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Al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* and the Urban Structure of Mamluk Cairo

This paper is a continuation of a research project initiated twenty-five years ago on indications (*signes*) of urbanization in the Ottoman cities,¹ later enlarged to include the Mamluk period.² My interest in the Mamluk period derived principally from the need I felt to revert to the actual starting point of the Ottoman era, my main preoccupation, and also from a desire to test out some of the principles already applied to urban research on the "modern" Ottoman epoch against a "classical" period.

The postulate of this inquiry (not always accepted) is that the city's public monuments constitute a "production" from which (by utilizing their dates and geographical location) a study can be built up of the history of urbanization and the evolution of urban demographics, the building of one of these monuments normally constituting a sign of the presence of inhabitants for the religious needs of whom they will provide. One must not forget, of course, that there are many exceptions to a principle which is valid only on a general, statistical level. The choice of which monuments to study is based on their "urban content" (*charge urbaine*) and the role they play in the activity of the city and the life of its inhabitants: thus the public fountains (*sabīl*) and baths (*hammām*) would be the most appropriate targets for such research, since their construction is directly linked to fundamental urban needs and implies the existence of a stable community of users. But their mention in texts is random, and details about them (particularly when it comes to dating) are often far from precise. For that reason I have taken mosques as my main focus for tracking urban realities, because they are more frequently mentioned in texts, more precisely dated (often by inscriptions), and better maintained and preserved, so that they form a good basis for study derived from both textual and archaeological evidence.

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¹André Raymond, "Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 27 (1974).

²"La population du Caire de Maqrīzī à la Description de l'Égypte," *BEO* 28 (1975); *Les marchés du Caire*, in collaboration with G. Wiet (Cairo, 1979); "La localisation des bains publics au Caire au XV^{ème} siècle," *BEO* 30 (1978); "Cairo's Area and Population in the Early Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984); *Le Caire* (Paris, 1993); English trans. by Willard Wood, *Cairo* (Cambridge, 2001).



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SOURCES USED FOR A STUDY OF MAMLUK CAIRO

When it comes to the Mamluk era in the urban history of Cairo, our first source is naturally the *Khiṭaṭ*.³ The second volume provides us with an enumeration of the principal landmarks of Cairo, be they religious (mosques, convents), public (fountains and baths), economic (markets, caravanserais), topographical (quarters, squares, bridges) or domestic (palaces), etc., and generally provides key information on their location and dating. I shall return later to the problem of the comprehensiveness of the author's coverage and enumeration. Among these abundant lists (which I have already touched on in previous studies: markets and caravanserais, public baths and town quarters) I shall here concentrate on mosques. No distinction will be made between different types of mosques—such as the *jāmi'* (mosques with *khuṭbah*), the *madrasah* (teaching institutions), the *masjid* (oratories). Even in al-Maqrīzī's time it seems delineation was somewhat vague, with the same building sometimes being referred to as a *jāmi'*, and other times as a *madrasah*. Among blatant examples of this confusion I shall mention the mosque of Ibn Maghribī,⁴ which is studied twice by the (in this instance) careless al-Maqrīzī—once in the mosque chapter⁵ and secondly among the *madrasahs*.⁶ It is also the case with the famous Sultan Ḥasan mosque,⁷ which is classified as a *jāmi'*, but which, as al-Maqrīzī states right from the beginning, "was known as the *madrasah* of Sultan Ḥasan" (*hadhā al-jāmi' yu'raf bi-madrasat al-sultān Ḥasan*).⁸ The difference between *jāmi'* and *madrasah* became later so dim that the *Description de l'Égypte*, in its list of monuments in Cairo, refers only to *jāmi'* whatever the original purpose or qualification of the monument.

Turning to the building of mosques as a means to study urbanization, I

³Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1270/1853).

⁴Before 1374, around G 15 (74).

In this article information about mosques is given so that the first number indicates the date the mosque was built. A letter followed by a number indicates the mosque's location on one of the two maps appended to the article. The number in parentheses shows its place within our chronological list of the 122 mosques (dated 1260–1441) studied, and located on the plans. A number followed by a letter and another number refers to the "Description abrégée de la ville du Caire" (*Description de l'Égypte*) and to the location on the map of the *Description de l'Égypte* whose cartographic squaring I have reproduced on my map. "No." followed by a number indicates the classification number in the list of Cairo's monuments (*Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1951).

⁵*Khiṭaṭ*, 2:328.

⁶*Ibid.*, 391.

⁷1362, 1 S 6 (68).

⁸*Khiṭaṭ*, 2:316.



found 92 monuments mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ*: the *jāmi'* chapter contains references to 110 monuments of which 53 pertain to the period which interests us (1260–1441). The most recent monument mentioned here is the Muḥammad al-Ghamrī mosque (number 120 in my own list) which dates from 1440.⁹ The *madrasah* chapter enumerates 73 buildings, 36 of which fall into our time-frame. The *masjid* section describes 19 monuments, of which 3 are relevant to our study. To that total (92) must be added the *māristān* (hospital) al-Mu'ayyad,¹⁰ transformed into a mosque in 1422.¹¹

Although quite lengthy, this list is obviously incomplete. One of the most conspicuous absences is the prestigious *madrasah* of Barqūq, built in 1386¹² with which al-Maqrīzī—who lived in the Barjawān quarter, just 400 meters away¹³—was of course familiar; he moreover mentions the progress of its construction several times in the *Sulūk*. In addition to this exceptional case several other mosques are mentioned in the *Sulūk* but not in the *Khiṭaṭ*: this is the case with the last mosque whose construction al-Maqrīzī records, that of Jawhar al-Tawāshī at Rumaylah,¹⁴ built in January 1441, and marking the *terminus ad quem* of his researches, not long before his death in February 1442. Reference to the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* is enough to illustrate the reality of important gaps in al-Maqrīzī: out of 66 monuments classified for the period 1250–1441, 19 are not mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

I estimated that, in order to present an outline of Cairo's urban development between 1260 and 1441, it was necessary to extend the research to sources other than the *Khiṭaṭ* to make up in a certain measure the missing information. Furthermore, taking into consideration other sources allows an investigation of al-Maqrīzī's accuracy.

The information provided by the lists of the *Khiṭaṭ* (93 monuments) was thus supplemented by al-Maqrīzī's own *Sulūk* (13 additional monuments), Ibn Taghrībirdī (6 mosques), Aḥmad Darrāj (*Barsbay*:¹⁵ 1 monument) and the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (19 mosques). This additional list of 29 mosques, which brings the grand total to 122 is, of course, again deficient: a more complete perusal of the sources, and especially of the *waqf* documents, would enlarge this corpus. Imperfect as it is, I intend to use it as a basis for a study of the

⁹197 F 7.

¹⁰50 S 4 (108).

¹¹*Khiṭaṭ*, 2:408 (108).

¹²*Description* 279 H 6, classification number in the *Index*: 187 (80).

¹³66 F 7.

¹⁴Around T 6 (122).

¹⁵*L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961).



urbanization of Cairo and for some reflections on al-Maqrīzī's work.

Let us first remark that if we take into consideration the information provided by the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Sulūk* we notice that al-Maqrīzī mentioned, on the whole, 106 monuments, a figure which (out of a grand total of 122) seems to confirm the reliability of our historian.

A study of the deficiencies of the *Khiṭaṭ* reveals no obvious neglect of any region of Cairo, except for an important deficit for the southern region (17 monuments out of a total of 48).¹⁶ The quarters of Tabbānah,¹⁷ Rumaylah,¹⁸ and Ṣalībāh¹⁹ seem particularly affected by this neglect. In al-Qāhirah, where the deficit of the *Khiṭaṭ* is less important (10 monuments out of 43), it is the zone surrounding al-Azhar²⁰ which is the most ill-treated (mosques 116, 119, 72, 92, 110 missing in the *Khiṭaṭ*). In contrast the deficit of the *Khiṭaṭ* is quite limited in the northern region (one out of 12) and even more so in the western region (one out of 19). I have no explanation for the cause of this geographic disparity, the argument of distance which could be invoked in the case of the southern region being, of course, irrelevant in that of al-Azhar. I may at least remark that it is difficult to reconcile al-Maqrīzī's omission of a significant number of monuments in the western region with the fact that it is precisely in this zone that his information is otherwise the most complete.

I feel that on the whole the consideration of chronology offers a better explanation of the lacunas in the *Khiṭaṭ*'s information. Contrary to what would seem logical (that al-Maqrīzī's information would be more complete for the most recent constructions), it is clear that the omissions mainly concern the newest monuments. Between 1260 and 1398 al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* omitted only 14 monuments out of a total of 86 (one sixth); the figure is 15 monuments out of 34 in the period 1404 to 1441 (one half). It is mainly around 1420 that the historian's documentary effort obviously slackened. This strong deficiency (11 omissions out of 22 between 1420 and 1441) was only partly compensated for by a kind of last minute effort of the historian to augment his documentations, hastily noting ten

¹⁶In my description of the geography of Cairo I use "al-Qāhirah" to designate the Fatimid city inside its walls, east of the canal (al-Khalīj al-Miṣrī). "Northern region" is used for the area which is located to the north of the Fatimid wall (Bāb al-Futūḥ), on both sides of the Khalīj. "Southern region" is the area stretching south of the Fatimid wall (Bāb Zuwaylah), east of the Khalīj. The "western region" is the area limited by the wall (north), the Khalīj (east), and the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī (west).

¹⁷Around P 5: mosques 55, 97, 27, 88.

¹⁸Around S 5: 115, 118, 75, 122.

¹⁹Around T 7: 93, 121, 21, 77.

²⁰K 4-5.



mosques (numbers 100 to 106, 113, 114, 120) built after 1420, on the last page (331) of the *jāmi'* chapter, but without giving any details about these monuments. This character of the lacunas is also obvious when one analyzes the mosques mentioned in the *Sulūk* and not in the *Khiṭaṭ*: out of 13 monuments neglected, 6 are from the period after 1420.

Jean-Claude Garcin has insisted upon the fact that al-Maqrīzī's inventories upon which I dwelt are not fully comprehensive: "One can try to grasp the result of this urbanization movement through the work of al-Maqrīzī, even though his historical and literary evocation of Cairo (in the *Khiṭaṭ*) does not have the nature of an inventory which held pretensions of being complete (as it was later on held by the *Description de l'Égypte*, in an already colonial context."²¹ Garcin again took up this stance in a recent publication: "The value accorded to the pre-colonial type of census analysis undertaken in the *Description de l'Égypte* seems less applicable to al-Maqrīzī's work, where his city description is less than comprehensive. . . . One cannot hope to find, in his records, every name of every quarter, each monument, each souk, or artisan's workshop which existed in his time."²²

My point of view is that, whatever their evident imperfections and deficiencies, the lists compiled by al-Maqrīzī constitute an ensemble of such variety, richness, and precision that they can well withstand statistical utilization for a study of the city structure. The research already carried out on the souks and caravanserais²³ is, I think, confirmed by this study of mosques. In any event, while awaiting more exhaustive documentation, there is no richer or more reliable source of information at our disposal than what al-Maqrīzī affords. It is, then, important to try and extract everything we can from it, without losing sight of its "not totally complete" nature.

THE URBAN STRUCTURE OF CAIRO (1260–1441) ACCORDING TO AL-MAQRĪZĪ

The documentation at our disposal allows us to examine the evolution of the structure of the city over nearly two centuries, from 1260, the beginning of the Mamluk era, to 1441 (the end of al-Maqrīzī's investigations), in a geographic framework which I limit to what I propose to define as "traditional Cairo": the area described in the Cairo map of the *Description de l'Égypte*, thus excluding the regions located outside the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī to the west, and Ḥusaynīyah to the

²¹"Toponymie et topographie urbaines médiévales à Fustat et au Caire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984): 133.

²²"Note sur la population du Caire en 1517," in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval* (Rome, 2000), 206.

²³Raymond and Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*.



north, and naturally the "suburbs" of Cairo (Būlāq and Old Cairo).

The cartographic problems concerning Mamluk Cairo have been discussed recently by Jean-Claude Garcin in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*,²⁴ accompanied by maps 4 ("Le Caire au XIV^{ème} siècle") and 5 ("Le Caire au début du XVI^{ème} siècle") which delineate zones of "urbanisation dense supposée" and "urbanisation peu dense supposée." My own conclusions are based on the previously described corpus of 122 religious monuments, mosques (*jāmi'*), colleges (*madrāsah*), and oratories (*masjid*), for which we have presented the necessary information about their dating and location. But this study on urbanization in Mamluk Cairo, of course, takes into account previous research carried out on other components of the urban environment, such as places of economic activity (markets and caravanserais), public baths (*ḥammāms*) and the residential quarters of the city (*ḥārāt*).

THE NORTHERN REGION

An analysis of the fluctuation in the number of religious buildings constructed over time leads us to the conclusion that there was vigorous urbanization in the northern part of Cairo. The building activity in the Ḥusaynīyah quarter and the Birkat al-Ratlī region²⁵ was launched from the time of Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (1260–77), starting with the building of the great mosque which bears his name, in 1269.²⁶ The numerous mosques that were founded afterwards (twelve, of which eight were built in al-Nāṣir's time) bear witness to a phenomenon of urban growth and demographic development, which al-Maqrīzī recorded. However the effects of this urbanistic move seem to have been temporary: no construction is mentioned there after 1397, and al-Maqrīzī himself, in several often-quoted passages, recognized the decline and fall of this area about the turn of the century. It is also significant that of those monuments recorded by al-Maqrīzī, few have survived: in fact only two (the already-mentioned Zāhirīyah mosque and the Maḥzarīyah *madrāsah*),²⁷ which would confirm a later slump within the quarter, firstly at the end of the Mamluk, then in the Ottoman era. The construction of some rare religious monuments in the zone to the north of Ḥusaynīyah (at Raydānīyah and Sirīyaqūs) would seem to indicate a real interest in developing Cairo in this direction (on the pilgrims' route and on the road to Syria), but there is no evidence of any durable urban growth in the area outside Ḥusaynīyah. To conclude: an important development took place in the areas of Ḥusaynīyah and Birkat al-Ratlī,

²⁴Note sur la population du Caire en 1517," 205–13.

²⁵B 9–10.

²⁶No. 1, *Description* 378 A 6–7 (3).

²⁷No. 8, 1299, D 7 (14).



but it regressed before the end of the fourteenth century: between 1402 and 1517 only three mosques were built in the area.

AL-QĀHIRAH

The indications provided by a census of the religious edifices built in the al-Qāhirah region would, alternatively, reflect an intense and durable demographic increase. The massive occupation of the "Fatimid" city started during the Ayyubid period, when the seat of political and military power was transferred to the Citadel, leaving the old center of the Fatimids available for economic development, and settlement of the Mamluk elite and indigenous population: 43 mosques were founded in this 153-hectare zone between 1260 and 1441, just over a third of all the religious buildings under examination. Nine of these monuments were erected during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a number which is just in proportion with the duration of his reign (1293–1340).

The most spectacular of these new developments was the transformation of Bayn al-Qasrayn (the place "between the palaces") into a splendid avenue lined by prestigious monuments: the *madrasahs* of al-Zāhir Baybars,²⁸ of Qalāwūn,²⁹ of al-Nāṣir,³⁰ and much later of Barqūq,³¹ utilized the space existing in the great Fatimid esplanade. Later it expanded southwards with the Ashrāfī mosque³² and Mu'ayyad mosque.³³

But during this long period religious monuments were also built throughout the entire region, the religious network expanding in order to adapt to the increase in population. It was the northern part of al-Qāhirah which was first affected by urban expansion, as shown in the number of new mosques in the area. Besides the Qaṣabah, the favorite spot was that of Jamālīyah, between Bāb al-Naṣr³⁴ and the Ḥusaynī region,³⁵ where nine mosques were constructed between 1300 and 1430, of which seven still remain and are registered on the inventory of the monuments of Cairo. The southern part of al-Qāhirah was to experience most of its development in the later part of the period: 5 of the 8 mosques built south of al-Azhar are posterior to 1420.

After 1442 the movement of construction went on, particularly in the south

²⁸1263, no. 37, 274 H 6 (1).

²⁹1285 no. 43, 275 H 6 (8).

³⁰1304, no. 44, 278 H 6 (18).

³¹1386, no. 187, 279 H 6 (80).

³²1424, no. 175, 194 K 6 (109).

³³1420, no. 190, 255 M 7 (99).

³⁴E 5.

³⁵I 5.



of al-Qāhirah (8 mosques out of 12 monuments built in al-Qāhirah between 1442 and 1517) (see map 2). The mosque network had reached its completion in a region now fully urbanized. The importance of the development of al-Qāhirah in the Mamluk period is confirmed by a comparison between the number of mosques standing there in the *Description* (67 mosques), and that slightly higher recorded by al-Maqrīzī (69 mosques). This suggests that the residential population of the central zone reached in the Mamluk era a level that would remain largely stable until the end of the eighteenth century when, according to my calculations in "Signes urbains," there were 90,000 inhabitants.

THE POPULATION GROWTH OF THE REGION SOUTH OF THE CITY, BETWEEN BĀB ZUWAYLAH AND THE CITADEL

The occupation of this huge 266-hectare region, outside al-Qāhirah, between the outskirts of the Fatimid city (Bāb Zuwaylah), the Citadel, and the Khalīj was the key event in the urban history of Cairo during the Mamluk period (and until the end of the "Ottoman" seventeenth century). This expansion was the natural consequence of Saladin's construction of the Citadel (started in 1176) which opened up a large area for urban settlement between al-Qāhirah and the new center for the army and government. This region saw a demographic expansion which began in the Ayyubid era and continued until about 1700. Under the Ayyubids the movement was still in its initial phase, but it really took off in Mamluk times, when important changes fundamentally altered the structure of the city. One only needs to compare, in the list of classified monuments, the three Ayyubid mosques with the 35 Mamluk monuments, to understand the scale of the transformation. Construction in the period covered by al-Maqrīzī's work was remarkably prolific: 48 mosques were built between 1260 and 1341 (more than in al-Qāhirah), of which 33 are classified, an indication that it was not only the quantity of construction, but the quality of architectural design which was out of the ordinary. The most notable examples within this list are the al-Nāṣir mosque at the Citadel,³⁶ and, naturally, the monument which is the very emblem of the Mamluk era, the Sultan Ḥasan mosque.³⁷

The study of the chronology of these buildings does not reveal a clear pattern of planning within this expansion. Sultan al-Nāṣir obviously gave his strong backing to the urban development in this region, as he did in the western part of the city, with the use of "concessions" (*ḥikr*) to encourage the setting up of housing settlements and infrastructure to accommodate a growing population,

³⁶1335, no. 143, 54 T 3 (36).

³⁷1362, no. 133, 1 S 6 (68).



often organized around a religious center.³⁸ This aid from the sultan encouraged the foundation of mosques by all the main amirs: the mosques of Ylmās,³⁹ Qawṣūn,⁴⁰ Bashtāk,⁴¹ and Altunbughā al-Māridānī⁴² are the most remarkable of the fourteen mosques which were erected in this region under the reign of al-Nāṣir, mostly along the main roads leading from Bāb Zuwaylah to the Khalīfah,⁴³ by way of Ṣalībah⁴⁴ and to the Citadel, by way of Darb al-Aḥmar⁴⁵ and Tabbānah.⁴⁶ These were logical itineraries for expansion to the south, but there was apparently no chronological order in this movement. The two most southerly mosques, for example, were constructed as early as 1298⁴⁷ and 1315.⁴⁸

After al-Nāṣir the movement continued, creating a network of religious buildings scattered fairly evenly throughout the region with two high density zones: one near Darb al-Aḥmar, at the southernmost end of Bāb Zuwaylah (six mosques) and the other between Sūq al-Silāḥ and Rumaylah, below the Citadel (nine mosques)—two nerve centers of Cairo, politically and economically. The extreme south of the town (between Ṣalībah and Khalīfah) was also the locus of nine mosques, their construction being strongly linked to the importance of the traffic on the roads towards Old Cairo and the Ṣa'īd, and to its proximity to the cemetery.

Two regions, situated on the western side of the area, remained little touched by this burst of building. One lies in the large stretch to the southwest of Bāb Zuwaylah, between the Fatimid wall, the Khalīj, the north bank of Birkat al-Fīl, and that part of the great avenue which was later to be named "Qaṣabat Riḍwān."⁴⁹ This was where the tanneries were located, which in the sixteenth century would have covered as many as a dozen hectares:⁵⁰ we can assume that this was the main reason for the lack of residential settlement and the quasi-absence of mosque-

³⁸Raymond, *Le Caire*, 138.

³⁹1330, no. 130, 85 R 7 (30).

⁴⁰1330, no. 202 and 224, 106 P 8 (31).

⁴¹1336, no. 205, 54 R 10 (37).

⁴²1340, no. 120, 180 O 5 (42).

⁴³X 7.

⁴⁴T 7.

⁴⁵N 6.

⁴⁶O 5.

⁴⁷The *madrasah* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, no. 172, towards 9 Z 4 (11).

⁴⁸The mosque of the *mashhad* al-Nafīsī, probably 81 Z 7 (23).

⁴⁹N 6.

⁵⁰N–O 7–9.



building in the area. The Qawṣūn mosque⁵¹ and the mosque built at Taḥt al-Rab‘ after 1420⁵² are both located outside the area, and it was not until 1429 that the modest Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn mosque,⁵³ briefly mentioned by al-Maqrīzī⁵⁴ and not even recorded in the *Description*, was built in Suwayqat ‘Aṣḥūr.⁵⁵ The problem of the presence of the tanneries (*madābigh*) which blocked urban development in this region, so close to the south limit of al-Qāhirah, was only raised in the sixteenth century by the Ottomans, and eventually resolved, in 1600, with their transfer to Bāb al-Lūq.⁵⁶ This move made way for the building of two prestigious religious monuments (the mosques of Malikah Ṣafīyah in 1610 and of Burdaynī in 1629).⁵⁷

The region surrounding the vast Birkat al-Fīl pond was another special case. According to al-Maqrīzī’s lists there were no mosques constructed in the immediate neighborhood of the water’s edge, which was at that stage already given over to residences of the wealthier strata of the population.⁵⁸ It was not, therefore, an empty zone, but one which was devoted to the residence of the rich rather than to that of the common man. This segregation was reinforced towards the end of Mamluk rule and the beginnings of Ottoman days—until the end of the seventeenth century, when Azbakīyah became the new fashionable location, enticing the elite away from Birkat al-Fīl.

Overall the mosque building activity in the southern region of Cairo in al-Maqrīzī’s days reflects the demographic expansion of the area with telling accuracy. This urban development was something al-Maqrīzī himself noted, in an emphatic manner: people “one and all” started building there; buildings followed one another ceaselessly “from the edges of al-Qāhirah to the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque.”⁵⁹ In actual fact the process was then only in its early stage and would continue until the end of the Mamluk age (26 additional mosques were built there between 1442 and 1517, compared to the 12 in al-Qāhirah) and well into the Ottoman period. The *Description de l’Egypte* mentions no less than 93 mosques in this southern

⁵¹1330, 106 P 8 (31).

⁵²Towards 26 M 9 (104).

⁵³(114).

⁵⁴*Khīṭat*, 2:331.

⁵⁵156 O 8–9.

⁵⁶357 M 16.

⁵⁷153 O 8 and 322 O 7.

⁵⁸André Raymond, “The Residential Districts of Cairo’s Elite,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998).

⁵⁹Raymond, *Le Caire*, 139–40.



area, a much larger figure than in al-Maqrīzī's time and even for the entire Mamluk period: the development of urbanization begun during the Mamluk era was far from having reached its apogee.⁶⁰ There is no question that in al-Maqrīzī's time, and even in 1517, the population of the southern region was much less than the 100,000 inhabitants I have estimated for 1798.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE WESTERN REGION

The problem of the evolution of the region west of Cairo—in other words, the zone beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī—is a point for discussion. In his map 4 of *Grandes villes méditerranéennes* (fourteenth century) Garcin suggests that in the fourteenth century the western region (beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī: "zone des principaux ahkar") was sparsely populated ("urbanisation peu dense supposée") with a zone of dense occupation along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī. In map 5 (beginning of the sixteenth century) the western region is considered by him as a zone of dense urbanization ("urbanisation dense supposée"). My view, based on locations of mosques, is quite different.

When discussing the issues of the western region's urbanization during al-Nāṣir's time, historians have relied heavily on al-Maqrīzī's comments about the sultan's policy of expansion through concessions (*ḥikr*) on six- or even twelve-hectare plots. This would have resulted in a boom in population, described by al-Maqrīzī in glowing terms: the two banks of the Khalīj (al-Nāṣirī) were covered with houses with markets, baths, and mosques. In fact the region beyond al-Qāhirah, on the west side, became "a string of cities."⁶¹ However, when one looks at the list that al-Maqrīzī gave of the mosques built in this very area by al-Nāṣir, one comes to more modest conclusions. Between 1300 and 1340 al-Maqrīzī mentions only eight religious buildings in the whole western region in his list of mosques built by al-Nāṣir⁶² and in his chapters on the *jāmi'*, *madrasah*, and *masjid* in the *Khiṭaṭ*. The location of these mosques is significant. Four were constructed around 1314, 1337, 1340, and 1341 in the zone between Bāb al-Qanṭarah⁶³ and Bāb al-Baḥr;⁶⁴ one was built in 1320 on the banks of the Khalīj near al-Amīr Ḥusayn bridge;⁶⁵

⁶⁰Raymond, "Cairo's area and population," maps pp. 28 and 29.

⁶¹Quoted in Raymond, *Le Caire*, 131–33.

⁶²*Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rīfat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–), 2:2:544–45.

⁶³287 F 9.

⁶⁴222 E 11.

⁶⁵L 9.



one in 1308 on the road between Bāb al-Kharq⁶⁶ and Bāb al-Lūq;⁶⁷ and the last two, both built around 1340, were located in the Suwayqat al-Sabbā'īn quarter.⁶⁸ The geography of these mosques suggests a densely urbanized zone around the road leading from Bāb al-Qanṭarah⁶⁹ to the gate of the city, but in no other areas of the region. This is not the urban boom described by al-Maqrīzī. Similarly hypothetical is the "high density" settlements suggested in Garcin's map along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī and on the east bank of the Nile, between Būlāq and Old Cairo. If the two satellite cities experienced a development which confirmed the importance of Old Cairo and the burgeoning of Būlāq, one is struck by the small number of constructions along the Nile recorded by al-Maqrīzī. Examples of what appears to be the fragility of these creations reinforce this feeling of scepticism: the al-Ṭaybaršī mosque, constructed in 1307 at Bustān al-Khashshāb, beside the Nile, fell into ruin after the decline of the area about 806/1403–4;⁷⁰ the mosque of Fakhr Nāzīr al-Jaysh at Jazīrat al-Fīl, built before 1332, was ruined at some point after 1388.⁷¹ Such examples lead us to believe that expansion here was not the result of a lasting demographic development, hence the difficulties encountered when times got hard, as they did after 1348 until the end of the century. Even mosques constructed in less problematic conditions led apparently precarious existences: erected around 1340, just outside Bāb al-Baḥr,⁷² the Ibn Ghāzī mosque⁷³ had only slight popularity; al-Maqrīzī states that, although people continued to say the *khuṭbah* there, it was shut the rest of the time since there were not enough local residents to support it (*li-qillat al-sukkān ḥawlahu*).⁷⁴

A study of what happened after 1340 seems to confirm this overall impression of al-Nāṣir's reign. The list established for the whole of the period (1260–1441) shows that 19 mosques were erected in the western zone (out of a total of 122, of which 43 were in al-Qāhirah and 48 in the south). The only regions where the locations of mosques indicate dense occupation are the two areas previously mentioned: the zone extending from Bāb al-Qanṭarah⁷⁵ to the city gate (9 mosques)

⁶⁶49 N 10.

⁶⁷M 13.

⁶⁸132 Q 11.

⁶⁹E 8.

⁷⁰*Khiṭat*, 2:303.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 311.

⁷²E 12.

⁷³(44).

⁷⁴*Khiṭat*, 2:313.

⁷⁵E 8.



and the zone between the Khalīj and the Birkat al-Saqqā'in⁷⁶ (5 mosques). In the region which was soon to become Azbakīyah, the fate of the mosque/*madrasah* of Ibn al-Maghribī,⁷⁷ on the Khalīj al-Nāširī, near Birkat Qarmūt,⁷⁸ seems quite significant: it is recorded as destroyed in 1411–12.⁷⁹ Outside the two aforementioned areas a few mosques were built near the Khalīj al-Miṣrī and Bāb al-Lūq.

This situation did not change substantially in the period 1442–1517, with a meagre total of 5 mosques built in the whole western region (out of 46 for the whole of Cairo, of which 12 were in al-Qāhirah, and 26 in the southern region), in the areas previously mentioned. The only exception was the building of Amir Azbak's mosque along the "Azbakīyah" in 1484.⁸⁰ But the problematic character of such an attempt was revealed by the ultimate failure of the enterprise, although hailed by a commentary of Ibn Iyās, every bit as enthusiastic as al-Maqrīzī's in similar circumstances: "Everybody wanted to live in Azbakīyah, which thus became an independent residential district."⁸¹ In fact, Azbakīyah's day was not to come until much later, under the Ottomans, in the seventeenth and, more so, in the eighteenth centuries.

The fact that the western region beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī remained largely unoccupied is confirmed by what we learn, thanks to al-Maqrīzī and his *Khiṭaṭ*, from the geographical distribution of the public baths,⁸² from that of the market places and caravanserais,⁸³ and from that of the *ḥārah*. I would like to be allowed here to refer, concerning these various aspects, to the maps published in my "Cairo's Area and Population."

I tried to show earlier that there is no likelihood in the suggestion that the "scarcity" (and even absence) of mosques in the larger part of this region is a consequence of the defects of our source and not the result of the real situation, since it is precisely in this area that al-Maqrīzī's counts are the most complete. Furthermore there is no explanation why, of the mosques thus overlooked by al-Maqrīzī, so few would have withstood the test of time and survived: in effect only four in this vast area (compared with 35 monuments in the southern quarter):

⁷⁶Q–R 13.

⁷⁷Before 1374, G 15 (74).

⁷⁸G 15.

⁷⁹*Khiṭaṭ*, 2:328, 391.

⁸⁰I 11 (148).

⁸¹Quoted in Raymond, *Le Caire*, 186.

⁸²See Raymond "La localisation des bains publics."

⁸³See Raymond and Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*.



the al-Zāhid mosque,⁸⁴ Amir Ḥusayn,⁸⁵ Sitt Ḥadaq (Miskah),⁸⁶ and the Arghūn Shāh,⁸⁷ all of them mentioned by al-Maqrīzī and lying in a location that confirms the conclusions I have been proposing. The enormous changes that this region underwent at the end of the nineteenth century can hardly be held responsible for such a situation: mosques, due to their religious purpose and use, are monuments of remarkable stability, and even if this area of the city was completely transformed by the “modernization” which affected Cairo at that time, the mosques would have remained active, continuing to serve the large population of this area.

During the Mamluk period the western region remained nearly unoccupied in its central part (between the Birkat al-Azbakīyah and al-Nāṣirīyah/Saqqā’īn); it was densely populated only on its fringes in the north, and in the south. It seems then difficult to evoke any dense urbanization in 1517. The urbanized area probably developed on less than one hundred hectares, much less than in 1798 (215 hectares). In the absence of architectural evidence it would also seem unjustifiable to assume that there was continuous dense urbanization along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī and the east bank of the Nile between Būlāq and Fuṣṭaṭ. Again, it is the absence of urbanization, not the imperfection of our main source, which explains the lack of mosques in the area.

Using the available sources, we may arrive at reasonable conclusions as to the surface area that was populated during al-Maqrīzī’s time. I should estimate it to be around 450–500 hectares, and suggest a population figure of much fewer than 200,000 inhabitants (in 1798, 660 hectares, and 263,000 inhabitants). This evaluation might appear, at face value, to be on the low side. But taking into account Fuṣṭaṭ—which was still thriving at that time—and Būlāq, which was then expanding, Cairo still was one of the major cities in the Mediterranean basin.

Although the study of monuments belonging to art history is generally kept separate from political and economic history, I suggest that by considering the mosques as not just religious buildings and “œuvres d’art,” but as “products” of human urban enterprise, meant to provide for the needs (here religious) of a population, we may draw from them some information about the urban evolution of the city. It is a principle I have used in studying the architecture of Ottoman Cairo, and it seems to me quite as pertinent for the Mamluk period. If we group the dates of construction

⁸⁴1415, no. 83, 324 E 10 (96).

⁸⁵1319, no. 233, 36 L 9 (25).

⁸⁶1340, no. 252, 131 Q 11 (41).

⁸⁷1347, no. 253, 192 R 13 (54).



of the mosques by 25-year spans, we arrive at a picture which bears some relation to Cairo's history:

1276–1300:	11 mosques built
1301–1325:	14
1326–1350:	30
1351–1375:	17
1376–1400:	12
1401–1425:	23
1426–1441:	12 (16 years)

This table confirms the exceptional building activity that took place during the reign of al-Nāṣir. The decline which followed the crisis of 1348 reached its nadir in the last part of the fourteenth century, with a normal time lag before the effects of the political/economic situation were felt in human activities, such as building religious monuments. This crisis was very severe, with a paroxysm between 1376 and 1400. One is also struck by the frequency and length of periods for which our sources mention no building at all: five years each between 1351 and 1356, 1362 and 1367, 1386 and 1391, and 1399 and 1404; and four years between 1377 and 1381. The table shows how the architectural activity bounced back and was particularly important at the very beginning of the fifteenth century (1401–25). In some measure this contradicts al-Maqrīzī's contemporary pessimistic comments: in this case, the conclusion that we can reach using the factual information "innocently" provided by the historian in his *Khīṭaṭ* and *Sulūk* is at variance with his own statements on the evolution of Cairo as developed in his historical discourse.



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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE MAMLUK MOSQUES IN CAIRO (1260–1517)

The following list of mosques (1260–1517) is divided into two parts: the period 1260–1441, and the period 1442–1517. Each listing includes successively the date (ca. = circa, if it is approximate), the reference to al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, or Ibn Iyās, the number in the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments* (I), and the location (a. = around, if it is conjectural) by reference to the map of the *Description de l'Égypte* (in bold type if the monument is mentioned in the *Description*, and with the name given in the *Description* if it is different).

Abbreviations are as follows:

M: mosque

m: madrasah

Kh: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq, 1270/1853)

Sulūk: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* (Cairo, 1934–)

Quatremère: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, trans. as *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* (Paris, 1837–45)

ITB, Nujūm: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1926–29)

ITB, History: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, trans. William Popper as *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D.* (Berkeley, 1954–60)

ITB, Ḥawādith: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42)

IIW: Ibn Iyās, *Histoire des mamlouks circassiens* (872–906), trans. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1945)

I. 1260–1441

1. m. al-Zāhir Baybars - 1263 - Kh 2:378 - I 37 - **274 H 6**
2. maṣjid around *mashhad* al-Ḥusaynī - Baybars - 1264 - Kh 2:413 - a. I 5
3. M. al-Zāhirīyah - Baybars - 1269 - Kh 2:299 - I 1 - **378 A 6–7**
4. maṣjid in Tabbālah - Baybars - 1277 - Kh 2:409 - a. 394 A 7
5. m. al-Fāriqānīyah - 1278 - Kh 2:369 - a. L 7–8
6. m. Mahdhabīyah - ca. 1278 - Kh 2:369, 397 - a. 91 Q 8
7. m. Turbat Umm al-Ṣāliḥ - 1284 - Kh 2:394 - I 274 - a. 85 Y 7
8. m. Qalāwūn - 1285 - Kh 2:379 - I 43 - **275 H 6**
9. m. al-Husāmīyah - 1290 - Kh 2:386 - I 590 - **20 L 8** (Abū l-Fadl)
10. M. al-Baqlī - 1297 - I 156 - **49 V 6**
11. m. Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf - 1298 - I 172 - **9 Z 4** (Qadiriyya)
12. m. Mankūtumurīyah - 1299 - Kh 2:387 - a. 98 E 6



13. m. Tafjīyah - before 1299 - Kh 2:397 - a. S 7
14. m. Mazharīyah - 1299 - I 8 - **384 D 7**
15. m. Qarāsunqurīyah - 1301 - Kh 2:388 - I 31 - **293 G 5**
16. M. Karāy al-Manṣūrī - 1302 - Kh 2:325 - a. A 4
17. m. Sālār and Sanjar al-Jawlī - 1304 - Kh 2:398 - I 221 - a. 169 V 10
18. m. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad - 1304 - Kh 2:382 - I 44 - **278 H 6**
19. M. Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh - before 1308 - Kh 2:315 - **99 N 13** (Tabbâkh)
20. m. Ṭaybarsīyah - 1310 - Kh 2:383 - I 97 - 150 K 5
21. M. Aḥmad Bey Kuhyah - 1310 - I 521 - a. 110 U 7
22. M. al-Jākī - before 1314 - Kh 2:314 - a. 330 D-E 9 ?
23. M. al-Nāṣir at *mashhad* al-Nafīsī - 1315 - Kh 2:306 - **81 Z 7 ?** (al-Sayyida)
24. m. al-Jukandār - 1320 - Kh 2:392 - I 24 - a. 85 I 4
25. M. Amīr Ḥusayn - 1320 - Kh 2:307 - I 233 - **36 L 9**
26. m. al-Sa'dīyah - Sunqur - 1321 - Kh 2:397 - I 263 - **68 S 7** (A'gām)
27. m. Dawādārīyah - before 1325 - Sulūk 2:1:269 - a. 143 P-Q 5-6
28. m. al-Mihmandārīyah - 1325 - Kh 2:399 - I 115 - **185 N 5**
29. M. al-Barqīyah - al-Tūbah - Mughulṭāy - 1329 - Kh 2:326 - a. 8 K 3
30. M. Ylmās - 1330 - Kh 2:307 - I 130 - **85 R 7** (al-Mâz)
31. M. Qawṣūn - 1330 - Kh 2:307 - I 202, 224 - **106 P 8**
32. m. Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī - 1330 - Kh 2:392 - I 26 - **109 H 4**
33. M. al-Tūbah - Ṭaqtā'ī - after 1330 - a. H 8
34. M. Akhū Sārūjā - after 1330 - Kh 2:315 - a. B 10-11
35. M. al-Malik - 1332 - Kh 2:310 - Ḥusaynīyah
36. M. of the Citadel - al-Nāṣir Muḥammad - 1335 - Kh 2:325 - I 143 - **54 T 3**
(Qalāwūn)
37. M. Bashtāk - 1336 - Kh 2:309 - I 205 - **54 R 10**
38. M. Muḥammad al-Turkmānī - before 1337 - Kh 2:313 - **261 E 12**
39. M. Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn - 1337 - I 176 - **123 K 7** (zâwiya)
40. M. Aqsunqur - before 1340 - Kh 2:309 - a. 132 Q 11
41. M. Sitt Ḥadaq (Miskah) - 1340 - Kh 2:313, 326 - I 252 - **131 Q 11**
42. M. Māridānī - 1340 - Kh 2:308 - I 120 - **180 O 5**
43. m. Aqbughā - 1340 - Kh 2:383 - I 97 - K 5
44. M. Ibn Ghāzī - 1340 - Kh 2:313 - a. E 12
45. M. Karīm al-Dīn - before 1341 - Kh 2:245 - a. D 9
46. M. Dawlat Shāh - before 1341 - Kh 2:325 - a. 432 C 10
47. M. at Birkat al-Ratlī - before 1341 - Kh 2:326 - a. 437 A 9
48. M. Qīdān al-Rūmī - before 1341 - Kh 2:312 - a. 394 A 7
49. M. Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn al-Falak - before 1341 - Kh 2:326 - a. 345 B 5
50. M. Jawhar al-Sahratī - Ṭawāshī - before 1341 - Kh 2:325 - **145 D 10**



51. M. Aslam - 1345 - Kh 2:309 - I 112 - **94 N 4** (Aslân)
52. m. Aydumur- Baydar - before 1347 - Kh 2:391 - I 22 - **92 I 4** (zâwiya)
53. M. Aqsunqur - 1347 - Kh 2:309 - I 123 - **82 P-Q 5** (Ibrâhîm Âghâ)
54. M. Arghûn Shâh al-Ismâ'îlî - 1347 - Kh 2:327 - I 253 - **192 R 13** (Isma'înî)
55. m. Qatlûbughâ al-Dhahabî - 1347 - I 242 - a. 39-40 P 5
56. M. Manjak al-Yûsufî - 1349 - Kh 2:320 - I 138 - **36 R 3** (Manshakiyya)
57. M. Shaykhû - 1349 - Kh 2:313 - I 147 - **229 T 7**
58. M. al-Akhḍar - Maliktamur - about 1350 - Kh 2:324 - a. D 14
59. m. al-Şaghîrah - 1351 - Kh 2:394 - a. K 6-7
60. m. al-Qaysarânîyah - 1351 - Kh 2:394 - a. 221 K 8
61. m. al-Fârisîyah - 1356 - Kh 2:393 - a. F 5
62. M. Niẓâm al-Dîn - 1356 - I 140 - **12 Q-R 3** (Ludâmî)
63. m. Sarghatmish - 1356 - Kh 2:403 - I 218 - **212 U 9** (Qawâm al-Dîn)
64. m. al-Budayrîyah - 1357 - Kh 2:392 - a. 247 I 6
65. m. Bashîr al-Jamdâr - 1360 - Kh 2:399 - I 269 - **138 S 8** (Shaykh al-Zalâm)
66. m. Ṭaṭâr al-Hijâzîyah - 1360 - Kh 2:382 - I 36 - **261 H 5** (zâwiya)
67. m. Sâbiqîyah - Mithqâl - 1362 - Kh 2:393 - I 45 - **283 H 5** (Shaykh al-Islâm)
68. M. Sulṭân Ḥasan - 1362 - Kh 2:316 - I 133 - **1 S 6**
69. m. Iljây - 1367 - Kh 2:399 - I 131 - **146 R 6** (al-Sâ'îs)
70. m. Umm al-Sulṭân Sha'bân - 1369 - Kh 2:399 - I 125 - **167 P 5**
71. m. Asanbughâ - Bûbakrîyah - 1370 - Kh 2:390 - I 185 - **18 L 8**
72. m. Ghannâmîyah - 1373 - Sulûk 4:1:545 - I 96 - **54 K 4** (zâwiyat al-Nanâmiyya)
73. m. al-Baqrîyah - before 1374 - Kh 2:391 - I 18 - **135 F 4**
74. M./m. Ibn al-Maghribî - before 1374 - Kh 2:328, 391 - a. G 15
75. m. Sha'bân - 1375, demolished in 1411 - Sulûk 3:1:251, 4:1:175 - **50 S 4**
(al-maristân al-qaḍîm)
76. m. Abî Ghâlib al-Kalbashâwî - before 1376 - Sulûk 3:1:262 - I 9?
77. M. Khushqadam al-Aḥmadî - 1377 - I 153 - **74 U 6**
78. m. Ibn 'Arrâm - before 1381 - Kh 2:394 - a. L 10?
79. m. Aytmiş al-Bajâsî - 1383 - Kh 2:400 - I 250 - **63 R 4** (Bâb al-Wazîr)
80. m. Sulṭân Barqûq - 1386 - Sulûk 3:2:547 - I 187 - **279 H 6**
81. masjid Ibn al-Shîkhî - before 1391 - Kh 2:411 - a. G 7
82. m. Īnāl - 1393 - Kh 2:401 - I 118 - **234 N 6** (Sinân al-Yusufî)
83. m. Zimâmîyah - Muqbil - 1395 - Kh 2:394 - I 177 - a. 121 K 7
84. m. al-Maḥmûdiyyah - 1395 - Kh 2:395 - I 117 - **237 N 7**
85. M. Kîmkhatî - Gunaynah - before 1397 - Kh 2:325 - a. 412 C 8?
86. M. Qalamtây - before 1398 - ITB, History 1:203 - a. 66 U 7
87. M. Barakah - around 1399? - Kh 2:326 - a. U-V 10



88. M. Sūdūn Min Zādah - 1404 - Sulūk 3:3:1122 - I 127 - **158 Q 6** (Masdāda)
89. M. al-Fākhirī - before 1405 - Kh 2:324 - a. D–E 14
90. m. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār - 1408 - Kh 2:401 - I 35 - **302 G 5** (Mu‘allaq)
91. M. al-Hawsh - 1410 - Kh 2:327 - Citadel, a. U 3
92. m. al-‘Aynī - 1411 - Quatremère, 2:224 - I 102 - **53 L 4**
93. m. Qānī Bāy al-Muḥammadī - 1413 - ITB, History 3:102 - I 151 - **122 T 7**
94. M. al-Dawā - after 1413 - Kh 2:327 - a. 63 R 4
95. M. al-Ḥanafī - 1415 - Kh 2:327 - **121 R 11**
96. M. al-Zāhid - 1415 - Kh 2:327 - I 83 - **324 E 10**
97. m. Muqbil al-Ishiqtamurī - before 1416 - Sulūk 4:1:377 - a. P 5
98. M. al-Fakhrī - 1418 - Kh 2:328 - I 184 - **16 K–L 9** (al-Banāt)
99. M. al-Mu‘ayyad - 1420 - Kh 2:328 - I 190 - **255 M 7**
100. M. al-Bāsiṭī - 1420 - Kh 2:331 - I 60 - **170 G 7**
101. M. Ibn Dirham wa-Niṣf - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - **221 E 11**
102. M. Muḥammad al-Maskīn - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. N 5?
103. M. Muqaddam al-Saqqā’īn - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - **217 Q 12**
(Hārat al-Saqqā’īn)
104. Mosque - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 26 M 9
105. M. Banū Wafā’ - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 170 G 7
106. m. al-Ṭawāshī - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 286 L 6
107. m. al-Bulqaynī - before 1421 - Sulūk 4:2:600 - **92 E 6**
108. mārīstān al-Mu‘ayyad converted into a mosque - 1422 - Kh 2:408 - I 257 - **50 S 4** (marīstān al-qadīm)
109. M. al-Ashrafī - 1424 - Kh 2:330 - I 175 - **194 K 6**
110. M. Kāfūr al-Zimān - 1425 - Sulūk 4:2:760 - I 107 - **215 L 5** (Khurbatī)
111. m. Fayrūz - 1427 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:295 - I 192 - **398 L 8**
112. M. Jānībak - 1427 - Sulūk 4:2:746 - I 119 - **44 O 6**
113. M. Aḥmad al-Qammāḥ - before 1428 - Kh 2:331 - **141 E 10**
(zāwīyat al-Shaykh Wahba)
114. M. Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn - 1429 - Kh 2:331 - a. 156 O 8–9
115. m. Jawhar al-Lālā - 1430 - ITB, History 5:167 - I 134 - **133 R–S 5**
116. m. Shaykh Naṣr Allah - after 1430 - ITB, History 4:187 - I 5
117. M. Barsbāy - before 1434 - Darrāj, Barsbay, 414 - a. F 5
118. m. Jawhar al-Jalbānī - before 1438 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:254 -
a. 129 S 5–6
119. m. Jawhar Qunqubāy - before 1440 - Sulūk 4:3:1234 - I 97 - a. 151 K 5
120. M. Muḥammad al-Ghamrī - 1440 - Kh 2:331 - **197 F 7** (al-Sultan al-Ghamrī)



121. M. Taghrī Bardī - 1441 - Sulūk 4:3:1230 - I 209 - a. 123 U 8
 122. M. al-Ṭawāshī Jawhar - 1441 - Sulūk 4:3:1230 - a. T 6

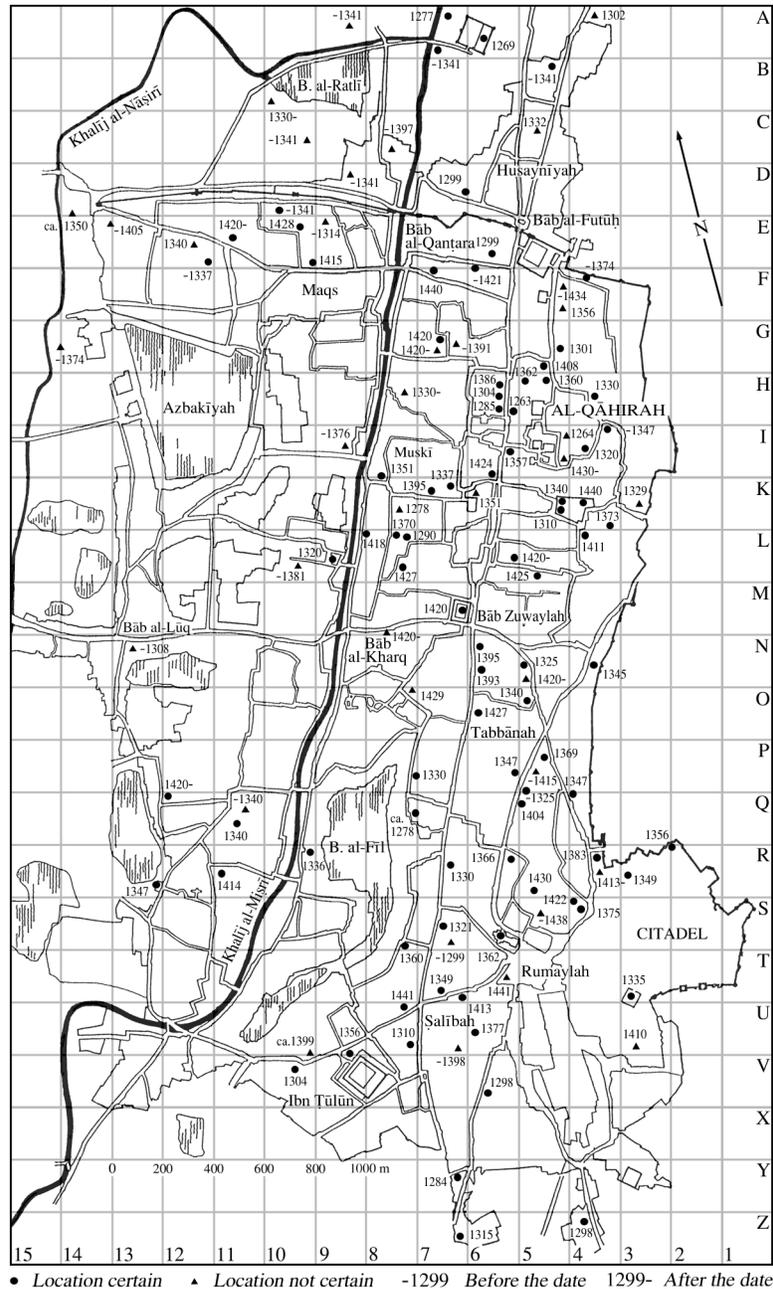
II. 1442–1517

123. m. Qānībāy al-Jarkasī - 1442 - IIW 1:309 - I 154 - **71 U 6** (Sarkasī)
 124. m. Qarā Khujā - 1442 - Ibn T. B., Nujūm, 7:1:335- I 206 - **15 R 10**
 125. M. Qāḍī Yahyá Zayn al-Dīn - 1444 - I 182 - **225 K 9** (Zayniyya)
 126. m. Jamālī Yūsuf - 1446 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:218 - I 178 - **216 K 8**
 (al-Khāsiyya)
 127. M. Badr al-Dīn al-Wanā'ī - ca. 1446 - I 163 - **57 X 6** (al-Yanā'ī)
 128. m. Jawhar al-Manjakī - before 1448 - Ibn T. B., Nujūm, 7:1:315 - a. T 6
 129. M. Jaqmaq - 1449 - I 217 - **204 U 11** (al-Musallah)
 130. M. Muḥammad Sa'īd Jaqmaq - 1451 - I 180 - **217 K 9** ('Umâr)
 131. M. al-Qāḍī Yahyá - 1452 - I 204 - **19 P 9** (al-Sa'īd)
 132. m. al-Zaynī Yahyá - before 1453 - ITB, History 6:38 - a. L 8
 133. m. Bardbak - 1454 - ITB, Ḥawādith 2:209, 3:577 - a. 162 U 12–13
 134. M. Bardbak - 1460 - ITB, Ḥawādith 3:577 - I 25 - **88 I 4** (Dardabakiyya)
 135. m. 'Anbar al-Tanbadhī - before 1462 - ITB, Nujūm 7:773 - a. N 6
 136. M. al-Shaykh Madyan - ca. 1465 - IIW 1:77- I 82 - **323 E 9**
 137. m. Qānim min Safar Khujā al-Tājir- before 1466 - ITB, History 7:119
 - a. V 9 - 149 U 8 ? (it may be the zāwiya Kūhiya of the *Description*)
 138. M. Mughulbāy Tāz - 1466 - IIW, 1:21 - I 207 - **132 T 8** (al-Mī'mâr)
 139. m. Sūdūn al-Qaşrawī - before 1469 - I 105 - **118 M 5** (Saydūn)
 140. M. al-Mar'ah - 1469 - I 195 - **386 M 8** (Mara)
 141. M. Tamīm al-Rasafī - before 1471 - I 227 - **249 U 13** (Rusân)
 142. M. Timrāz al-Aḥmadī - 1472 - IIW 1:77 - I 216 - **104 T 11** (Bahlûl)
 143. M. Qāyrbāy - 1475 - IIW 1:368 - I 223 - **199 V 10**
 144. M. Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibn Jī'ān - before 1477 - IIW 1:149 - a. B 10
 145. m. Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥzir - 1480 - IIW 1:284 - I 49 - **75 F 6** (Muzhiriyya)
 146. m. Qijmās al-Ishāqī - 1481 - IIW 1:272 - I 114 - **196 N 5** (Qismās al-Barādī'iyya)
 147. m. Khāyrbak Ḥadīd - before 1482 - IIW 1:214 - a. 91 Q 8
 148. M. Azbak - 1484 - IIW 1:132 - **177 I 11** (Yazbak)
 149. m. Khushqadam - 1486 - IIW 1:253 - a. T 5–6
 150. M. Qāyrbāy - 1494 - IIW 1:338 - **11 Z 5**
 151. m. Azbak al-Yūsufī - 1495 - IIW 1:350 - I 211 - **183 U 9** (Yazbak)
 152. M. Qāyrbāy? - before 1496 - **44 P 3**
 153. M. Sulṭān Shāh - before 1496 - IIW 1:368 - I 239 - **53 N 10**
 154. M. Azdumur - after 1496 - I 174 - **31 Z 5** (al-Zumur)



155. M. al-Ghamrī - before 1499 - IIW 1:465 - a. 284 E 8
 156. M. Barakāt ibn Quraymīt - 1499 - IIW 1:464 - **145 H 7** (Qurumît)
 157. masjid Tānībak Qarā - before 1500 - IIW 1:470 - a. 130 T 8
 158. m. Jānbalāt - ca. 1500 - IIW 1:483 - **137 E 4**
 159. M. Khayrbak - 1502 - I 248 - **78 Q 4** (Kharbakiyya)
 160. M. Ghūrī - 1503 - IIW 2:54 - I 189 - **305 K 6**
 161. m. Ghūrī - 1503 - IIW 2:48 - I 67 - 303 K 6
 162. M. Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh Amīr Ākhūr - 1503 - IIW 2:416 - I 136 -
130 S 5 (Amīr Yākhūr)
 163. M. Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī - 1504 - I 148 - a. 129 T 5
 164. M. Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh - 1506 - IIW 2:416 - I 254 - **263 S 13**
 (Amīr Khūr)
 165. M. Dashtūtī - 1506 - IIW 2:93 - I 12 - **404 D 8** (Tashtūtī)
 166. M. al-Ghūrī - 1509 - IIW 2:156 - I 159 - **6 X 4**
 167. m. Jānim al-Sayfī al-Bahlawān - 1510 - IIW 2:329 - I 129 - **102 P 7**
 (Shygānim)
 168. m. Baybars - 1515 - IIW 2:441 - I 191 - **373 L 7**





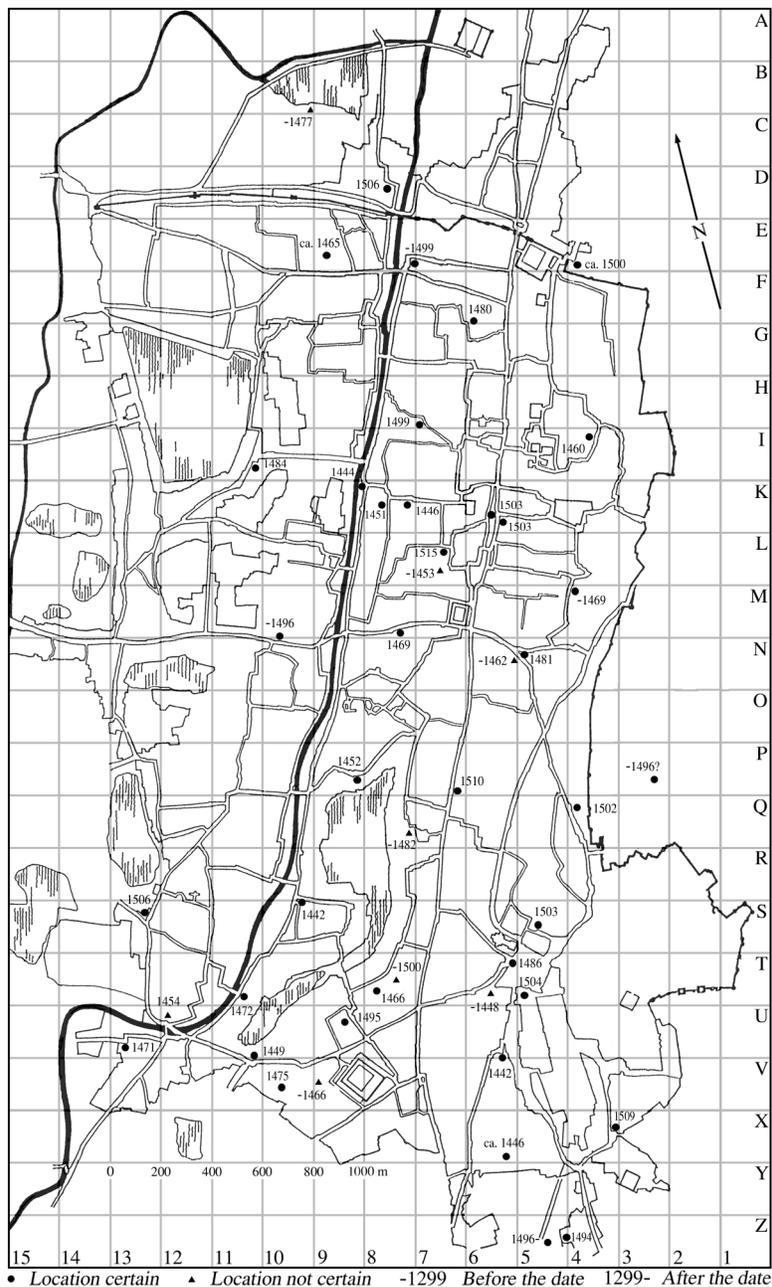
Map 1. Mosques built between 1260 and 1441.



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Map 2. Mosques built between 1442 and 1517.



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