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THE MANZARA
ITS FORM & FUNCTION
IN FATIMID EGYPT

JEHAN ISMAIL REDA

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**The American University In Cairo
School Of Humanities And Social Sciences
Department Of Arabic Studies**

**The Manzara
Its Form And Function
In Fatimid Egypt**

**By
Jehan Ismail Reda**

**A Thesis Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For
The Degree Of Master Of Arts In
Islamic Art And Architecture**

Cairo , January 1998

Thesis For The Master Of Arts Degree

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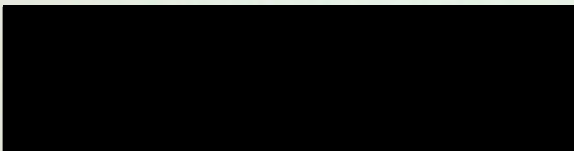
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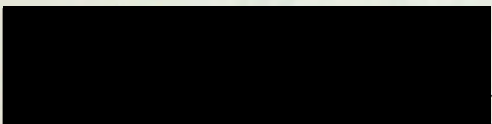
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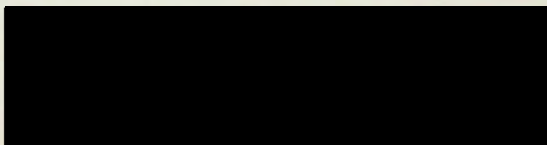
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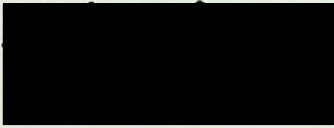
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To the memory of the dearest person to me
my father

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Chapter I

Introduction:

This is an inquiry into the nature of a type of secular architecture no longer extant known as the *manzara*. It is an attempt to shed some light on the form and function of these structures that had become so popular in the Fatimid period in Egypt. They played an important role both on the royal, caliphal level and on the sub-royal level. By understanding this role a better understanding of the Fatimids themselves and their way of life can be achieved.

In this study, as with any other that deals with buildings no longer available for inspection and analysis, the source for information is mostly texts. The little that remains of Fatimid monuments and what we know of the topography of Fustat and Cairo are used here also. But it is the chronicles of Arab historians that are the primary means for gaining information on these very ambiguous structures. Of these accounts the work of Mamluk historian al-Maqrizi is of extreme importance. He alone, by surveying the works of previous scholars of whose accounts little have come down to us, records in extreme detail the buildings of Cairo in the Fatimid period. But more importantly, he alone consecrated an entire chapter to the account of the *manzaras* that belonged to the Fatimid caliphs and the locations of their parks (*basatīn*) and leisure outings (*muntazahāt*), the locus of most *manzaras*.¹ This was followed by a list of Fatimid royal *manzaras*. Writing in the Circassian Mamluk period he gives us a clear picture of the topography and urban development of Cairo taking into account both architecture and urban expansion. But more than that he gives us a colourful account of Fatimid court life and ceremonial, the sources of which were Fatimid contemporary historians such as Ibn Zulaq (d. 387/997) and al-Musabbihi (d.420/1029) for the early period in the reigns of al-Mu'izz,

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1:465.

al-^cAziz and al-Zahir; Ibn Muyassar for the rule of al-Mustansir and al-Musta^cli; and finally Ibn al-Ma'mun and Ibn al-Tuwayr for the period starting with al-Amir and his wazir al-Afdal until the end of the Fatimid caliphate.²

With the help of these and other accounts and using Cairo and its suburbs as a setting, it becomes possible to locate these *manzaras* on a map of Fatimid Cairo and Fustat and their environs. An exploration of the various functions of these *manzaras* is carried out as well as a tentative architectural analysis based on the few descriptions available.

The danger of relying so heavily on texts is of course self-evident. In the absence of an alternative, however, this type of research becomes the only choice.

This work can thus be divided into three chapters: the first discusses philology and the meaning of the term. The second and main chapter, chapter two, is a survey of all the *manzaras* on a case by case basis. Each one is discussed in terms of its geographic location, history, function and form. They are in rough geographic order from north to south. The third and last chapter is the analysis of all the information gleaned from the second chapter. In it the conceptual matrix of these structures is discussed as well as their possible origin and further development into the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

² For information on the sources Maqrīzī used see "Dirāsa," 129-174.

Manzara: philology of the term

The first step towards an understanding of the term *manzara* is its philology. Comprehending the generic meaning is part of comprehending the architectural form. The word *manzara* derives from the root verb *naẓara*, which means to look at or view. It also comprises the noun *manẓar*, literally, a view. Height is a key factor in the definition of this term. This was made clear by an early geographic explanation which calls *manāẓir* (the plural of *manzara*)

“ heights of the earth because one can look [view] from them [at what is below].”³ This is the generic meaning of the term. A *manzara* has to be both high and also have a view of the surrounding terrain. This is not, however, simply to be understood in geological terms as the equivalent of hill or mountain but should also be understood to mean man-made structures higher than ground level used for the specific purpose of viewing one’s surroundings. This is hinted at by the expression “*yunẓar minha*”. Furthermore, a *manzara* is “a place in the summit of a mountain within which is a watcher who guards it and looks out for the enemy.”⁴

Although possibly the oldest function of the *manzara* is hereby clarified, there is no architectural description of the “place” that houses the “watcher”. We learn only that aside from *ribats* and *manārs*, *manzaras* were also places that housed guards to give warning of enemy attacks. These *manzaras* necessarily occupied the highest geographical site in the area. The “*raqīb*” is defined by Ibn Manzur as the “ guard of the people”, the one who “climbs the *marqaba* to guard them.”⁵

³ Al-Jawharī, *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 2:831.

⁴ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 7: 75.

⁵ Ibid., 1: 409.

From this we surmise that both the *marqaba* and the *manzara* are one and the same architectural entity. Ibn Manzur goes on to say, quoting a certain Shamar, "the *marqaba* is the *manzara* in the summit of a mountain or fortress, its plural being *marāqib*."⁶

These *maraqib* or, in this sense *manāzir*, served the specific function of housing a sentry and were set high on top of another structure or a hill. This sub-structure could have been basically anything, but the example by Ibn Manzur of a fortress seems highly appropriate.

Although there is perhaps one surviving example of these *manazir* it does not form the core of this work and yet it helps in clarifying the generic meaning of our term and is thus mentioned here briefly.

The Mashhad of al-Juyushi is perhaps the only surviving example of the watch tower *manzara*. A great deal has already been written about this highly ambiguous monument.⁷ Scholars have discussed its forms and meanings many times since it was first published in 1889.⁸ Van Berchem explained al-Juyushi by reading its foundation inscription that stated it was simply a *mashhad*. Later on Creswell stated that the domed room that supposedly contained the body was in fact a later addition.⁹ Thus the structure was changed from martyrrium to mosque status. It was Grabar who pointed out the peculiar choice of Koranic inscriptions which together clarified the meaning of this mosque.¹⁰ According to Grabar, it was built for the sole purpose of symbolizing Badr al-Jamali's victory over the rebels at the time of al-Mustansir. This was the historical event being commemorated and its architectural form expressed this meaning.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See, for a summary on relevant literature and a discussion of al-Juyushi, Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret Symbol of Islam*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art VII (Oxford, 1989).

⁸ Max Van Berchem, "Une mosquée du temps des Fatimites au Caire: notice sur le Gami El Goyushi," 2: 606-19.

⁹ Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1: 186.

¹⁰ Grabar, "Commemorative Structures," 27-28.

Caroline Williams agreed with the interpretation of al-Juyushi as a structure commemorating not only a historic event but also, as she put it, "the martyrs who had died for the restoration of legitimacy, peace, and order..."¹¹ Then in 1987, Yusuf Raghīb analyzed the epigraphy and placement of al-Juyushi and suggested that it was in fact simply an oratory, a masjid.¹² He went on to show that, according to Maqrizi, this whole area was populated with private oratories or masajid. Raghīb also supported the idea that it was a commemorative structure.

Yet all of these studies failed to account for the two out of five remaining small domed structures to be found on two salients overlooking Misr al-Fustat and the gates of Bab-Zuwayla. Creswell's view that they were used for prayer and meditation on account of their small mihrabs was either accepted or these structures were simply ignored. It was only Farid Shafē'i who correctly pointed out that they were too small for prayer and "...could only have been useful as covered shelters for sentinels to keep watch over the metropolis without being detected."¹³

These "domed edifices" are *manzaras* or *marqabas* built on top of a fortified structure, the Mashhad of al-Juyushi. The sentries watching over the city of Fustat are the "*raqibs*". In this context it is irrelevant whether al-Juyushi was a *mashhad* or simply an oratory. As Shafē'i correctly analyses, it served a military function, that of a *manzara*, and its imposing *manār* could have been used to send light signals to other sentries perched on the roof of Bab Zuwayla. From the Arab lexicographers we have learned that these *marqabas* or *manzaras* were indeed common.

¹¹ Williams, "The Mosque of al-Aqmar," 40.

¹² Raghīb, "Un oratoire fatimide au sommet du Muqattam," 50-67.

¹³ Shafē'i, "The Mashhad al-Juyushi," 227-52.

We also know that there was a route of *manars* along the Syrian coast all the way to Ramla at the time of Muqaddasi (early 11th century) by which signals were passed from one *manar* to the other whenever a Greek vessel appeared.¹⁴ These points, taken together with the fact that - as Shafē'i pointed out - al-Juyushi was designed and built like a fortress with thick walls, a water supply, one single small entrance and rooms for storing food, we have a pseudo-fortress housing military outposts built on a strategic mountain with a *manar* and five *manzaras* on the roof. The interior epigraphy of this building as well as the historic events of the time only underline its military function. It was built to guard the imperial caliphal city of Cairo from interior rebellions by watching Misr al-Fustat as well as the South (Upper Egypt). It is also a symbol of strength and victory perhaps also built, as Grabar said, to commemorate the death of many martyrs in Badr's recent victories. But most of all it is a reminder that the watchful eye of Badr al-Jamali was on the people of Egypt.

Having thus established the generic meaning of the two main components of the term *manzara*, height and the act of viewing, as well as the military watch tower form of one type of *manzara*, it is time to deal with the architectural *manzara* forms that developed in the Fatimid period, the purpose of this work.

¹⁴ Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāṣīm*, 177.

Chapter II

Survey of manzaras

A *manzara* was one of two things: either a free standing structure the whole of which was termed *manzara*, or, part of another existing structure, always an uppermost level unit. Both architectural forms developed together and were at the beginning invariably connected with the Fatimid *imām*. A *manzara* was a royal structure that housed the caliph on formal and informal occasions. These could be official, ceremonial occasions or just pleasure outings of the caliph and his retinue.

Manzarat Bab al-Futuh

This was in front of Bab al-Futuh outside Cairo's northern walls in the area between Bab al-Futuh and the Juyushiyya Park (*basātīn al-juyūshiyya*) (Figure 1).¹⁵

As a brief passage reports that the caliph al-Zahir raised tents outside Bab al-Futuh precludes the existence of a *manzara* there at the time (discussed below in detail), we can safely say that it must have been built after the reign of al-Zahir. In fact, Maqrizi specifically says that Manzarat Bab al-Futuh was built at the same time as the Mausoleum of Badr al-Jamali, i.e., around the time Badr al-Jamali died in 487/1094.¹⁶ It was thus built by his son, al-Afdal although the first report of its use dates from the days of al-Ma'mun al-Bata'ih and the events of the year 517/1123.¹⁷ It is an extremely interesting account of Fatimid war preparation in which al-Amir, upon receiving the messengers of prince Tughatakin of Damascus and prince Aq Sunqur of Aleppo immediately marshaled his army and navy for a surprise attack on the Franks.¹⁸ What is mentioned here is a military and naval undertaking that ended in defeat. The Fatimids had not

¹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 481.

¹⁶ Ibid., 2: 111.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1: 482.

¹⁸ Ibid.

been successful in keeping Palestine and the maritime cities of the Syrian Coast from falling into Crusader hands. By 517/1123, the date of our account, these cities had fallen except for Ascalon and Tyre, the latter of which was under siege and finally fell in 1123-4, a year after our account.¹⁹ Ibn al-Ma'mun tells us that the messengers called for al-Amir's military and naval assistance in fighting the Franks because their numbers had visibly decreased in Palestine and in the maritime towns (*thughūr*) and this was hence a good time to strike a paralyzing blow.²⁰ This fits in well with the fact that Tyre was under siege; hence the highest concentration of Crusader troops was to the north leaving the southern coastal towns less strongly garrisoned.

Having thus reviewed both the historical context of our account and reassured ourselves of its authenticity, it now behooves us to relate it to Manzarat Bab al-Futuh and how it was used.

Function:

Manzarat Bab al-Futuh was "prepared for the caliph to sit in when reviewing his troops and seeing them off on their way to Syria and Palestine (*al-bilād al-shāmiyya*)."²¹ This *manzara* was the focus of a ceremony that took place whenever the army mobilized for battle (*ghazw*). It was a seasonal event that took place twice a year or whenever the need arose.²² The Arabic term for this ceremony was *muāda'a*.²³ From Ibn al-Ma'mun's account mentioned above the custom seems to have been that once the caliph had reached the decision to mobilize the garrison stationed in Cairo and send it to do battle, an audience in the Gold Hall

¹⁹ Hamblin, "The Fatimid Army during the Early Crusades," 231.

²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 482.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Mahir, *Al-Baḥariyya*, 304.

²³ Al-Qalaqahandi, *Ṣubḥ*, 3: 597

(Qā'at al-Dhahab) at the eastern palace was ordered.²⁴ Then the cases of gold were brought in for the weighers (*wazzānūn*) to weigh the gold. The caliph would then check the payments and distribute them among cavalry and infantry. This process continued in the wazir's residence, *al-Dar al-Ma'muniyya*. A commander was then chosen, in this case, Husam al-Mulk al-Barni. All those benefiting from the payments (*nafaqa*) were the cavalry (*fāris*), infantry (*rājil*), officers (*al-umarā' al-sā'irūn*), doctors, mu'azzins and reciters. The *hujjāb* were in charge of supplies and arms. Messages were sent to the *thughūr*: Alexandria, Damietta and Ascalon with the order to release funds for maintaining and supplying the army en route to Ascalon.

It is only after all these preparations had taken place, which took several days, that the caliph rode to Bab al-Futuh and waited in his *manzara*. It is there that the commander was invested with a golden suit of honor (*khala'a alayhi*) and a golden collar (*tawq*). Only the amirs, however, were permitted to watch the official assignment. The wazir then told them within hearing of the caliph, "this is your commander (*muqaddim*) and the commander of all soldiers (*askar*) and what he has promised I fulfilled and what he decides I carry out." The latter two phrases seem to be what the amirs called out in response. They then proceeded to kiss the ground and left the wazir's presence. It is clear that they were out of sight of the caliph though still in the *manzara*. As these amirs numbered twenty, the *manzara* had to have been large enough to accommodate at least that number and could not have been just a simple loggia. The head of the treasury (*mutawalli bayt al-māl*) and the head of the wardrobes (*mutawalli khazā'in al-kiswa*) then handed the army commander the inventory and the boxes were carried ahead of him. It was only then that the shutters of the openings (*taqāt*) of the *manzara* were opened and

²⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, 1: 482.

when the soldiers saw the caliph they kissed the ground below.²⁵ He then gave the signal for the march to start.

The oldest recorded event of a Fatimid caliph seeing off his army outside city walls was that of al-Mu'izz seeing off his conquering army outside the walls of the city of Qairawan.²⁶ He helped load the camels with gold and ordered his retinue and his children to walk while Jawhar rode for the conquest of Egypt.²⁷

There are only two other descriptions of the caliph either seeing off and reviewing or welcoming home his army dated by Musabbihi to the years 384/994-5 and 415/1024-5. In the first it was caliph al-^cAziz, who reviewed his army also outside Cairo's city walls at the Pilgrim's Lake (*birkat al-hajj*) northwest of Cairo.²⁸ There is no mention of a *manzara*, only a large *rūmi dībāj* tent as well as a separate *fāsa* and a bejeweled *qubba* for the caliph and other tents for al-Mansur, his son. The occasion seems to have been a victory over the Byzantines as 250 Byzantine (*rūmi*) captives are mentioned as being paraded. The whole review and parade lasted from dawn until dusk.²⁹

The second and more pertinent account simply says that a tent was set up for al-Zahir outside Bab al-Futuh, the occasion being the transportation of soldiers to Syria.³⁰ As the caliph would hardly be likely to need this tent for seeing off the army if he already had a *manzara* on site, this

²⁵ The word *ṭāq* and *ṭāqa* (pl. *ṭaqāt*) mean an arch-like window opening in a wall. According to Ibn Manzur, "a *ṭāq* [is] what curves in buildings and the plural [is] *ṭaqāt*," *Lisān al-^cArab*, 12:103. That these openings had some form of shutters and/or curtains that were opened and closed to reveal or conceal what was behind is clear from the texts. They too were referred to as *ṭaqāt*. I have refrained from using the word window to mean *ṭāq* to avoid confusion with the word *shubbāk*, the literal translation of window and the resulting rectangular frame it implies. As the size of these openings are not known but definitely vary, I have simply either called them openings, or used the word *ṭāqa*.

²⁶ Ibid., 378.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 163.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Al-Musabbihi, *Akhbār*, 186.

slight remark re-enforces Maqrizi's statement that the *manzara* was built around the date when Badr al-Jamali died in 487/1094, as already mentioned above.

Although tents continued to be used throughout the Fatimid period, the degree lessened with an increased substitution of the tent with the *manzara*. By the time we reach al-Amir an elaborate network of *manzaras* had been developed that housed the caliph on such occasions. The Fatimids had become increasingly more established in Cairo and their ceremonies more strongly rooted and developed so that there arose perhaps a need for a durable structure to house the caliph on these elaborate ceremonies. The early caliphs then were more accessible, closer to the people with real power in their hands. With Badr al-Jamali and the last years of caliph al-Mustansir this power became symbolic and so did the caliph. He was increasingly concealed from his subjects by means of architecture such as the *manzara*. People were only allowed to see him at specific moments in a ceremony or parade. This was achieved in practice by opening a *taqa* of the *manzara*.

We can surmise that the *manzara* at Bab al-Futuh was a freestanding structure facing Bab al-Futuh built after 487/1094, but before the reign of al-Amir (r. 495-524/1101-30). It was also a closed structure that effectively concealed the caliph from prying eyes. Seeing the caliph was considered an honor and in itself a blessing for the departing army and soldiers. This *manzara* was not just a solid block, however, its facade was punctuated with arched window-like openings. It was through the opening of one of these *taqas* at the climax of the parade that the marching army was allowed a glimpse of the caliph. The wazir stood at another *taqa* and it was he who spoke for the caliph on this occasion. It was, therefore, necessary for the Bab al-Futuh *manzara* to have had more than one opening on the street facade. The marching army could see

the caliph seated at one *taqa* and would receive the marching orders by signal as they were never allowed to hear the caliph's voice, while it was the wazir at another *taqa* whose voice they heard.

Manzarat al-Maqs

Al-Maqs was a port located on the right Nile bank west of Fatimid Cairo at the north western end of Ard al-Luq, a piece of land sandwiched between Khalij al-Qahira and the main river channel.³¹ The Nile had not yet receded as it did in the fourteenth century uncovering modern day Bab al-Luk and locking al-Maqs inland for good.³² Today al-Maqs is the Cairo Ramses Station; the Nile originally flowed by Maydan Ramsis and Muhammad Farid Street.³³ According to al-Quda'i, the area of al-Maqs was originally farmland known as *Day'at Umm Dunayn*.³⁴ It was only renamed al-Maqs either because the tax collector (*makās*) used to sit there or because the division of war bounty (*qisma*) occurred there.³⁵

Manzarat al-Maqs was built on the river bank northwest (*bahri*) of Jami' al-Maqs (Figure 1).³⁶

³¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 480.

³² Abu Lughud, *1000 Years of the City Victorious*, 27.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, 125-6.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ In all his topographical descriptions, Maqrīzī's north, which he often calls the *bahri*, is passably close to the mathematically correct north. So that, for example, Cairo which is north to northeast of Fustāt is said to be to the north of Fustāt. This is easily understandable as a simplification and causes no problems. The Nile simply flowed from the south, which was the *qibli*, to the north (*bahri*) by the western (*gharbi*) side of Cairo and Fustat while the Muqattam Hills bordered them on the eastern (*sharqi*) side. The problem is caused when he makes the mistake of also calling the side opposite the *qibla* wall in a mosque the *bahri* (north). As this is more or less the northwest which he would otherwise have called the west (*gharbi*), we get a new set of directions. Where mosques are concerned *qibli* becomes the qibla side which does not coincide with the south at all but is the southeastern wall, while *bahri* becomes the northwest and thus the east (*sharqi*) becomes the northeast and the west (*gharbi*) the southwest. This would not really cause so much of a problem if these directions were carried out only inside the mosque proper, but the real confusion arises when the mosque itself is used as a reference point. For example, would "...next to the mosque from its *bahri*"; mean the 'topographical' north, i.e., the north to northeastern side, or the side opposite the qibla, i.e., the northwest? By studying the extant mosques he describes I have concluded that he uses the second orientation when using the mosque as a reference point. At the very least, I make this assumption throughout this study when locating *manzarat* related to mosques. In everything else, I have followed Maqrīzī's other topographic orientation. See also Van Berchem's explanation in *Materiaux*, 7 and Corbett, "The history of the mosque of Amr," 1.

Maqrizi's location also agrees with that of both Ibn al-Ma'mun and Ibn al-Tuwayr where the *manzara* was said to have been "on top of the mosque" (*fī a'ḥāh*), and "there was on the river shore at the mosque a *manzara*."³⁷ The case seems to have been one of a *manzara* built on top of the mosque's northwestern wall. However, that the structure was in a way isolated and perhaps built only adjacent to the mosque is shown when in the final quarter of the 12th century Saladin's wazir, Qaraqush, destroyed the *manzara* and built a tower in its stead.³⁸ The mosque was not destroyed in the process so the *manzara* was itself not part of the mosque fabric, possibly of a later date than the mosque proper. Saladin's tower, and hence the Maqs *manzara*, was located by Ramzi to be today the area where the waqf building and Ratib Pasha building stand right next to the mosque of Awlad ʿInan to the north east of Maydan Bab al-Hadid.³⁹

The mosque itself was built by caliph al-Hakim.⁴⁰ Although we do not know who built the *manzara*, it might, with reservations, have also been al-Hakim as he is doubtfully credited with having built nine *manzaras* despite the fact that he was known to have abolished many ceremonies and parades such as those of the Waqūd Nights.⁴¹ His son al-Zahir on the other hand, not only re-instituted the Waqūd Nights festivities, but also watched them along with his retinue from a *manzara* next to al-Azhar mosque.⁴² This point, taken together with the fact that he sailed at the opening of the dam ceremony all the way to al-Maqs and spent some time there before heading for his palace, could mean that al-Zahir built both *manzaras* for his personal use. He built al-Azhar to watch the Waqūd festivities and he built Manzarat al-Maqs to use at the

³⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2:283 and 1: 480.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 4: 40, note 1.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4:120. Although he says that Manzarat al-Sukkara was one of al-Hakim's nine *manzaras* he does not list them. Furthermore, Maqrīzī attributes the construction of al-Sukkara to al-ʿAzīz, al-Hakim's father, shedding some doubt on Ibn Duqmāq's attribution. As several more *manzaras* are connected to al-ʿAzīz and perhaps only one to al-Hakim, it seems more likely that those nine *manzaras* were built by al-ʿAzīz.

⁴² Ibid., 1: 466.

breaking of the dam ceremony. Unfortunately, the first mention of Manzarat al-Maqs originates from Ibn al-Ma'mun concerning caliph al-Amir and his wazir al-Ma'mun al-Bata'ih. Caliph al-Amir and both his wazirs, al-Afdal Shahinshah and al-Ma'mun, were known to have built a number of *manzaras*. Moreover, al-Amir not only diligently celebrated all ceremonies, he also added a few of his own such as two *mawālid* (anniversaries) celebrations and the opening of Abu'l-Munajja dike ceremony. There is a probability that he also built Manzarat al-Maqs.

Function:

According to Maqrizi, it was prepared for the caliph to use when reviewing his fleet on its way to take action against the Franks (*wadā' al-ustūl*) and when meeting the fleet returning home (*liqā' al-ustūl*).⁴³

The *wadā'* ceremony

The preparation for naval combat took a long period of time and involved several steps and procedures. The caliph was directly and personally involved in the last two: the distribution of payments (*nafaqa*) and the *wadā'* or *muwāda'a* ceremony. He set the date for the distribution of payments after the fleet had been prepared and all manpower assembled in and around Cairo. It took place in Qa'at al-Dhahab and followed the same steps as in the *nafaqa* for the army. It was only after each and every sailor had received his payment and had his name called out, which took several days, and the ships been prepared for battle, that the caliph and wazir finally rode to the Nile shore at al-Maqs. The caliph and wazir sat in the *manzara* and awaited the arrival of the fleet from the arsenal in Fustat. If, however, it was the case of both army and navy moving together such as in Ibn al-Ma'mun's account of the year 517 mentioned above, then the

⁴³ Ibid., 480.

caliph first dismounted at Manzarat Bab al-Futuh to see off the army and then continued to al-Maqs to see off the naval fleet from his *manzara* there.

Both army and navy *wada'* ceremonies resembled each other. The caliph and his wazir sat in Manzarat al-Maqs and awaited the arrival of the fleet. These ships and galleys were launched from the arsenals in Fustat and the Gazira Island, also called the Rawda Island, fully equipped with men and arms. They practiced drills and war maneuvers for the benefit of the caliph who was watching the show from his *manzara*. The caliph then summoned the commander (*muqaddim*) and his second (*ra'īs*) and handed them a special bonus accompanied by his blessings. The fleet then headed for the port of Damietta and the Mediterranean Sea. Instead of heading directly for his palace though, it was the caliph's custom to spend the remainder of that day in the nearby garden of al-Ba'ī, which also had a *manzara*.⁴⁴ He only returned to his palace after distributing alms (*ṣadaqāt*) and donations (*hibāt*) exactly as though he were on a regular outing.

The *liqā'* ceremony

The caliph also rode to Manzarat al-Maqs upon receiving the tidings of the arrival of his fleet.⁴⁵ This was an important event not because of any significant victories that were achieved but simply for the sake of whatever war bounty was brought home. The fleet took whatever goods were captured, while the caliph and his wazir divided the prisoners of war.

Important here is the fact that the captives were paraded "beneath the *manzara* on its land facade."⁴⁶ This meant that the *manzara* was a structure free on two sides at least. It lay opposite the *qibla* side directly on the Nile shore with no "land" between it and the Nile so the caliph

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

could have a clear view of his fleet. If it lay on top of that wall then it must have been at either corner so it could also have had a "land side". The caliph would thus have had a view of the prisoners being paraded below him. Maqrizi's text, however, suggests a separate structure "next to" the mosque, which could mean either freestanding or annexed at either corner. This is supported by the fact that in the Ayyubid period Salah al-Din destroyed the *manzara* and built a high tower in its stead which, as the mosque was not damaged in the process, suggests either a corner or a freestanding structure.

The southeastern side of the *manzara* was thus either attached to the mosque of al-Maqs with the mosque simply terminating in a *manzara* hence Ibn al-Ma'mun's "*ḥīḍā lāh*", or, it stood free on all four sides next to the mosque to the northwest as Maqrizi seems to suggest. In any case there is no way the *manzara* could have been part of the mosque itself or built on top of an already existing mosque structure and have had both a land facade, and a river façade unless it was at a corner.

Manzarat al-Sina^ca

Built at the arsenal (*al-Ṣinā^ca*) in Fustat on the eastern Nile bank, it directly faced Rawda Island (Figure 2).⁴⁷ The arsenal itself was an old Ikhshidid structure that had fallen into disuse until revitalized by al-Ma'mun al-Bata'ihī under al-Amir's imamate.⁴⁸ Al-Ma'mun enlarged the old structure and added a new building as well as the *manzara*. His arsenal was known as al-Sina^ca while the old one of al-Ikhshid was just *al-Ṣinā^ca al-ukhra* (the other arsenal).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 482.

⁴⁸ See al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 197. Maqrīzī gives the exact location of this arsenal and its history. It remained in use until 700/1300-1, when it was turned into a garden, *Bustān Ibn Kaysān*, which became known in his time as *Bustān al-Ṭawāshī*. As the Nile receded, there developed a stretch of land known as al-Jarf. It too became a garden before it was built upon. Casanova disagreed with Maqrīzī's site for *Dār al-Ṣinā^ca* and considered it to be too far inland; Casanova, *Les nomes Coptes*, 1: 160.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 192.

According to Ramzi, al-Sina^ca would have been today on al-Dayyura street, east of Fumm al-Khalij, which was the old course of the Nile.⁵⁰

Function:

Manzarat al-Sina^ca was used by Fatimid caliphs starting with al-Amir during the perfuming of the Nilometer ceremony (*takhlīq al-miqyās*).⁵¹ It served as a rest house for the caliph and his wazir while they both watched the launching of new boats in anticipation of the following ceremony of breaking the dam (*kasr al-khalij*), and awaited the arrival of their Nile boats to cross over to the Nilometer at Rawda.

Although the *manzara* itself was built in the reign of al-Amir when Ibn al-Ma'mun was his wazir, i.e., between 515/1121 and 519/1125, the parade to al-Sina^ca itself was a much older custom. Musabbihi gives us an account of the caliph al-Zahir who rode out to break the dam in Jumada I 414/ 1023.⁵² He rode out to Sina^cat al-jisr (arsenal of the bridge), where a Nile boat (*ushārī*) was launched, after which he took the al-Hamra road and ended at *sadd al-khalij* (the canal dam) where the dam was broken allowing the Nile boats to glide into the canal. This account seems to indicate that the old Ikhshidid arsenal was somehow still active and that halting first at al-Sina^ca was an integral part of the breaking of the dam ceremony. There is, however, no mention of a *manzara* at the site. The following year, 415/1024-25, al-Zahir again rode out to break the dam stopping first at al-Sina^ca to watch the launching of a new war ship.⁵³ The launching procedure turned out to be problematic so he left al-Sina^ca and rode to open the dam which had already overflowed. Al-Zahir stood on the east bank of the khalij and watched the

⁵⁰ Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 4:104, n. 1. Muḥammad Ramzi also gives the new location of al-Ṣinā^ca after the Nile had receded locking it inland around 700/1300-1. It was moved further south to Dair al-Naḥḥās where it remained until moved again to Bulāq at the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī the Great (al-Kabīr) when it became known as al-Tirsāna.

⁵¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 482.

⁵² Al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār*, 29-30.

⁵³ Ibid., 244.

Nile boats glide by. It is clear from Musabbihi's account that the parade to al-Sina^ca was directly related to the inundation celebrations and that it preceded the breaking of the dam ceremony occurring on the same day. Sometime later, perhaps in al-Amir's time, both events were separated by several days at the end of the Fatimid period.

The Sina^ca at the time of al-Amir was linked with the perfuming of the Nilometer ceremony. It is first mentioned by Ibn al-Ma'mun in the events of the year 517/1123.⁵⁴ That all earlier historians, in particular Musabbihi, failed to mention this ceremony, coupled with the fact that the Nilometer ceremony was in reality one of two ceremonies celebrated when the Nile reached plenitude and that those same historians mentioned only the other breaking of the dam ceremony (*kasr al-sadd or fath al-khalij*), has led Paula Sanders to deduce that the Nilometer ceremony was a "late Fatimid ceremony", giving it a possible terminus post quem of 485/1092, the date of the construction of the mosque at the Nilometer.⁵⁵ That conclusion, however, overlooks one important fact mentioned in the second report on the Nilometer ceremony by Ibn al-Ma'mun dated 518/1124. In that year it was not the caliph who rode out to perfume the Nilometer but the wazir. Al-Ma'mun rode to al-Sina^ca, watched the Nile boats (*ushariyyat*) being launched in all their finery and crossed over in one to the Nilometer to superintend its anointing. He then went to the *manzara* of Dar al-Dhahab and ordered the release of all that was needed for the overnight stay at the Nilometer.⁵⁶

It seems then that, although an integral part of the inundation celebrations (*wafā' al-nīl or ayyām al-nīl*) and a sign that the Nile had reached plenitude, the perfuming (*takhlīq*) ceremony as such was not always blessed by the caliph's presence. This, taken together with the fact that Ibn

⁵⁴ Ibid., 471.

⁵⁵ See the discussion of the history of this ceremony in Sanders, *Ritual*, 114-117.

⁵⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, 1: 473.

al-Ma'mun never stated that the ceremony was initiated in his time and that Musabbihi did mention the caliph's procession to al-Sina^ca which was the only crossing point to Rawda by boat, suggests a new hypothesis. It is possible that the *takhliq* ceremony was never "introduced". On the contrary, it may perhaps be as old as the other breaking of the dam ceremony or even a part of that same ceremony. The only difference is that it was never carried out by the caliph personally but was a task performed only by the wazir, or perhaps even only by Ibn Abi'l-Raddad. That was why it was never reported by other Fatimid historians such as Ibn Zulaq, al-Musabbihi and Ibn Muyassar. It was simply part of another more important ceremony and it was not presided over by the caliph. These historians do, however, allude to that event by mentioning, as even Ibn al-Ma'mun did in the report of the year 516/1122, that Ibn Abi'l-Raddad received his investiture.⁵⁷ Their reports date as far back as the days of al-Mu'izz which might mean that Ibn Abi'l-Raddad received these robes not only in his capacity as keeper of the Nilometer, but also for his role in perfuming it. Sometime later, it became perhaps the duty of the wazir when the state acquired one.

Al-Ma'mun was the one who introduced the novelty of having the caliph attend. Why? I suggest because of his new arsenal. When he rebuilt al-Sina^ca in Fustat he added the *manzara* there, Manzarat al-Sina^ca, thus creating an architectural space from which the caliph al-Amir could watch the launching of the boats and then cross over in one of them to attend the perfuming ceremony. This would also draw attention to his great achievement, the revived Fustat arsenal. That the arrangement was still new and precarious is shown when in the following year (518/1124) it was al-Ma'mun who did the honors.

⁵⁷ Al-Musabbihi, *Akhbar*, 246.

At this point we may ask ourselves why, if there already were two arsenals, one at al-Maqs and the other at al-Rawda, al-Ma'mun found it necessary to build a new one. The answer may lie in the fact that by the time of al-Amir only the Gazira (Rawda) arsenal was productive. As mentioned above, al-Maqs and its *manzara* were simply the site of the farewell ceremony where the caliph saw off the navy battle ships that came from Fustat. Ibn al-Tuwayr distinctly says that they came from Fustat, while Ibn al-Ma'mun does not mention the arsenal at al-Maqs at all when reporting the building of the new arsenal.⁵⁸ In fact, he even states that all ships were being built at the arsenal on Rawda Island and that al-Ma'mun disliked that and therefore had the *Sina'a* on the opposite shore revitalized and enlarged. These reports seem to indicate that sometime after the death of al-Zahir, al-Sina'a in Fustat ceased to be of great importance or might even have ceased to produce altogether. This can only be a gross exaggeration as it was in the wazirate of al-Afdal that the Crusader wars began in which the Fatimid army and navy played a major, if unsuccessful, role. The Fatimid fleet was very active hence raising the level of production in the arsenals. As al-Afdal's rule was absolute and the young caliph was virtually under house arrest in his palace with ceremonies and parades kept to a minimum, it is possible that it was the royal ceremonial and administrative Nile boat production at the Fustat arsenal that was decreased. With the rise of al-Ma'mun to power, the ceremonial and festive aspect of Fatimid rule was brought back with a vengeance by that wazir. He re-instituted many of the old festivals, such as the six *mawālīd* and the *layālī al-waqūd*. The architectural expression of this new era was the *manzara*, a symbol of the caliph's return to public life.

Al-Ma'mun had the arsenal in Fustat revitalized adding the *manzara*. The type of ships he had built in Fustat were Nile boats while the battle ships were built at the Gazira and this

⁵⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 197.

continued to be the case until Ibn al-Tuwayr's time who even supplies us with the numbers.⁵⁹ It was more practical for the Nile boats to be on the mainland so that the caliph and his retinue could gain access to them during Nile ceremonies, in particular the perfuming ceremony, as mentioned above. Historically, it was specifically during the inundation festivities that Fatimid caliphs and their retinues living in Cairo deliberately sought to parade to Fustat. According to Sanders, it was not only a show of power and responsibility for maintaining the agricultural system, but was also an urban and topographical means of integrating Fustat and Cairo.⁶⁰ In the late Fatimid period with the caliph now presiding over both ceremonies, even the Nilometer and Rawda Island were integrated into the urban landscape through ceremony.

Manzarat Dar al-Mulk

Located on the mainland shore in Fustat, it directly faced the southern tip of Rawda Island and the Nilometer (Figure 2).⁶¹ Unlike most other Fatimid *manzaras*, Manzarat Dar al-Mulk was not conceived of as a caliphal *manzara* to start with. It was built by wazir al-Afdal Shahinshah in the year 501/1107 as his private residence.⁶² Al-Afdal was the first Fatimid wazir to move his residence, as well as all the administrative machinery (*dawawīn*), from the proximity of the caliph in the palace in Cairo to Fustat. After the death of al-Afdal, it was first taken over by the Fatimid caliphs and added to their outdoor outings (*muntazahāt*) as it had a great *bustan*, then it was turned into a *dār matgar* (trade house) by the Ayyubids, finally ending up a *dar . wikāla* in

al-Zahir Baybars' reign. By the time Maqrizi was writing, only one wall was left.

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 94. More than 50 Nile boats were produced at al-Ṣinā'a as well as 20 *dīmās*, of which 10 were for the caliph's personal use on such occasions as the inundation celebrations.

⁶⁰ Sanders, *Ritual*, 117-119.

⁶¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, 1: 483.

⁶² Ibid.

According to Ramzi, the site of Dar al-Mulk is occupied today by the police station of Misr al-Qadima, the telepost office, a church, a *wikāla* and the *waqf* and mosque of Abu Rabya.⁶³

Function:

According to Ibn al-Tuwayr, Manzarat Dar al-Mulk was used on two occasions. The first was on certain days chosen by the caliph on his pleasure rides. These outings were called by al-Qalaqshandi "the abbreviated processions during the year (*al-mawākib al-mukhtaṣara fī athnā' al-sana*)."⁶⁴ They occurred on odd days of the week, Saturday, Tuesday or Thursday, four to five times starting after the main ceremony of the New Year until the month of Ramadan. The second was at the ceremony of the perfuming of the Nilometer during the inundation period. As we know from the discussion above that Manzarat al-Sina^ca was the structure that temporarily received the caliph at the Nilometer ceremony, this usage of Dar al-Mulk for the same function may appear to be a contradiction. This is not so when we look at the dates of our two accounts. In the first one, that of Ibn al-Ma'mun, he mentions the Nilometer ceremony and al-Sina^ca for the year dated 517/1123 and the following year 518/1124. Although the second account, that of Ibn al-Tuwayr, is undated, we know that he lived from 524-617/1130-1220.⁶⁵ He wrote his book in the Ayyubid period and hence it covers the last three decades of Fatimid rule at the very most. Sometime after the death of al-Ma'mun in 519/1125 and the approximate time of Ibn al-Tuwayr's account, Manzarat al-Sina^ca fell into disuse and was replaced by Dar al-Mulk. Both were located on the Fustat mainland opposite the Nilometer, only Dar al-Mulk was further to the south. In fact, if we accept the above argument that al-Ma'mun, by constructing the arsenal and its *manzara*, added a new dimension to the Nilometer ceremony

⁶³ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 4: 96-97, n. 7. Ramzi also gives the location of the nearby Mu'izziyya Madrasa saying that on its site today is the mosque of 'Abidi Bey, also known as the mosque of Shaikh Duwaysh, at the far southern end of Miṣr al-Qadīma street on the Nile shore.

⁶⁴ Al-Qalaqshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 3: 595.

in having the caliph instead of the wazir attend, then it is quite possible that the older Dar al-Mulk was the crossing point to the Nilometer in the days of al-Afdal. It was not only very conveniently located but was also the residence of the wazir. He would simply have been able to cross over and attend the *takhliq* and then go to the palace and prepare for the breaking of the dam ceremony with the caliph. If the ceremony existed at all in the days of al-Afdal, it would definitely have started out from Dar al-Mulk. Al-Ma'mun then shifted the site to al-Sina'a, only for it to be relocated again at Dar al-Mulk in the last decades of Fatimid rule continuing to be used in the Ayyubid period, according to Ibn al-Tuwayr.

This leads us to a second problem related to architectural terminology. There is one instance in the account of Ibn al-Tuwayr where Dar al-Mulk itself is said to have had a *manzara*.⁶⁶ So whereas Maqrizi lists the whole structure as a *manzara*, recounting its history and conversion into a *manzara* for the caliphs, he does not say that it also had a *manzara* despite the fact that he fully recounts the passage of Ibn al-Tuwayr when discussing the inundation ceremonies. If we look more closely at the sparse architectural information handed down to us through Ibn al-Ma'mun and Ibn al-Tuwayr, we find that Manzarat Dar al-Mulk consisted of at least four architectural elements: a *majlis* (the *majlis al-^catāya* where al-Afdal used to hold audiences), a *qa'a* (*qa'at al-Lu'lu'a*), a *manzara* that had a door on the Nile from which the caliph and/or wazir directly exited to take his boat to al-Rawda and finally a *qabu* (a vaulted basement).⁶⁷ It seems, therefore, possible on the evidence of Ibn al-Tuwayr to deduce that this is a case where the whole building is named after a part of that building. Dar al-Mulk was al-Afdal's residence

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 10*.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 193.

⁶⁷ On *qabu* Dar al-Mulk, see Ibn Duqmaq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 53-54. The *qabu* survived and was said by Ibn Duqmaq to lead directly to the river. It also carried the drains of the nearby woman's bathhouse. The whole was made a *waqf* for the benefit of the nearby Mu'izziyya Madrasa.

and administrative center in his lifetime and had a *manzara* directly on the Nile shore overlooking Rawda Island. Yet it was only after al-Afdal's death and the taking over of Dar al-Mulk by the caliphs to use on their Saturday and Tuesday recreational outings as well as at the Nilometer ceremony, that Dar al-Mulk was first called Manzarat Dar al-Mulk. Because of its change in function to that of a caliphal *manzara* and because it did in fact have a *manzara*, it was eventually called Manzarat Dar al-Mulk.

Manzarat Manazil al-[°]Izz

This last Fatimid *manzara* to be located in Misr al-Fustat was, in fact, quite probably the earliest one. It lay directly on the Nile shore facing the Nilometer (Figure 2). On its site can be found today a series of buildings bordered on the west by Misr al-Qadima street, on the south by the beginning of al-Marhumi street, harat al-Sharqawa and [°]Atfat Zahir, on the east by the Ga[°]ga[°]i Garden and [°]Atfat al-Asralli, on the north by al-Qabua street.⁶⁸

Maqrizi and Ibn Duqmaq differ as to who built Manazil al-[°]Izz. According to Ibn Duqmaq, al-Mu[°]izz "built this *manzara* for his sister when she came from the *maghrib*."⁶⁹ Maqrizi on the other hand, attributes it to Taghrid, al-Mu[°]izz's wife and the mother of al-[°]Aziz.⁷⁰ Neither Ibn Duqmaq nor Maqrizi state their source. As, however, Taghrid was known to have patronized two other buildings dated 366/976, a year after the death of al-Mu[°]izz, and as al-Mu[°]izz was not known to have built anything in the short two years he lived in Cairo, it seems plausible to attribute Manazil al-[°]Izz to Taghrid.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 5: 365, n. 2. See also Casanova's placement of Manāzil al-[°]Izz on a close-up map of the area and his discussion of its history calling it Madrasat Manāzil al-[°]Izz, in Casanova, *Essai*, 2: 95-103.

⁶⁹ Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 93.

⁷⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 484-5.

⁷¹ Taghrīd started her first project in 366/976, one year after the death of al-Mu[°]izz. It was the mosque of al-Qarāfa. That same year she also began building Qaṣr al-Qarāfa nearby and its dependencies, which is also discussed in this paper. Both projects were immense in size and importance. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 318-20, 1: 486 and 453.

Furthermore, al-Musabbihi mentions two excursions undertaken by al-Zahir in the year 415/1024-5. The first was to celebrate the festival of Baptism (*ʿīd al-ghitās*) and the second was simply a pleasure outing. The final destination of both these outings was “the qasr of his grandfather al-ʿAziz Bi’l-lah –God bless his soul- at the *sābāt* in *al-Ṣanādiyyīn* in *Miṣr*.”⁷² Going by the scarce information on its location, this ‘qasr’ seems to have been in the general area of Manazil al-ʿIzz.⁷³ Assuming Musabbihi’s ‘qasr’ was in fact Manazil al-ʿIzz, then his reference to al-ʿAziz as the owner in no way contradicts Maqrizi’s naming Taghrīd. In all probability, it was built sometime at the start of al-ʿAziz’s rule by his mother Taghrīd.

There is no architectural description of Manazil al-ʿIzz aside from the fact that it may partly have been built on top of a *sābāt* (discussed earlier), had a *ḥammām* (bathhouse, Hammam al-Dhahab), which stood next to it and opened on to it, as well as an *istabl*. It remained in use as a *manzara* throughout the Fatimid period.

Function

The only surviving account in which this *manzara* figures is, as mentioned above, by al-Musabbihi. Al-Zahir brought his entourage, including the ladies, to his grandfather’s palace to celebrate the Christian festival of *ghitās*. In preparation for the caliph’s arrival, the nearby houses were cleared and the coast secured by the black servant Nafidh, who was also the police

⁷² Al-Musabbihi, *Akhbār*, 190, 193.

⁷³ The keywords that help to locate this qasr are: first, that it lay “on the Nile shore” (*ʿala al-baḥr*), in Fustat (bi *Miṣr*). Secondly, that it was “at the *sābāt*” (bi’l-*sābāt*) in the *Ṣanādiyyīn* (fi’l-*ṣanādiyyīn*). A *sābāt* is neither an area nor a street, it is an architectural weight-bearing structure. According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, it is a *saqīfa* that carries another structure on top, itself supported on either side by neighboring walls either freestanding or those of two flanking houses. Furthermore, in the case of a *sābāt*, the street usually passes below it (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 9: 183). This is also how it was used in the sources (Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 81-83). As for *al-Ṣanādiyyīn*, an incident recounted by Musabbihi that occurred while al-Zāhir was staying at that qasr, relates that road to nearby *al-Qammāhīn* (Al-Musabbihi, *Akhbār*, 93). A person who had fallen on hard times stood beneath the qasr but instead of begging the favour of the caliph he proceeded to insult him whereupon he was seized and dragged all the way from *al-Ṣanādiyyīn* to *al-Qammāhīn* and then handed over to the police. From this account, taken together with Casanova’s placement of *al-Qammāhīn* right next to Manāzil al-ʿIzz to the north (Casanova, *Essai*, 95), we can deduce that *al-Ṣanādiyyīn* must have been to the south of *al-Qammāhīn*, i.e., in the

prefect. Nafidh then put up his tent at the head of the bridge (probably the one between Rawda Island and the opposite shore at Misr al-Qadima) and the *manzara* was then covered with coverings or furnishings (*furush*). The caliph came the morning of that night, which was a Tuesday, and ordered Nafidh to light the torches all the way until beneath the *sabat*. Muslim and Christian bathers were not allowed to mingle.⁷⁴ That same month, on the 15th of Dhu'l-Qa^cda, al-Zahir again rode out to his palace on the Nile in Fustat, presumably to spend the day there.

Manazil al-^cIzz continued to be used as a pleasure outing (*muntazah*) by the Fatimid caliphs and their entourage until given by Salah al-Din to his nephew, the Ayyubid prince al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din ^cUmar b. Shahinshah, whom he had summoned from Syria. In 566/1170-1, al-Malik al-Muzaffar soon bought it along with the bathhouse, the *isṭabl* and later on also the Island of Rawda. When he was given Hama by his uncle, he turned Manazil al-^cIzz into a madrasa making it, and all the other property pertaining to the *manzara* as well as Rawda Island, into a *waqf* for the Shafi^ci rite. They converted the area into a madrasa, al-Taqa^wiyya, where they were still teaching up to the time of Maqrizi and Ibn Duqmaq. Today, the site of that madrasa is the mosque of Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Marhumi on Marhumi street, Old Cairo.⁷⁵

neighborhood of Manāzil al-^cIzz. Furthermore, the prefect/servant Nāfidh put up his tent next to the qasr at the head of the bridge, i.e., right next to Manāzil al-^cIzz.

⁷⁴ On Coptic feasts and celebrations see al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 264-69. *Ghiṣās* was celebrated on the 11th of the Coptic month of Tūba by the whole populace: Christians, Muslims and Jews. See also, Behrens-Abouseif, "Fêtes populaires," 1-29.

⁷⁵ *Nujūm*, 5: 365, footnote 2.

Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a

Also known as the Pearl Palace (*qaṣr al-Lu'lu'a*), Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a was situated on the eastern bank of the *khalij* close to Bab al-Qantara, with the garden of Kafur (*al-bustān al-kāfūrī*) to its east and the *khalij* running by its western façade (Figure 1).⁷⁶ According to Maqrizi, Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a overlooked the lake of Batn al-Baqara, and the land of al-Tabbala as well as part of the land of al-Luq. These lands were planted gardens all the way to the main Nile channel.⁷⁷

On the site of al-Lu'lu'a could be today the Ecole de Saint Joseph (also known as the Frere School) on al-Sha'rani al-Barani Street where it intersects with the head of al-Khurunfish in the area of al-Jamaliyya.⁷⁸

This *manzara* was built by caliph al-^cAziz and became the residence of Barjawan, al-Hakim's wazir in Jumada al-^cula 388/998. Fourteen years later, al-Hakim ordered its complete destruction only to be rebuilt by his son, al-Zahir. Finally it served as the residence of Najm al-Din Ayyub, Salah al-Din's father, allotted him by caliph al-^cAdid until his death in 567/1171-2.

Function:

According to Ibn al-Ma'mun, it housed the caliph, his sisters and brothers, daughters and wives as well as his uncles during the days of the inundation of the Nile. They all moved from the palace and established themselves at Qasr al-Lu'lu'a to observe the celebrations and festivities from their lookout on the Nile shore.⁷⁹ The caliph referred to here was, of course, al-Amir. However, what al-Ma'mun did was only to revive an age old custom already practiced, if not by al- Aziz himself, then by his grandson al-Zahir for sure. Al-Zahir not only rebuilt al-

⁷⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 467.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibn Tagh̃rī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 4: 49, n. 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 468.

Lu'lu'a to be used as a *muntazah* (outing), he also excavated the lake facing it, the lake of Batn al-Baqara, linking it with the khalij as well as with a small water channel from the main Nile river known as *khalij al-dhikr* (or perhaps *al-dhakar*).⁸⁰

In the days of al-Afdal the use of al-Lu'lu'a was minimized ostensibly because of the Nizari feud and the resulting fear for the safety of the young caliph. The door leading from the Western Palace to al-Lu'lu'a, which was known as Bab Murad, was blocked to be opened only on the day of the cutting of the dam ceremony so the young caliph and his retinue could attend the festivities.⁸¹

After the death of al-Afdal, al-Ma'mun re-instituted the practice of actually letting the caliph and his retinue stay at al-Lu'lu'a for several days. Not only that, he himself occupied the nearby *manzara* of Dar al-Dhahab (Gold House).

The inundation days were not, however, the only time Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a was used. It was also the starting point of the caliph's outdoor riding expeditions (*rukūbāt*) on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Whatever route or garden he chose to visit, he very often left from Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a.⁸²

It was obviously a structure of great size capable of housing all the caliphs' family for a number of days. Maqrizi describes it as having been "one of the greatest palaces and the most highly decorated."

Manzarat Dar al-Dhahab

Although this was the second *manzara* directly related to the inundation days festivities,

⁸⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, 123.

⁸¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 468-469.

⁸² Ibid.

it was not built by or for the caliph. Like Dar al-Mulk, Dar al-Dhahab was a sub-royal *manzara* built by al-Afdal for his own personal use. When the caliph went to Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a on the day of *kasr al-khalij*, al-Afdal resided at Dar al-Dhahab.

It was located between Bab al-Sa'ada and Bab al-Khawkhah, also on the eastern land strip overlooking the khalij (Figure 1).⁸³ Al-Afdal chose a site already occupied by an older construction: the house of one Falak al-Mulk, a servant of al-Hakim. He built Dar al-Dhahab to the south of Dar al-Falak, nearer Bab al-Sa'ada. From the fact recounted by Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir that Dar al-Dhahab had a qa'a called *al-falak*, we can deduce that Dar al-Falak was somehow incorporated into the new structure. Not only that, al-Afdal also added a second house called al-Shabura to the other two thus building a complex of three houses. That Dar al-Shabura already occupied the site is clear from the fact that "it was sold at the time of the "great trial" for a bar of candy."⁸⁴ The "great trial" (*al-shidda al-uzma*) mentioned here was the famine at the time of al-Mustansir. All three houses together were called Dar al-Dhahab.

Function:

Dar al-Dhahab was the temporary residence of al-Afdal and after him al-Ma'mun when the caliph and retinue occupied Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a during the days of the inundation.

Manzarat al-Ghazala

This was the third and last *manzara* located next to Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a (Figure 1). According to al-Maqrizi, the structure that existed in his time was known as Rab' al-Ghazala next to Qantar al-Sadd in the eastern boundary.⁸⁵ Today that would be roughly the area to the north of the intersection of Azhar Street and Port Said Street.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid., 470; Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Rawda*, 112-13.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1:469.

⁸⁶ Mubarak, *Khitat Tawfiqiyya*, 3: 270.

Function:

It was the residence of Abu'l- Qasim b. al-Mustansir, also the father of caliph al-Hafiz hence the uncle of al-Amir.⁸⁷ It is not clear exactly when he lived there but as he was the first occupant, it must have been sometime at the end of the 11th early 12th century. Later, in the days of Ibn al-Ma'mun, al-Ghazala became the temporary residence of the chancellor (*kātib al-dast*), Abu'l- Hasan b. Abi Usama.⁸⁸ By the time Ibn al-Tuwayr was writing it had become the temporary residence of the head of the royal *tirāz* factories when he came to Cairo carrying the caliphal *kiswa* for the season of the inundation and its related breaking of the dam and perfuming of the Nilometer ceremonies. He was a very important official treated by the caliph as a personal guest and thus highly honored. Finally, Manzarat al-Ghazala was renewed by Shawar's son, Shu^ca^c. It was still used as a residence at the time of Ibn ^cAbd al-Zahir the historian.⁸⁹

Manzarat al-Sukkara

Located on the western bank of the khalij near its old mouth, it commanded a view of both the main Nile channel and of Rawda Island, as well as the canal and the area east of the mosque of Ibn Tulun.⁹⁰ Today, Manzarat al-Sukkara might have been the area at the beginning of Qasr al-^cAini street where it intersects with the narrow alley still called Manzarat al-Sukkara (Figure 4). This small alley is sandwiched between Qasr al-^cAini street and Shaikh Ali Yusuf street roughly facing the old Qasr al-^cAini Hospital on Rawda Island (al-Manyal). The Nile in the Fatimid period flowed right by Qasr al-^cAini street. The lateral stretch of land from the alley of al-Sukkara to the present day Corniche al-Nil street and the present river edge was under

⁸⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 469.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibn ^cAbd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, 124.

⁹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 470.

water until the Ayyubid period. Therefore, what we think of today as the mouth of the canal (*fumm al-khalij*) is, in fact, not the original canal mouth, but a point farther south west due to the westward shifting of the Nile in the Ayyubid period.⁹¹

This location, however, seems to have been too far away from the khalij itself, which is modern day Port Sa'id Street, for the caliph to have been able to see the ceremony clearly. We must, therefore, also take into consideration Maqrizi's statement that the Mamluk Mosque of Sitt Hadaq was built at the site of Manzarat al-Sukkara (Figure 5).⁹² The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq is still standing today on a small street west of Port Sa'id Street.

Manzarat al-Sukkara was built by al-^cAziz. Maqrizi describes it as having had such beautifully decorated walls (*muzakhrafa*) as to have been a heaven on earth. Furthermore, it had several "places" for the accommodation of the caliph as well as the wazir and *ustādhūn*.⁹³

Function:

Manzarat al-Sukkara was invariably connected to the Nile inundation season festivities, known as the days of the Nile (*ayyam al-nil*) and also as the season of the opening of the canal/breaking of the dam (*mawsim fath al-khalij/kasr al-sadd*). The Fatimids, like their precursor rulers of Egypt, gave inundation importance and observed the breaking of the dam ceremony. Al-Mu'izz was reported to have ridden out in a procession to open the dam after which he continued on the Nile shore heading for the Canal of Bani Wa'il. He then rode all the way to Birkat al-Habash, where presumably another dam was destroyed, and then went back to Cairo via the tombs in the desert such as Tabataba.⁹⁴ There were no *manzaras* for the caliph then as it was al-Mu'izz's son, al- Aziz, who built Manzarat al-Sukkara to accommodate him on this

⁹¹ Abu Lughud, *1000 years if the City Victorious*, 29.

⁹² Al-Maqrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 116.

⁹³ Ibid., 1: 470.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

momentous day. It was the structure from which the caliph observed the breaking of the dam and the resulting filling of the canal with Nile water.

To better understand the significance and architecture of Manzarat al-Sukkara within Fatimid ceremonial, we need to look more closely at the ceremony of which it was an integral component: the breaking of the dam ceremony.⁹⁵ Three partial but detailed descriptions of Ibn al-Ma'mun have come down to us through Maqrizi in which this *manzara* is clearly mentioned and, by piecing them together in conjunction with the later and shorter description of Ibn al-Tuwayr, we get a picture of what the ceremony must have looked like in the twelfth century.⁹⁶

Preparations for celebrating *wafā' al-nīl* began right before the Nile reached plenitude. The tents were put up along the western bank of the *khalij* among which was the famous, enormous "killer-tent" (*al-qaṭūl*). The caliph and his retinue moved to Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a to watch the celebrations while the wazir stayed at Dar al-Dhahab. The arrival of the official clothing or robes (*kiswa*) was the highlight of the preparations and was always specifically mentioned in all three reports of Ibn al-Ma'mun and in that of Ibn al-Tuwayr. The official who brought them, either the head of the private *tiraz* factories or his replacement was honored with a robe of the caliph, which he received in private (*bāṭin*) in the caliph's own private quarters. This was an honor only allotted this individual. He was also mounted from the caliph's own stables and given Manzarat al-Ghazala for his sojourn in Cairo. As it was a royal *manzara*, this was indeed a special treatment. In the days of al-Ma'mun, however, it was the head of the chancery (*kātib al-dast* or *kātib al-inshā'*), Abu'l-Hasan b. Abi Usama, who lived there. The *kiswa* was meant not only for the caliph, but for his brother, some of his wives, the wazir and his children and Ibn Abi'l-Raddad, the keeper of the Nilometer.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of this ceremony see Sanders, *Ritual*, 104-112

⁹⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, 1: 470-480 and Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 195-203.

The caliph himself personally signed for the distribution of the *kiswa* in the presence of the keeper of the books (*mutawallī al-daftar*) and named those who were going to receive their robes. Following that, the keeper of the royal table (*mutawallī al-mā'ida al-āmiriyya*) presented his preparations of sheep, cows...etc. Lastly, the head of *dār al-ta'bi'a* collected the funds to purchase fruits and flowers to fill up and prepare *al-Sukkara* for the advent of the caliph, his stay there and the "preparation" of all its *maqṣūras* for the *ustādhūn*, *aṣḥāb* and *ḥawāshi* (retinue), the whole sum of which totaled 100 dinars.

As soon as the Nile reached 16 cubits, the perfuming of the Nilometer ceremony took place. The caliph and wazir rode to Manzarat al-Sina^ca where the boats were launched. In the time of Ibn al-Tuwayr, it was Dar al-Mulk that was used. The caliph then crossed to the Nilometer which was then anointed by Ibn Abi'l-Raddad. Following that, the caliph rode in his silver boat (*ushārī*) with his wazir and the procession continued all the way to al-Maqs. Here I would assume that the caliph left his boat at Manzarat al-Maqs. Following his arrival, the procession re-formed and marched. The caliph crossed the bridge entering Cairo through Bab al-Qantara and his palace through Bab al-Id. It was then that Ibn Abi'l-Raddad received his investiture and funds and food for the overnight stay at the Nilometer. His parade through the streets of Cairo and Fustat was a sign that the Nile had reached 16 cubits.

According to Ibn al-Tuwayr, it was on any day from the second to the fourth day after the perfuming of the Nilometer took place that the caliph prepared to parade to al-Sukkara and break the dike. First the caliph's own *maqṣūra* (chamber) in al-Sukkara was elaborately covered with hangings and carpets and filled with fruits and flowers.⁹⁷ The caliph then appeared at the door of the Gold Hall in his palace in all the glory of his new caliphal costume. He was met by the wazir

⁹⁷ I translated the word *ta'liq* as: to cover with hangings, based on its use in the text of *Khitat*.

and his children in whose company he then departed for al-Sukkara. The route he took seems always to have been the same. Surrounded by the procession and moving between two bodies of infantry and cavalry, the caliph rode down Bayn al-Qasrayn street exiting Cairo from Bab Zuwayla. He then passed Bustan ʿAbbas, which would be close to the Khanqa of Shaykhu today, heading for the mosque of Ibn Tulun.

Arriving there he greeted the waiting qadi and witnesses and then rode to where the tents were put up on the edge of the western side of the khalij; roughly the area bordered today by Port Said street from the east, Wafidiyya street from the north, Helwan street from the west and from the south al-Mawardi street, Manzarat al-Sukkara alley and Ali Pasha Ibrahim street.⁹⁸

He reached the tents which were heavily guarded on all sides and entered *al-qatul* to dismount at his throne in the Great hall (*al-qāʿa al-kabīra*). It was only after the Qurʾan was read and the poets had each said their pieces that the caliph remounted his horse and headed for his *manzara* surrounded by the reciters instead of the *rahjiyya*.⁹⁹

He exited the tent through the qaʿa in the *dahālīz* (sing. *dihlīz*) of the south door emerging from that door. The *amīrs* and guests then left his side in the best of manner by kissing the ground.

The caliph, his wazir and children, brothers, *ashab* and *hawashi* finally climbed al-Sukkara, "a decorated heaven on earth." He was received by his brother who greeted him and kissed the

⁹⁸ Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 9: 196.

⁹⁹ The word *rahjiyya* refers to the musicians, in particular the horn blowers, who accompanied the caliph.

ground. The caliph then sat down and the *taqas* of the *manzara* were opened. On his right hand side was seated his wazir, on his left, his brother. As soon as the people saw him, they proceeded to kiss the ground and kept looking at the caliph. The retainers were all at the dam belted at the waist in readiness. When the wazir ordered them to break it they kissed the ground and left while the workers of the royal gardens (*al-basatīn al-sulṭāniyya*) opened the dam on both sides. The Qur'an and *takbīr* were heard from the western side, while the fanfare (*rahaj wa la'ib*) went on on the eastern side. When the dam had been completely opened, all the boats glided into the canal, the small (*latīf*) before the big. The *taqas* of the *manzara* were then shut and the caliph retired to the *maqsura* that was prepared for his rest. The wazir, his children, the caliph's brothers, the *amirs*, the *ustadhun*, *ashab* and retinue also retired to al-Sukkara.

Before the banquet was laid out, however, several individuals were summoned to receive their investitures: the *wālī* of Fustat, the protector and the supervisor of the royal gardens, the head of the war office, and finally the various captains of the fleet. The banquet was then laid out on the western side for large groups of people, all of whom were named, and it was the wazir's brother's duty to sit at the head of that table. The caliph also sat down to table in al-Sukkara with his brother on his left and the wazir on his right. Also present were the wazir's children, and brothers, shaikh Abu'l-Hasan the head of the chancery and his son Salim all attended by the *muḥannak ustādhūn*. The remains of the private banquet were then distributed among the much honored qadi, his witnesses, the *dā'ī* and his cousin who were allowed to occupy the Great Qa'a in front of the caliphal throne all day.

Ibn al-Tuwayr gives the length of these proceedings and of the caliph's stay at al-Sukkara as from before the noon prayer until right after the call to the ^ʿ*asr* (afternoon) prayer. After everyone had prayed, the procession waited in readiness for the caliph's appearance.¹⁰⁰

The caliph had changed in his *maqsura* and donned his second outfit for the return journey, described like his first outfit in great detail. He also sent his wazir one of his personal Ramadan Friday robes in which the wazir soon appeared to thank the caliph. The caliph then ordered his brother to escort all the palace inhabitants to the palace. The wazir then opened the door of the *manzara* that lead to the khaliḡ shore and waited on them all while they boarded the processional Nile boat that was anchored there in readiness. After the whole entourage had departed, the wazir returned to al-Sukkara to wait on the caliph who mounted his chosen horse and prepared to ride in procession. Where the caliph rode to at this point is unclear. In the account of Ibn al-Ma'mun, he rode to Birkat al-Habash and broke the dam there. Ibn al-Tuwayr, however, gives the return route as the western bank of the canal passing by the gardens there until Bab al-Qantara from which he entered Cairo and the palace. We also know from Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir that the caliph was in the habit of halting at Manzarat al-Dikka, which was close to al-Maqs, on his way back to his palace. This account agrees with that of Ibn al-Tuwayr which could mean that it was not the caliph himself who supervised the dike opening ceremonies that took place at various points along the Nile at different times but perhaps an envoy of his.

Manzarat al-Dikka

Located south of al-Maqs between it and the land of al-Luq, the *manzara* and its garden remained in use until the end of the Fatimid caliphate when the whole area of al-Dikka was built

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 202.

upon and the *manzara* destroyed in the process (Figure 1).¹⁰¹ Today the area of al-Dikka still carries the names al-Dikka street and Maydan Qantarat al-Dikka, south of Ramses square.

As mentioned above, it was a royal *manzara* where the caliphs stopped to water their horses on their way back to the palace in Cairo after the ceremony to break the dam had taken place.

Manzarat BahrAbu'l-Munajja

The Canal of Abu'l-Munajja was one of several locations outside Cairo where the breaking of the dam ceremony took place. It is, however, only the second reported site (the first was al-Sukkara on the Canal of Cairo) to have had a royal *manzara* to receive the caliph.

According to Ibn al-Ma'mun, Abu'l-Munajja was the official in charge of the lands (*al-māl*) of the al-Sharqiyya province.¹⁰² Upon receiving complaints from the land owners that the water provided by the canal of Sardus hardly reached their lands, Abu'l-Munajja started the immense and costly project of digging a canal that tied the Nile to the lands of al-Sharqiyya. The project took two years to complete and was a great success. Yet it was not until the wazirate of al-Ma'mun, after the death of al-Afdal, that caliph al-Amir decided to have a canal opening ceremony there. Al-Ma'mun then appointed one 'Adi al-Mulk Abu'l-Barakat to oversee the building of "a spacious *manzara*" to the north of the dam.

The Canal of Abu'l-Munajja continued to be 'broken' even in the Ayyubid period.¹⁰³ Al-Qadi al-Fadil reported that al-Nasir Salah al-Din rode to break that dam in the year 577/1181. In 590/1193-94 and in 592/1195-96, it was his son, al-'Aziz 'Uthman who did the honors. The

¹⁰¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 1: 479-80.

¹⁰² Al-Batā'hi, *Nuṣūṣ*, 11.

¹⁰³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 2: 488. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍat*, 128-130.

ceremony took place in the Coptic month of Tut.¹⁰⁴ Al-Zahir Baybars finally put an end to the ceremony by constructing on the mouth of the canal a barrage made of stone.¹⁰⁵

The Manzaras of Birkat al-Habash

The area of Birkat al-Habash (the Ethiopians' lake) is said to have been named after the monks living in nearby Dair al-Tin, who were from Habasha (Ethiopia).¹⁰⁶ It was made a waqf in 640/ 1242-3 at the time of the wazir al-Salih Tala'i^c b. Razik for the descendents of the prophet, the Ashraf. From then on it also became known as Birkat al-Ashraf.¹⁰⁷ It lay south of al-Fustat with the well and aqueduct of Ahmad Ibn Tulun on its northern limit. Said to have covered one thousand feddans, it was surrounded by "majestic promenades (*muntazahat*), buildings, *manzaras* and parks on three sides." The fourth side, the western limit, was bordered by the Nile and separated from its waters by a long bridge (*jisr*). What is meant here is not the conventional 'bridge' but a strip of land that was re-enforced by large stones forming a dam or dike between two water surfaces as well as a walkway. Maqrizi lists more than ten such bridges of which the Great Bridge, al-Jisr al-A^czam, that lay between the lake of Qarun and that of al-Fil, was one.¹⁰⁸

Also on the western Nile limit lay the Bani Wa'il Canal which seemed to have connected the

¹⁰⁴ The exact day of the month varied. In one report it was the 17th and in another the 22nd (see Ibn Duqmaq, *Intisār*, 5: 47).

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Duqmaq, *Intisār*, 5: 46-47.

¹⁰⁶ On the history of Birkat al-Habash, see Ibn Duqmaq, *Intisār*, 4: 57 and al-Maqrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 153.

¹⁰⁷ Older names for that area were: al-Maghāfir, Birkat Hamir and Istabl Fāsh.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Maqrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 165-171. The bridges (*jusur*) discussed here by Maqrizi seemed to have filled one or all of the following three functions. The first was to divide two water surfaces such as the Great Bridge and the Arḍ al-Tabāla bridge. The second was to keep out the Nile waters until inundation when they were flooded and then renewed yearly, such as in the case of al-Afram bridge and the bridge of Birkat al-Habash. The third function was to re-channel the Nile water flow, often when the Nile water rose so high as to threaten Cairo itself which resulted in a corniche from Bulāq to Minjat al-Sūrij built in 723/1323. Although this bridge may have saved Cairo, it had disastrous effects on Fustāt as it seems to have led to the recession of the Nile from the eastern coast and the shore of al-Fustāt. The result was two more bridges, one between al-Giza and al-Rawḍa finished in 749/1348-9 and known as Jisr al-Khalīlī, was a total failure and only succeeded for a while, while the other, built in 784/1382-3 and known as Jisr al-Khalīlī, was a total failure and only resulted in the water receding even further away from Fustāt.

lake with the Nile and it may have been that lake's bridge which was opened in a procession on the Days of the Nile during inundation as described above. The result would have been the flooding of the area of Birkat al-Habash. This lake, like all other alluvial lakes, is not to be understood to mean a deep pond of stagnant water such as the term may mean today. On the contrary, the term lake or *birka* was used to designate a bed of agricultural, cultivatable land that was annually flooded during inundation forming one or several lakes.¹⁰⁹ For the rest of the year the lakes were planted with crops such as flax (*kittān*) and the land never needed to be tilled.

Today the name Birkat al-Habash is no longer in use. According to Ramzi, the area in question covered 1500 modern day feddans of agricultural land that lay between al-Basatin to the east and south (also part of Maadi), Dair al-Tin, the Nile (also the Maadi Corniche) and Maadi al-Khubairy (modern day Maadi) to the west, al-Rasad mountain (modern day Istabl ʿAntar) and the southern cemetery (al-Qarafa al-Kubra) to the north.¹¹⁰

A traveler to Egypt in the reign of al-Zahir Baybars, Ibn Saʿid al-Maghribi (the Moroccan), described al-Habash in glowing terms.¹¹¹ According to him, the pond had a *manzara* in its center that was built on a square platform (*qaryūṣ*) (Figure 2).¹¹² It was accessible during the inundation period only by boats which the Fatimid caliphs boarded to reach their *manzara*. It was known as Tinnis, apparently because like the town of Tinnis it was an island surrounded by water.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Taghrī Bīrdī, *Nujūm*, 5: 16-17, n. 3.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Al-Maghribī, *Al-Mughrib*, 10. The same passage is also quoted by Ibn Duqmāq in *Intiṣār*, 4: 56.

¹¹² I have been unable to find the meaning of the term *qaryūṣ* in any dictionary and have Mr. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Hāfiẓ to thank for the explanation used here. Apparently it is a term still used today in Upper Egypt to mean a platform, often surrounded by water.

¹¹³ The town of Tinnīs was a great Fatimid textile production center which really was more than one island. It was destroyed by al Malik al-Kāmil in 624/1227 for fear it would fall into Crusader hands. Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 5: 78-79.

Another *manzara* which was mentioned by Maqrizi, quoting a famous geneologist (*nassāba*), was located on a high rising known as Manzarat Bi'r al-Dikka or Bi'r Dikkat al-Khirkah (Figure 2).¹¹⁴ It was said to have had *taqat* "that overlooked the greenery of Birkat al-Habash."¹¹⁵ It is impossible to know the exact location of this elusive *manzara*. The highest spot that lay on the Habash Lake was the mountain of al-Rasad.

A relatively late structure, it was built by al-Amir out of painted wood. The interior is said to have been covered by painted portraits of poets and the towns they came from as well as verses pertaining to each poet in the praise of the Khirkah. Beside each poet's head was also a gilded shelf where al-Amir, probably on his first visit to the structure, upon reading the verses, placed a pouch with 50 dinars. Each poet then followed and collected his pouch.

Function

Although al-Amir's *manzara* seems nothing more than a tribute both to poetry and to that particular elevation, Manzarat Bi'r Dikkat al-Khirkah, the *Manzara* of Tinnis in the center of the lake of al-Habash played a more important role.

In an account dated to the days of al-Mu'izz's son, prince Tamim, Birkat al-Habash is described as having been the center of the celebrations and festivities of feasts such as the Coptic New Year (*nawrūz*), Baptism (*ghitas*), the general fanfare (*mahrajān*) and Palm Sunday (ʿĪd al-*Shaʿānīn*).¹¹⁶ The populace, old and young, set up different types of tents there and ate, drank, sang and joked celebrating these festive days. Prince Tamim rode out in his boat at night followed by four other boats filled with the food and beverages, which he personally distributed

¹¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 1: 486-7. Maqrizi was quoting the Sharif, Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad al-Juani who wrote a book called *Al-Nuḡat li muʿjam ma ushkil min al-khīṭat*. He died in 588/1192 in Egypt (see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 4: 44, n. 3).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 2: 154-5.

among the people especially the singers that he admired. He would then return to his gardens and palaces situated on this lake.

This account is important not only because it shows us how and when the lake and its *manzaras* were used, but more importantly, it demonstrates the frailty of the belief that the Fatimid ruling family was shut up in its palaces in Cairo, parading to Fustat only on state occasions. From the very beginning a strong link with Fustat existed. The Fatimids joined the native Egyptians in the celebration of their local feasts. They not only took part, they also encouraged them with the distribution of food, money and clothing as well as by their very presence. Furthermore, it becomes clearer that Cairo alone was not the center of building activity but on the contrary, it was the suburbs of both Cairo and Fustat as far south as al-Habash and as far north as Minjat al-Sirij that enjoyed royal and sub-royal patronage.

It is very likely that prince Tamim rode in his boat from Manzarat Tinnis. It is possible that he was its patron.

The two *manzaras* overlooking the lake of al-Shu'aybiyya: Manzarat Bustan al-Ma'shuq and Manzarat qadi al-quda Badr al-Din al-Sinjari

Smaller than Birkat al-Habash, Birkat al-Shu'aybiyya occupied 54 feddans (77 feddans using the new measurement of the new feddan) and was connected to al-Habash via a *jisr* at its north western tip.¹¹⁷ According to Ibn al-Mutawwaj, it lay sandwiched between the mountain of al-Rasad to its east and the Nile and the *jisr* of al-Afram on its western shore. To the south lay part of the lands of the garden of al-Ma'shuq as well as the *jisr* and canal that connected the lake to Birkat al-Habash. On its northern limit, the lake connected to another *jisr* and canal, that of

¹¹⁷ On the topography of that area south and south west of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, see the chapter on lakes (*birak*) in al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, 2: 152-164 and for al-Shu'aybiyya, 158-59. See also Casanova, *Essai*.

al-Hayyat, leading to the even smaller Birkat Shatta. All three lakes, Birkat Shatta, Birkat al-Shu^caybiyya and Birkat al-Habash were filled by the Bani Wa'il Canal that carried the Nile water from a spot right outside Bab Misr (also Bab al-Qantara), to Birkat Shatta and from there to al-Shu^caybiyya and then to al-Habash. During the inundation season this canal's *qantara* (dike) was broken and the water allowed to fill the lakes. It was only at the beginning of the Bahri Mamluk period when prince 'Izz al-Din Aybak al-Afram rented al-Shu^caybiyya, that a *jisr* was built along the Nile, *jisr al-Afram*. Other *jisrs* were built between that lake and its neighboring lakes to ward off the water. The lake then dried out completely. Today, the area of Birkat al-Shu^caybiyya, that of Shatta, Bustan al-Ma^cshuq as well as the farm village lands of Athar al-Nabi, are all joined together as the district of Athar al-Nabi, part of the Governorate of Giza.¹¹⁸

Manzarat Bustan al-Ma^cshuq

Occupying a prime position between two ponds, Birkat al-Habash and Birkat al-Shu^caybiyya, Bustan al-Ma^cshuq (the garden of the beloved) lay between these lakes and the Nile on the one hand, and Dair al-Tin and Athar al-Nabi on the other, a part of the *khitta* (neighborhood) of Rashida.¹¹⁹ It enjoyed a succession of patrons starting with the Tulunid wazir al-Madhira'i, prince Tamim son of al-Mu^cizz and finally the wazir al-Afdal.¹²⁰ Ibn al-Sabuni made it into a waqf that was then taken over by al-Sahib Taj al-Din Muhammad b. Hanna who is credited with building the *manzaras* of al-Ma^cshuq (Figure 2).¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ramzi, *Al-Qāmus*, part 2: 4.

¹¹⁹ Al-Maqīzī, *Khitat*, 2: 159.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Although Ibn al-Mutawwaj refers to the buildings of al-Ma^cshuq in the plural form of *manzara*, *manāzir*, Ibn-Hana only built one *manzara* called al-Ma^cshuq. Ibn al-Mutawwaj as an eye witness, mentions this *manzara* giving its location and partial description. As it had many dependencies, such as a bathhouse (*ḥammām*) and *buyūtāt*, I conclude that we have a case where the nomenclature, al-Ma^cshuq, which was related to both garden and *manzara*, was extended to include nearby structures of which the *manzara* was the *raison d'être*, hence *manāzir*.

From this important passage we can deduce two facts. The first is that the *manzara*, Manzarat al-Ma^cshuq, was built on the partial site of a *dār* (residence) that overlooked the Nile from the east and a canal from the north. Ibn Hana, either to protect his new building from the annual floods, or to extend the land available to him, filled in the canal. He also tore down the old *dar*. His *manzara* spanned the old site of the *dar* in addition to the land made available by the filling of the canal, which is where he built his *manzara*'s *dihlīz*, northern iwan and entrance. He also built a *hamam* and *buyūt*; in fact a complex of buildings centered around the *manzara*.

We do not have the exact date of construction but a passage by Ibn Duqmaq gives us an approximate date of before the month of Muharram 672/1273-4, the date when the nearby mosque was finished, thus placing it in the early Bahri Mamluk period.¹²²

Manzarat (qadi al-quda) Badr al-Din al-Sinjari

On the other northern end of Birkat al-Shu^caybiyya was another *manzara*, that of the Grand Judge Badr al-Din al-Sinjari (Figure 2). According to Ibn Duqmaq, judge al-Sinjari taught at the time of

al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub both at the Taqawiyya and the Sharifiyya madrasas.¹²³

Apart from this approximate date, which places the *manzara* at the very end of the Ayyubid period, and the approximate location, we know nothing else about this *manzara*. It did not stand alone, however, as Ibn al-Mutawwaj reports that on the eastern side of Birkat al-Shu^caybiyya were located the residences (*adur*) of the local dignitaries (*a^cyān al-Miṣriyyīn*) such as qadis and

¹²² Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 78. The date 672/1273-4 was the construction date of the mosque of Taj al-Dīn b. Hanna, al-Jāmi^c al-Tājī, at Dair al-Tīn. According to Ibn Duqmāq, the old mosque at Dair al-Tīn had become too small for Ibn Hana who, after finishing his *manzara* at al-Ma^cshūq, came to the area more often. He finally built the larger new mosque closer to his *manzara* at a spot that overlooked Birkat al-Habash. The construction of the *manzara*, therefore, preceded that of the mosque and must thus have been built before 672/1273-4.

¹²³ Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 94.

chancellors (*katibs*).¹²⁴

Manzarat al-Mukhlis al-Muaqqa' at Birkat Shatta

This third and last lake outside Fustat was the closest to old Cairo (*Misr al-Qadīma*). It was directly connected to the Bani Wa'il Canal, where it got most of its water; the rest was obtained through the jistr between Shatta and al-Shu'aybiyya.¹²⁵ It, too, had houses overlooking it that all went to waste when the water no longer reached it. More importantly, however, it also had a garden with a *manzara*, mill-house (*tāhūn*), bathhouse and *sabīl* (which was next to its entrance), all in the waqf of al-Mukhlis al-Muaqqa' (Figure 2).¹²⁶ It had all disappeared by the time Ibn al-Mutawwaj was writing.

Manzarat al-Afram

He was the *amīr jāndār* (weapon bearer) of al-Zahir Baybars, 'Izz al-Din Aybak al-Afram.¹²⁷ His *manzara* was situated on top of the mountain of al-Rasad (Istabl 'Antar today) and is mentioned in conjunction with the ribat and mosque he built there in 663/1264-5 (Figure 2).

Manzarat Qasr al-Qarafa

The area of al-Qarafa was the main Muslim burial grounds since the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt. Located to the east of al-Fustat, the cemetery was divided into al-Qarafa al-Sughra (the Lesser Cemetery) at the foot of the Muqattam mountain, and al-Qarafa al-Kubra (the Greater Cemetery) east of "the houses of Misr."¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 159.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 159-161.

¹²⁶ He was in charge of the *aḥbās* in Fustāt and signed for qaḍī al-quḍa Ibn 'Ayn al-Dawla, after which he became the *waḳīl* of al-Malik al-Kāmil's wife, mother of al-Malik al-'Ādil. He was finally put in charge of the treasury (*bayt al-Māl*), Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 30.

¹²⁷ The word *jāndār* is Persian and consists of two parts: *jān*, which means weapon and *dār*, which means holder (Al-Qalaqshandi, *Ṣubḥ*, 3: 388-89, n. 7). There is another interpretation in Ibn Taghārī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 5: 223-4, n. 3.

¹²⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 442-3.

The Fatimids not only endorsed the expansion of the Qarafa, they patronized the erection of buildings in that area such as Qasr al-Qarafa.¹²⁹ This qasr was built in 366/976, along with a bathhouse (*hammam*) to its west, a well (*bi'r*) and a garden (*bustan*).¹³⁰ Excavations for several seasons in the area of Istabl 'Antar have pointed to the possibility of this area being the site of Taghrid's qasr and dependencies (Figure 2).¹³¹ In the 1930's a tomb stone with the name of Taghrid on it was found in the area which undoubtedly links her to the site thus leading to the inference that this might indeed be the location of Qasr al-Qarafa.¹³² Furthermore, Gayraud proved it to have been a residential site in addition to it containing many Fatimid tombs, i.e., in addition to it being a burial area for the Fatimid royal family. If we accept Gayraud's finds at Istabl 'Antar as pointing to Qasr al-Qarafa then we consequently have the approximate location of that qasr and hence of the manzara above.

Although Maqrizi lists the whole structure as a *manzara* calling it Manzarat al-Qarafa, like Dar al-Mulk, it also had a *manzara* attached to it. This leads us to the problem of nomenclature. Maqrizi seems to have had a tendency to consider any type of secular structure, if built by or for the Fatimid *Imam* and his family, to have been a *manzara*. He sometimes used the term, if not exactly loosely, with the vagueness resulting from a historian's outlook who lived some 400 years later and who was trying to reconcile his own 'new' and evolved understanding of the term to the 'old' one he got from contemporary Fatimid sources. In the case of the area of al-Qarafa it becomes confusing as he attempts to explain the difference between the three names given to

¹²⁹ For the development and function of the Qarafa see al-Ibrashy, "Cairene Cemeteries."

¹³⁰ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 486. Taghrid also built a new mosque, Jami' al-Qarafa, traced by Muhammad Ramzi to have been located between the cemetery known today as Sidi 'Uqba and that of Miṣr al-Qadīma where only a few walls are standing today to the south east of the masjid of Khadra al-Sharifa (Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Nujūm*, 4: 117, n. 2).

¹³¹ Gayraud, *Rapport*, 2-24.

¹³² Rāghib, "Sur deux monuments," 67-85.

certain residential monuments in the Qarafa area that seem to mean the same thing: *jawāsiq* (pl. of *jawsaq*), *quṣūr* (pl. of *qasr*) and *manazir* (pl. of *manzara*), all but one which had completely disappeared by his time.¹³³

Quoting Ibn Sayyiduh, Maqrizi first explains that the Persian word *jawsaq* originally meant *ḥiṣn* (fortress).¹³⁴ He then gives al-Sharif b. Asʿad al-Juwwani (d. 588/1192) the geneologist's explanation of the term as follows: "The *jawsaqs* in the Qarafa and in the cemetery were called *qusur*."¹³⁵ Ibn Asʿad goes on to give the names of eight *qusur*, all of which were in the Qarafa at his time (contemporary to the end of the Fatimid and the beginning of the Ayyubid period).

Maqrizi, however, adds seven more such monuments calling them *jawsaqs*. It is only the last structure, Qasr al-Qarafa, that he calls a *qasr*. Maqrizi himself had not seen them. In fact, the only standing *jawsaq*, that of the Tulunid wazir al-Madhira'i, was a large structure resembling the Kaʿba. This reference to the Kaʿba gives a mental vision of a large cube or rectangular structure. Furthermore, some of the *jawsaqs* were set in gardens with fountains and a water turf, but more importantly, some of them had *manzaras* as well.¹³⁶

This passage, taken together with the other comments above, clarify the usage of both terms *qasr* and *jawsaq*. They were meant to be two synonymous words for a lavish, freestanding and temporary residence in the Qarafa. In this passage Maqrizi makes a slight differentiation between a *jawsaq* and a *qasr*: Unlike the *qusur*, most *jawsaqs* had no gardens and no wells, but were "high *manzaras*" which were apparently also, despite this difference, collectively called *qusur*.

¹³³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 452-3.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 452.

¹³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 452-3.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 453.

Why then did Maqrizi introduce yet a third term (high *manzaras*) to describe these residences? What he is trying to convey is that these *qusur* had *manzaras* and gardens whereas the *jawsaqs* were themselves high *manzaras* only. He was trying to make a distinction that did not exist in the past where they were all simply called *qusur*. A *manzara* in Mamluk times meant a small elevated residence without the royal connotations that were attached to it in the earlier Fatimid period.¹³⁷ He was applying the term 'loosely' as understood in his time.

Having made that distinction, Maqrizi then paradoxically lists Qasr al-Qarafa under Fatimid *manzaras*. It seems that whatever secular architecture the royal Fatimid family built for themselves, the later Mamluks always considered it to be a *manzara*. I think that in the case of Qasr al-Qarafa, or al-Andalus as it was also known, it would be a mistake to call it a *manzara* simply because it was built by the Fatimid royal family to be used when in the area. It was what the name implies, a palace.

Qasr al-Qarafa had, however, a *manzara* that was carried on a substructure.¹³⁸ This substructure was neither a platform nor a gateway but a *qabu* (vaulted passage) which in itself was not unusual as Dar al-Mulk also had a *qabu* that carried part of the structure (perhaps the *manzara* as well?). This vaulted passage, however, was open on both sides to allow the passage of the public and travelers underneath indicating that the *manzara*, and possibly part of the palace, was built above a well trodden Qarafa artery.¹³⁹ This part of the building we know was not walled.

In 520/1126 al-Amir renewed the qasr and built a *mastaba* (platform) for the sufis below.¹⁴⁰ He would sit in his *taq* in the *manzara* he built on top of the qasr and watch the sufis perform

¹³⁷ Amīn and Ibrāhīm, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents*, 117.

¹³⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 486.

¹³⁹ See al-Ibrāshī, "Cairene Cemeteries."

¹⁴⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 486.

their dances below. It is not clear if this is also the same *manzara* mentioned earlier or if it is another one perhaps built by al-Amir for that specific purpose. If Maqrizi's chronology is indeed correct – he first mentions the *manzara* built above the passageway and then discusses al-Amir's building activities – then the *qabu manzara* was of a much earlier date, in fact, part of the original construction. It seems possible that in his zealous attempts to rebuild the old qasr, al-Amir may also have built another *manzara* "at the top of the qasr."

Function

One account in particular sheds further light on how this *manzara* functioned. Maqrizi recounts an incident when the sufi preacher, Shaikh Abu 'Abdallah b. al-Jawhari, while dancing under the *manzara*, tore off his clothes (*marqa'a*), the pieces of which were then distributed. One piece went to shaikh Abu Ishaq the reciter who commenced to put it on his head. Al-Amir, watching the dance from above, called from the *manzara* asking the shaikh where his fragment was. The shaikh, who seemed to have had all his wits about him, answered that it was right there on his head. Al-Amir was so pleased by this smart rejoinder that he ordered the instant distribution of one thousand *nisfiyyas* (a type of costume) from the royal wardrobes (*khaṭā'in al-kiswa*). The official in charge of the treasury also showered what amounted to one thousand dinars on those present from the window.

It is clear that the *manzara* was not high enough to preclude the dancers below hearing al-Amir if he chose to call out a remark to them. The qasr and its *manzaras* lasted until Rabi' al-Akhar 567/1171-2.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Manzarat Masjid al-Itfihi

Masjid al-Itfihi was located in the area of al-Qarafa al-Kubra to the north east of the aqueduct of the mosque of al-Fiyala (Figure 2).¹⁴² The pious Shaikh Wihata b. Sa'd al-Itfihi had shown allegiance and loyalty to al-Afdal during the Nizari feud and had thus become al-Afdal's most trusted confidant. It was al-Afdal who built the Itfihi aqueduct that carried the water from Ibn Tulun's aqueduct to the masjid. Having thus acquired the much needed water, al-Itfihi then proceeded to build a cistern to the northeast of the mosque, a *hammam* and a garden. It seems that with the increasing visits from al-Afdal and the resulting rise in popularity of the shaikh, al-Afdal felt the need to build himself a place where he could be secluded but also get together with the shaikh at any time, hence the marble qa'a and the maq'ad on top of a northeastern extension (*ziyāda*) of the masjid. Al-Afdal also built a *musalla* with three mihrabs to the northeast of the masjid which was used for funerary prayers.¹⁴³

It is the maq'ad, however, that is of importance here as it is likened to a *manzara*. According to Maqrizi, "... that maq'ad had the shape of a *manzara* without curtains, whoever came to see al-Itfihi from (the direction of) al-Katifi could see him."¹⁴⁴

We are thus dealing with an open structure where the occupant is clearly visible from one direction, obviously the one facing the maq'ad. The maq'ad is also the superstructure built above a *ziyada*. As we have several surviving maq'ads from the Mamluk and Turkish periods, we can envision what that type of Fatimid *manzara* must have looked like.¹⁴⁵ But if the term *manzara*

¹⁴² *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 451.

¹⁴³ A *muṣallā* is usually considered to be an unroofed but enclosed place of prayer. The existence of these *muṣallās* in Egypt date back to the Arab conquest of Egypt and to 'Amr b. al-ʿAs. For a history and enumeration of these *muṣallās* and how they were used before the Fatimid period on feast days ...e.t.c., see *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 454. The Fatimid *muṣalla* built by Jawhar in 358/968-9 outside Bab al-Naṣr was also used on the Fast Breaking Feast (ʿĪd al-Fitr) and on the Sacrificial Feast (ʿĪd al-Adḥa), hence it was also called the *Muṣalla Feast* (*Muṣallat al-ʿĪd*). In the Qarāfa such *muṣallas* were also used for funerary prayers.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* 2: 451.

¹⁴⁵ A maq'ad literally means 'place to sit'.

was given to such structures in the Fatimid period, why did Maqrizi call this one a maq^cad? It would have been far more understandable if Maqrizi had said that al-Afdal built a *manzara* for al-Itfihi which looked like, from his Mamluk point of view, a maq^cad, instead of the other way around. To my knowledge this is the only Fatimid maq^cad mentioned and the only one attached to a mosque. The term maq^cad does not appear until the Mamluk period and then in relation to residential architecture. *Manzaras*, however, were quite common in the Fatimid period and were often attached to mosques.¹⁴⁶ What we have here is an open Fatimid *manzara* that Maqrizi tried to describe by calling it a maq^cad not only because it resembled that familiar Mamluk structure but also because of its function, namely, to be used as the term implies for 'sitting'. What the architectural differences-if there were any- between both the maq^cad and the *manzara* were, is impossible to detect. As the *manzara* in some form continued into the Mamluk reign, one cannot with any certainty say that the maq^cad was the natural development of the *manzara*. Further research and study into the origin of the maq^cad and its relation to the *manzara* is needed.

The Great Eastern Palace *Manzaras*

The western façade of the Fatimid Great Eastern Palace (al-Qasr al-Kabir al-Sharqi) which overlooked the square of Bayn al-Qasrayn, had two main gateways, the Gold Gate (Bab al-Dhahab) and the River Gate (Bab al-Bahr), as well as a third gate, the Zakhuma Gate that was the entrance to the kitchens.¹⁴⁷ The Golden Gate was the oldest and most important of all the palace doors as it was the entrance used on most state occasions and ceremonies. It was built by Jawhar on Thursday the 13th of Jumada I in 359/969-70 even before he built the palace walls and

¹⁴⁶ See above, Manzarat al-Maqs, and below, Manzarat al-Salih, Manzarat al-Azhar, Manzarat al-Aqmar and Manzarat Jami^c Amr.

¹⁴⁷ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 432-435. Maqrizi lists all the nine palace gateways: the Golden Gate (*Bab al-Dhahab*), the River Gate (*Bab al-Bahr*), the Wind Gate (*Bab al-Rih*), the Emerald Gate (*Bab al-Zumurrud*), the Festival Gate (*Bab al-Id*), the Thorn Gate (*Bab al-Shawk*), the Daylam Gate (*Bab al-Daylam*), the Saffron-Tomb Gate (*Bab al-Zakhuma*), and finally at the far end of the western wall the Zakhuma Gate (*Bab al-Zakhuma*).

would have been where there was the *mihrāb* of the Madrasa of al-Zahir Baybars (today only one doorway remains) was on °Atfat Jami° Tahir to the right upon entering Bayt al-Qadi Street from Bayn al-Qasrayn Street.¹⁴⁸ The other main gateway, the River Gate, however, was built some forty years later by al-Hakim. The location of the River Gate would be today "the entrance of Bayt al-Qadi Street opposite the Kamiliyya Madrasa on al-Mu°izz street."¹⁴⁹

These two gateways and, in fact, the whole center part of the western façade that overlooked the square, carried three *manzaras* with a series of windows or openings (*taqat*) (Figure 1). They were re-built by al-Ma'mun and called the shining (*al-Zāhira*), the grandiose (*al-Fākhira*) and the radiant (*al-Nādira*).¹⁵⁰ One was located directly above the Gold Gate; the other stretched between the Gold Gate and the River Gate while the third might have stretched as far as "... the spot that al-Malik al-Kamil turned into a dikka," which probably means above the River Gate.¹⁵¹

Furthermore, a fourth *manzara* existed on the eastern façade overlooking a large open space (Rahbat Bab al-°Id) in front of the Feast Gate. The *manzara* was built above the Emerald Gate which itself was named after nearby Emerald Palace (Qasr al-Zumurrud), a part of the original palace structure of Jawhar.¹⁵² Today that gate- and hence the *manzara* above it- would be where

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Taghī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 4: 37, n. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 36, n. 4. According to Maqrīzī it was destroyed in 672/1273-4 (al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 433-434) and used to face Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyya.

¹⁵⁰ Maqrīzī gives the passage on al-Ma'mūn's reconstruction in al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 404. However, there is a more detailed text given by Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid in his footnotes to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *Nuṣūṣ*, 24, which is quoted above. He quotes the *khizāna* manuscript of *Khīṭaṭ* and the text is a mixture between Ibn °Abd al-Zāhir and Ibn al-Ma'mūn. See also Ibn °Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, 125.

All passages use the verb *istajadd* which creates confusion as it means both 'renewed' and 'built'. In this case I have taken it to mean renewed. Proof for taking this meaning is found in an account by Maqrīzī (al-Maqrīzī, *Iṭṭifāz*, 2: 51) that shows that at least the *manzara* above Bāb al-Bahr existed at the time of al-Ḥākim in the year 394/1003-4 so it could not have been new. He had one of his men, a gout victim, executed because he used to ride through Bāb al-Bahr with his leg stretched out across his mount's neck. In this position his foot faced the caliph's *manzara* above the gate. Even if the caliph was not sitting there the action was still an insult because the *manzara* itself symbolized the caliph. Al-Ḥākim bore it for a while and then finally took offence and had him executed.

¹⁵¹ Based on the al-Ḥākim incident in the preceding footnote 150.

¹⁵² The passage in which Ibn al-Tuwayr mentions this *manzara* can be found in Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuḥḥat*, 221.

the mihrab of the Madrasa of Khawand Tatar al-Hijaziyya is on °Atfat al-Qaffasin street between the Jamaliyya Police Station and Habs al-Rahba street in Jamaliyya.¹⁵³

In trying to date those four *manzaras* we have at least two - the Bab al-Dhahab Manzara and the Bab al-Zumurrud Manzara - that date to the old structure that Jawhar started building in 359/969-70. It is peculiar though that Maqrizi never explicitly mentioned the Bab al-Zumurrud Manzara in his chapter on Fatimid *manzaras* and outings though he quoted a passage from Ibn al-Tuwayr where this *manzara* is mentioned for the first and last time.¹⁵⁴ The Bab al-Bahr Manzara should be given a later dating related to the building of Bab al-Bahr somewhere between 386/996 and 394/1003-4, the date of the story that mentioned this *manzara* and its gate.¹⁵⁵ As for the last *manzara*, the one that spanned the western wall between both gates, it is impossible to date it though it might have been part of the building program of al-Ma'mun. As mentioned above, it was only the three western *manzaras* that were documented as having been re-built by al-Ma'mun in the second decade of the 12th century. They remained in use at least until the end of Fatimid reign where al-°Adid was the last Fatimid caliph to have used them. He watched from one of the western wall *manzaras* the civil war that had ensued between Salah al-Din and al-°Adid's slaves and warring army factions (the *Rayḥāniyya*, *Juyūshiyya* and *Faranjiyya*).¹⁵⁶ After the death of al-°Adid, Salah al-Din gave the palace to his amirs to use as living quarters but it was al-Zahir Baybars who had the surviving family of al-°Adid officially

¹⁵³ Ibn Tagh̄rī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 4: 36, n. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 221.

¹⁵⁵ See above footnote 150.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Iṭṭī'āz*, 3: 313. In fact, at one point in the fight when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his commander Fakhr al-Dīn Shams al-Dawla Turānshāh were losing, Shams al-Dawla called to the torch bearers (*naffāṭin*), to torch al-°Adīd's *manzara*. As they took aim the *manzara* shutter (*īāq*) opened and one of the *ustādhs* appeared urging the general, in the name of the caliph, to eradicate the lawless slaves. Fear of being burnt to death in the *manzara* led al-°Adīd to turn against his slaves and change sides leaving his army of slaves and Armenian archers a prey to Shams al-Dawla's torches. The speed within which al-°Adīd responded to the torching threat leads to the deduction that these *manzaras* had a wooden façade which would easily catch fire. The account is dated to 564/1168-9.

relinquish any claim they had on their properties including the Eastern Palace which was divided up and sold.

Function

The three western-wall *manzaras* were obviously used by the caliph to watch events in progress in the Bayn al-Qasrayn square below. These were mostly army reviews and parades. Other events are reported by historians in which it is explicitly mentioned that the caliph did, in fact, sit in a *manzara*. It is only these reports in which a *manzara* is indeed occupied by the caliph that are made use of here to give an indication of their function.

The Anniversary Celebrations (*al-mawalid*)

The first mention of any kind of celebration of the prophet's birthday or of those of his immediate family, his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali, as well as the present caliph, is by Ibn al-Ma'mun and dated 516/1122-3.¹⁵⁷ In it Ibn al-Ma'mun recounts that al-Afdal prohibited the celebration of these four birthdays but due to the incessant demands of the caliph's *ustadhs*, the wazir al-Ma'mun finally gave in and had them re-celebrated.

There are three descriptions of these *mawalid* celebrations. Two are of al-Amir's birthday on the 12th of Muharram first in 516 and again in 517; the third is a celebration of the prophet's birthday on 13th of Rabi' al-Akhar for the year 517/1123.¹⁵⁸ The festivities are identical and can be divided into two parts. On the morning of the birthday the palace sent each *mashhad* of the Sharifs the sugar, honey, almonds, flour and *sajraj* portions to make 500 *ratls* of candy that was then distributed among the *mutasadirin*, reciters and the poor. In the evening the qadi, da'i, witnesses, all the *mutasadirin* and reciters then attended. The shutters to the south of Bab al-Dhahab were opened and the caliph was seated. He was greeted (paid homage to) after which

¹⁵⁷ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 432-33; al-Musabbih, *Akhbar*, 62.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 35, 60, 62.

the head of the treasury came out carrying a sealed box with 100 dinars and 1820 dirhams to be given to the people of the cemetery. Trays were distributed among named dignitaries and important officials. In the report of 517/1123 it is added that the *khaṭīb* (speech maker) gave a sermon, a singer sang a song and the reciters recited the Qur'an.

In Ibn al-Tuwayr's time two more birthdays were celebrated: that of al-Hasan and that of al-Husayn.¹⁵⁹ He calls the procedure "*julūs*" (sitting) as opposed to other appearances of the caliph such as "*rukūb*" (riding).¹⁶⁰ He also locates the six birthday appearances or 'sittings' in the *manzara* "that is the lowest one and the closest to the ground in front of the house of Fakhr al-Din Jaharkas and the new hotel."¹⁶¹ The *manzara* in question is the one above Bab al-Dhahab which was in front of the house of Fakhr al-Din Jaharkas, the later Bimaristan of al-Mansur Qalawun. As in Ibn al-Ma'mun's accounts, the day begins with the making of sugar concoctions and candy carried on trays made in the royal sugar and pie confectionery called Dar al-Fitra. No mention is made of the food sent to the *mashāhid* although the custom was sure to have persisted. The trays were distributed among the officials until noon. After the noon prayer the qadi and witnesses then rode to the Mosque of al-Azhar taking the tray bearers with them. They sat there until all the Qur'an was read. The qadi and da'i were then sent for via messengers. The Azhar interlude is not reported by Ibn al-Ma'mun. As al-Azhar was the locus of other festivities that resembled this one such as *layālī al-waqūd* discussed below, the omission was probably unintended.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 217-219.

¹⁶⁰ See also al-Qalaqshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 3: 576. Al-Qalaqshandī bases his remarks solely on the accounts of Ibn al-Tuwayr. He distinguishes between two types of ceremonies: one where the caliph sits to an audience (*julūs*), i.e., to see and be seen; the other where he leaves the palace grounds on horseback, literally 'ride' (*rukūb*).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., and also Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 217-219.

The gathering then rode on until they reached al-Suyufiyyin at the beginning of Bayn al-Qasrayn Square.¹⁶² The entrances into Bayn al-Qasrayn had been blocked (with the hanging of a chain across either side) and the square was swept, sprinkled with water and the ground beneath the *manzara* covered with yellow sand. The grand chamberlain (*ṣāhib al-bāb*) was sent for to come from Dar al-Wazara while the governor (*wāli*) of Cairo went back and forth in his endeavor to keep crowding to a minimum. The grand chamberlain then appeared from al-Rukn al-Mukhallaq (the entrance to the small alley at the northwestern corner of the Eastern Palace) at the same time as the qadi and his entourage were called upon to approach the *manzara*. They dismounted a few steps before the *manzara* and all gathered within the hour quietly and eagerly awaiting the caliph. One *taqa* was then opened allowing them to see his face covered by the *mindil* attended by his *muḥannak ustaths* and other palace servants (*khawāss*). Then one of the *ustaths* opened a shutter taking out his head and his right hand which was hidden in his sleeve. He waved saying: "the Commander of the Faithful returns your greeting." He then commenced to greet the grand judge with all his titles, followed by the grand chamberlain and finally the rest of the crowd was greeted all grouped together. The reciters would then start reciting standing straight in the center with their backs to the *manzara's* wall and their faces to the public. Speeches then followed by the imams of the al-Hakim, al-Azhar and al-Aqmar mosques. The reciters never stopped their reading until the speech makers finished and the *ustath* again stuck out his head and sleeve waving from the opening and returning the people's greeting. Both shutters were then closed and the people departed. It was the same for all remaining five birthdays.

¹⁶² Al-Suyufiyyin was a market place in the south west of the Bayn al-Qasrayn square.

The *layali al-waqud* (nights of illumination) celebrations

Layali al-waqud numbered four: the first and middle nights of the two months preceding Ramadan, namely Rajab and Sha^ʿban. This was according to late Fatimid documentation recorded by Maqrizi and al-Qalaqshandi.¹⁶³ In the early Fatimid accounts, however, the Friday nights of these months were also illuminated.

According to custom, mosques and *jawsaqs* were lit mostly in the Qarafa area for the celebration of feasts (*mawāsim*) and also for the evening prayer during Ramadan. That it was a common practice in pre-Fatimid times is attested to by an account by Ibn al-Zayyat who specifically mentions the illumination of the grand *jawsaq* of al-Madhira'i in the Qarafa as the locus of such festivities in the Tulunid period.¹⁶⁴ More importantly for our purposes, he specifies the occasion: "it was also (lit) during the middle night of Sha^ʿban..."¹⁶⁵ The great Tulunid wazir al-Madhira'i himself attended and distributed donations and money.

Popular belief in the form of another account by Maqrizi, however, dates the practice nearly to the very beginning of Islam, the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khattab.¹⁶⁶ He used to urge the people of Mecca to light up the city on the "night of the crescent of Muharram", i.e., the sighting of the crescent which was a sign for the end of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja and the start of the new month of Muharram. The given reason for this action was to guard the pilgrims. I believe also that to illuminate the eve of Muharram may have been meant to serve as an indication of the end of that year's pilgrimage and the resulting return of the pilgrims. Later on, under the governorate of one ʿAbd Allah Muhammad b. Daud, the first night of Rajab was also lit to guard the people of Yemen.

¹⁶³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 465, 466; al-Qalaqshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 3: 574.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib al-Sayyāra*, 74.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 466. The person responsible for this story is one al-Fakāhānī, otherwise unidentifiable.

Despite how dubious and unintelligible the nature of Maqrizi's 'origin for the Waqud Nights may be, there is no doubt that it was a pre-Fatimid, probably even pre-Tulunid, celebration. Like many other festivities in Egypt, they were appropriated by the Fatimids who fostered them, developed them and enriched them.

Musabbihi was the first Fatimid historian to report *layali al-waqud* on Friday nights and the middle of Sha^cban in the year 380/990 under caliph al-^cAziz.¹⁶⁷ His next surviving report is dated 402/1011 from the period of al-Hakim and proves the continuation of the practice well into his reign. In those three early accounts, al-^cAziz and al-Hakim are not reported to have attended. The locus of the events was al-Azhar mosque which Musabbihi says in 380/990 was used instead of the Qarafa one which shows that a change of site occurred from Qarafa to Cairo at the time of al-^cAziz. The mosque's illumination was increased all around the edge and in the sahn with lamps and candles "as was the custom." Food and sweets and incense were served on gold and silver bowls and the qadi, Muhammad b. al-Nu^cman, attended with the witnesses and local dignitaries on the middle night inside the *maqsura*. He was offered baskets of sweets and food while the reciters and singers attended him. He stayed until midnight and then returned home after distributing food offerings to those who accompanied him and had them incensed.

Al-^cAziz is reported to have sent the food and sweets and incense but not to have appeared in person. The same is reported of al-Hakim. He sent the customary bread and sweets for the people who stayed overnight at al-Azhar on Fridays and the mid-months of the three months (meaning Rajab, Sha^cban and Ramadan). Here the connection is made to the holy month of Ramadan, the month of fasting and prayer when supposedly the Qur'an was revealed. It was - and still is - believed to have been the prophet's custom (*sunna*) to fast in Rajab and Sha^cban in

¹⁶⁷ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 465.

preparation for Ramadan. The lighting of al-Azhar through these nights and the sending of food and sweets by the caliph is also support from the Fatimid imam to those who stay overnight at al-Azhar, the mosque directly associated with him. The "fun and games" (*la'ib wa maraḥ*) went on at the Qarafa where the general populace celebrated as usual.

This passive support was not, however, enough for al-Zahir. His celebration of these times was the most splendid. He introduced the novelty of having the caliph attend the festivities in al-Azhar. He not only paraded to there himself but also took his entourage of ladies, palace servants, others and the general populace with him.¹⁶⁸ The locus of this celebration dated to the middle of Rajab 415/1024 was the al-Azhar *manzara* which is discussed below. According to Musabbihi, it was an "unprecedented gathering".

Over one hundred years pass before we get another description of *layali al-waqud*. In 516/1124 al-Amir asked al-Ma'mun to revive the old four Waqud Nights celebrations - which it seems al-Afdal had put a stop to - as he wanted to watch them.¹⁶⁹ Al-Ma'mun responded and ordered that 50 dinars be sent the qadi for the expense of candles and processions on those four nights. Witnesses were to accompany him and he was to increase the rations of oil for mosques and masjids for the illumination. The keeper of the treasury was to be in charge of accounts for sweets designated for the palace and Dar al-Wazara.

The first time they were celebrated, however, was the following year in 517/1125.¹⁷⁰ No mention is made neither of a caliphal procession to al-Azhar nor of a caliphal appearance in the *manzaras* on Bayn al-Qasrayn as was to be the later custom. Only the qadi is said to have ridden out as was the norm to visit mosques and distribute food and sweets via banquets he sat at. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that al-Amir must have sat somewhere to watch the festivities

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 466.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Batā'ihī, *Nuṣuṣ*, 36.

and he must have played some role in them as it was he who requested their re-installation in the first place. The later account of Ibn al-Tuwayr states that the caliph did indeed sit in the *manzara* next to/above Bab al-Zumurrud.¹⁷¹ Therefore, sometime after al-Zahir's reign, most probably during al-Amir's time, the locus of *layali al-waqud* ceased to be Manzarat al-Azhar and became Manzarat Bab al-Zumurrud.

The description of Ibn al-Tuwayr concerning the first part of the procession is almost exactly the same as that of the mawalid and given in just as much detail, the only difference being the *manzara* that the caliph occupied. He did not sit in Manzarat Bab al-Dhahab but in the high *manzara* at Bab al-Zumurrud.

Furthermore, al-Azhar was no longer the qadi and his cortege's first stop where they made an extended stay and had all the Qur'an recited in wait for the caliph's summons. Quite the reverse in fact; the qadi's cortege first transversed Bayn al-Qasrayn on its way to Bab al-Zumurrud to greet the caliph sitting in his *manzara* and then they went to Dar al-Wazara (a new stop) upon which followed a brief halt and prayer in all mosques of al-Qahira (al-Azhar). Unlike before, there was no extended stay at al-Azhar but only a brief prayer. Al-Azhar fades out of the picture in the 12th century sharing significance with the other mosques of Cairo, al-Aqmar and al-Hakim, as well as the palace. The qadi then continued to al-Fustat in procession.

‘Id al-Adha or al-Nahr (the Sacrificial Feast) and ‘Id al-Ghadir (the Ghadir Feast)

On these two events the *manzara* between Bab al-Dhahab and Bab al-Bahr (probably built and not just renewed by al-Ma'mun) was used by the caliph al-Amir to watch the military review that took place after the actual animal slaughter and before the ‘Id prayer below the *manzara* on

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 63,64; al-Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, 1:466.

¹⁷¹ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 220-221.

the Bayn al-Qasrayn square.¹⁷² Neither before al-Ma'mun nor after him is there any evidence of the caliph ever sitting in this *manzara*, or in any other one for that matter, on either 'Id al-Nahr or 'Id al-Ghadir. The caliphal appearance there was a novelty as even Ibn al-Ma'mun records in the year 515/1121 when he recounts the suggestion of al-Ma'mun that the caliph make an appearance in the aforementioned *manzara* thus giving the 'Id its due.¹⁷³ Al-Afdal and Badr al-Jamali before him had simply ridden to the palace on the day of 'Id al-Nahr at the time of prayer, prayed behind the qadi in the palatial iwan and sat on the *martaba* while listening to the sermon. Both the greeting of the caliph and the reception of the investiture occurred in private. As for 'Id al-Ghadir, there was no formal palace sponsored celebration before al-Ma'mun but only popular festivities.¹⁷⁴ The way in which it was celebrated followed that of 'Id al-Nahr including the part where the caliph sat in the *manzara* on Bayn al-Qasrayn after the animal slaughter at the *manhar*.¹⁷⁵

In the accounts, however, that deal with 'Id al-Fitr (the Feast of Fast Breaking) the *manzara* is never mentioned.¹⁷⁶ The locus of that feast's celebrations, as well as those of 'Id al-Nahr before al-Ma'mun and after the death of al-Amir, was the qa'at al-Dhahab, the iwan there and the caliph's *majlis* (either *majlis al-Mulk* or *majlis al-'Id*) behind Bab al-Mulk where the caliph sat in the window grille (*shubbāk*).¹⁷⁷ The banquets were laid out there and greeting of the caliph

¹⁷² Al-Batā'ihī, *Nuṣūṣ*, 24, 43.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 24.

¹⁷⁴ See Sanders' discussion of 'Id al-Ghadir, its history and development in *Ritual*, 124-134.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Batā'ihī, *Nuṣūṣ*, 43.

¹⁷⁶ An early report is from the reign of al-Zāhir 415/1024-5 in which the procession to the *muṣalla* is described and the later banquet but no mention of a *manzara* is made; al-Musabbihī, *Akhbār*, 185-6. The reference to a window-like opening (*taq*) where the caliph sat to watch the banquet below in no way conclusively points to a *manzara* as Paula Sanders concludes in *Ritual*, 65. As the term *manzara* was not used but only *taq*, a *manzara* might or might not be indicated but in any case it would be an interior one overlooking Qa'at al-Dhahab (the Gold Hall).

¹⁷⁷ Compare al-Musabbihī, *Akhbār*, 201-203 where no *manzara* is mentioned at that celebration of 'Id al-Nahr, with the later accounts of al-Batā'ihī, in *Nuṣūṣ*, 26, 27, 41 and Ibn al-Tuwyr in *Nuzhat*, 212-216 where it then disappears.

occurred there as well as the giving of the robe of honour. The caliph entered and exited on his way to the *musalla* via the Bab al-^oId.

The addition of a royal appearance in the *manzara* overlooking Bayn al-Qasrayn was short lived. In the accounts of Ibn al-Tuwayr it is never mentioned in relation to any of these three feasts. By then the celebration of ^oId al-Ghadir had changed shifting in part to the Martyrium of al-Husayn inside the palace while ^oId al-Nahr continued to be celebrated as before but without the *manzara*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 186-189. See also Paula Sanders, *Ritual*, 124-134.

Manzarat Jami^c al-Azhar

The location of this *manzara* has enjoyed some debate (Figure 1). Nasser Rabbat quotes ^cAli Mubarak as having placed the *manzara* "next to the door of the Madrasa al-Jawhariyya."¹⁷⁹ He then confuses ^cAli Mubarak's *bahri* with that of Maqrizi by calling the *bahri* the northwest and then describing a site, the Jawhariyya Madrasa and the smaller door of Qaytbay, that lies in the northeast. ^cAli Mubarak's *bahri* was the northeast, while that of al-Maqrizi would have been - in the case of mosques - opposite the *qibla* wall, i.e., the northwest.

Nasser Rabbat's research into ^cAli Mubarak's site led him to the only possible door, the Fatimid Bab al-Sirr where the *manzara* was supposedly located, that of Muhammad ^cAli al-Kabir with the cartouches of Qaytbay on it. Two large salients close to it on the same northeastern wall noticed by Creswell to be thicker and stronger than the structure warranted, were considered by Rabbat to have possibly carried this *manzara*. The only real fault with these locations is that they don't coincide with Maqrizi's who clearly states that the *manzara* in question was "next to the mosque from its *qibli* (southeastern) side."¹⁸⁰ That would make it the *qibla* side and not the northeastern wall perpendicular to it. Other than that, it fits rather well with further evidence as to its architecture below.

According to Maqrizi, it overlooked the mosque proper. It stands to reason, however, that it also overlooked the Azhar Square (*Rahbat al-Azhar*), part of which lay between al-Azhar and the Istabl al-Tarima south of the Great Eastern Palace and was the parade ground on that occasion at that time. This would place the *manzara* at the eastern corner (where the *qibla* wall meets the

¹⁷⁹ Rabbat, "Al-Azhar Mosque," 52.

¹⁸⁰ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 465.

northeastern one), the approximate site of the Jawhariyya Madrasa, and might still be considered to be on the qibla side.

An important clue to its architecture is given by Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir. In describing the preparation of the mosque for the Friday sermons that took place in Ramadan, he first relates how three areas that were to enjoy caliphal presence were "hung" with textiles (*taʿlīq*).¹⁸¹ These were the *maqsura* (meaning the closed area where the caliph prayed in front of the *mihrab*, the *manzara* and the doors of its *maqsuras*, and finally the minbar. When the caliph entered through the mosque door in front of the alley (*darb*) of al-Atrak, he was met by the first small *dihliz* (vestibule) through which he proceeded into the "... qaʿa prepared for his sitting (*julūs*) the mentioned one that was raised (*muʿallaqa*) where he would then sit in its *majlis* and the *marqama* (a thin curtain made of satin) would be lowered ..."¹⁸² I believe the text clearly indicates that the raised qaʿa with a *majlis* where the caliph waited until the call for prayer was given is indeed the *manzara* and that it was located close to the door through which he entered, probably above the *dihliz*. The term *muʿallaqa* itself means carried on a substructure, which in this case must have been the *dihliz*.

We thus have a *manzara* located above the doorway vestibule that was large enough to be called a qaʿa, and that was spacious enough to have a *majlis* as well as several *maqsuras*. Apart from its function on Ramadan Fridays, the *manzara* also housed the caliph al-Zahir and his retinue on the *layali al-waqud* as discussed above.

¹⁸¹ Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir, *Rawda*, 36

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 37.

Manzarat Jami^c al-Aqmar

Never mentioned in conjunction with any particular ceremony, this *manzara* was probably hardly ever used by the caliph (Figure 1). This does not mean, however, that it may not have been used by royal members of his household who came to the mosque. It is mentioned by Ibn ^cAbd al-Zahir when he reported the reason behind the construction of that mosque in 519/1125.¹⁸³ He said that on the site of the mosque were found vendors of animal fodder (*alāfūn*) while the water turf was located in place of the *manzara*. It was al-Amir's idea to turn the site into a jami^c, so al-Ma'mun proceeded to tear down all the shops in front of the palace and had the area built up. Aside from the mosque and *manzara*, he also built a number of shops "on the facade of Bab al-Futuh and not the palace facade," which I take to mean the 'northern' or northeastern facade. This leaves us with the opposite side as a possible location for the *manzara*. In fact, the prime position would be the corner where the main street/entrance facade meets the southwestern wall. That corner would have been an ideal choice as it overlooked both the *maydan* and the narrow street called al-Rukn al-Mukhallaq (the perfumed corner) which also overlooked the Eastern Palace.

Unfortunately this is also the missing part of the structure we have today so we cannot verify our theory. It is also unclear whether the *manzara* was part of the mosque itself or a structure that stood on its own.

Manzarat Jami^c Amr

Built by al-Nasir Salah al-Din in 568/1172-3 as part of his reconstruction activities in the mosque of Amr, this *manzara* was located on the roof below the Great Minaret (*al-Mi'dhana al-Kabira*) in the east corner (Figure 2).¹⁸⁴ He also provided it with water by building a *saqqāya* for

¹⁸³ Ibn ^cAbd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, 73.

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Duqmāq, *Intisār*, 4: 69.

the benefit of the "people of the roof."¹⁸⁵ This *saqqāya* was destroyed over one hundred years later and a high tower that also served the same function built in its stead. It supplied the *manzara*, described by Maqrizi as a *ghurfa* (room), with water.¹⁸⁶

It is unclear whether Salah al-Din built or simply rebuilt that room as the verb *'ammar* could carry both meanings. If he only rebuilt it, the original construction has then gone unrecorded unless it was the room where the *mu'adhdhins* stayed which was repeatedly renewed and seemed to have been of some importance.¹⁸⁷ This would date the *manzara* to the pre-Fatimid period, while the first time it was rebuilt would be under the Fatimids.¹⁸⁸

The *manzaras* of Masjid al-Salih

Of purely statistical value, we only know the location of these *manzaras*. Like the Mosque of Amr, they were built on top of the roof. The masjid itself was located in the Qarafa on the same street as the Qarafa Mosque and was built by al-Salih Tala'i^c b. Razik (Figure 2).¹⁸⁹

The five *manzaras* of al-Afdal

The area outside Bab al-Futuh on either side of the Khaliq al-Qahira was filled with gardens and parks of which at least five belonged to the family of Amir al-Juyush Badr al-Jamali and his

¹⁸⁵ A *Saqqāya* is a water procuring device that carries the water to the top of buildings. It could mean the same as *sāqiya* (waterwheel), or the waterwheel itself could be part of the whole mechanism termed the *saqqaya* of a structure. Building *saqqāyas* was a sign of wealth and a great act of piety. The great Tulunid wazir Abu Bakr al-Mādhirā'i built no less than five *saqqāyas* as well as water channels all in one year (303-304/915-16-916-17) in the area of Birkat al-Habash (*Intiṣār*, 4: 56).

¹⁸⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, 2: 253.

¹⁸⁷ The reason why this *manzara* might be the *mu'adhdhins*' room indicated, is that in the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars all rooms on the roof were torn down except for one room referred to as "the old *mu'dhadhins*' room". This should undoubtedly have included the *manzara*. However, twenty years later, when the *saqqāya* was turned into a tower, a room on the roof is called "the *manzara*". This means that that room/*manzara* and the older *mu'adhdhins*' room must have been one and the same architectural unit. The *mu'adhdhins*' room was recorded by al-Qudā'i to have been built in 336/954 and then renewed in the Fatimid period in 442/1050-51, which all seems to mean that it was a structure of some importance (al-Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, 2: 250).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 2: 447.

son, al-Afdal. All of the five known *manzaras* were built by al-Afdal and put at the disposal of the caliph and his retinue to rest in on their Saturday and Tuesday pleasure outings.

Manzarat al-Bustan al-Kabir (the Great Garden) also known as al-Shiqaf

On the eastern bank of the khalij lay the Juyushiyya Parks (al-Basatin al-Juyushiyya) of which the Great Garden - which was in reality two gardens - lay to the right hand-side as you left Cairo via Bab al-Qantara heading for al-Matariyya.¹⁹⁰ The garden was enclosed by al-Afdal who built a great wall likened to the wall of Cairo. He also excavated a lake and had a boat kept at its side carried on eight *ardabs*. In the center of that lake he built a *manzara* supported by four marble columns (Figure 3). Unfortunately for us Maqrizi did not describe the superstructure or we might have had our only full description of a Fatimid *manzara*. The beauty of the garden with its towers that housed all kinds of bird species he did report, as well as the magnificence of the *nāranj* trees

On the opposite side of the khalij lay four consecutive gardens with *manzaras*.

Manzarat al-Ba^ʿl

It was located in al-Ba^ʿl garden north of the land of al-Tabbala facing Qanatir al-Awizz in Qum al-Rish (Figure 3).¹⁹¹ Like the Great Bustan, Bustan al-Ba^ʿl was surrounded by a wall and had a *manzara*.

Manzarat al-Taj

Also a garden, al-Taj lay to the north of al-Ba^ʿl in the direction of Miyat al-Sirij (Figure 3).¹⁹² Its *manzara* had two different sets of textile coverings (*furush*), a set for winter and a set for summer. What remained at the time of Maqrizi was a mound underneath which lay great blocks of stone which give us an idea of the building material used in the substructure.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍa*, 39.

¹⁹¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 480-81.

Manzarat Qubbat al-Hawa

Located between al-Taj and al-Khams Wujuh, Qubbat al-Hawa was "a cheerful, beautiful elevation (mustashrif)...surrounded by other gardens each of which had its own name, and the dome (itself) had coverings (*furush*) prepared for the winter as well as the summer..." (Figure 3)¹⁹³

Manzarat al-Khams Wujuh

This last *manzara* in the northerly direction of Minyat al-Sirij was the only one that survived into the days of Maqrizi (Figure 3). Described by Maqrizi as being a "grand building on a wide well that had five faces of wood (*muḥāl al-khashab*) that moved the water to irrigate the great garden..."¹⁹⁴ The "five faces" seem to be as indication of the water bearing device used to carry the water. Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh rebuilt a *manzara* above the Five Faces which he started constructing on a Monday the 1st of Rabi' al-Akhar 823/1420.¹⁹⁵

Manazir Harat al-Bayazira

The head of the *Bayazira* (pl. of *bāziar*) complained to al-Amir of the need of his animals and birds for more space.¹⁹⁶ He suggested being given the area to the north of Cairo near Bab al-Qantara on the eastern shore of the khalij thus facilitating the task of watering the animals. Maqrizi says that the *Bayazira* then proceeded to build their homes like *manzaras* on the khalij shore (Figure 3). They put within each one a *bāb sirr* (secret doorway) that led to the khalij shore. The area soon became known as the alley (*ḥārat*) of *al-Bayazira*.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 487.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 481.

¹⁹⁵ Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in in Aegypten und Syrien*, 2: 327.

¹⁹⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 20. The *Bayazira* constituted a population on their own. They seem to have been in charge of the care of the royal animals and birds (*al-wuḥūsh wa al-ṭuyūr*) thus pointing to the probability of the existence of a kind of zoo. They first occupied a house known as Dar al-Tayr.

A garden with a *manzara* was also constructed in the vicinity built by *zimām al-qasr* Mukhtar al-Saqlabi.¹⁹⁷ This account is of importance because it shows how by the time we reach the reign of al-Amir the *manzara* had become almost a popular type of structure imitated by powerful palace servants as well as even the caretakers of the royal zoo animals.

The Ayyubid Manazir al-Kabsh

Said by Maqrizi to have been built on top of the Mountain of Yashkur next to the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, all that was left by his time were the remains of monuments that were the glory of a time past.¹⁹⁸ He traces the original foundation to al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub who built them in the 640's on top of the mountain spur where they overlooked the Birkat Qarun and had a magnificent view of the Nile, the khalij, Rawda Island, Bab Zuwayla, Cairo and Fustat...etc.(Figure 2).¹⁹⁹ They served as residences for royal visitors such as the Ayyubid rulers of Hama and visiting

Abbassid caliphs at the time of al-Zahir Baybars. They were even used at one time to imprison 300 Mamluks of al-Ashraf Khalil after his assassination in 693/1294. The site was destroyed and re-built by al-Mansur Qalawun in 723/1323, to celebrate the legendary wedding of his daughter. They continued to serve as residences for Mamluk amirs until destroyed by al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban in 775/1373-74. The Mamluks had found another site.

The Mamluk Manazir Birkat al-Fil

According to Ibn Duqmaq, the grand Turkish amirs (meaning the Mamluks) built their houses and palaces encircling Birkat al-Fil (Figure 2).²⁰⁰ It was the habit of Mamluk Sultans to ride out

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 133.

¹⁹⁹ Maqrizi gives the history of these buildings in al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:133-134.

²⁰⁰ Ibn Duqmaq, *Intisār*, 5: 45.

at night to this lake and the owners of the *manzaras* would light them up for him, which gave rise to the poetic description that these *manzaras* were like stars surrounding a central round moon.²⁰¹

Unfortunately, there are no descriptions of either Manazir al-Kabsh or of Manazir Birkat al-Fil. However, some descriptions of other post Fatimid *manzaras* located elsewhere are briefly given by chroniclers, while Ottoman *manzaras* are described in *waqfiyyas* that were originally in Mamluk ownership.

Some other recorded Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman *manzaras*

Manzarat Bustan al-^cAlma was located on the Nile shore south of al-Qahira and was created for a woman known as al- Alma by al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (Figure 2).²⁰² A *khawkha* (postern) led to the doorway of this *manzara* and was often flooded, the water reaching as far as the *manzara* door itself.

Manzarat al-Faqih Nasr al-Din was also located on the Nile shore in the neighborhood of Dar al-Nahas in al-Fustat (Figure 2). It also had a *khawkha* leading to it and to various other properties all in the waqf of the Faqih.²⁰³

Manzarat al-Dufayda^ca had its own *khawkha* leading to it which was built next to that of the Faqih Nasr al-Din (Figure 2).²⁰⁴ The *khawkha* seems to have had an upward slope as Ibn Duqmaq says that in his day it led to part of the top of the *manzara* (*ila ^culūw ba^cd al-Ḍufayda^ca*) as well as two *dārs*. It was constructed by one of the amirs of Ayyubid al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din called al-Shamsi.

²⁰¹ This passage is directly quoted from Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, although Ibn Duqmāq does not give the source. It can be found in al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 367.

²⁰² Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 30.

²⁰³ Ibid., 31.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

Manzarat al-Amir ʿIzz al-Din Aydumur al-Salihi was in the vicinity of the above *manzaras* on the New Shore (*al-Sāḥil al-jadīd*) of Fustat in front of al-Rawda (Figure 2).²⁰⁵ It was built on the site of what in 712/1312-13 became the New Mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun. Prince Aydumur was also one of the *khawāṣṣ* of al-Malik al-Salih.

The *manzara* is described by Ibn al-Mutawwaj as having had one large iwan on top of which was a great *riwāq* (upper story living quarters). Both were facing the garden whose wall was shared with that of Bustan al-ʿAlma and next to which were built stables and *buyūtat* (dependencies). All had decayed by the time of al-Mansur Qalawun who proceeded to build graneries in their stead until his son took the site to build his mosque.

All the above *manzaras* shared several things. They were all - except perhaps for that of the Faqih which might have been older - built by people who had found favor with the last Ayyubid Sultan, al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub. This is easily explained when we learn that the land was in fact a grant from him. According to Ibn al-Mutawwaj, it was created in his time after he had built the citadel on the Island of Rawda, i.e., after 1240-41. He annually excavated the Nile channel in front of the Island to prevent it from drying up when the Nile was low and piled the earth that resulted from those digs on top of that site on the shores of al-Fustat. It soon became part of the mainland and was built upon by his amirs, many of whom had moved to Fustat.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 77. Ibn Duqmāq quotes Ibn al-Mutawwaj and all the account on this *manzara* and its site, as well as the mosque and its history are from the same source.

Chapter III

Analysis

In a broad, purely hypothetical sense, the survey above can be said to have yielded a possible division of the *manzara* into two types which co-existed: the *manzara* as an architectural unit which was part of another building located above a substructure, and the freestanding type, the whole of which was called a *manzara*. In the Fatimid period both were built at the same time and were invariably connected to the caliph. They were built to receive him on all occasions, be they formal ceremonies and celebrations or just pleasure outings into the many gardens and orchards outside the city walls of Cairo. Wherever the caliph went a *manzara* was there at his final destination to receive him. Cairo and its environs were connected by a series of these *manzaras* which were built on specific sites on well-known processional routes in anticipation of the caliph's movements. In the second century of Fatimid reign, in particular with the rise of the wazir al-Afdal Shahinshah to power, the *manzara* was no longer a caliphal prerogative but was built also by and for *wazirs* and other important personages connected to the caliph.

1) The *manzara* as an upper level unit, part of another structure

This was an architectural space, possibly a *majlis* as discussed below, open on the outside street façade through a series of arched window-like openings that might have been as long as arcades that also had shutters. Initially they were built as the seat of the ruler (governor or caliph) when attending formal functions such as military reviews, parades and ceremonies. The occupant had a perfect view to the outside and could be seen and even heard. These *manzaras* were always built on top of another substructure which was mostly a vaulted passage of some sort (*qabu* or *dihliz*) in either a gateway, mosque, or qasr (dar).

The gateway

When the substructure of these *manzaras* was a gateway, it meant that they were probably carried on the vaulted passages that led from the outer gate itself through the wall into the palace. Access to them would have been on the inside via a ramp (*zallāqa*) and/or a stairway (*darj*). This was the case in the city of Baghdad when it was first built and a clear and straightforward description of the four gates of Baghdad and the structures that were built above them has reached us and is discussed below in great detail.

The gateway *manzaras* in Egypt were, of course, the Great Eastern Palace ones. Only three, however, were built above the gateways themselves, namely, Manzarat Bab al-Bahr, Manzarat Bab al-Dhahab and Manzarat Bab al-Zumurrud. The fourth was built much later between Bab al-Bahr and Bab al-Dhahab and might have used the palace walls themselves as support.

Unlike the ones in Baghdad, there is no evidence that they were ever domed. They were more in the nature of a loggia with arched windows or arcades that could be opened or closed to reveal or conceal the caliph via shutters. As remaining Fatimid monumental entrances often projected to the outside (for example, the Mosque of al-Hakim and the Mosque in Mahdiyya), it is possible to say that the palace ones too, and hence the *manzaras*, projected from the wall. The architecture of the hall behind the loggia was a *majlis*, based on the name this type of structure was given in both Tulunid Egypt and Baghdad. They also varied in height as gleaned from comments such as, "... the *manzara* that was the closest one to the ground..." and "... the big, high *manzara*..." ...etc.

The mosque

A number of mosques carried *manzaras* that served as resting places for the caliph and/ or wazir. They performed the duty of a *maqsura* but with the addition of height and a view. The 'raised qa'a' that had a *majlis* where the caliph sat in al-Azhar, and which I have concluded above was the same as the *manzara* of the Mosque of al-Azhar, housed the caliph and his retinue on formal functions such as the Ramadan Friday prayers, as well as on feast days such as the celebrations of the four *layali al-waqud*. Noteworthy here is that I have located this *manzara* above the vestibule of a gateway which would also make it a 'gateway type'.

The mosque of al-Itfihi also had a *manzara* supported on the roof of one of its *ziyadas*. This maq'ad like structure overlooked both the road as well as a garden and opened onto a small marble qa'a. It served as the reception area of wazir al-Afdal when he visited the shaikh.

As for the *manzaras* of the Mosque of al-Salih and of the mosque of 'Amr, they were built on top of the roof. Their function and form are unknown though that of the Mosque of Amr might have been built to shelter the *mu'adhdhins* and been the architectural equivalent of a *ghurfa*.

The *manzaras* of al-Maqs and al-Aqmar might also have been carried on the roof, but could likewise have been corner structures. They were built for the caliph to sit in and watch, in the case of the former naval maneuvers, and in the latter case, events that occurred in the Bayn al-Qasrayn Maydan.

It is clear that these mosque *manzaras* were not simply part of mosques. They were, in fact, the highest architectural unit inside a mosque often built on top of that mosque's roof or even surpassing it, where they could command a view of the surrounding area which was the *raison d'être* behind their existence in the first place. They were placed according to what it was they were built to overlook but as to their form, it seems to have been anything from *ghurfa* to *maq'ad*

to *majlis*, as long as it had a truncated outer façade that probably resembled that of a *maq'ad*.. Their occupancy was not always related to something of a religious nature, but could likewise have had a military reason (al-Maqs) or a festive one (al-Azhar).

The qasr (dar)

Even though the whole palace of al-Qarafa was called a *manzara*, it also had one, possibly even two units that were part of the original palace building and that were called *manzaras*. The older of the two whose brief description we have, was built above a vaulted passage that was one of the roads of al-Qarafa. It was reachable by a ramp (*zallaqa*). This means that the road passed through the palace dividing it into two halves that were connected by the *manzara*.

The second *manzara* also overlooked the outside because it had a view of the *mastaba* built by al-Amir for the dervishes to carry out their dances.

Also using a vault as support was a section of Manzarat Dar al-Mulk. According to al-Maqrizi, the Nile waters passed right through the passage during inundation. This gives us a further reason why these *manzaras* were built high above a substructure, namely to avoid as much as possible any damage created by the floods. When the substructure was an open passage the water just flowed right through. As the *manzara* would have been the closest and highest part of the building to the Nile shore, it was probably carried on the vault.

Yet the peak of the *manzara* as part of the *dar* or *qasr* is to be found in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods described in waqf (endowment) deeds and is briefly touched upon below.

2) The freestanding *manzara*

This is the second type of architectural space that carried the term *manzara*, one that most Fatimid *manzaras* fall under. They were built for the caliph to rest in on his excursions outside the walled city of Cairo. They were either set in gardens or on waterfronts or both. The Nile, the

khalij and the many lakes on the outskirts of Cairo and al-Fustat formed the view for these *manzaras*. The whole was surrounded by the greenery of gardens or plantations which was a pleasing sight to the eye.

Some of these *manzaras* were built for a specific purpose, i.e., in response to a specific function related to ceremony. The shaping of Fatimid ceremony had reached its fullest form by the beginning of the reign of al-Amir and that richness was reflected architecturally in the enormous increase in *manzaras* at that time. The *manzara* had become a symbol of the caliph himself. Its open shutters, opened at a specific moment in a ceremony, symbolized his presence while the closing of the shutters were an indication of the end of the ceremony and the caliph's withdrawal. Manzarat Bab al-Futuh was freestanding, built facing a main artery in front of Cairo's major northern gate, Bab al-Futuh. It was built to house the caliph as he witnessed the departure and arrival of his warring armies to Syria. It served a ceremonial, military function. Most *manzaras*, however, were related to the Nile ceremonies, in particular the breaking of the dam and the perfuming of the Nilometer (the inundation ceremonies) but also the celebrations of a more informal nature related to Coptic feasts like *Id al-ghitas* and *nawruz*. Manzarat Tinnis, Manazil al-[°]Izz, Manzarat al-Sina[°]a, Manzarat al-Sukkara, Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a, Dar al-Dhahab, al-Ghazala, al-Dikka and Manzarat Bahr Abu'l-Munajja all fall under that category.

Of a more informal nature were the caliph's pleasure rides to his and his wazirs' *manzaras* in the gardens to the north of Cairo, such as, the five *manzaras* built by al-Afdal: Manzarat al-Bustan al-Kabir, al-Ba[°]l, al-Taj, al-Khams Wujuh and Qubbat al-Hawa. The caliph only had to choose from one of these, and probably others we know nothing about, or else he rode in the opposite direction to Manzarat Dar al-Mulk, for example. At the end of the Fatimid period there were even designated days for these excursions.

It is these garden *manzaras* that mistakenly gave rise to the term *belevedere* often used as a synonym for *manzara*.²⁰⁶ As has been demonstrated above, it only refers to a sub-type, not even a type on its own, of the *manzara*. Even its architectural form is difficult to determine.

However, certain characteristics are shared among all the freestanding *manzaras*. They were built above a base, most probably of stone (marble columns in the case of that of al-Afdal in al-Bustan al-Kabir), not only to serve as a foundation but also to lend them additional height to enable their occupants to have the best possible view. The texts are united in describing events that go on in front of the *manzara* as happening underneath it, while people pass below the *manzara* or look up to the caliph. The closest architectural form they resembled was probably that of a residence, a *dar*. The difference was, perhaps, that they were extroverted structures, meaning that they were built with the external view in mind as testified, for example, by the *taqas* in their facades. They had the same units of a *dar*, such as iwans, vestibules, *qa'as* as in the larger and grander ones, *majalis* and other compartments such as *maqsuras* as in the case of al-Sukkara. It is my belief also that, aside from location and function, these *manzaras* must have had an external visual factor that differentiated them from, say, residences in al-Fustat and in Cairo. That factor was their complete freedom on all sides from attached structures so that they resembled more the cubical form that Maqrizi likened the Qarafa *jawsaqs/manzaras* to. There must also have been an identifying factor on their main facades, such as the particular types of *taqas* related to the palatial wall *manzaras*, for example, which really means *manzaras* within *manzaras*. In other words, the whole structure, which was perhaps a second residence, was called a *manzara* not only because of the view and thus the function the term implied, but also because it also had an externalized unit identifiable as a *manzara* that resembled a *maq'ad* on the

²⁰⁶ Dozy, *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 2: 687. This is the earliest modern dictionary to have the complete architectural connotations of the term.

outside but was compartmentalized on the inside. Both the whole and the part went by the same name.

Further development into the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods

The *manzara* continued into the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman dynasties. From the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods no *manzaras* have survived. Historic documentation has made known to us, however, the glories of the *manzaras* of al-Kabsh and of the shore opposite al-Rawda in Fustat, where the Ayyubid amirs had built for themselves. Like their predecessors the Fatimid *manzaras*, they too were waterfront structures built with a view in mind. Already in the 12th century in the Fatimid period the building of *manzaras* had shifted down the social ladder from caliph to wazir (al-Afdal and al-Salih Tala'i^c) to powerful palace servants (*zimam al-qasr* Mukhtar al-Saqlabi) to the populace such as the Bayazira who built their new houses like *manzaras*. In the Ayyubid period too, local wealthy dignitaries also built *manzaras* such as, for example, the *manzara* of the qadi al-quda Badr al-Din al-Sinjari and the *manzara* of the qadi and wakil al-Mukhlis al-Muaqqa^c built overlooking the lakes south of al-Fustat.

The Mamluk amirs continued to use and develop Manazir al-Kabsh but added their own Manazir Birkat al-Fil. The lakes south of al-Fustat continued to be en vogue at the beginning of Mamluk reign as powerful wazirs such as al-Sahib Taj al-Din b. Hana and 'Izz al-Din Aybak al-Afram built *manzaras* around them. With the opening up of new areas, however, the shift moved to the north and north west where an example is al-Manzara al-Barabikhiyya in Bulaq.²⁰⁷ Older sites still lived on as Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh rebuilt Manzarat al-Khams Wujuh.

The architectural form these princely Ayyubid and Mamluk *manzaras* took forms its own topic of research and can only be briefly touched upon here. The two textual descriptions of

²⁰⁷ Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Aegypten und Syrien*, 2:283.

Manzarat al-Sahib Taj al-Din b. Hanna and Manzarat Aydumur al-Salihi show that the latter had one large single iwan that was a ground floor structure because it supported the upper living unit, the *riwaq*, which means the *manzara* was two storied. The former *manzara*, however, had a northern iwan, which indicates more than one iwan, as well as its own vestibule but was only a one floor structure.

The richest source, however, that has descriptions of Mamluk and Ottoman *manzaras* are the *waqf* collections. Based on a study of these *waqfs*, Muhammad Amin and Laila Ibrahim have defined the *manzara* in the Mamluk period to be "a residence (*bayt*) built on an elevated foundation so that the viewer can see what is around him of faraway sights."²⁰⁸ They also give a description of a *manzara* quoted from an unfootnoted *waqfiyya*, which shows it to have had a façade with an entrance, a vestibule, another door leading to the garden, four *sidillas* (recesses) inside, as well as a square fountain and finally windows of iron overlooking the garden.²⁰⁹

In this interpretation no distinction is made between the freestanding residence *manzara* and the *manzara* that was a component of a residence. Nasser Rabbat defines the Mamluk *manzara* as "an upper floor *qa'a* with a view to the outside", based on the *manzara* of the palace of Alin Aq described in the *waqf* of Barsbay dated 1438.²¹⁰ This is indeed our earliest Mamluk *manzara* which was documented in a *waqf* of a palace built in 1293. Carried on a lower level hall, it proves the continuation of the Fatimid caliphal *manzara* right through the Ayyubid period.

Although this is not a study of Mamluk and Ottoman *waqf* documents that contain *manzaras*, I here mention three published *waqfiyyas* as a sample of what could be unearthed if a serious

²⁰⁸ Amin and Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents*, 117.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo (1176-1341)*, 184, n. 72. See also for a short and concise analysis of the term *manzara* Garcin, "Habitat médiéval et histoire urbaine à Fustat et au Caire," 167.

study was attempted, one that carried the *manzara* into the Ottoman period. They will give us a further glimpse into its architectural form under the Ottomans.

The waqf of Shahin Ahmad Agha dated 1666 on Mukhtar Basha street of which the sabil-kuttab and a section of the façade now remain, had a *manzara* that was reachable via a garden.²¹¹ It consisted of two small iwans, three *martabas* that overlooked Birkat al-Fil and had a façade of three arches carried on two marble columns. One of its *martabas* led to a *takhtabush* while the *manzara* itself led to a *kushk* via a door. The *manzara* was only one of many architectural components that made up this pasha's residence.

Two other residences of Mamluk origin, Dar al-Amir Manjak al-Silihdar (dated 776/1375) and Dar Qurqumas al-Galab, survive in Ottoman *waqfiyyas*, the latter in three *waqfiyyas* of which that of Ibrahim Agha Mustahfizan dated 1632 is relevant, while the former is mentioned in a *waqfiyya* dated 1681.²¹² They were both also located in the area of al-Darb al-Ahmar and had *manzaras* in their gardens that are described as having a marble floor and a fountain in the middle. That of Qurqumas also had a kiosk while that of Manjak was reached by a *dihliz*.

Although still to be proven by a proper study of *waqfiyyas*, one might perhaps advance the suggestion that in the Ottoman period the term *manzara* had come to mean this small, ground floor structure situated in, and/or overlooking the garden of the house. The term no longer applied to a freestanding princely residence. Al-Zubaidi, the Arab lexicographer who died in 1205/1790, sums up the Ottoman meaning for us as: "... and a *manzar* like a *maq'ad*...and the name given to a section of the house which is usually separate."²¹³

²¹¹ Badr and Crecelius, "The waqfs of Shāhīn Aḥmad Agha," 26.

²¹² Both *waqfiyyas* are published by 'Abd al-Fattah, "Arba' buyūt mamlukiyya min al-wathā'iq al-uthmāniyya," 64 and 93, 95.

²¹³ Al-Zubaidī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, 3:573, 575.

To conclude, the *manzara* survived with few changes into the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods both as a freestanding type and an upper level unit in an amir's palace. Under the Ottomans, however, the term seems singularly to mean a unit in a residence that still had a view to the outside, or rather the inside garden. This is said, of course, as pertaining to further much needed research and study of the *manzara* in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

Having thus gleaned an understanding of the term *manzara* and its connotations, it remains to try and shed some light on its place of origin or, at the very least its predecessors.

The origin of the *manzara*

Like any other architectural form encountered in full bloom in a specific period, it is difficult to trace that form's origin. It is even more difficult when dealing with a wide geographic area such as the Islamic world of the middle and pre-middle ages, where influences traveled easily from one region to the next. The question is: did the Fatimids introduce the *manzara* to Egypt? By looking into the architecture of the immediate dynasties that reigned in Egypt prior to the Fatimids, namely the Ikhshidids and the Tulunids, it is possible to say that the Fatimids came and found the *manzara* in Egypt already in use.

The Ikhshidids and the Tulunids

Ibn Sa'īd the Moroccan described a *manzara* where the first Ikhshidid ruler, Muhammad b. Tughg al-Ikhshid, used to sit and watch the military review and parade on the Day of Fast Breaking (ʿId al-Fitr).²¹⁴ The *manzara* from which he watched this and possibly other ceremonies, was located "at the gateway of his Dar al-Imara." Unfortunately, we cannot be sure which Dar al-Imara he was referring to here: the Tulunid one connected to the Mosque of Ibn

²¹⁴ This passage was quoted by Kāshif, *Miṣr fī ʿahd al-Ikhshīdiyyīn*, 119-20. Sa'īd was, in fact, quoting from an eyewitness, Ibn Zulāq.

Tulun and overlooking the *maydān*, or the older ʿAbbasid one in al-ʿAskar.²¹⁵ We were told that Muhammad b. Sulayman al-Katib when he retook Egypt for the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Muʿtadd Billah in 292/904-5, wiped out all traces of the Tulunids by devastating their city al-Qataʾiʿ and its related maydan and qasr. Was the Dar al-Imara at the back of the Mosque of Ahmad b. Tulun also destroyed in the process? If so, there is no reason why it should not have been rebuilt by al-Ikhshid. We know that the most important gateway, the Bab al-Sala (al-Sibaʿ), which faced the back of the Tulunid mosque and the Dar al-Imara, survived for years later.²¹⁶ We also know that al-Ikhshid had a dar in the area of Bustan al-Kafuri (in the northwestern half of Cairo) where he received allegiance (bayʿa) for his son in 331/942-3 and that Kafur al-Ikhshid resided in the Dar al-Hurum that belonged to Khumarawayh for ten years from 347/958 until his death in 357/968.²¹⁷ He is also said to have built himself a dar at the Mosque of Ibn Tulun after the year 300/912-13. All facts taken together indicate a general preference on the part of the Ikhshidids for an area north of al-ʿAskar, in al-Qataʾiʿ (in the general neighborhood of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun) and to the north where the Fatimids built Cairo. It is clear that in the 30 year unrest that followed the sacking of al-Qataʾiʿ until the second and final governorate of al-Ikhshid in 323/935, al-Qataʾiʿ had regained some of its prior importance which lasted until the fall of the Ikhshidids and the rise of the Fatimids in 358/969.

Whichever Dar al-Imara is indicated by Ibn Saʿid's passage, one thing is certain, al-Ikhshid reused or built himself a *manzara* above the gateway in the tradition of the Tulunids. Ahmad b. Tulun had at least two such structures.²¹⁸ The first he built above the triple arched ceremonial

²¹⁵ For a survey of the architecture of the Tulunids and the approximate locations of their structures see Swelim, "The Mosque of Ibn Tulūn: A New Perspective," 56-63.

²¹⁶ Al-Balawi, *Sīrat Ahmad Ibn Tulūn*, 55. Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 121.

²¹⁷ Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4: 122.

²¹⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, 1: 315-16; al-Balawi, *Sīrat*, 55, 56.

gateway, Bab al-Sala (al-Siba^c) that lead to the main thoroughfare called al-Shari^c al-A^czam and from there to the Dar al-Imara at the back (qibli) of the mosque of Ibn Tulun. It was where he sat on the night of the feast to watch his soldiers preparing for the parade. From it, according to al-Balawi, he had a view of al-Qata'i^c, the city gates and the Nile. Noteworthy here is that al-Balawi in his account dated to the second third of the 4th / 10th century does not use the term *manzara* to describe this structure which obviously functioned as one. He calls it *majlis*.

The second *majlis* of Ibn Tulun was also located above a gateway on the opposite side of Bab al-Siba^c (possibly called Bab al-Sawalija), through which the soldiers entered on the day of the military review and the people entered on the day of *ṣadaqa/masākīn* (the distribution of alms) exiting on the opposite side through Bab al-Sala.²¹⁹

The Baghdad Connection

It is not only al-Balawi, however, who calls these gateway structures *majlis*. Both al-Khatib al-Baghdadi and al-Ya^cqubi describe the four *majlis* above the four gateways of Baghdad.²²⁰ They were built on top of vaulted and arcaded tunnels (*dihlīz āzij ma'qūd*) measuring 20 dhira^c in length and 12 in width. Access to these *majālīs* was via a stairway on the roof, according to al-Khatib, while al-Ya^cqubi says they were reached on horseback, which indicates a ramp.

Both chroniclers agree that all *majlises* were domed; al-Ya^cqubi adds that they were gilt domes. Al-Khatib gives their height as 50 dhira^c. Al-Mansur occupied each dome (*qubba*) depending on what he wanted to see that day.²²¹ If he wanted to see the water and whoever arrived through the Gate of Khurasan, he would sit in the *majlis* of the *qubba* above that

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ The accounts of al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī and al-Ya'qūbī complement each other. Compare al-Baḡhdādī, *Tārīkh Baḡhdād*, 1: 74-76 and al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, 3: 109.

²²¹ Al-Baḡhdādī, *Tārīkh Baḡhdād*, 1: 75-6.

entrance. The *qubba* above Bab al-Sham was al-Mansur's *majlis* if he wanted to look at the *ribāds* (farms) and what was behind them. The *qubba* above Bab al-Basra was his *majlis* if he wanted to see al-Karkh while the *qubba* above Bab al-Kufa was his *majlis* if he wanted to see the gardens and estates. The *majlis* of Ibn Tulun had an additional function: he watched the feast ceremonies and the military parades from them. This function continued into the rule of al-Ikhshid who this time watched from a *manzara* instead of a *majlis*. I have no doubt that it was the same structure, the *majlis*, that had by that time either acquired the new term *manzara*, or was called such in retrospect by the Maghribi chronicler and traveler Ibn Sa'id.

The freestanding *manzara* can also be traced to the reign of al-Ikhshid. According to al-Kindi, Kafur al-Ikhshid used to ride out on Fridays, Sundays and Tuesdays to the square (*maydān*) and the garden (*bustan*).²²² It was on one of these Tuesday outings that Kafur died in 357/967-8, upon which those in his service (*ghulmān*) and the soldiers rode out to the *manzara* destroying Kafur's Bustan, stealing the mounts and demanding the allegiance (*bay'at*) money.²²³

Although the garden al-Kindi was referring to was called Bustan Kafur, it was created by the Amir Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Tughj al-Ikhshid himself as well as the neighboring maydan where he kept horses. It stands to reason that he too built the *manzara* there in particular as he is on several occasions reported to have come and gone from his *bustan* and to have on one occasion even stayed there.²²⁴

Our earliest *manzaras* in Egypt that were straightforwardly called a *manzara* were thus dated to the Ikhshidid period and numbered two: the first of the gateway type; the other of the freestanding 'dar' type. Where the gateway type is concerned, however, it definitely had a

²²² Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 2: 25.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

predecessor in the earlier Tulunid period, the so-called *majlis*, that could be traced at least to the construction of Baghdad and the days of al-Mansur. The intrusion of the term *manzara* occurred at some point, I propose here in Egypt, exactly in the manner that same term intruded upon the Qarafa structures that used to be known first as *jawsaqs*, in the truly 'Samarra' manner, and then as *qasrs*, and finally as *manzaras*.

Even the second, freestanding type had its predecessors in Egypt though also not called *manzaras*, namely, Qubbat al-Hawa (the Dome of the Winds) and the al-Dikka (the Pedestal). The latter was built by Khumarawayh, son of Ahmad b. Tulun, and was also a domed structure located in his palace which gave him a view of all the interior of his palace including his gardens, the desert, the Nile, the mountain and all the city.²²⁵ For its occupant to have had a view of all these directions it must have been open on all sides. The fact that he is also said to have made covers (*sutur*) to protect from the heat and the cold, that could be pulled down or lifted at will, also indicates an open structure. Its legendary height, however, seems to indicate an immense substructure. This was not as uncommon as it may appear because Ahmad b. Tulun had previously built a high platform-like structure also named al-Dikka, where he had carried out a series of executions in which the offenders were thrown from above to meet their death below. One cannot exclude the possibility of the roof as a substructure, however, which would mean that it was not standing quite free after all.

As for the better known Qubbat al-Hawa, it was an 'Abbasid structure dated by Maqrizi to before 195/810, i.e., it predated the advent of Ahmad Ibn Tulun by 58 years, and lasted until it was destroyed together with al-Qata'i in 292/904-5.²²⁶ It too was placed on a high spot, the Muqattam Mountain, at the site of the later Ayyubid Citadel. Ahmad b. Tulun frequently sat in

²²⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 317.

²²⁶ Ibid., 2: 202.

that qubba as it overlooked his maydan and qasr below. He had different types of covers made for the various seasons. It is said to have been the prototype for Khumarawayh's al-Dikka.

There is no doubt that Baghdad with its many rivers and gardens had a waterfront type of architecture that we can identify with our freestanding *manzara*. Ibn Jubayr is our major source on those though there probably are others. Writing in the reign of Salah al-Din (he was in Baghdad in 1184) he describes the Baghdad of his time. In this account of his visit to Baghdad he often mentions the ^cAbbasid caliph and his *manzaras*. Both types of *manzaras* are found in his narrative. Like the Fatimids, the Abbasids also had *manzaras* that were part of the royal palace and that overlooked a square. According to Ibn Jubayr, it was where the caliph, his mother and other women of the palace sat to listen to a famous preacher below who was allowed inside the *sāḥa* (square) of the palace at Bab Badr every Thursday along with the populace expressly to grant the palace people the opportunity to hear him.²²⁷ The ^cAbbasid Caliphs also had freestanding waterfront *manzaras*. Ibn Jubayr saw the caliph exiting such a *manzara* on the western river shore where he then climbed into a boat heading for his palaces on the eastern shore.²²⁸ Wiet also tells us that the caliph al-Muti^c built a number of pavilions that had names such as, the Peacock Pavilion, the Octagonal Pavilion and the Square Pavilion.²²⁹ Alas he does not state his source so that we cannot know if the word used here was *manzara* or not. However, there was a *manzara* in Baghdad called Manzarat al-Rayhaniyyin that was built in 507/1113-14.²³⁰ As Suq al-Rayhaniyyin (the Perfumer's Market) was the market built in 1075. "Even with

²²⁷ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, 198.

²²⁸ Ibid., 203.

²²⁹ Wiet, *Baghdad Metropolis of the Abbasid Caliphate*, 93. Despite the picturesque descriptions in the book, not one single one is footnoted which renders it difficult to use in any scholarly fashion.

²³⁰ Al-Zubaidī, *Tāj al-^cArūs*, 3:576.

Bab Badr, on both sides of the wall surrounding the caliph's palaces," this must also have been where the *manzara* stood.²³¹

It is clear that the *manzara* was in no way particular to Egypt. There were *manzaras* in Baghdad at the same time as in Egypt and with exactly the same royal, caliphal connotation. In fact, pending further research into the geographic spread of the *manzara* in the Islamic world and taking into account that the western angle has not here been explored, there is a great possibility that the *manzara* originated in Baghdad and Samarra, was carried to Egypt via Ibn Tulun and reached full bloom under the Fatimids.

²³¹ Wiet, *Baghdad*, 122.

Conclusion

This study has not only surveyed the *manzaras* in the Fatimid period in Egypt focusing on their function and as much of their form as could be gleaned from the sources, it has also reached the important conclusion that there was no single structure called a *manzara*. In tracing the philology of the term, there were, in fact, three types that meant the same thing: a watchtower form that also carried the term *marqaba*, a unit that was part of a larger structure and a freestanding building. Yet the different types shared certain characteristics that identified them as *manzaras*. They were all superstructures either built on top of and as part of another, larger structure (the substructure was, for example, an underground passage, a *saqifa*, a gateway, a roof; or it was simply a upper floor unit); or, they stood free built above a high base (marble columns was one example, a stone base another). Their primary function was to provide a view on the outside. Therefore, they were not closed structures but open to the outside via *taqas*. This open front concealed a hall behind it that was as deep as the vault, for example, it topped. Due to this externalization, geographic dispersion, as seen on the maps, sees them clustered around open areas such as lakes (the *manzaras* of the three lakes south of al-Fustat, the *manazir* al-Fil and *manazir* al-Kabsh), the Nile and the khaliq shores, open squares and *rahbas*, and even the desert in the Qarafa area. Their occupancy was temporary and, when not related to certain specific functions, of a recreational nature. Although at first they were directly tied to the caliph, they were soon built at the sub-royal level by wazirs, followed by amirs in post Fatimid periods, to finally local wealthy and powerful dignitaries.

The Ayyubid and Mamluk periods saw the continuation of the *manzara* as a status symbol. In the Bahri Mamluk period it is recorded as an upper level unit that probably later acquired the name *qasr*. Residences with views were still called *manzaras* until the incorporation of the

manzara into the Ottoman residence, one of several other types of components of which the *maq'ad*, for example, was one.

Although it is difficult to trace the first appearance of the *manzara* in Egypt, evidence has proved that it did not come with the Fatimids. By linking it to an earlier similar development in Baghdad it is possible to advance the hypothesis that it came to Egypt with Ahmad Ibn Tulun.²³²

²³² Although the western Islamic word of Spain and the Maghrib needs to be studied in relation to the *manzara* and should form a topic for further research.

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APPENDIX 1

Fatimid Dynasty

ʿUbayd Allah (al-Mahdī), 297-322/909-34.

Al-Qā'im, 322-34/934-46.

Al-Manṣūr, 334-41/946-53.

Al-Muʿizz, 341-65/953-75.

Al-ʿAzīz, 365-86/975-96.

Al-Hākīm, 386-411/996-1021.

Al-Zāhir, 411-27/1021-36.

Al-Mustanṣir, 427-87/1036-94.

Al-Mustaʿli, 487-95/1094-1101.

Al-Āmir, 495-525/1101-30.

Al-Hāfiz, 525-44/1130-49.

Al-Zāfir, 544-9/1149-54.

Al-Fā'iz, 549-55/1154-60.

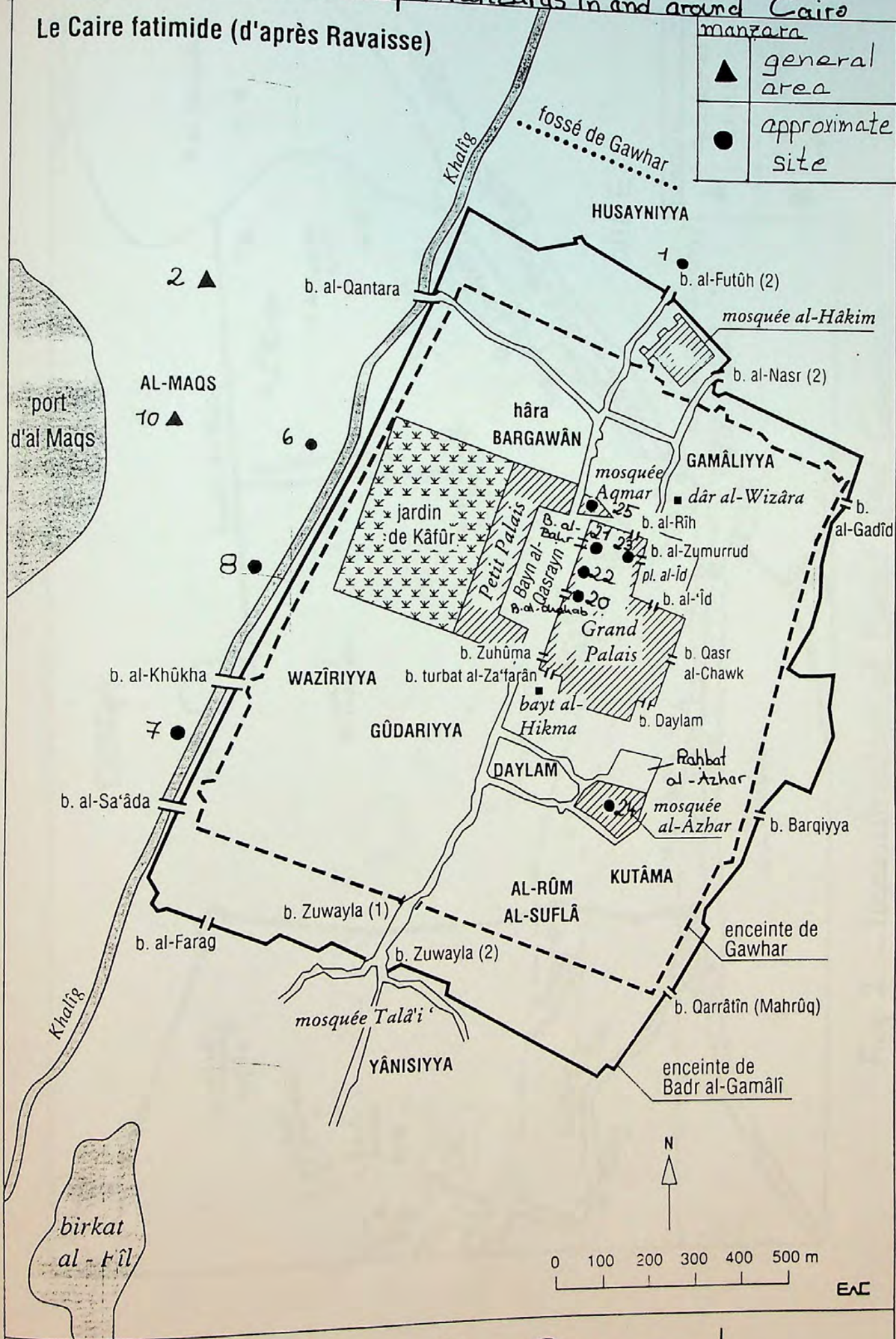
Al-ʿAdid, 555-67/1160-71.

APPENDIX 2

NO.	NAME OF MANZARA	DATE	NAME OF RULER	NAME OF PATRON
1	Manzarat Bāb al-Futūḥ	c. 487-500/1094-1106	Fatimid Caliph: Al-Amir	
2	Manzarat al-Maqs	c. 386-411/996-1021	Al-Hākim	
3	Manzarat al-Ṣinā'a	c. 515-519/1121-1125	Al-Āmir	Ibn al-Ma'mūn
4	Manzarat Dār al-Mulk	501/1107	Al-Āmir	Al-Afdal Shahinshah
5	Manzarat Manāzil al-ʿIzz	c. 366 / 976	Al-ʿAzīz	Taghrid, mother of Al-ʿAzīz
6	Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a	c. 365-386/975-96	Al-ʿAzīz	
7	Manzarat Dār al-Dhahab	c. 495-515/1101-21	Al-Āmir	Al-Afdal Shahinshah
8	Manzarat al-Ghazāla	Late 11th early 12th century	Not known	
9	Manzarat al-Sukkara	c. 365-386/975-96	Al-ʿAzīz	
10	Manzarat al-Dikka	Not known	Not known	
11	Manzarat Bahr Abu 'l-Munajja	c. 515-519/1121-1125	Al-Āmir	Ibn al-Ma'mūn
12	Manzaras of Birkat al-Ḥabash (2): Manzarat Tinnīs	c. 365-386/975-96	Al-ʿAzīz	Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz
13	Manzarat Bi'r Dikkat al-Khirkāh	c. 495-525/1101-30	Al-Āmir	
14	Manzarat Bustān al-Ma'shūq	before 672/1273-4	Mamluk Sultan: al-Zahir Baybars	Al-Ṣāhib Taj al-Dīn Muhammad b. Hanna
15	Manzarat Badr al-Dīn al-Sinjarī	c. 637-47/1240-9	Ayyubid Sultan: al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb	
16	Manzarat al-Mukhlis al-Muaqqa'		al-Malik al-Kāmil / al-ʿAdil	
17	Manzarat al-Afram	663/1264-5	Al-Zahir Baybars	ʿIzz al-Din Aybak al-Afram
18	Manzarat Qasr al-Qarāfa	c. 366/976	Fatimid Caliph: al-ʿAzīz	Taghrid, mother of Al-ʿAzīz
19	Manzarat Masjid al-Itfih	c. 487-95/ 1094-1101	Al-Musta'li	Al-Afdal Shahinshah
20	The Great Eastern Palace Manzaras: Manzarat Bāb al-Dhahab	c.359/969-70	Al-Mu'izz	Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī
21	Manzarat Bāb al-Bahr	c. 386-394/996-1004	Al-Hākim	
22	Manzara b/w Bāb al-Dhahab and Bāb al-Bahr	c. 515-519/1121-1125	Al-Āmir	Al-Ma'mūn
23	Manzarat Bāb al-Zumurrud	c. 359/969-70	Al-Mu'izz	Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī
24	Manzarat Jami' al-Azhar	359/969-70	Al-Mu'izz	Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī
25	Manzarat Jami' al-Aqmar	519/1125	Al-Āmir	
26	Manzarat Jami' Amr	568/1172-3	Ayyubid Sultan: al-Nasir Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn	
27	Manzaras of Masjid al-Sāliḥ	c. 549-556/1154-61	Fatimid: Al-Fā'iz / Al-ʿAdid	Al-Ṣāliḥ Tafa' b. Razik Al-Afdal Shahinshah
28	The Five Manzaras of al-Afdal: Manzarat al-Bustān al-Kabir	c. 487-515/1094-1121		
29	Manzarat al-Ba'i			
30	Manzarat al-Tāj			
31	Manzarat Qubbat al-Hawa			
32	Manzarat al-Khams Wujūh			
33	Manazir Harat al-Bayāzira	495-525/1101-30	Al-Āmir	Zimām al-qasr M. al-Ṣaqlabī
34	Manzarat Mukhtār al-Ṣaqlabī	495-525/1101-30	Al-Āmir	Ayyubid & Mamluk Amirs
35	Manazir al-Kabsh	beg. 637-47/1240-9	Ayyubid & Mamluk Sultans	Mamluk Amirs
36	Manazir Birkat al-Fil	beg. 648/1250	Mamluk Sultans	
37	Other Ayyubid Manzaras: Manzarat Bustān al-ʿAlma	c. 637-47/1240-9		al-ʿAlma
38	Manzarat al-Faḥīḥ Naṣr al-Dīn			al-Faḥīḥ Naṣr al-Dīn
39	Manzarat al-Dufayda'a			al-Dufaydī
40	Manzarat al-Amīr ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydumur al-Ṣāliḥī			Aydumur al-Ṣāliḥī
41	al-Manzara al-Barābikiyya	857-865/1453-1461	Mamluk sultan: al-Ashraf Ināl	

Fig. 1. - Placement of manzaras in and around Cairo

Le Caire fatimide (d'après Ravaisse)



Fatimid Cairo after Raymond

manzara

▲	general area
●	approximate site

Région de Fustât et du Caire
(d'après Ravaisse)

Birkat al-Hâg
(étang des pèlerins)
Gubb

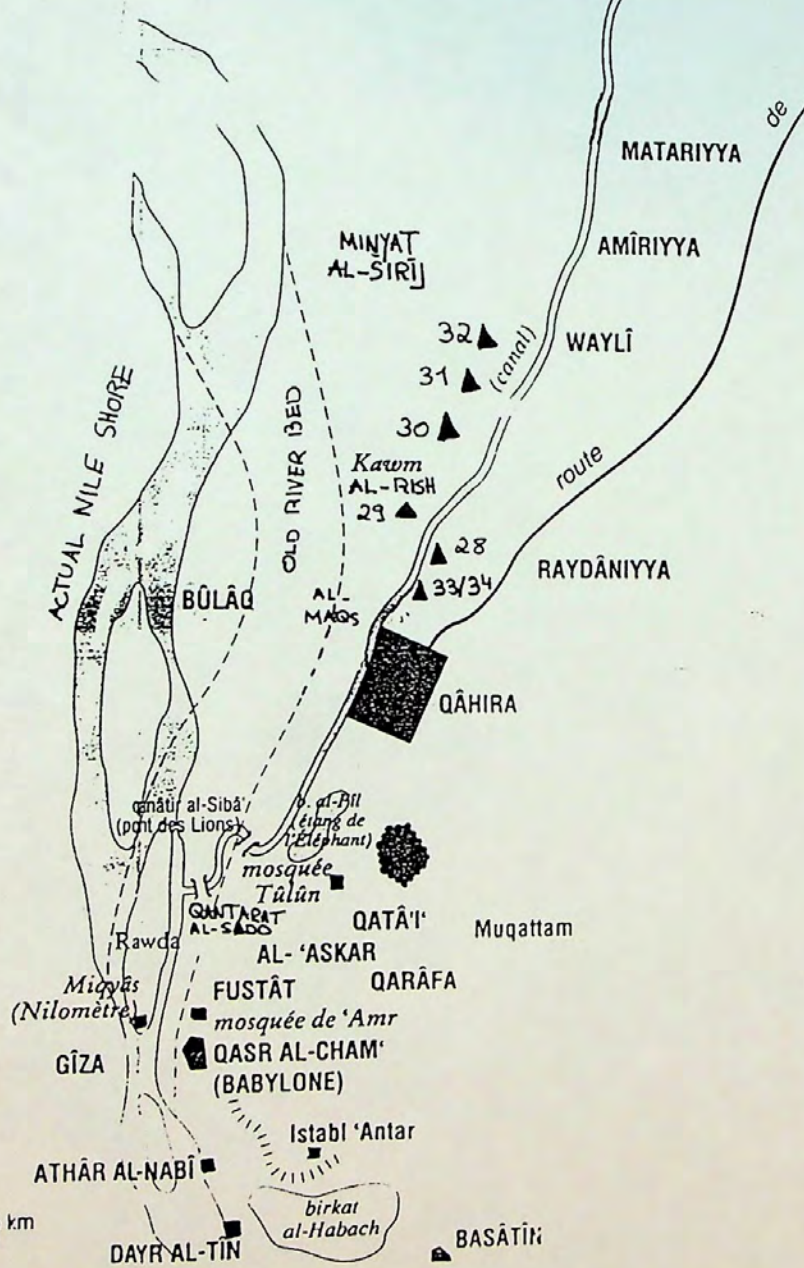


FIG. 3. Northern manzaras (map
after Raymond)

Fig. 4 - Suggested location of Manzaret el-Dukero



THE CITY OF CHICAGO, ILL. - 1900

174,000

174,000

174,000

174,000



174,000

