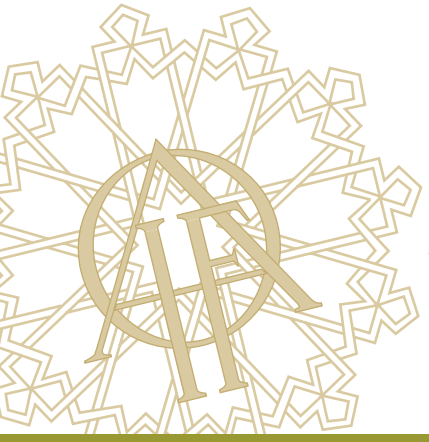
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ANNALES ISLAMOLOGIQUES

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Philipp Speiser

The Remodeling of the Cairo Citadel from the 16th to the 20th Century.

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Philipp SPEISER

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THE Citadel (fig. 1) which lies on the Muqattam spur was founded in 1176 A.D. by Salah al-Din who learned the value of such constructions during his battles against the Crusaders in the Levant.[1] The construction of the complex was only completed thirty years later by his nephew, al-Sultan al-Kamil. The historian Suyuty tells us that construction was overseen by the eunuch, Qaraqush, and, in 1183, Ibn Jubayr reports that it was carried out by captured Crusaders as well as fellahin.[2] The building materials consisted mainly of the limestone casing of the Third Pyramid (Mykerinos) of Giza.[3]

The Citadel of Cairo has been much researched and described. The most comprehensive works about it are those of Paul Casanova, K.A. C. Creswell and, in more recent times, that of Nasser Rabbat.[4] These three studies deal mainly with the Ayyubid Period (1171–1250 A.D.) and the Mameluke Period (1250–1516 A.D.) that are doubtlessly the most impressive in the eight hundred years of the architectural history of the Citadel.

The collapse of the Mameluke Sultanate in the early 16th century does not in any way mark the end of the architectural development of the Citadel. As early as 1528, Sulayman Pasha built a mosque (no. 142) named after him.[5] This mosque with its domed prayer hall and its pencil-shaped minaret is built according to the Turkish architectural tradition.[6]

The writer's transliteration system has been respected.

[1] On the topic of this article, cf. Ph. Speiser, "Historistische Umbauarbeiten an der Zitadelle von Kairo", in B. Finster, C. Fragner und H. Hafenrichter (eds.), *Bamberger Symposium : Rezeption der Islamischen Kunst : vom 26.-28. 6 1992*, Stuttgart, 1999, p. 302-313 and pl. XL, XLI.

[2] Cf. O. Volkoff, *1000 Jahre Kairo*, Mainz, 1984, p. 106.

[3] It remains unclear whether this was the casing of the Mykerinos Pyramid or of the smaller pyramids of the royal family. Cf. *Ibid.*

[4] P. Casanova, « Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire », *MMAF* VI, Cairo, 1894. p. 509-781, 17 plates and 3 plans ; K.A.C. Creswell, *MAE* II, New York, 1978, p. 1-40, pl. 1-13 and fig. 1-15 ; W. Lyster, *The Citadel of Cairo, A History and Guide,* Cairo, 1990 ; N. Rabat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* Bern, 1989, (= guide book for the Aga Khan Award 1989) ; N. Rabat, *The Citadel of Cairo. A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*, Leiden-New York, Köln, 1995.

[5] Nos. According to : Survey of Egypt, *Index to Mohammedan Monuments, and two 15 000 Special Maps of Cairo,* Cairo, 1950.

[6] This mosque is also referred to as the Mosque of Sidi-Sariya.

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In the following centuries the towers and fortifications certainly saw much building activity of which we have no detailed information.[7] The architectural achievements of the Ottoman Period and the 19th century having hitherto been neglected, a few chosen examples of the building activities between the 16th and 20th century are sketched below.[8] A. Raymond writes on the neglect of the architecture of the Ottoman period : « Il convient d'abord de remarquer que, d'une manière générale, l'activité architecturale a été plus grande au Caire, durant la période ottomane, qu'on ne l'a très longtemps écrit, soit parce qu'on faisait des comparaisons avec la floraison monumentale de l'époque mamelouke, période durant laquelle la quantité et la qualité de la production, sont exceptionnelles, soit aussi à cause du discrédit dont a longtemps souffert cette période de domination "turque", jugée oppressive et obscurantiste[9]. »

When Selim II conquered Egypt in 1517, he ordered the sack of the Citadel which had until then been residence of the Mameluke sultans and their entourage. It is said, that one of the ships laden with booty from it sank.[10] The site remained the ruler's headquarters[11] henceforth housing the Ottoman Governor as well as both the occupying army divisions : the Janissary and the Azab regiments. This led to the clear sectioning of the tower hills (fig. 1).

The northern fortifications were claimed by the Janissaries while the southern ones were divided between the Ottoman governor who established himself in the so-called Mameluke garden and the Hawsh area to the South of the settlement of the Azab troops. The latter chiefly occupied all of the western sector above Rumayla Square. This spatial division significantly reflects the political situation of the Ottoman governors of which very few were able to assert their authority over these two rival army divisions.

As a result of this tripartite division of the Citadel, three architectural sectors evolved. The area occupied by the governor, the Hawsh, came to be the site of a new mint, a divan and a new palace. An elegant residential district grew in the Northern Enclosure with, amongst other things, rows of houses, public baths, markets and mosques. These developments resulted from the increasing number of Janissaries moving from their barracks into houses where they lived with their dependents.

The Azab regiments, on the other hand, remained in their barracks and, in time, spread their quarters, stables, arsenals and ammunition depots thereby taking over ever-increasing areas. Regardless of these significant independent changes, the historical fortifications and the originally Ayyubid concept of a northern and a southern ring of fortifications was preserved. In 1697 one of their commanding officers Ahmad Katkhuda el-Azab built a mosque (no. 145) named after him next to the steep access

[7] On the importance of Citadels in the Ottoman Empire, cf. J. Bacharach, "Administrative Complexes, Palaces Citadels, Changes in the Loci Medieval Muslim Rule" in I. Bierman, Rifa'at Abou al-Haj and D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and its Parts*, 1991, p. 111–128.

[8] An exception are the studies of the French architect Edmond Pauty, who worked in Cairo during the thirties, cf. E. Pauty, « L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête arabe ottomane », *BIFAO* 36, p. 1–69 and 20 plates. E. Pauty, « Étude sur les monuments de l'Égypte de la période ottomane », *Comité de la conservation des monuments de l'art arabe*, vol. 37, p. 295–308.

[9] A. Raymond, *Le Caire des Janissaires ; l'apogée de la ville ottomane sous 'Abd al-Rahmân Katkhudâ*, Paris, 1995, p. 94 and 96.

[10] Volkoff, *Kairo*, p. 111.

[11] According to the French Consul, Maillet, Selim would have decided that his higher functionaries should not reside at the Citadel in order to prevent the possible flourishing of court intrigues. This is however, contradicted by the existence of a Governor's Palace in the area in later times. Cf. *ibid.*

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path leading from the Rumayla Square. The Mameluke palaces however, were not really used after the Ottoman conquest and gradually fell into a state of disrepair.

Taking the increasing spatial requirements of his troops into consideration, the commander of the Azab Regiment, Radwan Katkhuda al-Galfi, ordered, in 1754, the renovation of the wall directly above Rumayla Square as well as the erection of a mighty gate (fig. 2)[12] which is an interesting example of the replication of older styles : Bab al-Azab with its projecting towers is a remarkable copy of Bab al-Futuh erected in the northern part of the city rampart by the Fatimids in 1087 (fig. 3).[13] It is not clear what prompted Radwan Katkhuda to copy a Fatimid gate : Ideological reflections ? Architectural considerations ? A combination of both ? Bab al-Azab is a striking example of the copying of historical buildings which was a customary procedure before the onset Revival Style. This practice goes back to over two millennia in Egypt.[14] Bab alAzab Gate was renovated about a century later when, in 1870, Khedive Ismail redesigned Rumayla Square replacing the frontal ramp by two side ones and simultaneously building two miniature towers overlooking the balustrade (fig. 4). These, as well as the two neo-Gothic windows on the inner side, are directly borrowed from the repertory of Gothic Revival.

Although a greater part of the French troops were garrisoned at the Citadel, the French occupation (1798-1801), probably due to its brevity, made no noteworthy transformations to the site. The French headquarters were on the western margin of the city in the Birkit al-Azbakiyya, today's Opera Square. We are indebted to the French topographers and scientists for the first mapping (fig. 5) of the Citadel and for a detailed description of the site later published in the well-known *Description de l'Égypte.*[15] This report and the accompanying illustrations make it clear that the whole Mameluke palace complex as well as most of the large, later built constructions had been abandoned and had collapsed in parts. Jomard writes about the most famous place : « L'édifice de la citadelle le plus considérable est appelé ordinairement Palais de Joseph (fig. 6) ; mais le véritable palais ou château de Yousef Salah el-dyn (ou Saladin) est un bâtiment ruiné, placé plus à l'ouest et commande la ville du Kaire. En effet, outre le nom Beyt Yousef Salah el-dyn qu'on lui donne encore, aujourd'hui il porte l'empreinte d'une grande magnificence ; les murs sont massifs, parfaitement construits, couverts de sculptures, de mosaiques et même de dorures et de peintures encore subsistantes, avec des restes de voûtes, cependant trop ruiné pour pouvoir être décrits. Il renfermait une salle ornée de douze grandes colonnes, surmontées d'une coupole, avec des inscriptions en lettres d'or. Cet ouvrage doit dater de l'an 567 de l'hégire (1171). Un autre palais beaucoup plus récent, celui du pâcha, situé au midi, n'est pas moins ruiné. » Those lines are followed by lengthy description of the ruined « divan de Joseph », its 32 granite columns each 8m. long. Jomard sees a certain similarity between the arches of the al-Hakim mosque and the divan.[16] This is in so far interesting as the Frenchman, considers the divan to be of Fatimid origin, which is most unlikely.

[12] For this building, cf. E. Pauty, *Architecture au Caire, passim,* pl. IVb ; Rabbat, *Citadel Guide Book,* p. 21-23 ; Lyster, *Citadel of Cairo,* p. 81.

[13] It is accepted that a tower was already standing on this location earlier. Cf. Rabbat, *Citadel Guide Book,* p. 23.

[14] Cf. Some Roman temples like Dendera, Edfu, Kalabsha, Philae are copies of buildings belonging to the New Kingdom.

[15] Cf. M. Jomard, *Description de l'Égypte,* textes, vol. XVIII, p. 126 and 347-363.

[16] Cf. Jomard, *Description*, p. 351-352.

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In 1805, shortly after the French intermezzo, the Ottoman commander-in-chief, Muhammad Ali, finally seized power as Governor of Egypt and, in 1807, moved his headquarters fom the Birkit al-Azbakiyya to the Citadel for security reasons.[17] It is not quite certain how much time he spent in his headquarters, but in the spring of 1811 he decisively secured his position after exterminating more than 400 Mamelukes in a deadly ambush at the Citadel. In view of the precarious condition of the buildings, the new ruler of Egypt ordered the clearance of the Northern Enclosure with the exception of buildings of a religious nature and the fortifications. This clearance furthermore, eradicated all traces of former power. This was indeed the case after 1825.

About 1810, the rebuilding of the fortifications followed. Walls were heightened and embrasures for canons were built following the model of Istanbul.[18] In 1812, Muhammad Ali erected a new building on the site of the Ottoman Governor's Palace : the Jawhara (Jewel) Palace and its annexes. This was to be his centre of government. In 1812 Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti reports that : "The Pasha demolished the palace of the Citadel and ordered the removal of the constructions of Qaitbay and al-Ghouri. The buildings were designed following a new plan and according to the Greek method. Most of the buildings were built of wood. The upper part was first erected and then the lower part."[19] This somewhat confusing description can be explained in the following fashion : The term "wooden constructions" does not refer to timber houses but to a frame covered by lattice work, known as in Arabic, and then, most probably, plastered from top to bottom.

Wood constructions were, so to say, new to the Egyptian architectural landscape in which red brick and stone dominated due to the shortage of wood. In the 19th century the price of imported wood was perceptibly reduced. The Frenchman, Driault, states in 1813 : « On travaille à réparer les murs d'enceinte de la Citadelle et on construit au dedans des nouvelles maisons pour le logement du Pacha, et de ses fils et des principaux officiers de leur suite… mais par une de ces bizarreries qui attestent toujours l'incohérence et l'irrégularité des meilleurs plans et des travaux les mieux exécutés que puissent faire les Turcs, on construit ces palais à la Constantinopolitaine, c'est-à-dire presque tout en charpente [20]. » The expression "Greek method" must either refer to the classic design of the façade or to the nationality of the master builder. One is, here again, confronted with the replication of foreign styles.

The traveler Bramsen is less flattering in his description of the new construction : « Le palais est bâti sur le rocher sans aucune idée de goût ni d'architecture, et la majeure partie tombe en ruine [21]. »

Count Frobin notes that the restoration of the Citadel was not far advanced by the year 1818 : he reports its state of dilapidation and that lions were kept in the ruins of the Great Divan of al-Nasir Muhammad.[22]

In 1820, the Jawhara Palace was razed to the ground by fire. Muhammad Ali was at the time staying at his residence in Shubra on the banks of the Nile a few kilometers north of the capital. This was also a masterpiece of European-Oriental architecture.[23] Just one year later, a new palace, of apparently

[17] Cf. G. Wiet, *Mohammed Ali, circa* 1950, p. 105.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 105-106.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 105 ; Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire*, p. 69.
[20] Wiet, *Mohammed Ali*, p. 106.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] For this building cf. E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire*, p. 50-58, fig. 30-31, pl. XVIII-XX ; Wiet, *Mohammed Ali*, p. 107.

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simpler design, stood at the Citadel. A certain Henniker describes it in 1821 as follows : « Le palais – une petite cour ouverte – une chambre incrustée de marbre est accommodée comme un bain : une fontaine d'eau froide avec un jet d'eau permanent au centre, – une cascade d'eau chaude tombe dans un bassin à travers des rochers et des coquillages. La pièce principale est de belles proportions, mais il n'y a rien à remarquer si ce n'est une vieille pendule de cuisine anglaise. Le mobilier est limité à un tapis et un sofa, et ce tapis ne couvre même pas toute la superficie du plancher. Des versets du Coran sont peints sur les murs [24]. » Short as it may be, Henniker's description clearly shows that the ruling family kept to tradition in matters of interior decoration using carpets and cushions. This is evident from various contemporary portraits made of Muhammad Ali where he is represented sitting on a cushion and smoking the pipe (fig. 7).[25]

On March 22nd, 1827, an explosion in a gunpowder magazine destroyed the entire Southern Enclosure and the abovementioned palace. Muhammad Ali seized this opportunity to implement the long-planned remodeling of the Citadel (fig. 8). The two enclosures were completely cleared of both buildings and rubble. Only buildings serving a religious purpose were allowed to remain standing. The remnants of the Southern Enclosure, of the western side of the Mameluke Palace area, and of the southern side, reused to fill in and level the Hawsh where the burned down residences stood. A new artillery platform was raised directly behind the Bab al-Azab and the contiguous wall. Muhammad Ali not only modified the ground level of the Inner Citadel, but also that of the North Entrance.

To this end, in 1826, he built the Bab al-Wustani (The Middle Gate) next to the 16th century tower of the same name (fig. 9). This was followed in 1828 by the erection of Bab al-Gadid (The New Gate) in close proximity of the Ayyubid Bab al-Mudarrag (The Gate of the Steps). Both gates are built in Revival Style and are noticeably wider in order to allow the passage of a carriage. Carriages were uncommon in Egypt until the French Expedition and a wider, upward-sloping, curved carriageway was built to the north of Bab al-Gadid possibly to accommodate the passage of a modern, mobile artillery.[26]

The new, double gated construction was reached through the 16th century Bab al-Qulla the upper part of which was rebuilt in 1830. These two gates (Bab al-Gadid and Bab al-Wustani) were the security entrances leading to the southern enclosure which was reserved for the ruling family. This reversed the traditional concept of the North securing the South.

The abovementioned filling in and leveling resulted in the burial of countless Mameluke constructions, for example, the Palace of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, of the Red Tower of Sultan Baybars, as well as the already mentioned Great Diwan in which lions were kept. However, this permitted the erection of new constructions on the newly-cleared areas. Since the Arab Conquest (644), free standing buildings surrounded by garden, were restricted in Cairo to the palaces situated

[24] Wiet, *Mohammed Ali*, p.107.

[25] Until the 19th century, traditional Oriental interiors were devoid of Occidental furniture. Only built-in elements such as benches, and first and foremost, closets were available. Cushions, mats and rugs were moved about within the remaining space. There were also low tables consisting of brass trays or trays of a similar material placed on a collapsible frame. In some countries, elevated wooden benches (mastabas), tables, chairs, beds, free standing shelves mostly decorated with inlays and often made of turned wood were to be found. These are the typical oriental counterparts of occidental furnishings "in truly orientalist style".

[26] Until 1850, carriages remained the privilege of the ruling house, cf. Wiet, *Mohammed Ali*, p. 91-104 ; J. Abu Lughod, *Cairo 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, New Jersey, 1973, p. 95.

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around Birkit al-Fil and the abovementioned Birket al-Azbakiyya.[27] Two influences are to be traced here : The conscious imitation of the Topkapi-Serail, on the one hand, and the adoption of European architectural concepts for the building of palaces on the other.

The construction of a new residence with an audience hall, housing both the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Interior, as well two private palaces and a large, new mosque were planned. Various architects were called upon to produce designs for the ruler's examination. Amongst these was Pascal Coste of Marseille famous for his publications of the Arab Architectural Monuments of Cairo and Persia. His participation in this project was largely responsible for the later publication of the volume on Cairo. Coste, as a Revival architect, studied the architecture of the capital before designing new buildings. To his great sorrow, the commission fell to a group of Armenian and Ottoman architects, who, as he remarked, had direct connections to the Pasha.[28]

Muhammad Ali's most important new construction in the Southern Enclosure was the third Jawhara Palace (fig. 10) to be built there within twenty years. This was a two-winged, two-storeyed building with an inner courtyard built on an east-west axis.[29] In 1840, Lord Lindsay described the Audience Hall as an aristocratic salon devoid of furniture save for the cushions arranged against three walls of the room.[30] The staggered western façade and the ground floor are made of limestone ; the upper floor is a wooden construction covered with plaster. The high, shuttered windows, a few bull's eyes and the undulating cornices are witness to the so-called Turkish Baroque influence. Vast green areas surround the Jawhara Palace. Nasser Rabat characterizes the building as being an amalgamation of French and Italian neo-Baroque with kiosks and gardens in the Ottoman tradition.[31] These have unfortunately disappeared.

The Muhammad Ali Mosque (fig. 11) is, without a doubt, the largest building in this complex. Its construction began in 1828 or 1830 and was completed seven years after the death of its builder.[32] A certain Yusuf Boshnak Effendi has been credited as the architect of this construction. However, this is not absolutely certain according to the latest research by Mohammed al-Asad.[33] The holy edifice is composed of a large 53m. × 53m. forecourt with a surrounding arcade and a square prayer area of 41m. × 41m. This is covered by a huge 52 m. high dome with a diameter of 21m. resting on four columns, each of which is flanked by a half-dome.

At either end of the *qibla* wall stands a minaret of over 80 m. in height. The mosque is entirely built of local limestone, and the ground floor is cased, both inside and outside, with Egyptian alabaster giving it the name of "The Alabaster Mosque". In the centre of the inner courtyard stands an ablutions' fountain supported by Corinthian capitols and decorated inside with paintings of European landscapes.

[27] A. Raymond, *Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, *JESHO* 6 (1963).

[28] P. Coste, *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à1825*. Paris 1837-1839.

[29] Wiet, *Mohammed Ali*, p. 134.

[30] Large parts of the west wing were burned down when a fire broke out in 1972.

[31] Rabbat, *Citadel Guide Book*, p. 29 ; Lyster, *Citadel of Cairo*, p. 39-55.

[32] For this building and others cf. Lyster, *Citadel of Cairo*, p. 73-75 ; M. Ahmad, *Histoire et description de la mosquée de Mohammed Ali*, Cairo, 1935 ; L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, vol. 2, Paris, 1932 p. 344, 347, 352-353, fig. 31 pl. 244-247 ; M. al-Asad, "The Mosque of Muhammad Ali in Cairo" in *Muqarnas* IX, 1992, p. 39-55.

[33] Al-Asad, *The Mosque of Muhammad Ali*, p. 48-49.

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On the western side of the courtyard is a brass clock tower, a present from the French King in gratitude for the obelisk standing in the Place de la Concorde. This obelisk was a present from Muhammad Ali to Louis Philippe, then King of France, and not, as is wrongly believed, transported to France by Napoleon.

The tomb of Muhammad Ali is near the entrance of the prayer area. This is clearly recognizable by its cenotaph with Rococo ornaments. A bronze railing separates it from the rest of the prayer area. Particularly remarkable are the two *minbars*. The larger one, made of wood and richly ornamented, was ordered by the builder and had to be placed directly under the dome due to its size. The second is made of alabaster and lies to the right of the *mihrab*. This was donated by King Faruq and ornamented with elaborate geometric design. The alabaster casing of the *mihrab* was also donated by Faruq who ordered the restoration of parts of the prayer area, for example, the central dome.

Mohammed al-Asad rightfully points out that this mosque is clearly influenced by the imperial holy monuments of Istanbul and is not to be classified as an Egyptian Ottoman monument as only the central octagonal transition zone under the dome springs directly from local tradition. According to the same author, the stylistic components of the mosque are a kaleidoscopic vision of the architectural tradition of almost three centuries – a tradition stemming from Istanbul, not Cairo. This influence is not limited to the architecture, but is already discernable in the choice of the location of the monument. Cairo, contrary to the city lying on the Bosphorus, lies in a valley, and the Citadel is built on its only dominating hill. This was an ideal location to replicate the mosques of Istanbul. Muhammad Ali certainly admired the architecture of Istanbul and therefore copied it, but, in so doing, he wished to challenge the authority of the High Porte by building edifices in imperial style in his realm.

The location and size of the monument, not its function, were uppermost in Muhammad Ali's mind, for there was, in fact, no need to build a mosque in which 6500 believers could pray in a location where only the ruler and his entourage were allowed. The mosque of al-Azhar in the city centre continued to be the main place of prayer for the people. Mohammed al-Asad correctly points out that the mosque was not originally designed as a mausoleum for the ruler and that the building of a mausoleum or *turba* was surely planned.

A further example of a special historical nature is the gate of Bab al-Alam built in Gothic Revival style. (fig. 12) built by the British in 1882. This lies in the southern rampart and to the North of the forecourt of the mosque. This architectural curiosity was the entrance to the military prison behind it and to the School of Artillery founded in the 19th century. As mentioned earlier, Bab al-Qulla which was renovated by Muhammad Ali is the entrance to the northern rampart.

In addition to the School Diwan and Ministry of Education, three palaces (fig. 13) are to be found in the Northern enclosure. These are interconnected and connected to the so-called Harem Palace which was the living quarters of the ruler's family until 1874. This was transformed into a military hospital by the British in 1882. Two of the palaces house the Military Museum since 1946. The Eastern Palace, built in 1826, is the largest. It was used as quarters for the orphaned children of Pashas and Mameluke families who were brought up to be officers. The building is composed of three floors with numerous rooms overlooking an inner courtyard. The Middle and Western Palaces which are not directly at right angle with the Eastern Palace, are also three-storeyed with a large entrance hall

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and numerous lavishly decorated rooms. The ground floor bathroom, entirely paneled in marble, is a clear reflection of the degree of luxury aspired to. The entire exterior with its clear structure exhibits Ottoman influence only in very few ornamented areas. In 1870, another major restoration of the Citadel was undertaken by the Khedive Ismail. This resulted in only minor changes.

The building activities of Egyptian rulers at the Citadel ceased in 1874 when they moved their headquarters to the distinctly more comfortable Abdin Palace which had the further advantage of being close to the more important ministries. The Citadel lost its significance, and became the hated symbol of the British occupation headquartered there between 1880 and 1945. From 1946 to 1986 parts of the Citadel were closed to visitors as it was occupied by the Egyptian army.

It is to the late Dr Ahmad Kadry who was the Director of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (now the Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities) and had been an officer himself that we owe the enhancement and opening of the entire complex to the public.

The procedures adopted during remodeling activities of the 18th and 19th centuries are more worthy of attention than their outcome. The way that rulers dealt with historic buildings may be interpreted in two ways. The first concerns the fortifications which were modified to accommodate modern artillery and are of a preservative nature. To these belong the clearing of parts of the fortifications to provide space to maneuver mobile canons and for the daily drills of the troops. However, it must be said that the architectural merit of the new gates is inferior to that of their predecessors. The second concerns the eradication of traces left on the complex by previous rulers. This was undertaken in the entire interior of the Citadel save for buildings a religious nature and fortifications.

The new constructions were not inspired by the buildings they were constructed to replace, but by building conventions in Istanbul which were strongly influenced by the contemporary Rococo and had already incorporated various occidental stylistic elements. The deliberate break with the Mameluke tradition is clearly evident in these buildings.

Muhammad Ali staged his seizure of power in Egypt by leaving his indelible mark on the remodeled historical fortress and building it to rival the architecture of Istanbul. Whether he was influenced by the Revival Movement, or whether he had heard of such projects as Schinkel's to build a royal palace on the site of the Acropolis in Athens (fig. 14) is not clear. The fact remains that his approach was similar and that he did leave his mark on the Citadel. So true is this that the Citadel is often referred to as the "*Qal'it* Muhammad Ali"–Muhammad Ali's Citadel !

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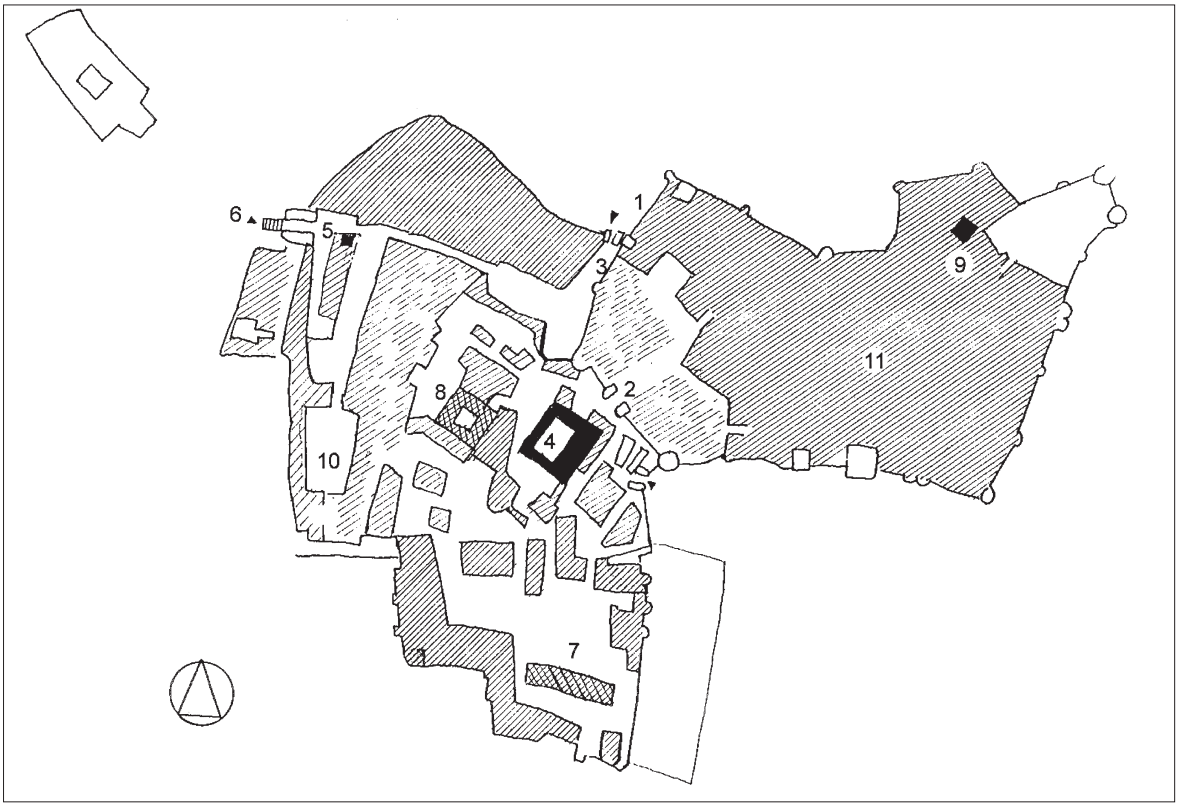


Fig. 1. The Citadel in 1800.
1. Bab al-Mudarrag ; 2. Bab al-Qulla ; 3. The Carved Path ; 4. Mosque of al-Nassir Muhammad ; 5. Mosque of Al-Azab ; 6. Bab al-Azab ; 7. Hawsh and Palace of the Ottoman Governor ; 8. Great Iwan ; 9. Mosque of Suleyman Pasha ; 10. Baraks of the Azab Regiment ; 11. Quarters of the Janissaries.

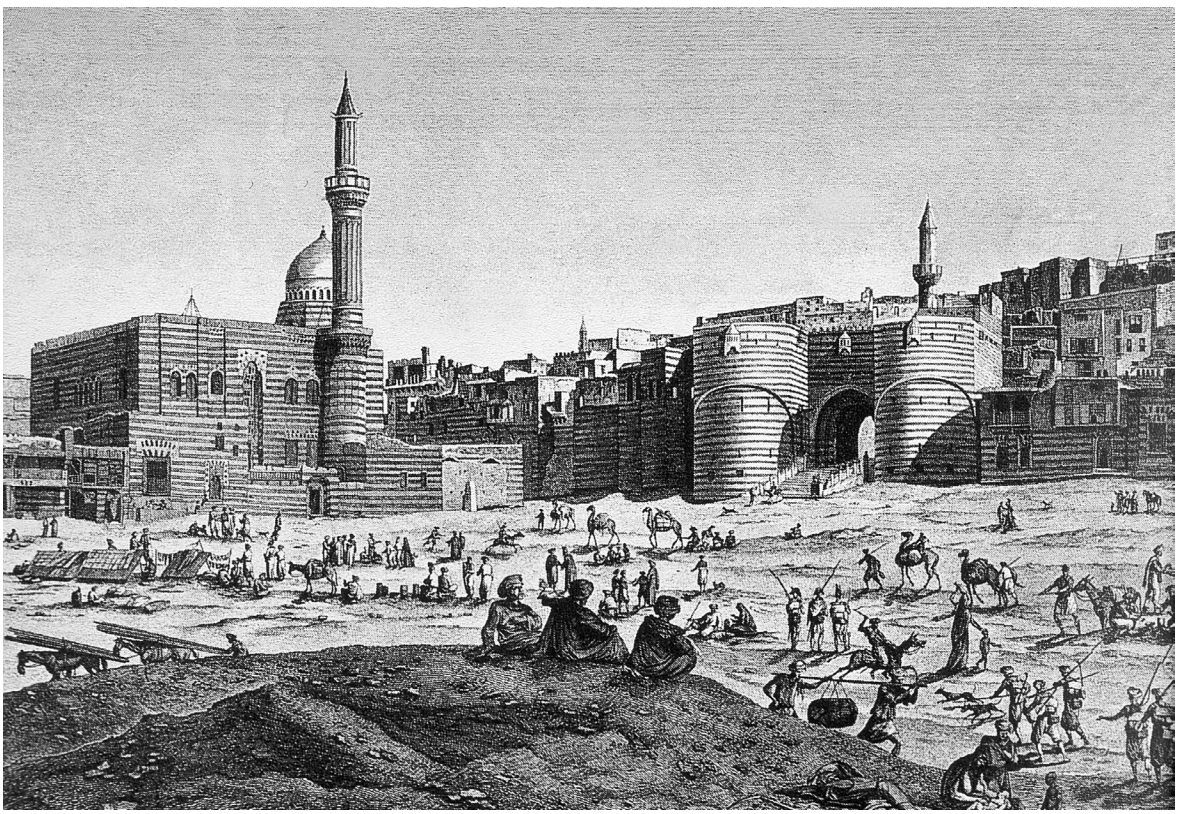


Fig. 2. Bab al-Azab *circa* 1800.

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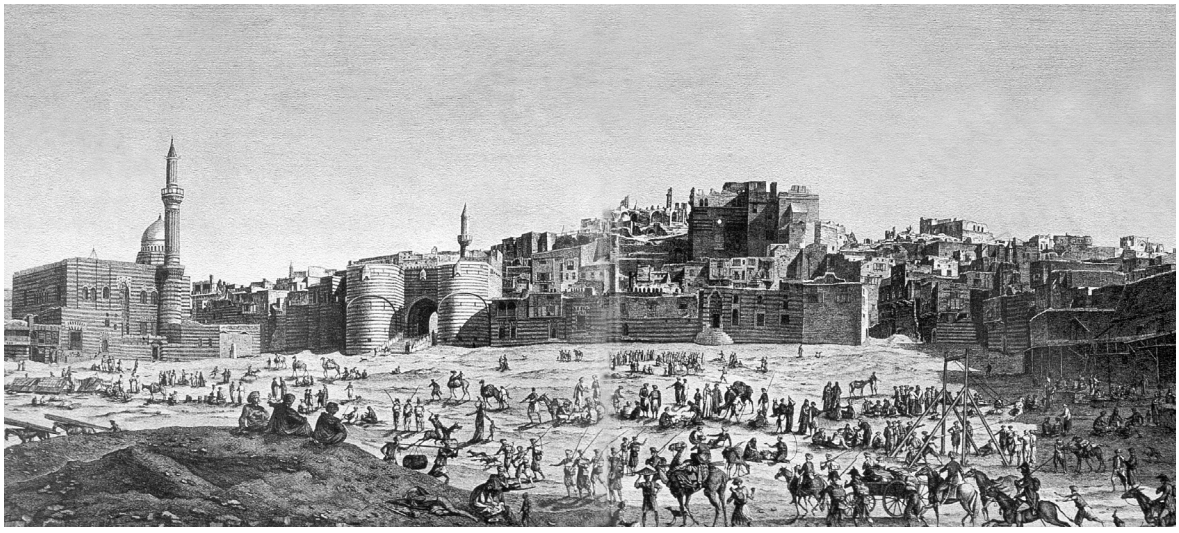


Fig. 3. Bab al-Futuh. *Description de l'Égypte* I, pl. 47.



Fig. 4. Bab al-Azab renovated by Khedive Ismail *circa* 1870. Miniature towers in Revival Style.

Fig. 5. The Citadel *circa* 1798. *Description de l'Égypte* I, pl. 67.



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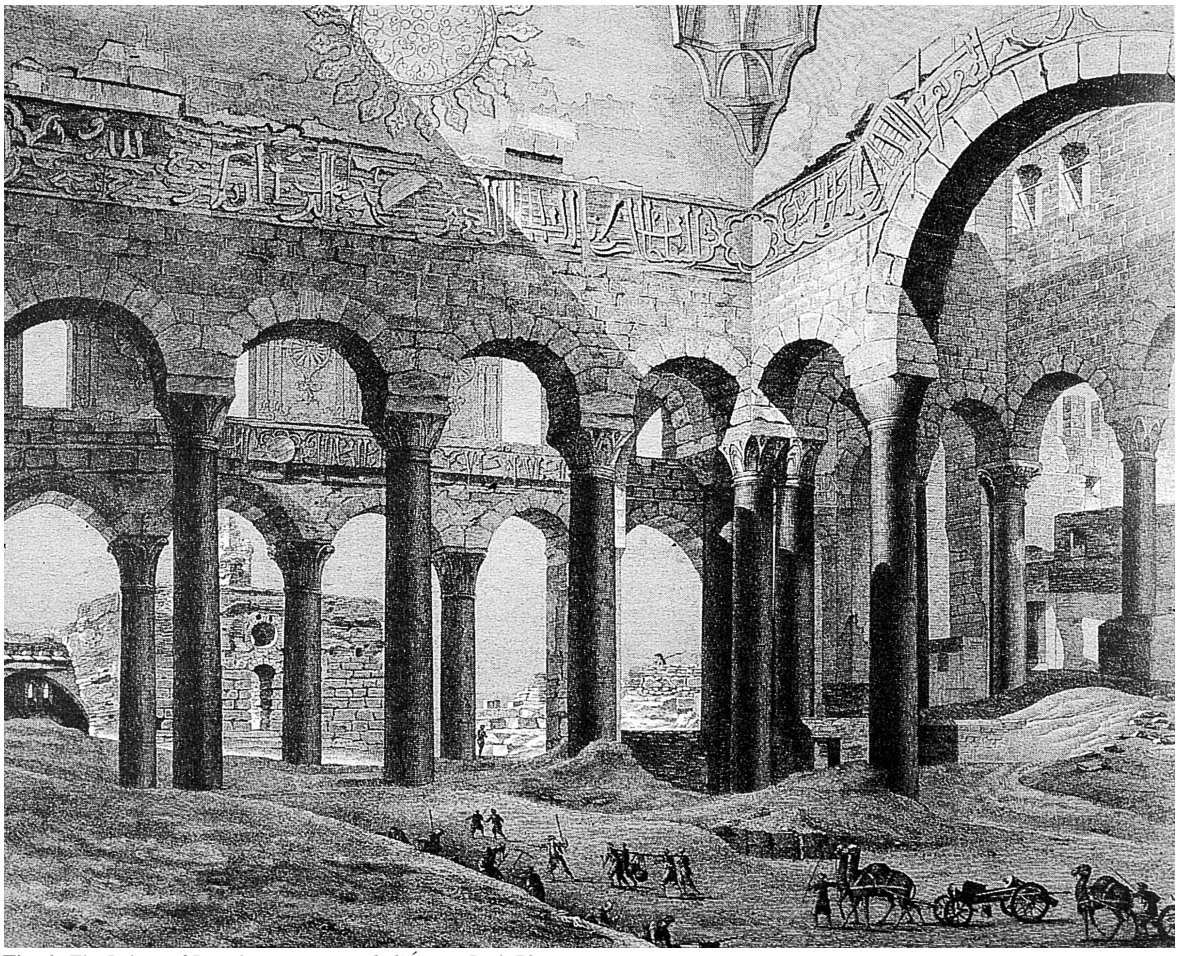


Fig. 6. The Palace of Joseph. *Description de l'Égypte* I, pl. 70.



Fig. 7. Muhammad Ali.

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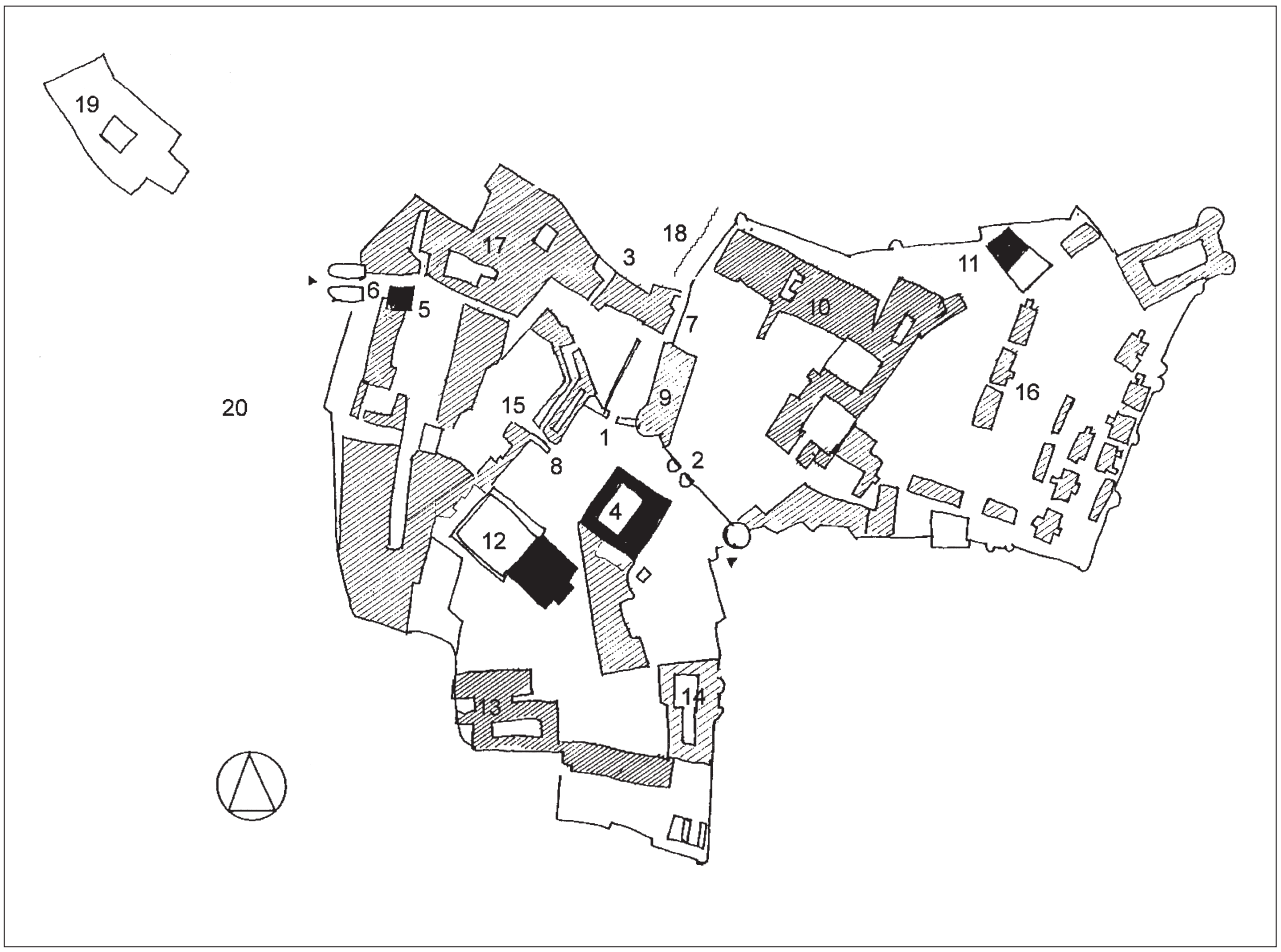


Fig. 8. The Citadel in 1990.
1. Bab al-Mudarrag ; 2. Bab al-Qulla ; 3. Bab al-Mudarraj ; 4. Mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad ; 5. Mosque al-Azab ; 6. Bab al-Azab ; 7. Bab al-Gedid ; 8. Bab al-Alam ; 9. School Diwan ; 10. Harim or Middle Palace ; 11. Mosque of Sulayman Pasha ; 12. Mosque of Muhammad Ali ; 13. Al-Jawhara Palace ; 14. Mint ; 15. Prison ; 16. Stabels ; 17. Arsenal ; 18. Carriage Way.



Fig. 9.
Bab al-Wustani.

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Fig. 10. Citadel and the Jawhara Palace. 2nd half of 19th Century.



Fig. 11. Mosque of Muhammad Ali.

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Fig. 12. Bab al-Alam.



Fig. 13. Harem or Middle Palace, today Military Museum.

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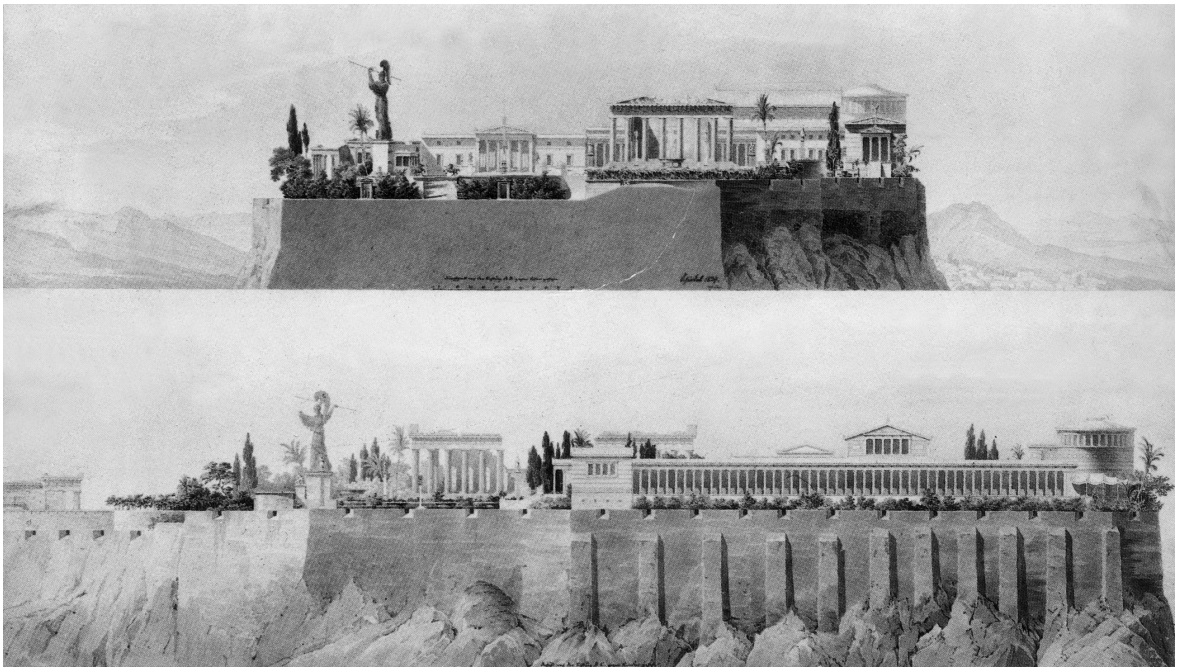


Fig. 14. Project of the Kings Palace of the Acropolis by F. Schinkel.

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