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Keppel A. C. Creswell

The origin of the Cruciform plan of Cairene Madrasas [avec 12 planches].

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THE ORIGIN OF THE CRUCIFORM PLAN OF CAIRENE MADRASAS

BY

K. A. C. CRESWELL, M. R. A. S., Hon. A. R. I. B. A.

Although of the buildings of Saladin in Egypt nothing but military works now remain, this celebrated Sultan exhibited great architectural activity in quite another direction, — the construction of Madrasas, or Theological Colleges — an institution brought by him from Syria [1].

In order to understand the architectural form taken by the madrasa in Egypt, we must first study its origin as an institution, a matter which has already been brilliantly sketched by van Berchem [2].

Learning in mediæval Islam was divided into two categories : « Sciences of the Ancients » *'ulûm al-awâ'il,* and Musulman Sciences. The former comprised sciences, of foreign and pre-Islamic origin, inherited from antiquity [3] such as mathematics, astronomy, geodesy, physics, medicine, grammar, philosophy, etc., and the place where these sciences were taught was called Dâr al-'Ilm. The latter comprised the various branches of theology, such as the study and exegesis of the Qurân, ritual and canon law, and the Traditions. These sciences formed a vast body of completed doctrines, a huge collection of religious, moral, judicial and social precepts, depending on the *sunna,* or orthodox custom in religious matters.

[1] It is true that a madrasa was founded in Alexandria for the Shâfeyite rite, by the Fâṭimide Khalif Ẓâfir, in 546 H. (1151-1152), but this was an isolated instance. Ibn Khallikân, de Slane's transl., I, p. 87, quoted in the *C. I. A.*, I, p. 263.

[2] In the *C. I. A.*, I, p. 254 *ff.*

[3] Many Greek authors were translated into Arabic under al-Manṣûr (A. D. 754-775), the founder of Baghdâd, and his grandson Ma'mûn. See Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History,* p. 135, and Muir, *Caliphate,* pp. 508-509.

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It was apparently at Nishapûr that schools were first given the name of madrasa. The first four appeared there under the reign of Maḥmûd of Ghazna, viz : the Baihaqîyah, the Saʿîdîya, the madrasa of Abû Saʿd al-Astrabâdi and the madrasa of Abû Isḥâq al-Isfarâ'inî († 418 = 1027).

The movement remained local for fifty years and then nearly expired under the persecution of the Wazîrs of Ṭoghrul Beg, until the coming of the famous Niẓâm ul-Mulk, Wazîr of three Seljûq Sultans in succession — Ṭoghrul Beg (A. D. 1038-1063) Alp Arslân (A. D. 1063-1072) and Malik Shâh (1072-1092)[1]. He was the first to realize the use which could be made of the madrasa for Sunnite propaganda against Shîa doctrines, and, under him, it was raised from the status of a private school — the first four already named had had no official investiture — to that of a state institution with political tendencies, a college for the training of a select body of officials for all branches of the Seljûq administration.

He founded many madrasas : the first at Nishapûr[2] about the middle of the xith century, followed by others at Baghdâd, Ṭûs, Baṣra, Isfahân, Herat and Balkh; and, his successors following his example, the institution spread over the whole Seljûq Empire. What the Niẓâm did for Persia and Lower Mesopotamia, the great Seljûq feudatories, the Atâbeks of Mosûl and Damascus, Nûr ad-Dîn and Saladin, did for Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. These Princes, who were of Kurdish or Mongol origin, were ardent Sunnites, and, under them, we see the madrasa advancing towards the west and appearing at Mosûl, Arbela, Sinjar, Nisibin and Edessa.

In Syria they found themselves opposed to the two principal enemies of Orthodox Islam, the Crusaders and the Shiïte Fâṭimides. During the long struggle which ensued, the Khalif himself and the Seljûq Sultan being incapable of effective action, the religious prestige of the Khalif of Baghdâd passed little by little to the Atâbeks of Syria, henceforth the sole Defenders of the Faith. This evolution, which began with Zenki and Nûr ad-Dîn, was continued

[1] L. Massignon, *Les Medresehs de Bagdâd,* in the *Bulletin de l'Institut franç. d'archéologie orientale,* t. VII, pp. 78-79.

[2] This madrasa is mentioned by Naṣîrî Khusrau. He says that it was erected under the orders of the Seljûq Sultan Ṭoghrul Beg, and that the works were in progress when he passed through Nishapûr — 22nd April 1046. See Schefer's *Nassiri Khosrau,* p. 6.

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by Saladin, and culminated a century later under Bibars al-Bunduqdâry, as a result of the invasion of the Mongols under Hulagu Khân, the fall of Baghdâd in 656 H. (1258), and the translation of the Khalifate to Cairo.

Nûr ad-Dîn built madrasas at Edessa (Urfa), Moṣûl, Raqqa, Manbij, Aleppo[1], Ḥamâ, Ḥomṣ, Damascus, Baalbek, and all the towns of his kingdom. Saladin carried on his work in Syria, especially at Damascus, and, after the overthrow of the Fâṭimides, he carried the institution into Egypt, in order to combat the Shîa heresy and ensure the triumph of the Sunnite reaction.

The body of religious, dogmatic, ceremonial, judicial, social and moral precepts, which guide a Muhammadan from his cradle to his tomb, have taken form under four principal rites, founded by the Imâms Mâlik, Abû Ḥanîfah, Shâfʿey, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. The reaction of the XI^th^ century took place, according to van Berchem, chiefly in the name of Imâm Shâfʿey, merely because his rite was the one most prevalent at that time in the region where it arose. However, there was no hostility between the various sects[2], the differences between them being so slight. The Mongol rulers, whether they were Shâfeyite or Hanafite, built madrasas for the other rites for those of their subjects who followed them. We shall see that sometimes they even installed the two rites together in one building, hence the double madrasa.

Having sketched the evolution of the madrasa as an institution, van Berchem then sums up the architectural type of the Cairene madrasa as follows : « Amidst a crowd of secondary modifications, it offers a uniform plan, a square central court, flanked by four halls or ìwâns, forming the branches of a cross. This figure is inscribed in a square, the angles of which are occupied by the dependencies : halls, libraries, cells for the professors, students and servants, etc., etc. »

He then goes on to say : « Since the madrasa has entered Egypt by way of

[1] Its introduction had been attempted here before but without success, by Suleymân ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbâr, the Lieutenant of Ilghâzî ibn Urtûq, who commenced the first madrasa at Aleppo c. 514 (1120-1121), but this aroused so much hostility amongst the Shîa population predominating at that time, that they are said to have destroyed by night what he built by day. See Sobernheim's article « Ḥalab » in the *Encyc. of Islam*, II, p. 232.

[2] The extraordinary religious persecution of 1025 A. D. in the reign of the Khalif Ẓâhir, when all the preachers of the Maliky rite were banished from Egypt, is apparently the only instance to the contrary. See Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 136.

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Syria, it is there that we must seek the origin of the cruciform plan. In Syria, one still finds several madrasas earlier than those of Cairo, but they are ruined or given up to other purposes. Several have been transformed into houses, but it is very difficult to penetrate into them because family life in Syria is even more secluded than in Egypt. Those which I have been able to visit present a plan analagous to Cairene madrasas, others have lost all trace of their original disposition. While reserving for later research the question of the plan of the first Syrian madrasas, I think one can fix the following points :

« (1) The installation of the quadruple madrasa in a square plan, symmetrical, and divisible into four equal parts, cannot be wholly fortuitous;

« (2) This plan is distinguished, by its origins and its rôle in Arabic architecture, from the plan of the mosque properly speaking. The latter comprises a great square court, surrounded by porticos of moderate height, on columns or piers, with a flat roof;

« (3) The origin of the plan of madrasas must be sought in Syria, perhaps beyond, in Mesopotamia or in Chaldæa, that is to say in the Seljûq Empire. *A priori,* it must be composed also of Syrian and Persian elements, but different from those which have formed the plan of mosques, since the madrasa had an origin entirely distinct [1]. »

The suggestion that the cruciform plan — all writers appear to take it for granted that all Cairene madrasas existing, or no longer existing, were cruciform — came from Syria, had already been put forward by Lane-Poole in 1886 [2].

In the third fascicule of the *C. I. A.* [3], which was published in 1900, van Berchem again takes up the question of the cruciform madrasa, expressing himself without the reserve adopted by him in the first fascicule.

Herz Pasha accepted this theory in 1895 in the Introduction to his *Catalogue sommaire des monuments exposés dans le Musée national de l'Art arabe.* On page XXXVII

[1] *C. I. A.*, I, pp. 264-265. — [2] *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, p. 53. — [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

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he assumes that all Cairene madrasas were cruciform, and on page LIII he expressly states that it was the Ayyubides who had created the cruciform system. He refers one to the above, without giving further details, in his *Mosquée du sultan Hassan* (p. 2), published in 1899. In 1903 Marçais speaks of «l'influence toute syrienne de la madrasa et de son plan cruciforme» [1]. H. Saladin, writing in 1907 says that as Saladin restored orthodoxy and «comme il fit place dans les madrasas aux quatre rites de l'Islam orthodoxe (we shall see later that he did nothing of the sort), il apporta un plan nouveau, celui de la mosquée collégiale cruciforme», and he goes on to express his belief in the Syrian origin of this plan [2]. In 1910, in his article «Architecture» in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (I, p. 423), van Berchem again affirmed the Syrian origin of the cruciform plan.

Although this theory has met with unchallenged acceptance for thirty five years, and may therefore be regarded as the accepted view on the subject, I now venture to contest it. I do this on the strength of new material which I was able to collect in Syria in the autumn of 1919.

In the first place, no less than eight madrasas exist in Syria, built before 1270, and sufficiently well preserved to render easy the study of their plan, and none of these have, or could have had, four great liwâns around their ṣaḥn. I give them in the order of their date as follows, a chronological note being appended in each case.

1. MADRASA KHÂN AT-TÛTÛN, AT ALEPPO. — Built, according to an inscription of five lines in the entrance-bay over the doorway, by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad, in 564 H. (1168-1169) [3];

2. MADRASAT AL-MAʿRÛF, AT ALEPPO. — Dated by the following unpublished inscription [4] under the stalactites of the entrance bay :

وقف هذ... المدرسة على اصحاب الامام الاعظم ۞ سراج المنير ابى حنيفة رضى الله عنه فى ۞

[1] *Les Monum. arabes de Tlemcen*, p. 40, n. 1.

[2] *Manuel d'Art musulman*, I, *L'Architecture*, p. 109.

[3] BISCHOFF, *Tuḥaf al-anbâ' fi ta'rîkh Ḥalab* (Beyrut 1880), p. 140. This inscription, and that on the madrasat as-Sulṭânîya, may be found translated into French in the Appendix to Blochet's translation of Kamâl ad-Dîn's *Ta'rîkh Ḥalab*, in the *Revue de l'Orient latin*, t. VI, pp. 40 and 45-46. The above date, however, is misprinted as 524.

[4] This inscription, which is not in Bischoff's

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ايام الملك الظاهر غازى بن يوسف عز نصره ۞ العبد الفقير الى رحمة ربه شاد بخت عتق الملك ۞ العادل محمود بن زنكى فى سنة تسعة وثمن... وخمسمايه

Has endowed this madrasa for the friends of the Light-giving Lamp of the great Imâm Abû Ḥanîfa, may God have mercy on him, in the days of al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzi, son of Yûsuf, may his victory be exalted, the slave in need of the mercy of his Lord, Shâd Bakht, the Freedman of al-Malik al-ʿÂdil Maḥmûd ibn Zenki, in the year nine and eighty and five hundred.

It follows that its real name is Madrasat al-Bakhtîya, and that it was built for the Hanafites by Gamâl ad-Dîn Shâd Bakht al-Hindi al-Atâbaki, who was Governor of Aleppo under Nûr ad-Dîn in 589 H. (1193)[1].

3. The Shâfeyite Madrasa, at Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmân. — Built, according to an inscription in the entrance-bay over the doorway, for the Shâfeyites in 595 (1199)[2], under the reign of Malik Manṣûr Muḥammad I, of Ḥamâ.

4. The Madrasat al-ʿÂdelîya, at Damascus, was commenced by Nûr ad-Dîn, for the Shâfeyites[3], but was left unfinished at his death. It remained in this state until Sayf ad-Dîn Abû Bakr Muḥammad, the brother of Saladin, (the «Noble Safadin» of Crusading chronicles) recommenced the works which still remained unfinished at his death in 615 (1218). His son al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam finished it in 619 (1222-1223)[4].

5. The Madrasat aẓ-Ẓâhirîya, at Aleppo (Firdaus). — Built, according to the *Description of Aleppo*, MS. Ar. 1683 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in 616[5] (1219-1220).

6. The Madrasat as-Sulṭânîya, at Aleppo. — Dated by the following inscription, which runs across the entrance bay : «The order to build this

work, was copied and given to me by Sheykh Kamal Effendi ar-Ruzzi, who has written a history of Aleppo.

[1] Kamâl ad-Dîn, Blochet's transl., *loc. cit.*, t. III, p. 558.

[2] Van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, t. I, pp. 202-203.

[3] Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (trad. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, I, p. 218) says that it was the largest Shâfeyite madrasa in Damascus.

[4] ʿAbd al-Bâsiṭ al-ʿIlmawy, Sauvaire's transl., *Journal asiatique*, 9e série, t. III, pp. 423-424 and note 251.

[5] Translated by Blochet, as an Appendix to his translation of Kamâl ad-Dîn, *loc. cit.*, t. VI, pp. 28-29.

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monument was given under the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAzîz Ghayâth ad-Dunya wa'd Dîn Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghâzi, son of the Sultan al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dunya wa'd Dîn, he who delivered Jerusalem, the sacred house of God, from the hands of the Infidels. This monastery (*tekîya*) and this mausoleum have been constructed by the Regent of his Empire and his tutor, the poor slave who asks mercy of God Almighty, Shihâb ad-Dîn Abû Saʿîd Ṭoghrul ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Mâliky aẓ-Ẓâhiry, may God forgive his sins. He has made it a college for the two rites, for the teaching of the theology of the Shâfeyites and Hanafites, for scholars who devote their time to science, who model their conduct on the best examples, for those who have been chosen of the two sects to profess in this college, which contains a mosque and an edifice in which is buried the Sultan Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir, may God sanctify his soul, may He give him the reward of the reading [of the books of religious] science, as well as the blessing of the Qurân and its recitation. God has given him the best recompense and he has gained His favour in deciding that the Professors, as well as the Imâm who makes the prayer in the mosque, and he who makes the Call to Prayer, may God pardon their sins, will be chosen from amongst the followers of the Shâfeyite doctrine. And that in the year 620 [1223-1224][1]." According to the MS. Description of Aleppo, translated by Blochet and already quoted, this madrasa was only finished by Shihâb ad-Dîn Ṭoghrul in 629 H.[2] (1231-1232).

7. Jâmiʿ and Madrasat al-Firdaus, at Aleppo (Firdaus). — The great band of inscription which runs across the entrance states that it was built by Ḍaifa Khâtûn, the widow of al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzi, whilst she was Regent for her son, but there is no date[3]. The actual date 633 H. (1235-1236) however, is given in a short inscription, hitherto unpublished, on the exterior, over a window on the east side of the building, which looks into the courtyard of a group of houses, built against the southern half of this façade.

8. The Madrasat ash-Sharafîya, at Aleppo. — Built by the Sheykh and Imâm Sharaf ad-Dîn Abû Ṭâleb ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân ibn Abû Ṣâliḥ ʿAbd ar-Raḥîm, known

[1] Bischoff, *Tuḥaf al-anbâ' fi ta'rîkh Ḥalab*, pp. 141-142, and *Revue de l'Orient latin*, t.VI, pp. 45-46.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, VI, p. 28.

[3] Van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, pp. 220-221.

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as Ibn al-ʿAjami [1]. His son taught there until he was killed by the Mongols, at the sack of Aleppo [1]. This event, which took place in 658 H. (1260), provides a *terminus ad quem* and I therefore place this madrasa c. 640-650 H.

This list of eight madrasas, nearly all of which are exactly dated, comprises all known to me in Syria or Palestine, dating from before A.D. 1270. Neither descriptions nor plans have been published of any of them, with the exception of a short account and an incomplete sketch plan of the Jâmiʿ and Madrasat al-Firdaus [2]. I cannot give here a full account of any of them, but I shall give plans [3] of seven and a brief description of all, with special reference to their internal arrangements.

1. Madrasa Khân at-Tûtûn, at Aleppo (Fig. 1). — This, the oldest madrasa in Syria, is also the most ruined. We enter by a fine monumental gateway (A) and walk down a passage between two modern houses, which have encroached on the ruined portions of the building, until we pass under a pointed arch (B) and find ourselves in the ṣaḥn (C). On the south side is the masjid or collegiate mosque (D), which presents a triple arched façade to the ṣaḥn (Plate I A). All three arches have been partly walled up and we enter by a small door left in the centre of the modern filling-in. The roof, which consists of a cross-vault in the centre, extended by tunnel vaults to right and left, cannot be the original one as it is lower than the summits of the arches of the façade. We shall see from the example of other Syrian madrasas that the original roof probably consisted of a central dome with a length of tunnel-vault to right and left. Returning to the ṣaḥn we observe on the west the remains of a row of cells (E) which clearly occupied the whole of this side. The north and east sides of the ṣaḥn have entirely disappeared. It follows, however, that there cannot, at the most, have been more than two great îwâns.

[1] MS., *Description of Aleppo*, already quoted, *loc. cit.*, VI, p. 28.

[2] Van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, pp. 218-221, fig. 130, and II, plate XLVI.

[3] These plans were all drawn out to scale and inked in before I left Aleppo, so their accuracy can be relied upon. In the case of Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmân I drew the plan to scale in pencil without a drawing board, and put in all the dimensions; on returning to Ḥamâ, I drew it out to scale on a drawing board and inked it in. In these plans I have omitted, for the sake of clearness, the very modern walls with which the arches of the façade of the sanctuary have in most cases been partly filled up.

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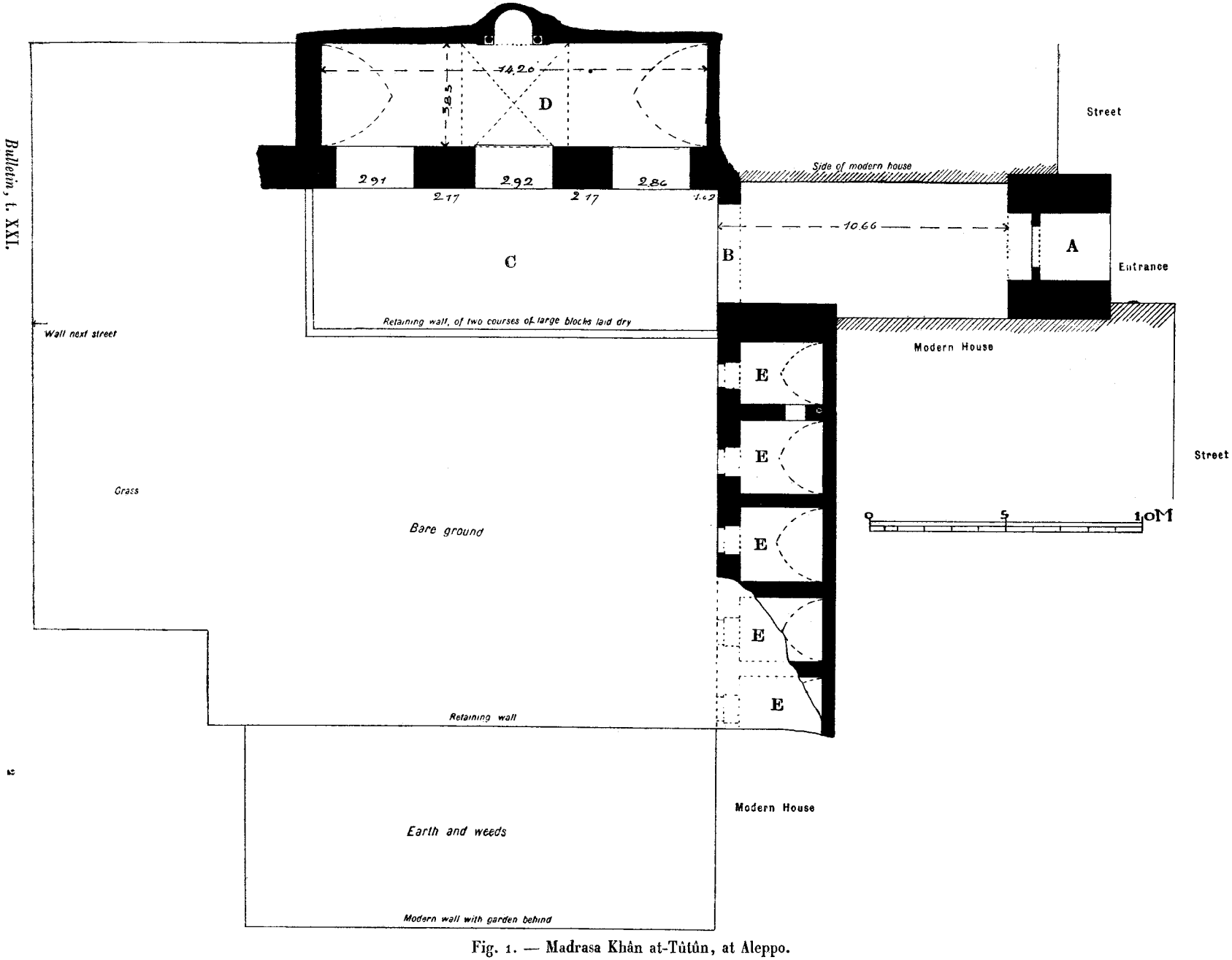


Fig. 1. — Madrasa Khân at-Tûtûn, at Aleppo.

Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

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2. Madrasat al-Emîr Shâd Bakht, at Aleppo (Fig. 2). — The entrance (A) opens directly from the dark vaulted bazaar, and leads down several steps into the north-west angle of the ṣaḥn (B), on the north side of which is a great

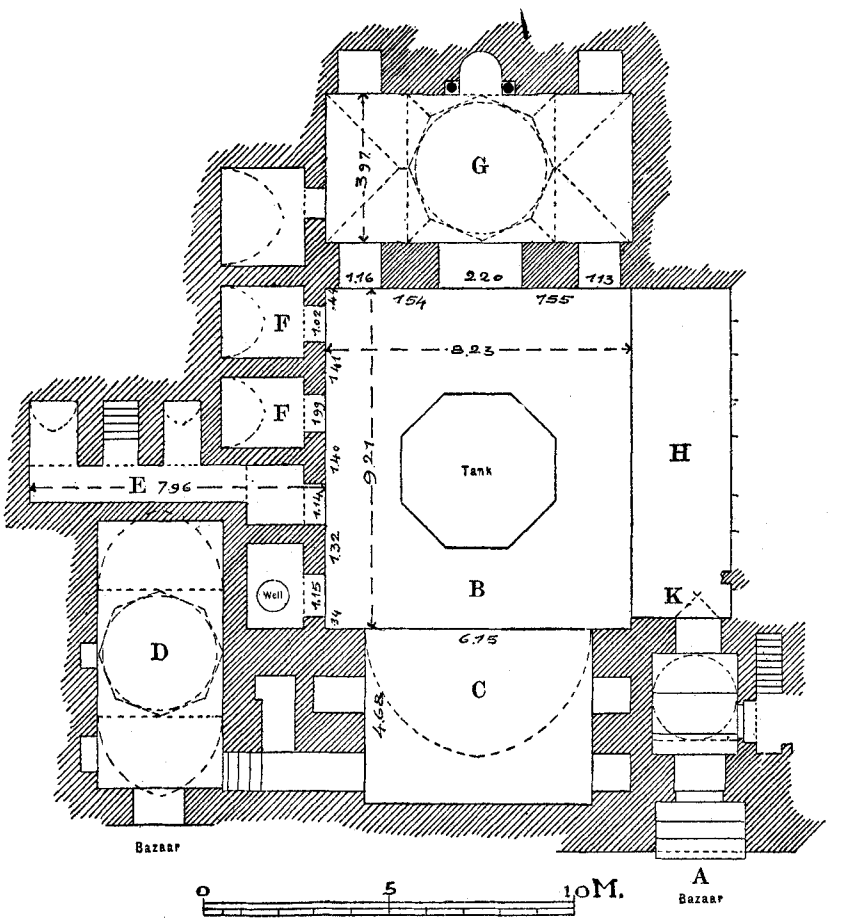


Fig. 2. — Madrasa of the Emîr Shâd Bakht, at Aleppo.
Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

vaulted lîwân (C) the only one, be it noted, this madrasa having been built, as the inscription says, for the Hanafites. On the east side of the latter is a passage which leads to a little shrine (D). On the east side of the ṣaḥn we observe a small room containing a well, a passage (E) leading to two little cells and the staircase to the roof, also two larger cells (F), opening directly into the ṣaḥn.

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On the south side is the masjid (G) with the usual triple-arched façade; it is roofed by a shallow dome resting on two short pieces of vaulting, and contains one of the finest marble miḥrâbs in Aleppo. On the west side is a modern façade (H) with four doorways giving access to four vaulted cells which are probably original. From a fragment of vaulting at K, and the springing of a small arch, I conclude that the row of cells just referred to originally opened on to a vaulted arcade, especially as this is a feature with which we shall frequently meet in later madrasas.

3. The Shâfeyite Madrasa at Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmân (Fig. 3). — The entrance (A) is in the east façade, and a passage (B) with a mausoleum (C) on the right leads down several steps into the ṣaḥn (D). On the south side is the masjid (E) with the usual triple-arched façade, the voussoirs of the arches being of extraordinary depth (Plate I B). It is roofed by a stone dome in the centre, resting on stalactite pendentives, with a tunnel vault to right and left. On the west side of the ṣaḥn can still be seen the lower part of what must once have been the opening of a great îwân (F); it is now filled up by the back wall of a modern house. This is the only îwân, the madrasa having been built for one rite only — the Shâfeyite. On the north side are a series of cells (G). Some have two entrances, but I believe that originally there was one cell to each doorway, and that the partition walls have been removed at a later date. The south-east angle (H) of this madrasa is quite modern, and forms a house with its own entrance as shown.

4. The ʿÂdelîya Madrasa, at Damascus. — This fine, solidly built madrasa is entered by a lofty portal in the east façade, which gives access to a short straight passage ending in a high arched bay opening on to the ṣaḥn (Plate II A), on the south side of which is the five-arched façade of the masjid (Plate II B). On the north side the springing of the arch of a great îwân can still be seen. The south-east angle of the building is occupied by the great domed mausoleum of al-ʿÂdil Seyf ad-Dîn Abû Bakr Muḥammad, the entrance of which opens on to the east side of the ṣaḥn between the entrance bay and the south-east corner. On the other side of the entrance are two small cells. The west façade of the ṣaḥn is entirely modern and I could not trace any old work behind it. Originally it was in all probability given up to two tiers of students'

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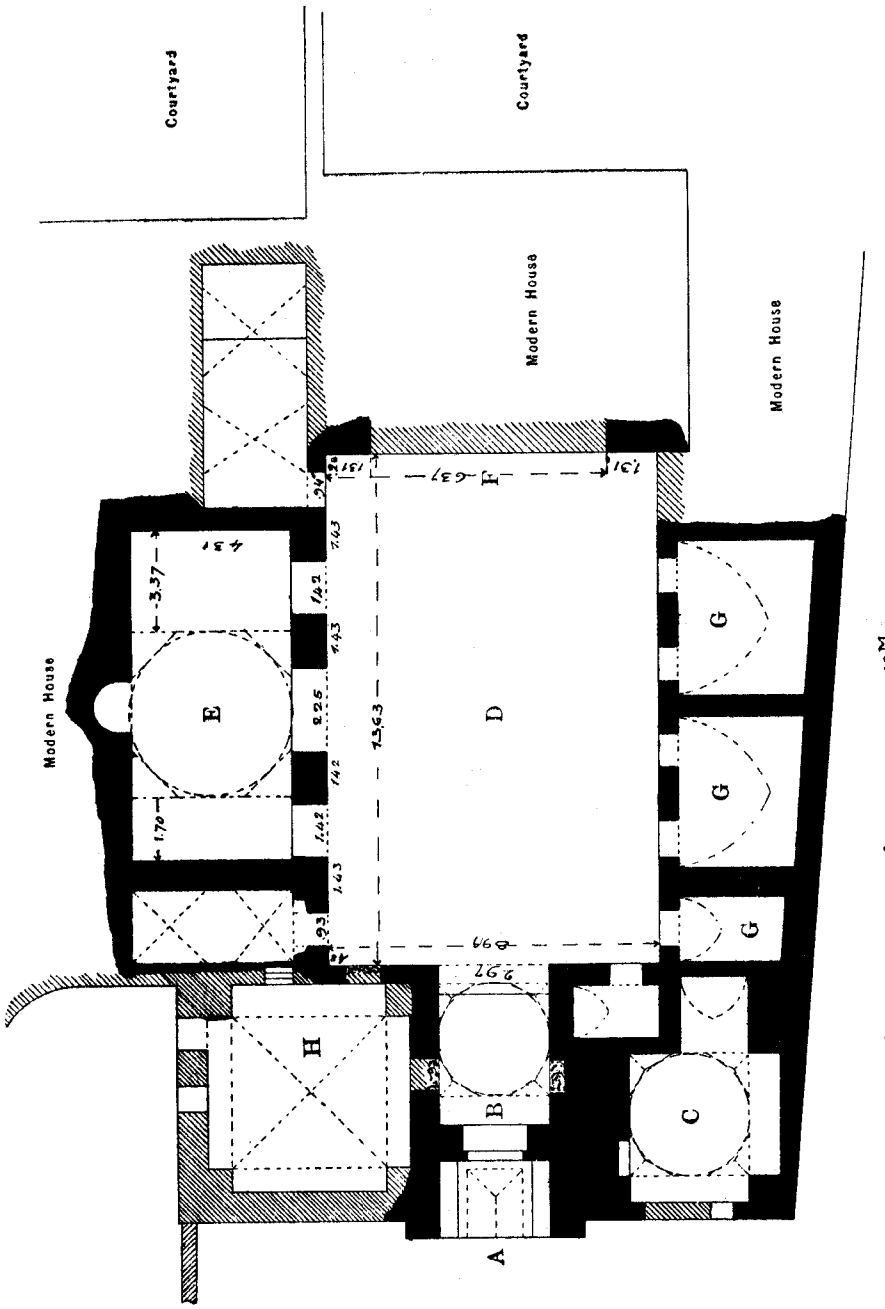


Fig. 3. — Shâfeyite Madrasa at Ma'arrat an-Nu'mân.
Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

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cells, but even if this assumption is erroneous there cannot have been more than two great îwâns [1].

5. The Madrasat aẓ-Ẓâhirîya, at Aleppo (Firdaus) (Fig. 4), is entered by a fine stalactite portal (A) in the centre of the north façade, opening almost directly into the ṣaḥn (B). On the west side is a row of cells (C) in two tiers, on the south side the masjid (D) with a triple-arched façade, roofed by three domes (Plate III A and B) and here for the first time preceded by a triple-arched portico (E). In the south-east angle of the building is a domed chamber (F), perhaps intended for a mausoleum, and in the south-west angle is a long hall (L) roofed by three domes. The centre of the east side is occupied by a great vaulted îwân (G), with a staircase and two tiers of cells to right and left (Plate IV A). There is a small îwân (H and K) to right and left of the entrance, and the remains of a triple-arched portico which runs right across the north side corresponding exactly with the opposite façade. The north-east and north-west angles of the building are badly ruined.

6. The Madrasat as-Sulṭânîya, at Aleppo (Fig. 5), is much ruined, the whole of the east and west sides having gone and part of the extremities of the north side also. However, the solidly built entrance (A) still stands in the centre of the north side, and to right and left of it are the remains of a row of cells (B), which appear to have lined this side of the ṣaḥn. On the south side of the latter is a fine masjid (C), with a triple-arched façade (Plate IV B). It is roofed by a dome in the centre with a length of tunnel vaulting to right and left (Plate V A). In the south-east angle, connected with the masjid by a door, is the mausoleum (D) of its builder Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzi, and there is an inscription over the window to this effect. It follows that this madrasa cannot have had more than two great îwâns, and as the inscription already given states that it was a madrasa for the two rites, Shâfey and Hanafy, I conclude

[1] When I visited this madrasa at the beginning of August 1919, the Shereefian Government had just commenced its restoration, which should have been a very simple matter. When I next saw it towards the end of November, two days before the British evacuation, it presented a deplorable appearance, fine masonry having been thickly plastered with cement and re-pointed, so that it recalled stage scenery instead of ashlar — an atrocious piece of vandalism and incompetence.

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that there were two great îwâns, one on the east and the other on the west side of the ṣaḥn.

7. The Jâmiᶜ and Madrasat al-Firdaus, at Aleppo (Fig. 6). — This great building, the largest madrasa that I have seen in Syria, presents a plan in some respects unique. The main entrance (A), across which runs the long undated inscription, is in the centre of the east façade. From it a long narrow vaulted passage leads, after one right-angled turn, into the north-east corner of the ṣaḥn (B), which is surrounded by a portico (C) on three sides (Plate V B); this device was no doubt developed from the two triple-arched porticoes of the Ẓâhirîya, built sixteen years earlier, which is only about three hundred yards away. The north side is without a portico, obviously owing to the presence of the great îwân (D and Plate VI B). On the south side is the masjid (E), with a triple-arched façade, and roofed with three domes, the central one of which stands on a drum (Plate VI A). The south-east and south-west angles are each occupied by a domed mausoleum (F and G), and on the east and west sides of the ṣaḥn is a long hall (H and K) roofed with three domes. These two long halls, whatever may have been their original purpose, are now mausoleums. Placed back to back against the great îwân (D) is another of equal size (L), and two small courts (M and N), each with a vaulted îwân, have been arranged to east and west of the latter, but separated from it by a broad tunnel-vaulted passage.

8. The Madrasat ash-Sharafîya, at Aleppo (Fig. 7), is in a somewhat fragmentary condition. There is a very fine stalactite entrance bay (A) in the west façade, at the back of which is a door opening into another bay (B), covered by a semi-dome facing in the opposite direction (Plate VII A) and forming the centre of the west façade of the ṣaḥn (C). To right and left are two arches springing from piers and resting on a central column (D and E). They are now walled up, but I conclude that they once formed a portico to students' cells. On the north side of the ṣaḥn are three arches (F) resting on piers (Plate VII B); everything behind them has disappeared, but I conclude, on the analogy of the Ẓâhirîya, that they also formed a portico to students' cells. On the south is the triple-arched masjid (G), with a very beautiful stalactite dome in the centre and a length of vaulting to right and left. The triple-arched façade is

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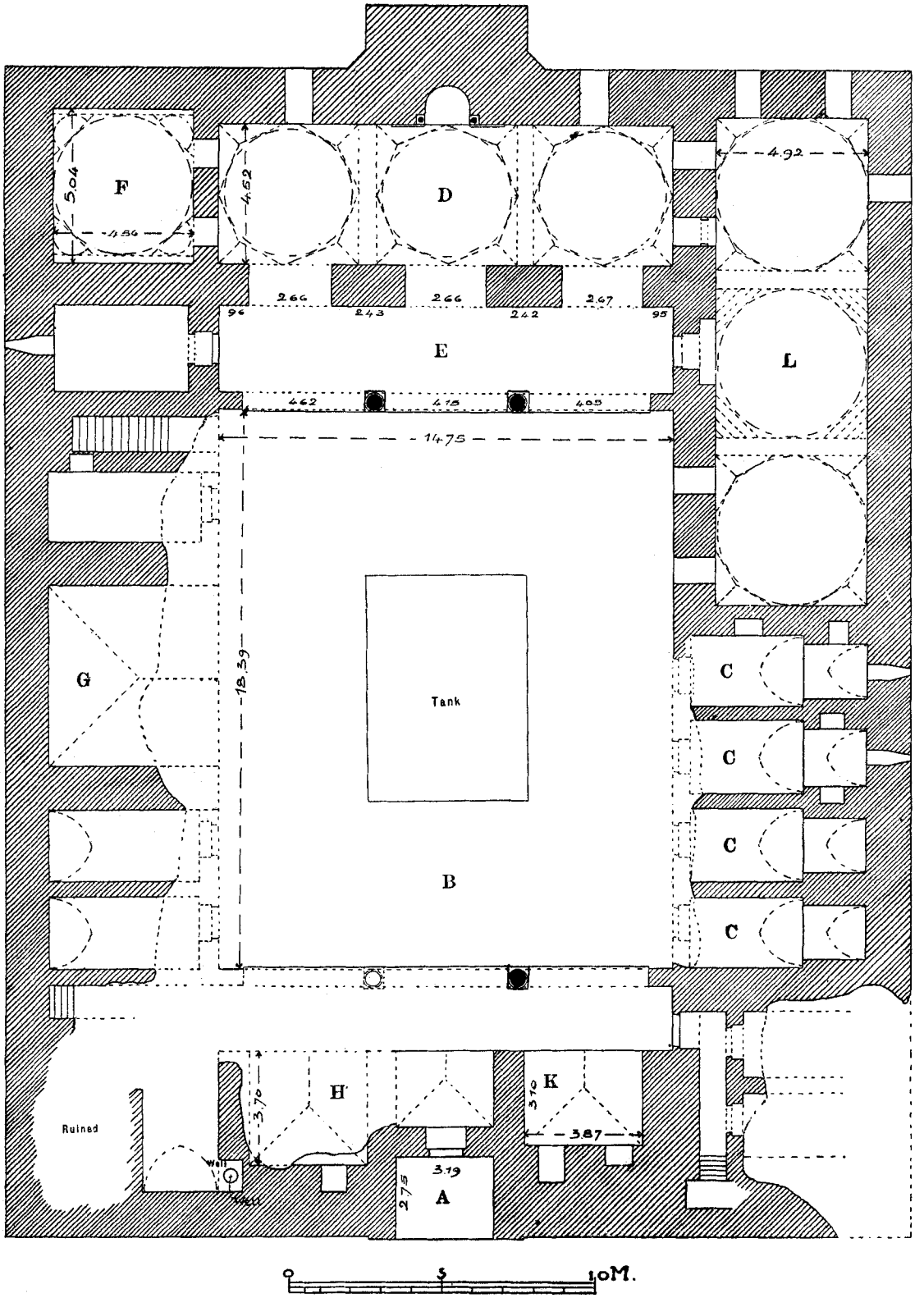


Fig. 4. — Madrasat az-Zâhiriya, at Aleppo (Firdaus).

Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

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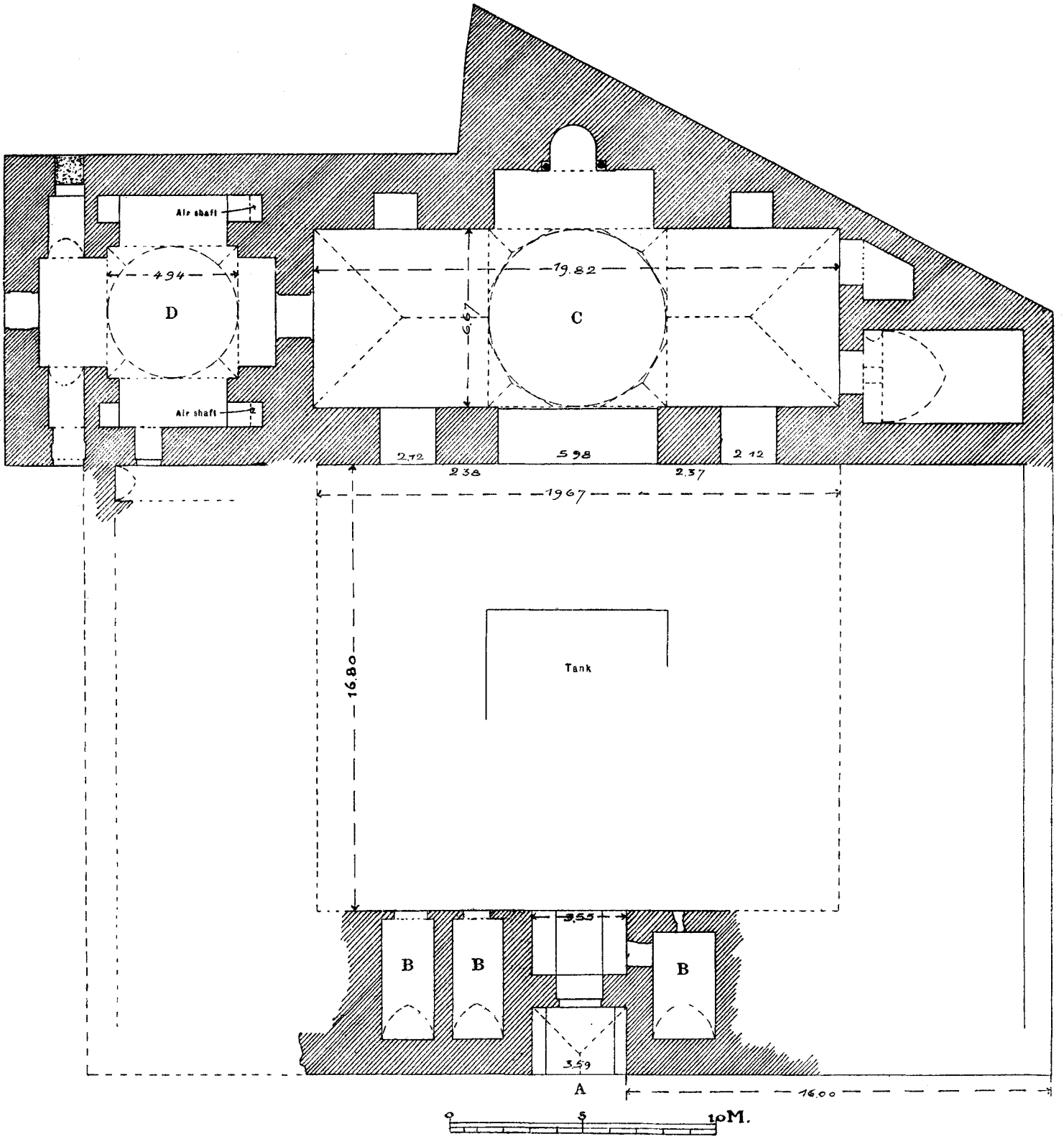


Fig. 5. — Madrasat as-Sulṭâniya, at Aleppo.

Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

3.

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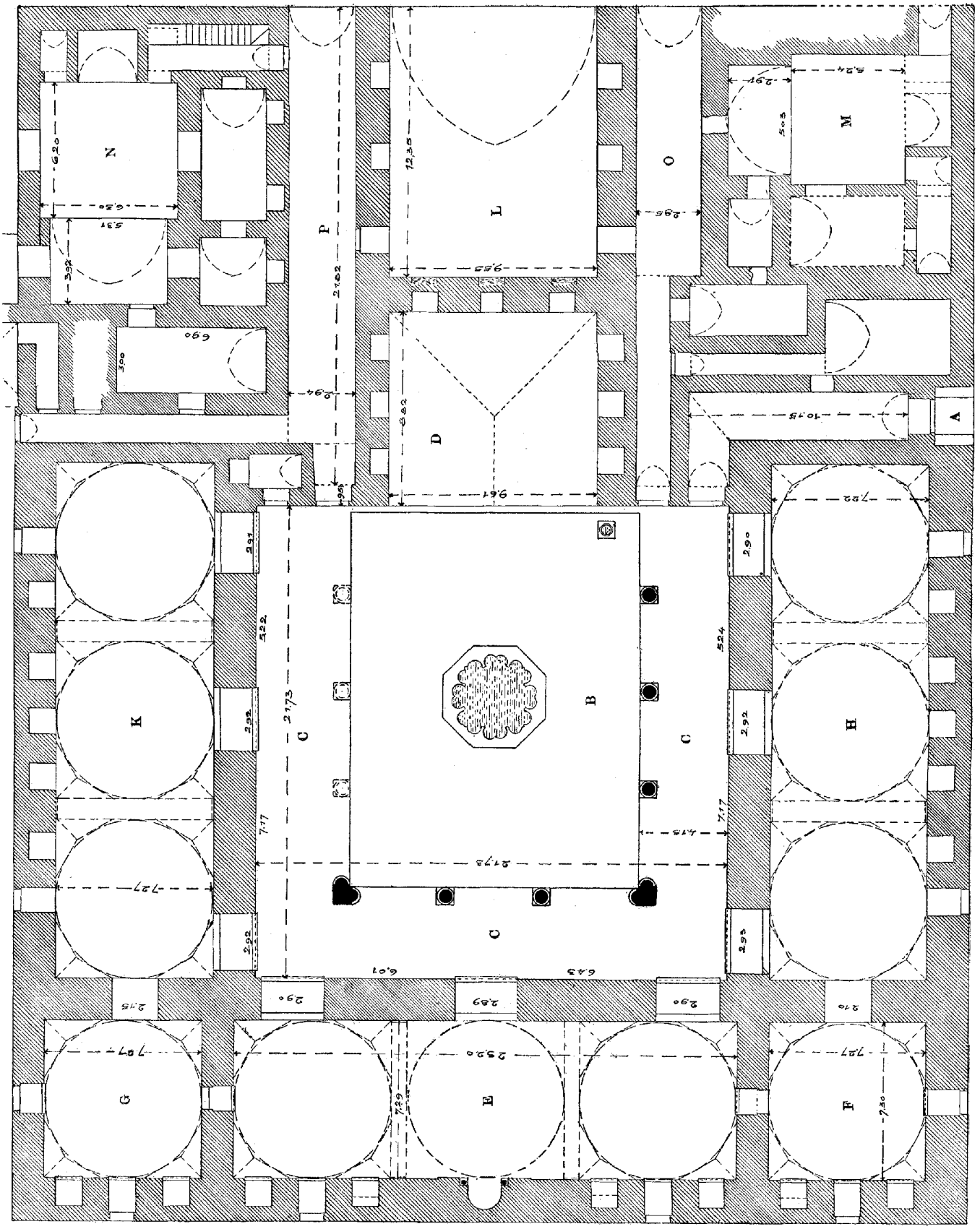


Fig. 6. — Jāmiʿ and Madrasat al-Firdaus, at Aleppo.
Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

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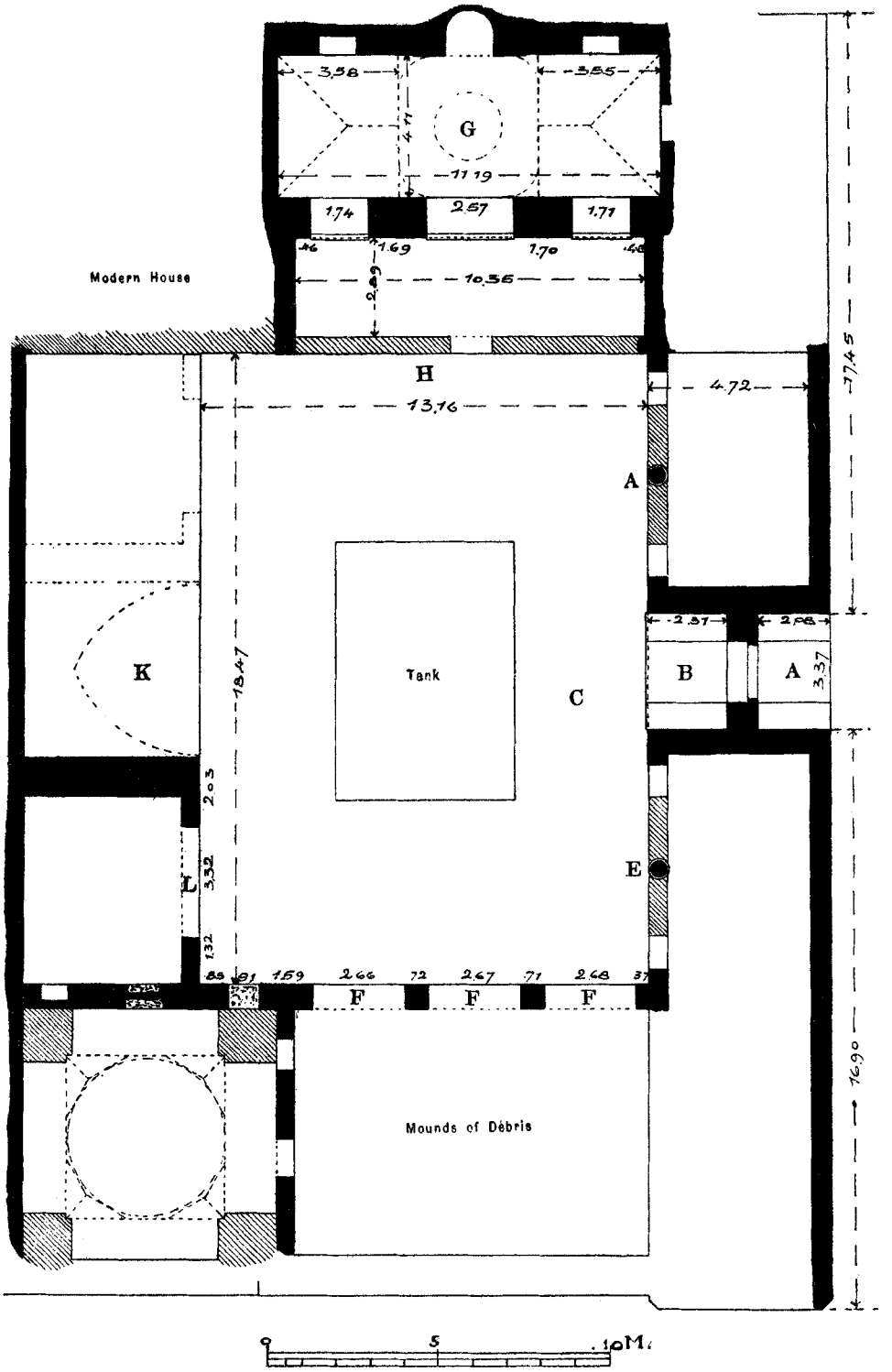


Fig. 7. — Madrasat ash-Sharafiya, at Aleppo.

Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

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entirely concealed by a modern façade (H) placed a short distance in front of it. No doubt this modern façade has taken the place of a triple-arched portico exactly corresponding with that on the north side of the ṣaḥn. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the centre of the middle arch of the latter is in an exact line with the centre of the triple-arched façade of the masjid, and with the centre of the miḥrâb. On the east side of the ṣaḥn can still be seen the pier of the arch of a great lîwân (K), buttressed by a smaller one (L) on the left (Plate VIII A), and once no doubt, on the right also. The rest of this façade has disappeared.

To the above may be added the madrasa next the Great Mosque, at Urfa, which is probably the oldest existing fragment of a madrasa in Islam, and the Kâmilîya madrasa at Aleppo (Firdaus). The former has a south lîwân only, but all is modern except the lower seven feet of the north wall, which is composed of very large blocks. In the centre of this is an inscription, dated 507 H. (1113-1114), which has been published by van Berchem [1]. This inscription appears to have been over a doorway, as the blocks on which the lowest line of the inscription has been cut are jointed as if they were part of a horizontal arch. Over the present entrance, which opens from the ṣaḥn of the great Mosque, is an inscription dated 1190 H. In the south lîwân is another dated 1293 H. The present area is very narrow from east to west, say thirty paces narrowing to twenty, whereas the length from north to south is fifty paces. It can never, for this reason, have had east or west lîwâns, as its area can never have been larger. The west side is limited by the Great Mosque (parts of which are much older than this madrasa), its south side, which is in a line with the rear façade of the mosque, is bounded by a street which must always have been there, as each bay of the Great Mosque has a window looking into it. On the east it is bounded by another street, and on the north by a wall with the inscription dated 507 H., past which runs a passage leading to the ṣaḥn of the mosque.

The Madrasat al-Kâmilîya, at Aleppo (Firdaus), is without an inscription of any sort, and I have not been able to identify it with any of those mentioned in the texts. Nevertheless, as it was probably built before 1300, I include it

[1] *Inschriften aus Syrien*, pp. 58-59.

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here (Fig. 8). It is entered by a fine stalactite portal (A) at the west end of the north façade, and a passage (B), once vaulted, leads by a sharp turn to the left, into the north-east angle of the ṣaḥn (C). On the north side is a great vaulted lîwân (D), on the west a cross-vaulted hall, with a triple-arched façade on a small scale, and on the south is the masjid with the usual fine triple-arched façade. It is roofed, as might be expected, with a dome in the centre and a length of tunnel vaulting to right and left. Square cross-vaulted chambers, apparently mausoleums, occupy the south-east and south-west angles of the building, and the remains of a third exist at the north-east angle also. The east side of the ṣaḥn has almost disappeared. Thus once more we only find one great lîwân and there cannot have been more than two.

Thus ends my series, and I venture to draw the following generalizations :

1. That Syrian madrasas, from the middle of the XIIth century till the end of the XIIIth, had many features in common;

2. That they all comprised a masjid or Collegiate Chapel entered generally by a triple-arched façade occupying the whole of the south side of the ṣaḥn, and nearly always roofed by a central dome with a length of tunnel vaulting to right and left;

3. That they usually had one great lîwân only, the rest of the façade of the ṣaḥn, not occupied by the masjid, being taken up by rows of students' cells, sometimes in two tiers, and that we only find two lîwâns in those madrasas which were built for two rites;

4. That a mausoleum is found combined with a madrasa at a very early date;

5. That they nearly always had a rectangular exterior, oriented correctly, and that the exterior is never dominated by the line of the street and incorrectly oriented, the interior being set askew so as to get the correct direction, as is the practice in Cairo.

The above generalizations however are based only on those madrasas which have survived, and it would be rash to assert, on the strength of so few examples, that no madrasa with four lîwâns had existed in Syria. Before doing

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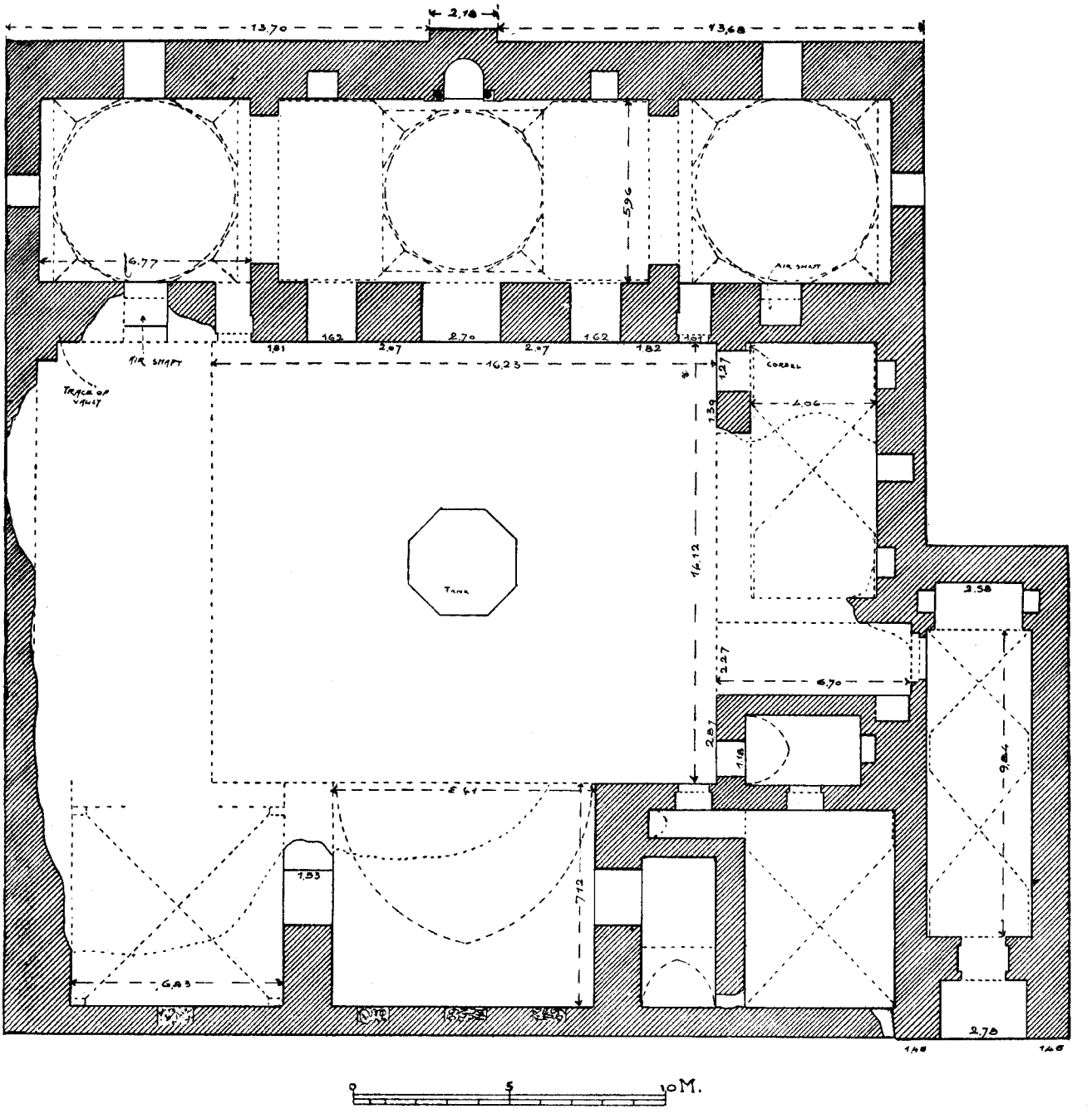


Fig. 8. — Kâmiliya Madrasa, at Aleppo (Firdaus).

Scale : $\frac{1}{200}$

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so we must endeavour to ascertain whether there is any historical reference to a madrasa for all four rites, and therefore with four îwâns, in the descriptions of the three principal towns of Syria : Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem. We will first take Damascus, for which we have a very full account in the Abridgement made in the XVIth century by ʿAbd al-Bâsiṭ al-ʿIlmawy of the *Dâres* of an-Nuʿaymy, which has been translated by Sauvaire and published in the *Journal asiatique*, 9^{e} série, t. III-VI. I have arranged all the madrasas mentioned by him in the form of a chronological list, omitting the ʿÂdelîya and the Ẓâhirîya, with which we have already dealt.

NAME.	DATE.	RITE.	PAGE.
Ṣâderîya.....	491 (1097-1098).	Hanafite.	IV, 266.
Amînîya.....	514 (1120-1121).	Shâfeyite.	III, 395-397.
Ṭarkhânîya.....	before 520 (1126) [1].	Hanafite.	IV, 266.
Balkhîya.....	after 525 (1131).	—	IV, 245-246.
Khâtûnîya (*extra muros*).....	526 (1131-1132).	—	IV, 254-255 and n. 51.
Sharifîya.....	before 536 (1141) [2].	Hanbalite.	IV, 467-468.
Mujâhedîya (*intra muros*).....	before 537 (1142) [3].	Shâfeyite.	III, 440-441.
Moʿînîya.....	before 544 (1149) [4].	Hanafite.	IV, 281-282.
ʿImâdîya	544 (1149-1150) [5].	Shâfeyite.	III, 430-432 & n. 276.
Mesmârîya.....	before 546 (1151) [6].	Hanbalite.	IV, 478-481.
Nâshîya.....	550 (1155-1156).	Hanafite.	IV, 246-247.
Mujâhedîya (*extra muros*).....	before 555 (1160) [6].	—	III, 441-442.
Ṣalâḥîya of Nûr ad-Dîn.....	between 549 and 569 (1154-1173) [7]	Shâfeyite.	III, 414-415.
Little Nûrîya	between 549 and 569 [7].	Hanafite.	IV, 291.
Kallâsa.....	555 (1160).	Shâfeyite.	III, 439-440.
Great Nûrîya.....	563 (1167-1168).	Hanafite.	IV, 288-291.
Asadîya	before 564 (1168) [8].	Shâfeyite and Hanafite.	III, 387-389 & IV, 242.

[1] Date of the death of Nâṣir ad-Dawla Ṭarkhân, the founder.
[2] Date of the death of the founder.
[3] Date of the death of Muntakheb ad-Dîn al-Quraishy, the first professor.
[4] Date of the death of the founder.
[5] ʿImâd ad-Dîn, the first professor, taught there for eighteen years and died 562 H. This gives 544 H. as the date of the inauguration of this madrasa.
[6] Date of the death of the founder
[7] Nûr ad-Dîn took Damascus 549 H., and died 569 H.
[8] See note 2.

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NAME.	DATE.	RITE.	PAGE.
Moqaddamîya (*intra muros*).....	569-589 (1173-1193) [1].	Hanafite.	IV, 284-285.
Ṣalâḥîya of Saladin.	—	Malekite.	IV, 461.
'Oṣrûnîya.....	c. 570 (1174-1175) [2].	Shâfeyite.	III, 428-430.
Taqawîya.....	574 (1178-1179).	—	III, 399-400.
Rayḥânîya	Sha'bân 575 (1180).	Hanafite.	IV, 259-260.
Farrokhshâhîya ...	before 578 (1182) [3].	Shâfeyite and Hanafite [4]	IV, 272-273.
'Adhrâwîya.....	580 (1184-1185).	—	III, 425-427 & IV, 268.
Khâtûnîya (*intra muros*).....	before 581 (1185) [5].	Hanafite.	IV, 256-257.
Shâmîya (*extra muros*).....	before 587 (1191) [6].	Shâfeyite.	III, 407-409 & note 174
'Azîzîya.....	between 582 and 592 [7] (1186-1195)	—	III, 427-428.
Jârûkhîya.....	before 592 (1195) [8].	—	III, 400.
Qaṣṣâ'îya.....	593 (1196-1197).	Hanafite.	IV, 274-275.
Qaymâziya.....	before 596 (1199) [8].	—	IV, 277-278.
Dowla'îya.....	end of XII[th] century A. D. [9].	Shâfeyite.	III, 403.
Roknîya (*intra muros*).....	— [10].	—	III, 403-404.
Moqaddamîya (*extra muros*).....	before 597 (1200) [11].	Hanafite.	IV, 285-286.
Falakîya.....	before 599 (1202-1203) [11].	Shâfeyite.	III, 435-436.
'Omarîya.....	before 607 (1210) [11].	Hanbalite.	IV, 473-477.
Masrûrîya.....	c. 607 (1210) [12].	Shâfeyite.	III, 442.
Jarkasîya.....	before 608 (1211-1212) [13].	Hanafite and Shâfeyite.	IV, 249-251.
Mâredânîya.....	610 (1213-1214).	Hanafite.	IV, 282-283.
Ẓâhirîya of Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzi..	before 613 (1216) [13].	Shâfeyite.	III, 418-420.

[1] Built during Saladin's reign, which lasted from 569 to 589.

[2] He first came to Damascus on the capture of the city by Nûr ad-Dîn in 549 H. (1154), held classes in the western corner of the Great Mosque, and was appointed Inspector of Waqfs. He then returned to Aleppo and settled there. He went back to Damascus in 570, and it appears probable that his madrasa was built about that time. He became blind ten years before his death which took place in 585 (1189). Ibn Khallikân, de Slane's transl., II, pp. 33 and 35.

[3] Date of the death of the founder.

[4] According to an-No'aymy, but al-Asady contradicts this and speaks of it as Hanafite, saying that the founder was interred in his turba, and that this turba was at the side of his madrasa, which was affected to the Hanafites. Perhaps he meant to say «at the side of the *liwân* which was affected to the Hanafites».

[5] See note 3.

[6] Ḥisâm ad-Dîn 'Omar died 19 Ramaḍân 587 (10[th] Oct. 1191), and was buried in this madrasa.

[7] In this year the body of Saladin was transferred from the Citadel of Damascus and placed in the mausoleum in the south-west angle of this madrasa.

[8] See note 3.

[9] Not stated, but founder was born 555 H.

[10] The founder was a freedman of Falak ad-Dîn, half-brother of Malik al-'Âdil.

[11] See note 3.

[12] The founder Masrûr was Commandant of the Body-Guard of Saladin. He retired under al-Kâmel and devoted himself to pious works. This madrasa must therefore have been built about 1210 A. D.

[13] See note 3.

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NAME.	DATE.	RITE.	PAGE
Badrîya.....	before 615 (1218-1219) [1].	Hanafite.	IV, 244-245 and note 5.
Mu'aẓẓamîya.....	between 616 and 625 (1219-1227) [2]	—	IV, 279-281.
Roknîya (*extra muros*).....	621 (1224).	—	IV, 258-259.
Rawâhîya.....	before 622 (1225).	Shâfeyite.	III, 404-406.
Ṣâremîya.....	—	—	III, 413-414.
Shiblîya (*extra muros*).....	before 623 (1226) [3].	Hanafite.	IV, 263-265.
Shiblîya (*intra muros*).....	— [3].	—	IV, 265-266.
Tâjîya.....	624 (1227).	—	IV, 246.
'Izzîya (*extra muros*).	626 (1228-1229).	—	IV, 269-270.
Zenjârîya.....	—	—	IV, 260-262 and n. 89.
'Alamîya.....	628 (1230-1231).	—	IV, 271.
Ṣâḥebîya.....	—	—	IV, 468-469 and n. 24.
Iqbâlîya.....	—	Shâfeyite and Hanafite.	III, 389-391, note 46, and IV, 242-243.
Amjadîya.....	—	Shâfeyite.	III, 392-394.
Shâmîya (*intra muros*).....	—	—	III, 409-410 and note 182.
Mayṭûrîya.....	629 (1231-1232).	Hanafite.	IV, 287.
Majnûnîya.....	after 630 (1233).	Shâfeyite.	III, 443-444.
Jawzîya.....	—	Hanbalite.	IV, 465-467.
'Azîzîya.....	635 (1237-1238).	Hanafite.	IV, 268.
Ṣâliḥîya, or Turbeh of Umm aṣ-Ṣâliḥ.	before 638 (1240) [4].	Shâfeyite.	III, 411-413 and n. 198.
Dammâghîya.....	638 (1240-1241).	Shâfeyite and Hanafite.	III, 401-402, and IV, 257-258.
Atâbekîya.....	c. 640 (1142-1243).	Shâfeyite.	III, 385-386.
Karûsîya.....	before 641 (1243) [5].	—	III, 439.
Ḍyâ'îya-Muḥammadîya.....	643 (1245-1246) [5].	Hanbalite.	IV, 470-472.
Ḍyâ'îya-Maḥâsenîya.	— [5].	—	IV, 472.
Qilîjîya.....	645 (1247-1248).	Hanafite.	IV, 275-277.
'Izzîya (*intra muros*).	before 646 (1248) [5].	—	IV, 270.

[1] 'Ilmawi omits the date, and that given by an-No'aymy (638) must be erroneous, as Ibn Kathîr, under the year 615, says that al-Malik al-Mo'aẓẓam 'Îsa entrusted the inspection of this madrasa to Badr ad-Dîn Ḥasan ibn ad-Dâyah, from whom it took its name.

[2] Period of founders' reign at Damascus.

[3] Date of the death of the founder.

[4] Najm ad-Dîn ibn al-Muqaddasy, the first professor there, died 6 Shauwâl, 638.

[5] Date of the death of the founder.

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NAME.	DATE.	RITE.	PAGE.
Qaymarîya.....	c. 648 (1250).	Shâfeyite.	III, 438.
Fatḥîya.....	c. 650 (1252-1253).	—	III, 435.
Fatḥîya.....	—	Hanafite.	IV, 271-272.
'Âlemah.....	before 653 (1255) [1].	Hanbalite.	IV, 477-478.
Bâdherâîya.....	653 (1255-1256).	Shâfeyite.	III, 397-398.
Nâṣirîya.....	—	—	III, 442-443.
Morshedîya.....	654 (1256).	Hanafite.	IV, 278-279.
Little 'Âdelîya	655 (1257) [1].	Shâfeyite.	III, 424-425.
Ṣadrîya.....	before 657 (1258-1259).	Hanbalite.	IV, 470.
Yaghmûrîya.....	between 647 and 663 (1249-1264) [2]	Hanafite.	IV, 291-293.
Najîbîya.....	between 661 and 670 (1262-1271) [3]	Shâfeyite.	III, 444-445.
Jawharîya.....	676 (1277-1278).	Hanafite.	IV, 251-252.
Monajjâîya.....	before 695 (1295) [4].	Hanbalite.	IV, 481-482.
Ṭayyibeh.....	end of XIIIth century A. D.	Shâfeyite.	III, 417-418.

[1] Date of the death of the founder.
[2] Period during which the founder, Jamâl ad-Dîn Mûsa ibn Yaghmûr, was Governor of Damascus.
[3] Period during which the founder was Governor of Damascus. After 670 he was deprived of his office and returned to Cairo.
[4] Date of the death of the founder.

Analysing the above list we find that out of eighty madrasas, there were 33 for the Hanafites, 31 for the Shâfeyites, 9 for the Hanbalites, 1 for the Malikites and only 6 for two rites (Shâfeyite and Hanafite).

In the case of Aleppo and Jerusalem we unfortunately have not the detailed information available for Damascus; nevertheless what there is leads us to a similar conclusion. In the MS. *Description of Aleppo* already quoted the material regarding madrasas is arranged in a peculiar way; we have first a long paragraph (pp. 27-28), containing the names of 22 madrasas, the rite not being specified, and then another paragraph, headed «Hanafite Madrasas», which contains the names of 14 (pp. 29-30). After that comes another paragraph headed «Shâfeyite or Hanafite Madrasas» which contains the names of 5. One is tempted to believe that the first paragraph which is headed «Madrasas of Aleppo» should read «Shâfeyite Madrasas of Aleppo», as this rite was that most prevalent in Syria, and the last «Shâfeyite and Hanafite Madrasas».

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It would appear from Mujîr ad-Dîn [1] that only nine madrasas were built in Jerusalem before A. D. 1300, a very small number due, no doubt, to the long period during which the town was in the possession of the Crusaders, as a great number were built after that date. In Mujîr ad-Dîn's catalogue, the only case where the rite is specified is in that of the Shâfeyite Badrîya, built 610 (1213), and the Hanafite Muʿaẓẓamîya [2]. Of those mentioned by him as having been built before A. D. 1300, the façade of the Badrîya, and the great northern îwân of the Muʿaẓẓamîya, are all that remain to-day. The information, therefore, is negative.

Let us now see whether the first madrasas of Egypt were for one rite only, or for many. Thanks to the information given by Maqrîzî it is easy to answer this question, and I give below a list, arranged in chronological order and as complete as I can make it, of all the madrasas built in Egypt down to the middle of the XIIIth century (see p. 32).

It is significant that the earliest were for one rite only, the first constructed for two rites being the Fâḍilîya, built by Saladin in 580 (1184) for the Shâfeyite and Malikite rites, sixteen years later than the Asadîya, apparently the first madrasa built for two rites in Syria. Of the above madrasas only the two marked with an asterisk have even partly survived to the present day.

The Kâmilîya Madrasa is in an advanced state of ruin, but the greater part of the north-western îwân remains. Traces of one side of the south-eastern îwân still exist, and form part of the south-western side of the XVIIIth century building [3] which has taken the name of Kâmilîya although it only occupies a small fraction of its site. No traces of side îwâns exist, nor were traces of

[1] *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, trad. Sauvaire, pp. 140-165.

[2] He says (p. 156) that the act of endowment was dated 29 Gumâda I 606 (29th November 1209). In another place (p. 86) where he gives an account of the life of its builder, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿÎsa, he says that he was very attached to the Hanafite sect, contrary to the other members of his family who were Shâfeyites. He adds that he constructed a madrasa for the Hanafites near the gate of the Masjid al-Aqṣâ known as the Dawâdârîya. The term Masjid al-Aqṣâ included the whole Ḥaram area which formed the ṣaḥn, the building now known as the mosque of al-Aqṣâ being the sanctuary only. Le Strange (*Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 186) identifies this gate with the modern Bâb al-ʿAtm. This enables us to identify the above mentioned northern îwân with the Hanafite madrasa mentioned by Mujîr ad-Dîn, as it is just opposite the vaulted alley leading to the Bâb al-ʿAtm.

[3] An inscription above the entrance states that it was built by the Emîr Ḥasan ash-Shaʿrâwy, in 1166 (1752-1753). *C. I. A.*, I, p. 98.

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PLACE.	NAME.	DATE.	RITE.	AUTHORITY.
Cairo.....	Nâṣiriya.....	566 (1170)	Shâfeyite	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 363-364.
	Qamḥiya.....	—	Malikite	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 363-364, and Ibn Duqmâq, IV, p. 95.
	Qutbîya.....	570 (1174)	Shâfeyite	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 365.
	Ibn al-Arsûfy..	—	?	— — II, p. 364.
	Suyûfîya.....	572 (1176)	Hanafite	— — II, p. 365.
Madinat al-Fayyûm.	M. of Taqi ad-Din 'Omar..	c. 579 (1183)	Shâfeyite	Ibn Khallikân, de Slane's transl., II, p. 391.
	—	—	Malikite	— — —
	Taqawîya.....	579 (1183)	Shâfeyite	Maqrîzî, II, p. 364, and Ibn Duqmâq, IV, pp. 94-95.
	al-Fâḍiliya....	580 (1184)	Shâfeyite and Malikite	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 366.
	Sharafîya.....	before 589 (1193)	Shâfeyite [1]	Ibn Duqmâq, IV, pp. 92-93.
	Ushkushîya...	592 (1195)	Hanafite [2]	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 367.
	Ghaznawîya...		—	— — II, p. 390.
	'Âdeliya.....		Malikite	— — II, p. 365.
Cairo.....	Qutbîya.....	605 (1208-1209)	Shâfeyite	— — II, p. 391.
	Masrûrîya....	c. 610 (1213-1214)	?	— — II, p. 378.
	Sherifîya.....	612 (1215)	Shâfeyite	— — II, p. 373.
	*Kâmilîya....	622 (1225)	School of Tradition	— — II, p. 375.
	Fakhrîya.....	—	?	— — II, p. 367.
	Sayramîya....	c. 636 (1238)	?	— — II, p. 378.
	Fâ'izîya.....	636 (1238) [3]	Shâfeyite	— — II, p. 365.
	*Ṣâliḥîya.....	639 (1242)	All four rites	— — II, p. 374.

[1] Built by Saladin. Presumably Shâfeyite as the Qâḍy Badr ad-Dîn Abû l-Maḥâsin as-Sangary, who preached in the Taqwîya, also preached here.

[2] Ibn Duqmâq (IV, pp. 94-95) says it was for the Shâfeyites.

[3] Ibn Duqmâq (IV, p. 92) says 637 H.

them found during the excavations which were kindly carried out here in 1919 by Signor Patricolo at my request. On the north-east side of this madrasa stands a building called to-day «Hammâm as-Sulṭân», but which on Napoleon's Plan still bears its ancient name «Hammâm Beysary». The latter formed part of a palace built by the Emîr Beysary in 659 (1261)[1]. The importance of this for our subject lies in the fact that if the area occupied has not varied, then the possibility of the Kâmilîya having had a north-eastern

[1] Ravaisse, *Essai, M. M. A. F. C.*, I, p. 459, and *C. I. A.*, I, p. 118.

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lîwân almost disappears, as there is so little room between the side of its north-western lîwân and this bath. In the *Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (p. 53) it is said that two *sides* of this building were standing in 1845, and that Mr. Wild had made sketches of their beautiful stucco ornament. The expression «two sides» tends to support the opinion that there were no side lîwâns as it must refer to the two sides of the ṣaḥn, since the building has no side façades, and the façade on the street had been replaced, as we have seen, in 1752-1753. Thinking that these drawings might afford conclusive evidence as to the plan of the building, I searched for them in the South Kensington Museum but without result. I then wrote to Prof. Lane-Poole, who very kindly replied (14 August 1920) : «I wish I knew where James Wild's notebooks and sketches are. When he died many years ago I wrote at once to his widow whom I knew, and asked if I might purchase the drawings, etc., but I had no reply and I don't know where any of the family are now. . . »

The Ṣâliḥîya Madrasa, which was built by Ṣâliḥ Negm ad-Dîn Ayyûb, still exists in fragments on the east side of the Sûq an-Naḥḥâsîn. He says that they began to clear the site, which was occupied by part of the Great Eastern Palace of the Fâṭimides, 13 Dhu l-Ḥigga 639 (15th June 1242), and that the foundations were laid 14 Rabîʿ I, 640 (12th October 1242). Four professors were appointed, one for each of the four orthodox rites, and he expressly states that this was the first time in Egypt that all four orthodox rites were taught in one building [1].

This madrasa consisted of two blocks divided by the Ḥâret aṣ-Ṣâliḥîya, the entrance to which was spanned by two arches joining the two halves of the madrasa and supporting the great minaret. At the present day all that remains of the southern block is the panelled western façade. The two arches joining this to the northern block still exist, together with a fine piece of coffered ceiling, badly blackened, and the minaret above. Of the northern block there still remain the panelled west façade and the great western and eastern lîwâns; the vault of the latter, however, has fallen except for the first two or three feet at the springing. Nearly everything else has disappeared.

Maqrîzî, in describing the main artery of mediæval Cairo, takes his reader

[1] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 374, l. 12.

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for an imaginary walk from the Bâb Zuweyla to the Bâb al-Futûḥ, and on entering the Bein al-Qaṣrein (the modern Naḥḥâsîn) says that on one's right one first of all has that part of the Madrasat as-Ṣâliḥîya devoted to the Hanafites and Hanbalites, after which comes the entrance to the building and then that part of it given up to the Shâfeyites and Malikites, which was exactly opposite the Madrasa of Qalâûn [1]. He tells us also that the Madrasa Badrîya stood in the neighbourhood of the secret entrance (Bâb as-Sirr) of the hall of the Hanafites [2]. This madrasa still exists in a fragmentary state at the end of the Ḥâret aṣ-Ṣâliḥîya; the Hanafite îwân was therefore the eastern one. He adds that the mausoleum of Ṣâliḥ Negm ad-Dîn Ayyûb (which still exists) was next the Malikite îwân, which must therefore have been the western one of the northern block. Thus we have the following distribution : in the southern half, a Hanafite îwân to the west and a Hanbalite to the east; in the northern half, a Malikite to the west and a Shâfeyite to the east.

Van Berchem assumes that the northern half consisted of four îwâns [3], which is not in strict logical agreement with his opinion that Cairene madrasas were composed of four îwâns, being one for each rite. As we are expressly told that the northern half only served two rites, it is logical to assume that there were only two îwâns. In spite of its ruined state, a careful examination of the building enables us to see that there cannot possibly have been four îwâns in the northern block, for the following reasons. At about 3 1/2 metres north of the edge of the Malikite îwân is the springing of a small arch, and on the south side of the same îwân at 3.10 metres from its east face is a marble column with a Corinthian capital (Plate VIII B low down on the left); 7.10 metres farther east is a second. These two columns are set back exactly as far from the edge of the îwân as the arch on the other side. The intercolumniation shows that there must have been six columns supporting seven arches, between the faces of the west and east îwâns, and I therefore conclude that the north and south sides of the ṣaḥn were once bounded by an arcade of seven arches, behind which were no doubt students' cells, as in some of the madrasas at Aleppo already described. The court when

[1] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 374, l. 29-34 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 75-76).

[2] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 392.

[3] *C. I. A.*, I, p. 102.

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perfect must have presented an appearance very similar to the courtyard of the Muristân of Arghûn Kamily at Aleppo. No doubt the southern block was a duplicate of the northern, but in any case the building cannot possibly have been cruciform.

Although this was the first quadruple madrasa in Egypt, it was not the first in Islam, as one had already been built at Baghdâd ten years previously by the Khalif Mustanṣir[1]. It was not only designed to shelter the four rites, but it also included a Dâr al-Ḥadîth (or School of Tradition) and a Dâr al-Qurân (or school for teaching the seven ways of reading the Qurân), and there were accordingly six professors[2]. This building still exists on the quay-side, but it has been used as a Customs House for so long that none of the travellers who have seen it, from Niebuhr and Mignan onwards, have planned it, until quite recently when a sketch plan (Fig. 9) has been published by Herzfeld[3]. According to him, a rough shed has been built in the ṣaḥn, the îwâns have been walled up and most of the rooms, when he visited it, were packed to the ceiling with goods awaiting clearance through the Customs, so the making of an accurate plan was out of the question. Nevertheless the sketch plan published by him can no doubt be relied upon as showing the principal features with sufficient accuracy for our purpose. The ṣaḥn is an oblong rectangle 26 m. × 63 m., and in the centre of each of the shorter sides is a great deep îwân. On the east side there are three îwâns, of which the central one also serves as the entrance, but on the west side there is one only. Next to the latter is a long hall of three vaulted bays. These six îwâns were no doubt for the lectures of the six professors referred to above[4]. Placed against the north îwân back to back as in the Jâmiʿ and Madrasat al-Firdaus is another great îwân of which the function is not clear. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe that this madrasa is neither cruciform, nor can it even be considered

[1] Massignon (*Les Medresehs de Bagdâd*, p. 80) says that this was the fourth madrasa built in Baghdâd, and gives the first, second and third as the Shâfeyite Niẓâmîya, 457-459 (1065-1066), the Tâjîya, 482 (1089) and the Nâṣirîya of an-Nâṣir li-Dîn Illah who reigned, 572-622 (1180-1225). He omits the Hanafite Tutushîya of Malik Tâj ad-Daula Tutush, built 508 (1114), according to Herzfeld (*Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Bd. II, p. 161), so the Mustanṣirîya was apparently the fifth.

[2] Massignon, *loc. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Bd. II, Abb. 198.

[4] Ibn Baṭṭûṭa says that there was one îwân for each rite. See the translation of Defrémery and Sanguinetti, II, p. 109.

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as the architectural prototype of the Ṣâliḥîya. It is however conceivable that it may have given Ṣâliḥ Negm ad-Dîn Ayyûb the idea of sheltering all four rites in one building, as the fame of the «all surpassing» Mustanṣirîya, «the most beautiful building in Baghdâd» was great, and no doubt had reached Egypt, especially as a permanent Embassy was maintained between the Abbasid Khalifs and the Ayyubide Sultans. At this time the Ambassador was Abû Nadla, who died in Cairo in 640 H. (1242-1243) and was buried in the mausoleum of the Abbasid Khalifs, at the side of the Mosque of Sayyeda Nafîsa [1]. The Ambassador himself may have suggested the idea to the Sultan without conveying any architectural concepts.

We have thus come down to the year 641 H. (1243) without having met with one cruciform madrasa. The next was the Ṣâḥibîya, built in 654 (1256) for the Malikites [2]; a madrasa for one rite therefore.

However, in the next, the Ẓâhirîya, we meet for the first time with a cruciform madrasa. It occupied the site of the Hall of Tents and the Hall of the Lotus of the ancient Fâṭimide Palace. Sultan Bibars had scarcely, by an act of arbitrary jurisdiction, handed over to the Treasury the palace and other residences still belonging by right to the descendants of the Fâṭimides, when the Qâḍy Kamâl ad-Dîn Ṭâhir ibn al-Faqîh Naṣr, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proceeded with the valuation of the buildings which contained the Golden Gate and the two halls. The Hanbalite Sheykh of the Madrasa Ṣâliḥîya, Shams ad-Dîn Muḥammad al-Muqaddasy, immediately bought the Hall of Tents; he resold it to the Sultan, who without delay gave orders for its demolition. The 2 Rabîᶜ I 660 (25th February 1262) the first stone was placed in position; on the 4th Kamâl ad-Dîn sold to Shams ad-Dîn, for the sum of 1095 dinars, the Hall of the Lotus, situated to the west of the preceding and next, in all probability to the mausoleum of Ṣâliḥ; on the 11th the Hall of the Lotus bought by Bibars met the fate of the Hall of Tents. Completed at the commencement of the year 662 the new college was inaugurated 5 Ṣafar of the same year (9th December 1263). Four distinct classes were held in its four

[1] See E. J. Rogers, *Comptes Rendus du Comité de Conservation*, 1884, pp. 21-22; and Herz Bey, *ibid.*, 1910, pp. 132-133.

[2] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 371, and Ibn Duqmâq, IV, p. 95.

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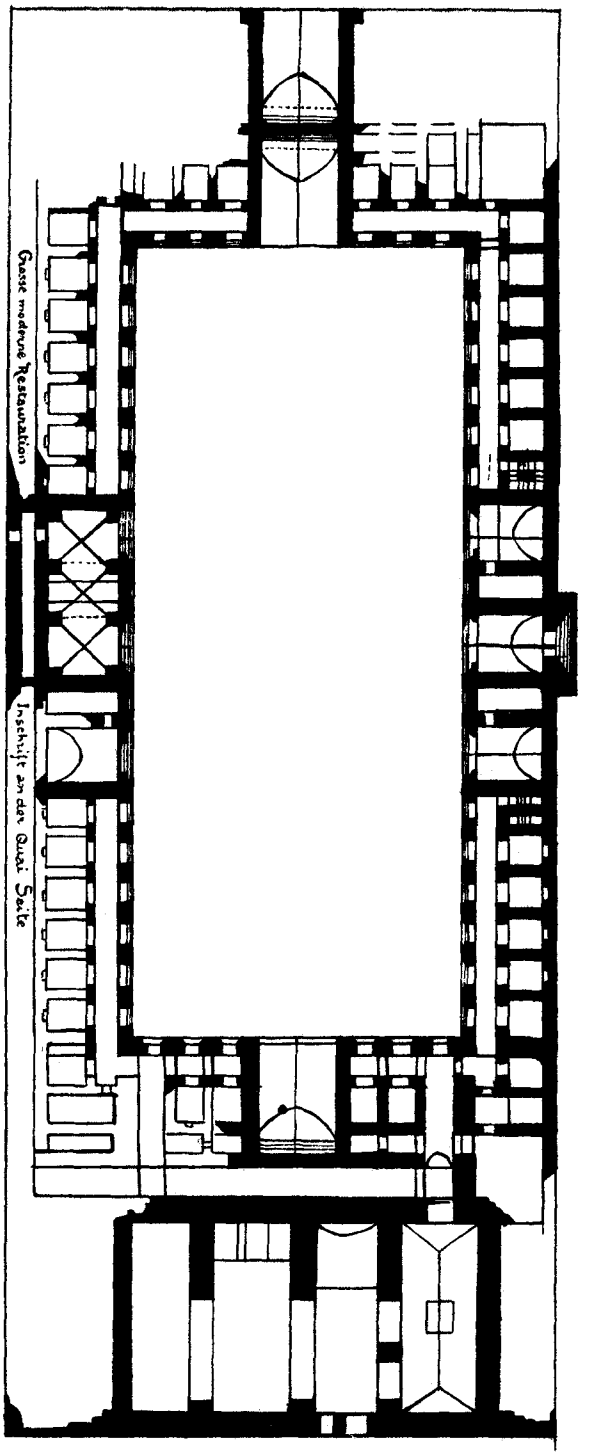


Fig. 9. — Baghdâd : The Mustanṣiriya Madrasa.
[From Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet.*]

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lîwâns; Sheykh Taqy ad-Dîn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥamawy, and the students of the Shâfeyite rite occupied the south lîwân; as-Sadr Magd ad-Dîn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân al-Ḥalaby, Sheykh of the Hanafites, taught in the north lîwân; the Sheykh Sharaf ad-Dîn ʿAbd al-Mûmin ibn al-Khalaf ad-Dimiâṭy, commented on the Traditions (*Ḥadîth*) in the east lîwân, and the Faqîh Kamâl ad-Dîn al-Maḥally taught the seven ways of reading the Qurân in the west lîwân [1]. There were therefore four lîwâns arranged in the form of a cross around the ṣaḥn; one could not wish for a more explicit description.

The next three madrasas in chronological order were the Magdîya, built in 663 (1264) for the Shâfeyites [2], the Muhedhdhibîya, built about 676 (1277) [3], rite not stated, and the Fâriqânîya, built in 676 (1277) for the Shâfeyites and Hanafites [4]. All these madrasas have disappeared.

Next in order comes the Manṣûrîya (Fig. 10), commenced by Sultan Qalâûn in Ṣafar 684 (April-May 1285) and finished in Gumâda I of the same year [5]. Maqrîzî does not state for which rite it was built, but it is very important for our purpose, as we have here a madrasa with one lîwân only. On the south-east side of the ṣaḥn is the masjid, of remarkable form (Plate X A), on the north-west side can still be seen the traces of a great lîwân (Plate IX B), of which the upper part has fallen, and which has been partly walled up in front. On the north-east side is the entrance with two small cells on either side of it, and on the south-west side was once a row of cells in two stories. Only two next the masjid now remain but the springing of the arches of a third may still be seen at the south-eastern side of the arcade of three arches, which has taken the place of the remainder (Plate IX A). The plan of the building only provides a depth of about three metres and a half between the ṣaḥn and the two passages on either side of it, one of which divides it from the mausoleum of the Sultan whereas the other leads to the Muristân.

We have seen that in Syrian madrasas the masjid always took a special form, a central domed bay with extensions, usually tunnel-vaulted, to right and left. The remarkable triple-aisled masjid of the Manṣûrîya, almost unique

[1] Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, p. 452, quoting Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 378-379.

[2] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 400, and Ibn Duqmâq, IV, p. 96.

[3] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 369.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, p. 369.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 406, and the *C. I. A.*, I, pp. 126-131.

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in Cairo [1], serves to bring out one of the chief differences between Egyptian and Syrian madrasas. But for the two exceptions cited, no Cairene madrasa has a masjid of special type. In every other case the *lîwân qibli* served as masjid when the time came for prayer. This is shown in the case of the Ṣâliḥîya by the presence of three miḥrâbs [2] in the south-east lîwân. Of the Ẓâhirîya only a fragment of the south-western angle remains, but Ravaisse, who collected evidence about this madrasa nearly forty years ago, that is about ten years after the demolition which followed the fall of its minaret in 1874, says that the miḥrâb, which entirely disappeared during the said demolition, was about fifty five metres from the Bein al-Qaṣrein, that is to say it was, as might have been expected, at the back of the east lîwân [3]. It seems probable from the above that a two lîwân madrasa in Cairo might serve for one rite or for two, the east lîwân serving in the first case as a masjid, and in the second as lecture hall part of the time and a masjid during the hour of prayer.

Another feature distinguishing Cairene madrasas from those of Syria is the invariable presence of a minaret. Syrian madrasas were rarely provided with one, and, of those described above, the Sulṭânîya and the Jâmiʿ and Madrasat al-Firdaus alone possess one, and it has every appearance of being a later addition in both cases. Of the eighty madrasas in my Damascus list, three are specially mentioned as having minarets [4], from which I conclude that the rest had not.

After the Manṣûrîya came the Ṭafagîya, built before 698 (1299) [5], rite not stated, and the Manqûtimurîya, built in 698 (1299) for the Malikites and Shâfeyites [6]. Both these madrasas have disappeared.

[1] The only other example occurs in the madrasa of Barqûq, which is separated from the Manṣûrîya group by the Nâṣirîya Madrasa only.

[2] Triple miḥrâbs only occur between the end of the XIth and XIIIth centuries, *e. g.* the Khaḍra ash-Sharîfa, end of XIth century; Gâmiʿ Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf, c. 1100 A. D.; Mashhad of Sayyeda Ruqayya, 527 (1133); Mausoleum of Yaḥyâ ash-Shabîh, c. 1150 A. D.; Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâfʿey, 608 (1211); Mausoleum of Muṣṭafa Pasha, c. 666-672 (1267-1268 to 1272-1273). To these five examples may be added the only other one known to me — the mosque of al-ʿAmry at Akhmîm, which I now place before 1300 A. D., on account of this feature. For the above dates, see my *Brief Chronology*, already cited.

[3] *Essai, loc. cit.*, III, pp. 451 and 453.

[4] The Amînîya, the Khâtûnîya *extra muros* and the Zenjârîya. See SAUVAIRE, *op. cit., Journal asiatique*, 9^{e} série, tome III, p. 396, IV, pp. 255 and 261 respectively.

[5] Founder died 698 H. — MAQRÎZÎ, *ibid.*, II, p. 397.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 387.

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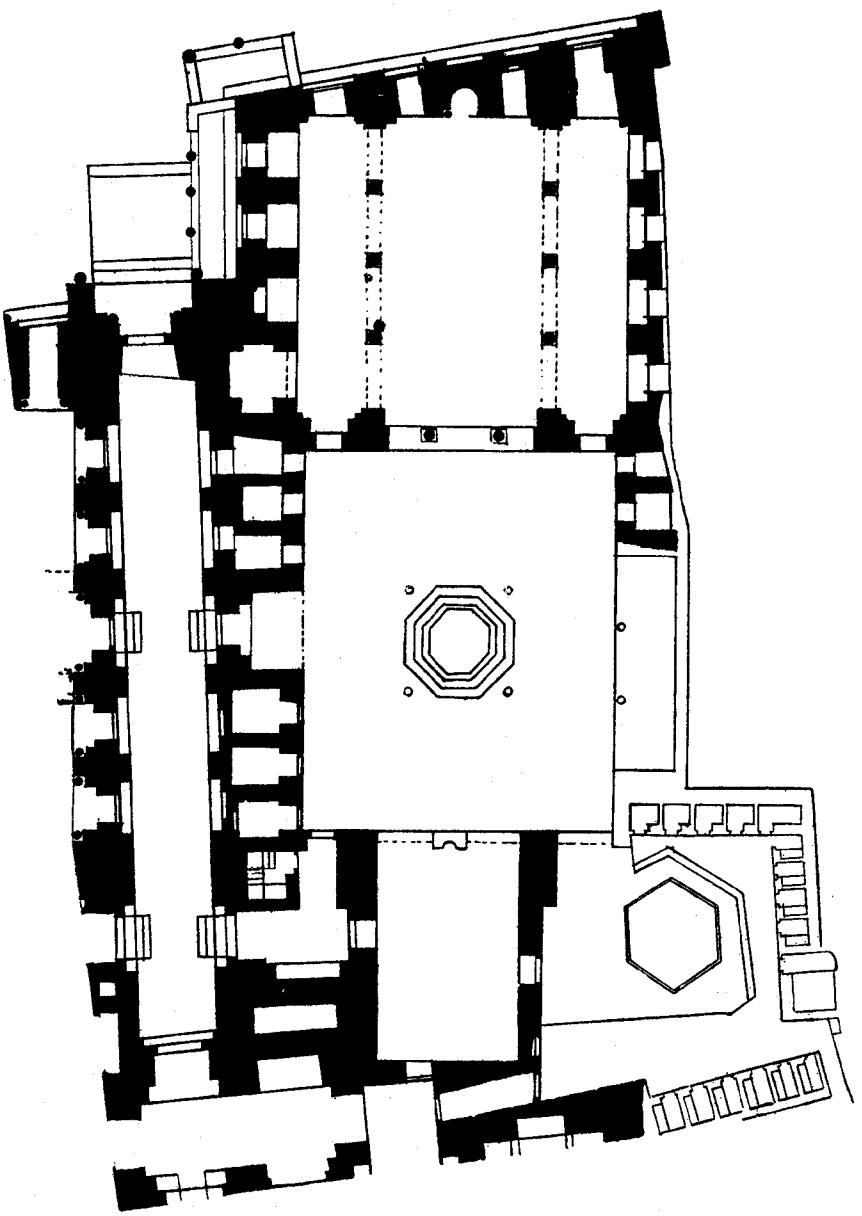


Fig. 10. — Cairo : Madrasa of Sultan Qalâûn.
[From the *Comité de Conservation*.]

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We next have the Nâṣirîya, which still exists. It was commenced by Ketbughâ and raised to the level of the gilded band (*ṭirâz*) which runs across the façade and contains the date 695 (1295-1296). Ketbughâ was deposed on the 27 Muḥarram 696, and in 698 Muḥammad an-Nâṣir came to the throne for the second time, and ordered the completion of the building, which was finished in 703 (1303-1304)[1]. Maqrîzî[2] tells us that the southern lîwân was for the Malikites, the western for the Hanbalites, the eastern for the Hanafites, and the northern for the Shâfeyites. As the *lîwân qibli* contains a magnificent stucco miḥrâb, it presumably served as a masjid at the time of prayer. We have already had one four-rite madrasa which was not cruciform, this compact type not having been evolved in Egypt at that time, and one cruciform madrasa which did not accommodate all four rites. The Nâṣirîya was therefore the first example of that rare type, a cruciform madrasa in which each lîwân is alloted to one of the four orthodox rites. Even after this, madrasas built for all four rites were still to remain the rarest type. This is so contrary to the accepted view[3] that I feel that it is necessary to support it by a further catalogue of madrasas down to the time of Maqrîzî; it is not possible to carry it farther for want of information in the texts, a want that epigraphy does not satisfy, as inscriptions on the madrasas of Cairo never specify the rite the madrasa has been built to serve, with the single exception of the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan. Those still standing are indicated by an asterisk (see p. 44).

The result of our investigation therefore is that, although the first four-rite madrasa is found at Bagdad, the first madrasa of cruciform plan is found in Cairo; that the cruciform plan was Egyptian in origin and that it is practically unknown outside Egypt. I do not see any reason for supposing that it was due to outside influence, for the cruciform Byzantine church plan is not found in

[1] Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, pp. 152-155.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 382.

[3] The legend that four rite madrasas are the rule in Egypt dies hard. After a lecture, a synopsis of this memoir, which I gave in Cairo before the Société Sultanienne de Géographie last March, a distinguished archæologist questioned my thesis. According to him Maqrîzî definitely stated that the Nâṣirîya and Qamḥîya Madrasas built by Saladin, near the mausoleum of Imâm Shâf'ey, were for all four rites! I could only refer him to Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 363-364, with which he was polite enough to express himself satisfied.

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MADRASA.	DATE.	AUTHORITY.	RITE.
*Qarâsunqurîya . . .	700 (1300)	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 388.	?
Gemâlîya	703 (1303)	— — II, p. 392.	Hanafite.
*Gâwalîya	703 (1303)	— — II, p. 398.	Shâfeyite.
*Ṭaybarsîya	709 (1309)	Ibn Duqmâq, IV, pp. 96 and 98.	Shâfeyite and Malikite [1].
Sa'îdîya	715 (1315)	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 397.	?
*Almalikîya	719 (1319)	— — II, p. 392.	Shâfeyite.
*Mihmandârîya . . .	725 (1324)	— — II, p. 398.	Hanafite.
Buktimurîya	726 (1325)		?
*Aqbughawîya	734 (1333)	— — II, p. 383.	Shâfeyite and Hanafite.
Al-Kharrûba	750 (1349)	Ibn Duqmâq, IV, pp. 98-99.	?
Kaysarânîya	751 (1350)	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 394.	?
Ṣaghîra	751 (1350)	— — II, p. 394.	?
Farisîya	756 (1355)	— — II, p. 393.	?
*Ṣarghitmishîya . . .	757 (1356)	— — II, p. 403.	Hanafite and Dâr al-Ḥadîth.
*Ṣâḥibîya	758 (1357)	— — II, p. 171.	Malikite.
*Sultan Ḥasan	757-764 (1356-1363)	— — II, p. 316.	All four rites.
Badrîya	758 (1357)	— — II, p. 391.	Shâfeyite.
*Beshîrîya	761 (1359-1360)	— — II, p. 399.	?
*Ḥigâzîya	761 (1360)	— — II, p. 382.	Shâfeyite and Malikite.
*Sâbiqîya	763 (1361-1362)	— — II, pp. 399-400.	Shâfeyite.
*Sha'bân	770 (1368-1369)	— — II, p. 390.	Shâfeyite and Hanafite.
*Bubekrîya (Assanbughâ)	772 (1370)	— — II, p. 390.	Hanafite.
*Algâi al-Yûsufy . . .	774 (1373)	— — II, p. 399.	Shâfeyite and Hanafite.
*Bakrîya	c. 775 (1374)	— — II, p. 391.	Shâfeyite.
Al-Maslamîya	d. 776 (1374)	— — II, p. 401.	Malikite and Shâfeyite.
Ibn Iram	782 (1380)	— — II, p. 394.	?
*Aytmish	785 (1383)	— — II, p. 400.	Hanafite.
*Barqûq	786-788 (1384-1386)	Account promised but not given.	?
*Inâl al-Yûsufy	794-795 (1392-1393)	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 401.	?
*Maḥmûdîya	797 (1395)	— — II, p. 394.	?
*Muqbil Zimâmîya .	797 (1395)	— — II, p. 394.	?
*Sudûn	804 (1401)	Sakhâwi, quoted in *C.I.A.*, p. 313.	Hanafite and Shâfeyite.
Maḥally	c. 806 (1403)		
*Ibn Ghurâb	c. 808 (1406)	Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 419.	
*Gamâl ad-Dîn	811 (1408)	— — II, p. 401.	Shâfeyite, Hanafite, Malikite, Hanbalite, Dâr al-Ḥadîth and Commentaries.

[1] He says that the [north-]west îwân was for the Shâfeyites and the [south-]east for the Malikites. Maqrîzî (II, p. 383) speaks of it as Shâfeyite only.

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Syria [1], but is confined to Asia Minor and Constantinople and is invariably covered by a dome, in fact it arose through the exigences of domical construction, whereas the cruciform madrasa plan has nothing to do with domical construction. Neither is it essential in a madrasa for the four rites; in fact the first four-rite madrasa — the Ṣâliḥîya — was not cruciform, but consisted as we have seen of a pair of two lîwân madrasas divided by a street. The cruciform plan was merely an improved edition of this whereby one court served for all four lîwâns, which were grouped around it, and Syrian influence can have had nothing to do with it, as this type of madrasa was not known in Syria at that time [2].

As for the origin of the architectural form of the madrasa with two lîwâns, I think we have a clue to it when we read that, in the early days, professors frequently held courses in their own houses. Now there is no house in Cairo at the present day which dates from as far back as the XII^th century, but if we suppose, as seems probable, that XII^th century houses were similar in plan to XIV^th century ones, the solution becomes clear. Almost all mediæval Cairene houses which have been preserved have two main features, a *maq'ad* and a *qâ'a*. The *maq'ad* is an open verandah, which always faces north; the *qâ'a* is an interior hall consisting of two lîwâns on opposite sides of a square space covered by a skylight. Beneath the skylight and between the two lîwâns is a fountain. This type fits the two lîwâns madrasa type exactly, and on turning to the texts we actually find that many of the earlier madrasas were houses, which had become madrasas on the death of their owner, in accordance with his will. I shall give eleven instances.

1. Damascus. Az-Zahaby says in the *'Ebar* under the year 548 (1153) that Abû l-Ḥasan al-Balkhy 'Aly ibn al-Ḥasan, the Hanafite, the preacher and

[1] In Syria the Basilika type, with timber roof, predominated with very few exceptions such as the church of St. George at Ezra and the Cathedral at Bosra, both of which are of the «central-plan» type. See H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Sect. A, pp. 281-286 (*Publications of the Princeton University Archæological Expeditions to Syria*).

[2] I feel that I owe it to the memory of the late Dr. van Berchem to say that, during his last visit to Egypt, I had the privilege of discussing with him my theory of the origin of the cruciform madrasa, as set forth above. He listened to my arguments, saw my plans of Syrian madrasas, and finally visited the Kâmilîya and the Ṣâliḥîya with me. I then had the great pleasure of hearing him express himself convinced of the truth of my theory.

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ascetic, professed at the Ṣâderîya, and that they transformed the house of the Emîr Ṭarkhân into a madrasa for him [1].

2. Aleppo. The Asrunîya madrasa, was originally the house of Abû l-Ḥuseyn ʿAly ibn Abi ath-Thurîya, Wazîr of Ibn Mardash. Nûr ad-Dîn transformed it into a madrasa in 550 H. (1155) [2].

3. Cairo. The Qamḥîya was originally a *dâr* (house) arranged by Saladin as a Malikite madrasa in Muḥarram 566 (1170) [3]. As this madrasa is one of the first two installed in Cairo, this fact is of special significance.

4. Cairo. The Dâr (house) of Ma'mûn al-Baṭâ'iḥî the builder of the mosque of al-Aqmar, who became Minister of the Khalif al-Amîr bi-Aḥkâm Illâh (1101-1130) and who was killed in 522 H. (1125), was turned by Saladin into a madrasa in 572 (1176), where the Hanafite rite was taught for the first time in Egypt [4]. It was originally known as the Madrasat al-Ḥanafîya, but in Maqrîzî's day it was called the Madrasat as-Suyûfîya, because it was in the bazaar of that name. A mosque known as that of Sheykh Miṭahhar was built on its site by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân Katkhoda. Sheykh Miṭahhar died 1190 H. (1776-1777) [5].

5. Cairo. The Manâzil al-ʿIzz, a palace built on the banks of the Nile by the mother of the Khalif al-ʿAzîz billah [6], was turned into a madrasa by Taqy ad-Dîn ʿOmar, Prince of Ḥamâ, after it had served for a time as his own residence. Taqy ad-Dîn acted as Viceroy of Egypt during the absence of his uncle Saladin, for a short period commencing Shaʿbân 579 (November 1183) [7].

[1] See Sauvaire's notes to his translation of 'Ilmawy in the *Journal asiatique*, 9e série, t. IV, p. 310.

[2] MS. *Description of Aleppo*, Blochet's translation, *loc. cit.*, VI, p. 27.

[3] Ibn Duqmâq, IV, p. 95, l. 7-14.

[4] Ravaisse, *Essai sur la topographie du Caire*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*, I, p. 436, quoting Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 462 and II, pp. 97 and 365-366.

[5] Al-Jabarty (French transl., Bulaq, 1889), III, pp. 235-236 and 242.

[6] Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 364, and Ibn Duqmâq, IV, pp. 93-94.

[7] Ibn Khallikân, de Slane's translation, II, p. 391.

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6. Damascus. Ibn Kathîr in his *Annals*[1] says under the year 603 (1206) : « Iqbâl Jamâl ad-Daula, one of the black slaves of al-Malik Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn and the founder of the two Iqbâlîya, which were two houses which he transformed into madrasas, the larger for the Shâfeyites, the smaller for the Hanafites with a third of the endowment which he created, died at Jerusalem in Dhu l-qa'da of the year 603 (June 1206). »

7. Damascus. The Shâmîya madrasa *intra muros* was originally a house belonging to Sitt ash-Shâm, and in which she died 16 Dhu l-qa'da 616 (16th January 1220). It was ultimately converted into a Shâfeyite madrasa in 628 (1230)[2].

8. Damascus. Madrasat al-Qûṣîya. Shihâb ad-Dîn al-Qûṣy died in Rabî' I, 653 (1255) and was interred in his house which, by his will, he had constituted a Dâr al-Ḥadîth[3].

9. Damascus. Madrasat an-Najîbîya. Nu'aimy states that the house of Muḥiy ad-Dîn was converted into a Shâfeyite madrasa by the Emîr Gamâl ad-Dîn Aqûsh an-Najîby, who died 677 (1277-1278)[4].

10. Damascus. Madrasat al-Qawwâsîya. This had been the house of the Emîr 'Izz ad-Dîn Ibrahîm. At the moment of his death, which took place 20 Dhu l-ḥigga 733 (Aug. 1333), he ordered his executors to convert it into a madrasa[5].

11. Cairo. Madrasat al-Kaysarânîya. This had been the Dâr of the Qâḍy Shams ad-Dîn Muḥammad ibn Ibrahîm al-Kaysarâny, who died in 752 H. (1350) and who had endowed it as a madrasa by his will made the previous year[6].

To these eleven instances taken from texts may be added two more, still existing in Cairo, viz : (1) the Madrasat al-Ghannâmîya and (2) the Madrasa of

(1) Sauvaire, *Description de Damas, Journal asiatique*, 9e série, t. III, p. 454.
(2) *Ibid.*, III, pp. 409-410 and 474-475.
(3) Sauvaire (quoting Nu'aimy and as-Sakhâwy), *loc. cit.*, III, pp. 493-494.
(4) Sauvaire, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 500.
(5) *Ibid.*, III, p. 437.
(6) Maqrîzî, *op. cit.*, II, p. 394.

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Khoshqadam al-Aḥmady. In each case we can see how little structural alteration was needed to convert the *qâʿa* of a Cairene house into a typical madrasa of two lîwâns.

1. The Madrasat al-Ghannâmîya exhibits several anomalies which show that it must originally been the *qâʿa* of a house. Its main axis lies north and south, there is a great stalactite frame at the back of the north lîwân which is a clear indication that there was once a *salsabîl* there (Plate X B), as is usual in a *qâʿa,* and there is a small miḥrâb set in the east side of the south lîwân, which is just what we find in the *qâʿa* of the house of Gamâl ad-Dîn az-Zahaby. This is confirmed by an inscription frieze in the north lîwân below the great stalactite frame, which runs :

Bismillah (*Qurân*, II, 255-259)... The foundation of this blessed *qâʿa* was ordered by the poor-in-God Shâkir ibn al-Ghannâm, may God pardon him, in the months of the year seventy-four and seven hundred (1372-1373).

There is a similar inscription under the ceiling of the same lîwân, but the date is omitted. Maqrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ,* II, p. 10) calls it a madrasa, so its conversion to such must have taken place before 827 H. (1423), the year in which he probably finished the compilation of his great work. In addition to the little miḥrâb, already mentioned, in the east side of the south lîwân, there is a much larger one farther to the north, which, by its mouldings, is evidently of Turkish origin [1].

2. The building known to-day as the Madrasa of Khoshqadam al-Aḥmady (Plate XI) was originally the house of the Emîr Ṭashtimur ad-Dawâdâr al-Maliky al-Ashrafy. Around the walls of the *qâʿa* runs a frieze with beautiful inscriptions in panels, of which the part over the entrance door gives the date of completion as Ragab 768 (or 778). Along the frieze of the vestibule and corridor is another inscription containing a curious armorial badge and the name of the Emîr. Ibn Iyâs states in his *Badâyeʿ az-Zohûr* that in Ramaḍân 891 (1486), the first *khuṭba* was pronounced in the madrasa of beautiful construc-

[1] Creswell, *A Brief Chronology of the Muḥammadan Monuments of Egypt,* in the *Bull. Inst. français,* t. XVI, pp. 113-114.

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tion which Khoshqadam al-Aḥmady had founded in the quarter of Bâb ar-Rumeyla (this building is quite near the Meydan Rumeyla) and that it was originally a hall in which a praying niche had been installed. ʿAly Pasha Mubârak quotes as-Sakhâwy's *aḍ-Ḍau' al-Lâmiʿ* to the same effect [1].

The conversion of this house into a madrasa merely involved the addition of the solid block of masonry, hollowed out so as to form a miḥrâb, which stands almost free at the back of the east lîwân (Plate XI B), and a minaret.

Having come to the conclusion that the cruciform madrasa was Egyptian in origin, I shall now go a step farther and endeavour to show that its influence on Syria was almost nil. Only two madrasas, one built by an Egyptian Sultan and the other by an Egyptian Emîr, show signs of this influence, (*a*) the Madrasa of Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Bibars at Damascus, and (*b*) the Tenkîzîya, at Jerusalem.

The former was commenced, according to Maqrîzî [2], 15 Gumâda I, 676 (14th October 1277) and finished at the end of Gumâda II (27th November 1277). The inscription which runs across the entrance ends with the date 676 also, but as it refers to the fact that it shelters the tomb of Sultan Malik Saʿîd Muḥammad Barakat Khân, the son of Bibars, whose burial here only took place 20 Rabîʿ I, 679 (20th July 1280) [3], it is obvious, as van Berchem has pointed out [4], that the great inscription cannot have been executed before that date, which is more acceptable also as the date of the completion of the edifice than the impossible one given by Maqrîzî, as that only allows six weeks for its construction [5]. It was therefore finished sixteen and a half years after

[1] See the *Comptes rendus* of the *Comité de Conservation*, for 1906, pp. 56-57; Herz bey, *Mosquée Khochkadam el-Ahmadi, à Darb el-Hosr, au Caire*, *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 159-164, and my *Brief Chronology*, loc. cit., pp. 111-112.

[2] *Sultans Mamlouks*, I *b*, p. 162.

[3] *Sultans Mamlouks*, II *a*, p. 32.

[4] *Inschriften aus Syrien*, p. 153.

[5] Maqrîzî (*loc. cit.*, I *b*, p. 162) and ʿIlmawy (*loc. cit.*, III, p. 421) say that it was formerly known as the Dâr (House) al-ʿAqîqy and that it was converted into a madrasa, but it is certain that we have to do with a demolition and reconstruction, and not merely a conversion. Maqrîzî admits the construction of the dome and ʿIlmawy (quoting Ibn Kathîr) says that on 5 Gumâda II they laid the foundations of the turba and also of the madrasa. Moreover the latter says that al-ʿAqîqy died Gumâda I 368 (5th Dec. 976), so his house cannot have been *converted* into the present building, on account of (*a*) the stalactite portal, and (*b*) the ornament on the south façade. The earliest stalactite portal in Syria is that of the Madrasat al-Bakhtîya, 589 (1193), but is a very simple one, the earliest approaching the Ẓâhirîya in

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the first cruciform madrasa in Cairo. It has a magnificent stalactite portal in the centre of the west façade, and a solidly built enclosing wall, but it is little more than a shell, practically the whole interior having disappeared except the beautiful mausoleum, all resplendent with marble panelling and friezes of gold mosaic in excellent preservation, and the arch of a great îwân on the south side, next the mausoleum. This arch however has been built up flush with the façade, and the îwân converted into a house of two storeys. The other sides of the courtyard are occupied by modern buildings. Fortunately the following passage from 'Ilmawy[1] comes to our aid : « The duties of superior of the School of Tradition, which is situated between the southern îwân of the Hanafites and the eastern îwân of the Shâfeyites were exercised by Abû Isḥâq al-Andalusy, then by seven others after him, etc. ». There were therefore two îwâns, a School of Tradition in the south-east angle, a mausoleum in the south-west angle, and no doubt students' cells all along the north side of the ṣaḥn, perhaps in two tiers. The west side probably had one or two also between the entrance bay and the corners. There is here however an anomaly : a îwân in the place of a triple-arched masjid. Although there is nothing to show that this madrasa was cruciform, — in fact it is probable that it was not, since it was only built for two rites — the existence of a great îwân on the qibla side can only mean that this îwân, which 'Ilmawy tells us was that of the Hanafites, was used as the hall of prayer also, a thoroughly Egyptian practice in striking contrast to the Syrian custom which, as we have seen, was to have a masjid of special form.

The Madrasa of Tenkiz, at Jerusalem, was commenced by the Egyptian Emîr Tenkiz an-Nâṣiry, Nâib (Viceroy) of Syria, in Shauwâl 727 (August-September 1327)[2]. The inscription which runs across the entrance is dated 729 (1328-1329) a date which no doubt refers, as is usual in Egyptian epigraphy, to the completion of the edifice. It consists of four îwâns opening on opposite sides of a square, but the latter, instead of being open to the sky, is covered with a cross-vault, probably on account of the cold winters which are

scale being that of the Madrasa of Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Ghâzi at Aleppo (Firdaus), built 616 (1219-1220). As for the enclosing walls, the incised ornament round the circular window in the south façade is not found in Syria (or Egypt) until the XIII^th century A. D.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, III, p. 422.

[2] Mujîr ad-Dîn, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

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usual in the highlands of Judæa[1]. There is an hexagonal opening in the centre of the vault, otherwise the interior would be rather dark[2].

POSTSCRIPT.

In mentioning the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan, I cannot refrain from mentioning what I call the Christian architect myth. There are two popular myths constantly met with in architectural history, of which one, the « decapitation or mutilation of the architect myth » is the most ubiquitous. We constantly read in the history of famous buildings that the King or Sultan, as the case may be, ordered the execution of the architect in order to prevent him from designing another building which might rival his masterpiece. This myth occasionally appears in a milder form, according to which the architect merely had his right hand cut off. This story is told under one form or another of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem[3], of the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai[4], of the Palace of Kharwarnaq[5], of Sultan Ḥasan's Madrasa at Cairo[6] and the Madrasa of Qagmâs al-Isḥâqy[7], of the Tâj Maḥal at Agra and no doubt of many other buildings. I have seen similar legends in connection with the great Mosque of Damascus, the Walls of Jerusalem when rebuilt by Sultan Suleymân, and the Kremlin at Moscow, but I cannot recall the authority.

The other myth — the « Christian architect myth » — is fairly widely spread in the history of Muḥammadan architecture. It occurs, for example, in connection with the Tâj Maḥal at Agra and the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn at Cairo. The tradition concerning Austin of Bordeaux and the Tâj Maḥal has

[1] Muqaddasy says that in Syria it was the practice to have doors shutting off the main-building (i. e. the sanctuary) from the ṣaḥn, no doubt for the same reason. See Le Strange's trans., *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, p. 75, and his *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 21.

[2] There are some beautiful illustrations of the madrasa of Tenkiz in van Berchem's *C. I. A.*, II : Jerusalem, plates LXVII-LXVIII.

[3] Eutychius, quoted by Harvey and Lethaby in their *Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, p. 14.

[4] Harvey and Lethaby, *ibid.*, p. 14.

[5] Ṭabari, in Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 80.

[6] Gayet, *L'Art arabe*, p. 121.

[7] A. Rhoné, *L'Égypte à petites journées* (2e édit.), p. 47.

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been discussed by Sir John Marshall [1], Havell [2], Hosten [3], Chisholm [4], and Vincent-Smith [5].

Before discussing the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, it is necessary to make a slight digression. Towards the end of the wars of the Crusades, city after city, with churches built by the Crusaders, fell into the hands of the Moslems. In many cases the churches were respected and stand to-day; in other cases, notably at Jaffa, they were pillaged and destroyed. Bibars al-Bunduqdâry in 665 (1267) according to Anija « took the Jaffa road, laid siege to the town, and carried it the same day. The Citadel also fell into his hands. He made all the people come out of the place, and completely destroyed it. The wood and marble he placed on board ship and sent them to Cairo, where the wood was used for making the Maksurah of the Mosque Daheri, situated in the Haramieh quarter, and the marble served to construct the Mihrab [6]. » Again Khalîl al-Ashraf carried away the doorway of the church at ʿAkka and brought it to Cairo, where it was used as the doorway of the madrasa, commenced by Ketbughâ and finished by an-Nâṣir Muḥammad, which still exists in the Sûq an-Naḥḥâsîn [7]. Maqrîzî saw it and admired it and relates its history [8].

If one carefully examines the monuments of Cairo one will find evidence of other, unrecorded, borrowings not only from pre-Muḥammadan Coptic churches, but from the architecture of the Crusaders also. Take for example the entrance bay of the Mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Saʿdy (Plate XII c), built 715 (1315), with its two little columns on either side of the window over the doorway, the Gothic mouldings of their bases and their waxy leaved capitals, so characteristic of the Gothic architecture of Palestine, *e. g.* the Church of St. George at Ludd (Plate XII A), built about 1150 A. D. [9], and

[1] *Archæological Survey of India : Annual Report, 1904-1905*, p. 1.

[2] E. B. Havell, *The Taj and its Designers. Nineteenth Century*, vol. LIII, pp. 1039-1049. Reprinted in his *Essays on Indian Art*, pp. 1-23, and as an Appendix to the second edition of his *Handbook to Agra and the Taj*.

[3] Rev. H. Hosten, *Who planned the Tâj? J. A. S. B.*, New Series, vol. VI (1910), pp. 281-288.

[4] *Essays on Indian Art. Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 3rd Series, XXXII (1911), pp. 315-320.

[5] See his revised edition (London, 1915) of Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*.

[6] Col. C. R. Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 276.

[7] Van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, I, pp. 152-155.

[8] *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 382.

[9] The first church was built by Justinian

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the church of St. John the Baptist at Sebastieh (Plate XII B), probably of the second half of the XII^th century [1].

Let us now return to Cairo and examine the miḥrâb of the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan (Plate XII D); are not the engaged columns on either side, with their moulded bases and distinctive capitals, such a contrast to the lotus type, instantly recognisable as Crusader's work? Having established the existence of fragments of Gothic architecture in this building, let us now examine the great portal. Low down to right and left we have two carved pieces of stone, the left with similar mouldings to that on the right, but with a plain panel, whereas the latter (Plate XII E), is divided into several panels, two of which frame curious little buildings. This is the piece of evidence on which Herz [2] and others have suggested that this great madrasa was built by a Christian architect, that this carved fragment was, in fact, a sort of surreptitious signature of a man denied the right of carving a short inscription naming him as the architect. This piece is clearly of Christian — of Crusading — origin, the form of the pointed arch of the frame is absolutely Gothic, so too is the carving and the row of billets bordering the frame above the dome; the upper building is, I think, meant for the Dome of the Rock, which was regarded by the Crusaders with the utmost veneration, as being in their opinion the Temple of the time of Christ. But, in view of the many examples already cited of the re-employment of Crusading fragments, will any one be so rash as to put forward this obviously imported fragment as the work of the architect of the rest of the building? If it were so, we should find the main features of the building exhibiting Gothic mouldings also, and not merely the two little fragments embedded in the side of the main entrance, and the four little

and destroyed by the Khalif Ḥâkim in 1010; a new church arose shortly after, but was destroyed by the Moslems on the approach of the Crusaders in 1099, for fear that they would utilize the long beams to make engines of war. It was rebuilt, and is mentioned by William of Tyre in connection with the invasion of the apostate Ivelin in 1177. Nine years later it excited the admiration of John Phocas. It was wrecked in 1191 during the struggle between Saladin and Richard I, the present church is merely a restored fragment of it. The limiting dates are therefore 1099 and 1177 A. D. See DE VOGÜÉ, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 363-367.

[1] Similar Gothic shafts, bases and capitals are found in the miḥrâb of the mausoleum attached to the madrasa of Ṣarghatmish, built 757 (1356).

[2] *Mosquée du sultan Hassan*, pp. 24 and 25.

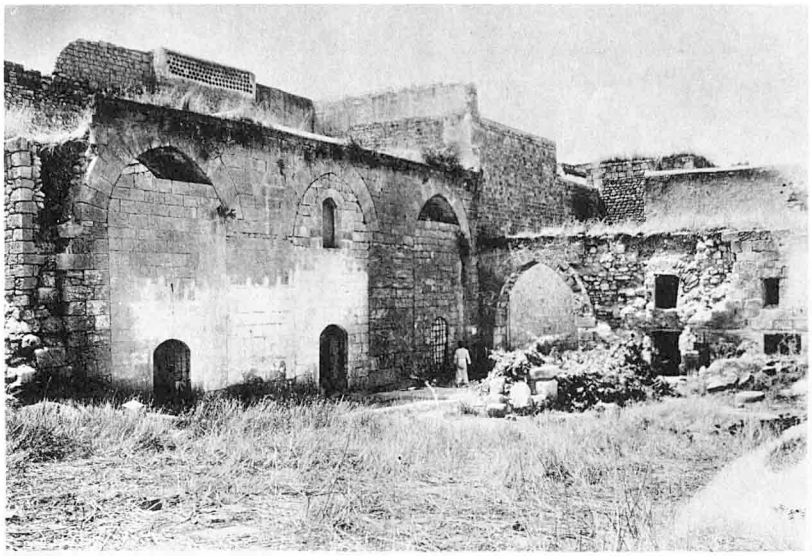
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columns of the miḥrâb. Moreover even had an architect, brought up in the Gothic school, been imported by Sultan Ḥasan, he would not have executed work in the style of this fragment, which belongs to a period of Gothic art earlier than the middle of the XIV^th^ century. Finally, Herz himself has to admit that this fragment is carved on all four sides[1], although only two of these face outwards; yet he rejects this conclusive evidence that it cannot have been made for the position it now occupies. Everything points to its being a fragment of loot from the wars of the Crusades which had lain idle in some stone-mason's yard until employed, with its plainer companion, to decorate the portal of Sultan Ḥasan's great madrasa.

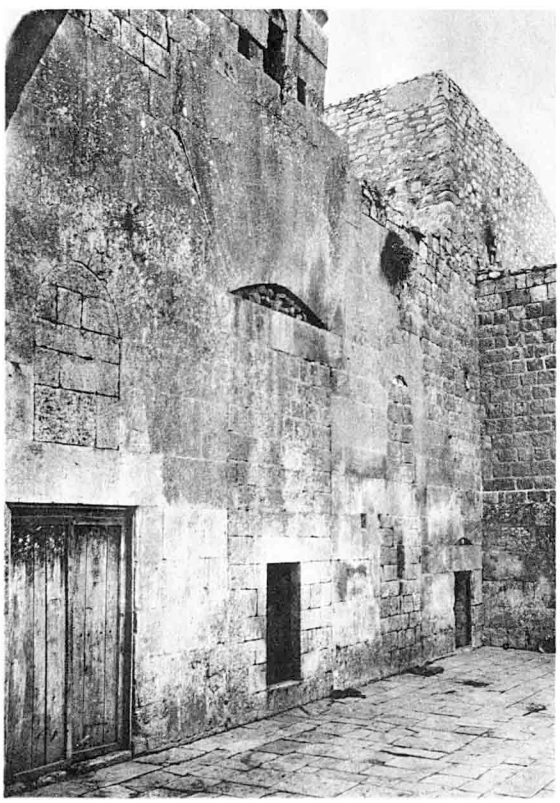
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[1] The western side bears a plaited pattern similar to that on the eastern; but that on the north side has entirely disappeared on the upper part, and the lower is too much abraded, and too close to the wall for the pattern to be grasped.

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A. — Aleppo : Madrasa Khân at-Tutun.



B. — Ma'arrat an-Nu'mân : Shâfeyite Madrasa.

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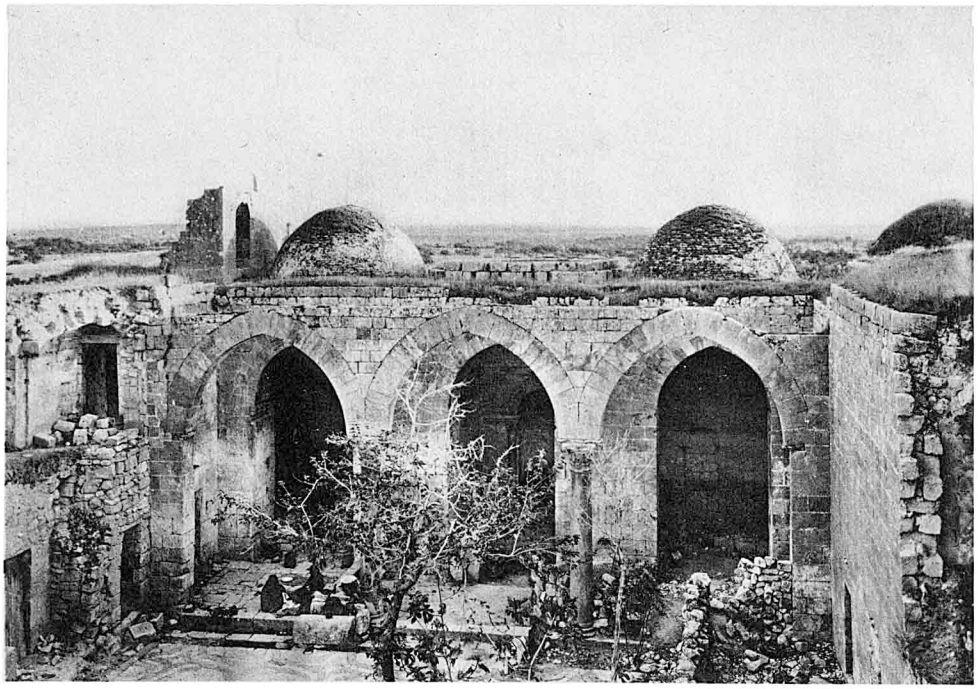


A. — Damascus : ʿAdeliya Madrasa — east side of sahn.

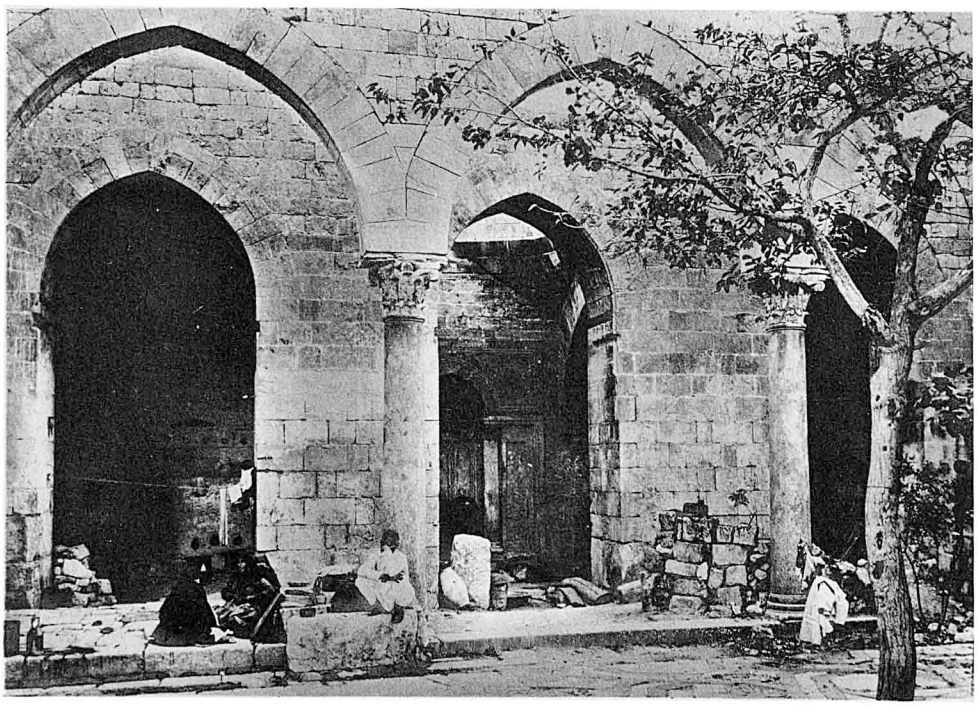


B. — Damascus : ʿAdeliya Madrasa — façade of sanctuary.

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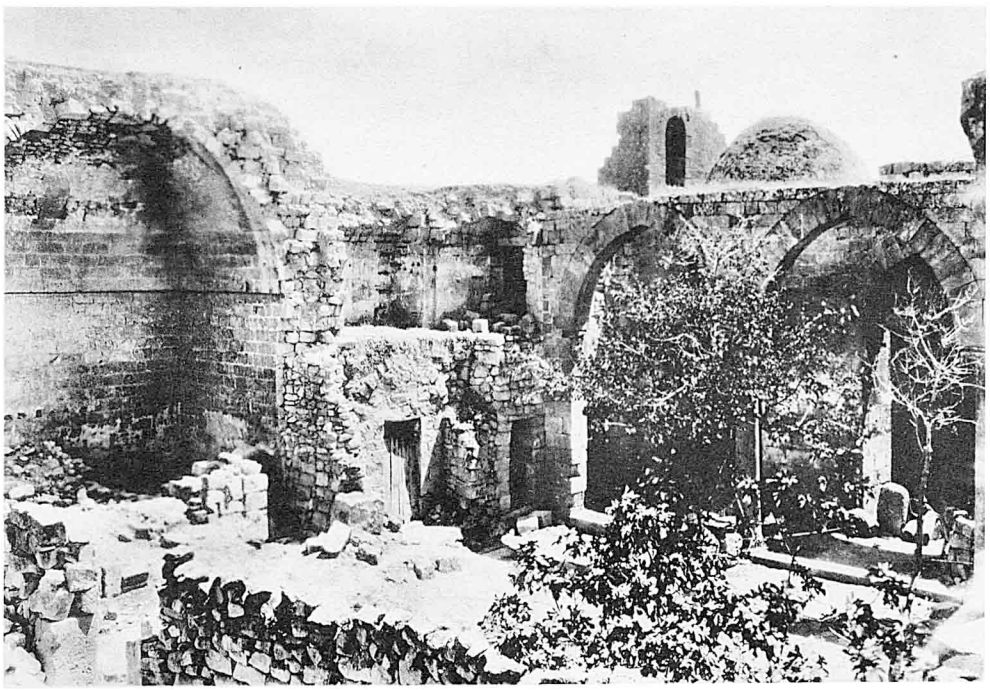


A. — Aleppo (Firdaus) : Zâherîya Madrasa — façade of sanctuary.

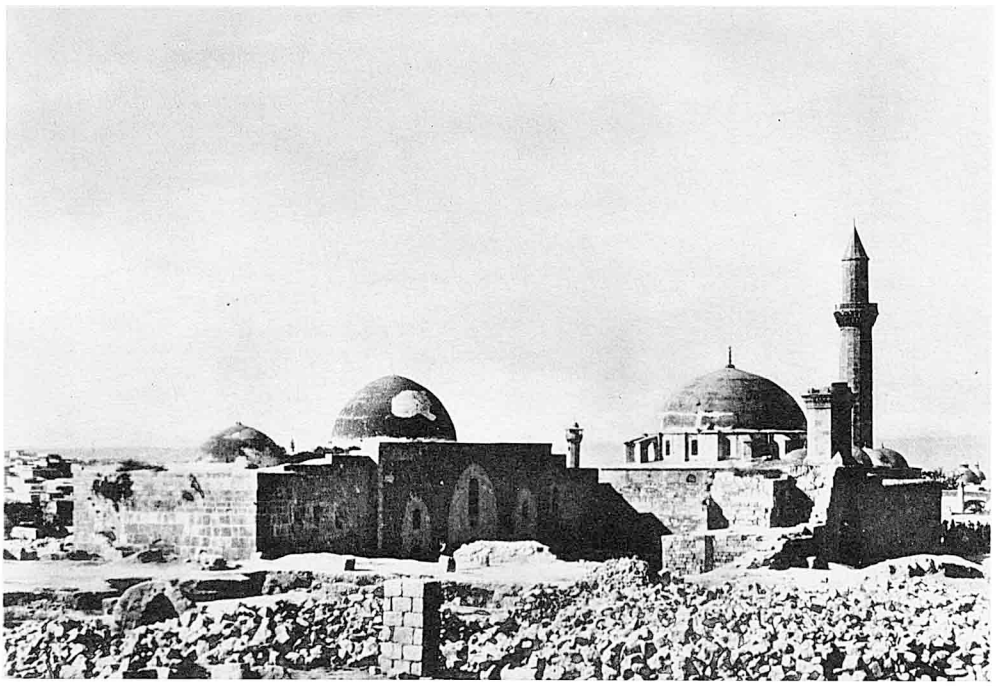


B. — Aleppo (Firdaus) : Zâherîya Madrasa — sanctuary.

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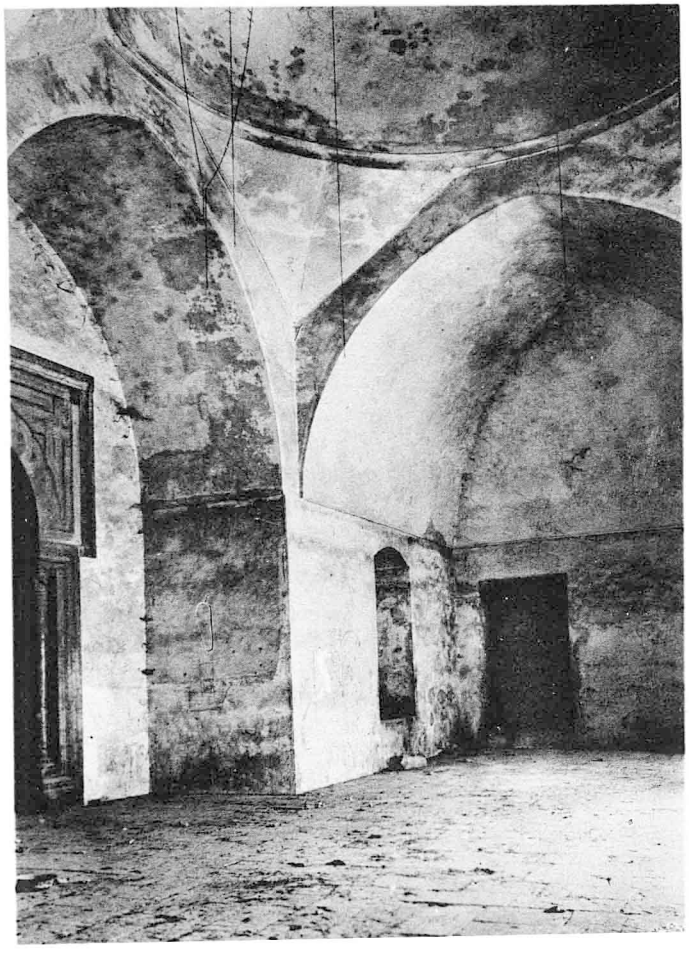


A. — Aleppo (Firdaus) : Zâherîya Madrasa — south-west angle of sahn.

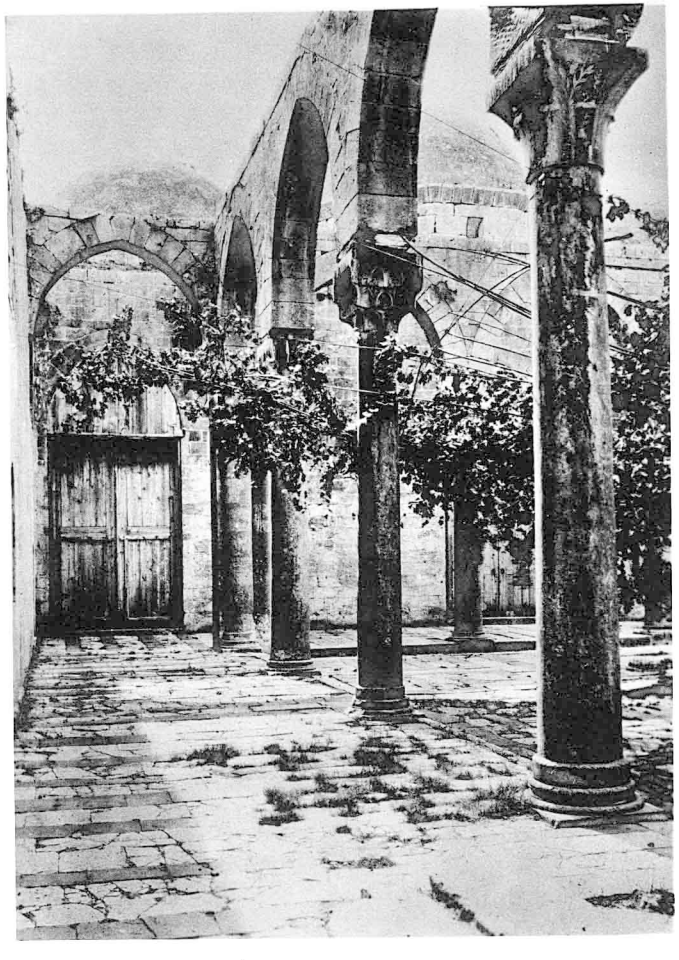


B. — Aleppo : Madrasat as-Sultanîya.

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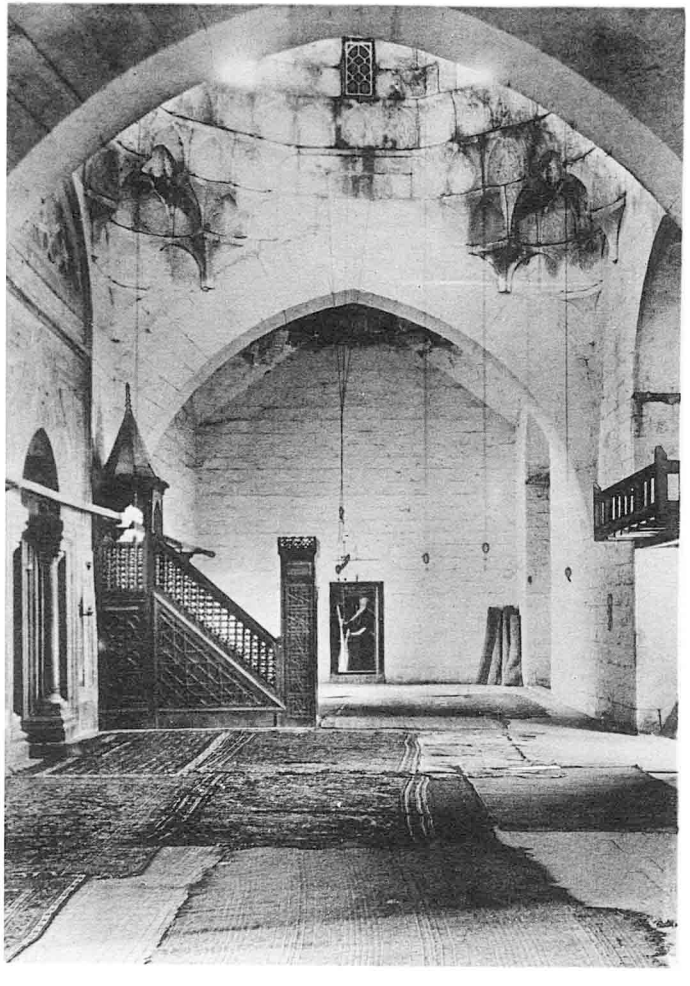


A. — Aleppo : Madrasat as-Sultaniya — sanctuary.

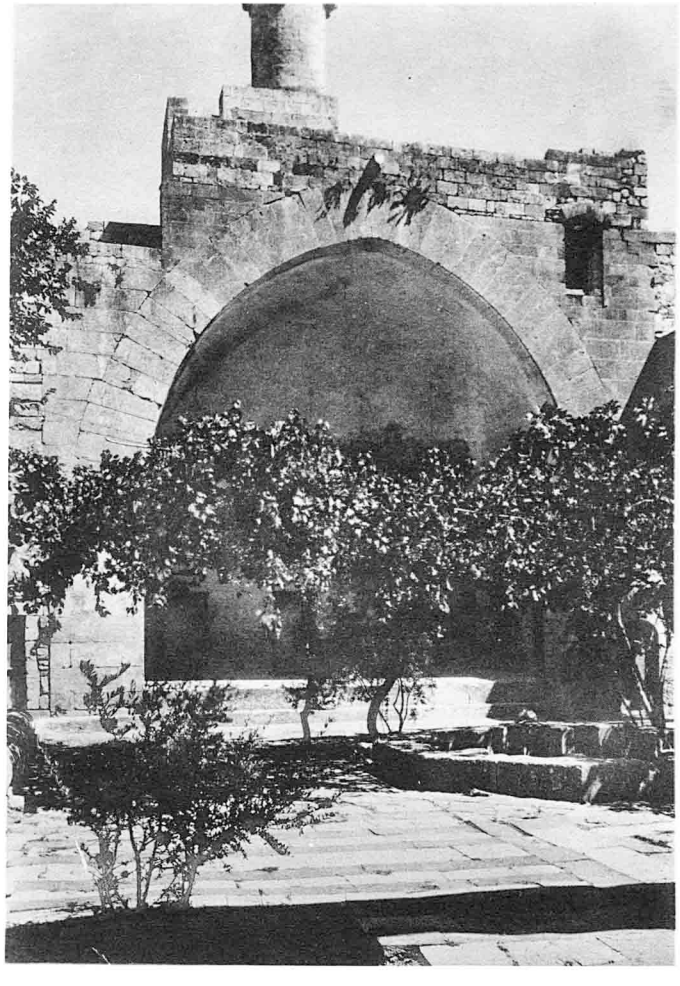


B. — Aleppo (Firdaus) : Jâmi and Madrasa Firdaus — east rîwâq.

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A. — Aleppo (Firdaus) : Jâmi' and Madrasa Firdaus — sanctuary.

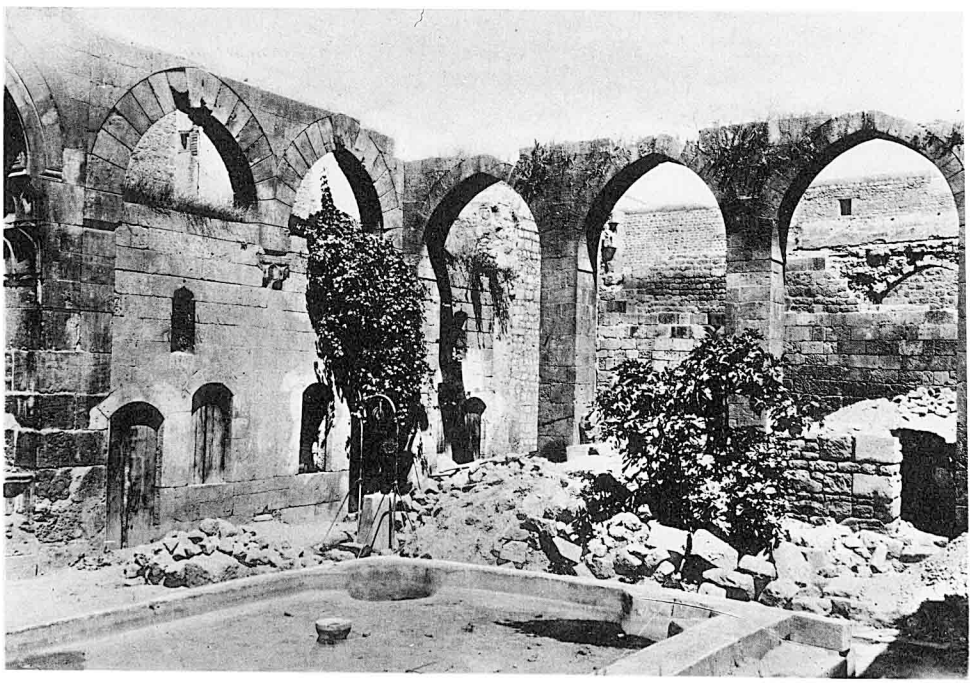


B. — Aleppo (Firdaus) : Jâmi' and Madrasa Firdaus — one of the great liwâns.

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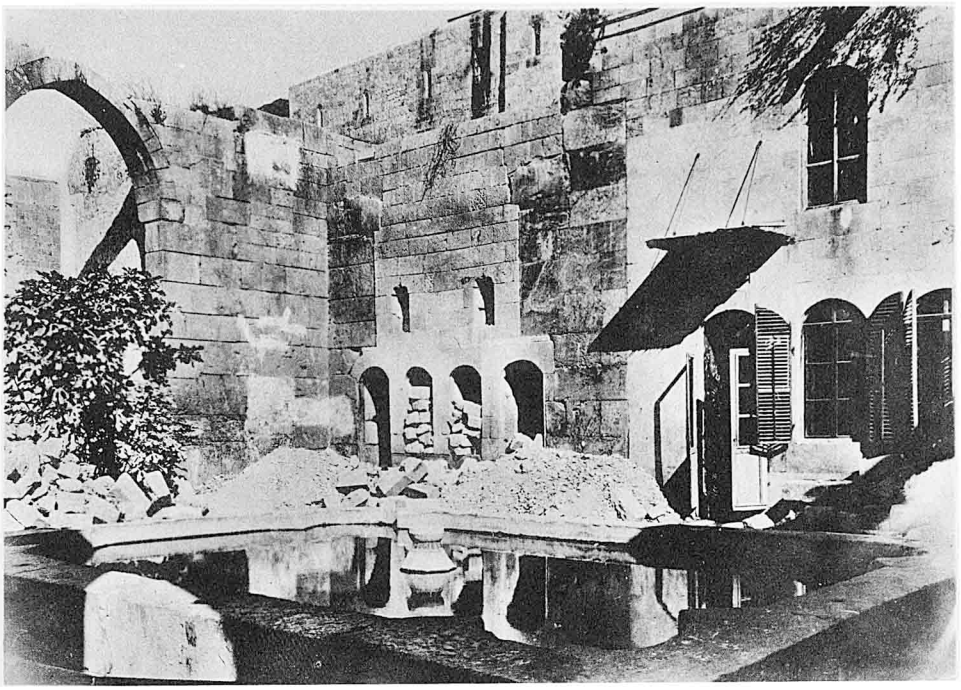


A. — Aleppo : Madrasat ash Sharâtîya — west side of sahn.

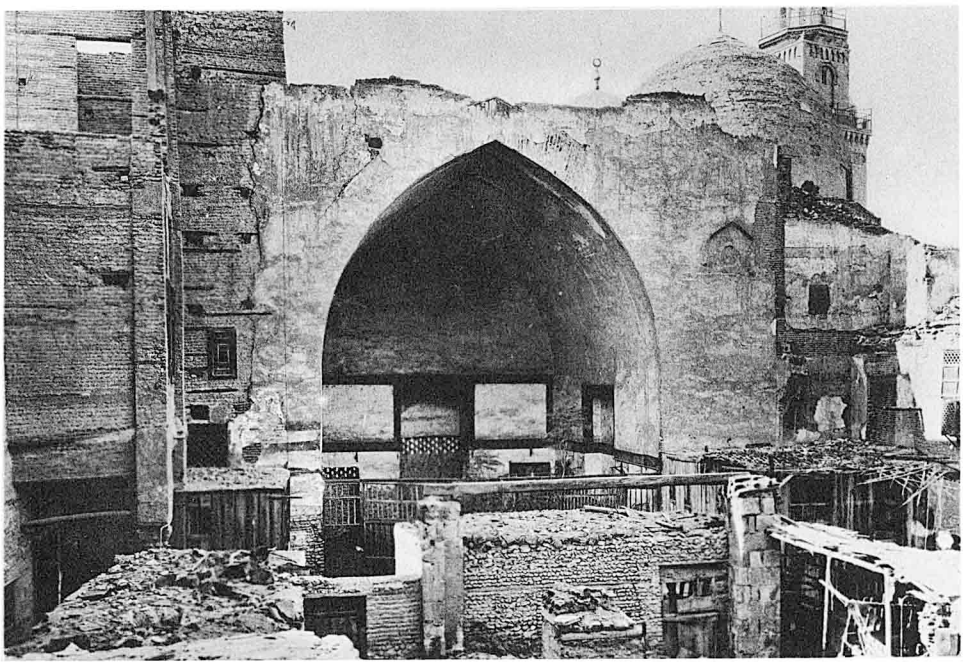


B. — Aleppo : Madrasat ash-Sharâfîya — north-west angle of sahn.

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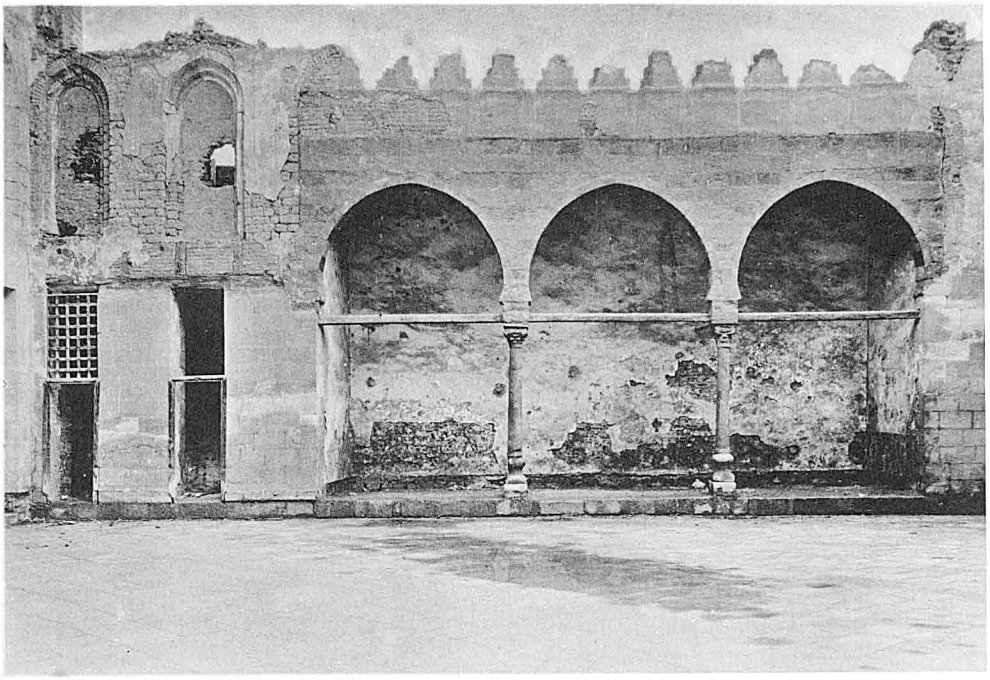


A. — Aleppo : Madrasat ash-Sharâfiya — north-east angle of sahn.

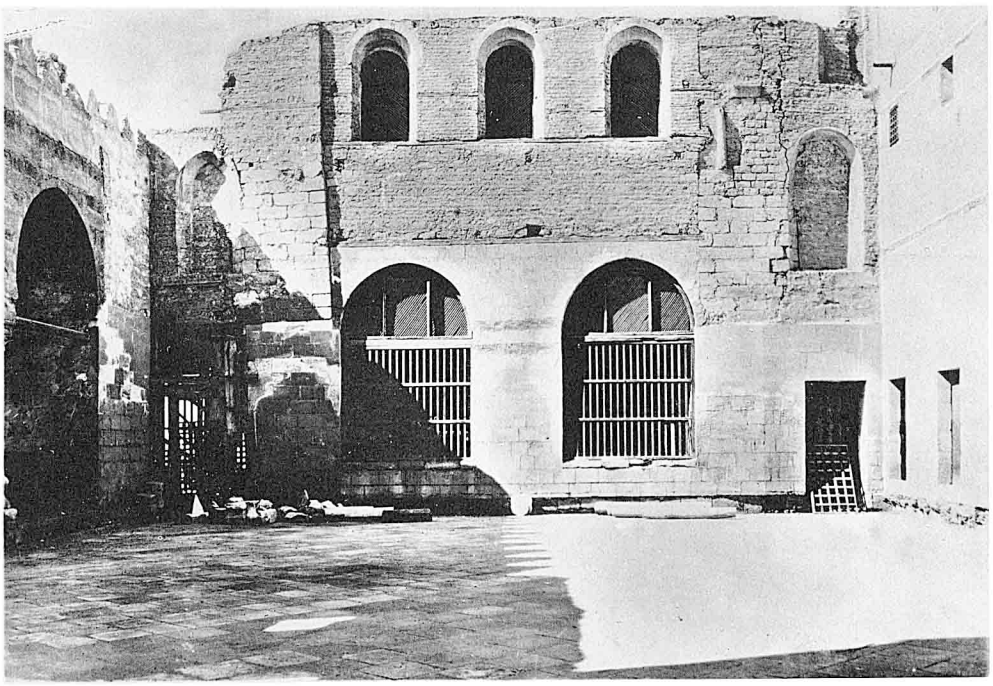


B. — Cairo : Madrasa of Sultan as-Sâlih Negm ad-Dîn Ayyûb — northern half, west îwân.

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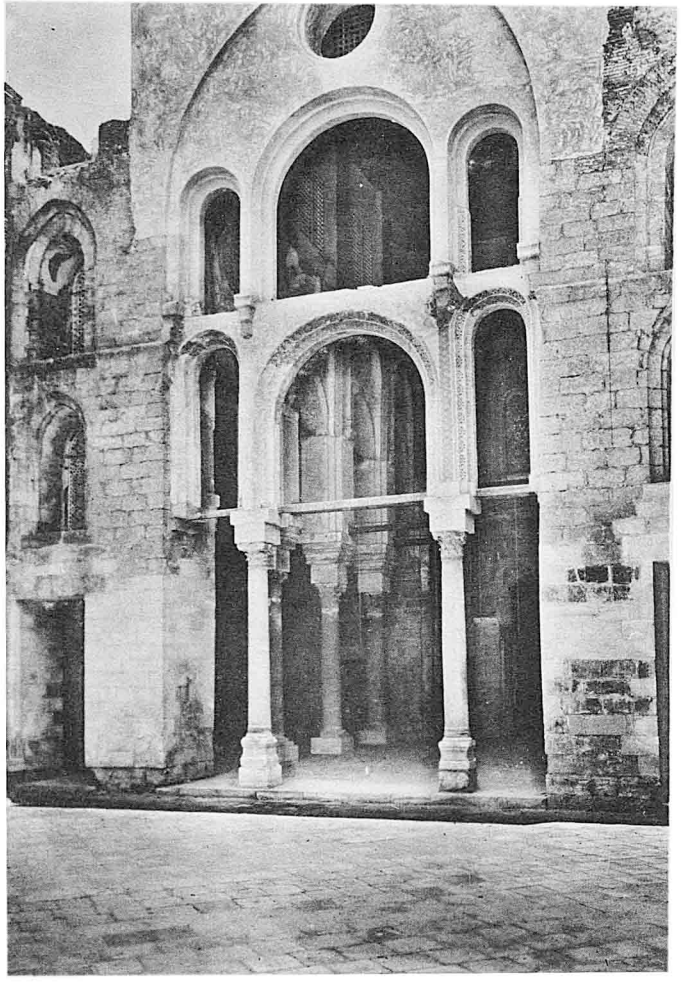
A. — Cairo : Madrasa of Sultan Qalâûn — south-west side of sahn.



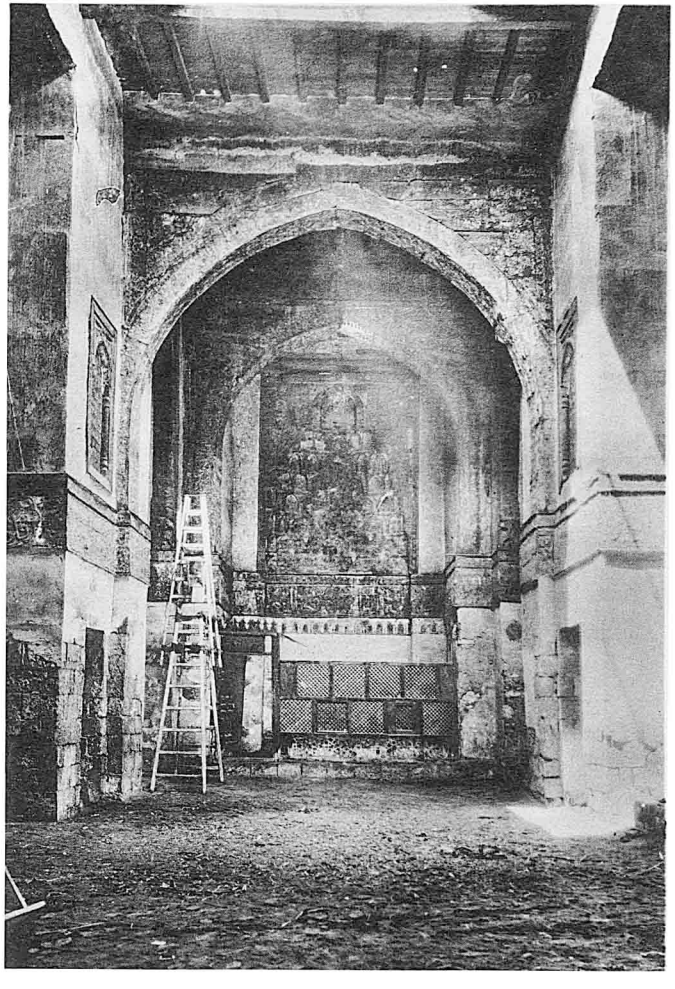
B. — Cairo : Madrasa of Sultan Qalâûn — remains of great liwân.

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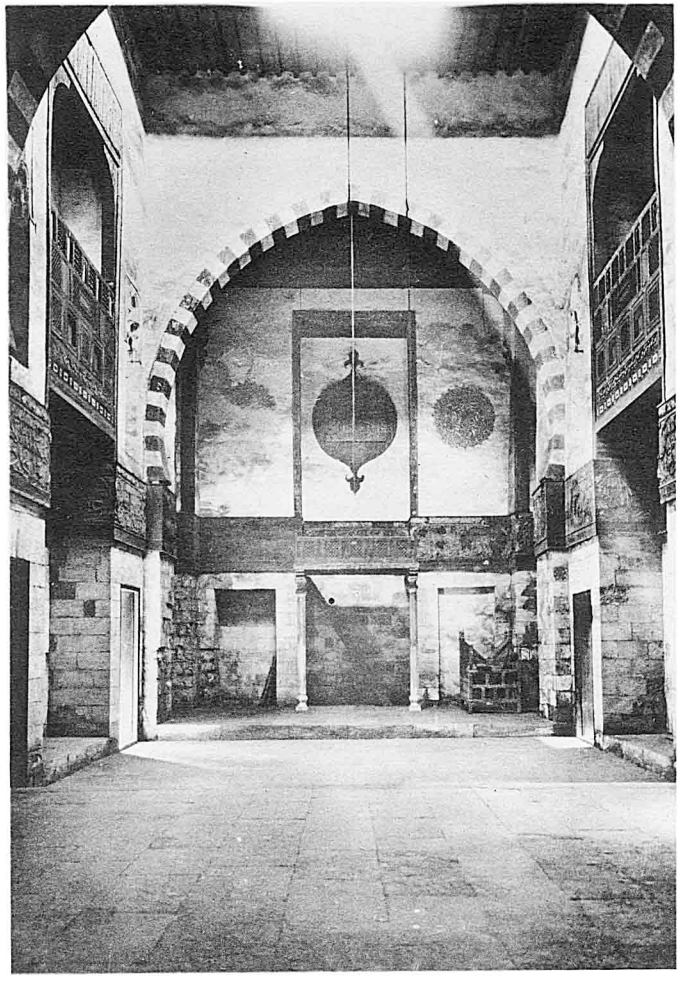
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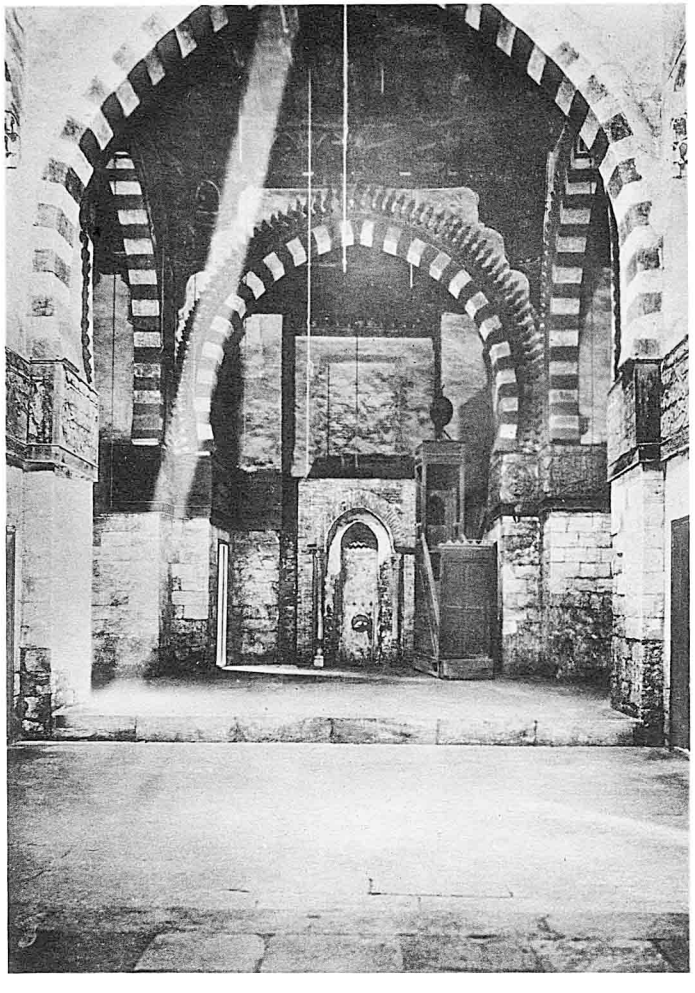
A. — Cairo : Madrasa of Sultan Qalàùn — sanctuary.



B. — Cairo : Madrasat al-Ghannâmîya — north liwân.

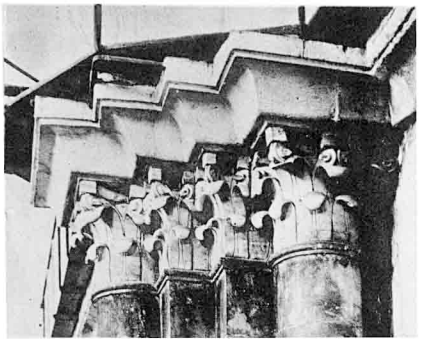


A. — Cairo : Madrasa of Khoshqadam al-Ahmady — west lîwân.



B. — Cairo : Madrasa of Khoshqadam al-Ahmady — east lîwân.

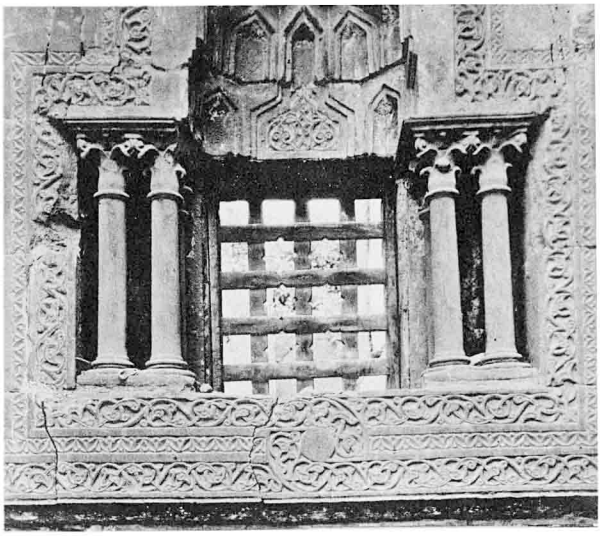
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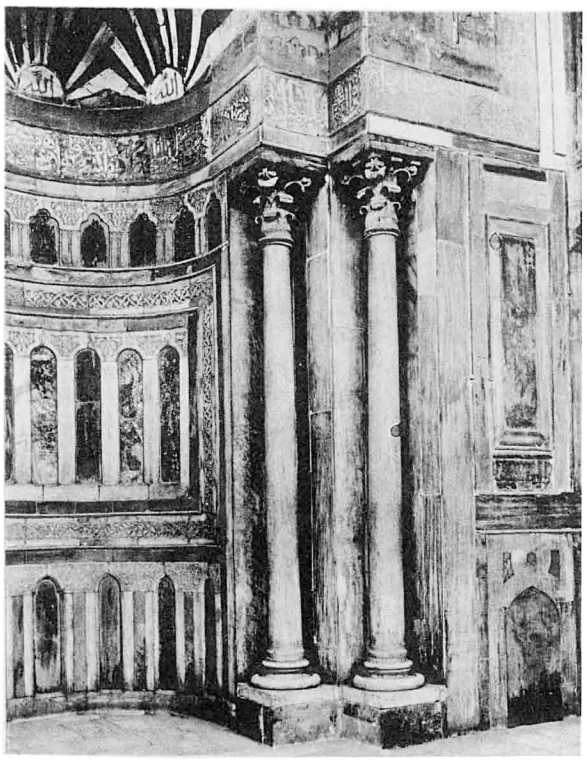
A. — Ludd : Church of St. George.



B. — Sebastieh : Church of St. John the Baptist.



C. — Cairo : Mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Sa'dy.



D. Cairo : Mosque of Sultan Hasan.



E. — Cairo : Mosque of Sultan Hasan.

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