Descriptive Methodology

It involved gathering the most significant materials and references regarding Damascus and Aleppo throughout the Islamic era in general, and the Ottoman era in particular. Focus on key architectural structures from the Mamluk period in Damascus and Aleppo, such as mosques, *madrasas*, *khans*, public *hammams*, and houses. Gather detailed information on each structure, including construction dates, architects (if known), patrons, architectural styles, and materials used.

B. The Analytical Methodology

It studies the architectural elements, layout, facades, and decorative features of Damascene structures from the Ottoman era, aiming to identify unique local characteristics and new Ottoman components in each building. This involves evaluating the extent of Ottoman influence, including architectural style and artistic motifs. Additionally, it analyzes the spatial organization and urban context of each structure, considering their relationships with surrounding urban fabric such as streets, markets, and residential areas. These investigations will contextualize architectural developments within the historical framework of the Ottoman period, considering political, economic, and social factors that influenced construction and architectural styles.

C. The Comparison Methodology

It focuses on comparing Damascus and Aleppo to illustrate the differences and similarities in the Ottoman complexes of these two cities. Moreover, it aims to identify common features and variations between the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, and to compare the architectural elements found in Damascus with those in Anatolia, particularly in key Ottoman cities like Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. The analysis will highlight similarities and differences in styles, construction techniques, and decorative motifs.

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Chapter One

1.The Urban Development of Damascus

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First and foremost, it is well known that the history of each city lies in its urban fabric, and every urban structure is correlated with the previous one. Hence, the shape of the Ottoman city was affected by the urban structure of previous periods. Therefore, this chapter introduces a brief description of the historical phases of Damascus, accompanied by the urban changes in each period.

The main body of this chapter describes Damascus during the Ottoman period and the changes in its urban growth. It is important to note that Ottoman control in Damascus varied over time, leading to disparities in building activity. As a result, the architectural movement is split into two parts: the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the eighteenth century.

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1.1. The Geographical Setting:

Damascus is situated at a height of 691 meters above sea level. It is located in the northern part of southwestern Syria, covering 3,600 square kilometers. The area is bordered by the Anti-Lebanon Mountains in the northwest, the Syrian Desert to the east, and the Ḥawrān and al-ʿArab Mountains to the south. During ancient times, Damascus derived its water from the Barada River and its seven branches.[1] (Fig.1)

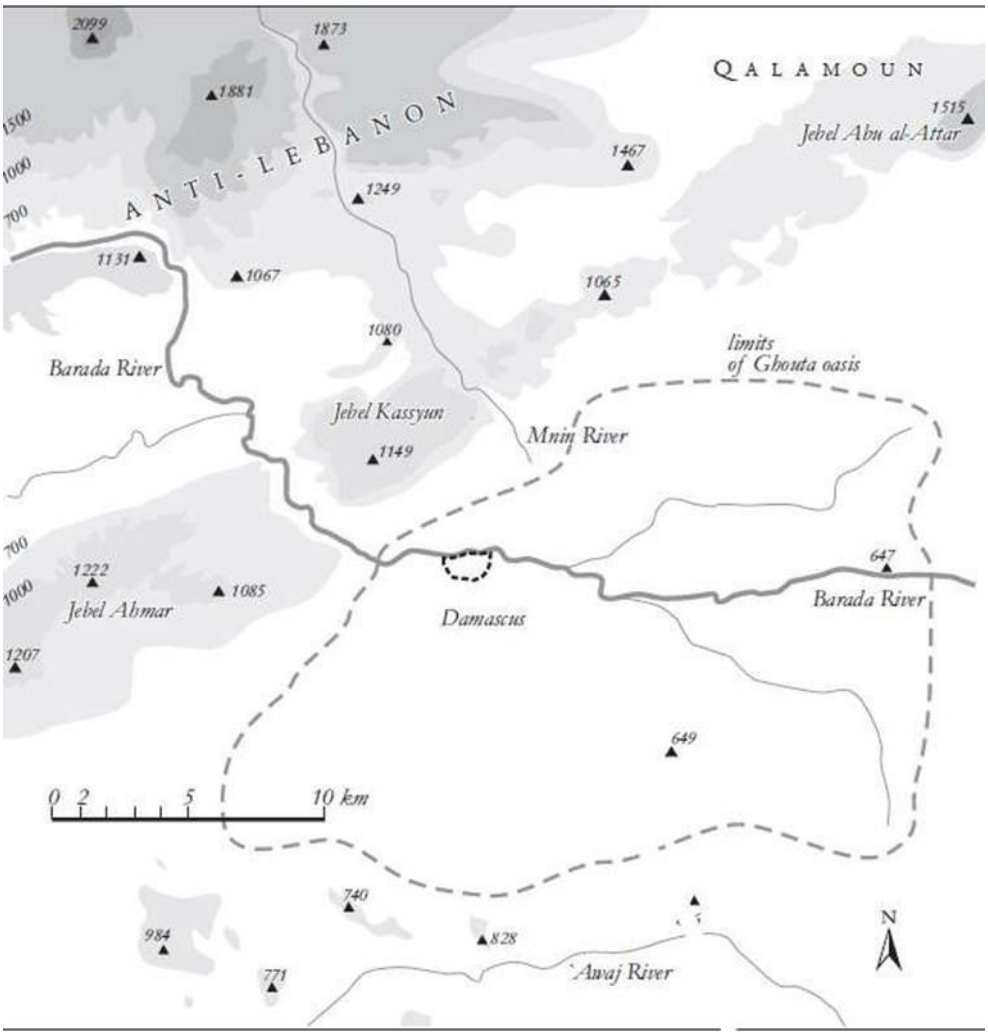

Figure 1 The geographical settings of Damascus (Burns 2005: 18)

[1] Sack 2005: 15.

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1.2. Literature Review:

Damascus and Aleppo are among the most discussed and studied cities in Syria. The rich and significant history of these cities has attracted numerous scholars, resulting in a wealth of previous studies. Below are some of the most important historical and contemporary sources used.

- *Mufākahit al-Khilān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Dealing with Friends in the Events of Time) written by Shams al-Din Muḥammad ibn ʿAli ibn Tulun al-Salḥi a historian and scholar. Book was published in 1988, It describes Syria and Egypt during the end of the Mamluk period and the start of the Ottoman Empire. The book offers a distinctive viewpoint on the social, cultural, and historical events of his time.

- *al-Rawḍah al-Ghanāʾ-fī-Dimashq-al-Fayḥāʾ* (The Verdant Garden in Flourishing Damascus), is a historical and geographical book authored by Nuʿmān ibn ʿUbayd Allah al-Bukhārī. This source describes Damascus regarding its geographical location, its history since its establishment, till the nineteenth century.

- *al-Kawākīb al-Sāʾirā bi ʾĀʿyān al-Māʾāh al-ʿĀshirāh* (The Wandering Stars Among the Notable Figures of the Tenth Century), by Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazzi Najm al-Dīn. This book examines the science of biographies, focusing on prominent figures from the 10th century Hijri (901 Hijri/ 1496 to the year 1000 Hijri/1592), and is organized alphabetically.

- *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq* (The Plans of Damascus), authored by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajid. This book covers the history of the most important religious buildings in Damascus through the islamic period including the mosques, the *madaris*, the Sufi lodges*(tekkes)* more over the commercial buildings.

-Turkish Art and Architecture by Oktay Aslanapa. It provides a thorough study of the history of Turkish art and architecture from its foundational stages. The book reveals the consistent and unified nature of Turkish art through an exploration of calligraphy, decorative arts, architecture, and paintings. It offers a comprehensive analysis of Seljuk and Ottoman art, both within and beyond Anatolia.

-The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century authored by Muhammad Bakhit in 1972. This thesis primarily examines the province of Damascus as a case study. It consists of seven chapters, each addressing specific aspects of the province's history. The first chapter focuses on local events

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from the Ottoman conquest in 922/1516 to the suppression of al-Ghazali's rebellion in 927/1521. The second chapter defines the administrative divisions and demographics of the province during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century. Chapters three to five discuss the structure of Ottoman administration.

-The Image of an Ottoman City written by Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh and published in 2004. This book explores the monumental buildings that Ottoman officials built in Aleppo, especially during the 16th and 17th centuries. It offers a detailed study of Aleppo's urban and architectural development in that era. Additionally, it presents a new way to understand how local people adopted imperial styles, institutions, and norms.

-Damacus a History, authored by Ross Burns. This book chronicles the history of Damascus and highlights the city's pivotal role throughout the region's past. It traces the story of this vibrant and multifaceted city from its founding through its physical development, up to the end of Ottoman rule in 1918.

-The Age of Sinan written by Gülru Necipoglu, is a detailed study of Ottoman cultural history, focusing on religious architecture. During Suleiman I's reign (1526–1566), when significant social, political, and artistic changes took place, which greatly impacted this architecture. The book highlights how Sinan played a key role in these changes by developing the style of congregational and Friday mosques.

-Damascus in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, created by Linda Shilsher. This book chronicles and analyzes the history of Damascus and its impact on the region, starting from the eighteenth century, which was fraught with disturbances and regional and international conflicts. The book paints a vivid picture of the city with its natural and human geography, using narratives and maps.

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1.3. Foundation and Early History:

The Aramaic Era:

The first traceable signs of urban development in Damascus can be traced back to the Aramaic period. Remarkably, Damascus became an important city in the tenth century BC, known as *Dārmīsīq*, which means irrigated land or watered land. It served as the capital of the Aramaic kingdom.[2]

Despite the need for more research about the supposed location of the Aramaic city, it is still possible to build a picture of the ancient Aramaic site, situated on the western part of Damascus.[3]One of the most important known buildings of this period is *Ḥadad* Temple (the Semitic God ofthunderstorms and rain). This temple probably stood at the site of the present-day Umayyad Mosque. While the royal palace is positioned on an elevated ground (tell), about 6 m in height,close to the center of the current intramural city. The buildings and the streets of the city were distributed between *Ḥadad* Temple and the royal palace. (Fig.2). Later, Damascus was occupied by the Assyrians in 734 B.C., then the Chaldeans, and the Persians in 538 B.C.[4]

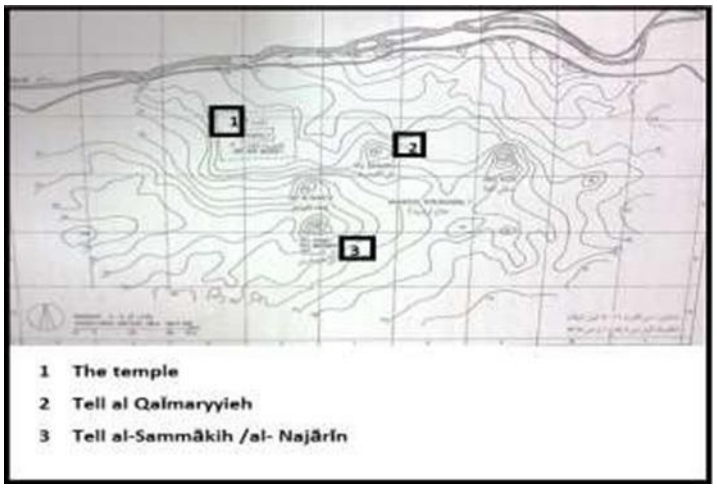

Figure 2 The plan of Damascus in the Aramaic period (Sack 2005: 18)

[2] al-Rīḥāūī 1969: 19.
[3] Ibid: 51.
[4] Degeorge 2005:22.

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1.4. The Classical Periods:

The Hellenistic period:

This era began with Alexander the Great's victory, the king of Macedon, against the Persians in the Battle of Issus in 333 BCE, and his conquest of Syria. This phase marked a significant turning point in the history of Damascus. After the death of Alexander in 323 B.C, the Levant was divided into two empires: the Seleucid Empire in northern Syria and Babylonia in Mesopotamia, and the Ptolemaic Empire, centered in Alexandria. After a series of wars between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires, in the early second century B.C, the Seleucids incorporated Damascus into their empire.[5]

Over the Seleucid Period, Damascus was strongly influenced by the Hellenization movement and replanned according to Hellenistic principles. Hence, the Hellenistic city located to the north of the Aramaic settlement represented the first planned part of Damascus. It is noteworthy that the Hellenistic part of the city was characterized by grid-like street patterns. Furthermore, the city was provided with a large rectangular agora in its northeast. Moreover, the temple of *Ḥadad* was rebuilt and devoted to the god Zeus over this period.[6] (Fig. 3)

The Seleucid reign in Damascus underwent a slow breakdown, enabling the Nabateans to rule in 84 BC. The Nabatean rule did not last more than one decade, as Damascus fell under Armenian rule in 71 BC. The Armenian authority was terminated with the Roman arrival in Damascus in 64 BC. Although the Nabateans ruled for a short time, they established a new neighborhood to the east of the Hellenistic city.[7]

Figure 3 The plan of Damascus in the Hellenistic period (Burns 2005: 37)

[5] Kosmin, 2018:306-307.
[6] Sack 2005:28.
[7] Degeorge 2005:24.

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The Roman Period:

Syria became a province of the Roman Empire in 64 BC. The era of peace allowed Damascus to prosper. Under Hadrian's rule (117-138), it obtained the title of Metropolis and Colonia under Severus Alexander (222–235).[8]

Over this period, Damascus was encircled by a regular wall measuring 1500×750 meters in length, with straight sides except for the meandering northern section bordered by the Barada River. The wall had seven gates distributed as follows: three gates on the northern side, two on the southern side, and one each on the eastern and western sides.[9] It is worth mentioning that, except for the Eastern Gate *(Bāb Sharqī*), these gates underwent renovation or complete reconstruction during the Islamic period. Moreover, the Roman-era military compound, known as the castrum, was likely situated in the northwest corner. In the Seljuk period, this castrum was replaced by the Citadel.[10] Concerning urban development, the western and eastern parts of the city were connected by a colonnaded street known as Via Recta, also known as the Straight Road, extending from *Bāb Sharqī* to *Bāb al-Jābiyyiah*. Additionally, the city was characterized by public buildings, such as the Temple of Zeus, which underwent transformation into the Temple of Jupiter. Moreover, there was an ancient theater, part of which is located in the Ottoman house of *Bayt al-ʿAqqād*. (Fig.4) On the other hand, the increasing number of inhabitants of Damascus required the construction of a new water channel.[11]

[8] Sauvaget 1989: 44.
[9] Ibid: 45
[10] Burns 2005: 58
[11] Sauvaget 1989: 47

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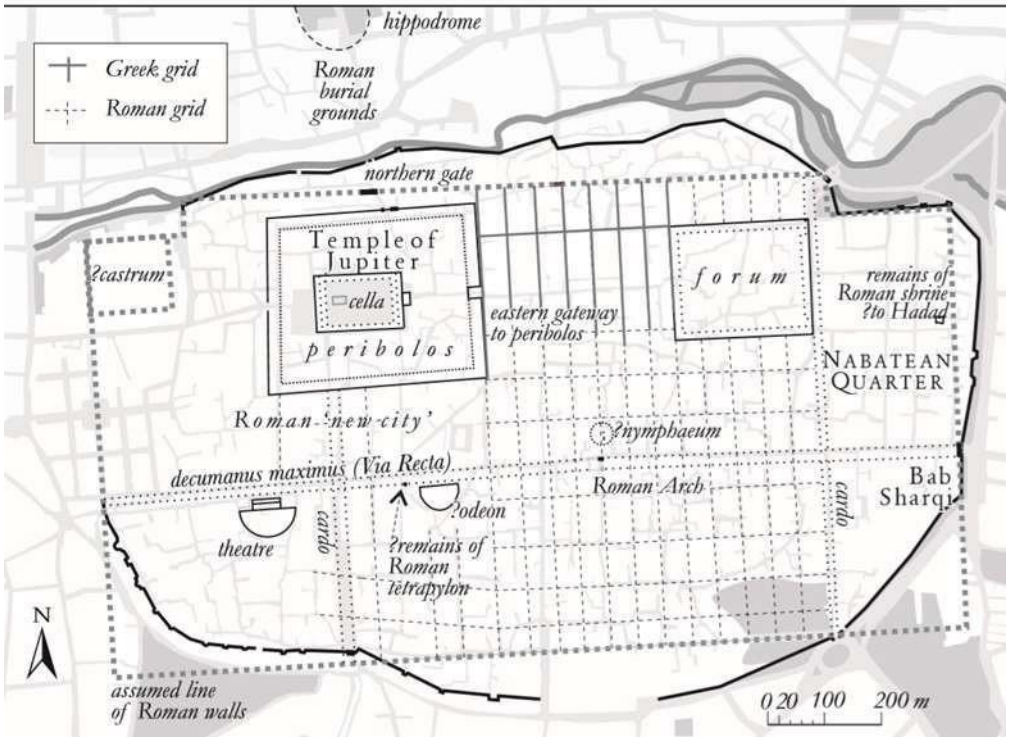

Figure 4 The plan of Damascus in the Roman period (Burns 2005: 57)

1.5. Damascus Over the Byzantine Period:

This phase started with Theodosius I (379–395), who proclaimed Christianity as the official religion of the Roman state in 391. Damascus adopted Christianity in the Byzantine period. Furthermore, it served as a main center with a bishop ranking below the Patriarch in Antioch. Even though Christianity became the religion of the majority, its physical traces in Damascus are few compared to other regions. Not to mention that one of the most important buildings was the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, which was previously the Roman Temple of Jupiter.[12]

In 612, Damascus fell to the Persian Empire. Despite Byzantine Empire regaining control in 628, this occupation weakened Byzantine authority over Syria and paved the way for the arrival of Islamic armies.[13]

1.6. Damascus in the pre-Ottoman Period:

The Umayyad Period:

The Muslim armies took over Damascus in 635, led by Abū ʿubaīdah al-Jarrāḥ, and Khālid ībn al-Walīd. Initially, the changes were slow, especially in the first fourteen years, and Damascus was not

[12] Degeorge 2005:25
[13] Burns 2005:96

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of interest to the Rashidun caliphs. Until the beginning of the Umayyad era in 660, when Muʿāwiyya ībn abī Sufyān, took over Damascus rule.[14] Hence, Damascus became the capital of the Islamic state and the base of the Umayyad suzerainty.[15] Damascus over this period had two hippodromes: one positioned to the south of the city, known as *Mīdān al-Ḥaṣa* (the hippodrome of gravel), while the second one to the west and known as *al-Mīdān al-ʾAkhḍar* (green hippodrome).[16]

Concerning the Damascene architectural edifices over this period, one of the most important was the palace of the Caliph Muʿāwiyya, known as the Green Palace (*al-ʾAkhḍar Palace*), to the south of the Temple-Mosque. However, in the reign of al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist was converted to the Umayyad Mosque, which exemplifies the icon of the new Umayyad rule.[17] While during the reign of the caliph Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyya a new water channel was excavated and named after him.[18] (Fig.5)

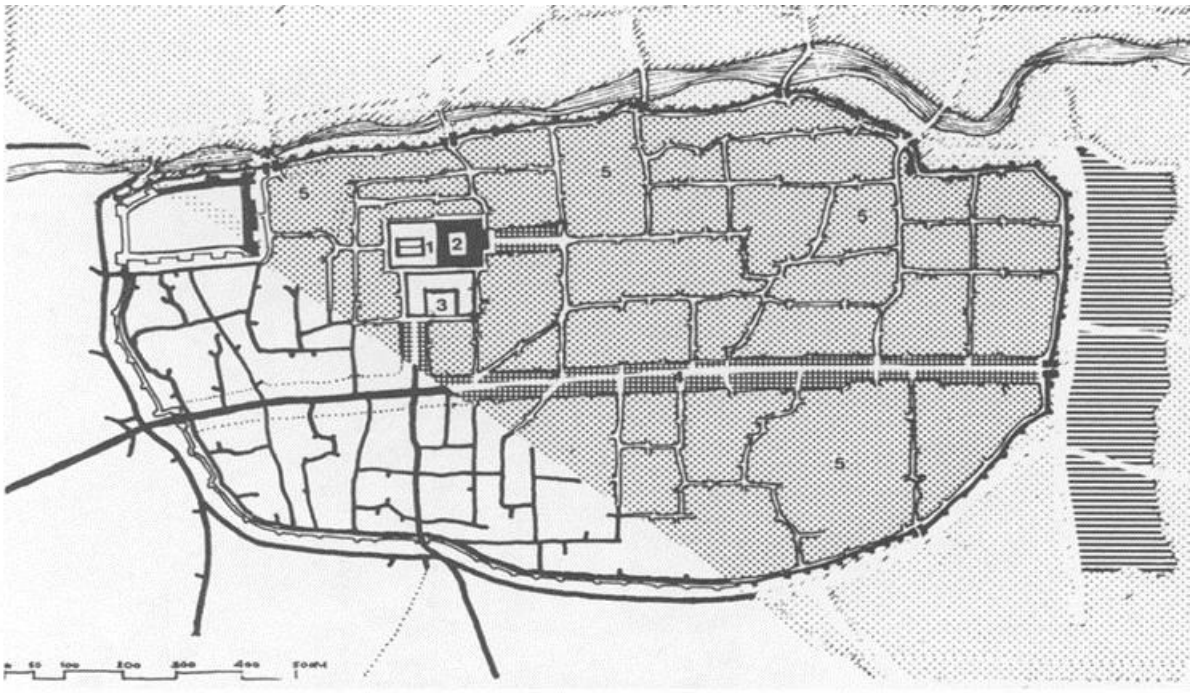

Figure 5 The plan of Damascus in the Umayyad period (Al-Sayyad & Türeli 2009:603)

[14] Burns 2005:107
[15] Degeorge 2005: 32
[16] al-Rīḥāūī 1969:66
[17] Degeorge 2005: 32
[18] al-Rīḥāūī 1969:66

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The Abbasid Period:

Under the Abbasids' auspices, the successors of Al-ʿAbbās (the prophet Muhammad's uncle) led a revolution against the Umayyad dynasty in 749, demanding a new caliph who was chosen from the family of the prophet Muhammad. Thus, the revolution achieved its task when Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ was announced as Caliph in the Great Mosque of al-Kufa in Iraq.[19] After a brief resistance, Damascus came under Abbasid control. However, Damascus retreated to a provincial town and lost the prosperity enjoyed in the Umayyad period due to the capital being moved to Baghdad.[20] In addition, Damascus witnessed the deliberate demolition of the previous Umayyad dynasty structures by the Abbasid government.[21] The Umayyad caliphal palace (*al-ʾAkhḍar Palace*) was neglected and converted into a prison. It is noticeable that there was an absence in the public construction movement over the following three centuries of the Abbasid dynasty.[22]

The signs of the deterioration of Abbasid rule started to appear clearly in the second half of the 9th century, accompanied by the appointment of Turkish leaders as governors of the Abbasid provinces. Since the Turkish leader Ibn Ṭūlūn had been defined as the Abbasid Governor of Egypt. Later, he revolted against the Abbasid dynasty and occupied a large part of Syria, including Damascus, in 878. After the decline of Tulunid power, Damascus found itself under the rule of governors appointed from either Baghdad or Cairo depending on who had the greater military strength.[23]

In 935, Muḥammad bin Ṭughj established the Ikshidid dynasty and installed himself as ruler of Egypt, he then extended his rule to Damascus, which stayed under the Ikshidid rule between 945 to 968.[24] The Fatimids, who came from Cairo, succeeded in 974 in occupying Damascus, which represented the capital of the Fatimid province of Syria. The city witnessed the most troubled period in its history, whereas uprisings and revolts were constantly inflaming. Moreover, the city was always at risk of being pillaged and looted.[25] As a result of the insecurity and instability, the original layout of the city underwent deep and enduring changes. For further explanation, Damascus was divided into several districts; each district resembles a miniature city, provided with its own entire range of urban establishments, such as mosques(*jāmiʿ*), baths(*hammam*), and markets (*sūq*) for essential products.[26] (Fig.6) On the other hand, due to the religious importance of the Umayyad Mosque, it constituted,

[19] Degeorge 2005:43
[20] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 17
[21] Sack 2005: 29
[22] Burns 2005: 131
[23] Ibid:135-136.
[24] Degeorge 2005: 48.
[25] Sack 2005: 34.
[26] Sauvaget 1989: 65.

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with its surrounding official governmental buildings and commercial markets, the main center of Damascus.[27]

Figure 6 The transformation of the chess roads network into a spontaneous one (Mansour 2015:10)

The Seljuk Period:

Damascus surrendered in 1070 to the Turk leader Atsiz ibn Uvak, who was invited by the Fatimid ruler of Damascus to suppress a tribal revolt that had erupted in southern Syria. Atsiz established the way for the Seljuks' arrival in 1078. The Seljuk rulers, in turn, provided Damascus with some stability after three centuries of ongoing turmoil.[28] At the outset of the Seljuk period, Damascus witnessed architectural prosperity again, and many constructions were built, including the citadel, placed on the northwest corner of the city, replacing the Roman fortification.[29] What is more, Damascus had eleven *madrasa*. These *madaris* were employed in a manner of consolidating the *Sunni* orthodoxy against the *Shiʿaism* influence, which appeared in Damascus during the Fatimid period. These new institutions are concentrated mostly in the area between the Umayyad Mosque and the citadel. Another type of building that appeared in the Seljuk period, known as a *khanqah*, functioned as a center for Sufi activities. As well as hospitals *(Maristans*), such as the *Daqāq Maristan*, founded in 1097, which represented the first hospital in Damascus built in this phase.[30] (Table.1) (Fig.8)

[27] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 70.
[28] Burns 2005: 141.
[29] Sack 2005: 36
[30] Burns 2005: 144-145

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The Zengid Period:

The Crusaders' presence constituted a threat against Damascus in the first half of the twelfth century. This coincided with the efforts of ʿImād al-Dīn Zingī (the ruler of Aleppo) to occupy Damascus, aiming at unifying the provinces against the crusaders. In 1154, Nūr al-Dīn Zingī (the son of ʿImād al-Dīn) entered the city peacefully with the complicity of the locals. During his reign, Damascus experienced a level of security and peace. Besides, his influence on the city persisted to this day. Moreover, the city started to expand outside its walls, and new districts appeared like *al-ʿUqaība* District to the north, *al-Shāghūr* to the south, and *Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj* to the west of the city.[31] Furthermore, on the lower slopes of *Qasīūn* Mount, a new settlement known as the *al-Ṣāliḥiyya* district was established. (Fig.7) It was inhabited by Palestinian immigrants who fled to Damascus after the fall of Jerusalem to the crusaders.[32]

As Damascus became the strategic base of Nūr al-Dīn, special attention was paid to the fortification of the city. The citadel became his residence, the city walls were strengthened, and the gates were renewed. Moreover, near the citadel, he built the Supreme Court *(Dār al- ʿAdil)* which no longer exists. It is worth mentioning that the religious and civil projects attributed to Nūr al-Dīn were concentrated between the Umayyad Mosque and the citadel.[33] (Fig.8)

Among the most striking public works were those focused on the water supply, with channels constructed throughout the city.[34] Also, a *Maristan* was established, which exists today *(al-Bimarastan al-Nūrī)*. One of the most important of Nūr al- Dīn constructions is the *al-Nūrī Hammam*, located to the south of the Umayyad Mosque, near his funerary *madrasa*. This *hammam* is the earliest example that has survived. The previous efforts of the Seljuk dynasty in establishing *madaris* were continued by Nūr al-Dīn. Under his tenure, eleven new *madaris* were founded.[35] (table.1)

[31] Burns 2005: 149-162
[32] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 72
[33] Burns 2005: 162
[34] Degeorge 2005: 57
[35] Burns 2005: 162-167

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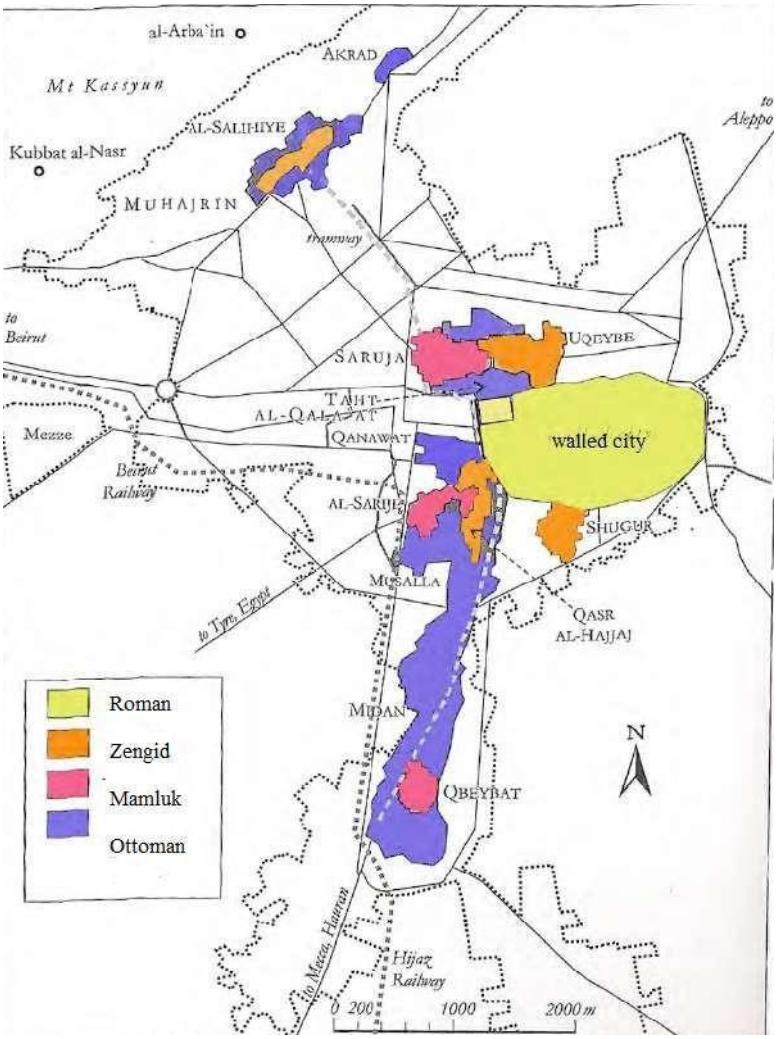

Figure 7 Historical expansion of Damascus (Lababedi 2008: 24)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Buildings of Seljuk period	**Buildings of Zengid period**
4- Damascus citadel	14-the city wall
5 - al-Ṣādiriyya Madrasa	15- Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyya
6- al- Amīniyya Madrasa	16- al-Kallasa Madrasa
7 - al-Muʿaīniyya Madrasa	17-al-Nūriyya al-Ṣughrā Madrasa
8 - al- Ṭarkhāniyya Madrasa	18- al-ʿAṣrūniyya Madrasa
8- al-Mujahidiyya al-Juwāniyya Madrasa	19-al-Nūriyya al-Ṣlāḥiyya al-Malikiyya Madrasa
9 -al-Sharīfiyya al-ʿAṣrūniyya Madrasa	20- al-Nūriyya al-Kubrā Madrasa
10- al-Balkhiyya Madrasa	21- al-Riḥāniyya Madrasa
12- al-Mismāriyya Madrasa	22- al-Ghazalīyya Madrasa
13- al-Mujahidiyya al-Barāniyya Madrasa	23- al-Daqāq Bimaristan
	24- al-Nūri Bimaristan
	25- Nūr al-Dīn Hammam
	26- al -Jiniq Jāmiʿ
	27- al-Shaykh Arsalān Jāmiʿ
	28- al- Bāshūra Jāmiʿ
	29- abū al-Bayan Khanqah
	30- al-Sijin Mill
	31- al-Sumaīṣāṭiyya khanqah
	32- al-Najmiyya khanqah

Table 1 (The buildings in Seljuk and Zengid Period Illustrated on the Corresponding Map) (Barnāmij Taḥdīth al-Idāra al- Baladiya2010: 42)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

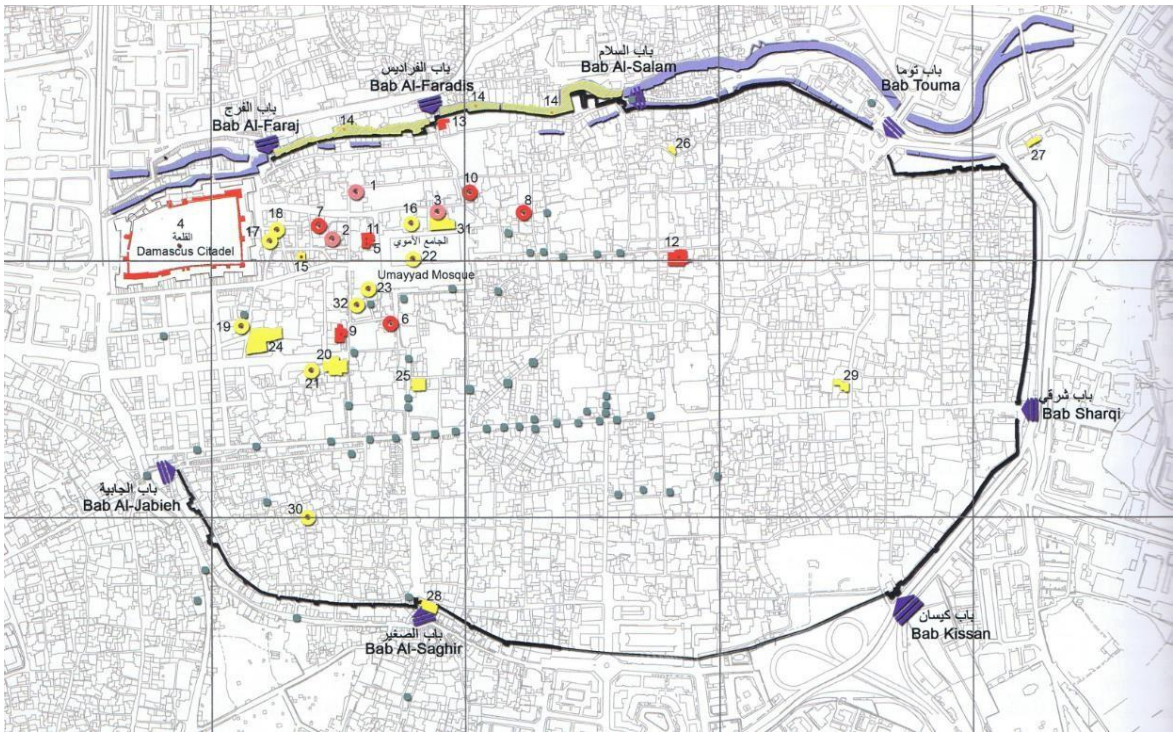

Figure 8 Damascus in the seljuk and Zengid period (Barnāmij Taḥdīth al-Idāra al- Baladiya 2010: 42)

The Ayyubid Period:

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʾAyyūbī was the powerful Kurdish leader and the most suitable successor without any rival who was titled sultan in 1174 after the death of Nūr al-Dīn. When Ṣalāḥ al- Dīn died in 1193, his brother al-ʿĀdil tried to unite the Ayyubid empire, excluding the sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from the authority.[36] Given the paramount importance of fortified military constructions for the safety and security of the city, especially after the power struggle between the members of the Ayyubid family, al-ʿĀdil rebuilt the citadel thoroughly and renewed the city walls with its gates, also he relocated his official residence and the throne hall to the citadel. After twenty-three years of rule, al-ʿĀdil passed away in 1218, sparking a series of internal conflicts among his family's heirs.[37]

These struggles weakened the Ayyubid dynasty. In 1250, a Mamluk strongman known as Qutuz appeared in Cairo and proclaimed himself sultan, ending the Ayyubid rule in Egypt.[38] Meanwhile the Mongols, the masters of Central Asia and Iran, since 1220 were advancing to the west. In 1258 Baghdad was occupied by the Mongols, who set fire to the city, and killed the last Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim billāh. In 1260 the Mamluk sultan Qutuz defeated the Mongols in the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt.

[36] Degeorge 2005: 73.
[37] Sack 2005: 41.
[38] Burns 2005: 188.

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Following this victory, Qutuz marched into Damascus and took command.[39]

Regarding the urban development of the city, the suburbs that emerged in the Zengid period expanded significantly, surrounding the whole city except the east.[40](Fig.7) As a result of the renewal of the citadel and its increased importance, the surrounding area gained significant importance, as the religious buildings, especially the *madaris*, were concentrated to the east of the citadel.[41]

Not to mention that Damascus in the Ayyubid period witnessed a thriving construction program, with numerous religious and charitable buildings being endowed, most of which were endowed by members of the court or significant figures of military and religious institutions.[42] (Table.2) (Fig.9)

[39] Degeorge 2005: 73
[40] Ibid: 75
[41] Sack 2005: 42
[42] Burns 2005: 188

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

The buildings in the Ayyubid period	
1-Damascus citadel	19- Al-Nāṣiriyya al-Juwāniyya Madrasa
2- al-Ṣaliḥ Ayyūb Tower	20- Al-Badrāʾiyya Madrasa
3- al-Iqbāliyya al-Shāfiʿiyya Madrasa	21- Al-Ṣadriyya Madrasa
4- al-Iqbāliyya al-Ḥanafiyya Madrasa	22- Al-Muqaddamiyya al-Juwāniyya Madrasa
5- al-Damāghiyya Al-Madrasa	23- Al-Jawza Jāmiʿ
6- al-ʿĀdiliyya al-Kubrā Madrasa	24 Al-Shāmiyya al-Barāniyya - Madrasa
7- Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī Mausoleum and al-al-ʿAzīziyya Madrasa	25- Al-Farukhshāhiyya Madrasa
8- al-Taqawiyya Madrasa	26- al-ʿIzziyya al-Barāniyya Madrasa
9- al-Rāwāḥiyya Madrasa	27- al-Dikhwariyya Madrasa
10- al-Qimāziyya Madrasa	28- al-Qaymariyya al-Kubrā Madrasa
11- al-ʿAdzrawiyya Madrasa	29- al-Qaymariyya al- al-Ṣughrā Madrasa
12- al-Ṣarmiyya Madrasa	30- Dār al-Ḥadīth al-ʿUrāwiyya
13- al-Shāmiyya al-Juwāniyya Madrasa	31- Dār al-Qurʾān wa al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya
14- al-Duwlāʿiyya Madrasa	32- Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Karūsiyya
15- al-Qulayjiyya al-Shāfiʿiyya Madrasa	33- Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Fāḍliyya
16- al-Qulayjiyya al-Ḥanafiyya Madrasa	34- al-Zāwiyah al-Ṭāʾiyya
17- al-Qaṣāʿiyya Madrasah	35- al-Khātūniyya Khanqah
18- al-ʿĀdiliiyya al-Ṣughrā Madrasah	36- al-Ashrāf Mūsā Mausoleum
37- al-Kāmiliyya Mausuleum	50- Bāb Tūmā
38- Muʿāwiyya Mausuleum	51- Bāb Sharqī
39- ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn bin Zayn al-Dīn Mausuleum	52- Bāb al-Jābiyya
40- al-Silsilah Hammam	53- al-Aḥmar Jāmiʿ
41- Sāmī Hammam	54- al-Jarrāḥ Jāmiʿ
42- al-ʿAdzrawiyya Hammam	55- al-Sayyidah Rābiʿah Shrine
43- al-ʿUmarī Hammam	56- al-Tawba Jāmiʿ
44- al-Jawza Hammam	57- al- Mankalāʾiiyya Madrasa
45- al-Jadīd Hammam	
46- Bāb al-Naṣir	
47- Bāb al-Faraj	
48- Bāb al-Farādīs	
49- Bāb al-Ṣaghīr	

Table 2 (The buildings in the Ayyubid period Illustrated on the Corresponding Map (Fig.9) (Barnāmij Taḥdīth al-Idāra al- Baladiya2010: 44)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

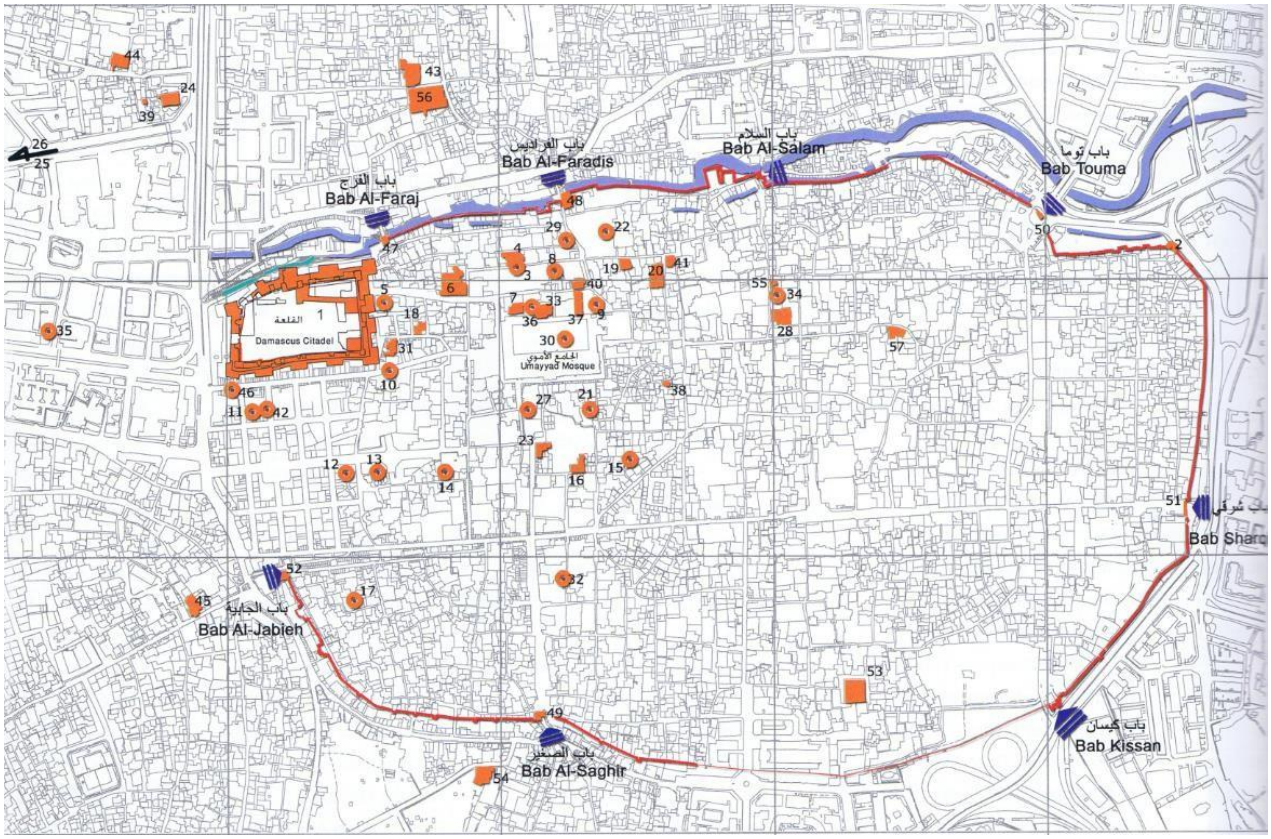

Figure 9 Damascus in the Ayyubid period (Barnāmij Taḥdīth al-Idāra al- Baladiya2010: 45)

The Mamluk Period:

The reunification between Syria and Egypt was achieved under Mamluk rule. Damascus continued to enjoy its high prestige, and it remained the second capital of the Mamluk sultanate. Hence, especially in the period of wars with the Crusaders or to defend the city against the Mongols, Damascus was chosen by sultans as their residence place. Even though the Mongols retreated from Damascus, their risk continued to loom over the region. As they invaded Damascus many times, the last and worst one being during the reign of Tamerlane in 1400.[43] It is worthy to mention that the Mamluk era is divided into two periods as follows:

The first, from 1250 to 1382, was called the *Bahri* (sea-based) Mamluk period, because the majority of Mamluks lived on the island of Roda in the Nile delta. The second one is the *Burji* Mamluk period, which lasted from 1382 to 1517, was so named (the Arabic word "burj" means "tower"), because the ruling elite originated at Cairo's Citadel.[44]

In terms of the architecture side, Damascus obviously exhibits richness in Mamluk architecture, following Cairo. Mamluk rule in Syria was a period of glory and greatness regarding the

[43] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 36
[44] Petersen 1996: 172

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

constructional developments. Many monuments were sponsored by the regime. Worth mentioning that the majority of Mamluk buildings in Damascus still function as religious or educational establishments.[45](Fig.10) As for the urban development of Damascus in the Mamluk period, the city witnessed a significant extension on its outskirts due to over population. Whereas the construction of the spectacular palace, of Sultan Baybars, which is known as *Qaṣr al-ʿAblaq*, in the green hippodrome was followed by the development of surrounding area, and a new district known as *al-Marjah* appeared at that time.[46] What is more, during the reign of Amīr Tankiz, a new area emerged, known as Ḥukr al-Summāq, outside the walls to the west of the castle. Tankiz also constructed his mosque and *türbe* in this region.[47]

In addition, Amīr Yalbugha al-Yiḥyāwī constructed his mosque on the northern side of the castle in the area known as under the castle (*Taḥt al-Qalʿah*). The mosque served as a spiritual center for the area. Besides, it played a significant role in reviving the surrounding zone, which was represented as the military center. This area has been inhabited by Mamluk soldiers since the beginning of the Mamluk period.[48] Furthermore, to the south of the city, on the way to Palestine and Egypt, *al-Tawrīzī* settlement was established with its famous mosque and *hammam*. At the end of the Mamluk period, the *Sārūjā* District was built by Ṣārim al-Dīn Sārūjā, to the north of the city. It was inhabited by high-ranking soldiers in the Mamluk period.[49](Fig.7)

[45] Burns 2005: 221
[46] al-Rīḥāūī 1964: 42
[47] al-Shihābī & al-Ibish 1996: 161
[48] Sack 2005: 43
[49] al-Shihābī 1990: 75

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

The buildings in the Mamluk period	
1- al-ʿUmariyya Madrasa	37- Mamluk Mausoleum
2- al-Shihābiyya Khanqah	38- al-Ward Jāmiʿ
3- al-Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa	39- Mamluk Mausoleum
4- Bāb al-Faraj Jāmiʿ	40- Mamluk Mausoleum
5- al-Qaṣīr Hammam	41- ʿUmar Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mausoleum
6- Dār al-Qurʾān al-Sinjāriyya	42- al- Qawāsiyya Madrasa
7- al-Juqmuqiyya Madrasa	43- al-Shāhiniyya Madrasa
8- al-Ikhnāʾiyya Madrasa	44- al-Nuḥāsiyya Khanqah
9- al-Sharīfiyya Khanqah	45- al-Sulṭān Ashraf Hammam
10- al-Sharābishiyya Madrasa	46- ʿĀsim Masjid
11- al-Rabiʿiyya Madrasa	47- al-Ward Hammam
12- al-Jalāliyya Madrasa	48- al-Sādāt Jāmiʿ
13- al-Fārisiyya Madrasa	49- al-Saqīfa Jāmiʿ
14- Bāb Kīsān	50- al-Dikka Khan
15- al-Jawhariyya Madrasa	51- al-Dhīnātiyya Zāwiyya
16- al- Kawkabāʾiyya Türbe	52- Yalbugha Jāmiʿ
17- al-Najībiyya Madrasa	53- al-Qawāsiyya Madrasa
18- Bayt al-ʿAqqād	54- al-Shāhiniyya Madrasa
19- Dār al-Qurʾān al-Tankaziyya	55- al-Muʿallaq Jāmiʿ
20- Qalʿī Jāmiʿ	56-Aragūn Shāh Jāmiʿ and Mausoleum
21- Hishām Jāmiʿ	57- al-Shābīkliyya Madrasa
22-Dār al-Qurʾān al-Khayḍariyya	58- al-Sibāʾiyya Madrasa
23-Mīʾzanat al- Shaḥim	59- Dar al-Quran al-Afridūniyya
24-The citadel	60- Bahādir Āṣ Mausoleum
25- Ablution place	61- Dār al-Qurʾān al-Ṣabūniyya and al- Ṣabūniyya Mausoleum
26- Juqmuq Khan	62- al- Jiʿāniyya Mausoleum
27- al-Khazna Sabil	63- al-Badawī Zāwiyya
28- Bayt Manjak	64- al-Waṭiyya Zāwiyya
29- al-Nāṣīrī Hammam	65- ʿAlī al-Barīdī Zāwiyya and Sabīl
30- Dār al Saʿāda (governor residence)	66- al-Tawrīzī Hammam
31- al-Srūjiyya Sūq	67- al-Tawrīzī Jāmiʿ and Madrasa
32- al-Warāqīn and al-Muskiyya Sūq	68- al-Thābitiyya Mosque
33- al-Qabāqbiyya Sūq	69- al-Ṭawosiyya Mosque
34- al-Khayyātīn Sūq	70- al- Ḥiwāṭiyya Mosque
35- al- Dzirāʿ Sūq	71- al-Muzallaqiyya Mausoleum
36- al-Niswān Sūq	

Table 3 (The buildings in the Mamluk period Illustrated on the Corresponding Map (Barnāmij Taḥdīth al-Idāra al-Baladiya2010: 46)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

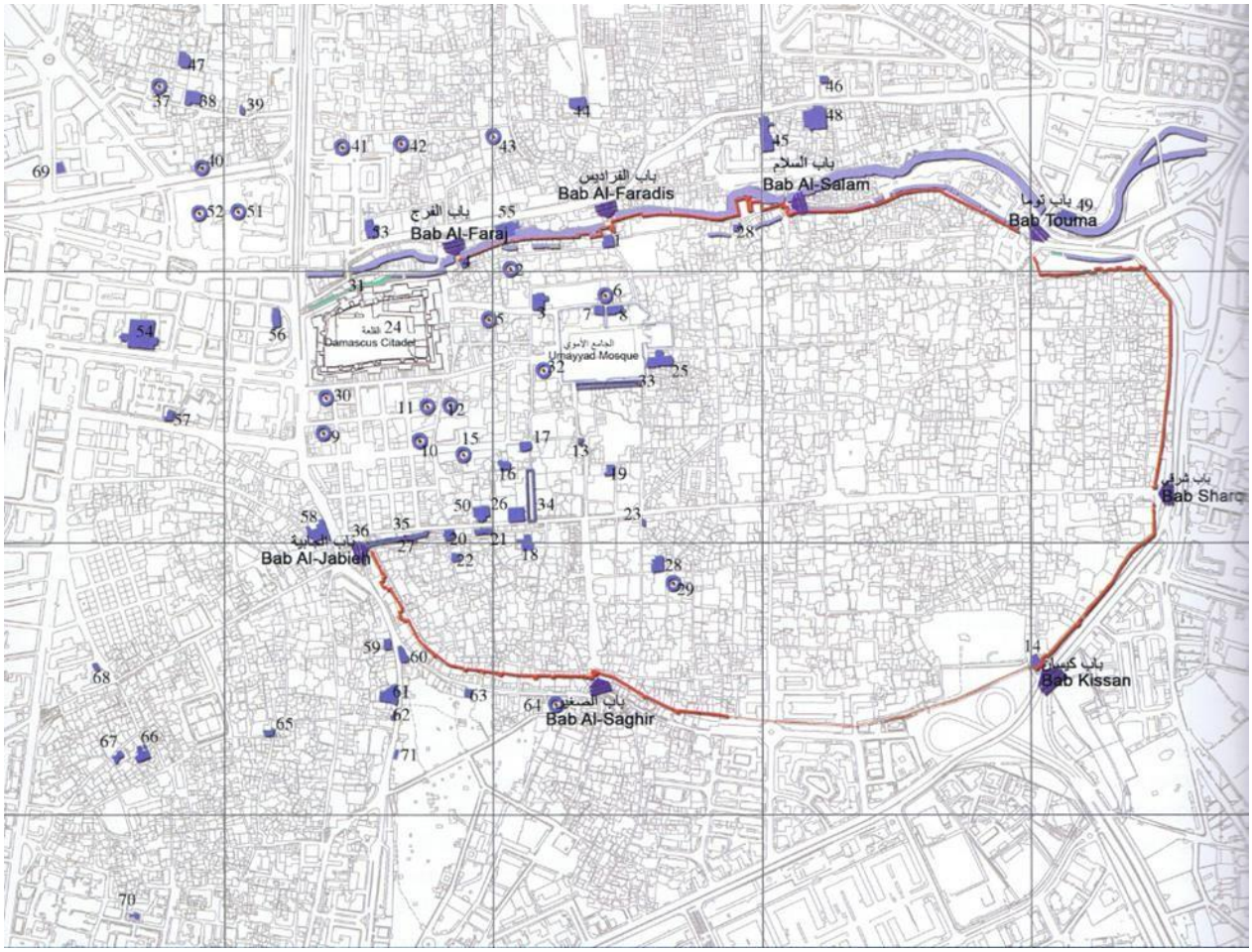

Figure 10 Damascus in the Mamluk period (Barnāmij Taḥdīth al-Idāra al- Baladiya 2010: 47)

1.7. Damascus in The Ottoman Period:

Sultan Selim entered Damascus in 1516 without any resistance after he defeated the Mamluks in the battle of *Marj Dābiq*. He paused at a *hammam* north of the city, taking a bath.[50] This *hammam* dates to 1295, it was known as *al-Ḥamwī Hammam*. Then it gained its new name: *al-Sulṭān Hammam*. Despite its historical importance in the modern ages, the *hammam* has been used as a furniture factory.[51]

The Damascene inhabitants considered the Ottomans similar to the previous non-Arab rulers of the Arab lands, and probably the only change for them was moving the capital from Cairo to Istanbul. Syria was divided in the Ottoman period into three provinces *(eyalet)*: a coastal province and its center, Tripoli; a northern province and its center, Aleppo; and an internal province and its center,

[50] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1998: 334-340.
[51] Burns 2005: 224-225.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Damascus. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman provincial system depended on the concept of appointing ruler *(wālī)* for each province. Each *wālī* is provided with sultanic orders besides financial and military support to execute these orders.[52] It is worth mentioning that Damascus had a prominent position in the Ottoman period due to its previous position as the Umayyad capital and as the principal starting point for the annual pilgrimage caravan to the holy city of Mecca. Therefore, the governor of Damascus was appointed as the paramount governor of Syria.[53]

First off, the Ottomans maintained a policy of continuity and seldom made changes to the administrative structure of the occupied regions. Thus, the Ottomans initially depended largely on the Mamluks for their military and administrative posts. The Mamluk chief justice *(Qāḍī al-Quḍāt)* Wālī al-Dīn ibn Farfūr, who had served as the highest judge of Damascus till the Ottomans arrival, regained his position in 1518.[54] Moreover, Sultan Selim appointed the former Mamluk ruler Jānburdī al-Ghazālī as governor of Damascus.[55] Upon the death of sultan Selim in 1520, Jānburdī tried to take the power from the Ottomans and expand his authority to Hama and Aleppo. Without gaining the support of Damascene inhabitants he gave himself the title of caliph. Eventually, an Ottoman force sent from Constantinople put an end to the al-Ghazālī uprising.[56]

In the wake of this rebellion, the Ottoman sultanate during the reign of Sultan Suleiman imposed new proceedings in order to integrate the province of Damascus into the Ottoman administrative system and to eliminate aspects of the previous Mamluk rule.[57]

New Ottoman authorities took over all the roles that had previously been held by the Mamluks. In other words, a new administrative structure was created and maintained until the middle of the seventeenth century.[58]

By the seventeenth century, while the Ottoman Sultanate was waging wars against Persia and Hungary, domestic dynasties, the Bedouin sheikhs, Turkman, Kurdish, and Arab emirs, benefiting from the circumstances, tried to extend their power and strengthen their status at the cost of the *Sublime Porte*.[59] In Syria, the Druze Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Maʿan extended his control over Lebanon first, then seized the reign of Damascus between 1605 and 1624, until he was executed by the order

[52] Shilsher 1998: 39-40
[53] Masters 2005: 19
[54] Weber 1997-1998: 432
[55] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1998: 381
[56] Burns 2005: 225
[57] Cigdem 1999: 70
[58] Degegorge 2005: 156
[59] Ibid: 178

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of the *Porte*.[60] The Ottoman Empire had to sign the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 with the Holy League. With the signing of this treaty, huge portions of Ottoman territory were ceded to Venice, Russia, and Poland, signaling the beginning of the Decline of the Ottoman's Sultanate.[61]

Regarding Damascus, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it witnessed natural catastrophes on the one hand, such as epidemics, famine, and locust swarms. Also, there were struggles between the military forces: the imperial janissaries (*the Kapikulu*) and local entities (*the Yerliyya*). Moreover, following the way of Fakhr al-Dīn, the Amīr Ḥaīdar Shihāb (1707–1722) succeeded in extending his authority over a large part of Damascus.[62]

As a consequence, the *Porte* realized that appointing members of local dynasties to the post of governor of Damascus could bring a semblance of peace and constancy. However, reversing its previous policy, the *Porte* legislated a new decree in 1708, stating that the governor of Damascus was appointed as the *Amīr al-Ḥajj*.[63] The Ottomans placed their hopes in the strength of the local *al-ʿAẓim* Family to revive the Ottoman authority. *Al-ʿAẓim* Family succeeded in this task for the most part. They enforced order in the region and subordinated the manifestations of rebellion.[64]

The first governor from *al-ʿAẓim* Family was ʾIsmāʿīl Pasha, who ruled between 1725-1730 with the title of *Amīr al-Ḥajj*. This marked the beginning of the ascendency of *al-ʿAẓim Family*. Notably another prominent figure in this family is Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim (1734–8, 1741–3). He initiated a policy of reconciliation, aiming to gain the support of the residents of Damascus. Additionally, the most famous office-bearer is ʾAsʿad Pasha, who seized the rule of Damascus after the death of his uncle Suleiman in 1743. *ʾAsʿad Pasha* was followed by his son Muḥammad, whose reign lasted nearly a decade (1771–1783). The last governor of *al-ʿAẓim Family* was ʿAbdullah Pasha, who was dismissed from his position in 1807 after failing to lead the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca.[65]

1.7.1. The Role of Ḥajj in the Ottoman Period:

There were attempts made by the Ottoman sultanate to maintain its position as the legitimate successor to the Islamic caliphate,[66] and uphold the image of the sultan as a guard of the two Holy Cities. Thus, the annual pilgrimage was an essential political event that could have an effect on the whole Muslim world. Owing to this reason, the Ottoman authority devoted considerable effort to

[60] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 43.
[61] Degegorge 2005: 183
[62] Ibid: 183-184
[63] Burns 2005: 238
[64] Shilsher 1998: 41.
[65] Burns 2005: 240-247
[66] Shilsher 1998: 40.

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guarantee the safety and success of the pilgrimage.[67]

Due to Damascus's location as the last urban settlement on the pilgrimage route to Mecca, it gained high geopolitical significance. Throughout the Mamluk period, there were several departure terminals for the pilgrimage caravans that left from Iraq, Egypt, and Damascus each year. Additionally, some years they departed from Aleppo and Kerak. However, during the Ottoman period, there were only two departure points: Damascus and Egypt.[68]

Hence, as Damascus served as the annual meeting point for pilgrims from different parts of the Islamic world, it played an essential role in the strategy, economy, and administration of the pilgrimage during the Ottoman era. Consequently, the annual *Ḥajj* was a significant factor in Damascus growth.[69]

The city started to regain its importance, and it witnessed an enormous economic flourishment since it secured a steady flow of interchange.[70] Every year on a specific date, the pilgrims used to make great commercial movements in Damascus both upon their arrival in the city and upon their return from the holy places. On the one hand, they bought products from Damascus to cover their needs through their long-distance journey. On the other hand, they used to sell what they brought with them from their homelands.[71]

It is worth mentioning is that the pilgrimage route in Damascus extended extramurally from the western part of the city, outside *Bāb al-Jābiyyiah*, toward *al-Mīdān* District in the south.[72]As a result, new markets specialized in providing the pilgrims with their personal needs and goods started to emerge.[73] For example, *al-Sināniyya* and *al-Darwīshiyya Sūq* on the western border of Damascus on the way leading to Mecca.[74](Fig.11)

[67] Degegorge 2005:184
[68] Bakhit 1972: 116
[69] Shilsher 1998: 39-40
[70] Degegorge 2005: 157
[71] Abdul-haq 1950: 123
[72] al-Raḥḥāl 2015: 83
[73] Marino 2000:102
[74] Raymond 1984:39

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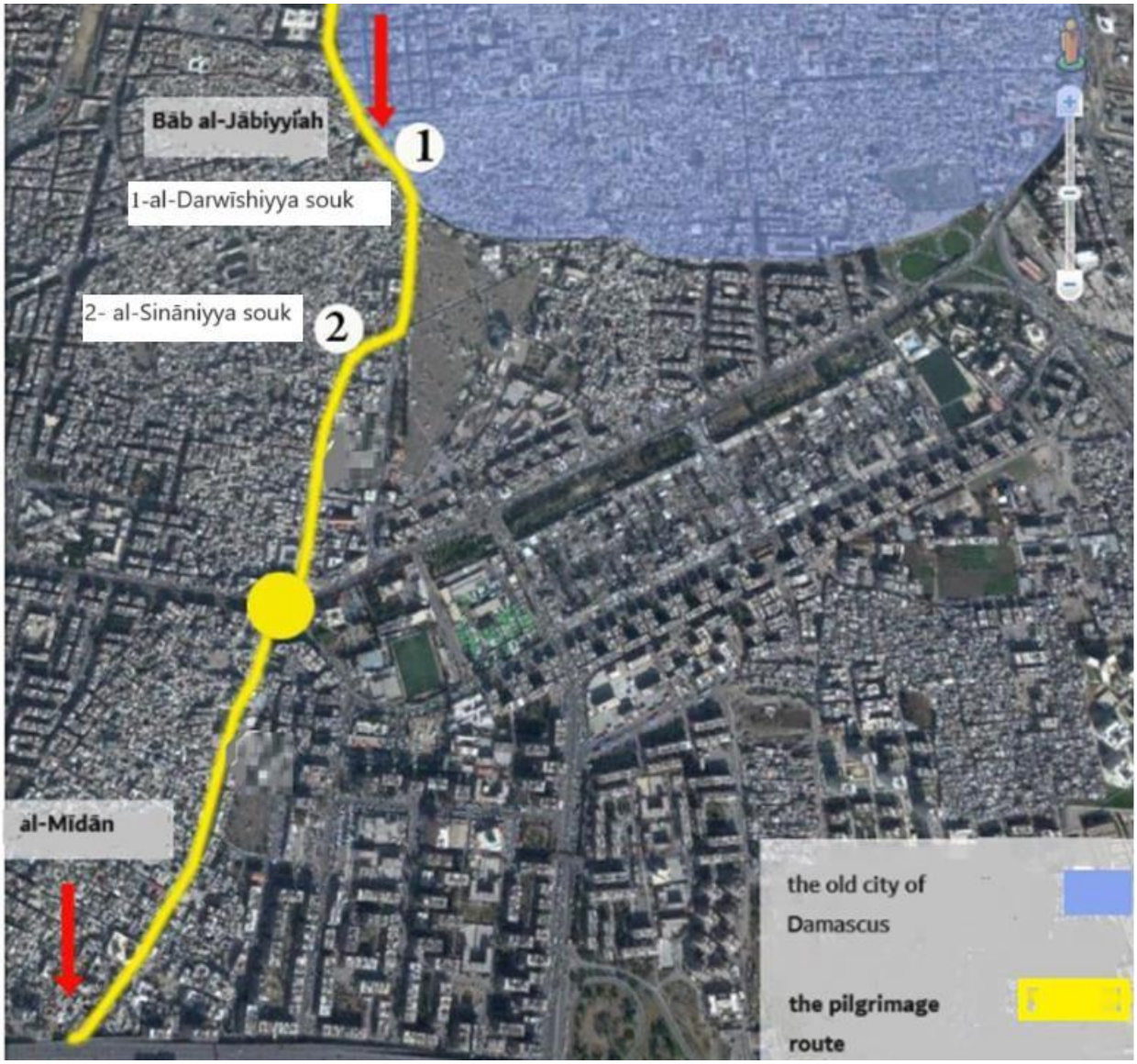

Figure 11 The pilgrimage route in Damascus in the Ottoman period (al-Rahhal 2015: 188)

1.7.2. The Changes in the Urban Plan of Damascus during the Ottoman Period:

At the outset of the Ottoman period, Damascus experienced demographic changes primarily within the walled city. Inconsequence, there was an orientation to the zone outside the city walls, which became more spacious than the city itself, as it was estimated at sixty-four hectares at the end of the Mamluk period, while it rose to 183,5 hectares in the middle of the nineteenth century.[75]

The city expanded toward the west and south. Additionally, a new trade center appeared to the southwest of the Umayyad Mosque in the Ottoman period. Noteworthy, the three new centers that appeared in the Ottoman period corresponded to political and economic authority centers: inside the

[75] Raymond 1984: 150

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walled city gathered the Damascene elite strata, who were engaged in trade. The western part, outside the walled city, was specialized for the Ottoman elite. In the *al-Mīdān* District to the south of the city, the grain traders, and the militaries (soldiers).[76]

The Expansion of the City to the South: (Al-Mīdān):

The most important feature of Damascus in the Ottoman period was the expansion southward beyond the city walls and the development of the *al-Mīdān* District, which stretches for up to two km.[77] Although there was architectural activity in the *al-Mīdān* District in the previous Mamluk period, this district took its final shape and attained its high importance during the Ottoman reign. This expansion is closely related to the district's religious importance, due to its location on the pilgrimage route,[78] and commercial significance, since this district, from the end of the Mamluk period, became the center of grain trade, and large storerooms were erected to receive the grain from *Ḥurān.*[79](Fig.7) Worth mentioning that the most important constructions of the Ottoman period in the *al-Mīdān* District are *al-Murādiyya* Mosque and *Fatḥi Afandi al-Flāqinsi* Hammam which will be detailed in the following chapters.

The Expansion of the City to the West:

Ottoman attention was oriented to the area outside of the city wall, particularly along the western extramural part of the city (*al-Darwīshiyya* Street), for several reasons: first, there was a need for large spaces to construct architectural complexes, as this area was characterized by a low architectural density.[80] Furthermore, *al-Darwīshiyya* Street was the essential street of the city, distinguished by its political importance as part of the pilgrimage route to the south. Thus, it was the perfect place to present Ottoman dominance through monumental complexes built under the patronage of the ruling elite.[81]

As a result, a new urban center in Damascus emerged in the first century of Ottoman rule. The Ottoman *Saray* is considered one of the most significant monuments of this zone, located in front of *Bāb al-Naṣr*.[82] Additionally, a series of important mosques were built under the sponsorship of

[76] Marino 2000: 15
[77] al-ʾĀrnāʾūṭ 1992: 58
[78] Marino 2000: 103
[79] Burns 2005: 229
[80] Sack 2005: 48
[81] Weber 1997-1998:440
[82] Ibid: 439

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Ottoman rulers: *Dervish Pasha* Mosque in 1574, followed by *Sinan Pasha* Mosque in 1586, which confirmed the orientation of Damascus toward the *Ḥajj* Route. It is worth noting that this trend of expanding the city towards the west started in the 14th and15th centuries, accompanied by the reconstruction of Damascus citadel, which attracted military and civic activity to the western part of the city.[83] (Fig.7)

1.7.3. The Endowment (waqf) in the Ottoman Period:

The Ottoman era saw a notable growing of endowments in many kinds of disciplines. Endowments therefore had a major impact on the domains of religion, education, commerce *(caravanserais, khans)*, social welfare (charity funds, centers serving free meals to the poor). Here, it is important to highlight the ruling class's strong desire to construct a wide range of urban amenities under the auspices of endowments, including mosques, *madaris, hammams*, and *caravanserais*. as an expression of their attachment to the sultan and their loyalty to the state.[84]

In terms of the endowment trend in Damascus, the Ottoman period under consideration may be divided into two levels:

-The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the sultanic and vizierial endowments

-The eighteenth century: the age of the notables *(ʾĀʿyān)*

In the sixteenth century, there was a noticeable increase in the density of religious and commercial endowments, sponsored by the sultans and the Ottoman rulers. These endowments served as important means to impose Ottoman authority in the newly occupied areas and to help the Ottomanization of Damascus in institutional, spatial, and visual terms. Furthermore, these buildings were used as a link between the local population and the authority.[85](Fig.12) In the seventeenth century, architectural activity decreased compared to the previous century, and construction was limited inside the walled city until the arrival of the *al-ʿAẓim* Family to the rule.[86](Fig.13)

[83] Sack 2005: 48
[84] al-ʾĀrnāʾūṭ 2011: 80-82
[85] Cigdem 1999: 77
[86] Sack, 2005, p. 48

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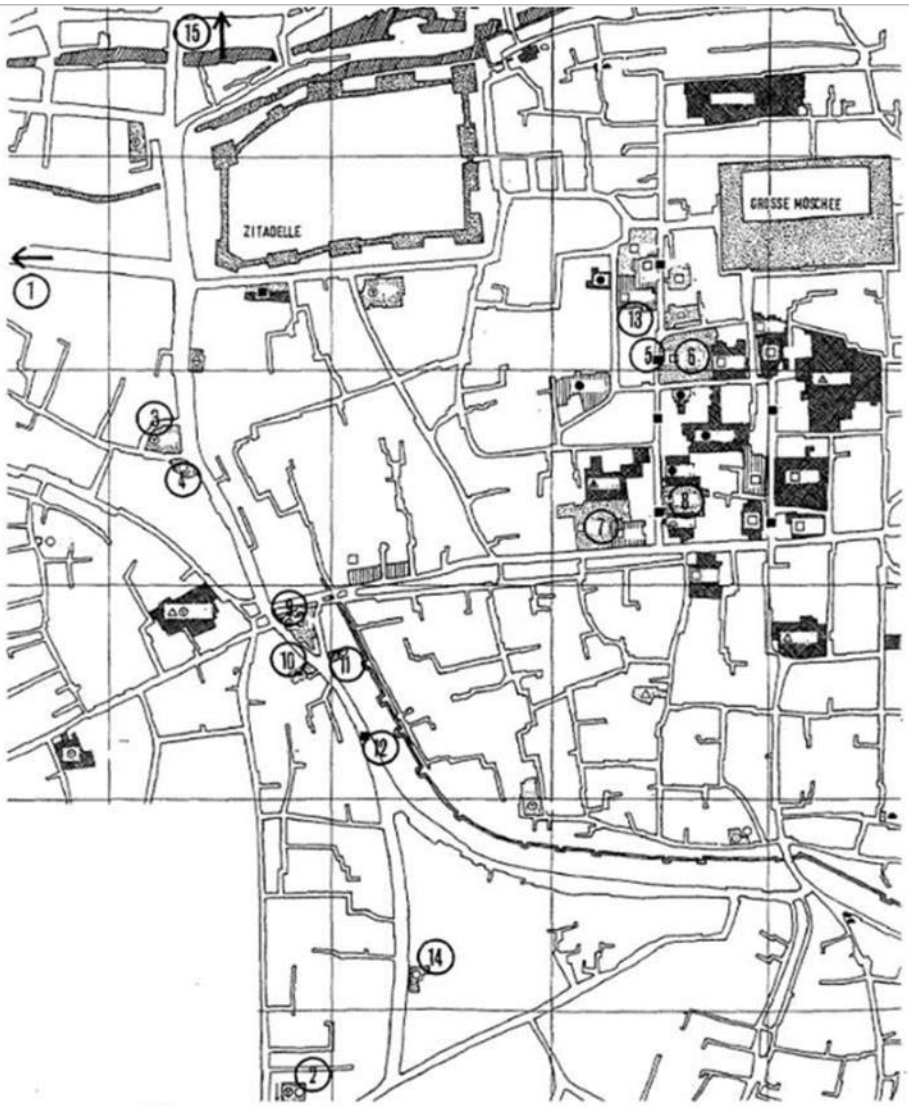

Figure 12 The location of sixteenth century Ottoman construction in Damascus (Cigdem 1999:75)

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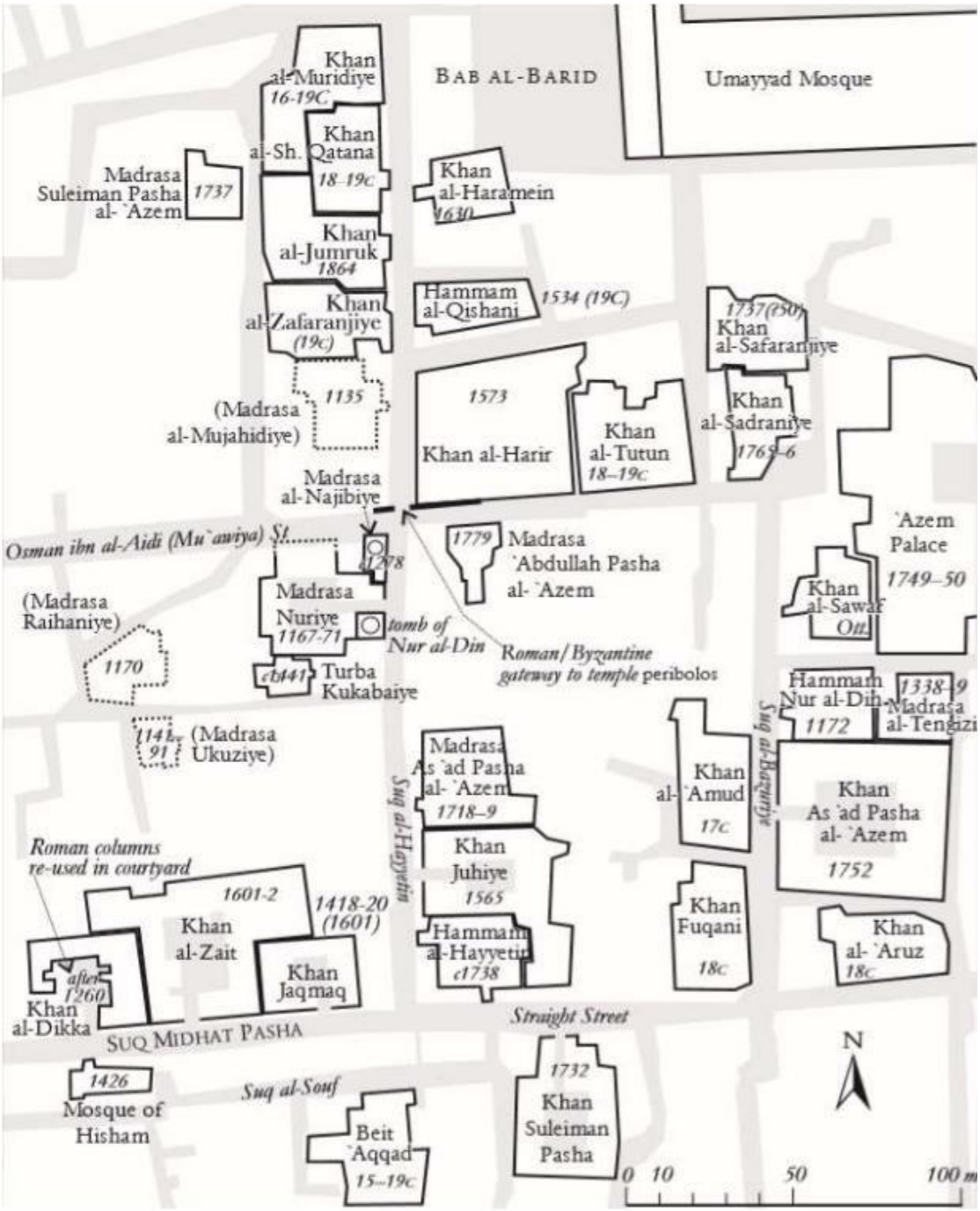

Figure 13 The location of eighteenth-century Ottoman construction in Damascus (Burns 2005: 242)

Hereunder are the most important sultanic endowmnets and buildings endowed by Ottoman rulers in the sixteenth century. These structures played an important role in spreading Ottoman architectural style in Damascus and creating local Ottoman architecture.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

The complex name	The sponsor	The date of construction	The location	Brief description
Selimiyya complex	Sultan Selim I	1517	al-Ṣāliḥiyya District	The first Ottoman complex in Syria.
Suleimaniyyah complex	Sultan Suleiman	1554- 1560	Located along the northern bank of the Barada River, it was constructed on the site of the previous Mamluk palace (Qaṣr al-Ablaq).	The second sultanic foundation in the city. Itconsists of a law school with its own mosque. As well as a main mosque with shops, tekke, and other facilities for pilgrims.[87]
Lala Mustafa Pasha group	The vizier Lala Mustafa Pasha	1550 –1560	Outside the walled city, north of the citadel.	It is the first large vizierial complex in the city, consisting of a mosque, a bath (al- Rās Hammam), three khans, and two Sūqs. This complex was destroyed in 1936. [88]
Ahmad Shamsi Pasha group	The vizier Ahmad Shamsi Pasha	1563	South of the citadel, where the Mamluk Governor's Palace (Dār al-Saʿāda) and the al-Isfahāniyya Madrasah once stood.	It consists of a mosque and a sūq (al-Sibāhiyya Sūq), in addition to al-Jūkhiyya Khan.[89]
Murad Pasha Mosque	The vizier Murad Pasha	1568-1569	al- Mīdān District	It consists of al- Murādiyya Mosque. [90]

[87] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 1.
[88] Cigdem 1999: 74.
[89] Weber 1997-1998: 444.
[90] Cigdem 1999: 74.

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Dervish Pasha Group	The vizier Dervish Pasha	(1571- 1573)	The mosque, the fountain, and the tomb are located outside the walled city, in the western part, while the khan and the hammam are located southwest of the Umayyad Mosque.	It consists of al-Darwīshiyya Mosque, Mausoleum, and al-Ḥarīr khan. Moreover, there is al-Qāshānī Hammam.[91]
Sinan Pasha Group	The vizier Sinan Pasha	(1586)	It locates outside the walled city, in the western part.	IIt consists of al-Sināniyya Mosque, Madrasa, Hammam and Sūq. [92]

Table 3 Ottoman construction in Damascus in the sixteenth century by the author

1.7.4. Damascus In the Eighteenth Century: The Age of the Notables (ʾĀʿyān):

This period differs from the first hundred years of Ottoman rule. During that time, high officials and governors came to Damascus, established large buildings and public foundations, and then left again.[93] In the eighteenth century, the initiative was taken by local families, most of whom were in the Ottoman service. They built huge palaces, *madaris*, and great *khans* concentrated inside the walled city, [94] with a special focus on the commercial buildings, as several *khans* were constructed to the south of the Umayyad Mosque.[95] (Fig.13) Unlike the previous period, when many mosques were funded, the inclination in this age was to build *madaris*, palaces, and larger-scale *khans* to signify commercial might.[96] The most significant initiatives and structures supported by Damascene rulers throughout the eighteenth century are listed below.

[91] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 86.
[92] Ibid
[93] Weber 2000: 247.
[94] Ibid: 244.
[95] Degegorge 2005: 194.
[96] Burns 2005: 240

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

The complex name	The date of construction	The location	Brief description
Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓim group	1728	Southwest of the Umayyad Mosque	It includes al-Khayyātīn Madrasa and Hammam.[97]
Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim group	1736	Southwest of the Umayyad Mosque	It includes al- Ḥamāṣnih khan, and al-Suleimaniyya Madrasa.[98]
Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī group	1745	The hammam locates in al-Mīdān District and the mosque locates in al- Qaymarīyya District.	It includes hammam and mosque.[99]
ʾAsʿad Pasha al- ʿAẓim group	1749- 1750	Southwest of the Umayyad Mosque	It includes al-ʿAẓim Palace and Khan.[100]
ʿAbdullah Pasha al- ʿAẓim Madrassah	1779	Southwest of the Umayyad Mosque	Madrasa.[101]

Table 4 Ottoman construction in the age of notables by the author

[97] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 86.
[98] Ibid
[99] Ibid
[100] Ibid
[101] Ibid

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1.8. Analytical Study:

Based on the information provided in Table 1, which outlines the projects of the sixteenth century, and Table 2, which details the projects of the eighteenth century, it should be noted that:

Seven complexes were built in the sixteenth century; two of which were sponsored by Ottoman sultans: the complex of *Sultan Selim I*, and the complex of *Sultan Suleiman*. The presence of sultanic complexes in Damascus refers to the high importance of the province.The remaining five complexes were patronized by Ottoman rulers.

On the other hand, the sultanic complexes were nonexistent in the eighteenth century, and all of the projects were initiated by the *al-ʿAẓim Family*, with the exception of the *Fatḥi al Flāqinsī* Mosque and *Hammam*. This might be justified by the fact that the Ottoman Empire became too preoccupied by its numerous difficulties, tribal rebellions, and pressing challenges in Europe, which led to Syria's rapid decline in priority.

Regarding the location of the sixteenth-century complexes, it is clearly realized that they were not clustered in one area; instead, they were dispersed across several urban centers. The *Selim* complex, for instance, was built in the *al-Ṣāliḥiyya* District, situated above the tomb of the Sufi *Shaykh ibn ʿArabī*. The *al-Suleimaniyya* Complex replaced the previous Mamluk Palace *(Qaṣr al-Ablaq)*. Meanwhile the *Lala Mustafa Pasha* group is located north of the citadel, and the *Ahmad Shamsi Pasha* complex, lies to the south of the citadel, occupying the site previously held by the *al-Isfahāniyyah Madrasah* and *Dār al-Saʿāda*, the palace of the Mamluk governor. Lastly, the *Murad Pasha* Mosque, *Dervish Pasha* Mosque, and *Sinan Pasha* Mosque are located along the pilgrimage route. On the other hand, the scarcity of sufficient area may have contributed to the absence of *Külliyes* in Damascus during the Ottoman period. In many cases, it is evident that creating new structures would have required the demolition of older ones, which may have been impractical or undesirable for various reasons, including historical value or economic factors. Furthermore, the absence of *külliyes* in Damascus could be attributed to the distribution of architectural centers during the Ottoman period. Commercial buildings were concentrated inside the walled city, southwest of the Umayyad Mosque, while religious buildings were concentrated along the pilgrimage route. As a result, it was difficult to gather all the buildings into one complex, which is an essential condition for creating a *külliye*.

Additionally, it is noticed that there is a concentration of *khans* and *madaris* of the eighteenth century in the southwest of the Umayyad Mosque. Except for the *Fatḥī al-Flāqinsī* Mosque, which is located in al-*Qaymarīyya* District, and his *hammam* is along the pilgrimage route. As it was mentioned before, inside the walled city gathered the damascene elite strata, who were engaged in trade. The western part, outside the walled

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city, was specialized for the Ottoman elite.

Finally, the presence of mosques or *madaris* in all of the complexes in the studied period suggests that the religious buildings were mainly used to strengthen the ruler's position as a leader and to obtain a good reputation.

1.9. Results

Damascus is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. It has evolved through different historical levels, starting from its establishment in the first millennium B.C., when it was a small Aramaic settlement in the western part of the city. In the Classic periods (Hellenistic and Roman), Damascus began to take shape as a real city. It was characterized by broad, organized streets, provided with temples and public buildings. Damascus became part of the Byzantine Empire in the fourth century, although there are not many Byzantine remains there.

The Muslim armies arrived in Damascus in 635. The actual transformation began in the Umayyad period, when Damascus functioned as the capital of the Umayyad state. Knowing that each caliph had an important role in the architectural development of the city.

In contrast to the prosperity of the Umayyad period, Damascus lost its importance during the Abbasid period. It was ruled by several dynasties: the Tulunid, the Ikshid, and then the Fatimid dynasty. Concerning the urban development of Damascus in the Middle Ages, the city started to lose its classic urban plan. Its streets were gradually converted into Independent neighborhoods, each with its own public service.

Starting with the Seljuk period, followed by the Zengid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods, Damascus began to restore its glory. It was governed by sultans, who sponsored religious, educational, and charitable projects on the one hand, and concentrated on the fortification of the city on the other, as a result of the importance of its strategic position in their wars against the crusaders and the Mongols. Furthermore, the city started to expand beyond its walls, and new districts emerged to the north, south, and west of the city. With the construction of the castle, the religious structures were centered between the Umayyad Mosque and the castle.

In the Ottoman period, Damascus served as the center of the internal province. Moreover, it held an important position as the departure point of pilgrimage caravans. Initially, there were no noticeable changes in the military and administrative systems in Damascus. However, after the attempt by Jānburdī al-Ghazālī to take over the authority of Damascus, the Ottoman sultanate imposed a new strict ruling method.

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The Ottoman sultanate began to decline in the early seventeenth century, preoccupied with its wars, while Damascus became the target of domestic forces' ambitions. This had an impact on the architectural trends and led to its decline. Damascus was also affected by natural calamities and political upheavals at the start of the eighteenth century. In order to ensure security, the Ottoman sultanate relied on local families to control the situation in Damascus, with the *al-ʿAẓim* Family being the most influential during this era. This, in turn, substantially supported construction activity.

Notwithstanding the different historical phases that Damascus has gone through, it is notable that the bulk of structures in Damascus date from the Ottoman period, with the exception of a few that date from earlier times. The lack of pre-Ottoman structures could be attributed mainly to the tensions in the city, starting with the Fatimid period, when the city witnessed on several occasions, intentional destruction. Additionally, the Mongol invasion in 1260 was followed by the Timurid one in 1402. Moreover, the Ottoman policy, which depended on the destruction of the Mamluk buildings and replacing them with new Ottoman ones.

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2. CHAPTER II

The Damascene Religious Architecture in the Ottoman Period

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This chapter attempts to explain the Damascene religious architecture of the Ottoman era. A brief description of the Ottoman religious buildings in the Anatolian peninsula, where their three phases of development will be provided, to understand the Ottoman influences on the Damascene religious architecture.

To identify any local effects on the Damascene religious structures throughout the Ottoman period, a brief description of the Mamluk mosques, *madaris*, and *türbes (mausolea)* in Damascus is offered.

Lastly, two sultanic complexes and several Damascene mosques, *madaris,* and *mausolea* dating to the Ottoman period are displayed to find out how a local-Ottoman style manifested itself in the Damascene religious architecture throughout the Ottoman period.

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2.1. Introduction:

Ottoman architecture and art evolved from Seljuk roots. With the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453, headed by Sultan Mehmed II, Byzantine heritage served as an inspiration for Ottoman architecture and art. As a result, Ottoman architecture entered a tremendous era of growth, which almost reached its apex during the sixteenth century.

When the Ottomans arrived in Damascus in 1516, they brought with them new official architectural features that distinguished the new Ottoman city from the earlier era. However, the Mamluk period's earlier architectural and artistic features remained to be visible in the new Ottoman-era structures. Therefore, the Mamluk style of Damascus did not entirely vanish at this time. Rather, it was blended with the new style.

2.2. Brief History of the Ottoman Sultanate:

The word "Ottoman" comes from Osman I, who established the Ottoman Empire as a small principality in the late 13th century. Osman's main goals were to increase his dominance and conquer more Byzantine territory.[102] Starting from the second half of the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire developed into an important local power, dominating western and northern Anatolia and a large part of the Balkan Peninsula.[103] With the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the classic period of the Ottoman Empire began, lasting until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This period was characterized by the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire, stretching from Iran in the east to Hungary in the west, Crimea in the north, and Morocco in the south. This expansion reinforced the Ottoman Empire's position as a major world power, making it a key player in European politics and the leading naval force in the Mediterranean. With the conquests of Egypt and Syria in 1516, the Ottomans gained control of important lands that provided easy access to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the state increasingly faced the need to secure its borders rather than enlarge them. Beginning from the second phase of Suleiman's reign, his triumphs decreased, and campaigns resulted in less conquest.[104]

The Ottoman military power in Europe peaked in 1683, during the siege of Vienna. However, their failure resulted in a decline that lasted until the eighteenth century. Despite losing significant territory to local leaders in Europe and the Middle East, the Ottoman sultanate remained a prominent power in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the First World War resulted in the loss of Arab regions and a European attempt to rule Anatolia. European expansionism encouraged a reaction in the Anatolian Peninsula, resulting

[102] Imber 2022: 8.
[103] Inalcik 1973: 3.
[104] Faroqhi & Fleet 2013: 1-36

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in the rise of the Young Turks and the collapse of the Ottoman sultanate in 1922.[105]

2.3. Development of the Ottoman Architecture in the Anatolian Peninsula:

The historical development of the Ottoman sultanate was clearly reflected in its architecture, coinciding roughly with its historical phases as the following:

1-In the early period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries the state witnessed a flourishing construction movement, started in Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman state, then Edirne, the second Ottoman capital.[106]
2-The classic period, which lasted from the capture of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453 to the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as significant developments in art and architecture influenced by the new Byzantine architectural styles of Istanbul's Hagia Sophia church.[107] It's worth mentioning that the height of the classical era was reached under the rule of Sultan Suleiman and his immediate successors Selim II and Murad II. Their principal architect, Sinan, adorned Istanbul, and other towns of the empire with magnificent mosque complexes and other buildings.[108]
It is important to shed light on the architect Sinan, who initially served as a military engineer assigned to the janissaries and participated in five of Suleiman's campings. In 1538, Suleiman appointed him as the Chief of the Imperial Architects, a position he held for fifty years. Sinan's architectural journey began with the construction of his first mosque in Aleppo. Over the next five decades, he embellished the Ottoman Empire with a remarkable number of mosque complexes and other structures. Among his most renowned masterpieces are the Suleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul and the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne.[109]
3-The European influence era began in the early eighteenth century as the Ottoman Empire began to deteriorate, coinciding with a rise in European influence. This time witnessed the emergence of the Tulip period in Ottoman art and architecture (1718 -1730), followed by the Baroque and Rococo periods, which lasted until the collapse of the Ottoman sultanate in the twentieth century.[110]
It is vital to note that this chapter focuses specifically on the religious architecture of the classical period, as all significant Damascene mosques date from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

[105] Petersen 1996: 215-216
[106] Ibid: 218
[107] Ibid
[108] Freely 2011: 21
[109] Ibid: 32
[110] al-ʿĀbdīn 2006: 72

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2.4. The Ottoman Religious Buildings in the Classical Period in Anatolian peninsula:

The Ottoman occupation of Constantinople in 1453 enabled Ottoman architects to get a broader perspective on other architectural designs. The church of Hagia Sophia had the greatest effect on the new architectural style.[111] Thus, the fifteenth century was marked by the introduction of new styles of massive mosques, symbolizing the new Ottoman capital's international importance and the expanding authority of its sultans.[112]

Generally, the mosque of the classic Ottoman period consists of a courtyard with domed portico preceding the prayer hall, which in turn is covered with a central dome, usually surrounded by semi-domes and smaller domes, in addition to several cylindrical-shaped minarets.[113]

The *madrasa* was a significant institution. It often has a regular layout, with a central courtyard surrounded by a domed portico on its four sides. The lecture hall *(dershane)* occupies the center of one side, and the domed student halls are distributed on the other sides.[114]

To provide a more comprehensive explanation of the classical period, three mosques from different periods will be represented, beginning with Bayazid II Mosque in Istanbul, which was built in the early sixteenth century (1506), *al-Suleimaniyya* Mosque (1557) in Istanbul, *al-Selimiye* Mosque in Edirne, which was built in the second half of the sixteenth century (1574), and *Sultan Ahmad* Mosque (the Blue Mosque) in Istanbul (1617). In addition to *al-Selimiye* Madrasa, the best example depicts the classical age, as it was built by the architect Sinan, and represents the typical layout of the Ottoman *madrasa.*

Studying these examples will enable us to follow the evolution of Ottoman architecture during the classical period, starting from the early sixteenth century and moving on to later instances.

2.4.1. Bayazid II Mosque:

It is the earliest example of the Ottoman imperial mosques, which marked the beginning of the classic period in Ottoman architecture.[115] It was built according to the command of the Sultan Bayazid II between 1501 and 1506, by the architect Khayr al-Dīn, who created a new cruciform layout. The mosque consists of a square-shaped prayer hall covered with a huge central dome, with two semi-domes on either side, one above the door and the other above the *mihrab*, and four small domes on each side. On the eastern and western sides of the prayer hall, there are two rectangular wings; each wing is covered with five domes.[116] The prayer hall itself is

[111] Petersen 1996: 220
[112] Freely 2011: 185
[113] al-Ḥafūẓī 2010: 114
[114] Freely 2011: 25
[115] Ibid: 184-185
[116] Aslanapa 1971: 213

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preceded by a domed arcaded courtyard, with a pool in its center. Two single- balcony minarets are in the northern side of the mosque.[117](Fig.14)

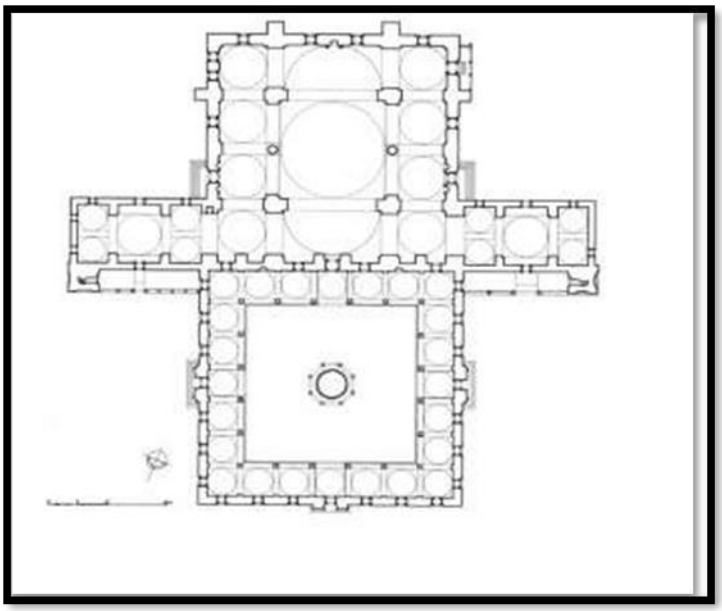

Figure 14 The layout of Bayazid II Mosque (Koran1968: 194)

2.4.2. Al- Suleimaniyya Mosque:

The enormous mosque and complex, which was initiated in the midst of the sixteenth century, was finished in 1557 after seven years. The mosque's dome is extended both on the entry and the *qibla* sides by two half domes, and it is supported by four enormous piers. The side aisles are covered with five domes, arranged in a succession of large and tiny domed areas. Interiorly, the *mihrab* wall is ornamented with faience decoration. The minaretes are situated at each of the courtyard's four corners.[118]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the complex also includes Sultan Suleiman and his wife Roxelana's two graves, located just behind the mosque. Moreover, there is a specialized *madarasa* for the teaching of *hadith*, a primary school *(mekteb)*, *maristan, hammam, caravanserai,* and *imaret.*[119] (Fig.15)

[117] Petersen 1996: 221
[118] Aslanapa 1971:220
[119] Freely 2011: 249.

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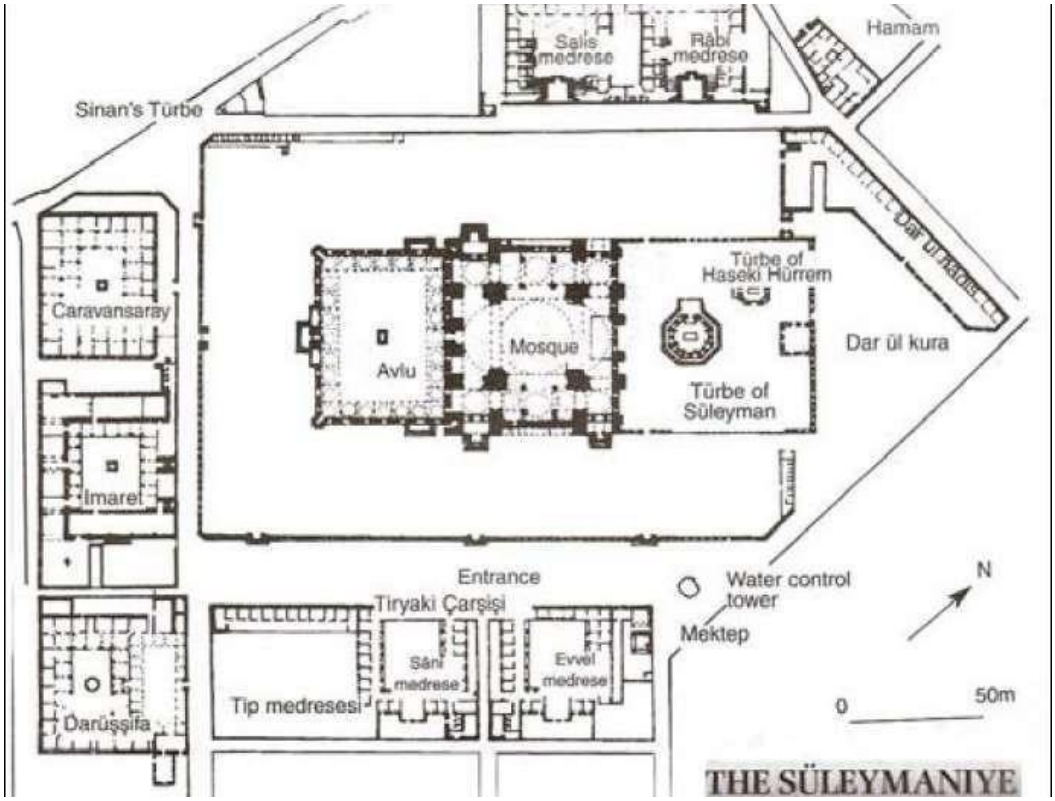

Figure 15 the layout of al- Suleimaniyya complex (Freely 2011:249)

2.4.3. Al-Selimiye Mosque:

It was built by order of Sultan Selim II between 1569 and 1574 in Edirne by the architect Sinan.[120] A significant architectural renovation appears in this mosque, reflected through its hemispherical-shaped dome, which has the same dimension as the Hagia Sophia dome.[121] Exteriorly, the dome is surrounded by semi-domes; knowing that these semi-domes don't have any structural function as load-transferring elements, they were just used to cover the galleries.[122]

Interiorly, the dome rests on an octagonal base, which settles on eight huge piers, known as the elephant foot, invented by architect Sinan.[123] The prayer hall is surrounded on its three sides with U-shaped upper galleries. The *mihrab* is situated in a projecting apse, on the southern façade of the mosque. The domed arcaded courtyard with a central *şadırvan* precedes the prayer hall. Additionally, the mosque has four slender minarets.[124](Fig.16)

[120] Aslanapa 1971: 223.
[121] Hattab 2017: 50.
[122] Petersen 1996: 222.
[123] Hattap 2017: 50.
[124] Aslanapa 1971: 223-225.

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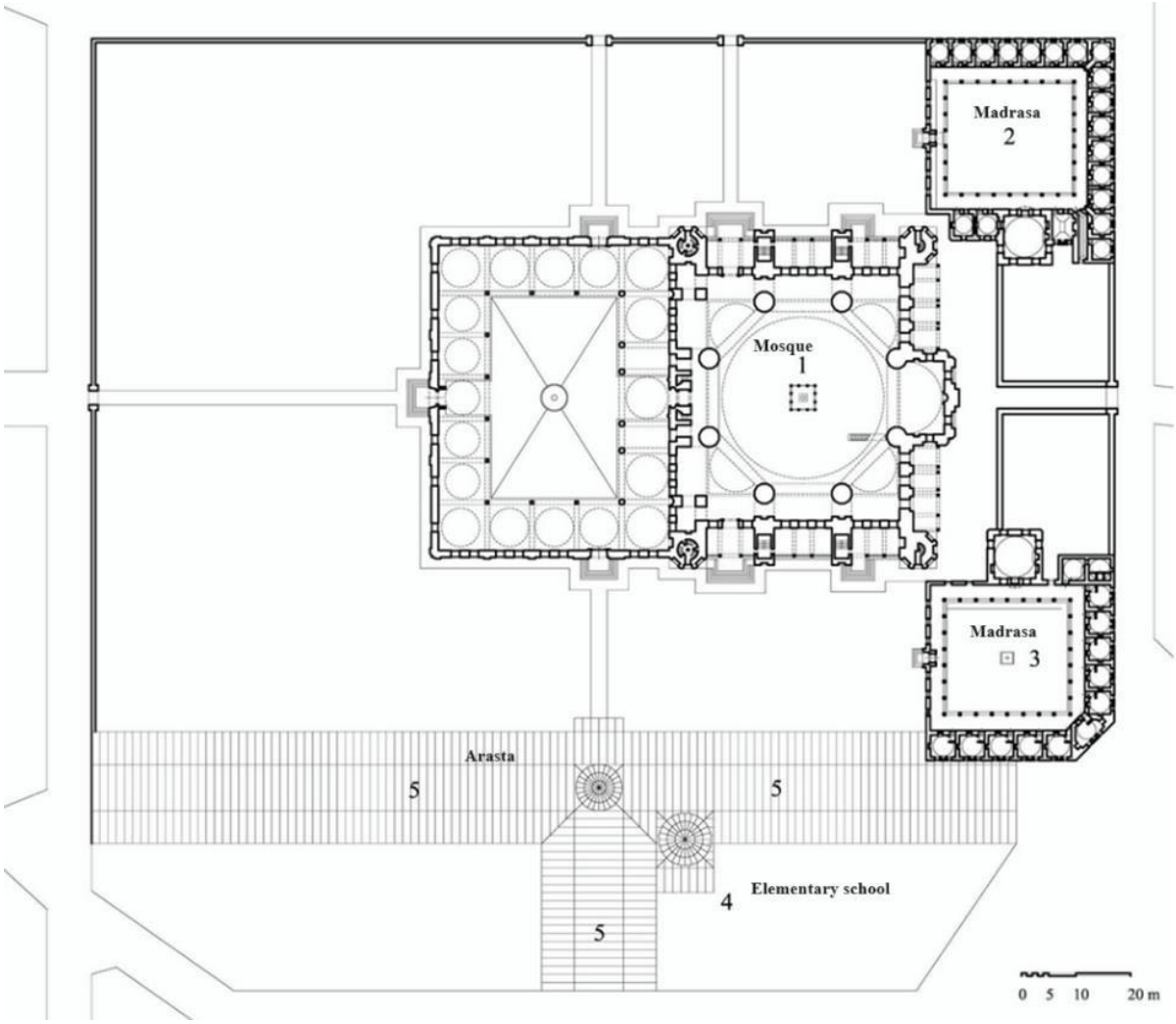

Figure 16 The layout of al-Selimiye Complex (Necipoglu 2004: 239)

2.4.4. Sultan Ahmad Mosque: (The Blue Mosque)

Its construction took place between 1606 and 1616 in Istanbul, by the architect Mehemet Agha, on the order of Sultan Ahmad I.[125] It is considered the largest mosque among the Ottoman imperial mosques.[126] Due to the blue ceramic tiles that cover more than three-quarters of its walls and are decorated with floral and geometric patterns, the building is often referred to as the "Blue Mosque".[127]

Regarding the domes, the prayer hall is covered with a large central dome, surrounded by four semi-domes one

[125] Freely 2011: 329.
[126] Aslanapa 1971: 229.
[127] al-ʿĀbidīn 2006: 62.

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on each side; the semi-domes on the east and west sides are surrounded by three exedras and the ones in the north and south are surrounded by two exedras on each side, and on the corners of the building there are also four small domes.[128]

The prayer hall is square-shaped. Its eastern and western sides feature quatrefoil-designs due to the exterior eastern and western semi-domes, which were also surrounded by smaller semi- domes, as mentioned above.[129] The prayer hall is preceded by an equal dimension domed porticoed courtyard with a hexagonal *şadırvan* in its center.[130] Additionally, the Blue Mosque is characterized by its six slender minarets.[131](Fig.17)

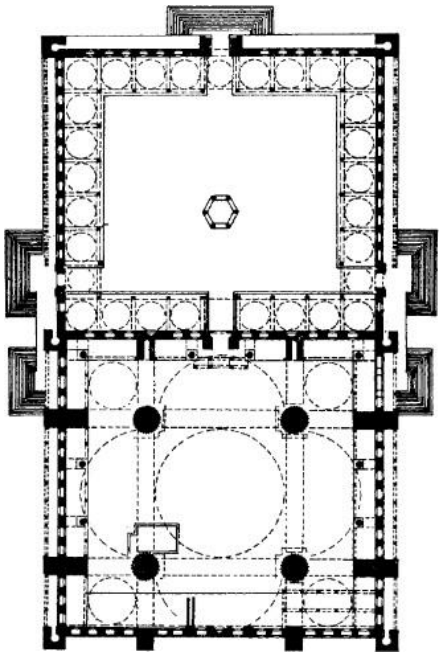

Figure 17The layout of Sultan Ahmad Mosque (Hilary& Freely 2010:108)

2.4.5. Al- Selimiye Madrasa:

It was built between 1569 and 1574, designed by architect Sinan, and formed part of *al- Selimiye* complex in Edirne, sponsored by Sultan Selim II. It features a square arcaded courtyard; the domed classroom is situated on the northwest side, while the student rooms line the southeast, northeast, and southwest sides of the

[128] Freely 2011: 331.
[129] Ibid: 330.
[130] Aslanapa 1971: 230.
[131] Petersen 1996: 223.

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courtyard.[132](Fig.16)

2.5. An Overview of the Architectural Characteristics of Religious Buildings in the Mamluk Period in Damascus:

Mamluk constructions have distinct designs and specific characteristics. Their facades are covered with courses of black basalt, white limestone, and pink limestone. Medallions, Calligraphic decorations, inscriptive bands, interlocked bands, and blazons are used to adorn the facade.[133] A symmetrical composition is created by a gateway in the center, a *muqarnas* canopy above it, and window niches on either side.[134]

The majority of Mamluk mosques in Damascus adopted the hypostyle plan of the Umayyad Mosque; these mosques were scaled-down versions of the Umayyad one. They consisted of a double- or triple-aisled prayer hall preceded by a courtyard.[135] A new style of minarets appeared in the Mamluk period, beside the square shape, as the octagonal-shaped minarets.[136]

The *al-Tawrīzī* Mosque, located outside the walled city, is an example of a Damascene mosque from the Mamluk era. Built by Amīr Gharz al-Dīn Khalīl al- Tawrīzī in 1426, in addition to a *türbe*. The prayer hall, consisting of three porticoes(arcades), is placed after the square-shaped tomb. The entrance of the mosque is surmounted by a trefoil arch. Additionally, the square-shaped minaret was built separately from the mosque.[137](Fig. 18)

[132] Ahunbay 2012: 108.
[133] al-Rīḥāūī 1996:134.
[134] Cigdem 1999: 86.
[135] Burns 2005: 81-212.
[136] al-Shihābī 1993: 19.
[137] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 185.

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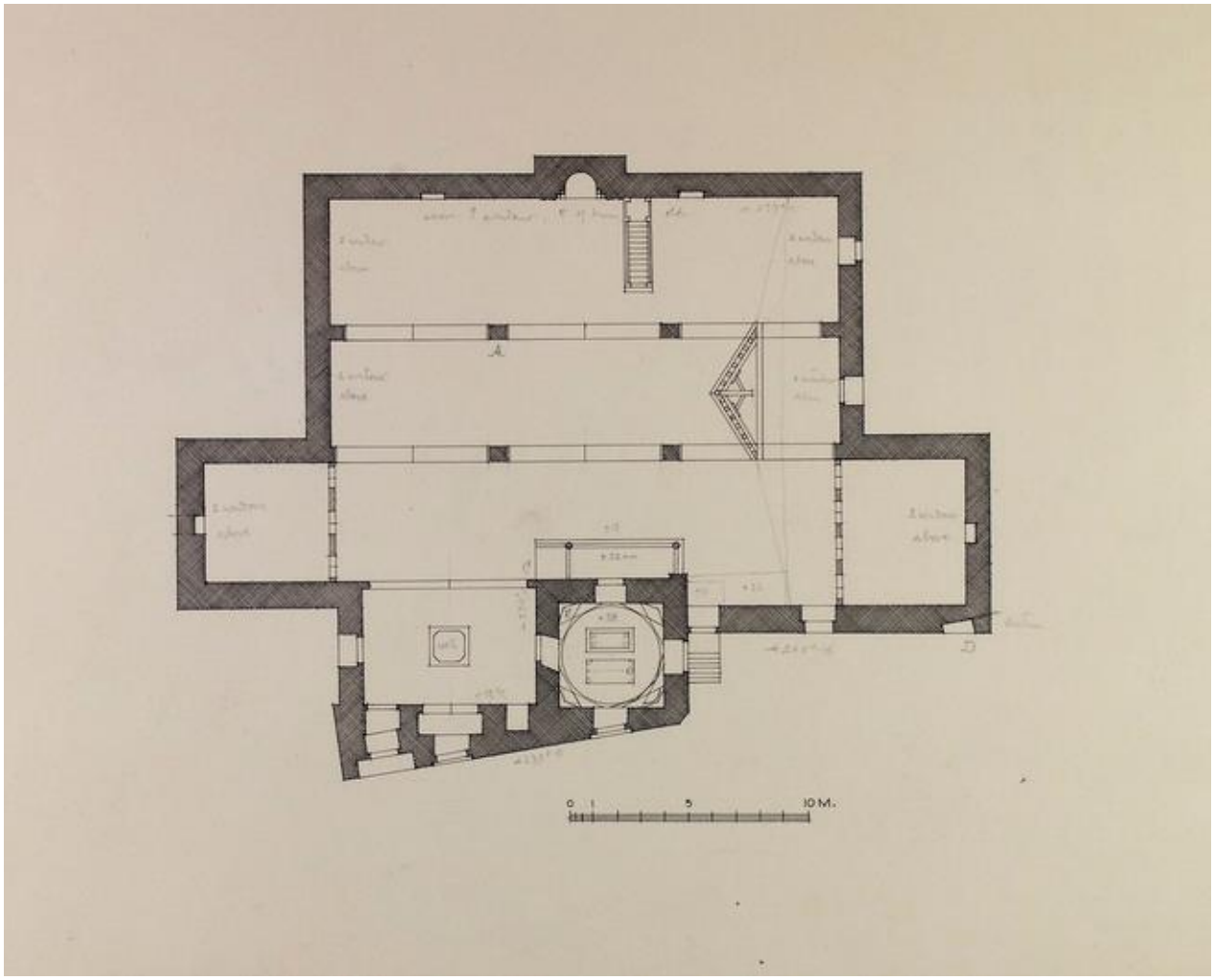

Figure 18 The layout of al- Tawrīzī Mosque (https://bornindamascus.blogspot.com)

The traditional layout of the Mamluk *madrasa* followed the Seljuk cruciform plan, consisting of an internal courtyard surrounded by four *iwans*, and often included the *mausolea* of its founder.[138] Many of the *madaris* that were built in the Mamluk period in Damascus were destroyed or abandoned, while a few of them were restored. It is known that the Ottoman patrons focused more on building new mosques with attached *madaris* than on repairing the previous buildings.[139]

One such instance of the Mamluk *madaris* in Damascus is the *al-Juqmuqiyya Madrasa*. It was one of the first buildings constructed during the fifteenth century, following the destruction of Damascus caused by the Timurids. It was built in 1421 by the governor of Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Juqmuq. It embodies the architectural

[138] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 26
[139] Bakhit 1972: 154.

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characteristics and the decorative art of the Mamluks, featuring the cruciform layout, with a central courtyard, a basin, four *iwans*, and the *mausolea* of the builder located in one of the corners.[140] (Fig.19)

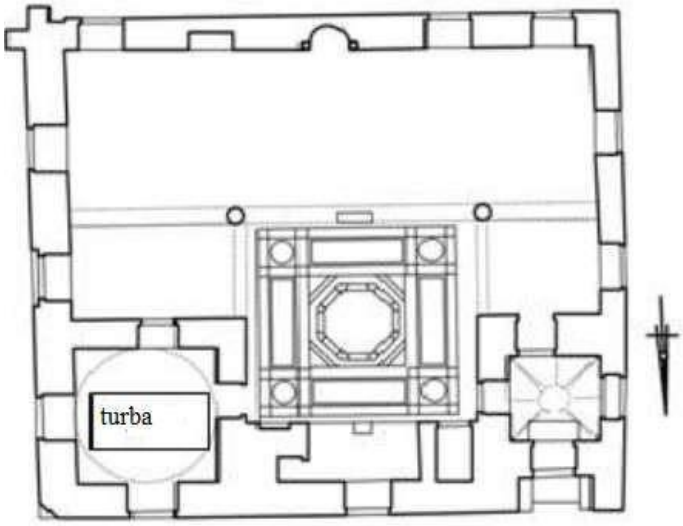

Figure 19 The layout of al-Juqmuqiyya Madrasa (Ntīfah, Manūn and Ṭarīfī 2014: 342)

Another example is *al-Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa*. It served as a residential place for the father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʾAyyūbī , known as *Dār al-ʿAqīqī*. In 1279, this house was purchased by al-Ẓāhir Baybars, and converted to a *madrasa* and *türbe*.[141] It consists of a courtyard surrounded by an *iwan* on the eastern side for teaching the Shafiite doctrine and one iwan on the southern side for teaching the Hanafi doctrine, while the northern side includes the students' rooms, and on the western side there are no rooms except the entrance of the *madrasa*.[142] In this *madrasa*, the sultan Baybars and his son al-Malik al-Saʿīd were buried. The *madrasa* was renewed in a modern style, and nowadays it is used as a library known as *al-Ẓāhiriyya* Library.[143]

2.6. The Damascene Religious Buildings in the Ottoman Period:

The mosque, *madrasa*, and *türbe* were among the religious structures constructed by the rulers of Damascus throughout the Ottoman era, particularly during the sixteenth century. These structures were typically grouped together in complexes. Moreover, the imaret, a cultural institution that arose during Ottoman rule, appears in the two sultanic complexes in Damascus.

[140] Abdul-haq 1950: 114.
[141] al-Shihābī 1995: 379.
[142] Dahmān 1981: 117.
[143] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 137-138.

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The Mosque:

During the Ottoman period, Damascene mosques were built in a new architectural style distinct from that of the earlier eras.[144] This new style, including its layout and new architectural elements, will be described in detail below.

The Madrasa:

Throughout the Ottoman era, there was a significant decline in the number of *madaris* constructed . Notably, only three *madaris* were sponsored by Ottoman governors in the sixteenth century, and only five *madaris* were built in the eighteenth century. These *madaris* will be described in detail in later subsections. The primary causes of this declination were as follows:

-The official cancellation of the three Islamic jurisprudence doctrines, making the Hanafi doctrine the official one in the Ottoman sultanate.

- The imposition of the Ottoman language as the official state language, which halted scientific advancement.[145]

Regarding the architectural layout of the *madrasa*, the Mamluk style completely disappeared in the newly built *madrasa*, being replaced by the new Ottoman layout. This new layout consists of rooms regularly distributed around a rectangular courtyard.[146]

The Türbe (mausolea):

There are only a few examples of Ottoman *mausolea* in Damascus. Unlike in previous periods, when *mausolea* were built inside *madaris* or mosques, during the Ottoman period, they were built separately, often as attached buildings next to the mosque.[147] Additionally, Ottoman period *mausolea* had fewer decorations and inscriptions compared to those of the Mamluk period.[148]

[144] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983:185.
[145] al-ʿilabī 1989: 264.
[146] Weber 1997-1998: 436.
[147] al-Rīḥāūī 1996: 199.
[148] al-Shihābī 1995:17.

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The Imaret:

The *imaret*, also known as the soup kitchen in Europe, is one of the cultural institutions that arose during Ottoman rule. Its main function was to distribute meals to the poor, and it also played an important role in maintaining peace in Damascene society. It was originally developed in the towns and along the roads that connected them before it became one of the fundamental components of Ottoman culture.[149]

2.7. The Development Phases of Ottoman Architecture in Damascus:

The First Phase (the Mamluk Influences): 1516-1520:

The Ottoman government's attempt to maintain the same traditions in Damascus without any serious efforts for change was one of the factors that contributed to the persistence of the Mamluk style at the beginning of Ottoman rule. For example, on the order of Sultan Selim I, the Damascene architect Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAṭār retained his previous position as head of Damascene architects, commissioning him to design new buildings.[150]

The Second Phase (Ottoman Influences):

With the death of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in 1520, the former Mamluk ruler Jānburdī al- Ghazālī led a rebellion against Ottoman rule, marking the beginning of this era. Consequently, and to ensure a complete integration of Damascus into the Ottoman administrative system, stronger measures had to be implemented. These new Ottoman measures extended to the architectural side of Damascus, whereas the Ottoman sultanate utilized the architecture to confirm the centralization of Ottoman rule and assert its claim as the supreme Islamic state. However, unlike the earlier era, the Ottoman administration made a greater effort to promote the traditional Ottoman architectural style.[151] resulting in a reduction of the previous Mamluk architectural traditions.[152]

The first step in spreading the new Ottoman style in the vassal states was creating the imperial architectural office in the middle of the sixteenth century. The task of this office was to supervise the execution of the architectural projects, which were sponsored by the imperial and ruling elite and followed the Ottoman architectural style, either in the capital or in the provinces. The architectural projects had received varying degrees of attention from the imperial architectural office, according to the level of patronage and the location of the projects. Whereas the sultanic and most of the vizierial projects in Istanbul were directly supervised by

[149] al-Arnāʾūṭ 1993:103.
[150] Weber 1997-1998: 432.
[151] Cigdem 1999: 70-83.
[152] Weber 1997-1998: 435.

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the chief architect and his immediate subordinates. With regard to sultanic projects outside the capital, palace architects were sent from the capital, while buildings sponsored by lesser patrons were supervised by local architects and craftsmen. Sometimes the plan was provided by the imperial architectural office.[153] It's worth mentioning that the Empire employed the same unit system for architectural projects throughout its territories. Across the Empire, a standardized unit of 75.8 cm width, known as the mimari arsin, was utilized.[154]

2.8. Examples of Religious Architecture in Damascus in The Sixteenth Century:

Based on what was mentioned in the previous chapters, Damascus witnessed in the sixteenth century the construction of two sultanic complexes and five vizierial complexes, in all of which the mosque was an essential element. Below, these mosques will be detailed regarding their layout, architectural elements, and artistic style. Moreover, the *al-Ṣamādiyya* Mosque, although simple, represents the first attempt to adopt the Ottoman style.

2.8.1. The complex of Sultan Selim I:

According to the Ottoman sources, sultan Selim I built this mosque, in honor of the *Sufi Shaykh* ibn ʿArabī. It can be interpreted as an Ottoman attempt to add religious character to the new rule in Damascus, and to strengthen the Ottoman presence in the city. Despite its small size and simple architecture, compared to the Umayyad Mosque, its importance overshadowed the Umayyad one. Especially that during the period of construction, Selim I distributed alms and foods at the mosque's site, before performing prayers in the Umayyad Mosque. Given its significance as an Ottoman structure, Jānburdī al-Ghazālī closed the mosque as his first act of resistance against the Ottoman Empire.[155]

The mosque was constructed under the supervision of the local architect Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAṭār,[156]who followed the traditional local style. The prayer hall features two aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, preceded by a courtyard surrounded by porticoes.[157](Fig. 20) Regarding the minaret, despite efforts to adopt the new Ottoman shape, which appears through its conical top, but its polygonal shape, *muqarnas* elements and *ablaq* decoration, clearly reflect the local Damascene style.[158] (Fig.21). Finally, it is worth mentioning that the materials used in the construction of this complex were taken from the previous Mamluk palace, *Dār al-Saʿāda*.[159]

[153] Cigdem 1999: 82-83.
[154] Özdural, 1998: 106.
[155] Cigdem 1999: 74.
[156] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1998: 370.
[157] Weber 1997-1998: 433
[158] Waltsinger & Watzinger:41.
[159] Ibn Ṭūlūn, 1998, p. 375

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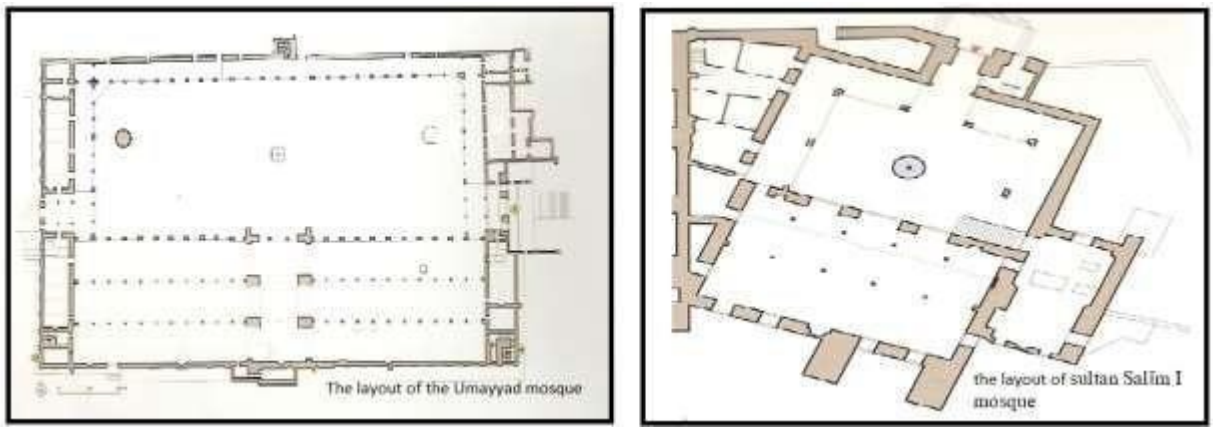

Figure 20 Comparison between the layout of the Umayyad Mosque and sultan Selim I Mosque (Degeorge 2005: 34-161).

Figure 21The polygonal local minaret of sultan Selim I Mosque (al-Shihābī 1993: 344)

The Tekke of Selim I:

It has a simple plan, consisting of a rectangular hall roofed with two domes, surrounded by the kitchen and supply rooms.[160] Given the mosque and *tekke's* allocated expenses, multiple tithes were collected from several villages surrounding Damascus, as well as varied earnings from several facilities (four *sūqs*, stores, *khans*, and millhouses in Damascus). The endowment shows that the *tekke* used to provide 400 meals every day, 200 for breakfast and 200 for dinner.[161]

[160] al-Rīḥāūī 1979: 225
[161] al-ʾĀrnāʾūṭ 2002: 135-138.

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The Türbe:

It was built over the tomb of the renowned *Sufi Shaykh* ibn ʿArabī.[162] Its dome rests on a single drum. Its interior walls are covered with ceramic tiles *(qashāni)*, up to a height of over sixteen feet. These tiles were decorated with cypress motifs, which are an Ottoman decorative repertory, but their technique and colors (white ground, cobalt blue, and olive-green motifs) reflect Syrian tradition and local manufacturing.[163] (Fig.22)

Figure 22 The qashani tiles in the Mausolea of ibn ʿArabī (Degeorge 2005: 160)

2.8.2. Al-Ṣamādiyya Mosque:

It is a modest structure situated in the *Bāb al-Ṣaghīr*, erected in 1527.[164]It was sponsored by Khalīl al-Dīn al-Ṣamādī, the *Sufi Shaykh*, who was appointed by Sultan Suleiman as ruler of Kanaker, a fief in the suburb of Damascus.[165] The mosque design adheres to Ottoman architectural tradition featuring a square hall covered by

[162] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1998: 373.
[163] Degeorge 2005: 163.
[164] Burns 2005: 231.
[165] al-Ghazzi 1997: 31.

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a central dome. (Fig.23). The minaret of the mosque is very simple but is characterized by a conical top.[166] It is worth mentioning that Khalīl al-Dīn was deeply impressed with Ottoman architecture when he visited Istanbul with Sultan Selim I.[167]

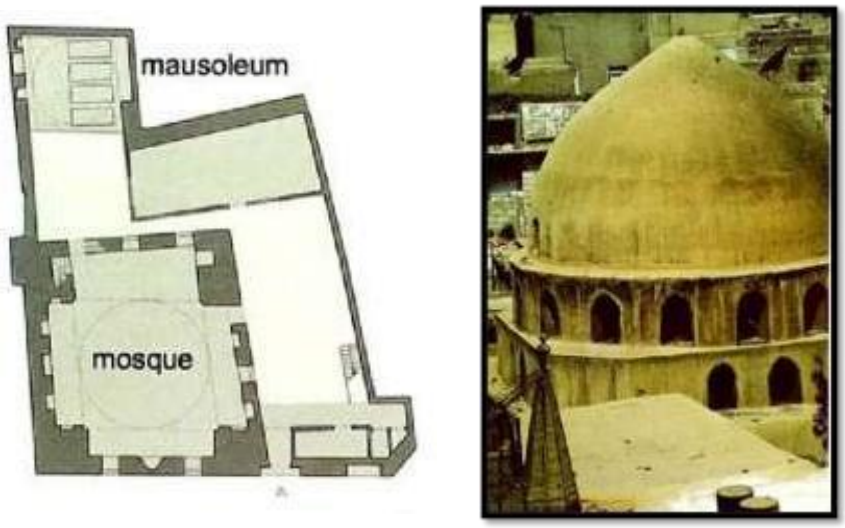

Figure 23 The layout and dome of al-Ṣamādiyya Mosque (Weber 2007:211)

2.8.3. The Complex of Ahmad Shamsi Pasha:

Ahmad Shamsi Pasha served as the governor of Damascus for approximately five years (1554-60), after being appointed by Sultan Suleiman. In 1554, the same year the construction of al- Suleimaniyya complex, he established a charitable endowment *(waqf)* to support the *mausolea* of Bilāl al-Ḥabashī, the Prophet's *muezzin*, situated in the cemetery of *Bāb al-Ṣaġīr*, just south of the city wall. It is located south of the citadel on the site that was previously occupied by *al-Isfahāniyyah Madrasa* and *Dār al-Saʿāda*, the palace of the Mamluk governor. Nowadays, the main entrance is all that remains of the complex of Ahmad Shamsi Pasha.[168] The complex consisted of:

Two square domed buildings were situated on the eastern and western north sides of the courtyard. The first building was used as a prayer place *(muṣallā)*, while the second served as a *madrasa* for teaching the Quran to children.[169] These two buildings were equipped with grilled windows that opened towards the citadel to the north and the courtyard to the south.[170]

Between the two domed buildings on the northern side of the complex, there were five rooms, in addition to

[166] al-Shihābī 1993: 491.
[167] Weber 1997-1998: 434.
[168] Boqvist 2012: 192-195.
[169] al-Arnāʾūṭ 1993: 196-197.
[170] Boqvist 2012: 192.

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ten rooms on the opposite side on the southern side of the courtyard, which were used to accommodate the teachers and students of the complex. The kitchen, located on the eastern side of the courtyard, was used for cooking food for the workers in the complex, the students, and the poor.[171]

2.8.4. Al- Suleimaniyya Complex:

The construction of *al-Suleimaniyya* complex in the middle of the sixteenth century formed a landmark in the architectural character of Damascus, reflecting the Ottoman style, which became largely spread in the Ottoman empire, from the Balkans to Egypt.[172]

It is located west of Damascus, outside its urban limits at that time, on flatland on the bank of the Barada River, supplying it with water and attractive sight. This location was selected carefully and strongly associated with the importance of the building and the strict Ottoman criteria to determine the location of the significant monuments.[173] On the other hand, the site of *al-Suleimaniyya* complex was previously occupied by *Qaṣr al-ʿAblaq*, the palace of the Mamluk ruler, Baybars. That suggests the intention of the Ottomans to give a new meaning to the place, which enjoyed high importance during the Mamluk period.[174] (Fig.24). Worth to mention, this complex had income from forty villages, but the total income of which was unknown.[175]

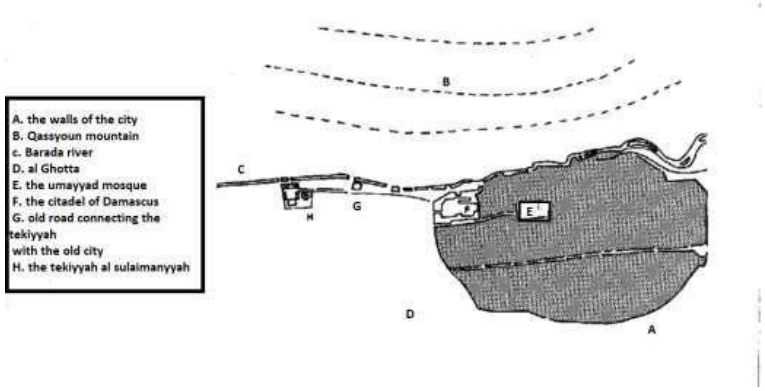

Figure 24 The location of al- Suleimaniyya Complex (Hakky 1996: 39)

The Ottoman style and architectural characteristics of this complex were subsequently adopted in later buildings, becoming distinctive architectural features in the Damascene architecture.[176] In the years following the construction of the *al-Suleimaniyya* complex, many governors sponsored other religious buildings,

[171] al-Arnāʾūṭ 1993: 197.
[172] Burns 2005: 23.
[173] Hakky 1996: 38.
[174] Cigdem 1999: 74
[175] Bakhit 1972: 116.
[176] Weber 1997-1998: 434.

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indicating the role of the complex in inspiring Ottoman officials to undertake architectural projects in Damascus.[177]

The complex includes two parts: the first, which was built during the rule of Sultan Suleiman, features a main rectangular courtyard surrounded by a mosque and imaret on its two longer sides, with the hospice and *caravanserai* located symmetrically on the short sides. . (Fig.25)

Adjacent to its eastern side is the second part, which includes the *madrasa* and the *arasta*.Construction of this section began during Suleiman's reign and was completed under Sultan Selim II, resulting in its naming as *al-Selimiye.* Notably, the first section of the *al-Suleimaniyya* complex now serves as a military museum, while the second section functions as a tourist sūq.[178]

Figure 25 Full view of al-Suleimaniyya Complex (Güçhan & Kuleli 2018:5)

The complex was designed by the court architect Sinan, which was unusual for Damascus.[179] Nevertheless, due to his commitment to *al-Suleimaniyya* complex in Istanbul and the distance between Damascus and Istanbul, the actual supervision was by one of Sinan's most qualified assistants, the Iranian architect Malla Agha.[180] Thus, during the construction of *al-Suleimaniyya* complex, it was the first time that Ottoman workmen were sent to Damascus to work with local workshops, playing an important role in creating local Ottoman architecture. It is worth mentioning that the second part of the complex, which is known as *al-Selimiye*, was

[177] Cigdem 1999: 74.
[178] Güçhan & Ayşe 2018: 7-8.
[179] Weber 1997-1998: 435.
[180] Hakky 1996: 38.

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probably built by a local architect. Regarding the building materials, some of them were imported from Istanbul, some were reused, and some were produced by local workshops.[181]

The Layout of al- Suleimaniyya Mosque:

The interior design of the mosque is very simple; its walls are dressed in white stones, while the lower parts of the walls, between the windows, are decorated with white and pink marble strips that intersect with black and white geometrical shapes, and the windows' lunettes are decorated with underglaze painted tiles.[182] The *mihrab* is surmounted with *muqarnas* elements and surrounded by a frame of geometrical patterns.[183](Fig.26)

Figure 26 The interior of al- Suleimaniyya Mosque (Kasmo 2017: 214)

The mosque is preceded by a double portico, with an inner part of four columns with *muqarnas* capitals that carry a central barrel vault, flanked by two domes, while the exterior portico is covered with a sloping roof and rests on smaller columns.[184] In the center of the portico façade is the portal of the mosque, surmounted by a triangular *muqarnas* hood and framed by geometric decorations. On each side of the portal is a niche, an arched window, and a small door leading to the minarets.[185] The portico facade is covered with marble panels up to the level of the windows,[186]and the windows' arches are decorated with polychrome floral motifs, then rest of the wall is dressed with alternating courses of black and white stones. While the other facades of the mosque are less innovative than the portico facade, and its decoration is limited to black and white stones.[187](Fig.27)

[181] Boqvist 2012: 199.
[182] Necipoglu 1990: 157.
[183] Kasmo 2017: 215.
[184] Güçhan & Ayşe 2018: 11.
[185] Kasmo 2017: 211.
[186] Cigdem 1999: 87.
[187] Güçhan & Ayşe 2018: 10.

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Figure 27 The facade of al- Suleimaniyya Mosque (Kasmo 2017: 210-212)

The two minarets are built with white stones and consist of a polygonal shaft and conical top,[188] and a single balcony with a latticework balustrade, supported by *muqarnas*. The minarets are located symmetrically at the two corners of the northern wall, giving the complex its sultanic character.[189]

- The prayer hall's dome has a hemispherical form, coated with lead, and is raised on a low polygonal drum, which is internally supported by four pendentives, formed by using circular stone triangulations without any *muqarnas*. The exterior dome is surrounded by eight buttresses, with two buttresses at each corner. The drum of the dome is pierced with twenty- four windows. According to the registers of Istanbul, the lead of the dome was imported to be used in the construction of *al-Suleimaniyya* complex in Damascus, especially in the mosque. Nowadays, the dome of the prayer hall is covered with lead similar to its original situation, while the other domes of the complex are plastered and whitewashed.[190] (Fig.28)

[188] Güçhan & Ayşe 2018: 10.
[189] Kasmo 2017: 215.
[190] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 10-11.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 28 The dome and two minarets of al- Suleimaniyya Mosque (Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 10)

The Tabhane: (dervish hostels):

The main function of the *tabhane* units is to provide a place for some of the noble pilgrims and to accommodate the Sufis. These units are located symmetrically on the northern and western sides of *al- Suleimaniyya* Mosque. On each side, there are six single-domed square rooms, forming a single row preceded by a domed portico of keel arches.[191]

Every unit is provided with a wardrobe niche and furnace. The chimneys of the furnaces rise above the dome level and are topped with conical tops. The exterior façade of the *tabhane* is covered with yellowish-white fine-cut stone, and the columns of the porticos are surmounted with blue and red-colored diamond-shaped capitals.[192] The relieving arches of the windows and doors are decorated with patterned glazed tiles, bearing floral decoration. The range of colors used (turquoise, cobalt, blue, purple, and white) refers to Damascene influences.[193] (Fig.29) The interior walls of the *tabhane* are plastered and the domes which were originally covered with lead are now covered with cement. The *tabhane* has been abandoned since 2008 due to renovation work.[194]

[191] Degeorge 2005: 163.
[192] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 12.
[193] Degeorge 2005: 163.
[194] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 13.

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Figure 29 The portico of the tabhane in the west of the mosque (Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 12)

The Imaret:

It is located to the north of the courtyard, oriented along the same axis as the mosque, with a T- shaped building, and on its two sides are the twin *caravanserais.* The northern façade of the *imaret* is adjacent to a courtyard surrounded by high walls, which has a door opening to the Barada River. The *imaret* consists of a cubical space in the middle, surrounded on each side by two domed spaces with separate entrances. The entire structure is preceded by a portico of twelve domes.[195] This imaret includes a main kitchen, a store, a bakery, and two halls.[196]

The Caravanserai: caravan stop – hostel for travellers:

The *caravanserai* is made up of simple rectangular-shaped structures situated on each side of the *imaret*. Each of the two *caravanserais* is divided into two main naves, and each nave is covered with seven domes resting on pendentives.[197](Fig.30) The main function of this *caravanserai* was to offer services for the caravans, including a place to rest, shops for the essential needs, and sometimes trade exchange.[198]

[195] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 13.
[196] Hakky 1996: 40.
[197] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 14.
[198] al-Arnāʾūṭ 1993: 106.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 30 The exterior and interior view of the caravanserai (Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 14)

Analysis of the Local and Ottoman Influences in al- Suleimaniyya Complex

It is clear that the architect Sinan adopted the Ottoman architectural tradition in *al-Suleimaniyya* complex, whereas regarding the decoration, he adopted the local tradition style.[199]

The fundamental change appears clearly in the architectural layout of the mosque, while the decorative techniques have not shown any significant difference, and this may be interpreted as an Ottoman attempt to adapt to and absorb the Islamic legacy of the area.[200]

Regarding the architectural plan of the mosque, contrary to the previously adopted hypostyle layout, a new Ottoman architectural layout was followed in the construction of the *al-Suleimaniyya* Mosque. This consisted of a square prayer hall, [201]preceded by a portico, which was a completely new architectural style in Damascus.[202]

So is the case with the architectural elements, which were totally new to Damascus, such as:

-The hemispherical, wide-span central dome, covered with lead and supported by buttresses, in addition to the pendentives used as a transitional area between the rectangular room and the drum.[203]

-The symmetrical twin pencil- shaped minarets, on the two sides of the main façade, and it is worth mentioning that *al-Suleimaniyya* Mosque was the only example in Damascus that has two minarets, even though it was very common in Ottoman architecture.[204]

-The use of the tiles inside the building and in its façade: even though the tiles appeared in the Mamluk

[199] Burns 2005: 232.
[200] Kasmo 2017: 224.
[201] Burns 2005: 232.
[202] Kasmo 2017: 224.
[203] Weber 1997-1998: 435.
[204] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1984: 41.

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architecture of Damascus, in *al-Tawrīzī* Mosque, it was the only example of using tiles in that period.[205]
Although the *al-Suleimaniyya* complex was built according to the new Ottoman architectural tradition, many local decorative traditions are observed. One of the most important local decorative legacies is the strong emphasis on the exterior facades of the buildings.
The exterior facades of *al-Suleimaniyya* complex were distinguished with *ablaq* masonry of limestone and basalt, in addition to the pink limestone sometimes. Also, the encrusted stones, and the polychrome marble paneling, are one of the local decorative elements, used in *al-Suleimaniyya* complex.[206]

Al- Selimiye Madrasa:

It was built after the construction of the first part of the complex, in 1566. The *madrasa* has a typical Ottoman layout and consists of a high-domed classroom *(darshane)*,[207] and twenty-two cells (student rooms); fourteen of them are in the east and west wings, six in the northern entrance, and two on both sides of the classroom. These cells (student rooms) are preceded by a domed portico that surrounds three sides of the courtyard. The arches of the porticoes are dressed in white and black stones, while the façade of the three domed porticoes is covered with white stones.[208] In the center of the courtyard is a rectangular pool. The floor of the courtyard is paved with white and black stones. It is worth noting that these cells are used nowadays as handicraft shops and workshops.[209](Fig.31)

Figure 31 The exterior view of al-Selimiye Madrasa (Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 15)

[205] Weber 1997-1998: 437
[206] Kasmo 2017::216-
[207] Hakky 1996: 43-47.
[208] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 15.
[209] Degeorge 2005: 163

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The Arasta

The *arasta* is a longitudinal area consisting of twenty-three shops on two sides.[210] It is accessible through two gates: one in the south, which opens to the madrasa, and another in the north, which opens to the main street.[211](Fig.32)

Figure 32 The intermediary gate of arasta (Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 16)

Analyses of Local and Ottoman Influences in al-Selimiyya Madrasa:

The typical Ottoman layout of the *madrasa* appeared for the first time in Damascus with *al-Selimiyya Madrasa*, through the symmetrical layout of the rooms around a rectangular courtyard, as this style was used largely in Istanbul and Anatolia.[212] (The above-mentioned *al-Selimiyya Madrasa* in Edirne).

The Syrian influences appear through the use of the Mamluk type of dome, which was taller than the Ottoman one and rests on an octagonal drum. Also, the two gates of the arasta reflect local decoration features, such as the medallions, the interlocked stones, and the alternating- colored stones.[213] (Fig.33)

[210] Hakky 1996: 47
[211] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 15
[212] Weber 1997-1998: 436.
[213] Güçhan & Kuleli 2018: 16.

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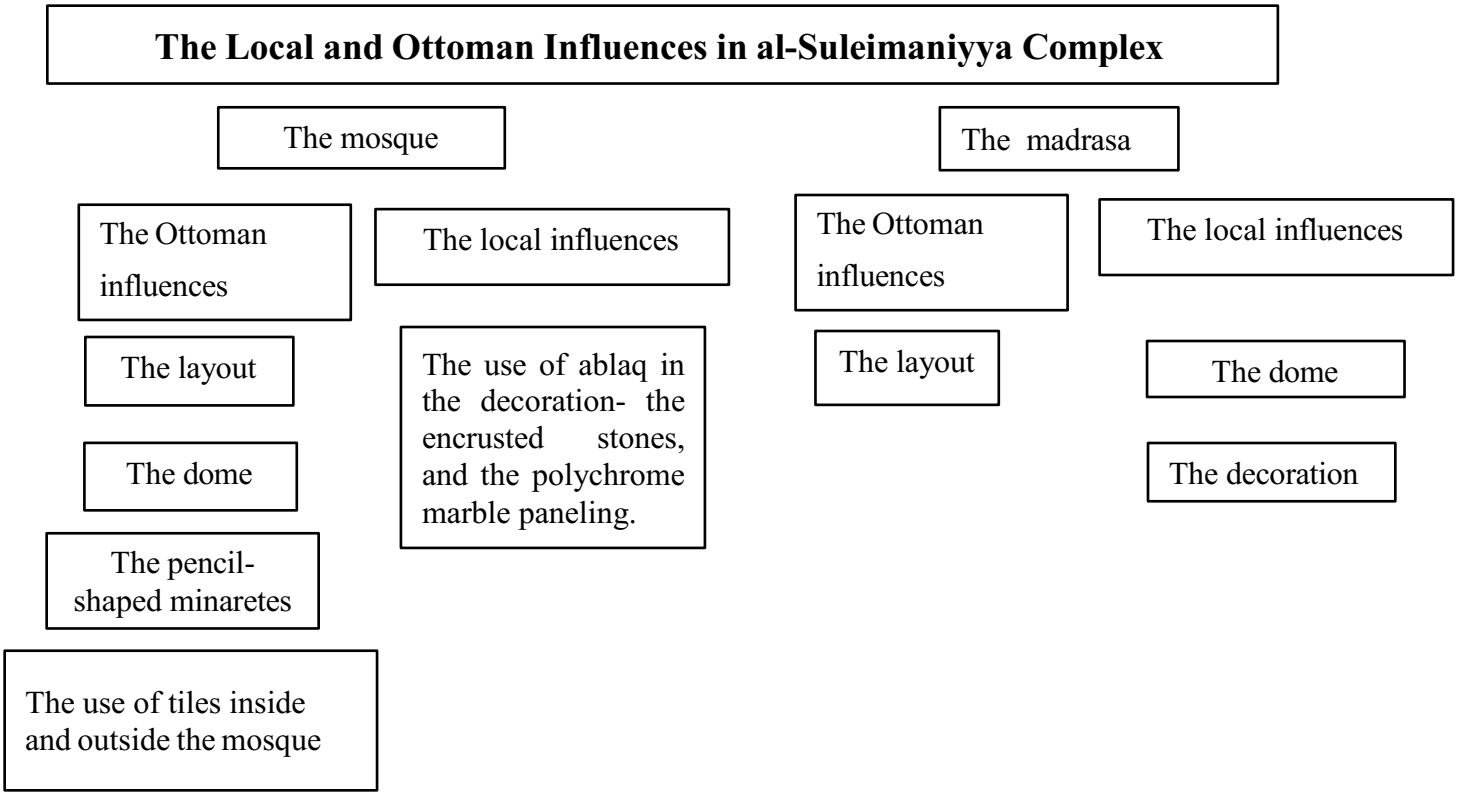

Figure 33 The local and Ottoman influences in al Suleimaniyya Complex (by the author)

2.8.5. The Complex of Murad Pasha:

Murad Pasha was appointed governor of Damascus in 1568-1569.[214]

The Mosque:

The governor Murad Pasha gave the order to build the mosque. Despite his brief reign, it was sufficient to launch the project.[215] The mosque is located in the *al-Mīdān* District, near the square where the pilgrimage caravan gathered before leaving the city.[216]

The prayer hall is covered with a hemispherical-shaped dome, which rests on pendentives inside. It includes a renewed *mihrab* and *minbar*.[217] The mosque's façade is made up of *ablaq* alternating-colored stones, and it features a high gateway with a trefoil arch that leads to the mosque's courtyard.[218]The courtyard is encircled by rooms, some of which were used as guest quarters and others for serving food to the poor people.[219] A double

[214] Bakhit 1972: 117.
[215] Burns 2005: 234.
[216] Cigdem 1999: 74
[217] Luṭfī 2011: 460.
[218] al-Shihābī 1995:585
[219] Cigdem 1999: 74.

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portico that leads to the prayer hall is located on the southern façade of the courtyard. The front portico has a roof, covered with three domes, while the back portico has two lateral domes and a barrel vault in the middle. The minaret has octagonal shape, decorated with a series of niches, black stripes, and medallions, with one balcony, rests on *muqarnas* elements.[220] (Fig.34) (Fig.35)

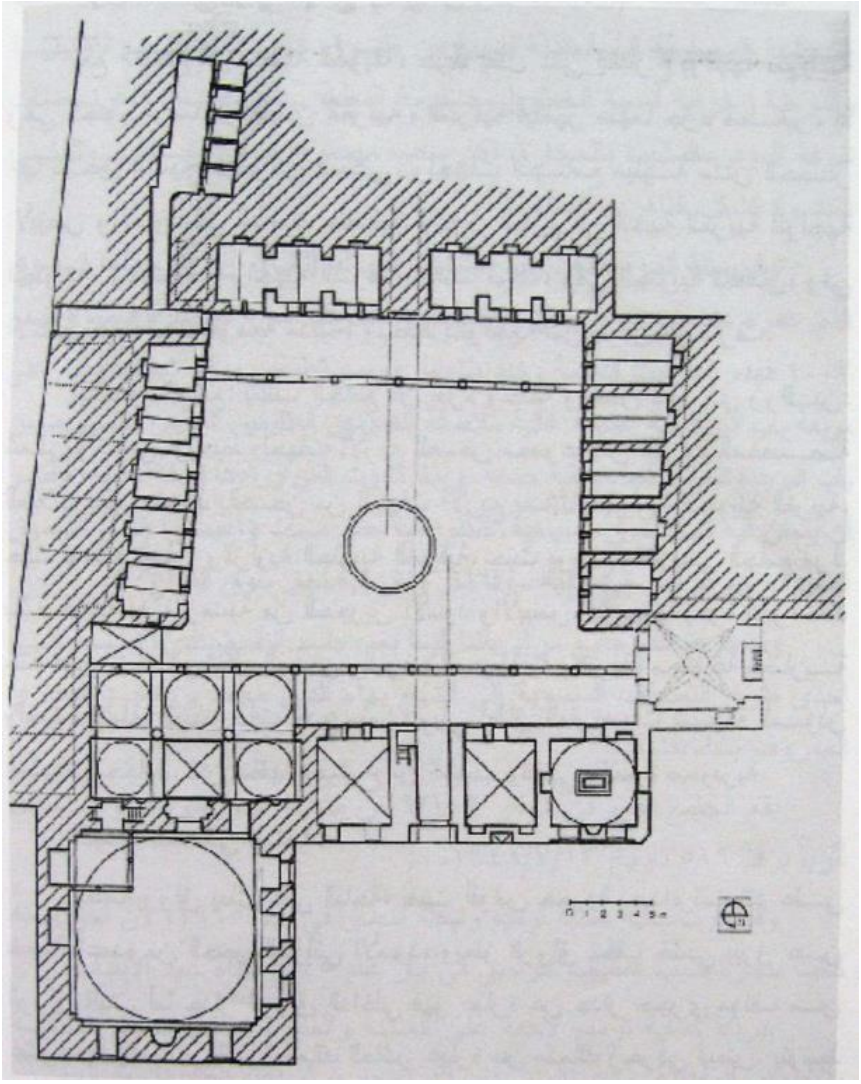

Figure 34 The layout of Murad Pasha Mosque (Lutfī 2011: 458-459).

[220] al-Shihābī 1993: 345.

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Figure 35 The minaret of Murad Pasha Mosque (al-Shihābī 1993:346)

The Mausolea (türbe):

The inside walls of the tomb are covered in *qashani* tiles. A polygonal drum supports the pointed dome of the tomb. The exterior façade is decorated with courses of contrasting colors.[221]

Analyses of the Local and Ottoman Influences:

The complex in general followed the Ottoman plan, except for its façade, which represents clear Mamluk features, such as the *ablaq* stripes, and the minaret, which did not take the Ottoman cylindrical shape (pencil-shaped), but it follows the local Damascene traditions. Regarding the *mausolea (türbe)* of the founder, it is separated for the first time from the mosque, which was a new Ottoman tradition.[222]

[221] al-Shihābī 1993: 585.
[222] Weber 1997-1998: 436.

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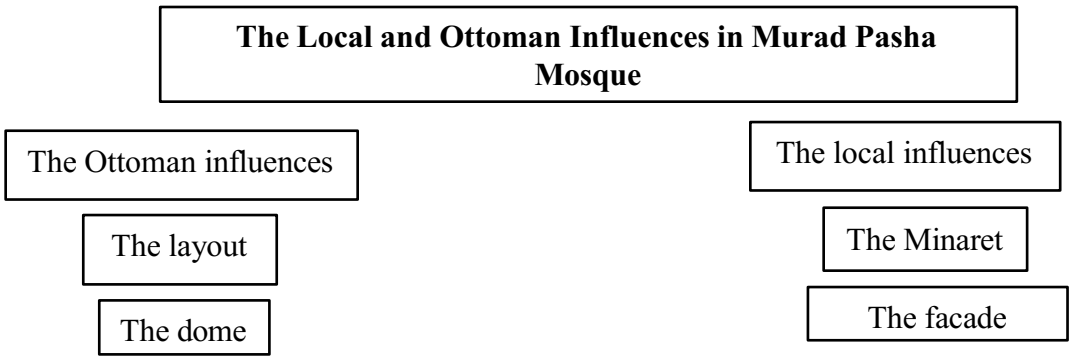

Figure 36 The local and Ottoman influences in Murad Basha Mosque (by the author)

2.8.6. The Complex of Dervish Pasha:

In the year 1567, Dervish Pasha served as the deputy governor of Tripoli, then assumed the deputy governorship of Damascus in 1574. He was later dismissed from Damascus and took on the deputy governorship of Marash, then Kırman, and finally Diyarbakir, where he passed away in 1575. His body was transferred to Damascus and buried there. He endowed a *hammam*, *sūq*, and *khan* for his mosque. It seems that his longest governorship period was in Damascus, considering that he didn't have any endowments in the other provinces.[223]

The Mosque:

The prayer hall is covered with seven domes. There was a single dome in the middle and three over each of the side aisles. The *mihrab*, which is adorned with geometric designs made of black and white stones, is located on the southern side of the prayer hall. The prayer hall is preceded by a portico on the courtyard's southern side, which is roofed with five small domes. It is worth mentioning that the northern wall of the prayer hall and its exterior facade are decorated with *qashani* ornamentation, which distinguishes the mosque.[224] (Fig.37). Regarding the minaret, it is pencil shaped following the Ottoman style.[225] Last but not least, it is important to note that the mosque's design is based on the *Mihrimah* Mosque in Istanbul, but on a much smaller scale.[226] (Fig.38) In this mosque, Dervish Pasha employed approximately fifty-five people in various positions, moreover, sixteen students received tuition and their expenses were funded by its endowments.[227]

[223] al-Ghazzi 1997, vol 3, 151-153.
[224] Luṭfī 2011: 141.
[225] al-Shihābī 1993: 335.
[226] Weber 1997-1998: 436.
[227] Bakhit, 1972: 117.

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Figure 37 The courtyard and Qashani decoration in Dervīsh Bāshā Mosque (Degeorge 2005: 171)

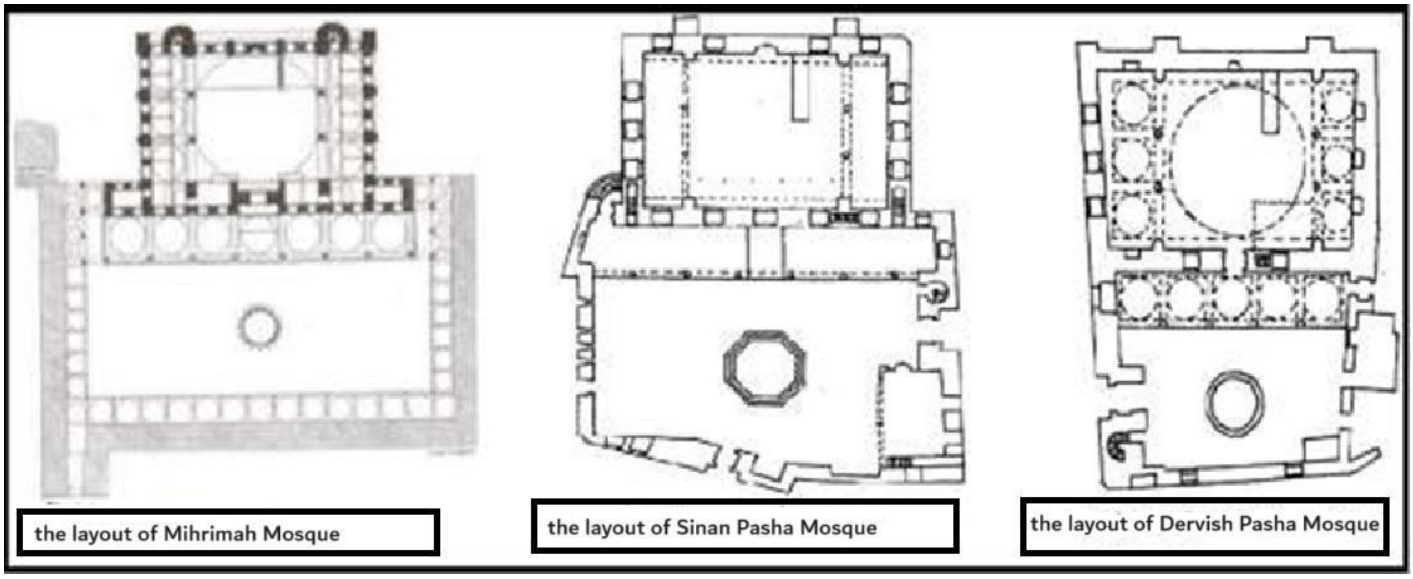

Figure 38 The similarity in the layout of Mihrimah Mosque in Istanbul and Sinan Pasha Mosque and Dervish Pasha Mosque in Damascus (Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 156) (Necipoglu 2005: 296) (Lutfī 2011: 442) (by the author)

The Mausolea:

Dervish Pasha tomb, where he was buried, was built in 1579, separated from the mosque but connected by an alley.[228] It has an octagonal shape following the models of Istanbul,[229] surmounted by a smooth appointed raised dome, depends on a polygonal drum, and is decorated with 16 arched windows. Alternating black and white courses create an *ablaq* pattern on the *mausolea's* façade.[230] (Fig.39)

[228] Burns 2005: 234.
[229] Weber 1997-1998: 436.
[230] al-Shihābī 1995: 155.

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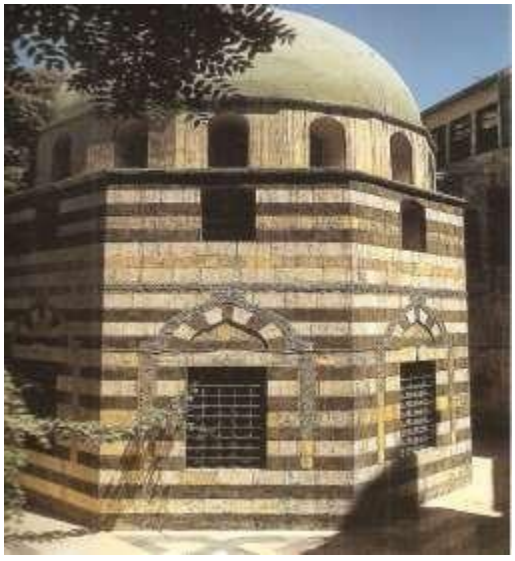

Figure 39 The mausoleum of Dervish Pasha (Degeorge 2005: 172)

Analysis of the Local and Ottoman Influences

The local influences appear strongly in the façade of the mosque, which is decorated with *ablaq* and has a portal topped by a minaret.[231] While the ottoman influences appear in the architectural layout of the mosque, which follows on a much smaller scale, the layout of *Mihrimah* Mosque in Istanbul.[232](Fig. 38) Moreover, the architectural elements of the mosque, such as the flattened dome and the pencil-shaped minaret, show Ottoman influences.[233] (Fig.40)

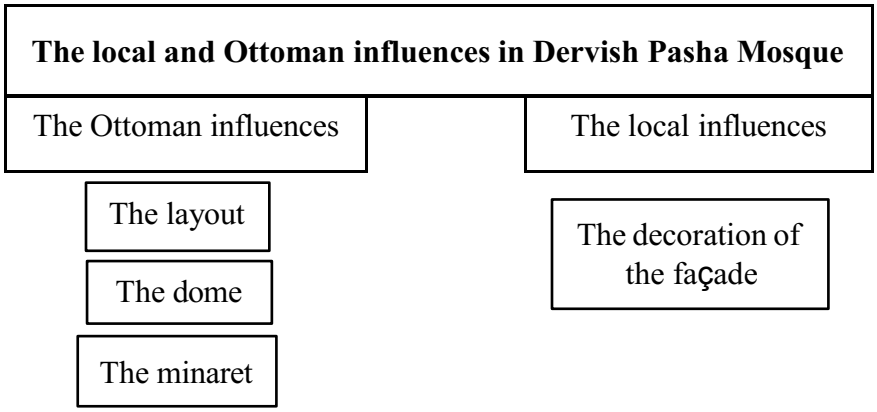

Figure 40 The local and Ottoman influences in Dervish Pasha Mosque (by the author)

[231] Burns 2005: 234.
[232] Weber 1997-1998: 436.
[233] Burns 2005: 234.

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2.8.7. The complex of Sinan Pasha:

Sinan Pasha was the top admiral of the Ottoman fleet during the reign of Sultan Suleiman.[234] He was appointed ruler for Damascus in 1585 and stayed there nineteen months. He endowed a complex consists of *al- Sinaniyya* Mosque, *Madrasa*, *Hammam* and *Sūq.* Worth mentioning that the income of the *hammam* was endowed for the mosque.[235]

The Mosque:

The layout of the mosque follows the Ottoman architectural tradition and is very similar, though on a much smaller scale, to the *Mihrimah* Mosque in Istanbul. (Fig. 38) The prayer hall is rectangular in shape, with two side galleries on two floors that look out into the central space through arcades on its eastern and western sides.[236] The dome of the mosque is hemispherical in shape, rises on carved plaster pendentives, and is externally decorated with twenty-four niches.[237] The southern side of the prayer hall is occupied by a *mihrab*, which is decorated with geometrical motifs,[238] and surmounted by an inscriptional panel of blue and white underglaze tiles *(qashani)*.[239]

The façade of the mosque is covered with alternating black and white stones,[240] with a portal surmounted by a series of muqarnas ending in a ribbed conch, and below the *muqarnas* there is a blue and white *qashani* panel, decorated with cypress tree motifs.[241] (Fig.41) The courtyard of the mosque has an octagonal basin in its center. White and black stones alternately cover the ground and the courtyard's walls.[242] Regarding the arched portico in the southern façade, ahead of the prayer hall, it is covered with seven domes and distinguished by its lavish decoration of pink stones, which alternates with white and black.[243] The façade is embellished with polychrome tiles in the window arcs and panels of geometric inlaid marble.[244] (Fig.42) The minaret is cylindrical, pencil-shaped, and covered with green glazed bricks.[245] Regarding the *madrasa*, which is located next to the mosque, it has a simple square plan, is covered with a dome, and rises on pendentives.[246]

[234] Freely 2011: 281.
[235] al-ʿIlabī 1989:333-520.
[236] Cigdem 1999: 89-90.
[237] Degeorge 2005: 176.
[238] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 158.
[239] Cigdem 1999: 89-90.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 158.
[242] Cigdem 1999: 90.
[243] Degeorge 2005: 176.
[244] Cigdem 1999: 90.
[245] Burns 2005: 234.
[246] Degeorge 2005: 176

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Worth noting is that Sinan Pasha also built a mosque in Cairo and another in Istanbul. His mosque in Cairo combines Ottoman and Fatimid artistic influences. It has a domed chamber encircled on three sides by an arcade of slightly pointed arches supporting shallow domes. The prayer hall is covered with a rounded central dome. Its lower part has two rows of windows, the upper ones shaped like lobed arches, which is common in Fatimid architecture. The dome is supported by buttresses crowned with onion-shaped tops, giving it a unique appearance. The minaret has a conical top, one balcony, and a squat cylindrical shaft.[247] Regarding his mosque in Istanbul, it was built by Mimar Sinan. The central dome is supported by six arches. The side aisles have two domed bays each. The prayer hall is preceded by a narthex with five piers, four of which are domed, and the central one is cross-vaulted. It is worth mentioning that the plan of this mosque closely resembles the *Üç Şerefeli* Mosque (1447) in Edirne.[248]

Figure 41The facade of Sinan Pasha Mosque (Burns 2005: 235) (Degeorge2005: 173)

[247] Abouseif 1989: 161
[248] Freely 2011: 281-282

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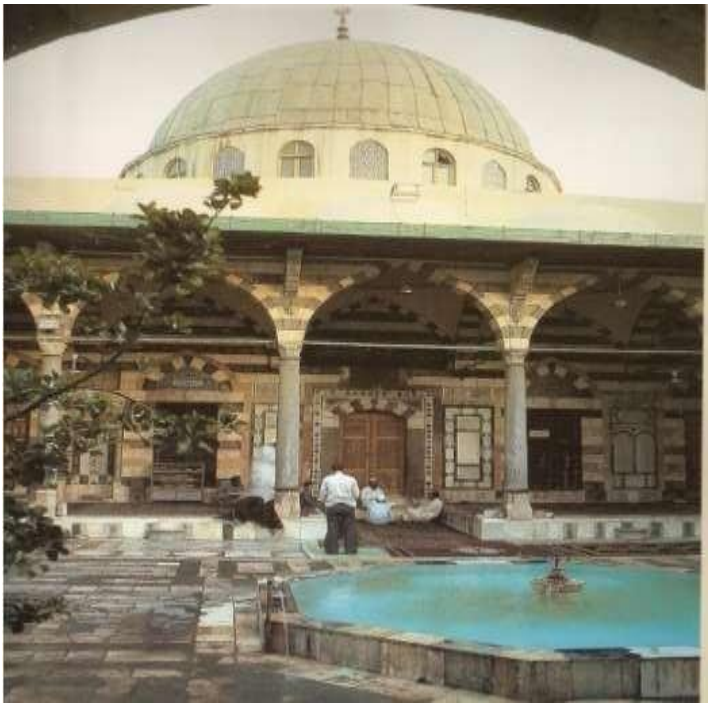

Figure 42 The courtyard of Sinan Pasha Mosque (Degeorge 2005: 174)

Analysis of the Local and Ottoman Influences:

This mosque shows a mixture of local and Ottoman influences. The layout of the Sinan Pasha Mosque follows the Ottoman architectural tradition and is very similar, though on a much smaller scale, to the *Mihrimah* Mosque in Istanbul.[249] The façade of the mosque, with its alternating-colored stones, follows the conventions of the local architecture. The dome and minaret of Sinan Pasha Mosque have an Ottoman style. [250]On the other hand, the covering of the minaret with glazed bricks is unusual in Damascene and Ottoman architecture. The dark green tiles that used to cover the minaret and the use of tiles on the exterior façade refer to Persian influences. [251] (Fig.42)

[249] Weber 1997-1998: 436.
[250] Çigdem 1999: 80.
[251] Weber 1997-1998: 437.

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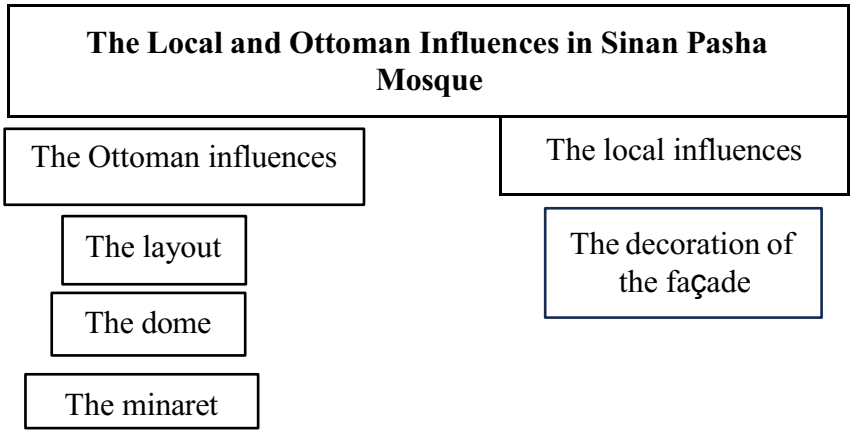

Figure 43 The local and Ottoman influences in Sinan Pasha Mosque (by the author)

2.9. The Religious Buildings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries:

The Mosques:

The construction of luxurious and great religious mosques declined in the seventeenth century, except for a few simple mosques sponsored by the wealthy families of the city. One surviving exception is *al-Qārī* Mosque, which dates back to 1650 and was sponsored by the *al-Safarjalānī* Family, one of the wealthiest merchant families in Damascus. According to the inscriptions of the mosque, it was renovated in the twentieth century, except for its minaret, which was renovated in 1697–1698, following the local traditions through its polygonal shape and its decoration with *ablaq* and *muqarnas*.[252]

In the eighteenth century, the age of the āʿyān (notables), the construction of the mosques declined in favor of palaces and larger-scale *khans,* reflecting the flourishing of the trade.[253] The only significant example is *Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī* Mosque, located in *al- Qaymarīyya* District. The prayer hall is covered with a hemispherical dome, with *mihrab* and *minbar* on the southern side. Its walls are covered with courses of yellow, pink, white, and black stones. The prayer hall is preceded by a portico, covered with three domes. The minaret of the mosque is pencil-shaped, and its body is covered with courses of white and black stones.[254] (Fig. 44) (Fig.45) Worth mentioning that Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī endowed his *hammam* in al Mīdān District, for his mosque.[255]

Additionally, because of the earthquake in Damascus in 1706 that destroyed the eastern minaret of the Umayyad Mosque, known as the *ʿĪsā* Minaret, the Ottoman governor of Damascus rebuilt it in 1708, following the Ottoman pencil-shaped style.[256]

[252] Burns 2005: 236-240
[253] Ibid
[254] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī 1975: 242
[255] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 527.
[256] Tamari 2001: 112.

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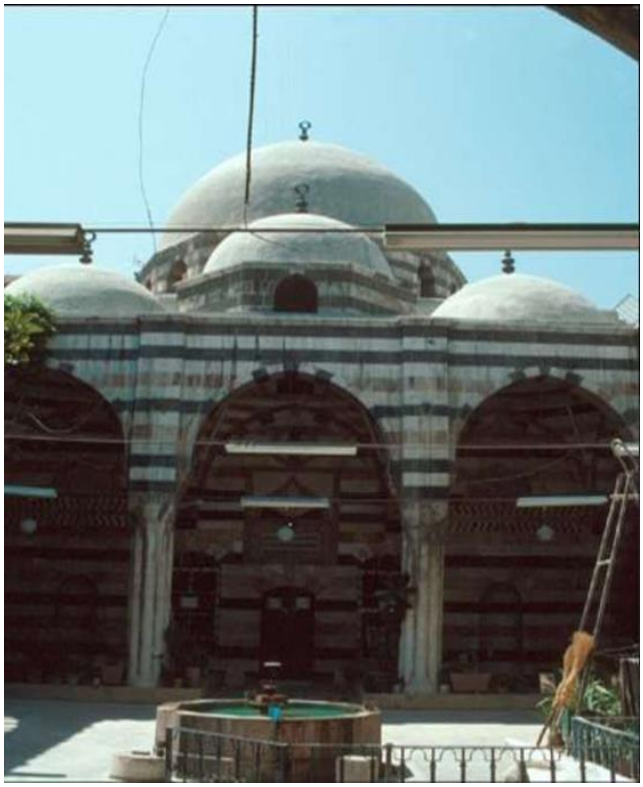

Figure 44 Courtyard view toward south of the mosque of Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī (Lutfī 2011: 475)

Figure 45 The minaret of Fatḥi al Flāqinsī (al-Shihābī 1993:350)

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The Madrasa:

Only five *madaris* were built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:

-*al-Juwāniyya al-kubrā* Madrasa built in 1696 near the Umayyad Mosque and it is completely removed.

- *al-Juwāniyya al-Ṣughrā* Madrasa was built in 1764, near the previous one, which is also destroyed. Both were built by al-Murādī Family.

-*Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓim Madrasa*, which was built in 1728, in *al-Khayāṭīn Sūq*, it includes a fountain, prayer hall, and rooms for the students.[257] It was renovated by ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim in 1748, and devoted endowments to distribute oil, lamps, soup, and other necessities.[258]

- *Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim Madrasa*, built in 1737, includes a mosque, 16 rooms on two stories, a kitchen, a fountain, and a library. [259] He allocated houses, baths, bakeries, and mills to support the *madrasa*. Each student at the *madrasa* was provided with four pounds of bread (equivalent to 1.5 kilograms), two pounds of rice, four ounces of ghee (clarified butter), and one pound of meat per day. Additionally, each student received eight ounces of oil per month, along with oil for lamps.[260]

-ʿ*Abdullah Pasha al-ʿAẓim Madrasa*, it was built in 1779, consisted of two floors of rooms for the students' residence, and in its southern façade locates the prayer hall, decorated with *qashani* tiles.[261] (Fig. 46)

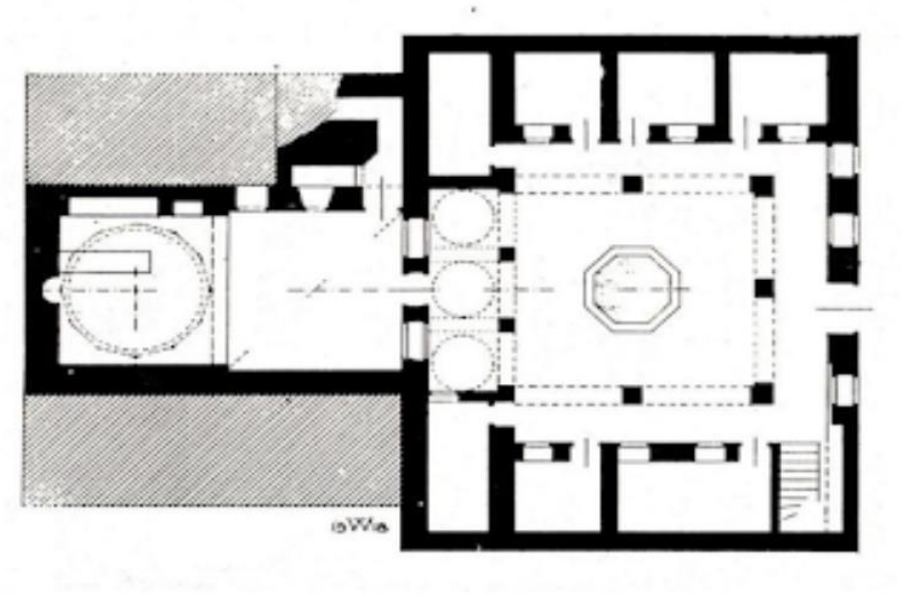

Figure 46 The layout of ʿAbdullah Pasha al-ʿAẓim Madrasa http://bornindamascus.blogspot.com

[257] Luṭfī 2011: 398.
[258] al-ʿIlabī, 1989:269.
[259] Tamari 2001: 122.
[260] al-ʿIlabī, 1989:271.
[261] al-Rīḥāūī 1979: 229.

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2.10. Analytical Study:

The complex of Sultan Selim I clearly represents Mamluk architectural principles through the layout of the mosque, which follows the hypostyle plan. This plan first used in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, it was also adopted in the layout of the Damascene mosques during the Mamluk period. Moreover, the polygonal minaret with *ablaq* decoration and *muqarnas* confirm the Mamluk style. As noted, the Ottoman influences have not yet appeared in this complex. One of the reasons for the continuing influence of the Mamluk period on Selim I mosque is the presence of the Mamluk ruler Jānburdī al- Ghazālī.

The *al-Ṣamādiyya* Mosque marks the first attempt to incorporate the new Ottoman architectural style, as the prayer hall is a single-unit square hall covered with a central dome, in addition to the minaret with the conical top.

The complex of Ahmad Shamsi Pasha demonstrates the new Ottoman influences clearly, first through the square-shaped buildings covered with hemispherical domes, such as the prayer hall and the *madrasa.* Moreover, providing the external walls of the *muṣallā* and *madrasa* with windows, that open to the public street, was totally new in Damascene architecture, whereas the windows were usually opened toward the courtyard or the private garden of the building. Regarding the local influences, they appear through the *ablaq* (alternating-colored stones) which covers the interior and exterior walls of the complex.

It is clear that architect Sinan adopted the Ottoman architectural tradition in *al- Suleimaniyya* Mosque, since the fundamental change appears prominently in the architectural layout of the mosque, while the decorative techniques have not shown any significant difference.

Regarding the architectural plan of the mosque, a new Ottoman layout was followed, consisting of a square prayer hall preceded by a domed portico, which was a totally new architectural style in Damascus. The same applies to the architectural elements, which were totally new and not known in Damascus before, such as:

-The hemispherical, wide-span central dome, covered with lead and supported with buttresses in addition to the pendentives, which were used as a transitional area between the rectangular room and the drum of the dome.

-The twin pencil- shaped minarets are symmetrically located on the two sides of the main façade.

- The use of tiles is evident both within the structure and on its façade.

Although the *al- Suleimaniyya* complex was built according to the new Ottoman architectural tradition, many local decorative traditions are observed. One of the most important local decorative legacies is the strong emphasis on the exterior facades of the buildings, distinguished with alternating-colored courses of limestone and basalt, sometimes complemented by pink limestone. As mentioned above, this decorative technique, known

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as *ablaq,* is one of the most important local decoration techniques.

The typical Ottoman layout of the *madrasa* appeared for the first time in Damascus with the *Selimiye Madrasa*, through the symmetrical arrangement of the rooms around a rectangular courtyard. This style was largely used in Anatolian Peninsula.

The mosque of Murad Pasha, in general, follows the Ottoman architectural plan, except for its façade, which features clear Mamluk characteristics such as the *ablaq* stripes, and the minaret, which was not built in the Ottoman cylindrical shape (pencil-shaped), but rather follows the local Damascene traditions. Regarding the *türbe* of the founder, it is separated for the first time from the mosque, which represents a new Ottoman tradition.

Similar to the previous example, the local influences appear strongly in the façade of the Dervish Pasha Mosque, decorated with *ablaq*, with its portal topped by a minaret. Meanwhile the Ottoman influences are evident both in the architectural layout of the mosque and in the architectural elements, such as the flattened dome and the pencil-shaped minaret.

Regarding the *Sinan Pasha* Mosque, it exhibits a mixture of local and Ottoman influences. The layout of the mosque follows the Ottoman architectural tradition. Moreover, the dome and minaret adhere to the Ottoman style. On the other hand, in Damascene and Ottoman architecture, the practice of covering the minaret with glazed bricks is unique. As for the local influences, they are evident in the façade of the mosque, with its alternating-colored stones.

It is thought that the architectural movement in Damascus was impacted by the decline of the Ottoman sultanate, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus, in contrast to the sixteenth century, when significant architectural activities were sponsored by sultans and Ottoman rulers, this movement in the seventeenth century was sponsored by wealthy families in the city. The trend of the sixteenth century to imitate Ottoman style vanished in this century, as seen in *al-Qārī* Mosque, which was completely renovated, but its minaret adheres to regional customs in a clear manner.

In the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman Sultanate elevated members of the notables and appointed them governors of Damascus, they attempted to reaffirm their allegiance to the Ottomans by reviving the Ottoman style. This is evident in the *Fatḥī al-Flāqinsī* Mosque and the reconstruction of the Umayyad Mosque's (*ʿĪsā*

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minaret) in the Ottoman style. However, Ottoman influences in the eighteenth century were less effective than in the sixteenth century. Regarding the *madaris* in the eighteenth century, based on the three survived examples, (Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓim, Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim, ʿAbdullah Pasha al-ʿAẓim) they were built in the Ottoman style, with multiple rooms arranged around a central courtyard.

2.11. The Results:

After the Ottoman occupation, the local architectural tradition of the previous period was largely used, whereas the Ottoman architectural models had not been adopted yet, not even in the complex that was sponsored by Sultan Selim I himself.

From the second half of the sixteenth century, especially after the construction of the *al- Suleimaniyya* complex, the Ottoman architectural tradition started to have a strong influence on the local architecture. As a result, a new style appeared, mixing local traditions with Ottoman elements, known as the Damascene-Ottoman style, which became very common in the sixteenth century.

In the period following the construction of two sultanic structures in Damascus (*Selim I* complex and *al-Suleimaniyya* Complex), Damascus witnessed significant architectural developments, albeit they were less prominent than the earlier projects. These developments were sponsored by the governors of Damascus rather than the Ottoman sultans.

Regarding the architectural layout of the mosques and *madaris*, a new architectural layout of the mosque appeared in the Ottoman period, replacing the previous hypostyle plan with a new one consisting of the square-shaped prayer hall, roofed with a central dome, preceded by a domed portico.

The architectural elements underwent notable changes, such as the dome, with its new hemispherical shape, rising on pendentives as a transitional area instead of the squinches that were widely used in the previous period. Moreover, the exterior dome was sometimes supported by buttresses, as seen at the *al- Suleimaniyya* Mosque and *Dervish Pasha* Mosque. Pencil-shaped minarets were used in nearly all the mosques of the sixteenth century in Damascus as an essential sign of Ottoman architecture, except *Selim I* Mosque and *Murad Pasha* Mosque. In contrast to the previous periods, the *mausolea* is separate from the mosque or *madrasa*, and it usually takes the rectangular shape, following the Ottoman model.

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The previous layout of the *madrasa,* which consisted of four *iwans* around the courtyard, disappeared completely in the Ottoman period, and the new layout consisted of several rooms arranged around a rectangular courtyard.

Mamluk architectural decoration was used largely in the Ottoman period. Tiles became the most remarkable decoration technique of the mosque and *mausolea*, whereas they were used for the first time in Damascus, in *al-Tawrīzī* Mosque, at the beginning of the fifteenth century (1426). With the coming of the Ottomans, this technique appeared again, and the most important buildings were decorated with *qashani* tiles.

Regarding the construction of religious buildings in the seventeenth century, the rate of construction in general declined, while in the eighteenth century, in the age of notables, the *madaris* had the biggest share of funding. (Fig.47)

Figure 47 Complexes commissioned during the Ottoman period (by the author)

In addition to the attempt by the Ottoman sultanate to impose Ottoman architectural style in Damascus through the construction of complexes following Ottoman traditions, they employed another method: the demolition of previous Mamluk buildings and the reuse of their materials in new constructions. For instance, the Mamluk governor's palace, *Dār al-Saʿāda*, was destroyed and replaced with the Ottoman complex of Ahmad Shamsi Pasha. Additionally, its materials were reused in constructing the *Selim I* complex. Furthermore, the site of al-*Ẓāhir Baybars'* palace was repurposed during the Ottoman period to accommodate the *al-Suleimaniyya* complex, as part of the Ottoman strategy to assert their presence in the region.

On the other hand, the reconstruction of the eastern minaret of the Umayyad Mosque, following the Ottoman pencil-shaped style, is considered part of the Ottomanization of the city of Damascus. It also served to ensure the continuous link between the Ottoman sultanate and the most sacred mosque in the city.

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3. CHAPTER III

The New Commercial Center of Damascus

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The urban planning of Damascus' commercial area underwent changes during the Ottoman era. The development of the city's commercial core throughout its historical phases will be highlighted to provide a better understanding. This change resulted in the introduction of new kinds of commercial structures. The first of these is the domed *sūq*, while the second is the *bedestan*.

To analyze the Ottoman influences on the commercial buildings in Damascus, an overview of the *bedestan* in the Anatolian Peninsula is presented, followed by an example of the *bedestan* in Damascus. Regarding the *khans*, examples of hypaethral *khans* are displayed in the Anatolian Peninsula and Damascus. Then, examples of the domed *khans* are illustrated, noting that their existence was limited to Damascus.

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3.1. Introduction

Throughout the Ottoman era, Damascus' economy flourished for a variety of significant reasons. The first was that Damascus served as the starting point for pilgrimage caravanserais, which enhanced the city's economy. Additionally, when Damascus became part of the Ottoman sultanate, which included all the Middle East, North Africa, Anatolia, and the Balkans, all regions of the sultanate followed the same rules and legislation, supporting and spurring internal commerce throughout the sultanate. Not to mention, the sultans' efforts to secure the long trade routes within the sultanate resulted in an economic boom in Damascus. Moreover, agreements between the Ottoman Empire and European cities aided in opening the eastern markets to European trade. This economic prosperity and success prompted governors and members of notable families to build a variety of commercial structures. The development of commercial buildings was advantageous not just for Damascus' wealthy traders but also for the governors, who utilized the income to sustain their charitable endowments. Additionally, the commercial buildings were employed by the governors as a tool to ensure their financial security. There were many kinds of commercial buildings in Damascus during the Ottoman period, such as domed *sūq* and the *bedestan*, which initially appeared as an imported design from the Ottoman sultanate. In addition, the *khan*, a typical Islamic building, was already common in Damascus.

3.2. The Reorientation of the Commercial Center:

Over the long history of Damascus, the commercial center has grown and relocated in response to the city's urban development as well as to the changing political and economic conditions. The colonnaded corridor that connected the city temple and the agora (forum) has operated as a commercial hub since the Hellenistic period.[262](Fig.3) During the Roman period, a new commercial core also formed around the Via Recta, or "Straight Street." (Fig.4) Notably, there were no significant alterations throughout the Byzantine era.[263]

After the introduction of Islam and the conversion of the temple into a mosque, a temporary market arose to meet the urgent requirements of the burgeoning Muslim population. It was made up of makeshift booths resting on the mosque's exterior walls. Notably, the affluent pre-Islamic commercial center zone maintained its importance.[264](Fig.5)

Throughout the Middle Ages, Damascus' traditional urban plan began to deteriorate. Its streets gradually evolved into separate districts, each with its own public services and *suwayqa* (the diminutive of *sūq*, or small

[262] Sack 2005: 72.
[263] Rabbat 2012: 54.
[264] Ibid.

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marketplace). The central *sūq*, on the other hand, remained a source of social unity, with people gathering from all over the city.[265] (Fig. 48) (Fig.49)

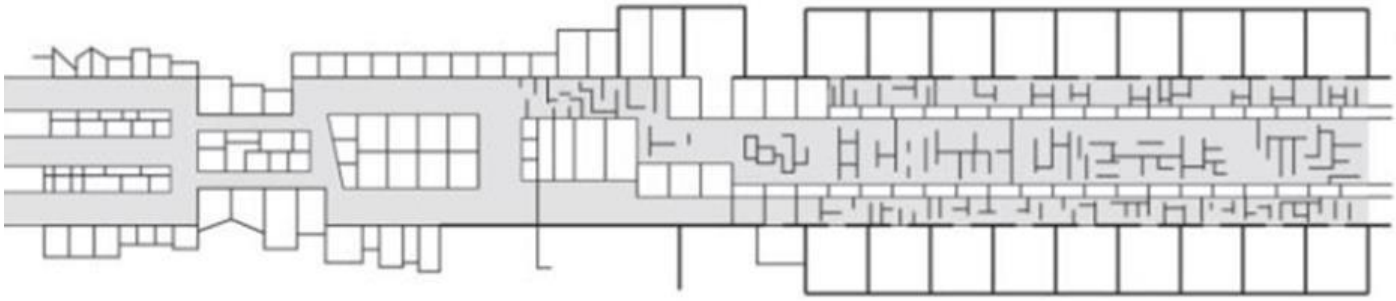

Figure 48 The transformation of the grand Roman road into an Arabic Market (Mansour 2015: 10)

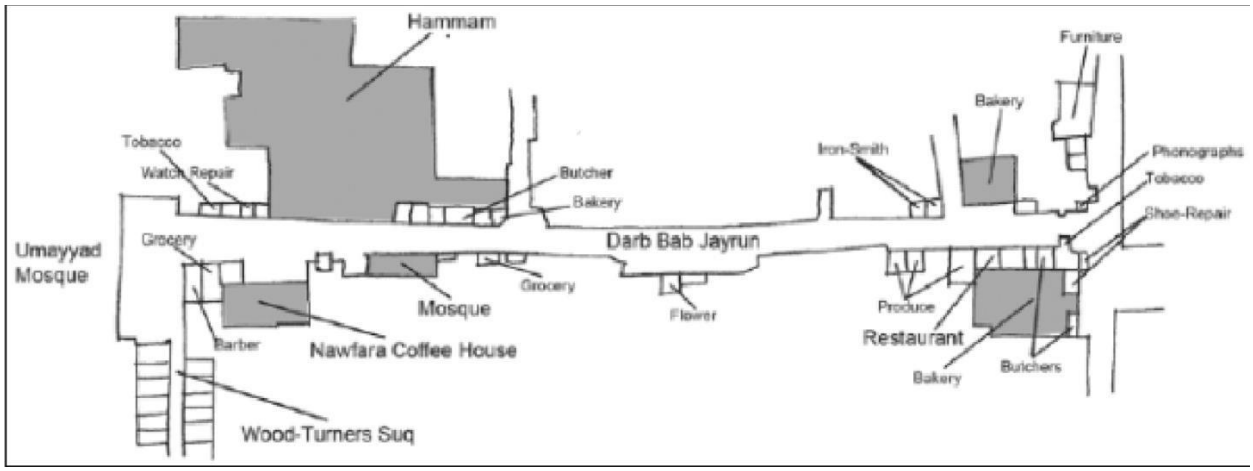

Figure 49 Plan of modern suwayqa (Rabbat 2001: 57)

Damascus experienced thriving commerce with various regions of the Zinged kingdom, as well as with the Levantine Crusader kingdoms and Europe through the Italian republics' delegates staying in Crusader territory, even though the Zingeds were at war with them much of the time.[266] The city's primary commercial axis remained the same, concentrating on the Straight Street on one side and south and east of the Umayyad Mosque on the other.[267] During this period, *sūqs* could be classified into three groups based on their location in the city:

Textiles were located to the east of the Umayyad Mosque, cereals to the south of the mosque, and food supplies

[265] Sauvaget 1989: 65-68.
[266] Rabbat 2012: 56-57.
[267] Sack 2005: 37.

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in a *sūq* known as the *Dār al-Baṭīkh* (Melon House) to the south of Straight Street.[268] (Fig.50)

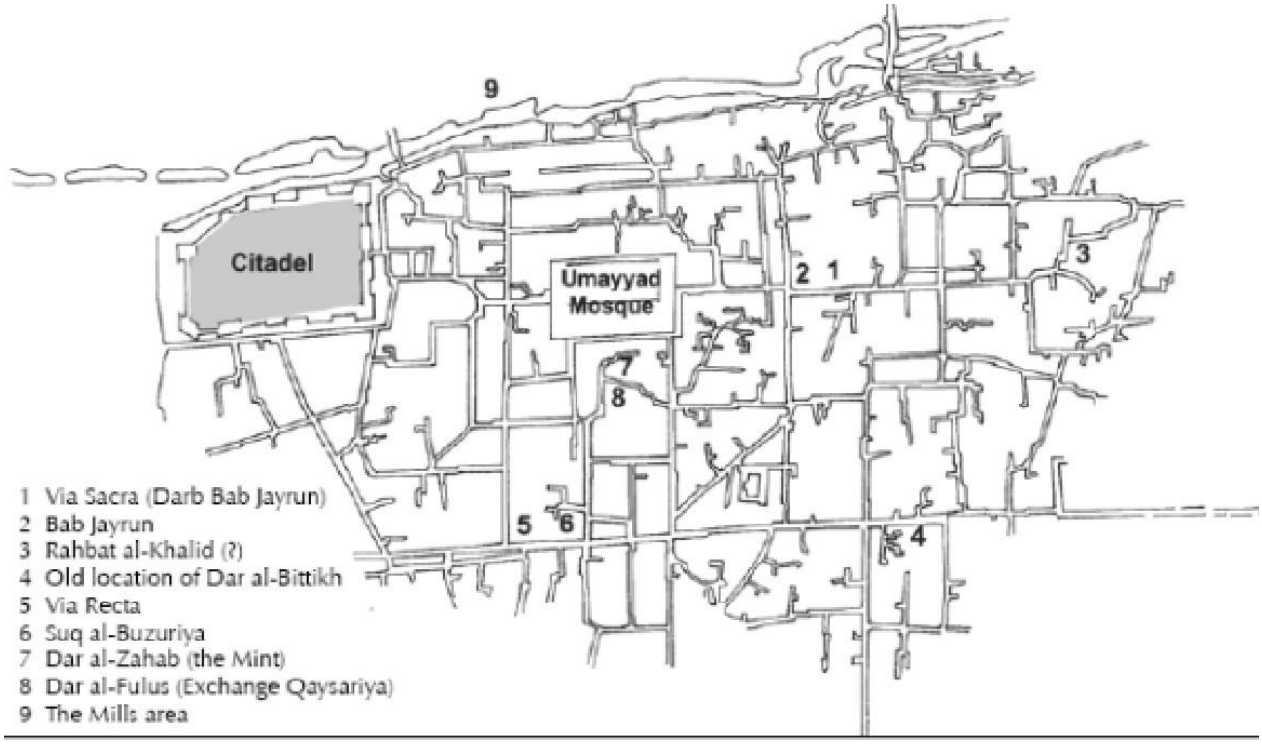

Figure 50 Location of main commercial activities in Damascus in the twelfth century (Rabbat 2001: 59)

Concerning the Ayyubid period, the commercial hub appears to be unchanged.[269] Throughout the Mamluk period, there was a growing desire to move economic activity outside the city walls. Thus, the horse market, which specialized in selling soldiers' supplies, was hosted at the foot of the citadel's northern side, in the region of *Taḥt al-Qalʿah* (under the citadel).[270] This move eventually resulted in the relocation of *Dār al-Baṭīkh* and its dependent sūqs to this newly constructed area.[271](Fig.51)

[268] Sack 2005: 37
[269] Rabbat 2012: 57.
[270] Degegorge 2005: 133.
[271] Rabbaṭ 1988-1989: 84.

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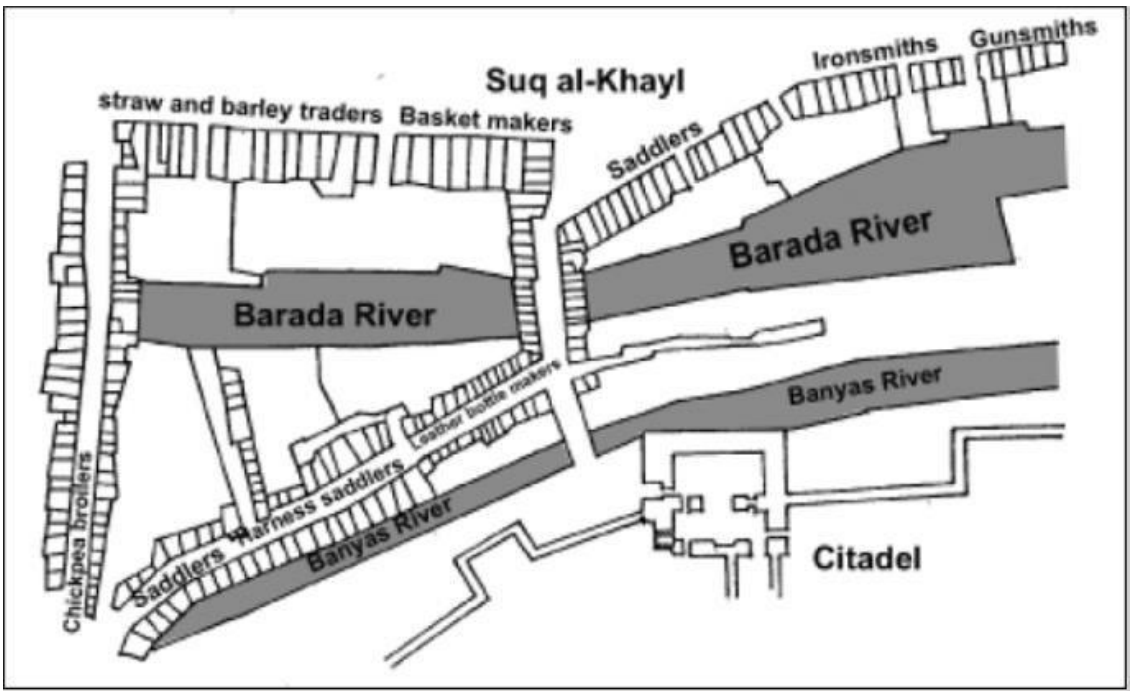

Figure 51 The plan of Taḥt al-Qalʿah Sūq (Rabbat 2001: 60)

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Damascus experienced an increase in economic importance following its accession to the sprawling Ottoman Sultanate.[272] As previously stated, the pilgrimage season was the principal engine of economic activity in Damascus throughout the Ottoman reign. Thus, *al-Sināniyya Sūq*, which was part of *Sinan Pasha* complex, had special importance due to its location at the departure point to Jerusalem and Hijaz. The *sūq* was dedicated to travelers' goods.[273] The southern axis of the *al-Mīdān* District specialized in grain storage as well as *Ḥajj*-related business and crafts.[274] However, the destructive fire in 1522 around *Bāb al-Barīd* and *al-ʿAṣrūniyya* left a huge empty area, which induced the Ottoman rulers to locate their new commercial center in this space (southwest of the Umayyad Mosque),[275] comprising the largest congregation of *sūqs* for precious goods, including both traditional and international Damascene businesses as well as the lucrative textile industry.[276] The first Ottoman commercial construction in this zone was *al-Sibāhiyya sūq*.[277] The construction of *al-Khayāṭīn Khan* (1552) marked the beginning of the relocation of the trade movement to the southwest of the Umayyad Mosque, followed by *al-Ḥarīr Khan* in 1573, and then *al-*

[272] Sack 2005: 46.
[273] al-Shihābī 1990:355-402.
[274] Rabbat 2012: 63.
[275] Weber 2000: 245.
[276] Rabbat 2012:63.
[277] Weber 2000: 245.

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Zaīt Khan.[278]

In the eighteenth century, continuing the trend of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a new group of *khans* was constructed to the southwest of the Umayyad Mosque, such as *Suleiman Pasha Khan*, *ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim Khan*, *al-Ṣanawbar Khan*, and *al-Riz Khan*.[279] (Fig.52)

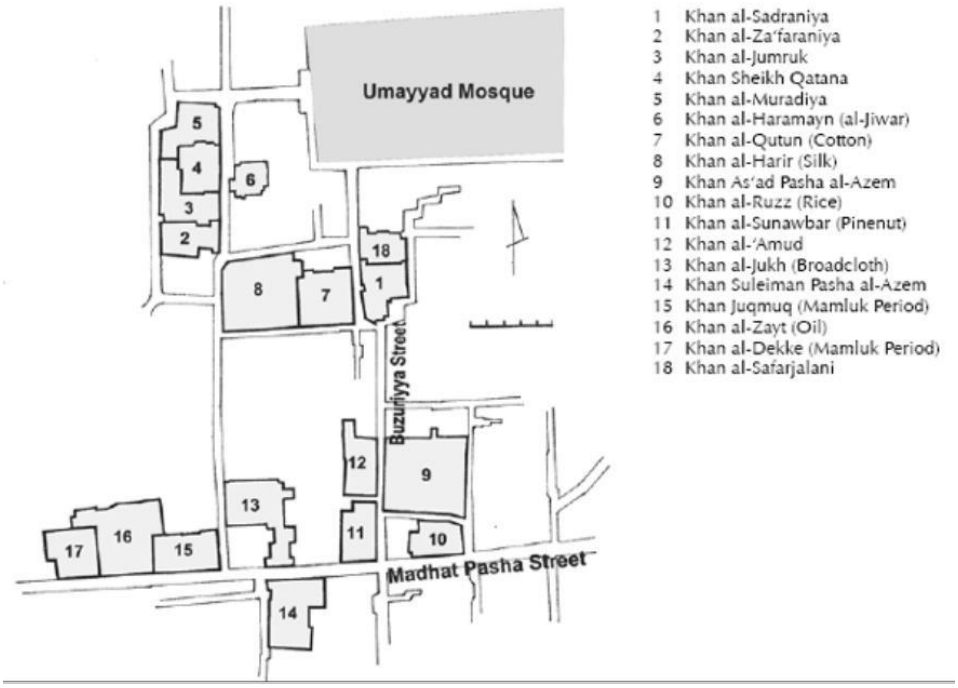

Figure 52 The location of khans in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (Rabbat 2001: 64)

3.3. The Domed Market (Domed Sūq):

The *sūq* is the Islamic city's traditional economic core. Often, the *sūq* is only specialized for commercial structures. The Damascene *sūq* is notable for its covered streets. It was mainly roofed with wooden beams supported by brick or stone arches. During the latter decades of Ottoman rule, metal barrel, vaulted, or gabled roofs replaced this type of timber roofing.[280]

Damascus witnessed the initial appearance of a new form of *sūq* in the early sixteenth century, referred to as the domed *sūq*. This type served as a precursor to the *Bedestan*, which has the same architectural design.[281] The domed market was exceedingly rare and only appears in two examples:

[278] Sack 2005: 47.
[279] Ibid: 62
[280] Ibid:76
[281] Weber 2000: 246

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In 1525–1526, *Qāḍī al Quḍāt* Wālī al-Dīn ibn Farfūr constructed his new *sūq* near *Bāb Jayrūn*, to the east of the Umayyad Mosque. In place of a timber-gabled roof, the new *sūq* was covered with brick domes, making it the earliest example of a domed *sūq* in Damascus.[282] It is believed that the fire of 1524, which ravaged the districts close *Bāb al-Barīd* was one of the key causes for the creation of the brick-domed *sūqs* instead of the wooden structures, which were more vulnerable to the fires.[283]

This step, was taken by *Ibn Farfūr* in adopting the Ottoman architectural style in the construction of his *sūq*, may be interpreted as an attempt to confirm his affiliation with Ottoman rule, since the dome was an essential architectural element in Ottoman architecture. Especially because he changed his doctrine from Mamluk Shāfiʿī, to Ottoman Hanafi, to keep his post as Judge (*Qāḍī*) of Damascus.[284] Worth mentioning that he occupied the position of the highest judge of Damascus at the end of the Mamluk period until the Ottoman occupation, he regained his position in 1518.[285]

Moreover, the construction of the new-style of *Ibn Farfūr sūq* was in the same year as the first appearance of the central dome in Damascus at the *al-Ṣamādiyya* Mosque, which means that it coincided with the beginning of the spread of Ottoman architectural traditions. It is worth mentioning that this *sūq* is today known as *al-Qāḍī Sūq*, and only a few of its shops remain.[286]

Al-ʾArwām Sūq:

It was constructed in 1554–1556 by Ahmad Shamsi Pasha. It is situated south of the citadel. The layout of this *sūq*, which had two stories and two entrances, was a hybrid of the *bedestan* and the *sūq*. It was covered with groined vaults, which gave it a distinct character, as other Damascene *sūqs* in the Ottoman period were covered with wooden gabled roofs, with the exception of *ibn Farfūr's* domed *Sūq*.[287] The area of this *sūq* was previously occupied by the Mamluk administrative palace, known as *Dār al-Saʿāda*, and *Dār al-ʿAdil* (Court of Justice).[288] It is worth mentioning that *al-Sibāhiyya Sūq* is equivalent to *al-Arwām Sūq* today.[289] (Fig.53)

[282] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1956: 312.
[283] Weber 2000: 245.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1956: 381.
[286] Weber 2007: 195.
[287] Ibid: 198.
[288] Burns 2005: 235.
[289] al-Arnāʾūṭ 1993: 200-201.

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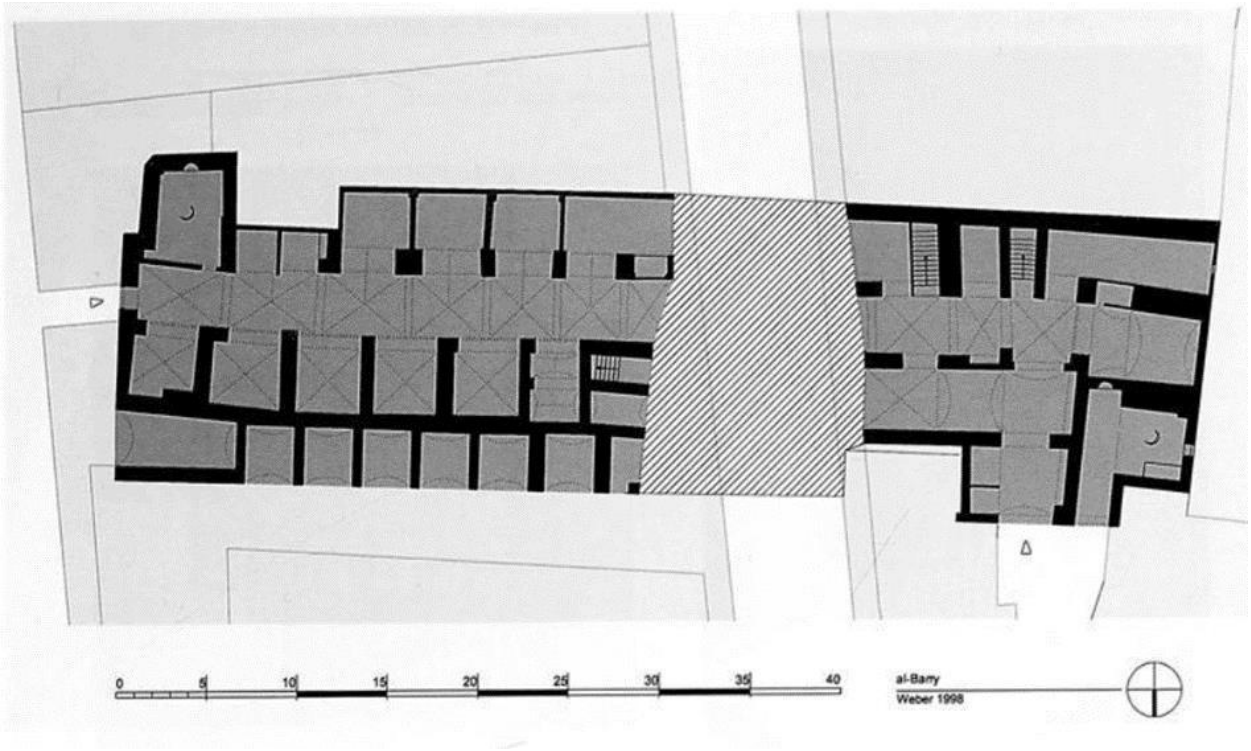

Figure 53 The plan of al-ʾArwām Sūq (Weber 2007:216).

3.4. The Bedestan:

The bedestan is a form of commercial structure that consists of a longitudinally covered hall (domed or vaulted).[290] It usually has at least two easily accessible entrances that are locked at night and guarded by security men. At times, many stores were erected on the *bedestan*'s outside walls to expand its commercial space.[291] The *bedestan* grew in importance throughout the Ottoman period and was regarded as a vital trade center. Some of its economic functions are as follows:

- It was a secure location to store and sell precious items,[292] such as silks, goldworks, silverware, and swords.[293]
- It was a place where traders negotiated business deals and planned caravans and commercial voyages.[294]
- The *bedestan* was equipped with specially designed safes to keep the individuals' valuable goods, such as jewelry and money.[295]

[290] Petersen 1996: 33.
[291] Saoud 2004: 21.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Degeorge 2005: 158.
[294] al-Hadad and Malaka 2015: 288.
[295] Ibid.

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As a result, the *bedestan* was established as the first bank, which served as a safe haven for merchants' commodities.[296] *Bedestans* were found in all the major Ottoman cities, though their numbers varied according to the size of the city and its commercial importance. In less significant cities, the *bedestan* was superseded by the *khan*. It is worth noting that the first *bedestan* was discovered in Beyşehir, Turkey. It dates back to the Seljuk period (1297), according to the inscription over its entrance. This *bedestan* had a configuration similar to later ones, featuring a closed rectangular courtyard covered with six domes and provided with three entrances. Additionally, it included external stores arranged along its four sides.[297]

3.5. Examples of Ottoman Bedestans in the Anatolian Peninsula:

To determine the designs of *bedestans* during the Ottoman era and to track any possible changes, three examples of *bedestans* from the three Ottoman capitals will be presented sequentially.

3.5.1. The Bedestan of Bursa:

The *bedestan* of Bursa was built during the reign of Beyazit I. It was dedicated to precious and valuable goods. In terms of its layout, it is a long and narrow building divided into two rows of seven piers, with each row covered by seven domes. This bedestan was provided with gates located in the middle of its two sides.[298]

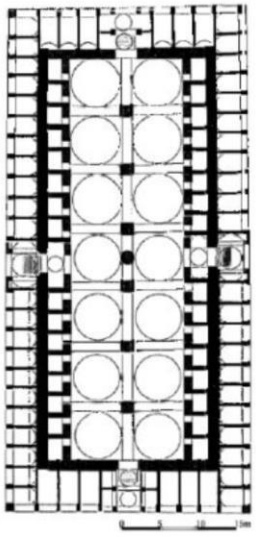

Figure 54 The layout of the bedestan of Bursa https://okuryazarim.com/

[296] Saoud 2004: 21
[297] Petersen 1996: 33
[298] Freely 2011: 45.

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3.5.2. The Bedestan of Edirne:

It was built by Mehmet I at the beginning of the fifteenth century. As with other *bedestans*, this one also specialized in expensive goods. It includes thirty-six storage rooms, with four gates positioned on each side. It is covered with fourteen domes; seven in each row and supported by six piers on each side.[299] (Fig. 55)

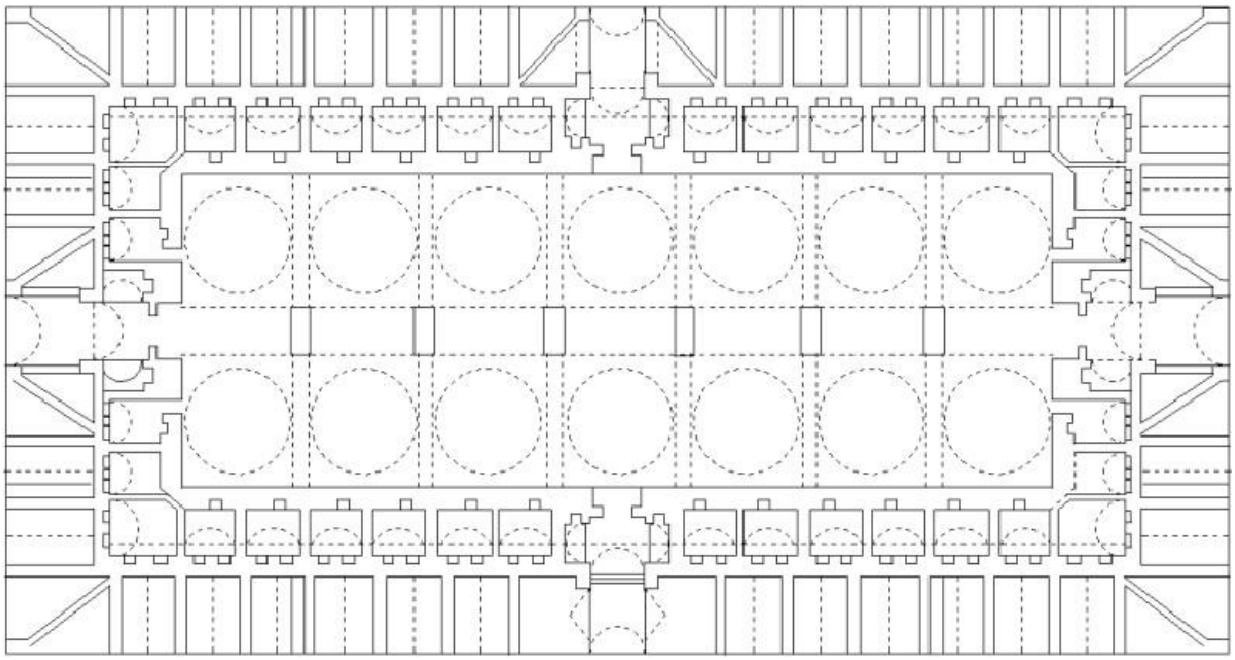

Figure 55The layout of the bedestan of Edirne (Taghizadehvehed 2015: 33)

3.5.3. The Sandal Bedestan in Istanbul:

The Sandal *Bedestan* was constructed by Beyazit II,[300] as a commercial structure to house the trade of silk and other fine fabrics. It was deemed one of the largest *bedestans* in the empire.[301] This *bedestan* takes its name from the *sandal* that was used to be sold there (a cloth with stripe patterns successively woven in silk and cotton).[302] The plan illustrates four rows, each covered with five domes, and these domes are supported by twelve piers. The *bedestan* has one entrance on each side.[303](Fig.56)

[299] Freely 2011: 67
[300] Ibid: 194.
[301] Duranti 2012: 198.
[302] Al-Hadad & Malaka 2015: 289.
[303] Freely 2011:194.

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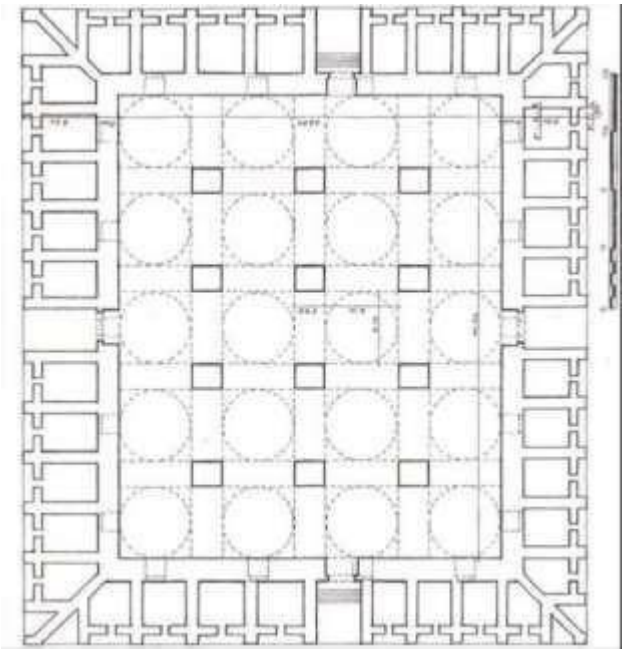

Figure 56 The layout of Sandal Bedestan (Freely 2011: 194)

3.6. Example of Ottoman Bedestan in Damascus:

The sole recorded instance of a *bedestan* in Damascus is the *al-Jumruk Bedestan*. It is located to the west of the Umayyad Mosque.[304] (Fig.52) It was built by the governor Murad Pasha II (1608-1609)[305] and used for selling luxurious textiles.[306] This *bedestan*'s layout is distinctive due to its L shape. Nine domes resting on pendentives serve as the roofing for the whole building.[307] It has four gates, covered with metal sheets and strengthened with nails.[308] The courtyard has a fountain and is surrounded by fifty-three large storage rooms and eight small ones. About forty of them have small upper parts accessible by a wooden ladder.[309] Externally, there are nine storage rooms and two stairs: one leads to an upper storage room and the other to the room of the night guard.[310] Overall, the construction of this *bedestan* was a result of Ottoman architectural influences.

[304] Weber 1997-1998: 445.
[305] Sack 2005: 49.
[306] Degeorge 2005:176.
[307] Weber 1997-1998: 446.
[308] al-Munajid 1949: 50.
[309] Sack 2005: 79.
[310] Yiḥīā 1981: 93.

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Hence, the Ottoman features appear clearly in this *bedestan* through the typical rounded Ottoman domes and pendentives.[311] (Fig.57) (Fig.58)

Figure 57 The al- Jumruk Bedestan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008: 46)

[311] Weber 2000: 246.

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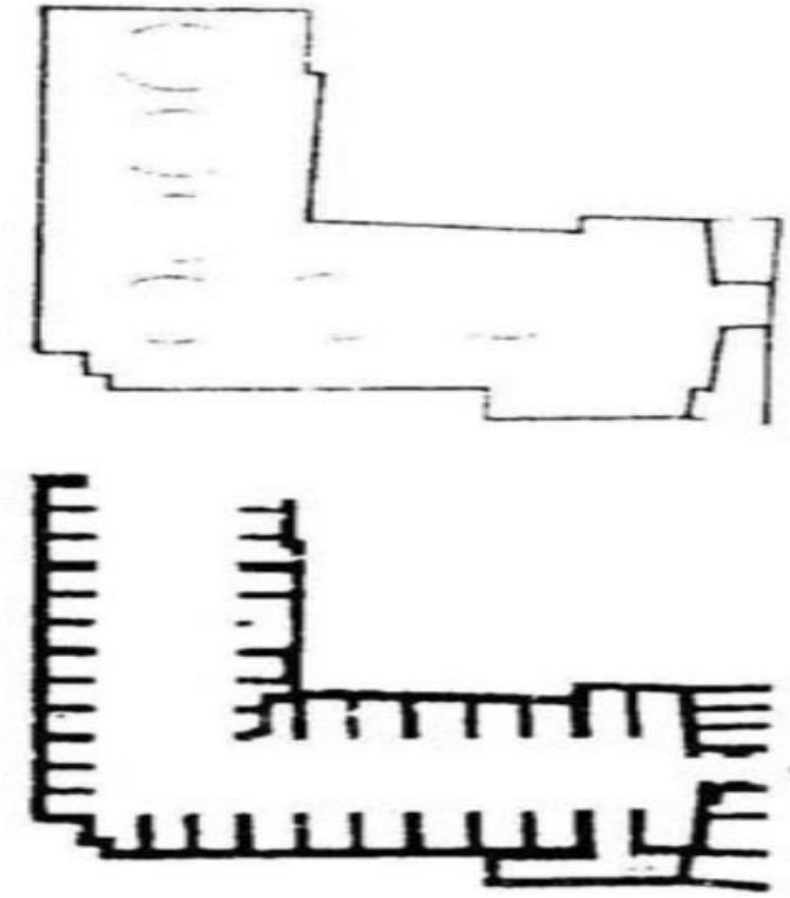

Figure 58 The ground plan of al- Jumruk Bedestan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008: 46)

3.7. The Khan:

The distinction between the terms *"caravanserai"* and *"khan"* which are sometimes confused, should be made before discussing the *khans*. *Caravanserai:* this term has Persian origins and consists of two parts: "caravan" and "serai," which means "the palace of the caravan."[312] The *caravanserais*, which were used for both economic exchange and as rest stops for caravans, were situated along major trade routes. They had stores that offered essential services required by both travelers and their animals.[313]

Functions of the *caravanserais*:

[312] Yiḥīā 1981: 67-68.
[313] al- Arnāʾūṭ 1993: 106.

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Military purposes: Until the Seljuk era, when specific military posts were created, *caravanserais* continued to serve a military role because many of them included towers, arrow slits, and upper chambers for defending the roads.[314]

Postal function: The *caravanserais* were equipped with postal centers.[315]

Commercial function: Many of the caravans that settled in these *caravanserais* were commercial.[316]

On the other hand, the term "*khan*" also has Persian origins and means "house."[317] The *khans* inside the city have been known since the ninth century, while *caravanserais* have been known since the Umayyad period.[318] *Khans* were usually constructed by affluent or powerful people, and most of the time they were part of an endowment.[319] The *khans* were established as a commercial environment to enable traders to collect and deliver their goods easily and manage their commerce in a closed, safe place. The function of the *khan* was not only as a trading center but also as a hostel, where the upper rooms of the *khan* were dedicated as accommodation for travelers. The commercial activities took place in the ground floor rooms, which were used for traders' meetings, holding agreements, and storing goods, in addition to being used as stables for animals. Generally, the *khan* was separated from the main street by a gate or door, which was closed after sunset by the guard of the *khan*.[320]

The majority of Damascene *khans* have two levels connected by stairs found at the main entrance. This entrance leads to a courtyard surrounded by rooms used for commercial transactions (production, sales, and storage), while the rooms on the upper floor were used for the accommodation of traders and travelers. Sometimes, the rooms on the ground floor are divided into two parts by an arch; the front part is used as an office, and the back one is used as a storage room. The rooms on the upper floor are very similar to those on the ground floor, but they were shallower due to the presence of a portico that came before the rooms and overlooked the courtyard. Furthermore, they were typically lower than the rooms on the ground floor since the *khan*'s overall height is between eight and twelve meters. As for roofing, most of the rooms, whether on the ground or first floor, were covered with vaults and rarely had wooden flat ceilings. The roof of the portico on the first floor was usually covered with barrel or groined vaults or small domes.[321]

[314] Yiḥīā 1981: 71.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Petersen 1996: 146.
[318] Yiḥīā 1981: 68.
[319] Gharipour 2012: 45.
[320] Gharipour 2012: 46.
[321] Sack 2005: 78-79.

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Regarding the construction materials, as with important buildings, the *khans* were constructed of carved stones, while the domes were built of bricks and painted with white lime. Finally, it is noteworthy that the *khans* were usually named according to the type of goods sold in them, such as al-*Zaīt Khan* (oil), *al-Ḥarīr Khan* (silk), and *al-Tutun Khan* (tobacco).[322]

3.8. Examples of Khans in the Anatolian Peninsula:

The Anatolian Peninsula has several examples of *khans*, most of which follow a similar layout. Since the *khans* in Bursa City serve as the first tangible illustrations of Ottoman commercial culture, examples from Bursa will be provided, such as *Emir Khan* and *Koza Khan*. Then, examples from Istanbul, which has long been a significant market for the empire's products, will be illustrated, including *Kürkçü Khan*, the oldest *khan* in Istanbul, and concluding with *Rustem Pasha Khan*, which was designed by the architect Sinan.

3.8.1. Emir Khan in Bursa

Emir Khan was built in 1339 as part of the *Orhan Ghazi külliye* (complex). It is considered the oldest *khan* in Bursa and consists of a central rectangular courtyard surrounded by rooms on two floors.[323] Its entrance is located on the northern side, and it is provided with a stable at the back. The rooms on the ground floor were used as storage rooms for goods, while the rooms on the first floor were used as accommodation for travelers, with each room provided with a fireplace.[324](Fig.59)

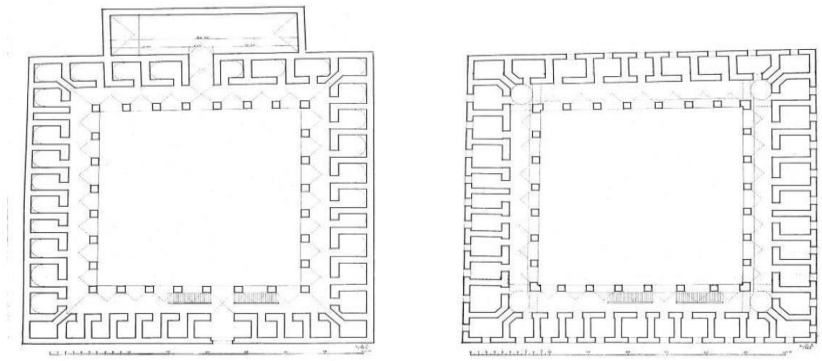

Figure 59 The layout of Emir khan the ground floor and first floor (SAĞLIK 2016.: 62)

[322]Sack 2005: 78-79.
[323] Freely 2011: 43.
[324] Petersen 1996: 41.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.8.2. Koza Khan in Bursa:

Koza Khan was built by Beyazit II in 1490. The *khan*, regarded as the largest in Bursa and specifically constructed for the silk trade, features a porticoed courtyard, fifty rooms on two stories, and a *şadırvan* in the middle of the courtyard. The *şadırvan* is topped by a mosque supported by eight pillars. The mosque in the *khan* reflects a common architectural feature of the Seljuk khans of the thirteenth century, which often included a mosque that stood separately in the courtyard (*Kiosk* Mosque). [325] (Fig. 60) (Fig.61)

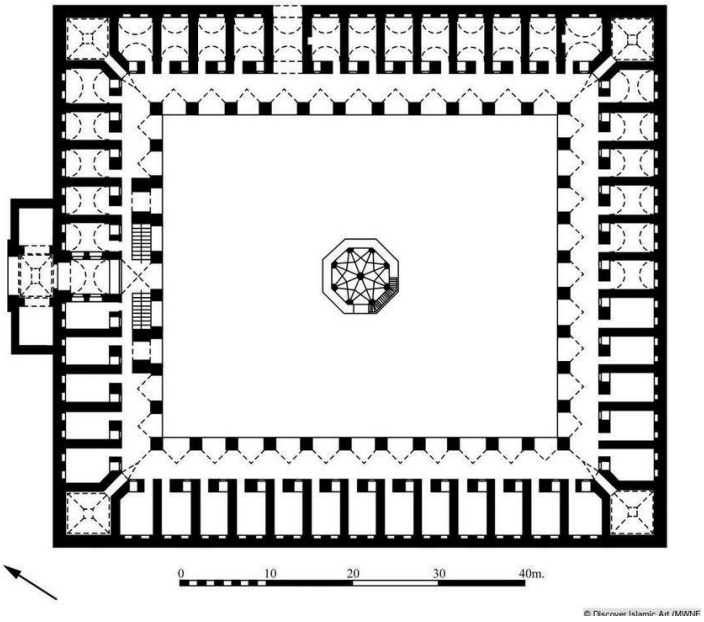

Figure 60 The layout of Koza khan: https://islamicart.museumwnf.org

[325] Freely 2011: 43.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 61 The mosque in Koza Khan (Freely 2011: 44)

3.8.3. Kürkçü Khan in Istanbul:

Kürkçü Khan, also known as the *Khan* of the Furriers, was constructed by the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha around 1462, making it Istanbul's oldest *khan*. It consisted of two large courtyards. The first courtyard, which once housed a mosque (now destroyed), was surrounded by two floors, each containing forty-five rooms. The second courtyard, located to the north of the first one, had an irregular shape and also featured two floors, each with thirty rooms.[326] (Fig. 62)

[326] Freely 2011: 126.

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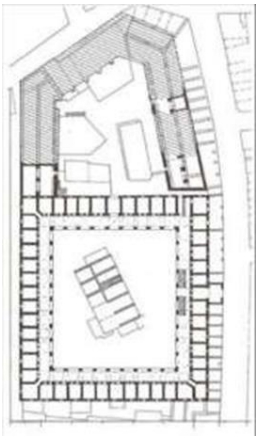

Figure 62The layout of Kürkçü khan in Istanbul (Freely 2011: 126)

3.8.4. Rustem Pasha Khan in Istanbul:

It is located in Istanbul and built by the architect Sinan shortly before 1550, consists of a long and narrow courtyard with two floors. Each floor features a portico preceding the rooms.[327] (Fig.63)

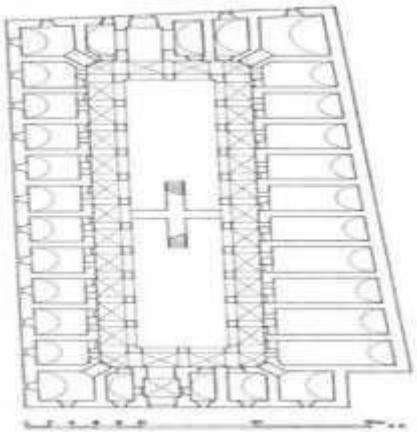

Figure 63 The layout of Rustem Pasha Khan (Freely 2011: 241)

3.9. The Mamluk Khans in Damascus:

According to literary sources, Damascus was home to many Mamluk *khans*. The majority of them were either rebuilt with new structures, destroyed during the Taimur Lank raid in 1402, or burned as a result of fires.[328] al-*Dikkah Khan* and *Juqmuq Khan* are the only two Mamluk khans that have endured to the present day.[329]

[327] Freely 2011: 240
[328] Burns 2005: 208.
[329] Degeorge 2005: 137.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.9.1. Al-Dikkah Khan:

Al-Dikkah Khan is the oldest *khan* still standing in Damascus, dating to a time before 1339.[330] It is situated in the Straight Street (*Midḥat Pasha* Street) and was used as a slave market. (Fig.52) Its name derives from the stone platform (*dikkah* in Arabic) that was used to display slaves. The *khan* consists of one floor, with an entrance leading to a vestibule with two rooms on each side, then an open courtyard with a fountain, surrounded by eight storage rooms, in addition to a large hall in its northeastern corner.[331] (Fig.64)

Only the *khan's* pillars remain from the original structure, as the majority of it was demolished and rebuilt. With twelve rooms and a newly renovated fountain, the *khan* is presently utilized as a national textile workshop, but it is still in poor condition.[332] It is worth mentioning that it is thought that the pillars of this *khan* originally date back to the classical period, as they were part of the columns of the Straight Street.[333]

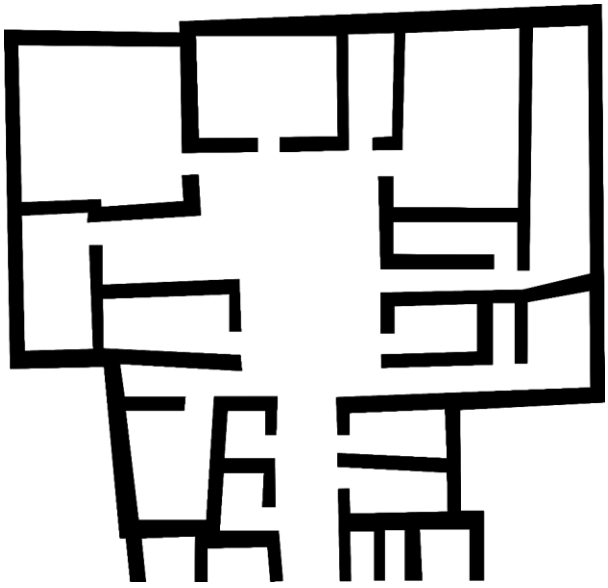

Figure 64 The layout of al-Dikkih Khan p (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008: 46) redrawn by the author

3.9.2. Juqmuq Khan:

Juqmuq Khan was built in 1421 by the Mamluk governor of Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Juqmuq, and is located on the Straight Street (*Midḥat Pasha Street*).[334](Fig.52) This small *khan* measures 1,000 square meters.[335]

[330] al-Shihābī 1990: 261.
[331] Yiḥīā 1981: 90.
[332] Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 40.
[333] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1984: 160.
[334] Yiḥīā 1981: 90.
[335] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 474.

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It features a decorative gate located on its southern façade, still regarded as Damascus' oldest *khan* gate (Fig.65) The gate opens onto a vestibule covered with a barrel vault, with a stairway and a storage room on the western side and two storage rooms on the eastern side.[336] This vestibule leads to a rectangular courtyard surrounded by eighteen storage rooms on all four sides, built of carved stones, in addition to western and eastern *iwans* roofed with groined vaults. The second floor consists of twenty-two rooms, but during the Syrian rebellion against the French Mandate in 1925, this portion was destroyed by fire and had to be rebuilt. (Fig.66) The *khan* underwent later modifications that eliminated its Mamluk features, and currently, its rooms are utilized as warehouses for commodities and offices for the textile trade.[337]

Figure 65 The entrance of Juqmuq Khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008: 53)

[336] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 474.
[337] Yiḥīā 1981: 90.

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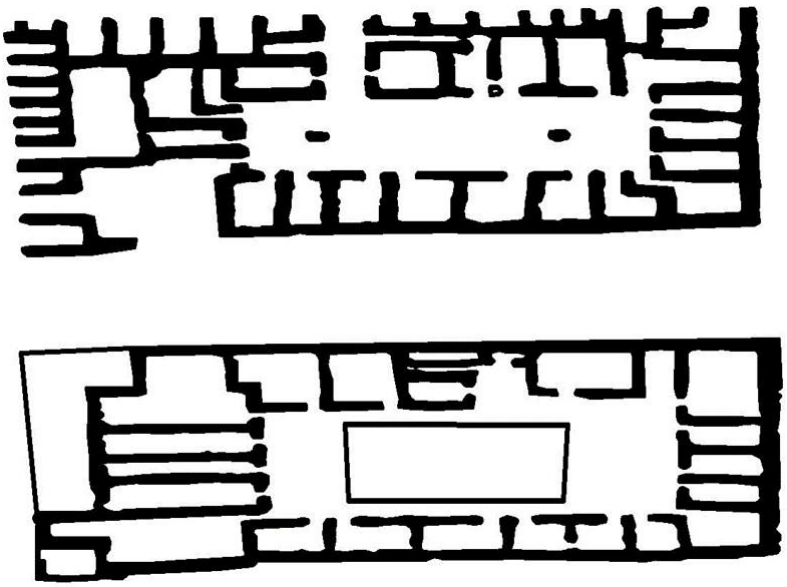

Figure 66 The layout of Juqmuq khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008: 51) redrawn by the author

3.10. The Ottoman Khans in Damascus:

According to al-Qasāṭilī, there were 139 *khans* in Damascus during the Ottoman era.[338] Presently, the walled city has fifteen *khans*; two of them date back to the Mamluk period, as detailed above, while the other thirteen date back to the Ottoman era.[339](Fig.52)

There are two discernible types of *khans* in Damascus:

The hypaethral type: This type is widespread in Islamic architecture. Its plan is distinguished by an open courtyard surrounded by rooms distributed over two floors.[340]

The domed courtyard type: This type began to develop in the middle of the sixteenth century. It consists of a domed courtyard surrounded by rooms on two floors.[341]

[338] Qasāṭilī 1879:110.
[339] ʿIrqāūi 2014: 13.
[340] Sack 2005: 79.
[341] Weber 2007: 195.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.11. Examples of the hypaethral khans in Damascus:

3.11.1. Al-Dhīnātiyya Khan:

Al-Dhīnātiyya Khan is situated in *al-Buzūriyyah Sūq*, south of the Umayyad Mosque. (Fig.51) It has thirty-nine shops spread across two floors.[342] Even though the *khan* was sponsored by Sinan Pasha, one of the important figures in Damascus, it follows a simple general layout without any special features. Comparing the two structures associated with Sinan Pasha: the luxurious and famous *al-Sināniyya* Mosque, detailed in the previous chapter, and this simple *khan* confirms the idea that religious buildings were the most important representatives of Ottoman authority. In contrast, the main function of commercial buildings in Damascus was to guarantee the owner's financial security. It is important to note that information about this *khan* relies solely on the endowment deed, and it appears that the *khan* has been demolished at this point.

3.11.2. Lala Mustafa Khan:

Lala Mustafa Khan was built by Lala Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Damascus between 1563 and 1568, and is located outside *Bāb al-Faraj*. (Fig.12) The location of the *khan* outside the city walls, in the northern neighborhood, played an important role in the urban development of this area, which became a residence for many Ottoman officials in later centuries. This *khan* was used to accommodate pilgrims, merchants, and travelers, and later also the military, due to its proximity to the citadel.[343] It was destroyed during the French Mandate, and a *sūq* was built in its place.[344]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

This *khan* had four entrances: the main one located in the southern wall, along with three doors on the eastern, western, and northern sides. The main entrance led to a courtyard paved with basalt stones and surrounded by a portico on all four sides. On the ground floor, there were fifty-five storage rooms distributed along the northern, western, and southern sides, in addition to two large, vaulted storage rooms on the eastern and northern sides. In the center of the courtyard was the mosque of the *khan*, situated above a water basin, and accessed via a staircase leading to the portico on the mosque's northern façade (Fig. 67). In the north-western corner of the courtyard, there was a well. The exterior façade of the mosque was built of marble and colored

[342] al-ʾĀrnāʾūṭ 1995: 108.
[343] Boqvist 2012: 195- 201.
[344] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 487.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

stone, with a wooden door. The second floor consisted of 115 domed storage rooms, each equipped with fireplaces, chimneys, and windows that opened to both the interior and exterior of the *khan*.[345]

The Ottoman influence is clearly evident in this *khan's* layout and new architectural elements. The fountain mosque in the center of the courtyard was a feature introduced for the first time in Damascene architecture in this *khan*, following Ottoman architectural traditions, with a similar earlier example in Bursa (*Koza Khan*). Moreover, the windows overlooking the exterior of the *khan* were a new tradition. Fireplaces, which were highly common in Anatolia and the Balkan regions of the central Ottoman domains, were also introduced, despite being previously unknown in Damascene *khans*.[346] The significant Ottoman influences in this *khan* may be explained by its location in a neighborhood that hosted Ottoman officials, which compelled the sponsor to adhere to the Ottoman style as closely as possible.

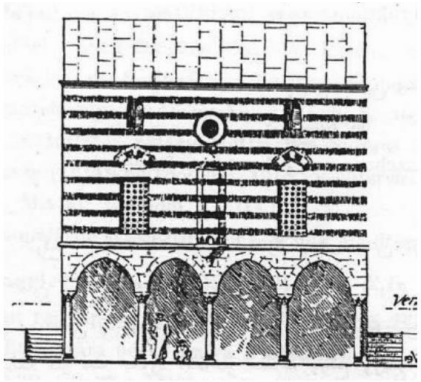

Figure 67 The façade of the mosque of Lala Mustafa Khan (Boqvist 2012: 206).

3.11.3. Al-Ḥarīr Khan:

Al-Ḥarīr Khan is located southwest of the Umayyad Mosque in *al-Ḥarīr Sūq*.[347](Fig. 52) It dates to the Seljuk period and was originally known as *al-Qawāṣīn Khan*. During the reign of Dervish Pasha in 1573, it was rebuilt to its present state as an endowment,[348] with its revenues devoted to the *Dervish Pasha* Mosque in Damascus.[349] The main function of this *khan* was to accommodate silk traders.[350]

[345] Boqvist 2012: 195.
[346] Ibid: 197.
[347] Degeorge 2005: 172.
[348] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 481.
[349] Degeorge 2005: 172
[350] Çigdem 1999: 74.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

The Architectural Layout of the Khan

The *khan* covers an area of 2,500 square meters. It has twenty-seven external vaulted storage rooms. The decorated portal leads to a groin-vaulted vestibule, then to the rectangular courtyard with a central basin, surrounded by seventeen storage rooms built of basalt stones.[351] The second floor is surrounded by a domed portico, covered with forty-four small domes.[352] Behind the portico, there are fifty-two rooms built of limestone.[353] All of these rooms on the second floor are provided with windows opening to both the interior and exterior sides. The façade of the *khan* is dressed in alternating white and black stones.[354] (Fig. 68).

Remarkably, the *khan* is currently in good condition. Its stores are used as workshops for socks, babouches, clogs, shoes, and belts.[355]

The fundamental design of the *khan* is based on the overall design of *khans* that appeared in Damascus during the Mamluk era and in Anatolia, with rooms on two levels surrounding a central courtyard. Regarding the architectural elements of the *khan*, such as the domed portico and the windows overlooking the exterior, these features reflect Ottoman influences. In contrast, the façade, decorated with alternating-colored stones *(ablaq)*, follows local traditions.

[351] Degeorge 2005: 172.
[352] Sauvaget 1989: 76.
[353] Yiḥīā 1981: 92.
[354] Degeorge 2005: 172
[355] Ibid.

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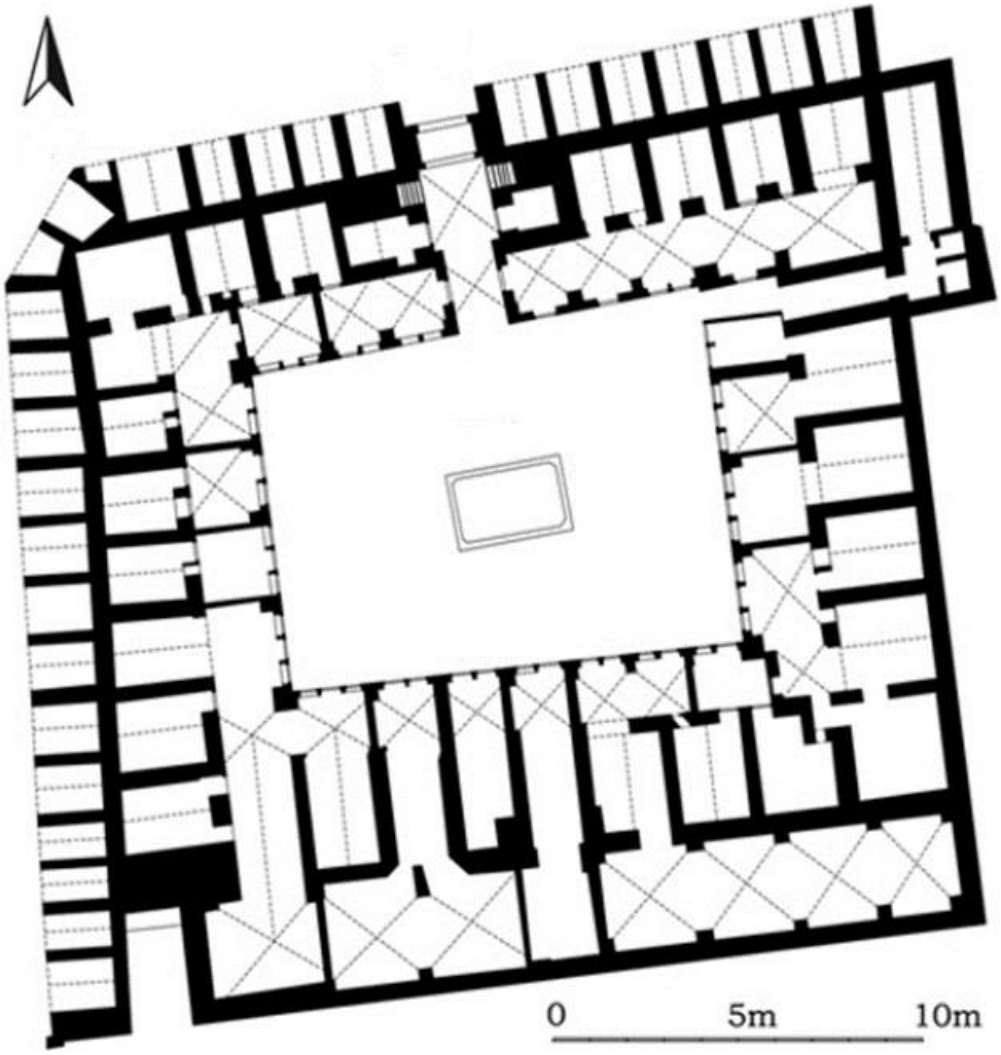

Figure 68 The layout of al-Harir khan https://arab-ency.com.sy/

3.11.4. Al-Zaʿfaranjiyya Khan:

Al-Zaʿfaranjiyya Khan was built in the seventeenth century and is located in *al-Ḥarīr Sūq*, southwest of the Umayyad Mosque. (Fig. 52) It is a small *khan* consisting of a long vestibule with three barrel-vaulted stores on each side, leading to a porticoed courtyard surrounded by thirteen vaulted storage rooms. The second floor has seventeen vaulted rooms, preceded by a portico.[356] Nowadays, the storage rooms of this *khan* are used as shops.[357] (Fig. 69) (Fig.70)

[356] Yiḥīā 1981: 97.
[357] Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008: 45.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

The *khan* is quite simple, without any distinguishing characteristics, but its importance derives from its location in the main commercial center.

Figure 69 The entrance of al Zaʿfaranjiyyah khan and part of its courtyard (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 45)

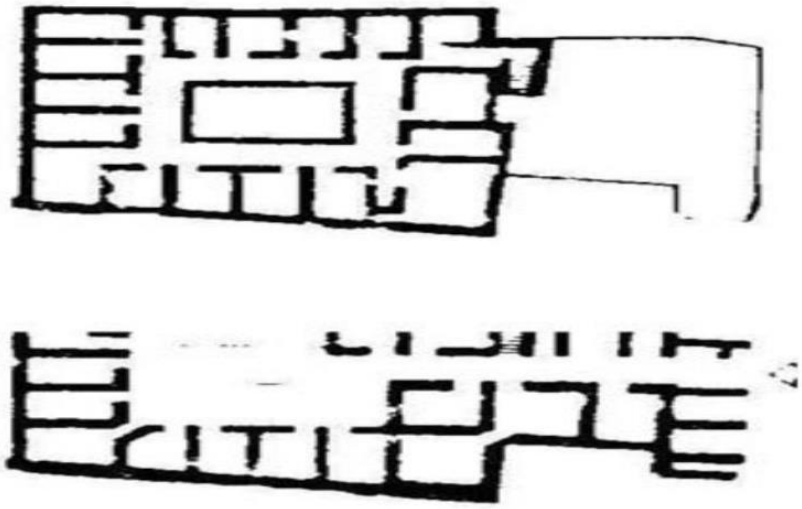

Figure 70 The layout of al Zaʿfaranjiyyah khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 46)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.11.5. Al-Zaīt Khan:

Al-Zaīt Khan was constructed by Ḥasan Pasha al-Sīāghushī between 1601 and 1602. It is situated in the western section of the Straight Street (*Midḥat Pasha* Street).[358](Fig.52)

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

The gate leads to a groin-vaulted vestibule with stairs on either side. Additionally, there is a room to the north of the western stairs that served as the *khan* guard's room. In the center of the courtyard, there is a rectangular fountain surrounded by a vaulted portico, with twenty-eight vaulted rooms behind it. The upper floor is flanked by a domed portico, with twenty-six vaulted rooms behind it. Each room has two windows, one overlooking the portico and the other facing the outside.[359](Fig.71)

The façade of this *khan* is made up of *ablaq*, with one *qashani* tile at the top of the gate arch. This reflects the Ottoman practice of occasionally employing individual tiles and panels as spolia in their structures.[360] Currently, this *khan* serves as a textile workshop.[361](Fig. 72) (Fig. 73). The arrangement of the *khan*, with its open courtyard encircled by rooms, is typical in design. It is apparent that the second floor's domed portico and the windows overlooking the street reflect Ottoman influences, while the *ablaq* of the *khan*'s façade displays local influences.

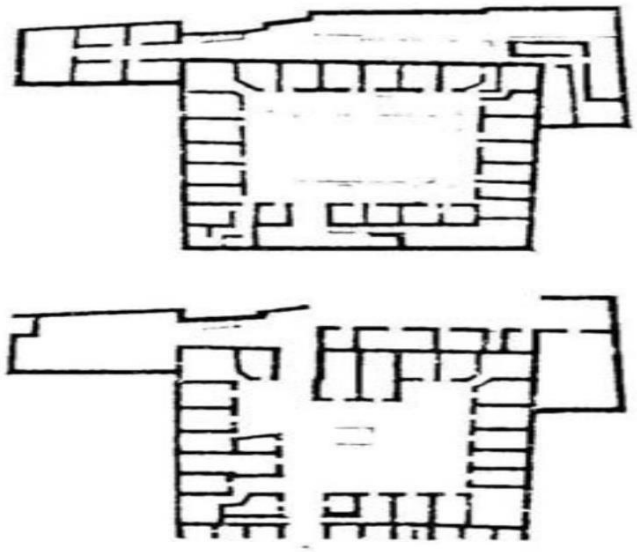

Figure 71 The layout of al-Zaīt Khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 55)

[358] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 482.
[359] Yiḥīā 1981: 94.
[360] Weber 1997-1998: 437.
[361] al-Shihābī 1990: 262.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 72 The facade of al-Zaīt khan and its Qashani tile (https://www.damasgate.com)

Figure 73 The domed portico on the second floor of al-Zaīt khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 55)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.11.6. Al-Shaykh Qaṭanā Khan:

Al-Shaykh Qaṭanā Khan, also referred to as *al-Ṣābūn Khan* (the Khan of the Soaps), was constructed by Mousa ibn al-Qaṭān prior to 1608 or 1609.[362]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan

It is a small *khan*, covering an area of 660 square meters. It consists of a vestibule leading to a groin-vaulted space with a hall on each side, then a square courtyard surrounded by six storage rooms. The second floor is surrounded by a portico covered with eleven small domes, and behind the portico, there are vaulted rooms.[363](Fig.74) The courtyard is currently used for selling garments.[364] (Fig.75).

The layout of the *khan*, with its open courtyard surrounded by rooms, is typical in design. The domed portico on the second floor reflects Ottoman influences.

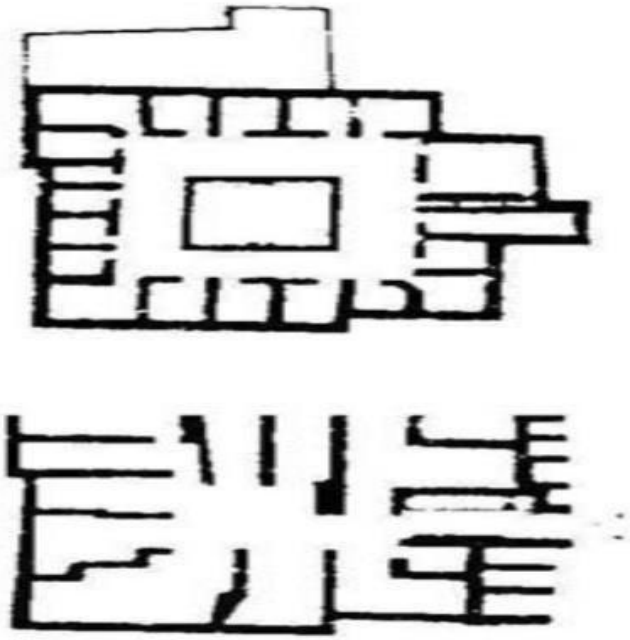

Figure 74 The Architectural Layout of Al-Shaykh Qaṭanā Khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 57)

[362] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 485.
[363] Yiḥīā 1981: 92-93.
[364] al-Shihābī 1990: 143.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 75 The entrance of al Shaykh Qaṭanā Khan (al-Shihābī 1990: 144)

3.12. Examples of the Domed Khans in Damascus:

3.12.1. Al-Khayyātīn Khan:

It is the oldest Ottoman building in Damascus that still maintains its original design.[365] In 1556, the Ottoman governor Ahmad Shamsi Pasha constructed this *khan* as an endowment to cover the expenses of his religious complex. It is located south of the citadel, near the complex itself.[366]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

It consists of a portal that leads to a groin-vaulted vestibule, a large hall, and stairs on each side. The southern hall may have been used as a kitchen, suggested by the presence of slots resembling chimneys. The plan reveals a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a portico, with two domes originally covering this courtyard.[367] However, today these two domes have collapsed, while their pendentives still remain.[368] Furthermore, the courtyard is flanked by twelve storage rooms, each consisting of two domed parts. The upper floor has approximately twelve rooms, preceded by a barrel-vaulted portico.[369] (Fig. 76) (Fig.77)

[365] Weber 2007: 198.
[366] Yiḥīā 1981: 90.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Burns 2005: 234.
[369] Yiḥīā 1981: 90.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Of significant note is the synchronization of this *khan's* construction with the existence of a workshop involved in constructing the *al-Suleimaniyya* complex. This suggests the possibility that this workshop, or the Damascene workers trained within it, participated in constructing this *khan* under the governor's orders.[370] As a result, this *khan* exhibits a distinctive style, marking the beginning of the appearance of Damascene domed-courtyard *khans*. The Ottoman influence is evident in the use of pendentives as the intersection of the dome with the supporting arches.

Moreover, Shamsi Ahmad Pasha, the patron of the *khan*, was among the first governors to introduce the Ottoman style to Damascus. This influence is particularly evident in the design *al-ʾArwām Sūq*, as described above, which stood out in the city's commercial center, as well as in the complex of Shamsi Ahmad Pasha, detailed in the previous chapter.

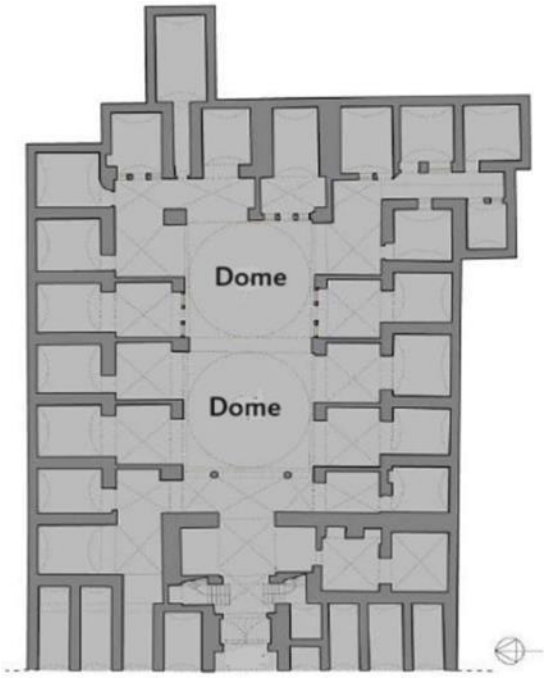

Figure 76 The layout of al-khayāṭīn khan https://etourismsy.wordpress.com

[370] Weber 2007: 199.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 77 The courtyard of al-khayāṭīn khan and the pendentives which held the domes (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 41)

3.12.2. Al-Tutun Khan:

Situated south of the Umayyad Mosque in *al-Silāḥ Sūq*, *al-Tutun Khan* was constructed around 1711 during the tenure of Governor Nāṣīf Pasha.[371](Fig.52)

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

The entrance to the *khan* leads into a vestibule, which in turn opens onto a courtyard covered with three domes.[372] The second story features a vaulted portico preceding small rooms. Notably, this *khan* is distinguished by two additional sections branching off from its courtyard via small vestibules. Each section represents a smaller replica of the original *khan*.[373] The original purpose of the *khan* was to sell tobacco.[374] The rooms of the *khan* are still utilized as storage rooms for merchants and as shops for spices, perfumes, and food supplies.[375] (Fig.78) (Fig.79) This *khan* represents the earliest example of domed courtyard *khans* from the eighteenth century. Its sole distinguishing feature is its courtyard, covered with three domes.

[371] al-Rīḥāūī 1975: 63.
[372] al-ʿilabī 1989: 480.
[373] al-Rīḥāūī 1975: 63.
[374] ʿIrqāūi 2014: p. 27.
[375] al-ʿilabī 1989: 480.

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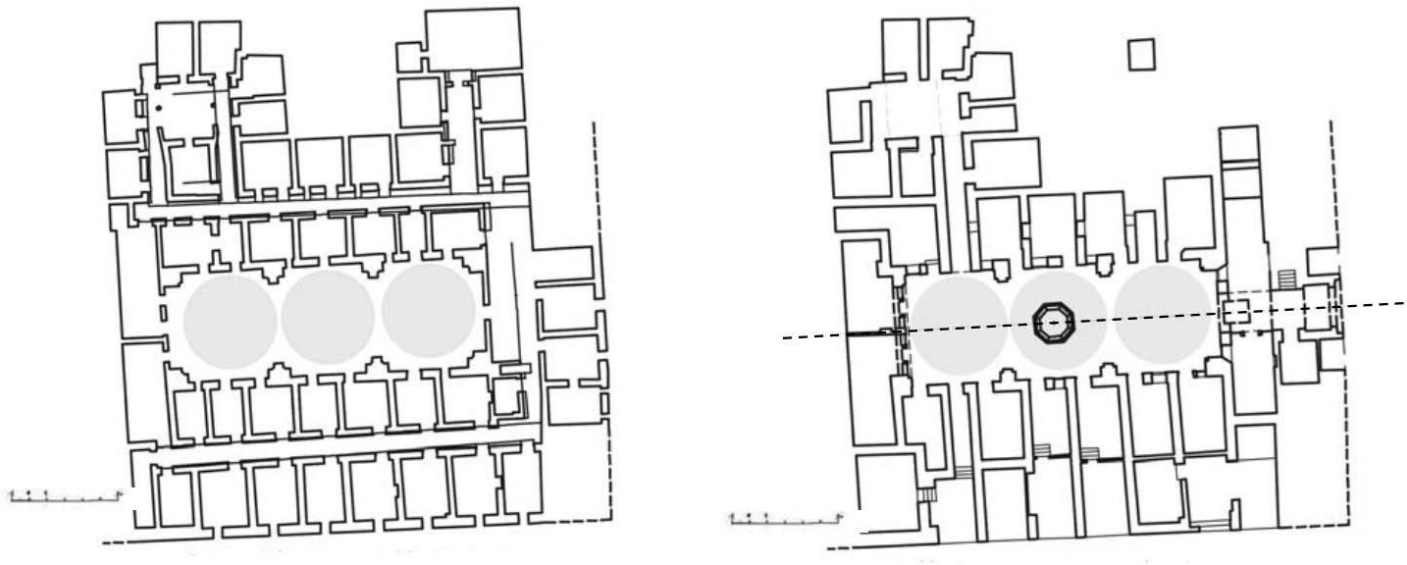

Figure 78 The layout of al-Tutun Khan (ʿIrqāūi 2014: 28)

Figure 79 The domed courtyard of al-Tutun khan during the reconstruction (al-Shihābī 1990:216)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.12.3. Al-ʿĀmūd Khan:

Located southwest of the Umayyad Mosque, (Fig.52) it is believed that *al-ʿĀmūd Khan* was initially built by *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* Wālī al-Dīn ibn Farfūr at the end of the Mamluk period in 1490. It was later renovated during the Ottoman period by Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓim between 1725 and 1731.[376]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

The plan reveals an entrance leading to a vestibule, with a staircase located on its northern side and a storage room on its southern side. Notably, the first courtyard, constructed during the Mamluk period, is currently covered with a metal roof and is surrounded by nine vaulted storage rooms. The second floor features a portico encircling sixteen vaulted rooms. As for the second courtyard, built during the Ottoman period, it is covered with four domes and is surrounded by nine vaulted storage rooms (Fig. 80). During the Ottoman period, *al-ʿĀmūd Khan* was utilized for storing grains. Presently, it houses commercial offices.[377](Fig.81)

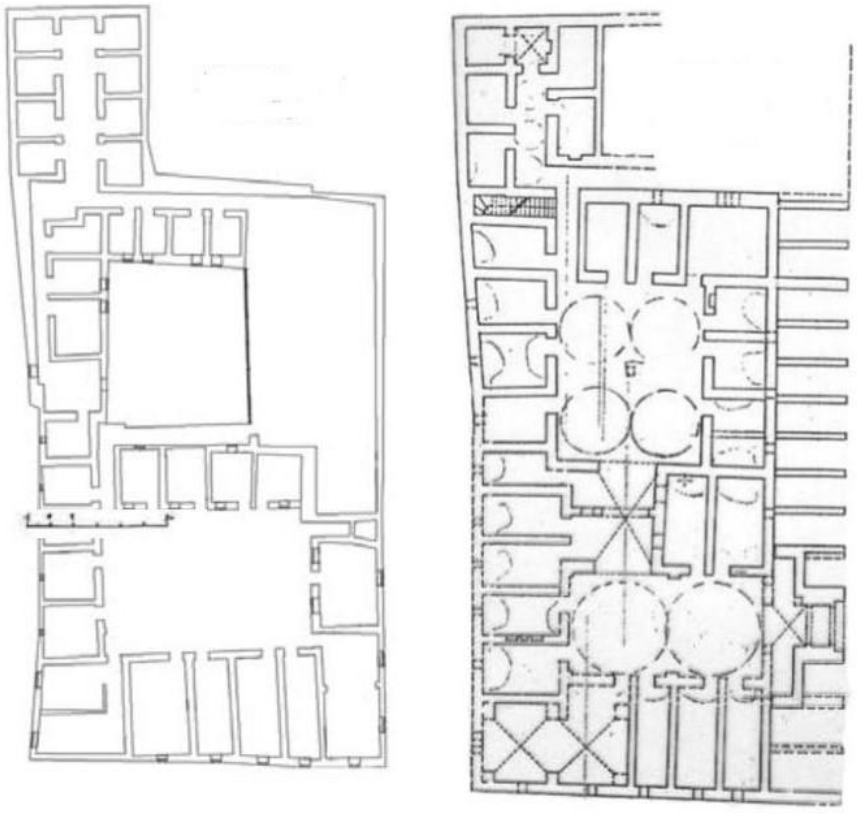

Figure 80 the Layout of Al-ʿĀmūd Khan (ʿIrqāūi 2014: 23)

[376] ʿIrqāūi 2014: 23.
[377] Yiḥīā 1981: 97-98.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 81 The facade of al-ʿĀmūd khan (Lutfī 2011: 286)

3.12.4. Suleiman Pasha Khan:

According to an inscription above its gate, Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim constructed this *khan* between 1732 and 1736. It is situated south of the Straight Street.[378](Fig. 52)

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

The gateway leads to a vestibule covered with two vaults. On each side of the entryway, there is a staircase and a storage room. The *khan* features a rectangular courtyard with a large basin at its center. Originally, the courtyard was covered with two domes resting on pendentives, which have since collapsed, though the pendentives remain.[379] The ground floor comprises seventeen vaulted storage rooms. The upper floor features a groin-vaulted portico surrounded by twenty-nine rooms, each with windows facing both the exterior and interior sides. Notably, the upper-floor rooms retain their original doors. The façade of the *khan* is adorned with *ablaq*. [380] (Fig.82) (Fig.83) (Fig.84)

Before 2003, the ground floor rooms were used for storing food supplies such as oil and coffee, while the second-floor rooms served as workshops for tailors and trade offices. The *khan* was closed for renovation in 2003.[381]

[378] Yiḥīā 1981: 95.
[379] Ibid.
[380] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 483.
[381] Degeorge 2005:195.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

In conclusion, the *khan's* design blends local and Ottoman features. The use of white and black stone follows local traditions, while the pendentives and exterior-facing windows reflect Ottoman influences.

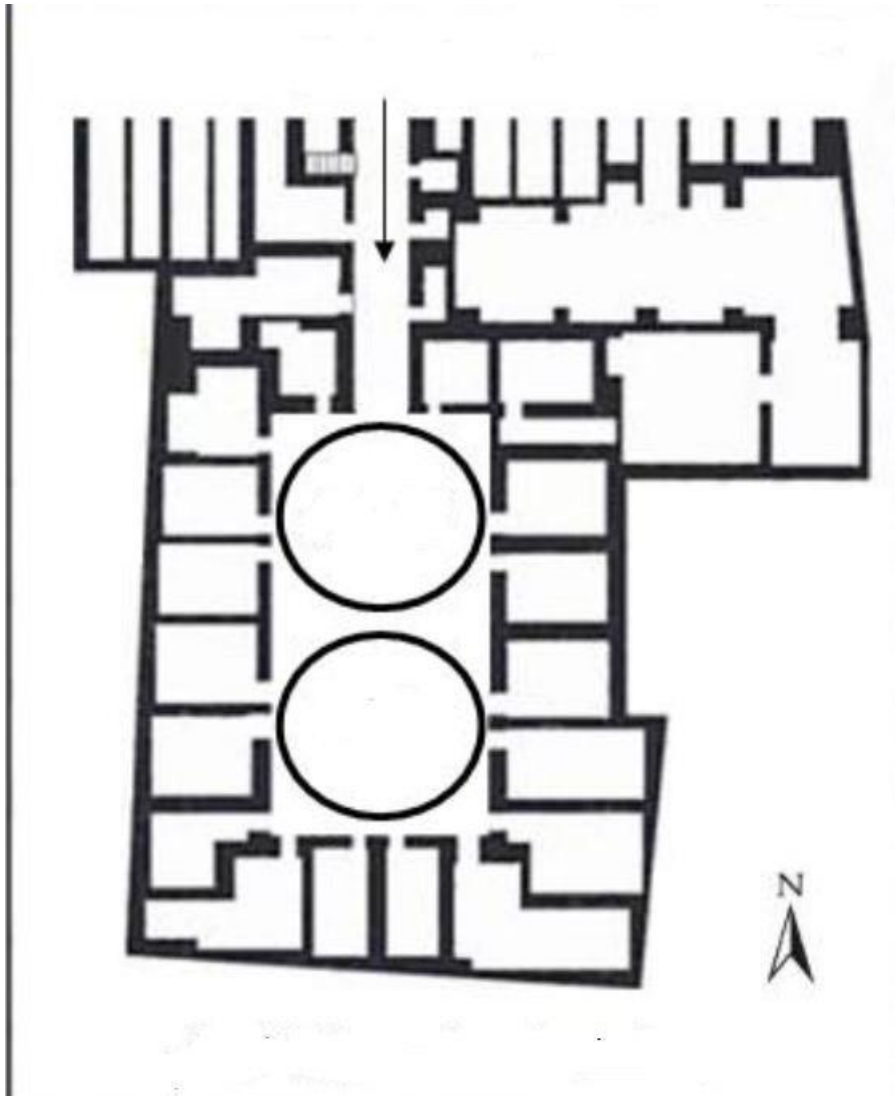

Figure 82 The layout of Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim khan (al-Rīḥāūī 1975: 75)

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Figure 83The facade of Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim Khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 48)

Figure 84 The courtyard of khan Suleiman Pasha al-ʿAẓim Khan and the pendentives which held the domes (Degeorge 2005: 195)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

3.12.5. Al-Safarjalānī Khan:

It is situated in *al-Silāḥ Sūq*, southwest of the Umayyad Mosque (Fig.52), and was either constructed by Muḥammad al-Safarjalānī in 1737 or in 1750 by Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar al-Safarjalānī.[382]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

Its layout features a gate followed by a narrow vestibule. The *khan* consists of two floors with a courtyard covered by three domes, and the ground floor has twelve stores. Currently, the *khan* houses various commercial activities, including stores for sandals, jewelry, silk, and even fast food. The only notable characteristic of the *khan* is its courtyard, which is covered by three domes.[383] (Fig.85) (Fig.86)

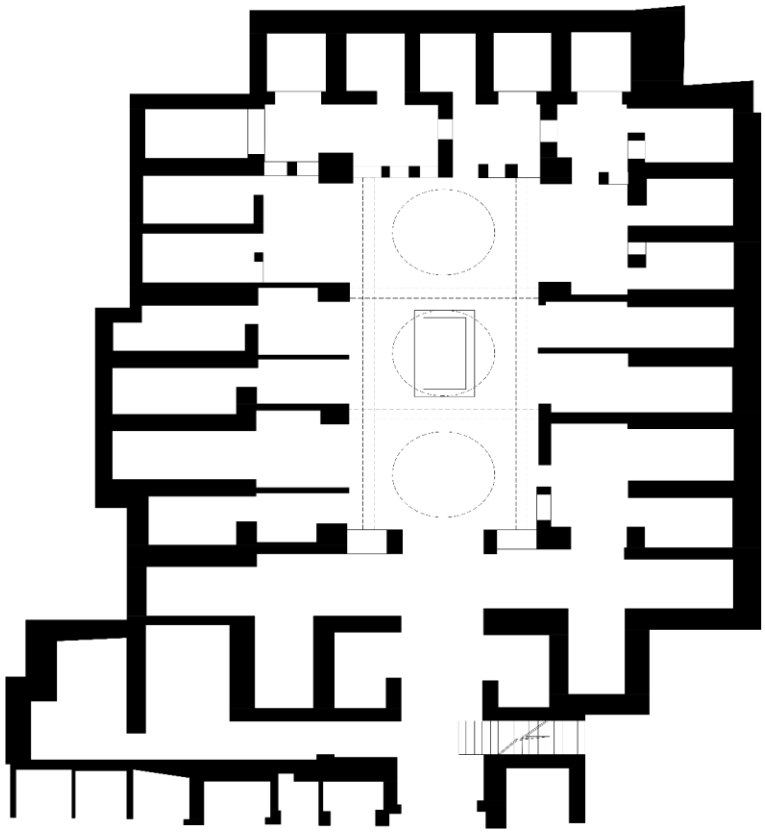

Figure 85 The layout of al-Safarjalānī Khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008:75) redrawn by the author

[382] al-Shihābī 1990: 217.
[383] al-Rīḥāūī 1975: 64.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 86 The domed courtyard of al-Safarjalānī Khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley 2008: 74)

3.12.6. ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim Khan:

Situated in *al-Buzūriyyah Sūq*, this *khan* was established by the governor ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim between 1751 and 1753, south of his palace.[384](Fig.52) Its construction invigorated the commercial activity in *al-Buzūriyyah Sūq*, a hub for the cereal and spice trade.[385]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

The *khan* spans 2500 square meters.[386] It features an entrance leading to a vaulted vestibule, with stairs on either side providing access to the second floor. Beyond the vestibule lies a square courtyard paved with basalt stone and centered around a polygonal fountain. The courtyard walls exhibit the *ablaq* style, alternating black basalt stones with white limestone. The ground floor contains twenty-one shops, with a mosque accessible from the exterior in the western part. The upper floor consists of forty-five vaulted rooms, each preceded by a portico.[387] The courtyard is covered by nine domes, each resting on a drum and pierced with windows.[388]

[384] Weber 2007: 202.
[385] Sack 2005: 53.
[386] Ibid.
[387] ʿIrqāūi 2014: 17-18.
[388] Sack 2005: 51

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The *khan's* façade is luxurious, with the entrance crowned by *muqarnas* and adorned with *ablaq* decoration. Presently, the *khan* serves as a venue for cultural exhibitions.[389] (Fig.87) (Fig.88) (Fig.89)

The nine-domed *khan* of ʾAsʿad Pasha represents the pinnacle of Damascene domed-khan architecture. The *ablaq* walls of its courtyard and façade distinctly exhibit local influences, and the use of *muqarnas* elements further underscores these local architectural traditions.

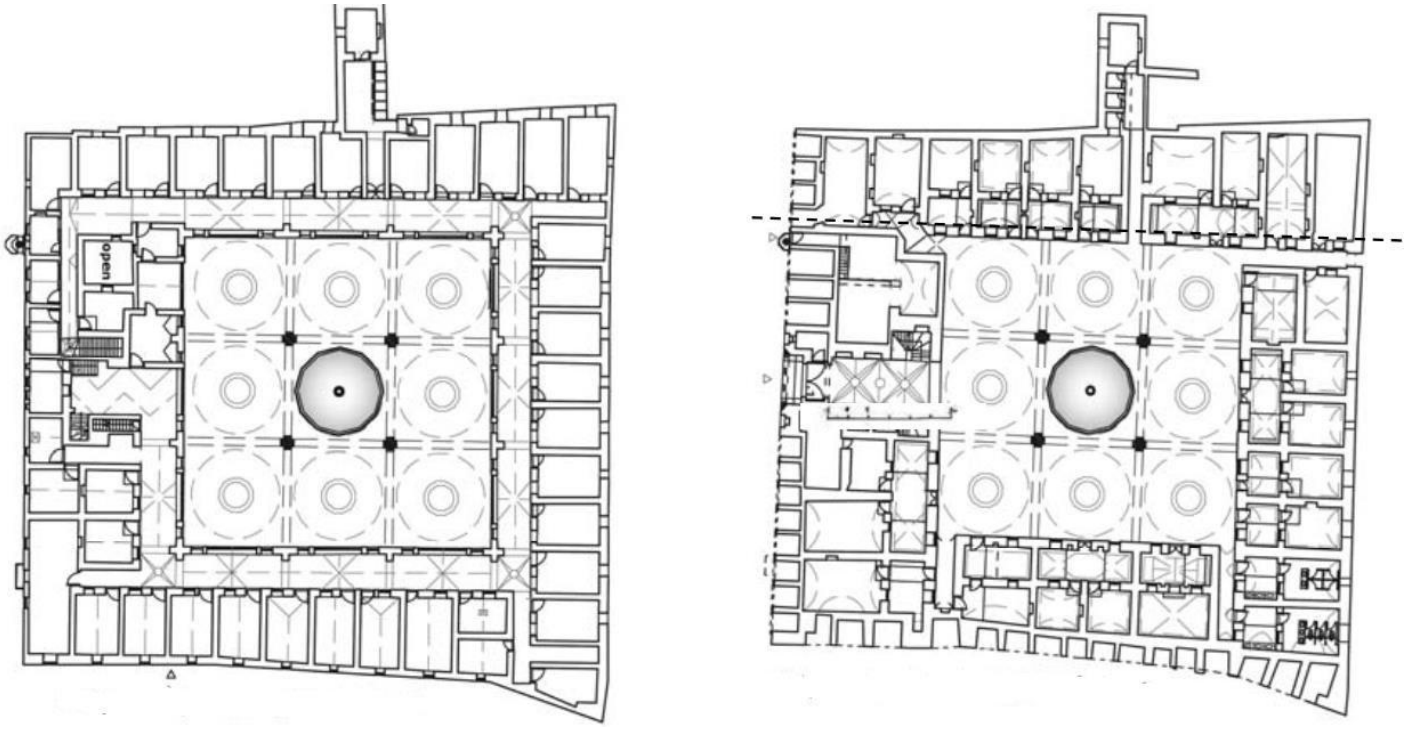

Figure 87 The layout of ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim Khan (ʿIrqāūi 2014: 17)

[389] al-Rīḥāūī 1975: 67.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 88 The domed courtyard in ʾAsʿad Pasha Khan (Degeorge 2005: 198)

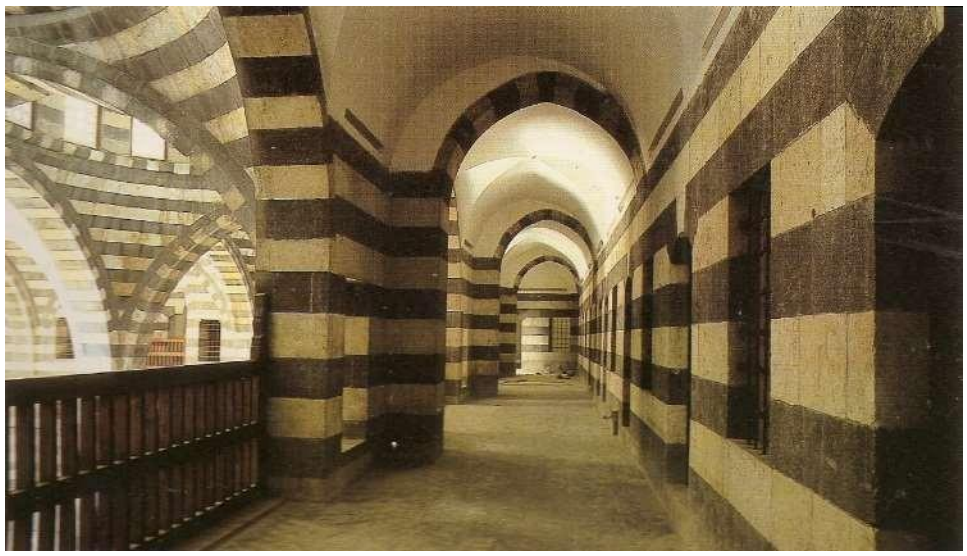

Figure 89The groin- vaulted portico of the second floor of ʾAsʿad Pasha Khan (Degeorge 2005: 199)

3.12.7. Al-Ṣidrāniyya Khan:

Positioned southwest of the Umayyad Mosque, in *al-Buzūriyyah Sūq*. (Fig. 52) *al-Ṣidrāniyya Khan* was first recorded in the *Sharia* Court archive in 1758, suggesting its construction around this time.[390]

The Architectural Layout of the Khan:

It comprises a long vestibule covered with three domes, with four storage rooms on each side, followed by a rectangular courtyard covered with two domes, flanked by a portico with groin vaults, and thirteen storage

[390] al-Rīḥāūī 1975: 64.

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rooms beyond it, all of which have groin-vaulted roofs. Moreover, there is a hall on the northwest side of the building that was likely used as a stable.[391] The second floor consists of a portico covered with seventeen red brick domes, and behind it, there are seventeen vaulted rooms, in addition to a large hall on the northwestern side, similar to the layout of the one on the ground floor.[392] (Fig.90) (Fig. 91) Nowadays, the rooms of the *khan* are used as commercial storage rooms, and they have kept their original wooden doors.[393]

In conclusion, *al-Ṣidrāniyya Khan* exhibits a combination of local and Ottoman influences. The domed courtyard is built in the Damascene style, while the second floor's domed portico represents the Ottoman style.

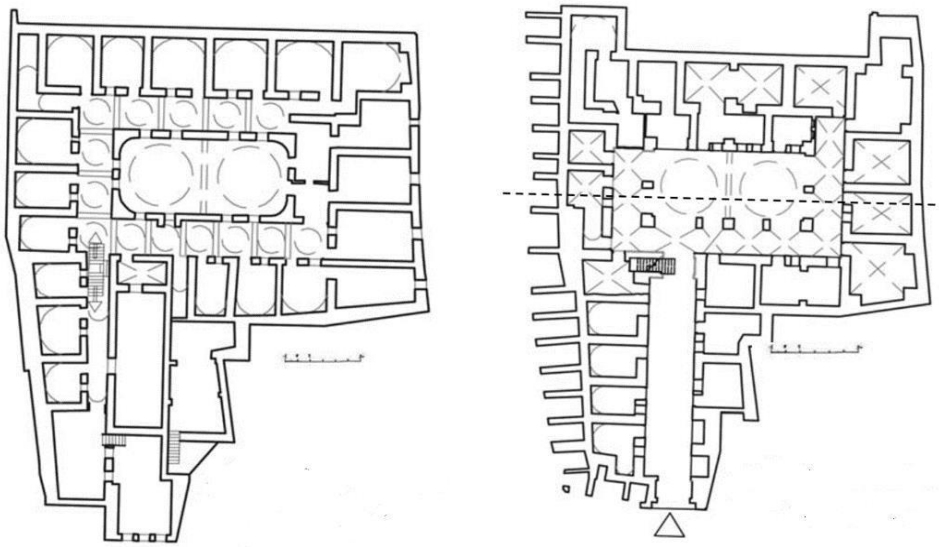

Figure 90 the layout of al-Ṣidrāniyya Khan (ʿIrqāūi 2014: 25)

[391] Yiḥīā 1981: 97.
[392] Ibid.
[393] al-Shihābī 1990: 194.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 91 The interior of al-Ṣidrāniyya Khan with the arches holding its three domes (al-Shihābī 1990: 196)

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3.13. Analytical Study:

Starting from the Hellenistic period until the Mamluk period, the commercial center of Damascus concentrated around the temple/Umayyad Mosque. During the Mamluk period, with the increased importance of the citadel, a new commercial center emerged to the north of the citadel, adding to the existing centers. Even *Dār al Baṭīkh* moved from the Straight Street to this new center. According to the first chapter, a new urban center was established during the Ottoman era in the western section of the city, beyond the city walls. Consequently, the commercial hub shifted to the western part of the city. It is evident that most of the commercial buildings from this period are located southwest of the Umayyad Mosque.

A new form of domed *Sūq*, such as the *Ibn Farfūr Sūq*, arose in Damascus as a result of Ottoman architectural influence that began at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The creation of this *sūq* was an initiative by Ibn Farfūr to demonstrate his support for the Ottoman sultanate. Also, there is the vaulted *al-Arwām Sūq*, which was built by Ahmad Shamsi Pasha, who was also influenced by Ottoman architecture. The attempt at Ottomanization of Damascus appears clearly in this *sūq*, which replaced the location of the previous Mamluk administrative palace (*Dār al-Saʿāda*) and court of justice (*Dār al-ʿAdil*). Moreover, depending on what was mentioned by Ibn Ṭūlūn, who lived between the end of the Mamluk period and the beginning of the Ottoman period, there are no previous examples of the domed *sūq* in Damascus, which proves that it is an Ottoman invention. Moreover, *al-Arwām Sūq*, with its plan, is a clear introduction to the *bedestan*. and there are not any records of similar examples from previous periods.

Given that there are no Mamluk examples of the *bedestan*, it can be said that *Murad Pasha Bedestan* is a clear result of the Ottoman influence on commercial buildings.

The Ottoman *khans* in the Anatolian peninsula are composed of one or more courtyards with one or two stories, with the lower rooms serving as stables for caravan animals and storage facilities for goods, and the upper rooms serving as lodging for traders. Significant features, such as the Kiosk Mosque, appear in some *khans*.

Depending on the two examples of the Mamluk *khans*, it is challenging to build a comprehensive image of the Mamluk *khans* in Damascus, especially since *Juqmuq Khan* features *iwans* on the eastern and western sides. It is notable that *iwans* did not appear in the subsequent period.

It could be noted that there are two types of Damascene *khans* from the Ottoman period:

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The first type consists of an open courtyard surrounded by rooms on two floors. For example, *Lala Mustafa Pasha Khan* in the northern part of Damascus and five other *khans* within the walled city of Damascus, all of which date to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, merged local and Ottoman influences. They were designed to adhere to the standard *khan* layout, common throughout the Anatolian peninsula and popular in Damascus during the Mamluk era. Most of these *khans* have only a few architectural features influenced by the Ottoman style, such as the domed portico and windows overlooking the streets, while the *ablaq* façade reflects local influences. *Lala Mustafa Pasha Khan* is the sole exception, exhibiting additional Ottoman elements such as the mosque fountain and fireplaces, which were not present in local examples.

The second type is the domed courtyarded *khan*, which began with a rectangular courtyard covered with two domes, such as *al-Khayāṭīn Khan* and *Suleiman Pasha Khan*. This design later developed into *khans* with a square courtyard covered with four domes, such as *al-ʿĀmūd Khan*. It is important to note that the development of the Damascene domed *khans* peaked with the construction of the nine-domed *ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim Khan*. This was followed by other *khans* such as *al-Tutun Khan* and *al-Safarjalāni Khan*, which features a rectangular courtyard covered with three domes, and *al-Ṣidrāniyya Khan*, which has a rectangular courtyard covered with two domes.

The determination of the origins of the domed *khan*, adopted by both Ottoman governors and local dynasties, is challenging. The Mamluk *khans* that have survived to this day have undergone repairs and adjustments, making it difficult to understand how they influenced the Ottoman ones. On the other hand, this type of domed courtyarded *khan* had not appeared in the imperial architecture in Anatolia, so the domed *khans* in Damascus cannot be traced back to Ottoman influence. However, it could be said that the appearance of this new type could be attributed to the influence of the domed *bedestan*, which appeared for the first time in Damascus during the Ottoman period. The architectural layout of the *bedestan* is the most similar to that of the domed courtyarded *khans*, suggesting a likely influence.

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3.14. Results:

The Umayyad Mosque and the Castle of Damascus are two of the most significant structures in the city's history. They had a considerable influence on the positioning and growth of the commercial center during the pre-Ottoman period. In the Ottoman era, alongside the emergence of *sūqs* outside the walled city, such as *al-Sināniyya* and *al-Mīdān*, a new primary commercial center appeared southwest of the Umayyad Mosque.

The domed *sūqs* appeared in Damascus, although they didn't gain much popularity and were limited to *Ibn Farfūr sūq* and *al-Arwām sūq*. The location of these two *sūqs* still doesn't fit within the new commercial center, as the first one is situated east of the Umayyad Mosque and the second is near the citadel. Moreover, domed commercial structures (known as *bedestan*), like the one built by Murad Pasha, emerged in Damascus as a result of Ottoman architectural traditions.

Despite the architectural similarity between *khans* and *caravanserais*, there is a distinction in their function. The *khan* within the city primarily served an economic role, specializing in wholesale trade similar to the *sūq*. In contrast, caravanserais located along roadsides were designed for travelers and their animals to rest. Caravanserais typically featured one floor with a spacious courtyard, whereas urban *khans* often comprised two stories with either an uncovered or roofed courtyard. Below is a table detailing the characteristics of the *sūq*, *bedestan*, and *khan* building types.

The khan	The bedestan	The sūq
It has two floors	It has two floors	It has one floor
The courtyard could be covered	It is always covered	There are two types: the covered sūq, and uncovered sūqs
It has one gate which also should be guarded	It has two gates and both of them are guarded	It does not have gates
It could be devoted for any type of goods	It is devoted for the precious goods	It could be devoted for any type of goods

Table 5 the Characteristics of the sūq, bedestan, and khan

Most of the commercial *khans* remaining in Damascus' trading area today date back to the Ottoman era. They can be categorized into two types: the first type is the hypaethral *khans* (undomed *khans*), which adhere to the traditional Islamic *khan* layout, a common feature also seen in Anatolia. These *khans* exhibit Ottoman influences, such as the inclusion of a fountain mosque, which is only found in one example *(Lala Mustafa*

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Khan). Other new Ottoman features include the domed portico preceding the rooms and windows overlooking the street. Despite these Ottoman elements, the *ablaq* façade of the *khans* reflects local influences.

The second type is the domed *khans*, which could be considered a local Ottoman style since the domes were an important architectural element in Ottoman architecture. It's noteworthy that domed *khans* were uncommon in the Eastern Mediterranean, being primarily found in Damascus.

It's important to note that the abundance of *khans* built during the Ottoman era, along with the development of a new architectural style featuring domed courtyards, especially in Damascus, reflects a period of economic prosperity and flourishing trade. Unfortunately, many of these *khans* are currently in a state of disrepair, with their historical significance often overlooked in favor of less considerate uses.

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4. CHAPTER IV

Damascene Houses in The Ottoman Period

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The most important aim of humans for a long time was to find suitable and comfortable residences that provided them with safety, comfort, and privacy. At first, humans used caves and tents as shelters. Later, after acquiring more skills and experience, they started to construct permanent houses using available materials like mud, wood, and stone. Over time, these houses developed according to the environment, customs, and traditions of the people, with each country having its own distinctive styles. The aim of a house was to create a space that met the aesthetic, functional, and social necessities of the residents. This chapter will clarify the general layout of the Ottoman house on the Anatolian peninsula, then discuss the origin and development of Damascene houses and the changes they underwent during the Ottoman period.

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4.1. Introduction:

Regarding the houses in the Ottoman period, the term "Ottoman house" is a general term that includes several types of houses distributed among the vassals of the Ottoman Empire. This diversity in house styles played a very important role in reflecting the culture, beliefs, and lifestyle of each country. The houses were not just physical structures, but cultural productions influenced by the surrounding environment.

4.2. Ottoman Houses in the Anatolian Peninsula:

Most of the surviving Ottoman houses in the Anatolian Peninsula date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[394] and examples can be found in cities such as Bursa, Safranbolu, Edirne, and Istanbul. It should be noted that different regions of Anatolia feature various types of houses, with differences primarily in construction materials and forms, while space planning remains almost identical.[395] Wood was the primary construction material in the north of Anatolia, while mud and stone were commonly used in the central and southern regions.[396]

The majority of these houses consist of two floors: the ground floor typically includes a garden along with service and storage rooms such as the kitchen, laundry, and cellar. These rooms often have windows opening onto the garden side, without direct visual access to the street. The ground level is usually enclosed by a high barrier to maintain the family's privacy.[397] The upper floor, designated for living spaces, typically comprises rectangular or square rooms.[398]

It is noteworthy that affluent houses in the Anatolian Peninsula often feature a pavilion on their ground floor, known as a *"selamlik"* specifically designed for men and guests. This area is accessed through a direct entrance from the street.[399] (Fig. 92)

[394] Canbulat 2017: 84.
[395] Hassanpour & Soltanzadeh 2015-2016: 49.
[396] al-ʿĀbdīn 1998: 46-205.
[397] Dengiz 2001: 31-32.
[398] Cersai 1998: 120.
[399] Ulusoy, kolosal and Üstün 2018: 240.

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Figure 92 View of a house from Safranbolu in the northern region of Anatolia, showing the selamlik pavilion, with a pond in the center (Ulusoy, kolosal, & Üstün 2018: 240)

The Ottoman house in Anatolia was characterized by two main architectural components:

The Sofa:

The *sofa* can be characterized as a semi-open space, akin to a porch, situated before the rooms on both the ground and upper floors, offering an exterior view overlooking the garden and accessed by a wooden ladder. It serves as a common entrance to the rooms on one side and serves to connect the garden with the house on the other. Additionally, this space serves a social function, acting as a meeting place equipped with seating units and hosting wedding and entertainment gatherings. (Fig.93) It should be noted that in the late Ottoman period, this area was entirely enclosed.[400]

It is noteworthy that the emergence of the *sofa* was influenced by the Turks' previous residential type, namely tents, during their nomadic lives. The arrangement of rooms around a central space mirrors the layout of a group of tents and their shared space, which precedes them.[401]

[400] al -ʿĀbdīn 1998: 61.
[401] Ulusoy, kolosal, & Üstün 2018: 238.

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Figure 93 The sofa in the ground and first floor from Birgi Cakiraga mansion (Ulusoy, kolosal, & Üstün 2018: 241)

The Room

The room typically features a rectangular shape and comprises two unequal spaces: a small entrance and service area with a lower ceiling than the other part, known as "*sekialtı*," and a raised sitting area called "*sekiüstü*" surrounded on three sides by low-lying, built-in benches. Regarding the room's flooring, it is usually wooden and covered with cushions and carpets. The ceiling of the room is typically flat and wooden, adorned with various patterns. The walls are pierced with windows overlooking the street and often fitted with wooden lattice to maintain the residence's privacy.[402]

In the traditional Ottoman house, the room is characterized by its role as a separate unit, independent from other spaces. This means that each room contains facilities for daily activities such as sleeping, eating, working, and resting.[403] This characteristic applies to houses across all economic strata.[404] Each room also contains stable elements such as built-in carved wooden wardrobes called "*yüklük*" which hold daily used equipment like beds, rugs, and cups. Another important interior feature is the fireplace, primarily used for heating and sometimes for cooking.[405] Interestingly, the fireplace was one of the most important components in Turkish tents during the Middle Ages, located at the center of the tent.[406] Some rooms may also contain a bathing space (*Gusülhane*),

[402] Ulusoy, kolosal, & Üstün 2018: 242.
[403] Ibid: 243.
[404] Dengiz 2001: 32.
[405] Ulusoy, Kolsal, & Üstün 2008: 243.
[406] al-ʿĀbdīn 1998: 34.

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situated inside a cupboard, used for bathing and ablution, with its floor covered in durable materials such as brick.[407](Fig.94)

Figure 94 Bath unit in the room of Anatolian house (Ayalp 2011: 473)

4.3. The Damascene House:

Even with the richness of Mamluk and Ottoman religious monuments in Damascus, which testify to the architectural creativity and development of the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods, examples of early residential architecture in Damascus are still rare. These are limited to a few fragmentary examples, as most of the Damascene houses date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Many factors contributed to the destruction of early Damascene houses, such as reconstruction works, the French bombardment of old Damascus in 1925, [408] and the light construction materials of the houses. Unlike the religious and commercial buildings, which were entirely built with stone, the residential houses were more vulnerable to destruction. [409]

4.3.1. The Development of the Damascene House:

Despite the absence of residential houses in Damascus dating to the pre-Ottoman period, it is certain that the architectural style of Damascene houses in the Ottoman period was not an innovation. Instead, it resulted from successive phases of development through historical periods, in line with the climatic, social, and financial

[407] Ulusoy, Kolsal, & Üstün 2008: 243.
[408] Kinan 2011: 158.
[409] Kabrīt 2000: 23.

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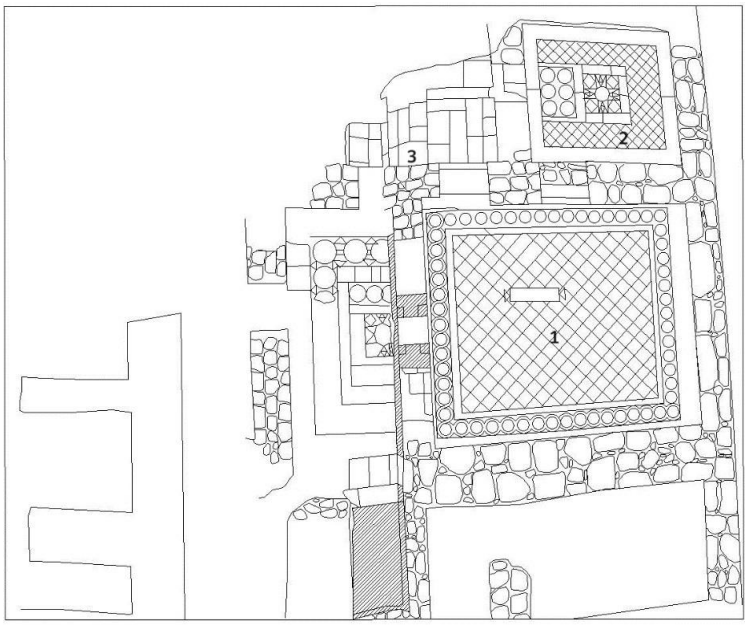
conditions of Damascene residents. The Damascene house originated from the Mesopotamian house, which consisted of an entrance leading to a courtyard surrounded by halls, open on the inside and closed on the outside. With the advent of Islam, the Mesopotamian house pattern persisted, as its design was suitable for Islamic regulations, which included maintaining the residents' privacy and protecting them from being seen.[410]

As mentioned before, surviving Damascene houses date only to the eighteenth century and later. However, some evidence provides insight into the development of Damascene houses. During reconstruction works in old Damascus, a fragment of a Byzantine palace was found. Based on its structural style and architectural details, this palace dates to between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century. It is likely that this palace remained in use during the early Umayyad period. The discovered part of the palace, estimated to be about 275 m², consisted of a courtyard and two halls. The largest hall, located on the western side of the palace, had a floor paved with mosaic.[411](Fig. 95) It is worth mentioning that revealing the entire palace was almost impossible as it was surrounded by other buildings. Unfortunately, the palace was buried again, and construction work continued.[412]



1- The main hall 2- The southern hall 3- The courtyard

Figure 95 the layout of the discovered Byzantine palace (al-Binī & Ṣalībī 1959: 163) redwran by the author

[410] Wazīrī 2004: 17
[411] al-Binī and Ṣalībī 1959: 158-167.
[412] Kinān 2011: 101.

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The second example that proves the continuity of the Damascene house plan is the *al-Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa*, located near the Umayyad Mosque. It functioned as a residence for the father of Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn during the Ayyubid period, known as *Dār al-ʿAqīqī*. In 1279, this house was purchased by al-Ẓāhir Baybars and converted into a school and mausoleum.[413] The layout of the *madrasa* consists of a courtyard surrounded by *iwans* on three sides, with the entrance occupying the fourth side. Based on later residential examples, it is possible to infer that the Ayyubid-era house included a courtyard that is still in use in the *madrasa* and that there was an *iwan* on the southern side. The two additional *iwans* were likely added during the Mamluk period.[414](Fig. 96)

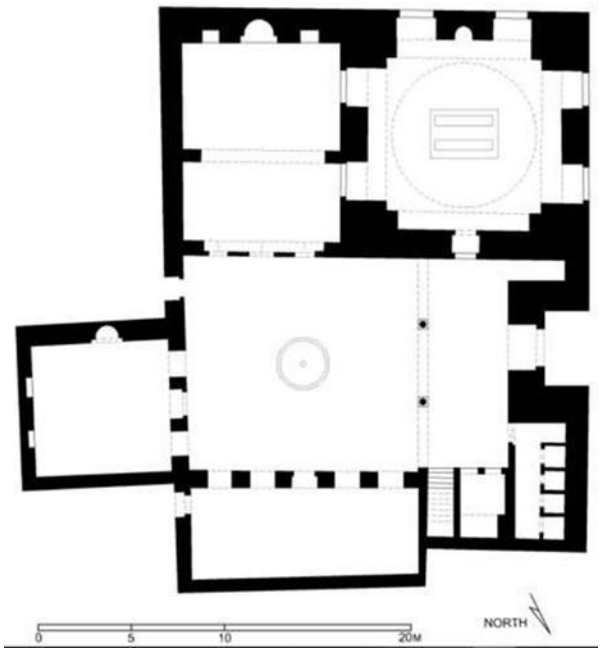

Figure 96 The layout of al Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa http://bornindamascus.blogspot.com

4.3.2. The Mamluk Damascene House:

Damascene houses have undergone various phases of reuse and reconstruction over time. As a result, several historical phases can be observed within the same house, such as in the *al-Kaūwā* House and the *al-ʿAqqād* House. These are the only two known houses to date that still exhibit many observable signs from the Mamluk period, although they were reconstructed and reused during the Ottoman period. It is worth mentioning that

[413] al-Nuʿaīmī 1990: 263.
[414] al-Shihābī 1995: 379.

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there is a high possibility of finding other Mamluk remnants in other houses, but unfortunately, they have not been discovered yet.

4.3.2.1. Al-Kaūwā House:

Located in the *al-Shāghūr* District within the walls of old Damascus. (Fig.97) The *al-Kaūwā* House is currently divided into two residential parts. Unfortunately, the house lacks any inscriptions that could help determine the exact date of its construction. However, based on the decoration of the northern facade and the artistic details of the *iwan*, and by comparing these with other examples, it is likely that this house dates to the Mamluk period. The house consists of two floors. The entrance, located on the northern facade, leads to a rectangular courtyard surrounded by several rooms on three sides, while the fourth side is occupied by stairs leading to the second floor. In the center of the courtyard is a fountain. (Fig. 98) It appears that the eastern and western facades of the courtyard were recently renovated, while the northern facade is likely from the Mamluk period. The lower part of this facade is constructed with courses of lime and basalt stones in an ablaq style, topped with Mamluk-style stone panels. The central panel is the largest and is plain without decoration. The panel on the western side of the facade is decorated with geometric shapes, consisting of stars surrounded by interlaced linear patterns. The panel on the eastern side of the facade is engraved with geometric triangular shapes. The upper part of the facade is built of lime-coated bricks. (Fig.99) The southern facade of the courtyard is occupied by the *iwan*, which is built with black and white stones. The lateral imposts at the two bases of the arch are decorated with *muqarnas* motifs, featuring Mamluk-style elements such as shells, palmettes, and vertical flute motifs.[415] (Fig.100)

Similar examples are found in the buildings of the fifteenth century, such as the *muqarnas* in *al- Saqīfa* Mosque, which dates to 1465, and *Dār al-Qurʾān al-Khayḍariyya* (1473-1474).[416] (Fig.101)

It is worth mentioning that the ceiling and the walls of the iwan are simple without decorations, as they have been renewed. As for the first floor, it comprises three rooms preceded by a corridor, which serves as a distributor among the rooms. It is likely that the first-floor dates back to the end of the eighteenth century.[417]

[415] Fayyad 2018: 136-148
[416] Mortensen and Stefan 2005: 245.
[417] Fayyad 2018: 148-151.

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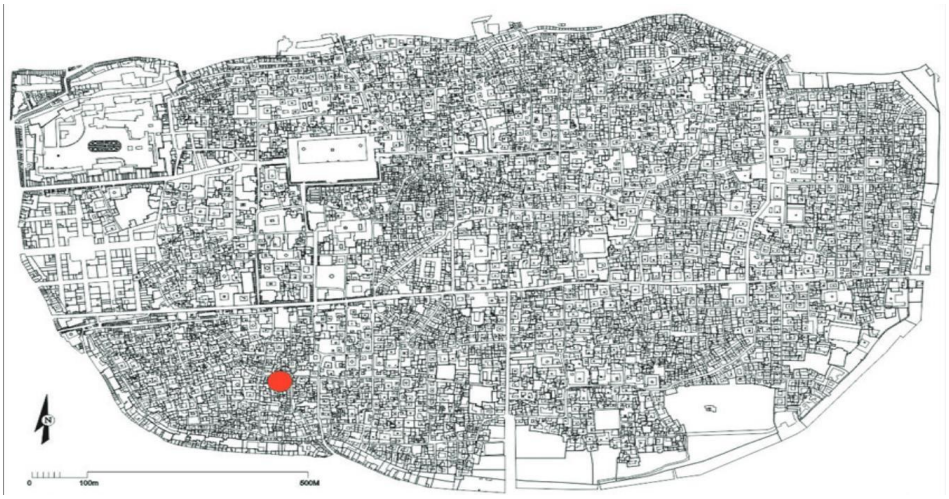

Figure 97 The location of al-Kaūwā House (Fayyad 2018: 137)

Figure 98 The layout of al-Kaūwā House (Fayyad 2018: 139)

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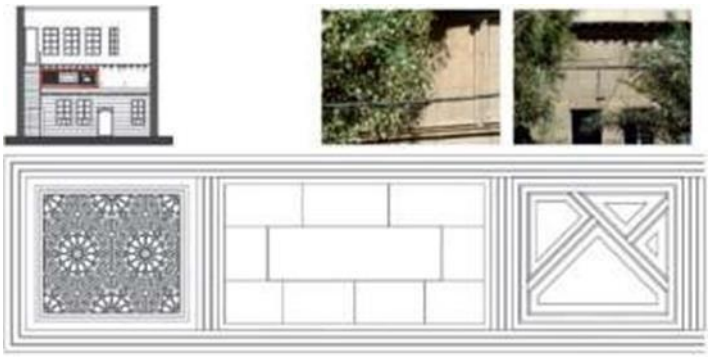

Figure 99 The decoration of the northern facade in al-Kaūwā house (Fayyad 2018: 144)

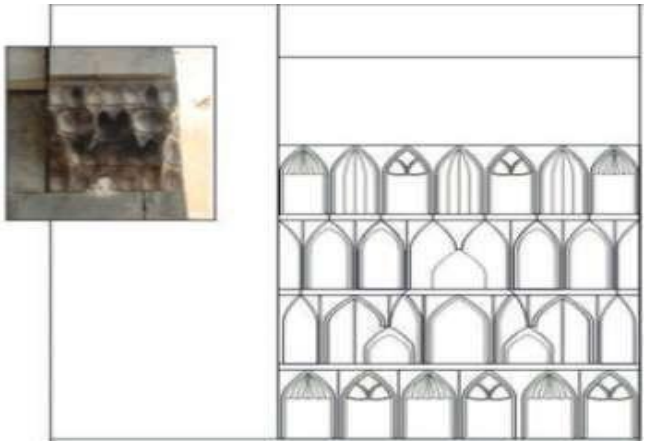

Figure 100 The muqarnas of the iwan arch in al-Kaūwā House (Fayyad 2018: 148)

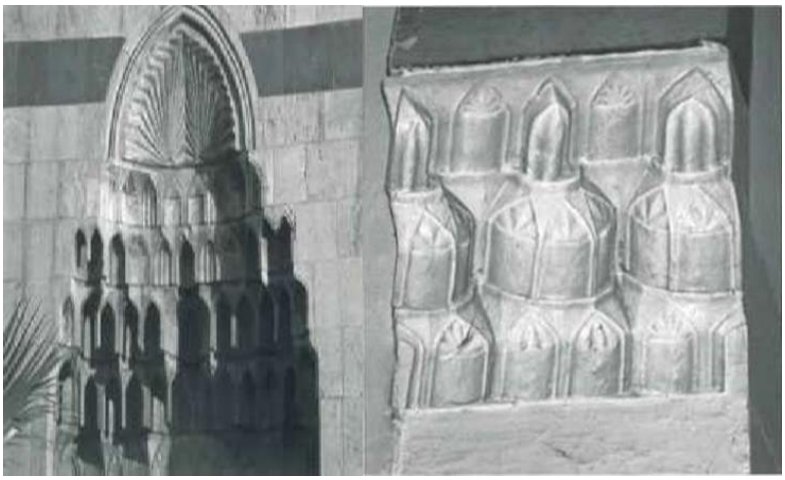

Figure 101 The muqarnas in al-Saqīfah Mosque and Dār al-Qurʾān al Khayḍariyya (Mortensen & Weber 2005:245)

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4.3.2.2. Al-ʿAqqād House:

In the fifteenth century, during the Mamluk period, a residential building was established in old Damascus within the *al-Shāghūr* District. (Fig.13) Significant parts of this house are still visible today, forming a part of what is now known as *Bayt al-ʿAqqād*.[418] During the early Ottoman period, the house underwent minor changes, with no evidence of significant alterations in the sixteenth century. This suggests that the owner of the house maintained the Mamluk layout during the early Ottoman period. A court record from 1741 mentions that in 1707, the current *al-ʿAqqād* House, along with its northwestern and southwestern neighbors, was endowed as a single unit. Another record provides information about the subdivision of the house into two parts between 1747 and 1749, although no significant changes were made to the house during this time.[419]

According to the court record, the layout of al-ʿ*Aqqād* House before the eighteenth century comprised a hall *(qāʿa)* on the northern side of the courtyard and an *iwan* on the southern side, with two lateral rooms on its eastern and western sides. Additionally, two domed rooms were situated on the second level, accessible through a stone staircase. It is noteworthy that domed rooms in Damascene residential buildings are not very common, and these two domed rooms likely date back to the Mamluk period.[420]

In terms of artistic description, the facade of the iwan is adorned with two Mamluk panels on the eastern and western sides of the arch. Unfortunately, these decorations are partially covered by modern buildings constructed alongside the courtyard around 1900. The arch of the iwan is constructed with alternating black and white stones, following the *ablaq* style. The base of the *iwan* arch is decorated with *muqarnas*, characterized by their Mamluk style, like the ones found in *al-Kaūwā* House. (Fig.102) The *iwan* is roofed with a wooden paneled ceiling, divided into six panels by seven wooden beams, with each panel further divided into smaller rectangular or square panels. This type of wooden ceiling was common during the Mamluk period, with a similar example found in *al-Tawrīzī* Mosque.[421](Fig.103)

Regarding the northern facade of the courtyard, its decoration suggests a Mamluk period origin, although the lower part of the facade was reconstructed in the Ottoman period (eighteenth century). The facade is adorned with three panels: the central panel features a composite geometrical pattern and is flanked by two identical panels on each side, each adorned with centered rays. These panels are framed by a band of pseudo-wedge stones, followed by two bands of basalt and limestone, and then a band of interlocked black and white stones. The final frame consists of a zigzag band executed in limestone. (Fig.104) Similar examples of these panels

[418] Kabrīt 2000:123.
[419] Mortensen and Steafn 2005: 255-265.
[420] Ibid: 228-245.
[421] Ibid: 248-265.

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can be found in Mamluk buildings, such as the facade of *Dār al-Qurʾān al-Ṣabūniyya*, which dates back to 1464. (Fig.105)

Figure 102 The iwan in al-ʿAqqād House and the muqarnas of the iwan arch (Mortensen & Weber 2005: 238-245)

Figure 103 The ceiling of the iwan in al-ʿAqqād House on the left and the ceiling of al-Tawrīzī Mosque on the right (Mortensen & Weber 2005: 253-255)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 104 The northern facade of the courtyard in al ʿAqqād house (Mortensen & Weber 2005: 231)

Figure 105 The facade of Dār al-Qurʾān al-Ṣabūniyya (https://awqaf-damas.com)

4.3.3. The Damascene House in the Ottoman Period:

During the Ottoman period, most Damascene houses followed a simple traditional layout consisting of two floors. The first floor often served as the *selamlik*, reserved for receiving guests. The southern facade on the ground floor typically featured an *iwan*, flanked by two receiving halls. On the northern facade, another hall was common, often utilized during the winter to maximize sunlight. Service rooms were typically situated on the eastern and western facades. In the center of the courtyard, a fountain was often surrounded by trees and plants. The first floor was designated for family living, containing multiple rooms usually oriented towards the southern direction to benefit from the winter sun's rays. Some affluent houses may feature multiple courtyards

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with one or two floors. The exterior part, known as the *selamlik*, is situated near the entrance and was specifically designed for receiving guests and strangers. The interior part, called *haremlik*, was reserved for family and daily life activities. The service area includes rooms such as the kitchen, bathroom, and servants' quarters. It is worth noting that this type of house was typically limited to the dignitary group, comprising rulers, religious figures, and wealthy merchants. [422]

4.3.4. The Architectural Elements of the Damascene House:

During the Ottoman period, Damascene houses typically included service rooms and sleeping rooms, as well as three main architectural elements, which are as follows:

The Courtyard:

The courtyard can be considered a focal element in Damascene houses. It is an ancient architectural feature used in pre-Islamic civilizations such as the Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, and Persian. Its usage is not limited to houses; it is also found in mosques, *madaris*, and *khans*.[423]

The surfaces of the courtyard, including the walls and floors, are usually decorated with *ablaq*, which consists of alternating courses of limestone and basalt stones. Additionally, the walls often feature floral and geometrical decorations. These are created by carving small spaces into the stones and then filling them with colored paste made of ground stones and glues.[424] The large space of the courtyard made it a suitable private and comfortable center for family activities, where residents spent most of their time and women performed their daily chores away from the eyes of curious onlookers.[425]

Courtyards also play an important climatic role, as they are the primary source of light and air for the surrounding rooms. They help maintain a moderate temperature by replacing hot air with fresh, cool air. Additionally, the high walls surrounding the courtyard provide protection from direct sunlight in the morning. In the center of the courtyard, there is a fountain, which plays an important role in humidifying and conditioning the atmosphere.[426]

The Iwan:

The *iwan* is one of the essential architectural elements found in various religious, residential, and public buildings. It is a hall or space walled on three sides, with the fourth side vaulted and entirely open to the

[422] Kabrīt 2000: 54-55
[423] Wazīrī 2004: 111.
[424] Mathews 2006: 74.
[425] al-Abyaḍ 1987: 127.
[426] Fatḥī 1988: 116.

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courtyard. The iwan first appeared in Mesopotamian architectural history and was known in Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Iran.[427]

The presence of the courtyard necessitated the presence of the *iwan*. In addition to serving as the most favorable place for gathering, the *iwan* also has a climatic function. Its position on the southern side protects it from the sun's rays, and its depth shields inhabitants from direct heat. The two rooms flanking the *iwan* on its eastern and western sides provide additional protection from sunlight in the morning and afternoon. Moreover, the high ceiling of the *iwan*, which reaches almost two stories, offers natural ventilation and maintains the purity of the air.[428]

The Hall:

The main function of the hall was for daily living, receiving guests, and hosting social occasions. It is generally divided into two parts: the first part, called the *ʿAtaba*, is a small antechamber that constitutes the lower part of the hall and is usually paved with marble or stone. It forms the entrance to the hall, and in the middle of the *ʿAtaba*, there is a small fountain known as a *fisqīyya*.[429] The second part, called the *tazar*, is a raised square seating area designated for sitting.[430] The walls of the hall are covered with wooden paneling that rises about four meters, while the upper part towards the ceiling is covered with white lime.[431] The walls contain built-in wall cabinets used to display the owner's prized possessions, such as ceramics, glass, and copper objects. The ceiling of the hall is wooden and decorated with floral, geometrical, and calligraphic designs.[432]

4.3.5. Ottoman Influences in the Damascene Houses:

In the early 18th century, a new artistic period began during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III. This period, known as the Tulip Period, (1703-1730) was characterized by the emergence of European art influences in both art and architecture.[433] It represents a transitional phase between the Eastern classical ornamentation, which appeared at the beginning of the Ottoman era, and the Baroque and Rococo ornamentation, which emerged in the mid-18th century.[434] The best surviving example of tulip decoration can be found in the Fruit

[427] al-Abyaḍ 1987: 127
[428] Ḥusḥus & Abū Zard 1991: 18
[429] Kabrīt 2000: 77- 111
[430] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983:47-48.
[431] kabrīt 2000: 82.
[432] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 47.
[433] Marzūq 1974: 55.
[434] Abdullahi & Embi 2015: 41.

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Room, built by Ahmed III in *Topkapi* Palace in Istanbul in 1705. The wooden panels of the room are completely adorned with floral decorations, featuring a variety of flower vases and bowls of fruit.[435] (Fig. 106)

The new foreign taste became evident in the decoration of the Damascene rooms, characterized by images of naturalistic flowers and fruit bowls, as well as architectural scenes depicting religious and secular buildings. One of the important factors that contributed to this change in artistic taste was the commercial role of Damascus, which facilitated its inhabitants becoming more open and tolerant to new Western artistic influences.[436]

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that natural and architectural scenes in Damascene art were also present in the pre-Ottoman period. An example is the mosaic of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, which depicts architectural scenes combined with floral motifs. Additionally, examples from the Mamluk period include the eave of Sultan Baybars' mausoleum *(al-Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa)*, where one panel features an unknown building flanked by trees, and another panel is adorned with a fruit bowl surrounded by acanthus scrolls.[437](Fig.106) (Fig.107) (Fig.108)

Figure 106 The Fruit Room in Topkapi Palace (Yildirim 200: 152)

[435] Yildirim 2009: 160
[436] Mathews 1997:126.
[437] Ibid: 129.

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Figure 107 The mosaic decoration in the Umayyad Mosque (Degeorge 2005: 40)

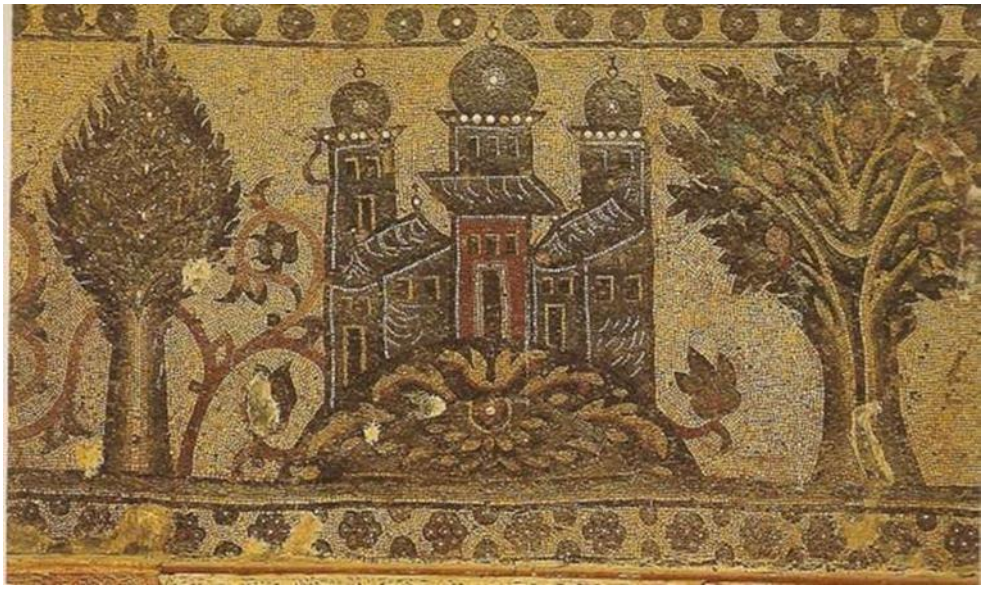

Figure 108 The mosaic decoration in al-Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa (Degeorge 2005: 40)

4.3.6. Al-ʿAqqād House in the Ottoman Period:

Except for some changes, *al-ʿAqqād* House retained its previous Mamluk layout during the Ottoman period. The entrance of the house leads to the courtyard, with the aforementioned *iwan* in the south and the hall in the north. The two upper domed rooms on the eastern and western sides of the *iwan* were replaced with flat-ceiling

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rooms.[438] On the western side of the courtyard, there are two modern rooms, with a stair leading to the western upper floor, which includes five rooms; four of them are ordinary rooms, while the fifth room is significant and dates to 1762. The eastern side of the courtyard is occupied by a hall and a service room (kitchen), in addition to a stair leading to the eastern upper floor, which consists of three ordinary rooms.[439] (Fig. 109).

Regarding the decorations of the house, the best example representing Ottoman artistic influence is the decoration of the hall, located on the eastern side of the iwan, which was renewed in the late eighteenth century, following the Tulip Style. The walls of the room are covered with wooden panelings and adorned with flower vases and fruit bowls (Fig. 110). It is worth noting that this style appeared in several houses, such as the hall of *al-Sibāʿī* house, dating back to 1769 (Fig. 111), the hall of *Fārḥi* house, built in the second half of the eighteenth century (Fig.112), and *Khālid Bayk al-ʿAẓim* house, from the eighteenth century (Fig. 113).

Finally, it's essential to mention that *al-ʿAqqād* House was chosen as a case study in this research, which could be applied to other single-courtyard Damascene houses in the Ottoman period that follow a similar layout.

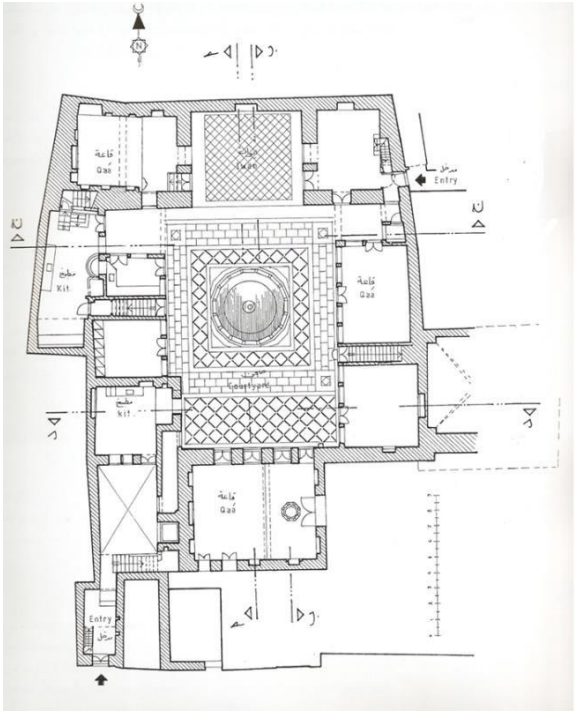

Figure 109 The layout of al -ʿAqqād house (Kabrīt 2000: 122)

[438] Mortensen and Weber 2005: 244.
[439] kabrīt 2000: 125.

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Figure 110 Details about the tulip-style decoration on the wooden paneling in al-ʿAqqād House (by the author)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 111 Tulip-style decoration in al-Sibāʿī house (by the author)

Figure 112 The decoration on the wooden wall paneling showing a vase with red tulips in addition to another type of flowers in Fārḥī house (by the author)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 113 Building depiction and fruits bowl from Khālid Bayk al-ʿAẓim (by the author)

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4.4. Analytical Study:

In Anatolian houses, the ground floor typically includes service rooms such as the kitchen, laundry, and cellar, in addition to the garden. The living area is located on the upper floor. In some cases, such as the example mentioned in Safranbolu, the ground floor also includes a pavilion serving as a *selamlik*, which is specifically used for receiving guests.

The *sofa* and the room are essential components of the Anatolian house. The *sofa*, which can be defined as a semi-open space, precedes the rooms and serves as a common area between the rooms on both floors. The room in the Anatolian house is composed of two parts: the low part and the raised part. The presence of a bathing space in the Anatolian room indicates the multiple functions of each room.

The Damascene house originally developed from the Mesopotamian design, where the courtyard was the main essential element, surrounded by rooms on its sides. Based on the remains of a Byzantine palace discovered in Damascus, it can be inferred that courtyard houses have been in use since the Byzantine period. Depending on the current layout of *al-Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa*, which consists of a courtyard and three *iwans* on three sides and originally functioned as a house during the Ayyubid period (known as *Dār al-ʿAqīqī* or *al-ʿAqīqī House*), it could be inferred that the house in the Ayyubid period also featured a courtyard. This courtyard is still in use in the *madrasa* today. Additionally, it could be suggested that the southern *iwan* was an original element of the house, while the two additional iwans were added later.

The layouts of *al-Kaūwā* House and *al-ʿAqqād* House, both originating from the Mamluk period and remaining in use during the Ottoman period, demonstrate that no significant changes were made to either structure. These layouts confirm the typical design of houses from that era, which includes a courtyard, an *iwan* on the southern side, and rooms on two floors.

The only significant change that can be noted is the new style of ornamentation that appears prominently in the hall of *al-ʿAqqād* House, reflecting the Tulip style that became very common in the eighteenth century.

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The space planning of the Anatolian house and the Damascene house shows both similarities and differences, as both typically consisted of two floors. However, climatic factors and previous cultural influences affect the architectural elements of these two types. The courtyard and the *iwan* in the Damascene house are almost parallel to the garden and the *sofa* in the Anatolian house, though with some differences. The *iwan*, which is protected from direct sunlight, and the courtyard, which serves as an ideal space during cooler times, are important in Damascus due to its dry, hot weather. In contrast, the Anatolian climate, which is cold and humid, necessitates the use of the *sofa*, a semi-open space, for daily activities and social gatherings.

The rooms in Anatolian and Damascene houses were divided into a lower part and a raised part. However, the rooms in Anatolian houses functioned as independent units, meaning each room could be used for multiple purposes, as evidenced by the presence of bathing spaces within the rooms. This characteristic can be interpreted as a result of the nomadic influence on the Anatolian people, as tents in the nomadic period were multifunctional spaces. In contrast, there is no evidence to suggest that the rooms in Damascene houses were designed for multiple uses.

The factor of privacy is evident in both Anatolian and Damascene houses, as there are no windows overlooking the streets. Additionally, both types of houses are designed to be open to the interior while being closed off from the exterior.

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4.5. The Results:

The Ottoman residential architecture in Damascus and the Anatolian Peninsula reflects a wide range of local and climatic differences, which are evident in the architectural features of both regions. The Anatolian house was influenced by the Turks' previous nomadic lifestyle, characterized by living in tents. Additionally, it was shaped by the climatic conditions of cold and humid weather in Turkey, leading to the prominence of the sofa as a space for family gatherings and daily social activities. In contrast, the Damascene house evolved from the plan of the Mesopotamian house and underwent development over time. The *sofa* in the Damascene house was replaced by the courtyard and *iwan*, reflecting the hot and dry weather conditions in Damascus.

On the other hand, religion serves as a common factor that has the authority to define ways of life, organize daily rituals, and prohibit certain behaviors. It's noteworthy that Islamic religion played a significant role in shaping both Damascene and Anatolian houses, thus establishing similarities between the architectural styles of the two cities. The influence of religion and traditions resulted in an introverted lifestyle in both Anatolian and Damascene houses, emphasizing the importance of privacy for the family.

The evolution of the architectural plan of the Damascene house over time has seen minimal changes. The typical layout comprises a central courtyard surrounded by rooms, with an *iwan* located on the southern side. During the Ottoman period, the Ottoman government refrained from imposing specific house designs, instead focusing on enacting laws to protect individuals' privacy rights.

While Ottoman influences are evident in the aesthetic aspects of Damascene houses, they are less pronounced in the architectural plans. These influences were not imposed by the Ottoman sultanate but rather arose from the desire of local bureaucratic elites to adopt the artistic trends of Ottoman palaces and incorporate them into their own residences.

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5. CHAPTER V

Damascene Hammams in the Ottoman Period

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One of the important public structures that is a component of the urban development of Damascus is the *hammam*, especially before private baths gained large popularity and became an essential feature in each house in the twentieth century. In addition to its use for hygiene, it also served as a social and entertainment venue where people could rest and converse.

This chapter briefly covers the history of the *hammam*, along with a description of its functions, its various components, and the bath's heating system. It provides examples of *hammams* on the Anatolian Peninsula and then focuses on Damascene *hammams* during the Mamluk period to highlight the numerous influences that have shaped the architectural character of the Damascene *hammam* in the Ottoman era, which will be described in detail.

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5.1. Introduction:

The term *"hammam"* refers to bath buildings erected for the public by emperors and rulers, utilized for hygiene and amusement. The origins of public baths can be traced back to the Hellenistic period, and they flourished further during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Public Roman baths were divided into three main sections: the cold part (Frigidarium), the warm part (Tepidarium), and the hot part (Calidarium), in addition to the large reception room (Apodyterium). Sometimes the bath was also equipped with other features such as sweating chambers, exercise grounds, libraries, and gardens.[440]

During the Islamic reign, *hammams* had an important social and religious role, and they developed following the plan of Roman baths. The most significant difference between Roman and Islamic baths is that the Islamic ones abandoned the large cold pools commonly found in Roman baths. This change occurred because, in Islamic religion, bathing in running water was preferred over bathing in still water.[441]

Early examples of private Islamic baths as parts of the palaces of Umayyad caliphates can be found, particularly in the Syrian Desert, Palestine, and Jordan. For instance, *al-Ṣarḥ Hammam*, located northeast of Jordan, is considered one of the most important early Islamic monuments. It consists of two main parts: the first is the long reception area, covered with three-barrel vaults. At its back, there is an alcove with two lateral rooms on its left and right sides. The second part is the bathing area, which includes the apodyterium chamber, covered with a barrel vault, followed by the cross-vaulted warm chamber (tepidarium), and finally the square hot chamber (caldarium), which branches into two semicircular recesses. On the north side of the caldarium, there is a service and storage area for the fuel.[442](Fig.114)

Over time, *hammams* acquired prominence in the urban planning of Islamic cities. Public *hammams* served a variety of social and religious purposes, including:

- Offering essential services of bathing, ablution, and body washing prior to prayer. Islamic instructions specify that minor ablutions should be performed before any prayer.[443] Additionally, *hammams* provided other cleaning, body-relaxation, therapy, and beautifying services.[444]

[440] ʿAbd al-Karīm: 152.
[441] Sibley 2007: 272.
[442] Krezoel 1984:139-140.
[443] Bouillot 2008: 134.
[444] Kolb and Dumreicher 2008: 21.

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- *Hammams* hosted social events for women, with many feminine rites taking place there, such as celebrations before marriage or after childbirth. As *hammams* were gender-segregated, they provided a safe and private gathering place for women, ensuring their safety and privacy, which was highly recommended in Islamic religion.[445]

Hammams can be classified into two categories based on their location: residential district *hammams* and *sūq hammams*. Residential district *hammams* provided a distinctive social purpose, particularly for women, as they offered the only opportunity for women to assemble and enjoy themselves. *Sūq hammams*, on the other hand, were specifically for men.[446]

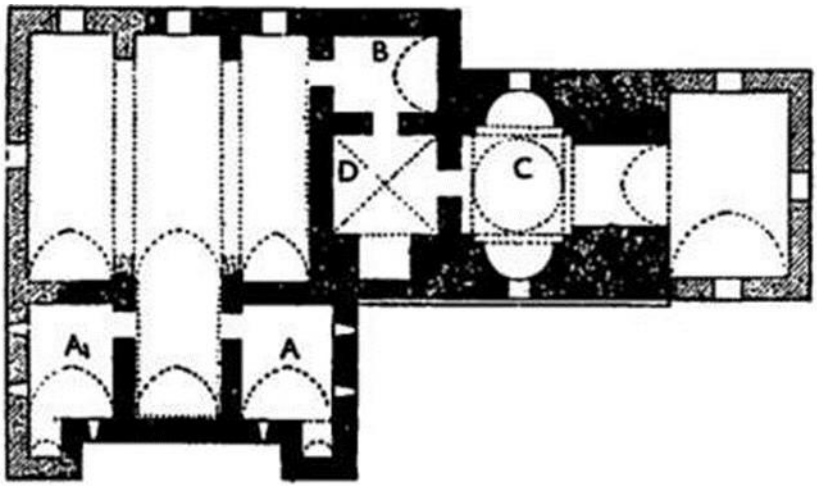

Figure 114 The layout of al-Ṣarḥ hammam (Krezoel 1984: 140)

5.2. The General Architectural Layout of the Islamic Hammams:

The functional requirements of the *hammam* have led to similar architectural layouts, with only slight variations from one country to another over different periods. All *hammams* follow the same layout to ensure climatic comfort for the bathers, starting with the changing room (apodyterium), then the cold room (frigidarium), the warm room (tepidarium), and ending with the hot room (caldarium).[447] During the Islamic period, these halls took on different names, moving from outside to inside: *barrānī* (external), *wisṭānī ʾawal* (first middle part), *wisṭānī* (middle part), and *juwānī* (internal part).[448] The *barrānī* is utilized as an undressing room, with stone seats on its sides

[445] Aboukhater 2008: 111.
[446] Sack 2005: 80.
[447] Aboukhater 2008: 110- 111.
[448] Bouillot 2008: 123.

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specifically designed for bathers to sit on.[449] Often, this section is covered with a central dome and features a fountain in the middle.[450] The fountain plays an important role in the cooling system of the undressing room.[451] Regarding the bathing parts, which include *wisṭānī awal*, *wisṭānī*, and *juwānī*, these are domed rooms equipped with stone or marble washing basins that receive hot and cold water through clay pipes installed in the walls. The floors have drains for wastewater disposal.[452] Generally, the walls of the *hammams* were built of stone, while the domes were constructed of brick.[453] Additionally, due to the intense steam inside and the continuous use of water, the floors are tiled with heavy stone or marble.[454]Moreover, *hammams* are characterized by a special type of dome, which is pierced with oculi and covered with glass caps, forming several decorative shapes known in Arabic as *qamariyyāt*.[455](Fig.115) These oculi are very effective in maintaining a moderate temperature in the summer, as the lighter hot air escapes through the oculi while the cool air settles at the bottom of the room, where it remains most of the day. In the winter, all these openings are closed to retain the heat in the *hammam*.[456] Regarding decorations, they were generally limited to the use of *muqarnas* at the base of the domes.[457]

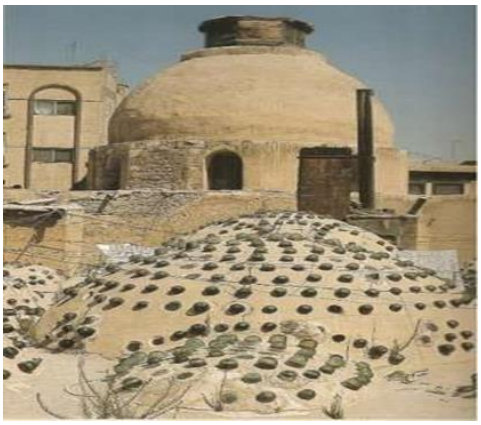

Figure 115 The oculus of the dome in al-Tawrīzī Hammam (Degeorge 2005: 149)

[449] Aboukhater 2008: 112.
[450] Sibley 2007: 282.
[451] Bouillot 2008: 130.
[452] Sibley 2007:282.
[453] Bouillot 2008: 126- 127.
[454] Écochard and LeCoeur 1942: 23 -24.
[455] Sibley 2007: 281.
[456] Bouillot 2008: 130.
[457] Aboukhater 2008: 112.

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5.3. The Heating System in the Hammam:

The pre-Ayyubid *hammams* relied on the hypocaust system. In this system, air from the underground ovens circulated around a network of tiny brick pillars that supported the flooring of the chambers. The heated air then passed through vertical pipes in the room's walls, heating the space before arriving at the chimneys.[458](Fig.116)

In the Ayyubid period, the hypocaust system was abandoned in favor of a new system. In this system, each *hammam* had a furnace chamber separate from and located behind the hot room. The fuel used to heat the water and produce steam created hot air, which was directed by ducts under the floor. This hot air ran from the furnace through the *hammam's* rooms and ended at a chimney in one of the cold room's walls.[459](Fig.117)

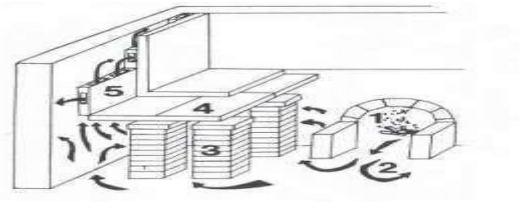

Figure 116 the hypocaust heating system (Caracuta & Girolamo2013: 200)

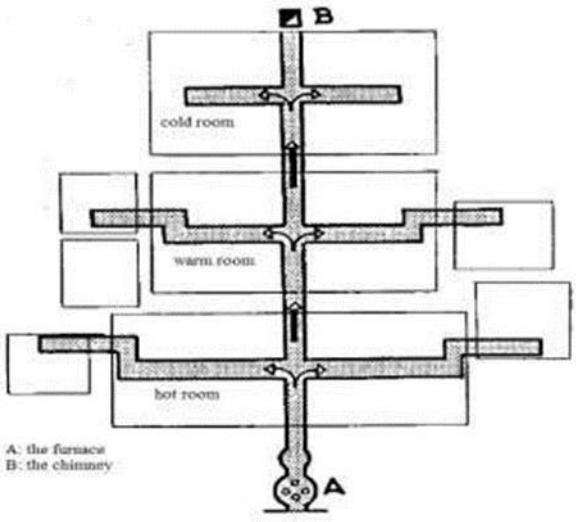

Figure 117 The heating system of the rooms in the Damascene hammams (Écochard & LeCoeur 1942:31)

[458] Petersen 1996: 108.
[459] Sibley 2007: 280.

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5.4. The Ottoman Hammams in the Anatolian Peninsula:

The Ottoman *hammams* in the Anatolian Peninsula are considered among the most important public foundations of the Ottoman period. They were supported by sultans and members of the upper strata, forming part of the sultanic and vizierial complexes.

The layout of the Anatolian *hammam* closely resembles that of the Roman baths, consisting of three main sections. The first section served as both a reception area and a changing room, known as the *camekân* in Ottoman-Turkish. This square space is topped with a dome, which rests on pendentives or squinches. It features a central fountain and raised seats along the walls designed specifically for bathers to rest. In the Anatolian *hammam*, this area is typically the largest. The second part, known as the *soğukluk*, is a chamber of moderate temperature that functions as an entrance to the hot section and also includes restrooms.[460] The final section is the hot room, known as the *hararet* or steam room. This part is considered the most important and beautiful area of the Anatolian *hammam*. Lastly, there is the fireplace part, located behind the hot room.[461]

The Anatolian Peninsula still has examples of Ottoman *hammams*, some of which are still in operation while others have changed in usage over time. The most common Ottoman *hammam* layouts in Anatolia are categorized into three types, depending on the shape of the hot room, as follows:

5.4.1. Type 1: Cross-Axial Hot Room with Four Corners:

In this type, the hot room extends in four *iwans* on the main axes and alcoves in the corners.[462] An example of this is the *Çinili Hammam* in Istanbul. It was built around 1545 by the architect Sinan for the famous pirate Hayrettin Pasha, also known as Barbarossa, who served as the chief admiral of the Ottoman navy during the reign of Sultan Suleiman.[463]

Regarding the plan of the *Çinili Hammam*, it is a double *hammam*, consisting of two parts: one for men and one for women, each with identical layouts and two entrances unusually located on the same façade. The entrance leads to the cold room, which features a central fountain. Next is the narrow warm room, covered with two small semi-domes, followed by the cruciform-shaped hot room. The open arms of the cross are covered with small domes, while the chambers in the corners

[460] Freely 2011: 27.
[461] Agoston & Masters 2009: 47.
[462] Ararat, Yenice &Islamoğlu 2020: 226
[463] Aslanapa 1971: 253.

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have larger domes (Fig. 118). It is important to note that the name "*Çinili Hammam*," which means the tiled hammam, refers to a form of mosaic known as opus sectile that covers the *hammam* floor. Tile remnants can also be seen on the *hammam* walls. The *hammam* was abandoned in the latter years of the Ottoman Empire but was later renovated and reopened.[464]

An additional example is *Gedik Ahmet Hammam*, which was constructed around 1475 by Gedik Ahmed Pasha. The hot room in this *hammam* is cross shaped with four *iwans* on the four sides and four domed small chambers on the four corners.[465]

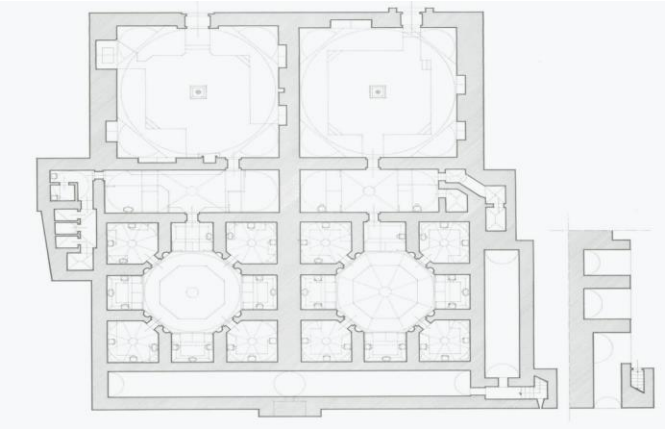

Figure 118 The layout of Çinili Hammam (Freely 2011: 240)

5.4.2. Type 2: Star-Shaped Hot Room:

In this layout, the chambers are arranged in a radial pattern around the central area. The *Haseki Hurrem Sultan Hammam* in Istanbul is the earliest recognized instance of this design.[466] Sultan Suleiman commissioned architect Sinan to construct the greatest *hammam* for his wife Haseki Hurrem in 1553.[467] It is a double *hammam*, including two parts, one for men and one for women. The two parts are similar, except for the five-bay portico that precedes the men's section.[468] Each part consists of a main hall with a central fountain surmounted by a dome. Then a corridor, covered with three small domes, serves as the warm room and leads to the domed octagonal-shaped hot room, which is surrounded by a series of small chambers.[469] The floor of this room is paved with marble, decorated in rich geometrical star patterns.[470] The *hammam's* original purpose was

[464] Freely 2011: 239.
[465] Ibid: 127.
[466] Ararat, Yenice and Islamoğlu 2020: 226.
[467] Aslanapa 1971: 253
[468] Freely 2011: 298.
[469] Sumner-Boyd and Freely 2010: 85.
[470] Aslanapa 1971: 253.

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eventually forgotten, and it is presently accessible to the public as a gallery displaying contemporary Turkish carpets.[471] (Fig. 119) Another example is the *Yeni Kaplıca Hammam* in Bursa, which was built by Rustem Pasha in 1553. [472] The hot room in this *hammam* is also star-shaped. (Fig. 120).

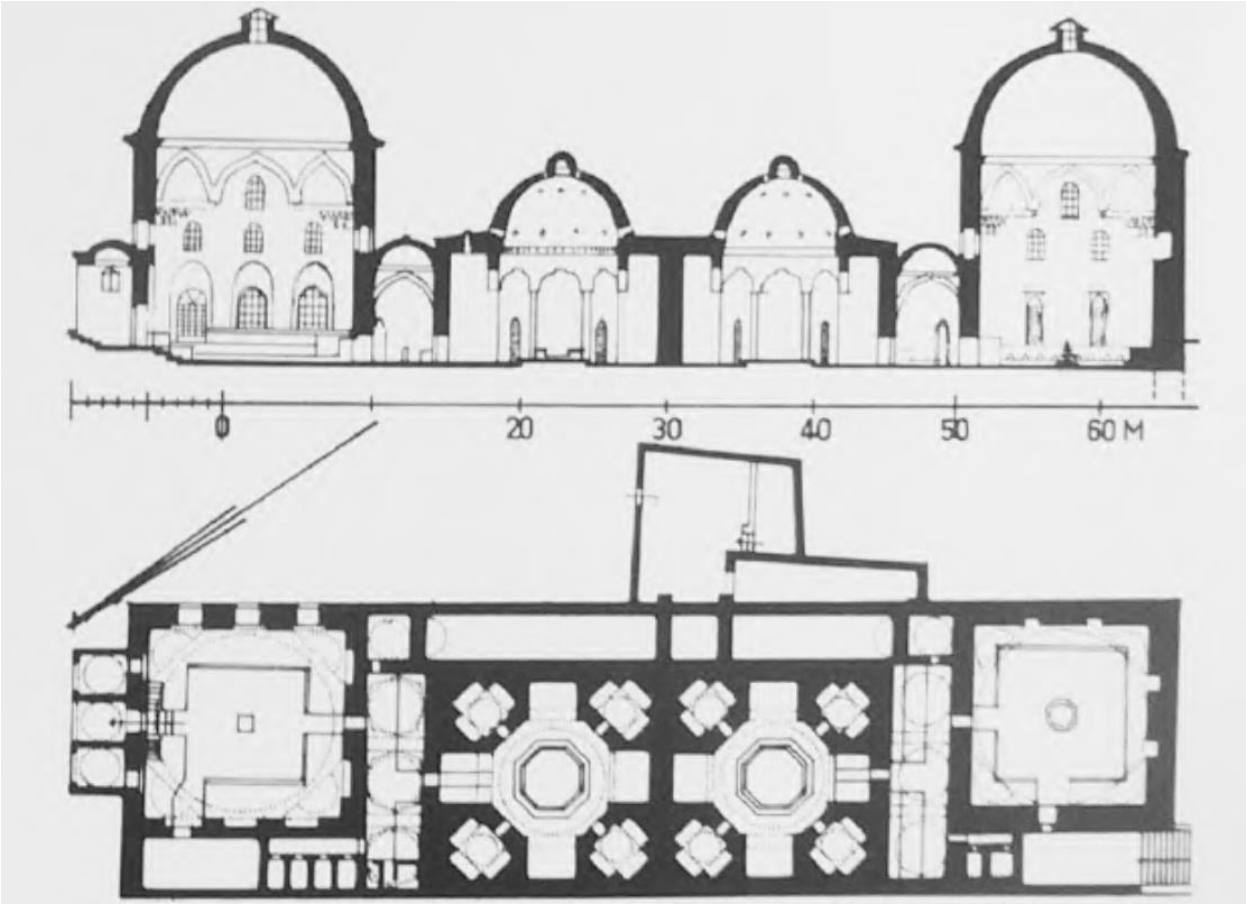

Figure 119 Section and layout of Hurrem Sultan Hammam in Istanbul (Wiener, 1977: 329)

[471] Sumner-Boyd and Freely 2010: 85.
[472] Freely 2011: 52.

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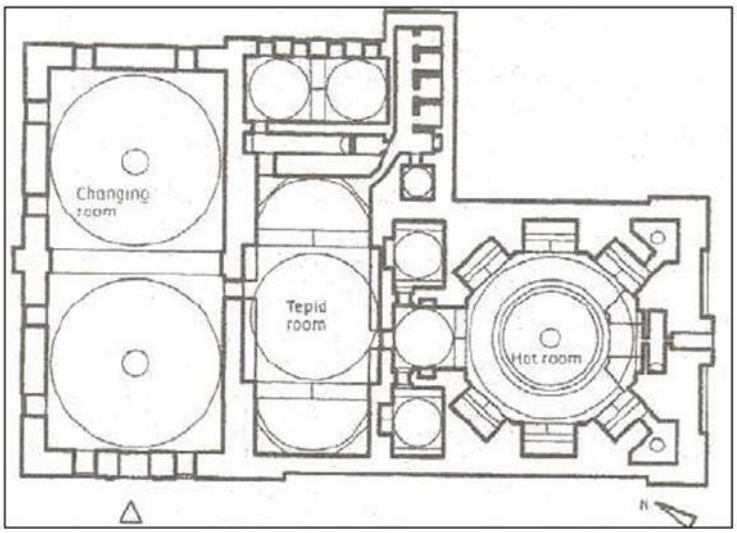

Figure 120 The layout of Yeni Kaplıca Hammam in Bursa (Freely 2011: 52)

5.4.3. Type 3: Square-shaped hot room, surrounded by chambers:

This type is characterized by a simple layout, where the hot room is square-shaped or rectangular, surrounded by chambers on one, two, three, or four sides. This layout was very rare and can be found in only one example: the feminine part of the *Tahtakale Hammam*, which dates to the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror. This *hammam* is divided into two distinct sections: while the hot room in the men's section follows a star shape, the women's section has a square-shaped hot room surrounded by domed chambers.[473] (Fig. 121)

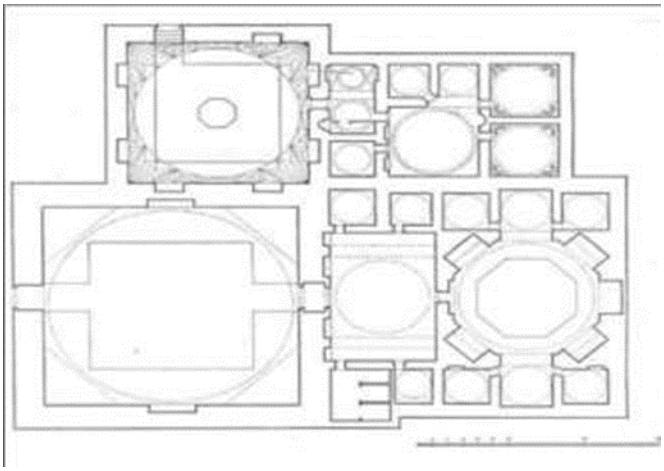

Figure 121 The layout of Tahtakale Hammam (Freely 2011: 132)

[473] Freely 2011: 132.

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5.5. The Hammams in Damascus:

The abundance of water in Damascus has contributed to the construction of several *hammams* throughout history.[474] Although the oldest surviving *hammam* in Damascus dates to the Zengid period, known as Nūr al-Dīn Zingī *Hammam*, Damascus has an ancient tradition of *hammams*. Many travelers mentioned the Damascene *hammams* in their accounts as one of the city's most admired characteristics. For example, al-Maqdisī, who visited Damascus in the Fatimid period, mentioned in his account titled *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifit al-Aqālīm* that "nowhere else will be seen such magnificent hot baths and such beautiful fountains."[475]

In the early Ottoman period, new *hammams* were built alongside the existing ones, which continued to be used. The best example is *al-Sulṭān Hammam*, constructed in the fourteenth century by the governor ʿIz al-Dīn Aybak. The *hammam* was named after Sultan Selim I, who bathed there twice, once in 1516 and again in 1517. Now, the *hammam* is used as a carpentry workshop.[476] Based on Ibn al-Qasāṭilī description of the city in 1856, the *hammams* in Damascus were considered the best in terms of system, design, and service quality by everyone who traveled across the Ottoman Empire. Their number was estimated to be 58, dispersed across the city.[477]

5.6. The Development of the Damascene Hammams:

To shed light on the development of the Damascene *hammam* and understand its general layout during the Mamluk period, two examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will be presented below:

5.6.1. Al-Ward Hammam:

Al-Ward Hammam is located near *al-Ward* Mosque, in the *Sārūjā* District of old Damascus. (Fig.10) It was built around 1322. The entrance of the *hammam* leads to a barrel-vaulted vestibule, followed by the undressing area, which has a square shape and is covered with a dome. This room is surrounded by four raised platforms, and its floor is covered with black and pink stone tiles. In the center, there is a marble octagonal fountain. Next is the vaulted cold room, with a rectangular

[474] Kayyāl 1966: 20.
[475] al-Shihābī and al-Ibish 1998: 215.
[476] Ibn Ṭūlūn 1998: 340.
[477] Qasāṭilī 1879: 108-109.

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shape and a floor covered with black and white stone tiles. This room is followed by a decagonal-shaped warm room, with walls that have niches and doors leading to further compartments. Then, there is the rectangular-shaped hot room, covered with a barrel vault. Finally, the furnace room is at the back.[478] (Fig. 122)

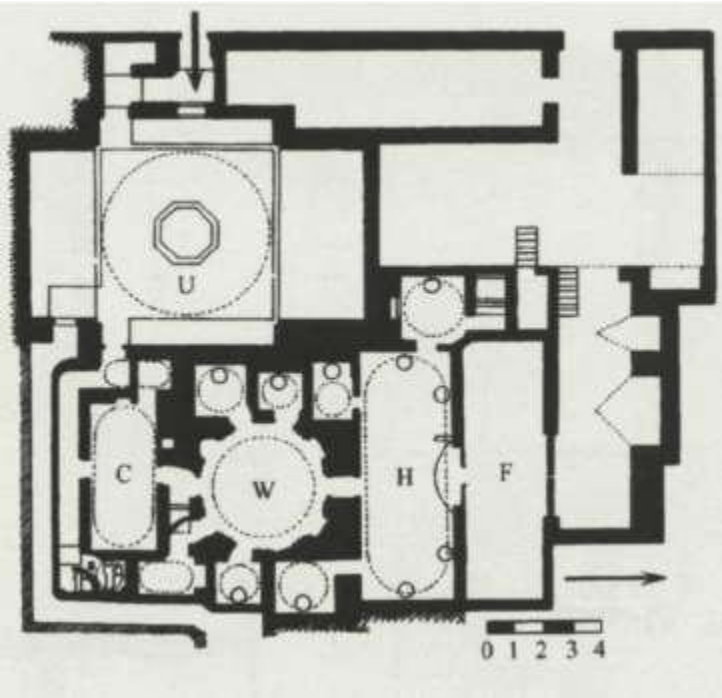

Figure 122 The layout of al-Ward Hammam (Sibley 2007: 279)

5.6.2. Al-Tawrīzī Hammam:

Al-Tawrīzī Hammam was built by Amīr Khalīl al-Tawrīzī in 1441-1442, in the *al-Suwayqa* District, near the mosque, as part of his complex. (Fig. 10) The façade of the *hammam* strongly follows the Mamluk style, featuring alternating-colored stones and low windows. The entrance leads to the vestibule and then to the changing room. Internally, the rooms of the *hammam* are organized in a linear plan. It begins with the undressing room, which is covered with a dome and has a central basin. Raised stone platforms are located on three sides of this room. Next is the warm room, accessed through a small, rectangular cold room. The duodecimal warm room is surrounded by four side rooms and covered by a dome. Following the warm room is the hot room, which has an irregular octagonal shape and extends on three sides into exedra, with the eastern and western ones

[478] Kayyāl 1966: 188-190.

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being very deep. The hot room is accessed through one of the five remaining sides, while the other four sides lead to *maqsuras*. The furnace room is located at the back of the hot room (Fig. 123). Currently, the *hammam* is well-preserved and still in use.[479]

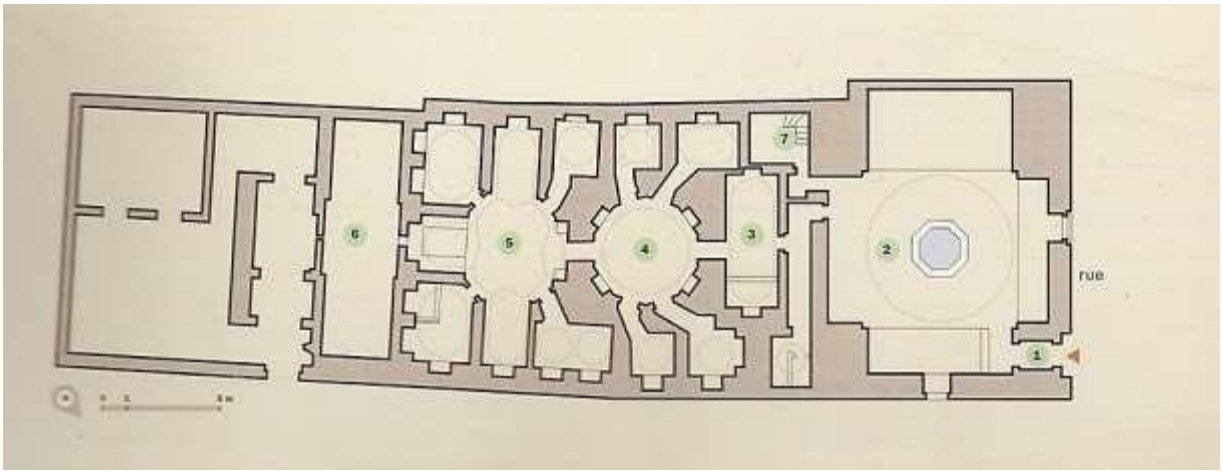

Figure 123 The layout of al-Tawrīzī Hammam (Degeorge 2005: 149)

5.7. Damascene Hammams in the Ottoman Period:

During the Ottoman period, *hammams* in Damascus were often commissioned as part of endowments by Ottoman governors or sponsored by wealthy individuals in Damascene society. However, the number of surviving *hammams* from this period does not exceed five. Below are the surviving *hammams* listed, followed by brief information about the demolished ones.

5.7.1. Al-Khayāṭīn Hammam:

Al-Khayāṭīn Hammam was built by Shamsi Ahmad Pasha in 1553 and is located in *al-Khayāṭīn Sūq*.[480] (Fig.13) The entrance of the *hammam* leads to a square-shaped changing room surrounded by four *iwans* on each side, all covered with a dome. A fountain that once stood in the center has been recently removed. The next room is the domed cold room, featuring a fountain in its eastern corner. Next is the domed warm room, with two chambers on each of its eastern and western sides. The hot room also includes two side chambers on each of its eastern and western sides. At the back

[479] Degeorge 2005: 149.
[480] Luṭfī 2011: 343.

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is the furnace room (Fig. 124). It is noteworthy that all parts of this *hammam* are paved with marble floors. Presently, the bath is occupied by commercial stores and shops.[481]

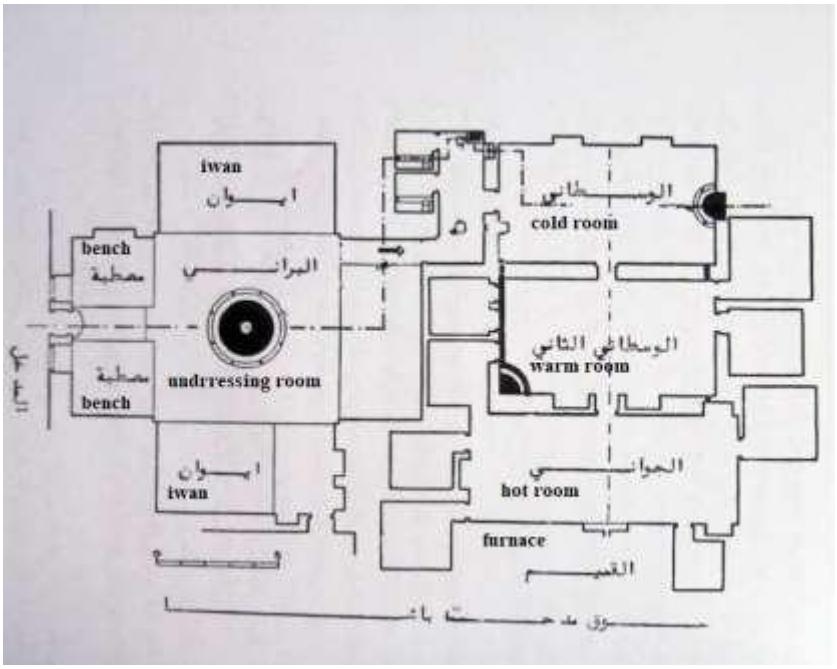

Figure 124 The layout of al- Khayāṭīn Hammam (Kayyāl 1966: 113)

5.7.2. Al-Rifāʿī Hammam:

Al-Rifāʿī Hammam dates back to the sixteenth century and is located in the *al-Mīdān* district, east of *Manjak* Mosque.[482] The undressing room was destroyed during the Syrian rebellion against the French Mandate in 1925, then later rebuilt, with its original fountain replaced by a modern one. This room has an *iwan* on the eastern side and benches on all four sides. Next is the domed cold room, which includes latrines. This is followed by the warm room, with a chamber on its western side, and then the hot room, which serves as the primary bathing area. The hot room is surrounded by two chambers on each side, with the furnace room located at the back. The floor of the *hammam* is paved with marble (Fig. 125). It is important to note that the *hammam* is no longer in operation.[483]

[481] Kayyāl 1966: 111-115.
[482] al-Munajid 1949: 20
[483] Kayyāl 1966: 127-129.

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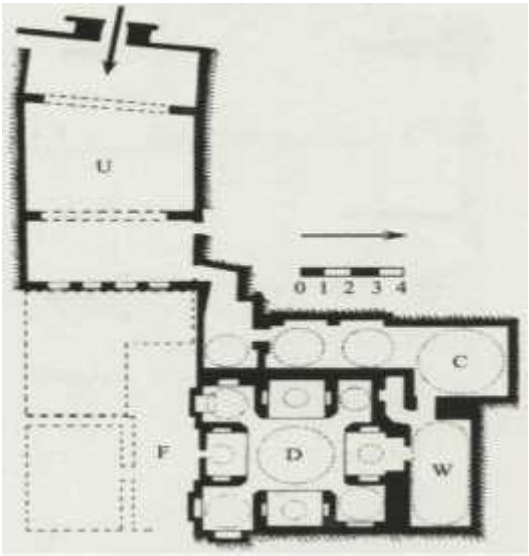

Figure 125 The layout of al- Rifāʿī Hammam (Sibley 2007: 281)

5.7.3. Al-Bakrī Hammam:

Al-Bakrī Hammam dates back to 1617, according to an inscription on its entrance. It is located in the *Bāb Tūmā* District, next to *Birwīz Pasha* Mosque, which was built during the same period. The changing room is domed and square-shaped, featuring a central octagonal fountain and three *iwans* on the northern, southern, and western facades. The cold room is a vestibule located in the southwestern corner, with a latrine and fountain on either side. This vestibule leads to the rectangular-shaped warm room, which has two chambers on the western side with washing basins. The hot room, similar to the warm room, also has two chambers. Finally, there is a furnace chamber located behind the hot room.[484] (Fig. 126)

[484] Kayyāl 1966: 158-159

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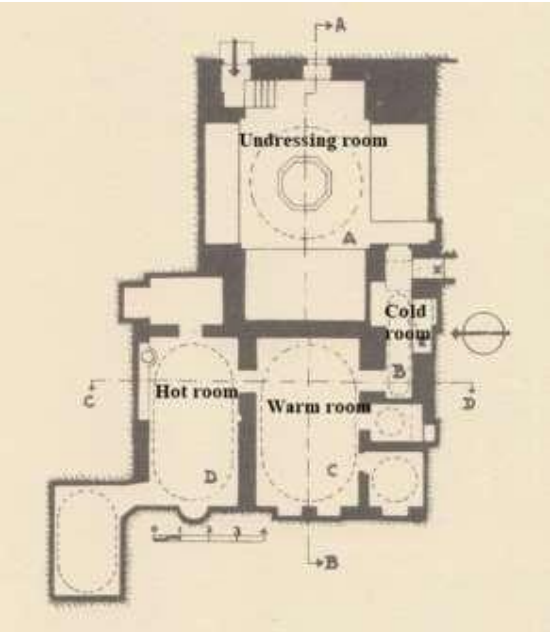

Figure 126 The layout of al-Bakrī Hammam (Écochard & LeCoeur 1942: 90)

5.7.4. Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī Hammam:

Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī Hammam was funded in 1743 under the rule of ʾAsʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓim by Fatḥī al-Flāqinsī, the chief of the provincial treasury (defterdar) of Damascus. It is located in the *al-Mīdān* District and is unique for its ornamented façade.[485]

The *hammam* consists of a domed undressing room with a central fountain and two *iwans* on the northern and southern facades. A vestibule separates the undressing room from the cold room, which has a latrine and a fountain on either side. The domed cold room has two lateral domed *iwans*. Following this is the rectangular warm room, covered with a barrel vault, with two side chambers. The domed hot room, featuring an exedra on each side, provides access to two chambers. The furnace room is positioned behind the hot room [486](Fig. 127). Currently, the bath hosts cultural events.[487]

[485] Écochard & LeCoeur 1942: 102.
[486] Kayyāl 1966: 124-127.
[487] Sibley 2007: 286.

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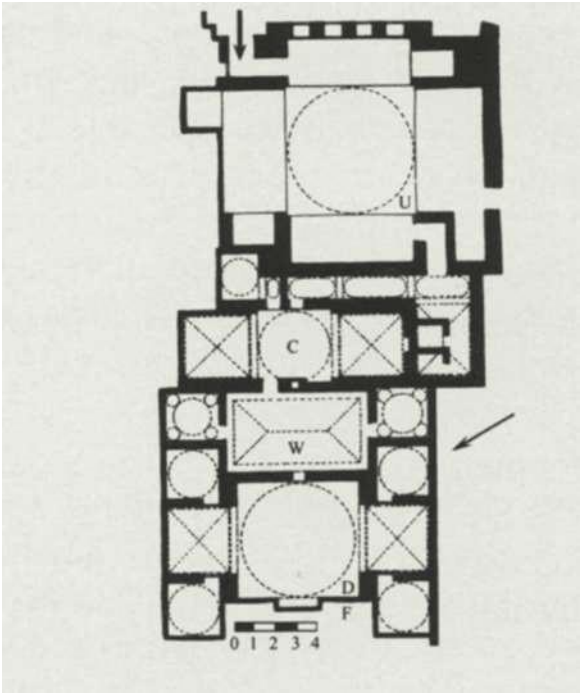

Figure 127 The layout of Fatḥi Hammam (Sibley 2007: 281)

5.8. The Demolished Hammams:

5.8.1. Al-Malikih Hammam:

Al-Malikih Hammam was located outside the walled city, between *al-Ḥamīdiyyah* and *Midḥat Pasha Sūqs*. It was considered one of the most beautiful Damascene *hammams* in the sixteenth century but was demolished in the twentieth century due to reconstruction work in the city.[488]

5.8.2. Al-Rās Hammam:

Governor Lala Mustafa Pasha funded the construction of a *hammam* known as *al-Rās Hammam* as part of his complex, built between 1550-1560, north of the citadel. Unfortunately, the *hammam* was demolished due to city renovations, and there is no detailed information about its layout.[489]

[488] Waltsinger & Watzinger 1983: 132.
[489] Kayyāl 1966: 94.

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5.8.3. Al-Sināniyya Hammam:

Al-Sināniyya Hammam was originally built in the fourteenth century. During the reign of the Ottoman ruler of Damascus, Sinan Pasha, between 1586 and 1590, it was restored and enlarged as part of his complex.[490] It is located south of *al-Sināniyya* Mosque.[491] (Fig.12) The *hammam* consisted of four main parts: the changing room, which was surrounded by four *iwans*, each with a bench. In the center was a fountain. Next was the domed cold room, which branched off into two domed rooms. This was followed by the octagonal-shaped warm room, with an octagonal fountain in its center and two domed *iwans* on the northern and southern sides. Finally, there was the rectangular-shaped hot room, covered with a vault and featuring four domed chambers branching off. Behind the hot room was the furnace room.[492] (Fig. 128). This *hammam* remained in use until 1951, when it was destroyed to enlarge the road.[493]

Figure 128 The layout of al Sināniyya Hammam (Écochard & LeCoeur 1942: 87)

[490] Cigdem 1999: 74.
[491] Écochard & LeCoeur 1942: 86.
[492] Luṭfī 2011: 345-346.
[493] al-ʿIlabī 1989: 521.

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5.8.4. Al-Qāshānī Hammam:

Al-Qāshānī Hammam was funded by the Ottoman ruler Dervish Pasha between 1571 and 1573 as part of his complex, located in *al-Ḥarīr Sūq*. (Fig.13) Regrettably, this *hammam* was converted into a *sūq* known as *al-Qāshānī* in 1907, during the latter years of Ottoman rule.[494] The only part of this *hammam* that has remained is the domed dressing area, which is covered in pink stone and marble tiles and flanked by four arches. A fountain once stood in the middle of the room but has recently been removed. It is fascinating to note that the *hammam's* name was inspired by the *qashani* tiles that adorned the room's inner walls.[495]

5.8.5. Al-Kharāb al-Gharbī Hammam:

Al-Kharāb al-Gharbī Hammam was built by Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓim in 1729. Unfortunately, the *hammam* was demolished in 1934, and furniture shops and a parking lot were built in its place.[496]Based on its layout, the *hammam* consisted of a large reception hall with a central fountain, followed by three rectangular bathing spaces, each provided with side chambers (Fig. 129).

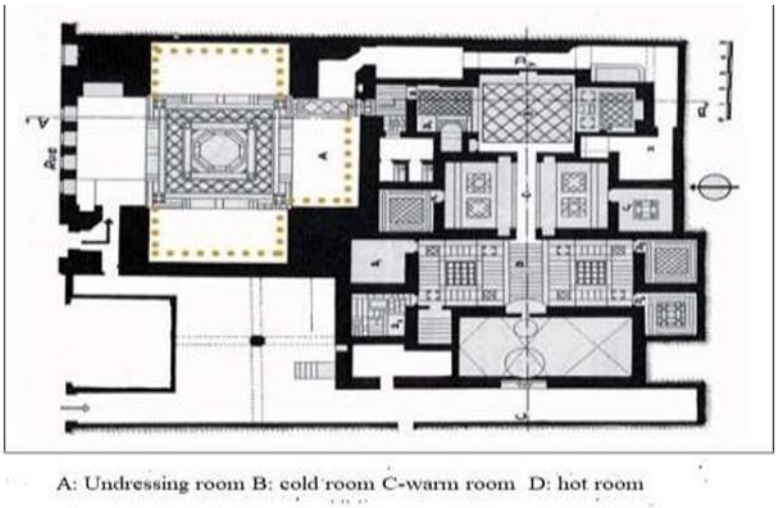

Figure 129 The layout of al- Kharāb al- Gharbi Hammam (Aboukhater 2008: 119)

[494] Weber 2004: 50-51.
[495] Kayyāl 1966: 101-102.
[496] Luṭfī 2011: 343.

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5.9. Analytical Study:

Upon examination of Damascene *hammams*, the following observations can be made:

In the *hammams* of the pre-fifteenth century, as exemplified by *al-Ward Hammam*, it can be concluded that the warm room was the essential bathing space.

The *hammams* of the fifteenth century, represented by *al-Tawrīzī Hammam*, introduced a change in layout. The hot room took on an irregular octagonal shape and increased in size and importance, becoming equal to the warm room.

The following observations can be made about the Damascene *hammams* during the Ottoman era:

The changing room is an essential component of the Damascene *hammams*, typically featuring a central fountain.

The cold room is a permanent part of the layout of the *hammams.* Most of the time, it is a domed room and functions as a vestibule to the warm room, as seen in *al-Khayāṭīn Hammam*, *al-Rifāʿī Hammam*, and *al-Bakrī Hammam*. In some cases, it is surrounded by lateral chambers, as in *al-Sināniyya Hammam* and *Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī Hammam*.

The warm room is a constant element in all the examples, but its shape varies. It can be rectangular, as seen in *al-khayāṭīn Hammam*, *Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī Hammam*, *al-Bakrī Hammam*, and *al-Rifāʿī Hammam*, or octagonal, as in *al-Sināniyya Hammam*. In terms of size, the warm room is usually smaller than the hot room, except in *al-Bakrī Hammam*, where it is equal in size to the hot room.

The hot room served as the main bathing space. Its shape varies: it can be square-shaped, as in *Fatḥī Afandī al-Flāqinsī Hammam* and *al-Rifāʿī Hammam*, or rectangular-shaped, as in *al-khayāṭīn Hammam*, *al-Sināniyya Hammam*, and *al-Bakrī Hammam*.

Regarding ornamental features, decoration was very limited due to the difficulty of maintaining it in the humid atmosphere of the bath. However, there is evidence of some ornamentation, such as the *qashani* tiles in *al-Qāshānī Hammam*.

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5.10. The Results:

Hammams are regarded as important civic components of the urban design in each Islamic city and are common across the Islamic world. In addition to serving as places for hygiene, *hammams* also served as venues for social gatherings and rituals, particularly for women.

The Roman *hammams* served as the model for Islamic ones, which were later modified to comply with Islamic cleanliness and purification regulations. The architectural arrangement of Roman *hammams*, including the three sections with different temperatures and the changing room, became a defining feature of Damascene *hammams.*

The construction of *hammams* has remained relatively consistent throughout history due to their essential functions and the similar climatic requirements they address. They share similar architectural plans across all countries, with the main components of a *hammam* being consistently present in each one. The primary difference between them lies in the size and significance of the bathing spaces.

In the *hammams* of the pre-fifteenth century, the warm room occupied the majority of the space. However, in the fifteenth century, the hot room's space increased through the addition of *maqsuras*, eventually achieving equal importance to the warm room.

The construction of *hammams* did not receive significant attention from the Ottoman sultans. For instance, Sultan Selim I used a Mamluk *hammam* that was built by the Mamluk governor ʿIz al-Dīn Aybak al-Ḥamwī. Additionally, the complex of sultan Suleiman in Damascus did not include a *hammam*, unlike his complex in Istanbul, which did include one.

Highlighting the differences between Anatolian *hammams* and Damascene *hammams* during the Ottoman period, the undressing chamber is a distinctive feature of the Damascene *hammam*, which has no equivalent in the Ottoman ones of the Anatolian Peninsula. In Anatolia, the function of the cold room and the reception room were combined into a single room. Consequently, Damascene *hammams*, with their four parts, were more influenced by Roman *hammams*, which, as mentioned earlier, also consisted of four main parts.

Moreover, there are no Damascene *hammams* divided into separate sections for men and women, as found in the Anatolian Peninsula. Instead, Damascene *hammams* had separate hours for men and women. Additionally, in Ottoman *hammams* of the Anatolian Peninsula, the hot room is octagonal-shaped in two cases (*Mahmut Pasha Hammam* and *Haseki Hurrem Hammam*) and cross-

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shaped in a third case (*Çinili Hammam*). In contrast, the hot room in Damascene *hammams* consistently assumed a rectangular or square shape.

Regarding similarities, the hot room in Damascene *hammams* became the most prominent feature, akin to Ottoman *hammams* in the Anatolian Peninsula. However, this influence could be attributed to the late Mamluk period when the hot room increased in size and importance.

In terms of location, most examples of *hammams* are found near mosques, due to their connection to religious activities like ablution.

Public *hammams* began to rapidly diminish starting in the twentieth century. Five Ottoman *hammams* in Damascus were demolished as part of city renovations (*al-Malikih Hammam, al-Rās Hammam, al-Sināniyya Hammam, al-Qāshānī Hammam, and al-Kharāb al-Gharbī Hammam*). Many *hammams* were repurposed, except for *al-Bakrī Hammam*, which is still in use today.

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6. CHAPTER VI

Comparison between Ottoman Damascus and Ottoman Aleppo

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Aleppo and Damascus came under Ottoman rule after the conquest in 1516, and each served as the capital of its respective province. During this period, Damascus and Aleppo gained similar significance, with Istanbul serving as the imperial capital. This contrasts with the Mamluk period, when Aleppo was a secondary border city and Damascus was second only to Cairo in importance. However, the two cities evolved in quite different ways.

This chapter will clarify how Aleppo and Damascus differ from one another in terms of their urban development, the architectural styles of their religious institutions, commercial enterprises, and civil buildings. It will explore the distinctions and similarities between the two cities, as well as the strength and impact of the Ottoman sultanate on these structures.

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6.1. Aleppo in the Ottoman Period:

Aleppo became an important Ottoman city following Sultan Selim's victory over the Mamluk Sultanate in 1516. The final Mamluk governor, Khayr Bayk, who shifted his allegiance from the Mamluk to the Ottoman sultan, supported this occupation. Consequently, the city was captured without violence or pillage.[497] Aleppo's position transformed from a frontier city on the border of Islamic lands to a well-protected interior urban center. It surpassed Damascus as a commercial hub, becoming the third-largest city in the Ottoman Empire after Istanbul and Cairo.[498]

Aleppo's commercial significance improved its position for the Ottomans and increased foreign interest in the city.[499] With the triumph of Sultan Suleiman over the Safavids in Baghdad, the fertile crescent forming an arch extending from the Persian Gulf in the north through the Euphrates and Tigris rivers to the eastern Mediterranean coast—came fully under imperial authority. Aleppo, situated at the top of this arch, served as the main keystone in the Ottoman commerce route due to its advantageous position.[500] This victory also enhanced the security of the commercial route between the Indian subcontinent and the Euphrates via Aleppo. Additionally, the development of a new seaport on the Mediterranean (Alexandretta) established a link between marine commerce and the caravan trade in Aleppo.[501]

The main civic functions of the city, including the seat of the administration, the courts, and the central bazaar, remained unchanged. Initially, the new rulers took their place in the House of Justice (*Dār al-ʿAdil*) from the Mamluk period.[502]

Regarding construction during the reign of Sultan Suleiman in Aleppo, it was limited to two modest interventions. The first building is a tower located to the west of the citadel's portal,[503] dating back to 1521 according to its inscription.[504] The second construction is *Qastal al Sulṭān*, a public fountain patronized by Sultan Suleiman in 1530. Despite its modest size, this fountain was strategically located outside *Bāb al-Faraj*, the northwestern gate of the city. Unfortunately, it was demolished during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Abdelhamid II between 1898 and 1899. Written

[497] Watenpaugh 2004: 36.
[498] Kasmo 2017: 197
[499] Burns 2005: 207.
[500] peirce 2016: 309
[501] Watenpaugh 2004: 55.
[502] Ibid: 50-175.
[503] Kasmo 2018: 259.
[504] Peirce 2016: 310.

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resources indicate that the fountain bore an inscription mentioning the titles of Sultan Suleiman.[505] The active architectural movement appears to have begun in the second half of the sixteenth century, supported by rulers who constructed large complexes. These initiatives were crucial to Aleppo's urban development.[506] (Fig. 130)

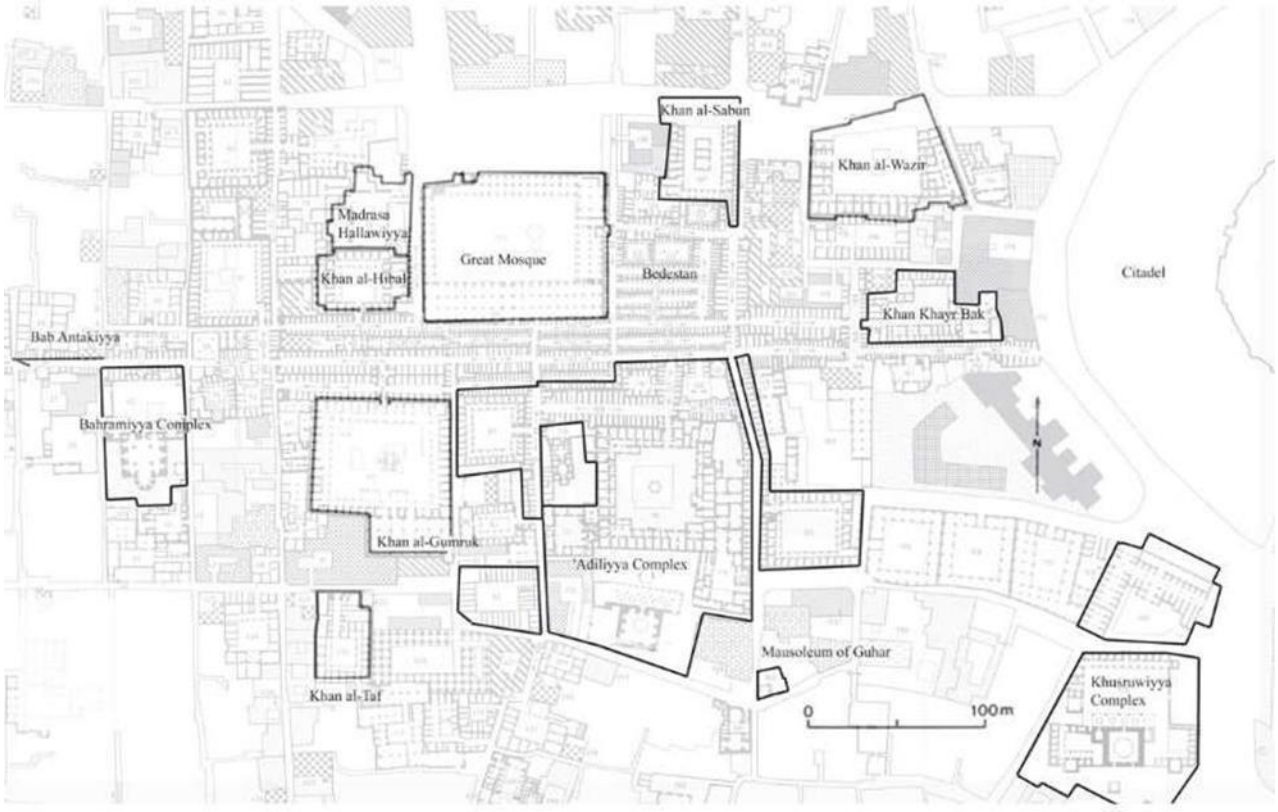

Figure 130 The Great Complexes of Aleppo (Watenpaugh 2004: 278)

6.2. Ottoman Religious Buildings in Aleppo:

According to Alexander Russell's description of Aleppo in the eighteenth century, the city had a great number of mosques. Notably, most of these mosques shared the same design: a domed hall preceded by a portico, which was used as a prayer space, especially in hot weather. The mosques were constructed from limestone, with lead used for the domes and the golden crescent surmounting them. The minarets, which stand on one side and are joined to the body of the mosque,

[505] Watenpaugh 2004: 41.
[506] Burns 2005: 209.

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are mostly cylindrical, though some are square.[507] Aleppo witnessed the construction of three significant mosques in the sixteenth century, all funded by Ottoman governors. The following sections will detail the layout of these mosques, their architectural elements, and the Ottoman and local influences.

6.2.1. Al-Khusruwiyya Mosque:

The mosque was part of the *al-Khusruwiyya* complex, built in the sixteenth century in Aleppo and considered the city's first magnificent complex. The Bosnian governor, Khusro Pasha, constructed this edifice in 1546. Following his death in 1566, his son resumed construction and converted it into a *waqf*.[508]

Initially, the complex included a mosque, a *madrasa*, a hospice, a guest room, a *mausolea*, a *khan*, a bakery, and a stable. The complex underwent many stages of renovation. Much of the building was destroyed in the earthquake of 1822, and the mosque suffered significant damage. As a result, the facility was abandoned and used as a shelter for the underprivileged and homeless. Several damaged parts were repaired during the reign of Ottoman governor Jamal Pasha Namiq, with additional repairs made in 1911 and 1921. The DGAM then orchestrated extensive renovations, with the most recent rehabilitation work completed in 2002–2003. However, due to numerous rebuilding and repair phases, the complex's components have lost their original functions.[509]

The complex occupies a prominent position between the citadel and the Antioch Gate, southeast of Aleppo's major commercial thoroughfare. (Fig. 130) Notably, the construction of the complex necessitated the demolition of the *al-Asadiyya Madrasa*, dating back to the Ayyubid period.[510]

Regarding the mosque, it is attributed to architect Sinan. It is believed that the mosque was designed in the imperial architectural office in Istanbul by Sinan or one of his subordinates. Its construction was supervised either by an architect from the capital or by a local architect who was provided with the plans.[511]

The layout of the mosque is reverse T-shaped.[512] (Fig. 131) The main square-shaped prayer hall is flanked on both sides by two domed square chambers, which were used as *tabhane* rooms.[513] The

[507] Russel & Russel 1997: 32-33.
[508] David 2018: 180
[509] Kasmo 2017:202.
[510] Ibn al-Shiḥna 1984: 119.
[511] Kasmo 2017: 199-201.
[512] al-Rifāʿī 2013: 114.
[513] Watenpaugh 2004: 66.

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prayer hall itself is roofed with a low hemispherical dome covered in lead, supported by four pendentives located at the hall's corners. These pendentives rest on a drum pierced with sixteen windows and externally supported by eight small flying buttresses.[514] The arches supporting the pendentives are constructed with *ablaq* masonry.[515]

In the northwestern corner of the hall stands a gallery, supported by eight marble columns.[516] Its exact function remains unclear, but it likely served as a private prayer room.[517] The window lunettes in the prayer hall are adorned with glazed tiles featuring scrolls, palmettes, and rosettes.[518]

The marble *mihrab*, distinguished by its black and white color scheme, is topped by an *ablaq* masonry arch. The *minbar*, constructed from yellow limestone, is adorned with *ablaq* strips and marble panels.[519] (Fig. 132) The prayer hall is preceded by a domed five-bay portico, which is wider than the prayer hall itself.[520] (Fig. 133) This portico has six marble columns with *muqarnas* capitals and contrasting colored stones for the arches.[521]

The façade of the mosque is supplied with two windows and a niche between them on each side of the door. Each window is surmounted with semicircular blue and white glazed tiles, while the portal is surmounted with a segmented arch of interlocked yellow and black voussoirs and decorative marble inlay. A small panel with an inscription refers to the construction date, and at the top, there is a *muqarnas* niche.[522] (Fig. 134)

The minaret is positioned on the western side of the mosque. It rests on a square base with a polygonal shaft, interrupted by a balcony, and surmounted by a lead-covered cone. It is ornamented with a band of blue and white *qashani* tiles under the balcony.[523] (Fig. 135)

Regarding the entrances of the complex, it has three doors distributed on the north, east, and west sides. On the main northern entrance, there is a row of five domed cells preceded by a cross-vaulted porch. These cells were previously used as guest rooms. The public kitchen is placed on the western

[514] David 2018: 181.
[515] Cigdem 1999: 85.
[516] Kasmo 2017: 209.
[517] Cigdem 1999: 85.
[518] Necipoglu 2005: 474.
[519] Kasmo 2017: 209.
[520] Watenpaugh 2004: 66.
[521] Kasmo 2017: 204.
[522] Ibid: 209.
[523] Watenpaugh 2004: 66.

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side of the complex, while to the south of the mosque is a *mausolea*. The complex is surrounded by a low fence, giving it a more luxurious view.[524] (Fig. 136)

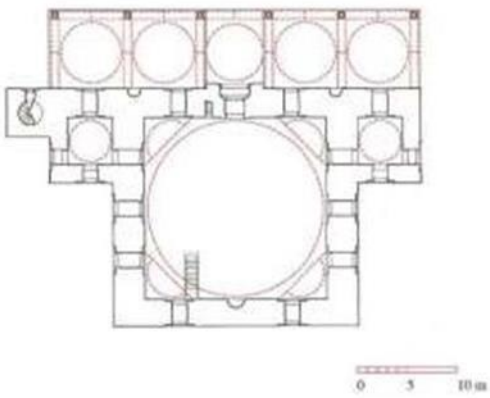

Figure 131 The layout of al-Khusruwiyya Mosque (Kasmo 2017:203)

Figure 132 The Minbar and Mihrab in al-Khusruwiyya Mosque (al-Rifāʿī 2013: 92)

[524] Kasmo 2017: 204.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 133 The facade of al-Khusruwiyya Mosque (Watenpaugh 2004: 297)

Figure 134The entrance to the prayer hall of al-Khusruwiyya Mosque (Kasmo 2017:206)

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Figure 135 The minaret of al-Khusruwiyya Mosque (Kasmo 2017:208)

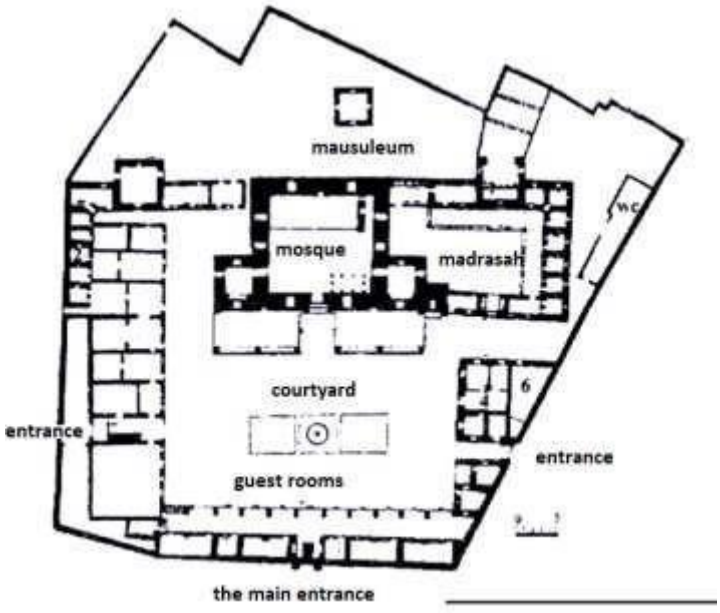

Figure 136 The layout of al-Khusruwiyya Complex (al Rifāʿī 2013:65)

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The Local and Ottoman Influences:

The layout of the mosque with the reversed T-shape has a parallel in Diyarbakir (the Friday Mosque of Biyikli Mehmed Pasha, 1516-1520), which features two lateral *tabhane* on the two sides of the portico that precedes the prayer hall.[525] (Fig.137) Regarding the Ottoman influences, they appear clearly in the hemispherical dome with its exterior flying buttresses, the pencil-shaped minaret, the domed portico preceding the prayer hall, the low fence that surrounds the complex, and the recessed entrance of the prayer hall with its tapering muqarnas. On the other hand, the local influences appear through the symmetrical composition of the façade, with the gateway in the center and windows and niches on either side. Moreover, the *ablaq* masonry in the arches of the portico, in the arch surmounting the entrance, and in the arch of the *mihrab* also indicates a local effect.

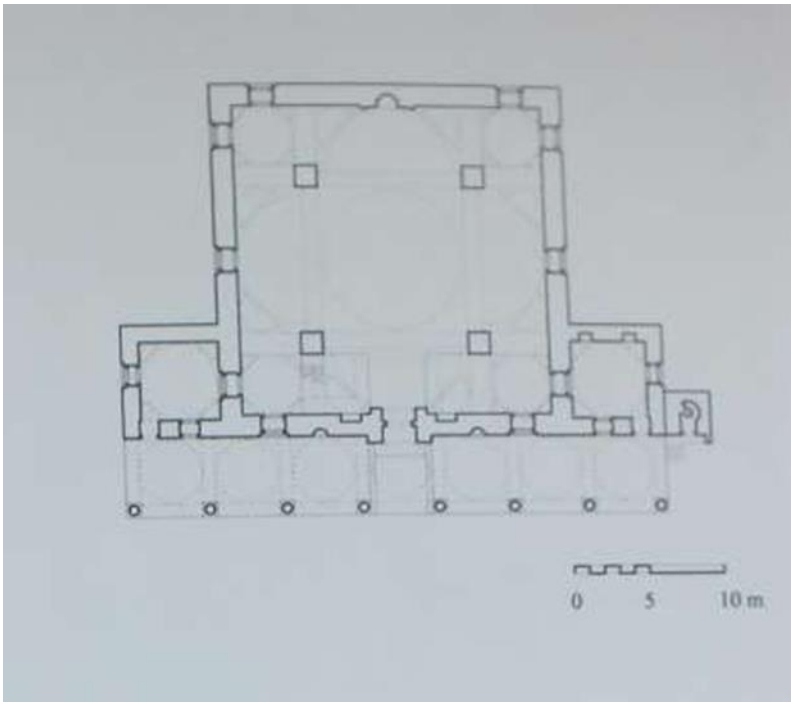

Figure 137 The layout of Biyikli Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Diyarbakir (Necipoğlu 2005: 97)

[525] Necipoglu 2005: 95.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

To conclude, even though *al-Khusruwiyya* Mosque was planned by architect Sinan during the same phase as *al- Suleimaniyya* Mosque in Damascus, each has its own style. Starting with the layout, *al-Khusruwiyya* Mosque follows the T-shaped plan, which hasn't appeared in Damascus. The similarity points appear clearly in architectural elements such as the dome covered with lead, with both examples featuring domes supported by flying buttresses. Regardless of the number of minarets -two in al-*Suleimaniyya* in Damascus and just one in *al-Khusruwiyya*- both have a pencil shape. Moreover, the symmetrical arrangement of the façade with a gate in the middle, flanked by windows and niches, is a mutual feature of the two complexes. To sum up, the Ottoman influences are clear in both complexes, but in different ways.

6.2.2. Al-Khusruwiyya Madrasa:

It is located to the north of the complex. The main function of *al-Khusruwiyya Madrasa* was to teach the Hanafi doctrine. This *madrasa* gained its importance as the only Ottoman *madrasa* founded in Aleppo until the construction of *al-Shaʿbāniyya Madrasa* in 1677.[526] It was constructed in 1536, supervised by the architect Sinan. The plan displays an L shape, consisting of five domed rooms on the western side, while the southern part is occupied by a large *darshane*, surrounded by two rooms on each side. The *darshane* is a square-shaped room covered with a dome, decorated interiorly with *ablaq* style and *qashani* tiles, and featuring a niche on its southern side.[527]

The local and Ottoman influences:

The *madrasa's* layout clearly reflects Ottoman influences, with a lecture hall (*darshane*) occupying the center of one side, and the student halls located on the opposite side.

6.2.3. Al-ʿĀdiliyya Mosque:

This mosque was patronized by the Ottoman ruler Dukakinzade Mehmed Pasha, the governor of Aleppo from 1551 to 1553 and vizier of Sultan Selim I and Sultan Suleiman. The mosque was named *al-ʿĀdiliyya* after the nearby Ayyubid-Mamluk palace of justice *(Dār al-ʿAdil)* to the east.

[526] Watenpaugh 2004: 68-76.
[527] al-Jāsir 1998-1999:346-353.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

It is situated on the main commercial line of Aleppo, west of the *al-Khusruwiyya* complex, occupying a place known as the *Tallat ʿAishah* (hill of ʿAishah).[528]

Hence, this mosque is higher than the other structures. It's noteworthy to mention that during the Mamluk era, this area served as an open square where the Mamluks would practice throwing lances. It also had military significance for the Mamluk elite.[529]

According to its construction panel, it is attributed to the architect Sinan. Moreover, the trust deed of the complex mentions that the construction of the whole complex took fifteen years to complete.[530] Due to the earthquake of 1822, the mosque was damaged, necessitating restoration works. The first phase of reconstruction was carried out in 1923 and the second in 1975.[531]

The cubical prayer hall includes two separate upper galleries. The first is situated above the entrance, while the second is in the northwest.[532] (Fig. 138) (Fig. 139) The four sides of the prayer hall are pierced with recesses with windows in each one, and each window is surmounted by an arch of colored underglaze tiles.[533] As for the *mihrab* and the *minbar*, they are built of marble and adorned with geometrical patterns. Concerning the roofing, the dome of the prayer hall is hemispherical, supported externally by eight flying buttresses. Its drum is pierced with 16 small windows.[534] Noteworthy is that the dome of *al-ʿĀdiliyya*, dating back to the sixteenth century, is the only dome in Aleppo that has kept its original sheath of lead. The dome's pendentives are decorated with calligraphic inscriptions bearing the names of God, the Prophet Muhammad, and the four caliphs, which refers to Ottoman artistic influence.[535] (Fig. 140)

The prayer hall is preceded by a double portico. The inner portico is covered by five domes, resting on *ablaq* masonry arches. These arches depend on six columns with *muqarnas* capitals. The exterior portico is covered with a flat roof and supported by pointed arches resting on eighteen columns, which are adorned with *muqarnas* capitals.[536] The pencil-shaped minaret arises from the northwestern corner of the mosque with a polygonal shaft, and a balcony stands on a *muqarnas* base. The minaret is surmounted by a lead conical cap.[537] (Fig. 140).

[528] Kasmo 2018: 261.
[529] Watenpaugh 2004: 79-80.
[530] Kasmo 2018: 261.
[531] Kasmo 2017: 218.
[532] Ibid.
[533] David 2018: 183.
[534] Kasmo 2017: 222.
[535] Watenpaugh 2004: 81.
[536] Kasmo, 2017: 218.
[537] Ibid: 222.

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The façade of the prayer hall is punctured with four windows and two *muqarnas* niches. Each window is framed with an *ablaq* band and surmounted by underglaze tiles with floral motifs. The doorway sits within a deep niche, surmounted by an arch of crested joggled voussoirs. Above it, there is an inscribed panel, crowned with a conch-shaped *muqarnas* hood, indicating the patron and the date.[538] (Fig. 141)

In the center of the mosque's courtyard is an ablution fountain *(şadırvan)*. It is surmounted by a wooden dome and rests on six yellow stone pillars. This *şadırvan* reflects Ottoman influence, being the first of its type in Aleppo.[539]

Regarding the entrances, the mosque has two: western and eastern, both leading to the courtyard of the mosque. The western entrance is simple, while the eastern one is more distinct, surmounted by a trefoil arch. The eastern entrance also has two benches on both sides.[540]

Finally, it is worth noting that due to its square prayer hall, pencil-shaped minaret, and hemispherical dome with flying buttresses, *al-ʿĀdiliyya* Mosque primarily resembles al-*Khusruwiyya* Mosque, knowing that both mosques were planned by the architect Sinan. However, the deep recesses in the four sides of the prayer hall are absent in *al-Khusruwiyya* Mosque. On the other hand, as the mosque was built by architect Sinan and is contemporary to *al- Suleimaniyya* Mosque in Damascus, it is important to shed light on some mutual points between the two mosques, such as the double portico preceding the prayer hall and the flying buttresses. Moreover, the symmetrical arrangement of the façade, with a central entry door and lateral windows and niches, are common features in the two mosques.

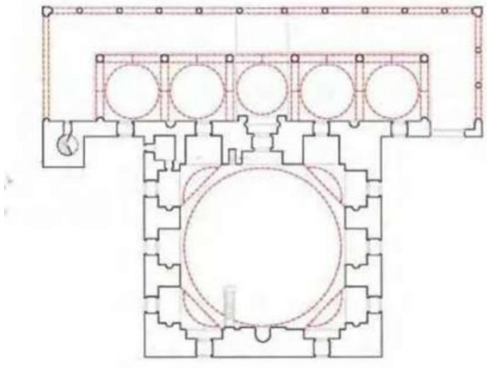

Figure 138 the layout of al-ʿĀdiliyyah Mosque (Kasmo 2017: 219)

[538] Watenpaugh 2004: 82.
[539] al-ʿĀbdīn 2006: 26.
[540] Watenpaugh 2004: 83.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 139 The gallery in al-ʿĀdiliyya Mosque (Kasmo 2017: 223)

Figure 140 The dome and minaret of al ʿĀdiliyyah Mosque (Kasmo 2017: 221-223)

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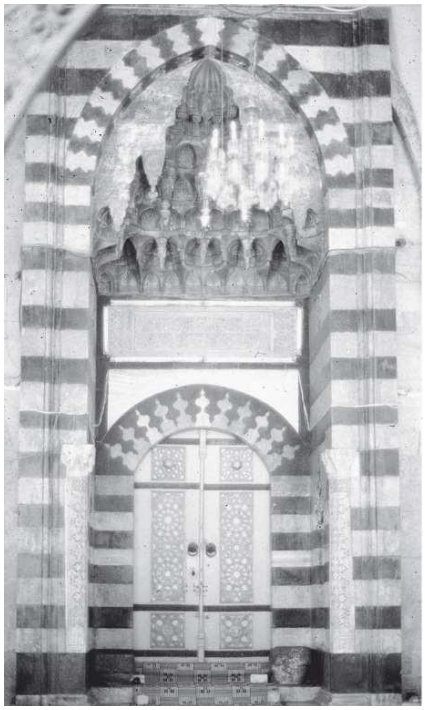

Figure 141 The entrance to the prayer hall of al-ʿĀdiliyya Mosque (Watenpaugh 2004: 290)

The Local and Ottoman Influences:

The mosque is located on a raised tell to guarantee its visibility, with its recognizable dome and pencil-shaped minaret contributing to giving the city an Ottoman style. The arched alcoves of the prayer hall, where the windows are situated, suggest Ottoman influences, as they are similar to those in the mosque of *Hadim Ibrahim Pasha* in Istanbul, which was designed by architect Sinan in 1551.[541] (Fig. 142) (Fig. 143) The hemispherical dome, with its supporting flying buttresses exteriorly and calligraphic inscriptions on its pendentives interiorly, as well as the pencil-shaped minaret, all reveal signs of Ottoman influence.[542] A further Ottoman component is the double portico that precedes the prayer hall.

In terms of the mosque's façade, it mixes local and Ottoman design elements since the recessed gateway refers to Ottoman influence. On the other hand, the conch-shaped *muqarnas* hood, which surmounts the doorway of the prayer hall, and the *ablaq* masonry arch are local influences. The underglaze-colored lunettes of the interior and exterior windows relate to Ottoman artistic tradition,

[541] Necipoglu 2005: 392-394.
[542] Watenpaugh 2004: 81.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

which is emphasized using the tomato red color, a distinctive feature of Iznik tiles in particular. Thus, there is a high possibility that these tiles were imported from Iznik,[543] referring to the high importance of the mosque, as using Iznik tiles was rare outside the Anatolian peninsula.

Figure 142 The interior prayer hall of al-ʿĀdiliyyah Mosque (Necipoglu 2005: 478)

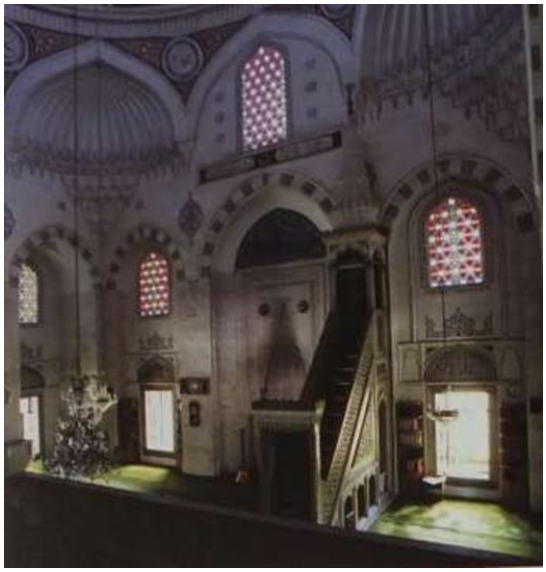

Figure 143 The deep recess in the prayer hall of Hadim Pasha Mosque (Necipoglu 2005: 394)

[543] Necipoglu 2005: 477

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

6.2.4. Al-Bahramiyya Mosque:

This mosque was built on the order of Bahram Pasha ibn Mustafa Pasha in 1583. Bahram served as the mayor of several Arab and Anatolian cities, including Diyarbakir, Yemen, Sivas, Erzurum, and Aleppo.[544] The mosque is located in *al-Jallūm* Neighborhood, distinguished by its key location where numerous commercial activities were held. It is situated in an enclosed space that includes a private garden and a *mausolea* where the patron and his brother were buried. The *mausolea*, however, was restored in 1924.[545]

The mosque witnessed various adjustments. For instance, the minaret was rebuilt in the Ottoman style at the start of the eighteenth century after being destroyed by an earthquake in 1699. As a result, the existing minaret is cylindrical and positioned in the center of the western façade. It rests on a square base with beveled edges on top. Surprisingly, it stands out for its plain and undecorated appearance, with a balcony atop it and a lead conical top.[546](Fig.144)

Not to mention that the dome was destroyed during the 1822 earthquake and was rebuilt forty years later.[547] The mosque's courtyard once had a central yellow marble domed basin that was removed in 1882 and replaced with an ablution pool.[548] Currently, there is also a circular-shaped fountain made of yellow marble.[549]

The plan of the mosque clearly presents a typical inverted T-plan. A wide domed portico, resting on nine pointed arches, precedes the prayer hall. This portico originally had nine small domes covering it, but due to the earthquake in 1822, its western part was destroyed, which explains the difference between the eastern and western parts of the portico.[550] (Fig. 145)

On both sides of the entrance to the prayer hall, there are two lateral rooms *(iwans)*, each of which is provided with a *mihrab*. The western *iwan* gives access to the minaret and the interior upper western gallery. While the eastern *iwan* leads to the interior upper eastern gallery and to a secluded room separated from the prayer hall, which likely served as a private space for important

[544] Kasmo 2022: 23-24.
[545] Abd al-Razik 2017:4.
[546] Ibid: 8.
[547] al-Ṭabbākh 1922: 214
[548] Watenpaugh 2004: 86.
[549] Abd al Razik 2017: 4.
[550] Watenpaugh 2004: 86.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

visitors.[551](Fig. 146)

The prayer hall is square-shaped; on each of its eastern and western facades, there are three recesses, each overlooking the prayer hall with a pointed arch and supported by two marble columns. Each recess includes a window surmounted by a ceramic panel decorated with floral, geometric motifs, and religious inscriptions. (Fig. 147) On the southern facade of the prayer hall, there is a five-sided *iwan* (Fig. 148). The prayer hall also includes two upper galleries on its eastern and western sides. [552] Additionally, there are two small chambers accessed from the surrounding recesses in the northeast and northwest corners of the hall. These chambers were used for storing carpets, oil lamps, and candles, according to the establishment deed.[553]The *mihrab* presents ornamentation that reflects Aleppine architectural and artistic features. The yellow and white marble *mihrab* exhibits Ayyubid style through its straight lines, circular arches, and braided squares, reminiscent of the decoration seen in the *mihrab* of *al-Firdaws Madrasa* (1235-36) (Fig. 149). The colored marble *minbar* is adorned with geometric patterns on its two sides.

The façade of the mosque features a central recess in alternating white and black rows, topped with a pointed arch, supported by two marble engaged columns. On either side of the entrance, there are windows and small *mihrabs* (Fig. 150). There are three entrances to this mosque: the main one on the northern façade of the enclosure and two side entrances on the eastern and western facades. All three lead directly into the courtyard.[554]

[551] Kasmo 2022: 27
[552] Abd al Razik 2017: 7.
[553] Kasmo 2022: 29.
[554] Abd al Razik 2017:4-8.

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 144 The minaret of al-Bahramiyya Mosque (Abd al Razik 2017: 6)

Figure 145 The portico of al Bahramiyya Mosque with the square basin and circle fountain (Abd al Razik 2017: 5)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 146 The eastern iwan in al-Bahramiyya Mosque (Kasmo 2022: 28)

Figure 147 One of the decorative panels surmounting the window inside the prayer hall (Kasmo 2022: 30)

Figure 148 The iwan of the main mihrab in al-Bahramiyyah mosque (Kasmo 2022:.30)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Figure 149 The iwan of the main mihrab in al-Bahramiyyah mosque (Kasmo 2022:.30)

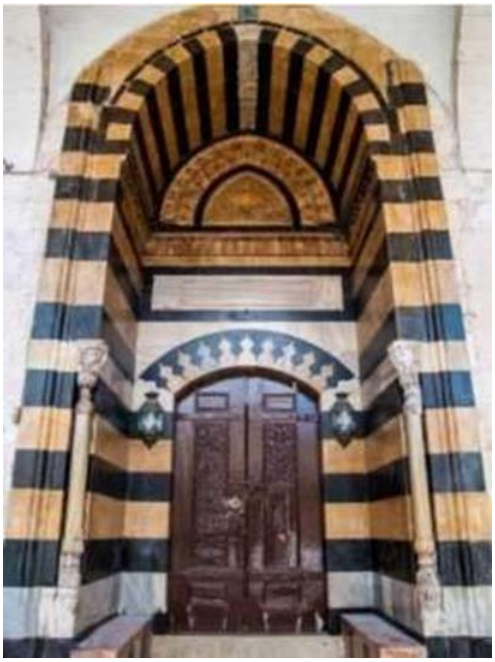

Figure 150 The entrance of the sanctuary in al-Bahramiyya Mosque (Abd al Razik 2017: 6)

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2025.004

Local and Ottoman influences

The layout of the mosque with a reversed T-shape reflects regional influence, which was prevalent in Diyarbakir, as seen in the Friday Mosque of Biyikli Mehmed Pasha (1516-1520), as mentioned earlier. However, a notable difference in this mosque is that the lateral rooms function as *iwans,* rather than *tabhane*. It's worth noting that lateral *iwans* do not have older examples, but they do appear in the *al-ʿUthmāniyya Madrasa* in the eighteenth century, which makes their Aleppine origins unlikely.[555]

On the other hand, in the Iskandar Pasha Mosque, built in 1551 by architect Sinan in Diyarbakir, there were two rectangular chambers on the two sides of the portico that did not communicate with the prayer hall, indicating regional influences.[556] (Fig. 151). Another possibility is that these *iwans* developed from the *tabhane* rooms found, for example, on the two sides of the prayer hall in al-*Khusruwiyya* Mosque.[557]

Moreover, the five-sided apse that appears on the southern façade of the prayer hall was a common construction tradition in Diyarbakir even before the Ottoman conquest of the city, and it appeared in many examples such as the *Ayni Minare* Mosque (1489) and *Hadim Ali Pasha's madrasah* (1537-1543).[558] (Fig. 152).

The façade of the prayer hall combines local and Ottoman influences, with the recessed gateway reflecting Ottoman customs and the use of *ablaq* masonry reminiscent of Mamluk architecture. The structural layout of the prayer hall's recessed plan was designed by architect Sinan. The earliest known instance of this configuration is found in *Hadim Ibrahim Pasha's* Mosque in Istanbul (1551), while the two mosques most closely connected to *al-Bahramiyya* are the *al-ʿĀdiliyyah* Mosques in Aleppo (1565) and *Bahram Pasha* Mosque in Diyarbakir (1573). (Fig. 153)

The decorated panels of the interior windows, featuring saz-leaf motifs and the use of red and turquoise, suggest that these tiles were imported from Iznik.

[555] Watenpaugh 2004:87.
[556] Ibid: 87
[557] Kasmo 2022: 27.
[558] Watenpaugh 2004: 89.

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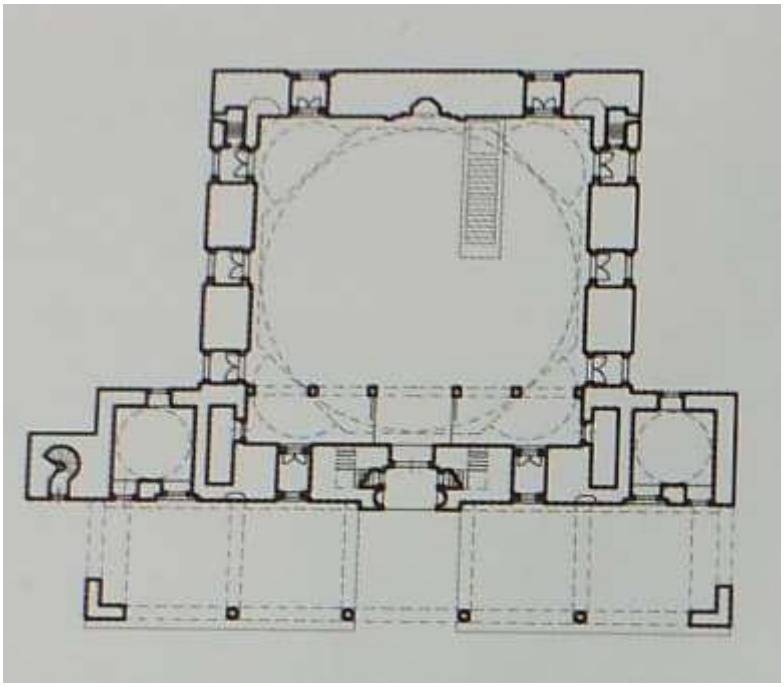

Figure 151 The layout of Iskandar Pasha Mosque in Diyarbakir (Necipoglu 2005:464)

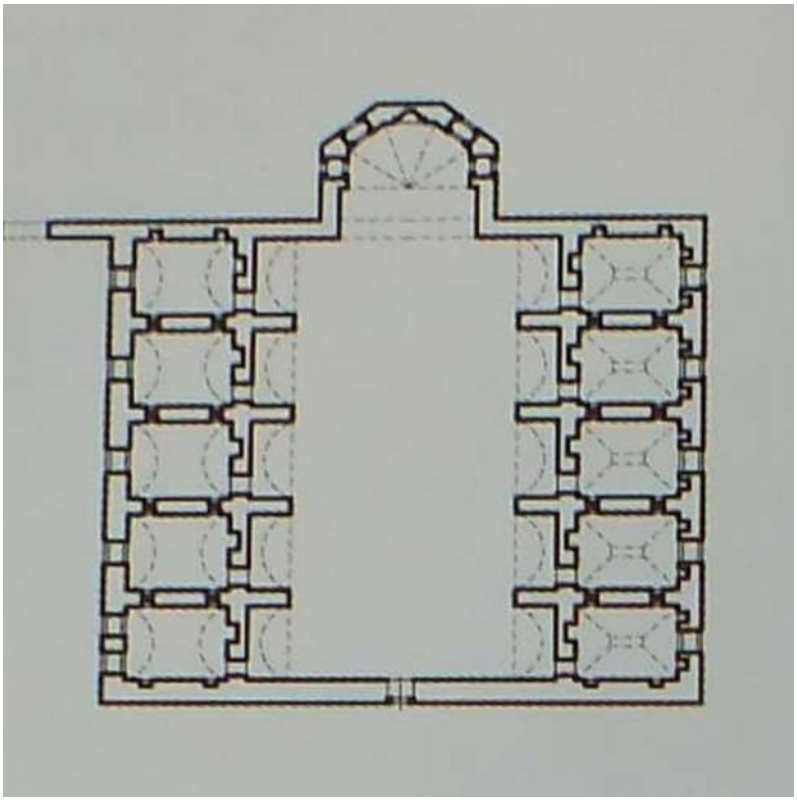

Figure 152 The layout of Hadim Ali Pasha Madrasa and its pentagonal apse (Necipoğlu 2005: 462)

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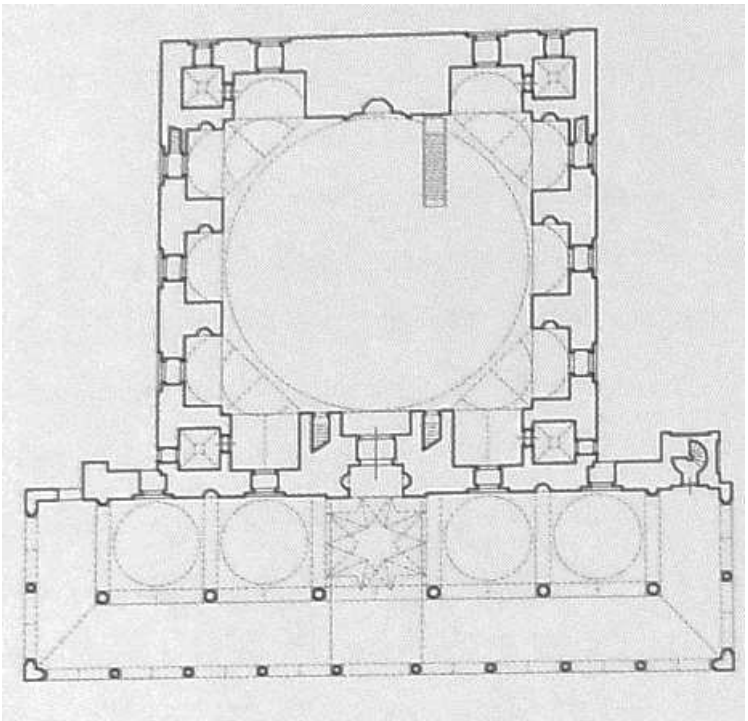

Figure 153 The plan of Bahram Pasha Mosque in Diyarbakir (Necipoglu 2005:466)

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6.3. The Commercial Buildings in Aleppo:

Aleppo's geographic location contributed to its development as a commercial hub. The city is situated between the Euphrates River and the Mediterranean, providing a waterborne traffic route, followed by a short land route through Aleppo.[559]

Aleppo's well-known position in regional and global trade gave it commercial prominence, motivating the governors of the Ottoman era to assist the economy by building commercial facilities that enhanced Ottoman trade and generated income for their endowments.[560] With the development of international trade and the increasing number of European members in Aleppo, the *khans* functioned as offices for the European consuls and residences for the European traders and religious missionaries.[561]

Three *khans* from the Ottoman era, sponsored by the Ottoman governors and situated in the city's commercial district, will be displayed below.

6.3.1. Al-Jumruk Khan (the Custom Khan):

This *khan* was an Aleppine architectural masterpiece built in 1574 under the patronage of the senior Ottoman official of Albanian origin, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha. It was probably designed by the architect Sinan. Unfortunately, modern buildings were constructed inside it, making it impossible to restore its original state. Currently, only the entrance and the small mosque in its courtyard remain.[562] It is acknowledged as the largest *khan* in Aleppo, as it spreads over 6200 square meters,[563] and is the most important commercial building in Aleppo in terms of its architectural significance on the one hand and its role in the financial situation of Aleppo in the sixteenth century on the other. It became a center of fruitful long-distance trade.[564] In addition to its location in the commercial center of the city, it accommodated many European merchants until the end of the sixteenth century.[565]

The façade of the domed entrance is characterized by stone decoration. The upper section features two tiny arched iron-grilled windows with a cutout star in the middle, set within a semi-oval frame.

[559] Masters 2005: 21
[560] Burns 2017: 219.
[561] Kasmo 2014: 294.
[562] Ṭalas 1956:135-136.
[563] Burns 2017: 215.
[564] Watenpaugh 2004: 103
[565] Sauvageh 1941: 186

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The second section has two iron-grilled windows, with a rectangular inscription plaque between them. Beneath the plaque is a triangular arrow decoration, surmounted by a horseshoe motif, with two cross-shaped designs on either side. The arch of the door is built in the *ablaq* style, with its keystone decorated with a blazon, in addition to two blazons on either side of the door (Fig.154). It is worth mentioning that the decorated façade of the *khan* highlights its high importance.[566]

The enormous iron-clad gate of the *khan* opens to reveal a rectangular courtyard with wings on each of its four sides. It should be noted that the northern wing, whose exterior façade is elaborately ornamented as stated above, also has the most striking internal facade. It is punctured with two rows of windows, and on each side of the two rows, there are braided engaged columns. The higher narrow windows, similar to arrow slits, are topped with multifoil arches with *muqarnas* designs above them. The lower windows are bordered with alternating white and black bands and are topped with lintels of interlocked black and white stones.[567] (Fig. 155).

The *khan's* design adheres to the conventional pattern; it was a rectangular structure with rooms on two stories and a central courtyard. The rooms on the lower floor were identical, functioning as stables and storage rooms. The identical cells on the second floor, preceded by a portico, were used for accommodation for traders, offices, and additional storage rooms. In the center of the courtyard, there is a rectangular mosque with a fountain beneath it.[568]

A similar example of the central mosque in the courtyard of the *khan* exists in *Koza Khan* in Bursa, and it is believed that this practice dates back to the Seljuk period.[569] Moreover, the Kiosk Mosque has a single parallel in *Lala Mustafa Pasha Khan* in Damascus.

On the second floor of the northern side, above the entrance vestibule, there is a large room with a cruciform plan, consisting of four *iwans*, similar to the hall *(qāʿa)* in residential architecture (Fig. 156). The function of this hall remains obscure. This hall offers a view of both the exterior thoroughfare and the interior courtyard.[570]

[566] Watenpaugh 2004: 104
[567] Ibid: 108
[568] Ploix de Rotrou 2002: 138
[569] Watenpaugh 2004: 108.
[570] Ibid: 111

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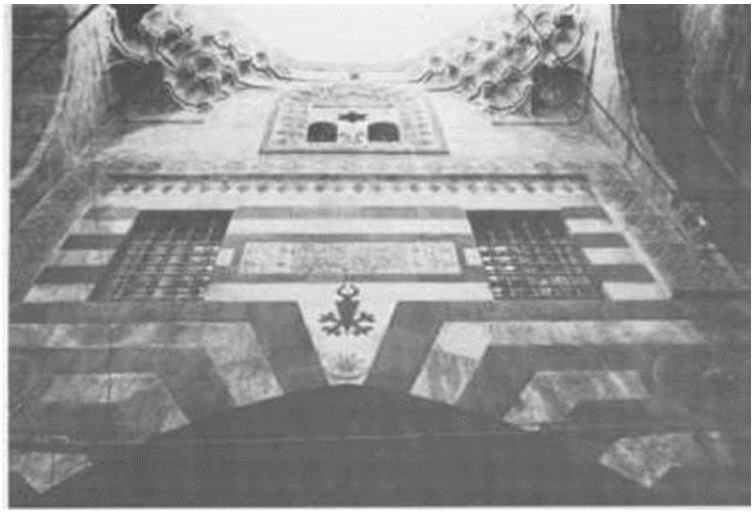

Figure 154 The facade of al-Jumruk Khan (al Ḥumṣī 1983: 167)

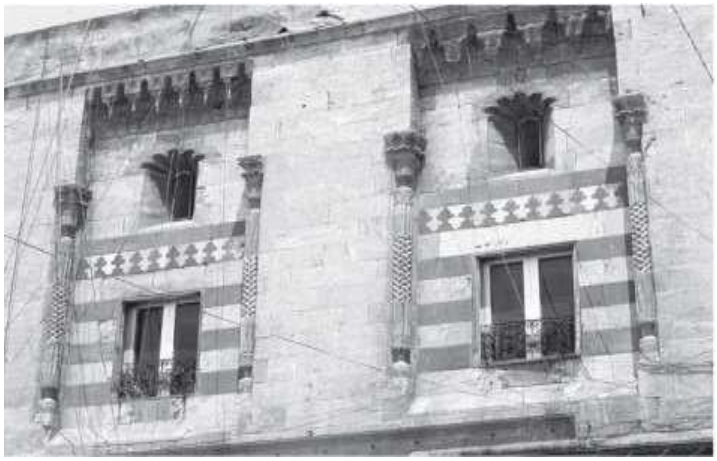

Figure 155 The interior Northern facade of al-Jumruk khan (Watenpaugh 2004: 303)

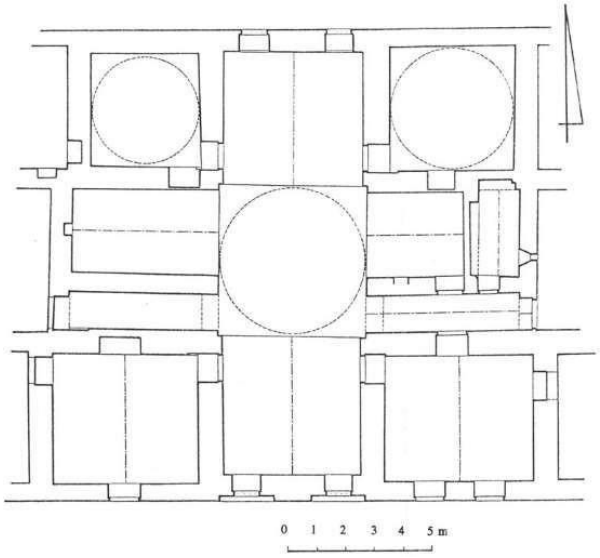

Figure 156 The plan of qāʿah in al-Jumruk Khan (Watenpaugh 2004: 280)

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6.3.2. Al-Ḥibāl Khan (Khan of Ropes):

It was funded by the governor of Aleppo, Mehmed Pasha al-Nīshānjī, in 1594, as part of his endowment. Located to the west of the Umayyad Mosque, its construction was supervised by Firhad bin Jawish, according to the construction panel on the entrance (Fig.157). Parts of the *khan* were damaged by the earthquake of 1822 but were restored in 1860.[571]

The name of the *khan* refers to its original function, specializing in the manufacturing and trading of ropes. It is also known as *al-Francis Khan* (the Khan of the French), as the French consulate was located there from the late seventeenth century until the beginning of the 20th century. Additionally, Austrian merchants resided in the khan at the beginning of the nineteenth century and conducted some repairs.[572]

This *khan* witnessed significant changes over time, making it difficult to discern its original layout. The *khan* has a simple façade, built in the *ablaq* style, consisting of alternating courses of black basalt and yellow limestone. The doorway is surmounted by a pointed arch, while the upper part of the entrance has been completely renovated. The entrance leads through a long vestibule to the central square courtyard. The halls in the courtyard are preceded by arcades, except on the southern side, which is occupied by the gateway. The upper floor is accessed via stairs; two are located on either side of the entrance, while the third stair is in the center of the northern façade. Similar to the ground floor, the rooms on the upper floor are preceded by a portico, except on the southern side.[573]

This *khan* is characterized by two features: three large halls on the second floor one above the entrance and the other two located at the northeastern and northwestern corners. Each hall was equipped with its own facilities, indicating they were specialized for long-term accommodation (Fig. 158). It is noted that Aleppine *khans* from the sixteenth century typically featured a hall above the entrance, whereas the presence of three halls suggests this *khan* specialized in providing permanent accommodation for European consulates and merchants.[574] Another notable feature is the replacement of stables on the ground floor with two storage spaces on the eastern and western

[571] Kasmo 2014: 302
[572] Kasmo 2013: 67-68
[573] Ibid: 66-72
[574] Kasmo 2014: 303

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sides of the *khan*, located behind the main rooms. This contrasts with traditional *khans* that typically provided stables for caravan merchants requiring accommodation for their animals.[575]

Figure 157 Inscription above al-Ḥibāl Khan (Kasmo 2013: 65)

Figure 158 The hall on the northeastern corner of al-Ḥibāl Khan (Kasmo 2013: 70)

[575] Masters 2005: 129.

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6.3.3. Al-Wazīr Khan:

Al-Wazīr Khan is considered the most famous *khan* in Aleppo. It was patronized by Kura Mustafa Pasha al-Merzifonli in 1681, one of the most significant leaders in the Ottoman sultanate, to promote the flourishing silk trade coming from Iran. It is located to the east of the Umayyad Mosque, outside the central market. The original layout of the *khan* has adjusted in the twentieth century.[576]

The *khan* has two important decorated facades: the exterior one overlooks the street, and the interior one overlooks the courtyard. The exterior façade is punctuated with a doorway and two upper windows, characterized by the *ablaq* style. The upper part of the façade is decorated with a semi-oval panel, pierced with two windows and a star-shaped lunette. On either side of the doorway and above it, there are three roundels; the upper one is decorated with floral motifs, while the lateral ones are decorated with lion figures (Fig. 159). Notably, this façade resembles the façade of al-*Jumruk Khan*.

The interior façade has two rectangular windows surmounted by an *ablaq* frame, followed by four small upper windows, with a circular lunette between them. (Fig.160). The entrance of the *khan* leads to a vestibule with four shops, guarding rooms, and stairs on both sides leading to the second floor. The layout of the *khan* follows the traditional plan: it has two floors surrounding a central courtyard, with a domed basin in the center of the courtyard. The courtyard takes a trapezoidal shape instead of a rectangular or square one due to the extreme irregularity of the plot. [577] Notably, the portico, which usually precedes the halls on the ground floor, is absent. This design choice resulted in deep chambers that were divided into two parts: an interior part for storage and an exterior part with a fireplace, specialized for accommodation and business activities. On the eastern façade of the courtyard, there is a corridor leading to the stable, which extends behind the rooms. The second floor's rooms are preceded by porticos on the eastern, northern, and southern sides, but not on the western side, which has two rows of rooms and a central hallway. Following the layout of the Aleppine *khans*, there is a cruciform-shaped domed hall *(qāʿa)* with four *iwans* on the second floor above the entrance hall.[578]

[576] Burns 2017: 237.
[577] al Rifāʿī 1996: 239-241
[578] Watenpaugh 2004: 192.

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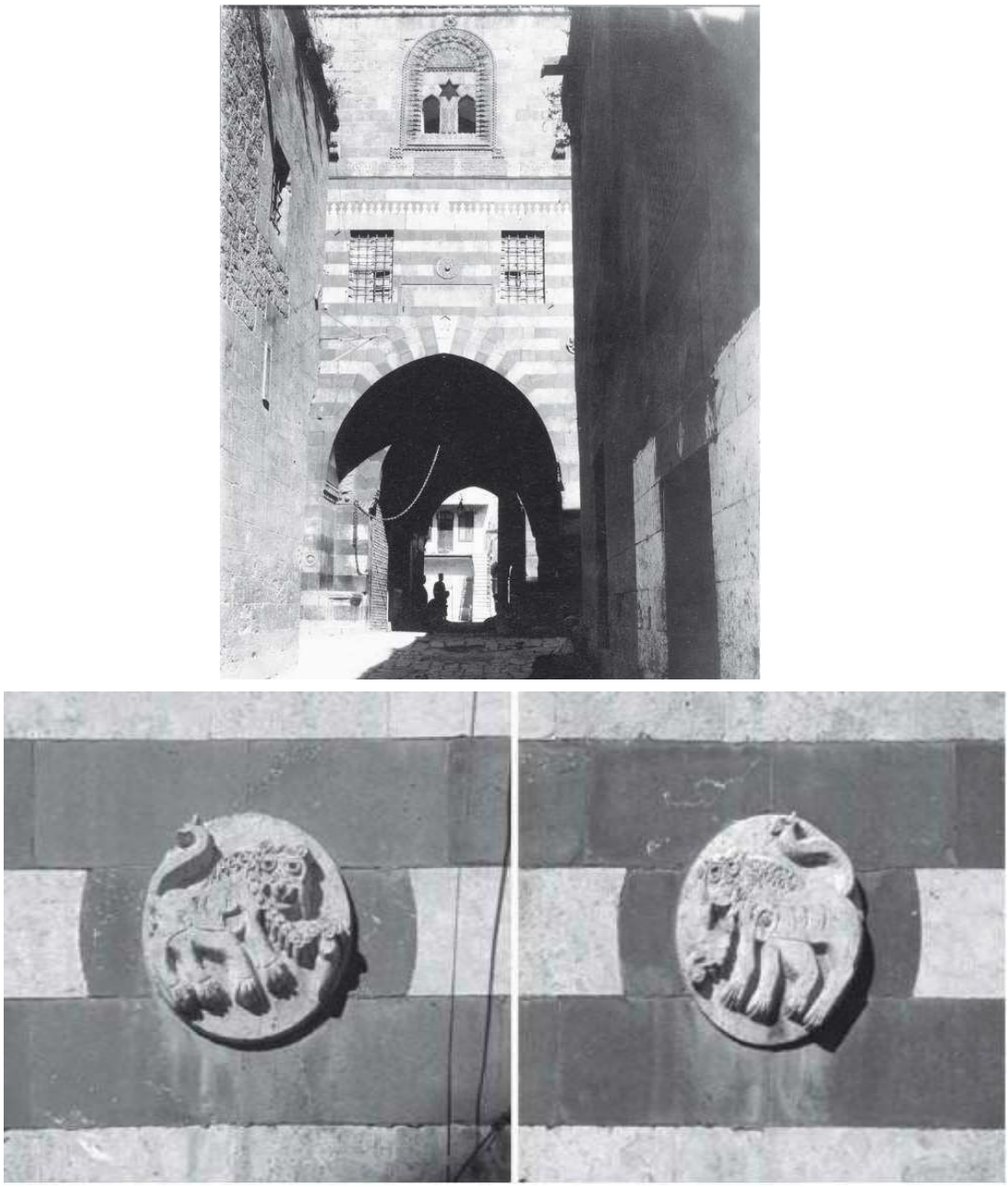

Figure 159 The exterior facade of al-Wazīr Khan with the lion figures (Watenpaugh 2004: 310-311)

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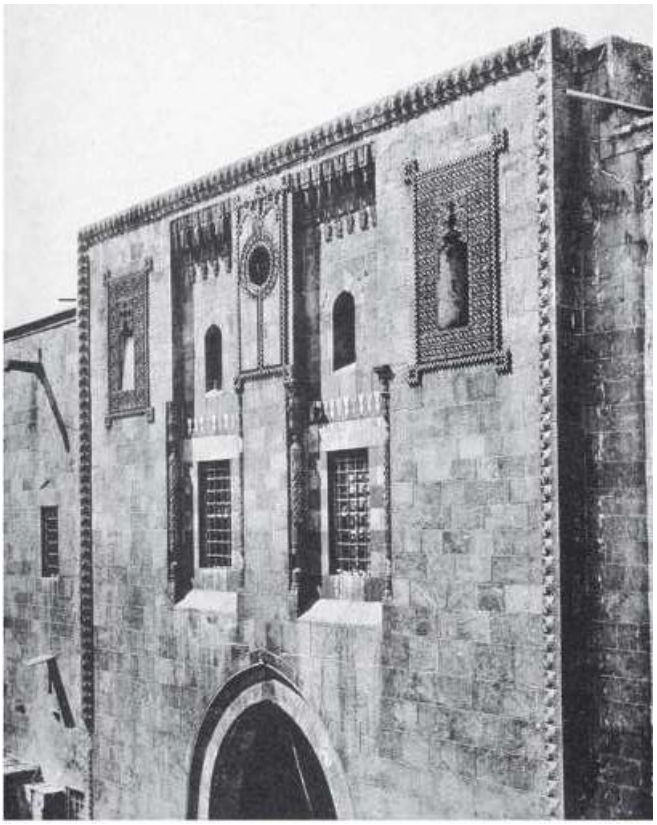

Figure 160 The interior facade of al- Wazir Khan (Watenpaugh 2004: 312)

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6.4. Hammams in Aleppo:

Public *hammams* played an important role in Aleppo's urban development, just as they did in other Islamic cities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these buildings gradually developed from a simple Roman layout until they reached their apex in the medieval period. Unfortunately, most of the Ottoman *hammams* were ruined over time. Not all of the established *hammams* were on the same level of luxury; most were characterized by simple facades without any change in the layout.[579]

The most important *hammam* from the period under study is *al-Bahramiyya Hammam*, which was sponsored by Bahram Pasha as part of his complex. Another example to be discussed is *al-Raqbān Hammam*, as one example is not sufficient to understand the general layout of Aleppine *hammams*.

6.4.1. Al-Bahramiyya Hammam:

This *hammam* was built in 1583. It is located in the *al-Jidaydah* District, to the northwest of the walled city. Notably, this *hammam* is the first Ottoman building in this area. To understand the reason for choosing this location, it should be clarified that this district was predominantly inhabited by Christians and served as a textile manufacturing center, with few public buildings except churches.[580] Thus, to support the district with public service buildings and to assert Ottoman presence in a predominantly Christian area, this location was chosen.

The *hammam* has retained its original layout until now. The northern façade is the main one, characterized by its *ablaq* style with alternating rows of basalt and limestone. It is pierced with three rectangular windows and a band of interlocked white and black decorations. The upper section of the façade features two additional windows.[581] (Fig. 161).

The entrance to the *hammam* leads to a vaulted vestibule, followed by the undressing room, which features a central polygonal fountain and four raised benches on the four sides. The room is covered with a dome resting on pendentives. Next is the cold room, which has two *iwans*. The first *iwan* is square-shaped, surmounted by a vault, with a fountain in its center, and it branches into two *maqsuras*. The second *iwan* of the cold room is also vaulted and has an entrance leading to the warm room. The warm room is very simple, with two *maqsuras*. At the end, there is the domed hot

[579] ʿAbd al Rāziq 2014: 29.
[580] Ibid: 458-461.
[581] Ibid.

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room, which is octagonal in shape, with an *iwan* on each side (Fig. 162). Finally, it is worth mentioning that the *hammam* is now closed.[582]

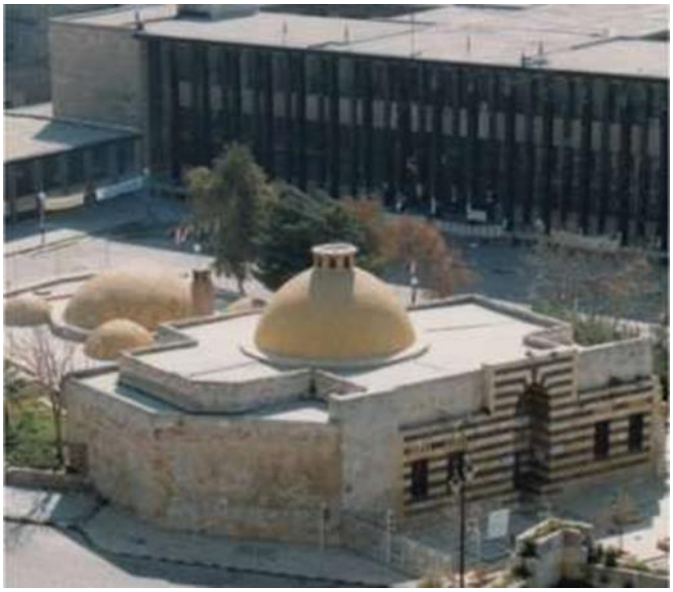
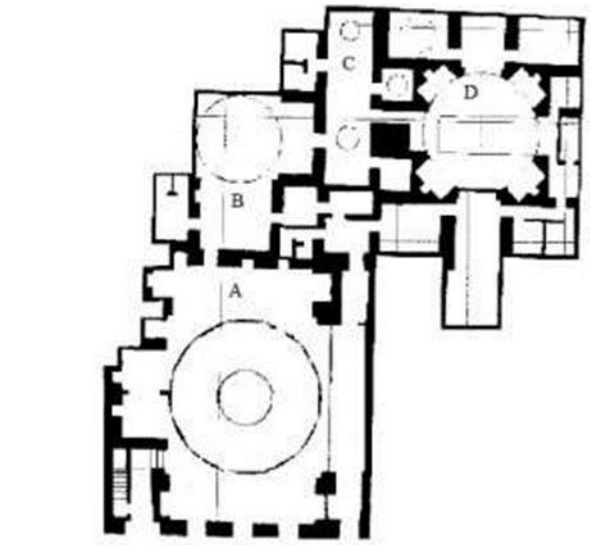


Figure 161 General view of Bahram Pasha Hammam (al Ḥumṣī 1983: 173)



A: undressing room B: cold room C: warm room D: hot room

Figure 162 The layout of Bahram Pasha Hammam (ʿAbd al-Rāziq 2014: 711)

[582] ʿAbd al-Rāziq 2014: 460-469.

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6.4.2. Al-Raqbān Hammam:

Al-Raqbān Hammam is located outside the walled city, in the *Banqūsa* District.[583] It was established in 1573 as a charity building by Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn Raqbān. The façade of the *hammam* is simple, without any special decoration. Starting with the undressing room, it is a domed space with a central fountain and four surrounding *iwans*. The cold room takes the shape of a vaulted vestibule with two lateral alcoves. This room leads to another vaulted vestibule, which in turn leads to the warm room. The warm room is a square-shaped domed section, surrounded by *iwans* on its sides, except for the southeastern side, which is occupied by the entrance leading to the hot room. The hot room has a cross-shaped layout with four *iwans* on its four sides and four alcoves at the four corners.[584] (Fig. 163).

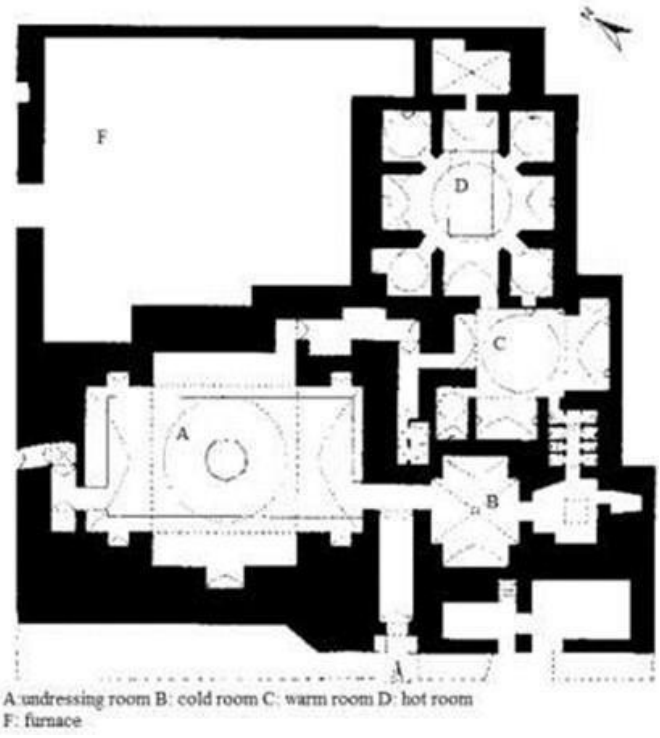

Figure 163 The layout of al Raqbān Hammam (ʿAbd al-Rāziq 2014: 709)

[583] Al-Asadī 1984: 82.
[584] ʿAbd al-Rāziq 2014: 444-457

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Ottoman and Local Influences in the Aleppine Hammam:

Based on the examples of Aleppine *hammams* from the Ottoman period mentioned above, it is evident that the hot room is the essential bathing space, characterized by its octagonal shape with four *iwans* on the four sides and four chambers in the corners. As discussed in the previous chapter, this type of *hammam*, featuring an octagonal-shaped hot room, is the most common in Ottoman Anatolia. Therefore, it can be concluded that this type of *hammam* was influenced by Ottoman design. However, examining the Mamluk period in Aleppo reveals that *hammams* with an octagonal-shaped hot room as the main bathing space were also common during that era. An example is the *al-Nāsirī Hammam*, financed by Yalbugha al-Nāsirī between 1381 and 1389, which features an octagonal-shaped hot room with four *iwans* and four chambers.[585](Fig. 164) Another example is the al- *al-Ṣāliḥiyya Hammam*, attributed to the Mamluk Amīr Izdimīr in 1485.[586] (Fig. 165).

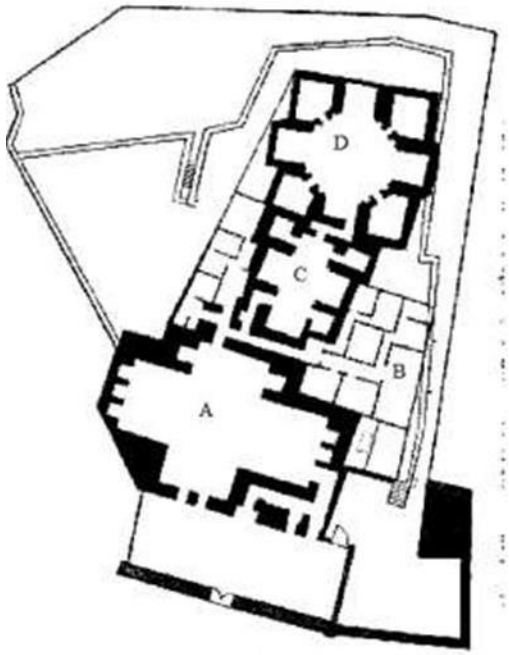

Figure 164 The layout of Yalbugha al-Nāsirī hammam

[585] ʿAbd al-Rāziq 2014: 343-356
[586] Ibn Shiḥna 1984: 246

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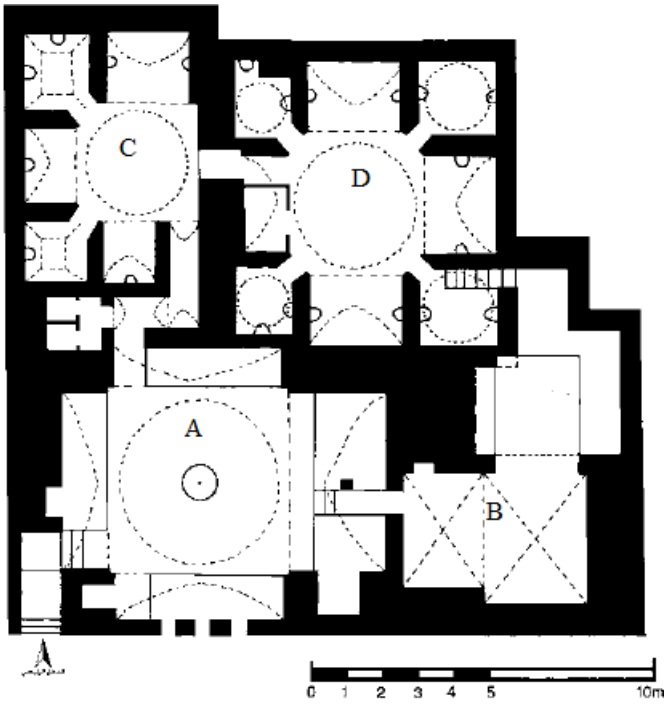

A: undressing room B: cold room C: warm room D: hot room

Figure 165 The layout of al-Ṣāliḥīyya Hammam (ʿAbd al-Rāziq 2014: 697)

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6.5. Residential Buildings in Aleppo:

The majority of Aleppine houses were constructed between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and they generally share the same design as Islamic houses in Syria. Regrettably, most Aleppine houses from the Ottoman period have undergone significant alterations due to being divided among family members, abandoned, or converted to other uses. Nevertheless, there are still a few examples that fairly represent the layout of Aleppine houses and exemplify their distinctive features.

6.5.1. Ghazālih House:

Ghazālih House is located in the extramural *Jidaydah* District and was built by Khajadūr Bin Murād Bālī in 1691, according to an inscription found on the wooden panel in the northern room. The house was named after the Ghazālih Family, who lived in it in the nineteenth century. In the early 20th century, it was used as a school for Armenians. By 2007, the Aleppine Antiquities and Museums Directorate had renovated the house, transforming it into a historical museum for the City of Aleppo. In 2008, the entire house was restored to fix the distortions caused during its use as a school.[587]

The Architectural Description of Ghazālih House:

Ghazālih House contains three courtyards. The first courtyard is the main one, featuring an *iwan*, a hall *(qāʿa)*, and living rooms, while the second courtyard is smaller with two rooms on its eastern side. The third courtyard is designated for service functions. Additionally, the house has a basement for storing food. The main hall *(qāʿa)* in the house is organized in a T-shape, consisting of an antechamber and three *iwans*. The antechamber has a fountain and is surmounted by a dome, while the three *iwans* are covered with flat wooden ceilings (Fig. 166). Regarding its ornamentation, the wooden ceilings and paneling are decorated with floral and geometrical motifs and calligraphic inscriptions.[588](Fig. 167)

[587] Alafandi & Abdul Rahim 2016: 603
[588] Ibid: 599-603.

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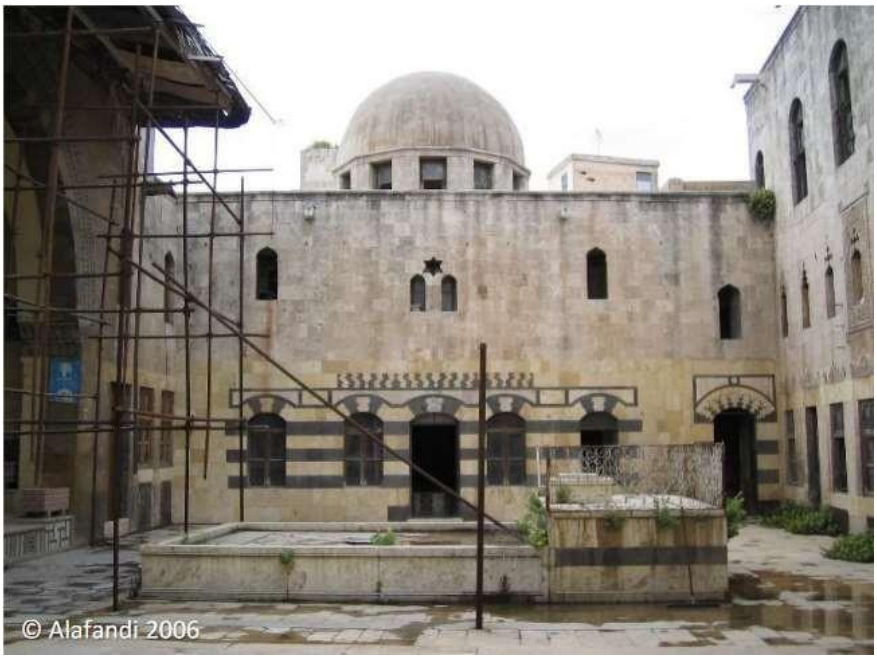

Figure 166 The domed hall in al-Ghazālih House (Alafandi 2018: 5)

Figure 167 The domed hall in al-Ghazālih House (Alafandi 2018: 5)

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6.5.2. Bāsīl House:

This house is located in the *Jidaydah* District. According to an inscription in one of its rooms, the house was built in 1772. It was converted into an institute for languages and art in 2002.[589]

The Architectural Description of Bāsīl House:

The house comprises three levels: the underground floor, which contains the cellar, the ground floor, and the upper floor. The courtyard on the ground floor is square with a central fountain, flanked by an *iwan* on the southern side and two side rooms. Additionally, there is the main hall *(qāʿa)* on the northern side, characterized by its T-shaped plan with three iwans and a domed antechamber (Fig.168). The upper floor contains simple rooms. The decoration of the house consists mostly of floral and geometrical patterns, typical of Islamic art from the Ottoman period.[590] (Fig.169).

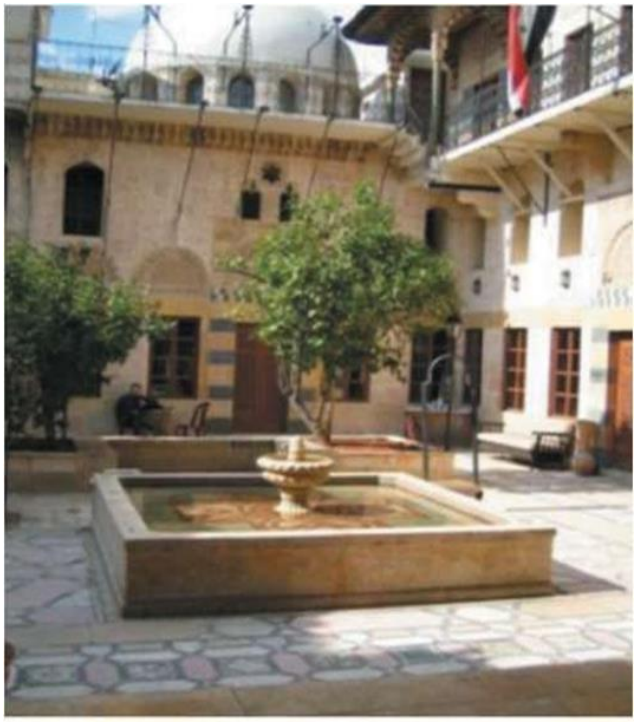

Figure 168 The courtyard and domed hall of Bāsīl House (Alafandi & Abdul Rahim 2017: 398)

[589] Alafandi & Abdul Rahim 2017: 390.
[590] Ibid.

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Figure 169 The geometrical decoration in the ceiling of a hall in Bāsīl House (Alafandi & Abdulrahim 2017: 398)

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6.6. Analytical Study:

The Urban Development of the City in the Ottoman Period:

At the beginning of the Ottoman period, the two projects of Sultan Suleiman, including a tower to the west of the citadel's gate and a *Qastal* (fountain) outside of *Bāb al-Faraj*, both had symbolic value, marking the Ottoman arrival. However, they had little effect on the city's architectural environment. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman governors initiated an intensive construction movement, focusing mainly on religious and commercial buildings. These monumental complexes created a significant corridor along the Roman Cardo Maximus Street, stretching from the west foot of the citadel to the Antioch Gate and its adjacent area.

The Religious Buildings:

In the Aleppine mosques, there are two types of layouts: the T-shaped layout, which appears in *al-Khusruwiyya* Mosque and *al-Bahramiyya* Mosque, and the classic square-shaped layout that appears in *al-ʿĀdiliyya* Mosque.

Regarding the layout of *al-Khusruwiyya Madrasa*, it follows the classic Ottoman layout, consisting of a *darshane* surrounded by student rooms. It is worth mentioning that architect Sinan constructed *al-Khusruwiyya* and *al-Bahramiyya* Mosques, highlighting the high importance of these buildings and their patrons.

The creation of the Aleppine mosque style was influenced by local, regional, and Ottoman elements. Aleppo's geographical location near Diyarbakir facilitated the spread of regional influences, explaining the similarities between the Aleppine mosques and parallel examples in Diyarbakir, such as the T-shaped plan adopted in *al-Khusruwiyya* and *al-Bahramiyya* Mosques. Furthermore, the lateral rooms on either side of the prayer hall and the five-sided iwan are regional influences that appear in *al-Bahramiyya* Mosque.

The main features characterizing Ottoman mosques are evident in the three mosques: the hemispherical dome, the pencil-shaped minaret, the domed portico preceding the prayer hall, and the recessed gateway of the prayer hall. These elements are the most visible in the mosques. The arched alcoves in the prayer hall appear only in *al-ʿĀdiliyya* and *al-Bahramiyya* Mosques. Additionally, the use of Iznik tiles in *al-ʿĀdiliyya* and *al-Bahramiyya* Mosques indicates the high

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importance of these two mosques. Local influences are limited to the use of the *ablaq* style in the decoration of the façade and the arches.

The Commercial Buildings:

The Aleppine *khans* follow the typical layout found in the Islamic world. A single entrance with an elevated door leads to a short path that opens onto a central courtyard surrounded by rectangular rooms on two floors. The rooms on the ground floor function as warehouses, while the rooms on the second floor serve as inns. A new architectural element is the hall with a cruciform shape above the entrance. These halls appear in the three studied *khans* and are characterized by their strategic position, which overlooks the interior courtyard and exterior streets. These halls were likely used as dwelling quarters or reception areas for distinguished and important visitors.

The Aleppine *khans* are distinguished by their elaborately ornamented facades, such as those of *al-Jumruk Khan* and *al-Wazīr Khan*. In contrast, *al-Ḥibāl Khan* features a simple façade. Mamluk influences are evident through the use of *ablaq* facades and Mamluk blazons as decorative elements, as seen in *al-Jumruk Khan* and *al-Wazīr Khan*. Notably, the exterior façade of *al-Wazir Khan* is characterized by blazons with lion figures.

The use of the *ablaq* style to decorate both the interior and exterior facades represents local influence. Blazons with animal forms were a staple of Mamluk art, frequently used on defensive or military structures to identify certain individuals or ward off evil spirits. However, these figures rarely appeared on the facades of Ottoman buildings. The reuse of this motif on the façade of a commercial building was part of the Ottomanization process, indicating that Aleppo's entire past, in all its forms, was being appropriated by the Ottomans.[591]

The Location:

The three religious structures and two *khans* are situated along the commercial avenue that runs across the city's historic Cardo Maximus. It is important to note that the Ottoman rulers specifically selected this site as the ideal location for their structures. The Umayyad Mosque, the great mosque of the city, was situated there, and during the Mamluk era, this area housed the seat of government

[591] Watenpaugh 2004: 198-199

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(Dār al-ʿAdil), indicating the religious and political importance of this part of the city. Therefore, the aim was to confirm Ottoman dominance in the most important area of the city.

The Hammams:

Unfortunately, the *hammams* sponsored by Ottoman governors are limited to one example: *al-Bahramiyya Hammam*. The Aleppine *hammams* in the Ottoman period did not witness any significant changes. The octagonal-shaped hot room, which appears in *al-Bahramiyya Hammam* and *al-Raqbān Hammam*, also appears in the *hammams* from the previous Mamluk period, such as *al-Nāṣīrī Hammam* (1381-1389) and *al-Ṣāliḥiyya Hammam* (1485). Local influences are evident in the façade of *al-Bahramiyyah Hammam*, which features the *ablaq* style, indicating Mamluk artistic traditions.

The Houses:

Aleppine dwellings ranged from modest houses with a single courtyard to luxurious residences with multiple courtyards, as the size of the houses was related to the owner's financial condition. The two examples under study contain the main architectural elements: courtyard, *iwan*, and hall. It is worth mentioning that a new form of T-shaped hall *(qāʿa)*, with a domed platform and three equivalent *iwans* opening onto a square central space, appears in two examples (*al-Ghazālih* House and *Bāsīl* House). This element could be interpreted as a development of local Ottoman tradition since domed spaces were a significant feature of Ottoman architecture.

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6.7. Results:

In the first thirty years of Ottoman rule, Aleppo did not undergo significant changes in its urban layout. The Ottoman Sultans made minimal efforts to leave a mark upon their arrival. Apart from the fountain and tower funded by Sultan Suleiman, there were no other notable sultanic projects. In contrast, Damascus boasted two sultanic complexes: the Selim I complex and the Suleiman complex. (Fig.170) This disparity can be attributed to Damascus' well-established religious significance as the starting point for pilgrimage caravans and its historical status as an ancient capital of Islam.

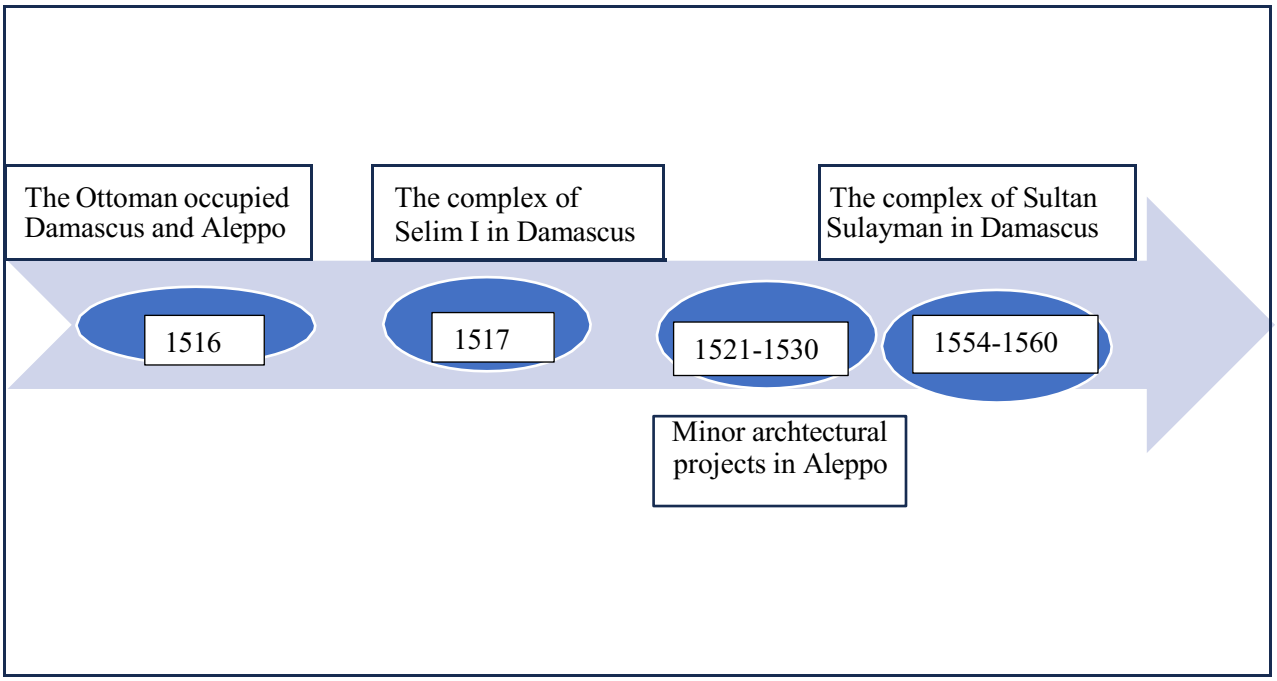

Figure 170 Ottoman Sultanic Projects in Aleppo and Damascus (1516-1560) (by the author)

The true Ottomanization of Aleppo was driven by high-ranking Ottoman officials who shaped the city during the sixteenth century. In an effort to Ottomanize the city center, monumental buildings of Ottoman governors were concentrated in the historic central commercial district, creating a monumental axis. In contrast to Damascus, where the commercial center was clearly centered around the Umayyad Mosque, considered the city's main mosque, Aleppo's religious complexes were situated outside the city walls in the western part.

The first Ottoman-styled Mosque in Aleppo *(al-Khusruwiyya* Mosque*)*, which was built thirty years after the occupation of Aleppo in 1546. It became the leading model for subsequent projects, especially because its layout was developed in the imperial workshop in Istanbul by the architect

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Sinan. In contrast, the Ottoman sultans initiated the architectural trend in Damascus, with Sultan Suleiman's complex serving as a model for future complexes.

It's noteworthy that the T-shaped plan adopted in Aleppo's mosques (such as *al-Khusruwiyya* and *al-Bahramiyya* Mosques) due to regional influences from Diyarbakir, did not appear in Damascus. The architectural elements in Aleppine mosques were similar to those in Damascus, such as the portico preceding the prayer hall, pencil-shaped minarets, hemispherical domes, and flying buttresses, all influenced by Ottoman styles. (Fig. 171)

Artistic elements are also shared between the two cities, such as the *ablaq* facades of the prayer halls, which reflect local Mamluk influences. However, Iznik tiles used in *al-ʿĀdiliyya and al-Bahramiyya* Mosques, supposedly imported from Iznik, were never used in Damascus.

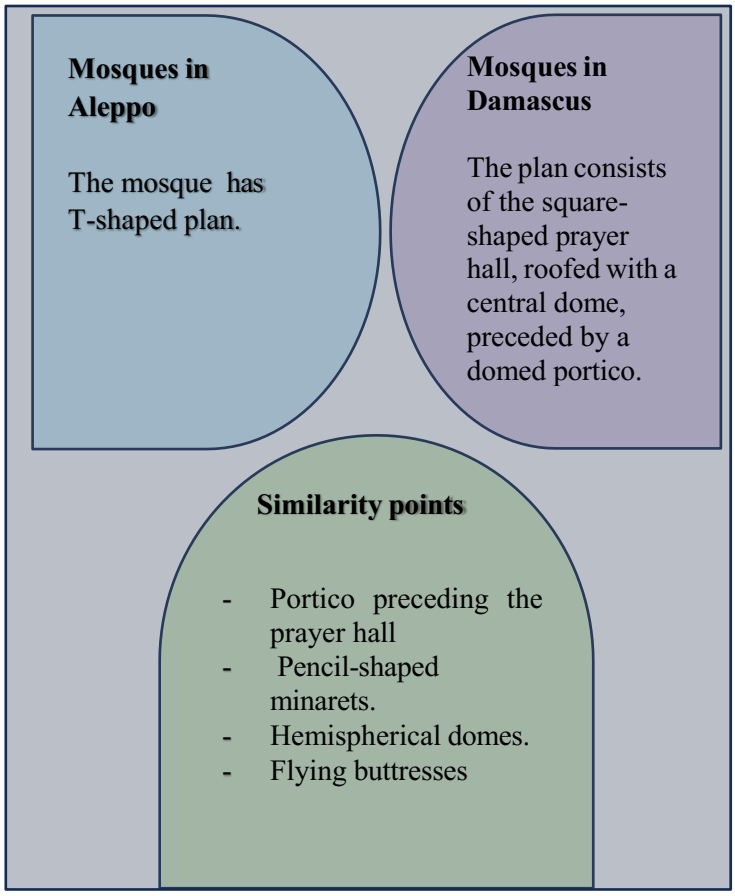

Figure 171 Comparison between the Ottoman Mosques in Damascus and Aleppo (by the author)

The commercial importance of Aleppo is reflected in the architectural plan and artistic style of the Aleppine *khans*. These *khans* are characterized by elaborate, luxurious facades designed to

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showcase the prestige of their owners. Moreover, the cruciform-shaped domed hall above the entrance, which served as residence for high-ranking members and officials, indicates that Aleppine *khans* were multifunctional. In addition to their commercial function, they also accommodated European merchants and their staff.

Furthermore, the involvement of architect Sinan in supervising *al-Jumruk Khan*, one of the commercial buildings in Aleppo, underscores the significant role of commercial architecture in the city. While the Damascene *khans* are characterized by different styles and features, as detailed in the third chapter, it is noted that the cruciform-shaped hall above the entrance is absent. Moreover, they have simple facades in contrast to the Aleppine ones. (Fig.172) Regarding artistic influences, the Ottomans repurposed local Mamluk traditions in a new Ottoman format in the Aleppine *khans*. The decorative elements inherited from the Mamluk period were utilized in the facades of the Ottoman *khans*. However, unlike the Mamluks who used these elements in military constructions, the Ottomans employed them to adorn commercial structures in Aleppo.

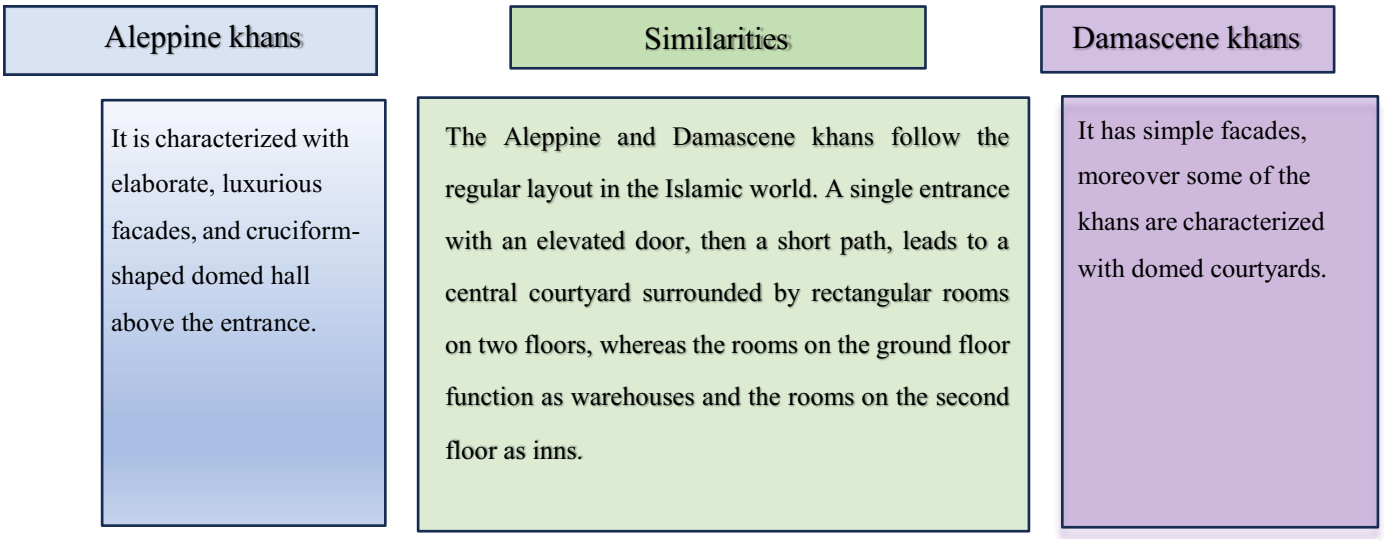

Figure 172 Comparison between Damascene and Aleppine khan (by the author)

Similar to the *hammams* in Damascus, the layout of the Aleppine *hammam* did not undergo any radical changes from the common Islamic layout of *hammams*, consisting of three bathing spaces. The hot room was the most important and largest room in the bath, following the Ottoman layout. (Fig. 173) It is known that *hammams* did not play an important role in shaping the urban image of the two cities.

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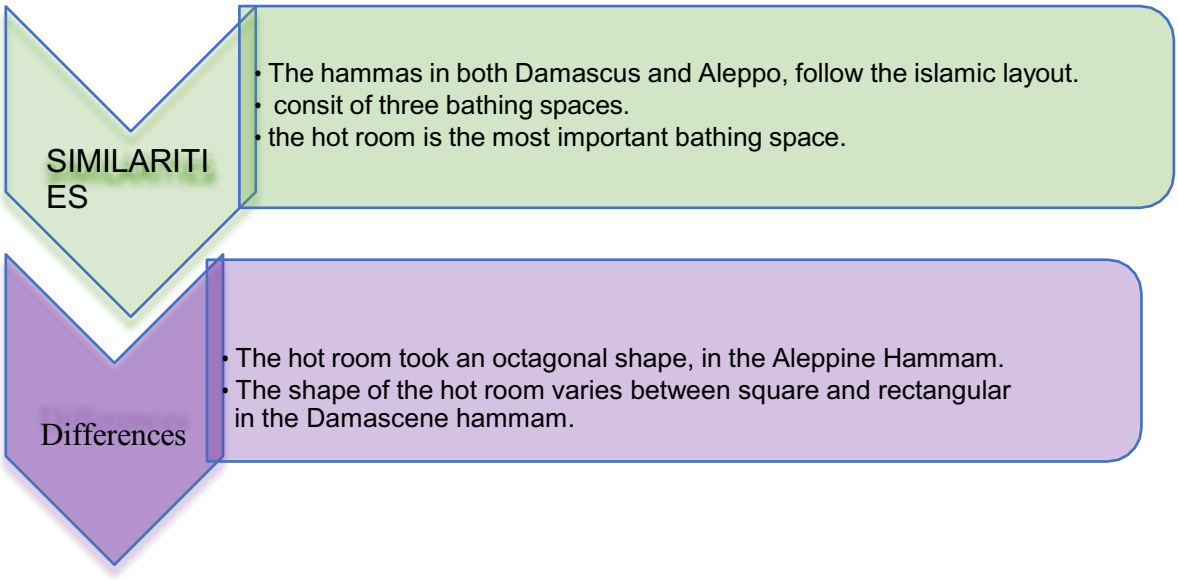

Figure 173 Comparison between Damascene and Aleppine khans (by the author)

In terms of residential architecture in Aleppo during the Ottoman period, Aleppine houses followed the traditional layout of Syrian houses, but they were characterized by the presence of the T-shaped hall *(qāʿa)* with a domed antechamber, which had not appeared in Damascene houses before.

To conclude, the differences between Damascus and Aleppo can be interpreted as a result of the geographical location of the two cities. Aleppo's proximity to the Anatolian peninsula in its northern part facilitated the spread of regional influences and a constant and rapid circulation of ideas, and possibly architects, between the two regions, especially from Diyarbakir. Moreover, the different roles of the two cities, Damascus being renowned as a religious city encouraged the sultans to sponsor religious complexes specifically in Damascus. While Aleppo was known for its commercial role, this highlights the significant role of the Aleppine *khans* in the urban development of the city.

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7. CHAPTER VII

Conclusions and Remarks

Following the entry of the Ottomans, Damascus and Aleppo underwent administrative and legal

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changes that necessitated the integration of the former Mamluk system with the new imperial Ottoman one. Additionally, a deliberate cultural appropriation occurred through the reorganization of the urban plans of both cities and the adoption of a new imperial architectural style. The Ottoman authority utilized architecture to effect cultural transformation, establishing a network of authority that showcased power and control, with a primary objective being the propagation of the Ottoman image to vassal nations.

The process of Ottomanization was gradual. During the early years of the Ottoman Empire, local architectural traditions were preserved, and Ottoman architectural patterns were not immediately adopted. On the other hand, Ottomanization during this period involved repurposing key sites and modifying existing structures. For example, Selim I rebuilt the tomb of *Sūfī Shaykh* ibn ʿArabī and constructed his mosque nearby. This action bolstered the new ruler's Islamic authority without altering or damaging any of the city's established religious monuments. Another example is in Aleppo, where the Ottoman authority repurposed *Dār al-ʿAdil* as a seat of government in an effort to integrate Ottoman influences into the city's historical narrative.

This does not, however, negate the fact that in their early reign, the Ottomans destroyed earlier Mamluk structures and repurposed their materials for new constructions. For example, the Ottoman complex of Ahmad Shamsi Pasha replaced *Dār al-Saʿāda*, the former Mamluk governor palace, after dismantling it and recycling its materials for the construction of the Selim I complex.

Local dignitaries initially introduced Ottoman architectural ideas to the city, possibly as a gesture of support for the newly imposed rulers. Through the *al-Ṣamādiyya* Mosque, Damascus made its initial attempt to incorporate Ottoman design. Subsequently, the Ottoman sultanate began adopting the imperial model in Damascus with the *al-Suleimaniyya* complex, the first Ottoman-style building financed by an Ottoman sultan. This complex replaced the Mamluk *Qaṣr al-ʿAblaq*, which belonged to Baybars. The *al-Suleimaniyya* complex set a standard for subsequent constructions and marked the beginning of a construction phase that would extend through the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, aside from Suleiman’s two constructions(the tower and *Qastal al Sulṭān*), the Ottoman sultans in Aleppo did not undertake any significant construction projects.

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In the decades that followed, significant local construction activities were supported by the Ottoman authorities in Aleppo and Damascus. This building movement in the two cities altered their urban layouts and was a crucial step in the Ottomanization process. In Damascus, mosques were constructed along the pilgrimage route, creating a monumental region along the city's primary ceremonial axis that connected it to the pilgrimage route. To the southwest of the Umayyad Mosque, a new commercial area was formed with a majority of the commercial structures.

In Aleppo, under strong Ottoman influence, patrons concentrated their building efforts on the major market area, constructing a magnificent corridor along the roadway that ran from the west foot of the citadel to the Antioch Gate and its surrounding area.

In contrast to the sixteenth century, which was regarded as a golden age of rapid advancement and power that allowed the Ottoman sultanate to establish and enforce the classical style on the occupied vassals, the seventeenth century saw political and cultural decline in the Ottoman Empire. However, as Istanbul grappled with the empire's troubles, state-sponsored initiatives were not sustained, and the Ottomanization process slowed down as a result. After completing the annual pilgrimage trip, Syria quickly fell lower on the list of priorities due to tribal upheavals and urgent issues in Europe. Consequently, construction activity significantly diminished.

In Damascus, development in the eighteenth century was largely funded by the local ruling family *(al-ʿAẓim)*. The region southwest of the Umayyad Mosque was expanded to create a multifunctional city center, where commercial buildings and *madaris* were constructed. There were no new mosques built during this period, with the exception of the *Fatḥī al-Flāqinsī* Mosque in the *al-Qaymarīyya* area. (Fig.174)

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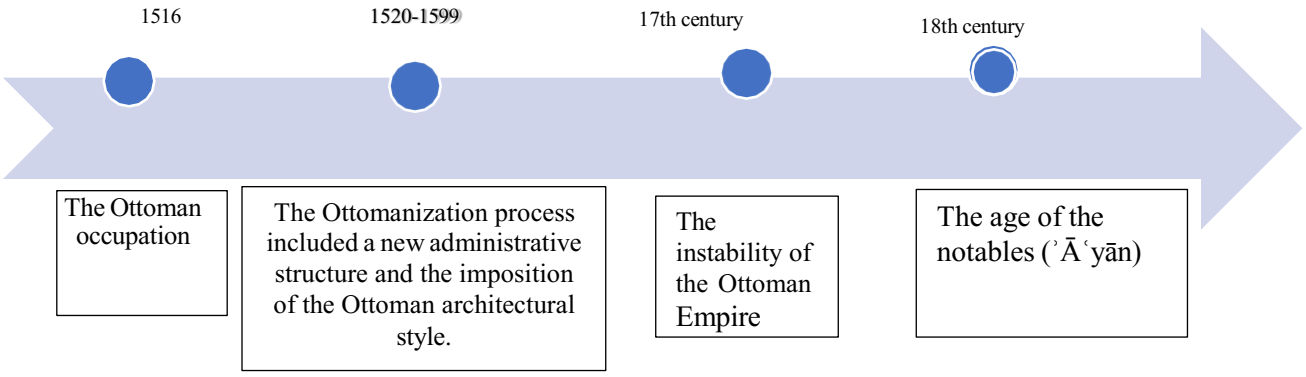

Figure 174 The timeline of the ottomanization in Damascus (by the author)

It could be argued that the congregational mosques represent the most evident effects of Ottomanization, leaving a lasting mark on the cityscape that proclaimed imperial strength. These massive structures dominated the skyline, defining the city's architectural landscape. With centralized ground layouts, hemispherical domes, and cylindrical minarets adhering to the rules of imperial architectural style, they marked a significant departure from traditional mosque design in the city. Furthermore, they incorporated elements of local building practices, particularly in their ornamentation. (Fig.175)

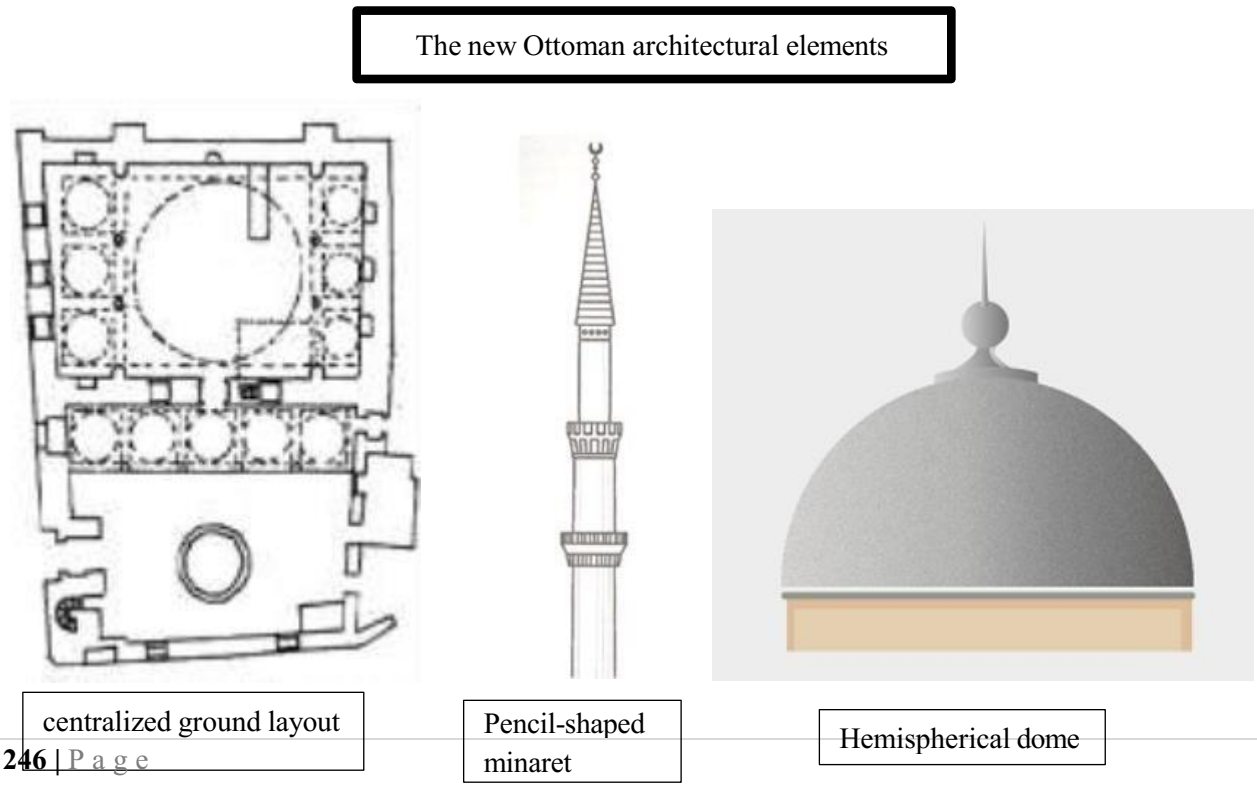

Figure 175 The new architectural elements in the Damascene mosques (by the author)

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Regarding the commercial buildings, there was a distinct difference between Damascus and Aleppo. In Damascus, the merging of local and Ottoman styles resulted in a unique type of commercial building, exemplified by the domed courtyard *khan*, which were exclusive to Damascus. In contrast, the commercial buildings in Aleppo were characterized by different elements that reflected its significant commercial position. These included the cross-shaped room above the entrance and the elaborately decorated facades of the Aleppine *khans*. (Fig.176)

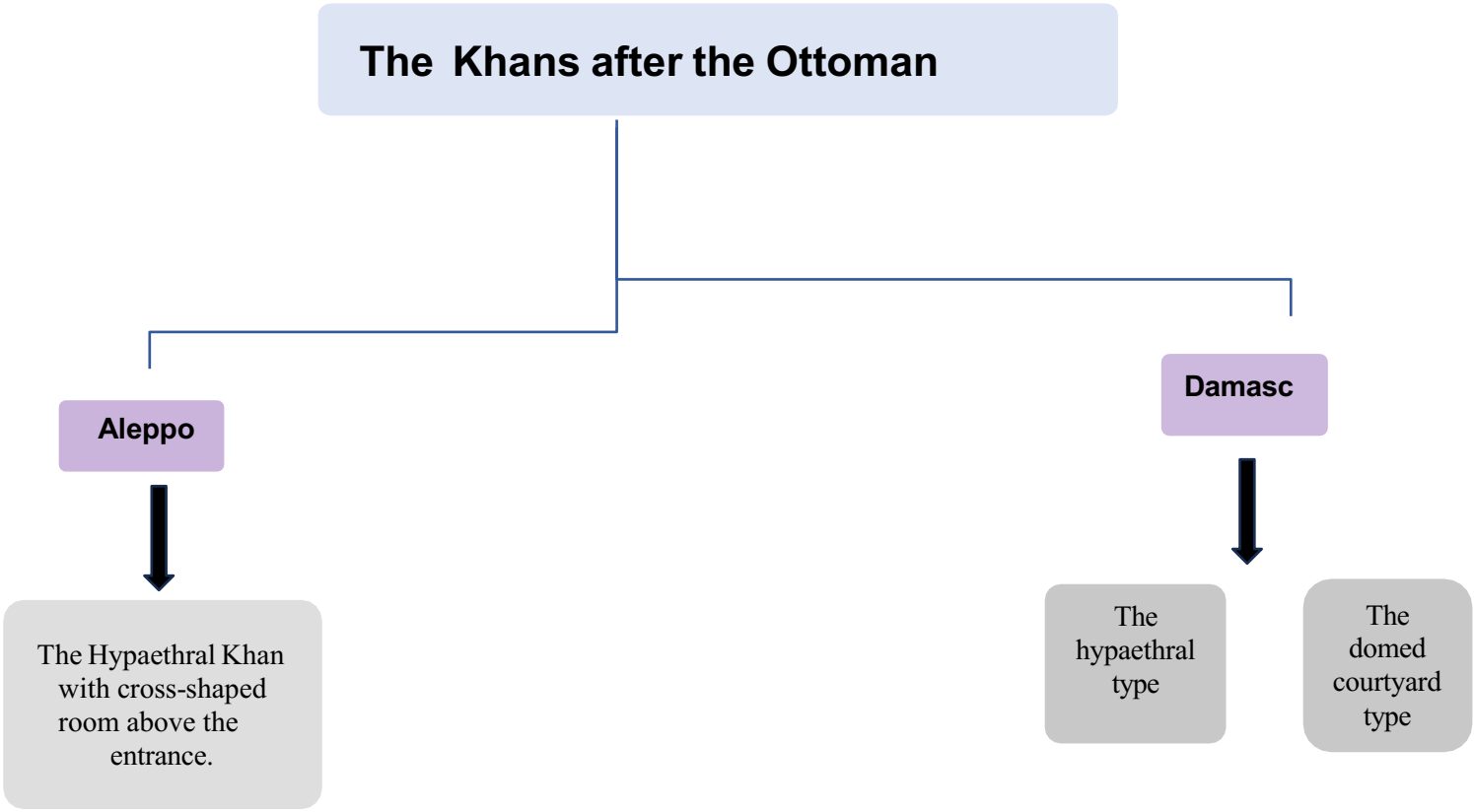

Figure 176 The khans after Ottoman occupation in Damascus and Aleppo (by the author)

On the other hand, in Damascus and Aleppo, with a few minor exceptions, the *hammam* maintained its traditional functions and purposes. (Fig.177) Additionally, the residential structures continued to reflect the enduring relevance of regional aesthetic traditions, with the Ottoman government not imposing any specific style on house architecture. (Fig.178)

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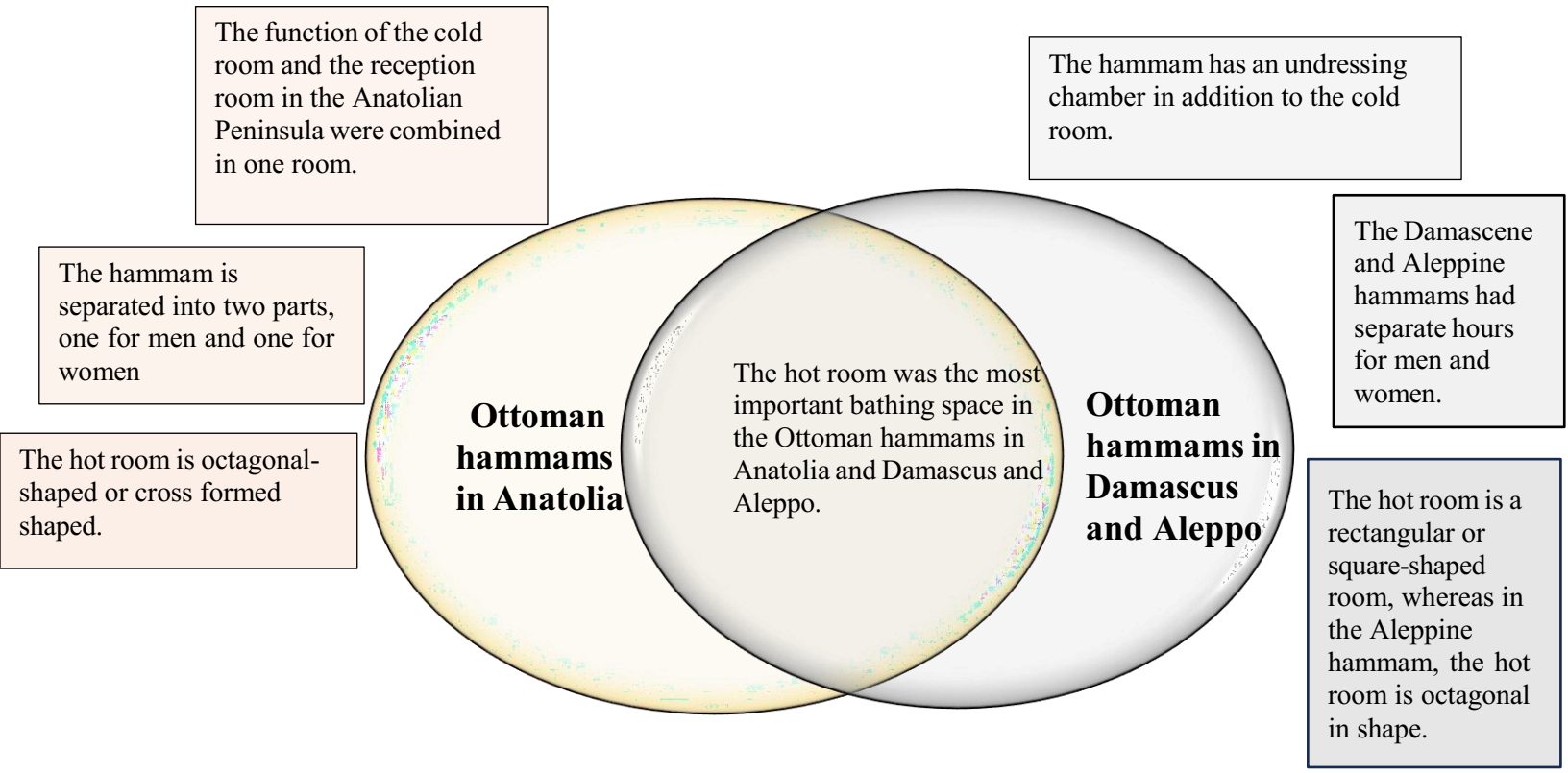

Figure 177 Comparison between Ottoman hammams in Anatolia, Damascus and Aleppo (by the author)

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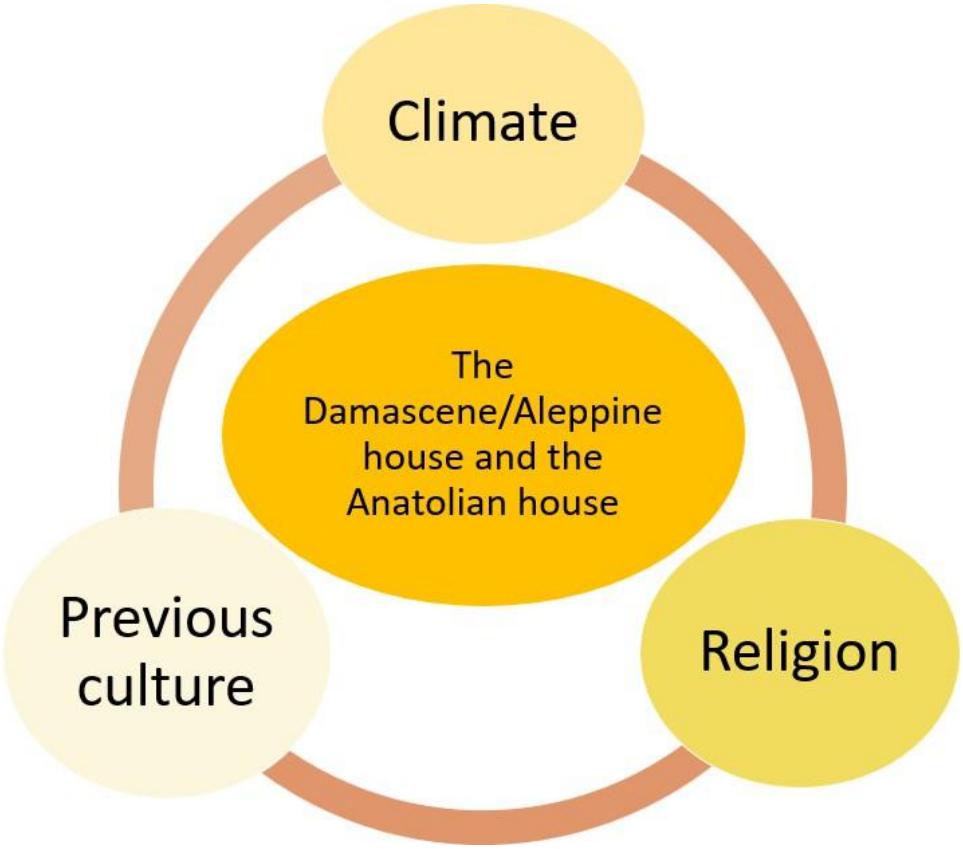

Figure 178 Factors Influencing Residential Architecture in Anatolia, Damascus, and Aleppo (by the author)

Finally, it is worth mentioning that despite the efforts of the Ottoman sultanate to impose the imperial style through Ottomanization, the form of public buildings sponsored by Ottoman officials was not always in the Ottoman style. The reasons for the differences between the architectural styles in Istanbul and the Ottoman provinces could be listed as follows:

- The architectural plans provided by the imperial architectural office for provincial projects were limited to ground plans, allowing for the creation of a unique style in decoration and elevation features.
- The position of the sponsor in the Ottoman hierarchy and the importance of the construction played an important role in the degree of Ottoman architectural influence.
- Local architectural traditions in the area, and the Ottoman government's attitude towards those traditions, determined the degree of interaction between the imperial and local styles. The

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adaptation to and assimilation of Islamic heritage, including architecture, was an essential part of establishing Ottoman rule in the Arab regions.

- Personal tastes and demands: In the early years of Ottoman administration in Damascus and elsewhere, local elites and patrons were determined to identify with the ruling class, making a concerted effort to adopt the new Ottoman style. Moreover, the tastes of Ottoman patrons were influenced by the architectural styles of the areas they had previously ruled

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