

**The Rab' in Cairo:**

**A Window on Mamluk Architecture and Urbanism**

by

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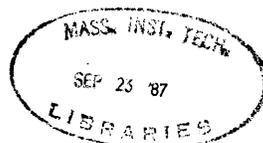
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on June 10, 1987  
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**ABSTRACT**

This dissertation is a reassessment of Mamluk architecture and urbanism in Cairo, based on a detailed study of one of the more important elements in its urban fabric, the *rab'* or apartment building. This building type is investigated via its extant examples and the extensive archival collection from the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods. The salient features of the *rab'* are identified, and its variations noted. The relation of the *rab'* to private dwellings is elucidated, and the changes that occurred in the residential architecture of Cairo from the early Fāṭimid through the Mamluk periods are presented. Its role in the urban fabric and in the patterns of pious endowments is analyzed through reconstructions based on *waqf* document.

New information about Mamluk architecture and urbanism brought to light by the study of the *rab'* is used to reassess some of the more widely accepted characterizations of the Mamluk period.

Thesis Supervisor: Stanford Anderson

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## INTRODUCTION

The subject of this dissertation is a remarkable residential building type, unique to Cairo of the Medieval period. Known as a *rab* (plural *ribā*), it is a distinctive architectural type that developed in the city over several hundred years. As a construction for the lodging of a number of unrelated families on a long term rental basis, it qualifies to be compared to a modern day apartment building or tenement house. Its specific multi-storied design as a response to the conditions of a large and congested urban center, justifies comparison with the more recent thoughts about high density accommodations.

In many cities of the medieval Muslim world, one could have rented a room or space to serve as a residence, but nowhere outside Cairo was such a need met by the rationalization and formalization of a building type to accommodate a number of unrelated families. Even in the exceptional city of Mecca, with its seasonally established influx of pilgrims needing accommodation, people either stayed in tents, rooms in hostels, or rented floors of a private residence. In Europe of the time, there was nothing comparable until the advent of the Industrial Revolution, with the influx of migrants from the countryside.

This building type is worthy of study because it represents the intersection of three different sets of considerations. First, it is a form of housing and as such needs to be considered before a representative picture of the residential fabric of the medieval city can be formulated. Most characterizations of the medieval Muslim city characterize its residential component as made up of inwardly turned constructions that fulfill religious and climatic concerns. These concerns included a need for privacy and relief from the heat of the day. Added to these concerns is the effect of the Islamic inheritance laws which tended to fragment a property. While this was counteracted by the law of pre-emption as a way of parcel assembly, the result was generally a residence that could always be subdivided. All of these factors seem to preclude the development of apartment dwellings, especially to the formalized degree attained in Cairo.

Second, it is housing for rental purposes and, therefore, it indicates the existence of a sizable segment of the population that could neither afford to purchase nor build their own home, yet could pay for their accommodation with currency. This segment of the population excluded those groups in society whose housing would have been provided for, such as servants and slaves, who would have lived with their owners and employers. The inhabitants of the apartments were people of some means who could pay in currency

for their housing. Their multi-unit dwellings were a result of the level of parcel exploitation necessary to justify the high value of urban land in Cairo.

Third, it represents constructions undertaken by the rich and powerful, capable of commanding extensive sites within the city. All of the extant Mamluk examples are associated with princes or rulers. For them it was one of the means of generating income for the construction and maintenance of pious foundations, and not a form of subsidized housing, except those meant for employees of a pious endowment. Since the building was supposed to last as long as the pious constructions it was meant to finance, it also served the purpose of addressing posterity, and thus it is to be distinguished from modern day notions of apartment buildings. We find in them the imprint of patronage often sought in the analysis of religious monuments.

As a form of housing, the *rab'* has all but disappeared today. Its design principles are no longer used in new constructions, and what few examples remain have been changed extensively. More often the ground commercial level is all that stands of most older buildings in the city, with stone corbels/brackets projecting as reminders of the overhanging residential levels that once characterized most of the busy streets of Cairo.

The aim of this study is to identify the architectural characteristics of this type of building and to situate it within a framework of building in the Mamluk period in Cairo. Because the understanding of Mamluk architecture is itself quite nascent, my investigation will also involve a reconsideration of the framework within which I want to understand the *rab'*.

The study relies on a handful of extant examples of this building type and an extensive amount of archival material. Beyond the information that each kind of source presents by itself, each offers corroborative or explanatory information about the other. Extant buildings allow us to understand the contemporary spatial terminology found in the archives, and the extant documents allow for a reconstruction (extrapolative or interpolative) of places and times for which no physical traces remain.

The small number of *rab'*s available to us is the result of a continuous (and possibly accelerating) process of decay. Therefore, the proper documentation of what is left is extremely important. Unfortunately this task could have been better undertaken some fifty years ago when a larger number of the buildings was still standing. As recently as the mid 1960's, an important *rab'-wakāla* was demolished, except for its portal.<sup>1</sup> As a building

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<sup>1</sup> Known as the *wakāla* of Qūṣūn, it was built before 742/1341 by an emir of the time

from the early Mamluk period, it predated by more than 150 years the earliest such building available to us now. The interest in such an endeavor and the necessary methodological apparatus were not then in place.

In many research projects, the results reflect both the aims of the researcher and the material available; this one is no exception. It would have been my preference, in no little part due to my background as an architect, that this dissertation be primarily an architectural analysis based on the study and documentation of extant buildings standing or excavated. This would have aimed at tracing the developments in the spatial morphology of the type from its antecedents to its final form. It quickly became apparent, however, that the pursuit of important questions, such as the development of the *rab'* type, required looking at a period in time well before the earliest extant examples, the earliest of which dates to 835/1432. I came to rely increasingly on archival documents, especially since all the archaeological work undertaken to date in Cairo has had nothing to say about this building type. However, these deeds, verbal documents with no graphic content, are limited with respect to the architectural information that they contain. Conversely, when archival materials are brought into the picture, the limits of the extant buildings suddenly become apparent. This is partly because most remaining buildings are missing upper floors, which are described in the deeds. More importantly, it turns out that we learn very little about the use of places simply by looking at architectural remains, especially incomplete ones. Fortunately, the archival record for some of the extant buildings has survived, and it can be used to complement the architectural evidence. Consequently, it is not possible to speak of a single methodology in working on this subject. The emphasis of this work will change with each period, reflecting the source material at hand and this researcher's ability to deal with it.

This study addresses six main questions or issues in relation to this building type. First, it establishes the typology of the *rab'* and its variations. Second, it identifies the relationship of this type to the better studied and understood private residence of the same time. Third, it presents the social and economic contexts of the *rab'*. Fourth, it illustrates the role of the *rab'* in the urban context and in the endowment system of the time. Fifth, it investigates the development and formation of the type. And last, it situates this type within the larger building activity in Cairo and speculates on its role in the development of Cairene architecture.

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of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, near the present *wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr.

In establishing the typology of the *rab'*, I will present and analyze its main spatial elements and the contemporary vocabulary that was used to describe them. The understanding of the contemporary terminology will be the basis of subsequent use of the archives for reconstructions of non-extant buildings. The analysis of the type will include a comparison to the more commonly studied residence of the time, namely, the house and the palace. I will show that the *rab'* was a developed form of housing that incorporated most of the elements of the Cairene residence of the time in a rationalized manner to fit in a more restricted site. This allowed for the repetition of the unit and its accommodation on top of commercial constructions. As a working hypothesis, I will present the *rab'* apartment as a miniaturization of the private residence. These will be dealt with in the first chapter.

To complete the characterization of the type, it is important to identify any variations that existed, either simultaneously or chronologically. In the second chapter I will do this by looking at variations, no longer extant, but clearly described in archival documents: variations in size, unit type, building height, loading of access corridor, ventilation and view, relation to the street, amenities, and the like. I will show that the type was developed to fit on a number of commercial constructions, yet it always maintained its independence of access and function.

Who was this type built for? This question brings us to the social and economic contexts of the *rab'*. To what extent did this type of dwelling require or engender a different type of lifestyle and manner of social interaction than that commonly described for the inhabitants of the medieval Islamic settlement. Even though there are serious gaps in the archival evidence, I will argue that this could not be seen as a form of "socialist housing," providing identical units for numbers of families. Extant and archival examples show that there were many variations within the same building, and there were typically differences between units on upper and lower levels and the back or front of a complex. In its various manifestations, the *rab'* served as housing for *ṣūfīs*, mamluks, artisans, merchants, etcetera. This will be dealt with in the third chapter.

As a significant part of the urban fabric, we would like to know the role of the *rab'* in that fabric. Where in the city were such constructions built? What was their relation to other types of buildings? I will show that the *rab'* residence permeated practically all of the commercial areas of the city. Also, as a significant instrument of the income generating apparatus of the *waqf* system, we would like to know more precisely the role that it played in such endowments. Since the founding of a pious complex was practically a requirement for any individual of importance, the knowledge that such a complex was accompanied by

a whole infrastructure encourages looking at the endowment as a totality, and not just at the single monument. The investigation of the endowment of patrons will reveal distinct patterns. These include a distinct clustering of income generating properties around the income consuming ones, and the proximity of both to the patron's residence. While these could be explained in terms of the tendency to acquire land in one location, I will argue that it represents a particular attitude towards neighborhood development and the desire for the recognizability of pious contribution. I will deal with those two aspects of the role of the *rab'* in the fourth chapter in a discussion that will rely on the archival sources to a large degree.

The pursuit of the question of the development of the type will take us back into a period when the Cairene private residence as we know it now was itself undergoing dramatic changes. Earlier stated assumptions concerning the relationship between the apartment unit and the private residence will be questioned and it will become apparent that there was a greater degree of interdependence in the development of the two forms, than had been previously believed to be the case. A statistical analysis of the archival documents will allow for a tracing of the changes in Cairene housing stock over time. It will be possible to see how one type of residence slowly replaced the other. It will also be shown that the *rab'* unit underwent a parallel and simultaneous transformation. I will argue that, in some of the changes, the *rab'* units preceded the private residence and as such contributed to the formation of the medieval Cairene residence as we have come to know it. This is the subject of the fifth chapter.

In investigating this type and trying to situate it within the architectural production of the time, it became evident that it would not fit without some reformulation of our understanding of the rest of Mamluk architecture. For instance, what are we to make of the very straight run of the street facade of many *rab'* buildings in comparison to the irregular frontage of many of the well studied Mamluk religious monuments, especially when we had understood the latter to be a result of the irregularity of property lines in the medieval Muslim city? Such conflicts between accepted characterizations and new observations were sufficiently numerous to warrant a reassessment and restatement of some of the characterizations of Mamluk architecture and urbanism. This is taken up in the sixth chapter. There, I will confront what has been learned about the *rab'*, with the presently accepted characterizations of medieval Islamic architecture in general and Mamluk architecture in particular. In other words, the *rab'* will serve as a lens through which to reassess Cairene monumental buildings. I will point out the distinctions and similarities between the urban fabric and the religious buildings. Furthermore, I will argue

that in the Mamluk period a comprehensive urban attitude was developed that allowed all types of buildings to serve as vehicles for the expressive impulses of the patrons, particularly that of monumentality, without loss of distinction between types and without confusion about the relative hierarchy of different buildings. This will be shown to be a result of a specific way in which the Mamluk built on and adapted received architectural traditions.

Two issues emerged as fundamental to this work though strictly speaking they are outside the scope of this dissertation. These are the use of archives for history of architecture and monumentality in Mamluk architecture. Because of the fundamental role of these two issues to this dissertation, they are considered in two essays at the beginning of the study. The extensive use of archival documents in this study raised a number of methodological and theoretical questions that had to be addressed before any textually based reconstructions could be considered to have any validity. Many of these questions have not been directly addressed by others who used the same or similar material. This necessitated writing an essay in which a survey of available written archival documents is provided along with a discussion of the limits on their usefulness for the study of Mamluk architecture.

In trying to deal with the relationship of the apartment buildings to the rest of Mamluk architecture, the question of what is monumentality in Mamluk architecture needed to be addressed. Is monumentality a characteristic to be ascribed to Mamluk religious monuments, or is it also to be attributed to commercial and residential constructions? If it is to be applied to both, is the term no longer useful for making distinctions between fabric and monument? This problem called for an essay on monumentality in Islamic architecture in general and in Mamluk architecture in particular. The aim is to develop a vocabulary and a series of concepts to better understand the expressive aspects of the buildings under study.

The detailed description of the twelve extant examples that represent the architectural basis of this study is included in the first appendix. Each building is described in its present state, with reference to any inscriptions that survive, as well as in its earlier state as described in an endowment deed, if such a deed exists.

Since much of this work is based on unpublished archival material, it seemed necessary that some of this material be presented in untranslated form. In the second appendix, the Arabic text of extracts from a number of documents used in this study is provided.

### Notes on format

The transliteration system used here is that of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* with the exception of the use of q for ق, and j for ج.

When first introduced an Arabic term is transliterated, with its translation provided in parentheses. In the cases where the translation is definitive, the Arabic term subsequently appears in parentheses following its translation. In the cases where the meaning is open to question or has varied greatly in usage, the Arabic term continues to be used directly, such as is the case with the terms *ṭabaqa* and *riwāq*.

The reference to a manuscript text that is cited in the body of the dissertation is given as completely as possible. In the cases of documents that are in the form of a roll, only the document and the date of the specific deed in the document is given, unless a line number was recorded. To the extent possible the relevant part is cited in English translation or paraphrase in the body of the dissertation. In the cases where the translated or referenced passages appear in Appendix 2, an additional reference is given in the form of "App2: deedname: pagenumber", where "deedname" is the identifying name and number of the document, and "pagenumber" is the page of my transcription where the reference passage is located. For example, a citation of App2: Awqāf 901:10 means that the relevant Arabic text can be found in Appendix 2, in the tenth page of my transcription of the document Awqāf 901.

I use the word Cairo to refer to the overall urban settlement on the east bank of the Nile. The names Fuṣṭāṭ, Miṣr, al-Qāhira, and Bulāq will be used to refer to more specific parts of this settlement to reflect the usage in the Medieval period. Al-Qāhira will be used to refer to that part of the city between Bāb Zuwayla and Bāb al-Futūḥ (the Fāṭimid city).

The figures and illustrations are located at the end of each section. Their numbers refer to the section and the number of the figure in that section. For example, Figure P1.2 refers to the second figure in Preliminary Remarks I; Figure C2.3 refers to the third figure in Chapter 2; and Figure A1.4 refers to the fourth illustration in Appendix 1.

## **Preliminary Remarks I**

### **Archival Documents:**

The Realm of their Usefulness for the History of Cairene Architecture

- 1 The archival collections**
  - 1.1 The Geniza material**
  - 1.2 The Vienna collection**
  - 1.3 The Cairo collections**
- 2 The *waqf* system**
  - 2.1 The *waqf* document**
    - 2.1.1 Property descriptions
    - 2.1.2 Maintenance
  - 2.2 The exchange document**
  - 2.3 The sale document**
- 3 Uses of the archival material**
- 4 Limits of the archival material**

One of the first to point to the importance of the use of archival material in Cairo for the study of antiquities was 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm.<sup>2</sup> Since his work in the late 1950s, the archival collection has been used by a number of architectural historians with little self-awareness about its limits and possibilities and with very little methodological reflection. It has most often been used to support monographic work on a particular building or patron.<sup>3</sup> The situation is improving to the extent that there is now a group of French and French-trained historians (such as Andre Raymond and Nelly Ḥanna Boulous) using the records to answer wider questions of urbanistic and sociological nature. Their work, however, has focused primarily on the Ottoman period, which has a more abundant archival record.<sup>4</sup>

The following essay discusses the archival material available to a researcher into Medieval Cairene architecture up to the Ottoman conquest in 923/1517. It aims at explaining the nature of the collections and their contents, how they came about, and what

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<sup>2</sup> Abd al-Latif Ibrahim 'Ali, *Dirāsāt tārikhiya wa athariya fī wathā'iq min 'aṣr al-sulṭān al-Ghūrī* (Historical and Antiquarian studies in archival documents from the Reign of the Sultan Ghūrī), unpublished PhD. thesis No. 224, Cairo: Cairo University, 1956; "Al-wathā'iq fī khidmat al-āthār" (The Archives in the Service of the Antiquities), in *Al-mu'tamar al-thānī...* (The 2nd conference for antiquities in the Arab countries), (Cairo, 1958): 205-288.

<sup>3</sup> For examples of monographic uses of archives see E. Higashi's thesis at The American University in Cairo on the *wakāla* of Qaytbāy, *Commercial Architecture in 15th Century Cairo, the Wikalat Qa'it Bay at the Side of the Mosque of al-Azhar*, (Cairo: May 1979); S. A. Ḥasan's dissertation at Cairo University on the buildings of Īnāl, *Al-Sultan Īnāl wa Atharihi al-Mi'mariya fī al-Qahira* (The Sultan Īnāl and his Architectural Legacy in Cairo). PhD. thesis No. 1623, (Cairo: Cairo University, School of Antiquities, 1975); M. M. Najib's dissertation at Cairo University on the complex of Qurqumās, *Madrasat al-amīr kabīr Qurqumās wa mulḥaqātiha, dirāsa athariyya mi'mariyya* (Madrasa of the Amir Kabir Qurqumas and its Dependencies). PhD. thesis No.1444, (Cairo: Cairo Univ., School of Antiquities, 1975); H. M. Nuwaysir's dissertation at Cairo U. on the buildings of Qāyṭbāy, *Munsha'at al-sulṭān Qaytbay al-dīnniyya bī madīnat al-Qāhira* (Sultan Qaytbay's Religious Foundations in Cairo). PhD. thesis, (Cairo: Antiquities Dept., Cairo University, 1975); and M. Zakariya's study of the Tabbāna rab', "Le Rab' de Tabbana", *Annales Islamologiques XVI*, (Cairo: I.F.A.O., 1980): 275-298.

<sup>4</sup> Nelly Ḥanna Boulous, *Construction Work in Ottoman Cairo (1517-1798)*, Supplement aux *Annales Islamologiques*, cahier no. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1984); A. Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries, an Introduction*, (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1984).

kinds of information they contain for use by historians of architecture and urbanism. The demonstration of the usefulness of this material will be balanced by a discussion of the inherent limitations to their usefulness.

### The archival collections

The archival material for the Medieval period in Egypt can be divided into three categories, roughly reflecting their present geographic distribution. These are the Geniza documents, the collection of Arabic manuscripts in Vienna, and archival documents in Egypt.<sup>5</sup>

The most important collections are the Geniza documents and the collection of *waqf* material in Cairo. The Geniza documents consist of a vast number of manuscripts discovered at the end of the 19th century in a special storage room of an old synagogue in Fustāṭ. They date from the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods and have been studied and published extensively by S. D. Goitein and others.<sup>6</sup> The *waqf* collection, on the other hand, is much less studied but much more relevant for the Mamluk period. These documents are the legal instruments of an elaborate subset of Islamic law known as the *awqāf* or pious endowments. I will briefly look at this system as a preface to the discussion of the various types of documents that emerged in compliance with the legal requirements of this system. These documents include transactions of endowment (*waqf*), sale (*bayʿ*), and exchange (*istibdāl*). I will explain the contents of each and will discuss the kinds of architectural and urbanistic data that they provide.

### The Geniza material

Most of the Geniza documents date from the 10th to the 13th centuries and thus

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<sup>5</sup> I am excluding here the thousands of Arabic papyri because they are primarily from the provinces and dated before the 4/10th century. A large number of them are to be found in the Austrian National library in Vienna, the National library in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub), and in London. They have been partly published by Adolf Grohmann and Nabia Abbot. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, vols 1-4, (Cairo: 1934-1962); Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyrskunde*, vol 1 (Prague: 1954); Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, (Cairo: 1952); Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957).

<sup>6</sup> For an extensive bibliography of work done on Geniza documents, see Shaul Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1964); S.D. Goitein, "Introduction," *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:1-28.

predate the Mamluk period. The collection contains types of documents that have not survived in other collections in Cairo. Though the documents had no value at the time of their disposal, Jewish custom required that they be stored rather than destroyed, because they might have the name of God written somewhere on them. The documents included rent contracts, inventories of properties, letters, and accounts of expenditures including building and repair costs; all of which were no longer needed after a few years. For the purpose of architecture history, however, these are very important documents as they provide information about building costs, building trades, etcetera. The equivalent documents do not exist in the *waqf* collections that are comprised of documents written for posterity. As a result, comparable information is difficult to come by for the Mamluk period.

While the Geniza collection contains documents that touch a number of urban centers in the Mediterranean world, when it comes to buildings in Cairo, the area of Fustāṭ figures as the location of most of the properties. This must be kept in mind because it may not always be accurate to generalize information on buildings related in these documents to urban conditions in the rest of the city.

### The Vienna collection

The Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library houses a collection of some 20,000 scraps of paper with writing acquired over the course of a number of years from the Cairo antique markets.<sup>7</sup> The collection has never been catalogued or systematically surveyed. Therefore it is difficult to get a sense of its overall content. During a brief visit to the archives, I went through about half the collection.

The scraps come from both Cairo and the provinces. The town of Ashmūnīm appears in many cases. Most of the pieces are too small to contain anything but a few words or parts of words. From the more complete scraps, I read dates ranging from 350/961 to 800/1398. The scraps are from letters, legal deeds, accounts, and parts of manuscripts. I found a few rent contracts and other documents of relevance to architecture history. Since much of this collection was from rubbish heaps, its contents represent material that was discarded at various times because of damage or it having outlived its

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<sup>7</sup> Communicated to me by Dr. Hermann Harruer, director of the Papyrussammlung. I owe knowledge of this collection to Ms. Shaun Marmon at Princeton University. Hassanien Rabie provides a brief review of the collection in *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564-741 /1169-1341*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3-6.

reasons for being written. As such, it is somewhat similar in nature to the Geniza documents, with the exception that it does not concern any particular group. It is also generally later and much more fragmentary than the Geniza material.

### The Cairo collections

In Cairo, a number of collections possess documents from the Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods, involving different kinds of property transactions. These include the collections at Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya (The National Archives), Dār al-Kuttub al-Miṣriyya (The Egyptian Library), the Daftarkhāna in Wizārat al-Awqāf (library in the Ministry of Pious Endowments), and the Karaite community synagogue in the medieval city.<sup>8</sup> Microfilm copies of some of these documents are dispersed around the world. According to M. Amin the total archival collection up to the Ottoman conquest (excluding the Arabic papyri and the Karaite community documents) consists of 888 different manuscripts, distributed in five different places in Egypt. Two places hold the vast majority of them. Dār al-Wathā'iq has 296 manuscripts and the Awqāf Ministry has 556. Figure P1.1 shows the chronological distribution of the 888 documents in the Cairo archives, with the exception of the Karaite documents.

The vast majority are *waqf* (pious endowment) or *waqf*-related documents and are the result of a detailed system of endowments and recordings. They are the single most important contemporary textual source of information about medieval buildings. To make the best use of them requires an understanding of the *waqf* as a system and of the documents as the legal instruments of that system. For reasons that will soon become clear, the documents in this collection were written with posterity in mind. Therefore, their survival was important. As a result, we generally do not find in this collection minor documents such as rent contracts.

### The *waqf* system

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<sup>8</sup> For an index of the documents in the collections (except the Karaite documents), see Muhammad Amin, *Fihrist wathā'iq al-qāhira ḥatā nihāyat 'aṣr salāṭīn al-mamālīk, 239-922/853-1516* (Index of the Archives of Cairo to the end of the Mamluk Period, 239-922/853-1516), (Cairo: I.F.A.O.C, 1981). For a brief summary of the documents in the collection of the Karaite Jewish community in Cairo, see D. S. Richards, "Arabic Documents from the Karaite Community in Cairo," *J.E.S.H.O.* 14 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, June 1972): 105-162.

The *waqf* system is the umbrella under which most of the important buildings in Cairo that come down to us were built and maintained. In this system a patron erected certain buildings for pious purposes and at the same time set aside other properties to generate income for the maintenance of the pious foundations, their attendants and employees. The basis of the system is the *hadīth* (sayings attributed to the Prophet) to the effect that one's *baraka*, or good deeds, continues to accumulate after death in one of three ways: a continuing pious deed, a contribution of knowledge that others benefit from, or a righteous offspring to pray for the deceased.<sup>9</sup> The *waqf* system takes its origin from the first of these. The good deed is such, to the extent that it alleviates hardship in the life of people or facilitates their practice of the faith. The provision of water, the education of the young, the building of a place for prayer, the teaching of religion, and the freeing of Muslims in Crusader prisons are all examples of pious acts. Some of these do not require a physical environment for their realization while others are aided by it.

In essence the *waqf* system provides a way for someone to leave a legacy and thereby continue to carry out good deeds. This is true for the whole Islamic world, and may even be said to extend to the medieval world at large. The specific way in which it is done, in terms of what is built and endowed, sets Egypt apart from many other Islamic areas. In Egypt during the Mamluk period, a number of factors came together to make the *waqf* endowment a particularly attractive option. It provided a way of keeping wealth from being confiscated by the state, it provided a way of directing some of one's inheritance, and it offered notable personal prestige.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the use of the *waqf* system in Egypt during the Mamluk period demonstrated a noticeable extrovertedness and individuality. The goal of those with enough money was to set up their own foundations, both in a physical and a fiscal sense, and not to add to existing foundations. This preference is clearly attested to in a *waqf* deed of an emir who first set up the fiscal structure (income generating part) and provided for sixty *ṣūfīs* and their sheikhs, ten students, and seven readers at the al-Azhar congregational mosque. The founder stipulated that if he were able to build his own mosque, all of the employees would be transferred to it.<sup>11</sup> There were of course numerous exceptions to this, with people adding to existing

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<sup>9</sup> Muhammad Amin, *Al-awqāf wal ḥayāt al-'ijmā'iyya fī miṣr 648-923/1250-1517* (The Awqāf and Social Life in Egypt, 648-923/1250-1517), (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1980), 15-16.

<sup>10</sup> For a more complete discussion of the *waqf* system and the mixing of *al-ahlī* and *al-khairī waqfs* (private and pious) in Egypt, see M. Amin, *Al-awqāf*, 70-82.

<sup>11</sup> Awqāf 188 (15 Jamadi al-Ākhar, 833/1430). *Waqf* of al-Zainī Khush Qadam. In a

mosques, but this was not the general pattern.<sup>12</sup>

Since the motivating religious injunction stipulates that the good deed be a continuing one (*ṣadaqatin jāriyya*), it is important that the pious deed/foundation continues to function as such. It is not as if one's good action is judged by what was established at the time of death. The final judgement is the result of the accumulation of good deeds over time. Therefore, the maintenance and preservation of the pious activity is very important. Since the founder's descendants were often beneficiaries of these endowments (receiving the surplus income), the survival of the income generating infrastructure was in their long term interest.

Directing *waqf* income to one's family was generally acceptable because Quranic and *ḥadīth* injunctions name the family as most worthy of one's *ṣadaqa*.<sup>13</sup> The familial *waqf* was only a problem if it was used as a way of directing inheritance in a manner contrary to the inheritance laws of Islam for instance, denying a child a portion of the inheritance.

### The *waqf* document

The *waqf* deed is the main written product of the *waqf* system. In it, the founder states all the properties that are set aside (or bonded). These are usually of two types. The first is income generating, such as agricultural lands, shops, or apartment buildings. The second does not produce income, but is used directly by those who are the beneficiaries of the *waqf*. This includes the mosque, madrasa, *sabīl-kuttāb* (public water fountain and classroom), as well as the accommodations and services for the attendants at these locations. The general form of a *waqf* deed can be outlined as follows:

- I. Opening statement: name and titles of endower, statement of intent, etc.
- II. Pious property (repeated as many times as needed):
  - A. Reference to proof of ownership, usually constructed by the founder.
  - B. Description of the property usually as described by an eye witness account.

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subsequent deed in the same document, he reduces the number of *ṣūfīs* by thirty. It does not seem that he even attained his wish of building his own mosque. See App2: Awqāf 188: 3, 6, 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Waqf* of Lājīn for the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn and Qāyrbāy's *waqf* for *dashīsha* (a kind of grain) to be sent to the mosque of the Prophet at Medina.

<sup>13</sup> Amin, *Al-awqāf*, 32.

Sometimes on the basis of a legal document such as a construction deed.

- C. Delineation of its four boundaries. Often with reference to earlier neighbors and present neighbors.

III. Urban income generating property (repeated as many times as needed):

- A. Reference to proof of ownership, usually a sale or exchange deed.
- B. Description of the property based on the cited deed or by eyewitness account. More likely based on other legal documents.
- C. Delineation of its four boundaries.

IV. Land property (repeated as many times as needed):

- A. Reference to proof of ownership, usually a sale or exchange deed.
- B. Description of the property based on the cited deed or by eyewitness account. Area is usually given in *fadāns* (1 *fadān* = 4,200 m<sup>2</sup> or 1.038 acres)
- C. Delineation of its four boundaries.

V. Stipulations:

- A. Delineation of use (pious use or income generating).
- B. Expenditures:
  - 1. Maintenance
  - 2. Rental Periods
  - 3. Appointments of staff and their salaries
  - 4. Expenditure of surplus income: private beneficiaries, property acquisition.
  - 5. Deficit situations: Hierarchy of decrease in expenditures; layoffs, cutbacks, etc.
- C. Stipulation of overseer of the *waqf*, responsibilities, and succession.

VI. Concluding section:

- A. Date of deed
- B. Signatures of judge and witnesses

Note that the income from properties is not stipulated in a *waqf* deed because it

varied with time. The requirements set by the founder included limiting the rental periods to a certain number of years and requiring that the rent be at the market rate or higher (*al-mathal*). The documents stipulated the ways in which the income was to be spent. These stipulations of expenditure can be broken down into two parts. The first part very specifically names all the employment positions to be provided, their monthly income, as well as any bonuses that they might be given. These specifications also included expenditures for supplies such as oil, water, and rugs. The second part directs the remaining revenue, often directly to the founder and his/her descendents. In some cases the excess goes towards acquiring new properties to expand the endowment.<sup>14</sup>

By adding the stipulated expenditures, one can get a low estimate of the income of the properties. On the other hand, because the founders knew that the economic situation changed, and because of the stipulation that the excess was to return to them (generally tax free), we can be sure that they endowed a lot more property than was initially needed to cover expenditures on their foundations. This slack or buffer makes it difficult for us to get an accurate economic picture of the endowments. For that we have to look into other records (Geniza documents and others), such as sale and rental documents, some of which have come down to us. These present their own set of problems and will be discussed below.

### Property descriptions

The properties that are listed in a *waqf* document are described in varying degrees of detail. The location of each building within or without Cairo is first identified in relation to well known landmarks such as markets or mosques. The usual formula is to say that the property is located to the right of one who is heading toward such and such places, and to the left of one who is heading from these places towards such and such places. This method identifies the place in general terms between two points in the city and identifies the side of the street that it is on.<sup>15</sup> The building itself is then described, and finally its

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<sup>14</sup> For example see the *waqf* of Barqūq, Maḥkama 51 (6 Sha‘bān, 788/1386); and Awqāf 188 (15 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 833/1430).

<sup>15</sup> The text locating a property in the endowment of Baybars al-Jāshankīr serves as a good example of this: "in al-Qāhira, in *khuff* of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. As for the house (*dār*), it is next to the Kāmiliyya *ḥadīth* school which is opposite the palace. And it (the property) is to the right of one going to the renewed hospital of Qalā‘ūn, the Ṣāliḥiyya madrasas, and other places; and to the left of one going from the mentioned places to the residence of al-Badrī al-Baysarī and the Kāmīlī *rab‘* and the exchange market and other places." See

boundaries are given in terms of what properties are next to it on all four sides. The benchmarks in this case are not those of a modern surveyor but the names of adjacent buildings or open spaces.

The four directions used to describe the boundaries of a building in Cairo are *qiblī*, *baḥrī*, *sharqī*, and *gharbī*, which would literally be translated as the direction of the *qibla* (towards Mecca), the direction of the sea or large body of water, the eastern direction, and the western direction. In present usage in Egypt, the *qiblī* direction is taken to mean cardinal south, and the *baḥrī* is taken to be cardinal north in reference to the Mediterranean. In looking at the medieval documents, however, this translation is inadequate. The *qiblī* side is that side of the building that would contain a *miḥrāb* if the building were a mosque, and the *baḥrī* is the opposite side. It seems that the *Baḥrī* direction was not meant to refer to the Mediterranean sea as it is now taken, but to the Nile which was known as *al-baḥr al-a'zam* (the Great Sea). Within the topography of Cairo, it would be more accurate to translate *qiblī* as east by southeast, *baḥrī* as west by northwest, *sharqī* as north by northeast, and *gharbī* as south by southwest. Within this system, the main street of Cairo, which we would now describe as running almost north and south, would have been described in the deeds as running *sharq* and *gharb* (Fig P1.2). To avoid the confusion and inaccuracy that would arise from translating the directions *sharqī* and *gharbī* as east and west, the original Arabic terms will be used throughout this study.<sup>16</sup>

To understand the method of description of the property as outlined below, keep in mind that the aim of the documents was to account for the parts of a building or property and its immediate context. This being done without the use of drawings.

The description of the property takes the form of an itinerary of what one would see as one goes through the place, rather than what would be revealed by a more abstract method of description. The pattern of description is recursive in the sense that it proceeds from the most general to the very specific and then returns to the previous level of

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App2: Maḥkama 22/23: 6.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, in describing the environs of Fāṭimid al-Qāhira, uses the four directions (north, south, east, and west) in the manner they are understood today. He explains that the north and south were known as *baḥrī* and *qiblī* by the people of Egypt. These are contrary to how they were used in the deeds, and indicate that the convention within the city differed from that of the rest of the country. Taqī ad-din al-Maqrīzī, *Al-mawa'iz wal-ītibar fī dhikr al-khiṭat wal-athar*, (Bulaq: 1854), 2:108-109.

generality to pursue the next avenue of specificity. For instance, after saying that a room (general) has three doors, the formula is not to say where each of these doors leads, rather one door is taken and where it goes is described in detail listing where that place in turn leads, until all the places that the first of the three doors leads to are taken care of (specifics). After that is exhausted, the description jumps back to describe where the second door in the first room goes. This is indicative of a certain way of going through a building, namely walking through it in a certain exhaustive sequence.

It is implicit in the structure of the texts that their readability requires the continued existence of the building to a substantial degree. Since almost all the elements are described in relation to what is before, next to, or after, and not in more absolute directions such as north and south, the loss of one or more of the elements in the chain of spaces renders the rest totally unreconstructable. Therefore, these documents cannot really deal with drastic changes that leave much of the context nonexistent. The full readability of the text was only intended to be possible with some remains of the buildings to act as guides. To the extent that the deeds were found to be a workable way of describing and accounting for buildings over a long period of time, we have to either imagine that the buildings were quite durable or that their upkeep, together with the referral to the documents, was frequent enough to avoid the text becoming unintelligible after a drastic change in the building.

The difficulty of reconstructing a building from a text is well illustrated in the case of buildings with stepped or irregular street lines. One such hypothetical building with two doors is shown in Figure P1.3a. The boundaries of such a plot might be described in a *waqf* deed as follows:

And it is surrounded, constrained and contained along with all of its rights by four borders. The first border is the *qiblī* one and it ends to the street separating it and the mill and has in it the windows of the building and some of it ends to the main street and has in it one of the doors of the building. The second border is the *baḥrī* one and it ends to the house of Muḥammad Doe and some of it ends to the alley and has the other door of the building. The third border is the *sharqī* one and it ends to the alley. And the fourth border is the *gharbī* one and it ends to the main street.

If we were to read such a text, without the help of a plan of an existing building, we are more likely to reconstruct it as shown in figure P1.3b. Namely we would take the two doors to be on the *qiblī* and *baḥrī* sides of the building, rather than realize that the building had two jagged borders with doors opening in a *qiblī* and *baḥrī* directions but actually

"located" in the other sides of the buildings.<sup>17</sup> In a sense the conventions used for boundary descriptions in the deeds are the same as those resulting from drawing up four elevations of a building and describing what is seen in each of the elevations.

We are thus stretching the uses of the documents in trying to use them for complete reconstructions. Keeping in mind these possible sources of error we hope not to stray too far. At least we will propose a number of possibilities.

The delineation of property in relation to its neighbors works as a system if maintained all around and there is someone to say that, yes, this is indeed the wall of such and such a person. This is an environment where all the participants were vigilant about protecting their rights, or all conspired to cover their infractions. It is a system that did not rely on markers outside itself, such as coordinates, or distances from a local benchmark. As such, it becomes very difficult to use today to locate a place. On the other hand, this system tells us what kind of properties were in the immediate vicinity of the described property, information that we cannot ascertain from an absolute coordinate system. Our modern convention of identifying a building by a street name and number fulfills the task of locating it very well, but it does not give any indication of the neighboring properties. Ultimately the Cairene system relied on consensus (*'urf*), and a collective memory.

### Maintenance

Since the endowments were intended for perpetuity and for the benefit of the founder's descendants, the maintenance of the endowed properties was of great importance and it was addressed, in some fashion, in all the deeds. Most commonly, the deeds stipulate that "the overseer should first spend from the income on upkeep and restoration work, even if that were to consume all the income."<sup>18</sup> Some deeds go further and stipulate a specific amount to be set aside for upkeep. In an endowment set up by the Sulṭān Qāyrbāy for one of his Emirs, he specified that the overseer of the endowment will set aside 10,000 dirhams annually for maintenance.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The complex of Qurqumās in the cemetery is an example of an extant building with a jogged facade whose *waqf* description employes this formula. Awqāf 901 (1 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 906/1500) p: 50, or see App2: Awqāf 901: 2. This complex is discussed in greater detail in Appendix 1.

<sup>18</sup> Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 707/1308), Awqāf 880 (16 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 827/1424), Awqāf 882 (26 Muḥarram, 909/1505).

<sup>19</sup> Awqāf 670 (18 Jamādī al-Awal, 873/1468).

Some founders earmarked savings for the purchase of more more properties to expand the foundation. For example, the *waqf* of al-Zainī Khush Qadam in 883/1478 specified that, of the surplus annual revenue, 50,000 dirhams was to be set aside for time of need. If not needed the following year, the money went to buy more property to be incorporated into the endowment.<sup>20</sup> The foundation of *al-sayfī* Aytmiş contained a similar clause. Excess revenue was to be saved until 30,000 dirhams had accumulated, at which point the sum was to be used to buy additional properties.<sup>21</sup> In another example, one founder set aside half of the income of his fairly modest establishment to finish construction of the buildings and to maintain them. After that, the remainder of this half was to go to the acquisition of new properties.<sup>22</sup>

To provide a greater assurance of the endowment's affording unforeseen maintenance expenses, the Sulṭān Barqūq, in the endowment deed for his complex in al-Qāhira, established a system of funding that protected against price fluctuations, while allowing for the maintenance and subsequent acquisition of new properties. He required that surplus income be held in escrow for two years to provide the necessary buffer.<sup>23</sup> A slightly different stipulation was that of Qāyrbāy, who required the escrow to contain the annual surplus of three years. The unspent sum after the three years went to the overseer and his descendents.<sup>24</sup>

The other approach to preserving the physical foundation took the form of restrictions on rental periods. This was generally one year for urban properties and two years for agricultural lands, though we sometimes see a limit of three years on lands. The intent was to avoid the tenant becoming entrenched in the property. In fact some deeds made explicit that properties were not to be rented to those with power and influence whose abuse may be feared and from whom the rent would be difficult to collect (*wa lā yu'ajjar liṣāhib jāh wa lā lidhī shawka wa lā liman yumāṭil bil ajra wa lā yudāfi' 'anhā*).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Awqāf 188 (15 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 833/1430). See App2: Awqāf 188: 6.

<sup>21</sup> Awqāf 1143 mukarrar (<16 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 789/1387). See App2: Awqāf 1143: 3. Susequent deeds in the same document attest to later acquisition of properties, indicating that the *waqf* did in fact continue to grow after the founder's death.

<sup>22</sup> Awqāf 531 (1 Jamādī al-Awal, 784/1382). Stipulation given in the second *waqf* deed in the document, dated 20 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 806/1404.

<sup>23</sup> Maḥkama 51 (6 Sha'bān, 788/1386).

<sup>24</sup> Awqāf 886 (24 & 28 Jamād al-Ākhara, 879/1474), p: 247-248.

<sup>25</sup> For example see Awqāf 188 ll: 244 . See App2: Awqāf 188: 13.

Some founders included more specific directions for maintaining agricultural land. The endowment of Baybars al-Jāshankīr stipulated that whoever rented a piece of agricultural land could grow what they wanted on only half the land at any one time. The other half had to be cultivated with fodder, beans, or *miqāthiya* (*barsīm wa fūl wa miqāthiyā*) "with regard to the benefit of the mentioned properties."<sup>26</sup>

### The exchange document

In spite of all the wishes of the founders, *waqf* properties sometimes deteriorated to the point where their income could no longer pay for the requisite repairs. Sometimes this was the result of a specific calamity, such as an earthquake or fire. Often difficult economic times lasting for many years coupled with less than scrupulous overseers resulted in a depletion of the endowments. In such a case, the judges allowed the property to be exchanged for another revenue earning property or for money to be used for the purchase of another income earning property. This was done only after officially appointed engineers (*muhandisīn*), described as "experts in properties and their faults, lands and their measurements, and buildings and their differences,"<sup>27</sup> inspected the properties and testified that the endowment would benefit by the exchange. Their testimonial also included an assessment of the value of the property in its condition of disrepair, and sometimes also included an estimate of the cost of restoration.

The value of the property or the amount of money for which the ruined *waqf* property was exchanged exceeded that of the ruined property by about five to ten percent. The additional amount, known as *istizhār*, was a surcharge on transactions where one of the parties was intrinsically unable to completely represent their interests, as would be the case of an endowment that was low on funds. To avoid the suspicion that the weaker bargaining position of the endowment was taken advantage, the other party paid an amount over and beyond the testified value of the property. Another type of transaction where an *istizhār* was paid was the purchase of property from young orphans.<sup>28</sup>

These exchange deeds, though not very common in the surviving collection, are a very important class of document, because of the information they provide about engineers, building conditions, and the terminology used in appraising properties.

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<sup>26</sup> Maḥkama 22&23. See App2: Maḥkama 22/23: 8.

<sup>27</sup> Maḥkama 126 (8 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 865/1461). See App2: Maḥkama 126: 1.

<sup>28</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Muhammad Amin for this explication.

### The sale document

A fairly large number of sale documents have survived from the Mamluk period.<sup>29</sup> As proofs of ownership, they remained important at least through the life of the parties involved. Evidence of a sale comes down to us in two forms. The first is the original sale document, and the second is a short note, found appended to another deed, that attests to a sale. It seems that when a property was sold, the contracting parties drew up a separate deed. At this time, the person selling the property presented proof of ownership, typically an earlier sale contract. The judge then appended to this proof of original ownership a summary of the current sale deed, without listing the price.<sup>30</sup> It seems that ownership of the earlier updated deed also passed on to the new owner of the property. We find documents containing updates which reveal that the property had changed hands several times, which could only have been realistically recorded on the earlier document if the deed changed hands along with the property, or was centrally located. On the other hand, it appears that in some cases the document did not change hands. These are when the update is to a large *waqf* deed or only a small share of a property is sold, and the original owner still holds title to the rest or to other properties listed in the original document. It is possible that parallel documents were created going to the original and subsequent owner.

Sale documents describe the interiors of buildings in great detail, and do not just give their exterior limits. The amount of detail seems unnecessary. It would have been sufficient to delineate the boundaries of the property as long as both parties attested that they had inspected and were satisfied with what was being sold and bought. The reason for the more detailed descriptions is that the selling or renting of air rights was common in Egypt. As such it was possible for someone to buy from a neighbor the right to build on part of their roof. Therefore it was important to describe all the spatial contents and exclusions of a property to distinguish it from later additions or deletions by other owners. In this way, later differences would be prevented from arising or could be settled in court when they did.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Sale documents from the Mamluk period have been the subject of a Ph. D. dissertation by Zaynab Maḥfūz Hanā, *Wathā'iq al-bay' fī miṣr khilāl al-'aṣr al-mamlūkī* (Sale Documents in Egypt During the Mamluk Period), (Cairo: Cairo University, 1977).

<sup>30</sup> For example see Awqāf 651, ll: 9-10 (20 Sha'bān, 723/1323). The property in this sale deed is resold on the second of Ṣafar, 745/1344 to the endowment of Qalāwūn. See App2: Awqāf 651: 1, 5.

<sup>31</sup> I indebted to Ms. Mona Zakariya for this clarification .

### Uses of the archival material

The archival documents can be used in a number of ways and at a number of levels in the study of the history of architecture. In the most immediate sense, they can be used to identify the state of a building at the time of foundation. From comparisons with extant buildings, the architectural terminology of the time can be understood, and additions and changes can be identified. Archival documents also provide information about the contexts of the monuments at different periods of time. Through them we can begin to piece together the picture of the relation between monument and fabric in medieval Cairo. Pictures of social, physical, and economic patterns of patronage also appear if the documents are used as a collection and not as a single document about a single building. By the way in which a building is described, collateral evidence is given about surrounding buildings and immediate urban context. We learn who the neighbors were at the moment in time, and we learn of the landmarks in the area to which the property is referenced. A given monument may be described in detail in one deed and its neighbors identified, and at a later point in time the same building may appear as one of the boundaries of a property described in another document. This provides verification of historical accounts such as those of al-Maqrīzī.

Testimonials of engineers, which are often more detailed descriptions of the state of a location and might include estimates of reconstruction costs, are to be found in exchange documents. The engineers provided the assessment of the state of the property required before its removal from the *waqf* could be allowed. Unfortunately these documents are quite rare, which might indicate the rarity of the practice. More likely, however, this type of document was only of short-term value and did not have the same survival rate as a *waqf* deed.

The archives have yet to be exploited in a manner aimed at revealing patterns and statistics. They have been tapped primarily for monographic purposes and not for tracing areas of the city across time. A few exceptions are to be found in the recent work of Doris Abouseif on the foundation of the Azbakiyya quarter in the late Mamluk period, and the work of Nelly Bolous on the Ottoman period.

### Limits of the archival material

We must also consider the limits of information available from this archival material, particularly from the *waqf* documents. We may break these limits into two categories. The first concerns the limits on the information available from a document

when it is used by itself, such as in establishing the earlier condition of a building. The second concerns the limits on information available when extant documents are used as a collection, such as in understanding changes in building patterns at different locations in the city. The latter aspect is of interest if we look at the archives not to get a description of a particular building but to get a sense of the relative numbers of different types of buildings existing at different points in time.

We have already seen that the method followed in the documents for describing a property leaves much room for interpretation, particularly if little or nothing remains of the structure at hand. In the vast majority of cases, the documents provide no information on actual sizes or proportions. A *wakāla* may be described as "big," or an *īwān* as "small" (*īwān laṭīf*), but we never know what their sizes actually were. We can estimate relative size by comparing existing examples to existing texts and coming up with working averages for the size of a shop, apartment, or *wakāla*. Similarly, we might develop some sense of plot exposure and proportions by comparing number of shops on the streets with the amount of property behind. Nonetheless, much of what attracts us about Mamluk architecture, such as the resolution of plans and the design of facades, is completely unrecoverable from the verbal descriptions provided.

The *waqf* documents provide little visual information without development of a very accurate understanding of the terminology. This requires attributing a level of precision to terms that they may not have possessed at the time in general or in their usage in the deeds. Many architectural elements received the same name despite differences in appearance. For example, corbels with different treatment and articulation were still called corbels.

The use of the archives for statistical purposes requires a deeper understanding of how representative the archives were of the subject under scrutiny. This in turn requires a knowledge of how representative the extant archives are of the archives that were kept in Cairo in general. In other words, we need an awareness of the type of documents that have survived in relation to what originally existed. For instance, of the 888 documents listed by Amin, 291 involve properties that eventually end up with al-Ghūrī. While it may be that there was an increase in *waqf* related activities in his time, it is much more likely that his archive has survived in more intact form than that of his predecessors. There has not been any attempt to trace and explain the collection that we have in relation to the overall collection that would have existed at any given point in the Mamluk period.

In the case where the subject is buildings, we must try to answer the question how

representative are the deeds of buildings in Cairo? What buildings appear in deeds, and when (that is at what point(s) in the life of the building) do they appear in the various kinds of documents contained in the archives? A specific example of this will be addressed in Chapter 5 where I attempt to describe Cairo's housing stock at different periods of time, using the archives as a basis.

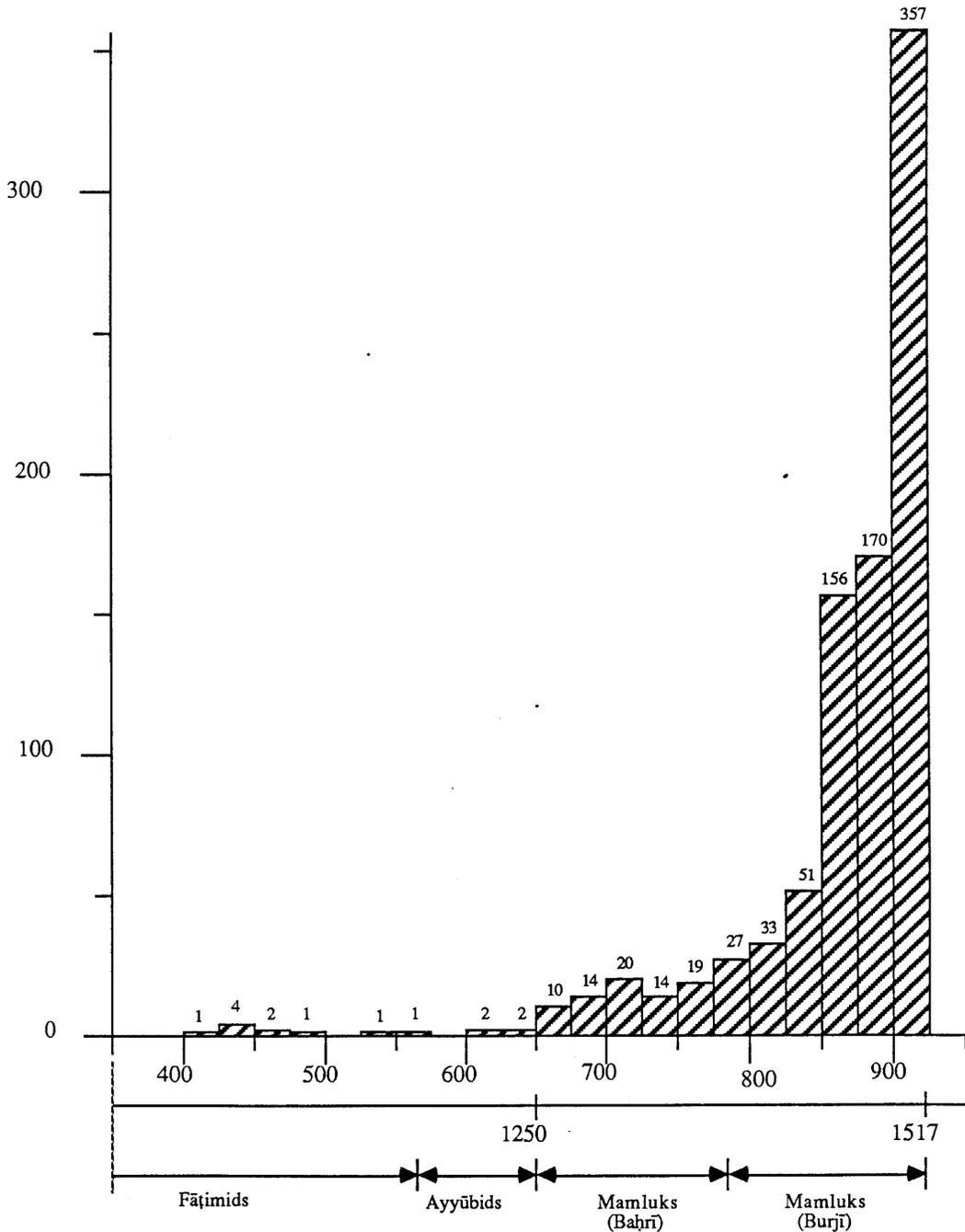


Figure P1.1: Chronological distribution of documents in the Cairo archives from the Fatimid period to the Ottoman conquest. (Represents the collections at Dār al-Wathā'iq, the Daftarkhāna, and the Coptic patriarchate. Does not include the Geniza documents, Collections of the Kairate community and the Vienna collection.)

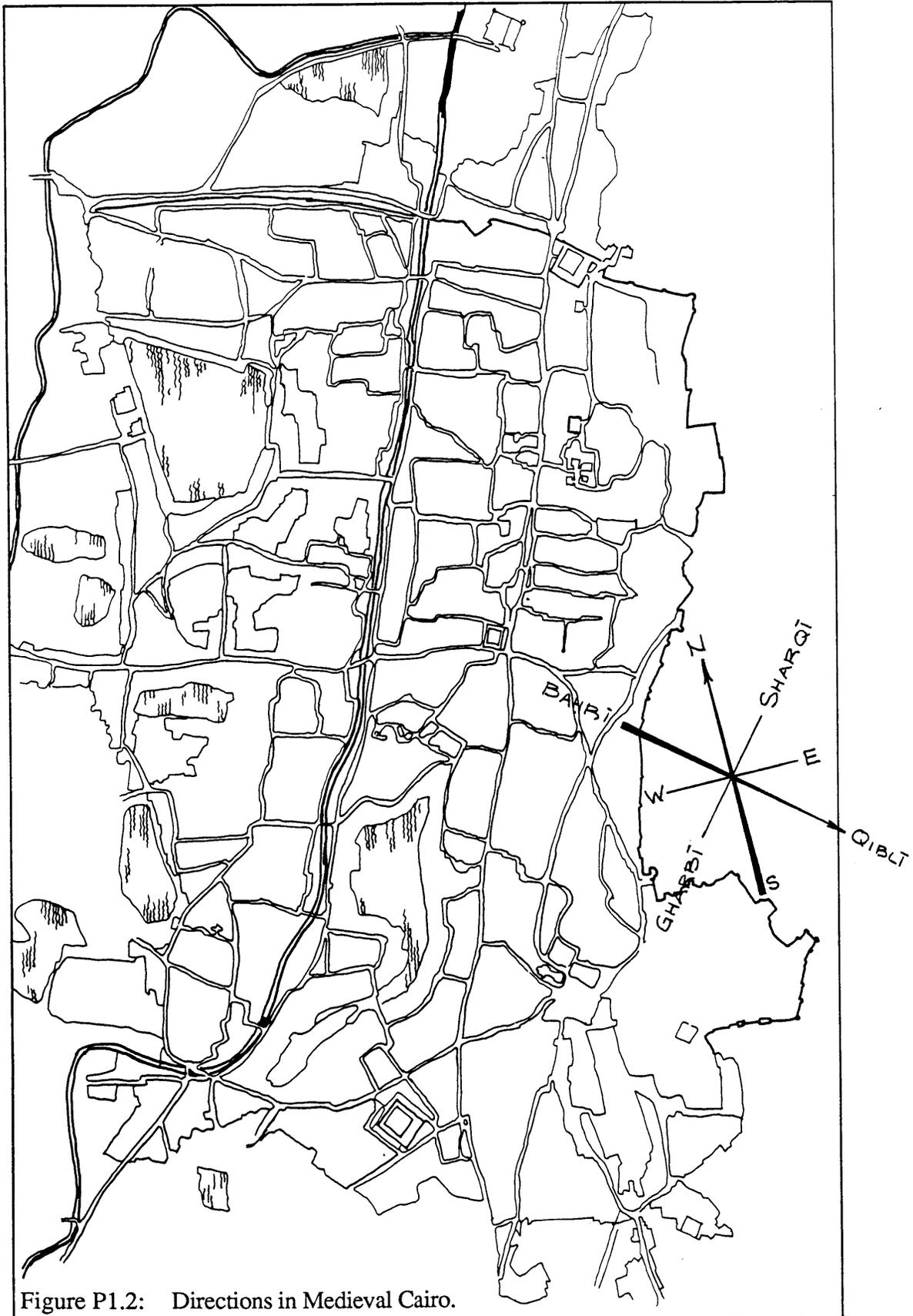


Figure P1.2: Directions in Medieval Cairo.



## **Preliminary Remarks II**

### **Monumentality and Mamluk Architecture**

- 1 Monumentality and Mamluk life**
- 2 Conceptual means of monumentality in architecture**
- 3 Architectural elements of monumentality in Mamluk architecture**
- 4 Monumentality in relation to received traditions**
  - 4.1 Monumentality and the vernacular**

In a seminal article that appeared in 1972, Stephen Humphreys raised and discussed the question of meaning in Mamluk architecture.<sup>32</sup> He acknowledged that a considerable amount of monographic work had been done on Mamluk buildings and pointed out that "there have been no serious efforts to penetrate beyond the description of Mamluk architecture into the questions of why it is put together as it is and what response it was intended to elicit from the beholder." The research lacked "serious reflection about the pattern of meaning which this imposing group of monuments contains and intends to convey."<sup>33</sup> These observations served as a basis for his attempt at a reading of the meaning that the buildings were intended to convey.

While I agree with Humphreys's assessments, I believe that there still is much that can be done that lies between the two phases that he mentions, that is between work on individual buildings and their physical characteristics as has been done, and work on the social meaning of the monuments as he advocates. This work falls in the area of formal stylistics, which is the attempt at tying together the accumulated observations about individual Mamluk buildings into a formal system that aims at elucidating a mamluk architectural sensibility. Recent efforts in that direction include the work of C. Kessler on the adaptation of Mamluk religious buildings to the often divergent requirements of street alignment and *qibla* orientation and the work of M. Meineke. I would also include, though to a lesser degree, Kessler's work on the developments in Cairene masonry dome construction and D. Behrens-Abouseif's study on the minarets of Cairo.<sup>34</sup>

This essay studies one aspect of the formal stylistics of Mamluk architecture, namely its monumentality. Monumentality as a characteristic of Mamluk buildings is something that has been well recognized by scholars as well as travellers to Cairo through the ages. Words such as "imposing" and "monumental" repeatedly appear in discussions

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<sup>32</sup> R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: a Preliminary Essay", *Studia Islamica* 35, (Paris: G.-P. Masonneuve-Larose, 1972): 69-119.

<sup>33</sup> R. S. Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent": 69-70.

<sup>34</sup> Christel Kessler, "Funerary Architecture within the City", *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, (Cairo: Ministry of Culture of the A.R.E., General Egyptian Book Organization, 1974): 257-67; Michael Meineke, Paper delivered at Mamluk Conference in Washington D.C. in May 1981; C. Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Medieval Cairo*, (Cairo: A.U.C. Press, 1976); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*, (Cairo: A.U.C. Press, 1985). George Scanlon has done much in this area that is worthy of note even though it is not published.

of Mamluk architecture in general and in reference to Mamluk facades in particular. At the same time, there has been little attempt to clarify the idea of monumentality in Mamluk architecture or to investigate the architectural means through which this monumentality is achieved. If the Mamluks sought monumentality in their buildings, then it should be possible to investigate the range of forms present or developed at the time and their contribution to such a monumentality. It should also be possible to see the use of particular forms in a given context as reflecting conscious design decisions made by the builders to achieve a more monumental expression.

The question of monumentality is important because a detailed consideration of non-religious buildings requires situating these buildings within the rest of Mamluk building activity. Can non-religious buildings of the Mamluk period be considered monumental? How are they to be compared to the religious buildings? If it turns out that different types of buildings are equally monumental, then we would learn more about how the whole Mamluk architectural sensibility was different from ours, and not about the differences perceived at the time. In dealing with such questions, my interest will be primarily in how monumentality was achieved architecturally, and only secondarily in why it was sought. Therefore, we will be investigating monumentality in its physical sense and not in its commemorative sense, even though the physical monumentalization of something is often related to the commemoration of an act, place or person.

This essay proposes some criteria for pursuing the question of monumentality and discusses the means by which Mamluk architecture achieves it. These criteria should allow for a more meaningful discussion of the whole range of Cairene buildings and not just its religious edifices. Since many of these criteria emerged while looking at the *rab* type of buildings, I will only be making the general statements at this point of the presentation. I will return to a more complete application of these criteria at the end of the study.

I define monumentality, in its physical not its commemorative sense, as the appearance of being larger and greater than is expected or necessary. In physical terms, something is monumental when it goes beyond what is needed to satisfy the function at hand. This of course makes such a thing fitting for a commemorative usage where the idea is to extend or project in time beyond one's life.

This a relative definition, for the monumentality of something is to be judged in relation to a context, which is either the most common occurrence of the thing or the minimal form of the thing that satisfies the function at hand. Therefore, in seeking an

assessment of the monumentality of a building that approaches the assessment passed by its contemporaries, it is important that the context of the building be reconstructed. Since the building type discussed in this dissertation is an important element in the urban context of Cairo, its study will assist in the reconstructions necessary for an accurate assessment of the role of any single building.

Any assessment ultimately reflects the contemporary discourse on the matter and our judgements are inevitably colored by experiences of the late 20th century. Inextricably associated with our judgements are such experiences as aerial views of cities, skyscrapers, and enclosed arenas: forms which were largely foreign to the medieval experience. The one constant that can be identified in this is that of the human scale, which has not changed significantly. This constant can serve as a justification for beginning the discussion, but the conclusions ultimately need to take account of the mentioned relativisms.

A better understanding of the above mentioned considerations will ultimately reveal whether monumentality is a useful concept for our understanding of Mamluk architecture or whether it is a useful concept for understanding the Mamluks' understanding of their architecture.<sup>35</sup>

### Monumentality and Mamluk Life

Monumentality pervades many aspects of Mamluk life, and characterizes Mamluk sensibility about space and action. This I will show shortly by referring to extra-architectural examples. Much of this monumentality takes the form of the monumentalization of something which is not intrinsically monumental. The transformations involved include enlargement of size, ordering of elements, and repetition.

One example involves Mamluk attire, particularly Mamluk head covering. The attire of almost all segments of Mamluk society included some kind of distinctive headgear, and the size of the headgear was correlated to status.<sup>36</sup> The turban symbolized the rule of the

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<sup>35</sup> A further understanding of the latter would also involve an inquiry into what Arabic words were used at the time to convey the idea. While I cannot find a singularly equivalent term, a few appear as close in meaning. These include *ta'zīm* and *tajlīl*, from *'azzam* (to make greater) and *jallala* (to honor). The main street of Cairo, was called *al-shāri' al-a'zam*, the "Great Thoroughfare."

<sup>36</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, in describing how a new headgear was introduced for a while at one point in the Mamluk period, expresses surprise at its acceptance given how small it was in comparison to what was usually worn. *Al-khiṭaṭ*, \_:\_.

sulṭān and it was donned with much ceremony at the beginning of his reign. Conversely, removing the turban was an important statement of emotion. By removing his turban in front of someone, the sulṭān expressed his extreme respect, humbleness, and/or sorrow.<sup>37</sup>

The wearing of a head cover, must be seen in the context of what is worn over the rest of the body. Typically this was a flowing robe, which turned the body into one piece. As a result the uncovered head looks smaller than it would if the attire articulated the different parts of the body. So as a minimum, some head covering was needed to add volume to the head and to make it proportionate with the rest of the body. Baring one's head in such a context would make one look small, naked, and inconsequential.

My definition of monumentality applies both to physical objects, such as buildings and turbans, and to acts. The particular call to prayer known in the Mamluk period as *al-adhān al-sulṭānī* (the Sulṭānī call to prayer) represent one such monumental act. In this *adhān* (call to prayer) a team (usually three) of *mu'adhins* ascends the various balconies of the same minaret. The first *mu'adhin* begins the *adhān*, and a short interval later, the second *mu'adhin* begins his. Similarly, the third *mu'adhin* starts a short interval after the second. Each man completes the call, building on his own *adhān* and maintaining the same time offset from the other two *mu'adhins*.<sup>38</sup> This is a monumental act in a number of ways. Three people calling for prayer results in a higher sound volume. The offset in voices creates an illusion of reverberation, producing a richer and more spatial experience for the listener. Finally it is monumental in that a surplus of materials is used. The expense to the endowment is three times that of having one person conduct the *adhān*.

Two more examples illustrate monumentality in contemporary Cairo. The *kusharī* seller in his shop achieves this quality. *Kusharī* is a popular dish of macaroni, rice, lentils,

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<sup>37</sup> In the Abbāsīd court, government officials, while in their offices had to wear a black turban and were not allowed to take it off. To take off the *'imāma* (turban) in an assembly was a form of punishment. Muhammed Manazir Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids 170-289 A.H. / 786-902 A.D.* (London, 1979): 31.

While mourning the death of his son al-Ṣāliḥ, the Mamluk sulṭān Qalā'ūn removed his headcover and remained bare headed. Upon seeing him in such a state, the emīrs removed their headgears and cried also. One of them picked up the sulṭān's headcover and they all pleaded with him until he put it back on. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, 2:92. In relating the effect of the loss of a son on the sulṭān, al-Maqrīzī's emphasis is on the public baring of the head.

<sup>38</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazīrī, *Kitāb al-fiqh 'alā al-madhāhib al-arba'a*, 3 vols. (Cairo: 1970), *Ibādāt*, 270. Cited in M. Amin, *al-Awqāf*, 189, n. 1.

onions, and hot sauce. In the street it is dished out of a large bowl measuring roughly three feet in diameter. Despite its size, the bowl cannot hold enough to serve all the customers. To increase this bowl's capacity, the *kusharī* seller inserts a number of metal serving dishes upright, just inside the perimeter of the already full bowl. The plates overlap each other and form a new perimeter to the bowl that is about seven inches higher than the original bowl, increasing considerably the volume of the container.

The sellers of sweets and nuts at public festivals also display the sense of monumentality in the display of their products. Unlike American stands in a fair where the merchant stands behind wares placed on a table, the Cairene merchant sets up a three foot high platform on top of which he piles his sweets to the height of an additional two to three feet. He sits elevated behind the display, with his head above the crowd. As a result, he is visible from any point in the festival, and his wares are clearly displayed.

With these examples in mind, we can now turn to architecture. Monumentality in buildings is a function of a number of factors which can be grouped into two distinct levels. The first is the more general, and can be described as the conceptual or organizational means of achieving monumentality. The second level is more specific and encompasses the specific architectural elements that are the vehicles for its achievement.

### Conceptual means of monumentality in architecture

The conceptual means of achieving monumentality in architecture include: size, order, and siting.

Size is probably the most important single requirement for monumentality. The larger the object or building, both in comparison to its more customary occurrence and in comparison to its immediate context, the more monumental it appears. In terms of a building's facade, height is more contributive to a monumental effect than width. This is because the vertical dimension is the least accessible one for humans.

We perceive size both in absolute terms and in relation to the constituent elements of the object. As such, a wall can be made to appear larger by reducing the size of the constituent unit. This only works, however, by controlling or restricting the observer's viewpoint so s/he believes that the constituent unit was of the normal size. More generally, however, the wall with the larger constituent unit will appear to be more monumental, especially when viewed from up close. A high blank wall (mud, brick, white wash) will not appear as monumental as one with large courses of stone. The emphasis on the vertical dimension and proportion in many Mamluk buildings will be discussed below in

greater detail.

Order implies either pre-meditation or allowing for an already inherent order to manifest itself. Order in architecture is evidence of pre-meditation. Order is not to be directly equated with monumentality, though it is a necessary ingredient. It can take a number of forms including proportion, repetition, and symmetry.

Proportions control the location of and relation between elements in the architectural composition. They allow for the imposition of an order to a number of separate elements, other than that of adjacency and access.

Repetition is a necessary operation in realizing any architecture, starting with the placement of one brick next to another. At higher scales, repetition implies a will to order and a control over the materials and the site. It results in an increased overall size and affirms the non-randomness of the construction. This is a particularly effective approach in an irregular and varied context. In such a context, any evidence of an ability to acquire a large or ordered site inclines the resulting building to being monumental. Such cases are a good example of the relativity of a monumental object. An open space in the middle of the country may not evoke a monumental reading, while the same area left open within the city might well evoke such a reading (Central Park in New York or a mosque courtyard in a congested Middle Eastern city.).

Ordered repetition appears in the religious part of a Mamluk complex in the crenellations that form its parapet. At a larger scale it appears in the windows of the residential part of the same complex. In many of the examples that we will be looking at, a given building consists primarily of a number of equal or similar units such as stables or apartments. At the simplest level, repetition means the translation of a single element across the facade or plan. At a more developed level, we find that the repeated unit is itself composed of the repetition of yet smaller units. This might be called articulated repetition. It allows for more than one reading of the overall composition, and adds an intermediate scale in the whole facade. The greater complexity, coupled with evidence of intentionality, gives a greater sense of control. A good example of this is some of the fenestration patterns of the residential structures that are the subject of this dissertation (Fig. P2.1).

In some cases, order emerges out of the physical constraints of the system, and monumentality is achieved simply by allowing this order to become manifest, for instance, in the way that cauliflower heads are transported and displayed in Cairo. They are typically stacked on a donkey cart. With these fairly fragile building blocks the driver builds a mound several feet high, that withstands the pitching of the cart and the

movements of child usually perched on top. The whole arrangement survives as long as the stacking follows the optimal packing of spherical bodies.

Mirror symmetry is another powerful form of order. With it, sense can be made of an element that is not itself symmetric or ordered. In Mamluk architecture, as in Islamic architecture in general, mirror symmetry is used extensively.

The siting of a building sets the stage for perceiving it. Within this category fall such considerations as approach, access, and sequence. These played an important though not straight-forward role in Mamluk architecture. For example, axial approach, which is the most common means in western architecture of imparting grandeur and monumentality to a building, is not found at all in Mamluk architecture.

In contrast to the lack of external axuality, Mamluk interiors are characterized by a pronounced visual axuality even if it is processionally denied by off-centered entries or centered water elements. From the outside, buildings are recognized in oblique views, which often start with a glimpse of their minaret or dome in the distance, before the rest of the building is close enough for visual apprehension. This might well be attributed to the urban environment, which lacked wide avenues or extended sight lines at eye level. Buildings are rarely perceived frontally. At the same time what could be visually apprehended and appreciated was a small and vertical slice of the building. This called for an exterior architecture of incidents and localized events rather than one of overall organization.

Mamluk buildings are rarely free standing objects. Even in the few exceptional cases, such as the complex of Sulṭān Ḥasan, their layout is irregular and one cannot presume to grasp their overall composition from one or two viewpoints. More often, the buildings have only one elevation, even though it is irregular in plan.

Mamluk religious buildings were often elevated above the street level. From the economic point of view, this allowed for the use of the area underneath or directly in front of the building for commercial purposes. Raising the buildings off the street also afforded a buffer to the constantly increasing street level, which must have been apparant at the time.<sup>39</sup> Of relevance to our purposes, however, is that the elevation of the buildings by about two meters contributed further to their overall verticality.

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<sup>39</sup> In describing the customs in the main street of al-Qāhira during the Fāṭimid period, al-Maqrīzī relates that a group of men undertook picking up accumulated debris in the street, "lest the streets rise." Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:107.

### Architectural elements of monumentality in Mamluk architecture

The discussion so far has focused on the general means of achieving monumentality in Mamluk architecture. The more specific elements employed or developed in Mamluk buildings include minarets, domes, frames, windows, coursing (be it of stone, wood, or polychrome), and entries.<sup>40</sup>

As generally recognized, minarets and domes play an important role in achieving a monumental effect. Studies by Creswell, Kessler, and Abouseif have traced the general development in Mamluk architecture of these elements towards greater height and verticality in proportion.<sup>41</sup> Both features allow them to become more visible from a greater distance. As a vertically extended element, the dome or the minaret is easier to see in the crowded city from a distance than a horizontal element. The relation between the siting of these two elements has not been extensively studied.

The frame--as a rectangular border surrounding something within it--is an almost universal element of Islamic architecture (Fig P2.2). While it may not be as exclusively Islamic as the phenomena of the *muqarnas*, its development within the Islamic world is so extensive and varied that it is remarkable how little attention has been paid to it as a distinct element with formal properties and possibilities. This neglect is evidenced by the lack of studies on it by scholars and the lack of reinterpretations of it by contemporary architects building in the Muslim world and searching for an appropriate architectural expression.<sup>42</sup>

A frame in Islamic architecture commonly serves as a border around an arched opening. The relation between an arch and its bounding frame is one that has escaped

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<sup>40</sup> Humphreys cites four elements of the Mamluk style as expressing the striving for effect that he sees as characteristic of the Mamluk period. These are a largeness of scale and loftiness, carefully planned facades focusing on an imposing portal, predominance of stone, and taste for color. Humphreys, "Expressive Intent": 97-98. George Scanlon takes a slightly different cut at describing the monumentality of Mamluk buildings. He identifies five elements in Mamluk religious buildings which are the monumental entrance, niching (which I am subsuming under the heading of frames), the *sabīl-kuttāb*, the dome, and the minaret.

<sup>41</sup> This point is well made in Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent": 100.

<sup>42</sup> The importance of the frame is raised by Dalu Jones, "The Elements of Decoration: Surface, Pattern and Light", in *The Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. George Michell, (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1978),146. It is also mentioned by Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam, Language and Meaning*, (London: World of Islam Festival Publishing Co. Ltd), 25.

study. In the case of a simple arched opening in a much larger wall area, the most readable form or figure is that of the area of the arched opening itself (Fig. P2.3 a & b). The remaining area of the wall is more readable as a field rather than as a figure (Fig. P2.3 c). When a rectangular frame is added to the opening (Fig. P2.3 d), two readable figures result (Fig. P2.3 e & f). The first is the same as the previous case, namely that of the area within the opening itself. The second is the area between the frame and the opening. The spandrel of a framed arch has a shape of a certain character, complementary to, but different from, that of the area within an arch. This area of the spandrel becomes a field of elaboration by itself. Many examples exist where this area served as the primary focus of the design in terms of proportions and decorative treatment (Fig P2.4). A study of the proportional relations present between the opening and their bordering frames has yet to be undertaken.

In Mamluk architecture, the frame served another use as the primary organizing element of the facade. The use of a frame within a facade wall area allows for the organization and ordering of elements within a wall that would otherwise appear disconnected. Frames surround and group window and other openings in the facade. A group of windows may appear to be disconnected in a wall if they have no particular relationship to the rest of the wall. Surrounding them with a frame allows them to be read as the important element and the rest of the wall as unimportant, much in the same way that the frame helps in the reading of a single arched opening. Often the requirements of internal symmetry and orientation towards Mecca resulted in windows that pierced the facade in odd locations that did not relate to other openings. In these circumstances, enclosing a set of windows by a frame permitted the development of that area of the building that could not be ordered as a whole. Within their frame a set openings existed as centered and symmetric. The localizing effect of the frame also worked well in the tight urban environment that precluded viewing the facade as a whole. This use of the frame fits well with the earlier remarks about the localized quality of Mamluk facades.

It may be useful to compare the Islamic use of the frame with its use in classical European architecture. In the latter, it appears as the result of the vertical lines of the columns and the horizontal line of the lintel spanning between them. There, however, the frame is a result or a consequence of the building system and is not pursued as an end in itself. The column remains a vertical element and the lintel a horizontal one. Each is expressed separately. In Islamic architecture, the frame may have had a constructional basis, but it is pursued for its framing qualities and does not remain a consequence of another concern. The vertical and horizontal parts of it have exactly the same treatment. In

other words, if you turned an Islamic frame on its side and disregarded the area within it and the overall proportions, you could not tell that it was turned on its side. This is exactly like a picture frame.

In classical European architecture the column or pilaster is the primary ordering element of the facade. Specific rules about the intercolumnations guarantee that the space in between is well proportioned. In Mamluk architecture, on the other hand, the emphasis is on the inside of the frame, and the distance between frames is variable and not very important. In the extreme case where the frames are close to each other and evenly spaced, the area between the frames appears to have some character, namely that of pilasters. This is the case in the madrasa of Sulṭān Ḥasan with its frames around the windows of the students' cells (Fig. P2.5). This is also true, though to a lesser degree, for the facade of the madrasa and mausoleum of Qalawūn.

Mamluk architecture realized the frame in one of two ways: first, as a rectangular niche in the wall, and second, in the form of strap-work moulding running around the enframed area (Fig P2.6). The first usually conveys a more powerful effect, as it involves a recess in the wall surface that reveals a depth in the wall, and because it develops much stronger shadow lines.

As a two dimensional field, the frame is a good place to inquire into the use of proportions in Mamluk architecture. Such a study has yet to be undertaken. Other design principles of the frame may be more easily apprehended. The frame in the form of a recessed window panel was almost always used to organize the facade into vertical elements. Thus in the case of the madrasa/mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan (Fig. P2.5a), the frames group each window with the ones above it and below it, and not with the ones adjacent to it. To the extent that the four sets of windows on top of each other belong to four different student cells and not to the same space, it seems that the framing method resulted completely from considerations of the exterior facade. In other words, its rationale is not emanating from within the building, but is purely external.

The treatment of the entrance of the madrasa of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in al-Qāhira reveals the important role played by the frame in Mamluk architecture. The Gothic portal of this building is a reused entrance taken as a war trophy from the church of St. Andrews in Acre, Palestine.<sup>43</sup> The builders reassembled the trefoil arch and collonettes, with their bases and capitals, and placed them at a higher elevation to come closer to the mamluk

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<sup>43</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, 2:382; Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-sulūk li ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, 951.

sensibility of the vertically proportioned entrances (Fig P2.7). More important, however, the whole assemblage is enframed within an added moulding that can be interpreted as an important part of the appropriation of the foreign element. In a sense, the frame here is acting as a controller and tamer of what is within it.

Later in this study, I will present examples of the frame in the form of strapwork moulding used in the facade to differentiate different programmatic parts of a building.

Unlike windows to which we are accustomed, those in almost all Mamluk buildings start from floor level, a result of ground level seating arrangements common to the period. The opening rose to above head level, and the resulting window is considerably larger than we are accustomed to both in terms of its size and in terms of the relative area that it occupies in the whole facade. A good example are the windows in the complex of Sulṭān Ḥasan.

The preference for stone in Mamluk facades represents an appreciation of a more monumental expression. Brick, while used extensively, was reserved for the less visible parts of the building. The use of *ablaq* or polychrome courses in the facade needs to be considered in this regard. These courses emphasize a strongly horizontal direction, which appears to work against the vertical emphasis which I have stressed as a defining characteristic of architecture. At the same time, however, polychrome courses introduce the reading of the facade as made up of a unit or band with a width of two courses of stone. This larger unit makes the facade more monumental by increasing the size of the constituent element.

It would also be appropriate to include in this category of elements the inscription bands that often traverse extensive areas of the facades of Mamluk buildings. Here too, a strong horizontal line is introduced in a composition, but it is usually subservient to the vertical emphasis given to the building by the frames. This is because the inscription band is treated as a course that conforms to the recessions and projections created in the facade by the vertical niching, and not as an independent plane.

The last element contributing to the exterior monumentality of Mamluk buildings is the portal. The doorway of a non-residential Mamluk building is usually within a high portal of vertical proportions. The portal is usually high enough to contain within it a window of an upper level space. The portal itself includes a bounding frame or is part of a projecting block of the building. In the case of the complex of Sultan Ḥasan, it is not projecting, but the kink in the facade where it is located results in a vertical line which achieves an effect similar to that of a projecting portal (Fig. P2.5b).

### Monumentality in relation to received traditions

As with any tradition, it is fair to ask what did it build on and how did it build on it. In the case of Mamluk monumentality, we should be able to ask, what actions and modes of building did it rely on and how did it build on them, that is how did it change its own context?

None of the architectural elements discussed above are peculiar to the Mamluk period in Egypt, nor were they introduced by the Mamluks. Minarets, domes, frames, portals, buildings elevated above shops were all present in the Ayyubid and Fāṭimid periods. Yet it is impossible to confuse buildings of the Mamluk period and those of previous times. During the 267 years of Mamluk rule, buildings rose higher, with loftier portals, domes on higher drums, and minarets with more slender proportions and more levels.<sup>44</sup> The only exterior element that first appeared in the Mamluk period is the *sabīl-kuttāb* combination (the public water fountain and the exterior loggia above it). However, what can be described as a Mamluk contribution is the combination of the various elements into ensembles and complexes, and more importantly, the monumentalization of these received elements. Mamluk builders stretched an architectural vocabulary (often literally) in directions which, in the end, resulted in a completely new mode of expression.

The above characterization of Mamluk architecture as one that developed previous elements for the sake of monumentality would be strengthened if we could identify other elements that were shed precisely because they did not lend themselves to monumentality. It is more difficult to identify what those elements might have been, but a possible candidate is the hypostyle mosque plan. This formula became extremely rare in the Mamluk period, and it was replaced by the *īwān* type of mosque/madrasa. This may have had to do with the reduction in the size of plots in which case the *īwān* type became both the more feasible as well as the more monumental solution.

### Monumentality and the vernacular

Students of Islamic architecture have tended to separate the study of the monumental from the study of the vernacular. The two have been seen as mutually exclusive opposites, each with its own body of buildings and tradition of building on its

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<sup>44</sup> This point has already been made by various authors. Most of the architectural elements of Mamluk monumental buildings were borrowed from outside or represent a continuation of elements used in previous dynasties. Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 95-96, 100-101.

own past. The relationship admitted between the monumental and the vernacular is that of the dilution of palatial or monumental forms into the wider public. As a result, people interested in one are not so interested in the other. This separation is reflected in the ranks of the scholars who are typically interested in one or the other, and rarely in both.

This attitude may be justified in some contexts or periods, but it needs to be constantly reassessed in terms of the particular period and locale being considered, particularly when dealing with periods of formal development and transformation. In this dissertation I would like to reopen the discussion between the monumental and vernacular buildings of the Mamluk period to see what in fact they do and do not share.

That there are differences between the monumental and the vernacular cannot be denied. By its very definition, the monumental needs a vernacular texture as a backdrop against which it can be read and appreciated. However, this is not the only relationship, and one must inquire into any exchanges between the two that would necessitate a continuous definition of one in terms of the other. I think that this is particularly true in the history of architecture in Egypt, where there is a monumentalizing streak in even the most vernacular action and a reference to a vernacular in the most monumental of activities. This theme of exchange between the monumental and vernacular traditions is one that I will return to later in this study.

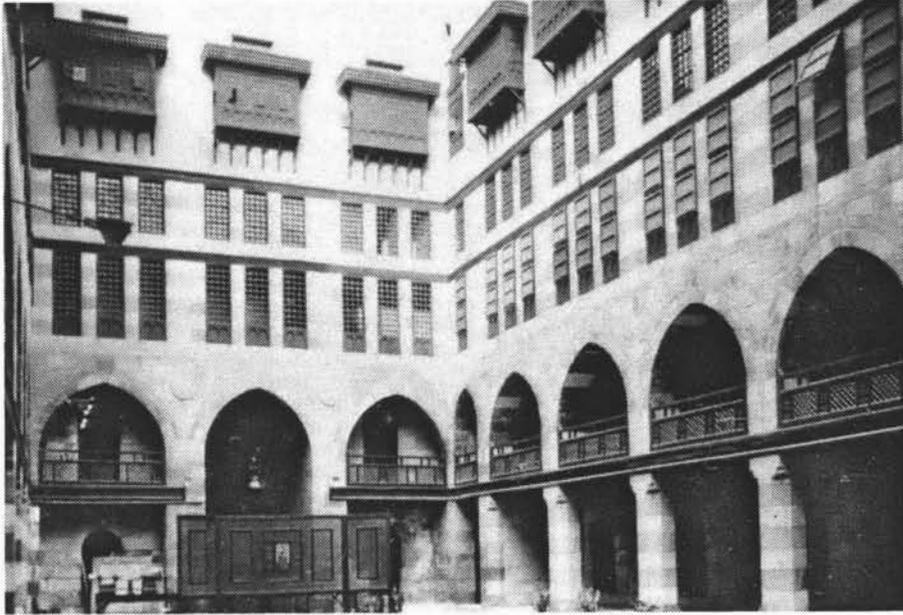


Figure P2.1: Repetitive fenestration: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar. View of courtyard.

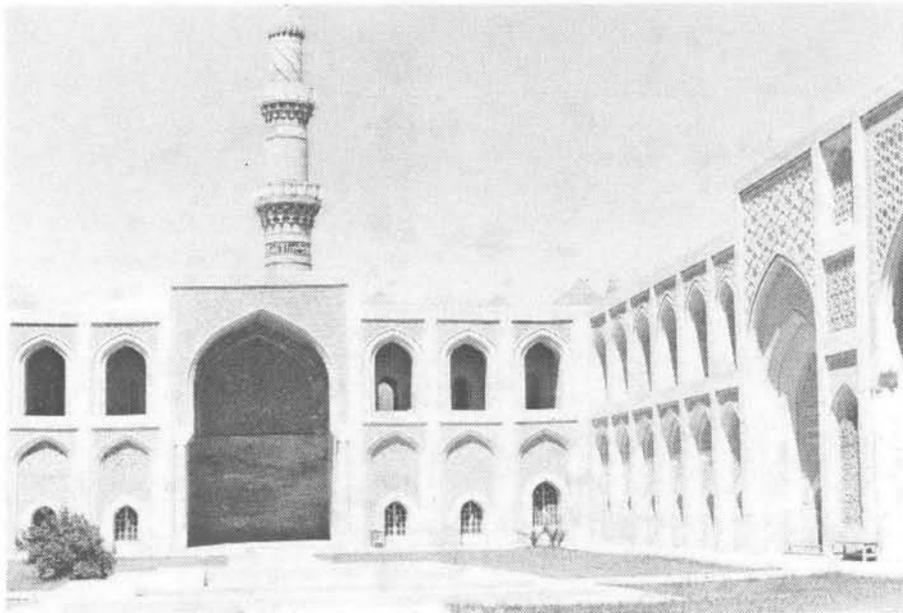


Figure P2.2a: Frames: Mustanşiriyya madrasa. Baghdad, Iraq (Michell).

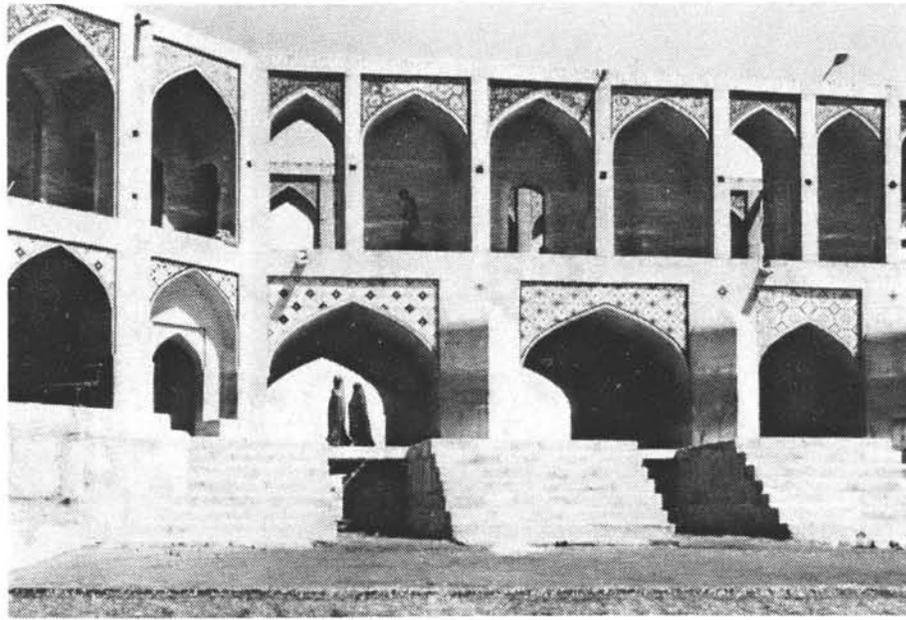


Figure P2.2b: Frames: Khwajū bridge, Isfahan, Iran (Michell).

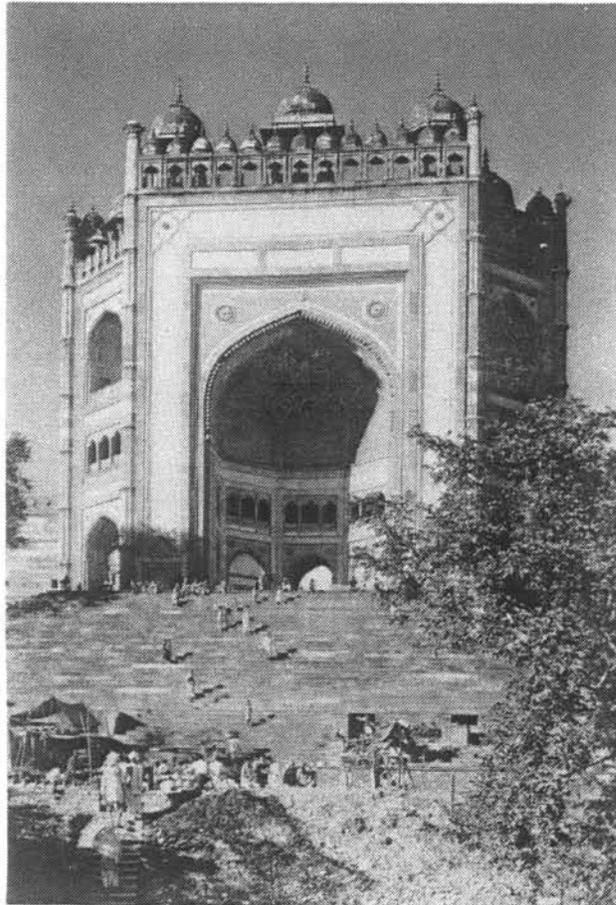


Figure P2.2c:  
Frame: Gate of Victory,  
Fatehpur Sikri, India  
(Michell).

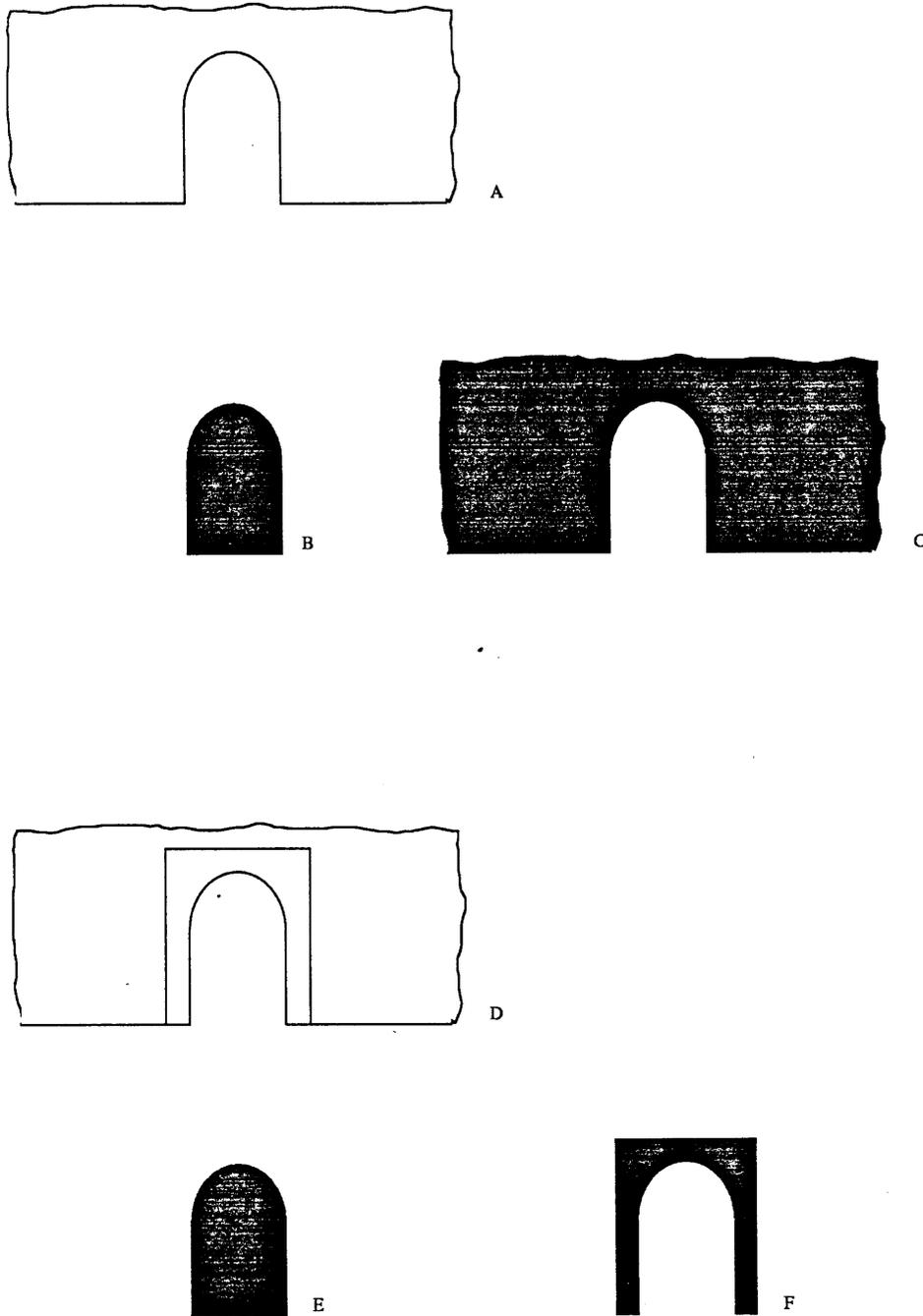


Figure P2.3: The role of the frame in openings.

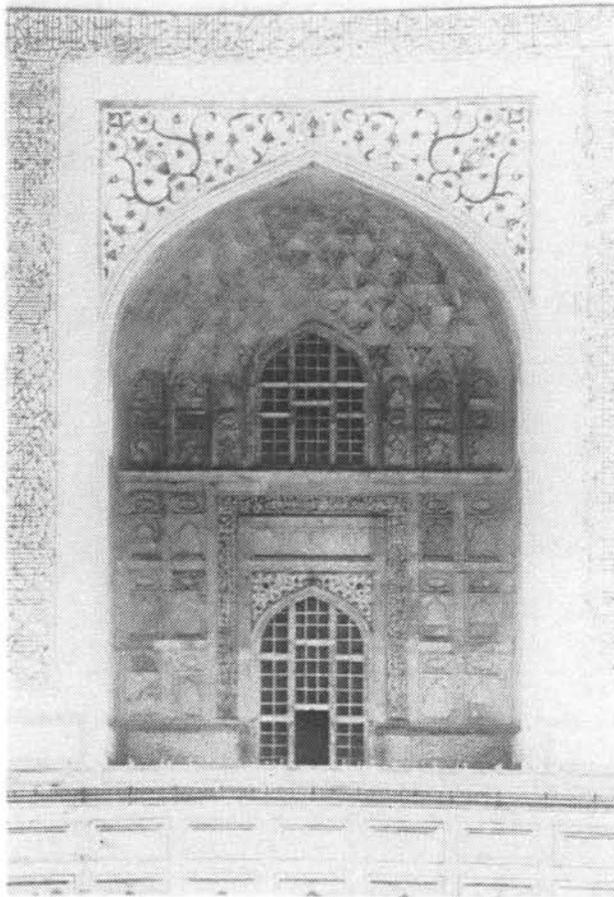


Figure P2.4a: Emphasis on spandrel decoration: Tāj Mahal, Agra, India (Michell).

Figure P2.4b: Emphasis on spandrel decoration: Hārūn Wilāyat tomb, Iṣfahān, Iran (Michell).

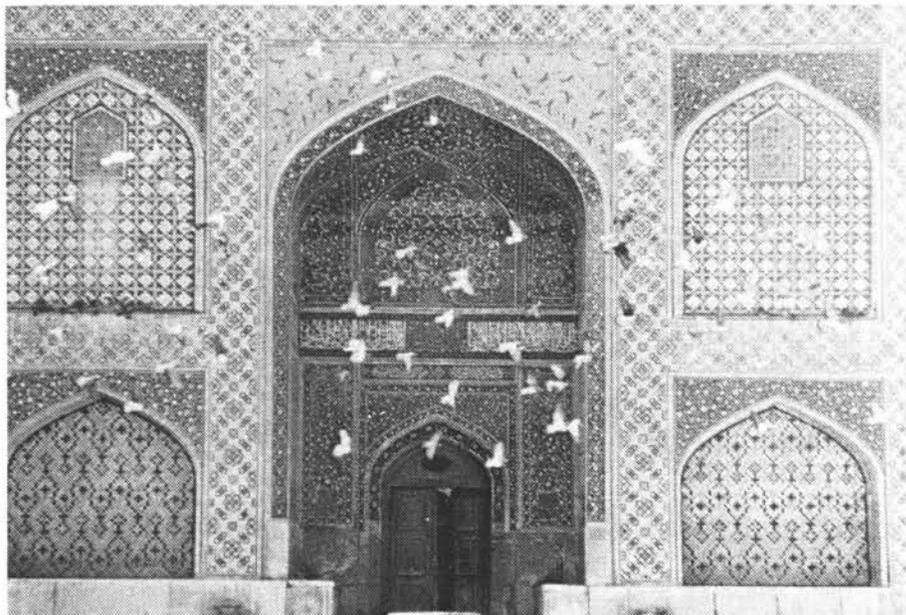




Figure P2.5a: Frame around windows: Madrasa-mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan. Facade of student cells.

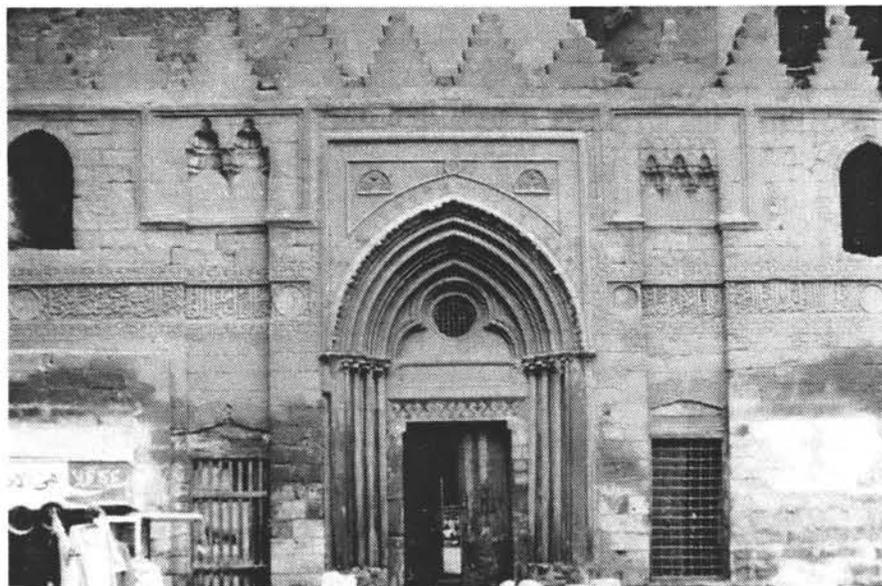
Figure P2.5b: Frame around windows: Madrasa-mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan. Main facade.





Figure P2.6: Strapwork frame: Sabīl-kuttāb of Qāyrbāy in al-Ṣalībiyya.

Figure P2.7: Frame around appropriated element: Entrance portal of the Madrasa of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Cairo.



**Chapter 1**  
**Analysis of a Type:**  
**Analysis of Extant *Rab*'s in Cairo**

- 1 Features of the *rab*' type**
  - 1.1 Spatial terminology**
  - 1.2 Distribution and other characteristics**
  - 1.3 Exterior expression**
  - 1.4 Construction**
- 2 Earlier examples of the extant sample**
- 3 Relation to other residences**
- 4 Summary**

Knowledge about the *rab'* is greater in some circles than the published material would indicate. This is due in part to the recent and growing interest by scholars in this building type. Most of the published material is of a monographic nature. Mona Zakariya's study of the *rab'* al-Tabbāna complements the survey of the extant building with its archival description and proposes a reconstruction of the original building.<sup>45</sup> Flemming Aalund's study of the *wakāla* of Bāzar'ā surveys its residential component as part of a study of the overall commercial structure.<sup>46</sup> The treatment of the *rab'* as part of the study of the larger structure that includes apartments is to be found in a number of other monographs such as Elizabeth Higashi's study of the *wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy at al-Azhar, Muhammad Najib's study of the complex of Qurqumās, and Sami Hasan's study of the complex of Īnāl.<sup>47</sup> In the last two instances, the *rab'* represents the accommodations for the *ṣūfīs* associated with each complex. In a study of wider scope, Mohamed Scharabi surveys a number of commercial structures in Cairo including their residences.<sup>48</sup>

Laila Ibrahim published the first study to treat the *rab'* as a building type investigated across different contexts. Her 1978 article surveys a number of aspects of the *rab'* type and notes the verticality of its spaces, its relation to commercial constructions below it, and its relation to the more widely known residential architecture. She also initiated a discussion on the origin of this type of building, while pointing out the relative similarity of the extant examples, indicating a formal stability of the type by that time (from

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<sup>45</sup> Mona Zakariya, "Le Rab' de Tabbāna", *Annales Islamologiques*, 16, (Cairo: I.F.A.O., 1980): 275-297.

<sup>46</sup> Flemming Aalund, "Proposal for the Restoration and Rehabilitation of Wakalat Bazar'a", in *Die restaurierung der Madrasa des Amirs Sabiq ad-Din Mitqal al-Anuki und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo*. Michael Meinecke ed., (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp v. Zabern, 1980): 119-139.

<sup>47</sup> Elizabeth L. Higashi, *Commercial Architecture in 15th Century Cairo, the Wikalat Qa'it Bay at the Side of the Mosque of al-Azhar*, M.A. thesis, (Cairo: American University in Cairo, May 1979); Muhammad M. Najib, *Madrasat al-amir kabir Qurqumās wa mulḥaqātīha, dirās athariyya mi'māriyya* (Madrasa of the Amir Kabir Qurqumas and its Dependencies), unpublished PhD. thesis No.1444, (Cairo: Cairo Univ., School of Antiquities, 1975); Sami A. Hasan, *Al-sulṭān Īnāl wa āthārihi al-mi'māriyya fī al-Qāhira* (The Sultan Inal and his Architectural Legacy in Cairo), unpublished PhD. thesis No. 1623, (Cairo: Cairo University, School of Antiquities, 1975).

<sup>48</sup> Mohamed Scharabi, "Drei traditionelle Handelsanlagen in Kairo: Wakalat al-Bazar'a, Wakalat Du l-Fiqar und Wakalat al-Qum", in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 34, (1978): 127-164.

1430 onwards).<sup>49</sup>

The following year, Andre Raymond summarized the published knowledge and contributed statistical data on the inhabitants of *rab'* structures during the late Ottoman period.<sup>50</sup> He cites Marcel Clerget's definition/description:

The tall tenement building or *rab'* is . . . really a specialty of Cairo . . . . The *rab'* is a kind of furnished hotel where up to ten or fifteen apartments can be rented, each lodging up to ten people. It corresponds to the Roman *insulae* and is located along the main streets or their immediate vicinity between the main bazaars. Rarely does it have a courtyard. . . The shops or warehouses for merchandise frequently occupy [the ground level]. Ordinarily there is no communication between the ground level and the other levels . . . It is hard to know exactly the maximum height of the *rab'* during times of overpopulation . . . During the Turkish period . . . [travellers] mention . . . two, three, and sometimes four stories."<sup>51</sup>

From his work on Ottoman Cairo, Raymond concludes that about 15,000 of the 1798 population of 250,000 lived in *rab'* dwellings, They represented members of the lower middle class population of artisans and small shopkeepers, though with a wide range in social status. <sup>52</sup>

The following discussion and analysis of the *rab'* type draws on a careful study of twelve buildings and relevant archival documents. Nine of these buildings represent all the extant *rab'* examples from the Mamluk period. The remaining three are Ottoman constructions. I include the latter because their better state of repair allows a clearer

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<sup>49</sup> L. Ibrahim, "Middle-Class Living Units in Mamluk Cairo: Architecture and Terminology", *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 14 (December 1978): 24-30.

<sup>50</sup> A. Raymond, "The Rab': A Type of Collective Housing in Cairo During the Ottoman Period", *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, Proceeding of Seminar Four in the series: Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, held in Fez, Morocco, October 9-12, 1979. (The Aga Khan Awards, 1980): 55-62.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid: 56, citing M. Clerget, *Le Caire* (Cairo, 1934), 1:316-317. .

<sup>52</sup> Based on an investigation of the inheritance register for Cairo between 1776 and 1798, Raymond finds that 29 out of a sample of 334, whose residences are mentioned, listed as *rab'* inhabitants (8.7 %). In Qahira, 23 out of 173 individuals (13.3 %) were *rab'* inhabitants. The average inheritance of the 29 cases of *rab'* inhabitants in that time period was 22,646 *para* s, while the median inheritance of the whole sample was 109,101 *paras*. Included a thread merchant, saddler, textile merchant, bathkeeper, and a coffee merchant. Mostly shop keepers and average artisans. Ibid: 55-62.

visualization of the characteristics of the type. The twelve buildings comprise the apartments for *ṣūfis* in each of the complexes of Barsbāy, Īnāl, and Qurqumās in the cemetery; the *rab'* of Qāyṭbāy in the cemetery; the two *rab'-wakālas* of Qāyṭbāy at al-Azhar and Bāb al-Naṣr; the two *rab'-wakālas* of al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar and Khān al-Khalīlī; *khān* al-Zarākhisha; the *rab'* al-Tabbāna; the *rab'* al-Qizlār; and the *rab'* of Raḍwān Bey. These are referred to in passing here, but are presented in detail in the first appendix. The illustrations used in this chapter are "distillations" of the variations depicted by the extant examples. In each instance, the buildings upon which a specific conclusion or point was based are noted.

### Features of the *rab'* type

A *rab'* is a block of residential units grouped together and sharing a common corridor and access off the street (Fig. C1.1). Often the *rab'* was located on top of a commercial establishment such as a *wakāla* or a *qaysāriyya* (Fig. C1.1c). In such cases, however, the *rab'* remained independent of the establishments below by having a separate access from the street. This access consisted of a door which led via a staircase to a corridor serving a level of apartments. Whenever possible, this entry was located on a side street and not on the main avenue. This provided for more privacy and a fuller commercial exploitation of any frontage on the main street.<sup>53</sup> An apartment was identified by the name *ṭabaqa* or a *riwāq*, unless it was located on the ground floor in which case it was called a *qā'a*.<sup>54</sup>

It was very common for a *rab'* block to consist of two levels of apartments, one on top of the other (Fig. C1.2). The *rab'* al-Tabbāna, in its original state, is one such example. The *rab'* on top of the *wakālas* of Qāyṭbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr and al-Azhar are two examples of two levels of residences on top of a commercial ground floor. Tenants reached these apartments in one of two ways. Most commonly, each level of apartments had its own corridor, with a staircase connecting the corridors of different levels (Fig. C1.2a). This is the case in the *rab'* on top of the *wakālas* of Qāyṭbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr and al-Azhar. Alternately, all the apartments on both the lower and upper levels shared the same corridor.

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<sup>53</sup> *Rab'* of Raḍwān Bey, *rab'-wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr, and his *rab'-wakāla* at al-Azhar. While the extant part of the last building has a *rab'* entry on the main street, its *waqf* deed indicates that there were two other entries on the side streets serving the other residential blocks in the building.

<sup>54</sup> An example of *qā'a* units are the ground floor units in *rab'* al-Tabbāna.

Typically this corridor was on the ground floor; the lower level apartments opened directly onto it, and the upper level apartments were reached by stairs (one for every two apartments) coming down to this corridor (Fig. C1.2b). This is the case in *rab' al-Tabbāna* and *rab' Qāytbāy* in the desert cemetery.

The preferred orientation of the residential units was towards the street. This permitted the main spaces to receive their light and view from the street. Given a choice of overlooking a street or a courtyard, the former was always chosen. In the courtyard buildings surveyed, main spaces of apartments look out onto the courtyard, only on those sides of the building where abutting constructions preclude a view onto the street or alley (Fig. C1.3). The remaining units look out onto the street and their access corridor looks onto the courtyard.<sup>55</sup>

Each apartment consisted of a number of spaces organized to fit within the rectangular perimeter defined by a single bay of the construction module (Fig. C1.4). In one of the extant examples, each unit occupies two bays of the construction module, and this will be discussed below. This confinement within a rectangular perimeter allowed the *rab'* to be organized as a series of similar units adjacent to each other. The apartment itself consisted of spaces located on two or three vertically stacked levels connected by an internal staircase.

The most important space in each unit was called *ṭabaqa* or *riwāq*. To the uninitiated, this space would appear as a single room with a high ceiling and a number of niches on the sides (Fig. C1.4a). In fact, however, it was always at least two spaces having a very specific and hierarchic relationship. The first space was called the *dūr-qā'ā*, and was a volume measuring about three by one and half meters and having a height of about five meters.<sup>56</sup> The second, called an *īwān*, opened directly off the *dūr-qā'ā*, without a separating party wall. Its width was slightly less than that of the *dūr-qā'ā* and its floor

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<sup>55</sup> See the *rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar.

<sup>56</sup> The dimensions of some *dūr-qā'ās* studied are (length, width, height):

- 1) Barsbāy: 3.00 by 1.10 m.
- 2) Qāytbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr: 3.20 by 1.70 m.
- 3) Al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar: 3.20 by 1.20 m.
- 4) Qurqumās: 3.50 by .50 m.
- 5) Al-Zarākisha: 2.70 by 1.10 m.
- 6) Al-Tabbāna: 3.50 by 1.50 by 5.00 m.
- 7) Al-Qizlār: 3.70 by 2.00 by 5.25 m.
- 8) Raḍwān: 2.70 by 1.20 m.

level was about 15 cm. above that of the *dūr-qā'ā*. Entry into the *ṭabaqa* or *riwāq* was always via the *dūr-qā'ā*. This unit may be considered a double-story space because there was often a mezzanine level space overlooking it.

An apartment also contained an entry vestibule, which usually included a latrine, a cooking area, and a staircase. The stairs led to one or two rooms above, which overlooked the *dūr-qā'ā* and straddled the vestibule and the access corridor (Fig. C1.4b & c). This internal staircase also led to a roof terrace covering the area of the whole apartment (Fig. C1.4c). The area of the vestibule taken up by the staircase was open and therefore served as a kind of lightwell. This meant that the vestibule was a semi-covered space, operating as the forecourt to the rest of the residence.

The roof area of the whole *rab'* block was not treated as a single area. Rather, high parapet walls divided it into a series of roof terraces corresponding to the units below. This allowed each unit to have an open yet private area of the same size as the apartment's footprint that could be used for a number of uses including cooking and sleeping during the hot months. In fact the roof area, was the largest single space in each apartment. This was clearly an important amenity, and deeds made specific mention of it.

The *rab'* possessed a highly developed drainage system. Latrines in each apartment fed into a vertical chute that dropped into a culvert running underground for the length of the whole block. A reduced section of the chute continued up to the roof as an aeration shaft.<sup>57</sup> The optimization of this system necessitated that latrines of two adjacent apartments be positioned so as to share the same vertical drop chute. This could have been achieved by alternating the location of the latrine in each apartment without altering the plan of the rest of the apartment. Such a solution, however, would have changed the relationship of the latrine to the entry, staircase, and other doors that led off the vestibule in the apartment. Making each unit a complete mirror image of its two neighbors, would accommodate this need for adjacent latrines in a more consistent manner (Fig. C1.5). This is precisely what was done in *rab'* constructions, and it is remarkable to what level of detail this mirroring was carried out. The builders executed the mirroring in the direction of rise of the staircases, and also in the floor tiling patterns.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See the discussion of the complex of Qurqumās in Appendix I for a more detailed investigation of the drainage system.

<sup>58</sup> See the discussion of the *rab'* in the complex of Qurqumās for an example of the mirroring reflected in the pattern of floor slabs.

### Spatial terminology

The architectural terminology introduced so far needs a closer look, especially the terms *ṭabaqa*, *riwāq*, and *qā'a*. *Ṭabaqa* and *riwāq* have already appeared in two different ways.

The terms *ṭabaqa*, *riwāq*, and *qā'a* are not synonymous, though they described similar kinds of spaces. They share one characteristic; each word was used at two different scales. In the strict sense, each term referred to that part of a residence consisting of some combination of *īwāns* around a single *dūr-qā'ā*. At the same time, however, each term was also applied to the whole apartment or residence that contained such a spatial unit. This double usage of an architectural term compares to our use of the word "auditorium" (a specific place of congregation) to refer to the larger building containing such a space. Another example of double usage is the term *īwān* which refers to a specific architectural/spatial element. It is sometimes used to refer to the whole palace that such an element is found in.

The word *qā'*, from which *qā'a* is derived, means the bottom of something, such as the bottom of a vessel or valley. When appearing in *rab'* descriptions, *qā'a* invariably referred to an apartment, the main space of which was located on the ground floor.<sup>59</sup> As with *ṭabaqa* and *riwāq*, *qā'a* also had a specific meaning of a combination of *īwāns* around a single *dūr-qā'ā* on a lower level.

The word *dūr-qā'ā*, is presently taken to refer to the clearestory over the central court around which the *īwāns* of a *qā'a* open. In its earlier usage it referred to the court itself and its perimeter. For example, the large uncovered courtyard in the middle of *khanqā* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr is identified in the foundation deed as a *dūr-qā'ā*.<sup>60</sup>

The difference between a *ṭabaqa* and a *riwāq* is difficult to pinpoint. The use of both terms in the same deed to describe different parts of a building indicates the existence of a difference in their meaning. It is easier to identify what they have in common, and to distinguish them from a *qā'a*. The term *ṭabaqa* literally means a level or a grade. In documents it appears both to refer to a floor level as well as to a residential unit. As such, it exhibits a similarity to the word *qā'a*, with its double meaning: the first as the ground level of a place, and the second as a residential unit. The term *riwāq* is generally understood as an arcade, such as those around the courtyard of a hypostyle mosque. Al-

<sup>59</sup> For an example of this see the discussion of *rab'* al-Tabbāna in Appendix 1.

<sup>60</sup> Maḥkama 22 (Shawāl, 707/1308). See App2: Maḥkama 22: 2.

'Askarī (d.> 395/1005) defines it as that which surrounds the house (*bayt*).<sup>61</sup> Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066) gives as one of the definitions, the section/level (*al-shuqatu*) that is below the topmost one."<sup>62</sup> He also says the *riwāq* of a *bayt*, is its top.

In Medieval Cairene documents, both *riwāq* and *ṭabaqa* referred to residential units that were not on the ground floor. More specifically, they referred to that part of the apartment consisting of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*. Since the *riwāq* was the one more likely to consist of two *īwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a*, perhaps the difference between the two was one of size and embellishment. In some cases, the term *ṭabaqa* appears in descriptions of apartments identified as *riwāqs*. Here, *ṭabaqa* seems to have been used in the sense of a floor level, and indicates the presense of triplex units.<sup>63</sup> An extant example of this are the *riwāq* units in the *wakāla* of al-Ghūrī near al-Azhar. Each apartment is a triplex and is described as consisting of both a *riwāq* and a *ṭabaqa*.<sup>64</sup>

It is also possible that the difference between a *riwāq* apartment and a *ṭabaqa* apartment was one of use. Both terms often appear in the same document to describe different apartments that do not seem to be distinguished by size or number of *īwāns*. It is not yet clear what such a difference could have been. In later periods (late Mamluk and Ottoman) *riwāq* appears as the more common term for an apartment. This could mean that the apartments tended to get bigger, but it is more likely that the change was in usage and not in architecture.

In a few instances, documents refer to a place as a *qā'a mu'allaqa* (upper level *qā'a*) or another as a *ṭabaqa arḍiyya* (ground level *ṭabaqa*). This suggests that along with understanding each term in terms of its location, the meaning of each may be tied to some function or use. That of the *qā'a* was typically tied to its location on the ground floor, but in the cases where this same role was satisfied in a higher construction the term "hanging" *qā'a* became necessary. Similarly, the function or use of a *ṭabaqa* was typically tied to its location on the upper level of a building, and the term would be used for ground level

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<sup>61</sup> Abī Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-ṭalkīš fī ma'rifat asmā' al-ashyā'* (Book of summary in the knowledge of the names of things), ed. 'Izzat Ḥasan, (Damascus: Mujama' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, 1969), 1:255.

<sup>62</sup> Abī al-Ḥasan Ibn Sīda, *Kitāb al-mukhaṣṣ*. (Bulaq: 1898-1900), 6:4.

<sup>63</sup> Awqāf 680 (2 Ṣafar, 884/1479). Each of the four *riwāqs* in this building appears to have had two *ṭabaqas*. The inspection is dated 28 Muḥarram, 884/1479.

<sup>64</sup> See the more detailed discussion of this building in Appendix 1.

instances of it.<sup>65</sup>

### Distribution and other characteristics

The entry vestibule served as the main distribution space in the apartment. It provided access to the main living space (the *īwān/dūr-qā'a* combination), the latrine, as well as the upstairs room and roof terrace. The disposition of the elements and doorways in the vestibule provided for a high degree of privacy. Typically, the staircase shielded the main living space from view from the entrance door. A person could enter the apartment and go to the latrine, cooking area, or upstairs, without intruding onto the main living space. Conversely, a guest could be brought into the apartment without interfering with most household activities. The main living space did not provide a way of reaching other spaces. In a few instances, the main living space led to a closet.

The vertical extension of each *rab'* unit meant that it took up less area than in units with horizontally distributed spaces. As a result, more apartments occupied the same floor. This gave the *rab'* block a horizontal emphasis and predicated a higher degree of social interaction than in horizontal apartments stacked on top of each other.

The *īwān* in a *rab'* apartment typically had openings for view and ventilation at its narrow end, opposite the *dūr-qā'a*. It is this part of the apartment that was preferably oriented towards the street, with it overlooking an interior court only when there was no other choice. The *dūr-qā'as* in the topmost level apartments took advantage of their location by having a small opening or skylight.

### Exterior expression

The typical fenestration system of a *rab'* unit of the Mamluk period comprised three narrow slot windows, surmounted by three squatter openings for light and ventilation. This was repeated for each apartment. On the outside, one sees a systematic repetition of a slot and a squatter opening above it. These would have read as a simple repetition of openings; however, the thickness of the party walls between apartments made the distance between windows of adjacent apartments greater than that of windows within the same apartment. The exterior reading instead appears as a series of windows grouped into sets of three windows (Fig. C1.6).<sup>66</sup> While the triple windows were typical of buildings of the

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<sup>65</sup> For a mention of a *ṭabaqa arḍiyya*, see Awqāf 471 (15 Sha'bān, 886/1481).

<sup>66</sup> For extant examples see the *khanqā* of Qurqumās, the *rab'* of Qāyrbāy in the

Mamluk period, larger double windows were typical of the Ottoman period.<sup>67</sup>

In the case of apartments on the ground floor, window openings were small and situated high in the wall. The privacy and security of the inhabitants of these units would have been compromised by large windows at ground level. Access to each apartment was from an alley in the back of the *rab'* block, and not off the street as with shops and stores. These apartments needed additional illumination, and it was typically provided by light shafts.

In buildings combining residential and commercial units, the facade of the residential units projected out from the facade of the commercial ones below. This projection rested on a system of stone or wood brackets and beams. Such a treatment was a common characteristic of residential buildings in Cairo and other cities of the Islamic world. Presumably this allowed for a greater amount of space and the possibility of side-views. As a generally accepted activity, this projection of the upper floors also played a role in increasing the amount of shade in the street. Viewed from the street, the projection of the *rab'* resulted in a horizontal line in the facade, that is usually only broken by the entrance portal of the *wakāla* below or some other singular incident (Fig C1.7).

### Construction

The buildings were built using a combination of materials. This typifies Cairene architecture and reflects a pragmatic attitude towards construction. Stone was usually used for the ground floor and facade. This included the roofing of the ground floor which was vaulted. Vaulting was also typical the ground level units of buildings that did not have commercial structures such as *rab'* al-Tabbāna and the *khanqās* in the cemetery (Qāyrbāy, Qurqumās, Īnāl). The remaining upper levels, behind the facade, tended to be of brick, rubble infill, and reed. Roofing for the apartments almost always relied on timber work: beams of palm trunks spanned with smaller wooden members and covered with reeds and earth. Archives indicate that some buildings were built in brick without any stone. The extant buildings reflect the more prestigious endowments, and represent a higher usage of stone than was typically the case.

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cemetery, and the *rab'*-*wakālas* of al-Ghūrī.

<sup>67</sup> The *rab'* al-Tabbāna had triple windows in the original top level. The added uppermost level has double windows. The building is dated to the beginning of the Ottoman period.

The construction of the apartments in a *rab'* employed a three pier system running perpendicular to the facade (Fig. C1.8). The first pier was slightly set in from the inside of the facade, so as to be in line with the facade of the ground floor. The second pier, was about 3 meters in from the first, and the third was about 1.8 meters from the second. The first two piers constituted the depth of the *īwān*, and the width of the *dūr-qā'a* was between the second and third pier. Infill walls of reed and plaster or thin stone connected the piers and defined the different spaces. The result was a hybrid constructional system; a post and beam articulated to give a reading of wall construction.

The module of the habitation space was, therefore, the same as the structural module which in turn corresponded to the module of the commercial shop or storeroom below.

### Earlier examples of the extant sample

The archival collection allows the investigation of earlier examples of the extant sample. The large numbers of described properties also allows for a sense of the relative popularity of each type of *rab'*.

The arrangement exemplified by *rab'* al-Qizlār (1028/1618), that is a single residential level above a commercial ground floor, was the most common one. Typically the commercial level was a line of shops or stores organized around a courtyard. In this case all the apartments had access to the roof which was divided up into separate private terraces. An early example of this is a *funduq* standing in Giza in 720/1328.<sup>68</sup>

A free standing *rab'* such as that of al-Tabbāna (929/1522) or Qāyrbāy (879/1474) seems to have been a less-common arrangement. This arrangement was more common in the cemetery, where dearth of commercial activity freed the ground floor for residential use. A *rab'* that was under construction in 717/1317-8 represents an early example of this arrangement. It had three *qā'as* on the ground floor and a door that led up to 6 *ṭabaqas*, and a room (*khazāna*) for the guardian (*al-rab'ī*). A third residential level consisted of six apartments still under construction.<sup>69</sup> It is likely that each *qā'a* was two bays wide, since there were three of them and six *ṭabaqas* above..

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<sup>68</sup> Awqāf 1666 (29 Rabī' Ākhar, 729/1329). This *funduq* consisted of 1 shop, 13 storerooms, and 16 *ṭabaqas*.

<sup>69</sup> Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī' al-Ākhar 717/1317-8). On the main street outside *bāb Zuwayla*. The top level was not completed at the time of the deed. There was also an apartment for the *rabī'*. See App2: Maḥkama 26: 12-13.

Of the extant sample, four buildings consist of two levels of duplex apartments on top of a commercial structure.<sup>70</sup> While not the most common occurrence of a *rab'*, it does appear to have been the most common one for large endowments built by rulers and emīrs. Some of the more interesting examples are: a *qaysāriyya* built by Baybars al-Jāshankīr in al-Qāhira before 707/1307-8,<sup>71</sup> a *funduq* standing in al-Qāhira in 723/1323,<sup>72</sup> a *funduq* known as *funduq* al-Fākiha standing in Miṣr in 729/1329,<sup>73</sup> a *qaysāriyya* located in Miṣr and standing in the same year,<sup>74</sup> and a place with sixteen *ṭabaqas* on two levels above storerooms in Bulāq.<sup>75</sup>

Typically *rab'* units were of the duplex type, consisting of the double storied *īwān* and *dūr-qā'ā*, and a mezzanine level room. The triplex units of the *rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar appears not to have been very common. A description of a building standing in 884/14\_\_ appears to describe such a unit. The five units of this *rab'* each contained a *riwāq* of the single *īwān* type. Furthermore, each apartment included two *ṭabaqas*, reached via two different staircases.<sup>76</sup>

The double-bay duplex apartments found in the *rab'* al-Raḍwān, do not appear in any documents from the Mamluk period. It is likely, therefore, that this represents a development during the late Ottoman period.<sup>77</sup> They could be the beginning of a

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<sup>70</sup> These are the two *rab'-wakālas* of Qāyṭbāy at al-Azhar and Bāb al-Naṣr; the *rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at Khān al-Khalīlī; and *khān* al-Zarākisha.

<sup>71</sup> Maḥkama 22/23 (26 Shawāl, 707/1308).

<sup>72</sup> Described in Awqāf 651 (723/1323)

<sup>73</sup> Described in Awqāf 1666 (729/1329).

<sup>74</sup> Described in Awqāf 1666 (729/1329).

<sup>75</sup> Described in Awqāf 624 (810/1407-8)

<sup>76</sup> Awqāf 680 (28 Muḥarram, 884/1479). Located in *khuff* Qanāṭir al-Sibā' in *darb* al-Marsīna, and consisted of five *ṭabaqas*, a stable, and a storeroom. The apartments were reached from an upper level corridor with four doors next to each other. The first door led to a vestibule with a door that led to a *riwāq* of the single-*īwān* type. The *riwāq* also had two closets and its vestibule contained a *ṭabaqa* that was reached via a small staircase. Also reached from the vestibule was a *ṭabaqa* via a door and a staircase which also led to the roof. Second, third, and fourth doors off the corridor led to similar *riwāq* units with minor differences. There was also a staircase in the long corridor that led to a *ṭabaqa* of the single-*īwān* type. The *īwāns* in all the units looked out over the *darb*, and each unit had its own seat latrine.

<sup>77</sup> The apartments in the *waqf* of Raḍwān Bey are described in general terms and no name is given for the space opening off the *īwān* in each unit. This may contribute to my

preference for horizontally extended units as later becomes the norm.

### Relation to other residences

The terms *īwān*, *dūr-qā'ā*, and *qā'a* are all familiar to a student of Cairene architecture as part of the vocabulary used in discussing the private house in the city. This suggests the value of investigating the relationship between the two kinds of dwellings. Does the shared linguistic vocabulary indicate a shared spatial vocabulary, or were different kinds of spaces described by the same terms?

The examples of the private residence that exist from the Mamluk period onward are primarily emirial residences and date from the mid-fourteenth century onward. They have been well documented and studied over the years.<sup>78</sup> Most of these studies preceded the emergence of the archives as a recognized source of information on architecture of the medieval work. As a result, many of the spaces have been labelled or come to be known by terms recorded by the early orientalists, which are not necessarily the ones used in the medieval period.<sup>79</sup>

The emirial residence was generally organized around an open court, more accurately, a yard with loosely arranged spaces around it. One of the spaces overlooking the court was an elevated loggia known as the *maq'ad*. From the yard, a person moved via a number of passages and vestibules to a large hall consisting of two *īwāns* opening off a higher enclosed volume known as the *dūr-qā'a*. The hall was generally extended along

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not finding earlier examples.

<sup>78</sup> For an early survey, see Edmond Pauty, *Les palais et les maisons de l'époque musulmane du Caire* (Cairo: 1933). For a study of early Mamluk residences, see Alexandre Lezine, "Les salles nobles des palais Mamelouks," *Annales Islamologiques* 10 (Cairo: I.F.A.O., 1972): 63-148. For an architectural survey of the medieval residences in Cairo, see Jacques Revault and Bernard Maury, *Palais et maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle* 4 vols. (vol. 3 in collaboration with Mona Zakariya and vol. 4 by B. Maury only), published in the series: *Memoires ... de l'I.F.A.O.*, vols. 96, 100, 102, 108, (Cairo: Impr. de l'I.F.A.O., 1975, 1977, 1979, & 1983). For an analytical and synthetic study, see Jean-Claude Garcin et al, *Palais et maisons du Caire* (Paris: editions du C.N.R.S., 1982).

<sup>79</sup> The early orientalists I have in mind are people such as Lane, who in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* has provided a lot of terminology. The situation is changing as a result of the work of M. Zakariya on emirial residences from the Qāyṭbāy period, and L. Ibrahim's work on architectural terminology in the Mamluk period.

one axis, although there was an attempt at maintaining some symmetry around the other two facades of the *dūr-qā'a*. The *dūr-qā'a* in the private residence usually had four doors located on two opposite sides. The arched or trabeated openings of the two *īwāns* filled the remaining two sides. Of the four doors, one served as the entry. The three remaining doors may have led to a latrine, a staircase, or a small closet. In some cases they were false doors placed to maintain the symmetry. Most studies mistakenly use the term *qā'a* to identify this hall wherever it is found in the Cairene house. In the Mamluk period, the word *qā'a* designated such a hall only if on the ground or lowest level.<sup>80</sup> The word *riwāq* applied to the hall on an upper level.

In the private residence, the parts ancillary to the *qā'a* or *riwāq* were distributed in a fairly irregular manner. A private residence typically contained one or two *qā'as* and a number of *riwāqs*.

We have already encountered the terms *īwān* and *dūr-qā'a* in the discussion of the apartment units. To a large degree, the terms referred to spaces similar to those found in the private dwelling. Three characteristics distinguish an *īwān* from a *dūr-qā'a* in a private residence: 1) The floor level of the *dūr-qā'a* was lower than that of the *īwān*. 2) The width of the *īwān* was less than the dimension of the side of the *dūr-qā'a* that it opened onto. 3) The ceiling of the *dūr-qā'a* was much higher than that of the *īwān*. In the *īwān* and *dūr-qā'a* of a *rab'* apartment, two of these three relations are maintained: the difference in floor level and in the width. On the other hand, the ceiling level of both elements tended to be the same, presumably to allow for the stacking of apartments on top of each other. We can therefore say that the main living unit was comparable in the private and *rab'* type of housing.

To maintain the spatial idea present in the private residence, the differences in dimension between the *īwān* and the *dūr-qā'a* were achieved by the small width resulting from the difference between the thickness of the party walls and the structural piers (Fig C1.9). The *īwān*, in a *rab'* unit, is as wide as the distance between the piers. The size of the *dūr-qā'a* is the distance between the piers plus the distance that results from the small difference between the thickness of the pier and that of the party wall.

This is quite a remarkable achievement. The maintenance of the distinctions between the *īwān* and the *dūr-qā'a* in the *rab'* unit shows how the spatial idea originating

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<sup>80</sup> A more detailed reconsideration of the meaning of the word *qā'a* will be provided in the chapter 5.

in one kind of constructional system can be achieved with a different structural system by the subtle and slight manipulation of the thickness of wall and other constructional elements. Mamluk builders managed this without compromising the structural efficiency or logic of the system being used. For example, the beam connecting the two piers in the *dūr-qā'a* part had to be narrower than the ones connecting the piers in the *īwān* part if the *dūr-qā'a* was to have a reading of being wider than the *īwān*. At the same time, since the two piers in the *dūr-qā'a* part are closer to each other than the two in the *īwān* part, the narrower beam is justified on structural grounds.

In this way it remains possible to maintain the main distinctions between the *īwān* and the *dūr-qā'a* while building them at a much smaller scale. We can take this reduction in scale, while maintaining the distinctions, as an indication of the continued importance of the two different forms and the necessity of distinction between them. Presumably the carpeting in the apartment would have extended over the floor of the *īwān* but not over the floor of the *dūr-qā'a*, which continued to serve as a kind of threshold to the main sitting space.

In other respects, the apartment and the private residence were more different. Since the *dūr-qā'a* in a *rab'* was of the same width as the whole apartment, its two shorter sides could not be used as entrances or doors to other spaces, and the door was in the wall opposite the *īwān*. This is never the case in the *qā'a* or *riwāq* of the private residence.

The placement of the *ṭabaqa* or *riwāq* (used here in the restricted sense of the main living space consisting of an *īwan* and a *dūr-qā'a* and not as the whole apartment) in a *rab'* in relation to the other spaces constituting an apartment, we find that it is located at a terminus of a sequence of spaces. That is, it did not serve as a way of getting to other spaces. In the private residences of the late Mamluk period, the *qā'a* or the *riwāq* often served as a passage to a closet, latrine, kitchen.<sup>81</sup> In the *rab'* apartments, the entry vestibule served as the point of access to the latrine, the *ṭabaqa* or *riwāq*, or the stairs leading to the kitchen, mezzanine, and roof.

It is both tempting and reasonable to describe the *rab'* unit as a miniaturization of the Cairene private residence, and its main living space as a miniaturization of the core of the private residence. Based on this, some observations can be made about the process

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<sup>81</sup> It should be pointed out here, however, that the *qā'a* in the late Mamluk period was not as central in the whole house as it had been in earlier times. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

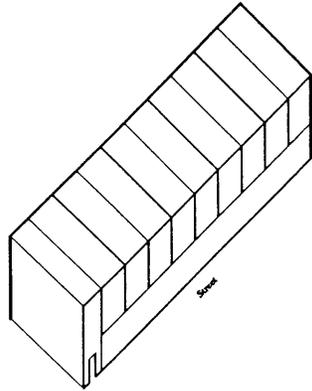
involved in the transformation of the private residence into an apartment unit. This transformation included a rationalization that adapted the *qā'a* unit of the private residence to the constraints of having neighbouring clones on two sides. To achieve this--while keeping the distinctions between the constituent elements--builders needed to accommodate the predominant spatial idea within a constructional framework that approached the post and column system rather than the masonry wall system characteristic of building of that time. As part of the rationalization the cross axial elements were reduced to shallow niches (not doors to other rooms or other spaces as may be found in large houses where the *dūr-qā'a* has side doors leading to latrines, stairs, and other corridors).

The *rab'* unit is a miniaturization of a house, not only in terms of its *īwān* and *dūr-qā'a*, but also in being a living environment where one ascends to different levels before coming to a space open to the sky. The private house started with the *qā'a*, then proceeded through various smaller spaces up to the openness of the roof terraces.

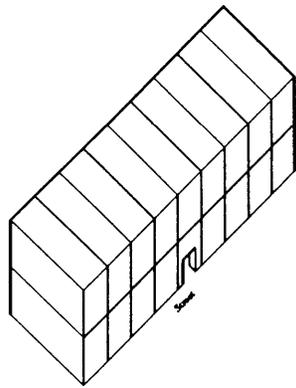
### Summary

The apartments of a *rab'* could be found on top of a commercial structure with a courtyard, or as an independent block along the street. In the former case, the courtyard of the commercial structure was used for light and not for access. In the latter, shops formed the lower level, and occasionally residences occupied that level.

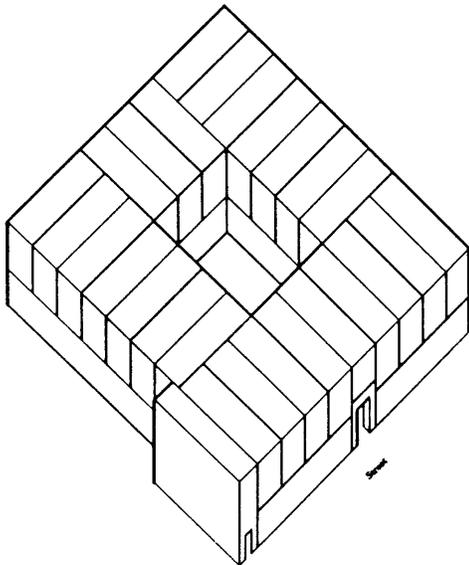
From the extant sample, the *rab'* appeared as a rational form of housing that incorporated the spatial ideas of the private residence into a more regular form. The regularity resulted from the repetition of the units and from the order imposed by the commercial structures typically on the ground floor.



A: *Rab'* above a row of shops.

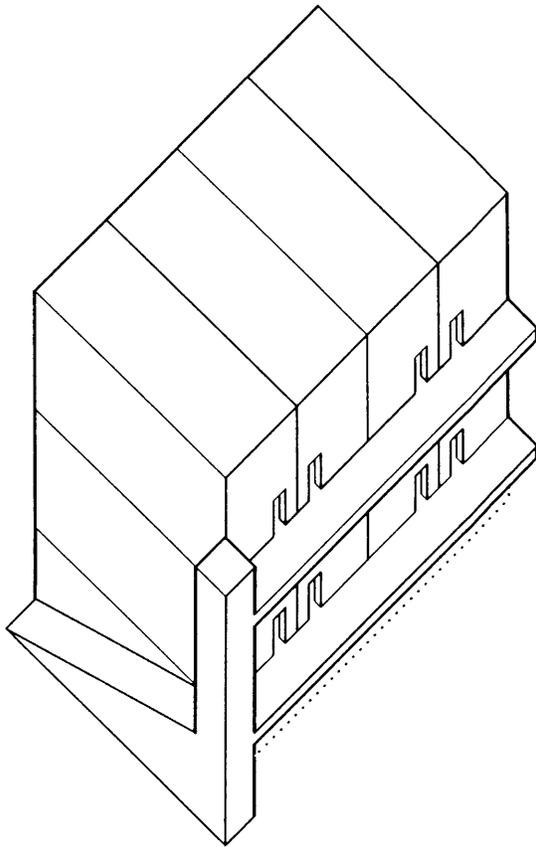


B: Two level *rab'*.

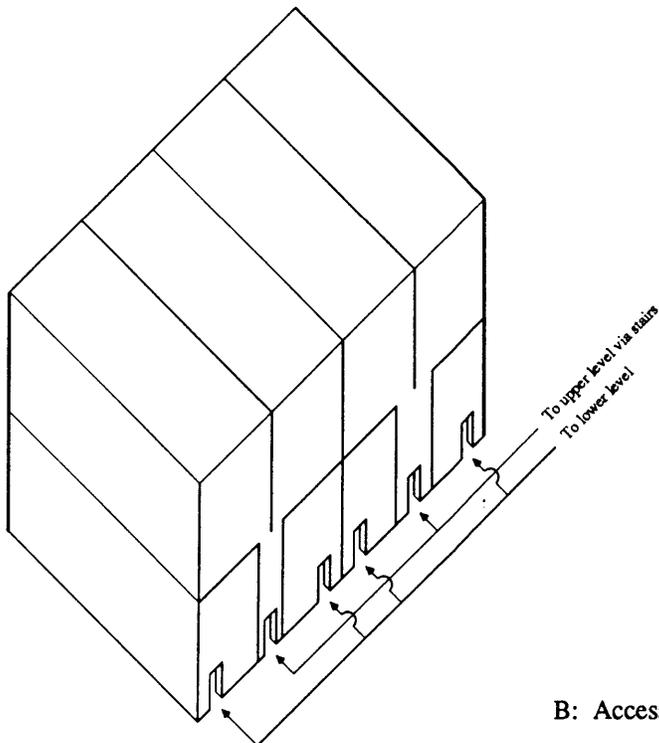


C: *Rab'* above a courtyard commercial structure.

Figure C1.1: *Rab'* blocks.



A: Access via corridors on two levels.



B: Access via a single corridor.

Figure C1.2: Access possibilities to units in double-level *rab'*.

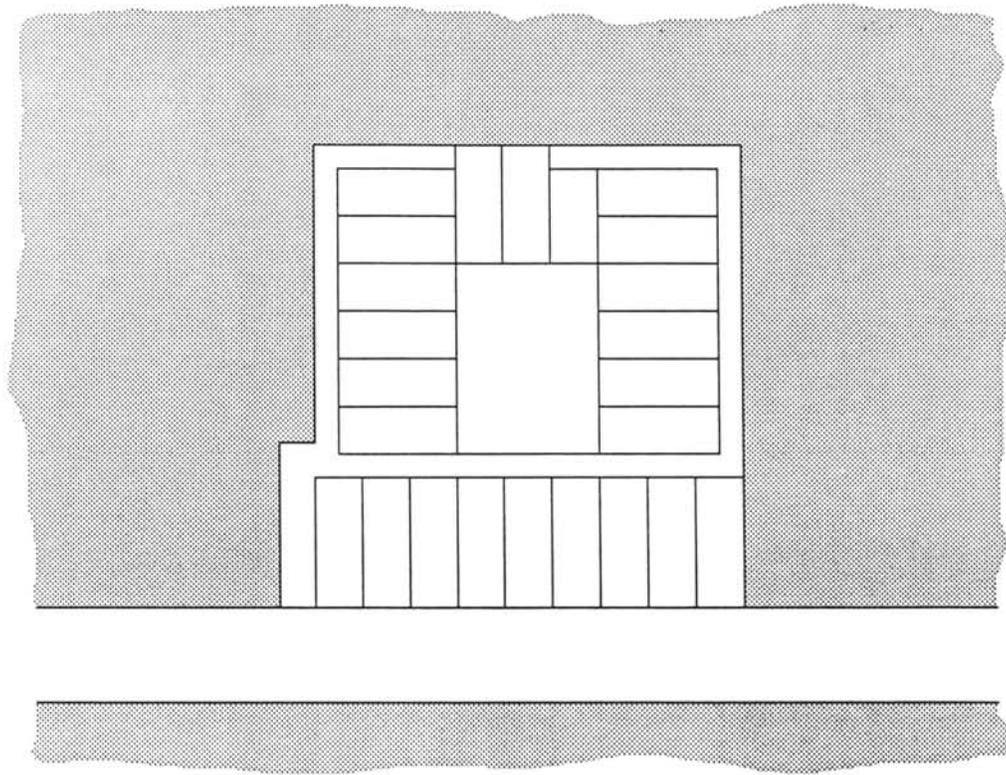
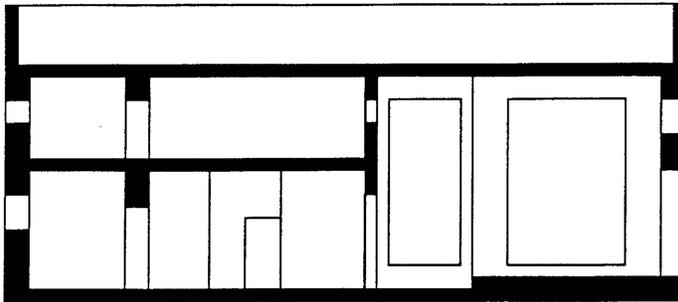
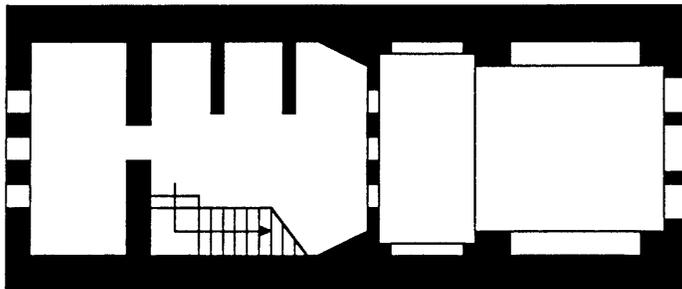


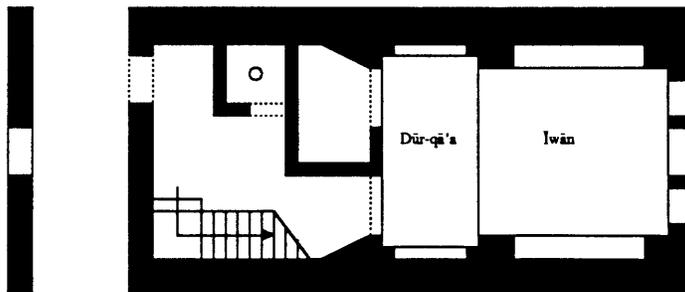
Figure C1.3: Orientation of apartment units in a courtyard arrangement.



C: Section.



B: Mezzanine level.



A: Entry level.

Figure C1.4: Diagrammatic plan of a *rab'* unit.

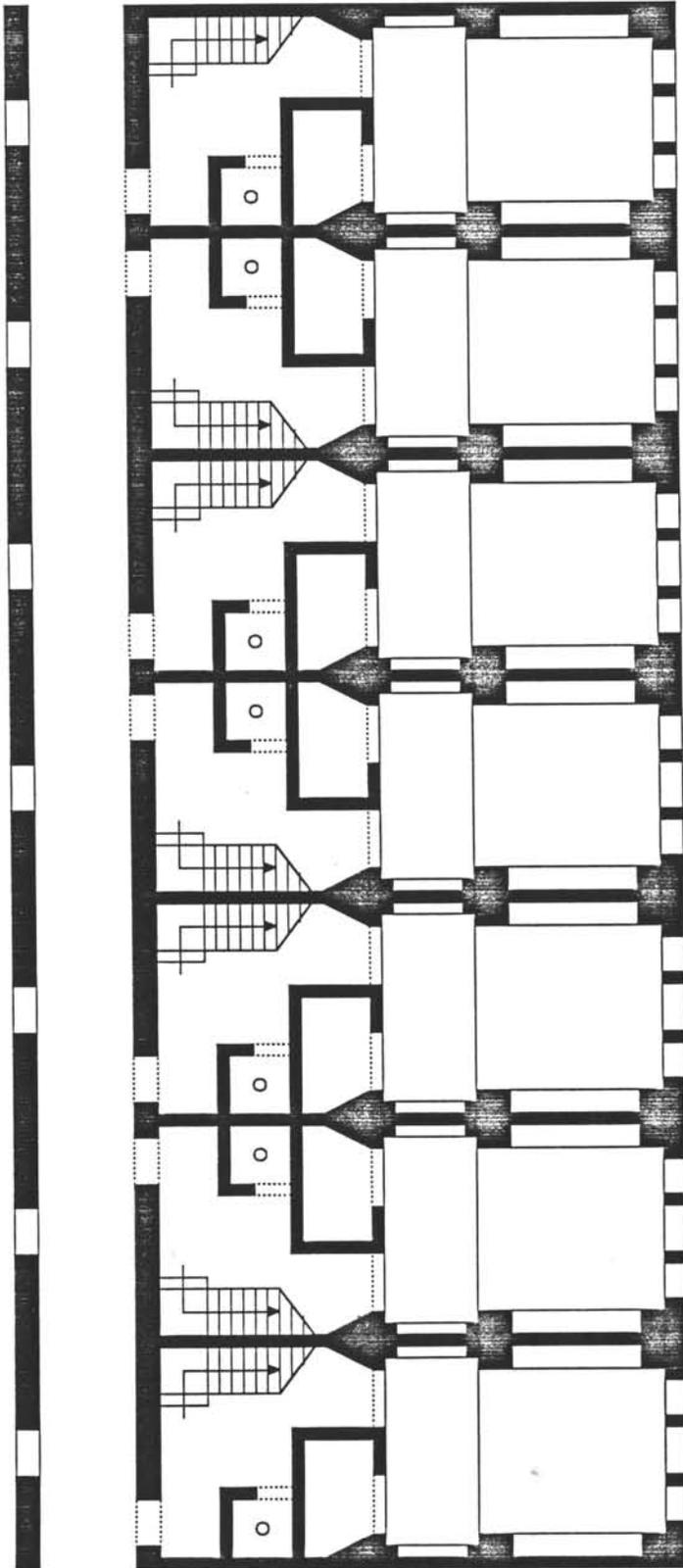


Figure C1.5: Diagrammatic plan of a *rab'* block.

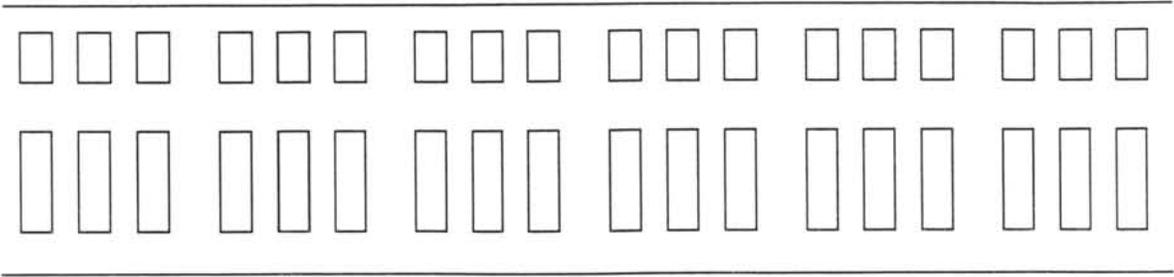


Figure C1.6: Typical fenestration pattern of *rab'*.



Figure C1.7: Fenestration pattern: *Wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar.

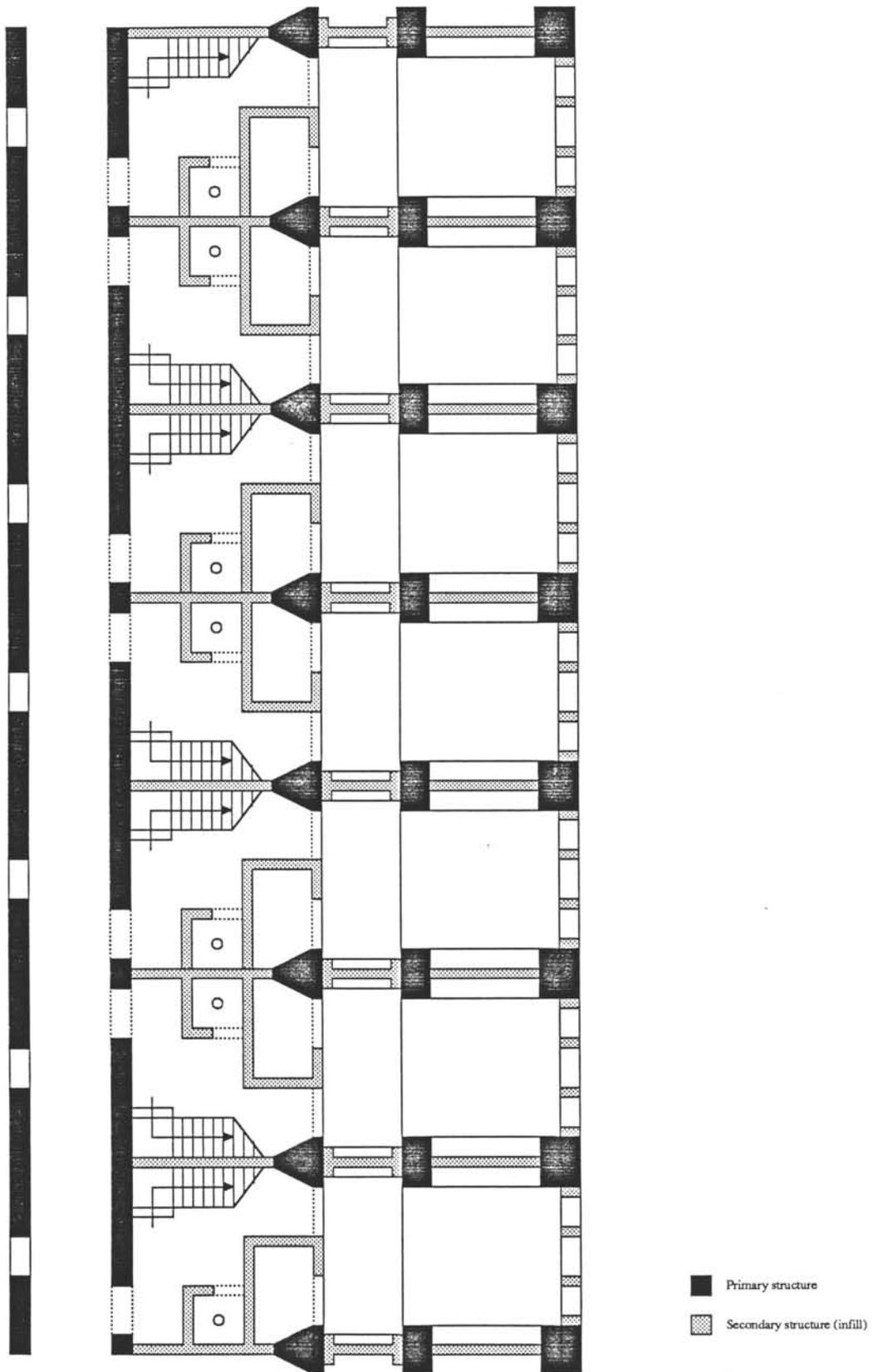


Figure C1.8: Structural system of a *rab'*.

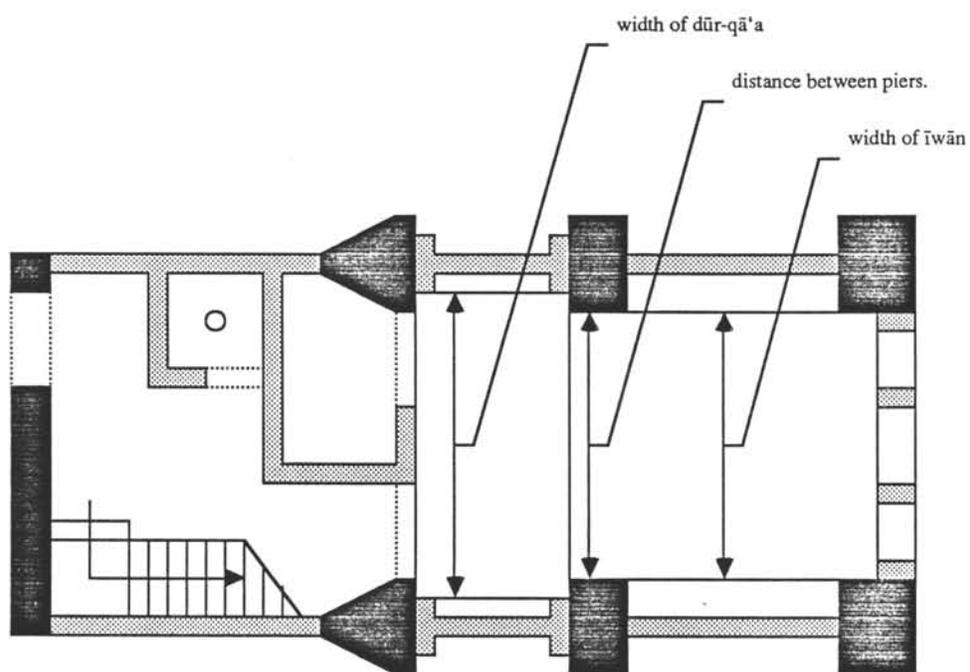


Figure C1.9: Distinction between the *iwān* and the *dūr-qā'a* in a *rab'* unit.

## Chapter 2

### Variations on a Theme:

An Archival Reconstruction of Non-extant *Rab'* Variations in Cairo

- 1 Variations in the unit type
- 2 Variations in unit aggregation
- 3 Variations in the ensemble
- 4 Summary

The previous chapter discussed some of the extant examples of the apartment dwelling, the architectural elements of these buildings, and the contemporary vocabulary used to describe them. The discussion now turns to the archival material for evidence of variations in the apartment dwelling type. The variations provide evidence of the change of the type in time or of concurrent subtypes that have not survived.

Variations in the *rab'* type may be grouped into three categories or levels. The first includes variations in the design of the apartment unit itself--such as in the makeup of the main living space, or appendices. The second comprises variations in the aggregation of the apartment units to make up a *rab'* block. Finally, there are variations in the relationship between the residential units and the remaining elements that comprise the building complex, which in many cases were shops and storerooms as part of the same construction.

### Variations in the unit type

Most of the apartments discussed thus far, whether referred to by the name of *ṭabaqa* or *riwāq* in their deed, consisted of a single *īwān* opening onto a *dūr-qā'a*. As attested to by a number of deeds, some apartments consisted of two *īwāns* opening off the *dūr-qā'a*. A couple of our extant buildings, in fact, are described as including some of these double-*īwān* units. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence of them.<sup>82</sup> Such units were almost always referred to by the name *riwāq* and not *ṭabaqa*. This reinforces the possibility that the difference between the *ṭabaqa* and a *riwāq* was that of size and scale.

A non-extant construction built by the Amīr Qurqumās in the desert, is an example of double-*īwān* units. Each of the sixteen apartments consisted of three levels. The first level consisted of a *makhzan* and a latrine; the second of a *riwāq* made up of two *īwāns* and a latrine, and the third level was a small *ṭabaqa*.<sup>83</sup> Though usually defined as a small storeroom, the word *makhzan* designated a spacious valuted space in his *khanqā*. This deed used *ṭabaqa* in the sense of a floor or level.

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<sup>82</sup> See the case of *wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr and that of al-Ghūrī near al-Azhar described in Appendix 1.

<sup>83</sup> Awqāf 901 (1 Rajab, 916/1510-1), pp: 51-52. It is possible that each of these units was meant for the dwelling of two families, since there is two sets of latrines in each. However, they are not listed as separate units in the description, but as a unit consisting of different elements/floors. [one at the *makhzan* level and one at the *riwāq* level]. This is like the plan of his extant *khanqā*. See App2: Awqāf 901: 3.

How were these larger units layed out? The second *īwān* must have been opposite the first one. In an apartment, however, the entry door usually occupied the side of the *dūr-qā‘ā* opposite the *īwān*. The entry, therefore, had to be either from one of the *īwāns* or from the shorter side of the *dūr-qā‘ā*. Figure C3.1 explores the possible arrangements. If the larger units were entered from the *dūr-qā‘ā*, it would have had to be off the shorter side (Fig. C3.1a). This would have been the same arrangement that is found in *riwāq* and *qā‘ā* units of private residences. In the apartment building, however, the arrangement would have made each unit wider, with one bay for the *riwāq* unit and another for the entrance. The units could have been arranged end to end as shown in Figure C3.1b, but this would have been a very inefficient use of the street frontage, which was held at a premium. In these two possible arrangements, the stacking of apartments next to each other could not have been as straightforward as in the extant examples. To provide a similar simple aggregation of apartments, similar to that of the single-*īwān* units, would have required that entry to the main living space be from the back wall of the *īwān* closest to the entry vestibule (Fig. C3.1c). This arrangement, however, would have violated the idea of the *dūr-qā‘ā* as the center from which the *īwāns* are reached and would have been topologically quite different from the private residences of the same period. In spite of that, I think that this would have been the more likely condition.

Another variation in the unit type involves apartments that did not include an *īwān* at all. Instead, they consisted of an element called a *majlis* that opened onto the *dūr-qā‘ā*.<sup>84</sup> These are invariably found in earlier deeds or in later descriptions of ruined or altered properties. This suggests an earlier form of the *rab‘* apartment, which will be considered in greater detail in Chapter five, as part of the question of the origin and development of the type. There is no extant *rab‘* of such an arrangement.

The vast majority of *rab‘* units had their own latrine. In a few cases, apartments lacked this amenity. Instead, a common latrine located on the same floor served more than one unit. This probably was a cheaper arrangement, needing fewer drainage chutes. Nonetheless, other factors possibly explain the lack of individual latrines. For instance, structures not originally designed to carry residential units would have lacked the drainage chute running through the walls of the ground floor to a previously layed out culvert. In such instances, the only solution might have been to have a separate latrine at the end of a corridor. Two *ṭabaqas* in a residence standing in 707/~1308 shared the same latrine.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> For example see the *funduq* described in Maḥkama 3 (1\_ Rabī‘ al-Ākhar, 600/1203).

<sup>85</sup> Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī‘ al-Ākhar, 707/1308). In al-Qāhira in *ḥārat* Zuwayla.

This form is more typical of living blocks for students in a madrasa, where the units are usually single cells and not full scale apartments.

### Variations in unit aggregation

The *rab'* blocks considered so far consisted of apartments grouped next to each other and occasionally on top of one another. These apartments are described as *mutajāwira wa mutaṭābiqa* (adjacent and in levels). The deeds include descriptions of *rab'* blocks where the apartments are "adjacent and facing" each other (*mutajāwira* and *mutaqābila*). The units above the large *wakāla* of Barqūq numbered 63, and are described as such.<sup>86</sup> The residential block(s) was reached by four doors. The two apartments that comprised a building in al-Qahira in 668/1269-70 stood opposite one another.<sup>87</sup> Another example, was a building (*dār*) that stood in 707/1308 outside al-Qāhira. It consisted of four *ṭabaqas* on two levels. Each two were opposite each other.<sup>88</sup>

This arrangement presumably meant that some of the access corridors were double loaded with apartments on both sides. If this interpretation is correct, then some of the commercial structures had deeper blocks than any of the surviving ones.

Some residential blocks included more than one kind of apartment (in size and kind). Typically in such a case, full-fledge apartments constituted one floor and smaller units constituted another. Invariably, larger units occupied the top floor and they had access to the roof. An early example is a *funduq* in Fuṣṭāṭ. *Mustarraḡas* comprised the first residential level, and more elaborate *manzils* made up the second.<sup>89</sup>

There is little evidence of buildings that could have been higher than the *rab'*-*wakālas* of Qāyṭbāy at al-Azhar and Bāb al-Naṣr with their two levels of residences above a commercial one. An exception was a *funduq* in al-Qāhira whose *rab'* consisted of three

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<sup>86</sup> Awqāf 51 (6 Sha'bān, 788/1386-7). The *wakāla* had 7 doors, three of which led to the *wakāla* proper. The *wakāla* contained 45 storerooms. The four remaining doors led to 63 *ṭabaqas*. See App2: Awqāf 51: 3.

<sup>87</sup> Maḥkama 11 (24 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 668/1269-70). Located in al-Qāhira in *raḥbat Qaṣr al-Shawk*. See App2: Maḥkama 11: 1.

<sup>88</sup> Maḥkama 26. Dār outside al-Qāhira and bāb Zuwayla. Consists of a *qā'a* reached by one door and 4 *ṭabaqas* reached by another. The *ṭabaqas* are on two levels and described as *mutaqābilīn*.

<sup>89</sup> Maḥkama 3. See App2: Maḥkama 3: 4.

levels.<sup>90</sup> The first two levels had eight units each. The third level had five units. There is no confirmation of the height of buildings noted by early travellers to Cairo of the tenth and eleventh centuries. I will consider this discrepancy in greater detail in Chapter 5 as part of the investigation of the development of the *rab'*.

The *rab'-wakāla* of Qāyrbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr represents the largest apartment complex from the extant examples. According to its foundation deed it contained twenty four *ṭabaqas* and sixteen *riwāqs*. Qāyrbāy's other *rab'-wakāla* at al-Azhar consisted of thirty seven *ṭabaqas*, one *riwāq*, and one *qā'a*. Other non extant buildings had many more units. The *qaysāriyya* of Jaharkas included forty eight *ṭabaqas*;<sup>91</sup> that of Baybars al-Jāshankīr had seventy four *ṭabaqas*;<sup>92</sup> and the *rab'* of Baybars al-Bunduqārī to the west of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad contained more than seventy eight *ṭabaqas*.<sup>93</sup> The recently demolished *wakāla* of Qūṣūn inside Bāb al-Naṣr was reported to have 360 residences, housing some 4,000 people.<sup>94</sup>

In these large buildings we find that the residences were served by more than one entrance. All units reached by the same door off the street are considered one *rab'*. Therefore, the large *qaysāriyyas* and *wakālas* had three or four *rab'*s above them.

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<sup>90</sup> Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 717/1317-8). The *funduq* in *darb* al-Aswāni in al-Qāhira consisted of 8 store rooms inside and had three shops outside. The residences were reached from a separate door on the street. See App2: Maḥkama 26: 10-11.

<sup>91</sup> Maḥkama 20. It had thirty one shops on the outside and nine doors/gates. Six of these doors led to the interior of the *qaysāriyya* which had 124 shops. The seventh gate led to a *qā'a* of the single-*īwān* type. The eighth door lead to two upper levels of twenty eight *ṭabaqas* (four on the first and fourteen on the second). The ninth door leads to an upper level of twenty *ṭabaqas* (eight on the first and twelve on the second). The first set of apartments is reached via a door in the *sharqī* side of the building, while the second set is reached from a door in the *gharbī* side.

<sup>92</sup> Maḥkama 22/23. Is one of the best description of a *qaysāriyya* that I've seen. 7 doors. 5 led to the *qaysāriyya*. Had a number of *farkhāt* (open spaces?). Contained 105 shops! Also 8 shops outside. Upstairs had 8 *buyūt* and a *ṭabaqa* for the *wakīl*. *Ṭabaqa* and *bayt* used interchangeably. Had a total of 74 *ṭabaqas* reached from two doors. Some had access to private roofs. See App2: Maḥkama 22/23: 3-5.

<sup>93</sup> Maḥkama 126. An extensive *rab'* complex owned by the *waqf* of Baybars. Not clear if it was built by him though. Consisted of a *rab'*, shops, and two *qaysāriyyas*. First floor had 41 *ṭabaqas* plus some in complete ruin. Most of the 37 *ṭabaqas* of the second floor were in ruin. See App2: Maḥkama 126: 2-6.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:93.

### Variations in the ensemble

In the extant examples, all the *rab*'s that did not start from the ground floor were located on top of shops and/or stores of a *wakāla*. The *rab*' in the Raḍwān complex was a slight exception in that the units straddled the shops on the street and the stables in the courtyard. Documents indicate that *rab*'s were built on a whole range of non-residential ground level functions.

A very common form of apartment building, was one where the residence was on top of a stables. Sometimes, these were part of the residential complex of an Emir, and they served as residences for the Mamluks of the Emir. More often however, the building was independent entity, and the stables, opened directly onto the street. A good example of apartments above stables was a large property standing in 733/1333. The *rab*' part of this building consisted of seven stables, three of which opened onto the street and the remaining four opened onto a passageway that led to the rest of the property. Each stable included a *ṭabaqa* above it, reached from within the stable.<sup>95</sup> Another example of this layout was the building standing in 879/1474-5.<sup>96</sup> It consisted of six apartments above stables for eight horses. Another building standing in 884/1479 consisted of five *riwāqs*, a stable for nine horses, and a storeroom<sup>97</sup> It is likely that the stables (Mamluk parking

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<sup>95</sup> Maḥkama 32 (26 Dhul Qi'da, 733/1333). This was part of a larger property located outside al-Qāhira in *khuff* al-Kabsh and *birkat* al-Fīl. One twelfth of the property was sold for 180,000 silver dirhams. Studied by Z. Maḥfūz, *Wathā'iq al-bay'*, Appendices.

<sup>96</sup> Awqāf 886 (24 & 28 Jamād al-Ākhara, 879/1474-5), p:206-207. This building was a part of the endowment of Qāyrbāy and was located in *khuff* of the mosque of Qūṣūn. It was reached from a corridor shared with the mosque. Consisted of a facade of cut stone that had two doors. One of them was small and arched and led to a stable with one *bāyika* for 8 horses and that had three drainage shafts for the upstairs. The *bāyika* had ten arches. The second door led to a staircase that led to a rectangular *naql rubā'ī* above *rawshans*. In the *naql* were six doors that led to six *ṭabaqas*. Each consisted of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a* and a latrine and windows overlooking the joint corridor. Each of the *ṭabaqas* had a wooden staircase leading to *mustaraqa* that had a wooden staircase leading to the roof above that. One of the *ṭabaqas* that was at the head of the staircase, had a closet and useages and rights and dependencies.

<sup>97</sup> Awqāf 680 (28 Muḥarram, 884/1479). The document is an inspection deed, and the units above a stable represent the property in good condition for which the delapidated *waqf* property is being exchanged for. Located in *khuff* Qanāṭir al-Sibā' in *darb* al-Marsīna, it consisted of five *ṭabaqas*, a stable, and a storeroom. One of the buildings four entries led to a stable for nine horses and two *rikābkhānas*. The second door led to a small storeroom. The third door led to another stable. The fourth door led to the upper level

space) were for the use of the residents upstairs, and that they rented them along with the apartment.

The *rab'* was also adapted to some unexpected contexts. The documents mention fourteen residential units on top of a bathhouse,<sup>98</sup> two units on top of a mill,<sup>99</sup> and six

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residences.

<sup>98</sup> Awqāf 531 (1 Jamad al-Awal, 784/1382). Described in the second *waqf* deed in the document, dated 20 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 806/1403-4. This was located outside al-Qāhira in Bulāq. There were also three shops in the front of the bath house.

apartments on top of a sugar factory.<sup>100</sup>

The observation that a *rab'* was independent of the commercial establishment below by virtue of having a separate entrance is borne out by most descriptions. The few exceptions to this arrangement are worth considering, however. They indicate that in some instances apartments were more directly linked to the commercial establishment below.

One such example is a *funduq*, standing in 778/1376 in al-Qāhira near *sūq* al-Naḥāsīn. Two of its residences, in the form of a *riwāq* and a *mustarraqa*, were reached from within its courtyard. In addition to these two units, it also had a standard block of twelve residential units reached from the street.<sup>101</sup> A *wakāla* that was part of the *waqf* of al-Mu'ayyad, had among its fifty six *ṭabaqas* and six *riwāqs*, two *riwāqs* located above the door of the *wakāla* and reached from a staircase inside the *wakāla*.<sup>102</sup> In another example, all of the nine apartments in a buildings were reached from within the courtyard of the *khān*.<sup>103</sup> An old *funduq/khān* acquired by al-Ghūrī before 909/1503 contained more than

<sup>99</sup> Maḥkama 11 (24 Rabī' al-Ākhar 668/1269). Located in al-Qāhira in *raḥbat* Qaṣr al-Shawk. See App2: Maḥkama 11: 1.

<sup>100</sup> Awqāf 483 (11 Dhul Qi'da, 895/1490). There was also two shops in the facade, with a large door between them. The door led to a vaulted vestibule.

<sup>101</sup> Maḥkama 50 (13 Muḥarram, 778/1376). This building, located near the markets of the coppersmiths and metalsmiths, was previously known as *Dār al-Anmāṭ*. It consisted of six and two doors, one of which led to the *funduq* of 24 storerooms. In the *ṣadr* (chest as in main interior facade) of the *funduq* was a staircase that led to two *ṭabaqas*. One of them was in ruin and was known as a *riwāq*. The second door led, via a staircase, to an upper level that contained a *mustarraqa* and 5 *ṭabaqas*. The *mustarraqa* was for the residence of the *rab'ī*. Above that was another level containing 6 *ṭabaqas*. All of the *ṭabaqas* were of the single-*īwān* type.

<sup>102</sup> Awqāf 938 (4 Jamad 'Ākhar, 823/1420), 823, p: 13. This was a large *wakāla* in al-Qāhira in *khuff* Raḥbat al-'Īd. The commercial part consisted of 96 storerooms (*makhzans* and *ḥāṣils*) on two levels. The residences were divided into four *rab'* and totalled 56 *ṭabaqas* and 4 *riwāqs*. An additional two *riwāqs* were above the portal of the *wakāla* and were reached from within the building.

<sup>103</sup> Awqāf 585 (20 Jamādī Ākhar, 892/1487). The ruined *funduq*, known as *khān* al-Ḥajar, was part of the *waqf* of Khawand mother of the Ayyūbid Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil. It was located outside Bāb al-Qanṭara and inside Bāb al-Sha'riyya, near *khuff* al-Khashābīn and the head of the *miydān* of the citadel. A number of its shops were on the street that led to Bāb al-Sha'riyya. In the midst of the shops was an oven/bakery that was not part of the property. There were 5 shops to the outside and 23 stores on the inside of the *funduq*. A

twenty apartments. All but four were reached from within the courtyard of the place.<sup>104</sup>

The above exceptions represent a small fraction of the total number of *wakālas* described in the documents. In two of them, only a few of the residential units were reached from within the commercial establishment. These units were probably intended for a guardian or someone whose presence within the commercial structure was deemed important. In the other two examples, most of the residential units were reached from within the *funduq* or *khān*. Perhaps these were intended for travellers associated with the establishment below. We would have to imagine that the tenants of these units lived under a curfew, since the commercial establishment was locked up at night.

### Summary

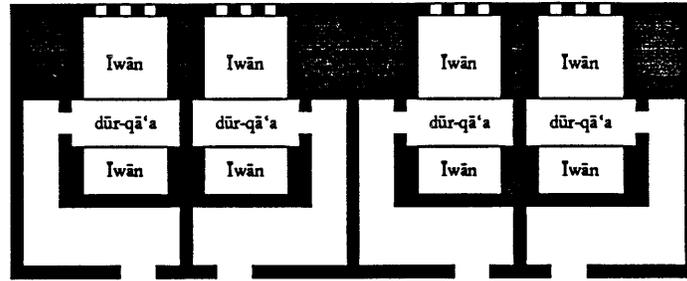
The archives revealed a number of variations in the *rab'* type. Some, such as the *majlis* units pointed to an earlier form of the type; whereas others indicated further ways in which the idea of the apartment dwellings coexisted with different commercial structures built in Cairo. Unfortunately, there are no examples of a *rab'* on top of commercial structures having a less repetitive layout than shops or storerooms. It would have been interesting to see how the Mamluk builders adapted the *rab'* to fit on a mill, sugar press, or bath house: all without a repetitive plan.

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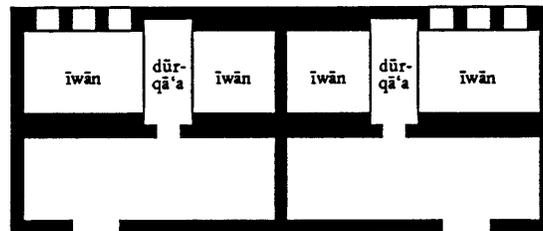
staircase from the yard inside leads to the nine apartments upstairs. Most of the apartments are in ruin. There were actually a total of 22 shops on the outside.

The *funduq* was exchanged for 1700 Ashrafi and Zāhirī dinars (1600 value, and 100 *istizhār*). The exchange deed is dated 20 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 892. Testimonial of engineers dated the same day.

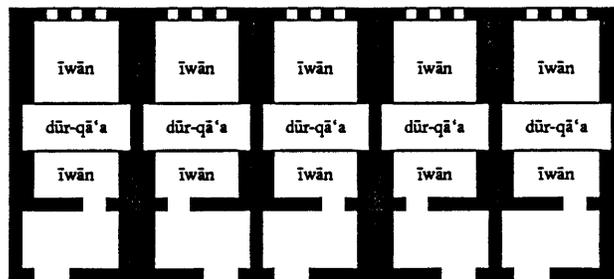
<sup>104</sup> Awqaf 882/883, p: 71-72, 1909 copy of Awqaf 883, p: 37-38, dated 26 Muḥarram, 909/1503. The *funduq* was known as *khān* Bahādur. It was located in al-Qāhira in *khuff* al-Khūkh al-Sab', on the right of one going from Dār al-Ḍarb to the direction of the al-Azhar mosque, and facing one as they go from the al-Azhar mosque towards it at the end of a *zuqāq* known previously as *darb* al-Jabāsa. The building consisted of a facade with two doors. One was in the *qiblī* boundary and led to a corridor that had a door to the left that led to a staircase leading to the first floor which consisted of 4 *ṭabaqas*. The apartments were in decay and without roofs and there used to be four other *ṭabaqas* on top of them. The second door led to the *funduq*, which consisted of 24 storerooms. On opposite sides of the courtyard where two stairs. The first led to 17 *ṭabaqa* and two *mustaraqas*, and the second staircase led to a number of other *ṭabaqas*.



A: Entry off the short side of the dūr-qā'a , and apartments side by side.



B: Entry off the short side of the dūr-qā'a , and apartments end to end.



C: Entry off the back wall of the iwān, and apartments side by side.

Figure C2.1 Possible arrangements of double-iwān apartments.

## Chapter 3

### Who is My Neighbor, and How Much Does it Cost?

#### Social and Economic Contexts

- 1 The economic context
  - 1.1 Cost of buildings
  - 1.2 Rent of buildings
  - 1.3 Rent of apartments
  
- 2 The social context
  - 2.1 *Rab'* dwellers
  - 2.1 Relations between residents

In this chapter I will consider the evidence regarding the inhabitants of *rab'* dwellings. Who were these buildings built for, what kind of social relations existed between the inhabitants of the same building, and to what extent were these relations predicated by the form of the buildings? How much did it cost to build a *rab'*, and what was the cost of living in one of its apartments?

The archival material is generally much less helpful in addressing any of these questions than in providing information about the buildings and their constitution. The *waqf* documents never stated who was to occupy the income generating structures, the category under which most *rab'*s fell. The expressed concern in these documents was simply that units not be rented to someone for extended periods of time or to people unlikely to meet their financial obligations. The few *rab'*s that did not fall within the category of income generating buildings were those built as accommodations for the *ṣūfīs* and other employees of a pious endowment. In these instances, the documents provide information about the inhabitants, whose incomes, responsibilities, and other qualifications are listed.

The documents needed to answer the questions outlined above, for the Mamluk period, include rent contracts, construction contracts, accounts of estates left at death, and letters of business transactions. Though all these records existed at the time, only rent contracts (and only a handful at that) survive in the main archival collections at Cairo. Furthermore, surviving rent contracts describe not individual units, but large multi-function buildings. The Geniza collections contain many samples of the necessary documents, but they date primarily from the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. The required types exist as well for the Ottoman period; and scholars such as André Raymond and Nelly Bolous have made good use of them.

Given this situation, my answers to the questions outlined above can only be speculative, based on an analysis of the architecture of the buildings for information about the inhabitants and their lifestyles.

### The economic context

Ideally, we would like to know what segment of Cairene society lived in this type of housing. A comparison of the rent of apartments to costs of other basic needs would provide a way to assess the relative wealth (economic status) of people that lived in the *rab'*. Since the few surviving rent contracts from the Mamluk period involve rental of properties that contained apartments as a part of the overall transaction, it is difficult to

determine the rent of an individual apartment unit.

### Cost of buildings

Sale and exchange documents represent the most detailed sources for property values. Both kinds of documents described properties in detail. Sale documents provide the value of a property, while exchange documents provide the value of delapidated properties and, occasionally, an estimate of the cost of repairs. In many cases of exchange, the delapidated property is exchanged for another property in good condition. The value and description of the latter property are also given by these deeds. None of the surviving sale or exchange contracts concerns an exclusively *rab'* type of building. Rather they concern buildings that combine commercial and residential functions, such as a *funduq* or *wakāla*. This makes it difficult to ascertain the cost of the residential component.

The currency used in the documents is either the *dirham* or the *dīnār*. The *dirham* cited in documents, was typically the *dirham nuqra* or silver *dirham*. Since Saladin's monetary reform of 583/1187, the silver *dirham* became the new monetary standard. Gold coinage became a commodity, the price of which was calculated in terms of the *dirham*.<sup>105</sup> Various kinds of *dīnārs* were in circulation at the same time, the most famous of which were the Ashrafi and Zāhiri *dīnārs*. The *dīnār* was a gold coin identified by the sulṭān during whose rule it was issued. The value of the *dīnār* varied between 20 and 30 *dirhams*.

Figure C3.1 summarizes the value of a number of properties documented in deeds of sale and exchange. These all involve a combination of functions. The property sold in 884/1479, consisted primarily of apartments and stables. If we consider the stables as intended for the use of the tenants, then a value of about 88 *dīnārs* (about 2200 *dirhams*) can be attributed to each apartment.

### Rent of buildings

Information on rent of buildings is important because it indicates what the tenants paid and the owner earned. The former provides clues to the tenants' standard of living, and the latter provides information about the real estate market as an option of investment.

Reliable information on rent of buildings is difficult to find. To begin with, the

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<sup>105</sup> Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), 173-174.

number of documents is small. Unlike sale deeds, many of the rent records give a very cursory description of the property, making it difficult to assess the relative value of a building or apartment. To understand the relationship between the value of building and its rent, we need both records for the same property. For the Fāṭimid period, Goitein was able to arrive at an average relation between the value of an urban property and its rent. His figure is between five and six percent; that is, a property valued at 100 *dīnārs*, would have rented for between 5 and 6 *dīnārs* a year.<sup>106</sup>

Two documents supply the rental value of urban lands in commercially central parts of Cairo. In the first, the sultān Qalā'ūn rents a 27.14% share in a piece of land measuring 11 by 14 *dhrā'*s for 2445 dirhams over a thirty year period.<sup>107</sup> This translates into an annual rent of 1.95 *dirhams* per square *dhrā'*.<sup>108</sup> In another rent contract 8,812 *dirhams* are paid over a thirty year period for the rent of 32.64% interest in a land measuring 1267.5 square *dhrā'*s.<sup>109</sup> This translates into an annual rent of 0.71 *dirhams* per square *dhrā'*. The document also provides scarce information on the measurement of adjacent shops not included in the transaction. The 18 shops occupied an area of 468 square *dhrā'*s. The average area of each shop, therefore, was 26 square *dhrā'*s. Given that the depth of the plot was stated as 6 *dhrā'*s, each shop measured 6 by  $4\frac{1}{3}$  *dhrā'*, and the rental value of the land under it was about eighteen and a half *dirhams*.

Al-Maqrīzī mentions the rental income of a large commercial building in Cairo. Known as *dār al-Tamr*, it rented for 1136 dirhams per month in 689/1290. Along with a number of commercial spaces, it included 75 apartments (*manzils*) and five residential *maq'ads*.<sup>110</sup>

### Rent of Apartments

<sup>106</sup> Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 4:96.

<sup>107</sup> Awqāf 723 (10 Rabī' al-Awal, 687/1288).

<sup>108</sup> A *dhrā'* is between 60 and 70 centimeters.

<sup>109</sup> Awqāf 718 (22 Jamādī al-Awalī, 711/1311). The tenant is the endowment of Qalā'ūn for his hospital in al-Qāhira. The land carried the remains of a delapidated *funduq* known as that of *al-ḥājib* Lūlū. The remains were valued at 18,000 dirhams and were purchased on the same day as documented in Awqāf 712 (22 Jamādī al-Awalī, 711/1311).

<sup>110</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:79. It was built by the judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī al-Baysānī. Its commercial units included 12 shops (*ḥānūts*), 4 *maq'ads*, 50 storerooms (*makhzans*), 15 *khuṣā* (?), 6 *qā'as*, 1 yard (*sāḥa*), and six storage areas (*shuwan*).

On the basis of the Geniza documents, Goitein estimates that a master mason or stucco worker, who earned five to six *dirhams* as a daily wage, could rent a modest apartment for five *dirhams* a month. He estimates his daily lunch expenditure of one *dirham*.<sup>111</sup> Ashtor estimates that during the 11th, 12th, 14th, and 15th centuries, a minimum wage worker earned 1.2, 2, 1.5, and 3.33 *dīnārs*, respectively. In those centuries, the worker spent 72%, 76%, 82%, and 93% of his income on food for himself and his family! The remainder going for housing and clothes. Ashtor presents a slightly better picture for the more specialized workers such as masons and carpenters. He estimates that during the 11th, 12th, 14th, and 15th centuries, such a worker earned 5, 6, 3, and 6.66 *dīnārs*, respectively, and spent 42%, 41%, 81%, and 51% of it on food.<sup>112</sup> This clearly did not leave much for other expenses. Elsewhere, Ashtor writes that the rent of a *ṭabaqa* varied between four and eight *dirhams* (roughly 0.16 and 0.32 *dīnārs*) depending on its size.<sup>113</sup>

Unfortunately, it is not clear that these relatively low rents reflect the costs of the apartments analyzed in this thesis. The rent documents in the Geniza documents do not provide as detailed a description of the apartments as is found in the *waqf* documents. A rather complete rent document in the Vienna collection does indicate a fairly low rent. In 719/1319, two apartments (*ṭabaqas*) and a stable for three horses in central al-Qāhira rented for 21 *dirhams* per month.<sup>114</sup> This amounts to a rent of 10.5 *dirhams* for an apartment with horse-parking.

The architecture of the units can be tapped for some qualified information about the rents of the dwellings. The design of different units indicates relative differences in rent, though it obviously cannot provide us with exact figures.

A number of scholars view the *rab'* as a form of communal dwelling indicative of social egalitarianism in Mamluk society.<sup>115</sup> A casual view of the modular quality of the

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<sup>111</sup> Goitein, "Cairo: An Islamic City in the Light of the Geniza Documents," *Middle Eastern Cities*, edited by Ira Lapidus (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969), 89.

<sup>112</sup> Eliyahu Ashtor, "Diet of Salaried Classes in the Medieval Near East," *Journal of Asian History* 4, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1970): 11, 13.

<sup>113</sup> Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et de salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, (Paris: SEVPEN, 1969), 360, as cited in E. Higashi, *Commercial Architecture*, 1: 60.

<sup>114</sup> Ach 10727 (14 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 719/1319). See App2: Ach 10727: 1.

<sup>115</sup> Mr. Z. Ragih presented such view in a workshop on the Islamic City held during the 15th World Congress of the International Union of Architects, held in Cairo in January

construction does indeed give such an impression, but a more detailed consideration of the buildings and their archival descriptions indicate variations in the units of the same building that contradict the notion of a homogenous constituency. Within the same building there were units that faced the street and others that looked onto the courtyard. It is clear that the former arrangement was seen as more desirable.<sup>116</sup> Invariably in a courtyard arrangement, some units in the corners only faced a light shaft. These are described in the deeds as *ḥabīs*, which literally means "imprisoned".<sup>117</sup> These must have been the least desirable. Sometimes the same building contained units with double *īwāns* (usually called *riwāqs*) and others with single *īwāns* (usually called *ṭabaqas*).<sup>118</sup>

Multi-level *rab'* buildings, provide ample evidence that the topmost apartments were more desirable. Usually they are described in more detail and were finished with better quality wood and plaster. They had access to private roof terraces, which the lower apartments rarely could get to. The upper units could also include skylights and windcatchers in their *dūr-qā'ā*, thus providing more of the amenities of a private residence.<sup>119</sup> Given these differences between the intermediate and top residential levels, it is no surprise to see that in many buildings the first residential level consisted simply of a number of *mustarraqas*, or small rooms/mezzanine spaces, whereas the full fledged apartments were only on the top level.<sup>120</sup> This preference for the top floor is an interesting

1985.

<sup>116</sup> *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at al-Azhar.

<sup>117</sup> Awqāf 886 (24 & 28 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 879/1474), p: 199. See App1: Awqāf 886: 3.

<sup>118</sup> Bibliothèque National \_\_\_\_ (28 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 890/1485). See App1: Bibliothèque National \_\_\_\_: 1-2.

<sup>119</sup> An example is the large *qaysāriyya* built by Baybars al-Jāshankīr and described in Maḥkama 22/23. It had 74 residential units reached from two entrances located on its various sides. A couple of units were specifically designated for the guard and *wakīl* of the *qaysāriyya*. Both are described as small (*ṭabaqa laṭīfa*). Some of the units had direct access to a private roof terrace and some had windcatchers. Also some of the units had kitchens. Clearly there was a range of amenities available. See App2: Maḥkama 22/23: 3-5.

<sup>120</sup> For example see the *funduq* described in Maḥkama 3 (1\_ Rabī' al-Ākhar, 600/1203). Located in Fuṣṭāṭ, it had two residential levels. The first level consisted of twenty one *mustarraqas*, or small mezzanine rooms, while the second one consisted of twenty three *manzils*, each consisted of a *majlis* and a *dūr-qā'ā*, and contained closets. Each *manzil* was roofed with *naqī* wood, and had access to a private roof terrace; clearly more complete

contrast to the urban apartment houses that first appeared in European cities. There, the preferred level was the first floor or piano nobile and the topmost floor was relegated to the lower income inhabitants. It was only with the advent of the elevator that this was reversed in Europe.

Based on these examples, I assume that different rents were charged for different units of the same building.

### The social context

The *rab'* type in its variations served as a residence for a variety of segments of Cairene society, including Mamluks, artisans, *ṣūfīs*, travellers, and merchants. I have noted that the *rab'* block could be incorporated as part of any number of buildings, and this sometimes corresponded to a specific group of inhabitants. I have cited examples of a *rab'* block built on top of the stables of a large private residence. In such an instance it seems that the apartments were inhabited by the *mamlūks* of an emir. In the case of a *rab'* constituting the *khanqā* part of a religious complex, the units were clearly meant for the residence of *ṣūfīs* and other employees of the foundation. The extant examples of this include the complexes of Bārsbāy, Īnāl, and Qurqumās.

The vast majority of *rab'*s, however, were located on top of a row of shops or a commercial establishment arranged around a courtyard, such as a *qaysāriyya*, *wakāla*, *khān*, or *funduq*. Scholars generally accept the view that these buildings operated as a unit in the sense that traders and artisans sold their goods downstairs while residing upstairs, near their wares. This view compliments the understanding of the term *wakāla* or *qaysāriyya* as applicable to the whole building with its commercial and residential components.

This idea of a unity of work and residence, is not supportable in the city of Cairo. It derives from generalizations of observations made about commercial structures, such as hospices along trade routes, in other Muslim lands. Raymond's statistical work on the Ottoman period shows that the inhabitants of Cairo generally did not live near the workplace. They commuted between work and an average of 500 meters or more.<sup>121</sup>

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units. See App2: Maḥkama 3: 4.

<sup>121</sup> André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries, an Introduction*, (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1984), 58.

Texts of the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods, as well as the architectural evidence from the Mamluk period, indicate an independence of the the upper- and lower-level parts of the same construction. The documents distinguish between the lower level commercial spaces and the upper level residences. The terms *wakāla* and *qaysāriyya* refer only to the lower levels, not to what is above. The terms *rab'* or *ṭibāq* define the upper levels. The building as a whole is usually referred to by the word *makān* (place).

Other evidence supports this interpretation. The apartments were almost invariably reached by a door separate from the one leading to the commercial spaces. This was a small door, located either at one end of the facade or on a side street.<sup>122</sup> Such an arrangement indicates that the dwellings could function independently from the *wakāla* or *qaysāriyya* below. This separation was further reinforced in cases where access to the *rab'* was from a side street or alley: independent access enhanced the sense that the units above were a different entity from the commercial life below. It would be more accurate, therefore, to see such a combination-building as directly analogous to a modern apartment building with retail businesses on the ground level: two kinds of structures serving different purposes and ends, but located on the same site.

Such a distinction between the upper and lower floors does not preclude the possibility that someone living upstairs earned their livelihood below. A merchant may have lived above his shop. A travelling merchant may have rented an apartment above the *wakāla* where he stored his wares. The point is: merchants did not have to live above their work, and the design of the *rab'* indicates that this was not a pattern that needed to be addressed in the design. The out-of-town trader could take up temporary lodging in a *rab'* unit, but it was likely to be in a building different from where he left his wares. In one of the tales of *A Thousand and One Nights*, a merchant stayed in *khān* Masrūr and did most of his business at the *qaysāriyya* of Jaharkas. These buildings stood about 350 meters apart.<sup>123</sup>

There is evidence to show that some apartment units were integrated with the commercial activity below. In Chapter 2, I referred to the presence of upper level residential units reached from within the commercial structure. Typically this commercial structure was a *wakāla*, *khān*, or *funduq*. Such apartments must have been reserved for

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<sup>122</sup> The apartments above the *funduq* in Maḥkama 3 were reached via a door off the side street that leads to a staircase directly up to the residences.

<sup>123</sup> Night number 102, *Kitāb alf layla wa layla* (The book of a thousand and one nights), edited by Muhsin Mahdi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), 292.

the habitation of employees or merchants. This was rare however, and usually only applied to a few of the residential units within the building.

A *rab'* block often included a apartment designated for a *rab'*, or "*rab'*man." The documents neither list the responsibilities nor indicate the salary of this person. Presumably, responsibilities included supervision of the building and its common areas. It is possible that tenants paid the salary. The apartment was usually a small one, sometimes only a room.<sup>124</sup> The reduced size of the apartment of the *rab'ī* relative to the other units in the building, indicates that the building was meant for tenants of a different class. The apartment of the *rab'ī* was typically located at the first level of the residences near the staircase leading to that level.

A rare, surviving inspection deed sheds light on the inhabitants of a *rab'*. The deed documents an inspection of delapidated properties in the endowment of Baybars by a team of engineers (*muhandissīn*).<sup>125</sup> The first property inspected was an extensive *rab'-wakāla* complex to the west of the Mu'ayyad mosque. This *rab'* consisted of more than 78 *ṭabaqas* on two levels above the *qaysāriyya*. Thirty of these were empty at the time. Doormen (*rab'ī*) inhabited two of the units, and the others were occupied by men and women from a variety of professions. Women headed the households of seven of the apartments. In two instances, a woman occupied one apartment and her son lived in another (noncontiguous) unit. Three apartments were occupied, by a woman, her father, and her grandfather. One person occupied three noncontiguous apartments. Occupants included a blacksmith, a religious scholar (*faqīh*), a tile layer, and a felt maker. Since trades were geographically localized in the city, these people could not have been

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<sup>124</sup> The *qaysāriyya* built by Baybars II in al-Qāhira had two units for the guardian and the *wakīl* of the *qaysāriyya*. Each was a small *ṭabaqa* (*ṭabaqa laṭīfa*), and they were reached from within the building; Maḥkama 22/23 (26 Shawal, 707/1308). See App2: Maḥkama 22: 3.

The *wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy at al-Azhar had a doorman (*bawāb*) who was expected to live in the place. His income is not given. Awqāf 886, p: 244. See App2: Awqāf 886: 4. In a *rab'* described in 707/1308 there was an apartment for the *rab'ī*. Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 707/1308 ). See App2: Maḥkama 26: 12-13.

The *rab'* in a *funduq* in al-Qāhira had 11 *ṭabaqas* and a *mustarraqa*. The *mustarraqa* is specified as for the residence of the caretaker of the *rab'* (*al-rab'ī*); Maḥkama 50 (13 Muḥarram, 778/1376).

<sup>125</sup> Maḥkama 126 (8 Rabī' Ākhar, 865/1461). See App2: Maḥkama 126: 3-5.

employed in the building below.<sup>126</sup>

Did these apartments serve as a temporary form of housing for travellers or were they more typically for long-term rent? As an income generating building, the *rab'* fell under the typical stipulation that it only be rented for a period of a year or less. The aim of this limit was to avoid tenants becoming entrenched in a place and eventually acquiring ownership rights. However, there is no reason to believe that such tenants could not renew their lease repeatedly. The presence of three households representing three generations of the same family in the *rab'* discussed above indicates that occupancy must have extended over long periods of time.

Did families live in these apartment buildings, or was this semi-communal form of housing only for men? A number of architectural considerations make it clear that the apartments were meant primarily for the residence of families. First, each unit possessed almost all the amenities of the larger private residence, though in a reduced form. They included a private roof terrace, a latrine, and, notably, a cooking area. These could not have been intended for the comfort of one person, nor is it easy to imagine that a number of unrelated men shared such a particularized area.

For family life to be tenable in a *rab'*, it had to be tenable at the unit level. The access corridor was a fairly public space, and there is absolutely no evidence that apartments opened directly onto each other. Aside from the provision of a latrine, cooking area, and roof terrace, a requirement for a Muslim family dwelling is that spaces be isolatable and that the circulation not interfere with this. This is achieved by having the vestibule space serve as both the buffer, and the distribution point for the main living space on the lower level and the more private, upper level rooms. Nonetheless, life in a *rab'* apartment could not have afforded the same degree of privacy as found in the private residence. Sounds could be transmitted between units, and the public corridor must have engendered a fair amount of social interaction. Furthermore, the horizontal emphasis of the *rab'* block meant that more units were on the same level, increasing the chances of interaction amongst the neighbors. In presently inhabited *rab'*s that I have visited, some of the household activity occurs in the corridor or near the stairwell. This includes cleaning vegetables, cooking, and clothes-washing. These activities take place the time when men are away at work.

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<sup>126</sup> The information about inhabitants may be qualified by the fact that the building was in bad repair with many inhabited units. Its inhabitants may not be representative of similar buildings in better shape at the time.

Studies of inhabited *rab*'s reveal that it is considered by the inhabitants, as the worst housing option. They would rather move to a newer apartment building in the same area. Lack of space and privacy are cited as primary complaints amongst the residents. Present-day use patterns and reactions cannot be projected back in time, however. The upper levels of extant *rab*'s are quite delapidated and most roof terraces are unuseable. Similarly, the introduction of fixed furniture into the apartments has made them much smaller. The architectural evidence of the medieval apartments indicates that they provided for a more affluent segment of society than presently inhabit them.

Date A.H./ A.D.	Residential						Commercial						Price Dirham/ Dinār	Location & condition	Document Location, number, & type
	Qā'a	Riwāq	Ṭabaqa	Mustaraqa	Maq'ad	Other	Shop (ḥānūt)	Shop (maq'ad)	Store (makhzan)	Store (ḥāsil)	Stables	Other			
723/ 13__		8	9	1	1		3		18				15,500		Awqāf 651 Sale
778/ 1__			13	1			6		24				23,000 ?		Maḥkama 50 Sale
798/ 1__			71			10 qā'as							54,000		Awqāf 67 Exchange?
884/ 1__		4	1								9 horse		? 440	Good	Awqāf 680 Exchange
892/ 1__			9				5		23	?	?		1600&100	Delapidated	Awqāf 462 Exchange
912/ 1__			9						4				390	Good	Awqāf 371 Sale
914/ 1__			22				31	4					3100	Good	Awqāf 376 Sale

Figure C3.1: Value of multi-unit residential properties in Cairo

## Chapter 4

### Relations to Other Participants:

#### An Archival Reconstruction of *Rab*'s and the Urban Context

- 1 **Locations Within the City**
- 2 **Patterns of Endowment**
  - 2.1 **Endowments of Rulers**
    - 2.1.1 Qalāwūn
    - 2.1.2 Al-Mu'ayyad
    - 2.1.3 Qāytbāy.
    - 2.1.4 Al-Ghūrī
  - 2.2 **Endowments of Emirs**
    - 2.2.1 Jawhar Lāla
    - 2.2.2 Qijmās al-Ishāqī
    - 2.2.3 Qurqumās
- 3 **Conclusions**

I have identified a range of ways in which Mamluk builders realized the idea of the *rabʿ*. The variants corresponded, to some extent, with the needs of the different dwellers. In general terms this was a type that was deployed on top of a whole range of urban/public functions (shops, mills, stores, bathhouses). As part of a religious complex, a large residence, or on top of a commercial establishment, the *rabʿ* served *ṣūfīs*, *mamlūks* of an emir, or the general public. However, we have not yet systematically identified where this type or one of its variants was located in the city. Where and in what concentration the medieval inhabitant would have seen a free standing *rabʿ*, one on top of a *wakāla*? These apartment buildings also played a role within the system of pious endowments. Almost all of our archival records on these buildings derive from this fact. However, we have not yet investigated what patterns of *rabʿ* building the patrons of these endowments might have adopted as an actual utilization of the income generating potential of this building.

This chapter aims, therefore, to investigate more precisely the relationship and contribution of the apartment buildings to the urban setting of Cairo: whether these variations played a role specific to a particular part of the city or neighborhood. At the same time, this chapter investigates the role these buildings played in the scheme of pious endowments; whether they played a role specific to a particular patron and endowment. Again, the investigation relies to a large degree on archival documents from which we can partially reconstruct various areas of the city. With the aid of these reconstructions, we try to understand both the relationship between the apartment buildings and their surrounding structures and the relationship between the apartment building and other structures of a given endowment.

### Locations within the city

The commercial areas of 15th century Cairo extended along the central route of the city from Bāb al-Futūḥ to Bāb Zuwayla. From Andre Raymond's mapping of the commercial structures recorded by the 15th century historian al-Maqrīzī, it is easy to visualize the commercial concentrations within the city (Figure C4.1).<sup>127</sup> This map locates,

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<sup>127</sup> This map is an aggregation of the information in the map in A. Raymond & Gaston Wiet, *Les marches du Caire, traduction annotée de Maqrizi*. vol. 14 of series: *Textes arabes et études Islamiques*, (Paris: I.F.A.O., 1979), maps: 1-3. I have not kept the distinction between *qaysāriyya* and *khān*, that Raymond maintains. Since al-Maqrīzī lived at a time before all, but one, of our extant examples were built, I have taken the liberty of adding later Mamluk buildings to Raymond's map. These additions are indicated by a

*qaysāriyyas*, *khāns*, and *wakālas*, some of which also included *rab*'s. This information is filtered and represented in Figure C4.2 so as to distinguish between three different kinds of income generating constructions: residential apartment buildings, non-residential commercial buildings, and mixed residential/commercial buildings.<sup>128</sup> Solid, hollow, and semi-solid circles indicate structures falling within each of the three categories. From the comparison of the two maps we see that most of the commercial buildings had dwellings above and this combination predominated in the main market areas of the city. The purely residential buildings, on the other hand, were located in a wider area of the city.

There were no exclusively non-residential areas in the city. Areas that were heavily commercial on the ground floor, such as the Qaşaba and the Bāb al-Wazīr areas, were also heavily residential on the upper floors. On the other hand, certain areas, such as the Kharanshaf area to the north west of the Qala'ūn complex, the area to the southeast of Bāb al-Naşr, contained mainly private residences. These areas did not seem to include apartment buildings.

### Patterns of endowment

Apartment buildings often constituted a major part of the urban income generating properties for an endowment. It is, therefore, important to understand what pattern existed, if any, to the types of building specified in the endowments. The *rab*' was only one of a number of options available to the endowment system of the Medieval period. Other income producing properties included agricultural lands, lands for brick making, urban lands for rent, *qaysāriyyas*, *funduqs*, bathhouses, mills, sugar cane presses, shops, and storerooms, to name a few. It is therefore reasonable to inquire about the role that a *rab*' had within the larger number of options. It is also reasonable to expect that there would be a logic or a pattern to the type and location of buildings endowed to support a specific construction. After all, the *waqf* system played a pervasive role in Mamluk society. The participation of people in it entailed premeditation and planning of acquisitions and their location; it wasn't simply a matter of endowing whatever the individual happened to own at that point in their life.

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hollow circle.

<sup>128</sup> I have added on this map, *rab*'s attested to in the deeds, and/or mentioned by historians.

The extant archival collection covers endowments of rulers as well as of individuals of more limited means. Examples range from endowments comprising many properties spread out across Egypt and beyond, to endowments of a single income generating property. Therefore endowments encompassed a range of properties. Invariably the properties reflected something about the founder and his or her positions or roles in Mamluk society. At the very least they indicate the extent and location of the patron's holdings, and can often be traced to their biographies. For instance, out of the roughly thirty eight properties set up to pay for the endowment of Qurqumās, six were rural and urban properties in Syria.<sup>129</sup> Many years later, the *waqf* of Raḍwān Bey included a number of houses in Mecca.<sup>130</sup> For a number of years, Raḍwān led the annual pilgrimage caravan from Egypt that carried the covering for the *Ka'ba*.

It is necessary to look beyond the individualistic aspect of the endowments to identify more general patterns that would reflect the Mamluk period as a whole. One method would involve mapping the endowments of a representative sample. There are a number of problems with such a method. Some of the urban properties cannot be precisely pinpointed with our present knowledge of Cairo's topography. This is especially a problem for earlier deeds.<sup>131</sup> Though some properties can be located in a neighborhood, they cannot be located more precisely because their described boundaries do not correspond to anything extant. Non urban lands are even less possible to locate much less delineate in terms of extent.

The analysis pursued here relies on a much more limited mapping exercise. I will only map the properties of a given endowment located inside Cairo. Properties outside the city are mentioned for reference and comparison. Unlocatable properties are listed separately. In some cases, where unlocatable properties are of particular interest (such as when a number of them are clustered next to each other), they are mapped in relative terms using the boundary descriptions in the deeds without precisely pinpointing their location in the city. As for the examples chosen, the endowments represent those of sultāns and

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<sup>129</sup> Awqāf 901.

<sup>130</sup> Awqāf 996, 997, 998.

<sup>131</sup> This problem can be overcome in time if the archival collection is taken as a whole and used for purposes of reconstructing the urban topography at various moments in time. By looking at enough documents, loose ends in location can be tied up and the thing would close onto itself. Such a project would require a concerted effort amongst a number of people.

emirs.

### Endowments of rulers/sultāns

#### Qalāwūn (Figure C4.3)

Qalāwūn ruled from 678-689/1280-1290. His complex in the heart of al-Qāhira presently consists of a madrasa, a mausoleum and the remnants of a once extensive hospital. Little remains of Qalāwūn's endowments for this complex, either in physical form or in *waqf* description. It is therefore impossible to discuss his foundation in the context of its overall support structure. However, the few properties described in the extant deeds are sufficiently interesting to warrant consideration.

Abutting the southern wall of his madrasa, Qalāwūn built a large *qaysariyya*, containing 110 shops and *maq'ads*. A few meters to the south of this building and across the street, he located a second *qaysariyya*. The site of this building was between the nearby madrasa of al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and the bain al-Qasrain. It had sixty three shops and four *maq'ads*. A row of more than thirty six wooden shops (*maq'ads*) abutted the street facade of both the madrasa and the mausoleum. A bathhouse and another shop also stood next to the hospital part of his complex. An open ruin on the northern side was probably meant for future development. Less than 200 meters to the north of the complex, and along the same street stood another *qaysariyya*, containing seventy seven shops, a *maq'ad*, and an unspecified number of *mustarraḡas* above the shops. Finally, further south (about 600 meters) there was a *rab'* containing nineteen *ṭabaḡas* and fifteen *mustarraḡas* above forty four shops and two *maq'ads*.<sup>132</sup>

#### Al-Mu'ayyad

Al-Mu'ayyad ruled from 815-824/1412-1421. His surviving architectural legacy in Cairo includes his large mosque with its two minarets on top of *bāb Zuwayla*, a nearby bath, and the now delapidated hospital near the citadel.<sup>133</sup>

The *waqf* of al-Mu'ayyad lists roughly forty five different properties in Egypt and

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<sup>132</sup> Maḡkama 15 (12 Şafar 685/1286). Published by M. Amin in appendix to his edition of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Tadhkirat al-nabīh*. The *rab'* was known by al-'Alamī. Many of its residences were in ruin and it was clearly a recent acquisition that needed to be rebuilt before it could contribute income to the endowment.

<sup>133</sup> Index nos. 190, 410, and 257 respectively.

Syria.<sup>134</sup> Eighteen of these were built properties in Cairo and its environs. The remainder were agricultural lands in Egypt and Syria and urban properties in Damascus.

Of the eighteen properties in Cairo, seven stood in the immediate vicinity of the mosque. Across the street on the *gharbī* side of the mosque stood a building with 29 shops and 33 apartments (*ṭabaqas*). Along with the two minarets he built, al-Mu'ayyad added nine *ṭabaqas* next to the mosque on top of *bāb Zuwayla*. At another side of the mosque stood a tannery, a stable and a tenement consisting of four *ṭabaqas* and four *riwāqs*. There were also five shops. Another place across the street from the mosque. 6) Near the western side of the mosque, stood eight unfinished *qā'as* and three shops. At the *bahrī* side of the mosque, he built a large bathhouse, the remains of which are still visible. (Fig C4.2).

In the city, though not in the vicinity of the mosque (inside *bāb al-Sha'riyya*), he endowed six shops, a number of *qā'as*, a *ṭabaqa*, and a cistern. Of interest is an extensive *wakāla* to the north in *khuṭṭ* Raḥbat al-'Īd. The *wakāla* was organized around two courtyards. It contained a total of ninety six *makhzans ḥāṣils*, two shops, six *riwāqs*, forty six *ṭabaqas*, and a stable.<sup>135</sup>

Some 120 years after Qalāwūn, and in a much more congested context, we see again in al-Mu'ayyad's endowment a strong proclivity to surround a pious complex with a variety of income generating structures.

### Qāyṭbāy

Qāyṭbāy (ruled 872-901/1468-1496) was a prodigious builder even by Mamluk standards. Other than his madrasa/mausoleum complex in the cemetery, he built three other mosques in Cairo and its environs.<sup>136</sup> Even though a number of extensive deeds have survived, our knowledge of his extensive endowments is still incomplete.

Since Qāyṭbāy built his main pious foundation in the cemetery area, in the desert to the east of the city, away from the heart of the commercial activity, we cannot expect it to be surrounded with income generating structures. His deed reveals that most of the

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<sup>134</sup> Awqaf 938 (4 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 823/1420).

<sup>135</sup> Awqāf 938. p: 12-14.

<sup>136</sup> These are a mosque on the island of al-Rawḍa, one at *birkat* al-Kabsh, and one at *bāb* al-Kharq. He also built a small mosque outside *bāb* al-Qarāfa. Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, (Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Dawla, 1936), 3:321.

supporting buildings were in the city.<sup>137</sup> Interestingly, however, the absence of commercial buildings around the complex did not mean that it stood by itself. The deed mentions a residential complex across the street from his endowment. It had not been completed at the time of the deed and is only described as consisting of an ablution place (*mīyḍāʿ*), a burial place [?] (*fasqiyya*), and an unspecified number of *ṭabaqas* and a *riwāq* to accommodate the *ṣūfīs* and their sheikh.

Qāyṭbāy could have probably acquired enough land in a single parcel to incorporate all the functions he wanted in his complex. However, he seems to have preferred to acquire land on opposite sides of a street, thus allowing the programmatic parts of his complex to span the street. As a result, his endowment engages the street more directly and reveals a desire to define the public space and to determine its character.

#### Al-Ghūrī (Fig. C4.4)

Al-Ghūrī ruled from 906-922/1501-1516. His complex situated on both sides of the main artery in al-Qāhira is documented in his deed, along with its related buildings. A partial accounting of his properties reveals a number of commercial constructions in the vicinity of his mosque. These included a whole market (45 shops) part of which the madrasa is located on top of. Around the madrasa was an area for ablutions, a water well, a market of 91 shops, and twenty apartments.

It is clear from the properties surrounding his complex that al-Ghūrī owned enough property to build his complex on one side of the street. He chose not to, however.

#### Endowments of emirs

The emirs chosen were all powerful members of the Mamluk aristocracy, with access to large resources.

#### Jawhar Lāla

Jawhar Lāla was a powerful Mamluk eunuch. He built a madrasa to the south of al-Qāhira. A large part of his extensive endowment deed survives.<sup>138</sup> It shows that Jawhar located his madrasa near his residence. Also the madrasa complex contained a *qāʿa* for his use. Across the street on the *sharqī* side stood a bathhouse that was part of the *waqf*.

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<sup>137</sup> The experience of Barqūq who wanted to move some of the markets next to his complex in the cemetery. It failed and the others probably learnt from it.

<sup>138</sup> Awqāf 1021 (6 Jamādī al-Awal, 831/1428).

There was also a *ṭabaqa* to the *baḥrī* side of the *qā'a* he built. He reserved the *qā'a* for his use while he lived, and, following his death, for the *imām* of the madrasa. Since his main residence was nearby, he probably only used the *qā'a* when he visited the madrasa.

Al-Maqrīzī documents an earlier example of a patron building a mosque next to their residence. Tatar al-Ḥijāziyya built an extensive palace next to her extant madrasa in the Gamāliyya quarter of al-Qāhira. The palace was part of the endowment, and after her death it was rented by emirs.<sup>139</sup>

### Qijmās al-Ishāqī

Qijmas al-Ishāqī was a powerful emir in the late Mamluk period who led the pilgrimage in 883-884/1479.<sup>140</sup> He built his religious complex in a tight but very prominent location outside al-Qāhira. Located at a fork of the road in the *darb al-Aḥmar* area, it occupies a triangular site and part of it spans the street via a bridge.

Four surviving documents attest to Qijmas's acquisition of four plots of land for and around his mosque. All of the parcels were *waqf* properties belonging to different endowments, and their buildings stood in a ruined state. Qijmās acquired them through the legal instrument of *istibdāl* (exchange) over the course of five months. Three of these plots were valued at 1850 dinars, and Qijmās acquired them in exchange for a number of income earning properties in various parts of Cairo and valued at 2200 *dīnārs*.<sup>141</sup>

### Qurqumās

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<sup>139</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, 2:72.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, 3:146.

<sup>141</sup> Awqāf 684 (27 Dhul Ḥijja, 883/1479). A ruined property valued at 500 dinars is exchanged for one valued at 700 dinars.

Awqāf 680 (28 Muḥarram, 884/1479). A ruined property valued at 350 dinars is exchanged for one valued at 400 dinars.

Awqāf 689 (29 Rabi' Ākhar, 884/1479). The values of the exchanged properties in this document are not legible.

Awqāf 671 (10 Jamad 'Awal, 884/1479). A ruined *funduq* valued at 1000 dinars is exchanged for four properties valued at 1100 dinars. Renewed and made *waqf* by Qijmas in 29 \_\_, 886/1482.

It is possible that there was an element of coercion in these exchanges. During the late Mamluk period, many *waqf* properties were acquired after pressuring the overseers, witnesses, and judges.

The emīr Qurqumās built a pious complex in the cemetery that consisted of a madrasa, a mausoleum, a *khanqā*, a burial area, and a residence for the founder. This complex resembles the complex of Qāyrbāy in a number of ways. The relationship of the entry to the madrasa and the mausoleum is the same. The complex stands on the same side of the street, several hundred meters to the north. It also originally included a large residential block across the street. This was a line of sixteen *ṭabaqas* meant for the living of the *ṣūfīs*.<sup>142</sup> These units were larger than the nine on the side that has survived, and must have extended for at least 65 meters.

He financed his complex by a number of properties in the city. These properties were distributed in various parts of Cairo, and no particular pattern or logic is discernable. They included an extensive *wakāla* right across the street from the al-Ḥākim mosque.

## Conclusions

From the above examples, we can conclude that a religious complex of the Mamluk period was rarely built by itself, but was usually surrounded by other structures related to it. Typically these comprised commercial structures, but they could also include a form of subsidized housing if the structure stood outside the city, away from the economic centers. These residences in the cemetery began at the ground floor since there were no shops. In the city, the apartments rested on top of shops. Often *maq'ads* lined the exterior wall of the mosque itself to provide more commercial space.

The presence of many distant properties in endowments indicates that funds could be monitored and collected from far flung areas. In fact, a patron could have funded a pious complex exclusively by properties distant from the complex, such as agricultural lands and properties in other parts of the city.<sup>143</sup> However, the Mamluk patron preferred

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<sup>142</sup> Described in Awqaf 901 (1 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 906/1500). It consisted of a surrounding facade of cut stone, and another facade reached from a stone tunnel/vault. The second facade was in the *qiblī* direction from the *qiblī* facade reached from the tunnel. Sixteen doors each led to a storeroom with a latrine and a staircase which led to a small *ṭabaqa*, and a door which led to a *riwāq* with two *iwāns* and windows that looked out over the street between the place and the madrasa complex. Each of the *ṭabaqas* had a large lightwell that overlooked a yard in that direction. See App1: Awqāf 901: 2-4.

<sup>143</sup> The mosque of sultān Ḥasan in Cairo appears to have been funded almost exclusively by agricultural lands and villages in Egypt and Syria. Maḥkama 40 and 365 (15 Rabī'

to include properties directly adjacent to the pious complex. A number of reasons can be given for this. First, a complex represented an infusion of vast amounts of funds, in the form of salaries, supplies, and handouts into a specific area. This commitment to a specific area undoubtedly increases the value of land around the monument. It therefore made economic sense for the founder to capitalize on the appreciation by acquiring adjacent areas for commercial purposes. Second, there was a tangible connection between income generation and income consumption, with shop owners, and apartment dwellers well aware of what their payments were supporting. Third, the immediate and sensible relationship between the sources of income and the locus of its expenditure facilitated the role of the supervisor in terms of oversight and collection. Fourth, grouping the constructions allowed for a more monumental realization of the pietistic impulse.

It is difficult to compare the earnings from agricultural lands with that of urban constructions. In terms of quantity alone, many deeds list more rural lands than urban ones. Nonetheless, urban properties gave the endowments its identity and image with the pious foundation as a focus.

Two examples, representing two different extremes of the urban context of an endowment, provide further evidence of the conscious preference for a clustering of constructions around a pious building. The complexes of Qāyṭbāy and Qurqumās represent the first extreme. As buildings away from the commercial centers of the city and built on open land, each could have easily been built as a complete complex on one side of the street. Instead, the patrons preferred to locate some of the functions (primarily residential) across the street.

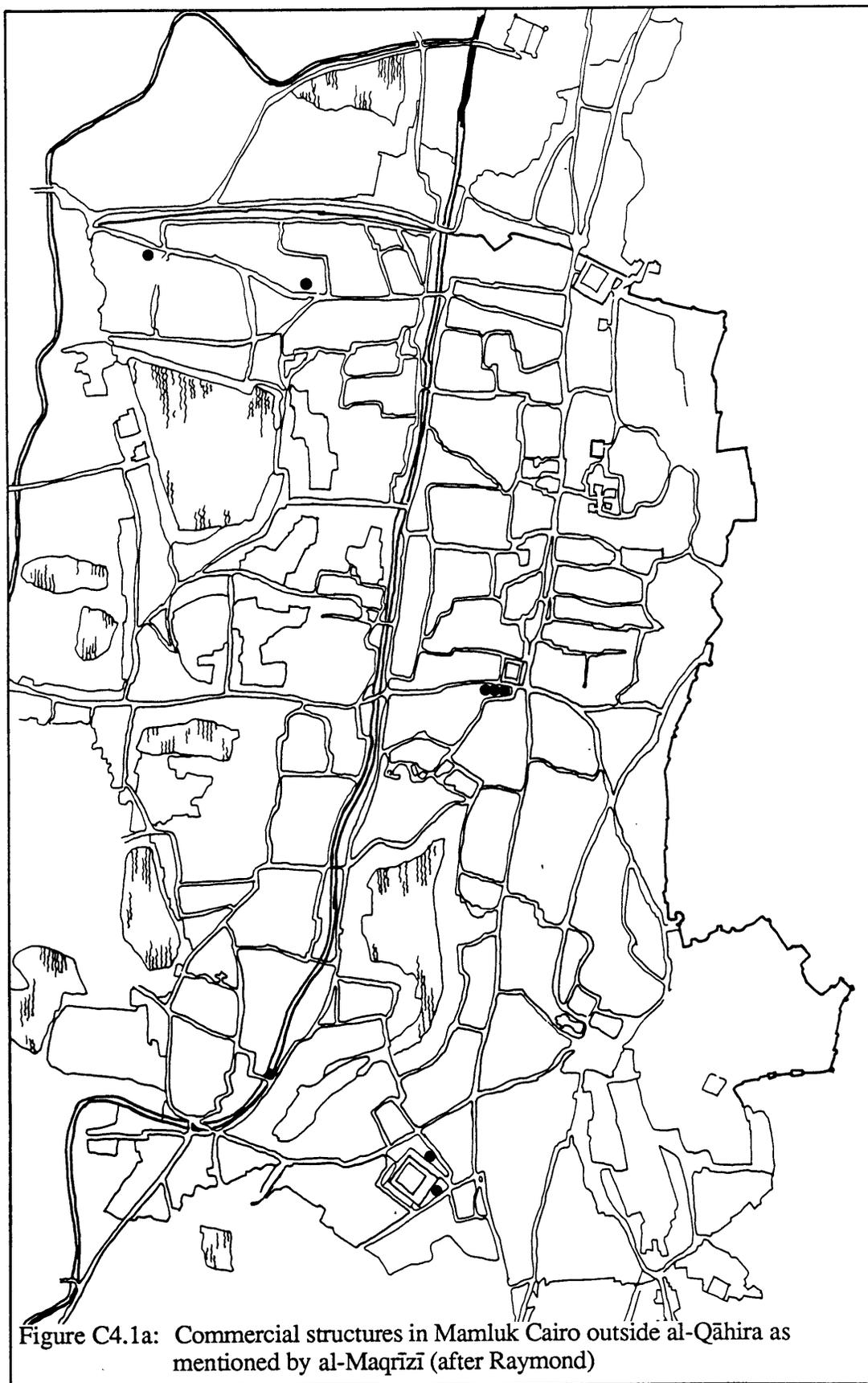
The foundation of Qijmās al-Iṣḥāqī represents the second extreme; a construction in an already crowded urban context. The four deeds documenting his acquisition of properties in the area for a price higher than their assessed value indicates the importance of making room for income generating properties around a pious foundation.

The Mamluk pattern of endowment indicates a sophisticated understanding of economic considerations in the city, and an awareness of both the economic and expressive potentials of the endowments. The Mamluks understood that a pious building served as a node that improved an area. The building of shops and apartments benefited directly from the improvement. At the same time, the Mamluks realized that a pious

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Ākhar, 760/1359).

building could not stand isolated in an underdeveloped area. The result of all these considerations was a geographically sensible patronage system. Clearly these were investments in the true sense of the word. The monument depended on its surrounding buildings for support, and the surrounding buildings benefited from the environmental improvements brought on by the mosque.



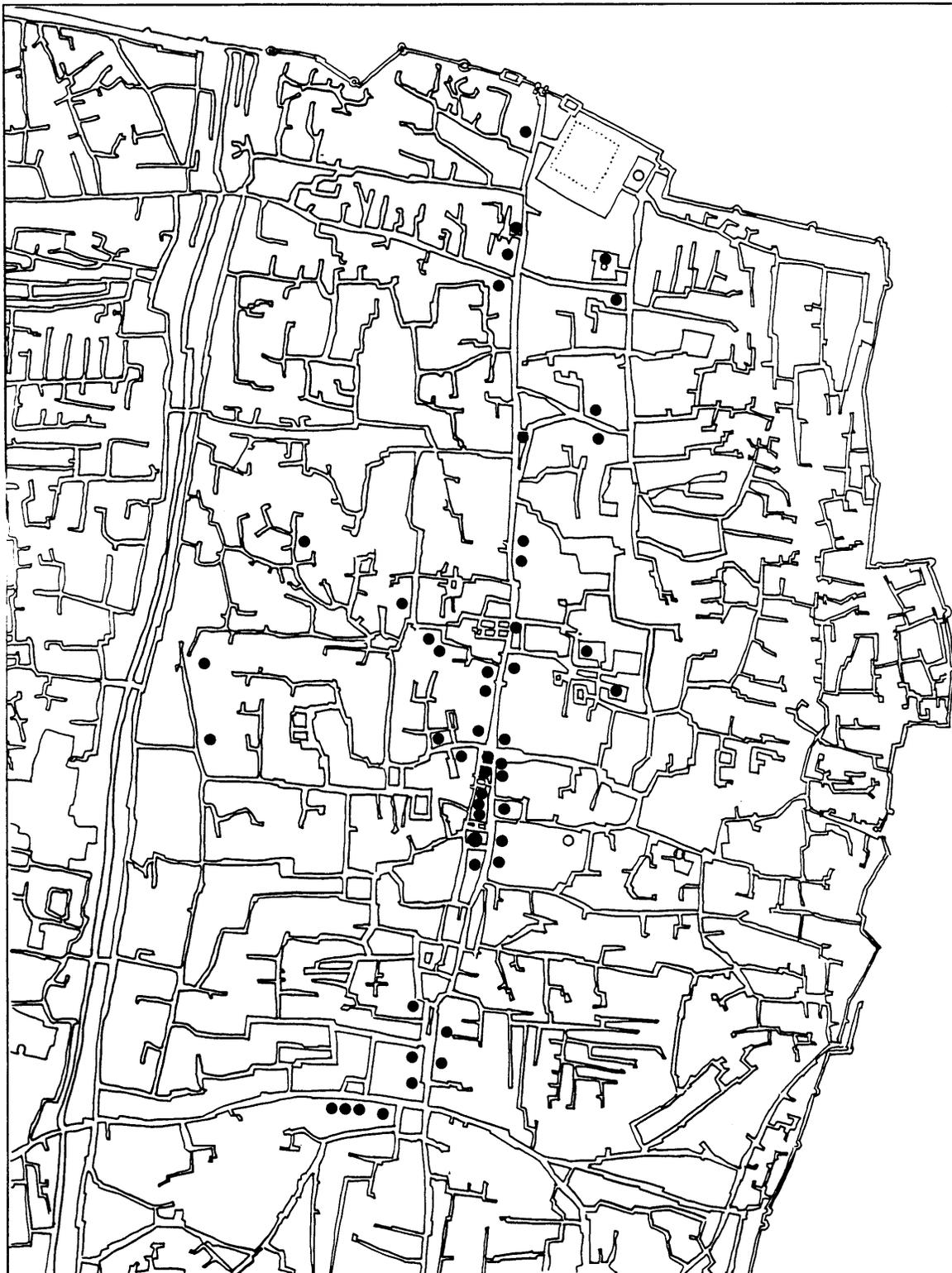


Figure C4.1b: Commercial structures in the Mamluk period inside al-Qāhira (after Raymond).

- At the time of al-Maqrīzī.
- After the time of al-Maqrīzī.



Figure C4.2: Distribution of residential (*rab'*) and commercial structures in Mamluk Cairo (after Raymond)

- Purely residential (*rab'*)
- ◐ Residential/commercial
- Commercial..



Figure C4.3: Endowments of Qalā'un:

- 1) Hospital. 2) Madrasa. 3) Mausoleum. 4) Qaysāriyya. 5) Qaysāriyya. 6) Line of shops. 7) Qaysāriyya. 8) Bathhouse. 9) Rab'.



Figure C4.4: Endowments of al-Ghūrī:

- 1) Madrasa. 2) Mausoleum, *sabīl-kuttāb*, and *khanqā*. 3) Ablution place. 4) Water well.
- 5) 45 shops of *sūq al-Jamalūn*. 6) Market (91 shops) and *rab'* (20 units). 7) *Wakāla*. 8) *Wakāla*. 9) *Khān al-Zarākisha*.

## Chapter 5

### To Sit in the *Majlis* or Look Out of the *Īwān*: Origin and Development of a Type

- 1 Emergence of the *rab'*
  - 1.1 Etymology
  - 1.2 Early uses of the term in Egypt
  - 1.3 Is a multi-storied building an apartment building?
  - 1.4 Proposed sequence and reasons for development
  - 1.5 Reasons for development
- 2 The Development of the Cairene *Qā'a*: Some Considerations
  - 2.1 The houses of Fuṣṭāṭ
  - 2.2 The houses of al-Qāhira
  - 2.3 The *majlis* vs. the *īwān*
  - 2.4 Changes in Cairene housing
  - 2.5 Transitional examples
    - 2.5.1 Deir al-Banāt
    - 2.5.2 *Qā'a* of Aḥmad Bey Kohya
- 3 Early *rab'* units
- 4 Reasons for the Development and Relationship Between Residential Types
  - 4.1 From *majlis* to *īwān*, and from watching the stars to looking at the ceiling

**4.2 From looking in to looking out**

**4.3 From two axes to one**

**4.4 From center to periphery**

**5 Summary**

I demonstrated in Chapter 1 that the *rab'* had for the most part stabilized as an architectural type by the period of the Burjī Mamluks. The variations cited in the discussion of examples in the second chapter did not reflect, for the most part, a development of the basic unit. Rather, they revealed how the type had already developed to accommodate a number of different social and economic contexts.

The present chapter investigates the history of this type. How far back in time were apartment buildings built in Egypt, and what did the early examples look like? Did they first appear in the Fāṭimid, Ṭulūnid, or early Islamic period? How did this type of residence develop, and what relationship did it have to other kinds of dwelling; contemporaneous with it and earlier ones? This chapter investigates whether the characteristics of miniaturization and rationalization, with which I characterized the relationship of the *rab'* apartment to the private residence, are also valid for the earlier periods. The investigation relies, to a large degree, on textual sources.

### Emergence of the *rab'*

In investigating the question of the origins of apartment constructions in Cairo, one can no longer assume that the term *rab'* always meant "apartment building," or that an apartment building was always known by the term *rab'*. It is therefore necessary to look for descriptions of buildings that could be interpreted as apartment buildings, as well as to look for early occurrences of the term by which the apartment buildings came to be known, namely the term *rab'*.

Figure C5.1 illustrates the possibilities that arise from this disassociation of label and form. Each of the five options depicts a relative time line that compares the meaning of the word *rab'* with the presence or absence of structures that would qualify as apartment buildings. The first three depict cases where the term *rab'* did not always mean "apartment building." The fourth and fifth describe two different cases where the term *rab'* did always mean "apartment building." An example of the last option is the word "television." The appearance of this term is chronologically coincident with the appearance of the television set. In such a case, a good way of dating the appearance of the physical object "television set" would be by identifying the appearance of the word "television" in the language.

### Etymology

The word *rab'* is an old Arabic word found in early Arabic lexicons. Al-‘Askarī

(d.> 395/1005) writes that, "a *dār* is also called a *rab'*, and saying that this is the *rab'* of such and such means their residence."<sup>144</sup> Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066) writes that, "a *rab'* is a *dār*."<sup>145</sup> In a *ḥadīth* attributed to 'Ā'isha, the Prophets wife, she is said to have wanted to sell her dwellings and used the word *ribā'* to refer to them.<sup>146</sup>

The word derives from the root *r\_b\_'*, which means to settle or become at ease. An early 14th century lexicon defines a *rrab'* of a group of people as the place where they reside. The plural, *ribā'*, means residences or properties. The word *al-rrab'u* means a group of people.<sup>147</sup>

These sources clarify that the word *rab'* and the other derivations from the same root did not have the specific meaning of an apartment building as it acquired during the Mamluk period. However, some of its many meanings revolved around the ideas of residence and a grouping of people. In the plural it referred to the property holdings of a person. Given that the name did not always refer to an apartment building, we are faced with one of the first three possibilities diagramed in Figure C5.1:

- 1) The point in time when the term came to be used to refer to apartment buildings was the point at which they appeared (Fig. C5.1a).
- 2) Apartment buildings existed before the usage of the term *rab'* changed to apply to them. In this case other evidence for the appearance of the apartment building is necessary (Fig. C5.1b).
- 3) The apartment buildings existed before the appearance of the term *rab'*, and when the term *rab'* appeared, it referred to something else and at a later point came to refer to the apartment building (Fig. C5.1c).

The third situation is unlikely since the word *rab'* is an old Arabic word and there is no evidence that apartment buildings existed that far back in Egypt.

### Early uses of the term in Egypt

Evidence of the architectural usage of the word *rab'* in Egypt appears as early as

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<sup>144</sup> Al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-ṭalkīṣ*, 1:255.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Sīda; *Kitāb al-mukhaṣṣ*, 116.

<sup>146</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wal-athar*. Ed. M. al-Ṭanāhī and Ṭ. al-Zāwī. 2:189.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311); *Lisān al-'arab* (The tongue of the Arabs), (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1956), 8:102.

11th century. The term occurs repeatedly in documents of the Geniza collection. Its usage in these and other Fāṭimid sources indicates that it did not refer to an apartment building per se. It seems to have referred to residential properties or estates in general, and perhaps also to other properties which earned rent.<sup>148</sup>

For example, one of the official positions in the Fāṭimid court was that of the "keeper of the *rab*" (*ṣāhib al-rab*). Al-Qalqashandī cites the text of the deed of investiture for that position, which enjoined the appointee to protect the royal *rab*'s in the Fāṭimid city (*al-qāhira al-Mu'izziyya*), oversee their conditions, extract their income from its inhabitants, see to their maintenance, and relay their revenue to the treasury. From this text, it is clear that this official was in charge of royal estates (*al-ribā' al-sulṭāniyya*) generating rental income. The word inhabitants in this context did not refer exclusively to residences/dwellings, but also to other forms of space occupation, such as shops, factories, and bathhouses.<sup>149</sup>

In another example, an accounting of construction costs, dated 506/1112-1113, indicates that the record was kept for the *rab*'s in the emiral register (*al-ribā' fī al-dīwān al-amīrī*).<sup>150</sup> The usage here is again that of estate.

In the later Fāṭimid and the Ayyūbid periods, the evidence is less equivocal on the usage of the term. Many descriptions still be referred to estates in general, but other cases seem to warrant a more specific reading of the term to mean apartment building.

In the *waqf* deed of the Ayyūbid sulṭān al-ʿĀdil, the word *rab*' appears repeatedly as part of the identification of the boundaries of a location, such as the saying that the *qiblī* side of the property ends to the *rab*' of Ibn Quraysh or the *rab*' of the Blessed Wall (*ribā' al-sūr al-mubārak*).<sup>151</sup> The word never identifies any of the locations being endowed, except once, even though they often included residences. This suggests that the term still

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<sup>148</sup> Goitein and Gill have noted that the word was used to refer to properties in a broader sense than in referring to a specific type of residential building. They translate the word as "compound" or "estate". S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 4:14.

<sup>149</sup> Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā* (Cairo: 1910-20) 10:449-450.

<sup>150</sup> ACh. 10217 (506/1112-1113). In the Papyrussammlung. I am indebted to Ms. Shaun Marmon for a knowledge of this document.

<sup>151</sup> This refers to the wall of Cairo, as rebuilt and extended by Saladin at the beginning of the Ayyubid period. Historians relate that he endowed a vast number of *rab*'s (*ribā'*) for the maintenance of the walls.

meant an "urban estate." The boundaries are identified as the estate of Ibn Quraysh or as that belonging to the wall of the city, and not as the apartment building of Ibn Quraysh or the apartment building of the city walls. In one case, a *rab'* property turns out to be a stable, and in another it was the lower part of a house.<sup>152</sup> Other than the shops, mills, and bathhouses, most of the urban properties are identified as a *dār*. This did not mean a house in the strict sense of the word, but referred to any large construction. Hence in one description a *dār* consisted of storerooms and upper level units.<sup>153</sup>

In his book on taxes, Al-Makhzūmī (d. 585/1189) provides a model of the document for recording a property's income, to be written by the official in charge of the *rab'*. This document includes the identification of the specific place (*dār*), the name of the representative in charge of renting it, the total rent of the inhabited parts of it, a detailing by unit (*manzil*), a listing of the property's *qā'as* and *ṭibāq* (plural of *ṭabaqa*), a mention of the ornament of each *manzil* and an inventory of its wooden members doors and other removable items, the name of the inhabitant, and the receipt of his rent. All this seems to fit a residential description. Yet, when giving a more specific example of the contents of such a document, al-Makhzūmī uses a shop (*ḥānūt*) for purposes of illustration.<sup>154</sup> So here again it seems that *rab'* was a term that covered a range of built rental properties.

The Iraqi physician and traveller, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bughdādī (557-668/1144-1217) visited Cairo before in 597-598/1200-1201. In his account of the troubles the city was facing in those years, he uses the word *rab'* in the plural and singular on more than one occasion. He remarks that one *rab'* containing around 50 units (*bayt*) was unoccupied, except for the four units of the guards.<sup>155</sup>

It is therefore clear that during the Fāṭimid period and through most of the Ayyūbid period, *rab'* did not refer specifically to an apartment building, but to the more general

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<sup>152</sup> Maḥkama 2 (29 Ramadan 613/1217).

<sup>153</sup> Maḥkama 2.

<sup>154</sup> Abul Ḥussain 'Alī bin Abī 'Amr 'Utmān b. Yūsuf al-Makhzūmī, *Al-minhāj fī 'ilm al-kharāj*, Ms. British Library no. Add. 23, 483. Text is cited in Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *La Capitale de l'Egypte a l'epoque Fatimide al-Qāhira et al-Fuṣṭāṭ, essai de reconstitution topographique*, unpublished PhD dissertation, (Paris: University of Paris, 1986), 3:726.

<sup>155</sup> 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bughdādī. *Kitāb al-ifāda wal-i'tibār fī al-umūr al-mushāhada wal-hawādith al-mu'āyana bi arḍ miṣr* (The book of benefit and wisdom in the observed matters and witnessed events in the land of Egypt), (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Majala al-Jadīda, 1931): 55, 58.

category of urban income generating properties. The word probably underwent a gradual change in its usage. This may have occurred earlier in some segments of the society, such as the popular level, than in the official registers. The question now is whether there was a formalized apartment dwelling at the early period when the word *rab'* had a more general meaning? I will address that after considering the evidence of early multi-level buildings in Cairo.

### Is a multi-storied building an apartment building?

As early as the 10th century, accounts of the urban settlement on the Nile mention multi-storied buildings. Speaking about Fustāṭ, the chronicler al-Iṣṭakhrī (fl. circa 339/950) remarks about the height of buildings which were in excess of seven levels.<sup>156</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 331-366/943-977) describes the houses (*dār*) of Fustāṭ as consisting of seven, six, and five levels (*ṭabaqāt*), with as many as 200 people living in a *dār*.<sup>157</sup> Al-Muqaddasī (d. >377/987) likens the four and five level buildings in Fustāṭ to minarets. He also writes that they were lit from the inside and that as many as 200 people lived in one *dār*.<sup>158</sup>

Nāṣir-e Khosrāw, who visited Egypt in 439/1047 speaks of buildings in Fustāṭ of seven and fourteen floors. He mentions hearing from "a reliable merchant" that the city had many buildings with rooms for rent, measuring thirty by thirty cubits and accommodating 350 people.<sup>159</sup> He stayed in a house in al-Qāhira of four levels, and he relates that the houses of this city were not adjacent to each other.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Abi Ishāq bin Muḥammad al-Farīsī Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik al-Mamālik*. Ed de Goeje (Leiden, 1870), (Cairo: 1961): 39.

<sup>157</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*. Ed. J.H. Kramers, (Leiden: 1938-9), p: 137 in Cairo edition.

<sup>158</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-'aqlīm* (The best of classification for the knowledge of regions), ed. De Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1906), second edition: 197. The statement about being lit from inside presumably means that the buildings had courtyards.

<sup>159</sup> Nāṣir-e Khosrāw, *Safarnameh*: 58. It is not clear whether the measurements and number of inhabitants refer to the whole building or to each room. The former seems more realistic, though in Thackston's edition it is translated it as referring to the rooms. W.M. Thackston, *Nāṣir-e Khosrāw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, published as number 36 in the Persian Heritage Series (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986): 53.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*: 50. Again Thackston's edition gives a different reading. In his translation it is

These accounts are difficult to reconcile with the archaeological evidence and the archival records starting from the 11th century. The houses excavated in Fuṣṭāṭ, dating roughly from the Ṭūlūnid and Fāṭimid periods (9th - 12th cent.), could not have stood higher than three levels.<sup>161</sup> These excavations are in a relatively limited area of the whole city and may not be representative. At the same time, the vast majority of residential buildings described in the documents from the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk periods consisted of two residential levels on top of a commercial level. On rare occasion we find a description of a building containing three residential levels above a commercial one.<sup>162</sup> This amounts to three or four floors, including the ground level--a far cry from the numbers conveyed by the historical accounts.

It is possible that the travellers counted each of the mezzanine levels present in a typical apartment as another floor. It is not unreasonable that they would have counted them as such because units often had two sets of windows on top of each other. Using such a convention, a building described by travellers as six storied would represent three residential units on top of each other, which corresponds with the heights recorded in the archives. The fourteen levels mentioned by Nāṣer-e Khusraw, however, cannot be reconciled with the archival descriptions.<sup>163</sup>

Another way to reconcile the difference between the early accounts of high buildings and the lower heights found in later documents supposes that the building stock had changed dramatically from high towers to lower and more closely knit fabric in the interim. That is, the kinds of buildings described as typical of Fuṣṭāṭ up to the 11th century differed from the buildings recorded in the Geniza documents and later deeds, namely those dating from the 11th century onwards. Goitein has proposed that the

not clear that Nāṣir-e Khosrāw stayed in this building.

<sup>161</sup> As argued by Antoni A. Ostraz based on the width of the open courtyards, in "The Archaeological Material for the Study of the Domestic Architecture at Fustat," *Africana Bulletin* 26 (Warszawa: 1977): 81-82.

<sup>162</sup> An example is a *funduq* in in *darb al-Aswāni* in al-Qāhira described in Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 717/1317-8). The *funduq* consisted of 8 store rooms inside and had three shops outside. The residences were reached from a separate door on the street. See App2: Maḥkama 26: 10-11.

<sup>163</sup> Another possibility is that there were additional floors built out of temporary materials which were not described in endowment deeds. This is unlikely to have been practiced extensively without some indication of it in the archival records.

buildings of the earlier historical accounts were tower houses similar to those still found in southern Arabia, reflecting the habits of the early Arab settlers in Egypt.<sup>164</sup>

### Proposed sequence and reasons for development

Even though the word *rab'* does not appear in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid documents in specific reference to apartment buildings, there is ample evidence of the existence of structures meant for the housing of a number of people. Some of the above mentioned accounts refer to multi-level buildings rented to hundreds of people. Detailed archival descriptions reveal that private residences often had two doors. One served the lower level (*sufl* or *qā'*), and the second served the upper level (*'ulu*). The latter sometimes consisted of a number of units (*manzils*, *ṭabaqas*, or *riwāqs*).

This second access differed from the one known as *bāb al-sirr* (secret door), commonly found in the houses of the Mamluk period. The *bāb al-sirr* served as an alternate entrance and exit to the same house, whereas the second door of these descriptions provided access exclusively to the upper floor of the house. There is no indication that one could reach the upper level residences from the lower level ones. A document of 717/1317, describes a *dār* as having two doors. The first led to a *qā'a* and the second to four *ṭabaqas*. This place was not identified as a *rab'*. It was called a *dār*.<sup>165</sup>

Based on the evidence outlined thus far, a sequence of development can be proposed that ties in general terms the form "apartment building" and the label *rab'*. The development occurred as a transformation of the courtyard house, which was probably the earliest type. At this early time, the term *rab'* referred to houses and estates in general. In response to the increase in the density of the city and its development as an important trading center, rooms in private houses were rented out. As this practice became more common, private residences were built with the prior conception that a part of them would be rented out. This was done by providing a separate entrance for the upper stories. At this time, the term *rab'* still referred to estates and properties. In time, buildings appeared that were exclusively for rent. The upper parts of residences were developed and built as entities onto themselves independent of what was below them. They were now built on top of other non-residential constructions. By the end of the Ayyūbid period, this type of construction came to be known as a *rab'*.

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<sup>164</sup> Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, 4:58-59.

<sup>165</sup> Maḥkama 26.

In trying to explain the development of this type of housing in Cairo we must keep in mind that the settlement was constrained by the Nile flood plain to the west and the desert and the Muqqaṭam hills to the east.<sup>166</sup> This constraint coupled with the intensely commercial character of the city resulted in a very dense fabric, with vertical extension as the reasonable solution.

The paying of rent for a dwelling or place of work was a common practice in many early Muslim cities. What eventually distinguished Cairo was the presence of full-fledged apartments built exclusively for that purpose. This must be taken as an indication of the existence of a sizable portion of the native population with cash resources. Their income was not sufficient to purchase or build their own residence within a reasonable distance from their employment, and they were not servants or dependents of any segment of society that would provide them with accommodations.

### The development of the Cairene qā'a: some considerations

I have explained the appearance of the apartment building as a formalization and transformation of the upper parts of the private dwelling. To discuss this further, especially in terms of what early apartments looked like, the changes in the residential architecture in general must be considered.

In a lecture delivered at Princeton University in 1947, the late K. A. C. Creswell discussed developments in the study of Islamic art. One of the questions he presented for resolution was how the Fuṣṭāṭ type of house gave way to that known as the Cairene type.<sup>167</sup> Almost forty years later, the question remains unanswered. While more excavations have been conducted since those cited by Creswell, they have all taken place in Fuṣṭāṭ and have not revealed anything indicating a transition to the later Cairene type.<sup>168</sup> At the same time, a number of new studies have greatly improved our awareness and

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<sup>166</sup> Any outward expansion had to be in a north south direction, and the northern one was the historical one, probably because that was the general direction of travel.

<sup>167</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, "Problems in Islamic Architecture," *The Art Bulletin* 35, no. 1 (March 1953): 1-7.

<sup>168</sup> Since the work of Aly Bahgat and Albert Gabriel, separate excavations have been conducted by Hassan al-Hawary, Gamal Mehrez, and George Scanlon. The archaeological evidence is well summarized in Antoni A. Ostrasz, "The Archaeological Material for the Study of the Domestic Architecture at Fustat," *Africana Bulletin* 26 (Warszawa: 1977): 57-86.

understanding of the Cairene residence dating from the Mamluk period.<sup>169</sup> The gap between the two--that is, the late Fāṭimid and the Ayyūbid periods--has remained outside our grasp.

The aim here is not to answer the question posed by Creswell, at least not definitively. Rather, I present new evidence that sheds light on the development in the residential architecture of Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ. This evidence has been gleaned primarily from archival sources, and has been complemented by the re-presentation of three extant buildings that are relevant to the subject at hand.

### The houses of Fuṣṭāṭ

The dwellings excavated in Fuṣṭāṭ represent the first of the two types of dwelling of relevance to the investigation of the changes in Cairene housing (Figure C5.2). The excavations by Bahgat, Scanlon, and others show that each of these houses, built in the Ṭūlūnid and Fāṭimid periods, consisted of a large courtyard which could not have been permanently covered. The courtyard contained one or more of what might be called *īwāns* opening onto it. More important, however, was the presence of an element, that may be superficially described as an *īwān* separated from the courtyard by a tripartite portico.

Creswell called this arrangement the T-plan or the Sāmarrā *bayt*, as it was found in Abbāsīd Sāmarrā.<sup>170</sup> Typically there were two of them on opposite sides of the courtyard. The openings on the remaining sides of the court were often positioned so as to maintain a symmetry in the elevation of the courtyard walls. The courtyards have a major axis, and a minor cross axis. The T-plan element(s) formed the major axis, and smaller side *īwāns* formed the other.<sup>171</sup> The spaces around the court depended on the courtyard for their light,

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<sup>169</sup> For an early survey, see Edmond Pauty, *Les palais et les maisons de l'époque musulmane du Caire* (Cairo: 1933). For a study of early Mamluk residences, see Alexandre Lezine, "Les salles nobles des palais Mamelouks," *Annales Islamologiques* 10 (Cairo: I.F.A.O., 1972): 63-148. For an architectural survey of the medieval residences in Cairo, see Jacques Revault and Bernard Maury, *Palais et maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle* 4 vols. (vol. 3 in collaboration with Mona Zakariya and vol. 4 by B. Maury only), published in the series: *Memoires ... de l'I.F.A.O.*, vols. 96, 100, 102, 108, (Cairo: Impr. de l'I.F.A.O., 1975, 1977, 1979, & 1983). For an analytical and synthetic study, see Jean-Claude Garcin et al, *Palais et maisons du Caire* (Paris: editions du C.N.R.S., 1982).

<sup>170</sup> K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932-40) 1:121, 128.

<sup>171</sup> The degree of biaxiality varies from building to building. Some, such as House VI

as they were often surrounded by building on the other three sides. The size and arrangement of this T-plan element suggests that it was the most important element in the houses of Fuṣṭāṭ. The courtyard of this house served as a distribution point to most other parts of the residence. From the *dūr-qā'a* one reached the latrine, other rooms besides the T-plans, and the upstairs spaces.

Laila Ibrahim, in concurring with Creswell in pointing out the similarity of the Fuṣṭāṭ plan with the plans of the residential units uncovered in Sāmarrā, has suggested that this plan was most likely introduced into Egypt from Iraq in the time of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn, who had been sent to Egypt as representative of the Abbāsīd Caliph in 254/868. According to the very interesting and unique account by the 10th-century historian al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/957), this unit had been adopted in Sāmarrā from the Ḥīrā region of northern Iraq only a few years before, under the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-247/847-861). The importance of his account warrants its citation in full:

And al-Mutawakkil originated in his days a construction that people had not known. And it is known as the *ḥīrī* with two sleeves and (several) porticos (*kummayn wa arwiqa*). And it is that one of his storytellers told him that a Nu'mānī king of al-Ḥīrā from Banī Naṣr introduced a building in his habitat which was al-Ḥīrā, in the image of war and its form because of his fascination with it and his leaning towards it, so that its memory would not part from him at all times. And so the portico had in it the seat (*majlis*) of the king which is the chest (*ṣadr*) with the two sleeves (*kummān*) to the left and right. And in the two *bayts* that are the pair of sleeves would be his close attendants (*khawāṣṣ*), and in the right of the two of them is the clothing closet (*khazānat al-kiswa*) and in the left what is needed of drink. And the space of the portico is taken up/permeated by the chest (*ṣadr*) and the two sleeves, and the three doors are over the portico. And this construction was called to this day "the *ḥīrī* with two sleeves" in reference to al-Ḥīrā. And the people followed al-Mutawakkil's lead in this and it became famous to this end.<sup>172</sup>

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are clearly axial in layout. Others, such as House III are more bi-axial. For a detailed discussion of the axiality of the different houses, see Ostrasz, "The Archaeological Material," 72-77.

<sup>172</sup> My translation from Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar* (Beirut: Dar al-Andalus, 1966) 4:4-5; Cited in L. Ibrahim, "Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo," *Muqarnas* 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984): 59, nt: 32. My translation is more literal than that of Ibrahim to leave open the

The ramifications of this evocative account deserve extensive analysis. I cite it here, however, for the purpose of later showing that the connection between the type of residence described by al-Mas'ūdī and that found in Fustāṭ was a contemporary one and not just the result of our finding similarities in the plans from Fustāṭ and Samarrā.

### The houses of al-Qāhira

The Mamluk residence from the the mid-14th century represents the second type of residence of relevance to the discussion of the development of the Cairene house. As a more recent type with numerous extant examples, it is better documented. The main characteristics of this type of house have already been dealt with in Chapter 1. The area of the Mamluk house analogous to the courtyard of the Fustāṭ house is not the open yard. The kind of order seen in the Fustāṭ houses was found in the *qā'a* of the Mamluk house with its covered *dūr-qā'a*.<sup>173</sup> Light entered the *qā'a* from a number of sources, including the clerestory around the *dūr-qā'a*, windows at the end of *īwāns*, and other openings off the side of the *dūr-qā'a* and the *īwāns*.

The *dūr-qā'a* of the Cairene *qā'a* also served as a distribution point to other spaces, but not to the same degree as the uncovered courtyard of the Fustāṭ house. However, it is not a cul-de-sac in the way that we have seen in the *rab'* units.

A number of questions present themselves at this point. Where there apartment units to speak of at the time that the private residence consisted of T-shaped spaces opening onto an uncovered courtyard? If so, did these apartments resemble the private residence of their time, in the same way that later apartment units resembled Mamluk houses? In other words, was an apartment always a miniaturization and rationalization of the private dwelling? Finally, did both types of dwellings undergo the change from T-plan to *īwān* at the same time, or was there a significant time lag?

I will show, by looking more closely at the T-plan and *īwān* elements, that the change from a residence based on the former to one based on the latter was not a trivial one. It was not simply a matter of removing a portico and ending up with an *īwān*, and it

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interpretation of some of the terms.

<sup>173</sup> Bi-axial *qā'as* are very rare in the Mamluk period. The side opening are vestiges of *īwāns*. In religious buildings, we see a greater degree of bi-axiality in the layout of the central space.

should not be seen as a stylistic choice between similar elements.

### The *majlis* vs. the *īwān*

My analysis of the changes relies on documents that span the period from the 11th century through the whole Mamluk period. It is therefore important to identify the contemporary name of the so-called T-plan element or the Sāmarrā *bayt*. Early Mamluk *waqfs* and Solomon Goitein's work on the Geniza documents reveal that the primary candidate for the name of this unit is *majlis*, an Arabic word from the root *jalasa*, to sit. The term literally means a seat, a place of sitting, or a gathering of people. As such, most scholars have interpreted its usage as referring to the act of gathering and not to the space in which the gathering happened. Those that took it to refer to a space did not generally see it as having a specific form. They have simply translated it as an "audience hall" or "sitting room".<sup>174</sup> In the few instances where scholars understood it as referring to a specific kind of space, they misinterpreted it as some kind of *īwān*.<sup>175</sup> Goitein remains the main exception who has correctly identified the term with the main element of the Fustāṭ house.<sup>176</sup>

A Geniza document dated by Goitein at around 1190 A.D. describes a house in Fustāṭ as containing a large *qā'a* consisting of two *majlises* opposite each other. According to the document, folding doors with carved soffits and exteriors covered each *majlis*. Each also contained a marble panelled windcatcher (*bādāhanj*) with folding doors. One *majlis*, described as longish with marble-covered walls, contained two carved wooden *maqta's* (lateral section or screen?). Each *maqta'* had a door leading to a single sleeve (*fardat kumm*) adjacent to it (We note here the use of the word *kumm* or sleeve, which had appeared in al-Mas'ūdī's account). The *qā'a* also contained two *ṣuffas* facing each other--recesses in the remaining two sides of the courtyard which are probably what have been

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<sup>174</sup> For example see J. Bloom, "The Origins of Fatimid Art," *Muqarnas* 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985): 28.

<sup>175</sup> For example see J.C. Garcin, "Habitat Médiéval et Histoire Urbaine a Fustāṭ et au Caire," *Palais et Maison du Caire*, 1:143-216. The plan on page 172 labels both the *īwān* and the *majlis* in a Cairene building (Deir al-Banāt) as a *majlis*. This building will be discussed below. The plan on page 179 labels the smaller of the two *īwāns* in another Cairene building as a *majlis*.

<sup>176</sup> Solomon Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 4 *Daily Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983): 65.

understood as the small *īwāns* in the Fustāṭ houses. The courtyard, apparently unroofed, contained a fountain and had marble floors and walls.<sup>177</sup>

Documents repeatedly mention folding doors of carved wood over the *majlis* and its sleeves (*'alayhī wa 'alā kummayh abwāb manqūsha* or *'alayhī wa 'alā kummayh abwāb miṭwāh*).<sup>178</sup> We may conclude, therefore, that doors were a common feature of this architectural element, though in some cases a *majlis* is explicitly described as having no doors. Often in such cases, the description explains that the facade of the *majlis* was supported on two columns or four double columns.<sup>179</sup>

Two deeds dated 658/1260 and 684/1285, refer to the *majlis* element by the full name of *al-majlis al-ḥīrī bi kummayn*, which translates as "the Ḥīrī type of *majlis* with a pair of sleeves."<sup>180</sup> This corroborates al-Mas'ūdī's account in its indication that it was commonly accepted that this type of unit had been taken from al-Ḥīrā. Further confirmation comes from the thematic dictionary of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. after 395/1005), who defines the word *'araqa* as "the piece of wood that crosses the door of the Ḥīrī." In a footnote, the editor states that the word *majlis* appears near the word *al-ḥīrī*.<sup>181</sup> Since the manuscript he edited is a copy made in the 6th-7th century/12th-13th century from an original that had marginal notes by Abū Maṣṣūr Mawḥūb al-Jawālīqī, a linguist

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<sup>177</sup> Geniza document in the Taylor-Schechter collection TS K 25, f. 251. Published by S. D. Goitein, "A Mansion in Fustat: a Twelfth Century Description of a Domestic Compound in the Ancient Capital of Egypt," *The Medieval City*, edited by Harry Miskimin et al (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1977): 163-178. The description given is my translation from the Arabic text provided by Goitein of an Arabic document written in Hebrew characters, as is the case with most of the Geniza material. Here again, I present a more literal translation of the text.

<sup>178</sup> For mention of a *majlis* with doors over it and its sleeves, see in the Dar al-Wathā'iq collection: Maḥkama 4 (24 Dhul Qi'da, 637/1240), Maḥkama 7 (12 Rajab, 659/1261), Maḥkama 11 (24 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 668/1269). The date given with each document is that of the earliest deed in the document.

<sup>179</sup> For mention of a *majlis* without doors over it and supported on columns, see in the Ministry of Waqfs collection, Awqāf 706 (23 Dhul Ḥijja, 684/1286).

<sup>180</sup> Karaite documents numbers 5 and 17 as summarized in Richards, "Arabic Documents," 109, 112.

<sup>181</sup> Al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-talkhīṣ*, 1:296 and n. 1. Incidentally, the word *ḥīrī* is not defined in this lexicon, which along with its citation as part of the definition of another term (*'araqa*) indicates that it was widely known and therefore did not need explanation.

from Baghdad who died in 540/1145,<sup>182</sup> the word *majlis* is most likely a clarification from that date at the latest.

In fact, rereading many of the well-known sources for Islamic history with this revised understanding of the word *majlis*--as an architectural space of known characteristics and not as a generic seat or gathering--not only supports this revision, but more importantly, results in a better understanding of those texts. For instance, in his memoirs, the Syrian amir 'Usāma Ibn Munqidh, relates an incident that occurred while in Cairo from 1144 to 1154. He was a guest of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ and was staying in a house in al-Qāhira. During a day of civil strife in the city, a Sudanese, fleeing some attackers, reached the top of 'Usāma's house and jumped off the edge of the *qā'a* to a high fig tree growing in the court. He climbed down, entered from a sleeve (*kumm*) of a *majlis* near him and, after stepping on a copper light fixture, hid behind luggage in the *majlis*.<sup>183</sup> Clearly the court of this house that contained a *majlis* was not covered.

We also find the word *majlis* in a number of stories in *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa layla*) in a number of contexts: one enters a *majlis*, or someone is outside the door of the *majlis*. The word *īwān* also appears, but in different stories, and its context is quite distinct from that of *majlis*. One ascends to the *īwān*, and doors are never associated with it.<sup>184</sup>

The *majlis* also appears repeatedly in the more established historical sources, such as in the descriptions of the Fāṭimid palaces and ceremonials that have come down to us through the works of al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī. A *majlis* is noted as the main element of what was called Qā'at al-Dhahab (Golden Qā'a) in the Fāṭimid palace, built by the Caliph al-'Azīz (365-386/975-996) and renewed in 428/1037 by al-Mustanṣir (427-487/1036-1094). During the reign of al-Āmir (495-524/1101-1130), it replaced the great *īwān* as the site of the primary audiences of the Fāṭimid court. Ibn al-Ṭuwair's account of the Caliph's twice-weekly audience portrays him enthroned inside the *majlis* while the *wazīr* and the rest of the court stand outside. The doors of the *majlis* are closed with

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., editor's introduction, 1:18.

<sup>183</sup> 'Usāma Ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I'tibār* edited by Philip Hitti (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1930): 9-10.

<sup>184</sup> *Kitāb alf layla wa layla* (The Book of a Thousand and One Nights) edited by Muḥsin Maḥdī (Leiden: Brill, 1984): nights numbers 166, 172, 149\*, 151\*, 158\*, and 159\* for *majlis* and nights numbers 34 and 216 for *īwān*. I am indebted to Mr. Mohammad Al-Assad for most of these references.

curtains draped over it. At a signal given by the guardian of the *majlis* (*ṣāhib al-majlis*), the two attendants pull the drapes, revealing the Caliph inside. After verses from the Qur'ān are read, the *wazīr* enters the *majlis* and greets the Caliph.<sup>185</sup>

Important to my argument for the formal specificity of the term *majlis* is that it practically disappears from the descriptions of buildings found in later deeds in Egypt. When used in later documents, it invariably refers to older buildings that are either in ruin or under renewal, with the *majlis* being converted into an *īwān*.<sup>186</sup> This implies a close

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<sup>185</sup> As transmitted by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, 1:385-386, and al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, 3:494-496.

<sup>186</sup> An example of such a renovation is found in Awqāf 627 (23 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 753/1352), which describes a house located outside al-Qāhira below the citadel. When the property is sold in 753/1352, it contained a "hanging" *qā'a* that consisted of a *majlis* and an *īwān*. When it is made *waqf* in 15 Shawāl, 832/1429, the same place is described as a *riwāq* consisting of two *īwāns*. One of them is large and the second is smaller. The smaller *īwān* had a clothing closet in it. A small deed attesting to a sale dated 15, Rabī' al-Awal, 79(6)/1394 refers to "what was renewed" as part of the sale. The conversion of the *majlis* into an *īwān* may well have been part of this renewal. If so, then it would have happened before 796/1394. See App2: Awqāf 627: 1-6.

Another example is documented in Awqāf 624 (3 Rabī' al-Awal 810/1407). Here, a recently renovated house is described in both its pre- and post-renovation states. The first description says that it consisted of a *qā'a* and a large *ṭabaqa* and related spaces. Each of the *qā'a* and the *ṭabaqa* consisted of an *īwān*, a *dūr-qā'a*, and a *majlis*. After renovation, the place consisted of a *qā'a* and two *ṭabaqas*. The *qā'a* seems unchanged except for the addition of doors that were missing over its *majlis*. The *ṭabaqa*, on the other hand, is replaced by two *ṭabaqas*, each of the single-*īwān* type. See App2: Awqāf 624: 1-2.

Another example is found in an endowment deed dated 1 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 837/1433. Here one of the properties had a *ṭabaqa* consisting of an *īwān* and a *majlis*, which was then converted into a double-*īwān riwāq* with the converted one described as small (*laṭīf*). This was a residence outside al-Qāhira in *khuṭṭ darb* bin al-Bābā in the Ṣalībiyya area. It consisted of a stable, *riwāq* and two *ṭabaqas*. The stable had place for four horses. Another door led upstairs to a *riwāq* that used to be a *ṭabaqa*. The two *ṭabaqas* are above the *riwāq* and had not been finished at the time. Awqāf 188, ll: 206-214 See App2: Awqāf 188: 13.

Yet another case of the conversion of a *majlis* into an *īwān* is documented in Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāsiṭat 'aqd al-amṣār* (Bulaq: 1893) 4:96-7. Here the *ustadār* 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Maghribī rented a property in Fuṣṭāṭ in 654/1256 and built on it a house with an eastern *īwān* and a western *majlis*. The property changed hands twice and ended up with *al-ṣāhib* 'Izz al-Dīn who tore down the *majlis*, raised its roof and rebuilt it as an *īwān*. All of this was prior to the end of 677/1279 when the property changed hands again. I am

association between the term and the form, since the term dropped out of use with the gradual disappearance of the form. It was not forgotten, however, presumably in part because a number of examples of it continued to exist.

There might be justification for extending a typologically specific reading of the term further back in time. We may, for instance, interpret al-Mas'ūdī's text as distinguishing the *ḥūrī* type from a type of *majlis* built prior to al-Mutawakil's innovation. With time, the *ḥūrī* qualifier would have been dropped as that type became the predominant form, and it was referred to simply by the term *majlis*.

The Geniza document discussed earlier described a residential unit comprising two *majlises* facing each other across a courtyard. On the other hand, a number of early documents in the *Awqāf* collections describe the main parts of a house as consisting of an *īwān* and a *majlis* with a *dūr-qā'a* in between.<sup>187</sup> Thus at different points in time Cairo had houses with *majlises*, houses made up of *īwāns*, and houses combining a *majlis* and an *īwān*. In the more grandiose houses, the *qā'a* consisted of up to four main spaces. The *qā'a* of a large house belonging to Ardakīn consisted of two *majlises*, an *īwān*, and a deep *ṣuffa*.<sup>188</sup>

Having learnt more about the *majlis* from the documents, and having seen it coexist in some buildings with the *īwān*, it is necessary to review the main characteristics of the two forms.

The *majlis* depended on the courtyard for its light and view. This is because it did not have windows in its back wall, and its only openings were the doors onto the courtyard. These doors (particularly the high central one) served as the inlet of light and also provided privacy. The *īwān* is quite the opposite. It never had doors onto the *dūr-qā'a* and surprisingly it typically had windows looking out on the street. It received light from both directions and was more public in comparison to the *majlis* because it was visually directly accessible from the *dūr-qā'a*.

This is a very peculiar and somewhat contradictory situation. One would expect the *īwān*, that was so open to the interior of the house, to be closed off from the outside and

indebted to Nasser Rabbat for this reference.

<sup>187</sup> Karaite 5, Karaite 17, Maḥkama 4, Maḥkama 7, and Maḥkama 11 as cited above.

<sup>188</sup> Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabi' al-Ākhar, 707/1308 ). See App2: Maḥkama 26: 1-2.

not have windows in its back wall.<sup>189</sup> Similarly, we would expect that the *majlis*, which was somewhat removed from the *dūr-qā'a* by the screen wall and could have been closed off completely, would have openings on the other side. This paradox suggests that, along with the change from one form to the other, other factors determined the final treatment of each of them, and that these factors operated at roughly the same time that one form was dropped for the other.

### Changes in Cairene housing

A statistical survey of the archival documents provides a clear picture of the constitution of houses during the late Fāṭimid, Ayyubid, and early Mamluk periods--that is, during the period when the changes are occurring. I have compiled descriptions for 917 residential units located in 88 residential properties or compounds.<sup>190</sup> A compound may be a large house, apartment building, or other structure and would normally consist of lower-level units, going by the name of *qā'a*, and upper-level units, going by the name *ṭabaqa*, *riwāq*, or *manzil*. I have summarized this information in two different formats.

The first format, shown in Figure C5.3, presents information on different types of units by the date of the document in which they are described. The information is aggregated into 50-year increments, except for the period 1150-1250 A.D. which is aggregated into 100 years because of the relative scarcity of descriptions from this period. The graph shows what percent of the units mentioned in the documents within a given time period were of the single-*majlis*, the double-*majlis*, the *majlis-īwān*, the double-*īwān*, or the single-*īwān* type. To maintain the distinction between the lower- and upper-level units, they are shown on two different lines. All the *qā'as* described in one time period are represented by a bar of a unit dimension with its differently shaded subdivisions indicating the different types of *qā'as* that fall in that time period. In other words, the shaded subdivisions of each bar indicate what percent of the *qā'as* of a given time period are of the single-*majlis* type, the double-*majlis* type, the *majlis-īwān* type, the double-*īwān* type, or the single-*īwān* type. The same system is followed in representing the information about

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<sup>189</sup> In fact the treatment of the *īwān* in other parts of the Muslim world, is much more as an introverted form. This can still be seen in the *īwāns* of surviving Damascene houses.

<sup>190</sup> The descriptions are taken from the following 40 documents: Maḥkama numbers 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 26, 32, 33, 38, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 56, 229, 274, and 366; Awqāf numbers 67, 153, 184, 531, 610, 623, 627, 651, 706, and 1143 *mukarrar*; Karaite numbers 5 and 17; Geniza number TS K 25, f. 251; and document number A.Ch. 10727 in the Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library.

the composition of the upper-level units (*manzil*, *ṭabaqa*, or *riwāq*) of each compound. The two numbers separated by a slash and appearing above each time period indicate respectively the number of units and the number of properties in that sample.

The information in this graph can be seen as potentially representing the constitution of the housing stock in Cairo at different points in time. I say potentially because we must first consider the extent to which the extant archives represent the housing stock in Cairo. The answer to such a consideration lies in two questions: to what extent were inhabited residential buildings represented in documents, and to what extent do surviving documents reflect the original archival collection?

The different types of documents that were kept as records directly pertaining to buildings were many and have been discussed in Preliminary Remarks I. A rental property would appear repeatedly in rent contracts which were usually annual. As such, they would seem to be an ideal record for our purposes, but very few of them survive. Owner-occupied buildings did not appear in rent contracts, but it is likely that many of them were eventually made *waqf* and would therefore be represented in *waqf* deeds, which constitute the vast bulk of the extant archival collection. Although buildings appeared less frequently in sale contracts than in rental ones, a sizable number of sale contracts exists, though most document properties that subsequently became *waqf*.<sup>191</sup> At the end of its life, a *waqf* property, if delapidated, may appear in an exchange deed, a few of which survive.

Even if it can be established that the extant archives reflect a representative picture of the kind and relative number of properties built in Cairo, some of the newer buildings described would have to be excluded from the sample before it can be taken as a direct representation of the housing stock at different points in time. To understand why this is so, let us assume that all the extant deeds referred to buildings that had just been built, as is often the case with mosques or madrasas. In such a situation, the descriptions could not be taken as indicating the general state of mosques or madrasas, but only the state of the new ones. Ideally, therefore, our sample for a given period would not include a greater proportion of newly built residences than would have been newly built at the time.

While it is not yet possible to know how representative the extant records are, it is my impression that they are biased toward newer constructions. This is due to the

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<sup>191</sup> For an extensive study of sale documents with texts of some sixty deeds, see the unpublished dissertation of Zaynab Maḥfūz Hanā, *Wathā'iq al-bay' fī miṣr khilāla al-'aṣr al-mamlūkī* (Sale Documents in Egypt During the Mamluk Period), Ph.D. dissertation no. 2336 (Cairo: Cairo University, 1977).

relatively greater number of waqf deeds, which do not give much information about those buildings several hundred years old that did continue to exist.

The first format, which presents the housing stock in Cairo at different periods in time, imposes a number of limitations on the kinds of questions we can ask about the movement from a *majlis*-based to an *īwān*-based residential architecture. Though it demonstrates that the change did occur, it masks some information that could be relevant to understanding the reasons for the change. Because we are looking at the state of the housing stock at different periods of time, and not at the building activity, we do not know whether we are seeing the result of a sudden and universal change in building taste under slow building rates, or the result of a very slow change in building tastes under rapid building activity. Either could yield the same rate of change in the state of the housing stock.

Taking a more ambitious direction, we could consider what was being built at what time rather than what existed at a given point in time. This would require our looking at the dates of construction rather than the dates of description. With knowledge of these we could trace the era and location of changes as well as the pace at which they spread throughout the society. Such information could indicate how resistant the tradition was to change: did both types continue being built for some time, or was it a sudden shift as if following a decree or a building regulation? The task, then, would be to find out the age of each building at the time of the deed, so that it can be put in its proper chronological order. The obstacles to this are numerous, however. Unlike pious buildings, which were usually built by the founder, income-generating buildings, of which the houses are a part, were often purchased from someone else, inherited from a parent, or acquired in some other way; thus their age at the time of a deed could vary extensively.

We can make some headway by a close reading of the texts, which occasionally hint at the state of the building at the time of the deed. Some indicators are such descriptions as *al-dār al-mustajadda*, a "renewed residence," or *muzminat al-binā'*, of "old construction." In other cases, parts of a building are in some state of ruin, which we might in general ascribe to age rather than to some specific recent calamity. Relative descriptors are helpful, but they do not give a concrete indication of the number of years involved. In a few instances, however, the property discussed is famous enough to be mentioned in other historical sources that indicate its age. For example, the *qaysāriyya* of Jaharkas is

described in detail in a deed dated 707/1307.<sup>192</sup> We learn from Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir via al-Maqrīzī that this building is attributed to the amir Fakhr al-Dīn Jaharkas, who built it in 592/1196, about 110 years before the deed that describes it.<sup>193</sup> Another example is the *qaysāriyya* of Banī Hāshim, of which we have a description in a *waqf* deed dated 795/1393.<sup>194</sup> Again with the help of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir via al-Maqrīzī, we learn that this building was attributed to Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Quraysh, who had renewed it. He lived from 572-643/1177-1245, and so we can use the date of 1210 as an approximate date of his work, which is about 180 years before its deed.<sup>195</sup>

At this point in the research, I have used an adjustment age of five years for renewed buildings, ten years for unspecified buildings, and fifty years for older buildings. Using these fairly conservative estimates, the result is Figure 3. The pitfalls of this method are numerous. I have already mentioned that it requires knowledge of the date of construction. It also assumes that we can ascribe a single date to a whole compound--a tenuous assumption. It is clear from the documents that the upper floors were more likely to deteriorate than the lower levels. Given this, it is reasonable to assume that the upper parts of a house generally represent a later building date than the lower parts.<sup>196</sup> To correct for this in our graph, we would have to show different dates for the two parts of the building. Similarly, to lump all the *qā’a* units of a single residence in one time period may also be incorrect. The compound may have been assembled from a number of properties of different ages, and some may have been rebuilt more recently. These are all considerations that mitigate the usefulness of the information as presented so far.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Maḥkama 20 (14 Muḥarram 707/1307).

<sup>193</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ* 2:87-88.

<sup>194</sup> Awqāf 153 (18 Rajab, 795/1393).

<sup>195</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, 2:93. The *qaysāriyya* is mentioned as one of the boundaries of a property in Maḥkama 2 (dated 19 Ramaḍān 613/1216), so the building was up by then.

<sup>196</sup> The fourth property described in Maḥkama 16 (dated 27 Rajab, 687/1288) contains a *qā’a* and two *ṭabaqas*. The *ṭabaqas* are described as renewed and their construction was not yet complete (*mustajada lam takmal ‘imāratihā yawma’idh*).

<sup>197</sup> Actually two other considerations bias the data given above, stemming from the vicissitudes of my work on the Cairo archives on three different occasions. In the first two efforts, my emphasis was on later deeds (mostly after 784/1382) and descriptions of apartment buildings. During the third period of research, my emphasis was on the *majlis* and its characteristics, resulting in less attention to descriptions of *īwān*-based units in the same deeds. This incompleteness keeps me from putting forth the further conclusions that one is tempted to read from the graphs. I hope to rectify this situation in a future encounter

Despite all of these qualifications, we can still see some clear developments. First, there was a gradual change from the *majlis*-based residential unit to an *īwān*-based unit. This transformation went through an intermediate form where the *majlis* and the *īwān* were both present in the same unit. Second, the upper-level units, which tend to be smaller, underwent a more immediate change from a single *majlis* to a single *īwān*. Third, the intermediate *majlis-īwān* configuration appears to have been the preferred configuration for large *qā'as* built in the hundred years between 1250 and 1350.

### Transitional examples

Two buildings in Cairo fit the description of the transitional *qā'a* to a remarkable degree. They appear to consist of both a *majlis* and an *īwān*. These are the Convent of St. George known as Deir al-Banāt and the mosque of Aḥmad Bey Kohya.<sup>198</sup>

#### Deir al-Banāt

Deir al-Banāt (Fig. C5.5a, b) is not firmly dated but is believed to be from the Ayyubid period. It is presumed to have been a house that was converted to a convent.<sup>199</sup> Its *dūr-qā'a* has an *īwān* on one side, and a tripartite facade on the other side. Doors cover the three openings. The middle opening is the largest and its doors are of the folding type. The central section of this tripartite division is presently a chapel. We now can be sure that this space is a *majlis*.

#### Qā'a of Aḥmad Bey Kohya

The mosque of Aḥmad Bey Kohya is one of a number of examples in Cairo of residential *qā'as* that were subsequently converted to a mosque/madrasa (Fig C5.6a-d). This contrasts with those *qā'as* built initially as mosques or madrasas which are therefore properly oriented toward Mecca. This *qā'a*, dated by the Comité de Preservation des Monuments Arabes to 710/1310, resembles Deir al-Banāt in that it consists of an *īwān* on one side and a tripartite facade on the other side. Presently there are no doors over the three openings (Fig. C5.6d), but there is strong reason to believe that such doors originally

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with the archives.

<sup>198</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. Laila Ibrahim for bringing the existence of the *qā'a* of Kohya to my attention, and to Khalid Asfour for assistance in its survey.

<sup>199</sup> Ibrahim, "Residential Architecture," 53.

existed. A close inspection of the soffit of the central opening reveals two quarter-circle recesses with a circular hole in each that corresponds in location with hinges for two doors (Fig. C5.6g). Furthermore, it is sure that the doors were of the folding type, because of the distance of each recess from the side of the soffit. This offset of the hinge location from the side wall would have allowed the first fold of the door to tuck behind the second fold when the door was completely open (Fig. Ch6.5h), like the doorway of the *majlis* at Deir el-Banāt. Again, the walled-off space facing the *īwān* across the courtyard must be a *majlis*.

The plan of the space behind the portico is corresponds typologically to that of the Fustāṭ houses, but with different proportions. Since it is the only example, it is difficult to say whether it represents a development of the plan of the *majlis* that was typical at the time, or represents later modifications. It is also not clear whether there originally were small rooms on either side of the central part of its *majlis*.

The *khanqā* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr (706-09/1306-10) near Bāb al-Naṣr is the only extant building in Cairo with a *majlis* whose contemporary description has also survived (Fig C5.7a). The foundation deed describes the property as consisting of two *īwans* (*qiblī* and *bahṛī*) and two *majlises* (*sharqī* and *gharbī*).<sup>200</sup> In this case, the *majlis* refers to each of the two halls with tripartite openings off the longer sides of the courtyard (Fig C5.7b)! The space behind the three openings is a single rectangular hall. Here again, we wonder whether its plan form represents a development of the plan from the Fustāṭ examples. I think that it is likely that the rectangularity of the plan was specific to this building, with the term *majlis* applied to the resulting form because it was the closest one applicable to this layout, which was somewhat peculiar in Cairo. What is important to take from this example is that it seems that the presence of a screen wall with three openings leading to a space behind it was generally the necessary, and perhaps in this case the sufficient, condition for applying the term *majlis* to an architectural space in relation to a courtyard.

### Early *rab'* units

We can now return to the question of early *rab'*s, after having acquired an understanding of the developments in the Cairene house and of the *majlis* type of space. I have already mentioned in the second chapter the existence of *rab'* units consisting of a *majlis* and a *dūr-qā'ā*, and we can now look at these examples more closely. An Ayyūbid

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<sup>200</sup> Maḥkama 22 and 23 (26 Shawāl, 707/1308).

sale deed from 600/1204 details a *funduq* that contained, among other things, twenty three units (*manāzil*). Each consisted of a *majlis* and a *dūr-qā'a*.<sup>201</sup> The *waqf* deed of Qalā'ūn includes a description of a *rab'* that contained in 685/1286 six *ṭabaqas*, each with a *majlis* and a *dūr-qā'a*.<sup>202</sup> The description in the *waqf* indicates that the building was rather old, describing the upper levels in ruin and the units missing doors.

Another example is a *funduq* standing in al-Qāhira in darb al-Aswānī in 717/1317. The three levels of residences in this building were cited earlier as one of the highest residences recorded in Cairo. The first two residential levels contained eight units (*manzils*), consisting of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*. The third level contained five units (*ṭabaqas*), each with a *majlis* and a *dūr-qā'a*. Each *majlis* had a pair of doors over it.<sup>203</sup> Since the top units were usually the most desired ones, it seems that in this case the *majlis* based units were more desirable than the newer *īwān* based ones.

Another example is a *funduq* known by *al-ṣāhib Bahā' al-Dīn* that was standing in Fuṣṭāṭ in 744/1343.<sup>204</sup> It had two doors, one for the lower part, which consisted of twelve storerooms. The second door led via a staircase to the upper level which consisted of twelve *manzils* on one level (five to the left and seven to the right). They were all of the *majlis* type.

Many more examples of the *majlis* type exist if we consider those buildings not described explicitly as *rab'*s, but that clearly had apartments for rent. These were the private residences that incorporate apartments on the upper floors with a separate entrance. One such example is described in a deed dating from 668/1270.<sup>205</sup> Located in al-Qāhira in *raḥbat* Qaṣr al-Shawk, the building consisted of two apartments (*ṭabaqas*) located above a mill and facing each other. The tenants reached the upper floor by a separate door off a small alley. The first *ṭabaqa* overlooked the road (*baḥrī* direction). It had a latrine, kitchen and two *majlises* with "sleeves" (*kummayn*), as well as "rights, dependencies, and appurtenances." The second *ṭabaqa* also consisted of two *majlises*, and had a latrine and a

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<sup>201</sup> Maḥkama 3 (1 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 600/1204). The *manzils* were on the top level, and the level below was 21 *mustarraqas*. See App2: Maḥkama 3: 4

<sup>202</sup> Maḥkama 15 (685/1286). Published by Muḥammad Amin in the *Tadhkirat al-nabīh*. Extract of it in my App2: Maḥkama 15: 8. Note my proposed rereading of parts of that deed that I've enclosed in angle brackets <>.

<sup>203</sup> Maḥkama 26 (18 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 717/1317). See App2: Maḥkama 26: 9-11.

<sup>204</sup> Maḥkama 33 (25 Jamādī al-Awal, 744/11343). See App2: Maḥkama 33: 1-2.

<sup>205</sup> Maḥkama 11 (24 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 668/1270). See App2: Maḥkama 11: 1-2.

kitchen. The document does not mention any windows for the second unit but specifies a *dūr-qā'a*.

Other apartments contained the transitional configuration illustrated above by the *qā'a* of Kohya and Deir el-Banāt. A *funduq* standing in al-Qāhira in 723/1323 had nine apartments (*ṭabaqas*). Three of them consisted of a *majlis* and an *īwān* along with the usual dependencies.<sup>206</sup> The mention of repairs needed on the upper floors at the time of the deed indicate that this was an older building. Another example was the *rab'* part of a larger property standing in 733/1333. Each of the seven apartments (*ṭabaqas*) consisted of a *majlis* and an *īwān*.<sup>207</sup>

The *rab'*s described in the deeds to which I have referred were in some state of delapidation and were therefore older constructions. At the moment, there is no record of a *rab'* built in the Mamluk period (after 648/1250) that contains a *majlis* as part of the unit main space. On the other hand, there is evidence that some *majlis* based residential units were built in the early Mamluk period in private residences. One such residence is documented in an endowment deed of 746/1346. The *qā'a* of the residence contained a *majlis* and an *īwān*. The deed attests that prior to its "renewal" by the founder, the property consisted of a stable.<sup>208</sup>

The documents provide little information on the extent that a *majlis* in an apartment unit resembled or differed from the one in the private residence. The width of an apartment unit would probably have not allowed for a *majlis* like that of the Fustāṭ house. There simply would not have been enough room for the *majlis* to consist of a deep central space flanked by two shallower wings forming a triple portico without the central sitting

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<sup>206</sup> Awqāf 651 (20 Sha'bān, 723/1323). A *funduq* in the Kharashtaf area of al-Qāhira near the secret door of the Qalā'ūn hospital. Its facade that consisted of more than 18 storerooms. The first door led to a *funduq* contained 13 storerooms. The second door led to four *ṭabaqas*, and two stairs. The first of the stairs led to two *ṭabaqas* on top of each other. They were of the *majlis* and *īwān* type. The second stair led to three *ṭabaqas*. The first of these *ṭabaqas* was of the *majlis* and *īwān* type, and the other two were of the *īwān* and (missing a word) type. The residential part of the building also contained a *maq'ad* with an *īwān*. The *funduq* appears to have been renewed at the time, but some of the upper floors were still in bad shape. See App2: Awqāf 651: 1-2.

<sup>207</sup> Maḥkama 32 (26 Dhul Qi'da, 733/1333). The property was located outside al-Qāhira in *khuff* al-Kabsh and *birkat* al-Fīl. Text published in Z. Maḥfūz, *Wathā'iq al-bay'*, Appendices.

<sup>208</sup> Maḥkama 38 (29 Shawāl, 746/1346).

area becoming unusable. Perhaps the plan was more like that of the *majlis* in the *qā'a* of Kohya, with a deep portico that resulted in a more rectangular space. More likely, however, the *majlis* in the apartment units was a rectangular room separated from the *dūr-qā'a* by a screen wall with three openings as in the example of the *khanqā* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. Whatever the plan of the *majlis*, it is almost certain that it was separated from the *dūr-qā'a* by a screen wall.<sup>209</sup> Though often not stated, the *majlis* in an apartment unit presumably had windows looking out to the street or the courtyard of the building. Otherwise, an apartment would have been quite dark given the covered *dūr-qā'a* and the screen wall of the *majlis*. The topmost apartments may have well had uncovered *dūr-qā'ās*, and their *majlises* may not have had windows onto the outside.

These examples show that the constituent spatial elements of the *rab'* apartments were the same as those of the private residence in all of its changes. They also shows that some of the variations that I discussed in Chapters 1 & 2, namely the adaptability to different contexts, were already present in the earlier examples. Did the changes happen in both types of dwelling at the same time, or did one lead the other? I will deal with that question shortly.

### Reasons for the development and relationship between residential types

Five main changes distinguished the Fustāṭ house from the Cairene one. First, *majlis*-based units evolved into *īwān*-based ones via the intermediate *majlis-īwān* configuration. Second, the open court became a closed *dūr-qā'a*. Third, the main spaces shifted in orientation from the interior of the unit to the exterior. Fourth, the *qā'a* changed from a bi-axial arrangement to a strictly axial layout. Fifth, the *qā'a* came to play a new role, from serving as the main place of distribution in the residence, to becoming an end in a sequence of spaces. The *rab'* played an important role in most of these changes. I treat these changes as separate, though in reality they were probably all related.

### From *majlis* to *īwān*, and from watching the stars to looking at the ceiling

Al-Mas'ūdī's earlier cited account offered an intriguing reason for the appearance of the *ḥūrī* type of *majlis*. An equally whimsical one may explain the replacement of the *majlis*

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<sup>209</sup> The presence of the screen wall is implied in the descriptions that state that the units were without doors. I take that to be a reference to door leafs of the *majlis*, though it could have been referring to the apartments not having doors. See App2: Maḥkama 15: 8.

in Cairene architecture with the *īwān*. At the moment, however, there is no indication of what such a reason might be.

One explanation derives from a the view that influence filters down from the top. Within this framework, one might try to relate the change, from a *majlis* to an *īwān*, to the contrast of Mamluk ceremonial to that of the Ayyūbids and that of both of them to Fāṭimid ceremonial. A commonly accepted view falling within this framework is that "the *īwān* was transplanted from Mesopotamia to Egypt during the Ayyubid period", and that "the introduction of those proud princely vaults into Egypt marked the rise of a military aristocracy."<sup>210</sup> This could be seen as part of the process of Turkofication of Egypt beginning in the 12th century as evidenced by the increasing introduction of non-Arabic terms into the language especially in reference to household objects. In other words, the *īwān* was brought in from outside Egypt by a new ruling elite also coming from outside. Acceptance of this viewpoint in relation to the *īwān* requires evidence of *īwān*-based residential architecture in Syria and Iraq predating those in Egypt--that is, before 1150.

While this approach could be developed further, there are several problems which should be considered by those pursuing this line of explanation. When working with extant material in the form of palaces, on one the hand, and texts describing courts of rulers, on the other, it is tempting to explain the specifics of the palace setting in terms of royal lifestyle and court ceremony. Without the presence of contemporary small-scale residential buildings, the tendency has been to over-ascribe the forms of the palatial units to the court ceremonial. To argue that inhabitants of smaller residences modeled them on palatial forms, means that they also adopted some version of their rulers' lifestyle. Otherwise, we would have to imagine people living in spaces that have become merely symbolic rather than useful and livable, unless it can be shown that the forms at issue are sufficiently resilient to be adopted for different uses at different scales in the same society. In our case the question would be this: if the rulers adopted the *īwān* to fulfill some ceremonial or lifestyle, did the lower classes also adopt aspects of the ruler's lifestyle along with their forms, or was the form of the *īwān* so resilient as to be workable at a reduced scale--and for a lifestyle different than that for which it was initially introduced?

The explanation of the differences and similarities between the palatial and common residential settings is more complex than is implied by a unidirectional line of influence. I see the distinctions between the two as falling generally into two categories: distinctions of

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<sup>210</sup> Goitein citing Ahmed Fakhri, *A Mediterranean Society* 4:67 and n. 107 on p. 366.

scale and distinctions of typology. When we see a doorway or a window in a small residence, we do not say that it came from a palace simply because there was a gate in the palace through which the monarch rode or a window from which he looked at his city. Rather, we understand the door and window as elements present in the buildings of the society at large, and we see the difference between the two settings in terms of the difference between a simple unembellished opening and a monumental aperture. Similarly, we don't explain the corbelling of upper stories of Cairene residences on stone or wood brackets as the result of a reduction of corbels found in royal palaces, such as the monumental ones remaining from the palace of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel.

In other elements, the distinction between the palace and the common residence is not in terms of scale or embellishment, but in terms of the presence of the element in one and its total absence in the other. For example the *maq'ad*, found in the houses of the well-to-do of the Mamluk period (houses with an open yard) was completely absent from smaller dwellings that did not contain an open yard at all. Similar distinctions might be found in the presence or absence of such dependencies as a stable or a place for a musical band, a prerogative of amirs of a certain rank.<sup>211</sup>

The question of the *īwān* and its presence in residential architecture falls into the former category of distinction between the palatial and the residential--the category, in which the difference is one of scale and extent of embellishment and not one of type. This is because the *īwān* became a constituent element of all residential units in Cairo from the large palace to the smallest apartment unit. Clearly, more was shared in terms of lifestyle and use of space than can be accounted for by the notion of lower class emulation of upperclass forms.

Therefore, to explain the replacement of the *majlis* by the *īwān*, we need to look for trends operating within the whole society and not just in the upper echelons of new elite. In addition, it appears that the *īwān* was known in Egypt throughout the Fāṭimid period when the *majlis* was predominant.<sup>212</sup> My pursuit, therefore, is of explanations within Cairo for the emergence of an *īwān*-based architecture as a replacement for the *majlis*-based residences.

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<sup>211</sup> L. Ibrahim, "Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo," *Muqarnas* 2 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984): 55.

<sup>212</sup> An example is the *īwān* in the Fāṭimid palace mentioned above. Also the presence of another element known as the *ṣuffa* which was a smaller, and often shallower, version of an *īwān*.

The early houses had uncovered courts and the large folding doors over the *majlis* likely served, among other purposes, as a form of climatic control. The doors would have been closed at times when outside conditions were too cold, windy, or dusty, particularly at night when the doors were not also a source of illumination. This situation probably changed in response to two related factors: land pressure and greater externalization of the house. As the plot of land decreased in size, the central courtyard could no longer serve as the main focus of its surrounding spaces. This resulted in a greater dependence on the outside or the street for light and interest. At some point, decreases in the size of the *dūr-qā'a* and the resulting verticality due to land pressures began to change the role of the *qā'a*. It became possible to roof it permanently and thus acquire it as an indoor space to a greater degree than when it was open to the sky. As its character changed from an open to an enclosed volume, the character of the spaces around it also changed. The doors to the *majlis*, which had provided a means of separating the *majlis* from the exterior elements, were no longer necessary. Furthermore, as the area became smaller, the *majlis* (with its tripartite subdivision of a side of the *dūr-qā'a*) became smaller, providing to a lesser and lesser degree a central sitting area flanked by lateral wings. Given these trends, the *īwān* become a more favorable space. It was protected from the elements and it provided a larger area.

This argument can be easily turned on its head. It is possible that the incorporation of the *īwān* was the cause and not the effect of the transformations I've just described. An *īwān* in an open courtyard was workable but not ideal in Cairo. This required roofing the court, which necessitated a reduction in its size if the roofing was to be widely feasible. A roofed and reduced courtyard might have rendered the *majlis* anachronistic and then obsolete. From this perspective, urban pressure and reduced courtyard size would contribute to an explanation of the wide acceptance of the *īwān* and not provide the actual reason for its introduction in Egypt.

Whichever scenario is closer to the truth, it can be said that the existence for a period of about 150 years, as revealed by the documents and represented by Deir al-Banāt and the *qā'a* of Aḥmad Bey Kohya, of an *īwān-majlis* combination served as a transitional form between the Fustāṭ type of house and the Cairene *qā'a*. It is transitional not just in that it was an average of two extremes, but more importantly, because the *īwān-majlis* combination provided the framework in which the patterns of the household evolved. The living space changed from a space that could be closed off from its courtyard, with all of the consequences of such a separation, to a space that is almost always open to the court in front of it.

It is difficult to determine from the archival record whether the change from the *majlis* to the *īwān* occurred first in the private residence or in the apartment building. The time difference is too small to resolve from the sparse records that we have from the late Ayyūbid and early Mamluk periods. However, the change in the apartment was more direct, from a single *majlis* to a single *īwān*. Only a few large apartments contained both a *majlis* and a *īwān*. If the reductions in the size of the residences caused the change, then the apartments might have played a leading role in the change. This is because a reduced area and a covered *dūr-qā'ā* (in units stacked on top of each other) were an earlier characteristic of apartments.

### From looking in to looking out

The third difference between the Fustāṭ and Cairene residence, the change from an inwardly oriented residence to a more externally oriented one, is indicated by the increased dependence on windows that look out onto the street. This change probably began with the addition of windows to *majlis* units and spread at the same time that the *īwān* grew more common. Urban pressures probably played the main role in the greater externalization of the house, but there may have been other contributing factors. Additional factors may include social and cultural changes in the population.

The change is reflected in the dichotomy that existed between the *majlis* and the *īwān*. As discussed above, the *majlis* rarely had windows in its back wall. The *īwān* in Cairo, on the other hand, usually had a set of windows in its back wall. In the transitional *majlis-īwān* type of *qā'a*, it is the *īwān* that had windows onto the street or garden and not the *majlis*. A good example is found in a *ṭabaqa* standing in 717/1317.<sup>213</sup> Another place had windows in the large *īwān* looking out. The smaller *īwān*, which used to be the *majlis*, didn't have any windows.<sup>214</sup> *Rab'* units must have had windows early on, as their arrangement precluded for the most part their getting light any other way. The exception would have been the topmost units, which may have had open *dūr-qā'ās*.

### From two axes to one

The shift from a bi-axial *qā'a* to an axial one can be seen as a streamlining of the plan. This change has been attributed to reductions in plot size and is held as an example

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<sup>213</sup> Described in Maḥkama 274 (26 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 717/1317).

<sup>214</sup> Awqāf 627. See App1: Awqāf 627: 4.

of adaptation of a spatial idea to tight urban conditions. This view emphasizes the reduction in the overall area available. An analysis of the *rab'* units will help refine this view.

I have argued so far that the *ṭabaqa* unit in a *rab'* was a miniaturization of the *qā'a* unit in the private residence, with the overall apartment design a result of the regularization of various elements found in the private residence (latrine, roof terrace, etc). From this perspective, it is a fortunate coincidence that the form of the *qā'a* (extended along one axis with windows at either end of the *īwāns*) happened to be adaptable to the demands of an apartment unit.

I want to now question this assumption and to propose an alternative interpretation. This relies on "reading" the conditions underlying the development of a particular architectural element from its formal qualities and the use possibilities the element engenders. For example, we generally accept the form of a shop (a rectangle that is open on the narrow side) as fulfilling the requirements of occupation, work, and relation to the street as the source of livelihood. We can also "read" in its rectangularity an indication of its formative parameters, namely suitability for repetition in a linear fashion, the creation of markets and bazaars, and the allowance for the maximum numbers of tenants.

The same reading can be applied to the plan of the Cairene *qā'a*. It has generally been seen as an adaptation of a biaxial courtyard plan to a tighter site, such as would be found in a dense city like Cairo. We can, however, look at the *qa'a* plan as not adapted to a small area, as much as it is adapted to a particular kind of area. In this case the adaptation resulted from the requirement of repetition and the need to maximize the number of units on a particular frontage, much like the constraints on a market street. In other words, the lack of space in the absolute sense did not determine the development of the *qā'a*. The *qā'a* filled the need for an arrangement that was repeatable and stackable. The rectangularity of a *qa'a*, therefore, allowed for a number of them to be placed next to each other. Its interior disposition allowed for its view of the outside to be from its narrow dimension (the occurrence of a *qā'a* positioned with its length parallel to the street, is very rare). Comparison of the Mamluk *qā'a* to another contemporary space, the *maq'ad*, strengthens this analysis. The latter represents an architectural form adapted to maximizing the frontage of the unit, hence its opening onto the courtyard along its long wall (Figs. C5.8b & C5.9).

Further light is shed on the formal properties of the *qā'a* by looking at the its rare occurrences at the corner of a building with a view overlooking two streets. The corner

*qā'a* does not open out to the two streets in an equal manner (Fig C5.8c). The windows at the side of the *īwān* are not just openings in the wall as are the ones at the end of the *īwān*. Instead, the side windows are within a frame which opens off the *īwān* in much the same way that an *īwān* opens off a *dūr-qā'a*; it is subservient to it, or nested within it. A good contrast to this is the treatment of the *sabīl-kuttāb* in Cairene architecture (Figs. C5.8d & C5.10). Mamluk builders usually located this element at an exterior corner of a building. Its design reflects that position by opening out to both sides in an equal fashion. Similarly we can contrast the Cairene *qā'a* to the main rooms in the houses of Rosetta (Rashīd). Many of the houses of this delta town commanded corner sites. The rooms have windows on two sides to take advantage of the location (Figs. C5.8e & C5.11). The *qā'a* evolved as a space meant for windows at the far end of the *īwān*, and side windows had to be treated in a special way.

By the late Mamluk period, the *qā'a* plan had developed as an adaptation (extended in one direction and situated orthogonally to the view and light) to a specific context, namely allowing for repetition and some visual access to the street. This is another fundamental characteristic in the design of apartment units, be they in a *rab'* or as smaller upper level units in a large residence. Therefore, the Fustāṭ dwelling, with its bi-axial plan, was first streamlined in the upper level dwellings. The new design then affected the lower level *qā'a* as a response to urban pressures.

### From center to periphery

The *dūr-qā'a* acts as the heart of the Fustāṭ house: the focus of its activities, the source of light and air, and the central point from which most of the rest of the residence was reached. The *qā'a* in the Cairene house is located at a later point in the sequence of spaces that constitute the residence. Its *dūr-qā'a* is a focus only for the *īwāns* opening off it, and it is possible to circumvent it. In the Cairene house, the role of distributor was taken over by the open yard near the entry.

This characteristic of the main living space not serving as a circulation space, is clearly an attribute of apartment units with limited area. It is unlikely that in the apartments of the *majlis* type, one went through the *dūr-qā'a* to get to the upstairs spaces or other rooms. The presence of neighboring units precluded doors on two sides of the *dūr-qā'a*. Therefore, also in this regard, the conditions of a *rab'* apartment anticipated the changes in the larger unit of the private residence.

The *rab'* had a key role in the five areas of development discussed above and, therefore, cannot just be seen as the miniaturization of developments in the private residence. In more than one instance, the conditions of a *rab'* presaged conditions that would later hold for a wider range of dwellings. The covering of the *dūr-qā'a* would likely have occurred earlier in *rab'*s than in private houses, because units were stacked on top of one another. It is also likely that such dwellings depended on windows to the outside to a greater degree than did houses, which had relied on courtyards for light. In the *rab'*, conditions of adjacency and distribution of frontage amongst a number of units resulted in a unit plan of rectangular proportions and arranged with the narrow side along the facade of the building.

### Summary

The analysis of the development of the Cairene *qā'a* situated the *rab'* in its historical and typological context. I have argued that the *rab'*, as a type of residence emerging out of a congested commercial context unique to Cairo, played an important role in the development of residential architecture in that city. Its apartments, evolving to fit within a slot of pronounced rectangularity, responded to most of the conditions that later came to affect the larger *qā'a* of the private residence. The use of archives has both necessitated and permitted a better understanding of the contemporary terminology for residential spaces. The recognition of the word *majlis* as referring to a space of a specific typology has served as a key to the use of historical sources for tracing developments in building styles, extending our sample far beyond the number available in extant buildings.<sup>215</sup> While the question of the development of the Cairene *qā'a* remains an open one (in terms of why the *īwān* replaced the *majlis* in Cairene architecture), I have offered a new explanation of the changes that occurred in the residential fabric of Cairo during the Ayyubid period. For

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<sup>215</sup> The case of the general misreading of the word *majlis* offers lessons about textually-based architectural reconstructions. The misreading resulted from two factors. First, the word is purely Arabic and refers to an action or use. Second, the form fell out of use by the late medieval period and so is not part of the legacy of forms that have come down to us and documented by early orientalists such as Lane. Non-Arabic words such as *dihlīz*, or *īwān*, have fared better precisely because their foreignness prompted early attempts to understand them. Another architectural form of linguistic construction similar to that of *majlis* did not share the same fate: the *maq'ad* from the Arabic root *qa'ada*. Its prevalence in late Mamluk and Ottoman architecture in Cairo allowed it to be properly understood as referring to a specific form.

somewhat didactic purposes, this explanation looks at factors affecting not just the society's upper echelons, but the society as a whole. Much work remains to be done, however, before students of Cairene architecture can accept or reject this view.

Further research in two directions, archaeological and textual, would be helpful. Greater archaeological knowledge of the residential architecture in Syria and Iraq in the later Abbāsīd period is needed. On the textual front, we can apply the new understanding of the word *majlis* to a re-reading of historical sources with the aim of identifying further distinctions between the *majlis* and the *īwān*, particularly in terms of differences in lifestyles associated with each of them. Using both the archaeological and textual evidence, we can map out the geographical extent of the appearance of the two forms in the Islamic world, and to see how this mapping changed with time. This would result in a better understanding of Egypt's role in these changes; whether as recipient or as innovator.



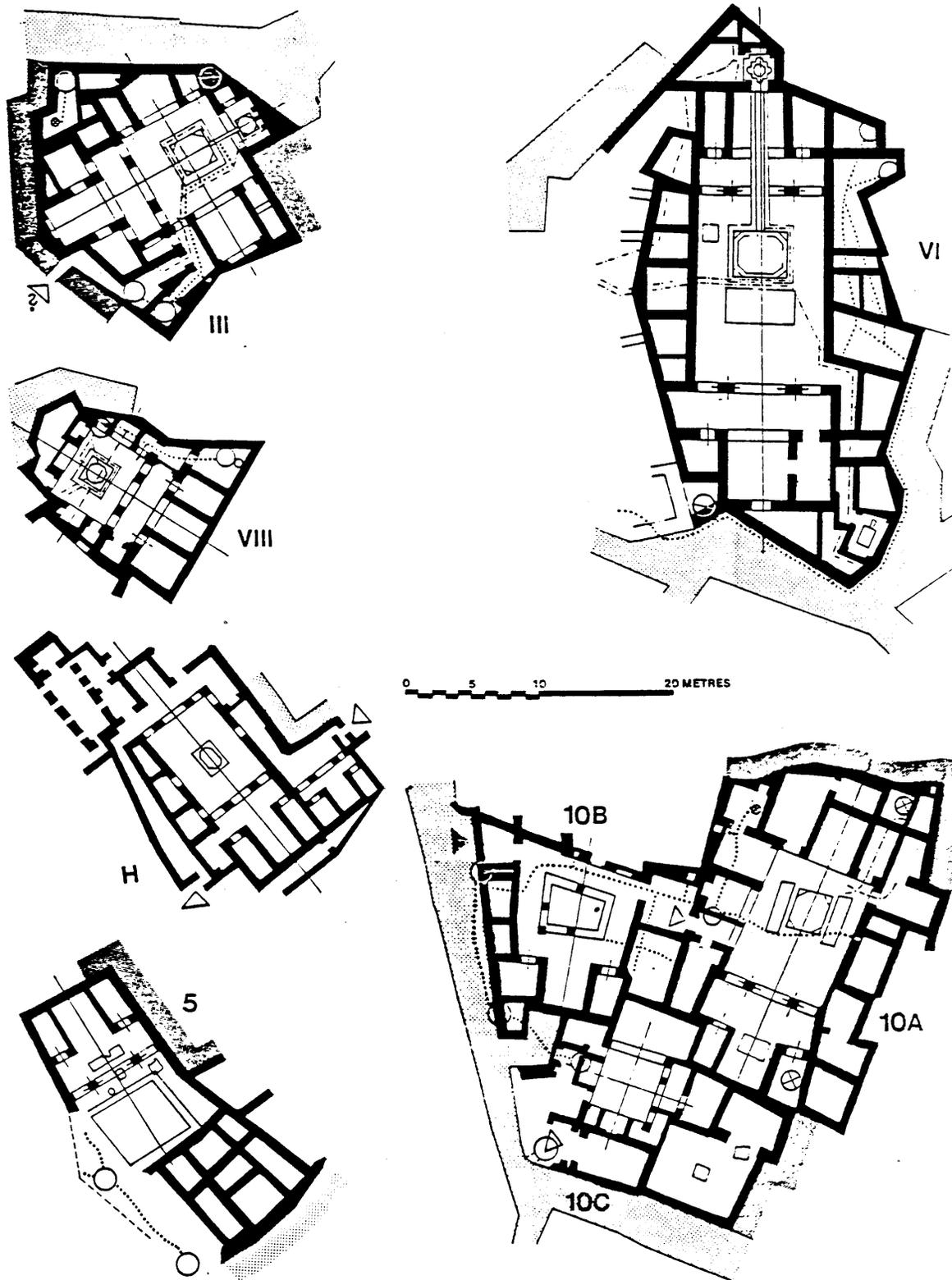


Figure C5.2: Houses of Fustāt. (Ostrasz)

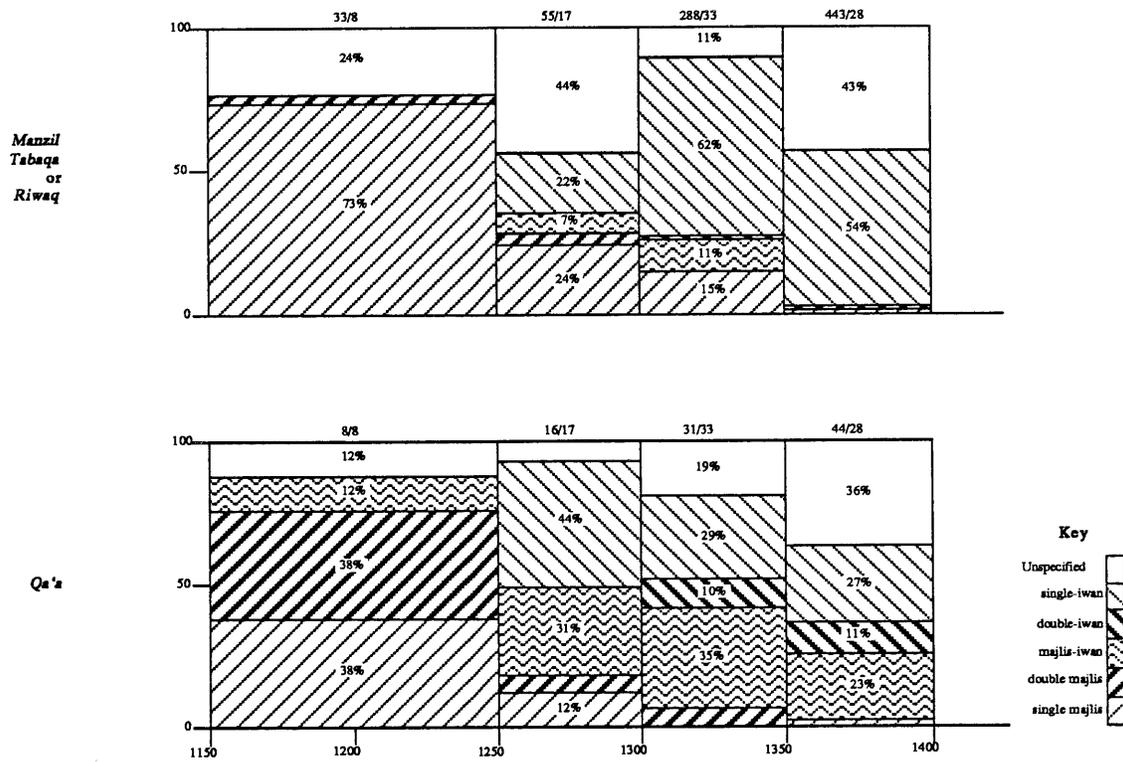


Figure C5.3: Housing stock in Cairo as reflected in deeds dating from 1150 to 1400 A.D.

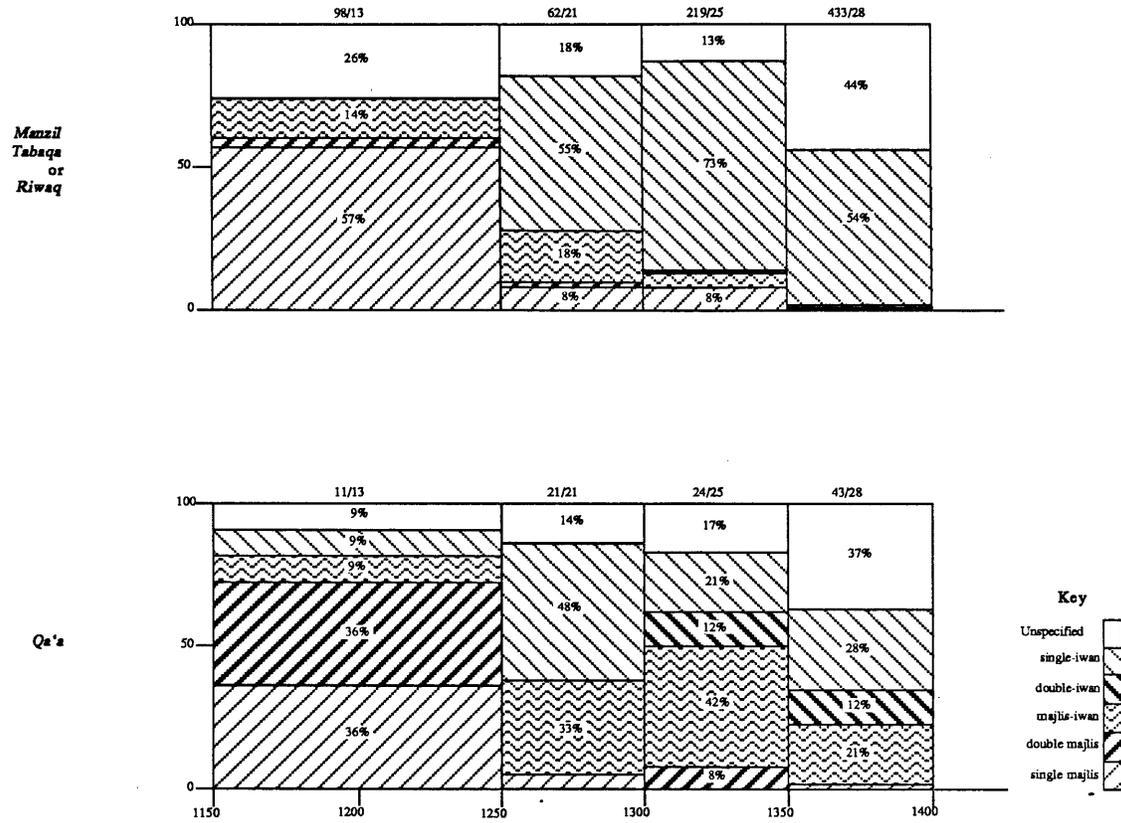


Figure C5.4: Types of Residential units built in Cairo from 1150 to 1400 A.D.

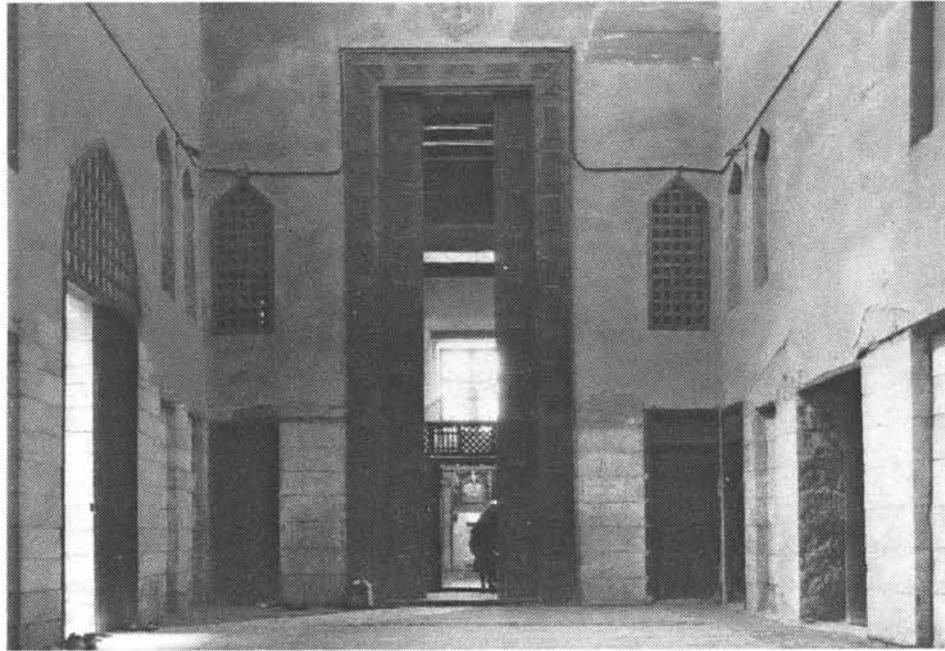


Figure C5.5b: Deir al-Banāt. View of the *majlis* with central folding doors.

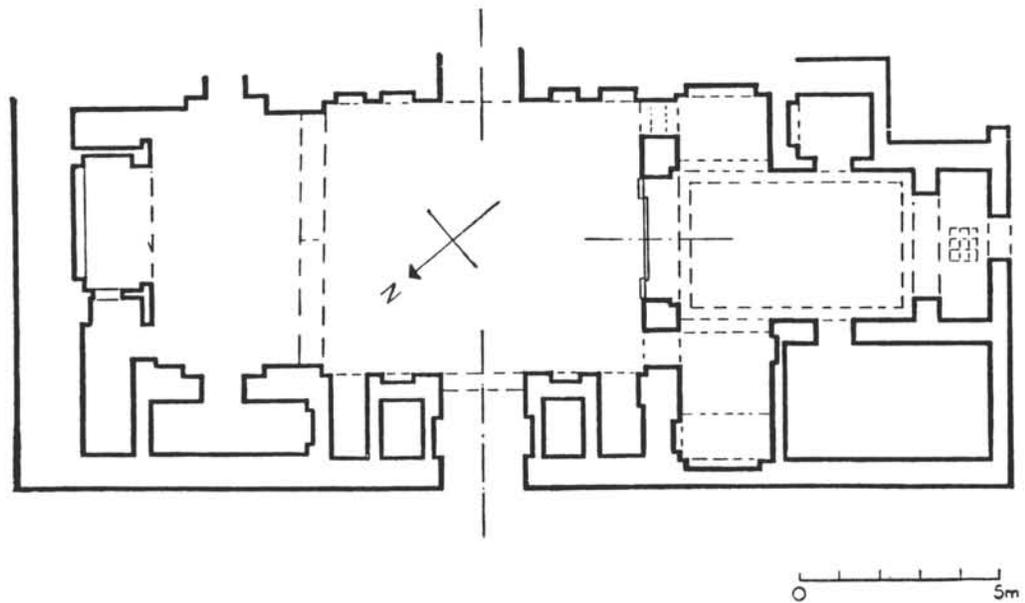


Figure C5.5a: Deir al-Banāt. Plan.

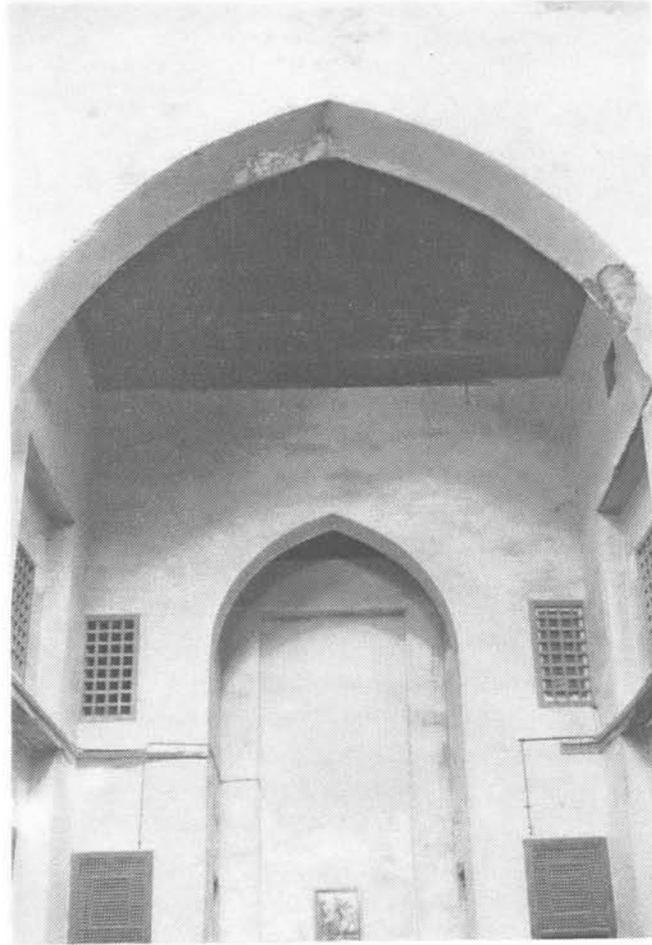


Figure C5.5c: Deir al-Banāt. View of the *īwān*.

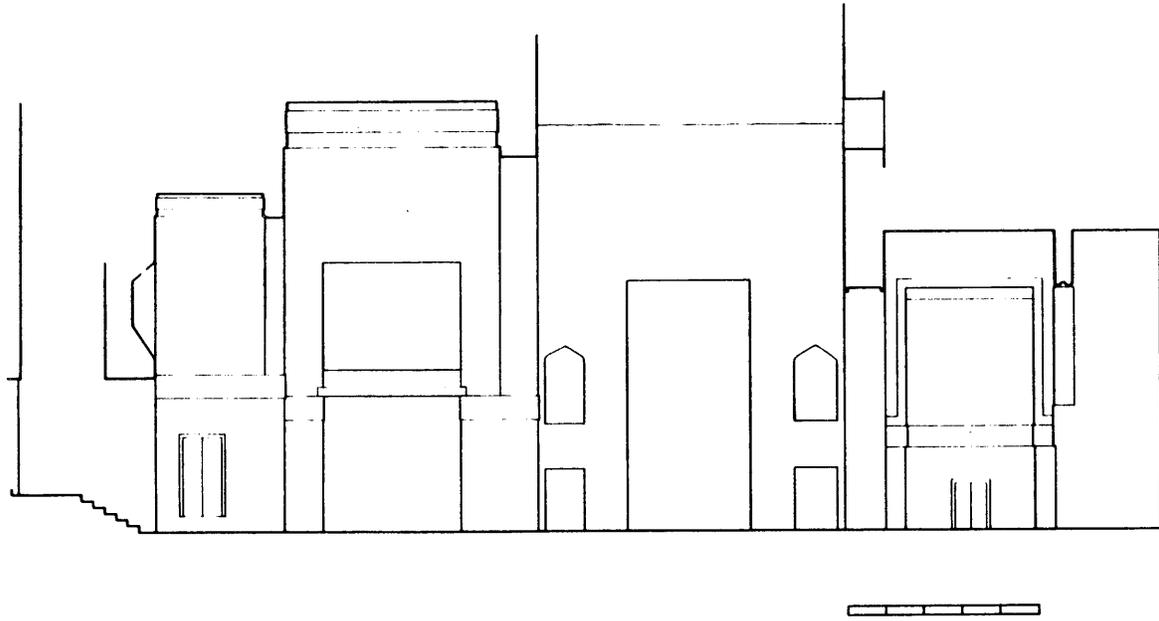


Figure C5.6b: Qā'a of Ahmad Bey Kohya. Section (present state).

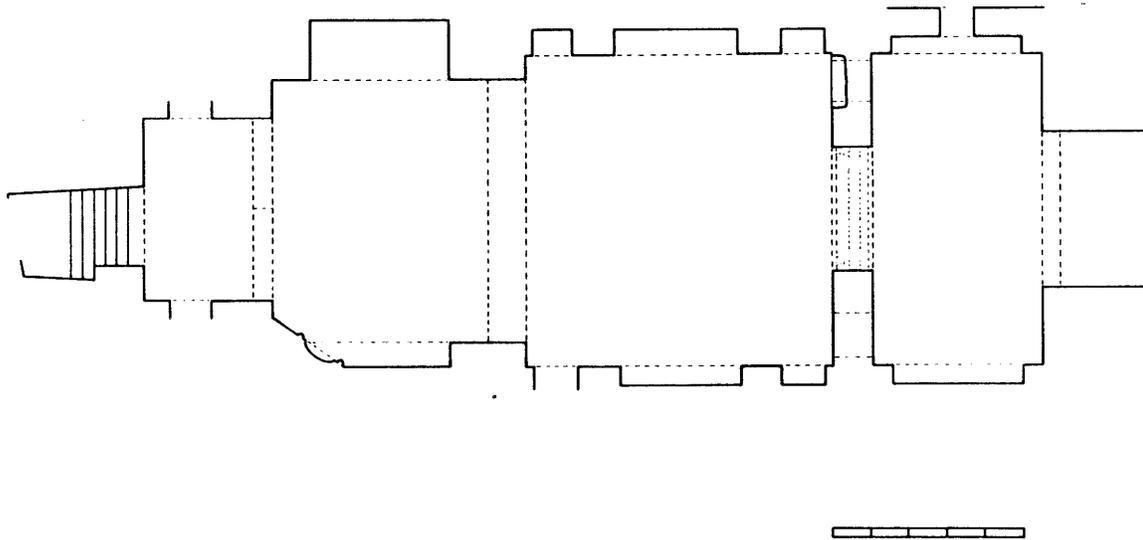
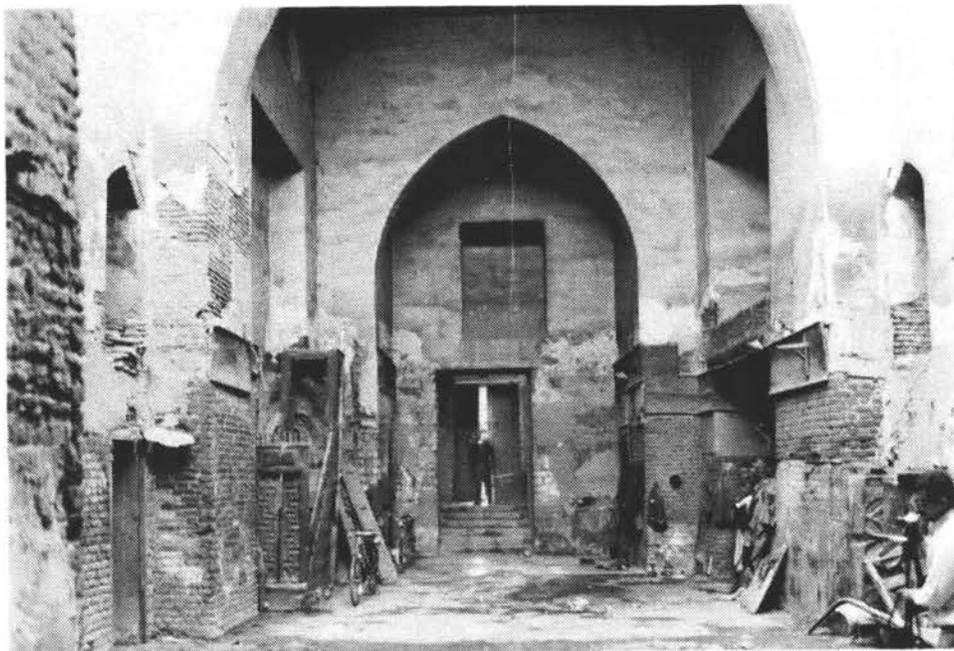


Figure C5.6a: Qā'a of Ahmad Bey Kohya. Plan (present state).



Figure C5.6d: Qā'a of Ahmad Bey Kohya. View of the *majlis*.

Figure C5.6c: Qā'a of Ahmad Bey Kohya. View of the *īwān*.



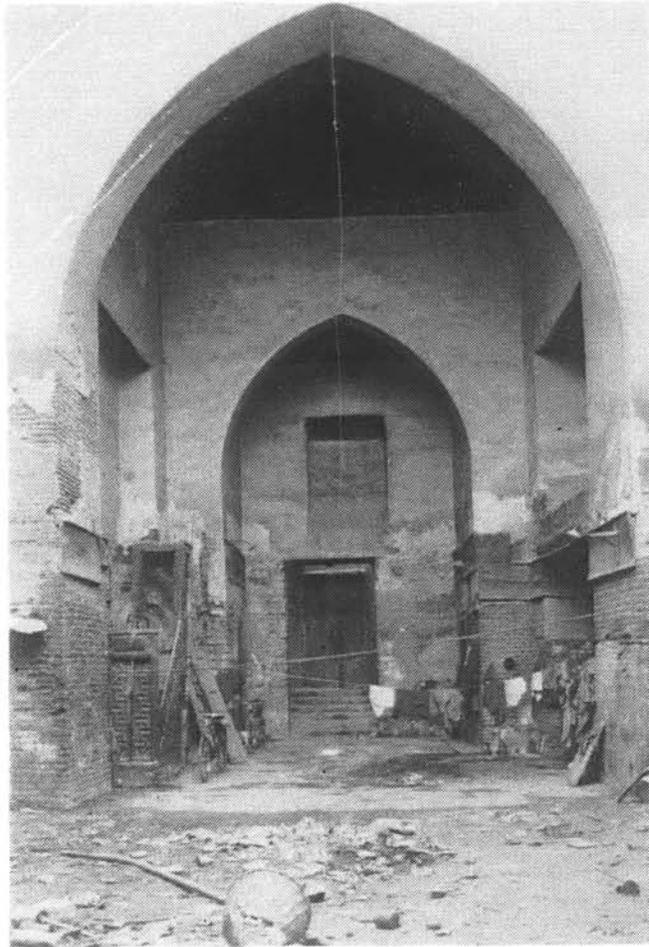


Figure C5.6e: Qā'a of Aḥmad Bey Kohya. View of the *īwān*.

Figure C5.6f: Qā'a of Aḥmad Bey Kohya. View inside the *īwān*.





Figure C5.6g: *Qā'a* of Aḥmad Bey Kohya. Detail of soffit of the *majlis* showing recess for door hinge.

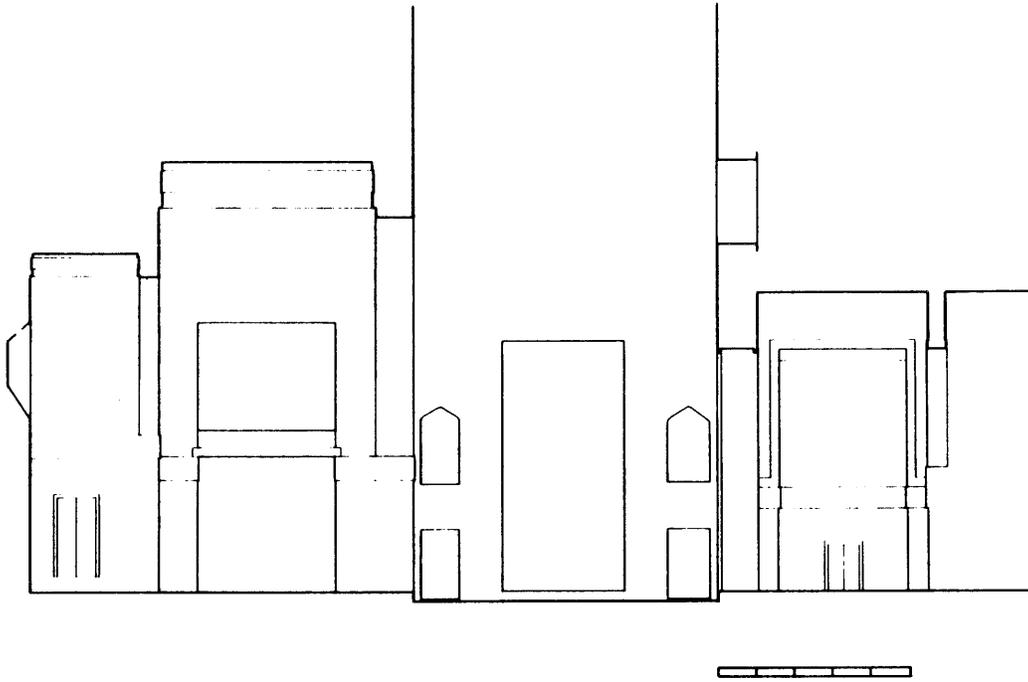


Figure C5.6i: Qā'a of Ahmad Bey Kohya. Section (reconstruction).

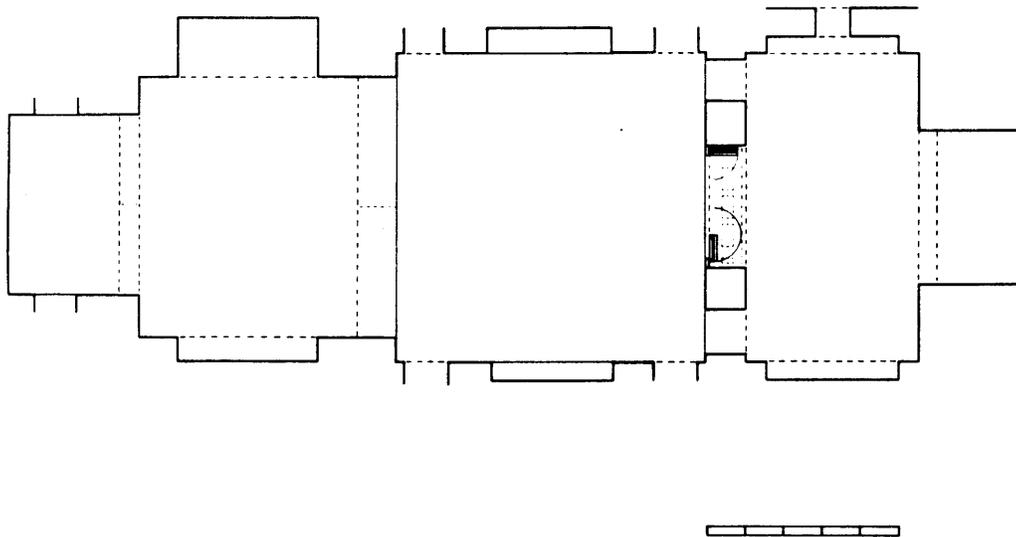


Figure C5.6h: Qā'a of Ahmad Bey Kohya. Plan (reconstruction).

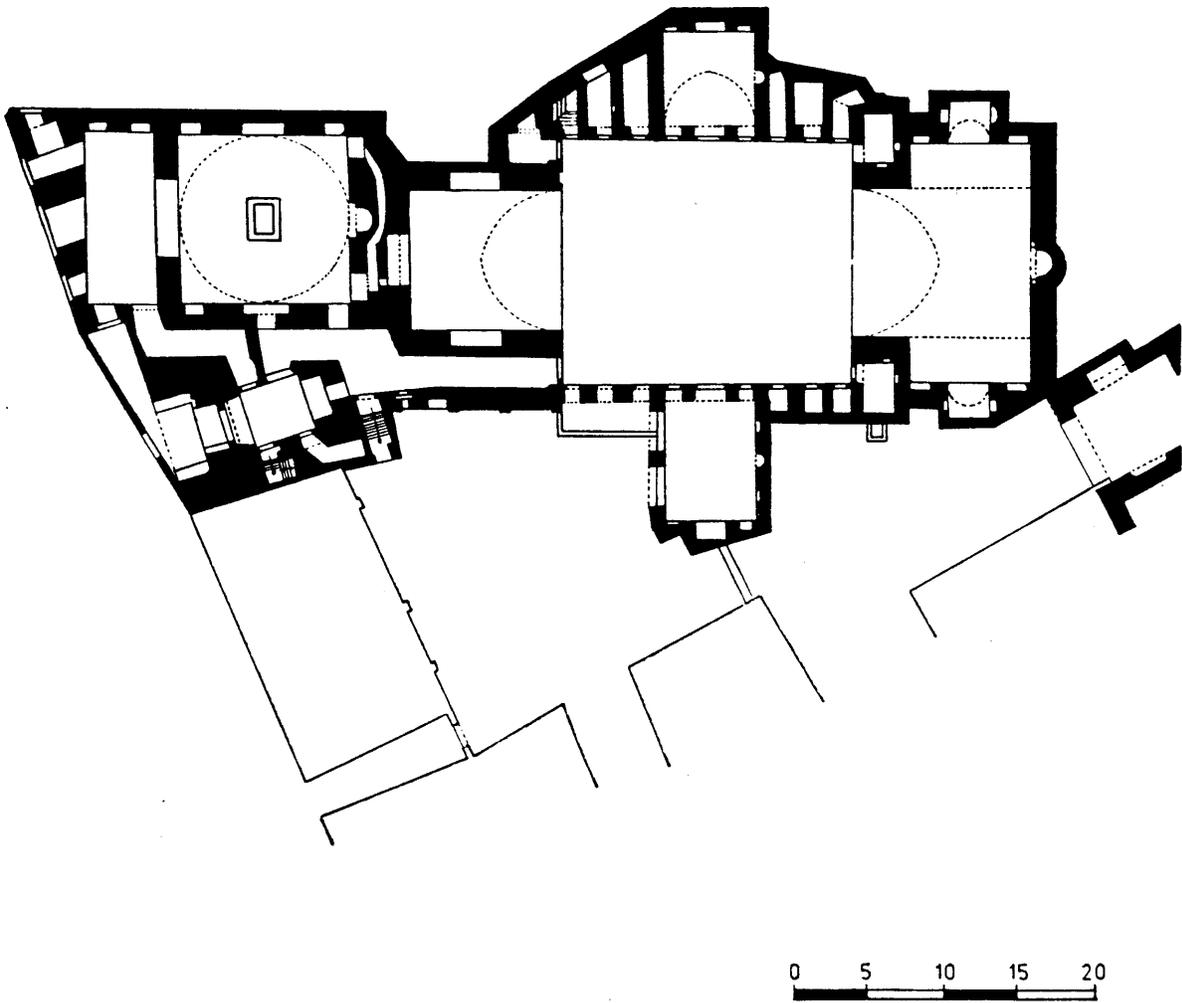


Figure C5.7a: *Khānqā* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. Plan. (Brandenburg)

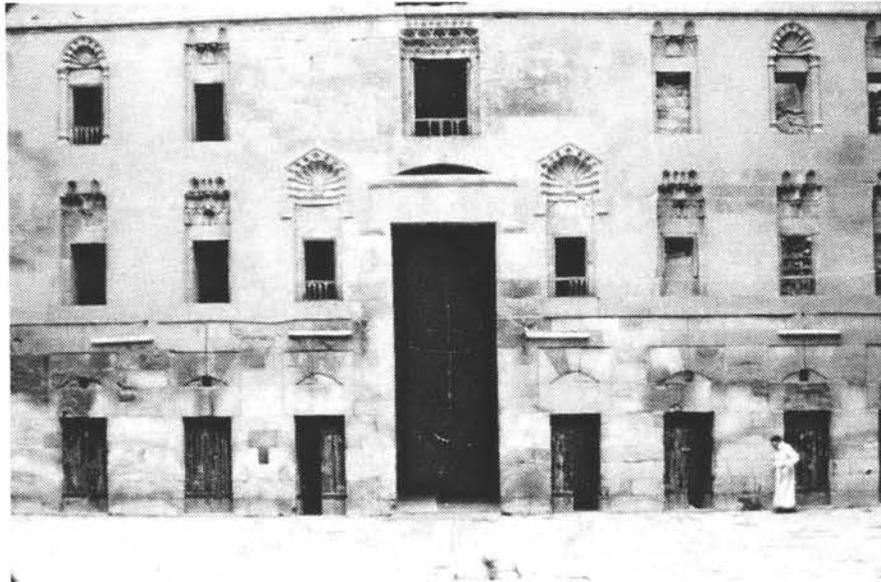


Figure C5.7b: *Khānqā* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. View of *majlis* in courtyard.

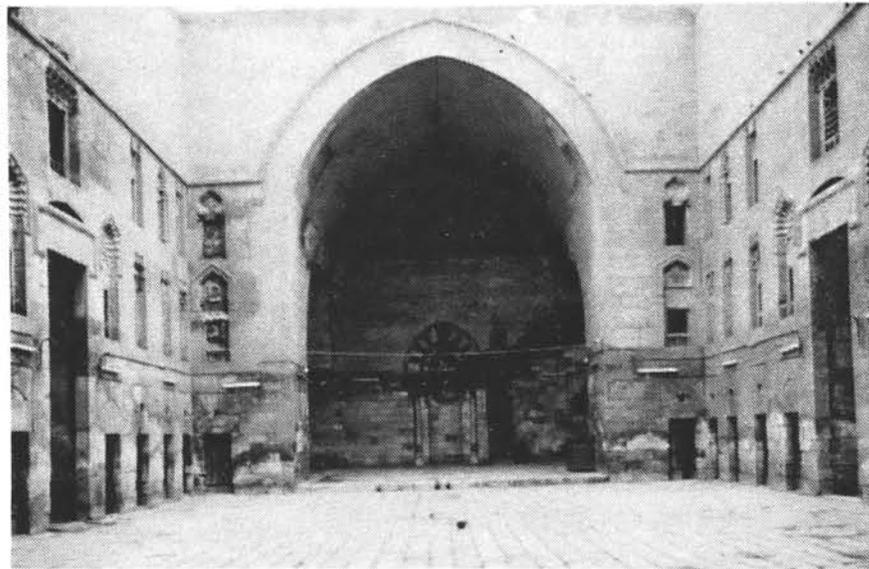
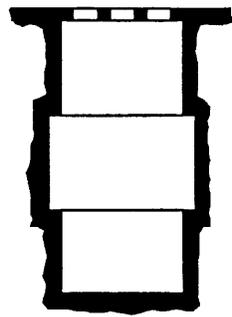


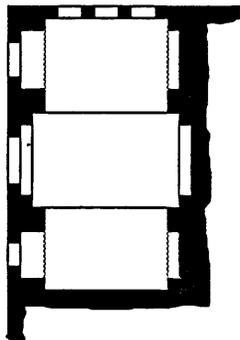
Figure C5.7c: *Khānqā* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. View of *īwān* in courtyard.



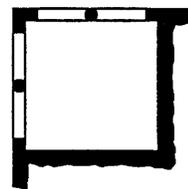
a: Qā'a orthogonal to street.



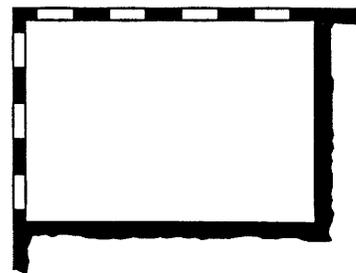
b: Maq'ad overlooking a courtyard.



c: Qā'a in an exterior corner condition.



d: Kuttāb on a street corner.



e: Main room in Rosetta (Rashid) house.

Figure C5.8 Architectural spaces in response to siting conditions.



Figure C5.9 *Maq'ad.*

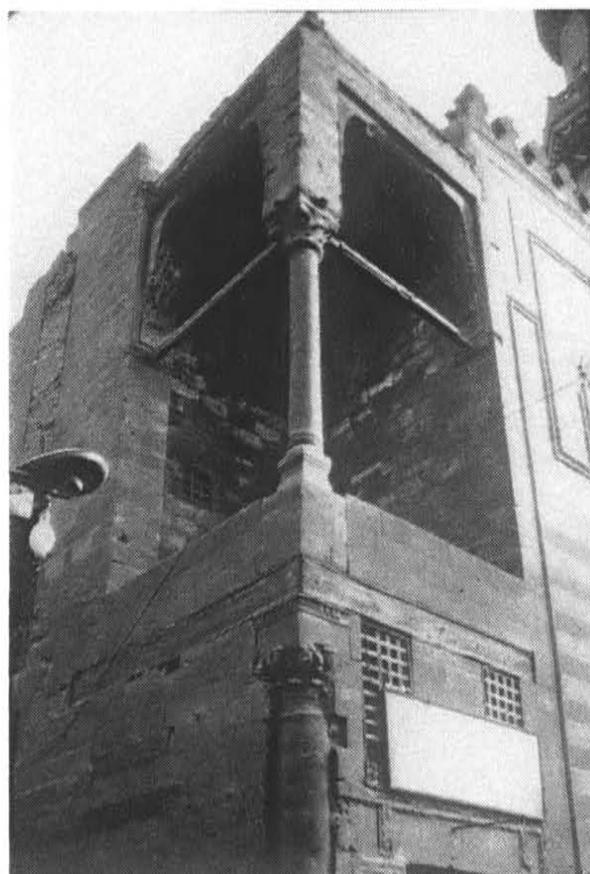


Figure C5.10a Corner *sabīl-kuttāb*, looking from outside.

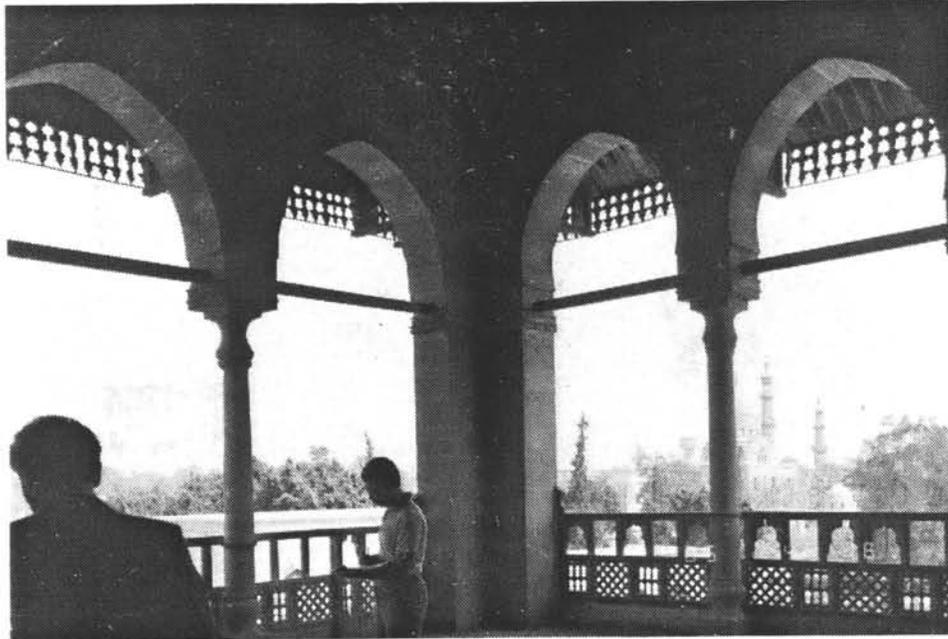


Figure C5.10b Corner *sabīl-kuttāb*, looking out from inside..



Figure C5.11 Sitting room in Rosetta house.

**Chapter 6**  
**An Articulate Monumentality:**  
**Mamluk Architecture Reassessed**

- 1 The public presence**
  - 1.1 Street frontage**
  - 1.2 Neighborhood development**
- 2 Relations between elements of an architectural Tradition**
- 3 The reading of Mamluk buildings**
- 4 Mamluk architecture and the city**

Most characterizations of Mamluk architecture have come out of the study of its religious monuments and private emerial residences. These have presented Mamluk architecture as variations on a small number of themes that are developed and expanded with each new building for greater effect.<sup>216</sup> Such variations can be taken as evidence of the resilience of the architectural vocabulary and of the interest on the part of the society to adapt existing premises to new ideas. Though this analysis has been based on a small number of all the buildings built in the Mamluk period, the sample is arguably representative of the religious buildings of that period. Lacking from the sample, on the other hand, has been the vast number of other buildings of the Mamluk period, which made up most of the fabric. These other buildings must be taken into account for any urbanistic assessments of the architecture of the period.

The apartment building, the subject of this study, constituted a significant part of this context. It is now possible to include this type of building in discussing Mamluk architecture. In so doing, some of the accepted characterizations of this architecture will be modified, some will be reinforced, others will be challenged, and some new characterizations will emerge.

Monumentality is one characterization of Mamluk architecture that needs to be reconsidered in light of the information about the apartment building type. If, as we had earlier claimed, monumentality was a characteristic of Mamluk sensibility in general, how then did this tendency find expression in the non-religious buildings? Can the term monumental be used to characterize non-religious architecture, or should it be reserved for buildings with a clear commemorative intent? Does the concept help in understanding the apartment buildings directly, or is it only in contrast to the religious buildings?

### **The public presence**

The public presence of Mamluk buildings need be considered to understand the urban attitude of the periods. Comparing different aspects of different types of buildings allows for an assessment of their combined effects and purpose.

### **Street frontage**

The first generally accepted characterization of Mamluk buildings that can be

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<sup>216</sup> Grabar; "Reflections on Mamluk Art", in *Muqarnas* 2: 1-12; Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 97.

challenged is that irregularities in the alignment and location of the facades of religious buildings reflect irregular street property lines. According to this view, the irregularities emerged as a result of incremental encroachments on the public way as temporary structures became permanent and thus served as the basis for the next cycle of intrusion. The assembly of a large parcel from a number of smaller ones, each with its own history, would have presumably resulted in an irregular property line along the street as well as on the other boundaries.<sup>217</sup> Scholars have applied this explanation to such chronologically distant Mamluk buildings as the complex of Qalāwūn and that of al-Ghūrī.

This view must now be confronted with the remarkably straight facades extending over a considerable distance that characterize the residential/commercial buildings we have examined. If we compare the street line of a few of these commercial/residential structures with their contemporary religious ones, we find that the facades of the commercial buildings are often considerably longer than the facades of the religious buildings.

Figure C6.1 compares the street line of the two large *wakālas* of Qāyrbāy at al-Azhar and Bāb al-Naṣr with that of his religious complex in the cemetery. Qāyrbāy built the first two in the crowded urban center, the third in the desert cemetery. The two commercial buildings have a straight facade, though they were built in some of the most congested urban spines. The facade of the religious complex is divided up into three parts that correspond to its mausoleum, madrasa, and *khanqā*, though it was built in the less crowded cemetery area. Figure C6.2 provides a similar comparison of the buildings of al-Ghūrī. Not only are the facades of the commercial buildings straighter than those of their contemporary religious ones, but they are also longer. That this was not an anomaly of the few extant examples is indicated by the many *waqf* descriptions that explicitly state that the shops were in one row. While there may have been a kink in such a line of shops, there were no setbacks like those found in religious buildings, because such a shift in plan would have been picked up by the conventions used by the deed writers.<sup>218</sup> The patrons were able to assemble fairly regular frontage at the street side if they wanted. The street facade could be as straight as they wished.

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<sup>217</sup> Parcel subdivision would have also contributed to the irregularity of the interior of the plots. This process is well described by Saleh al-Hathloul in *Tradition, Continuity and Change in the Physical Environment: the Arab-Muslim City*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (Cambridge: M.I.T., 1981) 55-61.

<sup>218</sup> See Preliminary Remarks I for a discussion of how medieval legal writers described setbacks in a property.

Given these comparisons, we have to look elsewhere to explain the jogs in the street facades so characteristic of the religious buildings. A possible explanation may be the necessity for the re-orientation of the interior of the building towards Mecca as has been pointed out by Kessler. In the cases of extreme deviation in orientation between the exterior and the interior, the difference could not be accommodated simply by varying the wall thickness, without the wall getting unmanageably thick. In this case, jogging the facade was a more appropriate response. Examples include the mosques of Khairbek and al-Marīdānī.

This explanation is not sufficient, given the presence of many buildings with jogged facades, but with only a slight angular difference between the street and the *qibla*. The complex of Qalā'ūn in al-Qāhira stands on two street lines; the entrance, mausoleum, and minaret part are set back some ten meters from the madrasa part. The walls are also slightly tapered to accommodate the *qibla* orientation on the inside. The complex of al-Ghūrī sits as two buildings across the street from each other on the main commercial spine of al-Qāhira. The walls are all *qibla* oriented but the massing is broken down into a number of components, expressing the minaret, the *sabīl-kuttāb*, and the madrasa. Clearly the builders sought something else in these jogs.

To propose a possible explanation of this situation we need to imagine the streets of Cairo as they were then rather than as they have come down to us. Shops topped by two or more levels of apartments lined the main commercial streets. In the case of the *wakālas* of Qāyṭbāy and al-Ghūrī this translates into a street facade rising some sixteen meters above street level. Interspersed along the main streets were the religious and pious foundations, and it is within this context that they had to stand out and be noticed as monuments.

One feature that contributed to the prominence of the religious buildings was their elevation above the street level. This allowed for greater commercial exploitation of the plot of land and also provided a separation from the ever rising level of the street. Even with such a device, however, the total height of many of these urban religious buildings was not much higher than that of the surrounding commercial structures. Height alone could not be counted on to distinguish the monument from its fabric. The minaret and the dome, as vertical elements, certainly played a role, however, their sphere of influence was more at a distance.

The primary solution to the problem of distinguishing a pious foundation from an equally lofty commercial/residential fabric was the emphasis on the vertical within the

composition of the facades. We have already seen this exemplified in the monumental portal and in the vertical framing of windows and other apertures with rectangular niching.<sup>219</sup> Beyond organizing the facade into comprehensible and ordered units, the frame introduced a strong vertical direction. However, an even more effective vertical emphasis is achieved by breaking the facade so as to have an irregular or stepped street frontage. Each setting back or thrusting forward of a component of the building plan produces a vertical line, providing a stronger vertical emphasis than achievable with a frame. The subdivision of the facade into masses, corresponding to the various components of the plan, also assists in the organizational role served by the frames. This is precisely the technique that the Mamluk architects employed for the religious building.

The non-religious buildings did not receive such a treatment for their facades. Instead, their street frontage followed a single line, and they employed a different way of modulating the facade. The projection of the upper levels of these buildings on corbels resulted in an irregular section instead of an irregular plan. This meant that horizontal lines, not vertical lines, cut the facade.

These two methods of breaking up a facade are mutually exclusive. The use of one systematically, precludes the use of the other. Mamluk architects both recognized and exploited this situation to the fullest as a way of distinguishing between two different categories of buildings. Projections in a building facade introduce horizontal lines in the elevation--the exact opposite of the effect of verticality sought by the framing and setback of masses. Corbels or projections are extremely rare in the religious architecture of Mamluk Cairo. They only occur in some *kuttābs* and in wooden shading devices overhanging the top of the building. Even when they do occur in *kuttābs*, they do not go to the corner, which is allowed to continue up vertically. On the other hand, jogging the facade of a commercial building would result in vertical lines which are contrary to the horizontal emphasis inherent in the vocabulary of the row of corbels supporting the upper floors. Therefore, commercial buildings were erected on as straight a run as possible, not only because it was cheaper to repeat a unit without incurring unnecessary corner conditions, but also because it would contradict the horizontal character deemed appropriate for them. Conversely, religious buildings, built to stand out from their context, were designed with irregular plan outlines to produce added vertical lines.

To restate the preceding argument more strongly, the street frontage of a complex

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<sup>219</sup> See the discussion on "frames" in Preliminary Remarks II.

such as that of al-Ghūrī does not at all reflect street boundaries of the properties involved. Rather, the street was completely reformulated by a building on either side, planned in a manner that would distinguish them from their context. All that seems to have been maintained of the original street are some minimum width and its function as a passageway (Fig. C6.3)

An interesting question to investigate is whether such modulations of the facade were at the expense of the public way or the patron's property? In other words, builders gained the necessary space in one of two ways. They either appropriated part of the public way by building out on it, or they built the space behind the property line. Unfortunately there does not seem to be any documents that shed light on this point. It is likely that none ever existed. The mosque of al-Marīdānī in the Darb al-Aḥmar area of Cairo is a good site for the investigation of this question (Fig. C6.4). Its *qibla* facade is broken up into a series of setbacks that gives it a sawtooth plan. I would maintain that these setbacks did not reflect the property line of the original property. It is possible, that the triangular spaces between the setbacks were areas that could have been incorporated in the building, but were intentionally left to the street.<sup>220</sup>

This formalized and self-conscious treatment of building facade is well illustrated in a few buildings that incorporate elements of different building types. One such example is the incorporation of the *sabīl-kuttāb* in commercial buildings. Patrons endowed *sabīl-kuttābs* to provide public water and a school for orphans. It is typically incorporated as

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<sup>220</sup> The siting of this building has never been investigated. A look at an overall plan suggests that this whole mosque was built on an open area at the oblique crossing of two streets. It also seems to be projecting into what would have been a path connecting the darb al-Aḥmar area with sūq al-Silāḥ. Presently, many people take a shortcut by passing through the mosque. Could it be that its *sharqī* and *gharbī* gates were built with such a circulation path in mind? The articulation of levels in the courtyard of the mosque does suggest such a passage. Unlike most hypostyle mosques, where the distinction between the courtyard and the arcades is indicated by a drop in the floor level, the floor level of that entry bays of the arcades is the same as that of the courtyard. This means that there is no level change in traversing the mosque and its courtyard from its *sharqī* gate to its *gharbī* gate. Furthermore, the sanctuary arcade is screened off with a high partition of turned woodwork, that appears to be original. This separation is quite atypical in Egypt, and suggests that, in this building, one was not considered in the "mosque" yet if they were in the courtyard. This allowed the crossing the whole mosque courtyard without removing one's shoes, and thus it could be taken as an access route, much in the same way that the Ummayyad mosque in Damascus is utilized.

part of a pious construction, such as a mosque or madrasa. The standard treatment of this element yields one continuous vertical surface punctuated by the window grille of the *sabīl* on the lower level and the double arched opening of the *kuttāb* on the upper level. In a few cases, the *kuttāb* has a projecting balcony, but always within the confines of a continuously vertical wall surface on its two sides. We also find the *sabīl-kuttāb* appended to or an integral part of a non-religious building. Its treatment, there, illustrates the degree of formalization and self-consciousness in maintaining a distinction between different types of buildings.

One of the more elegant examples of the synthesis of pious and commercial/residential elements can be found in the facade of the *rab'* Qizlār, with a *sabīl-kuttāb* occupying one of its central bays (Fig A1.3a, b, & g.). The apartments all project a given distance out from the shops below them, according to the usual formula. The *sabīl* (the lower part of the *sabīl-kuttāb* pair) is set forward from the shops to either side of it, by exactly the same distance as the projection of the apartments. As a result, the *kuttāb*, which rises straight up from the *sabīl*, is in the same plane as the apartments on either side of it. The verticality of the *sabīl-kuttāb* type and the horizontality of the residence-shops type is elegantly fused into one building with a distinctive T in the facade. The *wakāla* of Qāyrbāy at al-Azhar, which has a *sabīl-kuttāb* at its north-western corner, evinces the same distinction and fusion (Fig. A1.10c). In this case, the *sabīl* is in the same line as the ground floor, and the *kuttāb* rises straight up from it and is set back from the apartments which have a distinctive projection.

These two examples underscore that each type of function or building developed a particular street expression. The different types of constructions were sometimes mixed with other types of structures that did not share the same street expression. In the mixing of more than one type, each maintained its specific expression, but there was great attention paid to the overall composition. In other words their synthesis allowed the parts to look like they belonged together, while avoiding any loss of specificity in expression.

The incorporation of residential units within religious complexes represents another case of mixing of two types of buildings. This study surveyed three extant examples: the *rab'*s in the complexes of Barsbāy, Īnāl, and Qurqumās. In each case, the *rab'* block served as a *khanqā* for the *ṣūfī*'s associated with the foundation. I have presented these *rab'*s in isolation. It is now worthwhile to look at the overall grouping with an eye towards distinctions between residential and pious uses. The residences in Qurqumās and Barsbāy are a single block, next to but on a different street line from the rest of the building. As a single block of buildings in one line, they fall within the conventions of

treatment of residential units. Unlike the purely residential buildings, however, their upper level does not project on corbels, and if there were any projections, they would have been individual wooden elements covering the windows. The facade expression of these residential units is different from that of the remainder of the complex. The windows of the apartments are not enframed by rectangular niches. So even though this part of the complex does not use the technique of the overhang to produce a horizontal emphasis, the reading of these residential blocks is distinctly horizontal.

In one sense, the treatment of the *khanqā* within these religious complexes is half-way between the treatment of purely secular residences and purely religious buildings. The lack of projecting upper stories sets the *khanqā* apart from the more common residential block.<sup>221</sup> The lack of vertical framing distinguishes it from the madrasa and mausoleum parts of the complex. Judging from the location and orientation of the entrances to each of the mosques of Barsāy and Qurqumās, the architects intended the horizontal *khanqā* block to act as a backdrop for the more important and vertical parts of the complex, the madrasa and mausoleum. This is also true of the complex of Qāyrbāy in the desert, which had a *rab'* part similar to that of Qurqumās. These examples illustrate the same manner of combining different elements found in the examples of the *sabīl-kuttāb*.

### Neighborhood development

I have looked at the religious buildings in the context of their surrounding buildings in order to see stylistic relationships. I will now look at them in the context of their overall endowment. In Chapter 4, the study of the geography of endowments revealed a clear tendency to cluster income generating and income consuming properties in one area. This revealed a conception of the symbiotic relationship between the different components of an endowment.

The *waqf* of the Sulṭān Ḥusām al-Dīn Lajīn sheds light on an interesting historical fact documented by many historians. Lajīn, who ruled briefly from 696/1297 to 698/1299, executed extensive restorations of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn and built the domed ablution area in the middle of the mosque's courtyard. According to the historians, this was in fulfillment of a vow he took while hiding in the then delapidated mosque should he survive the troubles and become ruler.<sup>222</sup> He also set up an extensive endowment to

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<sup>221</sup> The *rab'* al-Tabbāna is an example of a purely residential building without projections, but it appears not to have been the common treatment.

<sup>222</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, 2:268-269.

finance the continuation of the work and to maintain the mosque. His *waqf* deed reveals that a large proportion of the endowments for the mosque consisted of numerous shops encircling the mosque. They included a water well and wheel, thirty two shops to the *qiblī* side of the mosque, three shops opposite the water well, seven shops at the *qiblī* side of the mosque towards its *gharbī* side, six plots of land around the mosque, as well as five plots of land with *maq'ads* built on them in the same area.<sup>223</sup> Lajīn acquired or built all of these properties as as part of the fulfillment of his vow to renovate the mosque. For this patron, the renovation of the mosque was not simply a matter of committing funds to it. The actual revitalization of the area around the mosque had its own incalculable contribution to the realization of his endeavor.

To realize this urban ideal of a pious foundation surrounded by income earning buildings, Mamluk patrons required a larger building site than would be needed by the pious foundation alone. Clearly this was difficult to realize in a fairly congested city with high property values. The result was probably some kind of compromise between the ideal and the minimal.

### Relations between elements of an architectural tradition

In an earlier section, I delineated elements of the religious buildings that made them monumental (portal, frames, minaret, and dome). The residential and commercial buildings of the period contained none of these elements, with the exception of the portal. Does the absence of these elements, particularly in their verticality, mean that the commercial/residential buildings are not monumental? Lacking the elements associated with Mamluk monumentality, their patrons nonetheless intended them to be monumental, though to a lesser degree and in a different way. It is precisely in this difference that I locate the remarkable contribution of the Mamluks to urbanism and architecture.

They achieved monumentality in the *rab'-wakālas*, not by the enlargement of elements or the verticalization of composition, but by regularization and repetition of a unit found in the vernacular. The buildings read as monumental because the beholder always had this vernacular as a reference. We find the repeated unit the projecting upper floor and the windows of the main living space (the *īwān*). The windows of the apartment unit in our two earliest examples (Barsbāy and Īnāl) took the form of a long central window flanked by two smaller ones. In the later Mamluk examples (Qāyṭbāy onwards) the

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<sup>223</sup> Maḥkama 17 & 18 (21 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 697/1298).

openings became three equally sized windows. The multiplication of this latter development yields a more monumental effect than the multiplication of the earlier ones.

This monumentalization by the ordered repetition of a found artifact replicates that found in the Sulṭānī call to prayer. I have already described this call to prayer as monumental because it goes beyond the narrow function of announcing the time of prayer. Its monumentality is also due to the specific relationship that it had to the normal or more vernacular call to prayer and the urban circumstances of Cairo. Given the abundance of minarets in the city and their close proximity, at any location, a number of calls could be heard emanating from different minarets and proceeding at different rates and rhythms. While probably somewhat cacophonous (it is hard to imagine that they could have all been coordinated), the multiple calls nonetheless provided a sense of being immersed in an event with spatial characteristics. The Sulṭānī call to prayer took an already existing incident, ordered it, and amplified it to achieve an effect not possible by the random vernacular. What the Sulṭānī call maintained from the original context, however, was the spatial sense that results from voices arriving to the ear at different times.

Analogously, the *rab'* building type repeated the vernacular dwelling with its projecting upper floor. In the vernacular dwelling, the projection gained more space for the dwelling and provided a view down the street. The *rab'* repeated this formula in a regular fashion, with the possibility of a side view lost for all but the end units.

The similarity between the plans of Mamluk mosque/madrasas and the *qā'a* plan has been noted by scholars. Numerous examples of conversion of a residence into a madrasa further support this observation. In terms of exterior expression, madrasas share very little with Cairene residences. Mamluk religious architecture had a clear style of its own that could not be confused with Mamluk residential architecture.

### The reading of Mamluk buildings

Most scholarship on Mamluk architecture tends to read the buildings of that period both as entities separate from their context, and as entities complete and unified unto themselves. The first tendency has been less indulged in more recent scholarship, but the second continues to be a characteristic of art historical monographic studies.

An investigation of how the contemporaries saw their buildings, based on their descriptions of them, reveals that they often did not see the buildings as the unified entities that we have tended to see. Buildings of the Mamluk period comprised different formal and functional parts, combined into ensembles, while still retaining their individual

legibility. The answer to the question "what is this building" is not a simple one, such as "this is a mosque" or "this is a madrasa." In the eyes of the contemporaries, the building remained a mosque, a madrasa *and* a mausoleum, or a madrasa and a *khanqā* or a *wakāla* and a *rab'*.<sup>224</sup>

This multiplicity of reading appears quite glaringly in the archives. A large building is often referred to simply as a "place" (*makān*) that consisted of a *wakāla*, a *rab'*, and a *ḥāḥūn*. For example, in one document we find the statement "the renewed funduq and the *rab'* above it."<sup>225</sup> In another document, the *funduq* is distinguished from the shops outside it, and the *rab'* above it.<sup>226</sup> This division of the building into parts was not just a convention adopted to facilitate the task of accounting required by a legal document. It was a part and parcel of the Mamluks conception and perception of their buildings. Non-archival evidence also supports this view. The architectural evidence includes the strapwork around the commercial part of a *wakāla*. In the *rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī at Khān al-Khalīlī, the residential units do not project out from the plane of the shops. The whole facade is on one plane, which might have caused some confusion in the reading of the parts of the building. This was avoided, however, by the presense of strapwork moulding that runs horizontally above all the shops, jogs up to include the portal of the *wakāla*, and comes back down to run above the shops on the other side of the portal. In so doing, the strapwork moulding separates the lower level commercial structures from the upper level residences. The historical evidence includes Maqrīzī's description of the Qalawun complex. He wrote of a door to the *maristān* with the madrasa and the mausoleum being reached from within that door, and not of a door to the whole complex.

The problem for medieval Cairene architects was the accommodation of various necessary functions in a single building program or construction as a response to the crowdedness of the city. The *rab'-wakāla* combination emerged as one solution, the *rab'*-stables as another. In these solutions, the architects attempted an overall composition, but close scrutiny of the facade treatment reveals that they maintained the distinctions between

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<sup>224</sup> This re-reading is already occurring in recent scholarship, where people are more aware of the multiplicity of functions in a building that cannot be reduced to a singular one. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions", *Annales Islamologiques* XXI, (Cairo: I.F.A.O., 1985).

<sup>225</sup> Awqāf 651 (20 Sha'bān, 723/1323), l: 8. See App2: Awqāf 651: 1.

<sup>226</sup> Maḥkama 50 (13 Muḥarram, 778/1376). This *funduq* was previously known as *dār al-Anmāṭ*.

the different programmatic elements. This combination of different types into larger urban agglomerations is another Mamluk contribution to architecture and urbanism that calls for further study.

My study looked at different groupings of buildings to study their residential component. The very possibility of conducting the research along such lines is an indication that Mamluk buildings can be looked at as made up of different constituent parts, each with its own logic and history.

### Mamluk architecture and the city

Various studies have addressed the issue of encroachment in the Islamic cities. The process, described formally by Sauvaget and analyzed legally by al-Hathloul, yielded, over time, the same urban pattern, whether the city was of Islamic or Hellenistic origin.<sup>227</sup> The Fāṭimid part of Cairo represents a city that was founded on a fairly regular layout, and that was transformed by subsequent dynasties and changes in use. There is evidence that the streets of the city were originally much wider than their Mamluk counterparts. The subsequent accretions have generally been attributed to the piece-meal construction of residences and commercial structures.

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<sup>227</sup> Jean Sauvaget, *Alep*, (Paris: 1941), 66-67; J. Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 8 (1934): 441, 452; al-Hathloul, *Continuity and Change*, 24, 29.

In most Muslim cities, properties were fragmented by the way in which the Islamic inheritance laws were applied. Typically upon the death of an owner, his/her property was physically divided amongst the heirs in proportion to their relative interest. The creation of autonomous units from a larger residence often necessitated the opening of new doorways, and sometimes new alleys.

In Cairo, the inheritance laws were applied differently. Heirs became partners in the property which remained undivided. Shares could be bought, sold, or further divided by subsequent inheritance, and could even be made *waqf*. This specifically Cairene implementation of the inheritance laws was probably a response to the necessity of a vertically extended city, where the vertical layering of functions and the overall density made physical subdivision of properties unworkable. At the same time, this system allowed for the development of multi-use constructions and decreased the likelihood of irregular plots.

The medieval Iraqi traveller to Cairo, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bughdādī, noted this difference in inheritance. It is also documented by numerous deeds of sale, rent, *waqf* that involve fractions of a property.

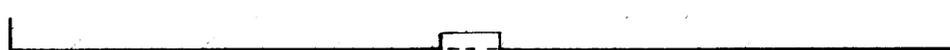
My observations about the relation of monument to fabric in Mamluk architecture suggest a contrary attribution of responsibility for the reformulation of the street in the medieval city of Cairo. A monumental religious building, while usually longer lasting and therefore more stable, in effect served the function of fracturing the street. It fragmented the street by setting up new end-conditions to abut to. The jogs in the facade of a religious building meant that one end was on a different street line than the other. Subsequently, buildings on either end would most likely abut the new edges set by the monument. Examples of this include the Marīdānī mosque in the Tabbāna area, and the mosque of al-Ghūrī in al-Qāhira. Commercial buildings, may not have lasted as long as the religious structure, but as buildings that favored a continuous line, they served the function of reforming the street and consolidating it, or at least maintaining it.

The "ins and outs" of Mamluk religious buildings arose as a response to increasingly crowded urban conditions, motivated by a desire for individual notice. An appreciation of unintended effects resulting from additions to existing buildings possibly also contributed to the development of this sensibility. For instance the religious complex of the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb in the heart of al-Qāhira was initially built without the mausoleum (Fig. C6.5). The first part presented a linear facade running some ninety meters. Added later to one end of the facade, the cubic mausoleum projected onto the street. The final configuration resembled the variegated street line of later Mamluk buildings. Such additions might therefore have served as the inspiration for an aesthetic which gave to buildings an irregular front.

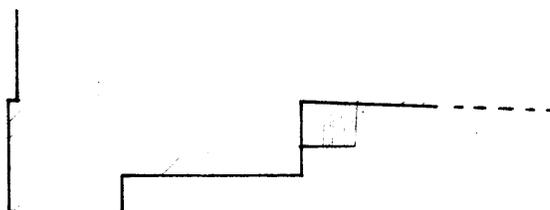
The "means" of fitting a building in an urban situation became the "end" in the sense that the jagged fronts became an integral part of a period's feelings about the treatment of building masses. This is best revealed by the examples of Mamluk complexes built in the open spaces of the desert/cemetery outside the city, where the constraints existed more in the builders' minds than in the locale. As discussed earlier, these examples all show a preference for a variegated facade with the setbacks corresponding to the different spatial groupings constituting the complex. The residential components in a sense create a fabric or a context for the more monumental components of the complex. I would argue that the religious complexes in the desert embody/exemplify the whole Mamluk urbanistic view: a horizontal context serving as a backdrop for a forward thrusting and upward reaching monumentalism.



a: *Wakāla* of Qāyrbāy at al-Azhar.

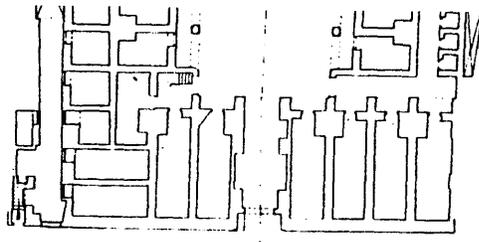


b: *Wakāla* of Qāyrbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr.

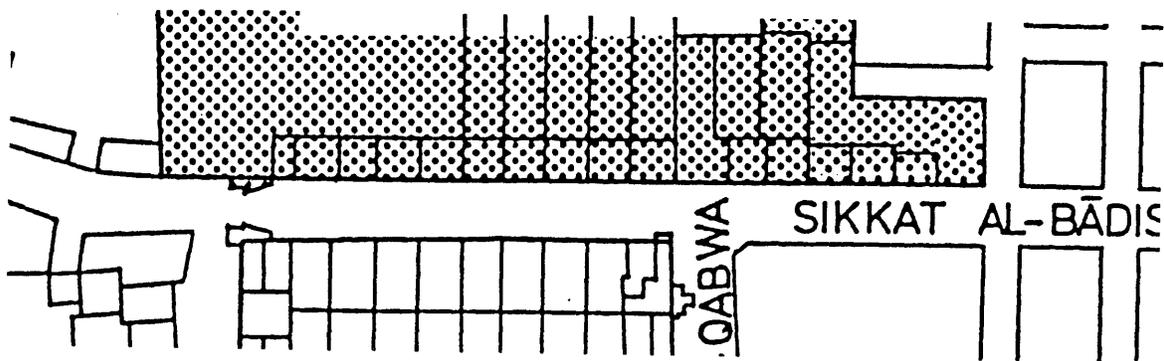


c: Complex of Qāyrbāy in the cemetery.

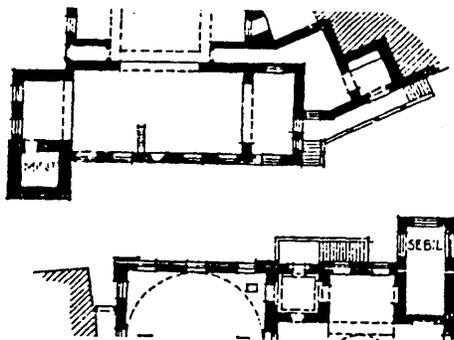
Figure C6.1: Comparison of street frontage of three buildings of Qāyrbāy:



a: *Wakāla* of al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn) at al-Azhar.



b: *Wakāla* of al-Ghūrī (al-Nakhla).



c: Madrasa/mausoleum of al-Ghūrī in al-Qāhira.

Figure C6.2: Comparison of street frontage of three buildings of al-Ghūrī:

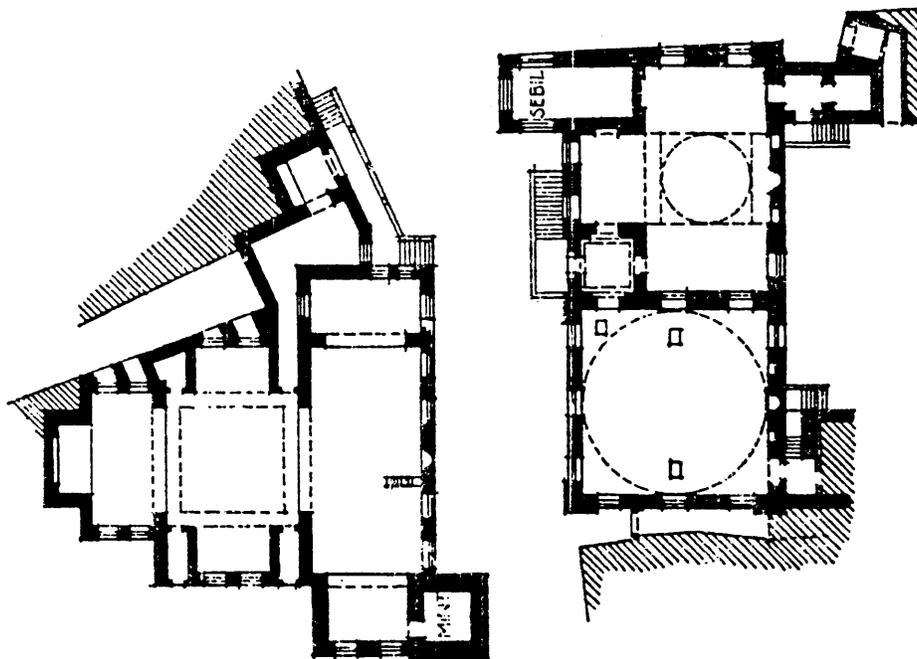
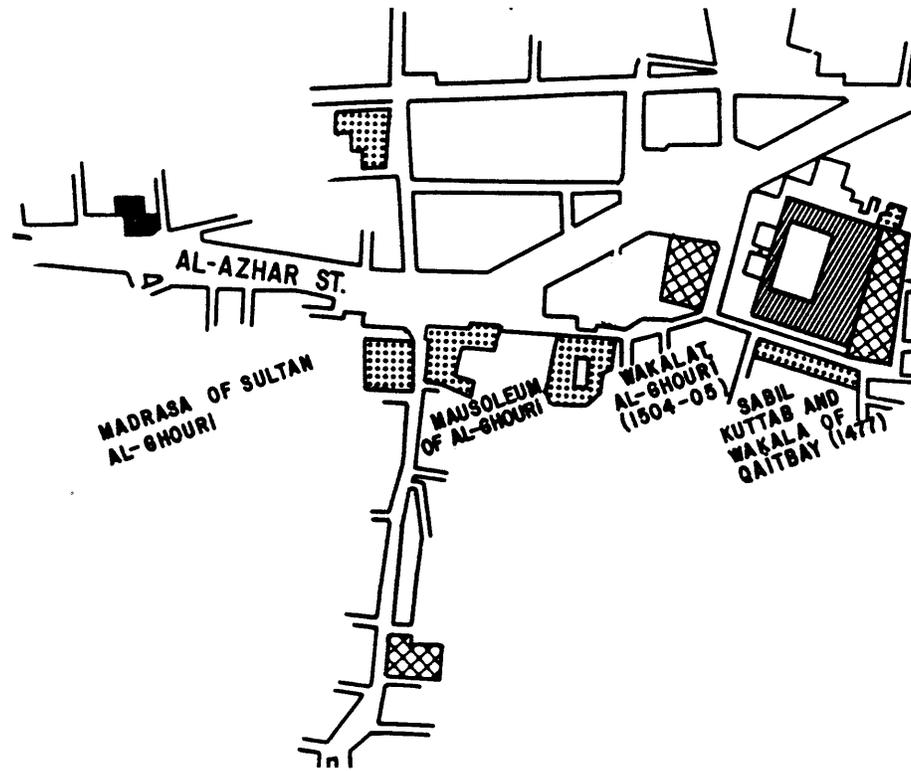


Figure C6.3: Madrasa/mausoleum of al-Ghūrī: plan (Branderburg) and site plan (Parker and Sabin).

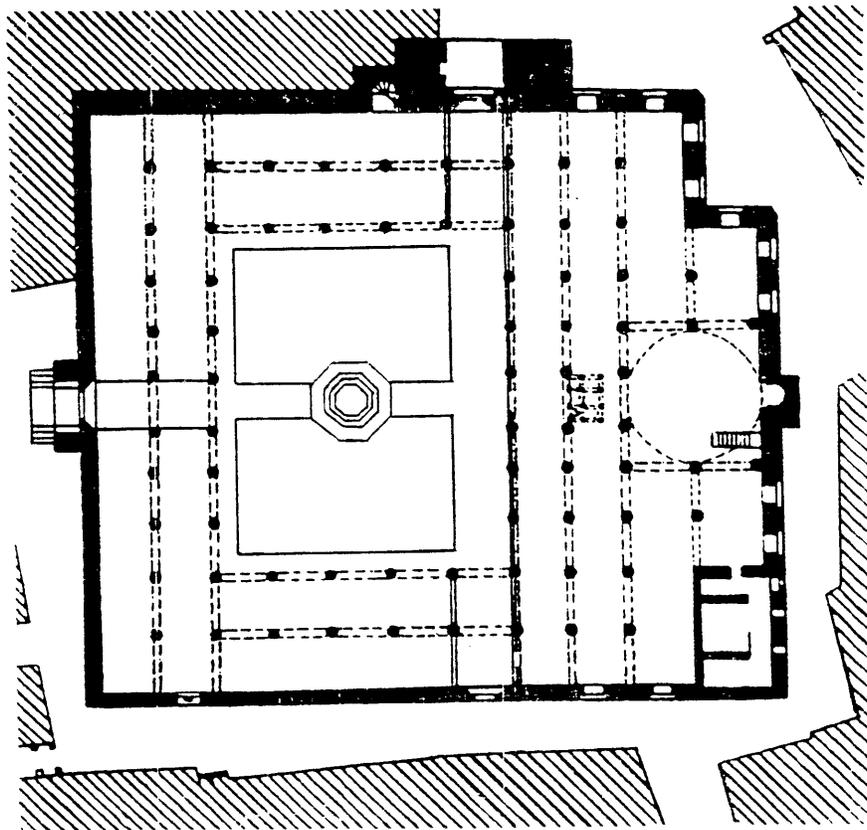
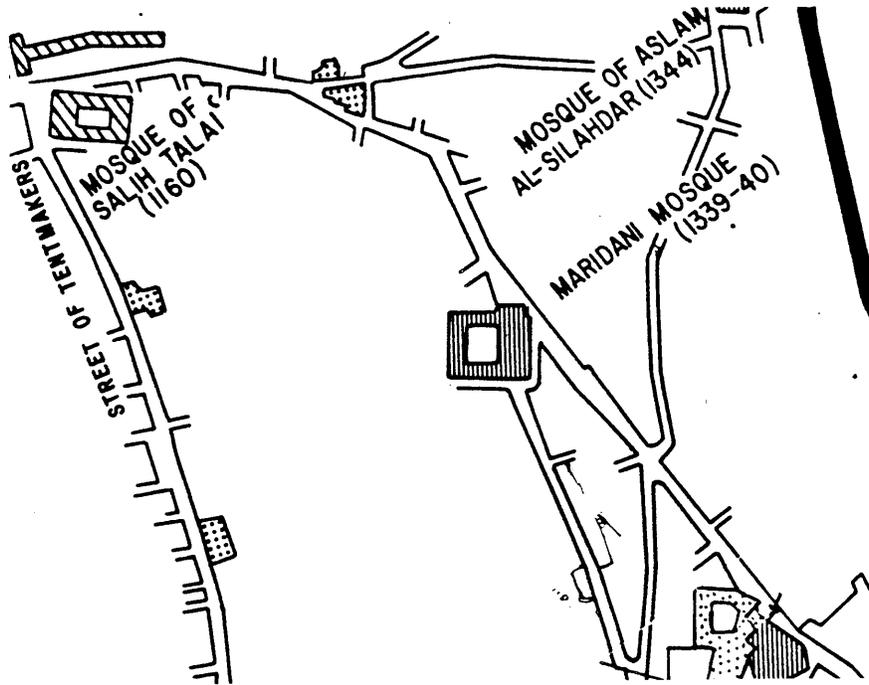


Figure C6.4: Al-Maridānī mosque: plan (Branderburg) and site plan (Parker and Sabin).



Figure C6.4c: Al-Marīdānī mosque. View from Darb al-Aḥmar looking south.

Figure C6.4d: Al-Marīdānī mosque. View across courtyard towards entrance.





Figure C6.4e: Al-Marīdānī mosque. View from Darb al-Aḥmar looking north.

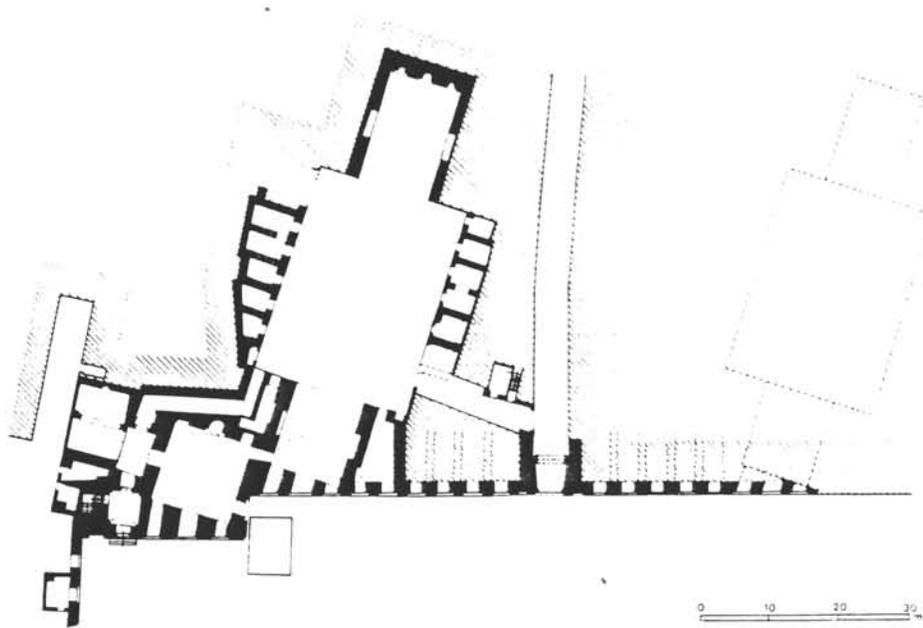
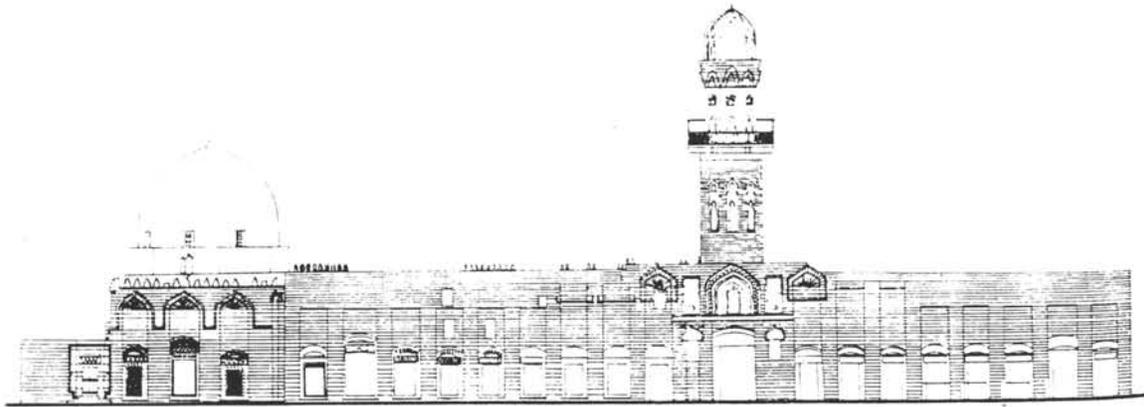


Figure C6.5: Madrasa of al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. Plan and elevation (Hoag).

## Conclusion

This study used the investigation of the *rab'* as an entry point to a more general discussion of architectural production during the Mamluk period. The *rab'* provided a way to increase both the depth and breadth of our knowledge of Cairene architecture and urbanism. Commonly accepted characterizations were questioned and new ones were proposed.

A few examples of extant *rab'* buildings and their extant *waqf* documents served as keys to identifying and understanding the contemporary architectural terminology of the *rab'* type. I characterized the *rab'* as a grouping of residential units stacked horizontally and vertically as we would stack shoe boxes. A common corridor served the units on the same level, and sometimes also served two levels of units. The vertical extension of each unit gave the whole block a horizontal emphasis. The apartment consisted of a number of spaces, the most important of which was an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'ā* combination. Additional spaces included an entry vestibule, a latrine, cooking area, and a mezzanine-like room. The sequence of circulation in each apartment typically ended in a private roof terrace, which was an important amenity reserved for the top level of apartments.

Both in terminology and in form, the apartment dwelling shared much with the larger private residence. The *īwān* and *dūr-qā'ā* combination characterized the largest and smallest dwellings of the Mamluk period. Similarly, and at an earlier point in time, the *majlis* and *dūr-qā'ā* combination characterized the same range of residences. The latrine, cooking area, closets, and roof terrace were all elements that also tied the apartment to the larger dwellings.

The use of archival material allowed for the extension of the sample both in time and in quantity. As a result it became apparent that the building was adapted to a range of contexts and uses and could be built in conjunction with almost any commercial structure. The archival material also permitted the investigation of the development of the type. The *rab'* unit developed as an adaptation of the single family courtyard house of Fuṣṭāṭ. More interestingly, however, the *rab'* unit appears to have subsequently played a significant role in the formation of the Cairene house. It served as the model for the development of the earlier house plan to better suit the conditions of an urban metropolis growing more conscious of its urban character and of the potentialities that such a character entailed. We can no longer look at a single house type or scale in isolation of the others in the same society.

In situating the *rab'* in the overall urban context, and in the context of a specific endowment, I identified a clear preference for the clustering of constructions around the pious building. While this took advantage of the pull of the pious foundation and provided a visible image of the endowment system, it came in conflict with the desire of a subsequent patron to build a religious building in the same area. They either had to keep their distance from the earlier one or they had to take over some of the previous buildings' support constructions. In some cases, this probably speeded up the decay of supporting commercial buildings from their more usual lifespan.

Perhaps the most important lesson that can be taken from this study of the Mamluk period is that of the Mamluk development of a comprehensive urbanistic attitude. I established the formal distinctions between different building types and elucidated a system of intense monumentalization that steered clear of the confusion possible in an environment where all elements vie for attention. Had the Mamluks followed the same route in monumentalizing all their constructions, the system would have backfired. The Mamluk urban system remained open-ended in the sense that each building type could be developed to satisfy a number of requirements, particularly that of monumentality, while always maintaining the distinctiveness of the individual elements and a clarity about the role of each building in the urban environment.<sup>228</sup>

In a number of respects, Cairo emerges as an exceptional city in its time. The existence of the *rab'* type; the different implementation of Islamic inheritance laws; the careful siting of monuments in an already dense fabric; and the development of an externalized architecture within an irregular context are all aspects of the difference between Cairo and other Medieval cities.

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<sup>228</sup> What kind of verbal discourse was carried on at the time on this subject remains to be discovered. How was this development which spanned several hundred years communicated from one generation to the next?

**Appendix 1**  
**Twelve Buildings of Interest:**  
 A Description of Some Extant *Rab*'s in Cairo

- 1 *Rab*' of Raḍwān bey
- 2 *Rab*' and sabīl-kuttāb al-Qizlār
- 3 *Rab*' al-Tabbāna
- 4 *Khān* al-Zarākisha
- 5 *Rab*'-*wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn)
- 6 Ṣūfī apartments in the complex of Qurqumās
- 7 *Rab*'-*wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Nakhla)
- 8 *Rab*'-*wakāla* of Qāyrbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr
- 9 *Rab*'-*wakāla* of Qāyrbāy at al-Azhar
- 10 *Rab*' of Qāyrbāy in the cemetery
- 11 Ṣūfī apartments in the Īnāl complex
- 12 Ṣūfī apartments in the complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy

There are more than one hundred extant apartment buildings that either date from the medieval period (15th cent. onwards) or reflect it.<sup>229</sup> Most date from the Ottoman period. This appendix surveys the nine remaining Mamluk buildings as well as three from the Ottoman period.

While this study is primarily about Mamluk architecture and the residential buildings of that period, the Ottoman examples are included for three reasons. First, the relative paucity of examples from the Mamluk period and their often advanced state of decay, in contrast to the number of extant mosques and madrasas from the same period, makes it difficult to get a complete picture of any one building. Second, Ottoman architecture in Cairo represents, for the most part, a remarkable continuity with Mamluk architecture. Third, the buildings that remain are all from the time when the type had formed and stabilized. So the three post-Mamluk buildings will be looked at because of the continuity that they embody.

I present the examples in reverse chronological order. This takes advantage of the better state of repair of the later ones, allows the introduction of the spatial units in a more complete form, and introduces the terminology used in the foundation deeds. Some of these residential groups have been the subject of study, individually or as part a complex. The relevant studies will be cited in the discussion of individual buildings.

The following does not aim at as thorough a presentation as one would expect in a monograph. Rather, the presentations aim at identifying those salient characteristics of each building which can be used to develop a picture of this type of construction at various periods in time. Given the varying amount and nature of information available on each building, it is impossible to ask the same questions of all of them.

My presentation of the buildings relies on a number of incomplete sources. It consists of a documentation of the existing architecture, including any surviving inscriptions; a presentation of the contemporary description of the building if its endowment deed survives; and reference to studies conducted on the building.

### **Rab' of Raḍwān Bey (~1040/1631)**

Just to the south of Bab Zuweyla is a group of buildings dating from the late

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<sup>229</sup> Raymond's estimate in "The Rab'," 57.

Ottoman period (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>230</sup> The group can be best described as an urban complex straddling the main thoroughfare of the Medieval city. Presently, it consists of a covered market with apartments above, and the extensive stables and residential complex of the founder. This group, built by the Amir Raḡwān prior to 1047/1638, originally also included a *qaysāriyya* as well as a mill. The founder was a powerful amir who had strong connections to Mecca. On more than one occasion he acted as the leader of the Egyptian caravan to Mecca.

### Present state (Figs. A1.2a-q)

The part of the complex of interest to us is the covered market and its apartments. This market is the extension of the main spine of medieval al-Qāhira. The eastern apartments are still inhabited and are not accessible for a detailed survey. The western ones had been vacated about thirty years ago for restoration and stabilization, and have since served as a dump for discarded materials from the workshops below. This western group of apartments or *rab'*, consists of thirteen units sitting atop twenty nine shops (Fig A1.2m & o). They are reached from a doorway in the alley off the main street. A flight of steps leads to a long L-shaped corridor which leads to the apartments. The corridor is fairly dark even though it is punctured by a number of high window openings overlooking the yard.

Each apartment spans two bays of the construction module, and therefore sits on top of two of the shops below. The main space of each apartment spans two bays and consists of a number of spatial volumes that open onto each other in a sequential fashion, with slight differences in relative widths and floor and ceiling levels, serving to clarify their hierarchic differences. In the first bay are two volumes, known as the *dūr-qā'a* and the *īwān*. The *dūr-qā'a* is the small rectangular space that one enters into and where one would leave their shoes. The *īwān* is a larger rectangular area and its floor level is about 15 cms. higher than that of the *dūr-qā'a*. It can be thought of as a rectangular room that has one of its walls missing (the one opening onto the *dūr-qā'a*). At the far end of the *īwān* are two windows overlooking the market street below. Opening off the two remaining sides of the *īwān* are two rectangular recesses or niches. One of them is a

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<sup>230</sup> Listed in the Index of Muhammadan Monuments as nos: 406-9, and located on the 1:5000 map in 6G.

Described in the endowment deed: Awqāf 996.

A. Raymond, "The Rab'," 58, 61, nn. 7.

shallow indentation in the wall that can be used as a seat. The second is a very deep recess. In fact it is deep enough to encompass the second bay, and it has one window overlooking the market street below.

This main space is separated from the apartment entrance by a semi covered entry space measuring about 3.4 by 5.8 meters, containing a latrine and a flight of stairs leading to the upper levels of the apartment. The staircase is in the part of the entry vestibule that is open to the sky and it leads at its first landing to a room above the vestibule that also straddles the public corridor. This room has a high window overlooking the yard of the stables below. The second landing is a walled off roof terrace over the floor area of the whole apartment.

A number of characteristics of this apartment block are of interest. The design of the apartments transports one from a narrow, covered, and dimly lit corridor, to an open and airy apartment that is seemingly distant from the outside world. This transformation begins at the vestibule of the apartment, which is partly open to the sky. Upon entry, the sense is that of being back on the ground. There is a sudden shift from the horizontal of the corridor to the vertical emphasis of the apartment. This culminates in the ascent to the private roof terrace. The terrace is above the level of the roof that covers the market street, and it is as private as it is open.

A second characteristic is that each unit is a mirror image of its two neighbors. This allows the latrines of adjacent apartments to share the same chute. One of the consequences of this mirroring is the syncopation of the rhythm of the windows on the facade. Since each unit has two sets of windows (a pair of windows in one bay, and a single window in the second), the resulting window patterns is:  
a\_b\_b\_a\_a\_b\_b\_a\_a\_b\_b\_a..... (Fig A1.2c & d).

A third characteristic is the carefully considered relationship between the layout of the apartments and the spaces below them. As has been noted, the apartments are on top of shops and stables. These are back-to-back and each apartment is located on top of two shops and one bay of the stables. The wall that acts as back of both the shops and the stables continues up into the apartments and acts as the separator between the main living space and the entry space. The main space is two bays wide and is divided into two bays while the entry space also spans two bays but does so as one space.

Fourth, inspection of the *rab'* level plan reveals that the construction is not that of load bearing wall construction, as is the case with the ground level shops and stables. Rather, it is more of a pier construction, with infill walls that separate the apartments. All

the recesses that appear internally to be carved into the wall are in fact coordinated within this framework of brick piers and beams of palm trunks. More importantly, the *iwān dūr-qā'a* distinction is both maintained and contained within this system of pier and infill construction; the width of the *iwān* is the distance between the piers, and the width of the *dūr-qā'a* is that distance plus the slight recess on either side. This slight but critical distinction is further emphasized by the slight jog in the ceiling moulding.

### Contemporary description

The buildings in this complex are recorded in a number of extant deeds dating from 1038/1629 to 1057/1647.<sup>231</sup> The deeds reveal that the complex was built over a number of years. A new deed was written as more buildings were completed and added to the foundation. Each deed describes the latest addition in some detail and lists in lesser detail the properties endowed in the earlier deeds. Unfortunately, the deed that would have had the more detailed description of this *rab'* has not survived. We can still learn a great deal from the less detailed descriptions given in the later deeds. One of the first things that becomes apparent is that the whole building program was built on lands that were purchased or rented from a number of other owners or endowments. So a large parcel was assembled from a number of smaller plots.

In Awqāf 996 we find a brief description of this part of the foundation:<sup>232</sup>

. . . . and to his *waqf* which is the fifty one shops and three *maq'ads*. And of the mentioned shops, there is in the major street--that leads to the Maḥmūdiyya madrasa and the residence of our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek, the mentioned endower--outside the Zuwayla gate near the Qarabiyyīn twenty eight shops. Of them, four are between the shops of al-Asākifa \_\_\_\_\_ (tuṣraf) our lord the endower and between the large renewed gate in the mentioned street that leads to the place of residence of our lord the endower, two are between the door of the *rab'* built by the mentioned endower above the shops of the Qawāfīn, and twenty two shops are known by the Qawāfīn to the back of the stable that is in the large place of renewed construction and building from the door of the soon to be mentioned *rab'* and to the end of the row which is the head of the alley that is towards the door of the house of the mentioned al-Sūbāshī. And the twenty two remaining

<sup>231</sup> Awqāf 994 dated 28 Jamādī al-Awal, 1038/. Awqāf 995 dated \_ Ramaḍān, 1039/, with later additions. Awqāf 996 dated 15 Ramaḍān, 1047/. Awqāf 997 dated 16 Ramaḍān, 1047/. Awqāf 998 dated 10 Shawāl, 1057.

<sup>232</sup> Awqāf 996, ll:259-300. See App2: Awqāf 996: 11-13.

mentioned shops and three *maq'ads* are in the mentioned alley. Of them, ten are to the right of one going from the main street towards al-Amwāsiyyīn and elsewhere, at the back of the stores of the mentioned *wakāla* from its *gharbī* border, and twelve shops and the three mentioned *maq'ads* are also in the mentioned alley to the left of the mentioned pursuent. Separating the mentioned twelve shops are two doors; one to the *zāwiyya* that is there and the door of the soon to be mentioned *rab'*. The remainder of the original shops, and that is ten, is in the main street towards the al-Ṣāliḥ mosque and the house of al-Sūbāshī that includes the *maq'ad* of al-Qabānī and the shop that is adjacent to the *maq'ad* of Dawādār al-Sūbāshi mentioned above. And all of the soon to be mentioned *rab'* and the number of its residences is thirteen *riwāqs* complete with usages, appendices and rights (*manāfi' marāfiq wa ḥuqūq*) Of them eleven *riwāqs* are above the shops of the *qawāqīn* and the stable of the large place mentioned above. And the remaining two *riwāqs* of them are above the three *maq'ads* and the shops adjoining it in the mentioned alley. All of that is known by the construction of our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek and his endowment. And all of the large place and what is in it of the stable and the store rooms and the building of the drinking water well that is in its yard and what will be built in it of usages and the *qā'a* and *maq'ad* and other things to be a *waqf* also as part of the renewed place known by the building of our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek and his endowment. Surrounding the mentioned place and what it contains, and constraining it are four borders. The *qiblī* border is to the back of the above mentioned shops of the *Qawāfīn* and the *bahrī* border is to the street separating between that and the mentioned oven and in it is the facade of the mentioned place and the overlooks of the above mentioned *qaṣr* above that and the remainder of it is to the passage to the mentioned *ḥārat* Banī [Says?]. And the *sharqī* border is to the alley that is towards the door of the mentioned al-Shūbāshī and in it are three *maq'ads* and what adjoins them of shops and the door of the *rab'* and the *zāwiyya* and the overlook of the windows of the two *riwāqs* above that and the remainder of the shops adjacent to the door of the *rab'* and the door of the *zāwiyya* that is in the mentioned alley. And the *gharbī* border is to the place of residence of our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek, the endower referred to above, may God be good to him and have mercy on him and the Muslims, Amen. And the remainder of this border, is to the large door of newly rebuilt construction and building in the public street renewed by our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek the endower, and his construction that leads to the mentioned place of his residence in the mentioned street. As for the *qaṣr* that is above that and the shops adjacent to the *Asākifa* and what the mentioned *qaṣr* contains that is reached from the door of the *fasha* that is towards the place of residence of the Amīr Raḍwān Bek referred to now, mentioned above. Our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek built the whole of the *qaṣr* and what it contains of usages and

appendices and rights and added it to the mentioned place of his residence and made it part of its usages and made that *waqf* also as part of his endowment according to the stipulations that will be explained. And constraining the four shops that are adjacent to the mentioned shops of the *Asākifa* are four borders. The *qiblī* border is to the public road from which one reaches the *khuṭṭ* of the Qūṣūn mosque and other places, and in it is the facade of the mentioned shops and its platforms (*masāṭib*), and the *baḥrī* border is to the space (*fasha*) towards the above mentioned place of residence of our lord the Amīr Raḍwān Bek, referred to. And the *sharqī* border is to the mentioned large renewed gate on the main street. And adjoining the mentioned gate, on either side, are two seats neighboring the mentioned street. And constraining the mentioned shops of the Qawāfiyyīn are four borders. The *qiblī* border of that is to the mentioned public street and in it is the facade of the shops and their platforms and the *māwarda* (?) and the overlook of what is above that of the eleven mentioned *riwāq* s, and the *khardamānāt*. And the *baḥrī* border is to the back of the mentioned stable and the *sharqī* border is to the alley that is towards the mentioned door of al-Sūbāshī. And the *gharbī* border is to door of the mentioned *rab'* .

...

From this description we learn that there were thirteen apartments, referred to by the term *arwiqa* (s. *riwaq*) with no further description of their constituent elements. Eleven of them looked out on the main thoroughfare and two looked out on the side alley that was widened by Raḍwān. The apartments are reached by two staircases at the two extremes of the L-shaped corridor on the first floor. The first staircase is off the main thoroughfare and the second one is off the side alley. The second one is the larger entrance and was probably the more often used one. Presently the first staircase no longer reaches to the apartment block.

### *Rab' and sabīl-kuttāb al-Qizlār, 1028/1619*

This building is also located on the extension of the main spine of Cairo but further south towards the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>233</sup> What presently stands of this building, is a block of eight bays facing the street. Originally, the building probably extended further back around a courtyard, but that area is presently filled in with recent constructions.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Index no. 265, loc. 8F.

<sup>234</sup> This building has been the subject of a recent detailed study by Mrs. Mona Zakariya and members of the French Institute in Cairo. The study, which is in press, was not

### Present state (Figs. A1.3a-k)

The first bay, at the southern end of the facade, is a doorway from which a staircase leads to the apartments above. The second and third bays are shops below and living above. The fourth is a *sabīl* (public water place) with the *kuttāb* (classroom for young orphans) above it. The fifth is the arched opening of a passage that leads to the back of the building block, and what was probably the courtyard of a *wakāla*. From within this passage access is gained to the staircase leading to the *kuttāb* above. The sixth, seventh, and eighth bays are also shops with apartments above.

The building is notable for its fine masonry work in the facade. The opening of each shop is spanned by a 3.3 meter lintel that is made up of 13 joggled voussoirs in a flat arch.

The upper floor of *rab' al-Qizlār* projects out on corbels from the line of the shops below by about 30 centimeters. The *sabīl*, however is also set forward by the same amount from the ground level bays on either side. As a result, its facade is in the same plane as the *kuttāb* above. This gives the overall elevation a T-shape. The difference in the street line of the *sabīl* in relation to that of the shops on either side raised the question of how it was justified at the time in terms of property limit. Were the shops built up to the property line, and the *sabīl* was built slightly out onto the public way? If so, was such an encroachment generally acceptable, or was the *sabīl* built on the property line and the other shops set back? The latter seems quite unlikely as it would mean relinquishing a lot of space. Perhaps there was an arrangement that allowed to take a little from the public way in exchange for giving it a little.

The apartments of this buildings are all on one level and are reached via a corridor on the back side of the first floor (the floor above the ground floor), in an arrangement similar to that found in the Raḍwān complex. Each apartment here occupies only a single bay of the construction module. The same hierarchy of spaces is also found in the units here as in the *rab' al-Raḍwān*. From the small vestibule, one can reach the main living space, go to the latrine, or take the narrow stairs to the upper level room and the private roof terrace. The main space of the apartment is a double storied space subdivided into an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*.

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available to me at this writing, but Mrs. Zakariya was very kind in providing me with a copy of the survey drawings of the building (Fig. A1.3).

At the top of the the facade of the *sabīl*, and below the railing of the *kuttāb* is a marble plaque with the following inscription:<sup>235</sup>

(1) بسمه . . . أمر بإنشاء هذا السبيل والمكتب المبارك إنشاء الله تع فخر (2) الخواص

المعظمين عمده الملوك والسلاطين مولانا مصطفى آغا دار سعادة سنة ١٠٢٨

"In the name of God . . . , the construction of this *sabīl* and blessed *maktab* was ordered, God willing, by . . . our lord Muṣṭafā Āghā of *dār sa'āda* in the year 1028 (1619)".

### Rab' al-Tabbāna, 929/1522

Also known as *rab'* of Khair Bek (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>236</sup> The building has been studied and analyzed by Mona Zakariya who dates it to 929/1522.

### Present state (Figs. A1.4a-j)

This is a long building comprising shops on the ground floor and two levels of apartments above (Fig A1.4b & c). The apartments share many of the characteristics seen the two previous examples. Each apartment is two floors plus a mezzanine. The unit plan is a mirror image of its immediate neighbors. Unlike the *rab'* al-Raḍwān, however, the mirror imaging of the units is not apparent from the street elevation, because each unit is only one bay wide, and its windows are centered within it. M. Zakariya shows that all of the present doors off the street are not original except one which opened onto a corridor leading to the back. The present-day shops with vaulted ceilings were all semi-duplex apartments on the ground floor and each was called a *qā'a*. These dwellings received a lot less light, because they could not have low windows, and they were provided with light shafts. They also did not have access to the roof. Above the *qā'as* was one level of semi-triplex apartments, consisting of a duplex and a mezzanine and called *riwāqs*. In contrast to the very straight street facade, the building line on the back is somewhat irregular. The alley in the back serves as the access to all the units. A series of *staire* go up, each serving

<sup>235</sup> Published by Van Berchem in *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, published in the series *Memoires des ....* 19, inscription number: 424, p: 612.

<sup>236</sup> Loc. 5H.

Awqāf 292, pp. 94-96 dated 929/1522.

Mona Zakariya, "Rab' of Khair Bey," *Annales Islamologiques* 16 (Cairo: I.F.A.O., 1980): 275-299.

A. Raymond, "The Rab'," 58-60, nts. 7, 13.

two neighboring *riwāqs*.

The topmost apartments in today's building were added in the later Ottoman period and they have double opening for windows as was characteristic of that period. The triple openings of the lower level are typical of the Mamluk period.

This is an example of a purely residential building, or a free standing *rab'*.

### Contemporary description

The description of the building is found in the deed of Khair Bek. See Zakariya's article for the text of the relevant parts from that deed. From the *waqf* deed, we learn that the ground level apartments were called *qā'as* and the upper level ones were called *riwāqs*.

### Khān al-Zarākisha, beg. 10th/16th century

Adjacent to the mosque of Abū Dhahab and on the road leading to the main entrance of the Azhar mosque is the remains of a commercial building, known as *khān al-Zarākisha* (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>237</sup> It has been generally accepted to have been built by al-Ghūrī.

### Present state (Figs. A1.5a-h)

This facade of this building is one of the most interesting residential facades in Cairo. The present structure consists of seven variously sized bays on the ground floor. The alternation in size of openings results in a rich variety of readings of the facades organization. Figure A1.5h shows a diagram of the rhythm created by the apertures in the wall. Reading them across, one layer at time gives a different reading for the ground level than for the upper levels. One can also read a T-form in the facade of this building, similar to the one we have seen in the *rab' al-Qizlār*. In this case, it the entrance portal which projects out in relation to the ground level building line, and ends up in the same plane as the projecting upper floors.

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<sup>237</sup> Index no. 351, loc. 5H

Awqāf 882 & 883.

*Bulletin du Comité ...*, XXXVI, 1930-32 (1936), p. 173.

*Bulletin du Comité ...*, XXXVIII, 1936-40 (1944), pl. XXf.

Scharabi, "Handelsanlagen," 161.

A. Raymond, *Artisans* (1974), 331f.

### Contemporary description

This building is described in the endowment deed of al-Ghūrī. It is worth citing the text for purposes of comparison with what exists:<sup>238</sup>

. . . . And all the place that is in al-Qāhira the protected in the *khuff* of the tentmakers close to the al-Azhar mosque that is known (the place) as *khān* al-Zarākisha. And its description as attested by its deed of origin, the date of which will be mentioned, is that it consists of a facade of old construction that has seven shops and a large door. Each of the mentioned shops consists of a platform (*masṭaba*), an inside, and doors. And next to that is the mentioned large door, that leads to the door of the *khān* known by al-Zarākisha, entry from which is to an open space floored with stone slabs and containing storerooms around it and a drinking water well. Facing it (the open space) a small space, from which one gets to a small *funduq* and uses and rights. And in the *dihlīz* of the mentioned *khān* are two doors, each leading to a staircase that leads to apartments (*ṭibāq*) around (the courtyard)--next to each other and on top of each other--and with uses, rights, and dedicated drainage channels. And with what is its of upper and lower uses, rights, appendences, traces, and doors, and \_\_\_\_\_ (*rusūm*). And all of that is surrounded by four limits that were included in the mentioned deed. And the *qiblī* limit ends to a house known by Ibn Bahādūr and his company. The *bahrī* limit used to end to a house known by Ibn Bahādūr and subsequent to him was known by the late al-Ṣafawī Jawhar Bin ‘Abdullah al-Lālā. The *sharqī* limit ends to the street and in it are the mentioned shops and the aforementioned facade that is part of the rights of the place and the large door that leads to the mentioned *khān*, and in it (the *sharqī* limit) are the corbels above, and some of the mentioned limit ends to the construction of the referred to *maqar* al-Ṣafawī Jawhar al-Lālā. And the *gharbī* limit ends to a place known previously by *masmaṭ* Ibn Dirbās and his company and to a house known previously by al-Zarkashī, and then it was known by the construction of the late *maqar* al-Qāḍawī al-Zainī Abī al-Khair al-Naḥās in the mentioned *khuff* and that is now a part of this *waqf* as mentioned above. Attesting to our lord the endower in his ownership of that is the sale deed of Syrian paper--the mention of which was promised above--that was prepared for its witnesses and dated inside on 27 (17?) Shawāl the blessed in the year 914 . . . .

Of the seven shops mentioned in the above description only five remain. There is no trace of the second small open space also mentioned in the deed. The description of the

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<sup>238</sup> *Waqf* deed of the Sulṭān al-Ghūrī. Awqāf 882, pp: 329-331. Also in 1909 copy of Awqāf 883, p: 153-154. See App2: Awqāf 882: 1-2.

apartments is very schematic and does not allow for much to be said about them. The present setup doesn't seem to work that way anymore. Is this any indication about difference between the relation of the residential units to the commercial in a *khān* versus a *wakāla*.

While this *khān* has generally been taken to have been built by al-Ghūrī, its description in the *waqf* deed reveals that it was purchased and that its facade was of older construction at the time. In fact part of the earlier history of this building is recorded in another surviving deed.<sup>239</sup> This is an exchange document dated 867/1462 that describes the building as in a state of disrepair, with many of the upper apartments in ruin. It was exchanged for a total of 3400 gold *dīnārs*. It subsequently changed hands a number of times before ending up with al-Ghūrī forty seven years after the exchange recorded in this document.

By the time it is described in al-Ghūrī's deed, the delapidated apartments seem to have been rebuilt. Though it is clear from the similarity of the two descriptions that the building was not torn down and rebuilt by al-Ghūrī.

### Rab'-wakāla of Qānsū al-Ghūrī (al-Qutn), 917/1511

This *wakāla* is located in the middle of the commercial area of al-Qāhira known as Khān al-Khalīlī (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>240</sup>

#### Present state (Figs. A1.6a-j)

What remains of it is primarily the main facade block, and of that, the upper units

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<sup>239</sup> Awqāf 24 (17 Muḥarram, 867/1462). An *istibdāl*.

Exchanged for 3400 gold *Zāhirī* dinars (3200 value and 200 *istizhār*). Located in al-Qāhira near the Azhar mosque in khuṭṭ al-Jamīz. Facade had 7 shops and a large door leading to a *funduq*. *Funduq* consisted of storerooms around a court and led to another smaller *funduq*. *Ṭabaqas* were in bad repair.

Sold the same day to a woman (wife of *mubdil* who must have been the overseer!) According to Amin it is transferred on 25 Shawāl, 876 to a woman who makes it *waqf* on the same day. It is exchanged again on 22 Muḥarram 912. On 27 Shawāl 914, it is transferred to al-Ghūrī who makes it *waqf* on 18 Rabī' al-Thānī, 922.

<sup>240</sup> Index no. 54, loc. 4H.

Van Berchem, *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 408, p: 596  
Scharabi, "Handelsanlagen," 148-50, fig. 16-8, pl. 31a-b.

are ruined and the facade is free standing at the upper levels (Fig. A1.6c & e). The facade appears to have had some restoration work done on it. The entrance and the row of shops are standing in fairly complete condition. Of note in the facade is the chain link moulding. Not only does it frame the portal, but it also runs horizontally to encompass all the shops. This moulding separates the shops and the entrance of the *wakāla* (all public commercial functions) from the private residential units above.

The remainder of the building is badly ruined, with a few remains at ones side of the courtyard. Much of the back side is under rubble/rubbish. From Scharabi's map, it is apparant that this was a very large *wakāla* measuring about sixty four meter by fourty eight meters. It's length along the street is greater than its depth into the block. This is unlike the other *rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī and that of Qāyrbāy at al-Azhar.

Above the doorway in the portal is an inscription band:<sup>241</sup>

أمر بإنشاء هذا المكان السلطان الملك الأشرف أبو النصر قانصوه الغوري عز [نصره]

"The construction of this place was ordered by the Sultan . . . Qānṣū al-Ghūrī . . .".

### Contemporary description

This extensive building does not appear to have been recorded in the main endowment deed of al-Ghūrī. It may have been a part of a separate endowment as is the case with some of Qāyrbāy's buildings.

### Sufī apartments in complex of Qurqumās, 911-15/1506-10

In the Northern Cemetery there is a complex built by the amīr Qurqumās in 911-15/1506-10 (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>242</sup> He was a powerful amir who served under

<sup>241</sup> Published by Van Berchem in *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 408, p: 596.

<sup>242</sup> Index no. 162, loc. 3L.

Awqāf 901.

Andrzej, Misiorowski, *Mausoleum of Qurqumas in Cairo, an Example of the Architecture and Building Art of Mamlouk Period*. Polish-Egyptian Group for Restoration of Islamic Monuments. (Warszawa, 1979).

Muhammad Najib, *Madrasat al-amir kabīr Qurqumās wa mulḥaqātīha, dirās athariyya mi'māriyya* (Madrasa of the Amir Kabir Qurqumas and its Dependencies). Unpublished PhD. thesis No.1444, Cairo: Cairo Univ., School of Antiquities, 1975.

Laila Ibrahim, "Middle-Class," 24, 30, figs. 1 & 2.

Qāyṭbāy and al-Ghūrī. [\*more about the founder].

### Present state (Figs. A1.7a-m)

Qurqumās's construction consists of a number of elements including a mausoleum, a madrasa, an open burial area, a residence for the founder and his family, and a *khanqā* for *ṣūfīs*. Of interest to us is the *rab'* block housing the *ṣūfīs*. The term *rab'* may be applied to it to the extent that it is a number of residential units off a common corridor and with a common entrance. In this instance the *rab'* is serving as the *khanqā* for the *ṣūfīs*.

The residential block consists of eight equal units in one row. Each begins at the ground floor and has a staircase leading to the upper floors. The overall plan of each unit is the mirror of each of its two neighbors as we have seen other buildings. This mirroring is carried out at the level of the tiling of the floor (Fig. A1.7f). The herringbone pattern of stone slabs introduces a diagonal directionality to each *īwān* and *dūr-qā'a*. The pattern in each apartment is the mirror of its neighbor, reflecting the overall mirroring of the apartment unit plans.

A notable exception to the consistent mirroring are the stairs to each of the eight *ṭibāq* units. They all rise counter-clockwise, instead of half of them rising in a clockwise direction as would be dictated by mirror symmetry.<sup>243</sup> The back part of the building looks like it had been rebuilt using the same stones but layed on their face. So perhaps the stairs were redone. The western side of the units seems to be made up of a mixture of stone and brick, quite unlike the rest of them. Could that side have been redone?

### Contemporary description

The endowment deed of Qurqumās has survived and it contains a helpful

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<sup>243</sup> The vast majority of winding stairs in Cairo rise in a counter-clockwise direction. The exceptions that I have seen are almost always plans of *rab'* units or stairs in symmetric minarets as in the complex of Barquq in the cemetery. No reason is known for this observation. Hassan Fathi explains it as part of the counter-clockwise motion noted in such natural phenomena as the drainage of fluids in the northern hemisphere and the spiraling growth of plants. Another hypothesis is that it reflects the preference for starting with the right foot. Medieval books on etiquette recommend entering a *ḥammām* (crossing its threshold) with the right foot first. A staircase rising in a counter-clockwise direction would most naturally be mounted with the right foot first.

description of his main foundation:<sup>244</sup>

And this place (*makān*) is outside al-Qāhira, the protected in the desert adjacent to the mausoleum of the Sulṭān al-Sa'īd al-Sayyid al-Ashraf Īnāl Sayfī may God \_\_\_\_\_. And the description of the mentioned place by testimony of witness is that it consists of a surrounding facade built with cut *fuṣ* stone with four doors one of them is rectangular leading to an uncovered space (*ḥawsh*) that was intended to be made a mill and the second door is arcuated with a single leaf over it that leads to an uncovered ground level corridor (*majāz*) with nine doors to the left of the entrant. In the mentioned corridor are eight doors each of which leads to a vestibule (*dihlīz*) with a storeroom (*makhzan*) and a latrine and a stair leading to an apartment (*riwāq*) containing an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a* and windows looking onto the street. And the ninth door of the doors of the corridor is opposite the entrant and leads to a large court (*ḥawsh*) for the burial of the dead. And the third door of the facade is reached from a staircase and a large landing surrounded by a carved red stone balaustrade with 10 stone *ramāmīn*, and the mentioned rectangular door is flanked by two seats surmounted with a *madāyinnī* arch with a metal window flanked by two marble columns. Closing over the mentioned door is a single leaf plated with copper sheets and *makbūḥa* (?) nails. One enters from the mentioned door to a vestibule (*dirkāh*) with a platform seat (*maṣṭaba*) in its front that has a window looking onto the madrasa that will be mentioned. The floor of the vestibule is covered . . .

. . . And it is surrounded, constrained and contained along with all of its rights by four borders. The *qiblī* border ends to the street and has in it one of the two windows of the mentioned water fountain (*sabīl*) and some of the windows of the madrasa and the mausoleum (*qubba*) and the large residence (*qaṣr*) and the burial place (*madfan*) and the windows of the mentioned apartments (*arwiqa*) and one of the doors of the court (*ḥawsh*). And the *baḥrī* border ends to the tomb (*turba*) of Bin Faḍl Allah and some of it to an alley there and has a \_\_\_\_ (*khūkha*) and some of it to the street and some of it to the tomb of al-Qādī 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ and to an alley there which has a \_\_\_\_ (*khūkha*). And the *sharqī* border ends to the street and it has the door of the mentioned madrasa and the stair and the landing that has the marble \_\_\_\_ (*rammāmmīn*) and the second window of the two windows of the *sabīl* and some of it to a small alley separating between it and the tomb (*turba*) of al-Ashraf Īnāl that is mentioned above and it contains the door of the traces of the mentioned mill and the door of the corridor that the doors of

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<sup>244</sup> Awqaf 901, earliest date >20 Rajab 898, and < 16 dhul Qi'da 905, pp: 42-43, 50-51. See App2: Awqaf 901: 1-3.

the above mentioned apartments and some of it [ends] to the tomb known as Jirbāsh Qāsūq and the *gharbī* border ends to the street and has in it a blocked door that used to lead to the mentioned court.

### Sewage system

Being a deserted complex that underwent some excavations by a Polish team, it provided a rare opportunity to investigate the sewage system of a residential group. The system comprises a culvert that runs underneath the whole apartment block for a length of about 30 meters (Fig. A1.7h). From the midpoint of its length, another culvert extends perpendicularly away from the residential block in a westerly direction (Fig. A1.7m). The result is a T-shaped culvert in plan. The width of the culvert is fairly constant at about 0.71 meters. Its height varies, however, from 1.4 to 1.85 meters. The difference in height is not a result of a sloping bottom, but rather because of a stepping down in the ceiling. The culvert is not located directly under the latrines above, but is offset by about 1.5 meters to the west. This means that the drop chutes (each of which serving the latrines in two adjacent units) come down into aedicules off the eastern side of the culver.

The Polish excavators maintain that the main culvert drained into a cesspit via the shorter culvert at its middle.<sup>245</sup> I think that such a method of drainage was very unlikely. For one, the floor of the culvert is level and does not slope on either side towards its middle, which would be necessary for drainage towards the cesspit. Second the cross section of the culvert is very large and there is no smaller channel at its bottom. If this was meant to act as a flow channel its size would be sufficient to drain a whole city neighborhood. It is more likely that accumulated materials were removed manually every so often as needed. The size of the culvert allows for a large storage capacity and thus required less frequent cleaning. At the same time it was large enough for an adult to walk inside it upright. Access to it was probably from the part of the channel running towards the back of the complex, which the Polish team had taken as the drain to a cesspit. It is also possible that, given the way chutes of the latrines drop to the side of the culvert, pots could have been placed there for collection. The pots would then have been removed periodically. In this case, the height and width of the culvert was simply for purposes of ease of access and not storage.

The list of employees stipulated in the *waqf* deed does not mention any position that could be interpreted as being responsible for the cleaning of the culvert. This could have

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<sup>245</sup> A. Misiorowski, *Mausoleum of Qurqumas*, 31-32.

been because outside contractors were usually used and they were simply paid for it. Also this was an occasional activity that would have fallen under the general category of maintenance which was provided for. In general we find no mention of funds stipulated in endowment deeds for such a cost. The clearing of sewers is often mentioned in exchange deeds that call for the cleaning of the chutes.

### **Rab'-wakāla of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Nakhla), 909-10/1504-5**

To the east of the religious complex of al-Ghūrī, which is located in the heart of al-Qāhira, is a large *rab'-wakāla* that is one of the more complete commercial buildings still standing in Cairo. This is in no little part because of extensive restorations done a number of years ago (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>246</sup>

#### **Present state (Figs. A1.8a-n)**

This building presents an imposing facade to the street, in part because its ground floor is turned inwards and has no shops on the street (Fig. A1.8a). A large portal in the middle of the facade leads to the commercial interior of the building consisting of stores and mezzanine level stores arranged around an open court of three by eight bays for a total measure of twenty seven by eleven meters. A small door at the eastern end of the facade leads via a long staircase to the apartments above the commercial ground floor and mezzanine (Fig. A1.8d). Presently, this door is blocked, and access to the upper levels is via a staircase located inside the building. This change was affected during the latest restoration which aimed at turning the building into a single entity to be used as an artisanal and cultural center.

The apartments are arranged around the four sides of the court and are reached by a corridor that runs around most of the building. The units, reached from the corridor, are arranged in mirror image couples. These apartments may be described as triplexes. Their

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<sup>246</sup> Index no. 64.

Awqāf 882 and Awqāf 883.

Creswell, *Brief Chronology* (1919), 156.

Hautecoeur & Wiet, *Mosquées* (1932), 325.

*Bulletin du Comité ...*, XL, 1946-53 (1961), 112-5, pl. XX f.

Mustafa, *Al-turath al-mi'mari al-islami fi Misr*, (Beirut: 1975), 73, figs. 154-161.

Ibrahim, "Middle-class," 24, 30.

Scharabi, "Handelsanlagen," 160, fig. 19, pl. 31c.

first level includes the entry vestibule and the main double storied living space. A staircase leads to a mezzanine second level overlooking the main living space. Above that is a third level with a roof terrace above that. For the most part, these apartments are similar to the ones we have seen so far, except for their having an additional level.

The units vary in overall size and orientation, but there is a remarkable consistency in the size of the main living space (*īwān* and *dūr-qā'a* combination) of each apartment. So it is the secondary rooms that grow and shrink to accommodate the site and area.

The access corridor runs along the courtyard on one side and along the perimeter of the building on the other sides. This is because the apartments are facing the street on that one side and facing the courtyard on the other three sides.

The interior of this building is in many ways more imposing than its exterior. The high arcade of polychrome masonry contains the two levels that comprise the *wakāla*. Above that there are two levels of triple windows. Generally these correspond to the windows in the main *īwān* of each apartment, except on the entry side of the courtyard. Here the lower level of triple windows correspond to the access corridor, which on that side runs along the courtyard and not along the perimeter of the building. The top level is punctuated with the *mashrabiyya* windows of the third level of each apartment.

The entrance vestibule of the *wakāla* is similar to that of the *wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy.

### Contemporary description

A fairly detailed description of this building is found in the main *waqf* deed of al-Ghūrī:<sup>247</sup>

And the two locations that are newly built and constructed that are in al-Qāhira the protected. The first place of the two is connected to the building of the house known by the Amīr Jānim and its descriptions, by testimony of the foundation/construction deed (*kitāb al-inshā'*) that will be mentioned, is that it consists of a long facade connected with the mentioned house to the right of the traveller from the Jarābishīn towards the al-Azhar mosque. This facade is built with cut polychrome *fuṣ* stone in white and red stone with three doors. One of which leads to a newly built/rebuilt *khān* with lower and upper store rooms (*ḥawāṣil*) with a water pool (*fasqiyya*) in the middle for ablutions and a mosque that will be mentioned. And the

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<sup>247</sup> Awqaf 882, p: 337-341 and the 1909 handcopy of Awqaf 883, pp: 157-159. See App2: Awqāf 882: 2-5.

second [door] of them leads to a blue dye shop (*maṣḥabgha*) and the third [door] of them leads to the residences that will be mentioned.

As for its attributes (*ṣifāt*) in detail, the first door is large and rectangular shouldered by two seats (*jalsatān*) with a lower lintel of granite and a metal chain above it and an upper one of red stone with an interior carved of black *dāla* (*muqarnas* ?), closing over it [the door] a pair of doors layered and sheathed in metal. Entry from it is gained to a corridor/vestibule (*dihlīz*) with two seats facing each other with a belt (*izār*), one of them is *marmara*. The corridor is roofed with a cruciform vault (*‘aqd muṣalab*) and one is led from the mentioned corridor to a rectangular open space (*riḥāb*) tiled with red stone with a square water pool for ablutions and a water spigget and a prayer hall with stone balustrade floored and roofed with *naqī* wood that is smoothly painted, and is on six columns, four of which are white marble and two are red granite with a *rafrāf* around. To the right of the entrant to the open space is a corridor with three latrines and a stable prepared for the tying of the animals of the traders that is roughly roofed (*musaqqaf ghashīman*). And around the *wakāla* on the lower and upper level are fifty five store rooms, of them twenty six are on the lower level surrounding it. Facing it is a *basta* surrounding with arcuated openings (*qawāṣīr*), each of which consists of a door and an interior and a vaulted ceiling and of it are twenty nine upper level ones that are reached from two doors facing each other to the left and right in the mentioned open space, each consisting of a door and a tiled floor interior and a vaulted ceiling. Opposite that is a turned balustrade enclosing the walkway that faces that. Above the mentioned store rooms are residences that will be mentioned. In the mentioned floor are two latrines.

And the second door is also large and is arched with a granite lower sill with a single leaf closing over it. It leads to a corridor, with a small seat and a *marīra* (?), that leads to a space (*riḥāb*) with a water pool in its midst set for the straining of *al-nabl* (?). In this place are eighteen storerooms around it prepared for the habitation of the blue dyers and has a \_\_\_ for dyeing and in the mentioned space is a staircase that leads to the roof of the mentioned dyeing establishment with complete usages appendices and rights.

And the third door is at the end of the facade with two doors closing over it, entry from it is to a staircase that leads to residences numbering thirty residences, ten of which are overlooking the mentioned facade. The first of which consists of two *īwāns* and a *dūr-qā‘a*, and a closet (*khizāna*), and windows overlooking the road, and a space (*riḥāb*), and a latrine, and a kitchen, and a *ṭabaqa*, and a cordoned off roof terrace above that. And the remaining nine each consists of one *īwān* and a *dūr-qā‘a*, and a space with a latrine in it, and a closet, and a *ṭabaqa*, and a roof above that. And nine of

them overlook the mentioned *wakāla* from the right side, each consisting of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*, and a small *ṭabaqa*, and a closet, and a space, and a latrine, and a roof. And nine of them overlook the *wakāla* from the left side each consists of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*, and a closet, and a space (*fasha*) with a latrine in it, and above that is a cordoned off roof terrace, and one of them overlooks the dyeing establishment, and one of them overlooks the alley that has in it the facade of the bath house from the *qiblī* border. All of the residences and the store rooms are complete with doors and floor tiles, and painted ceilings, and *al-takhāyin*, and benefits and rights, with plastered walls except for the polychrome stone.

And it is surrounded, constrained and contained along with all of its rights by four borders. The *qiblī* border ends partially to the house known by the son of al-sheikh 'Alī the reader, and partially to the bath house of the dyeery and the remainder to the street that has in it the facade of the bath house and it [the border] has in it the overlook of the windows of the *riwāq.*, and the *baḥrī* border ends to the remainder of the house known in the past by the Amīr Jānim that is part of the honorable royal endowments (*al-awqāf al-sharīfa*) and from it is carried the water to the pool of the new *khān* that is mentioned above. And the *sharqī* border ends to the through street to the al-Azhar mosque and to the main thoroughfare (*al-qaṣaba al-'uzma*) in the Jarabishiyyīn and other places and in it is the doors of the *wakāla*, the dyery and the *rab'* and the overlook of the windows of some of the mentioned residences. And the *gharbī* border ends in part to the house of the late son of Qāsim al-Mālikī, and in part to the appendices of the above mentioned bath house. And the second place consists of a facade opposite/facing the facade of the mentioned *wakāla* . . .

..

. . . that testifies to our lord the endower mentioned above of his ownership of that, the construction deed of *ḥamawī* paper whose mention is promised above, that was prepared for its witnesses, that is dated in its body on the first of Dhul Ḥijja the sacred in the year of nine hundred and thirteen. That is fixed and ruled with in the honorable *shar'* from the seat of rule, our master and lord the judge of judges sheikh of Islam Sarī al-Dīn the *ḥanafī* ruler whose name is mentioned above by proof of his kind signature that is written on the back of that [deed] dated 15 Jamādī al-Ākhar in the year nine hundred and fifteen.

This description corresponds, for the most part with the extant building, but with a few exceptions. We are told that the residences numbered fourty, though we can only account for thirty nine. Ten of these are facing the street, as is mentioned in the deed. However, one of these units is supposed to be of the double *īwān* type, and none of the

remaining ones can be read as such. It is possible that this unit was the very first one next to the main staircase, but that it was made like the others during the more recent restorations.

### Rab'-wakāla of Qāytbāy at bāb al-Naṣr, 885/1480-1

This large building is located inside Bāb al-Naṣr and abuts the *qibla* wall of the mosque of al-Ḥākīm (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>248</sup> It was built by Qāytbāy after his return from his pilgrimage to Mecca in 844/1441. Moved by the destitute conditions of people in Medina, he set up a large endowment to provide *dashīsha* (wheat for making bread) to those staying at the precinct in Medina.<sup>249</sup> This but one of numerous buildings he endowed in the city towards this end.

### Present state (Figs. A1.9a-i)

The main facade seems to be original except for the recent brickwork on the top attesting to an aborted restoration attempt (Fig A1.9a & b). It reads as having consisted of two sets of duplex units on top of each other. The south side looks redone, as well as the interior around the courtyard. Stone is used for the lower floor, and brick for the upper ones. The entrance vestibule is quite similar to that in the *wakāla* of al-Ghūrī, especially the stellated vault treatment.

The building has two sets of extensive inscriptions that clarify its role and

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<sup>248</sup> Index no. 9, loc. 3H.

Awqāf 886.

Van Berchem, *CIA Egypte I/3*, 1900, p. 493-500, nr. 324-326, pl. X, XI/1

Max Herz, "Okalah du sultan Kaitbai pres du Bab el-Nasr," *Bulletin du Comité* 19 (1902), 147-149, pl IV.

Lane-Poole, *Cairo* (1902), 246, 249.

Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 142

Muller, *Karawanserai* (1920), 52, pl. VIII.

Achille Patricolo, *Bulletin du Comité* 32, 1915-19 (1922), 156, pl. CLXXX-CLXXXV.

Hautecoeur & Wiet, *Mosquées*, (1932), 329, Fig. 12/1

L.A. Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in his Endowment Deed* (London: 1938).

Scharabi, "Handelsanlagen," 159-60

L. Ibrahim, "Middle Class," 24, 30

<sup>249</sup> Ibn Iyas; *Badā'i' al-duhūr*, 3:160.

importance. However no date is to be found in the inscriptions.

A large inscription band in the middle of the portal over the entrance reads:

بسمه . . . أمر بعمارة هذا المكان المبارك سيدنا ومولانا ومالك رقابنا المقام الأعظم السلطان  
الملك الأشرف ابو النصر قايتباي عز نصره وجعله وقفاً مصروفاً أجرته على جيران النبي صلى  
الله عليه وسلم بالمدينة يشتري به قمح ويعمل منه الدشيشة للمجاورين والواردين ابتغاءً لوجه الله

"In the name of God . . . , the construction of this place was ordered  
by our master and lord . . . . Qāytbāy . . . and he made it a waqf whose rent  
is to be spent on the neighbors of the Prophet . . . in Medina, for the  
purchase of wheat to make *dashīsha* for the residents and pilgrims, in . . . .".

A longer inscription is distributed over nine wooden panels above each of the shops  
on the main facade. The text of the inscription is quite remarkable for its information  
applied to a non-religious building, and clarifies the role that the building was to serve:<sup>250</sup>

- (1) بسمه . . . وعلى سيدنا محمد وافر الصلوات وأكمل التسليم وعلى آله وصحبه اجمعين  
أمر مولانا المقام الشريف الأعظم والهاقان المنيف العظيم والسلطان الأعدل الأفخم الأكرم  
(2) الملتجئ الى ظل عرش الله الأورف مولانا السلطان المالك الملك الأشرف أبو النصر قايتباي  
سلطان الإسلام و المسلمين ناشر ألوية العدل في العالمين خادم حرمى الله ورسوله بلغة الله  
(3) غاية سوله و نهاية مأموله و أدار بسعوده الأفلاك الدائرة وجمع له بين خيرى الدنيا  
والآخرة بإنشاء هذه الوكالة المباركة السعيدة وبما يباطنها وظاهرها وأعلاها من المساكن  
العديدة (4) وقفاً شرعياً صحيحاً وحبساً مرعياً صريحاً مقصوداً به العمل الصالح الذى  
الذى لا انقطاع له ولا انبثاث كما أشار اليه الحديث في عدم انقطاع الثلاث مصروفاً ريعه  
في احسن القرى وأولى انواع البر (5) والمشويات وهو إطعام الطعام لجيران النبي عليه  
الصلوة و السلام من الخبز والدشيشة والتوسعة في لعيشة القاطنين في ذلك الحرم الشريف  
والواردين إلى ذلك الحل المنيف بحيث لا يصد عنه أحد من الفقراء [portal bay]  
(6) والمساكين والأيتام والأرامل والمنقطعين جارياً ذلك عليهم أبد الأبدين ودهر الدهارين  
حتى يرث الله الأرض ومن عليها (7) وهو خير الوارثين تقبل الله ذلك منه قبولاً جميلاً  
وأثابه عليه ثواباً جزيلاً بمحمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

<sup>250</sup> The inscription is read in *Exercise*, 1892, fasc. 9, pp: 93-94, Rapport 141. Also published by Van Berchem in *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 325, p: 495.

وأنفقت فيه كل ما طاب كسبه      لحي رسول الله عمرت ما ترى  
 على روحه صلى وسلم ربه      وأجريتته براً لجيران قبره (8)  
 إذا اشتد بالعبد المقصر كربه      وأرجوه في يوم القيامة شافعاً  
 بحبك ممن تعلق قلبه      فكن منجدي يا سيد الخلق إنني  
 فتى حبه يوم القيامة قره      ويارب فاقبل قررتي واجعلني (9)  
 فما فاز إلا تابعه وحزبه      وفي حزه احشرنى بجاه محمد  
 بتقريب عبدٍ مخلصٍ فيه حبه      فحيي فيه خالص وهو واعد

"In the name of God . . . our lord . . the Sultan . . Abū al-Naṣr  
 Qāyṭbāy . . . . has ordered the construction of this blessed and merry *wakāla*  
 and what is inside it and outside it and the numerous residences on top of it  
 as a legal and true *waqf* . . . intended by it is the good deed that is without  
 termination nor deterioration as indicated by the *ḥadīth* about the three  
 continuations of deeds. With the income of it being spent on the best of  
 deeds of proximity and the most needed forms of good deeds which is the  
 feeding of the neighbors of the prophet . . . of bread and *dashīsha*, that are  
 living in that holy precinct and the visitors to that location. And so no one  
 of the poor, destitute, orphans, widowed and deprived would be prevented  
 from it, to be extended to them for all time until God inherits the earth and  
 who is on it, for he is the best of the inheritors. May God accept this from  
 him . . .

For the love of the prophet of God I have built what you see,  
 and expended on it all that was well earned  
 And I have run it as a good deed to the neighbors of his tomb  
 on his spirit has prayed and saluted his God  
 And I wish of him on the day of judgement as forgiver  
 if the imperfect slave's agony becomes unbearable  
 So be my saviour oh master of creation I am  
 in your love of those whose heart has become attached  
 Oh God accept my deed of proximity and make me  
 a youth whose love on the day of judgement is his proximity  
 And in his party impress me in the side of Muḥammad  
 for no one has won except his followers and his party  
 And my love in him is pure and he has promised  
 to bring closer to him a slave loyal in his love for him."

In the portal of the *wakāla*, and fairly low to the ground is a three line inscription

that reads:<sup>251</sup>

(1) ملعون ابن ملعون من يفتش في هذا (2) الوكاله وكاله النبي صلى الله (3) عليه  
وسلم أو من يوزن بخص

"Cursed, son of a cursed man, is he who cheats in this *wakāla*, the *wakāla* of the prophet . . . , or whoever cheats in the weight".

### Contemporary description

The description of this building is found as part of the endowment of Qāyrbāy known as *waqf al-dashīsha*:<sup>252</sup>

And all the building of renewed construction, constructed by the above mentioned founder, that is in al-Qāhira the protected in the road of Bāb al-Naṣr next to the al-Ḥākīm mosque. In its place used to be old places acquired by our master by official documents and he demolished them and built in their place the above mentioned building. And these documents were . . . . And its description as it is now is that it consists of three facades in three directions, the *qiblī* side has in it eleven shops and a *maq'ad*, each shop consists of a *maṣṭaba* and an inside and door leaves, as for the *maq'ad* it is without a door. Between the shops is a large arched door/gate that one enters from to a *durkāh* with two *maṣṭabas* (sitting platforms), on the left and right. One enters from it [the *durkā*] to a *wakāla* consisting of an open space surrounded by twenty nine arched doors. One of them (the doors) leads to a vaulted vestibule with two chairs (*kursiyyān*), and the remaining twenty eight are doors of store rooms. Each of the store rooms consists of a door and an inside topped by an arch and floored with stone slabs. And in this surroundings (of the *wakāla*) is an vaulted passageway leading to a stairs that leads to a stone-floored rectangular corridor containing fifteen storerooms, each of which consists of rectangular door with a single leaf that leads to store room topped with an arch.

<sup>251</sup> Published by Van Berchem in *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 326, p: 509.

<sup>252</sup> Bibliothèque National \_\_, pp: 35r-36l. See App2: Bib. Nat.:1-3. I am indebted to Mona Zakariya for this text. Prior to her pointing it out, it was thought that the description of this building was in the *waqf* of Khayrbek. The latter is cited in Amāl al 'Imārī, *Al-Munsh'āt at-tijāriya fī al-qāhira fī l-'aṣr al-mamlukī* (The Commercial Constructions in Cairo in the Mamluk Period). Unpublished PhD. thesis no. 1334, Cairo: Cairo Univ, School of Literature, Dept. of Islamic History, 1974. The description is the deed of Kayrbek does not fit the extant building; it was either miscopied or it is a description of another nearby *wakāla*.

As for the second facade that is in the *sharqī* side, it has two doors one of which is arched with a single leaf that leads to a vestibule and then to a tiled staircase that leads to a tiled corridor containing four *riwāqs*, each of which consist of a rectangular door with a single leaf that leads to a vestibule containing a latrine and a water jug receptacle and a staircase leading to a *ṭabaqa* and then to the roof above that. And the aforementioned vestibule (in the apartment) leads to a *riwāq* with two *iwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a* roofed with *naqī* wood that is painted *kāfūrī* and floored with stone tiles and whitewashed. And the second door in the *sharqī* side is rectangular with a single leaf that leads to a tiled staircase that leads to a vestibule that contains five *ṭabaqas*, each consisting of a rectangular door with a single leaf and a vestibule and a latrine and a water jar receptacle and a staircase that leads to a *mustarraqa* and to the roof above the *ṭabaqa*, and a single *ṭabaqa* with one *iwān* and a *dūr-qā'a* and a *khazāna* and windows looking onto the street.\* And at the head of the staircase (the main one leading to this level) is *ṭabaqa* known as the *ṭabaqa* of the *rab'* caretaker/doorman (*al-rab'ī*) with two windows looking onto the *wakāla* and then the staircase leads to another level/storey consisting of six *ṭabaqas* like the aforementioned *ṭabaqas* with their vestibules and *takhāyin* roofed *lawḥān* and *fasqiyya*, and its interior (the *iwān dūr-qā'a* area) is roofed with *naqī* wood and painted *kāfūrī*, except for the *ṭabaqa* of the caretaker which is roofed with *naqī* wood in the form of *lawḥ* and *fasqiyya*. And the floor of all of that is carpeted with stone tiles and its walls are whitewashed.

As for the third facade that is in the *gharbī* side, it contains three shops and they are the aforementioned shops and a public water well and a public water trough that are not part of the rights of this place and not part of this *waqf*. And in this facade is a rectangular door with a single leaf that leads to a staircase that leads up to a first <level> that has twelve *ṭabaqa* s, one of which is small and it is the *ṭabaqa* of the caretaker. And the remaining *ṭabaqas* each consist of the same stuff as the constituents of the previously mentioned *ṭabaqas*. And the rest of the staircase leads to the second storey with has twelve *riwāq* s, one of which contains two *iwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a* and three *sadillāt*. And the second (*riwāq*) contains two *iwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a*, and the rest contain a single *iwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*. And each of all of them consists of a *khazāna* and a latrine and a vestibule and a *mustarraqa* and a stair and a roof dedicated to it, along with benefits, appendices and rights.

And all of that is contained by four boundries. The *qiblī* border terminates at the through road and has the *qiblī* facade and the doors of the

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\* Note difference between *ṭabaqa* and *mustarraqa* in the *riwāq* and *ṭabaqa* units.

shops and the door of the *wakāla* and the overlook of the windows of the residences above. And the *bahrī* border terminates at the wall of the al-Ḥākim mosque and the *sharqī* border, some of it terminates to a dead-end alley and in it is the door of one of the two aforementioned *rab'*s, and the door of the small ascender (*maṭla'*) that has in it the four *habīs riwaq*s, and some of it to a place known by the wife of the son of Naṣr Allah. And the *gharbī* border terminates partially to the open space towards the street and has in it three shops and the door of one of the two large *rab'*s and a \_\_\_\_ with the mentioned water trough inside it and an arched door that leads to the public water well that is there, and neither the trough nor the well are part of the rights of this place and some of it (terminates) to the sermon *qā'a* that is connected with the mosque and in this border some of the windows of the *ṭabaqas* overlook.

According to this deed, the *rab'* consisted of 24 *ṭabaqas*, and 16 *riwāqs*. Not enough remains of the building, however, to clarify the difference between the two. However, the usage of the words in the same document to describe different units, points to there having been a significant difference between the two terms. The deed also confirms that this building contained two levels of duplex units, as the facade suggests.

### **Rab'-wakāla of Qaytbāy at al-Azhar, 882/1477**

This building is across the street from the south side of the al-Azhar mosque (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>253</sup> In a very prominent location in Cairo.

#### **Present state (Figs. A1.10a-e)**

What remains of what must have been a large building is the imposing twelve-bay

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<sup>253</sup> Index no. 75-6, loc. 5H

Awqāf 886.

Pascal Coste, *Kaire*, 1839, pl. XLII

Van Berchem, *CIA Egypte* I/3, 1900, p. 463 f., nr. 312

Lane-Poole, *Cairo* (1902), 246, 249.

Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 142

Muller, *Karawanseraï* (1920), p. 52.

Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo* (Cairo: 1931), p. 9, pl. VIII, fig 10.

Hautecoeur - Wiet, *Mosquées*, 324, pl. 204

Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in his Endowment Deed* (London: 1938)

Ibrahim, "Middle Class," 24, 30

Sharabi, "Handelsanlagen," 159

facade containing shops and one level of the *rab'* units above. The courtyard is filled with smaller later constructions. The building is flanked on the *baḥrī* side by a *sabīl-kuttāb* and across the street on the *qiblī* side by a water trough for animals. This is one of the more lavish commercial constructions in Cairo, and its facade indicates a high level of workmanship. The building sits in an interesting relationship to the facade of part of the al-Azhar across the street which has an un-ending repetition of bays with a large lower window and a small upper one, both of which framed by a *muqarnas* ed frame.

Inscription band in the main portal:<sup>254</sup>

بسمه . . . أمر بإنشاء هذا [around 30 cms. under plaster<sup>255</sup>] و . . . فه  
 لله تع سيدنا ومولانا ومالك رقنا [?\*] (at left) المقام الشريف السلطان المالك [الملك الأشرف  
 أبو النصر] قايتباي [خلد] الله [ملكه] بتاريخ شهر رجب الفرد الحرام سنة اثنان  
 وثمانين وثمان مائة (sic)

"In the name of God, the construction of this [30 cms. of text under plaster] was ordered by our master and lord . . . the Sulṭān . . . Abū al-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy . . . in the date of the month of Rajab . . . in the year 882".

### Contemporary description

A detailed description of this building is found in the main *waqf* deed of Qāyṭbāy:<sup>256</sup>

"The place that he erected and built on the land of old buildings that were standing in the place of the new building. And he demolished them and uprooted them after gaining ownership of them via his *khāzindar*, *al-sayfī* Barsbay *al-mālikī al-Ashrafī*. The whole place of renewed construction and building in Cairo, the protected, in the street of the al-Azhar mosque opposite the mentioned mosque on its western side that consists, by way of summary, of a row of fourteen shops with a *wakāla* between them consisting of twenty eight storerooms and three *maḥāli*' (access to the upper

<sup>254</sup> Published by Van Berchem in *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 312, p: 463-64.

<sup>255</sup> Van Berchem proposed a reading for the covered part that would run as follows:  
 هذا [الخان المبارك و [أرقانه] *M.C.I.A.*, p: 464.

<sup>256</sup> Endowment deed of Sulṭān Qayṭbay, Awqāf 886, pp: 194-200. See App2: Awqāf 886:1-4. Building studied by E. Higashi, *Commercial Architecture in the Fifteenth Century Cairo, The Wikālat Qā'it Bāy at the Side of the Mosque of al-Azhar*. Unpublished Masters thesis (Cairo: A.U.C, 1979).

level), containing thirty seven *masākin* (places of living/apartments), and a *qā'a* (large residential unit), and a *riwāq* (upper level large residential unit) above it (the *wakāla*), inside *darb* (alley) al-Atrāk, and a *sabīl* (public water fountain), and a *kuttāb* (classroom for orphans) above it, and a *sāqiya* (water wheel), and a water well, and *thakhā'in* (?), and *ma'āzil* (?), and living units and *manāfi'* (benefits?), and appendices and rights. This is exclusive of the newly built water trough for it is with its own boundaries that will be mentioned in it (later). Separating between it (the water trough) and the first mentioned place is the through street. This is by way of summary. As for in detail, the first mentioned place consists of a facade around its three boundaries, the *qiblī* (towards Mecca), the *bahri* (towards the Nile), and the eastern sides. As for the *qiblī* side, it is built with cut stone and has two rectangular doors with a single leaf closing over each one. From one of them, one enters to a stairwell leading one up to a *maṭla'* (upper area) consisting of eight superimposed *tabaqa*s (apartments), four on top of four, with each one consisting of an *īwān* and a *durqa'a* (sunken part of the space), a closet, a *mustarqa*, a *marfaq*, *manāfi'*, and rights with three *ṭāqāt* (windows) overlooking the road that leads to *ḥārat* (alley/neighborhood) Katāma and elsewhere. It (the road) separates between this place and the above mentioned water trough. In each apartment are three windows. And the second door (of the *qiblī* side) leads to a stair that leads one up to a *rab'* with seven of the above mentioned shops below it, each shop consists of a *masṭaba* (platform), *darārīb* (doors), an inside, *manāfi'* (benefits?), and rights. This *rab'* consists of fourteen superimposed apartments with seven on top of seven, with all of them overlooking the street that separates this place from the al-Azhar mosque. Each apartment consists of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*, a vestibule, a *bayt azyār* (place to keep a water jug) a *mustarqa* (a small mezzanine place), a *marfaq*, a private roof terrace, benefits and rights. And in the eastern side, next to the window of the *sabīl*, is a rectangular door with a single leaf that leads to a staircase from which one ascends to a *rab'* consisting of fourteen superimposed apartments with seven on top of seven. Next to the last of the upper seven is a *riwāq* (large upper level apartment) with two *īwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a*. All of that overlooks the street separating this place from the al-Azhar mosque. Below that are seven shops, co-linear with the first row of shops. Between that, that is the two sevens (the two sets of seven shops) is the gate of the above mentioned *wakāla*. Each of these fourteen apartments consists of an *īwān* and a *dūr-qā'a*, a closet, a vestibule, a place to keep a water jug, a small mezzanine place, a private roof terrace, benefits and rights. The mentioned *riwāq* consists of two *īwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a*, a vestibule, a closet, a *marfaq*, *thakhā'in* (?), *manāzil* (living units!?), benefits, appendices, rights, and a private roof terrace. The floor of the apartments and the *riwāq* is covered with *kiddān* stone, and they are roofed with clean wood *lawḥan wa fasqiya*

(a kind of ceiling pattern). As for the gate of the *wakāla* mentioned above, it is facing one of the gates of the al-Azhar mosque, and it is vaulted with an arched top and with two leafs closing over it. On either side of this gate is a platform seat with a *muqarnaş* cover with one entering from it (the gate) to a ground level vestibule vaulted in stone. To the right and left of the entrant are four sitting platforms facing each other. It (the vestibule) leads to the open space of the *wakāla* which is expansive and is encircled by twenty eight store rooms, each consisting of an outside sitting platform, a door, and an inside . . ."

From the *waqf* deed, we learn that the building had three distinct *rab'* blocks, each reached by a separate staircase (contrast this to the *wakāla* of al-Ghūrī). This was because the building was bounded by streets on three sides. The nearby *rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī fronted onto one street only, and all of its units were reached from a single door.

### **Rab' of Qaytbāy in the cemetery, 879/1474**

This *rab'* is located in the Mamluk cemetery on the main street connecting the complex of Qāyṭbāy with that of Īnāl (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>257</sup> It is located about 100 meters to the north of Qāyṭbāy's main foundation.

### **Present state (Figs. A1.11a-e)**

What remains of this building is the apartment block running along the street for about 80 meters. It consists of eighteen bays. The central one (ninth from the southern end) is a portal that leads via a vaulted passage to the back of the block. The northernmost bay is a *sabīl*. The back of the block contains a row of doors that lead to the apartments. The doors are arranged in couples. One leads to a ground floor unit and the second leads to the upper level unit. This could be considered a variation on the *rab'* exemplified by *rab'* al-Tabbāna. The upper level is not reached by a common upper level corridor but by independent stairs rising from the ground level corridor. The ground floor is vaulted. The first floor has a flat ceiling of wood. Some of the original wood panels in the ceiling are still in place with writing on them. There is a *sabīl* at the northern end of the building. It is likely that this building never had a courtyard, and was simply a block of apartments along

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<sup>257</sup> Index no. 104, loc. 5K.

L.A. Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in his Endowment Deed*. (London: 1938).

L. Ibrahim, "Middle Class," 30.

the street, as in the case of the *rab'* al-Tabbāna.

In the entrance portal is an inscription:<sup>258</sup>

أمر بإنشاء هذا المكان المبارك سيدنا ومولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف أبو النصر قايتباي نصره

الله

"The construction of this blessed place was ordered by our master and lord the Sultan the King al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy may God support him".

### Contemporary description

There is no mention of this building in the main *waqf* of Qāyṭbāy.

### Sūfī apartments in the Ināl complex, 855-60/1451-6:

This is part of the complex that is the northernmost of the large endowments in the Mamluk cemetery (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>259</sup>

### Present state (Figs. A1.12a-h)

The Ināl complex contains a large residential group in its back (Fig. A1.12a). The residential group actually consists of two blocks facing each other (one looking out on the street, and the other looking into the complex).

In his dissertation, S. Hasan establishes that this complex was built over a period of time, beginning with the mausoleum while Ināl was only an emir. The rest was built after he became *sulṭān*.<sup>260</sup>

The fenestration of the units is different from what we have seen so far. Instead of three rectangular openings of the same size, each unit has a high central window flanked by two lower ones (Fig A1.12c). The widths of the windows are the same, however. The

<sup>258</sup> Van Berchem, *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 304, p: 438-39.

<sup>259</sup> Index no. 158, loc. 3L.

Sami Ahmad Hasan, *Al-sulṭān Ināl wa āthārihi al-mi'mariya fī al-Qāhira* (The Sultan Inal and his Architectural Legacy in Cairo). Unpublished PhD. thesis No. 1623, Cairo: Cairo University, School of Antiquities, 1975.

L. Ibrahim, "Middle Class," 24, 30.

<sup>260</sup> S. Hasan, *Al-sulṭān Ināl wa āthārihi al-mi'mariya*.

masonry of the fenestration includes keystones. This is not found in later buildings that span the windows with flat lintels. The overall appearance is much less imposing than that of Qurqumās. The whole complex looks like it was built in different stages; in a lot of places the stone courses do not bond with other parts of the building. The entry elevation of the eastern block of units is built up of rubble and brick, unlike the rest. In more than one instance, a piece of a lintel bracket was used on its side in the wall near floor level. The bracket matches the ones used in the entries in the walls that are made of cut stone. It might be that that wall had fallen down and was rebuilt out of its own rubble.

The drainage culvert of part of the complex was accessible. As in the Qurqumās complex, it is covered by a series of stone slabs which are part of the floor of the units (Fig. A1.12f). Therefore, maintenance was possible by removing any of the slabs. The culvert is constricted at regular intervals where the latrine chute comes down. Unlike the culvert at Qurqumās where the chutes drop into an adicule open to the culvert, in the Īnāl complex, the chute drops straight down into it. As a result the whole culvert is located further in the apartment block than in the Qurqumās complex. It appears that this drainage system was less elaborate than the Qurqumās one.

The entrance in the north wall of the complex has two inscriptions, the first reads:<sup>261</sup>

(1) أمر بإنشاء هذه الخاتناه السعيدة السلطان (2) الملك الأشرف أبو النصر إينال عز نصره  
(3) وكان الفراغ منه في شهر الله المحرم سنة ثمان وخمسين وثمان مائة

"The construction of this happy *khanqā*, was ordered by the Sultan the King al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Īnāl . . . and its completion was in the month of Muḥarram in the year 858."

The second inscription reads:<sup>262</sup>

اللهم آدم العز والبقاء والعلو والارتقاء والنصر على الأعداء ببقاء مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف  
أبو النصر إينال عز نصره

"Oh God maintain the \_\_\_ and the presence and the transcendence and the loftiness and victory over the enemies by the presence of our lord the Sultan the King al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Īnāl . . ."

<sup>261</sup> Van Berchem, *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 274, p: 399-400.

<sup>262</sup> Van Berchem, *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 275, p: 400

### Contemporary description

The endowment deed of Īnāl is missing from Dār al-Kutub. A copy of it was mentioned in the dissertations of S. Hasan and A. Ibrahim as being in private hands, but has not been locatable since.

### Sūfī apartments in the complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, 835/1432:

This building is located on the east side of the main road in the cemetery (see map in Fig. A1.1).<sup>263</sup> Its facade on the street is 120 meters long, of which about 65 meters are taken up by the residential block or the *khanqā*. These units represent the earliest extant example of apartment units in Cairo. Unfortunately however, they are not in a good state of preservation.

### Present state (Figs. A1.13a-g)

Most of the street frontage is taken up by a *rab'* block, of 10 bays (Fig A1.a & b). The complex is currently undergoing extensive restoration. The *rab'* blocks appears to consist of a series of two units on top of each other. The fenestration pattern of the upper units is different from the lower ones, though both employ some sort of tri-partite scheme. It is not clear whether the lower and upper levels represent two different units, or just one large rowhouse group. Some of the original wood ceiling above the lower units is still in place. The window pattern of the upper level is similar to that of the apartments in the complex of Īnāl: a long central window flanked by two smaller ones.

In the entrance bay is an inscription band:<sup>264</sup>

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . . . أَنشَأَ هَذَا (at right) الخاتناه المقام الشريف مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف

سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين أبو النصر برسباي عز نصره وكان الفراغ من ذلك في

[شهر] ذى الحجة سنة خمس وثلاثين وثمان مائة

<sup>263</sup> Index no. 121, loc.4L

Awqāf 880 dated: > 15 Jumada II 827, < 24 Rajab 841

Dār al-Kutub MS. Tarikh no. 3390 (Resumè of *waqfiyya*) published by Darrag.

Ahmad Darrag, *L'acte de waqf de Barsbay: Hujjat waqf Barsbay* (IFAO, le Caire, 1963).

Leonor Fernandez, *The Evolution of the Khanqah Institution in Mamluk Egypt*,

unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1980).

L. Ibrahim, "Middle Class," 30.

<sup>264</sup> Van Berchem, *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 250, p: 365.

"The construction of this *khanqā*, was ordered by the our lord the sultan the King al-Ashraf sultan of Islam and Muslims, Abū al-Naṣr Barsbāy . . . and its completion was in the month of Dhī al-Ḥijja in the year 835."

On the outside of the residential part of the facade, there is an extensive inscription band in the form of nine inset marble panels. Each panel has a double line of text. Two of the panels are missing:<sup>265</sup>

- (1) I بسمه . . . (وما \_\_\_\_\_ Quran 2:211 --- أوقف وحبس وسبل وأبد  
وتصدق من فائض نعم الله تع. على عبده مولانا السلطان المالك الملك (2) الأشرف أبو النصر  
برسبای عز نصره على المرحوم يشبك الخازندار تفمده الله برحمته على تربة أنشأها المقام  
الشریف بالحوش بالصحراء ناحية كنيسة سردوس (1) II بالغربية والناظر عليها اينال  
الخازندار ولمن يتولى بعده خازندار إذ ذاك وجعل الثلثي (sic) من تحصل الناحية المذكورة  
على خمسة نفر كل واحد منهما (sic) بثلاث مائة (2) الخمسة بألف وخمسمائة درهم  
وزيت الوقيد في كل شهر مائة درهم وللغراش في كل شهر مائة درهم وللمزملاتي في كل  
شهر مائة درهم ماء عذب في السبيل في كل سنة ألف درهم (1) III ثمن ضحية في  
السنة ألف درهم والثلث يصرف للمارستان المنصوري ومهما فاض بعد ذلك يصرف توسعة  
وصدقة جعل الله ذلك ثواباً له (2) ومغفرة وأجرأ يا رب العالمين اللهم تقبل عمله وامح زله  
واختم بالصالحات عمله بتاريخ جمادى الأولى سنة أربعة وثلاثين وثمان مائة
- (1) IV بسمه . . . . . Quran 37:211 --- أوقف وحبس وسبل وتصدق من فائض  
نعم الله على عبده مولانا السلطان المالك الملك الأشرف أبو النصر برسبای عز نصره (2) على  
المرحومين اقطوه وتانى بك أقارب المقام الشريف تفمدهما الله برحمته على تربة إنشاء المقام  
الشریف بالحوش بالصحراء بناحية (sic) ببلا والحصة والنية بالغربية على أربعة قراء V  
(1) يقرءون القرآن العظيم بالتربة المذكورة كل نفر منهم في الشهر ثلاثمائة والإمام في الشهر  
ثلاثمائة وزيت القناديل في الشهر مائة وعشرين والبواب والغراش في الشهر مائة وأضحية في  
السنة ألفي (sic) (2) وتوسعة شهر رمضان في السنة خمس مائة صدقة لله تع في كل يوم  
جمعة مائة على المستحقين والناظر جانم قريب المقام الشريف ومن بعده من يكون ناظر  
(sic) على الأشرفية

<sup>265</sup> Van Berchem, *M.C.I.A.*, inscription number: 252, p: 369-70.

VI (1) بسمه . . . . (وما \_\_\_\_ ) Quran 2:211 --- أوقف وجبس وتصدق من  
فانض نعم الله تعَ مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف أبو النصر برسباى عز نصره (2) على أخيه  
المرحوم السيفى بشبك رحمه الله بترية أنشأها المقام الشريف بالصحراء وهو جميع  
القيساريتين العلو والسفل والحوانيت بباب ال(ل)لوق على عشرة نفر من القراء فى الشهر  
أربعة آلاف VII (1) وثمان خبز كل ليلة جمعة ثمان مائة وستين ولجامع ال(ظ)ظاهر بيبرس  
بال(ح)سينية فى كل شهر ألفين وسيدى عبد الله الجبرتى كل شهر أربع مائة ومعلوم النظر  
ف الشهر خمسمائة وللشاهد أربع مائة (2) وللجايى خمسمائة وثمان زيت فى الشهر ثلاثمائة  
ول(الب)واب مائتين وللمزملاتى] مائة وخمسين وثمان لحم فى شهر رمضان خمس(ة) آلاف  
وأربعمائة وتوسعة رمضان بزيت وغيره ألف درهم]

"In the name of God . . . . has made *waqf* . . . . "

This extensive inscription is of interest for a number of reasons. It informs us that Barsbay had set aside (made *waqf*) properties to support a number of pious acts which include readers at mausoleums of three relatives of his, the hospital of Qalā'ūn, the mosque of Baybars, and alms in Ramaḍān. The properties were lands and two *qaysāriyyas* outside al-Qāhira. Any excess of funds from these properties was to go to feed the poor. As such this is an example of an endowment with a purely pious purpose, that is, no funds were going to the founder or his descendants. This type of setup is not unique, but its proclamation on the facade of the building is quite singular. In this case, the long unobstructed facade of the residential part of the complex was used as the place to "hang this banner". In the *wakāla* of Qāyṭbāy at bāb al-Naṣr, we saw a similar use of the long building facade to announce a single message. In that case however, the message was the announcement of the function of that building and the reasons for its construction.

Barsbāy has a summary of a *waqf* deed carved in stone in one of the *īwāns* of his other madrasa which is located in al-Qāhira. In that case however, the text is located inside the madrasa which is the beneficiary of *waqf*.

### Contemporary description

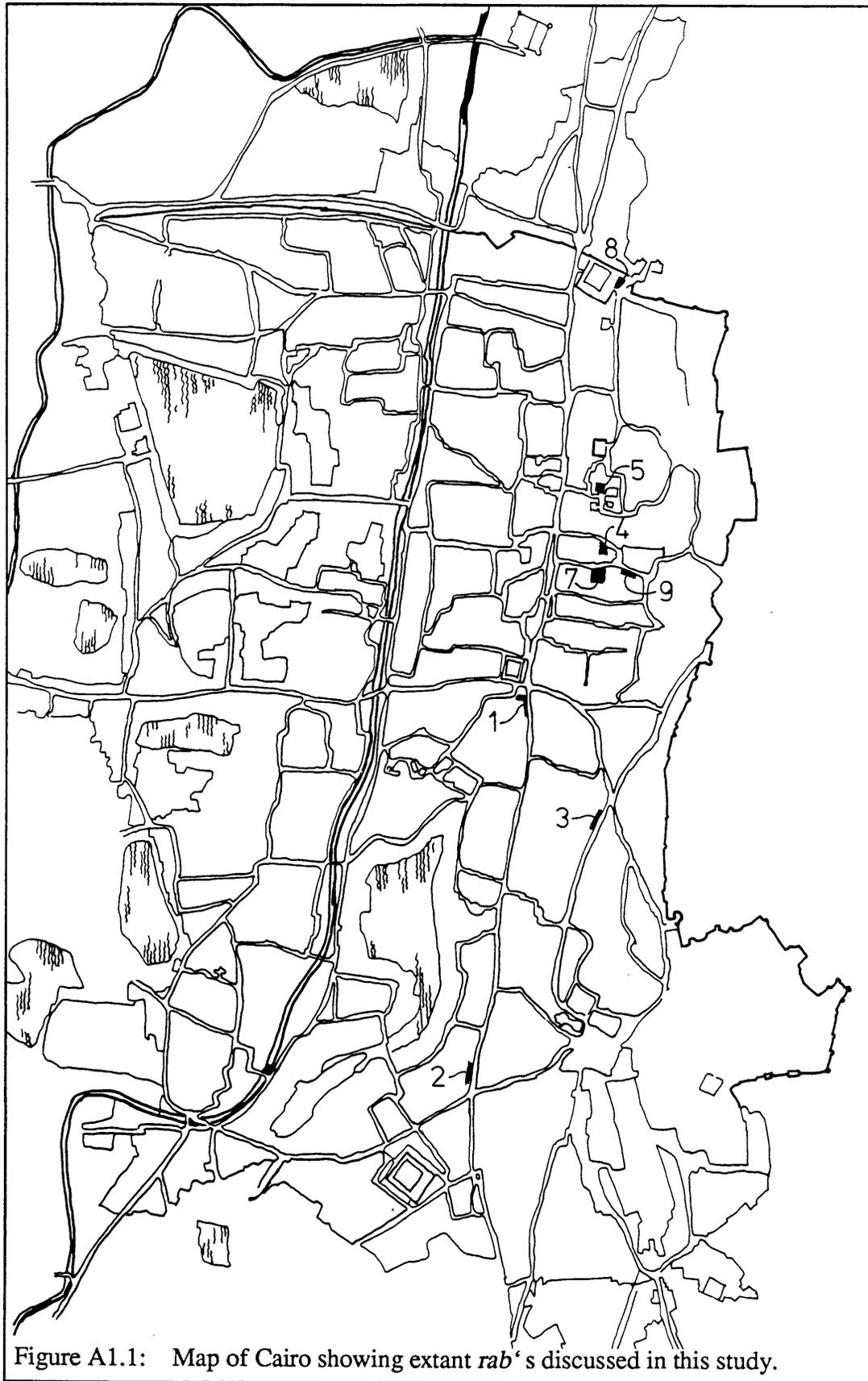
The description of the whole complex is found in the deed of Barsbāy. The description of the *khanqā* part is fairly cursory and not very clear.<sup>266</sup> The description is fairly problematic. The part referring to the madrasa and the mausoleum is fairly clear and

<sup>266</sup> Awqāf 880, p:21-29. See App2: Awqāf 880: 6-9.

matches the extant building. The description of the rest of the complex including the *khanqā* is not very clear and does not match the remains of the building well. On one occasion there is a definite error in the delineation of the four boundaries of the building. This error along with the lack of clarity in the text leads me to believe that the text is not correct. As stated in its beginning, this document was drawn up to combine all the previous deeds of Barsbāy and to compile them into one book in a clearer order. It is therefore likely that errors were made in the process. Of course it could be that the building was changed since its foundation, but there are too many places where the text and the remains diverge too much.

### Remarks

The complex of Barsbāy needs to be studied in detail. It represents the earliest example of a type of complex that became popular in buildings in the cemetery. This was the complex consisting of separate units combined together. Unlike the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan, the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad, and the complex of Barqūq, each part of the building of Barsbāy is expressed separately and not enclosed in one envelope.



- 11 —
- 6 —
- 12 —
- 10 —



Figure A1.2a: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey.  
View from minaret of al-Mu'ayyad.

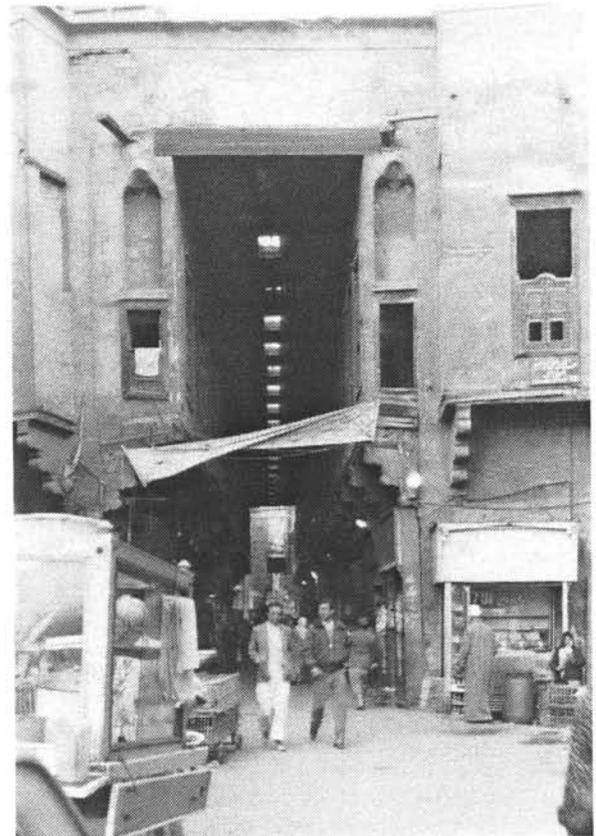


Figure A1.2b: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey.  
View down covered street..



Figure A1.2c: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey. View of western *rab'*, looking north



Figure A1.2d: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey. View of western *rab'*, looking south



Figure A1.2e & f: *Rab'* of Radwān Bey. Unit fenestrations.



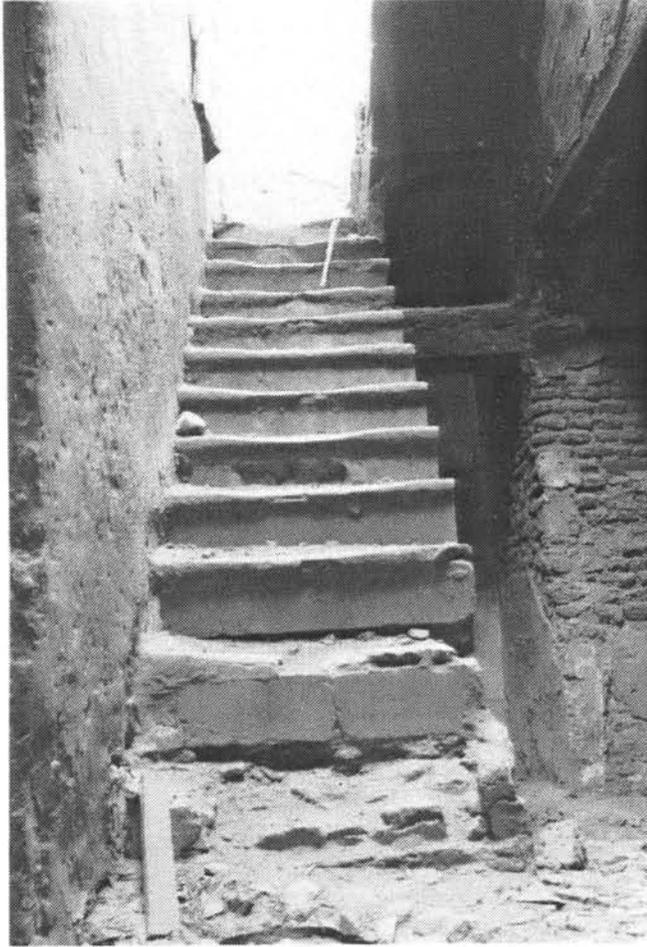


Figure A1.2h: *Rab'* of Radwān Bey. Stair in vestibule to mezzanine and roof..

Figure A1.2g: *Rab'* of Radwān Bey. Entry vestibule in corner apartment.





Figure A1.2i & j: *Rab'* of Radwān Bey. *Īwān* and side space in apartment.



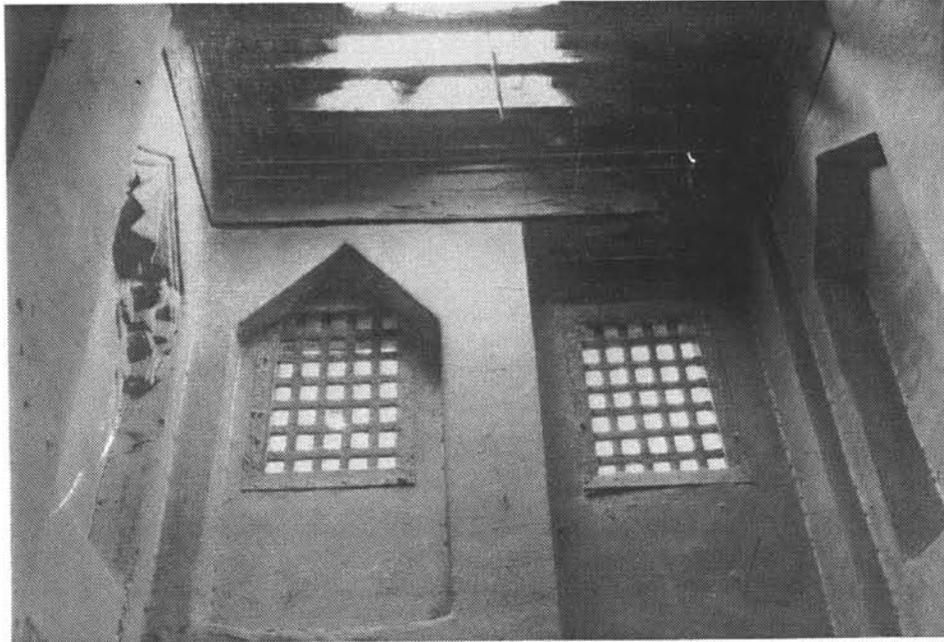
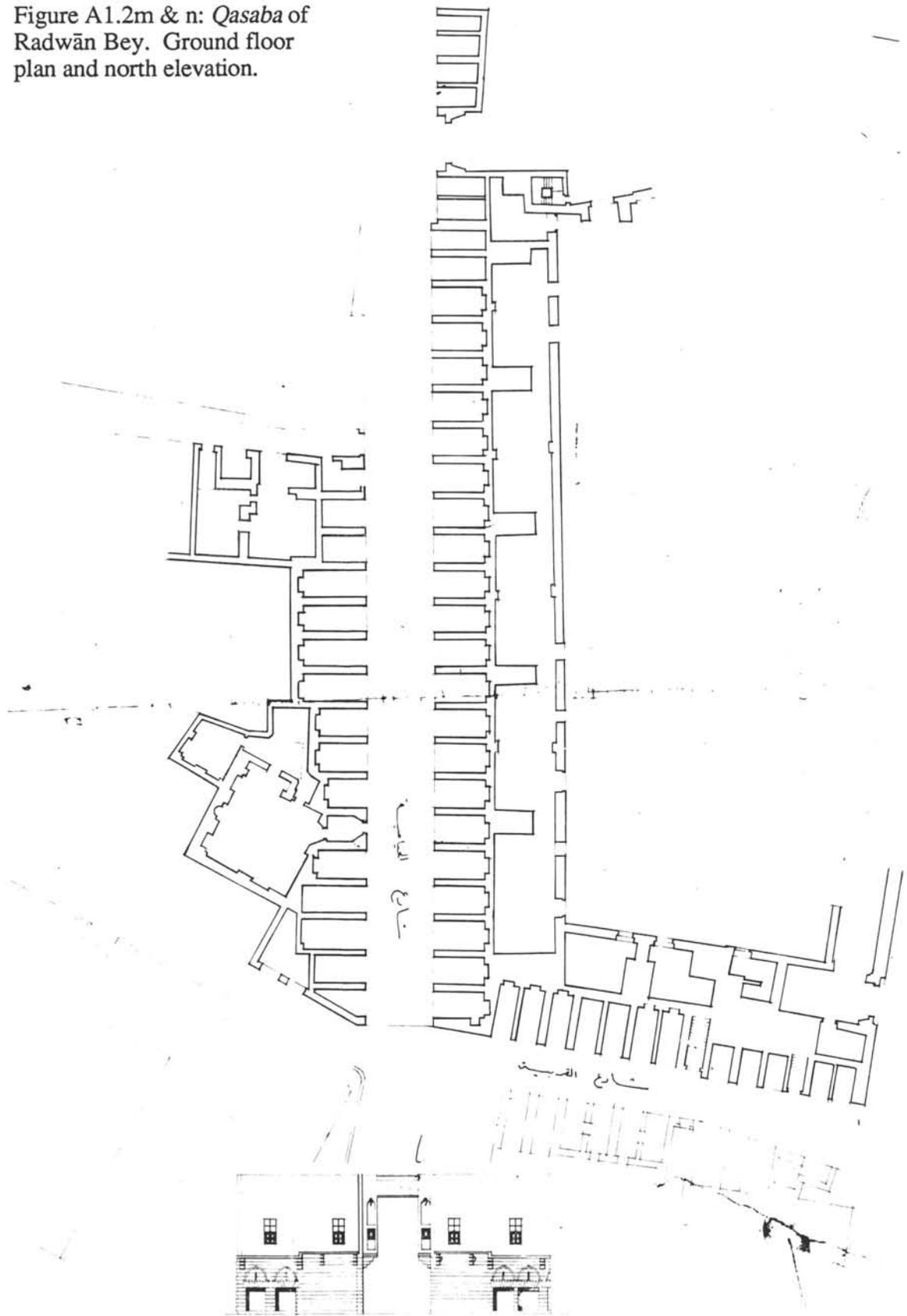


Figure A1.2l: *Rab'* of Radwān Bey. *Dūr-qā'a*.



Figure A1.2k: *Rab'* of Radwān Bey. Skylight in *dūr-qā'a*.

Figure A1.2m & n: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey. Ground floor plan and north elevation.



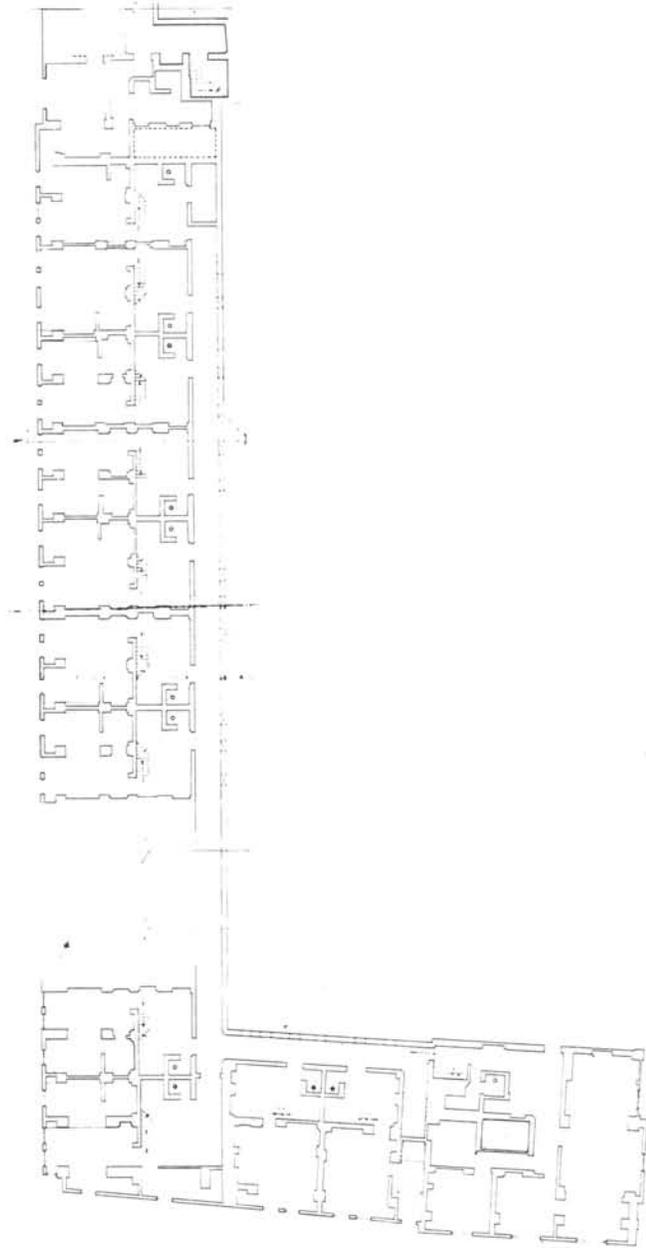


Figure A1.2o: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey. Plan of first level in western *rab'*.

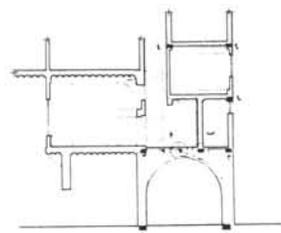


Figure A1.2p: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey. Section through western *rab'*.

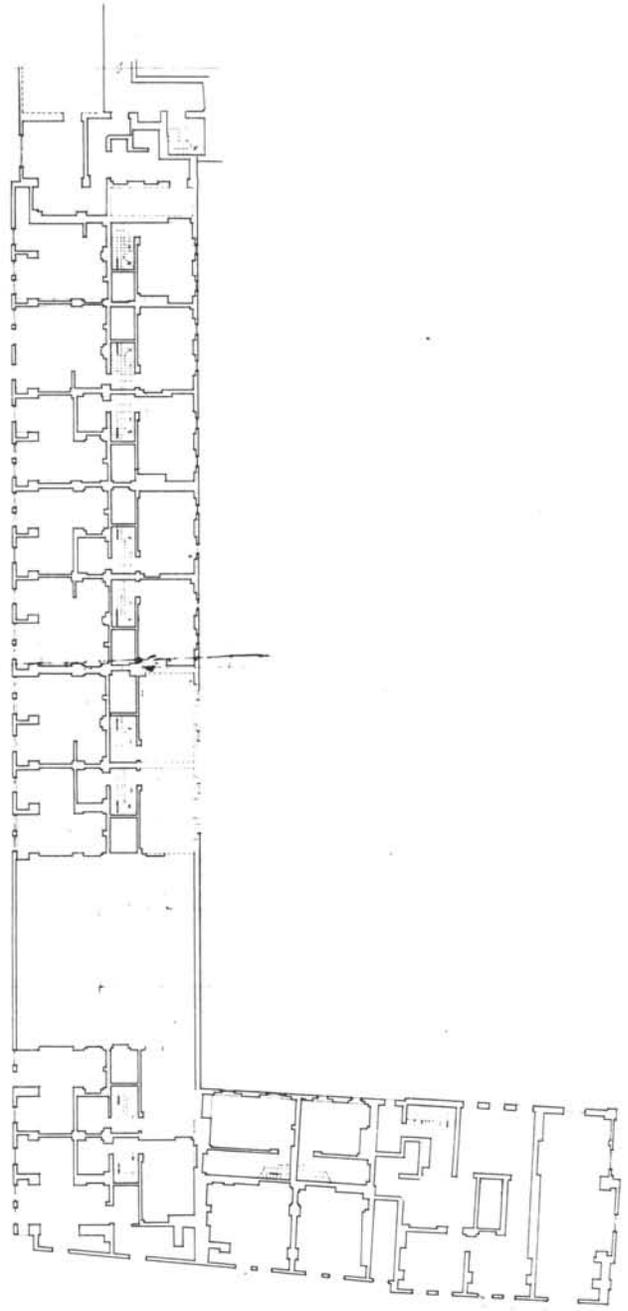


Figure A1.2q: *Qasaba* of Radwān Bey. Plan of mezzanine level in western *rab'*.



Figure A1.3a & b: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Street views looking north



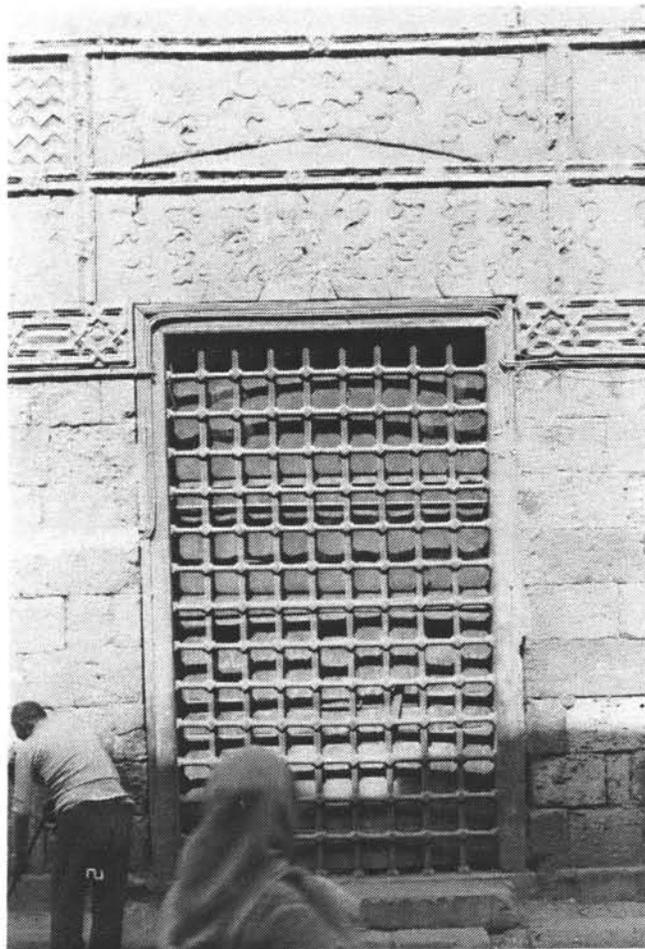


Figure A1.3c & d: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. *Sabīl* (bottom) and *kuttāb* (top).

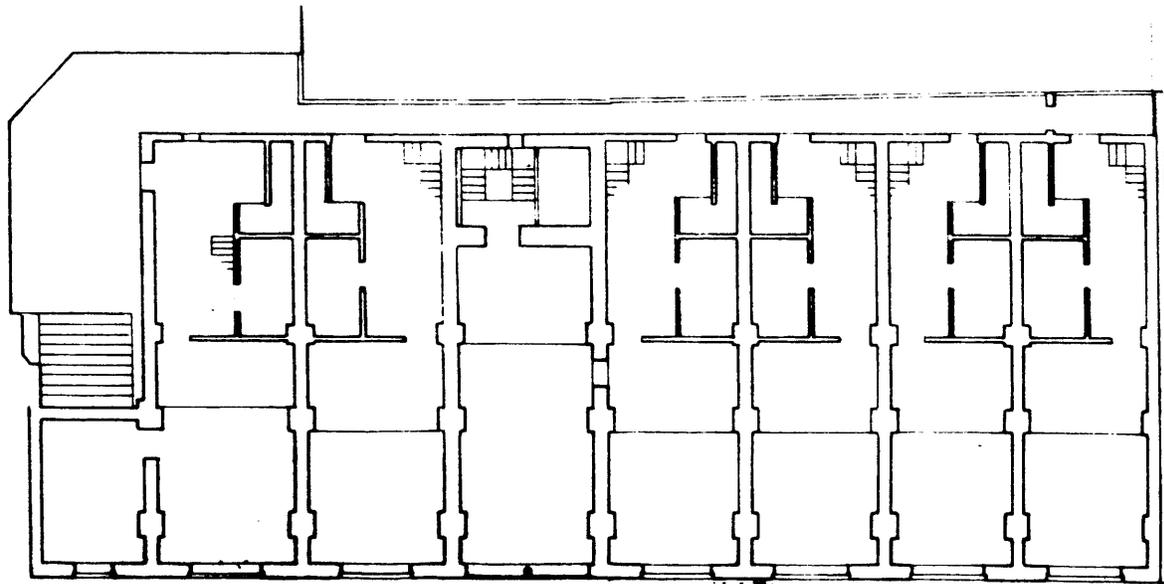


Figure A1.3f: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. first floor plan (Zakariya et al)

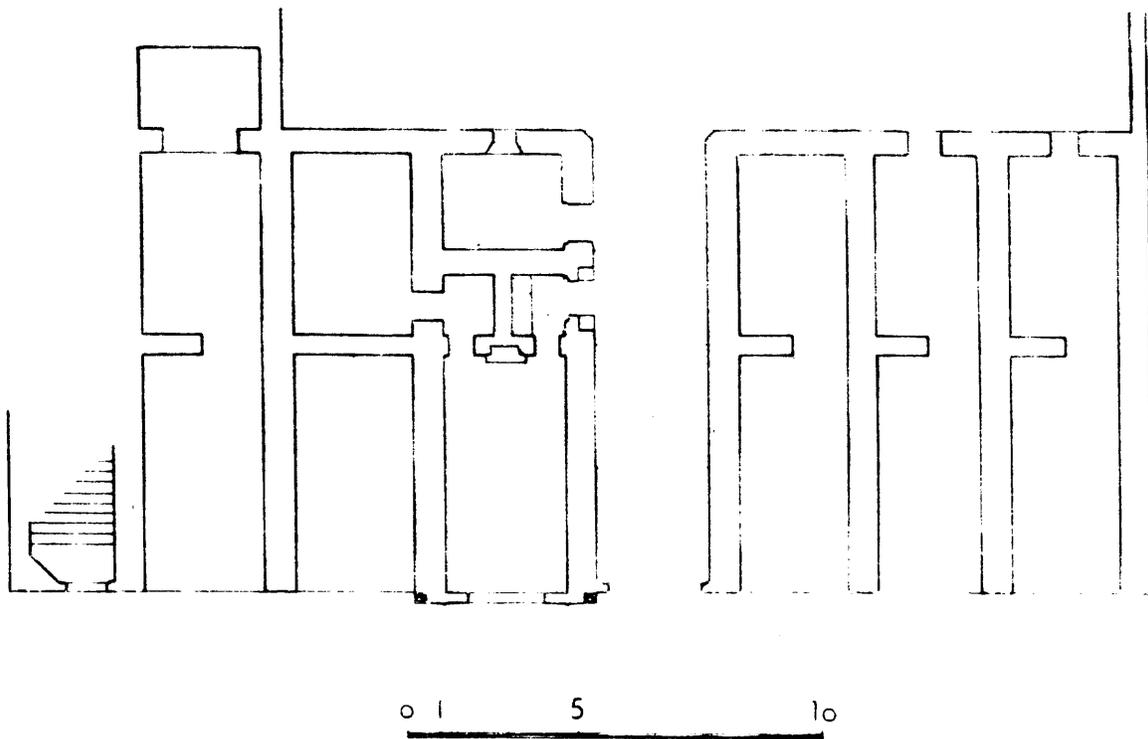


Figure A1.3e: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Ground floor plan (Zakariya)



Figure A1.3g: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Street elevation (Zakariya et al)

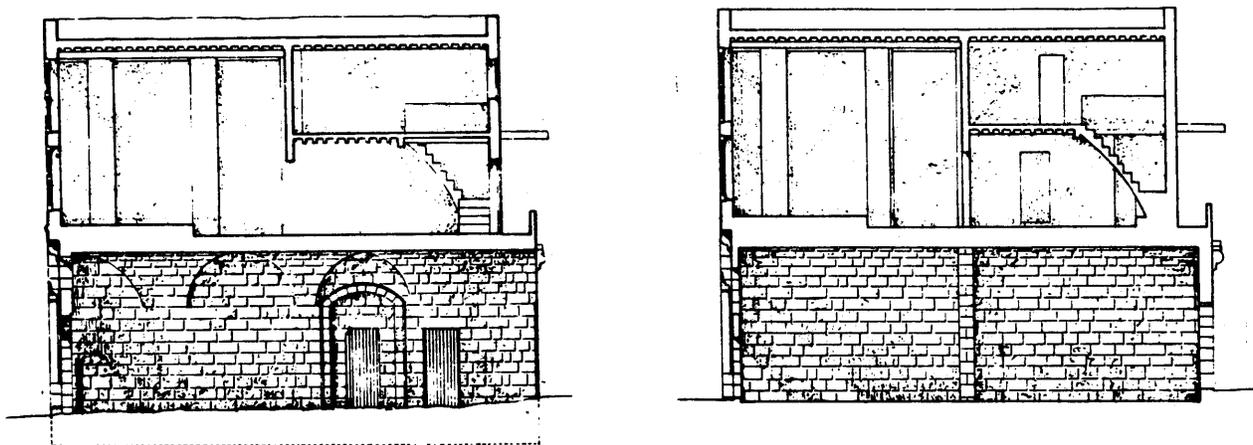


Figure A1.3h: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Sections (Zakariya et al)

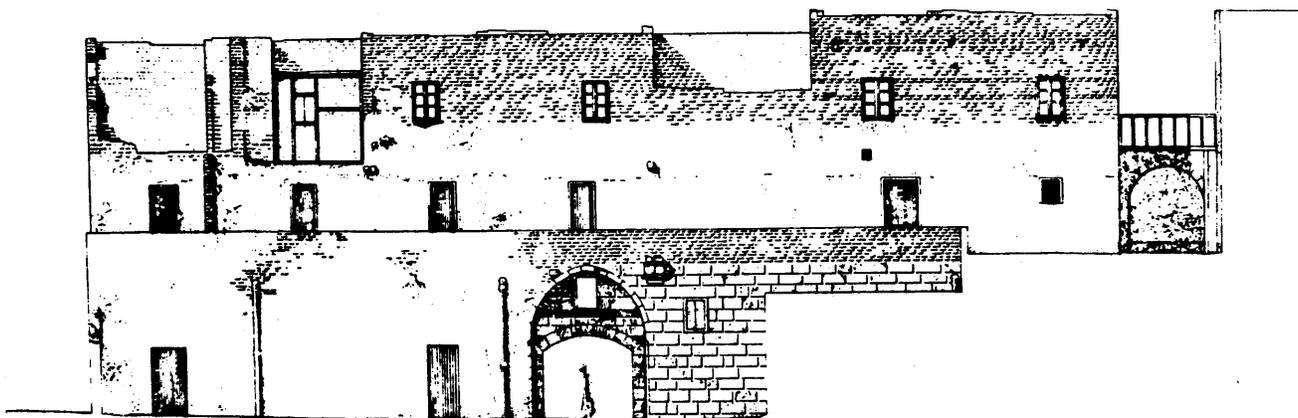


Figure A1.3i: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Back elevation (Zakariya et al)

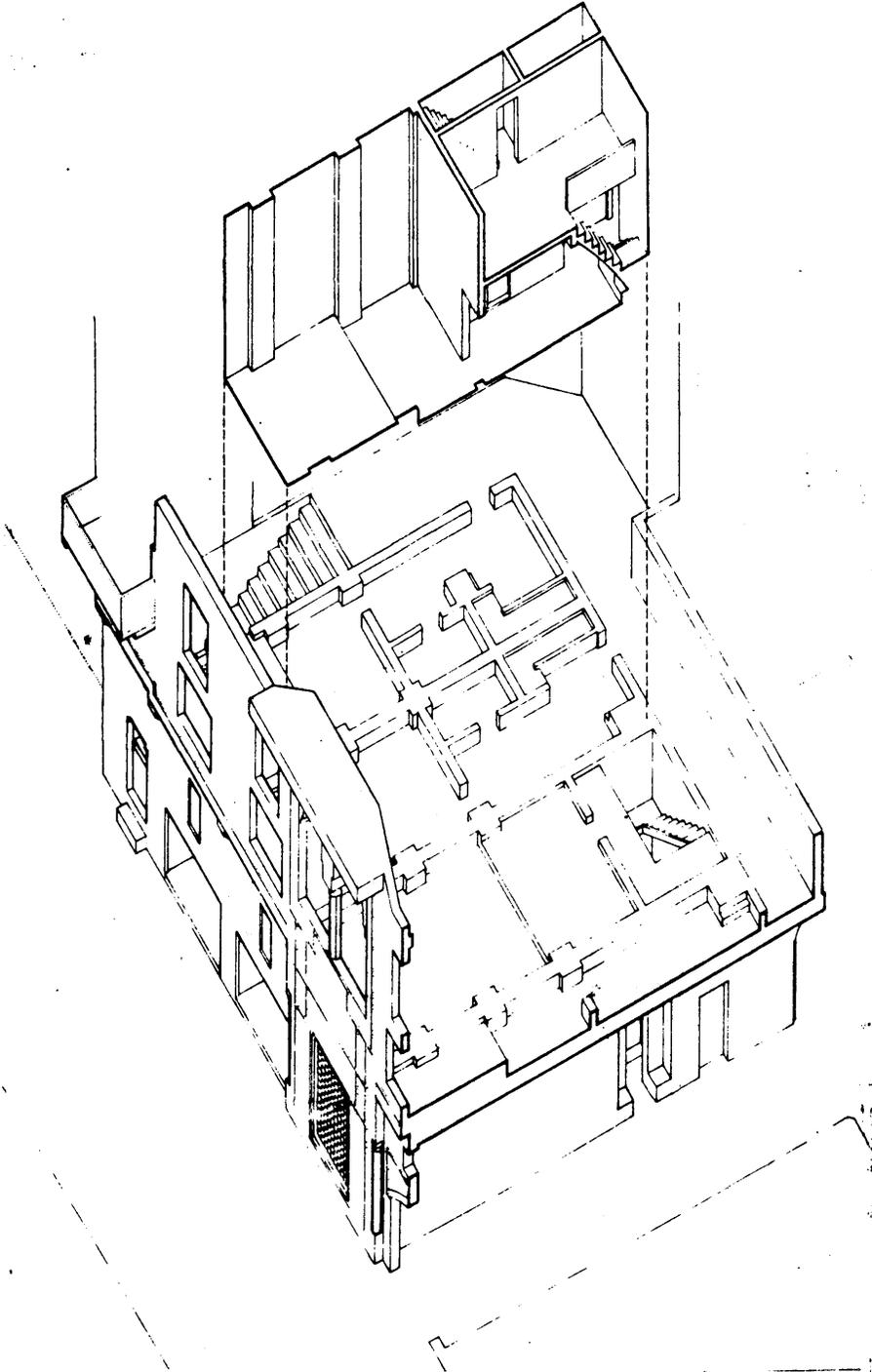


Figure A1.3j: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Axonometric view of living units (Zakariya et al)

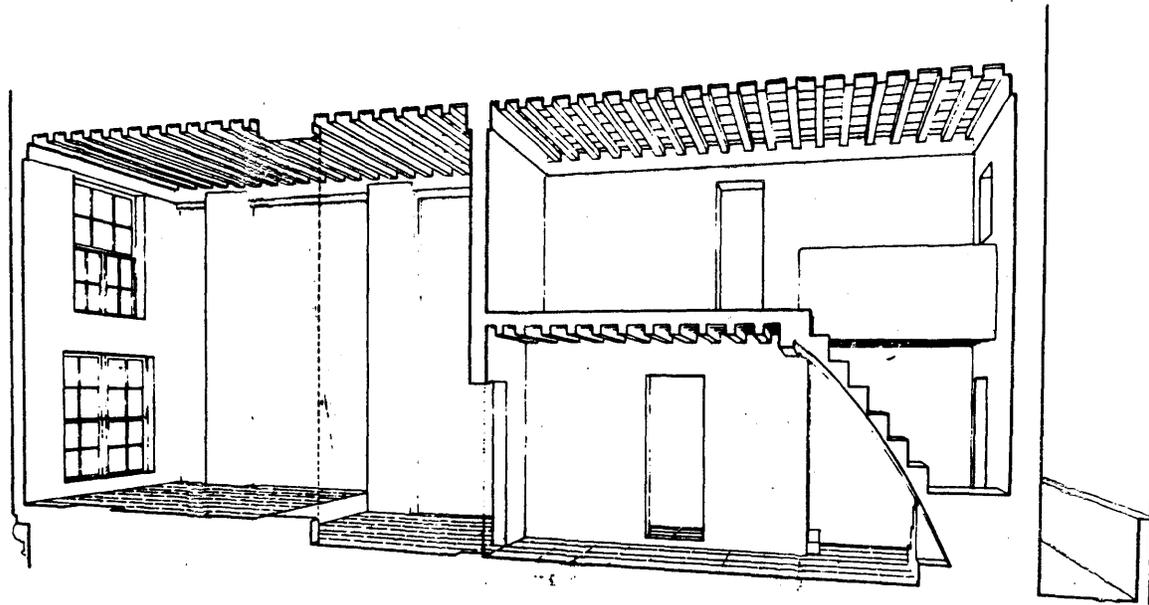


Figure A1.3k: *Rab'* and *sabīl-kuttāb* al-Qizlār. Section perspective of typical living unit (Zakariya et al)

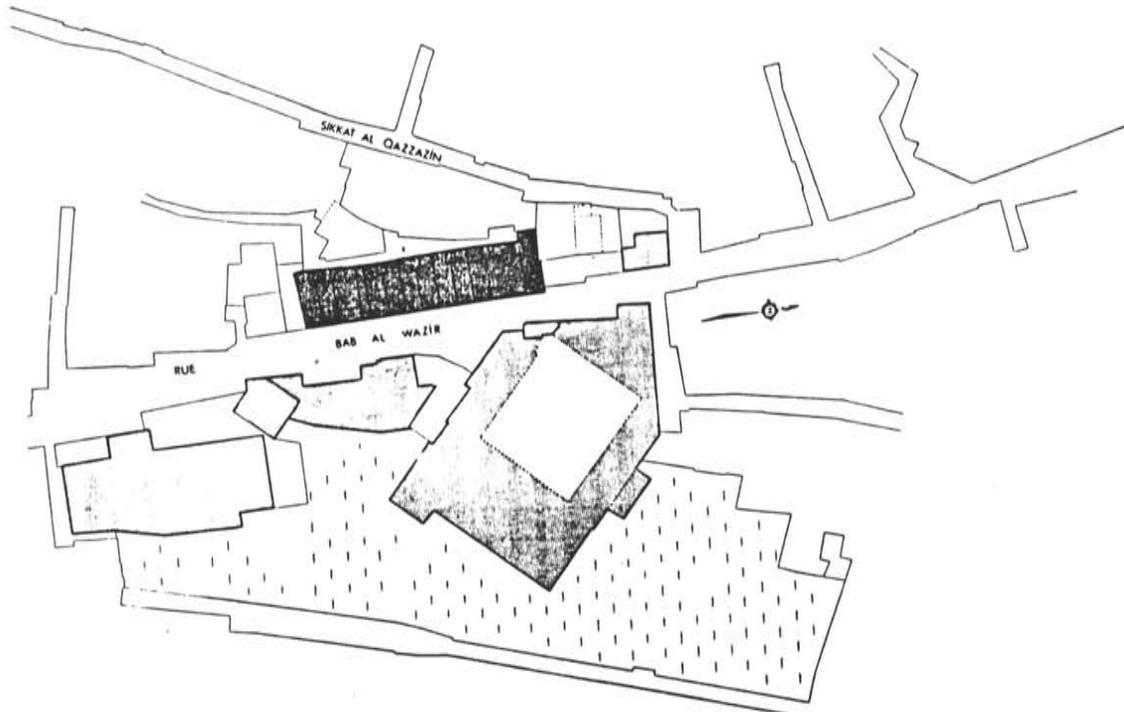
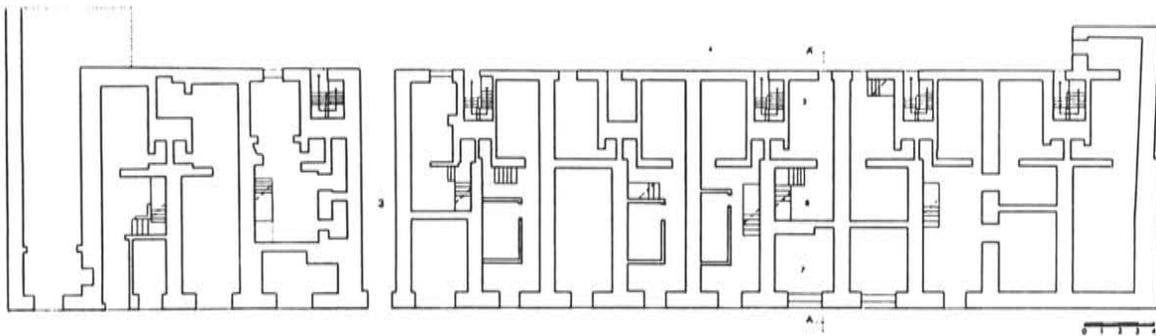


Figure A1.4: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*. (Zakariya)  
a: Site map  
b: View of street facade.  
c: Ground floor plan.



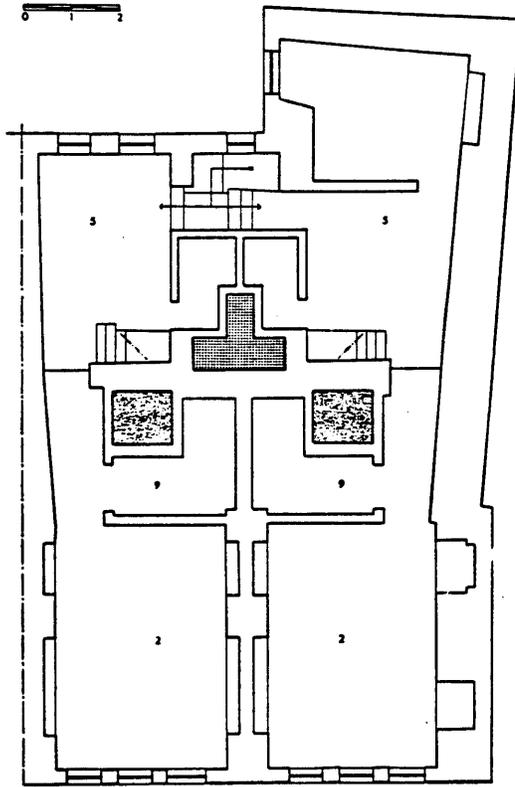


Figure A1.4e: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*.  
Plan of first level of *riwāq* unit.  
(Zakariya)

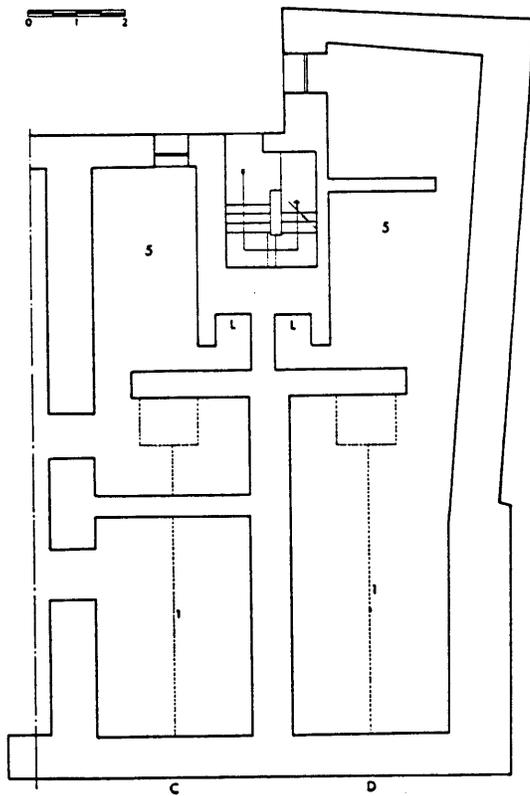


Figure A1.4d: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*.  
Plan of first level of *qā'a* unit.  
(Zakariya)

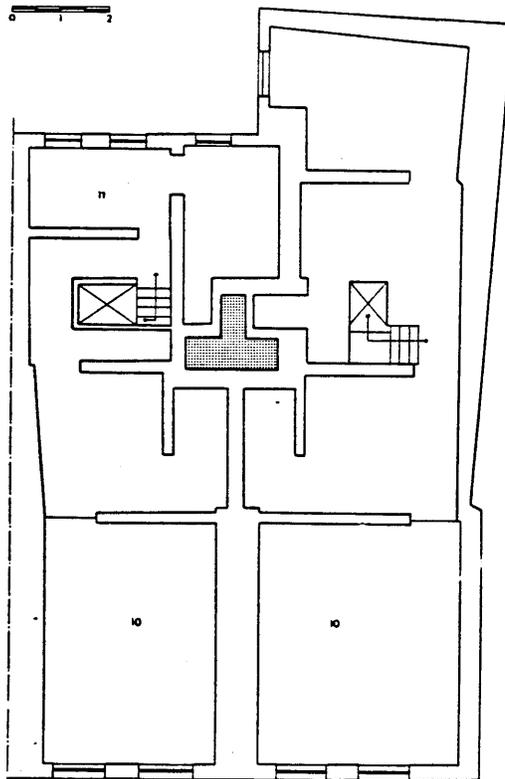


Figure A1.4g: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*.  
Plan of second level of *riwāq* unit.  
(Zakariya)

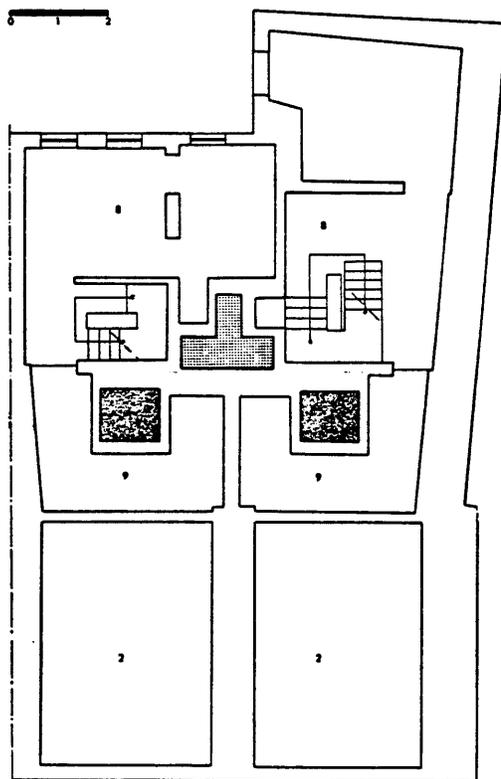


Figure A1.4f: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*.  
Plan of mezzanine level of *riwāq* unit.  
(Zakariya)

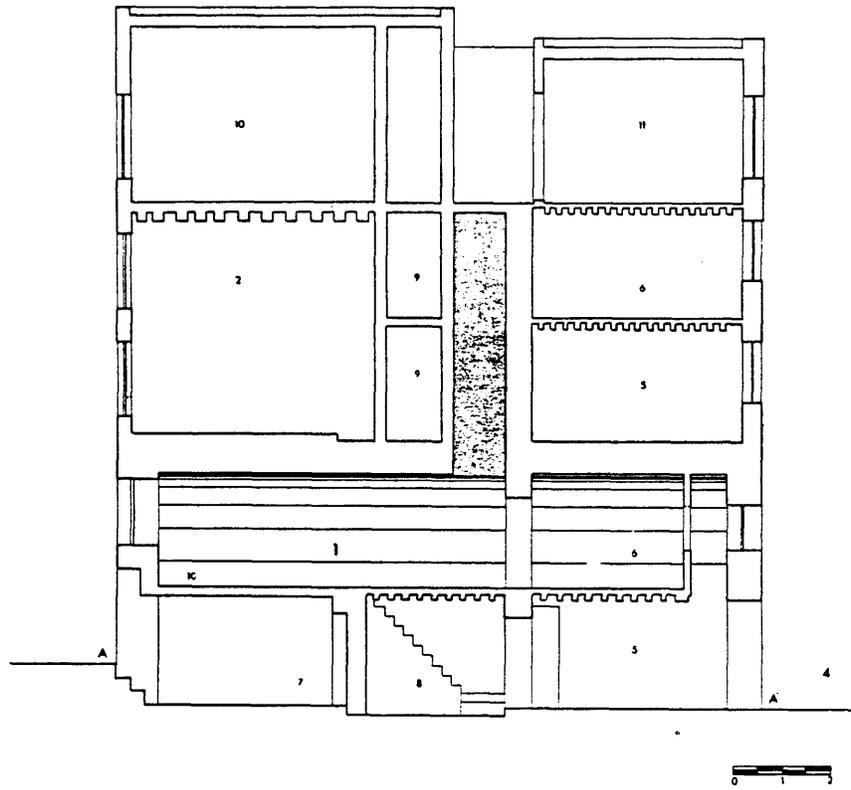


Figure A1.4h: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*. Section through *qā'a* and *riwāq* units (present state). (Zakariya)

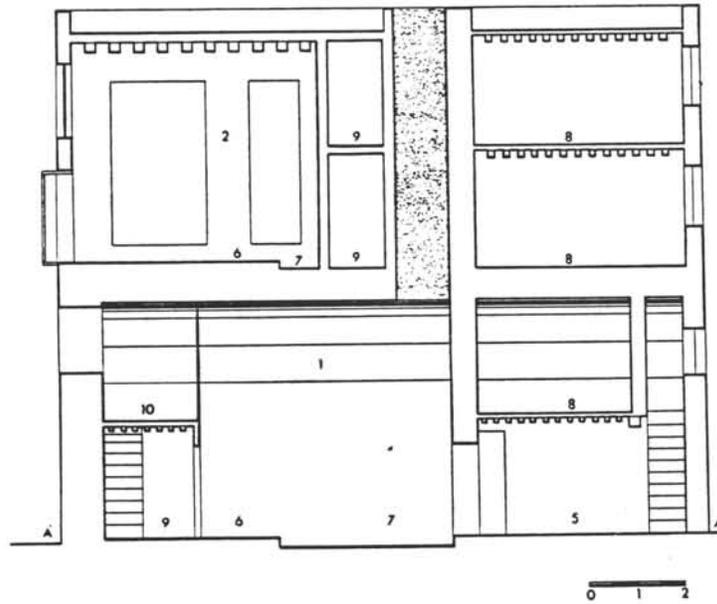


Figure A1.4i: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*. Section through *qā'a* and *riwāq* units (reconstruction). (Zakariya)

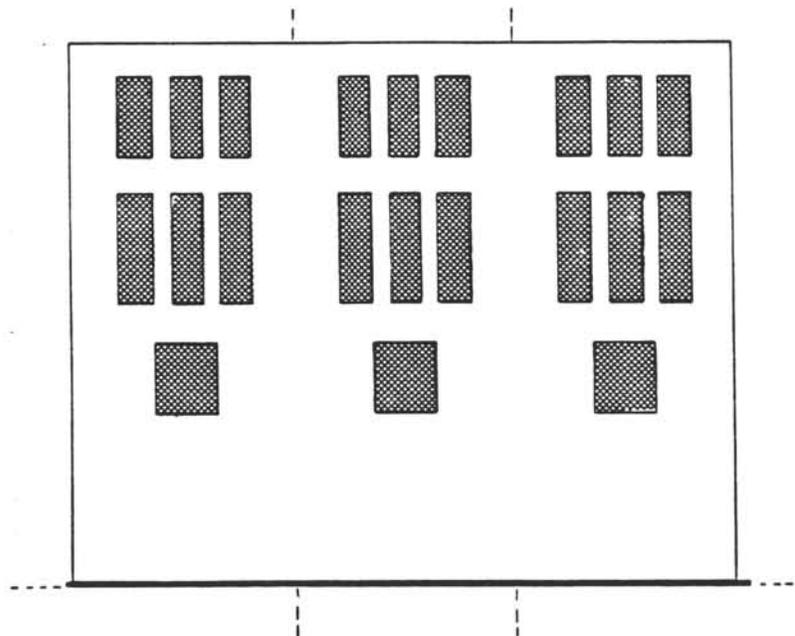


Figure A1.4j: *Rab' al-Tabbāna*. Fenestration of *qā'a* and *riwāq* units (reconstruction). (Zakariya)



Figure A1.5a: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. Street facade. (Antiquities)

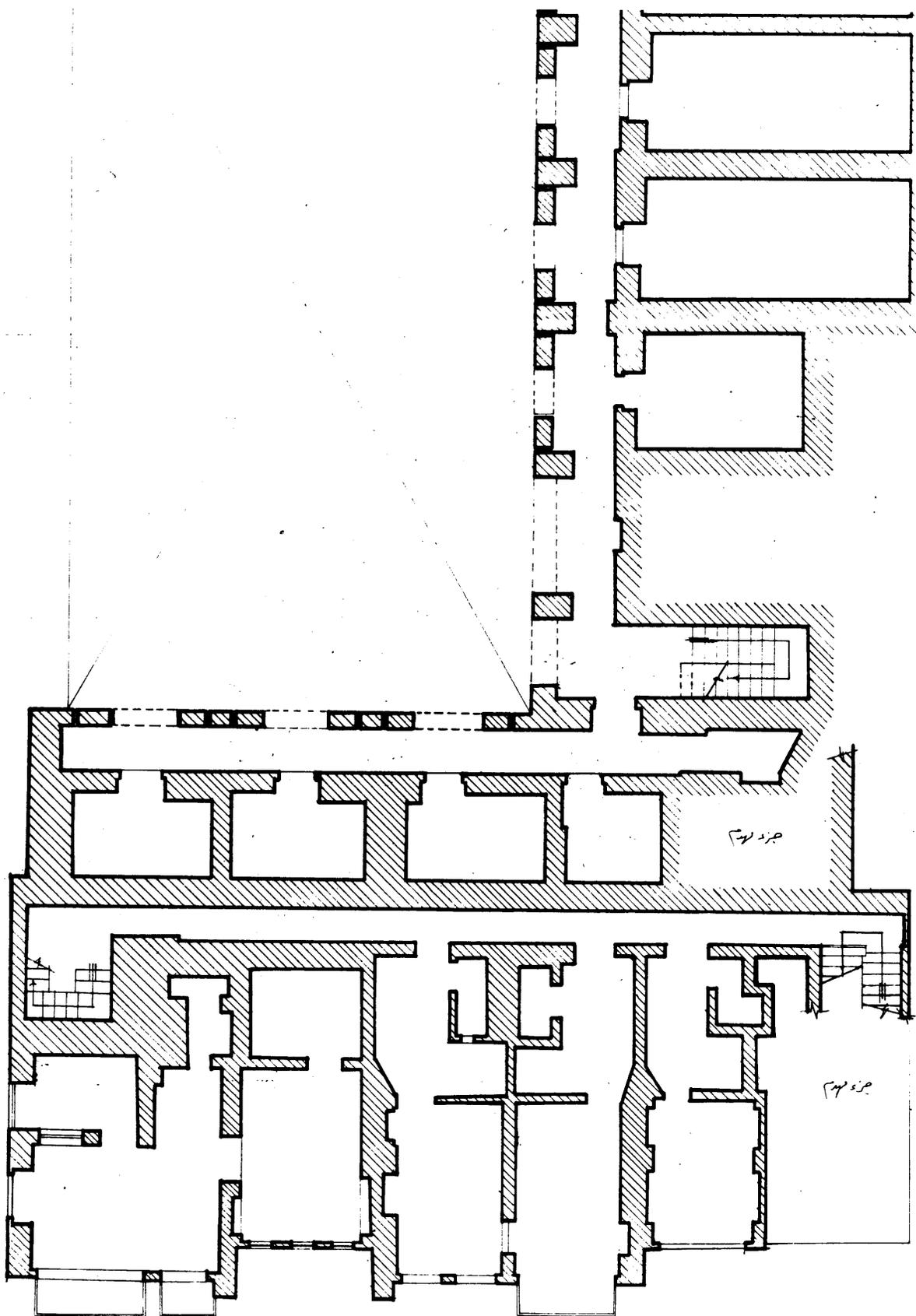


Figure A1.5b: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. First floor plan. (Antiquities)

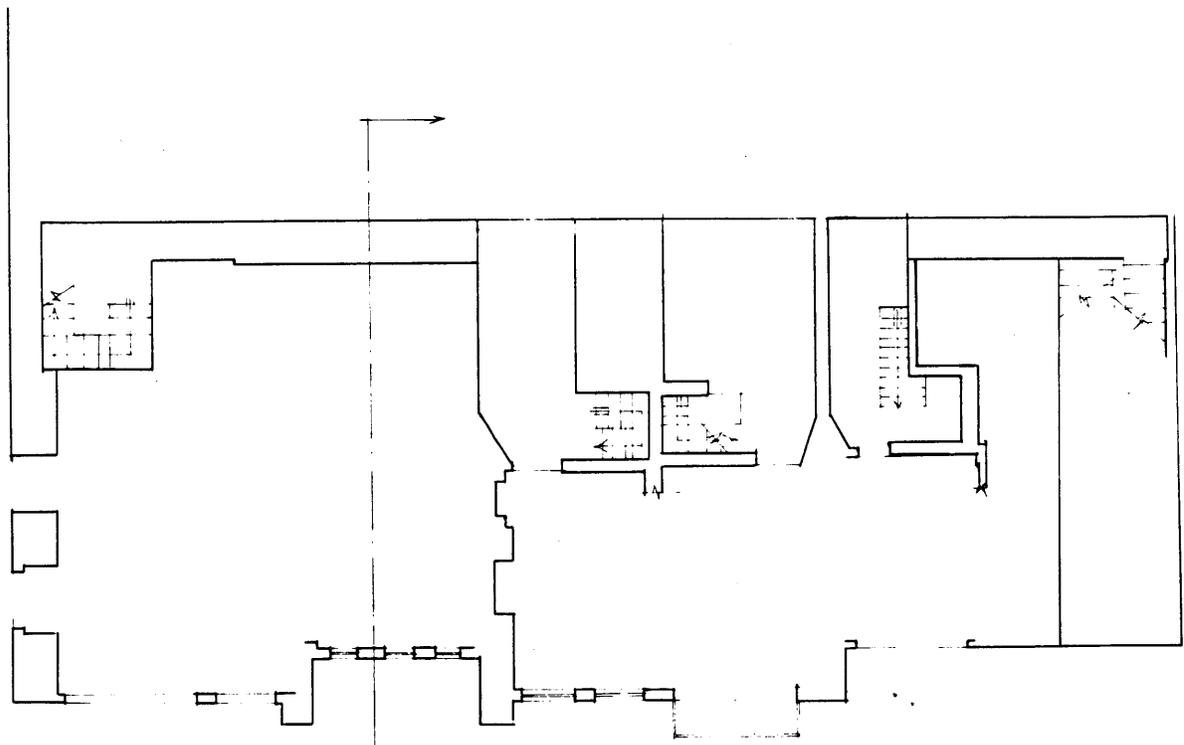


Figure A1.5c: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. Mezzanine level plan. (Antiquities)

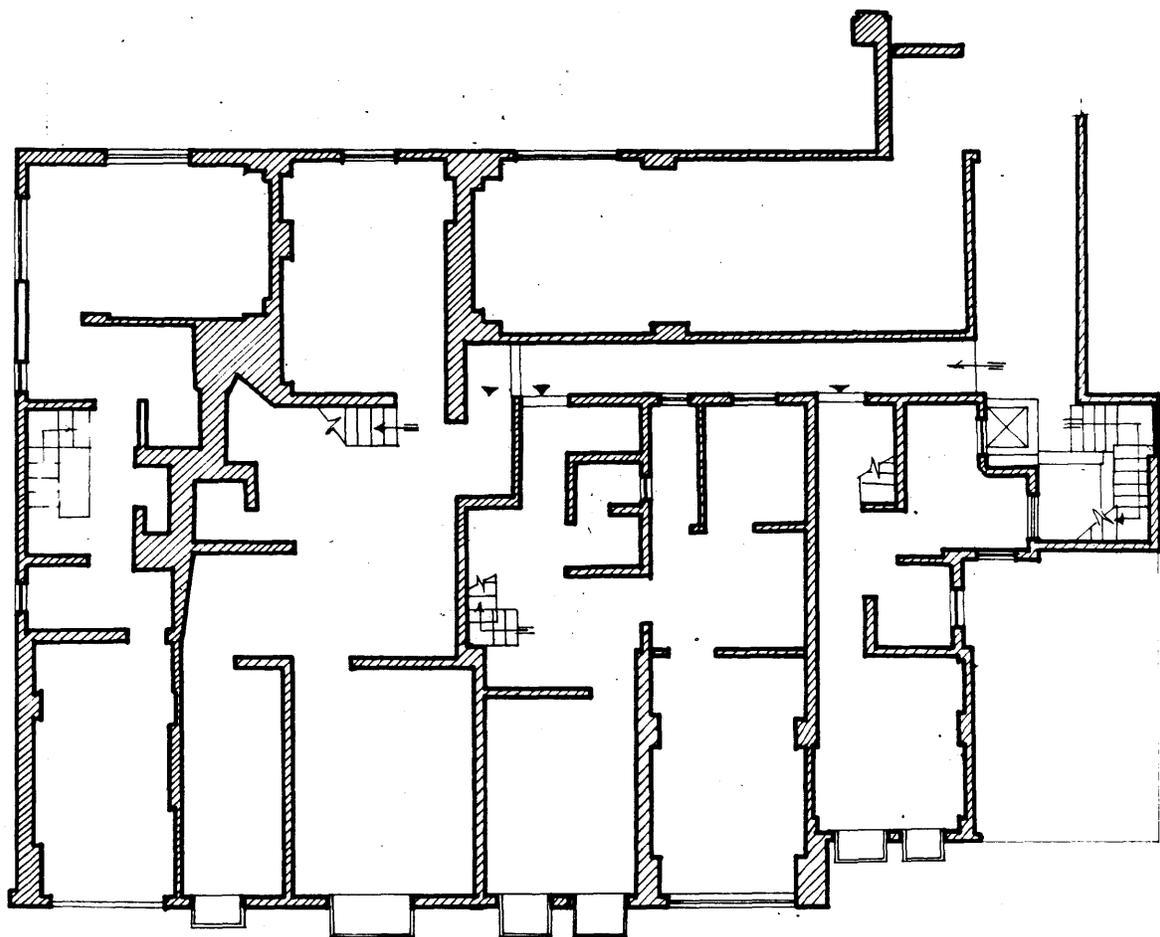


Figure A1.5d: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. Second floor plan. (Antiquities)

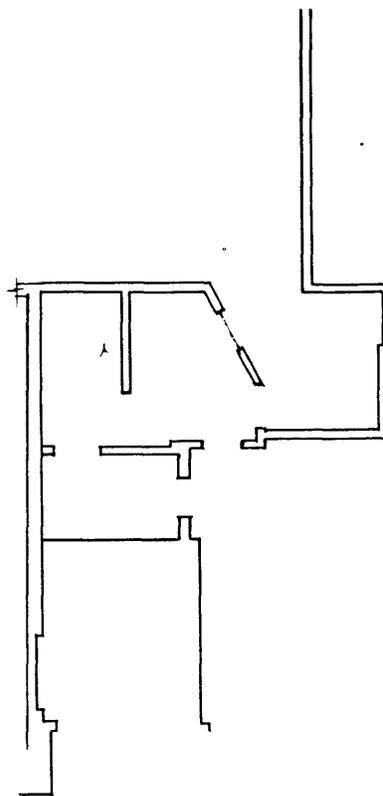


Figure A1.5f: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. Fourth floor plan. (Antiquities)

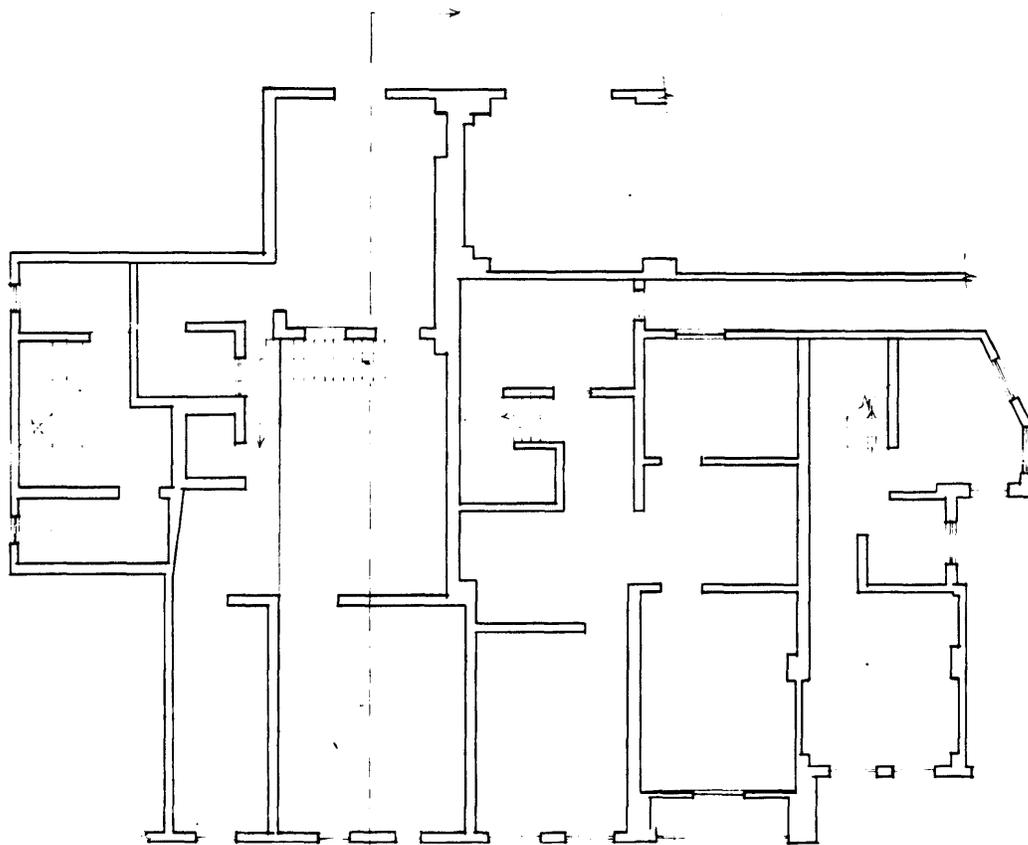
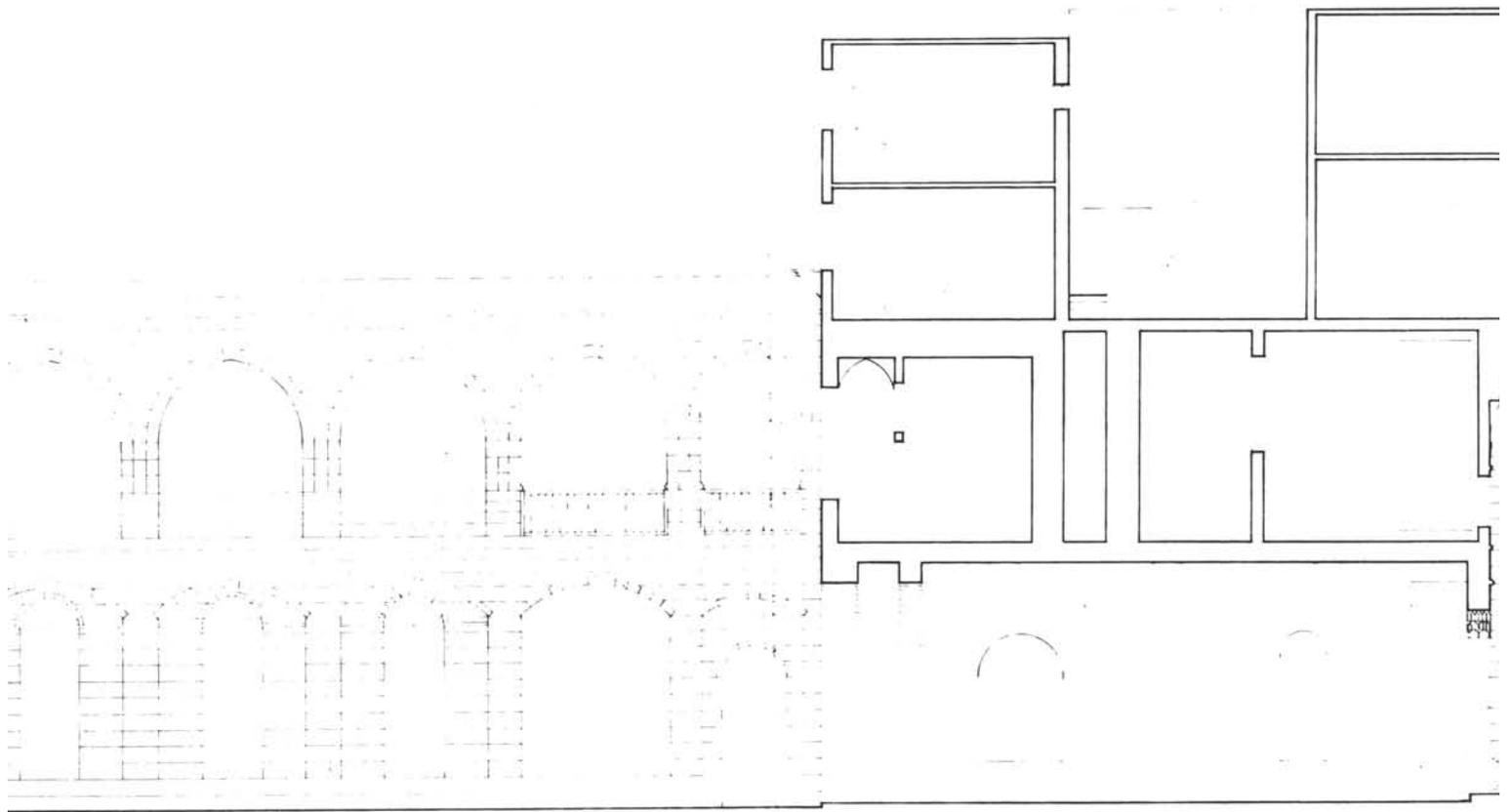


Figure A1.5e: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. Third floor plan. (Antiquities)



1.5g: *Khān al-Zarākisha*. Section. (Antiquities)

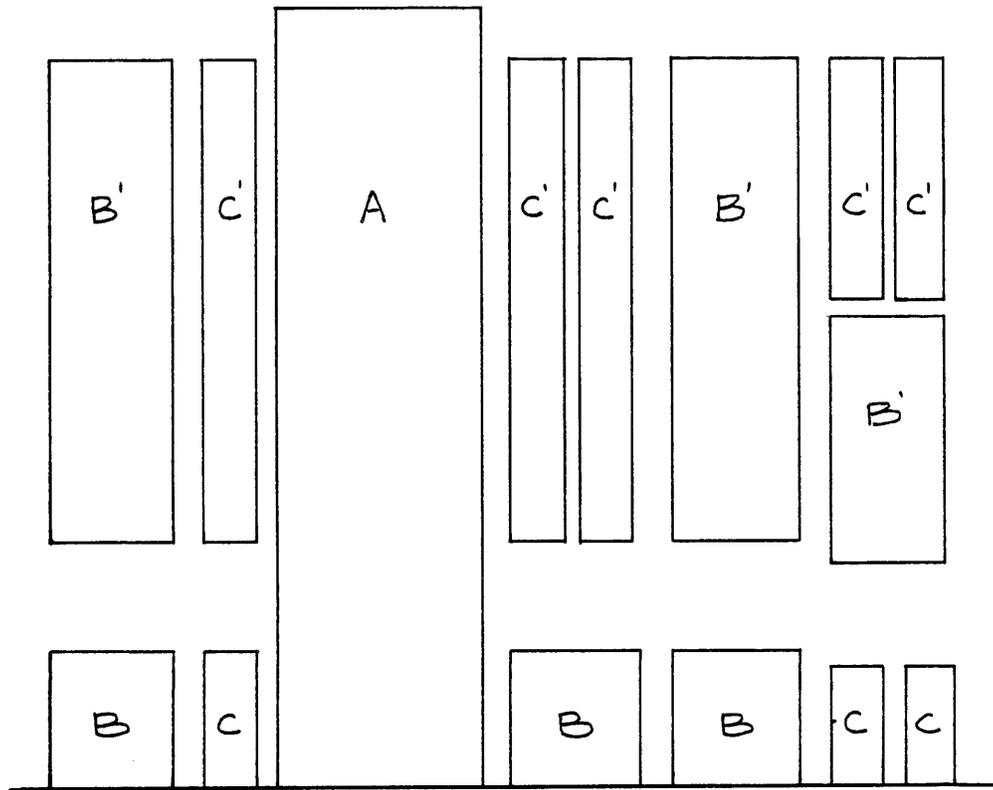


Figure A1.5h: *Khān* al-Zarākisha. Facade rhythm.





Figure A1.6b: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Entry portal.

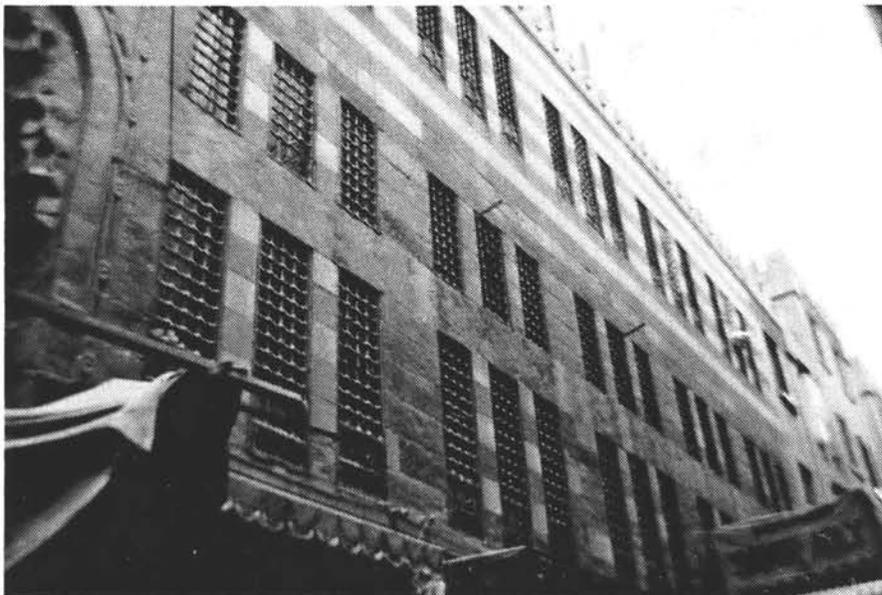
Figure A1.6c: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Remains of courtyard.





Figure A1.6e: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Residential window pattern.

Figure A1.6d: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Main facade with windows of *rab'*.



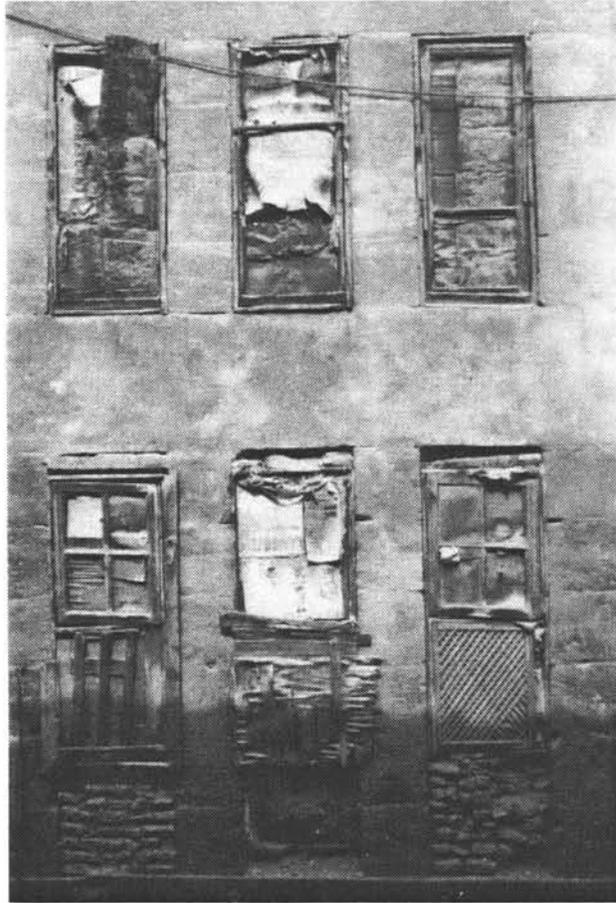
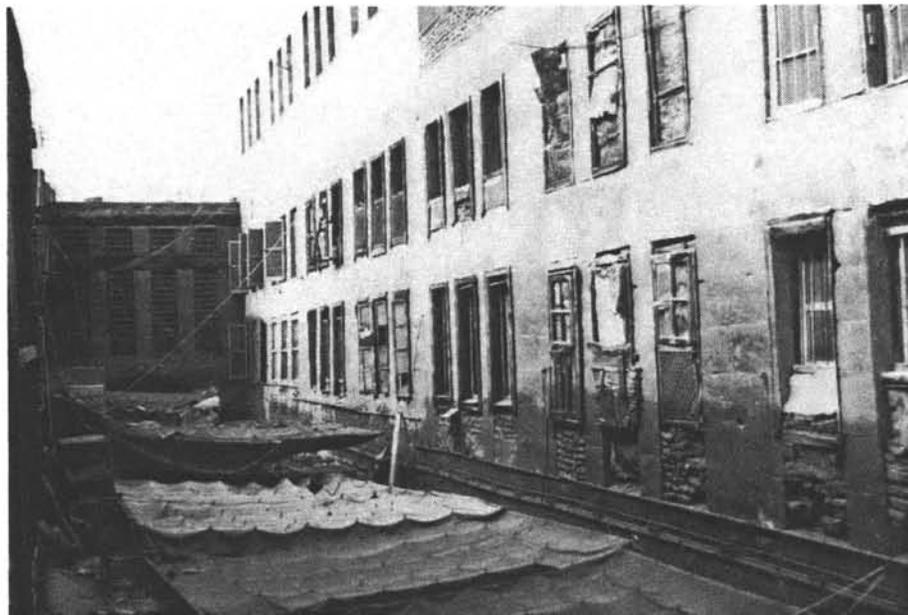


Figure A1.6g: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānšū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Residential window pattern.

Figure A1.6f: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānšū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Windows of *rab'*.



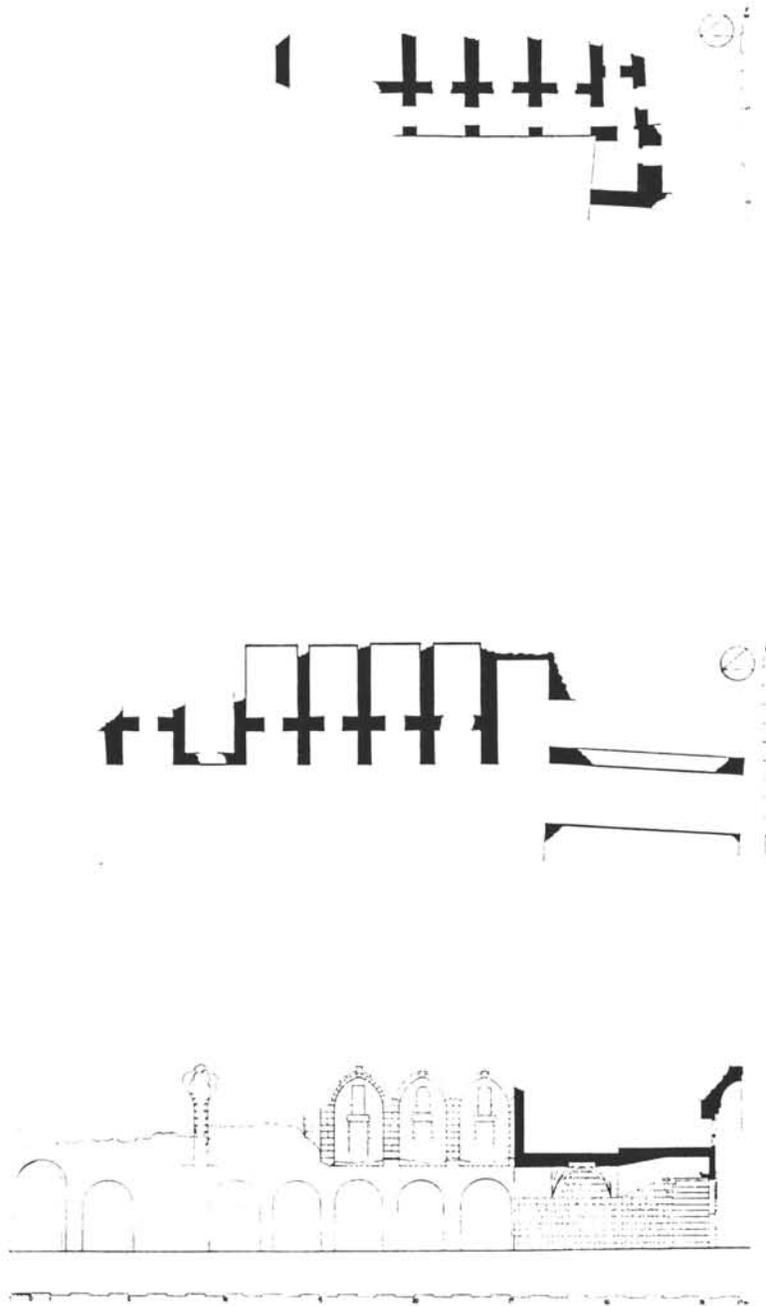
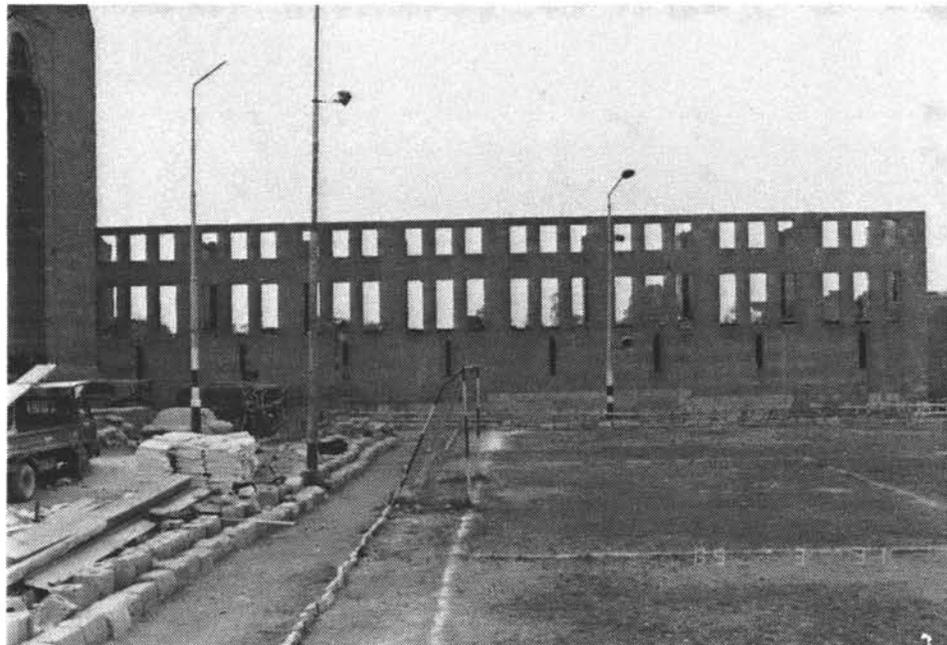


Figure A1.6h, i, & j: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Quṭn). Remains of *wakāla*. (Scharabi)



Figure A1.7a: Complex of Qurqumās with residences for ṣūfīs at right.

Figure A1.7b: Complex of Qurqumās. Facade of *khanqā*.



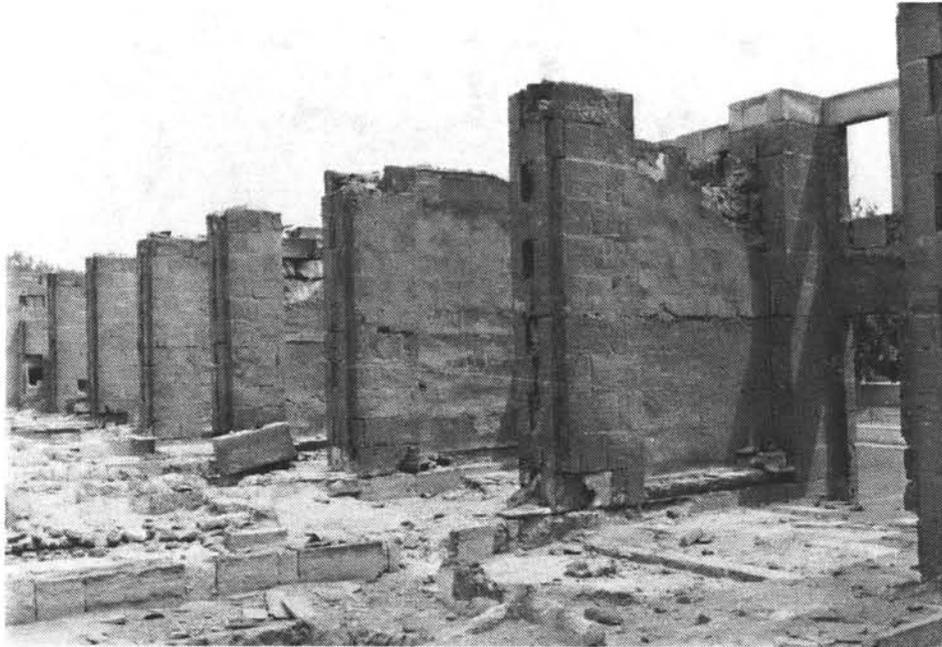


Figure A1.7c: Complex of Qurqumās. Remains of apartments in the *khanqā*.



Figure A1.7d: Complex of Qurqumās. Construction of party wall between apartments in *khanqā*.



Figure A1.7e: Complex of Qurqumās. *Īwān* with windows in *khanqā*.



Figure A1.7f: Complex of Qurqumās. Flooring slabs in apartments in the *khanqā*.



Figure A1.7g: Complex of Qurqumās. Latrines in adjacent apartments.

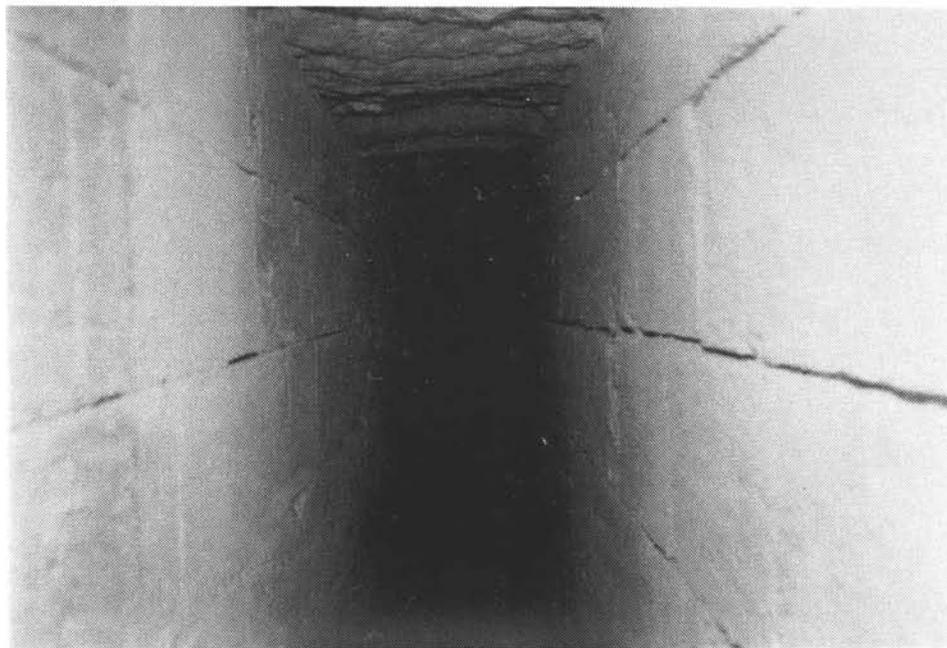


Figure A1.7h: Complex of Qurqumās. Drainage culvert below *khanqā*.

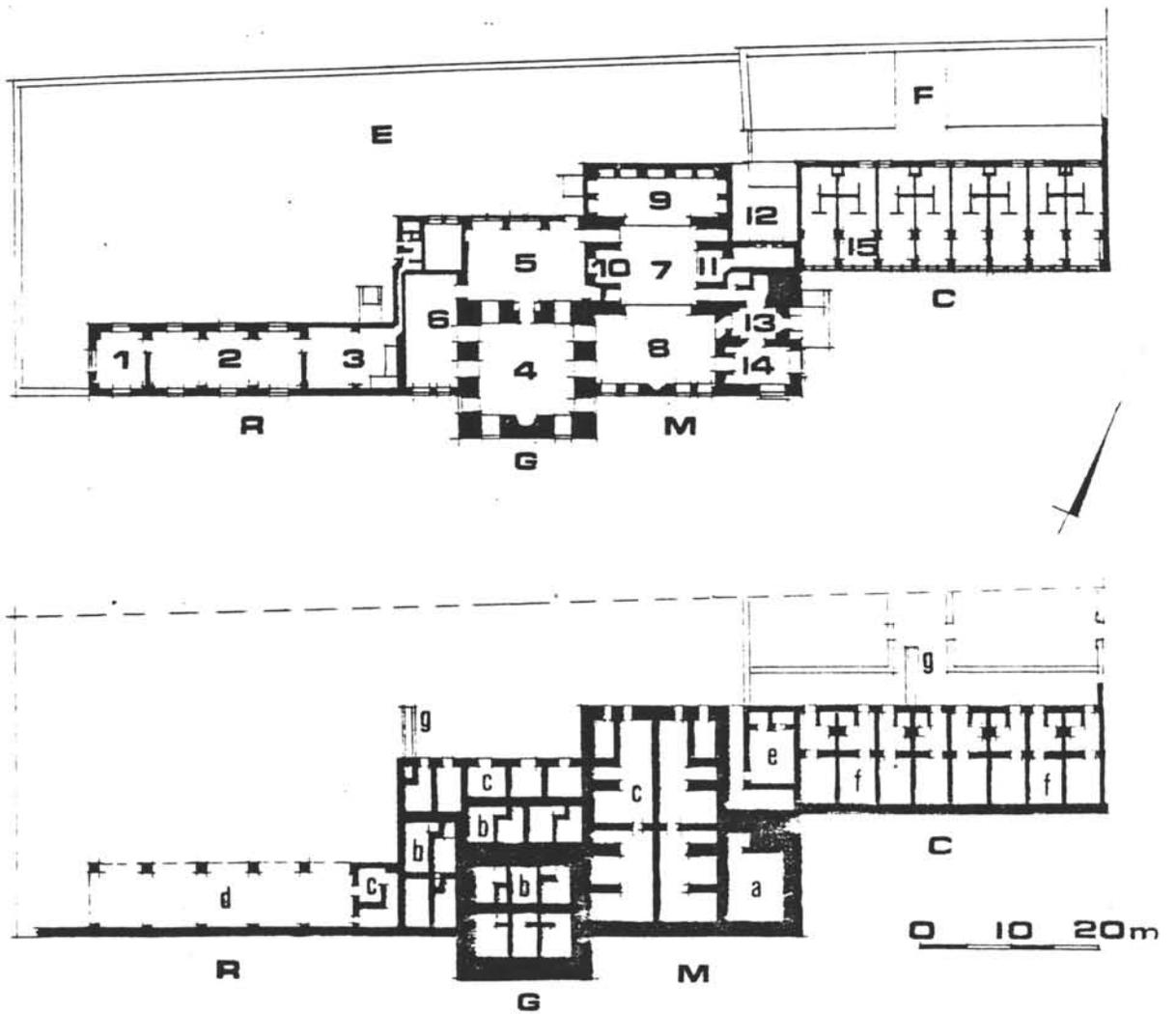
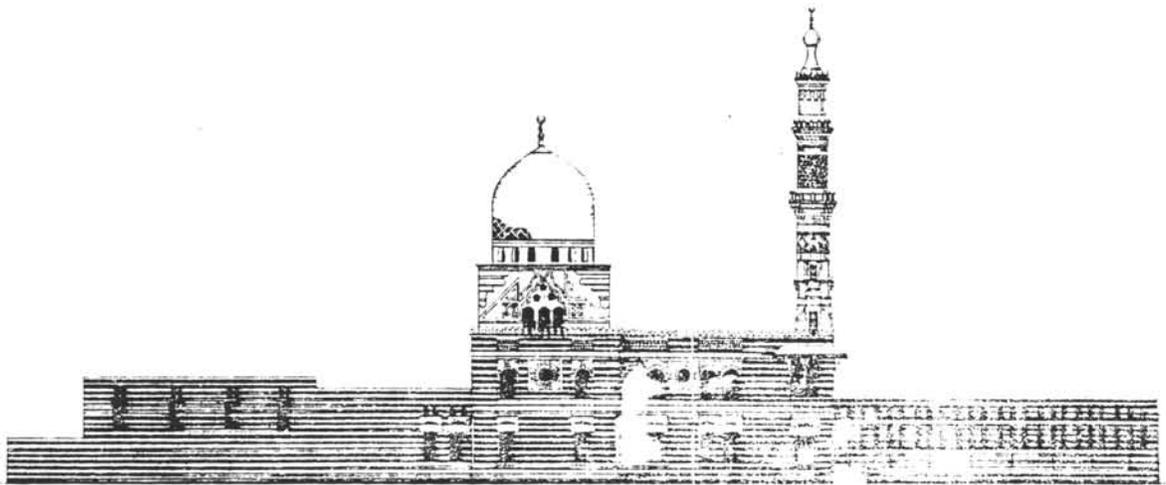


Figure A1.7i, j, & k: Complex of Qurqumās. Ground floor, first floor, and elevation of complex. (Misirowski).

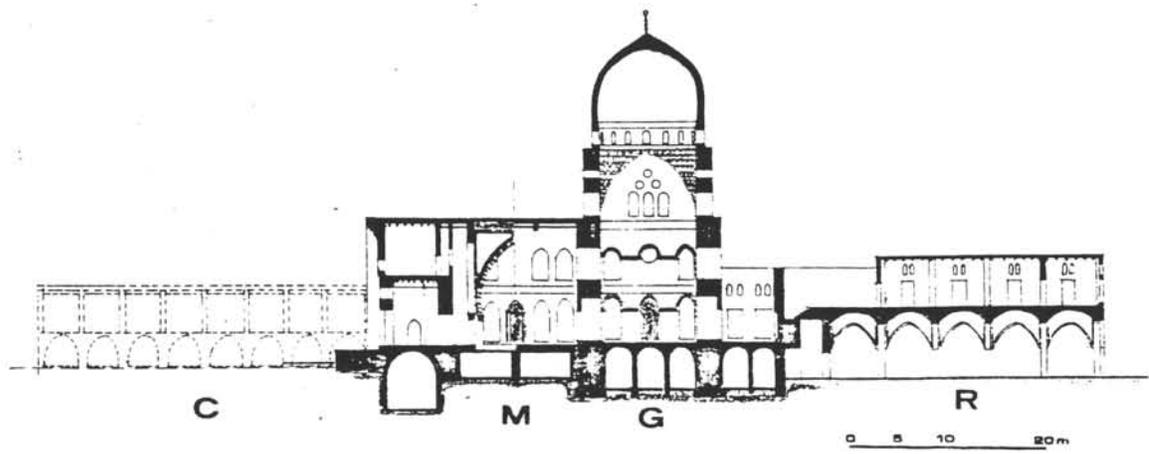


Figure A1.7k: Complex of Qurqumās. Section through complex. (Misiowski).

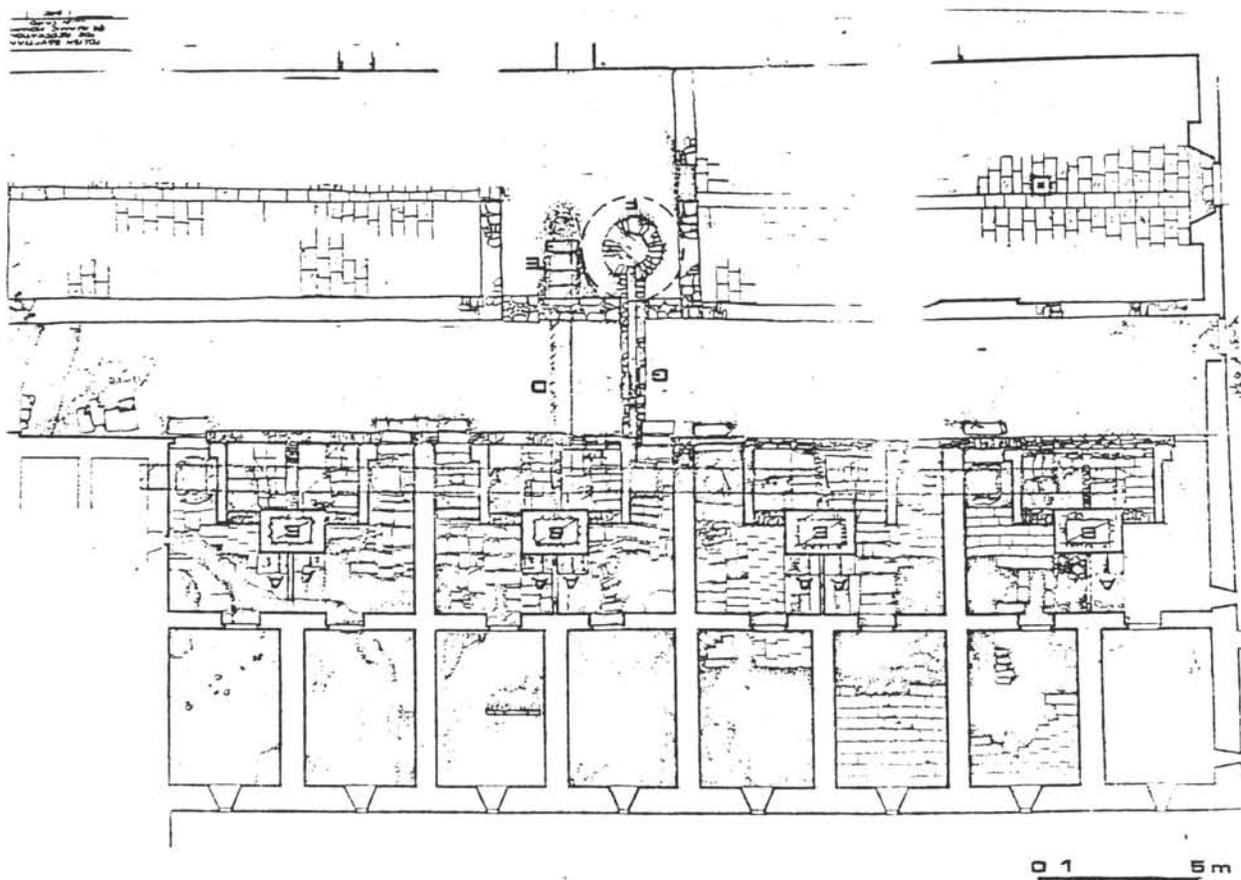


Figure A1.7l: Complex of Qurqumās. Ground floor plan of *khanqā* showing drainage below. (Misiowski).

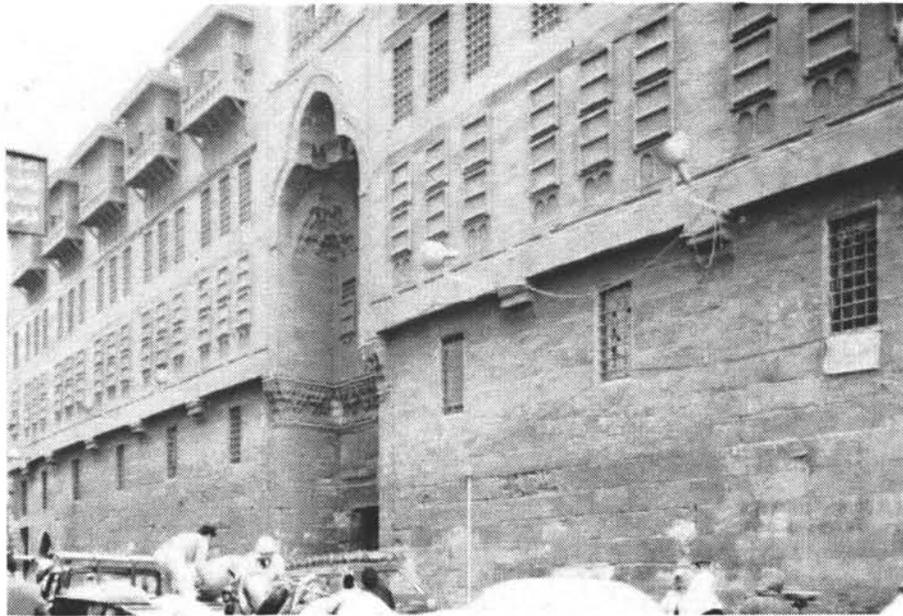


Figure A1.8a: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī (al-Nakhla).

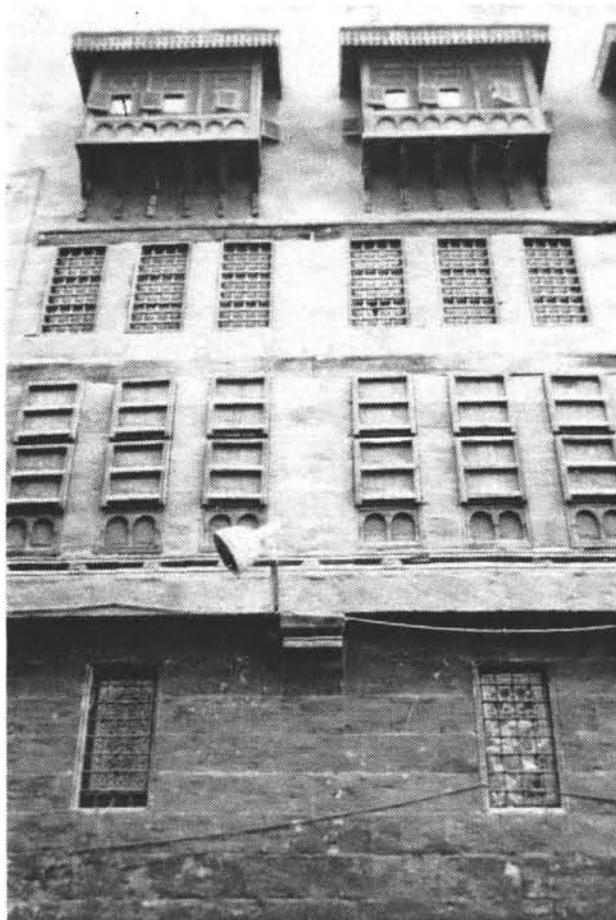


Figure A1.8b: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī, projecting upper level..

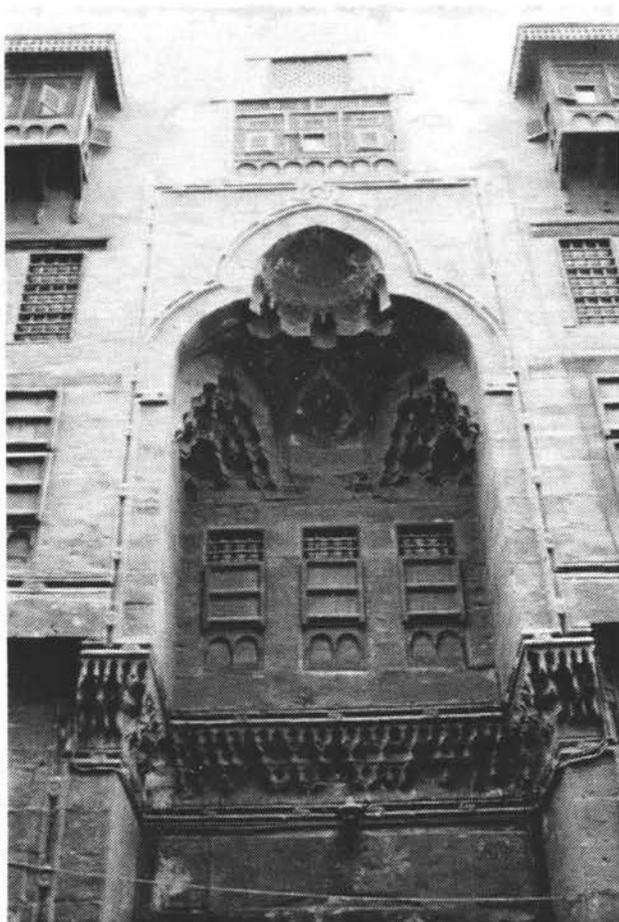


Figure A1.8c: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. Portal, entrance to *wakāla* .

Figure A1.8d: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. *Rab'* entrance.





Figure A1.8e: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. Courtyard .

Figure A1.8f: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. corridor overlooking courtyard..



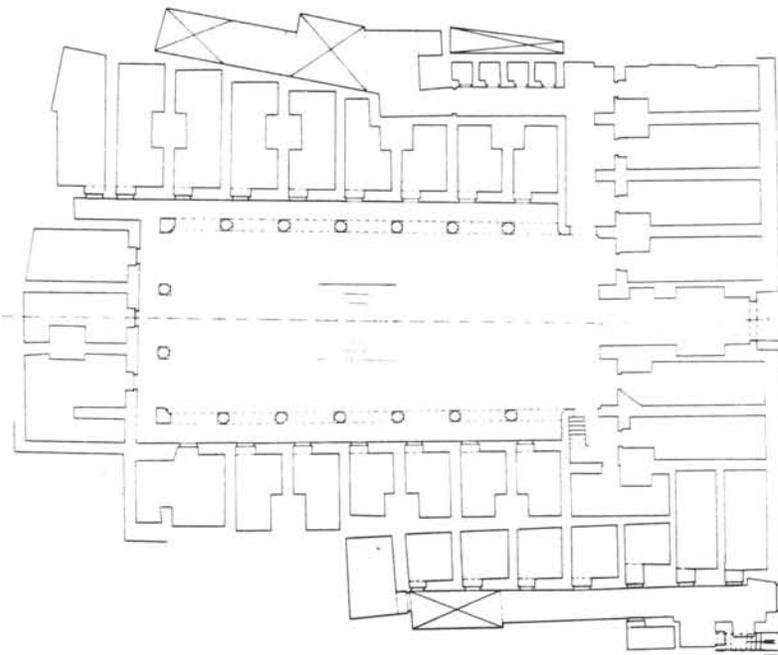
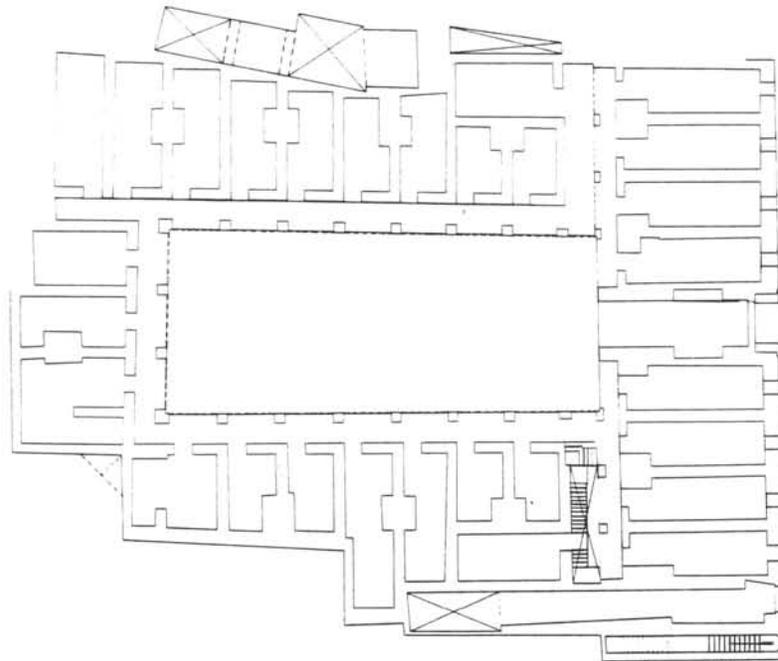


Figure A1.8g & h *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. Ground and *wakāla* mezzanine level plans.

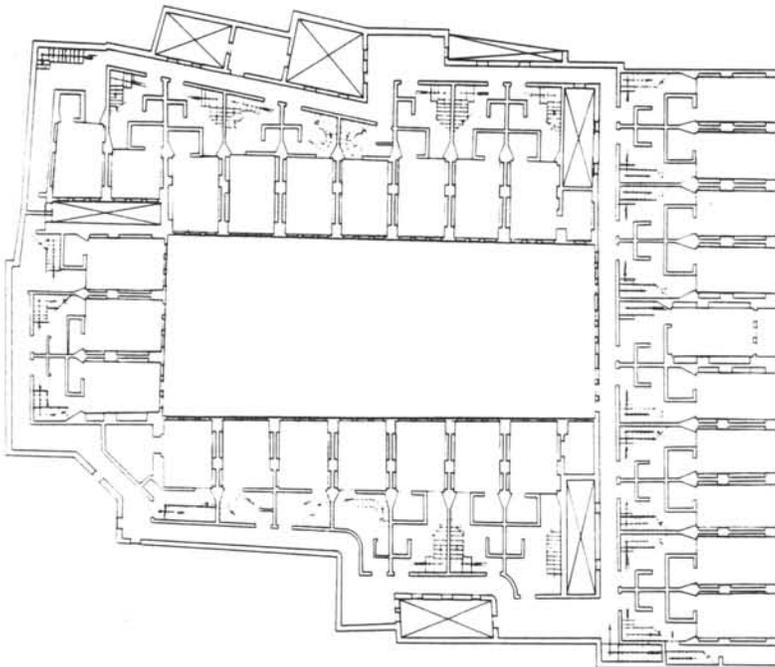
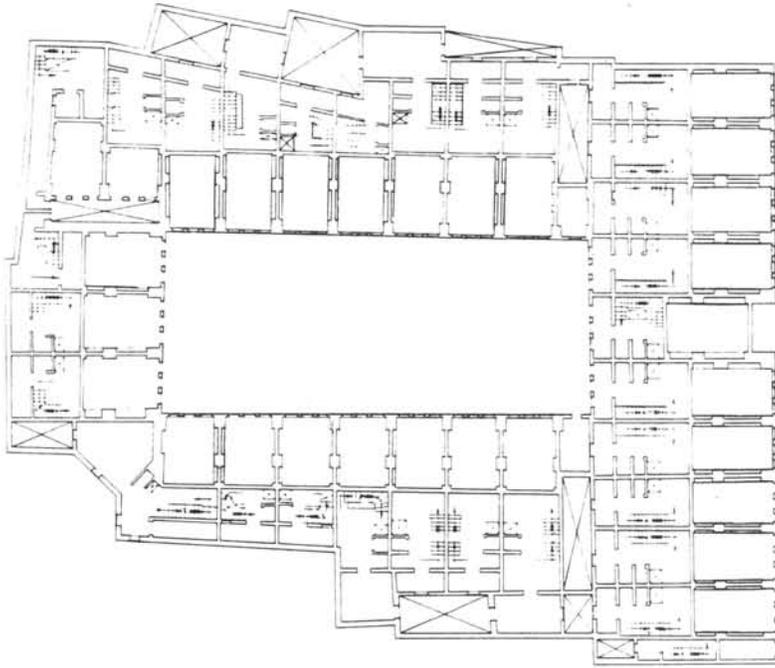


Figure A1.8i& j: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. First and *rab'* mezzanine level plans.

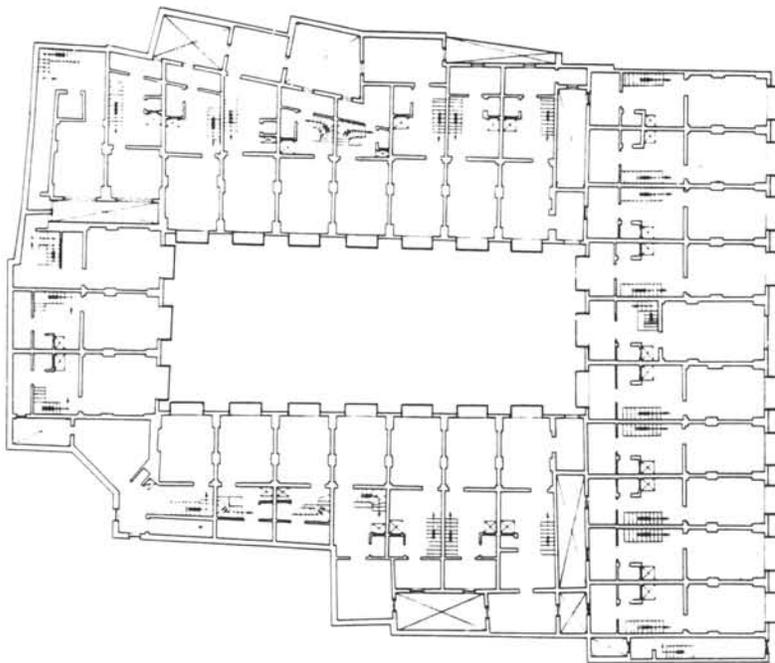


Figure A1.8k: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. third level plan.

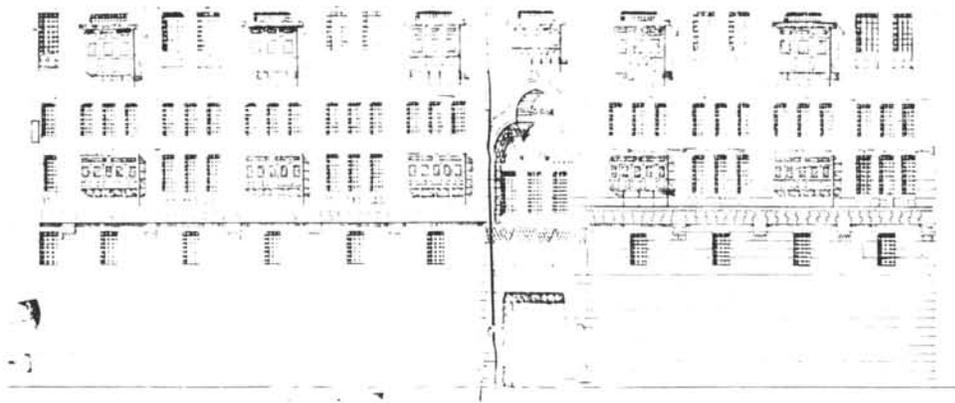


Figure A1.8l: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. Street elevation. (Antiquities)

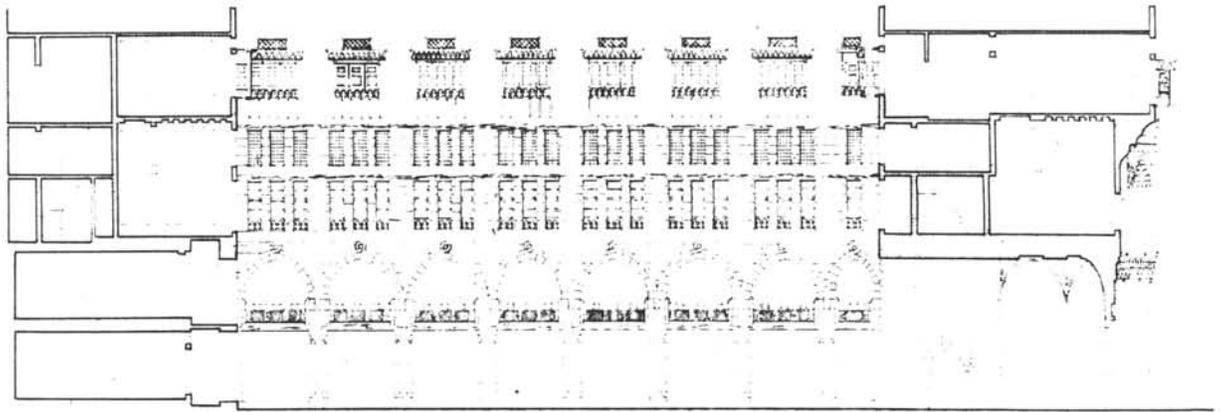


Figure A1.8m: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. Longitudinal section. (Antiquities)

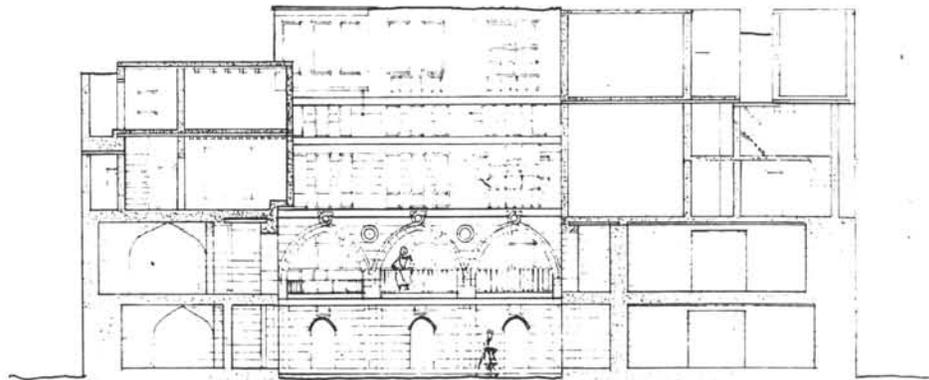
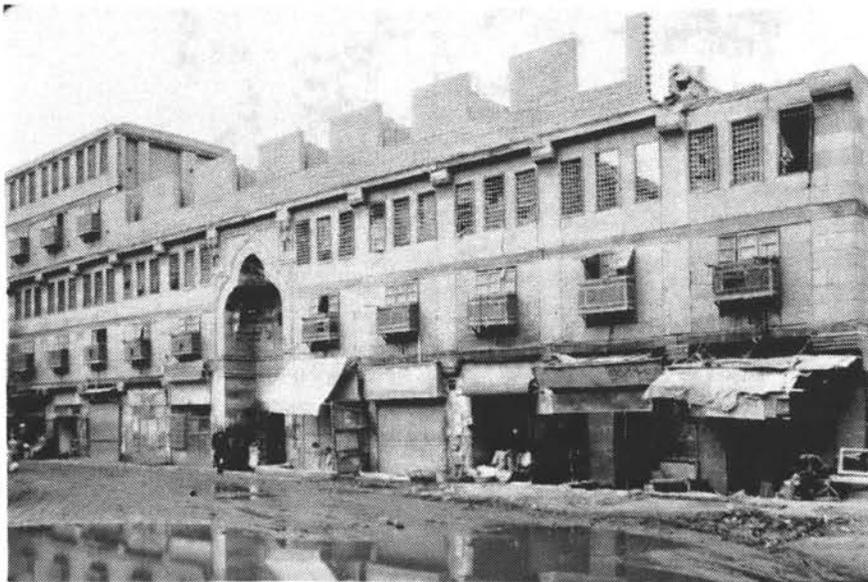


Figure A1.8n: *Rab'-wakāla* of al-Ghūrī. Transverse section. (Antiquities)



Figure A1.9a & b: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at Bāb al-Naṣr).



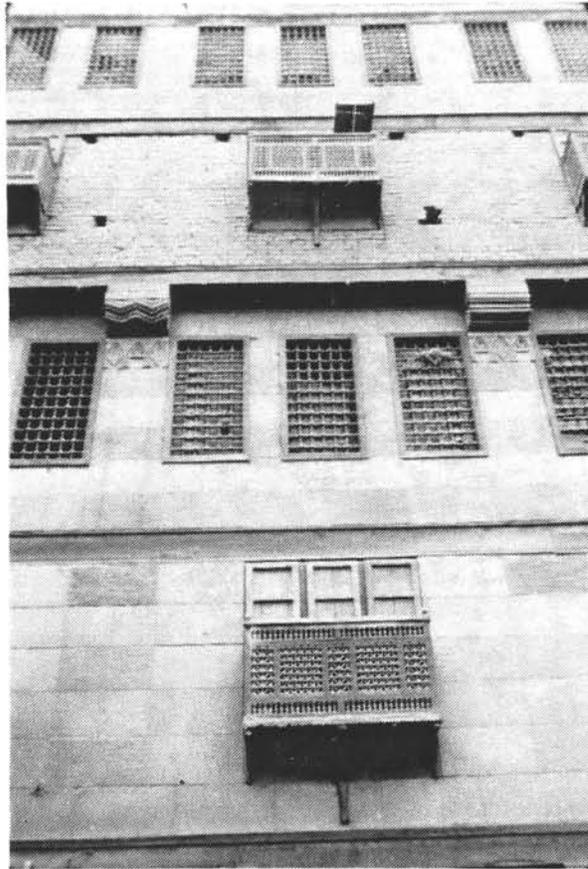


Figure A1.9d: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at Bāb al-Naṣr).  
*Rab' bay.*

Figure A1.9c: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at Bāb al-Naṣr).





Figure A1.9f: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at Bāb al-Naṣr). Main elevation.

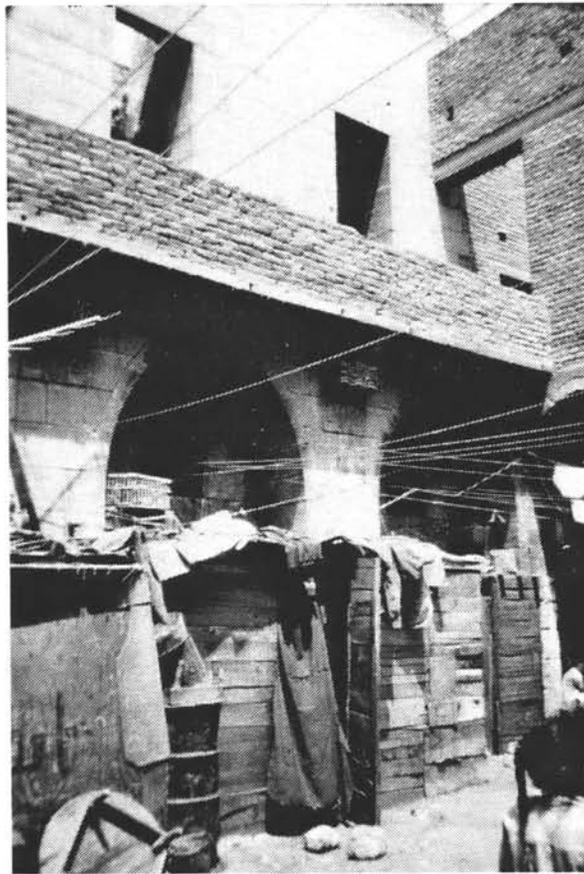


Figure A1.9e: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at Bāb al-Naṣr). Courtyard.

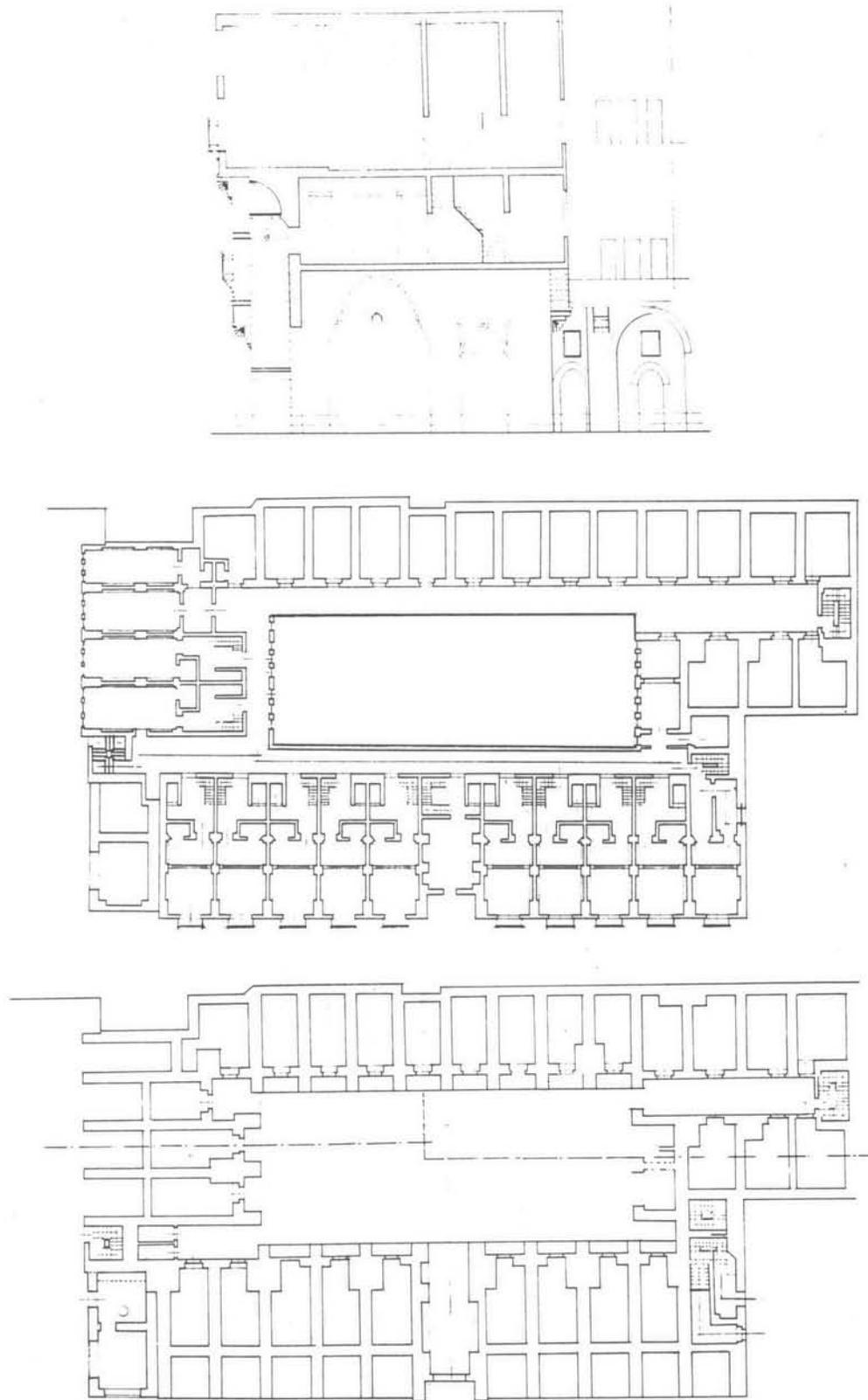


Figure A1.9g, h, & i: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at Bāb al-Naṣr). Ground and first floor plans and section.



Figure A1.10b: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at al-Azhar). View of ruined *rab'* units.



Figure A1.10a: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at al-Azhar). Residences.



Figure A1.10c: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at al-Azhar). Street view looking east.

Figure A1.10d: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at al-Azhar). Geometric design above shops..



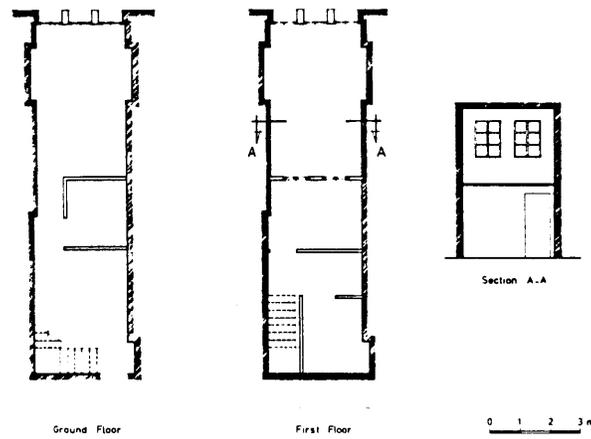


Figure A1.10e: *Rab'-wakāla* of Qaytbāy (at al-Azhar). Unit plan. (Higashi, Antiquities)

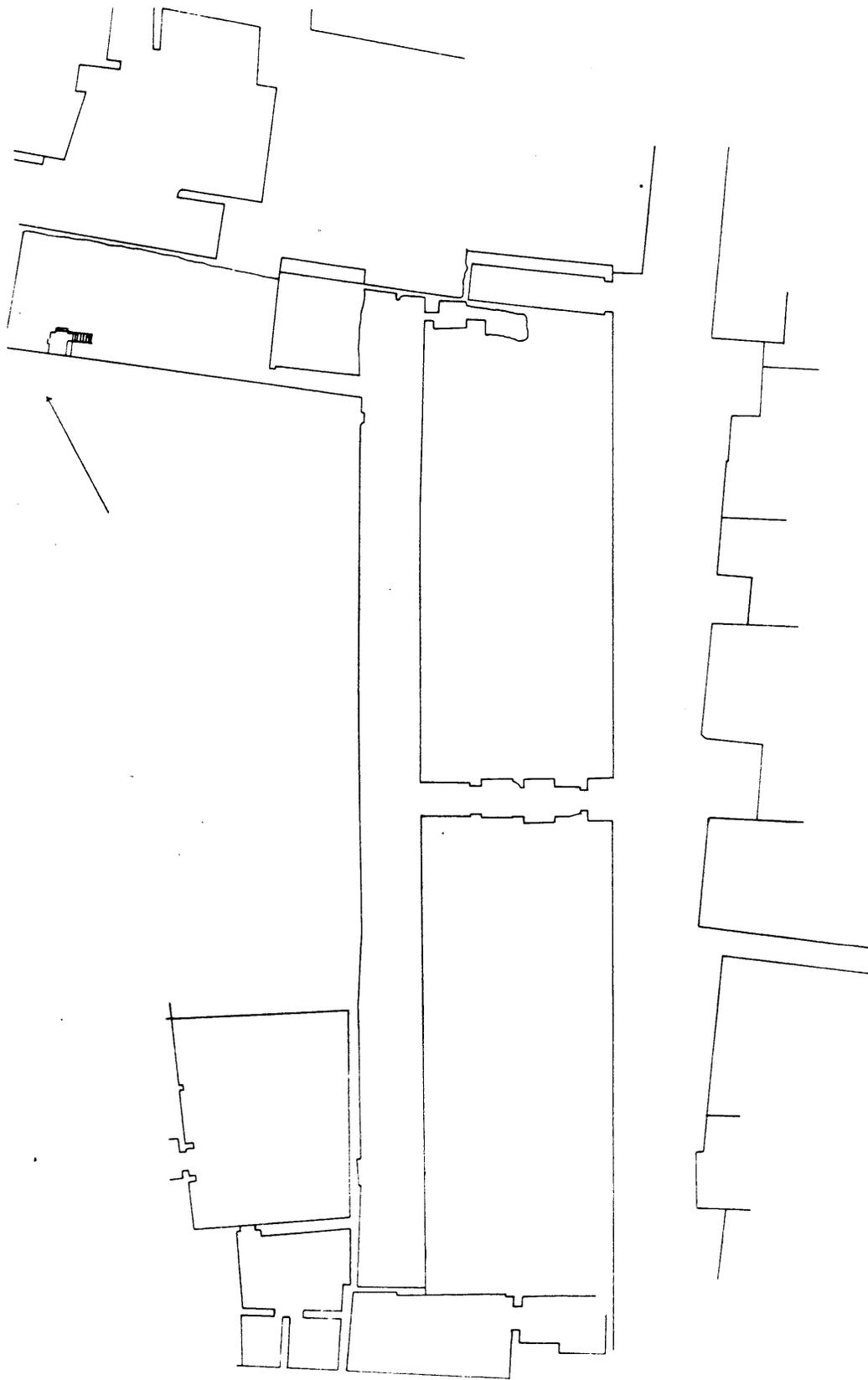


Figure A1.11a: *Rab'* of Qaytbāy in the cemetery. Site plan (Antiquities)



Figure A1.11b: *Rab'* of Qaytbāy in the cemetery. Street view.



Figure A1.11c: *Rab'* of Qaytbāy in the cemetery. Back view, showing access to units.



Figure A1.11e: *Rab'* of Qaytbāy in the cemetery. Unit interior, showing *dūr-qā'ā* and entry.



Figure A1.11d: *Rab'* of Qaytbāy in the cemetery. Remains of unit above entry gate.



Figure A1.12a: General view of *khanqa* in the complex of Īnāl.

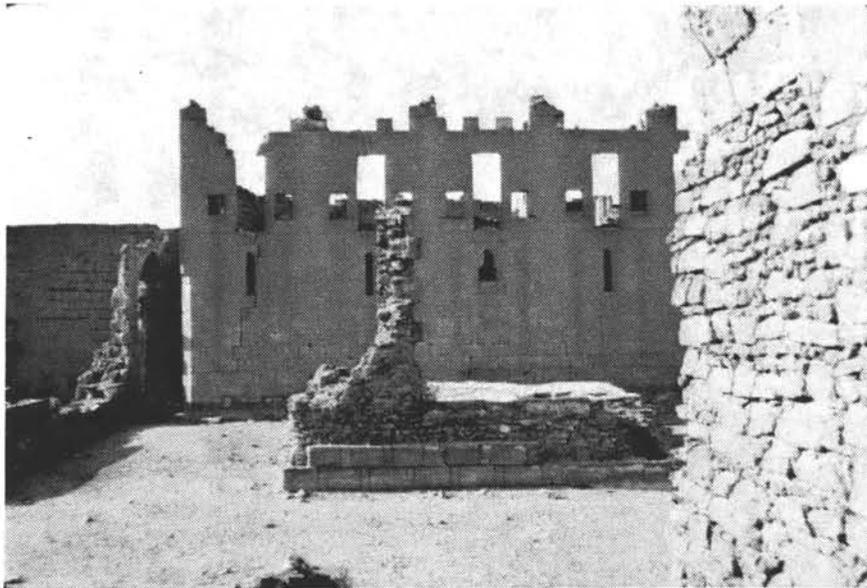


Figure A1.12b: Complex of Īnāl. View of some residential units.

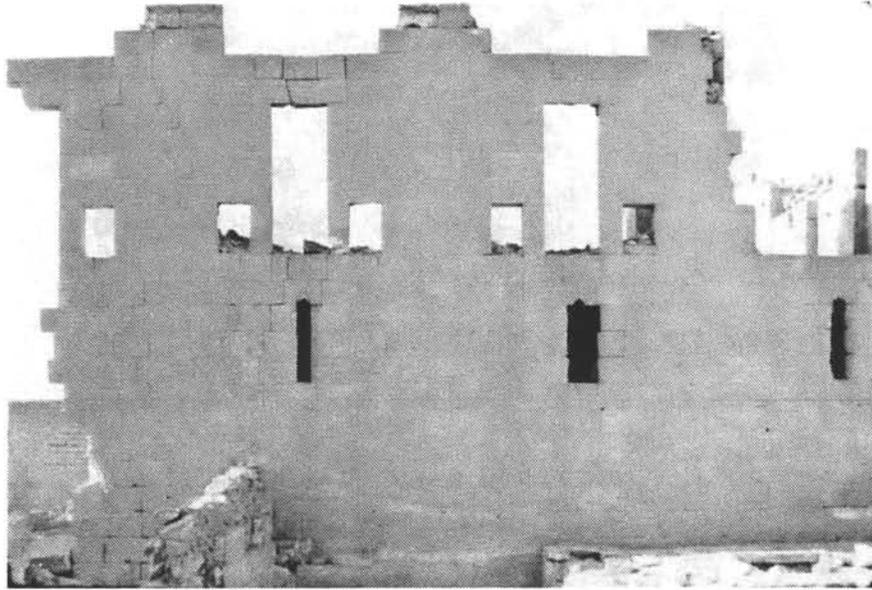


Figure A1.12c: Complex of Īnāl. Fenestration pattern in *khanqā*.

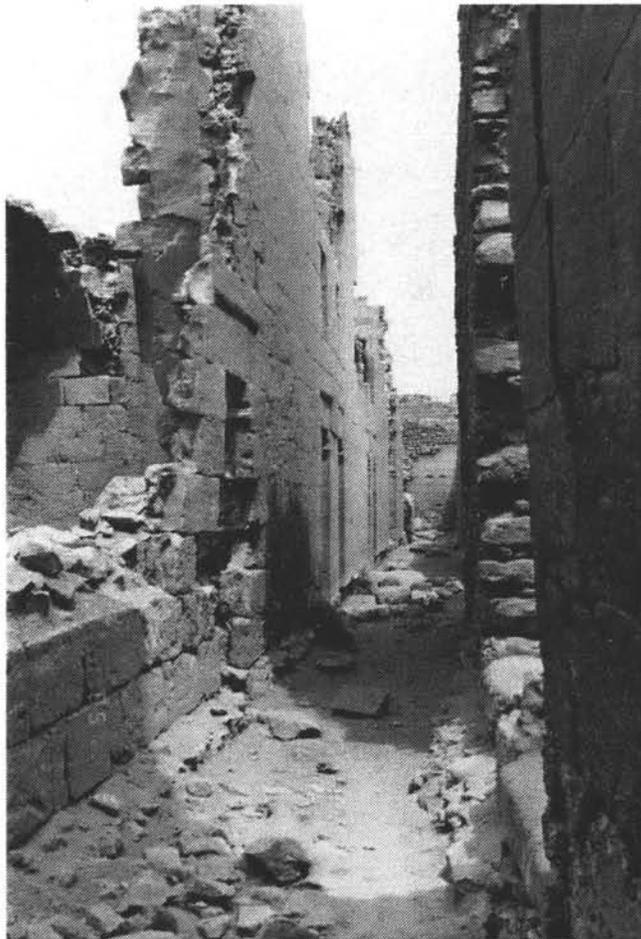


Figure A1.12d: Complex of Īnāl. View down a "street" formed by two *rab'* blocks in the *khanqā*.



Figure A1.12e: Complex of Ināl. Latrine seat in *rab'* unit..



Figure A1.12f: Complex of Ināl. Drainage culvert running underneath *rab'* block.

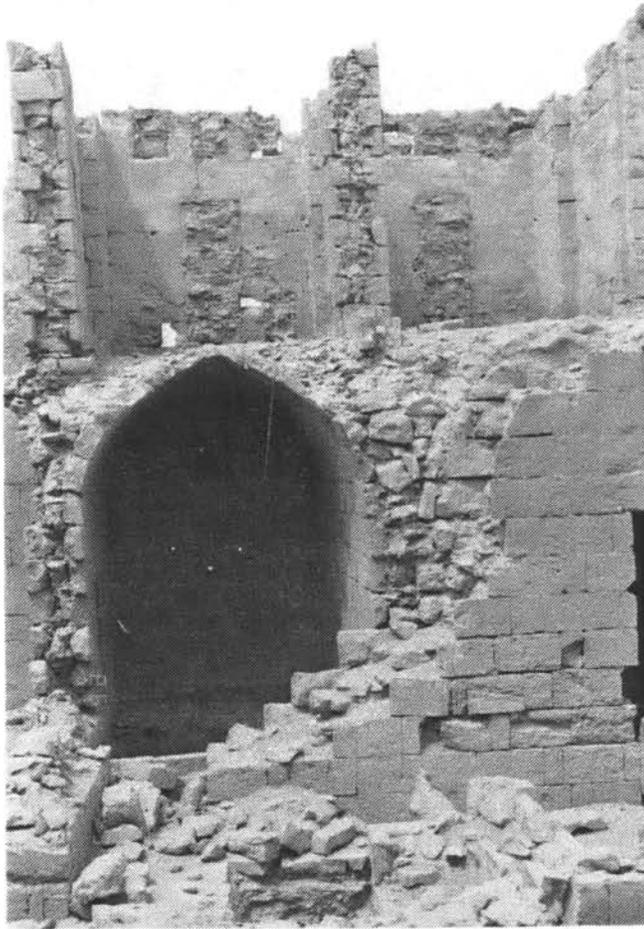


Figure A1.12g: Complex of Īnāl.  
Remains of two apartments,  
showing vaulted ground floor.

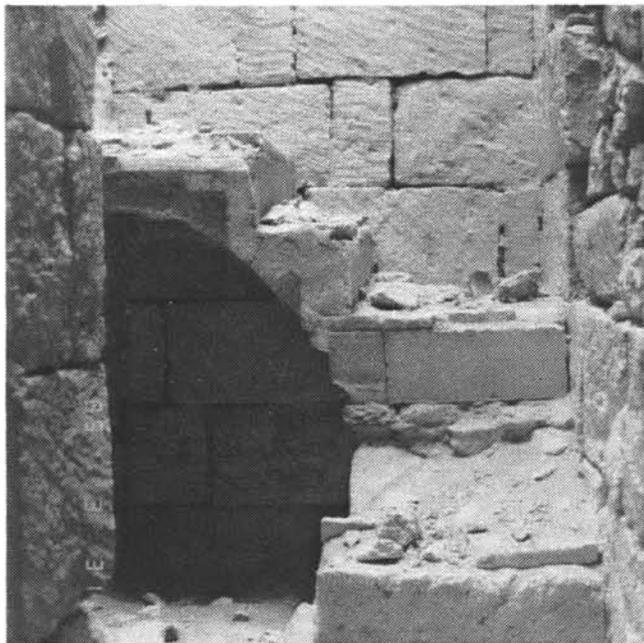


Figure A1.12h: Complex of Īnāl.  
Stone staircase in each apartment.



Figure A1.13a & b: Complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. Apartments along the street.





Figure A1.13c: Complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. View along wall of *khanqā*..

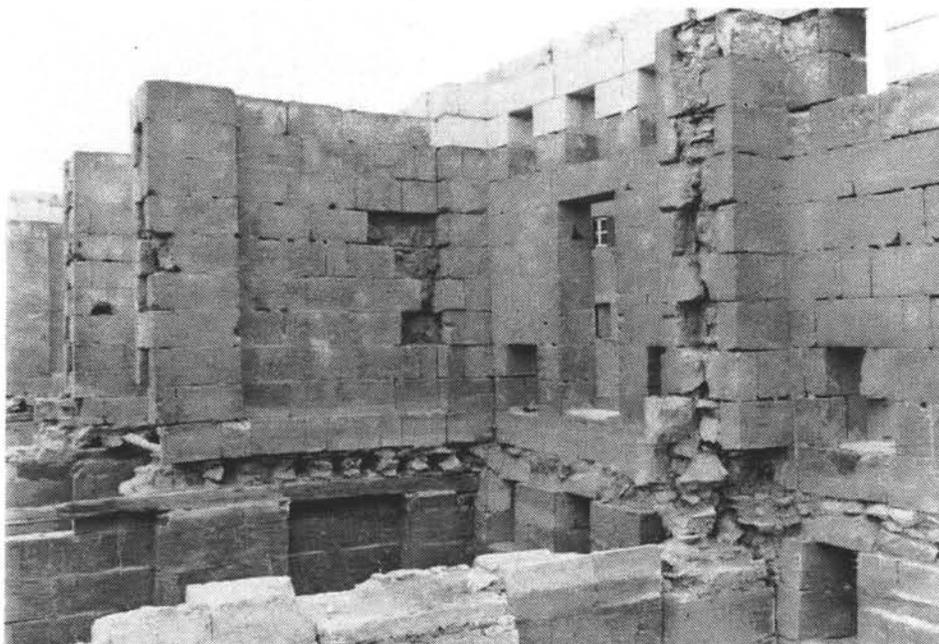
Figure A1.13d: Complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. Remains of apartments in *khanqā*..





Figure A1.13f: Complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. *Īwān* and windows in apartment.

Figure A1.13e: Complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. Remains of apartments in *khanqā.*, showing construction.



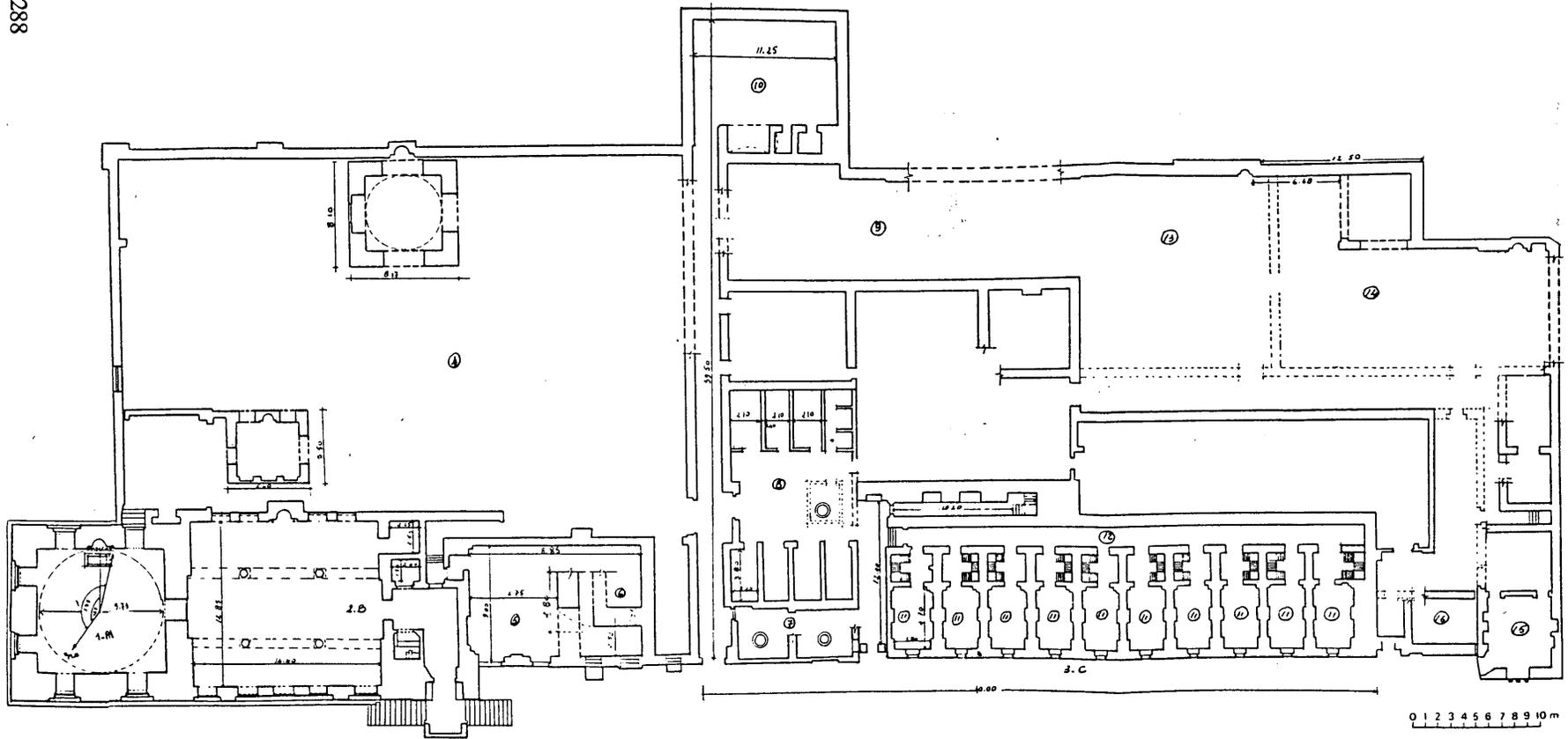


Figure A1.13g: Complex of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. Plan (Fernandes).

## Appendix II

### Three Hours a Day: Archival Documents

This appendix contains extracts from some documents in the archival collection that were used in this dissertation. Not all those looked at and studied are included here. Rather, enough of them are presented to give a sense of the kind of information in the documents and of the translation process involved in working with them. Nor are the ones cited given in full, as the documents are quite lengthy with all of the legal jargon, stipulations, and amendations. The *waqf* deed of al-Ghūrī for instance is a bound volume of 600 pages. Instead I have only extracted parts that were relevant to this study. The documents are arranged in chronological order, with the date of the earliest deed in the document being taken as the date of the document.

Most documents could not be xeroxed or photographed, and I had to work with hand transcriptions. Given the severe time limits, it was sometimes difficult to be certain about some readings. The condition of many of the documents rendered some parts of the text unreadable. A few documents were available to me in xerox form and so a more reliable reading of them was possible.

The text I provide should not be considered an edited publication of the documents. Such a task requires a team of historians from different disciplines. It should be taken as the best reading of someone with a specific and detailed expertise in one of the relevant aspects, that of architecture. My work on terminology leaves me fairly confident of being able to render the architectural descriptions well. The reading of proper names (Arabic, Persian, etc.) is not my expertise, and I have exercised caution in rendering those. Some proper names associated with landmarks in the urban topography of Cairo that I was familiar with could be read. For the most part, I have excluded from my transcriptions depositions of witnesses and signatures and rulings of judges, as well as the stipulations of the employees in the endowments and their salaries. These are pieces of information of great importance to the economic and social historian.

To provide a sense of what the material looks like, I've added a couple of sample photographs of deeds. The following page gives an explanation of the system of transcription that I have used in the documents.

Finally, while the texts were taken down with a particular set of interests in mind

(residential architecture), I hope that they will be of interest to other architecture historians with different interests and questions.

## Transcription Notation

- [] Text within square brackets could not be read definitively.
- <> Text within angle brackets is reader's comments. Usually it posits a possible reading of unclear text within the square brackets, provides line or page numbers, or some other clarification.
- 0 Text within parentheses is a proposed reading suggested while re-editing the text without benefit of the original to confirm the reading. Usually it represents a correction to a possible transcription error on the reader's part.
- (0) Text within double parentheses is written between the lines in the original and is being here inserted in its most likely context.
- . . . . . Dots in the midst of a line indicate text that was not transcribed because of lack of time and/or which did not seem to be relevant to the reader's immediate purposes.
- . . Two dots in the middle of an otherwise empty line indicate that a line or more of the original has been skipped.
- . . . . . Five dots in the middle of an otherwise empty line indicate an end of a deed in the document.

## Extracted Deeds

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Maḥkama 15: <i>Waqf</i> of al-Manṣūr Qalā’ūn.....	308
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ACh 10727: Rent from <i>al-ṭawāshī</i> Mukhtaṣ bin ‘Abd Allāh.....	341
Awāf 651: Sale from Shirīn bint Qaṭlubghā Bahādir bin ‘Abdullah <i>al-silāḥdār al-</i> <i>manṣūrī</i> , to Baybars bin ‘Abdullah <i>al-ḥājib al-malakī al-nāṣirī</i> .....	344
Maḥkama 33: <i>Waqf</i> of <i>al-ṭawāshī</i> Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥsin al-Akhmīmī.....	351
Awqāf 627: Sale from Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sha‘bān bin ‘Abdullah and his sister's son . . . ., to Shahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad <i>al-jarā’ihī al-</i> <i>sulṭānī</i> . .....	357
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Awqāf 882/883: <i>Waqf</i> of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī.....	448
Awqāf 996: <i>Waqf</i> of Raḍwān Bek .....	454

**Ach 10217**  
**Accounting of Expenditures on Building**  
**Dhul Ḥijja, 506/1112**

**The Document:**

This document is located in the Papyrussammlung in the National Library in Vienna. The writing, on paper, is extremely difficult to read and many of the words cannot be made out.

**Its Contents:**

Lists the expenses paid each day for material and labor used in repair work associated with the estate of the emiral register (*al-dīwān al-amīrī*).

## كشف بإتفاق على بناء

نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ١٠٢١٧ المودعه في المكتبة القومية في فيينا  
<قراءة حازم السيد والدكتور محمد محمد أمين>

## &lt;نص الوثيقة&gt;

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
مبلغ [ان]فق في عماره الرباع الجاربه في الدي[و]ان الحاضر الاميرى بالمعزيه القايره  
بتولى رحص راسطونس مما لا [ح]ه عنه ولا يتم السكن الان على جارى العاده بمشار[ك]ه  
الشيخ ابو الحسن احمد بن منصور بن عطا لذو الحجه سنه ست وخمس مايه [المن] عرق نخل وثلثه ارباع  
واربع [و]ا نخل وقطعتين نخل و[م]حن ودرابس[و] و[س]ى اجرال[ر]ح[ا]ين  
[من العر]ى ثلاثمايه وخمسه عشر درهما  
[ونصف <وتصدق؟>]

## تفصيل ذلك

المنفق في الحانوت من ربع بن حدان  
سكن فرح الاسكاف  
[ ] الاحد [ ] ثلثه دراهم  
[ ] نهار في نقل تراب  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ] السبت السابع منه  
[ ] جار ابو الحسن في طين  
[ ] السبت الرابع عشر منه ستة عشر درهما  
اجره [بنالين] [ ] ستة دراهم و[ ] اربعة دراهم  
اجره راص يوسف و[ ] ستة دراهم  
ثلثه رحاين عطر وبو الحسن ومسرور في طوب وطين  
[ ] الاحد الخامس عشر منه ثلثه دراهم  
عن اجره راص [بدر]ا في نقل التراب  
[ ] الاثنتين السادس عشر منه درهم واحد  
عن اجره [مار]ا عيسى [ ] في [ ] كنيسه و[ ]  
رحاين عطر وبو الحسن في طوب

[الثلاثا السابع عشر منه  
رحارين عطر وبو الحسن في طوب  
[الخميس التاسع عشر منه ثلثه عشر درهما  
اجره [بنارين] وهيب اربعة دراهم مـحا ثلثه دراهم  
اجره رصاص [منـ] ويوسف ستة دراهم  
رحارين عطر وبو الحسن في طوب وطين  
[الجمعه العشرين منـه  
سته رحارين يوسف ومسعود وعـ[ره]  
وفرح وسلم وهبه في طوب  
[السبت الحادى والعشرين منـه ستة دراهم  
عن اجره رصاص يوسف و[ا] في هدم وتقل [مط]  
رحار — في طوب  
[الاثنين الثالث والعشرين منـه ثلثه عشر درهما  
اجره [بنا ] ستة دراهم ثلثه رصاصين ونصف  
منصور — عل ستة دراهم  
عسكر بعد نهار في نقل تراب درهم ونصف  
رحارين عطر وبو الحسن في طين  
[الثلاثا الرابع والعشرين منـه ثلثه عشر درهما  
اجره [بنارين حريح] اربعة دراهم حسن ثلثه دراهم  
اجره رصاصين محمود وحسين ستة دراهم  
رحار — في طين  
[الاربعاء الخامس والعشرين منـه  
رحارين [مريح] ومسعود في طوب  
[الخميس السادس والعشرين منـه اربعة دراهم وربع  
اجره [بنارين] ثلث نهار حريح درهم وربع مـحا درهم  
اجره رصاصين منصور وحسين ثلث نهار درهمين  
من الجمعه السابع والعشرين منـه  
رحارين مسعود وحמיד في طوب  
المنفق في الحايرو بسويقه الحرارين سكن حمود التباغ  
وقعت على بالقضيه هذا العمل وعلمت بصحه المنفق — على ما بين في باطنه لذى الحجه من ست وخمس مايه

طـل — عرق نخل وثلثه ارباع نخل واربع قوايم نخل وقطعتين نخل [لطف] ومحـ —  
 وسوى اجر [الرحارين] من الورق ثلثمايه وخمس عشر درهما و— منصور بن عطا في [تاريخ]  
 عـ  
 رفعه رحص راشورين — في عمار الرباع  
 الجاربه في الديه [و]ان الحاصر [— — —]  
 لذر الحجه سنه ست و[—]

### Maḥkama 3

**Waqf** of ‘Alam al-Dīn Abu Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥaq

Dated 1\_ Rabī‘ al-Ākhar, 600/1203

#### The Document:

This is a very important document from the Ayyubid period. It was listed as lost in the register of Dār al-Wathā’iq, but was located by the author in the wrapper for Maḥkama 14. This is an original document and not a copy made at a later time. As such it is the oldest document in Dār al-Wathā’iq (Maḥkama 1 and 2 are copies made at a later time of earlier documents). The document is in very bad shape. The beginning is lost and much of it is dissolving. In many parts, the ink is dissolved, and one is reading its traces on the paper.

#### Its Contents:

This deed documents the subdivision of interest in a *funduq* in Fuṣṭāṭ amongst a number of inheritors, and its subsequent aggregation by purchase by one of the inheritors.

#### Comments:

I am indebted to Prof. Muhammad Amin for his kind assistance in reading parts of this document..



دينار حسابا للسنة ثلثة دنانير وثلثا دينار ونصف [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ] يقوم المستاجر المذكور بهذه الاجره [سايعره] من [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ] <س ٢٦>

[منها] نظير مده هذه الاجاره التي عينت فيه المورخ بالثاني والعشرين [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ] <س ٢٧>  
وسبعين وخمس مايه وما حرر برسم شهاده غير واحد من المدول منهم [القاضي <الناصر؟>] [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ]  
ابن يحيى ابن على ابن حبيب والسعيد امين الدين ابو على الحسن ابن محمد ابن الحسن ابن مروان [ . . . . . ]  
<س ٢٩> [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ]

الاستجار المذكور فيه شهد على القاضي الاجل الفقيه الامام العالم [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ] موكلته بالاذن وفي البيع وقبضها للثمن [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ]

عشر من شهر ربيع الاخر من سنه ستمايه وصدق هذا القاضي المشتري في اليوم الثاني <س ٤٤>  
البيع وله اجاره على صحه [مالكها] لما [ابتيع] عنها واوجر عنها حسبما [ . . . . . ] <خرم> [ . . . . . ] <س ٤٥>  
عنها ضمان [ . . . . . ]

<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

<نص آخر في الجزء الأخير من ظهر الوثيقة>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم تسليما <س ١>  
هذا ما اشتري القاضي النفيس علم الدين ابن محمد عبد الحق بن القاضي الاجل العدل [ . . . . . ]  
رشيد الدين ابي [امجد من مكى بن] الشيخ الفقيه تقى الدين [ابى التقا] صالح بن على بماله لنفسه وهو المشتري  
والمشتري له فى الكتب الملصقه اعلاه من الامير مجاهد الدين محمود بن [الا] الاجل جمال الدين  
سرور بن محمد بن حسين البهائى وشهود هذا الكتاب به عارفون اشتري منه [صفقه واحده] <س ٥>  
[و عقد واحد <باهت>] جميع الحصه التي مبلغها ثلثه اسهم ونصف وثلث سهم وثلث عشر سهم  
[وثلث سدس عشر سهم] من اربعه وعشرين سهما شايما غير مقسومه من كل من جميع الفندق  
وعلوه وحقوقه الطلق ارضه ومن البنا القايم فى الحوانيت التي عدتها ثمانية حوانيت  
[على <باهت>] يسره من اراد الدخول من باب هذا الفندق التي يعلوها بعض منازل المذكور  
الموصوف المحدود جميع [ . . . . . ] <باهت> [ . . . . . ] كله فى الكتب الملصقه اعلا هذا الكتاب بطنا وظهره  
الذى ذكر هذا البايع ان هذه الحصه المبيعه من ذلك له وفي ملكه ويده فمن هذه الحصه  
المبيعه ما انتقل اليه بالميراث عن والده المذكور [المشروحه وياقيه <باهت>] [وعدد] ورثته

في الكتب المصنعة اعلاه ثلثه اسهم [و خنسا] سهم وما انتقل اليه باليراث عن اخته شقيقته  
ست [الامر] المراه الكامل الموافه [ولا وارث لها] سوى والدتها [كتلتى] ابنه [مرقون] بن عبد الله  
[و اسقا ما و] . . . . . <س ١٥>  
فيه ثلث سهم وثلث عشر سهم وثلث سدس عشر سهم كل هذه اليها [غير مقسومه] من اربعة و عشرين سهما  
من المـ [ـ باهت > المذكوره] اعلاه التي ياتي ذكرها و وصفها وتحديدها في هذا الكتاب  
فمن ذلك الفندق والحوانيت الثمانية المحتكره ارضها بنسطاط مصر في الخط  
[ـ ـ ـ] [ـ] قداما في السفح المعروف الان بالسيوريين شارع هناك على يمينه  
[من ـ باهت > من] رجه الصرف [ـ باهت >] المعروف قديماً بالساعين طالبا الى صناعه العماير <س ٢٠>  
المحروسه والجسر وعلى يسره من خرج من زقاق [الرقايين > الروايين؟] قديما طالبا الى رجه الصرف  
وسوق الساعين وهذا الفندق [يقابل الفندق ـ ـ] الحمام المعروف قديما بابي دره وتعرف  
بابي مره المسلوك من ذلك الى الخوخه التي يخرج منها الى حمام [القارن النحاحين] قديما  
و[الصفين] والى غير ذلك وصفه هذا الفندق [انه يشتمل] على بايين احدهما كبير مربع بدرفتين  
[يسمر] يفلقان عليه بعتبين العليا خشبا والسفلى صوانا على يمينه من دخله [ال]خمسه حوانيت ومصطبه من  
حقوقها  
الطلق ارض جميع ذلك وعلى يسره من دخله الحوانيت [الثمانية > باهت >] الخارج ارضها عن هذا البيع المتوصل  
من [الباب]  
الكبير المربع المذكور الى دهليز مستطول [فيه على يمينه من دخله] ويسرته مصطبتان مستطولتان [ـ باهت >]  
والطوب الاجر يعلو كل [ـ مخزن بدرفتين > باهت >] يفلقان عليه [وفى] كل مصطبه من [هاتين] المصطبتين  
مصطبه  
كبيره مبنيه بالطوب الاجر في صدر كل منهما [بدرفتين] يفلقان عليه ويتوصل من الدهليز المذكور الى [قاعه]  
كبرى  
تحوى سبعة وعشرين مخزنا دايره بها منها خمسة و[عشرين] مخزنا كل منها بدرفتين يفلقان عليه و[يعلو بابه]  
شباك خشب يودى الضو اليه والمخزنان الباقيا]ن بغير ابواب يعلو كل منها شباك خشب يودى <س ٢١>  
الضو اليه والمرحاض بغير باب عليه ويعلو هذه القاعه ثلثه [ازريه] مسقفه بالخشب النقى [يحملها]  
[سبعه > باهت >] ((عشر > إضافة فوق السطر >)) [عمودا > باهت >] منها [عمودان] رخاما والباقى وهو خمسة  
عشر عمودا صوانا ويعلو هذه [العمد] قساطل  
[. . . .] > باهت >] المذكوره [ـ] الحوانيت التي عدتها [ثلثه] عشر حانوتا [منها] خمسه حوانيت [على يمينه من]  
اراد الدخول من باب هذا الفندق [المحتكر] ارضها كل [منها] [ب]مصطبه و[طر]ـ ا باب > باهت >] ي[خلق] عليه  
ومنبل دايره به والحوانيت الثلثه > الثمانية؟ > الباقية على يسره من اراد الدخول من الباب المذكور [ـ الخارج  
> باهت وخرم >]

ارضها عن هذا البيع كل منها مصطبه [وطره وذوا باب] يفلق عليه [— <باهت>] س ٢٧ <  
 [— <ثانيه، بايه، باقيه؟>] معقود حنيه بدره [ت]ين يغلقتان عليه بعتبه رخام سفلى يتوصل اليه من على  
 سلم معقود

بالحجر [الى مايلي الظهر <باهت>] ويتوصل من هذا الباب المعقود حنيه الى سلم معقود بالحجر يصعد من عليه الى  
 طبقتين تحوى الاول منهما احد وعشرين مسترق وكل [م]نهما بدرفين يغلقتان على بابها [م]نهما [ستت] مسترق  
 [مطله] على س ٤٠ <

الطريق كل منها بباب ريج وطاقتين [روش—] بارز على الباب الكبير من بابى هذا الفندق والحوانيت [المذكوره  
 <باهت>]

و [الباقى] من المسترق منها ما هو مطل على الطريق المسلوك منها الى الر[وايين] قديما كل منها بروشن و[شباك  
 <باهت>]

[— <باهت>] و[الباقى] منها مما يل الفندق غير مطل على الطريق وتحوى الطبقة الثانيه ثلثه وعشرين [منزلا]  
 كل منها بدرفين

يغلقتان على بابيه ومن حقوقه مجلس وخزائين ومرحاض وسقفه نقي وذو السطح العاليه على ذلك والرواشن الحامله  
 [لبعض <باهت>]

المنازل المذكور البارزه على باب الفندق و[حوان— <جوانبيه، حوانيته؟>] الشارع بسوق السيوريين والى ما يلى  
 الطريق المسلوك [منها] الى س ٤٥ <

الر[وايين] قديما والتقنات الخالصات له والحقوق ويحيط بهذا الفندق ويجمعه ويشتمل عليه حدود اربعة  
 الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الفندق وحوانيته الجارى فى وقف الحرم الشريف و الى الموضع المعروف [بالحفا — <باهت>]  
 [المعروف الان بريمه <بنوريه؟>] الشيخ البى الم[تسمر] عبد الرحمن المحلى و الثانى وهو البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق  
 المسلوك [منها] الى [الر[وايين] قديما

وهى الفاصله بينه وبين الدارين المعروفه احدهما بالفقيه عبد [المحسن] التاجر والدار تعرف بوقف [الرهبان] وفى  
 هذا الحد

يشرع الباب معقود حنيه المتوصل منه الى اعلى هذا الفندق وبعض رواشنه والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى  
 مطبخ السكر المستجد الانشا المعروف بوالد البايح [— — <باهت>] فى هذا الحد من حقوق الفندق المذكور فيه  
 والحد الرابع وهو الغربى ينتهى الى الطريق الشارع [بسوق] السيوريين المسلوك [من <فى>] ذلك الى الموضع  
 المذكوره [و فيه]

يشرع الباب [الكبير المربع الخامس <باهت>] لسفل هذا الفندق والحوانيت المذكوره فيه وعدتها ثلثه عشر حانوتا  
 و[يطل على <باهت>]

ذلك باقى رواشن [هذا الفندق] بحدود ذلك كله وحقوقه وقليله وكثيره وما يعرف به وينسب اليه  
 من حقوقه [ه] كلها وكل حقه . . . . . س ٥٥ <

بشمن مبلغه من العين [الومل <باهت>] المصرى اربع مايه قبض البايع من المشتري جميع [الثن — <باهت>] بيده وقبضه وحوزه وسلم البايع للمشتري الحصة [المبيعه <المبيعه>] منه . . . . . [س ٥٧ <

وباب الفندق المذكور على يسره من دخله ويمنه من خرج منه وهى متلاصقات  
 اشهدنى المتبايعان . . . . . اشهدنى المتبايعان . . . . .  
 وعانيت قبض الثمن المذكور اعلاه وهو اربع مايه اعلاه وعانيت فصل المبايع المذكور  
 ديثار [مص] اعلاه  
 [كـ في المغرب . . . . .] [العشرين —] وهو اربع مايه ديثار مصريه وكتب عند  
 [لعشرين يقين؟<] من صفر سنه احدى عشر وستمايه  
 احـرـاما في العشرين [من من] صفر سنه  
 عشره وستمايه [س ١٠٢ <

<توقيعات اخرى>

<نص في الجزء الاخير من باطن الوثيقة>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد نبيه واله وصحبه وسلم تسليما  
 هذا كتاب بحبس اكتبه القاضى الاجل الصدر [الريس] المحترم . . . . .  
 النفيس علم الدين ابو محمد عبد الحق بن القاضى الاجل الارحد الصدر العدل . . . . .  
 [ابن] الشيخ الفقيه تقى الدين بن التقي صالح ابن على . . . . .  
 ونفوذ تصرفه [ . . . . .] انه وقف وحبس وابد جميع الفندق [الكبير] المعروف [ — — ] <باهت>  
 والده رحمه الله وجميع اعاليه وجميع الحوانيت الخمسه اللاتي بظاهره [الذى] ذلك  
 وجميع البنا القايم فى الحوانيت الثمانيه اللاتي بظاهره ايضا [الذى] ذكر هذا المحبس ان جميع [ — — ]  
 <باهت>

له وفي ملكه ويده وتصرفه على ما يشهد بذلك الكتب المسطره باعاليه و[المتصل] ذلك كذلك [ — — ] <باهت>  
 الشرايط التى تذكر فيه على ما يذكر فيه وذلك بفسطاط مصر المحروسه فى الخط المعروف قديما بالـ [ — ] <خرم فى  
 [الاصل]>

الان بالسيوريين شارع هناك على الطريق السلوك منه الى باقى السيوريين و[الملاحين] والصناعات — <خرم فى  
 [الاصل]>

والجسر وبحر النيل المبارك والى سوق [السماعين] والطيورين وسوق الصرف [وريمه العطارين] وغير ذلك  
 [وقد <فقد؟>] استوعبت صفاته وحدوده باعاليه [فا]ستغنى عن اعاده صفاته فى هذا المكتوب

ويحيط به ويجمعه ويشتمل عليه — حدود اربعة الحـد القبلى منه ينتهى الى [الطريق <الفندق؟>] وحوالـ [خـرم فى الاصل<] الجارى فى وقف الحرم الشريف والى الموضع المعروف [بـانوربه] الشيخ ابى القاسم عبد الرحمن المحلى وحـ [خـرم فى الاصل<] والحـد البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق المسلك [فيه] الى [الرواسن القديمه الفاصله] بينه وبين دار[ين] عرفت احدهما بالفقيه عبد المحسن التاجر والثانيه تعرف بوقف الرهبان وفى هذا الحد يشرع باب معقود حنيه يتوصل منه الى اعلى هذا الفندق وفيه ايضاً يطل بعض رواشنه وطاقاته والحـد الشرقى ينتهى الى مطبخ السكر المعروف بالامير جمال الدين [مسرورا] — [خـرم فى الاصل<] [نوربه] والجدار فى هذا الحد من حقوق الفندق المذكور والحـد الغربى ينتهى الى الطريق الشارع المسلك بسوق [السيوريين] المتوصل منه الى الطرقات المتقدم ذكرها وفى هذا الحد يشرع باب كبير خالص بسفله وحوانيته الثلثه عشر الذى منها ثمانيه حوانيت على يسره من اراد الدخول من بابيه وهم الذى ارضهم محتكره والخمسه الباقية الطلق على يمنه من اراد الدخول من بابيه بحدوده و[جميع ما <خـرم فى الاصل<] يعرف به وينسب اليه من حقوقه ومخازنه ومسترقاته ومنازله ومرافقه [ومرتفقاته] وارضه الطلق وما هو [معروف به وينسب <خـرم فى الاصل<] اليه من حقوقه خلا ارض الحوانيت الثمانيه فانها محتكره خارجه عن هذا [الحبس <التحبيس؟>] حبسا صحيحاً موبداً وصد[قه] [خـرم فى الاصل<] لا تباع ولا توهب ولا يرهن ولا [تتلف بوجه تلف] ولا تناقل بها قايمه على اصولها محفوظ على [اصلها] . . . <خـرم> لا يبطلها . . . . . [كلما] ناول فيها متناول تثبت و[كلما قدح] . . . . . كلها وهو خير الوارثين — على اولاده لصلبه الثمانيه وهم . . . . . [السفيان] و . . . . . [الـ] . . . . .

..

.. وبه اشهد [عليه] . . . . . <باهت> . . . . .

الثانى عشر من شهر رمضان المعظم سنه ثمان عشره وستمايه [الحـ] . . . . . <باهت> . . . . .

فيه مصلح على كشط [ما] مثاله [عشر] وهو صحيح فيه مصلح [ملله] وهو صحيح

<مجموعه من التوقيعات>

.....

**Maḥkama 11**

***Waqf of al-ḥājj al-amīn Zakī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ḥātīm  
bin Muḥammad bin Rabī’  
Dated 24 Rabī’ al-Ākhar 668/1269.***

**The Document:**

On a wide roll of vellum. Beginning is missing. Writing is clear.

**Its Contents:**

Concerns a *ṭāḥūn* and two *ṭabaqas* locate above it. The *ṭabaqas* contain 2 *majlises* each. The text makes it look like it is some kind of *iqrār* or testimonial.

وقف الحاج الأمير زكى الدين عبد الرحمن بن حاتم بن محمد بن ربيع وإبنة جمال الدين محمد  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم محكمه ٢/١١ المودوعه في دار الوثائق القوميه  
نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٢٠٤٧

<نص الوثيقة>

<البداية مفقودة>

[ — <ثبت؟> ] . . . . .

. . . . .

[ <خرم في الاصل> ] . . . . .

[ امر <م؟> الحاج ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .

. . . . .

[ <خرم في الاصل> ] . . . . .

ابن محمد بن ربيع وشهوده به عارفون [ملك <ذلك؟>] عليه ما هو في يده وكان في ملكه الى ان ملك عليه

والده [ . . . . . ] . . . . .

[ <خرم في الاصل> ] . . . . .

ذلك ووصفه وتحديدده في هذا الكتاب الذى بالقاهره المحروسه شارع برجه قصر الشوك يعرف بانشا الاجل

الكامل بن شاور وهو على يمينه من سلك . . . . .

[ <خرم في الاصل> ] . . . . .

طالباً الى المشهد الحسينى الشريف و[حرح] بنى عقيل والجامع الازهر وصفه الحجره الطاحون المذكوره انها ذات

الباب المربع [ . . . . . ] . . . . .

[ <خرم في الاصل> ] . . . . .

حوراني وعمود حديد . . . . .

. . . . .

الغله والمصراف] والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بها ويجمعها و[يحصرها] حدود اربعه الحسد القبلى ينتهى الى الدار

المعروفه قديما بانشا الاجل الكامل بن [ساقد <ساور؟>] التى يفتح بابها فى الدرب الصغير المجاور لهذا

الطاحون من غريبها والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق

الشارع المسلوک فيه الى الاماکن المقدم ذكرها وفيه يشرع بابها ويطل عليه روشن من علوها الداخلى منه [طبق

— < هذه؟>] الحصه المذكوره فى حكم الافراد المذكور والحد الشرقى الى الدار المعروفه قديما بانشا

يحيى بن الخياط وسكنه وعرفت بسكن ط[ا]ريل

الاسدي الناصري والحد الغربي ينتهي الى الزقاق الصغير المجاور لها وفيه يشرع باب علوها الاتي ذكره ووصفه  
وتحديده في هذا الكتاب [منه <فيه؟> نظيراً] الحصه المذكوره [من <في؟>] حكم هذا الاقرار وصفته انه  
يدخل اليه من درب صغير غير نافذ

يعرف بالطراز [من <في؟>] اوله على يسره من دخله يشتمل على باب معقود حنيه [— <عتبته؟>] السفلى  
عمود وعليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى سلم حجر يصعد من عليه اليه وهو ذو الطبقتين المتقابلتين  
احدهما تطل على الطريق ذات باب زمام يدخل منه الى مجاز مستطول  
فيه على يسره من دخل مستراح ومطبخ ثم الى مجلسين متقابلين كل منهما بفردي كم بابواب مكمله وخزائين  
وباذاهنجات وصفف وابواب سادجه وطاقات وابواب ربح تطل على باب الطاحون المذكوره ومرافق  
وحقوق والطبقه الثانيه ذات باب

وعلى يمنه الداخل منه مرحاض ومطبخ وعلى يسره الداخل باب ثاني يدخل منه اليها ذات مجلسين متقابلين  
ودور قاعه وخزائين وباذاهنج ومرافق وحقوق والسطوح العال على ذلك كله والقناه الخالصه له والروشن  
المطل على وجه بابها المذكور ويحيط

بهذا العلو المذكور ويجمعه حدودا اربعة الحد القبلى ينتهي الى دار تعرف بابن فريدون و تعرف قديما بابن  
[النصرى الى مضه] الى المكنسان] الداخل [منها <فيها؟>] [نظيراً] الحصه المذكوره فى حكم هذا الاقرار  
والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق السلوك

وفيه يطل روشنهما وطاقاتهما على باب الطاحون المذكور والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى خربه تعرف بالحمال وتعرف  
بابن الحياط وتعرف قديما بابنه طلايع ثم [ب]سكن ابنه ابنه النصار [ثم بغير ملـ <بغير ملكا؟>] —  
والحد الغربى ينتهى الى الزقاق غير النافذ المعروف

بدرب الطران وفيه يشرع باب العلو المذكور فيه بحدود ذلك كله وحقوقه ارضا وينا سفلاً وعلواً واعدده والاته  
واخشابه وابوابه وسقوفه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه ملكاً صحيحاً شرعياً [— <خرم فى الاصل>] شرعى  
يجيزه الشرع الشريف [وتمضيه]

احكامه وان ملكه لذلك [سابق] على اقراره ومتقدم عليه وسلم المقر المذكور لوالده المقر له المذكور ما اقر له به فيه  
متسلمه [منه] تسليماً شرعياً وصار بيده وملكه ومالا من ماله يتصرف فيه وفيما شا منه تصرف الملك فى  
املاكهم وذوى الحقوق فى حقوقهم من غير مانع ولا معه [ترض — <خرم فى الاصل>]

ولا منازع ولا رافع ليدٍ وصدقه [المقر] له على ذلك واقتر اليهما نظر الحجره الطاحون وعلوها الموصوف ذلك المحدود  
فيه المقر منهما بالحصه المعينه فيه [شاهداهما] واحاطا بجميعهما علما وخبره نافية للجهاه واشهدا عليهما  
ذلك فى بالحادى والعشرين من شهر ربيع الاخر — <خرم فى الاصل>

ثمان وستين وستميه ولما علم الشيخ المحترم الحاج الامين زكى الدين عبد الرحمن المقر له المذكور بن الحاج  
ابى الجود حاتم بن محمد بن ربيع ان الله عز وجل قال فى كتابه العزيز . . . . .

حاكيا . . . . .

.....  
 .....  
 من الصالحين وانه روي عن النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم في الاخبار المنقوله اذا مات بن ادام انقطع عمله الي من  
 ثلاثه صدقه جاريه وعلم ينتفع به او ولد صالح يدعوا له وقف وحبس وسبل وابد وهو في صحه عقله  
 وبدنه وحواز امره . . . . .  
 .....  
 المذكور ومبلغها الربيع ستة اسهم من اربعة وعشرين سهماً شايماً غير مقسومه من جميع الحجر الطاحون  
 ومن علوها الموصوف المحدود فيه بحدود ذلك وحقوقه  
 . . . . .  
 .....  
 . . . . .  
 وستمايه فيه مصلح علي [كشط — — ]  
 .....  
 .....  
 وهو صحيح . . . . .  
 <مجموعه من التوقيعات>

**Maḥkama 15**  
***Waqf* of al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn**  
**Dated 12 and 21 Ṣafar 685/1286**

## وقف السلطان قلاون

نصوص من الوثيقة رقم محكمه ٢/١٥ المدروعه في دار الوثائق القوميه

نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٢٠٥١

نشرها الدكتور محمد محمد أمين

<نص الوثيقة منقول من نشر الدكتور محمد أمين>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المنفرد بمزية الأزلية الأولى فلا يعلم له أوليه القادر الذى أجال خلقه مجازاة

..

أبو المظفر قلاون الصالحى قسيم أمير المؤمنين سلطان الديار المصرية التى هى خزائن الله فى أرضه

..

أمير جاندانار الملكى المنصورى أدام الله نعمته أن يقف عنه خلد الله ملكه ويحبس

ويسبل جميع ما هو جار فى ملك مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور المسمى أعز الله أنصاره ملكا صحيحا

شرعيا وحقا واجبا بأمر صحيح شرعى لا مطعن عليه فيه ولا شبه تنقضه وتوهيه بل ملك تام على

عين ذلك ورقبته وأجزائه ومنفعته ويده ثابتة على ذلك بحقه وتصرفه تام ليس لأحد فيه علقه وقد

ثبت انتقال ذلك إلى ملكه خلد الله ملكه فى الشرع الشريف الثبوت الصحيح الشرعى وسيأتى ذكر ذلك ووصفه

وتحديده فى موضعه من هذا الكتاب فمن ذلك جميع أراضي البستان وجميع بنا البئر <٦٨>

الما المعين الذى به المعروف ذلك بظاهر القاهرة المحروسة خارج بابى الشعريه والفتوح غربى الجامع

..

غير داخله فى هذا الوقف ومن ذلك جميع القيسارية التى بالقاهرة المحروسة بأول بين القصرين وهى بحرى

المدرسة <٦٥>

الصالحية وهى على يمنة الطالب إلى بين القصرين وباب النصر والخانقاة و خان برجوان والطرق المتفرقة وغير

ذلك

وعلى يسرة السالك من هذه الأماكن المذكورة طالبا إلى السيوفيين وخان مسرور والسقطيين وغير ذلك يشتمل

على حوائت كل منها

يغلق عليه زوج أبواب وبعضها بدراريب ولكل منها منابيل دائرة يعلوها شرفة فى الحد القبلى منها سبعة عشر

حانوتا

و مقعدان و فى الحد البحرى منها ستة حوائت كل منها بصدرة باب بغير باب عليه اثنان منها بدانرها

رفوف ويجاورها

ستة حوائت أيضا يغلق على كل منها زوج أبواب وبالقيسارية المذكورة طريقان يتوصل من كل منهما إليها بغير

## باب عليهما

&lt;١٠٠&gt;

ومقعدان في الحد البحرى وفي الحد الشرقى ثلاثة حوانيت تعلوها شرفة ومنابل دائرة يغلُق على كل منها زوج أبواب وفي الحد

الغربى تسع حوانيت كل منها يغلُق عليه زوج أبواب وبه شرفة ومنبل دائر وعدة الحوانيت التى بباطن القيسارية المذكورة اثنان وعشرون حانوتا كل منها يغلُق عليه زوج أبواب وبعضها بدراريب لكل منها شرفة

ومنبل دائر ويعلو باطن هذه القيسارية المذكورة جملونات قصب مسقفة بالخشب وجملة مافى هذه القيسارية من الحوانيت

بطنا وظهرا ثلاثة وستون حانوتا وأربعة مقاعد ويحيط بذلك كله حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى الطريق الفاصلة بينها وبين المدرسة الصالحية والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى الطريق العظمى الفاصلة بين هذه القيسارية وبين الصاغة وحوانيت السيوفيين الوقف على المدارس الصالحية النجبية والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى بقية بين القصرين والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى الطريق المسلوک منها إلى فندق شمس الخواص مسرور الفاصلة بين هذه القيسارية وبين الحوانيت المعروف أحدها بسكن الشريف العطار وباقيها بسكنى الشهود بحدودها وحقوقها ومن ذلك جميع القيسارية التى بالقاهرة المحروسة بين القصرين التى سفها حوانيت وعلوها مسترقات وهى على يمنة الطالب إلى المدرسة الكاملة والمدرسة المنصورية والظاهرية والصالحية وفنادق الطواشى شمس الخواص مسرور رحمه الله وغير ذلك من الطرق

والأماكن وعلى يسرة السالك من هذه الأماكن المذكورة طالبا رحبة باب العيد والخانقاة وباب النصر والطرق المتفرقة

وغير ذلك وتشتمل على خمسة أبواب منها أربعة يتوصل من كل منها إلى باطن القيسارية المذكورة وتشتمل على حوانيت فيها فى الحد القبلى منها سبع عشرة حانوتا يعلو كل منها دراريب تعلوها شرفة ومنبل وبينها باب من أبواب القيسارية ومقعد ((وفى الحد البحرى منها ثمان عشرة حانوتا كل منها بدراريب شرفة ومنبل وبينها باب من أبواب القيسارية <مكتوب فى الهامش الأيمن>)) وفى الحد الشرقى منها أربع حوانيت يغلُق على كل منها زوج أبواب

وبينها باب من أبواب القيسارية المذكوره والباب الخامس المتوصل منه الى أعلى القيساريه وفى الحد الغربى منها حانوتان بينهما باب من أبواب القيسارية المذكورة وبباطن هذه القيسارية المذكورة حوانيت عدتها ستة وثلاثون حانوتا كل منها بمنبل وشرفة وزوج أبواب وبالباذاهنجات علو القيسارية المذكورة ويحيط بذلك حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى الطريق العظمى الفاصلة بين هذه القيسارية <١٢٠> وبين الربع المظفرى الوقف والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى الطريق الفاصلة بينها وبين الربع الكاملى الوقف على المدرسة الكاملة والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى الطريق الفاصل بينها وبين الدثيشه والمسجد الأرض الذى

هناك والحد الغرب ينتهى إلى فضاء بين القصرين بحدود هاتين القيساريتين المذكورتين وحقوقهما وأراضيهما ومساطب حوائيتهما ومقاعدهما ومن ذلك جميع القيسارية المستجدة المجاورة للحمام المعروف بحمام البياطرة وهى بالخط المذكور من شرقي الحمام المذكور ومن بحريه وصفتها أنها ذات الأبواب الثلاثة المتفرقة أحدها فى الحد القبلى قبالة المدرسة الصالحية بعقود حسنة بالحجر النحيت بعتبة سفلى صوانا يغلق على زوج أدراف نقى بمسامير مقلسة وصفائح حديد علوه روشن حجر مضعف نحيت من حقوق مكتب

السبيل يدخل من الباب المذكور إلى القيسارية المذكورة وتشتمل على حوانيت متجاورة ومتقابلة عدتها اثنان وخمسون حانوتا

معقودات أقبيا بالطوب الأجر والجبس وفيما بين ذلك الحوانيت المذكورة مقاعد عدتها أربعة وثلاثون مقعدا وبساحة القيسارية المذكورة

معالم حوانيت ومقاعد لم تكمل عمارتها ((عدتها أربعة وعشرون <مكتوب فوق السطر>)) والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بذلك حدود أربعة الحد القبلى

ينتهى إلى الطريق العظمى السلوك قبالة المدرسة الصالحية وفيه الباب الأول المذكور أعلاه وإلى الحمام المذكور أعلاه وإلى زقاق مستوقد الحمام المذكور وفيه الباب الثانى الذى لم تكمل عمارته وإلى باب سر المدرسة المنصورية والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى الميضاة المرسومة للمدرسة المنصورية وإلى مجازها أيضا وإلى باب سر المدرسة المنصورية أيضا وإلى طريق الحمام الصغرى المستجدة الآتى ذكرها فيه وفيه الباب الثالث الذى لم تكمل عمارته السلوك منه إلى حوش القطبية

والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى المدرسة المنصورية عمرها الله بذكره وفيه باب سر المدرسة المذكورة وإلى ميضاة المدرسة المنصورية

وإلى جورة مستوقد الحمام الآتى ذكرها فيه والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى دار البرهان المغيثى وإلى ظهر حوانيت بالصاغة وقف المدرسة الصالحية وإلى المسجد الأرضى بالصاغة المذكورة ومن ذلك جميع الحمام المستجد بجوار المصنع المعلق والميضاة المذكورة والبيمارستان المنصورى وصفتها أنها ذات الباب المتوصل

الماء الطاهر والمرافق والحقوق ويحط ذلك حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى الميضاة [المرسومة للمدرسة <باهت وغير واضح>]

المنصورية والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى جدار [البيمارستان المنصورى والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى جدار الفراش خاناة]

<باهت وغير واضح>

التي من حقوق البيمارستان وإلى الدهليز وفيه باب سر الحمام المذكور وإلى بعض المصنع المعلق يرسم [الفساقى والمنادر وأثاث] <باهت وغير واضح>

بالبيمارستان والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى قاعة النساء التى من حقوق البيمارستان وإلى الزقاق [المتوصل منه إلى

الحمام] <باهت و غير واضح>  
المذكور أعلاه ومن ذلك جميع المقاعد المتجاورة على صف واحد من قبلى القبة الشريفة [المنصورية والمأذنة] <باهت  
وغير واضح>  
المباركة قبالة المدرسة الظاهرية وعدتها ستة وثلاثون مقعدا تحت كل منها مجرى لطيف يفلق عليه زوج أبواب  
[وهى مفروشة باطنها وظاهرها] <باهت و غير واضح>  
بالبلاط الكدان ويحيط بذلك حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى الطريق العظمى السلوك قبالة المدرسة الظاهرية  
[وفيه أبواب] <باهت و غير واضح>  
خزائن المقاعد المذكورة والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى جدار القبة الشريفة وإلى سفلى المأذنة والحد [الشرقى ينتهى إلى  
الطريق] <باهت و غير واضح>  
بخنصرة الحانوتين وقف المسجد المعلق بخنصرة دار الرشيدى والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى كتف باب [المدرسة  
المعروف بباب النحاس] <باهت و غير واضح>  
ومن ذلك جميع المقاعد الثانية من قبلى المدرسة المنصورية قبالة المدرسة الصالحية والمقاعد التى [من شرقى المدرسة  
المنصورية] <باهت و غير واضح>  
أيضا فيما بين يمنة المدرسة والحوض الصوان الأسود المسبل وهذه المقاعد أكثرها خالى وباقيها يعرف بسكن  
[أقفاص النحاس] <باهت و غير واضح>  
ويحيط بذلك حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى الطريق السلوك قبالة المدرسة الصالحية والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى  
جدار المدرسة  
<١٦٠>  
المنصورية وإلى الحوض الصوان الأسود المسبل والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى الطريق المقدم ذكرها بخنصرة الباب  
النحاس  
والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى بعض المدرسة المنصورية وباقيه إلى باب القيسارية المستجدة ومن ذلك جميع المقعد  
المفرد بخنصرة باب الحمام فيما بين باب القيسارية المستجدة وباب الحمام المذكور يحوى مصطبة مفروشة  
بالبلاط تعلوها سقيفة محمولة  
على قوائم خشب نقى مسبولة بالبياض والحقوق ولها حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى الطريق المقدم ذكره  
والحد  
البحرى ينتهى إلى جدار القيسارية المستجدة سفلى مكتب السبيل المنصورى والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى الطريق  
بخنصرة باب القيسارية  
المذكورة والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى طريق الحمام المبتدى بذكره الفاصل بين هذا المقعد وبين المسجد الأرضى  
المذكور أعلاه  
ومن ذلك جميع الخربة الكشف التى بالقاهرة المحروسة التى بخط الخرشف واسطبل الجميزة المتوصل إليها من  
زقاق حمام الساباط

الآتى ذكرها فيه ويشتمل على جدر متفرقة مختلفة البنا واهية وهى من بحرى البيمارستان المنصورى المذكور  
اعلاه ويتوصل من الخربة المذكورة إلى  
بأذهنج كبير بعضه مسقف نقيا تعلوه مسترقة مسقفة غشيميا تعلوها طبقة كبرى سمته تشتمل على معالم مجلس  
مضيقة مسقف بعضها غشيميا خالية من  
الأبواب وذات الدور القاعة يعلوها درابزين وللأذهنج المذكور بنيان وزانى <فراتى؟> مسقف نقيا وذات القبابة  
<القناة؟> الخالصة لذلك  
والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بذلك ((و يجمعه <مكتوب بين الأسطر>)) حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى إلى جدار  
البيمارستان المنصورى وإلى جدار الموضع  
المرسوم للمختلات من النساء والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى الحمامين المعروفين بالسباط قديما الجارين فى ملك مولانا  
السلطان الملك المنصور عز نصره وإلى بناء آدر تشرع أبوابها بخط الخرشف تعرف بلاكها والحد  
الشرقى ينتهى إلى بناء آدر تشرع أبوابها بخط الخرشف أيضا والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى البيمارستان المنصورى  
وإلى الزقاق المتوصل إليه من زقاق حمام السباط المذكور أعلاه ومن ذلك جميع الحمامين  
المتجاورين بالقاهرة المحروسة بخط الخرشف واسطبل الجيزة ويتوصل إليهما من الزقاق المذكور يشتمل كل  
منهما

علي باب يدخل . . . . .

..

. . . . . و يحيط بهما حدود أربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى

إلى .

الخربة المذكورة أعلاه وإلى بناء آدر بالحكر هناك من المجرة المذكورة و إلى خربة بخط الخرشف والحد البحرى  
ينتهى إلى الاسطبل

<١٨٠>

المعروف باليغمورى و إلى بنا دار اليغمورى ((المذكور <مكتوب بين السطرين>)) أيضا وإلى الطريق السلوك  
هناك وفيه باب مستوقد الحمامين المذكورين ومن المجرة

إلى زقاق الحدرة هناك ومن مدار الساقية إلى بناء آدر هناك والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى بناء آدر تشرع أبوابها  
بخط الخرشف وإلى زقاق غير نافذ هناك علو الكوم وغيره و الحد الغربى ينتهى إلى آدر هناك  
بين بئر الساقية و المدار وإلى الزقاق غير نافذ وفيه باب الساقية المذكورة وإلى الزقاق المعروف بالسباط قبالة دار  
مملوك المحمدى بحدود جميع ما وصف وحدد أعلاه وحقوقه وسفله وعلوه وأراضيه

وحوانيته ومساطبه ومقاعده وطباقه وما يعرف به و ينسب إليه من حقوقه كلها وكل حق هو لذلك داخل فيه وكل  
حق هو لذلك خارج عنه له ومن حقوقه على ما نص مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور الموقوف

عنه يأذنه المذكور . . . . .

..

..... وسيأتي ذكر ذلك فيه مفصلا مبينا ومشروحا معنا وهذا  
 البيمارستان المذكور بالقاهرة المحروسة بين القصرين بخط المدارس الكاملة والصالحية و الظاهرية رحم الله <١٩٥>  
 واقفيها على يمينة السالك من المدرسة الكاملة إلى باب الزهومة وفنادق الطواشى شمس الخواص مسرور رحمه الله  
 وفندقي  
 الحجر والفاكهة والحرييين والسقطيين والشرابشيين وغير ذلك وعلى يسرة السالك من ذلك إلى المدرسة الكاملة  
 وإلى جامعي  
 الأقرم <الأقمر؟> والأنور عمرهما الله تعالى [بذكره <زيادة في أوقاف <١٠١٠>] وباب النصر والفتوح وغير ذلك  
 من الطرق والأماكن المتصل بعضها ببعض ويتوصل  
 إلى هذا البيمارستان المذكور من الباب الكبير المبنى بالرخام الفصوص المقابل لباب التربة الصالحية  
 النجمية رحم الله واقفيها المدخول منه إلى الدهليز المستطيل المسلك فيه إلى القبة المباركة التي على يمينة الداخل فيه  
 وإلى  
 <٢٠٠>  
 المدرسة التي هي بالعلم الشريف معظمة على يسرة الداخل في الدهليز المذكور وإلى الباب الكبير الذي يصدر هذا  
 الدهليز المذكور  
 وهو الباب المتوصل منه إلى البيمارستان المذكور فيه وهو المشتمل على الصفات المستوعبة في كتاب وقفه من جهة  
 مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور المسمى خلد الله ملكه المقدم التاريخ على تاريخ هذا الوقف وتاريخه الثالث والعشرين  
 من ذى الحجة سنة أربع وثمانين وستمائه ويحيط  
 بهذا البيمارستان المذكور فيه حدود أربعة اهد القبلى ينتهى بعضه مما يلى بيوت المختلين  
 الرجال والنساء إلى جدار الرواق الذى من حقوق القبة الكبرى المذكورة وبعضه إلى أقصى الدهليز الأول الجامع  
 للأبواب  
 المذكورة وفيه بابه الكبير الأول وبعضه إلى ظهر الإيوان البحرى بالمدرسة المجاورة له وبعضه إلى الحمام المستجد  
 وباقيه  
 مما يلى قاعة النساء إلى موضع الجباسات المرسومة لعامة المدرسة الملكية المنصورية والحد البحرى ينتهى إلى  
 زقاق بالحكر المعروف بالقطبية وبعضه إلى بعض الأدر الشارع أبوابها بالحكر المذكور وباقيه إلى الخربة التي من  
 جملة أراضي الدار المعروفة قديما بالقطبية وهي المعروفة بالجباسات بجوار الحمام المعروف قديما بالساباط الموقوفه  
 أعلاه  
 والحد الشرقى ينتهى أكثره إلى الحمام المعطل الذى من حقوق دار ورثة الأمير سيف الدين بلبان الرشيدى (ر)  
 بعضه إلى دار ورثة الأمير سيف الدين بلبان الرشيدى <مكتوب بين السطرين>))  
 المذكور وباقيه إلى بعض مرافق القبة الملكية المنصورية المذكورة وإلى بعض مرافق الدار القطبية قديما مما يلى  
 الإيوان الشرقى والحد الغربى ينتهى بعضه إلى زقاق بالحكر المعروف بالقطبية وبعضه إلى  
 الحمام المستجد بالبيمارستان المنصورى المذكور وفيه المصنع المعلق وباقيه إلى بعض ميضأة المدرسة الملكية المنصورية

المذكورة وهذا البيمارستان هو الذى وقفه مولانا السلطان المنصور الموكل الوقوف عنه . . . . .

. . .

. . . . . على أن الناظر فى هذا الوقف والمتولى عليه

يؤجر العقار من هذا الوقف المذكور وما شاء منه بنفسه أو بنائيه مدة ثلاث سنين فما دونها بأجرة المثل فما فوقها

ويأجر الأراضى مدة ثلاث فما دونها بأجرة المثل فما فوقها ولا يدخل عقدا على عقد ولا يؤجر لمتشرد ولا <٢٤٠> لتعذر ولا لمن تخشى سطوته ولا لمن ينسى الوقف فى يده ويبدأ من ذلك بعمارة ما تجب عمارته فى الوقف والبيمارستان

المذكور ذلك فيه من إصلاح وترميم أو بناء هديم على وجه لا ضرر فيه ولا اضرار ويتحرى الناظر فى تحصيل ريع هذا الوقف أحسن الحيل على حسب الإمكان ويطلب

. . .

من أحسن عملا فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلونه إن الله سميع عليم وبمضمونه وقعت الشهادة بعد قراءته بتاريخ اليوم المبارك يوم الثلاثاء الثانى عشر من شهر صفر المبارك من شهر سنة خمس وثمانين وستمانه أحسن الله تقضيها بخير وعافية بمنه وكرمه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل <٢٢٩> <مجموعة من الإشهادات و التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وما تفعلوا من خير فان الله به عليم  
هذا كتاب وقف صحيح شرعى وحبس صريح مرضى أمر بتسطيره وانشائه وتحريره مولانا وسيدنا  
السلطان الأعظم السيد الأجل الملك المنصور العالم العادل الكافى الكافل المؤيد المظفر الهمام

. . .

والدهور بما تضمنته هذا المکتوب و اشتمل عليه ونسب فيه الإشهاد إليه وهو أنه خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه  
<١٠> وأفاض على كافة الرعايا عدله وإحسانه وقف وحبس وحرّم وأبد وتصدق

بجميع ما هو له خلد الله ملكه وفى يده وملكه وتصرفه وهو جميع الربع

الكامل المعروف بالعلمى أرضا وبناء الذى هو بالقاهرة المحروسة بالقرب من قيسارية جهاركس على يمنا السالك  
من قيسارية جهاركس والحلاويين طالبا الجامع الظافرى وبين البابين وباب زويلة وغير ذلك من الطرق والأماكن  
المتصل بعضها ببعض وعلى

يسرة السالك من الجامع الظافرى طالبا قيسارية جهاركس وغير ذلك يشتمل

هذا الربع المذكور على ثلاث فرجات الأولى منها تعرف بسكن الشوايين والجزارين والشانجيين وغير ذلك وعدة

## الحوانيت

سكن الشوايين أربعة ومقعدان يشتمل كل منها على مسطبة كبرى وفردة باب وداخل وفي الحد القبلي من الربع المذكور ما يلي حده البحرى أربعة حوانيت أحدها سكن الشرانجى والثانى سكن الرقاقي وحانوتان سكن الجزاريين يشتمل كل منها على مسطبة ودراريب وداخل وهى مسقفة غشيمًا وذلك الحانوت الخامس يشتمل على مسطبة وفردة باب وداخل وفى الحد الغربى خمس حوانيت وباب مطلع يأتى ذكره فيه أحد هذه الحوانيت سكن الجزار والثانى سكن الرقاقي والثالث سكن السقا وحانوتان خاليان خربان بعضه وهو يشتمل كل منهما على مسطبة وداخل وهى مسقفة غشيمًا والفرجة الثانية فى حده القبلى <٢٠>

بها سبع حوانيت وباب مطلع يأتى ذكره فيه أحد هذه الحوانيت يعرف بسكن المليجي الزيات يشتمل على مسطبة ودراريب وداخل وهو مسقف غشيمًا وباقي هذه الحوانيت السبعة المذكورة يشتمل كل منها على مسطبة وباب وداخل وفى الحد الشرقى منها أربع حوانيت منها ثلاثة بغير أبواب عليها والرابع يشتمل على مسطبة ودراريب وداخل مسقف غشيمًا وفى هذا الحد باب مطلع يأتى ذكره فيه وفى الحد الغربى من هذا الربع المذكور خمس حوانيت سكن الزياتيين يشتمل كل منها على مسطبة وداخل ودراريب مسقفة غشيمًا وذات الباب الآتى ذكره فيه والفرجة الثالثة سكن الفاخوريين وكذلك سكن الزياتيين والشوايين تشتمل على حوانيت دائرة بها منها ثلاثة سكن الشوايين يشتمل كل منها على مسطبة وداخل مسقفة غشيمًا تملو على كل منها فردة باب وفى الحد البحرى ستة حوانيت سكن الفاخوريين وباب مسدود يأتى ذكره فيه فمن هذه الحوانيت المذكورة ثلاثة تملو <يفلق؟> على كل منها دراريب مسقفة غشيمًا وثلاثة بغير أبواب عليها وهى مسقفة غشيمًا وفى الحد الغربى منها خمسة حوانيت سكن الزياتيين وباب مطلع منها حانوتان بغير أبواب عليها مسقفان غشيمًا وثلاثة حوانيت مكملة الدراريب يشتمل كل منها على مسطبة وداخل مسقفة غشيمًا وفى الحد الغربى منها أربع حوانيت منها اثنان خربان واثنان يملو على كل منها فردة باب وهى مسقفة غشيمًا

ويتوصل من الباب

الذى هو بالفرجة الأولى الى سلم متهدم يصعد من عليه الى أربع مسترقات مطلة على الطريق مسقفة غشيمة وبجوار السلم المذكور سلم ثانى يتوصل منه الى مسترقتين مسقفين غشيمة يفلق على كل منها فردة باب ثم يصعد من باقى السلم المذكور الى

ثمان طباق مطلة على الطريق مسقفة نقيا بمرافق وحقوق ويتوصل من سلم ثالث الى طابقيين مطليين <طبقتين مطلتين؟> على الطريق

وعلى الباب يشتمل كل منهما على مجلس ودور قاعة مسقفين نقيا شعبتين <شعبتين؟> بغير أبواب عليهما ويتوصل الى علو الفرجة

الثانية من باب مربع بغير باب عليه يدخل منه الى سلم متهدم يصعد من عليه الى أربع مسترقات خرية ثم يصعد من باقى السلم المذكور

الى أربع طباق مطلة على الطريق يشتمل كل منها على مجلس ودور قاعة يفلق على كل منها باب ومن حقوق هذه الفرجة

باب بغير باب عليه يتوصل منه الى سلم بعضه متهدم يصعد من عليه الى خمس مسترقات خرية ثم يتوصل من باقى السلم المذكور

الى خمس طباق مطلة على الطريق مسقفة غشيمة يفلق على كل منها فردة باب وذات [— <القنى؟>] الخالصة لذلك والمرافق والحقوق

ويحيط بهذا الربع المذكور ويجمعه ويحصره ويشتمل عليه وعلى سائر حقوقه كلها حدود أربعة

<٤٠٠> الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق السلوك وفيه أبواب الحوانيت ومساطبها التى من حقوقها

والحد البحرى ينتهى الى طريق الجزارين والابزازيين وغير ذلك وفي هذا الحد بعض الحوانيت ومساطبها

التى من حقوقها والحد الشرقى ينتهى من الفرجة الأولى الى الطريق الفاصلة بين ذلك وبين قيسارية السروج

وفي هذا الحد يشرع بعض حوانيت هذا الربع ومساطبها التى من حقوقها وينتهى باقى هذا الحد من الفرجتين

الثانية

والثالثة الى الطريق الفاصلة بين الفرجتين الأولى والثانية والحد الغربى ينتهى الى الطريق

الصغرى المتوصل منها الى الفاخوريين والكيزانين

بحدود هذا الربع المذكور كلها وحقوقه وحوانيته وطباقه وأرضه وسفله وعلوه وما يعرف

منه وما ينسب اليه من حقوقه كلها الواجبة له شرعا وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحسبا دائما مرضيا وتسبيلا

مؤكددا مشددا لا يباع أصل ذلك ولا يوهب ولا يرهن ولا يناقل به ولا يحل عقد من عقود

..... على أن للناظر فى هذا

الوقف والمتولى عليه تأجير ذلك بنفسه أو بنائبه مدة ثلاث سنين فما دونها بأجرة المثل فما فوقها

ولا يدخل عقدا على عقد ويبدأ من ذلك بعمارة هذا الوقف فيه وممرته وإصلاحه وتجديد ما  
 تهدم من بنيانه وإنشاء أبنية على ما يراه الناظر سفلا وعلوا بآلات العمارة على ما يراه مما تظهر فيه المصلحة  
 ويعود النفع به على الوقف المذكور وأهله وما فضل بعد ذلك صرفه الناظر في هذا الوقف  
 فى المصارف المبينة و الشروط المعينة المشروحة فى كتاب الوقف على البيمارستان المذكور المسطور  
 بأعلى هذا الوقف المؤرخ بالثانى عشر من صفر المبارك سنة خمس وثمانين وستمئة يصرف من ذلك فى مصارفه  
 ويسلك به سبيله فى الحال والمآل على ما نص عليه وعين وشرط فيه وبين من غير عدول <٦٠>  
 عن ذلك ولا عن شرط فيه أبد الأبدىين ودهر الدهرين إلى أن يرث الله جلّ جلاله الأرض ومن عليها  
 وهو خير الوارثين . . . . .

. .

. . . . . ووقع الإشهاد فيه بعد قراءته على مولانا السلطان  
 الملك المنصور الواقف المذكور خلد الله ملكه بتاريخ اليوم المبارك الحادى والعشرين من شهر صفر  
 من شهور سنة خمس وثمانين وستمئة لحق المسطور ولحق وتصدق وهو صحيح ن <٨٠>  
 <إشهادات وتوقيعات>

. . . . .

**Maḥkama 22 and 23**  
***Waqf* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr**  
**Dated 26 Shawal, 707/1308.**



[مجد] — [خرم]

انه ذو ايوازين > متقابلين مبنيين بالحجر النحيت والطوب الاجر بصدر احدهما وهو الايوان الكبير محراب  
بجانبه جناحين معقودين بالحجر النحيت  
وبصدر كل منهما باذاهنج والايوان الثانى به ثلاث مراتب باحداها باذاهنج وذلك جميعه معقود بالحجر النحيت  
وفيما بين ذلك دورقاعه بها ستة عشر بابا مريمه باعتبار حجر نحيت بداخله وفيما بين ذلك مجلسان  
متقابلان لكل منهما ثلاثه ابواب وذات  
الايوان القديم الكبير القديم البنا والباداهنج الكبير الذي بصدرة والمجلس الكبير الذى بدورقاعته الكبرى  
والمرحاض والبير الما المين والساقية الخشب  
والساقية الخشب المذكوره على فوهتها المكمله العده والاله والمرافق والحقوق — [خرم]  
بذلك ويجمعه ويحصره ويشتمل عليه وعلى ساير حقوقه كلها [خرم]  
الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الحمام الخراب والى دار تعرف بالجناح العالى [خرم] [السيفى شوكير ايده] الله  
تعالى  
والى المكان المعروف بدار الدواب والى الزلاقه المتوصل منها الى البير الـ [خرم] [الشارعه على الطريق]  
والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الحوانيت الوقف والى الطريق العظيم وفيه الباب الكبير [خرم] [والزلاقه واليسير]  
منه الى بقية المدرسه الشمسية القراسنقرية والى المكتب المعلق [خرم] [المعروف بانشا المقر]  
الشمسى قراسنقر المنصورى والحد الشرقى ينتهى [خرم] [الى الملك المعروف]  
بالجناح السيفى [شوكير] المذكور وينتهى من الزلاقه الى الحوانيت وـ [خرم] [والاسطبل الوقف  
وينتهى]  
من الاكتاف التى هناك الى مجاز الحمام والحد الغربى ينتهى من الدرگاه [خرم] [المذكور الى الحوانيت]  
الوقف على ما ذكر والى المدرسه الشمسيه والى الاسطبل والى خزبه تعرف [خرم] [بملك المقر الشمسى  
قراسنقر]  
المنصورى والى الطريق العظيم وينتهى من بنا الاكتاف التى فى الحد الـ [خرم] [القبلى الى مجاز]  
الحمام والى المزملة من السفلى ومن العلو الى المكتب المعلق انشا [خرم] [المقر الشمسى قراسنقر]  
المنصورى وجميع القيساريه المعروفه بانشا هذا الـ [خرم] [الواقف]  
المذكور اعظم الله له الاجور وعمارته سفلا وعلوا وما هو من حقوق ذلك [خرم] [الذى ذلك]  
بالقاهره المحروسه بخط النحاسين ودار الانماط والساكين القداما [خرم] [بالقرب من باب]  
الجودريه على يمنه السالك من باب الجودريه طالبا الى دار الانماط والحدادين وبين [خرم] [البابين  
والطرق]  
المتفرقه وغير ذلك وعلى يسره السالك من الاماكن المذكوره طالبا [خرم] [الى باب]  
الجودريه وطلوحسن الميجي] وذكر الحسين <الحسينيه؟> والطرق المتفرقه وغير ذلك [خرم] [تتشملى]

يوميذ على ما دلت عليه المشاهدة انها ذو سبعة ابواب منها خم [ <خرم> ] (خمسه)  
 ابواب يدخل من كل منها الى باطن القيساريه المذكوره احداها باب كبير [ <خرم> ] (بعتبه)  
 سفلى رخاما تعلوه عتبه نقيا يغلط عليه زوج ابواب كبار بمسامير مفلسه [ <خرم> ] (يدخل)  
 منه الى دهليز مسقف نقيا يقابل هذا الباب فرخه كبرى تشتمل على رواقين متقابلين [ <خرم> ]  
 (مسقفين نقيا)  
 محصول سقفيهما على اربعة اركان مبنيه بالحجر النحيت واثنى عشر عموداً رخاما خلا عموداً [ <خرم> ] (د)  
 واحد فانه صوان وبهذه الفرخه بير ما معين يملوها [ <خرم؟> ] رخاما وعلى يمنه السالك [ <خرم> ]  
 (رواق)  
 مسقف نقيا بدورقاعه برسم الضو ويتوصل منه الى رواقٍ ثانٍ مستطيل [ <خرم> ] (مسقف نقيا)  
 به اربع دورقاعات ثم يتوصل من الرواق الثاني المذكور الى الباب الثاني [ <خرم> ] (المشتمل على)  
 عتبه سفلى رخاما يملوها عتبه نقيا يملوها شباك حديد برسم [ <خرم> ] (الضو يدخل)  
 منه الى سلم مبنى بالحجر النحيت لطيف يتوصل منه الى باب مربع يغلط عليه [ <خرم> ] (زوج ابواب)  
 يدخل منه الى سلم معقود بالبلاط والجبس يصعد من عليه الى طبقه [ <خرم> ] (الطيفه)  
 مطله على الطريق وعلى القيساريه برسم حارس القيساريه [ <خرم> ] (وذاذات المرحاض)  
 والمرافق والحقوق ثم يتوصل من الفرخه المذكوره الى الباب الثالث [ <خرم> ] (الثالث وهو مربع يغلط)  
 عليه زوج ابواب يملوه شباك حديد ويدخل من هذا الباب الى سلم [ <خرم> ] (مبنى بالحجر النحيت)  
 يتوصل منه الى باب مربع يغلط عليه زوج ابواب يملوه شباك خشب برسم الضو [ <خرم> ] (يدخل منه)  
 الى سقايه تشتمل على [ <متبن؟> ] وحوض برسم الما الطاهر ثم يتوصل [ <خرم> ] (من الباب الرابع  
 المشتمل)  
 على عتبه سفلى رخاما وعليها نقيا يغلط عليه زوج ابواب بصفايح حديد يدخل [ <خرم> ] (منه الى رواق)  
 مستطيل مسقف نقيا به سبعة دورقاعات والباب الخامس بعتبه سفلى [ <خرم> ] (رخاما)  
 وعليها نقيا يغلط عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى رواق مسقل نقيا به (ثلاث <إضافة فوق السطر>) [ <خرم> ]  
 (دورقاعات)  
 برسم الضو (و <إضافة بحبر أسود>) بباطن هذه القيساريه ست فرخات مسقفه نقيا بكل منها د [ <خرم> ]  
 (دورقاعه)  
 برسم الضو وتشتمل باطن هذه القيساريه على مايه وخمس حوانيت  
 كل منها معقود قبوا يغلط على كل منها زوج ابواب بمنابل وشرفتين بواجهه [ <خرم> ] (كل منها)  
 مسطبه مفروشه الارض بالفص النحيت مسبله الجدر بالبياض وبواجهه هذه القيساريه [ <خرم> ]  
 من الجبهه القبليه ثمان حوانيت معقوده قبوا يغلط على كل منها زوج ابواب بمنبل [ <خرم> ] (بمنبل  
 وشرفتين)

نقيا بامام ذلك مسطبه وهو مسبله الجدر بالبياض مفروشه الارض بالـ [خرم] [بالبلاط والباب)  
السادس مربع بعته سفلى صوانا وعليا نقيا يغلغ عليه زوج ابواب يدخل [خرم] [منه الى دهليز)  
مسقف نقياً يتوصل منه الى سلم معقود بالبلاط الكدان والجبس يصعد من ء [خرم] [عليه الى باب)  
مربع يغلغ عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى طبقه لطيفه على الدهليز برسم الوكيا (ه ؟) و [خرم] [ذات المرحاض)

والمرافق والحقوق ثم يصعد من السلم المذكور الى باب مربع بغير باب عليه يتوصل منه [خرم] [الى  
دهليز) مستطيل مسقف غشيميا بوسطه دورقاعه برسم الضو يحوى ثمان بيوت يشتمل [كل] [خرم] [منها على)

ايوان ودورقاعه مسقف [ه] نقيا مصوقه حريريا ومسترقه مسقفه غشيميا [خرم] [بكل منها)  
سلم مبنى بالبلاط والجبس وذات المرحاض والمرافق والحقوق ويصدر [خرم] [كل من ذلك)  
طاقات وباب ريح يعلو كل منها طاقات خرك برسم الضو (م) مل ذلك على [خرم] [القيساريه)  
خلا طبقه واحده فانها مطله على راس حاره الجودريه وبالدهليز المذكور سلم [خرم] [معقود)  
بالبلاط والجبس يصعد من عليه الى خمس طباق متجاوره احداها [خرم] [مطله على)  
الجودريه تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه مسقفه نقيا مصوقه [ ] [خرم] [بكل منها دورقاعه)  
بصدر كل منها طاقات وباب ريح مطله على القيساريه بكل منها [خرم] [مسترقه)  
مسقفه غشيميا وذات المرحاض والمعزل والمرافق والحقوق ثم يتولـ [خرم] [يتوصل من باقى)  
السلم المذكور اولاً الى مجاز [خرم] [ثان مسقف غشيميا)

يتوصل منه الى اثنتى عشر طبقه مطله على الطريق تشتمل كل منها على [خرم] [ايوان)  
ودورقاعه مسقفه نقيا مصوقه وبكل منها مسترقه ومعزل ومرحاض [خرم] [ومرافق وحقوق)  
ويصدر كل منها طاقات وباب ريح يعلو ذلك خرك برسم الضو ثم يتوصل [خرم] [من الدهليز)  
الى اربعه عشره طبقه بعضها مطله على القيساريه تشتمل كل منها على [خرم] [ايوان ودور)  
قاعه مسقفه نقيا مصوقه حريرى بصدر كل منها طاقات وباب ريح يعلو كل منها  
خرك وبكل منها سلم معقود بالبلاط والجبس يصعد من عليه الى مسترقه [خرم] [مسقفه غشيميا)  
ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق ثم يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور الى سلم معقود [خرم] [بالبلاط)  
والجبس يصعد من عليه الى خمس طباق تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه مسقفه [خرم] [نقيا)  
بكل منها مسترقه ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق هم يصعد من باقى السلم المذكور الى [خرم] [احظره)  
مُخَضَّرَه ثم يصعد من على السلم المبدأ بذكره اولاً الى باب مربع بغير باب عليه يتوصل منه الى [خرم] [دهليز)

مستطيل مسقف غشيميا يتوصل منه الى اثنتى عشره طبقه متجاوره مطله على الطريق  
تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه مسقفه نقيا مصوقه بوسط كل منها دورقاعه



وجميع الحوانيت الستة والمقعدين  
 الذى بظاهر الدار المذكوره وجميع  
 البرجين الذين من حقوقها المجاور  
 ذلك لدار بيسرى بخط بين القصرين  
 وجميع الدار الكامله ارضا وينا وجميع الحوانيت الستة والمقعدين  
 الذى ذلك بظاهر الدار المذكوره وجميع البرجين اللذين من حقوقها الكامل ذلك  
 جميعه ارضا وينا الذى ذلك بالقاهره المحروسه بخط بين القصرين فاما الدار فانها  
 مجاوره لدار الحديث الكامله عمرها الله تعالى بذكره المقابله للقصر وهى على يمنه السالك الى  
 البيمارستان المستجد المنصورى والمدارس الصالحيه وغير ذلك وعلى يسره السالك  
 من الاماكن المذكوره طالبا دار المقر [البدرى نسرى] والى الربع الكاملى وسوق  
 الصرف وغير ذلك وتعرف هذه الدار قديما بالجولاني وصفتهما  
 انها تشتمل على بايين احدهما مربع بعته عليا حجراً نحيماً وسفلى صوتاً يغلط  
 عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى دهليز مسقف نقياً [بسطا مسوقاً] بصدره مسطبه  
 وبجانبه مسطبه على يسره الداخل اليه باب معقود حنيه يغلط عليه زوج ابواب  
 يدخل منه الى دهليز ثان مسقف غشياً على يسره الداخل فيه سدلا وعلى يمنه الداخل  
 [منه >فيه؟<] باب معقود حنيه يدخل منه الى دهليز معقود قبو يتوصل منه الى مرحاض  
 يعلوه قبه مخرمه بالجبس مفروش الارض بالرخام وثم يتوصل من الدهليز الى باب  
 احد [عتبات؟<] القاعه (عليه موج ابواب مقوس يدخل منه الى القاعه >إضافة فوق السطر<)) المشتمله  
 على ايوان مسقف نقياً مسوقاً بواجهته قوصره [بنيان] بالجبس  
 بجانبه صفتان احدهما يعلوها باداهنج بخرطوم مجنح [يأكل الطوبق والصفه الثانيه تقابل الاولي  
 بصدرها باب عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى خزانه مسقفه  
 وهذا الايوان مرخم الصدر القايم [م] اكمل السيوف والمعابر والابنداريه مفروش  
 الارض بالبلاط الكدان بارضه طابق ينزل منه الى كندوج مسقف ويقابل الايوان  
 المذكور مجلس مسقف نقياً يغلط عليه وعلى [مجنبيه] ابواب مطواه وبصدره صفه بصدرها  
 خرستانان >ت؟<] مكمل ذلك بالابواب والخرستانان والسيوف والمعابر وفيما بين الايوان  
 والمجلس دورقاعه بها ستة ابواب اثنان تشخيص واثنان كما المجلس والخامس باب  
 الدخول وبدورالقاعه صفتان متقابلتان احدهما كبرى مسقفه نقياً  
 بصدرها باب عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى خزانه مسقفه وبدور القاعه  
 صحن رخام مفروش الارض بالرخام وبير ما معين وهذه القاعه مكمله الطاقات المكندجه  
 والسيوف والمعابر والابنداريه و[الحوشك والحسكه >؟<] والشرفه والباب السادس



الكامله ارضا وبنأ وجميع الحوانيت الستة وجميع المقعدين وجميع  
البرجين الذين من حقوق ذلك الذى جميع ذلك بالقاهره المحروسه بخط بين  
القصرين فيما بين المدرسه الكامليه والدار البدرية البيسريه وجميع  
اراضي الناحيه . . . . .

..

الحيده وسمعته وقف جميع ذلك على ما ياتى ذكره (فيه) مبينا وشرحه  
مفصلا معيناً على ان الناظر في هذا الوقف المتولى عليه يوجر ذلك وما شا منه  
بنفسه او بمن يستنيبه عنه اليك او يفوضه له لمدة سنه واحده  
فما دونها اجره المثل فما فوقها ولا يزيد على ذلك الى ان تدعوا الضروره او الحاجه  
او المصلحه او القبطه الى زياده على هذه المده فيوجر ذلك وما شأ [منه] للمده التي  
تدعو الحاجه اليها او ما عين فيه ولا يوجر ذلك ولا بعضه لتشرذ ولا لمتة [زرز؟>  
يخشى على الوقف من تغلبه وشرط هذا الواقف ان الاراضى التي تزرع فيما عين اعلاه  
يشترط الناظر على من يوجره ممن يرغب فى زرع ذلك ان يزرع النصف من ذلك ما احب  
واختار والنصف الثانى برسيميا ومقائياً وقولا مراعاة لمصلحه الاراضى المذكوره ويستفل  
اجره ذلك بوجه الاستغلال الشرعي . . . . .

فيه في الحال والمال وجعل النظر كما شرح اعلاه وذلك بتاريخ

اليوم [المبارك] السادس والعشرين من شوال سنه سبع وسبع مايه

فيه [حق] و . . . . .

..

<مجموعه من التوقيعات>

.....

**Maḥkama 26**  
**Waqf of Ardakīn**  
**18 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 707/1308**

وقف أردكين ابنة السيفي نوكيه السلاح دار المنصوري  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم محكمه ٢٦ المدووعه في دار الوثائق القوميه  
نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٢٠٦١

<نص الوثيقة>

<البداية مفقودة>

[ . . . . . <خرم> ] [ — — — ] [ . . . . . <خرم> ]  
قاعه حرميه ياتي ذكرها و[ . . . . . <خرم> ]  
كان يتوصل منه الى الحمام المعروف بحمام [الملل <الملك، الفلك؟>] والخامس [يدخل . . . . . <خرم>]  
خشباً نقياً يتوصل منه الى مرحاض والى باب يفتح عليه زوج ابواب يتوصل [ . . . . . <خرم>]  
الشادروان بدرابزين خشبا نقياً بعضه مسقف نقياً وباقيه معقود بالـ[ . . . . . <خرم>]  
خشبا واعده مزوجه حامله [الوده <خرم>] ويصدره شاذروان لطيف [ . . . . . <خرم>]  
المذكور خزانتان يفتح على كل منهما زوج ابواب ويجاور باب زمام هذه القاعه — <خرم>]  
العمد بفردتي كم يفتح على [يه <باهت>] وعلى كمي ابواب منقوشه مطواه وهو [سقف <باهت وخرم>]  
[ . . . . . <خرم> ] [محموله <باهت>] على اعده رخاما وبه اربعة خرستانات وخزانتان [ . . . . . <خرم>]  
[<خرم> زواج ابواب [مداخل] ويقابل هذا المجلس صفة عميقه مسقفه نقياً مصورة] و [بين] ذلك  
عراقى [بسقات] درابزين خشبا نقياً وبزوايا منقوشه [مذهبه] بوسطه فسقيه مر[ . . . . . <خرم>]  
من باطنها وهذا الايوان والمجلسان والصفه والدور القاعه مرخم جميع ذلك بالرخام — <خرم>]  
ودور القاعه مفروشه الارض بالرخام المجرع وجميع ذلك مكمل الابنداريه والسيوف والمعاير — <خرم>]  
ويداير دور القاعه ((المذكوره <إضافة فوق السطر>)) عشره ابواب احدها باب زمامها واربعه افراد اكمام مجلسيها  
وال[ . . . . . <خرم>]  
يدخل منه الى مرحاض كبير مفروش الارض بالرخام الملون يملوه قبه مخرمه والسابع خزانة — <باهت وخرم>]  
وهو الذى بجانب الصفه مما يلى الاول منها يدخل منه الى سلم معقود بالبلاط بدرابزين — <خرم>]  
منه الى طباق ياتي ذكرها والتاسع وهو المقابل لباب زمامها يدخل منه الى خزانه بها [با — <باهت وخرم>]  
خزانه كبرى فى [تجاهه] جانبى الايوان والعاشر يدخل منه الى دهليز به باب يتوصل منه [ال — <باهت  
<خرم>]  
يتوصل منه الى الطريق علو القاعه الحرميه والى دهليز مستطيل يتوصل منه [ال — <باهت وخرم>]  
وفى الدهليز المذكور باب يدخل منه الى بيت اله [جين] ويصدر هذا الدهليز منازل — <باهت وخرم>]  
[<باهت وخرم> يينه من دخل [منه <فيه؟>] باب يدخل منه الى دهليز فيه باب مربع يفتح عليه زوج ابواب  
[ . . . . . <خرم>]

الحرمية المقدم ذكرها تشتمل على مجلسين متقابلين احدهما مسقف نقيا به مقطعان خش[ب] — <خرم> [يعلوها باداهنج والثاني مسقف [كسل] واسباط بصدرة صفة عميقة يعلوها باداهنج مرخم — <خرم> [وبه خرستانان] <ت؟> [وباب يتوصل منه الى خزانه ودور القاعة مفروش بالرخام الملون وبه بير ما معين وبها سبعة ابواب اربعة افراد اكمام [مجلسها <مجلسيها؟>] والخامس باب زمامها والسادس [ت]شخيص

خرستانان[ت] والسابع يتوصل منه الى مرحاض ومطبخ وسلم يصعد من عليه الى باب يتوصل منه الى باب [— <خرم>]

شارع بحاره زويله ثم يصعد من على السلم المذكور الى بايين احدهما يدخل منه الى دهليز به مرحاض وسلم يصعد من عليه

الى طبقه تشتمل على ايوان مسقف نقيا ودورقاعه مسقفه نقيا وهو مفروشه الارض بالرخام والثاني يدخل منه الى ده[ليز <خرم>]

مستطيل به خزانه بصدر هذا الدهليز دهليز ثان يتوصل منه الى خزانه ثم الى دهليز به سلمان يتوصل من احدهما [الى — <باهت وخرم>]

[الباب] الذي بالدهليز المقدم ذكره والثاني يصعد من عليه الى طبقتين احدهما [الطبقه مسقفه غردا بها مطبخ وخزانته — <باهت وخرم>]

والثانيه تشتمل على دهليز به مرحاض [واتشتمل على مجلس مسقف غردا] [يقابله صفة عميقة ودورقاعه [فورا <قورا؟>] وكندوج [خرم؟]

سفل وطابق وبمجلسها خزانتان وهي علو المجلس الشرقي الذي بالقاعة الكبرى ويتوصل [— <باهت وخرم>] الى باب يتوصل منه الى دهليز به مرحاض وسلم يدخل منه الى الطبقتين المذكورتين ثم يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور [الى — <باهت>]

يتوصل منه الى الحمام الذي كان من حقوق هذه الدار و[البيع] قبل تاريخه والباب الرابع شارع بالطريق السلوك منه [الى — <باهت>]

الحواس[ الخليج المبارك وغير ذلك وهو مبنى بالحجر النحيت يتوصل منه الى اسطبل من حقوق هذه الدار وبالدهليز المتوصل

[اليه من] الباب الشارع بالطريق المذكور السلوك منه الى الحمام المذكور الذي خرج قبل تاريخه بالبيع باب يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من

عليه الى طبقتين كل منهما بمرافق وحقوق ويجاور هذا الباب باب يدخل منه الى باب يصعد من عليه الى قاعة معلقه تشتمل

على مجلس وايوان مسقفين نقيا و[خزانه كبرى] بالايوان ودور القاعة مفروش الارض بالرخام ومطبخ ومرحاض والسطح

المحظر ويقابل هذا الباب باب ثان وهو الخامس من ابواب هذه الدار بزوج ابواب يدخل منه الى دهليز مسقف  
[مذهب] [— <باهت>]

به مسطبه [كبرى] سفلها خزانه يقابلها باب كبير زوج ابواب بعته سفلى صوانا وعليها خشبا يعملوها شبك  
حديد [صغير] يدخل منه الى باب لطيف يتوصل منه الى اسطبل يذكر فيه وبالدهليز المذكور باب بفردة باب  
يدخل

منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه الى مسترقه لطيفه ذات مرافق وحقوق ثم يتوصل الى طبقه [كبرى] تشتمل على  
ايوان

ومجلس مسقف نقيا ودورقاعه مرخمه ويكل من الايوان والمجلس خزانه وصفه عميقه بواجهتها قوصره [—  
<مدهونه؟> <باهت>]

وبواجهه الايوان المذكور قوصره مذهبه ((وهو مسقف شاميا <إضافة فوق انسطر>)) ومن حقوقها طبقه لطيفه  
تعرف بالحرمة تشتمل على مجلس وايوان

مسقفين نقيا ومرحاض و[حراب <خراب، خزان؟>] ومطبخ والسطح المحظر وهي مطلة على وجه باب هذه الدار  
[المقابل <باهت>]

للمسجد المعلق المقدم ذكره ولها ثلثة بادهنجات وعلى يمينه الايوان خزانه وباب يتوصل منه الى [ . . . . .  
<باهت>]

خشبا نقيا يصعد من عليه الى سطحها وبه مرحاض و ارض سطحها مبلطه وبالسلم المصعود من عليه الى  
ص [— <خرم>]

تحوى ثلثة مجالس مسقفة نقيا ومرحاض وهو الذى علو الرواق الذى على الدهليز المتوصل الى هذا الرواق  
من سلم يشتمل هذا الرواق على ايوان ودورقاعه و[بجانبه ايوان ثانى] وبه خزانتان ويتوصل الى  
ذلك من الباب الصغير المجاور للباب الكبير وهو الباب السابع من ابواب هذه الدار ومن حقوق هذه الدار  
باب لطيف شارع بالزقاق المعروف بدرب الحداد الشارع بزقاق [الاتحى] وذات القناه الخالصه

لذلك والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بهذه الدار المذكوره وما هو من حقوقها خلا الاسطبل اللطـ [— <خرم>]

الشارع فى الطريق بين السورين المبنى بالحجر النحيت وعلوه وهو قاعه وطبقه ومسترقه المذكور

ذلك اعلاه ويجمعها ويحصرها حدود اربعة الحـد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق قبالة المسجد

المعلق المقدم ذكره وفيه بابان من حقوق هذه الدار المذكوره احدهما وهو [الكبير <الكبير؟>] يتوصل منه الى

القاعه الكبرى والثانى لطيف يتوصل منه الى الرواق المذكور والى [للربعه <الرابعه؟>] التى هى امام الاسطبل

[— <باهت>]

الشارع فيها باب من حقوق هذه الدار و الحـد البحرى ينتهى الى الحمامين المعروف احـ[دهم <خرم>]

بدخول الرجال و الثانى بدخول النساء وهو التى بيعت قبل تاريخه و فصلت عن هذه الدار المذكوره [—

<باهت>]

بعض الاسطبل الكبير الاتى ذكره فيه والحد الشرقي ينتهى الى دار علا الدين [امصول — >باهت<] والى قليوب وانتقلت لغيره والى الزقاق المعروف بالحداد الشارع اوله بزقاق [الاتحى] وفيه باب من ابواب هذه الدار والى دار ناصر الدين [السر لعمور] والى دار الاسعد كا[تب] الاسطبلات السلطانيته والى دار ال[نجيب] السيوفى والى دار الشعار والى الاسطبل الكبير الاتى ذكره فيه والحد الغربي ينتهى الى الزقاق المتوصل منه الى حمام [للملك >؟<] وفيه باب من حقوق هذه الدار المتوصل منه الى الطباق التى هى علو الايوان والصفه التى للقاعه الكبرى والى دار تعرف [بكرم] الدين وفى هذا الحد [قبوا] محمول احد كتفيه على جدار هذه الدار والى مستوقد الحمامين المذكورين والى [مخلع] حمام النسا المذكور واما الاسطبل الكبير المذكور اعلاه فانه مجاور لهذه الدار المذكوره شارع بابه بزقاق ال[عرب] بصدرة بحاره زويله يشتمل على باب كبير . . . . .

ومنه جميع . . . . .  
الدار الكامله ارضا وينا وهى بالقاهره المحروسه بحاره زويله بجوار دار [الملك المشترى المعروفه] الان بالدار [الاشرفيه >الاشرفيه؟<] تشتمل على باب مربع يغلط عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى دهليز يتوصل منه الى دهليز ثان يتوصل من الدهليز الثانى الى قاعه تشتمل على ايوان معقود قبوا يقابله مجلس مسقف نقيما وفيما بينهما دورقاعه وذات المرافق والحقوق ويحيط بذلك حدود اربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق . . . . .  
[امتعد] والحد . . . . .  
[المعروف] [بالملك المشترى] والحد . . . . .  
[طفريل الحمامى] بحدود ذلك وحقوقه ومنه جميع الحمام الكامل ارضا وينا الاتى ذكره فيه . . . . .

جميع الحمام المرسوم لدخول النسا وجميع المستوقد . . . . .  
ومنه جميع الاسطبل المعروف بال[تمين] الاتى ذكره فيه وذلك بالقاهره المحروسه بحاره زويله مما يلى زقاق ال[عرب] . . . . .

ومنه جميع الاسطبل الذى بالقاهره المحروسه . . . . .  
بخط حاره زويله يتوصل اليه من الطريق السلوك فيها الى . . . . .  
ومنه جميع الدار الكامله ارضا وينا . . . . .  
التى بظاهر القاهره المحروسه خارج باب الخوخه بشاطى الخليج المبارك على يسره من سلك طالبا الى باب

## القنطره وصفتها

انها ذات الباب المربع يغلِق عليه زوج ابواب وهو مبني بالحجر والجبس [و غير ذلك] بعتب سفلى وعليا حجرا  
وبعض جدار مستهدم

مبنى بالاجر والللس [قايم فى حدها والزرايع] المنيه بالطوب الاجر والجبس على الخليج المبارك وبعضها مبنى  
بالحجر

وذات القاعه السفلى تشتمل على ايوان معقود بقوسه ودورقاعه بوسطها فسقيه مثنه [موجه] بالرخام والايوان  
المذكور مطل على الخليج المبارك وللقاعه المذكوره بابان احدهما زمامها . . . . .

يتوصل اليها من سلم مبنى . . . . .  
والثانى علو الايوان ويحيط . . . . .  
والحد البحرى . . . . .  
والحد الغربى . . . . . ومنه جميع  
السور الحجر والمقاعد الستة وبروز مساطبها والحوش الذى يظهر ذلك والساحه التى هى امام الحوش  
المذكور . . . . .

. . . . .  
القاهره المحروسه خارج بابى زويله [بحكر الروماسى] على يمنه السالك من المصله طالبا الى الطريق المتوصل  
منها الى القلعه وغير ذلك على يسره السالك من الاماكن المذكوره طالبا [المصلا والطرق المتفرقه وغير ذلك  
تشتمل على اربعة ابواب شارع فى الحد القبلى منها احدها مربع يغلِق عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى دهليز  
مسقف غشيمه يتوصل منه الى باب مربع يغلِق عليه زوج ابواب وهو زمام القاعه المدخول منه اليها تشتمل على  
ايوان مسقف نقيه بواجهته قوسه معقوده بالطوب والجبس يقابله مجلس مسقف نقيه وفيما بين ذلك دورقاعه  
ومرحاض

ومرافق وحقوق و الباب الثانى مربع يغلِق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى اسطبل مسقف غشيمه . . . . .

معقود بالطوب والجبس وطواله ومرافق وحقوق والباب الثالث مربع يغلِق عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى  
دهليز مسقف غشيمه به سلم يتوصل منه الى باب مربع يغلِق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى طبقه تشتمل على  
ايوان مسقف نقيه

بواجهته قوسه بصدرة طاقات مطلات على الطريق ودورقاعه ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق والباب الرابع مربع يغلِق  
عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى دهليز مستطيل مسقف غشيمه بصدرة سلم يصعد من عليه الى باب مربع يغلِق  
عليه فرده باب

يدخل منه الى طبقه تشتمل على ايوان مسقف نقيه بواجهته قوسه قصب بصدرها طاقات مطلات على الطريق

ودورقاعه يعلوها [روشن]

مسقف تقيا يعلو [سعات] درابزين ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق ثم يصعد من على السلم المذكور الى باب مربع يفلق عليه فرده

باب يدخل منه الى دهليز مسقف غشيمًا بجانبه باب مربع يفلق عليه فرده باب وهو زمام الطبقة الثانيه المدخول منه

اليها تشتمل على ايوان مسقف تقيا بواجهته قوصره قصب بصدرة طاقات مطلات على الطريق وذات الدور القاعه يعلوها روشن

مسقف تقيا يعلوه [سعات] درابزين وذات المرحاض والمرافق والحقوق ثم يصعد من باقى السلم المذكور الى سطح ذلك

به معالم طبقه لم تكمل عمارتها وذات القناه الخالصه لذلك ويحيط بذلك حدود اربعة الحـد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق وفيه . . . . .

الشرقى ينتهى الى دار مبارك ايضاً . . . . .

ملك ملاكها بحدود ذلك وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه ومنه جميع الدار الكامله ارضا وبنا الاتى ذكرها فيه وهى بظاهر القاهره المحروسه خارج بابى زويله وباب الصحرا على يمينه السالك الى سوق [الجبل] صفتها انها تشتمل على

ثله حوانيت منها اثنان متجاوران احدهما يفلق عليه زوج ابواب ودرايزين والثانى يفلق على ثلث درابزين والحانوت

الثالث يفصل بينه وبين الحانوتين مجاز ياتى ذكره والحانوت المذكور يفلق عليه زوج ابواب وكل من الحوانيت الثلاثه ذات سقف

وسقيفه وداخل ويتوصل من المجاز المذكور الى بابين متجاورين مبنيين بالحجر النحيت احدهما مربع يفلق عليه زوج ابواب تقيا يدخل

منه الى دهليز مسقف غشيمًا على يمينه الداخل قبو معقود بالطوب الاجر والجبس ثم يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور الى ساحه فندق

بها سبعة بيوت سفليه مسقة [ين] غشيمًا منها ستة على كل منها زوج ابواب والسابع عليه فرده باب على يمينه الداخل ثلاثه وعلى

يسره الداخل اربعة وعلى يمينه الداخل مرحاض يجاوره سلم معقود بالبلاط والجبس يصعد من عليه الى سطح يتوصل منه

الى مسترقه مسقفه غشيمًا يفلق عليها زوج ابواب ويصدره سلم يصعد من عليه الى اسطحة البيوت المذكوره والباب الثانى مقنطر يفلق عليه

زوج ابواب تقيا مصفح بصفايح حديد يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه الى مسترقتين متقابلتين احدهما

يغلق عليها زوج ابواب  
والثانيه يغلق عليها فرده باب ثم يصعد من على السلم المذكور الى طبقتين متجاورتين احدهما امام الطالع  
تشتمل على باب  
مرجع (عليه فرده باب <إضافة فوق السطر>) يدخل منه الى مجاز به على يمينه الداخل باب مرجع عليه فرده  
باب يدخل منه الى مرحاض ثم يتوصل من  
المجاز المذكور الى باب مرجع عليه زوج ابواب [حسولت <بحسوات؟>] منقوشه يدخل منه الى طبقه تحوى ايوانا  
مسقفا نقياً مصوقاً  
بواجهته قوصره غرد بصدرة طاقات <طاقان؟> [مامونيات] وفيما بينهما باب ريح مطلات على الطريق يعلوهم  
طاقات [زجاج وبكل  
من جانبي الايوان صفة احدهما بخاريات يعلوها باذاهنج والثانيه بها باب مرجع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى  
خزانه  
مسقفه غشيماً يقابل الايوان المذكور مجلس على يسره الداخل صفة يعلوها باذاهنج وفيما بينهما دورقاعه بها  
اربعه ابواب  
احدها باب الدخول والثاني والثالث [بجنباً <مجنباً؟>] المجلس والرابع باب المجلس المذكور وبدورالقاعه المذكوره  
صفتان بخاريات  
يعلوها [رشن] دايير نقي وذات الطاقات المكنده و امام الداخل سلم معقود بالبلاط والجيس يصعد من  
عليه الى مسترقه مسقفه غشيماً بها سلم خشب ناقله يصعد من عليه الى سطح الطبقة المذكوره المحظر والطبقه  
الثانيه  
على يسره الطالع من السلم المقدم ذكره تشتمل على باب مرجع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز به على  
يسره الداخل  
مرحاض بجاورها باب مرجع بغير باب عليه يدخل منه الى مطبخ وعلى يمينه الداخل باب مرجع عليه زوج ابواب  
يدخل منه الى طبقه تحوى ايوانا مسقفاً نقياً مدهوناً به على يمينه الطالع ويسرته صفتان متقابلتان بخاريات يعلو  
احدهما  
باداهنج بجاور احد[هما <احديها؟>] باب مرجع عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى خزانه يقابلها خرستان بصدرة  
طاقه [افرنجيه <؟>]  
مطله على الطريق وبصدر الايوان المذكور طاقتان مامونيات وبينهما باب ريح بطاقات مطلات على الطريق  
يعلو ذلك طاقات زجاج بواجهته قوصره غرد يقابل الايوان المذكور صفة يجاورها خرستان بغير باب عليه وفيما  
بينهما دورقاعه  
بالبلاط الكدان والمرافق والحقوق ثم يصعد من باقى السلم المذكور الى باب مرجع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى  
طبقه لطيفه



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 وجميع ما انتقل بالابتياح .....  
 الشرعى من وكيل بيت المال المعمور الى ..... وهو جميع الارض  
 الحامله لبنا  
 طاحون فرد بسويقه العجم تعرف .....  
 .....  
 وجميع الارض الحامله لاربعه حوانيت .....  
 .....  
 وبنا وما به من الانشاب .....  
 .....  
 فيه وخارج عنه من حقوقه كلها ومنه جميع الربع الكامل ارضا وبنا وذلك بظاهر القاهره المحروسه خارج  
 [بابي >باهت<]  
 زويله بالشارع الاعظم باول زقاق البركه على يسره السالك الى بركه الفيل و[قبو الممر] وغير ذلك  
 يشتمل على اربعة ابواب مربعه يغلق على كل منها زوج ابواب (مربعه يغلق على كل زوج ابواب >يعلوها علامه  
 كشط) يعلو كل منها شباك  
 حديد وكل منها بعتبه سفلى صوانا وعليا خشباً نقياً منها ثلاثه ابواب يدخل من كل منها الى قاعه احد  
 القاعات مرسومه [— >باهت و خرم<]  
 القراره يومئذ وهى [— —] بصدورها خزانه يغلق عليها فرده باب وهى مستقفه غشيماً والباب الرابع يتوصل  
 اليه من على [درج]  
 حجر يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه الى دهليز ((على يمنه من صار فيه باب صغير مربع يغلق عليه فرده  
 باب يدخل منه الى خزانه برسم سكنى الربيعه ثم يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور الى سلم يصعد من عليه  
 الى دهليز صح >إضافة في الهامش الأيمن<)) مستطيل به ست طباق احدها على راس السلم المذكور  
 يغلق عليها زوج ابواب  
 تشتمل على ايوان ودورقاعه يودى الضو اليها ومسترقه وبخاريات ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق والطباق الخمسه  
 [الباقية]  
 من الطباق المذكوره يغلق على كل مها زوج ابواب تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه دمسا وبخاريات  
 ومسترقه ومرحاض  
 ومرافق وحقوق ثم يصعد من بقيه السلم المذكور الى معالم ست طباق لم تكمل عمارتها وذات القناه الخالصه لذلك  
 []

والحقوق وإجدره] الأريعه خالصه له و جميع الطباق الستة الاول المذكوره مفروشه الارض بالبلاط الكدان [مسبله الجدر] [بالبياض <باهت>]

بابواب ريح وطاقات خشب ثقيا [— <مخرمه، مخزنه؟>] ويحيط بذلك حدود اريعه الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الموضوع المعروف قديما [— <باهت>]

[— <العوال؟>] ثم عرف بعده بالقاضى [كمال الدين] بن قاضى القضاء صدر الدين رحمهما الله تعالى والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الدار المعروفه

قديما بدار [البير] والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى الزقاق الذى هو فيه المعروف بزقاق البركه وفيه ابوابه وطاقات< <باهت>]

وابواب ريحه ويطل [فيه] رواشنه وفيه شبايكه الحديد السبعه التى هى على صف واحد والحد الغربى ينتهى يومئذ الى القرن المعروف قديما بالابيارى الشارع بابه بزقاق الزريبه ثم عرف بملك سيدنا قاضى القضاء [—]

[السجرى] رحمه الله تعالى بعضه وباقيه الى دار تعرف [بص—] بحدود ذلك وحقوقه ومنه جميع البنا [القايم] على [الارض <باهت>]

المحتكره [دار الاتى] ذكره فيه وذلك بظاهر القاهره المحروسه خارج بابى زويله وباب الخرق بارض بستان [الجناب <باهت>]

..

..... وقتق— [أ <خرم>]

صحيا شرعيا وحبسا ((صريحا)) دايم مرضيا لا يباع ولا يوهب ولا يرهن ولا يملك ولا يورث ولا [يناول] ولا يحل عقد من عقوده قايمًا على اصوله محفوظًا على شروطه مسبلًا على سبله التى تذكر فيه الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين على موكلته [ال—] الرفيع والحجاب المنيع [العصى] [الخاتونى] سيده [الحوال— عصمت الدين] اردكين المراه الكامل صان الله حجابها ابنه المقر العالى المولوى الامير الكبير بن السيفى نوقيه السلاح دار المنصورى تغمده الله تعالى برحمته المشار اليها باعاليه ايام حياتها تنتفع بذلك فى السكن والاسكان وسائر وجوه الانتفاعات الشرعيه من غير مشارك لها فى ذلك ولا فى شئ منه ثم من بعد وفاتها رزقها الله اطول الاعمار وبلغها نهايه الارطال— <باهت>]

على ما ياتى ذكره فيه على ان الناظر فيه يوجره لسنة واحده فما دونها باجره المثل فما فوقها ولا يدخل عقدا على عقد حتى تنقضى مده العقد الاول وبدا من ذلك بعمارته الموقوف المذكور وممرته واصلاحه وصلاحه وبما فيه بقا عينه ودوام منفعتة وما فضل بعد ذلك يصرف منه الناظر فى كل شهر ثلاثايه درهم وستين درهما نقره لاثنى عشر نفر من القرا الحافظين لكتاب الله تعالى يقرون بحضره ضريح الموقوف عليها المساه فيه صان الله حجابها بالمكان الذى تدفن فيه فى ست نوب نوبه بعد نوبه كل نوبه فيها اثنان من القرا المذكورين .....



ACh 10727

Rent by the emīr Shams al-Dīn Sanqur from *al-ṭawāshī* Mūkhtaṣ  
bin ‘Abd Allāh

Dated 14 Jamādī al-Ākhar 719/1319

**The Document:**

This deed is written on a piece of paper measuring 18 by 26 cms.

**Its Contents:**

In this document, a property consisting of two *ṭabaqas* and a stable for two horses is rented for one year. The monthly rent is 21 silver *dirhams*.





## Awqāf 651

Sale from Shirīn bint Qaṭlubghā Bahādir bin ‘Abdullah *al-silāḥdār al-manṣūrī*, to Baybars bin ‘Abdullah *al-ḥājib al-malakī al-nāṣirī*.

Dated 20 Sha‘bān, 723/1323.

The Document:

The beginning of the document is missing.

Its Contents:

The extant part of the document contains a number of deeds that reflect the life of the property over 22/21 years.

The first two deeds record the purchase of a *funduq* located to the west of the hospital of Qalā’ūn in al-Qāhira. In the first deed 9000 *dirhams* are paid for 50% interest in the property. In the second deed, 6500 *dirhams* are paid for the remaining 50% interest in the property.

The property consisted of three shops, a *funduq*, and a *rab’* above. The *funduq* consisted of more than eighteen storage rooms, and the *rab’* included eleven residential units (one *mustarraqa*, nine *ṭabaqas*, and one *maq‘ad*). Five of the *ṭabaqas* were of the *īwān-majlis* type.

The first deed describes the *funduq* as having been renewed, yet at the end of the same deed it is described as in ruin (*sha‘ith*).

A deed dated 5 Ramaḍān, 743/1343 attests to the inheritance of the property by the children and wife of Baybars bin ‘Abdullah. Another deed dated 2 Ṣafar 745/1344 attests to the purchase of the whole property from the various owners by the endowment of Qalā’ūn.

بيع من شيرين بن قطلوبغا بهادر إلى بيبرس بن عبد الله  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٦٥١ المودوعة في وزارة الأوقاف

<نص الوثيقة>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد نبيه وآله وصحبه وسلام كثيرين  
هذا ما اشترى المقر العالى المولوى الاميرى الكبيرى العضدى العونى الذخيرى الغياثى النصيرى القوامى النظامى  
الرءى <باهت>  
العمامى المجاهدى المويدي المظفرى الاسفهلارى المقدمى الكفيلى الركنى [ركن الدين] [عز] الاسلام والمسلمين  
[— <خرم>]  
[كهف الفقرا — <خرم>] المساكين عضد الملوك والسلطين بيبرس بن عبد الله الحاجب الملكى [الناصرى  
<خرم>] [السا] [بج] [— <خرم>]  
الباقى لنفسه الكريمه حرسها الله تعالى من الست الجليله [— المحرمه <خرم>] [اصونه شيرين المراه الكامل —  
<خرم>]  
العالى المولوى الاميرى الاجلى الكبيرى العضدى النصيرى [— <خرم>] [قطلوبغا بهادر بن عبد  
الله [السلحدار <باهت وخرم>]  
المنصورى رحمه الله تعالى وحلها ذكر اجره جميع الحصه التى مبلغها النصف  
[— <خرم>] [سهما شايماً غير مقسوم من جميع الفندق المستجد والريع علوه] [— <خرم>]  
من [يدى <يديها؟>] كتابا يشهد لها بصحه ملكها لذلك وكتب عليه فصل هذه البايعة موافق لتاريخه ولشهوده  
[— <خرم>]  
البايعة المذكوره بحكم ما بقى عـ [— <خرم>] وهو النصف من الفندق المذكور وعلوه وذلك  
بالقاهره المحروسه بالخرشتف بالقرب من باب سر البيمارستان [— <خرم>] السالك من دار البندقدار  
طالباً درب [العدوية] ورأس حاره زويله والطرق المتفرقه وغير ذلك وعلى يسره السالك من الاماكن المذكوره  
[—]  
دار البندقدار والطرق المتفرقه وغير ذلك يشتمل على ثلثه حواذيت وبابين احد الحوانيت المذكوره مسـ [د—  
<خرم>]  
وهو مسترقه يتوصل اليها من باب المطلع ويشتمل كل من الحانوتين على مسطبه وداخل ودراريب و[—  
<باهت وخرم>]  
البابين باب الفندق المذكور مربع يفتح عليه زوج ابواب يدخل [— <خرم>] به خمسه مخازن على يمينه  
من دخل و[— <باهت وخرم>]  
معقودين [قبوا يفتح على كل منها زوج ابواب ثم يتوصل من ساحه الفندق] [— <خرم>] المشتمله على ثلثه

عشر مخزنا معقولا دين قبا >باهت وخرم<]

يفلق عل كل منها زوج ابواب يعلوهم [رواشن] داير دقيس وذات المرحاض والبير الما المعين والمرافق والحقوق  
والباب

الثاني مربع يفلق عليه زوج ابواب ي [دخل منه الى] دهليز بصدرة باب مربع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى  
مسترقه [سقفه] غ [شيما \_]

ثم يتوصل من بقية الدهليز المذكور الى مجازين متقابلين احدهما على اليمنه يتوصل منه الى اربع طباق مسقف  
غشيما يفلق على [خرم<]

ابواب ويكل منها مرحاض ومرافق وحقوق ويتوصل من الدهليز [الذى] على اليسره الى مطمئين متقابلين  
يتوصل من احدهما

الى طبقتين متطابقتين تشتمل كل منهما على ايوان ومجلس ودورقاعه مسقفين نقياً مطله طاقاتها على الطريق  
ولكل منهما مرحاض

ومرافق وحقوق والسلم الثاني يتوصل منه الى ثلاث طباق ومقعد تشتمل احد الطباق على ايوان ومجلس ودورقاعه  
وهي مسقفه نقياً ذات مرحاض ومرافق وحقوق مطله على الطريق والطبقتين الباقيتين تشتمل كل منهما على  
ايوان و [خرم<]

قاعه ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق ثم يصعد من بقية السلم المذكور الى المقعد المذكور المشتمل على ايوان و [سد  
>باهت وخرم<]

ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق وذات القنى الخالصة لذلك والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بذلك ويجمعه ويحصره ويشتمل  
عليه وعلى ساير حقوقه كلها حدود اربعة الحسد القبلى ينتهى الى

الطريق السلوك وفيه يفتح البابان المذكوران والحانوتين المذكورين والروشن وطاقات علو ذلك

والحد البحرى ينتهى الى اسطبل يعرف قديماً بالامير شجاع الدين جلدك التقوى [خرم<]

وعرف بورشته وغيرهم وهو الان ينتهى بمضه الى الاسطبل الجارى فى اوقاف الامير صلاح الدين الازيكى ال [خرم<]

وباقية الى اسطبل هناك والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى الاسطبل المعروف بالجميزه المحتكر

يوميد الجارى فى اوقاف صلاح الدين الازيكى والحد الغربى ينتهى الى ((ظهور >إضافة فوق السطر<)) ادر يشرع  
ابوابها

بالخط المذكور وفى هذا الحد ما يلى قبلته قطعه جدار بها معالم حمل باعلاها تشخيص من حقوق هذا الفندق  
المذكور بحدود ذلك كله وحقوقه وقليله وكثيره وسفله وعلوه وما هو معروف به ومنسوب اليه من حقوقه

كلها الداخلة فيه والخارجة عنه شراً صحيحاً شرعياً [نافذا \_] [خرم<]

فيه نفده و [عده عليه] [بشمن مبلغه من الدراهم النقره المعامل بها يوميد بالديار المصريه حرسها

الله تعال تسعة الاف درهم نقره [الصنجة النصف من ذلك تحقياً لاصله وضبطاً

وتحريرا لجملته اربعة الاف درهم وخمس مائه درهم نقره بالصنجة الجميع على حكم الحلول  
دفع المقر العالى المولى الاميرى الكبيرى الركنى ركن الدين المشتري المذكور وقاه الله كل [ <مكروه؟> ]  
للبايعه المذكوره جميع الثمن

بكماله بحضره شهوده فقبضته منه قبضه تاما وافيا وصار بيدها وحوزتها وتسلم اعزه الله تعالى ما ابتاعه فيه بعد  
النظر والمعرفه والمعاقده الشرعيه والتفرق [ — ] مجلس العقد عن الرضى بذلك و[ — ] <بحكمه> [ — ]  
و[ — ] صحه المبيع حيث بوجه الشرع الشريف و[ — ] حكمه المنيف وبمضمونه وقعت  
الشهاده فيه بتاريخ اليوم المبارك العشرين من شعبان المكرم من شهور سنه ثلث وعشرين وسبعمائه احسن الله  
تقضيا

و[خلته] البايعه المذكوره . . . . .

. .

و. . . . .

. .

. . . . . الكبيرى العضدي . . . . .

. .

عليهما [ — ] <خرم> [ — ]

المبيعه

. . . . . الحقوق كلها . . . . .

. .

. . . . . [ — ] والده البايعه المذكوره فيما باعته وقبضته . . . . .

. . .

وعلم المقر العالى المولى الركنى ركن الدين المشتري المذكور اعزه الله تعالى ان الفندق المبيع والحصه المذكوره  
باعالیه شعث محتاج للعماره [ورضى بذلك]  
<مجموعه من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر فى آخر وجه الوثيقه>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيدنا محمد نبيه واله وصحبه وسلامه  
هذا ما اشتري المقر العالى المولى الاميرى الكبيرى العضدى العونى [الذخيرة] الغياثى التصيرى القوامى  
الذ[ظام] الرء[بى العمامى]

المجاهدى المويدي المظفرى الاسفهلارى المقدمى الكفيل الركنى ركن الدين عز الاسلام والمسلمين ركن [الغزاه]

والمجاهدين كهف الفقرا  
 والمساكين عضد الملوك والسلاطين بيبرس بن عبد الله الحاجب الملكي الناصري وهو المشتري المسما باعاليه اسبغ  
 الله ظله ورفع محله  
 بماله الباقي لنفسه الكريمه حرسها الله تعالى من الست الجليله [الكـ] المحرمه المصونه شيرين المراه الكامل ابنه  
 الحجاب العالى المولى  
 الامير الاجلى الكبيرى العضىدى النصيرى السيفى سيف الدين نصره المجاهدين قطلوينا بهادر بن عبد الله  
 السلحدار المنصورى رحمه الله تعالى  
 وهى البايعة المسما باعاليه جميع الحصه التى مبلغها النصف اثنا عشر سهما من اصل اربعة وعشرين سهما  
 شايعاً غير مقسومه من جميع  
 الفندق الكامل ارضاً وبنائاً سفلاً وعلواً الجارى ذلك بيد البايعة المذكوره وملكها وتصرفها وهو آخر ما بقى على  
 ملكها من المكان المذكور  
 وذلك بالقاهره المحروسه بالخرشنف بالقرب من باب سر البيمارستان المنصورى على يمينه السالك من دار  
 البندقدار  
 طالباً درب العدويه ورأس حاره زويله والطرق المتفرقه وغير ذلك وعلى يسره السالك من الاماكن المذكوره طالباً  
 دار البندقدار والطرق  
 المتفرقه وغير ذلك يشتمل على ثلثه حوانيت وياقى الصفات المشروحه باعلى يستغنى عن ذكرها ها هنا ويحيط  
 به حدود اربعة  
 الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق السلوك وفيه باباه والحانوتين والروشن وطاقات علو ذلك والحد البحرى  
 ينتهى  
 الى اسطبل يعرف قديماً بالامير شجاع الدين جلدك التقوى الكاملى وياقيه الى اسطبل هناك والحد الشرقى  
 ينتهى الى الاسطبل  
 المعروف بالجميزه المحتكر يومئذ الجارى فى اوقاف الصلاح [الـريك] والحد الغربى ينتهى الى ادر يشرع ابوابها  
 بالخط المذكور  
 وفى هذا الحد مما يل قبله قطعه جدار بها معالم حمل باعلاها تشخيص من حقوق هذا الفندق المذكور بحدود  
 ذلك كله وحقوقه وقليله  
 وكبيره وسفله وعلوه وما هو معروف به ومنسوب اليه من حقوقه كلها الداخلة فيه والخارجة عنه شراً صحيحاً  
 شرعياً بثمان مبلغه  
 من الدراهم النقره الجيده المتعامل بها ستة الاف درهم وخمس مايه درهم نقره النصف من ذلك حفظاً لاصله  
 وتحريراً لجملته ثلثه الاف درهم ومايتا درهم وخمسون [— <درهماً؟>] بالصنجه الجميع حال دفع المقر المال  
 المولى الاميرى الكبيرى الركنى

ركن الدين المشتري المذكور وقاه الله [كل —] للبايعه المذكوره جميع الثمن بكما له بحضره شهوده وقبضته منه قبضاً تاماً وافياً وصار بيدها  
وتسلم اعزه الله تعالى ما ابتاعه فيه بعد النظر والمعرفه والمعاقده الشرعيه [والتفرق بالايدي] من مجلس العقد عن الرضى  
بذلك [والله] و[بحكمه] وضمان [—————] صحه المبيع حيي يوجبه الشرع الشريف و[————] حكمه المنيف وبمضمونه وقعت  
الشهاده فيه بتاريخ اليوم التاسع من شهر شوال سنه اربع وعشرين وسبعمايه [و] قد كمل للمقر العال المولوى  
[المولوى <؟>] الركنى [المشتري] المسما باعاليه بما فيه ملكه متقدما وهذا [الم] بايعه ملك جميع الفندق المذكور وما  
هو من حقوقه يتصرف فى ذلك كيف شا

<إشهادات وتوقيعات>

<أول نص فى ظهر الوثيقه>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [—————] <خرم>

اقر المجالس العاليه الامرا الكبر ابا النصر الدين محمد وشهاب الدين احمد وعلا الدين [—] على الاخوه الاشقا  
اولاد المقر الكبيرى العالى المولوى الاميرى الركنى ييبرس الحاجب المشتري له باطنه رحمه الله تعالى عند شهوده  
طوعا فى صحتهم وحواز امرهم ان والدهم المذكور توفى الى رحمه الله تعالى وخلف ورثه وهم زوجته  
التي ما زالت فى عصمته وعقد نكاحه الى حين وفاته [————] الروميه عتيقته العتق الشرعى  
والاخوه الثلاثه المذكورين وشقيقاهم وهما المجلس .....

..... لم يخلف وارثا

غيرهم وانه ترك لهم من جمله ما يورث عنه جـــــميع الفندق الكامل ارضا  
وبنا الموصوف المحدود باطنه بحدود ذلك كله وحقوقه وكان ذلك بينهم بالفريضه الشرعيه  
فللزوجه المذكوره الثمن ثلثه اسهم ولكل ذكر من الذكور المذكورين سهمان واربعه اخماس سهم  
ولكل [اشي] سهم واحد وخمسا سهم واقر كل واحد من المقرين الثلثه المذكورين  
انه وضع يده على حصته من ذلك وضماً شرعياً وانه لا حق له ولا [طب] فى  
حصه الاخرين ولا فى حصه الباقيين من الورثه المذكورين .....

ولا نصيب ولا منفعه ولا استحقاق منفعه حسبما يشهد بذلك كتاب الاقرار  
الجامع [الله] بذلك وبغيره الموافق لتاريخه ولشهوده الخامس من شهر رمضان

المعظم سنة ثلث وأربعين وسبعماية

<توقيعات>

.....

<نص آخر في آخر ظهر الوثيقة>

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ الحمد لله وحده وصلوته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه  
انتقل ملك جميع الفندق الكامل ارضاً وبناً وما هو من حقوق ذلك سفلا  
وعلو الموصوف ذلك المحدود باطنه من ملك ورثه المقر العالی الامیری الكبيرى الركنى بیبرس  
بن عبد الله الحاجب المذكور باطنه لجهه وقف البيمارستان المنصورى والقبة الشريفة  
المنصوریه والمدرسه المنصوریه ایضا ومصالح الايتام بمكتب السبیل المنصورى المجاور  
للمدرسه المذكوره بالقاهره المحروسه تفمده الله واقفه بالرحمه والرضوان واسكنه  
فسیح الجنان انتقالا شرعیا بالابتیاع الشرعى حسبما يشهد بذلك كتاب المبايعه  
الموافق لتاريخه ولشهوده [وبه] شهد بتاريخ ثانى صفر سنة خمس وأربعين وسبع مایه  
<توقيعات>

.....

### Maḥkama 33

*Waqf* of *al-ṭawāshī* Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥsin al-Akhmīmī.

Dated 25 Jamādī al-Awalī, 744/1343.

#### The Document:

The document is in the form of a roll. The beginning of the documents is missing, and its sides are torn.

#### Its Contents:

This is an endowment deed of a eunuch. In this deed, the eunuch Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥsin al-Akhmīmī makes a number of properties *waqf*. All of the income generating properties are in Fuṣṭāṭ, and include a *dār*, a *funduq*, a number of shops, and a mill.

وقف الطواشي جمال الدين محسن الاخيمي  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم محكمه ٢٢ المدورعه في دار الوثائق القوميه  
نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٢٠٦٧

<نص الوثيقة>

<البداية مفقودة>

\_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_] \_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
\_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_] وقف [\_\_\_\_\_] \_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
[\_\_\_\_\_] [\_\_\_\_\_] <باهت وخرم> [\_\_\_\_\_] جميع ما ياتي ذكره في هذا الكتاب مما هو بيده وتصرفه [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
فمن ذلك جميع الدار الكامله ارضا وبنأ التي بفسطاط مصر المحروسه [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
الرفاتين ودرج منتصر وزقاق [زيتونه] طالبا الدرب الصغير و[\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
طالبا الاماكن المذكوره تشتمل هذه الدار على ثلاثه حوانيت كل منها مشتة [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
ولها باب يغلق عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه الى دهليز به سلم ياتي [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_] يتوصه [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
على ايوان مسقف تقيا ساذجاً به خزانه كسوه وبادهنج يقابله مجلس بغير ابواب و[\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
بها ستة ابواب احدها باب الدخول واربعه تشخيص والسادس باب مطلع يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من [\_\_\_\_\_]  
\_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]

بيت اغاني وبالمجلس سلم يصعد منه الى مسترقه علو الحوانيت ويصعد من السلم الذي بالدهليز ال[\_\_\_\_\_]  
\_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]

الى علو ذلك المشتمل على ثلاث منازل متجاوره تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه منها  
اثنان مطلات على الطريق وتشتمل كل منها على مرافق وحقوق [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
حقوقها ومرافق وحقوق ويحيط بهذه الدار حدود اربعه الحد القبلي ينتهي الى دار تعرف [بمؤمى؟]  
\_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]

والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى الطريق السلوك والحد الغربي ينتهي الى دار تعرف بابن الر[\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]  
ومن ذلك جميع الحصه التي مبلغها اثنا عشر سهما من اربعه وعشرين سهما شايما غير مقسومه من جميع  
الفندق

المعروف قديما بالصاحب بها الدين وما هو من حقوقه وذلك بفسطاط مصر المحروسه بخط  
\_\_\_\_\_ <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_] حاو [\_\_\_\_\_] <خرم> [\_\_\_\_\_]

بدرج الكورين شارع على الطريق السلوك على يمنه السالك الى كوم الجارج ودرج الكورين وغير ذلك وعلى يسره  
السالك

الى الشجاعه وحاره الحصبين يشتمل على بابين مريمين احدهما كبير خالص لسفله يدخل منه الى دهليز مسقف

غشياً يتوصل

منه الى داخل الغندق المذكور المشتمل على ساحه ورواقين بكل منهما عمودان رخاماً وبه مخازن دائره عليها اثنا

عشر مخزناً

يفلق على كل منها درفان خشبياً يفلق [—] منها شباك واحد المخازن المذكوره له باب يدخل منها <؟> الى

دهليز

مسقف غشياً به ساحه وبه ايضاً باب يدخل منه الى مثال مخزن مسقف به بير ما معين من حقوقه والى

مرحاض

والباب الثانى خالص لعلوه شارع على الطريق يتوصل اليه من سلم درج معقود بالبلاط [وعضاده؟]

ثم يدخل منه

الى دهليز ثم الى سلم معقود بالحجر يصعد منه الى العلو المذكور وهو مشتمل على اثنى عشر منزلاً منها خمسة على

يسره الطالع

من السلم مطله على واجهه بابه ومنها سبعة على يمينه الطالع وكل منها تشتمل على مجلس ومرافق وحقوق وسطح

من داخله

ومن حقوق ذلك خمس اقصاب من القنى ويحيط بذلك كله ويحصره حدود اربعة الحسد القبلى ينتهى الى دارين

تعرف احداً [هما] بالسامورى والاخرى [— بن] عمر والحد الغربى ينتهى الى دارين تعرف احداً [هما] بابن

الشارعى والاخرى [بحجاج]

والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى الطريق السلوك وفيه باباه ورواشنه وطاقات بعض منازل والحد الغربى ينتهى الى

دارين تعرف احداً ما بابن الموارثى قديماً ثم عرفت بالصاحب بها الدين والاخرى تعرف بابن [الشداد] ومن

ذلك جميع الحصه

التي مبلغها النصف اثنا عشر سهماً من اربعة وعشرين سهماً شايعاً من جميع الحجره الفن والحوائت الخمسه

اللواتى بظاهره وذلك كله

بفسطاط مصر المحروسه ايضاً بخط درب الكورين على يمينه السالك من . . . . .

. . . . . ومن ذلك جميع الحصه التى

مبلغها

النصف اثنا عشر سهماً من اربعة وعشرين سهماً شايعاً من جميع بنا الدار والحوائت الستة وما هو من

حقوق ذلك وذلك

بفسطاط مصر المحروسه بخط كوم الجارج على يمينه من سلك من درب الكورين طالباً كوم الجارج والمصنع وغير

ذلك



ذلك جميعه ومراقفه

وما يعرف به وينسب اليه وقفاً منجزاً موبداً وحسباً محرراً موكداً وتسبيلاً مستمراً محددًا  
وصدقه جاريه لا تنقطع ابدا انشا هذا الواقف المسمى فيه المجلس [السى] الجمالى [محسن] [ ] <خرم  
وياهت> [

الصالحى تقبل الله منه وقفه هذا على نفسه ايام حياته [يختص — منفعته ويملك عليه]  
مده حياته [ثم] من بعده على ما ياتى ذكره من سبل الخيرات وجهات القران فاما الدار الكامله التى  
بخط السوق الكبير المبدأ بذكر [ ] اعلاه فيبدأ من ريعها بمعارتها ومرمتها وباجره من يتولى استخراج  
ريعها [وتحصيل] معا [هل] وما فيه بقا عينها ودوام منفعته ثم ما فضل من ذلك يصرف منه فى كل سنه  
[ ] <خرم> [ ] الدراهم [النقره] المعامل بها مايتا درهم واربعون [ ] او ما يقوم مقامها من

النقود

الى قارئى المصحفين الشريفين المومومين من جهه الواقف المذكور بالمدرسه الشريفه النبويه على [ ] افضل  
الصلوه والسلام بالسويه بينهما لكل منهما فى السنه مايه درهم واحده وعشرون درهما على ان عل  
من .....

..... ويصرف ايضا من ريع الدار الكامله التى بالسوق الكبرى المذكوره  
فى كل شهر من شهور الاهله عشره دراهم نقره او ما يقوم مقامها من النقود فى مصارف مكتب السبيل الاتى  
ذكره فيه

على الوجه الاتى ذكره فيه ومهما فضل من ريع هذه الدار التى بالسوق الكبير يدخره الناظر تحت  
يده لعماره [ما يحتاج] اليه من جهات الوقف المذكوره فى هذا الكتاب فيبدأ منه بما يحتاج اليه من العماره بالدار  
التى

بالسوق الكبير ثم [ ] الحصص الموقوفه اعلاه من عماره بقيه الاماكن المحدوده اعلاه ومرمتها [يجرى]  
[الحال ] لذلك ابدا حالا بعد حال واما الحصص الاربعه الاتى ذكرها وهى النصف من الفندق  
المعروف بالساحب وعلوه والنصف من القرن والحوانيت بظاهره والنصف من بنا الدار وحوانيتها الستة  
والنصف من الاصطبل فيبدأ من ريع هذه الحصص الاربعه بعد وفاه الواقف بما يخصها من عماره الاماكن التى  
وقف منها ومرمتها وما فيه بقا عينها ودوام منفعتها وباجره من يتولى استخراج ريعها وتحصيل اجرها  
ومباشره عمارتها ثم ما فضل من ريع هذه الحصص الاربعه يصرف منه فى كل شهر من شهور الاهله  
ستون درهما نقره او ما يقوم مقامها من النقود فى المصارف الاتى ذكرها فيصرف منها خمسه عشر درهما  
[ ]

فى كل شهر المصارف التى قررها بالمسجد الارضى الذى بظاهر القاهره المحروسه بحاره [اليانسيه] بالقرب من  
اصطبل الجناب [العل] [الكبرى] الجمالى محسن الشهابى مقدم الامرا المالك السلطانيه

فمنها عشره دراهم نقره تصرف . . . . .

..

عارف بذلك جميعه المعرفه الشرعيه وكان صدور هذاالوقف من الواقف المذكور واشهاده على نفسه [بما تضمنه]

باليوم المبارك

الخامس والعشرين من جمادى الاولى سنه اربع واربعون وسبع مايه واحضرت لشهوده كتب تدل على ملك الواقف

المذكور

لما وقفه اعلاه وكتب عليها فصول بهذا الوقف موافقه لتاريخه ولشهوده فيه ملح الثمانيه . . . . .

وفيه مصلح . . . . .

<مجموعه من التوقيعات>

.....

**Awqāf 627**

**Sale from Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad and his nephew to Shahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad**

**Dated 23 Jamād Ākhar, 753/1352.**

**The Document:**

The beginning of the document is torn, but most of the text is intact.

**Its Contents:**

Concerns the sale of a residence in al-Qāhira.

## وثيقه بيع

نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٦٢٧ المودعه في وزارة الأوقاف

## &lt;نص الوثيقة&gt;

&lt;البداية مقفودة&gt;

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله [الله] \_\_\_\_\_ &lt;خرم&gt; [

هذا ما اشترى الصدر الكبير [ ] [ ] شهاب الدين احمد بن الصدر الاجل [ ] &lt;خرم&gt; [ فتح [ابن]

محمد

الجرائحي السلطاني عرف باب [ ] الرئيس المرحوم شرف الدين [محجب الشمس] الرئيس الجراحيه بالديار

المصريه والبلاد

الشاميه ادام الله تعالى نعمته عليه وغفر له ولوالده بماله لنفسه وشهود به عارفون من الاميرين هما ناصر الدين

محمد بن المرحوم سيف الدين شعبان بن عبد الله

احد رجال الحلقة المنصوريه [ ] الله تعالى ومن ابن اخته شقيقته الامير [عرش الدين] خليل بن المرحوم علا

الدين علي [ ]

المرحوم بها الدين رسلان بن عبد الله المعروف والده بالمارديني من رجال الحلقة المنصوريه وشهود[ه] بهما عارفين

ايضاً جميع الدار الكامله وما هو من حقوقها من علو وسفل وجميع الحوش

المجاور لها الاتي ذكره ذلك كله ووصفه وتحديده فيه الجارى ذلك كله بيد البايعين المذكورين

اعلاه وملكهما وتصرفهما بالسويه بينهما ويديهما كتاب تملك من والده [عرش الدين] خليل المرحومه [دينا]

المراه الكامل شقيقه ناصر الدين محمد احد البايعين المذكورين فيه واحـ[ولا] لذلك وخصم ما ينبغى خصمه من

ذلك و [تسلى [ ]

المشترى المذكور وذلك بظاهر القاهرة المحروسه خارج بابي زويله بخط الرمله تحت قلعه الجبل

المحروسه بخط حوض الفلكي بزقاق هناك غير نافذ باقصاه باوله درب داخل في عقد هذا البيع المشروح

اعلاه صفه الدار المبدى بذكرها انها تشتمل على قبر مبنى بالحجر النحيث بصدوره باب كبير عليه فرده باب

يدخل منه الى

اصطبل مسقف غشيمه به طواله ومتبين وركابخاناه وحقوق يجاوره باب على يمينه الداخل منه مبنى بالحجر

النحيث يصار

اليه من سلم درج شارع بالزقاق المذكور فيه يغلق عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه الى باب

يتوصل منه

الى دثليز يدخل منه الى بيت مسقف غشيمه به طاقات مطلات على الزقاق ثم يتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور الى

باب يدخل منه

الى مطبخ ومرحاض وبيت عجين وخزانه وبيت ازيار وباب يغلط عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى قاعه معلقه تحوى ايوانا ودورقاعه وبالاويان [دقيسى] بطاقات وشباك وباب ريج وخرستانات و صفف وبخاريات والطاقات المطلات على الزقاق والطاقات الرجاج والسيوف والمعابر والابندريات بها وبدور القاعه ايضا المدهون ذلك [— ذات ، داير؟] حريريا وسقف الايوان دهانا حريريا يقابله مجلس يغلط عليه وعلى كمييه ابواب مطويات مسقف غشيمه به خزانه ودور القاعه عراقيه وبها دكك خشب نقي [مويك] وذات المنافع والمرافق والحقوق ثم يتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور فيه الى طبقه تحوى ايوانا ودورقاعه وذات المطبخ والسطح العالى على ذلك والمرافق والحقوق والقناه الخالصه لذلك كله ويحيط [بذلك] حدود اربعه وصفه الحوش المذكور انه يشتمل على ساحه [مثال] اصطبل مسقف غشيمه بمرافق وحقوق ويحيط بذلك جمعه حدود

اربعه الحد القبلى ينتهى الى دار مونسه وبعضه الى الزقاق والى دار تعرف بناصر [— — —] الحوش المذكور فيه و فيه باب الاصطبل المذكور فيه والقبو المذكور فيه وتطل طاقات العلو والدقيسى المذكور فيه البارز والحد البحرى ينتهى الى المسجد هناك والى اصطبل يعرف [بالحطاسى] ثم عرف [بسودى] والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى اصطبل بهادر الحُموى والحد الغربى ينتهى الى [دار] خليل ومن جهه الحوش المذكور الى دار عبد الله العطار يحد ذلك كله وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه شرا شرعيا بثمان مبلغه من الدراهم النقره

الجيده المتعامل بها يوميد سته الاف درهم وخمس مايه درهم وزن الصنجه على حكم الحلول قبض البايعان فيه الثمن [المعين فيه] من المشتري [—] بينهما بالسويه وتسلم المشتري المذكور فيه [ما ابتاعه] لنفسه بعد النظر والمعرفه [التعاقد]

الشرعيه وضمان [— صحه] المبيع [— — —] بتاريخ الثالث والعشرين من شهر جماد الاخر سنه ثلاث وخمسين وسبعه [يه] [— — —]

العلو انه يتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور اعلاه الى طبقتين يمنه ويسره احديهما مطله على وجه الباب المبدى بذكره تشتمل على باب مربع يغلط عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز به باب يغلط عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى طبقه تشتمل على ايوان [ايوانين؟] ودورقاعه وخزانه ومرافق وحقوق وبها باب الباداهنج الذى من حقوق القاعه المعلقه المقدم ذكرها ثم يتوصل من سلم ثانى الى الطبقة الثانيه ((التي هي الان تطل <كتابه فوق السطر>)) على الاصطبل

المعروف بالخطائى تشتمل على باب مربع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز يتوصل منه الى خزانه ثم يتوصل من

الدهليز الى باب يغلط عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى طبقه تحوى ايوانا ودورقاعه وخزانه وطاقات مطلات على الزقاق الذى هناك مسقف نقي مفروش ارض ذلك كله بالبلاط الكدان مسبله الجدر بالبياض ووقع فى التاريخ المسطر اعلاه وهو الثالث والعشرين من شهر جمادى الاخره سنه ثلاث وخمسين وسبعميه

<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

.....

<نص آخر يبدا في هامش وجه الوثيقة ثم يمتد الى عرضها كله>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه  
 اشهد [كلمن] سيدنا الفقير  
 الى الله تعالى [المريض <المرتضى؟>] شمس الدين  
 محمد بن الصدر الاجل الكبير المحترم  
 الجابى شهاب الدين احمد بن ناصر الدين  
 محمد الشهير بابو النحاس احد الجرائحيه  
 بالخدم الشريفه المذكور فى الفصل  
 المذكور بظاهره وهو معروف  
 شهوده اشهادا شرعيا وهو فى حال  
 صحته وسلامته وطواعيته و[اختياره]  
 انه قـف  
 وحبس وايد وحرم وتصدق  
 بجميع ما هو حاريا بيده وملكه  
 وتصره حسب ما يشهد [بذلك] الفصل  
 المذكور بظاهره المارخ بظاهره  
 بثامن عشر شهر الله المحرم من شهور  
 سنه ثلاث عشر وثمانى مايه  
 وهو جميع الحصه التى مبلغها عشره  
 اسهم ونصف سهم وثلاث سهم وجميع  
 الحصه التى مبلغها ست اسهم  
 من اصل اربعة وعشرون سهما من  
 جميع القرن الكاين [ذلك] بخط سويقه  
 عبد المنعم والعشره اسهم المذكوره اعلاه و[نصف وثلاث]  
 من جميع الثلاث اماكن المتلاصقه  
 الكاينين بالخط المذكور اعلاه صفه ((شايما غير مقسوم <إضافة بعد السطر>))

المكان الاول منهم يشتمل على واجهتين  
احدهما مبنيه بالفص الحجر النحيت  
بها بابان احدهما مقنطر معقود  
حنيه يفلق عله فرده باب يدخل منه الى اصطبل  
مسقفه غشيميا تحوى طواله

• •

والمكان الثانى يشتمل على قبر مبنى  
بالحجر الفص النحيت سقله بابان  
احدهما مقنطر يفلق عليه فرده  
باب يدخل منه الى اصطبل  
تحوى طواله ومتبنا وحفره مرحاض  
مسقوف غشيميا كامل المنافع والحقوق

والباب الثانى يصعد اليه من سلم درج يصعد اليه الى سلم ثانى يتوصل من السلم المذكور الى طبقه تحوى  
ايوان ودورقاعه مفروش ارضها بالبلاط الكدان مسبله الجدر بالبياض مسقفه نقيا بطاقات مطلات على الرزاق  
المذكور يتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور الى باب مربع يفلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز به بيت ازيار  
وعلى يمينه الداخلى من الدهليز

باب مربع يفلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى مطبخ وبيت عجيب مسقفه نقى كامل المنافع والمرافق والحقوق  
ويجاوره باب مربع يفلق  
عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى رواق يحوى ايوانين متقابلين [— بينهما] دورقاعه مفروش الارض بالرخام الملون  
به وزره رخام

بالايوان الكبير سدله بطاقات مطلات على الرزاق المذكور بالايوان الصغير خزانه يرسم الكسوه مسقفه نقيا مدهون  
حريرياً بدوقاعه عراقى

كامل المنافع والمرافق والحقوق يتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور الى باب مربع يفلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى  
طبقه مسقفه غشيميا كامله المنافع  
والمرفق والحقوق ثم يتوصل من ذلك الى الاسطحه العاليه على ذلك والقصبه القناه الخالصه لذلك والمكان الثالث  
يشتمل على واجهه مبنوه <؟> بالفص الحجر

• •

[—] بتاريخ خامس عشر شوال المبارك سنه اثنى وثلاثين وثمانى مايه [احسن الله عاقبتها] بخير حسبنا  
الله ونعم الوكيل  
<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

.....

< نص في ظهر الوثيقة >

الحمد لله وحده

انتقل ملك جميع الحصه التي مبلغها [ ] < باهت >

[ ]

الموصوفه والمحدوده باطنه و[ما استجد] [ ] < باهت وصعب القراءة >

[ونسب اليها] . . . . .

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ] انتقلا لشرعيا

بالابتياح الشرعى بمباشره [ ] الصدر الاجل [ ]

حسبا يشهد بذلك كتاب اصله الجامع [لشهاده] الحصه

وغيرها بشهاده [شهوده] بتاريخ الخامس عشر من شهر ربيع [الاول]

سنه [ ] وتسعين وسبعمايه و[ ]

< توقيمين >

.....

< نص آخر في ظهر الوثيقة >

الحمد لله وحده

بعد ان توفي الى رحمه الله تعالى الصدر الاجل الكبير المحترم شهاب الدين بن

المشترى المذكور باطنه وانحصر ارثه [ ] فى اولاده الخمسه هم الزينى [ ] < باهت >

[رماح] الدين عبد الوهاب وشقيقته . . . . .

. . . . .

جميع الاماكن الثلاثه المتلاصقه المذكوره باطنه قسم ذلك بينهم . . . . .

. . . . .

سهم واحد . . . . .

رحمه الله تعالى انحصر ارثه الشرعى فى اخوته شقيقته . . . . .

اشترى الصدر الاجل [ ] محمد المذكور اعلاه بماله لنفسه [ ] عاليه المذكوره [ ]

..... [باجمعها]

.....

.....

..... [فيحكم بذلك]

من الاماكن المذكوره باطنه [التكمل الشرعى] . . . . . تاريخ ثمن عشر شهر الله

المحرم من شهور سنه ثلاث عشر وثمان مايه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

<توقيعين>

**Awqāf 624**

***Waqf* al-Shahābī 'Aḥmad bin 'Alī bin Ḥasan**

**Dated 3 Rabī' Awal, 810/1407**

وقف الشهابي أحمد بن علي بن حسن  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٦٢٤ ج المدروعة في وزارة الأوقاف  
نسخة في ميكروفيلم في مجموعة جامعة شيكاغو تحت رقم ١٠

<نص الوثيقة>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلامه  
هذا كتاب وقف صحيح شرعى وحبس صريح دايماً مرعى لا ينقطع اسمه ولا يندرس رسمه ولا [يصنع عدا الله  
الكريم بوابه واخره اكتبه] المجلس [—] <خرم في الاصل>  
الاميرى الكبيرى [المحرى] الشهابى احمد بن المجلس [السامى] المرحوم . . . . .  
وقف

وحبس وسبل وحرم وابد وتصديق بجميع ما هو له ويديه وملكه وتصرفه واختصاصه وحياتته و . . . . .

. . . . . ومن الكتب المذكوره ايضا كتابا[ن] رقا [—]

ثابتان ايضا فى الشرع الشريف احد[يا]هما [— فى] ثبوته من مجلس الحكم [العزیز] العضاى [الامامى] العالمى  
[الجمالى الملطى] الحنفى الناظر فى الحكم العزیز بالديار المصريه [تفنده]  
الله تعال [رحمته —] سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعال [— شرف] العلما [لرجل النصلاقمى المسلمين] ابى  
[هريره عبد الرحمن التفهنى] الحنفى خليفه الحكم بالقاهره [و مصر] المحروس[تين] <خرم فى الاصل>  
[الله تعال —] مورخ ثبوته والحكم بموجبه بيوم الثالث خامس رجب [الفرد] سنه [اثنين <ست؟>] وثمان  
مايه والمكتوب الثانى ايضا ثابت محكوم بموجبه [ب]جلس سيدنا العبد الفقير الى [الله تعال] <خرم فى  
الاصل>

فمن ذلك جميع الدار الكامله ارضا وبنا الكاينه بالقاهره المحروسه بخط الجامع الازهر المعمور بذكر الله تعال تجاه  
[النطره <القنطره؟>] هناك شارع على الطريق السلوك

منها الى درب [الاولك] وحاره الباطليه صفته على ما دل عليه كتاب اصله المذكور الثابت المحكوم به مجلس  
[العزین] القضاى الزينى [التفهنى] الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه

[ابده] الله تعال و[اصل اصله] انها ذات الباب المربع يغلن عليه زوجا باب و[الزلاقه امامه] وهو بعتبه عليا خشبا  
وسفلى صوانا يدخل منه الى دهليز

بصدرة باب يدخل منه الى قاعه سفلى ذات ايوان ودورقاعه ومجلس ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق ويدهليزها سلم معقود بالحجر يصعد من عليه على مسترقه مطله

على الطريق ثم يصعد من على السلم المذكور الى طبقه كبرى تشتمل على مجلس وايوان وعلى المجلس ابواب [مطواه] وخزائين وخرستانات ومرافق وحقوق وهى مسقفه نقيا

ثم يصعد من على السلم المذكور الى [تخاينه، — به؟] وعلى [سطح وهى يومد <يومئذ؟>] [ت]شتمل على بايين مريمين احدهما يتوصل منه الى القاعه المذكوره [ت]شتمل على مجلس يفتق عليه وعلى كميها ابواب

يقابله ايوان بصدرة باداهنج بوجهة [ي] [حوض] وفيما بينهما دورقاعه وهى مسقفه نقيا مفروشه الارض بالبلاط الكدان مسبله الجدر بالبياض وسلم بدهليز

القاعه يصعد من عليه الى طبقتين متجاورتين [ت]شتمل كل منهما على ايوان ودورقاعه ومرحاض ومرافق وحقوق احدهما بطاقات مطلات على الطريق والثانيه حبيس وذات

القنا الخالصه لذلك والمرافق والحقوق وذراع [—] <بياض في الاصل> الارض الحامله البنا طولاً وعرضاً في التكسير مايه ذراع واحده وخمسه وثمانون ذراعاً

بالعمل ويحيط بذلك ويجمعه ويحصره ويشتمل عليه وعلى ساير حقوقه كلها حدود اريمه [— — —] <الابواب بالحد الاول، الاول الحد الاول؟> وهو القبلى ينتهى الى [— — —] <المعروفه بالهادر التى> بالقرب من الدرب

المتوصل منه الى حارتي الباطليه والصالحيه والى الفندق الجارى منه حصه فى ديوان المواريث [البحريه ومن شركه] والحد الثانى وهو البحرى ينتهى الى دار [ي] [عرف —] <خرم في الاصل>

شمس الدين ابن ابى [العزيم الح—] والحد الثالث وهو الشرقى ينتهى الى الطريق المسلك وفيه باب القاعه المذكوره والحد الرابع وهو الغربى ينتهى الى دار [—] <التركى؟>

[— — — لشركه] ومن ذلك جميع الحانوت الكامله ارضا وبنا الكاين ذلك بالقاهره المحروسه بخط [الراى] ورأس الجملون [ت]شتمل على حانوت واحد بسطبه

ودراريب وداخل ومرافق وحقوق وله حدود اريمه الحد القبلى ينتهى الى وقف [يلبغا التركمانى] والبحرى كذلك والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى الطريق المتوصل منها الى

قيساريه البطانين وفيه باب الحانوت المذكور والمسطبه والحد الغربى ينتهى الى الوقف المذكور ومن ذلك جميع بنا الاصطبل الكاين ذلك بالقاهره المحروسه

بخط [الازهر يزقاق] الساقيه وصفته على ما دل عليه كتاب اصله المذكور انه يشتمل على باب مربع يفتق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى اسطبل به طواله و

سلم يصعد من عليه الى سطح الاصطبل المذكور ومرافق وحقوق وهو مسقف غشياً ولذلك حدود اريمه الحد القبلى ينتهى الى [—] <ملك؟> [—] يعرف [—] <بشهاب الدين؟> احمد القصاب



الثابت بمجلس الحكم العزيز . . . . .

المذكور اعاله انه يشتمل على ثلاثة ابواب احدها يدخل منه الى [سوم كـب <سويقه برسم حرب؟>] الغلال  
والثاني يدخل منه الى [مرمين؟؟] يعلوها روقان كل منهما بمرافق وحقوق مسقف ذلك تقيا  
مدهون كافوريا . . . . .

. . . . . والباب [الثاني <الثالث>] يدخل  
منه ال [محجر <مخزن؟>] مسقف غشيمًا ويحيط بذلك حدود اربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي الى الزقاق والحد البحرى  
ينتهي الى ملك سيف الدين بهادر شاد [الشعير] والحد الشرقى ينتهى  
الى الطاحون التى هناك والحد الغربى ينتهى الى الشارع المسلك وفيه الابواب الثلاثة والروا[ا]شن والطاقت يحد  
ذلك وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف  
به وينسب اليه وقفاً صحيحاً شرعياً وجبسا صريحاً [مرضياً] وصدقه جاريه . . . . .  
ولا بيعه ولا يحل . . . . .  
الوارثين اما الواقف المسمى باعاليه وقد[ه] هذا على نفسه ايام حيوته ينتفع بذلك فى السكن والاسكان [ر  
استغلال] اجره وسائر [هـ] الاتتفاع الشرعى  
. . . . . من الذكور والاناث بالسويه بينهم ثم من  
. . . . .  
وبدا[ا] الناظر المذكور من  
ربيع [الوقف]  
المذكور بعمارة وممرته واصلاحه وما فيه البقا لعينه والدوام لمنفعته ولو انفق فى ذلك جميع عنته و[ابادا ما] على  
بعض الاراضى المذكوره  
من الحكر [الماخوذ؟] عنها فى كل سنه وجمل الواقف المسمى باعاليه النظر على وقفه هذا والولاية لنفسه  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
فى اليوم المبارك الثالث من شهر ربيع الاول [ـ] شهور سنه عشر وثمان مائه احسن الله تعال . . . . .  
. . . . .  
و[حسينا الله ونعم الوكيل  
<مجموعة من التوقيعات>  
. . . . .

<نص فى الهامش مقابل لسطر ٢٨>

الحمد لله صار جميع الحانوت المذكور [— <قريبه؟>] ملكا  
 طلقا من املاك الجناب . . . . .  
 ابى الفضل بن المرحوم . . . . .  
 [—] بمقتضى [انه] استبدل [ذلك من [جمال الدين] يوسف ابن  
 [—] محمد الشهير بالعيزي [الجاي] باوقاف جامع الازهر المعمور  
 بذكر الله عز وجل باذن حكم من سيدنا الشيخ [محي الدين]  
 [—] . . . . .  
 الحنفى خليفه الحكم العزيز بالديار المصريه [— — —]  
 [—] حسبما يشهد [بذلك] مكتوب الاستبدال الشرعى [الجامع]  
 لذلك ولغيره المورخ السادس من جمادى الاولى سنه  
 ثمان وتسعمايه حسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل  
 <توقيع>

. . . . .

<نص فى الهامش مقابل سطر ٢٥>

الحمد لله وحده  
 صارت الحصه التى مبلغها الثمن ثلاثه  
 اسهم كوامل من اصل اربعة وعشرين سهما شايعا  
 ذلك [ ] جميع البنا الموصوف المحدود  
 يسره [هذا الفصل] الموقوفه بمقتضى فصل  
 الوقف المورخ بثالث شهر ربيع الاول  
 سنه عشر وثمان مايه المكتتب بظاهر  
 هذا المكتوب بشهاده شاهدى  
 الفصل المذكور ملكا طلقا من الصدر  
 الاجل الكبير المحترم سعد الدين [سيد] بن  
 عبد الله [البابا] الشهير بابن الحداد  
 بالطب (١) خاناه الشريفه السلطانيه وهو  
 معروف من املاكه ومالا من امواله  
 وحقا من حقوقه يتصرف فى ذلك  
 . . .

. . . . . يشهد بذلك  
 الاستبدال الصادر بينه وبين [الامير]  
 الاجل [—] شهاب [—] احمد  
 الواقف [المسمى] فيه [بطباق لجهه - في]  
 جميع البنا الاتي ذكره ووصفه وتحديدته  
 فيه الجارى ذلك فى ملك الحاج سعد الدين  
 [المستبدل منه] المذكور بجميع الحصه  
 التى مبلغها الثمن ثلاثه اسهم كوامل  
 من اربعة وعشرون سهما من جميع البنا  
 الموصوف ذلك المحدود يسرته الجارى  
 [ذلك > تلك؟] الحصه المذكوره فى وقف الامير  
 شهاب [الدين] [الـ] [است] بدل المذكور ويستغنى  
 بوصف البنا [الذى منه] هذه الحصه  
 وتحديدته [لسريه] عن الاعاده ها هنا  
 والبنا [الـ] [است] بدل عنه لجهه الوقف  
 المذكور كاين بالقاهره المحروسه  
 بالجامع الاقمر داخل درب [الحصيبى]  
 باقصاه يشتمل على بابين [بين واجهتيه]  
 بالحجر الفص النحيت يفتلق على احدهما  
 فرده باب يدخل منه الى اصطبل  
 لطيف مسقف غشيمه بمرافع وحقوق  
 والباب الثانى يفتلق عليه [زوجا]  
 باب يدخل منه الى سلم  
 معقود بالبلاط الكدان  
 على يسره الصاعد فيه باب مربع  
 عليه فرده يدخل منه الى طبقه  
 لطيفه مسقفه نقيا مسبله الجدر  
 بالبياض مفروشه الارض  
 بالبلاط الكدان بمرافق وحقوق  
 ويتوصل من السلم الى باب يدخل

منه الى طبقه تحوى ايوانا ودورقاعه  
 مسقفه نقيا مسبله الجدر بالبياض مفروشه الارض  
 بالبلاط الكدان بمرافق وحقوق ويصعد من بقيه السلم  
 وذات القصبه القناه الخالصه لذلك والمرافق والحقوق  
 ويحد ذلك حدود اربعة القبلى الى ملك [الرواس] والبحرى  
 الى خربه تجرى فى ملك [ورثه جمال الرباب] والشرقى  
 الى ساحه بالزقاق الذى هى فيه تجاه البير الذى  
 يقابل وفيه جدار من جدر الاصطبل والغربى  
 الى قاعه تعرف [ابا ابن منع الاسكندرى]  
 يحد ذلك وحدوده وما يعرف به وينسب اليه خلا ارضه  
 وصار هذا البنا [الكامله] المحدود الموصوف فيه  
 خلا ارضه الجاربه فى ملك الحاج سنبل  
 المذكور اعلاه وقفا شرعيا تجرى اجوره ومنافعه  
 مجرى وقف الامير شهاب الدين احمد المذكور في[٤]  
 [—] والمال والتعذر والامكان والنظر حسبما  
 يشهد بذلك كتاب وقفه المشروح اعلاه  
 الجامع لهذه الحصه المذكوره وغيرها  
 يشهد بذلك كتاب الاستبدال [المكمل] على  
 العاده المورخ [— الحجه —] سنة تسع عشره  
 وثمان مايه حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
 <مجموعه من التوقيعات>

.....

**Awqāf 880**

***Waqf* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy**

**Dated 16 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 827/1424**

وقف السلطان برسباي  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٨٨٠ ق المدوغة في وزارة الأوقاف  
نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٥٠٥

<نص الوثيقة>

<ص ١>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم يسر واعن  
الحمد لله واهب اسباب مرضاته لمن اراد وجامع  
شئات قرباته لمن اجتهد في تحصيلها حق الاجتهاد ومانح  
انواع [مثواته] لمن اهله لها من العباد وفتاح ابواب  
سعادته لمن . . . . .

. .

. . . . . فلما كانت المكاتيب الشاهدة

بارواق مولانا المقام الشريف الامام الاعظم السلطان السعيد

الشهيد سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين المالك الملك الاشرف ابا

النصر برسباي [يباقي الله تعالى [عمدة صواب] الرحمة والرضوان وجازاه بجميل

الغفر وجزيل الاحسان كثيرة العدد والفوائد عزيزة المدد

والموايد مختلفة المدد والعوايد عسرة الحصول علي المحصول

<ص ٢>

مشقه الوصول الي ما بها إليه الوصول متكررة النقص والابرار

متعدده النقص [ص] والاتمام لا يكاد يعرف ما انتظم عليه الحال فيها

واستقر ولا الرجوع عنه منها مما استمر لكثرة اعدادها وتعدد

افرادها وتناقض شواهدا وترادف شواردها

مجملتها تزيد عن ثمانية عشر مكتوبا محصورة معدودة

ومن اراد الاختبار فالاصول محفوظه موجوده و[اقتضى] النظر

السعيد والراي [س]ديد وضع فهرست [مسفر] عن حقايقها

مبين لمشكل دقايقها مفصح عن مهم مضايقتها

فتيسر يعون الله سبحانه هذا المجموع جامعا للجهات

المذكورة حاويا [ب]جميع ما اختصت به من الاوقاف

الشرعية المبرورة شاملا لما وقفه عليها الواقف

<ص ٤>

الواقف خصوصا ولما اتقل اليها بمقتضى رجوع ووفيا [ان] وفيات [؟]

محتومة مقدورة مشتملا علي ما اشتملت عليه من المعاليم والشروط

المقررة المسطورة فهو لألوف اسطارها كالتوضيح  
ولغوامضها كالتفتح ولما استقر عليه الامر فيها [فالمصحيح]  
[— غبت] فيه ذكر الموقوف علي الجهات العشر من جهات  
البر الاتي ذكرها الشاهد به جميع المكاتب المذكورة المنسوب  
ايقافها واجرازها للواقف المشار اليه [اشيع] الله رحمته عليه  
وهي ١ و ٢ جهتا الحرمين الشريفين زادهما الله تعالى شرفا وتعظيما  
<٢> والجامع السعيد المعمور بذكر الله تعال الكاين براس الحريريين  
بالقاهرة المحروسة <٤> والمسجد المعمور بذكر الله سبحانه بداخل  
باب النصر <٥> والجامع المعمور بذكر الله تعال بالصحرا <٦> والترية  
المجاورة له <٧> والزاوية <٨> والقبه المقابلن لذلك <٩> والجامع  
المعمور بذكر الله تعال بمشاه سرياقوس <١٠> والبير والسبيل  
بناحية السوادة المعروفة هذه الجهات بانشا  
مولانا المقام الشريف السلطان الوقف المشار اليه  
ووقفه والجهات المتفرقة الاجنبية التي وقف  
عليها ورتبته على ايسر حال وسلكت فيه اقرب منوال  
وابتداته بذكر الجهات الموقوف عليها ثم بالجهات الموقوفة  
للاستغلال وقدمت منها ما هو بالقاهرة المحروسة  
ثم ما هو بظاهاها ثم ما هو من ضواحيها ثم جمعت من كل  
عمل ما هو فيه الاقرب فالاقرب ثم الابدع والاغرب  
وضمنت الحصص المتفرقة بعضها الي بعض كما هو  
الي بعض كما هو الايق والاصوب وحكيت فيه ما [اس]تملت  
عليه اصوله من الخطط والحدود والتاكيد بعد ما تيسر  
من المعدود واختصرت منها ما [تسامه] النفوس من [الاستغراق]  
في وصف المسقفات وحشو الكلام فجا ان شا الله علي احسن  
نظام و[اش]تمل علي اوجه [١٥] من الفصول الموفيه بعون الله  
بالمقصود منه والمامل الفصل الاول في ذكر الجهات  
التي وقفها ووقف عليها علي الترتيب الفصل الثاني  
في ذكر الجهات الموقوفة للاستغلال الفصل الثالث  
في ذكر المصارف المتعلقة بالحرمين الشريفين زادهما الله تعال  
شرفا وتعظيما الفصل الرابع في ذكر المصارف والمعالم

&lt; ص ٥

&lt; ص ٦



الشارع يقابلها بسطة بسلمين من جانبتيها الشرقي والغربي

<ص ١١، س ٥>

يصعد من بقية السلم إلى الخلاوي المعدة لسكن الصوفية  
الآتي ذكرهم وعدتها إحدى عشرة خلوة متطابقه  
ومتجاوره ثم يتوصل منه إلى السطح العالي علي ذلك والثاني يدخل  
منه . . . . .

<ص ١٢>

الثانية والثالث يدخل منه إلى دهليز به سلم يصعد منه  
إلى رواق يشتمل على إيوان ودور قاعة مطل على الطريق  
ومنافع وسطح ويتوصل من بقية الدهليز إلى باب مربع عليه  
مربع عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه إلى قاعة تحوى إيوانا مفروشا  
بالبلاط مستقفا نقياً مدهون به عن يمين الصاعد شبك  
نحاساً مطل على الطريق مقابله خزانة كتيبه كبرى برسم  
كتب العلم الموقوفه علي طلبة الجامع المذكور يغلغ عليها  
زوجا باب و أما دور القاعة فمفروشة بالرخام الملون يعلوها  
درواقعة خرطاً وبها خمسة ابواب احدها باب الدخول والثاني  
يدخل منه لخزانة لطيفة والثالث يدخل منه لمرحاض والرابع  
والخامس كتيبتان والباب الرابع مقنطر عليه فردة باب  
يدخل منه إلى خلوة لطيفة برسم البواب ويقابل الداخل من  
المجاز المستطيل المذكور شبك نحاس مطل علي بيوت الطلبة وساحة

<ص ١٦، س ٧>

وبالرحبة دهليز يتوصل منه إلى باب مقنطر كبير عليه فردة باب  
شارع في الطريق من الجهة الغربية وهو باب الميضاة  
الاصلي وإلى جانب هذا الباب حوانيت شارعة بالطريق عدتها  
سته كل منها بسطبه ودراريب وداخل ومنافع وحقوق  
ويجاور باب الميضاة من الجانب الغربي باب مربع شارع بالطريق  
يدخل منه إلى سلم يصعد من عليه إلى طباق علو الحوانيت  
الست الآتي ذكرها [مهما] وجميع الفسقية الحنفية المرخمه  
التي انشأها الواقف بالتربعة التي بها بيوت السادة  
الطلبة المتوصل لها من السلم النازل المذكور بصحن  
الجامع المشتمله علي صحن مرخم وثمان زيازيب وفوار نحاساً

<ص ١٧>

ويحيط بذلك ويحصره حدود اربعة القبلي الي الشارع  
 السلوك وفيه الباب المبدأ بذكره والبسطة وشبايك  
 الاويان القبلي والقبه واحد شباكي السبيل واحد واجهتي  
 مكتب الايتام والبحري الي وقف المرحوم بكتمر الساقي  
 والشرقي الي الزقاق المذكور اعلاه وفيه الابنية  
 المستجدة انشا الواقف وشباك من شبايك القبه وشباك  
 وشباك الايوان الصغير وباب السر والغربي الي  
 الشارع السلوك منه للبندين ودرج شمس الدولة  
 وغير ذلك وفيه شباك السبيل الثاني وشباك قاعة  
 خزانة الكتب وباب الميضاه والحوائت والطباق التي  
 ستذكر وبابها وقف الاربعة الاويان القبلي

<ص ١٨ >

..

<ص ١٩ ، س ٩ >

..... وال

ستمرار ووقف الخلاوي العلوية والسفلية التي يدخل  
 اليها من الجامع وغيره رباطا لسكنى طلبة الجامع المذكور  
 الجامع المذكور ووقف المكان الذي علو السبيل مكتبا

<ص ٢٠ >

..

<ص ٢٠ ، س ٤ >

..... وجميع

المسجد المعمور بذكر الله تعالي الكاين داخل باب النصر  
 بالقاهرة المحروسة الذي من جملة ما يعرف بانشايه وعمارته  
 المشتمل علي باب معقود حنيه يفتق عليه فردة باب يدخل  
 منه الي سلم معقود بالبلاط يصعد من عليه الي مسجد علوي  
 به محراب مستقف نقيا مفروش الارض بالبلاط بدرابزين  
 مطل علي الشارع السلوك وله حدود اربعة القبلي الي  
 السور والبحري الي الشارع السلوك وفيه الباب  
 والشرقي الي الفضا الفاصل بينه وبين باب النصر  
 والغربي الي الفضا الفاصل بين ذلك وبين الوكالة  
 التي [ياتي] ذكرها وجميع المدرسة الكاينة خارج  
 باب النصر بالصحرا بجوار التربة التي س[ة] المذكور المشتمله  
 علي واجهة مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت شارع بالطريق

<ص ٢١ >



الى قبة معقودة بالحجر الفص بها محراب [يكتتفة] عمودان  
رخاما وبها ستة شبابيك نحاساً دائرية غير الشباك المدخول منه  
اليها مفرشة بالرخام بوزرة رخام دائرية منقوشه ملمعة  
بالذهب بها مذفنا(ن) يرسم الاموات وبالواجهة باب صغير  
يتوصل منه الي صهريج مبنى في تخوم الارض ويحيط بذلك  
حدود اربعة القبلي الي الحوش الجاري في الوقف الاتي ذكره  
والبحرى الي الطريق وفيه الببان و الواجهة والشرقى  
الي الحوش المذكور والغربي الي المكان الفاصل بين ذلك  
وبين التربة الموعود بذكرها وجميع التربة الموعود  
بذكرها وهي المكان المجاور للمدرسة المذكورة المشتمل  
علي واجهة مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت بها بابان احدهما  
مقنطر عليه فردة باب مصفح بالحديد يدخل منه الي مجاز  
به ستة ابواب احدها يصار اليه من سلم عليه فردة باب  
يدخل منه الي سبيل به شباكان حديدا ومزمله خشبا  
مامونيا وصهريج له فوهتان علي كل منهما [خزرة] رخاما  
مفروش بالبلاط والباب الثاني يدخل منه الي دركاه مفروشه  
الارض بالبلاط بغير سقف بها تسعة ابواب سبعة منها  
يدخل من كل منها الي خلوة مفروشة بالبلاط والباب  
الثامن يدخل منه الي منزل الصهريج والباب التاسع يدخل  
منه الي مجاز يتوصل منه الي ثلاث مراحيض مفروشه الارض  
الارض بالبلاط والباب الثالث من الابواب الستة يدخل  
منه الي سلم يصعد من عليه الي رواق يحوي ايوانين متقابلين  
مفروش الارض بالبلاط مسقف تقيا مدهون به ثلاث  
خزائن ومطبخ و[ت]اخين ومرافق وحقوق وسطح علو ذلك  
والباب الرابع يدخل منه الي مدار سلم بالبلاط يتوصل  
منه الي خمس طباق متجاورة مسقفة تقيا مفروشة الارض  
بالبلاط كامله المنافع والحقوق والباب الخامس مقنطر  
عليه فردة باب يدخل منه الي اسطبل مقام تسعة اروس خيل  
به اربعة قناطر معقود بالحجر الفص النحيت وطوالتان  
وركاب خاناه ومتبن ومرحاض مسقف ذلك تقياً وغشياً

&lt; ص ٢٥ &gt;

&lt; ص ٢٦ &gt;

- والباب السادس يدخل منه الى مطبخ به مسطبة كبرى  
 ونصبة كوائين وبيت ازيار وجمالون غرداً وحقوق  
 <ص ٢٧>
- والباب الثاني من البابين الذين بالواجهة مربع عليه زوجا  
 باب مصفح بالحديد يكتتفه مسبطنان يمنة ويسرة يدخل منه  
 الي دركاه مفروشة بالبلاط بها مصطبة وخمسة ابواب  
 احدها علي يمنة الداخل [ ] منه الي سلم معقود بالبلاط يتوصل  
 منه الي باب يدخل منه الي دهليز يتوصل منه الي رواق  
 يحوى ايوانين بينهما دور قاعة مفروش بالبلاط مسقف  
 نقياً مدهون كامل التخزين والمنافع والسطح العالي علي ذلك  
 والباب الثاني من الخمسة مربع عليه فردة باب يدخل منه  
 الي دهليز به سلم يصعد من عليه الي باب يدخل منه الي  
 مكان به محراب بعمودين رخاما وشباكان حديداً مطلان  
 مطلان علي الطريق فيما بين ذلك عمود رخاما مسقف ذلك  
 بسطا مدهون به خزانتان متقابلتان شرقية وغربية  
 مفروش ارضه بالبلاط والباب الثالث علي يمنة الداخل  
 عليه فردة باب يدخل منه الي حوش به محراب ومقصورة خشبا  
 مامونيا [1] الى يسرة الداخل مسقفة مدهون وعن يسرة الداخل  
 الي الحوش باب يدخل منه الي حوش ثاني وعن يمينته باب يدخل  
 منه الي مجاز به ثلاثة ابواب يدخل من احدها الي سلم معقود  
 بالبلاط يصعد من عليه الي خمس طباق متجاورة مفروشة  
 بالبلاط مسقفة نقياً بمنافع وحقوق والثاني يدخل  
 منه الي حاصل و الثالث يدخل منه الي ثلاث مراحيض والرابع  
 يدخل منه الي سلم معقود بالبلاط يتوصل منه الي باب  
 <هكذا؟؟>
- يدخل منه الي سلم معقود بالبلاط يتوصل منه الي باب  
 <ص ٢٩>
- يدخل منه الي سبيل وصهريج ثاني به ثلاث شبايك حديداً  
 مطلة علي الطريق المسلك به خزانه واربع كتبيات بابواب  
 مسقف ذلك نقياً مدهون به [خرزة] رخام والباب  
 الخامس مقنطر عليه فردة باب يدخل منه الي دهليز يتوصل  
 منه الي الحوش المذكور ويحيط بذلك ويشتمل عليه حدود اربعة  
 القبلي الي الطريق وكذلك البحري وفيه الواجهة

والشبابيك والبابان والشرقي الى الطريق الفاصل  
بين ذلك وبين تربة مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر  
برقوق والحد الغربي الى المجاز الفاصل بين ذلك  
وبين المدرسة المذكورة >يظهر أن الكاتب غلط بين الحدين الشرقي والغربي< فاما المسجد الكاين بخط باب  
النصر

&lt; ص ٢٠ &gt;

باب النصر والمدرسة الكاينه بالصحرا المذكورة فان مولانا  
المقام الشريف الواقف وقفهما مسجدين لله تعالي  
وكذلك المكان الذي به المحراب الاول والشباكان والعمود  
الذي هو بالتربة المذكورة وقفه مسجدا لله تعال يقام في كل  
من ذلك الصلوات ويمتكتف فيه علي العبادات واذن  
في دخولها والصلاة ودخلوا وصلوا وصار حكمها  
حكم المساجد العامة واما الصهريجان المذكوران  
فوقفهما لاستقرار الما المنقول من بحر النيل المبارك  
إليهما لتسبيله علي ما ياتي ووقف السبيلين ليسبل بهما  
الما المنقول من الصهريجين على العاده واما الخلري  
السفلية والطباق العلوية فان الواقف وقفها علي

&lt; ص ٢١ &gt;

فان الواقف وقفها علي شيخ الصوفيه والصوفية الاتي ذكرهم  
علي ما يراه الناظر ينتفعون بذلك في السكن خاصة دون  
الاسكان ووقف الاسطبل والرواق علوه وما هو من  
حقوق ذلك علي الشاد الاتي ذكره ووقف الرواق  
الثاني المذكور مسكنا لذريته كلما ارادوا وينتفع الشاد  
بمسكنه سكنا خاصة دون الاسكان ووقف الحوشين  
المذكورين لدفن من يري الناظر من عتقا الواقف وغيرهم

&lt; ص ٢٢ &gt;

..... ووقف جميع  
الزاوية الكاينة بالصحرا تجاه المدرسة المذكورة المشتمله علي واجهة  
شارعة بالطريق علي يمنا السالك من قبة النصر طالبا قلعة الجبل  
المحروسة مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت بها حوض ذي وجه [تأمين و]باب  
مقنطر عليه فردة باب مطبق مستقف الحوض نقيا مدهون ويدخل  
من الباب المذكور الي ساحة يتوصل منها الي بير ما معين علي فوهتها

شاقية >!< خشبا مكلمة العدة وآلة ومدار ساقية وحاصل وحقوق  
وعلي يمئة الداخر باب مربع عليه فردة باب يدخل منه الي مجاز كشفا  
يتوصل منه الي ثلاثة ابواب . . . . .

&lt; ص ٢٤ &gt;

بالبلاط ولذلك حدود اربعة القبلى الي الطريق المسلك  
وفيه الواجهة والحوض والباب والمقعد والبحرى الي فضا  
الصحرا والشرقي والغربي كذلك وجـميع المكان المقابل  
للتربة المذكورة انشا الواقف المشتمل علي واجهة مبنية  
بالحجر النحيت بها باب مقنطر عليه فردة باب مطبق يدخل منه الي  
دهليز يتوصل منه الي باب القاعة المذكورة <؟> والي باب عليه  
زوجا باب مصفح يتوصل اليه من ثلاث درج رخاماً يدخل  
منه الي قبة معقودة بالبنا بها محراب وعشرة شبايك حديدا  
ثم يتوصل من بقية المجاز الي ساحة مفروشة ارض القبة  
بالرخام الملون والساحة بالبلاط بها شبك نحاسا مطل  
علي الحوض المذكور ويتوصل منها الي المجاز الموقوف قبل ذلك

&lt; ص ٢٥ &gt;

والي مدار طاحونة فرد هي كاملة العدة والآلة صالحة  
للادارة ثم الي منافع وحقوق ولذلك حدود اربعة القبلى  
الي الطريق وفيه الباب وبعض الشبايك والبحري الي حوش  
هناك والشرقي والغربي الي فضا الصحرا فاما القبة  
المذكورة وما هو من حقوقها فانه وقفها زاوية مسجدا  
لله تعالى تقام فيها الصلوات ويمتكنف فيها علي العبادات  
موطنا للفقرا الاحمديه الرفاعية حكمها حكم المساجد

&lt; ص ٢٧ &gt;

السكنى خاصة وجـميع المكان المعروف بانشايه  
وعمارته الكاين بمشاة سرياقوس من ضواحي القاهرة  
المحروسة المشتمل علي واجهتين احديهما قبلية مبنية بالحجر

ويحيط . . . . .

بذلك جميعه ويحصره ويشتمل علي جميع ما ذكر ووصف حدود

&lt; ص ٤٢ &gt;

ووصف حدود اربعة الحد القبلى الي الطريق المسلك

الفصل بين ذلك وبين ادر تجري في ملك ملاكها [ت]جاور <يجاور؟>  
 مدرسة المقر السيئى سودون بن عبد الرحمن وفي هذا الحد  
 الواجهة المبدأ بذكرها وشباك السبيل الذي به الصهيرج  
 وحوض السبيل المذكور والمقعد المجاور له [است] شبايك  
 والحد البحري الي الخانقاه الناصرية وفيه الواجهة  
 الثانية والميضاة والقاعات والحواصل وستة  
 شبايك والحد الشرقي الي الخان انشا الواقف  
 ووقفه الذى سيذكر والحد الغربي الي فضا  
 الطريق وفي هذا الحد من الجامع سبعة شبايك مطلة  
 علي البستان المذكور يجاورها [السلسيل] المبنى الذى  
 يتوصل منه الما الي حوض السبيل المذكور والي البستان بحد

<ص ٤٢>

<ص ٤٥، س ٦>

. . . . . الفصل الثاني في ذكر الجهات

الموقوفة للاستغلال وهي ان مولانا السلطان المالك  
 الملك الاشرف هو ابو النصر برسباي [يب]قى الله تعالى وعده وقف  
 ((ما ياتي ذكره فيه فمن ذلك جميع)) <مكتوبه بخط صغير علي يمين السطر التالي>  
 ايضا وحبس وسبل وحرم وابد وتصدق بجميع الحوانيت  
 الست الشارعة بالطريق بجدار المدرسة المذكورة من  
 الجهة الغربية بجوار باب الميضاة المقدم ذكر كل من الحوانيت  
 كل من الحوانيت بمسطبة ودراريب وداخل ومنافع وحقوق  
 و[ي]جاور باب الميضاة ((ايضا <مكتوبه فوق السطر>)) من الجانب البحري باب مربع شارع بالطريق  
 المسوك يدخل منه الي سلم يصعد من عليه الي طباق علو الحوانيت  
 الستة المذكورة عدتها اربع عشرة طبقة متجاررة ومتطابقه  
 كل منها بمنافع ومرافق وحقوق داخل ذلك في حدود  
 المدرسة المذكورة ومعروف بانشا الواقف وعمارته  
 وجميع البنا القايم علي الارض المحتكرة المعروف ذلك  
 بانشا الواقف المشار اليه وعمارته المقابل للمدرسة  
 المذكورة من الجهة الغربية المشتمل علي واجهة مبنية  
 . . . <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

<ص ٤٦>

. . . . .

**Awqāf 188**

***Waqf* of al-Zaini Khush Qadam b. 'Abd Allah al-Ẓahiri.**

**Dated 15 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 833/1430**

وقف الزينى خش قدم  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ١٨٨ المودوعه في وزارة الأوقاف  
نسخة في ميكروفيلم في مجموعة جامعة شيكاغو تحت رقم ٨

<نص الوثيقة>

<اولها مفقود>

واحد البايكتين المتجاورتين لباب الدخول الي القاعه المذكوره والاسطبل المتوصل [ ] [ ] <خرم في الاصل>  
اسطبل لطيف يعلوه رواق [من] حقوق ذلك وقف الواقت ذلك والحصه التى مبلغها النصف [من ناحيه سلمون  
الغيل [ ] [ ] [ ]

اربعه وعشرين سهما خارج عن الرزق بها بيد اربابها والحصه التى مبلغها قراطان من اربعه وعشرين قيراطا من  
ناحيه [ ] <خرم في الاصل>

محكوم به فى الشرع الشريف .....

لتاريخه ولشهوده والكتاب الوقف المذكور مورخ بالسادس من شوال المبارك عام ثلاثين وثمان مائه الثابت ذلك  
المحكوم به [المعتمد] فى الشرع الشريف [ ] <خرم في الاصل>

الكبرى والاسطبل الصغير [ ] <خرم في الاصل> ولذلك حدود اربعه الحد القبلى ينتهى الى المسجد المعلق الان  
الذى كان ارضيا ويعرف بوقف المرحوم السيفى [ ] <خرم في الاصل>

و الحد البحرى ينتهى الى مكان يعرف [بوقف] الحرمين ويعرف بالامير بدر الدين [الحجار] والحد الشرقى ينتى  
الى مكان يعرف بالمقر المرحوم السيفى [نورو] <خرم في الاصل>

ينتهى الى الطريق وفيه الواجه والا [ ] <خرم في الاصل> [التى] مبلغها النصف من ناحيه [سلمون] اربعه الحد  
القبلى ينتهى .....

[منشيه] .....

ومن ذلك جميع الحصه التى مبلغها .....

القطعه الارض الطين السودا الكاينه [ ] <خرم في الاصل>

ضواحي القاهره المحروسه و مساحتها بكمالها ستون فدانا بالقصبه الحاكميه ولها حدود .....

والحد الشرقى .....

الجزيره [الكامله] [ ] <خرم في الاصل>

والجزيره تعرف .....

منيل سلطان .....

ومزرعتها واحواضها .....

القطعه الارض الطين السودا [ ] <خرم في الاصل>

.....

<السلماء في لجرج> [ ] حقه مده الله في بيتية

.....

.....

.....

<السلماء في لجرج> [ ] اسم الله [ ] بيتية

.....

<السلماء في لجرج> [ ]

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<السلماء في لجرج> [ ] [ ] [ ]

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<السلماء في لجرج> [ ]

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<السلماء في لجرج> [ ]

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ثم من بعد وفاته يكون ذلك وقف مصرفا ريعه فيما يذكر ويبين ويفصل ويعين فاما ناحيتى برج النور . . . . .

المحدودتين باعاليه . . . . .  
تقريرهم بالجامع الازهر المعروف بالرواق برواق [ـ] <الرمافيه> فاما الصوفيه فعدتهم ستون نفرا . . . . .  
بالرواق المذكور . . . . .  
يقرا كل منهم . . . . .  
والمعزتين ويهللون ويكبرون . . . . .  
ويصرف للشيخ . . . . . مايه درهم وعشرون [درهما]

نصف ذلك ستون [ـ] <خرم في الاصل>

ويصرف لكل من . . . . .  
من جمله الصوفيه . . . . .  
ثلاثه برسم قراه . . . . .  
نصفها خمس دراهم . . . . .  
رجلا من اهل الخير . . . . .  
يختاروه من الجامع المذكور . . . . .  
ما يتيسر . . . . .  
والمعزتين ويصلون على . . . . .  
المذكوره . . . . .  
على هذا الوقف رجلا . . . . .  
الشيخ والطلبه . . . . .  
ثمانين درهم علي ما شرح . . . . .  
وشروط الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه ان عجز ريع الناحيتين المذكورين عن مصارف الشيخ والصوفيه و[الـسين] المعين  
ذلك اعلاه كمله الناظة فيه من ريع جزيره [الرقه]

المذكوره اعلاه . . . . . واما الحصه من قريه كوفيا المحدوده اعلاه فان

الواقف المشار اليه شرط ان يصرف ريعها

بعد وفاته فيما يذكر فيه ويعين بمدينه سيدنا [خليل] الرحمن عليه وعلى نبينا الصلاه والسلام

يقرون ثلاثه منهم . . . . .  
على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم . . . . .  
عليه السلام . . . . .  
المذكورين اعلاه . . . . .



... الف درهم . . . . .

في ثمن حصر برسم ارباب الوظائف المقررين بالجامع الازهر . . . . .

ويصرف . . . . .

من النقود اثنان وثلاثون الف درهم . . . . . الي

المدينه المشرفه . . . . .

المقر بالمدينه . . . . . <سطر ١٠٠>

من تجزيته ستين . . . . .

بالحرم الشريف . . . . .

علي هذا الوقف . . . . .

ويصرف لرجل من اهل الخير والدين شاهدا بالوقف المذكور من الفلوس المذكوره مايتا درهم . . . . .

ابن عبد الله محمد النشائي الشافعي امام الواقف المشار اليه ويصرف لرجل من عتق الواقف المشار اليه من اهل

الخير والدين صالح لوظيفه [الشـ] في كل شهر من الفلوس المذكوره ثلاثه [ـ] <تصديق في الاصل>

نصف ذلك مايه درهم وخمسين درهم على ان يفعل ما يلزم من امثاله في ذلك على الوجه الشرعي ويصرف لرجل

امينا يكون جايبا لربع الـ [ـ] <تصديق في الاصل>

عل ان يفعل ما يلزم امثاله في ذلك على الوجه الشرعي ويصرف لكل من عتقا الواقف البيضان من الخدام

والفحول في طول عمره بشرط [عجزه] عن [ـ] <تصديق في الاصل>

عشره [الف درهم ويصرف لكل من عتقـ] السودان في طول عمره على [دفتين] من الفلوس المذكوره الفا

درهم بشرط [عجزه] عن الخدمه والـ [اكتساب] ويدخـ الناظر [ـ] <تصديق في الاصل>

هذا الوقف تحت يده ويجعله في [حرز] مثله في كل سنه بعد المصارف من حين وفاه الواقف المشار اليه رزقه الله

حياه طيبه في اول سنه ما جملته من الفلوس المذكوره خمسون الف درهم

نصف ذلك خمسه وعشرون الف درهم [بسبب ما لعله] يتوقف للوقف المذكور من عمارة او [ـ — —] <تصديق في الاصل>

خمسين الف درهم

اخرى ثم ينظر الناظر على هذا الوقف فان كان ربيع السنه الثانيه يوف بالمصاريف المعينه اعلاه اشترى الناظر

بالخمسين الف درهم الاولى عقار كاملا او ارضا كامله

او حصه من عقار او ارض ويوقف ذلك على حكمه [٤] هذا الوقف حالا ومصرفا ومالا وتعذرا وامكانا ونظر [اكان] لم

يوف ربيع السنه الثانيه بالمصارف كملت من [الرصيد <الرصد؟>]

من السنه الاولى فان استغنى عن ذلك صرف فيما عين صرفه فيه وحكم كل سنه حكمه [٤] السنه الاولى في الادخار

والصرف فان فاض ربيع الوقف عما عين صرفه فيه وتعذر

شرا العقار رتب الناظر علي هذا الوقف ما يرى ترتيبه من طلبه بالدرسين المذكورين اعلاه الي انتها كل درس

عشرين نقرا ويجعل لهم معلوما نظر <نظير؟> معلوم

المقررين اولا ويزيد ارباب الوظائف الشيخ والصوفيه والمدرسين والطلبه المذكوري [زياده] بتدرج اولا باول الى ان يبلغ شيخ الصوفيه جامكيه في كل شهر مايه درهم وثمانين درهم من الفلوس المذكوره . . . . . فان فاض ريع الوقف بعد ذلك كله صرف في وجوه البر وال[مقرنات] وانواع الاجور والمثوبات من اطعام طعام وما عذب . . . . . وجدوا . . . . . وشرط الواقف المشار اليه <تلصيق في الاصل> انه اذا تيسر له عماره جامع بالقاهره او مصر المحروستين نقل الشيخ والصوفيه والمدرسين والطلبه المذكورين اعلاه الي الجامع الذي يعمره الواقف ويفعلوا ما شرط عليهم فعله بالجامع الازهر المذكور وكذلك الحصة التي شرط الواقف ان تكون برسم الشيخ والصوفيه تنتقل الى الجامع الذي يعمره الواقف وشرط الواقف المشار اليه انه اذا عمر جامعا [لله تعالى] تقام فيه الصلوات ويعتكف فيه للمبادات رتب رجلا من اهل الخير والدين عارف بالخطابه حافظ . . . . . بالجامع المنسوب للواقف [الذي سيعمره] في الجمع والاعياد . . . . . في اوقات الصلوات . . . . . ريد[سا] عارفا بعلم الميقات . . . . . علي المنار الذي يعمرها الواقف . . . . . ويصرف للريس من الفلوس كل شهر مايتا درهم . . . . . بالجامع المذكور . . . . . مايه درهم وخمسين درهم . . . . . من ثمن آلة الفراشه و . . . . . نصف ذلك مايه درهم بما فيه ثمن اله الوقود ويرتب في كل يوم من زيت الزيتون او ما يقوم مقامه رطل واحد ونصف رطل [بالمصري] برسم ايقاد مصابيح الجامع الصباحي والتلاميغ وغيرهم ويزاد نظر ذلك توسعه في شهر رمضان . . . . . ويرتب رجلا من اهل [الخير] سواقا لاثوار الساقيه التي يعمرها الواقف برسم الجامع عارف بصناعته ويصرف له من نظر <؟> ذلك وكلفه ثور الساقيه وحفظه وخدمته وتفقدته عند [العلف] وسقيه الما في كل شهر من الفلوس اربعمايه [—] <تلصيق في الاصل> وخمسين درهم و . . . . . ويصرف ما تحتاجه الساقيه من خشب واجره نجار وثمان مسمار عند الاحتياج الي ذلك [على الوجه الشرعي] <تلصيق في الاصل> ويصرف ما يحتاج اليه الجامع المذكور في كل سنه عند مستهل رمضان في ثمن حصر وقتناديل و[فرخات] وغير ذلك مما [جرت عليه العاده] في الجوامع على [— —] <تلصيق و خرم في الاصل>

المشار اليه انه اذا عجز ريع الوقف عن المصاريف المعينه اعلا صرف ذلك للمستحقين [محاصه] على الوجه الشرعى  
 وشرط الواقف المشار اليه تقبل الله تعالى منه واحسن اليه [النظر فى —] <تلصيق فى الاصل>  
 هذا والولاية عليه لنفسه ايام حياته رزقه الله تعالى حياه طيبه . . . . .  
 كان النظر فى ذلك للجناب [—] <تلصيق فى الاصل>  
 الكبرى الصغرى جوهر الخازندار الملكى الاشرفى والجناب . . . . .  
 الملكى الاشرفى والجناب العالى . . . . .  
 [—————] <تلصيق فى الاصل> والجناب . . . . .  
 بالخاص الشريف . . . . .  
 اذ[سأبى] . . . . .  
 فان تعذر احدهما استقل الآخر بالنظر بمفرده . . . . .  
 ولن يكون خازندار الذخيريه الشريفه . . . . .  
 فان تعذر [فلحاكم] المسلمين الحنفى المذهب . . . . . وشرط الواقف المشار اليه ان  
 الوقف المذكور توجر [مسققاته] سنه فما دونها باجره المثل فما فوقها  
 والاراضى ثلاثه سنين فما دونها باجره المثل فما فوقها ولا يدخل عقد على عقد حتى ينقضى مدة المقدم الاول ولا  
 يتمجل [عن <عند؟>] ذلك اجره ولا يوجر لصاحب [جاه <جاه>] ولا لذى [شوكه]  
 ولا لمن يماطل بالاجره وشرط الواقف المشار اليه انه من حج من ارباب الوظائف المعينه اعلاه حجه الاسلام . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 الي حين عوده واجرى عليه معلومه . . . . .  
 من ارباب الوظائف المذكوره . . . . .  
 عن ظهر قلت قرره الناظر عرض والده . . . . .  
 ويوكيله وليس لغيره . . . . . <سطر ١٥٠>  
 على هذا الوقف قبل قصده بشهر وشرط . . . . .  
 ويخرج من شا من اهل هذا الوقف . . . . .  
 وليس لغيره من بعده فعل شئ من ذلك وان مهما عمره وجدده فى هذا الموقف يكون حكمه حكم هذا الوقف  
 فى الحال والمال و . . . . .  
 فقد تم هذا الوقف ولزم ونفذ حكمه . . . . .  
 و[يعلم] انه الى . . . . .  
 او سعى . . . . .  
 يوم يكون الله تعالى الحاكم . . . . .  
 [برد الله] . . . . .

وهو عارف بما وقفه المعرفه الشرعيه واشهد عليه بذلك وهو بحال جواز الاشهاد عليه شرعا فى الخامس عشر من جمادى الاخره عام ثلاثه وثلاثين وثمان مائه  
 وفى الاصل المنقول منه هذا ملحق [القليوبيه] وايضا وريع وايضا الحمصه صحيح ذلك مع [اذر] عنه ووكل الواقف المشار اليه . . . . . فى ثبوت ذلك  
 وطلب الحكم منه وفى . . . . . وحسبنا  
 الله ونعم الوكيل [ — — — صحيح معتمد عنه]  
 <مجموعه من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم [٤]  
 هذا كتاب وقف صحيح شرعي وحبس صريح مرعى اكتبته المقر الكريم العالى المولوي . . . . .  
 الموتنى الزينى زين الدين . . . . . خش قدم بن عبد الله الظاهرى شيخ المشايخ [ — ] الخدام  
 بالحرم الشريف النبوى المحمدى . . . . .  
 ورفع فى الدارين قدره . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 وحرم وتصديق بجميع ما هو بيده وملكه وتصرفه واختصاصه وحيازته بعضه معروف بانشائه وعمارته وبعضه انتقل اليه  
 بالطريق الشرعى بمكاتيب شرعيه سيخضم كل منها بمعنى هذا الوقف خصما موافقا لتاريخه ولشهوده فمن ذلك  
 جميع المكان الكامل ارضا وينا  
 المعروف بانشائه وعمارته الكاين ذلك بالقاهره المحروسه بدرج الاسوانى باقرب من الحلوانيين وصفته انه يشتمل  
 على احدى عشر حانوتا  
 ومخزنا وثمان حواصل واثنا عشر طبقه تشتمل كل من الحوانيت المذكوره على مسطبه وداخل ودراريب خلا  
 حانوتان منها فانهما الان بغير واجهه ولا دراريب  
 واما المخزن والحواصل فانه يغلق على كل منها فرده باب واما الطباق تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه  
 ودهليز ومسترقه وبيت خلا وطاقت  
 مطلات على الطريق كل منها مسقف نقياً مفروش الارض بالبلاط الكدان مسبل الجدر بالبياض خلا [ثنين] منها  
 لم تكمل عمارتهما ولذلك حدود اريعه  
 الحد القبلى ينتهى الي مسجد هناك خرب [معلق] و بعضه الى فندق خراب يعرف بوقف القرا بالجامع الازهر والحد  
 البحرى





## الغربي ينتهي الى الزقاق

يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه وجميع البنائين الكائنين بخط درب بن [البابا]  
 بالصليبيه الطولونيه احدهما يشتمل على  
 اسطبل ورواق وطبقتين صفته على ما دل عليه كتاب الرق الشاهد [به له] انه يشتمل على بايين معقودين  
 بالطوب [الاجر] والحجر الفص النحيت يفلق على  
 احدهما فرده باب يدخل منه الى اسطبل مسقف عشيما يحوى طواله مقام اربعة اروس خيل ومتبن ومرحاض  
 وركابخاناه معلقه ومراقف وحقوق  
 والباب الثاني يفلق عليه زوجا باب كان والان يفلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه الى طبقه  
 علو الاسطبل المذكور وهو الان رواق  
 يشتمل على ايوان ودورقاعه ومجلس يقابل الايوان المذكور وهو الان ايوان لطيف وذات الخزانه والطاقت المجلات  
 على الطريق مسبل جدره بالبياض  
 مفروش ارضه بالبلاط الكدان وذات المنافع والمرافق والحقوق والقصبه الخالصه لذلك ثم يصعد من بقيه السلم  
 المذكور الى طبقتين مسقتين نقيا وذات الابنيه التي [لم تكمل عمارتها] <الاصل غير واضح>  
 التي هي علو الرواق المذكور والسطح العالى على ذلك ويحيط بذلك حدود اربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى الى ملك يعرف  
 قديما بعبيد ثم عرفت [—] <خرم في الاصل>  
 سيف الدين سنقر وغيره والحد البحرى ينتهى قديما الى مكان يعرف قديما بعلى الباب والآن بالسيفى سودون  
 الدوادار والحد الشرقى  
 ينتهى الى الزقاق وفيه البابان والطاقت والروشن والحد الغربى ينتهى الى مكان يعرف [بمطلو] قديما والبنا الثانى  
 اسطبل وطبقه [—] <تلصيق في الاصل>  
 انه يشتمل على بايين احدهما مقنطر يفلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى اسطبل لطيف مسقف غشيما صار  
 الان من حقوق البنا الاول الموصوف المحدود اعلاه  
 والباب الثانى يصعد اليه من سلم لطيف شارع بالطريق يتوصل منه الى دهليز مسقف غشيما به سلم يتوصل  
 منه الى طبقتين متجاورتين مسقف غشيما بغير بياض  
 ولا بلاط والسطح العالى على ذلك وذات المرحاض والمنافع والحقوق صار ذلك من حقوق البنا الاول ويحيط بذلك  
 حدود اربعة الحد القبلى  
 ينتهى الى ملك يعرف ببها الدين ارسلان امير اخور والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الزقاق وفيه يفتح البابان والحد  
 الشرقى ينتهى الى ملك الحاج على [بابا]  
 والى غيره والحد الغربى ينتهى الى ملك يعرف [بالزراق <بالزراق؟>] يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به  
 وينسب اليه  
 وجميع الحصه التى مبلغها النصف اثنى عشر سهما من اربعة وعشرين سهما شايعا ذلك فى جميع البنا الكائين

## بسويقه صلاح الدين

بالقرب من [اللو] صفته انه يشتمل على واجهه قائمه على اصولها مزمنه البنا معييه بها باب يدخل منه الى حوش كبير به اصول يلح ويير ما معين [متسعه بدايره]

مخازن وطباق غرود تسعه وبالمخازن المذكوره والطباق مرمات متفرقه بالبنا والغرود وذات الاحظره ولذلك حدود اربعه الحد القبلى

ينتهى الى الطريق وفيه الباب والحد البحرى ينتهى الى بيت عبيد الخباز وفيه باب السر والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى دار [الجويان] وغيره والحد الغربى

ينتهى الى ملك سليمان الخوندار يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه وجميع الحصه التى مبلغها النصف اثنا عشر سهما

من اصل اربعه وعشرون سهما من جميع اراضى ناحيه [النفطاف] بالسخاويه . . . . .  
والحد البحرى . . . . .

وحدوده وما يعرف به وينسب اليه وجميع الحصه من قرية كوفيا من عمل غزه المحروسه وجملتها خمس اسهم وربيع سهم وسبع سهم

وثن تسع سهم وسدس سبع سهم من اصل اربعه وعشرين . . . . .

ينتهى الى ارض . . . . .

وبقيته الى ارض قرية . . . . .

ثم يمتد . . . . .

يحد ذلك وحدوده خلا المساجد الثلاثه والمصلاه والمقبره وجميع القطع الارض الثلاث المتلاصقات . . . . .

وابستوا من اعمال الغريه . . . . .

تشتمل على . . . . .

وستون فدانا ونصف فدان وربيع فدان . . . . .

حدود اربعه . . . . .

والبركه من . . . . .

و[الدسيته] من اراضى . . . . .

وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحسبا صريحا مرعيا لا يباع ذلك ولا يملك ولا يوهب ولا يرهن قائما

على اصوله . . . . .

وقفه هذا على نفسه . . . . .

ثم من بعد وفاته . . . . . على ان الناظر فيه

والتولى عليه يوجر منه البنأ

لسنه واحده فما دونها باجرة المثل فما فوقها ويوجر الاراضى ثلاث سنين فما دونها باجره المثل فما فوقها ولا يدخل عقدا على عقد حتى ينقضى العقد الاول الا لضروره شرعيه ولا يتمجل [عن] ذلك ولا عن شي منه اجره الا لضروره شرعيه ولا يوجر لصاحب جاه ولا لذى شوكة ولا لمن يماطل بالاجره ولا يدافع عنها ويبدا من ريعه بعمارته وممرته وما فيه بقا عينه ودوام منفعتة ولو انفق عليه جميع غلته واجره من يتولى جبايته على الوجه الشرعى وما فضل بعد ذلك يضاف الى ريع اوقافه التى وقفها قبل تاريخه المعينه فى الكتب [الحكيه] اعلاه المورخ ثبوتها والحكم بها بالتاسع والعشرون من شهر رمضان المكرم سنه ثلاث وثلاثين وثمان مائه . . . . .

التى من جمله شروطها الصرف لمقام سيدنا الامام الشافعى . . . . .

الجبرتي و لمقام . . . . .

وفى ثمن خبز وما عذب و حصر برسم الفقرا بالجامع الازهر . . . . .

[العمالين] والبطالين . . . . . < سطر ٢٥٠ >

وفى مرتب المعتقا . . . . .

الموالى قضاة . . . . .

ورجع الواقف . . . . .

المشار اليه اعلاه ادال الله عزه ووالاه عما شرطه من النظر فى الوقف المتقدم على . . . . .

[حيثما] اشترط لنفسه . . . . .

التقدمه على تاريخه . . . . .

بمعلوم وغيره . . . . .

وفى ساير اوقافه . . . . .

المشار اليه . . . . .

منهما الاخر . . . . .

فان لم يكن . . . . .

فى هذا الوقف . . . . .

من الفلوس المذكوره . . . . .

للتناظرين المشار اليهما . . . . .

يوميذ بالديار المصريه . . . . .

من الفضه . . . . .

لنفسه الكريمه . . . . .

يفعل ذلك . . . . .

الى رحمه الله تعالى . . . . .  
 من الوقوف المعين فيه . . . . .  
 وشرط الواقف المشار اليه انه اذا قصد احد  
 ممن يول اليه النظر على هذا الوقف والارواق المتقدمه على تاريخه ان استبدل شيا من الوقوف المنسوب للواقف  
 المشار اليه بنفسه او بوكيله كان معزولا  
 من النظر على اوقافه قبل قصده بشهر وكان عليه لعنه الله والملايكه والناس اجمعين فقد تم هذا الوقف ونفذ حكمه  
 و[انبرم] و صار وقفا  
 محرما . . . . .  
 ولا [يسعى] في ابطاله . . . . .  
 [ولهم سوء] . . . . .  
 على الله تعالى الذى . . . . .  
 و اشهد عليه به فى مستهل ربيع الاخر من شهر عام سبع وثلاثين وثمان مايه وشرط الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه  
 لنفسه الكريمه ان [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>  
 والطبقه عا[يها] المذكور ذلك بالمكان المبدأ بذكره اعلاه وان [ي]كمل عماره الرواقات الخمسه بالمكان المثني بذكره  
 اعلاه بما تحتاجه من الات البنا  
 والفرد والاشخاب ويكون حكم ما يكمله حكم المشار اليه اعلاه عى الحال والمآل والتعذير والامكان والنظر وحسبنا  
 الله ونعم الوكيل [فى الاصل المنقول منه هذا]  
 فيه مصلح على حك والمساكين وايتام المسلمين اينما كانوا وحيثما وجدوا ولحق به سطورره على الوجه الشرقى صحيح  
 ذلك [معتد] به فى موضعه  
 <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلامه  
 اشهد على نفسه الكريمه . . . . .  
 الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه . . . . .  
 انه [قدرا] على ريع اوقافه المذكوره باعاليه الثابته المحكوم بها  
 فى الشرع الشريف فى كل شهر من شهر  
 الالهه [ما] مبلغه من الفضة الاشرفيه والمويديه سبعة عشر درهما ونصف درهم . . . . .  
 عشره دراهم تصرف برسم مصالح الفسقيه والميضا إنشأ الواقف المذكور اعلاه بالجامع الناصرى بقلمه الجبل

المحروسة [ما هو] لمن يتولى خدمه الفسقيه و[سلها]

وتنظيفها . . . . .  
 ويصرف برسم امام يؤم بالمسجد الكاين [برسم] الصاعه (<الصاغه؟>) تجاه باب الصالحيه النجيه بين القصرين  
 وهذا المسجد المذكور علو الحوائت والمقاعد التي هي من جمله الموقوق  
 اعلاه بالكتاب الوقف المسطر اعلاه . . . . .  
 المصارف المعينه . . . . .  
 شهاب الدين . . . . .  
 والرجوع يفعل ذلك كلما . . . . . في الخامس عشر من صفر المبارك عام تسعه  
 وثلاثين وثمان مائه . . . . .  
 <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلامه  
 هذا ما اشهد به على نفسه الكريمه المقر العالى الزينى خش قدم الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه اشهادا شرعيا انه جعل  
 الفاضل من ثلث ماله [المفروح] له في [ ] شرعا  
 بعد ما عين صرفه لمعين ولغير معين في كتاب وصيته الجامع لذلك ولغيره المورخ بيوم تاريخه . . . . .  
 الشافى . . . . .  
 لسان المتكلمين . . . . .  
 والمالك الشريفه . . . . . المورخ اسجال ذلك بالثامن عشر من جمادى الاولى بسنه  
 تاريخه مصروفا [في تكمله عمارته المباركه]  
 الكاينه براس [الجودريه] من سبيل ومكتب علوه وحوض سبيل بجوار السبيل المذكور وقاعات واروقه وطباق  
 بمنافع ومرافق وحقوق [عد] ما يراه الناظر  
 المتولى على ذلك ويودى اليه اجتهاده على الوجه الشرعى و يكون حكم ذلك حكم وقفه السابق المعين اعلا اعلاه في  
 الحال والمال [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>

والاستحقاق . . . . .  
 من اطفال المسلمين . . . . . <سطر ٢٠٠>  
 او ما يقوم مقام ذلك . . . . .  
 فى ذلك بمكتب السبيل . . . . .  
 ويصرف للايتام . . . . .

على ما يراه الناظر . . . . .  
 بينهما على ما يراه الناظر . . . . .  
 من ايام الشتا . . . . .  
 نصفها ثلثايه درهم . . . . .  
 مبلغ مايه درهم . . . . .  
 عند تسبيل المآ بالسبيل المذكور ما مبلغه مايتا درهم فلوسا جددا او ما يقوم مقام ذلك من النقود ويصرف لمن يتولى  
 ملئ الحوض السبيل المذكور وتكفيته بالمآ ليلا ونهارا صباحا ومساء بحيث لا ينقطع المآ منه ابدا فى كل شهر من شهور الاهله مبلغ ستمايه درهما يصفها  
 ثلثمايه درهم او ما يقوم مقام ذلك . . . . .  
 من خراج رزق واجر بيوت يكون ذلك فى حاصل تحت ختم الجناب السيفى [يحيى باى] الدودار الملكى الاشرفى . . . . .  
 الى الله تعالى الشيخ . . . . .  
 و[هما] من جمله الارصيا . . . . .  
 حالا ومالا وتعذرا وامكانا . . . . .  
 [لرعين له] النظر . . . . .  
 المشار اليه و لسيدنا . . . . .  
 السيفى يشبك الفقيه . . . . .  
 المذكوره للمقر الصغرى المشار اليه . . . . .  
 الثلثان الباقي ذلك من معلوم النظر . . . . .  
 والتبديل وان يخرج من شاء من اهل الوقف . . . . .  
 واصل الوقف الباق على حكمه وليس لغيره بعده فعل شى من ذلك . . . . .  
 فى كتاب الوصيه المشار اليها اعلاه . . . . .  
 الزينى هلال شاد [الحوش] الشريفه . . . . .  
 والجناب السيفى قرقماس الاشرفى . . . . .  
 المشار اليها والجناب السيفى . . . . .  
 من سيدنا العبد الفقير . . . . .  
 خليفه الحكم [العزيز] بالديار المصريه . . . . . فى مثل ذلك  
 مورخ بيوم تاريخه فى الخامس من [صفر]  
 المبارك عام تسعه وثلاثين وثمان مايه ونقل ذلك . . . . .

..... الشيخ الامام  
 ..... العسقلاني الشافعي الناظر في الاحكام الشرعيه بالديار المصريه  
 ..... و[اسبغ —] في [كذا] عليه  
 ..... واله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا دائما ابدا حســــبنا الله ونعم الوكيــــل  
 <مجموعه من التوقيعات>

.....

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد واله  
 هذا ما اشهد به علي نفسه الكريما المقر [الكريمه] العالى المولوى  
 [موتمن] الملوك والسلاطين محب العلم والصالحين ابو [الزين] جوهر بن عبد الله القنقباى شيخ الساده الخدام  
 بالحرم الشريف النبوي  
 افضل الصلاه والسلام  
 العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى  
 العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ العالم المرحوم  
 [الوصيين] الشرعيين على تركه المقر المرحوم الزينى خش قدم زمام [الادار] الشريفه كان  
 انها وقتا وجبسا ما أنشى بعد وفاه المقر المرحوم الزينى خش قدم  
 تنفيذ  
 لوصيته [موصيها] وتنفيذا لما شرطه فى كتاب وقعه السابق المسطر باعالي هذا الكتاب وهو جميع المكان الكاين  
 بالقاهره المحروسه  
 داخل بايى زويله بالقرب من [الفجامين] براس [الجودريه] صفه ذلك انه يشتمل على حوض سبيل بزلاقه حجرا  
 برسم سقى الدواب  
 من عليه الى باب مربع عليه  
 يدخل منه الى دهليز لطيف  
 رخاما و شباكان حديدا  
 بالبياض بمنافع وحقوق  
 مدهون [حريريا] ذات مرحاض ويجاور باب المكتب باب مربع يدخل منه الى طبقه تعلو الحوض المذكور بمنافع  
 وحقوق مسقف نقيا مفروش  
 الارض بالبلاط مسبل الجدر بالبياض وذات المنافع والمرافق والحقوق ويجاور حوض السبيل المذكور باب مقنطر  
 يجاوره قاعه [البن] ياتى ذكرها فيه

ويدخل من الباب المذكور الى دركاه بصدورها صفه وباب مسدود عليه صفتان وخزانه برسم البواب ويتوصل من  
 الدركاه المذكوره على يمينه الداخل  
 <س ٢٥٠>  
 من الباب المذكور على ست قاعات متجاوره وبير ما معين [تأخوى كل من القاعات المذكوره ايوانا ودورقاعه  
 ومنافع ومرافق وحقوق  
 ومرحاضا مسقفه يقيا مفروشه الارض بالبلاط الكدان مسبله الجدر بالبياض يقابل القاعات المذكوره سبمه مخازن  
 متجاوره على كا منها  
 فرده باب ويجاور السابغ من ذلك باقصى المجاز باب مربع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه  
 الى ثمان طباق مطله على الطريق  
 تحوى كل منها ايوانا ودورقاعه وثنخين ومعازل ومنافع وحقوقا ومرحاضا مسقفه نقيا مفروشه الارض بالبلاط الكدان  
 مسبله الجدر بالبياض والسطح العالي على ذلك ثم من بقيه الدركاه المذكوره على يسره السالك الى سته مخازن  
 متجاوره باحدها بير ما معين  
 على كل من ذلك فرده باب مسقف كل من المخازن غشيميا ويقابل احد المخازن الستة سلم يجاوره مرحاض  
 ويصعد من السلم المذكور الى طباق  
 عدتها سبع متجاوره تشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعه وثنخين ومعازل ومرافق وحقوق ومرحاض وسطح  
 مسقف كل من ذلك نقيا  
 مفروش الارض بالبلاط الكدان مسبل الجدر بالبياض وذات المنافع والمرافق والحقوق والاسطحه العاليه على ذلك  
 والقنى الخالصه لذلك  
 وتشتمل قاعه اللبن الموعود بذكرها فيه على باب مربع يدخل منه الى ساحه بها قاعه برسم [ترقيد] اللبن مسقفه  
 غشيميا وبالساحه المذكوره [تصبه]  
 لطبخ اللبن والمنافع ومرافق وحقوق ومرحاض وسطح يعلو البيت المد لترقيد اللبن ويحيط بذلك ويحصره ويشتمل  
 عليه وعلى ساير حقوقه  
 حدود اريمه الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق المتوصل منه [للبارزه] والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق المسلوك منها  
 الى مدرسه [الكهايو]  
 والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى زقاق غير نافذ والى باب [الكهاريه] وفي هذا الحد باب سر قاعه اللبن والحد الغربى  
 ينتهى الى الطريق  
 المسلوك وفيه الروشن وطاقات الطباق الاول واحد شبكي السبيل وهو الذى به [الفرخه الحديد] يحد ذلك كله  
 وحدوده  
 وحقوقه وما يعرف بذلك وينسب اليه من الحقوق الداخله فيه والخارجه عنه وجميع القطعه الارض الطين السواد  
 الكاينه

باراضى الخصوص من الضواحي ومساحتها بالقصبه الحاكميه اثنا عشر فدانا وسدس فدان وهو تكمله الارض  
الجاريه فى الوقف السابق

المسطر [باعالى] هذا الكتاب . . . . .

وقنا صحيحا شرعيا فاما جميع ما وصف فيه خلا قاعه اللبن والقطعه الارض الكاينه باراضى الخصوص المذكور  
مساحتها فيه

فان المقر الصفرى . . . . . وسيدنا الشيخ . . . . .  
وقنا ذلك من [ثلث]

مال موصيهما المقر المحرم الزينى خشقدم الواقف المسمى . . . . . وصيرا ذلك وقنا  
شرعيا منافع ذلك

واجوره على حكم ما شرط الواقف . . . . .  
واستحقاقا ونظرا لتنفيذا الوصيه <لوصيه؟> موصيهما المشار اليه واما قاعه اللبن وحقوقها والقطعه الارض المشار الي  
مساحتها اعلاه

فان المقر الصفرى والشيخ شمس الدين . . . . . المشار اليهما فيه انشأ ذلك من فايز ريع الوقف السابق  
المسطر باعالى هذا الكتاب ووقنا ذلك [على]

حكم شرط الواقف المشار اليه على حكم ما شرطه فى كتاب وقفه السابق المسطر باعالى هذا الكتاب فى الحال  
والمال والتعذر والامكان

والاستحقاق والنظر واشهدا عليهما بذلك وبالتوكيل فى ثبوت ذلك وطلب الحكم وسؤال الاشهاد وايدا الدافع  
و[نفيه] التوكيل فى [الاول] <خرم فى الاصل>

من شهر [الله] المحرم الحرام عام اربعه واربعين وثمانى مايه وصلو[ـ] على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم وحسبنا  
الله ونعم الوكيل

<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص إلهاد>

..

. . . . . الثانى عشر من شهر رمضان المعظم

. . . . . عام خمسة وستون وثمان مايه انه ثبت عنده

..

<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

< نص إلهاد >

..

..... يوم الثلاثاء الثامن والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم [قدره]

..... سنه خمس وستين وثمان مائه ايه ثبت عنده ..

..

< مجموعة من التوقيعات >

.....

< نصوص متفرقه غير مهمه لي >

..

< مجموعة من التوقيعات >

.....

< أول نص في الهامش الايمن >

[ ] < خرم في الاصل > واقف المشار اليه

[ ] < خرم في الاصل > سطر عن [ ] الله

..... تعالى ظلاله ..

شهوده اشادا شرعيا في صحته وسلامته

ورغبته في الخير وارادته

.....

< نص قصير مكتوب عاموديا في الهامش الايمن >

..... اشهد على المقر العالي الزيني خش قدم ..

..... الجميع انه لا دافع له ولا مطعن في هذا المكتوب ولا من ..

< مجموعة من التوقيعات >

.....

< نص في الهامش الايمن >

< البدايه ناقصه؟ >

انه وقف وحبس وسبل

وابد وحرم وتصدق بجميع ما ياتي ذكره

ووصفه و تحديده فيه الجارى ذلك بيده وملكه

وتصرفه . . . . .

[الثابت] المحكوم . . . . .

[—] <خرم في الاصل> هذا الوقف خصما موافقا

لتاريخه و لشوهده وهو جميع الحصه التي مبلغها

اثني عشر سهما من اربعة وعشرين سهما شايعا ذلك

في جميع القطع الارض الطين السواد الكاينه

باراضى جزيره محمد من اعمال [الجيزه] . . . . .

بوردانى و[القباله الطين <الطير>] مساحتها بكمالها

على ما دل عليه . . . . .

بالقصبه الحاكميه ستون فدان ويحيط

بذلك . . . . .

الخليج . . . . .

والحد البحرى . . . . .

والحد الشرقى . . . . .

[باقبنا] والحد الغربى . . . . .

الناحيه المذكوره . . . . .

[بما] يعرف به وينسب اليه وقفا

صحيحا شرعيا ال يباع اصل ذلك ولا

. . .

ووقع الاشهاد بذلك في السابع

والعشرين من جمادى الاخره عام

ثلاثه وثلاثين وثمانيه و صلى الله

على سيدنا محمد . . . . .

[كثيرا] دايم ايدا حسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل

<مجموعه من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص في الهامش الايمن مكتوب عاموديا>

الحمد لله وحده اشهد عليه المقر الكريم العالى المولى الاميرى الكبيرى الزينى خش قدم الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه انه  
رجع عن الشرط الذى قرره فى هذا الوقف  
المسطر . . . . . من وظيفه [ ] المقرره باسم سيدنا . . . . .  
. . . . . رجوعا شرعيا . . . . .  
بمعلوماتها المقرره له عليها . . . . .  
. . . . . وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
<توقيعين>

. . . . .

<نص في الهامش الايمن مكتوب عاموديا>

الحمد لله يشهد من يضع خطه فيه بمعرفه الزينى خش قدم . . . . .  
. . . . . وان المقر الزينى خش قدم  
المسى باعاليه [م] يزل مالكا لجميع العيين الموقوفه فيه الى حين صدور الوقف المذكور فيه يعلمون ذلك ويشهدون به  
[مسولين] فيه بتاريخ الثالث عشر  
من جمادى الاخر سنه سبع وثلاثين وثمان مائه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
<توقيعين>

. . . . .

<نص في الهامش الايمن مكتوب عاموديا>

الحمد لله وحده  
يشهد على المقر العالى الزينى خش قدم . . . . .  
انه لا دافع له ولا مطعن فى هذا المكتوب  
ولا . . . . .  
<توقيعين>

. . . . .

<نص في الهامش الايمن مكتوب عاموديا>

الحمد لله وحده  
[ثم] فى تاريخ المعين اعلاه [اشهد] عليه المقر العالى الزينى خش قدم . . . . . انه رجع عن ثلاثون

نقرأ من الصوفية [المقررين] في كتاب رفته الميعن فيه

رجوعاً شرعياً حسبما جعل له في كتاب رفته الميعن فيه . . . . .

. . . . . وحسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل

<توقيع>

. . . . .

<نص في الهامش الايمن مكتوب عامودياً>

الحمد لله وحده [ثم <تم؟>] في تاريخ[-] الميعن اعلاه [اشهد] عليه المقر العالى الزينى خش قدم

الواقف المشار اليه . . . . .

وجواز امره انه قرر من الطلبة عشره انفار من طلبه [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>

المذهب خمسة انفار ومن الحنفية خمسة انفار [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>

رفته الاول المخيط اعلاه . . . . . [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>

من المعلوم وشرط عل كل . . . . . [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>

[ ] شرعياً . . . . . [ ] <تلصيق في الاصل>

[ ]

<توقيع>

. . . . .

<نص في الهامش الايمن>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و صلواته على سيدنا محمد [و سلم]

ما [يقول سيدنا و مولانا اذ] [أض] القضاة

شيخ الاسلام امتع . . . . .

[ ] على المسلمين . . . . . في رجل

وقف وقفنا وشرط لكل من [اعتقائه]

البيضان و الخدام والفحول في طول

عمره بشرط عجزه عن الخدمه على [دفعتين]

من الفلوس الجدد معاملة القاهره

المحروسه عشره الاف درهم كما نص وشرح [قرينه]

وان عتقايه الفحول من المالك عاجزين

عن الخدمه لعدم [قماس] . . . . .

..

الفرق في خدمه على ذلك والله تعالى اعلم  
[— سعدين الديري الحنفى]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد  
جرى ذلك <مكتوبه بخط كبير>

..... مجلس الحكم  
الشيخ نور الدين شرف العلماء اوحد الفضلا  
..... مفتى المسلمين  
..... الى الله تعالى  
..... اوحد الفضلا

..

على الوقف المذكور فى المكتوب المسطر  
[عن يسرته] فى سماع الدعوى عنه  
ورد الاجوبه و ابد الدافع و [—]  
..... بما [يعين] فيه .....

..

اعلا يسرته على الوجه الشرعى اذنا شرعيا واشهد  
على نفسه الكريمه بذلك فى تواريخ احدها الثانى عشر  
من شوال المبارك عام [—] واربعين وثمانى [ميه] فيه ملحق  
..... به  
..... وايضا شمس الدين  
..... واه و صحبه .....

دايما ابدا حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
<توقيعين>

.....

<نص فى الهامش الايمن يلي النص السابق>

الحمد لله وحده [استقر واه — —]  
الحمد لله رب العالمين

[جهر بذلك]

لما اقتضى مذهب سيدنا العبد الفقير الى [الله تعالى] . . . . .

. . .

صحح استبداله الحصه التي قدرها النصف اثني عشر سهما  
من اصل اربع وعشرين سهما شايعا ذلك في جميع البنا الكاين

[بسويقه] صلاح الدين بالقرب من [اللو] ونظر ذلك من [ ]

التسعه واصول بلح اربعه و اصل [سدر] ومنافع ومرافق

وحقوق [الصادر] منه قبل ذلك وظهرت الحصه المذكوره

بسطرها [بما عين] اعلاه من جمله اوقاف المقر الزينى خشقدم [ ]

[الرمام] تفمده [الله برحمته] تحت نظر المقر [ ] عبد اللطيف [الرمام]

[ ] . . . . .

[ ] . . . . .

بتعمييض شرعى و . . . . .

. . .

من الذهب . . . . .

خمسون دينارا قبضا شرعيا من ذلك ثمن الحصه التي [ظهر] استحقاقها في الوقف

المذكور وعلى القايب الخروج من عهده ما قبضه في . . . . .

بطريقه الشرعى وبحكم ذلك صارت الحصه التي

ظهر استحقاقها وقبض ثمنها ونظرها مما عين اعلاه ملكا من املاك

الجناب السيفى خشكلدى المشار اليه اعلاه وحقا من حقوقه وطلقا

من اطلاقه يتصرف بها . . . . .

الشرعيه وكمل له بها وبما كان [يبدو اول] جميع البنا

الموصوف المحدود اعلا [ ] — — — — — كمالا شرعيا

ليس لاحد . . . . .

المشار اليه فيه . . . . .

ولا حصه ولا نصيب . . . . .

و ذلك في العاشر من شهر رمضان المعظم قدره و [ ]

سنه اثني عشر و [تسعاويه] و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و اله و صحبه و سلم

&lt;توقيع&gt;

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [—]  
 بعد ان اشترى سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ شمس الدين  
 [—] <تلصيق في الاصل> المدرسين مفيد الطالبين ابو عبد الله محمد [بن <من؟>] سيدنا  
 العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى شهاب الدين ابي العباس احمد  
 النشاي الشافعي احد النظار على وقف المرحوم  
 الزيني خش قدم الواقف المسمى فيه من المال المتحصل  
 من ريع الوقف المذكور فيه لجهه الوقف المذكور فيه  
 من سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى زين الدين صدر  
 [المدرسين] حفيد . . . . .  
 الى الله تعالى المرحوم نور الدين ابي الحسن . . . . .  
 جميع الحصة التي مبلغها النصف اثنا عشر سهما  
 من اصل اربعة وعشرين سهما شايعا ذلك غى جميع البنا  
 القايم على الارض المحتكره الاتى ذكره ووصفه وتحديدده فيه  
 الكاين ذلك بظاهر القاهره المحروسه خارج باب القنطره  
 وباب البجر على يسرة المار الي بولاق بالقرب من الجامع  
 الذى هناك المعروف بجامع ابن [غارى] الجارى ذلك  
 بيد البايع المشار اليه وملكه وتصرفه يشهد له بذلك  
 الكتاب الرق [المحصر من يده] لشهوده المورخ بالثالث  
 من شهر رمضان سنة احدى وخمسين وثمانيه . . . . .  
 وخصم بقضيته هذا التبايع والوقف صفته  
 على ما دل عليه المكتوب المذكور انه يشتمل على واجهه مبنى بعضها  
 بالحجر الفص النحيت وبعضها بالطوب الاجر بها باب  
 مربع عليه فرده باب [جميزا] مطبق مسمارى يدخل منه الى  
 دركاه بصدرها مصطبه مسقف ذلك تقيا وغشيا  
 (با) بابان . . . . .  
 عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى اسطبل مقام راسين  
 مسقف غشيا والباب [الايسر] مربع يدخل منه الى  
 دهليز مسقف غشيا على يسرة الداخل منه باب مربع

عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه الي قاعه لطيفه تحوى  
ايوان ودورقاعه و سدله بها شباك مطل على الجنينه  
مسقفه غشيمه مفروشه الارض بالبلاط الكدان  
يقابل باب القاعه المذكوره كرسى [خزشت] يقابله مصطبه  
ثم  
ثم يتوصل  
يدخل منه الى مقعد بوسطه فسقيه  
بالبلاط الكدان  
وتشتمل الجنينه المذكوره على اصول نارنج  
وثلاث اصول بلح  
اصول [مرسين] و هذه الاشجار النصف منها داخل فى  
عقد هذا التبايع  
ومقعد مفروش ارضه  
يتوصل من السلم المذكور  
من على السلم الموعود بذكره على باب خشب يدخل منه الى باب  
ثانى على يسرة الصاعد فى بقيه السلم عليه فرده باب  
يدخل منه الى رواق يشتمل على ايوان وسدله وطاقت  
وشباك مطل ذلك على الطريق المسلوك مفروش ارض ذلك  
بالبلاط الكدان  
يملقف على دور القاعه ويدور القاعه بابان مربعان  
غير باب الدخول على كل منهما فرده باب احدهما يدخل منه  
الى خزانة لطيفه مطله على بعض الدهليز و الثانى يدخل منه الى [خزشت]  
مفروش ارضه بالبلاط الكدان عليه جملون لطيف  
والسطح العالى على ذلك ثم يتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور  
الى باب لطيف يدخل منه الى مقعد قمرى سماوى بصدرة  
طاقتين مطلتين على الطريق المسلوك [بحنيه حنيه كندوج] مفروش  
ارض (ب)الواح خشب مسمره ويتوصل من بقيه السلم المذكور  
الى ساحه على يمينه الداخلى للرواق [خريشت] يعلوه جملون  
يقابل الخريشت بيت ازيار مفروش ارض ذلك جميعه  
بالبلاط الكدان مسبل الجدر بالبياض يتوصل الى الساحه



شهوده اشهادا شرعيا انه صير الحصة المشتره فيه  
وقفا شرعيا منافع ذلك واجرته على حكم  
..... ما شرط الواقف  
..... المحكوم  
..... تمذرا و امكانا  
..... ذلك الناظر المشار اليه فيه  
..... على حكم ما شرطه  
..... عى احلال والمال  
..... والنظر واشهد عليه بذلك  
..... وسوال  
..... التوكيل الشرعى  
..... بقضيه ذلك خصما شرعيا فى تاريخه  
الثانى من جمادى الاخره سنه ثلاث وخمسين وثمان مائه  
<توقيعين>

.....

<نص آخر>

الحمد لله رب العالمين  
وقف من يضع اسمه اخره على [ ] الثالث  
والرابع من [الرسوم] الاربعه الموضوعه ادنى الاسجال  
المسطر [قريبه] وقوفا كافيا  
..... وعرفها وعرف واضعها  
..... النافى للجهاله  
..... المذكور وهو  
..... [ ]  
..... الشيخ الامام  
..... شرف العلما اوحد  
..... ابي الحسن على الصوفى  
..... رسم [شهاده] واضعه  
..... موقفى الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية

من واضعى الرسمين المذكورين . . . . .  
 و يشهدون به مسولين بسؤال من جاز سؤاله شرعا وكتب ذلك حسب اذن حكمي [بتاريخ] سادس [عشرى  
 <عشر؟>] شهر ذى القعدة [الحرام] سنة ست و[ت] [هـ] [عمايه  
 <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

. .

. . . . . شهد بتاريخ ثامن شهر ربيع الاول المشرف سنة خمسين وتسعمائه  
 . . . . . وصلى الله  
 <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

. . . . . هذا فصل ثبوت وحكم واتصال وتنفيذ . . . . .

. .

. . . . . فى ثامن عشر ذى القعدة الحرام سنة تسع وسبعين بعد تمام الالف  
 من الهجرية المحمديه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
 <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

<نص آخر>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلام [كثيرين]  
 . . . . . الحمد لله الذي

. .

. . . . . وقع التحرير فى عشري شهر رجب [الفرد] الحرام  
 . . . . . [ — — ] الذي هو من شهور سنة ثمانه وسبعين والـ  
 <مجموعة من التوقيعات>

. . . . .

**Maḥkama 126**

**Inspection of properties in the *waqf* of al-Zāhir Baybars**

**Dated 8 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 865/1461**

**The Document:**

The document is in very good condition and is complete.

**Its Contents:**

This is an inspection of a number of properties in the endowment of al-Zāhir Baybars conducted by engineers.

كشفت على عقارات جارية في وقف الظاهر بيبرس  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم محكمه ١٢٦ المودعه في دار الوثائق القوميه  
نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٢١٤٩

< نص الوثيقة: >

< البدايه ضائعه >

- < س ١ > . . . . . [ ] < خرم في الاصل > وكتب محضر بصوره الحال[ه] . . . . .  
تعالى وصلى [الله] على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
وتوج هامش القصة المذكوره بالخط الكريم اعلاه [ ] تعالى [ومتاله] ليكشف  
[امتبل <؟>] الامر الكزيم العالي اعلاه [ ] [ت]عالي بالسمع والطاعه صار من [ي]ضع  
خطه فيه اخره ومن [ي]اكتب اسمه عنهُ باذنه من المهندسين وغيرهم ارباب  
الخبره والعقارات < بالعقارات؟ > وعيوبها والاراضي ودرعها والابنيه واختلافها  
المندوبين لذلك من مجلس الحكم العزيز بالديار المصريه احله الله تعالى واد[م]  
بركه متوليه وايامه بالمسير الى حيث المكان الوقف الربع والحوانيت والقيساريين  
والحوانيت بباب الفرج [مسكن] الادميين الكا[ي]ان ذلك بظاهر القاهره المحروسه  
< س ١٠ > خارج بابي زويله المشهور بالربع الظاهري الجاري ذلك في وقف مولانا  
السلطان السعيد الشهيد الملك الظاهر صاحب الفتوحات ركن الدنيا  
والدين [سقي >بيتي؟>] الله تعالى عهده صوب الرحمه والرضوان على مدرسته  
السعيده الكاينه بالقاهره المحروسه تجاه البيمارستان المنصوري  
بين القصرين وعلى من يشركها في الوقف المذكور من ذرية الواقف المشار  
اليه وكشف ذلك كشافاً وافياً واحاطوا به علما وخبره فشاهدوه  
< س ١٥ > يشتمل على صفات يأتي ذكرها باماكن متفرقه اما الربع المذكور  
فهو يشتمل على واجهه دائره مزمنة البناء بالحد القبلي منه جنب مجاور لباب  
الربع ولبدار السلم المعيب البنا والبلاط من سفله الى علوه والجنب المذكور  
مقلوب البنا معيب ايل للسقوط يحتاج الى هدم الجنب المذكور من علوه الى  
< س ٢٠ > سفله الى الأرض الموجوده وتعليق المخازن التي في الحد المذكور وعدتها  
اربعه وهي المجاوره لمدار السلم المذكور يمنه ويسره وشد ما يحتاج إلى شده  
وهدم ما يحتاج إلى هدمه واعادة ذلك بالبنا بالنص الحجر النحيت والطوب الأحمر  
والطين والجير والجبس الزجاجي والطابق < الطابق؟ > وغير ذلك من الات العماره على  
ما كان عليه أولا على قائم الميزان وبالواجهه المذكوره في الحد الغربي حوانيت

- <س ٢٥> تعرف بسكن الزموطيين <؟> والخضريين وغير ذلك مستطيله بها حواجز سفلى [الخرجات <المخرجات؟>] بعضها [يحتاج <محتاج؟>] إلى المرات والإصلاح وبعضها محتاج إلى الشد والهدم وإعادةه بالبنا المتقن على ما كان ذلك عليه أولاً وبداخل الحوانيت المذكورة سفلى الطابق اكتاف واجناب معيبه بعضها محتاج إلى الترميم والإصلاح وعضها إلى الشد والهدم والبنا وإعادةه ذلك بالبنا على ما كان عليه أولاً ويحتاج إلى إقامة بنا اكتاف سفلى الرواشن المنكسه المحطوطه إلى سفلى الدور الثاني سفلى الاضلاع الروشن <؟> المنكسه المعيب وإلى تدارك ذلك قبل سقوطه على حين غفله بالمؤن الموصوفه اعلاه وبالواجهه المذكوره التي في الحد البحري مرمرات متفرقه معيبه وكذا بالواجهه الشرقيه مرمرات متفرقه وسقف معيب واجناب واكتاف يحتاج ذلك إلى هدم وإعادةه بالبنا والسقف وغير ذلك ويجوار ذلك من الجهه الشرقيه الزريبه التي بها الاكتاف والاجناب المعيبه المذكور ذلك اعلاه وكذا الاسطبل المجاور للزيبه المذكوره وبالمكان المعروف بباب الفرج سفلى الربع المذكور حوانيت سكن الادميين مرمات متفرقه باطناً وظاهراً [ت]ححتاج إلى الشد والهدم والبنا وإلى بنا مساطب للحوانيت المذكوره وإلى شد الكتف الذي على يسره الداخل من باب الفرج المذكور من جهه الشارع المسلوك بالخضريين وإلى هدم ذلك وإعادةه بالبنا المتقن بالمؤن الموصوفه اعلاه على ما كان ذلك عليه أولاً وإلى عمل سقايف للحوانيت المذكوره بكمالها وإصلاح المعيب من ذلك جميعه وأما الذي اشتملت عليه صفه القيساريين المذكورين الكبرى والصغرى فإن بهما اقصاب قني يرسم العلو بالربع المذكور وغيره بعضها معيبه تحتاج إلى الشد والهدم والبنا بالمؤن الموصوفه اعلاه وإعادةه ذلك كما كان أولاً وباحدى القيساريين المذكورين قصبه قناه مستجدة البنا لم تكمل عمارتها تحتاج إلى تكمله عمارتها بالبنا ودرع البنا المستجد الان تقديراً [ا] اربعة درع بدراع العمل و [ب]ححتاج إلى اقتاد المطاحن التي سفلى ذلك وتخوم الارض وبنائها بالحجر وتفتيتها بالاعتاب <بالاخشاب؟> الغشيمه وبالمخازن التي بداخل القيساريين الدا [ا]ره <الدائره؟> اكتاف معيبه واجناب ومرمرات متفرقه [ت]ححتاج بعضها إلى الشد والهدم وإعادةها بالبنا وبعضها محتاج إلى الرمه والإصلاح وبالمخازن المذكوره والحوانيت مرمرات متفرقه باطناً وظاهراً وغالبها مهول بالآثره خاليه من السكن والاسكان وغالبها بغير ابواب عليها وبالقيساريين المذكورين مساطب خراب تحتاج إلى البنا بالرماد والجير





- <س ١١٥> الثاني و الثلاثون سكن عبيد [القلاسي] بها قصبه قناه ملاصقه السلم  
 اي[احتاج الى الشد وتحفيه[ط <تحفيظ؟>] السلم بلاخشاب واعاده ذلك بالبنا المتقن وممره  
 الغرود و التليس والبلاط والطبقه الثالثه والتلاتون سكن الربيعه تحتاج  
 الى بعض بنا وغرود وهي خاليه من البلاط وبالذور الاول المذكور ثلاث  
 طباق خراب في الحد البحري والشرقي علو حوانيت باب الفرج ليس بها الان الا  
 نقض شقوق وبعض اكتاف وستر مهول غالبيها بالاتريه والاساخ و[السا-ر <السا-ر، الساير، السا-ر؟>] <س ١٢٠>  
 النقل الرباعي من جهه باب الفرج المذكوره جنب غرد معيب فاصل بين النقل  
 الرباعي و استطراق باب الفرج المذكور اي[احتاج الى نقضه واعادته كما كان اولاً  
 وبالذور المذكور في الحد القبلي علو حوانيت باب الفرج وعلو مجازي القيساريه الكبرى  
 اربع طباق متجاوره مهوله بالاتريه والاساخ بغير ابواب بها [مقسا <قصبتا؟>] [قناة] برسما ورسم  
 <س ١٢٥> علوها [ت]احتاج الى المرات والى هدم المعيب الذي بالقصبتين المذكورتين سفلا  
 وعلوا والى اعاده ذلك بالبنا المتقن كما كان ذلك اولاً و[ت]احتاج الطباق المذكوره  
 الى البنا و الغرود والبلاط والطاقات والابواب والى نقل ما فيها من  
 الاتريه والاساخ المذكوره اعلاه والجنب الفرد الرباعي الساتر على النقل  
 المذكور معيب محتاج الى نقضه واعادته وبالنقل الرباعي المذكور خسف محتاجه  
 الى قطع عيبها بلاخشاب والمؤن و بالحد القبلي والشرقي من القيساريه  
 <س ١٢٠> الكبرى معالم طباق خراب دشت مهويه بالاتريه والاساخ بها بعض اكتاف  
 واجناب [ت]احتاج الى نقل الاتريه والاساخ المتحصله العتيقه المزمته قبل تاريخه  
 لمصلحه ما هو سفلي ذلك وبالثلاث جهات علو القيساريه الصغرى من الحد القبلي والبحري  
 والشرقي طباق خراب مهوله بالاتريه [ت]احتاج الى نقل الاتريه والاساخ التي بها المتحصله  
 <س ١٢٥> قبل تاريخه والى بنا ذلك بالطوب والغرود والبلاط والى عمل ابواب وطاقات وممرات السقوف  
 وبالحد القبلي من جهه الطريق المتوصل منها الى مiazza الجامع المزيدي والى باب  
 الحمام والى المدرسه والى غير ذلك علو الحوانيت المعيب المبدأ بذكره اولاً طبقه معيبه  
 [ت]احتاج الى هدمها واعادتها بالبنا والغرود والبلاط كما كانت اولاً هذا نهايه الدور  
 الاول واما الدور [الثاني] العلوي فعده طباقه سبعة وثلاثون طبقه  
 <س ١٤٠> ما هو على الشارع السلوك [اتان] وثلاثون طبقه وما هو على باب الفرج والقيساريه  
 الكبرى خمس طباق فاما الاثنا وثلاثون طبقه التي على الشارع السلوك بجانبها  
 بناً وغروداً وكراسيها وواجهتها من النقل الرباعي المذكور وابواب الدخول  
 كل ذلك معيب متساقط اي[احتاج الى هدم المعيب باليد و[ت]نظيفه واعادته بالغرود  
 والبلاط والتليس والسقف [مراقاه <واقامه؟>] حظير على ذلك وبنا حواجز [نقومه؟] بين الطباق

- <س ١٤٥> ومرمه ما هو معيب بباطن الطابق المذكوره من اولها الى اخرها بالبنا والغرود والسقف والبلاط وغير ذلك وبالطابق المذكوره بالدورين المذكورين ابواب عتق مهشمه [ت]احتاج الى تغيير بالجديد والى مرمه البعض و الى عمل طاقات سفلا وعلوا والى عمل حظير علو الخرجات السفليه التي هي اسطحه الدور السفلى وحواجز بين الطابق وعلى عمل واجهه من اول العمل الى نهايته وفتح طاقات مطلات على الطريق السالك والى اقتقاد سقايف الحوائث وتلبس ذلك كله وقطع عيب المعيب من ذلك والى مرمه سقف النقل الرباعي الماد[د]كور وبنا اكتاف سفلا وعلوا والى وضع حمالات اخشاب [بسانر] علو الاكتاف والى اقتقاد سقف النقل الرباعي من اوله الى اخره سفلا وعلوا في ارتفاع ثلاثه ادرع ونصف دراع بدراع العمل واما الخمس طباق المتقدم ذكرها فهي تحتاج الى هدم معيبتها من البنا والغرود وخسف السقف سفلا وعلوا واعاده ذلك بالبنا والغرود والتلبس والبلاط وغير ذلك كما كان أولا ويحيط بجميع الاماكن الموصوفه اعلاه التي هي الربع الظاهري الماد[د]كور حدوداً اربعه الحد القبلي ينتهي الى الطريق المتوصل منها الى الجامع المويدي المعمور بذكر الله تعالى بالخط المذكور والى باب ميضاته والى باب حمامه وما هو من حقوق ذلك والى الطريق المسلوك المتوصل منها الى بابي زويله و غيره وفي هذا الحد احد ابواب الربع المذكور والمخازن الاربعه والجنب المعيب المذكور ذلك اولاً اعلاه والحد ال[د]اني وهو البحري ينتهي الى الزقاق الغير نافذ وبآخر هذا الزقاق المذكور بئر ما معين مسبله وفي هذا الحد براس [القميه] حانوت الساده الشهود ومن حقوق الربع الوقف المذكور وفيه بابان احدهما باب الزيبه المذكوره والباب الثاني باب الاسطبل المذكور والحد الثالث وهو الشرقي بعضه ينتهي الى الزقاق غير النافذ المذكور وفيه باب الربع الماد[د]كور والثاني من ابوابه وباتي الحد الى الطريق وفيه باب الفتوح <؟!> الذي هو من حقوق ذلك والى الطريق المتوصل منها الى حمام المؤيدته <المؤيديه؟> وغير ذلك والحد الرابع وهو الغربي ينتهي الى الطريق المسلوك سفلا الربع المذكور المتوصل منها الى بابي زويله والى باب الخرق والى غير ذلك هذا نهايه وصف ما ذكر اعلاه ونهايه حدوده ثم سار المهندسون المذكورون الى المكان الثاني الذي هو من جمله الوقف المذكور الكاين بخط حاره الروم العلويا الذي هو داخل زقاق غير نافذ بالخط المذكور وكشف كشفاً شافياً [م]شاهدوا <فشاهدوا؟> ذلك يشتمل على واجهه مبنيه بالطوب [الأحر <الأحمر، الأجر؟>] بها باب يدخل منه <ناقص؟> دهليز غلسن به سلم خمس درج ينزل من السلم المذكور الى قاعه

&lt;س ١٧٥&gt;

تحوى ايوانين ودور قاعه باحد الايوانين خزانه لطيفه يقابلها سدة أحد الايوانين  
و هو الكبير سقفه مرتفع نقياً و ال[ت]اني سقفه واطي يعلو سقف ذلك اغاني  
لارتفاع الايوان الكبير وبدهلين القاعه المذكوره سلم يصعد منه الى الاغاني المذكور  
والى طبقه لطيفه مسقفه بالشعَب والانخاخ ويصعد من بقيه السلم المذكور الى

&lt;س ١٨٠&gt;

السطح العالي على ذلك مهول السطح المذكور بالاتربه والشقف بغير حظير وبالمكان  
المذكور مرمات بالبنا والبلاط والغرود [يا]حتاج الى عمل حظير بالسطح المذكور  
ويحيط بالمكان الماد[ا]كور حدود اربعة الحد القبلى ينتهي الى مكان يعرف  
بسكن يوسف النصراني المعروف بابن و[حيش] والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى مكان يعرف ببنت  
ابن عويل السراج والحد الغربي ينتهي الى الزقاق الذي هي فيه وفي هذا الحد الواجه  
المذكوره والطاقات والرواشن ثم ساروا الى المكان الثالث

&lt;س ١٨٥&gt;

وهو المكان المعروف بقيساريه قريش بالقاهره المحروسه الجاري من ذلك  
حصه مبلنھا الثمن ثلاثه اسهم ((وزياده ثلثي سهم <مكتوبه بين السطرين>)) من اصل اربعة وعشرين سهماً في  
الوقف

&lt;س ١٩٠&gt;

الظاهري المشار اليه شايعاً ذلك في القيساريه المذكوره وكشفت القيساريه  
المذكوره كشافاً شافياً واحاطوا بذلك علما وخبره نافيه للجهاله [ذ]شاهدوا  
القيساريه المذكوره تشتمل علي واجهه دايره بها ثلاث ابواب يدخل من كل من  
الابواب المذكوره الى القيساريه المذكوره بها حوانيت ومقاعد دائره باطنا  
وظاهرا وكل من ذلك محتاج الى المرمه بالبنا والاشخاب ومرمه المساطب  
والقناطر العلويه ويعلمو ذلك جميعه معالم طباق خراب مهوله بالاتربه وبذلك  
جميعه اكتاف واجناب معييه تحتاج الى العماره و المرمه والاصلاح ويحيط  
بذلك حدود اربعة الحد القبلى ينتهي الى الطريق المتوصل منها (الى) سوق

&lt;س ١٩٥&gt;

الجميلون وسوق الوراقين وغير ذلك وفي هذا الحد المذكور احد الابواب والحد  
البحري ينتهي الى الطريق المتوصل منها الى الرسامين والى البندقيين والى غير  
ذلك والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى الطريق المتوصل منها الى سوق الوراقين  
وغيرها وفي هذا الحد باب ثالث وفي الحد البحري باب ثان والحد الغربي ينتهي  
الى الطريق المتوصل منها الى سوق خشيبه والى الكتيبين والى غير ذلك من

&lt;س ٢٠٠&gt;

الطرق ثم ساروا الى المكان الرابع الكاين بالقاهره المحروسه بخط  
الزراكشه العتق بالقرب من خان الخليلي الجاري من ذلك حصه مبلنھا النصف  
اثنا عشر سهماً من اربعة وعشرين سهماً شايعاً ذلك في جميع المكان الاتي  
ذكره ووصفه وتحديده فيه الذي هو شركه بين الوقف المذكور وبين وقف الطرحا



- مساطب وقطع الميعب من ذلك . . . . .
- <س ٢٣٥> الى بيت امير هناك . . . . .  
 السلوك وفيه . . . . .  
 ينتهي الى بيت سكن المرحوم . . . . .  
 برحمته ثم عرف بسكن اولاده ابقاهم الله تعالى و الحد الغربي الى [ثمه <قبه؟>] المدرسه  
 [ال]مخانتاه <الخانتاه> البيبرسيه المذكوره فيه وبالخط المذكور خمس حوائت متجاوره معده
- <س ٢٤٠> لسكن البياطره وغيرهم على الطريق السلوك . . . . .  
 يقارب . . . . .  
 الى المرمات . . . . .  
 الخشب وغير ذلك . . . . .  
 القراسنقره . . . . .
- <س ٢٤٥> البحري . . . . .  
 والحد الشرقي . . . . .  
 المباركه . . . . .
- وما تعرف به و[ا]نسب اليه علي ما هي عليه وتقدير ما [ي]حتاج  
 اليه لعمارة الاماكن المذكوره الجاريه في الوقف المذكور عن الكامل من ذلك  
 وعن الحصص المشاعه للعماره وللإصلاح والمرمات ما جملته من الذهب  
 الطيب الاشرفي الوزن المتعامل به بالديار المصريه حرسها الله تعالى  
 وحماها وصانها ثلاثه الاف دينار نصف ذلك الف دينار  
 واحده وخمس مايه دينار زنه كل دينار من ذلك د(ر)هما واحداً وتمن درهم  
 [بصنح] الفضة يصرف ذلك في ثمن مؤن واجر واصناف عماره واخشاب ونقل  
 اتره مما ذلك حاصلأ بالاماكن المذكوره وما يتجدد بذلك عند الشد والهدم  
 والمرمات وكسح قنى وذلك جميعه الى الكيمان والتقدير في ذلك يزيد وينقص  
 واسعار الاصناف تملو وترخص وكل يوم هو في شأن فان فعل ذلك كان فيه  
 الحظ والمصلحه لجهه الوقف المذكور ولستحقه شرعا ويكون للساعي في ذلك  
 الاجر الجزيل والثواب الجميل يوم يجزى الله المتصدقين ولا يضيع اجر المحسنين  
 وان ترك ذلك على حالته التي هو بها الان تزايد به الضرر والخراب وسقط ما  
 هو [مايل ايل] الى السقوط نظير ما سقط قبل تاريخه فيحصل بذلك غايه الخلل  
 والضرر للوقف المذكور ولستحقتي ريعه شرعاً هذا ما دل عليه الكشف فيه جميع  
 الاماكن المذكوره اعلاه ثم ساروا الى المقاعد الكاينه بالقاهره

المحروسة بخط بين القصرين بواجهه المدرسه المباركه الظاهريه ببيرس

<س ٢٦٥>

التقديمه المذكوره اعلاه . . . . .  
ذلك بذكر الله . . . . .

تشتمل على مقاعد قليله الاستغماق في الحد البحري من حدود المدرسه المذكوره  
ومن ذلك مقعد مفرد على يسره الداخل لباب الميضاه التي هي بالطريق السالك  
وهي سفلى بعض كتاب السبيل . . . . .

<س ٢٧٠>

وراجهتها وجلسات ومساطب المدرسه . . . . .  
ذلك في الحد الغربي . . . . .  
[ت]حتاج الى اصلاحها واصلاح مساطبها . . . . .  
وحد المدرسه المباركه . . . . .  
عليه الكشف والمشاهده والصفه . . . . .

<س ٢٧٥>

ذلك كذلك في اليوم المبارك يوم الاربعاء المبارك الثامن من شهر ربيع  
الآخر من شهور سنه خمس وستين وثمانين مائه احسن الله تعالى عاقبتها  
بخير وسلامه . . . . .

والتابعين لهم . . . . .  
فيه مكتوب على كشط المسلمين . . . . .

<س ٢٨٠>

كشط بالقيساريه . . . . .  
ذلك وعلى كشط . . . . .  
وعلى كشط . . . . .

صحيح الكتابه على الكشط و صحيح الملحق ولا يعتمد بما تحت الضرب الحمد [لله رب العالمين]

شهد بمضمونه	شهد بمضمونه	شهد بمضمونه	شهد بمضمونه
[ابراهيم بن حسن]	ابراهيم بن عبد الله	احمد بن علي المهندس	ابي بكر محمد المهندس
[المهندس]	بن يوسف المهندس	عرف بابن الرسول	عرف بابن قيسون
	عرف بابن اخت يوسف	وكتب عنه باذنه	وكتب عنه باذنه
	وكتب عنه باذنه	وحضوره	وحضوره
	وحضوره		

[شهد الاربعه ذلك]

[وقبلوا به]

. . . . .

< نص مكتوب عاموديا في الهامش الايمن مقابل سطر ٢٧١ >

حضرت [الكل والمذكور <الكشف المذكور؟>] [صحين] [المهندس] [ين]

المذكورين في تاريخه و [الابر <الامر؟>] كما شرح

[حلا <خلا؟>] [المقدم المعرْم]

محمد احمد [ ]

.....

< نص مكتوب عاموديا في الهامش الايمن مقابل سطر ٢٧٨ >

حضرت

الكشف المذكور [صحين] [المهندسين المذكورين

فيه في تاريخه [ ] كما شرح خلا [البورى]

[المعرْم] [محمد] [الشارع]

.....

< نصوص إسهاد في ظهر الوثيقه >

..

.....

**Awqāf 886**

***Waqf* of Abū al-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy**

**Dated 24 and 28 Jamādī al-Ākhar, 879/1474**

## وقف السلطان قايتباى

نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٨٨٦ ق المودوعه في وزارة الأوقاف

نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٥٠٢

نسخة في ميكروفيلم في مجموعة جامعة شيكاغو تحت رقم

## &lt; نص الوثيقة &gt;

< ما بين الحاصرتين () مأخوذ من نسخة خطية عن أوقاف ٨٨٨ >

..  
..

< ص ١٩٤ ، س ٢ >

. . . . . فمن ذلك جميع المكان المستجد الانشا والعمارة

الكاين بالقاهرة المحروسة بخط الجامع الأزهر تجاه الجامع المذكور من  
جهته الغربية المشتمل بطريق الاجمال على صف حوانيت عدتها اربعة عشر  
حانوتاً بينها وكاله تشتمل على ثمانية وعشرين حاصلًا وثلاث مطالع بها  
سبعة وثلاثون سكنا وقاعة ورواق علوها داخل درب الاترك وسبيل  
وكتاب سبيل علوه وساقية وبير ماء معين وثخانن ومعازل ومسكن ومنافع  
ومرافق وحقوق خارجاً عن حوض السبيل المستجد الانشاء فانه يفرد بحدود  
تذكر فيه يفصل بينه وبين المكان المذكور فيه الشارع المسلك

هذا على طريق الإجمال واما بطريق التفصيل فان المكان الاول المذكور  
فيه يشتمل على واجهة دائرية في حدوده الثلاثة القبلي والبحري والشرقي  
فاما الجهة القبلي فانها مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت الكدان بها بابان

< ص ١٩٥ >

مربعان يفتق على كل منهما فردة باب يدخل منه احدهما الى مدار سلم يصعد منه  
الى مطلع يشتمل على ثمان طباق متطابقة اربعة تعلوها اربعة كل واحدة منها  
تشتمل على ايوان ودورقاعة وخزانة ومستترقة ومرفق ومنافع وحقوق  
بها طاقات مطلات على الطريق المتوصل منها الى حارة كتامة وغيرها الفاصلة  
بين هذا المكان وحوض السبيل المذكور اعلاه بكل طبقة ثلاث طاقات والباب  
الثاني يتوصل منه الى سلم يصعد منه الى ريع سفله سبع حوانيت من الحوانيت  
المذكورة اعلاه كل حانوت منها يشتمل علي مسطبة ودراريب وداخل ومنافع  
وحقوق يشتمل هذا الربع على اربعة عشر طبقة متطابقة سبعة منها تعلوها  
سبعة كلها مطلة على الشارع الفاصل بين هذا المكان وبين الجامع الأزهر تشتمل  
كل طبقة على ايوان ودورقاعة ودهليز وبيت ازيار ومستترقة ومرفق



۱۰۰۱ >

۱۱۱ >

Appendix II:

جميع الحوانيت ومساطبها وباب المطلع الثالث وروشن وطاقت المظلمين الثاني  
والثالث واحد شباكي السبيل واحد واجهتي كتاب السبيل وباب السبيل وكتابه  
والحد الغربي ينتهي غالبه الى الابنية التي بزقاق حالومة الجارية فيم ملك  
ملاكها وباقية الى زقاق حالومة . . . . .

< ص ٢٤٤ ، س ٥ >

ويقرر الناظر على ذلك رجلاً امينا بواباً للوكالة الخان التي تجاه  
الجامع الازهر المذكور اعلاه يلزم باب الخان المذكور ويقفله ليلا ويفتحة نهارا  
ويصونه ممن يتأذي به من الطارقين ويحرس حواصله ويبيت بالخان المذكور  
ويتعاطى ما جرت عادة البوابين بعمله في مثل ذلك ويصرف له كل شهر  
من المعلوم ما يراه الناظر ويؤدي اليه اجتهاده . . . . .

< ص ٢٥٢ ، س ٨ >

. . . . . فقد ختم هذا الوقف وتم ونفذ حكمه وانبرم وصار وقفا  
محرمًا بحرمان الله الاكيدة فلا يحل لأحد يؤمن بالله واليوم الآخر ويعلم  
انه الى ربه الكريم صاير ان يغير هذا الوقف ولا شيئاً منه ولا يبطله  
ولا شيئاً منه فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه على الدين [يب] دلونه ان الله سميع  
عليم ورفع الواقف عن ذلك يد ملكه ووضع عليه يد ولايته ونظره واشهد  
عليه انه عارف بذلك المعرفة الشرعية وصادر الاشهاد بذلك

< ص ٢٥٢ >

وبالتوكيل في ثبوته والدعوي به وطلب الحكم به وابداء الدافع ونفيه  
التوكيل الشرعي في تاريخين اولهما وهو تاريخ المشهود به على الواقف المنوه  
باسمه الشريف فيما يتعلق بوقفه على اخته خوند جان متين و ولدها الجناب العالي  
السيفي جانباي وهو الأماكن التي بخط سويقة الع[ربي] باقصى هذا الخط المعروفة  
قديماً بأخت المرحوم اسنباي رابع وعشرين شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ثمانين وثمان مائة  
وأخرهما الخامس والعشرون من ذي الحجة الحرام سنة احدى وثمانين وثمان مائة  
وصح في هذه النسخة ما كان ملحقاتاً في الأصل بين سطوره او مصلحاً على كشط او  
غيره مما اعتذر عنه كاتبه بخطه في آخر الأصر وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
<صورة مجموعة من الإشهادات>

. . . . .

**Bibliothèque National \_\_\_\_\_**  
***Waqf* of Abū al-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy**  
**Dated 28 Rabī‘ al-Ākhar, 890/1485**

وقف الدشيثة للسلطان قايتباي  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم — المودوعة في المكتبة القومية في باريس  
نسخة عند السيدة منى زكريا

<نص من الوثيقة>

وجميع العمارة . . . . .

<ص ٢٥٢، س ٢>

المستجدة الانشا انشا الواقف المنوه باسمه الشريف اعلاه نصره الله تعالى  
الكاينة بالقاهرة المحروسة بخط باب النصر بجوار جامع [ل]جامع الحاكم وهي  
التي كان قايما مقامها اماكن قديمة ملكها مولانا المقام الشريف  
نصره الله تعالى بمستندات شرعية وهدمها واستاصلها وانشا  
مكانها العمارة المذكورة اعلاه وخصمت المستندات المذكورة بقضية  
هذا الوقف خصما شرعيا موافقا لتاريخه وشهوده وصفتها علي  
ما هي عليه الان انه تشتمل على ثلاث واجهات بالجهات الثلاث  
القبليه فان بها احد عشر حانوتا و مقعدا كل حانوتا يشتمل على  
مسطبه وداخل ودراريب واما المقعد فبغير باب عليه بين  
الحوائت المذكورة باب كبير مقنطر يدخل منه الي دركاه  
بمسطبتين يمنه ويسره يدخل منها الي وكاله تشتمل على رحاب  
كشفا مستدير بتسعة وعشرين بابا مقنطرة يدخل من احدها الي  
دهليز معقود قبوا به كرسيان والثمانيه وعشرون الباقية

ابواب حواصل كل حاصل منها يشتمل على باب وداخل يعلوه عقد  
مفروش ارضه بالحجر الكدان وبهذا [الدابر >الداير؟>] [قبق >قبو؟>] يتوصل منه الي

<ص ٢٥٣، س ١>

سلم يصعد منها الي مجاز مبلط مستطيل به خمسة عشر حاصلا  
كل منها يشتمل علي باب مربع [مغلق] عليه فردة باب يدخل منه  
الي حاصل مبلط يعلوه عقد واما الواجهة الثانية التي بالجهة  
الشرقية بها بابان احدهما مقنطر يفتح عليه فردة باب يدخل منه  
الي دهليز ثم الي سلم مبلط يتوصل منه الي مجاز مبلط به اربعة  
اروقة يشتمل كل منها على باب مربع يفتح عليه فردة باب يدخل  
منه الي دهليز به كرسي و بيت ازيار وسلم يتوصل منه الي طبقة  
ثم الي السطح العالي علي ذلك ثم يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور الي  
رواق بايونين ودرقاعة مسقف تقيا مدهون كافوريا مفروش

بالبلاط مسبل بالبياض والباب الثاني من بايى الواجهة الشرقية  
 مربع يغلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى سلم مبلط يتوصل منه  
 الى دهليز به خمس طباق يشتمل كل منها على باب مربع عليه فردة  
 باب وعلى دهليز وكروسي راحة وببيت ازيار وسلم يتوصل منه الى  
 مسترقة والى السطح العالى على الطبقة والى طبقه واحدة بايوان  
 واحد ودورقاعة وخزانه وطاقتات مطلات على الشرع وبراس  
 هذا السلم طبقه تعرف بطبقه الربعية بطاقتين مطلتين على الوكالة  
 ثم يتوصل من ذلك السلم المذكور الى دور ثاني يشتمل على ست  
 طباق كالتباق المقدم ذكرها مسقف بدهليزها وتخاينها لوحا  
 وفسقيه وباطن الطباق نقيا مدهون كافوريا ما عدى طبقه  
 الربعية فانها مسقفة نقيا لوحا وفسقيه وكل ذلك مفروش ارضه  
 بالبلاط مسبل جدره بالبلاط واما الواجهه الثالثه التي بالجهه  
 الغربية [فيها] ثلاث حوانيت وهي الحوانيت المقدم ذكرها  
 وبير مسبله وحوض سبيل ليسا من حقوق هذا المكان ولا  
 داخلين في الوقف وبهذه الواجهة باب مربع عليه فرده باب  
 يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد منه الى <بياض في الاصل> اول به اثنا عشر طبقة  
 احدها لطيفه وهي طبقة الربعية والطباق الباقية يشتمل كل  
 منها على نظير ما اشتمل عليه كل من الطباق المقدم ذكرها ثم  
 يتوصل من بقيه السلم الى دور ثاني به احد عشر رواقا احدها  
 بايوانين ودورقاعة وثلاث سدلات والثاني بايوانين ودور  
 قاعة والباقيه بايوان واحد ودورقاعة وكل منها جميعها يشتمل على  
 خزانه وعلى كروسي ودهليز ومسترقة وسلم وسطوح مختص به  
 ومنافع ومرافق وحقوق ويحصر ذلك حدود اربعة الحسد  
 القبلي ينتهي الى الشارع المسلوك وفيه الواجهة القبليه وابواب  
 الحوانيت وباب الوكالة ومطل طاقتات المساكن التي علو ذلك  
 والحسد البحرى ينتهي الى جدار جامع الحاكم والحسد الشرقي  
 ينتهي بعضه الى زقاق غير نافذ وفيه باب احد الربيعين المذكورين  
 اعلاه وباب المطل اللطيف الذى به الاربعه اروقة الحبيس  
 وبعضه الى مكان يعرف بزوجة ابن نصر الله والحد الغربي ينتهي  
 بعضه الى رحاب متسع تجاه الشارع وفيه ثلاث حوانيت وباب

<ص ٢٦، ٢٧، س ١>

<ص ٢٦، ٢٧، س ١>

احد الريمين الكبيرين و[تبق <قبو؟>] بداخله حوض السبيل المذكور وباب  
مقنطر يتوصل منه الى البير المسبلة التي هناك وليس الحوض  
ولا البير من حقوق هذا المكان وبعضه الى ميضاه مستجدة  
هناك انشا الواقف المنوه باسمه الشريف اعلاه نصره الله تعالى  
متعلقه بجامع الحاكم بجوار باب الدخول اليه وبعضه الى قاعة  
الخطابة المتعلقة بالجامع وفي هذا الحد بعض مطلات طاقات  
الطباق والنصف من جميع العمارة المستجدة انشا الواقف المنوه  
باسمه الشريف . . . . .

. .

<ص ٧١ ش، س ١٢ >

. . . . . وجميع  
المكان الكامل ارضا وينا الكاين بالقاهرة المحروسة بحاره الروم  
السفلى بزقاق غير نافذ يعرف بامير جندار على يسره الداخل  
من [الزقاق المذكور . . . . .

تعالى بمقتضى فصل الاقرار الشرعي الثابت المحكوم بموجبه  
في الشرع الشريف المسطر بمكتوب التبابع الشرعي المورخ بالسادس  
من صفر الاخر سنة تسع وسبعين وثمان مائه الثابت مضمونه

. .

مستدير [ـ بروز] نقش من خشب يدخل منه الى قاعه تحوى  
ايوانا ومجلسا بينهما دورقاعه مفروش ارضها بالرخام الملون بوزره  
رخاما وصار المجلس المذكور ايوانا يقابل الايوان المذكور وبه  
فسقيه حليبه وشادروان وصار بدور القاعه المذكور  
بحره كبيره مفروش ذلك بالرخام الملون يعلو ذلك باذاهنج خشبا  
نقيا ملمع بالذهب والازورد وبالايوان المذكور سدله بجانبها  
خرستانان على كل منهما فردة باب خشبا نقيا مطعما وبالايوان  
الكبير صفتان متقابلتان احدا[ه]ما على يمنه الصاعد الى الايوان  
مرخمه بوزرة رخاما يتوصل من الصفه المذكورة الى باب مربع  
عليه فردة باب مطعم يدخل منه الى خزانه كسوه مبلطه  
مسقفه نقيه والثانيه على يسره الصاعد بواجهة خشبا مطعما  
بها باب مربع عليه زوجا باب يتوصل منه الى خرستان به  
اربع كتيبيات متقابلات يغلق على كل منها فرده باب وبدور

القاعه المذكوره صفتان متقابلتان مبلطتان يعلو احدهما

كتيبيتان . . . . .

..

< ص ١٥٥، س ١١ >

الحكم به وابد الدافع ونفيه التوكيل الشرعي في التاريخ الممين

اعلاه وهو الثامن والعشرون من شهر ربيع الاخره سنه تسعين

وثمان مايه فيه ملحق . . . . .

..

<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

.....

**Awqāf 901**

***Waqf* of Emīr Kabīr Qurqumās**

**Dated 1 Rabī' al-Ākhar, 906/1500**

وقف الأمير كبير قرقماس  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٩٠١ المودوعة في وزارة الأوقاف  
نسخة في ميكروفيلم في مجموعة جامعة شيكاغو

<نص من الوثيقة>

<ص ٤١، س ٢>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم  
هذا كتاب وقف صحيح شرعي وحبس [ص] ربح مرعي  
مضمونه ان مولانا المقر الاشرف الكريم العالي المولوي  
الاميري الكبير المعضدي الدخري الكهنفي الملاذى  
[الغ] [و]سي الغياي سيدي المالكي المخدومي الاتاكي  
السيدي قرقماس الواقف المشار اليه باعاليه باطنا  
وظاهرا اعز الله تعالي انصاره وضاعف اقتداره  
اشهد عليه شهوده الاشهاد الشرعي فيه صحته  
وسلامته ورغبته في الخير وارادته انه وقف وحبس  
وسبل وحرم واكد وابد وخذل وتصدق بجميع المكان  
المستجد الانشا والعماره الذي انشاه من ماله وصلب  
حاله علي ارض ملك رقبته بالطريق الشرعي ولم  
يزل ذلك في ملكه وحيازته الي صدور الوقف المذكور  
بشهادة من يوضع اسمه اخر الفصل الذي يسطر بحاشيته  
وهذا المكان بظاهر القاهرة المحروسة بالصحرا بجوار  
تربة السلطان السعيد السيد الاشرف اينال سيني سقي الله  
تعالي عهده صوب الرحمة والرضوان وصفة المكان المذكور  
بدلاله الشهاده انه يشتمل علي واجهه دايره مبنيه با  
لحجر الفص النحيت بها اربعة ابواب احدها مربع يدخل  
منه الي حوش كشف سماوي كان قصد ان يعمل طاحون  
والباب الثاني مقنطر عليه فردة باب يدخل منه الي  
مجاز ارضي كشف به تسعة ابواب علي يسرة الداخل في  
المجاز المذكور ثمانية ابواب يدخل من كل منها الي دهليز  
به مخزن وكرسى خلا وسلم يصعد من عليه الي رواق يحوي  
ايوانا ودورقاعه وطاقات مطلات علي الطريق و الباب

<ص ٤٢>

التاسع من ابواب المجاز تجاه الداخل يتوصل منه الي حوش كبير برسم دفن الاموات والباب الثالث من ابواب الواجه يتوصل اليه من سلم وسطه كبيره داير عليها درابزين حجرا

<ص ٤٢ >

احمر منقوشا برمامين حجرا عدتها عشرة والباب المذكور مربع بكتفيه جلستان يعلوه قوس مدايني علوه شباك حديد بك[ة]فيه عمودان رخاما علو ذلك ثلاثه شبايك خشبا يعلوها المتعرض يغلط علي الباب المذكور فردة باب بصفايح نحاسا بمسامير مكويجه يدخل من الباب المذكور الي دركاه بصدرها مسطبه بها شباك مطل علي المدرسة الاتي ذكرها مفروش ارض الدرگاه

<ص ٥٠ ، س ٦ >

ويحيط بذلك جميعه ويحصره ويشتمل عليه وعلي ساير حقوقه حدود اربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي الي الطريق وفيه احد شباكي السبيل المذكور وبعض شبايك المدرسه والقبة والقصر والمدفن وطاقت الاروقه المذكوره وياب من ابواب الحوش والحد البحري ينتهي بعضه الي تره بن فضل الله وبعضه لزقاق هناك وفيه خوخه وبعضه للطريق وبعضه الي تربة القاضي عبد الباسط والي زقاق هناك وفيه خوخه والحد الشرقي ينتهي الي الطريق وفيه باب المدرسة المذكوره والسلم والبسطه التي بها الرمامين الرخام والشباك الثاني من شباكي السبيل وبعضه الي زقاق لطيف فاصل بين ذلك وبين

<ص ٥١ >

تربة الاشرف اينال المشار اليه اعلاه وفيه باب معالم الطاحون المذكوره وياب المجاز الذي ابواب الاروقه المذكوره اعلاه وبعضه لتره تعرف بجريا[ش] قاش[وقر الحد الغربي ينتهي الي الطريق وفيه باب مسدود كان يتوصل منه للحوش المذكور وجميع المكان المقابل للمدرسة المذكوره المستجد الانشا والعماره الذي انشاه الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه علي ارض ملك منفتها بالطريق الشرعي من ماله وصلب



والسلم الموعود به اعلاه يدخل منه الي طبقه كبيره بها  
منور كبير وباب عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الي خزانه  
ويتوصل من القبو المذكور من علي يسرة السالك الي باب  
مقنطر عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الي ميضاه مستديره  
بمشرة كراسي خلا ومستحم علي كل من ذلك فرده باب  
ومسطبه يجاورها خزانه لطيفه برسم لوالب <؟> المياه بوسط الميضاه  
المذكوره فسقيه مدوره يعلوها قبه مبنيه بالحجر بها ثمانيه  
مزارب وفوار وسفل ذلك وسفل الحاصل الاتي ذكره اقصاب  
رصاص فرقتان احديهما للكراسي والفسقيه والحنفيه  
المذكوره والثانيه الي راس القبو يفترق ايضا فرقتان  
احدهما يمشي علي اليمين الي حوض الدواب المدعو <الموعود؟> به اعلاه  
والثانيه يمشي علي اليسار للميضاه داخل المدرسه المذكوره  
اعلاه وتجاه الداخل من القبو المذكور واجهه مبنيه  
بالحجر الفص النحيت بها ثلاثه ابواب احدها متبن والثاني  
يدخل منه الي مخزن فيما بين البابين المذكورين دخله  
البيير الساقيه الاتي ذكرها فيه والباب الثالث يدخل منه  
الي دهليز بصدرة زلاقه ياتي ذكره فيه وعلي يسرة الداخل  
من الدهليز المذكور باب مقنطر يدخل منه الي دهليز كشف  
بصدرة باب يدخل منه الي مخزن يجاوره سلم يصعد من  
عليه الي دهليز به علي يمنه الداخل يدخل منه الي رواق  
يحوي ايوانا واحدا ودورقاعه برسم السواق بدور القاعه  
باب يدخل منه الي مطبخ والي كرسي خلا والزلاقه  
الموعود بها اعلاه يصعد من عليها الي مدار ساقيه  
ويبر ماء معين مركب عليها ساقيه خشب كامله العده  
والاله صالحه للاداره ويتوصل من المدار المذكور الي حاصل  
برسم خزن [المابه <المابه؟>] ثم دهليز يتوصل منه الي الرواق  
المذكور اعلاه ويظاهر الميضاه المذكوره حوض برسم الدواب  
مسقف نقيا علي اكتاف مبنيه بالحجر الفص النحيت برفرف  
ويجاور الساقيه المذكوره فسحه عليها جدر دايره مبنيه  
بالحجر مدامكين من حقوق ذلك ويحيط بذلك جميعه

&lt;ص ٥٤&gt;

&lt;ص ٥٥&gt;



وما هو من حقوقها لينتفع الواقف بذلك هو واولاده  
 وذريته واخوه الجناب السيفي الماس وذريته علي حسب  
 ما يراه الواقف فاذا انقرضوا ينتفع بذلك من له دفن  
 بالمكان المذكور ووقف الطباق المجاوره للمدرسة  
 والمقابلة لها وبقية المساكن والخلاري والحواصل والخر  
 ستانات ولاخره <؟> لينتفع بها الشيخ والصوفيه وارباب  
 الوظائف بالمدرسة المذكوره علي حسب ما يراه الناظر  
 علي ذلك ويودي اليه اجتهاده واذا قرر الناظر علي ذلك  
 لاحد منهم للانتفاع بشيء من ذلك استقل به دون غيره  
 واما بقيه المنافع التي بالمكان المذكور فانه وقفها  
 لينتفع بها في كل شيء [يحبه] علي العاده في ذلك واما  
 بقية الموقوف المعين للاستغلال فانه شرط ان يضم  
 ريع ذلك الي ريع اوقافه السابقه المعينه اعلاه باطنا  
 وظاهرا ويكون حكم ذلك حكم اوقافه المذكوره في الحال  
 والمال والتعذر والامكان والنظر والاستحقاق والشرط  
 والترتيب وشرط لنفسه الكريمه في اوقافه السابقه

&lt;ص ٦٢&gt;

فقد تم هذا الوقف المبرور ولزم واقفه حكمه وانبرم وختم  
 فمن بدله يهد ما سمعه فانما اثمه علي الذين يبدلونه ان  
 الله سميع عليم ووقع الاشهاد بذلك وبالتوكيل في ثبوته  
 وطلب الحكم به وسؤال الاشهاد وايد الدافع وايعين التوكيل  
 الشرعي في اليوم المبارك الاول من شهر رجب الفرد الحرام  
 سنة ست عشره وتسعمايه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
 <مثال مجموعة من التوقيعات>

&lt;ص ٦٣&gt;

&lt;نص آخر&gt;

&lt;ص ٦٤ ، س ١٠&gt;

الحمد لله رب العالمين الحمد لله وحده جري ذلك  
 بعد ان اتصل سيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الي الله تعالي  
 الشيخ الامام العالم العامل العلامة الحبر البحر الفهمه

المحقق المدقق الحجة المجتهد الاوحد للامه الحافظ المحدث  
الرحله المفيد الفريد العمده الخاضع الناسك القدره  
قاضي القضاء سري الدين لسان المتكلمين رحله الطالبين  
حجة الناظرين مفحم الجار[يا]ن قامع المستدعين امام المسرين  
والمحدثين كثير النجاه والمقربين شيخ الفقها والمولين عمدة

<ص ٦٦، س ٩>

الشرعية وانه بعضه ذلك اتصل به مكاتيب اوقاف القر  
المرحوم السيوفي قرقماس الاتابكي الواقف المشار اليه فيه تفمده  
الله برحمته الجامعه لها هذا المكتوب وانه شرط لنفسه  
الكريمه في كل منها الزيادة والنقص والادخال والاخراج  
والتغيير والتبديل وان يشترط من الشروط المخالفة لما  
اشترطه في كل منها ما يري اشتراطه كلما بدا له وانه بدا له  
وهو في حال توعك بدنه وحضور عقله وفهمه في ثاني  
عشري شهر رمضان المعظم وحرمة سنة ست عشره  
وتسعمايه ان اشترط النظر علي اوقافه المذكوره وعلي  
مدرسته وترته اللتين انشاهما بالصحرا> الموصوفين المحدودين  
سرته لكل من اخيه شقيقه السيوفي الماس المشار اليه مكتوب  
الوقف المذكور فيه ودواذاره الجنب العالي السيوفي دلاقه باي  
بن عبد الله السيوفي قرقماس الاتابكي احد الامرا المشرات  
بالديار المصريه الملكي الاشرفي اعز الله تعالي جنابهما  
وجعل لهما الزيادة والنقصان والادخال والاخراج  
والتغيير والتبديل واشترط ما يرتاب اشتراطه من الوظائف  
والمعاليم والمرتب والمال وغير ذلك من مرتباته في المدرسه  
والترية المذورين فيه وغيرهما من اوقافه مجتمعين  
في ذلك غير متفرقين وثبت ذلك لدي سيدنا ومولانا

<ص ٦٧>

<ص ٧٩، س ٩>

نصفها مائة درهم وخمسون درهما ويصرف لرجل  
سباك يتولي اصلاح ما يحتاج اليه [ال]اقتصاب الرصاص  
وغيرها مما جرت به في كل شهر من الفلوس المذكوره  
مائة درهم نصفها خمسون درهما ويصرف في كل

&lt; ص ٨٢ ، س ٤ &gt;

..  
 واشهد علي نفسه الكريمة حرسها الله تعالي وحماها  
 وصانها ورعاها بذلك وبه شهد في اليوم المبارك من  
 شعبان المكرم سنة سبع عشر وتسعمائة في اسجالاته و[ياصلح

&lt; ص ٨٢ ، س ١١ &gt;

&lt; مثال توقيعات &gt;

&lt; نص آخر &gt;

&lt; ص ١٢٨ &gt;

مثال

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم صل علي سيدنا محمد وعلي  
 اله وصحبه وسلم  
 هذا كتاب وقف صحيح شرعي وحبس صحيح مرعي  
 مضمونه ان مولانا المقر الاشرف الكريم العالي المولوي  
 الاميري الكبير العقدي الدخري الكهني الملاذي [الغوئي]  
 الفياثي السيدي الملكي المخدومي الاتاكي السيفي قرماس  
 اتابك العساكر المنصور بالديار المصريه الملكي الاشرفي  
 وهو الواقف المشار اليه باطنا وظاهرا اعز الله تعالي  
 انصاره وضاعف اقتداره اشهد علي نفسه الزكية  
 خلد الله تعالي مراتبها [اعلا]يه وهو بحال الصحة والسلامه  
 انه وقف وحبس وسبل وحرم واكد وابد وخلد وتصدق  
 بجميع ما هو جار في ملكه ويده وتصرفه وحيازته  
 واختصاصه حال صدور هذا الوقف بشهادة من حضر  
 ويوضع اسمه اخر الفصل الذي سيصطر بحاشيته وبدلاله

&lt; ص ١٤٦ ، س ٥ &gt;

..  
 الدوادار كبير تغمده الله برحمته وجميع المكان بالخط  
 المذكور تجاه سوق القبو الذي سفل المدرسه الحسنيه المشتمل  
 بدلاله الاصل الموعود به اعلاه علي سوق سلاح وحوانيت  
 بظاهره وباطنه عدتها ثلاثة وعشرون حانوتا ومقعدا  
 وعلي ربع دورين به مساكن ثلاثة وثلاثون سكنا

وعلي اربع قاعات كل ذلك كامل المنافع والمرافق والحقوق  
المحصور ذلك بحدود اربعة بدلاله الاصل الموعود به  
اعلاه الحد القبلي ينتتهي الي الزقاق الفاصل بين ذلك  
وبين زاويتين هناك وهو بيت رزاهك وجاني بك  
الايهودي والحد الغربي ينتهي الي الطريق المسلك وفيه باب  
السوق الكبير وعشر حوانيت من الحوانيت المذكوره وباب  
من ابواب مطلع الطبايع المذكوره اعلاه بجميع ما لكل من  
المحصور المذكور ما عليه من الحقوق الواجبه لها في كامل  
ما هي منه [ياحد كل من ذلك جميعه وحدوده وحقوقه ومعامله  
ورسومه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه خلا ما يستثني  
من ذلك شرعا يدل علي ملك الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه  
المكانين الكابنين براس سويقة الغري] المذكور اعلاه  
مكتوب التبایع الموعود به اعلاه الجامع لذلك ولغيره المورخ  
بالثاني من شهر الله المحرم الحرام افتتاح عام تسعه وتسعمايه

&lt;ص ١٤٧&gt;

. .

كذلك ورفع الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه عن وقفه هذا يد  
ملكه ووضع عليه يد ولايته ونظره اشهد علي نفسه  
الكريمه بجميع ما نسب اليه اعلاه وبالتوكيل في ثبوته  
وطلب الحكم به التوكيل الشرعي في اليوم المبارك السابع  
والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم قدره وحرمته سنه ثلاث  
عشره وتسعمايه فيه مصلح شهوده [اشمر] من قرية الكسوه  
وملحق لذلك صحيح ذلك [معتد <معتد؟>] به في موضعه وصلي الله  
علي سيدنا محمد وعلي اله وصحبه وسلم وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
شهدت علي مولانا المقر الاشرف الاتابكي الواقف المشار  
اليه اعلاه تقبل الله تعالي صدقته وزاد علاه بما نسب  
اليه اعلاه في تاريخه وكتبه سعد بن ابراهيم الطيبي  
شهدت علي مولانا المقر الاشرف الاتابكي  
الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه تقبل الله  
تعالي صدقته وزاد علاه بما  
نسب اليه اعلاه وكتبه

&lt;ص ١٥٠، س ٦&gt;

&lt;ص ١٥١&gt;

.....

**Awqāf 882/883**

***Waqf* of Qānṣū al-Ghūrī**

**Dated 26 Muḥarram, 909/1503**

## وقف السلطان قانصوه الغورى

نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ٨٨٢ و ٨٨٢ المودوعه في وزارة الأوقاف

نسخة في مشروع الميكروفيلم تحت رقم ٥٠٠

نسخة في ميكروفيلم في مجموعة جامعة شيكاغو

## &lt;نص الوثيقة&gt;

&lt;ما بين الحاصرتين 0 مأخوذ من نسخة خطية عن أوقاف ٨٨٢&gt;

..

..

&lt;وصف لأروقة في خان وفندق (ص ٢٨.٢٥)&gt;

..

&lt;ص ٢٢٩ ، س ١٢&gt;

. . . . .

المحروسة بخط الخيمييين قريبا من الجامع الأزهر

المعروف بخان الزراكشه وصفته بدلالة

مكتوب أصله الأتى ذكر تاريخه فيه أنه يشتمل علي

واجهه &lt;٨&gt; زمنة البنا بها سبعة حوانيت وباب كبير

يشتمل كل من الحوانيت المذكورة على مسطبة وداخل

ودراريب ويجاور ذلك الباب الكبير المذكور

فيه يتوصل منه الى باب الخان المعروف بالزراكشة

المذكور فيه يدخل منه الى فسحة مفروش ارضها

بالبلاط الكدان بها مخازن دايرة ويثر ماء معين

يقابلها ساحة لطيفة ثم يتوصل من ذلك الى فندق

صغير ومنافع وحقوق وبدهليز الخان المذكور

فيه بابان يدخل من كل منهما الى سلم يتوصل منه

الى طباق دايرة متجاورة ومتطابقة وذات المنافع

والحقوق والاقتصاب القنا الخالصة لذلك بما

لذلك من المنافع والحقوق والتخاين والمعالم

والأبواب والرسوم سفلاً وعلواً ويحيط بذلك

حدود اربعة تضمنها المكتوب المذكور الحد

القبلي ينتهى إلى دار تعرف بابن بهادر (ومن يشركه والحد البحرى ينتهى قديما الى دار تعرف بابن درهم

<إضافة في الهامش> وبعده

عرفت بالمقر المرحوم الصفوى جوهر بن عبد الله  
 الا لا كان والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى الشارع المسلوك  
 وفيه الحوائت المذكورة فيه والواجهة المقدم  
 ذكرها فيه التي هي من حقوق ذلك والباب  
 المتوصل منه للخان المذكور فيه والروشن العالى  
 على ذلك واليسير من الحد المذكور فيه ينتهي الى  
 عمارة المقر الصفوى جوهر الا لا كان المشار إليه  
 والحد الغربي ينتهي الى المكان المعروف قديما  
 بمسقط ابن درباس ومن شركه وإلى دار تعرف  
 قديما بالزركشى ثم عرفت بالمقر المرحوم القاضى  
 الزينى ابى الخير النحاس المعروف بإنشائه بالخط  
 المذكور فيه الجارى فيه الوقف المذكور اعلاه الان  
 يشهد لمولانا الواقف المنوه باسمه الشريف اعلاه  
 بملكه لذلك كتاب التبایع الورق الشامى الموعود  
 به اعلاه المحضر لشهوده المؤرخ باطنه بسابع عشري  
 شوال المبارك سنة اربع عشرة وتسع مائة الثابت  
 المحكوم به في الشرع الشريف من مجلس الحكم العزيز  
 [أسيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاء شيخ الإسلام السروب  
 سرى الدين الحاكم الحنفى المنوه باسمه الكريم اعلاه  
 بدلالة إسجاله الكريم المسطر ظاهر ذلك المؤرخ  
 بالثامن عشر من ذى الحجة الحرام سنة أربع عشرة  
 وتسعمائة . . . . .

<ص ٢٢١>

<ص ٢٢٢>

<ص ٢٢٧ ، س ١١>

. . . . . وجميع الكائين المستجدين

الإنشأ والعمارة الكائنين بالقاهرة المحروسة  
 فالمكان الأول منهما متصل بعمارة البيت المعروف  
 بالأمير جانم وصفته بدلالة كتاب الإنشاء  
 الأتى ذكره فيه انه يشتمل على واجهة مستطيلة  
 متصلة بالبي المذكور على يمينة من سلك من

(ص ١٥٧ ، س ٥)

الجرايشيين طالبا الجامع الأزهر مبنية هذه الواجهة  
 (بالحجر الفص النحيت المشهر الابيض والاحمر بها ثلاثة  
 ابواب احدها يدخل منه الى خان مستجد به حواصل سفليه وعلويه  
 بوسطه فسقيه برسم الوضو ومسجد ياتي ذكره فيه وثانيها يدخل منه الى  
 مصبغه الازرق وثالثها يدخل منه الى المساكن الاتي ذكرها فيه واما صفته  
 على سبيل التفصيل فاباب الاول كبير مربع يكتفه جليستان بعتبه  
 سفلى صوانا ويملها سلسله حديد وعليا حجرا احمر بداخل منقوش  
 داله اسود يغلغ عليه زوجا باب مطبق مصفح بالحديد يدخل منه الى  
 دهليز به مسطبتان متقابلتان بازا احدهما مرمره مسقف الدهليز  
 المذكور عقدا مصلبا يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور الى رحاب كشف مربع مبلط  
 بالحجر الاحمر به فسقيه مربعه برسم الوضو وحنفيه ومسجد بدرابزي حجر  
 مبلط مسقف تقيا مدهون حريرنا على ستة اعمده منها اربعة رخاما ابيض  
 واثنان صوانا احمر برفرف داير على يمنه الداخل الى الرحاب المذكور دهليز  
 به ثلاثة مراحيض واسطبل معد لربط دواب التجار مسقف غشيميا  
 ويداير الوكاله سفلا وعلوا خمسة وخمسون حاصلها منها ستة وعشرون  
 سفليه دايره تجاهها بسطه دايره بقواصر معقوده تشتمل كل منها على  
 باب وداخل وسقف عقد ومنها تسعة وعشرون علويه يتوصل اليها  
 من بايين متقابلين بالرحاب المذكور يمنه ويسرة تشتمل كل منها على باب  
 وداخل مبلط وسقف عقد تجاه ذلك درابزين خرط محيط بالمشاه  
 المقابله لذلك يعلو الحواصل المذكوره مساكن ياتي ذكرها فيه بهذا الدوار  
 المذكور كرسيان والباب الثاني كبير ايضا مقنطر بعتبه سفلى صوانا  
 يغلغ عليه فوده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز به مسطبه لطيفه ومريره يتوصل  
 منه الى رحاب بوسطه فسقيه معدة لتصفية النبل بهذا المكان ثمانية عشر  
 حاصلها دايره معدة لسكنى صباغين الازرق بها [خواني] برسم الصبغ  
 وبالرحاب المذكور سلم يتوصل منه الى سطح المصبغه المذكوره كامله المنافع  
 والمرافق والحقوق والباب الثالث باخر الواجهه مربع يتوصل اليه من  
 سلم درج وبسطه بالشارع يغلغ عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى سلم  
 يتوصل منه الى مساكن عدتها ثلاثون مسكنا منها عشره مطله على الواجهه المذكوره  
 يشتمل اولها على ايوانين ودورقاعه وخزانه وطاقتات مطلات على الطريق  
 ورحاب وكرسی خلا ومطبخ وطبقه وسطح محظر يعلو ذلك والتسع الباقية

(ص ١٥٨ < >)

&lt;ص ٢٤٠&gt;

كل منها يشتمل على ايوان واحد ودورقاعه  
 ورحاب به كرسي وخزانه وطبقه وسطح يعلو ذلك  
 وتسمه منها مطلة على الوكالة المذكورة من الجهة  
 اليمنى يشتمل كل منها على ايوان ودورقاعة وطبقة  
 لطيفة وخزانه ورحاب وكرسي خلا وسطح وتسعة  
 منها مطلة على الوكالة من الجهة اليسرى كل منها  
 يشتمل على ايوان ودورقاعة وخزانه وفسحة بها  
 مرحاض يعلو ذلك سطح محظر وواحد منها مطل  
 على المصبغة وواحد منها مطل على الزقاق الذي  
 به واجهة الحمام من الحد القبلي مكمل كل من المساكن  
 والحواصل بالأبواب والبلاط والسقف المدهونة  
 والتخاين والمنافع والحقوق مسبل الجدر بالبياض  
 ماعدا الحجر المشهر ويحيط بذلك ويحصره حدود  
 اربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي بعضه الى بيت يعرف باين  
 الشيخ على المقرى وبعضه الى حمام المصبغة وباقيه  
 الى الشارع الذي به واجهة الحمام وفيه مطل طاقات  
 الرواق والحد البحري ينتهي الى بقية البيت المعروف  
 قديما بالأمير جانم الجاري في الأوقاف الشريفة  
 السلطانية ومنه يحمل الماء إلى فسقية الخان المسجد  
 الموصوف اعلاه والحد الشرقي ينتهي إلى الطريق  
 السالك إلى الجامع الأزهر وإلى القلعة «القصبة؟» العظمى  
 بالجرايشيين وغيرها وفيه أبواب الوكالة والمصبغة  
 والربع ومطل طاقات بعض المساكن المذكورة والحد  
 الغربي ينتهي بعضه إلى بيت المرحوم ابن قاسم المالكي  
 وبعضه إلى مرافق الحمام المذكورة اعلاه والمكان الثاني  
 يشتمل على واجهة مقابلة لواجهة الوكالة المذكورة  
 اعلاه مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت المشهر بها مسطبه

&lt;ص ٢٤١&gt;

&lt;ص ٢٤٢ ، س ٧&gt;

. . . . . الشاهد لمولانا الواقف المنوه

باسمه الشريف اعلاه بملكه لذلك كتاب الإنشأ

الورق الحموي الموعود به اعلاه المحضر لشهوده  
المورخ باطنه بسلخ الحجة الحرام سنة ثلاث عشرة  
وتسع ماية الثابت المحكوم به فى الشرع الشريف  
من مجلس الحكم العزيز سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة  
شيخ الإسلام سرى الدين الحاكم الحنفى المنوه باسمه  
الكريم اعلاه بدلالة إسجاله الكريم المسطر ظاهر  
ذلك المورخ بالخامس عشر من جمادى الآخرة  
سنة خمس عشرة وتسع مائة . . . . .

..

<مجموعة من التوقيعات>

.....

**Awqāf 996**  
***Waqf* of Raḍwān Bek**  
**Dated 15 Ramaḍān, 1047/1638**

وقف رضوان بيك  
نصوص من الوثيقة رقم ١٩٦ المدونة في وزارة الأوقاف

..

[ال يهيم] من قبل الامير عمر المذكور . . . . .  
لذلك حال حياته سابقاً على تاريخه . . . . .  
وكيف شا على الوجه الشرعي لطول مده تواجره . . . . .  
مضى المده [المجله] اجرتها المذكوره اعلاه و ٩ جميع بنا القصر الذي انشاه وعمره مولانا الامير رضوان بيك المومي  
<س ١٤٥> باليه

علو باب المكان الكبير بواجهته البحريه تجاه الفرن الذي هناك الان المشتمل القصر المذكور على ايوان وثلاث مراتب  
والرابع خزائن متطابقات علو واجهه الباب البحري الكبير المذكور المتوصل الى ذلك من باب وسلم بحوش المكان  
المذكور وهو

الموقوف سابقاً من قبل مولانا الامير رضوان بيك المومي اليه كما هو مشروح بكتاب وقفه السابق المحكي تاريخه  
اعلاه وهو

القصر الذي انشاه الامير رضوان بيك وعمره وجعله وقفاً من جمله المكان المستجد الانشا والعماره بظاهر حوانيت  
القواوين <القوافين؟>]

بالقرييين خارج باب زويله المشتمل المكان المذكور على اسطبل كبير وحواصل وسيبني به مقعد وقاعه ويكون  
ذلك <س ١٥٠>

وقفاً شرعياً على الحكم المشروح بكتاب الوقف السابع المذكور و ١٠ جميع الحمه التي قدرها الربع سته اسهم كوامل  
من اصل اربعة وعشرون سهماً شايماً ذلك في جميع الدار الكامله ارضا وينا الكاينه بيكه المشرفه

الى [تومر الماب <؟>] امين المعروفه بدار . . . . .

المتوجه منه الى باب العمره وغيرها المشتمله الدار المذكوره بدلاله . . . . .

المحكي تاريخه اعلاه . . . . .

درجه وعلى يسار . . . . .

وبباب الديوان مخزن وبيت ما ومطبخ . . . . .

اخر خارج عند البيت . . . . .

صهريج معد للما وحدود اريعه . . . . .

الفاخور ومن على [السام <الشام؟>] بيت الشجاعي . . . . . <س ١٦٠>

الشرعي المسطر . . . . .

وشرح به و ١١ جميع الحمه التي قدرها نصف قيراط من اصل اربعة وعشرين قيراطاً شايماً ذلك في جميع

## الدارين

الصغري والكبرى الكاملتين ارضا وينا الكائنتين بمكة المشرفة المشار اليها بسويقه اليمنى بحله [آخر]ازين المتصلين بالزقاق

<دور بمكة>

..... وضع مولانا الامير رضوان بيك الواقف المومي اليه ما وقته  
اعلاه في يوم تاريخه ادناه  
<س ٢٤١>  
وهو كامل بنا الوكاله وما بها من الحواصل وكامل المصبغه والطايونه والحوانيت التي بالوجهة القبليه والبحريه والشرقيه [بجوار]  
حواصل الوكاله وكامل بنا المكان وينا البير المعين المتوصل الي ذلك من ساحه الوكاله المذكوره وما علو ذلك من الربع وكامل بنا القصر علو واجهه المكان الكبير [البحرته <البحري؟>] تجاه الفرن الذي هناك خارج باب زويله الموصوف المحدود ذلك اعلاه الى ما وقفه سابقاً وهو جميع الحصص الموقوفه من قبل سابقا من الدور الكائينات بمكة المنبه على ذلك بمكتوب الوقف السابق المذكور وصار كامل الدور المذكوره وقفا شرعيا من اوقاف الامير رضوان بيك المومي اليه اعلاه على الحكم الاتي شرحه فيه والى ما وقفه وهو جميع كامل منفعه المكان الكاين بحاره بنى [سيس] المعروف بالفيومي المذكور اعلاه والى منفعه تواجر ارض المكان الكاين خارج باب زويله داخل درب المرجوم الشيخ اوانيس [القر]اي المشتمل كامل المكان المذكور وارضه بحدود اربعه الحد القبلى . . . . .  
الامير ابراهيم الان والحد الغربي . . . . .  
<س ٢٥٠>  
والنصف مكان المذكور ذلك اعلاه . . . . .  
الحد القبلى الى مكان . . . . .  
درب المرجوم الشيخ [اويس] المذكور قريبا من زاويته والشرقي . . . . .  
مولانا الامير رضوان بيك المومي اليه اعلاه وجميع منفعه تواجر نصف ارض . . . . .  
الملاصقه للمكان الكامل . . . . .  
الى الزاويه المذكوره . . . . .

الغربي الى زقاق هناك .....  
 المومي اليه اعلاه .....  
 [الجناب -] المورخ في تواريخ غايتها ثامن من عشرى جمادي الاولى سنة ست واربعين والى وقتها  
 وهو الاحد

والخمسين حانوتا والثلاث مقاعد فمن الحوانيت المذكوره بالشارع الاعظم المتوصل منه الى المدرسه المحموديه  
 <س ٢٦٠> ومنزل سكن مولانا

الامير رضوان بيك الواقف المشار اليه الكاين خارج باب زويله بالقرب من القرييين ثمانية وعشرون حانوتا منها  
 اربعة

فيما بين حوانيت الاساكفه تصرف <تعرف؟> مولانا الواقف المومي اليه وبين الباب الكبير المستجد بالشارع  
 المذكور المتوصل منه الى مكان سكن

مولانا الواقف المومي اليه واثنان فيما بين باب الربع انشا الواقف المشار اليه علو حوانيت القوافين واثنان  
 وعشرون حانوتا

تعرف بالقوافين بظاهر الاسطبل الذي بالمكان المستجد الانشا والعماره من باب الربع المذكور قريباً والى غايه  
 الصف وهى راس العطفه التي تجاه باب بيت السوياشي المذكور والاثنان والعشرون حانوتا الباقيه والثلاث مقاعد  
 المذكورات بالعطفه المذكوره منها عشره على يمين السالك من الشارع العام طالباً الامواسين وغيرها بظاهر  
 حواصل الوكاله

المذكوره من جهتها الغربيه واثنا عشر والثلاث مقاعد المذكورات بالعطفه المذكوره ايضاً على يسار السالك المذكور  
 الفاصل بين الاثني عشر حانوتا المذكوره بابان للزاوية التي هناك وباب الربع المذكور قريباً وباقي اصل الحوانيت  
 وهو عشره بالشارع الاعظم تجاه جامع الصالح وبيت السوياشي التي من جملتها مقعد القباني والحانوت المجاور  
 لمقعد دوادار السوياشي المنبه على ذلك اعلاه وجميع الربع المذكور قريباً وعده مساكنه ثلاثه عشر رواقاً كاملات  
 <س ٢٧٠>

المنافع والمرافق والحقوق منها احد عشر رواقا علو حوانيت القوافين واسطبل المكان الكبير المذكور ذلك اعلاه  
 والرواقان الباقيان من ذلك علو الثلاث مقاعد والحوانيت المجاورات لها بالعطفه المذكوره المعروف ذلك جميعه  
 بانشا مولانا الامير رضوان بيك المومي اليه ووقفه وجميع المكان الكبير وما به من الاسطبل والحواصل وبنا البير  
 الما المعين

التي بحوشه وما سيبنى به من المنافع والقاعه والمقعد وغير ذلك يكون وفقاً من جمله ذلك المستجد المكان المذكور  
 الانشا والعمارة المعروف بانشا مولانا الامير رضوان بيك المومي اليه ووقفه ايضاً ويحيط بالمكان المذكور وما  
 اشتمل عليه ويحصره حدود اربعة الحد القبلي الى ظاهر حوانيت القوافين المذكورات اعلاه والحد البحري  
 الى الطريق الفاصل بين ذلك والفرن المذكور وفيه واجهه المكان المذكور ومطلات القصر علو ذلك المذكور ذلك  
 اعلاه وباقيه الي المر الي حارة بنى [س-س] المذكورة والحد الشرقي الى العطفه التي تجاه باب السوياشي المذكوره



الى باب الوكاله المذكوره . . . . .  
الواجهات المذكورات . . . . .  
العام تجاه جامع الصالح . . . . . <س ٢٠٠>

. .

مسؤلا في ذلك بالطريق الشرعى بعد اعتبار ما يجب اعتباره شرعا واشهد على نفسه الكريمه [ ] تحريراً في  
خامس عشر شهر رمضان المعظم  
<س ٦٧٢>  
قدره وحرمته من شهور سنه سبع واربعين بعد تمام الالف من النبويه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل  
<ثلاث عشر توقيع>

## Appendix III

### Glossary

*Aghānī*: Screened loggia over-looking a *qā'a*, *riwāq*, or *ṭabaqa*. Used by the musicians and singers entertaining the occupants sitting below.

*Bāb muqanṭar*: Arched doorway.

*Bāb muraba'*: Rectangular doorway

- *Bāb (abwāb)*: Door, gate.

*Bāb rīḥ*: Literally wind door, refers a ventilation opening in the wall of an apartment

*Bāb sirr*: Literally secret door, usually refers to a secondary entrance.

*Bādhahanj*: Wind catcher.

*Bā'ika*: Arcades of stone arches.

*Balāṭ kiddān*: A type of stone used for coverings of floors and stairs.

*Bayt (buyūt)*: Room, cell.

*Bayt khalā (buyūt khalā)*: Latrine.

*Dār (dūr)*: House or residence. In early usage referred to buildings in general

*Dihlīz (dahālīz)*: Vestibule.

*Dūr-qā'a (dūr-qā'āt)*: Covered court.

- *Funduq (fanādiq)*: Commercial establishment with accommodations for foreign traders.

*Ḥāṣil (ḥawāṣil)*: Store room.

*Ḥānūt (ḥawānīt)*: Shop.

*Ḥowsh (aḥwash)*: Yard or open court in Mamluk house.

- *Īwān (īwānat, awāwīn)*: Hall opening directly off a court.

*Khazana nawmiyya*: Sleeping room.

*Khuristan (khuristānat)*: Pantry.

*Kursī khala*: Latrine.

*Kursī mirḥād*: Latrine.

*Majāz (plural)*: Corridor.

*Majlis (majālis)*: Main living space of early Cairene residences. Typically T-shaped in plan and separated from the courtyard by three doors.

*Makān (amākin)*: Construction with living accommodations.

*Makhzan (makhāzin)*: Storeroom.

*Manzil (manāzil)*: Place for transient tenants.

*Maq'ad (maqā'id)*: When used in relation to a commercial unit, refers to a shop that is often built out of wood and is attached to a more permanent building. When used in relation to a residential unit, refers to the loggia that overlooks the open yard in the Mamluk house.

*Maḥla' (maḥāli')*: Stairwell that provides access to the upper part of a building.

*Mustaraḥ (plural)*: Toilet.

*Mustarraqa (mustarraqāt)*: Mezzanine, usually for sleeping.

*Qā'a (qā'āt)*: Main part of a house. Usually consists of two *īwāns* and a *dūr-qā'a*. Also refers to the lower level of a residence.

*Qanāt (aqniya, qanawāt)*: Water channel. Also a drainage chute.

*Qaysāriyya (qaysariyyāt)*: Commercial establishment around a courtyard.

- *Rab' (ribā')*: Residential block. In Fāṭimid period the plural of the word referred to estates or groups of properties.

*Riwāq (arwiqa)*: Strictly speaking refers to the spatial group consisting of one or more *īwāns* opening off a *dūr-qā'a*. Also used at a larger sense to refer to the whole apartment that contains such a unit. Also used to mean the arcade in a courtyard such as that of a mosque or a khān.

*Saḥ muḥazar*: Walled private roof.

*Shubāk (shabābīk)*: Window.

*Ṭabaqa (ṭibāq)*: Strictly speaking, *ṭabaqa* refers to the spatial group consisting of one or more *īwāns* opening off a *dūr-qā'a*. Also used at a larger sense to refer to the whole apartment that contains such a unit. Usually on the upper level and seems to be distinguished from the *riwāq* by size.

*Takhāna* (*takhā'in*): Sleeping room, appendices?

*Tāqa* (*tāqāt*): Window.

- *Wakāla* (*wakālāt*): Commercial building for selling. Usually organized around a large courtyard. Reached by one or more large doors.

*Wizra* (*plural*): Decorated band/dado.

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