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Keppel A. C. Creswell

A brief Chronology of the Muhammadan monuments of Egypt to A. D. 1517 [avec 18 planches].

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A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE MUḤAMMADAN MONUMENTS OF EGYPT TO A.D. 1517

BY CAPTAIN K. A. C. CRESWELL, R. A. F.

PREFACE.

This chronology, necessarily brief, is intended to summarise in a convenient form, such information as may be available concerning the date of all the Muḥammadan monuments of Egypt down to the Turkish Conquest. A considerable part of this information has been condensed from the great and invaluable work of Prof. Max van Berchem on the Arabic epigraphy of Egypt. That work, however, is not concerned with monuments which do not bear historical inscriptions, and whose estimated date must therefore depend on historical or architectural argument, nor does it include a considerable number of buildings, presumably unknown to him [1], which bear dated inscriptions and which have since received the attention of archæologists. Of these inscriptions some have already been published in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité de Conservation,* while others, hitherto unpublished, have been deciphered by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad, the *Comité*'s Epigraphist and Inspector of Monuments, who has very kindly permitted me to publish them here.

In the case of monuments whose estimated date depends upon architectural argument, it may be thought that I have attempted to fix too close a limit. I have nevertheless felt justified in doing so, partly because I have seen and examined every monument in this list (with four exceptions), in chronological order as far as my preliminary information permitted, in order to acquire a true historical perspective, and partly because the series is so close and unbroken. In this respect, Cairo is

[1] The last part of his work was published thirteen years ago.

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unrivalled by any other city in Islam. What town indeed can show a series of monuments which, commencing in the IXth century, numbers over 220 before the year 1517 is passed? Damascus, although its series starts earlier with the Great Umayyad Mosque, does not approach it in numbers, and in the Seven Cities of Delhi, perhaps its nearest rival, the series only starts with the Kuwwât ul Islam Mosque, which was built 1197 A. D.

Two interesting facts are brought to light by this chronology : (1) the centralization in Cairo of the whole spending power of the country as far as architecture was concerned, and (2) the extraordinary historical sense of the people, no less than 52 % of the monuments in this list being actually dated by an inscription, while several bear two or more inscriptions with varying dates showing the progress of the works. One must turn to the non-Muḥammadan architecture of India to fully realise how great the contrast can be.

I have to thank Signor A. Patricolo, the Chief Architect of the *Comité*, for his constant help, and I am greatly indebted to Mrs. R. L. Devonshire for very many historical references.

ABBREVIATIONS.

C. I. A. . . . . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 1re partie : *Égypte*, par Max van Berchem.

C. R. . . . . . *Comptes Rendus du Comité de Conservation des monuments de l'Art arabe.*

Notes . . . . . Max van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in the *Journal asiatique*, 1891 and 1892; the pages quoted are those of the *tirage à part.*

Plan . . . . . The plan referred to is that published with the General Index to the *C. R.* for 1914.

J. R. A. S. . . . . *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

M. M. A. F. C. *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire.*

M. I. F. A. O. . *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.*

Maqrîzî . . . . . When not otherwise stated, the references to Maqrîzî are to the Bûlâq edition of his *Khiṭaṭ.*

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A. H. A. D.

PRE-FÂṬIMIDE MONUMENTS.

NILOMETER (No. 79 on Plan). — The first Nilometer constructed on Rôḍa Island was built by Asâma under the orders of the Khalîf Suleymân, and completed in 96 H. (715), to replace one at Ḥelwân which had been destroyed the previous year. The graduated column in the centre of the present Nilometer, which acts as a measuring gauge, is, according to tradition, the original one placed there by Asâma, and the form of the Kufic inscriptions on it, according to Marcel, confirms this opinion. Neglected and half ruined under al-Amîn, the Nilometer was almost entirely reconstructed by al-Ma'mûn in 199 H. (814). Marcel attributes the Kufic inscription above the pointed-arched opening of the tunnel leading to the Nile, and the two Kufic inscriptions running round the frieze of the pit in which the column stands, to this epoch. All these inscriptions are Quranic. The Nilometer was repaired under Mutawakkil in 233 H. (847-848), and again in 247 H. (861-862), at which date a pair of bracing arches were thrown from the top of the column to the sides of the pit. These bracing arches were replaced under Sultan Muṣṭafa III by Hamza Pasha in 1180 H. (1766), who copied in Sulus characters the original inscription and the date 247 H. The Nilometer was again repaired by Mustanṣir in 485 H. (1092). 199 814

See Marcel, *Mémoire sur le Meqyâs de l'île de Roudah*, in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, t. XV, pp. 387-522; and M. van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, pp. 18-22.

MOSQUE OF ʿAMR IBN AL-ʿAÂṢ (No. 319 on Plan). — Although founded early in 21 H. (winter of 641-642) by ʿAmr on his return from the siege of Alexandria[1], this mosque only attained its present size and shape in 212 H. The original mosque only measured 50 × 30 cubits; it was first enlarged by Maslama in 53 H. (673). ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz ibn Marwân knocked it down and entirely rebuilt it in 79 H. (698-699), and it was again rebuilt by Qurra ibn Sharîk in 92-93 H. (710-711). Ṣâliḥ ibn ʿAly added four lines of columns on the north-west side in 133 H. (750-751), and a *raḥaba*, or open court, was 212 827

[1] On this date, see Dr. A. J. Butler's *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 341-342.

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also added on this side by Mûsa ibn ʿAly in 175 H. (791-792). It was doubled in size by ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAly in 212 H. (827), when its size attained 190 × 150 cubits, which is about its present measurement. Hence the date in the margin. In 801 H. (1399) the whole *qibla* side of the mosque was taken down and rebuilt «in its whole length and breadth, from the Great Miḥrâb to the Ṣaḥn», and weak points in the walls were repaired. This restoration was completed in 804 (1401). Ibn Iyâs (*Târîkh Maṣr,* II, p. 153), under the year 879 H. (1474), states that Sultan Qâyt-Bây in the month of Gumâdâ I, ordered the rebuilding of what was ruined in the mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAâṣ. A somewhat extensive restoration was carried out in 1212 H. (1797) by Murâd Bey, and four dated inscriptions record the fact.

See E. K. Cobbet, *The History of the Mosque of ʿAmr at Old Cairo,* in the *J. R. A. S.,* 1890, pp. 759-800.

254-263 869-876 AQUEDUCT OF IBN ṬÛLÛN, or AQUEDUCT OF BASÂTÎN (not shown on the Plan of the *Comité*). — This aqueduct, known to-day as the Migrat al-Imâm, starts at Basâtîn and runs, after two small bends, in an exact line with the minaret of Shâhîn Aghâ al-Khalawaty for 560 paces, and then in a line which, if prolonged, would pass slightly to the east of the Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâfʿey and touch the west front of the Citadel. This portion, however, is only 300 paces long and disappears in the ground about 120 paces to the south of the cemetery laying south of Imâm al-Leith. This aqueduct has been identified with the Aqueduct of Ibn Ṭûlûn by Corbet, who gives architectural reasons for his identification — e. g. that the size of the bricks, which are red, and the style of the brickwork, resemble that of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn — but he reserves his topographical reasoning for a future paper. This is unfortunate as the basis for architectural argument is somewhat scanty. Vollers is equally brief in his reasoning and, in fact, fails to arrive at a definite conclusion. Guest and Richmond, however, discuss the matter at greater length and entirely from the topographical point of view. They summarise the evidence as follows. That part of the Qarâfa which adjoined the Muqaṭṭam was called al-Qarâfat aṣ-Ṣughra, and that part which was to the east of Miṣr (Fusṭâṭ) next to the habitations, was called al-Qarâfat al-Kubra (Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ,* II, p. 442); an aqueduct built by Ibn Ṭûlûn formed the division between the two

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(*ibid.*, I, p. 298), as is the case with our aqueduct. Further, this aqueduct, known as Qanâṭir Ibn Ṭûlûn, took its supply from a well called ʿAfṣat al-Kubra (*ibid.*, II, p. 449) and conveyed water to Darb Sâlem (Ibn Duqmâq, *al-Intiṣâr*, IV, p. 58). ʿAfṣat al-Kubra was one of the northern limits of Birket al-Ḥabash (*ibid.*, II, p. 152). This was a very large birka which formed the southern boundary of Miṣr and al-Qarâfa and stretched across from the Nile up towards the Muqaṭṭam at Basâtîn al-Wazîr. At the end of the aqueduct were Christian and Jewish cemeteries. Our aqueduct starts at Basâtîn, its intake tower being built on a spur or outcrop of the Muqaṭṭam, and at this end and to the east of it there is still a Jewish cemetery. Darb Sâlem, the place to which it conveyed water, is described as « in the beginning of el-Qarâfa » near Qabr al-Qâḍy Bakkâr (Abû l-Maḥâsin, *an-Nujûm*, I, p. 46). Guest and Richmond, for some reason which is not clear, place the tomb of Qâḍy Bakkâr inside the bend of the Great Aqueduct (see under 711 H.), and Darb Sâlem outside and a little to the east of this same bend (see their Map). This conclusion leads them so far to the west of our aqueduct that they are compelled, under reserve, to conclude that it cannot be attributed to Ibn Ṭûlûn. The following passage from Ibn Iyâs (I, p. 33), however, shows their topography to be at fault : « The Imâm Shâfʿey Muḥammad ibn Idrîs died : the evening of his death was Friday evening in the month of Ragab of the year 204 of the Hegra. They interred him in the Great Cemetery, opposite the tomb of Qâḍy Bakkâr. » Darb Sâlem must therefore have been near the Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâfʿey, and this takes us back to the line followed by our aqueduct and removes this topographical objection to its identification. The suggestion of Guest and Richmond that our aqueduct may be that built by al-Kâmil to bring water from Birkat al-Ḥabash to the Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâfʿey (*ibid.*, II, p. 444) is not so easily disposed of. This aqueduct is referred to by Ibn Iyâs (I, p. 81), who explicitly states that Ibn Ṭûlûn built it, but Maqrîzî, the earlier authority, is more ambiguous, and merely states that al-Kâmil « brought water from Birkat al-Ḥabash », which of course *may* have been done by a small extension from the aqueduct of Ibn Ṭûlûn. I can only say that I agree with Corbet that the architecture, in so far as it provides a basis for argument, leads us to conclude that ours is the Aqueduct of Ibn Ṭûlûn. Those few arches which are nearly complete certainly resemble those found in his mosque, and are quite different

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in outline from those of the Ayyubide period, which, together with the late Fâṭimide, is pre-eminently the period of the keel arch, the military architecture of Saladin alone excepted. According to Maqrîzî, the Aqueduct of Ibn Ṭûlûn was built by the architect who later built his mosque. I have therefore placed it before 263 H., although I discredit the rest of the story of which this statement forms part, viz. :— that he was a Copt, and devised the scheme of a mosque on piers, to avoid the destruction of churches for the sake of their columns. These piers are amply explained by the existence at Sâmarrâ, Ibn Ṭûlûn's home, of two mosques dating from the middle of the IXth century A. D., one at least of which was built on piers, and whose remains have been described in the works of Commander J. F. Jones, Baron von Oppenheim, General de Beylié, Miss G. L. Bell, Sarre-Herzfeld, etc.

See E. K. Corbet, *The Life and Works of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭûlûn*, in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1891, pp. 531-532; Dr Vollers, *Notice historique sur les différents aqueducs au sud du Caire, C. R.*, 1893, pp. 58-61; *C. R.*, 1894, p. 80; and Guest and Richmond, *Miṣr in the Fifteenth Century, J. R. A. S.*, 1903, pp. 807-812.

263-265 876-879 MOSQUE OF AḤMAD IBN ṬÛLÛN (No. 220 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 265), this mosque was commenced in 263 H. (876), and finished in Ramaḍân 265 (April-May 879). The latter date is confirmed by the great Kufic inscription of the founder which existed formerly in duplicate on the two middle piers on the outer arcade of the sanctuary. These two inscriptions are reproduced in the *Description* from the drawings of Marcel (see *État moderne*, atlas, vol. II, pp. *f* and *g* of the series *Inscriptions, monnaies et médailles*), but disappeared at some subsequent date. In 1890 a portion of one was discovered in the course of pulling down the cells which blocked up the arcades. This piece, which includes the date «Ramaḍân of the year five and sixty and two hundred», has been published by E. K. Corbet in his *Life and Works of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, loc. cit.*, pp. 557-562, and pl. VI. An inscription on a slab of marble over the lintel of a gate in the outer wall of the north-east *ziâda* and below the crenellations states that «this gate and that which surrounds it» was restored by Badr al-Gamâly in Ṣafar 470 (August-September 1077). A restoration was carried out in 696 H. (1296-1297) by ʿAlam ad-Dîn Sangar under the orders of Lâgîn, in accordance with the vow the latter had

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made three years previously when hiding from justice in this very mosque, where he lived for a year, after he had murdered the Sultan Khalîl al-Ashraf. This restoration is recorded by an inscription on a panel of wood over the door to the right of the miḥrâb and another on a band of copper, said to have come from this same door and now preserved in the Arab Museum (Hall X, No. 33). From this period date the *minbar* or pulpit, with inscription « 10th Ṣafar, in the year 696 », the *meyḍa* or fountain in the *ṣaḥn* (see under 696 H.), a copper lamp for the miḥrâb presented by « Shâdy, son of Shirkû », and now in the Arab Museum (Hall IX, No. 10), the sundial dated 696 H. shown in the *Description de l'Égypte* (Atlas II, pl. *e*, of the series *Inscriptions, monnaies et médailles*), and no doubt a large number of the window lattices. To these may be added the wooden dome over the space in front of the miḥrâb, or rather its substructure. I venture to assert this on account of the absolute identity of its pendentives, although of wood, with those of the little dome in the Madrassa-Mausoleum of Salâr and Sangar al-Gâwly at the end of the passage behind the mausoleums of these two Emîrs. Its shoddy upper portion, comprising the dome itself and the eight windows of the octagonal drum, are obviously late, and closely resemble the two domes of the Convent-School of Sheykhu, which are probably due to the restoration of Bilâl Aghâ in 1095 H. (1684). Salmon suggests that the mosaic, just below the semi-dome of the miḥrâb « doivent dater du mirḥâb (*sic*) primitif, car elles sont d'origine byzantine ». This conclusion does not appear to me to be sound. Marble and mosaic found their way into Muḥammadan work in Syria and Arabia at a very early date, e. g. the Great Mosque of the Umayyads at Damascus, the Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhra at Jerusalem, and the Mosque at Medîna [1], but they appear to have arrived in Egypt comparatively late, stucco, highly decorated, being the material of all early miḥrâbs, e. g. the Mosque of al-Guyûshy, Gâmiʿ Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf,

[1] For the Great Mosque at Damascus, see Ibn Baṭṭûṭah (Defrémery's transl., I, p. 199), who states that the Emperor of Byzantium furnished the Khalîf Walîd with a quantity of *fsifsa*. This word is an adaptation of the Greek ψηφωσις (constructions in small cubes). For the Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhra at Jerusalem, see de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 83 ff. For the Mosque at Medîna, see Balâdhury, *Futûḥ al-Buldân* (Hitti's transl., pp. 20-21). He mentions two occasions on which work in gold mosaic was carried out there, the first being under al-Walîd (86-96 H.), the second under al-Mutawakkil in 246-247 H.

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Mausoleum of Muḥammad al-Haṣawâty, Mausoleum of Sayeda ʿÂtika, Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya, Mausoleum of Yaḥyâ ash-Shabîh, Mausoleum of the Emîr Abû Manṣûr Ismaʿîl, Mausoleum of the Abbassid Khalifs, and the Mausoleum of Sheger ad-Durr. I therefore conclude that the marble panelling of the miḥrâb is probably due to Lâgîn, likewise the mosaic. The latter cannot possibly date from the foundation of the mosque, nor even from the Fâṭimide period, as the inscription which forms an integral part of it is in Naskh, which only appears in Egypt at the commencement of the Ayyubide period. The Qâḍy Karîm ad-Dîn who administered this mosque in the time of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, the Emîr Yelboghâ al-Omary al-Khâṣeky in 767, and ʿOybaîd ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hâdy al-Hawîdy in 792, are mentioned by Maqrîzî (II, p. 269) as having been responsible for small works. The vandalism of which traces still remain in the north-west corner, where the arches are walled up, is due to Clot-Bey, who, about 1846, turned part of this mosque into a poor-house.

Stucco Miḥrâbs. — There are two of these on the two central piers of the present outer row of the sanctuary. That on the right bears an inscription of al-Afḍal in the name of the Khalif Mustanṣir, and can be indirectly fixed as 487 H. (1094); that on the left is an almost exact copy of the former made no doubt in 696 H. by Lâgîn, whose name and titles it bears. There is a second pair on the corresponding piers two lines further south-east, which according to Fleury are IVth century (Xth century A. D.). A fifth miḥrâb with Quranic inscriptions in decorated Kufic and early Naskh, known as the miḥrâb of Sayeda Nafîsa, is ascribed by Corbet to Lâgîn or Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, and by van Berchem to the VIIth century (XIIIth century A. D.).

Minaret. — Although Corbet, Franz Pasha (*Kairo*, p. 11) and other authors have suggested that the minaret dates from a later period than the mosque, it certainly goes back as far as 375 H. (985-986) since Muqaddasy, writing in that year, states that the minaret of Ibn Ṭûlûn's mosque was of small stones and that its staircase was on the outside (ed. de Goeje, p. 199, quoted by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad, *Gâmiʿ Ibn Ṭûlûn*, p. 32). I consider that it is undoubtedly the work of Ibn Ṭûlûn. Maqrîzî (II, p. 266) quotes al-Qoḍâʿy (d. 454 H. = 1062 A. D.) to the effect that Ibn Ṭûlûn built his mosque « on

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the plan of the Mosque of Sâmarrâ, and likewise the minaret». Ibn Duqmâq, who died 1406 A. D., says the same thing about the mosque, but without an express reference to the minaret (IV, p. 123). The minaret at Sâmarrâ referred to is, of course, that built by Mutawakkil (847-861 A. D.) which still exists and is known as the Malwîya Tower. Although mentioned by Kinneir as long ago as 1814 and later on by Fraser, Rich, Commander J. F. Jones and von Thielmann, it was nevertheless practically unknown until about ten years ago. It is a remarkable fact that although the minaret of Ibn Ṭûlûn is now of circular section above and of square section below (Plate I, A), it would appear certain that it once resembled the minaret at Sâmarrâ more closely than it does at present, since Maqrîzî (II, p. 267), Ibn Duqmâq (IV, p. 124), and Abû l-Maḥâsin (II, pp. 8 and 9), repeat a little fable to the effect that Ibn Ṭûlûn, toying one day with a piece of paper and rolling it around his finger, produced a spiral, and then ordered his architect to take it as a model for his minaret. At Sâmarrâ the same fable is told of the Malwîya Tower, but whereas it provides an exact description of that minaret, it does not accurately fit the minaret of Ibn Ṭûlûn in its present state. The question therefore arises : has this minaret undergone alterations? I do not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. An examination shows that the two horse-shoe arches which join it to the mosque proper must be of more recent date as they cut right across the middle of two windows. Assuming then, as I think we are entitled to do, that the square base and the connecting arches are later work, to what period are we to ascribe them? Nâṣiri Khusrau, who visited Cairo in 1047-1048 A. D., states that under the reign of al-Ḥâkim the descendants of Ibn Ṭûlûn sold him the mosque for 30,000 dinars, and then shortly after commenced to demolish the minaret. When asked for an explanation they replied that they had not sold the minaret. The Khalîf therefore made them re-purchase the mosque (see Schefer's transl., pp. 145-146). It is therefore possible that it underwent a restoration at this time, although the historians of the mosque are silent on the subject, but in any case it was again in bad condition at the time when Lâgîn was taking refuge there, and it is advisable to consider whether its present form can date from this period. Two distinctive features at once present themselves as a basis for argument, viz :— the horse-shoe arches referred to above, the horse-shoe arch at the foot

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of the staircase (Plate I, c), the four pairs of blind horse-shoe arches set in three faces of the square lower portion of the minaret, and the spirally fluted columns which form central supports for three of them. Such columns first appear in the Madrassa-Mausoleum of Qalâûn (683-684 H.) over the entrance, and horse-shoe arches of form similar to the above are found on the minaret of this same building, and also on the minaret of the Madrassa-Mausoleum of Salâr and Sangar al-Gâwly (703 H.). It therefore seems highly probable that extensive alterations to the minaret formed part of the works carried out by Lâgîn in 696 H. Its present *mabkhara* finial is also in keeping with this date.

See, in addition to references cited, *C. R.*, 1890, pp. 102 and 111; *C. I. A.*, pp. 27-39, 651-652, and 697-698; M. van Berchem, *Notes*, deuxième article, pp. 6-15; G. Salmon, *La Ḳal'at al-Kabch et la Birkat al-Fîl*, in the *M. I. F. A. O.*, VII, pp. 12-27; Herz Bey, *Descriptive Catalogue of... the National Museum of Arab Art*, xxiv n., pp. 171-172 and 198; and — for the stucco miḥrâbs — S. Fleury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee*, pp. 15-16, 19, 36-37 and 40, and pl. XI, XV and XVI.

269 882 CISTERNS OF TELL TINNÎS. — According to Yâqût (*Mu'djam*, I, p. 275), most of these cisterns were built by Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, when he visited Tinnîs in 269 H. (882). They are mentioned by Nâṣiri Khusrau, who passed through Tinnîs in 439 H. (1047). The final decay of Tinnîs commenced in 588 H. (1192), after the Third Crusade, when Saladin ordered the population to withdraw to Damietta, leaving the garrison only. In 624 H. (1227) al-Kâmil demolished the town but not the fortress, where a small garrison still existed at the visit of Fra Nicolo de Corbizzo in 1345. Gillebert de Lannoy, however, in 1421 found nothing but ruins. It is evident from these facts that the history of Tinnîs had already come to an end before the time of Yâqût, who commenced the fair copy of his great geographical dictionary in 1227, and died at Aleppo in the following year. His statement therefore can not have been invalidated by later constructions.

See C. Schefer, *Nassiri Khosrau*, pp. 111-112, also A. Patricolo, *Les Citernes de Tell Tinnis dans le lac Menzaleh*, in the *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 63-68, and plates I-III.

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FÂṬIMIDE MONUMENTS.

BÂB QÂḌY ʿASKAR (No. 47 on Plan). — Ravaisse, in his elaborate study of Fâṭimide Cairo, has shown on topographical grounds that this vaulted passage must be the «Soldiers' Gate» of the «Great Eastern Palace» of Muʿizz, which was commenced 18 Shaʿbân 358 H. (7th July 969) and finished during 360 H. (970-971). 358-360

See P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Makrîzî*, in the *M. M. A. F. C.*, tome I, pp. 429, and 469-471; and *C. R.*, 1885, pp. 23-24.

MOSQUE OF AL-AZHAR (No. 97 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 273) states that it was commenced 24 Gumâdâ I 359, and finished 7 Ramaḍân 361 (4th April 970-22nd June 972). An inscription containing the name of the Khalif al-Muʿizz and his General Gôhar and the date 360 H., no longer exists, but according to Maqrîzî it ran round the dome «which is in the first aisle of the sanctuary, to the right of the miḥrâb and the minbar». The same author (II, p. 273) states that the Khalif al-Ḥâkim restored it, and the act of endowment reproduced by him is dated Ramaḍân 400 (April-May 1010). A relic of this restoration exists in the Arab Museum (Hall IV, No. 2) in the shape of a folding door of Turkish pine in two leaves, bearing a Kufic inscription in the name of this Khalif. A restoration by al-Mustanṣir (1036-1094 A. D.) is also referred to by Maqrîzî (II, p. 275). A wooden miḥrâb, now in the Arab Museum (Hall IV, Nos. 11 and 95), was added, according to the Kufic inscription, in 519 H. (1125-1126) by the Khalif al-Âmir. According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 275), another restoration was carried out by Ḥâfiẓ li-Dîn Illâh (A. D. 1131-1149). He states further that on Friday 18 Rabîʿ I, in the year 665, a service was held to commemorate the restoration which had been carried out by the Emîr ʿIzz ad-Dîn Aydomor al-Ḥally, who had repaired the angles of the building, paved it, whitewashed the walls and mended the roof. The great earthquake of Dhu l-ḥigga 702 (1303) did not spare this mosque, but the Emîr Salâr rebuilt the parts which had fallen. It was also restored by the Qâḍy Negm ad-Dîn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusseyn ibn ʿAly in 725 H. (1325), and by the Emîr Saʿad ad-Dîn Beshîr al-Gamdâr in 761 H. (1360). This Emîr, 359-361

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who was responsible for the completion of the Madrassa of Sultan Ḥasan, is stated to have re-paved the mosque, whitewashed the walls, and to have built near the south door a sebîl with a free school above (*ibid.*, II, p. 276). In 800 H. (1397) the minaret fell and was replaced by another which was completed Rabîʿ I of the same year (November-December 1397). This minaret only lasted until Shawâl 817 (December 1414-January 1415) when it had to be taken down as it had begun to lean. A stone minaret was then built over the arch of the north door. This minaret, which was built with stone taken from the Madrassa of Khalîl al-Ashraf in the Citadel, was completed in Gumâdâ II 818 (August-September 1415). This fell also and was rebuilt in 827 H. (1423-1424). The Bâb al-Muzayyinîn, or Barbers' Gate, is due to Qâyt-Bây, and was built by him, according to an inscription to right and left of the entrance, in Ragab 873 (January-February 1469). The minaret in the middle of the west side also bears his name, but is without a date; it probably formed part of the works carried out for the Sultan by «Muṣṭafa son of Maḥmûd, son of Rustum», which were completed in Muḥarram 900 H. (October 1494) according to Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 285), and of which souvenirs exist in the Arab Museum, in the shape of four panels of wood with inscriptions, all of which record restorations to al-Azhar carried out by Qâyt-Bây, and three of which contain also the name and parentage of Muṣṭafa (Hall IV, Nos. 58, 74-76). Al-Ghûry added the double-headed minaret at the south-west angle of the *ṣaḥn*, which bears his name but lacks a date. He reigned from 906 H. (1501) to 922 H. (1516). Under Ottoman rule, this mosque was restored or added to by as-Sayyîd Muḥammad Pasha in 1004 H. (1596), by the Sheykh al-Beled Ismaʿîl Bey in 1132 H. (1720), by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân Kikhîya in 1199 H. (1785), and finally by the Khedive ʿAbbâs Pasha in 1859. The main entrance in the western façade is covered with medallions and inscriptions in verse dated 1167 H. (1753-1754). The arcades round the *ṣaḥn*, which early photographs show walled up, were cleared and opened in the days of Franz Pasha, who retired from the Service of the *Comité* about 1887. Of the building as it stands to-day, only the east îwân is Fâṭimide. Fleury divides it, wherever there is stucco ornament to provide a basis for argument, into three periods : (1) the original work of Muʿizz; (2) the work of al-ʿAzîz, 365-386 H. (975-996), and (3) work dating from the first half of the XIIth century. To the first he

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assigns the inscriptions and surface decoration of the transept arches and the north wall, and the inscriptions round the arches at the south end of the qibla wall (his plates IX-XIII and figs. 6-8); to the second he assigns the ornament on the inner side of the wall which separates the sanctuary from the *ṣaḥn* (his plate VIII), since it appears to be the forerunner of the ornament of the Mosque of al-Ḥâkim, and it is known that this maqṣûra wall was restored by al-ʿAzîz when he ordered the mosque to be used as a college. To the third he assigns the entrance dome and its ornament (his plate XIV and my Plate II, A), from which I conclude that it must form part of the restoration of Ḥâfiẓ li-Dîn Illâh (524-544 H. = 1130-1149) referred to above.

See A. F. Mehren, *Tableau général des monuments religieux du Caire,* in *Mélanges asiatiques,* VI, pp. 335-337; P. Ravaisse, *Sur trois miḥrâbs en bois sculpté,* in *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien,* II, pp. 628-634; M. van Berchem, *Notes,* pp. 18-23; *C. I. A.*, pp. 43-50, 630, 632-633, and 674-676; P. Ravaisse, *op. cit., M. M. A. F. C.,* III, p. 87; Herz Bey, *Catalogue,* pp. 74-75, 76-77, 87, 90-91 and 94; and S. Fleury, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-42.

MOSQUE OF AL-ḤÂKIM (No. 15 on Plan).—According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 277), this mosque was founded by the Khalif ʿAzîz in Ramaḍân 380 (990), and opened for worship in 381 H. (991), before being finished. The Khalif al-Ḥâkim re-commenced the construction in 393 H. (1003) and was still engaged thereon in 401 H. (1010). In 403 H. (1012) he had it furnished and decorated. A Kufic inscription of al-Ḥâkim on a great slab over the entrance was seen by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, and referred to in his *Topography of Thebes.* He sent a facsimile of it to von Hammer, who published it in 1838 in the *Journal asiatique,* 3e série, t. V, pp. 338-391. It was dated Ragab 393 (May 1003). This mosque was seriously damaged by the great earthquake of 13 Dhu l-ḥigga 702 (1303). Maqrîzî states that a great number of the piers were destroyed and that the summits of the two minarets fell. Bibars al-Gâshenkîr undertook the extensive repairs needed, and amongst other things built the pyramid-like casings of the two stone minarets, and added the brick and stucco tops which rise above these casings. An inscription dated Dhu l-ḥigga 703 H. (July 1303), recording the fact of this restoration, may be seen over the entrance vault. Fleury, by a minute study of the ornament, has 380-403 990-1012

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separated the original from later work. Maqrîzî (II, p. 277) mentions repairs carried out by Sultan Ḥasan in 760 H. (1359).

See A. F. Mehren, *Tableau général des monuments religieux du Caire*, in *Mélanges asiatiques*, tome VI, pp. 297-296; M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 23-36; *C. I. A.*, pp. 50-54; and S. Fleury, *Das Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee*, pp. 9-26 and 43-50.

c. 400 1010 THE SABAʿ BANÂT. — These four domed mausoleums, originally seven in number, may be identified with the «Seven domes» at the extremity of Fusṭâṭ, mentioned by Maqrîzî (II, p. 459), who quotes Ibn Said to the effect that they are the mausoleums of seven persons of the family of al-Maghraby, killed by the Khalif al-Ḥâkim after the flight of the Wazîr Abû l-Qâsim al-Ḥuseyn ibn ʿAly ibn al-Maghraby to Mecca [1]. This massacre took place, according to Ibn Khalliqân, 3 Dhu l-qaʿda 400 (18th June 1010).

See Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1911, pp. 122-125; M. van Berchem, *Une Mosquée du temps des Fatimites au Caire*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, tome II, pp. 615-616; also his *Notes*, pp. 78-79.

First half XIth cent. ḤÔSH ABÛ ʿALY. — This building stands out as a conspicuous object on the plain about a third of a mile to the south of the Sabaʿ Banât. It is not marked on any map, nor is it referred to in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité*. Nevertheless I think we have here a Fâṭimide building on account of the remarkable fact that, although it is built of stone, the treatment of the arches betrays the hand of a bricklayer. That is to say, the voussoirs, instead of being carried right through, are arranged in headers and stretchers alternately covered by an outer ring of bricks laid lengthwise (Plate III, A and B). This curious treatment, which is clear evidence of a transition stage from brick building to stone, is only found in early Fâṭimide work, e. g., the Sabaʿ Banât

[1] He became wazîr of Naṣr ad-Daula Abû l-Naṣr Aḥmad the Marwânid ruler of Mayyâfâriqîn in 411 H. (1011), and is described as having carried on the government «in the grand style of Egypt or Irâq» until his death in 428 H. (1036). — See H. F. Amedroz, *The Marwânid Dynasty of Mayyâfâriqîn in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries A. D.*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, pp. 132-134.

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and the Mosque of al-Guyûshy. The one angle of the building which remains intact recalls the treatment of the angles of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn (Plate II, B). Approaching the matter from another point of view I would point out that Guest and Richmond, in their *Miṣr in the Fifteenth Century, loc. cit.*, p. 811, remark that «nearly all the buildings stated by Maqrîzî to have been in El Qarâfah belonged to the Fatimite period, there being only two or three mentioned which were founded later than 1300 A. D., and only seven or eight founded before 900 A. D. It may also be remarked that El-Qarâfat el-Kubra does not seem to have had any important buildings founded in it since 1168 A. D., which is the date of the burning of Miṣr by Shâwar to prevent it falling into the hands of the Crusaders under Almeric.» This is all in favour of the conclusion arrived at above. Further, Guest and Richmond, in the course of the same paper, locate a mosque mentioned by Maqrîzî and known as Gâmiʿ al-Qarâfa in the very spot occupied by Ḥôsh Abû ʿAly, which is called Ḥôsh al-Aulîya by ʿAly Pasha Mubârak (IV, p. 63). When we read that the Gâmiʿ al-Qarâfa was also called Gâmiʿ al-Aulîya (Maqrîzî, II, p. 451) the temptation to identify our Ḥosh Abû ʿAly with this mosque is great, notwithstanding the fact that Maqrîzî's description of it is not in agreement with the existing remains. He states (II, p. 318) that the Gâmiʿ al-Qarâfa was built in 366 H. (976-977).

MOSQUE OF AL-GUYÛSHY (No. 304 on Plan). — Dated by an inscription on a long slab of marble above the entrance, in the month of Muḥarram 478 (May 1085). Prof. M. van Berchem first read this date as 498, but is now of the opinion that it should be read as 478, in which he has the support of Ch. Rieu, R. S. Poole and Th. Nöldeke. 478 1085

See M. van Berchem, *Une Mosquée du temps des Fatimites au Caire, loc. cit.*, pp. 606-611; his *Notes*, pp. 72-75; and the *C. I. A.*, pp. 54-55 and 756-757.

BÂB AN-NAṢR (No. 7 on Plan). — Dated by a Kufic inscription which runs across the outer face a little more than half way up : «This work was commenced in Muḥarram 480» (April-May 1087). 480 1087

See H. C. Kay, *Al Kahirah and its Gates*, in the *J. R. A. S.*, vol. XVIII, p. 83; also his *Inscriptions at Cairo, ibid.*, pp. 82-84; M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 47-48; and the *C. I. A.*, pp. 56-58.

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480 1087 BÂB AL-FUTÛḤ (No. 6 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (I, p. 380, and II, p. 278), this gate, like the Bâb an-Naṣr, was constructed by Badr al-Gamâly in 480 H. An inscription referring to it starts at the angle between the east tower and the curtain wall, runs along the latter and continues across at least one face of the great square salient built round the north minaret of the Mosque of al-Ḥâkim. At the present day a great part of it, including the date, is hidden by houses built against the wall.

See M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 48-54; and the *C. I. A.*, pp. 61-62.

480 1087 PART OF THE NORTH WALL OF CAIRO. — According to Maqrîzî (I, p. 377), Cairo has thrice been endowed with walls. The first enclosure was raised by Gôhar, the General of the Fâṭimide Khalif al-Muʿizz at the foundation of the town in 969 H., the second was due to Badr al-Gamâly, the general of the Khalif al-Mustanṣir, and the third to the Emîr Behâ ad-Dîn Qarâqûsh, under Saladin the Ayyubide. The first enclosure was of crude brick and must have been in a state of ruin at the time of Nâṣiri Khusrau's visit in 439 H. (1047-1048) since he states that the town had no fortified enclosure (Schefer's transl., p. 131). Nevertheless Maqrîzî claims to have seen a long strip of it on the east side of the town between the Bâb al-Barqîya and the Darb Baṭûṭ, before its destruction in 803 H. (1400). He states that this wall, which lay 50 coudees behind the wall of Saladin, was the last remaining piece. The second wall was constructed by Badr al-Gamâly in 480 H., and the part facing north was built on a new alignment running along the north face of the Mosque of al-Ḥâkim instead of the south. With regard to the third enclosure, Maqrîzî, quoting Ibn Abi Ṭay, says : « In this year (566) the Sultan, that is to say Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, commenced the reconstruction of the Wall of Cairo; because the greater part of it had been destroyed, and it had become an open road stopping neither entries nor departures ». Maqrîzî, however, says in another place (II, p. 233) quoting ʿImâd ad-Dîn, the Secretary of Saladin, that when the latter had rendered himself master of Egypt, he saw that Miṣr (Fusṭâṭ) and Cairo had each need of a wall and said : « I will make of these two a single whole by a wall, and they will only need one army to protect them ». He therefore ordered the construction of an enclosure which should surround Cairo, Miṣr and the Citadel. This was in 572 on his return from his expedition

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in Syria. It is Casanova who has called attention to these two phases of Saladin's work, viz :— a restoration of an enclosing wall which had fallen into a state of ruin, an undertaking quite consistent with the position of vizier which Saladin held in 566; and a vast undertaking of long duration only possible to a man with the boundless resources of an undisputed ruler, as Saladin was in 572. If Casanova's conclusions are correct, as I believe them to be, then it follows that there have been four distinct stages in the walling of Cairo : (1) the enclosure of Gôhar; (2) the enclosure of Badr al-Gamâly; (3) the first phase of Saladin's work; (4) the second phase. With the first we are not concerned, as it has admittedly disappeared long ago. This leaves three, and the question arises, can three styles or types of fortified enclosure still be traced. Van Berchem sees two, and attributes one to Badr and the other to Saladin, while Casanova sees two also, but in view of his literary references is compelled to attribute them to the first and second phases of Saladin's work. My own archæological examination, during which I have traversed the whole length of the Wall of Cairo, and walked, crawled or climbed into practically every tower, sometimes entering houses to do so, has revealed to me three distinct styles of work, and I maintain that portions of the work of Badr al-Gamâly and of the earlier and later work of Saladin still exist. As all the existing wall of Cairo is of stone, Casanova dismisses the possibility of the present existence of the Wall of Badr al-Gamâly because Maqrîzî in one place (I, p. 379) states that it was of brick, but Casanova in his work repeatedly points out contradictions in Maqrîzî, and we have an instance here since he states elsewhere (I, p. 379) when still speaking of the enclosure of Badr, that in the middle of Gumâdâ II 818 (August 1415) they commenced to demolish the wall of stone between the Bâb Zuweyla and the Bâb al-Farag, when al-Malik al-Muayyad Sheykh was clearing a site for his great mosque.

Parts of Badr's work must therefore have been of stone. But there is stronger evidence than this. Maqrîzî, in his description of the Mosque of al-Ḥâkim (II, p. 278), says that «on the curtain wall and tower next to the Bâb al-Futûḥ is found an inscription according to which these works were executed in 480 at the time of al-Mustanṣir and under the wazîrate of the Emîr al-Guyûsh». This inscription has been published by van Berchem

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with a plan of the site (fig. 1). As stated by Maqrîzî, it runs along the stone curtain wall and along one side of the square stone tower east of the Bâb Zuweyla, thus definitely labelling this type of wall as Badr's work. The type in question possesses the following characteristics : the towers are always square or oblong in plan, with a very great salient on the interior side of the wall. The openings are always spanned by a lintel or a semi-circular arch. The whole is executed in stone consisting of a rubble core faced with blocks dressed smooth, and the stone used has kept its smooth surface very well. An internal gallery runs for part of the way along the north wall. Another remarkable feature may be observed about 7 feet from the ground, viz. :— a row of stone circles, at regular intervals, which are the ends of columns embedded in the thickness of the wall, their object being to act as ties between the rubble core and the smooth facing stones. I therefore attribute the following portions of the Wall of Cairo to Badr al-Gamâly. All the wall between the Bâb al-Futûḥ and the Bâb an-Naṣr; and beyond the latter to the re-entrant angle formed by the wall about 60 yards to the south; also to the west of the Bâb al-Futûḥ to the half-round tower about 100 yards from it. Also a piece of wall concealed by houses, running to the east from the Bâb Zuweyla and parallel to the Darb al-Aḥmar. This paragraph on the Wall of Cairo should be read in conjunction with that dealing with the same subject under 566 H. and 572 H.

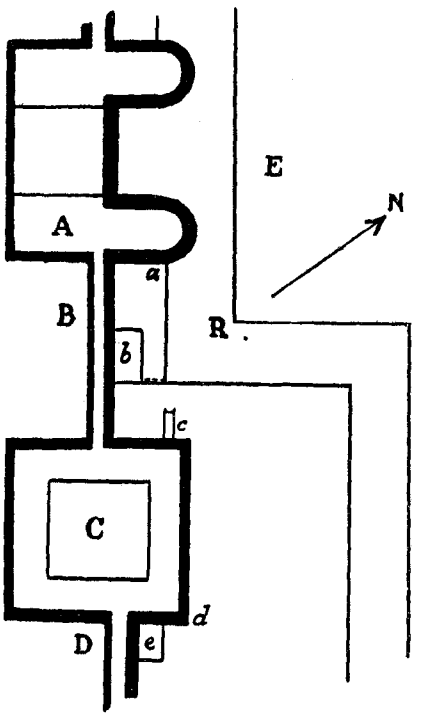

Fig. 1.

See M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 54-72; and Casanova, *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 525-553.

484 1091 BÂB ZUWEYLA (No. 199 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (I, p. 381), this gate was built by Badr al-Gamâly in 484 H. (1091). He states that there

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was an inscription above the gate, on the exterior, containing the names of the Emîr al-Guyûsh (Badr al-Gamâly) and the Khalif, and the date. A sunken rectangle which once contained an inscription slab still exists, but the slab itself has disappeared. In recent years, however, part of another inscription running along the cornice has been brought to light. The part preserved contains the Shî'a confession of faith, showing the building to belong to the Fâṭimide period.

See M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 41-46; *C. I. A.*, pp. 62 and 707-708; and Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1897, pp. x-xii.

MAUSOLEUM OF MUḤAMMAD AL-ANWAR (No. 68 on Plan). — This building, of mean appearance, has been classed by the *Comité* as Fâṭimide, solely because the dome rests on squinches. This reason, in the absence of any other, seems to me totally inadequate. Although nearly all Fâṭimide domes rest on squinches, all domes resting on squinches are not necessarily Fâṭimide. Besides a number of small, modern and unimportant domed shrines met with here and there in the streets of Cairo, in which the dome rests on squinches, there are a number of superior xiv^th^ century buildings in which it is employed, e. g., the Mosque-Mausoleum of the Emîr Tankizbughâ, 764 H. (1362); the two mausoleums in the Madrassa of Sultan Sha'bân, 770 H. (1368-1369); both domes in the Mosque of Aqsunqur, etc. Although I do not accept this date, I leave it as it stands for want of a better. Muḥammad al-Anwar died 411 H. (1020). v^th^ cent. xi^th^ cent.

See *C. R.*, 1894, p. 17.

GÂMI' IKHWÂT SAYEDNA YÛSUF (No. 301 on Plan). — Fleury, after a comparative examination of the surface decoration of the interior (Plate IV, A), decides on the ornament of the Mosque of al-Guyûshy, 478 H. (1085), and of the miḥrâb of al-Afḍal, 487 H. (1094), as a *terminus a quo*, and on the ornament of the Mosque of Aqmar, 519 H. (1125) and aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ṭelâye', 555 H. (1160), as a *terminus ad quem*. In addition to the principal dome, which rests on squinches, Gâmi' Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf contains a lesser one resting on continuous sphere pendentives. For this reason I would put for- c. 1100

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ward the earlier limit to 480 H. (1087) — the date of the Bâb an-Naṣr and the Bâb al-Futûḥ — as the earliest examples in Egypt of this type of pendentive are found in these two gateways, and this method of dome setting would appear to have been brought from Syria, where much earlier examples exist[1], by the three architects of Edessa who, according to Maqrîzî (I, p. 380), built the three gateways of Cairo. It is not to be found in the Mosque of al-Guyûshy, although the little mausoleum on the north side is given one in the plan of the *Comité,* which is published by van Berchem in his memoir on this mosque, and which is erroneous in this respect. On the other hand, I would place it well before the Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya, 527 H. (1133), whose principal miḥrâb has an elaborately scalloped edge (like subsequent miḥrâbs down to the middle of the XIIIth century A. D.), and whose dome rests on pendentives which are a stage later than the simple squinch, and consist of three niches crowned by one. Further, Prof. van Berchem has pointed out that in plan and construction it closely resembles the Mosque of al-Guyûshy, and I therefore place it at the commencement of the XIIth century.

See S. Fleury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee,* p. 41; and M. van Berchem, *Notes,* pp. 79-80.

c. 1100 QABR LÛLIA BINT AL-MUQAUQIS (close to the Muqaṭṭam under the Mosque of al-Guyûshy). — This fragment of a building (Plate IV, B) is as remarkable as its name, which preserves the memory of the mysterious «Muqauqis, the Chief of the Copts», a personage believed by Butler to be Cyrus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, at the time of the conquest, a view since accepted by Lane-Poole (see A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt,* pp. 508-526; also his *Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabari;* and Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages,* second edition, p. 5 n.). It has two all but unique features in Egypt, viz. : the Mesopotamian triple-arched façade[2] with the central arch much

[1] *E.g.* the Golden Gate at Jerusalem, which is attributed to Justinian. See de Vogüé, *op. cit.,* p. 64 ff.

[2] A triple-arched façade of this type first appears in Oriental architecture in the Parthian palace of Hatra, near Môṣul, and as Dr. Herzfeld has pointed out (*Erster vorlaüfiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Sâmarrâ,* p. 34, quoted by G. L. Bell, *Ukhaiḍir,* p. 136) is no doubt derived from the triple Roman triumphal arch. This Hellenistic triple-arched scheme suited the triple Ìwân scheme, in that it provided the

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greater than the two side ones, only found elsewhere in Egypt in the Mosque of al-Guyûshy; and a second storey with another miḥrâb over the first, a feature which is only found elsewhere in the Mosque of Mûsa at Masgid Sheykh Mûsa. I therefore place it between these two buildings.

MOSQUE OF MÛSA AT MASGID SHEYKH MÛSA. — This mosque, although clearly Fâṭimide by the form of its arches, is not definitely dated. A marble slab, now broken, which was once embedded in its walls, is now preserved in a house near by. It bears an inscription on each face, the first records a restoration by Shâhanshâh in 515 H. (1121), the second mentions the Imâm al-Ḥâfiẓ li-Dîn Illâh — the 8th Fâṭimide Khalif — and the date 531 H. (1136-1137). Before 515 1121

See *C. R.*, 1913, pp. 36-38 and 139-140.

MAUSOLEUM OF MUḤAMMAD AL-GAʿFARY. — About twenty yards north-west of the Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya. Not marked on the Plan of the *Comité*. As the interior surface decoration of this mausoleum has almost entirely disappeared, it would be difficult to date it closely, but fragments of a fine inscription in decorated Kufic running round the walls below the dome, and pendentives similar to those of the Mausoleum of Sayeda ʿÂtika clearly show it to be late Fâṭimide. It is now possible to fix it more closely, as during works commenced here by the *Comité* in July 1918, a certain amount of whitewash and plaster was removed from it, and from the Mausoleum of Sayeda ʿÂtika built alongside. It then became clear that the latter was literally built against it, only three fresh walls being built, the fourth being formed by the west side of the Mausoleum of al-Gaʿfary, as shown (see fig. 2). At the c. 1120

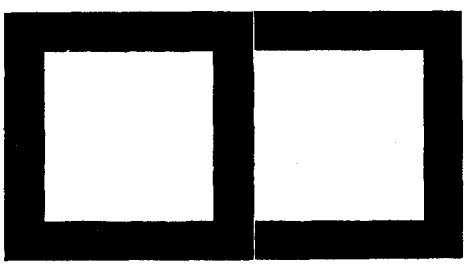

Fig. 2.

great central vault opening, together with openings to the side vaults *from the façade*, which was a novelty. It must have been popular in the early Abbâsid period, as it is found in the Beit al-Khalîfah at Sâmarrâ. In the building under discussion above it has lost its utilitarian function, opening as it does into a single chamber, but it retains its Mesopotamian appearance.

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time I visited it, it was possible to pass one's stick through the junction in several places, as there was no bond whatever, the junction being a vertical crack, and the smooth exterior plastered wall of the Mausoleum of al-Ga'fary could be felt continuing right through. The eastern curve of the dome of the Mausoleum of Sayeda 'Âtika rested on this same wall. It must therefore have been built before the Mausoleum of Sayeda 'Âtika, and I suggest c. 1120 A. D. I consider it improbable that it can have been built earlier on account of its pendentives, the simple squinch being apparently the sole method employed till about that date.

c. 1125 MAUSOLEUM OF SAYEDA 'ÂTIKA (No. 333 on Plan). — Built against the Mausoleum of Muḥammad al-Ga'fary (see above). This mausoleum is similar in size and construction to that of al-Ga'fary, only its dome is ribbed externally and internally like that of Sayeda Ruqayya, and its stucco ornament is very well preserved (Plate V, A). It must be later than the Mausoleum of al-Ga'fary for the reasons stated above, but I think it is certainly earlier than the Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya on account of the almost unique treatment of the window spaces between the pendentives. In buildings of an earlier period we find the eight faces of the octagon of transition to consist invariably of four squinches alternating with four windows of similar size and outline (e. g. Mosques of al-Ḥâkim, al-Guyûshy and Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf). At a later date we find domes resting on pendentives composed of three niches crowned by a fourth, with the space between each pendentive occupied by a triple window whose size and outline has obviously been set out on the same skeleton as the pendentives (e. g. Mausoleums of Sayeda Ruqayya and Yaḥyâ ash-Shabîh). In the Mausoleums of al-Ga'fary and Sayeda 'Âtika we find a less developed treatment, the four sides of the octagon, which alternate with the pendentives, being pierced with openings whose outline is identical with that of the pendentives, but which lack any central framework converting them into a window of three lights. See Plate VI, which shows the arrangement, from which the treatment found in the Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya (Plate VII) is clearly a later development, to remedy the obvious weakness of the earlier type. Plate VI has been taken from the outside of the Mausoleum of 'Âtika, the camera being placed on the window-sill looking across the interior

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to the opposite window (just above the miḥrâb), which opens into the Mausoleum of al-Gaʿfary. The top of the plain miḥrâb of the latter, a band of Kufic inscription to the right of it, and a window, of similar outline to that in the foreground, may be clearly seen. I therefore suggest A. D. 1125 for the date, which is quite in keeping with the ornament of the miḥrâb.

MOSQUE OF AL-AQMAR (No. 33 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 290), this mosque was built by Abû ʿAbdallah Muḥammad al-Ma'mûn al-Baṭâ'iḥy in 519 H. (1125), and restored by the Emîr Yalbughâ ibn ʿAbdallah as-Sâlimy in 799 H. (1397). The first statement is confirmed by two more or less similar inscriptions running across the façade, one at the summit, the other half way up; the second by an inscription, dated Ramaḍân 799 (June 1397), on a slab above the miḥrâb, according to which a new minaret was included in the works carried out. This minaret was pulled down in 815 H. (1412) as it had begun to lean, and the present minaret is modern. 519 1125

See M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 89-101; *C. I. A.*, pp. 67-71; and Ravaisse, *Essai, etc., loc. cit.*, I, p. 475 n.

ANCIENT MAUSOLEUM. — This building, which is not marked on the Plan of the *Comité*, is behind the shop exactly opposite to the entrance of the Khânqâ of Bibars II. A Kufic inscription runs round the four walls of this little mausoleum, but it is merely Quranic. The best preserved pendentive, however, which is not a «trompe» (or squinch) as it is called in the *Comptes Rendus*, is exactly similar to those of the Mausoleums of al-Gaʿfary, Sayeda ʿÂtika, and Sayeda Ruqayya (three niches crowned by one). Further, the treatment of the space between the pendentives is exactly the same as in the Mausoleums of al-Gaʿfary and Sayeda ʿÂtika (*q. v.*), and I therefore conclude that it is of about the same date. On account of its early date one is tempted to try to identify it with some well known Fâṭimide monument mentioned by historians. At one time I was of the opinion that it formed part of the Dâr al-Qubab or House of Domes, also called the Palace of the Wazîrs, built by al-Afḍal alongside the Raḥbat al-ʿÎd, on his accession in A. D. 1094. This view was strengthened by the fact that there is no trace of a miḥrâb, which one would naturally expect to find in a mausoleum, the centre of the c. 527 c. 1133

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east side being occupied by a pointed entrance arch. Ravaisse (*loc. cit.*, III, pp. 50-51) gives a considerable amount of information about this building from Maqrîzî (I, pp. 438-439). It was, I imagine, a building in style somewhat like that shown on the silver bridal casket of Projecta in the British Museum [1]. This casket is held to have been made in Alexandria, c. 350 A. D., and on the lid is represented a house roofed with several small domes, and a larger central one. The Dâr al-Qubab was, no doubt, similar, but on a vastly larger scale. Further, we learn from Maqrîzî that the Convent-Mausoleum of Bibars al-Gâshenkîr, and the Madrassa of the Emîr Qarâsunqur, were both built on the ruins of this palace. It must therefore have extended very nearly as far as our little dome. The style of the pendentives, however, refuses to be reconciled with the date 1094.

See *C. R.*, 1911, pp. 131-132.

527 1133 MASHHAD OF SAYEDA RUQAYYA (No. 273 on Plan). — M. Paul Ravaisse in 1889 suggested 1132 A. D. as the approximate date. During the restoration carried out in 1917 a painted [2] inscription was discovered in the interior round the base of the dome, as follows:

في شهر ذى القعدة سنة سبع وعشرين وخمسمائة وحمد الله

In the month of Dhu l-qa'da of the year seven and twenty and five hundred, praise be to Allah [September 1133].

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 71-72 and 635-638; and P. Ravaisse, *Sur trois mihrabs en bois sculpté*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, t. II, pp. 637-654.

[1] See the *Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, pp. 28, 72 and 73.

[2] Some very early painted inscriptions exist which it may not be without interest to enumerate :— (1) on the walls of the little palace known as Quṣair Kharâneh are the remains of a painted inscription «... said it, and Abd al-Malik the son of Ubayd wrote it on Monday three days remaining from Muḥarram of the year ninety-two» (= A. D. 710). See Moritz, *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petræa*, in *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth*, III, p. 422; — (2) Quṣair 'Amra : Inscriptions under the figures painted on the walls. Built about A. D. 712-715. See Musil, *Qṣair 'Amra*, and — for the date — van Berchem in the *Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 364-370; — (3) House at Madîna (Upper Egypt), discovered by Somers Clarke in 1900. Six lines written with a *qalam* in simple Kufic — «and Malik, son of Kathîr, has written [it] in Ragab of the year 117» (August 735). See *C. I. A.*, pp. 693-697.

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MAUSOLEUM OF MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤAṢAWÂTY (No. 315 on Plan). — c. 1125-1150
This little building contains an elaborate miḥrâb (Plate V, B), amongst whose decoration are found the following features : (1) a Greek key pattern, which also occurs in the entrance dome of al-Azhar (first half of XIIth century); (2) bosses in the spandrils of the miḥrâb arch, which occur also in al-Afḍal's miḥrâb, 487 H. (1094), in that of Sayeda ʿÂtika and in the chief miḥrâb of Sayeda Ruqayya, 527 H. (1133); (3) a triple scalloped edge to the miḥrâb, which occurs in Sayeda Ruqayya; (4) a medallion in the centre of the flutings of the miḥrâb niche, which is found also in Sayeda Ruqayya, and in the Mausoleum of Yaḥyâ ash-Shabîh; (5) two pieces of ornament which run up from the top corners of the miḥrâb frame to the squinches, and which resemble the same feature in Ikhwât Yûsuf and Sayeda Ruqayya. These features, together with the style of the inscriptions in highly decorated Kufic, and the form of the miḥrâb arch, all point to the first half of the XIIth century. Further, I consider that (3) and (4) justify one in narrowing down this period to the second quarter of the XIIth century A. D. With regard to (4), I would add that in the numerous scalloped niches found in the Mosque of aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ṭelâyeʿ 555 H. (1160), and subsequent buildings, a medallion is never found in the centre, its place being taken by a straight sided, arched panel, with one exception only.

MASHHAD OF SITT KOLSON. — About 100 yards south of the Mausoleum c. 520-550 1126-1155
of Abû Manṣûr Ismaʿîl is a turning to the right called Shâriʿ Sidi Shabîh. On the south side immediately after turning into it is a little zâwiya of mean and modern appearance, which nevertheless contains a very early and beautiful miḥrâb of stucco. The lighting conditions being extremely unfavourable, Mr. F. R. H. Drake, of the Public Works Department, has very kindly drawn it expressly for this memoir (Plate IX). This little miḥrâb differs in many ways from any other I have ever seen, and is, in the following features, unique in Egypt : (1) the grooves, alternately round and triangular in section, which form the semi-dome; (2) the outer scalloped edge in slight relief, consisting of large loops separated by very small ones. Nevertheless it possesses two features which to some extent enable us to limit its date. The earliest miḥrâbs with scalloped edges are those in the Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya, 527 H.

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(1133), and the last three examples occur in the mausoleums of the Emîr Abû Manṣûr Ismaʿîl, 613 H. (1216), of the Abbâsid Khalifs, c. 640 H., and of Sheger ad-Durr, 648 H. (1250). In the miḥrâb of the Mausoleum of Abû Manṣûr Ismaʿîl, however, this feature attains its greatest elaboration, being five rows deep, and our miḥrâb, the outline of whose arch resembles the outline of the scalloped arches in the façade of the Mosque of Aqmar (519 H.), can scarcely belong to this period when the keel-arch was apparently the only one employed. The broad band of ornament below the semi-dome is nearly unique, the only other example occurring in the great angle tower of the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar, as decoration to the sloping vault to the right of the entrance to the lower chamber (Plate X). We thus obtain 519 H. as a *terminus a quo* and c. 572 H. as a *terminus ad quem.* The fact that the scalloped edge of our little miḥrâb is not duplicated or triplicated, and the prevalence of the keel-arch from c. 550 to the end of the Ayyubide period, justify us, I consider, in placing it between 520 H. and 550 H.

543 1148 LEAVES OF THE DOORS OF THE MOSQUE OF AL-FÂKAHÂNY (No. 109 on Plan). — This mosque, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 293), was built by aẓ-Ẓâfir in 543 H. (1148). According to an inscription preserved on the spot, it was reconstructed by Aḥmad Katkhoda al-Kharbuṭly in 1148 H. The whole mosque dates from this reconstruction, except the wooden doors on the west and north, which are decorated with good crisp Arabesque carving of the Fâṭimide period, and may well be the original ones.

See A. Bahgat and A. Patricolo, *C. R.*, 1908, pp. 18-19; and M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 101-103.

c. 1150 MAUSOLEUM OF YAḤYÂ ASH-SHABÎH (No. 285 on Plan). — Prof. van Berchem suggests the XIIth century for the date of this monument. Its pendentives being identical with those of the Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya, I would suggest the second quarter of the XIIth century, as a more complicated type appears in 552 H. (1157) in the Mausoleum of Abû l-Ghadanfar. The elaborate miḥrâb niche, however, with its quadruple scalloped edge, compels me to put it at the end of this period, i. e., c. 1150, but not later, on account of the medallion in the centre, a feature which, as already stated, is wanting

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in all dated scalloped niches, from the Mosque of aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ṭelâyeʿ, 555 H. (1160) onwards, with one exception.

MOSQUE OF AL-ʿAMRY, at Qûṣ. — Ibrahim Effendi Nadim, who visited 550 1155
this mosque in 1890 on behalf of the *Comité de Conservation,* stated in his report that, according to a Kufic inscription in the interior (place not stated), it was built in 500 H. by Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, Emîr al-Guyûsh. Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ is the title taken by Ṭelâyeʿ ibn Ruzzîk, the Governor of Ushmûneyn, when he came to the rescue of the Khalîf al-Fâïz in 550 H. (1155). 500 H. is, therefore, probably a slip for 550 H., a date which is found in the seven-line inscription on the minbar which I am convinced is the inscription referred to. E. Richmond, who examined the mosque in 1899, found several historical inscriptions, including one dated 568 H. (1172-1173), recording a restoration by Mubârak, son of Kâmil, son of Muqallad, etc. The miḥrâb (which is illustrated in the *Manuel d'Art musulman,* 1re partie, *L'Architecture,* by H. Saladin, fig. 69, under the erroneous title — «Mihrab du tombeau de la sultane Chadjarat ed-Dorr au Caire») contains fine naskh inscriptions in round-ended panels, alternating with circular medallions. The earliest example of this treatment known to me occurs in the second mausoleum of Zâwiyat al-Abbâr, 684 H. (1285). In the case of the above miḥrâb, however, the inscriptions are superimposed on scrolls of foliage. The earliest and latest examples of this are in the Mausoleums of Aḥmad ibn Suleymân ar-Rifâʿî, 690 H. (1291), and the Emîr Sunqur Saʿdy, 715 H. (1315) respectively, and I therefore place it c. 1300 A. D. A slab of marble above the north door of the mosque records a restoration by Muḥammad Bey in Dhu l-ḥigga 1233 (October 1818).

See *C. R.,* 1890, p. 132; 1899, pp. 68-69; 1900, pp. 110-111; and *C. I. A.,* pp. 716-726.

MAUSOLEUM OF ABÛ L-GHADANFAR ASSʿAD AL-FÂÏZY AṢ-ṢÂLIḤY (in 552 1157
the enclosure of the Mosque of Sidi Maʿâz — No. 3 on Plan). — This bears a Kufic inscription giving the date as 552 H. (1157). In the 468th Report of the *Comité de Conservation* this is given as 502 H. (1157), but it is 552 H. which corresponds to 1157 A. D. Further, the date 502 H. is impossible, as the «relatives of possession», al-Fâïzy and aṣ-Ṣâliḥy, refer to the boy Khalîf al-Fâïz

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(549 H.-555 H.), and Ṭelâyeʿ ibn Ruzzîk respectively. I therefore consulted the architect of the *Comité,* who has confirmed my belief that 502 H. was a misprint for 552 H.

See *C. R.,* 1913, p. 106.

555 1160 MOSQUE OF AṢ-ṢÂLIḤ ṬELÂYEʿ (No. 116 on Plan). — Two Kufic inscriptions, partly masked by hovels, run along the north and west faces, one half way up, the other a little lower. In the latter is found the date 555 H. (1160). The pulpit bears the name of the Emîr Bektimur al-Gûkandâr, and the date Gumâdâ II 699 (February-March 1300). Maqrîzî mentions a restoration after the great earthquake of 702 H. (1302), but the south îwân probably belongs to a later period.

See M. van Berchem, *Notes,* pp. 103-122; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 73-79.

AYYUBIDE MONUMENTS.

566-572 1170/1-1176 THE EAST WALL OF CAIRO. — See the following paragraph.

572-589 1176-1193 THE WALL OF FUSṬÂṬ, THE BURG AẒ-ẒAFAR, AND PARTS OF THE NORTH WALL OF CAIRO. — This paragraph should be read in conjunction with that on the Wall of Cairo under 480 H. It follows from the latter that the following portions of the Wall of Cairo must be the work of Saladin :— (1) The north wall commencing at the half-round tower about 125 yards west of the Bâb al-Futûḥ. This piece runs west as far as a pentagonal tower, then turns south-west and then runs west again, intact, with the exception of one clean break, nearly as far as the Shâriʿ Khalîg al-Maṣry. On the other side of that street it can still be traced running between the Sikket al-Faggâla and the Shâriʿ aṭ-Ṭabla, and the base of one half-round tower still remains. The 1 : 5000 map of the Survey shows fragments at intervals all the way to the Station Square, but I have not been able to obtain access to them. The memory of a tower is still preserved in the name of a street called Shâriʿ al-Burg, which is almost opposite the junction of the Shâriʿ aẓ-Ẓâhir and the Shâriʿ al-Faggâla. (2) The north wall commencing at the re-entrant angle about 60 yards south of the Bâb an-Naṣr, and running east. (3) The Burg aẓ-Ẓafar.

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(4) The east wall of Cairo from the Darb al-Maḥrûq to the Bâb al-Wazîr. (5) The wall of Fusṭâṭ. These five sections of wall exhibit two distinct types of fortification, as follows :— (1) Towers of one storey only, consisting internally of a high and pointed tunnel vault running at right angles to the curtain wall, with discharging chambers at the outer end and to right and left; these discharging chambers, although roofed with a tunnel vault also, are only half the height of the main vault (Plate VIII, A). At the back to right and left is a passage which, after passing through two discharging chambers commanding the side of the tower, rises in steps to the top of the curtain wall, which otherwise is without any interior gallery. The towers, which spread very slightly at their base, and the curtain walls are of smooth masonry, and the inner side is built of large blocks like the outer side. (2) Towers of one storey and two storeys alternately, cruciform in plan internally, and roofed, in some cases with low domes on continuous sphere pendentives (Plate VIII, B), in others by intersecting vaults, but no two towers are quite identical. Unlike those of the previous type, they do not spread at their base. The curtain walls are without any gallery whatever, but placed at intervals of from 20 to 30 yards are tunnel vaulted discharging chambers, open at their inner end and capable of taking *ballistæ* or engines of a similar sort. The towers and curtain walls on their outer side are of heavily rusticated blocks with drafted edges, but on their inner side of much smaller blocks dressed smooth. Columns, as a bond between the inner and outer faces, are not found in this type of wall or in the preceding. Sections (2) and (3) belong to this type; section (4) is of the former type. As regards the wall of Fusṭâṭ (5), the lack of sufficient remains renders it impossible to form an opinion as to the internal construction of the towers, but as the masonry is of large rusticated blocks, with drafted edges, and a piece of curtain wall with a discharging chamber has been preserved about 100 yards south-west of the Bâb al-Qarâfa, we can say definitely that the wall of Fusṭâṭ was of type (2). It now remains to be decided which of these two types is the earlier. It is clear that it cannot be the wall of Fusṭâṭ, since, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 233), the project of which it formed part, was only commenced by Saladin 16 Rabîʿ I 572 (21st September 1176), and remained unfinished at his death, and the same applies to the north wall east of the Bâb an-Naṣr and the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar also, since Maqrîzî

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(I, p. 380) says that Saladin extended the wall of Cairo from the point where it touches the Bâb an-Naṣr to the Bâb al-Barqîya and to the Darb Baṭûṭ. I therefore attribute sections (2), (3) and (5) to the second phase of Saladin's work, and the east wall of Cairo to the first, with the exception of the great round tower at the Darb al-Maḥrûq, which is rusticated and belongs to a continuation of the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar, running under the rubbish mounds in a direct line with it. Part of this buried portion has just been brought to light by the sebakh diggers at the point where the road from the «Tombs of the Khalifs» comes through the mounds, and one can now (January 1919) descend through a hole into the interior of a tower which has a discharging chamber on the south side with an embrasure giving a flanking fire. On the north side is a flight of steps rising to the top of the wall. The outer face of the tower and wall is of rusticated blocks with drafted edges, but the inner face is of smaller blocks dressed smooth, just as in the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar. There are no signs of an internal gallery. There now remains the north wall to be considered. West of the Bâb al-Futûḥ is a square tower of smooth masonry already classed as Fâṭimide. The wall to the west of this is of smooth masonry at first, but very shortly this changes, and instead of being smooth is composed of rusticated blocks with broad drafted edges. The line of junction slopes from left to right, after which the wall exhibits the following composition :— two top courses smooth, five courses rusticated, remaining three fifths of height of wall smooth. The wall is soon lost behind houses but shortly re-appears and continues, composed as above, as far as the half-round tower, where the rustication continues at the same level and above it to the top of the tower. The same remark applies to the back of the tower, except that there is a moulding dividing the rusticated upper part from the smooth lower part. The ends of columns used as a bond are visible all round the foot of this tower. All the openings are spanned by semi-circular arches, and the great tunnel vault of the interior is of this section also. West of this tower rustication continues at the same level for about 9 or 10 yards and then runs rapidly down to the ground, but the ends of columns are still visible at intervals until we are about 11 yards to the west of the *mâchicoulis* which is placed in the centre of this curtain wall. At this point this feature ceases and there is a marked change in the masonry, even the stone changing to a kind which has weathered very badly.

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The courses are slightly shallower and do not agree in level with those of the previous portion. The same marked break is noticeable on the inner side of the wall with this additional difference that the masonry ceases to be rusticated and is composed of small blocks dressed smooth exactly like the reverse of the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar. The vaults of the great pentagonal tower where the wall bends to the south-west are all pointed in section. It follows that there have been two distinct breaks in the work, one shortly after the great square tower, the other just before the great pentagonal tower of the north-west angle. To what period must we attribute them? The second part is undoubtedly the work of Saladin both on account of the pointed vaults of the pentagonal angle tower and the next one going west, and also on account of the masonry which is rusticated on the outer side and of small smooth blocks on the inner side like the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar. I consequently attribute it to the second phase of his work, Maqrîzî stating (I, p. 379) that he prolonged the wall of Badr from the Bâb al-Qanṭara to the Bâb ash-Shaʿrîya, and beyond to the Bâb al-Baḥr where it was terminated by a great salient resting on the Nile, the tower of al-Maqs, which must have stood where the Boulevard Clot-Bey runs out opposite Cairo Station. The first portion still remains a problem. Must we attribute it to Badr al-Gamâly on account of the semi-circular arches and vault of the great half-round tower, or to the first phase of Saladin's work, in spite of the fact that it is rusticated on both sides unlike any other part of the wall? As historians do not mention two phases of Badr's work, I incline to attribute it to the first phase of Saladin's work who presumably restored existing Fâṭimide work, which the lower part of this great tower must certainly be.

See M. van Berchem, *Notes*, pp. 41 and 54-70; and Casanova, *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 535-553.

THE CITADEL OF CAIRO. — It was in 572 H. that Saladin decided to construct a citadel as a place of refuge should he ever be in danger through a Fâṭimide rising, and his wazîr Qarâqûsh was entrusted with the execution of the scheme. The enclosure, as Casanova has clearly demonstrated, did not comprise the whole area occupied by the Citadel as we see it to-day, but only the part lying north-east of the Mosque of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, which area even now forms a separate enclosure, to which the Bâb al-Mudarrag and the 572, etc. 1176, etc.

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Bâb al-Qulla (now called the Inner Gate) give access. The Bâb al-Qarâfa once gave access to it also, although to-day it opens into the other half of the Citadel. I shall return to this point later. The Bâb al-Mudarrag, to-day hidden away behind the Bâb al-Gedîd or New Gate, through which wheeled traffic enters the Citadel, is dated 579 H. (1183-1184) by an inscription over the outer archway, which inscription is at the same time the foundation inscription of the Citadel, and it is possible that the fortified enclosure itself was finished in this year. This gateway was evidently restored by Muḥammad an-Nâṣir as his name appears painted on the plaster of the vaulted passage and on the four cartouches which ornament the four pendentives of the dome which precedes the passage. These inscriptions were formerly covered with two successive coats of plaster, each with inscriptions recording the name and titles of the Sultan. Casanova explains this curious fact by a very convincing theory, viz.: Muḥammad an-Nâṣir reigned as is known for three periods, 693-694, 698-708 and 709-741. He probably restored the gateway in 693-694, was then deposed and his name plastered over by the usurper. He ascended the throne once more in 698 and inscribed his name anew; was deposed in 708 and re-inscribed his name once more in 709.

A strip of the north-east enclosure running from the mosque of Sidi Sârîya to the angle where the wall turns to follow the carriage road to the Bâb al-Gedîd is late and is probably due to Muḥammad ʿAly, as the plan in the *Description de l'Égypte* shows that in Napoleon's day the wall must have turned inwards at a right angle and followed a line very nearly identical with the façade of the present line of hospital buildings and omitting the whole of the area now occupied by a garden. A strip of this wall still remains, running from the angle in the main wall to the hospital buildings, and forming thus the eastern boundary of the garden. The point where it turned inwards was marked by a great round tower, of which the base, composed of large blocks, may still be seen, just in front of the present angle in the wall under the mosque of Sidi Sârîya. This base is about fifty feet in diameter and the tower must have been similar in size and shape to the two great north-eastern towers. Strange to say, it is not marked on the 1 : 1000 plan of the Survey.

With the above exception and one or two small strips here and there where the walls have obviously been re-built, the north-east enclosure is

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beyond any doubt the work of Saladin. The two great north-eastern towers, Burg al-Ḥaddâd and Burg ar-Ramla, and the great square towers on the side which runs in a direct line towards the Muqaṭṭam, are built of great rusticated blocks with drafted edges of exactly the same type as in the Wall of Fusṭâṭ, recently laid bare [1]. The square towers are enclosed works not in connection with the *chemin de ronde* and were no doubt copied by Saladin from Crusaders' work, such as we find at Saone or Sayhun [2], which fell into his hands in 1187. We know also that Ibn Jubayr, who visited Cairo in 1183, saw enormous numbers of Christians, who had been taken prisoners in the wars of the Crusades, actually employed on the Citadel, not only as labourers but as overseers and masons. Abû l-Maḥâsin cites Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓâhir to the same effect. The *chemin de ronde* of the side running towards the Muqaṭṭam, with its flat roofing slabs resting on continuous corbels, is exactly similar to the short passages which extend right and left of the towers in the east wall of Cairo before they rise in steps to the top of the Wall. There is one point in connection with the enclosure as above outlined which raises a difficulty expressly recognised by Casanova, viz. : that the Well of Saladin (which began to be called the Well of Joseph in the middle of the XVIIIth century only) is outside the trace which has been sketched out above on the lines laid down by Casanova. This is of course unthinkable from a military point of view. It would therefore appear that this outline cannot be correct in its entirety, that is to say the boundary line of which the Bâb al-Qulla forms the centre, must surely be later since the enclosure must have embraced the Well, or, to express the matter chronologically, the Well must have been excavated within the enclosure. I put forward two points in favour of this theory — (1) The present Bâb al-Qarâfa opens into the region near the Well and outside the Bâb al-Qulla wall, although all historians describe it as opening into the enclosure of Saladin. Casanova gets over the difficulty by saying that it has been displaced since the time of Napoleon, but this cannot be the case since his Plan of Cairo and the view of it given in the *Description* agree substantially

[1] In this also I see the influence of the Crusaders, with whom Saladin was in almost perpetual conflict. Very many of their castles exhibit this feature, e. g. Margat (Markab), Château-Pèlerin, Tortosa, Saone (Sahyun), Giblet, Blanche-Garde, Beaufort, le Toron, etc.

[2] See Rey (G.), *L'Architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie*, pp. 109-111, and plate XII.

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with the present arrangement. (2) The discovery which I have made in the mass of ruins just south of the Mosque of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, of a short length of *chemin de ronde,* with flat ceiling slabs on continuous corbels, exactly like the *chemin de ronde* referred to above, and running from the tower alongside the Well parallel to the south side of the mosque, then changing its direction and running towards the Mosque of Muḥammad ʿAly. I am convinced that this *chemin de ronde,* which bears all the characteristics of the military architecture of Saladin, is a remnant of his great enceinte which must therefore have included the Well. Even at the present day, to an observer standing outside the Bâb al-Qarâfa, the northern enclosure appears to inter-penetrate the southern one, owing to some Turkish fortifications covering the Well. These fortifications probably follow an ancient alignment. Saladin lived in the Palace of the Wazîrs until his death, but al-Malik al-Kâmil transferred his residence to the Citadel, and it is under his reign that constructions which included the Iwân sprang up outside the enclosures of Saladin. These constructions appear to have been surrounded by an enclosure, linked on to the first, but of a less fortress-like type. We are told however that the fortress-like type of enclosure, that is to say, an enclosure composed of towers and curtain walls, extended as far as the Striped Palace (see Casanova, pp. 641, 644 and 667) which is the case at the present day. This enclosure was entered by the Bâb as-Sirr, the Secret Gate, which opened opposite the Iwân, and therefore probably occupied the site of the «Bâb chirk» of Napoleon's plan, now called the Middle Gate. Casanova believes that the original Bâb al-Qulla [1] connecting these two enclosures was a necessary corollary, and that it dated from this period, but I do not think it can have occupied its present side. This is all the more probable since we are told that the original one was destroyed by Qalâûn 11 Ragab 685 (2nd September 1286) and replaced by a dome, and that the Bâb al-Qulla as it existed in Maqrîzî's day (II, p. 212), which was in the same position as the present one, was built by Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, apparently about 720 H. (1320-1321). Under Muḥammad an-Nâṣir we fortunately have a definite fixed point in the supplementary enclosure,

[1] The present Bâb al-Qulla was built, according to an inscription over the entrance arch, by Muḥammad ʿAly in 1242 H. (1826-1827) (Casanova, p. 729).

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thanks to an inscription of this Sultan which occurs about two feet to the left of the great square tower which runs out near the north-west angle of the Mosque of Muḥammad ʿAly. It states that the tower in question was commenced in Gumâdâ I and finished in Shawâl 713 (August-September 1313 — January-February 1314). To the south of this tower are a series of piers joined by arches and surmounted by enormous corbels which I conclude from the description of Maillet (c. A. D. 1696) must have supported the great square piers[1] which formed the substructure of the Striped Palace of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir commenced in 713 H. and finished in 714 H. A number of black and yellow stones are still to be found lying about on top of these arches, and others form alternate courses at the top of the great tower just referred to and the wall above the inscription to the north of it.

The final extension of the Citadel appears to have taken place under Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, when he extended it towards the south by the construction of the Ḥôsh commenced in 738 H. (1337-1338). This, we are told, was four feddans in area, and occupied the site of a great hollow which had been formed by quarrying stone for the Citadel. It was a great undertaking, and each Emîr had to furnish 100 men and 100 pack animals for transporting the sand required. Prisoners were employed also and the work lasted for a year and thirty days, many dying at the task. We have here the explanation of the artificial appearance of the mound on which the south end of the Citadel rests, which cannot fail to have struck all careful observers, composed as it is of sand and earth lying at its natural angle of rest, in striking contrast to the north-east enclosure where the walls stand on bare rock throughout. If one starts at the Bâb al-Qarâfa and walks south past the three round towers, one is surprised to find that the lower courses of the wall, which are composed of large blocks, extend beyond the present end of the Citadel for some distance, and then turn at right angles and run parallel to the south end of the Citadel, but at about 40 feet from it, and form part of a great retaining wall against which some of the tenement houses of ʿArab al-Yasâr are built. Its courses are about 2 feet 6 inches in height, and the stretchers are about

[1] « Vers le milieu du mur est un avancement porté par des arcades à perte de vue, que soutiennent des piliers carrés de trente à quarante pieds de diamètre. Sur cet avancement s'élève un salon..... » Quoted by Casanova, p. 640.

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6 feet long. This wall, which holds up great slopes of sand, was either a retaining wall only as suggested above, or the end of the Citadel itself in the XIVth century, the present southern enclosure wall being obviously late Turkish. I also attribute to Muḥammad an-Nâṣir the lower tier of great vaulted chambers running along the west face of the Citadel to the south of the Mosque of Muḥammad ʿAly, and what appears to have once been a staircase at the southern extremity of these chambers. According to the plan of the *Description,* it actually was one, presumably that which gave private access to the stables and the meydân. The upper tier probably dates from Muḥammad ʿAly, especially the two doorways near the foot of the spiral staircase under the south-west corner of his mosque, which gives access to these vaults. The Citadel was restored on the following occasions (1) by Jarkass al-Khalîly under Barqûq, Rabîʿ II 791 (March-April 1389); (2) by Gaqmaq in Dhu l-qaʿda I 851 (January-February 1448); (3) by Qâyt-Bây; (4) by Ṭûmân-Bây in Ramaḍân 906 (March-April 1501); and (5) by the Khedive Ismaʿîl Pasha in Ragab 1285 (October-November 1868). All these restorations are recorded by inscriptions on slabs which, whatever their original position, are to-day embedded in the wall on the right of the outer entrance of the Bâb al-Mudarrag. According to al-Gabarty, Ismaʿîl Pasha (Governor of Egypt, 1111-1116 = 1699-1704) made important restorations to the south-west angle of the enclosure. Muḥammad ʿAly built the Bâb al-Gedîd about 1825 and the Defter Khâna opposite in 1244 (1828-1829). He must have carried out a very great amount of work, and as stated above, it is to him that I attribute the great strip of wall which runs from the Mosque of Sidi Sârîya to the carriage road leading to the Bâb al-Gedîd. The crowning of the enclosing walls, throughout their entire length, with their Turkish mouldings and embrasures for cannon in many places, is no doubt his work also.

See M. van Berchem, *Notes,* pp. 54-72; *C. I. A.,* pp. 80-94 and 726-728; and Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire, M. M. A. F. C.,* IV, fasc. 4 and 5.

608 1211 MAUSOLEUM OF THE IMÂM ASH-SHÂFʿEY (No. 281 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 444), this mausoleum was built by al-Malik al-Kâmil

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Muḥammad in 608 H. (1211). His mother, the Princess al-ʿAdelîya, was buried there and her cenotaph still exists in this mausoleum. On its front face is an inscription giving the date of her death in the year 608 H. According to Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 300), the dome was renewed by Sultan Qâyt-Bây. In another place (II, p. 198) he states that the restoration of the building was commenced in Ramaḍân 885 (November-December 1480). In the Arab Museum (Hall IV, Woodwork, no. 57) is the lintel of a door from this building comprising five panels, two in mashrabieh. The middle panel bears an inscription recording this restoration by Qâyt-Bây, but it is without a date.

See Herz Bey, *Catalogue*, pp. 80-81 and 86-87.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ABÛ MANṢÛR ISMAʿÎL (No. 282 on Plan). — Popularly known as the Mausoleum of as-Sâdât ath-Thaʿâlba. The tomb of the founder, which is placed in the middle of the east Îwân, bears a slab of marble containing the date of construction, Ragab 613 (October-November 1216). This slab must once have occupied a position over the main entrance where there is a sunken panel, exactly corresponding with it in size and shape. The cenotaph of Abû Manṣûr Ismaʿîl still exists, three panels of it being preserved in the Arab Museum (Hall IV, no. 101), whilst the back panel is now in the South Kensington Museum. The latter gives the date of his death — 1st Ragab 613 (14th October 1216). 613 1216

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 95-96, 648-650 and 759-760; and Herz Bey, *Catalogue*, p. 99.

MADRASSA KÂMILÎYA (in the Sûq an-Naḥḥâsîn). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 375), this College, of which the greater part of the west, and a fragment of the east Îwâns remain, was built by the Sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil Muḥammad in 622 H. (1225). Little of the building remains, and no inscriptions. 622 1225

See Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1904, pp. 98-102.

MADRASSA OF AL-BAGAM, at Ebiâr. — A plaque of marble preserved in the mausoleum of the founder gives the date of erection as 629 H. (1231). 629 1231

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This building, which I only know from photographs, must have undergone many changes since then.

See Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1890, pp. 123-125.

634 1237 MINARET OF THE MOSQUE OF SAYEDNA ḤUSSEYN (No. 28 on Plan). — There is a passage under this minaret, and above the pointed arch at the southern end are two small plaques, the lower of which states that «the minaret was finished in Shawâl 634 (June 1237)».

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 100-102.

639-641 1241/2-1243/4 MADRASSA OF THE SULTAN AṢ-ṢÂLIḤ NEGM AD-DÎN AYYÛB (No. 38 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 374), the site was prepared in 639 H., the foundations laid in 640 H., and the professors were installed in 641 H. An inscription at the base of the minaret, west face, gives the date as 641 H., which no doubt refers, as is usual, to the completion of the edifice.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 102-104, and *C. R.*, 1903, pp. 135-138.

640(?) 1242-1243 MAUSOLEUM OF THE ʿABBÂSID KHALIFS (No. 276 on Plan). — This mausoleum is without any historical inscription, but it contains eight cenotaphs, the oldest of which bears the name of Abû Nadla, the ambassador of the Khalifate, and the date 640 H. (1242-1243). This may well be the date of the building, as it closely resembles the Mausoleum of Sheger ad-Durr in its stucco ornament, its pendentives (Plate XI, A) and the outline of its dome. This may be the building referred to by as-Sakhâwy in his *Toḥfat al-Aḥbâb* (in the margin of the *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭîb*, IV, p. 119), when he says : «When the Khalîf Abû l-ʿAbbâs Aḥmad died in 701 H. (1301-1302), Muḥammad an-Nâṣir ordered his interment in the Mashhad an-Nafîssy, and he was interred in its neighbourhood under a dome which had been constructed there». His cenotaph forms one of the eight referred to above.

See E. J. Rogers, *C. R.*, 1884, pp. 24-28; and Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 131-141.

647-648 1249-1250 MAUSOLEUM OF THE SULTAN AṢ-ṢÂLIḤ NEGM AD-DÎN AYYÛB (No. 38 on Plan). — The inscription over the entrance gives the date of his death

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only, 15 Sha'bân 647 (23rd November 1249). This is the case also with the inscription on the beautiful cenotaph. The mausoleum, however, was commenced by Sheger ad-Durr, the wife of the Sultan, immediately after his death, and his body was transferred there when the edifice was finished, which transfer, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 374), took place on 26 Ragab 648 (24th October 1250).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 104-110; and *C. R.*, 1893, pp. 34-35, and 1903, p. 139.

MONUMENTS OF THE BAḤRITE MAMLÛKS.

MAUSOLEUM OF QUEEN SHEGER AD-DURR (No. 169 on Plan). — The 648 1250
inscription on the cornice is not dated, and is engraved in modern characters, but it is no doubt a copy of an ancient text. The date may, however, be fixed indirectly with considerable accuracy. (1) The Sultana's surname 'Iṣmat ad-Dîn is found here under the sovereign form *'iṣmat ad-dunya wad-dîn,* while her husband's name is followed by formulas which are only employed for the dead. The inscription must therefore have been drawn up after the death of Ṣâliḥ Ayyûb, i. e., after Sha'bân 647 (November 1249), and during the reign of Sheger ad-Durr. (2) The Sultana is called the «mother of al-Malik al-Manṣûr Khalîl». This title was conferred upon her on her accession after the death of her son al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Tûrân Shâh, the last Ayyubide Sultan. Therefore the text was drawn up between the death of Tûrân Shâh (29 Muḥarram 648) and the accession of the first Mamlûk Aibak (29 Rabî' II 648).

See Mehren, *Journal asiatique,* 7e série, t. XVI, pp. 564-565; *C. R.*, 1900, pp. 112-119; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 111-114 and 728-730.

MABKHARA OF THE ZÂWIYAT AL-HENÛD (No. 237 on Plan). — This c. 1250
mabkhara, or «censer»-like minaret (Plate XI, B), is placed by the *Comité* in the XIIth century A. D. (see *C. R.*, *Index général,* 1914, p. 76), but I think this date is certainly wrong. The only dated mabkhara of the XIIth century is that of Abû l-Ghadanfar, 552 H. (1157), which is very much more primitive. On the other hand, a comparison with the upper part of the minaret of the Madrassa of Ṣâliḥ Ayyûb, 639-641 H. (1241-1243), shows it to be an almost exact counterpart of the one under consideration, except that its fluted cap

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is not quite so elongated. The tops added by Bibars II to the minarets of al-Ḥâkim's mosque in 603 H. (1303), after the great earthquake, are, however, more elaborate, having three storeys decorated with stalactites instead of two only, besides minor variations. I therefore place this mabkhara slightly later than that of Ṣâliḥ Ayyûb, but a good deal earlier than those of Bibars II, say about 1250 A. D.

651 1253 HALL OF ʿOTHMÂN KATKHODA (No. 50 on Plan). — This is the qâʿa, the sole portion that remains of the palace of Muḥammad Muḥebb ad-Dîn, finished, according to an inscription on the two friezes of the dorqâʿa, in 651 H. (1253). Considerable works were carried out here by the *Comité* in 1911-1912.

See Herz Pasha, *C. R.*, 1913, pp. 140-143.

660-662 1262-1263 REMAINS OF THE MADRASSA OF SULTAN BIBARS AL-BUNDUQDÂRY (No. 37 on Plan). — Only a fragment, consisting of the south-west angle of this building remains, the greater part having disappeared in 1874 when a road was cut through it, connecting the Sûq an-Naḥḥâsîn with the Meydân Beit al-Qâḍy. According to Maqrîzî (II, pp. 378-379), the first stone was placed in position 2 Rabîʿ II 660 (24th February 1262), and the edifice was inaugurated 5 Ṣafar 662 (8th December 1263). An inscription on the west façade gives the former date.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 118-120.

665 1266-1267 BRIDGE OF ABÛ L-MUNAGGA (about 2 miles from Shubra village, in the direction of Qalyûb). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 151), Bibars had this bridge (Plate XII) built by the Emîr ʿIzz ad-Dîn Aibak Afram in 665 H. The cartouches on its southern face show that it has been restored or rebuilt by Qâyt-Bây, and Ibn Iyâs (II, pp. 244 and 301) enters into details on the subject stating that the work was carried out in Gumâdâ II 892 (May-June 1487) by the Sultan's orders under the superintendence of Badr ad-Dîn Ḥasan ibn Ṭûlûny. The question immediately arises — what was the extent of Qâyt-Bây's restoration? Herz Bey and Prof. van Berchem both take the view that

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the bridge was practically rebuilt. In this I do not concur for the following reasons. In the first place Qalqashandy[1], writing about 1410, states that it was in good condition in his day. It must therefore have lasted 144 years without material deterioration and it is improbable that 77 years more would suffice to completely ruin it. Secondly, the row of lions or leopards on the north parapet, of which twenty-two still remain, are admittedly the emblem of Bibars[2], and I see no reason to assume that they have been *replaced* by Qâyt-Bây during a supposed re-construction. An examination of the south side of the bridge reveals one rather curious feature, viz. : the lower right-hand voussoirs of the second arch from the east end project beyond the present face of the bridge. From this it appears to me to be probable that Qâyt-Bây merely re-faced this side of the bridge, carved his cartouches on the new surface and omitted for some reason or other to cut back the lower voussoirs of this arch. Previous to this I believe, on the analogy of the bridge at Ludd, that the south side, like the north, bore a frieze of lions. A considerable amount of work was carried out here by the *Comité* in 1903-1904.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 522-525; *C. R.*, 1903, pp. 37 and 52, 1904, p. 40; and Herz Bey, *Catalogue*, pp. 28-29.

MOSQUE OF SULTAN BIBARS AL-BUNDUQDÂRY (No. 1 on Plan). — 665-667 1266-1269
According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 299), it was in Rabîʿ II, 665, that the Sultan decreed the construction of this mosque. This is confirmed by an inscription on a slab over the doorway within the north entrance porch. The date 666 occurs also on a slab over the west entrance. The following year, 20 Gumâdâ II 666, he took possession of Jaffa, and decided to utilize the timber and the marble carried off from edifices there, in order to decorate the maqṣûra and the miḥrâb. An inscription on a great slab of limestone over the miḥrâb gives 666 as the date of the dome, which no longer exists. Maqrîzî goes on to say

[1] Quoted by van Berchem (*C. I. A.*, p. 524, n. 2), apparently from the *Ḍau' aṣ-ṣubḥ*, p. 28 — MS. in the Sultanîya Library, Cairo.

[2] They are found in an exactly similar position on either side of the dating inscription of the bridge built by Bibars in 671 H. (1273) about 2 miles north of Ludd, which still exists in good condition. See Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, tome I (1888), pl. XIX-XX.

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that on 1 Muḥarram 667, Bibars inspected the works, and that the mosque was finished and inaugurated by the Sultan in Shawâl 667 (June 1269).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 121-123.

666-672 (?) 1267/8-1272/3 MAUSOLEUM OF MUṢṬAFA PASHA (No. 279 on Plan). — This building consists at present of the following elements :— a ṣaḥn with a great lîwân on the qibla side, a row of two stories of small cells on the north-east side, and a square mausoleum between the preceding, completing the south-east angle. On the side opposite the lîwân there is a long barrel vault running parallel to the side of the ṣaḥn. The entrance vestibule is arranged between this and the row of cells. The south-west side of the building has gone, and has been replaced by a rough wall. From the style of the beautiful stucco ornament and from the fact that the inscriptions are not enclosed in round-ended panels with a medallion between, I should place it before Zâwiyat al-Abbâr, 684 H. (1285). From the fact that the mausoleum forms an integral part of the plan I should place it after the Madrassa of Ṣâliḥ Negm ad-Dîn Ayyûb, 641 H. (1243). The interlacing loops arranged all round the entrance are a decorative feature found in the Seljuk monuments of Konia (e. g. the great Mosque and the Qaraṭây Madrassa), and in the Madrassa of aẓ-Ẓâhir Bibars at Damascus[1]. Seljuk ornament so-called — I say so-called because the monuments of Konia were built by architects from Damascus and Persia — first appears in Egypt in the right-hand and left-hand panels inside the west doorway of the Mosque of aẓ-Ẓâhir Bibars, 665-667 H. (1267-1269), which makes it probable that this building is not earlier than that date. Since writing the above I have received the following information from Signor Patricolo :— as-Sakhâwy, in *Toḥfat al-Aḥbâb* (in the margin of the *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭîb*, vol. IV, p. 184), states that an edifice, apparently this, which he calls a ribâṭ, was constructed by the Emîr Azdemir aṣ-Ṣâliḥy. He says on page 168 that it was called the tomb of Abûna Yûsuf, and that prayers were said and dervishes installed there. This is confirmed by the *Kawâkib as-sayâra* (p. 186) where

[1] Round the circular windows set high up in the west and south façades. This madrassa is dated 676 (1277-1278). See M. van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VII, *i*, p. 153.

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this edifice is mentioned immediately before that of Zeyn ad-Dìn (which is close to it) under the name of Tomb of Sheykh Yûsuf al-ʿAgamy al-ʿAdawy, who, according to this author, was a friend of Sheykh al-ʿUday, great-grandfather of Zeyn ad-Dìn (who died 697 H. = 1297). As-Sakhâwy says that there was also buried in this mausoleum the Sheykh Muḥebb ad-Dìn Abû l-Farag, who was Sheykh of the Madrassa called « Dâr al-Ḥadìth al-Kâmilìya », i. e. the Madrassa of al-Kâmil, built 622 H. (1225). It follows from the above that this building, although known as the Mausoleum of Muṣṭafa Pasha, is that of Sheykh Yûsuf al-ʿAgamy al-ʿAdawy, and of Sheykh Muḥebb ad-Dìn Abû l-Farag. It must therefore have been built before 672 H. (1272-1273), the date of the death of the latter, and I consequently place it between 666 H. (1267-1268) and 672 H. (1272-1273).

MAUSOLEUM OF FÂTMA KHÂTÛN (No. 274 on Plan). — This mausoleum, the inscription of which contains neither a date nor a proper name, is situated on the north side of the Mausoleum of Khalìl al-Ashraf. According to Ibn Duqmâq (I, 125), the Mausoleum of Khâtûn occupied precisely this position. Maqrîzî (II, p. 394) states that it was close to the Madrassa Ashrafiya (of which the Mausoleum of Khalîl al-Ashraf formed part) and that its construction was decreed by the Sultan Qalâûn, and executed by the Emîr ʿAlam ad-Dìn Sangar in 682 H. It follows from a passage in Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓâhir that it was finished in Rabîʿ I 683 (May-June 1284). 682-683 1283-1284

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 140-141 and 145-147.

MURISTÂN OF QALÂÛN (No. 43 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 406), this building was commenced in Rabîʿ II 683, and finished in Ramaḍân of the same year. Over the lintel of the door under the entrance porch common to the Mausoleum, Madrassa and Hospital are found the dates Rabîʿ II 683 (June-July 1284)-Gumâdâ II 684 (July-August 1285) for the whole group. 683 1284

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 125-131; and Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 141-147.

MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN QALÂÛN (No. 43 on Plan). — Commenced, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 406), in Shawâl 683 (December 1284-January 683-684 1284-1285

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1285), and finished in Ṣafar 684 (April-May 1285). Herz Bey, during the unmasking of the façade, discovered an inscription on the lintel of the first window to the right of the main entrance, confirming these two dates. A great band of inscription running right across the façade of the Mausoleum and the Madrassa, attributes the whole group — Hospital, Mausoleum and Madrassa — to Qalâûn, with the date 683-684 H. (1284-1285). For another inscription, see above. On the summit of the first square storey of the minaret and under its first gallery is an inscription of an-Nâṣir Muḥammad, recording repairs carried out by him in 703 H. (1303-1304) after the great earthquake in the last month of 702 H. The grille surrounding the tomb contains an inscription of the same Sultan, but lacks a date. The dome is a modern restoration due to the *Comité,* who took the dome of the Mausoleum of Qalâûn's son Khalîl as a model.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 125-133 and 730-731; and Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 141-147.

684 1285 MADRASSA OF SULTAN QALÂÛN (No. 43 on Plan). — Commenced, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 406), in Ṣafar 684 (April-May 1285), and finished in Gumâdâ I of the same year. For inscriptions, see above. The east îwân of this madrassa, at the time it was taken in hand by the *Comité,* was entirely built up by a wall pierced with windows, and the whole îwân had been converted into a house. All additions of this sort have been removed during the last four years, and the columns of the central aisle, which were badly out of the vertical, have been restored.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 125-131; Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 141-147; also *C. R.*, 1914, pp. 3-4, 87, 112, 114, 145 and plates I-IV.

c. 684 1285-1286 ZÂWIYAT AL-ABBÂR (No. 146 on Plan). — Consists of two domed mausoleums a short distance apart, of which the first is that of the Emîr ʿAlâ ad-Dîn Aydekîn al-Bunduqdâry aṣ-Ṣâliḥy an-Negmy, who died, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 420), in 684 H. This date is quite in keeping with the architecture of the building.

See *C. R.*, 1901, pp. 107-108.

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MAUSOLEUM OF AṢ-ṢAWÂBY (No. 296 on Plan). — This mausoleum consists, like many others, of a square base, a zone of transition stepped outside and with stalactite pendentives inside, and a fluted dome on a 16-sided drum, the alternate faces of which are pierced with windows. The pendentives are almost the only basis for architectural argument; each pendentive consists of three niches supporting three more niches, above which is a continuous ring of sixteen niches forming the interior of the 16-sided drum. In this respect it resembles Zâwiyat al-Abbâr (1st mausoleum), 684 H. (1285-1286), the Mausoleum of Ṣafy ad-Dîn Gôhar, 714 H. (1315), and the Mausoleum of Maghlaṭây al-Gamâly, 730 H. (1329-1330). The 16-sided drum, however, is a treatment which is found in Zâwiyat al-Abbâr (1st mausoleum) only, in all other examples the exterior of the drum pierced with windows is made circular. I therefore place this mausoleum c. 684 H. c. 684 1285-1286

MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF KHALÎL (No. 275 on Plan). — Built in the months of the year 687 H., according to a great band of inscription on the exterior, at the summit of the four walls forming the square lower part of the building. 687 1288

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 141-147.

MAUSOLEUM OF ḤOSÂM AD-DÎN ṬARANṬÂY AL-MANṢÛRY (No. 186 on Plan). — Known locally as the Mausoleum of Faḍl Allah. The inscription on the cenotaph reads as follows: 689 1290

بسمله . . . . . (*Qurân*, LV) هذا قبر العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الامير الاجل حسام الدين طرنطاى الملكى المنصورى وذلك توفّى يوم الخميس الرابع والعشرين من شهر ذو القعدة سنة تسعة وثمانين وستمائة

This is the tomb of the poor-in-God, the magnificent Emîr Ḥosâm ad-Dîn Ṭaranṭây[1] al-Maliky al-Manṣûry. He died on the Thursday the twenty fourth of the month of Dhu l-qa'da of the year nine and eighty and six hundred (28th November 1290).

Amongst others it possesses the following features : (1) Pendentives composed of 4 tiers of niches (Plate XIII, A); (2) five cells in lowest tier of same;

[1] He was Nâïb (Vice-Sultan) under Qalâûn. See Casanova, *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 615 and 647-648.

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(3) a window in the centre of the third tier of niches; (4) fourth (upper) tier of niches consists of one open and two blind ones alternately; (5) inscriptions in long round-ended panels alternating with circular medallions. The earliest and latest examples of these features are as follows : (1) Zâwiyat al-Abbâr (second mausoleum), 684 H. (1285), and the Mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahâ'y, 745-746 H. (1344-1345); (2) Zâwiyat al-Abbâr (second mausoleum), and the Mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Sa'dy, 715 H. (1315); (3) *Meyḍa* in Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn, 696 H. (1296), and the Mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Sa'dy; (4) *Meyḍa* in Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn, and the Mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Sa'dy; (5) earliest example : Zâwiyat al-Abbâr (second mausoleum). This would limit us to the period 696 H. (1296) and 715 H. (1315). The fine stucco miḥrâb, however, is as nearly as possible identical with that in the first mausoleum of Zâwiyat al-Abbâr, and I know of nothing the least similar after 1300 A. D., so I think we are quite justified in regarding this building as constructed immediately after the death of the man buried there.

690 1291 MAUSOLEUM AND REMAINS OF THE RIBÂṬ OF AḤMAD IBN SULEYMÂN AR-RIFÂ'I (No. 245 on Plan). — The cenotaph bears an inscription giving the date of his death as 6 Dhu l-ḥigga 690 (November 30th 1291). Maqrîzî mentions this edifice, and gives the date of his death as 6 Dhu l-ḥigga 691 (November 19th 1292).

See Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 147-149.

696 1296 MEYḌA IN ṢAḤN OF IBN ṬÛLÛN'S MOSQUE. — An inscription on a piece of wood embedded, about 6 metres from the ground, in the east angle of the square base on which the dome rests, states that the mosque was restored by Lâgîn 10 Ṣafar 696 (December 8th 1296), and that the pulpit and this building were included in the works.

See E. K. Corbet, *loc. cit.*, p. 544; and *C. I. A.*, p. 37.

End of XIIIth cent. MINARET OF THE MOSQUE OF AL-BAQLY (No. 156 on Plan). — According to an inscription on a wooden plaque in the Arab Museum, Hall IV, No. 17, which probably came from this building, the death of Sheykh 'Aly al-Baqly took place in Gumâdâ I 696 (March 1297). Guest and Richmond,

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in their memoir *Miṣr in the Fifteenth Century,* give the date of this building as 1268 A. D. without stating any authority.

See *C. I. A.,* p. 652; Guest and Richmond, *Miṣr in the Fifteenth Century, loc. cit.,* p. 793; and Herz Bey, *Catalogue,* p. 82.

MADRASSA OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AN-NÂṢIR MUḤAMMAD (No. 44 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 382), this building was commenced by Ketbughâ and raised to the level of the gilded band (*ṭirâz*) on the exterior façade. This can be nothing else than the band of inscription which runs across the façade, half way up, and which contains the date 695 (1295-1296). Ketbughâ was deposed 27 Muḥarram 696, and in 698 H. Muḥammad came to the throne for the second time, and ordered the completion of the building, which was finished in 703 H. (1303-1304). There is an inscription on the lintel of the entrance which opens into a corridor separating the madrassa from the mausoleum; it bears the date 698 H. (1298-1299), which is the year in which Muḥammad an-Nâṣir decreed the completion of the works. 695-703 1295/6-1303/4

See *C. I. A.,* pp. 152-155.

MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF ZEYN AD-DÎN YÛSUF (No. 172 on Plan). — Above the main entrance is an inscription of 17 lines giving the date of the Sheykh's death as 13 Rabîʿ I 697 (29th December 1297), and the date of the completion of the building as Shawâl 697 (July-August 1298). An inscription over the entrance to the mausoleum contains the date Rabîʿ I 725 (February-March 1325), which, in Prof. van Berchem's opinion, appears to indicate that the building has undergone a restoration in this year, but the sense in which the date is used is not quite clear. This appears to me to be extremely probable for the following reason. The bands of inscription running round the ṣaḥn and its four îwâns are framed in round-ended panels with medallions between, as was the rule at the end of the XIIIth century, but the fine band of inscription, carved in stucco, which runs round the base of the dome (Plate XIV, A) is, on the contrary, continuous, as is the case with the inscription round the base of the dome of the Mosque of al-Mihmandâr, built 725 H. (1324-1325). Standing on the Shâriʿ al-Qâderîya in advance of the main entrance is another gateway. Over the doorway is a plaque contain- 697 1298

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ing an inscription according to which the gateway was commenced in 736 H. (1335-1336).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 147-152; and *C. R.*, 1892, pp. 69-70.

700 1300-1301 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR QARÂSUNQUR (No. 31 on Plan). — A small plaque of copper, round the right hand engaged column of the miḥrâb, contains a short inscription, in small indistinct characters. Maqrîzî (II, p. 388), however, gives the date as 700 H.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 155-156; and *C. R.*, 1891, pp. 43-44.

703 1303-1304 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎRS SALÂR AND SANGAR AL-GÂWLY (No. 221 on Plan). — Two inscriptions, one over the north entrance and another on the lintel of the entrance to the Mausoleum of the Emîr Salâr, both give the date as 703 H. On the lintel of the entrance to the Mausoleum of the Emîr Sangar is another inscription, but the latter part of it is effaced.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 156-160; and Grand and Herz, *C. R.*, 1892, pp. 47-51.

c. 703 1303-1304 SEBÎL OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AN-NÂṢIR MUḤAMMAD (attached to the north-east corner of the Madrassa of Sultan Qalâûn. Not shown on the Map of the *Comité*). — There is an inscription containing the builder's name on the interior frieze of this little building, but the date is illegible. As the Madrassa of Muḥammad ibn Qalâûn, which is next to the Mausoleum of Qalâûn, was finished in 703 H., Prost suggests that this sebîl is probably of the same date.

See C. Prost, *Les Revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Égypte*, in the *M. I. F. A. O.*, tome XL, pp. 4-5; and *C. R.*, 1909, pp. 49-50.

706-709 1306-1309 CONVENT-TOMB OF SULTAN AL-MALIK MUẒAFFAR BIBARS (No. 32 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, pp. 416 and 417), this edifice was commenced in 706 H. before the coming of Bibars II to the throne, and finished in 709 H. When Bibars II abdicated, Muḥammad an-Nâṣir arrested him and put him to death, sequestrated the endowments of the convent and erased the name of Bibars from the band of inscription which runs across the façade above the windows. This gap, of about a yard, still exists in the inscription, which loses itself behind a house, and no date is visible. In the interior,

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on the fine wooden screen which separates the mausoleum from a small vestibule, is another inscription stating that the whole structure, convent and mausoleum were finished Ramaḍân 709 (February 1309).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 161-166; and H. C. Kay, *Arabic Inscriptions of Egypt,* in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, pp. 137-141.

MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR ṬAYBARS (in the enclosure of the Mosque of al-Azhar on the right hand side of the entrance vestibule; — see the plan in Bædeker, p. 57). — Almost entirely modern, except the miḥrâb which is a very fine one, in very good condition, and no doubt part of the original building which was erected, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 383), by the Emîr Ṭaybars in 709 H. 709 1309-1310

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 166-167.

MAUSOLEUM OF ʿALY BADR AL-QARÂFY (No. 292 on Plan). — This mausoleum possesses the following features: (1) The three windows between the pendentives are grouped externally under a frame consisting of a pointed arch resting on two engaged columns (Plate XIII, B). This feature is best preserved on the west side. (2) Pendentives composed of three tiers of five niches each, with the central niche of the upper tier cut through so as to form a window. (3) A peculiar treatment of the voussoirs of the arch of the entrance bay which may be compared to the back of a row of books on a shelf. The earliest and latest examples of these features are as follows : (1) Mausoleum of Qalâûn, 683-684 H. (1284-1285), and the Mosque of Almâs, 730 H. (1329); (2) Only example — Mausoleum of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, finished 703 H. (1303-1304); (3) This is an uncommon motif; it is found in the Mosque of Bibars I (aẓ-Ẓâhir), 665-667 H. (1266-1269), in the Convent-Tomb of Bibars II, 706-709 H. (1306-1309), and then we do not meet it again in quite the same form until we come to the Mausoleum of the Emîr Anas, built between 783 and 784 H. (1382-1383). I therefore place this mausoleum in the first ten years of the XIVth century. 700-710 1300-1310

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR SANGAR AL-GAMAQDÂR, known also as Ḍarîḥ al-Kurdy (in the Rukbîya, west side, about 30 yards after passing the ʿAṭfet 710 1310-1311

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Luṭfy Afandy and 50 yards before coming to the Darb al-Bazâbîz (not marked on the Plan). — This little building consists of a façade without architecture, a small vestibule with a shabby timber roof, and a small mausoleum the dome of which rests on eight arches, four of which are squinches. The dome is visible from the exterior, but is unusually low. Embedded in the façade over the doorway is a slab of marble, with an inscription stating that the building was restored (*ʿamara*) by Sangar al-Gamaqdâr in 710 H. In view of the foregoing I think it is extremely probable that the building is much later, and that the slab referred to is merely a relic rescued from an earlier one and embedded where it now is.

See *C. R.*, 1901, pp. 108-109; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 732-733.

711 1311 THE AQUEDUCT (No. 78 on Plan). — A number of statements relative to aqueducts are found in Maqrîzî, and the following are those which bear on the one under consideration. Together with recent archæological discoveries they should enable us to settle the much disputed question of its date. «In 711 al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalâûn constructed four *sâqiyas* on the Nile, from which water was transported as far as the Wall, and from the Wall to the Citadel» (II, p. 229). Then follows an account of a wild proposal to make a canal from Ḥelwân, which eventually fell through. In 741 H., desiring to increase the quantity of water available, he took «geometricians and architects and walked with them along the arches[1] which bore water from the Nile to the Citadel, arrived thus at as-Sâḥil (which Casanova translates as

[1] *Qanâṭir*. Casanova, in his work on the Citadel (*M. M. A. F. C.*, IV, p. 661), translates this word by «aqueducs», but Vollers gives «aqueduc» only, which would appear to be correct in view of the following note of van Berchem, which I give in full. This is a very important point, as the multiplication of aqueducts can only lead to further confusion. «La chaussée est appelée *raṣîf* et les ponts *qanâṭir*, pluriel de *qanṭarah*, *arche voûtée de pierre*. En Égypte, où le terme classique pour *pont*, *djisr*, désigne les levées de terre, les digues et les ponts de bois (*Sultans Mamlouks*, I *b*, p. 152), on appelle *qanṭarah* un pont de pierre à une arche et *qanâṭir* un pont à plusieurs arches; parfois, ces deux formes s'emploient indifféremment. Plusieurs auteurs appellent *qanâṭir* la chaussée même; ainsi Ibn Duqmâq, qui nomme *qaus* les arches des ponts. Ceux-ci comprenaient plus de quarante arches à la file» (*C. I. A.*, p. 465, n. 3). Again, Ibn Duqmâq, Maqrîzî, Qalqashandy, Abû l-Maḥâsin, Kutuby, Ibn Iyâs, Ḥasan Ṭûlûny, Isḥâqy and Sharqâwy all call the bridge over the Canal of Abû l-Munagga, *qanâṭir* (or *qanṭarat*), *baḥr Abi l-Munagga* (*ibid.*, p. 523, n. 2).

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« rivage »), and ordered another well to be constructed to which were connected arches which rejoined the ancient aqueduct » (II, p. 229). Thus at this period there were apparently two intake-towers. Then he states that the Sultan, desiring still more water, constructed a small canal starting from the Nile and passing under the enclosure of the Observatory (this was on the high ground south of Old Cairo, which, sloping away gradually on the east side, is terminated on the west by a steep cliff — the Heights of St. George of Napoleon's map), and ending in ten deep wells cut in the rock. In these wells were installed rotating machines which led water to the ancient aqueduct which supplied the Citadel. This work was stopped in the same year, before completion, by the death of the Sultan. It follows from the above that even before the time of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, there was an aqueduct, called by Maqrîzî « the ancient aqueduct », which supplied the Citadel with water. It is this aqueduct which has led to all the confusion, van Berchem and Casanova taking it to be an aqueduct built perhaps by al-Kâmil and forming part of the present one, restored and almost rebuilt by later Sultans, while Vollers sees in it either a reference to the Aqueduct of Ibn Ṭûlûn at Basâtîn, which on reflection he admits is impossible as the topographical facts refuse to be reconciled, or to an aqueduct built by Saladin, the memory of which is still preserved by oral tradition, although no Arabic author mentions it. The recent discovery by ʿAly Bey Bahgat of the Wall of Fusṭâṭ, has to my mind cleared up the whole matter. This wall has now been traced throughout its whole length from Fusṭâṭ to the great bend in the Aqueduct. From this point it runs under, and serves as a support for, the arches of the Aqueduct which are carried along the top of it. This wall has inside it a pipe line about six inches square in section running along its rear face, and composed of a series of stone troughs covered by stone slabs. As Saladin built the wall running from the Citadel to Fusṭâṭ, this therefore must be his legendary aqueduct, and Maqrîzî's statement that Muḥammad an-Nâṣir made an aqueduct which brought water *from the Nile to the Wall,* and from the Wall to the Citadel, thus becomes clear, likewise his statement that this new aqueduct rejoined the ancient one. With reference to the term as-Sâḥil — « the shore » — to which Muḥammad an-Nâṣir came, Guest points out in his memoir on *Miṣr in the Fifteenth Century,* that in Maqrîzî's day there were two streets called as-Sâḥil; one, as-Sâḥil al-Gedîd, ran along

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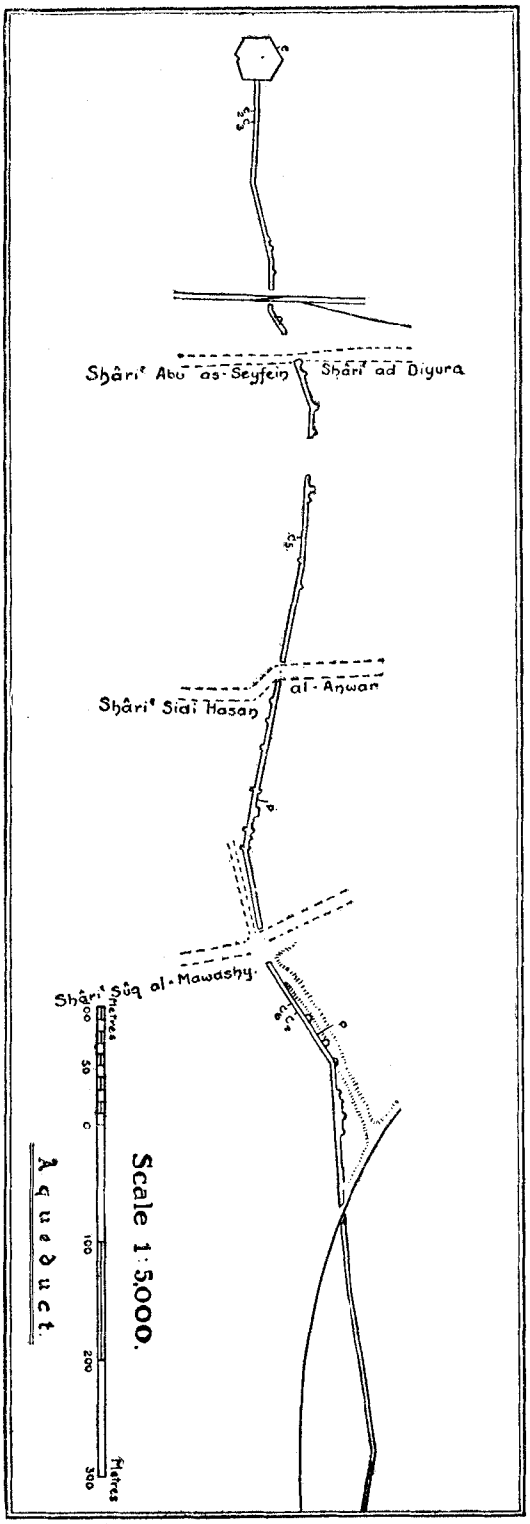

Fig. 3.

the Nile bank from, roughly, the position of the present intake tower to a point about a mile south, and the other as-Sâḥil al-Qadîm — «the old shore» — ran parallel to it a little to the east. He remarks that by as-Sâḥil, Maqrîzî probably meant as-Sâḥil al-Gedîd, and that if this assumption is correct it follows that the arches, along which Muḥammad an-Nâṣir walked, must have followed substantially the line the present ones do. Although this supports my view that the two are identical, I do not wish to put it forward as additional evidence, since this street being a mile long forms altogether too big a target to fix the end of the aqueduct by. The Aqueduct was repaired by the Emîr Yalbughâ as-Sâlimy in 812 H. (1409). Immediately east of the great bend there is a beautiful archway, set in smooth masonry, bearing cartouches of Qâyt-Bây and the following inscription: «Has ordered the construction of this blessed gate our Lord... the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abû n-Naṣr Qâyt-Bây... in the month of Rabî' II of the year 88-» (1475-1485). Casanova concludes that this must be the Bâb aṣ-Ṣafâ of Maqrîzî, but in view of the foregoing I suggest that the real

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Bâb aṣ-Ṣafâ or traces of it — it was destroyed in the time of aẓ-Ẓâhir Bibars (Maqrîzî, I, p. 347) — may still exist below in the Wall, the top of which is here just level with the surface of the ground. A cartouche of Sultan al-Ghûry (fig. 3, *c*1) is found on the side of the great hexagonal intake tower which faces the road, and two more (*c*2 and *c*3) on the south face of the sixth arch going east (Plate XIV, B). This tower is built of smooth masonry, and I believe it to have been built by al-Ghûry who is mentioned by Ibn al-ʿImâd and Isḥâqy (c. 1620), p. 14, as having carried out hydraulic works, in fact the latter attributes the whole aqueduct to him. Neither the cartouches on the aqueduct and intake tower nor the fourth, which is to be found in the Arab Museum (Hall I, No. 100), contain a date, but Casanova, in his work on the Citadel, says « vers 911 » = 1505, which date is repeated in the *Catalogue* of the Arab Museum (2nd ed.), p. 32. Jomard, in the *Description de l'Égypte,* says : « après 907 » = 1501, the year in which al-Ghûry commenced to reign. The western half of the Aqueduct has suffered much and is to-day broken, by a number of gaps, into sections of varying length. On the south side of the third section, starting from the railway to Ḥelwân and going east, and on the left-hand side of the first arch is a cartouche (*c*5), presumably of al-Ghûry, the upper part of which is abraded. This section ends at the Shâriʿ Sidi Ḥasan al-Anwar, and is followed by another section of considerable length which continues as far as the Shâriʿ Sûq al-Mawâshy. To right and left of the sixth arch in this section (south side) is a cartouche of al-Ghûry (*c*6 and *c*7) in good preservation. These three cartouches have apparently escaped the attention of archæologists. From them it follows that the work of repair and reconstruction carried out by al-Ghûry must have extended for at least half a mile eastwards from the great intake tower. On the north face of the Aqueduct, at a point where a line drawn south from the Mosque of Zeyn al-ʿÂbidîn would strike it, were two short inscriptions (*s*1 and *s*2) recording repairs carried out by ʿAbdy Pasha in 1140 H. (1728). The two slabs bearing these were transferred to the Arab Museum on January 23rd 1915, and were entered under Nos. 4231 and 4232. The masonry here is smooth and I therefore conclude that all the smooth sections of the Aqueduct date from this year. At the side of these inscriptions were two enigmatic animals (now in the Arab Museum) more like cats than anything else. As a similar creature

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ornaments one of the buttresses on the right hand pier next the railway as one goes from Cairo to Ḥelwân, I conclude that the numerous semi-circular buttresses, many of which break bond with the piers against which they are placed, are due to ʿAbdy Pasha also. These buttresses are confined to the western third of the Aqueduct.

See Jomard, in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne,* XVIII, 2e partie, p. 465; Vollers, *Notice historique sur les différents aqueducs au sud du Caire, C. R.,* 1893, pp. 58-61; Herz Bey, *L'Aqueduc de Foum el-Khalîg, C. R.,* 1907, pp. 134-137; Casanova, *Hist. et descr. de la Citadelle du Caire, loc. cit.,* pp. 545 and 659-665; *C. I. A.,* pp. 521-522 and 588-592; Herz Bey, *Catalogue,* pp. 31-32, and 33; and Guest and Richmond, *Miṣr in the Fifteenth Century, loc. cit.,* pp. 799-802.

714 1315 MAUSOLEUM OF ṢAFY AD-DÎN GÔHAR, known as the Mausoleum of Gôhar al-Madany (No. 270 on Plan). — An inscription across the summit of the façade runs as follows :

بسمله أمر بأنشاء هذا المكان المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى صفى الدين جوهر الملكى
الناصرى تقبل الله أعماله وبلغه فى الدارين آماله فى مستهل ذى الحجة سنة اربع عشر وسبعمائة

Ordered the foundation of this holy place the slave, the poor-in-God Ṣafy ad-Dîn Gôhar al-Maliky an-Nâṣiry; God accepted his work and rewarded him fully in both worlds in the beginning of Dhu l-ḥigga in the year fourteen and seven hundred (March 1315).

This is not the same person as Gôhar al-Madany and the name of the monument should be corrected accordingly.

[Communicated by Signor A. Patricolo.]

715 1315 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR SUNQUR SAʿDY, known to-day as Tekiyat al-Maulawîya, or Sheykh Ḥasan Ṣadaqa (No. 263 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 397) gives the date of its construction as 715 H. (1315), and states that it consisted of a madrassa, a convent for women, and a mausoleum; only the mausoleum and a minaret now exist. The mausoleum contains four cenotaphs, and on the south face of that of Ḥasan Ṣadaqa himself is an inscription referring to the mausoleum as having been erected 1st Rabîʿ I 715 (5th June 1315). Round the four sides of the mausoleum run

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Quranic inscriptions, in round ended panels with medallions between, and at the end of the band on the north side is a date — 721 (= A. D. 1321) — expressed *in figures*, a feature unique among the existing Muḥammadan monuments of Egypt down to the Turkish conquest[1]. I illustrate it as a curiosity (Plate XV, c), as attention has never been called to it before, so far as I am aware. Presumably the decoration of the building was not finished until that year.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 733-736.

MOSQUE OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AN-NÂṢIR MUḤAMMAD (in the Citadel, No. 143 on Plan). — This mosque contains three inscriptions, one over the north entrance, one over the west entrance, and a third, composed of great wooden letters nailed to planks of wood, running round the square base on which the dome over the space in front of the miḥrâb once rested. These inscriptions have suffered in the lapse of centuries, and the only one which now bears a date (718 H.) is that over the west entrance. Maqrîzî (II, pp. 212 and 325) states that it was built by Sultan Muḥammad in 718 H., but he adds that it was destroyed and rebuilt in 735 H. In the *Kitâb as-Sulûk* he repeats this statement, giving the date of its construction as Ṣafar 718, of its destruction as Ṣafar 735, and of its final completion as Shaʿbân of the same year. He says that the Sultan had magnificent columns brought from Ushmûneyn and increased the area of the building. That this destruction cannot have been complete is proved by the inscription over the west entrance; nevertheless there can be no doubt that the ten great granite columns with Egyptian capitals which once supported the square substructure of the dome, 718-735 1318-1335

[1] I say *existing*, because in the Arab Museum (Hall I, No. 64) is a slab of marble found in Alexandria, with an inscription in Naskh mentioning the construction of a building by Saladin in the year 583, which date is expressed in figures. This practice, however, appears to have been less rare in the case of objects of art, four examples being known to me : (1) lattice window in granite, from the ruined tomb of Sayf al-Yazal, now in the Arab Museum (Hall II, No. 28), dated 610 H. (1213); (2) sundial, once in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn, published by Marcel in the *Description de l'Égypte*, and dated 696 H. (1297); (3) oblong tablet in blue enamel in the Arab Museum (Hall XII, No. 42), dated 716 H. (1316); and (4) sundial on the south wall of the Madrassa of Sultan Înâl, dated 871 H. (1467). See Herz Bey, *Catalogue*, pp. 40 and 238; van Berchem, *Notes*, II, pp. 13-15 and 17-18; and the *C. I. A.*, pp. 406-407.

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must be those referred to. It would therefore appear that the east Îwân, and possibly the north and south sides, were entirely rebuilt, but that the west façade remained untouched. Casanova points out that this does not necessarily imply a culpable error on the part of Maqrîzî, as the west entrance was not the main entrance for the public but really a private entrance for the Sultan coming from his private apartments through the Bâb as-Sitâra. In Maqrîzî's time, therefore, one might almost have regarded the west façade as forming part of buildings then attached to it. I ought to add that Mehren, in his memoir on the inscriptions of Cairo, published the inscription under the dome *with* the date 718 H. This date no longer exists; it had even disappeared as long ago as Watson's day (c. 1886) and Prof. van Berchem cannot help saying that he believes Mehren must have imagined it, with which I think most people will agree. Casanova, without quoting his authority, states on page 620 that the dome fell in 928 H. On page 631, however, he quotes Ibn Iyâs : « Le samedi 17 (moḥarram 928) tomba la magnifique coupole qui était sur l'Iwân. Elle tomba au point du jour. Cette coupole était une construction d'An-Nâṣir Mouḥammad ibn Ḳalâoûn..... elle était en bois recouvert de lames de plomb, et plaquée de faïence verte. Il n'y eut jamais de plus grande construction en Égypte. C'était une merveille du temps. » The statement on page 620 would therefore appear to be misapplied since the Iwân was the building known in Napoleon's day as the « Hall of Joseph ». Mrs. Devonshire, however, sends me the following, also from Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 247), which I consider does refer to the mosque under discussion : « And in it [the year 892 H. (1468)] fell the dome in the Citadel on the *miḥrâb* and the *minbar* and killed the *bawwab* and his son; people hurried to the Citadel and the Sultan came out and walked to the place and saw what had befallen the mosque; and this was three days before Friday. And the Sultan ordered that the débris should be cleared from the mosque and a new dome built. »

See Mehren, *Bulletin Acad. des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, t. XV, p. 555; Major C. M. Watson, *The Mosque of Sultan Naṣir Mohammed ebn Kalaun*, in the *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, vol. XVIII, pp. 477-483; *C. I. A.*, pp. 167-169; and Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire, loc. cit.*, pp. 620-625.

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MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR ḤUSSEYN (No. 233 on Plan). — Only the entrance, the minaret, the east wall of the sanctuary and the little mausoleum belong to the original edifice, which is dated 719 H. by an inscription on a slab of stone over the entrance. Everything else has been built since 1910. 719 1319

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 169-170; and Herz Bey, *La mosquée de l'Émir Hussein*, in the *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 155-156.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR ÂLMALIK (No. 24 on Plan). — This mosque, called «Mosquée d'el-Goukandâr» in the *Comptes Rendus*, was built, according to an inscription to right and left of the doorway, in 719 H. 719 1319

See P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire*, in the *M. M. A. F. C.*, tome III, p. 79; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 170-171.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR AḤMAD AL-MIHMANDÂR (No. 115 on Plan). — Dated Muḥarram 725 (December 1324-January 1325) by a band of inscription which runs across the east façade, half-way up. The mosque and the minaret were restored by the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmad III in 1135 (1722-1723), according to an inscription on a panel over the door of the pulpit. It was again restored by the *Comité* in 1893, the main façade having begun to lean towards the street. 725 1324-1325

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 171-176; *C. R.*, 1882-1883, 2nd ed., p. 47 and pl. I-III.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR ALMÂS (No. 130 on Plan). — All the inscriptions are Quranic, but according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 307), it was built in 730 H. 730 1329-1330

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 176-177.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR QÛṢÛN (No. 202 on Plan). — Commenced, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 307), in 730 H. (1329-1330), and inaugurated in Ramaḍân 730 (June-July 1330). The date is confirmed by an inscription to right and left of the doorway of the eastern portal, which stands in the Shâriʿ as-Surûgîya and is known as the Bâb al-Maḥkama. 730 1329-1330

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 177-179; and Herz Bey, *La mosquée Koussoun*, in the *C. R.*, 1910, pp. 149-154.

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730 1329-1330 MADRASSA OF MAGHLAṬÂY AL-GAMÂLY (No. 26 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, pp. 392 and 418[1]), this building was constructed by ʿAlâ ad-Dîn Maghlaṭây al-Gamâly in 730 H., as a college for the Hanafite rite.

See P. Ravaisse, *Essai, etc., loc. cit.*, III, p. 67.

c. 730 c. 1329-1330 MAUSOLEUM OF ABÛ L-YÛSSEFEYN (No. 234 on Plan). — The date may be deduced from the following features. The three windows between the pendentives are grouped externally under a frame consisting of a pointed arch resting on two engaged columns. This feature first appears in the buildings of Qalâûn's time, e. g. his own mausoleum, that of Fâṭma Khâtûn, and of al-Ashraf Khalîl. In these, however, the windows as well as the general appearance are entirely different. The only three examples that bear a real resemblance to it are : (1) the Mausoleum of an-Nâṣir Muḥammad, finished 703 H. (1303); (2) the Mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Saʿdy, 715 H. (1315), and (3) the Mosque of Almâs, 730 H. (1329). The pendentives, however, consist of superimposed tiers of three, three and four niches respectively. In this respect it differs from (1) and (2), and agrees with (3). I therefore place it c. 730 H. (1329-1330).

734-740 1333/4-1339 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR AQBUGHÂ (in the enclosure of the Mosque of al-Azhar on the left-hand side of the vestibule which precedes the Barber's Gate, No. 10 in the plan of Bædeker). — Commenced, according to an inscription in the entrance bay above the door, in 734 H., and finished, according to an inscription in the south wall of the interior, in Muḥarram 740 H.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 183-189.

735 1334 MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ṬASHTIMUR (No. 92 on Plan). — Dated Rabîʿ I 735 (October-November 1334) by an inscription over a rectangular opening in the west side. Mehren says over the door, but the entrances to the mausoleum and to the vault beneath are both on the north side. The opening

[1] He says 730 H. on page 392, and 780 H. on page 418. The latter is evidently an error, as a biography of this Emîr on page 392 gives the dates of his promotions as 718, 723, 724, etc.

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beneath the inscription, which is now filled with a lattice of brickwork, may once have been an additional door, but as there are no *masṭabas*, although it is set in a bay, it is much more probable that it was a window. The inscription is set in a panel between two heraldic cups, which greatly increases the importance of the building as this is the second earliest example of an armorial badge on the monuments of Cairo. The earliest example occurs in the Madrassa of the Emîr Qarâsunqur, 700 H. (1300-1301), where a circle containing two polo-sticks (*gûkân*) may be seen on the façade over the window of the mausoleum.

See Mehren, *op. cit.*, I, p. 71; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 736-737.

KHÂN OF THE EMÎR QÛṢÛN (No. 11 on Plan). — The date does not appear in Maqrîzî nor in the inscription to right and left of the entrance. It must be placed, however, between 720 H., the year in which Qûṣûn came to Cairo, and 742 H., the year of his death. In view of the fact that this building bears an armorial badge (in the upper angles of the frame in which the doorway is set), I am inclined to place it towards the latter end of this period, as armorial badges do not become frequent until then, although it is true that one example is known as early as 700 H., as stated above. 720-742 1320-1341

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 180-181.

MAUSOLEUM AND KHÂNQÂ OF THE EMÎR QÛṢÛN, known as the Mausoleum of Awlâd Abû Sebḥa (Nos. 291 and 290 on Plan). — All that remains to-day is a square mausoleum with a ribbed dome on stalactite pendentives (Plate XV, A). Of the four walls which form the sides of this mausoleum, the north and the east project slightly with broken edges, shewing that the present mausoleum is merely a fragment of a larger building. The south wall continues in a westerly direction, and the projecting part bears stucco ornament similar to that on the south face of the mausoleum itself. In an exact line with the north face, and about 66 paces to the east of it, stands a fine minaret (Plate XV, B), which I therefore conclude was part of the same building. This is the *Minaret du Milieu* of the *Comité* (No. 290 on Plan). Signor Patricolo, the Architect to the *Comité*, informs me that the name of the Emîr Qûṣûn occurs on this minaret at the side of the doorway opening on to the first gallery, and that these two monuments have consequently been identified with 736 1335

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the Khânqâ which Maqrîzî states (II, p. 425) was founded by Qûṣûn, built at the north end of the Cemetery near the Citadel and the Bâb al-Qarâfa (II, p. 308), completed in the year 736 H. and abandoned in 806 H. In this connection it is interesting to find that this building is marked «Gâma el Soultân Qeysoun» on Napoleon's Plan, from which it would appear that its correct designation has only been lost in the course of the last hundred years.

736 1335 MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR BESHTÂK (No. 205 on Plan). — Only the fine inner entrance and the minaret belong to the original building, which, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 309), was finished in Sha'bân 736 (1335). Everything else dates from the reconstruction of Muṣṭafa Pasha in 1277 H.

See *C. I. A.*, p. 181.

737 1336 MINARET AND PARTS OF THE MOSQUE OF AL-KHAṬÎRY (No. 341 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 312), this mosque was erected by 'Izz ad-Dîn Aydomor al-Khaṭîry in 737 H. It was ruined by the river, which in those days flowed close to it, and reconstructed by its founder, but being undermined was ruined a second time. It was reconstructed again before 1403 A. D., but the greater part of the present edifice is modern. The minaret, with its quite unusual ornament, bears a marked resemblance to that of the Mosque of the Emîr Ḥusseyn at al-Manaṣra (719 H.); it is the part most distant from the river and I feel quite sure that it belongs to the original edifice. This is probably the case with a number of the columns also, and especially the Corinthian capitals. There still remain several good plaster lattices with coloured glass, as well as a slab of inscription, embedded at the side of the miḥrâb; it contains a number of Quranic sentences and ends «. . . has ordered the construction of this blessed place in the month of Muḥarram, the year thirty-seven and seven hundred».

See Herz Bey, *C. R.*, 1901, pp. 139-141.

c. 738 1337 PALACE OF THE EMÎR YUSHBAK, also known as Ḥôsh Bardaq (No. 266 on Plan). — This great building bears an inscription which starts on the façade to the right of the entrance bay, enters the latter following all the angles, and then finishes on the façade to the left of it. It states that the

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building was ordered (*'amara*) or restored — the word is of vague and uncertain meaning — by Seyf ad-Dîn Yushbak in Ramaḍân of the year 880 (December 1475-January 1476). At the back of the entrance bay is a door leading into a high domed chamber, and running round three sides of it is another inscription much to the same effect. At either end of the relieving arch over the lintel of this door is a cartouche in the name of al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad carved in the stonework. Two Mamlûk sultans have borne this name, one the son of Qalâûn, who reigned from 693 to 741 with two interregnums, and the son of Qâyt-Bây who reigned from 901 to 904. To which are they to be attributed? Prof. van Berchem says to the latter, pointing out that these cartouches are quite unlike those of Muḥammad an-Nâṣir, but exactly like those of the second Muḥammad, the son of Qâyt-Bây, which may still be seen in the Mosque of the Fayyûm. Nevertheless a glance at the building shows that it can never have been built at this date, as it has not a single architectural detail in common with the work of Qâyt-Bây. The great porch (Plate XVI, A), for instance, with its stalactite vault, is totally different from the treatment employed in the second half of the xv^th^ century. The stalactite portal first occurs in Egypt in the Mausoleum and Madrassa of Zeyn ad-Dîn Yûsuf, 697 H. (1298), and the particular type found here never appears on such a scale anywhere until 727 H. (Bâb al-Qaṭṭânîn in the Ḥaram ash-Sharîf at Jerusalem — see Saladin, fig. 79), but in Cairo the earliest example which approaches it in scale and style is the west entrance of the Mosque of al-Mâridâny, 739-740 H. (1339-1340). A noticeable feature about this portal is the fact that the stalactite upper part is set flush in the façade without a moulded frame round it. A moulded frame following the trefoil opening occurs in the west entrance of Aṣlam al-Bahâ'y, 745-746 H. (1344-1345), and in the entrance of the Mosque of Sheykhû, 750 H. (1349-1350), so on architectural grounds it is improbable that it was built much later than 740 H. Again, if we examine the great qâ'a on the first floor, the fact that the arches of the îwâns are not decorated with a loop at their apex is all against the possibility of this part of the building having been built even in the early part of the xv^th^ century. The arches to which these bear most resemblance are those of the qâ'a of the Palace of the Emîr Beshtâk, built 738 or 740 H. It is known that the Ḥôsh Bardaq occupied the site of a more

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ancient edifice, the *iṣṭabl* of the Emîr Qûṣûn, but this *iṣṭabl* was not a simple stable, but a sumptuous edifice, which, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 72), served as a residence for the Emîr. It had been built by the Emîr Sangar and enlarged by Qûṣûn, and was pillaged in 742 H. (1341-1342), after which it served as a residence for a number of Emîrs. Prof. van Berchem asks : «May not the Ḥôsh Bardaq be merely the palace of Qûṣûn after undergoing a number of transformations?». I am convinced that this is the case. The pillaging mentioned above gives us 742 H. as a *terminus ad quem,* while a *terminus a quo* may be deduced from the fact that the Emîr Sangar was in disgrace from 720 till 729 (Maqrîzî, II, p. 398) during which period he was imprisoned, and presumably unable to carry out works of construction. This gives 729-742, but in view of my remarks about the west portal of the Mosque of al-Mâridâny it is in the second half of this period that I would place it, say c. 738. After the death of Yushbak in 887 H. (1482), Qâyt-Bây handed over the palace and all the possessions of the deceased to the Emîr Aqbardy. Hence its name Ḥôsh Bardaq, Bardaq being merely a popular transposition of Aqbardy. He only died in 904 H. (1498-1499) and the cartouches, referred to above, in the name of al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad may have been added by him during a fresh renovation between 901 and 904 H.

See *C. I. A.,* pp. 439-441 and 456-459; and *C. R.,* 1894, pp. 99-100.

738 or 740 1337 or 1339 PALACE OF THE EMÎR BESHTÂK (No. 34 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance bay, now walled up, contains the titles of the Emîr, but the date is missing, or perhaps merely hidden. His name and titles are also found in some of the coffers of the fine wooden ceiling of the west Ìwân. Maqrîzî gives the date as 738 H. in one place (II, p. 70), and 740 H. in another (*Sulûk,* Paris MS., 1726, f° 485 r°).

See Ravaisse, *Essai, etc., loc. cit.,* p. 467; *C. I. A.,* p. 182; and Herz Bey, *C. R.,* 1909, pp. 172-176.

739-740 1339-1340 MOSQUE OF ALṬUNBUGHÂ AL-MÂRIDÂNY (No. 120 on Plan). — The site was cleared, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 308), in 738 H. An inscription in the bay of the west entrance, over the door, states that it was founded in 739 H. An inscription in the bay of the north entrance, above the window

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over the door, states that it was finished in Ramaḍân 740. The great band of inscription which runs along the summit of the north, west and south façades, is entirely Quranic, with the exception of the last words at the south-west angle : « and was the finishing in the year 740 ». Two slabs, which were once embedded in the brickwork of the west arcade of the *ṣaḥn* above the arches, but which were removed by the *Comité* during the restoration and embedded in the north wall of the east Ìwân, bear inscriptions to the same effect. The inauguration took place, according to Maqrîzî, on Friday 24 Ramaḍân 740 (24th March 1340). Very extensive works were carried out here by the *Comité* between 1897 and 1903, whole rows of arches, which were out of the vertical, being carefully numbered, taken down and re-erected.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 190-192; and *C. R.*, 1894, pp. 118-122, and 1905, pp. 115-125.

MOSQUE OF SITT ḤADAQ or SITT MASKA (No. 252 on Plan). — Finished in 740 H. according to an inscription on a panel of wood above the door of the *minbar*. According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 116), it was only inaugurated on Friday 10 Gumâdâ II 741 (1st December 1340). 740 1339-1340

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 193-194.

ENTRANCE TO BATH OF BESHTÂK (No. 244 on Plan). — The entrance, which is the only part remaining of the original edifice, bears an inscription which runs right across it, immediately above the pointed arch of the doorway. This inscription contains the name and titles of Beshtâk who was killed 5 Rabîʿ I 742 (19th August 1341), but lacks a date. In view of the fact that it bears an armorial badge in the centre of the shell-like ornament above the inscription, I think it improbable that it was built many years before that date. Before 742 1341

See *C. R.*, 1902, pp. 116-117, 154-158, and plate VII.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR AṢLAM AL-BAHÂ'Y (No. 112 on Plan). — An inscription on a large slab above the south door states that it was commenced Gumâdâ I 745 (September-October 1334), and finished Rabîʿ I 746. An inscription running across the west entrance states that it was finished Ragab 746 (October-November 1345). Maqrîzî (II, p. 309) gives the year only. 745-746 1344-1345

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 195-197.

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Before 747 1346 ZÂWIYAT AYDOMOR BAHLAWÂN (No. 22 on Plan). — This is the traditional name of this little mosque and mausoleum, which is called «Zaouyet Aydoumour» on Napoleon's Plan. Nevertheless this building is called the Madrassa of the Emîr Baidar al-Aidumry (Baidarîya) in the *C. I. A.* (p. 125), that is to say, Prof. van Berchem identifies it with a building stated by Maqrîzî (II, p. 391) to have been constructed by ʿIzz ad-Dîn Aydomor al-Ḥally. As this Mamlûk died in 687 H., he suggests c. 680 H. (1281-1282) as the approximate date. His reasons for regarding this building as the Madrassa Baidarîya are not clear, and the identification appears to be inadmissible since al-Aidumry is a «relative of possession» showing that Baidar was a mamlûk of an Emîr named Aydomor, whereas the name of this building shows that the actual builder was named Aydomor. In addition to this, the architectural style of the building refuses to be reconciled with the date suggested, a difficulty which he expressly recognises. For example, the first minaret which resembles the one under discussion is that of the Mosque of Beshtâk, built 736 H. (1335). Maqrîzî (II, pp. 44-46) mentions two Aydomors, one of whom died in 708 H. (1308-1309) and another — ʿIzz ad-Dîn Aydomor az-Zarrâq — who was Governor of Gaza in 745 H., under the Sultan Ṣâliḥ Ismaʿîl, came to Cairo in 746 H. after the death of this Sultan, left for Damascus in 747 H. (1346-1347), and was exiled shortly after. I therefore attribute this building to him, and place it before 747 H.

[I am indebted to Signor A. Patricolo for the foregoing historical information.]

747-748 1346-1347 MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR AQSUNQUR, also known as the Blue Mosque and the Mosque of Ibrahîm Aghâ (No. 123 on Plan). — According to two inscriptions, one above the north-eastern, and the other above the south-western entrance, this mosque was commenced 16 Ramaḍân 747 (31st December 1346), and worship was first celebrated there on Friday 3 Rabîʿ I 748 (13th June 1347). In 815 H. (1412-1413) the Emîr Ṭughân ad-Dawâdâr constructed, in the middle of the mosque, a basin surrounded by marble columns supporting a roof. These columns were taken from the Mosque of al-Khandaq. The mosque was restored, and largely rebuilt as far as the interior was concerned, by Ibrahîm Aghâ in 1062 H. (1652), and the fact is recorded by three inscriptions, one above a window to the west of the south-western

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entrance, one above the outer central arch of the east lîwân, and a third to the left of the miḥrâb just above the dado of blue tiles. The tomb of Ibrahîm Aghâ is dated 1062 H. also, by an inscription on a small slab of marble on the wall facing the *ṣaḥn*. From an examination of the building I would divide it into two periods. The whole exterior I believe to be original, with the exception of the east end of the north side, which I attribute to the Turkish period, especially the doorway, and I think the slab with inscription dated 747 H. over the door must merely have been rescued during a restoration and embedded in its present position. The architecture of the door is distinctly inferior, and it is not surrounded with a moulded frame like the other two. The interior appears to have consisted originally of arcades, two deep on the east side and one deep elsewhere, composed, as the inner arcade of the sanctuary still is, of thick squat piers carrying transverse arches and intersecting vaults. The original north and south arcades and the outer arcades of the sanctuary have fallen, but the remains of the springing of intersecting vaults are still visible on the north and south walls, and at the north end of the west arcade also. From these remains it is clear that the sides of the *ṣaḥn* were originally bounded by arches as follows : east side, 3; west, 3; north, 4; south, 4. Ibrahîm Aghâ, instead of rebuilding the fallen portions in their original form, replaced them by lighter arcades carrying a flat timber roof, resting on piers on the north side, and on columns and piers on the east and south. He did not even follow the original spacing, the present number of arches being as follows : east, 5; north, 5; south, 3. These latter only occupy half the south side, the remaining space being occupied by his mausoleum, which has a flat timber roof level with the rest of the building. There are three bays on the west side which remain nearly in their original state, except that the centre and north bays now have a flat timber roof; remains, however, of the springing of an intersecting vault may still be seen in each of the four corners of the north bay. The dome over the space in front of the miḥrâb presents novel features, resting as it does on a high octagonal drum composed internally of simple squinches alternating with double lights. This I attribute to the original building also, as a similar arrangement is found in the Mosque-Mausoleum of the Emîr Tankizbughâ, 764 H. (1362), and in the two mausoleums of Sultan Sha'bân's Madrassa, 770 H. (1368-1369). At the

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north-west corner of this mosque is the tomb of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Kujuk, who was strangled in 746 H. There is an inscription on the west façade which contains this date, but as he is referred to in terms which show that he was no longer living, it follows that this mausoleum was constructed after his death, and there is little doubt that it was built at the same time as the mosque under discussion, of which it forms an integral part.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 197-198 and 200-206; and *C. R.*, 1884, p. 9.

747-748 1346-1347 GATE OF THE PALACE OF THE EMÎR MANGAK AS-SILÂḤDÂR (No. 247 on Plan). — This building consists of a square vestibule covered by a shallow dome on «continuous-sphere» pendentives. An inscription running round the outer edge of this dome, just above the pendentives, states that it was built by Seyf ad-Dîn Mangak, the sword-bearer of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, but omits the date. This is evidently the same person as Mangak al-Yûsufy, who was sword-bearer in 747 H. at the coming of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥâggy, who nominated him Chamberlain at Damascus. As Ḥâggy was murdered in Ramaḍân 748 (December 1347), it follows that this building must have been erected between 747 and 748.

See *C. R.*, 1894, pp. 45-46; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 737-738.

748 1347 MADRASSA OF QAṬLÛBUGHÂ AZ-ZAHABY (No. 242 on Plan). — Built, according to an inscription running across the façade, in Muḥarram -48. As this Emîr was a contemporary of Sultan Ḥasan, and took part in his arrest in 752 H., the missing figure must be 7.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 206-207.

748 1347 MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR ARGHÛN AL-ISMA'ÎLY (No. 253 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 327), this mosque was finished in Sha'bân 748 (November-December 1347). An inscription to right and left of the north entrance and a second on a panel of wood over the door of the *minbar* both confirm this date.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 198-200.

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MAUSOLEUM AND KHÂNQÂ OF THE PRINCESS ṬOGHÂY, known also under the names of Khawend Umm Anûk, Khawend Baraka and Tekiyat ash-Sharqâwy (No. 81 on Plan). — All the inscriptions on this building are Quranic, but it may be identified from the statement of Maqrîzî (II, pp. 66-67), that the Princess Ṭulbîya had her mausoleum built opposite the Khânqâ founded by the Princess Ṭoghây, which was one of the most beautiful monuments and stood in the same grounds as the Mausoleum of Ṭashtimur. The building under discussion stands on the opposite side of the road to the Mausoleum of the Princess Ṭulbîya, and quite close to the Mausoleum of Ṭashtimur. As Maqrîzî states (II, p. 426) that the Princess Ṭoghây died in Shawâl 749 (January 1348), it follows that her Mausoleum and Khânqâ must have been built before that date. — Before 749 — 1348

See C. Prost, *Les revêtements céramiques, etc., loc. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR MANGAK AL-YÛSUFY (No. 138 on Plan). — Finished in 750 H. according to an inscription on a panel over the door of the *minbar*. Maqrîzî (II, p. 320) says 751, but Prof. van Berchem suggests that this refers to the inauguration. — 750 — 1349

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 207-209.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR SHEYKHÛ (No. 147 on Plan). — An inscription, under the stalactites of the entrance bay, states that it was built in 750, which is at variance with Maqrîzî (II, p. 313), who says 756. Maqrîzî, however, is probably wrong here as he says that the convent was built after the mosque, and that it was commenced in the first month of 756. The mosque must therefore have been built before 756. — 750 — 1349

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 231-232.

PALACE OF THE EMÎR ṬÂZ (No. 267 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 73) states that this palace was built in 753 H. and that it stood near the Madrassa al-Bunduqdârîya (which is now known as Zâwiyat al-Abbâr), and to the right of the road which goes from aṣ-Ṣalîba to al-Baqar and the Bâb Zuweyla, all of which agrees with present conditions. Its remains are incorporated in the Muḥammadîya School, and consist of an entrance with a stalactite head on the — 753 — 1352

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east side of as-Seyûfîya, and the walls of the great qâʿa together with its massive vaulted substructure which form the south-east corner of the School buildings. The roof of this qâʿa is late and very inferior, and the interior has been very much disfigured with paint in the vilest taste, but at the northern end there still remain great strips of wood carved with inscriptions in panels enumerating the titles of the Emîr Ṭâz, but stopping short of his name. At the north-west corner of this qâʿa is a door leading into a room which still retains a wooden ceiling in the same style as that in the Palace of Beshtâk, but now disfigured with paint in the same bad taste as the qâʿa itself. At the back of the building in a line with the north end of the qâʿa is an arched doorway with curious non-concentric rings of voussoirs.

755 1354 SEBÎL OF THE EMÎR SHEYKHÛ (No. 144 on Plan). — Finished, according to an inscription in the central bay under the semi-dome, in Dhu l-qaʿda 755 (November-December 1354).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 229-230; and *C. R.*, 1894, p. 115.

756 1355 CONVENT AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR SHEYKHÛ (No. 152 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 421) states that the work of clearing the site began in Muḥarram 756 and that the building was finished in the same year. According to an inscription on a large slab of marble in the entrance bay, over the doorway, this building was commenced Rabîʿ I 756 (March-April 1355) and finished in Shawâl of the same year (October-November 1355). The two inferior wooden domes which rise above the roof are quite unlike the wooden dome, dated 764 H., over the fountain in the *ṣaḥn* of Sultan Ḥasan's Madrassa, and I attribute them to the restoration of Bilâl Aghâ in 1095 H. (1683-1684), which is mentioned in an inscription which no longer exists, but which was seen by Mehren and ʿAly Pasha, on the tomb of Sheykh Akmal ad-Dîn Muḥammad at the north-east angle of the sanctuary.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 232-239.

757 1356 CONVENT OF THE SHEYKH NIẒÂM AD-DÎN ISḤÂQ (No. 140 on Plan). — According to an inscription running across the entrance in the north-west façade, the construction of this building was ordered in 757 H.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 242-245.

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MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ṢARGHATMISH (No. 218 on Plan). — According to an inscription to right and left of the doorway, the foundation was ordered in Rabîʿ II 757 (April 1356). Maqrîzî (II, p. 403) gives Ramaḍân 756 (September-October 1355) for the commencement of the works, and Gumâdâ I 757 (May 1356) for the completion. 757 1356

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 240-242, and 768 (*errata*).

MADRASSA OF NÂṢIR AD-DÎN MUḤAMMAD, also known as the Madrassa of Badr ad-Dîn al-ʿAgamy (No. 39 on Plan). — Maqrîzî says (II, p. 392) that the Madrassa Badîrîya, which stood in the neighbourhood of the secondary entrance (Bâb as-Sirr) of the Madrassa Ṣâliḥîya, was built by Nâṣir ad-Dîn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Badîr al-ʿAbbâsy in 758 H. The building under discussion occupies just this position, and further, the pier supporting the northern half of the arch of the east lîwân bears the tail end of an inscription as follows : « . . . . . and that in the months of the year 758 ». The combination of site and date authorizes the identification adopted above. With the exception of the east lîwân, and its miḥrâb, this edifice is in an advanced state of ruin. The west façade, however, which consists solely of a stalactite portal, is in good condition, but is modern, having been rebuilt about 40 years ago. 758 1357

See *C. I. A.*, p. 246; *C. R.*, 1906, p. 16, and 1913, pp. 145-146, also plate IX for a photograph showing the inscription.

MADRASSA AṢ-ṢÂḤIBÎYA, also known as the Mosque of Gamâly Yûsuf (No. 178 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 171) states that this Madrassa was founded by the Ṣâḥib Ṣafy ad-Dîn ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAly, who endowed it in favour of the Malikites. He adds that in Shaʿbân 758 it was restored (rebuilt?) by the Qâḍy ʿAlam ad-Dîn Ibrahîm ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭîf, known as Ibn az-Zubayr. The only part of the present building which can date from 758 H. is the entrance, which has a stalactite head (Plate XVII, A). A double moulding in strong relief follows the extrados of the trefoil arch, and the whole upper portion is enclosed in a rectangular frame connected with the apex of the trefoil arch by a little loop. The first entrance in this style is the west entrance of the Madrassa of Aṣlam 758 1357

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al-Bahâ'y, which is dated Ragab 746 (October-November 1345). The interior is in late Stambuly style (Plate XVII, B) and is probably subsequent to A. D. 1800.

757-764 1356-1362/3 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN ḤASAN (No. 133 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 316), this great building was commenced in 757 H., and the works were pressed without relaxation for three years. The original plan comprised four minarets, but when three of them had been built, one, which arose over the entrance, fell on 6 Rabîʿ II 762 (13th February 1361), killing about 300 people in its fall. The Sultan was put to death 10 Gumâdâ I 762, thirty-three days after this event. As the two following inscriptions show by the expressions employed that the Sultan was living when they were carved, it follows that the shell of the building was practically finished before his death : (1) a circular line of Kufic on the exterior of the mausoleum at the summit of the engaged columns at the angles of the east façade; (2) an inscription in plaster applied to the stone walls of the Malikite madrassa. At the death of the Sultan, the marble panelling was not finished, but the eunuch Beshîr Aghâ al-Gamdâr completed it. Over the four doors, which open in the angles of the great court, and give access to the four madrassas arranged in the angles, are slabs of marble with inscriptions indicating that the building was finished in 764 H. In the interior of the mausoleum at the summit of the four walls is a great band of inscription on wood, stating that it was completed in the same year. The wooden dome over the fountain in the centre of the great court, bears round its middle a band of inscription which is Quranic, except for the last words «year 764» (1362-1363). The sarcophagus was only placed in the mausoleum by the Sultan's grand-nephew ʿAly in Dhu l-qaʿda 786 (December 1384). In the stormy times at the end of the XIVth century this mosque became a stronghold from whose lofty flat roof operations could be conducted against the Citadel. Barqûq, wishing to prevent this, blocked up the great entrance «behind the bronze door without equal», and removed the double staircase which led up to it. He commenced this demolition 8 Ṣafar 793 (15th January 1391). This bronze door was removed by al-Muayyad Sheykh, Thursday 17 Shawâl 819 (18th December 1416), to the mosque built by him alongside the Bâb Zuweyla. On Thursday 9 Ramaḍân 825 (27th August 1422) the call to prayer was

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made once more from the two minarets, and the double staircase was reconstructed. This was again destroyed at some period unknown, and the present single staircase built in its place. The dome one sees to-day is not the original one which was seen in 1616 by Pietro della Valle, who describes it as unique «in that it commences narrow, then swells out, and then contracts to a point like the egg of a hen». This dome was seen by Thèvenot in 1660, who states that it was full of holes made by cannon balls fired at the building by Sultan Selîm in 1517, when it was serving as a refuge for the fugitive Ṭûmân-Bây, the last Mamlûk Sultan. The east minaret fell 15 Muḥarram 1070 (2nd October 1659) and its fall no doubt completed the ruin of the dome. The present one, together with the small north-east minaret, probably dates from the restoration carried out by Ḥasan Aghâ under the Governorship of Ibrahîm Pasha in 1082 H. (1671-1672), which is recorded by two little plaques of marble in the principal lîwân to right and left of the miḥrâb. The *Comité* have spent about L. E. 20000 on the restoration of this great building.

See *C. R.*, 1906, pp. 104-111; *C. I. A.*, pp. 251-253, 269-273, 739-740; and Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du sultan Hassan*, pp. 4-7 and 13-20.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR TANKIZBUGHÂ (No. 298 on Plan). — This is merely the popular name of this edifice, which does not bear any historical inscription. We shall see that the Mausoleum of this Emîr is in the northern cemetery in the court of what was apparently a conventual establishment and that it was finished in 764 H. (1362). How then are we to explain the above attribution? Perhaps it was built by the Emîr in his lifetime and abandoned in favour of the mausoleum in the northern cemetery which, with its dependency, was a bigger undertaking only finished four years after his death. Even if the popular attribution is erroneous, I cannot help thinking that this mausoleum must be of about the same date, not only on account of the peculiar ornament, like the teeth of a saw, which stands out under the dome and which exactly resembles that under the cap of the minaret of the other building, but also on account of the pendentives, which are simple squinches with double lights between. The squinch pendentive experienced a revival at this time, e. g., Mosque of Aqsunqur 748 H., the actual Mausoleum of Tankizbughâ, 764 H., and the two mausoleums in Mosque of Sultan Shaʿbân, 770 H. c. 760 1359

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Except for these no other examples are known to me between the second quarter of the XIIth century (Mausoleum of Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣawâty) and the Turkish Conquest. The domes of this Mausoleum and that of the actual Mausoleum of Tankizbughâ are identical in the following respects : (1) flutings, salient and re-entrant alternately; (2) pierced at base with eight windows, each aperture spanned by a keel-arch; (3) eight blind niches between each window externally.

761 1359-1360 MADRASSA OF BESHÎR AGHÂ AL-GAMDÂR (No. 269 on Plan). — Built, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 399), in 761 H., on the site of the Masgid Sunqur Saʿdy, which was destroyed for the purpose.

[Communicated by Mrs. Devonshire.]

761 1360 MADRASSA OF PRINCESS TATAR AL-ḤEGÂZÎYA (No. 36 on Plan). — According to an inscription on a slab of marble above the entrance in the north façade, this Madrassa was finished 30 Ramaḍân 761 (14th August 1360). Maqrîzî (II, p. 383) gives the year but not the month.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 246-249.

763 1361-1362 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR MITHQÂL (No. 45 on Plan). — In the entrance bay above the little window over the door is an inscription of one line, which contains the name of Sâbiq ad-Dîn Mithqâl al-Anûky, who is described as chief of the eunuchs. Mithqâl occupied this post from 763 to 776. Maqrîzî does not give a date, but ʿAly Pasha (VI, p. 7), who does not cite his authority, gives 763 H. It is probable that he obtained this date from the archives of the Ministry of Wakfs, which possesses many original acts of foundation.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 249-250.

764 1362 MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR TANKIZBUGHÂ (in the desert at the foot of the Muqaṭṭam, No. 85 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance in the west façade states that the building was founded by Tankizbughâ, Rabîʿ I 764. A domed mausoleum stands free in the interior of the enclosure, and this bears an inscription at the summit of the four walls under

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the dome saying that « this dome was finished at the commencement of Rabîʿ I 764 » (December 1362). This date is four years after the death of the founder.

See *C. R.*, 1887, p. 10; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 273-274.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE PRINCESS ṬULBÎYA (No. 80 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the outer entrance states that this mausoleum was found by the Princess Ṭulbîya in 765 H. This entrance opens into an enclosure containing the domed mausoleum of the Princess. This contains a tomb with an inscription on its south face giving the date of her death as Friday 27 Rabîʿ II 765 (February 2nd 1364). 765 1363-1364

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 740-741; and H. C. Kay, *Arabic Inscriptions of Egypt*, in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, pp. 143-145.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ṬAIBUGHÂ (on the road leading from the Mosque-Mausoleum of Qâyt-Bây to the Mausoleum of the Emîr Tankizbughâ. Not shewn on the Plan of the *Comité*). — An inscription to right and left of the doorway states that this mausoleum was built by ʿAlâ ad-Dîn Ṭaibughâ, Emîr silâḥ of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf (Shaʿbân), but omits the date. Sultan Shaʿbân came to the throne in 764, so it must have been erected after that date, but before Ṣafar 768 (October 1366), on which date Ṭaibughâ ceased to be Emîr silâḥ, on appointment to the Governorship of Ḥamâh. He died in 769 H. Before 768 1366

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 275-276.

MADRASSA OF KHOSHQADAM AL-AḤMADY (No. 153 on Plan). — This building was originally a house, the qâʿa of which has been transformed into a mosque. To do this a minaret was added and a solid block of masonry erected in the east îwân. This block of masonry, which has been hollowed out to form a miḥrâb, stands almost free at the back of the east îwân. Around the walls runs a frieze with beautiful inscriptions in panels, of which the part over the entrance door gives the date of completion as Ragab 768 (or 778). Along the frieze of the vestibule and corridor is another inscription, containing a curious armorial badge and the name of Ṭashtimur ad-Dawâdâr al-Maliky al-Ashrafy, who died at Jerusalem 787 H., and who probably built the whole 768 or 778 1366/7-1376/7

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house. This passage is prolonged to the Court of Ablution, and on the ceiling of this portion, which is in quite a different style from the preceding, is a fragment of an inscription containing a reference to a Sultan Muayyad. There were two Sultans of this name — al-Muayyad Sheykh al-Maḥmûdy, who reigned from 1412 to 1421, and al-Muayyad Shihâb ad-Dîn Aḥmad, who only reigned 4 months in 1460. As the mutilated fragments of this inscription contain an *alef* and a *dal,* Herz concludes that it is the latter who is referred to. So much for the inscription — we must now turn to the texts. Ibn Iyâs states in his *Badâyeʿ az-Zohûr* that in Ramaḍân 891 (1486), the first *khuṭba* was pronounced in the madrassa of beautiful construction which Khoshqadam al-Aḥmady had founded in the quarter of Bâb ar-Rumeyla (this building is situated quite near the Meydân Rumeyla) and that it was originally a hall, in which a praying niche had been installed. ʿAly Pasha Mubârak, quoting as-Sakhâwy's *aḍ-Ḍauʾ al-Lâmiʿ*, says the same thing. The minaret is quite in keeping with the style of Qâyt-Bây. This minaret stands free at the north-east corner of the building. A wall runs from its outer face to the entrance of the mosque, but this wall, which makes an acute angle with the outer face of the east Ìwân, is modern.

See *C. R.*, 1906, pp. 56-57; and Herz Bey, *Mosquée Khochkadam el-Ahmadi, à Darb el-Hosr, au Caire,* in the *C. R.*, 1909, pp. 159-164.

770 1368-1369 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF SHAʿBÂN (No. 125 on Plan). — According to an inscription, in the upper part of the entrance bay, running round the arches of the decorative niches, the foundation of this madrassa was ordered by Sultan Shaʿbân «in the months of the year 770». This date occurs also in an inscription on a panel of wood above the window of the sebîl, to the left of the entrance. Adjoining the madrassa on its north side is a building which was possibly a school. Under the loggia which forms the first storey is a badly damaged band of inscription in the name of Sultan Shaʿbân.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 278-286.

771 1370 MOSQUE OF SIDI IBRAHÎM AL-ANṢÂRY (No. 310 on Plan). — Only the mausoleum belonging to the mosque remains, the mosque at present

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attached to this mausoleum being modern. Round the four walls of the mausoleum, on the exterior, once ran the following inscription of which even the traces have almost disappeared : «Has ordered the construction of this blessed mosque His Excellency..... and intendant of the buildings of the Sultan. At the date of the month of Ramaḍân of the year 771 [April 1370].» The name of the founder of the mosque is lacking, and its present attribution, which is incorrect, is taken from the tomb of a sheykh which is to be found under the dome.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 741-744.

MADRASSA OF ASSANBUGHÂ, or SANBUGHÂ, called Madrassa al-Bubakrîya by Maqrîzî (No. 185 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 390) states that this madrassa was founded by the Emîr Seyf ad-Dîn Bektimur al-Bubakry an-Nâṣiry in the year 772 H., and that he constructed at the side of it a sebîl and a school for poor children. Very extensive restorations were carried out here by the *Comité* in 1895, and a considerable part of the interior, including the north and south walls of the madrassa were rebuilt, but the qibla wall is the original one. Extensive alterations were made to the southern half of the façade, that portion formed by the sebîl-kuttâb being reconstructed (vide *C. R.*, 1895, plates XI-XIII). 772 1370

MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR ALGÂY AL-YÛSUFY (No. 131 on Plan). — Two inscriptions, one to right and left of the entrance, the other on a slab of stone in the entrance bay above the door, state that the Emîr Seyf ad-Dîn Algây ordered the foundation of «this mosque and this madrassa» in Ragab 774 (January 1373). Maqrîzî (II, p. 399) is therefore evidently at fault when he places the construction in 768 H. Algây did not occupy an important position at that time, was imprisoned the following year, and only attained in 774 H. the high rank of Atâbek, which would put him in a position to erect such a large edifice. He lost his life in 775 H. and was buried here on Friday 9 Muḥarram. 774 1373

See *C. R.*, 1890, p. 68; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 289-291.

MADRASSA AL-GHANNÂMÎYA (No. 96 on Plan). — This building exhibits several anomalies which show that it must originally have been not a madrassa 774 1372-1373

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but the qâʿa of a house. Its main axis lies north and south, there is a great stalactite frame at the back of the north lîwân which is a clear indication that there was once a *salsabîl* there, as is usual in a qâʿa, and there is a small miḥrâb set in the east side of the south lîwân, which is just what we find in the qâʿa of the house of Gamâl ad-Dîn az-Zahaby. This is confirmed by an inscription-frieze in the north lîwân below the great stalactite frame, which runs:

... أمر بانشاء هذه القاعة المباركة العبد الفقير الى الله شاكر بن الغنام غفر الله له بتاريخ شهور سنة اربع وسبعين وسبعمائة

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

There is a similar inscription under the ceiling of the same lîwân, but the date is omitted. Maqrîzî (II, p. 10) calls the building a madrassa, so that its conversion to this use must have taken place before 827 H. (1423), the year in which he probably finished the compilation of his *Khiṭaṭ*. In addition to the little miḥrâb in the east side of the south lîwân, there is a much larger one farther to the north, which by its mouldings is evidently of the Turkish period.

See *C. R.*, 1915 (advance draft, as yet unprinted).

Before 776 1374 MOSQUE OF AL-BAQARY, called Madrassa al-Baqarîya by Maqrîzî (No. 18 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 391) states that this madrassa was built by Shams ad-Dîn Shâkir ibn Ghazaîb, who was known under the name of Ibn al-Baqary, that he was a Copt who was administrator of the property of Sultan Ḥasan, and that he became a convert to Islâm. He adds that he died in 776 H. This mosque, once in an advanced state of ruin, has been in great part rebuilt, but it still retains its beautiful miḥrâb.

[Communicated by Mrs. Devonshire.]

MONUMENTS OF THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLÛKS.

Before 783 1382 MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR YÛNUS AD-DAWÂDÂR, also called Mausoleum of Monsi, or Onsi (No. 139 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 426) states

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that Yûnus built a mausoleum outside the Bâb al-Wazîr, which is a fairly accurate description of the position of this building which is just outside the site of the Bâb al-Ḥaṭṭâba, now pulled down. That it is the same building is proved by an inscription running round the base of the dome on the outside. This inscription is referred to in the *C. R.*, 1889, p. 146, as being placed too high to be legible from the ground. However, it has since been copied and given to me by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad, the *Comité*'s Inspector of Monuments. It runs as follows :

.....

أمر بانشاء هذه التربة المباركة من فضل الله تعالى وجزيل عطائه المقر العالى الاميرى الكبيرى الاجلى المحترمى المخدومى الشرفى يونس النيروزى الدوادار الملكى الظاهرى

The foundation of this blessed tomb was ordered, through the grace of God and the abundance of his gifts, by his High Excellency the Emîr, the great, the noble... Yûnus an-Nayrûzy ad-Dawâdâr al-Maliky aẓ-Ẓâhiry.

It also contains the heraldic badge of this Emîr in the panels between the windows (see Artin Pasha's *Étude du blason en Orient*, pp. 122-123 and fig. 98 *bis*), but there is no date. It must, however, have been built before 18 Shawâl 783 (5th January 1382) as the *Manhal aṣ-Ṣâfi* (quoted in the *C. I. A.*, p. 769) says that the Emîr Anas dying on that date was interred in the Mausoleum of the Emîr Yûnus ad-Dawâdâr. Yûnus himself was not buried here, as Maqrîzî (II, p. 426) states that he was killed in battle in Syria, 12 Rabîʿ II 791, and the *Manhal aṣ-Ṣâfi* adds that his head was sent to Yalbughâ, and interred in a mosque which he (Yûnus) had built at Damascus.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ANAS (No. 157 on Plan). — This mausoleum bears on its west face, above the entrance, two lines of inscription, carved in the facing stones, stating that «on Friday 18 Shawâl 783 (5th January 1382) died His Excellency Sharaf ad-Dîn Anas... father of His Excellency Seyf ad-Dîn Barqûq...». It must therefore have been built after this date. On the other hand, it must have been built before 19 Ramaḍân 784 (December 1382) as on that date Barqûq came to the throne and changed his surname of Seyf ad-Dîn into the sovereign form Seyf ad-Dunya wad-Dîn. 783-784 1382

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 293-294.

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785	1383	MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR AYTMISH AN-NAGÂSHY, also called Titmish al-Bagâsy (No. 250 on Plan). — Built, according to an inscription of one line running immediately below the stalactites of the entrance bay, in 785 H. This date is confirmed by Maqrîzî (II, p. 400).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 295-297.

786-788	1384-1386	MADRASSA OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AẒ-ẒÂHIR BARQÛQ (No. 187 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 418), the Sultan acquired the site 2 Ragab 786, commenced to clear it on the 24th and laid the foundations 8 Dhu l-qa'da. He gives 1st Gumâdâ II 788 for the completion of the works, and 11 Ragab for the inauguration. The year given for the completion of the works is confirmed by four inscriptions; (1) at the summit of the principal façade; (2) at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn*, above the lîwâns; (3) on the door of the corridor leading from the *ṣaḥn* to the mausoleum; (4) in the mausoleum at the summit of the four walls below the dome. These inscriptions, however, all agree in giving the date as 1st Rabî' I 788 (2nd April 1386). Extensive restorations have been carried out here by the *Comité;* for example, the ceiling of the east lîwân is new, and the dome, which had disappeared, was rebuilt in 1893.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 297-305; and *C. R.*, 1901, p. 149.

Before 789	1387	MOSQUE OF AL-'AMRY, at Akhmîm. — This mosque, which I have not visited and only know from photographs, is completely in ruin. Its walls are of crude brick from which nearly all the plaster coating has disappeared, except on the three miḥrâbs. A few columns — which are not classical — still stand and bear arches of an early type. A *terminus ad quem* is provided by a fallen column which bears a pious inscription dated 789 H. (1387), which is no doubt posterior to the construction of the mosque. Maqrîzî, in his chapter on Akhmîm, gives us no information, but I think it quite possible from the style of the miḥrâbs and the form of the arches that this mosque may date from the XIIIth century, even after making due allowance for its distance from the capital.

See *C. R.*, 1904, pp. 97-98, and plate III; and Maqrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, Bouriant's transl., *M. M. A. F. C.*, XVII, pp. 711-713.

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MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR ÎNÂL AL-YÛSUFY, also called Înâl al-Atâbky (No. 118 on Plan). — The great band of inscription at the summit of the façade is unfortunately illegible, but this madrassa, according to Maqrîzî (II, p. 401), was commenced by Înâl al-Yûsufy in 794 H. and finished in 795 H. An inscription carved on the lintel of the *mazyara* to the right of the entrance of the madrassa runs « . . . this blessed sebîl . . . the late Seyf ad-Dîn, the Atâbek . . . ». He died 14 Gumâdâ II 794, and was buried provisionally outside Cairo, but his body was transported to this madrassa when it was finished. To the right (south) of the entrance is a sebîl, and on a panel of wood above the window-grille is an inscription which runs « . . . this has been finished in the month of Muḥarram of the year 846 (May-June 1442) ». One must therefore conclude that a restoration took place in this year. 794-795 1392-1393

See *C. R.*, 1897, p. 92; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 306-307 and 744.

MADRASSA OF MAḤMÛD AL-KURDY (No. 117 on Plan). — This madrassa contains no inscriptions, but Maqrîzî (II, p. 395) states that it was situated in the Khaṭṭ al-Muzayyinîn, outside the Bâb Zuweyla (which agrees with its present position), and that it was built by the Emîr Gamâl ad-Dîn Maḥmûd ibn ʿAly al-Ustâdâr, in 797 H. He died Saturday evening 9 Ragab 799, and was buried here the following day. According to ʿAly Pasha Mubârak, this Emîr owed his surname of al-Kurdy to a sect of dervishes. 797 1395

[Communicated by Mrs. Devonshire.]

MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR MUQBIL AR-RÛMY, also called Muqbil ad-Dâwûdy (No. 177 on Plan). — Built, according to an inscription running across the entrance, in Muḥarram 798 (October-November 1395). Maqrîzî (II, p. 394) calls this building the Zimâmîya, and states that it was built (commenced?) in 797 H. The only part of the present building which is old is the entrance, all the rest being of the most shoddy description. 798 1395

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 307-308.

MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR SÛDÛN MIRZÂDA (No. 127 on Plan). — The interior is in utter ruin, and the walls only rise about fifteen feet above the 804 1401

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ground. It was built, according to an inscription to right and left of the entrance, 1st Rabîʿ II 804 (8th November 1401).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 312-313, and Herz Bey, *Mosquée Soudoun Mîr Zadeh*, in the *C. R.*, 1903, pp. 89-92.

805 1403 MAUSOLEUM OF GUZAL, known as the Mausoleum of Karkar (No. 89 on Plan). — An inscription over the door copied and given to me by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad runs :

أمر بأنشاء هذه التربة المباركة المقر العالى السيفى جزل الناصرى الملكى ال..... ۞ وكان الفراغ من عمارتها فى عاشر شهر جمادى الاخر سنة خمس وثمان مائة غفر الله.....

The foundation of this blessed tomb was ordered by His Excellency, the noble as-Seyfy Guzal an-Nâṣiry, al-Maliky, al..... and the completion of it was on the 10th of the month of Gumâdâ al-Âkher of the year five and eight hundred (5th January 1403). God forgive.....

Karkar (كركر) is a misreading for Guzal (جزل).

c. 803-808 1400-1406 KHÂNQÂ OF SAʿD AD-DÎN IBN GHURÂB (No. 312 on Plan). — This building, which was in an advanced state of ruin until it was restored by the *Comité* in 1910-1911, bears a badly damaged inscription to right and left of the doorway containing the name of «Ibrahîm ibn Ghurâb, Grand Majordomo», but the date is effaced. It is in the Darb al-Gamâmîz nearly opposite the Mosque of Beshtâk, and its position consequently corresponds exactly with that of the Khânqâ of Saʿd ad-Dîn, which Maqrîzî (II, p. 419) says was on the Grand Canal (which ran parallel and close to the Darb al-Gamâmîz) in the neighbourhood of the Mosque of Beshtâk and to the west of it. He also states that Saʿd ad-Dîn became Majordomo 14 Ragab 803 (29th February 1400) and died 19 Ramaḍân 808 (11th March 1406). I therefore place the building between these two dates.

See *C. R.*, 1890, pp. 78-79; and 1911, pp. 125-131.

c. 808 1406 MAUSOLEUM OF SAʿD AD-DÎN IBN GHURÂB (No. 94 on Plan). — Maqrîzî (II, p. 419) states that he died 19 Ramaḍân 808 (11th March 1406) when less than thirty years of age, so I date this mausoleum c. 808. He adds

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that he was buried outside the Bâb al-Maḥrûq, but this mausoleum contains no inscriptions and its identification rests upon popular tradition.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR GAMÂL AD-DÎN YÛSUF AL-USTÂDÂR (No. 35 on Plan). — Built, according to an inscription running round the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn*, in Rabîʿ I 811 (July-August 1408). Maqrîzî (II, p. 401) gives 5 Gumâdâ I 810 (9th October 1407) for the commencement of the works, and 3 Ragab 811 (19th December 1408) for the inauguration, i. e. four months after the completion. 811 1408

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 313-315.

MADRASSA OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AN-NÂṢIR FARAG (No. 203 on Plan). — Two inscriptions, one to right and left of the entrance, the other on a panel of wood above the grille of the sebîl, both state that the construction of this building was ordered by Farag, but give no date. Maqrîzî (I, p. 381) does not give a date either, but he says that it was built by Yûsuf al-Ustâdâr in the name of Farag. As this Emîr died at the commencement of 812 (1409), this madrassa must have been built before that date. Before 812 1409

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 332-333.

CONVENT AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE SULTANS BARQÛQ AND FARAG (No. 149 on Plan). — Although this building contains the mausoleum of Barqûq (at the north-east angle), he had no hand in its building, as he died 15 Shawâl 801 (20th June 1399) and the north-east mausoleum — the earliest part of the building — was only commenced by his son Farag, according to an inscription at the summit of the four walls below the dome, in 803 H. (1400-1401). This duty had been committed to him by the will (*waṣîya*) of his father, as is stated on the column of marble standing before the tomb of Barqûq. Farag was dethroned by his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz in 808, before this mausoleum was finished, and an inscription on the wall states that the latter ordered its completion 2 Gumâdâ II 808 (25th November 1405). He was, however, dethroned by his brother before the end of the month, and this mausoleum was only finished by the latter in Muḥarram 810 (June 1407) according to an inscription on a slab of marble on the rear 803-813 1400-1410

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face of the tomb, behind the column. The rest of the building must have been still unfinished at this date, since the south-east mausoleum, the face of the east Ìwân, and the north-west portal all bear inscriptions dated 813 (1410-1411). Maqrìzî describes its inauguration, which he states took place 15 Rabîʿ I 813 (18th July 1410). The beautiful stone minbar, according to an inscription, was made by the order of Qâyt-Bây, in Rabîʿ II 888 (May-June 1483).

See Mehren, *Mélanges asiatiques*, VI, pp. 535-544; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 316-331.

814 1411 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF AL-ʿAYNY (No. 102 on Plan). — ʿAly Pasha Mubârak (*Khiṭaṭ al-Gedìda*, VI, p. 10) states that this madrassa was built by the Sheykh Maḥmûd al-ʿAyny al-Ḥanafy in the year 814 H. An inscription on the frieze of the ceiling of the vestibule, which has been copied and given to me by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad, runs :

أمر بتجديد هذا السقف بانى هذه المدرسة السعيد الفقير الى الله تعالى ابو محمد محمود ابن احمد العينى الحنفى عامله ربه ووالداه بلطفه الخفى وذلك بتاريخ الثالث والعشرين من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة خمسة وثلاثين وثمان مائه من الهجرة النبوية.....

The renovation of this ceiling was ordered by the founder of this madrassa, the Saʿîd, the poor-in-God Abû Muḥammad Maḥmûd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAyny, the Hanafite. God and his parents endowed him with God's grace. The date of this was the 23rd of the month Rabîʿ al-Akher, in the year five and thirty and eight hundred of the Prophet's Flight (29th November 1431).....

Sheykh al-ʿAyny died and was buried here in 855 (1451).

818 1415 MOSQUE OF AZ-ZÂHED (No. 83 on Plan). — Maqrìzî (II, p. 327) states that this mosque was built by Sheykh Aḥmad ibn..... who was known as az-Zâhed, in Ramaḍân 818 (November 1415). All is quite modern, however, except the remains of the minaret.

818-823 1415-1420 MOSQUE OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-MUAYYAD SHEYKH (No. 190 on Plan). — Maqrìzî, who saw this mosque being built, gives the following particulars (II, pp. 328-330). The site was chosen 4 Rabîʿ I 818, and on 4 Gumâdâ II, they commenced to excavate for the foundations; the first stone

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was placed 5 Ṣafar 819, and the works were continued until 17 Rabîʿ I. This day the Sultan made known the purpose of the edifice and endowed it with rich foundations. In Shaʿbân they collected the columns and marble panelling, and on 27 Shawâl the Sultan transferred to this mosque the door and the great bronze chandelier from the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, at that time practically deserted by worshippers, its great doorway having been walled up by Barqûq. On 2 Gumâdâ I, they held the first Friday service in the sanctuary, which was the only part completed at the time. On 5 Ramaḍân they took in hand the ablution tank, which was finished at the end of the month. On 2 Rabîʿ II 821 it was discovered that of the two minarets built on the Bâb Zuweyla, the western one was leaning and threatening to fall. They therefore commenced to demolish it on the 24th. The mosque was inaugurated on Friday 21 Shawâl 822, but was still unfinished at the death of the Sultan, which took place 8 Muḥarram 824; the double staircase leading up to the principal entrance, for example, was not finished till Ramaḍân, and the mausoleum of the Sultan until Dhu l-qaʿda. This double staircase existed in 1826, when Coste planned the Mosque, but had disappeared by 1890, and the present one is a modern restoration based on Coste's drawings. There are four dated inscriptions: one on the east minaret above the entrance dated 1st Ragab 822 (24th July 1419); one on the west minaret also above the entrance, dated Shaʿbân 823 (August-September 1420), and one to the right and left of the main entrance dated 823 H. (1420). An inscription on medallions embedded in the east wall of the sanctuary records a restoration by Ibrahîm Pasha, the son of Muḥammad ʿAly, in 1255 H. (1839-1840). Whether the restoration included any structural work in addition to daubing the building with stripes of red, black and white, I cannot say; certain it is, however, that in Mehren's day (say 1870) the whole building was in ruin except the east lîwân and its dependencies. From 1870 to 1874 the Administration of Wakfs commenced the reconstruction of the three other lîwâns, but the work was in very bad taste and remained unfinished. The *Comité,* however, since 1885 has carried out very extensive works here, and something like L. E. 6000 has been spent.

See *C. R.*, 1890, pp. 69-77, with two plans, one by Coste dated 1826 — to be accepted with reserve as it contains some palpable errors — and one by the *Comité* dated 1890; also *C. I. A.*, pp. 335-343.

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821 1418 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR ʿABD AL-GHANY, called by Maqrîzî Gâmiʿ al-Fakhry, and also known as Gâmiʿ al-Banât (No. 184 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 328), the founder, the Emîr and Ustâdâr Fakhr ad-Dîn ʿAbd al-Ghany, died Shawâl 821, and was buried in this building, which was only finished after his death. It was inaugurated 28 Shaʿbân 821 (30th September 1418). An inscription on a slab of marble in the entrance bay above the door, states that this edifice was repaired and its minaret built by the mother of Ḥusseyn Bey, the son of Muḥammad ʿAly, in 1268 H. (1851-1852). The work must have been of a very extensive nature. It has also been restored by the *Comité*.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 334-335.

821-823 1418-1420 MÂRISTÂN OF AL-MUAYYAD (No. 257 on Plan). — The identification of this great building was first based on the name «Ḥâret al-Muristân» of the alleys which partly surround it, and has been confirmed by the *waqfiya*, dated 1124 H. (1712) of the Gâmiʿ as-Sukkary, which is built against its façade. This mosque is stated therein to be «contiguous to the ancient Bimaristân». Maqrîzî (II, p. 408) states that the latter was founded by Sultan al-Muayyad in 821 H. (1418), and took two years and three months to build. It became a mosque in 825 H., and a *minbar* was placed there. It must have gone out of use before 1123 H. (1711), the date on which the Gâmiʿ as-Sukkary was built up against its fine façade and splendid portal, the finest and largest in Cairo.

See *C. R.*, 1896, pp. 17-19 and 47.

822-823 1419-1420 MADRASSA OF THE JUDGE ʿABD AL-BÂSIṬ (No. 60 on Plan). — According to Maqrîzî (II, p. 331), this building was constructed in 822 H. and inaugurated Friday 2 Ṣafar 823 (17th February 1420). An inscription at the summit of the east façade, above the principal entrance, states that it was commenced Gumâdâ I 823, and finished Gumâdâ I 823 (May-June 1420). As the edifice cannot have been built in a month, the first date must be a slip for 822, which would bring it into agreement with Maqrîzî.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 344-349 and 770-771.

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BATH OF SULTAN AL-MUAYYAD (not marked on any plan of Cairo, but situated at the south-west corner of the mosque, between Darb Saʿâda and Shâriʿ Taḥt ar-Rabʿ). — This bath, the dome of which has fallen in, must have been a very fine one of its kind; it still exists although the view of it shown in Saladin's work, fig. 93, is marked «actuellement détruit». It was de-classed by the *Comité* some time ago, but is now receiving attention and is about to be re-classed. The pendentives which once supported the dome of the main hall are very fine, and are particularly remarkable owing to the large number of stalactites which hang free. This feature, common in the stalactite heads of entrance bays, is almost unique among pendentives, the only other example known to me in Egypt occurring in the Mausoleum of Sûdûn al-Qaṣrawy (c. 1470). This bath would therefore be extremely difficult to date, were it not for the fact that it forms part of the *waqfiya* of the Mosque of al-Muayyad, of which building it almost forms an integral part, as may be realised on looking at Coste's plan made in 1826 (*Architecture arabe, ou Monuments du Caire,* plate XXVII). ʿAly Pasha Mubârak, in his *Khiṭaṭ al-Gedida,* vol. V, pp. 35-36, gives a résumé of the entries in the endowments ledger of this mosque, and amongst them is a reference to a bath whose position corresponds exactly with this one. This bath is again referred to in volume VI, p. 71; he states that it had two entrances, one in the Shâriʿ Taḥt ar-Rabʿ, and another in the Ḥâret al-Ashraqîya which must be the modern Darb Saʿâda; he adds that it was ancient, having been founded by Sultan al-Muayyad after the construction of the Mosque, and that it was still in use in his day. As the Sultan died in Muḥarram 824 (January 1421), this bath must have been built in 823 H. 823 1420

MADRASSA OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF BARSBÂY (No. 175 on Plan). — A great band of inscription at the summit of the east façade states that this madrassa was built in the period comprised between Shaʿbân 826 and Gumâdâ I 827 (July 1423 and April 1424). These two dates are exactly confirmed by Maqrîzî (II, p. 330), who adds the additional information that they commenced to clear the site on the 1st Ragab 826, and celebrated the first Friday service 7 Gumâdâ I 827. Ibn Iyâs, however, says that the madrassa was only finished in 829 H. 826-827 1423-1424

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 349-351.

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829 1425 MOSQUE OF KÂFÛR AZ-ZIMÂM (No. 107 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that the works were finished Gumâdâ II 819 (August 1416). On the other hand, a band of inscription running along the summit of the north and east façades reads «Has ordered the foundation of this blessed mosque and sebîl, al-Muayyady ash-Shibly Shibl ad-Dawla Kâfûr Zimâm al-Adur ash-Sherîfa, the great Sheykh of the Chiefs of the Servitors of the Ḥaram ash-Sharîf an-Nabawy, may the blessing of God descend on those who live there. The works of this blessed place were finished in the month of Ragab al-Fard of the year 829 of the Hegra of the Prophet.» The sculptor has probably committed an error in the first inscription, displacing a ع which occurs in the second after the word *tissʿa,* and has omitted the ين which serve to complete *ʿashara* and form *ʿashrîn.* The correct date must therefore be 829 H. Works of restoration were carried out here in 1912-1914 (see *C. R.,* 1914, pp. 19-20).

[Communicated by Signor A. Patricolo.]

830 1426-1427 MOSQUE AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR GÂNÎ-BAK (No. 119 on Plan). — Built, according to an inscription to right and left of the entrance, «in the months of the year 830». Maqrîzî (*Sulûk,* Paris MS., 1727, f° 379 v°) states that the inauguration took place on Friday 2 Ramaḍân 830 (27th June 1427). Gânî-bak died in 831 H. and was buried here. His body, however, was removed shortly after. See under 835 H. — Mausoleum of the Emîr Gânî-bak.

See *C. I. A.,* pp. 360-363.

830 1426-1427 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR FAYRÛZ, popularly known as Gâmiʿ Sidi Farûs (No. 192 on Plan). — An inscription in the entrance bay, above the window over the door, states that this mosque was built in the year 830. Fayrûz died in Shaʿbân 848 H., and was buried here.

See *C. I. A.,* pp. 363-365.

833 1430 MOSQUE OF GÔHAR AL-LÂLÂ (No. 134 on Plan). — This mosque only contains one historical inscription, much damaged, which is found on the *mazyara* (recess for the great jar of drinking water) carved on a panel of wood, in five lines. Unfortunately the name, titles and date have disappeared. The

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waqfiya of this mosque, however, is dated 833 H. (1430) so it was no doubt finished by then. Gôhar al-Lâlâ was a freed slave of Sultan Barsbây. The dome is clearly a late re-construction, the material changing from stone to brick at the roof level. The minaret is obviously late and decadent work also. Extensive restorations were carried out by the *Comité* between 1895 and 1898, and the present roof of the *ṣaḥn* was constructed in the latter year.

See *C. R.*, 1892, pp. 59-62; and 1902, pp. 144-146.

MOSQUE OF AS-SUEYDY (No. 318 on Plan). — This mosque possesses a stalactite portal with the following distinctive features: (1) a tre-foil opening set in a rectangular frame; (2) a window with a rectangular stalactite head in the wall space above the doorway and below the stalactites. The earliest example of (1) occurs in the Mosque of Assanbughâ, 772 H. (1370), and of (2) in the Mosque of Gamâl ad-Dîn al-Ustâdâr, 810-811 H. (1407-1408). On the other hand, the decorative motive consisting of two parallel lines joined at intervals by little loops, which frames so many doorways after c. 1450 A. D. (e. g. Madrassa of Sultan Înâl), is not found here. On architectural grounds one would therefore be justified in placing it c. 1410-1450. There is however historical evidence which enables us to fix it more closely. Signor Patricolo has been kind enough to send me an extract from Sakhâwy (*at-Tibr al-masbûk*, p. 9), from which the following particulars are obtained. Badr ad-Dîn ibn as-Sueydy commenced the construction of this mosque, but dying before it was finished, left 4000 dinars for its completion, and appointed his son Wagîa ad-Dîn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân as trustee. The latter finished it, but turned it from a madrassa into a mosque at the wish of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbây. After the death of Wagîa, his son Fatḥ ad-Dîn obtained a judgment from the Maḥkama on 8 Ṣafar 845 (28th June 1441), and converted it once more into a madrassa. On the 24th of the same month it was again established as a mosque by order of this Sultan. It must therefore have been finished before 1441, but after 1422 when Barsbây began to reign; say c. 1430. c. 1430

See *C. R.*, 1901, pp. 141-142.

CONVENT AND MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF BARSBÂY (No. 121 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the 835 1432

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entrance states that this building was «finished in the month of Dhu l-ḥigga of the year 835 (August 1432). Behind the great mausoleum there is an isolated mausoleum consisting of a fairly large dome, decorated with exactly the same interlacing design as the other, and standing on four walls each of which is pierced with a large open arch. Embedded in the walls of the ruined convent which lies to the south of the mausoleum are seven (once nine) long plaques of marble containing extracts from three acts of endowment relative to the mausoleum. As they refer to the upkeep of other mausoleums erected in the Sultan's funerary enclosure in the desert, I conclude that this is one of them, and that it was probably built at the same time.

See Mehren, *La coupole de Mélik el-Ashraf Abou-l-Nassr Barsbay,* in the *Mélanges asiatiques,* VI, pp. 151-160; and *C. I. A.,* pp. 365-374.

c. 835 1432 MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR GÂNÎ-BAK (No. 122 on Plan). — This building, known popularly as the Mausoleum of Gânem al-Ashrafy, contains no historical inscription, but it has been identified by the *Comité* with that of the Emîr Gânî-bak, on account of a passage in the *Manhal aṣ-Ṣâfi* (p. 461) which states that this Emîr died in 831 H. (1428) and was buried in his madrassa, but that after a while his body was transferred to a mausoleum which his master Barsbây had built near his own mausoleum. This little mausoleum stands about fifty yards to the north of the mausoleum of Sultan Barsbây and in a line with its façade. The interlacing design carved on its dome is identical with that carved on the dome of the mausoleum behind that of Barsbây, and is similar to that carved on the dome of the mausoleum of Barsbây himself.

c. 1430-1440 MAUSOLEUM OF KHADÎGA UMM AL-ASHRAF (No. 106 on Plan). — This mausoleum, which is known to the people under the above name, Barsbây presumably being meant, is without inscriptions. It has, however, one very distinctive feature, which should enable us to fix its date fairly approximately, and that is the decoration of its dome (Plate XVI, B). Only five other examples of this ornament are known to me. It first appears in the minaret of the mosque of Assanbughâ, 772 H. (1370), and afterwards on the minarets of the mausoleum of Barqûq and Farag, finished 813 H. (1410-1411) on the

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minaret of the madrassa of Barsbây, 827 H. (1424), and on the minaret of the madrassa of Qarâqoga al-Ḥassany, 845 H. (1441-1442). The only example of it on a dome, besides the present instance, occurs on the dome of the mausoleum attached to the Madrassa of Taghry Bardy, built 844 H. This date, together with the tradition which attributes it to the mother of Barsbây, justifies us, I think, in placing it between 1430-1440. I do not know the date of the death of the mother of Barsbây.

MOSQUE OF SULTAN BARSBÂY, at al-Khânqâ. — An inscription in the entrance bay, just under the stalactites, states that «this building was finished 1st Gumâdâ I of the year 841 of the Hegra» (31st October 1437). Abû l-Maḥâsin (*Nujûm*, Paris MS., 1788, f° 24 v°) and the *Sulûk* (Paris MS., f° 441 v°) give Rabîʿ II 841 (October 1437) for its completion. 841 1437

See *C. R.*, 1894, pp. 141-144; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 375-377.

MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR TAGHRY BARDY, popularly called Saghri-Wardi (No. 209 on Plan). — A Quranic inscription running round the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn* ends : «In Gumâdâ Ist of the year 844» (October 1440). Another in the entrance bay above the door states that this edifice was built in the month of Gumâdâ II of the year 844 (November 1440). Sakhâwy (*at-Tibr al-masbûk*, p. 49) places the inauguration in Shawâl 844 (March 1441). 844 1440

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 379-381.

MOSQUE OF AL-MUʿEÎNY, at Damietta — This mosque does not contain any historical inscription, but ʿAly Pasha Mubârak (XI, p. 55), speaking of the distinguished personages of Damietta mentioned by Sakhâwy in the *aḍ-Ḍau' al-Lâmiʿ*, says : «Amongst others was Muḥammad surnamed Muʿeîn ad-Dîn whose family came from Faraskûr, but who was born and lived at Damietta, a financier of a famous commercial house». He goes on to say that he commenced life in poverty, but became rich and «built at Damietta an immense Madrassa and assigned to it a Sheykh and Sufis, and made the pilgrimage several times and remained some time in the holy places». He adds that in his youth his life was far from exemplary and that for this reason God punished him with leprosy which covered his whole body, and that he died about 860 H. 2nd quarter XVth century

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(1456) at a very advanced age. He therefore probably built his Madrassa when middle-aged.

[From information supplied by Signor A. Patricolo.]

2nd quarter XVth century

SULṬÂNÎYA MAUSOLEUM AND MINARET (Nos. 288 and 289[1] on Plan). — Although this building contains several bands of inscriptions, they are all Quranic, and its name is that given to it in popular tradition. It bears this designation on the map of the *Description*, and the tradition goes back to 986 H. (1578), being preserved in the *waqfiya* of the Mosque of Messîḥ Pasha completed in that year. This *waqfiya*, however, merely states that the Mosque of Messîḥ Pasha was built opposite the Mausoleum of the mother of Sultan Ḥasan[2], which is decidedly vague, and may or may not refer to the building under discussion, which stands about 100 yards away in a south-easterly direction. When one comes to examine its architectural features (Plates XVII-XVIII), one is surprised to find many of them unique, or almost unique, in Egypt, which naturally adds to the difficulty of dating it. For example, the domes of the two mausoleums on either side of the east Ìwân are double, and no other example of this peculiarity is known to me in Egypt. The treatment of the external ribs of the dome, which run down and rest on stalactite corbels, is only found elsewhere in Egypt in the dome of the Mausoleum of Yûnus ad-Dawâdâr (before A. D. 1382), which further resembles the one under consideration by having arabesques carved on the exterior between the windows of the drum. Its miḥrâb with stalactites in the semi-dome is also remarkable, the only other example showing this construction being that in the Mausoleum of the Madrassa of al-ʿAyny, 814 H. (1411). The miḥrâb is of stone unlike those of the second half of the XIVth century which are almost without exception of inlaid marble, and its spandrels are filled in with carved ornament, a treatment not found in any other miḥrâb until we come to the Madrassa of Qarâqoga al-Ḥassany, 845 H. (1441-1442), where the pattern, however, is quite different. Again, the Ìwân between the two mausoleums is covered by a tunnel-vault in stone. Only two other examples are known to me — the Madrassa of Barqûq, 758 H. (1386) and the Ribâṭ

[1] «Minaret du Milieu» of the *Comité*. — [2] Born A. D. 1333.

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of Sultan Înâl (reigned A. D. 1453-1461) which appears to have once been so roofed, although the present vault is mainly of brick. In all minarets of the XIVth century the bevelled transition from the square base to the octagon is effected in the plainest fashion. Here, however, the bevelled edge is inlaid *in relief* in a slightly different coloured stone. The first example known to me of a similar treatment occurs in the Madrassa of the Emîr Fayrûz, 830 H. (1426-1427). The triangles thus formed are decorated with arabesques. The first dated example of this feature is the Mosque of Mogholbây Ṭâz, 871 H. (1466). The stalactite pendentives of the southern mausoleum are unlike any others in Egypt, and those of the northern mausoleum are unique also, since the niches, instead of being set alternately, are arranged vertically over each other. The little « coquille » which ornaments the niches of the top tier is not found in the niches of *pendentives* until we come to the Mausoleum of Muayyad's Mosque (finished Dhu l-qa'da 824 = November 1421), and the Mausoleum of Barsbây, 835 H. (1432). It is therefore not surprising that this imposing monument, which when complete must have been really large, is not mentioned by Maqrîzî, who finished his *Khiṭaṭ* about 828 H. (1425). In spite of its peculiarities and the consequent difficulty in dating it, I reject the tradition which attributes it to the mother of Sultan Ḥasan, and consider that the features enumerated above justify one in placing it in the second quarter of the XVth century. There is a sunken panel running the whole length of the east façade, near the summit, but it has never received the inscription for which it was intended, and the drum of the south mausoleum, unlike that of the north one, is undecorated; — is it possible that this enigmatic building, which in style belongs to Samarkand rather than to Cairo, was never finished?

MOSQUE OF QARÂQOGA AL-ḤASSANY (No. 206 on Plan). — The inscriptions of this mosque have not been published; they are covered with a thick coating of paint, but with difficulty the date has been read as 845 H. This mosque was restored by the *Comité* in 1913. 845 1441-1442

See *C. R.*, 1891, p. 97, and 1914, pp. 14-15.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR QÂNIBÂY AL-JARKASSY (No. 154 on Plan). — The date 845 H. (1441-1442) was seen by Prof. van Berchem in the interior, 845 1441-1442

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in a long and badly damaged inscription, painted in white on the cornices of the ceiling, in a series of compartments, alternating with medallions containing heraldic badges. This inscription, unfortunately, no longer exists, the ceiling having been renewed as well as a great part of the mosque. Only the minaret has been classed by the *Comité*.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 381-383.

848 1444 MOSQUE OF YAḤYÂ ZEYN AD-DÎN, at Beyn an-Nehdeyn (No. 182 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance bears the date Gumâdâ I of the year 848 (August-September 1444). In the interior there is an inscription divided into four parts, one quarter being found facing the *ṣaḥn* under each return of the two arches which frame the east and west lîwâns. According to this inscription, the mosque «was commenced the... of the year 8** and finished 2 Shaʿbân of the year 848» (14th November 1444). The mausoleum of the founder, which adjoins the mosque on the south side, was built, according to an inscription which was published complete by Mehren (but of which only a few fragments existed in 1892), in the month of Gumâdâ II of the year 850 (September 1446). This mosque, when taken in hand by the *Comité*, was half ruined. At length, after works extending over thirteen years, its restoration was completed in 1897, at a total cost of L. E. 2711. The ceiling of the west lîwân, the whole of the minaret above the first gallery, and the upper floor of the sebîl date from this period.

Before 853 1449 MAUSOLEUM OF QARÂQOGA AL-ḤASSANY, known locally as the Mausoleum of as-Sâdât ash-Shanâhra (No. 86 on Plan). — According to an old document in the possession of Aḥmad Hâshim, who has charge of this part of the Qarâfa, this mausoleum, in spite of its popular name, is really that of Qarâqoga al-Ḥassany, who died 18 Ṣafar 853 (12th April 1449).

See *C. R.*, *Index général*, p. 44 n.

852-853 1448-1449 MOSQUE OF YAḤYÂ ZEYN AD-DÎN, at Bûlâq (No. 344 on Plan). — Sakhâwy (*aḍ-Ḍau' al-Lâmiʿ*, p. 217) states that «on Friday the 3rd of Ramaḍân of the year 852 (31st October 1448) the *khoṭba* was celebrated in the mosque built by az-Zeyn al-Ustâdâr on the bank of the Nile at Bûlâq». He adds that this was done in spite of the fact that the mosque was only finished the

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following year. Again, under the year 853, Sakhâwy (p. 270) states «In this year was finished the mosque constructed by az-Zeyn al-Ustâdâr, at Bûlâq, and of which we have already spoken». There are three entrances — north, west, and south, — and inscriptions in two bands are found in each, viz. :— in the entrance bay to right and left of the window above the doorway, and lower down to right and left of the doorway itself. The inscriptions on each entrance are apparently almost identical, but those on the first two are much damaged. They all agree in saying that the mosque was built by Zeyn ad-Dîn the Ustâdâr, but only the latter contains a date. It runs as follows :

..... وكان الفراغ من ذلك فى شهر شعبان سنة اثنى وثمان مائة

The completion of this was in the month of Sha'bân in the year two and eight hundred (April 1400).

This inscription is mentioned by 'Aly Pasha (V, p. 101). As Zeyn ad-Dîn was only a child at that time, the date is obviously a lapidary's error. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the name of Sultan Gaqmaq, who reigned 842-857 H. (1438-1453), occurs in two other inscriptions, one at the summit of the west wall of the *ṣaḥn* above the arches, and another running right across the miḥrâb, which contains the name of the founder, as follows :

أنشأ هذا الجامع فى صحائف مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد جقمق عز نصره فقير
رحمة ربه ابو زكريا يحيى الشافعى عامله الله بلطفه الخفى

This mosque was founded to the credit of our Lord the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Muḥammad Abû Sa'îd Gaqmaq, may his victory be exalted, by the poor-in-the-mercy of his Lord Abû Zakarîya Yaḥyâ ash-Shâf'ey.....

[From information supplied by Signor A. Patricolo.]

MOSQUE OF YAḤYÂ ZEYN AD-DÎN, at al-Ḥabbânîya (No. 204 on Plan). — There is a Quranic inscription on the miḥrâb, followed by a statement (copied and given to me by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad) which runs thus : 853-857 1449-1453

أنشأ هذا الجامع المبارك فى صحائف مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد عز نصره فقير
رحمة ربه يحيى عامله الله بلطفه بمحمد وآله

This blessed mosque was founded to the credit of our Lord the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Muḥammad Abû Sa'îd [i. e. Gaqmaq], may his victory be exalted, the poor-in-the-mercy of his Lord, Yaḥyâ.....

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Yaḥyâ Zeyn ad-Dîn must be meant, as Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 29) states that he built one in this quarter, and the style of this mosque, especially of the entrance and the miḥrâb, is in perfect keeping with the period. The reference to Sultan Gaqmaq in the inscription provides 857 H. (1453) — the date of his death — as a *terminus ad quem*. On the other hand, I think it must have been built later than his madrassa at Beyn an-Nehdeyn and mosque at Bûlâq, because (1) the head of the entrance bay, although similar in style, is distinctly more developed than that of his mosque at Bûlâq; and (2) a new decorative motive — a little loop connecting two parallel lines — which first appears on the base of the minaret of the Mosque of Qarâqoga al-Ḥassany, and, sparingly used, in the mosque of Zeyn ad-Dîn at Bûlâq, where it is to be seen on the miḥrâb and the base of the minaret only, is here more freely employed; (3) the miḥrâb is almost exactly identical with that in the Madrassa of Sultan Înâl, which is dated 860 H. (1456).

853 1449 MOSQUE OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AẒ-ẒÂHIR GAQMAQ (No. 217 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that this mosque was founded by «the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Muḥammad Abû Saʿîd Gaqmaq... the ninth of the month of Shaʿbân of the year 853» (27th September 1449). It is therefore through an error that it has been confused with the mosque built by Lâgîn as-Seyfy in 854 H.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 391-392.

c. 1450 MAUSOLEUM OF THE SABAʿ BANÂT (No. 110 on Plan). — This is merely the popular name of this mausoleum, which does not bear an inscription of any sort. The transition from the cubic base to the circle of the dome is treated externally in a very unusual manner, which is only found in two dated buildings, viz. : the Mausoleum of Înâl, 855 H. (1451), and the mausoleum which was added to the Mosque of Gânem al-Bahlawân in 916 H. (1510). It is also found in the Mausoleum of Gânî-bak which I put at 835 H. (1432). The treatment, therefore, although so rare does not by itself enable us to narrow down the date. Although the pendentives consist of five tiers of niches only, the niches themselves are very similar to those of the Mausoleum of Înâl, especially those of the top course, in which two types alter-

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nate, one with vertical, the other with radiating flutings. Other points in common with the Mausoleum of Înâl are (1) the tall dome, (2) the triple lights between the pendentives, (3) the number of windows — sixteen — round the base of the dome, and (4) the treatment of the four outer sides of the mausoleum. I therefore place it c. 1450 A. D. It possesses two unique features — the frieze of little niches at the summit of the four walls below the dome, and the external stalactite cornice below the drum of the dome.

MADRASSA AND SEBÎL OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AẒ-ẒÂHIR GAQMAQ (No. 180 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that this madrassa was finished 1st Muḥarram 855 (3rd February 1451). This date was seen by Mehren on a panel of wood above one of the doors of the *ṣaḥn,* but it has long since disappeared. The interior is mean and shabby, and only the façade has been classed by the *Comité.* 855 1451

See *C. I. A.,* pp. 392-393.

MOSQUE OF GAQMAQ, at Deir an-Naḥâs (No. 317 on Plan). — ʿAly Pasha Mubârak (V, p. 110) refers to this mosque, whose position he describes as between the mouth of the Khalîg and Old Cairo; he mentions that it was also known as the Gâmiʿ al-Makhfi after a Sheykh whose cenotaph it contains. It is in bad condition, the interior is mean and modern, and there is no historical inscription. Gaqmaq commenced to reign in 842 H. (1438) and died 3 Ṣafar 857 (10th February 1453) so it must have been built before the latter date. Before 857 1453

RIBÂṬ OF YAḤYÂ ZEYN AD-DÎN, also known as the Mausoleum of Sheykh Abû Ṭâlib (No. 141 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance runs : «Has ordered the construction of this convent... His Excellency [the great Emîr] Zeyn ad-Dîn Majordomo... in the month of Ṣafar of the year 856» (March 1452). Zeyn ad-Dîn is, of course, Yaḥyâ Zeyn ad-Dîn, three of whose mosques still exist. An inscription on a window at the side of the entrance runs : «This is the tomb of the pious Sheykh, Sidi Abû Ṭâlib, etc.». Hence the modern and popular name of the edifice, 856 1452

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whose real origin had apparently been forgotten until the former inscription was deciphered about 1900.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 393-394, and 746; and the *C. R.*, 1900, pp. 124-125.

854-860 1450-1456 MAUSOLEUM, CONVENT AND MADRASSA OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF ÎNÂL (No. 158 on Plan). — The mausoleum was built first and must have been commenced in 854 H. at the latest, as an inscription at the north-east angle on the exterior at the summit of the north and east façades states that it was finished 1st Muḥarram, at the commencement of the year 855 (3rd February 1451). On mounting the throne Rabîʿ I 857, Înâl decided to build the vast convent now in an advanced state of ruin. Two slabs of marble, embedded at the summit of the entrance bay in the north façade, bear identical inscriptions, stating that the convent was finished in the month of Muḥarram of the year 858 (January 1454). In the following year he commenced the madrassa. A great band of inscription at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn* states that the construction of the madrassa was ordered by Înâl and carried out under the superintendence of Yûsuf the Majordomo, that it was commenced in the month of Dhu l-qaʿda (of the year 859) and finished in the month of Rabîʿ I of the year 860 (October-November 1455—February-March 1456). The date of completion is also found in two other inscriptions, one to right and left of the main entrance in the east façade, the other to right and left of the north entrance. The year of the foundation is left blank in the inscription, but it is given by Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 53). The mausoleum, convent and madrassa were therefore all built at different dates. Thus is explained the straggling façade so unusual in buildings of this sort, which from the end of the XIIIth century onwards usually form an organic whole.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 394-406.

c. 860 1456 MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR BARSBÂY (No. 124 on Plan). — From an inscription across the entrance to the enclosure it appears that this is the mausoleum of Seyf ad-Dîn Barsbây an-Nagâshy, an official of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf. The former appears in history on various occasions during the third quarter of the IXth century of the Hegra, and the only Sultan at this

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epoch who bore the surname al-Malik al-Ashraf was Înâl. This mausoleum must therefore have been built between 857 H. and 865 H. Further, Barsbây was named «Commandant of a Thousand» at the coming of Înâl and confirmed in this office in 861 H. In Shawâl of the same year he was nominated Grand Chamberlain, then Grand Master of the Horse in 863 or 864. He died at Damascus in 871 H. «Commandant of a Thousand» is a title which does not, as a rule, figure in inscriptions, but high official positions such as Grand Chamberlain and Grand Master of the Horse are never omitted. This mausoleum was therefore almost certainly built before 860 H. at the latest, but not earlier than 857 H. the year in which Înâl became Sultan.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 409-410.

RIBÂṬ OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF ÎNÂL (No. 61 on Plan). — 857-865 1453-1461
This building is known locally as Ribâṭ waqf as-Sulṭân Înâl. This is confirmed by an inscription on the wall at the back of the east Ìwân. This inscription was very badly effaced and only the first five words could be read by Prof. van Berchem, but during the *Comité*'s restoration in 1896 a closer examination of this inscription became possible, thanks to scaffolding, and further portions were deciphered, enough, in fact, to show that it was founded by a princess of the family of Sultan Înâl, whose reign extended from 857 to 865.

See *C. I. A.*, p. 408 and 746; and *C. R.*, 1900, pp. 107-110.

MINARET OF THE MOSQUE OF AR-ROUE'Î (No. 55 on Plan). — 'Aly 3rd quarter xvth century
Pasha Mubârak (III, p. 82) stated that this mosque was built by as-Sayyid Aḥmad ar-Roue'î, prefect of the merchants of Cairo in the IXth (XVth) century. The bevelled part of the minaret where it changes from a square to an octagonal section is decorated with a motive consisting of two parallel lines joined by little loops, which first appears on the minaret of the Mosque of Qarâqoga al-Ḥassany, 845 H. (1441-1442). On the other hand, the comparative plainness of the general decoration leads one to suppose that it was built before the time of Qâyt-Bây. I therefore suggest the third quarter of the XVth century. The rest of the building is of the Turkish period and, although the entrance is fair, the interior is mean to the last degree.

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869 1465 MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR GÂNÎ-BAK NÂ'IB OF GEDDAH (No. 171 on Plan). — Two bands of inscription, one to right and left of the east entrance and one to right and left of the north entrance, both contain the name of Seyf ad-Dîn Gânî-bak, and refer to him as Grand Majordomo, the latter as Governor of the Hejaz in addition. As he only became Grand Majordomo in 865 H., this is the earliest possible date for the building. In the interior are several halls full of débris, and on the cornice of the ceiling of one of these there existed in 1888 a mutilated inscription painted in white on a blue ground, apparently an act of endowment, and ending with a date read by Prof. van Berchem as Ragab of the year 869 (March 1465). The *Comité*, however, in 1892 published it as 864. Prof. van Berchem, revisiting the building in 1892 to verify his reading, found that it had disappeared in the interval. 864 must nevertheless be incorrect as Gânî-bak had not then been appointed Grand Majordomo. He died in 867 H. so possibly the date should have been read as 867, *sabʿa* and *tissʿa* being easily confused. Nevertheless, it is possible that the mausoleum was only finished after his death, and as this painted inscription would naturally be one of the last stages in the work, the date 869 H. may quite conceivably be a correct reading.

See *C. R.*, 1892, p. 69; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 411-421.

c. 870 1466 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR QÂNIM (not marked on the Plan of the *Comité*, but clearly shown on the 1 : 5000 map of the Survey, about 100 metres to the south of the Madrassa of Qâyt-Bây at Qalʿat al-Kabsh). — According to ʿAly Pasha (V, p. 69), the act of foundation of the madrassa is dated 871 H. Qânim, however, died at the commencement of that year, and further, acts of foundation are usually drawn up after the building of the edifice. It is therefore probable that it was built about 870 H. There is no dating inscription.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 425-426.

870 1466 MOSQUE OF THE JUDGE NÛR AD-DÎN, also known as Zâwiyat Gulâq (No. 173 on Plan). — A band of inscription in the entrance bay just below the stalactites states that this mosque was restored by the Judge Nûr ad-Dîn. The date, 20 Ragab 870 (8th March 1466) is given by an inscription on

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the lintel of a window in the east façade. The mosque must therefore have been more ancient, but of the existing building all that has any architectural character must date from the restoration, and a good deal of the mean looking interior is modern.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 422-423.

MAUSOLEUM OF ABÛ ʿALY MUBÂRAK AT-TAKRÛRY, also known as the Mausoleum of ʿAbdallah ad-Dakrûry (No. 280 on Plan). — Sakhâwy (*Tohfat al-Aḥbâb* in the margin of the *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭîb,* vol. IV, p. 172), when speaking of the cemetery round the shrine of Imâm ash-Shâfʿey near which this mausoleum stands, mentions the tomb of Abû ʿAly Mubârak at-Takrûry, a pastry cook from Bâb al-Lûq, who dwelt in the cemetery in his old age and performed pious works. He adds that he died 871 H. and that his mausoleum was a place of pilgrimage. Before 871 — 1466

[From information supplied by ʿAbdul Ḥamîd Bey Muṣṭafa.]

MOSQUE OF MOGHOLBÂY ṬÂZ (No. 207 on Plan). — An inscription on the frieze of the ceiling of the niche to the left of the entrance, now deposited in the Arab Museum (Hall IV, no. 81), gives the date as Rabîʿ I 871 (October-November 1466). 871 — 1466

[Communicated by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad.]

MOSQUE-MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR SÛDÛN AL-QAṢRAWY (No. 105 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the west entrance states that this mosque was founded by «Muḥammad Sûdûn al-Qaṣrawy, Governor of the Royal Citadel for the Sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir», but fails to give a date. Sûdûn occupied this post from 865 H. to 872 H., which thus become limiting dates for the building. He was killed at Aleppo in 873, and was not buried in this mausoleum. The whole exterior appears to have been refaced. There is an inscription, which has been restored by the *Comité,* to right and left of the north entrance. 865-872 — 1460-1467

See *C. R.*, 1890, pp. 56-57, and *C. I. A.*, pp. 423-425.

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873 1468-1469 MOSQUE OF AL-MAR'A (No. 195 on Plan). — According to the *Comité*, this mosque was founded in the month of Gumâdâ I of the year 873 by the Lady Fâṭma, daughter of an Emîr, but no authority is given for the statement. An inscription in a very bad state to right and left of the entrance ends with a date read by Prof. van Berchem as Gumâdâ II 873 (December 1468-January 1469). The entrance and the fine miḥrâb belong to the original work, but the minaret is clearly Turkish; the interior was in a deplorable state in 1889, and has been entirely rebuilt since then.

See *C. R.*, 1889, pp. 67-68; and *C. I. A.*, p. 427.

Third quarter xv^th^ century ZÂWIYA OF FÂṬMA KHAWEND (No. 58 on Plan). — 'Aly Pasha (II, p. 128) mentions this little zâwiya and says that the name of Fâṭma Khawend occurs in the mutilated inscription which runs to right and left of the entrance. He states that it was formerly known as the Madrassa of Umm Khawend. It is in bad condition, the interior is mean and modern, and almost the only distinctive feature for our purpose is the fact that the lintel is decorated with carved arabesques which is also the treatment adopted in the Ribâṭ of Înâl, built before 865 H. (1461), in the Mosque of the Judge Nûr ad-Dîn 870 H. (1466) and in the Mosque of Gânem al-Bahlawân, 883 H. (1478). I therefore suggest the third quarter of the xv^th^ century for the date.

876 1472 MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR TIMRÂZ (No. 216 on Plan). — Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 134), under the year 876 H., states : «In this month was finished the construction of the Mosque which Timrâz, one of the Masters of the Horse, had founded near the Bridge of 'Omar Shâh». 'Aly Pasha (IV, p. 70), speaking of the mosque under discussion, states that it stood near the Bridge of 'Omar Shâh (one of the bridges over the Grand Canal of Cairo, which no longer exists), thus identifying it with the one referred to by Ibn Iyâs. The date is confirmed by an inscription to right and left of the entrance, which states that it was finished in the month of Shawâl of the year 876 (March-April 1472). The *minbar* is dated Muḥarram 882 (April-May 1477).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 428-430.

877-879 1472-1474 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF QÂYT-BÂY (No. 99 on Plan). — This building contains a number of dated

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inscriptions which enable us to follow the progress of the work. One, to right and left of the entrance in the north façade, is dated 877 H. (1472-1473); another on the east, south and north walls of the east lîwân half way up, is dated Ragab 877 (December 1472); a third, at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn*, is dated Ramaḍân 877 (February 1473). The west lîwân was finished next, according to an inscription on panels of wood above the windows, published by Mehren, and dated Ragab 878 (November-December 1473). The mausoleum was finished exactly a year later — Ragab 879 (November-December 1474) — according to an inscription running along the four walls of the mausoleum and the entrance corridor, at the height of a man. Ibn Iyâs states that the inauguration took place in this year, but he places the foundation in Shawâl 874 (April 1470) which is possible, as it is quite natural that Qâyt-Bây should give his attention to the provision of a mausoleum for himself immediately he ascended the throne. The *minbar* is dated Rabîʿ I 878 (August 1473).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 431-439.

RABʿ OF SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY (No. 104 on Plan). — An inscription in the entrance bay above the doorway states that it was built by Qâyt-Bây, but does not give the date. This building consists of a vast number of small vaulted cells; the entrance passage running through the centre leads to a long narrow court at the back, which gives access to them. Prof. van Berchem calls it an *okâla*, but I believe it to be a *rabʿ*, as it has not the great interior court always found in *okâlas*, and identify it with the great convent of Sûfys attached to Qâyt-Bây's Mausoleum, which is mentioned by Fabri and Breidenbach who both visited Cairo in 1483. Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 153) also speaks of the building which the Sultan provided for these Sûfys, and states that it was finished Ragab 879 (November-December 1474), i. e. at the same time as his Mausoleum. 879 (?) 1474

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 437-439.

DRINKING-TROUGH OF QÂYT-BÂY, in the «Tombs of the Khalifs» (No. 183 on Plan). — This drinking-trough, with cartouches of Qâyt-Bây, which stands between the Mausoleum of the Sultan and the *rabʿ* referred to 879 (?) 1474

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above, is, I conclude, a dependency of the former and presumably of about the same date.

879(?) 1474 MAQʿAD OF QÂYT-BÂY (No. 101 on Plan). — An inscription at the summit of the façade states that it is the work of Qâyt-Bây, but does not give the date. I think, however, that we may safely regard this building, which stands close to the Sultan's Mausoleum, as one of its dependencies, and built at the same time, or nearly so.

See *C. I. A.*, p. 438.

c. 879 1474 GATE OF QÂYT-BÂY (No. 93 on Plan). — This gateway, which bears two plain circular shields in the spandrels, is evidently the entrance to the walled enclosure in which stood the Mausoleum of Qâyt-Bây and its dependencies, and of which the east and west walls and the north and south entrances still existed in Mehren's day (*Mélanges asiatiques*, VI, p. 531). As the mausoleum of the Sultan was finished Ragab 879, I presume that this gateway must have been built about then.

880 1475 MADRASSA OF THE SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY, at Qalʿat al-Kabsh (No. 223 on Plan). — A band of inscription at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn* states that this madrassa was finished 1st of Shaʿbân of the year 880 (30th November 1475).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 460-462.

880 1475 DRINKING-TROUGH OF QÂYT-BÂY, at Qalʿat al-Kabsh (No. 222 on Plan). — Only the panelled back wall, with a band of inscription in the name of Qâyt-Bây, remains. Prof. van Berchem speaks as if its purpose were doubtful, and suggests that it may have formed part either of a palace, an okâla or a monastery of Sûfys. To me there does not appear to be much ground for doubt; two other drinking-troughs of Qâyt-Bây exist, one near his mausoleum and one opposite the south side of the Mosque of al-Azhar, and the panelled wall is similar in each case. One can still see the remains of a spout just below the centre of the middle panel, as in the example near his mausoleum. Further, this building was, no doubt, less fragmentary in ʿAly Pasha's

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day, and he calls it a trough without hesitation. As it nearly touches, and was probably once joined on to Qâyt-Bây's madrassa, I regard it as a dependency of it, and place it under the same year.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 462-463.

MOSQUE OF THE SON OF BARDBEK AD-DAWÂDÂRY, also known as the Mosque of Umm al-Gholâm and Mosque of Înâl (No. 25 on Plan). — Popular tradition which calls this mosque «Umm al-Gholâm» — mother of the boy — takes its origin from the inscription, published by van Berchem (*C. I. A.*, pp. 114-116), on a slab which once surmounted the door of a vault, the object of a special veneration, which is situated to the south of the entrance of the mosque. This inscription, which has since been removed into the interior of the mosque, refers to the erection of a mausoleum in honour of the mother of Ḥusseyn ordered by Badr ad-Dîn Bîlbak al-ʿAlâ'y whom Ibn Iyâs calls al-Khâzindâr. This inscription is dated Rabîʿ I 652 (April-May 1254). Prof. van Berchem, not having penetrated into the interior of the mausoleum, reserved his opinion as to the connection existing between the inscription and the building it was embedded in. It will be seen that he was quite right to do so. ʿAly Pasha (II, p. 80) states that the «mosque known under the name of Gâmiʿ Umm al-Gholâm was originally a college called Madrassat Înâl founded by the Sultan Înâl as-Seyfy». This erroneous statement is responsible for the incorrect title given to it in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité*. An inscription on the frieze of the vestibule of the mausoleum on the north side of the mosque runs : «Has ordered the construction of this blessed place, al-Maqarr, al-Ashraf al-ʿÂly, al-Maulawy al-Amîry al-Kabîry..... al-Malik al-Ashraf Abû n-Naṣr Înâl, son of al-Maqarr al-Ashraf al-ʿÂly as-Seyfy, the deceased Bardbek Emîr Dawa.....». This inscription proves that the founder of the mosque had some connection with Sultan Înâl, that he was son of the Emîr Bardbek and that the mosque was built after the death of the latter. Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 64) tells us that Sultan Înâl had one wife only, by whom he had four children, and that one of these — Khawend Badrîya — was the wife of Bardbek. He says also that Bardbek was Dawâdâr ath-Thâny and Mamlûk of Înâl; and that he was married Gumâdâ I 858 (II, p. 46). He mentions his death under the events of the year 870 H. (1465). Two sons of Badrîya are c. 880 1475

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known, one Sidi ʿAly ibn Bardbek, died in 872 H. (II, p. 83), another called «Ṭaqṭabây son of Bardbek ad-Dawâdâr, Emîr of the Council of Ten», fell into disgrace (II, p. 306) in 902 H. (1496). This is probably the son who built the mosque, but whose name is missing from the inscription, since he appears to have occupied a position of importance which would render the construction of a mosque within his means. This gives us the limiting dates 870 H. — 902 H. However, as Ṭaqṭabây cannot have been born before 859 H., he would only be eleven years of age in 870 H. and we are probably safe in reducing this period to 879 H. - 902 H. So much for the historical evidence, for which I have to thank Signor A. Patricolo. An architectural examination reveals very little about this mosque that is typical of any one period, except the entrance. The latter is of the usual trefoil-headed type with stalactites, which, although in general use from the latter part of the XIVth century, suddenly ceases after 880 H., the last two examples being the Barbers' Gate at al-Azhar, built by Qâyt-Bây in 873 H. (1469) and the latter's madrassa at Qalʿat al-Kabsh, 880 H. (1475). The stalactites are peculiar, having webs pierced with a simple design in arabesque, the first dated example of which occurs in the Barbers' Gate at al-Azhar. This type of doorway does not appear again for nearly thirty years and then we find two examples only — the Madrassa of al-Ghûry 909 H. (1503), and his mausoleum opposite completed Gumâdâ I 910 (October 1504). In both these, however, the stalactites are arranged in bunches, an entirely new feature. It is therefore unlikely that the mosque under discussion was built after 880 H., and an earlier date is improbable as Ṭaqṭabây cannot have attained twenty one years of age before then.

882 1477 OKÂLA AND SEBÎL-KUTTÂB OF QÂYT-BÂY, at al-Azhar (Nos. 75 and 76 on Plan). — Although numbered separately on the Plan of the *Comité*, these two are clearly one building, of which the sebîl-kuttâb completes the north-west angle. It is impossible to say exactly how the north-east angle was finished off, as it is not complete. An inscription to right and left of the great entrance in the centre of the façade gives Qâyt-Bây as the author, and the date Ragab 882 (October 1477).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 463-464.

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MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR GÂNEM AL-BAHLAWÂN (No. 129 on Plan). 883 1478
— As-Sakhâwy (*Toḥfat al-Aḥbâb*) states that this mosque was founded in 883 H. This is confirmed by two inscriptions, one at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn* below the ceiling, the other on the façade above the stalactites. The former states that it was finished Ramaḍân 883 (December 1478), the latter is Quranic and contains the year 883 only, at the end. The mausoleum was added later as might be guessed from the complete vertical break in the bonding of the stones which is visible in the façade, and from the slight deviation in the alignment which takes place at the same spot. Three inscriptions confirm this : (1) at the summit of the façade above the stalactites, which is Quranic but ends with the date Ramaḍân 915 (December 1509); (2) in the interior at the summit of the four walls below the pendentives which ends with the date Ṣafar 916 (May 1510); and (3) on the exterior running round the drum of the dome and ending with the same date as the last.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 464-465; and Herz Bey, *La Mosquée de l'émir Ganem el-Bahlaouan au Caire* (Le Caire, 1908), pp. 16-20.

FORT AND MOSQUE OF SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY, on the site of the Pharos, 882-884 1477-1479
at Alexandria. — Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 173) states that in Rabîʿ I 882 (June-July 1477) Qâyt-Bây came to Alexandria, visited the site of the antique Pharos, and decided to build a powerful fort on its ancient foundations. This was carried out, and in Gumâdâ I 884 (July-August 1479) the Sultan returned to Alexandria and visited the completed structure (II, p. 189). He gives a detailed description of it which agrees with the present building, and its attribution to Qâyt-Bây is confirmed by two cartouches in the name of the Sultan, which existed until about 1888 in the entrance bay, above the door and on either side of an arrow slit. The German pilgrim, Tucher (*Reyss zum heiligen Land,* in Feyrabend, *Reyssbuch*, ed. 1584, f° 370 r°), who visited Alexandria in 1479, confirms all this, saying that the fort had been built by the Sultan Qâyt-Bây in this year 1479.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 473-475; and Herz Bey, *Le fort Kâïtbâï et sa mosquée à Alexandrie,* in the *C. R.*, 1908, pp. 107-109.

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884 1479 SEBÎL OF SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY, known also as the Madrassa of Sheykhû (No. 324 on Plan). — A great band of inscription on the north and west façades, at the summit of the first storey, states that the fountain was finished in Ramaḍân 884 (November-December 1479). On the other hand, an inscription to right and left of the entrance ends with the date Dhu l-ḥigga 884 (February-March 1480), i. e. three months later. Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 194) states that the Sultan inspected the building in Muḥarram 885. This fountain has been restored by the *Comité* and the upper storey rebuilt.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 492-493.

884 1479-1480 MADRASSA OF THE JUDGE ABÛ BAKR IBN MUZHIR (No. 49 on Plan). — This building does not contain any inscription carved in the stone, either in the interior or on the exterior. There is a sunk band to right and left of the east entrance, but its surface has apparently never been carved. The *minbar*, however, is dated 885 H. by an inscription over its door. On the ceiling of the *sebîl* attached to the madrassa there was once an inscription, published by ʿAly Pasha (V, p. 113), which stated that its construction had been ordered by Zeyn ad-Dîn Abû Bakr Muzhir al-Anṣâry, and that it was finished in 884 H. I therefore do not think that we shall be far wrong if we take this as the date of the whole building. The founder died 6 Ramaḍân 893.

See *C. R.*, 1891, pp. 92-95; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 505-508.

885 1480-1481 OKÂLA OF SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY, at Bâb an-Naṣr (No. 9 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that this okâla was built by Qâyt-Bây and constituted as *waqf* (endowment) for the inhabitants of Medîna and the visitors to that city. Above the stone corbels of the first floor there is a long inscription on nine panels of wood, running the whole length of the building, but broken in the centre by the entrance bay. Although very long, it is to the same effect as the previous one and, like it, is without a date. Ibn Iyâs, however (II, p. 192), gives an account of a pilgrimage which the Sultan made to the tomb of the Prophet at Medîna in 884 H. He adds that a short time after his return to Cairo in Rabîʿ I 885, he called a conference and stated that having made the pilgrimage the previous year and found the inhabitants of Medîna in great destitution, he had decided to provide a source

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of revenue for them by purchasing land and buildings, the rent of which should be devoted to the upkeep of the poor of that city. He then laid the foundations of the buildings (*rubû'*) *which he caused to be constructed at Bâb an-Naṣr,* in the bazaars of the merchants of cross-bows, of the merchants of wood, of the merchants of poultry, and elsewhere. Hence the date 885 H. allotted to this building.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 493-499; and *C. R.*, 1902, pp. 147-149.

MOSQUE OF THE EMÎR QAJMÂS AL-ISḤÂQY, known also as the Mosque of Abû Harîba, after a Sheykh who died in 1268 H. and was buried there (No. 114 on Plan). — An inscription at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn,* above the arches of the lîwâns, states that this part of the edifice was finished in Ramaḍân of the year 885 (November 1480). There is a great band of inscription to the same effect on the three walls of the west lîwân. An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that the mosque was finished in the month of Muḥarram of the year 886 (March 1481). The Quran-reader's chair is dated 887 (1482). This mosque has been extensively restored by the *Comité,* about L. E. 3000 having been spent on it. 885-886 1480-1481

See *C. R.*, 1892, pp. 84-88; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 509-513.

FADÂWÎYA MAUSOLEUM (No. 5 on Plan). — This building contains two bands of inscription running round the base of the dome, one above the windows, the other below. These two inscriptions contain sentences of praise addressed to Qâyt-Bây and mention the pilgrimage made by him in 884 H., but they do not attribute the construction to him. Another inscription, to right and left of the south entrance, states that its construction was ordered by him. Prof. van Berchem points out that he cannot have had it built for his own mausoleum as he had already constructed a magnificent one in 879 H. He believes it to be the building referred to by Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 210), when he says that in Ramaḍân 886 (November 1481) the Sultan visited the Mausoleum of the Emîr Yushbak ad-Dawâdâr, which rose at the extremity of the suburb of Ḥusseinîya, in order to inspect it, and ordered the Emîr Taghry Bardy to finish the works, interrupted by the death of the founder. As the Mosque of Bibars al-Bunduqdâry is referred to as being in this quarter, 884-886 1479-1481

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it follows that the position of the Fadâwîya Mausoleum, which is exactly a mile from it, corresponds very well with this description. The Emîr Yushbak was appointed viceroy when the Sultan went on the pilgrimage to Mekka in Shawâl 884, and in the following month (Dhu l-qaʿda) commenced his mausoleum (Ibn Iyâs, II, p. 192), which is undoubtedly the building under discussion.

See *C. R.*, 1897, pp. VII-IX; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 514-515 and 748-750.

880-889 1475-1484 BÂB AL-QARÂFA (No. 278 on Plan). — This gateway bears two cartouches in the name of Sultan Qâyt-Bây, on its exterior face, on either side of the arch. There is no date, but as the arch just east of the great bend in the Aqueduct (*q. v.* under 711 H.) is dated 88-, it is possible that this gateway was constructed in the same year. Casanova refers to this gateway as «réparée au temps des Turcs»; this is obviously the case with the inner side which is spanned by a semi-circular arch, in contrast to the exterior, where the arch is pointed.

See Casanova, *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, p. 545; and *C. I. A.*, p. 521.

890 1485 PALACE OF SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY (No. 228 on Plan). — A great band of inscription at the summit of the façade states that it was finished in Muḥarram 890 (January-February 1485).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 516-518.

890 1485 REMAINS OF ENDOWMENT HOUSE OF QÂYT-BÂY, situated on the north side of the Shâriʿ Qalʿat al-Kabsh, but not marked on the Plan. — Originally there was one house with architraves carried on corbels at the level of the first floor. An inscription carved on these architraves ran the whole length of the building, and in 1887 everything was intact, but in 1890 a street — the ʿAṭfet Nôhe — was made, cutting the building in half. At some date subsequent to 1893 the right hand house was pulled down and that portion of the inscription which ran across it was transferred to the Arab Museum (Hall I, No. 78). This inscription, which states that the building had been constituted as *waqf* (endowment) for the Madrassa of the Emîrs Salâr and Sangar al-Gâwly, was published by the *Comité* with the date 840 H.,

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and without the name of Qâyt-Bây. Prof. van Berchem has given a revised reading which includes the name of Qâyt-Bây and the date 890 H.

See *C. R.*, 1893, pp. 55-56; Herz Bey, *Catalogue*, p. 29; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 518-520.

MADRASSA OF SULTAN QÂYT-BÂY, on Rôda Island. — An inscription to right and left of the north entrance states that its construction was ordered by Sultan Qâyt-Bây, but the end of the inscription, which possibly contained the date, is worn away. Ibn Iyâs (II, pp. 205, 211, 271 and 301) states that a mosque which existed here was demolished by Qâyt-Bây and rebuilt. It was founded Rabîʿ I 886 (May 1481) and finished the same year under the direction of Ḥasan ibn Ṭûlûny. In 891 the edifice was enlarged and these latter works were only finished in Ragab 896 (May-June 1491). The minaret appears from the mouldings of its middle gallery to have been repaired during the Turkish period, and a great part of the edifice is quite modern. 886-896 1481-1491

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 525-526; and the *C. R.*, 1900, pp. 25-26.

MOSQUE-MAUSOLEUM OF ABÛ L-ʿELA (No. 340 on Plan). — ʿAly Pasha (IV, pp. 51-52), quoting the *Ṭabaqât* of ash-Shaʿrâny, says that this building was constructed at the cost of Ibn al-Qanîsh al-Burullussy and dedicated to the Sheykh al-Ḥusseyn Abû ʿAly of which the name Abû l-ʿEla is evidently a corruption. This Sheykh died and was buried in the mausoleum shortly after 890 H. (1485). Very extensive alterations must have been made in the early part of the XIXth century and it seems probable that the plan was cruciform until then, but was radically altered three of the lîwâns giving place to an arcaded hall. Very extensive reconstruction was undertaken by the *Comité* in 1914 and of the present edifice only the mausoleum, the entrance bay, the east wall, and the minaret (which has been taken down and re-erected) date from the original foundation. c. 1490

From an advance draft (not yet printed) for the next volume of the *C. R.*

ENTRANCE OF AN ENDOWMENT HOUSE OF QÂYT-BÂY (No. 235 on Plan). — In a re-entrant angle of the Sûq at-Tabbâna to the right of the Madrassa of Sultan Shaʿbân is a small doorway, from which a passage running Before 900 1494-1495

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to the left leads into a large courtyard. On the left as one enters this courtyard is a doorway with two cartouches of Qâyt-Bây and an undated inscription to right and left in the name of the same Sultan. One of the acts of endowment of the Mausoleum of the Sultan, published by ʿAly Pasha (V, p. 71) mentions «a makân in the Shâriʿ Tabbâna, near the Madrassa of Sultan Shaʿbân». This doorway must be the remains of this edifice. The latest date mentioned in these acts is 900 H., so this edifice must have been built by then.

See *C. R.*, 1897, Appendix, p. II; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 526-527.

900 1494-1495 MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR UZBAK AL-YÛSUFY (No. 211 on Plan). — There are no less than five inscriptions dating the different portions of this building, all of them in the year 900 H., as follows: (1) the walls of the *ṣaḥn* — Ṣafar (November 1494); (2) the façade — 1st Gumâdâ II (27th February 1495); (3) the doorways of the *ṣaḥn* — Ragab (April); (4) the main entrance — Shaʿbân (May), and finally two identical inscriptions at the top and bottom of the bronze-faced door give 1st Ramaḍân 900 (26th May 1495) for the completion of the edifice. This is confirmed by Ibn Iyâs, who states (II, p. 288) that the first service took place in it in Ramaḍân 900.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 527-538.

Before 901 1495 DRINKING-TROUGH OF QÂYT-BÂY, at al-Azhar (No. 74 on Plan). — This building is decorated with some beautiful cartouches of Qâyt-Bây, in the spandrels of its arched panels, but it does not bear a date. Neither do historians provide the necessary information. As Qâyt-Bây died in 901 H., it follows that it must have been built before that year.

Before 901 1495 MOSQUE OF SHEYKH SULṬÂN SHÂH (No. 239 on Plan). — Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 301) mentions this mosque, but he does not give the date, merely stating that it was built by the orders of Qâyt-Bây. This is confirmed by the cartouches of the Sultan which are carved on the spandrels of the arches of the east lîwân. Qâyt-Bây died 901 H. (1496), which gives us a *terminus ad quem*. The greater part of this mosque, except for the octagonal columns and the façade of the east lîwân, is modern.

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MOSQUE AND SEBÎL OF QÂYT-BÂY, just within the Bâb al-Qarâfa on the south side of the street, at the corner of the ʿAṭfat al-Bayara (shown on the map of the Survey but not marked on the Plan of the *Comité*). — Only the sebîl and the lower part of the doorway remain. Across the latter runs the following inscription which is apparently the same as No. 366 in the *C. I. A.* : 901 1495

بسمله..... امر بانشاء هذا الصهريج وسبيله والمسجد المبا..... النصر قايتباى خلد الله
ملكه بتاريخ افتتاح عام احد وتسعمائه من الهجرة النبوية

The foundation of this cistern and its sebîl and the (blessed) mosque was ordered by ..... an-Naṣr Qâyt-Bây, may God prolong his reign, at the beginning of the year one and nine hundred of the Prophet's Flight.

CISTERN AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR YAʿQÛB SHÂH (No. 303 on Plan). — An inscription running across the middle of the façade states that « this edifice was finished in the year 901 » (1495-1496). 901 1495-1496

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 547-548.

GULSHANY MAUSOLEUM, to the west of the Mausoleum of Qâyt-Bây (No. 100 on Plan). — This building does not bear any historical inscription and I have not been able to obtain any information concerning its origin. However, it fortunately possesses some very distinctive architectural features which are of real assistance in fixing its date : (1) The pendentives are in style nearly unique, the only others which resemble them being those of the mausoleum attached to the Mosque of the Emîr Timrâz, finished Shawâl 876 (April-May 1472). They are remarkable in being composed of niches of two different sizes. The top row consists, in each mausoleum, of five equal-sized niches, but the next row consists, also in each case, of four niches, of which the two centre ones are much smaller than the two outer ones. This peculiarity is repeated in the next row below, in the case of the Gulshany mausoleum, which consists of a large centre niche with a smaller one on each side. In the case of the Mausoleum of Timrâz, the remaining niches are all of one size. The present instance therefore shows a more developed treatment along the lines initiated in the other example, and in addition each niche, instead of being plain, is decorated with a fine crisp design in arabesque. c. 901 1495-1496

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(2) The exterior of the dome is decorated with a bold design in arabesque, which lacks the geometrical framework found on the dome of the Mausoleum of Qâyt-Bây, but which does not attain the extreme elaboration and minuteness of design found on the domes of the mausoleums of Khâyr-bak, 908 H. (1502-1503) and Qâny-Bây Emîr Âkhûr, finished in the same year. I therefore place this building at the end of the reign of Qâyt-Bây.

901 1496 PALACE OF THE EMÎR MÂMÂY, known also as the Beyt al-Qâḍy (No. 51 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that this maqʿad was built by Seyf ad-Dîn Mâmây in Dhu l-qaʿda 901 (July-August 1496).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 540-542; and H. C. Kay, *Arabic Inscriptions of Cairo,* in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, pp. 145-147.

904 1499 MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AẒ-ẒÂHIR QÂNṢÛH (No. 164 on Plan). — An inscription in the interior, running round the four walls below the pendentives, states that this mausoleum was finished in Ramaḍân 904 (April-May 1499).

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 555-556.

903-905 1498-1499 MOSQUE OF THE PRINCESS AṢAL-BÂY, at Madînat al-Fayyûm. — Ibn Iyâs states (II, p. 342) that in Shawâl 903 the Sultan an-Nâṣir Muḥammad, son of Qâyt-Bây, ordered the construction of the Mosque of the Fayyûm. In the entrance-bay above the doorway and on either side of a little window are two slabs of marble bearing identical inscriptions which confirm Ibn Iyâs. They state that they commenced to clear the site 15 Shawâl 903 (6th June 1498) and finished the construction of the mosque Rabîʿ II 905 (November 1499). In 1892 half this mosque, which was partly built on an old bridge, fell into the canal known as the Baḥr Yûsuf, on whose bank it stands. It has since been rebuilt, reduced in size, but the entrance and the fine original miḥrâb have been incorporated in the new building.

See *C. R.*, 1891, pp. 85-88, and 1892, pp. 28-32; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 556-

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MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ʿÂDIL ṬÛMÂN-BÂY (No. 2 on Plan). — An inscription in the interior, running round the four walls below the pendentives, states that it was finished in Ramaḍân 906 (March-April 1501). 906 1501

See *C. R.*, 1889, pp. 97-99; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 562-564.

PALACE OF THE EMÎR KHÂYR-BAK (No. 249 on Plan). — This palace, which is joined by an arch to the mausoleum of this Emîr, does not bear any inscription, nor does there appear to be any reference to its date in authors. The following considerations, however, justify us in limiting its period. The Paris manuscript of Ibn Iyâs is quoted by Casanova (*Citadelle*, p. 710) to the effect that after the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, the departure of Sultan Selîm took place on 23 Shaʿbân 923 (11th September 1517) and on the 27th of the same month the Emîr Khâyr-bak, who had betrayed his master, installed himself in the Citadel as the first Viceroy of Egypt. It is therefore improbable that his palace in the town was built after this date. As he had been Governor of Aleppo since 910 H. (1504-1505), which post he kept until the Turkish conquest of Egypt, I feel justified in taking this date as a *terminus ad quem.* He had occupied various posts under Qâyt-Bây, and was nominated Grand Chamberlain at the coming of al-Ghûry, who commenced to reign 1st Shawâl 906 (20th April 1501). He probably chose this occasion to commence his palace, to which his mausoleum alongside would form a fitting sequel two years later. c. 906 1501

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR KHÂYR-BAK (No. 248 on Plan). — An inscription in the interior of the mausoleum, at the summit of the four walls below the pendentives, states that it was finished in 908 H. (1502-1503). The month is not stated, but as Ibn Iyâs (Paris MS., f° 134 v°) states that «on 5 Ṣafar 908 (10th August 1502) the Emîr Jân-balâṭ was interred in the mausoleum of his brother Khâyr-bak, which the latter had built near the Bâb al-Wazîr», it is safe to conclude that it was finished by then. The mosque and sebîl attached do not bear a date, but ʿAly Pasha (II, p. 103; IV, p. 110, and VI, p. 7) refers to the former as founded in 927 H., which is a year before the death of Khâyr-bak and four years after the Turkish 908 1502

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conquest of Egypt. The abnormal construction of the interior lends support to this statement, for which no authority is given. I presume, however, that it was obtained by ʿAly Pasha from the archives of the Ministry of Waqfs.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 565-569.

908 1503 MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF QÂNY-BÂY EMÎR ÂKHÛR (No. 136 on Plan). — Two inscriptions, one round the shallow dome of the east lîwân, another in the mausoleum, at the summit of the four walls below the pendentives, both state that it was built by Seyf ad-Dîn Qâny-Bây 1st Shaʿbân 908 (30th January 1503).

See *C. R.*, 1901, pp. 146-148; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 569-571.

908-909 1503 MADRASSA OF SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF QÂNṢÛH AL-GHÛRY (No. 189 on Plan). — This building contains five inscriptions, all of which name Sultan al-Ghûry, but only one, which runs across the east wall of the sanctuary, above the *miḥrâb*, gives a date, stating that this madrassa was completed Rabîʿ I 909 (August-September 1503). Ibn Iyâs (Paris MS. 1824, f° 141 r°) gives Dhu l-ḥigga 908 as the date of completion, which no doubt refers to the shell of the building, and 1st Rabîʿ II 909 (23rd September 1503) as the date of inauguration.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 572-575.

908-910 1503-1504 MAUSOLEUM, SEBÎL-KUTTÂB AND MAQʿAD OF SULTAN QÂNṢÛH AL-GHÛRY (Nos. 66 and 67 on Plan). — A great band of inscription at the summit of the west façade gives Sultan al-Ghûry as the founder, but does not contain a date. A band of inscription running across the three faces of the sebîl-kuttâb at the level of the first floor gives Dhu l-ḥigga 909 (May-June 1504) as the date of its construction. Ibn Iyâs (Paris MS. 1824, f° 141 r°) gives Dhu l-ḥigga 908 (June 1503) as the date on which they commenced to clear the site, and Gumâdâ I 910 (October 1504) as the date on which the mausoleum was completed.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 576-578.

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MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ṬARA-BÂY (No. 255 on Plan). — Built by Seyf ad-Dîn Ṭara-Bây in 909 H., according to two inscriptions, one to right and left of the entrance, the other in the interior at the summit of the four walls below the pendentives. 909 1503-1504

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 579-581.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR ARZOMOK, called Azromok in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité,* and Razmak by Prof. van Berchem (No. 87 on Plan). — An inscription round the base of the dome states that it was built in 909 H. This date was read by Prof. van Berchem as 907 H., but Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad informs me that he is certain that it should be 909 H.[1]. To right and left of the doorway is an inscription, published by Mehren, according to which it was built by Seyf ad-Dîn Arzomok ash-Sharîfy in 910 H. This inscription was not noticed by Prof. van Berchem, but he has re-published it after Mehren and incorporated it in his great work in such a way that these two inscriptions would appear to belong to two different buildings. 909-910 1503/4-1504/5

See Mehren, *Mélanges asiatiques,* VI, p. 554, and *C. I. A.*, pp. 565 and 583-584.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR SÛDÛN, called «Tombeau d'Abou-Sebha» in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité*[2] (No. 294 on Plan). — An inscription in the interior running round the four walls below the dome states that it was built by Seyf ad-Dîn Sûdûn, Emîr Maglis of Sultan al-Ghûry. According to Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 380), he attained this position 5th Rabîʿ I 908. He still occupied it in 910 H., but before his death in 922 H., he successively attained two higher positions — Emîr Silâḥ and Atâbek. Prof. van Berchem therefore suggests that this mausoleum was built about 910 H. c. 910 1504-1505

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 584-586.

[1] In confirmation of this it is interesting to find that in the copy of the *C. I. A.* in the Library of the Institut français, the date 907 has been corrected in Prof. van Berchem's own handwriting to read 909.

[2] The *Index général,* published in 1914, has the following footnote on page 7 : «Abou-Sebha est le nom du fossoyeur chargé de la surveillance de ce tombeau, qui a été construit au temps du sultan el-Ghouri par Younès, Émir maglis, d'après une inscription à l'intérieur du tombeau».

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911 1505 MAUSOLEUM OF THE IMÂM AL-LEYTH IBN SA'D (No. 286 on Plan). — Imâm al-Leyth died at Old Cairo in 175 H. (791-792). His tomb was at first only a cenotaph of stone, which acquired a great fame for sanctity and was transformed into a mausoleum in 640 H. (1242-1243), since when it has undergone numerous transformations. One enters on the north side by a doorway in late Turkish style dated 1201 H. (1786-1787). A vestibule leads to a second doorway bearing a cartouche of al-Ghûry on each side above the flat joggled entrance arch. Running across it is an inscription in the name of this Sultan and a date which Prof. van Berchem was not given time to copy by the hostile crowd which surrounded him. This date has since been read for me by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad as Ragab 911 (December 1505). Things have changed much in Cairo in recent years and I entered in 1917 without much difficulty, on a boy informing the Sheykhs that I had just been granted admission to the Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâf'ey. They nevertheless protested against the use of the camera, but on visiting it a year later I was not only allowed to take photographs but was asked by the Sheykhs to photograph them as well! On passing through the second doorway one enters the mosque, and to right and left are two other doorways, that to the right leading into the Mausoleum of Imâm al-Leyth, and that to the left into the mausoleum of his son, the Sheykh Shu'aib. They bear inscriptions to this effect, but no date is given in either case. To the south-west of the mausoleum is a small minaret, which has lost its upper portion. It bears an inscription « . . . . . has ordered the construction of this blessed minaret His Excellency, etc. ». The remainder is lost behind a house which has been built against it, but it may be attributed, on account of its style, to the last fifty years of Mamlûk rule.

See *C. I. A.*, pp. 597-599.

911 1505-1506 MOSQUE OF QÂNY-BÂY AL-MUḤAMMADY (No. 151 on Plan). — This mosque does not contain any historical inscription. Its date, however, is given as 911 H. in the *Index général* (1914) to the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité*, but I am unable to trace the authority for this statement. According to 'Aly Pasha Mubârak (V, p. 109), it was repaired by the Emîr 'Abd al-Laṭîf Pasha in 1287 H. (1870-1871).

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MADRASSA OF THE EMÎR QÂNY-BÂY QARÂ (ar-Rammâḥ) (No. 254 on Plan). — An inscription in the interior at the summit of the four walls of the *ṣaḥn* states that it was built by Seyf ad-Dîn Qâny-Bây, Shawâl 911 (March 1506). 911 1506

See *C. R.*, 1886, pp. 1-2; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 586-588.

MADRASSA AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMÎR QURQUMÂS, usually known as the Mausoleum of Emîr Kebîr (No. 162 on Plan). — This great building contains two dated inscriptions, but both lack the name of the founder. He must, however, have been an Emîr of Sultan al-Ghûry, in view of the date and an armorial badge carved on the interior. One inscription, in the interior of the mausoleum at the summit of the four walls below the pendentives, states that «this part of the edifice was finished Dhu l-qa'da 911 (April 1506). The other, to right and left of the entrance, bears the date Ragab 913 (November 1507) (see *C. I. A.*, pp. 592-593). Recently the following inscription has been found by Yûsuf Effendi Aḥmad on the cornice under the ceiling of the sebîl, which gives the name, hitherto unknown, of the author of the building : 911-913 1506-1507

بانشاء هذا المعروف المبارك من فضل الله تعالى وجزيل عطائه العميم سيدنا المقر الاشرف الكريم
العالى المولوى الاميرى الكبيرى السيدى المالكى المخدومى الاتابكى السيفى قرقماس اتابك العساكر
المنصورة بالديار المصرية الملكى الاشرفى عز نصره

القبة انتهت فى شهر ذى القعدة سنة احد عشر وتسعمائة

This remarkable and blessed [sebîl] was founded by the grace of God the highest and his generous gifts to all, by our Lord al-Maqarr al-Ashraf al-Karîm al-'Âly al-Maulawy al-Amîry al-Kabîry as-Sayedy al-Mâliky al-Makhdûmy al-Atâbky as-Seyfy Qurqumâs, Atâbek of the victorious armies of Egypt, al-Maliky al-Ashrafy, may his victory be exalted.

The dome was completed in the month of Dhu l-qa'da of the year eleven and nine hundred (April 1506).

The Emîr Qurqumâs is mentioned by Ibn Iyâs (II, p. 361) as coming to the aid of the Mekka caravan in 905 H.

MOSQUE OF SULTAN QÂNṢÛH AL-GHÛRY, at 'Arab al-Yasâr (No. 159 on Plan). — An inscription to right and left of the entrance states that 915 1509-1510

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this mosque was built by Sultan al-Ghûry in 915 (1509-1510). Except for the minaret and part of the entrance almost the whole edifice is modern.

See *C. R.*, 1884, p. 11; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 594-595.

906-922 1501-1516 GATEWAYS OF THE KHÂN AL-KHALÎLY (Nos. 53, 54 and 56 on Plan). — There are three gateways, one (A) is on the south side of the Khân; another (B), behind A, leads into an okâla called the Khân an-Naḥâs; the third is at the western end of the main artery of the Khân. (A) known as the Bâb Bâdestân, bears two inscriptions, one to right and left of the entrance, and another in the entrance bay above the doorway. Both name Sultan al-Ghûry as the founder, but lack a date. (B) bears an inscription in the entrance bay above the doorway to the same effect, but is also without a date. (C) is without an inscription.

See *C. R.*, 1902, pp. 91-92; and *C. I. A.*, pp. 595-596.

906-922 1501-1516 REMAINS OF A HOUSE OF SULTAN QÂNṢÛH AL-GHÛRY (No. 322 on Plan). — This fragment consists of a doorway, and a strip of wall to the north of it, bearing six elaborate consoles which must have once supported a projecting upper storey. There is a cartouche of Sultan al-Ghûry in each spandrel of the entrance arch, and another carved on one of the consoles, but these inscriptions lack a date.

See *C. R.*, 1906, pp. 57-58, and 1909, pp. 164-165.

906-922 1501-1516 MOSQUE OF SULTAN AL-GHÛRY, at al-Manchieh (No. 148 on Plan). — This mosque does not contain a dating inscription, but to right and left of the miḥrâb is a large cartouche of Sultan al-Ghûry. The lower part of each cartouche is badly worn away.

906-922 1501-1516 OKÂLA OF SULTAN AL-GHÛRY, called also Okâlat an-Nakhla (No. 64 on Plan). — This okâla, which is mentioned by Ibn Iyâs (III, p. 62), does not contain a dating inscription, but opposite the entrance, between the arches of the gallery which runs all round the court-yard, are two large cartouches of Sultan al-Ghûry.

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MAUSOLEUM OF BIBARS AL-KHAYÂṬ (No. 191 on Plan). — Ibn Iyâs (III, p. 51) states that Bibars al-Khayâṭ fought on the side of Sultan al-Ghûry against the Turks at the battle of Marg Dâbiq and was taken prisoner by them. He adds that he built the madrassa at al-Godarîya, which is the name of the street in which the above mausoleum and madrassa stands. Of the present building, the mausoleum alone is original, and everything else dates from the reconstruction of 1313 H. (1896). 906-922 1501-1516

[Communicated by Signor A. Patricolo.]

MAUSOLEUM OF MUḤAMMAD TAMR AL-ḤUSSEYNY, just outside the Bâb al-Qarâfa, to the right (No. 161 on Plan). — The dome of this mausoleum has disappeared, but cartouches in the name of Sultan al-Ghûry still remain on the exterior of the pendentives. The interior, which contains a miḥrâb in the style of this period, is occupied by a family, and a block of squalid tenements has been built on to the south side. The above is the name given to it in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Comité,* but I am unable to obtain any information as to the authority on which this attribution rests. Tamr al-Ḥusseyny is mentioned by Ibn Iyâs (III, p. 316) among sixty Emîrs, promoted in the year 922 H. (1516-1517). 906-922 1501-1516

MAUSOLEUM OF ʿAṢFÛR (No. 132 on Plan). — The only dome known to me in Egypt, whose surface decoration resembles that of this little mausoleum, is the dome of the Mausoleum of the Emîr Qurqumâs (Emîr Kebîr). As the Mausoleum of ʿAṣfûr is built opposite the latter, the decoration of its dome was probably copied from it. The external treatment of the zone of transition from the square base to the circle of the dome, is in keeping with this date, but the inferior treatment of the stalactite pendentives renders it possible that it may be later, perhaps after the Turkish Conquest. Another feature which lends support to this view is the fact that the cartouches of the zone of transition contain the Muḥammadan profession of faith, instead of the name and titles of a Sultan, and I therefore place it at the end of my list. After 913 1507

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Note. — On each monument in Cairo, classed and registered by the *Comité,* will be found a circular label in green and white enamel, bearing in Arabic numerals a number, corresponding to that given it on the Plan referred to above.

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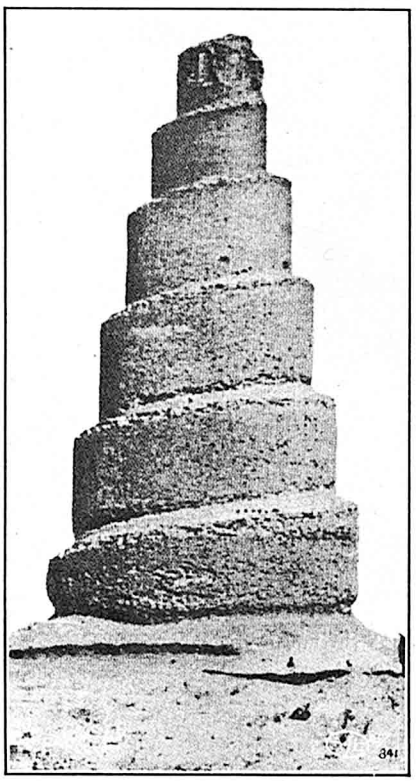
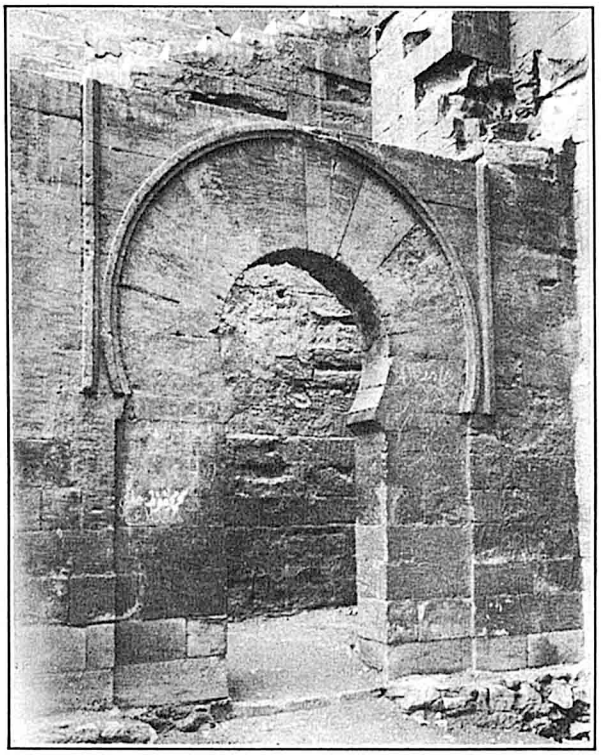
Author's photograph.

A. — Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn. — Minaret.



B. — Malwîya tower at Sâmarrâ.



Author's photograph.

C. — Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn.
Entrance to staircase of minaret.

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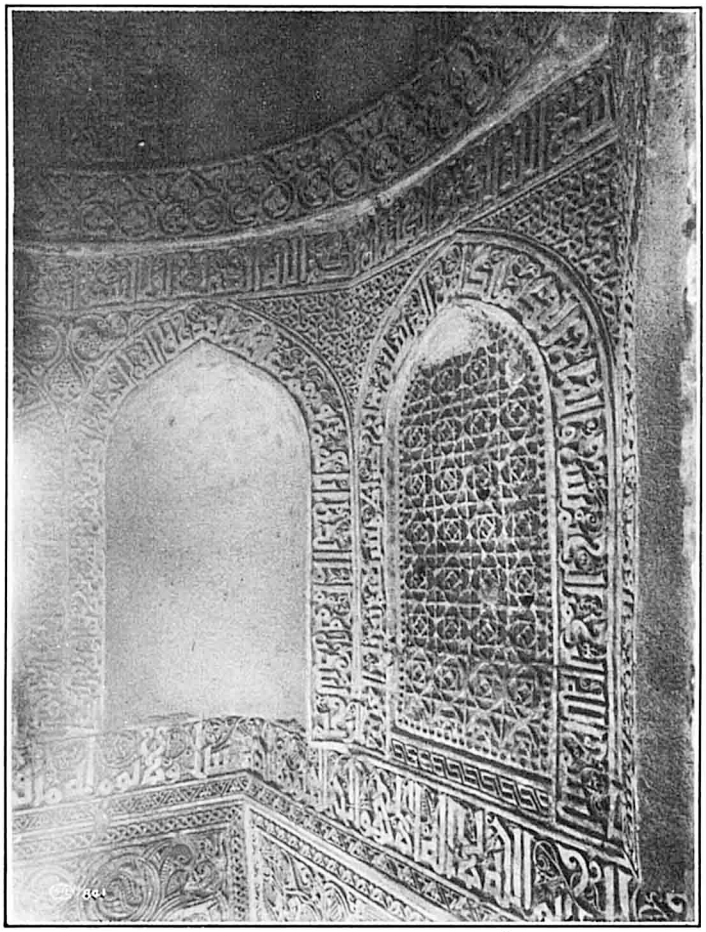
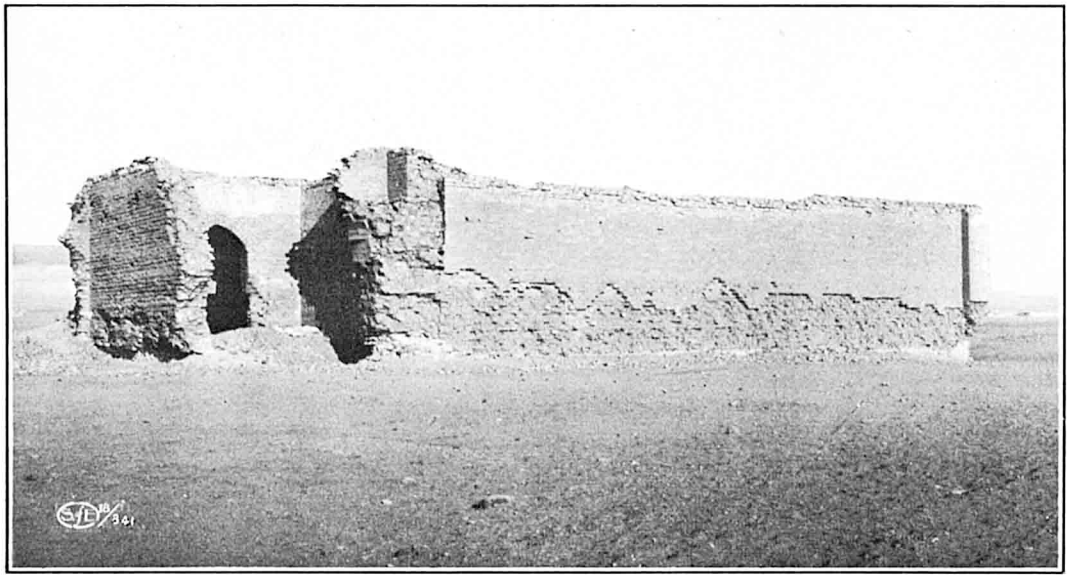


Comité's photograph.

A. — Mosque of al-Azhar. — Entrance dome.



Author's photograph.

B. — Ḥôsh Abû ʿAly.

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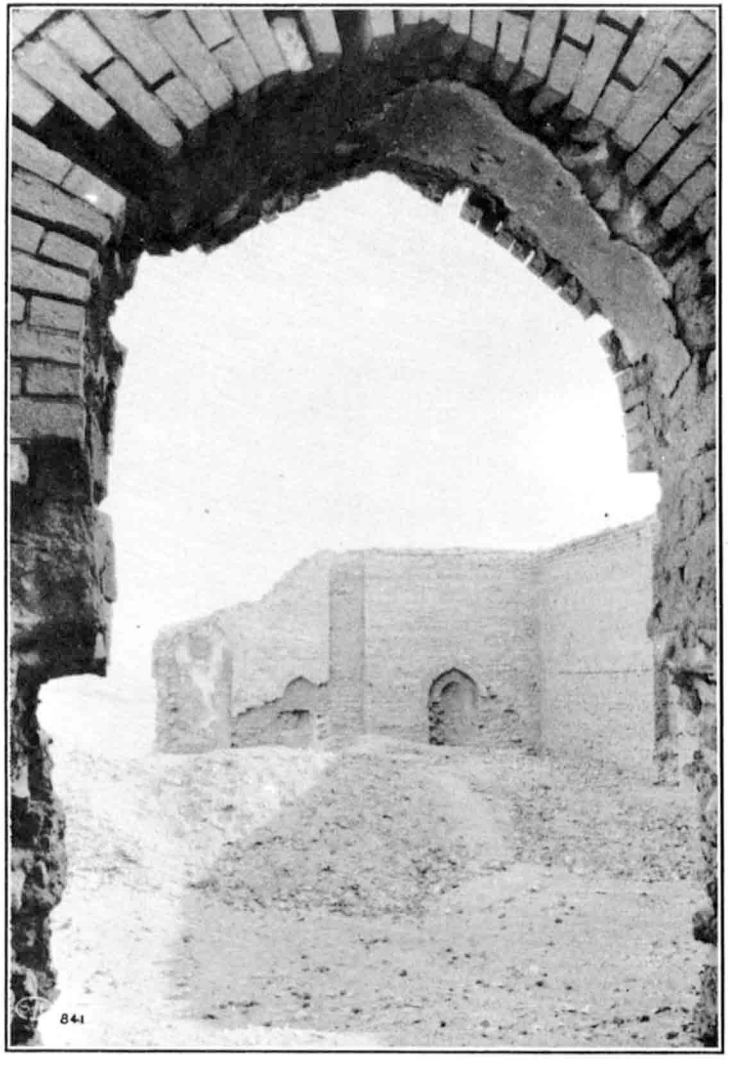

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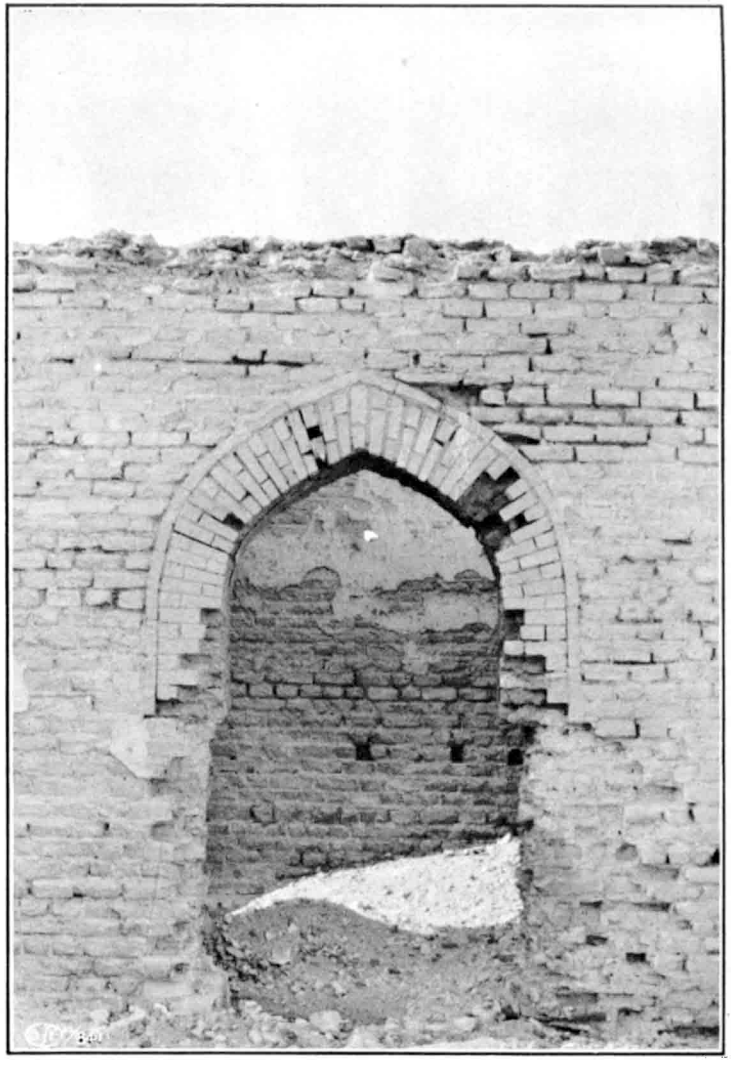
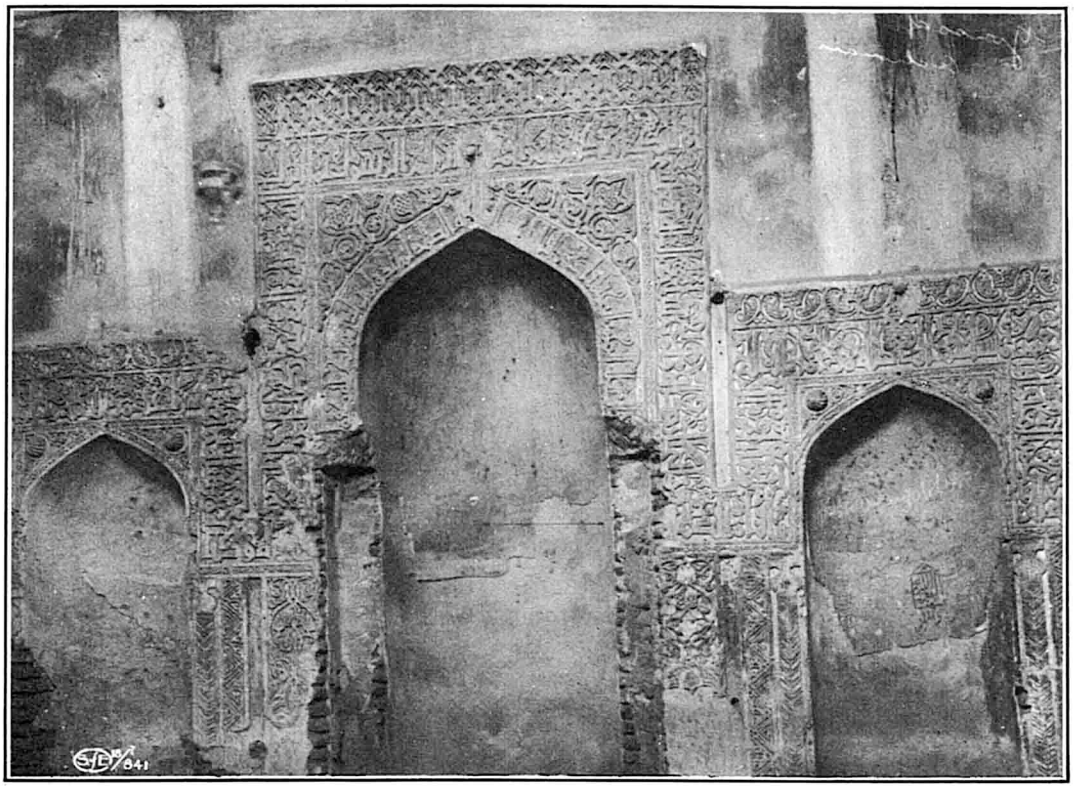
A. — Ḥôsh Abû ʿAly. — Interior.



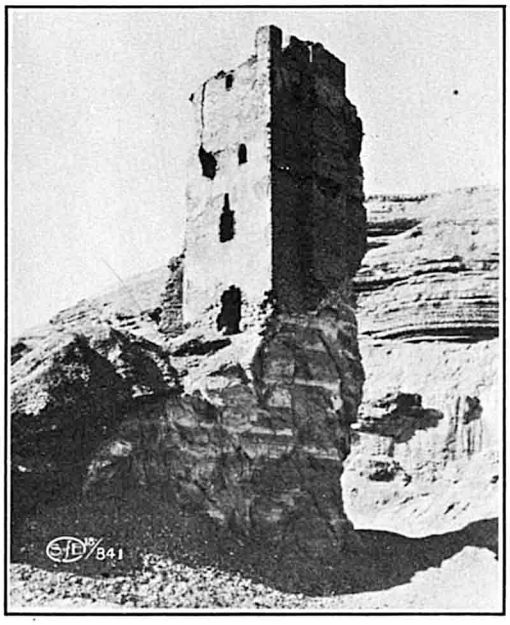
Author's photograph.

B. — Ḥôsh Abû ʿAly. — Entrance to ṣaḥn.



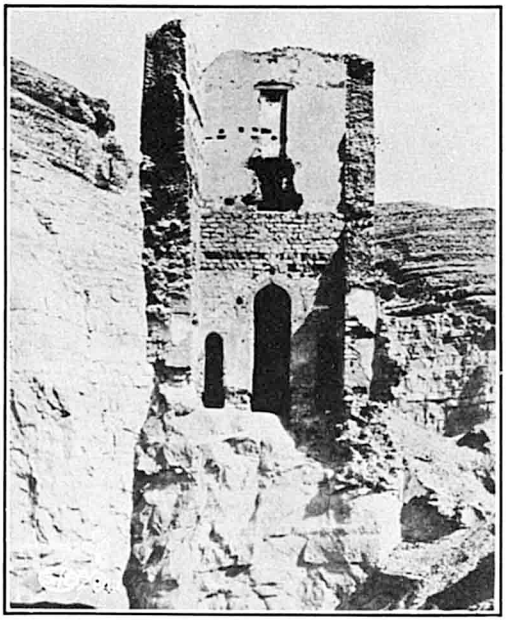
Comité's photograph.

A. — Gâmiʿ Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf. — Triple miḥrâb.



Author's photograph.

B. — Gâmiʿ Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf.



Author's photograph.

C. — Gâmiʿ Ikhwât Sayedna Yûsuf.

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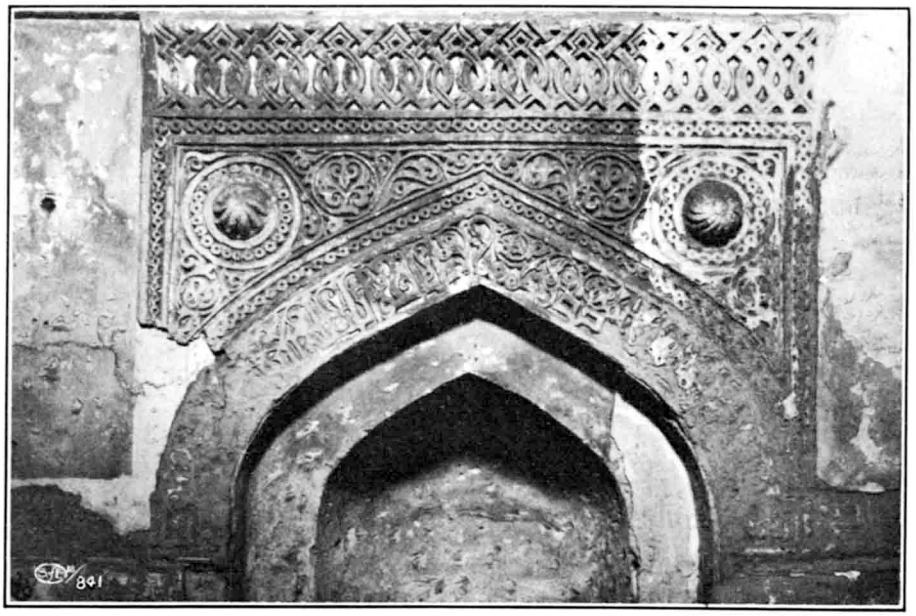
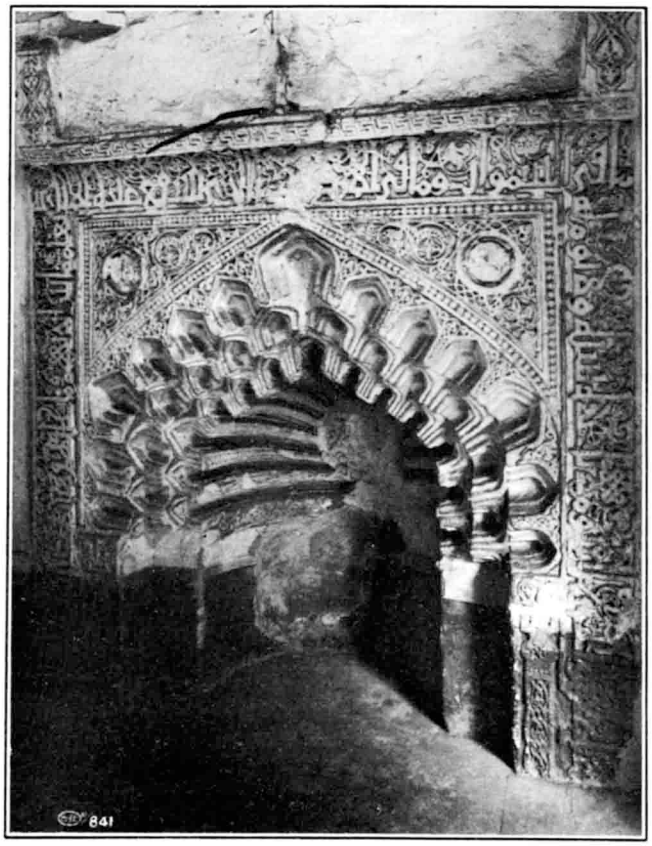


Author's photograph.

A. — Mausoleum of Sayeda ʿÀtika. — Miḥrâb.



Comité's photograph.

B. — Mausoleum of Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣawâty. — Miḥrâb.

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Author's photograph.

Mausoleum of Sayeda 'Âtika. — Opening between pendentives.

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Mausoleum of Sayeda Ruqayya. — Pendentives.

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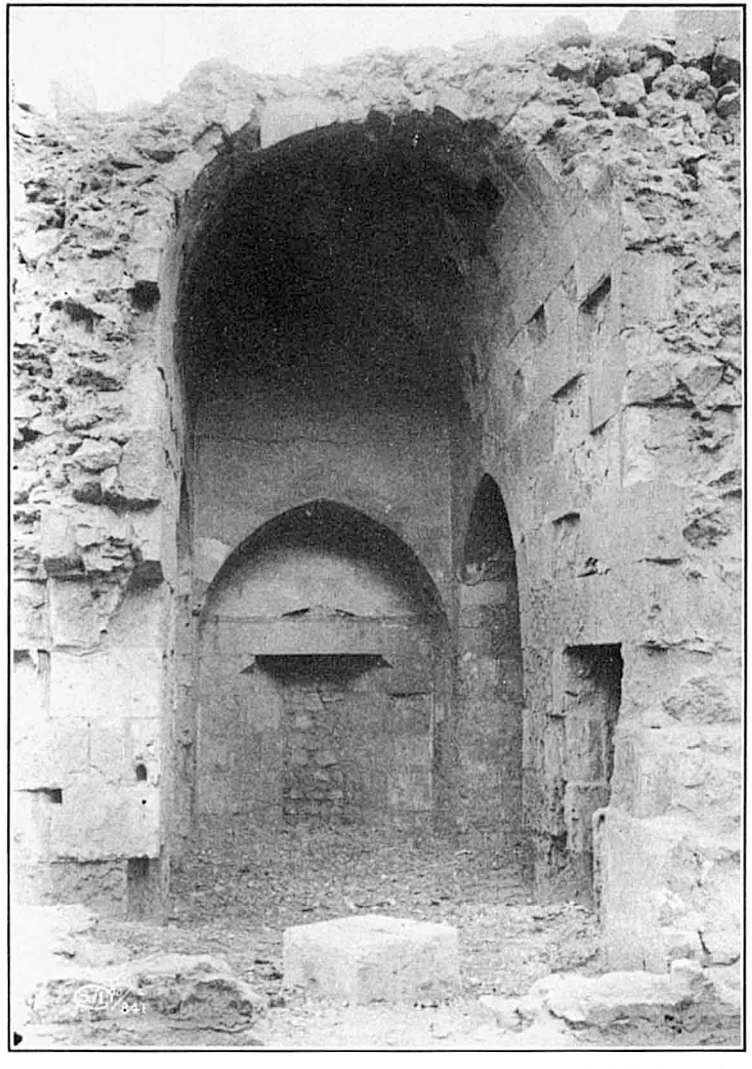
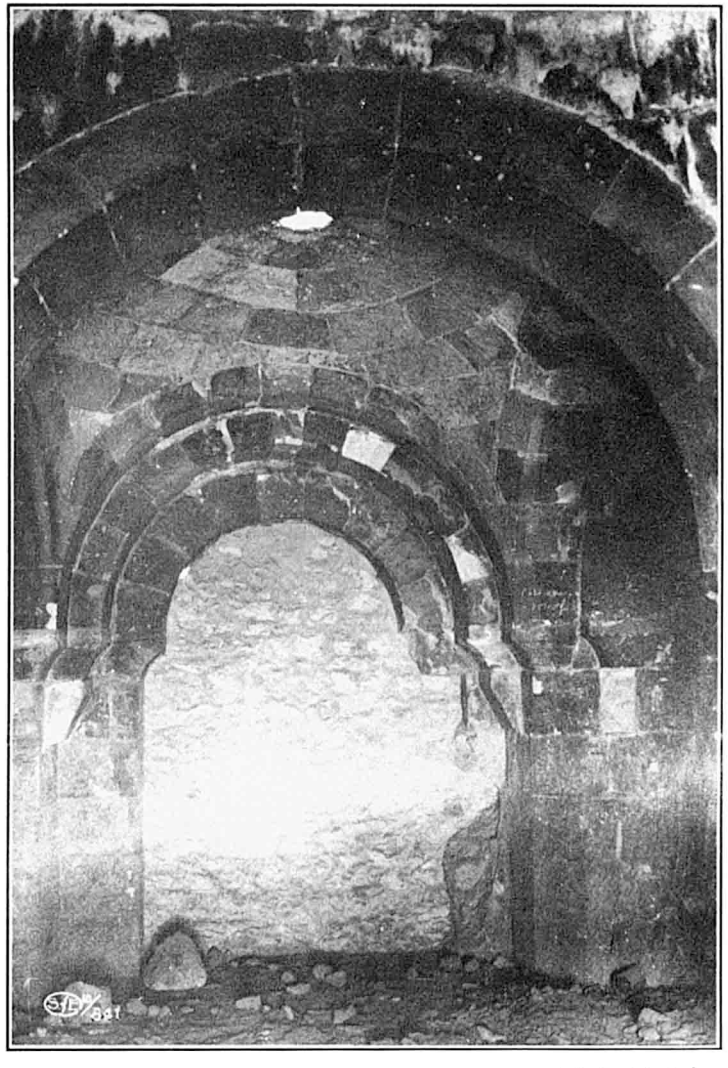


Author's photograph.

A. — East wall of Cairo. — Interior of tower.



Author's photograph.

B. — Burg aẓ-Ẓafar. — Interior of tower, upper chamber.

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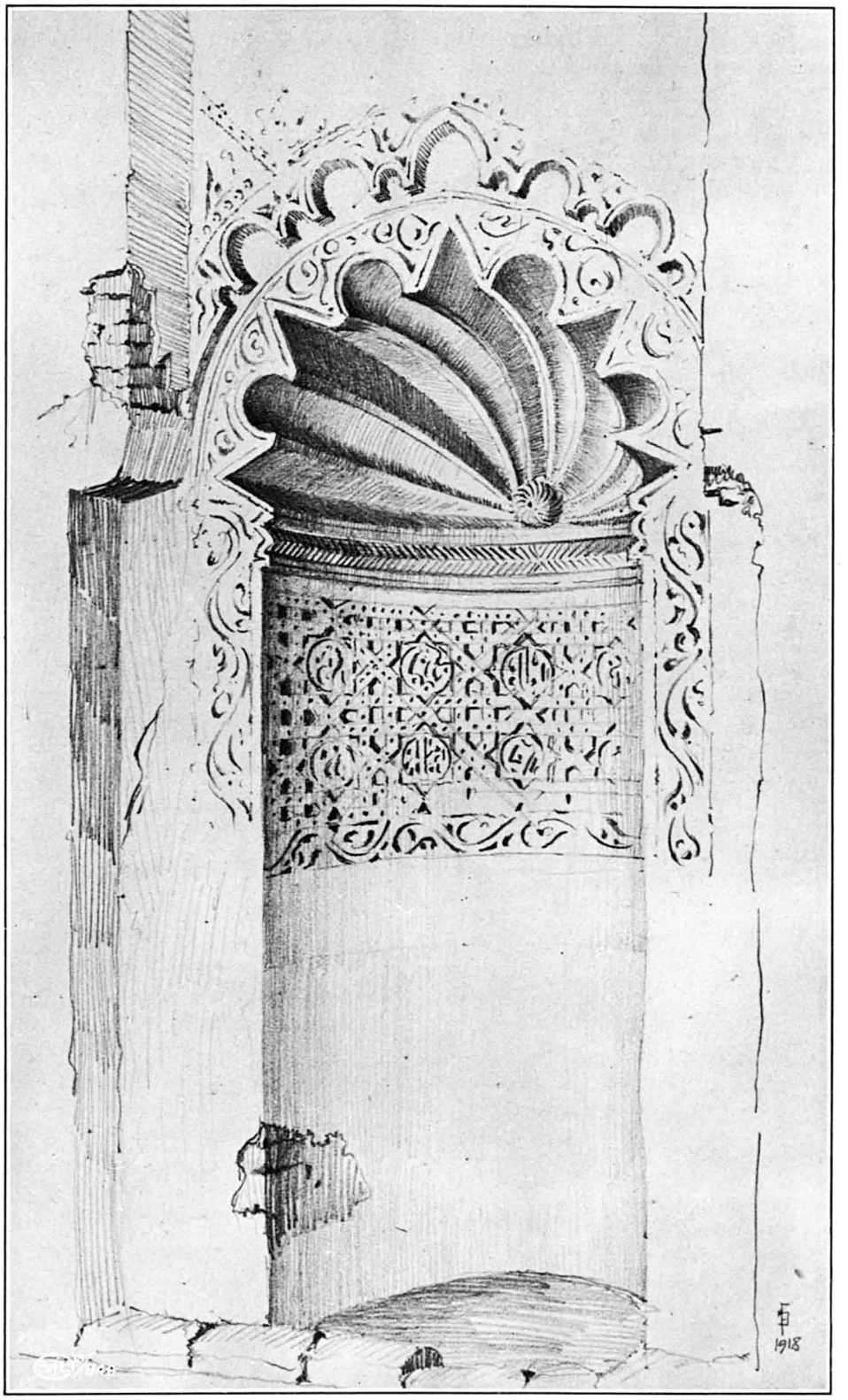

From a drawing by Mr. F. R. H. Darke.

Mashhad of Sitt Kolson. — Miḥrâb.

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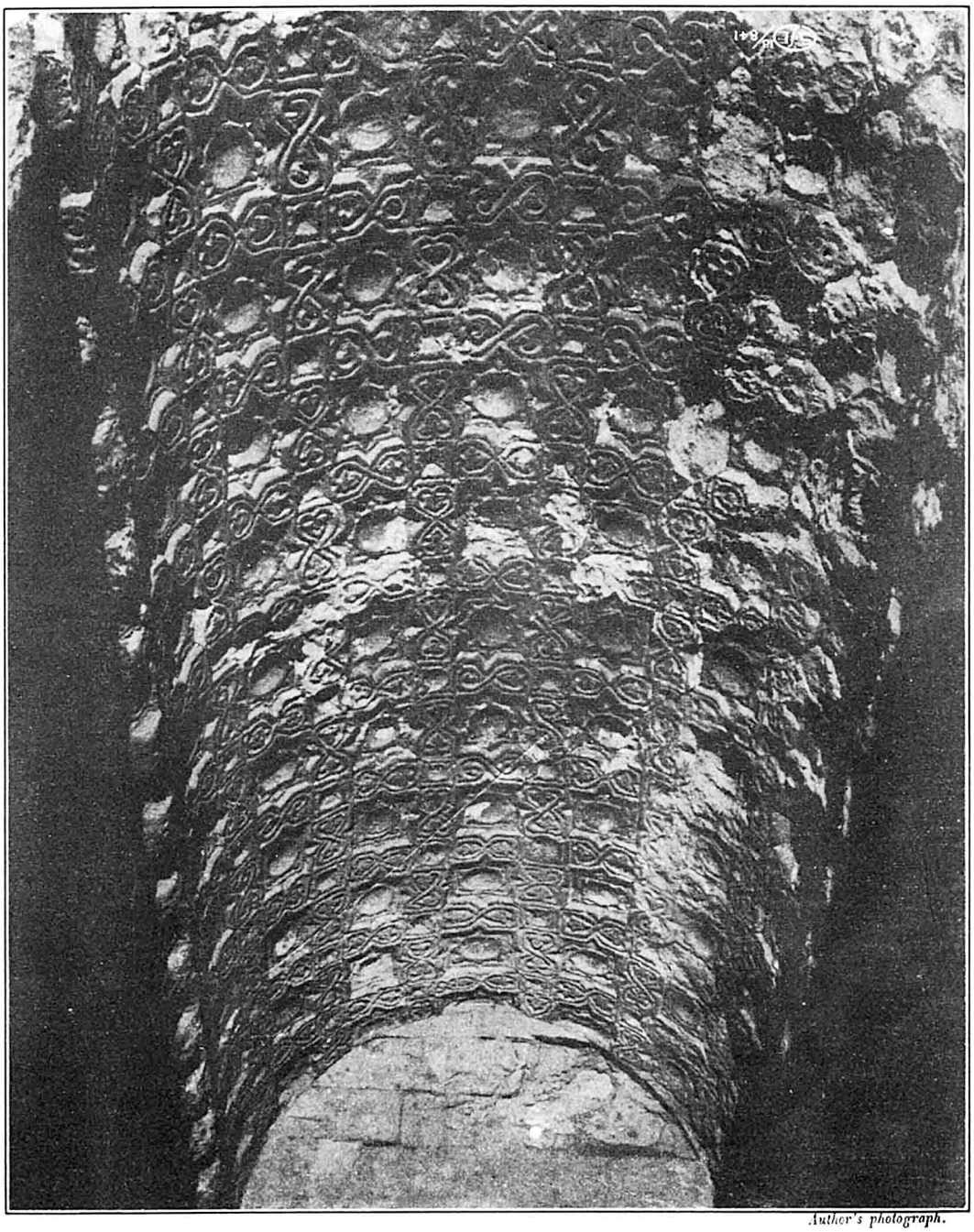

Author's photograph.

VAULT IN THE BURG AẒ-ẒAFAR.

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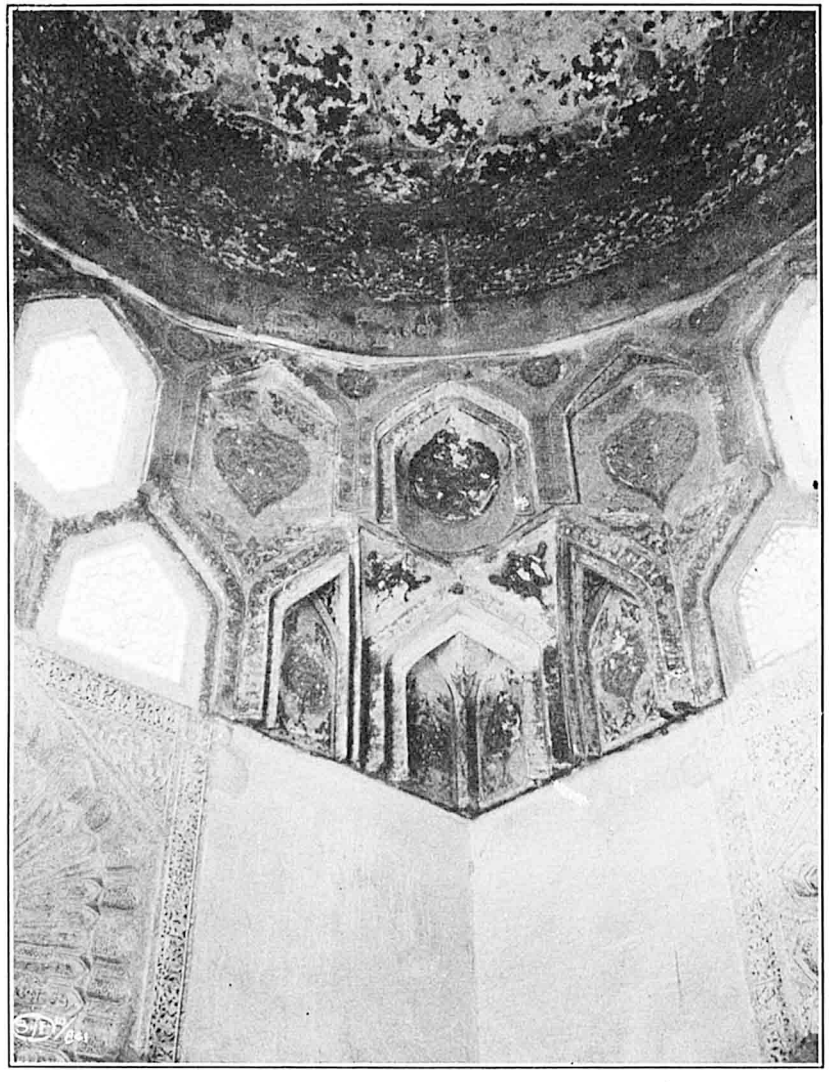
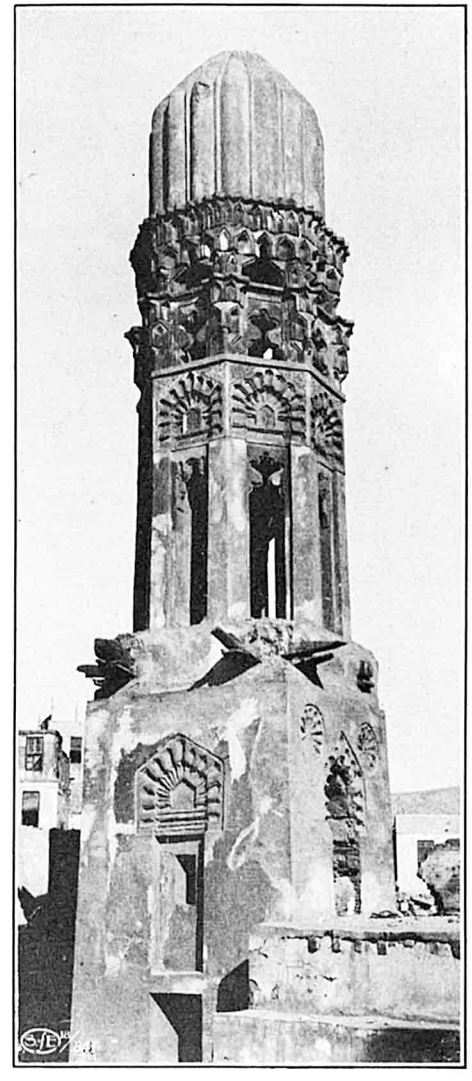


Author's photograph.

A. — Mausoleum of the Abbâsid Khalifs. — Pendentive.



Author's photograph.

B. — Mabkhara of the Zâwiyat al-Henûd.

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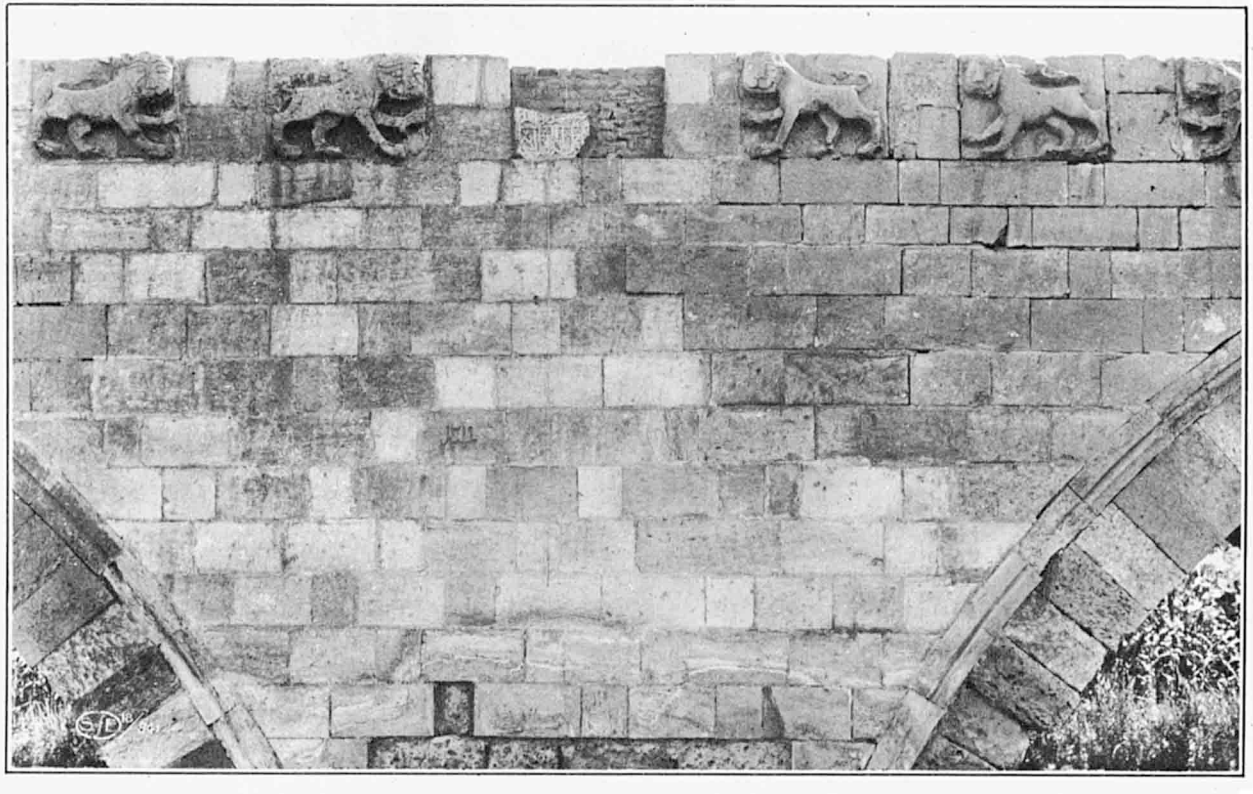

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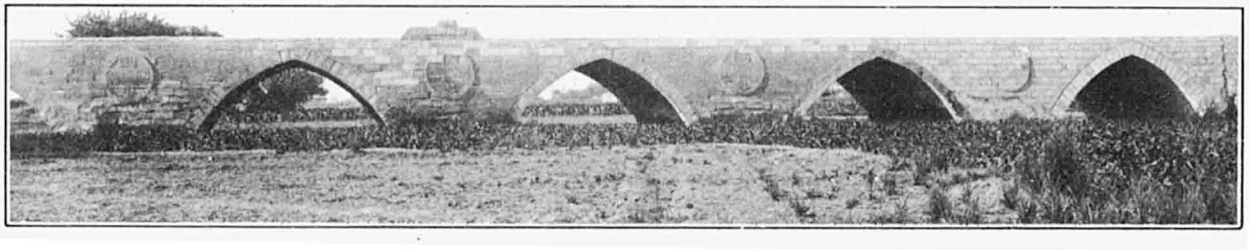

Author's photograph.

BRIDGE OF ABÙ L-MUNAGGA.

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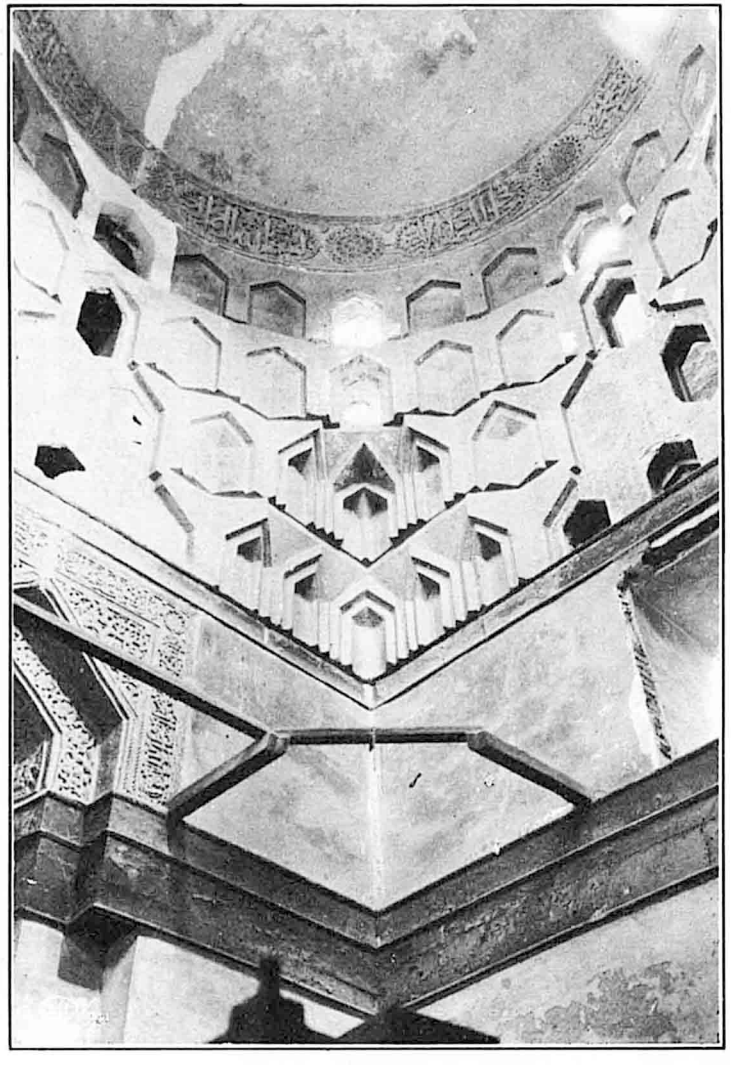
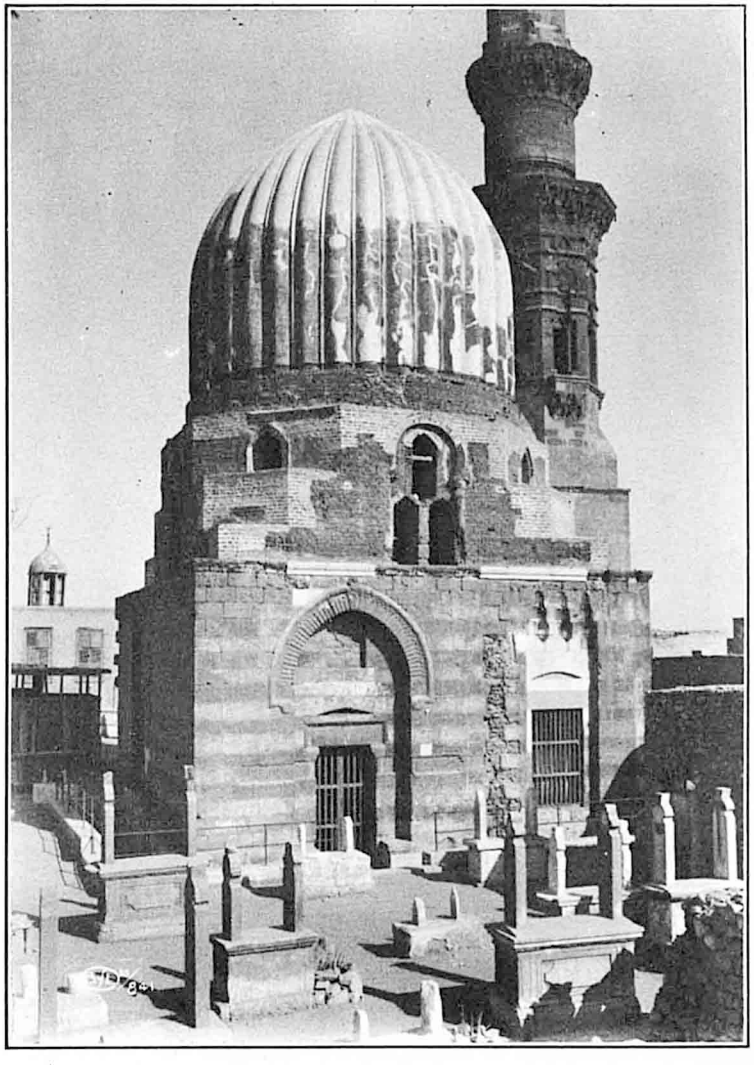


Author's photograph.

A. — Mausoleum of Ḥosàm ad-Dìn Ṭaranṭây. — Pendentive.



Author's photograph.

B. — Mausoleum of ʿAly Badr al-Qarâfy.

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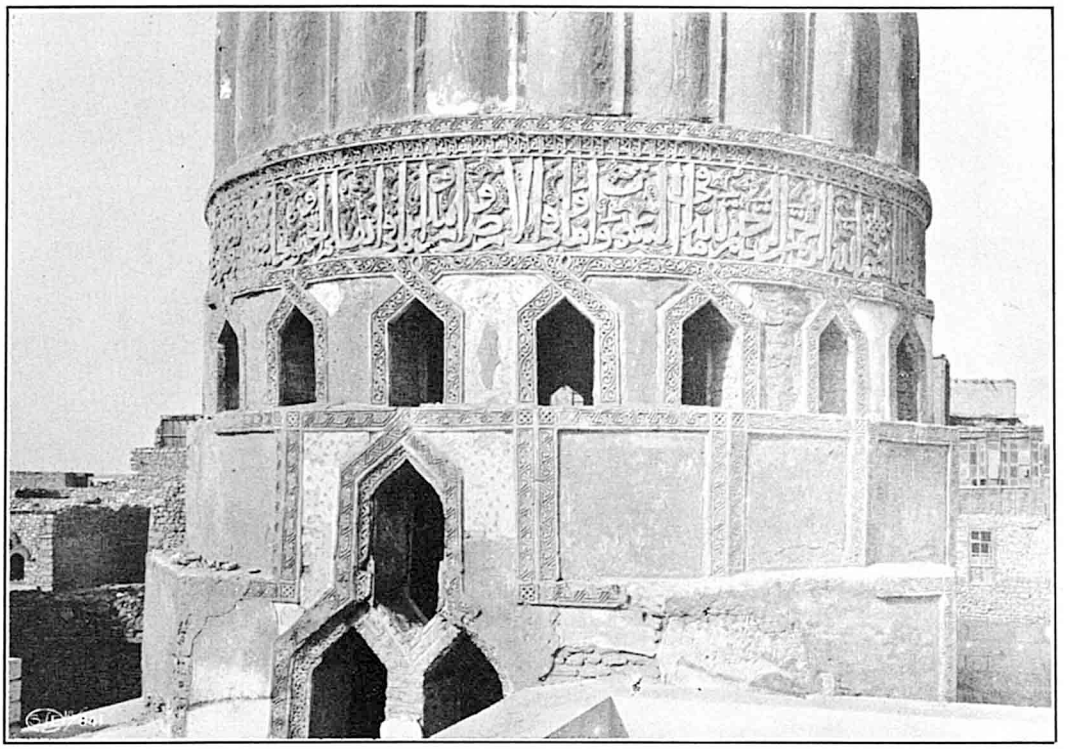
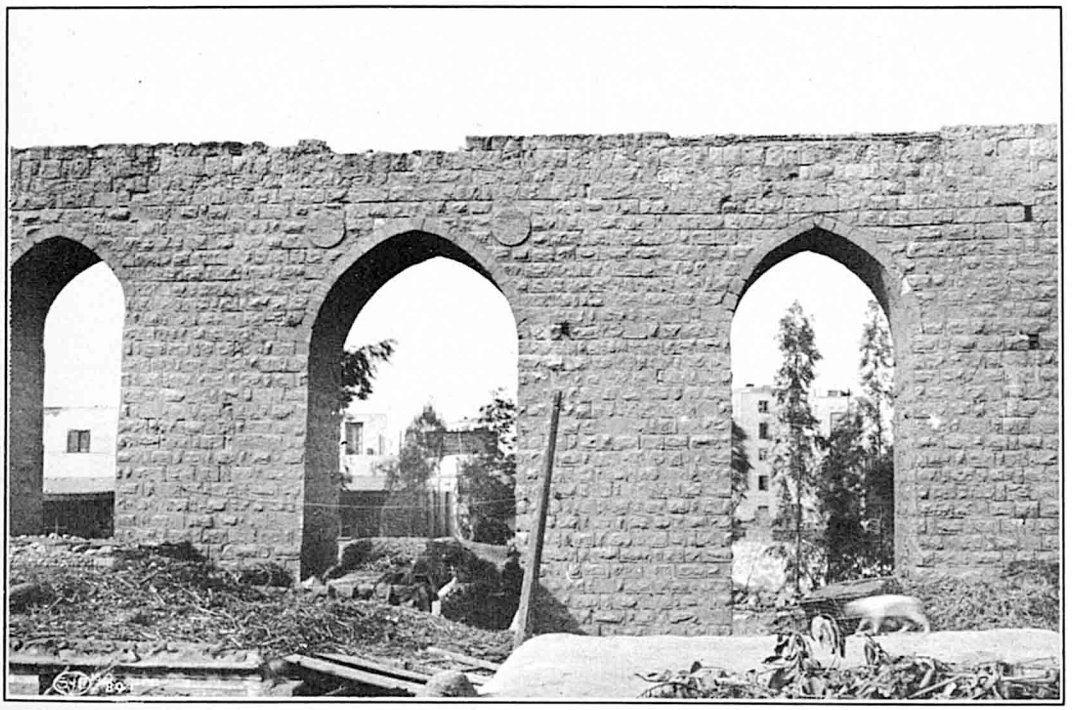


Author's photograph.

A. — Mausoleum of Zeyn ad-Dîn Yûsuf. — Dome from roof.



Author's photograph.

B. — The Great Aqueduct, with cartouches of Sultan al-Ghûry.

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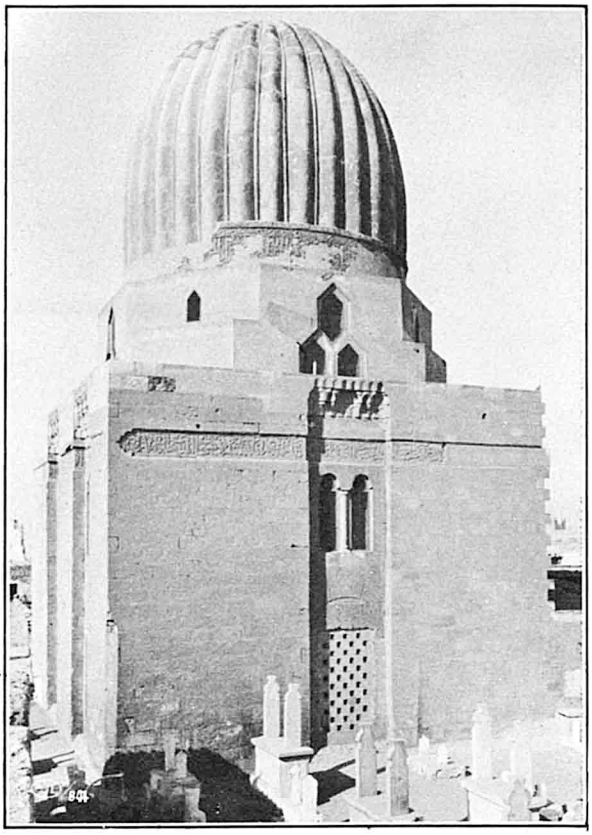
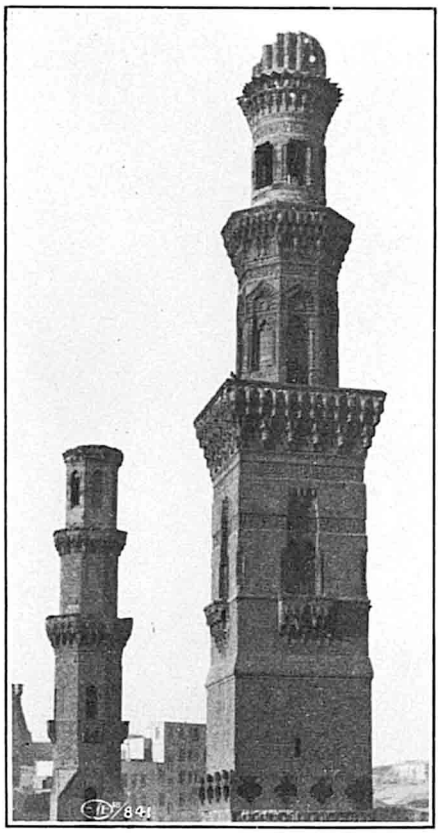


Author's photograph.

A. — Mausoleum of the Emîr Qûṣûn.



Author's photograph.

B. — Qûṣûn's minaret.

Author's photograph.

C. — Inscription in the mausoleum of the Emîr Sunqur Sa'dy.

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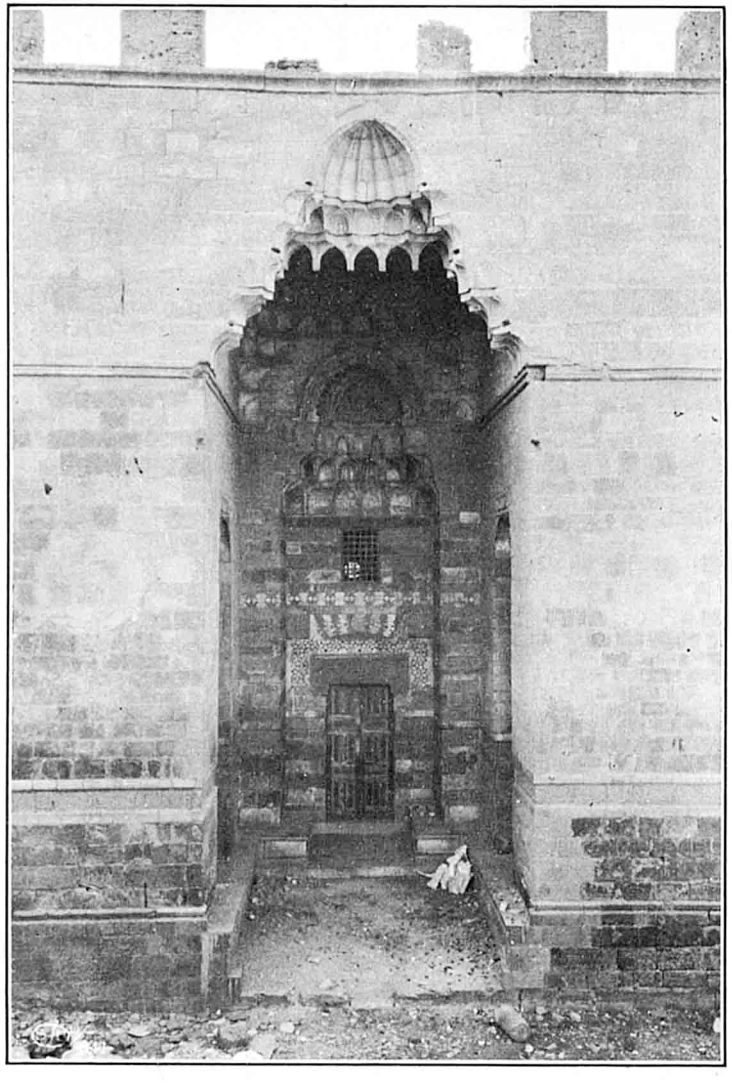
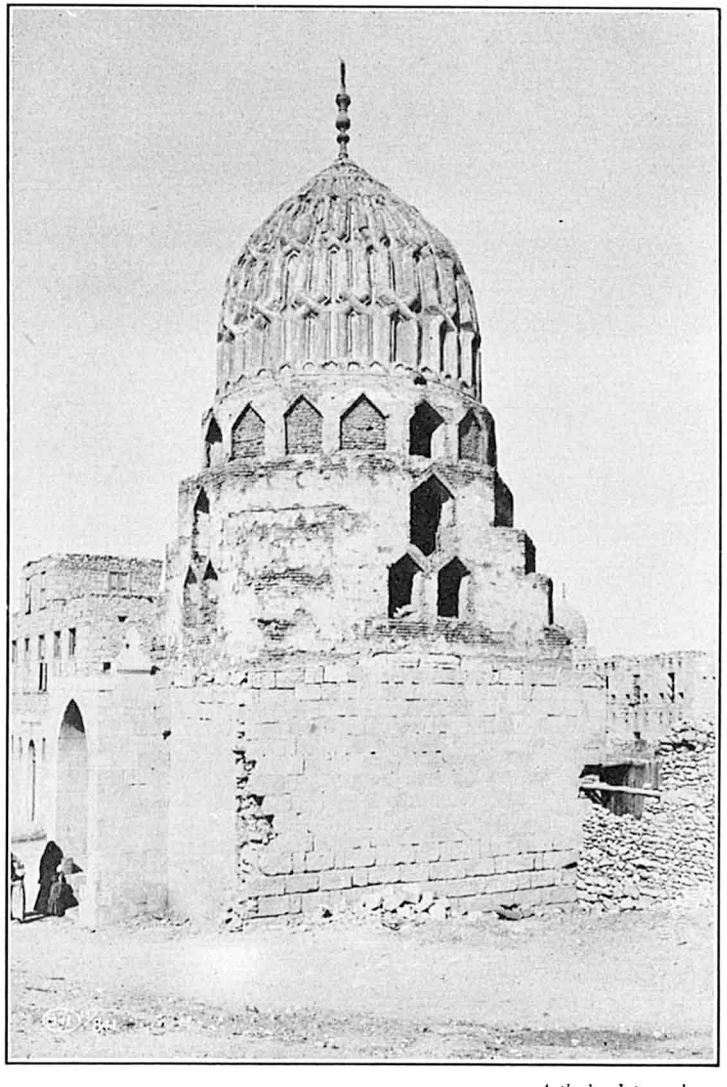


Author's photograph.

A. — Palace of the Emîr Yushbak. — Entrance.



Author's photograph.

B. — Mausoleum of Khadîga Umm al-Ashraf.

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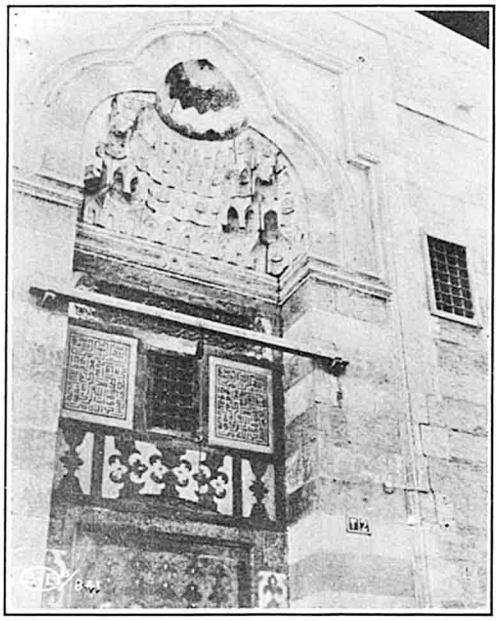
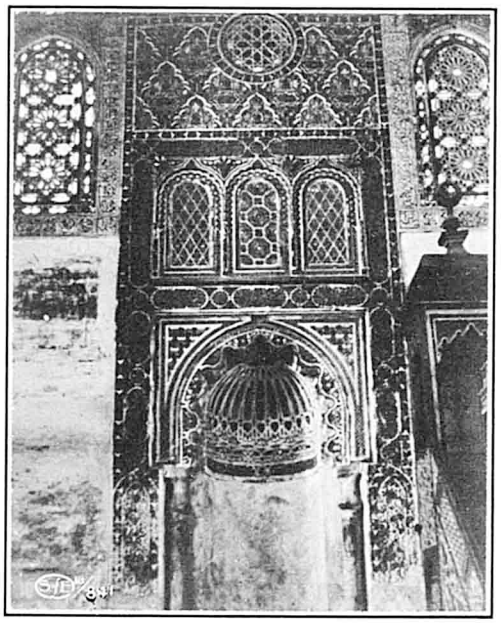


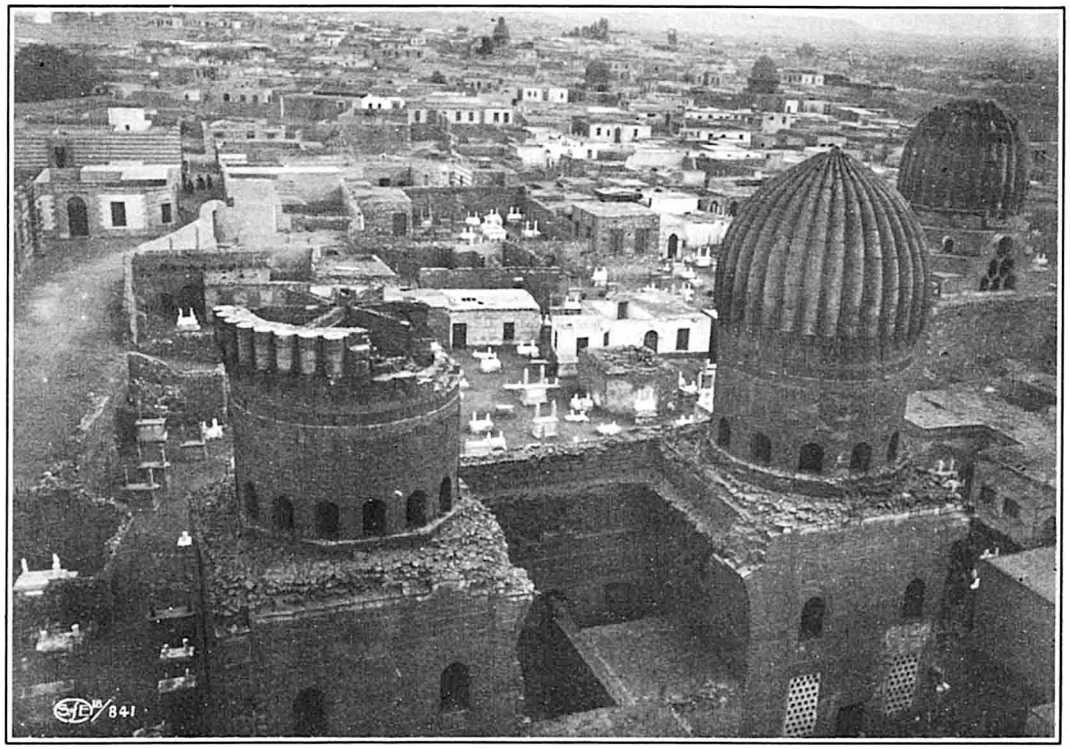
Author's photograph.

A. — Madrassa aṣ-Ṣâḥibîya. — Entrance.



Author's photograph.

B. — Madrassa aṣ-Ṣâḥibîya. — Miḥrâb.



C. — Sulṭânîya Mausoleum.

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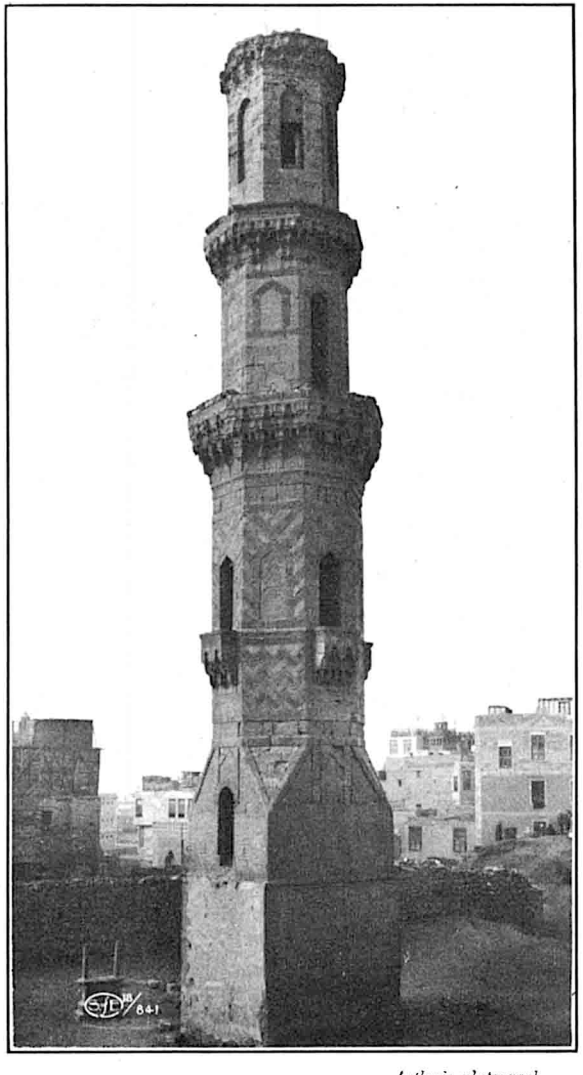
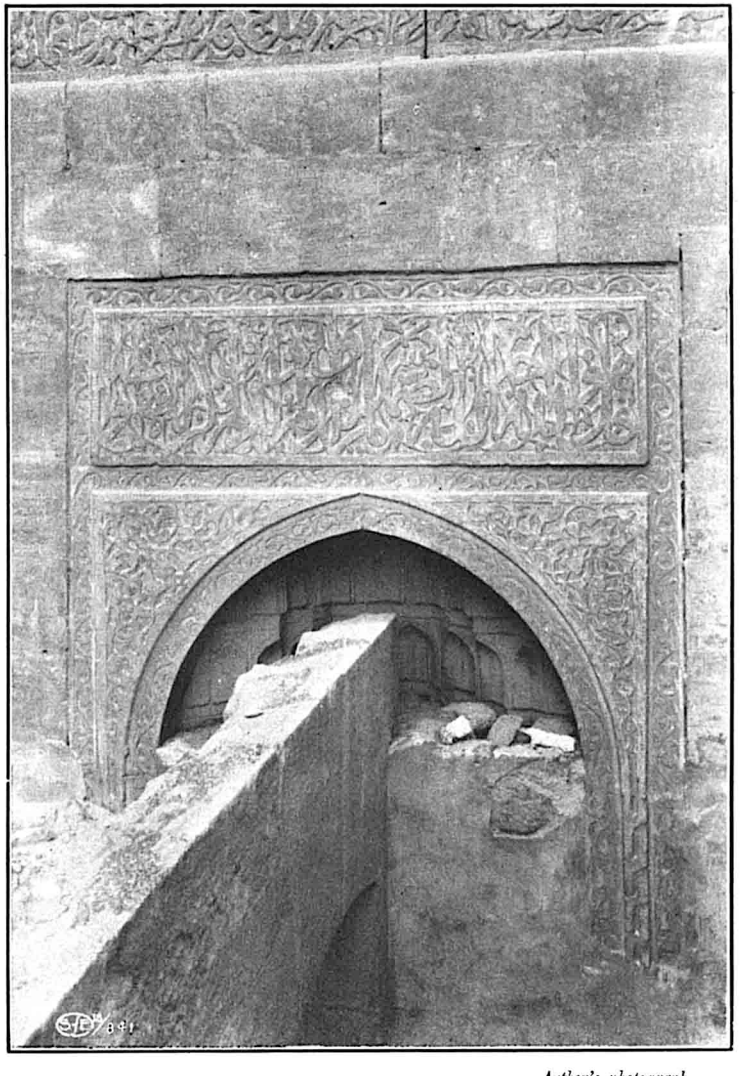


Author's photograph.

A. — Sulṭâniya Mausoleum. — Minaret.



Author's photograph.

B. — Sulṭâniya Mausoleum. — Miḥrâb.

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