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"THE MOSQUES OF SINAN
PASHA & MUSTAFA SHURBAGY
MIRZA AS REFLECTIONS OF
BULAQ'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC
REALITIES: 1571-1698"

CONCEPCION G.
ANORVE-TSCHIRGI

2001

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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

"THE MOSQUES OF SINAN PASHA AND MUSTAFA SHURBAGY MIRZA
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A THESIS SUBMITTED BY

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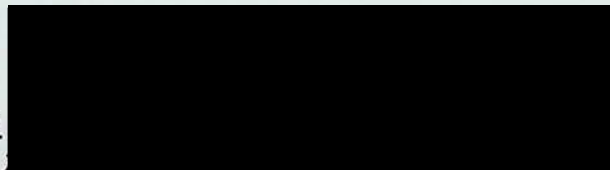
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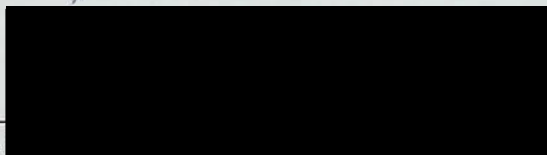
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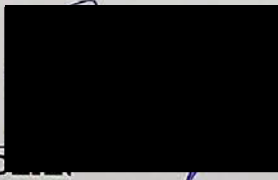
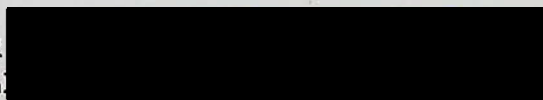
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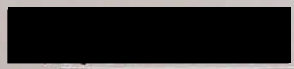


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June 3, 2001
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**THE MOSQUES OF SINAN PASHA AND MUSTAFA
SHURBAGY MIRZA AS REFLECTIONS OF BULAQ'S
SOCIO-ECONOMIC REALITIES; 1571-1698**

By

Concepción G. Añorve-Tschirgi

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To Dan,
and to Doña Elvira[†]
who always dreamed about a little girl flying higher

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INTRODUCTION

*"...The monuments of a given dynasty are proportionate to its original power. The reason is that monuments owe their origin to the power that brought the dynasty into being. The impression the dynasty leaves is proportionate to that power..."*¹

Ibn Khaldun

Architecture is an important way of expressing the physical trace of human beings in the history of civilization. More importantly, it shows the strengths and weaknesses of dynasties rising, then vanishing at the waning of their cycle.

The establishment of religious foundations has been a motive for exhibiting power and wealth in the history of humankind. The practice prevailed throughout the history of various Islamic dynasties. The Ottoman period in Egypt, and more basically in Cairo, was no exception. This thesis is concerned with the role architecture plays in illuminating the way society, rulers and subjects, interacted in Egypt at that time. In doing so, the analysis of urban, structural, design, and decorative elements, are used to "read" the history of Egypt and its relations with Istanbul.

This study is limited to the period 1571-1698, and to the Cairo neighborhood of Bulaq. However, it is hoped that it will provide a key to an understanding of the social, political and economic situation that prevailed in Egypt during that period.

In pursuit of this objective, a comparison will be undertaken of two mosques of the period. The two monuments that have been chosen are the mosque of Sinan Pasha (979/1571) and the mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza (1110/1698). The intervening

¹ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, 143.

years provide information for understanding the historical context, and several other monuments will therefore be mentioned when necessary.

GENERAL SOCIO-HISTORICAL PROFILE

By the sixteenth century, Egypt was one of the most flourishing centers of the Muslim World. Its capital, Cairo, was larger than any other city in either the Middle East or Europe and a leader of Muslim life in all aspects, whether religious, cultural, political, or commercial.²

For these and other reasons discussed below, Egypt was inevitably a great attraction for the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Selim I conquered Egypt in 1517. After all the glory forged in the country by previous Muslim rulers--Fatimids, Ayyubids, and Mamluks--it took only sixty minutes for the last to be defeated in the decisive battle of Raidaniyya.³ The Mamluk regime, which had lasted more than two hundred and fifty years officially ended when the last Mamluk Sultan, Tuman-Bey, was hanged at Cairo's Bab Zuwayla.

This marked the beginning of nearly three hundred years of Ottoman rule over Egypt, a period that left the country as just one of the thirty provinces of the Ottoman Empire subordinate to Istanbul.⁴

From the outset, this relationship had an impact on architectural trends in Egypt, particularly in Cairo. The initial result can be detected in some early sixteenth century buildings erected immediately after the conquest. These sometimes exhibit a limited

² Ayalon, "The end of the Mamluk Sultanate," 126.

³ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo 1001 Years*, 50. The author is referring to Ibn Iyas, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest*, 110-12.

⁴ Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, 231-3.

traditional Mamluk style influence, except on the decoration, and, instead, stand out chiefly as examples of Ottoman architecture; i.e. the mosque of Suleyman Pasha at the Citadel (1527) (Fig. 4). In contrast, on occasions the balance inclined completely towards the Mamluk tradition, showing just slight traces of Ottoman influence, i.e. the mosque of Muhibb al-Din Abu Tayyib (early sixteenth century) (Fig. 5). It appears that architectural trends in the early Ottoman period were still in process of finding an expression that would be representative of the new situation. However, as Behrens-Abouseif points out, although several of these examples exhibited some new architectural forms, the decorative elements were restricted to play an insignificant part of the whole image.⁵ This appears to have been a continuation of the tendency followed at the end of the Mamluk period, when decorative elements stopped playing a major role.⁶

By the early seventeenth century, there emerged a transitional architecture influenced by both Mamluk and Ottoman styles.⁷ Later in that same century, this architectural trend, though still "mixed," increasingly inclined toward a reliance on the Mamluk tradition.⁸ On the other hand, the eighteenth century in Egypt displays more Ottoman influence on the monuments of that period, despite the de facto decline of Ottoman authority over Egypt by that time.⁹ The seeming paradox becomes less puzzling when consideration is given to the way in which Ottoman influences tended to be incorporated into eighteenth century Egyptian architecture. Essentially, what was often achieved was the manifestation of elements that were a revival of some Byzantine and

⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, "The Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda Style," 120.

⁶ *Idem.*

⁷ El-Rashidi, Unpublished MA Thesis, AUC, 2.

⁸ *Idem.*

⁹ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 460.

Anatolian models, counting among them the round arch, and the cushion voussoir. These forms were novel, and therefore uniquely "Egyptian" when they were combined with the diminished Mamluk features, i.e. the stalactites.¹⁰ The previous point is well illustrated by the legacy of the eighteenth century architectural patron Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda (Pl. 105). The buildings he sponsored constituted "the most distinctive" Egyptian expression of Ottoman architecture. His style, rather eclectic, can be termed neither Mamluk nor Ottoman.¹¹ It was, instead, a "distinctive" product of the Egyptian milieu. As Williams states, it was "as if the local Mamluk *Beys* were now advertising their claim to rule the country by their display of elements of metropolitan Ottoman culture."¹²

When Selim I conquered Egypt, long before the developments just described, he was thoroughly impressed by the quantity and quality of buildings that the Mamluk Sultans had erected in Cairo.¹³ According to al-Jabarti, the result was that when Selim returned to Istanbul, he took with him "many craftsmen, particularly masters of crafts not found in his own country. In this way, Egypt was deprived of more than 50 crafts."¹⁴

In spite of this loss, the Ottoman triumph over Egypt did not undermine Cairo's architectural evolution nor the institutions and activities of its inhabitants. This is understandable. Under the Mamluks, Egyptians' based their legal code on the *Shari'ah*, which did not conflict with the *Qanun*, the legal system used by the Ottoman rulers.¹⁵

¹⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 29-30.

¹¹ Idem, "The Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda Style," 119.

¹² Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 460.

¹³ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 219.

¹⁴ Philipp, *al-Jabarti's*, vol. 1, 33.

¹⁵ El-Nahal, *The Judicial Administration*, 5-6. The author describes *Qanun* as the secular law of the Ottoman Sultans, which responded to the ancient theory of a ruler, "...who must look after his subjects, restraining the powerful from oppressing the weak. He must strive for prosperity in his domain by improving irrigation and communications, and by building cities."

Several elements helped prevent architecture in Egypt from manifesting itself through the construction of large buildings under the new Ottoman rulers. First, patronage of the arts and architecture was exercised by representatives of the Sultan, rather than by the ruler himself.¹⁶ Second, the Sultan's representatives, the *Walis*, were usually assigned to Egypt only for short periods. Two years was their typical stay in the country, although some lasted only a few months.¹⁷ However, there were exceptions, such as Dawud Pasha, whose term as *Wali* lasted eleven years.¹⁸ A third major factor that militated against large-scale construction was a scarcity of land.¹⁹ A final, and very immediate limitation on the *Walis'* inclination to expend funds was the *Irsaliyye Khazinesi*.²⁰ This placed personal responsibility upon provincial governors for the large annual tribute that had to be sent to the Sultan's personal treasury in Istanbul. It was a heavy and risky burden, as shown by the fact that unlucky *Walis* sometimes returned to Istanbul only to face the prospect of having to pay large debts to the Sultan.²¹

It is therefore clear why pashas posted to Egypt tended to avoid large-scale construction projects. However, as Williams notes, they did erect great numbers of "less

¹⁶ Raymond, "L'activité architecturale," 343.

¹⁷ Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, 236. According to the author: "between 1517 and 1798 there were 100 pashas in Cairo." In taking this measure, the Sultan wanted to prevent the pashas amassing any power through alliances with the locals. The policy worked well on this respect, at least in the short run. In the long term, it had negative consequences for the Ottoman Empire. In the eighteenth century, the Mamluk and their military supporters became essentially autonomous.

¹⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 191.

¹⁹ Pauty, "L'architecture au Caire," 1. In his article he cites Lamartine, describing the Ottomans' love for nature, gardens and open spaces. Perhaps Cairo's crowded setting discouraged the Ottomans from becoming engaged in large scale projects.

²⁰ This was the remittance of cash and kind that every year had to be sent from the provinces to the Sultan's personal treasury in Istanbul. The *Irsaliyye* from Egypt was fixed at sixteen million *paras* in 1524 under Khadim Suleyman Pasha. Later this was raised, and from 1601 on remained between twenty and thirty million *paras*. For a complete account of this tribute, see Stanford J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798* (Princeton, 1962), 283ff.

²¹ Rogers, "Al-Kahira," *EI* 4, 435

imposing monuments”, among which figured prominently *sabil-kuttabs*.²² This was an understandable and clever response to the strictures imposed by insufficient land and money.

Cairo-Istanbul relations

The Ottoman period has been considered a pale, insubstantial and retrograde epoch by critics of this part of Egypt’s history.²³ At the heart of such views are judgements of the balance between benefits derived by the Ottomans and costs incurred by Egypt while under the Empire’s control.

The conquest of Egypt entailed multiple benefits for the Ottoman Empire. These were immediately visible on a variety of interrelated levels. Politically, the seizure of Egypt rounded out the Ottoman Empire’s position as a great power, securing the role it had started to claim upon the fall of Constantinople sixty-five years earlier.²⁴ Moreover, it quickly led to the extension of Ottoman hegemony over North Africa.²⁵

As Sunni Muslims and great and enthusiastic supporters of al-Azhar, the Ottomans found that control of Egypt legitimized their influence over all the great religious centers of the Middle East, most particularly Mecca and Medina.²⁶ As Hess stated “To match their new strength with a new organizing principle the heirs of Osman sought a more universal position within the Muslim world. ... They strove to appropriate

²² Williams, “The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo,” 457. Raymond, “L’activité architecturale,” 349, mentions 118 sabil.

²³ Raymond, “L’activité architecturale,” 344.

²⁴ Mantran, “Les relations entre le Caire et Istanbul,” 302.

²⁵ Hess, “The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt,” 55. The author also mentions that in the meantime the West was still overwhelmed by the discovery of America. The Ottoman Empire was demonstrating that the East was not passive at all. This Islamic state had an impact on Europe and therefore, in one way or another, also affected Western culture, 56-7.

²⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, “The Pilgrimage,” 1-4.

the symbols of that universality: the protection of the Holy Places, the defense of the Pilgrimage, and the support, in whatever form it may have been of the caliphal institution."²⁷ As was to be expected, this new situation as protectors of Sunni Islam, gave the Ottomans a much stronger position within the *Dar al-Islam*.²⁸

In strategic terms, they gained military supremacy over the Middle East. From Egypt, they were able to project power toward several objectives, such as the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina and the important Red Sea connection to the Indian Ocean.

All this entailed significant economic advantages. Cairo was an extremely important commercial center, and from time of the conquest the Ottomans controlled the traffic of the Mediterranean Sea going to the Middle-East or India which perforce had to pass through either Egypt or Syria.²⁹ Moreover, through the annual tribute, the *Irsaliyye Khazinesi*, Egypt played an important role in adding wealth to the Ottoman treasury. No other province of the Empire was required to pay revenues of such dimensions.³⁰ As already noted, this tax left the Egypt's governors with no money for engaging in large-scale construction.

Thus, from the moment of its conquest, Egypt became vital for the Ottomans' purposes. It was the hub of a newly added territory from which resources such as, manpower, cash, and provisions could be exploited.

Largely because of its importance to the Empire, and the practical exigencies of ruling its vast territory, Egypt received "special" treatment as an Ottoman province.³¹ In

²⁷ Hess, "The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt," 70.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 70-1.

²⁹ Mantran, "Les relations entre le Caire et Istanbul," 302-3.

³⁰ Hathaway, "Egypt's Place in the Ottoman Empire," 6.

³¹ Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, 261.

effect, the Egyptian Mamluks were granted a certain kind of autonomy. Thus, in contrast to the practice in other Ottoman provinces, Egypt's Ottoman governor was assisted by a Diwan (a Council), composed of the most important local civil servants and religious dignitaries.³² In consequence the Mamluk and Ottoman elements of the military elite and the ruling class developed a symbiosis over the years.³³ The beginning of this trend was clearly marked when Sultan Selim I appointed Kha'ir Bey, a member of the old Mamluk group, as Egypt's first viceroy.³⁴

From its outset, the relationship was one in which various factors gave the Mamluks considerable leverage, despite their having been defeated militarily. Initially, the Ottomans quickly decided that the military and economic benefits they hoped to glean from Egypt would most easily be obtained by winning the support of the Mamluks themselves. Rather astounded by the extent to which their empire suddenly grew after Egypt's conquest, the conquerors concluded that the only ones capable of controlling their newly acquired territory were its former Mamluk masters. Thus, many of the defeated Mamluks joined the new administration and cooperated with the new Ottoman rulers.³⁵ Eventually, this led to the progressive weakening of Istanbul's hold on Egypt.

Several pressing factors underlay the Ottoman approach to the Mamluks. All related directly to the Ottoman Empire's perceptions of its vital strategic interests and the role Egypt and the Mamluks could play in securing these. It must be recalled that in the Ottoman view the Mamluks had several characteristics that made them attractive as a potentially significant military resource. First, the Mamluks enjoyed a well-earned

³² Mantran, "Les relations entre le Caire et Istanbul," 303.

³³ Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent*, 45.

³⁴ Idem, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 178-9.

³⁵ Hathaway, "The Military Household," 39.

warlike reputation³⁶; second, both military slave systems (Ottoman and Mamluk) had a common origin; and third, Mamluks and Ottomans shared the same Turkish dialect.³⁷ Key strategic interests lent increased weight to such factors when Istanbul decided to allow Egypt to have a special relationship with the Empire. Among these, were the Ottomans' ongoing rivalries with their Persian neighbor. Istanbul's objective was to remain militarily strong enough to annihilate or contain the Safavids.³⁸ At the same time, the Frankish presence in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean remained annoyingly threatening and, finally, so too did ongoing Portuguese efforts to penetrate/dominate the Red Sea.³⁹

During its first hundred and fifty years under the Ottomans, Egypt served as major platform for launching various Ottoman military campaigns. Thousands of troops were taken from the country to fight for the Empire. Given the Ottoman Empire's political expansionism and the militaristic tendencies during this period, the *Walīs* posted to Egypt were military officers trained as part of the Janissary corps (*Ta'ifa Mustahfizan*).⁴⁰ Sinan Pasha, the earlier of our two subjects, was a good example of this trend.

The end of the seventeenth century witnessed a shift in the role Egypt was playing within the Ottoman Empire. The Empire, having reached the peak of its vitality with the rule of Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent (1520-1566) began its long and slow decline in the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁴¹ A consequence of this was, that Egypt's

³⁶ Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman*, 8.

³⁷ Piterberg, "The Formation of an Ottoman Egyptian," 275.

³⁸ Ayalon, "The end of the Mamluk Sultanate," 127.

³⁹ *Idem*.

⁴⁰ Hathaway, "Egypt's Place in the Ottoman Empire," 6.

⁴¹ Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent*, 29.

Mamluk *Beys* had stopped sending the *Irsaliyye Khazinesi* to Istanbul by the end of the seventeenth century.

Egypt's importance to the empire had changed drastically by then. The period of great engagement in military campaigns was past and the province was reduced to the provider of revenues and grains for the treasury in Istanbul as well as the supplier for the Holy Cities. The character of the *Walis* in Egypt reflected this, as they became increasingly bureaucratic and ineffective. They preferred, for their own sakes, to be friendly with the remaining Mamluks and "keep the peace" until their assigned period of rule came to an end.

Under these circumstances, Sultan Selim I's decision to spare the Mamluks when he conquered Egypt eventually took its toll on the Empire. The *Beys*, the elite of Mamluk society, progressively took control of Egypt's political and economic life.⁴² This fact was reflected in the architecture of that period. This will be discussed extensively in Chapter 3.

The Importance of Bulaq

As the two mosques that are the objects of this study are located in Bulaq, it is useful to give an account of that neighborhood's development and environment. Bulaq did not result from a preconceived plan. Thus, the area developed under different conditions than those parts of Cairo, such as al-Fustat, al-Askar, al-Qata'i, and al-Qahira, built earlier by the city's Arab conquerors.⁴³

⁴² Ayalon, "The end of the Mamluk Sultanate," 132.

⁴³ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 42.

Bulaq first emerged as an urban area at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ordered the first steps to develop it.⁴⁴ At the beginning, Bulaq was intended to be a residential area where princes and wealthy government officials, could erect winter palaces surrounded by their agricultural lands. However, as the area gradually grew in importance opportunities for more intensive development arose, and these, in turn, attracted more permanent residents particularly merchants. By the second half of the fifteenth century, Bulaq, whose docks had already long been used to receive cereals to supply the city, had clearly replaced al-Maqs as Cairo's principal port.⁴⁵ The circumstances leading to this development had much to do with Egypt's increasing overall commercial prosperity, a phenomenon that, in turn, was linked to the country's central geographic location. It was, in short, international transit trade that transformed Bulaq into a hub of commercial activity during the fifteenth century.

As traders, merchants and artisans were increasingly attracted to the new area, Bulaq's urbanization continued to unfold. Increasingly, Cairo's key commodities, such as grains, oil, and sugar, entered the city via Bulaq. While the population kept growing, the streets of Bulaq followed the traditional organic growth pattern, a distinctive characteristic of the Arab-Islamic City.⁴⁶ This pattern allows a variety of forms to be interrelated. Thus, Bulaq's alleys played the role of connectors, serving the demands of movement and communication among the population. Along these arteries sprouted markets, mosques, baths, and palaces.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2. The author describes in detail Bulaq's historical urban development.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁶ Bianca, "Traditional Muslim Cities," 40-2.

⁴⁷ Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, 113.

Bulaq became Cairo's entry point for caravans coming from the north,⁴⁸ and travelers and commodities going to, or coming from, Europe usually passed through this important port as well.⁴⁹ The area became extremely attractive to those having enough vision and resources to invest.

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt did not retard Bulaq's trajectory. It was in the sixteenth century that the area reached its greatest urban development, and it remained Cairo's main port throughout the Ottoman period. During that era new residential neighborhoods continued to interweave with Bulaq's already-established commercial areas. The reason for this ongoing urban boom remained as before: the great volume of trade that continued to flow through Bulaq.⁵⁰ In view of the building activity that marked Bulaq, it is important to know who were the builders in this area.

Bulaq's Patrons of Architecture

Several different groups can be listed as patrons of the development of Bulaq. What they shared, apart from sponsorship of architectural endeavors, was membership in Egypt's dominant classes.⁵¹ According to Hanna, the patrons of Bulaq's urban growth fell into the following categories: a) *Karimi* merchants; b) Mamluk rulers; c) early Ottoman *Walis*; d) *A'yan Bulaq* - Local aristocracy.⁵² There follows a closer look at each of these groups. For the purpose of this study only some of them will be mentioned extensively.

⁴⁸ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo 1001 Years*, 44.

⁴⁹ Raymond, *Le Caire*, 280.

⁵⁰ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 33.

⁵¹ Raymond, "L'activité architecturale," 350.

⁵² Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 33.

Karimi merchants

This group's sponsorship of building activity in Bulaq was rather limited. However, two *Karimi* merchants can be cited as having made notable contributions to construction in Bulaq. One of these builders was Nur al-Din al-Tanbadi (d. 1432), who erected three buildings: a *wikala*, a *qaysariyya*, and a palace known as al-Tanbadiyya. The other one was al-Hawaga Shams al-Din Ibn al-Zaman (d. 1491), who built a *madrasa* and a palace in Bulaq as well.⁵³

Mamluk Rulers

At the same time this group was taking over the commercial activities of the previous group, it was also replacing the Karimi merchants as patrons in Bulaq. From the outset of the fifteenth century, the names of various sultans and high ranking officers began being connected to construction in this area. Among them, Sultan Inal owned a *wikala* and a palace; Qaytbay a *sunna* (warehouse for cereals), and a *mahzan* (warehouse); al-Ghuri two *wikalas*, two *hammams*, a *rab'*, two *ma'sara* one for sugar and one for oil. Sultan Jaqmaq and his wife Zahra owned property there as well.⁵⁴

Along with sultans, amirs also invested in property at Bulaq. Hanna has produced a vast list of their real estate holdings.⁵⁵ A glance at it reveals the range and diversity of Bulaq's development. For example: Firuz al-Hazindar built a *wikala*, Tagriburmis al-Zardakas, owned extensive property, including a mosque by the Nile, of which nothing

⁵³ *Idem.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 34-5.

remains today. Qadi Yahya Zayn al-Din al-Ustadar, in addition to his mosque, also had various buildings in this area bearing his name.

It is important to note that the two patrons who are the subjects of this study, Sinan Pasha, a *Wali* of Egypt, and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, who was probably a member of the Janissary corps (*Ta'ifa Mustahfidan*), erected their Mosques in Bulaq, in 1571 and 1698 respectively. Thus, the next two categories are particularly relevant to this study. Sinan Pasha belonged to the Ottoman ruling class, while Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza was part of the local aristocracy.

Early Ottoman *Walis*

Egypt's sixteenth century rulers devoted considerable effort to building up Bulaq. Several factors explain this. First, they found it easy to appropriate public land, which in theory belonged to the Ottoman Sultan. Sinan Pasha and Sulayman Pasha indulged in this practice. According to Hanna, their *Waqfiyyas* mention large tracts as parts of their real estate holdings in Bulaq.⁵⁶ Second, in light of the prevailing pattern of urban growth to the west of el-Qahira, there was no risk when investing in property in Bulaq. Third, the *Walis* had business interests directly related to the international trade that was taking place in the port of Bulaq.⁵⁷ Fourth, as mentioned above, the Ottomans had a special preference for building on a grand scale, as it was the practice in Anatolia. As a nascent area, Bulaq offered this possibility, as can be observed in the mosque of Sinan Pasha. This mosque was built in the same way as were the mosques of Istanbul, using open space as their physical setting.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-8.

⁵⁷ Hanna, *Making Big Money*, 106.

An account of Sinan Pasha's background is important in order to understand the role the *Walis* played as patrons of architecture in Bulaq. He had an impressive military career that gave him high standing at the court of the empire. Thanks to his strong personality and leadership in commanding military campaigns in favor of the Ottomans, he served as Grand Vizier several times.⁵⁸ He was appointed governor of various significant provinces within the empire, but in Egypt he held this important post twice, 1568 and 1571. It was in this last year when he built his mosque in Bulaq. He belonged to that select group of governors who were sent to Egypt during the sixteenth century. As described above, members of this group were highly militarized, which is explained by the fact that they were all—including Sinan Pasha—from the elite part of the Janissary corps.

Local Aristocracy (*A'yan Bulaq*)

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the *Walis* decreased their building activity. At the same time a new group of patrons became increasingly active in construction, both in Cairo and Bulaq. Merchants, civilian officials, and lesser Janissary officers (one of the seven groups that form the *ojaks*) were the bulk of this newly emerging group.⁵⁹

The middle of the seventeenth century also witnessed significant changes in the methods used to recruit Janissaries. It now became common practice to recruit free born Muslims from the popular classes of the local population, basically artisans and

⁵⁸ 'Ali Mubarak, *Al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya*, 20. The author mentions that Sinan Pasha held the post of Grand Vizier only four times. On the other hand, Babinger, *EI*, vol. 9, 632, states that Sinan Pasha held the post on five occasions.

⁵⁹ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 38.

merchants. Upon entering the Janissary Corps these individuals were allowed to live outside the barracks and have families.⁶⁰ Inevitably, this explains the creation of bonds between Janissaries and elements of the civilian urban population, whom individual Janissaries came to exploit and protect.⁶¹ In consequence, in 1660, according to Raymond, the center of power moved towards these newer Janissaries, who developed alliances with the merchants, and became extremely powerful as a result. Their involvement with civilian society also led them to enter the world of trade.⁶²

Many examples of this are available, but only some of the more important will be noted here. Hanna mentions, at least, four members of the 'Asi family who became Janissary-businessmen.⁶³ Among commercial edifices constructed by the 'Asi family in Bulaq were two *wikalas*, a *hammam* and a *sirga*. Other major Janissary-businessmen were Yusuf Sa'id, Ahmad al-Karasati, Zayn al-Din Mustafa and 'Abd al-Basit.

Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, on whom this study largely focuses, falls into this category. Shurbagy's *Waqfiyya* reveals much about the man's status and its sources:

"...We testify that in front of us is al-Amir Mustafa ibn al-Marhum al-Amir Yusuf Shurbagy from the **Ta'ifa Mustahfizan** known as Mirza,⁶⁴ who is witnessing. Upon himself, we declare that this document is legal and follows the law of the Shar'ia and whatever is in it is straight and honest. Also, we declare that the Waqf here in front of us, includes all his possessions detailed one by one. In this document (his Waqf), which he himself has supervised to make sure that all the information contained in it (the Waqf) is

⁶⁰ Raymond, "Soldiers in Trade," 16.

⁶¹ Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, 315.

⁶² Raymond, "Soldiers in Trade," 23-4. In the Court Archives of Cairo, the author found twenty six cases of soldiers engaged in trade, all of them from the seventeenth century. This information is important because it marks this period as the summit of the Janissaries' involvement in commercial activities.

⁶³ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 37

⁶⁴ Philipp, *al-Jabarti's*, vol. 1, 63.

correct and describes all his properties which is publicly known that everything he has built or founded are his constructions..."⁶⁵

Shurbagy's connection to the Janissary corps is evident.⁶⁶ But was he a real member of this group, or was his title purely honorary? At that time, eminent personages, outstanding merchants and rich distinguished persons, were often conventionally referred to by military titles.⁶⁷ Was this applied to Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza and, previously, to his father, Yusuf Shurbagy?

Whatever the case, the significant points are Shurbagy's eminence and attachment to Bulaq. He constructed extensively in this area. His *Waqfiyya* mentions a good number of his possessions, all located in Bulaq. In addition to his Friday mosque, one of the objects of this study, he also erected a *sabil*, two *wikalas*, a *hammam*, and a *tahun*.⁶⁸

The families that produced Bulaq's local aristocracy probably began their rise to prominence as small-scale merchants, hence builders. Yet, there came a point when they excelled powerfully as traders and became major patrons of architecture. For the observer, proof of this statement lies in the extent of their architectural legacy.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide the reader with an overall picture of Egypt's context during most of the two hundred years that followed the country's conquest by the Ottoman Empire in the early sixteenth century. Despite its subjugation to Istanbul, Egypt was a particularly important province of the Ottoman realm. This permitted a special

⁶⁵ *Waqfiyya* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza n° 535, 1.

⁶⁶ *Idem*.

⁶⁷ Raymond, "Soldiers in Trade," 23.

⁶⁸ *Waqfiyya* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, n° 535, 6.

relationship to develop between Egypt and the central government of the Empire, a factor that sowed the seeds of the ultimate deterioration of Ottoman control of the country.

Egypt's takeover by the Ottomans not only created a new political situation but also led to a new economic order that had far-reaching consequences for Cairo and its environs. Bulaq emerged as Cairo's main port. The Ottomans' economic interest was the catapult that accelerated the urban development of Bulaq. Many elements were involved in this process, but most important for this study's purpose were those related to the production of buildings.

Following a period when only *Walis* and extremely wealthy people could play the role of patrons of architecture, economic changes led to new power relations among local groups and opened the door for the structures of society to be modified. For example, some of the Janissary officers transformed themselves into soldiers-artisans and tradesmen. At the same time, members of the merchant and trading classes found it possible, and convenient to enter the Janissary corps or, at least, to affiliate themselves with Janissaries. The mixture and symbiosis of the two groups produced political and economic benefits for all involved: warriors, merchants and warrior-merchants.

The new situation gave them the economic means for erecting buildings. In making their contributions as patrons, these groups left a significant impact on the architecture of their era. This reinforces the idea that, an understanding of this period in Egypt's history, can be enhanced by using the analysis of its architecture as a mechanism.

The next chapter will deal with the architecture of this period, and mainly with the mosques of Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, in an effort to shed more light on the major political, social and economic realities of the time.

Survey

The Ottoman Empire reached its greatest extent in 1683, when it controlled the Balkans, the Middle East, and North Africa. The Egyptian society was undergoing a process of modernization and reform, and the new political system of the Ottoman Empire was being established. The Egyptian society was undergoing a process of modernization and reform, and the new political system of the Ottoman Empire was being established. The Egyptian society was undergoing a process of modernization and reform, and the new political system of the Ottoman Empire was being established.

Early Ottoman History

The Ottoman Empire was founded in 1299 by Osman I, a Turkic leader who established a small principality in northwestern Anatolia. The empire grew rapidly, and by the 15th century it had become a major power in the region. The Ottoman Empire was founded in 1299 by Osman I, a Turkic leader who established a small principality in northwestern Anatolia. The empire grew rapidly, and by the 15th century it had become a major power in the region.

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The Mosques of Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza: a Survey

The two mosques that are the focus of this thesis stand as concrete examples of how architecture reflects its historical context. For Egyptian society was to undergo a series of complex and significant developments during the three hundred years of Ottoman rule that began with Egypt's conquest by Selim I. Religious architecture, was affected very early on by the socio-political currents that Egypt was undergoing in the wake of the Ottoman conquest. This has been demonstrated by the mosques of Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy. These two mosques are located in Bulaq. Sinan Pasha's was erected in 979/1571-72⁶⁹, and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's in 1110/1698⁷⁰ (Fig. 18).

Location and Dating

The Mosque of Sinan Pasha

This mosque was built in 1571 in Bulaq on the east bank of the Nile, overlooking the river. Today, it is located on a bustling Cairo thoroughfare, Shar'ia al-Gami' al-Sinaniyya (Fig. 17).⁷¹ The mosque's original location was closer to the river than it is at present, for over the centuries the Nile's position shifted to the west, leaving arable land

⁶⁹ *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo*, 10. Monument N° 349. This is the date given by this source. The *Waqfiyya* does not mention specific construction dates for the monuments described on it, instead it gives the date when the *Waqfiyya* was established.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 12. Monument N° 343. The *Waqfiyya*, again as in the previous case, does not mention an specific date for the construction of the Mosque, but it gives the date when the *Waqfiyya* was legalized.

⁷¹ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 93.

between the mosque and the river.⁷² *La Description de l'Egypte* depicts the mosque with its *minaret* in a rather exaggerated manner giving the impression of a more imposing building than is actually the case (Pl. 30). Contributing to this impression is the lack of surrounding buildings in the illustration. Whatever enhancements the French draftsman's perspective may have contributed to the depiction, it is nonetheless true that this mosque was the main mosque in Bulaq when the French expedition arrived in Egypt.⁷³

At the time of its construction, the building was to be erected on a vast tract of land owned by Sinan Pasha, for despite Cairo's growth in the sixteenth century, there were still large plots of empty land to be found in this area.

The mosque was built according to a symmetrical rectangular plan (Fig. 1), and placed in a physical setting that originally imposed no space restriction. According to Hanna, structures with this sort of layout could only be built outside the limits of the city.⁷⁴

The reason for this was that scarcity of land created tensions between two conditions that have to be fulfilled by architects when designing mosques. The first of these is the required orientation towards Mecca. The second is the necessity of achieving a street alignment that will not disturb the established urban pattern.⁷⁵ In Sinan Pasha's mosque, there was no conflict in these respects. The property he owned in Bulaq, was large enough to build his mosque without difficulty.

Sinan Pasha's good fortune in this regard is illustrated by the contrast between two mosques built by an earlier patron, Qadi Yahya. Over a century before Sinan Pasha's

⁷² Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 161

⁷³ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 459.

⁷⁴ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 44.

⁷⁵ Idem; Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 223.

mosque was constructed, Qadi Yahya also erected a mosque in Bulaq (1448) (Pl. 91) with a symmetrical rectangular layout (Fig. 6). However, the same patron's mosque in Cairo was strikingly different. The latter is a clear example of the constraints imposed by limited space when building within the city. Thus, the plan of Qadi Yahya's Cairo mosque, built in 1444 in al-Azhar street, was adjusted to the size and shape of the urban plot. This was a practice that was mastered by architects during the Mamluk period (Fig. 7).

On the other hand, when land was available for building on a grand scale, the opportunity was eagerly seized and the layout of buildings would be more symmetrical and regular. Such were the cases of Qadi Yahya and Sinan Pasha when they built in Bulaq in different periods.

In Sinan Pasha's case, according to Swelim, his mosque in Bulaq was part of a large complex.⁷⁶ Sinan Pasha's *Waqfiyya*, also mentions a *sabil-maktab*, a *qasr*, a *bayt*, a *mathara*, and a *hammam* with shops around it. By the same token, Hanna describes and locates three *khans* as part of the same complex (Fig. 17).

In addition to Sinan Pasha, Raymond mentions others who were great patrons of architecture. Among these are Sulayman Pasha, Dawud Pasha, Hasan Pasha, Ahmad Pasha, and Bayram Pasha.⁷⁷ All of them were involved in the commercial activity of Bulaq, and some of them were owners of gigantic commercial structures.

⁷⁶ Swelim, *The Mosque of Sinan Pasha*, 101.

⁷⁷ Raymond, *Le Caire*, 280.

The Mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza

The mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza was built in 1698, also in Bulaq. In this case there was a restriction in shape and size of the plot; consequently, the layout of the mosque and its dependencies were accommodated to these restrictions (Fig. 2). It seems that the area's urban pattern was already established by the time this was built. Evidence for this point is provided by Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's *Waqfiyya*. This document indicates that he destroyed old buildings that were already located on the site where he intended to erect his mosque. Indeed, he literally "cleaned" the area to build the mosque.⁷⁸ This information seems to indicate that Shurbagy enjoyed considerable power, or at least influence, in Bulaq.

The Shurbagy Mosque and its dependencies are located on the narrow Shar'ia Mirza (Fig. 18) in the area called Ustadariyya.⁷⁹ His estate was not limited to this mosque, and he clearly contributed much to the urban development of Bulaq. Shurbagy's *Waqfiyya* mentions his ownership of several other buildings. Besides the mosque, he is associated with three more public or charitable structures: two *sabils-kuttab*⁸⁰ (one across the street from his mosque, and another one at his *madaš*, not far from his mosque), and a *hammam*.⁸¹ On the commercial side, seven buildings were mentioned in his *Waqfiyya*: two *wikalas*⁸², a *madaš*⁸³, a *maglaq*⁸⁴, two *tahuns*⁸⁵, and a *qahwa*⁸⁶ (Fig. 18). He also, of course, owned his private dwelling, which according to his *Waqfiyya* was located near his

⁷⁸ *Waqfiyya* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza n° 535, 8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸³ *Idem.*

⁸⁴ *Idem.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

mosque.⁸⁷ Many of these buildings no longer exist, though the *Waqfiyya* makes reference to them as being part of Mustafa Shurbagy's private estate. Some of his descendants later continued acquiring property in this area as well.⁸⁸

One must agree with Hanna's observation that Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza "was one of the most prolific builders in the closing years of the seventeenth century."⁸⁹ Raymond, remarks that the contemporary boom of the coffee trade undoubtedly helped spur architectural projects during Shurbagy's active life.⁹⁰

It must be recalled that during the first century after the Ottoman conquest the Pashas were the promoters of architectural activity; after that the Pashas decreased their construction activity in the area. By the first decades of the seventeenth century, the pashas' growing weakness was reflected in a considerable tapering off of architectural activity. The revival of such activity in the latter part of that century was largely sponsored by Janissaries and reflected their ascendant political and economic power—a trajectory that in turn was propelled from the start by the Janissaries' turn to commercial activities. Bulaq benefited from this because of the 'fresh air' injected by Janissaries into the area's urban development.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1-2, and 7-8.

⁸⁸ Hanna *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 70. The author found that out in the *Waqfiyya* al-Gamri n° 241, p. 21, where the Tahun Waqf of Stita bint Mustafa Mirza is mentioned.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 57.

⁹⁰ Raymond, *Le Caire*, 281.

Description of the buildings

Mosque of Sinan Pasha

The Sinan Pasha Mosque is probably the most impressive mosque of the Ottoman style in Cairo.⁹¹ Besides this statement, Behrens-Abouseif also claims that the plan and the exterior are basically Ottoman, but the architecture blends both styles, Ottoman and Mamluk.⁹²

From its conception, the building was intended to be freestanding, following the Ottoman Turkish tradition. As already mentioned above, the land was available and vast, so the construction of this structure did not create any conflict with adjacent buildings. On the contrary, seen from all angles, it was planned as a new landmark for this nascent commercial area. According to Abd al-Wahhab, in 1902 the mosque was partially destroyed in an attempt to create new streets in Bulaq, but during King Faruq's period (1936-1952) it was restored, and finally reconstructed in 1983.⁹³

On the other hand, Williams claims that "this mosque is a completely Ottoman structure, that only includes one element that is considered Cairene, the squinches of the central dome."⁹⁴ In making this statement, Williams is not taking into account the *mihrab* which also clearly reflects the Mamluk influence (Pl. 4). To explain the previous points, it is imperative to analyze the mosque in all its parts.

⁹¹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 254.

⁹² Idem.

⁹³ Abd al-Wahhab. *Ta'rikh al-Masadjid al-Athariyya*, 305.

⁹⁴ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 461.

Plan

The mosque has a layout that is considered Ottoman (Fig. 1) in terms of symmetry. This is one of the hallmarks of Ottoman architecture.⁹⁵ It should be mentioned that this feature, among others, was an Ottoman appropriation from the Christian architecture found in the Byzantine churches of Constantinople.⁹⁶

The Sinan Pasha Mosque is surrounded by an outer enclosure (*ziyada*) to isolate the building from the street (Fig. 1). This was a common Ottoman practice, i.e. the mosques of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel and Malika Safiyya (Figs. 4 & 8). Whenever they had enough free space, they would place their buildings in the middle of the plot. As a result, the plan is a rectangle that is divided symmetrically. The main hall is a square surmounted by a dome and surrounded by porticoes on three sides, which at the same time are covered by shallow domes, eleven in total, three on every side of the prayer hall, with the exception of the *qibla* side. Swelim learned from Sinan's *Waqfiyya* that the mosque originally had twenty-eight arches⁹⁷; though, at present only twenty-six survive, probably as a result of the partial demolition in 1902 and the structure's restoration between 1936-1952. The building's arches will be extensively discussed below. In the meantime, the plan drawn by Patricolo proves Swelim's point about what is mentioned in the *Waqfiyya* (Fig. 1).⁹⁸

Pauty argues that the connection of Sinan's mosque in Bulaq with the Ottoman architecture is easy to establish since it is very common to find in Anatolia the type of square halls surmounted by a dome and having external galleries as part of their

⁹⁵ El-Rashidi, Unpublished MA Thesis, AUC, 22.

⁹⁶ Pauty, *L'Architecture au Caire*, 7-8.

⁹⁷ Swelim, "An Interpretation," 101.

⁹⁸ Pauty, *L'Architecture au Caire*, 14.

composition.⁹⁹ As an example to illustrate this point, he cites the 1489 Hatuniye Cami in Manisa. The similarities between that structure and Sinan Pasha are mainly found in the portico, the main dome, and the surrounding smaller shallow domes. A difference lies in the fact that the lateral two pairs of small domes are also enclosed within the main hall (Fig. 14). This proves the statement made by Behrens-Abouseif, that "In Ottoman mosques where a central dome is surrounded by smaller domes, these usually are included in the interior of the mosque and do not form an exterior portico as they do in Sinan Pasha's mosque."¹⁰⁰ But the striking peculiarity of Sinan Pasha's mosque is the similarity of its plan to that one of the Çenili mosque built later in 1640 (Fig. 15).

Pauty's query is valid when he wonders if Sinan's plan was the first example for this type of mosque.¹⁰¹ The Çenili's and Sinan's plans share several features: the enclosed main hall, the three axial accesses, and the area around the main hall. This remains striking, even though the Çenili mosque's porticoes are not domed as in Sinan Pasha's mosque.¹⁰²

Behrens-Abouseif claims that the porticoes in the mosque of Sinan Pasha, were used as a substitute for the courtyard.¹⁰³ Maybe that is the rational explanation in response to the size of the prayer hall which is not extremely large. On the other hand, it is difficult to find in Cairo examples that have this element integrated to the architecture. With the exception of a Fatimid example that comes to mind (the mosque of the Vizier al-Salih Tala'i' built in 1160) this was not a common element of Cairene architecture

⁹⁹ Ibid., 15.

¹⁰⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 250.

¹⁰¹ Pauty, *L'Architecture au Caire*, 15.

¹⁰² Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 250.

¹⁰³ Idem.

(Pl. 106). However, symmetry is always present in the mosque of Sinan Pasha as are the examples used to understand its evolution.

Façades

The mosque has four façades, but only three of them have arcaded porticoes that give access to the prayer hall. These façades have ornamentation that is worth describing. In the interest of brevity, from now on, the *qibla* wall will be called the "east side." The main façade, opposite to the *mihrab*, will be identified as the "west side." The façade, where the *minaret* is attached, will be the "south side." The remaining façade, opposite to the *minaret*'s side and to the right of the *qibla* wall, will be the "north side."

Seen from outside, the feature that catches the eye is the central dome. The combination of this element with the arcaded porticoes, covered with shallow domes, makes the structure more imposing (Pl. 1). These three elements are completely Ottoman. The building comprises nine hundred eighty square meters of construction. Larger buildings from the same period may be easily found in Cairo. But the combined elements of this structure, in a rather conscious way, make the observer perceive the building as a larger structure than it really is.

The whole surrounding arcade is divided into thirteen unequal partitions. Five of this divisions are on the west side, or the main façade; the remaining two sides, north and south, share four each one. All of them have two arches, except the central partition of the west side, and the second one, heading from east to west, of the north and south sides. These divisions display a triple-arch composition, with the central arch slightly wider and

taller than the others, and the lateral ones slightly narrower. The entrances in the tripartite composition are aligned with the three accesses of the prayer hall; hence, they also serve the function of accentuating them. On the south side, immediately after the *minaret*, the first division has only one arch. Originally, there were a total of twenty-eight arches, as mentioned in Sinan Pasha's *Waqfiyya*. The three accesses to the prayer hall are placed in recesses and furnished with wooden doors. The upper parts of these recesses are surmounted with rather massive *muqarnas*. Between the shallow arch of the access and the *muqarnas* is a small rectangular window with an iron grill and glass. Moldings run around the recesses of these entrances encompassing the *muqarnas* as well. On each side of these entrances are the typical *mastabas* found in most of the mosques in Cairo (Pl. 3).

At present, there is a slight difference in the totality of these arches. The north side, among other things, has been modified. The triple composition now only displays one arch (Pl. 5) (Fig. 1). Recognizing the Ottomans' attachment to symmetry in their architectural arrangements, this irregularity seems more a result of later demolition, renovation, and finally, reconstruction. Probably the explanation for this anomaly is that given by Abd al-Wahhab *supra*, p. 25.¹⁰⁴

According to Bates, the arcade in this mosque is different from those usually found in Ottoman architecture; therefore, it has more common features with North African tradition, and she adds saying that "it is reminiscent of Tunisian mosque façades."¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately Bates does not point out any specific example from Tunisia,

¹⁰⁴ Abd al-Wahhab. *Ta'rikh al-Masadjid al-Athariyya*, 305.

though, probably she is referring to examples of portals like that one found in Mahdiyya's mosque. But in the case of Sinan's mosque, this feature was used just as a concept based on a repetitive module along the arcades where double or triple arch compositions will be accentuated with parapets.

These porticoes have slightly pointed arches that spring from marble columns. Thick buttresses are placed in every corner of this structure to receive the thrust of the long bays, one on each side (Pl. 6). At the central part of every set of arches, the cornice follows a broken line to project "*pishtaq*-like" parapets as if they were crowning these arches (Pl. 2). Probably this is the reason why Bates suggests that this mosque's façade has a relationship with North African architecture. Her point is that Sinan Pasha was the conqueror of Tunisia; and in a way, he was using architectural influences from this area to recall his successful military career.¹⁰⁶

A projecting band or molding runs along the whole cornice accentuating these parapets. Centered into these features, circular windows with star patterns of pierced stucco are placed just above the arches (Pl. 7 & 2). Moldings with entrelacs run around the upper part of the arches to accentuate their shape and also to frame them (Pl. 7).

Crenellations

At present, trefoil crenellations crown the four arcaded façades (Pl. 1 & 8). It is not possible to ascertain what was the shape of the crenellations placed on the mosque when it was first built. However, it must be noted that crenellations were not part of the Ottoman architectural repertoire, but an essential element found in Mamluk architecture.

¹⁰⁵ Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," 155.

An illustration from *Prisse d'Avennes*, shows stepped crenellations. One wonders if the artist saw such crenellations when the mosque was depicted (Pl. 31). In fact, in a photograph published in Pauty's article (1936) one can see the stepped crenellations placed on this mosque.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the illustration from *La Description de l'Egypte* (Pl. 30), which depicts trefoil crenellations, is not very reliable in several points; for example, the exaggeration of the *minaret*, and the standardization of all the arches as pairs. In this respect, the *Waqfiyya* is quite clear in relation to the total number of arches. The point here is, that this mosque even though it was, as Bates notes, built by an Ottoman from Istanbul¹⁰⁸ -"preserved the taste, in some features, of the stylistic trends in Ottoman Cairo which remained peculiarly Cairene".¹⁰⁹ On personal grounds, one is more inclined to accept the trefoil crenellations; since they were the fashion when the Ottomans conquered Egypt, and this element prevailed throughout Cairo. Mahmud Pasha's mosque (1567) is another example bearing the same type of crenellation (Pl. 120).

Main Dome

A central dome, an element very much favored by the Ottomans in their religious architecture, is the focal point of Sinan's mosque (Pl. 1). According to Beherens-Abouseif this is the largest stone dome in Cairo. She states that the span of the dome, in its diameter, measures 15 meters.¹¹⁰ It covers the entire prayer hall, and Swelim remarks that the *Waqfiyya* mentions that it was totally covered with sheets of lead.¹¹¹ To reinforce

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹⁰⁷ Pauty, *L'Architecture au Caire*, Pl. VIIa.

¹⁰⁸ Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," 130.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹¹⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 252.

¹¹¹ Swelim, "An Interpretation," 102.

this point, the account of Bates will be used. She claims that these sheets of lead were brought to Bulaq expressly for this purpose; consequently, the Ottoman appearance could not have been more palpable.¹¹² Today, this dome is covered with plastered bricks (Pl. 9), which, according to Behrens-Abouseif, was an uncommon practice during the Mamluk period.¹¹³ Consequently, either this fact reinforces al-Wahab's statement about the restorations that were carried out in this mosque, or these bricks were underneath the lead sheets mentioned in the *Waqfiyya*. On the other hand, it is important to remember that the Ottomans were not familiar with domes built of stone, and only two other examples can be found during this period 1517-1571, those of Ibrahim al-Kulshani (1519-24), and Amir Sulayman (1544).¹¹⁴

As mentioned above, this central dome attracts the attention of the passers-by. Its profile is rounded and it seems, from outside, to be mounted on a drum marked by two tiers of windows.¹¹⁵ Swelim states that "this was the first dome of its kind in Cairo."¹¹⁶ Unlike most of the Mamluk examples that have a clear transitional zone inside and outside, Sinan's dome has this structural element clearly perceived only from inside the building, as does its prototype, the Fadawiyya Dome built in 1479. In both cases, the transitional zone starts within the square rather than above it (Pl. 10).

The upper tier, which is in fact the drum,¹¹⁷ is composed of sixteen facets that have windows shaped in trefoil pointed (ogee) arches (Pl. 9). Despite the fact that this element was common during the Fatimid period, the shrine of Sayyida Ruqayya built in

¹¹² Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," 156.

¹¹³ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 252.

¹¹⁴ Idem.

¹¹⁵ Idem.

¹¹⁶ Swelim, "An Interpretation," 104.

¹¹⁷ Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman*, 312.

1133, is the only extant example that carries the same type of windows in a drum (Pl. 111). The lower tier has eight facets carrying double-arched windows; though, these can be seen only from outside. Inside, these windows have a different appearance. They are rosettes covered with colored glass and shaped by eight circles circumscribing a larger one (Pl. 11). These rosettes alternate with another set of blind ones (Pl. 10). All of them are framed by moldings and engaged slender columns. These colored rosettes are not visible from the outside (Pl. 12). The light filtered through the colored glass gives a pleasant atmosphere inside the prayer hall. All the facets in both tiers are divided with turrets that are surmounted by onion-shaped tops, the only difference is that the turrets from the lower tier are more massive than the upper tier (Pl. 13).¹¹⁸

As early as the Bahri Mamluk period, one can find domes over the *maqsurahs* of some mosques, i.e. Sultan al-Zahir Baybars (1266-69), and Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel (1318-35) (Fig. 9). Behrens-Abouseif points out four more examples of domes surmounting non-funerary buildings built during the later Circassian Mamluk period.¹¹⁹ This will be referred to below in the discussion of "Squinches". For now, the point is that evidence shows it is incorrect to claim that Mamluks limited the use of domes to mausolea and that the Ottomans must receive all credit for introducing into Egypt the "fashion" of building mosques crowned with domes.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 312. The author insists in calling them turrets rather than buttresses, as Behrens-Abouseif terms them.

¹¹⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, "Four Domes," 191-201.

¹²⁰ Idem, *The Minarets of Cairo*, 21

Shallow Domes of the Porticoes

These domes are made of brick and they are part of the composition with the porticoes. They are shallow, especially if one compares them with the main central dome (Pl. 14 & 8). From inside the porticoes it is clear how they were placed on the structure. The domes are supported by a system of pendentives framed by the longitudinal arches running along the bays, the walls of the main central hall, and the transverse arches of these bays (Pl. 15). Suffice to mention that the arches carried wooden tie-beams, a common practice in Mamluk architecture (Pl. 6 & 16). Pendentives were part of the Ottoman's structural repertoire throughout the Empire.

Minaret

The *minaret* is placed on the corner of the south and east sides of the mosque aligned with the *qibla* wall. Behrens-Abouseif terms this *minaret* as "squat" (Pl. 18).¹²¹ However, Bates says that the *Waqfiyya* also mentions that this *minaret* originally had two balconies, which means that originally it was probably rather taller.¹²² Based on personal observation of other Ottoman mosques in Cairo, one is rather inclined to accept Bates' point. Sinan Pasha had such rank and economic power that he probably expected his architect to build a *minaret* that would equal the category of his mosque.

At present the *minaret* is indeed short and heavy if one compares it with other Ottoman *minarets* from the same period i.e. Sulayman Pasha's at the Citadel (Pl. 122);

¹²¹ Idem, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 250.

¹²² Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," 155.

Sinan's has only one balcony and a conical top. Under this balcony tiers of *muqarnas* are part of the ornamentation (Pl. 18). It is pencil-shaped (cylindrical shaft), a typical Ottoman style. The shaft is faceted and has some moldings above the transitional zone. According to Swelim, the *Waqfiyya* makes reference to the fact that the upper part of the *minaret* was once also covered with lead sheets, and crowned with a gilded crescent finial made of copper which still survives.¹²³

Dependencies

The mosque is currently being restored, but according to the plan prepared by Patricolo at the beginning of the twentieth century, a cistern and a *takiya* were also within the same precinct (Fig. 1). This is the *Takiyya* al-Rifa'iyyah that was built later in 1744 for a brotherhood of Sufis. Not surprising that a *takiyya* was built near by an Ottoman religious foundation, given the Ottoman's inclination to favor these residences for Sufis. Adjacent to the cistern one can still find the ablution area (Pl. 17), and latrines are found where the *Takiyya* was once located.

Interior decoration

Very few colored decorative motifs are found inside the mosque. One of them is the marble revetted *mihrab*. This will be discussed in its own section. Another motif is the colored-glass windows in stucco matrices. These windows fulfill two functions, utilitarian and decorative; besides illuminating the prayer hall, they provide an essential restful-meditative milieu to the mosque (Pl. 19). Claiming that they are original would be

¹²³ Swelim, "An Interpretation," 102.

rather daring. A close observation from the walkway that runs around the dome and has a wooden balustrade makes one doubt it. Some of them seem to be replacements since they have traces of careless masonry work (Pl. 20 & 21). A third decorative element is a band of *muqarnas* (Pl. 22), which supports the walkway and the balustrade mentioned above. This band runs around the transitional zone between the rosette and ogee windows inside the dome. These *muqarnas* have dripping elements that are found in Turkish Ottoman buildings (Pl. 23). One example is found in the Minaret of 'Ali al-Imari (late fifteenth-early sixteenth century) in Cairo (Pl. 114). Another is found at the Suleymaniyya in Istanbul (1550), north door of the mosque (Pl. 123). According to Behrens-Abouseif, "this is the only Ottoman decorative element at this mosque".¹²⁴

Mihrab

Swelim says that the *Waqfiyya* specifies more than one *mihrab*, four in total. The main *mihrab* is placed on the *qibla* wall inside the prayer hall, which is the only one that survives until today. Two plain *mihrabs* were located at the porticoes, and one was next to the *minaret*. It is very probable that all three of them were destroyed during the demolition and reconstruction processes.

The prayer niche, the only surviving one is highly decorated in the Mamluk style (Pl. 4). It has a pointed arch framed by a rectangle and two marble columns carrying the ablaq arch rather ungracefully. It is inlaid with polychrome marble, white, red, blue and black. This was a Mamluk fashion that prevailed in several extant examples throughout

¹²⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 253. D. Crecelius also mentions this in his book *Tarikh Misr al-Iqtisadi wa al-iqtima'ey fi al-Asr al-'Othmani 1517-1798*, 298, that the *muqarnas* on the transitional zone are decorated with Ottoman motifs.

the Ottoman period. Two tear-drop motifs and a circle between them are found on the spandrels, the same motif is also found in the *madrasa* of al-Zahir Barquq (1384) (Pl. 107). The arch has juggled voussoirs in black and white colored marble, similar to the *madrasa* of Sarghatmish (1356) (Pl. 98). The conch is decorated with a zig-zag design in white and black marble, in al-Mu'ayyad's mosque (1416) one can find a prototype (Pl. 115). The next section, between the conch and the middle rectangular part, is a plain band of revetted white marble. The central part has a panel with geometrical star pattern filled with intarsia and carries basically the most colorful part of the *mihrab* whose first star pattern intarsia can be traced back at Qalawun (1284) (Pl. 116). On the remaining lower part, there are panels of white marble decorated with moldings that run vertically grouped in three.

Above the *mihrab* there is an oculus covered with a stucco roundel that has epigraphy on it. The same feature bearing the same characteristics is found on several other mosques; i.e. at Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's mosque. It is not possible to determine if this is part of the original design of the prayer niche. On personal observation, one is rather doubtful about the originality of this element.

Squinces

In considering the squinch system in Sinan's mosque, it should be recalled that four examples bearing the same type of squinces as in Sinan's mosque have been pointed out by Behrens-Abouseif.¹²⁵ These are rather atypical examples of structures

¹²⁵ Idem, "Four Domes," 200-1. Besides the Qubbat al-Fadawiyya three more examples are mentioned by the author, the Domes of Yasbak, south of Matariyya (1477); Zawiyat al-Damirdas (erected during Qaytbay's reign); and Ma'Bad al-Rifa'i (c. 1432/33). They were either structures built within residential

surmounted by domes that did not fulfill the function of a funerary building.¹²⁶ Of Behrens-Abouseif's four examples, the Qubbat al-Fadawiya (1479) serves best as a foil for discussing Sinan's mosque (Pl. 117).

The squinch system in the mosque of Sinan Pasha hearks back to examples found in the late Mamluk period. Indeed, it is possible that the Qubbat al-Fadawiya, built in 1479¹²⁷, may have been the prototype of Sinan's mosque. On the other hand, Behrens-Abouseif also mentions Wiet's point of view related to the origin of this type of squinches. She says, "Wiet compares the treatment of these squinches to the treatment of Cairene portals of the same period. His argument is that the Mamluk architect would treat the transitional zone of a dome as he would treat a semi-dome in a portal vault, since the structural problems are the same."¹²⁸

The transitional zone in Sinan's mosque is constituted of four large squinches, each one fixed in a corner of the prayer hall. The element that sustains the squinch is a trilobe arch which at its highest part is a semi-dome. This semi-dome rests on top of two side niches (Pl. 10). As in the case of the Qubbat al-Fadawiyya, in Sinan's dome two pointed-arch windows are also part of this squinch system. Each set of these squinches is encased in a large pointed arch. In this specific case, they are placed in a rather low position to "hide" the corners, which gives the space inside a circular shape in spite of a ground plan that is square in form (Pl. 10).

complexes or *zawiyas*. The last example wrongly classified as Ottoman by L. Hauteccœur, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, 348.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 201.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 193.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 195.

The upper hoods of these squinches are divided in two pairs in response to their decoration. That pair of these squinches on the *qibla* side bears an "Allah" motif (Pl. 24). The other pair opposite the *qibla* has a sunburst motif (Pl. 25). Underneath these motifs rows of stalactites fill the four hoods. According to Swelim, the "Allah" motif on the *qibla* side, "might suggest that it was intended to give the effect of having two additional *mihrahs* in this mosque."¹²⁹ I rather think that it was used to decorate and enhance more the *qibla* wall giving two lateral elements as a frame to the *mihrab* (Pl. 19).

The "Allah" motif is the only instance of an epigraphic trace. No inscriptions are found in the building, a fact that is, to some extent, unusual. The "Allah" motif depicted in Sinan Pasha's mosque is also found on the western portal of al Ghuri mosque (1504) (Pl. 109).

Wood-work

Within this section, three elements have been grouped, the *minbar*, the *dikka* and the balustrade running around the transitional zone inside the dome.

The *minbar* is placed on the right side of the prayer niche, and according to Swelim this is a later addition. The affirmation is based on the *Waqfiyya* which mentions "a *minbar* surmounted by a wooden cupola with a gilded copper crescent."¹³⁰ The actual *minbar* does not exhibit these characteristics and is of poor quality (Pl. 29).

The *dikka* element is problematic. Scholars are still not sure what was its real utility. This overhanging element is cleverly placed on the wall in front of the *qibla* facing the *mihrab* (Pl. 27). It rests on a pair of large corbels instead of columns (Pl. 26).

¹²⁹ Swelim, "An Interpretation," 105.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 102 and 107.

It is a square wooden box which at first glance seems to be there as a site where the ruler could pray and have security. Examples of this are found in important mosques in Istanbul. In fact, according to Swelim, the *Waqfiyya* does not mention the word *maqsura* which would make clear its function as a royal box; instead, calls it *dikka khashab*, and that means that is intended for the Cairene *mu'ahdhins*, the counterpart of the *muëzzin mahfilis* in Ottoman mosques in Turkey.¹³¹ Its painted decoration uses floral and geometric motifs of Ottoman style observable from underneath the *dikka* (Pl. 28).

The last of these wooden elements is the balustrade that runs inside the dome along the transitional zone (Pl. 11). According to Swelim, the *Waqfiyya* does not shed any light on the possible utilization of this element.¹³² It is not a Mamluk Cairene element, and it is only found in Turkish Ottoman buildings. It appears for the first time in Cairo in Sinan's mosque, being repeated again in the Mosque of Malika Safiyya (Pl. 112). Swelim also suggests that there is the possibility that this balustrade was used to allow maintenance of the upper windows and also for lighting the suspended lamps.¹³³

Mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza

The Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza mosque was erected under special socio-political circumstances obtaining in the late seventeenth century. According to the *Waqfiyya* it was built as a congregational mosque.¹³⁴ It is Mamluk in plan, structure and style, save the *minaret*, and some decoration inside that reflects Ottoman fashion in Egypt. It was built right on a street quite close to the main commercial area and the mosques of Sinan

¹³¹ Ibid., 104.

¹³² Ibid., 105.

¹³³ Ibid., 105.

¹³⁴ *Waqfiyya* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza n° 535, 20 and 22.

Pasha and Qadi Yahya. These facts seem linked to its patron, who was probably a Janissary engaged in trade.

Going back to its closeness with the landmark larger mosques of Bulaq, a passage from the *Waqfiyya* seems illustrative. This document indicates that "Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza had, among other properties, a *qahwa*, which had a courtyard from where there was a connection to the 'secret door' of the Masjid Zayn al-Din al-Ustadar"¹³⁵ (Fig. 7). As one can see, all these buildings were extremely close to one another.

Unlike the mosque of Sinan Pasha, a pure freestanding structure, this building faced restrictions relative to the shape and size of the land. Under these conditions, only the main façade can be observed in its totality due to the buildings surrounding it and the narrowness of the streets (Pl. 32).

Plan

The whole structure has two parts, the mosque itself and its dependencies. For the moment only the mosque will be described. Again, as it was done above in Sinan's case, for the purpose of brevity, from now on, the *qibla* wall will be the east side. The wall bearing the entrance to the *sahn* will be the south side. The main façade wall, opposite to the *mihrab*, will be the west side. And the remaining one, opposite to the entrance across the prayer hall will be the north side (Fig. 2).

However, this mosque is set askew with the street. Its tilted plan shows the solution the architect used in order to reconcile the demands of the *qibla* orientation and the need to accommodate the building with the street alignment.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 14.

Since the mosque was built on an irregular plot, the result was that two triangular areas remained for construction after the "rough" rectangular prayer hall was designed. These triangles are located on the north and west sides. The former is set two steps higher than the *riwaq* level, and the latter by one step only (Pl. 33).

The layout of this mosque is based on the Mamluk *riwaq*-type, save for its main entrance which is placed on one side of the mosque. There are several examples of the *riwaq*-type from the Mamluk period, among them, the mosque of Qadi Yahya in Bulaq (1948) (Fig. 6) and their main entrances are located directly in front of the Mihrab. But this is not the case here. Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's mosque has only one lateral entrance. In this respect, it also differs from those mosques based on the three-aisle plan that have two entrances, one on each side.

The layout of this mosque exhibits an almost total absence of symmetry and regular shapes, except for the rough rectangle of the prayer hall. Apart from the main façade, this is the first sign of its relationship to Cairo's Mamluk architecture. From that period, real masterpieces of that type of architecture were "squeezed" into the most complicated plots of land, for example, the mosque of Qijmas al-Ishaki (1479-81) (Fig. 10).

The Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza structure is a medium size *riwaq*-type mosque, with a covered *sahn* at present. In its description the *Waqfiyya* sheds some light on this aspect: "In the middle of the *sahn* there is a drain for the water from the rain (Pl. 34)."¹³⁶ On the other hand, Williams also makes a reference to this and he says, "this is a congregational mosque, covered (perhaps not originally)."¹³⁷ Today, this mosque is totally covered with

¹³⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹³⁷ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 461.

a wooden roof and has a simple, non-elaborated, non-relevant, central square lantern. One wonders if the *Waqfiyya* really means that this mosque was uncovered. By mentioning rain, the *Waqfiyya* appears to imply the threat of water entering from above, for one cannot imagine water entering from the windows, or somewhere else, when in Cairo the pluvial precipitation is so low. In the meantime, the restorations undertaken by the *Comité de Conservation* make no reference to this element in particular. In considering the possibility that this mosque originally had an open *sahn*, one has to remember that some Mamluk mosques had this feature. The example that comes to mind is the mosque of Aqsunqur (1347) (Fig. 11). This point will be discussed later in the section dedicated to the *Shukhsheikha* and the ceilings.

The *Waqfiyya* also mentions two *iwans*.¹³⁸ My guess is that these *iwans* are those spaces found into the triangular sections, to the north and west (Pl. 35). As a matter of fact, the west side *iwan*, facing the *mihrab*, houses a gallery or loggia for the *Quran* reciter (Pl. 36).

From Mirza Street the mosque is reached through a flight of three semi-circular steps at present (Pl. 37), though the *Waqfiyya* mentions four.¹³⁹ One of the steps probably was buried as the street level rose. Reaching the last of these steps, small *mastabas* flank both sides of the entrance. Beyond the main door a trapezoidal vestibule begins and seven more steps conduct one either straight ahead to the outside courtyard where the dependencies are located or, turning to the left towards the central square of the interior courtyard.

¹³⁸ *Waqfiyya*, Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, n° 535, 2.

¹³⁹ *Idem*.

Reaching this point, the visitor is almost convinced that this courtyard was completely open. One cannot but imagine the whole area bathed with the rays of the sun. This bent entrance is another tribute paid by this mosque to the Mamluk architecture. It recalls, for instance, the mosque of Qijmas al-Ishaki (1481) (Fig. 10). At this point one finds a sunken area from the entrance of the prayer hall to the *sahn* (Pl. 38) that recalls earlier examples from the Mamluk period, as the mosque of an-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel (1318-35). Yet it can also be considered a development from Cairene domestic architecture.

Inside the prayer hall, there is a typical *riwaq*-type arrangement on the four sides of the *sahn*. The *riwaq*-type was used in early examples such as the mosques of an-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel (1318-35) (Fig. 9). Later, this feature began to be combined with the *iwan* type as in the mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar (1344-45).

The *qibla* wall has two aisles and the other three around the *sahn* have only one. The arcade running parallel to the *qibla* has five arches. The four arcades delimiting the *sahn* have three arches each. Two more arches are found on each of the two *iwans* on the north side. Three more of these arches link the corners of the *sahn* with the walls perpendicular to them running parallel to the *qibla* side, and one reaching the wall that divides the two *iwans* on the north side. In total the mosque has twenty five arches (Fig. 2). It is worth mentioning that all arches inside the mosque are plain pointed arches. All of them also rest on marble columns that seem to be reused (Pl. 35 & 39). Twelve of these columns are octagonal in section, and six more carved in pairs.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Idem.

There are windows and cabinets on the walls, but the *Waqfiyya* only mentions the three windows from the *qibla* wall and those found on the main façade.¹⁴¹ Nowadays, on the *qibla* side there are four windows plus one oculus covered with a roundel that seems to be recent (Pl. 40 & 41); three double and three single on the north side (Pls. 42 & 43), four on the south, two arches and two squares (Pl. 44 & 45); and three double on the main façade, or west side (Pl. 32). The plan of the mosque shows seventeen windows. In reality the main façade has three extra windows that do not appear in the plan for obvious reasons. In the same situation obtains on the north side that also has three extra windows. Thus, in total the mosque has twenty-four windows.

At the back of the *qibla* wall on the right hand side of the *minbar* there is a small trapezoidal room for the seclusion of the *khatib* (preacher).¹⁴² On the right hand of the vestibule to the south there is the *midat* or ablution area that it has an independent entrance facing Mirza street¹⁴³ (Pl. 37).

The *minaret* is placed on the south-west corner of the main façade adjacent to the main portal. The main entrance and the vestibule are set back from the main elevation creating a protruding corner on which the *minaret* is located (Fig. 2). All these points will be discussed in detail on their respective sections.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 3.

¹⁴² Idem.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 4.

Façades

This mosque is high above the ground level, and underneath it are fifteen storage rooms (shops) according to the *Waqfiyya*¹⁴⁴ (Pl. 46 & 47). This feature can place the mosque in the category of a suspended type, as the mosque of the Vizier al-Salih Tala'i' (1160) (Pl. 106). Still, the entrances to these rooms can be observed on the main (Pl. 47), and north (Pl. 46) façades. Also at street level another feature catches the eye, a number of arrow-lit type piercing elements on the main and north (Pl. 46) façades. Were these elements for ventilation or for security?

It is not easy to see the other façades in their totality, since constructions are attached to them. The only information that could be collected was the discrepancy between some of the windows. The main entrance and its portal are located at the right side of the main façade on Mirza street (Pl. 48).

The main elevation is plain, except for three recesses bearing two fenestrations each (Pl. 32). The upper windows have slightly pointed arches while the lower ones are rectangular. These recesses are crowned with tiers of *muqarnas*. The north-west corner is chamfered with a very simple *muqarnas* at the top (Pl. 47). This treatment of the corner takes the prototype from Fatimid architecture, already repeated during the Mamluk period, for example the *madrasa* of Sarghitmish (1356) (Pl. 99), and the mosque of Qadi Yahya at Bulaq (1448) (Pl. 92). The south-west corner is treated with an engaged stone column (Pl. 48). This column is originally an Anatolian feature, yet it was adapted in Mamluk architecture since the mosque of Sultan Hasan (1356), and repeated afterwards in several mosques such as Qijmas al-Ishaqi (1479-81) (Pl. 100).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 2.

Main Portal

The portal is a trilobed recess with a shallow conch or hood. The latter has a stone inlaid sunrise motif above rows of *muqarnas* finely carved (Pl. 49). According to Beherens-Abouseif, this feature was in vogue during the late Mamluk period.¹⁴⁵ Below is a rectangular fenestration flanked by two marble colonnettes and an upper *muqarnas* lintel. This feature is also Mamluk, and is found, for example on the portal of al-Maridani mosque (1340) (Fig. 96). The entrance door is surmounted by two marble lintels, the lower one is plain, and the upper one is joggled using three colors. Hexagonal entrelac moldings are used all over the portal (Pl. 49).

The overall expression of the portal of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza mosque recalls that on the western elevation of al-Ghuri mosque (1503) (Pl. 110). Although the elevation is mostly Mamluk, some Ottoman details can be found, such as the hexagonal entrelac repeated all over the portal. They were already used in the late Circassian period, i.e. at the entrance of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban madrasa (1369). But the excessive use of this type of entrelac marks the Ottoman period.

Crenellation

Two types of crenellations are used around the mosque (Pl. 50 & 51). The type of crenellation used on the east, north, and west façades is an Ottoman development of the typical Mamluk trilobed type. It has protruding parts below the trefoil which developed later into a more elaborated and elongated form. The stepped crenellations on the south

¹⁴⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 244.

and part of the east façades, were used in some early Mamluk examples such as the mosque of al-Maridani (1340) (Pl. 97) and the *madrasa* of Sarghitmish (1356). In the case of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza mosque it seems to be a later addition.

Fenestration

The fenestration is where some of the discrepancies really seem evident. It is almost impossible to know how many of them were initially emplaced in the façades. The *Waqfiyya* only mentions those found on the *qibla* wall and the main façade: "there are three windows on the *qibla* wall, behind the *mihrab*, and three windows on the west side, the upper ones have glass and the lower ones have copper."¹⁴⁶ The fact is that today on the *qibla* wall or east side there are four windows, three single and one double (Pl. 40), plus a covered oculus (Pl. 41), instead of just three mentioned by the *Waqfiyya* while the main façade remains unaltered (Pl. 32). The other discrepancy has to do with the windows' decoration and their shape. Those placed in recesses crowned by a tier of *muqarnas* have slightly pointed arches, and those with no framing or any decoration are simple slightly pointed arches.

To be more explicit, the remaining walls are marked by very odd fenestration. For example, on the north side there are three pairs of windows (Pl. 42), resembling those on the main façade (Pl. 32). They are placed in recesses, surmounted by *muqarnas*, and three single are simply non-ornamented slightly pointed-arches. On the south side are two rectangular windows and two in the shape of a pointed-arch. In neither case is

¹⁴⁶ *Waqfiyya*, Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, n° 535, 3.

there any ornamentation (Pl. 42 & 45). The rectangular ones seem to be part of a more recent restoration, and the other ones remain unexplained.

A question arises. Were all these windows part of the initial plan when the mosque was built or were some added later? Why should more windows have been added? The answer is related to the *sahn* and to the problem of whether or not it was originally covered. If, what the *Waqfiyya* indicates is true, there was a clear justification for adding windows. Why? The answer is simple. The mosque would need more light and ventilation. If this was not the case, it must be concluded that the mosque suffers from a very awkward design.

Ventilators

Although the *Waqfiyya* mentions only one *malqaf* on the *mihrab*'s side, the mosque now has three of them¹⁴⁷; though none of them is in use anymore. Probably because modern electrical fans replaced the ventilators. This is another point that helps support the theory that the *sahn* was not originally covered. In short, why would extra ventilators have been added? The answer, as in the case of the windows, would appear to be the necessity of ventilating a closed space that was formerly open (Pl. 52).

Minaret

As mentioned before when describing the mosque's plan, the *minaret* is situated on the south-west corner of the main façade adjacent to the main portal (Pl. 53). This is obviously Ottoman in style. The pencil-shape, the polygonal shaft, decorated with

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 3 and 4.

cartouches in relief, the balcony on *muqarnas* and the conical finial are all Ottoman features. However, the railing of the balcony is constructed of stucco following a local tradition.

The position of the *minaret* is quite Mamluk, being set on a projecting corner so as to be seen along the street (Pl. 54). Moreover, it starts at the roof level, varying from the Ottoman tradition of having the base of the *minaret* starting on the ground level. The pyramidal zone of transition was employed in both the Mamluk and the Ottoman traditions. However, the longish curved triangles in the zones of transition were rarely used in Mamluk architecture.

Dependencies

The layout of this adjacent part of the mosque is an absolutely irregular area, which illustrates the difficulties that the architect had to face when designing this mosque (Fig. 2). The *Waqfiyya* mentions these dependencies as being for the ablution area, and uses the term *midat*.¹⁴⁸ It is a trapezoid truncated on its east side; however, the *Waqfiyya* terms it "squarish". The east side is the narrowest (Pl. 55). The *Waqfiyya* describes some of its features. It says that this is an open area, with latrines around the area. In the middle of this courtyard are four little marble columns that still exist, supporting a wooden roof that seems not to be the original (Pl. 56). These columns seem to be original; smaller but exhibiting carving similar to that in the prayer hall. The *Waqfiyya* also indicates that in the middle of this area there was a fountain and seven faucets. These seem have been renewed in some aspects.

¹⁴⁸ Idem.

Another important point is the crenellation running around the wall delimiting the ablution area from the streets, and also found on the edge of the roof facing the inner part of the courtyard. As it was mentioned above, this is an Ottoman development of the typical Mamluk trilobed type (Pl. 45). It seems to be original; though, this is possibly open to question.

Marble work

Among the variety of decoration and techniques used in the interior of this mosque, there is a large amount of marble work. This is the *pièce-de-résistance* of all the decoration found in this mosque. Behrens-Abouseif's statement insightful: "The most remarkable feature at the Mirza mosque is the marble polychrome decoration whose lavishness is comparable only to that of the mosques of al-Burdayni (Pl. 93) and Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel."¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the *Waqfiyya* is precise about this point, saying that "the floor of the vestibule and the *sahn* are all revetted with color marble, as well as the walls of the *qibla*."¹⁵⁰ It does not go into details of the type of design that was used for executing this decoration. The following is therefore based purely on observation and comparison.

The floor is covered with polychrome marble in various geometrical patterns (Pl. 57). The design is divided in compartments imitating a Mamluk carpet. In the middle of the *sahn*, in a central large square as a focal point, there is a compartment on black background that contains a large white rosette (Pl. 58). This encompasses, at the same time, another row of red circles that circumscribe a sun-like motif. In the spandrels of

¹⁴⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 344.

¹⁵⁰ *Waqfiyya*, Mustafa aShurbagy Mirza, n°, 535, 2 and 3.

this central square are tear-drop motifs with a roundel in between. On each corner of this large square, there are smaller square compartments filled with another simpler white rosette (Pl. 59). On every side of the central square are *cartouches* framed by a hexagonal entrelac motif. Inside the *cartouches* are diapers containing basically white squares (Pl. 60).

This type of marble work continues a Mamluk tradition that goes back to the beginning of the Mamluk period. Mamluks used floors with circular and geometrical patterns extensively, especially during the Circassian period. According to Crecelius, they are a continuation of the Mamluk period.¹⁵¹ For example, such floors can be compared to those of the *madrassa* of Barquq (1384-6) (Pl. 108) at Bayn al-*Qasrin*, and Gani Bek (1480) in Bab al-Wazir (Pl. 113).

A marble dado decorates the *qibla* wall and parts of the walls contiguous to the *qibla* on the north and south sides (Pl. 61, 62, & 63). The lower part of the dado consists of rectangular polychrome marble panels (Pl. 64 & 65). The upper part has roundels with entrelacs, the spandrels of which are in intarsia, some with strap work. Between the two parts is a narrow band with carved marble filled with red and black paste in an arabesque pattern (Pl. 66 & 67). The same technique is used in two panels found on the *qibla* wall, having a *mihrab*-like carving surrounded by stylized floral design (Pl. 68 & 69).

Behrens-Abouseif comments on this: "The decorator of this mosque added a pattern which is not used at al-Burdayni and which is also a Mamluk revival: marble inlaid with black and colored red paste forming fine arabesques, the device used on a number of

¹⁵¹ Crecelius, *Tarikh Misr al-Iqtisadi*, 292.

fifteenth century mosques and at the mosque of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel. It appears on two small niches which seem to have been intended for lamps."¹⁵²

The dados as well as the intarsia work can be traced back even earlier to the Bahari period, to the complex of *Qalawun* and afterwards (Pl. 116). The technique of the marble carving with red and black paste fill was used in the Circassian period in the mosque of Qijmas al-Ishaqi (1479-81) (Pl. 101) and the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad (1415-20) (Pl. 115).

Mihrab

If one examines the mosque's plan, it is clear that the *mihrab* is not placed in the central part of the *qibla* wall, as was the norm at the time. In this case, *mihrab* and *minbar* together play the role of being the focal point. This is notable because the central arches of the arcades in front of the *qibla* wall are wider than the other ones. It seems as though the architect did this purposefully, as if with the intention of looking for an element to frame not just the *mihrab*, but also the *minbar* in order to establish them both as the main feature of that wall (Pl. 40). Just by stepping back away from the *qibla* wall while always facing these two elements, one can confirm this effect.

The *Waqfiyya* comments that the *mihrab* is completely revetted with colored marble-work.¹⁵³ The *mihrab* has a pointed arch within a rectangular frame, flanked by two marble columns (Pl. 70). It is all worked in marble revetments and intarsia. Each spandrel has two tear-drop motifs with a roundel in between. The arch is decorated with marble juggled-voussoir. The hood has a horizontal chevron design below which is a row

¹⁵² Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 244.

¹⁵³ *Waqfiyya* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza n° 535, 3.

of trefoil diminutive arches each separated by two blue colonnettes. Intarsia work fills the inner part of these diminutive arches (Pl. 71). In the center, there is a rectangular panel of intarsia work in geometrical star pattern (Pl. 72). At the bottom is another row of elongated arches which upper part is a trefoil composed of horseshoe-arches. The same feature is also found at the mosque of Sarghitmish (1356) (Pl. 98). Above the *mihrab*, there is an oculus with a carved stucco panel bearing an inscription, which seems not to be original (Pl. 41), a similar feature is also found in the mosque of Sinan Pasha.

The *mihrab* is entirely in the Mamluk tradition. For instance, the tear-drop motif on the spandrel goes back to the *madrasa* of Barquq (1384) (Pl. 107). The chevron motif on the hood was used in many Mamluk examples such as the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad (1414-20) (Pl. 115). The colonnettes and the intarsia work go back also to *Qalawun* (1284-5) (Pl. 116), and they were used in a number of examples afterwards. The juggled-voussoirs are quite similar to those at the *madrasa* of Sarghatmish (1356) (Pl. 98). It was used specially with the sun-burst design on the hood of the *madrasa* of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban (1369) (Pl. 118).

Wall-tiling

The walls above the dados are entirely covered with Iznik-type tiles up to the ceiling (Pl. 73 & 74). This is an Ottoman feature, and it was extensively used in the Ottoman restorations of the Mamluk mosques, such as the Aqsunqur (1347)¹⁵⁴ (Pl. 102, 103, & 104). In Aqsunqur's mosque, the tiles were added by Ibrahim Agha Mustahfizan

¹⁵⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, 115.

around 1652; however, the quality of the tiles used in this mosque is superior to those used in the mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza.

In the mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, Iznik-type tiles from the second and third phases were used, though, they were probably locally executed, since the quality is not the best and the amount used in this mosque is excessive. The Iznik prototype is obvious on these tiles given the characteristics of their decoration: a repetitive bouquet pattern of carnation flowers, cedar trees, saz leaves, and the use of a variety of colors other than blue¹⁵⁵ (Pl. 125).

According to Williams, "this is a fairly good set of Iznik-type tiles, by Cairo standards. It is easy to believe that these come from the relatively decadent ateliers of the later seventeenth century."¹⁵⁶ Though, this author says that even when the effect inside the mosque is pleasant, it is still "hybrid", but he admits that the amount of tiles in this mosque is one of the largest in Cairo.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, Crecelius identified at least two panels in the *qibla* wall that have different characteristics (Pl. 75 & 76). He termed them as "*Zelig*" from a Moroccan influence, and gives three of their characteristics: they are 2.3 centimeters thick, manufactured with red clay, and the range of colors is: yellow, green, blue and brown.¹⁵⁸ He also mentions that during the eighteenth century they were probably replaced in this mosque. Besides this example he also cites other buildings bearing this type of tiles, such as the mosque of Abu al-Dahab (1774).

¹⁵⁵ Idem, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 244.

¹⁵⁶ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 457.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 461.

¹⁵⁸ Crecelius, *Tarikh Misr al-Iqtisadi*, 304.

Wood-work

Ceilings

Wooden ceilings are used all over the mosque with decorations in three different techniques plus the plain, undecorated wood found covering the *sahn*. One has to begin by dividing those sections where the different types of wooden ceiling are placed. Again, as a manner of convention in order to facilitate identification, capital letters from "A" to "D" will be given to each style and its respective location in the mosque's plan. It is worthwhile to point out what the *Waqfiyya* says about the ceilings: "The ceilings are made out of wood and all painted in Rummiyyan local style decoration"¹⁵⁹ (Fig. 3).

The vestibule, being the first area to be reached from the main entrance will be the first one to be described; hence, it will stand for style "A". Here one confronts a flat painted ceiling with a star pattern decoration in relief based on an octagonal form. As a central element of decoration there is a rectangle encompassing a twelve-sided star. The range of colors is pleasant and probably has the best quality of all the ceilings (Pl. 77). Style "B" is found on the ceilings of the two *iwans* in the northern and western triangular areas. Here, basically the technique and pattern is similar to style "A", except that the decoration is based on hexagonal stars. The central part has an inner rectangle filled with a pattern based on a ten-sided star. The quality is inferior to style "A" (Pl. 78). It is important to point out that Style "B" is similar to the decoration found underneath the *dikka* of Sinan Pasha's mosque (Pl. 28). Style "C" is found in the largest ceiling area of them all and is therefore the dominant style. It is based on an arrangement of exposed wooden beams painted in various floral and geometrical patterns in a wide

¹⁵⁹ *Waqfiyya*, Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, n° 535, 2

range of colors (Pl. 79). The quality is not of the best, but it is much more imaginative than the preceding styles. Style "D", is the simplest of them all, and found all over the area that covers the *sahn*. Therefore, one must wonder if it is original or not (Pl. 80).

Besides what the *Waqfiyya* says about the drain found on the floor in the middle of the *sahn* the ceiling itself does not approximate either the imaginativeness or the range of colors found on the three preceding types. In a way, this ceiling is accusing those who committed the crime of covering the *sahn*. There are several details that make one have serious doubts about this ceiling's originality. First, the *Waqfiyya* says that the ceilings were all made out of wood and painted. Second, the type of wood used in this ceiling is extremely crude (Pl. 81). Third, the masonry work is poor and careless. Fourth, the wooden *muqarnas* band running around the whole *sahn* was, accidentally broken by whoever put that ceiling up. All these points make the observer think that this ceiling was not part of the initial plan when the mosque was erected. The *muqarnas* band has some traces of paint; one wonders if it lost the paint because initially it was exposed to the raw weather. All these considerations are worthwhile taking into account.

Shukhsheikha

This feature is also part of the "bone of contention". This is an irrelevant feature if one thinks in terms of design and execution (Pl. 82 & 52). It is just a cubical element pierced by two rectangular simple glass-windows on each side. It lacks grace especially when compared to *Shukhsheikhas* as the one in Qaytbay's mosque (1472-74) (Pl. 119). It is understandable that one will not expect an element of royal standards, because there

was a big gap in the respective patrons' socio-political status. Qaytbay was a Sultan and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza was just a Janissary-merchant. Still, one would have expected Shurbagy Mirza to have preferred something better than what now "crowns" this congregational mosque.

Dikka

At the center of the back *riwaq* across the *sahn*, is a wooden loggia or *dikka* that is accessed by wooden stairs. Around the *dikka* is a simple railing with carved wooden panels. Beneath the *dikka* is a wooden ceiling with very simple central star pattern (Pl. 36 & 83). The *Waqfiyya* mentions the *dikka* as a *maglis*, for the reciter of the *Quran*.¹⁶⁰

Minbar

The *minbar* is described in the *Waqfiyya* as "made out of wood, gilded, and very beautiful." This document also mentions that it has a portal with *muqarnas*, and a little crescent made out of brass on top of the finial. The text, indicates that the wood was decorated with paint to make it shine and was adorned with gold as well (Pl. 84).¹⁶¹ Nowadays, the wooden *minbar* is decorated with geometrical panels on the sides with rails of carved wooden panels. The entrance ends with a *muqarnas* cornice with trilobed crenellations above. The upper part, above the Imam's seat, has the same motif and an onion-shaped finial (Pl. 85). The back sides of the doors are painted in herbalistic motifs, while the back of the *imam*'s seat depicts two vases, one resting on top of the

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 4.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 3.

other, flanked by two cedar trees, all decorated in a variety of colors (Pl. 86). This cedar tree element is also found on the main entrance of the *Madash* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza built on the same street towards the north not far from his mosque (Pl. 87).

One can speculate that the *minbar* and the *maglis* (*dikka*) are original, because they look extremely alike. For example, the railing of the *maglis*, and the railing of the *minbar* stairs are similar. The doors of the *minbar* and the ceiling of the *maglis* are also alike. However, during the inspection of the building, at the back of the *imam*'s seat from inside the stairs, a container with paint and a brush was found (Pl. 86). This makes one think that "profane" hands, probably inexpert, have been trying to maintain the place "in shape" (Pl. 86). On the other hand, the decoration that this *minbar* has is absolutely Ottoman in terms of motifs; though, newly repainted.

Inscriptions

The inscriptions found in this building appear mainly on a band that runs below the wooden ceiling around all the main walls and the arcades, except around the *sahn* (Pl. 88). Inscriptions are also found over some of the doors inside the prayer hall (Pl. 89). The type of inscription is *naskhi* contained in small *cartouches* with a dark blue background (Pl. 90). These *cartouches* are repeated throughout the length of the band and are separated with a decorative motif that is also repeated. They are Ottoman in style, a conclusion that is based on their size. If they were Mamluk, they would have been larger, more pronounced and perhaps in relief as in Qaytbay's mosque (1472-74), for instance. It is very obvious that these inscriptions have been retouched with paint as

well. They appear repetitively all over the walls. It contains the foundation date which according to the *Waqfiyya* is 1110¹⁶², sometimes mistakingly written as 1111. These inscriptions are combined with Quranic text. See Appendix A.

Conclusion

This chapter is an effort to survey in detail the two mosques of this study. The distinct architectures of these two mosques reflected trends that were rooted in broader experiences that Egypt as a country, and individuals, particularly in Bulaq, were undergoing.

By way of illustration, it is best to refer to the mosques themselves. For example, when Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza built their own mosques, albeit in different epochs, they had something in common. Both had the entrepreneur's vision and interest, even when the economic-scales were perhaps different. On one hand, Sinan Pasha built various *wikalas* and *khans* in Bulaq near to his mosque. The last was evidently intended to be the "hook" for a whole commercial development he was launching in Bulaq. On the other hand, Mustafa Shurbagy, seems to have had a similar purpose in mind when he built shops underneath his mosque, a *hammam*, *tahuns*, and a bakery, just to cite some of them. The main goal, without diminishing their pious inclinations, seems to have been to attract people to the area dominated by their commercial establishments.

The two mosques surveyed here reflect major developments in the history of Egypt. On one side, there was the early domination of military Pashas, sent directly from

¹⁶² Ibid., 1.

Istanbul, among whom was Sinan Pasha (1571). On the other, there occurred the rise of a new and later elite group initially formed by non-devshirme Janissaries and their descendants among whom we meet Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza (1698).

Of these two persons, one represented the power of the empire at its height in Egypt; the other represented a newly rising class of military-merchants who became more rooted in Egypt and more related to the local people. The architectural results are obvious. One built a mosque which was designed to show that the Ottoman Empire was the ruler of Egypt. However, in adopting local elements he wanted to show respect for the ancient Islamic tradition of this country. The other person built a mosque whose design depended far more on Egypt's pre-Ottoman architectural tradition, while incorporating elements of current "fashion" such as its modified Ottoman *minaret* and tiles.

Taken in terms of development over time, what has been surveyed in this chapter indicates that, on balance, the Mamluk architectural influence prevailed. In the end, Mamluk architecture remained at home. It was not defeated but only altered--and enhanced--by its Ottoman counterpart.

Architecture as a reflection of society

In the period between the erection of Sinan Pasha's mosque in 1571 and that of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's mosque in 1698, a total of twenty mosques were constructed in Cairo and Bulaq.¹⁶³ Fifteen were located in Cairo and only five in Bulaq.¹⁶⁴ These buildings largely reflected the main socio-political-economic trends that formed Egypt's broader context during that 127-year span. By way of illustrating this point, a portion of this chapter is devoted to an examination of two of these mosques: Malika Safiyya and Shaykh Karim al-Din-al-Burdayni. Built some 40 to 60 years after Sinan Pasha's mosque and some 88 to 69 years prior to Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza mosque, the two fall roughly toward the mid-point of the period embraced by this study.

As prominent examples of the period's architecture the buildings highlight some of the crucial economic and political changes that Egypt experienced between the last third of the sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century.

Essentially products of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the mosques of Malika Safiyya (1610) and Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Budayni (1616-29) were built at a time that is notable for having marked the end of major construction undertaken by the earlier highly militarized Pashas. These *Walis* were part of the elite *devshirme* division of the Janissary corps. Moreover, according to Piterberg this same period saw the rise of

¹⁶³ El-Rashidi, Unpublished MA Thesis, AUC. For this period, the author only accounted thirteen monuments, but the Index to Muhammedan Monuments has listed and indexed nineteen. Those omitted were: the mosques of Ahmad Katkhuda al-'Azab (1697), 'Abdin Bey (*al Fath*) (1631), and four minarets as the only remaining part of structures also built during this period. These minarets are: 'Ali al-Amri (end of sixteenth century); al-'Alaya, al-'Amrani, and al-Ruwei-'i; these last three from the seventeenth century as well.

local elites at the expense of imperial elites whose preeminent role in Egyptian affairs had been initially established, but not secured, by the conquest.¹⁶⁵ This development was preceded by a series of military revolts in which Mamluks figured prominently.¹⁶⁶ The first of these revolts broke out around 1586 and the last one ended when Mehmet Pasha (1607-1611) restored order.¹⁶⁷ Thereafter, the Pashas' power in Egypt became weaker and never again was to approach the levels reached during the first decades after the conquest under the strong militarized Pashas.¹⁶⁸

The mosque of Malika Safiyya

According to Goodwin, this mosque dates from the late sixteenth century.¹⁶⁹ Williams identifies its construction as being before 1610. The same author asserts that the plan of this mosque is completely Ottoman, but bearing a feature that permeates the local Cairene tradition, the masonry in its interior where *ablaq* was used.¹⁷⁰ The dome over the *mihrab*, according to Behrens-Abouseif, is to some extent more related to the Mamluk tradition.¹⁷¹ The decoration of the prayer niche is based on a combination of Mamluk style marble mosaics and Iznik tiles placed on the spandrels.¹⁷² The plan of this mosque is the closest approximation in Cairo to those of the metropolitan mosques built in Istanbul¹⁷³ (Fig. 8). There is a marked similarity between the plan of this mosque and

¹⁶⁴ Two of these mosques are the object of this study, from the other two only their minarets remain.

¹⁶⁵ Piterberg, "The Formation of an Ottoman Egyptian," 284.

¹⁶⁶ Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman*, 18.

¹⁶⁷ Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 179-80.

¹⁶⁸ Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman*, 20.

¹⁶⁹ Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman*, 312.

¹⁷⁰ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 459.

¹⁷¹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 255.

¹⁷² *Idem*.

¹⁷³ Rogers, "Al-Kahira," *EI* 4, 436.

that of Sinan Pasha at Besiktas (1553-1555) for which Mimar Sinan was the architect (Fig. 16).

Another interesting element found in this mosque, is the wooden balustrade around the drum in the interior of its main dome (Pl. 112). This feature was found for the first time in Egypt in the mosque of Sinan Pasha built in Bulaq (Pl. 11).

The mosque of Malika Safiyya was erected by 'Uthman Agha, a black eunuch of Queen Safiyya, chief wife of Sultan Murad III and mother of Sultan Muhammad III. Built at a time when Egypt continued to be wracked by periodic military revolts, it was actually only by accident that the mosque acquired the status of a royal building—an outcome stemming from Queen Safiyya's accidental discovery that her black eunuch was responsible for the mosque's construction.¹⁷⁴

Indeed, the mosque was built in the same epoch that witnessed a strong upsurge in the influence of the Black Eunuchs, the privileged corps that served as guardians of the Sultan's harem. The Black Eunuchs rapidly extended their grasp to major *waqfiyyas* in Egypt and, in doing so, established a special connection with the country.¹⁷⁵ Several buildings related to this group appeared in Cairo after the early seventeenth century, among which figured: the Tomb of Yusuf Agha al-Habashi (1604), Sabil-Kuttab and Rab' al-Qizlar (1618), Sabil Kuttab 'Ali Agha Dar al-Sa'ada (1677), Sabil-Kuttab Beshir Agha Dar Sa'ada (1718), and of course, the mosque of Malika Safiyya (1610).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 459. The author describes the building stressing the most important of its components. Also in Appendix B, 462-63, he translated part of the *Waqfiyya* using corrections made by Patricolo to 'Ali Pasha Mubarak's *Khitat*.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 458.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 460.

It was because of the Black Eunuch's special relationship with the Ottoman ruling family that the Malika Safiyya was the only royal mosque built in Cairo. Why was there an almost total absence of royal buildings in Egypt? The reason is obvious, the head of the government was the Sultan who had his seat in Istanbul; hence, royal buildings were primarily erected in that city. In consequence, highly qualified artists and craftsmen tended to move to the capital of the empire, where they could hope to find better opportunities for working and displaying their expertise.¹⁷⁷ The Pashas in Cairo were not capable of sustaining a royal court, as had the Mamluk Sultans, to encourage construction of more imposing buildings. Without a royal court, they were left alone to act as best they could with more limited resources to encourage the arts and architecture in Egypt.¹⁷⁸

The mosque of Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni

According to Behrens-Abouseif, the mosque of Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni was built between 1616 and 1629.¹⁷⁹ However, Williams states that this mosque was "apparently finished in 1694," though he acknowledges that parts of it (the minaret) were constructed in 1629.¹⁸⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, terms this mosque and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's mosque "as a nostalgic harking back to Mamluk polychromy and they both are therefore exceptions".¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 231.

¹⁷⁸ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 454.

¹⁷⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 243.

¹⁸⁰ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 461. The author does not give a source where he is basing his assumption, and it is out of the scope of this thesis; thus, open to further discussion.

¹⁸¹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 243.

This mosque is located on Dawudiyya Street near the mosque of Malika Safiyya. According to Raymond, during Egypt's Ottoman period the *ulama* and civilians were not very active in construction and built only a total of nine mosques. He also claims that the only one of these worthy of serious consideration is the mosque of al-Burdayni.¹⁸² This building breaks with the conventions of those structures following the Cairene-Ottoman line since the Ottoman occupation. Thus, Behrens Abouseif calls it "an architectural surprise".¹⁸³ On the other hand, Hamdy goes even further, arguing that this mosque is "the best example to illustrate the Egyptian national style".¹⁸⁴

The mosque was built following the Mamluk convention in solving its association to the crowded urban pattern in a remarkable clever manner.¹⁸⁵ The mosque is compressed in an extremely small piece of land, hence a very simple solution was given to this mosque (Fig. 12). It seems that the architect, as a compensation for the simplistic solution of the layout, lavishly over-decorated the walls with marble panels (Pl. 93), and of course, the ceiling is all painted as was customary during this period. According to Behrens-Abouseif "most surprising is the high quality of the craftsmanship throughout the interior".¹⁸⁶ Another part of the surprise is the minaret with its totally Circassian¹⁸⁷ Mamluk style, which makes it an exception for this period (Pl. 94 & 95). During the Ottoman period the pencil-shaped minaret was the hallmark of the Ottoman-Cairene architecture.

¹⁸² Raymond, "L'activité architecturale au Caire," 351.

¹⁸³ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 163.

¹⁸⁴ Hamdy, "Cairene Ornamental Tradition," 417. Was this truly a representative of a "National style"? Or better yet, probably the author meant: "a forerunner expression of Mamluk style decoration".

¹⁸⁵ El-Rashidi, Unpublished MA Thesis, AUC, 26-8. The author describes this building extensively.

¹⁸⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 243.

¹⁸⁷ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 461.

Important Buildings Erected in Bulaq during 1571-1698

From the time that Sultan an-Nasir Muhammad first took the initiative of propelling Bulaq's development, the area's growth was linked to the nascent trade activities that sprouted in this port. But it was not until the fifteenth century when the commercial trajectory was very clear that rulers began building commercial structures.¹⁸⁸ A Diwan and Customs House were also constructed in Bulaq indicating that the growth of commerce in this port began to be paralleled by an expanded administrative structure.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, none of the commercial buildings from the late Mamluk period remain today.¹⁹⁰

During the Ottoman period, *Walis* were heavily involved in commercial activities, to the extent that urban development became a response to the new economic and social structure.¹⁹¹ It is notable that commercially-inspired urban development visibly affected Bulaq far more than Cairo. Immense complexes like that one of Sinan Pasha in Bulaq were never built in Cairo during the Ottoman period.¹⁹² This underscores two related circumstances. On the one hand, no large plots were found in Cairo, and on the other, Bulaq, as a port, was clearly the center of commercial activity. Hence, it was more convenient for investors to build in this port.¹⁹³ A proliferation of non-commercial structures was an inevitable corollary to Bulaq's commercially driven urban development. Thus, leading patrons, such as Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, sometimes constructed their private residences near their commercial establishments.

¹⁸⁸ Hanna, "Bulaq - An Endangered Historic Area of Cairo," 19.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁹³ *Idem.*

Mosques were built in Bulaq during this period, but never in numbers matching the commercial buildings that proliferated. Tables 1 & 2, demonstrate that the dominant view from Bulaq in the sixteenth and seventh centuries was of the many *wikalas* that spread throughout the port. In support of these tables see Maps (Figs. 20 & 21).¹⁹⁴

The two previously mentioned tables demonstrate that the activities taking place in Bulaq were mainly of a secular character.¹⁹⁵ *Wikalas* were the most common structures constructed in this commercial port, at least during this period. On the other hand, in Cairo construction seems to have been more balanced: religious buildings were constructed as frequently as commercial buildings. Even when commerce was also the dominating activity in Cairo, this was not reflected in the same way as in Bulaq. According to Hanna, this tendency was due to the fact that the ruler's representative (*Wali*) and the administrative institutions had their seat in Cairo.¹⁹⁶ It was also a response to the need for religious institutions to give legitimacy to the rulers. Thus, political power had to be displayed by patronizing religious buildings.

Prior to 1571, there were no mosques that were considered monumental in Bulaq. Sinan Pasha's mosque (1571) is a large mosque by Bulaq's standards, but not quite monumental, especially if it is compared to some of Cairo's other structures from the same period. Its plan is the second largest after the Mosque of Malika Safiyya. However, there are in Cairo mosques that are considered monumental. The Mahmudiyya mosque (1569) (Pl. 120) comes to mind as a good example.

¹⁹⁴ Map 21 complements Map 20.

¹⁹⁵ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 85.

Prototypes

As mentioned *supra*, p. 26, the Mosque of Sinan Pasha has striking similarities with the Hatuniye Cami built in Manisa in 1489 (Fig. 14). Moreover, according to Pauty, the Sinan Pasha Mosque may have influenced the design of the the Çenili mosque that was built in 1640 (Fig. 15).¹⁹⁷

It must be recalled that the Sinan Pasha Mosque was built to be the chief mosque of Bulaq, and remained so until the French invasion of Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁸ According to Williams, it is one of the most purely Otoman-style buildings in Cairo.¹⁹⁹ Williams notes that the Sinan's Mosque is the second largest Cairo/Bulaq mosque of this period, after the Malika Safiyya mosque (1610). For Williams, the latter, at least in its layout, is the most Ottoman-styled mosque in the Cairo area. Some scholars consider Sinan Pasha's mosque as a clear example of the Ottoman provincial style. Such identifications probably rest largely on the Sinan Mosque's clear attempt to imitate the monumentality of Imperial mosques in Istanbul.²⁰⁰

In the case of the Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza mosque, the *Waqfiyya* is clear about this building being constructed as a congregational mosque.²⁰¹ At present, this mosque is roofed with a lantern and it seems to be an elaboration of the baldachin plan type that became very popular during this period in Cairo. However, as was stated above in Chapter 2, there are a variety of reasons that lead to the conclusion that this building originally had an open courtyard. The *Waqfiyya* implies that it had an open *sahn* at the

¹⁹⁶ Idem.

¹⁹⁷ Pauty, *L'Architecture au Caire*, 15.

¹⁹⁸ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 459.

¹⁹⁹ Idem.

²⁰⁰ Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," 156.

²⁰¹ *Waqfiyya* Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza n° 535, 20 and 22.

time when it was first built.²⁰² Also since it was conceived as a congregational mosque, it would not be surprising if it had an open *sahn*. This was the norm in Cairo, examples of which are found in the mosques of al-Nasir Muhammad (1318-35) (Fig. 9), and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1416-21). According to Williams, this prototype was imitated sometimes during the Ottoman period²⁰³, as was the case in the mosques of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza (1698) (Fig. 2) and Amir 'Uthman Katkhuda (1734) as later examples (Fig. 13) (Pl. 121).

Local and external influence

According to Williams, Cairo was never more open to foreign influences than during the Ottoman rule.²⁰⁴ The minaret and dome, which had been the symbol of Cairene architecture, were affected immediately. The carved Mamluk minaret was replaced with the simpler pencil-shaped Ottoman minaret. The carved stone dome was replaced by a simple, though, larger undecorated dome, as for example, that found in the Mahmudiyya mosque (1567) (Pl. 120).

Although the pencil-shaped minaret had appeared in Egypt before the Ottoman conquest—as for example, in the mosque of Muhammad al-Kurdi (1395)²⁰⁵-- it was only after the conquest that it had a major architectural impact. After the conquest, it appeared for the first time in the mosque of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel. It was then to be repeated frequently throughout the Ottoman period.

²⁰² Ibid., 535, 2.

²⁰³ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 455.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 454.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 455.

Under the Ottomans, the mausoleum almost disappeared from the religious architecture in Cairo. This was probably because the *Walis*, were not posted for long periods and had no desire to live out their days in Egypt. Thus, there was no necessity for the planning or construction of this type of funerary structure.

Not surprisingly, the construction of the two mosques that are the objects of this study, was also shaped by local as well as foreign influences. The appearance of any influence is definitely a response to what was happening in Egypt, and more particularly to Cairo. Thus, taken together the mosques of Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy visibly reflect much of Egypt's history between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

First, Egypt was conquered and Cairo changed its role of being the capital of an empire to be the capital of a province. Strong *Walis* came to represent the Ottoman Sultan in Cairo. From that first group of highly militarized Pashas, the strongest among them, Sulayman Pasha and Sinan Pasha made their presence as governors strongly felt. They conveyed the political message of the empire, and did so partly by using architecture as a means to make clear who ruled this land. In Sulayman Pasha's case, the message was very clear since his mosque was built at the Citadel, the seat of rulers since the Ayyubid period.²⁰⁶

Sinan Pasha's mosque carried a message that conveyed not only political power but economic power as well. This mosque was part of an enormous commercial complex. As was stated above *supra*, p. 57, and without doubting Sinan's religious inclinations, it is evident that his mosque was designed and built with the clear intent of promoting Sinan's business interests. It was built as a clear landmark for all the investment he was motivating in Bulaq.

The plan and the minaret are clearly a product of Ottoman influence. In the exterior of the dome the Ottoman influence is detected in the use of the buttresses similar to those found in imperial mosques in Turkey, like the Beyazit Cami in Amasya (1486) (Pl. 124). The conspicuous stone dome which happens to be the largest in Cairo²⁰⁷, communicates a message of power. In its interior, this mosque pays tribute to the local tradition in what is related to the prayer niche and the squinch-system carrying the dome which are completely Mamluk. When using the local tradition, Sinan Pasha shows respect and takes a conciliatory attitude between the two architectural traditions and their decoration. The trefoil (ogee) windows around the drum are also a product of the local influence from the Fatimid period (Pl. 111). On the other hand, the rosette-type windows are Ottoman.²⁰⁸ In paying tribute to both influences, it is as if he was reminding people that Ottoman rulers and Egyptian subjects might as well coexist peacefully and harmoniously. The result is the harmony and simplistic elegance found when one enters this mosque.

In short, the Sinan Pasha mosque embodies in its very construction some of the main socio-political-economic currents that impacted on Egypt in the late sixteenth century. The first of these events was that new rulers were in charge of the government; in consequence, a new style of buildings was emerging. A second reality of the time was that there was an elite but not a royal court. This elite was, therefore neither politically nor economically independent from the central government based in Istanbul, a factor that inevitably influenced its stylistic and aesthetic preferences. Third, the *Walis* were

²⁰⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 78.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁰⁸ Swelim, "An Interpretation," 105.

salaried employees with special privileges to administer the province and act on behalf of the Sultan, a factor that in itself imposed limitations on the nature and extent of architectural patronage that *Walis* could extend. If, like Sinan's mosque, patronage was clearly linked to promising commercial investments, economic necessity appears to have been the underlying reason.

On the other hand, as already indicated above, the mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza is a congregational mosque. On the whole, the most visible aspects of this mosque hearkened back to pre-Ottoman Mamluk architectural norms. The relevance of political circumstances to this aspect will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

An open *sahn* was a typical feature of a pre-Ottoman, Mamluk congregational mosques. Several other features of the Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza mosque are also decidedly pre-Ottoman Mamluk. Among these are the bent entrance, the layout of the plan based on the *riwaq* type, the attempt to have *iwans*, the chamfered corner, and the enormous and splendid display of polychrome marble on the floors, the walls and the prayer niche. On the other hand, Ottoman influence is displayed, first, in the pencil-shaped minaret, second in the conspicuous displaying of Iznik-type tiles all over the *qibla* wall and the two adjacent ones.

As for Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's personal interest, it seems that he had a similar purpose in mind as Sinan Pasha, though perhaps on a somewhat smaller scale. When he built a whole commercial complex, *wikalas*, *hammam* and shops underneath his mosque his entrepreneur's mind was working on behalf of his business interests.

Social, Economic and Political situation as influence

As Staffa notes, society, economy and politics have a close correlation, they can not be separated one from the other. By virtue of its very existence, society has economic and political dimensions, the former having to do with the allocation of resources and the latter with power relations. Moreover, economic power sustains political power and vice-versa. Thus, economic-political forces impact upon all components of society.²⁰⁹

It must be recalled that Mamluk rulers were generally assimilated into Egypt and Syria. This was in contrast with the practice of Ottoman rulers, who largely limited their identification with these Arab lands to commercial and economic terms.²¹⁰ The Ottoman Empire considered Egypt only as a province, albeit one that would add wealth to the Empire's resources. Egypt's Mamluks, on the other hand, developed strong roots in the land they ruled. Although they became extremely wealthy, their profits were mainly reinvested in Egypt. The only land that they recognized as their own after the Conquest was Egypt and Syria. Moreover, the people who formed Egyptian society recognized the Mamluk rulers as part of that society.

According to Raymond architectural patronage in Cairo during the Ottoman period has a close relationship with political history.²¹¹ In other words, patrons and politics have a close connection. As mentioned before, the Pashas played an active part in Egypt's economic life. In Cairo and Bulaq, this is clear from their involvement in construction. (Tables 1 & 2).

²⁰⁹ Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, 308.

²¹⁰ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 48.

²¹¹ Raymond, "L'activité architecturale au Caire," 349.

From 1517 to 1578, the Pashas were heavily involved in construction. Thus, nine of the total of eleven mosques built in Cairo and Bulaq during this period were built by Pashas.²¹²

An overall picture of what Egypt was in economic terms can be summarized as follows. Until the end of the sixteenth century, which covers that period in which Sinan Pasha held his post as a *Wali*, the country enjoyed a period of domestic tranquility.²¹³ The *Walīs* of that period were engaged in commercial-economic-financial operations in the Indian Ocean and Yemen, and they required Egypt as their base. Three of the most important early *Walīs* who engaged in commerce were Sulayman Pasha (1525-38), Sinan Pasha (1567-73), and Ibrahim Pasha (1583). Indeed, the last traveled all over Egypt while engaged in his enterprises.²¹⁴

That such early *Walīs* were characterized by a combination of political strength and active commercial interests is reflected by several buildings that were erected by the strong Pashas during their "period of glory". Examples include the mosque of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel (1528), the Mahmudiya (1567), and the mosque of Sinan Pasha at Bulaq (1571) in addition to the numerous commercial buildings they constructed in Cairo and Bulaq.

One cannot disregard the fact that during, and even before, Sinan Pasha's time, early Ottoman *Walīs* funded large scale building projects with their personal economic resources. The two major Ottoman patrons of architecture, Sulayman Pasha (1524-1534)

²¹² Ibid., 350. See also, Williams, 461, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo". In Appendix A, Williams gives a partial list of Ottoman Period Builders and Monuments.

²¹³ Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 179. Contrary to what it is believed, the author sustains that "the legend that the viceroys were confined to the Citadel of Cairo during their terms of office finds no support in these years."

²¹⁴ Idem.

and Sinan Pasha (1568-1569/1571) brought their own personal funds from outside Egypt to pay for the construction of their buildings.²¹⁵ Not surprisingly this practice appears to have been along the lines of an investment made in the expectation that it would in time yield large economic returns.²¹⁶

As already mentioned, Bulaq's development was linked to its commercial prosperity and the vision of those investing there. A considerable group of Pashas were involved in business affairs in Bulaq during the first century of the Ottoman rule. Among these *Walis* were: Sulayman Pasha, Dawud Pasha, Hasan Pasha al-Khadim, Ahmad Pasha, Bayran Pasha, and Sinan Pasha. The commercial interests of these *Walis* inevitably led to their heavy involvement in construction.²¹⁷ Mosques, as well as a variety of other buildings were erected there. However, the main form of construction was found in the gigantic *wikalas* built by these *Wali*-businessmen to display their financial power and their enormous interest in establishing commercial enterprises in Bulaq.²¹⁸ Unfortunately, many of these buildings have disappeared and the only references to most of them are found in written chronicles and *Waqfiyyas*. Hanna mentions that in the Bab 'Ali Court there are documents making reference to the fact that particularly Iskandar Pasha and Sinan Pasha had their own ships to sail the Red Sea to perform commercial operations.²¹⁹ Even after these *Walis* left Egypt, they made sure

²¹⁵ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," 454.

²¹⁶ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 48.

²¹⁷ Hanna, "Bulaq-An Endangered," 20

²¹⁸ Raymond, *Le Caire*, 280.

²¹⁹ Hanna, *Making Big Money*, 106.

their commercial-financial agents would handle their businesses in the four ports of international trade in this country, Bulaq, Rashid, Alexandria, and Suez.²²⁰

The end of the sixteenth century witnessed the beginning of the decline of Ottoman authority, and the preeminence of strong *Walis in Egypt* rapidly became a thing of the past.²²¹ One consequence of this was an almost complete absence of buildings patronized by the new generation of Pashas. In later years, large-scale construction projects—such as the mosques of Malika Safiyya (1610) and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza (1698)—would only occasionally be seen in Cairo. The local aristocracy (*A'yan Bulaq*), as was mentioned above, was not left behind in this respect. They were Bulaq's residents, so their personal connection with the port gave them more grounds to feel an obligation to invest in their neighborhood. The economic scale is not comparable to that of the Pashas, but was nonetheless extensive. The second subject of this study, Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, who built his large mosque in 1698, falls into this category. Construction at the end of the seventeenth century was basically devoted to the building of *sabils-kuttab*, *maglaqs*, *masbagas*, *tahuns*, *hammams*, *qahwas*, *wikalas* of rather small size, and mosques.²²²

The large buildings, such as *wikalas*, were erected along main thoroughfares in time of the strong Pashas. Later, this area became fully crowded, and the tendency was to construct along those roads parallel to the central thoroughfare. This was the case with the buildings erected by Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza; they were basically concentrated on a

²²⁰ *Idem.*

²²¹ Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 179.

²²² Hanna *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 57.

street located east to the main artery, except for his *hammam*, which was located on one of the main arteries near to the mosque of Qadi Yahya²²³ (Fig. 19).

Hanna reports that it was a common practice for investors to buy old buildings and tear them down, so as long as they could demonstrate that these were decaying. They would then construct their own buildings and incorporate them into their own *Waqfiyyas*.²²⁴ The practice clearly facilitated the rise of a new propertied group. Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza appears to have fallen into this category, for, as mentioned in Chapter One, he destroyed old buildings in order to erect his mosque.²²⁵

Indeed, it seems likely that Shurbagy Mirza's trajectory was shared by a class of new elites that emerged in the late seventeenth century in response to chronic economic pressures. By then, Egypt's economy was suffering and the first to manifest discontent were the military forces, specifically the *sipahis*.²²⁶ The currency was depreciating due to an influx of European silver into the Ottoman Empire that was causing inflation.²²⁷ These events led to a prolonged period of instability between 1587 and 1610, during which recurrent revolts broke out. A viceroy, Ibrahim Pasha III (d. 1604), was murdered during this convulsive interval.²²⁸

During this period of instability, Viceroy's and *Beys* worked to coordinate their efforts to control—that is, suppress, these revolts.²²⁹ In time, this partnership would become a real threat to the Empire, for the *Beys*' ambitions for predominance were

²²³ Ibid., 60.

²²⁴ Ibid., 59-60.

²²⁵ *Waqfiyya Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza n° 535*, 8.

²²⁶ Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 179. According to the author, these *sipahis* were the three cavalry regiments that assisted the *kashifs* to collect taxes and keep order in the lesser provinces.

²²⁷ Ibid., 179-80.

²²⁸ Ibid., 180.

²²⁹ Idem, "The Pattern of Egyptian Political History," 83.

animated after these revolts sprouted. This would mark a significant change; for prior to the seventeenth century, the *Beys* neither played nor showed that they aspired to play an important role in Egypt's political life.²³⁰

During that same period—that is, prior to the seventeenth century-- the *Beys* were also absent from the construction scenario.²³¹ In retrospect, it seems clear that at that time, that their power still was in process of developing to a point that would later allow them to emerge as relatively minor occasional patrons of architecture. Gradually, the *Beys* gained power. Finally, in 1623, they used this power to reject a Viceroy sent from Istanbul.²³²

Around this period two political factions, the Faqariyya and the Qasimiyya, were contesting for power. By 1630 there appeared the first building attributable to a *Bey*, the *Sabil-Kutab* Qitas *Bey*. It would not be until 1680 when *Beys* reappeared again as patrons for architecture.²³³ In spite of their political and economic power the *Beys* did not become significant actors in the development of Egypt's architectural history during the Ottoman period.²³⁴ It seems that their emergence as the leading power did not kindle their eagerness to revive the practice of encouraging architectural projects.²³⁵

In direct contrast was the path taken by the Janissaries. After 1624, the Janissaries reacted to the economic pressures they faced by engaging in trade, initially on a small scale.²³⁶ Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza belonged to this group. Because of their

²³⁰ Idem, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 180.

²³¹ Raymond, "L'activité architecturale au Caire," 350.

²³² Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, 180.

²³³ Raymond, "L'activité architecturale au Caire," 350.

²³⁴ Idem.

²³⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 232.

²³⁶ Raymond, "Soldiers in Trade," 17.

rising commercial involvement, the Janissaries became the main patrons of public monuments in Cairo, making outstanding contributions to architectural activity in both Cairo and Bulaq in the years between 1650 and 1710.²³⁷ They engaged in the construction activity to such extent that 56 of the 118 *sabils* built in Cairo and Bulaq during the Ottoman period, were patronized by them. Raymond not only attributes this phenomenon to the relative modesty of their financial means, but also to the bonds the soldiers developed with the common people because of their own social background.²³⁸

After 1650, the *Walis* hardly contributed to architectural production. This was not only true in Egypt but also in most of the Empire's provinces.²³⁹ The phenomenon was not due solely to economic reasons but also, in part, to changes in the Empire's administration of its provinces.²⁴⁰ By the last decades of the seventeenth century, these factors were aggravated in Egypt by the onset of a serious financial crisis. As a result, at the end of the seventeenth century the *Beys* prevented the remittance of the *Irsaliyye* to Istanbul. The savings that accrued to the local economy as a result of this step helped make it possible the construction of large buildings, such as the mosque of Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza.²⁴¹

Egypt's economic context was, of course, directly affected by Imperial policies. Several resources were exploited in Egypt from the outset of Ottoman rule, which tapped rural and urban wealth through a variety of taxes.²⁴² During most of the first century and

²³⁷ Idem, "L'activité architecturale au Caire," 350.

²³⁸ Ibid., 351.

²³⁹ Bates, "Façades in Ottoman Cairo," 169.

²⁴⁰ Piterberg, "The Formation of an Ottoman," 284. The author describes this situation: "...the central administration adopted numerous steps to curb the abuse of delegated power by the provincial governors. ...their initial purpose was to achieve centralization, although it launched the rise of the local grandees (*ayan*)."

²⁴¹ Rogers, "Al-Kahira," *EI* 4, 435

²⁴² Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative*, 98.

a half of Ottoman rule, the Sultan, who was considered the rightful owner of the country's wealth, exploited Egypt's resources through his administrative agents. At the same time, the imperial possessions were divided in portions called *Muqata'at* that were distributed first in *Emanet* and later in *Illizam*.²⁴³ The expenses to be covered included a long list beginning with the *Wali* of Egypt who received his stipend in cash and kind. This pattern was repeated all the way down in a pyramidal scheme touching everyone who was part of this administrative system. Later, this *Muqata'at* were given completely in *Illizam* to whatever Mamluk faction had predominance in Cairo at that time.²⁴⁴ This was the transitional period that placed the *Beys* in total control of the political and economic power in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁴⁵

Conclusion

This chapter represents an effort to survey the course of architectural activity in Cairo and Bulaq during 1571-1698 and its relation to historical events. The issue was analyzed within a scenario where politics, economy and society interacted to form the determining context of architectural development.

Two important seventeenth century Cairo mosques--the mosques of Malika Safiyya (1610) and Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni (1616-29)-- were analyzed in order to demonstrate that not only major events and personal inclinations, but also and most importantly, the economic capacity of the patrons, helped shape projected structures.

²⁴³ Idem.

²⁴⁴ Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, 99.

²⁴⁵ Piterberg, "The Formation of an Ottoman," 284.

An account of those buildings found in Bulaq was synthesized in Tables 1 & 2 as well. These tables summarize the extensive architectural activity that took place in Bulaq during this period. As Hanna already pointed out²⁴⁶ and as it was expected, the activities happening in this port were overwhelmingly of a secular character, hence the proliferation of commercial buildings.

In the next section, prototypes, as well as local and external influences were recounted in order to determine where the balance of architectural influence during the period might be said to lie. Definitely, in an overall picture, it moved towards the Mamluk, which was not surprising. As Raymond stated, the Ottomans did not come to conquest art. On the contrary they were very respectful of the culture they encountered in Egypt.²⁴⁷

When the social, economic, and political situation was analyzed, it definitely revealed that major events influenced the whole period. It was determined that four stages dominated the historical scenario in Egypt. First, the strong *Walis* appointed from Istanbul were exerting power on behalf of the Sultan; later on, economic pressures disturbed the soldiery and forces contending for power began sprouting. Second, the seventeenth century saw power moving to the *Bey's* control. Third, the Janissaries held power and feuds involving rivalries were part of the scene. And fourth, the *Beys* divided into factions were constantly feuding for supremacy in power until the end of the eighteenth century.

²⁴⁶ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, 85.

²⁴⁷ Raymond, Conference-IFAO, October 22nd, 2000.

Conclusion

Cairo's history saw the city shift from being the capital of an empire during the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk dynasties, to being a provincial capital under Tulunid autonomy and Ottoman rule. The Ottoman Empire's expansion towards the West reduced Egypt, and more specifically Cairo, to the position of fealty to Istanbul. However, while this was true in economic—and initially in political—terms, it was hardly the case in things related to architectural and decorative expression. The period studied here is a good example of how factors that converge in the history of nations makes it appear centuries later as a rich mosaic of circumstances responding to much more complex stimuli than the immediate impact of political change.

During the early Ottoman period, the economic interests of the *Walis* as new patrons of architectural activity, as well as the new political circumstances, projected Bulaq as Cairo's main port. This hastened the importance of Bulaq as a new urban development. In the meantime, new groups were emerging in the political and economic scenario that contributed in modifying the structure of society. All these changes were reflected in the physical environments of Cairo and Bulaq.

Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza, the two subjects of this study, built their mosques in Bulaq. The study of those structures has been an attempt to use architecture and its trends as a tool for understanding the impact of dominant realities of the time which were, in turn, influenced by new political, social, and economic circumstances.

Major events in Egypt were reflected in the two mosques studied here. First, the early *Walis*, such as Sinan Pasha, appointed directly from Istanbul, governed the province strictly on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan. Their military training, personalities and economic interests were reflected in the way Cairo, and particularly in this case, Bulaq, developed as urban entities. On the other hand, the non-devshirme Janissaries, and their descendants, from whom Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza sprang, evolved as a group of patrons of architectural achievements. At this point, the *sabil-kuttab* as an unattached building became the great Ottoman contribution to Cairo and Bulaq. Second, the *Beys* finally undertook the role of patrons for architecture, displaying in a way, their economic and political power.

The direction of these trends was evident when surveying these two mosques. In the first place, Bulaq clearly demonstrated its unique secular vocation. The common scenery in the area was dominated by commercial buildings, such as, *wikalas*, *khans*, *tahuns*, and *hammams*, just to mention some of them. Not surprisingly, the two subjects of this study were heavily involved in trade and commerce. Sinan Pasha was involved in a major way that even included ownership of commercial ships sailing the Red Sea. Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza was involved in a relatively minor, but still quite considerable, way, and was important for Bulaq's development. Both constructed commercial establishments while having mosques built to attract people to the areas of their respective commercial investments.

Sinan Pasha's mosque shows a clear intention to display the power of the new rulers. This was accomplished mainly through the structure's exterior. In its interior, the mosque intentionally reconciled the two traditions, Mamluk and Ottoman, in a very

graceful manner showing both good taste and adaptability in architectural techniques. On the other hand, in Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza's mosque, also demonstrated intention, but the message was different. Shurbagy displayed his attachment to the people of Bulaq by using many Mamluk features in the layout and decoration of his mosque. In both cases, as in almost all the cases in Ottoman Cairo, the minarets are basically the pencil-shaped provincial Ottoman examples of minarets.

Other important examples were cited to reinforce the events that were happening in the course of Egypt's history and its relation with Istanbul. The mosques of Malika Safiyya and Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni illustrated the political and economic events that affected Cairo during the period under review.

Analysis of the prototypes and local and external influences relevant to the mosques studied here reveals not surprisingly that the balance was strongly inclined towards Mamluk influence. The Ottoman conquerors were not seeking the conquest of art and architecture. Nor did they wish to disturb the physical appearance of Cairo. On the contrary, they exhibited a great deal of respect for the culture of Egypt, and particularly for that of Cairo.²⁴⁸ Proof of this can be seen in the extensive restoration work executed during the whole Ottoman period.²⁴⁹ This tendency can be explained as stemming from their respect for the religious institutions in order to obtain legitimate acceptance from those conquered.

One cannot ignore the fact that the new Ottoman patrons had particular economic interest when posted to Cairo, an interest which required them to make alliances with the local grandees. This ability was reflected in architectural achievements that oscillated

²⁴⁸ Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman," 458.

²⁴⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment*, 227.

according to these elites' economic and political ambitions.²⁵⁰ On the other hand, while governors as well as patrons benefited, the conquest, as Raymond points out, also brought economic advantages to the Egyptian market that was newly connected to a great empire.²⁵¹

In an overall sense, architecture during the Ottoman period in Egypt, and particularly in Cairo and Bulaq, shows clearly how Istanbul approached the task of governing Egypt as its new and most valuable province. The Ottomans did not dictate styles to be followed in Cairo as they did, in a way, in Syria or other provinces. Egypt's image, as a former empire in its own right, was still vivid in the eyes of the Ottoman Sultan. Almost from the outset of Ottoman rule, it was therefore clear that Istanbul's *Walis* were not directed to promote or give priority to the architecture of the Imperial Ottoman style.²⁵² This tendency is reflected in the type of buildings they erected in Cairo and Bulaq. It definitely reflected a high degree of tolerance on the Ottomans' side when dealing with Egypt, a tendency that culminated when the Ottoman Empire lost control of its most valued province.

In this light, the remark of Ibn Khaldun that was cited at the beginning of this thesis is well worth repeating:

*"...The monuments of a given dynasty are proportionate to its original power. The reason is that monuments owe their origin to the power that brought the dynasty into being. The impression the dynasty leaves is proportionate to that power..."*²⁵³

Ibn Khaldun

²⁵⁰ Bates, "Two Ottoman Documents," 122-3.

²⁵¹ Raymond, *Le Caire*, 281-82.

²⁵² Idem.

²⁵³ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, 143.

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APPENDIX A

Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza Mosque Inscriptions¹
 1698
 Index No. 343

Location: South iwan; inscription above doorway
 Style: Naskhi
 Material: Painted wood
 Condition: Not known
 Inscription type: Poetry

قد جاء في القران حقا انما يا فوز من يسمو به برهانه
 وكفاك هذا يا سمي المصطفى عزا من البارئ جنانه
 اراخت مسجده الشريف بجامع يز هو الي يوم الوفا بنياته
 اني لاحمده علي احسانه الابدع ان نظرت له غزلاته
 صلي العزيز علي العزيز المصطفى ما طاب ورد او زهت اغصانه
 الال و الاصحاب ما افتر الحيا او لاح برق او همت سبحانه
 ما قال مبتكر المديح مورخا لاح..... الفلاح

NA

'Ali Mubarak, Khitat, vol. 5, 257 (text and commentary)

Location: Frieze below ceiling in the west iwan
 Style: Naskhi
 Material: Painted wood
 Condition: Good
 Inscription type: Quranic

بسمه قران

Basmala, Quran
 Quran: 24:36-38

¹ O'Kanc, Documentation of the Inscriptions in the History Zone of Cairo Project.

Location: Wall frieze, qibla riwaq
Style: Naskhi
Material: Painted wood,
Condition: Good
Inscription type: Quranic & foundation

بسملة قران، صدق الله العظيم، انشاء هذا المبارك من فضل الله تعالى و عونه و جزيل عطايه العبد الفقير
المقر بالعجز و النقص المغفور اه الامير مصطفى ابن المرحوم مرزه جرجي مستقظان غفر الله له و جميع
المسلمين اجمعين و كان في شهر رجب المبارك سنة ١١١١

Basmala, Quran, God Most Great spoke the truth, constructed this blessed mosque
through the grace and help of God Almighty and his abundant universal generosity the
poor slave, the confessor of his weakness and deficiency, the forgiven, amir Mustafa
son of the late Mirza Jurbaji Mustahfazan, may God forgive him and all Muslims and
this was in the blessed month of Rajab in the year 1111
Quran: 2:145-149

The calligrapher made a mistake and instead of writing تعملون the last word in the aya
149 he wrote يعملون . And all of his ق have three dots instead of two.

Location: Wall frieze in the second riwaq on the qibla side
Style: Naskhi
Material: Painted wood
Condition: Good
Inscription type: Quranic and foundation

بسملة قران،
صدق الله العظيم و بلغ ازسوله النبي الكريم و نحن نعاي نلنا من انشاء هذا المبارك
المبارك من فضل الله تعالى و عونه و جزيل عطايه العميم العبد الفقير بالعجز و التقصير الراجي غفور ربه القديم
المتوسل المرعلين (؟) الجناب الكريم العلي جولي و اهل الفخر و المعالي الامير مصطفى جرجي مستقظان
ابن المرحوم مصطفى مرزة غفر الله له و جميع المسلمين و كان هذا في شهر رجب المبارك سنة ١١١١

Basmala, Quran, God Most Great spoke the truth and His eminent prophet delivered
the message and we witness this. Constructed this blessed mosque through the grace
of God Almighty, His help and for the forgiveness of his * God de begger, *, the right
honorable, the lofty, *, worthy of pride and highness, amir Mustafa Jurbaji
Mustahfazan son of the late Mustafa Mirza, may god forgive him and all Muslims.
And this was in the blessed month of Rajab the year 1111.

Quran: 9:18-22

NA

Location: Wall frieze, north riwaq
Style: Naskhi
Material: Painted wood
Condition: Good
Inscription type: Quranic and foundation

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ،
صَدَّقَ اللَّهُ الْعَظِيمِ. انْشَاءً هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْمُرْحُومِ مَعْصُوفِي جُرْبَجِي ابْنِ الْمُرْحُومِ يَوْسُفِ مِرْزَاهُ وَكَانَ الْكُلُّ الْوَالِغِ
سنة 1111

Basmala, Quran, God Most Great spoke the truth. Constructed this blessed mosque
the late Mustafa Jurbaji son of the late Yusuf Mirza and this was finished in the year
1111.

Quran: 3:190-193

NA

Table 1. Buildings Erected in Bulaq during 979/1571-1110/1698¹
(Location and date identified)

Building Type	No. in Fig.20	Name	Year	Index ² No.	DE ³ No.	Existent
Wikala	1	Al-Kharnub (al-Kabir)	16 th c.		94	X
Wikala	2	Riwaq al-Shawam (al-Tawil)	16 th c.		97	X
Wikala	3	Al-Sinaniyya	16 th c.			X
Wikala	4	Rab' al-Sinaniyya	16 th c.			X
Wikala	5	Hasan Pasha al-Wazir (al-Ruz)	1583	538	25	X
Wikala	6	Gul Muhammad Shurbagi	1646		66	porch
Wikala	7	Yusuf Sa'id*	c.1683			
Wikala	8	Mirza*	c.1698			walls
Wikala	9	Al-Turshy	17/18 th c.			X
Wikala	10	Al-Magharba (Rab' Abu Zayd)	17/18 th c.		57	X
Wikala	11	Al-'Asy	17/18 th c.		221	X
Wikala	12	Hashab	17/18 th c.			X
Hammam	13	Al-'Asy (Hammam al-Itnayn)	17/18 th c.			X
Hammam	14	Al-Sinaniyya (al-Thalath)	c.1571			X
Hammam	15	Mirza	c. 1698			X
Sabil	16	Yusuf Sa'id	end 17 th c.			X
Sabil	17	Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza	1698	347		X
Sabil	18	Attached to Madash Mirza	(1611)	603		X
Bait	19	Mirza	c. 1698			X
Tahun	20	Waqf Mustafa Mirza No. 535	c. 1698			X
Tahun	21	Waqf Mustafa Mirza No. 535	c. 1698			X
Tahun	22	Waqf Mustafa Mirza No. 535	c. 1698			X
Madash	23	Mirza ⁴	(1611)	603		façade
Mosque	24	Sinan Pasha	1571	349	98	X
Mosque	25	Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza	1698	343	207	X
Mosque	26	Al-Alaya ⁵	17 th c.	348	58	Minaret
Mosque	27	Al-Imrani	17 th c.	346	225	Minaret
Mosque	28	Al-Mu'allaq	1634		43	

*Only the two of them together built more than six *wikalas*, according to their *Waqfiyyas*.

Note: The buildings contained in this table are not all those that were built during this period in Bulaq, many have been omitted because in the sources that were consulted, their location and date are marked as speculative or not identified at all; albeit, they were mentioned in their *waqfiyyas*.

¹ The data in Table 1 was compiled from two sources: Hanna, "Bulaq-An Endangered Historic Area of Cairo," and Idem, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*. At the same time the author mainly consulted the *Waqfiyyas*, among many other sources.

² *Index to Mohammedan Monuments*.

³ *DE* stands for *Description de l'Égypte*.

⁴ Hanna "Bulaq-An Endangered," 28. The author notes: "that only the façade is listed-1708/1120. In the inscription over the fountain, the date which was partially effaced was read as 1020. The second inscription over the doorway (which has since then disappeared) was clearly read as being 1120. The *Comité* took the earlier and more complete date as being that of the construction of the monument. The style of the ornament moreover confirms the later date."

⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*, 146. The author, based on an endowment deed, dates this minaret in c. 1507.

Table 2. Buildings Erected in Bulaq during 979/1571-1110/1698⁶
(Either date or Location is speculative; though, mentioned in several *waqfiyyas* and several other written sources)

Building Type	No. in Fig.21	Name	Year	Index ⁷ No.	DE ⁸ No.	Existent
<i>Wikala</i>	29	Al-'Abd				Porch only
<i>Wikala</i>	30	Janbalat				Porch only
<i>Wikala</i>	31	Al-Dukhan (Gedydah)			55	X
<i>Wikala</i>	32	Al-Guel				X
<i>Wikala</i>	33	Gazzarin				X
<i>Wikala</i>	34	Al-Suf			113	X
<i>Wikala</i>	35	Gir			211	X
<i>Wikala</i>	36	Hinna			122	X
<i>Wikala</i>	37	Milayat			129	X
<i>Wikala</i>	38	Sukkar			131	X
<i>Wikala</i>	39	Abu Zayt			134	X
<i>Wikala</i>	40	'Asal			130	X
<i>Wikala</i>	41	Qulal			133	X
<i>Wikala</i>	42	Fisqiyya			135	X
<i>Wikala</i>	43	Bus			138	X
<i>Wikala</i>	44	Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi				outter parts
<i>Riwaq</i>	45	Al-Magharba				X
<i>Bait</i>	46	Korayim				X
<i>Bait</i>	47	Darb al-Labbana				X
<i>Bait</i>	48	Harat Za'tara				X
<i>Bait</i>	49	Al-Qabwa				façade
<i>Rab'</i>	50	'Atfat al-Mustawqid				X
<i>Ma'sara</i>	51	-No special name-				X
<i>Tahun</i>	52	Ibn Haggag				X
<i>Tahun</i>	53	Al-Hagg Muhammad				X

Note: Table 2 is a supplement to Table 1. According to Hanna, these buildings were located hypothetically following data of written sources; hence, they can not be dated accurately.

⁶ The data in Table 2 was compiled from two sources: Hanna, "Bulaq-An Endangered Historic Area of Cairo," and Idem, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*. At the same time the author mainly consulted the *Waqfiyyas*, among several other sources.

⁷ *Index to Mohammedan Monuments*.

⁸ DE stands for *Description de l'Égypte*.

Figure 1

Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349

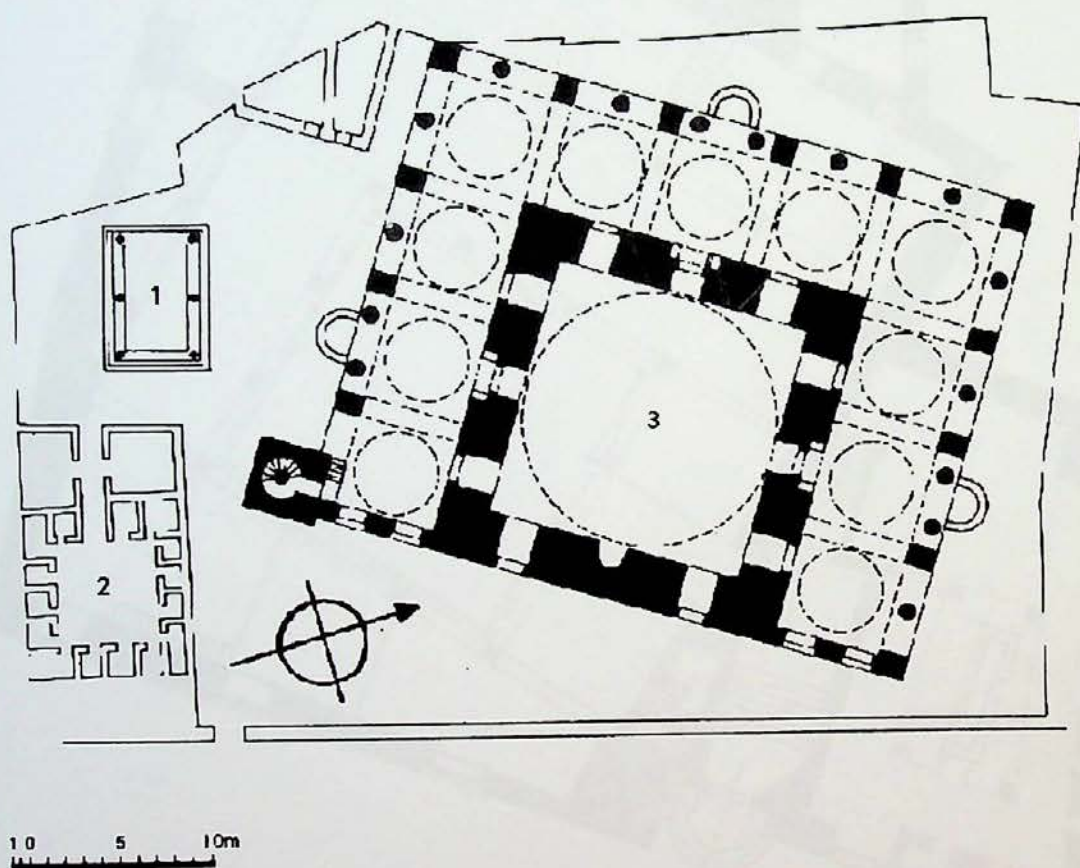


Figure 2

Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
1698
Index No. 343

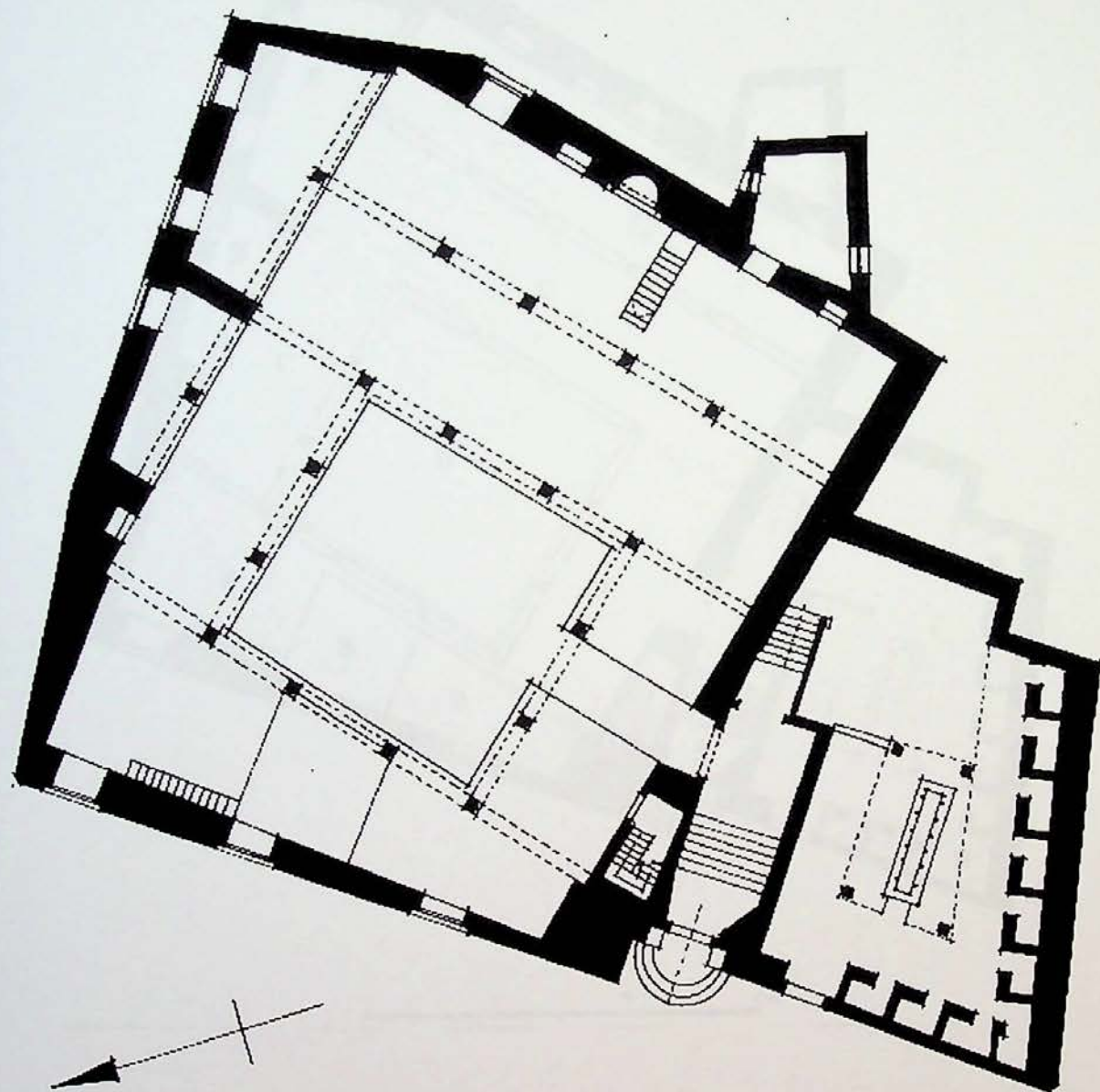


Figure 3

Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
1698
Index No. 343

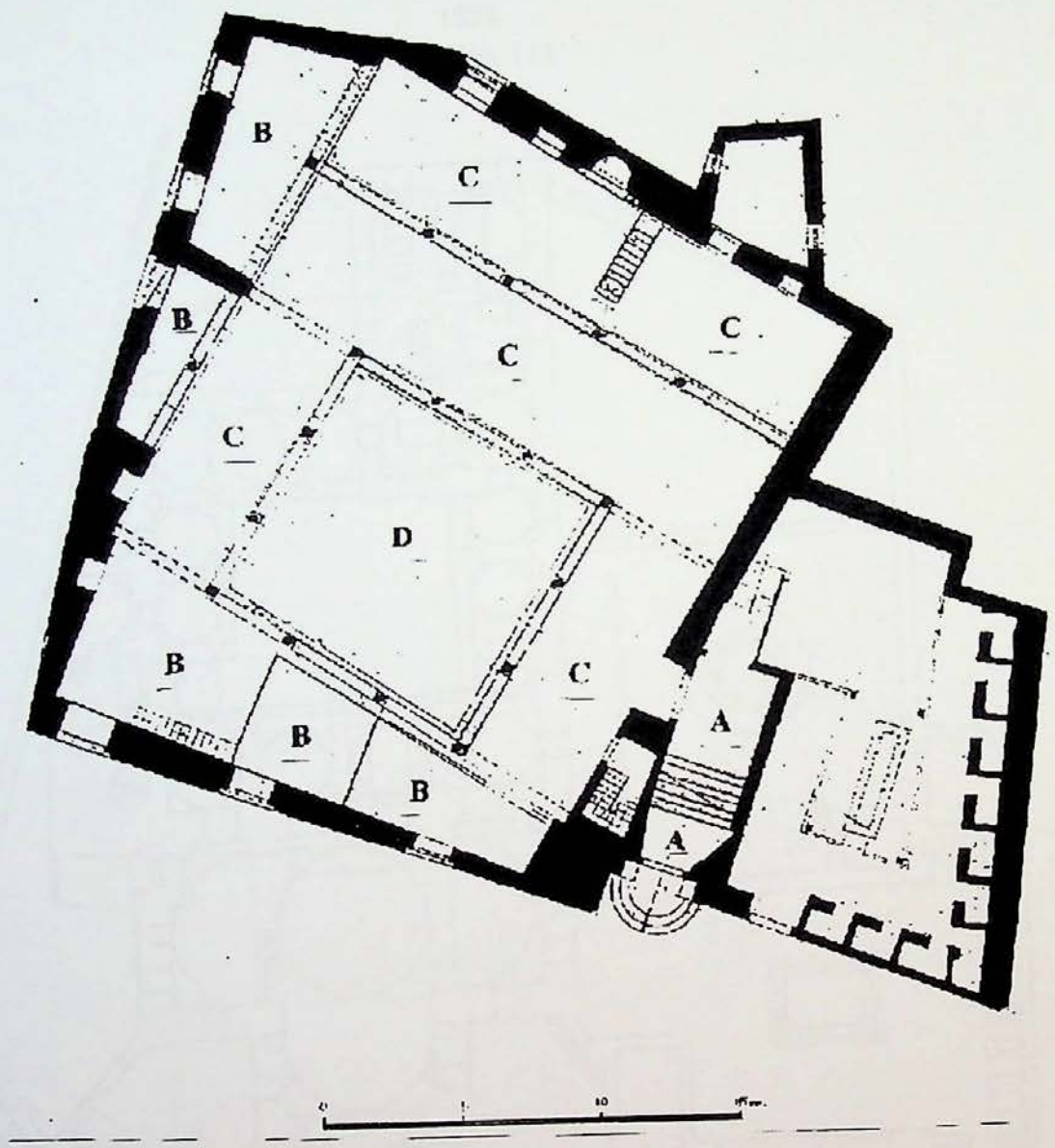


Figure 4

Suleyman Pasha, Cairo
(The Citadel)
1528
Index No. 142

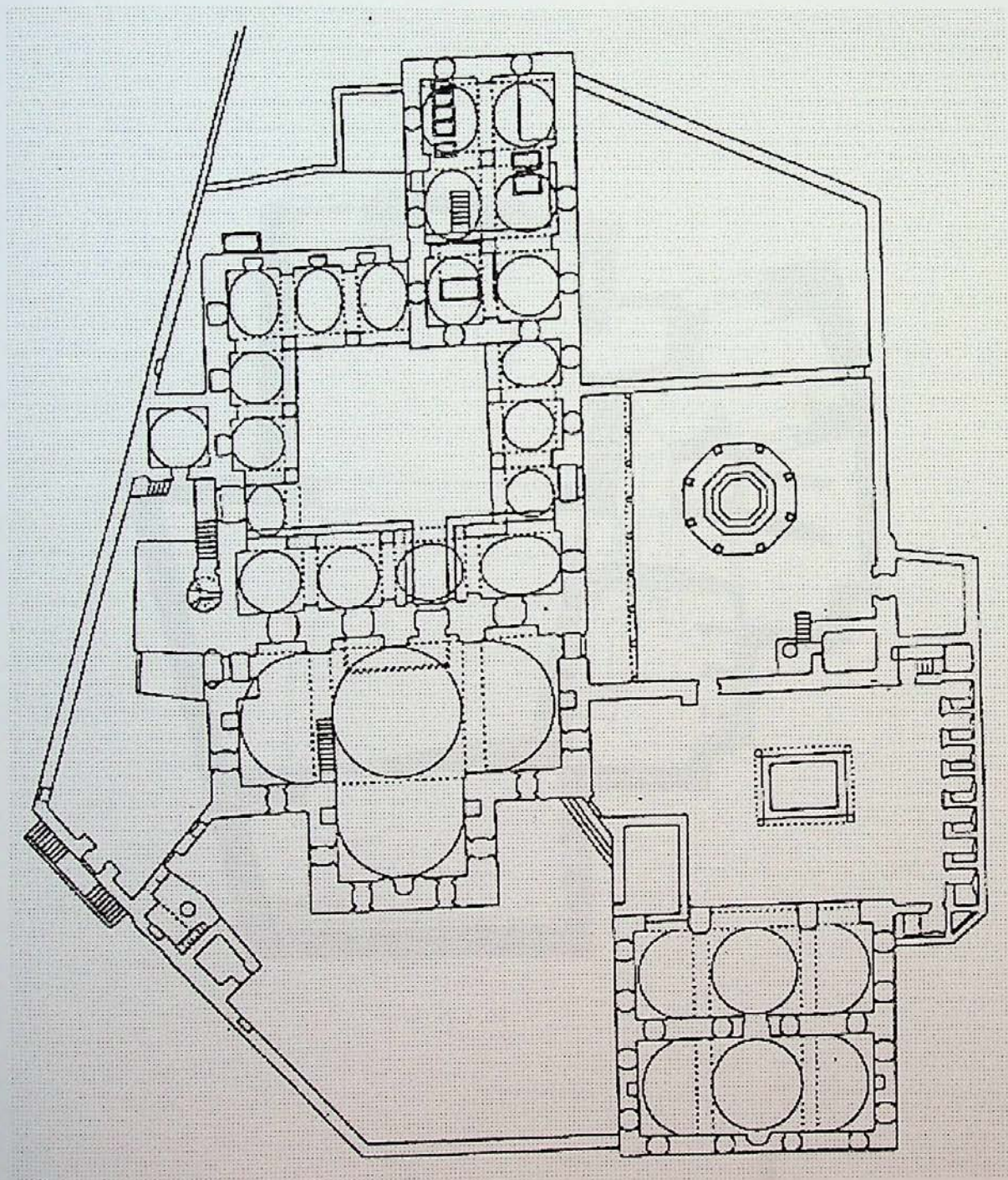


Figure 5

Muhibb al-Din Abul Tayyib, Cairo
Early sixteenth century
Index No. 48

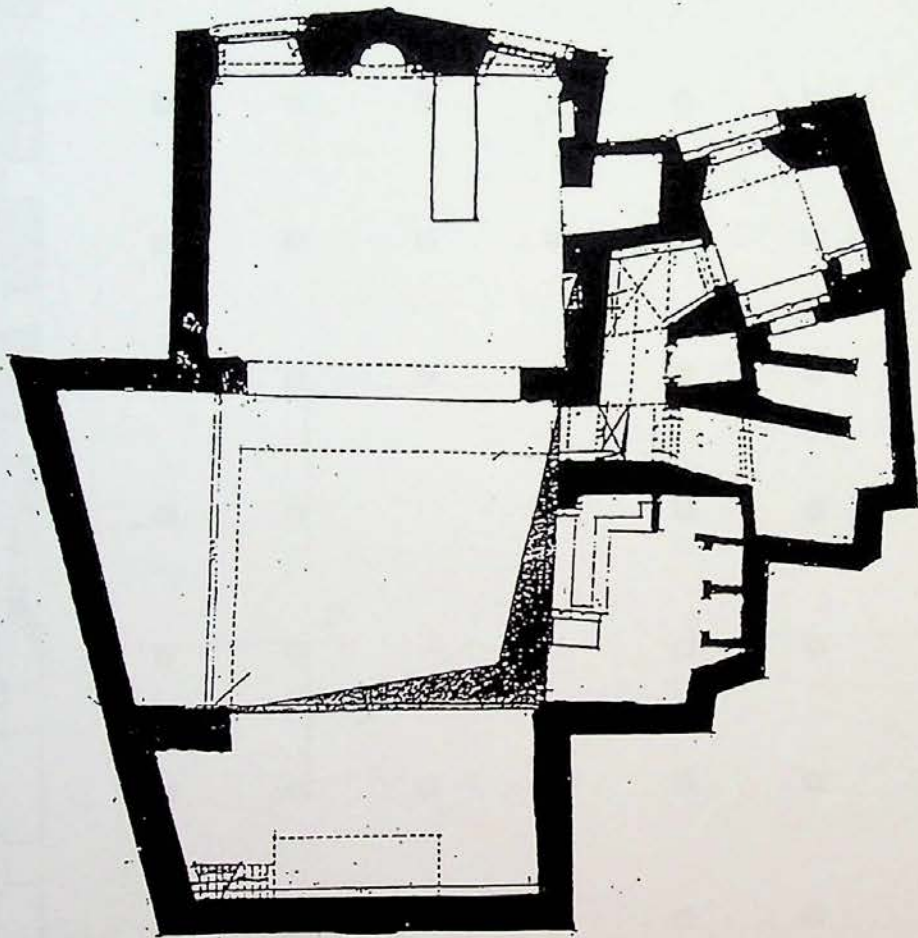


Figure 6

Qadi Yahya, Bulaq
1448
Index No. 344

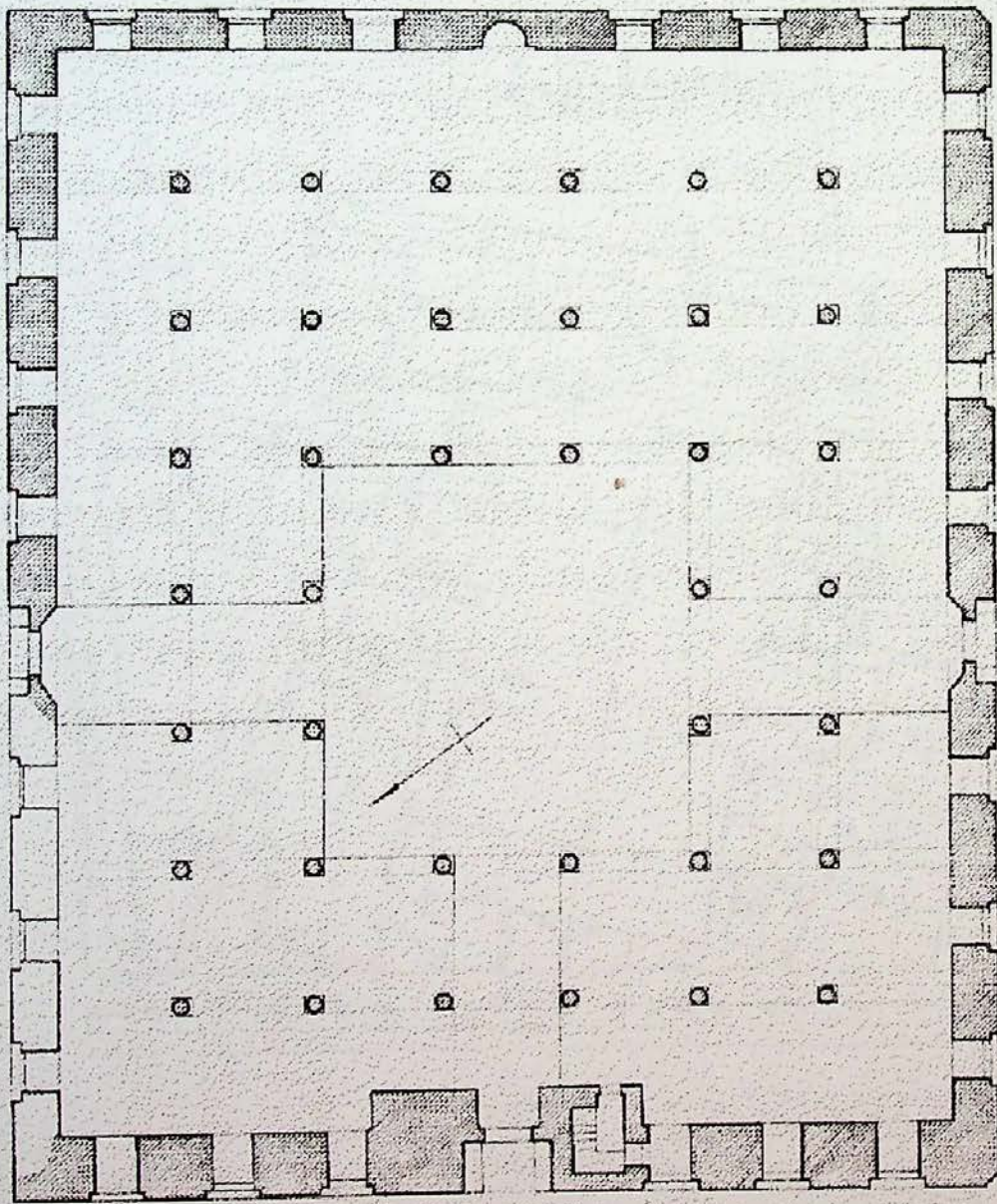


Figure 7

Qadi Yahya, Cairo
1444
Index No. 182

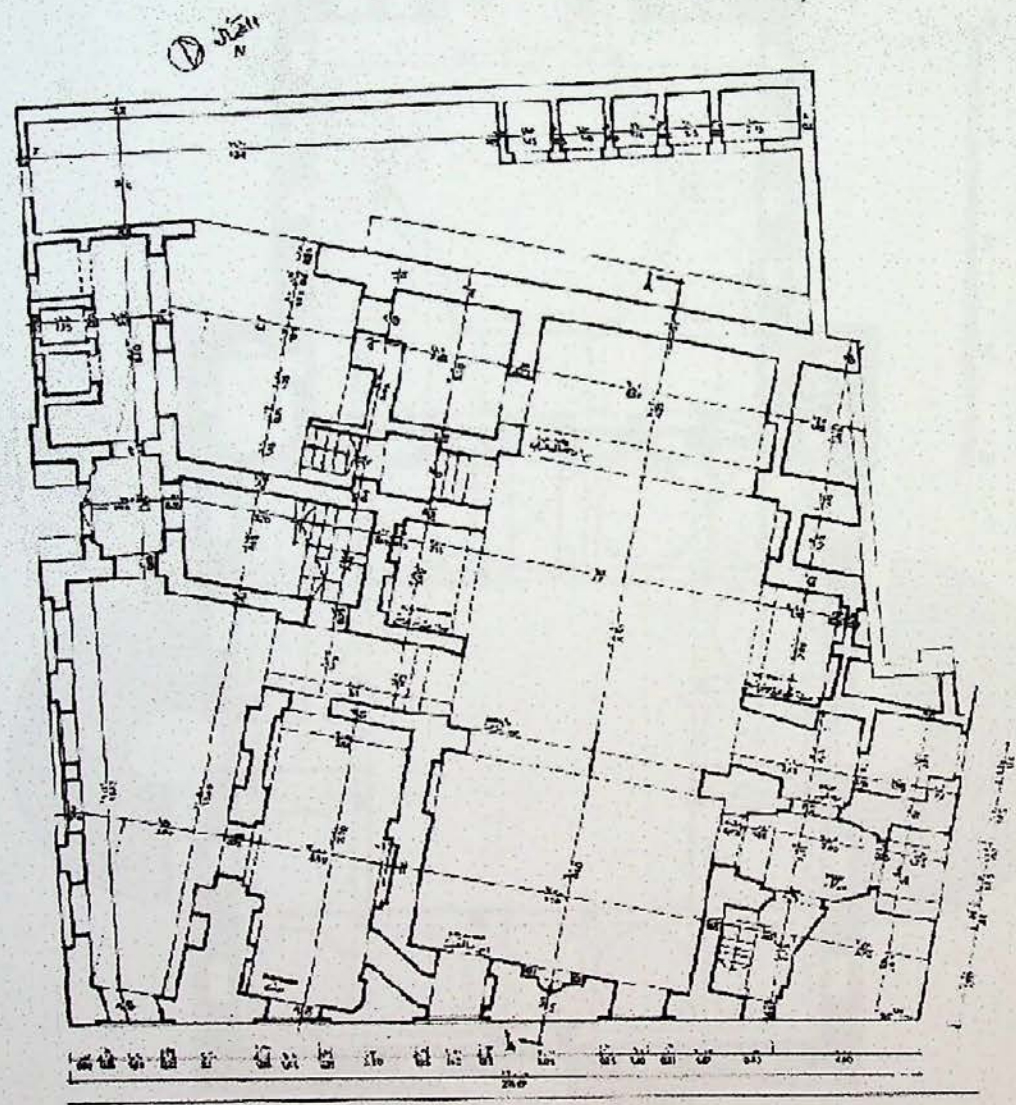


Figure 8

Malika Safiyya
1610
Index No. 200

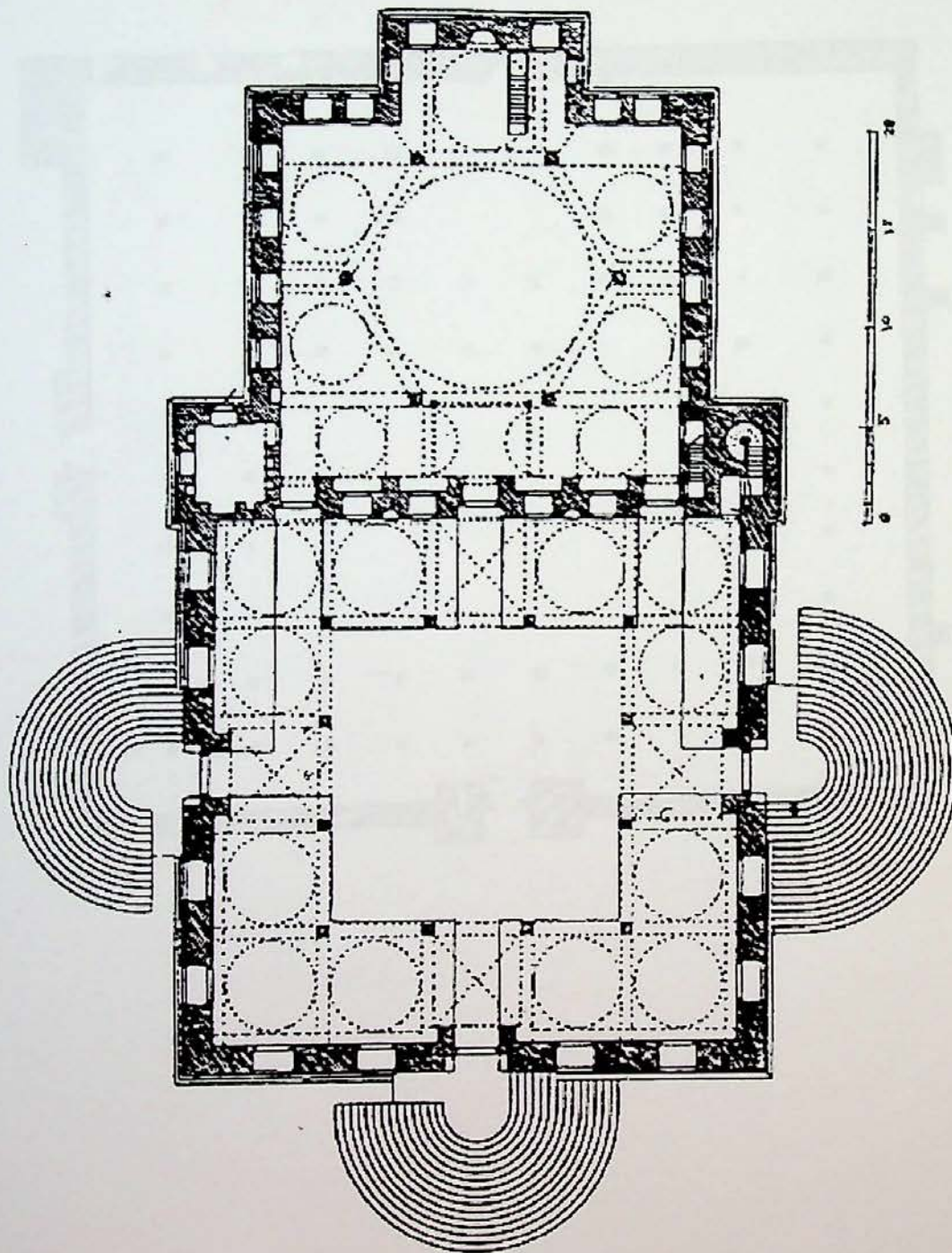


Figure 9

Al-Nasser Muhammad
1335
Index No. 143

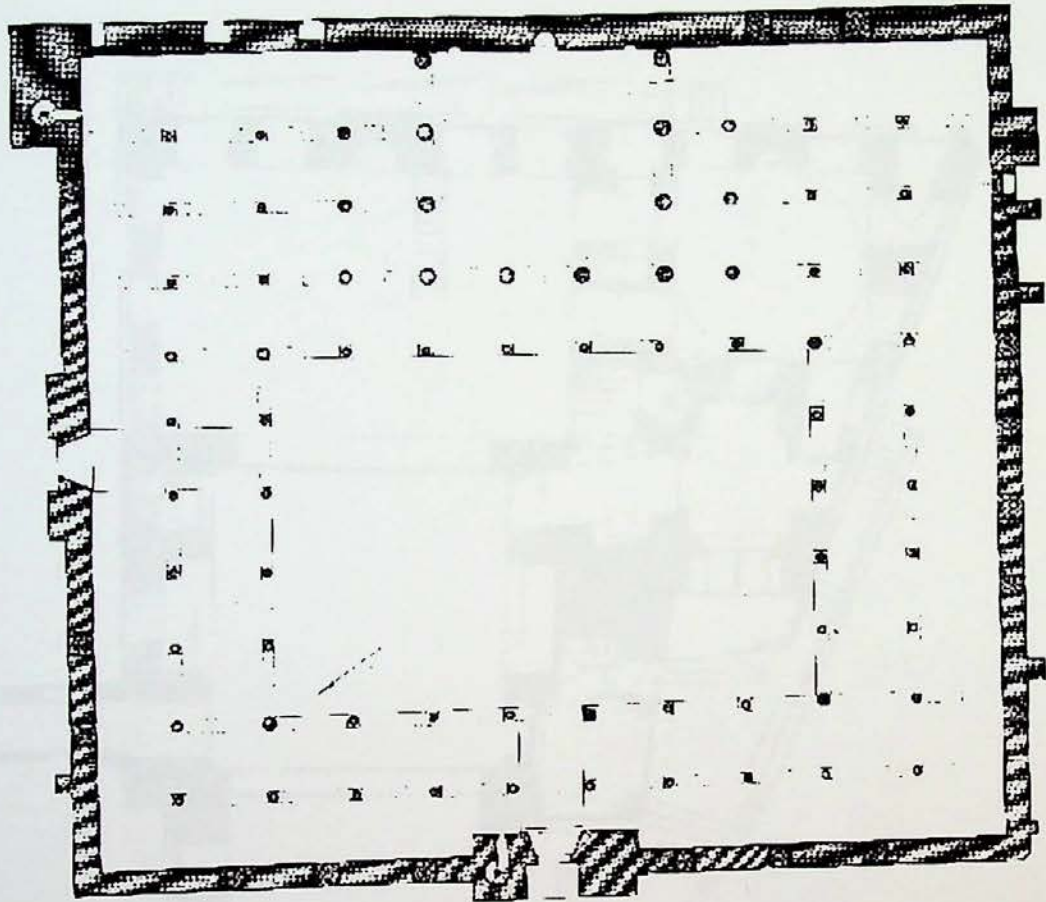


Figure 10

Qijmas al-Ishaqi
1480
Index No. 114

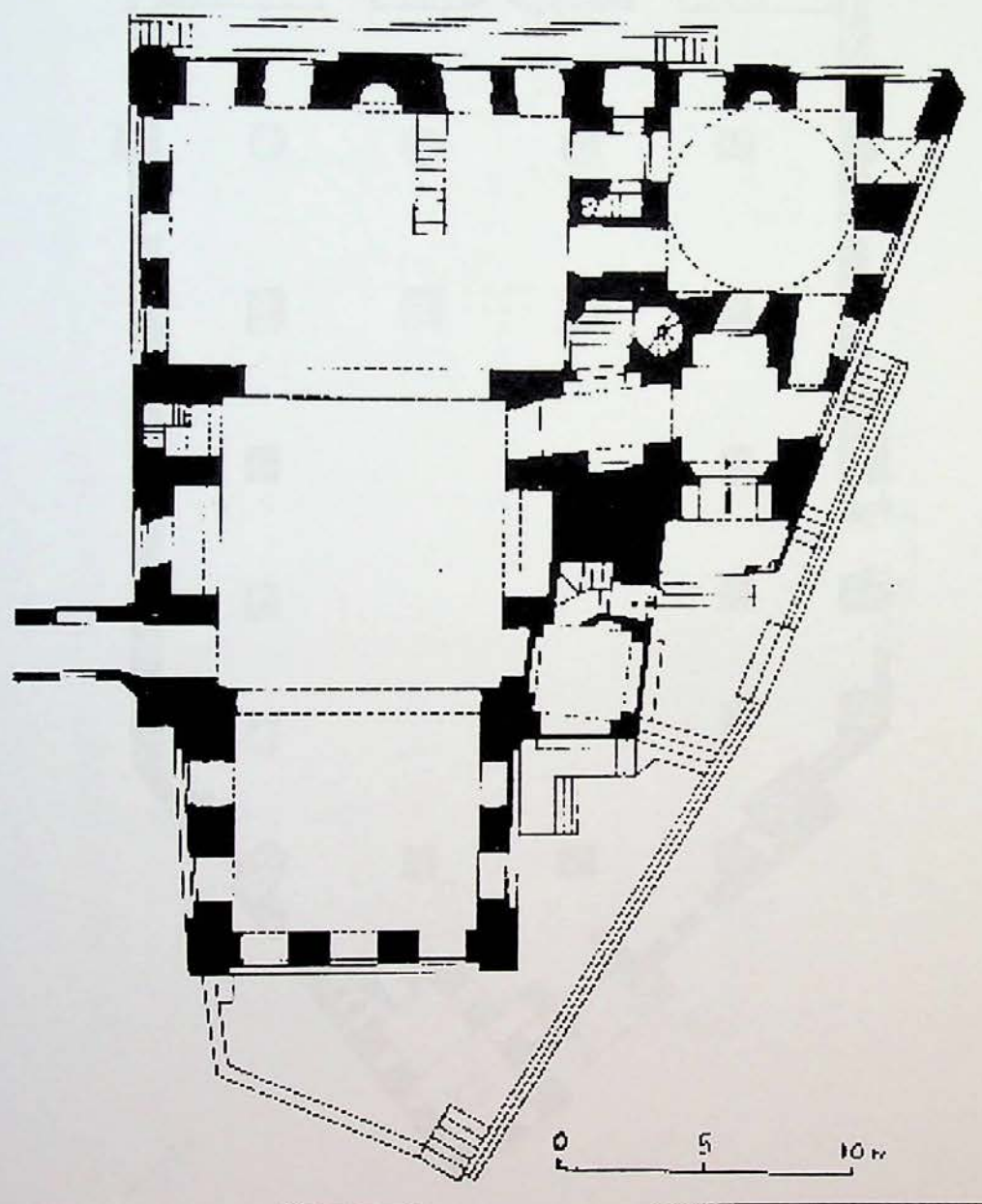


Figure 11

Aqsunqur al-Nassari
1347
Index No. 123

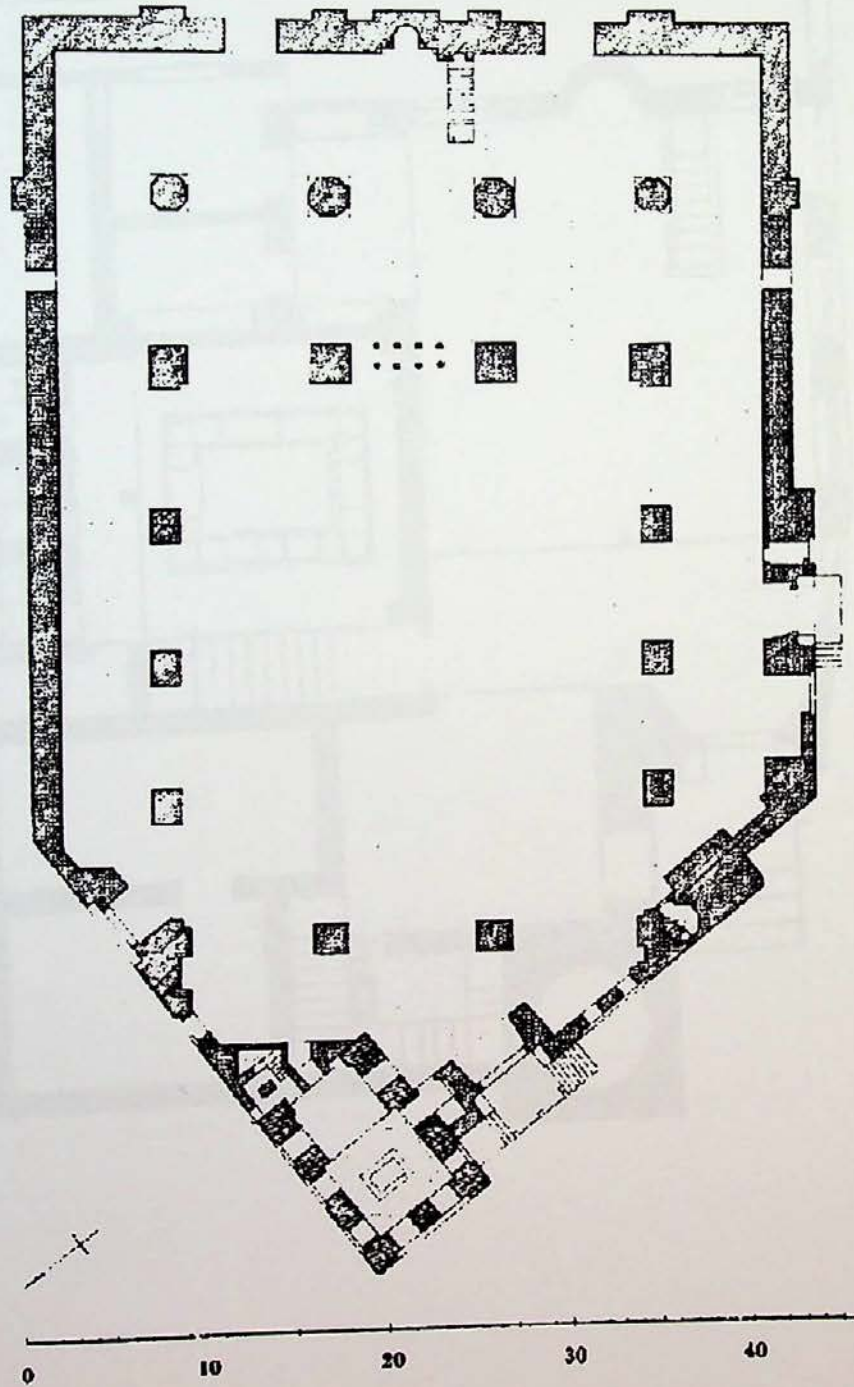


Figure 12

Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni
1616-1626
Index No. 201

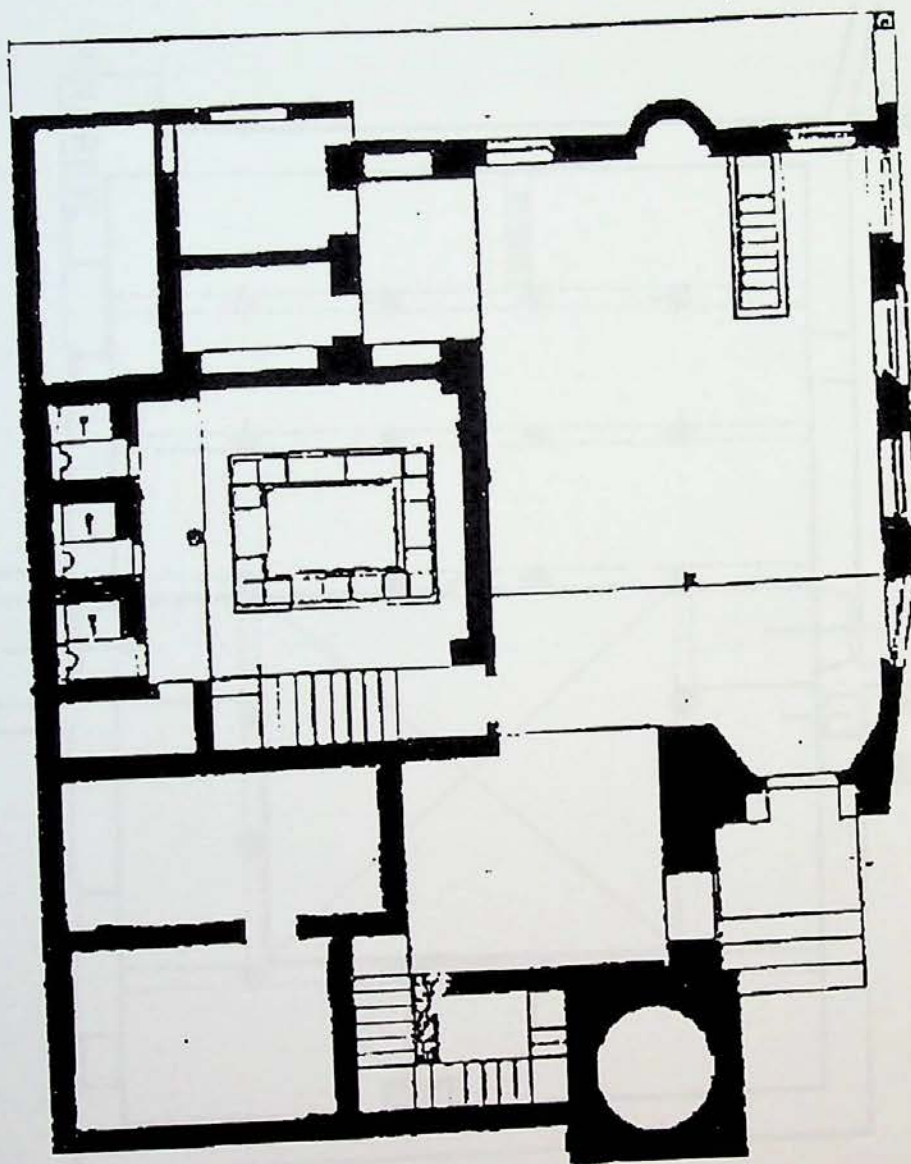
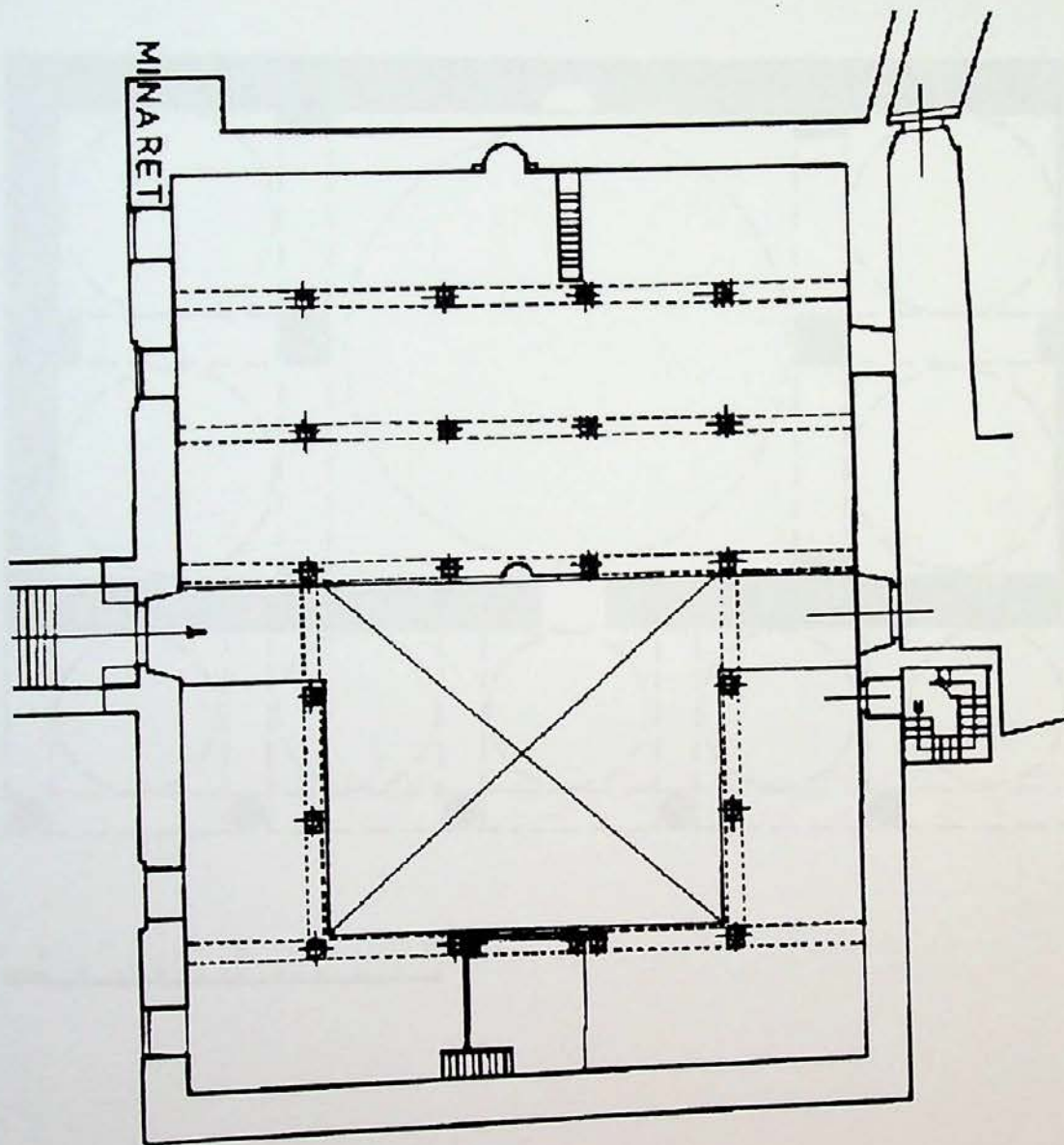
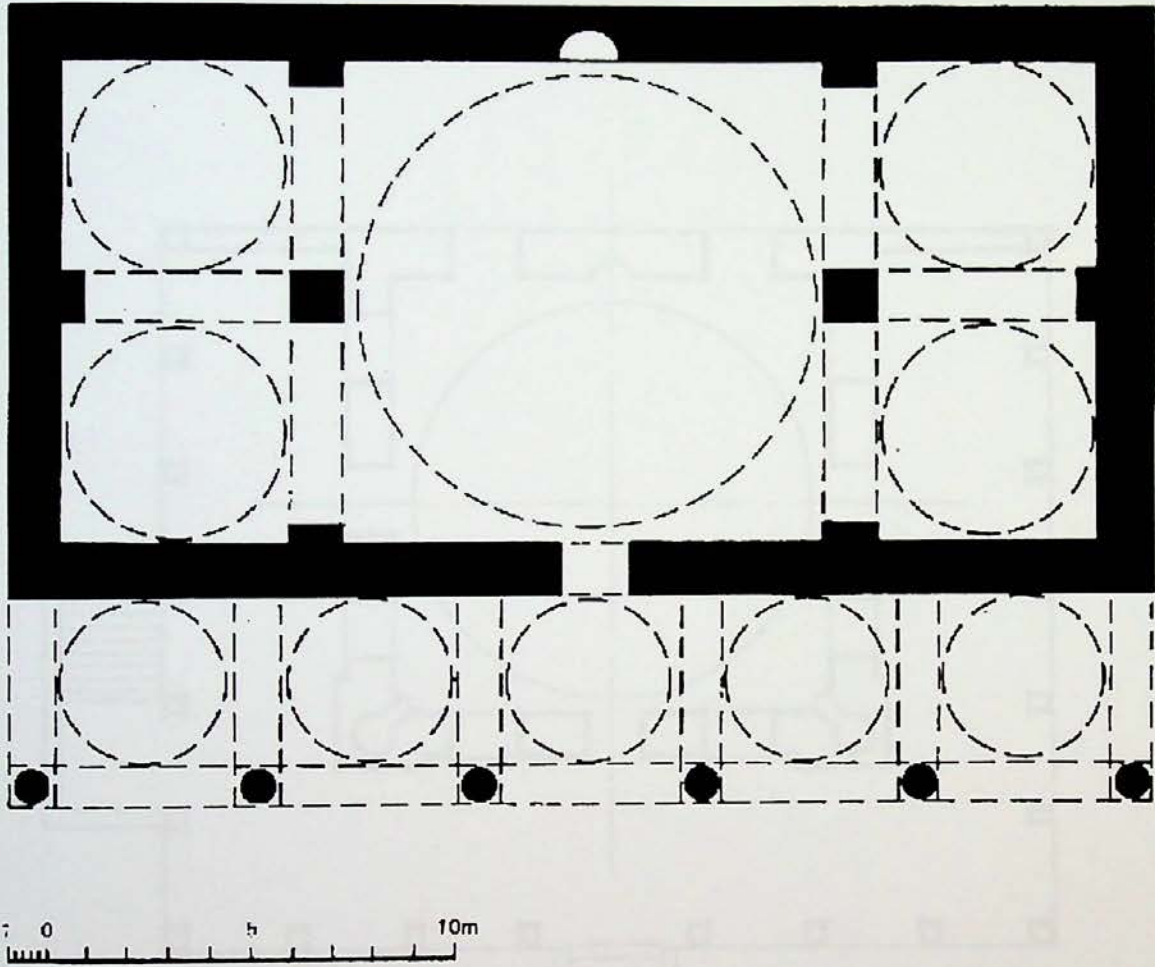


Figure 13

'Uthman Katkhuda
1734
Index No. 264



Hatuniye Cami, Manisa
1489



Çenili Mosque
(Redrawn from: Pauty, "L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête Ottomane")
1640

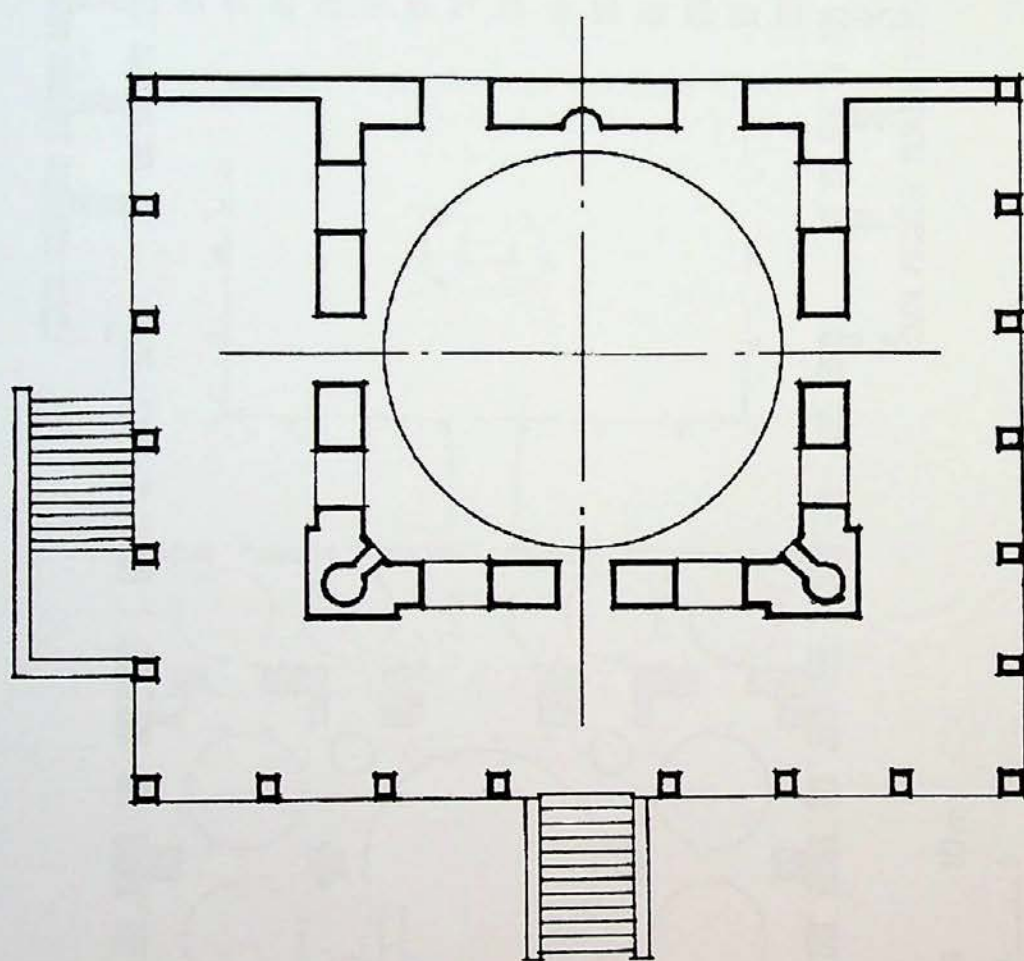
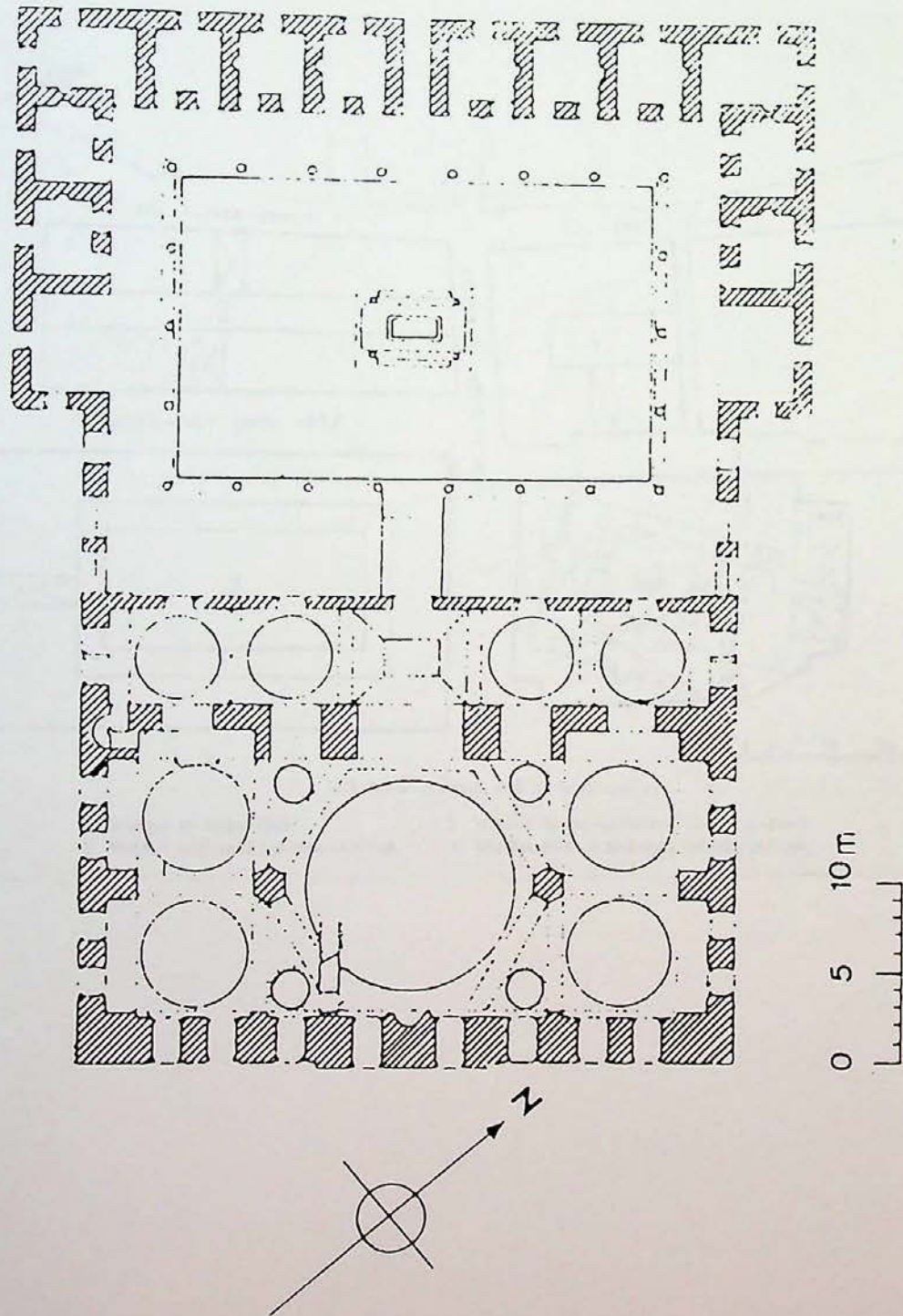
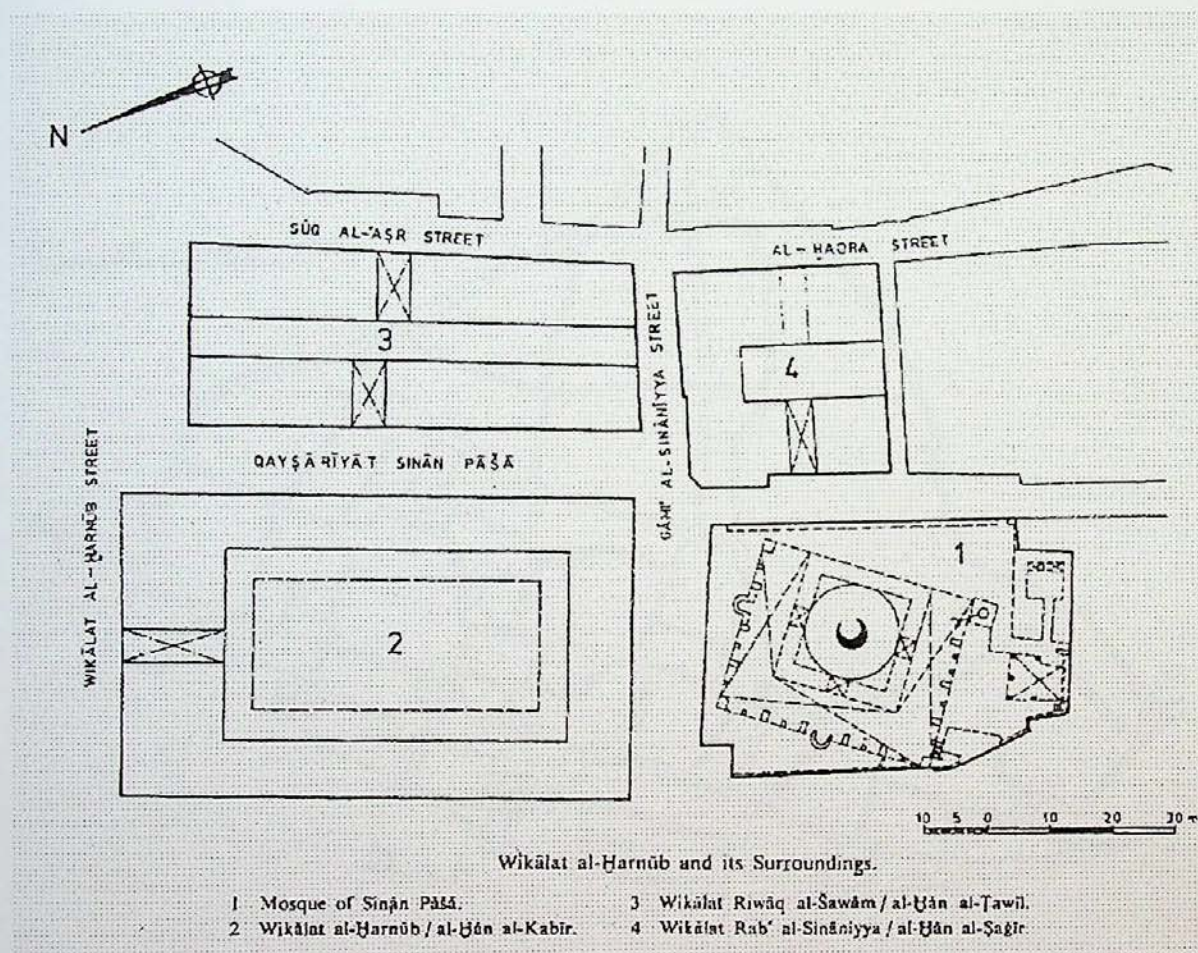


Figure 16

Sinan Pasha, Besiktas
1553-55



Sinan Pasha's Wikalas
(Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*)



Wikalat al-Harnub and its Surroundings.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Mosque of Sinan Pasha. | 3. Wikalat Riwaq al-Sawam / al-Uan al-Tawil. |
| 2. Wikalat al-Harnub / al-Uan al-Kabir. | 4. Wikalat Rab' al-Sinaniyya / al-Uan al-Sagir. |

Map of Bulaq
(Based on: Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*)

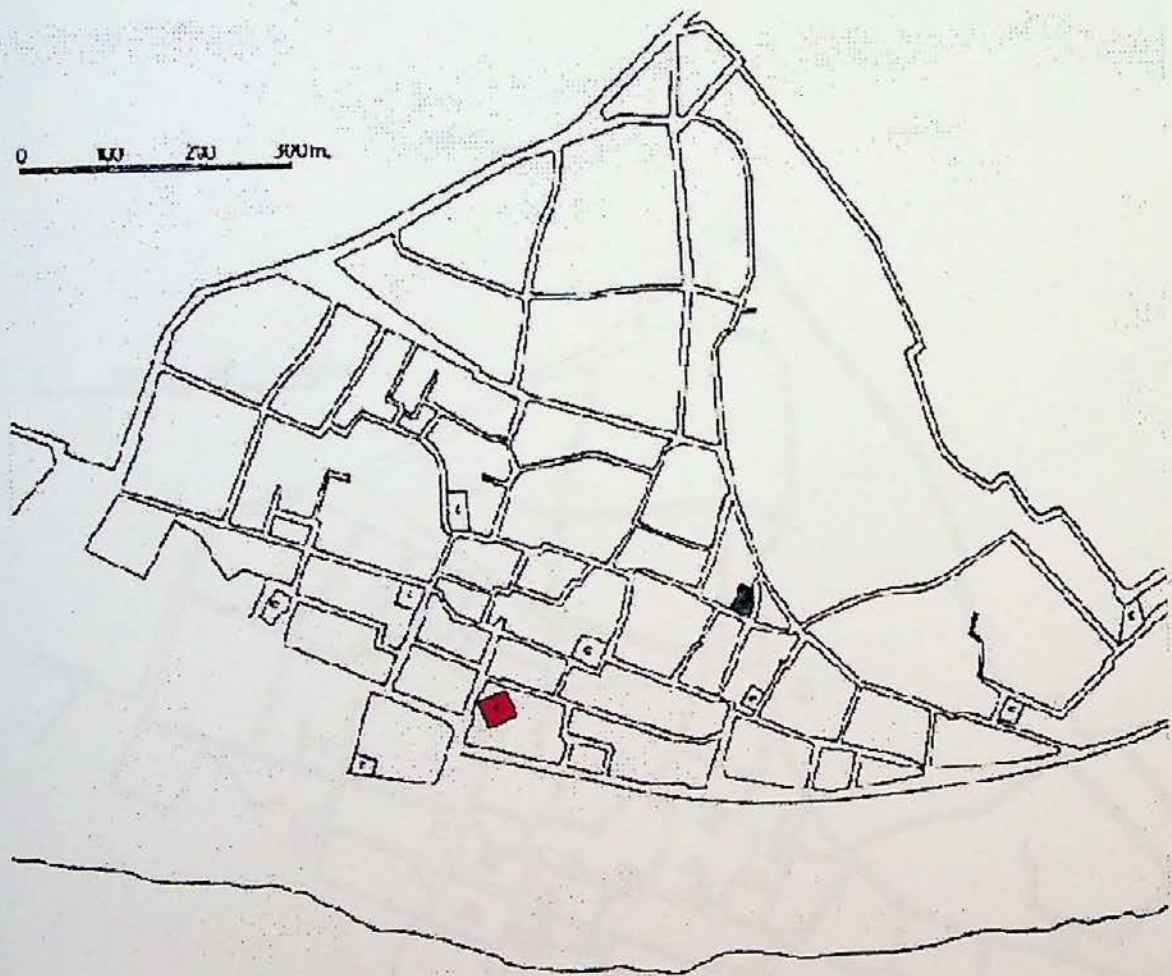
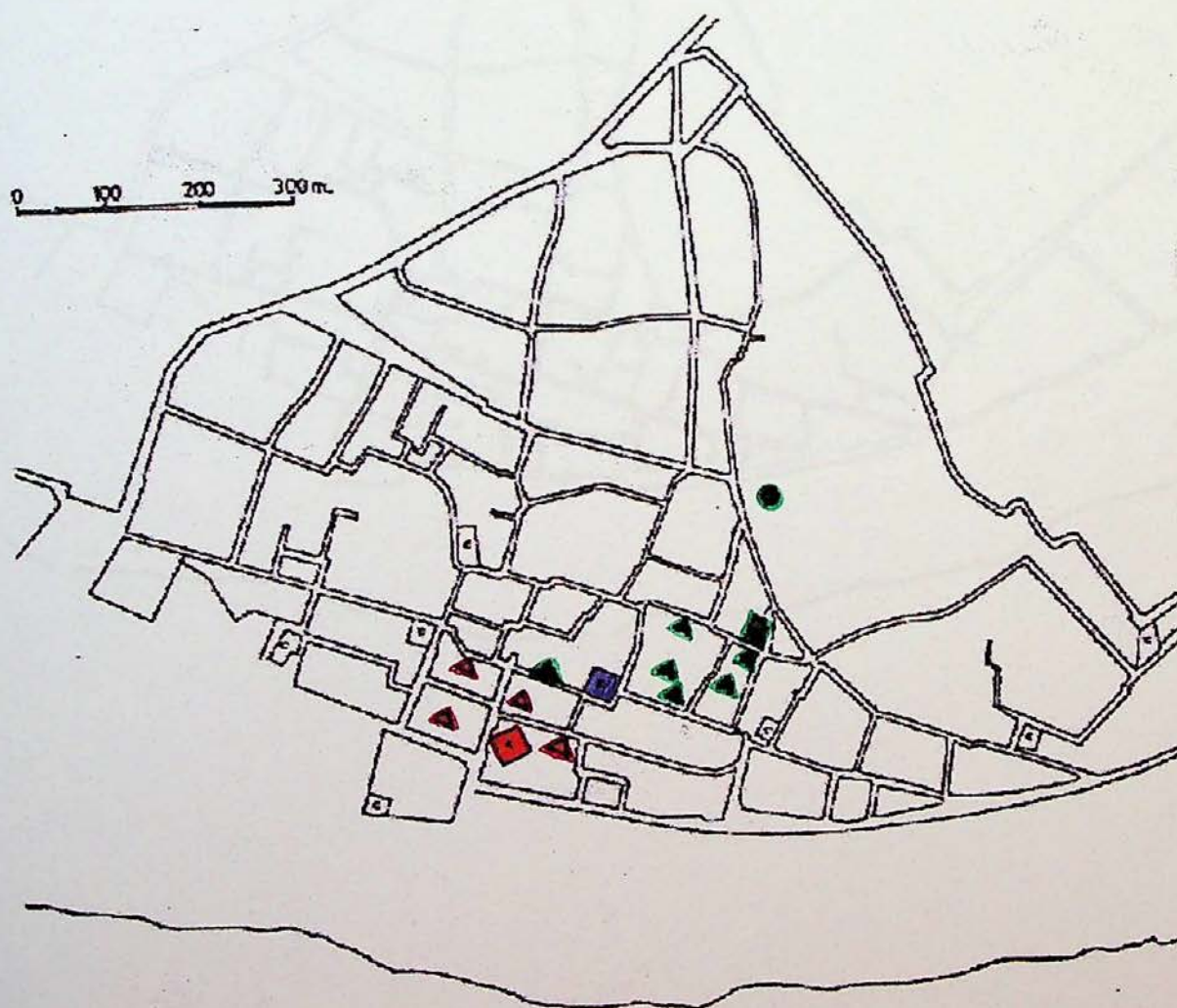


Figure 19

Personal property
Bulaq
(Based on: Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*)

	Sinan Pasha	Qadi Yahya	Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
Mosque	■	■	■
Other properties	▲		▲
Relatives' property			●



Map of Bulaq
(Based on: Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*)

Buildings erected during 1571-1698
(Location and date identified)



Map of Bulaq
(Based on: Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*)

Buildings erected during 1571-1698
(Speculative location and date)



Plate 1

Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349

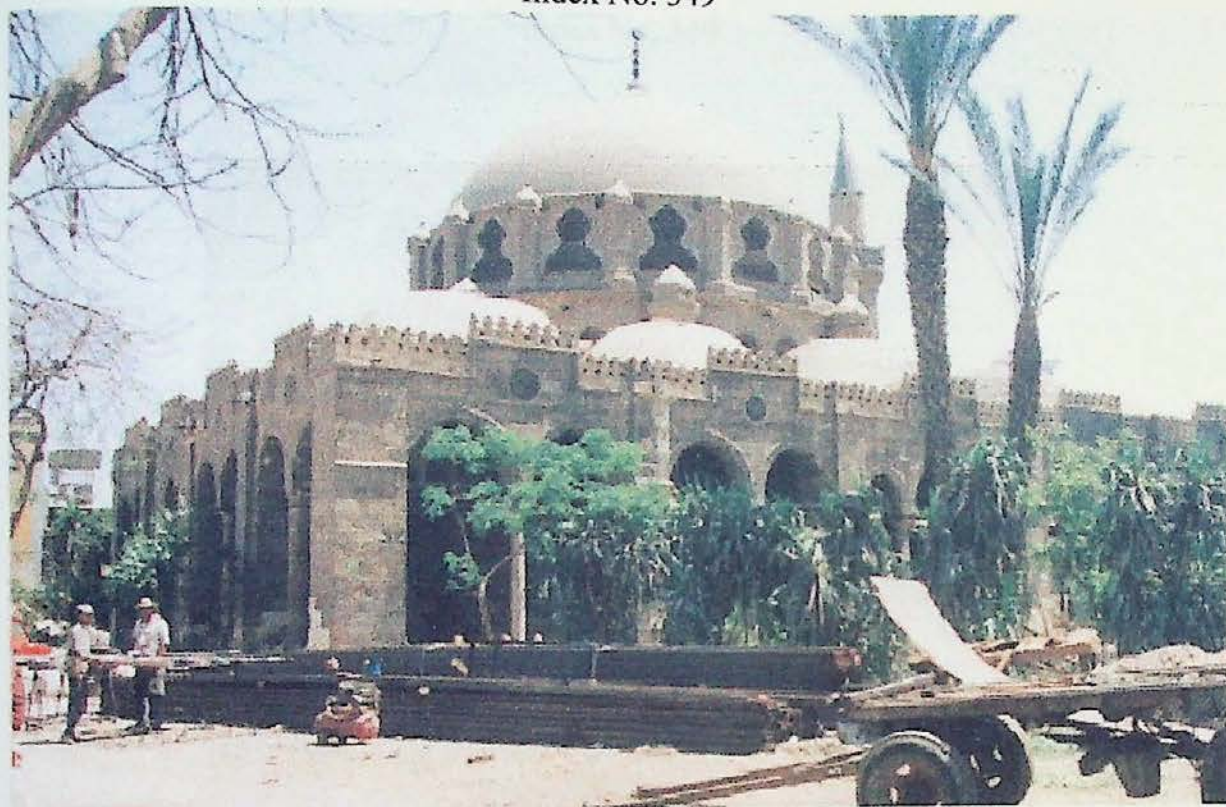
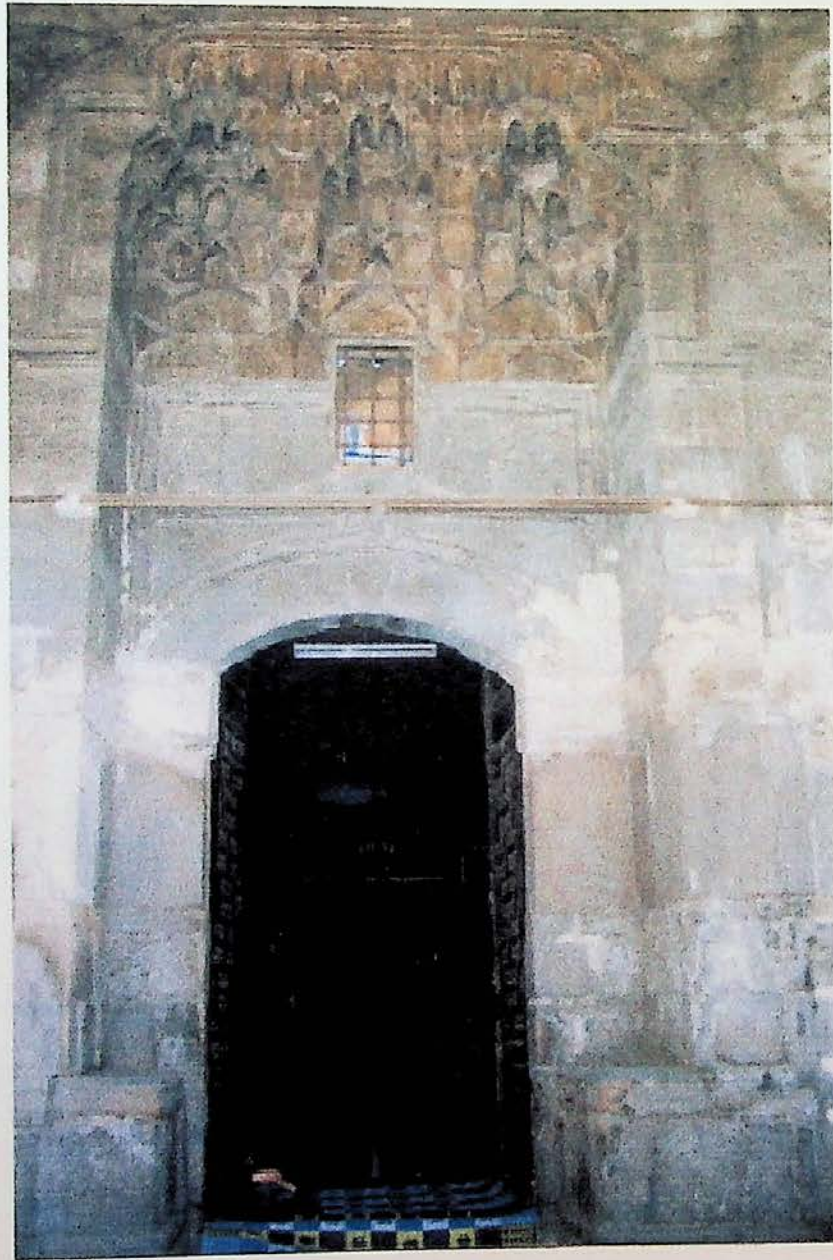


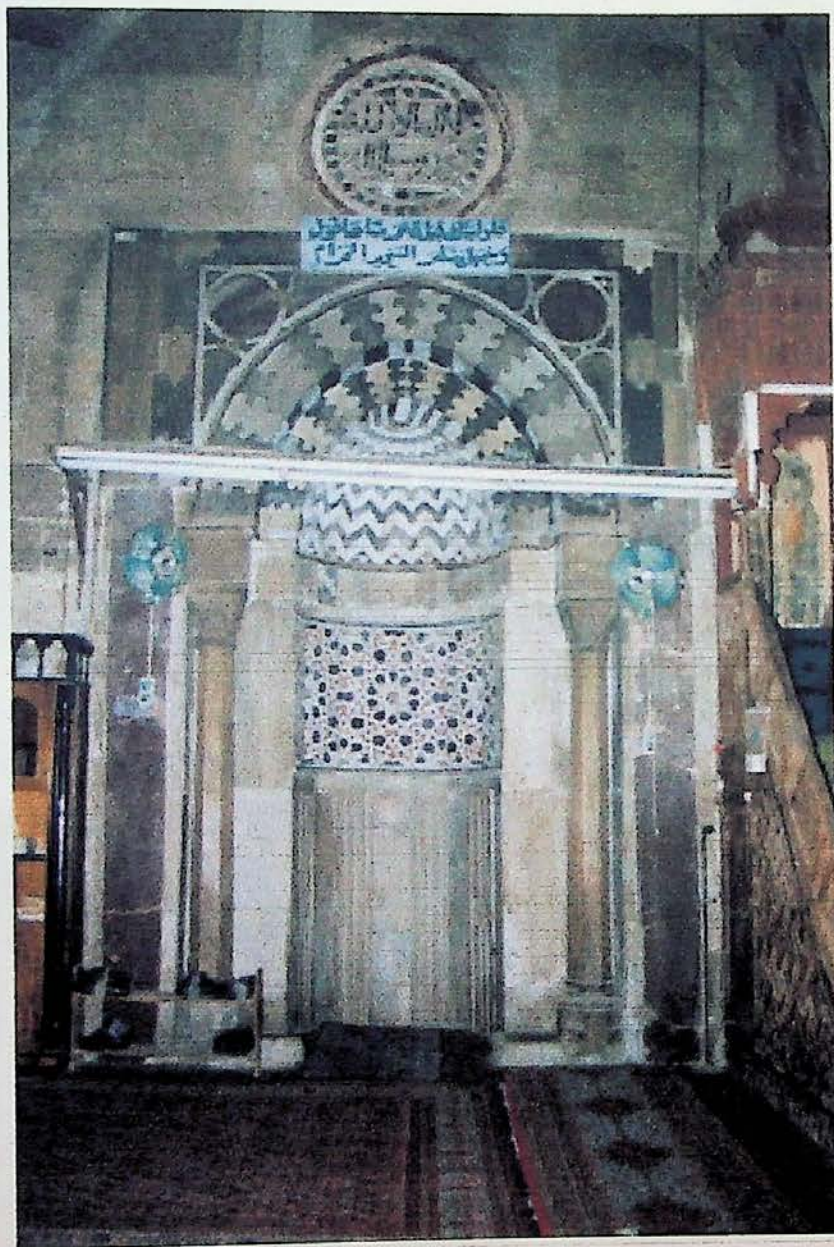
Plate 2



Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349



Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349



Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349

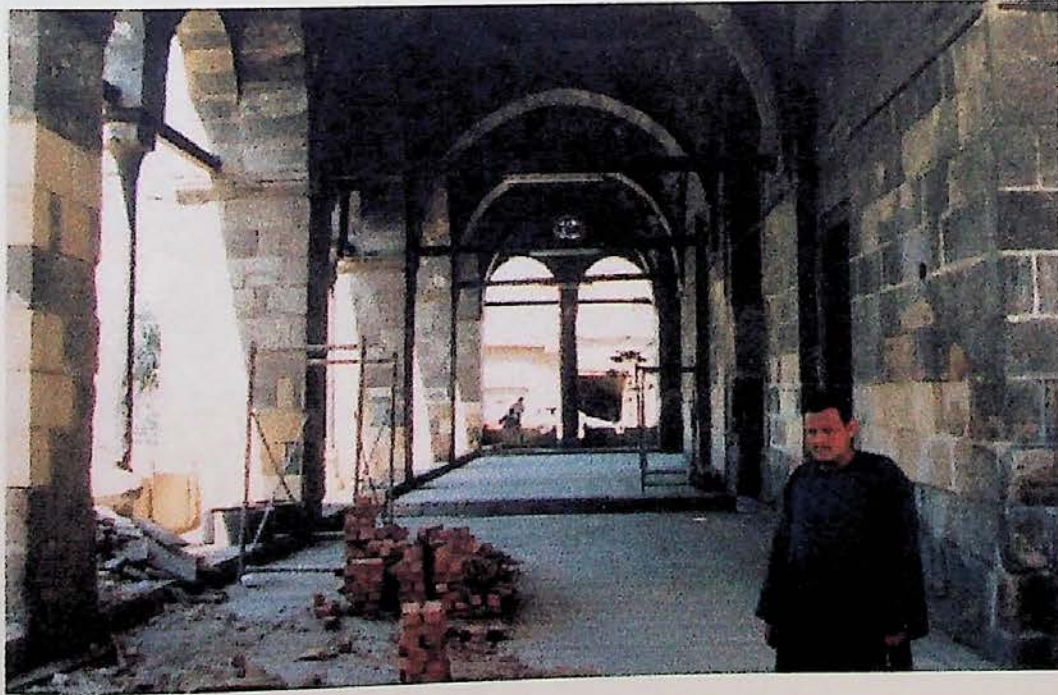
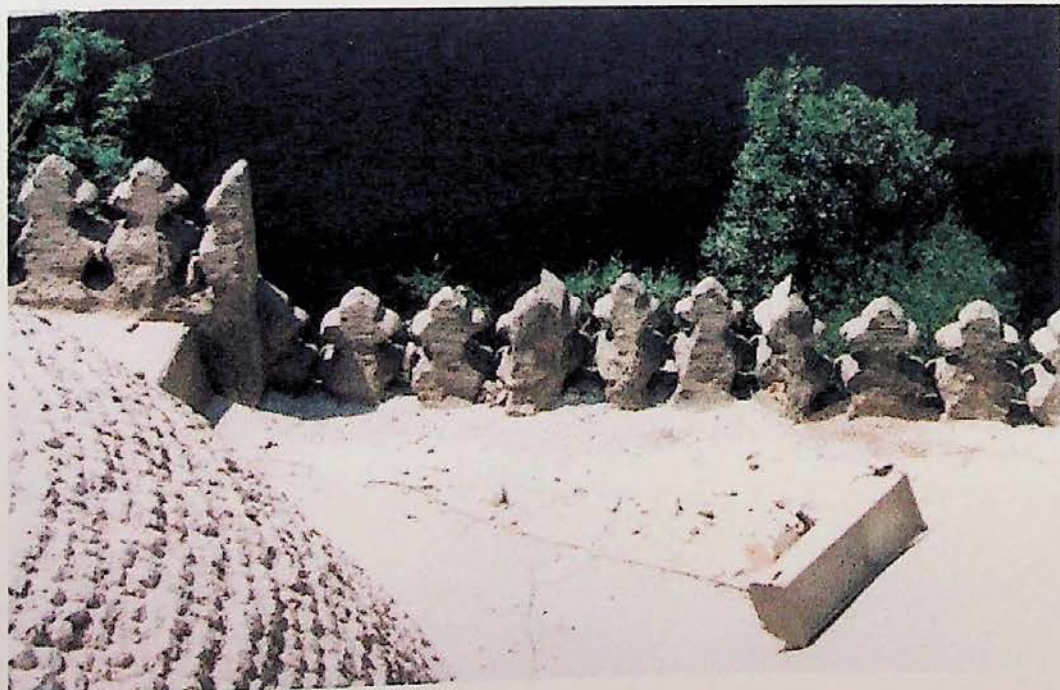


Plate 7

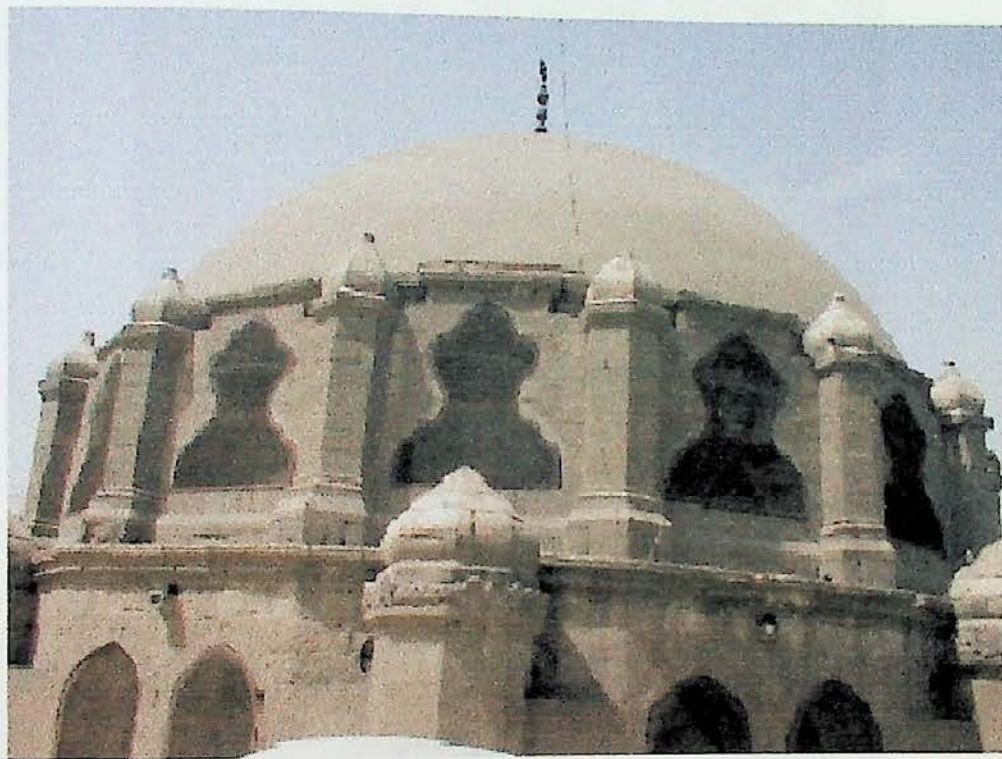
Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349



Plate 8



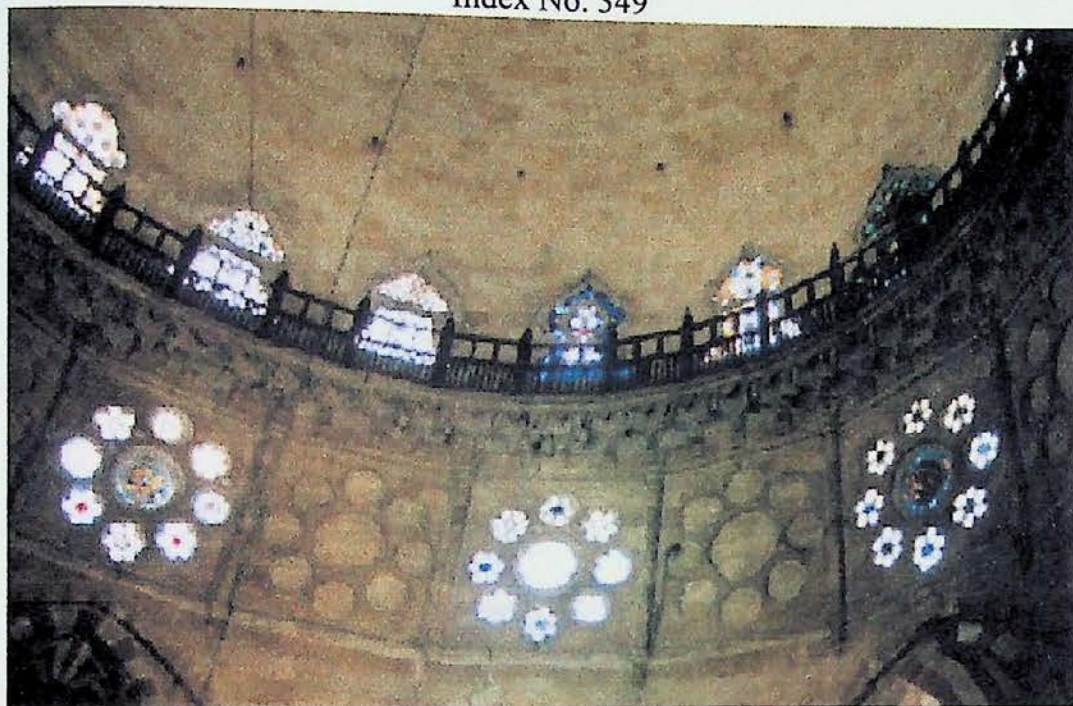
Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349



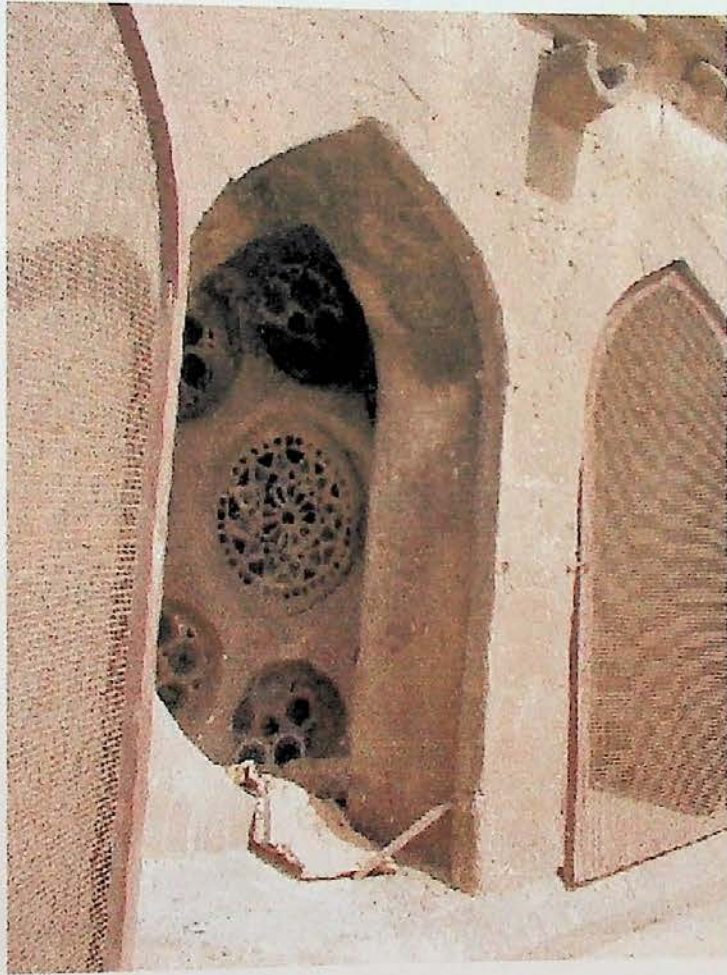
Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349



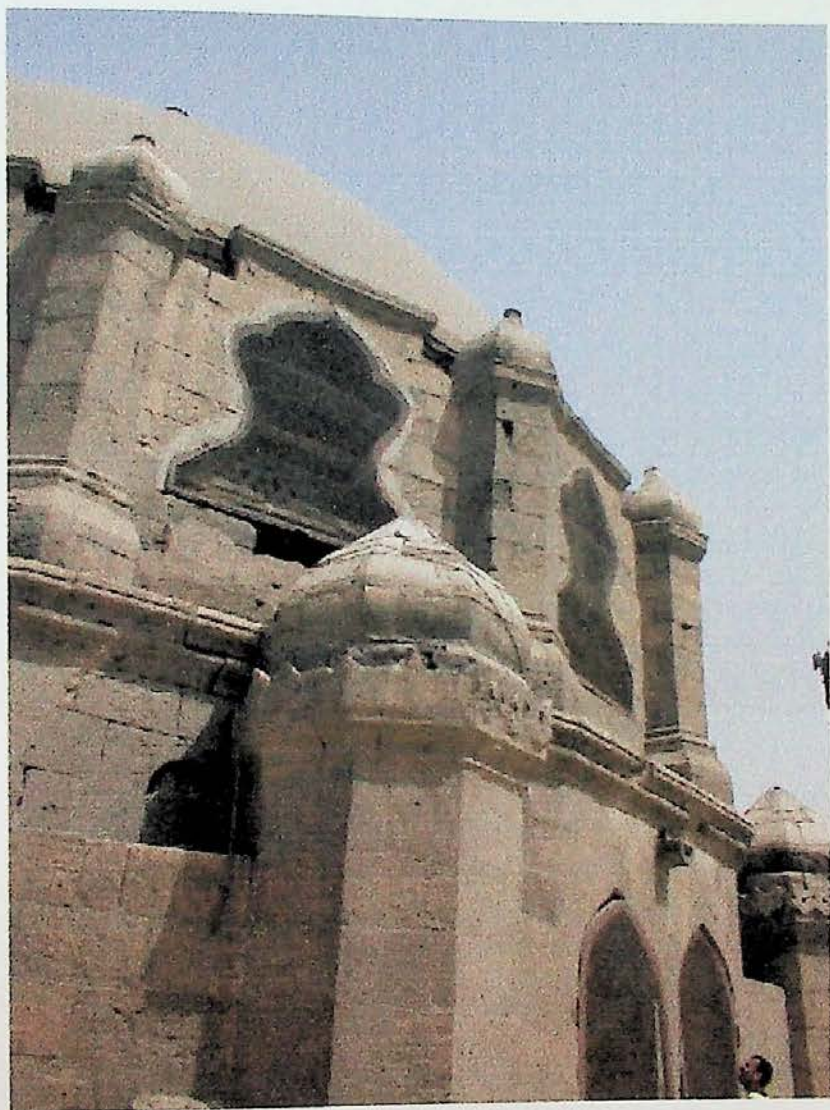
Sinan Pasha
1571
Index No. 349



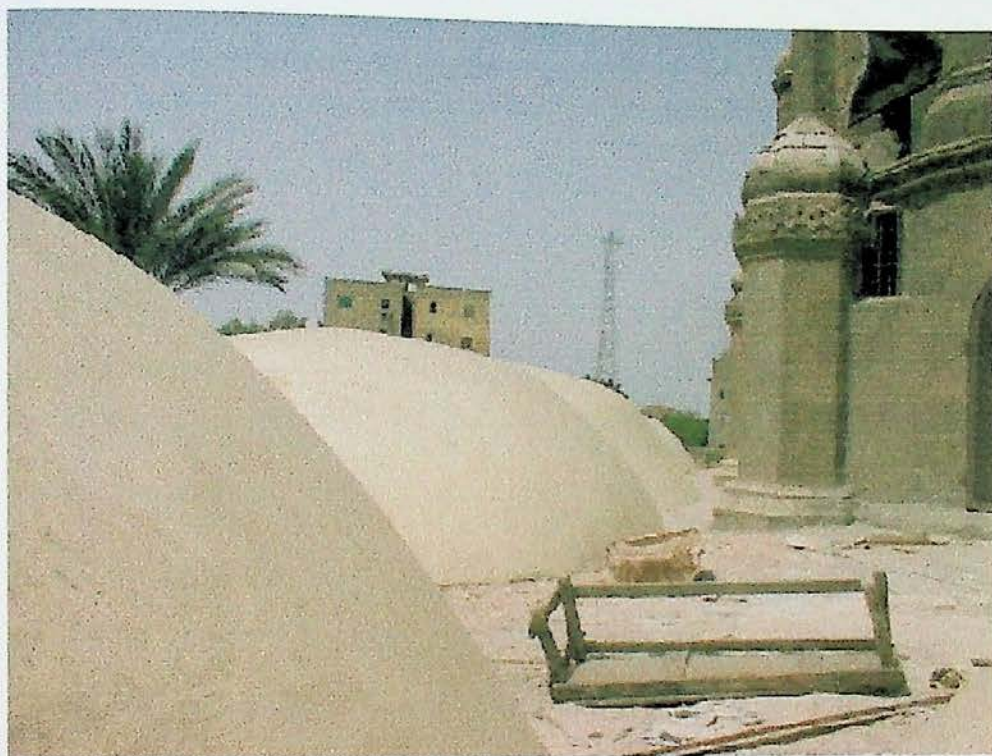
Sinan Pasha
1571
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Sinan Pasha
1571
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Sinan Pasha
1571
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Sinan Pasha
1571
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Sinan Pasha
1571
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Plate 16



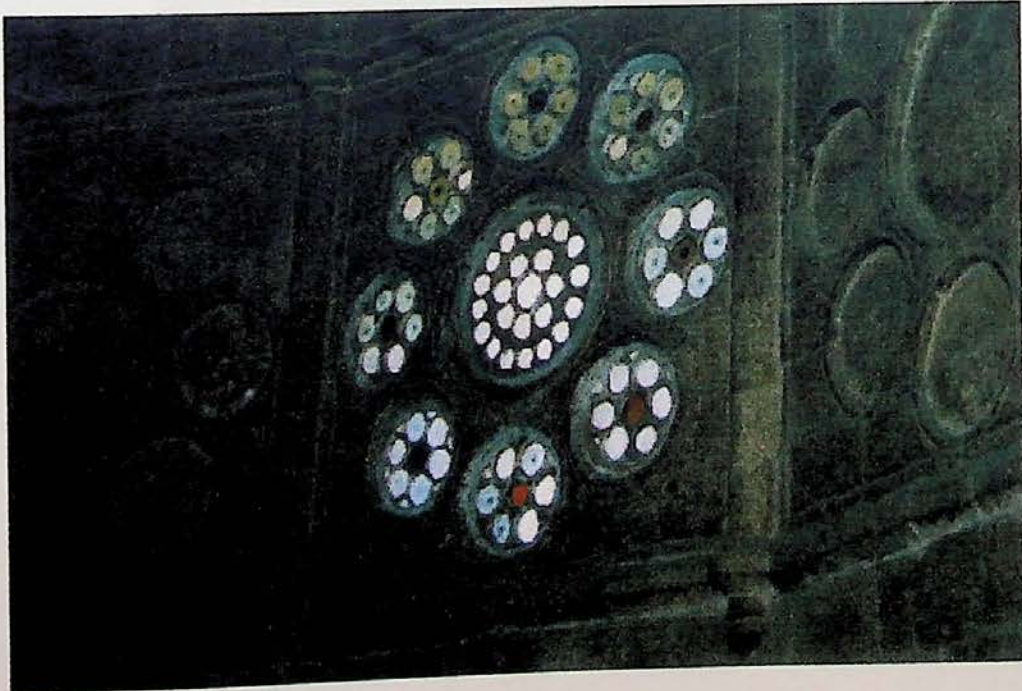
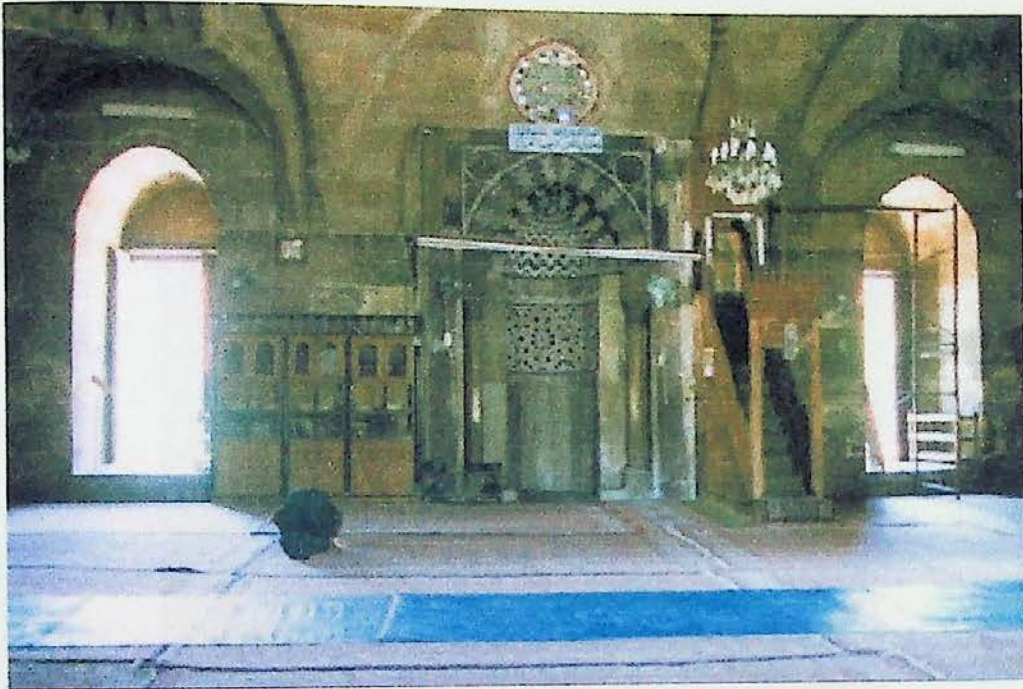
Plate 17



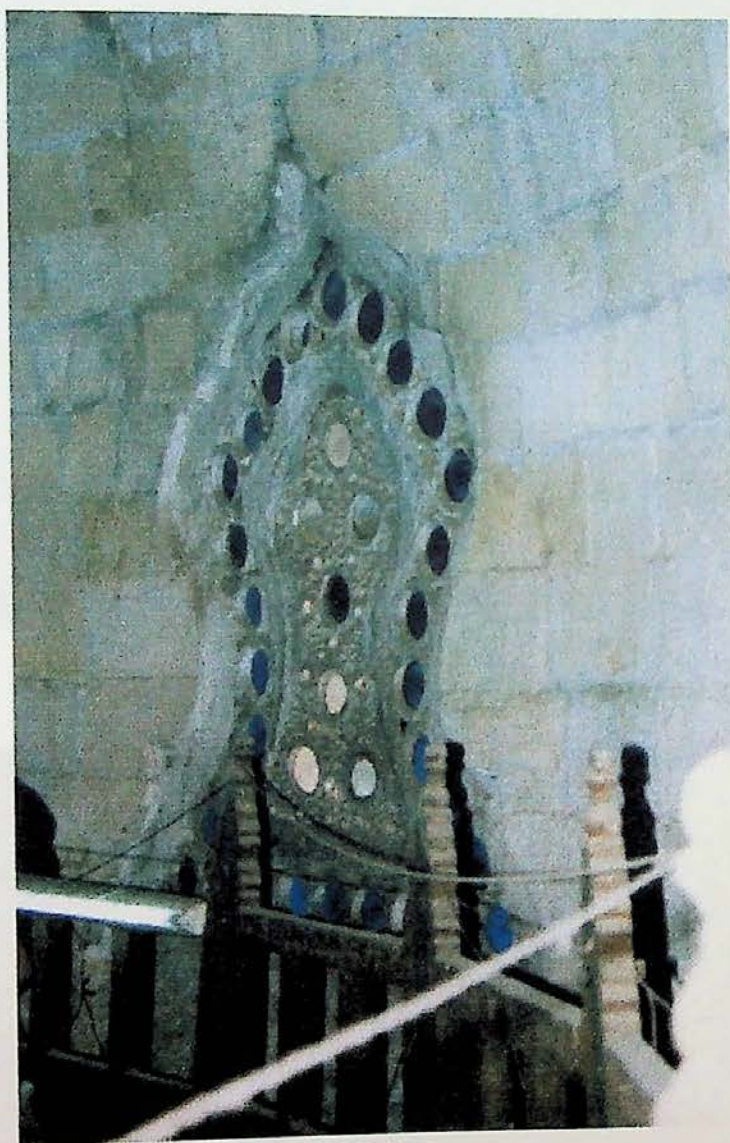
Sinan Pasha
1571
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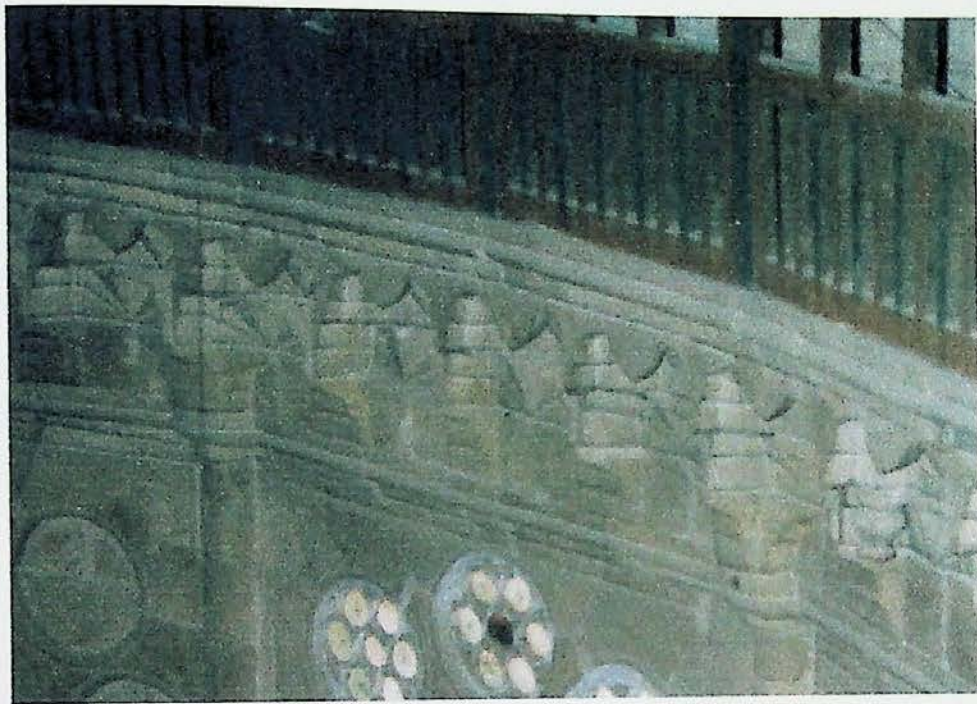
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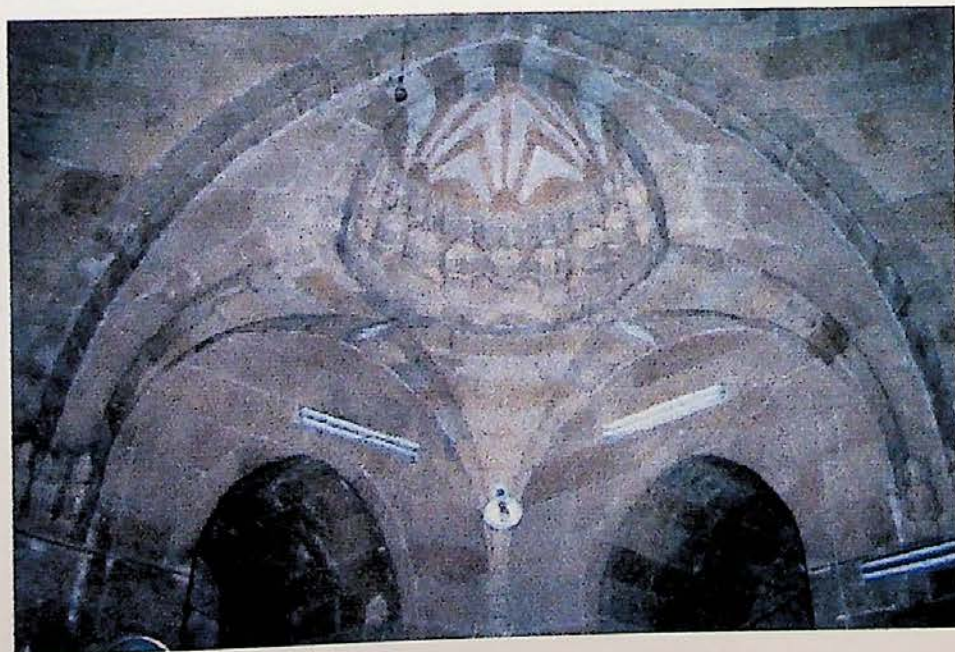
Sinan Pasha
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Sinan Pasha
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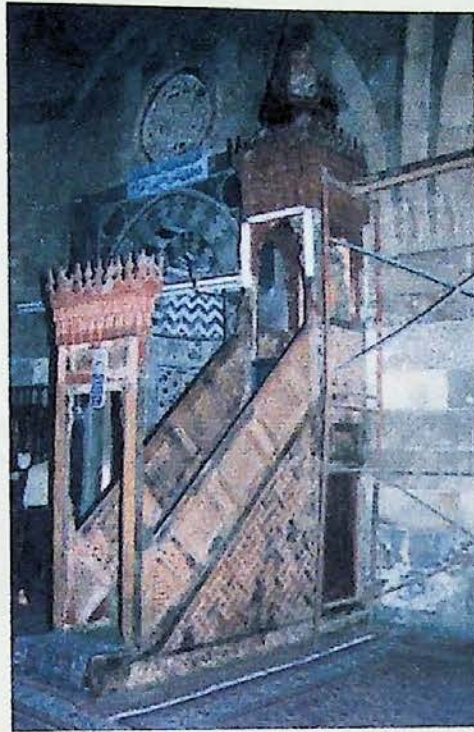


Plate 27

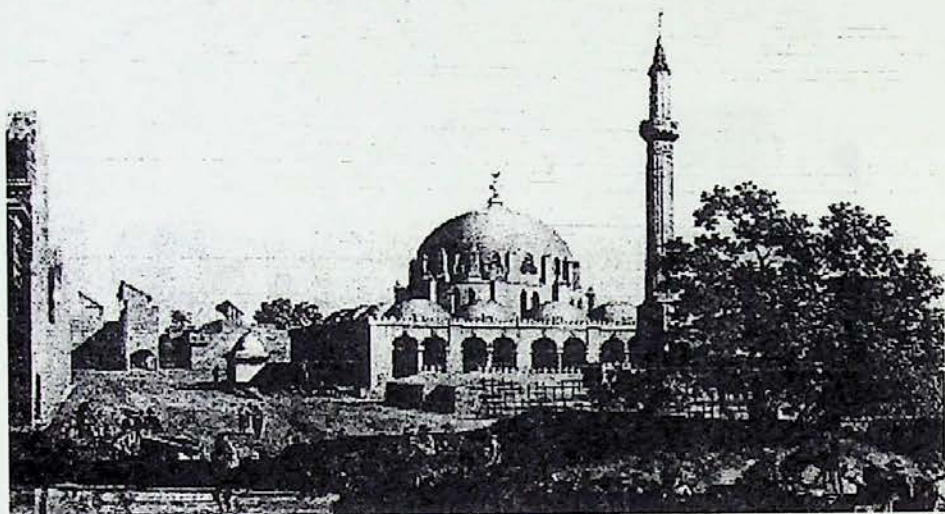


Plate 28

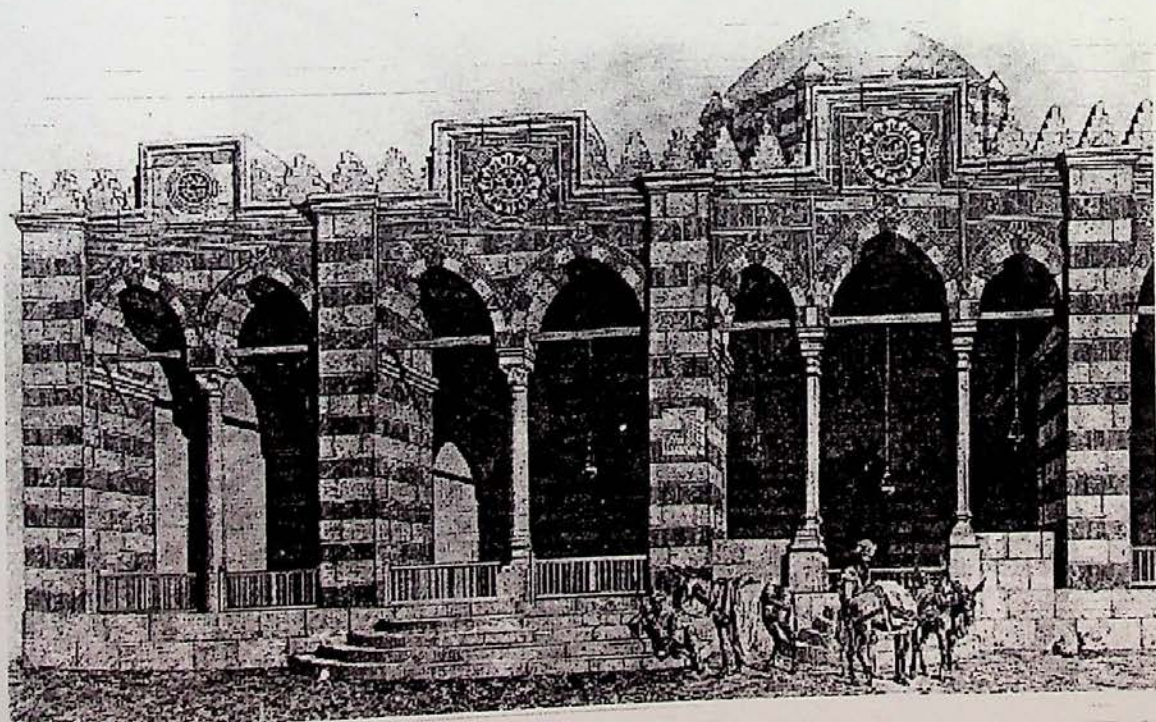
Sinan Pasha
1571
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Sinan Pasha
(*Description de l'Egypte*)
— 1571
Index No. 349



Sinan Pasha
(*Prisse d'Avennes, L'art arabe*)



Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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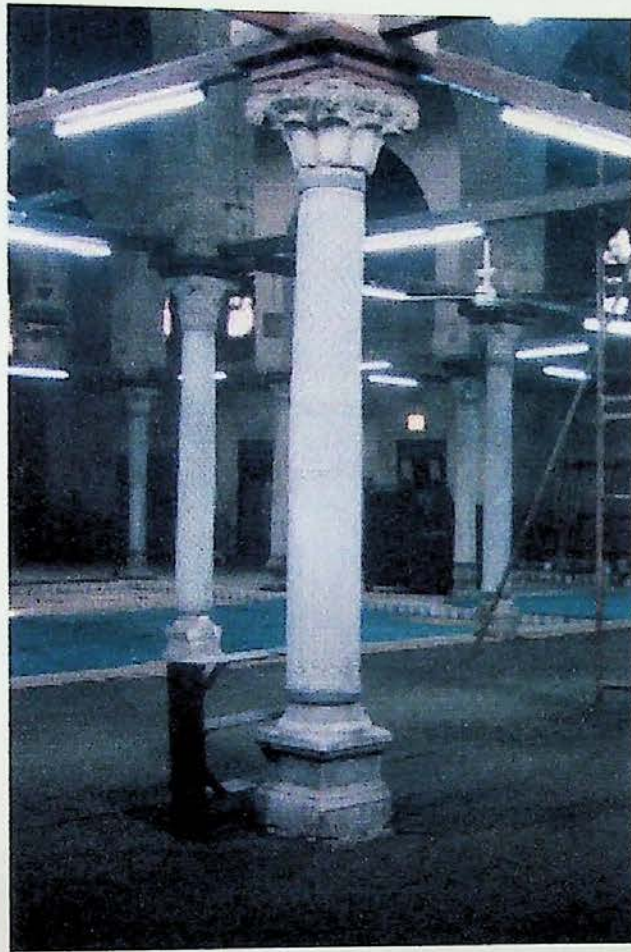
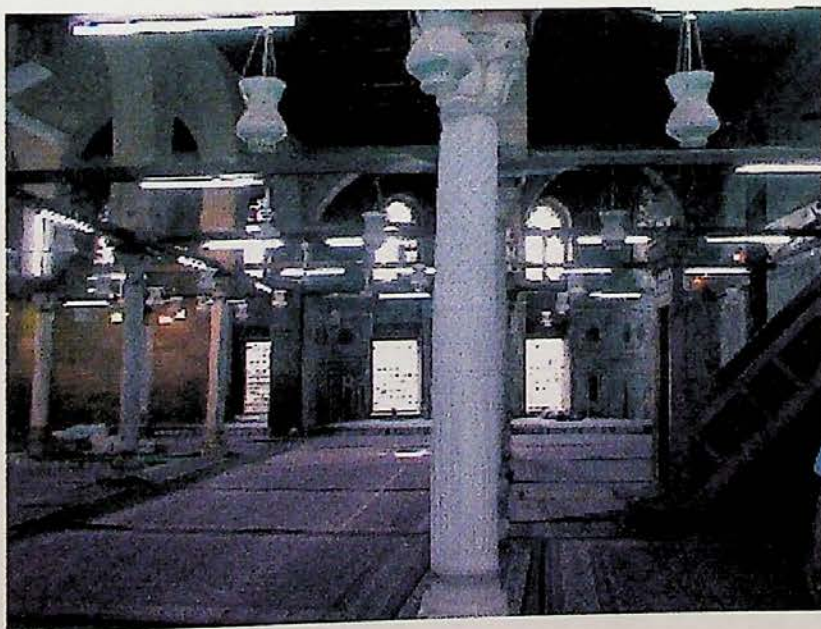


Plate 34

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Plate 35



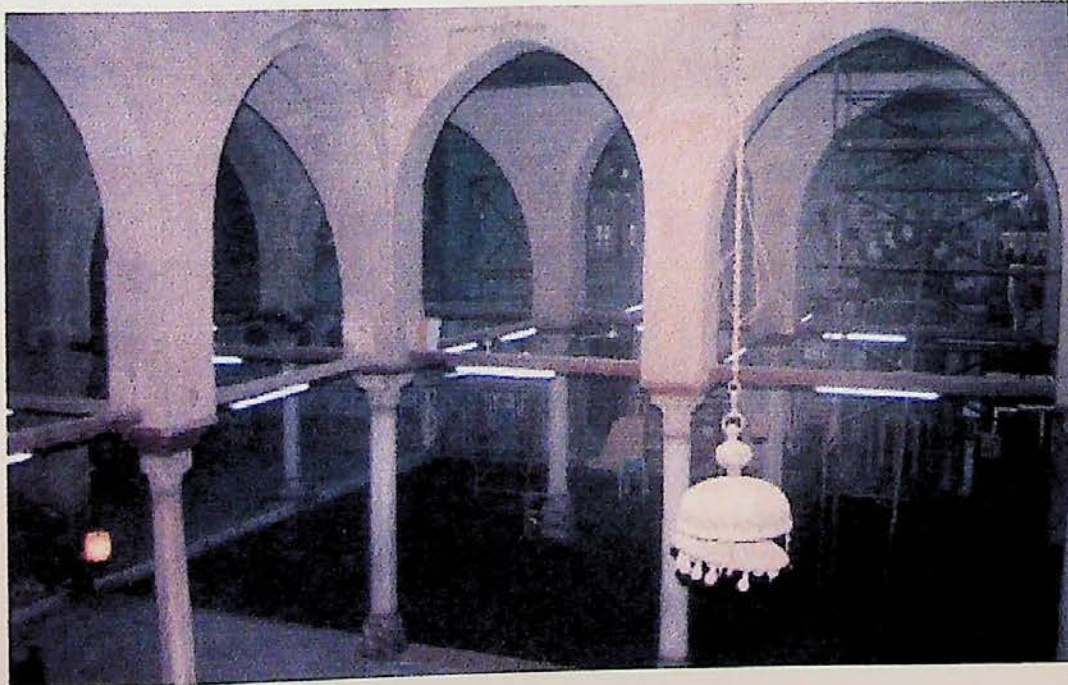
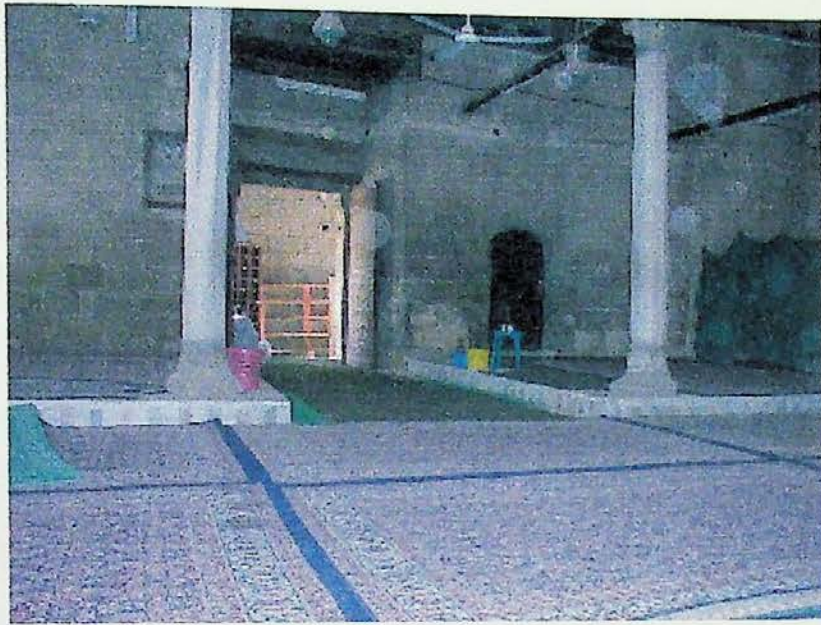
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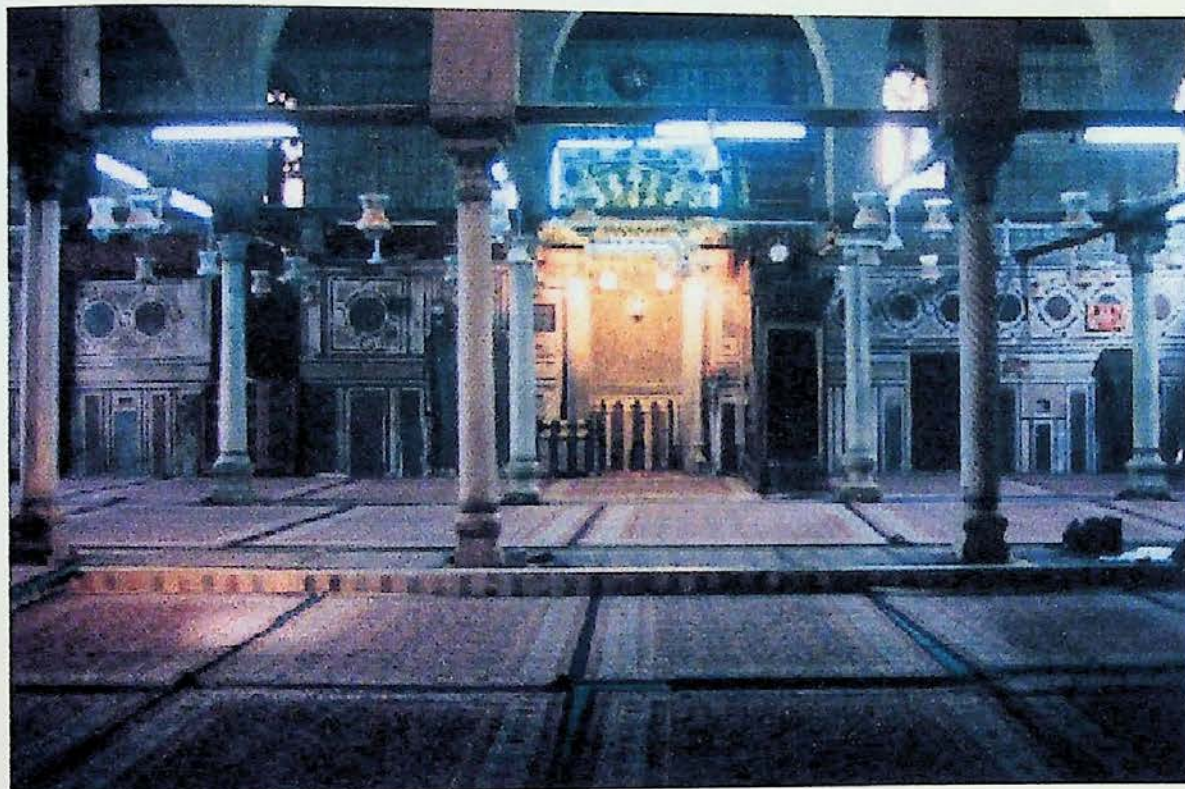
(Photo J. Tovell)



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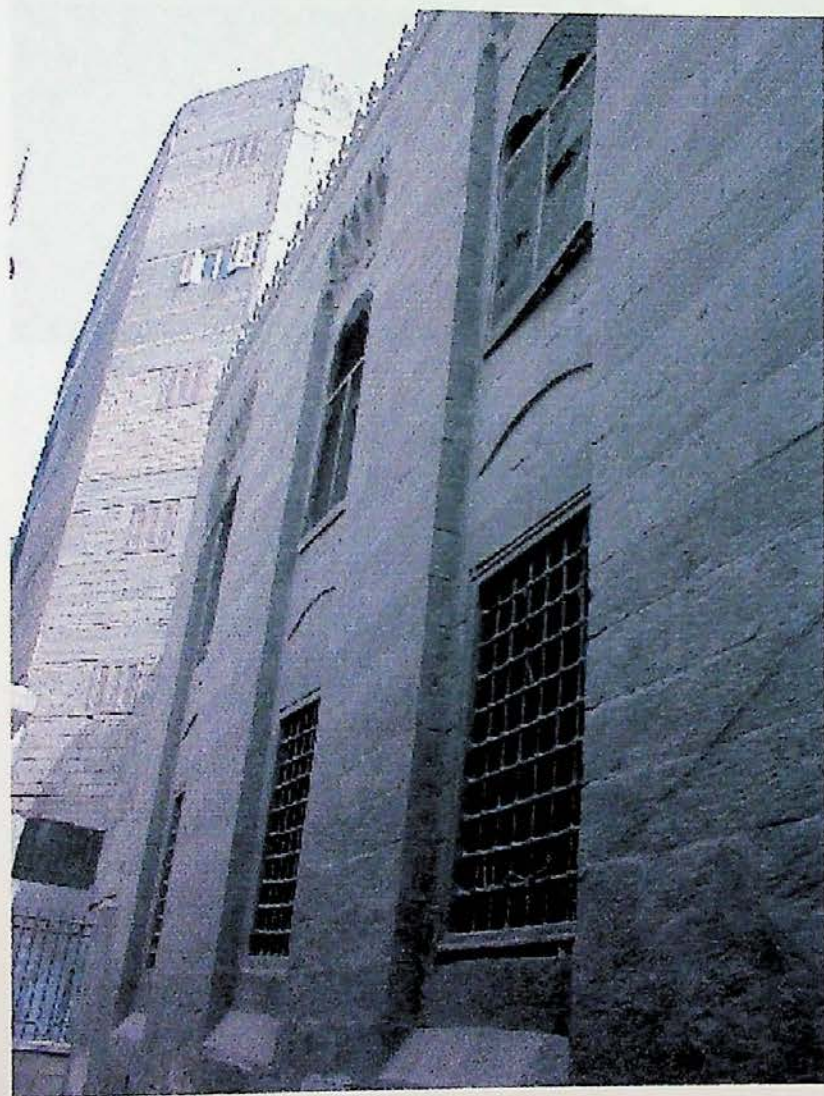


Plate 43



Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
(Photos: J. Tovell)
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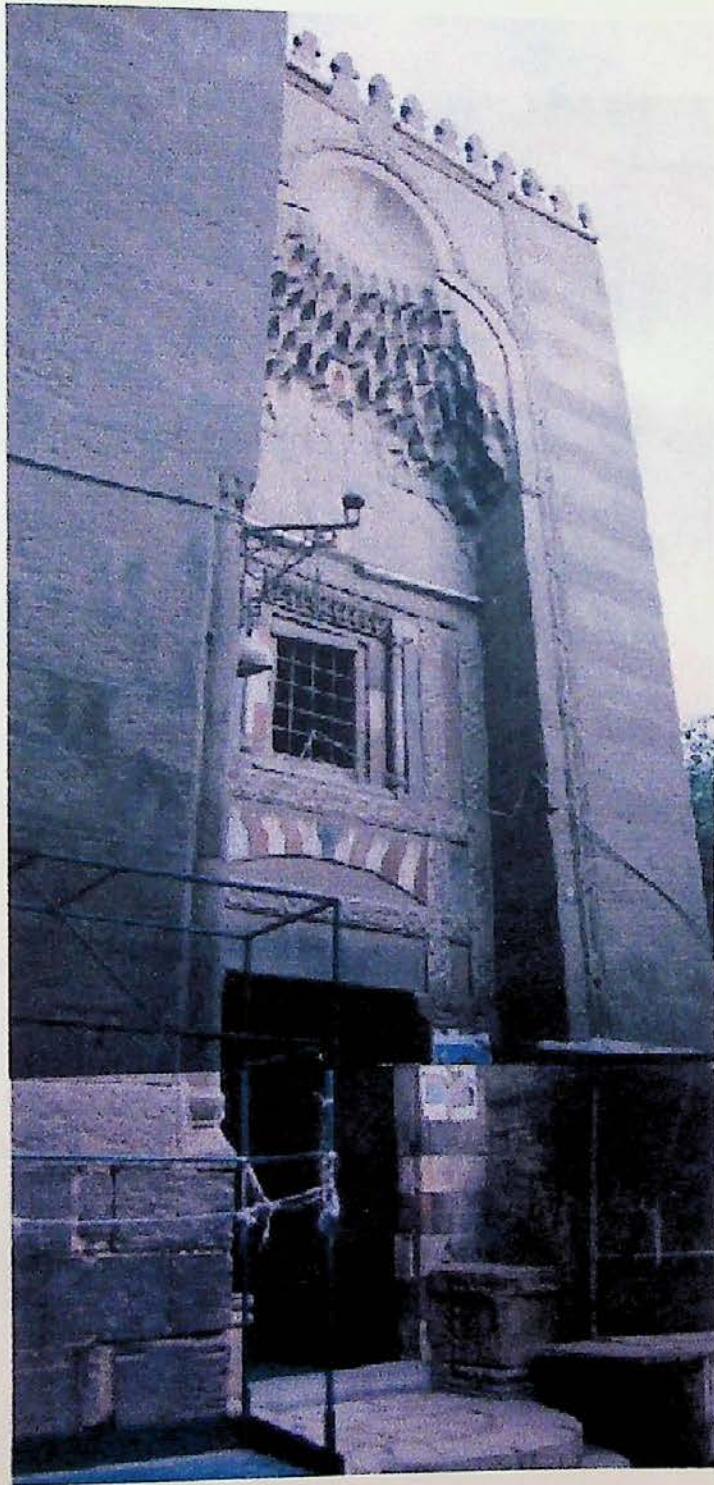
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
1698
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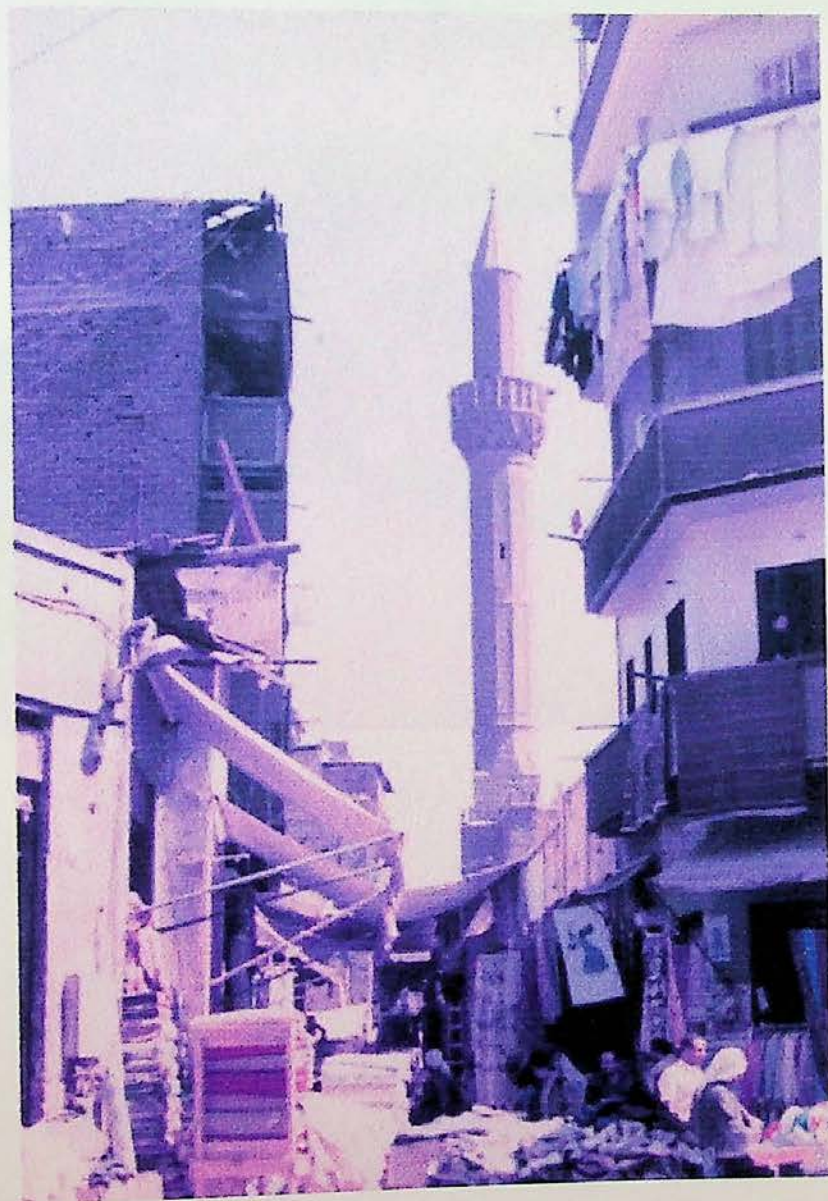
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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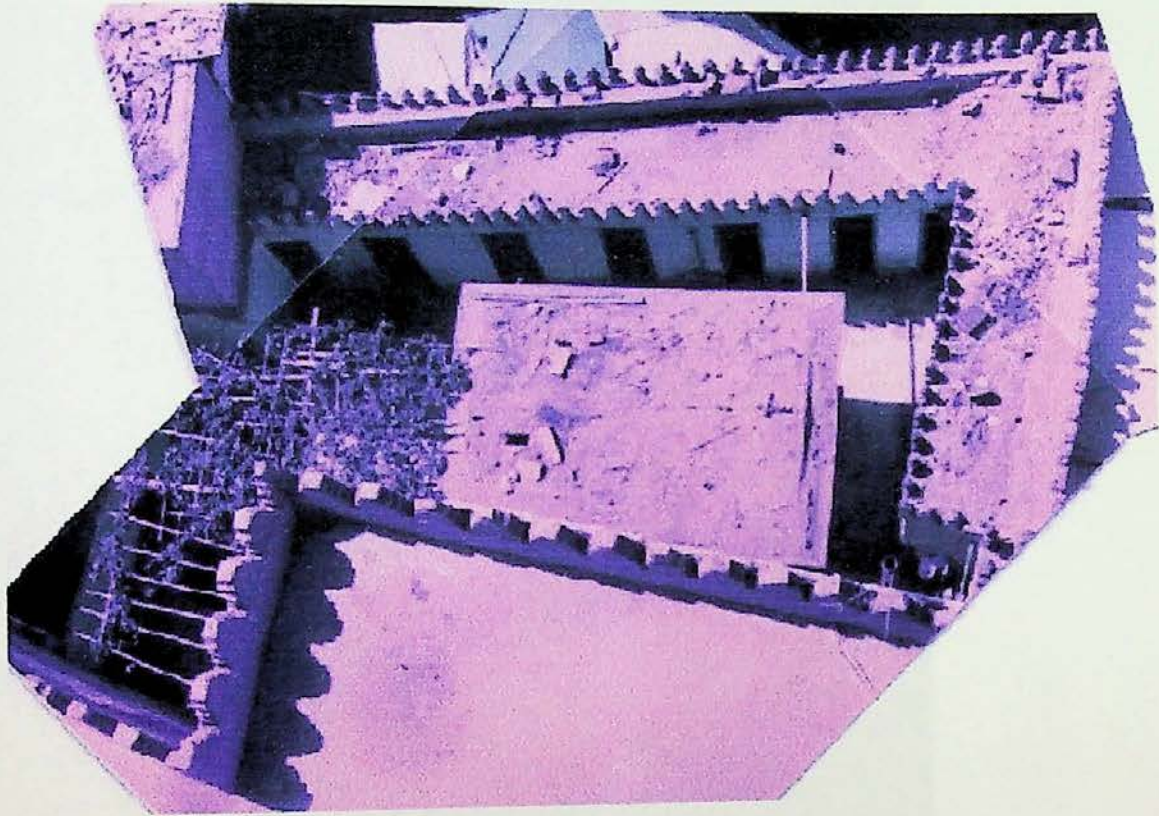
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
(Photo: J. Tovell)
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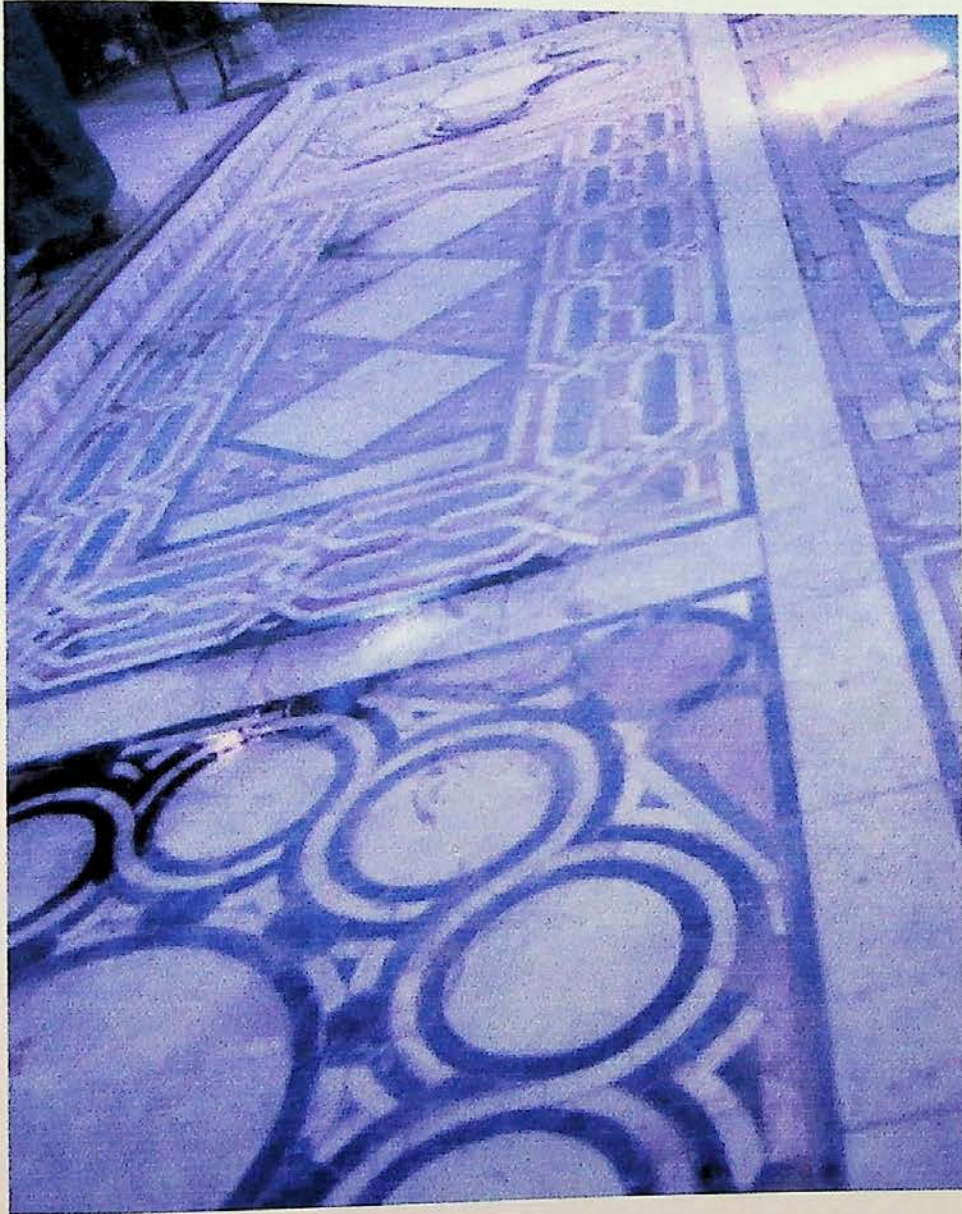
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
(Photo: J. Tovell)
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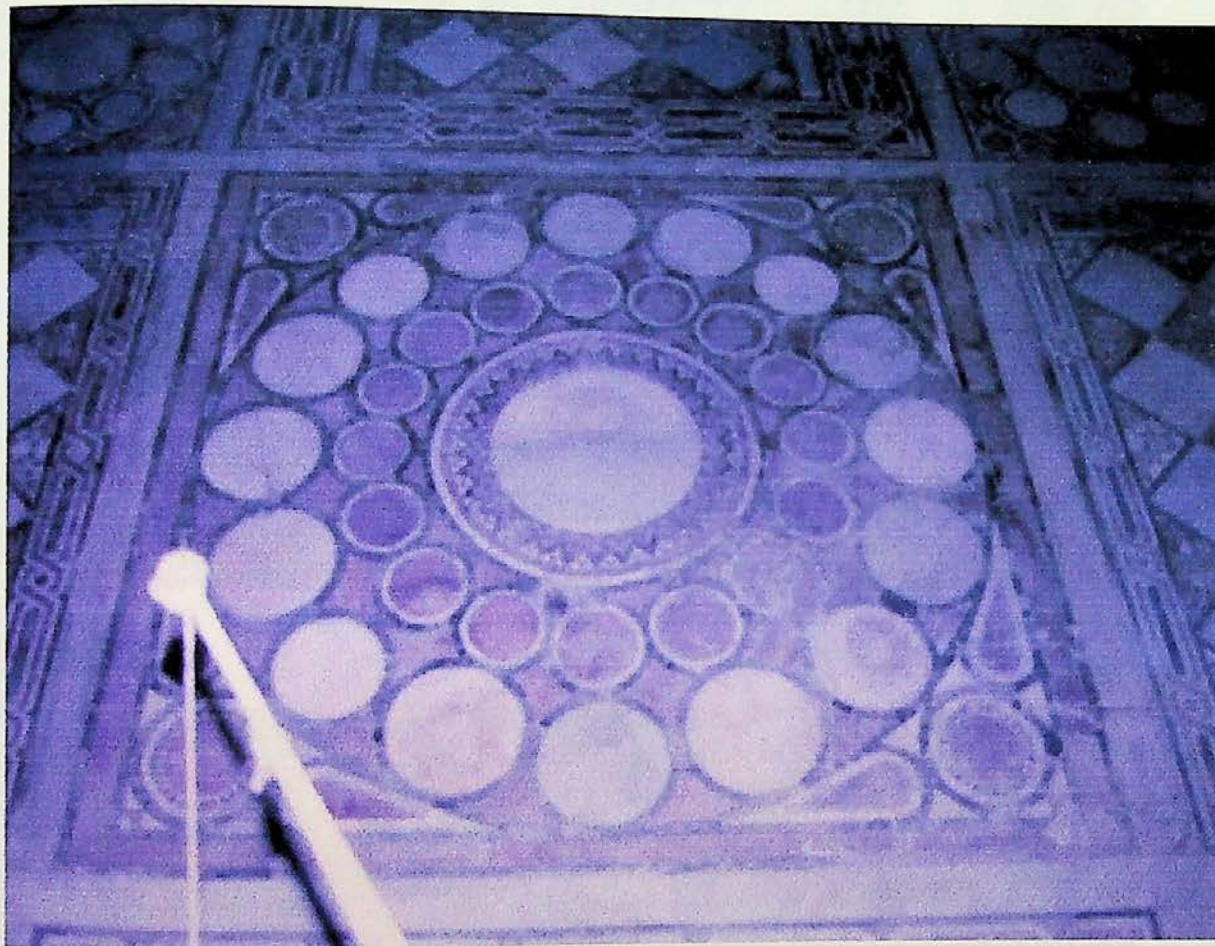
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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(Photo: J. Tovell)



Musstafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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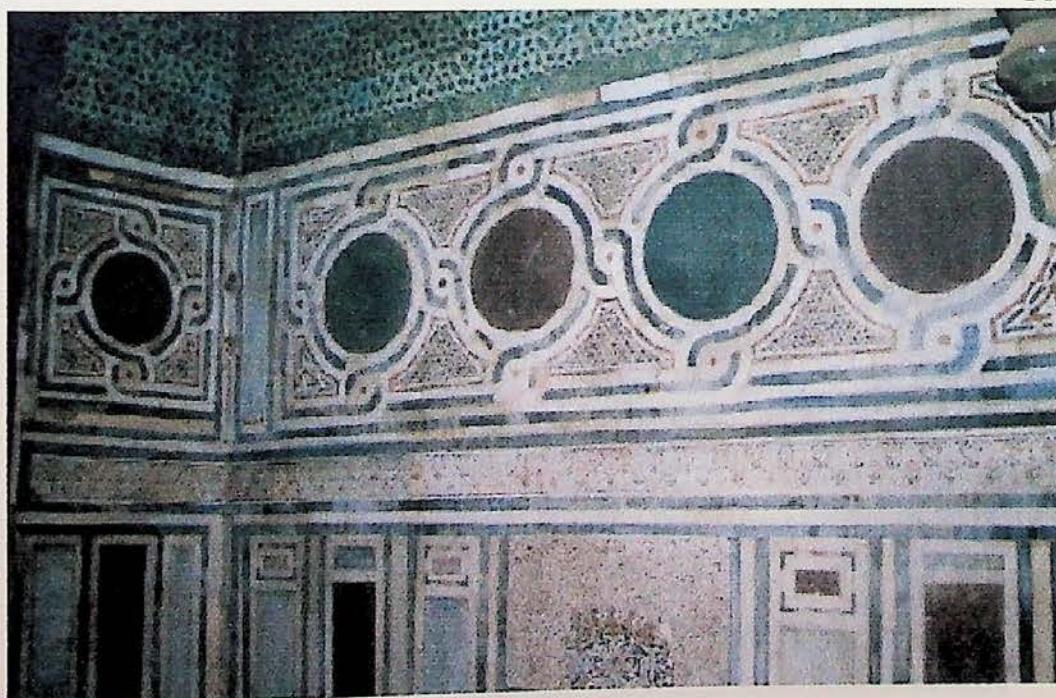


Plate 65

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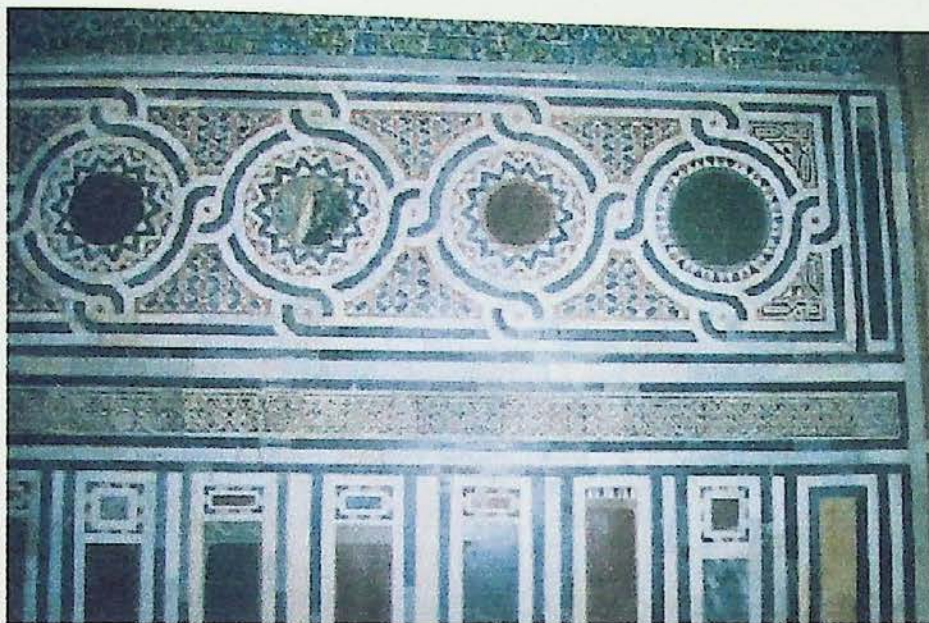
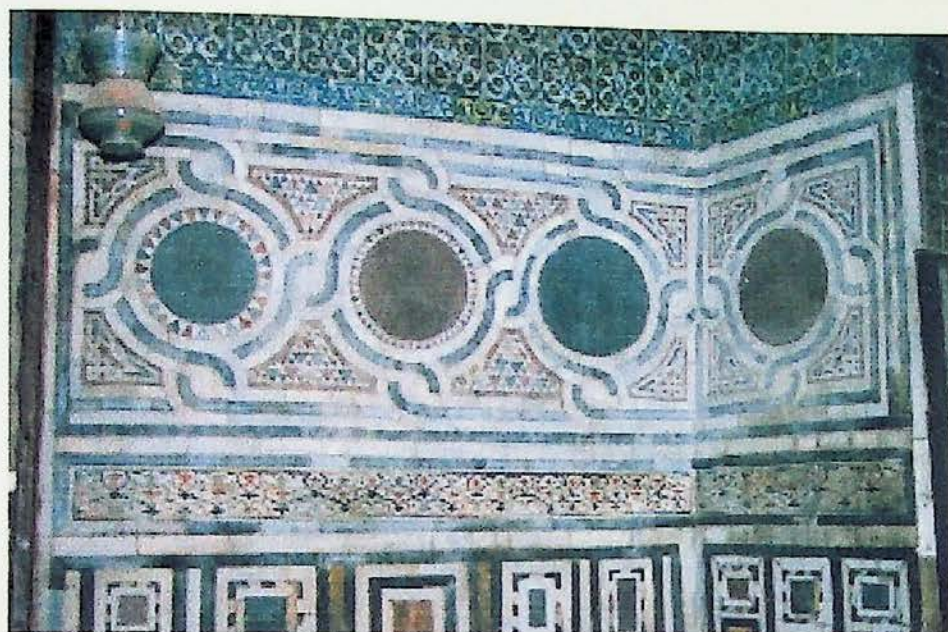


Plate 66



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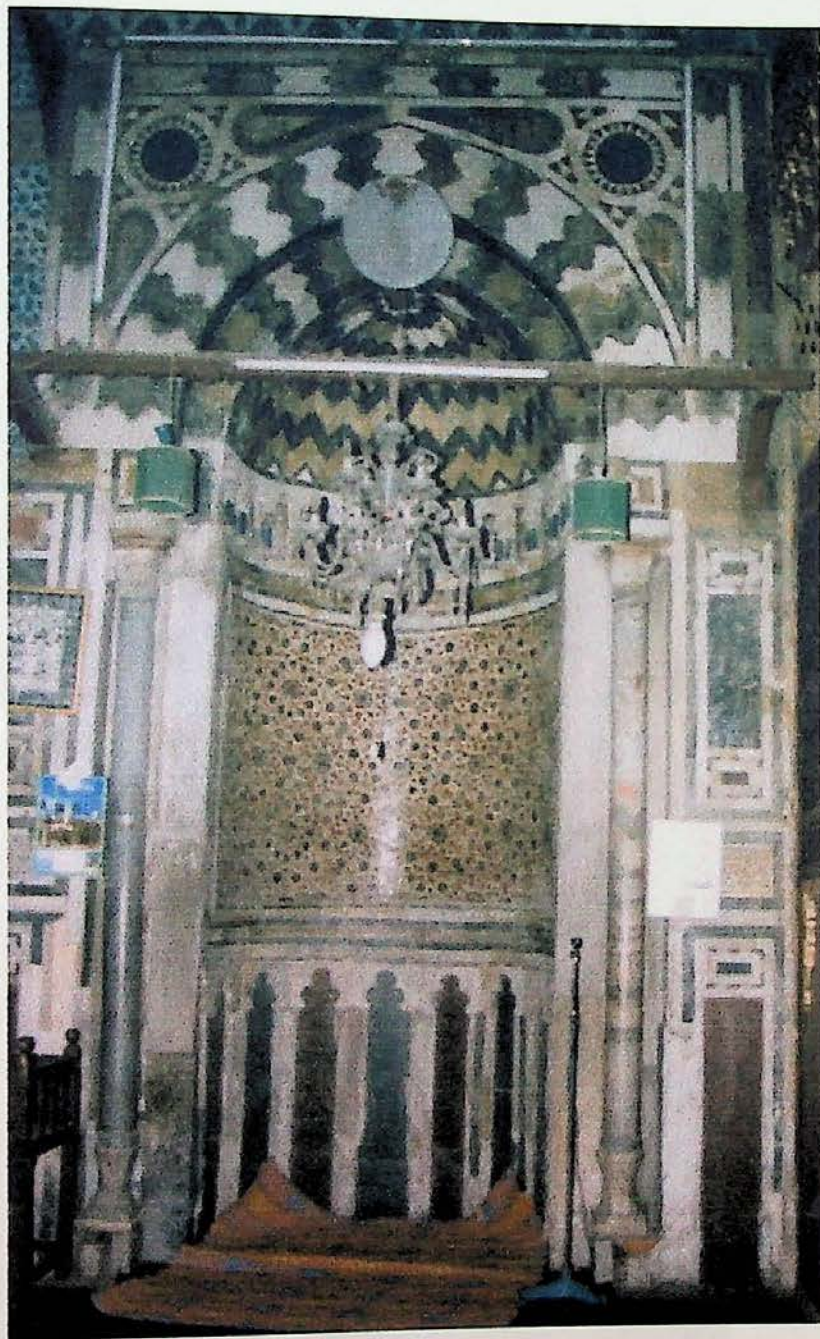


Plate 71

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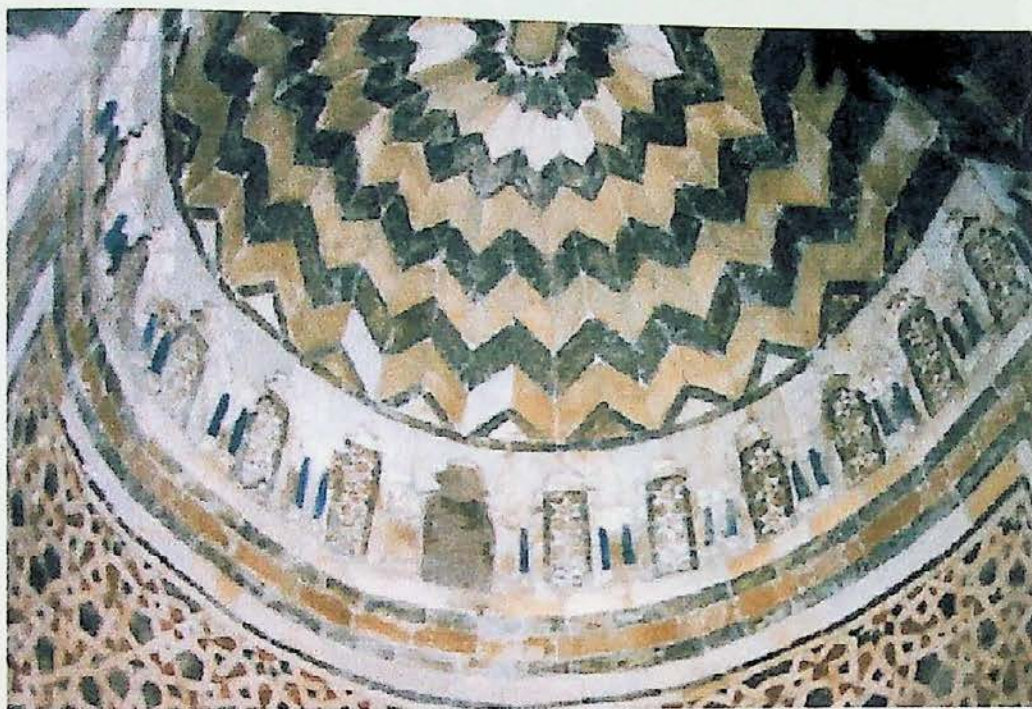
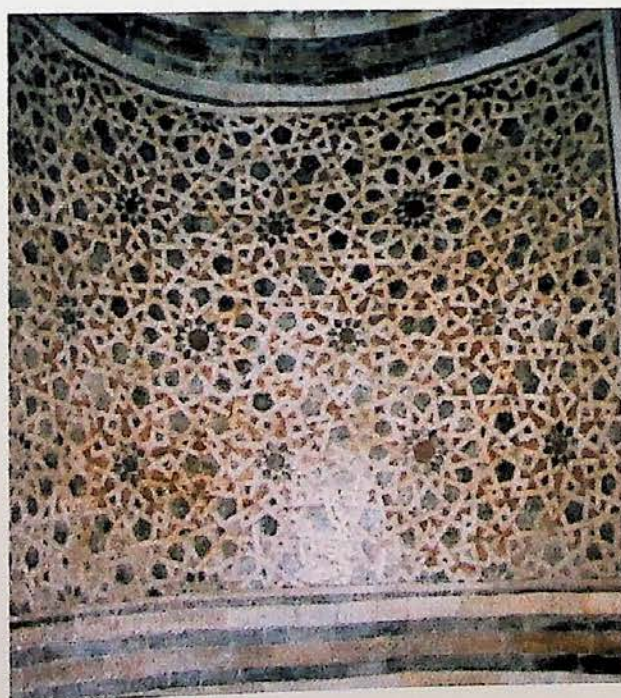
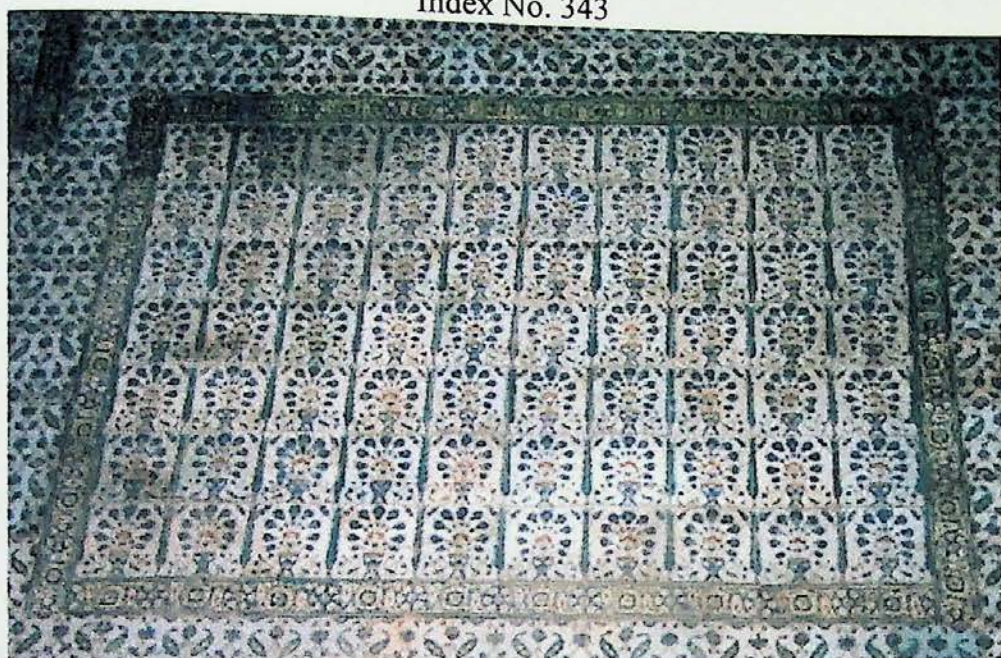


Plate 72



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Plate 73



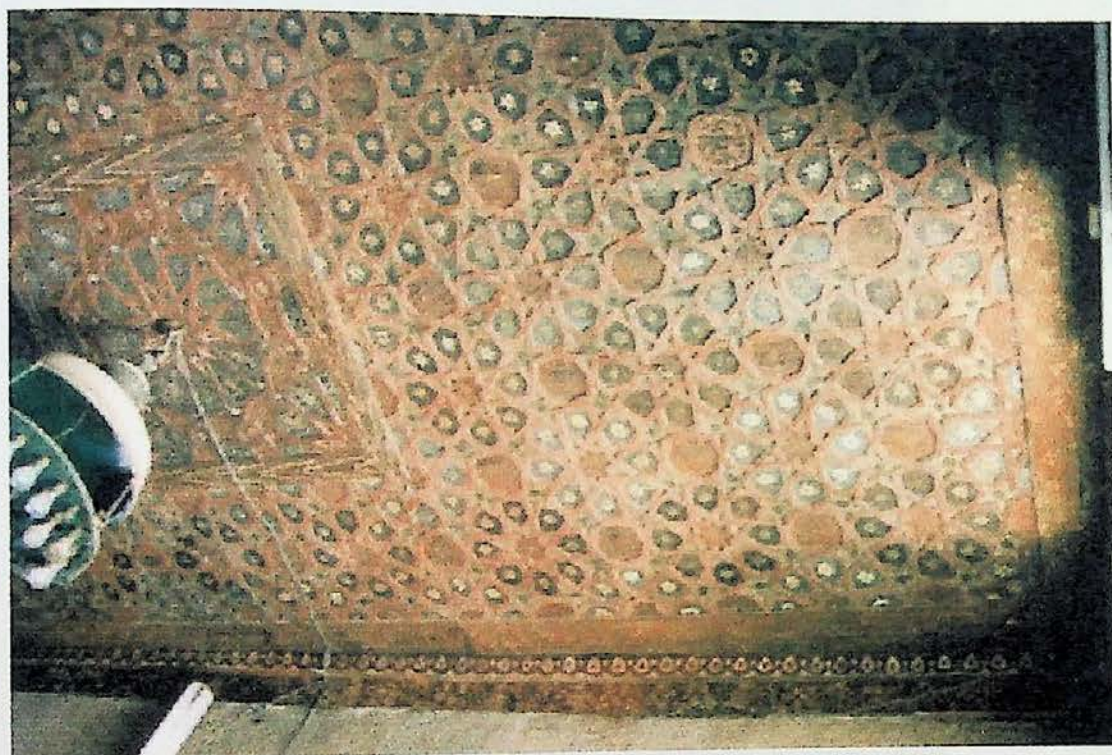
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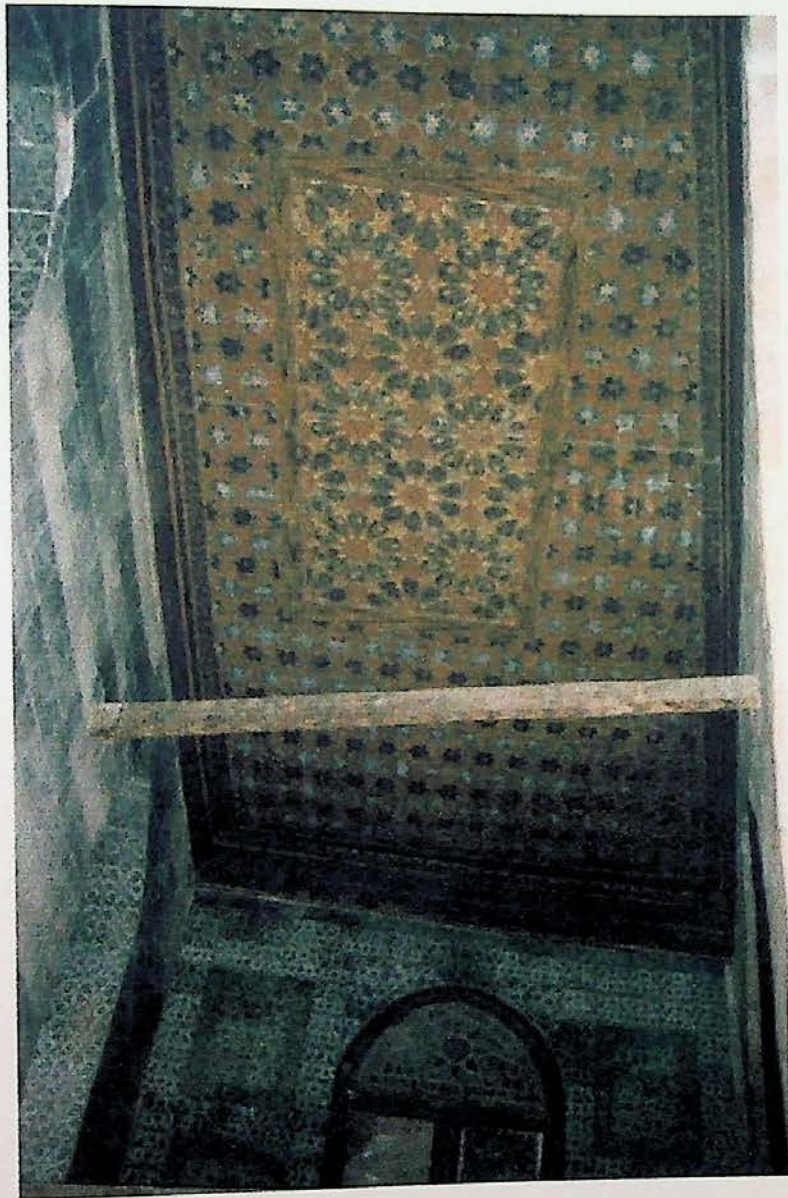
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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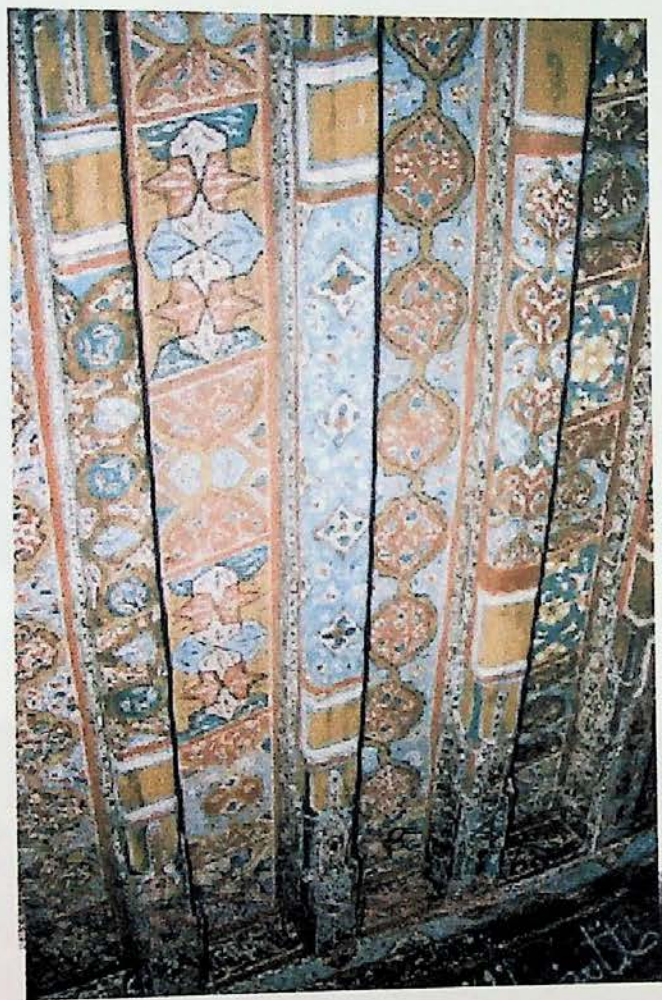
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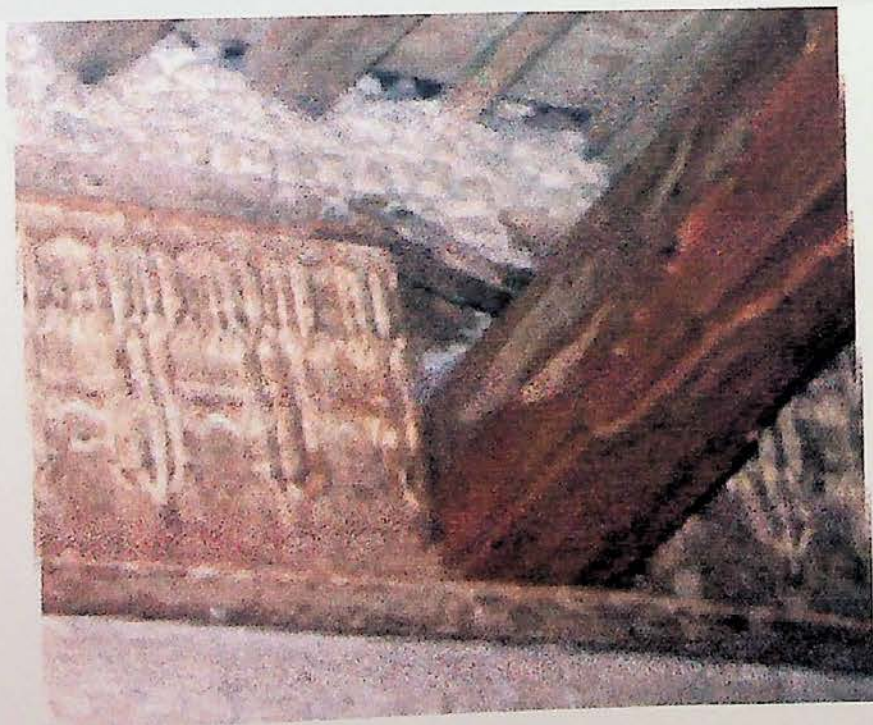
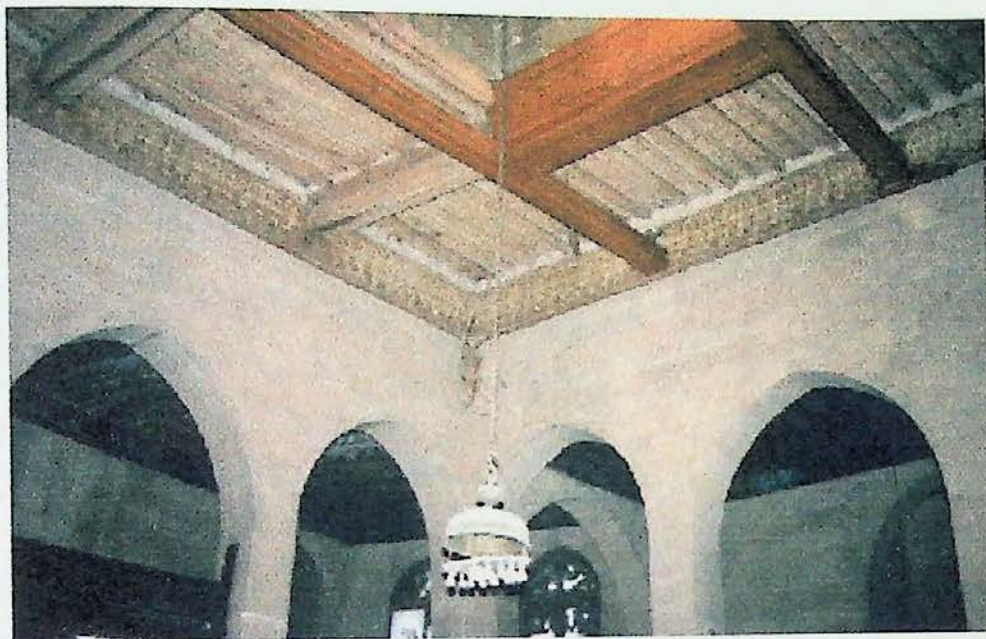
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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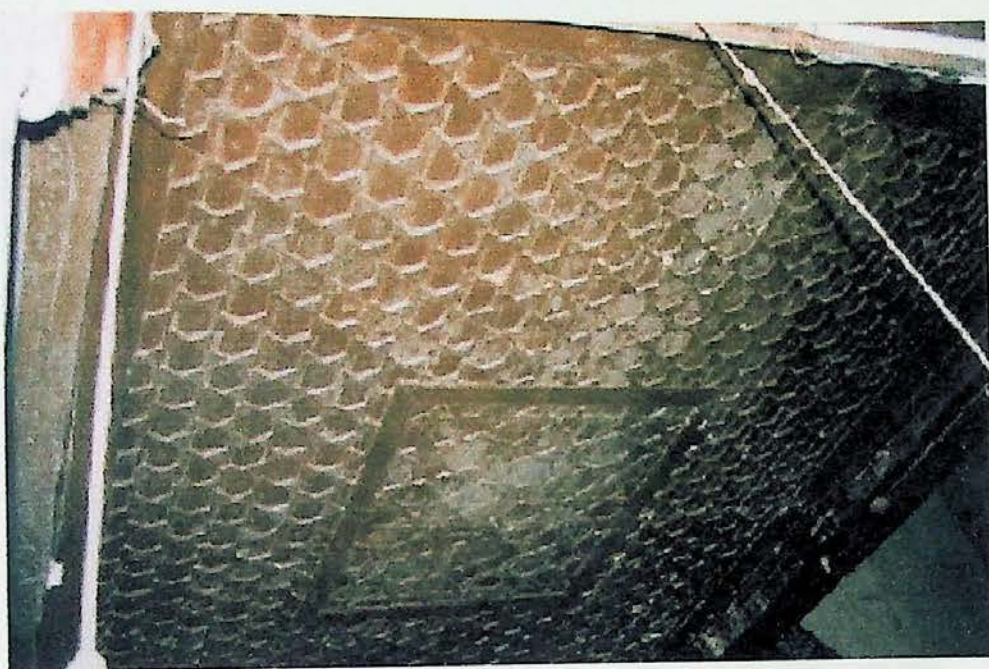
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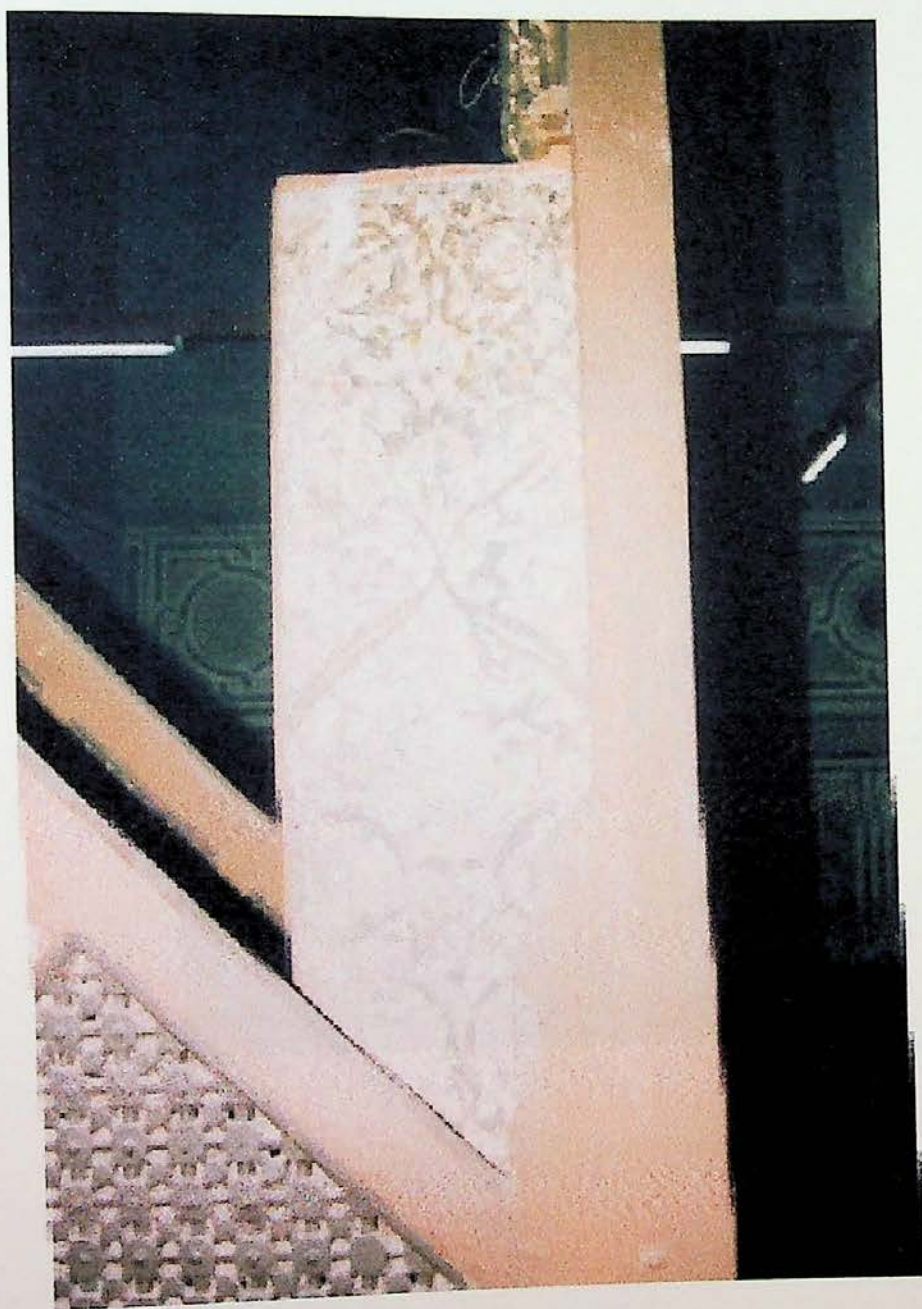
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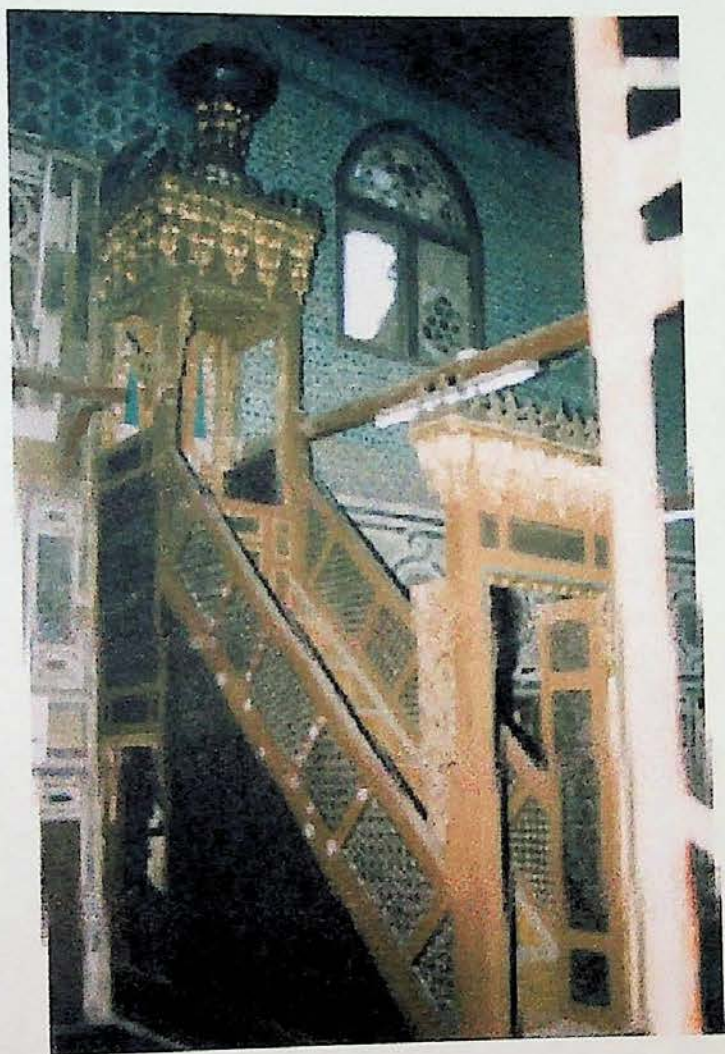
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
1698
Index No. 343



Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza
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Madash Mirza
1611 or 1708
Index No. 603



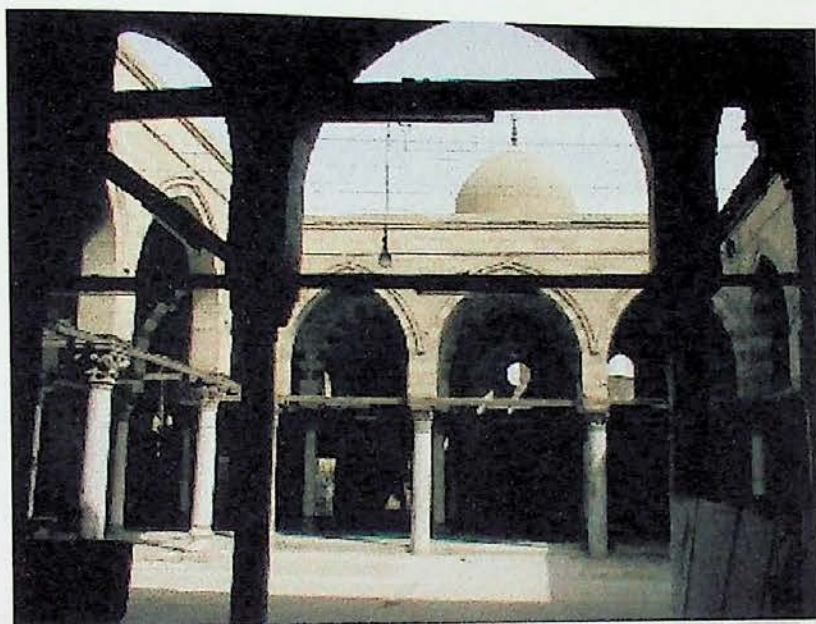
Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza

1698

Index No. 343



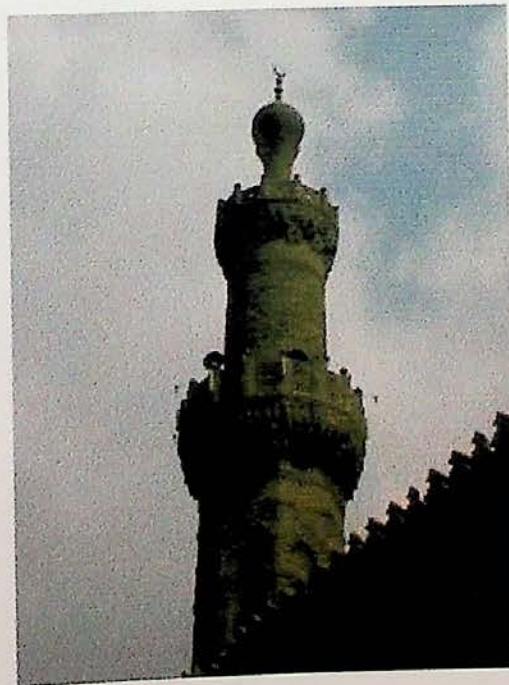
Qadi Yahya, Bulaq
1448
Index No. 344



Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni
1616-29
Index No. 201



Shaykh Karim al-Din al-Burdayni
1616-29
Index No. 201



Altunbugha Al-Maridani
1339-40
Index No. 120

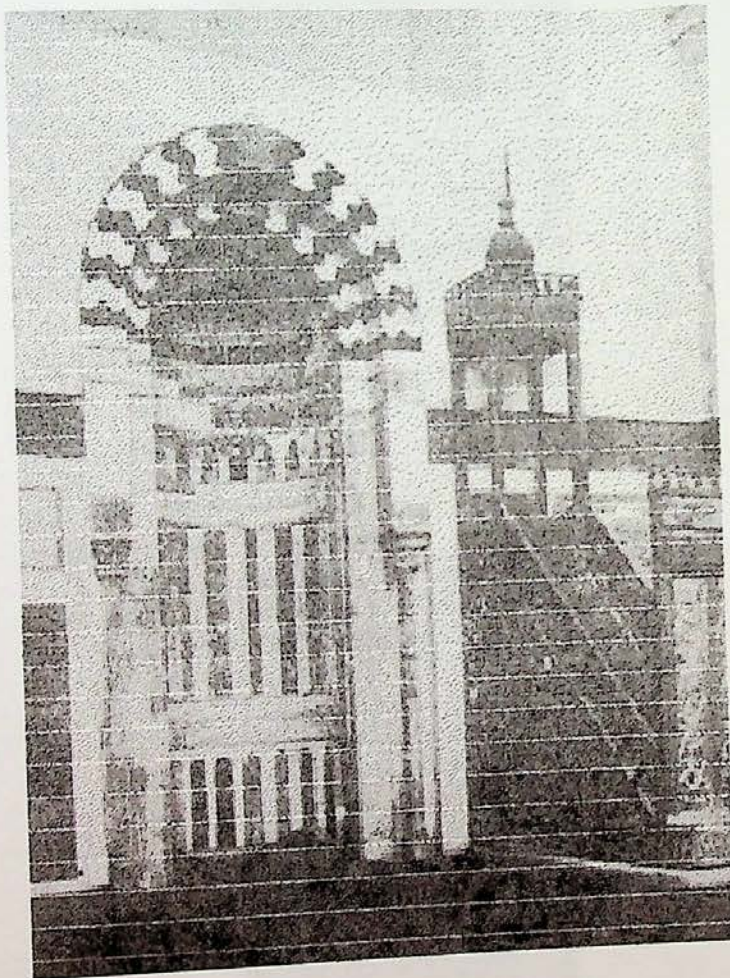
Plate 96



Altunbugha al-Maridani
1339-40
Index No. 120



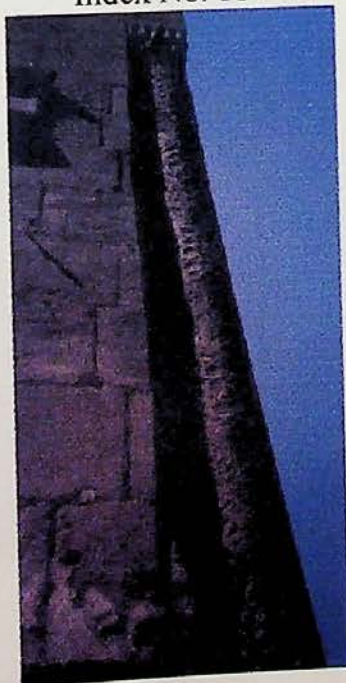
Sarghitmish
(Abd al-Wahhab, *Ta'rikh al-Masadjid al-Athariyya*)
1356
Index No. 218



Sarghitmish
1356
Index No. 218



Qijmas al-Ishaqi
1480-81
Index No. 114



Qijmas al-Ishaqi
1480
Index No.



Aqsunqur
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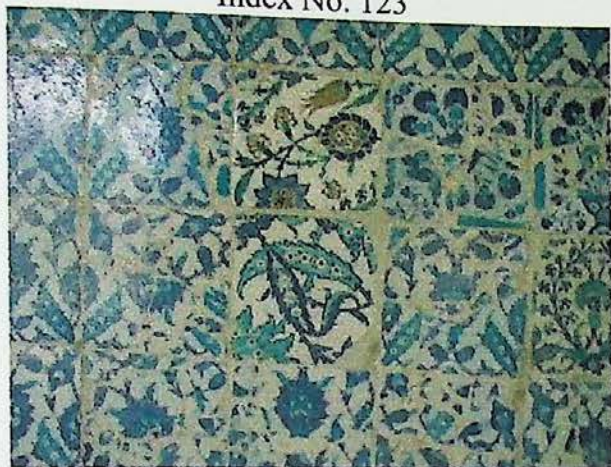


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Plate 103

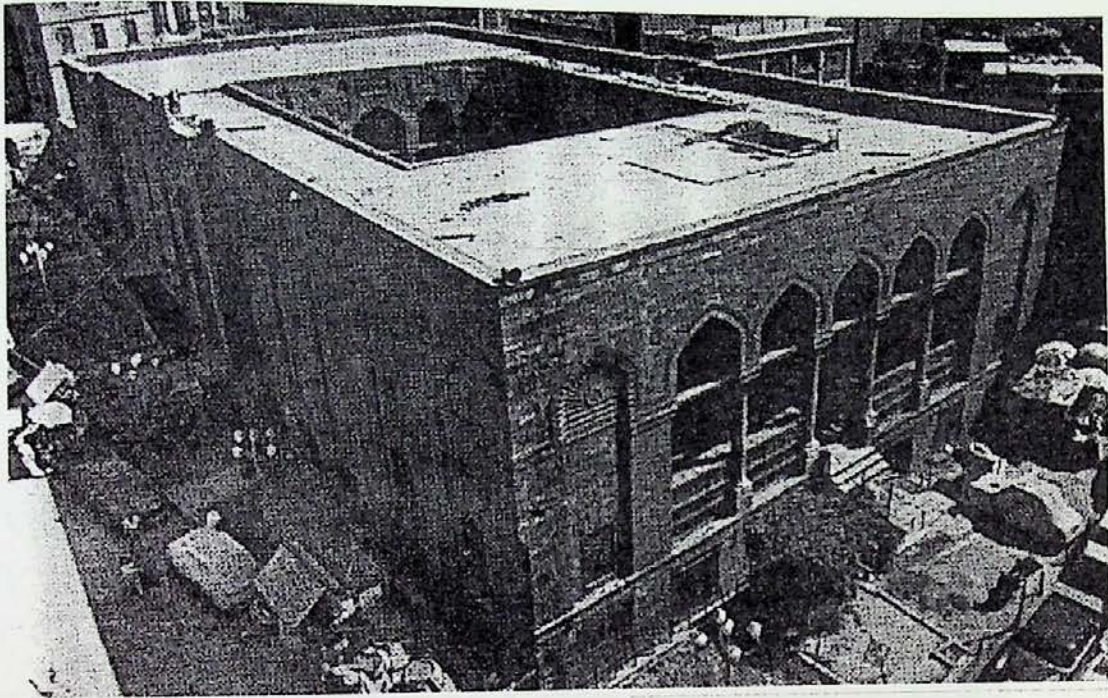


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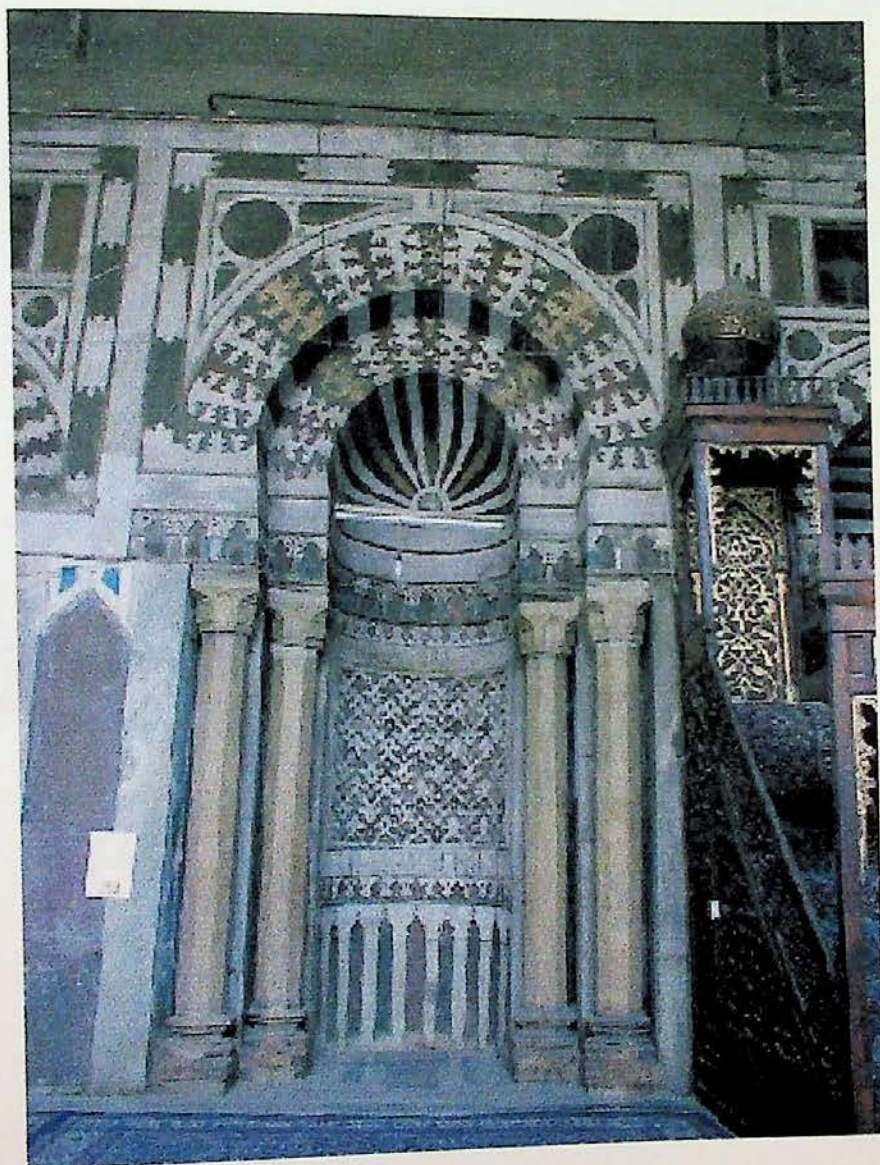
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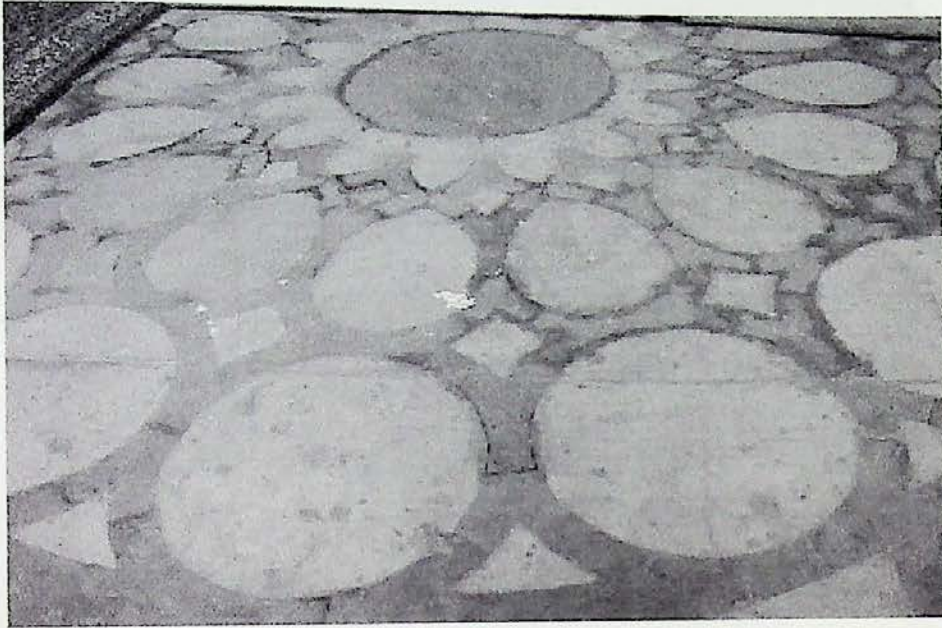
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Al-Zahir Barquq
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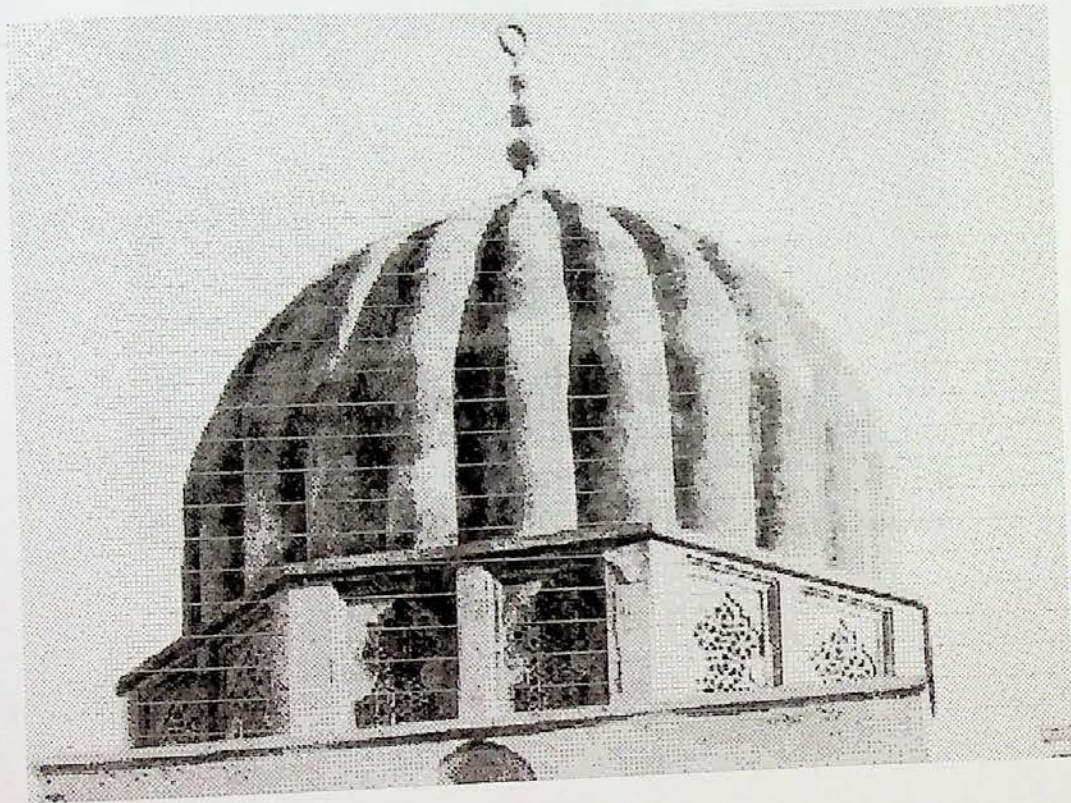
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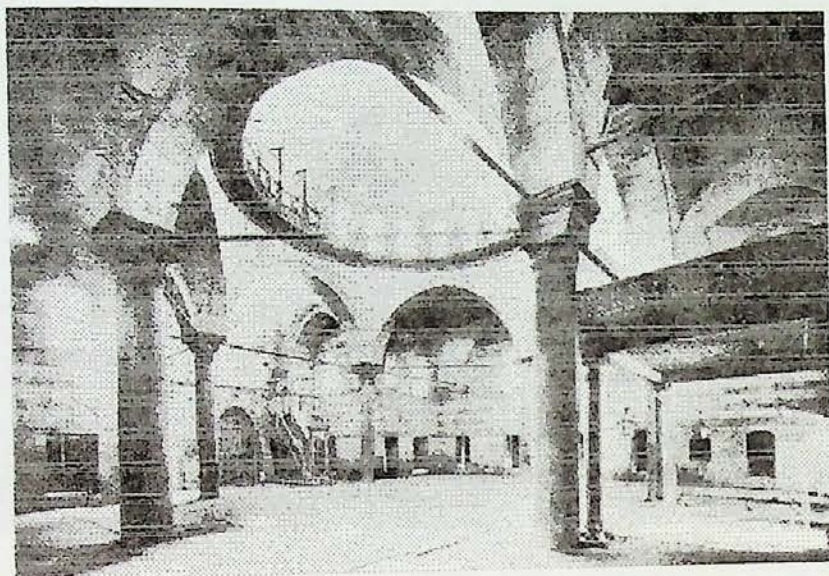
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Malika Safiyya
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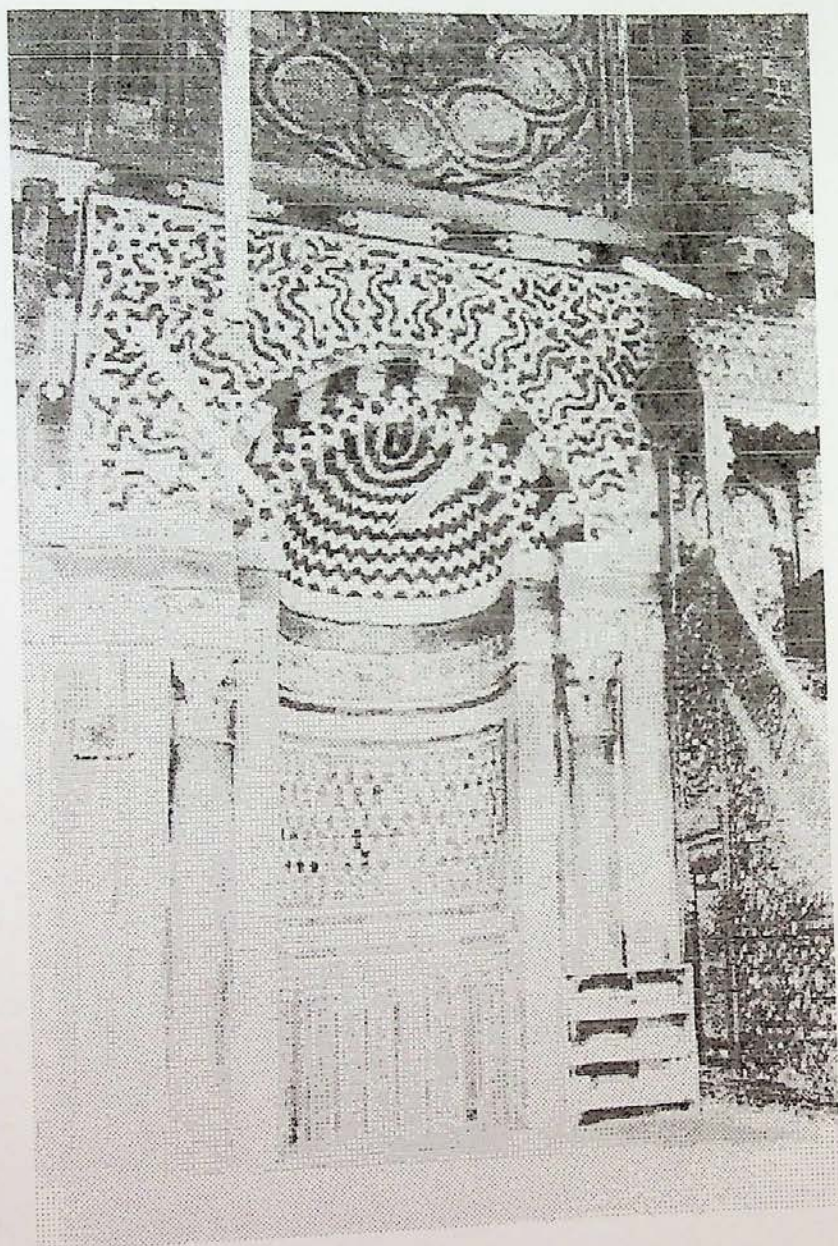
Gani Bek
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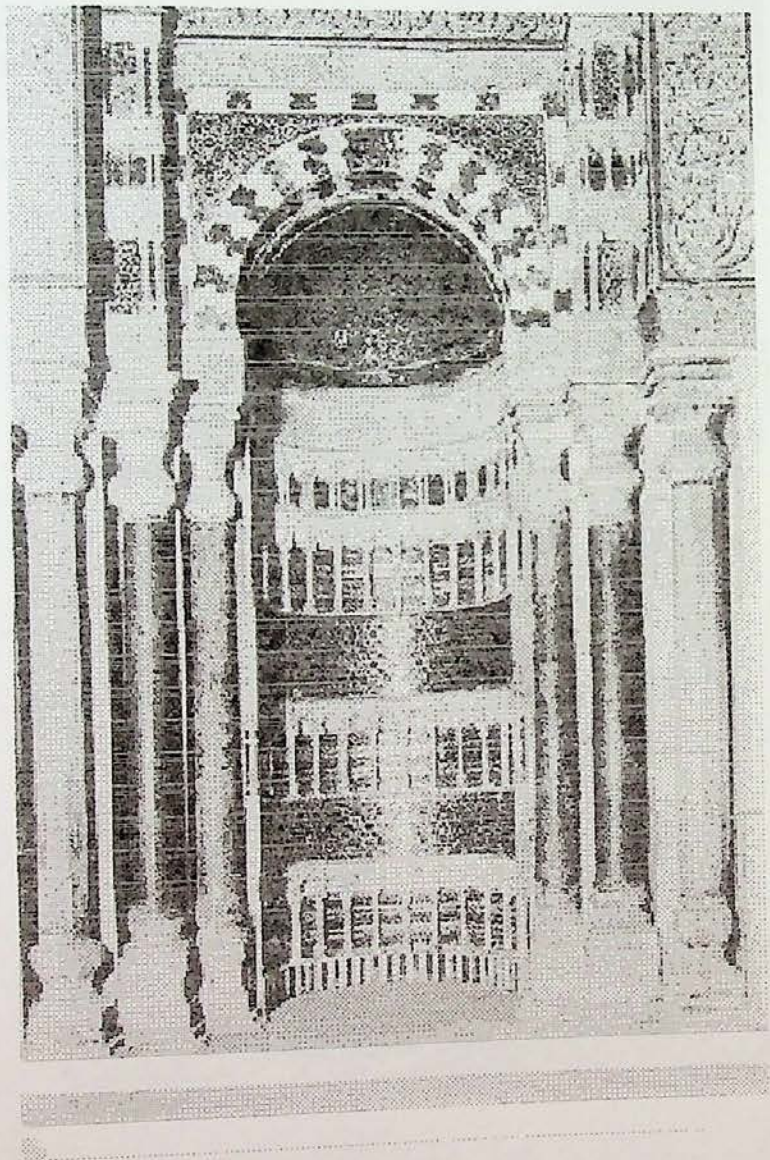
'Ali al-Imari
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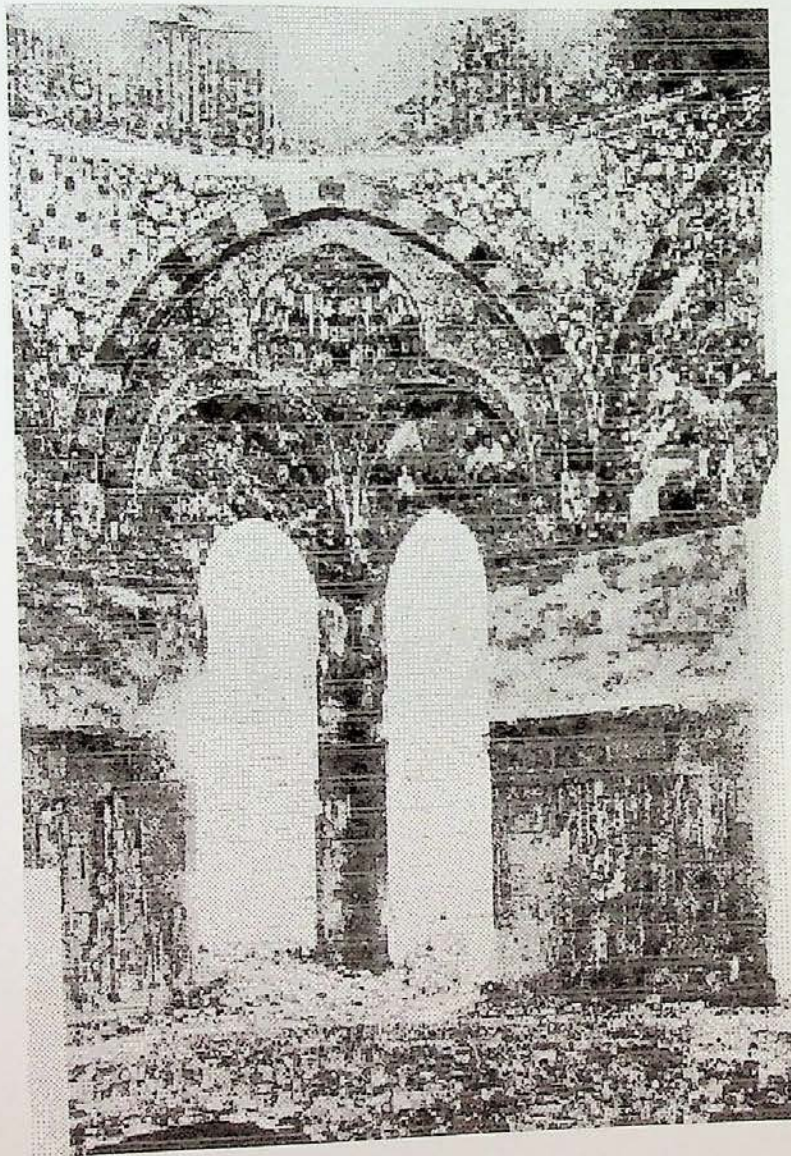
Al-Mu'ayyad
(Hotecoeur, *Les mosques du Caire*)
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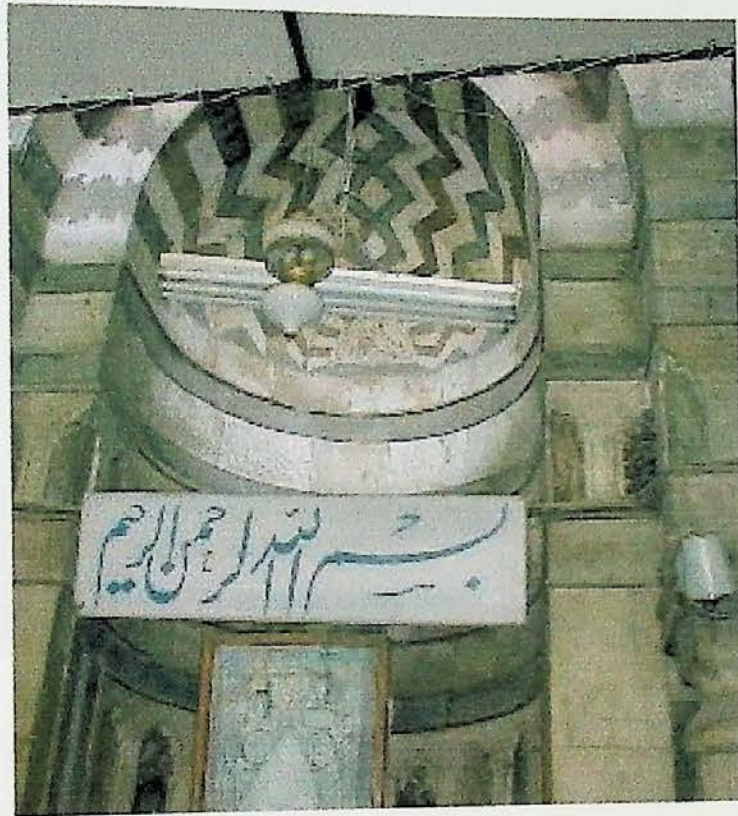
Al-Mansur Qalawun
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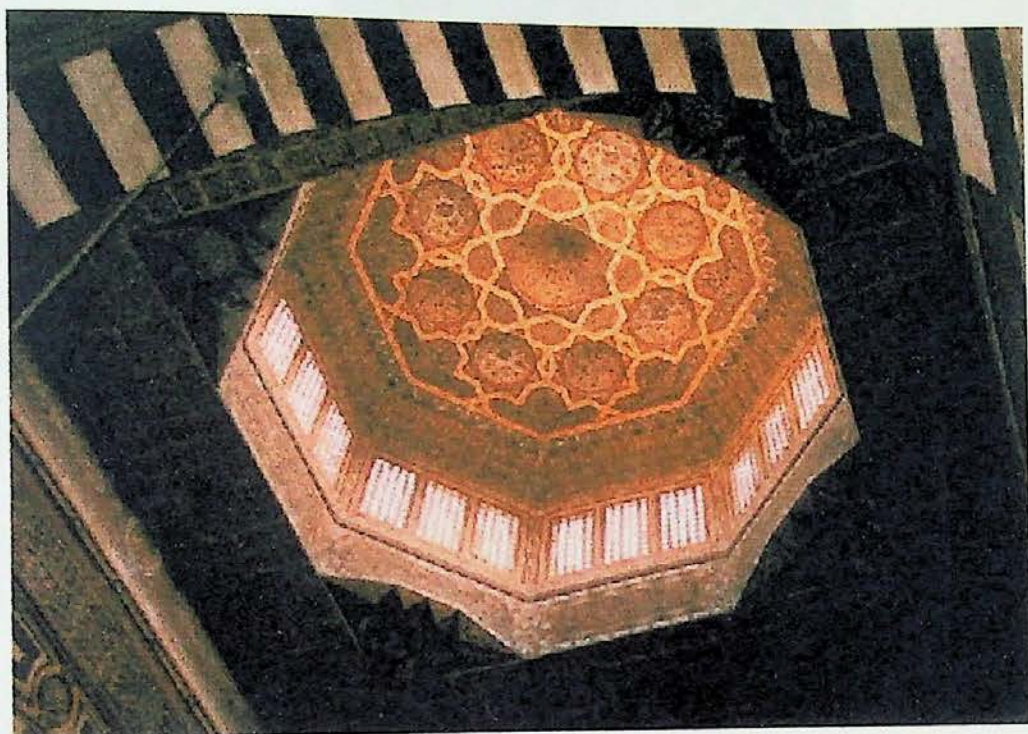
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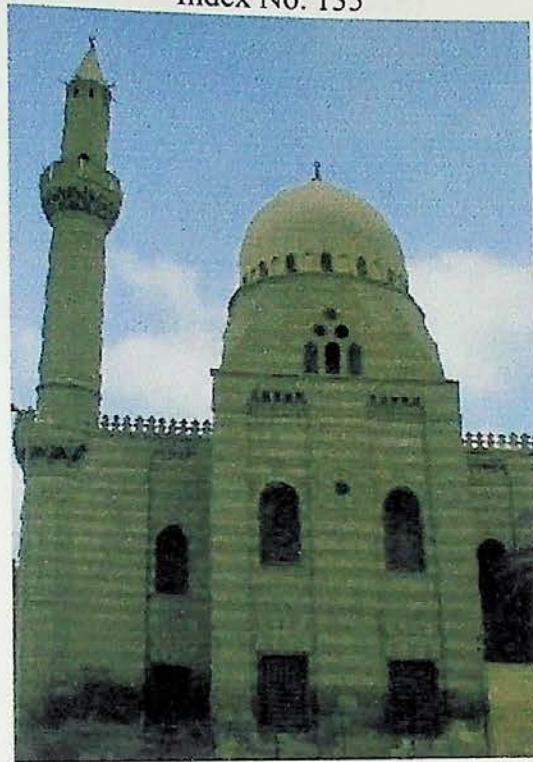
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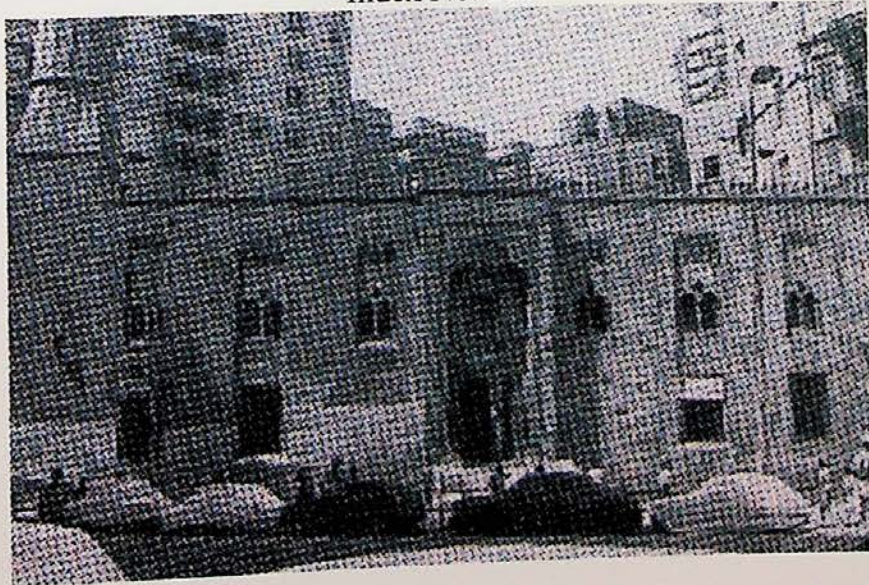


Utham Katkhuda

(Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*)

1734

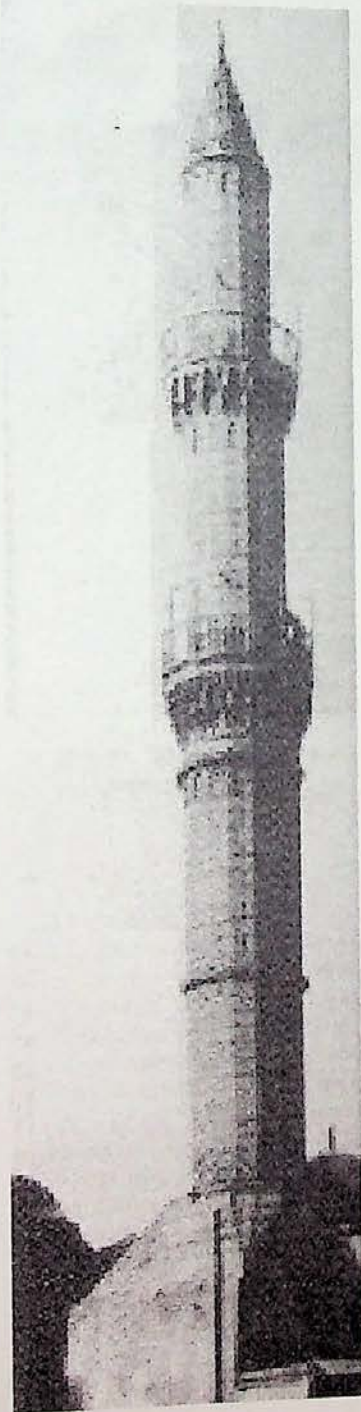
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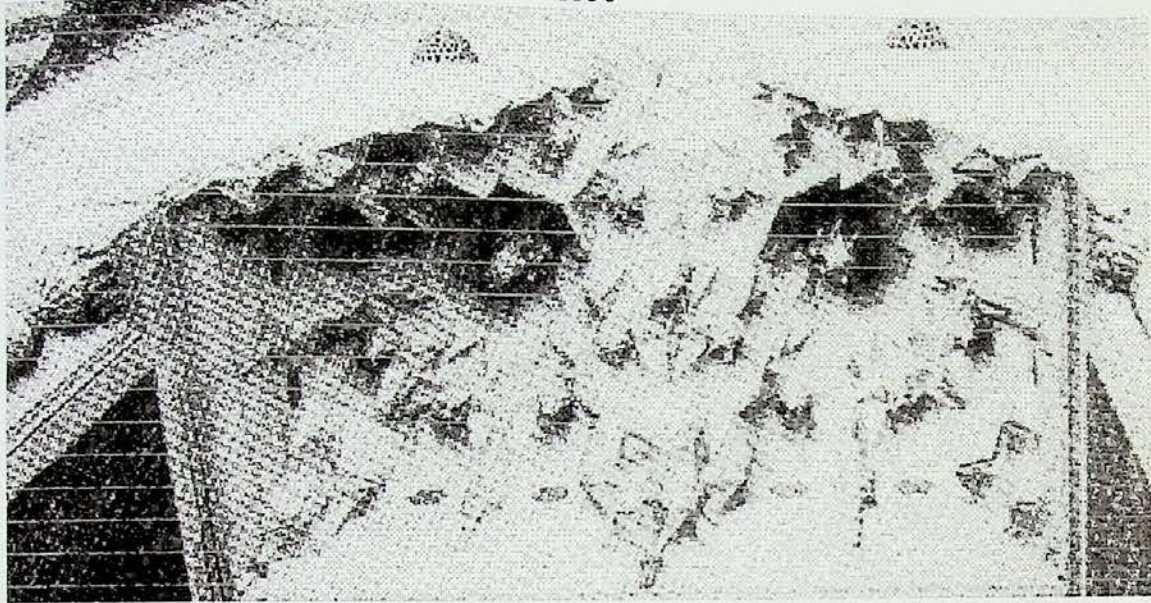
Suleyman Pasha, Cairo
(Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*)

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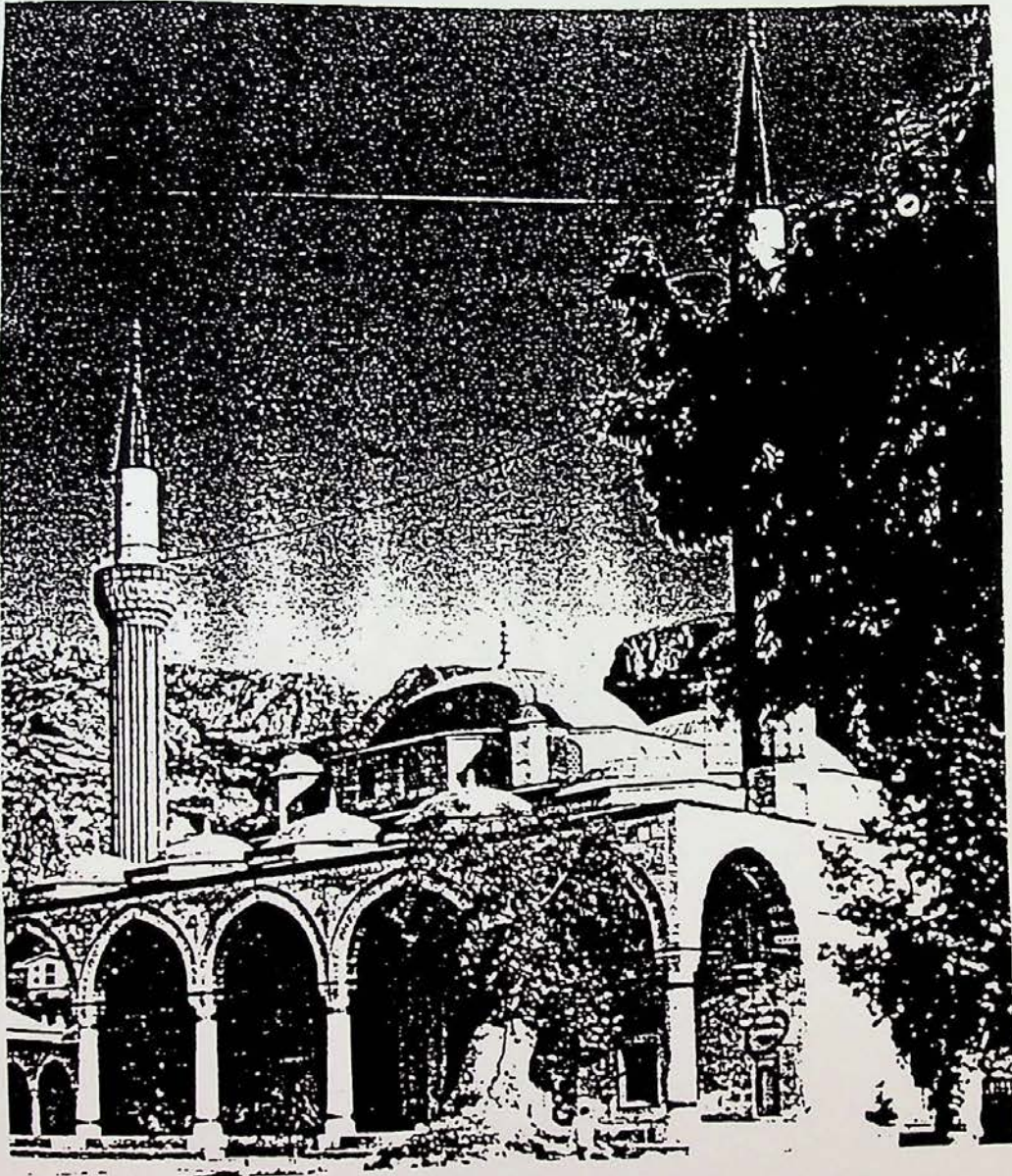
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Suleymaniyya, Istanbul
(Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*)
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Beyazit Cami, Amasya
(Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*)
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Iznik Pottery
(Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*)



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