

# The Regional and Local Influences on the Architecture of the Ottoman Mosques in Aleppo: Behram Pasha (al-Bahramiyya) Mosque as an Example

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## Abstract

Conforming to the established norms of the imperial architectural style, the congregational mosques of the 16th-century Ottoman complexes in Aleppo exhibited a radical break from the mosque architecture of the city with their centralized ground plans, hemispherical domes, and cylindrical minarets. However, they were not exact copies of those in the capital, instead, they were products of multi-leveled interactions among the center, the region, and the province. Through a historical and architectural analysis of Behram Pasha mosque, locally called al-Bahramiyya, this paper aims to clarify these influences and their deepness. It also presents the damages induced by the recent conflict in the city and the mosque's current conservation condition.

**Key Words:** *Syria, Aleppo, Built Heritage, Mosque, Ottoman, Architecture, Conservation*

## 1. Introduction

More than any other building type, the Ottoman congregational mosques imprinted an image on any cityscape in the Empire of proclaiming the power of the center. They were the monumental structures that towered over the other structures and defined the urban skyline. The influence of the central imperial style on every provincial mosque was a natural result of the organization of architectural activity in the Empire as the imperial architectural office was responsible for the design and execution of the buildings of the Sultan family and the ruling elite in both the capital and the provinces. However, the varying levels at which the imperial ateliers took part in this process opened the door for local influence. For Sultan constructions, court architects might be sent from the capital while buildings for

lesser patrons were more likely to be entrusted to local architects and craftsmen, though they might be provided with drawings and sometimes written descriptions from the imperial atelier (Kafesçioğlu, 1999, pp.82-84). Necipoğlu (1986, p. 231) noted that, in such cases, there was a marked lack of drawn elevations. This was reflected in the greater central Ottoman feel of the plans in contrast to provincial elevations, where a greater variety and detachment from central Ottoman models is evident. Another factor that played a considerable role in this detachment was the rotation of governors among provinces (Necipoğlu, 2010, pp. 157-160). During their tenures, the governors had the chance to be familiar with local building techniques, and closer to the local masons and workshops. They later engaged them in their provincial building campaigns which enabled another set of interactions at a regional level.

This was the case with the 16th-century Ottoman mosques of Aleppo. The city came under Ottoman rule in 1516 and changed from a frontier city on the borders of the Islamic lands into an interior urban center well protected from outside aggression. The later expansion of the Ottoman Empire towards Iraq, North Africa, and Arabia created an enormous market where both individuals and products could circulate freely. As a commercial center located on the main trade routes, Aleppo benefited well from these interior currents in addition to the favorable changes in the international trade routes that had already started since the late 14th century. Regional and international trade flourished in the city which was reflected in economic, demographic, and urban growth throughout the 16th century.

The Ottoman building campaign during the 16th century was concentrated in the central commercial zone in order to meet the increasing demand

for commercial and production spaces. Large four complexes, of which three comprised congregational mosques, were established successively by Hüsrev Pasha in 1546, Dukakinzade Mehmed Pasha in 1556, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1574, and Behram Pasha in 1583. Together with those established by the Mamluk governors in the late 15th century, the Ottoman complexes doubled the commercial zone and transformed it into an economic quarter called “el-Mdine” by their extensive size, their architectural quality, and the diversity of occupations they accommodate. Situated beside each other, these complexes connected the two major urban cores of the city; the citadel’s perimeter and the Great Umayyad Mosque and the markets (suqs) around it. In addition, they pivoted back the commercial zone to its classical west-east orientation by reviving the main thoroughfare extending from the citadel in the east to the Antioch Gate in the west. (Figure 1)

While the commercial dependencies of these complexes considerably followed the local building conventions, their congregational mosques conformed more to the established norms of the imperial architectural style. With their centralized ground plans, hemispherical domes, and cylindrical minarets, they exhibited a radical break from

the mosque architecture inherited from the precedent Islamic periods. However, the local influence was also apparent in the applied construction techniques, selected materials, and decorative features.

As the latest of the 16th-century Ottoman mosques in Aleppo, the mosque of Behram Pasha (al-Bahramiyya) constitutes a valuable case to examine the deepness of the central, regional, and local influences and understand the mechanism of their interaction. The mosque is typical to the Ottoman model, yet has extremely close affinities with local and regional examples so that it was claimed as “the beginning of a decentralization of influence” (David, 1991, p.183).

## 2. The Foundation of Behram Pasha in Aleppo

Behram Pasha, known as Halhalli (Bangled), was born in Gaza to Kara Şahin Mustafa Pasha, a Bosnian recruit, who served as governor of Gaza and of Yemen (1556-60) and then of Egypt (1560-64), with the honorary rank of vizier. [1] Behram himself held the governorship of several cities in Anatolia and the Arab lands including Diyarbakır, Yemen, Sivas, Erzurum and Aleppo. He also participated in

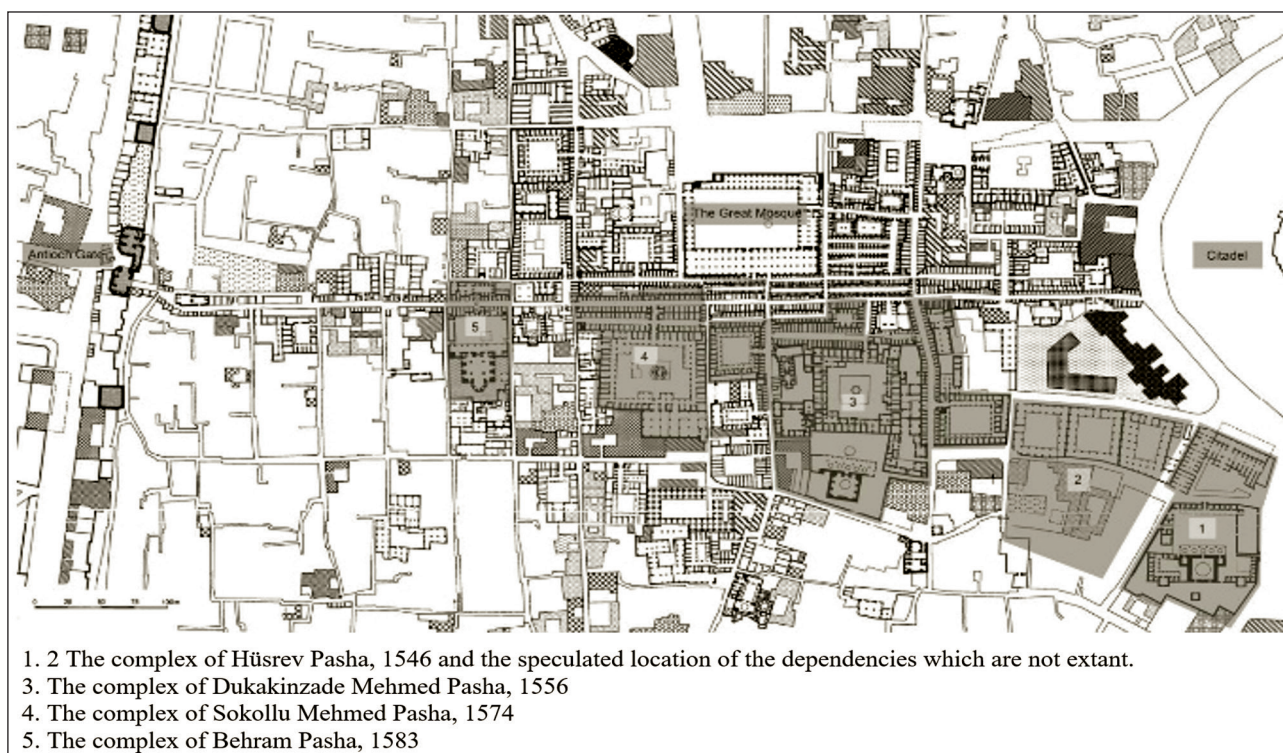


Figure 1. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century grand Ottoman complexes in the central commercial zone (based on the map of Gaube and Wirth, 1984)

military campaigns, including the Cyprus campaign of 1570-71 and the Safavid campaigns of 1578-79 and 1581-82. Behram Pasha died in 1585 and, as stipulated in his will, he was buried in Aleppo, in a mausoleum at the south side of his mosque. [2] In addition to his complex in Aleppo, Behram Pasha built charitable buildings in Diyarbakır and Urfa and supported them with numerous revenue-generating properties and lands (Necipoğlu, 2010, pp. 467-468). The patron's mosque in Diyarbakır, dated by inscription to 1572-73 and attributed to the Ottoman architect Sinan, is particularly relevant to the architectural study of al-Bahramiyya Mosque because of the close affinities between the two structures.

The building campaign of Behram Pasha in Aleppo started in 1580, the year of his governorship of the city, and was completed and registered as a foundation (waqf) in 1583. [3] According to the trust deed of the foundation (waqfiyya), the beneficiary buildings of the foundation are the patron's mosque, public fountain (sabil), elementary school, and latrine. The revenue-generating properties include two markets (suqs) to the mosque's immediate north, a qaysariyya, and a coffee house. The second group of properties, a public bathhouse (hammam) and a qaysariyya, is located in the extramural neighborhood of al-Jdayde. [4] The distribution of Behram Pasha's buildings followed the Ottoman urban strategy in developing the central commercial zone. At the same time, it initiated a new trend in developing the northwestern suburbs, which were economically important but so far un-patronized in the Ottoman period. This decision was interpreted by some researchers to be a result of the large-scale building campaigns of the 16th century in the commercial zone where the available areas were diminishing and the property values were rising forcing the constructions out (Raymond, 1979, p. 116) However, the quarter of al-Jdayde had begun to flourish as a major center of industry, in particular silk and cloth-weaving industries, since the late 15th century, offering great potential for urban interventions.

### 3. Behram Pasha (al-Bahramiyya) Mosque

#### 3.1 History

Throughout its history, the mosque has witnessed several damages and consequent interventions that

altered some of its original features. These interventions are mentioned by the two famous Aleppine historians in the early 20th century, al-Ghazzi (1991, p. 44) and at-Tabbakh (1988, pp. 175-176). The earliest known intervention took place in 1699 when a new minaret was constructed instead of the original collapsed one according to the inscription above the minaret's door. [5] There is no description of the original minaret. However, it was praised by the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi as "the most beautiful one in Aleppo" when he visited the city in 1671-72 (Çelebi, 1935, p. 375). When the minaret fell, it is possible that the western side of the mosque was severely affected. Al-Ghazzi mentions that the western entrance of the courtyard was blocked because the whole adjacent alley was inaccessible. The western portico of the courtyard and the latrine, mentioned in the deed as being opposite the entrance across the alley, are not extant today. The western bays of the portico preceding the prayer hall were also destroyed. They were rebuilt later, at an unknown date, in a system that is different from the original one that is observable in the eastern bays.

The earthquake of 1822 resulted also in severe damages. As the revenues of the foundation were not enough to cover the costs of repairs, the consequent interventions were gradual and lasted until the early 20th century. The dome of the prayer hall collapsed and was rebuilt after about 40 years in a totally new structural system. [6] In 1882, the original ablution pool in the middle of the courtyard was replaced by a modest square one provided with taps along its sides. In 1924, the mausoleum of Behram Pasha in the back garden was renovated. In the following year, a new block was built along the western side of the courtyard instead of the original portico. The block contains a prayer space (hijaziyya) and an ablution room that was provided with hot water. [7] The northern and eastern porticoes of the courtyard were not rebuilt. Finally, the mosque witnessed maintenance works under the supervision of the General Directorate of Islamic Foundations in the second half of the 2000s.

#### 3.2 Urban Setting

The mosque lies south of the east-west main thoroughfare of the central commercial zone. It is



surrounded by the patron's suq to the north, two narrow alleys to the east and west and by the bi-maristan (hospital) of Nur ad-Din, dating back to the 12th century, and other buildings to the south. (Figure 2)

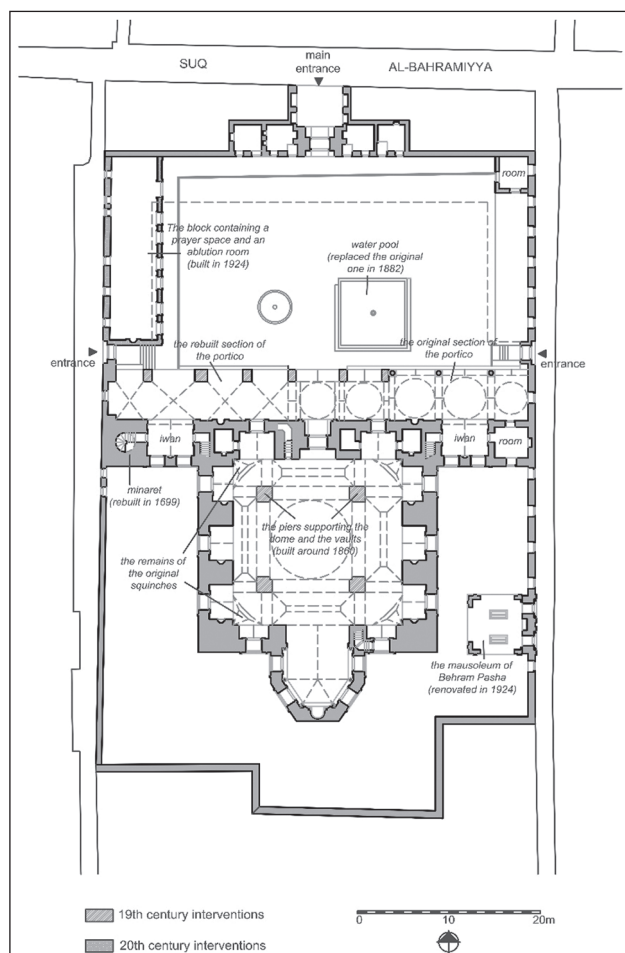


Figure 2. The plan of Al-Bahramiyya Mosque (2010)

Based on a survey conducted by the students of the Faculty of Architectural Engineering at Aleppo University in 1991

The mosque has three entrances leading directly to the courtyard. The main entrance, with the public fountain on its eastern side, is reached midway through the northern suq. In an arrangement that recalls the entrances of the major Ottoman khans rather than mosques, al-Bahramiyya's main entrance is signaled by three raised domes. The dome over the portal is characterized by its muqarnas pendentives. (Photo 1) The portal itself is richly decorated; built entirely with alternative courses of yellow and black stones (ablaq) and surrounded by a wide frame with carved geo-

metrical ornaments. The doorway is topped with an elaborate crested segmental arch and set inside a niche ending with a pointed arch instead of the usual muqarnas hood. (Photo 2) The mosque's other two entrances are set at equivalent positions on the eastern and western sides. They are identically built and simpler than the main entrance. The doorways are built with polychrome masonry and set within pointed niches. (Photo 3)

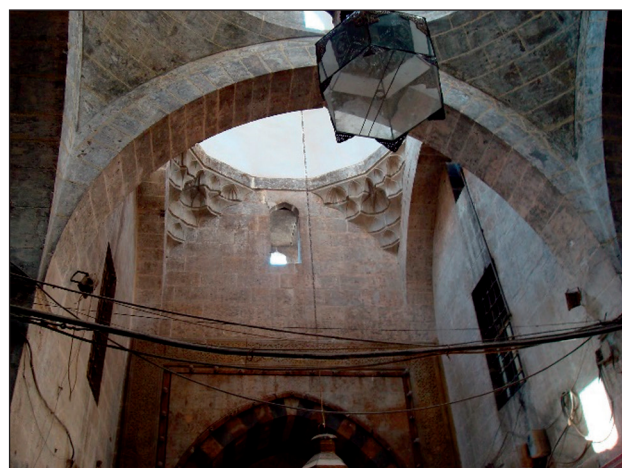


Photo 1. The domes in front of the mosque's main entrance (2008)



Photo 2. The mosque's main entrance (Knost, S. 2009)





*Photo 3. The mosque's eastern entrance (2008)*

### 3.3 Architecture

The entrances lead to a rectangular and spacious courtyard. (Photo 4) The prayer hall, preceded by a portico, occupies the southern side. The new block, built in 1924, extends along the western side. The remains of two column shafts are laid horizontally in front of the block. Along the eastern side, there is a raised platform ending with a small room, that seems like a later addition, at the northeastern corner. Five rectangular windows pierce the courtyard's wall overlooking the adjacent alley. The main entrance on the northern side is flanked by two rooms on each side opening directly towards the courtyard by a door and a window for each. The wall bears traces of a former preceding portico that comprised 11 bays. (Photo 5) Two ablution pools take place in the middle of the courtyard; the square one which was built in 1882 and another one which is circular and smaller in size.

The current condition of the courtyard presents little of its original appearance. Originally, three porticoes extended along the eastern, western, and northern sides. They were covered by brick domes

and supported by columns. The original ablution fountain was covered by a brick dome with a wooden canopy and provided with iron grills. [8] Had the courtyard persevered its original features, it would have been the closest to the central idioms among the three 16th-century mosques in Aleppo with its regular shape, symmetrical composition, and axial layout in which the main entrance to the courtyard aligns precisely with the main entrance of the prayer hall, which in turn aligns with the mihrab centered on the qibla wall.



*Photo 4. A general view of the courtyard (2007)*



*Photo 5. The traces of the former northern portico (2008)*

The prayer hall is preceded by a noticeable long portico of 9 bays; of which only the three to the east have survived in their original form. (Photo 6) They are covered by small domes and supported by elegant columns with muqarnas capitals. Water spouts emerge just below the plain cornice in the middle of each spandrel. The new bays, however,

are covered with cross vaults and supported by rectangular stone piers. On the façade, their cornice is a little lower than the original one.



*Photo 6. A general view of the prayer hall's portico (2011)*

The reconstructed minaret rises from the western side of the portico. Conforming to the Ottoman style, the minaret has a square base and a cylindrical shaft, interrupted by a balcony with a cut stone balustrade and topped by a cone covered with lead tiles. The shaft is ornamented with a band of black joggled stones in the shape of crests just under the balcony. The transition between the square base and cylindrical shaft is created by using muqarnas units at the corners of the base. (Photo 7)

On both sides of the prayer hall, there is an iwan, which drops back to the garden wall. Each iwan is provided on its lower level with a mihrab and two windows overlooking the garden behind. Above, another small window gives further light to the space. (Photo 8) The western iwan gives access to the minaret and the western gallery, which overlooks the interior space of the prayer hall, while the eastern iwan gives access to the eastern gallery and to a small room, which is secluded in the eastern corner and detached from the prayer hall. This room may have been a guest room, perhaps for prestigious visitors. Since they have no earlier models, these two iwans have provoked some discussion. David (1991, p. 183) considered them a local "Aleppine feature" that was re-used only once in the 18th-century al-Madrassa al-Uthmaniyya in Aleppo.



*Photo 7. A general view of the minaret (2008)*

Watenpaugh (2004, p. 87) considered them a development of the two tabhane rooms flanking the prayer hall in T-type Ottoman mosques. The two closest examples in the region are the mosques of al-Khusrawiyya in Aleppo (1546) and Iskender Pasha in Diyarbakır (1551). Wolf (2005, 364-365) argued that these iwans may have been a derivation of a garden view in the context of the double-portico mosques where the outer portico wraps around the inner one and provides a view onto the rear garden. Several examples of double-portico mosques can be found in Syria and the region such as the mosque of Sultan Suleyman in Damascus (1558), al-Adiliyya mosque in Aleppo (1565), and Behram Pasha's mosque in Diyarbakır (1573). Whatever its origin is, it is evident that this peculiar feature of exterior iwans has developed in the regional and local context rather than imported from the center. Aesthetically, these iwans give a dynamic spatial quality under the portico. Functionally, they provide a kind of additional prayer space, as they are equipped with mihrabs.





*Photo 8. The iwan on the eastern side of the prayer hall (Meinecke, M. 1984),*

Apart from this specific feature, the layout of the prayer hall's façade conforms to the central Ottoman model. The portal in the middle is flanked by a window and a small mihrab on each side. (Photo 9)



*Photo 9. A section of the prayer hall's northern facade (Meinecke, M. 1984),*

The portal is built with polychrome masonry and recesses within a large niche topped by a pointed arch. Lacking the muqarnas hood, the portal came closer to the local idiom than those of the previous Ottoman mosques in the city. (Photo 10)

The tympanum of the niche is covered by carved stone ornaments and muqarnas strips recalling the portal of the Mamluk Oghul Bek mosque (1480) in Aleppo. The windows of the prayer hall are also built with polychrome masonry and surmounted by relieving arches.

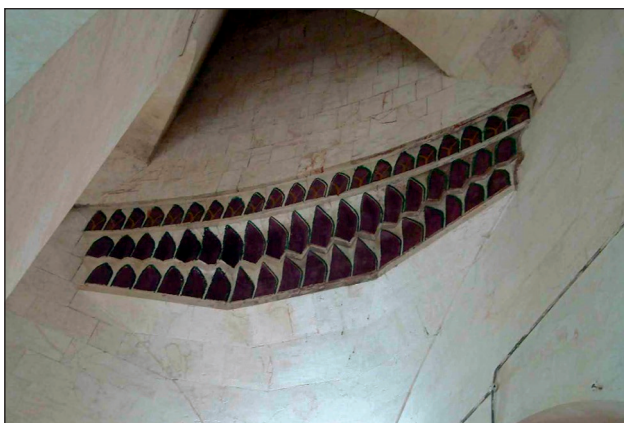


*Photo 10. A general view of the portal of the prayer hall (2008)*

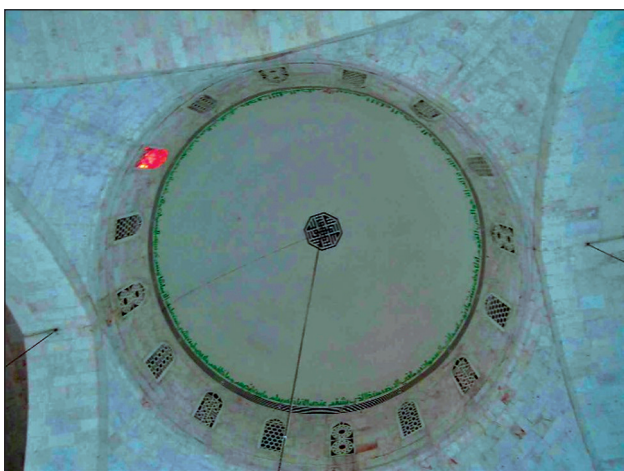
The prayer hall is a domed cube with a five-sided apse on its southern side. The original dome was resting on eight arches and four squinches. The remains of the squinches at the hall's corners have retained roundels and 3 rows of muqarnas corbelling. (Photo 11) The original dome covered an approximate area of 324 m<sup>2</sup> which made it the largest among the other Ottoman domes in the city (David, 1991, p. 185). The rebuilt dome, however, was built raised on a drum pierced with 16 small windows. The drum itself is supported by four piers set directly into the hall with pendentives being used as transition elements. (Photo 12) The rest of the hall is covered by vaults.

On the four sides of the hall, there are deep recesses carved as window casements.





*Photo 11. One of the original squinches at the corner of the prayer hall (2008)*



*Photo 12. A general view of the dome built around 1860 (2008)*

On the lateral sides, every recess accommodates a mihrab on its southern face. The recess-plan was a structural arrangement developed by the architect Sinan. The earliest example of this arrangement is Hadım Ibrahim Pasha's mosque at Silivrikapı in Istanbul (1551), while the two examples closely related to al-Bahramiyya, are al-Adiliyya mosque in Aleppo (1565) and Behram Pasha's mosque in Diyarbakır (1973). Similar also to these two mosques, there are upper galleries reached by staircases built into the walls. The facades of the galleries consist of double arcades set on thin columns, which provide a rich, dynamic articulation of the space. (Photo 13) Two small rooms are inserted into the northeast and northwest corners of the hall and can be accessed from the adjacent recesses. According to the deed, these rooms functioned as storage spaces for rugs, carpets, oil lamps, and candles.



*Photo 13. The western upper galley inside the prayer hall (2008)*

The projecting apse on the southern wall of the hall houses the mihrab niche on its southern end and four windows on the other sides. (Photo 14)

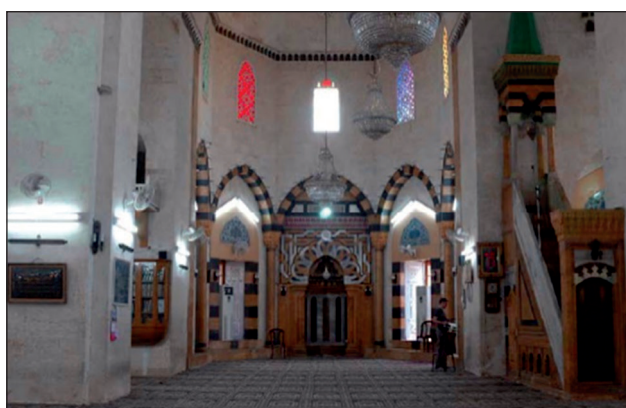


*Photo 14. A general view of the southern apse from outside (2008)*

Five arches, built with polychrome masonry, on columns at the corners frame the mihrab and windows. Above each arch, another window is opened below the thin cornice which defines the beginning of the covering vault. (Photo 15) The vault is not precisely a half-dome but is rather a

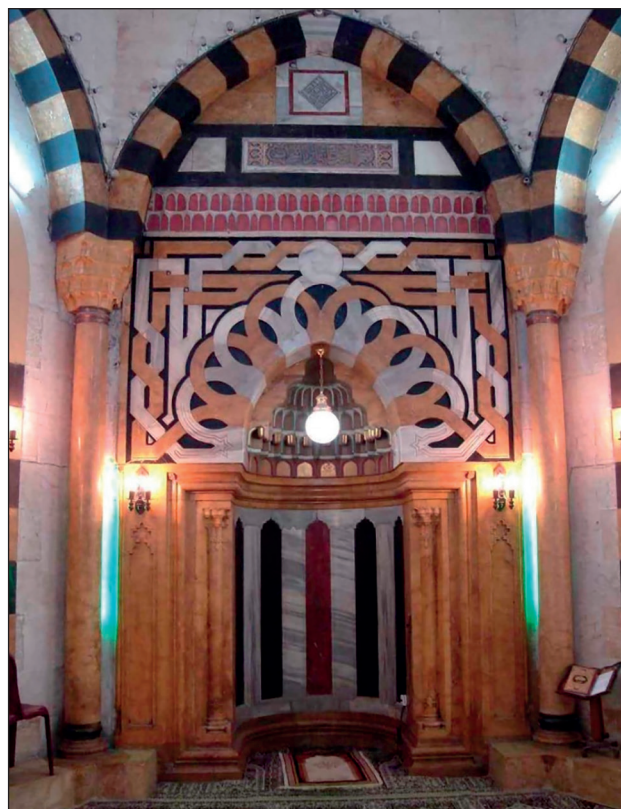


quintuple. Although the five-sided apses appeared in Ottoman architecture in the late 15th century, this feature was rarely used in Istanbul. One of the few examples is Davud Pasha Mosque (1485). On the other hand, Watenpaugh (2004, pp. 88-89) has notified that these apses constituted a building tradition in Diyarbakır even before the Ottoman conquest of the city and cited several examples such as the Aynı Minare mosque (1489), Hüsrev Pasha's mosque-madrassa (1521-28) and Hadım Ali Pasha's madrasa (1537-43). Therefore, the apse of al-Bahramiyya mosque is more likely a regional influence rather than a central one.



*Photo 15. A general view of the southern apse from inside (2008)*

The mihrab, minbar, and sudda are reminiscent of the Aleppine conventions of such architectural features. The splendid mihrab is made in yellow limestone and colored marble and features the general characteristics of Ayyubid style. This similarity is apparent when this mihrab is compared, for example, with the one of Madrasa al-Firdaws (1235-36). The niche consists of a fairly deep concavity flanked by inset colonnettes with muqarnas capitals and framed by a heavy continuous molding. The concavity itself is covered by alternating panels of light and dark marble. These panels are topped by small arches that give them the appearance of small niches. The hood of the niche is covered by elaborate muqarnas of five levels. The niche is topped by polychrome interlaced voussoirs. (Photo 16) The minbar is of yellow limestone and white marble and it features geometric marble mosaics on its sides. The sudda, not extant today, took place on the western side of the prayer hall's entrance raised on two columns with muqarnas capitals.



*Photo 16. The mihrab inside the prayer hall (2008)*



*Photo 17. Above: One of the decorative panels inside the prayer hall  
Below: One of the decorative panels that might be a later replacement (Meinecke, M. 1971),*



Compared to the other 16th-century Ottoman mosques in the city, the indoor atmosphere of the prayer hall is more austere with its walls built in finely-cut ashlar. The decorative elements are confined to the tympana of the windows which are covered by panels of under-glazed ceramic tiles. The tiles are in a typical Iznik palette with their saz-leaf and arabesque design and the use of red and turquoise. Therefore, the general consensus of scholars is that these tiles are imports from Iznik. There are also some panels that have a palette of blue, black, and turquoise which can be a later replacement (Millner, 2015, pp. 181-182). (Photo 17)

### 3.4 Current Conservation Condition

The central commercial zone of the old city of Aleppo was among the most affected locations during the recent armed conflict (2012-2016). Huge fires erupted in the covered suqs resulting in the collapse of many roofs and the complete destruction of some suqs. The urban fabric of the zone with its narrow and covered alleys encouraged street combat, causing all the facades of the historic buildings damaged by the traces of bullets and random shells. The escalation of the fight to take control over the Great Umayyad Mosque and the Citadel resulted in heavy damage to many monuments in the zone. Every single minaret, dome, or roof has been affected in one way or another by bombardments and shelling. The fight took its toll on the 16th-century Ottoman mosques discussed in the paper. Al-Khusrawiyya mosque was completely destroyed in 2014 (UNESCO and UNITAR, 2018, p. 72), while the dome of al-Adiliyya mosque collapsed together with a section of the preceding portico (UNESCO and UNITAR, 2018, p. 76).

The most serious structural damages in al-Bahramiyya mosque can be observed in the prayer hall and its preceding portico. The dome of the prayer hall together with some vaults is partially destroyed and there is a risk of their full collapse. (Photo 18) A similar condition is observable in two of the domes covering the preceding portico. (Photo 19) Holes of varied sizes can be seen in several points in the walls of the prayer hall, the walls of the courtyard, and the shaft of the minaret, together with the displacement of stone blocks,

which can increase the threat of structural disintegration of the masonry. (Photo 20)



*Photo 18. The structural damages in the prayer hall (2021)*



*Photo 19. One of the partially destroyed domes in the prayer hall's portico (2021)*

The stone surfaces are affected at varying levels by bullets and shells. Unfortunately, this includes some carved details of the prayer hall's portal. However, the distinctive architectural elements inside the hall – the mihrab, and the minbar, together with the decorative elements are almost



intact. Except for some urgent interventions in that took place in 2017 to consolidate one of the portico's piers, no restoration works have been conducted yet and the mosque is still closed.



*Photo 20. Varying damages in the walls of the prayer hall (2021)*

#### 4. Conclusion

The architectural importance of al-Bahramiyya mosque stems from the fact that it was the last example of a dynamic interaction among local, regional and central influences that shaped the Ottoman architecture in the city during the 16th century. Had the building campaign in Aleppo flourished at the same pace in the following century, this interaction would have produced more examples of distinguished provincial Ottoman architecture.

The analysis of the mosque shows the deep regional and local influences that go beyond the conventions of decor or building techniques to include new architectural elements applied for the first time in the city. This was clear from the usage of the unusual five-sided apse and the two large side iwans, features that researchers have argued originated locally and regionally rather than at

the center. In decorative terms, the mosque exhibits a further step in the Ottoman appropriation of the city's architectural repertoire. In the earlier mosques of al-Khusrawiyya and al-Adiliyya, the usage of the local decorative elements was limited to the most recent period, which was the late Mamluk. In al-Bahramiyya mosque, however, elements from the early Mamluk and Ayyubid periods were used. The design of the portals, windows, and the mihrab reverted strongly to these local styles.

The numerous similarities such as the recess-plan and the upper galleries put the mosque within the context of its close local and regional examples, al-Adiliyya and the patron's mosque in Diyarbakır, as they all show the development of a common typology. This sheds light on the architectural interactions between the two main centers; Aleppo and Diyarbakır, and suggests a steady and rapid transfer of ideas, and perhaps architects in the region. The role of patronage in this aspect is evident as two of Aleppo's main 16th-century patrons, Hüsrev Pasha and Behram Pasha, governed Diyarbakır and established complexes there. Although further research is needed, Necipoğlu has already cited two examples of regional transfer of architects and masons. The first was in Sokollu Mehmet Pasha's complex in Payas (the 1580s), where architects and masons from Aleppo had participated in the construction (Necipoğlu, 2010, p. 360). The second case was when Behram Pasha himself, wanting to replicate the elegant baths he had seen in the Arab lands, imported skilled builders and marble cutters from Gaza, his birthplace, and from Jerusalem. She also suggested that Behram Pasha may have seen al-Adiliyya Mosque in Aleppo and asked Sinan to design one like it in Diyarbakır (Necipoğlu, 2010, p. 468). We can say that later some of the architectural solutions returned to Aleppo through his mosque, al-Bahramiyya, yet in a more developed way.

With its history and unique architecture, al-Bahramiyya mosque is among the monuments that represent the evolution of architectural, urban, and social practice in Aleppo. Similar to the other mosques located in the commercial zone, it was a place where people met and interacted on a daily basis. Thus, it is an indispensable part of their collective memory. The recovery process of Aleppo is facing today major challenges to meet

the amount and the quality of needed work to restore these monuments. There is a hope that al-Bahramiyya mosque will be carefully restored in a way that respects its historic layers, enhances its presentation, and fully brings back the mosque to its religious and social role in the city.

### Endnotes

- [1] The trust deed and the Aleppine sources give Mustafa Pasha's name as -- Mustafa Basha ibn 'Abd al-Mu'in. At-Tabbakh (1988, p. 175), al-Ghazzi (1992, p. 41). More information on Mustafa Pasha's life and career can be found in Blackburn (2009, p. 720).
- [2] For more biographical information on Behram Pasha see Necipoğlu (2010, p. 467), and Watenpaugh (2004, p. 84). Behram Pasha's older brother, Radwan Pasha, was also buried next to him in 1586, after serving as the governor of the city for one year.
- [3] The deed was composed in Arabic by the Aleppine legal scholar Taj ad-Din al-Korani. For the purpose of this article, three copies of the deed were studied. The copies are identical in content, however, there are slight differences in the description of the courtyard and the prayer hall. The first copy is preserved in the Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*) in Istanbul. The second copy is a hand-copied version preserved in the Archives of the General Directorate of Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi*) in Ankara. The third one is the summary published in 1926 by al-Ghazzi (1992, pp. 41-45).
- [4] Some dependencies were added to the foundation in 1890: a coffee house and several shops to the west of the bath-qaysariyya complex in al-Jdayde neighbourhood, according to al-Ghazzi (1992, p. 44). In addition to the properties in Aleppo, the deed also refers to a number of mills outside of Aleppo, a public bath, a coffee house, a stable and shops in Cairo and several orchards near Gaza.
- [5] The reconstruction of the minaret was celebrated with an inscription composed by the poet Yahya al-Halabi al-Akkad. For the

complete text of the inscription see 'Uthman (2010, p. 62).

- [6] According to At-Tabbakh, the structure stood in ruins for about forty years until the foundation's administrator sold the lead which had covered the original dome to raise funds for a new one.
- [7] There are several inscriptions dating the interventions of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For the complete text of the inscriptions inside the mausoleum see 'Uthman (2010, pp. 63-64).
- [8] The copy of the deed preserved in Istanbul doesn't mention any of the porticos surrounding the courtyard and refers to only one covered ablution fountain, while the copy preserved in Ankara describes the northern and western porticos and refers to two ablution fountains in the courtyard, one is reserved for the Hanefis' and the other for the Shafi's.

### Acknowledgment

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