

OTTOMAN
CAIRO

OTTOMAN CAIRO

**RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE
FROM SULTAN SELIM
TO NAPOLEON**

Chahinda Karim

With contributions by Menna M. El Mahy

The American University in Cairo Press
Cairo New York

First published in 2021 by
The American University in Cairo Press
113 Sharia Kasr el Aini, Cairo, Egypt
One Rockefeller Plaza, 10th Floor, New York, NY 10020
www.aucpress.com

Copyright © 2021 by Chahinda Karim

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

ISBN 978 1 6490 3084 9

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data applied for

1 2 3 4 5 25 24 23 22 21

Designed by Sally Boylan
Printed in China

Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
Preface	ix
Note to the Reader	xi
List of Illustrations	xiii
Historical Introduction	1
The Origin of the Ottomans and the Architecture of the Beyliks in Anatolia	1
The Ottomans of Egypt	6
Chapter 1: The Bridge from Mamluk to Ottoman in the Early Sixteenth Century	11
The Mosque and Madrasa of Khayrbak (1502–20)	12
The Takiya of Ibrahim al-Kulshani (1519)	18
The Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi (1522)	27
<i>The Role of Sufism at the Beginning of the Ottoman Period</i>	28
The Zawiya and Dome of Shaykh Seoud (1534)	34
The Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati (1537)	35
Chapter 2: Buildings of the Sixteenth Century	43
<i>The Buildings of Suleiman Pasha</i>	43
The Mosque of Suleiman al-Khadim in the Citadel (1528)	43
The Mosque of Suleiman Pasha in Bulaq (1531)	51
The Takiya-Madrasa Suleimaniya (1543)	52
The Mosque of Muhibb al-Din Abu al-Tayyib (early 16th century)	58
The Mausoleum Dome of Prince Suleiman	62
The Mosque of Dawud Pasha (1548)	64
The Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (1567)	67
The Mosque of Sinan Pasha	72

The Mosque of Messih Pasha (1575)	77
The Mosque of Murad Pasha (1578)	79
Chapter 3: Buildings of the Seventeenth Century	87
The Mosque of al-Malika Safiya (1610)	87
The Mosque of al-Burdayni (1616–29)	90
The Mosque of Alti Barmak (1621–22 and 1711)	94
The Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (1625)	97
The Mosque of Taghribirdi (1634)	102
The Mosque of Marzuq al-Ahmadi (1635)	106
The Zawiya of Ridwan Bey (1650)	109
The Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (1655)	110
The Mosque of ‘Abidy Bey (1660)	116
Ribat al-Athar, also known as Athar al-Nabi (1662)	119
The Mosque of Aqsunqur al-Faraqani al-Habashli (1669)	123
The Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza (1698)	127
Chapter 4: Buildings of the Eighteenth Century	133
The work of ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda: The Zawiya (1729)	134
The Mosque of al-Amir ‘Uthman Katkhuda al-Qazdughli (1734)	135
The Mosque of al-Fakahani (1735)	139
The Mosque of al-Shaykh Mutahhar (1744)	143
The Complex of Sultan Mahmud I (1750)	144
The work of ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda: Al-Azhar Mosque (1753)	149
The Mosque of Yusuf Jorbagi (1763)	151
The Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab (1774)	154
The Takiya Refa‘iya (1774)	158
The Mosque of al-Sadat al-Wafa‘iya (1784)	161
Conclusion	167
Annex: Four Ottoman <i>Sabil-Kuttabs</i>	175
An Introduction	175
<i>Sabil</i> of Khusruw Pasha (1535)	180
<i>Sabil</i> of Taghribirdi (1634)	183
<i>Sabil</i> of Sultan Mahmud I (1750)	184
<i>Sabil</i> of Mustafa III (1758)	186
List of Ottoman Governors in Egypt	191
Glossary	195
Abbreviations	197
Notes	199
Bibliography	213
Index	219

Acknowledgments

This book would have never come to light without the encouragement of my students at the American University in Cairo, who kept asking me about a book that offers a comprehensive study on Ottoman architecture in Cairo. Several years ago, when I was preparing a course for graduate students of Islamic Art and Architecture at the American University in Cairo (AUC), I was faced with the fact that there were few secondary sources in English and Arabic available for students to refer to, and most of the pictures in the sources were of poor quality. We were lucky to be in Cairo and were thus able to go and visit as many buildings as possible during the semester. This book finally provides a much-needed comprehensive study for students of Islamic architecture, religious architecture, and medieval architecture in Cairo, as well as for the reader interested in the city of Cairo.

Foremost, my thanks go to Menna M. El Mahy, my former student, teaching assistant, and now my colleague at AUC, who agreed to help me with collecting data, taking pictures, and editing the manuscript. I can say with certainty that without her, I would have probably given up the project some time ago.

My sincere thanks also go to Professors Bernard O’Kane, Ellen Kenney, Leonor Fernandes, and Amira Elbendary, my long-time colleagues at the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations at AUC, and my dear friend and former colleague Doris Behrens-Abouseif for their constant encouragement and readiness to help whenever needed.

Members of a family with close ties that keep them together will always be the wall you can lean on at all times. Thank you may not be enough to express my gratitude to my daughter Soad Mahmoud Saada, who bore with my changing moods; my son Karim Mahmoud Saada who, despite his busy schedule, channeled his love of photography to go out with me to photograph monuments; and to my youngest daughter Laila Mahmoud Saada who, despite being far away, agreed to read and help edit the final version of the manuscript before I submitted it.

A book on Ottoman architecture cannot materialize without the support of the team at the Rare Books Library at the American University in Cairo. Special thanks go to Eman Maher Morgan for her tremendous help in finding sources and maps, and

for her support during the lockdown period of COVID-19.

Finally, I shall always remain grateful to my late parents, Dr. Sayed Karim (architect) and Doreya Loutfi, and to my late husband Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Saada, Vice President of the Academy of Scientific Research,

for their belief that in spite of my very busy schedule over the many years as an adjunct lecturer in Islamic Art and Architecture at AUC, the Faculty of Tourism of Helwan University, and Cairo University, as well as a licensed guide to the history and monuments of Egypt, I would still one day sit down and start writing.

Preface

There is a common conception that portrays Ottoman religious architecture as an apparent decline in taste and craftsmanship when compared to the architecture of their predecessors. Nezar AlSayyad's *Cairo: Histories of a City* mentions that during the late nineteenth century, the architects of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe "operated under the assumption that only Mamluk architecture was truly representative of medieval Cairo. They did not consider the Ottoman architectural legacy to be worthy of preservation, nor did they possess a general, let alone thorough, understanding of Cairo's complex architectural history."¹ This book aims to argue against the existing "cliché" through a survey and analysis of a large number of buildings from the year 1517 to the end of the eighteenth century.

There is a wealth of primary sources on Ottoman religious architecture in Cairo, the most important of which for this study are the *waqf* (plural *awqaf*) documents. These were a source of great interest to the Ottomans when they entered Cairo. *Waqfs* secured a source of income for religious institutions that played an important role in Mamluk Egypt. Revenues from

real estate, land or a commercial structure were thus legally bound to finance the administration and upkeep of the religious institutions. These endowments were either *khayri* (pious) or *ahli* (to secure private property within a family) as dictated by the founder. A *waqf* allowed the founder to provide an income for his family and descendants and was a means to keep an estate intact rather than broken up into small parts because of the rule of succession. During the Mamluk period, the revenue-producing estate or land was usually in the same area as the pious institution, which helped the urbanization of the center of the city.² The prestige of a foundation was tied to the size and number of the properties in its endowment. Large urban *waqfs* sometimes became real urban projects, and could lead to the remodeling of a quarter.³

These *waqf* documents can be found in the Citadel Archives of the Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiya (Dar al-Watha'iq) and the archives of the Ministry of Religious Endowments (also known as the Ministry of Awqaf). A list of the *waqf* documents was published by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo (16th*

of the 17th Centuries) and in Muhammad Hamza Isma‘il al-Haddad’s *Mawsu‘at al-‘imara al-islamiya fi Misr: min al-fath al-‘uthmani ila nihayat ‘abd Muhammad ‘Ali, 923–1265 AH/1517–1848 CE*, while many extracts of waqf deeds have been published in Muhammad Abu al-‘Amayim’s *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi al-‘asr al-‘uthmani*.

Waqf documents are a great help to researchers when describing a building at the time of its foundation and comparing it with its present state of preservation. I depended very much on the readings of several endowment deeds in the above-mentioned books, which proved to be a great help in trying to visualize the changes that occurred in a building over time. One can add here the collection of microfilms housed at the Arab League and the Egyptian Ministry of Culture (al-Majlis al-A‘la lil-Thaqafa).

Primary sources that proved very helpful in this study were Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Iyas al-Hanafi’s *Bada’i‘ al-zuhur fi waqa’i‘ al-duhur*, al-Bakri’s *Kashf al-Korba fi Raf‘ al-Talaba*,⁴ Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti’s *Aja‘ib al-athar fi al-tarajim wa-l-akhbar*, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman Sakhawi’s *al-Daw’ al-lami‘ li-ahl al-qarn al-tasi‘*, Shihab al-Din Abu al-‘Abbas Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ibn Ahmad ‘Abdallah al-Qalqashandi’s *Subh al-a’sha fi sina‘at al-insha’*, Jalal al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Suyuti’s *Husn al-muhadara fi akhbar Misr wa-l-Qahira*, and finally ‘Ali Pasha Mubarak’s *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiya al-jadida li-Misr al-Qahira wa-muduniha wa-biladiha al-qadima wa-shahira*, the first six volumes of which are on Cairo.

The early works of Hautecoeur and Wiet, titled *Les mosquées du Caire* and the article by John Alden Williams, “The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo,” were the only written sources until recent times, and their importance cannot be underestimated because they formed the basis for many later works. The many publications by André Raymond proved to be of primary importance and very useful. Sources on Sufi architecture in Egypt during the Ottoman period include the article by Leonor Fernandes, “Some Aspects of the Zawiya in Egypt at the Eve of the Ottoman Conquest,” in *Annales Islamologiques* 19, and her joint article with

Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “Sufi Architecture in Early Ottoman Cairo,” in *Annales Islamologiques* 20, and Behrens-Abouseif’s article on the Takiya of Ibrahim al-Kulshani in *Muqarnas* V (1988).

Unfortunately, Arabic, English, and French secondary sources available to students, scholars, and interested readers are not many. An introduction to Ottoman sources about Egypt has been dealt with by Nelly Hanna in her *Ottoman Egypt and the Emergence of the Modern World: 1500–1800*. Several books and articles also proved to be very helpful, the earliest of which is Hasan ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya allati salla fiha faridat al-jum‘a sahib al-jalala* and his article in *Majallat al-‘imara*, “al-Ta‘thirat al-‘uthmaniya ‘ala al-‘imara al-islamiya fi Misr.” In addition, the volumes by Su‘ad Mahir, *Masajid Misr wa awliya’uha al-salihun*, and Ülkü Bates’s study on the Ottoman architecture of Egypt were very helpful.

More specialized studies tended to focus on a certain patron, namely *Dirasat fi wath‘iq Dawud Basha wali Misr* by Amal ‘Amri and Tarek Swelim’s article on the Mosque of Sinan Pasha, as well as Ahmed El-Masry’s thesis on the buildings of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim. Several books and articles analyze the decorative style of Ottoman architecture in Cairo, including Muhammad Marzuq’s *al-Funun al-zukhrufiyya al-islamiya fi al-‘asr al-‘uthmani* and Behrens-Abouseif’s article “The ‘Abdel Rahman Katkhuda Style in 18th Century Cairo” in *Annales Islamologiques*. The two volumes by Muhammad Ahmad ‘Abd al-Latif on Ottoman minarets, *Mawsu‘at al-ma‘adhin al-‘uthmaniya* were of great help. The book by Mahmud al-Husayni, *al-Asbila al-‘uthmaniya bi-madinat al-Qahira*, is a comprehensive study on public water fountains built in Cairo during Ottoman rule that proved to be one of the important sources referred to in this book’s annex: Four Ottoman *Sabil-Kuttabs*. Publications that focus on certain districts include Hanna’s article in *Annales Islamologiques* on the district of Bulaq in Cairo, and Behrens-Abouseif’s article on al-Azbakiya.

Finally, several unpublished master’s and PhD theses from AUC and other universities contributed to the writing of this study.

Note to Reader

It is impossible to attempt to deal with all the buildings erected by the Ottomans in Cairo during their reign. Therefore, it was necessary to decide to concentrate either on a specific century or on a specific type of building over an extended longer period of time. The choice made here was to limit the discussions to one type of building, namely religious ones, where prayers and religious teachings took place. This includes mosques, *zawiyas* and *takiyas*. *Sabil-kuttabs* and mausoleums are included only when attached to religious buildings, for two reasons: the first is the large number of freestanding *sabil-kuttabs* that still stand in Cairo, and the second is that these,

as well as mausoleums, fall under the category of pious institutions, but in most cases no prayers or official teachings took place in them. An annex with the discussion of four *sabil-kuttabs* written by Menna M. El Mahy is included at the end of this book. The decision to conclude this book at the end of the eighteenth century, before Muhammad 'Ali's rule, was also based on two reasons: the first is that the change in the political structure of the ruling dynasty led to a different architectural style, and the second is that the dynasty founded by Muhammad 'Ali, which ended with the deposal of King Faruq in 1952, deserves a complete study in itself.

Illustrations

Unless otherwise indicated, photographs without attributions are by Menna M. El Mahy.

Integrated Images

Introduction

- I.1. Mosque of Yıldırım Bayezid in Mudurnu (plan after Archnet).
- I.2. Mosque of Murad I in Bursa (plan after Archnet).
- I.3. Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne (plan after Archnet).

Chapter 1: The Bridge from Mamluk to Ottoman

- 1.1. The façade and mausoleum of Khayrbak.
- 1.2. The entrance of the Mosque and Madrasa of Khayrbak.
- 1.3. The recess in the vestibule, opposite the entrance of the Mosque and Madrasa of Khayrbak. Inscription from Qur'an 2:25.
- 1.4. The plan of the Madrasa and Mausoleum of Khayrbak (plan after Archnet).
- 1.5. The *dikka* of the Mosque and Madrasa of Khayrbak.
- 1.6. The inner window openings do not correspond to the outer ones so that openings run obliquely through the thickness of the wall inside the Mausoleum of Khayrbak.
- 1.7. The square area between the mausoleum and the outer window with its Qur'anic inscription and shallow dome.
- 1.8. The interior of the dome of the Mausoleum of Khayrbak with its large stone stalactite pendentives.
- 1.9. The interior of the Mausoleum of Khayrbak.
- 1.10. The plan of the Takiya of Ibrahim al-Kulshani (after Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Takiyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani in Cairo," 46).
- 1.11. The *mihrab* of the mosque of Takiya al-Kulshani (courtesy of the World Monuments Fund website).
- 1.12. The entrance to the platform of the Takiya of al-Kulshani from the vestibule.
- 1.13. A detail of the calligraphy on one of the walls of the cells naming the building a *khanqah*.

- 1.14. Plans of the Takiya of al-Kulshani showing nonextant structures (plan after the Comité).
- 1.15. An archive photograph by Louis Hautecoeur showing the nonextant structure on the right of the mausoleum dome of al-Kulshani (after Louis Hautecoeur and Gaston Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*).
- 1.16. The inscription bands adorning the interior of the mausoleum dome of the Takiya of al-Kulshani.
- 1.17. The northwestern façade of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi.
- 1.18. The plan of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi (plan after the Comité).
- 1.19. An archive photograph by Creswell of the entrance of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 1.20. The marble slab with the foundation inscription of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi.
- 1.21. The southwestern façade of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi.
- 1.22. An archive photograph by Creswell of the interior of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 1.23. An archival photograph of the southwestern façade of the Zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi and its rear behind the *qibla* wall where it had a vaulted kitchen and *khilwas* (after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 15).
- 1.24. The plan of the dome of the Zawiya of Shaykh Seoud (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 40).
- 1.25. The Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati built on the Muqattam Hills (after Archnet).
- 1.26. A plan of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati (plan by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 1.27. The surviving structures of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati.
- 1.28. A plan of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati showing the cells below the level of the mosque (plan by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 1.29. The *mihrab* of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati.
- 1.30. The minaret of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati.
- 1.31. A detail of the green tiles found on the top of the minaret of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati.
- 1.32. The entrance of the Mosque of Shahin al-Khalwati.
- 1.33. The mausoleum dome of Shahin al-Khalwati.

Chapter 2: Buildings of the Sixteenth Century

- 2.1. The façade of the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim in the Citadel (courtesy of Jehan Reda).
- 2.2. The plan of the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim (after Archnet).
- 2.3. The *qibla* iwan of the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).
- 2.4. The minbar and higher side iwan in the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).
- 2.5. The *dikka* of the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).
- 2.6. The entrance to the domed prayer area from the courtyard (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).
- 2.7. The portico of the courtyard of the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).
- 2.8. The courtyard of the Mosque of Suleiman al-Khadim, which shows the domed shrine of Abu Mansur ibn Qasta (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).
- 2.9. The interior of the domed shrine of Abu Mansur ibn Qasta with the headdress-decorated tombstones (courtesy of Getty Images).
- 2.10. The plan of the Mosque of Suleiman al-Khadim in Bulaq (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 58).
- 2.11. The foundation inscription of the Takiya-Madrasa Suleimaniya.
- 2.12. The plan of the Takiya-Madrasa Suleimaniya (by the author).

- 2.13. The entrance of the Takiya-Madrassa Suleimaniya and the Mosque of Sultan Qaytbay in Qal'at al-Kabsh.
- 2.14. The vaulted corridor leading to the courtyard of the Takiya-Madrassa Suleimaniya.
- 2.15. The courtyard of the Takiya-Madrassa Suleimaniya.
- 2.16. The *mihrab* of the Takiya-Madrassa Suleimaniya.
- 2.17. The plan of the Mosque of Muhibb al-Din Abu al-Tayyib (after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 19).
- 2.18. The façade of the Mosque of Muhibb al-Din Abu al-Tayyib (by Karim Saada).
- 2.19. The rear façade of the mausoleum of Prince Suleiman (after Archnet).
- 2.20. The interior of the Mosque of Muhibb al-Din Abu al-Tayyib (by Karim Saada).
- 2.21. The foundation inscription of the Mosque of Dawud Pasha.
- 2.22. The façade of the Mosque of Dawud Pasha.
- 2.23. The main entrance of the Mosque of Dawud Pasha.
- 2.24. The plan of the Mosque of Dawud Pasha (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 67).
- 2.25. An archive photograph showing the interior of the Mosque of Dawud Pasha (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan's online compilation of photographs, plans, and elevations of Cairene Islamic Monuments, *al-Athar al-islamiya fi-l-Qahira wa-l-muhafazat al-ukhra*).
- 2.26. The main façade of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha.
- 2.27. The nonextant *sabil* of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (drawing after *Description de l'Égypte* Vol. I, pl. 67, courtesy of the World Digital Library Online Art Collection).
- 2.28. An archive photograph by Francis Frith from the Citadel in Salah al-Din Square (courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum online art collection).
- 2.29. The minaret of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha.
- 2.30. The plan of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (after Max Herz Pasha).
- 2.31. The interior of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (after Archnet).
- 2.32. The lantern of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (after Archnet).
- 2.33. An archive photograph by Creswell of the *dikka* of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 2.34. A drawing of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha (after *Description de l'Égypte*, Vol I. pl. 25, courtesy of the World Digital Library Online Art Collection).
- 2.35. The plan of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha (after Archnet).
- 2.36. An aerial view of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha (after Archnet).
- 2.37. Archive photographs of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 2.38. The entrance opposite the *mihrab* of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha.
- 2.39. The minaret of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha (drawing from *Description de l'Égypte*, Vol. I, pl. 25, courtesy of the World Digital Library Online Art Collection).
- 2.40. The plan of the Mosque of Messih Pasha (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 2.41. The *dikka* of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha.
- 2.42. The façade of Mesih Pasha Mosque.
- 2.43. The interior of the Mosque of Messih Pasha.
- 2.44. An archive photograph by Creswell of the interior of the Mosque of Messih Pasha (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 2.45. An archive photograph of the façade of the Mosque of Murad Pasha in Cairo (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 2.46. The main entrance of the Mosque of Murad Pasha.
- 2.47. The interior of the Mosque of Murad Pasha.
- 2.48. The original marble mosaic floor of the central corridor of the Mosque of Murad Pasha (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 2.49. The plan of the Mosque of Murad Pasha (plan courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).

Chapter 3: Buildings of the Seventeenth Century

- 3.1. The only surviving gate that led to the Mosque of al-Malika Safiya.
- 3.2. An elevation drawing of the Mosque of al-Malika Safiya (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 3.3. The plan of the Mosque of al-Malika Safiya (after Archnet).
- 3.4. An archive photograph by Creswell of the entrance of the domed prayer area of the Mosque of al-Malika Safiya (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 3.5. The interior of the Mosque of al-Malika Safiya.
- 3.6. An archive photograph by Creswell of the *dikka* of the Mosque of al-Malika Safiya (courtesy of the V&A online art collection).
- 3.7. The southwestern façade of the Mosque of al-Burdayni (after Archnet).
- 3.8. The entrance of the Mosque of al-Burdayni.
- 3.9. A detail of the inscription on the minaret of the Mosque of al-Burdayni.
- 3.10. The plan of the Mosque of al-Burdayni (plan after Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *L’Art Arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe*).
- 3.11. The elevation of the Mosque of Alti Barmak (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 3.12. The mausoleum dome and minaret of the Mosque of Alti Barmak (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.13. The plan of the Mosque of Alti Barmak (plan after Abu al-‘Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-‘asr al-‘uthmani*, 155).
- 3.14. The main façade of the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (by Karim Saada).
- 3.15. The northeastern façade of the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (by Karim Saada).
- 3.16. The western façade of the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (by Karim Saada).
- 3.17. The plan of the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (plan by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 3.18. The *durqa’a*, iwans, and *sidillas* of the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (by Karim Saada).
- 3.19. The *qibla* iwan of the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin (by Karim Saada).
- 3.20. The roundel with “Muhammad” and “‘Alī” found in the northeastern *sidilla* in the Mosque of Yusuf Agha al-Hin.
- 3.21. The southwestern façade of the Mosque of Taghribirdi (by Karim Saada).
- 3.22. The entrance of the Mosque of Taghribirdi.
- 3.23. The plan of the Mosque of Taghribirdi (plan after Abu al-‘Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-‘asr al-‘uthmani*, 169).
- 3.24. The *qibla* wall of the Mosque of Taghribirdi.
- 3.25. The elevation of the Mosque of Marzuq al-Ahmadi (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 3.26. The *mihrab* of the Mosque of Marzuq al-Ahmadi (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.27. The plan of the Zawiya of Radwan Bey (plan after Abu al-‘Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-‘asr al-‘uthmani*, 195).
- 3.28. The interior of the Zawiya of Radwan Bey.
- 3.29. The arched gateway and the vestibule of the Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (by Karim Saada).
- 3.30. The foundation panel of the Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (by Karim Saada).
- 3.31. The façade of the Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.32. A closeup on the dome of the mausoleum of the Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.33. The green painted tombstone attributed to be the original tomb of ‘Amr ibn al-‘As.
- 3.34. The plan of the Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (plan after Abu al-‘Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-‘asr al-‘uthmani*, 199).
- 3.35. The interior of the Mosque of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (by Karim Saada).
- 3.36. The entrance to the mausoleum of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (by Karim Saada).
- 3.37. The dome of the mausoleum of ‘Uqba ibn ‘Amir (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.38. The western façade of the Mosque of Sidi Ruwaysh (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).

- 3.39. The plan of the Mosque of Sidi Ruwaysh (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 202).
- 3.40. The interior of the Mosque of Sidi Ruwaysh.
- 3.41. An exterior view of the Mosque of Athar al-Nabi (by Karim Saada).
- 3.42. The plan of the Mosque of Athar al-Nabi (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 211).
- 3.43. The two octagonal columns that contain *thuluth* script in the Mosque of Athar al-Nabi (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.44. The *mihrab* and recess in the mausoleum of the Mosque of Athar al-Nabi (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.45. The boat that was hanging from the dome of the Mosque of Athar al-Nabi (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.46. The elevation of the Mosque of Aqsunqur al-Faraqani al-Habashli (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 3.47. The plan of the Mosque of Aqsunqur al-Faraqani al-Habashli (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 222).
- 3.48. The interior of the Mosque of Aqsunqur al-Faraqani al-Habashli.
- 3.49. The marble with impost blocks in the side iwan.
- 3.50. The northwestern façade of the Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza.
- 3.51. The entrance of the Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza.
- 3.52. The plan of the Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 256).
- 3.53. The rear of the minbar of the Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza.
- 4.2. The plan of the Zawiya of 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 289).
- 4.3. The northeastern façade of Kikhya Mosque.
- 4.4. An archive photograph showing the building that blocked the main façade of Kikhya Mosque.
- 4.5. The different plans of Kikhya Mosque (by al-Haddad, *Mawsu'at al-'imara*, 644 and The Ministry of Information).
- 4.6. The interior of Kikhya Mosque.
- 4.7. The elevation of the Mosque of al-Fakahani (by The Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.8. The main entrance and *maqsurah* of the Mosque of al-Fakahani.
- 4.9. The side entrance of the Mosque of al-Fakahani.
- 4.10. The plan of the Mosque of al-Fakahani (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.11. The façade of the Mosque of al-Shaykh Mutahhar.
- 4.12. A detail of the signature of 'Ali Shaltut in the semidome of the portal of the Mosque of al-Shaykh Mutahhar.
- 4.13. The plan of the Mosque of al-Shaykh Mutahhar (plan after Abu al-'Amayim, *Athar al-Qahira al-islamiya fi-l-'asr al-'uthmani*, 293).
- 4.14. The façade of the Takiya and Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 4.15. The main entrance to the Takiya and Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I (courtesy of Historic Cairo Online photographs).
- 4.16. The entrances to the *sabil* and *kuttab* of the Takiya and Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I.
- 4.17. The plan of the Takiya and Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 4.18. The plan of the Mosque of al-Azhar (after Archnet).
- 4.19. A drawing of Bab al-Muzayyinin (the Barbers' Gate) by Émile Prisse d'Avennes (Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*).
- 4.20. The minarets of the Mosque of al-Azhar (courtesy of the Historic Cairo online photographs).
- 4.21. An archive photograph of Bab al-Sa'ayida in al-Azhar Mosque (after Ibrahim Ramadan).

Chapter 4: Buildings of the Eighteenth Century

- 4.1. A drawing by Émile Prisse d'Avennes of the Zawiya of 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda in al-Mugharbalin Street (after Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*).

- 4.22. An archive photograph of the courtyard inside Bab al-Sa'ayida in al-Azhar Mosque (after Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 4.23. Bab al-Shurba and shops found behind the *qibla* wall of al-Azhar Mosque (courtesy of Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation).
- 4.24. A detail of Bab al-Shurba of al-Azhar Mosque (courtesy of Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation).
- 4.25. The elevation of the Shawazliya Mosque (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.26. The southern elevation of the Mosque of Yusuf Jorbagi (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.27. The carvings on the façade of the Mosque of Yusuf Jorbagi (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.28. The plan of the Mosque of Yusuf Jorbagi (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.29. The façade of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 4.30. The plan of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab (by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.31. The main and side entrances of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab.
- 4.32. The shallow dome above the mausoleum of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab.
- 4.33. The three entrances to the prayer area of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab.
- 4.34. The *mihrab* and minbar of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab.
- 4.35. A detail of a drawing by Émile Prisse d'Avennes of al-Azhar Mosque showing the full bulbs that topped the minaret of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab and their state nowadays (after Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*).
- 4.36. The northern façade of the Takiya Refa'iya.
- 4.37. The nonextant upper floor of rooms of the Takiya Refa'iya (courtesy of Historic Cairo online photographs).
- 4.38. The plan of the Takiya Refa'iya (plan after the Comité).
- 4.39. An archive photograph showing the *mihrab* of the Takiya Refa'iya and the *maqsura* in the *qibla* iwan (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 4.40. The rooms for Sufis of the Takiya Refa'iya.
- 4.41. The entrance to the Complex of al-Sadat al-Wafa'iya (by Karim Saada).
- 4.42. The main façade of the Complex of al-Sadat al-Wafa'iya (by Karim Saada).
- 4.43. The plan of the Mosque of al-Sadat al-Wafa'iya (plan by the Ministry of Antiquities).
- 4.44. The *qibla* wall of the Mosque of al-Sadat al-Wafa'iya (by Karim Saada).

Conclusion

- 5.1. Map of Cairo (after *Description de l'Égypte* Vol. I, pl. 26, courtesy of the World Digital Library Online Art Collection).

Annex: Four Ottoman *Sabil-Kuttabs*

- 6.1. The façade of the Sabil of Khusruw Pasha (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 6.2. The plan of the Sabil and Kuttab of Khusruw Pasha (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 6.3. The *shadirwan* of the Sabil of Taghribirdi.
- 6.4. The ceiling of the Sabil of Taghribirdi.
- 6.5. A detail of the windows of the Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I.
- 6.6. An archive photograph that shows the metal grilles of the Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 6.7. The tilework in the Sabil of Sultan Mahmud I (courtesy of Ibrahim Ramadan).
- 6.8. The façade of the Sabil of Sultan Mustafa III (courtesy of Archinos Architecture).
- 6.9. The Dutch delft tilework inside the Sabil of Sultan Mustafa III (courtesy of Archinos Architecture).

Color Image Section

- Plate 1.1. The rear of the Mosque and Madrasa of Khayrbak, Alin Aq, and the Zawiya of Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Baz.
- Plate 1.2. An aerial view of the Takiya al-Kulshani (courtesy of the World Monuments Fund website).
- Plate 1.3. The elongated hall of the Mosque-Madrasa of Khayrbak.
- Plate 1.4. The main façade of the mausoleum dome of the Takiya of al-Kulshani.

Plate 1.5. The dome of the Zawiya of Shaykh Seoud.

Plate 2.1. The central dome and semidomes of the Mosque of Suleiman Pasha al-Khadim (courtesy of Museum with No Frontiers Islamic Art online collection).

Plate 2.2. The dome of the mausoleum of Prince Suleiman at the time where it retained most of its tilework (by Karim Saada).

Plate 2.3. The interior of the Mosque of Sinan Pasha.

Plate 3.1. The interior of the Mosque of al-Burdayni.

Plate 3.2. The walls of the Mosque of al-Burdayni side by side with the drawing by Émile Prisse d'Avennes (after Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*).

Plate 3.3. The *qibla* wall of the Mosque of Alti Barmak.

Plate 3.4. The interior of the Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza.

Plate 3.5. The *sidilla* inside the Mosque of Mustafa Jorbagi Mirza.

Plate 3.6. The wooden panels in the ceiling of the Mosque of Taghribirdi.

Plate 4.1. The *mihrab* of the Mosque of al-Fakahani.

Plate 4.2. The interior view of the dome of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab.

Plate 4.3. The exterior view of the dome of the Mosque of Muhammad Bek Abu al-Dhahab.

Historical Introduction

The Origin of the Ottomans and the Architecture of the Beyliks in Anatolia

A. The Seljuks

The expansion of Shi'i power in the Islamic world during the eleventh century resulted in the invasions of the Sunni Muslim tribes known as the Seljuks, a military power from the Oghuz (Ghuzz) Turkish tribes. They were part of a confederation of Turkish tribes who lived, at least until the eleventh century, in the steppes of Central Asia and Mongolia. They founded by the middle of the eleventh century an Empire that included Iran, Mesopotamia, and most of Syria, in addition to Palestine. In the year 464/1071, their leader Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine army at the Battle of Manzikert, a defeat that encouraged many Turkish tribes to settle in Asia Minor. The Seljuks built many madrasas (Islamic teaching institutions) to diffuse the teachings of Sunni Islam all over their Empire.

As their power increased in Anatolia, their leader Suleiman ibn Qutulmish declared himself Sultan of Rum in 468/1075, which became an independent Seljuk state in Anatolia, whose capital was the city of

Iznik. His son and successor Kilij Arslan later moved the capital to the city of Konya.

The Mongol invasions of the beginning of the thirteenth century put an end to Seljuk power in Iran, but it survived in Anatolia until the year 641/1243 when they also lost their autonomy to the Ilkhanids at the Battle of Köse Dağ. For the rest of the fourteenth century, they acted as vassals for the Mongol Ilkhanids, but this dissolution of their power left behind small principalities known as Beyliks.

B. The Beyliks

The power of the Beyliks increased after the fall of the Ilkhanids in 735/1335. The leaders of one of the Beyliks was the Osmanli household who were centered first around the city of Konya, but later moved to the city of Bursa. They constantly recruited new soldiers, growing in strength and taking over rival Beyliks around them. By the year 758/1357, they had even crossed the Dardanelles into Europe and they moved their capital again to the city of Edirne. During their campaigns, they captured many Christian children who were then given a military

and religious education and converted to Islam. These new troops became known as the Janissaries, who like the Mamluks of Egypt, became the elite of their army. An invasion by the Mongol ruler Timur, created a setback in their power in 804/1402, but this was short-lived and they managed to regain all their territory.

C. The Ottomans

The origin of the Ottomans can be traced back to Osman Ghazi, leader of the Osmanli family, who managed to unite the power of the Beyliks under his rule. After Ghazi's death in 723/1323, his successors managed to gain power, in spite of the setback of the Timurid invasion. Mehmet II, known as the conqueror, captured the city of Constantinople in 857/1453, putting an end to the Byzantine era and extending his empire into the Balkans. The name of the city was changed from Constantinople to Istanbul, and it became the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

For over five hundred years, they ruled an area now occupied by fifteen states. Depending on the length of rule and the amount of direct control they had in an area, Ottoman architecture can be seen in many places in varying degrees. To explain briefly what the Ottoman style of architecture is, one has to trace it back to the architecture of the Beyliks.¹

The Beyliks, especially the house of Osman, were great builders. Aptullah Kuran² divided the early Ottoman mosques into three prototypes.³ The plan of the single-unit prototype is a domed square chamber with a front porch and a minaret. The iwan prototype combines one or more iwans around a central domed area with rooms, in the presence of a front porch and a minaret. The third prototype, which is the multi-unit type, is described as a large interior space divided into smaller spaces by columns or pillars with the central space topped with a large dome. In this case, instead of a porch, an open court surrounded by a portico that is covered with shallow domes precedes the closed interior space.

An example of the single-unit prototype is the Mosque of Orhan Gazi in the town of Gebze, located

near Istanbul. It is built of coarse rubble masonry. The large dome sits on squinches "whose arches are tied by iron bars." Both the iron hooks above the entrance door and the Byzantine capitals used as bases for posts suggest a wooden porch. One of the largest domes in a single-unit type mosque can be seen on the Mosque of Yıldırım Bayezid in Mudurnu built around the year 784/1382.⁴ The 19.65-meter dome sits on squinches, and the walls under the squinches are thickened to safeguard against the heavy weight of the dome. A three-bay porch stands at the front of the central bay and is covered by a small, fluted dome. The minaret is not the original one, and dates from 1157/1744 (figure I.1).

An example of the second prototype, namely the iwan type, is the Mosque of Orhan Gazi built in 740/1339 in the city of Bursa. It is also known as a

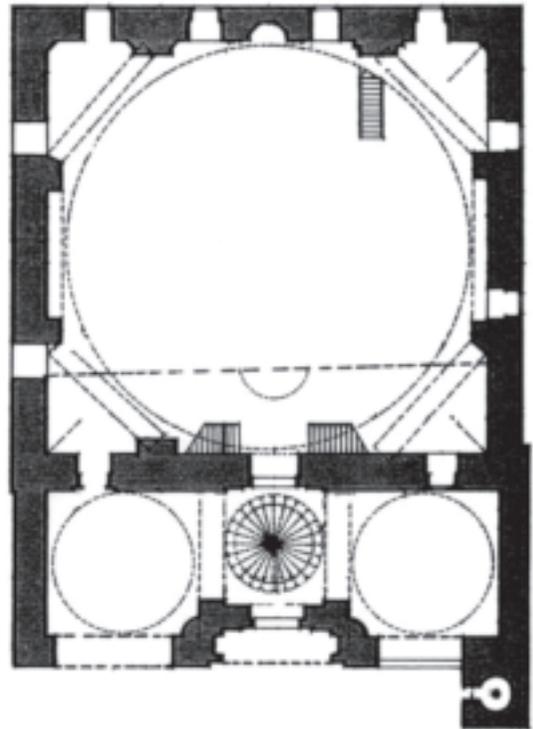


Figure I.1. Mosque of Yıldırım Bayezid in Mudurnu (plan after Archnet).

zawiya-type multifunctional mosque. The plan shows a five-bayed portico, which leads to a central hall covered with a large dome. Beyond this central hall, two steps lead up to the *qibla* iwan, which is covered with an elliptical vault. Two raised side iwans can be seen, one on each side of the central hall, and are also covered by domes. The function of the two side iwans may have been as “hostels for travelling dervishes and the religious brotherhoods.”⁵

Another example of the *zawiya*-type building is the Mosque of Murad I in Bursa (c. 767–87/1366–85). The combination of the *zawiya*-type on the ground floor with a madrasa on the second floor is an interesting design. The porch with its five bays leads through a vestibule to the main central hall, in this case a domed court surrounded by four iwans with six rooms filling the corner spaces. The two staircases flanking the vestibule, which can be seen on the plan, lead up to the madrasa on the second floor. On the second floor there is a gallery over the portico and a vaulted room over the vestibule. A barrel-vaulted gallery runs around three sides of the domed court with cells opening onto the gallery. A narrow passage runs around the *qibla* iwan and leads to a small domed room behind and above the *mihrab*. Although the function of this room is not clear, it could have possibly served as a small oratory on the upper floor (figure I.2).⁶

In the year 816/1413, Mehmet I Çelebi (r. 816–24/1413–21) became the ruler of a unified empire in Europe and Anatolia, with the city of Edirne serving as its capital. Bursa remained important because it was the traditional burial place of early Ottoman rulers of the Beyliks period. The famous Yeşil complex in Bursa, which included a madrasa, a hammam, a tomb, and a soup kitchen, shows a continuation of the *zawiya*-type mosque with the addition of a royal balcony overlooking the central hall. Its extensive tile decorations consist of hexagonal monochrome tiles with stenciled gold designs, and the *mihrab* shows tile mosaic and cuerda seca tiles.⁷ This tile decoration suggests Timurid influence; in fact, one of the craftsmen’s signatures reads, “work of a master from Tabriz.” The octagonal tomb also shows tile decoration.

The third prototype, namely the multiunit type, can be seen in the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, begun by Murad II in the city of Edirne in 841/1437. Üç Şerefeli refers to the three balconies on its southwestern minaret. The plan shows a square space divided into a court surrounded by a portico that is covered with shallow domes. The mosque has four minarets, one at each of its four corners, followed by an oblong domed prayer hall. A huge dome covers the center of the prayer hall, which is supported by massive hexagonal piers on the east and west sides, and by exterior walls on the other two sides. Four smaller domes cover the four corners of the oblong prayer hall, while the triangular spaces between the central dome and the corner units are filled with tripartite vaults, with stalactites and supporting small domes in the centers. The exterior gives the impression of “a cascade of domes,”⁸ which starts with the big dome and goes down to the domes of the portico of the court. Arched buttresses surround the drum of the central dome, and the interior tile decoration is a continuation of the style seen in the earlier Yeşil Camii in Bursa. The many new features seen in this mosque influenced many later Ottoman buildings (figure I.3).

In 847/1453, Mehmet II, also known as Mehmet the Conqueror, defeated the Byzantine Empire and took over Constantinople, renaming it Istanbul and having it serve as the Ottomans’ new capital. The Byzantine Church of Hagia Sophia was transformed into a mosque. The massive dome of the Hagia Sophia inspired the Ottomans to develop the idea of “the cascade of domes” seen in the aforementioned Üç Şerefeli Mosque. Istanbul became a center of the arts. Craftsmen came from all over the world to work, and palaces as well as religious complexes were built and lavishly decorated. A good example of the latter is the Fatih Complex built by Mehmet the Conqueror, which was begun in 867/1463 and completed by 876/1471. This was built on the fourth of the seven hills of Istanbul, the former site of the Church of the Holy Apostles and the burial place of the Byzantine emperor. Its architect was Sinan the elder, whose son Sinan is considered the most famous architect of the Ottomans.

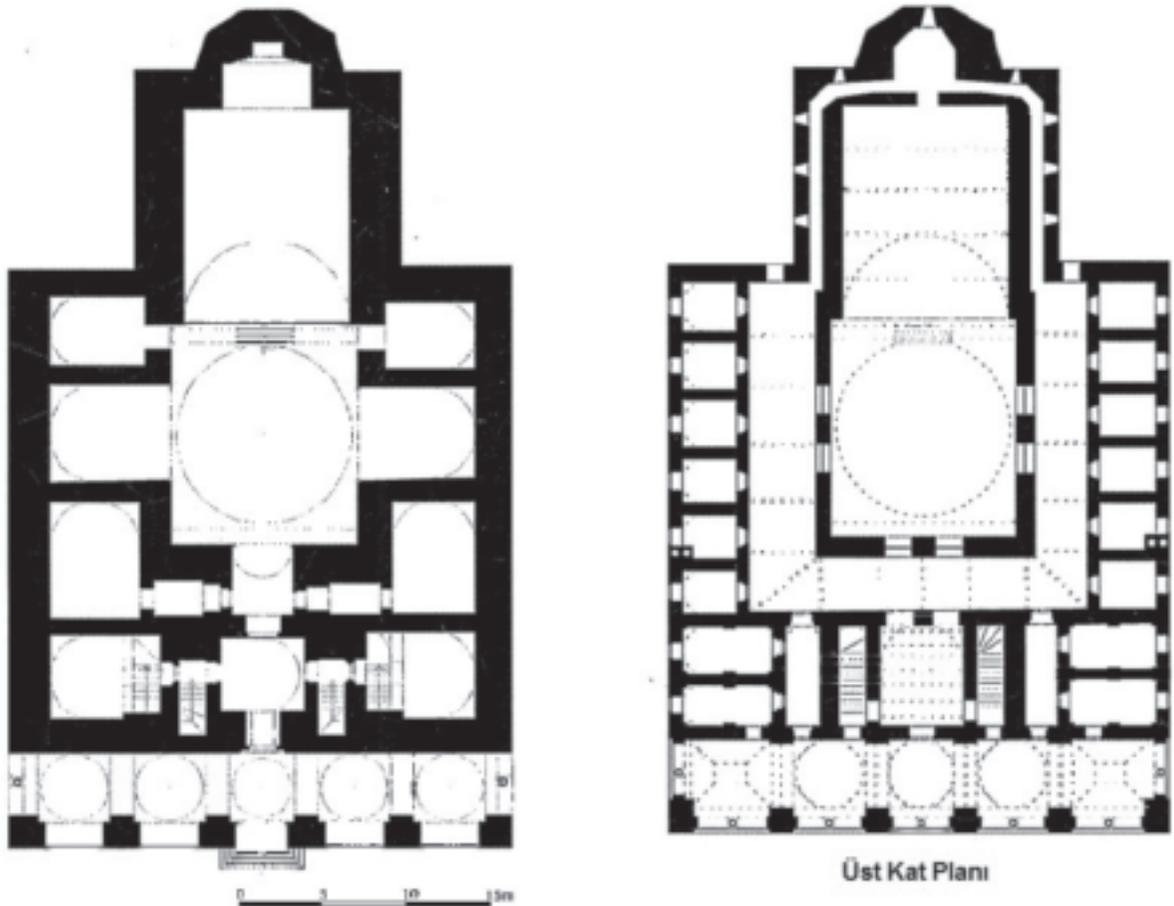


Figure 1.2. Mosque of Murad I in Bursa (plan after Archnet).

Even before the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottomans also built madrasas, the first of which was founded in the city of İznik (c. 731/1331), followed by many in Bursa, Edirne, and then Istanbul after the conquest. They consisted of open courts surrounded by rooms. Since madrasas were important for the dissemination of Turkish culture, they spread all over the empire and were maintained through *waqf* documents. The Ottomans also built caravanserais, not only on trade routes but also in towns for wholesale trade, as well as other commercial structures that provided a steady source of revenue for religious buildings.⁹

Mehmet the Conqueror built magnificent palaces with lavish decoration in Istanbul, employing craftsmen from Europe, Persia, and provinces that were part of the Ottoman Empire. His religious architecture was, on the other hand, more conservative. He continued building complexes with a large mosque in the center and madrasas and other functional buildings surrounding it. The Fatih Complex in Istanbul is a continuation of earlier examples. The mosque was built on the multiunit prototype. In this case, two huge porphyry columns, two pillars, and the walls supported the 26-meter diameter dome. (The dome of the Hagia Sophia is larger at 31 meters in diameter,

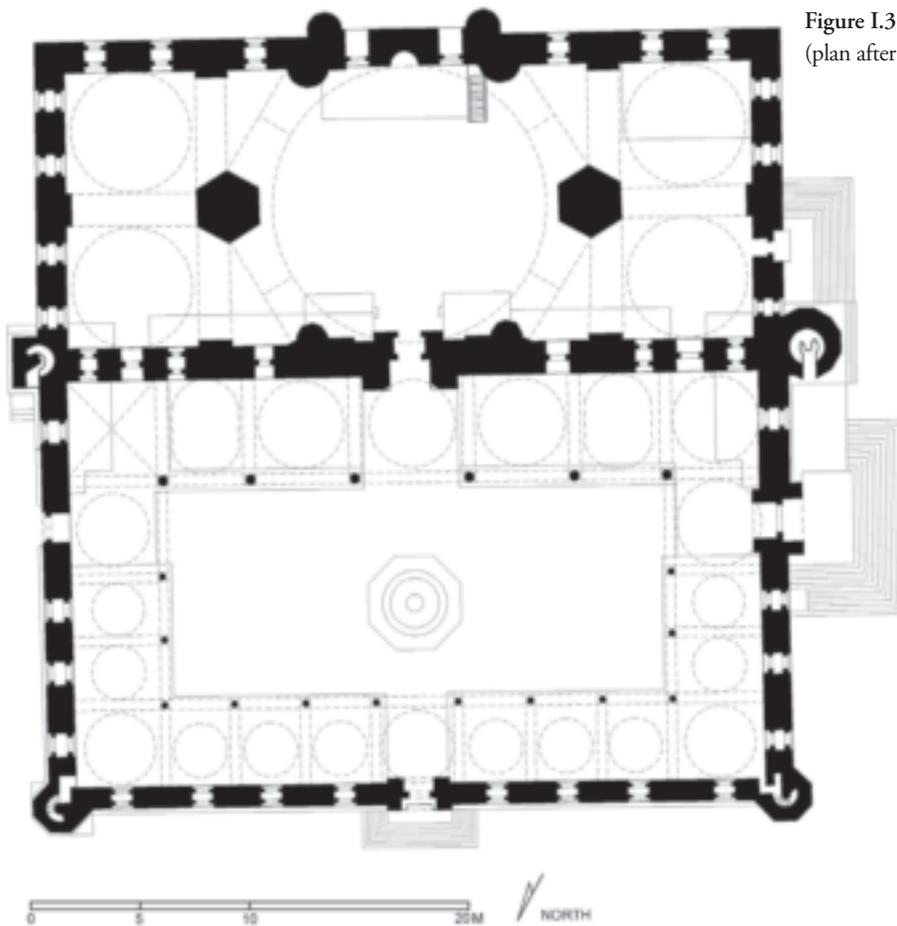


Figure I.3. Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne (plan after Archnet).

and that of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque smaller at 24.10 meters in diameter). The major development here was the presence of the semidomes inspired by the architecture of the Hagia Sophia. The original mosque, unfortunately, did not survive.

Mehmet the Conqueror was succeeded by his son Bayezid II (r. 886–918/1481–1512), followed by his grandson Selim the Grim (r. 918–26/1512–20). Bayezid's most famous monument is his complex in Istanbul (c. 905–10/1500–05). The plan of the prayer area consists of a central dome encompassed by a semidome at each end and an aisle with four small domes on each side. "The cascade of domes from the mosque to its courtyard shows a far greater

sense of integration than does the Fatih mosque."¹⁰ Sultan Selim the Grim was not as interested in architecture as his predecessors, but it is during his reign that the famous architect Sinan appears on the scene. The son of a Christian family from Anatolia, he was trained in both science and architecture and even became a Janissary in 927/1521. He became the chief court architect during the reign of Sultan Selim's son Suleiman, also known as Suleiman the Magnificent. His first major commission was the Şehzade Complex in Istanbul in memory of Sultan Suleiman's son, who had died from smallpox at the age of twenty-two.¹¹ The complex was built between 952/1545 and 955/1548 on the third hill of Istanbul. The multiunit

mosque plan shows a 19-meter diameter dome on four pillars surrounded by four semidomes and four small domes in the corners. The load of the dome is carried on the four pillars and the buttresses located along the exterior walls. “The massiveness of the buttresses has been concealed by removing the exterior walls, except on the side of the mosque facing the court towards the inner face of the buttresses. In that way most of their bulk lies outside the mosque.”¹² Sinan the architect is credited with designing buildings in several provinces of the Ottoman Empire including Syria, but not in Egypt.

Years later, by 923/1517, the Ottomans had taken both Syria and Egypt from the Mamluks, and by 932/1526 their borders reached as far as Hungary, which they incorporated into their empire, and abutted Mughal India.

The city of Cairo had been the capital of the Islamic Empire since the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656/1258, and was full of splendid Mamluk buildings, very different from the ones built in Anatolia. The question immediately arises: which architectural style would prevail? The Ottoman or the Mamluk? Before an attempt is made to answer the question, a short look at Ottoman architecture after the conquest of Constantinople and at the time of the conquest of Egypt is necessary.

The Ottomans of Egypt

The Mamluks took over power in Egypt from the Ayyubids in 648/1250 and ruled both Egypt and Syria for over two hundred years, becoming not only military rulers but also great patrons of art and architecture. Their monuments still stand witness to their love of architectural patronage. The Ottoman sultan Selim wrested control first of Syria and then of Egypt from the Mamluks in the year 922/1516. The Ottoman period in Egypt began with the defeat of the Mamluk army led by Sultan Tumanbay II (r. 922–23/1516–17), Qansuh al-Ghuri’s fleeting successor, by the Ottoman forces in Ridaniya at the gates of Cairo on 29 Dhu al-Hijjah 922/23 January 1517. On the following day, a Friday sermon was given in

the name of Sultan Selim Shah from all the pulpits of Old Cairo.¹³ The last Mamluk sultan, Tumanbay II, was hanged at Bab Zuwayla and Egypt was reduced to a province, one of thirty-two under the Ottoman Empire. Cairo had been the capital of the entire Islamic Empire, the seat of the sultan and the caliph during the Mamluk dynasty from the time of Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdari (r. 658–75/1260–77), who revived the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt with the appointment of a member of the Abbasid family after the Mongols killed the caliph in Baghdad. Now Cairo became the capital of Egypt only, and the caliph was taken to Istanbul. The Mamluks, who had ruled Egypt from 1250 to 1516 and had possessed the strongest army, an army that had defeated the Mongols at the Battle of ‘Ain Jalut in 656/1258, were now defeated by the Ottoman army. At first, the Ottoman sultan wanted to exterminate the Mamluk army, but he quickly changed his mind and incorporated them into the Ottoman army. He most probably realized their strength and their common origin with the Ottoman Janissaries as Mamluks, and the fact that many already spoke Turkish. The Mamluks were military slaves brought by slave merchants to Egypt from the Qipshak Steppes, southern Persia, northern Turkey, and Mongolia, while many of the Janissaries were of European origin. The Mamluks received military training and were taught the Arabic language and the religion of Islam, since they would be serving in a Muslim army. After many years of studying and training, they were partially manumitted after becoming the educated elite with the highest posts in the army.

Immediately after the conquest of Egypt, Sultan Selim made it clear that pious endowments were foremost in his mind. He ordered a survey of fief documents and *waqf* documents, and new registries were made (but the old ones kept reappearing). A new *nazir al-awqaf* (administrator of *waqf* documents) was appointed in 928/1522. He instituted reforms that allowed Ottoman Turks to lodge and to be employed in all the major religious institutions. He also restrained the power of Sufi shaykhs and religious