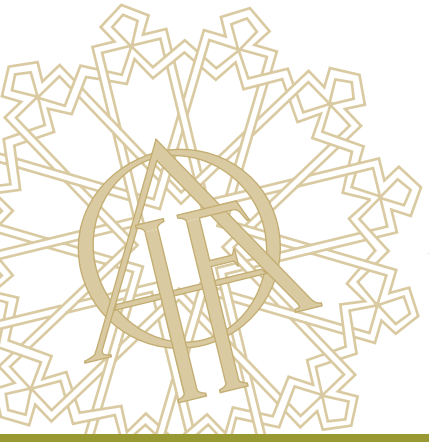
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AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40

Doris Behrens-Abouseif

Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.

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Doris BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power

SULTAN al-Ašraf Qāytbāy (873/1568-901/1496) was, together with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, the most important sponsor of religious foundations among the Mamluk sultans. His building zeal is documented in contemporary sources as well as by a number of extant monuments.[1] The surviving monuments and the historical accounts, which focus on the Sultan's pious foundations, provide little information, however, about his impact on Cairo's urban development. Had Maqrīzī lived at that time, we might have known more. Moreover, the preservation of Islamic monuments in Cairo has been so far more concerned with religious than with profane architecture. The following pages deal with the real estates acquired by Qāytbāy in Cairo to finance some of his religious and charitable foundations. These estates consisted of houses, apartment complexes or *rabʿ*-s, as well as commercial buildings of the *wakāla*, *ḫān* or *qayṣariyya* type,[2] shops, stores and factories which were alienated, *i.e.* built or purchased to be rented in order to produce a revenue for the beneficiary of the *waqf*.

The great *waqf* book of Qāytbāy in Cairo is well-known to historians of the Mamluk period;[3] it was dedicated to the Sultan's funerary complex in the cemetery, moreover four *sabīl*-s, a small mosque and a trough in Cairo. Further allocations were made for a Friday mosque at Salamūn. Three houses included in the *waqf* were endowed for the private use of relatives of the Sultan: a house near the pond of Birkat al-Fīl for Ğānim al-Bahlawān as residence for his lifetime; a house in the quarter of Suwayqat al-ʿIzzī for his sister Ğān Tīn and her son and descendants and a third house in the quarter Yānisiyya for his relative Tamir min Qurqumās and his descendants.

[1] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961-1975, III, p. 329-330; al-Saḫāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols, Cairo, 1896, VI, p. 205 sqq.

[2] The description of these three types of commercial buildings in the *waqf* deed shows no difference in their architectural form. They all consisted of stores and shops on the ground floor, with apartments or stores on the two or three upper floors.

[3] *Wizārat al-Awqāf* no. 886; L-A. Mayer, *The Buildings of Qāytbāy as described in his Endowment Deeds*, London, 1938.

Annales islamologiques 32—1998
AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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A subsequent and substantial *waqf* collection of Qāytbāy preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (BN) which has not received attention yet, can largely amplify our scope of Qāytbāy's acquisitions in the city of Cairo.[4] This manuscript describes the Sultan's important pious endowment for a *madrasa*, a *ribāṭ* and a public kitchen in Medina.[5] Due to the large number of commercial structures in Cairo which served the endowment of Medina, the deed is also a valuable source for the topography and for the secular architecture of the medieval city. Furthermore, details concerning the transactions involved in the trust raise interesting questions.

Like its predecessor in Cairo, the BN deed consists of a collection of consecutive *waqf* transactions which were concluded between 889/1484 and 899/1494, but unlike the Cairo deed, its stipulations have not been modified during the growing process of the endowment. The Sultan alienated agricultural land in Egypt and Syria as well as real estates in Damascus, Aleppo and mainly in Cairo for his foundations in Medina. The investments in Cairo are substantial and, compared with those of his funerary complex, they show an increase of the Sultan's capability of acquiring prestigious real estates in the heart of the city. Qāytbāy's *mawqūfāt*, *viz.* the estates alienated within Cairo, are the subject of our interest here; they will be discussed in a comparison between the Cairo and the BN *waqf* documents. This comparison cannot evaluate, however, the volume of revenue of both endowments.

The Cairo *waqf* book consists of a collection of endowments dated 879/1474, 881/1476 and 884/1479, which will be referred to in the text as (a), (b), (c).

As a *wāqif* is entitled to make any kind of revisions, additions or deductions in his own endowment, the first section of the Cairo *waqf* book, (a), invalidates two former endowments, one dated Šaʿbān 864/1460 and another dated Muḥarram 875/1470, substituting them by the one dated 879/1474. Modifications of the *waqf* stipulations were made in the additions of the years 881H. and 884H.

The estates listed in (a) were partly the founder's own property and partly in the possession of *bayt al-māl*, *i.e.* the State; the latter consisted of agricultural plots designated in the document as *ḫarāǧ* land.[6]

The first part of Qāytbāy's endowment on his funerary complex was purely charitable. The stipulations at the end of *waqf* (a) include no allocation for private purposes; after all expenses had been settled, whatever remained should be spent for charitable purposes. In the following addition however, *i.e.* in *waqf* (b), Qāytbāy modified the stipulations in his own favor: whatever amount remained from the *waqf* revenue, after the deduction of all salaries and other expenses, should be saved for three years for any

[4] Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. Ar. no. 471.

[5] The pious aspect of this foundation is the subject of my separate article "Qāytbāy's foundation in Medina: the Madrasah, the Ribāṭ and the Dashīshah", *Mamluk Studies Review* 2 (1998), p. 61-71.

[6] On the alienation of *bayt al-māl* land, see: M. Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa'l-ḥayāt al-iǧtimāʿiyya fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1980, p. 32-33.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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eventuality, after which it should revert to the *nāẓir* and his descendants.[7] At this stage the Sultan alienated the three houses for his relatives. The *nāẓir* or supervisor was Qāytbāy himself, assisted by deputy-supervisors.

As for the BN *waqf* on Medina, it was purely charitable. Some of the buildings alienated existed already, others were demolished and rebuilt according to the founder's scheme. The Sultan was not always the sole owner, in several cases he was a shareholder, as in the large commercial complex which he shared with Abū Bakr Ibn Muzhir. Qāytbāy enlarged and added dwellings and shops to a complex consisting of a *qayṣariyya* and a *wakāla*, half of which belonged to the *waqf* of Abū Bakr Ibn Muzhir and the other half to the Sultan himself. The newly added structures however, which consisted of a *ḫān*, apartments or *rabʿ*-s, and shops, belonged to the Sultan alone.

Abū Bakr Ibn Muzhir (d. 893/1488) was an important bureaucrat who belonged to an old family of State servants. At that time he was Qāytbāy's Chancellor (*nāẓir dawāwīn al-inšāʾ*).[8] The document states that Abū Bakr, wishing to contribute to the Sultan's charitable works in the Holy City, modified his own original endowment dated 888/1483 such as to divert its revenue in favor of Qāytbāy's public kitchen in Medina. He withdrew his former stipulations and replaced them by new ones dedicating the revenue of one half of each of the *qayṣariyya* known as *Qayṣariyyat al-Harāmiẓa*,[9] *i.e.*, of the Hormuz merchants, the *wakāla*, and the *rabʿ*-s to the Medina foundation, after deducting a sum for the maintenance of shrines in Cairo, which Abū Bakr had endowed in his original *waqf*. This original *waqf* did not survive in the Cairo archives. Abū Bakr Ibn Muzhir, moreover, handed over the entire supervision of his *waqf*, which had been in his own hands, to the Sultan. The new stipulations were registered in Rabīʿ II 890/1485.[10]

One wonders how much freedom was left to Abū Bakr in his transactions with the Sultan. It should be recalled that a few years earlier he had fallen in disgrace and that he won back the Sultan's favor after having paid him a large sum.

A comparison of the estates listed in the Cairene with those of the BN deed show a significant difference in Qāytbāy's investment strategy. In the first *waqf* the major part of the real estates consisted of houses and apartments. There were 16 houses, a number of apartment complexes, 2 *ḥammām*-s and 3 commercial buildings (1 *qayṣariyya* and 2 *wakāla*-s), surmounted by living units of the *rabʿ* type. This *waqf* furthermore included a gypsum factory, a grazing ground, a bakery, and a silo. The commercial buildings were acquired in the second phase (b), *i.e.* between 879H and 881H.

[7] Cairo waqf book, p. 284.

[8] Fols. 92 sqq.; Saḫāwī, XI, p. 88; B. Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamlūk*. Damascus, 1992, p. 270-271.

[9] This market is not mentioned in Maqrīzī's topography, but by Ibn Iyās and in Ottoman documents. A. Raymond et G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*, Cairo, 1979, p. 238, 249.

[10] Fols. 90 v. sqq.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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In the Medina endowment there is far more emphasis on commercial structures. The Sultan owned or shared 10 commercial buildings of the *wakāla* type, 5 apartment complexes or *rabʿ*-s built above rows of shops, a large weaving factory, 2 silos, 1 *ḥammām*, 10 houses and moreover individual apartments and shops which were not included in commercial complexes.

There is also a difference in the geographic distribution of the buildings between the two *waqf*-s. As the map shows, the items of the Cairo document were concentrated around the Azhar mosque and in the quarters to its south. The Sultan did not own property in the commercial heart of the city, which is the area around Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, to the north and west of al-Azhar. In the second *waqf* the Sultan had managed to make substantial acquisitions in the quarters of Bunduqāniyyīn and Ḥarīriyyīn, *i.e.* in the very commercial center of the capital in addition to other estates scattered all over the city.

It may not be speculating too far to assume that some, if not all, of the estates included in the commercial center must have been at that time already alienated by previous endowments. Maqrīzī's topography indicates that the commercial structures around Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, *i.e.* in the zone between G and K (5-7) on the map, were continuously appropriated from one *waqf* to another.[11]

At Maqrīzī's time the area of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn was occupied by the religious foundations of the Sultans al-Kāmil Muḥammad (H/6, 622/1225), al-Ṣāliḥ Naǧm al-Dīn Ayyūb (H/6, 641/1243), al-Ẓāhir Baybars (H/6, 660-62/1262-63), al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (H/6, 683-84/1284-85), al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H/6, 695-703/1295-1304), al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (H/6, 786-88/1384-86), al-Ašraf Bārsbāy (K/6, 829/1425) as well as the *Madrasa Sāḥibiyya* (K/6, 12th century).[12] These were located directly along the main avenue or *qaṣaba*. Other religious buildings such as the *ḫanqāh* of Baybars al-Ǧašankīr (G/5, 706-09/1306-10), the *madrasa*-s of Qarāsunqur (G/5, 700/1300-01) and Miṭqāl (H/5, 776/1365), the *madrasa* of Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (G/5, 811/1408) were located in the neighborhood of the *qaṣaba*. Later Abū Bakr Ibn Muzhir built a mosque at Ḥārat Burǧuwān (G/6, 884/1479-80). Each of these religious foundations introduced important transformations in the area through the construction of commercial structures in this prestigious area to upkeep the endowment. Maqrīzī's descriptions of Cairo's markets mention repeatedly how the Sultans and the mighty Amirs were able to transfer lucrative trades from their original location into their own commercial buildings in order to promote activity there. These measures were a major and decisive factor in the topography of Cairo's markets. A. Raymond's map shows that the densest concentration of commercial buildings of the *qayṣariyya*, *wakāla* and *ḫān* type in the 15th century was between the G/6 and K/6 areas, *i.e.*, to the northwest of the Azhar Mosque.

[11] See also M. Ḥusām al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, "*Idārat al-awqāf fī'l-ʿAṣrayn al-mamlūkī wa'l-ʿuṯmānī*", forthcoming in a collective study published by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale on Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī.

[12] This *madrasa* is no longer extant.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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One may assume that it was not easy for Qāytbāy to found new commercial structures or even to acquire any in this zone, as most of them must have been already alienated in previous *waqf*-s, and *waqf* estate should not be traded, at least theoretically, unless by *istibdāl*. *Istibdāl* (exchange) is the swap or sale of an alienated estate that is no longer lucrative or is in need of repair, in order to allow its replacement by another more lucrative investment. This device however, has been regularly misused to release alienated estates for other interests.[13] Since the royal foundations were supervised by Amirs or Sultans, only a powerful Amir or a Sultan would be able to impose the *istibdāl* as a stratagem to acquire *waqf* property. Ǧawharī reports that Qāytbāy incited his officials to acquire any decaying estate they might find, even by means of *istibdāl*, and to restore and invest it as for the Medina *waqf*.[14] This shows that the Sultan could not hope to acquire estates otherwise. The Ḥanafī chief Qadi however, aware of the abuses that *istibdāl* transactions usually led to, warned the Sultan that this should not be practiced, unless it were fully justified.

Besides the *istibdāl*, Mamluk Sultans and Amirs had other means to acquire *waqf* property. As Muḥammad Amīn observed, they sometimes compelled other endowers to include them as beneficiaries in their *waqf*-s. This is in a sense what Qāytbāy seems to have done with Abū Bakr Ibn Muzhir, although in this case the Sultan did not act in his own personal interest, but for the sake of a philanthropic cause. The jurists also authorized the Sultans to acquire *waqf* estates under the condition that they would restore them and allow the previous *waqf* to participate in the revenue. Such permissions were given to Sultan Barsbāy.[15] In fact, Barsbāy's *waqf* book indicates that he was often a shareholder in real estates located in the commercial center. Also Sultan Īnāl acquired dilapidated commercial structures belonging to the *waqf* of the Aqmar mosque and rebuilt them in his own name as shareholder of three quarters, leaving one quarter to the Aqmar endowment.[16] The fact that Qāytbāy was in many cases a shareholder instead of a full owner of urban estates, could be interpreted in this sense. By renovating dilapidated buildings and rendering them lucrative again he, or his *waqf*, would become in exchange a shareholder. It should be noted that in the Cairo *waqf* book Qāytbāy was a shareholder in seven cases involving a *qayṣariyya*, a *wakāla*, a *ḥammām*, a gypsum factory, two shop complexes and a waterwheel. In the BN document he is mentioned as a shareholder in ten cases, most of which involved sizable estates. Since in almost all his real estate acquisitions Qāytbāy did not erect buildings on bare land, but purchased already existing structures which sometimes had to be renovated or rebuilt, his shareholder status can be explained by his involvement in a preexisting *waqf*. This does not necessarily imply that Qāytbāy was always acting illegally. If the alienated building he acquired was indeed in a bad condition and in need

[13] M. Amīn, p. 241-242.

[14] Al-Ǧawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-haṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr*. ed. Ḥ. Ḥabašī, Cairo, 1970, p. 481.

[15] M. Amīn, p. 354-355.

[16] Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Ḥawādiṯ al-duhūr fī madā ayyām wa'l-šuhūr*, ed. M.K. 'Izz al-Dīn, Cairo, 1990, p. 573; Amīn, p. 357.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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of repair, this solution would have been a fair compromise in the interest of the original *waqf*, and thus licit. This pragmatic solution led, however, to frequent abuses; it has often been reported that estates which were in a good state were declared as decayed, once an Amir or a Sultan had placed his eye on it and put pressure on the jurists. Considering the bad condition of Cairo's commercial center in the first quarter of the 15th century, in the aftermath of Tīmūr's invasion of Syria and the political unrest in the first decade of the century, it is most likely that these investments had a revitalizing effect on the city. The reading of the *waqf* alone does not allow for a judgement on how correct Qāytbāy's officials executed these transactions, but the Mamluk historians' judgement of Qāytbāy was full of praise, emphasizing his modesty, piety and charitable deeds, without special mention of abuses.

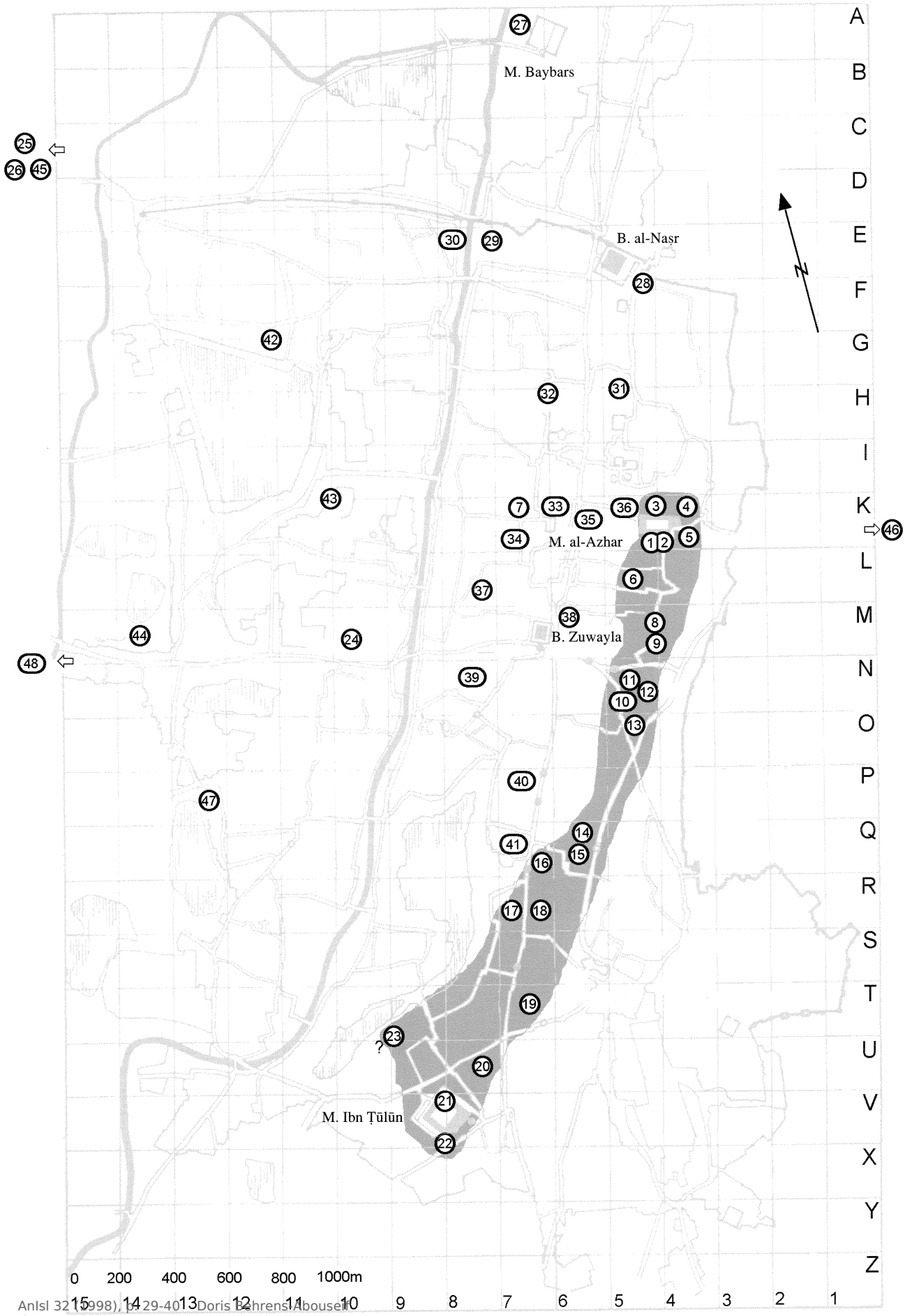
The *istibdāl* transactions or the persuasion of officials to acquiesce in unorthodox measures, are undertakings which need a powerful hand and the support of the religious-administrative establishment. At the time of his first endowment which involved buildings that had been in his possession prior to his enthronement,[17] Qāytbāy had not been yet able to acquire the most prestigious estates. By the time he made his endowment for Medina ten years later, he had gained the authority that enabled him to select first class investments in the heart of the commercial zone. Moreover, the highly pious character of this endowment supported the Sultan's cause.

Note to the map:

The following map can give only approximate information concerning the location of the buildings. The numbers refer to buildings of various sizes, as they are itemized in the two lists above. The circles refer to one or more structures, the oval frames indicate sizable commercial complexes. The dark area shows, with one exception, the concentration of Qāytbāy's estates according to the Cairo *waqf* document.

[17] The following dates of purchase are mentioned: 864, 867, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 879H.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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1. Map showing the locations of Qāytbāy's real estates in Cairo, according to the Cairo and the BN *waqfiyya*-s.

Anlsl 32 (1998), pp. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power
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Lists of Qāytbāy's real estates in Cairo according to his Cairo waqf book

Al-Azhar [**K/4-5**]

1. A house (b).[18]
2. A house, 2 shops, 2 apartments, 2 stores, a house (b).[19]
3. A *wakāla* (including 14 shops, 28 stores, 37 apartments) (b).[20]

Darb al-Aswānī, near al-Azhar [**K/4**]

4. A house (a).[21]

Darb al-Atrāk, near al-Azhar [**K/4**]

5. 3 shops, 2 apartments (c).[22]

Ḥārat al-Daylam, near the mosque of Kāfūr al-Zimām [23] [**L/5**]

6. 1/2 a *ḥammām* (*Ḥammām al-Qaffāṣīn*), 1 apartment with stable (a).[24]

Abāẓra and Marāwihiyyīn, opposite Sūq al-Šarb [**K/7**]

7. 1/2 a *qayṣariyya* (consisting of 33 shops, 26 stores, 15 apartments) (b).[25]

Bāṭiliyya [**M/4-5**]

8. A mansion (a).[26]
9. A house with stable (a).[27]

Sūq al-Ġanam [28] [**N/5**]

10. A complex of :
    5 apartments (a),
    1 bakery (a),
    1/2 a gypsum factory (*ǧabbāsa*) (a),
    1 grazing ground (*manāḫ*) (a),
    1 apartment with stable (a).

[18] P. 198.
[19] P. 230 sqq.
[20] P. 96 sqq. The *wakāla* is extant and listed as monument no. 75. The Sultan sponsored a fountain (monument nº 74) and a trough near the *wakāla.*
[21] P. 49 sqq.
[22] P. 265.
[23] P. 54 sqq.
[24] Maqrīzī mentions Ḥammām al-Qaffāṣīn, built during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by Naǧm al-Dīn Yūsuf, the vizier of Sultan al-'Azīz 'Uṯmān, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son. Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa'l-i'tibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa'l-āṯār,* Būlāq, 1270/1853-54, II, p. 84.
[25] P. 201 sqq.
[26] P. 44-45.
[27] P. 52-53.
[28] P. 61-62.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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Yānisiyya (Darb al-Ūğāqī) **[N/5]**

11. 1 house with stable (a).[29]
12. 1 house with stable (b).[30]

Tabbāna **[O/5]**

13. 1 house[31] (c).

Suwayqat al-ʿIzzī near the *madrasa* of Sūdūn min Zāda **[Q/6]**

14. 1 house with stable (a).[32]
15. 1 mansion (b), 1/2 a waterwheel (b).[33]

Qūṣūn[34] **[Q/7]**

16. 1 house with stable (b), 6 apartments (b).

Ḥawḍ Ibn Hanas **[R/7]**

17. 1 double *ḥammām* (*Ḥammām al-Dūd*) (a).
18. A share of 1.75 of 24 shares in 6 shops (a).[35]

Suwayqat ʿAbd al-Munʿim, near the *madrasa* of Qānibāy[36] **[T/7]**

19. 1 mansion (a).[37]

Ṣalība, Darb Ibn al-Bābā[38] **[U/8]**

20. 10 apartments and 4 stables (a).

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Darb al-Akrād, near the Murāḥiliyyīn market[39] **[V/8-9]**

21. 2 adjoining houses (a).[40]
22. 3/4 of 5 shops and 2 apartments (c).[41]

Birkat al-Fīl, near Ḥammām Ḥulayqa[42] **[T-U/9-10 ?]**

23. 1 house with stable (b).

[29] P. 64 sqq.
[30] P. 226-227.
[31] Listed as monument No. 228, p. 256-257.
[32] P. 68-69.
[33] P. 216 sqq.
[34] P. 203 sqq.
[35] P. 69 sqq. Maqrīzī (II, p. 85) writes that Ḥammām al-Dūd was alienated as family *waqf* for the descendants of Sultan Al-Muʿizz Aybak and still in their possession to his day.
[36] P. 82 sqq.
[37] Maqrīzī II, p. 245, 315.
[38] P. 88 sqq.
[39] P. 75 sqq.
[40] P. 76 sqq.
[41] P. 264-265.
[42] Cannot be precisely located. P. 222 sqq.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
Qāytbāy's investments in the city of Cairo: Waqf and Power.
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Maʿadiyyat Furayǧ, outside Bāb al-Ḫarq along the Ḫalīǧ [43] **[M/10 ?]**

24. 1 mansion (b)[44], 1 *rabʿ* (7 apartments) (b).

Būlāq [45] **[C/-]**

25. 3/4 a *wakāla* (a).

26. 1 silo, 9 stores (a).

List of Qāytbāy's real estates in Cairo according to his waqf book at the BN

Bustān Ibn Ṣayram [46] **[A/7]**

27. 1 house with garden.

Bāb al-Naṣr **[E-F/5]**

28. 1 *wakāla* (including 11 shops, 43 stores, 28 apartments).[47]

Ḥārat Bahā' al-Dīn [48] **[E/7-8]**

29. 1 mansion with garden and stable.

Bāb al-Šaʿriyya, at Ḫaššābīn [49] **[E/8]**

30. 1/2 a complex:
1 waterwheel, 25 shops, 3 booths, 53 apartments and a *wakāla* (including 26 stores, 11 shops and 18 apartments).

Raḥbat Bāb al-ʿĪd [50] **[G-H/5]**

31. 1 house with stable.

Ḫurunfiš [51] **[G-H/6-7]**

32. 1/2 a house with stable.

Rassāmīn/Bunduqāniyyīn [52] **[K/6-7]**

33. 1/2 a complex:
13 shops, 24 apartments, 1 bakery, 1 stable, 1 house.

[43] P. 208 sqq.
[44] Alienated for his sister Ǧān Tīn and her son Al-Sayfī Ǧānibāy. Both arrived in Egypt in Šaʿbān 877H. Ibn Iyās, III, p. 82.
[45] P. 94-95.
[46] Fols. 60 sqq.
[47] Fols. 34 v. sqq. This *wakāla* is listed as monument No. 9.
[48] Fols. 63 v. sqq.
[49] Fols. 163 v. sqq.
[50] Fols. 67 sqq.
[51] Fols. 69 sqq.
[52] Fols. 167 sqq.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 29-40 Doris Behrens-Abouseif
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Bunduqāniyyīn [53] **[K/7]**

34. 1/2 of 4 buildings consisting of:
4 shops, 1 bakery, 1 *rabʿ* (9 apartments),
12 shops, 2 booths (*maqʿad*-s), 1 *rabʿ* (20 apartments),
17 shops, 1 *wakāla* (including 14 stores, 30 apartments),
10 shops, 1 booth, 3 stables, 26 apartments.

Ḫaṭṭ al-Daǧǧāǧīn (formerly called *Ḥarīrīyyīn*) [54] **[K/6]**

35. a complex:[55]
1 *ḫān* called *Ḫān al-Fisqiyya*
(including 16 stores and 7 apartments and 1/2 of 21 preexisting stores),
1/2 a *wakāla* (34 stores),
1/2 a *qayṣariyya* called *Qayṣariyyat al-Harāmiza*,[56] (including 64 shops, 51 stores),
11 shops, 2 *rabʿ*-s located above the *ḫān* and the *qayṣariyya* consisting respectively of 26 new and 1/2 of 16 preexisting apartments and 17 new and 1/2 of 14 preexisting apartments.

Al-Azhar [57] **[K/5]**

36. 1 mansion with stable.

Wazīriyya [58] **[L/8]**

37. 1 mansion, 1 *rabʿ*, 1 stable.

Ḥārat al-Rūm al-suflā [59] **[M/6]**

38. 1 house.

Suwayqat ʿUṣfūr [60] **[N/8]**

39. 2 buildings consisting of :
8 apartments, 1 stable with a waterwheel and 1 apartment; 1 *wakāla*
(including 29 stores and 14 apartments).

[53] Fols. 36 v. sqq.; Maqrīzī II, p. 105.
[54] Maqrīzī II, p. 105.
[55] Fols. 42 v. sqq.
[56] For Harāmiza s. Raymond & Wiet, p. 238; this market could have been settled on the site of the former Ḥarīriyyīn. Maqrīzī I, p. 374; II, p. 90-91.
[57] Fols. 160 sqq.
[58] Fols. 74 sqq.
[59] Fols. 72 sqq.
[60] Fols. 2 v. sqq.

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Daǧǧāǧīn, near Hilāliyya [61] [**P/7**]

40. 1/2 of a complex:
11 shops, 24 apartments.
1 *wakāla* (including 6 shops, 15 stores, 24 apartments).[62]

Ḥawḍ Ibn Hanas [63] [**Q/7**]

41. 1/2 of a complex:
1 mill, 1 bakery, 1 *ḥammām*, 1 mansion with stable,
11 shops, 1 *wakāla* for processing wheat
(including 25 rooms and a *rabʿ* of 15 apartments).

Maqsam [64] [**F-G/10-13?**]

42. 1 weaving factory (34 looms) surmounted by 7 apartments.

Azbakiyya [65] [**I/10-K/11**]

43. 1 house with garden.

Ḫaṭṭ al-Qammāḥīn, (al-Lūq)[66] [**M/13,14,15?**]

44. 1 mill.

Būlāq [**C/-**]

45. 1 silo.[67]

Northern Cemetery, near Qāytbāy's mausoleum [**K/-**]

46. 1 silo.

Ḥārat al-Saqqāyīn, near Birkat al-Nāṣiriyya [68] [**P/13**]

47. 1/2 a mansion with garden and stable.

Ǧazīra Wusṭā (*Arwī*)[69], beyond Qanṭarat Qudādār [**M/-**]

48. 2 buildings consisting of:
1 *wakāla* (including 15 stores, 5 shops, 16 apartments),
1 house, a share of 1/3 of a waterwheel.

[61] Fols. 50 sqq. The exact location of this poultry market can not be determined. It is not mentioned by Raymond & Wiet who do refer to the *wakāla* of Qāytbāy in this area, p. 242. The Hilāliyya is south of Bāb Zuwayla, Maqrīzī II, p. 100.

[62] As charitable deed Qāytbāy installed a trough for the animals, a fountain and a bath (*mustaḥamm*).

[63] Fols. 169-170; Maqrīzī II, p. 101.

[64] Fols. 94 v. sqq.

[65] Fols. 97 sqq.

[66] Fols. 22 v.

[67] Fols. 208 v.

[68] Fols. 178 v. sqq.

[69] Fols. 19 sqq. This island located North of the island of Rawḍa, opposite Ḫaṭṭ al-Zarība and Fam al-Ḫawr. Maqrīzī II, p. 169, 186, 198.

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