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Doris Behrens-Abouseif

The North-eastern Extension of Cairo under the Mamluks [avec 3 planches].

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THE NORTH-EASTERN EXTENSION OF CAIRO UNDER THE MAMLUKS

Doris BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

The descriptions of Evliyā Čelebī of the northern suburb of Cairo as it was left by the Circassian Mamluk dynasty provides some interesting information and details. Although some of his descriptions may include exaggerations, the accuracy of others can be confirmed by the accounts of other travelers of the same period, as well as by scattered references in Mamluk sources. Čelebī, who lived in Cairo for several years, wrote in 1672-80 that the northern and north-eastern suburbs of Cairo extended as far as from Bāb al-Naṣr to the mausoleum of al-ʿAdil Ṭūmānbāy (Index Nr. 2), which is quite a distance. He calls this area the « summer place » of Qāyṭbāy, where this Sultan would spend a large amount of his time escaping the plague and heat of the city ⁽¹⁾. The « summer place » of Qāyṭbāy was crossed by an avenue with thousands of palaces on either side, all of which decayed after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt; only seventeen mosques, one *ḥammām*, and seventy *miḥrāb*(s) had survived to his time.

The avenue referred to here is the road to Maṭariyya which impressed other travelers as well during both the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. Breydenbach, who traveled in Egypt during the reign of Qāyṭbāy, writes that the road to Maṭariyya was full of palaces ⁽²⁾. Arnold von Harff, shortly after death of Qāyṭbāy, reports that the road from Maṭariyya to Babylon was one of Cairo's twenty-four main streets, adding that it was the chief artery of the city and a good two German miles in length ⁽³⁾. That von Harff does not distinguish between the *qaṣaba* within the gates and the street crossing the outskirts seems to indicate that the road must have been densely built up on both sides so as to appear almost as though it was part of the city. Van Ghistele, also writing in the fifteenth

(1) Čelebī, pp. 295 f. — (2) Breydenbach, p. 45. — (3) von Harff, pp. 109 ff.

century, mentions « *maisons de plaisance* » in the northern suburb, with the city being without walls and much longer than it was wide ⁽¹⁾. Fabri writes that palaces and gardens could be seen without interruption between Maṭariyya and Cairo. These palaces, which he compares with castles, were so numerous that they were like a town between Cairo and Maṭariyya ⁽²⁾.

Mamluk sources report that Qāyṭbāy spent a great deal, perhaps too much, of his time outside Cairo ⁽³⁾, and the northern and north-eastern outskirts are often mentioned in this context. Ibn Iyās speaks of guest houses of the amirs ⁽⁴⁾, which he calls « *ḍiyāfāt al-umarā'* », between the city and Maṭariyya, an area which had been, in fact, a resort since Fatimid times.

I. — MAṬARIYYA.

Maqrīzī uses both the names Maṭariyya and 'Ayn Shams for the village in the northern outskirts of Cairo which was known to medieval travelers for its ancient Egyptian ruins as well as the balsam trees which grew there and the legend connecting the village to the Virgin ⁽⁵⁾. During the Fatimid period 'Ayn Šams was a hunting ground for the Caliph, and the area to the south of Maṭariyya around the Mosque of Tibr is mentioned as an excursion place where the Caliph would go, sometime officially with his Parasol and sometimes without it ⁽⁶⁾. The Mosque of Tibr, which still stands, was built by an Ikhshīdī amir and named after him for a descendant of 'Alī ⁽⁷⁾.

We owe many travelers' accounts of the outskirts of Cairo to the fact that Maṭariyya was on the itinerary of every European traveler to Egypt because of its Christian tradition and the fact that it was on the caravan road to Sinai. The balsam oil produced at Maṭariyya, with which oil from other places could not compete, was a precious rarity for which Egypt was famous during the Middle Ages. These balsams were small trees which grew near the Balsam well at Maṭariyya from which they were irrigated; according to tradition, they could not grow

⁽¹⁾ van Ghistele, p. 17.

⁽²⁾ Fabri, pp. 526 f; 906.

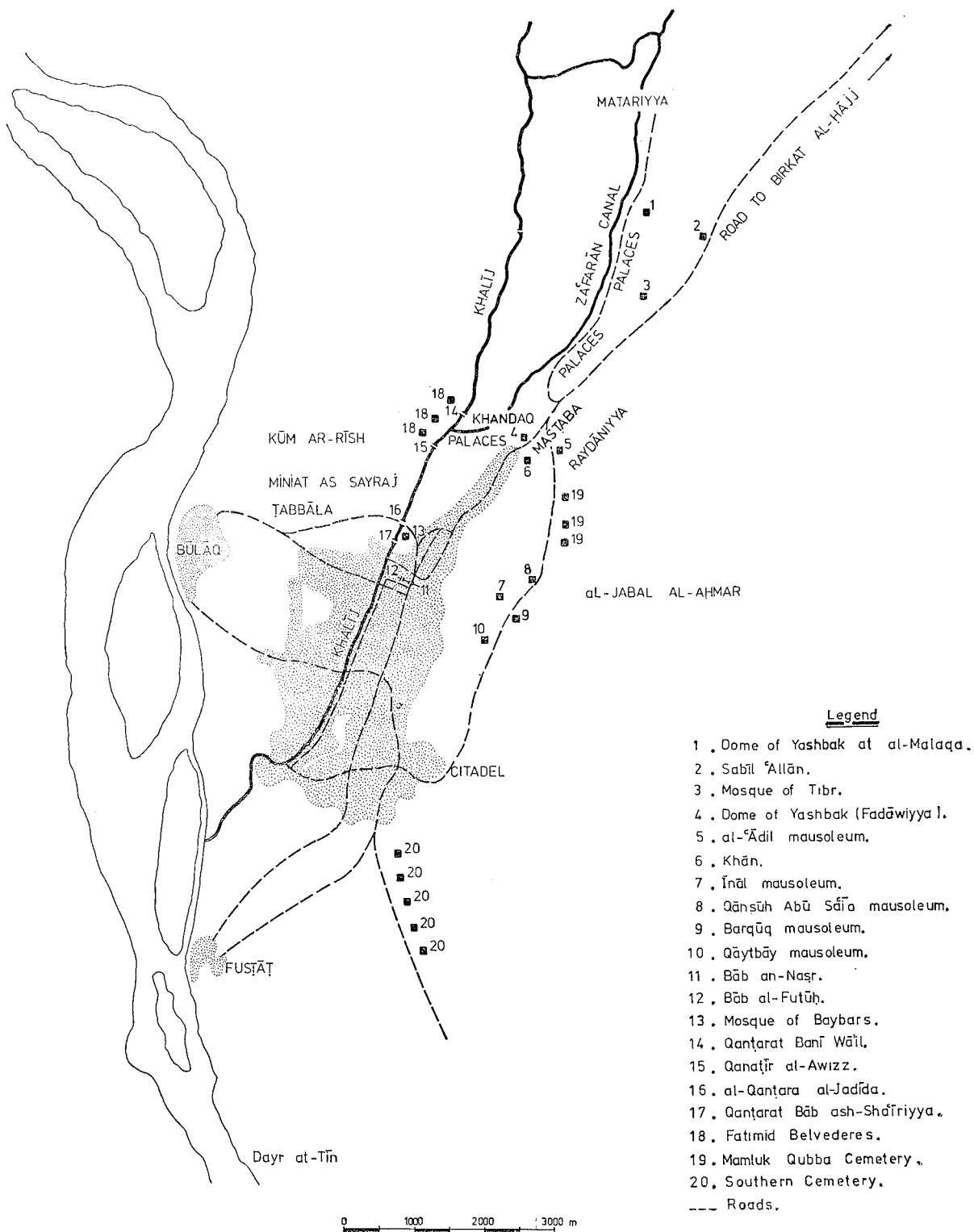
⁽³⁾ Ṣayrafī, *Anbā'*, pp. 69, 225.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, p. 207.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* I, p. 228 f.

⁽⁶⁾ Musabbiḥī, pp. 9, 15, 23, 38, 42, 45 f., 61, 77.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 413.



without the waters of this particular well ⁽¹⁾. The commercial importance of balsam oil was due to its medical and clerical uses in Christian countries. Christian rulers appreciated it as a royal gift. In Mamluk Egypt it was a royal monopoly, was collected in the presence of either the Sultan himself or the Ḥazindār, and was carried into Cairo in an official procession. Arnold von Harff reports that the balsam trees were damaged in the fighting between the Mamluks after the death of Qāyṭbāy. Ibn Iyās records the year 1499 as the date when they stopped growing, although Sultan al-Ġūrī later took care to revive them by importing young trees from the Ḥiğāz ⁽¹⁾.

The village of Maṭariyya used to be reached by a branch of the Khalij called the Za'farān and in Mamluk *waqf*(s) the entire area is called al-Maṭariyya wa'l-Za'farān ⁽²⁾.

II. — ḤUSAYNIYYA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS ⁽³⁾.

Ḥusayniyya, including the area north of Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb al-Naṣr, received its name from one of the tribal contingents of the Fatimid army which settled there. Maqrīzī distinguishes between two districts within Ḥusayniyya :

- a) from Bāb al-Naṣr to Raydāniyya. Raydāniyya, today 'Abbāsiyya, was named after the Fatimid amir Raydān al-Ṣaqlabī, who laid out the gardens in the area. Raydāniyya bordered on the desert of al-Hulayliḡ, which was so named after an Indian plant which was imported by Raydān for his garden.
- b) from Bāb al-Futūḥ to the village of al-Ḥandaq. Al-Ḥandaq, now al-Dimirdāš, derived its name from the ditch dug by al-Ġawhar as a defence against a Qarmatian attack from Syria; prior to the digging of this ditch, the village had been known as Miniāt al-Aṣbaḡ ⁽⁴⁾. After the Qarmatian

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Iyās III, p. 435; IV, p. 149. Piloti, p. 33 f. Čelebī, p. 482. Heyd II, pp. 575-80. Labib, p. 324 f.

⁽²⁾ There are in the Ministry of Waqfs in Cairo several deeds in the name of Sultān al-Ġūrī concerning the area of al-Maṭariyya

wa'l-Za'farān, for example N^{os} 505 and 513.

⁽³⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, pp. 20 ff., 36, 93, 106, 463 f.

⁽⁴⁾ It was the first piece of land in Egypt to be designated as an *iqṭā'*. Maqrīzī writes that the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb assigned it to Sandar, a former slave whom the Prophet

attack was repulsed, Mağribī troops of the Fatimid army were quartered at al-Ḥandaq because they had been harassing the population within the city. In the tenth century the Copts were permitted to build a monastery in the village as a substitute for the monastery which had been destroyed when the Fatimid palace was constructed on its site ⁽¹⁾.

Outside Bāb al-Naṣr there had been since the early Fatimid period an open prayer place called Muṣallā. Since the time of the Prophet, a *muṣallā* was an open oratory for the congregational prayers of the feasts. The *muṣallā* north of Bāb al-Naṣr ⁽²⁾, built of stone and surrounded by a wall with a monumental entrance (*qal'a 'alā bābihā*), was located on a hill. In its center was a large dome under which was a *miḥrāb*. Next to the dome was a *minbar* thirty steps high and three cubits (*dirā'*) wide which was « open to the sky ». On top of this *minbar* was a dais. On the east side of the *muṣallā* was a structure where the Caliph, after having arrived in procession from his palace on the feast days, could rest before the beginning of prayer, after which he would give the feast sermon from the *minbar*.

Beginning with Badr al-Ġamālī's tomb, built to the north of the *muṣallā*, this area to the north of Bāb al-Naṣr developed as a cemetery. At that time, the *muṣallā* became known as Muṣallā'l-Amwāt, or the Muṣallā of the Dead. The rest of the territory between the *muṣallā* and Raydāniyya was utilised as a rest station for caravans.

During the Fatimid period al-Ġuyūšī Badr al-Ġamālī laid out gardens between Ḥusayniyya and Miniāt Maṭar (Maṭariyya), on the caravan road between Fuṣṭāṭ and 'Ayn Šams. To the north-west, near the Ḥaliġ, his son al-Afḍal Šāhinšāh set up markets and belvederes ⁽³⁾.

Between Bāb al-Futūḥ and the gardens of al-Ġuyūšī there was a belvedere (*manẓara*) where the Caliph would sit and watch his troops in procession as they

had freed from a master who was ill-treating him; the Prophet recommended that the Muslim community take good care of Sandar who, following the death of the Prophet, was given what he desired most, a piece of land in Egypt. After Sandar's death the land reverted into public land and was later

given by the Umayyad *wālī* 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marawān to his son al-Aṣbaġ. *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 136 f.

⁽¹⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 290.

⁽²⁾ Qalqašandī III, p. 508.

⁽³⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* I, p. 480 f.

departed for Syria. Manẓarat Bāb al-Futūḥ was near a pond known as Birkat Ġanāq.

At Ba'al, to the north of Miniāt al-Sayraġ, there was another *manẓara*, and at Kūm al-Riṣ, north of Manẓarat Ba'al, were the belvederes of Qubbat al-Hawā' (Dome of the Air), al-Ḥamas Wuġūh (the Five Faces), and al-Tāġ (the Crown).

Concerning the Ayyubid period, Maqrizī mentions that Salāḥ al-Dīn's father Naġm al-Dīn (d. 1170) built a mosque near the *muṣallā* located outside Bāb al-Naṣr ⁽¹⁾. West of the Ḥaliġ, Badr al-Dīn Qarāqūš, Salāḥ al-Dīn's wazir, built a hippodrome with belvederes, as well as a *ḥān* for travelers called ḥān al-Sabīl, in the quarter of Ḥusayniyya. Adjacent to the *ḥān* were grain, wood, and poultry markets, as well as dwellings. On the western side of Ḥusayniyya, the Fatimid gardens near the Ḥaliġ were given to ibn Ṣayram, one of the amirs of al-Kāmil, who converted them into a residential quarter known as Zuqāq al-Kuḥl ⁽²⁾.

The only surviving Bahri Mamluk building at Ḥusayniyya is the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars, which was built in 1266 on the site of the polo grounds of Qarāqūš. Later, other Mamluk amirs followed Baybars' exemple and erected mosques and palaces between the Ḥaliġ and Raydāniyya.

In the desert to the east of al-Qāhira, between the foot of the Citadel and the base of al-Ġabal al-Aḥmar, Baybars built a hippodrome called either Maydān al-Qabaq (*qabaq* = gourd, used in *furūsiyya* games), al-Maydān al-Aswad, al-Maydān al-Aḥmar, or Maydān al-'Id. This *maydān* was a replacement for the hippodrome of Qarāqūš, on the site of which Baybars had erected his mosque. Baybars built a *masṭaba* (see below) at the hippodrome, where he spent a great portion of his time supervising *furūsiyya* exercises and encouraging all the Mamluks to join in the games ⁽³⁾.

The reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was a period during which the city of Cairo experienced great extension. The area near the Ḥaliġ prospered as a place for excursions and *plaisance*. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ordered several bridges built to connect Ḥusayniyya with Kum al-Riṣ and Ṭabbāla on the western side of the Ḥaliġ. These bridges were, from north to south : Qanṭarat Banī Wā'il between al-Tāġ and Ba'al on the western side of the Ḥaliġ and the northern part of

⁽¹⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 412. — ⁽²⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 462. — ⁽³⁾ *Sulūk* I (2), p. 518 f.

Ḥusayniyya; Qanṭarat al-Awizz between Ba'al and Ḥusayniyya; and al-Qanṭara al-Ġadida between Bāb al-Futūḥ and Ṭabbāla.

The area adjacent to the gates was populated by Mongol refugees who fled to Egypt after the Mongol invasion during the reign of al-ʿĀdil Katbuḡā (1294-95), before the third reign of an-Nāṣir. Thus, the area retained its popular character, while the amirs preferred to build their residences near the pasture grounds further north. Among the palaces mentioned by Maqrīzī is the palace of Amīr, Ilmalik al-Ġuqandār which is part of a larger complex including a *funduq* and a bath ⁽¹⁾.

Maqrīzī writes that he was told that during the Baḥrī period Ḥusayniyya had been as crowded as Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, and reckons that of the total of 130 mosques in Cairo twelve were located in this quarter, and al-Zāhirī mentions the presence of at least thirty princely residences at Ḥusayniyya ⁽²⁾.

In Maqrīzī's topographical vocabulary two buildings, the mosque of Tibr and Qubbat al-Naṣr, were often employed to designate the northern and north-eastern boundaries of the city during the Baḥrī Mamluk period. Qubbat al-Naṣr was a *zāwiya* built during the Fatimid period for the *fuqarā'* coming from Persia. It was located at the entrance of a place called Wādī Sadra at the base of al-Ġabal al-Aḥmar, on the northern periphery of Maydān al-Qabaq not far from the mausoleum of Yūnis al-Dawādār (Index Nr. 157) ⁽³⁾. As it was possible to be at Qubbat al-Naṣr and watch a horse race starting at Birkat al-Ḥāḡḡ, it was most probably built on elevated ground rather than on the same flat terrain as the hippodrome; this might be where the mausoleum of Qānṣūh Abū Sa'īd (Index Nr. 164) stands today. Ibn Taḡribirdī cites the place «at Qubbat al-Naṣr», but it does not receive any mention in the chronicle of Ibn Iyās.

Several events are mentioned by Maqrīzī as being responsible for the decay of Ḥusayniyya. There was a series of plagues and famines in the years 1348, 1388 and 1408. In 1375 the quarter of Ḥusayniyya was hit by a flood and dwellings, were destroyed between al-Qanṭara al-Ġadida and Qanāṭir al-Awizz, and following the recession of the flood waters new ponds were created in the area. Also, Timūr's invasion of Syria was, according to Maqrīzī, responsible for the economic disaster

⁽¹⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 310.

⁽²⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 245. Zāhirī, p. 28 f.

⁽³⁾ *Sulūk* III (1), pp. 116, 153; (3), p. 1016; IV (1), pp. 504, 531.

which befell Egypt and affected Cairo's urban development. Another disaster which struck Cairo and affected Ḥusayniyya in particular occurred in the first quarter of the fifteenth century when termites, advancing from the delta, forced the population living outside the gates to seek refuge within the city. Maqrīzī's report of Ḥusayniyya's decay is confirmed by other sources ⁽¹⁾.

The development of the Ḥusayniyya quarter can be followed through the changes in the meaning of the designation Ḥusayniyya. Under the Fatimids, Ḥusayniyya was the quarter extending from Bāb al-Naṣr to the Ḥalīg, consisting of eight *ḥāra*(s), of which Ḥusayniyya was the most important. This remained the case under the Bahri Mamluks; Baybars' mosque was in Ḥusayniyya at Zuqāq al-Kuḥl and the Mosque of Ilmalik, located to the north of the *muṣallā* outside Bāb al-Naṣr, was said to be in Ḥusayniyya as well. In the middle of the fifteenth century, according to Nūr al-Dīn as-Saḥāwī, when the area to the north of Bāb al-Naṣr followed the development of the cemetery and the caravan road, the name of Ḥusayniyya was applied only to the artery north of Bāb al-Futūḥ and did not include the area to the north of Bāb al-Naṣr ⁽²⁾. In Ibn Iyās' chronicle this distinction still remains, but Ḥusayniyya at that time stretched for a great distance to the north, with the dome of Yašbak being on its periphery (see below). The area near the mosque of Baybars and al-Qanāṭir al-Ġadīda is called only Zuqāq al-Kuḥl ⁽³⁾. During the Ottoman period Ḥusayniyya was revived as a popular quarter around the main slaughterhouse, but to the north its boundaries were much more restricted than they had been during the Circassian period. The slaughterhouse, near what is today Maydān al-Ḥusayniyya, must have been at the periphery of the quarter ⁽⁴⁾.

Under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Maydān al-Qabaq was abandoned in favor of funerary and religious constructions. Later, Faraġ ibn Barqūq (1399-1412), who built his father's mausoleum and *Ḥanqā* near a Sufi cemetery between 1400 and 1410, had ambitious plans for the area; he transferred the donkey and camel market near the *ḥanqā* and made plans to erect a *ḥān*, a *ḥammām*, a mill, and a

⁽¹⁾ Saḥāwī, *Mazārāt*, p. 14; Qalqašandī III, p. 356.

⁽²⁾ See note 2 page 165.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Iyās (Muṣṭafā ed.) I (1), p. 568.

⁽⁴⁾ Mubārak II, p. 4.

bakery there. But before he was killed he only had time to build the *ḥammām*, the mill, and the bakery ⁽¹⁾. By the middle of the fifteenth century the space between Ḥusayniyya and Raydāniyya was being built up as a funerary and religious quarter. Nūr al-Dīn al-Saḥāwī, who wrote at that time, considered the area outside Bāb al-Naṣr to be a true city with its several great mosques ⁽²⁾. Ibn Taḡribirdi tells us that the space which used to be in front of the mausoleum and *ḥanqā* of Barqūq was used in the early fifteenth century for chivalry exercises by the Mamluks, by the second half of the century it has become totally built up ⁽³⁾.

The Zaʿfarān canal, between the Ḥaliḡ and Raydāniyya, remained a place of excursion for the Circassian sultans and amirs; members of the royal class are often mentioned as having spent their leisure time there. Barsbāy (1422-38) is reported to have laid out gardens there ⁽⁴⁾. Sultan al-Muʿayyad Ṣayḡ (1412-21) tried to replace the *plaisance* city of Siryāqūs, built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, by constructing belvederes at Kūm al-Riṣ; he rebuilt the Fatimid belvederes of al-Ḥamas Wuḡūh, popularly known as al-Sabaʿ Wuḡūh even though it was a pentagon. Near al-Tāḡ, al-Muʿayyad's *wazīr* Ḡamal al-Dīn Yūsuf built a series of structures, including a *madrasa* surrounded by gardens. Pasture grounds afforded a beautiful view around the belvederes ⁽⁵⁾.

III. — RAYDĀNIYYA.

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century the spice trade, which had never been as important as it was during the Circassian period, no longer followed the Ṣaʿīd route through Qūṣ, but passed along the Ḥiḡāz after having arrived at Jidda, thus promoting the expansion of the port of al-Ṭūr. According to Garcin, this shift was due not only to the insecurity created by rebelling beduins, but also to the heavy taxation imposed by Mamluk amirs on goods passing through the Nile valley which made merchants prefer to take the risk of crossing the Red Sea. ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 464.

⁽²⁾ Saḥāwī, *Mazārāt*, p. 52.

⁽³⁾ *Nuḡūm* IX, p. 185 f.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Iyās (Muṣṭafā ed.) I (1), p. 568; Ibn Taḡribirdi XVIII, p. 21. The name al-Ḥandaq does not appear in fifteenth century

sources, but al-Zaʿfarān, the name of the canal, is used instead.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibn Taḡribirdi XVII, pp. 76, 81; *Sulūk* IV (3), p. 1108.

⁽⁶⁾ Garcin, pp. 398 ff., 405 f., 418 f., 432 f.

This change in the primary trade route led to a shift in the center of gravity of the Egyptian state; the Delta prospered while the Ṣaʿīd declined. Both human and commercial currents followed the new axes of communication which, of course, had implications upon the urban development of the capital. Barsbāy's trade policy, which obliged all merchants arriving from Syria on their way to the Ḥiǧāz to stop in Cairo in order to pay their custom duties, increased the importance of the desert road between Sinai and the capital ⁽¹⁾.

Commercial structures had always been necessary on the road to Birkat al-Ḥāǧǧ, the first caravan station on the road to Mecca. There had been a great caravanserai since the days of al-Nāṣir ⁽²⁾, and both al-Muʿayyad and Barsbāy erected structures there for pilgrims ⁽³⁾. At the end of the fourteenth century, and also in the late sixteenth century, a caravanserai is recorded at Maṭariyya as well ⁽⁴⁾.

In addition to its commercial and strategic importance, the road between Birkat al-Ḥāǧǧ and Raydāniyya was also a hunting ground. From the time of Salāḥ al-Dīn up until the Ottoman period it is often mentioned in connection with the hunt, polo, and horse racing. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad erected a great hippodrome and stables for the breeding of horses at Birkat al-Ḥāǧǧ. Maqrizī writes that these structures had decayed by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Parts of them must have survived, however, for he reports that al-Muʿayyad attended a horse race in which the contestants began at Birkat al-Ḥāǧǧ ⁽⁵⁾.

Since the beginning of the fifteenth century there was at Raydāniyya a Bird Feeding Ground, which is how Popper translates the title « Maṭʿam al-Ṭayr ». As the name indicates, this place was closely associated with the hunt, for it was here that birds of prey were kept and trained for that purpose ⁽⁶⁾. This was the original function of the place which is often mentioned in the sources as Maṭʿam al-Ṭayr al-Sulṭānī, but it is, however, activities other than the hunt which are usually reported as having taken place at the Maṭʿam or, more precisely, at the *maṣṭaba* at the Maṭʿam.

⁽¹⁾ Labib, pp. 284 f., 382.

⁽²⁾ Clerget II, p. 317.

⁽³⁾ Mubārak II, p. 18 f.

⁽⁴⁾ d'Anglure, p. 57; Harant, p. 83.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 164; *Sulūk* IV (1), p. 504; Ibn Iyās III, pp. 62, 85, 88, 322.

⁽⁶⁾ ʿAbd al-Rāziq, « La Chasse au Faucon ».

When it is mentioned by Maqrizī for the first time, Maṭ'am aṭ-Ṭayr is the scene of a great spectacle : the reception of Sultān Uways of the Ġalāyirī dynasty of Baġdād who had lost his kingdom as a result of the Tīmūrid invasion. The guest was greeted with great pomp by the Sulṭan, who came down from his seat at the *maṣṭaba* to embrace him, after which they remained together at the *maṣṭaba*, where the guest was offered a horse and robes of honor. They then rode into the city in a great procession which was observed by a multitude of spectators ⁽¹⁾.

Maṣṭabat Maṭ'am al-Ṭayr is mentioned in fifteenth century sources describing the arrival or departure of an amir, usually the governor of Aleppo, Tripoli, or Damascus. It was customary that the Circassian Mamluk sultans would go out to the Maṭ'am and greet the returning amir or bid him farewell on his departure ⁽²⁾. This traditional ceremony was already followed during the Baḥrī period, it took place at Qubbat al-Naṣr. At Raydāniyya during the reign of Qāyṭbāy, the Nā'ib al-Šām (the governor of Syria) would receive a robe of investiture from the Kātib al-Sirr (the chancellor) and then make his oath of allegiance in front of him. Qāyṭbāy is reported to have accompanied the procession of the amir as far as Rumayla, where he would offer him a robe. The amir's procession would then ride through Bāb al-Naṣr up to Raydāniyya, at which point he received a second robe and a horse from the Kātib al-Sirr ⁽³⁾. At times, the Sultan accompanied him as far as Raydāniyya, but it is unclear whether this was the exception or the rule.

At the beginning of each winter, the soldiers would receive new clothing of colored wool which was distributed on a Friday in the presence of the Sultān. This ceremony took place within a mosque. Sultan al-Mu'ayyad introduced an innovation which enhanced the importance of this ceremony and became a tradition followed by all sulṭans after him, with the exception of Qāyṭbāy who did not care for it. After the austere reign of Barqūq and the unfortunate years of the reign of his son Faraġ, the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ seems to have brought about some consolidation in both military and political affairs. Al-Mu'ayyad took good care of the military education of his Mamlūks, was very fond of

⁽¹⁾ *Sulūk* III (2), p. 799; Ibn Taġribirdī XIII, p. 138.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Taġribirdī XIX, pp. 83, 84, 86, 92.

In the Baḥrī Mamluk period the Sultans used to meet arriving amirs at Qubbat al-Naṣr.

⁽³⁾ Šayrafī, *Anbā'*, pp. 14, 58, 218 f., 511 f.

furūsiyya, and was himself a good soldier. The introduction of new procedures for the presentation of the woolen robes was a manifestation of his great interest in military protocol. He decreed that the bestowing of the woolen robes would take place at the Maṭ'am and this ceremony is always referred to in the sources as « *libs al-ṣawf bi'l-maṭ'am* ». After the Sultan distributed the woolen clothing and different robes of honor to his troops at the Maṭ'am, a « magnificent » procession into the city took place ⁽¹⁾. The ceremony of the woolen robes developed into such an entrenched tradition that it is specifically mentioned by historians when, as during the reign of Qāyṭbāy, it did not take place.

Al-Zāhir Ḥuṣqadam (1461-67) was characterized by this concern for elegance and ceremony. According to Ibn Iyās, he was a great promoter of *furūsiyya* and took a particular interest in festivals and celebrations; he personally went to open the dike of the Ḥaliğ, received the *maḥmal* procession which took place during the month of Rağab accompanied « according to the ancient tradition » by performers and lancers, and also bestowed the woolen robes at the Maṭ'am according to the example of his master al-Mū'ayyad ⁽²⁾.

Beginning with the reign of Salāḥ al-Dīn, it became a tradition that at his investiture a ruler would don the *ḥil'a* (robe of investiture) which was given to him by the Caliph outside the city. He would then ride in formal procession into the *qaṣaba* of Cairo. This procession began to the north of Bāb al-Naṣr and al-Zāhir Baybars is reported to have erected tents in the garden to the north of Cairo on the road to Maṭariyya for this purpose ⁽³⁾. From Maṭariyya, he would continue through Bāb al-Naṣr to the Citadel. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was the last sultan to follow this custom; later, such processions of investiture took place only within the confines of the Citadel. Robes and processions were not only a part of the protocol of royal investiture but, as in European chivalry as well, were an integral part of the overall tradition of *furūsiyya*. Whenever the Sultan went out with his entourage to participate in or observe any of the *furūsiyya*

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Iyās, unpublished pages, p. 49 f., n. 9; Ibn Tagribirdī XVII, p. 88 f.; XVIII, p. 7; *Sulūk* IV (2), p. 622; IV (3), p. 1226; Ibn Iyās (Muṣṭafā ed.) II, pp. 390 f., 425 f.; Ibn Iyās III, p. 131; Ṣayrafī, *Anbā'*, p. 67.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Iyās (Muṣṭafā ed.) II, p. 456 f.; Ibn Iyās IV, p. 72; Ṣaḥāwī, *Ḍaw'* III, p. 175 f.; Ibn Tagribirdī XXIII, p. 81.

⁽³⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 107 f.

games, he offered robes of honor to his amirs ⁽¹⁾, which they wore in the procession after the games which passes by way of Bāb al-Naṣr up to the Citadel.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would take pleasure excursions to Siryāqūs, where he would stage horse races with special ceremonies. When Siryāqūs was abandoned during the reign of Barqūq, these ceremonies which had been characteristic of Siryāqūs seem to have been adopted into the schedule of excursions and games which took place in the north-eastern outskirts of Cairo. The fact that the Maṣṭaba and al-Maṭ'am are mentioned for the first time during the reign of Barqūq, who had to abandon Siryāqūs because of its distance from Cairo and troubles and instabillitary affairs, suggests that this structure might well have been established as a substitute for Siryāqūs. Maṭ'am al-Ṭayr, located both near a royal ground and on the primary caravan road, marked the starting point of the procession itinerary into the city; it was there that the processions were organized and the robes of honor paraded before departing for the city.

In Mamluk sources, the term *maṣṭaba* was generally used to refer to the dais or platform on which the Sulṭan sat in state. It also designated the benches which were constructed on the front sides of shops and buildings. During the Fatimid period, there were platforms (*maṣṭaba(s)*) between the palaces and the *muṣalla* to the north of Bāb al-Naṣr, where people would sit on the days of the 'Īd. The participants would hold tickets bearing their names, with each name corresponding to a particular *maṣṭaba*, in order that they would be seated in a certain pre-arranged order ⁽²⁾. In the case of Maṣṭabat al-Maṭ'am at Raydāniyya, where ceremonies and parades took place, we seem quite obviously to be dealing with a structure of a grand scale, large enough to accommodate a great number of people sitting and watching tournaments and parades of different kinds ⁽³⁾: « Sultan Ḥūṣqadam went to Maṭ'am al-Ṭayr and sat while the Amir of the Hunt hunted in his presence » ⁽⁴⁾. What then is the difference between a *maṣṭaba* and a *maydān* ?

⁽¹⁾ Qalqaṣandī IV, p. 52 ff.; Ibn Iyās III, p. 117; IV, p. 335; Ṣayrafī, *Anbā'*, pp. 361 f., 367, 377. There are several branches of *furūsiyya*: polo, lance, *qabaq*, *maḥmal* games, hunting, archery, and horse racing. E.I. 2, « Furūsiyya ».

⁽²⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* I, p. 451.

⁽³⁾ Behrens-Abouseif, « A Circassian Mam-

luk Suburb North of Cairo ».

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Taḡribirdī XXIII, p. 45. In the term « Maṣṭabat al-Maṭ'am, designating the stadium or hippodrome, « *maṣṭaba* » refers to the structure itself, while « *al-maṭ'am* » describes its function as a place where falcons were kept for the hunt.

The term *maydān* is not used in fifteenth century sources to refer to Maṣṭabat al-Raydāniyya. It seems that here we are dealing with one of those cases where the designation of a portion of a particular structure is used to identify the whole, a phenomenon which often occurs in Arabic sources. Examples of this practice would include the use of « Iṣṭabl Qūṣūn » to mean the palace of Qūṣūn which had an important stable, the use of « Qubbat Yašbak » to indicate an entire complex which included a *qubba* (see below), the appearance of the term *qā'a* in *waqf* deeds to mean the entire building which included a *qā'a*, the use of the term *manzara* in *waqf* deeds or by Maqrīzī to designate the entire palace as well as that part of it which overlooked the outside, or the use of the term *tabaqa* to mean a living unit having a room called a *tabaqa*. Here the *maṣṭaba*, or the structure built for the spectators, came to be the designation of the entire hippodrome. The fact that the term *maydān* was not used does not necessarily exclude the possibility that an equivalent structure existed; in a similar case, the desert cemetery is never called *qarāfa*, the usual term used in sources of that period when referring to a cemetery, but is always called simply the « desert » or the « tombs of the desert ». On the other hand, the southern cemeteries are called al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā and al-Qarāfa al-Ṣuġrā. According to the descriptions provided by Maqrīzī, as well as Ibn Iyās' accounts of al-Ġūrī's restoration of Maydān al-Ramla, a *maydān* is a multi-functional complex; it is a kind of park having trees and a lawn, is surrounded by walls with gates, and includes palaces, belvederes, loggias, and pools. There was, of course, also a polo ground, and on feast days the *maydān* could also be used for congregational prayers by the Sultan and his court, as was the case with the *maydān* of the Citadel⁽¹⁾. In this context the term *maṣṭaba* is used to designate that part of a structure where people sat to watch the performances. It would seem, then, to have had an appearance very similar to the benches of a stadium, with a special loggia reserved for the ruler⁽²⁾.

During the reign of Sultan al-Ġūrī, it was at Maṣṭabat al-Raydāniyya that cannons, produced at a foundry near the Citadel for use in the war against the Ottomans, were discharged; they would be fired in the direction of Birkat al-Hāġġ. A large number of spectators attended this exercise⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, pp. 197, 228; *Qalqašandī* III, p. 373; Ibn Iyās IV, p. 56.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Taġribirdī XVII, p. 70.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, pp. 164 ff., 229, 243, 261.

The hippodrome at Raydāniyya was seen and recorded by several European travelers who described it as a very elongated walled structure with stone benches on both sides and looking quite different from European hippodromes⁽¹⁾. The most interesting mention of this structure is provided by Abū Surūr al-Bakrī, who copied Maqrīzī's *Ḥitat* and added some supplementary notes to it. To Maqrīzī's description of Maydān al-Qabaq under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, Abū Surūr added the following very valuable comments :

« The *qabaq* was still practiced on the second feast day; all the *umarā'* used to ride with him (the Ottoman *wālī* of Egypt). He used to sit at the *maṣṭaba* near the mosque of al-ʿĀdil ... and the archers would perform in front of him and display all kinds of *furūsiyya*. They had to hit the circle on top of the beam and who ever hits (the target) was offered a robe of honor. They would stay until noon and then enter the *qaṣaba* of Cairo in a great procession with those who hit the *qabaq* in front of him with their robes of honor. This was abolished by the *wazīr* Muḥammad paša in 1018 (A.D. 1610) »⁽²⁾.

This passage clearly demonstrates how Circassian Mamluk customs continued to be practiced during the Ottoman period. Maydān al-Qabaq which, according to Maqrīzī, was abandoned by al-Nāṣir, was replaced by another *maydān* further to the north after the cemetery spread onto the former site.

IV. — YAŠBAK'S CONSTRUCTIONS NEAR MAṬARIYYA⁽³⁾.

Several buildings are reported outside the northern gates during the reign of Qāyṭbāy. At Kum al-Rīsh, ibn al-Ġīʿān constructed a mosque and belvederes and transformed the area into a place for pleasant excursions. Amir Ḥayrbak min Ḥadīd is credited with having built a castle (*Ġawsaq*) in the vicinity⁽⁴⁾. The mosque of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir at Ḥusayniyya also shows that this quarter was once again attracting some attention. But the most ambitious baulder in the

⁽¹⁾ see note 3 page 169.

⁽²⁾ Abū al-Surūr, Mns., p. 138 v. For *qabaq*, see ʿAbd ar-Rāziq, *Deux jeux*, pp. 96-107; Ayalon, Notes p. 55 f.

⁽³⁾ On the architecture of the two domes built by Yašbak to the north of Cairo see the following article pp. 158-172.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Iyās III, p. 274.

quarter outside Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ was Yašbak min Maḥdī al-Dawādār, who attained the highest ranks during the reign of Qāyṭbāy; he came to be the most powerful man in the Mamluk empire, combining the ranks of Great Dawādār, Amīr Silāḥ, and Chief of the Kuššāf ⁽¹⁾. According to Ibn Iyās and al-Saḥāwī, Yašbak built, among other things, two domes (*qubba*) and a mausoleum on the north-eastern outskirts of Cairo. The first dome was constructed south of Maṭariyya at the place called al-Malaqa bi'l-Maṭariyya ⁽²⁾, which is located north of the mosque of Tibr. As indicated in an inscription band, this dome was built in 1477. It was part of a large complex which included residential structures, a *madrassa*, and structures for the Ṣūfis, but today only the dome survives.

While Ibn Iyās only mentions a *qubba* at which Friday prayers were performed as having been built by Yašbak, al-Saḥāwī is more explicit. He mentions a *qubba* as well as a *madrassa* and several other structures « beyond enumeration or description ». He calls it « muntazah » : a *plaisance* area to which the Sulṭān was invited and would spend some time with his court ⁽³⁾. Qubbat Yašbak bi'l-Maṭariyya was mentioned often by Ibn Iyās. It was where Sulṭān Qāyṭbāy was greeted by his amirs upon his return from the pilgrimage; great banquets were given in his honor on this occasion ⁽⁴⁾. Another celebration which is recorded as having taken place at the dome of Yašbak near Maṭariyya was on the occasion of the visit of the Ottoman prince Ğumğuma Ibn °Uṭmān in 1481; he was invited to the *qubba* by the Sulṭān, where he was offered a robe of honor ⁽⁵⁾. Ibn Iyās also relates that after the palace (*qā'āt*) of Azbakiyya was built, the atabek Azbak invited the Sulṭān to spend the night there as his guest. A great reception was given in honor of the Sulṭān at Azbakiyya. The following day Yašbak, in turn, invited the Sulṭān to Maṭariyya, where he provided him with a large reception. The Sulṭān spent a day and a night at Maṭariyya, was very happy there, and is said to have preferred Yašbak's building to that of Azbak ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Aġā, *Tārīḥ al-Amīr Yašbak al-Zāhiri*. Saḥāwī, *Ḍaw'* X, p. 273. Ibn Iyās III, p. 168.

⁽²⁾ The term *malaqa* usually refers to a depression which is flooded with water from the Nile during the summer and then cultivated when the flood subsides.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Iyās III, p. 157. Ṣayrafī, *Anbā'*, p. 75 f.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Iyās III, p. 182.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibn Iyās III, p. 130.

⁽⁶⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, p. 288 f.; V, p. 92.

Ibn Iyās attributes the residential structures built at Maṭariyya to Sulṭān al-Ġūrī, but the context in which he refers to Yašbak's dome (i.e., banquets, excursions, and receptions) makes it quite clear that the dome and the *madrasa* were not the only structures erected by Yašbak. It implies that residential buildings must have existed there prior to the reign of Qānṣūh al-Ġūrī. Al-Ġūrī built there a structure for travelers, dug a well, laid out reservoirs, and erected a beautiful palace with a pond. Ibn Iyās also mentions « *masāṭib 'alayhā da'ā'im* » : *masṭaba(s)* with pillars ⁽¹⁾. A *waqf* deed of Sulṭān al-Ġūrī concerning Maṭariyya/Za'farān briefly mentions two large ponds near a dome known as al-Qubba al-Sulṭāniyya, with a *maq'ad*, palaces, dwellings, and other structures ⁽²⁾.

Sulṭān al-Ġūrī, like Qāyṭbāy before him, used to go down from the Citadel quite often for excursions to, among other places, the dome of Yašbak near Maṭariyya. He would invite his amirs and, in the company of musicians and singers, encourage them to dance ⁽³⁾. After such excursions, they would re-enter the city in procession. Al-Ġūrī seems to have exaggerated the pomp of such occasions; he once ordered the Bird and the Parasol to be carried in the procession and had to be told by his amirs that it was not the custom that they be carried for the Sulṭān on excursions to Maṭariyya ⁽⁴⁾. This incident tells us that the Maṭariyya excursions belonged to the routine of royal activities and that, as had been the case with Siryāqūs, they had their own ceremony; al-Nāṣir Muḥammad did not display all the emblems of royalty when he went out to Siryāqūs.

Van Ghistele, who traveled in Egypt during the reign of Qāyṭbāy (in 1483), confirms that a palace was built near Maṭariyya by the « last *dawādār* », after whose death it passed into the Sultan's hands :

« ... c'est une maison d'été extraordinairement belle, qui a un jardin parmi les plus beaux et les plus ordonnés que l'on puisse trouver au monde ... elle est très richement décorée de toutes sortes de couleurs, d'or, d'argent, d'azur, tout cela travaillé avec des pierres précieuses le sol et les murs également, aussi

⁽¹⁾ *Waqf* deed of al-Ġūrī, 12 rabī' āḥar. Nr. 502 Awqāf.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, p. 171. These were probably Sufi performances.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, p. 335.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, p. 200. Ibn Taġribirdī XIII, p. 18 f.

bien à l'extérieur qu'à l'intérieur; c'est si beau, si riche et si étrange que c'est difficile à décrire » ⁽¹⁾.

Fabri, who came to Egypt at the same time, was impressed by the noble residence of the Sultān at Maṭariyya. He writes that the entire complex was surrounded by walls and that the residence had several rooms, all of which were decorated with paintings. It had a « solarium » and terraces overlooking a large area of the surrounding landscape. Adjoining this structure were baths (*thermes*) with pools large enough to accommodate three hundred persons. He calls this complex the summer residence of the Sultān ⁽²⁾.

Yašbak's residence was visited and admired by other later European travelers who passed it on their way to Sinai or Maṭariyya. Du Mans (1547) describes a large hall which he says was built by the Circassians when they still ruled Egypt. He saw a building which was paved with large square stones and covered « en manière de terrasse » as a protection against the sun. Its roof was carried on pillars. Du Mans also writes that the Nile approached so close to the building so as to touch its walls during the flood. On the eastern side of this hall was a beautiful garden. The entire hall was covered with decorative paintings. Palm trunks were used in the construction ⁽³⁾.

Palerne (1581) mentions a long causeway covered with a terrace and paved with stone. He goes on to state that its pillars, as well as most of the rest of the structure, were painted with arabesques ⁽⁴⁾.

Prince Radzivil (1614) writes that « the palace of al-Ġūrī » has an elegant portico with many beautiful columns. He mentions a pool fifty cubits in length and breadth and six cubits deep which could be looked down upon from the upper part of the residence above the portico. The palace could be reached by water ⁽⁵⁾.

Another traveler in the last decade of the sixteenth century was dazzled by « a magnificent building in dark marble » built on forty columns and having cedar-wood windows which were beautifully decorated with gilt lettering. It was the most beautiful palace he had ever seen and was built while there was still a sultan in Cairo, before it fell into Turkish hands ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ van Ghistele, p. 77.

⁽²⁾ Fabri, pp. 365, 377 f.

⁽³⁾ Du Mans, p. 112 f.

⁽⁴⁾ Palerne, p. 113 f. Cf. Coppin, p. 258 f.

⁽⁵⁾ Radzivil, p. 178.

⁽⁶⁾ Sommer, p. 288.

The pool was mentioned by Ibn Iyās, who gives its dimensions as one hundred cubits (*dirāʿ*). The *waqf* deed mentions two large pools in the time of al-Ġūrī. The terrace, portico, and columns described above are most probably the *maṣṭaba* with piers which was mentioned by Ibn Iyās.

At the time Evliyā Čelebī wrote (1672-80), there was little standing of the palace, but he does mention a beautiful *qāʿa* (*palais*) with a few rooms. Nearby, and included within the same garden, was a dome, the painting on which impressed him and which he compares to that on the dome of Yašbak at Ḥusayniyya ⁽¹⁾. Čelebī also writes that the area of the palace was flooded during the summer.

With the exception of van Ghistele who says that the residence he saw near Maṭariyya was built by the final *dawādār* before he died, none of the European travelers quoted above mentions the name of Yašbak. The area was known to Europeans as Copana, or the palace of al-Ġūrī. Čelebī, as well as all later sources, attributes its construction to al-Ġūrī. And to this day the place is called Qubbat al-Ġūrī by the local population with the entire quarter being known as Qubba ⁽²⁾.

A later traveler (1700) drew an illustration (Pl. VIII, B) of the « house of al-Ġūrī » which shows, among other things, the dome of Yašbak and a polygonal construction bearing a close resemblance to the water-wheels of al-Ġūrī to the south of Cairo. This polygonal construction was probably a *sāqiya* (waterwheel) which is mentioned by Ibn Iyās ⁽³⁾.

Not far from the dome of Yašbak there was Sabīl ʿAllān. ʿAllān al-Ašqar min Ṭaṭaḥ (d. 886/1481), an Amir of Ten, built a *sabīl* and a reservoir in the way to Birkat al-Ḥāḡḡ ⁽⁴⁾. The name of Sabīl ʿAllān thus came to designate the area to the north of Raydāniyya where later the battle between the Ottomans and the Mamluks took place and Sinān Paša, the chief of the Ottoman army was killed. The map of the *Description de l'Égypte* locates Sabīl ʿAllān directly opposite the site of Yašbak's dome, on the eastern side of the road towards the desert ⁽⁵⁾. In the time of Ibn Iyās, horse racing is reported to have taken place at Sabīl ʿAllān ⁽⁶⁾, and several travelers of the early Ottoman period mention an arsenal and a

⁽¹⁾ Čelebī, pp. 254, 481.

⁽²⁾ Ġalabī, p. 696. Ġabartī III, p. 95.
Mubārak XVII, pp. 56, 57.

⁽³⁾ Le Brun, p. 189, illust. Nr. 78.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Iyās V, p. 177.

⁽⁵⁾ D.E., Vol. Carte Topographique fol. 24.

⁽⁶⁾ Ibn Iyās V, p. 137.

military post near Maṭariyya, not far from the residential quarter of al-Ġūrī : « a palace of the Sultān, a mosque, as well as a hippodrome with a second palace and an arsenal » are reported there ⁽¹⁾. These structures, also described by Čelebī, existed already since the Mamlūk period. A *waqf* deed of the fifteenth century mentions a *maydān* at Maṭariyya ⁽²⁾.

V. — THE FADĀWIYYA DOME ⁽³⁾ (N° 5).

The second dome of Yašbak, to the north of Ḥusayniyya (nowadays known as al-Fadāwiyya), is the single surviving structure of what was once an entire complex (Pl. IX, B).

Al-Šaḥāwī reports in his biographies that Yašbak tore down all tombs and other buildings between Raydāniyya and the mosque of Ilmalik, situated north of Ḥusayniyya, and built « in the width and length » of this area, a covered gallery with a sun roof. He also dug a well with four water-wheels and built a large pool to enhance the landscape, a large reservoir and an elevated passage. The elevated passage (*sabāṭ*) passed through a gate to a magnificent dome ⁽⁴⁾. On both sides of the entrance to Yašbak's dome recesses in the wall still show the vestiges of this *sabāṭ*.

On the *qibla* side of this dome, Yašbak erected a great mausoleum with structures for Sufis, a *madrassa* with a *sabīl* and a trough for animals as well as a pond and gardens. According to Ibn Iyās, Yašbak's mausoleum was near Zāwiyat Kahna-būš which was, according to Ibn Taġribirdī, near Qubbat al-Našr ⁽⁵⁾.

Niebuhr, in his plan of Cairo, gives the location of Yašbak's mausoleum at the eastern side of the dome, in the northern part of the cemetery. He writes that it was surrounded with several buildings ⁽⁶⁾. Yašbak therefore seems to have built his funerary complex on the desert side of the road to Birkat al-Ḥāġġ, while his residential complex was constructed on the green side west of the road.

⁽¹⁾ Thevenot I, p. 140, Palerne, p. 113 f., p. 514 ff., 749 ff.
Fürer cit. in Gonzales n. p. 128.

⁽²⁾ A *maydān* is mentioned in the *waqf* deed of al-Ġūrī, Nr. 505 Awqāf.

⁽³⁾ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, pp. 269-72, CIA I (3),

⁽⁴⁾ Šaḥāwī s. note 44.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibn Iyās III p. 168, 172; Ibn Taġribirdī XV.

⁽⁶⁾ Niebuhr I, p. 117.

The most detailed description of Yašbak's constructions is that of the British traveler Pococke in the eighteenth century :

« To the north-east of the town is a very fine mosque called the Kubbet al-Azab or the Coupola of the Azabs (see below), it is a very fine room about 60 feet square, with a beautiful dome over it, raised on a base of 16 sides in each of which is a window; the room is wainscotted round eight feet high in panels, with all the most valuable marbles among which are several fine slabs of red and green porphyry; the borders round the panels are carved and gilt, with a sort of freeze ranges round, in which are sentences cut in large gilt characters called Couphe character, in which they anciently write the Arabic language. The walls above this are adorned with Arabic inscriptions in letters of gold and the whole coupola is painted and gilt in the finest manner, and all over the mosque are hung a great number of glass lamps and ostridge eggs; adjoining to it are several apartments built for the priests and also some grand ones for the great people, who some times come and reside here. It is said that this magnificent room was built by a grand vizier, who desired the sultan to give him leave to prepare a place fit to offer him shirbet in, on his return from Mecca » ⁽¹⁾.

According to Ibn Iyās, Yašbak began to build his dome after Qāyrbāy left for Mecca and died before the construction was completed. It was at the dome at Maṭariyya that the Sulṭān was received when he returned from the pilgrimage ⁽²⁾.

Pococke's account is very interesting to us because it stresses upon the residential and ceremonial character of Yašbak's complex. In addition to several dwellings and houses, al-Nābulṣī mentions a palace near the mosque of Yašbak which overlooked a pond and had a panoramic view of the surrounding countryside ⁽³⁾.

Another description was provided by Evliyā Čelebī. He called the area an excursion place and writes that this complex was a *takiyya* for the Aḥmadiyya Sufi order. Also, Čelebī was very impressed by the richness of the paintings in the dome as well by its unusual appearance. He noticed the marble panels and the Kufic inscriptions, and writes that there were near the dome rooms for three hundred *fuqarā'*, as well as structures for travelers and a palace (*qa'āt*) for the reception of guests. The building was surrounded by gardens and its *qibla* side was crossed

⁽¹⁾ Pococke I, p. 31. — ⁽²⁾ Ibn Iyās III, pp. 155, 184. — ⁽³⁾ Mns., fol. 162.

by an avenue with palm trees. Čelebī, like Pococke, writes that this dome was built by a vizier to honor Qāyṭbāy on his return from the pilgrimage ⁽¹⁾.

A description provided by Monconys (1665) contains some details on the arrangement of Yašbak's complex. He mentions a mosque, a palace, a terrace, a *wikāla* called « Cichbakie » (probably to be understood as Yašbakiyya), a reservoir, and a trough :

« ... un grand hoquel qui est à une mille du Caire, nommé des Turcs Cichbakie placé vis à vis d'une fort belle mosquée, qui est de l'autre costé du grand chemin, au bout du dit hoquel est un logement, fort agréable, à cause d'un grand réservoir d'eau quarré, dont l'eau se rend dans un bassin long et qui sert d'abreuvoir ... et tient tout à une face du dit réservoir, et à l'autre est une terrasse revestue d'une muraille de deux pieds de haut, qui n'empêche pas qu'on ne découvre toute la campagne comme d'un théâtre relevé seulement de 8 ou 10 pieds de terre » ⁽²⁾.

Monconys provides an interesting detail : the different structures built by Yašbak were situated on both sides of the road on which he continued his journey to Sinai. Here again, as was the case with Yašbak's complex at Maṭariyya, a terrace is mentioned as overlooking the surrounding scenery.

A mysterious building complex located somewhere between Ināl's mausoleum and that of al-ʿAdil was seen and described by Čelebī, who attributed it to a « Sultan Ferec ». However, he makes it quite clear that this is not the mausoleum of Barqūq, built by Farağ ibn Barqūq, which he describes as well in the same chapter. This complex, which includes a mosque, was not a large construction, but was very fine; all its windows overlooked the main road of the cemetery and its entrance faced eastwards. It had two minarets. Adjoining the mosque was a « *tabhane* » (sanatorium) where the notables of Cairo would stay for a rest. Opposite the mosque, on the other side of the road, was a palace and several halls where, once a week, the notables came and spent some time playing *furūsiyya* at a *maṣṭaba* which was near it. Next to this *maṣṭaba* was a large *wikāla* which, in the time of Čelebī, was used for the spice trade and the collection of customs associated with it. This *wikāla* had two hundred rooms in several

⁽¹⁾ Čelebī, pp. 253, 480. — ⁽²⁾ Monconys I, p. 205 f.

stories and looked from afar like a castle (*qal'a*)⁽¹⁾. This must have been quite an important complex. Čelebī's description very closely resembles Moncony's remarks one century earlier on the *wikāla* of « Cichbakie » on the periphery of the northern cemetery; this might suggest that they were actually the same complex.

A view of Cairo drawn in the sixteenth century (Pl. X)⁽²⁾ which includes several interesting details of Mamluk Cairo, shows a long gallery leading to a domed structure to the north of the Ḥusayniyya quarter; the gallery is crenellated and has *ablaq* masonry. A very similar, but smaller, gallery is attached to a palace of al-Ġūrī; this smaller gallery, however, does not have windows, but is composed of a row of columns.

Leo Africanus mentions a long alleyway between two walls originating at the gates of the city — he probably meant the northern periphery, as the walls were not visible at that time and hence, were not noticed by travelers — and ending at the northern cemetery, one and a half miles from Maṭariyya. This would be quite a substantial distance. Leo Africanus attributes this alleyway to the last Mamlūk Sulṭān and says that it was connected by two towers in order to regulate the merchants arriving from Sinai⁽³⁾.

The gallery or passage connected to the complex of Yašbak north of Ḥusayniyya seems to follow a model used previously by Yašbak in his constructions south of Maṭariyya. This is not at all surprising since the two domes, as can still be seen, were built on an almost identical architectural pattern, except that the dome at Ḥusayniyya was on a much larger scale.

Dapper, who compiled several travelers' descriptions, mentions a hippodrome connected with what he calls a terrasse, with both the road and the terrasse being flanked by walls.

« Il y a hors de la ville une longue carrière qui aboutit à une grande terrasse que les Circassiens ou Mammelous dont elle porte le nom ont faite, pour y faire le manège aux chevaux et autres spectacles. La carrière et la terrasse sont enceintes de murailles le long desquelles règne une promenade au dessus il y a des créneaux et des vases de parade et de là on peut voir ce qui se passe au dedans. Au bas

(1) Čelebī, p. 302 f. — (2) Concerning the map see article by Meinecke-Berg. —

(3) Africanus III, p. 367.

des murailles il y a des fenêtres, qui ont lieu de treillis de fer, de certaines pierres percées, d'où les femmes peuvent voir ce qui se passe dans la carrière et la terrasse sans être aperçues » ⁽¹⁾.

The promenade here is most probably Yašbak's passage overlooking the *maṣṭaba*. The connection between Yašbak's constructions and the hippodrome north of Cairo is confirmed as well by Čelebī when he mentions a hippodrome having a kitchen, several halls (*qā'a*) and a reservoir, which he calls « Bešbekiyye »; if one point is added to the first letter of the word in the original Ottoman text, then the « b » becomes « y » and Bešbekiyye becomes Yašbakiyya ⁽²⁾.

Yašbak's structures were built near the Maṣṭaba, on its western side. In the later part of his chronicle, Ibn Iyās informs us that Maṣṭabat al-Raydāniyya was near the mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil, which was built much later in 1501. Because of the proximity of the two, the Maṣṭaba came to be called Maṣṭabat al-ʿĀdil ⁽³⁾. The mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil still exists today on the eastern side of the dome of Yašbak, at a distance of ten minutes' walk at a moderate pace. If the *maṣṭaba* was on the road, it must have been located somewhere between the two structures of al-ʿĀdil and Yašbak. On the other hand, the elevated passage built by Yašbak covered a substantial distance between the north-east of Ḥusayniyya and Raydāniyya. According to al-Saḥāwī, « *ğaraḥa min ġāmiʿ Ilmalik ilā al-raydāniyya ṭūlan wa ʿarḍan wa azāla ma hunāka min al-qubūr wa ġāʿala ḍalika sabāṭan yaʿlūhu mukaʿab . . .* » ⁽⁴⁾. This can be translated as : « He tore down all tombs as well as other things between the mosque of Ilmalik and Raydāniyya all over (the area) and made this area into an elevated passage with a light roof ».

Yašbak's elevated passage might have been a promenade leading to and overlooking the hippodrome.

Neither of Yašbak's domes retained the name of its builder after he died. The dome to the south of Maṭariyya which, as has already been mentioned, became the property of the Sulṭān after the Dawādār's death, was called Qubbat al-Ġūrī because al-Ġūrī was responsible for adding some structures to it. The dome to

⁽¹⁾ Dapper, p. 58. — ⁽²⁾ Čelebī, p. 481. — ⁽³⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, pp. 267, 288, 340; V, pp. 136, 237, 422. — ⁽⁴⁾ *op. cit.*

the north of Ḥusayniyya, known today as al-Fadāwiyya, has changed its name several times over the years.

In his description of Cairo, Čelebī refers to it as Tophane, or the building where the cannons are kept. Piri Reis' map of Cairo (1525) uses this appellation as well ⁽¹⁾. This would imply that it had a military function, which is not at all surprising because the Ottomans appointed a special guard (*sanğaq*) which changed every month and whose job it was to guard the approaches of the city against Beduin raids ⁽²⁾.

The more common name used in Arabic as well as Turkish sources during the Ottoman period was Qubbat al-'Azab. Here again, the term 'azab relates to the military; the 'azab(s) were a corps in the Ottoman army similar to the Janissaries and were charged with guarding the approaches to the Citadel and the suburbs of Cairo ⁽³⁾. Čelebī writes that the Ağā of the 'Azabs was garrisoned at the Tophane, while other corps were in charge of other posts such as Sabīl 'Allān and Birkat al-Ḥāğğ ⁽⁴⁾. Ğabartī also uses the term Qubbat al-'Azab and writes that it was called Qubbat al-Naṣr as well ⁽⁵⁾. The phrase Qubbat al-Naṣr was used to designate the north-eastern boundary of Cairo in the early Mamlūk period, but later, when this structure had disappeared, the name continued to refer to the north-eastern boundary, which in the meantime had moved much further north towards the dome of Yašbak. During the reign of Qāyrbāy, Şayrafī writes that « the Sulṭān went towards Qubbat al-Naṣr and stayed at the dome of Yašbak » ⁽⁶⁾.

Concerning the term « Fadāwiyya », Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb offers an interpretation which must be rejected for chronological reasons. He identifies the name of the building the religious-military group of the Ismā'īlī order which was employed by the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sulṭāns to defend the frontiers against the Unbelievers. But the latest reference to this group, according to 'Abd al-Wahhāb, is during the reign of Qalāwūn ⁽⁷⁾, while the earliest usage of the term « Fadāwiyya » in connection with Yašbak's dome is that of 'Alī Mubārak ⁽⁸⁾.

(1) See map in Čelebī.

(2) Pococke I, p. 36.

(3) Shaw, p. 32 n. 2.

(4) Čelebī, p. 440.

(5) Ğabartī I, pp. 188, 250, 259; II, p. 33;

IV, p. 222.

(6) Şayrafī, *Anbā'*, p. 68.

(7) 'Abd al-Wahhāb I, p. 272.

(8) Mubārak I, p. 49.

Ġabartī mentions the name Fadāwiyya once, although not in connection with this building; he refers to a weapon called *ukrat al-fadāwiyya* ⁽¹⁾, implying that at this time there was also some military group which was known by that name. Ḥasan Qāsim writes, but without providing a reference, that the dome of Yašbak was not known by this name until 1801 (1216 H.), at which point it was occupied by a military group of the Fadāwiyya after the withdrawal of the French army ⁽²⁾. This would explain how, during Ġabartī's time, the name had not yet come into common usage while by the end of the nineteenth century when 'Alī Mubārak wrote, the name had changed to al-Fadāwiyya.

Although it was Yašbak, who is credited by his biographers as having been a great builder, who must have been responsible for providing the north of Cairo with its original urban character, his name quickly ceased to be associated with the area. Strangely enough, it was al-'Ādil Ṭūmānbay whose name ultimately came to designate the north-eastern suburb of the city during the Ottoman period, when it was known as al-'Ādiliyya.

Al-'Ādil Ṭūmānbay ruled for a period of less than one year in 1501, during which time he built a mausoleum near the *maṣṭaba* of the Maṭ'am at Raydāniyya. This building is mentioned quite often in the chronicle of Ibn Iyās, not for its architectural importance but for its location.

In the last part of his chronicle, which deals with the first days of the Ottoman occupation of Egypt, Ibn Iyās describes the processions of Ḥayrbak, the first *wālī* of Egypt. These processions would begin at the Maṣṭabat al-'Ādil, where the *wālī* was donned the robe of investiture, and then passes by the dome of Yašbak north of Ḥusayniyya, where the four great Qadis awaited him and joined the procession ⁽³⁾. This ceremony represents a return to the protocol of investiture as it was practiced from the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn until the reign of al-Nāṣir.

The reception of ambassadors from the Ottoman Sulṭān took place at the Maṣṭaba, where robes of honor were offered and the usual procession to the Citadel began ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mubārak III, p. 20.

264; V, pp. 237, 347, 428 f.

⁽²⁾ Qāsim IV, p. 235, cit. by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibn Iyās V, pp. 379, 382, 393, 422, 433,

⁽³⁾ Ibn Iyās IV, pp. 164 ff., 191, 229, 243,

464.

In the later Ottoman period, reception procedures differed, depending on whether the *wālī* came by land or by sea. If he arrived by sea he was greeted at Alexandria, from where he traveled to Rosetta. From Rosetta, he would continue his journey by boat on the Nile, during which time many different celebrations took place. Upon his arrival at Būlāq, the *wālī* would rest for two days and then proceed to the palace at the dome of Yašbak (Qubbat al-ʿAzab). If he traveled by land, he would arrive at the dome via the desert road. There, all the amirs and members of the military officer corps and their followers pitched their tents in a nearby field. After three days at the dome, they accompanied the *wālī* into Cairo in a great procession ⁽¹⁾. This tradition was followed by the first *wālī*, the Mamlūk Ḥayrbak, and was subsequently maintained throughout the entire Ottoman period « according to the ancient protocol », as al-Ğabartī writes ⁽²⁾. Even Bona-parte, after the siege of Akko, entered Cairo in a triumphant procession which began at ʿĀdiliyya, Kléber also maintained the custom ⁽³⁾.

VI. — AL-ʿĀDILIYYA (Pl. IX, C).

The location of the mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil, isolated from the medieval part of Cairo, might seem somewhat strange today but, in fact, the mosque and mausoleum were built directly on the caravan road in the vicinity of the Maṣṭaba and Yašbak's complex. Also, on the desert side of the road, the cemetery reached much further to the north than it does today.

As travelers report, several noteworthy constructions were contained in the ʿĀdiliyya quarter. Čelebī mentions an *iwān* mosque built by al-ʿĀdil and dated 906 with a dome within a walled complex which included three *sabīl*(s), a *sāqiya*, a kitchen, a *takiyya*, a *zāwiya*, and a minaret, as well as several buildings, halls (*qaʿāt*), and a number of rooms for residential or commercial use ⁽⁴⁾.

A palace near the mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil was seen by the traveler al-Nābulṣī (1693-94) ⁽⁵⁾. Stone buildings and galleries still existed around the mosque at the

⁽¹⁾ Shaw, p. 14. Niebuhr I, p. 110. Ğabartī II, pp. 61, 77. Ğalabī, p. 725.

⁽²⁾ Ğabartī II, p. 177.

⁽³⁾ Ğabartī III, pp. 47, 69, 105.

⁽⁴⁾ Čelebī, pp. 303 f., 484.

⁽⁵⁾ Nabulṣī, fol. 147.

time of the French Expedition ⁽¹⁾. A caravanserai called Khān al-ʿĀdil, where customs were collected from the pilgrimage caravans, was known during the Ottoman period, and perhaps it is the same large construction which was mentioned by Čelebī as a *wikāla* for the spice trade in the northern part of the cemetery ⁽²⁾. The map of the *Description de l’Egypte* indicates a very large caravanserai south of the mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil, opposite and near to Yašbak’s dome; the construction seems to be built on both sides of the road ⁽³⁾; today this is the site of the Greek hospital at ʿAbbāsiyya. According to the *Description de l’Egypte*, the cemetery of Qubba contained al-ʿĀdil’s tomb as well as a number of very rich mausolea and was connected to the cemetery of Qāyṭbāy. Clot Bey reckons Qubba to have been one of the three great cemeteries of Cairo, along with the southern cemetery and that of Qāyṭbāy ⁽⁴⁾.

The earliest indication of the shrinkage of Cairo to the north during the Ottoman period is perhaps the fact that the games at the hippodrome of Raydāniyya and the associated processions were abolished at the start of the seventeenth century. Čelebī (1672) wrote a great deal about the processions of the *maḥmal* and the investiture of the *wālī*, but does not mention any ceremonies concerning the *qabaq* at Raydāniyya. Čelebī was a witness to the process of decay in the northern suburb and attributes it to the Ottoman conquest. Yašbak’s dome near Maṭariyya, which was used by Ottoman officials, was decaying; only a small hall remained. There is no mention of the famous gallery cited by the several European travelers of the sixteenth century. Also, Yašbak’s second dome (Fadāwiyya), the Tophane, mentioned as a *takiyya*, seems to have lost its gallery, which must have been dismantled and its materials used in other constructions. ʿAlī Mubārak does not mention Yašbak’s dome in his listing of mosques, *zāwiya*(s), and *takiyya*(s). He gives the northern limit of Cairo as Maydān al-Ḥusayniyya.

The definitive ruin of the north-eastern suburb occurred during the French occupation. For security reasons the French destroyed most of the quarter north of Bāb al-Šaʿīriyya as well as Ḥusayniyya, which had revived during the Ottoman period because of the presence in the area of a main slaughterhouse. The

⁽¹⁾ *La Décade Egyptienne* I, p. 20.

⁽²⁾ Čelebī, p. 211.

⁽³⁾ Map pl. 15 *D.E.* (Etat moderne) T. 1.

⁽⁴⁾ *D.E.* (Etat Moderne) T. 2 (2) p. 752; Clot Bey I, p. 207 f.

destruction by the French left the city walls bare and visible for the first time in centuries ⁽¹⁾. An example of the heavy destruction which took place under the French is the disappearance of the mosque of Ġānbalāṭ. The mosque of Ġānbalāṭ was located adjacent to Bāb al-Naṣr and was the place where the *maḥmal* would stay prior to its journey to Mecca, just as it had stayed earlier times at the mosque of al-Ḥākim ⁽²⁾. The French are also reported to have plundered Qubbat al-Ġūrī (Yašbak's dome) and palaces and residences which surrounded it. Perhaps the final destruction of the northern suburb was carried out in 1821 by Sulaymān Aġā al-Silāḥdār. It was, according to Ġabartī, a great catastrophe, for he plundered all the ruins north of Bāb al-Naṣr, and transported the stones into the city ⁽³⁾.

The map of the *Description de l'Égypte* shows the last phase of the shrinkage of Cairo before the urban development of the city entered a new phase under the Muḥammad ʿAlī dynasty; the mosque of al-Zāhir marks the northern limit of the city, Qubbat al-ʿAzab and al-ʿĀdil's dome are marked only on the map of the northern district and the desert had encroached right up to Bāb al-Naṣr. By the beginning of the nineteenth century a traveler wrote : « from every appearance of the city, it was of much greater extent in former times; at least the numerous ruins strewn on the circumjacent ground justify this presumption » ⁽⁴⁾.

At the beginning of the twentieth century not even a memory remained of what Raydāniyya had once been. The name Raydāniyya is mentioned in connection with the Ottoman conquest as the site and the name of the battle between the Ottoman and the Mamlūk armies in which the Ottoman general Sinān Paša was killed, but later the name Raydāniyya ceased to be used and was replaced by al-ʿĀdiliyya or al-Qubba. In the nineteenth century, the area's designation was Ḥaṣwa; this name is mentioned in a decree from ʿAbbās Ḥilmī ordering the urbanization of this area ⁽⁵⁾. After this it was known as ʿAbbāsiyya.

⁽¹⁾ Ġabartī III, p. 159.

⁽²⁾ Čelebī p. 211; Qalqašandī IV, p. 57 f.

⁽³⁾ Ġabartī IV, p. 314 f.

⁽⁴⁾ Sonnini II, p. 369 f.

⁽⁵⁾ Ġabartī IV, p. 229. Mubārak IX, p. 23. Ramzī I (1), p. 47. Sāmī I (1), p. 21 f.

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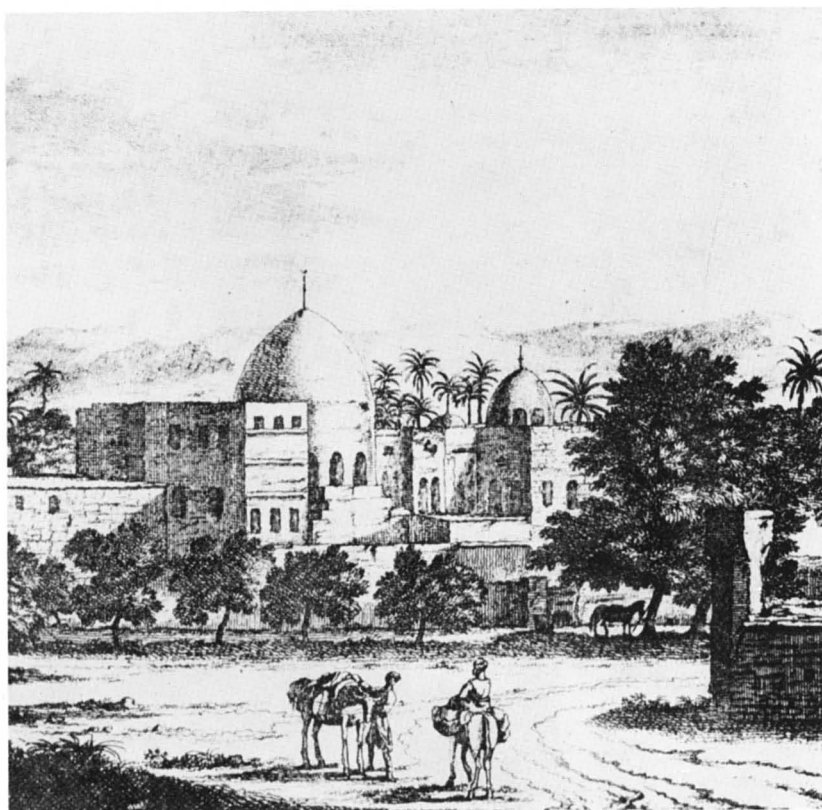
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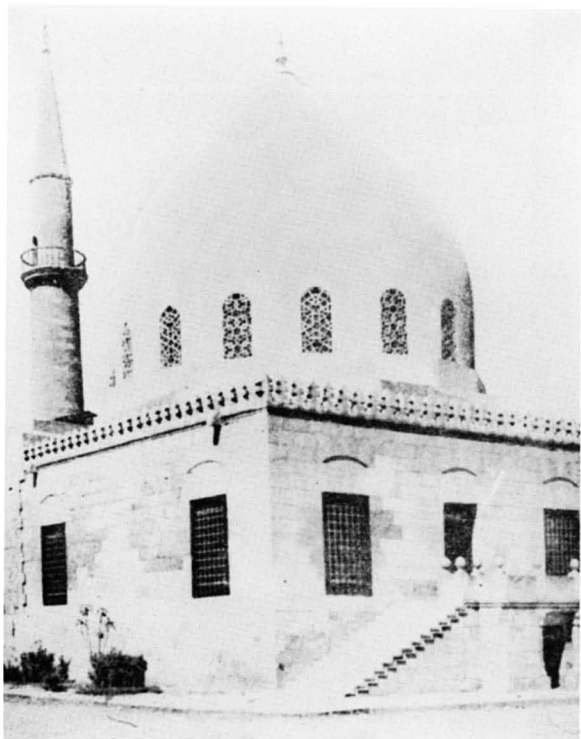
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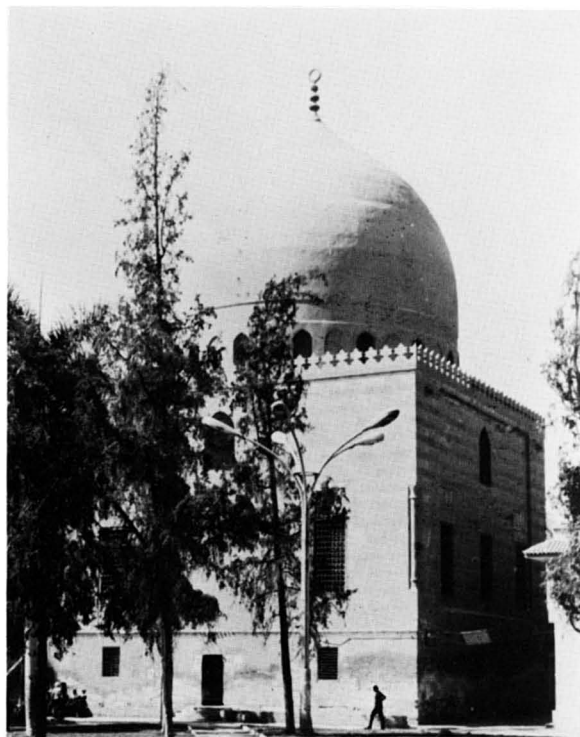
A. — The Virgin's tree at Maṭariyya
(illustr. by Roberts).



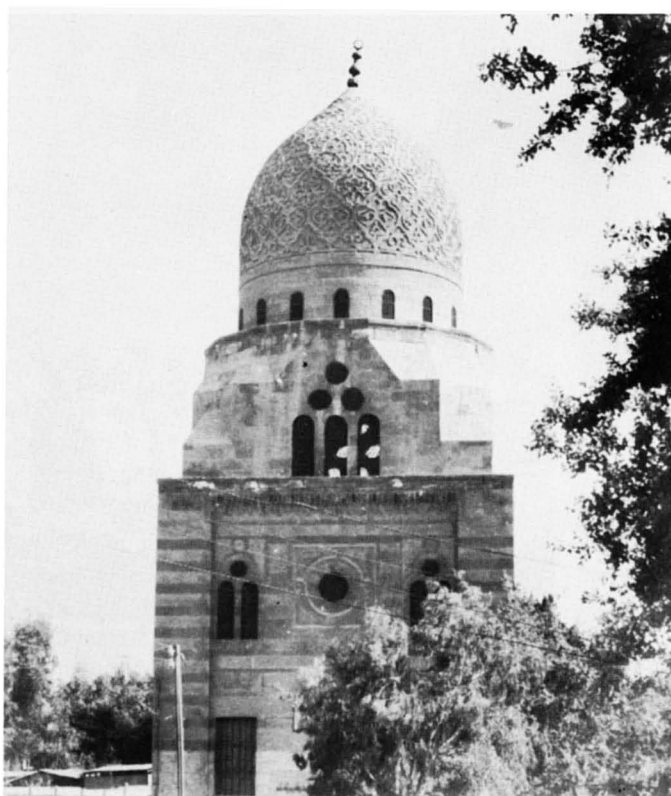
B. — Complex of Yašbak near
Maṭariyya by Le Brun (1700).



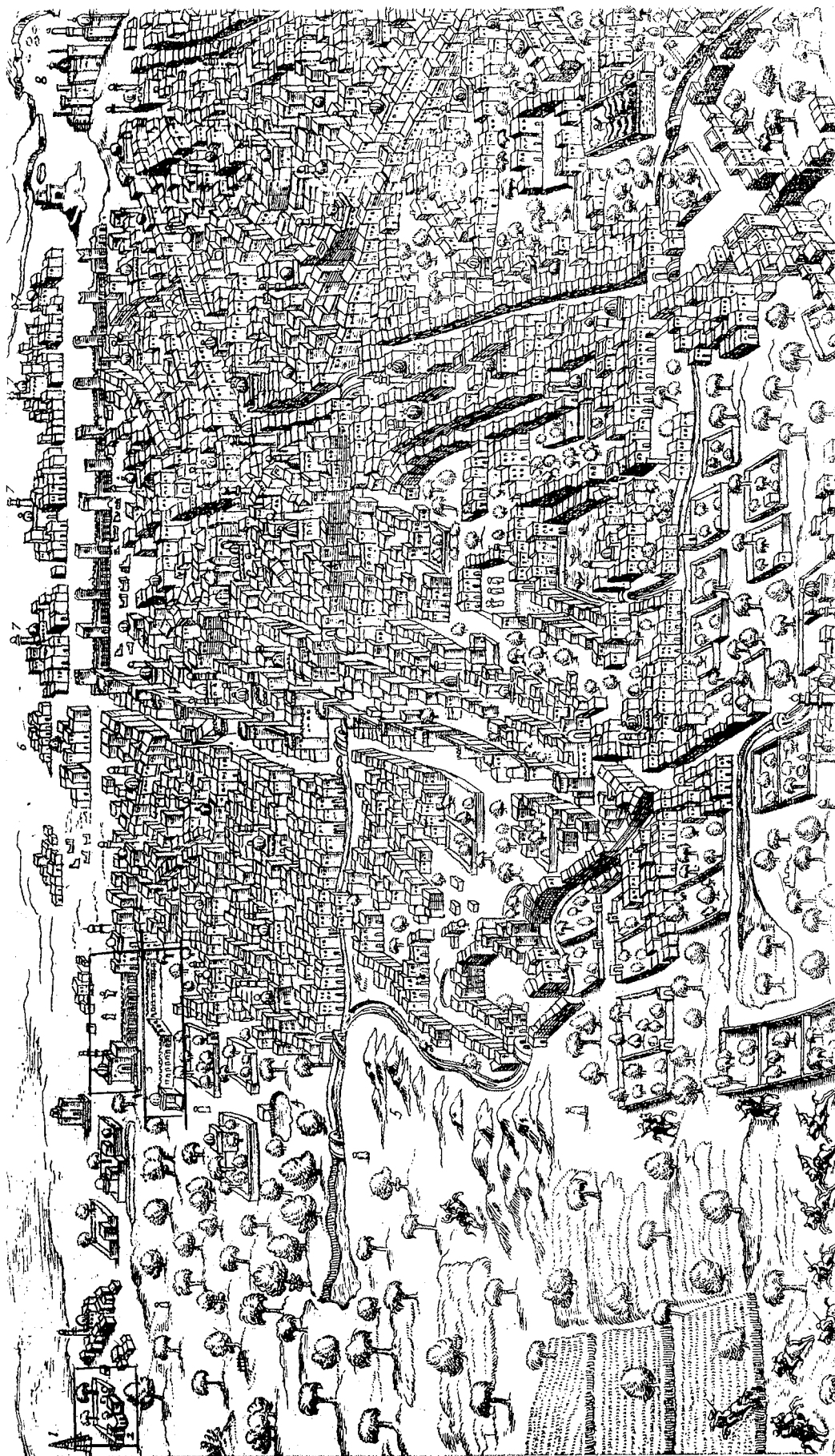
A. — The dome of Yašbak near Maṭariyya before modernization (photo. Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb).



B. — Dome of Yašbak north of Ḥusayniyya (Qubbat al-Fadāwiyya).



C. — Mausoleum of Al-ʿĀdil today.



View of Cairo (XVIth century) showing two galleries north of the city (frame to the right) and the village of Matariyya (frame to the left).