

The Transformation of an Arab-Ottoman Institution The Sūq (Bazar) of Damascus from the 16th to the 20th Century

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Four hundred years of Ottoman government and culture (1516-1918) left a distinctive imprint on the urban centres of Syria. Ottoman conceptions of architecture have had obvious influence on the urban institutions of Syria's cities. The capital of the Ottoman province of Syria (Eyālet Shām-e Sharīf / Wilāyat Sūriyya) was significantly modified by the construction of important commercial buildings and mosques during the first hundred years of its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire and increasingly during the following centuries, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. The urban skyline of the city became marked by wide-spanned domes and variations on the typical Ottoman 'pencil shaped minarets'. This is especially true for the sūq of Damascus. A series of new civic foundations (waqf-awqāf), were situated in the sūq and bear the names of a number of Ottoman civil servants. Even today the mercantile centre retains its appearance as an Ottoman-Arab product. Starting from the early 16th century there was continuous building activity until the beginning of the 20th century. The sūq provides an appropriate sample to examine characteristics of urban institutions during those centuries. One easily can trace from the remaining buildings the periodisation of Ottoman rule. Simplifying, one may subdivide, judging from the remaining material culture, three different stages:

1. In the 16th and early 17th century building activities (mainly by state officials) affect what I call the "First Ottoman City" with its two public centres. First was Darwīshiyya-Street with its Ottoman mosques and the saray, and second, the new sūq, which was build mostly by the same governors who had build their mosques at Darwīshiyya-Street.

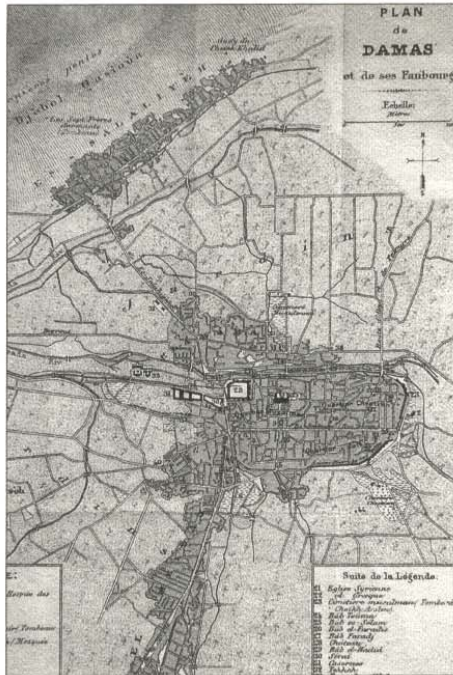
2. The location of the "Second Ottoman City" is exactly this Ottoman sūq. In the 18th century local trade families, some in Ottoman service and some not, demonstrated their bourgeois self-consciousness by building huge palaces, schools, and tremendous khāns (not mosques) in the core of the Ottoman sūq inside the walls.

3. The development of the "Third Ottoman City," starting in the second half of the 19th century following the Tanẓīmāt-reforms, is again twofold as in the 16th century. Marja-Square (fig. 5) emerged as a new public centre with likewise two new saray buildings. The Ottoman sūq was totally remodelled in the last decades of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The modernised bazaar faced to the west towards the new town centre at Marja-Square, as the 16th century sūq had faced the neighbouring Darwīshiyya-Street.

Looking closely to the sūqs of the Syrian Capital one can easily trace these three different periods of building activity. The German Institute of Archaeology in Syria has been conducting a survey of Ottoman Damascus since 1997 and attempting to document the development of this city during the Ottoman centuries.¹

The 16th and early 17th Centuries - The Creation of the Ottoman Sūq of Damascus

Immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Damascus in 1516 the Ottoman State manifested itself by extensive building activities. In a relatively short period of time an



1. Map of E.G. Rey, Damascus ca. 1865

al-Barīd and al-ʿAṣrūniyya where Ottoman commercial institutions were later located.² Of significance for the location of the Ottoman sūq is the construction of the Sūq al-Khayyāṭīn (950/1543)³ around which a number of public buildings sprang up. The boom began in the 50s of the 16th century, judging from the remaining structures. Shamsī Aḥmad Bāshā founded south of the citadel a takiyya (964/1557),⁴ and the Sūq al-Sibāhiyya (962/1554 until 963/1556).⁵ This sūq was possibly the first Ottoman trade building in this area and stood on the very location of the palace of the Mamluk governor, Dār al-Saʿāda, and the Mamluk court of law, Dār al-ʿAdl. The two most important Mamluk administrative institutions vanished completely when their land was usurped and their remains probably reused as construction material.⁶

From the takiyya only the Aḥmad Bāshā Mosque survived, being completely renovated in this century, but the Sūq al-Sibāhiyya corresponds with the modern Sūq al-Arwām (962/1554 until 963/1556). The Sūq al-Arwām is therefore the oldest still extant and mostly unchanged Ottoman commercial building in Damascus.⁷ It played an important role in the urban development of the city. This sūq is not only the point of departure for the later Sūq al-Jadīd dating from the late 18th century, and as such for the Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya of the late 19th century. Its significance was in its function as conjunction between the new sūq district and the public centre at Darwīshiyya-Street with the saray.

A number of inner-city caravanserais sprang up intra muros to the west of the old city. The trade buildings of Darwīsh Bāshā and Murād Bāshā are well known from the research of Jean-Paul Pascual. Around the Sūq al-Qalbaqiyya (Bāb al-Barīd) are situated the Khān and Sūq al-Ḥarīr (981/1573-74),⁸ the Ḥammām al-Qīshānī (981/1573-74) of Darwīsh Bāshā, the bedesten Murād Bāshā's,⁹ the Khān al-Murādiyya (1002/1593),¹⁰ as well as the Qaysāriyyat al-Ḥaramayn (1017/1608-09, the later Khān Shaykh Qaṭanā al-Kabīr)¹¹ and the coffee-shop al-Ḥaramayn (the later Khān Shaykh Qaṭanā al-Ṣaghīr).¹²

But more than just the location of the First Ottoman City in the west of the city was new. Shortly after the Ottoman conquest the forms and types of buildings changed. It was during this period that the previously unknown takiyya and bedesten appeared on the Damascus architectural stage. The first commercial building under Ottoman rule showed new features.

Ottoman city centre grew in the western part of the town extra muros. Along Darwīshiyya-Street, outside the walls, a number of mosques of Ottoman governors, sūqs, baths, and a saray sprang up, as pearls on a string. At this distinctive public spot, Ottoman presence was instantly evident as the visitor entered the city. The other part of this First Ottoman City was the new mercantile centre. The integration into the Ottoman Empire, and Damascus' special role for the Ḥajj-caravan, stimulated an economic boom that became visible in the changing urban texture of the city.

The commercial centre of the earlier dynasties was located in the south and east of the core of the city, near the famous Umayyad Mosque. Here along Qaymariyya Street, and the Via Recta was the location of most of the pre-Ottoman bazaar. During the second half of the 16th century, the urban commercial centre shifted to the direction of Darwīshiyya Street and occupied new urban territory inside the walls to the southwest of the Umayyad Mosque. The contemporary Sūqs Jaqmaq (Midḥat Bāshā), al-Khayyāṭīn, al-Qalbaqiyya (Bāb al-Barīd), al-Ḥarīr, and al-Arwām form the centre of the new commercial area. In fact, today's shape and structure of the sūq date from the 16th century onwards. The development of the sūq and the development of Darwīshiyya Street were initiated mostly by the same patrons, and have to be understood as one connected urban development.

In Damascus enormous transactions must have taken place for the acquisition of appropriate plots of land. Several fires facilitated the development of the new commercial area. The fire of the year 930/1524 destroyed the areas around Bāb

Still under the impression of the fire of the year 930/1524, the Qāḍī al-Quḍā Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr built his new sūq from stone and most probably the vaults were covered with cupolas (932/1525-26).¹³ Judging from its remains and a report by Ibn Ṭūlūn the now destroyed building at the Tall al-Qāḍī was possibly the first domed trade building in Damascus, and was therefore of immense importance as we will see. It is interesting to note that the first central dome in a mosque can be found in the same year at the Zāwiyya al-Ṣamādiyya.

The above mentioned Sūq al-Arwām and the Sūq Ibn al-Farfūr established the new bedesten-like construction type in the city. It found its nicest example in Damascus with the bedesten of Murād Bāshā (1017/1608-09). The most outstanding feature of this bedesten is its originally nine well-rounded typical Ottoman domes that are arranged in an L-shape. Domed halls, one of the characteristic elements of Ottoman architecture became widespread in Syria.



2.
Khān al-Jūkhiyya

In Damascus not only mosques, mausoleums, baths, and bedestens were domed, but khāns as well. These commercial buildings demonstrate the development of characteristic Ottoman-Damascene forms. The oldest dated and in its original appearance surviving Ottoman khān of Damascus, the Khān al-Jūkhiyya (963/1555-56, fig. 2)¹⁴ marks today the beginning of a special Damascene development of domed khāns. But not only the Khān al-Jūkhiyya stood out at the time by virtue of its dome-arrangement. Several early khāns built in the first hundred year after the Ottoman conquest that have survived up to our day are domed, such as the Khān al-Murādiyya (1593), the Qaysāriyyat al-Ḥaramayn (Khān Shaykh Qaṭanā, 1608-09) or the undated Khān al-Ṣadrānī,¹⁵ Khān al-Tutun,¹⁶ or the Khān al-ʿAmūd.¹⁷ The idea to cover buildings with domes was perhaps transferred from the bedesten to the khān. If this concept originated in Damascus, it cannot be traced back to

the Sūq al-Arwām which was topped with cross vaults. The only possible models are the Sūq of Ibn al-Farfūr, or even the undated southern part of the Khān al-Ṣadrānī or the inner part of the Khān al-ʿAmūd. The bedesten of Murād Bāshā cannot have served as a model since it was constructed 27 years after the Khān al-Jūkhiyya. But perhaps another today vanished or unidentified khān marks the very beginning of a special Damascene development of domed khāns.

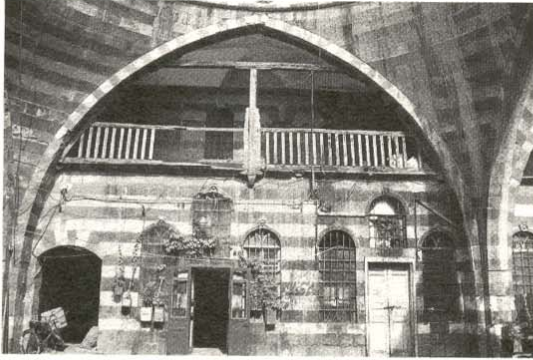
Nevertheless the origin of the idea is not totally clear. Unfortunately no Mamluk khān has survived in its original form, so we cannot determine the influence of Mamluk khāns on the Ottoman khān. A few of the khāns follow the traditional Ottoman principles of construction. The Khān al-Ḥarīr, for example, with its closed galleries, and the Khān al-Zayt (1601-02)¹⁸ with open galleries correspond to the common elements of construction: a large uncovered court and galleries, similar to those elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. Only in Damascus does one find structures with one, two, three, four or even nine domes. As we will see this development met its apogee in the 18th century.

Moreover, the khāns were characterised by local techniques and decoration. Most of the gates and some yard façades were decorated in colour paste technique. In the Ottoman period specially, coloured paste evolved into the typical Damascene element of decoration. This technique, to fill carved stone with multi-coloured pastes, began under the Mamluks but the use and perfection of this decoration method underwent an essential change in the second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century. It laid the ground for the splendid coloured paste façades of the 18th century.

The 18th Century Buildings: Temples to Commerce by Local Bourgeois Families

The 18th century in Damascus is often described as the age of the Aʿyān (notables); the urban version of the derebeyleri. Even if local notables had always been active in urban life, both before and after the 18th century, this label is not totally mistaken. Regarding the architectural remains we find evidence for large building activities in the 18th century by local commercial families. In that period Damascene merchants, whether in Ottoman service or not, built most of the public buildings. This represents a difference from the first hundred years of Ottoman rule when high officials came to Damascus, set up large foundations (waqf-awqāf), built public buildings, and

then left again. The majority of public building activities were undertaken by non-Damascene civil servants. A great many of the Damascene merchant families of the 18th century first arrived in the Syrian capital in Ottoman times. But they remained and became members of the urban commercial elite. Sometimes they were as also officials, sometimes not. Two of the early important figures from the turn of the 17th to the 18th centuries were the Shaykh Murād ibn 'Alī al-Bukhārī an-Naqshbandī and 'Umar al-Safarjalānī (d. 1112/1701).¹⁹ The first established in 1108/1696 the Murādiyya-School intra muros (al-Madrasa al-Murādiyya al-Juwwāniyya) together with a khān in the sūq district directly to the west of the Umayyad Mosque.²⁰ At the same time he founded a mosque (Masjid al-Murādiyya) and another school (al-Madrasa al-Murādiyya al-Barrāniyya) extra muros next to his house in Sūq Sārūja.²¹ The second, 'Umar al-Safarjalānī, founded several mosques like the Akrād-Mosque (also called Zāwiyya al-Safarjalānī) and the 'Ajlūnī-Mosque (both around 1109/1697-98). In 1111/1699-1700

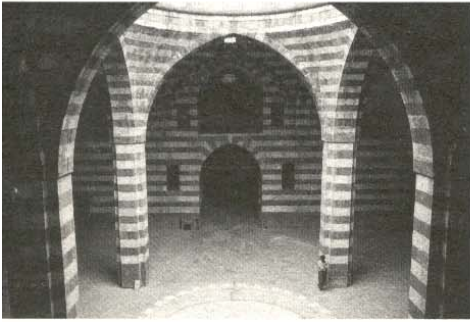


3-
Khān Sulaymān Bāshā
al-'Azm

the Safarjalānī / Qārī-Mosque was build and shortly before (1109/1697-98) a minaret for the Qārī-Mosque erected.²² To the descendants of cUmar al-Safarjalānī belonged as well the Khān al-Safarjalānī, which was set up possibly in 1737 by Muḥammad al-Safarjalānī or 1750 by Ḥasan ibn 'Umar al-Safarjalānī (d. 1165/1751).²³ This energetic start of building activities in the very early 18th century reached its climax with the 'Azm family. Between 1724 and 1808 members of this family served nine times as Wālī (governor) of Damascus.²⁴ The boom under this Syrian bourgeois merchant family in Ottoman service was tremendous. Combining economic prosperity and political power, they gathered enormous riches, which were manifested mainly in the Sūq of Damascus. For our survey of Ottoman Damascus no special research on the 'Azm-family has been done, but incidentally we came across some 30 buildings of this family. Most of them were erected in the area around the Sūq al-Buzūriyya, where members of the different branches of the 'Azm-family (perhaps it is better to say the 'Azm families) bought very big plots of land. Among the buildings erected here, there were three large schools like the Madrasa al-Khayyāṭīn, Madrasa Sulaymān Bāshā al-'Azm or the wonderful Madrasa of 'Abdallāh Bāshā al-'Azm, and at least three baths like the Ḥammām al-Bāshā (by Muḥammad Bāshā al-'Azm); the Ḥammām al-cJlānī (by As'ad Bāshā al-'Azm) and the Ḥammām Taḥt al-Qanāṭīr / al-Kharāb (by Ismācīl Bāshā al-'Azm). During field research we identified 12 houses of the 'Azm in the sūq-district. But this is only the tip of the iceberg. Barbir mentions that the famous As'ad Bāshā al-'Azm (1705-1757) alone had six residences, among them the famous Qaṣr As'ad Bāshā al-'Azm, and three houses in the city-quarter of Qanawāt.²⁵ Of course they built many commercial facilities, on which we will concentrate here. Some members of the 'Azm were especially active, like Ismācīl Bāshā al-'Azm (d. 1723-24), who erected different khāns. One is mentioned by a court-record directly next to the large Sūq al-Jadīd, that was founded by his nephew Muḥammad Bāshā al-'Azm (1731-83) at the southern moat of the citadel some decades later (1195/1780-81).²⁶ Another, the Khān Taḥt al-Qanāṭīr / Khān al-Dakhīf, he built with a house and a bath in Mi'dhanat al-Shaḥm.²⁷ Furthermore, we must mention the Khān al-Jimāl and Sūq al-Jimāl, which were donated by Ismācīl Bāshā next to the Sūq al-Khayl (near today's Marja-Square).²⁸ Ulabī assumes that the Khān al-'Amūd was rebuilt by Ismācīl Bāshā al-'Azm as well.²⁹ Perhaps he confused it with another khān build by Ismācīl Bāshā at the Sūq al-Buzūriyya on the spot of what is today called Khān al-Ruzz. Other court-records identify the Khān al-Ruzz with the Khān al-Saqqāfīn (Khān Shākīr respectively), which was owned by a certain Aḥmad Shākīr al-Dīrrā. In any case today's Khān al-Ruzz, which was build around the middle of the 18th century, is one of nicest khāns of that period.³⁰ The climax of these buildings is the khān of Sulaymān Bāshā al-'Azm (1145/1732-33, fig. 3)³¹ with its wonderful wide spanned two domes and the khān of As'ad Bāshā al-'Azm (1166/1751 until 1167/1753, fig. 4), with its famous nine domes.³² The Khān al-Ruzz and the khāns of Sulaymān Bāshā and As'ad Bāshā have many similarities. Certainly they were built by the same group of architects and craftsmen. The impressive hall of the latter, with its four enormous pillars supporting the domes, looks more like a cathedral than a khān. It is an impressive demonstration of self-consciousness by an Arab-Ottoman notable, who gained his position in his capacity as an Ottoman official and as an international trader.

The Khān As'ad Bāshā al-'Azm is a perfect example of the Ottoman understanding of space and the climax of the local Ottoman style of Damascus. The khāns that are characterised by local techniques and decoration, and which also represent a Damascene variation in structure, are nevertheless the product of an Ottomanisation of the Damascene architectural language (domes). The phenomena of an evolution of a pronounced local style and the simultaneous permeation with Ottoman principles of construction since the 16th century found its climax in the 18th century. In the 18th century local styles became more standardised. This can be observed early in the century. The buildings from this time are very similar to each other and in some way close to the buildings of the 'Azm-period. It is no wonder that the minarets of the Murādī-Mosque (in Sūq Sārūja), the Qārī- and the 'Ajlūnī-Mosques look very similar. They should be attributed to the same group of architects. Here, as at the end of the 18th century, very similar features of construction and decoration are obvious, like the style of the colour-paste decoration and the black and white masonry (ablaq).

In the 18th century Damascus increased in economic power and local independence (without leaving the Ottoman framework), and experienced the standardisation of a local Ottoman style in art and architecture and an intellectual emancipation.³³ The 'Azm demonstrated their power in architecture and built a kind of urban stronghold. They created the Second Ottoman City in the quarters around the Sūq al-Buzūriyya. It is interesting to see that the First Ottoman City concentrated the most important building projects around two centres: Darwīshiyya-Street and the sūq around Bāb al-Barīd. In the 18th century the areas outside the city wall no longer played the same role as before. More or less exclusively a wide area around the Sūq al-Buzūriyya became the spot of the substantial building activities in the 18th century. Only in the city-quarter Taht al-Qal'a (below the citadel) in the northwest outside the city wall one can find large foundations of the 'Azm. On Darwīshiyya-Street no important building activity, except the erection of the Hammām al-Malika and the restoration of the saray, took place.



4-
Khān As'ad Bāshā
al-'Azm

coffee-houses, theatres, and modern facilities of transport (tramway and railways) were built.³⁴ Starting in the east of the square many new or renewed sūqs, like the Sūq 'Alī Bāshā, Sūq al-Khayl, Sūq al-'Atīq, Sūq al-Zarābliyya, Sūq al-Surūjiyya and the Sūq al-Khuja, added to the mercantile centre inside the walls. New or modernised wide bazaar-streets, like the Sūqs al-Ḥamīdiyya, al-Buzūriyya, al-Khayyāṭīn or the Sūq Midḥat Bāshā, ran through the commercial heart of the city. With the return of Ottoman central power following the efforts of Maḥmūd II (1808-1839) and the celebrated ministers and viziers of the Tanzīmāt period (1839-1876), the urban texture of the city changed rapidly during the last five decades of Ottoman rule.

The building activities in the sūq-district intra and extra muros were impressive. Nearly everything was entirely rebuilt. With their modern design, their façades à la mode, large shops, a stylish barrel-vaulted metal roofing, they correspond more to modern galleries than to the image of old narrow and dark sūqs. No new baths or khāns were built. Instead of khāns, soon a new type of wikālas appeared for the first time, which were different in function to the khāns. Because of changes in transportation-facilities (especially steam-boats and trains), huge store capacities were no longer needed. In the two story modern sūqs every shop had its own little stockroom. The new style hotels at Marja-Square, some of them with units for storage and trade, like the building of the renowned Damascene Aḥmad 'Ajjzat Bāshā al-'Ābid (1851-1924, the Turkish Arab Izzet Paşa), drew the former clients of the khāns for overnight stays.³⁵ Consequently the wikālas of the turn of the century do not have the function of depots nor that of hotels and were built forthwith only as shopping-malls.

The 19th and early 20th Centuries

The Modernisation of a Traditional Urban Institution

The location of the Third Ottoman City is again twofold. Parallel to the urban development during the 16th and early 17th centuries, a new public centre was founded with Marja-Square (fig. 5). Not far from the first Ottoman saray at Darwīshiyya-Street, numerous buildings for the state administration, hotels,

A lot of the modern sūqs were entirely new built like the Sūq 'Alī Bāshā (1294/1877), Sūq Midḥat Bāshā (1295/1878), Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya (started in 1301/1883-84, fig 5), Sūq Mardam-Bek (before 1887) or the Sūq al-Khujā (started in 1313/1895-96). Other were modernised for example the Sūq al-Jimāl (1310-11/1893-94), Sūq al-Khayyātīn (around 1900), Sūq al-'Aṣrūniyya (1912) and the Sūq al-Miskiyya, or rebuilt on modern lines, like the Sūq al-'Atīq (1288/1871-72 or 1310-11/1893-94), Sūq al-Buzūriyya (1295/1878), Sūq al-Surūjiyya (possibly 1304/1886-87), Sūq al-Zarābliyya (before 1879 and 1309/1891-92), Sūq al-Khayl (1310-11/1893-94), Sūq al-Ṣāgha (after 1893), Sūq al-Qumayla (before 1898), and the Sūq al-Sināniyya (around 1912). Others, like the Sūq al-Qishānī (1327/1908), were installed in old buildings.

Governors like Midḥat Bāshā (1878-80) were especially active. He built the first long and wide sūq, which bears his name, Sūq Midḥat Bāshā. This some two hundred meters long bazaar-street is an alignment of the straight street (the ancient *via recta*). Further, he enlarged the Sūq al-Buzūriyya and framed both bazaar-streets by modern façades. Until today some of the shop-furnishings of the late 19th century remain and provide an image of the original sūq.³⁶ On the other hand the new urban institution of the municipality (*al-baladiyya*) played an important role in creating the modern texture of the town. The municipality was introduced in Damascus following the provincial reforms of 1864 and dealt with town planning among others things.

The enormous and famous Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya (fig. 5) was erected due to this publicly elected council of urban notables. Its façades *à la mode* led on both sides from the western city wall to the Umayyad Mosque. In 1912 it was topped by a modern metal roof and with its dimensions of 600m long and 15m wide the sūq became perhaps the world's longest gallery of the *Fin de Siècle*. Its eastern part was started in 1301/1883-84 and was finished in 1304/1886 or 1889 when it was first covered by a wooden roof. The western segment (the former Sūq al-Jadīd) was completed in 1894. During in the 80s and 90s of the 19th century the municipality also remodelled the Sūq al-Surūjiyya, Sūq al-Khayl and the Sūq al-'Atīq.³⁷

Many of the sūqs like the impressive 150m long and 7m wide Sūq al-Khujā were founded with private capital. This sūq was built by Rāghib al-Khujā on the model of the Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya in two steps: The main building in the South (Sūq al-Khujā al-Barrānī) was started in 1313/1895-96. The northern part (Sūq al-Khujā al-Juwwānī) was completed in 1323/1905.³⁸ It was demolished in 1403/1982-83. The first of the modern sūqs, the Sūq 'Alī Bāshā, was donated by Muḥammad 'Alī Bāshā al-Mūrahīlī (or al-Murādī) in 1292/1875 as Waqf Ahlī next to the Marja-Square and was opened to the

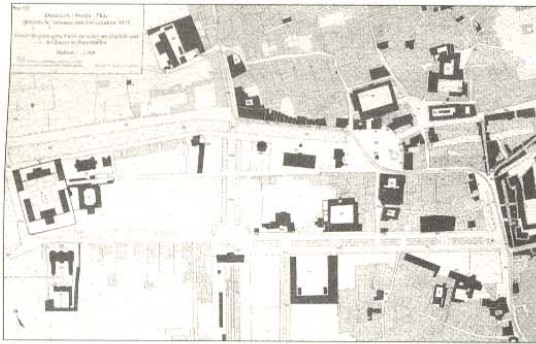


5.
Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya
(Collection W.-D. Lemke)

public in 1294/1877.³⁹ The Sūq Mardam-Bek, a branch of the Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya also belongs among these private sūqs.⁴⁰ A nice example is provided by the Ḥammām al-Qishānī (981/1573-74). It was changed to the Sūq al-Qishānī by the efforts of Ḥāfiẓ Afandī al-Kharbūṭlī and Shafiqa Khānum al-Arḍrūmī in 1324/1906 and introduced a very fashionable design to Damascus one year later.⁴¹

It is interesting to note that many of these modern sūqs were constructed by local notables. Some of the sūqs were built through their positions as members of the Ottoman administrative council, or the municipality, but many were not. The role of high Ottoman officials, like governors, became less dominant, than for example in the 16th century. But their influence in the construction of the new sūqs was not only limited to Midḥat Bāshā. In 1280/1863-64 the Wālī Shirwānī Muḥammad Rushdī Bāshā (1279/1862-1282/1865) abolished the pedestals in front of shops (*maṣṭaba / maṣāṭīb*), and pulled them down and in this way enlarged the bazaar streets. The strange metal roofs of the Damascene sūqs were a response to the two large fires of 1893 and 1912 in the bazaar. Immediately after the inferno of 1912 the Wālī Ḥusayn Nāẓim Bāshā (1895-96, 1897-1907, 1908-09 and 1912) gave orders to pull down the wooden roofs of all the sūqs in the city and to replace them by metal roofs.⁴²

If we look closely at the development and changes of the Damascene sūq in Ottoman times, we can state, that the sūq became clearly (and in the 18th century nearly exclusively) the multifunctional centre of the city. The sūq of Damascus was always more than a commercial centre. Ḥammāms, schools, coffee-houses, and living units were mixed in with buildings for all



6.
Public buildings at the
Marja-Square

was spectacularly modernised. Then it was no longer a superannuated traditional institution, but a modernised urban structure, with its roots in its own tradition.

As we have seen, the *sūq* of Damascus was built in Ottoman times and shows clearly the different stages of cultural and political developments. The *sūq* was always transformed along with current changes in the framework of Ottoman rule. Nevertheless the *sūq* was also a part of the 'Ottomanisation' of the Damascus cityscape. Thus the special design of the Ottoman *sūqs* and *khāns* is traced back to two fires in the Bāb al-Barīd district. The one of 930/1524 at the very beginning of Ottoman rule in Damascus probably encouraged the stone domes of the *Sūq Ibn al-Farūq* in 932/1525-26. The fire of 1912, at the very end of Ottoman rule, provoked the barrel-vaulted metal roofing in the same year. Both the stone-domed and the barrel-vaulted metal roofing are well known techniques. But in Damascus in the Ottoman period they emerged (the one on top of the *khāns*, the other on the *sūqs*) in tune with specific Damascene Ottoman architecture. Domes on *khāns* with local techniques of design mark this local Ottoman style, which can be found only in Damascus. At the same time it is entirely Ottoman and is the product of an Ottomanisation of the Damascene architectural language. This is true for other aspects of architecture as well, like decoration. During the 19th and 20th century it is much more difficult to speak of a specific local Ottoman style; in the last decades of Ottoman rule the form of Ottoman art and architecture was highly eclectic. This is not only true for Damascus, but for other metropolises of the Arab east as well. Judging from its architectural heritage one may state that Ottoman culture is marked by pluralism, which is based on common concepts. A unity of different elements that is marked by an oneness in its diversity. This is perhaps one characteristic feature of Ottoman culture and as such one reason for the political unity of this multinational structure over hundreds of years. In this sense the *sūq* of Damascus is a perfect example of Ottoman architecture as a supranational heritage.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank my friend Michael Provence for his critical reading and the correction of the English text. Further I would like to thank Simone Bass and the team of the DAI-Damascus. Not all biographical references are given here. Further information can be found in Pascual, Sack (1985), Sack (1989), Sauvaget; Wulzinger-Watzinger. For the *sūqs*: al-Rabbāt, al-Rihāwī, Scharabi, Yahia. For Mosques: Ṭālas. The abbreviation MWT stands for *Markaz al-Wathā'iq al-Tarikhīyya* (Court records of the Syrian National Archives, S for *siyill*, W for *wathā'iq*).
2. Compare: Ibn Jum'ā, 8. For another fire in the *sūqs* north-west extra muros (Ṭaht al-Qalca) in 927/1520 see: Ibn Jum'ā, 2 f.
3. See: al-Kawākibī, 185.
4. See for this building: Ibn Ṭūlūn, 328; al-Kawākibī, 185; al-Munajjid, 5, fn. 2; al-Muḥibbī, I, 18; Pascual, tab.1, 107, fn. 3; Sack (1989) No. 4.26; Ṭālas, No. 11; Wulzinger / Watzinger, D/4-2.
5. See for this building: al-Ghazzī (1981), II, 653; Ibn Ṭūlūn, 328; Pascual, tab.1, 101, 107 fn. 3; Rafeq, 309; al-Rihawī, 74, 76; Sack (1989) No. 4.25.
6. The columns of the Dār al-Sa'āda were already reused in the construction of the mosque of Sultan Selim in al-Šālīhiyya. Compare: Bakhit, 16. Last remains of the Dar al-'Adl were still visible around 1032/1622-23. Compare: al-Muḥibbī, III, 293.

7. The Süq al-Khayyāṭīn was decisively changed, and enlarged on the west-front at the end of the 19th century.
8. For the building activities around the Bāb al-Barīd see: Pascual. See for the khān: Bakhit, 117; Gaube, No. 68, 124; Ibn Jum'a, 17, fn. 1; al-Kawākibī, 186; Meinecke, 585; Pascual, tab.1; Sack (1989) No. 4.34; Sauvaget, No. 76; Scharabi, No. 3; Wulzinger / Watzinger, F/4-6. For the Süq al-Ḥarīr: Ibn Jum'a, 17, fn. 1; Pascual, tab.1; Sack (1989) No. 4.33.
9. See for this building: Ibn Jum'a, 23, Fn. 6; al-Munajjid, 62 ff; Pascual, tab.1, 79 ff, 108 ff; Saba / Salzwedel, 49 ff; Sack (1989) 60, No. 4.30; Sauvaget, No. 80; Scharabi, No. 14; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/4-2.
10. See for this building: Ibn Jum'a, 23, Fn. 6; Pascual, tab.1, 108; 110; 112; Saba / Salzwedel, 46 f; Sack (1989) No. 4.28; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/3-11.
11. See for this building: Pascual, 113; Saba / Salzwedel, 44 f; Sack (1989) No. 4.29; Sauvaget, No. 80; Scharabi, No. 15; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/4-3. MWT S1212/W33 (1321/1903).
12. See for this building: Pascual, 113. MWT S1212/W33 (1321/1903).
13. See for this building: Ibn Tūlūn, 312; al-Kawākibī, 184; Pascual, tab.1. Ibn al-Farfūr was maybe inspired by his two journeys to Anatolia. Compare: Ibn Tūlūn, 309, 310. Further construction enterprise of the Qāḍī: Ibn Tūlūn, 312 f; Pascual, tab.1; Ṭālas, No. 172.
14. See for this building: Kappert, 107 f; al-Kawākibī, 185; Pascual, tab.1; al-Rihawī, 73; Saba / Salzwedel, 40 f; Sack (1989), 111; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/5-5.
15. See for this building: Sack (1989) No. 4.37; Scharabi (1983) No. 11; Wulzinger / Watzinger, F/4-10.
16. The Khān al-Tutun is mentioned in a court record of 1249/1834 as custom-house and in 1312/1894-95 as former custom-house. See: MWT S328/W83 (1249/1834); S1017/W197 (1312/1894-95). See for this building: Saba - Salzwedel, 55; Sack (1989) No. 4.35; Scharabi, No. 12; Wulzinger / Watzinger, F/4-8. Some shop-holders in the khān are mentioned in court-records, like: MWT W319/S158 (1246/1830-31); S453/W202 (1269/1852-53); S634/W90 (1290/1872); S634/W111 (1289/1872); S1017/W197 (1312/1312/1894-95).
17. See for this building: Saba - Salzwedel, 52 f; Sack (1989) No. 4.47; Scharabi, 302, No. 5; al-'Ulābī, 485; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/5-1.
18. See for this building: Sack (1989) No. 4.42; Sauvaget, No. 75; Scharabi, No. 4; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/5-2.
19. See for 'Umar al-Safarjalānī: Establet / Pascual, 88, 113, 136. For Murād see among others: Barbier, 72; Schatkowski Schilcher, 160 ff.
20. See for this school: al-Kawākibī, 189; Ṭālas, No. 265; al-'Ulābī, 267. A court-Record mentions a Khān al-Murādiyya directly next to Murādiyya-School. See: MWT S599/W212 (1284/1867-68).
21. See for both buildings: al-Kawākibī, 189; Ṭālas, No. 266.
22. See for the mosques: Ṭālas, No. 21, 201.
23. See for the khān: Barbir, 68 f; Sack (1989) No. 4.36; al-'Ulābī, 482; Wulzinger / Watzinger, F/4-9. Some shop-holders in the khān are mentioned in court-records, like: MWT S450/W59 (1268/1851-52); S460/W255 (1270/1853-54); S1017/W115 (1311/1893-94).
24. See for the 'Azm-Family: Rafeq. Further: al-Kawākibī, 189 ff; al-Munajjid, 77 ff; Rāfiq, 235 ff; Sack (1989) 35 ff; Schatkowski-Schilcher, 29 ff.
25. See: Barbir, 69.
26. See for the khān: MWT S319/W158 (1246/1830-31) and for the Süq al-Jadīd: al-Ḥuṣnī, I, 273; al-Kawākibī, 194; MWT S598/W154 (1286/1869-70); al-Rihawī, 76; Sack (1989) 41, 60; Schatkowski-Schilcher, 11, 98 (Photo); al-Shihābī, 226; al-'Ulābī, 458, 523.
27. See for this khān: MWT S1126/W4 (1316/1898); S1126/W5 (1316/1898).
28. See MWT S344/W295 (1252/1836-37); S1280/W58 (1321/1904).
29. al-'Ulābī, 485.
30. See: MWT S453/W82 (1269/1843-44); S466/W179 (1271/1854-55); S1017/W9 (1311/1893-94); S1017/W157 (1311/1893-94); S1017/W168 (1312/1894-95) and MWT S250/W149 (1216/1801-02).
31. See for this khān: Saba / Salzwedel, 60 f; Sack (1989) No. 4.65; Sauvaget, No. 84; Scharabi, 290, 292, 302; Wulzinger / Watzinger, F/5-8. Some shop-holders in this khān in the 19. century in: MWT S450/W290 (1269/1852-53); S466/W26 (1271/1854-55); S1014/W165 (1311/1893-94).
32. See for this khān: Barbir, 68 f; Gaube, 67, No. 123; Rafeq, 180; Saba - Salzwedel, 62 ff; Sack (1989) No. 4.49; Sauvaget, 115, No. 86; Wulzinger / Watzinger, 81 ff, F/5-2. Some shop-holders in this khān in the 19. century in: MWT S250/W149 (1216/1801-02); S450/W106 (1269/1852-53); S1014/W175 (1312/1894); S1017/W159 (1312/1894-95). The Khān al-Daqāqīn belongs as well to the Waqf of As'ad Bāshā al-'Azm. See: MWT S450/W260 (1269/1852-53).
33. See for changes in the intellectual life of the 18th century: Schulze.
34. See for this development: Weber (1998); (1999). See for changes in the urban fabric of Damascus during the 19th and 20th century as well: Sack (1998).

35. See for the conjunction between khāns and hotels: Weber (1998) 312 ff. For the 'Ābid-trade-building see: Weber (1998) No. 31.
36. See for both sūqs: Dettmann, 43, 60 f; al-Rihawi, 76; Sack (1989) 41, No. 4.78, 5.49; al-Shihābī, 287; al-'Ulabī, 451, 455 f; Wulzinger / Watzinger, D/5-3. For some shop-holders in the Sūq al-Buzūriyya in the 19. century see: MWT S250/W149 (1216/1801-02); S812/W298 (1304/1886-87); S819/W24 (1303/1885-86). For the Sūq Midḥat Bāshā, which was called before the reconstruction Sūq al-Murādniyya, Sūq Jaqmaq or Sūq al-'Abijīyya: MWT S813/W226 (1303/1885-86); S1008/W32 (1311/1893-94); S1015/W16 (1311/1893-94); S1017/W117 (1311/1893-94); S1275/W93, 168 (1323/1904-05); S1291/S49 (1323/1905).
37. The famous Sūq al-Ḥamidiyya is often mentioned in the literature, here only: Dettmann, 54 ff; al-Ḥuṣnī, I, 273; al-Kawākibī, 194 f; al-Munajjid, 93, fn. 7; al-Rihawi, 76; Sack (1989) 41, 60 f; Scharabi, 287, 289; Schatkowski-Schilcher, 11, 98 f; al-Shihābī, 226 f; al-'Ulabī, 458 ff, 523. See for the other sūqs: Weber (1998) No. 36, 37, 39.
38. See for this building: al-Ḥuṣnī, I, 278; Sack (1989) 41, 58, 5.14; Scharabi, 287, Tab. 64b; al-Shihābī, 213, 219 f; al-'Ulabī, 462; Weber (1998) No. 38.
39. See for this sūq: Weber (1998) No. 35.
40. See for this sūq among others: Schatkowski-Schilcher, 213.
41. See for this sūq: al-Munajjid, 6 fn. 1; Sack (1989) No.; al-'Ulabī, 461, 530; Wulzinger / Watzinger, E/4-6.
42. See: Public Record Office London (Foreign Office 618-3/30.4.1912).

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