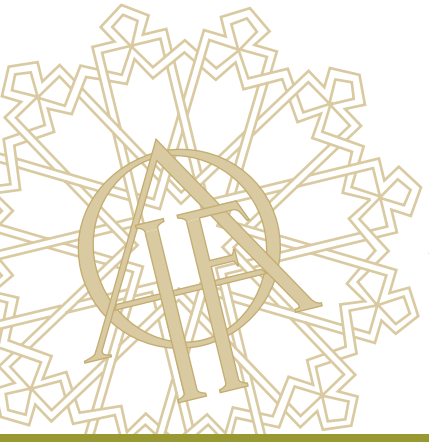
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AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99

ʿAlāʾ Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner

Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.

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Alaa EL-HABASHI, Nicholas WARNER

Recording the monuments of Cairo: an introduction and overview

THE PURPOSE of this article is to provide a synopsis of the process of listing the monuments of Cairo, variously referred to as Saracenic, Muhammadan, Arab or Islamic. This apparently simple subject is, in fact, remarkably complex and confusing once one investigates beyond the last published information: namely the *Index to the Muhammadan Monuments of Cairo* (*Fihris al-aṭār al-islāmiyya*) that accompanied a map showing the location of the listed buildings, first published in Arabic in 1948 and subsequently published in English in 1950. This map, at a scale of 1 : 5000, and index was produced by the *Comité pour la conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* or *Laǧnat ḥifẓ al-aṭār al-ʿarabiyya* (henceforth referred to as the *Comité*) shortly prior to this organisation's demise in 1953 and re-incarnation within the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (today named the Supreme Council for Antiquities). It remains the standard reference tool for anyone working in the field of historic architecture in Cairo. The genesis of this document, however, and the flaws that it contains have thus far received little scholarly attention.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE *COMITÉ*

The *Comité* was founded in december 1881 by decree of the Khedive *Tawfiq,* as a body within the Ministry of *Awqāf* responsible for the arab monuments of Egypt.[1] Within the *Comité* were appointed two sub-committees, one of which, the "First Commission", was entrusted with the task of drawing up a complete inventory of the arab monuments of Egypt. The brief of the other committee, the "Second Commission" (later the "Technical Commission"), was to visit the various mosques, tombs, water-fountains, etc., which appeared to be most urgently in need of attention, to report upon their condition and to recommend

[1] The Khedival Decree is published in *al-Waqāʾiʿ al-maṣriyya*, December 1881, and in the first Bulletin of the *Comité* published in 1882, p. 8-10. The Bulletins are henceforth referred to here as B.C., the *Procès-Verbaux* as P.-V., and the *Rapports* as R. Bulletin years are cited in preference to years of publication as the latter are often confusing.

Annales islamologiques 32—1998
AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 'Alā' Al-Ḥabashī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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steps for their preservation. If a monument was so wholly ruined that conservation would be both useless and impossible, the *Comité* removed any objects of interest found among the ruins to the Museum of Arab Art.[2] In 1915 the *Comité* was further subdivided into two separate administrations: the Administration of the Conservation of Arab Art, *Idārat ḥifẓ al-aṯār al-ʿarabiyya*, and the Administration of the Museum of Arab Art and Excavations, *Idārat dār al-aṯār al-ʿarabiya wi ašġāl al-ḥafr*.[3] In 1936, control of these two administrations of the *Comité* were transferred to the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Wizārat al-Maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*).[4] In 1939, the *Comité* was replaced by the "Conseil Supérieur pour le Service de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe", and its Technical Section became the "Permanent Committee".[5] None of these subdivisions and reshufflings, however, affected the continuing usage of the original denomination of the institution, the *Comité pour la Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*, in its publications or in the perception of the general public.[6] The work of the technical bureau will not be considered here, except in the ancillary area of listing monuments prior to their preservation. [7]

THE GRAND BEY MAP

The "First Commission" of the *Comité* was directly charged with the work of drawing up a list of protected buildings. To do this it relied heavily on an existing map of Cairo produced by one of its own members, Pierre Grand Bey,[8] for the Khedive *Ismāʿīl* in 1874 (fig. 1). The Grand Bey map, printed at a scale of 1 : 4000 and rendered in colour on four sheets, presented Cairo not simply as it was, but as it might be for it included avenues or "percements" through the fabric of the old city which were never in fact executed, such

[2] The Museum of Arab Art was formed in the standing arcades of the ruined mosque of *al-Ḥākim* in 1881. The present Museum of Islamic Art (earlier called the Museum of Arab Art or *Dār al-aṯār al-ʿarabiya*) in *Bāb al-Ḫalq* was founded by the *Comité* and was opened to the public in 1903.

[3] See *Taqwīm sanat 1936* (the report of the Ministry of Finance on the events of 1936), Cairo: *al-Amīriyya*, 1936, p. 155.

[4] See the report of the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Wizārat al-Maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*) on the work of the Administration of the Conservation of Arab Monuments, *Idārat ḥifẓ al-aṯār al-ʿarabiyya risālatuha fi riʿāyat al-aṯār al-islāmiyya fi al-Qāhira wa al-aqālīm*, Cairo: *Dār al-maʿārif*, 1949, p. 4. See, also, *Maḥmūd Aḥmad* (Director of Arab Monuments), «Avant-Propos», in B.C. 36, 1930-32.

[5] The Permanent Committee was established by Article 4 of the Decree No. 79 of August 1939, issued in the name of Farouk I, which authorised the "Conseil Supérieur" to select from its members a "Comité Permanent [pour] préparer les programmes relatifs à la conservation des monuments dépendant du Service, et de surveiller leur exécution, après leur approbation par le Conseil". For the Decree, see B.C. 38, 1936-1940, p. 239-241.

[6] For a concise historiography of the *Comité*, see Donald Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, 1992, p. 57-76. See also Philipp Speiser, *Die Erhaltung der arabischen Bauten in Ägypten, Reihe ADAIK*, Heidelberg, in press.

[7] On the preservation philosophy of the *Comité* and the conservation technology followed during its lifetime, see Alaa el-Habashi, *Cairo of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe: a Study on the Preservation of the Arab Monuments and the Protection of Arab Architecture from 1881 to 1961*, forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, 1998.

[8] Pierre Grand was a French civil engineer who arrived in Egypt in 1868 and was first employed by the *Societé Anonyme des Eaux du Caire*. In 1871, he directed the Department of the Streets of Cairo before promotion took him, in 1885, to the post of General Director of Cities and Buildings in the Ministry of Public Affairs. See *Résumé des Travaux de la Société des Ingénieurs Civils de France*, 1918, p. 38. Grand was an active member of the *Comité*'s Second Commission from 1884 to 1897. For Grand's activities in the *Comité*, review the minutes and technical reports published in the *Comité*'s Bulletins 1 to 14.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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as a major boulevard running from the still to be completed Mosque of *al-Rifāʿī* to the Mosque of *Aqsunqur* on *al-Darb al-Aḥmar*. The important religious monuments of the city, both Islamic and Christian, were differentiated both by colour (red for mosques, and blue for churches and synagogues) and notation (numbers for the mosques, and letters for churches and synagogues). Other public buildings were named directly on the map. Some important buildings were differentiated from their context by colouring, as with the mosques and churches, but were left unnumbered and unidentified. This typological approach only recognized mosques and churches as "monuments": no other building types such as *ḥammāms*, *wikāla*s or *sabīl-kuttāb*s are shown on the Grand Bey map. A qualitative assessment of which were the most significant mosques in the city, in terms of history or aesthetic appearance, had also obviously been made prior to the production of the map.

The Grand Bey map had a total of 282 mosques on it, of which nine were unnamed. Of these 282 mosques, the *Comité* retained 129 (less than half) when it subsequently went on to formulate its own, more general, listing of monuments. Some of the numbers given to mosques by Grand, but ignored by the *Comité* in their own assessment, were reallocated to other buildings, such as the historic gates of Fatimid Cairo. Other mosques numbered by Grand, but omitted from *Comité* listings, were registered years later under a new number when they were deemed worthy of protection.[9] Why the *Comité* chose to persist with a numbering system in which more than half the numbers were reallocated, rather than compiling a completely fresh list is unclear.

THE EARLY LISTS

The First Commission of the *Comité* had access to various lists of monuments when drawing up their own register. One of these concerning religious monuments only dated from 1872.[10] Another was Grand Bey's index of mosques printed on his map. Reference must also have been made to the register of buildings that fell under the administration of *al-Awqāf* (still in use today in an updated form). The first real inventory of monuments (*aṯār*) was penned by the *Comité*'s secretary Rogers Bey[11] in 1883, with direct reference to the register in possession of *al-Awqāf*. A copy of this was sent to the President of the Council of Ministers in order to identify to the relevant local authorities buildings which would fall under the auspices of the *Comité*. This inventory, referred to as the *Daftar aṯār al-Qāhira*,[12] contained 664 numbered entries, and was never published in any of the *Comité*'s

[9] An example of this would be the mosque of *ʿA'iša al-Suṭūḥiyya* located outside the *Bāb al-Futūḥ*, first numbered 14 by Grand Bey, subsequently registered as number 558 by the *Comité*, and finally deregistered and demolished in the campaign to clear the area outside the Northern Walls of the city in the 1940's.

[10] See M.A.M. Mehren, "Le Tableau général des monuments religieux du Caire", *Mélanges Asiatiques*, v. 4, livres 3 and 4, 1872.

[11] Edward Thomas Rogers served from 1868-1874 as the British Consul in Cairo. He subsequently returned to Egypt to work for the Ministry of Public Instruction and was appointed as the first secretary to the *Comité* in 1882 due to his interest in antiquities: a post he occupied till his death in 1884. For a brief account of Rogers' life see Warren R. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd edition, London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1972, p. 252.

[12] In the Arabic version of P.-V. 7, B.C. 1, 1882-1883, p. 27, reference was made to the *Daftar aṯār al-Qāhira* which was not identified by name in the French version.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
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bulletins.[13] In addition to standing monuments, it also included ruined structures and, more strangely, buildings under construction.[14] The inventory identifies the owner(s) and the proprietor(s) of each of the listed buildings, such as *waqf* under the control of *al-Awqāf* (*waqf ḫayrī*), *waqf* under the control of a living proprietor(s) (*waqf ahlī*), State property, or *waqf* with no identified proprietor. Detailed knowledge of the ownership of buildings was essential to the *Comité*'s work because different approaches to conservation were required dependent on who owned the building. Only mosques, *zāwiya*s, *sabīl*s and mausoleums extracted from the register of *al-Awqāf* were included in the list: a limitation which prompted one member of the *Comité*, Ambroise Baudry,[15] to criticize the inventory as incomplete. Baudry felt that the *Comité* should not confine its duties to the monuments registered by *al-Awqāf* but should expand to cover all Arab Monuments.[16] It should be noted that the high number of entries in Rogers Bey's inventory is not an indication of the total number of individual buildings, since each component of a single structure, be it a mosque, *zāwiya*, *sabīl* or mausoleum, was listed separately.[17]

Several further attempts were undertaken by the *Comité* to elaborate on Rogers Bey's inventory, but only the following lists of monuments were published by the *Comité* in their bulletins. These lists of monuments were also regularly published in the official journal, *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*.

1890[18]: this list includes approximately 205 monuments in Cairo, and 10 in the provinces. It is arranged alphabetically, with no numbers assigned to buildings at all, whose topographical location is, however, given. Building types included on the list are mosques, *sabīl*s, tombs, houses, fortifications, *ṭāqiyya*s and *wikāla*s. Some buildings are listed twice under different names (e.g., the *zāwya* and *sabīl Farağ ibn Barqūq* was also listed under its common name *Dihīša*) while others are listed partially rather than in their entirety (e.g. the minaret of the mosque of *Ğaqmaq* in *dīr al-Naḥḥās*, and the façade of the mosque of *Ğaqmaq* in *Darb al-Saʿāda*).

1903[19]: this list includes approximately 300 monuments in Cairo, and 17 in the provinces.[20] The list is arranged alphabetically, with no numbers given except for those of Grand in parentheses, which is a departure from the previous list. As with the 1890 list, the topographical location of each building is given, some buildings are listed twice under

[13] The copy of the list compiled by Rogers consulted by the authors is one sent by the president of the *Comité* to the president of the Council of Ministers located in folder no. 163 *ʿĀbdīn, al-Awqāf, Laǧnat ḥifẓ al-aṯār al-qadīma al-ʿarabiyya*, Egyptian National Archives, Cairo. The numbering system used in the list was simply an independent inventory, which had no influence on any subsequent assignation of Monument numbers.

[14] Examples of ruined mosques are the mosque of *al-Maridānī* (entry no. 203), and the mosque of *Sudun Mirzāda* (entry no. 202). Examples of buildings under construction are the mausoleum of *Šayḫ al-Arbiʿīn* (entry no.141), and the mausoleum of *Šayḫ Ḥasan al-Anwar* (entry no. 156).

[15] On the work of the French architect Ambroise Baudry in Egypt with reference to the conservation of the monuments of Arab Art, see Mercedes Volait, «Du relevé à la conservation des "Monuments de l'art arabe": l'intinéraire égyptien d'Ambroise Baudry (1871-1886)», *RMMM* 73-74, 1994 (printed in 1996), p. 77-97.

[16] B.C. 1, 1884, p. 31.

[17] Such as the complex of Qalawun (entry nos. 10 and 11).

[18] B.C. 7, 1890, p. 147-152.

[19] B.C. 20, 1903, p. 93-102.

[20] 7 monuments were listed in Alexandria, 2 in Damietta, 2 in Qalyubiyya, 2 in Gharbiyya, 2 in Fayyoum, one in al-Minya and one in Girga.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
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different names (e.g. *Qanibāy al-Muḥammadī* and the *Ṣālḥiyya*), and others are listed partially rather than in their entirety (e.g. the minaret of the mosque of *Ǧaqmaq* in *Dīr al-Naḥḥās*).

There are in the 1903 list, however, some exceptions. Three buildings are given numbers which are beyond Grand's highest allocated number (282). These are the minaret of *al-Ġūrī* at *ʿArab al-Yasār* (No. 357), the *sabīl* of *Zīn al-ʿĀbidīn* (No. 415), and the tomb of *Ṣafiyy al-dīn al-Ǧawhar* (No. 617). It is noticeable that these three monuments are not mosques, a fact that would have excluded them from Grand's list. These numbers can only have been derived from unpublished lists in the *Comité*'s possession. This seems to be borne out by the presence of further divergences from Grand's system of numbering: No. 8 was listed as the house of *Raḍwān* and No. 18 was listed as the house of *Manāwi*, when, according to Grand, these two numbers corresponded respectively to the mosque of *al-Mazhariyya* and the mosque of *al-Bakrī*.[21] These divergences go beyond mere errors of typography, of which there are other examples to compromise the reliability of the list.[22]

1910[23]: this list includes approximately 310 monuments in Cairo, and 20 in the provinces. The list is arranged alphabetically, with no numbers given except for those of Grand Bey in parentheses. The topographical location of each building is also given. As with the previous list, some buildings are listed twice under different names and others are listed partially rather than in their entirety.

The locations of monuments on both the 1903 and 1910 lists were indicated by referring to the numbers assigned to mosques in Grand's map. So if the listing pointed to the same building designated by Grand in his map, the monument would be designated with the same number by the *Comité*: for example, the mosque of *Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Bībars* was designated by "à el-Zaher (N° 1 du plan Grand Bey)". In the case where a newly registered building was located near a mosque numbered by Grand in his map, or between two mosques numbered by Grand, the *Comité* located this newly registered monument with reference to the surrounding numbers on Grand's map: for example, the *sabīl Ismāʿīl al-Kabīr* was designated by "à el-Daoudieh, (entre les n^{os} 195 et 197 du plan Grand Bey)". In such cases there was no attempt made to provide the newly regisered building with a registration number of its own.

The 1910 list also contained a separate index of 27 Coptic monuments (without numbers, but with topographical locations). This was the first appearance of Coptic monuments in an official list, although interest was first expressed in them in 1897, when Tigrane Pasha commented that they should be treated "in the same spirit" as the Arab monuments.[24] Along with the Coptic monuments was included the *Qaṣr al-Šamʿ* as a Roman monument – a unique instance in Cairo of a monument of this period being included by the *Comité* on one of its lists, although the Roman Cisterns of Alexandria were also subject to listing.[25]

[21] Max Herz, in his 1914 list (see below), re-assigned these monuments their original numbers from Grand's map.

[22] For example, Grand's numbers for the mosque of *Fāṭma al-Šaqra* (the mosque of *al-Mar'a*) and the mosque of *Ǧaqmaq* were printed as 19 and 380, when they should have been 195 and 180 respectively.

[23] B.C. 27, 1910, p. 197-208.

[24] B.C. 14, P.-V. 71, 1897, p. 13.

[25] The cisterns were listed in both 1903 and 1910.

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Most of the ambiguities inherent in the 1903 list persisted in the 1910 list, such as the duplication of a building within the list, the appearance of number references higher than those on Grand's plan, and confusions over Grand's reference numbers. Concerning the latter, aside from the problem with Grand's references to Nos. 8 and 18 mentioned above in the 1903 list, the number of mosque No. 2 on Grand's plan (the mosque of *al-Kurdī* near *al-Ẓāhir*) was mistakenly assigned in 1910 to the house of *Maḥmūd al-Kurdī* in *Qaṣabat Raḍwān*. Some errors, however, were occasionally noticed and corrected: an example being Grand's No. 357 which was mistakenly used in the 1903 list to refer to the minaret of *al-Ġūrī* at *ʿArab al-Yasār*. This was corrected in the 1910 list to Grand's original reference No. 157, but despite the adjustment, this number was not used consistently in later lists, and today this monument bears the number 159. These examples are given simply to demonstrate that the system being used by the *Comité* to assign numbers to monuments was far from foolproof.

In many of the *Comité* bulletins prior to 1915, a list of buildings which were not considered as registered monuments is also included. These buildings were listed for several reasons, one of which was to confirm the *Comité*'s disinterest in a building whose owner (or the owner of an adjacent property) had written to the *Comité* to enquire if the building was registered or not. The majority of entries in these lists fall into this category. An alphabetical catalogue of these buildings covering the years 1882-1910 appeared as part of the index that was ultimately printed in 1914. This was followed by a subsequent compilation for the years 1911-1914,[26] after which the publication of such lists ceased.

Over time, some previously classified buildings were declassified and dropped from the list of the monuments. The *Comité* usually indicated the reasons upon which the decision to declassify a building was based. For example, the house *waqf Aḥmad Ḥusīn*, at *al-Marǧūš*, was declassified in 1898 because most of its decorative furnishings (doors, mashrabiyyas, windows, etc.) had been stolen.[27]

THE HERZ INDEX

1914 saw the publication by Max Herz Bey[28] of an Index of 359 monuments, referenced to all the preceding published reports of the *Comité*, and accompanied by Three Plans of Cairo (printed by the Survey Department, Giza). This was a watershed in the process of accurately recording the existence and whereabouts of the monuments of Cairo. First in this Index comes an alphabetical list of monuments (p. IX-XXXI) followed by a numerical

[26] The lists of these buildings from the years 1911-1914 were compiled separately in B.C. 31, 1914, p. 179-184.

[27] On the classification and declassification of the house *waqf Aḥmad Ḥusīn* or the "école des aveugles", see Annex to P.-V. 56, B.C. 6, 1889, p. 71; R. 215, B.C. 14, 1897, p. 64-65; R. 238, B.C. 15, 1898, p. 78; and appendix 2, B.C. 15, 1898, p. 145-146 which includes three photographs of the building.

[28] The Austro-Hungarian architect Max Herz joined the *Comité* in 1887. He was responsible for the execution of important restorations at the complexes of *Qalāwūn* and *Sulṭān Ḥasan*, the completion of the building of *al-Rifāʿī*, and the documentation work cited here. He also served as the Director of the Museum of Arab Art. He was expelled from Egypt as an enemy alien after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

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list of the same buildings (p. XXXIII-XLVIII) as a preface to the General Index. This General Index (arranged alphabetically) includes both registered buildings and those that were mentioned in previous *Comité* bulletins but not necessarily registered (p. 1-180). Within the General Index (p. 172-180) is a separate Index for Arab monuments outside Cairo. Herz also added a list of Coptic monuments in Cairo and its environs (p. 191-197), none of which had numbers assigned to them. *Qaṣr al-Šamʿ* is also included as a Roman monument (p. 201).

The plans provided by Herz to accompany the Index are also of great significance. Plan I (fig. 2) is a general plan in colour of the whole metropolitan area of Cairo, with outlying monuments (e.g. in the Southern Cemetery and *Būlāq*) at a scale of 1 : 25000 (fig. 2). Included is a detailed but unnumbered plan of the area of *Qaṣr al-Šamʿ*, or Coptic Cairo, at a scale of 1 : 5000. Five major urban thoroughfares are boldly indicated on this map in colour: red for *šāriʿ Muḥammad ʿAlī*, blue for *šāriʿ Būr Saʿīd*, green for the *Muskī*, purple for the *Qaṣabat šāriʿ al-Muʿizz*, and yellow for *al-Azbakiyya* to *Qaṣr al-Šamʿ*. The reason for colouring these routes is unknown.

Plan II is a detailed plan in colour at a scale of 1 : 5000 of the area between *Bāb al-Futūḥ* and *Bāb al-Naṣr* in the north of the city and the mosque of *Ibn Ṭūlūn* in the south, where the bulk of the monuments lie. The map is sub-divided into a grid of 70 rectangles, which does not correspond to the grid on any other maps produced by the Survey of Egypt. The urban thoroughfares indicated on Plan I in colour are also shown here. Monuments are numbered, named, and indicated in a darker brown than their surroundings.

Plan III is a detailed plan in black and white of the Northern Cemetery with its monuments at a scale of 1 : 5000.

In his Index, Herz kept the numbers assigned to mosques by Grand, and filled the gaps created in Grand's numbering system by the removal of mosques not considered as monuments by the *Comité* (such as mosques of the nineteenth century) with other registered buildings. In doing so, however, Herz did not adhere, as Grand previously did in his map, to a sequence of numbers according to the physical location of the monuments, but rather gave the monuments the numbers that had been ascribed to them over time by the *Comité*. To do otherwise would undoubtedly have resulted in further confusion, but it is to this that we owe the topographically random nature of the numbering of monuments in Cairo.

Herz's intention was to confine the reference to each monument to a single number and to avoid the duplications apparent in the early lists:

À coté des vrais noms des monuments historiques, nous avons eu soin d'inscrire les noms souvent erronés sous lesquels ils ont figuré dans les bulletins; nous avons relevé, en outre, les confusions dans la nomenclature des édifices, qui se rencontrent surtout dans les premiers fascicules. Cette mise au point a été complétée par l'addition de la transcription arabe et des numéros sous lesquels les édifices sont désignés sur le plan.[29]

[29] M. Herz, *Index Général des Bulletins du Comité des années 1882 à 1910*, Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Ifao, 1914, p. VII.

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RAMBLES IN CAIRO

Herz's initiative opened the door for other unofficial lists and maps. The most significant of these were those produced by Mrs R.L. Devonshire. In her 1917 edition of *Rambles in Cairo* she included a map (called the "Plan of Mediaeval Monuments of Cairo", reproduced by the Survey of Egypt in 1917) which followed Herz's Plan II. The Devonshire plan, scaled to 1 : 10000, highlights the registered monuments in dark grey and provides the numbers under which they are registered by the *Comité*. By the time of Devonshire's publication, each monument had fixed to it a registration number (in Arabic numerals) on a green and white enamelled metal plaque, by which it could be easily identified (see discussion below). On her plan, Devonshire also includes an Index of Numbers which started from 6 (*Bāb al-Futūḥ*) and ended with 354 (mausoleum of *ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Manāwī*), although some numbers on the plan have no corresponding entry in the index. Approximately 210 monuments are included, although Devonshire recognized that 359 historic monuments existed in Cairo at the time,[30] and that her list was therefore not exhaustive. Along with the Index of Numbers, Devonshire included an Index of Names of the same monuments and a separate index of Landmarks not included on the official register of monuments lettered from A (representing the Opera House) to N (representing the mosque of *al-Rifāʿī*). These Landmarks are cross-referenced in the Index of Names. *Rambles in Cairo* was reprinted in a second edition in 1931, with an almost identical plan. There are, however, fewer monuments represented on the index to the plan of this edition (188 as opposed to the 210 buildings in the 1917 edition). Devonshire stated in her introduction to the second edition that, since 1917, several buildings had been destroyed in order to make street improvements, leaving their forlorn numbers to mourn their disappearance. It was therefore as a *memento mori* that she left these 'forlorn numbers' on her plan.[31]

PLAQUES

The issue of identifying buildings under its protection to the man-in-the-street was a source of continuing concern to the *Comité*. As early as 1892, it was proposed that each monument have a plaque on it indicating, in French and Arabic, the name of the building and the period of its construction.[32] By 1894, it was being suggested that the plaques should be made of marble rather than metal, engraved in Arabic only with the name of the founder of the building and the year of its construction.[33] Later that year, calligraphic designs were commissioned for no fewer than 120 plaques.[34] By 1898, the designs for these 120 plaques

[30] R.L.Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*, Cairo: the Sphinx Press, 1917, p. i. The numbers shown on Devonshire's map extend to 364: a higher number than any registered monument on Herz's 1914 Index. Perhaps there had been periodical unpublished updates to the 1914 list which Mrs Devonshire was aware of prior to the date of her publication.

[31] R.L.Devonshire, *Rambles In Cairo*, Cairo: Schindler, 1931, p. III.

[32] B.C. 9, 1892, P.-V. 55, p. 30.

[33] B.C. 11, 1894, P.-V. 63, p. 63-64. According to B.C. 12, 1895, P.-V. 67, p. 66, white marble was chosen for the plaques.

[34] B.C. 11, 1894, R. 171, p. 115.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlāʾ Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
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were approved,[35] albeit with a change of calligrapher in the interim.[36] Some reversal in policy must have occurred during the following years, for the next time we hear of the plaques in 1907, a design in metal is being approved by the Technical Section and put forward to the *Comité* for their comment, with the suggestion that an order for 500 be placed.[37] Following much discussion a "definitive" design of plaque was proposed the following year which was not rectangular but oval, with a crescent motif. As the numbering system for monuments was still not decided upon, the plaque was designed to accommodate the addition of numbers on a separate (sliding ?) metal plate.[38] An order of some sort was obviously placed because in 1910, the *Comité* received 300 enamelled metal plaques, which started being installed on monuments. Presumably these plaques are the ones we still see today, bearing the number of the building, and the legend *aṭār*, without any other explanatory indications. In the absence of a comprehensive numbering system, however, the only reference numbers used initially were those of Grand.[39] In the early 1920's it was proposed that identical plaques be placed on the monuments of Rosetta,[40] but by 1929 some 400 registered monuments in both Cairo and the provinces were still without their metal plaques.[41] In the 1930's, the whole issue of what information regarding the monuments should be communicated to the general public was opened up again within the *Comité*, with the suggestion being made that marble plaques bearing the name of the building, its founder, and foundation date should be installed in addition to the numbered metal disks already in use.[42] Despite this concern, no further decisions on the matter were taken until after the earthquake which struck Egypt in 1992. A significant number of buildings have had, since then, handwritten wooden plaques in English and Arabic placed on them by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization which give details of the name of the building and its date of construction.[43]

THE 1922 LIST

1922[44] saw the publication of another list of approximately 500 monuments, of which the highest registration number was No. 513. This list was first drawn up with reference to the Law of 1918, to include buildings subject to that Law:

Aux effets de l'application de la présente loi, est considéré monument de l'époque arabe tout immeuble ou objet mobilier remontant à la période comprise entre la conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes et la mort de Méhémet Ali, et qui présente une valeur artistique, historique ou archéologique,

[35] B.C. 15, 1898, R. 235, p. 33.
[36] B.C. 14, 1897, R. 218, p. 89.
[37] B.C. 24, 1907, R. 380, p. 125-126.
[38] B.C. 25, 1908, R. 389, p. 77-78.
[39] B.C. 27, 1910, R. 418, p. 71. The first two of these plaques were fixed to the mosques of *Ǧānim al-Bahlawān* and *Ǧanī* Bey.
[40] B.C. 33, 1920-1924, R. 581, p.178.
[41] B.C. 35, 1927-1929, R. 625, p. 54.
[42] B.C. 37, 1933-1935, R.712, p. 392.
[43] In line with Resolution No. 8, *International Conference on the Restoration and Conservation of Islamic Monuments in Egypt 15 June 1993, Cairo Egypt.* See J. Bacharach, ed., *The Restoration and Conservation of Islamic Monuments in Egypt*, 1995, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, p. 187.
[44] B.C. 32, 1915-1919, p. 775-816. This Bulletin was not published until 1922.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 'Alā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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en tant que manifestation, soit de la civilisation musulmane, soit des différentes civilisations méditerranéennes ayant eu avec l'Égypte un rapport historique. Les dispositions de la présente loi s'étendent également aux couvents et églises coptes datant des origines du christianisme jusqu'à la mort de Méhémet Ali, qui présentent une valeur artistique, historique ou archéologique et qui sont encore habités ou affectés au culte.[45]

Two interesting facts emerge from reading this article as it affects monuments: firstly that the definition of the Arab Period is between the conquest of Egypt and the death of *Muḥammad ʿAlī*, and secondly that only Coptic monuments which were in use came under the responsiblity of the *Comité*, while other ruined and abandoned Coptic remains fell under the care of the Antiquities Service.

This monuments list, started in response to the legislation of 1918, was finally published in 1922, and included modifications and additions to the Index of registered monuments made up to the end of 1921. The registered buildings are organised by the following topographic areas for the first time: *al-Darb al-Aḥmar*, *al-Ǧamāliyya*, *al-Sayyida Zīnab*, *al-Ḫalīfa*, *Bāb al-Šaʿriyya*, *ʿĀbdīn*, *al-Muskī*, *al-Waylī*, *Būlāq*, and *Maṣr al-qadīma*. Coptic Monuments (totalling 14) were included, for the first time, within the main body of the list rather than as a separate appendix, but remained unnumbered. Monuments in Alexandria and the provinces were listed separately but were also unnumbered. Despite this, the total number of registered buildings outside Cairo greatly increased to include approximately 114 monuments compared to the 26 entries in Herz's list.[46]

The 1922 list, however, was not without flaws. The emphasis on including all possible permutations of Arabic names (or different names for the same building) made the index extremely unwieldy to use, although fortunately the registration number was only printed once. Single buildings were sometimes listed by their constituent parts (e.g. East Façade, West Façade, Portal etc.).[47] The converse of this was also true, for several adjacent but independent structures were often listed under a single number, probably because these buildings together formed a homogenous "townscape".[48]

THE 1924 MAP OF MONUMENTS

In 1924, the Survey of Egypt published on behalf of the *Comité* the first large scale map of 'Mohammadan monuments' of Cairo in English.[49] This is on two sheets, in colour, at a scale of 1: 5000 (fig. 3). It is the first map of monuments that differentiates buildings by

[45] Article No. 1, Law No. 8 of 1918 that defines the monuments subject to the *Comité*'s responsibilty. B.C. 32, 1915-1919, p. 244.

[46] The monuments of Rosetta total 39 buildings, previously indicated by a single entry on the 1914 list.

[47] For example, the *Qaṣabat Raḍwān Bey* was listed (for the first time) under 4 separate numbers 406-409.

[48] For example, the *sabīl* and house of the inheritors of *Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Quddūs* (No. 51 *Tanẓīm, šāriʿ Amīr al-Ǧuyūš*) and the façade of the *wikālat Waqf al-Ǧuharī* (No. 53 *Tanẓīm, šāriʿ Amīr al-Ǧuyūš*), both have the same monument number (489, now deregistered). See *Qism Bāb al-Šaʿriyya*, B.C. 32, 1915-1919, p. 805.

[49] There appear to be no extant copies of this document in Cairo today, although it is listed in J-L. Arnaud, *Cartographie de l'Égypte*, Le Caire: Observatoire Urbain du Caire Contemporain, 1989, item 179, p. 72. The authors consulted a copy (without Index) in the University Library, Cambridge, UK.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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period: red for Fatimid (969-1171), dark brown for Ayyubid (1171-1250), and blue for Mamluk (1250-1517). Numbers for these buildings agree with the enamelled number plates (see above) installed on buildings by the *Comité*. Despite the title of the map, no Ottoman monuments at all are numbered, although many are indicated by name and shown in a darker brown than the surrounding urban fabric. The same dark brown highlight is given to the major modern public buildings of the city. The map is divided into squares which correlate directly with the 1: 1000 series of maps brought out by the Survey of Egypt in 1912, and indeed are keyed to this set of maps by square reference. Names of buildings are often in Gothic typeface, and an outline in red of the Fatimid Eastern and Western Palaces, after Ravaisse,[50] is included on the map (fig. 3). The Northern and Southern Cemeteries are shown as two separate inserts, unlike the 1948 map. The map does not extend as far as Coptic Cairo, and therefore such primary monuments as the mosque of *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ* are omitted. The 1924 map of monuments is the direct ancestor of the more familiar 1948 map in use to this day.

No mention of this map is made in any of the contemporary bulletins of the *Comité* which is most peculiar. The authors have found no separate index to accompany it, although one must have been produced. The fact that the map has no Ottoman Monuments on it at all brings to mind that other, almost contemporary, work that also ignored the architecture of this period: *A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517* first published by K.A.C. Creswell in 1919 as part of the *BIFAO* series. But while Creswell's list only extended as far as number 352 (albeit with omissions), the numbers on the 1924 Map run to 479. This would seem to negate the possibility that the map was intended to be the visual counterpart to Creswell's written chronology. The reason for omitting Ottoman monuments, some of which had been numbered since the days of Grand Bey fifty years earlier and formed an intrinsic part of the register of monuments, such as the Mosque of *Muḥammad* Bey *Abu al-Ḏahab*, is unknown. The Ottoman monuments, despite being already registered, would have to wait for further documentation until Edmond Pauty[51] took over as technical expert of the *Comité* in 1929.

THE 1927 MINISTRY OF FINANCE/SURVEY OF EGYPT GUIDE PLAN OF CAIRO

The 1924 map was followed by the equally rare but more inclusive (as far as monuments are concerned) 1927 Guide Plan of Cairo drawn at a scale of 1: 10000. This included a map based on a survey carried out by the Survey of Egypt in 1912.[52] This map is divided

[50] P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Maqrizi, Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire* 1886, v. 1, fasc.3, p. 409-481, and v. 3, fasc. 4, p. 33-114.

[51] Pauty was a graduate of the Beaux-Arts in Paris, and an ex-director of the *Comité des Monuments Arabes du Maroc*. See P.-V. 271, B.C. 35, 1927-1929, p. 123.

[52] Ministry of Finance/Survey of Egypt Guide plan of Cairo, together with an Index to Streets and Places of Interest, Produced and Published by the Survey of Egypt, Giza (*mudiriyya*), Egypt. This plan does not appear to be listed in Arnaud, *Cartographie de l'Égypte*, and the authors consulted a copy in the Special Collections and Rare Books Library of the American University in Cairo.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlāʾ Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
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into five folded strips numbered in Roman numerals I to V, commencing from the north. These strips are divided into half-kilometre squares which do not appear to be related to any previous maps' grid systems. A series of concentric circles drawn at one kilometre intervals is also shown on the map, whose point of origin is the statue of *Ibrāhīm* Pasha in Opera Square. This would appear to indicate that Opera Square was considered at the time to be the centre of the city of Cairo. All places of worship (Jewish, Christian, Muslim) are shown in pale grey, and public buildings are indicated by brown hatching. Tramway and Motor-Omnibus routes through the city are also included, printed on the reverse side of each strip. This map can justifiably be considered one of the most comprehensive pocket guides to Cairo ever published.

The principal Mohammedan monuments are numbered on the plan. The numbers correspond, as the guide states, to that given on the official number plate fixed to the monument.[53] The highest number of a monument found in this map is monument number 464, the mosque of *Ġānim al-Tāğir* (now delisted). There are, however, omissions in the sequence of numbers that appear on the plan, and there are also important monuments whose numbers were not included (for example, the mosque of *ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ*). Furthermore, no attempt is made in this map to differentiate buildings by period.

DEFINING THE MONUMENTS

In 1929, the *Comité* asked Pauty to prepare a report on all the monuments of Cairo with the aim of presenting it to King Fouad in February of the same year.[54] Responding rapidly to the request, Pauty wrote the *Rapport Général sur la Défense de l'Ancienne Ville du Caire et des Monuments Historiques Arabes et Coptes*[55] in which he stated that the first monument of Cairo was the historic city itself:

Posons donc comme axiome que le premier monument historique du Caire est l'ancienne ville, toute l'ancienne ville..., qui s'étend à l'est, au-delà de l'ancien Khalig..., en une longue bande rectangulaire appuyée d'un coté à la nouvelle ville et de l'autre dégagée sur les cimetières.[56]

Pauty proposed to register for the first time different zones in Cairo.[57] As an extension to this he also suggested to the *Comité* that, in order to satisfy the sometimes conflicting expectations of different scholars (historians, epigraphists, archaeologists, architects, urbanists,

[53] These numbers are inserted in block figures in the index after the names of the monuments concerned. Guide Plan of Cairo, Ministry of Finance, Survey of Egypt, 1912, p. I.

[54] P.-V. 271 (15th January 1929), B.C. 35, 1927-1929, p. 123.

[55] Part of this report, the original of which is in the Supreme Council for Antiquities Archive, is published in the *Comité* Bulletin, 35, 1927-1929, p. 170-184. A revised version was published by Pauty under the new title, "La Défense de l'Ancienne Ville du Caire et de ses Monuments", in *BIFAO* 31, 1931, p. 135-176.

[56] Pauty, "La Défense de l'Ancienne Ville du Caire et de ses Monuments", *ibid.*, p. 139.

[57] Pauty, "La Défense de l'Ancienne Ville du Caire et de ses Monuments", *ibid.*, p. 142-143. The zones (also defined by maps) were: Partie Nord de la Ville (*al-Ğamāliyya*); Partie Centrale de la Ville (*al-Darb al-Aḥmar* and North of *Ḫalīfa*); Partie Sud de la Ville (*Ḫalīfa* and East of *al-Sayyida Zīnab*); Les Cimetières; Le Vieux-Caire et les Monuments Coptes. For a description of these zones and their monuments, see p. 149-173.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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artists, sociologists) as to how the monuments should be treated, a "classification par catégories" be established. By dividing the building stock qualitatively into monuments that were "très anciens désaffectés, très anciens susceptibles d'être rendus au culte", and "d'ancienneté moindre",[58] Pauty hoped to establish levels of intervention appropriate to the condition or status of a building. This never got to the stage of being formally embodied in published lists of monuments arranged according to these categories. However, on Pauty's initiative, the *Comité* did embark on a new approach to the classification of monuments based on typological[59] and chronological[60] listings, in addition to more detailed topographical listings.[61] Entirely new typologies (such as gardens) and a new time-frame (extending beyond the death of *Muḥammad ʿAlī*) were now incorporated into the *Comité*'s sphere of interest, although this did not extend as far as legal protection for these resources.

The new zeal for Ottoman monuments did not, however, include checking the registration numbers of buildings too carefully, for it is in this period that we find numerous examples of two different Ottoman period monuments being given the same number.[62] As all the buildings in question have been subsequently demolished or deregistered, this is no longer of major concern today.

THE 1948 MAP AND INDEX

The 1948 Map of Muhammadan Monuments of Cairo (still available today in its Arabic impression) is the current standard reference for the location and identification of the Islamic monuments of the city. Publication was at a scale of 1 : 5000, like the 1924 Map with which it shares many characteristics, not least its size and style of cartography. The map is in two sheets in Arabic (later English with no appreciable differences), with colour coding for monuments by period, including clearly for the first time the Ottoman period, and defining more precisely other periods. The map was linked to numerical, chronological and alphabetical Indices. The numerical index runs to 622 monuments, but is incomplete as there

[58] Pauty, "La Défense de l'Ancienne Ville du Caire et de ses Monuments", *ibid.*, p. 145-147.

[59] For houses and palaces, see the appendix to the report No. 660, B.C. 36, 1930-1932: 140-148 (where 20 houses and palaces were studied); for *ḥammāms*, see appendix to the report No. 675, B.C. 37, 1933-1935, p. 64-80 (where 47 *ḥammāms* were studied, some of which were not registered).

[60] For Ottoman mosques, see appendice 4 to the R. 704, B.C. 37, 1933-1935: 295-308 (where 41 mosques were studied and listed); for Ottoman *sabīl-kuttāb*s, see appendix 1 to R. 707, B.C. 37, 1933-1935, p. 321-332 (where 77 *sabīl-kuttāb*s were studied and listed); for *sabīl*s built after the death of *Muḥammad ʿAli* (not registered), see appendix 2 to R. 707, B.C. 37, 1933-1935, p. 333-334 (where 6 *sabil*s are studied); for Ottoman Gardens of Cairo (not registered), see the appendix to R. 713, B.C. 37, 1933-1935, p. 401-414; for Ottoman houses and palaces, see the appendix to R. 714, B.C. 37, 1933-1935, p. 422-428 (where 37 houses and palaces were studied and listed); for Ottoman *wikāla*s, see the appendix to R. 714, B.C. 37, 1933-1935, p. 432 and appendix 2 of R. 717, B.C. 38, 1936-1940, p. 16-20 (where 20 *wikāla*s were studied and listed).

[61] For the monuments of "Basse-Égypte", see the appendix to R. 739, B.C. 38, 1936-1940, p. 156-172; for the monuments of Rosetta, see the appendix to R. 765, B.C. 38, 1936-1940, p. 302-306.

[62] For example, No. 488 (given to the house *waqf al-Maġārba* in *šāriʿ al-Dardīr* and the *Ḫān al-Fasqiyya* in the *ʿAṭṭarīn*); No. 500 (given to the façade of the *al-Kāšif* house in *Darb al-Saʿāda* and the *wikālat al-Muḥammadīn* in *ḫān Abū Ṭāqiyya*); No. 501 (given to the house of *Maḥmūd Sudān* in *ʿaṭfat al-Zababkī* and the *wikālat al-Ḥaramīn* in *ḫān Abū Ṭāqiyya*).

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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are 135 numbers missing from the list which belonged to: those monuments which were deregistered prior to the publication of the map, Coptic monuments, and monuments included on the Map but omitted in error from the Index. The grid used on the map is similar but not identical to the map-squares of the 1912 1: 1000 series (used by the 1924 map). The indices to the map appear to have been published some years after the Map itself was produced, not appearing until 1951.

The full Index of consecutive numbers from 1 to 623 along with a complete list of approximately 207 unnumbered monuments outside Cairo was only published in Arabic in *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*.[63] This, therefore, represents the most complete listing of all the monuments of Egypt, including those that had been registered but were subsequently deregistered or demolished.[64] These buildings were registered with reference to Article 13, Law No. 215, 1951, under a Decree issued by *Ṭaha Ḥusīn*, the then Minister of Education.[65] This Law for the first time considered Ancient Egyptian, Coptic and Arab Monuments together. It also officially widened the mandate of the *Comité* to include buildings up to the end of the reign of Khedive *Ismāʿīl*,[66] and some very well-known buildings were subsequently registered under this law by the *Comité*, although they were never given official numbers. These include, for example, the *sabīl* of *Um-ʿAbbās* on *šāriʿ Ṣalība*, the mausoleum of *Sulīmān Pasha al-Faransāwī* in *Maṣr al-qadīma*, and the *sabīl* of *Aḥmad Pasha* adjacent to the mosque of *al-Ḥusīn*.

POST 1951 DEVELOPMENTS

No official Indices to the monuments of Cairo have been published since 1951. During this period, however, buildings have continued being added to the stock of protected monuments. Each time a building was registered, its name was published in *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*, with reference to the Decree of *Ṭaha Ḥusīn*. Prominent examples of these buildings would be the Baron Empain's palace[67] and the Ben Ezra Synagogue in *Maṣr al-qadīma*.[68]

No attention has been given, since 1951, to those buildings which still appear in the Index and on the 1948 Map but which no longer physically exist.[69] No corrections have been made to buildings which appear on the Map, but not in the Index.[70] Some buildings

[63] *Al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*, 115, December 17, 1951.

[64] Monument No. 623 on the list published in *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*, the *Ǧabaḫanāt Muḥammad ʿAlī* in *al-Raṣd, Maṣr al-qadīma*, is omitted from the published Index accompanying the 1951 Map, which ends with No. 622. See below for other examples of omissions.

[65] Decree No. 10357 of 21 November 1951 published in *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya* 115, December 17, 1951. Subsequent legislation seems not to have altered the situation regarding the monuments of Cairo: for current legislation concerning Antiquities, see Law No. 117, 1983, *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*, August 11, 1983 (translated into English and published by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization Press, 1985).

[66] See for example R. 906, B.C. 40, 1946-1953, p. 318-319.

[67] See *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*, 182, August 16, 1993.

[68] See *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya*, 270, November 26, 1984.

[69] Such as the house *waqf Banūš* Bey (No. 504), the house *waqf Ibrāhīm aġā* (No. 595), the mosque of *al-Ḫalwāti* (No. 414), and the *ḥammām al-ʿAdawī* (No. 567), to name but a few examples.

[70] Such as the mausoleum of *Fāris Aqṭāy* (No. 371), the *zāwyat Ča'far al-Ṣādiq* (No. 554), and the mosque of *Saʿīd al-Saʿda* (No. 480), which are all on the Map but not in the Index.

AnIsl 32 (1998), p. 81-99 ʿAlā' Al-Ḥabašī, Nicholas Warner
Recording the monuments of Cairo : an introduction and overview.
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are also shown in the wrong location entirely on the Map.[71] No coherent system has emerged for the indexing of the large number (approximately 55 buildings in Cairo alone) of predominantly late 19th and early 20th century buildings both inside Cairo and in the provinces which have been published as protected monuments in the pages of *al-Waqā'iʿ al-maṣriyya* over the last 47 years. Within Cairo, however, some 40 of these protected buildings appear in a recent list compiled by the Supreme Council for Antiquities (currently under revision), although the buildings remain unnumbered.[72] Introducing this list, the Permanent Committee for Islamic and Coptic Monuments used the term « Historic Cairo » for which they provided a written and drawn definition (Fig. 4).[73] Separate lists were provided for monuments outside this limit but within the boundaries of Greater Cairo (*Maṣr al-qadīma*, *Fusṭāṭ*, the Southern Cemetery, etc.). In some ways this process of zoning areas is reminiscent of the plan Pauty put forward some sixty years earlier, although he never used the value-laden term "historic" to define one area as opposed to another. The use of this term can be considered to lessen the significance of those monuments which are located outside the defined historic zone, which will, perhaps, affect their perceived importance as time elapses.

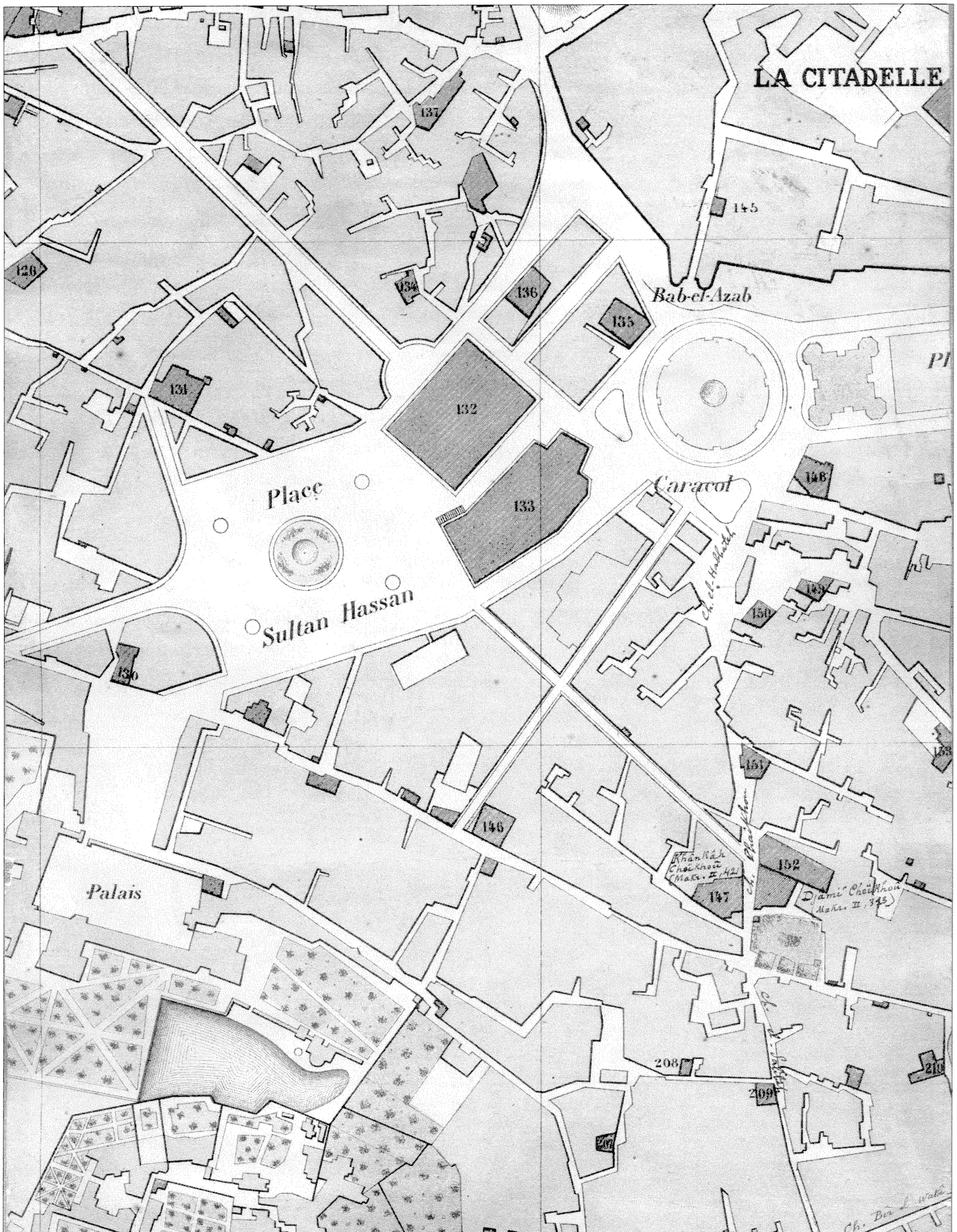
All the above remarks on the genesis of the list of monuments in Cairo are only pertinent in so far as they beg the question: how can a heritage which is inadequately defined and recognized be saved? Which in turn raises the question of how effective has the listing of monuments been in their ultimate preservation for posterity? Although the primary importance of the city of Cairo as an urban artefact and monument *per se* was described over half a century ago, most conservation practice is still focussed on individual buildings rather than the urban milieu which surrounds them. Without increased public awareness, effective area conservation policies and the adaptive reuse of individual monuments, it is probable that many of these buildings, already isolated in indices, will become permanently isolated from their context as well.

[71] The *qāʿa Maqʿad waqf al-Šaʿrānī* (No. 63). For this and similar problems, see N. Warner, *Cairo Mapping Project*, a report and 1:500 scale figure-ground plan of Cairo prepared for the Egyptian Antiquities Project of the American Research Center in Egypt, 30 November 1997.

[72] See Supreme Council of Antiquities (Islamic and Coptic Section, Department of Surveying and Properties), *al-Qāhira al-tāriḫiyya*, 1993 (?). This list was prepared with reference to the Ministry of Culture's Decree No. 250, 1990.

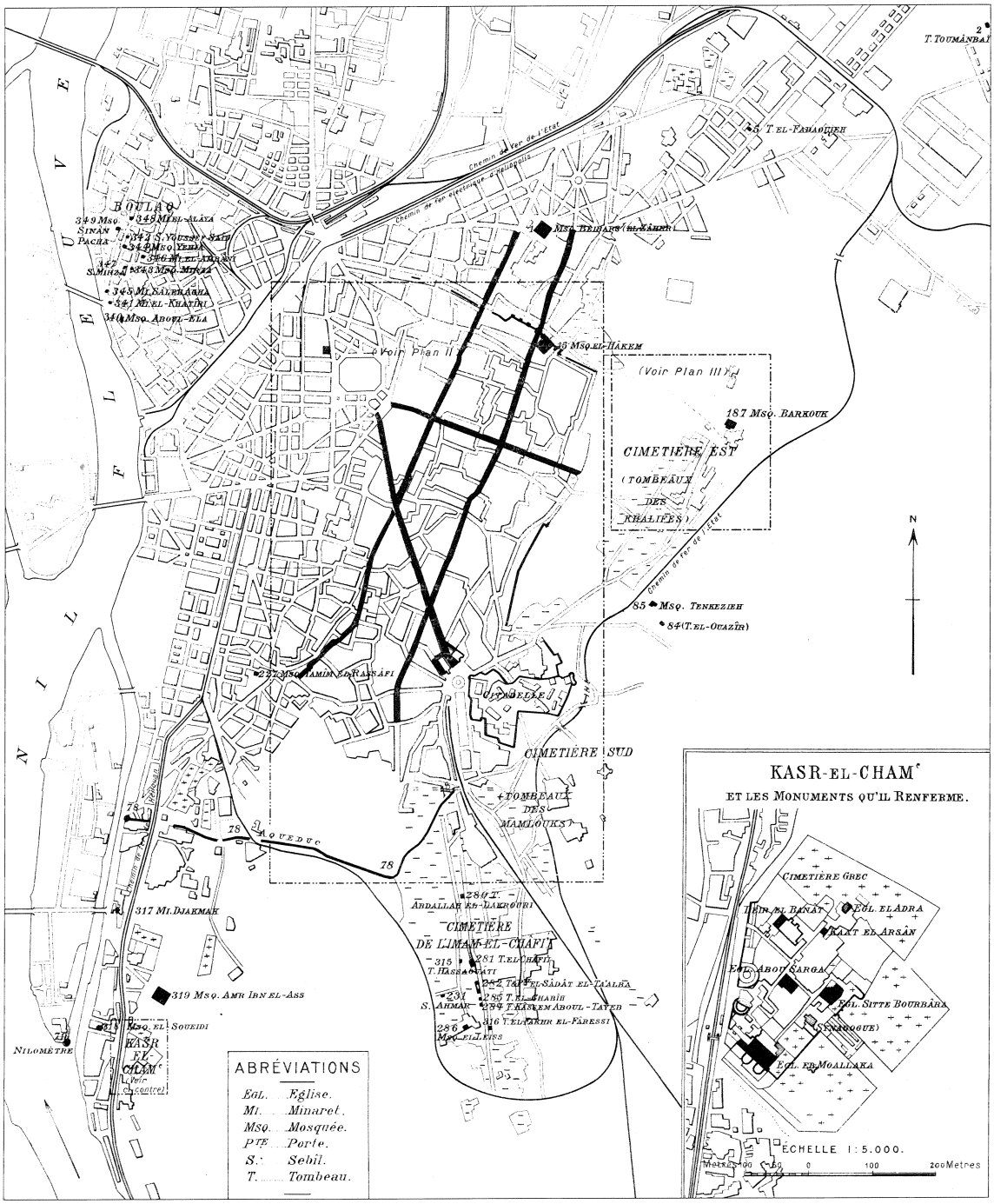
[73] Supreme Council of Antiquities, *al-Qāhira al-tāriḫiyya*, p. 6-7.

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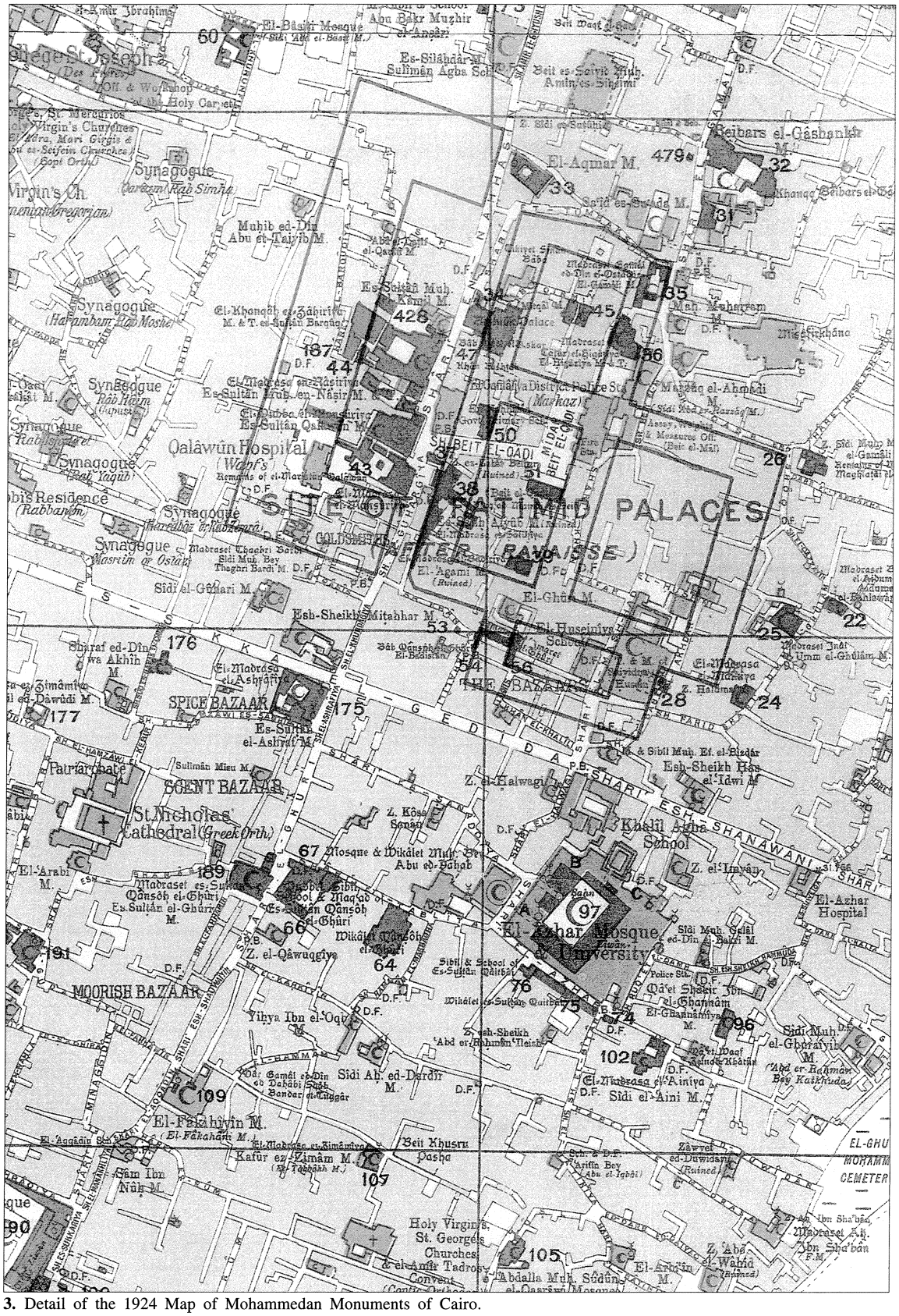
1. 1874 Plan Général de la Ville du Caire, dressé et publié avec l'autorisation de S.A. Ismail Pacha, Khédive de l'Égypte, par P. Grand Bey. Detail showing area between Sulṭān Ḥasan and al-Darb al-Aḥmar including unexecuted avenues. Reduced to scale 1 : 5000. Collection des cartes, bibliothèque de l'Ifao.

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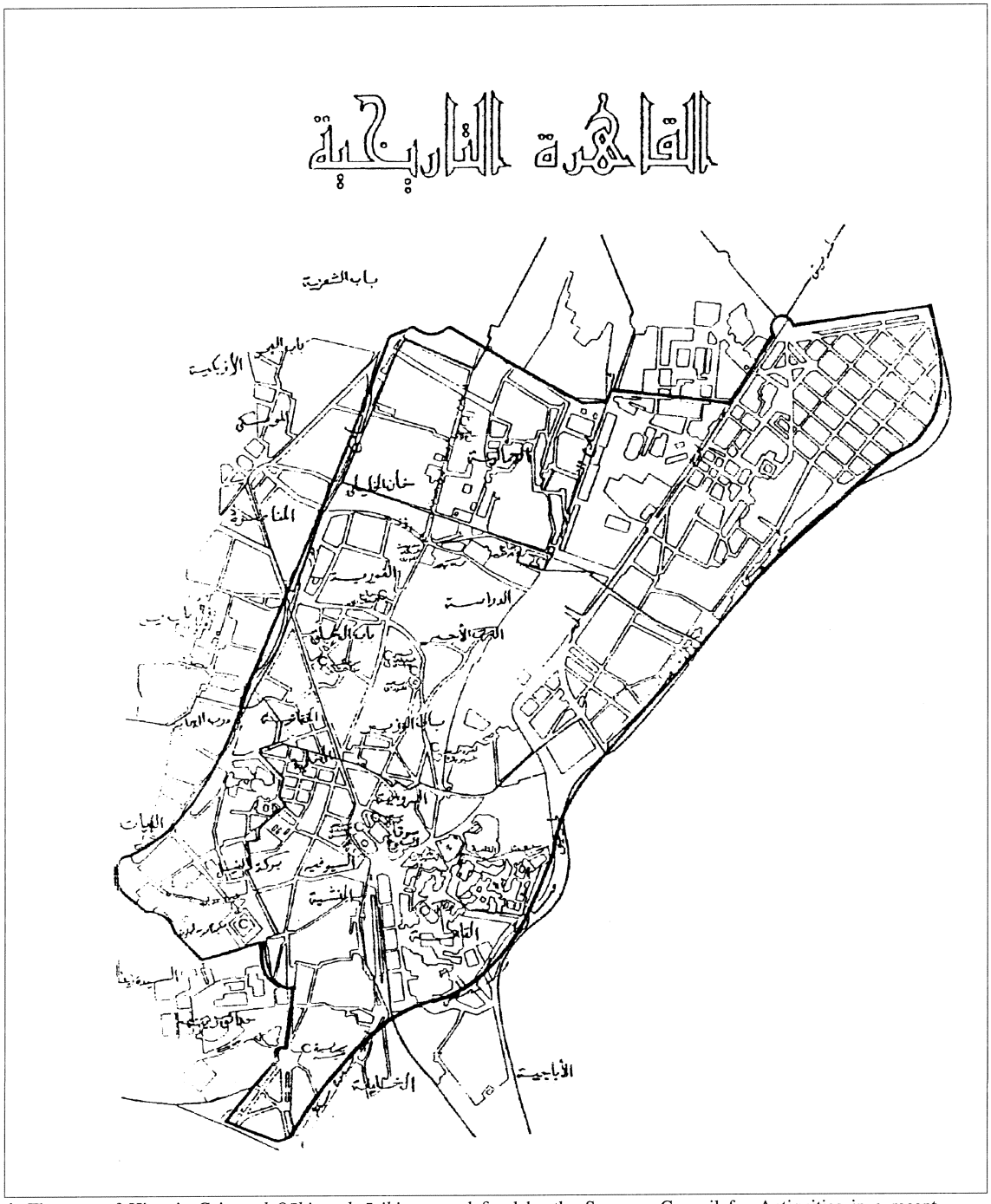
2. Plan I from M. Herz, *Index Général des Bulletins du Comité des années 1882 à 1910*, 1914. Reduced to half size (= scale 1 : 50 000), authors' collection.

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3. Detail of the 1924 Map of Mohammedan Monuments of Cairo.
Reproduced actual size (scale 1 : 5000), authors' collection.

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4. The area of Historic Cairo, *al-Qāhira al-tāriḫiyya*, as defined by the Supreme Council for Antiquities in a recent report.

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