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## AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MOSQUE OF SINAN PASHA IN CAIRO

The mosque of Sinan Pasha was built in 979 (1571–72) at the port of Bulaq in Cairo.<sup>1</sup> It was the fifth major religious building erected by the Ottomans after conquering Egypt in 1517. This study will describe and evaluate the architecture, decoration, and socio-religious interactions of this mosque.<sup>2</sup>

Sinan Pasha ibn ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman<sup>3</sup> was of Albanian origin, born around 1520,<sup>4</sup> and raised among the elite group of janissaries, the *devshirme*. He attained high ranks at the Ottoman court and was appointed governor of many important cities in the empire. On 24 Shaʿban, 975 (23 February 1568), Sinan Pasha became *wālī* (governor) of Egypt.<sup>5</sup> His first tenure was shortlived, lasting for only nine and a half months. On 13 Jumada al-Akhira,

976 (3 December 1568), he was re-called to take command of a campaign in Yemen to overthrow the Zaydis.<sup>6</sup> Several years later, on 1 Safar 979 (25 June 1571), he was appointed *wālī* of Egypt for the second time.<sup>7</sup> This time he ruled for one year and ten months, until Dhu'l-Hijja, 981 (April 1573),<sup>8</sup> when he was ordered to lead another campaign against the Spaniards at Halq al-Wadi in Tunisia. In the following year, he commanded a third successful campaign, this one against Georgia.<sup>9</sup> These victories promoted Sinan Pasha to the position of *ṣadr al-aʿzam* (grand vizier), a post he was appointed to five times between 1580 and 1595.<sup>10</sup> In the same years he led two campaigns into Hungary and Wallachia.<sup>11</sup>

Sinan Pasha died in 1595 at the age of eighty, and was

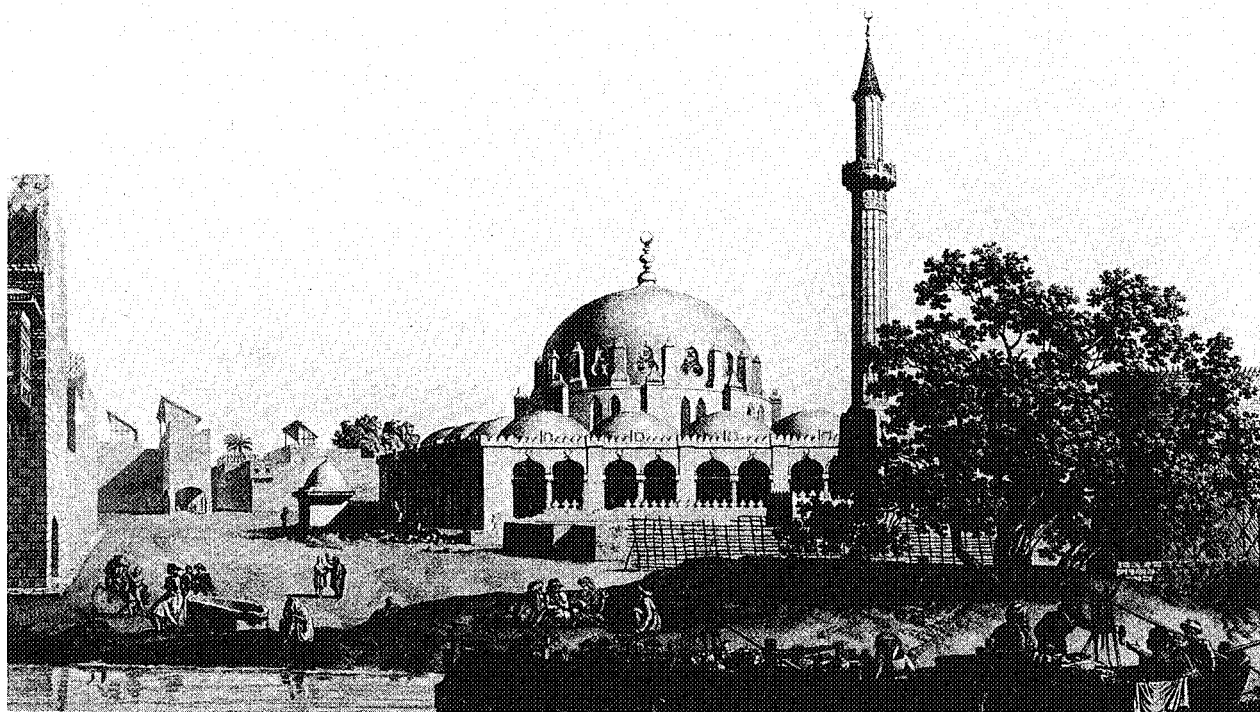


Fig. 1. Cairo. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. (From the *Description de l'Égypte*, pt. 1 [1809–28], pl. 25)

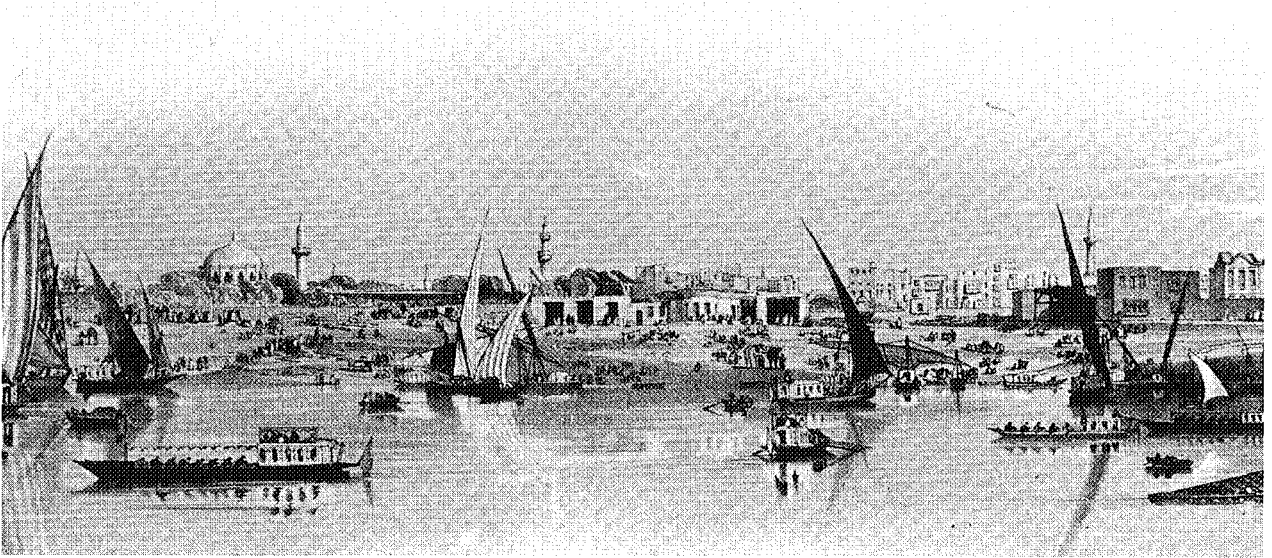


Fig. 2. "The Port of Bulaq" by Robert Hay. (From *Illustrations of Cairo* [London, 1840], pl. 27)

buried in his mausoleum in the Sofiler quarter of Istanbul.<sup>12</sup> He had been a very wealthy man, and in all the locations over which he had had jurisdiction, he had ordered the construction of mosques and/or commercial buildings, and for each of them had established waqfs.

The mosque of Sinan Pasha at Bulaq was built on the east bank overlooking the Nile. An illustration in the *Description de l'Égypte* (fig. 1)<sup>13</sup> and another by Robert Hay

(fig. 2)<sup>14</sup> show that it remained one of the major mosques at Bulaq to the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> It was partially demolished in 1902 to clear land for a new

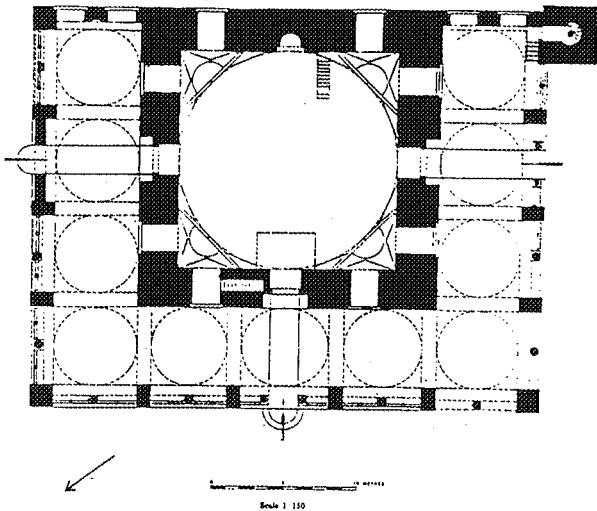


Fig. 3. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. Ground Plan. (From Ministry of Waqfs, *The Mosques of Egypt*)

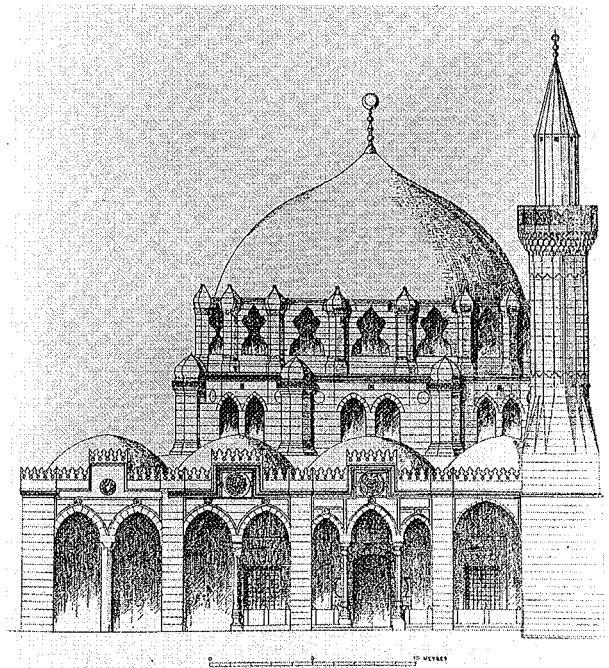


Fig. 4. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. Elevation of the southeastern façade. (From Ministry of Waqfs, *The Mosques of Egypt*)

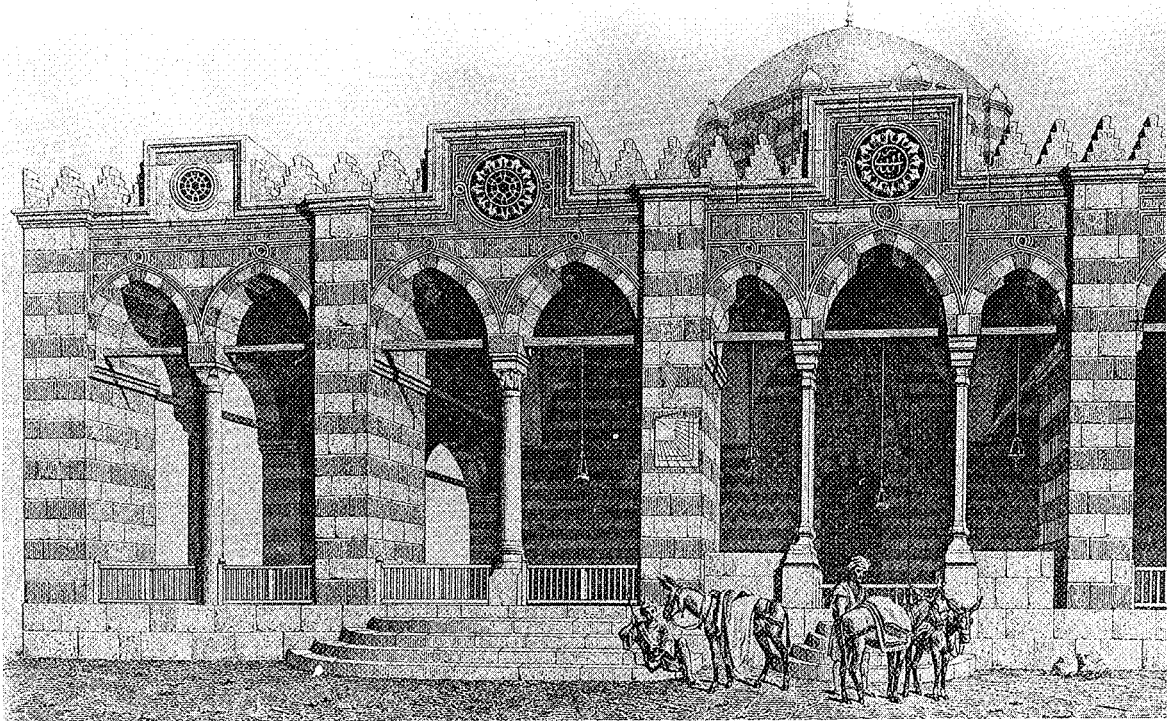


Fig. 5. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. The northwestern façade. (From Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe* [1869–77], pl. 30)

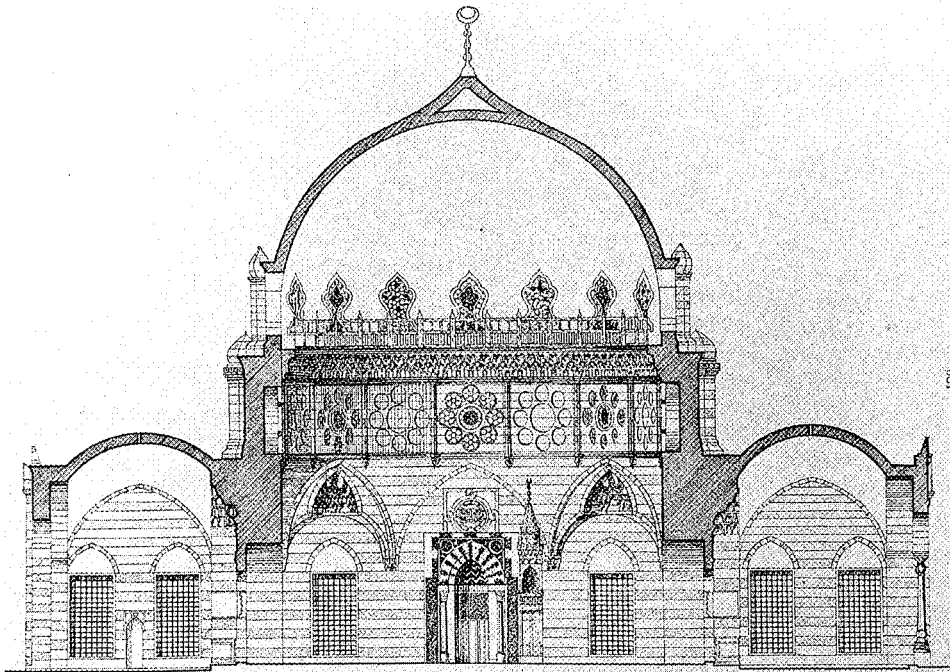


Fig. 6. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. Cross section. (From Ministry of Waqfs, *The Mosques of Egypt*, 1949)

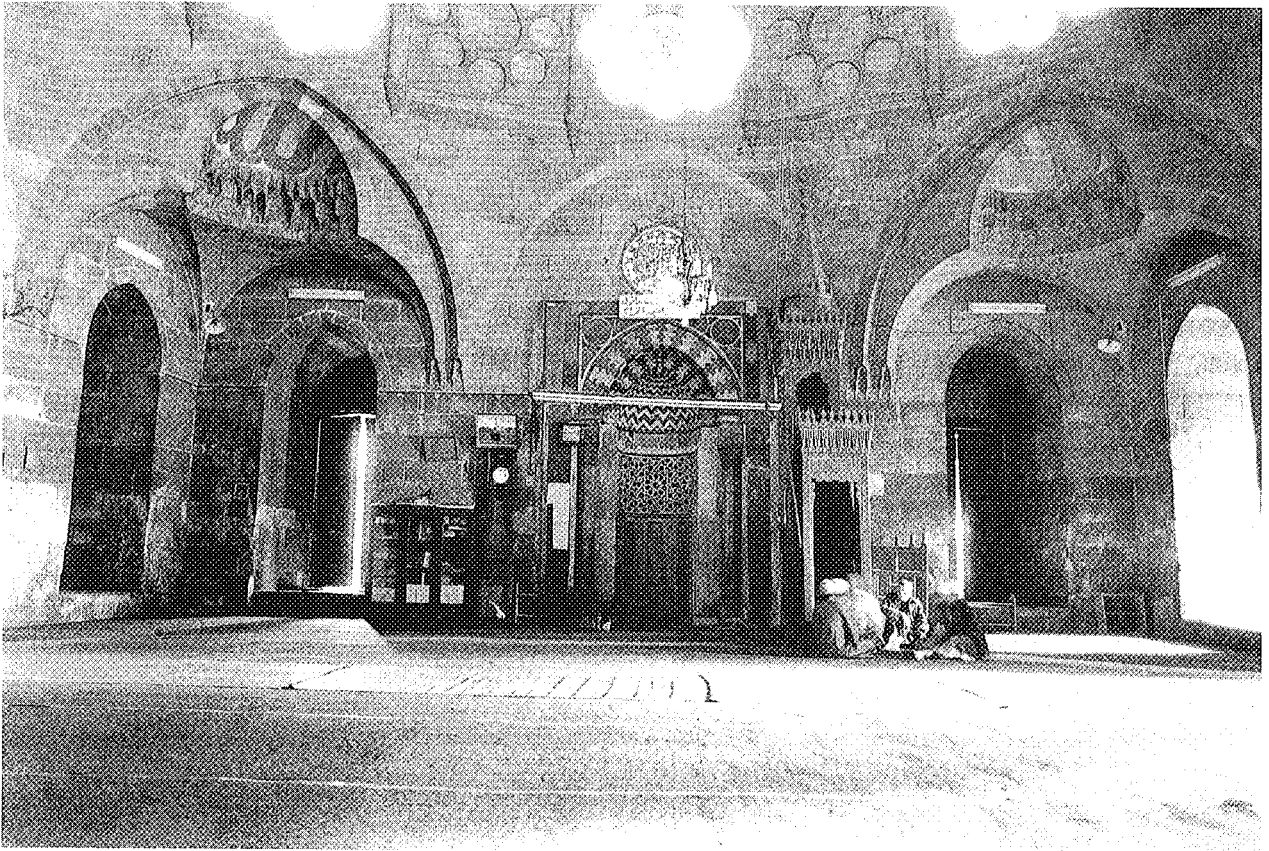


Fig. 7. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. Interior, qibla side.

street, but was restored during the reign of King Faruq (1936–1952) and repaired in 1983.<sup>16</sup>

The mosque is described in detail in its waqfiyya.<sup>17</sup> It was part of a large complex which also included three khans.<sup>18</sup> One was built next to the mosque and known first as al-Khan al-Kabir; then, in the following century, as the Wakalat al-Kharnub.<sup>19</sup> The second, the Khan al-Tawil, was built opposite the first. Its name was later changed to the Wakalat Riwaq al-Shawam.<sup>20</sup> The third, the Khan al-Saghir incorporated a *sabil-maktab*. Other buildings in the complex were a *qasr*; a *bayt*; a *mathara*; and a hammam with shops around it.<sup>21</sup>

The Sinan Pasha mosque is a large domed structure surrounded by porticoes on three sides and with a minaret at its south corner (fig. 3). The stone dome covers the whole central part of the mosque and was originally covered with lead sheets.<sup>22</sup> Its drum is divided into two tiers (fig. 4). The upper tier is a sixteen-sided drum. Each facet has a large trefoil window and octagonal turrets at its

corners. The lower tier is octagonal and its sides have double windows with pointed arches. The windows are flanked by octagonal turrets which reflect those on the upper tier, but are more massive.

The porticoes are on three sides of the domed chamber (fig. 3) and are covered by small cupolas. Visually, the porticoes enlarge the building and give it a horizontal effect in harmony with the dome. Of the three entrances to the building, those on the southwestern and northwestern sides show a triple composition which is not found on the northeastern entrance today (fig. 3). According to the waqfiyya, the porticoes had twenty-eight arches,<sup>23</sup> but there are only twenty-five today. Originally there must have been another triple composition on the northeastern portico. The building of the new street in 1902 probably destroyed the northeastern part of the mosque's enclosure wall which was then not restored in 1936–1952.

Trefoil crenellations run along the entire length of the

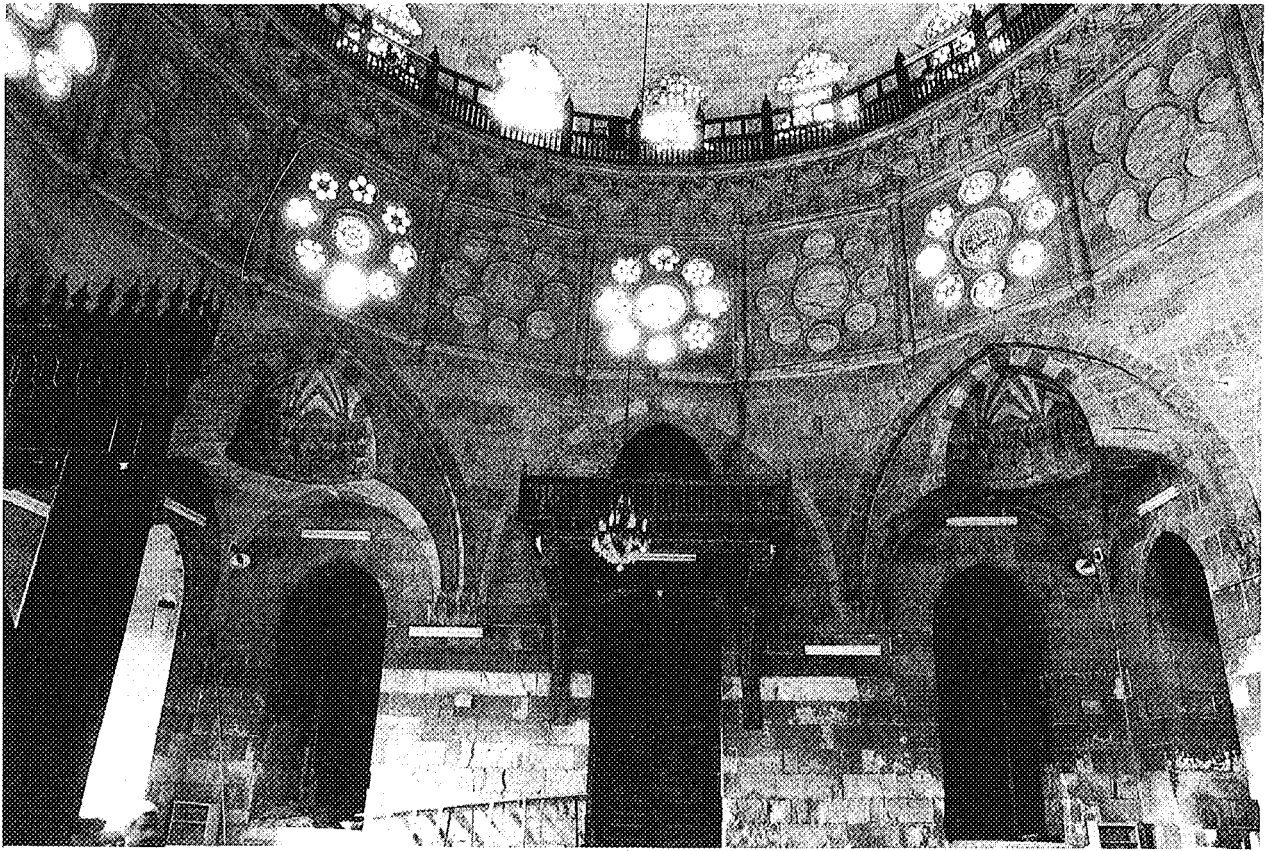


Fig. 8. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. Interior, *dikka* side.

arcaded façade. An illustration by Prisse d'Avennes (fig. 5) depicts stepped crenellations,<sup>24</sup> but either these were replaced at a later date, or the artist invented them. The same illustration also shows two *mazwalas* (sundials) on the arcaded façade. The *mazwalas* bore the name of Hasan al-Sawwaf in 1768–69.<sup>25</sup>

The waqfiyya states that there were two plain mihrabs in the porticoes, a southern one, which appears to have been destroyed during the series of renovations, was originally carved next to the minaret. An eastern mihrab remains today (figs. 3 and 6). Each of the three entrances to the mosque has a wooden door and is crowned by heavy muqarnas and paved with marble.

On the southern corner of the building is a short heavy minaret (figs. 3 and 4),<sup>26</sup> reached through a vaulted stairway from the southwest portico of the mosque. It has two cylindrical shafts separated by a balcony. Several tiers of muqarnas support the balcony. This pencil-shaped minaret is typically Ottoman in style. The upper part was once covered with sheets of lead and sur-

mounted by a gilded copper crescent finial which has survived.<sup>27</sup> The *Description de l'Égypte* illustration (fig. 1) shows this minaret with rather exaggerated vertical proportions.

Inside, the mosque has a large domed chamber,<sup>28</sup> which is square in plan, although a circular impression is provided by the dome.<sup>29</sup> Beneath the dome, the walls are pierced by deep recesses, and its doors have metal grilles and act as windows. The mihrab is decorated with marble paneling and chevron designs in its hood (figs. 6 and 7). It is flanked by marble columns and has an oculus above it which is visible from outside. On the right is a wooden minbar which is a later addition.<sup>30</sup> The entire qibla side is illustrated by Prisse d'Avennes in his *L'Art arabe*.<sup>31</sup> Above the northwestern entrance there is an overhanging wooden *dikka* (fig. 8) supported by wooden corbels. It is reached through an opening in the northern recess of the northwestern wall (fig. 3).

The dome is carried on a transitional zone which starts within the square and cannot be seen on the exterior. It

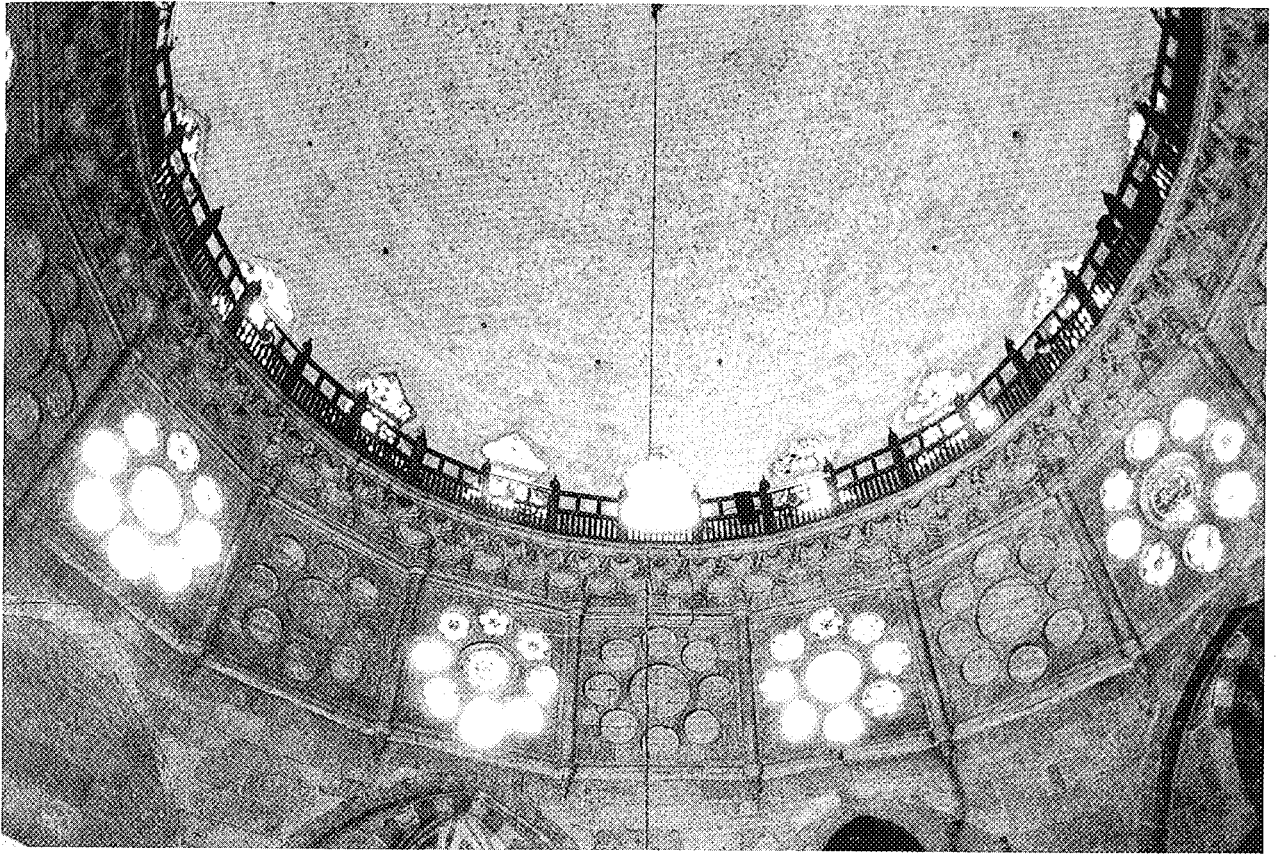


Fig. 9. The mosque of Sinan Pasha. Interior, dome.

consists of a tripartite system of squinches over the window recesses at the four corners of the square. Their hoods are decorated with muqarnas friezes. Above these friezes, the corners on the southeastern side are topped by an "Allah" motif in stone; those on the northwestern side have sunburst designs (figs. 7 and 8). Above the transitional zone are circular colored-glass windows, each consisting of eight circles encompassing a central one. They are separated by slender engaged columns. Between the windows the same pattern is repeated to give a harmonious effect. This tier corresponds to the lower tier of the drum which contains the double-arched windows; however the latter are not visible from the interior, just as the circular windows cannot be seen from outside. A walkway supported by tiers of muqarnas and having a wooden balustrade provides the base of the upper tier of the drum. It is reached through the same opening of the overhanging *dikka*. At that level, there are other stairs that lead up to the walkway. The stairs do not appear on the plan (fig. 3). The trefoil fenestration can

be seen from both inside and outside. On the interior surface are metal rings from which chains for lamps were originally suspended (fig. 9).

The waqfiyya also gives the usual functions and duties of the mosque.<sup>32</sup> Six readers were appointed to recite, read, and chant the Qur'an daily between the dawn and the morning prayers. After the morning prayer forty-one readers were required to gather inside the mosque to recite the *Sūrat al-An'ām* until it was time for the noon prayer.<sup>33</sup> Later in the day, sixty other readers gathered in the mosque immediately after the afternoon prayer and had to read the entire Qur'an twice. This performance lasted until it was time for the sunset prayer. Their *shaykh al-qurrā'* (chief reader) was assigned to read from a large manuscript which was placed in front of him on a *kursī* (stand). He would start the reading performance, and then the sixty readers followed, each of whom had a part to read. They all had to end by reciting the *Sūrat al-Ikhlās*, which was followed by two *ta'wīdhas* (religious incantations), and then the *Sūrat al-Fāṭha*. The performances

continued in the evening, but on a smaller scale. Only six readers performed from twilight until evening prayer.

The plan of the mosque of Sinan Pasha is, like the minaret, of Ottoman inspiration,<sup>34</sup> modeled after mosques built in Turkey during the sixteenth century, although on a much smaller scale. However, it is unlike the plans of earlier Cairene Ottoman mosques, namely those of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel (1528); the Takiyya Sulaymaniyya (1543); the mosque of Dawud Pasha (1548), and the Mahmudiyya complex (1568), which have either shallow or high domes. The hemispherical shape of the dome of the mosque of Sinan Pasha also distinguishes it from the high domes of the Mamluk period;<sup>35</sup> it was the first of its kind in Cairo.

The trefoil recesses around the dome visible from both inside and outside, are believed by Patricolo to resemble those found on the Fatimid mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqayya (1133).<sup>36</sup> At the mosque of Sinan Pasha, however, these recesses are much larger. The typically Ottoman minaret also differs from earlier Cairene Ottoman minarets; it can be considered as a visual statement of the Ottomanization of the port of Bulaq.

The porticoes with the mihrabs surrounding the domed chamber, Rogers believes were used to shelter latecomers to the mosque, a characteristic feature found in the Ottoman architecture of Istanbul.<sup>37</sup> Rogers is not sure whether the overhanging *dikka* is a gynaeceum or a royal box in which the ruler prayed.<sup>38</sup> This type of *dikka* was used by rulers because it allowed them a degree of privacy and security, which was often greatly needed. However, in the waqfiyya, it is referred to as a *dikka khashab* (wooden *dikka*) intended for *mu<sup>2</sup>adhhdhins*. Had it been intended as a royal box, the waqfiyya would have called it a *maq<sup>2</sup>sura*; had it been intended for use as a gynaeceum, the document would have said that it was for the *harim*.

Its use by the *mu<sup>2</sup>adhhdhins* appears to be an unusual feature in Cairo. The counterpart of these *mu<sup>2</sup>adhhdhins* would be the *mu<sup>2</sup>azzin mahfilis* in Turkish Ottoman mosques. The overhanging *dikka* was probably used for the continuous readings which took place in the building during the day by the masses of readers and worshippers; they probably needed to have more than one *mu<sup>2</sup>adhhdhin* in the building to call them to prayer. The *mu<sup>2</sup>adhhdhin* also announced the beginning and end of the various reading and chanting performances and regulated the orderly progression of activities. This function was not a common one in earlier Cairene mosques. The overhanging *dikka* was also architecturally successful. Had it been supported on columns, it would have bro-

ken the circular effect of the interior and inhibited circulation in what was a rather small building. This type of *dikka* was known, but was not common, in Cairene mosques of the Mamluk period. It was a feature found in important Ottoman mosques in Istanbul, which made it fashionable in both early and late Ottoman mosques in Cairo.

The transitional zone's tripartite system of squinches is not an Ottoman feature, but was adopted from late-Mamluk-period domes. There are four domed buildings which exhibit this system of squinches,<sup>39</sup> the qubba of Yashbak Min Mahdi at Matariyya (1477); the Qubba al-Fadawiyya (1479); the qubba of Ma<sup>c</sup>bad al-Rifa<sup>c</sup>i (1478); and that of the Zawiyat al-Damirdash (before 1498). These domed buildings are attributed to the period of the Mamluk Sultan Qaitbay. A similar system was utilized by Cairene architects to build the interior domed chamber of the mosque of Sinan Pasha. However, it is not based entirely on the Mamluk prototype. Only the lower part of the structure and the transitional zone resemble the Qaitbay group of buildings. The general structure of the dome does not recall this Mamluk form.

Bates deals with the mosque of Sinan Pasha by comparing it to the Mahmudiyya complex.<sup>40</sup> She explains the use of the tripartite system of squinches in the transitional zone of the mosque of Sinan Pasha as the solution the architects found nearby when confronted with a problem they could not solve. The solution in this case was borrowed from Mamluk structures, i.e., the Qaitbay group of domed buildings. I tend to disagree with this theory simply because I do not believe that the architect of the mosque of Sinan Pasha had any problems to solve when he built the dome of his mosque. Cairene architects had long had experience in building domed structures in stone, and in Istanbul the architect Sinan was challenging himself in the magnificent domed royal complexes he was designing. Had the architect sought a solution from an outside source, he had these options from which to choose. He could have followed the system used at the Sulayman Pasha mosque at the Citadel, by supporting the dome on pendentives, or he could have followed the system used at the mausoleum of the Mahmudiyya complex, by supporting the dome on muqarnas squinches, but he did not do either. Instead he presented his unusual tripartite system of squinches. That this Mamluk prototype was used instead of others suggests that the architect was experimenting with new construction techniques based on local Cairene traditions.

Two major schools of architecture had developed in

Ottoman Cairo. The first maintained traditional Mamluk elements and, though somewhat independent in character, was a rather poor expression of that style; throughout the Ottoman period the traditional Mamluk style remained popular in Cairo, mainly as it was manifested in the Mahmudiyya complex. The second school followed the domed Ottoman type known throughout the empire, though on a provincial scale. This provincial Ottoman school was fully developed in Cairo, with the mosque of Malika Safiyya built in 1610. The example of Sinan Pasha was repeated only once, in the mosque of Muhammad Bey Abu'l-Dhahab in 1774.

The interior of the mosque of Sinan Pasha lacks decoration and shows no traces of painting inside the dome. One would have expected paintings such as those in the mosque of Sulayman Pasha, but restorers have not traced an original design, if there was any. It also has no marble dadoes, stucco decorations, ceramic tiles, or inscriptions. The only decorated areas are the marble mihrab and the tripartite system of squinches. The mihrab with a chevron pattern is of a typical Mamluk style, as is the sunburst decoration in the hoods of the trilobed squinches, which are present in many Mamluk portals and mihrabs. However, the "Allah" motif is seen only on a few mihrabs of the Mamluk period. The appearance of this motif on the qibla side might suggest that it was intended to give the effect of having two additional mihrabs in the mosque.<sup>41</sup>

The interior decoration of the mosque is a mixture of styles: the trefoil recesses on the dome are Fatimid, the chevron pattern, the sunburst design, and the "Allah" motif are Mamluk, the circular windows around the upper tier of the transitional zone are Ottoman. The contrast between the Fatimid, Mamluk, and Ottoman motifs in the decoration of the mosque give the building a character of its own.

The walkway provides an interesting feature in the mosque with its wooden balustrade. The waqfiyya does not provide any information about the function of the walkway. However it is a feature that can only be seen in Turkish Ottoman buildings, and was not previously known in Cairo, although it appears again in the mosque of Malika Safiyya later on. It is unlikely that the walkway was intended to be used for prayer since it is narrow and would not provide sufficient space, and because the only possible way to reach it is by climbing the stairs which lead to the overhanging *dikka* and then entering through one of the trefoil-like window recesses. It is possible that it was a place where bodyguards and security men could stand to protect the ruler while he prayed.

Another possible function is that it was used for cleaning and maintaining the trefoil-like windows and for lighting the lamps suspended from the interior of the dome (fig. 9). The waqfiyya of Sinan Pasha informs us that it was the duty of the *waqqād* to light the oil lamps every day at dawn and sunset and then to extinguish them after the evening prayer.<sup>42</sup> The lamps which were suspended by chains from the metal rings in the dome were probably hung to the level of the walkway and its balustrade, since the mosque does not have the usual wooden beams running round the drum (from which lamps would be hung) that were common in a domed building in Cairo. The walkway and its balustrade may therefore well have been used by the *waqqād* to light and extinguish the lamps.

The absence of inscriptions in the building is also unusual. One would expect an inscription band at least above the transitional zone or at the center of the dome following Mamluk examples; there are no traces of any. Visually, they are replaced by the balustrade and the muqarnas tiers supporting the walkway. Inscriptions in mosques convey either a poetic, political, or religious message; perhaps the poetic message of the Sinan Pasha mosque is transmitted through its beautiful setting overlooking the Nile; the political message is expressed by its Ottoman character; and the existence of God is expressed everywhere in a mosque. That divine message in the mosque of Sinan Pasha seems to have been transmitted in a different way, perhaps through the continuous religious rituals and reading performances which took place throughout the day inside the building. It was a vocal message rather than a visual one. Another possibility is that a vocal message would be more effective in impressing all social classes, not merely those who could read. These ideas add more to the new Ottoman identity of the mosque of Sinan Pasha. The absence of inscriptions can be interpreted as part of the experimental period which sought to initiate a new character for Cairene Ottoman architecture.

Sinan Pasha possibly never saw his mosque completed, but it nonetheless symbolizes the great success Ottoman rulers had in Cairo. Such a large commercial complex, incorporating three khans, a sabil-maktab, a bayt, a qasr, a hammam with shops, and the mosque added to the importance of Bulaq as a commercial center. The dome and minaret of the mosque of Sinan Pasha surely added to its Ottomanization. Bulaq was the elite quarter as well as the chief commercial port of the city.

From an art historical point of view, the mosque of Sinan Pasha represents an attempt to introduce a differ-



ent architectural style. Its distinctive Ottoman exterior contrasts with its Mamluk interior. The mixture of Fatimid-style windows with Mamluk and Turkish details and the absence of inscriptions give the mosque a distinctive character. Such a mixture was not found in the earlier architecture of Cairo. In addition, the use of the tripartite system of squinches shows that the mosque of Sinan Pasha represented an experimental period in which the Ottomans were imposing a new architectural character on Cairo. However, the city's major schools of architecture finally chose to follow traditional Mamluk-style and Turkish-style imitations. That this new type was not repeated until the mosque of Muhammad Bey Abu'l-Dhahab two centuries later (in 1774) leads us to believe that it was regarded as unsuccessful.

Merchants from all over the Mediterranean came to Cairo and crossed directly to Bulaq from the north of the city.<sup>43</sup> Pilgrimage caravans also stopped there on their way to and from Mecca. For these travelers the first and the last vision of the city was the mosque of Sinan Pasha, the dominant building in the port of Bulaq.

Cairo, Egypt

#### NOTES

*Author's note:* I dedicate this article to Professor Oleg Grabar, my adviser, for his constant support during my years at Harvard.

- No. 349 in the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments Appearing on the Special I: 5000 Scale Maps of Cairo* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1980).
- For a bibliography of the mosque, see Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-masājid al-athariyya al-latī ʿallā fihā ʿarīḍat al-jumʿa al-Ṣāliḥ Fārūq al-awwal*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1946), pp. 302–5; Ülkü U. Bates, "A Study of Ottoman Period Architecture in Cairo (1517-1789)," *Ars Turcica: Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Türkische Kunst, München vom 3. bis 7. September 1917* (Munich, 1987), pp. 155–64; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1989), pp. 161–62; *La description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, pt. 1 (Paris, 1809–28), pl. 25; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), p. 312; L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire* (Paris, 1932); Michael Meinecke, "Die Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Kairo, nach der osmanischen Eroberung von 1517," *IVème Congrès International d'Art Turk (Aix-en-Provence, 10–15 Sept. 1972). Études Historiques* vol. 3 (1976), pp. 145–52; Ministry of Waqfs, *The Mosques of Egypt* (Cairo, 1949), pp. 107–8; Suʿād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wʿAwliyāʿuhā al-Ṣāliḥūn*, vol. 5 (Cairo, 1971), pp. 138–40; M. A. Patricolo, *Comptes rendus du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'art arabe*, 1915–19, pp. 176–77; Edmond Pauty, "L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane (vue d'ensemble)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 36 (1936–37): 1–69; Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Caire depuis le*
- VIIIème siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVII ème siècle* (Paris, 1869–77), pp. 127–28; J. M. Rogers, "al-Qāhira," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., p. 436; Ugo Tarchi, *L'architettura e l'arte musulmana in Egitto e nella Palestina* (Turin, n.d.); Caroline Williams, Richard Parker, Robin Sabin, *The Islamic Monuments of Cairo: A Practical Guide*, 3rd ed. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1985), pp. 277–79; John Alden Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (Cairo, 1969), pp. 453–63.
- For a bibliography of the history of Sinan Pasha, the key source is ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-khiṭaʿ al-jādida al-tawfiqiyya li-Miṣr waʿl-Qāhira*, vol. 5 (Bulaq, 1888), pp. 19–20. This monumental work is important because it introduces the following sources: (a) *Khulāṣat al-athar*, which is the biographical encyclopedia of Muḥammad Amin Ibn Faḍlalla al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, vol. 2 (Beirut, 1966); (b) *Tārīkh al-Ishāqī*, the work of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Ishāqī, *Akhbār al-awwal fī man taṣarafa fī Miṣr min Arbāb al-Duwwāl* (Cairo, 1310 [1892–93]); (c) *Nuzhat al-nāzīrīn*, an incomplete reference without an author's name, which I could not locate. Other primary sources include Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahat-namē* vol. 10 (Istanbul, 1938); Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrāwālī al-Makkī, *al-Barq al-Yamanī fī tārīkh al-Faṭḥ al-ʿUthmānī* (1967); A. Tietze, *Muṣṭafa ʿAlī's Description of Cairo, 1599* (Vienna, 1975), p. 72. Other important studies are Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-masājid al-athariyya*, pp. 302–5; Franz Babinger, "Sinān Pāshā," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., vol. 7 (Leiden, 1913–36), pp. 432–33; Şerafeddin Turan, "Sinān Paşā," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10 (Istanbul, 1966), p. 670. I was unable to consult the file on Sinan Pasha in the Topkapı Archives, which Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar kindly told me about.
- The date can be deduced from the information provided in Babinger, "Sinān Pāshā," *EI*, 1st ed., p. 432; Turan, "Sinān Paşā," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 670.
- The date is provided in *Nuzhat al-Nāzīrīn*, in ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaʿ*, 5: 19. This source is referred to as *Tuhfat al-nāzīrīn* in Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," *Colloque international*, p. 460, n. 23. However *Tuhfat al-nāzīrīn* is actually another source which is compiled from margins of various manuscripts. It is worth noting that *Tuhfat al-nāzīrīn* provides a brief chronology of the rulers of Egypt and does not refer to the periods of Sinan Pasha; see ʿAbdallah al-Sharqawī, *Tuhfat al-nāzīrīn fī man wallā Miṣr min al-wullāh waʿl-Salāṭīn*. The latter is edited in the margins of another manuscript by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Ishāqī, *Akhbār al-awwal fī man taṣarafa fī Miṣr min Arbāb al-Duwwāl* (Cairo, 1892–93).
- Al-Ishāqī, *Akhbār al-awwal*, p. 151; *Nuzhat al-nāzīrīn*, in ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaʿ*, p. 19.
- According to *Nuzhat al-nāzīrīn*, in ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaʿ*, p. 19.
- Ibid.
- Babinger, "Sinān Pāshā," *EI*, 1st ed., p. 433.
- Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, p. 216.
- Ibid., provides a brief account on the campaign against al-Nimsa; Babinger, "Sinān Pāshā," *EI*, 1st ed., p. 433.
- Ibid.
- Description de l'Égypte*, pt. I, pl. 25.
- Robert Hay, *Illustrations of Cairo* (London, 1840), pl. 27.
- It was the chief mosque of Bulaq at the time of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798, according to Williams, "The Monuments of Ottoman Cairo," p. 459.
- Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-masājid al-athariyya* p. 305;

- Williams, Parker and Sabin, *Islamic Monuments of Cairo*, p. 278.
17. *Hujjat waqf Sinān Pāshā*, Wizārat al-Awqāf, document no. 2869; a copy of this document is kept at the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya and is listed as no. 813, "Zākiyya" (henceforth referred to as *Waqfiyya*). I thank Laila ʿAli Ibrahim for providing me with a copy of this manuscript.
  18. For the location of these khans, see Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo, 1983), p. 93, fig. 14.
  19. This new name is provided in Daniel Crecelius, "The Waqfiyah of Muhammad Bey Abu al-Dhahab II," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 16 (1979): 125. The Wakalat al-Kharnub is discussed in Hanna, *Urban History of Bulaq*, pp. 90–98.
  20. *Ibid.*, p. 97 and fig. 14; *idem*, "Bulaq: An Endangered Historic Area of Cairo," *Islamic Cairo, Architectural Conservation and Urban Development of the Historic Center: Proceedings of a Seminar Organized by the Goethe-Institute, Cairo (October 1–5, 1978)*, ed. Michael Meinecke (London: Art and Archaeology Research Papers, 1980), fig. 9, n. 31.
  21. This is known today as the Hammam al-Thalath; see Hanna, *Urban History of Bulaq*, fig. 9. This hammam is not discussed in André Raymond, "Les fontaines publique (sabil) du Caire à l'époque Ottoman (1517–1798)," *Annales islamologiques* 15 (1979): 235–92.
  22. *Waqfiyya*, p. 1.
  23. *Ibid.*
  24. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, pl. 30.
  25. Hasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-masājid al-athariyya*, p. 305, and figure on p. 304. No further information is provided for these *mazwalas* in L.A. Mayer, *Islamic Astrolabists and Their Works* (Geneva, 1956), p. 47.
  26. The minaret is illustrated, but not discussed, in Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1985), p. 160, pl. 95.
  27. *Waqfiyya*, p. 1.
  28. It is the largest stone dome in Cairo according to Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 161.
  29. This is pointed out in Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, p. 312.
  30. The waqfiyya, p. 1, states that the original minbar was surmounted by a wooden cupola with a gilded copper crescent. Since this is not the case today, it must be a later addition.
  31. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, pl. 30.
  32. *Waqfiyya*, p. 5.
  33. They are known as the *enʿamçis* readers in Turkish.
  34. For a comparison, see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 243–44, 250, 253.
  35. For this subject, see Laila ʿAli Ibrahim, "The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture," *Kunst des Orients* 10, 1/2: 5–23.
  36. Patricolo, *Comptes-rendus du Comité*, pp. 176–77.
  37. Rogers, "al-Ḳāhira," p. 436.
  38. *Ibid.*
  39. Discussed by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Four Domes of the Late Mamluk Period," *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981): 191–203; *idem*, "The North-Eastern Extension of Cairo under the Mamluks," *ibid.*, pp. 157–89; *idem*, "An Unlisted Monument of the Fifteenth Century: The Dome of Zawiya al-Dimirdas," followed by Leonor Fernandes "The Zawiya in Cairo," *Annales islamologiques* 18 (1982): 105–23.
  40. Ülkü Bates, "A Study of Ottoman-Period Architecture in Cairo (1517–1789)," *Ars Turcica*, 1987, p. 161.
  41. I thank Maria-Luisa Fernandez for pointing this out.
  42. *Waqfiyya*, p. 4.
  43. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, 1971), p. 44.