

Finding Ottomans in the Great Mosque of San^cā' (Yemen)

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Introduction

Ottoman interest in Yemen resulted in two periods during which they controlled San^cā'. The earlier of these periods lasted nearly a century during the 16th and early 17th centuries, and the later period nearly half a century during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The second period deeply shaped the institutions, culture and even language of modern Yemen. But the earlier period established the foundation for Yemen's long-term transformation into a state. During both periods, the Ottoman presence in San^cā' created institutions which were adopted and adapted by the Zaydi imamate governments that followed. Ottoman building projects during both periods greatly altered the appearance and fabric of San^cā'. The successor governments inherited these buildings and adopted the striking styles in their own constructions to signal authority.

This paper addresses architectural effects on San^cā' of the first period of Ottoman rule. The focus will be on mosques as a general index of Ottoman building activity, since historical sources mention mosque construction more commonly than other kinds of buildings, and mosques are more likely to survive today. The patterns of Ottoman mosque construction across the city then set the context for the specific example of Ottoman work in the Great Mosque of San^cā', where recent archaeological investigations expand upon the historical sources.

1. Ottoman Transformation of San^cā', 954-1038 / 1547-1629

The 10th / 16th century Ottoman presence in Yemen began indirectly, via Mamluk forces which had occupied coastal regions in 921 / 1515 and then swore allegiance to Selim I in 923 / 1517. Indirect rule became direct in 945 / 1538, with the occupation of °Adan and Zabīd. The Zaydi imamate of al-Mutawakkil Yahyā Sharaf al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn remained in control of the western mountains for another decade, until the *beylerbeyi* 'Uways Paşa began a campaign into the

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highlands. After ‘Uways was killed near Yarīm, Özdemiş Paşa took command and advanced on San‘ā’, taking the city in Rajab 954 / August 1547.

Özdemiş became *beylerbeyi* in 957 / 1549, and he moved the provincial capital from Zabid to San‘ā’. In 973 / 1565 the beylerbeyilik was split into two parts, with San‘ā’ the capital of the central and northern highlands only. This administrative division encouraged the rebellion of Mutahhar b. imām Sharaf al-Dīn, whose temporary success led to the Ottoman loss of San‘ā’ for two years (Safar 975-Safar 977 / August 1567-July 1569). Forces led by Koca Sinan Paşa and Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa retook San‘ā’, whereon the beylerbeyilik was reunited under a single administration. The next *beylerbeyi* Behram Paşa continued the reconquest of the beylerbeyilik, but based himself in Dhamār and in a semi-permanent camp at Malhaz, both south of San‘ā’. Beginning with the governorship of Kuyucu Murad Paşa (983 / 1576), San‘ā’ then entered a twenty-year period of relative tranquility as capital of the beylerbeyilik.

In 1006 / 1597 al-Qāsim b. Muhammad proclaimed his *da‘wah* and led the Zaydi imamate into rebellion. By 1025 / 1616, when Cāfer Paşa arranged a one-year suspension of hostilities, the imamate had gained control of much of the highlands north and west of San‘ā’. After a brief resumption of the conflict, the next *beylerbeyi* Mehmet Paşa reached a 10-year peace accord with the imam. This treaty broke down in early 1036 / late 1626. During the following year the Ottoman position deteriorated rapidly and San‘ā’ itself came under siege. Ottoman forces departed San‘ā’ under safe-passage guarantees in 1038 / 1629.

During their eight decades in San‘ā’, Ottoman governors and other officials sponsored much building in and around the city. These projects include mosques along with other civic amenities such as madrasahs, sabils, hammams and other water-related projects, as well as administrative and military buildings and private residences. The available historical sources mention such buildings only occasionally, and very few of them survive today. But the same sources more systematically notice work on mosques, many of which are still extant. Mosques, then, give a relatively clear picture of spatial and temporal patterns of Ottoman building projects.

Among the Ottoman mosque work may be counted eleven new foundations or rebuilding of dilapidated mosques, and enlargement, renovation or embellishment of ten other existing mosques; the latter number includes the addition of a minaret to four existing mosques. This work is notable for its sheer scale. The eleven

Ottoman (re-)foundations are more new mosques in 80 years than had been built in San‘ā’ during the previous 350 years. Moreover, most of the Ottoman mosque construction occurred in already densely built parts of the city, and so was not simply a part of expansion into vacant space (as seems often to have been the case during previous centuries). Instead, the mosques were part of a strategy, probably only semi-conscious, for “Ottomanizing” the city. Several patterns evident in this strategy are noteworthy in time and place, and in style.

Time and Place

The Ottoman mosque projects tended come in bursts separated by equally long periods of inactivity and political turmoil. In the initial burst of activity, between 957 and 971 AH (1550-1564), the *beylerbeyi* Özdemir Paşa built the maṣjid Izdamur (now called maṣjid al-Zumur) near Bāb Shu‘ūb (the north city gate) and a ‘forgotten’ mosque near Bāb al-Yaman (the south city gate; see Figure 1).¹ Iskandar b. Hisām al-Kurdī (*sancakbeyi* for San‘ā’, d. 971) then built the qubbah Iskandar near Bāb al-Sabāhah (the west city gate) and the maṣjid al-Abrār near Qasr San‘ā’ at the southeast edge of the city.² Iskandar also built a minaret for the maṣjid al-Aqīl in the central market district, and renovated the Jubbānah, the extra-mural open *musallā* used for ‘īd prayers.³ These activities made an initial Ottoman claim to the city.

No recorded mosque work then occurred in San‘ā’ during the following 15 years or so, although the maṣjid Ghuzil Bāsh⁴ may have been built during this period. This mosque is on a back street west of the central market area. This interval

- 1 Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Hajarī, *Masājid San‘ā’, ‘āmira-hā wa-muwaḥfi-hā* (reprinting with new pagination, originally published ca. 1942), Maktabah al-Irshād, San‘ā’ 2006, pp. 16-17.
- 2 Yahyā b. al-Husayn b. al-Qāsim, *Al-ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-qutr al-yamanī*, ed. Sayyid ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Ashūr, Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, Cairo 1968, p. 721; al-Hajarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 17-18; see also ‘Abdallah b. ‘Alī al-Wazīr, *Tārīkh tubuq al-halwā wa-suhāf al-Yaman wa-l-salwā lil-marīf bi-tārīkh al-Yaman khilāl al-qarn al-hādī ‘ashar al-hijrī* (2nd printing of the 1985 edition), ed. Muhammad ‘Abd al-Rahīm Jāzim, al-Jil al-Jadīd, San‘ā’ 2008, p. 243.
- 3 al-Hajarī, *op. cit.*, p. 44; see also A.S. Sayf, *Manā’ir San‘ā’*, Wizārah al-Thaqāfah wa-l-Siyāhah, San‘ā’ 2004, p. 102.
- 4 According to al-Hajarī (*op. cit.*, p. 95), the maṣjid Ghuzil Bāsh was built by Muhammad Qizil Paşa, who is probably to be identified with Muhammad b. Hasan Qizil Bāş (d. 987 AH), a *nā’ib* of *beylerbeyi* Mahmud Paşa (Yahyā b. al-Husayn b. al-Qāsim, *op. cit.*, p. 720). Qutb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī (*Lightning over Yemen: A History of the Ottoman Campaign (1569-71) being a translation from the Arabic of Part III of al-Barq al-Yamānī fī al-Fath al-‘Uthmānī*, translated by Clive Smith, I.B. Tauris, New York 2002, p. 107) reports that Muhammad and his brother Ahmad “were called Qizilbaş because they were Persian commanders”.

included al-Mutahhar's two-year occupation of the city, the lengthy process of suppressing the rebellion and Behram Paşa's five-year residence outside San'ā'.

Murad Paşa's arrival as governor launched a second burst mosque activity. During the three decades between 984 and 1016 AH (1578-1607), the Ottomans dramatically altered the character of their presence in San'ā', and placed a much stronger imprint on the city. Building during this period focused on "upper San'ā'" (*'uluw San'ā'*), roughly the area east of a line from Bāb Shu'ūb in the north to a point equidistant between Bāb al-Yaman and Qasr San'ā' in the south (Figure 1). Murad Paşa built the madrasah al-Murādiyyah inside the Qasr (Figure 2, lower right). Soon afterward, Hasan Paşa created an avenue which ran from *maydān al-qasr* to Bāb Shu'ūb. Hasan built the qubbah al-Bakīriyyah (Figure 2, top) and the *hammām al-maydān*⁵ which anchor the southern end of the avenue, near the Qasr. Other buildings on or near the avenue include eight administrative buildings opposite the qubbah al-Bakīriyyah, and a türbe (later called maşjid al-Abaydayn). Hasan Paşa worked on two existing mosques that lay within 50m of the new avenue, providing a new east doorway for the maşjid al-Madrasah⁶ and erecting a minaret for the maşjid Salāh al-Dīn; he also rebuilt the maşjid Farwah b. Musayk, just outside the city wall near the Qasr. In addition to these works in upper San'ā', Hasan Paşa renovated or rebuilt the maşjid Nūh, enlarged the prayer hall of the maşjid Dāwud,⁷ and built a minaret for the maşjid al-Filayhī; the first of these mosques, no longer extant, was on a street that runs from south to Bāb al-Yaman from the central market area, while the latter two mosques are on major streets that run westward from the central market area. At the eastern edge of the central

- 5 The *hammām al-maydān*, still extant, was built as *waqf* for the Bakīriyyah. For a description, see R. Lewcock, I. al-Akwa^c, R.B. Serjeant, "The public bath (*hammām*, pl., *hammāmāt*)", *San'ā'*, *An Arabian Islamic City*, eds. R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, World of Islam Festival Trust, London 1983.
- 6 Rabī' Hamīd al-Khalīfah, "Al-ī'māl al-mī'māriyyah li-Hasan bāshā al-wazīr fī al-Yaman min wāqī' makhtūt (al-futūhāt al-murādiyyah fī al-jihāt al-yamaniyyah), al-maşjid wa-al-madāris", *Majallah Külliyyah al-Adab, Jāma'ah San'ā'*, 12, 1991, pp. 185-6. Uncertainty surrounds the extent this work. Ibn Dā'ir indicated that Hasan Paşa also rebuilt the entire eastern side of the prayer hall. This seems unlikely; as the mihrab belongs in style to the 9th century (R. Lewcock, R.B. Serjeant, G. Rex Smith, "The smaller mosques of San'ā'", *San'ā'*, *An Arabian Islamic City*, eds. R.B. Serjeant, R. Lewcock, World of Islam Festival Trust, London, 1983, p. 361; Ghaylān Hamūd Ghaylān, *Mihārīb San'ā' hattā awākhkhīr al-qarn (12 h /18 m)*, Wizārah al-Thaqāfah wa-l-Siyāhah, San'ā' 2004, pp. 96-7).
- 7 Al-Khalīfah, *op. cit.* p. 178. Al-Hajarī (*op. cit.*, p. 99) assigns this enlargement to imām Sharaf al-Dīn earlier in the 10th century AH.

market area, Kethüdâ Sinan Paşa embellished the maşjid al-Janāh⁸ and built the minaret shared by this mosque and the maşjid al-Madhhab. The latter mosque may also have been rebuilt around the same time.⁹

Following a ten year lull, Mehmet Paşa was responsible for the final burst of Ottoman building activity in 1026-1031 / 1617-1622. He erected two mosques: the maşjid al-Bāshā near Qasr San^cā', and the qubbaḥ Talhah on a major street running from the central market toward the western gate of the city (Figure 2). An additional new foundation, the maşjid al-Tawāshī, was built by an Indian emissary southwest of the maşjid Izdamur. The Ottoman forces left San^cā' less than a decade later.

Style

When Ottoman forces took San^cā', it seems that none of city's mosques possessed a domed prayer hall, with the possible exception of the maşjid al-Janāh.¹⁰ Some of the mosques built during the following 80 years had flat roofs (e.g. maşjid al-Abrār, maşjid al-Bāshā, maşjid al-Tawāshī, maşjid al-Madhhab), and the character of other mosques is unknown (e.g. the 'forgotten' mosque of Özdemir Paşa near Bāb al-Yaman, maşjid Nūh of Hasan Paşa). Other mosques were domed.

In some cases, multiple domes covered areas of the prayer hall or porches. The maşjid Izdamur possessed at least two domes, one on each side of the minaret (these are no longer extant).¹¹ Hasan Paşa's enlargement of the maşjid Dāwud

8 Construction of this building is attributed to Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Janāh al-Damadī al-Qādarī, d. 991 in collaboration with Kethüdâ Sinan Paşa who also built the minaret shared by the Janāh and Madhhab mosques (al-Hajarī, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Yahyā b. al-Husayn b. al-Qāsim, *op. cit.*, p. 792). An inscription above the west mihrab refers to (sultān) Murād b. Salīm, i.e. Murad III (Ghaylān, *op. cit.*, p. 107), suggesting that these activities date to the last decade of Hasan Paşa time as *beylerbeyi*. However, it remains far from certain that this inscription reflects the original construction of maşjid al-Janāh rather than embellishment of an existing structure.

9 The poet 'Alī b. Sālih b. Abī Rijāl (d. 1135 AH) says that both the maşjid al-Madhhab and the maşjid Janāh are "from the time of the Turks", and al-Hajarī (*op. cit.*, p. 109) also calls the maşjid al-Madhhab a Turkish building; Lewcock et al., "Smaller Mosques", p. 375) more generally suggest a 10th century date. But the foundation date of maşjid al-Madhhab in fact remains uncertain.

10 This mosque takes the form of a Rasulid-style double-domed prayer hall with smaller domes covering an ambulatory around a central courtyard. As noted above, the foundation date of this building is not clear.

11 In his poem *al-tirāz al-madhhab fī tanhīs maşjid al-madhhab*, set in 1085 AH, 'Alī b. Sālih b. Abī Rijāl describes the mosque as having a "minaret set between two domes."

prayer hall was covered by four domes, two of which survive today.¹² When he rebuilt the maṣjid Farwah b. Musayk, Hasan Paşa introduced a double-domed prayer hall fronted by a porch with eight smaller domes, and his new east doorway at the maṣjid al-Madrasah was entered through a domed portico.

In other cases, single domes covered the entire prayer hall. The earliest of these seems to have been the Qubbah Iskandar (968 / 1560-1), now demolished, in Bāb al-Sabāhah. Photographs from Carl Rathjens' 1927-1928 visit show a single dome over an octagonal drum with a small window piercing each face of the drum. The maṣjid Ghuzl al-Bāsh today has a dome, but the mosque was enlarged in the 11th century AH¹³ and rebuilt about thirty years ago – whether the original building possessed a dome is unclear. But we are on firmer ground with three mosques built during the last 40 years of the Ottoman presence in San'ā'.

The madrasah al-Murādiyyah, built in 983 / 1575-6 by the *beylerbeyi* Murad Paşa, presents a square prayer hall, roughly 10m to a side and covered by a single dome (Figure 2). The lateral walls of the prayer hall contain symmetrically placed windows, three on the west side and two on the east; the single entrance takes the place of the third window on the east. The dome is disproportionately high, giving it a parabolic shape similar to those in the maṣjid al-Janāh.

The qubbah al-Bakīriyyah, built by Hasan Paşa in 1005 / 1596-7, is far more metropolitan in design (Figure 2), to the extent of provoking speculation that *it seems likely to be the work of a Turk, and may even be based, together with the baths, on drawings prepared in Istanbul*.¹⁴ The Bakīriyyah complex consists of a large courtyard with ablution facilities to the south and the mosque to the north. The prayer hall, entered through a raised porch covered by three domes, is a square room covered by a hemispherical dome 17m in diameter. An octagonal turret sits above each corner of the prayer hall. The present condition of the mihrab, the marble minbar and the painted decoration around the dome reflects a renovation ordered by sultan Abdülhamit II in 1298 / 1881.

The prayer hall of qubbah Talhah is covered by a single hemispherical dome about 11m across, with octagonal turrets at the corners of the building (Figure 2). A porch with four small domes fronts the west side of the prayer hall. In these features, including the proportions of the dome, the Talhah strongly resembles

12 Al-Khalifah, *op. cit.* p. 178. Al-Hajarī (*op. cit.*, p. 99) assigns this enlargement to imām Sharaf al-Dīn earlier in the 10th century AH.

13 Al-Hajarī, *ibid.*, p. 95.

14 Lewcock et al., "Smaller Mosques", p. 375.

the Bakīriyyah, while other details such as the windows in the drum of the dome find parallels with Ottoman structures in Cairo and Istanbul.¹⁵ The identity of the builder is debated, but most likely Mehmet Paşa was responsible for the Talhah dome.¹⁶

In addition to domed mosques, Ottoman builders also created domed türbe. A few domed türbe already existed in 8th and 9th century San^cā'; these were generally attached to mosques (e.g. the Great Mosque, maşjid Salāh al-Dīn). Some Ottoman türbe were also attached to mosques, for example at the qubbah al-Bakīriyyah and the maşjid Farwah b. Musayk.¹⁷ Ottoman builders also created some large free-standing türbe in San^cā'. The most notable of these is the maşjid al-Abaydayn, which lies just northeast of the maşjid al-Madrasah, near the avenue between the Bakīriyyah and Bāb Shu^cūb. Although the roof today is flat concrete, early 20th century photographs show that originally it was domed. According to al-Hajarī, maşjid al-Abaydayn was initially the tomb of "some Turks" but later was transformed into a teaching mosque.¹⁸

Despite the metropolitan character of the Bakīriyyah and its fittings, Hasan built for it a minaret in the Sanani style.¹⁹ The oldest surviving example of this style, that of the maşjid al-Madrasah, was erected by imam al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā b. Shams al-Dīn in 926 / 1517-1518, only shortly before the Ottoman

15 Lewcock et al., "Smaller Mosques", p. 381.

16 Al-Hajarī (*op. cit.*, p. 76, quoting *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ*) states that Mehmet Paşa enlarged the maşjid Talhah and built its minaret in 1029 / 1619-1620 but, based on an inscription inside the mosque, al-Hajarī attributes the prayer hall dome to imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allah 'Abdallah in 1247 / 1831-1832. Recent studies (Lewcock et al., "Smaller mosques"; al-Khalifah, *op. cit.*) dispute the latter attribution, and conclude that the dome belongs to the 11th / 17th century, and probably to Mehmet Paşa. Ghaylān (*op. cit.*) draws attention to 10th / 16th century features of the mihrab.

17 At the Bakīriyyah two domed tomb chambers flank the prayer hall to the east (the northeast chamber belongs to Bakir bey), and two later türbe are at the entrance to the mosque compound. At the maşjid Farwah b. Musayk two türbe at the northeast corner of mosque held the tombs of the *sancakbevi* Iskandar b. Hisām al-Kurdī and of a son of Hasan Paşa.

18 Al-Hajarī, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Lewcock et al. ("Smaller mosques", p. 361) want to attribute the Abaydayn to Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā, identifying it as "probably" the tomb in which this imām buried his son Ibrahim. However, Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā created this *hawtah* south (*adani*) not north of maşjid al-Madrasah (al-Hajarī, *op. cit.*, p. 106).

19 Minarets of this style typically have a square base of stone (or brick), a polygonal brick shaft that rises above a balcony to a dome. The brickwork is decoratively patterned with zig-zags, lozenges, guilloche, vertical lines, sorghum buds (similar in shape to a fleur-de-lis) and other motifs; the decoration is picked out with plaster. See Trevor Marchand, *Minaret Building and Apprenticeship in Yemen*, Curzon Press, Richmond 1998 for a description of traditional minaret-building in San^cā'.

arrival to San^{‘ā}. In fact, before the mid-10th century AH few mosques in San^{‘ā} possessed a minaret. Ottoman patrons commissioned at least nine minarets, for new foundations and for existing mosques. These minarets were all in local styles.²⁰ The Ottoman acceptance of stylistically local minarets may reflect the technical limitations of local builders rather than a positive design choice. Ottoman building projects nearly tripled the number of minarets in San^{‘ā}, from perhaps only five²¹ to at least fourteen. The effects of Ottoman minaret construction were still evident in the mid-20th century, when al-Hajarī²² listed 24 mosques with “tall minarets” in the city; of these minarets, Ottoman patronage accounted for eight, and five of the eight were in the eastern side of the city.²³

The visual impact of domes and minarets is strongest in east San^{‘ā}. The domes of maṣjid Bāshā, madrasah al-Murādiyyah (visible from outside Qasr San^{‘ā}), and *hammām al-maydān* are clustered at the south end of the Ottoman avenue. Northward along the avenue are domes of qubbah al-Bakīriyyah and maṣjid al-Abaydayn, and the minarets of the qubbah al-Bakīriyyah and maṣjid Salāh al-Dīn

- 20 In addition to the Bakīriyyah minaret, these include the minarets at the ‘Aqīl (967 AH), Salāh al-Dīn (1003 AH), and Talhah (1029 AH) mosques. The minaret at the Izdamur mosque (957 AH) probably also belonged to this group, but scholars debate whether this minaret belongs to Özdemiş Paşa or to a later renovation. Lewcock et al., “Smaller mosques” maintain that the minaret was erected in 1205 AH and heightened in 1345 AH, while Sayf (*op. cit.*) argues that the minaret is 10th century in style and so belongs to Özdemiş Paşa. The Ottoman minarets at the Murādiyyah (984 AH), the Farwah bin Musayk (994 AH), and the Filayhī (994 AH) have the Sanani minaret form but present plain plastered exteriors rather than patterned brickwork. The minaret shared by the Janāh and Madhhab mosques, built upon a barrel vault above the lane that separates the two mosques, lacks the sectional shaft, geometric brickwork ornamentation, and balcony characteristic of the Sanani minaret. This minaret has been compared to minarets in Iraq, with the suggestion that its shape was introduced by Ottoman officials who had served in Iraq (Sayf, *ibid.*, p. 133).
- 21 Two minarets at the Great Mosque, and single minarets at maṣjid al-Madrasah and probably at maṣjid ‘Alī and maṣjid al-Abhar.
- 22 Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Hajarī, *Majmū’ buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā’ili-hā*, edited by Ismā’īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa’, Wizārat al-‘Ilm wa-l-Thaqāfah, San^{‘ā} 1984, p. 516-7.
- 23 According to Pieter van den Broecke’s description (see C.G. Brouwer and A. Kaplanian, *Al-Yaman fī awā’il al-qarn al-sābi‘ ‘ashar: Muqtatafāt min al-wathā’iq al-hūlandiyyah al-muta’allikah bi-l-tārīkh al-iqtisādī li-janūb al-jazīrah al-‘arabiyyah 1614-1630*, Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies, Cairo 1988, p. 76) San^{‘ā} possessed four tall minarets in 1025 / 1616. These structures most likely belonged to al-Madrasah, Salāh al-Dīn, al-Bakīriyyah and al-Murādiyyah, all of which are prominent in the eastern section of town. The Salāh al-Dīn minaret, at 46m high, was the tallest in the city until well into the 20th century. The Bakīriyyah and Izdamur minarets are almost as tall, while the ‘Aqīl and Talhah minarets, at 27-28m high, are among the shortest examples of the Sanani style.

are also visible. Approaching the city from the east, the domes and minarets of the masjid Farwah bin Musayk added to the visual impression; even today the Ottoman domes and minarets are visually striking. Elsewhere in the city the visual impact is more diffuse but still pervasive, with stylistic reminders of Ottoman authority at the city gates, in the central market, and on the major routes between these points.

2. The Great Mosque of San[‘]ā’ Restoration Project

The Great Mosque of San[‘]ā’ is located on the southwest edge of the central market area, about 200m north of Bāb al-Yaman (Figure 1). The Mosque is roughly rectangular, about 77m by 65m in area, although none of its corners forms a right angle (Figure 3). The exterior presents gray stone masonry without ornamentation, relieved only by five doorways on the east, three on the north, three on the west and one on the south. The interior contains four riwaqs around a central courtyard, within which a domed structure eccentrically sits. The riwaqs are formed of brick arcading supported by pillars of various shapes; many of the pillars in the north and south riwaqs are pre-Islamic *spolia*. A coffered wood ceiling with painted decoration covers the arcading. The qiblah riwaq has five aisles and the south riwaq has four aisles, while the east and west riwaqs each have three. Above the inner aisle of the south riwaq is a library complex. The Mosque possesses two minarets which are placed asymmetrically within the building.

Historical references to the Mosque suggest that it was first built at the instruction of the Prophet Muhammad in 6 or 7 / 627-629.²⁴ The Mosque was then greatly enlarged in the qiblah direction (i.e. to the north) at the order of the Umayyad calif al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 86-96 / 705-715), bringing the qiblah wall to its present location.²⁵ The Mosque was enlarged a second time when Muhammad b. Yu[‘]fir in 270 / 883-884 built the present east riwaq,²⁶ and this work

24 Ahmad b. ‘Abdallah b. Muhammad al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh Madīnah San‘ā’*, ed. Husayn ‘Abdallah al-‘Amrī, Dār al-Fīkr al-Mu‘āsir, Beirut 1984, pp. 63, 123-134.

25 Al-Rāzī *ibid.*, p. 135 ff.; al-Hajarī, *Masājīd San‘ā’*, pp. 27-28; R. Lewcock, G.R. Smith, R.B. Serjeant, P. Costa, “The architectural history and description of San‘ā’ mosques: the Great Mosque”, *San‘ā’, An Arabian Islamic City*, eds. R.B. Serjeant - R. Lewcock, World of Islam Festival Trust, London 1983.

26 Muhammad b. Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Janādī, *Sulūk fī tabaqāt al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘, Wizārat al-‘Ilām wa-l-Thaqāfah, San‘ā’ 1983, p. 200; ‘Umārah b. ‘Alī al-Yamanī, *Tārīkh al-yaman al-musammā al-muḥīd fī akhbār San‘ā’ wa-Ḥabīb*, ed. Muhammad ‘Alī al-Akwa‘, al-Maktabah al-Yamaniyyah, San‘ā’ 1985, p. 58; ‘Abd al-Rahman b. ‘Alī ibn al-Dayba‘, *Qurrah al-‘uyūn bi-akhbār al-yaman al-maymūn*, ed. Muhammad ‘Alī al-Akwa‘, unidentified printer, Cairo

brought the *San‘ā’ mosque to the condition it has now* in the early 8th / 14th century.²⁷ Subsequent work on the Mosque largely concerned repairs, improvements to the ablution facilities, and removal of decoration.²⁸ The final major alteration inside the Mosque was construction of a library above the southern end of the courtyard. This work was carried out in three phases between 1344 / 1925-1926 and 1380 / 1960-1961.²⁹

In 2006 the Social Fund for Development, San‘ā’ began an intervention at the Great Mosque, designed to correct existing structural problems and to reverse some deleterious recent additions, to conserve the painted coffered ceiling, to upgrade infrastructure (electrical systems, lighting and sound systems, ablution facilities, drainage) of the Mosque, and to document the history of the building. The latter component of the project is the responsibility of the archaeology team, which began work in June 2006.

The archaeology team³⁰ has two basic objectives: (1) making excavations to

1977, p. 121. An inscription on wooden flashing below the ceiling of the riwaq bears the name Muhammad b. Yu‘fir and the date 270. Later sources, beginning with Yahyā b. al-Husayn b. al-Qāsim (*op. cit.*, p. 295), attribute the east riwaq to the Sulayhid ruler al-sayyidah Arwā bint Ahmad (r. 477-532 / 1084-1137). This attribution seems untenable, although Arwā may be responsible for the wooden ceiling of the east riwaq. Several architectural historians have suggested that al-Walīd’s enlargement brought the Mosque to its present size, and that the work in the east riwaq was simply remodeling (Barbara Finster, “Die Freitagsmoschee von San‘ā’, Vorläufiger Bericht, I. Teil”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 9, 1978; K.A.C. Cresswell and J. Allan, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Scolar Press, Aldershot 1989, pp.86-87). The archaeological evidence gained since 2006 makes this suggestion untenable.

27 Al-Janadī, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Al-Dayba’, *op. cit.*, p. 121

28 Most notably, the imam’s doorway was rebuilt in 513 / 1119-1120 (according to an inscription over the doorway), the Ayyubid governor of San‘ā’ Wardasār b. Nayyāmī al-Kurdi built – or rather, re-built – both minarets of the Mosque in 603 / 1206-1207 (al-Janadī, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Wardasār left two inscription plaques in the Mosque commemorating his work), and the mihrab was rebuilt in 665 / 1266-1267, as attested by inscriptions on the mihrab itself (al-Hajarī, *Masājīd San‘ā’*, p. 32, Ghaylān, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

29 ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yahyā al-Wāsi‘ī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-musammā furjah al-humūm wa-l-huzn fī hawādith wa-tārīkh al-yaman* (2nd edition – 1st printing in 1947), al-Dār al-Yamaniyyah lil-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘, San‘ā’ 1984, p. 338; al-Hajarī, *Masājīd San‘ā’*, p. 38; Muhammad ‘Abd al-Malik al-Marwanī, *Al-wajīz fī tā’rīkh bināyah masājīd San‘ā’*, Matābi‘ al-Yaman al-Misriyyah, San‘ā’ 1988, pp. 40-41.

30 The present author is the leader of the Project’s archaeology team. The team members are Bakiye Yükmén Edens (assistant team leader), ‘Abd al-Azīz Sa‘īd al-Qubaybī, Ahmad ‘Alī al-Rawdī, Muslih ‘Alī al-Qubātī, Bashīr Sultān, Burhān Mahdī ‘Abdallah, ‘Isam ‘Alī, Mukhtār ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Rabb, Mustafā Qāsim Ahmad, and Mājid Taha al-Majayī. I am deeply grateful to all members of the team and of the Project.

understand the history of the building while also checking the structural integrity of walls and pillars; and (2) recording above-ground architectural detail exposed by plaster stripping. Each excavation is small, to avoid endangering the building, and so each excavation gives only a limited exposure of buried architecture and stratigraphy. Stratigraphy inside the Mosque consists largely of superimposed floors of plaster, plastered earth, or compacted earth and gravel, plus fill introduced during construction events. The floor stratigraphy, which is more than 2m thick in some parts of the Mosque but only 1,3m thick in others, creates a framework for correlating building events across the Mosque.

The archaeological and architectural results have not allowed us to identify the original mosque with any certainty. The earliest well-defined Mosque is a structure that measured 62m by 52m, the qiblah and west walls in their present position, the east wall beneath the east edge of the present courtyard, and the south wall running between rectangular structures at the south corners of the building, in the positions of the current minarets. This building may be attributed to al-Walid b. ^{ca}Abd al-Malik.

The Umayyad building was subsequently enlarged twice. The first enlargement was to the south, where the earlier south wall was razed and the present south riwaq was created. The available historical sources do not mention this enlargement. The Mosque was then enlarged to the east, when the earlier east riwaq and outer wall were razed and the present east riwaq was erected. This alteration also enlarged the courtyard, and left the minarets in the asymmetrical positions they occupy today. Judging by stratigraphic correlations, the west riwaq was rebuilt around the same time. These events most likely correspond to the Yu^{ca}firid activities described in the historical sources and reflected by inscriptions in the east and west riwaqs.

Later architectural alteration of the Mosque concerned details such as rebuilding pillars in the north and south riwaqs, rebuilding the minarets, rebuilding the mihrab in its present location, and replastering the interior walls and renewing the floors. When the Ottoman army arrived in 954 / 1547, the Mosque looked much as it does today, with the significant exception of the south riwaq, which then possessed only three aisles and a brick arcaded fa^{ca}ade instead of the library structures that front onto the courtyard today.

3. Ottoman Contributions to the Great Mosque

Historical sources and inscriptions refer to several Ottoman activities at the Great Mosque. Murad Pa^{ca} repaired the minbar in 984 /1576-1577, and in the

following year created a structure above the grave of the prophet Hanzalah b. Sufyān immediately north of the west minaret. Kethüdā Sinan Paşa paved the central courtyard with stone flags and built the qubbah which is still extant today; he also renovated the ablution facilities. Sinan Paşa's actions are not well-dated, but they must have occurred by 1016 / 1607.³¹

Repair of the minbar

The minbar is a wooden structure, about 3,3m long and 1,0m wide, consisting of 10 steps that rise 2,2m to the pulpit (Figure 4). The sides are faced with an open checkerboard filled with dowels, and the railing of the staircase is a simple lattice. Four posts hold up a canopy about 2m above the pulpit, and two posts frame the entry at the bottom of the stairway. A multifoil arch below an inscription panel covers the entry, and a second inscription is on the back face of the minbar. The latter is a four-line commemoration of imām Yahyā's restoration of the minbar in 1338 / 1920. The inscription above the entry is two lines of *naskh* on a 26cm high panel. The inscription states that sultan Murad III ordered repair (*ʿamara bi-islāhi*) of the minbar in 984 / 1576-1577. This date implies that the work was carried out by Kuyucu Murad Paşa, who had recently been appointed *beylerbeyi* but who was not new to service in Yemen.³² Imām Yahyā's restoration leaves unclear what features of the minbar, apart from the front inscription, can be ascribed to Murad Paşa's work. The minbar had been moved to the Military Museum (which itself is an Ottoman building from the late 19th century), but recently it was returned to the Mosque as part of the restoration project.

An area of decorated plaster, previously unreported, exists on the qiblah wall, about 4,8m east of the mihrab. The decorated plaster is the upper left portion of a multifoil blind arch surrounded by knotted vegetation set in a rectangular frame (Figure 5). The preserved left side of the frame is a vertical panel filled with interlaced carnations and tulips. Above the frame is a horizontal panel quoting Surah 3 Ayah 37; this Qur'anic reference to a mihrab suggests that the frame is part of a flat mihrab. An additional inscription band extends laterally from each upper corner of the frame, each bearing Qur'anic verses that refer to prayer (Surah 22 Ayah 77 to the right, Surah 62 Ayah 9-10 to the left). The date *sanah 135* appears in the

31 Ketküdā Sinan Paşa died in al-Mukhā while leaving Yemen in 1016 / 1607. He was buried there in a türbe built adjacent to the mosque and tomb of the Sūfi shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qirshī al-Shādīlī (al-Qāsim, *op. cit.*, p. 791).

32 Murad Paşa had been ketküdā to Mahmud Paşa (*beylerbeyi* 968-972 / 1560-1565) and married the latter's daughter (Ömer İşbilir, "Kuyucu Murad Paşa", *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 26, (2003), p. 507).

upper left corner of the left band. The date indicates that the left inscription band (and probably both bands) was made in 1135 AH, during the time of imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Husayn (r. 1128-1139), a century after the Ottomans had left San'ā'. But the two bands simply abut the ornate frame of the flat mihrab, and so the dated inscription has no necessary bearing on the date of the flat mihrab. The distinctively Ottoman motif of intertwined tulips and carnations is alien to Sanani decorative traditions, and this example has a very 16th-17th century style. Most likely the flat mihrab was created in the center of the qiblah wall during the second half of the Ottoman presence in San'ā', and possibly by Murad Paşa as part of his restoration of the minbar.

Hanzalah b. Safwān chamber

According to the early 20th century historian Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Hajarī, a structure (*shawhid*) of bricks and plaster, nearly a *dhirā'* (about 45cm) high, was built above the grave of the prophet Hanzalah b. Safwān in the time of Murad Paşa (985 / 1577-1578). Al-Hajarī also reports that a small arch in the north wall of the minaret formed a peephole down to the grave, and that this arch was blocked up in 1041 / 1631-1632, i.e. shortly after the Ottoman withdrawal from San'ā'.³³

Excavation immediately north of the minaret uncovered architectural remains which correspond in location to Murad Paşa chamber. A large but shallow pit was cut through existing floor deposits in the corner formed by the north face of the minaret and the west wall of the Mosque. The north end of this cut was left open, its sides consolidated with plaster. This sunken open space served as entrance to a chamber approximately 3.4m long and 2.2m wide. A doorway in the north wall of the chamber, framed by slots in plaster for wooden sill and jambs, allow entry to the chamber from the open area (Figure 6). The east and north walls of this chamber were formed by a single course of finely dressed and squared facing stones, arranged so that the dressed faces formed the exterior aspect of the 42cm high walls. The blocks were held in place by a packing of brickbats, stones, soil and other material covered by the mud plaster that formed the inner face of the walls.

33 Al-Hajarī, *Masājid San'ā'*, p. 34. Early sources do not associate a tomb with the west minaret. Al-Rāzī (*op. cit.* p. 254) states that the grave was north of the original Mosque, and that after al-Walid enlarged the Mosque the mihrab covered the tomb. The association of Hanzalah's tomb with the west minaret thus appears to be a later tradition which perhaps emerged after Wardasār's rebuilding of the minarets in 603 / 1206-1207. A small arched hollow does in fact exist in the north wall of the minaret (see Figure 6 left).

Remains of the wall plaster preserved on the Mosque's west wall indicate that originally a brick or mud brick superstructure sat upon these stone footings. The pit containing these features was 25cm deep, and the stone footings of the chamber rose 42cm above the bottom of the pit. After the chamber was built, the floor from which the pit had been dug was covered with a 20cm-thick fill (visible in Figure 6 upper right), upon which a new riwaq floor was laid; this floor ran up to the chamber slightly above the top of the preserved stone walls. In other words, the chamber was a semi-subterranean structure approached along a riwaq floor that was some 45cm higher than the chamber floor.

The riwaq floor was renewed at least eight times during the lifetime of the chamber, accumulating nearly 20cm of earth and gravel against the side of the chamber's superstructure. This number of floors indicates that the chamber existed over a considerable time. When the chamber was razed, the superstructure was removed down to the stone footing, rubble from the structure filled the interior of the chamber and a new plaster floor was laid across the riwaq. This floor is the first of at least four plastered surfaces which separate destruction of the chamber from installation of the modern tile floor.

The chamber itself had a relatively complicated history. The original floor of the chamber was surfaced with gypsum plaster. This plaster floor was renewed twice with more plaster, and then with mud plaster. A brick wall, one course wide, was built upon the uppermost plaster floor, perhaps just before the mud plaster floor was laid down. This secondary wall partitioned the chamber into two spaces of unequal size. The open entry area was also divided into two parts, by a 45cm high brick wall which ran northward from the chamber. The western area remained open and provided continued access to the chamber. The eastern area, however, was filled to the top with a mass of carved plaster fragments, and then covered by a packing of mud plaster and mats.³⁴

The weight of stratigraphic and architectural evidence suggests that the chamber passed out of use during the first half of the Qāsimī imamate, but that it probably already existed when the Ottomans arrived in San'ā'. Therefore al-Hajarī's report

³⁴ The plaster fragments are wall inscriptions in floriated Kufic, and their deliberate disposal here may reflect one or both of two episodes of removing inscriptions and other decoration in 1059 / 1649 and 1077 / 1666-1667 (Yayhā b. al-Husayn b. al-Qāsim, *Al-awḍā' al-siyāsiyyah fī al-Yaman fī al-nusf al-thānī min al-qarn al-hādī 'ashr al-hijrī al-sabī' 'ashr al-mīlādī 1054-1099 h / 1644-1688 m*, ed. Amat al-Ghafūr 'Abd al-Rahman 'Alī al-Amīr, Mu'assasah al-Imām Zayd bin 'Alī al-Thaqāfiyyah, San'ā' 2008, pp. 505, 659.

may simply reflect modification of the structure during the time of Murad Paşa. While renewal of the missing superstructure is the most likely action, the interior brick wall dividing the chamber into two parts is another possible modification.

Courtyard

Yemeni historians credit Kethüdâ Sinan Paşa with paving the courtyard of the Mosque and building the qubbah that still stands there, and also renovation of the ablution facilities (*matâhîr*).³⁵ Sinan Paşa first reached Yemen in 988 / 1581 as kethüdâ to Hasan Paşa³⁶ and he remained active in Yemen until the end of his term as *beylerbeyi* (1013-1016 / 1604-1607). The historical sources leave unclear whether his three works at the Great Mosque formed a single contemporaneous program or were individual projects at different times.

The qubbah is located west of the courtyard's centerline, and Sinan's building probably replaced a structure that was centered in the courtyard before eastward enlargement of the Mosque by Muhammad b. Yu'fir in the 3rd / 9th century. Sinan's building is square in plan, about 6m to a side, with a facade of alternating bands of dark gray and orange stone (Figure 7). An arched doorway gives entrance on the north side of the building; an arched window sits above the doorway and a blind arch is on the south face, but otherwise the structure is not fenestrated. Merlons of *qadād* (a type of lime plaster) run around of the structure, framing the slightly parabolic dome.

Sinan's courtyard pavement is said to have survived until 1388 / 1968, when the courtyard was resurfaced with its present pavement.³⁷ Excavations in the courtyard show that Sinan's pavement was removed to accommodate the new courtyard surface. However, when Sinan laid down his pavement, the south riwaq possessed only three aisles, and the courtyard included the space directly south of the east minaret. The elevated library rooms were completed before 1968, and the south riwaq had been enlarged to include the space beneath these structures. As a result, Sinan's pavement survives in portions of the inner aisle of the south riwaq, and in places paves are the foundation for pillars and piers of the library (Figure 8 lower right).

35 E.g. al-Qāsim, *Al-ghāyat al-amānī*, p. 792; al-Hajarī, *Masājid San'ā'*, p. 32. Sinan's work on the matâhîr is today not identifiable, as the facilities were renovated and rebuilt on numerous occasions before being largely obliterated by recent building.

36 Hulüsi Yavuz, "Hasan Paşa, Yemenli", *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 16, (1997), p. 341.

37 Al-Marwanī, *op. cit.* p. 43; cf. al-Hajarī, *Masājid San'ā'*, p. 32).

Excavations have uncovered Sinan's pavement in northern sections of the inner aisle, where the thick plaster floor of the 1960s directly covers the pavement. The paves of Sinan's courtyard vary considerably in size and proportions: many are long and narrow (up to 123 x 37cm) while others are more nearly square in shape (up to 73 x 57cm). The upper faces are deeply and irregularly worn, but originally must have been flat. The paves are relatively thin, rarely if ever exceeding 20cm in thickness, and the bottom faces are roughly worked. The paves are set in a parquet-like arrangement (Figure 8, left and upper right), in a bed of a tough *qutrah* 'cement'.

Recent Yemeni historians suggest that Sinan Paşa was the first to surface the courtyard with stone. Excavations at several points in the courtyard strongly suggest that this view is correct. Earlier courtyards had rough surfaces of coarse earth and gravel, and these surfaces present no trace of a plaster or cement in which a pavement might have been laid.

4. Discussion

Compared to the striking visual impact of Ottoman construction on the urban character of San^{ca}, Ottoman contributions to the Great Mosque were invisible from outside the Mosque, and relatively unobtrusive inside the building. But users of the Mosque would routinely encounter these contributions – every time someone prayed in the qiblah riwaq he would see the restored minbar and the flat mihrab framed with intertwined tulips and carnations; every time someone entered the courtyard he would walk on stone rather than earth and gravel, and would see the black and orange of Sinan's qubbah; every time someone made a *ziyārah* to the tomb of Hanzalah b. Safwān he would pray at a newly refurbished structure. These were subtle reminders of Ottoman authority, but they probably were not part of the political program evident in buildings in other parts of the city. These were, in fact, genuinely pious donations for the general benefit of the users of a venerable mosque.³⁸

When Ottomans forces evacuated San^{ca} in 1038 / 1629, they left behind a city transformed. The first Qāsimī imams often avoided the city, and lived in other

³⁸ Moreover, it is not clear how commonly Ottomans used the Great Mosque after construction of the qubbah al-Bakīriyyah. During the second period of Ottoman rule in San^{ca} (1289-1337 / 1872-1918) the Bakīriyyah was the Friday mosque for Ottoman personnel, and firman were posted on the entrance to the mosque compound or read aloud in the open space outside the mosque. Whether the Bakīriyyah had similar functions during the first period of Ottoman rule remains uncertain.

towns to the south. New mosques were founded during these early decades of the imamate, but on a generally modest scale. When imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Husayn (r. 1128-1139) re-established San^{ʿā}ʾ as the seat of government, he launched a building program which continued nearly a century. This program emphasized western parts of the city, and featured domed mosques and türbe along with mansions and palaces.³⁹ The domed structures followed models established by Ottoman buildings in San^{ʿā}ʾ. The concentration of new public buildings in and around Bāb al-Sabāhah created a new center of political authority which at once mirrored the older Ottoman district in upper San^{ʿā}ʾ and established a counterweight to it. In the same way, imams and other patrons founded new mosques in other strategic locations around the city in a manner reminiscent of the earlier Ottoman pattern,⁴⁰ as if to balance the Ottoman structures that already existed in these areas.

In contrast, very little building activity took place at the Great Mosque during the 250 years between the two periods of Ottoman rule in San^{ʿā}ʾ.⁴¹ These contributions were no doubt well-received, but they did not alter the Mosque itself. In this sense, political programs outweighed pious motives for the imamate building in San^{ʿā}ʾ. Moreover, the two episodes of removing inscribed or decorated plaster from the Mosque's walls (see footnote 34) and the obliteration of the chamber for Hanzalah b. Safwān also occurred soon after the Ottoman departure. These actions had their motivation in strands of Zaydiyyah doctrine (to avoid distracting mosque-users during prayer and to discourage tomb visitation), but they did not extend to reversing entirely the physical effects of Ottoman charitable works. The Great Mosque remained largely as the Ottomans left it until imām Yahyā's construction of the libraries during the first part of the 20th century.

39 The qubbah al-Mutawakkil was al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim's funerary mosque near Bāb al-Sabahah, and anchored the *bustān al-misk* where five later imams were buried. The türbe of his son is adjacent to maṣjid al-Abhar, in the western part of the city. The qubbah al-Mahdi was his grandson's funerary mosque, built on a major street leading to Bāb al-Sabahah.

40 Maṣjid al-Nūr at Bāb al-Shuʿūb, maṣjid Ridwān at Bāb al-Yaman, maṣjid al-Haymī next to maṣjid al-Bāshā near Qasr San^{ʿā}ʾ, maṣjid al-Qasr inside Qasr San^{ʿā}ʾ, and maṣjid al-ʿUrdī in or among the Ottoman barracks south of Bab al-Yaman.

41 The historical sources mention repair of the eastern minaret following a lightning strike in 1056 / 1646-1647, several episodes of remodeling or new construction of the ablution facilities (including construction of the *matāhār al-Akwāʾ* in ca. 1090 / 1679-1680, and construction of lodgings for resident students (*manāzil al-jāmiʿ*) in ca. 1240 / 1824-1825. Both of the latter two structures survive today; scholars still have 'studies' in the *manāzil al-jāmiʿ*, and the upper story of *matāhār al-Akwāʾ* (the only survive pre-20th century element of the ablution facilities) serve as offices of the Great Mosque restoration project.

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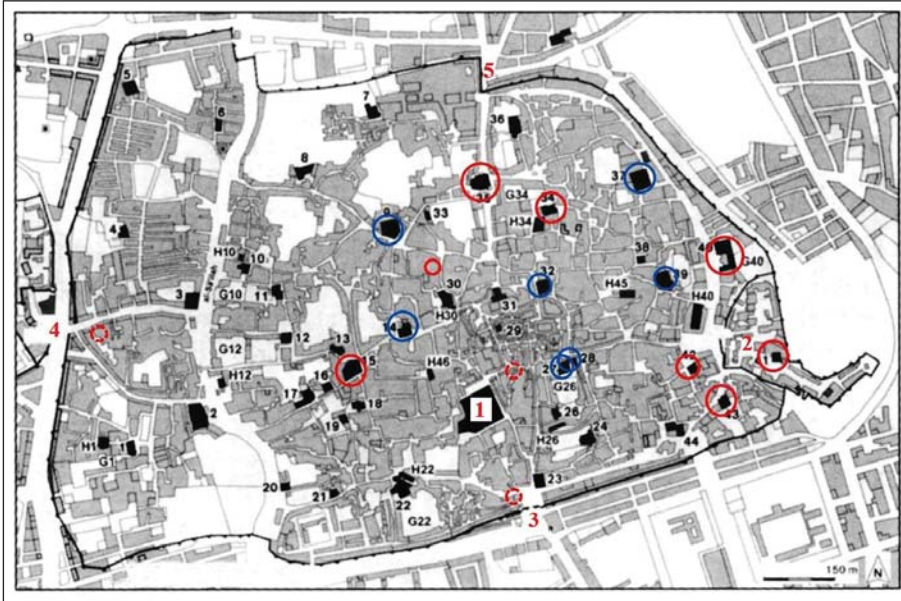


Figure 1: The old city of San'a'; black shows the location of mosques, other historic buildings and the city walls; sold red circles are still extant Ottoman mosques, broken red circles are no longer extant Ottoman mosques; blue circles are Ottoman repairs or additions to existing mosques; 1- the Great Mosque; 2- Qasr San'a' (also called Qasr al-Silāh); 3- Bāb al-Yaman; 4- Bāb al-Sabāhah; 5- Bāb Shu'ūb (adapted from Ingrid Hehmyer, "Mosque, bath and garden: symbiosis in the urban landscape of San'a', Yemen", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 28, 1998, fig. 1).



Figure 2: Ottoman mosques with a central dome; top- qubbah al-Bakīriyyah; lower left- qubbah Talhah; lower right- madrasah al-Murādiyyah.



Figure 3: View of the Great Mosque of Sana'a from the northeast; the domed structure in the central courtyard is an Ottoman structure.



Figure 4: The wooden minbar, displayed in the Military Museum; left- entrance with arched doorway and Ottoman inscription panel; upper right- detail of the inscription panel; lower right- general view of the minbar from the right.



Figure 5: Blind mihrab in the qiblah wall east of the minbar; upper left- general view of the plaster before cleaning; lower left- general view of the plaster after cleaning; upper right- detail view of the multifoil arch before cleaning; lower right- detailed view of the frame with interlaced carnations and tulips after cleaning.



Figure 6: Chamber at the tomb of Hanzalah b. Safwān; left- general view of the north face of the west minaret, with the chamber fitted against the minaret (note the blocked doorway into the minaret, with the arched recess at the top of the brick blocking); upper right- the outer facing blocks of the chamber in relation to the floor stratigraphy; lower right- view of the chamber and its entrance.



Figure 7: Sinan Paşa's domed structure in the Mosque courtyard; left- general view from the southwest; upper right- the north face of the structure; lower right- the south face of the structure.

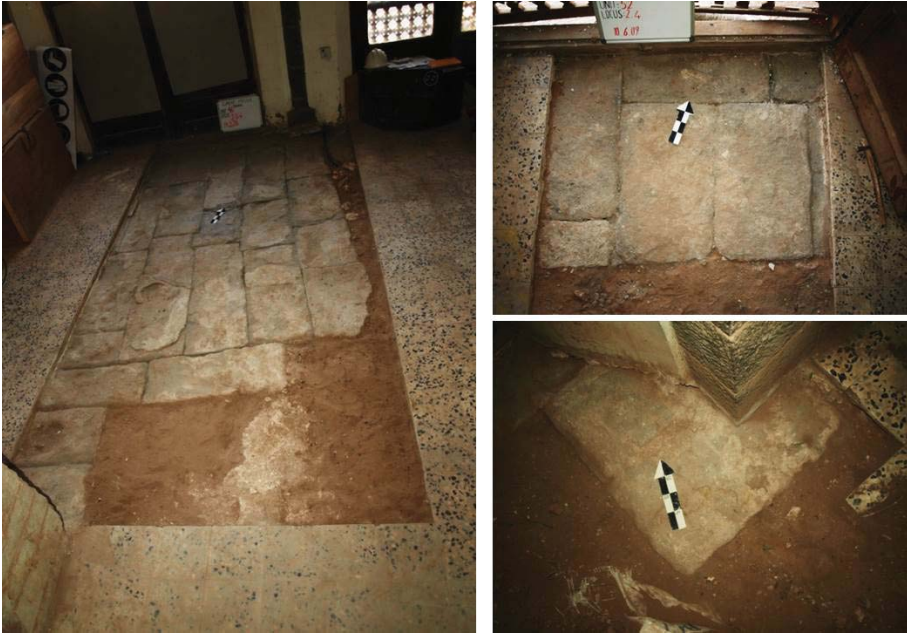


Figure 8: Remains of Sinan Paşa's courtyard pavement, now below the floor of the southern riwaq of the Mosque; left- general view of a surviving section of the pavement; upper right- detailed view of a surviving section of the pavement; lower right- detailed view of an in-place pave used as foundation for a 20th century stone staircase to the Mosque libraries.

