

American University in Cairo
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The development of the Darb al-Ahmar, Cairo, 969-1517

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The development of the Darb al-Ahmar, Cairo, 969-1517

Lucy Seton-Watson

For my parents

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Note on transliteration

Transliteration follows the normal modified *Encyclopedia of Islam* system (with ق rendered by q), except that the following special characters have been used: ħ for ح, s̄ for ص, d̄ for ض, t̄ for ط, and z̄ for ظ.

Words transliterated from Arabic are underlined, except for words commonly appearing in the English language and except for the technical vocabulary of types of religious institution.

Introduction

This is a study of the formation of a Mamluk street. The street in question is that leading first east and then south from the Bāb Zuwayla, the great southern gate of Fatimid al-Qāhira. Its initial stretches were known both today and in Mamluk times as the Darb al-Aḥmar, though most of it is not known by that name, but as the Tabbāna and as Bāb al-Wazīr Street.

The street had no reason to exist before the erection of the Citadel outside the Fatimid city, and one of the aims of this study was to establish as nearly as possible the chronology of what was built where on the street as it took shape. Another was to see how, as the street came into being, the buildings by which we reconstruct it interacted with the street and with its communities. The study also, of course, documents what went on in the buildings studied. These buildings comprise all the monuments that have survived, and some seventeen that are lost, but described in the sources.

The project was based primarily on a systematic study of Maqrīzī's *Khitat*; Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, Ibn Iyās's *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* and Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Nujūm* were also consulted. Chapter one presents Maqrīzī's account of the development of the area south and south-east of al-Qāhira, in order to understand the beginnings of the street. Chapter two presents a detailed survey of all documented institutions or monuments on the street, starting from the Bāb Zuwayla end. As much as I could find on the patron and each monument's foundation is presented, and the functions and the main features of the plan for the building are documented. The ways in which the building impacted on the street, both in terms of the street plan and, in three dimensions rather than two, on the landscape and the society of the street are also analysed. Chapter three analyses the findings of chapter two, and presents conclusions about (1) the chronology and the dynamic of development, (2) patrons and functions on the street, and (3) the important issue of how far this street had an official ceremonial and/or folk, popular role and identity in the Mamluk period.

The study follows in a long tradition of topographical studies of Mamluk Cairo conducted at AUC. The Darb al-Aḥmar area, however, has not been studied before.

A question the study was intended to answer from the first was whether the Darb al-Aḥmar street really was an artery of the Mamluk city. My research has shown that it was not altogether that, and that it was always subsidiary to the southern main street, and certainly also subsidiary in monumental terms to the Saliba Street. It is however a fascinating street, and it shows us vividly how by the fifteenth century the disjointed parts of the Mamluk city were knitting themselves together to form something of an organic whole.

Chapter one: Maqrīzī on the development of the south-eastern city

The events described in Maqrīzī's narrative fall into six phases and a coda. This provides a rough periodization which will be examined against the evidence of the survey in chapter three.

1. Under the early caliphs, 358-96/969-96

Maqrīzī states that the site chosen for al-Mu'izz's new city was a quiet and largely uninhabited place on the sandy plain stretching from Fustāt to 'Ayn Shams - as seems borne out by the presence of a monastery on the site. Mentioned on the site of al-Qāhira are a fortified village, Quṣayr al-Shawk, the monastery of Dayr al-'Azām, and the gardens and hippodrome of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīd (where Kāfūr himself, but presumably also quite a few other people, lived). There was also, not mentioned by Maqrīzī, a fourth-century church on the site of what later became the Ḥārat Zuwayla. It was probably rebuilt when Jawhar al-Siqillī's city was established.¹ West of the canal were the 'gardens of Fustāt'. To the north, on the beginnings of the ḥajj route, were an 'Alid mosque; to the north-east, the mosque of Tibr al-Ikhshīd, later called the Masjid al-Bi'r or Masjid al-Tibn (straw), where the head of Ibrāhīm, descendant of Abū Tālib, was supposedly buried.² To the south, along the bank of the canal from Fustāt up to Qāhira in the area called al-Ḥamrā al-Qaswā, were a number of churches and Christian convents (this area stayed one of the chief Christian areas of the city right up to the Ottoman period³). Maqrīzī says: 'All the constructions which are situated today between Qāhira and Miṣr [Fustāt] postdated the foundation of Qāhira, for there was nothing save the churches of al-Ḥamrā.'⁴

The new city was orientated towards the north and west, towards the canal and the river. The east and south were not part of the city concept. To north and west, the city of the early caliphs was set within a ring of caliphal gardens and pleasure-grounds. To the west was

¹ Seton-Williams and Stocks, *Egypt*, 283.

² Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.359-60; Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Makrisi*, 417.

³ Behrens-Abouseif, 'Locations of non-Muslim quarters in medieval Cairo,' 128-9.

⁴ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.360:13-14.

an unbuilt plain; set beside the canal, the caliphal pavilions (of gold, of pearl etc) overlooked the gardens between the canal and the Nile.⁵ To the north-west were more pavilions and the two great gardens, then Manzarat al-Ba‘l, then the pavilion of the five faces and the pavilion of the crown;⁶ to the north-east, outside Bāb al-Naṣr, the Muṣallā al-‘Īd and another great garden.⁷ The land to north and west was green and watered (Manzarat al-Ba‘l, for instance, means pavilion of the unirrigated green meadow). The south and east had a different character. To the east were unpromising rocky slopes, which quickly became a dumping-ground for rubbish.⁸ To the south were 'gardens' (*basātīn*, *jinān*). These 'gardens', settled later by army units, were probably commons or common land. Later Fatimid development to the south was based around the extension of connections to Fustāt; but the south-east would never have developed, if not for the foundation of the Citadel by Šalāh al-Dīn.

Maqrīzī is quite categorical that there was no development outside Qāhira to the south in the early Fatimid period. Initially there was no connection south to Fustāt.⁹ Someone coming out of Bāb Zuwayla would see without interruption down to the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Qatā’ī in the south.

And the southern part of al-Qāhira on its outskirts had nothing in it but Birkat al-Fīl and Birkat Qārūn. It was empty space [*faḍā’*]. Someone coming out of Bāb Zuwayla ... would see on his left the jabal, and he would see facing it Ibn Ṭūlūn's al-Qatā’ī, which adjoined al-‘Askar; and he would see the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn and the Šāhil al-Ḥamrā’ which was overlooked by the Jinān al-Zahrī, and he would see Birkat al-Fīl, which was overlooked by the high ground with Qubbat al-Hawā’ which is called today the Citadel. And whoever came out of the Muṣallā al-‘Īd outside Fustāt ... would see the two birkas, al-Fīl and al-Qārūn, and the Nile.¹⁰

In another place he states that the southern outskirts of the city - which he defines first as what you would face coming out of Bāb Zuwayla on your way to Fustāt, and then by a list of

⁵ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.364:7 ff. On these gardened banks of the canal the public would picnic on special occasions: Maqrīzī *Khitat* I.467, 470.

⁶ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.364:16-19.

⁷ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.364:20-21.

⁸ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.364:22-25.

⁹ 'When al-Qāhira was laid down this street [the Qaṣaba extension south of Bāb Zuwayla] was not there [*lam yakun mawjūdan*] compared to what it is now' Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.100:26.

¹⁰ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.110:3-8.

specific contemporary fifteenth-century sites¹¹ - 'all these places were all gardens, called the Jinān al-Zahrī and the Bustān Sayf al-Islām.¹²

To the south-east, there was apparently nothing at all. Up to the period from 700/1301, Maqrīzī never describes this area in terms of anything except the Fatimid cemetery, and this did not exist before the foundation of the black troops' *hāras* outside Bāb Zuwayla, so there was not even a cemetery. 'And as for what is on [the street turning] left [out of Bāb Zuwayla] ... all of what was in this left-hand part was empty space [*faḍā'*], and there was absolutely no building in it [*la 'imāra fīhi al-batta*] until after the year 500.¹³

The only exception was al-‘Askar and al-Qatā’ī’, which Maqrīzī says were still flourishing when Jawhar arrived and were used as a luxury garden area for some of the caliph's family until the great famine under al-Mustanṣir. He says they did not fall into ruin until then: 'it is said that there were more than 100,000 houses there, not to say gardens'.¹⁴ On the other hand, Ibn Ḥawqal, the tenth-century Iraqi geographer, describing Fustāt around 969, says that the structures of Ibn Fūlūn's al-Qatā’ī’ were in ruins. As Raymond points out, the Abbasids are likely to have sacked al-Qatā’ī’ when they reasserted themselves after 905.¹⁵

The east side of Qāhira was the least promising of all. When Maqrīzī talks of al-Ḥākim backing up the city walls with rubble or rubbish to strengthen them against downfalls from the jabal, this implies steep slopes. This strengthening of the wall in time turned into a rubbish-dump, the Kīmān al-Barqīyya. It seems there was no development on this side at all

¹¹ Including Dār al-Tufāh, Taht al-Rab‘, Hārat al-Hillāliyya and Hārat al-Maḥmūdiyya, Suwayqat ‘Aṣfūr, and, finally, the *mashhad* of Sayyida Nafīsa: Maqrīzī, *Khītat* I.363:38-364:3.

¹² Maqrīzī, *Khītat* I.364:2-5.

¹³ Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.110:27, 28-9.

¹⁴ 'al-Mu‘izz settled his uncle, Abū ‘Alī, in the Dār al-‘Imāra of al-Qatā’ī’, and the caliph's people did not move out until al-Qatā’ī’ was ruined in the great catastrophe under al-Mustanṣir ... and this is not impossible because the area extended from the foot of the high ground on which the Citadel is now, to the Nile bank in Fustāt where there is now al-Kubāra outside Fustāt on the way to Kawm al-Jārīh': Maqrīzī, *Khītat* I.305:7-14.

¹⁵ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration de la terre*, 144/MS 146; Raymond, *Le Caire*, 35.

till after the Fatimids.¹⁶

2. al-Ḥākim, 386-411/996-1021

In the caliphate of al-Ḥākim came the first wave of development to the south. This did not include the south-east. Maqrīzī says:

And as for ... [the first development of the main street south of Bāb Zuwayla] the Caliph al-Ḥākim built al-Bāb al-Jadīd on the left of anyone coming out of Bāb Zuwayla, on the shore of Birkat al-Fīl; I have seen the arch of this gate at the head of the Ḥārat al-Manjabīyya, beside the Sūq al-Ṭuyūr. Then, when Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya and Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya were allotted, the shore of Birkat al-Fīl looked across to them [sār qubālahā] ... and the buildings touched from the Bāb al-Jadīd to the empty space [fadā'] which is now the mashhad of Sayyida Nafisa.¹⁷

And in the days of the Caliph al-Ḥākim ... a gate was built outside Bāb Zuwayla called al-Bāb al-Jadīd, and a number of supporters of the Sultan [sic] were allotted land outside Bāb Zuwayla. The Mašāmida were allotted Ḥārat al-Mašāmida, and al-Yānisiyya and al-Manjabīyya were allotted ḥāras, and in addition to those two [sic] as described in the appropriate part of this book.¹⁸

[describing the south of al-Qāhira towards Fustāt, including the sites of Dār al-Tuffāh, Taht al-Rab', al-Hillāliyya and the mashhad of Sayyida Nafisa] All these places were all gardens [basātīn], called the Jinān al-Zahrī and the Bustān Sayf al-Islām and so on. Then came the ḥāras for the black troops [līl-sūdān] there in the [Fatimid] state, and the Bāb al-Jadīd was built. The Bāb al-Jadīd is what is today called Bāb al-Qaws, at the Sūq al-Ṭuyūr on the Main Street, at the head of the ḥāras. And the Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya and the Ḥārat al-Maḥmūdiyya [also] happened.¹⁹

The chronology here is a little confused, and Maqrīzī later specifies that Ḥārat al-Mašāmida was not one of the ḥāras of al-Ḥākim but was developed later in the 1120s. But the broad picture is consistent. A large ḥāra was founded for the black (Sudanese?) Fatimid army contingent. This is called both Ḥārat al-Sūdān and Ḥārat al-Mansūra. It occupied a

¹⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.364:22-25: 'And as for what faced Qāhira on the east, that is, what was between the wall and the jabal, it was empty space [fadā']; then al-Ḥākim gave orders for the rubbish of Qāhira to be put behind the wall to keep back the floods/torrents that penetrated the city, and from this came the garbage-pile known as the Kīmān al-Barqiyya; and this part did not cease to be empty of buildings until the end of the Fatimid state.'

¹⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:29ff.

¹⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:9-12.

¹⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.364:2-5.

large stretch of territory south from the city wall²⁰ along the west side of the southern main street, more or less to the site of the mosque of Ināl al-Atābkī.²¹ It is described as being residential.²²

Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya was another troop quarter. It was outside Bāb Zuwayla to the south-east.²³ Its location is best indicated by the survival of the name al-Yānisiyya in the Mamluk and modern street name system. Maqrīzī describes the Mihmandār mosque as opening at the back onto Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya, and there is still a lane called Darb al-Ansiyya behind the Mihmandār coming down from the Qijmās al-Ishāqī mosque.²⁴ Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya seems also to have been founded at this time. It too was on the east of the main street.²⁵ Later, Maqrīzī describes the head or gate of Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya as being near the madrasa of Ināl on the Qaṣaba.²⁶

²⁰ 'And the site of al-Manṣūra was on the right of anyone going along the main street outside Bāb Zuwayla. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir said that the black troops had [*kānit lil-sūdān*] a *hāra* known by their name which was called al-Manṣūra. Šalāh al-Dīn had it destroyed ... and made it into a bustān and a ḥawḍ. It was beside the Bāb al-Ḥadīd, that is, what is nowadays called Bāb al-Qaws, at the head of Ḥārat al-Mantajabiyya, between it and Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya. Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.19:36-8.

'And the site of Dār al-Tuffāh was formerly part of Ḥārat al-Sūdān, which was made into a bustān in the time of Sultan Šalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb.' Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.93:34-5.

²¹ 'Alī Mubārak cites al-Sakhāwī that it was to the north of this mosque: Salmon, *Etudes sur la topographie du Caire*, 57.

²² 'This *hāra* was very large and wide and in it were a number of dwellings of the black troops [*al-sūdān*]. After the battle on Dhū'l-Qa'da 564 ... Šalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb gave orders for the ruin of this Manṣūra area and the obliteration of its traces [and it was completely ruined] and he made it a garden [*bustānan*]. Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.19:7-9.

²³ 'Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya is named after a troop of the [Fatimid] soldier troops.' Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.16:33-4

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir says that al-Yānisiyya was outside Bāb Zuwayla': Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.16:37. Two stories are given about the founder: one that it was Abū'l Ḥaṣan Yānis the Sicilian, a servant of al-'Azīz (975-96), who al-Ḥākim later made governor of Barqa (Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.16:34-7); the other that Yānis was an Armenian physician and vizier of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allah (1131-49) (Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.16:37 ff).

²⁴ 'The madrasa ... is on the right of anyone going from the Darb al-Aḥmar towards the Māridānī mosque. It has a second door on Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya.' Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.399. See my section on the Mihmandār mosque.

²⁵ 'Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir described Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya as being on the left of anyone coming out of al-Ḥākim's al-Bāb al-Ḥadīd.' Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.20:27-8.

²⁶ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.401.

In tandem with the hāras, al-Ḥākim built a gate to enclose them and mark their southern limit, the Bāb al-Jadīd.²⁷ It is not clear whether the gate was part of a wall, hence what sort of purpose it really served (though it is described as having a ramp, zalāqa²⁸). But the erection of a gate here confirms what Maqrīzī says elsewhere, that the southern main street or Qaṣaba was developed as a market street at least down as far as the Bāb al-Jadīd in this period.

Maqrīzī says in one of the passages quoted above: 'and the buildings touched from the Bāb al-Jadīd to the empty space [fadā'] which is now the mashhad of Sayyida Nafisa.²⁹ The dramatic expansion of the city to mythical proportions, followed by its dramatic and justly deserved ruin, is a favourite theme of Maqrīzī's, and we have to disallow for the exaggeration. This is a clear case,³⁰ and later Maqrīzī says that the southern main street joined up to Fustāt only under the later caliphs.³¹ I take this remark to be a reference to the development of the Qaṣaba some way towards Fustāt.

The area south-east of Bāb Zuwayla now began to be used by the inhabitants of the Fatimid city, but not for building:

It is said that the people of the city of Fustāt and the people of al-Qāhira had a number of cemeteries, and these are called the Qarāfa: and the cemetery that was at the foot of the mountain is called the Lesser Qarāfa, and the one that was east of Fustāt near the dwellings is called the Greater Qarāfa. And the Muslim dead were buried in the Great Qarāfa right from the opening of the land of Miṣr and the foundation of the city of Fustāt by the Arabs, and they used no other cemetery but this one. When the great Jawhar came ... and built al-Qāhira, and the caliphs lived in al-Qāhira, they built a turba in it called the Turbat al-Za'farān and they buried their own dead in it [the caliphal family dead]. Those of their subjects who died were buried in the Qarāfa,

²⁷ This name sometimes appears as Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The gate is also described as Bāb al-Qaws (cf. Jawhar al-Siqillī's first Bāb Zuwayla was later given this name). It was located at the Sūq al-Tuyūrīn, north of the Sūq Jāmi' Qawṣūn: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.101:9-10.

²⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.20:10.

²⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:29ff.

³⁰ He says later that before 700, the areas of al-Kabsh, Ibn Fūlūn, the Ṣalība and the Khatt al-Shāri' (of the main street itself) 'were all just basātīn before the year 700' - another self-contradictory exaggeration: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:19-26.

³¹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:33-4.

until the hāras were founded outside Bāb Zuwayla, and then their dead [the haras' dead: sukkānha] were buried outside Bāb Zuwayla, near the mosque, between the mosque of al-Šālīh and the Citadel. The graves there grew in number greatly in the time of the great hardship in the days of the Caliph al-Mustanšir.³²

This passage explains that it was the commons of al-Qāhira, or, narrowly, the people of the hāras themselves, who used the area to the south-east to bury their dead, from the time of the southern development under al-Ḥākim.³³ Maqrīzī is quite categorical that the south-eastern outskirts of the city were completely undeveloped in the Fatimid period. There was no route east from Bāb Zuwayla: where would it have led?³⁴

3. The al-Mustanšir crisis, c. 450-66/1058-74

In the famine years under the Caliph al-Mustanšir (c. 450-66/1058-74), 'all the affairs of Mišr were thrown into disorder and there was a dreadful ruin'.³⁵ Much of the development to the south (which had all focused around the southern extension of the main street)³⁶ was lost in this period and there was general retrenchment. Some of the commercial building along the southern main street would have been abandoned now. al-‘Askar and al-Qatā’ī were abandoned and ruined.³⁷ The impact of the crisis on the south-east was to swell the number of graves buried there. 'The graves there grew in number greatly in the time of the great hardship in the days of the Caliph al-Mustanšir'.³⁸

After the crisis, Badr al-Jamālī attempted to kickstart revival in the area. He ordered that the ruins of al-‘Askar and al-Qatā’ī be used for new construction. Much of the remains

³² Maqrīzī, Khitat II.442:35-443:3.

³³ Also: 'As for what is on your left, where the mosque of al-Šālīh and the Darb al-Aḥmar are, as far as Ibn Fūlūn's al-Qatā’ī, which is now the Rumayla and the mīdān under the Citadel, that was [all] a cemetery [maqābir] for the people of al-Qāhira.' Maqrīzī, Khitat I.364:5-7. Maqrīzī also says of the thirteenth-century Suwayqat al-‘Izzī on the Sūq al-Silāh that before its development 'it was part of the area of maqābir outside Qāhira between al-Bāb al-Jadīd and the hāras, Birkat al-Fīl, and the Citadel rock'. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.106-7.

³⁴ After the Citadel was built, 'a way/road began to lead to the Citadel on this left-hand side between the cemetery and the jabal': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:31-2.

³⁵ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:12-13.

³⁶ Salmon, Etudes sur la topographie du Caire, 75.

³⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:c.32ff.

³⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.443:2-3.

of the earlier habitations there were cleared away.³⁹ He also expanded the city on all four sides, presumably bringing some of the hāras area inside the new wall.

4. The last caliphs, from 500/1106

Under the Caliph al-Āmir and the vizier al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī,⁴⁰ a major revival was sponsored to the south. Once again, this was probably focused quite narrowly around the main street. al-Āmir's vizier, al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī, decreed that landowners of property in the ruined al-'Askar and al-Qatā'ī' areas must reoccupy or rebuild their plots, on pain of loss of their rights. 'And when al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī decreed this, the people built on the land there from near [yalā] al-Qāhira on the Sayyida Nafisa side to outside Bāb Zuwayla'.⁴¹ In another place Maqrīzī says that at this point the people built until there were no ruined areas between Fustāt and Qāhira:

And the people built along the main street from al-Bāb al-Jadīd across to the jabal, where the Citadel is now; and they built a wall to hide the ruins of al-Qatā'ī' and al-'Askar; and they built from al-Bāb al-Jadīd down to Bāb al-Šafā' in the city of Fustāt.⁴²

Maqrīzī says that at this point the southern main street was such a busy market that workers would commute home to Fustāt from al-Qāhira after a late supper, 'and the sūq was lamplit from al-Bāb al-Jadīd outside Bāb Zuwayla to Bāb al-Šafā' where Kawm al-Jāriḥ is now; and the work [al-ma'āsh] continued by night and by day'.⁴³

The wall screening off the ruins of al-'Askar and al-Qatā'ī' may have been along the south side of the Šalība or along the east side of the southern Main Street (or even, possibly,

³⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.305:21-24; 'And what remained of the dwellings [masākin] between Qāhira and Mišr were destroyed and deserted and ruined, and nothing remained of them except some gardens [basātīn]: 23-24. Enough remained for the al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī decree, so this is another case of exaggeration. Presumably some of the remains were reused, and some were left behind.

⁴⁰ 'After 500[1107]': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:13-14.

⁴¹ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.305:18-25; quote is 24-25.

⁴² Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:33-4.

⁴³ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:36-7.

both⁴⁴). The language used is not explicit enough for us to tell. The caliph's processional route to Fustāt⁴⁵ could have taken two paths: either down the Main Street, turning right onto the Šalība, past Ibn Tūlūn, over the bridge and along the river-bank south to Fustāt; or crossing the Šalība and continuing on south first to Sayyida Nafīsa and then to Bāb al-Šafā'. Of these, Salmon favours the second as the caliph's route.⁴⁶

In the same period, a large and prosperous new army hāra was built along the east of the main street, the Hārat al-Mašāmida.⁴⁷ al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī invited two army chiefs to set up a hāra outside Bāb Zuwayla east of Bāb al-Jadīd. Each of them then founded a mosque (masjid) in the hāra, one on the ramp of Bāb al-Jadīd, the other on the site of the Hillāliyya. These mosques did not survive the caliphate of al-Ḥāfiẓ (1131-49).⁴⁸

One of the passages quoted above says: 'And the people built along the main street from al-Bāb al-Jadīd across to the jabal, where the Citadel is now'.⁴⁹ Allowing for exaggeration, this seems to be a statement that some of areas behind the main street to the east developed in this period. This is consistent with the development of the Hārat al-Mašāmida. Away from the main street and towards the Darb al-Aḥmar area, there was still nothing, he says, by the time of the construction of al-Šālīḥ Talā'i's mosque in 555/1160.

and when the vizier al-Šālīḥ Talā'i b. Ruzzīk built the mosque of al-Šālīḥ which is still there today outside Bāb Zuwayla, what was behind it in the direction of the Qatā'ī' of Ibn Tūlūn was a cemetery [maqbara] for the people of al-Qāhira up to the end of the Fatimid state [and until] the Sultan Šalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb built the

⁴⁴ Mackenzie, Ayyubid Cairo, 16. After the al-Mustanṣir years, a wall was built to shield the caliph on his procession to Fustāt from the ruins of al-‘Askar, and another at Ibn Tūlūn mosque: Maqrīzī, Khitat I.305:17.

⁴⁵ For instance, in the great early days of Fatimid Qāhira, al-Ẓāhir's son, the infant al-Mustanṣir, rides, aged three, on horseback from Qāhira to Fustāt. The streets are decorated, and people kiss the ground as he rides by: Maqrīzī, Khitat I.355:17-25.

⁴⁶ Salmon, Etudes sur la topographie du Caire, 74.

⁴⁷ 'They built the hāra on the left of someone coming out of [Bāb al-Jadīd]': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.20:9-11. Maqrīzī also states that the mosque of Qawsūn was to the west of Hārat al-Mašāmida: Salmon, Etudes sur la topographie du Caire, 58.

⁴⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.20:13.

⁴⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:33-4.

Citadel at the head of the high ground overlooking al-Qatā'ī' ...⁵⁰

The area east and south-east of the mosque is still characterized solely as cemetery.

5. From Šalāh al-Dīn to the early Mamluks, 564-700/1168-1301

And when the Fatimid state came to an end, the Sultan Šalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb demolished Ḥārat al-Manšūra where the black troops had lived outside Bāb Zuwayla and made it a bustān, and what was outside Bāb Zuwayla became gardens [basātīn] as far as the mashhad of Sayyida Nafisa. And beside the gardens a road led [tarīq yasluk] from them to the Citadel that the Sultan Šalāh al-Dīn built, as mentioned, at the hands of the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Asadī. And whoever stood at the door of the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn would see Bāb Zuwayla.⁵¹

After the rebellion of the Sudanese troops in 564/1168, Šalāh al-Dīn razed the Ḥārat al-Sūdān/al-Manšūra. It was burnt and then ploughed up, and seems to have been utterly destroyed, and is described as reverting to its former state as 'gardens' [basātīn]. Maqrīzī says elsewhere that the Taḥt al-Rab' area immediately under the city wall did not develop till after the year 700.⁵²

Some of the development south of Bāb Zuwayla was thus destroyed, but it is not clear how much. Ḥārat al-Sūdān was along the west of the southern main street down to the Bāb al-Jadīd; most of the other ḥāra areas were along the east. It is hard to see why Šalāh al-Dīn should have destroyed these areas. Though the Ḥārat al-Sūdān was the black troops' base, the ḥāra areas were always residential, and much of the development described under the later Fatimid caliphs was not military, but commercial and urban. Even the chiefs of the Ḥārat al-Masāmida went to great trouble to have their mosques built at a point which gave them a good view down to Birkat al-Fīl.⁵³ The areas would not have had an exclusive military

⁵⁰ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:29-31.

⁵¹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:14-17.

⁵² 'And as for what was on the right, someone coming out of Bāb Zuwayla nowadays finds to his right two streets [shāri'ā], one of which leads across [west] and ends at the canal ... and all the places [amākin] in this area were gardens [basātīn] until after the year 700. In this area are [the site of] Khatt Dār al-Tufāh and the Sūq al-Saqatiyīn and the Khatt Taḥt al-Rab'. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:20-23.

⁵³ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.20:10-12.

character by now.⁵⁴ Maqrīzī says in the passage reproduced above that the area south of Bāb Zuwayla became gardens right down to Sayyida Nafīsa, that is, that all the development along the southern main street was lost, but this is probably an exaggeration.

Mackenzie cites 'Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī on this area. He says that in the famine years of 597-8/1201-2, houses in Ḥārat al-Ḥalab (west of the main street) were deserted, and that Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya, Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya and 'the major part of the main street outside Bāb Zuwayla' were 'abandoned and in ruins'. As 'Abd al-Latīf had lived in Cairo for some years before this, the implication is that he is reporting this ruination as something new.⁵⁵

As part of Šalāḥ al-Dīn's enclosing wall, the area between al-Qāhira and the Citadel was now walled in, mostly. The wall was extended from the old wall at Bāb Barqiyya and Bāb al-Qarrātīn⁵⁶ to the Darb Batūt and down to outside Bāb al-Wazīr. It was not continued right up to the Citadel, though, but was interrupted at a point near the Ramp.⁵⁷ The ditch outside the wall was dug a little beyond Bāb al-Barqiyya, but was never completed.⁵⁸

It is at this time that the beginnings of a through route to the Citadel on the site of the Darb al-Aḥmar/Tabbāna are described for the first time:

[after the end of the Fatimids and after] Šalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb built the Citadel at the head of the high ground overlooking al-Qatā'ī', a way began to lead [šār yasluk ilā] to the Citadel on this left-hand side between the cemetery and the jabal.⁵⁹

[After Šalāḥ al-Dīn rased the Ḥārat al-Mansūra] the area outside Bāb Zuwayla became gardens [basātīn] as far as the Sayyida Nafīsa mashhad. And beside the gardens, a road led [tarīq yasluk] from them to the Citadel that the Sultan Šalāḥ al-Dīn built, as

⁵⁴ The remains of the Bāb al-Jadīd were still there in Maqrīzī's day. 'I have seen the arch of this gate at the head of the Ḥārat al-Manjabīyya beside the Sūq al-Ṭuyūr'. Maqrīzī, Khītat II.100:29.

⁵⁵ Mackenzie, Ayyubid Cairo, 43.

⁵⁶ Called Bāb al-Maḥrūq from the 1250s, after it was burnt down by mamluks of Aqtāy al-Jamdār trying to escape from those of Sultan Aybak after their master's murder. Maqrīzī, Khītat I.383.

⁵⁷ Maqrīzī, Khītat I.380:2.

⁵⁸ Maqrīzī, Khītat I.380:14-15. The ditch had fallen into disuse by Maqrīzī's time.

⁵⁹ Maqrīzī, Khītat II.110:29-32.

mentioned.⁶⁰

al-Malik al-Kāmil moved from the Dār al-Wizāra in al-Qāhira to the Citadel in 604/1207-8, and the horse, camel and donkey market was moved to Rumayla at the same time. We may therefore interpret Maqrīzī here as saying that the Darb al-Aḥmar route began to develop after that date, 'as the needs for good and services of the resident Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans increased'.⁶¹ However, the road did not develop as a through route to the Citadel immediately. Initially the route used to get to the Citadel was to go south and then turn along the Šalība. The southern main street or Qašaba had now been more or less fully developed for at least 50 years.

6. Expansion, from 700/1301

Maqrīzī says:

[After Šalāḥ al-Dīn's destruction of the hāras and construction of the Citadel] Then came the buildings that are outside Bāb Zuwayla now, after the year 700. And now there are three streets outside Bāb Zuwayla, one of which is on the right and the other is on the left, and the third street faces whoever comes out of Bāb Zuwayla. These three streets comprise a number of districts ... !⁶²

And when the buildings grew numerous outside Bāb Zuwayla in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad after the year 700, the beginning of this street [the southern Qašaba] was opposite Bāb Zuwayla, and its southern end was at the Šalība, which ends at the Ibn Fūlūn mosque and so on. But we should only really call this the main street as far as Bāb al-Qaws at the Sūq al-Tuyūrīn, that is, the Bāb al-Jadīd. After Bāb al-Qaws is the Sūq al-Tuyūrīn, then the Sūq Jāmi' Qawsūn and the Sūq Ḥawd Ibn Hanas and the Sūq Rab' Tafagī. These sūqs have a number of shops, but they are no match for the great suqs of al-Qāhira, in fact they are much more modest.⁶³

The first development to note is that Maqrīzī is saying that it was at this time that the three southern streets - the Darb al-Aḥmar, the southern Qašaba and the street leading west from Bāb Zuwayla - began to take their final shape. Second, he describes the southern Qašaba developing as a market street right down to the Šalība. By way of comparison,

⁶⁰ Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.110:15-16.

⁶¹ Mackenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 42-3.

⁶² Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.110:18-20.

⁶³ Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.101:4-10.

Maqrīzī previously said that the main street had already developed much further than this under the last Fatimid caliphs. He described it there as developed right down to Bāb al-Šafā' on the outskirts of Fustāt,⁶⁴ and described the sūq lamplit all night from Bāb al-Jadīd to Bāb al-Šafā' as workers commuted home from al-Qāhira.⁶⁵ Maqrīzī was, as he often does, exaggerating. I take this to mean that the southern main street urbanized more fully and more lastingly from 700. This development is described as intensifying in the later al-Nāsir Muḥammad period. After the digging of the Nāsirī canal in 1325, Maqrīzī says:

And the area outside Bāb Zuwayla was built up, to the right and to the left ... from Bāb Zuwayla to the mashhad of Sayyida Nafisa ... and the buildings of Fustāt and of Qāhira joined up and they became one city.⁶⁶

In other words, after disallowing for hyperbole, the southern main street developed at this time, more fully and lastingly than in the Fatimid period (if indeed it happened at all then), down to Sayyida Nafisa and thus to Bāb al-Šafā'. But the development of the southern Qāšaba did not bring with it wholesale development of the south-eastern back-lying area: Salmon is right to see the south-east edges of the main street now as gradually growing 'commercial arteries', no more.⁶⁷

In the south-east, Maqrīzī says that though the through route emerged after the establishment of the Citadel, development along the route happened gradually, bit by bit, from 700. The full passage is:

and when the vizier al-Šālīḥ Talā'i' b. Ruzzīk built the mosque of al-Šālīḥ which is still there today outside Bāb Zuwayla, what was behind it in the direction of the Qatā'ī' of Ibn Tūlūn was a cemetery [maqbara] for the people of al-Qāhira up to the end of the Fatimid state [and until] the Sultan Šalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb built the Citadel at the head of the high ground overlooking al-Qatā'ī'. And a way began to lead [šār yasluk ilā] to the Citadel on this left-hand side between the cemetery and the jabal. Then, after the tribulations, there came these buildings that are there now, bit by bit, from the year 700: there came the Khatt Sūq al-Busutiyyīn and the Khatt al-Darb

⁶⁴ 'and they built from al-Bāb al-Jadīd down to Bāb al-Šafā' in the city of Fustāt': Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.100:33-4. 'And when al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'īhī decreed this, the people built on the land there from near [yalā] al-Qāhira on the Sayyida Nafisa side to outside Bāb Zuwayla'. Maqrīzī, *Khītat* I.305:24-5.

⁶⁵ Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.100:36-7.

⁶⁶ Maqrīzī, *Khītat* I.365:10-11; 13.

⁶⁷ Salmon, *Etudes sur la topographie du Caire*, 111-112.

al-Aḥmar, and the Khatt Jāmi' al-Māridaynī and the Khatt Sūq al-Ghanam and the Khatt al-Tabbāna and the Khatt Bāb al-Wazīr and the Citadel and the Rumayla ..⁶⁸

It is not known what the phrase 'the tribulations' refers to (it is usually the al-Mustanṣir years).

A coda: the second crisis, 749-815/1348-1412

From 749/1348, the year of the Black Death in Europe and the worst plague year in Egypt, to Faraj b. Barqūq's assassination in 1412, Maqrīzī says, in his voice of doom, that a period of sustained crisis succeeded the previous phase of dynamic development. 'Most' of the growth he had described was, he says, abandoned and left to ruin: to become piles of garbage (kīmān), ruins (kharā'ib). In the more-or-less permanent economic crisis and food shortage from 806/1403 - above all because of the frivolous and irresponsible whims and extortion of 'the kings of Egypt' - many other parts of the city met the same fate.⁶⁹

In fact it is debatable how much of this is correct, as Raymond points out. Bourgeois and working-class areas may have suffered greatly in the difficult period, 1340-1412; amirial building never stopped.⁷⁰ To this question we will return in chapter three.

⁶⁸ Maqrīzī, Khītat II.110:29-34.

⁶⁹ Maqrīzī, Khītat I.365:19-27.

⁷⁰ Raymond, Le Caire, 156. Raymond makes a distinction between palatial and solid urban development: 181.

Chapter two: Survey of structures and activities on the Darb al-Ahmar street, 969-1517

Explanatory note on locations and maps:

Location is given throughout in terms of the grid of the *Déscription* map ('Le Kaire', Pl. 26, Vol. 1 of *Déscription de l'Égypte: Etat Modeme*, Paris: 1809-22). This grid is reproduced, and structures on the street are marked (except for those whose location is very uncertain), on Map 1 in this chapter and on the appropriate plates at the back of the thesis. Each structure is numbered in the text, and these numbers are mapped on Map 1 and Table 1.

(Table 1 and Map 1 in *Map_tables.pdf*; page 21 follows)

1. The Fatimid ḥāras

Location: M/N/O 7/6, around Qaṣaba (see Map 1)

Date: c. 386-411/996-1021; c. 515/1121

Function: Residential quarters for tribal factions of Fatimid army

Founder: Tribal army chiefs, initially sponsored by the caliph al-Ḥākim

As described in detail in chapter one, in the reign of the caliph al-Ḥākim (r. 386-411/996-1021) tribal factions of the Fatimid army founded residential quarters outside the city to the south (presumably later partly incorporated into the city by Badr al-Jamālī's second wall).⁷¹ Ḥārat al-Manṣūra/al-Sūdān, Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya and Ḥārat al-Hillāliyya all dated from this period. The largest was Ḥārat al-Manṣūra/al-Sūdān, which extended south from the city wall (Dār al-Tuffāh is later described as on the site of the ḥāra) along the west side of the southern main street, perhaps roughly as far as the later mosque of Ināl at N6; the other two were on the east side of the main street.

The ḥāra area was bounded by the Bāb al-Jadīd, built by al-Ḥākim at the same time. This was located at the Sūq al-Ṭuyūrīn on the southern main street, which in turn is described as north of the Sūq Jāmi' Qawṣūn (at P7).⁷²

After 1125, in the vizierate of al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī, another large and prosperous new ḥāra was built along the east of the southern main street, Ḥārat al-Maṣāmida.

⁷¹ For sources and for the full Maqrīzī passages, see pp. 6-8, 11.

⁷² Maqrīzī, *Khītat* II.101:9-10.

2. **Khizānat Shimā'il**

Location: M7, on west side of the Qaṣaba, next to Bāb Zuwayla

Date: Before 615/1218; ? c. 485/1092

Function: Prison of the governor of al-Qāhira

Founder: Unknown

Location

At Bāb Zuwayla, just inside the Fatimid city wall,⁷³ on the west side of the Qaṣaba.

Founder

Maqrīzī does not say that Shimā'il founded the prison, but that it was named after him. 'Alam al-Dīn Shimā'il was from Syria; he made his name in 615/1218 during the Franks' attack on Damietta, when he made a heroic escape through the boats of the invaders to bring information to the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, who had just ascended the throne. al-Kāmil promoted him to amīr jānidār and made him governor (wālī) of al-Qāhira. He continued to serve under al-Malik al-'Ādil II, and presumably died under al-Malik al-Šālīh Najm al-Dīn (r. 637-47/1240-49), who hated and undid him.⁷⁴

Foundation

The prison was already there by 615/1218; Shimā'il was made its warden shortly afterwards. It could have been erected either in the early Ayyubid period or shortly after the foundation of Bāb Zuwayla. A prison might easily develop out of the guardhouse for a gate. A central prison and security base would have been still more essential once the seat of authority was no longer in al-Qāhira but on the Citadel.

Functions

This was the most infamous of Cairo's numerous prisons,⁷⁵ both for its inmates ('murderers, thieves, bandits, and those who had committed extraordinary crimes') and for its reputation as a destination of disaster from which one would never return (in it were also 'whichever of his

⁷³ bijawār al-sūr: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.188:22.

⁷⁴ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.188:28-34.

⁷⁵ min ashna' al-sujūn wa aqbaḥha manẓaran: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.188:23-4.

mamluks the Sultan wished to destroy').⁷⁶ It is mentioned more frequently in the chronicles than other prisons. It was administered by the city governor, wālī al-Qāhira, a title sometimes translated as 'chief of police'. It was still in use right up to the time it was demolished by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's men in Rabī' I 818, to clear the site for his new complex.

Site before foundation

Before the city prison was built here, under the Fatimids there was a granary (ahrā') on the site.⁷⁷

The structure and the street

It is logical that the city prison should be built next to the gate on which the mutilated remains of wrongdoers were displayed as a deterrent after their death. It is also clear from the chronicles that the prison was hated and feared, and Swelim is probably right that one of the most important symbolic meanings of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's new foundation may have been the destruction of this hated symbol of oppression,⁷⁸ a sort of Bastille. The argument would be that in replacing the prison with his splendid new mosque, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was presenting himself as a man of religion, of dīn and 'ilm, rather than of violence. This certainly was al-Mu'ayyad's preferred public image.

Later, in Maqrīzī's time and right up to 1798, this part of the street was the food-markets area (though executions still continued at Bāb Zuwayla, of course). Here were said by Maqrīzī to be the imported cheese market, cookshops, and money-changing, bone-setting and 'sellers of wonders' stalls.⁷⁹ On the Déscription map this section of the Qaṣaba is called al-Sukkariyya.

⁷⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.188:22-25.

⁷⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat I. 465, cited Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla', 58.

⁷⁸ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla', 186, 71.

⁷⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:18-23.

3. **Badr al-Jamālī's Bāb Zuwayla**

Location: M6, on Qašaba, on city wall (see Plate 3)

Date: 485/1092

Function: Lockable, defensible city gate; place of punishment and execution

Founder: Badr al-Jamālī

Foundation of the structure

Within a hundred years al-Qāhira had outgrown its walls, and in 480, Badr al-Jamālī built his new walls around an area expanded on all four sides. In 485, he built the new or 'great' Bāb Zuwayla gate.⁸⁰ It had a ramp or glacis (zulāqa) as a defence against attack by cavalry. This was destroyed under al-Malik al-Kāmil I (r. 1218-38) after his horse slipped on it and nearly threw him. During building work for Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq's mosque opposite Bāb Zuwayla in 811/1408, the men dug through to sections of the ramp, so it must have extended quite a way around the gate.⁸¹

At the time it was built and well into the thirteenth century, Bāb Zuwayla was strategically very important as a fortifiable gate into the new city. It was frequently attacked and defended in times of civil war, if not often by foreign forces. In the last years of the Fatimids, 564-6/1169-71, before the establishment of firm Ayyubid rule, both Shirkūh and Shāwwar attacked from the south. As the area south of the wall and especially down the Qašaba developed, Bāb Zuwayla ceased to be an external defence as the new areas shielded the southern wall, to the point where al-Qāhira in effect had become a city precinct rather a city in its own right.

The Bāb Zuwayla towers were later built upon by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, not only by his minarets but also by accommodation units: the mosque's waqfiyya mentions nine

⁸⁰ Maqrīzī also gives an alternative date, 484. He also cites Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir saying that it was the caliph al-'Azīz who began the new gate, and that Badr al-Jamālī only completed it. Three architect brothers from Ruhā (Edessa) built the three new gates, one each. Maqrīzī, Khitat I.381:5-6.

⁸¹ The Maqrīzī account of Bāb Zuwayla is at Khitat I.380-81.

tabaqa erected on top of Bāb Zuwayla,⁸² and these or something like them are visible in a plate by David Roberts. Maqrīzī claims that the towers were originally taller and that the addition of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's minarets shortened them. Some of the inscriptions, including the foundation inscription, were lost. Maqrīzī describes a dated inscription with the names of Badr al-Jamālī and the caliph al-Mustanṣir, but by the nineteenth century Herz found only an 'Alid shahāda.⁸³

The structure in the street

The ramp would have created a rather imposing approach zone around the gate. Its extent can be judged by the positioning of al-Ṣāliḥ Talā'i's mosque relative to Bāb Zuwayla (see Plate 3). There would have been a wide mīdān in the street outside the gate at this point. The destruction of the ramp would have marked the beginning of encroachment onto the mīdān and the narrowing of the street, culminating in Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq's positioning of his mosque a scant four metres from the west tower of Bāb Zuwayla.⁸⁴

Bāb Zuwayla was locked at night, as well as in times of civil disturbance. In the Fatimid and Mamluk period the postern-gate system operated, whereby one could enter and leave the city after sundown by declaring one's business to the guards on one of the khawkhas such as the Khawkhat Aydaghmish (q.v.).⁸⁵

Apart from deterring armed approaches from the south, Bāb Zuwayla was principally used as a deterrent against political dissent and civil disobedience. It was one of the main execution sites of the city. Unfortunate victims might be crucified⁸⁶ there after being stripped

⁸² Sayed, 'The rab' in Cairo', 106.

⁸³ The shahāda is identically worded to those on Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ: CIA Egypte I # 520, pp. 707-8; p. 62.

⁸⁴ M oṣṭafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 24.

⁸⁵ Maqrīzī describes a postern near Khawkhat Aydaghmish, q.v., as 'one of the old Fatimid khawkhas': Maqrīzī, Khītat II.45:30-31.

⁸⁶ The assassin of the Fatimid caliph al-Ẓāhir, Naṣr b. al-'Abbās, was crucified on Bāb Zuwayla. In 558 or 559/1163-4, in the last days of the Fatimid caliphate, the vizier Dirghām crucified his opponent the amir Murtafi' al-Khalawās outside Bāb Zuwayla. Ibn al-Furāt, 186 verso, reproduced in Claude Cahen, "Un récit inédit du vizirat de Dirghām," Annales Islamologiques 8 (1969): 27-46.

naked, nailed to camels and paraded through the city,⁸⁷ or just hanged, as the last Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Tūmān Bāy, was at the gate by Salīm the Grim.⁸⁸ The remains of the victim, or of high-profile offenders who had been killed elsewhere, were then left hanging on the gate for weeks. In 1391 the head of the amir Mintāsh, who had given Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq so much trouble, was displayed on a lance in Syria and then brought back to Cairo for hanging on Bāb Zuwayla.⁸⁹ War victims' heads were also displayed. When al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn returned victorious from Syria in 642/1244 after beating the Franks, his captives were brought to Cairo and their 'heads were fastened on the Zuwaila gate, as well as on other gates of the city'.⁹⁰ Outside times of civil unrest, there were fewer executions than one might expect: 1341 was seen as a bad year, with five.⁹¹ Bāb Zuwayla was also used for dispensing more routine punishments: in the Thousand Nights and a Night, the 'Nazarene Broker' from Mosul, who has been tempted into picking pockets, is punished at Bāb Zuwayla by having his hands cut off.⁹²

The loggia on the gate was used, among other things, for the beating of drums for special purposes, for instance in ceremonial parades.⁹³

It was thought that the qutb or saint of all saints (wālī of all wālīs) lived at Bāb Zuwayla, observing everyone, and that from time to time he would appear, dressed very

⁸⁷ This was the fate of Sayf al-Dīn Alnāq, conspirator to kill Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, who was thought for a long time to be the builder of the Ālin Āq palace: Maqrīzī, Sulūk I.795:14-796:4. His fate was not an unusual punishment for traitors: Shoshan, Popular culture in medieval Cairo, 5; Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 177.

⁸⁸ Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 231. After the occupation, an enterprising Cairene shadow-puppeteer recreated Tūmān Bāy's hanging for Salīm the Grim, including the rope snapping twice. The Sultan 'was seen to crack a smile' and paid the man 200 dinars. Rodenbeck, Cairo, 119.

⁸⁹ Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 193.

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Furāt, Tārīkh al-duwal wa al-mulūk, trans. Lyons and Lyons, II.7 42a:3-4.

⁹¹ Shoshan, Popular culture in medieval Cairo, 5.

⁹² Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 180.

⁹³ From 735/1334-5 a peal of drums was played there every night after the afternoon prayer. Maqrīzī, Khitat I.381:12-14.

shabbily, 'to reprove the impious'.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 178. According to Lane, reported by Staffa, beggars at Bāb Zuwayla were said to be the servants of the qutb.

4. Mosque of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh

Location: M7, on west side of Qaṣaba, next to Bāb Zuwayla (see Plate 3)

Date: 818-24/1415-21

Function: Madrasa, but for Sufis; Friday prayers; sabīl-kuttāb; (originally) two mausoleums; services

Founder: Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh

Founder

al-Mu'ayyad Abū'l-Nāṣir Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī was a Circassian Mamluk of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, born c. 770/1368. On becoming Sultan in 784/1382, Barqūq freed al-Mu'ayyad and he rose rapidly in the ranks. The story is told that he spent some years imprisoned in Khizānat Shimā'il, the prison he later bulldozed, but the dates are wrong and this may be a later invention.⁹⁵ al-Mu'ayyad became amir al-ḥajj in 801 and amir of 1,000 in 802. He rebelled more or less continually against Barqūq's son, Sultan Faraj, from a base in Syria 807-14/1404-11. Finally, in 814/1411, he and the amir Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī captured and killed Faraj in Damascus. They installed the Abbasid caliph al-ʿĀdil al-Mustaʿīn bi'llah as titular sultan for a year, then he was made to step down and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was declared Sultan in 815. His rival Nawrūz was eventually taken and killed.⁹⁶

al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh took a keen interest in doctrinal matters and religious affairs and liked to present himself as a devout ruler and a patron of religion. al-ʿAynī reports that he would invite scholars to his palace twice a week to discuss with them,⁹⁷ and this is borne out by his joining in the discussion between religious scholars at the opening of his mosque (see below). As well as being a good alms-giver generally, he sometimes gave special help to poor ulama: in the crisis of 819/1416, when a bad plague attack hit during an economic crisis, he sent his khāzindār down into the city to give money to those in mosques, madrasas and

⁹⁵ It was this that supposedly made him vow to destroy the prison, but as reported by Ibn Iyās, in 792 al-Nāṣir Faraj b. Barqūq could not have been the jailer: Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 5, 19.

⁹⁶ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 4-9.

⁹⁷ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 17.

khānqāhs.⁹⁸ It was in the same year that he made his famous ruling that the khatīb should step down from the top step of the minbar before pronouncing his name during the Friday sermon, so that his name should not be uttered at the same height as those of God and the Prophet.⁹⁹ His piety was probably (selectively) genuine, although many of his gestures also served very effectively as public relations. This is relevant because his new mosque was presented under the pretext of an improvement of the area.

The foundation of the mosque

Unlike some rulers, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh lost little time before starting on his ambitious building programme. Through coercion and istibdāl, a process that was not considered entirely legal, let alone ethical, he obtained a vast collection of properties next to and behind Bāb Zuwayla to north and west. Demolition began in Rabī' I 818/1415, and the foundations were dug in Jumādā II.

He took civic buildings, commercial buildings which were endowed to support private religious institutions, markets and their rab'ūs. He took the Khizānat Shimā'il prison and much of the city wall between Bāb al-Faraj and Bāb Zuwayla.¹⁰⁰ He took the qaisāriyyas of Raslān¹⁰¹ and Sunqur,¹⁰² and part of the rab' of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (part of the Sūq al-

⁹⁸ As well as to the more usual poor, sick and widows: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.40:5-10. Other accounts cited by Swelim say he gave wheat handouts and daily loaves to the people of these religious institutions: Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 33, note 76.

⁹⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.43:7-11.

¹⁰⁰ The wall that they demolished was in places nearly ten cubits thick: Maqrīzī, Khitat I.379: 32-34.

¹⁰¹ Qaisāriyya and rab' of Raslān: between Hārat al-Maḥmūdiyya to N and Darb al-Šāfira to S; date, before 717/1317; founder, the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Raslān (Arslān), Dawādār of al-Nāšir Muḥammad, d. Ramaḍān 717/1317 (Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.121). 'This qaisāriyya is between Darb al-Šāfira and al-Ḥajjārīn. It was founded by the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Raslān al-Dawādār, and he endowed it to support his khānqāh at Minshā't al-Mihrānī. It was one of the most beautiful of the city's qaisāriyyas. When al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh decided to build his madrasa, he had it demolished in Jumādā I 818, and he paid the people of the khānqāh 500 dinars in compensation.' Maqrīzī, Khitat II.87.

¹⁰² Qaisāriyya of Sunqur al-Ashqar: S of Darb al-Šāfira; date, between 658/1260 and 677/1278; founder, the amir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashqar, mamluk of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ

Aqbā'iyīn).¹⁰³ He took the Dār al-Tuffāh by istibdāl and destroyed its upper floors and some of its exterior shops, and took its grilled iron windows to use in his foundation.¹⁰⁴ This was along the main streets.¹⁰⁵ Then he moved into the interior, in behind the city wall and in behind Khizānat Shimā'il, and took the houses.

[Khizānat Shimā'il was still in use] until al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī demolished it on 11 Rabī' I and made it into his madrasa, together with everything else that he destroyed in the way of fine houses [al-dūr] whose sites he decided to build his madrasa on.¹⁰⁶

[al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh got possession of qaisāriyyat Sunqur by istibdāl] and he took it, and then he took Khizānat Shimā'il, and houses [dūran] and streets [ḥārāt] and many palaces [qā'āt], to the point where he forced this situation on a great number of people.¹⁰⁷

He took a whole street: he demolished Darb al-Šāfira, which Maqrīzī described as made up of very fine houses [dūr].¹⁰⁸ He demolished all the houses next to the wall.¹⁰⁹ About the only thing that he did not destroy was the zāwiyya of Shaykh 'Alī Abū'l-Nūr on Taḥt al-Rab' street. This he incorporated into the southern riwāq of the mosque. In other words, al-

Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and later a favourite of Baybars, who in 1267 built him a house on the Citadel (Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 112); posted to Damascus by Baybars' son Baraka Khan, 677/1278 (Meinecke, Die mamelukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.54). Taken by istibdāl: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.30:15-31.5.

¹⁰³ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.105-6.

¹⁰⁴ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.94:2. The Sultan paid compensation to the inhabitants of the amir Fuqūzdumūr's khānqāh in the cemetery. Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla', 65.

¹⁰⁵ He also took the sabīl of the Vizier 'Abd Allah b. Aḥmad Ibn Zunbūr, next to Khizānat Shimā'il; date, before 753/1352-3; founder, 'Abd Allah b. Aḥmad Ibn Zunbūr, exiled from Cairo 753/1352-3 by al-Šāliḥ Šāliḥ b. al-Nāsir Muḥammad; d. 754 in Qūs. 'And he had a sabīl in Qāhira, which was on the left of someone entering through Bāb Zuwayla, next to [bi-jawār] Khizānat Shimā'il, and it was made into the al-Mu'ayyad jāmi'.' Maqrīzī, Khitat II.62:13-15.

¹⁰⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.188:22-28.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.30:15-31:5.

¹⁰⁸ Darb al-Šāfira/al-Šaghīra: residential street between Qaisāriyyat Sunqur to S and Qaisāriyyat Raslān to N; date unknown. 'And indeed everything that was on it was among the splendid houses [dūr] by the jāmi' of al-Mu'ayyad'. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.41:30-32.

¹⁰⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.379: 33-34.

Mu'ayyad Shaykh wiped out an affluent residential quarter and large parts of a thriving market area. This was town planning with a vengeance, on a larger scale than anyone but Sultan Qalāūn in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. al-Mu'ayyad clearly wanted very badly to build his mosque just here, at this most central location and as a part of the city gates.¹¹⁰

Functions

The mosque was in ruins by the nineteenth century and all facades except the main one were reconstructed by the Ministry of Awqāf 1870-74 and the Comité 1887-97.¹¹¹ It was a vast institution, primarily an institution for teaching and for Sufi devotions, though Friday prayers were also held. 400 people were employed, of whom fewer than half were teachers or students.¹¹² Some of the Sufis studied the schools of law, ḥadīth, Qur'ān readings and exegesis; some simply did devotions full time. All were permanent residents.¹¹³

The main portal led in through a bent entrance and a corridor into the courtyard (see Plate 2). The other three entrances were from the back, one each at the far end of the subsidiary facades, raised slightly above the street by a small flight of steps, and a fourth entrance from the services area. Each was guarded by a bawwāb. This was a riwāq mosque, the prayer hall of three aisles compared to two on each of the other sides. All four schools of law were taught here, and each had its own riwāq, imam, shaykh and students, the Ḥanafī school getting the prayer hall. There were 50 Ḥanafī students, 40 Shāfi'ī, 15 Mālikī and 10 Ḥanbalī. All were Sufis.¹¹⁴ There were also shaykhs of ḥadīth, of Qur'ān and of al-Taḥāwī, and a textual grammarian. Some Sufis practised their devotions full time, and they had their

¹¹⁰ The Sultan also had his men scour old monuments and private houses for marble for his mosque. It was stripped from houses, palaces and dwellings (buyūt, qā'āt, amākin) and from 'the places known as "houses of joy [allatī bal-muftarijāt]"', causing a shortage of marble in Cairo from then on because of the size and breadth of the mosque. 'And this was the most beautiful jāmi' built in al-Qāhira for its decoration and its marble.' Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.43:13-16. Ibn Iyās says that the governor of al-Qāhira had his men break into private houses and remove marble by force. Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, II/1.20, cited Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla', 111.

¹¹¹ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 149.

¹¹² Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 63.

¹¹³ Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 41.

¹¹⁴ Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 41.

own shaykh al-sūfiyya. Fifty-seven Qur'ān reciters were employed to read at the windows, in groups, for one hour each, and two to read in the courtyard. There were three minarets, the two on Bāb Zuwayla and a third above the north-west entrance on the Ḥārat al-Maḥmūdiyya.¹¹⁵ Detailed to the minarets were 17 muezzins. There was a khatīb, who was also the librarian. On the north corner of the main facade was a sabīl-kuttāb, overlooking the Qaṣaba through two windows and the Ḥārat al-Maḥmūdiyya through one. Sixty orphans were taught in the kuttāb.¹¹⁶

Two tomb-chambers were intended, both opening off the prayer hall, but only the northern one (used for men) was built.¹¹⁷ In this were buried the Sultan's son, Šārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, whom the Sultan is sometimes said to have poisoned himself,¹¹⁸ the Sultan himself, two more infant sons, Sultan al-Muzaffar Aḥmad, and another son, Ibrāhīm (d. 833).¹¹⁹

Behind the mosque, to the west, was a large service area. There was accommodation for the Sufis,¹²⁰ a kitchen, a ḥammām, an ablutions area, a raḥba, a well, a cistern, and two stables.¹²¹

The complex was supported by a clutch of commercial properties close to the mosque and two more large properties in Qāhira. A building on the south side of Taḥt al-Rab' Street had 29 shops and 33 apartments; there were nine tabaqa on top of Bāb Zuwayla; next to the mosque were a tannery, a stable and a tenement building with tabaqa, riwāqs and shops, eight qā'as with shops (though these were never finished), and the ḥammām. There was also a

¹¹⁵ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 100. The Bāb Zuwayla minarets were completed in Rajab 822 and Sha'bān 823: Swelim 238.

¹¹⁶ Information from the waqfiyya is taken from Swelim's summary, 190-95, and on the reconstruction of the mosque from 79-160, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh'.

¹¹⁷ It was only completed in Dhū'l-Qa'da 824/1421, after al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's death: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.330.

¹¹⁸ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 16, but not in Ibn Taghrībirdī.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 17.114; 116; 143.

¹²⁰ This was never completed: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.330.

¹²¹ Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 141; Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 41.

large wakāla in al-Qāhira in Khatt Raḥbat al-‘Īd, and a residential/commercial complex near Bāb al-Sha‘riyya.¹²²

The structure in the street

al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh's new mosque complex did not impact very much on the lines or flow of traffic on the main streets at this intersection of the Qaṣaba and of Taḥt al-Rab‘ Street (see Plate 3). The only modification was a small one: the south wall along Taḥt al-Rab‘ is at a slightly different angle from the original city wall because it is aligned with qibla, and this wall removed the corner made by the projection of Bāb Zuwayla from the Fatimid wall.

But it transformed the area. Into a strategic node of the city, a busy food market area dominated by a prison and the city gates, with their symbols of fortification and security and their accoutrements of execution, al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh planted a regular, even, stately building of worship. He demolished the prison,¹²³ and onto the city gates, symbols of security, authority and punishment, he grafted two minarets, symbols of the call to prayer. At one level this was a massive urban improvement scheme, to upgrade the appearance of the area and make it more befitting the main entrance into the old city from the south and from the Citadel. The remains of executed criminals continued to be hung on Bāb Zuwayla after al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh's time, but he framed the gate in a stronger setting: over the sordid gibbet, he placed the symbols of a house of prayer. At the visual level, he thus redefined the city gates as a reminder of prayer, and by implication redefined Cairo as a city of belief.

al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh's mosque and its minarets on top of Bāb Zuwayla are aimed at two vantage-points in the city: at the approach to the city gates from the north, down the Qaṣaba, and at the approach to the gates from the outside, from the south. Coming from the north, a huge and stately mosque replaced a crowded mishmash of market stalls, qaisāriyyas and funduqs jostling up to the city jail. al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh replaced this with his high, long,

¹²² Sayed, 'The rab‘ in Cairo', 106 ff.

¹²³ Swelim is almost certainly right that the prison, Khizānat Shimā’il, was a hated symbol of oppression ('The complex of Sultan al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla', 186, 71).

even facade, raised above the street over a storey of shops.¹²⁴ He turned his huge portal slightly away from the rest of the facade so as to face the approach from the north. The portal is magnificent, with its huge, high pishtāq and its dramatic square Kufic panels framing the stolen door of Sultan Ḥasan. The sabīl-kuttāb on the corner faces both to the north and out over the Qaṣaba, a reminder of charity and piety. The portal, the dome and the long facade lead the eye up to the minarets on the gate of Bāb Zuwayla. If the mosque had been finished, there would have been two domes.

More important than this was the impact of the minarets on Bāb Zuwayla. Mounted on the gate, the minarets are placed directly in and over the path of the approach from the north. They are the most prominent minarets in the city. They recast the appearance, the function and the meaning of the gates within the framework of the call to prayer.

Coming from the south the view was even more altered, because the gate was seen from the outside as the entrance to the city. The Sultan's primary intention may have been to clothe the fortifications of the city in the symbols of prayer, but from outside, as high towers above the bastions of the city gates, the minarets acquire an additional level of meaning. As well as minarets for the giving of the call to prayer, they look like towers defending the entrance to the city. They make Bāb Zuwayla look mightier, better fortified, more majestic and more intimidating—in short, they make it more of a gate—than its twins on the north wall. Already in its original form Bāb Zuwayla, like its two surviving twins on the north, had projected an image of the city. ‘These gates with their highly expressive architectural elevation facing away from the city [were] a kind of facade of the city itself, and a symbol of its glory.’¹²⁵ Now al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh remodelled that facade.¹²⁶

The third minaret, on the north-west corner, shows the Sultan's determination to assert

¹²⁴ There were shops on the ground floor, and to counter the falling slope to the west, the whole mosque was built on a platform: Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh', 83, 96.

¹²⁵ Meinecke-Berg, 'Outline of the urban development of Cairo,' 10; emphasis added.

¹²⁶ The second dome would have been next to the left tower of Bāb Zuwayla; this might have softened the message of secular might and reinforced the message of piety.

the presence of his mosque to the interior of the city as well.¹²⁷

al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh thus visually redefined the city gates as a reminder of prayer, and redefined the city, seen from outside, as a city of belief. This also worked the other way. The Sultan was also cleverly appropriating to himself, through his mosque, the symbols of the city. He thus associated himself with al-Qāhira more effectively than any other ruler except Qalāūn.

Having gone to all this trouble, one would expect to find the Sultan incorporating his new mosque into a clutch of ceremonial activities. What we find is rather disappointing. There is one account of a fairly standard ceremonial parade through the city from the north, and this does involve the mosque in that the procession stops and enters the mosque for a banquet there; but to underscore his public image as the sultan of piety, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh should have prayed in whatever was ready of the mosque before coming out to resume his parade. In Shawwāl 820/1417, halfway through construction,¹²⁸ the Sultan is returning from an enterprise in Palestine. He rides in his royal robes, preceded by his men and his amirs; his son al-Šārim Ibrāhīm holds the emblems of the sultanate over his head. The procession enters through Bāb al-Našr and the Sultan's mamluks dismount and walk, while the amirs ride at a distance. The Caliph, the qādīs, the amirs and the arbāb al-dawla are all wearing their special robes.

Thus the Sultan passed on until he alighted at his mosque which he had built at the Zuwayla Gate. Cairo had been decorated in honor of his arrival; the shops had been illuminated with candles and lamps; and the singing girls sat in rows above the shops, beating their tambourines.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ This was behind the north riwāq. It is mentioned in the waqfiyya and in al-Šayrafī, and its position is marked on the Déscription map. We do not know when it collapsed. Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bab Zuwayla', 100.

¹²⁸ By way of comparison, it was in 821 that the first minaret on Bāb Zuwayla had to be dismantled and Bāb Zuwayla closed for a month: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.76: 6-8. The mosque was opened in Shawwāl 822, and the Bāb Zuwayla minarets are dated Rajab 822 and Sha'bān 823: inscriptions ## 27, 28 in Swelim, 'The complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla', 238.

¹²⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 17.52.

The Sultan dismounts at the portal of his mosque and goes inside with his men for a great feast. Then he mounts again at the portal of the mosque and rides out through Bāb Zuwayla, still in full regalia and ceremony, until he enters the Citadel through the Bāb al-Sirr.¹³⁰

Other visits of the Sultan to his mosque are described, but they are all private rather than ceremonial,¹³¹ except for the grand opening in Shawwāl 822/1419. This was indeed grand, but it can hardly be described as ceremonial as there is no public component. No parade is described to the mosque or away from its doors; the Sultan just rides off to Giza. On Friday 21 Shawwāl 822/1419, the Sultan overcame pains in his feet¹³² and came down to his mosque with the qādīs, his amirs and his mamluks to celebrate its completion and to appoint the staff.¹³³ An extravagant banquet was held in the mosque, the fountain in the courtyard filled with sugared water. The Sultan then appointed various establishment figures to the teaching staff of the madrasa. The Ḥanafī chief qādī was appointed head of Ḥanafī teaching and of the Sufis,¹³⁴ the Sultan's kātib al-sirr or private secretary (also a qādī) was appointed khatīb, and then the Sultan lined up the religious scholars ('arādā al-Sultān al-fuqahā') and chose which ones he was gracious enough to give jobs to.¹³⁵ The Sultan then dresses the new principal in his mashyakha robe and takes a seat in the mīhrāb beside him, with his own son and the qādīs.

¹³⁰ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.60: 7-16.

¹³¹ On 6 Šafar 821 the Sultan rides mutakhaffifan, hurriedly, to the mosque with his son and a few others. In Dhū'l-Ḥijja 821 he rides to his mosque from the Citadel (route unstated) with a few intimate attendants. After burying his son al-Šārim Ibrāhīm in Jumādā II 823, rather than processing home he simply 'rode ... and returned to the Citadel'. And in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 823 he attends Friday prayer in his mosque, but no more details are given: 'then the Sultan came down from the Citadel on Friday 18th to the al-Mu'ayyad mosque'. Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.65:4; 63:12-13; 97:5; 92:14.

¹³² Within a few months these were disabling and he was riding or being carried everywhere: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.92:22.

¹³³ It was not complete. Maqrīzī, Khīṭat II.329 says that only the qibla section of the mosque was completed at the opening; and in fact large parts of construction, such as the second dome, were never completed.

¹³⁴ 'To the mashyakha of the Sufis and to the Ḥanafī instruction', Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.91:3.

¹³⁵ 'To the positions and to the Sufi offices', fī al-wazā'if wa al-tašawwuf: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.91:5-6.

He [Ibn al-Ḍayrī, the new principal] sat in the mihrāb and the Sultan and his son Šārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm were at his left, and the qādīs at his right, and the shaykhs of the sciences and the amirs of the state were near them.¹³⁶

The principal then gives a dars or sermon, and the Sultan takes part in the disputation that follows: 'and he asked questions about that which he did not understand, until he understood it'. Friday prayers follow, the new khatīb gives the khutba, and then the Sultan rides off to Giza.¹³⁷ In sitting in the mihrāb with the new principal and the qādīs, spatially as one among equals, and by taking part in the discussion as a non-expert, the Sultan is declaring himself as the Sultan of religion, the Good Sultan. But this message is declared inside the mosque, not outside to the public.

In the event, then, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh made relatively little use of the mosque as a symbol in his public ceremonial. He could have done a lot more. But he was a sick man, and his major monuments, his mosque and his hospital opposite the Citadel, were barely completed at his death.

¹³⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.91:7-8.

¹³⁷ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.90-91.

5. Mosque and rab‘ of Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq

The rab‘ is lost.

Location: M7, opposite Bāb Zuwayla, on corner of Taḥt al-Rab‘ street and the Qaṣaba (see Plates 3-4)

Date: 811/1408 from inscription

Function: small mosque (no khutba); sabīl; kuttāb; adjoining rab‘ with shops and apartments

Founder: Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq (r. 801-815/1399-1412, except for a few months in 808/1405)

Alternative toponym: Madrasat al-Duhaysha

Location

The mosque and rab‘ were erected in a different emplacement to that which the mosque occupies today: in 1922-3 it was moved about 12 metres back towards the south-west, away from Bāb Zuwayla, by the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe¹³⁸ (see Plate 4). In its original position, the north-west corner of the mosque was about 4 metres from the west tower of Bāb Zuwayla; the north-east corner, which housed the sabīl and kuttāb, was positioned directly on the axis path of the main street coming out through Bāb Zuwayla.¹³⁹

The mosque and rab‘ were built 'at the head of the fruit-sellers' market [bi-rā's al-fakkāhīn]', on the south side of the street.¹⁴⁰ Besides fruit, which was also sold in the Funduq Dār al-Tuffāh,¹⁴¹ other markets in this section of Taḥt al-Rab‘ street (M7) included the hatters' sūq (the Sūq al-Aqbā'iyīn),¹⁴² shoes (Sūq al-Addāmiyīn) and vegetables,¹⁴³ offāl (Sūq al-Saqatiyīn, on the south side),¹⁴⁴ and a slaughterhouse next to Sūq al-Saqatiyīn.¹⁴⁵ It is worth quoting Doris Behrens-Abouseif for a general picture of the commercial life of the area:

¹³⁸ Comité XXXIII, 1920-24 (1928), 397-406.

¹³⁹ M oštafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 24.

¹⁴⁰ waqfiyya line 66, reproduced in Moštafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq.

¹⁴¹ Founded by the amir Tuqūzdamur after 740/1340, with a rab‘ above it: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.93, Sulūk II/2.544:2-3.

¹⁴² Maqrīzī, Khitat II.105:37.

¹⁴³ From 1460 waqf cited by Behrens-Abouseif, 'The Takiyyat Ibrāhīm al-Kulshānī in Cairo,' 54.

¹⁴⁴ Founded by the amir Aqbughā ‘Abd al-Wāhid: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.106:1-2.

¹⁴⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, 'The Takiyyat Ibrāhīm al-Kulshānī in Cairo,' 54-5.

All the buildings on the south side of Taḥt al-Rab‘ Street belonged to a pious foundation established by Amir Aqbughā ‘Abd al-Wāhid, an amir of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, for his madrasa near the mosque of al-Azhar ... Some other structures belonged to a woman called Duniyā. The buildings on the north side of the street were part of the endowment for the madrasa of al-Ẓāhir Baybars until Sultan al-Mu’ayyad began to destroy several structures in the vicinity to build his own mosque and its dependencies ... The waqfiyya of al-Mu’ayyad mentions a market for straw mats opposite the western side of the mosque and a qaysariyya opposite its southern facade.

al-Mu’ayyad acquired the Dār al-Tuffāh (also called Funduq al-Tuffāh or Wakālat al-Tuffāh), which had been a waqf of Amir Tuqūzdmur (1339) to endow his khānqāh in the cemetery. The Dār al-Tuffāh was the center of trade in fruit coming from the Egyptian provinces. The market was in poor repair at the time, and al-Mu’ayyad acquired it by means of istibdāl ... He ordered it pulled down so it could be rebuilt, but he died before the scheme was completed. Today a few massive walls of the building remain. al-Mu’ayyad also owned two rab‘’s in the neighborhood, one near Bāb Zuwayla and the other near Dār al-Tuffāh.

That the street was commercially important is indicated by the concentration of prominent names among the building owners in the neighborhood. Most of them were sultans or amirs: Sultan Barsbay ... owned two qaysariyyas south of (the Sūq al-Ḥājib near the offal market. His waqfiyya mentions a slaughterhouse west of the Saqatiyīn ... [Later] Sultan Qāyṭbāy ... built a mosque, a primary school, and two public fountains on the north side of the street. Sultan al-Ghūrī also had properties in the quarter. His waqfiyya mentions forty-four shops located under the rab‘ of al-Ẓāhir in the headgear-makers' market, which means that he acquired them from al-Ẓāhir's or al-Mu’ayyad's foundation. He also had thirteen shops on the opposite side of the street occupied by the offal market, and later by the Kulshaniyya and four shops further west, at Sūq al-Ḥājib.¹⁴⁶

The main entrance to the mosque was on the Taḥt al-Rab‘ side, opposite Bāb Zuwayla; the sabīl windows gave onto both sides of the corner, i.e. onto both main streets; and there was a subsidiary entrance to the mosque from the west. This entrance was from an alley (zuqāq) that led along the south side of the rab‘ and is described in the waqfiyya as belonging to the fruit-sellers' market¹⁴⁷ (see Plates 5 and 6).

¹⁴⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, 'The Takiyyat Ibrāhīm al-Kulshānī in Cairo,' 54-5. There was also a qaisariyya of the amir Bashtāk, built before his imprisonment in 742/1341: Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.194.

¹⁴⁷ alladhī min huqūq sūq al-fakkāhīn: waqfiyya line 145, reproduced in Moṣṭafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq.

Adjoining the mosque along its west side was the rab‘ (see Plate 6). This had a free-standing facade to north and south,¹⁴⁸ and then adjoined the fruit market on the west.¹⁴⁹ On the north side were three shops, and the entrance to the building was on the south side, which had two more shops. There were three storeys: the two upper storeys contained three apartments (*riwāqs*) each.¹⁵⁰

The founder and the foundation of the structures

Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq was one of the most unpopular sultans. Maqrīzī in particular loathed him, blaming him more than any other ruler for Egypt's and Cairo's ruin, in his eyes. Ibn Taghrībirdī, whose father was a senior amir under the Sultan, in his obituary of Faraj describes him as a courageous man who was patient and reasonable in his dealings with his mamluks. 'He was indisputably the most expert horseman of the Turkish sultans after al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Qalāūn.' Against this, even Ibn Taghrībirdī concedes that 'he took our money and all the possessions of my father and left us poverty-stricken; everyone knows this.'¹⁵¹

No story as such is told about the erection of the mosque and rab‘: Maqrīzī just notes, in his description of Badr al-Jamālī's Bāb Zuwayla, that while Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār was supervising the construction of the mosque under the Sultan's orders, the men came across sections of the destroyed Bāb Zuwayla ramp during their sinking of the cistern for the sabīl.¹⁵² al-Sakhāwī gives the date of completion (811/1408); Ibn Iyās refers to the mosque but does not describe its foundation; Ibn Taghrībirdī does not mention it. Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī both describe it as Madrasat al-Duhaysha;¹⁵³ we do not know what the name Duhaysha refers to, beyond that there was a palace by that name on the Citadel, completed in 745 by al-Šālīh Ismā‘īl.

¹⁴⁸M oštafā, *Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq*, 31.

¹⁴⁹ waqfiyya line 143: 'And the western limit ends at the shops where the fruit-sellers live': Moštafā, *Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq*.

¹⁵⁰M oštafā, *Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq*, 31-2.

¹⁵¹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, trans. Popper, 14.197, 196-7.

¹⁵² Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.381:1-4.

¹⁵³ al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, IV.83; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, 1894 edn, I.357; both cited Moštafā, *Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq*, 10.

The mosque is much later than Faraj's big Sufi khānqāh in the Northern Cemetery (803-13/1400-11). That was a much bigger structure and clearly a higher priority for Faraj; after securing his site in the cemetery, the Sultan turned his attention to the old city, which he had neglected.

Functions

In terms of its activities, this was a modest institution with a shoestring staff. (There were 17 personnel, of whom 14 had religious functions and three were support staff.¹⁵⁴) It is called a masjid by Maqrīzī, a madrasa by Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī,¹⁵⁵ but the portal inscription calls the whole ensemble a makān and the waqfiyya refers to a masjid.¹⁵⁶ However, even though the waqfiyya provides for teaching only in the kuttāb, the fact that al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Iyās call it a madrasa may indicate that the mosque was known as a teaching institution.

There was an imam to lead the prayer. Two muezzins were employed to give the prayer-call, presumably from the roof as there was no minaret. It was not a Friday mosque: no khatīb, minbar or dikka are mentioned in the waqfiyya. There was also Qur'ān reading: three groups of three readers with good voices were employed to recite, sitting on the window-benches along the qibla wall of the mosque, and presumably also in the room adjoining the mosque to its north, which was decorated and hence probably had some more than utilitarian purpose.¹⁵⁷

There were also a sabīl and a kuttāb. In the sabīl a single cup-bearer (al-saqā') sat from sunrise to sunset. It was his job to keep the sabīl clean, wash, fill and refill the drinking and pouring vessels, and to hand water out through the windows without charge to passers-by who asked for it. During Ramaḍān he did this from the beginning of the evening meal right through the night up to just before the dawn prayer.¹⁵⁸ The kuttāb was directly above the

¹⁵⁴M oṣṭafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 36-7.

¹⁵⁵ al-Sakhāwī, Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb, IV.83; Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.357; both cited Moṣṭafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Paragraph 128, Moṣṭafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 38; ibid., 36.

¹⁵⁷M oṣṭafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 36-7.

¹⁵⁸ waqfiyya lines 431-6, 603-612, trans. Moṣṭafā, 'The Cairene sabīl'.

sabīl, and a single teacher (mu'addib) was employed to teach Qur'ān and reading and writing (al-khatt) to orphans up to the age of puberty. The teacher had to be a married man, and so presumably did not live in the foundation. He and the orphans got a monthly wage, a daily bread allowance, summer and winter clothes and in the case of the orphans, a pair of shoes.¹⁵⁹

The structure in the street

This building interacts with the street around it in a number of distinct ways.

1. Providing local community services

In the first place, it was a useful foundation that met everyday needs - for somewhere to do ablutions and pray, for drinking-water, and for welfare support and basic schooling. Friday prayer was left to other mosques, such as al-Šāliḥ Falā'i' or (later) the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. The mosque and sabīl would have served the local trading community in the food markets around (buyers, traders, porters), local residents (there were many rab's in the area), and also anyone passing by, particularly the sabīl. For the mosque there was a proviso, in that the door-keeper was to sit in the vestibule and was to keep anyone who was not respectable from entering: undesirables were not to be allowed in.¹⁶⁰ The kuttāb served the local community. Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī may even have called Sultan Faraj's foundation a madrasa as they did by association with the schooling given in the kuttāb. The complex was thus a useful institution and was probably a welcome addition. We do not know what, if anything, had to be knocked down to make way for it.

2. Improving the area spiritually

Secondly, the foundation made a spiritual contribution to the area. The largest contingent of the foundation's personnel was the nine well-voiced Qur'ān readers who recited from the three windows in the east facade overlooking the street outside. They worked in three groups,

¹⁵⁹M oštafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 37.

¹⁶⁰ 'Undesirables' meaning those who looked unrespectable and those with filthy clothes: Moštafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 36. Extraordinary as it may seem to deny people admission to pray, this was apparently quite a common stipulation: at al-Žāhir Barqūq's foundation at Bayn al-Qaṣrayn - a large teaching and Sufi devotional institution which held Friday prayers - the bawwāb was to 'prevent the entry of suspicious and iniquitous men': waqfiyyat al-Žāhir Barqūq lines 884-85, quoted in Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 64.

reading after the morning prayer, the midday prayer, and the maghrib prayer, ‘so that the recitation might be heard by passersby, and “refresh whoever hears it, and soften his heart”’.¹⁶¹ Qur’ān recitation is thought to confer baraka on the whole area and on the people in it. The orphans' teaching, food and clothing provided in the kuttāb were also seen as alms. And on the meaning of the sabīl, the waqfiyya text is explicit. It requires the cup-bearer to be a virtuous man of good character (rajulan khayran ḥasan al-khalq)¹⁶² and to ‘make drinking easy for people, and treat them with kindness and excellence of manner [ḥusn al-khalq], so that those who come to drink may be more deeply refreshed’. This service is provided ‘so that there may be unceasing sādaqa and continual goodness throughout the day’ (bi-ḥaythu yakūn sādaqa dā’ima wa ḥasana mustamirra tūl al-yawm).¹⁶³ These services were regarded as contributing to the spiritual health of the area and the people in it - and as a not inconsiderable contribution.

3. Remodelling the Bāb Zuwayla crossroads

The mosque no longer enjoys its original position, as noted above. However, in the original emplacement, the sabīl was aligned directly with the main axis of the Qašaba coming south out of Bāb Zuwayla. It was directly in the path of anyone coming out of Bāb Zuwayla (see Plates 3 and 4).

We do not know if buildings were demolished to make way for Sultan Faraj's foundation, or if it took new street space from the thoroughways of Taht al-Rab’ Street and the Qašaba by moving forward to the north and east of the existing corner. The fact that Jamāl al-Dīn's men came across remnants of the Bāb Zuwayla ramp when they were sinking the cistern indicates that when Bāb Zuwayla was built, there was more space than this to its south. However, in the face of the Cairene genius for taking up free space, a wide mīdān in

¹⁶¹ The quotation is from the waqfiyya of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār, Faraj's official, for his contemporary khānqāh/madrasa (811/1408) in Jamaliyya, quoted by Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 63-4. As Berkey says, ‘Recitation of the Quran and communal acts of worship provided one of the links that bound schools to the urban community around them.’

¹⁶² ḥusn has two main meanings which to an extent overlap, of beauty and virtue.

¹⁶³ waqfiyya lines 603, 608-09, 610-11, reproduced in Moštafā, ‘The Cairene sabīl’.

front of Bāb Zuwayla probably would not have lasted long. We cannot be sure of the exact path of Taḥt al-Rab‘ Street - still less so before Sultan al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh knocked down much of what was there and replaced it with his complex. But the Sultan Faraj building probably obstructed the throughway from the west, as well as from the north.

Further support for this is that in Ramaḍān 882/1478 the amir Yashbak min Maḥdī found it necessary to clear the street area outside Bāb Zuwayla. As well as undertaking sanitary works and restoring the street level, he cleared a huge amount of informal building from around the half buried mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Talā‘i‘, clearing away 'the buildings which hid its facade and bringing to light ten steps of the staircase buried in the ground.'¹⁶⁴ The obstructive mess of insanitary rubbish that required this may have been partly attributable to the effects of Sultan Faraj's building cramping the street area.

From the east, it was not obstructive, but it was better displayed. The al-Ṣāliḥ Talā‘i‘ mosque is set much further back from Bāb Zuwayla than the Sultan Faraj mosque. Almost certainly, shops and temporary structures would have piled themselves onto the northern facade of the al-Ṣāliḥ Talā‘i‘ mosque, though probably not very deeply and so as to leave a communicating corridor to the mosque's subsidiary entrance on that side. But even with accretions, the street on this side would have been wider than the mouth of Taḥt al-Rab‘ Street as defined by the mosque. From the space in front of the al-Ṣāliḥ Talā‘i‘ main (west) facade, Sultan Faraj's mosque would have been still more conspicuous, appearing still more extruded into view, than from the other three directions.

The modest scale of the building is therefore deceptive. It was extremely assertively placed, and if it did indeed take space from Taḥt al-Rab‘ Street and the Qaṣaba and redefine the crossroads, that makes its positioning an aggressively political statement. The positioning of the building throws an entirely new light on its intended presentation and on its meaning. The modest extent of the building represents the maximum space that the Sultan could claw out here, at the most important commercial centre outside Qāhira, and right up against its

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Iyās and another source, trans. by Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, I.276. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, II, # 42/98.

most used gate. Since further physical expansion was blocked, the Sultan's resources went into the work on the facades, and this explains the exceptionally fine decoration of both facades of the building (and of the interior, though that is not my concern) and of the sabīl interior, visible from the street.

The fact that a rab‘ was twinned with the mosque, thus dignifying the market area with the Sultan's name and patronage and presenting him as a benevolent patron of commerce, is almost a red herring. Though the shops and balconies on the Taħt al-Rab‘ side were decorated with carved and gilded wood and must have been rather splendid, the rab‘ was a token one in terms of size (five shops, six apartments) and its position in the street space was parasitical on that of the mosque. The political statement was made by the mosque and sabīl building, whose position in the centre of this crossroads of two main arteries of the city could hardly have been more central or more forcefully asserted. Through their pious functions, the mosque and sabīl broadcast the Sultan's self-image - the message of his beneficence and piety - to all who passed by.

Though the building is small, its north facade as reconstructed by Moštafā was imposing. The kuttāb, the roof and the upper part of the portal were destroyed long before the work of the Comité began, probably in the unrest of 1804.¹⁶⁵ The portal was probably raised above a short flight of steps to provide an imposing double entrance: the portal itself, and the sabīl window. The sabīl is emphasized by the band and panel of marble mosaic above its north window. In Moštafā's reconstruction, the dominant feature of the facade is actually the kuttāb, which proportionally dwarfs the portal. (In this reconstruction the portal is not in the shape of a pishtāq as restored by the Comité.) The eye is led up from the street, up to the stalactite hood and decorative frame of the portal, and then left to the kuttāb, which leans out over the street, and then down from there to the sabīl, where the eye comes to rest. Thus the sabīl and kuttāb are actually emphasized over the portal. Only through a sabīl and kuttāb could the building point outwards to the street around a corner.

¹⁶⁵ Moštafā, Moschee des Farag ibn Barqūq, 40 and pl. 47.

6. Mosque of the vizier al-Šālīh Ṭalā'ī'

Location: M/N6, just outside Bāb Zuwayla (see Plate 3)

Date: 555/1160

Function: Twelver Shī'ī mosque; perhaps Friday mosque; Friday mosque from 699/1300

Founder: The vizier al-Šālīh Ṭalā'ī' b. Ruzzīk

The founder

al-Šālīh Ṭalā'ī' b. Ruzzīk was the last great Fatimid vizier, and the last to have a foreign policy in Syria that was at all successful (he was victorious against the Franks in Tyre in 549/1154 and in Gaza, Palestine and Jordan in 553-4/1158-9). He was an Armenian, born in Egypt in 495/1101-2. His father Ruzzīk is said to have come to Egypt as an officer in Badr al-Jamālī's Armenian army in 1073. Ṭalā'ī' converted to Twelver Shī'ism in Iraq, and then served in the Fatimid army in Upper Egypt, later becoming governor in several cities in the south including Qūs.¹⁶⁶

He came to power as vizier after the crisis of 549/1154. In Muḥarram, the caliph al-Ẓāfir and his brothers were assassinated by al-Ẓāfir's lover, the vizier al-'Abbās's son, Naṣr. al-Ẓāfir's five-year-old son al-Fā'iz was installed as the new caliph, but his survival and that of the dynasty must have seemed at risk, and the story is told of how the palace women appealed to Ṭalā'ī' as the most powerful figure in the country to come and save the Fatimids. They are said to have cut off their hair and sent it to him; he is said to have entered al-Qāhira in Rabī' I, with the Fatimid princesses' hair on the points of his men's lances. The previous vizier al-'Abbās had fled with his son and many of the palace treasures. Ṭalā'ī' conducted a purge at court and consolidated his control; al-'Abbās was killed by the Franks in Palestine, and his son handed over to the Fatimid women, who killed him themselves.¹⁶⁷

al-Šālīh seems to have been a zealous Twelver (as opposed to Ismaili) Shī'ī, and worked to advance the position of Twelvers in Cairo. He made a practice of buying up property from the Fatimid state and endowing it in favour of Twelvers. His surviving

¹⁶⁶ Bianquis, 'Ṭalā'ī' b. Ruzzīk', 149.

¹⁶⁷ Bianquis, 'Ṭalā'ī' b. Ruzzīk', 149-50.

waqfiyya bequeaths the property to Twelvers resident in al-Qāhira and Fustāt, Medina and Wādī al-Far'.¹⁶⁸ These were from the Banū Ma'sūm, a tribe descended from the seventh Twelver imam, Mūsā al-Kāzim, and based in Iraq near Karbalā and near the tomb of 'Alī at Najaf. Some members of the Banū Ma'sūm had come to Cairo to make contact with al-Šālīh, including one beneficiary named in the waqfiyya, who is himself said in a fourteenth-century guide to the Qarāfa to be buried there, not far from Ṭalā'i' himself.¹⁶⁹ The witnesses to the documents are also overwhelmingly 'Alid - one-third of those to the waqfiyya and half of those to the bill of sale - and they include the preacher of the mosque of 'Amr and the qādi of Ascalon, who in 549 had written a panegyric about Ṭalā'i'.¹⁷⁰

The chronicles say that al-Šālīh built his mosque at Bāb Zuwayla to be a mashhad for the head of Ḥusayn, presumably - in the context of his Twelver activities - to be a Twelver mashhad. While the story of the head has to be a historiographical mix-up (see below), Massignon suggested that al-Šālīh tried to conduct Twelver ceremonies at his mosque (see below). It has been argued that when Ṭalā'i' was murdered in Ramaḍān 556/1161, it was because of his Twelver activities. He was killed at the instigation of an aunt of the caliph, Sitt al-Quṣūr.¹⁷¹ Ṭalā'i' does seem to have had dynastic ambitions: he overrode the Fatimids' choice for the next caliph after al-Fā'iz's death, preferring the 11-year-old al-'Āḍid over an adult, and he then married the new caliph to one of his daughters.¹⁷² He also as he lay dying made al-'Āḍid appoint his son Ruzzīk as vizier after him.¹⁷³

The foundation of the mosque can also be explained more simply. Ṭalā'i' was a

¹⁶⁸ waqfiyya and bill of sale, both dated Jumādā I 554/1159, are examined in Cahen, Ragib, and Taher, 'L'achat et le waqf d'un grand domaine égyptien'. al-Šālīh Ṭalā'i''s mosque at Bāb Zuwayla does not appear. al-Šālīh also endowed property in favour of Twelvers in Birkat al-Habash, though that waqfiyya is lost. Cahen, Ragib, and Taher, 'L'achat et le waqf d'un grand domaine égyptien', 67.

¹⁶⁹ Cahen, Ragib, and Taher, 'L'achat et le waqf d'un grand domaine égyptien', 68-9, 122.

¹⁷⁰ Cahen, Ragib, and Taher, 'L'achat et le waqf d'un grand domaine égyptien', 65.

¹⁷¹ Lev states that this was because he had been trying to introduce Twelver elements into the Ismaili state. Lev, State and society in Fatimid Egypt, 62.

¹⁷² Bianquis, 'Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk,' 151.

¹⁷³ Ruzzīk himself was murdered in 558: Bianquis, 'Ruzzīk b. Ṭalā'i'.

cultivated man of high Arabic culture, who composed verse and surrounded himself with an entourage of scholars.¹⁷⁴ He formed lasting attachments to some of the cities in which he had served and liked to beautify them: even after becoming vizier, in 550/1155 he reconstructed the mosque at Qūṣ, where he had been governor, and endowed it with a minbar which is one of the most beautiful Fatimid works of art.¹⁷⁵ It is quite consistent with his work at Qūṣ that he should have founded a beautiful mosque in the new, relatively uncrowded area outside the city.

The Twelver foundation stories

1. The mosque as a mashhad

The chronicles allege that al-Šāliḥ Talā'i' built his mosque as a mashhad for the head of Ḥusayn. This is probably a historiographical confusion, as I will show.

The story goes that in 548/1153 al-Šāliḥ Talā'i' was governor of Ashmūnayn and was in Palestine fighting off the Franks, who were closing in. Fearing that the holy relic of the head of the martyred Ḥusayn in Ascalon - which Badr al-Jamālī had 'found' and magnificently entombed there in 1091 - might fall into infidel hands, he rescued it and sent it to safety in Cairo, where he wished to enshrine it in his own mosque.¹⁷⁶

When the head of Ḥusayn was removed from Ascalon it arrived in Cairo on Sunday 8 Jumādā II 548. It was brought by the amir Sayf al-Mamlaka Tamīm, governor of Ascalon ... It reached the palace on Tuesday 10 Jumādā II ... Ustādh Maknūn came with it in one of the service boats and landed it at the Kāfūrī garden. It was taken by the underground passage to the Emerald Palace and buried there in the Qubbat al-Daylam, by the gate of the service vestibule. ... Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir says: We have related concerning the mashhad of Ḥusayn that Talā'i' b. Ruzzīk named al-Šāliḥ had intended to move the head from Ascalon when the town was in danger of attack by the Franks. He built his mosque outside Bāb Zuwayla in order to bury it there and gain that honour, but the people of the palace defeated him in this, declaring that it should not be buried anywhere but with them. They fixed on this site and built on it for that purpose and had marble for it brought thither. This took place in the reign of al-Fā'iz

¹⁷⁴ Bianquis, 'Talā'i' b. Ruzzīk', 150.

¹⁷⁵ Bianquis, 'Talā'i' b. Ruzzīk', 149.

¹⁷⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.293.

at the hand of Ṭalā'ī' in 549.¹⁷⁷

Given the Fatimids' attitude to their forbears' relics, it is most unlikely that al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'ī' could have nurtured such an ambition. Fatimid rulers had consistently appropriated sacred relics and mashhads, and it appears that this historiographical motif has been grafted onto Ṭalā'ī' because of his involvement with the Ḥusayn head in rescuing it. However, as this story is important to the meaning of the Bāb Zuwayla area in the late Fatimid period, it deserves to be examined thoroughly.

First, the dates and sequence given conflict with the story. By the time Ṭalā'ī' actually built his mosque, the Ḥusayn mashhad had been built for six years. If he tried and failed to take the head for his own purposes in 549 when the caliph was a five-year-old child, it is hard to believe he could hope to exhume the head and reinter it in his new mosque six years later.¹⁷⁸ The sequence of events described actually suggests that Ṭalā'ī' supported, rather than opposing, enshrining the head in the palace. The head arrived in the palace before the crisis of al-Ẓāhir's assassination in Muḥarram 549, but the sources agree that the mashhad was built after al-Fā'iz's succession.¹⁷⁹ Ṭalā'ī' was al-Fā'iz's vizier (the caliph was five years old when he came to the throne), and while factions in the palace might have stood in his way had he wished to take the Ḥusayn head for his own purposes, the caliph himself certainly could not have done so.

The Fatimids' treatment of relics can be traced into two phases, to which the Ḥusayn head story is an odd coda. In the early caliphate, al-Mu'izz and al-Ḥākīm both attached great importance to the enshrining of family relics, although this was done privately and the relics were not accessible to the public for visiting. Al-Mu'izz had brought his ancestors' remains across the desert to entomb them in the palace in the Turbat al-Za'farān; and there are two

¹⁷⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.427:20-29.

¹⁷⁸ Nor is there evidence for the mashhad plan in the form of the mosque. None of the reconstructions have suggested a mashhad or mausoleum, and Creswell's mysterious remnant of an adjoining structure at the east corner was in too low-profile a location to have served this purpose.

¹⁷⁹ Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I.271, note 4.

stories about al-Ḥākim stealing relics from Medina to enshrine them in Qāhira. The first of these is that in 400/1010 al-Ḥākim had relics stolen from the house of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in Medina and brought to him in Cairo.¹⁸⁰ These included Ja'far's copy of the Qur'ān, his wooden cup, his wicker shield, spear, and prayer mat. The second story is that al-Ḥākim commissioned the theft of relics of the Prophet himself and of the first two caliphs from Medina - by tunnelling under the tomb, cutting through the wall, or simple corruption - but that his efforts were unsuccessful.¹⁸¹ We do not know al-Ḥākim's purpose in trying to acquire these relics, though it was probably to boost the prestige of the Fatimid caliphate to rival the Sunni caliphate of the Abbasids. If Cairo was to become a pilgrimage city to rival the Holy Places of the Ḥijāz, one would expect the relics to have been destined for public and communal, rather than private and esoteric devotion.

In the later caliphate, 'Alid relics were enshrined and their existing shrines renovated; but now, rather than the caliphs themselves, it was two viziers who did the enshrining and renovating. In 1089, Badr al-Jamālī restored the mashhad of Sayyida Nafīsa in the Qarāfa,¹⁸² and in 1091 the head of Ḥusayn was revealed to him in Ascalon and he built a splendid mashhad for it there.¹⁸³ Later, in the year 1122 under the caliph al-Āmir, the vizier al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī restored seven mashhads in the Qarāfa, including those of Sayyida Zaynab and of Umm Kulthūm (granddaughter of Muḥammad al-Ja'farī, the son of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq) and, according to Williams, probably also those of Muḥammad al-Ja'farī himself and of Sayyida 'Ātika (aunt of the Prophet).¹⁸⁴

In these later cases, rather than a caliph appropriating sacred relics to reside privately

¹⁸⁰ Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was the fifth Ismaili Imam.

¹⁸¹ The first story is probably true; the second appears among other places in an eleventh-century Andalusian geography, so it is at least an early story, not a much later invention. Ragib, 'Un épisode obscur', 125-9.

¹⁸² Sayyida Nafīsa was the great-granddaughter of Ḥasan; her mashhad is said by Maqrīzī to date from 821-6. It was restored again in 1138 by the caliph al-Ḥāfiz. Williams, 'The Fatimi mausolea of Cairo', 79, 65.

¹⁸³ Williams, 'The cult of 'Alid saints: al-Aqmar,' 41-2, and, 'The Fatimi mausolea of Cairo', 83.

¹⁸⁴ Williams, 'The Fatimi mausolea of Cairo', 48. Williams dates the mashhads of Muḥammad al-Ja'farī and Sayyid 'Ātika to 1122-5:

in the bosom of the sacral family, we have the top state official, a secular figure, embellishing shrines that were already built and had been visited since the late ninth century.¹⁸⁵ None of these relics was interred in the Great Palace: all were in the Qarāfa. Moreover, as all but the Ḥusayn mashhad were shrines that already existed, this does look like a case of the state trying to graft onto itself the credibility of indigenous saints and indigenous practice: that is, to legitimize itself from below, rather than as in the earlier phase, from above, with the caliph attempting to underline the sanctity of his line of descent. It looks like political opportunism. In the case of the Ḥusayn head, the fact that there was already a Christian head cult at Ascalon, and the fact that al-Ḥākim never expended any effort to capture it when he went to so much trouble in the Ḥijāz, suggests that the 'discovery' of the Ḥusayn head in Palestine was a public-relations exercise. That Badr did not bring the head back with him to al-Qāhira suggests that the Ḥusayn mashhad was meant to emphasize the Fatimids' success in keeping the Franks at bay in Palestine.

Looking at the story of the Ḥusayn mashhad of 549 in the light of the above, we see a reversion to the earlier theme of the Fatimid dynasty underlining its legitimacy from above, rather than from below, and enshrining the relic privately: a reversion to the pattern of esoteric exclusion rather than sponsorship of popular practice. The caliph, who was five, could not have been the moving force here; that moving force may have been a faction in the palace (as Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir says), but it might equally well have been Talā’i‘ himself, by now the most powerful individual in the land. Looking back at the mashhad policies of Badr al-Jamālī and al-Ma’mūn al-Batā’ihī, Talā’i‘ would have seen the political mileage to be gained from attaching the mashhad to the palace, though this would be increased if public worship was allowed. By the time of Ibn Jubayr's visit to Cairo in 1184, worshippers were allowed to visit the tomb - the head was encased in a silver coffin¹⁸⁶ - but the Fatimid shrine was not open to public worship.

These arguments seem to me to disqualify the story of Talā’i‘'s personal crusade to

¹⁸⁵ Visiting ‘Alid saints' tombs is recorded in 856 in Cairo and was common from 875: Williams, 'The Fatimi mausolea of Cairo', 82.

¹⁸⁶ Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, 271-2.

have the head of Ḥusayn interred in a mosque of his own making.

2. The mosque as a starting point for ziyāra

Massignon thought that al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i' built his mosque to be the focus of ceremonial processions of 'Iraqi Sufi' pilgrims to the cemeteries. Massignon saw this as an anti-Ismaili move to boost Twelver 'Iraqi Sufism', sidelining the official Fatimid ulama and doctrine.¹⁸⁷ People had been visiting the tombs of the saints in the Qarāfa for purposes of prayer and edification since at least the ninth century, an activity known as ziyāra, but Massignon is referring to the organized groups of visitors that had emerged by the time of the Ayyubids. Shaykhs of the ziyāra, 'minor scholars and mystics familiar with both the biographies of the saints and the location of their tombs', led pious visitors, zuwwār, through the cemetery on specified days and 'on appointed routes and at designated tombs would relate stories and information about individual saints'.¹⁸⁸ However, neither ordinary ziyāra nor organized group ziyāra visits are a pilgrimage;¹⁸⁹ and there is no record of group ziyāra involving a ceremonial procession.

Functions

When the Comité started working on it in 1919, the mosque was very ruined indeed and was buried behind dwellings. There were houses built against both the main portal and the north facade, with only narrow corridors giving access to the entrances there. There was also a wall fencing it in from the north.¹⁹⁰ The buildings were cleared and much of the mosque was completely rebuilt. This was a riwāq mosque (see Plate 7), with the main entrance opening

¹⁸⁷ 'La conquête fatimite essaya de créer, pour les grandes fêtes, des cortèges traversant le Qarāfa de Fustāt à la Qal'at al-Jabal, mais ses Mawālid des Cinq du Manteau ne lui survécurent pas; Ṭalā'i' le vizir nusayri ne réussit pas à organiser un point de départ au Bāb Zuwailé (où il voulait transférer la tête de Hoceïn). On allait prier les sufis irakiens (contre la dynastie) plutôt que les juristes malikites (dont les cadis fatimites se réclamaient paradoxalement).' Massignon, 'La cité des morts au Caire', 44. Massignon may be right that there was a connection with Sufism, because organized group ziyāra is documented at exactly the same point in time as 'the link between tarīqa Sufism and the mass following the brotherhoods began attracting in the same period'. Taylor, In the vicinity of the righteous, 63.

¹⁸⁸ Taylor, In the vicinity of the righteous, 64, 62.

¹⁸⁹ I thank Mark Sedgwick for this point.

¹⁹⁰ Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I, Pl. 97a.

onto the Qaṣaba opposite the qibla side, and the two side entrances opening to the north (onto the later Darb al-Aḥmar) and the south (onto the current ‘Atfat al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā’i’). It was built over a bottom storey of shops,¹⁹¹ and the floor of the mosque was thus raised about 4m above street level. The main facade, facing north-west towards Bāb Zuwayla, was a richly ornamented decorated portico,¹⁹² with the minaret over the door. A staircase in the form of a little bridge led up to it from the street.¹⁹³ There were carved, stepped crenellations along the top of the facades.¹⁹⁴

The mosque was founded in 555/1160, in the seventh year of al-Ṣāliḥ's vizierate and a year before his death.¹⁹⁵ The inscription calls it a masjid, Maqrīzī calls it a jāmi‘.¹⁹⁶ A shaykh who is described as al-wā’iz is appointed to it and al-Ṣāliḥ himself is described as attending continually.¹⁹⁷ This may be a reference to some Twelver practice or ritual, or there may have been teaching in the mosque. Maqrīzī implies that Friday prayers were not held until the Mamluks,¹⁹⁸ but the mosque's location at the main focus of the south of the city and the splendid ablutions facilities described by Maqrīzī suggest that it might have been used for Friday prayers in the brief period before the Ayyubid takeover.

The Ayyubids observed the Shāfi‘ī rule that a city should have only one Friday mosque;¹⁹⁹ and as a disgraced Shī‘ī building the mosque might even have been closed. In 699/1300, under Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Friday prayers were introduced, with a new

¹⁹¹ There were certainly shops on the west and north facade and probably on the south too. They were about 4m high. Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, 279.

¹⁹² There may have been a pair of external miḥrābs on the facade beside the door. Patricolo, cited Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I. 278.

¹⁹³ So that passers by could walk straight through underneath it without having to walk round. Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I.277.

¹⁹⁴ This summary is taken from Creswell's reconstruction, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I.276-88.

¹⁹⁵ RCEA inscription # 3231.

¹⁹⁶ But in his time it was a Friday mosque. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.293:19.

¹⁹⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.293:22-23.

¹⁹⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.293:27-8.

¹⁹⁹ The mosque of al-Ḥākim was used for Friday prayers in Qāhira, and that of ‘Amr for Fustāt: Behrens-Abouseif, 'The Citadel of Cairo', 33.

minbar presented by the amir Baktimur al-Jūkandār.²⁰⁰ When the minaret fell in the 702/1303 earthquake, repairs were sponsored by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.²⁰¹ The mosque was also restored on two further occasions, in 844/1440-41 by a merchant and in 882/1477 as part of Yashbak min Maḥdī's sanitation clean-up at Bāb Zuwayla. By 882, 70 years after the narrowing of the street by Faraj b. Barqūq's mosque and 60 years after the opening of the much bigger al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh mosque, the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ was clearly in a bad state, heavily built against and obscured. Yashbak 'freed the gates' of the mosque and 'brought to light some columns of marble, which he had cleaned'; he also cleared away 'the buildings which hid its facade and brought to light ten steps of the staircase buried in the ground.'²⁰² In the early ninth/fifteenth century, there is a reference to a Shāfi'ī religious scholar issuing shahādas in the mosque.²⁰³

The structure in the street

The mosque was free-standing, with four facades, except that something was built on the north side adjoining the east corner, where Creswell found the broken edge of a wall, with a 2m door with a joggled lintel and a band of Kufic inscription.²⁰⁴ The north-west and south-west corners of the mosque were chamfered. Chamfering is usually an acknowledgment of pressure on space at a busy corner; so this may suggest that there was already a crowded street to the north and west of the mosque. The mosque is perfectly aligned to qibla, so either the ground was open (unlikely given the presence of the military haras here and the gesture of the chamfered corners), or the site was cleared to build al-Ṣāliḥ's mosque. The alignment with qibla gives the mosque the advantage of orientating the main portal to face Bāb Zuwayla. It is placed some way back from Bāb Zuwayla, however, presumably both to allow for the

²⁰⁰ RCEA # 5073, 5074. Maqrīzī says this was in the 650s/1250s under Sultan al-Mu'izz Aybak 'in the presence of the envoy from Baghdad' Maqrīzī, Khitat II.293.

²⁰¹ Maqrīzī, Sulūk I/3.944:7ff.

²⁰² Creswell's translation of Ibn Iyās and another source: Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I.276.

²⁰³ The Chief Qādi Shams al-Dīn al-Qāyātī al-Shāfi'ī died in Muḥarram 850/1446. At the beginning of his career, for some years he had 'earned his living as a notary [wa takassaba ... bi-taḥammul al-shahāda] in the mosque of as-Ṣāliḥ Talā'i' outside Bāb Zuwayla'. Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XV.513:11.

²⁰⁴ Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, I.288.

Qaṣaba going south and to be clear of the Bāb Zuwayla ramp. Its placement south of the later street going east suggests that there was no road here at this point. The mosque later suffered from this positioning by being engulfed in the parasitical structures which Yashbak and, later, the Comité cleared.

By the time al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i' built his mosque here, the area to the south had been settled for 150 years. The black troops had built their ḥāra here almost immediately after al-Qāhira was built; a second wave of development had occurred under al-Ḥākim (r. 996-1021) with the building of ḥāras and also of a gate to the ḥāra area, the Bāb al-Jadīd, marking their limit;²⁰⁵ then after some dereliction during the trials of the al-Mustanṣir years, there had been a third wave of development in the vizierate of al-Ma'mūn al-Batā'ihī under al-Āmir.²⁰⁶ By now there was a thriving market street down the Qaṣaba at least as far as the Bāb al-Jadīd (Maqrīzī says further²⁰⁷) and residential building right across from Bāb al-Jadīd to Birkat al-Fīl and a little way east of the Bāb al-Jadīd. Initially, these ḥāras may have had a military character, but from the sources they soon became residential, with a commercial main street, and there were two mosques (masjids) in the Ḥārat al-Maṣāmida.²⁰⁸ The area to the south-east was not yet settled, and had been used as a cemetery from the time of the first ḥāras outside Bāb Zuwayla, the more so in the years of the al-Mustanṣir crisis.²⁰⁹

The main facade of the mosque and its southern facade thus faced a busy commercial and residential area. Behind the qibla wall, to the south-east, was the waste land used as a cemetery.

²⁰⁵ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.364; II.100, 110.

²⁰⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat I.305, II.110, II.20:4-5, 10-11.

²⁰⁷ At this stage, the area and the market here on the Qaṣaba south as far as Bāb al-Ṣafā' in Fustāt was so prosperous that it was lit all night long while workers commuted between their work in al-Qāhira and their homes in Fustāt. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.100:35-6.

²⁰⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.20:10-11.

²⁰⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.443:1-3.

7. Sūq al-Busutiyyīn

Location: N6 245 (see Map 1)

Date: Moved here c. 700/1301

Function: Meat sūq

Founder: Unknown

Origins

Al-busutiyyīn means carpet-sellers, but despite the name, in the Mamluk period this was actually the butchers' sūq, selling meat fillets. It was one of the earliest sūqs of al-Qāhira, founded in 365/975²¹⁰ and originally located on the Qaṣaba outside the gate of Ḥārat al-Rūm, at which point it was called the Sūq al-Sharāḥiyyīn. Around 700/1301 it was transferred outside Bāb Zuwayla and renamed Sūq al-Busutiyyīn.²¹¹

Location

Maqrīzī says that after 700 the sūq was moved 'outside Bāb Zuwayla'. As a major food sūq, it could therefore have been anywhere on the main E-W street reasonably near the Bāb Zuwayla gate.

There are two possible locations. Wiet and Raymond tentatively locate the sūq near N6 245 on the Déscription map, the 'Atfat al-Muqashshāt (road/garbage sweepers), on a cul-de-sac on the south side of the street opposite the cobblers at M6 233.²¹² At this point the Déscription names the main street the Darb al-Qoundaggyeh, a toponym that Salmon suggested corresponded to Maqrīzī's Sūq al-Busutiyyīn.²¹³

On the other hand, the Déscription map shows a large and prosperous butchers' sūq right outside Bāb Zuwayla, just in front of the mosque and sabīl of Faraj b. Barqūq (M7 342 and M6/7 241), and this section of the street is called Sikkat al-Jazzārīn (M7 242). So it is possible that this could have been the site of the Sūq al-Busutiyyīn. However, it is possible

²¹⁰ According to Ibn Zulāq, reported in Maqrīzī, Khītat II.100:1.

²¹¹ Maqrīzī, Khītat II.100:9-14.

²¹² Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 230, 177.

²¹³ Salmon, Etudes sur la topographie du Caire, 112-113.

that the Déscription butchers' sūq and the Sikkat al-Jazzārīn were the continuation of the medieval offal sūq or Sūq al-Saqatiyīn.²¹⁴

Comments

This was one of the city's major markets. It was probably quite close to Bāb Zuwayla, the centre of the food markets area, and one would expect it to be in a mainstream commercial area with other sūqs nearby.

²¹⁴ Salmon, Etudes sur la topographie du Caire, 112-113.

8. Khawkhat Aydaghmish

Location: M6, at opening of Ḥarat al-Rūm onto main street from north (now lost). See Map

1

Date: ? perhaps from 485/1092

Function: Postern or back gate for use when Bāb Zuwayla was locked

Founder: Unknown

Location

This postern gate [khawkha] is in the jurisdiction of the gates of al-Qāhira. Through it one goes out to the area outside the city walls when the city gates are locked at night or in times of unrest if the gates are locked; it prevents one getting out to the Darb al-Aḥmar and the Yānisiyya. It leads from there to Bāb Zuwayla, and anyone entering Qāhira will come to it, either from the Sūq al-Zuqayq²¹⁵ [another name for the second-hand clothes market] or from Ḥarat al-Rūm via the Darb Arqutāy. This khawkha is next to the ḥammām of Aydaghmish.²¹⁶

The passage is a little unclear, because someone coming into the city towards the Khawkhat Aydaghmish would be coming from Bāb Zuwayla, and so would be coming towards the Sūq al-Zuqayq or Ḥarat al-Rūm, not from it. The sentence could mean that a person entering from Bāb Zuwayla would get to the gate if they came via the Sūq al-Zuqayq and Ḥarat al-Rūm - in other words, if they came in and turned east towards Ḥarat al-Rūm. Add to this that Maqrīzī says elsewhere that the street of the second-hand clothes market was a through route (not closed as on the Déscription map) to Ḥarat al-Bātilyya and the Khawkhat Aydaghmish,²¹⁷ and it then looks as if the khawkha was most likely in N6, where the currently named Ḥarat al-Rūm joins the main street. Raymond and Wiet place it near the Ḥammām al-Darb al-Aḥmar (# 247 N6 on the Déscription map).²¹⁸ This may be too far from the Sūq al-Zuqayq

²¹⁵ Raymond and Wiet read sūq al-zuqayq, another name for the sūq al-Chesley‘iyīn or second-hand clothes market, for sūq al-raqīq (the slave market), which appears in the text, because the slave market was further north, near the Khān al-Khalīlī at I 6. Les marchés du Caire, 134, note 1.

²¹⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.45:12-15. Aydaghmish al-Nāsīrī (d. after 743) was the owner of the bathhouse next door to the khawkha; there seems to be no other connection between them. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.45:15-29.

²¹⁷ Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 200. 'This sūq is full of shops on the sides and it leads from the Qaṣaba, both night and day, to Ḥarat al-Bātilyya and the Khawkhat Aydaghmish and other places': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.104:20-21.

²¹⁸ Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 200, note 1.

and from Bāb Zuwayla. As we know a through route from Sūq al-Zuqayq had disappeared by the time of the Déscription map, we might as well put it back in and locate the Aydaghmish gate further to the west.

There is no trace of the Khawkhat Aydaghmish itself on the Déscription map, but a 'porte de hārat al-Rūm ou du quartier Grec' appears at M6 # 265. This is north of our area; but hāras may well have had more than one door. Hārat al-Rūm is marked at M5/6 213, as well as at M6 # 213.²¹⁹

The structure and the street

This postern gate was part of a network of posterns used at night or in times of emergency when the main city gates were locked and it was desirable to control people's movements. It was a sort of physical curfew or checkpoint. Posterns were in use in the Fatimid period,²²⁰ and as this postern was part of the Bāb Zuwayla security system, it might well have dated from the foundation of the gate. As the back entrance to the southern quarters from the newer districts of the city, it was important for security and control. It illustrates what security measures were taken, routinely at night and exceptionally in times of emergency. In 791/1389, under the threat of attack from al-Nāsirī, Sultan Barqūq had the Citadel fortified with a trench around it, people stockpiled supplies, and 'the Sultan ordered that the Aidugmish Postern, outside the two Zuwayla Gates, should be closed up. This was done, and entrance by horsemen thus prevented'.²²¹

²¹⁹ The hāra gates were security barriers which controlled access to the quarters within the city rather than monitoring entrance to and egress from the city, but they had a parallel function. As reported by Jomard in 1798, the hāra gate was closed at sundown and then manned by two bawwābs. Entering after sundown, it was necessary to declare one's business and tip the doorkeepers. Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 267-8.

²²⁰ Maqrīzī describes a nearby postern, the Khawkha 'Asīla in Hārat al-Bātilyya, as 'one of the old Fatimid khawkhas': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.45:30-31.

²²¹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 13.31-2. The name 'the two gates of Bāb Zuwayla' was preserved long after the gates were lost. The waqfiyyas of Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq and of Sultan Qāyrbāy refer to Bāb Zuwayla as the two gates of Bāb Zuwayla nearly 400 years later ('and the second sabīl window looks out on the street facing the two Bāb Zuwayla gates [muqābila li Bābī Zuwayla]', 'bi Khatt Bābī Zuwayla', lines 115, 604 of Faraj b. Barqūq waqfiyya reproduced in Moṣṭafā, 'The Cairene sabīl: form and meaning'; 'and the entirety of the existing property outside al-Qāhira the well protected outside the two Bāb

Control sometimes failed. In Ramadān 813/1411, when the amirs Nawrūz and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh are attacking Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq, their men break into Khawkhat Aydaghmish at night and open Bāb Zuwayla from the inside 'though the governor ... had tried hard to fortify the city', and break down the door of Khizānat Shimā'il and let out everyone inside.²²² For a general picture of the breakdown of security in an emergency:

[In his last struggle against al-Nāsirī in 791/1389, Sultan Barqūq] closed the Zuwayla Gate and all the barricades; business ceased in the markets, while Cairo was filled with the rabble and their lawlessness increased; the government of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir was thus disrupted and its authority destroyed. The governor of Cairo ... fearing for his own life, deserted the Zuwayla Gate and went into hiding at his home. The people were left in tumult; prisoners in the Shimā'il Prison broke their shackles, shattered the gate of the jail, and went out in a mass freely.²²³

Zuwayla gates [khārij Bābī Zuwayla]', Mayer, The buildings of Qāyrbāy as described in his endowment deeds, 31).

²²² Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIII.110:16-19.

²²³ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 13.38.

9. House of the Mālikī qādi Wālī al-Dīn al-Sunbātī

Lost.

Location: N6/N5, in the Darb al-Aḥmar

Date: Before 854/1452.

Function: Private residence; perhaps with zāwiyya.

Founder: Unknown

Sources

In 854/1452, a high official Abū al-Khayr al-Naḥḥās meets his downfall. After his arrest, he is taken to 'the house of the Mālikī cadi, Wālī al-Dīn al-Sunbātī, in the Red Road, so that various charges might be brought against him before that Cadi'.²²⁴

As this is located in the Darb al-Aḥmar, it was probably north of the Mihmandār mosque, which Maqrīzī describes as being 'outside [or after] the Darb al-Aḥmar'.²²⁵ In the Déscription map, the Darb al-Aḥmar is marked as a very short stretch of road from N6 247 (the ḥammām al-Darb al-Aḥmar) to N5 194 (the wakālat al-milāyāt, opposite the south end of the mosque of Qijmās. As Maqrīzī also uses the toponym Darb al-Aḥmar very rarely, the later map may reflect earlier usage.

Comments

An ulama residence. One may speculate that this was a modestly affluent middle-class residential area in this period.

²²⁴ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 19:133.

²²⁵ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399:9-13.

10. Mosque of the amir Qijmās al-Ishāqī

Location: N5, on Darb al-Aḥmar street, by Sūq al-Ghanam (see Plates 8 and 9)

Date: 884-6/1479-81

Function: Friday mosque; possibly also madrasa; mausoleum; kuttāb; Qur'ān reading; shops below

Founder: The amir Qijmās al-Ishāqī

Founder

If Qijmās was originally a mamluk of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (d. 857/1453),²²⁶ he started to rise up the ranks quite late in life. Sultan Qāyṭbāy made him governor of Alexandria in 875/1471, amir of 1,000 only in 877/1472, amir ākhūr (Grand Marshal) in 880 and then amir al-ḥajj in Rabī' II 883/1478, whereupon he escorted the ḥajj in that year 'with unaccustomed ceremony', returning early in 884/1479. He was then made governor of Syria for the second time in Shawwāl 885/1480. He died in Shawwāl 892/1487 in Damascus, and was buried there.²²⁷

Ibn Iyās says of him: 'He was pious and charitable, extremely shy and quite gentle, and a thoroughly good man. It was he who founded the madrasa which is on the Darb al-Aḥmar by [bi-qurb] the Sūq al-Ghanam ... and other beautiful buildings'.²²⁸ According to Grand and Herz, these included not only buildings in Damascus and Alexandria, but also at Qal'at al-Kabsh.²²⁹

Foundation of the mosque

Qijmās clearly wanted very badly to build his mosque here. Through four acts of *istibdāl* in five months 883-84/1479 he acquired several properties—described as 'ruined' in the documents—the most important of which was a *funduq*, and exchanged them for properties of his own elsewhere in Cairo that he had had assessed at a higher value.²³⁰ The plots were

²²⁶ CIA Egypte I, p. 513.

²²⁷ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, trans. Wiet, A.61, 161, 165, 167, 193, 272.

²²⁸ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā, III.243:16-18.

²²⁹ Comité, *Exercice 1892*² (Cairo, 1903), 86. No source is given.

²³⁰ The *istibdāl* documents are dated Dhū'l-Ḥijja 883/1479 to Jumādā II 884/1479. Sayed, 'The rab' in Cairo: a window on Mamluk architecture and urbanism', 108.

for the triangular piece of land on which he built his mosque, and an extra plot on the other side of the side-street. As Sayed says, there was probably an element of coercion in these purchases; and if the area was so desirable, the properties may well not really have been 'ruined'. They show not only that Qijmās was determined on that particular site, but by extension that by now this part of the street was highly desirable—something that is also shown by the positioning and decoration of the mosque. As to the timing, the inscriptions say that the interior was completed in Ramaḍān 885 and the exterior in Muḥarram 886.²³¹ So construction would have begun in 884 while Qijmās was still amir al-ḥajj based in Cairo, but would have been completed after his move back to Damascus.

Functions

The building is called jāmi' in the inscriptions²³² but madrasa by Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī.²³³ There is a minbar inscribed by Qijmās, so this was a Friday mosque from the start, despite its very small size.²³⁴ As Van Berchem points out, the plan is a qā'a plan²³⁵ (see Plate 9), and even though we have no waqf reference to teaching, teaching may well have been carried out here. Forty years later, in Dhū'l-Qa'da 927/1521, Ibn Iyās describes how the Ḥanafī qāḍī Bishr arrives at the madrasa of Qijmās to give his usual class there and finds some Christians drunk and disorderly in front of the door, whereupon he takes the appropriate action.²³⁶ There was also a mausoleum for the founder, though he never occupied it, dying and being buried in Damascus.²³⁷ The nineteenth-century shaykh Abū Ḥarība or Abū Ḥurayra is buried in the mausoleum.²³⁸

²³¹ CIA Egypte I inscriptions ## 334, 336 around walls of interior court and in iwān opposite qibla; portal inscription is # 332. The waqfiyya itself is dated 886/1482: Sayed, 'The rab' in Cairo: a window on Mamluk architecture and urbanism', 108.

²³² CIA Egypte I ## 332, 334, 335, 336.

²³³ CIA Egypte I.

²³⁴ CIA Egypte I # 337.

²³⁵ CIA Egypte I p. 512.

²³⁶ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, trans. Wiet, C.397.

²³⁷ Van Berchem says Qijmās built himself several mausoleums in various places.

CIA Egypte I p. 513.

²³⁸ The first according to Van Berchem and the Comité, 87, the second according to Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic architecture of Cairo, 151.

Along the main facade, between the west *iwān* and the portal and on the same level, is a small room not connected to the mosque, with highly ornamented (and thus emphasized) windows facing both west and south. Its position, decoration and windows lead one to expect that this was the *sabīl*. It is included in the ensemble seen from the viewpoint at which the whole mosque is addressed, together with decorated west facade, portal, dome and minaret. There is no *kuttāb* above it. However, it is not at the street level. What other purpose could it have served? If not a *sabīl*, perhaps it was a room for reading Qur'ān over the street; though one would normally expect this to be done from the tomb-chamber. Over the road, across the small bridge, above the ablutions area noted by the Comité is a staircase leading up to two small rooms which overlook the alley (through much smaller windows). Behrens-Abouseif thinks this is a *sabīl-kuttāb*, though the same objection would apply as this was not at street-level either. Meinecke lists the complex as having a drinking-trough (*ḥawḍ*) and a *sabīl*.²³⁹ It is hard to see what the building across the alley could have been if not a *kuttāb*, whose site was not visually crucial to the Mamluk facade unless it was joined to a *sabīl*.

The structure in the street

The site before Qijmās's acquisition was commercial, as Ibn Iyās's description of the mosque as by the *Sūq al-Ghanam* (q.v.) also shows. Qijmās then took commercial properties and reused the site for a fine mosque with a ceremonial meaning and focus (see below). There were other Friday mosques in the area, and he did not need egregiously to provide another one. However, in doing so he clearly upgraded the area. One would expect other elite development to follow along the *Sūq al-Ghanam* towards the mosque of Aṣlam.

The mosque is raised above the street by shops at ground level.²⁴⁰ The building was free-standing on all sides, but really only has one facade, along the *Darb al-Aḥmar*. This facade is however cleverly stepped so that the triangular shape of the plot can be used to display a receding succession of west facade, windowed chamber (whatever it was), and

²³⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic architecture of Cairo*, 151; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, II.418.

²⁴⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic architecture of Cairo*, 151; Comité 85. These were presumably endowed to support the mosque, importantly as there are no other commercial structures on the site to support it.

portal, all wonderfully decorated with coloured marble inlay, with the dome and minaret above.

It is clear from the trouble Qijmās took that this was a prime site in its own right, no longer eclipsed by the areas of amirial building to the south, along the Šalība and round the Rumayla. But the building looks not east, up towards the Citadel and the seat of power, but west, towards the old city. Why was the building focused so brilliantly towards Bāb Zuwayla?

One reason is that in Dhū'l-Qa‘da 873/1469, Sultan Qāyrbāy made his first official procession through Cairo. ‘The order had been given to decorate the city, and this was done magnificently.’ The procession entered through Bāb al-Naṣr, the Sultan preceded by his vast escort of horses and mamluks on foot, and processed through the city and out through Bāb Zuwayla. Throughout the city, there were singers lined up on the main streets. ‘The Sultan’s horse trampled on the finest silks, spread out in front of him from the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān on the Tabbāna as far as the Citadel. In his path were thrown pieces of gold and silver.’²⁴¹

So we know that by the time of Qāyrbāy the Darb al-Aḥmar street had become a ceremonial route. In the early Mamluk years this street was not a splendid one and was not used for these purposes. What had made the difference was the mosque of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh. The mosque had dignified and ceremonialized the city walls, and reclaimed the area outside Bāb Zuwayla as part of the Mamluk city of power.

²⁴¹ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā, III.34: 2 ff.

11. Sūq al-Ghanam (including**12. Funduq al-Qutn)****Location:** N6/N5 (see Map 1)**Date:** After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad**Function:** Sheep and goats market**Founder:** Unknown**Location**

A cotton warehouse (Funduq al-Qutn) is mentioned as a landmark in one of the Qāyṭbāy waqfiyyas as being east of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh²⁴² and 'outside the Bāb Zuwayla gates and the Darb al-Aḥmar in Khatt Sūq al-Ghanam'.²⁴³ Elsewhere, Qijmās's mosque is described as 'by the Sūq al-Ghanam';²⁴⁴ the Khatt Sūq al-Ghanam is described as extending up to the mosque of Aṣlam.²⁴⁵ Wiet and Raymond locate the sūq near N5 # 201 (the Mawqif al-Ḥummāra, the donkey-drivers' stop), in the small mīdān at the east corner of the mosque of Qijmās.²⁴⁶

Chronology and origins

Origins unknown. The sūq is mentioned by Maqrīzī,²⁴⁷ but may be a later Mamluk sūq. It does not seem to be mentioned in connection with the period of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, for instance.²⁴⁸ Raymond suggests that the area around this sūq was one of the blank spots in the south of the city where solid urbanization did not take place.²⁴⁹ As I have found no mention of any sūq on the Tabbāna or Bāb al-Wazīr street, as opposed to several listed in Taḥt al-Rab' and on the southern Qaṣaba, it looks as if he is right, with commercial activity south of the Sūq al-Ghanam either rudimentary and local or else housed adequately in the qaisāriyya/rab'

²⁴² Mayer, The buildings of Qāyṭbāy as described in his endowment deeds, 31-33, cited in Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 242.

²⁴³ Mayer, The buildings of Qāyṭbāy as described in his endowment deeds, 31:4-5.

²⁴⁴ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, III.243:16-18.

²⁴⁵ In 853/1449, Abū al-Khayr al-Naḥḥās is described as fleeing from hostile crowds in Bāb al-Wazīr street back up the road until he gets to the mosque of Aṣlam 'bi Khatt Sūq al-Ghanam': Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XV.398:14 ff.

²⁴⁶ Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 231, 242.

²⁴⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.45, 110, 136, 104; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ḥawādith, ed. Popper, 793:21ff.

²⁴⁸ Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 248.

²⁴⁹ Raymond, Le Caire, 156.

buildings routinely constructed with their religious foundations by the amirs.

13. House and madrasa of ‘Anbar al-Ḥabashī, Sūq al-Ghanam

Location: Sūq al-Ghanam

Date: Before 867/1462

Function: Private residence; madrasa

Founder: The eunuch ‘Anbar al-Ḥabashī.

The eunuch ‘Anbar al-Ḥabashī died in 867/1462.²⁵⁰ His house and madrasa can be classified as non-Mamluk, ulama housing. This part of the Sūq al-Ghanam at least was judged suitable for an elite residence.

As virtually all amirial religious foundations on this street include their own commercial/residential building and a tomb (see ch. 3), it is possible that this foundation also incorporated a tomb.

²⁵⁰ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Hawādith ed. Popper, 793:21ff, cited in Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.389.

14. Madrasa and qaisāriyya/rab‘ of the amir Aḥmad al-Mihmandār

The qaisāriyya and rab‘ are lost.

Location: N5, on the west side of the Tabbāna street (see Plate 8)

Date: 725/1325

Function: Mosque, with teaching and Sufi activities; founder's tomb; adjoining qaisāriyya/rab‘

Founder: The amir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mihmandār

Founder and foundation of the structure

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mihmandār served as naqīb al-juyūsh (adjutant or adjutant-major of the army) under al-Nāsir Muḥammad 719-27/1319-27. In 728 he was appointed leader of the hajj caravan, amir al-rakb. He died in Rajab 732/1332.²⁵¹

Aḥmad al-Mihmandār's mosque is dated 725 both by inscription and by Maqrīzī.²⁵²

This madrasa is outside Bāb Zuwayla, between the jāmi‘ of al-Šāliḥ and the Citadel. Today its street is called the Khatt Jāmi‘ al-Māridānī, outside [khārij] al-Darb al-Aḥmar. The madrasa faces [tujāh] the Mušallā al-Amwāt. It is on the right of whoever is going from the Darb al-Aḥmar towards the Māridānī mosque. It has a second door on Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya. The amir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aqqūsh al-‘Azīzī al-Mihmandār, naqīb al-juyūsh, built it in the year 725. He made it both a madrasa and a khānqāh and installed study and instruction from Ḥanafī faqīhs. Next door [ilā jānibhā], he built the qaisāriyya and rab‘ that are there today.²⁵³

The qaisāriyya and rab‘ were built to support his mosque. They have disappeared without trace; Aḥmad al-Mihmandār is buried in his tomb-chamber in the mosque.²⁵⁴

Functions

This was a small teaching institution with instruction in Ḥanafī fiqh. Maqrīzī calls it a madrasa and says it was also a khānqāh (though the inscription itself calls it a masjid and

²⁵¹ Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, 50. The office of Mihmandār is translated by Popper as 'Host'. It was the '18th dignity of the 25 at the Mamluk sultan's court'; the Mihmandār's duties were to receive and look after ambassadors and to present them to the sultan. Saleh, 'Mihmindār'.

²⁵² RCEA # 5503, CIA Egypte I # 116; Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399:12.

²⁵³ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399:9-13.

²⁵⁴ RCEA # 5505; CIA Egypte I # 117.

turba).²⁵⁵ As he does this consistently in two different places, it seems that he did mean to convey that there were Sufi activities here as well as teaching. The term khānqāh may indicate that there was accommodation. There is nothing to indicate whether Friday prayers were held originally. As the inscription uses the term masjid rather than madrasa, that is how I will refer to it.²⁵⁶

The structure in the street

This mosque illuminates our understanding of Mamluk toponymy and Fatimid topography, This part of the main street, Maqrīzī says, is outside [khārīj] the Darb al-Aḥmar, confirming what the Déscription map shows, that the name Darb al-Aḥmar was used only for a very small section of the street. On the Déscription map this name is applied to a short stretch from the Hammām Darb al-Aḥmar (# 247 N6) to the Wakālat al-Milāyāt (# 194N5).

The Mihmandār is also said to be near 'the head of Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya', onto which opens the mosque's second door.²⁵⁷ This has to be the Fatimid Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya, its name and location preserved in the street name system; this side street is still called Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya today. The lane that bounds the Mihmandār to the west, turning south off the main street at Qijmās's mosque, is rendered as the Darb el-Ounsiyeh (ألو نسيه) on the Déscription map at #53 N6 and O6; it is called the Darb al-Ansiyya (الأ نسيه) today.

The mosque itself, however, is either not marked on the Déscription map or, exceptionally, has been marked wrong. A 'passage et mosquée' are indicated at # 185 N5, south of the site, but as one of the notable features of this mosque is that it does incorporate the side street into a passage, this may in fact be the Mihmandār, wrongly positioned. Here the side street is called al-Barādi'iyah (# 192 N5), the same name (al-Barādeyeh, N5) given

²⁵⁵ RCEA # 5503, CIA Egypte I # 116. The foundation appears a second time in the Khitat in the section on khānqāhs. 'This khānqāh is outside Bāb Zuwayla, between the head of Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya and the Māridānī mosque. It was founded by the amir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aqūsh al-'Azīzī al-Mihmandār, naqīb al-juyūsh, in 725 and it is described under madrasas in this book'. Maqrīzī, Khitat II.418:32-5.

²⁵⁶ See note 17, ch. 3, p. 160.

²⁵⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.418:32-5; 399:9-10.

to the main street at this point.²⁵⁸ On the opposite side of the main street, on the probable site of the Mušallā al-Amwāt, are two zāwiyyas: Zāwiyyat Zara‘ al-Nawah at # 190 and the Zāwiyya al-Barādi‘iyyah at # 189. Further north, at the corner of the modern Darb al-Ansiyya, there is a Wakālat al-Milāyāt at # 194 N5.

The line of the main street was already built up when the mosque was founded, as shown by the street adjustment of the qibla wall, and the Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya was also clearly already there, as shown by the mosque's encroachment onto its space by incorporating it as a covered passage (see Plates 1, 8 and 10). Buildings adjoined the mosque to the north and the south (hence the passage); the main street was to the east, and the Darb al-Ansiyya to the west. Thus the plot was limited on all four sides, and was really quite cramped. If the street side had been long enough for an uncramped facade, extra space would not have been clawed out for it by building across the front of the Ḥārat al-Yānisiyya and funnelling its traffic through the mosque. All this goes to show that the area was fully built up and quite in demand when Aḥmad al-Mihmandār built his mosque here in 725/1325.

Opposite was the funeral mušallā mentioned by Maqrīzī, which may or may not be the same as Ibn Taghrībirdī's Mušallā al-Bayātira, q.v. I have argued in the relevant section that the Mušallā al-Amwāt probably dates from 1300-1330; the Mušallā al-Bayātira is mentioned in connection with the year 864/1459. If the mušallā predated the mosque, it would probably not have been a particularly glorious street presence to look out onto. Aḥmad al-Mihmandār's facade would certainly have been an improvement in the urban landscape.

Given such a small, cramped plot, the founder did not have much scope for addressing the street, but as far as he could, he orientated his building towards the north, towards the observer coming down from Bāb Zuwayla. (See Plate 8.) This he did by setting his mausoleum slightly forward into the street, which gave it a street presence from that side as

²⁵⁸ Cf. the *Déscription* calls Qijmās al-Ishāqī's mosque the Jāmi‘ Qismās al-Barādi‘iyyah (# 196 N5). Salmon identifies the Darb al-Barādiyya as the Sūq al-Ghanam: Salmon, *Études sur la topographie du Caire*, 112-113.

well as from the main street.²⁵⁹ Most of the north side was not free-standing, however, as shown by the angled opening of the mausoleum's north window. The founder also chose a window onto the main street for his tomb-chamber in preference to a mihrāb.²⁶⁰

If it adjoined the mosque, the founder's qaisāriyya/rab' building could have been to either north or south. It would have made better visual sense to build it on the north, so as to be a foreground to the stepped mausoleum and main facade. To the south, it would have been an anticlimax.

²⁵⁹ Building the facade forward like this probably would have narrowed the street here.

²⁶⁰ 'There seems to be no other reason for which the mihrāb could have been omitted than the desire to retain an opening towards the street as well as the prayer hall': Kessler, 'Funerary architecture within the city,' 259-60.

15. **Muṣallā al-Amwāt/al-Bayātira**

Location: N5, E side of street, opposite mosque of Aḥmad al-Mihmandār (see Map 1)

Date: ? c. 700-720/c. 1300-1320

Function: Muṣallā for funeral prayer

Founder: Unknown

The foundation of the structure

The Muṣallā al-Amwāt is mentioned by Maqrīzī in connection with the Mihmandār mosque.

Maqrīzī says:

This madrasa is outside Bāb Zuwayla between the Jāmi‘ al-Šāliḥ and the Citadel. Its khatt is known today as the Khatt Jāmi‘ al-Māridānī, outside [khārij] the Darb al-Aḥmar, and it [the madrasa] faces [tujāh] the Muṣallā al-Amwāt, on the right if you are going from the Darb al-Aḥmar towards the Māridānī mosque. ²⁶¹

The muṣallā is described as 'facing', i.e. on the opposite side from the Mihmandār. That it 'faced' the Mihmandār masjid suggests that it occupied either (1) the southern tip of what in the Déscription map is the triangular island behind the mosque of Qijmās al-Ishāqī, or (2) the east side of the main street running south from the corner of that island. (See Map 1, Plates 1 and 8). Site (1) is bigger and is in almost perfect qibla alignment. It is also nearer to Bāb Zuwayla. However, site (2) may be slightly more likely: on the Déscription map, two zāwiyyas are marked on site (2) (#189, al-Zāwiyya al-Barādi‘iyya, and #190, the Zāwiyyat Zara‘ al-Nawah), whereas site (1) has no features at all. It is possible that a piece of land that was used first as a muṣallā had its function preserved in reuse in the form of two zāwiyyas.

The term muṣallā, which literally means 'a place for prayer', usually applies to a large, open-air space outside the city walls used for festival prayers and festival sacrifice, for prayers for rain, and for the dead.²⁶² A muṣallā generally had little or no construction beyond something to mark qibla, hence little form to speak of except the shape of the space demarcated by its walls.

²⁶¹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399:9-13.

²⁶² Sanders, Ritual, politics, and the city in Fatimid Cairo, 157, note 34.

We do not know whether this mušallā was first used in a time of mass deaths or for the normal purposes of festival prayer. Nor do we know whether it was still primarily used for mass funeral prayers when Maqrīzī mentioned it, or whether that purpose survived only in its name. There were frequent and dreadful famines all through the Mamluk period, but a mass funeral prayer site suggests the more concentrated deaths that would result from disease epidemics or plague. Though disease had been common before, the Black Death hit Cairo in 1348 and there were more than 50 subsequent plague outbreaks before 1517.²⁶³

Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions a Mušallā al-Bayātira (bayātira or 'farriers' apparently means both horse-shoers and veterinarians) as one of several major sites for funeral prayers over the plague dead. He is giving daily fatality figures and querying the official figures as too low. He says that on Monday 14 Jumādā II 864/1459, prayers were said over 470 dead at the Mušallā al-Bayātira. (This compares to 376 in al-Azhar, the largest prayer space within reach and bigger than the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.) He does not, however, say where this mušallā was.²⁶⁴ According to Popper, writing in his notes on Taghrībirdī, it was located on the east side of Tabbāna, '300 yards SE of Zuwaila Gate'.²⁶⁵ I have found no further reference to this mušallā. Popper probably conflated this with the Mušallā al-Amwāt because of the use to which it was put and on the grounds that there was probably only one mušallā in this area; and his conflation is probably right.

There are two possibilities for the foundation of this mušallā. The site could have been used for normal festival prayers as soon as the street began to develop, coming into use later as a burial-prayer space in the plague years, and later coming to be known as 'the funeral mušallā'. Alternatively, it could have come into use for the first time only at the point when a mušallā was needed for mass funeral prayers. However, a first use in or after 1348 would be rather late for a large new site to be opened up on virgin or cleared ground. By the 1320s the street was beginning to be heavily developed on both sides. Why should this part of the street have remained undeveloped while by 725 the west side of the street was fully built up, and

²⁶³ Shoshan, Popular culture in medieval Cairo, 4.

²⁶⁴ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XVI.144:15, 145:17, 146:2, 12, 17; also in Popper translation, 22:97.

²⁶⁵ Popper, Systematic notes, I.27.

even further by 735, when to secure a suitable site for the mosque of al-Māridānī the Sultan had to compulsorily purchase and then demolish. By the mid-1330s the eastern side of the street was also filling up, as we know from the rab‘ of Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughay opposite the site of the Māridānī jāmi‘ in 735. It seems more likely that this was a normal, all-purpose mušallā, and that its reported name in Maqrīzī reflects the circumstances of the later Mamluk period.

Why have a mušallā here? There had been mušallās in Fustāt before the Fatimid conquest.²⁶⁶ Presumably on instruction, Jawhar founded a mušallā outside the northern walls of Qāhira at Bāb al-Naṣr in Ramaḍān 358/969. This mušallā was very special because of the part it played in Fatimid court ritual as the site for festival prayers led by the caliph.²⁶⁷ It was the terminus of the first half of the caliph's procession, so that entry would have been tightly controlled and managed. The mušallā outside Bāb al-Naṣr, then, was hardly a place for popular worship, but was probably a special case. Mušallās may well have been used very differently by the Ayyubids and Mamluks. Under the early Fatimids the area between Qāhira and Fustāt was largely undeveloped, so there would have been little need for a mušallā outside the southern wall near Bāb Zuwayla. But in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the upper Darb al-Aḥmar began to develop and the northern Qaṣaba began to redevelop. Until the completion of the Māridānī mosque in 740/1340, the nearest Friday mosque to this area was that of al-Šāliḥ Ṭalā‘i‘ at Bāb Zuwayla.²⁶⁸ If at the same time population pressure was increasing with migration from the countryside, and commercial development increasing with growing numbers of skilled craftsmen, traders and unskilled workers servicing the suqs on the Qaṣaba coming to live here, this would have provided a purpose for a mušallā for the south of the city, like the one in the north. In the absence of mentions of any other mušallā in this area, this may have been the mušallā of the southern wall: not far from the gate of Bāb Zuwayla, as that in the north was not far from Bāb al-Naṣr. The fact that there had been mušallās in Fustāt before the Fatimid conquest, though they were

²⁶⁶ Sanders, *Ritual, politics, and the city in Fatimid Cairo*, 45.

²⁶⁷ Sanders, *Ritual, politics, and the city in Fatimid Cairo*, 45.

²⁶⁸ This was probably used as a Friday mosque for a brief period from its completion in 555/1160 to the Ayyubid occupation in 1169, and was then reinaugurated for Friday prayer in 699/1300.

not used for festival prayer, shows that the muṣallā was not an alien invention.²⁶⁹

The structure and the street

As stated above, a muṣallā generally had little or no construction—it was basically an open-air space with a qibla marker—so it would have had little form to speak of. Beyond surmising that there was probably an entrance on the main street side, and walls along the street sides, we cannot say any more on this other than note that both possible sites were quite suitable because the qibla side was away from the street. The northern site was nearer Bāb Zuwayla, so if a muṣallā was normally connected to the city gate, this site would fit the bill better than the southern one. Either way, the muṣallā probably had an understated street presence.

²⁶⁹ Sanders, Ritual, politics, and the city in Fatimid Cairo, 45 & note 36, p. 157.

16. The mosque of Altunbughā al-Māridānī

Location: O5 on Tabbāna street (see Plate 11)

Date: 738-40/1338-40

Function: Friday mosque

Founder: The amir Altunbughā al-Māridānī

The founder

Altunbughā was one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's royal mamluks who rose to seniority very young. He was born c. 720.²⁷⁰ He was charming, clever and good-looking (described by Maqrīzī as tall, slim, sweet-faced, courteous, loving of danger, noble, astute and acute²⁷¹). He had been the Sultan's sāqī or cup-bearer and became one of his favourites; Maqrīzī says he was one of the greatest of the Manṣūrī mamluks.²⁷² Like eight other favourite *khāṣṣakī* amirs, he was given a daughter of the Sultan in marriage, and a small palace to live in in the southern enclosure of the Citadel in 1333-4.²⁷³ Then in 735/1334 (738/1338 in another passage) al-Nāṣir chose a site for a large Friday mosque for him, which he constructed 738-40/1338-40, at the same time (738-41) as building him a fine palace on the Rumayla, under the Citadel. In 735, Altunbughā was 15 years old.²⁷⁴

After al-Nāṣir's death Altunbughā was involved in a lot of jockeying for power among the senior Mamluks, after which he was posted to Syria in 743/1342-3 to be governor of first Ḥamā and then Aleppo, where he fell ill and died in Šafar 744, aged 24.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ We are told that he was 24 when he died in 744: Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*.

²⁷¹ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.308:39.

²⁷² Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.308:28.

²⁷³ Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 188.

²⁷⁴ Ibn Taghrībirdī says of Altunbughā, in defending al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh from the charge of pederasty, that: 'For instance, al-Malik al-Nāṣir advanced a number of his mamluks with whom he was infatuated and made them emirs of the first class in Cairo at an age when not one of them had yet shown a trace of a mustache; such, for example, were ... Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī, Altunbughā al-Māridānī, Qawsūn ...': Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, trans. Popper, 13.43.

²⁷⁵ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.308: 25-39.

The foundation of the mosque

This mosque [jāmi‘] is next to Khatt al-Tabbāna outside Bāb Zuwayla. Its site was originally a cemetery [maqābir] for the people of Qāhira; then amākin were built, then in the year 738 the amākin were taken from their owners and their purchase was organized for purposes of building, and the price was not just, and the amākin were demolished and this mosque was built in their place. And the cost of it exceeded 300,000 dirhams - more than 15,000 dinars - excluding timber and marble, and in addition to that there was a contribution from the Sultan, and the columns were taken from the Rāshida jāmi‘ and the mosque was built on them, and it was one of the loveliest mosques. The first khutba was given in it on Friday 14 Ramaḍān 740, and the shaykh Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘barī gave it, and he refused payment.²⁷⁶

And in this year [735/1334] the Sultan was completely infatuated with his mamluk Altunbughā al-Māridānī and doted on him and promoted him, and he wished to build a jāmi‘ for him facing [tujāh] the rab‘ of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tughay outside Bāb Zuwayla, and he purchased a number of houses [dūr] from their owners to satisfy them. And the Sultan authorized the foundation [of the mosque], and he summoned the owners of the properties said to them, ‘This land is the Sultan's and you will have the value of the building [al-binā’],’ and he kept on at them until they were bought from them for half the value written in their deeds, and they had spent a lot of money on construction after purchasing them, and they got nothing back. And al-Māridānī started building his jāmi‘ until it was complete and in the most perfect smartness, and the cost was 300,000 dirhams in round numbers, and that was excluding what the Sultan gave him of wood and marble and other things. And the shaykh Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘barī gave the khutba there, and he did not accept a fee.²⁷⁷

The Sultan thus obtained the site of the mosque through *istibdāl*, had the properties demolished, and paid for its construction, giving special marble and carved woodwork and some columns from the ruined Fatimid mosque of Rāshida in Fustāt. He may also have sent slave labour *corvées* to work on the mosque, as he did for Qawṣūn's mosque on the Qaṣaba.²⁷⁸ The mosque was designed by the royal architect, Ibn al-Suyūfī²⁷⁹ (which explains the similarities to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's own mosque on the Citadel).

²⁷⁶ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.308:19-25.

²⁷⁷ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* II.2.385:7-14.

²⁷⁸ These were *asrā’*—mainly Armenian prisoners of war, but also sometimes including bedouin raided from Upper Egypt and also *al-muqayyadīn*, 'the chained ones', who Nasser Rabbat glosses as 'corvée peasants and urban riffraff'—Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 241. Maqrīzī specifically states that *al-asrā’* were sent to help in the construction of the Qawṣūn mosque: cited *ibid.*, note 30, p. 241.

²⁷⁹ Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, II.178.

Functions

This was a Friday mosque. (See Plate 12.) There was no tomb. Later, after Altunbughā's death and before the erection of his own Ḥanafī madrasa on the Šalība street in 757/1356, the amir Šarghatmish (d. 1358) endowed a Ḥanafī class to be taught here.²⁸⁰ There could of course have been informal teaching in the mosque much earlier.

The structure in the street

The site was originally part of the Fatimid cemetery, but by 735 it had clearly been built over. The reference to amākin (dwellings) and dūr (fine houses), on which the property owners 'had spent a lot of money on construction after purchasing' the sites, suggests that this was an affluent residential area on the up. Across the street was the rab' of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tuḡhay.²⁸¹ As virtually all amirial religious foundations on this street are founded with a commercial/residential income-generating structure next door, this may well have been part of a complex rather than a free-standing tenement. The area around the Mihmandār mosque had reached this stage twelve years previously in 725. Altunbughā got room for a nice new uncrowded riwāq mosque in perfect qibla alignment because the plot had been cleared by the Sultan.

This is confirmed by looking at the Déscription street plan (Plate 1). All four facades of the mosque have either a door, a portal or fenestration, so it was free-standing. It is perfectly aligned to qibla, and its only divergence from a perfect riwāq plan is the chamfered east corner. It is the street pattern that has had to accommodate to the mosque. The form of both sidestreets adjoining the mosque has been distorted. The side-street leading west to join up with the Qašaba has to deviate around two corners of the mosque before continuing west; and the sidestreet running south has had two right-angles inserted into its path by the mosque's south corner. If the two side streets postdated the mosque, it would be impossible to explain the south-west door; so the mosque was inserted into an existing corner of two side-streets, one leading west, one south, and forced them to adapt.

²⁸⁰ Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 53.

²⁸¹ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II.2.385:7ff.

The form of the mosque emphasizes the qibla facade as much as the portal facade: it is the qibla facade that is most ornamented with niching and fenestration. The south-west and north-west facades are quite plain, apart from the north-west portal (which suggests that there was another side street opening here).

The chamfered east corner shows how the architect wished to establish a street presence for the mosque by setting it forward into the main street. Given the angle of the street to qibla, for the mosque to have a portal on the street it had to be set forward, and chamfering was necessary to avoid blocking the street entirely. If not for this, the corner abutting the street would have been the corner of the prayer hall and there would have been no entrance on the main street. Without a portal, a focussed street facade would be impossible and there could be no monumental presence. With the forward position and the chamfering, the portal could be positioned at the angle of the riwāq, leading into the courtyard beside the prayer hall.

A corner location made the site more desirable because it would be a more heavily used part of the street and a natural focus; and the two indentations between the projecting portal and the corner and within the chamfer prefigure the turning into the sidestreet and create a role for the mosque in the street, as well as increasing the surface area of the facade.

The location of such a high-profile mosque here on the Tabbāna street is unique. Its contemporaries, the Friday mosques of Qawṣūn and Ylmās, were built in 730/1329-30 on the southern stretch of the Qaṣaba, and it is well away from the developing amirial district of the Ṣalība. What we are told about the construction of Altunbughā's palace, however, indicates that this could have been part of a development drive by al-Nasir. Altunbughā's palace, built for him by the Sultan in the same period (738-41) next to Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī's, was part of such a drive. We are told that al-Nāṣir planned the location, obtained the site, and even specified the orientation of the palaces (which should be facing, tujāh, the ḥammām of al-Sa'īd Baraka Khan, the site of the Rifā'ī mosque),²⁸² and that he inspected the work himself:

²⁸² Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 277.

In this month [Šafar 738] the Sultan built a palace [qašran] for the amir Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī and a palace for the amir Altunbughā al-Māridaynī facing [tujāh] the ḥammām of al-Malik al-Sa‘īd near the Rumayla under the Citadel, and he took a part [of the site] for that from the iṣṭabl of the amir Aйдaghmiş and a part from the iṣṭabl of the amir Tashtamur al-Sāqī and part from the iṣṭabl of the amir Qawṣūn. And he came down [from the Citadel] in person to see that his order was carried out. And the Sultan ordered the amir Qawṣūn to buy the amlāk next door to his iṣṭabl on the Rumayla ... [and enlarge his palace]²⁸³

In other words, al-Nāṣir planned the development of the Rumayla with a ring of amirial palaces. Rabbat suggests that this was as a security barrier to buffer the vulnerability of the Citadel from the north and south, where the Ayyubid enclosing wall had never been completed.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/1.438-9:12 ff.

²⁸⁴ Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 286.

17. Rab' of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tughay

Lost.

Location: O5, on E side of Tabbāna street, opposite the Māridānī mosque (see Map 1)

Date: before 735/1334

Function: Tenement building for rent

Founder: The amir Sayf al-Dīn Tughay

And in this year [735/1334] the sultan was completely infatuated with his mamluk Altunbughā al-Māridānī, being extremely fond of him, and promoted him, and he wished to build a jāmi' for him facing the rab' of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tughay, outside Bāb Zuwayla.²⁸⁵

The presence of an amirial rab' probably means that it was part of a larger amirial religious foundation (see chapter three), but it indicates that by 735 the east side of the street too at this point was a site for amirial foundations.

²⁸⁵ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II.2:385.7-8.

18. Mosque and tomb, called Abū'l-Yūsufayn

Location: O5, on E side of street, S of Māridānī mosque (see Map 1, Plate 11)

Date: c. 730/1329-30

Function: Mosque; possibly teaching; founder's mausoleum

Founder: Unknown amirial

Location

This structure was known by the same name at the time of the French expedition: it is called the Zāwīyyat Abū al-Yūsufīn, marked at # 175 O5. Its founder is unknown, and its name comes from popular usage. It is anepigraphic and is not mentioned by the chroniclers.

Date

Creswell and Meinecke date the structure to c. 730/1329-30 on stylistic grounds. They note that the treatment of the windows, and Meinecke notes that the treatment of the dome of transition of the tomb-chamber, are similar to those in the mausoleums of Mughultāy al-Jamālī and of the amir Ulmās, both of which are dated by inscription to 730/1329-30.²⁸⁶ The building is smaller than the Mihmandār mosque and has nothing like so fine decoration on its facade, but it is sophisticated in its treatment of the mausoleum on the street, and was probably an amirial foundation.

Functions

Its plan in the 1970s, reproduced by Kessler²⁸⁷ (see Plate 13), is of a more or less square site with a projecting tomb-chamber. There is a simple prayer hall with mihrāb, opening onto a courtyard with one vaulted iwān with a window. The entrance is to the side, beside another window. The site was roughly square, slightly out of alignment with qibla because of the street line. The founder's choice of layout firmly privileges the mausoleum, and this tells us that the mausoleum was his own tomb-chamber, not a tomb built to house the remains of a shaykh. The tomb-chamber is on the street side, but it has been given two street facades by stepping the main facade back. This creates a corner in the street and increases the length of

²⁸⁶ Creswell, 'A brief chronology', 96; Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.152-3.

²⁸⁷ Kessler, 'Funerary architecture within the city', Fig. 4.

the street facade.

There is no trace of a minbar, and no minaret, but it may have been a teaching mosque or madrasa. Kessler deduces from the presence of the extra and seemingly unnecessary connecting passage from the tomb-chamber to the iwān that this was a teaching mosque, and that the extra passage was put in to maximize 'pious invocations' of blessings on the deceased founder in his tomb, because it was 'of greater religious value [than the connecting corridor to the court], since it provided a direct visual communication between the cenotaph in the center of the mausoleum and the liwān in which classes were held.'²⁸⁸ The extra corridor confirms that this was the mausoleum of the founder.

The name zāwiyya is probably generic.

The structure in the street

The plan shows no sign of compression or adaptation to fit a crowded space. The west side of the street seems to have been a better location, because a corner site allowed the positioning of one's mausoleum on the qibla side as part of an angled monumental facade. A location on the east could represent a second-best choice, for a second-level amir.

²⁸⁸ Kessler, 'Funerary architecture within the city,' 260.

19. Madrasa of the eunuch Zayn al-Dīn al-Ishiqtamurī

Lost.

Location: ? O5/P5, on Tabbāna street

Date: Before 819/1416

Function: Madrasa; tomb

Founder: The eunuch Zayn al-Dīn al-Ishiqtamurī

Ibn Taghrībirdī reports the death on 14 Rabī' II 819/1416 of the eunuch Zayn al-Dīn Muqbil b. 'Abd Allah al-Ishiqtamurī, rā's nawba jāmdāriyya (head of the corps of wardrobe keepers). He was buried in his college mosque in Tabbāna street. He was Greek by race, and was a learned man.²⁸⁹

The toponym Tabbāna is used from just below the Māridānī mosque to the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān; so the madrasa was probably in O5/P5.

This was a foundation by a senior court figure who was not a Mamluk. He was wealthy, influential, and a learned man: an 'ālim, in fact. By extension, the area was obviously suitable for a foundation of this sort in the period.

²⁸⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 17.106.

20. House of Sultan Qāyṭbāy

Lost, except for traces in fabric of the Bayt al-Razzāz

Location: P5, on site of Bayt al-Razzāz; Sūq al-Silāḥ court may also be part of same structure (see Map 1, Plate 14)

Date: Before 900/1495

Function: Private elite residence

Founder: Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy

Location

Just behind the Tabbāna Street, opening onto the east courtyard of the Bayt al-Razzāz, is a door inscribed with the name and titles of Sultan Qāyṭbāy. The Ottoman house (the Bayt al-Razzāz) of which the door and courtyard are now part adjoins the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān and its ḥawḍ (and there is a passage connecting to the madrasa's side door). The Qāyṭbāy door is reached today through a small door in the corner of the projecting Ottoman street facade, which leads via a corridor around two corners to the courtyard; the Qāyṭbāy door is on the south side of the courtyard, left of the present point of entry. It is part of an Ottoman house built along the south-east side of a courtyard, with what appears to be a Qāyṭbāy-period stable block opposite. (This is consistent with other palaces, as the prevailing breeze comes from the north in Cairo and so courtyard houses were built to face that direction.) The original Tabbāna entrance to the Qāyṭbāy building is lost: it has been replaced by an Ottoman extension which projects out into the street and is still there today (though its fine portal was blocked up some time in the nineteenth century after Coste drew it²⁹⁰).

The Qāyṭbāy door is decorated and inscribed three times with the name and titles of Sultan Qāyṭbāy, in a band across the portal and in two cartouches above the doorway. The band across the door says: ‘Our lord and master and the sovereign of our necks, the Sultan al-Mālik al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū'l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy, may God make his victory great, ordered the construction of this blessed place [makān] by the grace of God.’²⁹¹ The cartouches say, ‘Glory to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū'l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy, may God make his

²⁹⁰ This account is drawn from Victoria Meinecke-Berg, quoted in Walker and Yassin, ‘Restoration of the Bait ar-Razzāz,’ 60. The Coste drawing appears in Architecture arabe, Pl. XLVII. Coste's drawings were done between 1818 and 1825.

²⁹¹ CIA Egypte I # 349.

victory great.²⁹²

The Bayt al-Razzāz has a second courtyard to the south-west which opens onto the Sūq al-Silāh or Sūq al-‘Izzī (see Plates 14 and 15). This court too seems to have late fifteenth-century elements, including: the entrance and vaulted vestibule from the Sūq al-‘Izzī, a finely carved lintel over a doorway in the connecting area between the two courts, and possibly also the basement of the great qā’a along the south-east wall of the west courtyard.²⁹³ The question is whether this western courtyard was part of the same Qāyṭbāy structure.

Foundation of the structure

One possibility is that the door, stable block, portal, lintel, qā’a and maq’ad belonged to one or both of the two makāns that are listed in Qāyṭbāy waqfiyyas as income-generating properties endowed to support his funerary complex in the Northern Cemetery. One of these is mentioned by ‘Alī Mubārak in a waqfiyya which he quotes from, saying that everything listed in it was dated 900/1494-5 or earlier: ‘And he had a third waqfiyya which included a makān in the Khatt al-Tabbāna next to the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān ...’²⁹⁴ The other is in a different waqfiyya, that published by Mayer, and is a makān or binā’ (building) in the Sūq al-‘Izzī near the madrasa of Sūdūn min Zāda:

The whole of the existing building [binā’] outside al-Qāhira the well-guarded, outside the two Bāb Zuwayla gates and the Darb al-Aḥmar, in Khatt Suwayqat al-‘Izzī and near [bal qurb min] the madrasa of the late Sūdūn min Zāda al-Sayfī, which is near [bal qurb min] the adjoining Darb al-Hillāliyya.²⁹⁵

We have a precedent for this in another makān built by Qāyṭbāy on Qal‘at al-Kabsh (up on Jebel Yashkur behind the madrasa of Salār and Sanjār al-Jāwī), whose foundation inscription calls itself makān and states that the Sultan endowed it to support the Jāwliyya madrasa.²⁹⁶

²⁹² Herz, in Appendix to Comité XIV, 1897, p. iv.

²⁹³ Meinecke-Berg in Walker and Yassin, 'Restoration of the Bait ar-Razzāz,' 60.

²⁹⁴ ‘Alī Mubārak, Khitat V.71:24. He dates this waqfiyya to 900/1495.

²⁹⁵ Mayer, The buildings of Qāyṭbāy as described in his endowment deeds, 35:17-19.

NB The idiosyncratic direction-giving involved in describing the Sūq al-‘Izzī as 'outside the Darb al-Aḥmar'.

²⁹⁶ CIA Egypte I # 344.

Van Berchem thinks that the doorway must mean that this was a makān of that kind, because it was too mean to be part of even a top amirial residence, let alone a royal one.²⁹⁷

However, it is hard to see how this property or properties could have been income-generating. In what form could they have been let? Certainly not as a rab' - the qā'a and maq'ad could not possibly be part of a rab', and it is hard to see such a fine lintel on a courtyard door as doing so either. If this was a courtyard house for rent to just one or two wealthy tenants - rather than partitioned into the apartments found in a rab' for letting to middle-class families, which could not have happened here - who would these be, and why would they rent, rather than buy, or build themselves? Could this be an example of the Sultan letting to an amir because the site and building were desirable and no other site was available for purchase? The term makān on the door is not decisive, because the door is not part of a street facade: the Qāyṭbāy residence behind the Qaṣaba at O6, which clearly is a palatial private residence, sometimes calls itself makān as well as maq'ad.²⁹⁸

The irregular and haphazard-seeming shape of the Bayt al-Razzāz site (see Plate 14) is an argument for Meinecke-Berg's view that, rather than building from scratch, the Sultan got possession of properties that already existed, and then altered them to some purpose.²⁹⁹ The site seems to have been defined by the two courtyards and then connected up, rather than having been conceived as a whole from the beginning. Access to the street at the Sūq al-'Izzī is through a corridor, which might be part of the plan (Mamluk private houses focus inwards rather than outwards onto the street: cf the Bashtāk Palace, which is entered from a long side passage, even though the building is on the Qaṣaba), but might indicate that property on either side of the passage was not available. Taken with the waqfiyya, the form of the site probably indicates that these were two separate properties of the Sultan, joined up later by another owner. However, from the remains we have, the properties could only have been income-generating if they were for rent as entire private houses to an amir or a rich merchant.

²⁹⁷ CIA Egypte I, p. 527.

²⁹⁸ On one of its humbler doorways, as opposed to the facade doorways: CIA Egypte I, # 341.

²⁹⁹ In Walker and Yassin, 'Restoration of the Bait ar-Razzāz,' 60.

The structure and the street

Either way, the shape of the site indicates yet again that the area was heavily built up, that land was hard to come by, even for the Sultan, and yet that it was a desirable place of residence. The latter is confirmed by Qāyrbāy's house not far to the north-east behind the mosque of Jānī Bek at O6.

However, this building would not have focused outwards onto the street and probably did not have an imposing street facade as such. It would have been directly opposite the house of the amir Qurqumās (built between 825/1422 and 841/1437 and still existing at this time); it may be indicative of the house's private nature that Sultan Tumanbāy's waqf document, dated 919/1517, refers to this house as opposite the Umm al-Sultān madrasa, not Qāyrbāy's house.

21. House of the amir Qurqumās al-Jalab

Lost.

Location: P5, on E side of Tabbāna, opposite ḥawḍ of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān (see Map 1)

Date: c. 825-841/1422-37

Function: Private amirial residence

Founder: The amir Qurqumās al-Ashrafī al-Jalab.

Location

A waqf document of Sultan Tumanbāy, dated 919/1517, gives the location of Qurqumās's palace in Khatt al-Tabbāna, 'on your left if you are walking towards the Citadel, facing the ḥawḍ which is next to the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān' (on its north side).³⁰⁰

The Déscription map shows nothing revealing here (see Plate 1). The ḥawḍ of Umm al-Sultān is marked (citerne, P5), and opposite the ḥawḍ, P5 # 172 (al-ghazālīn, the spinners).

The founder

Qurqumās al-Ashrafī al-Jalab, or Qurqumās min Yashbak Khujā al-Ashrafī,³⁰¹ was a mamluk of Barsbāy's who on the Sultan's death in 841/1437 married his pregnant wife and took over the devoted care of Barsbāy's subsequently born son, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad. Aḥmad predeceased his stepfather.³⁰² Qurqumās became chief head of guards (rā's nawbat al-nuwwāb) in 857,³⁰³ then amir silāh,³⁰⁴ before his imprisonment in Alexandria in 872/1467 under Sultan al-Ẓāhir Bilbāy. A few months later in 872/1468 he was brought back to Cairo

³⁰⁰ Quoted by Fernandes, "The madrasa of Umm al Sultan Sha‘bān", 34-35, from ‘Abd al-Latīf Ibrāhīm, al-Mu’tamar al-thānī lil-āthār fi al-bilād al-‘arabiyya (Cairo, 1958), 205-87.

³⁰¹ Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, III.34:23-35:4.

³⁰² 'Prince Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, son of al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy al-Duqmāqī al-Ẓāhirī, died in the home of his uncle, his mother's husband, Emir Qurqumās al-Ashrafī, the emir of arms [amir silāh], in Tabbāna street, outside Cairo city, on Saturday 7 Rabī‘ I [868/1463-4]. The prince was buried in the tomb-mosque of Barsbāy in the Northern Cemetery. Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 23:100.

³⁰³ Ibn Iyās, ed. Muṣṭafā, Unpublished pages 6:1.

³⁰⁴ So described by Ibn Taghrībirdī in the year of 868/1463-4: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 23:100.

by Sultan Qāyṭbāy and restored to his old position of amir majlis.³⁰⁵ In 873/1469, he was sent as a senior commander in charge of a military expedition against the rebel Suwār (despite asking to be spared this because of ill health). In Dhū'l-Qa'da 873/1469 he was killed in an ambush with many others.

Chronology

As Qurqumās was a favourite of Barsbāy, his house was probably built long before Barsbāy's death and Qurqumās's marriage to the Sultan's widow; if not, it certainly would have been very soon thereafter. I will assume that it was built by 841/1437, and that the terminus post quem is about 825/1422, the year in which Barsbāy became Sultan. We do not know Qurqumās's birth date, but as he was still being sent on active military service in 873/1469, he must have been quite young when he entered Barsbāy's service. Ibn Iyās describes Qurqumās's house as a bayt; Meinecke describes it as a qaṣr.³⁰⁶

The structure in the street

In the reign of al-Ghūrī, the house seems to have been used as a residence for distinguished visitors. In Shawwāl 916/1511, Khāyrbak, then governor of Aleppo, paid a visit to the Sultan on the Citadel, was graciously received and given gifts and then processed down from the Citadel formally - 'he came down from the Citadel in a ceremonial procession [fī mawkib ḥāfil] and entered the bayt of the amir Qurqumās al-Jalab on the Tabbāna and stayed there' for the duration of his visit.³⁰⁷ The previous year, in Rajab 915/1509, the governor of Damascus, Sībāy, had been received by the Sultan in the same way and then, preceded by a special troupe of the Sultan's horses and escorted by a group of amirs of 1,000 in their festival robes, he processed down from the Citadel up to the bayt of Qurqumās ('and he continued in this mawkib ḥāfil until he alighted at the bayt of Qurqumās al-Jalab on the Tabbāna').³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, trans. Wiet, A.4, 5-6.

³⁰⁶ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.182:3-4; IV.162:18-20; IV.199:9-10; Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.397.

³⁰⁷ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, IV.199:9-10.

³⁰⁸ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, IV.162:18-20.

The fact that these two processions - and there may be many more examples - stopped at Qurqumās's house suggests that rather than being processions up the street in its own right they were processions to a specific destination and terminus. But the fact that processions were held at all from the Citadel shows that this lower stretch of Bāb al-Wazīr street and the Tabbāna was suitable for ceremonial activity, i.e. was a major street and wide enough and important enough to be a focus of court ceremony. The house itself must also have been reasonably fine for an escort of amirs of 1,000 in their robes and the Sultan's special led horses not to look silly alighting there.

22. Minaret of mosque called Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd

Location: P5, on east side of Tabbāna street, opposite madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān (see Map 1, Plate 14)

Date: c. 715/1315-16

Function: Mosque, possibly Friday mosque; possibly madrasa

Founder: Unknown; amirial

Only the minaret remains. ‘Alī Mubārak says:

the third ‘atfa is ‘Atfat al-Hunūd, so called by the name of the ancient and ruined zāwiyya known as Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd, also known as Zāwiyyat ‘Alī Āghā al-Razzāz. Its places of worship have fallen into disuse and the Awqāf began to renovate it, but this has still not been completed.³⁰⁹

Maqrīzī does not mention the zāwiyya. The Déscription map shows what is probably it as the Zāwiyyat Muṣṭafā Afandī at # 168 P5. This is a little further south than the present minaret, and set back from the main street along the Zuqāq Umm al-Sultān, but this could reflect the position of the main part of the structure, now lost.

As for the 'Indians', this appears to be a generic name given to mosques whose provenance has been forgotten.³¹⁰ Creswell quotes A. A. Paton, published in 1863: this was ‘the oratory of the Moslem Hindus, many of whom are to be found selling cutlery and other articles; they are nearly all pedlars, who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.’³¹¹

When Creswell examined the monument in 1921, the minaret was the only remaining original part. It was behind a modern iwān with a wooden roof and three mihrābs, which had taken the place of the older one. Creswell thought the roof of the original structure was probably flat and flush with the surviving door onto the minaret staircase.³¹²

³⁰⁹ ‘Alī Mubārak, Al-khitat al-tawfiqiyya al-jadida, 1888 edn, II.100:17-19.

³¹⁰ A study of quite a small part of the Déscription map yielded three Zāwiyyas of al-Hunūd. One is marked on the site of the madrasa of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān and the al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh māristān, at # 51 R4; another is in S5, on the site of the porch of the Takiyya of Takī al-Dīn al-Bištāmī (Survey Index # 326, 847/1443); and there is a Zāwiyya al-Hindī at # 26 P9.

³¹¹ Quoted in Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, II.140.

³¹² Creswell, The Muslim architecture of Egypt, II.140.

Date

Creswell dates the minaret to the late Ayyubid period, but Meinecke dates it to the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad period. There is a high square base, then an octagonal section with tall keel-arched niches around keel-arched insets, then two layers of small polylobed arches decorated with muqarnas elements and separated by Y-shaped forms which separate the octagonal faces, and then a tall mabkhara cap. Creswell is right that the minaret resembles that of the madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, except that that mabkhara is not quite so elongated,³¹³ but Meinecke points out that the Zāwiyya al-Hunūd minaret has an extra element not found in the Ṣāliḥiyya minaret, the Y-shaped forms which separate the octagonal faces, and these are to be found on the minaret of the madrasa and ribāt of the amir Sunqur al-Sa'dī (715/1315-16), which also has the same composition as the Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd minaret, though taller. Meinecke's dating of c. 715/1315 is therefore probably right.³¹⁴

Functions

A minaret is used to give the call to prayer. The two minarets that this one most closely resembles both belong to madrasas: the Ṣāliḥiyya madrasa a royal foundation, and Sunqur al-Sa'dī a four-iwān madrasa³¹⁵ in which Sufi devotions were also held. As the minaret is comparably executed with these two, there was very likely a fine building here. Like Sunqur al-Sa'dī, it could have been a four-iwān madrasa; but it could equally well have been either a small mosque or, given its position, far distant at the time of construction from any other Friday mosque, a small Friday mosque. The form and execution of the minaret compared to Sunqur al-Sa'dī indicate that its founder was a major amir.

The structure and the street

Whichever dating is right, this is the earliest mosque on the Tabbāna street past the immediate Bāb Zuwayla area. If, following Meinecke, the palace of Ālin Āq is dated before 736/1336 (rather than 693/1293 as usually), then it is the earliest Mamluk structure on the street. As the earliest mosque of which we know, it marks a watershed of the street's

³¹³ Creswell, 'A brief chronology', 77-8.

³¹⁴ Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.117.

³¹⁵ Fanfoni and Burri, 'The Mawlawiyya and the madrasa of Sunqur as-Sadi', 62.

development, because it shows that a mosque in use here at this time: in other words, that the area had developed some of the needs of a functioning community.

It is odd, though, that nothing like this mosque is ever referred to when mentioning the other buildings in this area. Qurqumās's house is always described in terms of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān opposite, although it must have been right next door to the mosque. (It faced the ḥawḍ of the madrasa.) One wonders what happened to the main part of the building. Did it collapse in the earthquake of 1650, as did parts of the Āqsunqur mosque and as Herz thought parts of the Māridānī portal and minaret did also?³¹⁶ By the time of the Déscription it was clearly only a shadow of its former self, perhaps because the original structure had simply collapsed.

³¹⁶ Herz, Comité XXII (1905), Appendix, 116.

23. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān

Location: P5, on corner of Tabbāna and ‘Atfat al-Kāshif (see Map 1, Plate 14)

Date: 769-70

Function: Madrasa; Sufi activities; family mausoleums; sabīl, maktab, ḥawḍ

Founder: The Princess Baraka, mother of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān

The founders

The princess Baraka, mother of the sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān, was originally a slave of mixed blood who married al-Amjad Ḥusayn, one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's sons but who died (in 764) without ever ascending the throne. Baraka is described in all the chronicles as a pious and generous woman of good works.³¹⁷ In 770 she made the ḥajj pilgrimage; on her return in 771 she was received at the city gates by her son. Between 771 and 774 she married the atābak Iljāy al-Yūsufī; at the end of 774/1373 she died of illness.³¹⁸ Iljāy was killed the following year in an intrigue.³¹⁹ Ibn Iyās describes her funeral procession from Rawḍa island, where she died, down the Šalība, her bier carried by amirs of 1,000 and preceded by a column of others, to be joined by the Sultan and escorted by him to her resting-place in her madrasa, and describes a period of general mourning.³²⁰

al-Ashraf Sha‘bān was the second of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's grandsons to reign. He came to the throne in 764/1363 at the age of ten on the deposition of his cousin, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad. Initially he was dominated by mamluks of his grandfather; by 768 he had crushed them and from that point, aged 14, ruled in his own right.³²¹

He is said to have been generous,³²² but also had very grandiose ambitions, if the

³¹⁷ 'She was devout and charitable with much money, and she was well known to be pious, especially for what she did in her madrasa in many good respects': Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.115:6-8.

³¹⁸ For general account, Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399-400.

³¹⁹ Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.214.

³²⁰ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.114:20-115:6.

³²¹ Holt, 'Sha‘bān'.

³²² Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 5.

extraordinary wording of his inscription on his mother's portal is anything to go by. He was 16, yet revives in that inscription epithets reserved to the great Qalāūn and al-Ẓāhir Baybars, a ludicrous parallel.³²³ In religious matters, Fernandes finds evidence in the inscription that he was a zealous Ḥanafī who encouraged Shāfi'īs to convert, but he endowed a professorship and studentships for a Shāfi'ī class in the Ribāt al-Āthār.³²⁴ He later established daily Sufi ḥadras in his own madrasa.³²⁵

al-Ashraf was strangled in Dhū'l-Qa'da 778/1377 at the age of 24. His remains were dumped, then secretly recovered and laid to rest in his mother's madrasa.³²⁶ His own madrasa at the Ramp had opened only the previous month, but the building was not finished, and his own tomb must not have been ready.³²⁷

The foundation of the madrasa

Baraka was the owner of the madrasa and of the properties in al-Qāhira endowed to support it, but it was probably a gift from her son. Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās all say that Baraka founded the madrasa; the inscriptions on the building say that al-Ashraf founded it for his mother, li wālidatuh.³²⁸ The waqfiyya for the building is in Baraka's name, and she is the

³²³ 'partner of the amīr al-mu'minīn ... master of the land of Egypt and the lands of Shām ... and the territories of the Ḥijāz', etc: CIA Egypte I # 178, RCEA # 770 005, discussed Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān', 6, 8-11, Fig. 1.

³²⁴ Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān', 5; Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 53. It was at the Ribāt al-Āthār that al-Ashraf prayed before saying goodbye to his mother for the last time just before her death: Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.114-115.

³²⁵ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.231.

³²⁶ His body was cut in pieces and thrown into a well. 'After a few days the stench was very clear and the people near the well got him out and recognized him and buried him in the garbage mound by the mashhad of Sayyida Nafīsa; and later on, at night, came some of the servants of the Sultan, and they got him out of his grave and carried him to the tomb of his mother, Khawand Baraka, on the Tabbāna, and they washed him and wrapped him and said the prayers over him and they buried him in the qubba which is in it': Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.282:12-15. The same story is told in Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2:182.3-4.

³²⁷ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.70:10-12; Maqrīzī, Sulūk, III/1.273-4.

³²⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399-400; Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.115:6, cf different text in 1894 edn, I.227:26; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, quoted in CIA Egypte I 286. Cf the inscriptions: two on the portal, one over the sabīl, two over the main entrance to the main madrasa unit, another opposite that door, and one over each of the four corner doors of the

owner of the properties endowed to support it,³²⁹ but as Fernandes suggests, al-Ashraf Sha‘bān might well have paid for the construction of the madrasa and presented it to his mother as a gift. There are precedents for this,³³⁰ and the timing supports it. A waqf page in a Qur‘ān in Baraka's name dated 3 Dhū'l-Qa‘da 769/1367 and referring to the madrasa shows that the building had already been begun by that date and was already known as her madrasa,³³¹ but the inscriptions, the final stage of decoration, are dated 770, when Baraka was on hajj.³³²

Baraka presumably intended the main tomb-chamber for herself. Who was to occupy the other chamber? Baraka's second husband, Iljāy al-Yūsufī, had completed his own madrasa and mausoleum on the Suwayqat al-‘Izzī by Rajab 774/1373.³³³ Baraka may have intended to exhume the remains of her first husband, al-Amjad Ḥusayn, and reinter him here. There were precedents for this.³³⁴ She may even have intended them as family mausoleums, one for each sex, the main mausoleum for herself and her daughters or sisters, the other for her late husband and other male relatives.³³⁵

Baraka was buried here herself, though her tomb has not survived. The only inscribed

courtyard: CIA Egypte I ## 177-183, RCEA ## 770 005-11. All use the same formula, li wālidatuh.

³²⁹ waqfiyyat Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān, no 47 Maḥkama, folder 7, dated 771. The part describing the layout and architecture of the madrasa is missing. Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 31; note 27, p. 107; note 12, p. 98.

³³⁰ Fernandes produces precedents for endowed foundations that were paid for by someone other than the wāqif, both by amirs and by sultans. Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 66-74.

³³¹ 'And it is stipulated that it be housed in that well-known madrasa that she founded and built': Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', note 29, p. 107.

³³² Maqrīzī says Baraka founded the madrasa in 771 (Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399); the waqfiyya is dated 771; Princess Zahrā's sarcophagus is dated 771 (CIA Egypte I # 184; RCEA # 771 002); and two Ḥanbalī teachers are described as teaching in the madrasa in 772 (Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.193:1-3, III/1.190:14-16).

³³³ RCEA 774 001, 002; founded 768 according to Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399:16.

³³⁴ Barqūq exhumed his dead father and five children, reburying them in his madrasa at Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 63.

³³⁵ Later double tomb-chambers in the al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh mosque and in the khānqāh of Faraj b. Barqūq in the Northern Cemetery were gender-segregated: Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 64.

tomb is that of the Lady Zahra.³³⁶ al-Ashraf was buried here in Dhū'l-Qa‘da 778/1377.³³⁷ To accommodate gender propriety, this would have been in the subsidiary tomb-chamber.³³⁸ Other relatives are said to be buried here also. According to the chronicles, four of al-Ashraf's sons and another of his sisters were buried in the complex: al-Manṣūr ‘Alī b. Sha‘bān, who ruled as sultan 778-83, d. 783;³³⁹ Ismā‘īl b. Sha‘bān d. 797;³⁴⁰ Qāsim b. Sha‘bān d. 801,³⁴¹ the Princess Shaqrā’ d. 804,³⁴² and al-Ṣālīḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥajjī b. Sha‘bān, who ruled as Sultan for a year before and after Barqūq's first reign, d. 814.³⁴³

Functions

The madrasa occupies what was probably originally a triangular plot of land, as the back of the building is lost.³⁴⁴ (See Plates 14 and 16). There are three facades: the main entrance facade on the Tabbāna, the qibla facade overlooking the triangular area between the Tabbāna and the side street, the ‘Atfat al-Kāshif, and the south-west facade with a subsidiary entrance on the ‘Atfat al-Kāshif. (On the Déscription map this is called the ‘Atfat al-Sāqiyyah, # 161

³³⁶ 'Bismalah / This is the tomb of the sweet herb of paradise, the dead lady, the hidden pearl, woman of women, adornment of princesses, the lady Zahra, daughter of His Majesty al-marḥūm the illustrious Sayyid Ḥusayn, son of His Majesty the witness al-marḥūm al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and sister of our lord and master His Majesty the noble al-Mālik al-Malik al-Ashraf, protector of the world and of religion, Sha‘bān b. Ḥusayn. She died on Monday 18 Jumādā II of the year 771.' CIA Egypte I # 184; RCEA # 771 002. There is no record, however, of a sister named Zahra. She could, perhaps, be the lady Sāra, a sister of al-Ashraf's who married Menklībughā al-Shamsī in 769, then the amir Bashtāk in 770. Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al Sultan Sha‘bān', 61; CIA Egypte I p. 285.

³³⁷ Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.282:12-15.

³³⁸ Ibn Taghrībirdī says he was buried in a qubba on his own, and Ibn Iyās says it was in the qubba which faced [tujāh] his mother's madrasa. Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.76; Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2:182.3-4.

³³⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.188; Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.255; both cited Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 56.

³⁴⁰ Ibn al-Furāt says he was buried 'with his father': Ibn al-Furāt, Tārīkh al-Duwal, IX/2.418, cited Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 56.

³⁴¹ Sakhāwī, Ḍaw’, VI.181, cited Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 57.

³⁴² Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 57.

³⁴³ Maqrīzī, Sulūk IV/1.200; al-Jawharī, Nuzhat, II.295; cited Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 58.

³⁴⁴ This reading of the plan is based on Fernandes' discussion of the building: 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān', 41-53.

P5.) The main part of the complex is a four-iwān block aligned to qibla containing two madrasa units (one larger than the other and with an additional entrance from the main corridor), both with accommodation provided on upper floors. To maximize the space available for the main block, an unusual qibla orientation has been used, one that permits a less acutely angled turn at the corner.³⁴⁵ There are two domed tomb-chambers, one on each side of the qibla iwān. Because of the corner in the street at this point, one of the tomb-chambers has had to be made smaller and to be set back from the qibla facade with a chamfered corner so as not to block the side street.

The Tabbāna block, though it contains the portal and the larger madrasa unit, is structurally an appendage to the rest of the building. There is a sabīl to the left of the portal, and the minaret is further to the left, between the main tomb-chamber and the madrasa unit. To the right of the portal is a water-trough, built after the rest of the building (there is a break in the bond) and inscribed in al-Ashraf's name but not mentioning his mother,³⁴⁶ which suggests that it was completed after her death in 774.³⁴⁷ Above the ḥawḍ was the maktab mentioned by Ibn Iyās,³⁴⁸ reached by a connecting staircase from the portal vestibule. The ḥawḍ has been added onto the exterior wall of the madrasa building, and it is odd that it was not built at the same time as the original structure. Baraka's second husband, Iljāy al-Nāsirī, had a combined sabīl-kuttāb unit put into the facade of his madrasa at Sūq al-'Izzī in 774/1373; it is possible that Baraka liked the idea and took it from there.

The inscriptions and the chronicles call the foundation a madrasa. Maqrīzī says that Baraka endowed Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī teaching there.³⁴⁹ The Mamluks were Ḥanafīs, while most of the populace at this time were Shāfi'ī, so this amounts to providing for the establishment and for the de facto majority. The 1894 edition of Ibn Iyās says there was teaching in all four schools; the modern edition has a completely different text and does not

³⁴⁵ An archaic version of the qibla has been used, 117 (rather than 127) degrees E of N. Kessler, 'Mecca-oriented urban architecture in Mamluk Cairo', 104-6.

³⁴⁶ CIA Egypte I # 186, RCEA # 770 016.

³⁴⁷ Discussed by Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān', 36-40.

³⁴⁸ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.227.

³⁴⁹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.399-400.

mention teaching at all.³⁵⁰ But by 772, Maqrīzī says in another place, a Ḥanbalī shaykh was teaching in the madrasa, and when he fell ill, he was replaced.³⁵¹ The language used here is of a salaried appointment rather than an informal teaching arrangement, even though there is no trace of an amendment to the waqfiyya to provide for extra salaried staff and duties.³⁵² On the other hand, it is clear from the plan of the building that two madrasa units were provided, not three: they are clearly defined in the plan. Fernandes suggests that the Ḥanbalī instruction could have been an informal, unsalaried teaching circle if the madrasa also held Friday prayers; but the word ustuqirra, 'was appointed', makes this an unlikely explanation. There is an inscribed minbar, but it is much later.³⁵³

Ibn Iyās says there were daily Sufi ḥadras in the madrasa, though Maqrīzī does not mention them.³⁵⁴ The plan may bear this out, in that there is a room with a richly decorated ceiling between the main madrasa unit and the main tomb-chamber which is hard to account for. It could not have been where the Qur'ān readers sat, because that would have had a window onto the street. Fernandes thinks this was for Sufi ḥadras, perhaps in addition to

³⁵⁰ Ibn Iyās 1894 edn: 'It was she who founded the madrasa on the Tabbāna and she appointed in it teaching in the four madhhabs and Sufi ḥadras every day and a maktab for orphans and a ḥawd and a sabīl': Badā'i' al-zuhūr, I.227:26 ff. Cf., after more than five pages of extra material that is not present in the 1894 edition, Ibn Iyās in the modern edition: 'she was devout and charitable with much money, and she was well known to be pious, especially for what she did in her madrasa in many good respects, and she established in it ḥadras and Sufi devotions, and a maktab for orphans and a ḥawd and a sabīl': Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.115:6-8.

³⁵¹ 'And the Ḥanbalī faqīh Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Šālīḥ b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Nāblusī, who was muftī at Dār al-'Adl and teacher [mudarris] of Ḥanbalī law at the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān, died on 14 Jumādā II [772] in al-Qāhira': Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.193:1-3. 'And in early Jumādā I [772] the Ḥanbalī shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Man'um b. Sulīmān b. Dāūd al-Baghdādī was appointed [ustuqirra] to give fatwas in Dār al-'Adl and instruction [tadrīs] in the madrasa of the queen mother, replacing Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Nāblusī after his death': Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.190:14-16.

³⁵² Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān', note 19, p. 90. Fernandes argues that adding one or two more madhhabs would have required an alteration to the waqf.

³⁵³ Donated by the amir 'Alī: van Berchem thinks the inscription is considerably later, on stylistic grounds. CIA Egypte I # 185, p. 287.

³⁵⁴ 'she appointed in it ... Sufi ḥadras every day' [ḥudūran fī kulle yawm li'l-šūfiyya]: Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.227:26 ff.; 'she established in it ḥadras and Sufi devotions [ḥudūr wa šūfā]: Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.115:6-8.

storing the Qur'āns that we know were endowed for the madrasa.³⁵⁵

Baraka's foundation was thus a teaching institution with endowed professorships and studentships; possibly with informal teaching as well; and there were also probably Sufi devotions. The ḥadras might have been held by a mashyakhat taṣawwuf, a visiting circle, often paid, that came into institutions on a daily basis to hold a ḥadra,³⁵⁶ or by some of the students, as later at the madrasa of Sultan Barqūq at Bayn al-Qaṣrayn,³⁵⁷ or even by all the students, as at the madrasa of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (829/1425) on the Qaṣaba.³⁵⁸ The point is that, rather than being activities of completely alien origin, piety, worship and education in the medieval Islamic period were regarded as a continuum, of which religious education was an undetachable part. We should avoid, Berkey says,

reify[ing] terms such as madrasa, jāmi‘, maṣjid or khānqāh, terms to which medieval Muslims might have attached more abstract meaning. ... The organized and rigorous transmission of [texts] was not accomplished in a hermetic environment. On the contrary, it took place alongside, and sometimes as a part of Sufi activities, public sermonizing, and popular religious celebration, and those who devoted themselves to education did not necessarily see their efforts as something fundamentally distinct from public worship.³⁵⁹

By the 1330s, the nomenclature of specialized religious institutions - khānqāhs, madrasas, ribāts, zāwiyyas, Friday mosques (jāmi‘) and non-Friday mosques (maṣjids) - had broken down, and religious activities were beginning to take place somewhat interchangeably between institutions.³⁶⁰ The Mihmandār mosque (725/1324-25), for example, is described by Maqrīzī as a madrasa and a khānqāh - appearing under both headings in the Khitat - but in the

³⁵⁵ Five Qur'āns in Dār al-Kutub, discussed note 24, p. 100, 51-52, Fernandes, 'The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān'.

³⁵⁶ Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 33.

³⁵⁷ Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 58; Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 36.

³⁵⁸ Here there were 65 students of fiqh in all four schools, all living in and all Sufis. There was also a khutba into the bargain. Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 90-91, 47-48.

³⁵⁹ Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 50; 44-50.

³⁶⁰ Berkey, The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo, 44-50, supported by numerous examples. .

inscriptions as a turba and masjid, yet the founder endowed Ḥanafī classes there.³⁶¹ Berkey suggests that it is misleading to read the word madrasa in Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī or Ibn Iyās as referring to an institution devoted exclusively to the private pursuit of religious instruction and prayer.

In fact the activities of teaching and of collective worship, while distinct from one another, may never have been systematically kept apart in discrete institutions, as suggested by architectural historians. The idea that there was a clear demarcation between Friday mosques for popular, collective worship and inward-looking, specialist madrasas in the years before they were formally combined in the Sultan Ḥasan mosque/madrasa is a false one. It was a frequent practice for donors to endow the teaching of particular courses to be given at institutions that already existed, or even to be given in a private house.³⁶² The Big Four Friday mosques - al-Azhar, al-Ḥākīm, Ibn Tūlūn and the mosque of ‘Amr - were all centres for both endowed and informal teaching. After his 1297 restoration of Ibn Tūlūn, Sultan Lājīn endowed professors and studentships in all four schools in the mosque - including stipends for 150 students - together with courses in ḥadīth, Qur’ānic exegesis and medicine. When Baybars al-Jāshankīr restored the mosque of al-Ḥākīm after the 1303 earthquake, he endowed teachers and students in all four schools, together with ḥadīth, grammar, and Qur’ānic recitation.³⁶³ Among the smaller amirial Friday mosques (jāmi‘s), classes were endowed in the mosques of Aṣlam al-Silaḥdār and of Āqsunqur from their inception in 746/1345 and 748/1347, and a Ḥanafī class was endowed in the Māridānī mosque by the amir Sarghitmish before his own Ḥanafī madrasa was complete in 757/1356.³⁶⁴ And there were

³⁶¹ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.399:9-13; 418:32-35; *RCEA* inscription # 5503, *CIA Egypte I* inscription # 116.

³⁶² Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 50-55. Berkey also argues that education was never organized around institutions, but around the individual teacher and the personal authority conferred by him. However much Mamluk amirs may have attempted to institutionalize education, they never succeeded: 21-43. 'The whole system remained, as it were, thoroughly nonsystematic': 44.

³⁶³ Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 50-53.

³⁶⁴ Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 55, 53. Thus if one is going to be legalistic about what went on in these foundations, one should look to the possibility of other donors grafting activities into a pre-existing environment, over and above what the founder established.

vast numbers of 'informal teaching circles built around individual teachers' in progress at al-Azhar and the mosque of 'Amr in this period: according to Maqrīzī, in the mosque of 'Amr before the 1348 plague year, there were more than 40 teaching circles or *ḥalqas* for *iqrā'* al-*'ilm*; and at al-Azhar there were more than 700 teachers of Qur'ān recitation, fiqh, ḥadīth, grammar and exegesis.³⁶⁵

By Maqrīzī's time, many of the 130 Cairo religious institutions that held a Friday sermon or *khutba* were madrasas.³⁶⁶ That a case where a decision was taken not to introduce the *khutba* is reported indicates that this was against the current: in 1373, a move to hold Friday prayer in the Qalāūn madrasa was denied, on the grounds that one could see the minbar of the Šālīhiyya madrasa from the door of Qalāūn's foundation.³⁶⁷ More importantly, almost all teaching institutions had a salaried imam and muezzins to give the call to prayer: which indicates the primacy, above all other things, of prayer.³⁶⁸

The structure in the street

The *Déscription* map (see Plate 1) marks the madrasa itself as the Jāmi' Umm al-Sultān (# 167 P5), and also marks the water trough as a cistern. On a small side street opposite, the Zāwiyya of Muštafa Afandī is marked (# 168): this is probably the Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd.

The site of the madrasa was originally in the stretch of territory south-east of Bāb Zuwayla used as a graveyard by the commons of al-Qāhira after the founding of the Bāb Zuwayla ḥāras.³⁶⁹ But it is clear from the form of the madrasa that both the main street and the side street already existed and could not be much altered. (See Plate 14.) The main facade of the building acknowledges the Tabbāna; and unless the area was quite undeveloped

³⁶⁵ Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 86.

³⁶⁶ Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 55.

³⁶⁷ Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 55. Friday prayers were held in the Šālīhiyya from 1330.

³⁶⁸ Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, 63.

³⁶⁹ 'This madrasa is outside Bāb Zuwayla near the Citadel. Today its street [*khatt*] is called the Tabbāna. Its site was originally a graveyard [*maqbara*] for the people of al-Qāhira.' Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.399:38-400:1-2. 'until the foundation of the ḥāras outside Bāb Zuwayla, and then their dead [the dead of the ḥāras, *sukkānha*] were buried outside Bāb Zuwayla, near the mosque, between the mosque of al-Šālīh and the Citadel': Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.443.

the site would not have been attractive without the side street. The central stretch of the Tabbāna is at about 45 degrees to qibla. So a Tabbāna facade could never be a qibla facade, and a qibla street facade could only be realized on a corner, because here one could approximate the necessary 45 degree turn. (There were other alternatives possible if one placed one's foundation on the east side of the street.) A larger site would not have given this building a longer qibla street facade unless the area was completely undeveloped so that the building could have created a side-street around it at the necessary angle. A corner was thus both desirable and a nuisance, in that the corner could only project a short way south-east without blocking the side street on which it was placed. The qibla facade could never be very long.

On the whole, this problem of orientation must have been a disincentive to build monumental structures here. Yet in this case a royal foundation made considerable sacrifices to build here. Only the very clever revival of the archaic qibla orientation made this building possible; the normal qibla would have produced a sharper turn at the corner, and in so doing it would have squeezed the east corner of the building, specifically the main tomb-chamber, the principal madrasa and all the iwāns of the courtyard (because they would have to be symmetrical). Even as built, the building scapegoated its subsidiary tomb-chamber. It had to be smaller, with a smaller dome; it lost its mihrāb in order to have a window onto the street; and, uniquely for a royal foundation, it is not even on the main street.³⁷⁰ Even the main tomb-chamber had to struggle to get a window onto the Tabbāna through a tunnel-like bent passage.³⁷¹

The building is orientated towards the observer coming up from the south. Coming up from the south, one sees the minaret and both domes. Coming down, one sees the portal and the minaret, but the minaret blocks the dome. It is impossible to see both domes, the portal and the minaret from one vantage-point.³⁷² The unusual portal is quite striking. Like the portal of Sultan Hasan, its composition, a tall, deeply recessed triangular hood set inside a

³⁷⁰ Kessler, 'Mecca-oriented urban architecture in Mamluk Cairo', 104.

³⁷¹ Kessler, 'Mecca-oriented urban architecture in Mamluk Cairo', 105.

³⁷² Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic architecture of Cairo, 130.

rectangle, is characteristic of Anatolian Seljuk buildings.

24. **Mosque of the amir Āqsunqur al-Nāṣirī** (incorporating
 25. **mausoleum of the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad)**

Location: P5/Q6, on east side of Tabbāna, N of madrasa of Khāyrbak (see Map 1, Plate 17)

Date: mosque 747-8/1346-7; mausoleum before 742/1341 or 743/1343

Function: Friday mosque; teaching; sabīl, maktab, family mausoleums

Founder: The amir Āqsunqur al-Nāṣirī

Founder and foundation of the structure

Āqsunqur was a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He was one of al-Nāṣir's nine³⁷³ sons-in-law, though he was not in the same league of favouritism as Altunbughā, Qawṣūn or Yalbughā. The Sultan neither built him a splendid palace near the Citadel nor built him his mosque, which was later and which Āqsunqur clearly built himself. al-Nāṣir gave Aqsunqur his daughter Zahrā' in marriage, made him amir shikār (amir of the hunt) and posted him to Gaza as governor.³⁷⁴ On al-Nāṣir's death, Āqsunqur came back to Cairo and married one of his widows.³⁷⁵ Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl made him amir akhūr; on his return to Cairo again in 746-7/1345-6 from a posting in Tripoli, he took part in court intrigues and, after plotting on behalf of al-Muzaffar Ḥājjī, the latter had him strangled in Rabī' II 748,³⁷⁶ one month after Friday prayers were held in his mosque for the first time. He was buried in his mausoleum in his own mosque.³⁷⁷

Āqsunqur built his mosque in 747-8/1346-7. Maqrīzī describes him taking a very great personal interest in its form and construction, apparently going so far as to help with work on the construction site.³⁷⁸ The mosque opened for Friday prayer on Rabī' I

³⁷³ Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 188.

³⁷⁴ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.840; II.3/754.

³⁷⁵ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.748:13. Āqsunqur was presumably still married to Zahrā' at this time, because she did not remarry until some time after his death (to the amir Ṭāz, Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.840).

³⁷⁶ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.754:8-10.

³⁷⁷ The original inscription is reproduced on an Ottoman copy on Āqsunqur's mausoleum. RCEA # 6045, CIA Egypte I # 144.

³⁷⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.309:31-2.

748/1347.³⁷⁹

He incorporated into it an earlier mausoleum for some of the less fortunate sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. That mausoleum forms the north-west corner of the mosque (see Plates 17, 18), on the corner of the Tabbāna and of the side street that defines its north facade, the Darb Shughlān (so called on both the modern Survey map and the Déscription). In it were buried four or five murdered sons of al-Nāṣir, by whose deaths it may be tentatively dated. Ramaḍān (killed 743/1343), Yūsuf (killed 746/1346) and al-Kāmil Sha‘bān (killed 747/1346) were all buried here according to Maqrīzī.³⁸⁰ However, the murder of another son, al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr, was even earlier (742/1341); so if he was buried here, the mausoleum can be dated back to 742.³⁸¹ A fifth son, al-Ashraf Kujuk, was murdered in 746³⁸² (having been deposed from the sultanate in 742) but was buried somewhere else, then dug up and brought here for reburial in Ramaḍān 748, five months after Āqsunqur's death. Maqrīzī says that when al-Ashraf Kujuk was reinterred in the mausoleum, his brothers the previous occupants, Ramaḍān, Yūsuf and al-Kāmil Sha‘bān, were dug up and their remains moved somewhere else.³⁸³

Āqsunqur clearly was a good family man. In building his mosque next to his brothers-in-law's makeshift tomb, he was taking care of it and of them.³⁸⁴

³⁷⁹ Inscriptions over the north-east and south-west doors: CIA Egypte I ## 142-3; RCEA ##6039-40.

³⁸⁰ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3:748:14. Dates from Meinecke, Die mamelukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.198. Ramaḍān and Yūsuf had never reigned.

³⁸¹ Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic architecture of Cairo, 115.

³⁸² RCEA # 5987, CIA Egypte I # 138.

³⁸³ '[In Ramaḍān 748] al-Malik al-Ashraf Kujuk was buried in the mosque [jāmi‘] of Āqsunqur on the Tabbāna near the Citadel, next to the tomb of his mother's husband, Āqsunqur. Yūsuf and Sha‘bān and Ramaḍān, the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, were exhumed and buried in another place': Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3:748:12-14. Doris Behrens-Abouseif reports another story according to which it was al-Ashraf Kujuk's brother, Sultan Ḥasan, who reburied him here, much later. Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic architecture of Cairo, 115.

³⁸⁴ When Maqrīzī says, 'And he built a burial place next to the mosque, and he had his son brought to it and buried him there' (Maqrīzī, Khīṭat II.309:36), he is probably referring to al-Ashraf Kujuk, not to Āqsunqur's own son. According to the given dates, Āqsunqur was five months dead when al-Ashraf Kujuk was moved here, but Āqsunqur probably was the

moving force behind getting his stepson reburied properly in the family mausoleum. It is said to have been al-Kāmil Sha'bān who had al-Ashraf Kujuk killed: is this the origin of the story of the brothers' displacement?

Functions

Though the mosque was a Friday mosque,³⁸⁵ Āqsunqur set up teaching in it (schools unspecified but the khatīb was a Shāfi‘ī).³⁸⁶ Other appointments were also made, so it sounds as if this was quite a big institution in terms of staff and activities. Next door (bi-jānibihi) he built a sabīl and maktab for orphans, now lost.³⁸⁷ He added another mausoleum for himself adjoining the original one.

After the death of Barqūq (d. 801/1399), the Syrian estates Āqsunqur had endowed to support his mosque could not be cultivated and the mosque fell into disrepair. Maqrīzī says the staff lost their positions, but the mosque was still used for daily and Friday prayers.³⁸⁸ It was looted in the riots of 802/1399 along with Aytmiş al-Bajāsi’s properties.³⁸⁹ It was restored in 815/1412 by the amir Fawghān al-Ḥasanī al-Dawādār, who built a roofed fountain in the middle of the courtyard - presumably for ablutions - with water piped from the mosque's well, formerly used for ablutions. On Fawghān's fall from grace in 816/1413, however, someone stole the ox that turned the sāqiyya, and the mosque fell again into disrepair.³⁹⁰ The mosque had suffered further damage in an earthquake when Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustahfizān restored it in 1651.³⁹¹

The structure in the street

Maqrīzī's toponymy is as follows: the mosque is described as being 'in the Khatt al-Tabbāna near the Citadel' and as 'near the Citadel between Bāb al-Wazīr and the Tabbāna'.³⁹² On the Déscription map (see Plate 1), Āqsunqur's mosque is marked as Jāmi‘ Ibrāhīm Aghā (# 82, P/Q 4/5) after the 1651 restoration. The road coming down behind the mosque from the

³⁸⁵ The Shāfi‘ī shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Labbān was appointed to give the khutba: Maqrīzī, Khitat II.309:35-6. The mosque is called jāmi‘ both by Maqrīzī (line 30) and in the inscriptions, which also record the date of the first Friday prayer held in the mosque, on 3 Rabī‘ I 748: RCEA ## 6039-40, CIA Egypte I ##142-3.

³⁸⁶ 'He established teaching in it and there were a number of fuqahā': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.309:35.

³⁸⁷ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.309:36, 33

³⁸⁸ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.309:38-9.

³⁸⁹ Numerous references including Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XII.189:5 ff.

³⁹⁰ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.310:2-5.

³⁹¹ CIA Egypte I ##146-9.

³⁹² Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.754:10; Khitat II.309:30.

north, inside the Ayyubid wall, is marked as the Darb Shūghlān (# 83 P4). The main road is marked Sikkat al-Kharbakiyyah here (# 77 Q5, named after Khāyrbak's complex), rather than the Tabbāna (cf. al-Tabbāna a little way north at # 165 P5).

Āqsunqur built his mosque on the edge of a graveyard (see Plate 17). According to Maqrīzī this was the Fatimid graveyard, but the mosque jutted south-east into the area inside the Ayyubid wall that was still used as a graveyard very recently and still has some funereal remains in it. No wonder then that Maqrīzī says that lots of remains were dug up when the foundations were sunk.³⁹³ The mosque does not warp the street-pattern, accommodating itself to the main street and to the Darb Shughlān to the north. It was free-standing (even the two sides overlooking the cemetery are fenestrated), and Āqsunqur probably did not have to knock anything down.

The original mausoleum bears the signs of having been put up in a hurry, which suggests it was built after there was a need for it, in other words after the death of, at least, al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr. It is a simple domed structure and there are no inscriptions except for al-Ashraf Kujuk, so it may not have been inscribed at all originally.³⁹⁴ It is not aligned to qibla, simply to the street, thus there can be no mihrāb, and not for the usual reason whereby a mihrāb is sacrificed to gain a street window.³⁹⁵ There are two street facades.

Āqsunqur cleverly took the tomb as a starting-point for a large, uncrowded riwāq mosque (though with an unusual, Syrian-type, vaulting system) which, because it projected into an unused cemetery area, could be perfectly aligned to qibla (see Plate 18). He thus has two quite unstrained street facades and lots of space. He did not violate the street, but the south-east wall created a triangular space in the street which was still preserved at the time of the Déscription. Āqsunqur's sabīl and maktab - mentioned separately - were probably

³⁹³ 'Its site had formerly been a cemetery [maqābir] of the people of al-Qāhira ... and when the foundations of this mosque were dug, they found many of the dead': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.309:30, 33-4. However, as everything else described by Maqrīzī as in the Fatimid cemetery was west of the main street, I suspect that this graveyard was part of a different system.

³⁹⁴ On the exterior wall on the main street side (RCEA # 5987, CIA Egypte I # 138), and inside, round the base of the dome (RCEA # 5988).

³⁹⁵ Kessler, 'Funerary architecture within the city,' 259.

adjacent to his side entrance on the south-east wall in this space.

The street facade is orientated to the approach from the south. Approaching from this direction, one sees the main portal, the minaret and the mausoleum dome together; from the north, the minaret and the mausoleum dome. Far more prominent than anything else, however, is Āqsunqur's minaret. It was quite unusual, very tall and graceful with a fourth storey, and it was clearly meant to be seen from both directions. It may be an indication that the street was narrow. It fell in the nineteenth century and the Comité restored it badly without its third storey, but it is visible in a plate by Coste and in several nineteenth-century photographs.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Coste, Architecture arabe, pl. LXI.

26. Madrasa and mausoleum of the amir Khāyrbak b. Bilbāy

Location: Q4, on east side of Bāb al-Wazīr street, adjoining palace of Alnāq (see Map 1, Plate 17)

Date: Mausoleum 908/1502; madrasa begun 908/1502, completed 927/1521

Function: Madrasa of ḥadīth (for Sufi students); founder's mausoleum; sabīl-kuttāb

Founder: Khāyrbak b. Bilbāy, viceroy of Egypt 923-28/1517-22

The founder

Sayf al-Dīn Khāyrbak b. Bilbāy was originally a mamluk of Sultan Qāyṭbāy. After Qāyṭbāy's death, he was made amir of 10 in 901 by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy, then amir of 100 by Sultan al-Ashraf Jānbalāt (r. 905-6/1500-1501). In 906 Sultan al-Ghūrī made him ḥājib al-ḥujāb, Grand Chamberlain, and then posted him to Syria as governor of Aleppo in 910/1504, where he stayed until he betrayed the last Mamluk sultan to Salīm the Grim in 922/1516. He then returned to Cairo with the occupying Turks and was made viceroy of Egypt, installed in state on the Citadel, in 923/1517. He died in Dhū'l-Qa' da 928/1522 and was buried in his mausoleum.³⁹⁷

Date

The mausoleum is dated 908 by inscription, and in Šafar 908/1502 Khāyrbak's brother, the amir Jānbalāt, was buried in it after dying of the plague.³⁹⁸ The madrasa is not dated. The outer shell was probably completed soon after the mausoleum, as there is no break in bond between the courses of masonry,³⁹⁹ but it seems not to have been completed till 927/1521, the date of the waqfiyya of the complex.⁴⁰⁰ There was no reason why Khāyrbak should not have carried on with construction in 908, as the layout of the complex, including the positioning of the mausoleum and its inclusion of a connecting door and staircase to the palace, shows that

³⁹⁷ Mayer, Saracenic heraldry, 136; Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.450; Creswell, 'A brief chronology', 151.

³⁹⁸ CIA Egypte I # 376; Ibn Iyās, cited Creswell, 'A brief chronology', 151.

³⁹⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule, 233.

⁴⁰⁰ The waqfiyya is dated Jumādā I 927/1521, Behrens-Abouseif, Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule, 182. This is also the date given by 'Alī Mubārak, cited in Creswell, 'A brief chronology', 151. The mausoleum may originally have been meant to be free-standing: its portal from the madrasa, with two maṣtabas, is more of an external facade than a transitional entrance: Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic architecture of Cairo, 157.

he was in possession of the whole property, including the palace, from the start. Did he run out of money? Or did he just concentrate on his Aleppo foundations while he was there, resuming work on this structure once it was clear his future lay in Cairo? Some peculiar features of the design illustrate the interval before completion. The design of the mausoleum is far superior to that of the prayer-hall; and the design of the prayer-hall was switched halfway through. It was clearly meant to have a flat roof, but later the roof was vaulted instead, which obscures some of the stucco windows on the qibla side. Van Berchem sees this as the work of an architect brought from Istanbul,⁴⁰¹ but actually the feel of the prayer-hall is much more Syrian than Ottoman, so the architect in question is more likely to have been brought from Aleppo or Damascus on Khāyrbak's return to Cairo in 922/1516.

Functions

This was a madrasa for teaching ḥadīth.⁴⁰² It was not a Friday mosque: the minbar and dikka were added later.⁴⁰³ It was unusual for a madrasa not to give a khutba at this time, and Behrens-Abouseif speculates that Khāyrbak had become sensitive to his reputation for treachery and wished to avoid having the khutba read in his madrasa in the name of the Ottoman Sultan.⁴⁰⁴ The sabīl-kuttāb was added, or completed, later.⁴⁰⁵ There was an imam, six muezzins, vast numbers of Qur'ān readers who were to recite in the madrasa (two), in the founder's mausoleum (two), at the madrasa windows (nine) and at unspecified locations (ten, in two shifts), a ḥadīth reciter, a Sufi shaykh, and ten students, who were to be Sufis.⁴⁰⁶

The structure in the street

As Christel Kessler points out, the prayer-hall is way out of qibla alignment (96 degrees rather than 125 E of N: see Plate 21). She draws from this the point that Khāyrbak built his

⁴⁰¹ CIA Egypte I p. 569.

⁴⁰² Behrens-Abouseif, Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule, 160.

⁴⁰³ Dated 937/1531: CIA Egypte I # 377.

⁴⁰⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule, 160.

⁴⁰⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule, 235.

⁴⁰⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule, 183, and Islamic architecture of Cairo, 157.

complex as a mere accompaniment to his mausoleum, and she is right,⁴⁰⁷ but it also shows that the site for his mosque could not be made to conform to qibla: it was too small, the wrong shape, and did not have enough land on the south-east. We have to assume that if Khāyrbak could have built his prayer-hall properly aligned, he would have done; so we can deduce that he did not bother to acquire all the land from the street back to the Ayyubid wall.

The courtyard behind the mosque, from which the mosque is entered and from which the living quarters of the Sufi students were reached, must have been narrow, or the prayer-hall would have been given more space, though as the prayer-hall and tomb-chamber are fenestrated along the east, the courtyard must have extended along the east for some way. (See Plates 17, 21). East of the courtyard is an area of cemetery, described by Van Berchem in 1896 as ‘une cour déserte, remplie de tombes et entourée de bâtiments en ruine’,⁴⁰⁸ and by Arthur Rhoné, writing in 1910, as dominated by ‘collines de décombe et de gravats’.⁴⁰⁹ It now contains the tomb and ruins of the khānqāh of Shaykh ‘Abd Allah al-Bāz⁴¹⁰ and a girls school.⁴¹¹ The Déscription map shows nothing in this area, merely marking it as occupied.

The site was not really big enough, then, for a mosque and a mausoleum. But Khāyrbak still built on it, even though he had to make considerable sacrifices of form to do so. Like Qijmās further north, then, he went to considerable trouble to build here. This is confirmed by the lavish treatment of the mausoleum compared to the prayer-hall, and also by the visual focus of the whole building on one point in the street, the approach from the south, i.e. from the Citadel. From this point one sees two sides of the mausoleum (whose windows are accentuated with fine marble inlay), the finely carved dome, and the minaret, which illustrations from before the point when the top storey collapsed show as unusually tall and

⁴⁰⁷ The very large, 29 degrees, difference between the incorrect orientation of the mosque and the correct orientation of the tomb-chamber ‘reveals that in the last stages of monumental funerary architecture in Cairo a patron’s preoccupation with his own greater glory could lead even to the neglect of one of the community’s basic religious requirements’—namely to pray facing Mecca. Kessler, ‘Funerary architecture within the city’, 267.

⁴⁰⁸ CIA Egypte I 566; this volume was published in 1896.

⁴⁰⁹ Quoted in Revault and Maury, Palais et maisons du Caire, 62.

⁴¹⁰ Revault and Maury, Palais et maisons du Caire, 62.

⁴¹¹ Revault and Maury, Palais et maisons du Caire, 62.

graceful,⁴¹² and decorated with stucco. The area in front of the palace, immediately south of the mausoleum, must also have belonged to Khāyrbak, because the impact of the visual ensemble depends upon it being clear. Photographs by Hautecoeur and Wiet⁴¹³ (published 1932) and Lehnert and Landrock (dated after the collapse of the top of the minaret) show a later structure built here, obscuring the view of the mausoleum. A photograph by Christel Kessler shows the space cleared, revealing a triangular space in front of the mausoleum so that three sides of it are visible from the street. In this photo we can see how a wide and receding archway has been built connecting the mausoleum and the Ālin Āq palace, attempting to create the illusion of one unified facade rather than two buildings of different eras. The fenestration of the dome also attempts to harmonize with that of the palace because it is a progression of it: three bull's-eye windows above three vertical windows rather than one over two.

So Khāyrbak wanted a splendid monument on the Bāb al-Wazīr street, quite close to the Citadel, which would impose itself visually on anyone coming along the street from the south, i.e. from the Citadel. We can deduce from this that the street was being used by now—that is, by 908/1502—as the major route from Qāhira to the Citadel, and that the route from the Citadel back to Qāhira was also important. (However, royal processions through the city usually came down the other way, from the north. Sultan al-Ghūrī's one formal procession through the city in 920/1515, shortly before his death, also came down from the north.⁴¹⁴)

Behrens-Abouseif reports a remark of Ibn Zunbul about Khāyrbak's monument, and significantly, it is his tomb that is mentioned, not the madrasa: 'Khāyrbak built his tomb on a road where the pashas and amirs regularly passed on their way to the Citadel, but because of his evil deeds they would not pray for him.'⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² Coste, *Architecture arabe*, Pl. LXI. Coste's drawings were done between 1818 and 1825.

⁴¹³ Hautecoeur and Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Pl. 221.

⁴¹⁴ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muštafā, IV.420-21.

⁴¹⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule*, 233.

27. House of the amir Alnāq al-Nāsirī [Ālin Āq]

Location: Q4, on E side of Bāb al-Wazīr street (see Map 1, Plate 17)

Date: c. 730/1329-30

Function: Amiral palace with courtyard, private zāwiyya

Founder: Alnāq al-Nāsirī al-Jamdār, viceroy of al-Nāsir Muḥammad

Foundation of the structure

The palace was originally attributed to the wrong patron and date through a mistranscription and misunderstanding. The building was already in a bad state by the end of the nineteenth century and the portal, which had to be uncovered by the Comité in 1928, had lost its original inscription band, as were all other inscriptions lost except for one on a wooden ceiling in the vestibule. That inscription was mis-recorded and misinterpreted, and the myth took root that it was in the name of ‘Ālin Āq al-Nāsirī, amir of Khalīl b. Qalāūn’ and that it was dated 693/1294.⁴¹⁶ In fact the inscription was not dated, and reads:

The foundation of this blessed place [al-makān al-mubārak] was ordered by his glorious and noble highness, our master the great amir [al-maqarr al-karīm al-‘alī al-mawlawī al-amīrī al-kabīrī] ... the viceroy [al-kafilī] al-Sayfī Sayf al-Dunya wa al-Dīn Alnāq [or Ulnāq], Jamdār of al-Malik al-Nāsir.⁴¹⁷

The date and gloss given to Alnāq came from a passage in Maqrīzī describing the punishment of the murderers of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Qalāūn.⁴¹⁸ However, that Sayf al-Dīn Alnāq is almost certainly not the same Alnāq. The foundation inscription describes the founder, first, as al-Nāsirī, not al-Ashrafī as an amir of al-Ashraf Khalīl would have been; and, second, as al-kafilī, a higher-rank form of the epithet al-kāfilī (which itself is used in this period only by a governor or nā’ib) and one that is restricted in this period to a viceroy or nā’ib al-sultana.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁶ Lézine, 'Les salles nobles des palais mamelouks,' 80. There are no grounds for reading the name as Ālin Āq: Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukischen Heraldik,' 249.

⁴¹⁷ RCEA # 5824.

⁴¹⁸ In 693/1294, in the first week of al-Nāsir Muḥammad’s first sultanate after the murder, several amirs including Sayf al-Dīn Alnāq are arrested for the murder. Their hands are cut off on wooden blocks at the gate of the Citadel and they are nailed to camels, their hands hung round their necks, and paraded through Qāhira and Fustāt. Maqrīzī, Sulūk I.795:14-796:4.

⁴¹⁹ Wiet and Van Berchem cite Qalqashandī on titles saying that al-kāfilī [name] al-dīn and al-kafilī [name] al-dīn are specific rank indicators. As the grammatical form fa’īl is

So this Alnāq, although he describes himself as Jamdār of al-Nāsir Muḥammad, was his viceroy; whereas Khalīl's assassin was quite junior, just one silāhdār and cupbearer among several (there were three other silāhdārs and one other sāqī among his fellow assassins alone).

So who was the Alnāq who built the palace? Meinecke finds blazons on the palace: four of a table-napkin in medallions placed in the body of the foundation inscription itself, and another of a goblet on the portal (together with three other empty medallions).⁴²⁰ He also finds stylistic similarities between the portal and those of the mosque of Qawṣūn (730/1329-30) and of Altunbughā al-Māridānī (completed 740/1340), and on these grounds dates the palace to this period.⁴²¹ He suggests that this Alnāq might be the amir Alnāq al-Nāsirī, who died on 18 Shawwāl 736/1336.⁴²²

Later, the palace was acquired and lived in by several amirs in turn. It was probably Alnāq's palace in which the atābak Aytmiş al-Bajāṣī was living before his flight to Damascus in 802. The palace is near Aytmiş's collection of properties in R4, his house is described several times as being 'near Bāb al-Wazīr' and 'in Khatt Bāb al-Wazīr',⁴²³ and Behrens-Abouseif refers to a house described in Aytmiş's waqfiyya that was probably the Alnāq palace.⁴²⁴ If the palace was Aytmiş's house, it was looted in the events of Rabī' I 802:

more intense in meaning than fa'il, so epithets in the fa'ilī form indicate higher rank; only one other inscription on stone mentions al-kafīlī, and that is Salār, viceroy, in 702 in Hebron. CIA Egypte I pp. 447, 222; Wiet, Catalogue général du Musée de l'Art Islamique du Caire: inscriptions historiques sur pierre, 60.

⁴²⁰ Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukischen Heraldik,' 242, 248-9, Figs 47.g, 48.g, h.

⁴²¹ In the treatment of the carved lintel and the stalactite treatment of the square corners of the portal hood: Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukischen Heraldik,' 242.

⁴²² Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.173.

⁴²³ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XII.183:3, 184:14-15. Ibn Taghrībirdī uses rather strange wording to describe Aytmiş's house, which implies that it was not his own originally: 'and the amir kabīr went down from the Citadel to his house which he was living in [allatī kān yaskun bi-ha] near Bāb al-Wazīr': XII.183:3. Aytmiş's house (usually described as a bayt but on this occasion as a dār) is also described as being next to the mosque of Āqsunqur: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XII.189:5ff; trans. Popper, 14.14-15.

⁴²⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, The minarets of Cairo, 174. Acquiring and reusing palaces seems to have been common: in 802, at the time of Sultan Faraj's accession, the amir Taghrībirdī, the historian's father, was living in the Tāz palace: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 14.14. How this was done is not reported in the sources and deserves further research.

marble and doors were stripped off and taken away.⁴²⁵ The palace then reappears in a collection of waqfs of Sultan Barsbāy, dated 827-41/1423-37.⁴²⁶ It was then acquired by Khāyrbak, who lived in it before he was made viceroy of Egypt and moved up to the Citadel. A few months before his death, after the return of his favourite wife, the mother of his children, from a stay in Istanbul, Khāyrbak sent his second-best wife, Misirbāy 'la Circassienne', down to live in an apartment in the palace on a monthly pension.⁴²⁷ Khāyrbak built a private staircase from the left of the mihrāb in his mausoleum through a covered passage up to the western window of the great iwān⁴²⁸—thus ruining it, incidentally. In Khāyrbak's waqfiyya the palace was endowed to support the madrasa and mausoleum. Does this mean that apartments in the palace were rented out after Khāyrbak himself no longer lived there? The palace then turns up again in the waqfiyya of Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustahfizān, dated 1062/1652.⁴²⁹

Functions

The palace has a similar plan, though simpler, to that of Qawṣūn to the south-west (see Plates 19-20). There is a portal projecting into the street (which must have been much wider at this time, because even the level of the portal is considerably wider than the street elsewhere), leading through a vestibule into a courtyard, whence access was gained to the ground floor, a low cross-vaulted hall lit by high windows. In the Barsbāy waqfiyya this is described as a service and storage area; in that of Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustahfizān it is described as a qā'at julūs.⁴³⁰ From the ground floor, a staircase led up to the magnificent and palatial first floor, where there was a durqā'a, a great and a lesser iwān to north and to south, and several side-rooms.⁴³¹ In the Barsbāy waqfiyya, the upper floor is itself described as a qaṣr, with a manzara (the balcony), bedrooms and drainpipes; in the Khāyrbak document, the two iwāns are said to have bedrooms (two and one), drainpipes and a closet; and in the Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustahfizān

⁴²⁵ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.560:3-4.

⁴²⁶ Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 215.

⁴²⁷ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, trans. Wiet, C.413-4.

⁴²⁸ Revault and Maury, Palais et maisons du Caire, 69.

⁴²⁹ Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 216.

⁴³⁰ Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 215-16. Rabbat points out, contrary to Revault and Maury, that the ground floor area is never called an iṣṭabl.

⁴³¹ Revault and Maury, Palais et maisons du Caire, 64-9.

document, the whole upper floor is just described as a *qaṣr*.⁴³² Over the *durqā'a* was a high lantern, part of whose walls remain, with ten windows to admit light: three each on the east and west sides, two each on the other. A private *zāwiyya* was attached to the north of the palace.

The structure in the street

The palace's plan and orientation are quite unsophisticated (see Plate 17). It is orientated solely according to the street, not to the centre of power to the south. The plan is a simple rectangle parallel to the street. The rest of the site inside the Ayyubid wall was a cemetery. From the inside, the building is orientated with equal emphasis to west and east, though the view to the east is not really appropriate. At west and east ends of the great northern *iwān* were double sets of windows: a large rectangular gridded window at a level one could see through, and two vertical windows and an oculus higher up. There was also a balcony projecting outwards, westwards, over the street (its corbels and beams remain). Revault and Maury suggest that this room in particular would have given a marvellous view over the city towards the Birkat al-Fīl area⁴³³ (which they point out was becoming built up with amirial residences and their gardens⁴³⁴). To the east, however, the great windows would have overlooked the Bāb al-Wazīr cemetery in the foreground, then the rubbish mounds east of al-Qāhira, and finally up to the Northern Cemetery. One writer claimed that one could see the Citadel—in other words, be seen from the Citadel—from these windows, but that is not so: from the Citadel one would have seen only the south end of the palace, its least imposing.⁴³⁵

Apart from being quite near the Citadel, then, the palace's situation and layout was not planned with a view to its position on a ceremonial map—in contrast to the other great palaces built at around this period: the palaces of Qawṣūn, Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī and Altunbughā al-Māridānī, all of which were sited on or near the Rumayla in S6, so as to be

⁴³² Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 215-16.

⁴³³ Revault and Maury, *Palais et maisons du Caire*, 76.

⁴³⁴ Garcin et al., *Palais et maisons du Caire* (1982), 59.

⁴³⁵ Arthur Rhoné, cited Revault and Maury, *Palais et maisons du Caire*, 62.

very clearly seen from the Citadel.⁴³⁶ Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built Yalbughā's and Altunbughā's palaces for them; Alnāq's seems fairly clearly a second-rank palace. It is curious, and requires explanation, that unlike these other palaces, Alnāq's is not mentioned in the sources.

The earliest structures that we know of outside Bāb Zuwayla on the street were the Mihmandār mosque of 725/1324 and the Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd, c. 715/1315-16. The rab' of Tughay was built before 735. So the palace is one of the first three buildings on the street, and by far the earliest at this south end. The width of the road at this point suggests that it was still a throughway, rather than a fully formed street defined by structures along it. I conclude that Alnāq staked out the lower end of the street near the Citadel with his massive palace in the expectation that it would soon become a very important area. He was not immediately right, however. Though he might have expected the area under the Citadel to develop soon, development up to 780/1378 concentrated in the northern part of the street. The Māridānī was built near the Mihmandār, and the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān and the mosque of Āqsunqur were also further to the north. This suggests to me that building suddenly accelerated in the northern area as the area became solidly urbanized, in contrast to the rather sporadic building further down the street. Only with al-Ashraf Sha'bān's new madrasa at the foot of the street in R/S4 was the junction of the street with the Citadel fully claimed as a monumental area.

⁴³⁶ Qawṣūn's palace was c.738/1337; Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī and Altunbughā al-Māridānī's were built together in a single operation, 738-41/1337-40: Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, II.181.

28. **Qubba of the Princess Zahrā'**

Location: Q4 on corner of Bāb al-Wazīr street, N of Aytmish madrasa (see Map 1)

Date: ? c. 709/1309

Function: Minaret; mausoleum; small mosque; services?

Founder: ? The Princess Zahrā' bt. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

Doris Behrens-Abouseif identified an early fourteenth-century minaret on Bāb al-Wazīr street, south of the palace of Alnāq and north of the madrasa of Aytmish al-Bajāsī, in a photograph by Frith taken around 1857. On stylistic grounds she assigns this to c. 1309, the date of the two minarets it resembles, those of Baybars al-Jāshankīr and of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. She makes out a trilobed portal in the photograph to the north of the minaret, and identifies this as 'Alī Mubārak's so-called 'mosque of Bāb al-Wazīr'.⁴³⁷

She speculates whether the building might be the qubba of the Princess Zahrā', which was in this area. Zahrā's qubba was next to Aytmish al-Bajāsī's house, and was looted along with it in the riots of Rabī' I 802. 'And they wantonly looted the qubba of Khawand Zahrā', daughter of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, which was next door [al-mujāwara] to Aytmish's house'.⁴³⁸ Behrens-Abouseif identifies Aytmish's house with the Alnāq palace (q.v.), and the location of Khawand Zahrā's qubba next to the Alnāq palace is confirmed by mention of a waterwheel of Khawand Zahrā' on one of the boundaries of that palace in Khāyrbak's waqf document.⁴³⁹ Behrens-Abouseif therefore tentatively identifies this minaret and its adjoining building with Zahrā's qubba.

If Zahrā's qubba adjoined Alnāq's palace on the south, it must have been located on 'Atfat al-Markaz (#73 Q4 and still on the present-day street plan: see Plate 17).

However, the date is rather implausible. Zahrā' bt. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was given by her father in marriage to Āqsunqur al-Nāṣirī some time before his death in 741. After

⁴³⁷ Behrens-Abouseif, The minarets of Cairo, 172-4.

⁴³⁸ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.560:7-8.

⁴³⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, The minarets of Cairo, 174.

Āqsunqur's murder in Rabīʿ II 748,⁴⁴⁰ Zahrāʾ married the amir Fāz, in Rabīʿ II 752.⁴⁴¹ This is too late: if Zahrāʾ was old enough to found a mausoleum in c. 1309, she would not have been in the market for marriage 40 years later.

The mention of a waterwheel in Khāyrbak's waqfiyya suggests that there was more than just a domed tomb-chamber here.

⁴⁴⁰ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.754:6.

⁴⁴¹ Maqrīzī, Sulūk II/3.840.

29. House of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tabbānī

Lost.

Location: ? Q4, on Tabbāna street near Bāb al-Wazīr

Date: Before 793/1391

Function: Private house

Founder: Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tabbānī

Ibn Taghrībirdī reports that on 13 Rajab 793/1391, the Ḥanafī shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Jalāl b. Rasūl b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-‘Ajamī al-Tayrī al-Tabbānī died. He lived near Bāb al-Wazīr on the Tabbāna street; and was a scholar who gave fatwās, taught Qur’ān and lectured for a number of years.⁴⁴²

Ibn Taghrībirdī does not mention any institution where the shaykh taught. It is possible he did so in his own home.

This was a private house in, presumably, a prosperous, respectable residential area.

⁴⁴² Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 13.180.

30. House of Amīrzah

Lost.

Location: ? Q4, near Bāb al-Wazīr

Date: Before 871/1466

Function: Private house

Founder: Amīrzah [b. Muḥammad] b. Shāh Aḥmad b. Qarā Yūsuf

Ibn Taghrībirdī reports that in Dhū'l-Qa'da 871/1466, Amīrzah [b. Muḥammad] b. Shāh Aḥmad b. Qarā Yūsuf died 'in his dwelling at Vizier's Gate, outside Cairo'.⁴⁴³ Amīrzah was part of the family ruling at that time in Baghdad, and nephew of the ruler of Baghdad.

Comments

The private house of a royal expatriate.

⁴⁴³ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 23.123.

31. Madrasa and funduq/rab' of Aytmish al-Bajāsī

Location: R4, on corner of Bāb al-Wazīr street and Ḥārat Bāb al-Turba (see Map 1, Plate 22)

Date: 785/1383-4

Function: Small madrasa; Friday prayers, sabīl-kuttāb, mausoleum; funduq/rab‘

Founder: The amir Sayf al-Dīn Aytmish al-Bajāsī

The founder

Aytmish was called al-Bajāsī after the amir Bajās, whom he served before Sultan Barqūq, who freed him in 785/1384. He was made amir of 1,000 in 779/1377-8, and promoted to various ranks including *rā’s nawba*, *amir kabīr* and *rā’s nawbat al-nuwwāb* apparently all in the same year, 782/1380-81. Finally he became *atābak al-‘asākīr* under Barqūq. When Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq came to power, Aytmish was forced to flee to Damascus, where he was arrested and then murdered in the Citadel in Sha‘bān 802/1400.⁴⁴⁴

Foundation of the structure

This madrasa is outside al-Qāhira, inside Bāb al-Wazīr gate, under the Citadel at the head of the Tabbāna Street. The *amir Kabīr* Sayf al-Dīn Aytmish al-Bajāsī, later al-*Žāhirī*, built it in the year 785, and he put in instruction in Ḥanafī fiqh. Next to it [bi-jānib-ha] he built a large funduq with a rab‘ above it, and behind it, outside Bāb al-Wazīr gate, a *ḥawd mā’* for the sabīl and [another] rab‘. The madrasa is a charming one.⁴⁴⁵

This account is a bit confusing. It appears to say that as well as his madrasa on the corner of the Tabbāna street and Ḥārat Bāb al-Turba, Aytmish built two rab‘’s, one above his funduq, and the second on the other side of the Bāb al-Wazīr gate, near the *ḥawd*. Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās state that when the properties were looted in 802, it was the rab‘ outside Bāb al-Wazīr that was burnt down.⁴⁴⁶ On the other hand, they may all be repeating

⁴⁴⁴ Compiled from Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/1 by Moštafā, *Madrasa, Hanqah und Mausoleum des Barqūq in Kairo*, 94.

⁴⁴⁵ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.400:17-19.

⁴⁴⁶ In Rabī‘ I 802, 'A crowd of disreputables got together and looted the madrasa of Aytmish and dug up the tomb of his son which was in it, and they burnt the rab‘ near it [*al-majāwar liha*] outside Bāb al-Wazīr gate and it was never rebuilt.' Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/3.988:9-11. There is a similar account in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, trans. Popper, and in Ibn Iyās,

the same incorrect statement. The ḥawḍ, which still exists, was too far from the madrasa to be connected to its sabīl, and this must have been erected for another sabīl, at the gate itself.

The Déscription map shows the madrasa as Jāmi‘ Bāb al-Wazīr (R4 # 63). It also marks a site some way outside Bāb al-Wazīr gate as Shaykh Aydoumouch (R4 # 66). This name suggests that by 1798 there was something religious here associated with Aytmiş, even if that was not its origin.

Aytmiş had a house near his madrasa and commercial buildings, probably in the palace of Alnāq. The palace is near Aytmiş's properties, his house is described several times as being 'near Bāb al-Wazīr' and 'in Khatt Bāb al-Wazīr',⁴⁴⁷ and Behrens-Abouseif refers to a house described in Aytmiş's waqfiyya that was probably the Alnāq palace.⁴⁴⁸ Aytmiş's house was also looted in the events of Rabī‘ I 802, and its marble and doors stripped away.⁴⁴⁹

Functions

This was quite a small, simple structure, but it was a combined madrasa and Friday mosque,⁴⁵⁰ with a sabīl-kuttāb and a mausoleum. There was Ḥanafī instruction. The foundation inscription describes it as a turba.⁴⁵¹ There is no cenotaph in the mausoleum now,⁴⁵² but his son was apparently buried in it before Rabī‘ I 802. (See Plate 23.)

There was also a funduq with a rab‘ on its upper floors, and, apparently, another rab‘ further outside the city.

Badā’i‘ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.560.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XII.183:3, 184:14-15. Ibn Taghrībirdī uses rather strange wording to describe Aytmiş's house, which implies that it was not his own originally: 'and the Amir Kabīr went down from the Citadel to his house which he was living in [allatī kān yaskun bi-ha] near Bāb al-Wazīr': XII.183:3.

⁴⁴⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, The minarets of Cairo, 174.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibn Iyās, Badā’i‘ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.560:3-4.

⁴⁵⁰ There is an inscribed minbar: CIA Egypte I # 191.

⁴⁵¹ CIA Egypte I # 190.

⁴⁵² M oṣṭafā, Madrasa, Hanqah und Mausoleum des Barqūq in Kairo, 95.

The structure in the street

The madrasa has a nice corner site, and the sabīl/kuttāb overlooks both the Tabbāna and the exit road to Bāb al-Wazīr. (See Plates 22, 23.) Aytmiş did not need or try to remodel the street here to make his mark on it. However, the visual focus of his modest and quite narrow facade, with its dome, portal and minaret, is towards the south, so the building acknowledges the seat of power at the Citadel as its focus, rather than the mixed commercial and residential area in the upper reaches of the street. The dome and portal are finely decorated. The upper part of the minaret was rebuilt in the Turkish period. Overall this is a respectable amirial building, solidly supported by commercial buildings around it.

The funduq and rab' might have been next to the madrasa on the Tabbāna, but they would have been more advantageously placed if so, so they were probably on the side-road. The second rab' may conceivably have been on the site marked on the Déscription map. The fact that Aytmiş put up a funduq and a rab' here, one of them actually bordering on the cemetery, shows that the area had some commercial life by now, even on the fringes of the Bāb al-Wazīr cemetery, which one might have thought was a dead end.

32. **House of the amir Sunqur al-Jamālī**

Location: S4, on Bāb al-Wazīr street and Sikkat al-Maḥjar (see Map 1)

Date: before 749/1348

Function: Private house

Founder: The amir Sunqur al-Jamālī

The amir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Jamālī died in Tripoli in Rabīʿ II 749/1348.⁴⁵³ His house was bought by Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān and its site incorporated into the Ashrafiyya madrasa:

And in the middle part of Šafar of this year [777/1375] al-Malik al-Ashraf began to build his madrasa which he founded at the Ramp, facing the Ṭablakhāna al-Šultāniyya, whose site is now the bīmaristān of al-Malik al-Muʿayyad Shaykh, and this site was for both. Al-Malik al-Ashraf bought the house [bayt] of the amir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Jamālī and they began to demolish it.⁴⁵⁴

Comments

This house appears to date from the same period as the palaces of Yalbughā, Altunbughā, and Qawṣūn on the Rumayla and the palace of Alnāq on Bāb al-Wazīr Street. We do not know why Sunqur built there, or whether he was helped or instructed to do so by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. On the face of it, this looks like development directed by al-Nāṣir.

⁴⁵³ Meinecke, *Die mamelukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, II.211.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, XI.67:2-5. There is a similar passage in Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/1.251:11-12.

33. Madrasa of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān

Lost.

Location: S4

Date: 777-78/1375-77

Function: Madrasa; Sufi activities; probably Friday prayers; sabīl-kuttāb, founder's mausoleum, and services

Founder: Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān

Founder

al-Ashraf Sha‘bān was a grandson of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He came to the throne at the age of ten. By 768, aged 14, he was ruling in his own right, having suppressed the senior mamluks who initially dominated him. At the age of 24 he was killed in 778/1377 and buried secretly in his mother's madrasa on the Tabbāna, rather than in his own madrasa, which was unfinished.⁴⁵⁵

Location

Presumably because it no longer existed, the chroniclers always give the madrasa's location when they mention it. They universally describe its position in terms of the Ramp and the Tablakhāna: 'at the Ramp [bil-ṣuwwa] and facing [tujāh] the Tablakhāna of the Citadel'.⁴⁵⁶ It is described once as at the head of the Ramp, and once as above the Ramp.⁴⁵⁷ It was erected on the same site later used by al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh for his māristān.⁴⁵⁸ Maqrīzī states that the madrasa's portal was on the site of the māristān's portal, but that the madrasa's portal was bigger.⁴⁵⁹ Maqrīzī is referring to the second entrance of the al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh māristān, which was on the Khatt al-Rumayla (the present-day Sikkat al-Maḥjar), not to the māristān's

⁴⁵⁵ References given in section on Madrasa of Baraka Umm al-Sultān, q.v.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.67:2-5; XIII.123:14; Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.153:21-22; Maqrīzī, Khitat II.213:20-21; II.401:28-29; Maqrīzī, Sulūk Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.251:11-12; IV/1.183:1ff; 452:4-5. The word tujāh means 'looking towards', and this description can be taken to mean that the main facade of the madrasa looked out towards the Tablakhāna.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.231; Maqrīzī, Khitat II.408:26-28.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.67:2-5; Maqrīzī, Khitat II.408:26-28.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Its portal [bābuhu] is just where the portal [bāb] of the madrasa was, except that it is narrower than what there was before': Maqrīzī, Khitat II.408:26-28.

main entrance, which was on a side street to the north.⁴⁶⁰

The site used by both institutions was at the bottom of Bāb al-Wazīr street, at the point where the street widened, came up onto the Ramp, and turned west down the present-day Sikkat al-Maḥjar towards the Rumayla, in S4. The Ashrafiyya madrasa was opposite the lower Citadel wall, looking up to the southern enclosure, the Bāb al-Sirr al-Kabīr, and the Bāb al-Mudarraǰ.⁴⁶¹ As the sources reiterate, it faced the Tablakhāna, and would also therefore have faced the Dār al-Ḍiyāfa (the hospitality house).⁴⁶² From its description as facing the Tablakhāna, its main facade was on the south-east, looking up towards the Citadel from the north.

Foundation of the structure

There was an amirial house, a bayt, already in place on the site al-Ashraf Sha‘bān had chosen for his madrasa, built 30 years earlier by the amir Sunqur al-Jamālī (before 749/1348). al-Ashraf Sha‘bān purchased it, and in Šafar 777/1375 knocked it down and began work on his madrasa.⁴⁶³

The building work was done very quickly, presumably at a massive expense, in 18 months between Šafar 777/1375 and Shawwāl 778/1377. We have no information on the form of the madrasa, except that it had a monumental portal and that it was massive (see below), but it was clearly very fine. Huge amounts of fine metalwork and carved wood were commissioned from Syria⁴⁶⁴ and the Sultan ordered two monumental columns of granite that

⁴⁶⁰ See section on the māristān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh for my arguments.

⁴⁶¹ The Ramp is described as facing Bāb al-Mudarraǰ: ‘on the Ramp, facing Bāb al-Mudarraǰ, one of the gates of the Citadel’, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, XII.186:5-7.

⁴⁶² The Tablakhāna, originally a simple enclosure covered by a canopy where Baybars used to hold his Dār al-‘Adl, later turned by al-Nāšir Muḥammad into a drummery, was somewhere on the stepped path between Bāb al-Silsila and Bāb al-Mudarraǰ, above the zāwiyya of Ḥasan al-Rūmī. It was probably on the site of Muḥammad ‘Alī’s archives building, on the triangular piece of land at the bottom of Bāb al-Wazīr street. The Dār al-Ḍiyāfa was probably north-west of this, near the madrasa of Qanībāy al-Jarkasī. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 78, 109-10.

⁴⁶³ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, XI.67:2-5.

⁴⁶⁴ Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, II.257.

were found on the site of the Fatimid Bāb al-Zumurrud to be brought to the site and built into it. They were dragged down the street, with difficulty, but one of them broke outside Bāb al-Wazīr.⁴⁶⁵ The madrasa was ornamented with fine stone, wood and marble work, gilded and silvered bronze windows, and bronze-faced doors. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār salvaged much of this splendour from the wreckage when the madrasa was demolished, bought it from al-Ashraf's son for a knockdown price, and installed it in his own madrasa at Jamaliyya (completed 811/1408). He also bought much of the fine library, which contained many Qur'āns and works on ḥadīth, fiqh and 'all kinds of 'ilm'.⁴⁶⁶

Staff were appointed to the madrasa in Shawwāl 778 and it began to operate, though the building was not finished. The Shaykh al-Shuyūkh took up residence in the madrasa and began to teach. No opening ceremony is reported. Three weeks later, in Dhū'l-Qa'da, al-Ashraf was murdered. His mausoleum was presumably unfinished, as he was buried not there but in his mother's madrasa.

In 814, Sultan Faraj b. Barqūq decided to demolish the madrasa. He got some qādīs to rule in favour of demolition, and in Jumādā I demolition began.⁴⁶⁷ Some of its stone was reused for building on the Citadel;⁴⁶⁸ its debris was scavenged by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (see below). He also took advantage of the moment to demolish houses (al-dūr) which had been built backing onto the Citadel wall from the Ramp, under the Tablakhāna, up to near Bāb al-Qarāfa.⁴⁶⁹ Presumably these were also a security risk: it is often described how amirs break into strategic buildings from the back through a house.

Functions

The head of the madrasa was appointed Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, the same title given by al-Nāṣir

⁴⁶⁵ Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.154:1-12; Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.251-2.

⁴⁶⁶ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.401:28-32.

⁴⁶⁷ 'And some of the qādīs gave a judgement to demolish it, and they certainly ruled a lawful ruling, and it was destroyed': Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.813:8-9. I think I detect sarcasm in this remark.

⁴⁶⁸ Maqrīzī, Sulūk IV/1.183:2-3.

⁴⁶⁹ Maqrīzī, Sulūk IV/1.183:1-5.

Muḥammad to the head of his Siryāqūs khānqāh and by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to the head of his khānqāh, Sa‘īd al-Su‘adā’. In fact this shaykh's previous position was Shaykh al-Shuyūkh at Siryāqūs:

On that day [13 Shawwāl 778] the Sultan promoted Shaykh Ḍayā’ al-Dīn al-Qirmī, the Ḥanafī, and appointed him Shaykh Shuyūkh of the madrasa which he founded at the Ramp, and it was almost completed, and it was among the most beautiful of buildings.⁴⁷⁰

On Monday 14 [Shawwāl 778] the Sultan promoted Shaykh Ḍayā’ al-Dīn ‘Abīd Allah al-Qirmī and he was appointed to the mashyakha of the Ashrafiyya madrasa and entitled Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, and his former title Shaykh al-Shuyūkh heading the mashyakha of the khānqāh at Siriāqūs lapsed. He resided in the madrasa, and taught in it, before the building was completed.⁴⁷¹

So the top job in the madrasa had a Sufi title, and in its titles the madrasa appears to have been modelled on the great khānqāhs rather than on the great teaching institutions.⁴⁷² But it is stated that the shaykh in question was a Ḥanafī and that he taught in the madrasa, so he was clearly a prominent faqīh as well as, presumably, a Sufi. The Qur‘āns, fiqh and ḥadīth books as well as works on 'all kinds of 'ulūm' in the library mentioned by Maqrīzī show that teaching was carried out here in the standard repertoire. Ibn Iyās says elsewhere that al-Ashraf Sha‘bān instituted daily ḥadras in the madrasa.⁴⁷³ Clearly, then, despite the shaykh's job title, there was teaching in the madrasa, and there were also Sufi devotions. The students may even have been Sufis.⁴⁷⁴ The important point is that both were going on.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.70:10-12.

⁴⁷¹ Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.273:17-274:2.

⁴⁷² However, the khānqāh of Siriāqūs did not conduct teaching, though it did hold Friday prayers: Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 30-32.

⁴⁷³ Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, I.231: 'And ḥadras were established in it after al-‘aṣr [the afternoon prayer] and also ṣūfiyya'.

⁴⁷⁴ As in the later madrasas of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (opened 823) and al-Ashraf Barsbāy (opened 829). At the al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh foundation the director, who was the Ḥanafī chief qāḍī, was appointed by the Sultan head of the Sufis and head of the Ḥanafī instruction (fi mashyakhat al-Ṣūfiyya wa tadrīs al-Ḥanafīyya): Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIV.91:3. This or the khānqāh of Shaykhū on the Ṣalība street (756/1355) may have been similar to al-Ashraf's foundation: in Shaykhū's khānqāh, Sufis lived in and were receiving instruction in Qur‘ān readings and all four school of fiqh. (Fernandes, The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt, 35-6.)

In an institution of this scale and grandeur, Friday prayers would certainly have been held. There would have been a mausoleum for the founder, though it was not finished in time for him to occupy it. There would have been living quarters for professors and students, kitchens, and perhaps a ḥammām. There would certainly have been a sabīl-kuttāb,⁴⁷⁵ and there would have been the usual royal complement of imams, muezzins and Qur'ān readers for the prayer-hall, the *iwāns*, and the founder's mausoleum.

The structure in the street

Ibn Iyās, who had not seen it, describes the madrasa as 'one of the most beautiful of all time'.⁴⁷⁶ Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, who had, said it was 'one of the most glorious [*a'zam*] of buildings seen' and 'one of the most beautiful buildings'.⁴⁷⁷

... the madrasa of al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān b. Ḥusayn, which used to be on the Ramp facing the royal Ṭablahāna. Its site today is occupied by the bīmāristān of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh ... and it was one of the most beautiful buildings in the world [*min mahāsin al-dunyā*]: with it, al-Malik al-Ashraf rivalled [or imitated: *ḍāhā bi-ha*] the madrasa of his uncle Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, which is on the Rumayla and faces the Citadel.⁴⁷⁸

It must have been high and massive, like Sultan Ḥasan, because it was so useful as a military base against the Citadel, the cause of its undoing. Given the direction of the street, if the madrasa followed the conventions, the monumental portal and sabīl-kuttāb, the qibla wall of the prayer-hall and the domed mausoleum would probably all have been arranged along the street. If it broke with the conventions, it might have followed Sultan Ḥasan in having more than one minaret or in partially projecting into the street.⁴⁷⁹ The monumental portal referred to by Maqrīzī⁴⁸⁰ could have been in the form of a Seljuk Anatolian hood, like that of Sultan Ḥasan and like that of the madrasa al-Ashraf built for his mother on the Tabbāna. But while

⁴⁷⁵ The first combined sabīl-kuttāb that we know of was that in the small madrasa of Ijlāy al-Yūsufī, al-Ashraf's stepfather, completed four years before in 774/137.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.813:8-9.

⁴⁷⁷ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* IV/1.183; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, XI.70:12.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, XIII.123:13-16.

⁴⁷⁹ If it did not project into the street, the firing positions must have been set up on the roof of the prayer-hall and portal.

⁴⁸⁰ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.408:26-8.

we can only guess what it looked like, like Sultan Ḥasan, the Ashrafiyya looked directly up to the Citadel.

Under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the area near the Citadel had been built up from the west. The most favoured amirs had built on the Rumayla, the others around the Šalība and over towards Birkat al-Fīl. Building had begun on the lower Tabbāna in this period, but the early structures— Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd in P5 (c. 715), Abū al-Yūsufayn at O5 (c. 730) and the amir Alnāq's palace at Q4 (c. 730-36)—were scattered far apart. Slowly, gaps were filled in with the Māridānī mosque and the rab' of Tuḡhay in O5, the Āqsunqur mosque in P/Q 5/6, and the house of Sunqur at S4, then with Umm al-Sultān's madrasa at P5. But there is no trace of a commercial building on the lower reaches of the street until the funduq and rab' of Aytmiş at R4 in 785, and no mention of ulama houses before 793 (the house of Shaykh al-Tabbānī in Q4). The area developed slowly, and it was not fully urbanized in the 1370s.

The Ashrafiyya madrasa changed that. By putting it at the foot of the Tabbāna / Bāb al-Wazīr Street, the approach to the Citadel from the north, al-Ashraf joined up two hitherto unconnected parts of the map. His symbolic joining up of the two areas boosted development down the Tabbāna and closed the gap to the north of the Citadel which had been there ever since it was built.⁴⁸¹ In closing the gap, he established the site as a new ceremonial base and made it possible to use the Darb al-Aḥmar as a ceremonial street.⁴⁸²

Unfortunately, the Ashrafiyya's very monumentality and position made it a nuisance. It was strategically placed close to the Citadel wall and close to the Bāb al-Mudarraġ and to the Bāb al-Sirr al-Kabīr, and it was frequently captured by bands of amirs in leadership battles to use for firing on the Citadel. In fact there were often battles between one party of amirs ensconced in Sultan Ḥasan and another in the Ashrafiyya, firing on each other across the

⁴⁸¹ In the Ayyubid period, Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī said 'the land under the Citadel was dusty and had no built-up or green areas', quoted Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 104. He must have been talking about the period before the hippodrome was built, so before 1213, but this shows, among other things, that there was no building to the north of the Citadel.

⁴⁸² The northern side of the Citadel had last been used ceremonially by Baybars holding his Dār al-'Adl sessions there in the 1270s.

Rumayla and up at the Citadel. These battles were not just a matter of arrows. From the mid-fourteenth century they sometimes involved gunpowder and exchange of cannon fire.⁴⁸³ In Sha‘bān 791, Mintāsh's party are in Sultan Ḥasan and Yalbughā al-Nāsirī, on the Citadel, puts archers on the Ṭablahkhāna and on the Ashrafiyya madrasa to fire at Mintāsh, killing many.⁴⁸⁴ In Ṣafar 792/1390, Mintāsh's party are again in Sultan Ḥasan, and Barqūq's men get onto the roof of the Ashrafiyya and use it to fire on the Ṭablahkhāna so they can take it themselves.⁴⁸⁵ In Sha‘bān 813/1411—nine months before the Ashrafiyya's demolition—the amir Arghūn fortifies the Citadel, the Stables, Sultan Ḥasan and the Ashrafiyya against attack, but even so al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh manages to take the Ashrafiyya and then Sultan Ḥasan, and fires on the Citadel.⁴⁸⁶ Between 1400 and 1410⁴⁸⁷ the Ṭablahkhāna was given an additional storey to station marksmen there pre-emptively to stop people using the Ashrafiyya like this, but it did not work.⁴⁸⁸ Finally in 814/1411 Sultan Faraj, who had himself suffered bombardment from the Ashrafiyya, lost his patience and had it demolished.

The madrasa lived on in folk history, however. The dragging of the gigantic columns was remembered afterwards as the ‘battle’ [al-wāqa‘a] of the columns. The dragging took days, and while it was going on, all the way down the Qaṣaba and the Ṭabbāna, with strange movements and strange contraptions, crowds of people took the day off to come and watch, and drums and flutes were played and the women ululated; and a song was made up that was sung for a number of years, and verses were composed, and a new kind of silk cloth for women that had been invented in Alexandria was named after the dragging of the columns.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸³ Staffa, Conquest and fusion, 210, 109.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 13.71-2.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 13.100.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, trans. Popper, 14.170.

⁴⁸⁷ Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo, 109.

⁴⁸⁸ '[The Ṭablahkhāna] ... This storey was built on top of the existing storey, and the intention in building it was that the Ashrafiyya madrasa was still standing at that time facing the Ṭablahkhāna, and in times of unrest between the amirs of the state, bands of men used to fortify themselves on top of it to fire on the iṣṭabl and the Citadel; so it was found pleasing to build this storey on top of the other so as to station marksmen on it, so that no one would be able to get up onto the roof of the Ashrafiyya madrasa. But that did not work, so al-Malik al-Nāsir Faraj b. Barqūq demolished the Ashrafiyya madrasa.' Maqrīzī, Khīṭat II.213:20-23.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibn Iyās, Badā‘i‘ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.154:7-12, Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.252:3-6.

‘And people remembered it afterwards for a long time, and kept on talking about the two columns, after the dragging on that day [sic]’.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’ al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.154:10-12.

34. Bīmāristān of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh

Location: R/S4, on Sikkat al-Maḥjar and Sikkat al-Kawmī

Date: 821-3/1418-20

Function: 823-4, teaching hospital with services, small mosque, sabīl-kuttāb; from 825, Friday mosque

Founder: Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh

Founder

See section on Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bāb Zuwayla.

Foundation of the structure

This mārīstān is above [fawqa] the Ramp, facing the Ṭablakhāna of the Citadel, on the site of the madrasa of al-Ashraf Sha'bān b. Ḥusayn, which was demolished by al-Nāṣir Faraj b. Barqūq; and its portal is where the portal of the madrasa was, except that it is narrower than what was there before. It was built by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh between Jumādā II 821 and Rajab 823, and the patients arrived in mid-Sha'bān [823]. The expenses were paid from the endowment of the al-Mu'ayyad mosque next to Bāb Zuwayla. When al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad died on 8 Muḥarram 824, it fell into disuse for a short while; then a group of recently arrived foreigners lived in it in Rabī' I of that year, and it became a residence for envoys from abroad arriving to see the Sultan. Then a minbar was installed, along with a khatīb and an imam and muezzins and a doorman and the qawma, and Friday prayers were begun in Rabī' II 825. It stayed in use as a mosque [jāmi'], and the employees were paid out of the endowment of the al-Mu'ayyad mosque.⁴⁹¹

al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's mārīstān was apparently the first built in Cairo since the great hospital of Sultan Qalāūn of 683-4/1284-5. Hampikian suggests that al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh may have founded the hospital partly because of his own experience of illness: he suffered from lameness and pains in his feet and legs, and this was plainly not just gout, as he died of his illness at the age of 54. Alternatively, though plague attacks were a constant feature of Cairo life, there had been a very bad plague outbreak in 819 and it is possible that this could have been a catalyst to the Sultan's provision of the building.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.408:25-33.

⁴⁹² Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 13-14.

Location and reconstruction

The hospital was very badly ruined by the end of the nineteenth century. Its fabric had been invaded not just by houses but by streets. Only its front section, through its sheer size, was more or less intact. The original hospital therefore has to be reconstructed, and this has been done by Nairy Hampikian.⁴⁹³

The mārīstān originally occupied a large rectangular site along the present-day Sikkat al-Maḥjar (called Khatt al-Rumayla in the waqfiyya) and Sikkat al-Kawmī.⁴⁹⁴ There were two entrances, one on the side street and one on the Khatt al-Rumayla.⁴⁹⁵ Surprising as it is, it was the main entrance that was on the side street.

The Déscription map marks the mārīstān twice: once on the site of the surviving part, the main entrance, at #55 R4 as the Jāmi‘ al-Sukkārī (the name under which the front part of the mārīstān was known in the early twentieth century), and once on the Sikkat al-Maḥjar (Sikkat al-Rumayla on the Déscription map) leading from the Rumayla up to Bāb al-Wazīr Street, at # 50 S4. Here it is marked as 'al-marīstān al-qadīm'. The hospital is marked exactly on the angle of the street between Bāb al-Wazīr Street and Sikkat al-Rumayla. Also marked are a Wakālat al-Sukkārī at # 406 to the north-west of the facade, and a Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd to the south-east at # 51 R4.

The section of the mārīstān still standing is the front block, with the monumental

⁴⁹³ Hampikian, 'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'. Hampikian compares her reconstruction with that of Fahmī ‘Abd al-‘Alīm in 'Wathīqāt al-Sultān al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh' (dissertation, Cairo University, 1988).

⁴⁹⁴ The waqfiyya describes the mārīstān as 'on Khatt al-Rumayla at the Ramp under the Citadel the well-guarded': waqfiyya, line 86, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'. This waqfiyya is no. 937 in Dār al-Wathā‘iq: Hampikian 38.

⁴⁹⁵ 'the south-east side ends at the Ramp, facing the Citadel [ilā al-ṣuwwa tujāh qal‘at al-jabal], and the second entrance of the two entrances previously mentioned is on this side; the north-west side ends at the house [bayt] of al-Janāb al-Sayfī Abū Bakr b. Sunqur, which was formerly called Arghūn Tatar, and some of it is ruined there; the north-east side ends at the well [sāqiyya] of al-Ashraf, and on this side is the great entrance and the maktab al-sabīl which is provided for the orphans and eleven shops [ḥānūt] and a sabīl; and the south-west side ends at the Sūq al-Khayl [the horse market]': waqfiyya, lines 101-4, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'.

portal over its lower storey of shops, and behind the portal, the mosque and the four-iwān qā'a for male patients. Hampikian reconstructs the plan from the waqfiyya, in the light of her survey of the 1990s street and housing pattern. Behind the parts that survive, she reconstructs the other components of the complex, on an axis leading towards the south-west: the qā'a for women patients, eleven storerooms for books (khizānas), four cells (khalāwā) and eleven buyūt khalā',⁴⁹⁶ and 25 rooms with services (tabaqa), the kitchen, the sharabkhāna, the ablutions area and the well.⁴⁹⁷ Her reconstruction of the building is thus on a north-east/south-west axis, forming a slightly irregular long rectangle. It is aligned to qibla (as one might expect for a structure built on the remains of a royal madrasa).

Hampikian also reconstructs a passage leading in from the second entrance on Khatt al-Rumayla, at right angles to the main axis of the complex, and entering, via a private door (bāb al-sirr), the main courtyard of the complex, with the women's qā'a and the accommodation coming off here.⁴⁹⁸ Women patients would have been admitted through the side door—which, paradoxically, is on the main road—so as to pass via the bāb al-sirr straight into the inner area. The logic of the plan is: public areas at the front, private areas secluded at the back. The outline of the courtyard is still visible in the lines of the houses built inside it from the nineteenth century; and the passage from the Khatt al-Rumayla entrance has become a real street, the Darb al-Māristān, branching right and left through the remains of the sultan's complex and breaking it up.⁴⁹⁹

Functions

As mentioned, immediately behind the portal raised over its shops were a small mosque and a

⁴⁹⁶ Leonor Fernandes points out that buyūt khalā' are latrines, not cells. 4.1.2000.

⁴⁹⁷ Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 44.

⁴⁹⁸ Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 45ff, Fig. 41.

⁴⁹⁹ Hampikian demonstrates that the buildings on the main facade of the hospital did not extend right to the Khatt al-Rumayla and that a space was left unoccupied beside the main entrance (the engaged columns on the north corner of the facade and on the east and south corners of the mosque: Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 33, 45). A pre-existing structure could have been left intact here, or there could have been a courtyard or a garden. But there certainly was a facade with its own entrance along the Khatt al-Rumayla, as the waqfiyya states (lines 86, 101, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh') and as the Déscription map shows.

four-iwān reception hall for male patients. There was also a sabīl-kuttāb on this facade. Inside was a qā'a for women patients, 40 rooms or apartments for patients and/or staff, a kitchen, a sharabkhāna, ablutions facilities and a well. There was also a substantial library in the form of eleven rooms of books (khizānas). There is no trace of a minaret or a mausoleum.

Muslims of both sexes were treated in the hospital. They were accommodated, fed and treated kindly by the doctors, and their needs were met until they recovered. Eye diseases were a speciality.⁵⁰⁰ In the sharabkhāna, prescriptions would have been dispensed. The large library indicates that an important part of the work of the hospital was teaching, as at Qalāūn. There was a mosque, but it was quite small and separated from the street by the raised monumental portal. There is no trace of a minbar. There would have been imams, muezzins (giving the call to prayer from the roof, perhaps, as at the mosque of Sultan Faraj at Bāb Zuwayla) and Qur'ān readers, as in any charitable institution: no discontinuity was seen between the exercise of medicine and worship. The kuttāb was probably endowed for teaching reading, writing and Qur'ān to pre-pubescent orphans, who would have received clothing, shoes, and a food allowance.⁵⁰¹

In fact the hospital operated as stipulated in the waqfiyya for only four and a half months. Operations were suspended on the Sultan's death. The closedown, like the failure to complete al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's mosque at Bāb Zuwayla (where the second dome was never built), is remarkable, and at the least indicates that something went wrong, possibly with the endowments for the Sultan's properties. Whether they were inadequately supported or whether income-generating properties were closed down or taken by istibdāl, we can only speculate. But within two years of completion, the hospital complex was being used as a Friday mosque.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ waqfiyya lines 506-9, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh'. Scanty information is given in this document, in contrast to the waqfiyya of the Qalāūn hospital.

⁵⁰¹ As at the mosque of Sultan Faraj at Bāb Zuwayla, q.v.

⁵⁰² Maqrīzī, Khitat II.408:25-33. Hampikian doubts this, because the mosque is structurally separated from the rest of the complex behind and is quite small (Hampikian,

The mārīstān and the Ashrafiyya

Hampikian detects the remains of an earlier structure, which can only be the Ashrafiyya madrasa, in two places: in a pointed arch behind the muqarnas hood of the portal, visible through the windows above the portal and spoiling their line, and in a pointed-arch-profile passage in the lower wall of the facade near the north-west end. She correctly deduces that the 'foundations and the lowermost fabric' of the Ashrafiyya were left intact and, where useful, reused by the new building.⁵⁰³ The qibla orientation of the site is due to the previous emplacement of the madrasa there. But she is not correct to see the arch behind the portal as the main portal of the Ashrafiyya madrasa, tucked away like that of the mārīstān on a dead-end side-street.⁵⁰⁴

The Khatt al-Rumayla entrance of the mārīstān is described in the waqfiyya as 'square', like the main portal, and this suggests that it may have been a pishtāq like the main portal (and the portal of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's mosque). This was the door that would have been seen by passers by, as it was on the through route from Bāb al-Wazīr to the Rumayla. It is on the site of this door that the Déscription marks and identifies the mārīstān. The waqfiyya itself identifies the mārīstān's orientation on the Khatt al-Rumayla.⁵⁰⁵ It is therefore almost certainly this door that Maqrīzī is referring to when he says that the door of the mārīstān is on the site of the Ashrafiyya's door. The sources consistently state that the Ashrafiyya faced the Tablakhāna, that is, faced outwards, south-east across the street and towards the Citadel.⁵⁰⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī tells us that al-Ashraf Sha'bān modelled it on the Sultan Ḥasan madrasa:

'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 34); however, the inner courtyard might have been used for Friday prayers instead, as it had a stone mihrāb carved in it: waqfiyya line 90, reproduced in Hampikian.

⁵⁰³ Hampikian, 'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 27, 32, 30, 36.

⁵⁰⁴ Hampikian, 'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh', 32.

⁵⁰⁵ 'on Khatt al-Rumayla at the Ramp under the Citadel the well-guarded': waqfiyya, line 86, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmārīstān of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh'.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XI.67:2-5; XIII.123:14; Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' al-zuhūr, ed. Muṣṭafā, I/2.153:21-22; Maqrīzī, Khitat II.213:20-21; II.401:28-29; Maqrīzī, Sulūk Maqrīzī, Sulūk III/1.251:11-12; IV/1.183:1ff; 452:4-5.

[the Ashrafiyya] was one of the most beautiful buildings in the world [min maḥāsin al-dunyā]: with it, al-Malik al-Ashraf tried to rival [or imitated: dāhā bi-ha] the madrasa of his uncle Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, which is on the Rumayla and faces the Citadel.⁵⁰⁷

al-Ashraf Sha‘bān would never have placed his massive and stately foundation's main entrance on a dead-end side street. The māristān's waqfiyya mentions that the portal side ends at 'the well of al-Ashraf'.⁵⁰⁸ This would have been part of the madrasa's services area, and it would have been at the back. The pointed arch behind the māristān's portal is clearly the remains of a door from the Ashrafiyya, but it was not the main portal.

The structure in the street

The main portal of the māristān is magnificent. It is set 20m back from the Sikkat al-Kawmī and raised high above the street (and the interior) over a row of shops.⁵⁰⁹ A spiral staircase led up to the entrance.⁵¹⁰ This is in the form of a semi-domed stalactite hood inside a huge pishtāq. To right and left are panels of square Kufic marble inlay on two levels. The facade is not symmetrical: the right-hand half is stepped out five metres. There are engaged columns at all corners. The facade is unified by crenellations. There was a sabīl-kuttāb on the facade.⁵¹¹ The form of the facade is palatial.

The overall effect, even now, is extraordinarily striking. This is still one of the finest facades in Cairo. Why, then, did Sultan al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh place his portal on a side street, turned inwards, away from the Citadel, rather than out towards it as one would have expected? There is in fact a mismatch between the placing of the site on the map of the city and the orientation of the building. Like the Ashrafiyya, the māristān was situated opposite

⁵⁰⁷ Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, XIII.123:13-16.

⁵⁰⁸ 'the north-east side ends at the well [sāqiyya] of al-Ashraf: line 103, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'.

⁵⁰⁹ waqfiyya, line 103, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'.

⁵¹⁰ This was misreconstructed by the Comité: it should have been a sullam ḥalazūn, waqfiyya line 87, reproduced Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'.

⁵¹¹ waqfiyya line 103, reproduced in Hampikian, 'The bīmāristān of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh'. However, given the engaged columns at the ends of the facade, it is hard to see where this would have been.

the Dār al-Ḍiyāfa, the Tablakhāna and the Citadel itself, on a thoroughfare that was being increasingly used. In its form, its height and its distance from the street, the portal is making a statement of absolute majesty. Yet the statement is addressed to the car park outside the stadium. Likewise, the second door probably was not unobtrusive visually, but it was used unobtrusively: for the delivery of women patients, goods and services direct into the interior. Only the male patients and anyone wishing to pray arrived through the front door.

It may be that an institution for the care of the sick was seen as a place to be secluded, sheltered, from the public street. Sultan Qalāūn's māristān was not visible from the main street, and was reached by a long passage from Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. But the statement made by the portal remains. The māristān may illustrate indecisiveness on the Sultan's part between a genuine desire to provide for the sick and a desire to impress his own majesty upon a site recently dignified by al-Ashraf Sha‘bān and now becoming part of an ever more focused and sophisticated ceremonial map of the city.

His hospital was coopted into the service of the community as a place for Friday prayer immediately upon his death; so the Sultan might as well have given in to his desire for aggrandisement and turned it towards the Citadel.

Chapter three: the street analysed

This chapter identifies the dynamic of development of the street in six phases; analyses the structures on the street in terms of their patrons and their functions; and investigates claims that the street had other major roles in city life as a locus of ceremonial or of popular culture.⁵¹²

1. The dynamic of development, in six phases

Development in the first, Fatimid, period was based around the main street leading south.⁵¹³

The initial development laid down at Bāb Zuwayla under al-Ḥākim, with its military residences and markets along the main street to the Bāb al-Jadīd,⁵¹⁴ was probably strengthened by the extension of the city boundaries in 480-85 with a new wall and gate. The city jail (Khizānat Shimā'il) and the Bāb Zuwayla postern gate (Khawkhat Aydaghmish) may also date from this period, as they are part of the Bāb Zuwayla security apparatus. (See Table 2.) A second wave of rather prosperous development began after 515/1121; and, after some retrenchment in the al-Mustanṣir years, the commercial activities on the Qaṣaba were re-established more strongly. al-Ṣāliḥ Talā'i' positioned his Twelver mosque at the head of this commercial and residential area and of the main street, facing Bāb Zuwayla. By the end of the Fatimid period, then, there was some commercial and residential development around the main street, and the road was periodically extended as a through route to Fustāt. Development behind the main street probably did not extend very far.

This was the taking-off point for the second stage, the development first of a route

(Table 2 follows, text resumes p. 148)

⁵¹² When the expression 'the Darb al-Aḥmar street' is used, it is as a shorthand for convenience's sake, as this is really quite misleading: the street is usually referred to as the Tabbāna, closely followed by Bāb al-Wazīr street.

⁵¹³ This section draws on material adduced in chapters one and two, and for details of those findings, the reader is referred back to those chapters. Authorities are not cited a second time here.

⁵¹⁴ This was some way north of the mosque of Qawṣūn. 'After Bāb al-Qaws [the Bāb al-Jadīd] is the Sūq al-Fuyūrīn, then the Sūq Jāmi' Qawṣūn': Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat* II.101. On the question of how much of the developed area Ṣālāḥ al-Dīn destroyed when he burnt down the black troops' ḥāra and ploughed it over, see chapter one. It is unlikely that he destroyed all the development to the south.

and then a road to the south-east once al-Kāmil moved the court and the administrative centre to the Citadel in 604/1207-8. Maqrīzī gives few details on how the road developed: he only says, as deduction would tell us anyway, that the establishment of the Citadel attracted people to the area and that the Fatimid cemetery was built over gradually.⁵¹⁵ The first services to be established at the foot of the Citadel were those needed to service a power based on cavalry.⁵¹⁶ The horse, donkey and camel market (the Sūq al-Khayl) moved to the Rumayla at about the same time as al-Kāmil. Other services presumably relocated and grew up there from this time. Actual construction along the Darb al-Aḥmar street seems to have been slow, however. Not one Ayyubid building or institution is mentioned on the street.

From 604, four phases of development emerge: initial popular settlement (c. 700-735), a first wave of amirial settlement (c. 709-49), royal area improvement (769-823) and residential filling in (c.825-927). The first of these phases is somewhat obscure to us, as our information is about amirial constructions. However, outlines of a picture can be deduced from demolitions of existing buildings (as in the case of Alṭunbughā's mosque) or from plans which show adaptation to a crowded site (as in the Mihmandār mosque).

The two earliest developments on the street were popular institutions. About 700, the meat market (Sūq al-Busutiyyīn) was moved from inside Bāb Zuwayla to a site outside the city walls at N6. (The move may have been connected with the slaughterhouse and offal sūq to the west in Taḥt al-Rab' street.⁵¹⁷) I argued in chapter two that the muṣallā at N5 was probably also laid down in the 700s or 710s, because a large enclosure could probably only be established informally on open land and title acquired by custom. These and the Sūq al-Ghanam are the only popular institutions mentioned on the street, by contrast with the numerous markets mentioned on Taḥt al-Rab' street and the southern main street. It seems that the Darb al-Aḥmar never became an important market area. There were numerous amirial qaisāriyya/rab' buildings (built regardless of demand), and there must have been markets, but the implication is that they were local. This may never have become an

⁵¹⁵ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.136.

⁵¹⁶ *Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo*, 76-7.

⁵¹⁷ Referred to by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in 'The Takiyyat Ibrāhīm al-Kulshānī in Cairo,' 54-5.

important popular area, though there is only negative evidence for this. All but five recorded foundations on the street, apart from the two *suqs* and the *mušallā*, were amirial or royal; the five exceptions were built by non-amirial court or *ulama* patrons, and our information on those is minimal, as they are all lost. If popular residential districts did develop down the street, however, they did so substantially before the amirial building. Popular construction was low-cost and quick to put up, probably in mud-brick; amirial constructions were expensive, slow to build and done in stone. This then was the third stage of construction.

The fourth stage, the beginning of amirial construction, begins in c. 709. The first construction, Princess *Zahrā*'s mausoleum in Q4,⁵¹⁸ was probably built primarily as a funerary monument in funerary area. The area just inside the Ayyubid wall near *Bāb al-Wazīr* continued in use as a cemetery into the twentieth century, and the only other primarily funerary monument on the street was built in the same area.⁵¹⁹ At the time there were no other reference-points nearby except the cemetery and the Citadel, and this was miles from any urban development. It may have been thought that the area was going to become a smart new funerary centre.

The next amirial construction, the mosque known as *Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd* (c. 715) at P5, is mainly lost and so is hard to read for clues. The parallels of the minaret show that it was an elite construction. The minaret it most resembles, that of the amir *Sunqur al-Sa'dī* on the southern *Qaṣāba*, belonged to a *madrassa* and *ribāt*, but that was in the context of a thoroughly urbanized street. At the minimum this was a mosque, providing a call to prayer and a place to pray, far from any other monumental buildings. This probably indicates that there was a demand for such services; but we are completely in the dark about how much settlement there was in this area at the time.

From 725, dates and plans reveal the early stages of development quite concretely. In

⁵¹⁸ Behrens-Abouseif's dating of the structure is on stylistic grounds. *Zahrā*'s *qubba* certainly existed here, but I am unconvinced that her monument could have been so early. See chapter two. There could of course have been two structures here, but I have preferred not to multiply hypothetical foundations.

⁵¹⁹ The tomb of the sons of *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad* at P5.

725 the area of the Mihmandār mosque (N5) was crowded with buildings, right up to the level of side streets built up behind the main street. The amir's plot was slightly cramped for his purposes, to which end he took additional space from the side street for his facade. This was quite an ambitious building, with the favoured configuration of royalty of a tomb-chamber overlooking the street adjoining a prayer-hall, and al-Mihmandār also landscaped the street by setting his mosque forward into it to give his mausoleum a facade on the north. By 725 it appears that the character of the area was susceptible to monumental building. The impact of al-Mihmandār's building is aimed at the north. This is also the first appearance on the street of amirial commercial/residential development as part of a religious foundation. This is an almost universal pattern on the street: the only exceptions to the rule, including the Fatimid mosque of al-Šāliḥ Talā'i', are the mosque of Abū al-Yūsufayn and the Friday mosques of Altunbughā and Āqsunqur.⁵²⁰

A little further south at O5, the street was also fully defined by c. 730, as shown by the disparity between street line and qibla at the amirial mosque called Abū al-Yūsufayn. Its plot is compact but not cramped: no sacrifices of form have been made. By now this area too was suitable for monumental street landscaping: the mausoleum has been set forward into the street, or the main facade set back. The facade is orientated to the south.

The Q4 area was uncrowded at this time. (This was the area which remained in use as a graveyard till very recently.) The plan of the Alnāq palace (c. 730) is extremely spacious; the palace is on the edge of the graveyard area and probably took land from it. Its proximity to the Citadel suggests that this was the reference-point on which it was based, even though the building simply sits parallel to the street axis rather than orientating itself architecturally and visually towards the Citadel. The palace was a self-contained development, with its own private storerooms, zāwiyya and well.

The amir Fughay's rab' at O5 (before 735) was probably part of a religious complex, rather than a free-standing installation. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's purchase of properties for the

⁵²⁰ Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān's commercial/residential backup buildings were already in place in al-Qāhira, at al-Rukn al-Mukhallaq.

site of the Māridānī mosque (735/8) shows that the left-hand side of the street here was fully built up by now and that the side street was already there. As the buildings mentioned on the site were *amākin* and *dur* and the owners ‘had spent a lot of money on construction after purchasing’ the sites, it appears that this was an affluent district.⁵²¹ The Māridānī mosque fully tackles the task of landscaping the street, interposing its stepped facade as a new corner. Its facade addresses the approach from the north.

There follows more construction in the cemetery area of Q4, with the tomb of the murdered sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (c. 743) and the Friday mosque of Āqṣunqur (747-8). Āqṣunqur built his mosque here so as to incorporate and take care of the tombs of al-Nāṣir's sons, his brothers-in-law; the tomb, like Zahrā's funerary monument, was probably meant for a smart funerary area. The corner with the Darb Shughlān, a side street coming down inside the Ayyubid wall from the mosque of Aṣlam al-Silaḥdār (745-6), predated this point.⁵²² The tomb is implicitly orientated to the north, but Āqṣunqur's street facade is orientated to the approach from the south.

The house of Sunqur al-Jamālī (before 749, S4) is the first mention of construction immediately north of the Citadel. Though called a *bayt* rather than a *qaṣr*, it would hardly have been worth mentioning if it was not a sizeable structure. The major palaces near the Citadel were the *quṣūr* of the Sultan's favourites, Yalbughā, Altunbughā and Qawṣūn. They were clearly built as part of an assertive policy on the part of al-Nāṣir to bolster the Citadel to the west around the Rumayla,⁵²³ but such a policy might well also have encouraged development to the north. This house might then have been a twin of the Alnāq palace on the

⁵²¹ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* II.308; *Sulūk* II/2.385. *amākin* may be used to refer to popular dwellings or to a whole group of dwellings; *dār* usually refers to a fine house.

⁵²² Rights of way find their own path, rather than accommodating themselves to wealthy patrons' landscaping ambitions. Had the side street postdated the mausoleum, it would probably not have come that way. What had happened to al-Šāliḥ Ṭalā'i' by the time of Yashbak's restoration work, and again by the 1920s, illustrates this (see chapter two).

⁵²³ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* II/1.438-9, discussed in ch. 2 section on Māridānī mosque. Rabbat suggests that al-Nāṣir's policy of developing the Rumayla and the area west of the Citadel was defensive. Under the Ayyubids ‘the Citadel was ... essentially unconnected to either al-Qāhira or al-Fustāt and vulnerable to attacks from the west’: Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 277-86, 75-6. The same arguments would apply to the area to the Citadel's north.

southern stretch of the Tabbāna street.

By 749, then, the street has been colonized by amirial structures all the way to the bottom and the initial phase of amirial development is complete. This phase follows the initial phase of popular settlement, which may have had some beginnings in the seventh century but mostly took place between 700 and 735. By now, our data show three main areas. Nearest Bāb Zuwayla was a major popular food sūq at N6, established early c. 700. There may have been other popular development here. Down at N5/O5, the street was fully built up by 725-35 and included several fine amirial religious foundations and some commercial/residential backup. The only popular institution of which we know here is the mušallā at N5, probably predating the amirial buildings. At P5, isolated from the other structures, the Zāwiyyat al-Hunūd was one of the first amirial structures, c. 715. Nothing else is recorded nearby till the Umm Sultan Sha‘bān madrasa (769-70). Further down the road at Q4 there seems to have been a funerary area, with Āqsunqur's Friday mosque grafted into it for rather special reasons. An expansive amirial residence, the Alnāq palace (c. 730), was also here. This may have been part of the same development drive as the house of Sunqur (before 749) at S4.

The fifth stage of construction on the street, 769-823, is marked by royal upgrading of the beginning and end of the street. The inner stretches of the street are not used by sultans, except indirectly by al-Ashraf Sha‘bān in building for his mother, but the opening and close of the street are now developed for the second time, and this second wave upgrades the status of the two sites. In 769-70 al-Ashraf Sha‘bān built his mother her madrasa at P5. By now, the area must have filled in. The corner site shows that the side street was already there. The site was presumably obtained by istibdāl. Considerable sacrifices were made to build on this site (discussed in detail in ch. 2). Because of the angle of the street at this point, a street qibla facade could only be built on a corner on the west side of the road. Building her foundation here gave both mausoleums a position on the qibla side, one of which was on the main street. Whether the point of this manoeuvre was the imperative in its own right, or its result on this particular street, that the constraints of qibla here allowed one to landscape the street in a particularly interesting way because the adjustments for qibla were at 45 degrees to the street,

we can only surmise. The facade is orientated towards the south.

al-Ashraf's madrasa at the Ramp at R/S4 was built on an at least partially cleared site, but we can only guess whether there were other dwellings or commercial buildings here, around the northern approach to the horse market; by 814 there were houses along the Citadel walls at the Ramp and under the Ṭablahkāna.⁵²⁴ His madrasa, as argued in chapter two, looked up to the Bāb al-Mudarraǰ and was extremely monumental. It certainly entered with a vengeance into public life, particularly in its military role. This building gave the street a destination under the Citadel and thus a sense of identity and purpose.

In 811 and 818, two sultans obtain sites at Bāb Zuwayla, clear them, and rebuild the Bāb Zuwayla crossroads in a fashion more befitting its position at the centre between al-Qāhira and the newer amirial precincts in the south. Faraj's complex took land from the street and pushed forward into the path of oncoming traffic from Bāb Zuwayla. The Mu'ayyad mosque upgraded the setting of Bāb Zuwayla from a food market to a mosque and its visual meaning to a reminder of the call to prayer.

In the interim, the street fills in with another amirial foundation at R4 (785) and our first two non-amirial foundations, a residence on the Ṭabbāna near Bāb al-Wazīr (before 793, probably Q4), and a madrasa on the Ṭabbāna, probably in O5 or P5 (before 819). Inevitably after the construction of the Ashrafiyya at the bottom of the street, the facade of Aytmiş's facade is orientated to the approach from the south.

al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's second project, the hospital at R/S4, is a problem. When I began this research I expected to find that al-Mu'ayyad planned the upgrading of the Darb al-Aḥmar by stamping it with his royal identity at beginning and end. But the hospital is not really a monumental building. Its facade, one of the most striking in the whole city, is tucked away on a side street, ignoring one of the best sites it could have had, and it does not seem to have asserted itself on the main street side. This may also be partly because the consequences

⁵²⁴ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* IV/1.183:1-5.

of the Ashrafiyya's monumentality resulted in its demolition, and it must have been desired to avoid another military liability here. The building is simply ambivalent.

The last and sixth phase, from c. 825 to 927, is characterized by two levels of construction: by continued low-key in-filling of the street with residences, amirial and non-Mamluk, and at the same time by construction of two extremely articulate, upwardly mobile monumental buildings associating themselves with the two high-profile focuses of the street, the upgraded Bāb Zuwayla and the Citadel. The house of Qurqumās was opposite Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān; the house of the Mālikī qāḍī (before 854), the house and madrasa of the eunuch ‘Anbar al-Ḥabashī (before 867), and the house of Prince Amīrzah b. Shāh Aḥmad of Baghdad (before 871) - all lost - are all non-Mamluk. Two of them return to the northern reaches of the street, one fills in the Bāb al-Wazīr area. The Mālikī Qāḍī and ‘Anbar al-Ḥabashī were ulama (al-Ḥabashī was probably a senior court official), Amīrzah was an expatriate prince. After this come Qijmās's mosque (884-6), a commercial building in the Sūq al-Ghanam (before 900), and Qāyṭbāy's makān on the Tabbāna next to Umm Sultan Sha‘bān's madrasa. Qijmās had speculated in property till he had acquired the whole of his desired site, which was occupied by commercial buildings and a funduq. (See chapter two.) He addressed his street presence squarely at Bāb Zuwayla. From the odd shape of the plot, less trouble was incurred securing the site of the Qāyṭbāy makān. This was not a first-order issue for a residence, however, as it was the interior that took priority, not the street facade. It may also indicate that this property was not so important; the plot of Qāyṭbāy's residence at O6 behind the Qaṣaba is much more rational. The last structure is Khāyrbak's madrasa of 908 and 927 at Q4, between Āqsunqur and Alnāq. The unsuitability of this site for a prayer-hall and mausoleum (see chapter two) suggests that he chose the location on visual grounds. It is addressed to the Citadel, which he aspired to and later occupied.

2. Patrons and functions

Of the buildings or institutions surveyed in chapter two, fourteen were founded by amirial patrons, nine were royal, five were built by non-Mamluk patrons, three were popular or non-elite (the two suqs at N6 and N5, and the Muṣallā al-Amwāt at N5), and three belonged to the city security apparatus (Bāb Zuwayla, the prison, Khawkhāt Aydaghmish). (See Table 3.) Excluding those in the last two categories, all were religious foundations or private

(Table 3 follows; text resumes p. 158)

residences, in a ratio of two to one.

Popular institutions

To begin with the popular, non-elite institutions: the Sūq al-Busutiyyīn and the Sūq al-Ghanam at the head of the street and the Mušallā al-Amwāt at N5. I have found no further mention of suqs or other non-elite institutions on the street beyond these. On other streets, by way of comparison, such as Taht al-Rab‘ or the southern main street, Maqrīzī summarizes geography and development by giving a list of suqs. Summarizing the Darb al-Aḥmar, he also gives a list, but it is a list of precincts or stretches of the road, khitat:

[After the foundation of the Citadel] a way began to lead [sār yasluk ilā] to the Citadel on this left-hand side between the cemetery and the jabal. Then, after the tribulations, there came these buildings that are there now, bit by bit, from the year 700: there came the Khatt Sūq al-Busutiyyīn and the Khatt al-Darb al-Aḥmar, and the Khatt Jāmi‘ al-Māridaynī and the Khatt Sūq al-Ghanam and the Khatt al-Tabbāna and the Khatt Bāb al-Wazīr and the Citadel and the Rumayla ..⁵²⁵

Massignon collected a list of trades and corporations that he ascribed to the Darb al-Aḥmar, and he argued that the street was specially connected to and had come into being with the development of the Mamluk arrangements for the ḥajj caravan.⁵²⁶ He claimed that the following trades were based around the Darb al-Aḥmar: the camel-drovers ('la corporation des akkām'), the makers of palanquins for camels (mahā'iriyya), wakālas of fruit, oil and soap, the tent makers (khayyamiyyīn), straw vendors (al-Tabbāna), sieve-makers (mugharbiliyyīn), weights and scales-makers (mawāziniyyīn), charcoal-sellers (ḥattāba), falconry men (tuyūriyyīn), and saddlers (surūjiyya).⁵²⁷ I have found no sources to support the list, which is based on a mixture of Déscription and modern toponymy. Toponymy can get us somewhere, but toponymy that dates from the later Déscription period and is not used in the Mamluk sources, with no other confirming evidence, cannot be taken very seriously.

⁵²⁵ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.110:29-34.

⁵²⁶ 'Ce faubourg du Caire s'est formé au sortir de Bāb Zuwayla pour ravitailler les caravanners du Ḥajj, sur la route de Raydaniyé (Abbassiyé) menant à Jérusalem et la Mekke ...' Massignon, 'La cité des morts au Caire', 70-71.

⁵²⁷ The palanquin-makers turn out to be located at the tent-makers. The wakālat Qawṣūn which Massignon mentions is located by Raymond and Wiet in al-Qāhira, on Jamaliyya street. Raymond and Wiet, Les marchés du Caire, 291.

In the absence of any further evidence, it seems probable that this street never developed significant suqs beyond the local level or developed significant popular communities. The only local neighborhood we glimpse in the Mamluk sources is the affluent residential area around the site of the Altunbughā mosque. This suggests that the street never really developed fully.

Non-Mamluk foundations

The non-Mamluk buildings are never described in their own right and are mentioned only in passing, and there are therefore no details about them at all. All are lost. There were four recorded houses and two recorded madrasas (one madrasa is mentioned with a house): see Table 2. Of the houses, two were built near Bāb al-Wazīr (Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn's and Amīrzah's), one in the Darb al-Aḥmar itself (the Mālikī qāḍī's) and one in Sūq al-Ghanam (the house and madrasa of 'Anbar). The madrasa of Zayn al-Dīn was somewhere on the Tabbāna, probably in O5 or P5. Zayn al-Dīn was buried in his madrasa, so there was provision for his tomb. Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn and the Mālikī qāḍī appear to have been professional (if one may use that word) ulama: the shaykh was a professional scholar and teacher; Wālī al-Dīn al-Sunbātī may or may not have combined his position as qāḍī with another occupation. Zayn al-Dīn al-Ishīqtamūrī had been rā's nawba jāmdāriyya; I have no information on 'Anbar al-Ḥabashī other than that he too was a eunuch at the court. All patrons except for Prince Amīrzah (who was an exiled expatriate prince) thus appear to have been ulama figures; the two eunuchs were also senior court figures. Amīrzah was an exiled expatriate prince.

Amirial and royal foundations: (i) Residences

Four amirial and royal houses are recorded on this street: those of Alnāq (perhaps a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's, c. 730, Q4), Sunqur al-Jamālī (possibly a mamluk of al-Nāṣir's, before 749, S4), Qurqumās al-Jalab (a mamluk of Barsbāy's, c. 825-41, P5), and Sultan Qāyṭbāy (before 900, P5). Only traces of the Qāyṭbāy property and that of Alnāq survive. Qurqumās's house must have been of the same order as Alnāq's (though possibly not with the same kind of form): not only was Qurqumās a favourite of Barsbāy and the foster-father of his son, but his house was later used as an official residence for visiting dignitaries (see chapter two). Both Qurqumās's and Alnāq's houses were reused after their deaths: Alnāq's

house was probably acquired by the amir Aytmiş, then Barsbāy, before passing to Khāyrbak and later to Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān. Sunqur's house at the Ramp was probably a similarly large and imposing building: why should its purchase and demolition be mentioned if it was a modest, unassertive private house?

The mysterious Qāyrbāy property is much later, and is quite different in form and feel from Alnāq's house or any Bahri-period Mamluk house: Alnāq's palace, like those of Qawṣūn and Bashtāk, has a monumental street presence. Rather than a compact, monolithic structure, the Qāyrbāy property is based around a courtyard, taking up much more space and playing with space and height. It probably was not a monumental building: the focus was probably on the interior (the courtyard) with its own fine facade. The purpose of Qāyrbāy's property here is not clear. Van Berchem's argument that it was a rab' for letting, like Qāyrbāy's property on Qal'at al-Kabsh (see chapter two) is incompatible with the form of the surviving elements. On the other hand, this property is far more straggling and haphazardly defined than Qāyrbāy's other property nearby on Ḥārat al-Māridānī, which also feels much more like a royal residence. Could this property have been built for a particular subsidiary part of his household, moved deliberately off the Citadel?

Amirial and royal foundations: (ii) Religious foundations

The survey of functions in chapter two showed that the amirial and royal foundations on the street differed substantially only in scale, not in the nature of their activities: they share one pattern. (See Table 4.) Architecturally, the pattern is for a mosque to have a tomb-chamber, and for the complex also to include a commercial/residential building: a rab' or funduq.⁵²⁸ In

(Table 4 follows; text resumes p. 163)

⁵²⁸ I am calling these foundations 'mosques' because that is their primary function and because I am analysing functions here, not architectural typologies. Many of these foundations have teaching; not all that have teaching are called madrasas (e.g. the Mihmandār calls itself a masjid in its inscription, even though Maqrīzī calls it a madrasa and khānqāh); not all that are called madrasas have teaching (as, e.g., Qijmās and Faraj). Van Berchem's argument (*CIA Egypte I* p. 174) that the confused nomenclature results from general inflation of status in the Mamluk period, is not convincing. It is quite clear that the reservation of functions to specific, specialized institutions, in so far as it ever existed, had broken down by now and that foundations could host activities on a mix-and-match basis just as founders wished. See also my discussion of Berkey in section on Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān, chapter two.

terms of functions, usually there is teaching in the mosque; there are sometimes also Sufi activities, and their inclusion or omission seems simply to have been according to the founder's preference. The Mihmandār mosque (725) is the earliest complete religious foundation on the street, and it shows the full pattern: mosque plus tomb plus qaisāriyya/rab', with teaching and Sufi activities.

Discounting lost and incomplete foundations, if we take into account that in two cases (Faraj b. Barqūq and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh) tombs were already prepared in another foundation, all four of the royal foundations that are fully documented show this architectural pattern (see Tables 2 & 3). In the case of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān, the qaisāriyya/rab' building was already in place in al-Qāhira. Of the complete amirial foundations, four out of six meet the pattern, the two exceptions being the two Friday mosques of Altunbughā and Āqsunqur, al-Nāṣir's sons-in-law.

In fact most of the lost or incomplete foundations had either tomb or shops. The mosques of Abū al-Yūsufayn and Āqsunqur had a tomb; even the madrasa of Zayn al-Dīn apparently had a tomb. The Ashrafiyya madrasa almost certainly had both, though it cannot be proved. There were also two predominantly funereal buildings on the street at Q4: Princess Zahrā's qubba and the tomb of the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

It seems, then, that from at least 725, a tomb-chamber was a *sine qua non* of monumental construction and that a religious foundation without one was almost out of the question. Here the interesting exception is Altunbughā's mosque.⁵²⁹

As for the attached commercial/residential part of the complex, even the Fatimid mosque of al-Šālīḥ Talā'i' was built over shops (like al-Aqmar); the integration of public utilities into monumental architecture dates from the Fatimids, as Viktoria Meinecke-Berg

⁵²⁹ It is possible that Altunbughā had a mausoleum in Syria, though I can find no evidence either way. On the other hand, his postings to Syria dated mainly from the 740s, after the completion of the mosque.

pointed out.⁵³⁰ However, as amirial construction postdated what popular development there was on this street, it cannot be said to have driven commercial development down the street; and the amirial qaisāriyya/rab‘ buildings were built quite irrespective of demand. One wonders about Aytmiş's rab‘ outside Bāb al-Wazīr in the cemetery. But they probably did upgrade and consolidate development.

As for functions, from the Āqsunqur mosque (747-8), teaching and Friday prayers seem to have been combined very frequently in the one institution (see Table 3). There is no evidence as to whether there were Friday prayers in Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān, though it is quite likely; the Ashrafiyya almost certainly combined the two. Many institutions added Sufi activities to teaching and Friday prayers. In general, it seems that all constraints were removed from the 730s and that there was an inflation of roles among religious institutions from this time. From 785, really quite small foundations such as Aytmiş's are hosting Friday prayers; a hundred years later, Qijmās's mosque was also very small for a Friday mosque.

The largest royal mosques - al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh's at Bāb Zuwayla, the Ashrafiyya madrasa - show the full panoply of activities. But the last two mosques on the street, the upwardly mobile and highly ambitious mosques of Qijmās and Khāyrbak, aimed at the two prestige focus points of the Citadel and Bāb Zuwayla, are only a little behind them. Doris Behrens-Abouseif speculates as to why Khāyrbak did not make his madrasa a Friday mosque as well (see chapter two), and the grandiosity of his monument in other senses supports her speculation.

3. **Other uses: royal ceremonial, popular festival**

Looking at the two-dimensional Déscription map of Cairo, rather than at the chronological map of how it developed over time, the Darb al-Aḥmar street looks like a main artery of the

⁵³⁰ She argues that the integration of commercial and religious foundations, and the integration of shops into the ground floor facade of religious buildings, originated in the shape of the Cairo sūq, which, exceptionally among Islamic cities, was based along a street rather than around a core; and this form in turn she attributes to the ceremonial requirements of the Fatimid regime, for which processions along the main street were essential. Meinecke-Berg, 'Outline of the urban development of Cairo,' 12.

city. It is the most direct route to the Citadel, and so it looks like the principal route. If one makes this very natural assumption, all sorts of other assumptions follow: for instance, that the street was the focus of official ceremony or of popular festival. This is relevant to this study because Mamluk patrons were so sensitive to the character and desirability of localities: the desired locations were main or prestige routes or prestige focuses upon them. If the Darb al-Aḥmar street was the route of official coronation or victory parades, or of the great folk celebrations such as a major mawlid or the maḥmal, this would have added enormously to the value of the street as a location for Mamluk builders.

However, chapter two has shown that the Darb al-Aḥmar was not immediately an artery. It developed far more slowly and to a far less degree than the southern main street, which in turn developed far less as a prestige amirial area than did the Šalība and the Rumayla. For much of Mamluk history, the Darb al-Aḥmar does not seem to have been very grand at all. It is significant that no sultan built for himself on it, only at its extremities.

Official parades

Royal coronation and victory parades were a feature of Mamluk public life, and many are recorded. However, not one of the accounts examined by me has stated that a parade went down the Darb al-Aḥmar, until the very late date of 873, under Qāyrbāy and also under al-Ghūrī.

Starting with Šalāḥ al-Dīn, Ayyubid and then Mamluk sultans paraded through Cairo to mark their accession to the throne or an important victory, or simply to underscore their authority. In Rajab 567/1172, Šalāḥ al-Dīn paraded through the city wearing the robe sent by the Abbasid caliph, ‘and he paraded through [shaqqa] Bayn al-Qārayn and al-Qāhira, and when he got to Bāb Zuwayla he took off the robe and sent it home, and prepared to play polo’.⁵³¹ In Šafar 659/1260, Baybars rides victorious through Cairo after his victory over the Tartars:

And on Monday 7 Šafar, al-Malik al-Žāhir Baybars rode from the Citadel in the insignia of the sultanate to outside al-Qāhira, and he entered through Bāb al-Naṣr and

⁵³¹ Maqrīzī, Khitat II.108:1-2.

the amirs and his men dismounted and walked in front of him to Bāb Zuwayla. Then they [mounted and] rode to the Citadel. al-Qāhira had been decorated, and dinars and dirhams were thrown at the Sultan. He promoted some of his amirs and commanders of 1,000 and the current state officials. This was his first ceremonial ride, and from that day the parade continued in a polo match.⁵³²

Six months later, in Sha‘bān 659/1261, Baybars processes through Cairo with the exiled Abbasid caliph, having been invested as sultan in the name of the caliph: ‘then the sultan rode wearing the robe and collar, and he entered through Bāb al-Naṣr and paraded through al-Qāhira, which had been decorated for that purpose ... until they came out through Bāb Zuwayla up to the Citadel, and that was a memorable day’.⁵³³ In Rajab 661/1262, Baybars returns from a victory in Palestine, ‘and he entered al-Qāhira on 17 Rajab, and it had been decorated most beautifully, and he paraded down the Qaṣaba up to the Citadel on pieces of silk satin’.⁵³⁴ In Shawwāl 662/1264, Baybars parades across Cairo with his son, Baraka Khān, who he has just declared Sultan: ‘and he paraded through al-Qāhira as described above ... from Bāb al-Naṣr to the Citadel, and al-Qāhira had been decorated’.⁵³⁵

In Sha‘bān 678/1280 there was Qalāūn's coronation parade. ‘And on Saturday 3rd Sha‘bān the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāūn rode with the insignia of the sultanate and his pageantry of mamluks, and he paraded across al-Qāhira, which had been decorated, and it was a famous day because that was his first ceremonial ride’.⁵³⁶ In 679/1280, when Qalāūn prepares to leave Cairo to fight the Tartars in Syria, he declares his son al-Ṣālīḥ Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī sultan in his absence, and rides in state with him with the insignia of the sultanate, ‘and he paraded with him through the main street of al-Qāhira from Bāb al-Naṣr until they returned to the Citadel’.⁵³⁷

⁵³² Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I/2.443-4. Rabbat claims that ‘the normal route for the royal processions on the occasion of the accession of a new sultan’ was from the Citadel to Bāb al-Naṣr via the desert or mountain road along the outside of the Ayyubid wall, then back in through Bāb al-Naṣr to Bāb Zuwayla, then down to Stable Gate of Citadel ‘via the Darb al-Aḥmar and the horse market’. Rabbat, 'The Citadel of Cairo, 1176-1341', 67.

⁵³³ Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat* II.108:10-13.

⁵³⁴ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I/2.492:13-493:1.

⁵³⁵ Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat* II.108:14-15

⁵³⁶ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I/3.664:9-10.

⁵³⁷ ‘wa shaqqahu bihi shāri’ al-Qāhira min Bāb al-Naṣr ilā an ‘āda ilā qal‘at al-jabal’: Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat* II.92:32.

In Šafar 696/1297, Sultan Lājīn parades through Cairo twice as the new Sultan. On Friday 9 Šafar he rides to the Citadel, then to the hippodrome (al-mīdān al-sultānī) with the insignia of the sultanate; then on Thursday 15 Šafar he ‘paraded through al-Qāhira from Bāb al-Našr to Bāb Zuwayla wearing the caliphal robe ... until they returned to the Citadel, and the Caliph was by his side’.⁵³⁸

Maqrīzī says the last sultan to ride across the city in the insignia of the sultanate and the caliphal robe was al-Nāšir Muḥammad, re-entering the city as Sultan after the killing of Lājīn in Syria in Jumādā I 698/1299.⁵³⁹ This does not seem to be the case, however. In Shawwāl 702/1303 Maqrīzī describes an especially splendid victory parade by al-Nāšir. The amirs have built decorated stands for the parade, and al-Nāšir visits them en route. He then goes into the Qalāūn complex, *ilā bāb al-māristān*, and recites Qur’ān at his father's tomb. Then he mounts again; ‘then he rode to Bāb Zuwayla, and he waited until he had made the amir Badr al-Dīn Bektāsh, amir silāḥ, to mount behind him ... and they processed on pieces of silk cloth until they were inside the Citadel’.⁵⁴⁰

In none of these descriptions is the route taken once out of Bāb Zuwayla specified. In two cases the wording could be taken to imply that the route was down the southern main street. What do we make of this? Especially in this early period, 567/1172 to 702/1303, the Darb al-Aḥmar barely existed except as a through route; the southern main street was much more fully developed, with amirial buildings along it. It would not have made sense to process along a half-baked, isolated, rural thoroughfare past cemetery land; whereas to process south and then turn left along the Šalība and approach the Citadel through the Rumayla would be a much grander approach.

Not until the reigns of Qāyṭbāy and al-Ghūrī have I found mention of the Darb al-Aḥmar. On 19 Dhū'l-Qa‘da 873/1469, in his first official procession, Sultan Qāyṭbāy processes across town from Bāb al-Našr. ‘The order had been given to decorate the city, and

⁵³⁸ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I.823: 1-2, 3-5.

⁵³⁹ Maqrīzī, *Khitat* I.408.

⁵⁴⁰ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I/3.940:9-10.

this was done magnificently.’ The procession entered through Bāb al-Naṣr, the Sultan preceded by his vast escort of horses and mamluks on foot, some of his horses dressed entirely in gold; the royal guitarists, poets and flautists came out to meet them. They processed through the city and out through Bāb Zuwayla. Throughout the city, there were singers lined up on the main streets. Then ‘the Sultan’s horse trampled on the finest silks, spread out in front of him from the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha‘bān on the Tabbāna as far as the Citadel. In his path were thrown pieces of gold and silver.’⁵⁴¹

And in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 920/1515, another procession mentions the route down the street. This was the occasion of al-Ghūrī's one and only ceremonial procession through Cairo, an extremely grand affair on his return from a visit to Alexandria. Ibn Iyās describes the parade (paraphrased by Petry):

[the sultan's] escort battalion ... contained 180 horses, 80 of which were riderless. Sixty of these wore chain mail mantles padded with multi-colored velvet and embossed with gold and silver. Twenty, draped in yellow silk buckled with jeweled clasps, bore the royal saddles and bridles. The drums were set in silver cases decorated with crystal. Some 50 horses, also clad in yellow silk, carried the percussionists and trumpeters. Preceding the escort battalion filed 16 lines of camels divided into two units, one with gold and silver trappings, the other with velvet capes. Even the sultan's pet elephants, presented as gifts by visiting ambassadors, were called into service, bearing silk-wrapped howdahs containing the sacred relics taken along to shed baraka on the excursion. Al-Ghawrī followed this host mounted on his charger, wearing his purple cloak and horned turban. ... The atābak ... rode on the sultan's left, holding the parasol and bird aloft over his head when the battalion reached the Bāb al-Naṣr. To his right rode the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, wearing the black Baghdādī turban of his office and a white robe lined with green wool ... the dawādār Tūmānbāy had ordered the city's merchants to decorate their shops along the parade route ... When the host reached the Rumayla, they were formally received by Tūmānbāy, who handed his emblems of authority back to al-Ghawrī and then hosted the assemblage to a banquet in the Hippodrome garden.⁵⁴²

More to the point:

and he and the amirs paraded through al-Qāhira ... in this procession, and they continued in this procession until they got to the Māridaynī mosque and the Sultan Hasan madrasa, and then they crossed the Rumayla ...⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā, III.34: 2 ff.

⁵⁴² Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā, IV.420-21; this quotation from paraphrase by Petry, *Twilight of majesty*, 193-5.

⁵⁴³ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā, IV.421:6-9.

So by the last quarter of the ninth century, 40 years before the fall of the Mamluks, the Darb al-Aḥmar street was being used as a major ceremonial route. The question, probably unanswerable, is whether this postdated the improvements to Bāb Zuwayla and to the foot of Bāb al-Wazīr street carried out by the sultans between 777 and, especially, 824.

Popular festivals

They may well have existed, but I have found no evidence of any major mawlid based on the street. The mawlid of Fātima Nabawiyya, whose mashhad is still in situ on the cul-de-sac branching south from Sikkat Jāmi‘ Ašlam at O4/5, probably was very considerable, though there is no obvious reason why it should have involved sections of the street itself, as opposed to large numbers of the people of the area. Massignon described this mawlid as the ‘fête patronale du Darb al-Aḥmar’.⁵⁴⁴ In the 1930s McPherson found the mawlid still in full swing, curiously marked by a lot of Sudanese music and dancing and a profusion of circumcision stalls; when he visited it in the war years it was sadly contracted.⁵⁴⁵ This does not tell us very much either way about the mawlid in the past. There were almost certainly mawlids in the Mamluk period which by the time of McPherson's observations had long vanished, or moved; the question remains one of guesswork.

One popular festival that is recorded in medieval Cairo is the celebrations connected with the hajj caravan: the maḥmal. As in the case of the royal parades, assumptions have been made about the route of the various maḥmal processions followed, but it turns out that they were just that, assumptions. The maḥmal festivities were an exclusively Mamluk phenomenon: they are first mentioned under Baybars in 675 and seem within 15 years to have become thoroughly established. Some years, some aspects of the carnival were suppressed, but generally they revived later, until from the time of al-Ghūrī the main Rajab procession was suppressed and replaced with a parade of the kiswa or covering for the Ka‘ba in Shawwāl, immediately before departure.⁵⁴⁶ The festivities seem to have been pretty secular in

⁵⁴⁴ Massignon, 'La cité des morts au Caire', 78.

⁵⁴⁵ McPherson, The moulids of Egypt, 191.

⁵⁴⁶ Jomier, Le maḥmal et la caravane Égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, 36-41.

meaning. Examining a maḥmal palanquin of Sultan al-Ghūrī, preserved in Topkapı palace in Istanbul, Jomier found that none of the texts on the maḥmal were Qur'ānic; they were either secular texts with titles of the Sultan, or other prayers begging to be permitted to accomplish the pilgrimage and look upon the Ka'ba. Jomier concludes that the sultan's maḥmal was not a directly religious symbol, but a projection of the sultan's might. 'Une fois de plus le Maḥmal apparaît, non pas comme un emblème directement religieux mais comme la symbole de la personne du sultan, en liaison avec le pèlerinage aux Lieux Saints du Hejaz.'⁵⁴⁷

Once the maḥmal was well established, there were three sets of festivities. The first and principal one was the traverse of Cairo and Fustāt by the maḥmal three months before the ḥajj caravan's departure for the Ḥijāz, in Rajab. This circuit was supposedly to remind people of the approach of the time for pilgrimage and to urge them to join in. It was this festival that sometimes involved the Mamluk lancers' games in the Rumayla or in the Hippodrome, and, later, the famous 'maḥmal devils' ('afārīt al-maḥmal, mentioned from 857).⁵⁴⁸ From the early fifteenth century, town criers would announce the maḥmal procession three days ahead to give shops time to decorate.⁵⁴⁹ The second festival was connected with the caravan's departure for Arabia in Shawwāl. The third and last procession was made by the maḥmal on its return from the pilgrimage, in the following Muḥarram.

The outlines, but not the detailed routes, of the various maḥmal parades are known. The main Rajab procession started at the mosque of al-Ḥākīm, and the maḥmal processed down to the Rumayla. From there it proceeded to Fustāt; from Fustāt it returned to al-Ḥākīm, where the maḥmal camel remained, waiting for his hard work in Shawwāl. al-Qalqashandī says that the Shawwāl procession featured some of the ceremonial of the Rajab procession, but followed a simpler itinerary, from al-Ḥākīm to the Citadel to Bāb al-Naṣr. For the return

⁵⁴⁷ Jomier, 'Le maḥmal du Sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī,' 188.

⁵⁴⁸ Jomier, Le maḥmal et la caravane Égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, 29.

⁵⁴⁹ Jomier's comment on the Rajab maḥmal procession is that the parade was 'half military parade, half carnival', and pretty much secular. Jomier, Le maḥmal et la caravane Égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, 37, 38.

procession in Muḥarram, it is clear that there was a parade, but we do not know its route.⁵⁵⁰

It has been claimed that on leaving Cairo for the ḥajj - so presumably on the last leg of the Shawwāl circuit - the maḥmal paraded north from the Rumayla, up the Darb al-Aḥmar, via the Māridānī mosque to Bāb Zuwayla and thence to Bāb al-Naṣr.⁵⁵¹ This claim is not implausible, but it is not supported by the authorities cited. One is a nineteenth-century writer, Rifʿat Pasha, discussing the festival at the end of the nineteenth century;⁵⁵² the other is an exceptional passage in Ibn Iyās, describing a curious episode one year on the return of the maḥmal. It is Muḥarram 904/1498, and the caravan has returned from the pilgrimage.

When the maḥmal entered al-Qāhira accompanied by the pilgrims it paraded through the city. When it arrived at the Jāmiʿ al-Māridānī they made the maḥmal camel kneel down and were about to unload the cloth that he was carrying. Then suddenly a messenger came from the Sultan [al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāytbāy], who was at the Qubbat Yashbak in Matariyya, asking for the maḥmal. So they turned around and paraded through al-Qāhira a second time until the Sultan had seen it, and he was at the Qubba. Then they returned with the maḥmal and paraded through al-Qāhira with it a third time [and that was quite exceptional].⁵⁵³

What are we to make of this story at this date and in the absence of any others? As the main Rajab procession involved circuits of both al-Qāhira and Fustāt, it is certainly possible that on the way down the caravan processed from Bāb Zuwayla down the Darb al-Aḥmar to the Rumayla and then, on the way back from Fustāt, up the main street to Bāb Zuwayla. Even one leg of the shorter Shawwāl procession could have gone up the Darb al-Aḥmar. And maḥmal parades are less likely to have followed on from Fatimid processional practice, as they were a new and indigenous invention, with their own dynamic.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ Jomier, Le maḥmal et la caravane Égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, 37, 41, 42.

⁵⁵¹ Massignon, 'La cité des morts au Caire', 69-70. Massignon cites Jomier, Le maḥmal et la caravane Égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, 42, 65-6, but these passages do not support his claim.

⁵⁵² Jomier, Le maḥmal et la caravane Égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, 65-6.

⁵⁵³ Ibn Iyās, Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr, 1894 edn, II.346:3-7.

⁵⁵⁴ The route of the Fatimid caliphal processions from al-Qāhira to Fustāt is never stated explicitly: the description that most strongly suggests a route is one by Ibn al-Fuwayr describing the Caliph processing to the mosque of Amr in Fustāt via Ibn Fūlūn, and continuing down the main street. This suggests that the route was straight on down the main street past Ibn Fūlūn, then west to connect up to Fustāt. Sanders, 'The court ceremonial of the

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Given the slow and in some ways incomplete development of the street we are calling the Darb al-Aḥmar, and given that all three mentions of the street being used ceremonially or for popular festivals are so late - dating from 873 (Qāyṭbāy), 904 (maḥmal) and 920 (al-Ghūrī) - it seems unlikely to me that these uses of the street predated the Ashrafiyya or the great mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, particularly the latter, which so drastically changed the character of the Bāb Zuwayla area. Of royal and maḥmal parades, the maḥmal is more likely to have traversed the Darb al-Aḥmar street because pomp and grandeur were not crucially important to it as they were to the parades of the Sultan. The maḥmal also did a complete circuit through the town and back.

The doubts about this street's use for official purposes before a late date are matched by other questions. That there are no first-order royal foundations on the interior stretches of the street, that no suqs are reported and, above all, that no single toponym is used for the street - it is al-Darb al-Aḥmar, then al-Tabbāna, then Bāb al-Wazīr street - all tend to suggest that this street was not a first-order public space under the Mamluks. It was a direct route from al-Qāhira to the Citadel, but it remained somewhat underdeveloped right through until the Ottoman conquest.

(Works Cited in *Works_cited.pdf*)