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THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT
OF THE AZBAKIYYA
PERIMETER

MAGDY ALBERT

2000

Thesis
2000/29

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

ARABIC STUDIES DEPARTMENT

***THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF
THE AZBAKIYYA PERIMETER:
FROM AZBAK TO ABBAS II***

FALL: 99

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF:

PROF.DR. GEORGE SCANLON

BY:Magdy Albert

2000/29

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE AZBAKIYYA PERIMETER:
FROM AZBAK TO ABBAS II

A THESIS SUBMITTED BY MAGDY ALBERT HANNA

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC STUDIES

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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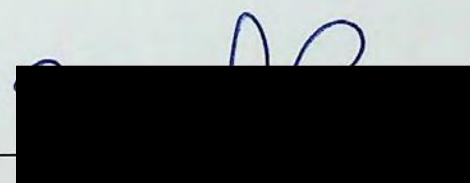
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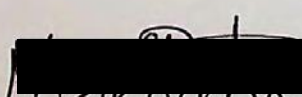


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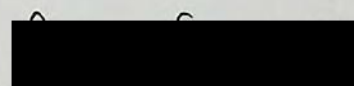


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There are of course many to thank since this program has demanded much of not only myself but also of all those around me.

First I would like to thank Dr. George Scanlon in appreciation and gratitude, for his diligent guidance, comments and encouragement throughout the work on this thesis and the preceding studies. I am most grateful to Dr. Bernard O' Kane for his contribution to my education in Ireland and architecture; his vivid lectures were most stimulating and joyful.

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WILLIAM AND JEANNE

I am also grateful to the University of Toronto Libraries for their assistance and proving extremely flexible in accommodating my special requests.

TO MY PARENTS AND MY OL

I wish to thank my father who supported me during this period, and my mother to whom I am very indebted for sharing with me very long nights of preparing presentations and even writing papers with me, and making tables and summarizing. I am also grateful to my brother Carol for his proof reading of many of my papers during the study.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, for her understanding and support, and my son Rupert whose presence in my life is a genuine encouragement.

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PREFACE

I have followed the guidelines set by the general notes on writing and presentation of thesis of the department of Arabic Studies of the American University in Cairo.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DAWS: Dar al-Watha'iq al-Misriyya.

DAW-IS: Dar al-Watha'iq, Isma'il's period.

DAW-MPW: Dar al-Watha'iq, Ministry of Public Works.

A.M.: 'Ali Mubarak.

D.E. : Description d'Egypte.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF AZBAKIYYA

AZBAKIYYA AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE GROWTH OF CAIRO

The city of Cairo was founded in 969 AD by the Fatimids. At that time, the fourth Fatimid Caliph, al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah, decided to build a new city during the 10th century, to replace the old city of Fustat. After al-Mu'izz's death, the building of the city was continued by his son, al-Aziz li-Din Allah, who moved the capital to the new city, which was named al-Qahira (Cairo). The city was built on the eastern bank of the Nile, and it was the first time that a city was built on the eastern bank of the Nile.

CHAPTER ONE

Capital, with all its administrative and military functions. The city of Qahira was the administrative capital of the city and was surrounded by a wall. The city was built on the eastern bank of the Nile, and it was the first time that a city was built on the eastern bank of the Nile.

By the end of the eleventh century, markets and administrative functions moved within the city of al-Qahira. This shift was due to several factors, chief among them being the great plague of 1193 AD and the earthquake of 1193 AD.

During the reign of Saladin, the city of al-Qahira was expanded to popular villages, which were the main source of food for the city. The city was built on the eastern bank of the Nile, and it was the first time that a city was built on the eastern bank of the Nile.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF AZBAKIYYA

A-AZBAKIYYA AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE GROWTH OF CAIRO:

The city of Cairo was founded in 969 A.D, by al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah, the fourth Fatimid Caliph. Studying a map of Cairo during the eleventh century, one can identify two different cities: *Misr al-Fustat*, the residence of the ordinary population, and *Misr al-Qahira* the royal residence, and the Caliphal capital. While *al-Fustat* was the commercial capital, with all industrial activities that usually go with this function, *Misr al-Qahira* was the segregated capital endowed with gardens and palaces (Fig: 1).

By the end of the eleventh century, markets and commercial activities evolved within the city of *al-Qahira*; this shift was due to several factors, chief among them being the great plague of 1063 A.D, and the earthquake of 1183 AD.

During the reign of Salah al-Din the princely city of *al-Qahira* was opened to popular settlement, which was the main factor that helped *al-Qahira* to develop in several directions (Fig: 2).

a – The Northern Extension:

(i) Matariyya and 'Ain Shams:

The two villages of Matariyya and 'Ain Shams, in the Northern extension of Cairo, exhibited an increase in population. This area was on the caravan road to Sinai, and was famous as the terminus site of the flight of the Holy family. A branch of the *Khalig al-Misri* called *al-Za'ffaran* served the area, as did the road from *al-Fustat* to Matariyya. Thus, one of the main streets in Cairo during that period also reached this area.¹

(ii) Husayniyya and Raydaniyya:

Husayniyya is the area immediately north of *Bab al-Futouh* and *Bab al-Nasr*. Al-Maqrizi distinguished two districts within Husayniyya: from *Bab al-Nasr* to Raydaniyya (today Abassiyya), and from *Bab al-Futouh* to the village of *al-Khandak* (today *al-Dimirdash*). Badr al-Gamali had constructed a road between *al-Fustat* and 'Ain Shams and ordered gardens between Husayniyya and Matariyya.²

During the Ayyubid dynasty a hippodrome with belvederes as well as a *khan* (inn) for travelers named *khan al-Sabil* were erected in Husayniyya. Markets for wood and poultry were also established there.

¹ Abouseif, 1981, 157-189.

² Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 480.

The development of this area during the reign of al-Zahir Baybars was completed by the construction of his mosque (1269 AD).

It was al-Nasir Muhammad who was the first to order bridges to be built to connect Husayniyya to Kom al-Rish and Tabbala on the western side of *al-Khalij al-Misri*. During the

Ottoman period, Husayniyya became an important quarter as the site of the main slaughterhouse of Cairo. Maps left by the

French Expedition in the *Description d'Egypte* mark a pond called

"Birkat al-Dam" (Pond of Blood), perhaps because of the blood spilled there from the slaughterhouse³.

b- The Southern Extention:

During the reign of Salah al-Din, a development took place outside Bab Zuwayla; parks and gardens were planted, which offered a basis for further extension and development. As the government was now housed at the Citadel, this Southern area witnessed a great evolution, especially during the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad whose amirs built their palaces on the shores of Birkat al-Fil.

In the first decades of the sixteenth century the area demonstrated a

³ Abouseif, 1985, 7.

remarkable evolution. The most important urban event was the transfer of the tanneries from their former site between Bab Zuwayla and Birkat al-Fil to a new location in the Bab al-Luq area. The vacated area became an aristocratic district, the residence of an "elite". The tanneries were moved again by Khedive Isma'il in 1866 AD to their present location south of the Sayeda Zaynab district.

c-The Western Extension:

Before the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (1312-1348 A.D), the western area was a marshland or a place for hunting and/or practicing other sports. This was due to the annual flood that was not yet controlled, and which made the area only seasonally usable. The Nile recession exposed Jazirat al-Fil (Isle of the elephant) and other islands. In 1313 AD al-Nasir began to encourage settlement in the area west of the canal. Bulaq, Jazirat al-Fil, and al-Luq (the area known today as Bab al-Luq) began to fill with farms and palaces.

In 1325 AD, al-Nasir dug a canal parallel to the old al-Khalig al-Misri and encouraged settlements to be built on both sides of his canal. Within a short time, the area between "Birkat al-Ratli" in the North and "al-Luq" in the south, was filled with palaces, mosques, housing, and

markets.⁴ The excavation of Birkat al-Nasiri, south of al-Luq, was yet another public work of al-Nasir Mohammed, which enhanced urban development; as did the establishment of a checkpoint on the main road between Cairo and *al-Fustat* (Fig: 4).

The first two decades of the fifteenth century was a period of decline in both the economic and social life of the area. When Barsbay took over (1422 AD), the city witnessed an economic revival and the western area, which had been abandoned, began again to be developed. Palaces, gardens, and markets were rebuilt and reestablished during this period. It was during the last half of the fifteenth century that two developments of Cairo took place: the first was the port of Bulaq built by Barsbay in 1425 AD⁵; which may not be considered as a real development of the city proper since from 1425 up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bulaq was separated from Cairo by agricultural land. The second development was the district of Azbakiyya (Fig: 5).

B- AZBAKIYYA - THE POND:

Natural ponds in Cairo were mainly depressions in the soil filled by water during the Nile flood. There were also artificial ponds made by

⁴ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 145.

⁵ For more details concerning Bulaq see Hanna, N., *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo, 1983).

members of the ruling class. During the Mamluk period, several natural ponds were visible in Cairo. Al-Maqrizi mentioned about ten ponds⁶ (Fig: 4), namely:

- Birkat Qarun, near the mosque of Ibn Tulun,
- Birkat al-Sabba'in , between Fustat and Cairo,
- Birkat al- Habash , south of al-Fustat ,
- Birkat al-Nasiriyya, south of Bab al-Luq ,
- Birkat al-Suqaf at Bab al-Luq,
- Birkat Jamaq, north of Bab al-Futuh ,
- Birkat al-Ratli , north of Bab al-Shari'a,
- Birkat Qaraga, in the northern suburb of al-Khandaq,
- Birkat al-Fil,
- Birkat Qarmut, southwest of al-Maqs.

The history of al-Azbakiyya pond begins in 1020 AD, when the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir built a palace called *Al-Lu'lu'a* (the pearl), and ordered a pond to be dug fronting it. The pond was known as *Birkat Batn al-Baqara* (Fig: 6). During al-Mustansir's reign (A.D.1036-94) the pond

⁶ Abouseif, D. 1985,p.p 6-7

was neglected; in 1110 al-'Amir redug it. After the end of the Fatimid dynasty, this pond was filled in and the site was abandoned up to 1460 AD, when Azbak decided to make his own palace on the ruins of the old Fatimid one.

Azbak was a mamluk of the Sultan Barsbay and later a mamluk of Sultan Jaqmaq. On his marriage to the daughter of Jaqmaq, he was appointed Major Chamberlain. Soon after, he assumed the position of the Governor of Syria and later became the *atabeg* to the Sultan Qaytbay. Having led a strenuous military life, which we will study further in some detail and to which he owed all his fortune, he decided to lay out a new district in Cairo, later named after him; Azbakiyya (Fig: 7).

C-AZBAKIYYA: THE DISTRICT

a- During the Fatimid period:

The Khalig (canal) *al-Misri* divided the area east of the Nile. On the western shore of the Khalig belvederes and gardens were built. The street parallel to the Fatimid wall of Cairo had a view of these belveders and gardens. After Salah al-Din had built the new walls, this street became known as *Bayn al-Surayn* (Fig: 23).

There was a *Manzara* called *al-Lu'Lu'a* palace or *Manzarat al-Lu'Lu'a* on the khalig near *Bab al-Qantarah*. It was a very large palace and most lavishly decorated. It was also a renowned recreational area. Its eastern side enjoyed a wonderful site on *Bustan al-Kafuri*, and its western side on the *Khalig*. The western side of the *Khalig* had glorious gardens and a pond known as *Batn al-Baqara*. The Caliph sitting in *Manzarat al-Lu'Lu'a* could see all the "Tabalah" land and all *al-Luq* land (Fig: 6); he could also see the Nile behind the gardens.

The area of our study was agricultural land and gardens, and the palaces within the latter were not permanent residences. The pond of *Batn al-Baqara* established by al-Zahir was designed as an element of

landscape to complete the perfect "tableau" of the land surrounding the palace.

Other residential palaces were mentioned by al-Maqrizi: *Manzarat al-Ghazala* and *Manzarat al-Sukara* and many others, which we will study further in more detail.⁷

Al-Maqrizi further mentioned two smaller residences⁸: *Dar al-Fulk* and *Dar al-Zahab*. A *Wazir* of al-Hakim built the first, and al-Afdal Ibn Amir al-Guyush built the other. The two houses were later known as *Dar al-Zahab*. Later this house was used as a residence for the Sultan's *Wazir* when the Sultan visited *al-Lu'Lu'a* palace. Attached to this *Dar* was a *hammam* named *hammam al-Zahab*.⁹

b- During the Ayyubid period:

During the Ayyubid dynasty our area contained agricultural land and gardens. Al-Maqrizi mentioned a mosque in the area named *Masjid al-Kafuri*, built in 516 H / 1122 A D by al-Ma'mun Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad. The mosque was later known as the *Masjid al-Mustafa*; it was located in the area known as *Bustan al-Kafuri*, which was now a part

⁷ Ibid, 1: 468.

⁸ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1: 470.

⁹ Ibid, 2: 83-410

of a very large agricultural land and garden called *Bustan al-Zahri* (Fig: 6). The Ayyubid walls, erected in 1180 A.D made that area a part of the city of *al-Qahira*; in fact, this was its western extension.

c- During the Mamluk period:

During the very early Mamluk period there was practically no change in the uses of land of the area under study. It was during the reign of the Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalaun (1293-1341 A.D) that the area known as *Bustan al-Kafuri* witnessed a great development and many important projects were implemented. Chief among those was the Nasiri Canal which started from the *Khalig al-Misri*, near *Birkat al-Ratli*, followed a path parallel to the old *Khalig al-Misri*, and ended at the Nile near *al-Rawda* island¹⁰ (Fig 5). What encouraged al-Nasir to dig this canal was the shift of the Nile to the west, which took place at the end of the thirteenth century (Fig 8).

The area, later known as Azbakiyya, was delineated during the Mamluk dynasty by *al-Khalig al-Misri* on the East, *al-Khalig al-Nasiri* on the west and the district of *al-Maqs* on the North. To the south, the area was not clearly defined, even though we may consider its Southern

¹⁰ For further details concerning the Rawda island refer to : Sabri, M.A thesis(1994)

border as on a line parallel to the northern Ayyubid wall. This immense area formed a very important part of the Mamluk extension of Cairo (Fig 3).

It was not before Qaytbay that the area was named Azbakiyya after the *Amir* Azbak al-Tatah¹¹. In 852H/1457A.D, the Sultan Jaqmaq made Azbak a "Commander of Ten". Two years later, Azbak married the Sultan's daughter¹². After the death of his wife, Azbak was put in jail in Alexandria; this was due to his power, which made it possible for him to overthrow the Sultan himself¹³. He fled to Syria for five years only to come back to Egypt when al-Zahir Khushqadam came to power. The new Sultan appointed him as a "Commander of a Thousand". During the reign of al Zahir Khushqadam, he was sent to Aleppo, in Syria to quench the revolt by the local Governor of Aleppo. Azbak succeeded in his mission, and came back to Cairo in 1474 AD. After some revolts by the Zahirian amirs, the Sultan ordered some commanders to be put in prison, Azbak being one of those Amirs. Two days later as the Sultan found that Azbak was the only person who could control the rebellion; he was obliged to set him free¹⁴. Having succeeded in stopping the revolts, he was

¹¹ Ibn Iyas, *Badai'*, 2: 277.

¹² *Ibid*, 2: 310.

¹³ Ibn Iyas, *Badai'*, 2 : 381.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 2: 412.

appointed *Hagib al-Huggab*¹⁵. Soon after that he became the Atabeg al-
'Asakir¹⁶.

After the death of his wife, the daughter of the Sultan Jaqmaq, he married her sister¹⁷. He was sent to *al-'Aqaba* to stop the revolts by its local Governor, and did not return until he secured their loyalty to the Sultan¹⁸. He remained the Governor of Syria until 1479 AD¹⁹. After that, he returned to Egypt and retook the position of *Atabeg al-'Asakir*²⁰.

Azbak used to go with the Sultan to watch the celebration of the feast of the Nile and assist in the opening of the dam²¹. It was in 1488A.D that Azbak began building Azbakiyya.

Describing Azbakiyya at that time, Ibn Iyas said that:

"This piece of land was deserted. There was nothing there but hills of rubbish; old trees were in random distribution. Several mausoleums, e.g. Sidi 'Antar and Sidi Wazir and many others dotted the area. There was also a mosque named al-Gaki. Part of Azbakiyya was also used as agriculture land."

Azbak cleaned the area; to do that, he hired a huge number of workers. He built many palaces with "qa'as" (foyer) and "maq'ads" and gardens. Azbak also dug the pond later known as "Birkat al Azbakiyya". After finishing all this architecture and its landscaping, he renewed the "Qantarah" of "Khalig al-Zakar".²² (Fig: 6)

¹⁵ Ibid, 2: 417.

¹⁶ Ibid, 2: 429.

¹⁷ Ibid, 2: 441.

¹⁸ Ibid, 2: 451.

¹⁹ Ibid, 2: 461.

²⁰ Ibid, 2: 318.

²¹ Ibid, 3: 63, 76, 97, 108, 120.

²² This was a branch of the Khalig al-Nasiri; it will be studied further in detail.

The new area attracted rich merchants of the time, as well as the elite of society, who erected very elegant palaces built especially on the northeastern shore of the pond.²³

A mosque was built there, with a very tall and perfectly decorated minaret. Named al-Ruway'ī mosque (plate 46), it was a fine example of late Mamluk architecture. Around the mosque, *rab's*, *hammams*, palaces, shops and bakeries were built²⁴. Every year Azbak used to celebrate the *mawlid* of the Prophet Muhammad making a big festival. Tents were erected around the pond and for three days people used to eat and drink at no cost.²⁵

d- During the Ottoman Period:

*"It seems to me that the city of Cairo did not reflect any important modification from the urban point of view during the Ottoman occupation of Egypt, from 1517 up till the middle of the nineteenth century."*²⁶

In fact, most sources neglect this period with respect to urban changes and/or the architectural styles. The Mamluks did not die with the Ottoman occupation of Cairo, but lived on as the powerful "Lords" of a

²³ Ibn Iyas, Badai', 117.

²⁴ Ibid, 118.

²⁵ Ibid, Badai', 118-9.

²⁶ Zaki, 1969, 471.

now provincial city under the Ottoman Sultans. They played a great role in trade thus affecting the Egyptian economy. An Ottoman Pasha, appointed by the Sultan in Istanbul to whom he was supposed to be loyal, headed the political regime of Egypt. Although Ottoman administration reduced Cairo to the level of a provincial city, it continued to be rich and important especially because it was Egyptian wheat that fed the citizens of Istanbul.²⁷

The disputes of the Pashas and the Mamluks and Janisseries infected popular feeling, which was always ready to rise up heatedly on any issue which affected their lives. The city was in fact divided for many years into two main factions-the Fikarites and Kassimites-which seem to have played an inexplicable but leading role in many of the internal conflicts of Cairo. It was originally a division deliberately created by the conqueror Selim out of a jousting match between the Mamluks of Egypt (Kassimites) and the Turkish Janisseries (Fikarites). Somehow, Selim found a split in the artisans of the city, who were divided into Sadites and Hamarites. With considerable skill he managed to combine the two splits into one so that half the artisans found themselves supporting the Mamluk Kassimites, and the other half the

²⁷ Raymond, 1998, 8-13.

Ottoman Fikarites. Thus, this identity of rivalries often found the artisans caught up in disputes between Mamluks and Janissaries that really had nothing to do with them.²⁸

This situation caused disputes and battles, which affected the whole city. Though the intellectual life in Cairo was not as rich (the number of madrasas and *kuttab*s had markedly decreased) the city was not to be considered as culturally dead.²⁹

One of the very important economic aspects of the Ottoman dynasty was that the Turks still did not use credit, which meant that the merchants used temporary residences until they finished selling their merchandise and then left. It was not before the middle of the eighteenth century that the European credit system was introduced, which allowed the trade of the city to become more stable, and merchants and companies were able to effect permanent residence.

The urban development, as we stated before, was very limited, even though one can see some architectural projects carried out by Mamluk and Ottoman Governors. Azbakiyya was a very important area at this time; it was the residence of an elite of *shaykhs*, rich merchants, and amirs. One of the most famous of the latter was 'Uthman Katkhuda who

²⁸ *ibid*, pp.13-16

²⁹ *ibid*, 73-76.

constructed and restored the mosque carrying his name at Azbakiyya, which was probably near the mosque of Azbak.³⁰ Al-Jabarti's historical and topographical book *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, mentioned Azbakiyya as a place for the *haute bourgeoisie*³¹ (Fig: 9).

³⁰ Al-Jabarti mentioned that Uthman Bey thu'l-Fiqar finding no place in the mosque of Katkhuda, came to pray at the mosque of Azbak. (al-Jabarti, 1: 168).

³¹ The book mentions the following as living in Azbakiyya:

- *Shaykh* Muhammad Alaa' al-Balbi ; the *Shaykh* of al-Azhar.
- Muhammad al-Sharaybi (d.1734A.D), a very famous merchant who had "a house of glory and pride." (Figure: 9) herein.
- Ibn al-Sabongi (d.1758A.D), a very rich man whom built a house at Azbakiyya. *Shaykh* Abdel-Fattah al-Mahruq (d.1744 A.D), a famous *Imam* of the time, also had a house there.
- Muhammad Ibn Husayn al-Husayni al-Adli (d.1749A.D), one of the 'Ulama', used to make his house (at Azbakiyya) a place for the meetings of the 'Ulama'.
- *Shaykh* Hassan Ibn Nur al-Din al-Muqadassi (d.1763 AD), the *Shaykh* of the mosque of al Ruway'i, had a "precious" house on the shore of the Azbakiyya pond"
- *Shaykh* Ahmed al-Sharafi (d.1774A.D) held ceremonies at his house, also built on the shore of the pond.
- Ibrahim Bey Katkhuda and 'Abd al-Rahman Bey Katkhuda (d.1776A.D) who built a garden, a mosque, an office, and a waterwheel on the western shore of the pond of Azbakiyya.
- Radwan Katkhuda (d.1777A.D), a very rich merchant who built himself a "great" house, again on the shore of the pond.
- The *Shaykh* al-Bakry (d.1786A.D) who had a very large palace overlooking the pond.

Azbakiyya contained one of the main squares of the city; popular ceremonies and festivals took place there. Funerals of the ruling class and the elite bourgeoisie were held at the mosque of al-Ruwa'i on the shores of the pond (Plates 6 & 7). Azbakiyya was the place of the meeting of the ministers of the *Divan*, which took place several times at the house of 'Isma'il Katkhuda Pasha at Azbakiyya³² (Plate 8).

There were gardens with several rare types of trees. Due to the pond, Azbakiyya had a very temperate climate.³³ Being the largest pond in Cairo at that time, it provided recreational sailing boats, which made the shores of the pond an amazing place, especially during summer nights. Cafeterias, bars and coffeehouses were erected for the population coming to enjoy this special climate, which made the area a very popular and expensive one at the same time.³⁴ (Plates 10,11,12)

As a major district of Cairo, Azbakiyya had witnessed different

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- Ahmed al-Saket (d.1786A.D), a famous merchant who built himself a "great house" at Azbakiyya, which made the district of his house later to be named after him: *Khat al-Saket*.
 - Isma'il Bey (d.1790A.D), one of the Mamluks of Ibrahim Katkhuda who had a very large house at Azbakiyya.

³² Al-Jabarti, Aga'ib, 1: 179.

³³ These were the main factors that made general Kleber a few years later choose this particular area to make a social and recreational club for the French; an event which will be discussed in some detail when we study the period of the French Expedition in Egypt.

³⁴ Al-Jabarti, Aga'ib, 1: 219.

changes in its urban life. This is very clear in the documents left by the French Expedition, which reported different urban styles to be considered in more detail in the next chapter. The majority of the buildings documented by the French Expedition in Cairo at the end of the eighteenth century, were probably built in the latter half of that century.

A comparison of what had been written by travelers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would confirm the fact that from 1517 to 1700 A.D a very limited change of the urban plan of Cairo had occurred, but a social and economic "uplift" can be detected throughout the succeeding century.

e-During the Period of the French Expedition:

The period of the French Expedition (1798-1801), although not of long duration, represents a major encounter between Egypt and "modern" civilization. It was on July 27, 1798 A.D that Bonaparte entered Cairo. All the *shaykhs* and the members of the government, who had had only a nominal authority during the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods, were there to declare their submission.

The remainder of Murad Bey's army had fled to southern Egypt; the greater part of the country was then completely under the authority of the French army.³⁵ Bonaparte established a "modern" administration,

³⁵ Brehier, *L'Egypte*, 39.

A notable coincidence occurred during the first year of the French Expedition in Egypt: the magnificent anniversary of the beginning of the French Republic (21 September 1789) and the glory of the ceremony of *al-Mawlid al-Nabawi* were celebrated on the same day. A circus was erected in the Azbakiyya square; a hundred and five columns sustained this, each carrying a tricolor flag with the name of one of the French departments, as well as verses from the "Qur'an".

In their attempts to dominate Egypt, the French improved public facilities, especially in Cairo. They laid out new streets and broadened old ones as well as using French plans and Egyptian workmanship. Very good salaries were to be given to the workers.³⁷ What Bonaparte also did in the first few weeks was to set up his *Institut d'Egypte* (Plate 1), through which his hundred savants would begin their great work throwing light on Egypt's past and present. Initially, Bonaparte was more interested in the present than in the past, and the recorded discussions reveal something of the French problems in the city.

The French made the first Egyptian urban survey of the modern era; maps were made of every part of Egypt (Fig: 10). Buildings were numbered and every building had to pay taxes. Storeowners were obliged

³⁷ Al-Jabarti, Aja'ib 33.

which may be considered the first to have been established in Egypt during the modern era. Secondly, the French Governor treated the *shaykhs* and the 'ulama' with real respect, which made very good publicity for the French Expedition. As an experienced Governor, Bonaparte tried to gain the Egyptian people: he prefaced all proclamations addressed to them by the citation: "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet". Bonaparte went further to show the 'ulama' a plan of a very large mosque and to convince them that he had no objection against the conversion of his army to Islam. When Bonaparte had an embarrassing problem concerning wine (neither he nor his army could live without it), the 'ulama' solved this problem for him by declaring that good intentions are as good deeds and certainly make God forgive that "little" sin³⁶. He was aware of all the traditional Egyptian festivals. On the seventeenth of August 1798 A.D, he participated in the festival of the opening of the Nile; an immense population covered the shores of the Nile and the canal to witness the event (Plate 5). Bonaparte gave some notable Egyptians pieces of gold and silver and to the commanders of the Egyptian army he gave thirty-eight caftans. French as well as Arab music was played during the festival.

³⁶ Ibid, 41.

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³⁷ Al-Jabarti, Aja'ib 33.

cemetery of Azbakiyya to have clear ground around his headquarters, but when he knew that this deed might be strongly opposed by the Egyptian population he gave it up.³⁸

Cairo's first revolt: The peace between the French and the Egyptians was not of long duration. Three months after Napoleon's entry, the first revolt against the French took place. The reason for the revolt was the exaggerated taxes collected by the French. The shaykh al-Sadat, Shaykh of al-Azhar, was the leader of this revolt. Many of the French were killed and Bonaparte ordered Cairo to be fired upon from the Citadel, and the districts of al-Nahassin and al-Ghuriyya and al-Azhar, the center of the revolt, were fired on as well. Finally, after the killing of five thousand Egyptians and about two thousand French the revolt stopped. After the revolt, Napoleon built many defensive installations all around Cairo to keep the city under his control.

During this period Azbakiyya was the main district of the city. It was the control-center for the French, the residence of the General and of all the commanders of the French army (Plate 2), and the home of the French "savants" of the French Institute. After the revolt, many Egyptians

³⁸ Raymond, 1998, 131-138.

were obliged to leave their residences in Azbakiyya to the French Army. The Azbakiyya district was converted to a military area (Fig 11).

The French demolished many houses to enlarge streets for military and security purposes. Many mosques were razed (mosques during this period were represented as centers of the revolts) and many stores were closed. A hot air balloon was sent up from Azbakiyya as a demonstration of French power, but the cupola collapsed and the balloon came down with a crash.

Although Bonaparte had in his mind the project of making a wide boulevard connecting the Citadel with his headquarters at Azbakiyya, this was never achieved. For defensive purposes, Bonaparte cleared the area all-round Azbakiyya.

In 1799AD, Napoleon invaded Syria; he could not take Acre, and went back to Cairo after he had lost a great number of his soldiers. At the end of 1799 AD, Bonaparte returned to France leaving Kleber in command of the French Expedition.

After Nelson's victory over the French in *Abu-Qir*, they had no ships. Sir Sidney Smith aided by the Turks defeated the remaining French in Syria and appeared again on the Egyptian northern coast. Knowing that he could not win a battle, Kleber approved a convention agreeing to evacuate the country.

During this period, Egyptians were very miserable: they had to pay very high taxes and trade stopped due to the political situation between the French and the British, which constituted the beginnings of the second revolt of Cairo.

Cairo's second revolt 21st April 1800: This revolt was of thirty-seven days' duration, with Bulaq as its center. The French burned the city and Azbakiyya was fired on continuously for eight days. (Plate 3) After this revolt, many districts of Cairo were ruined and the French were preparing themselves to leave as they were maneuvering for a deal with the British to transport the French army on British ships.

After Kleber's murder on June 17 (Plate 4), 1800 AD by Suliman al-Halabi³⁹, General Jacques Minou took his post. Although he converted to Islam and married an Egyptian, Minou could not convince the population; he was seen as simply waiting for the return to France.

The British commander Sir Robert Wilson could have easily taken Cairo, but the city was in a very bad state. The plague had killed hundreds each day; the streets were in a miserable state with rubbish, dead bodies, and fires everywhere. He proposed to take the French back to France on his ships and he left Egypt to the Turks again.

³⁹He was a Syrian student in Al-Azhar (the center of the revolts).

f-The Reign of Muhammad 'Ali:

After the French had left Egypt, the Ottomans officially ruled it. Khusraw Pasha, the Ottoman governor, was defeated by the Mamluks and fled to Mansura and then to Damietta. The Turkish Sultan appointed another Albanian commander called Taher Pasha as the ruler of Egypt. He ruled for only one year when his own soldiers assassinated him. Ahmed Pasha, the Turkish ruler of al-Madina was the successor to Taher Pasha. After only two days of his rule, Muhammad 'Ali, aided by some Mamluks entered Cairo to throw out the new ruler⁴⁰.

The rule of Egypt was divided among Muhammad 'Ali, Ibrahim Bey, and al-Bardisi Bey. They began to fight the Turks and attack the mosque of al-Zahir Baybars (in al-Zahir district) and obliged the Turks, who were making the mosque a military fort, to leave Cairo. They attacked Khusraw Pasha in Damietta and encircled him at its citadel. Consequently, Ibrahim Bey was titled the governor of Egypt as *Qa'immaqam*; he captured Khusraw Pasha and took him back to Cairo and imprisoned him at the Citadel.

When the Ottoman Sultan heard about the arrest of Khusraw Pasha, he sent Muhammad Pasha al-Gaza'irly with a thousand soldiers to take

⁴⁰ Zaki, Cairo, 278.

over the rule of Egypt. When he had arrived in Alexandria, the Mamluks manipulated him and made him think that they had no objection to his rule. On his way from Alexandria to Cairo, they obliged him to flee to Syria with his soldiers. Before his arrival there, his soldiers assassinated him.

During this period, Muhammad 'Ali was in a remarkably strong position without being the ruler. Due to the miserable economic and social situation, he was certain that the population would revolt and the ruler would always be held accountable.

When Ibrahim Bey tried to collect new taxes to reconstruct the damage caused by the French, a popular rebellion began in Cairo. Muhammad 'Ali sided with the population and for the first time he fought the Mamluks. Muhammad 'Ali and his Albanian soldiers attacked the Citadel and set Khusraw Pasha free. As he proclaimed that he did not think about becoming the ruler of Egypt, Muhammad 'Ali nevertheless restored Khusraw Pasha as the ruler of Egypt. Eight months later, the Turkish Sultan replaced him by Khurshid Pasha.

The new ruler also tried to collect taxes, and again this was strictly opposed by another popular revolt. This revolt did not stop until Khurshid Pasha left the city.

Now for what might be the first time in Egypt, at least in the modern era, the Egyptians could choose their ruler. Thus in July 1805, the Egyptians chose Muhammad 'Ali to be the ruler of Egypt⁴¹.

When he finally came to power, Egypt was in a very miserable state; many buildings of the city were destroyed, hills of rubbish were everywhere and dirty water with bad smells constituted a quotidian scene in almost every square or street in the city. The canal system neglected for about thirty years made the irrigation of agricultural lands impossible. Houses and residences in Cairo, especially in old districts, had crumbled and had been neither cleared nor rebuilt. Interspersed among rubbish hills, particularly on the western extremity of the city, were lowland swamps, and periodic ponds, which harbored mosquitoes causing diseases the majority of which were still unrecognized. Streets were unpaved, schools, mosques and madrasas, as well as baths and *sabils* had deteriorated. Administrators took *waqf* revenues and industry witnessed a great decline. To correct all these was the first challenge Muhammad Ali had to face; the second one being the political status of the country.

The Mamluks were still an effective force and power; they controlled most of Upper Egypt while Alexandria was held by another Turkish faction. Muhammad 'Ali had to gain full military control of

⁴¹ Zaki, Cairo, 281.

Egypt. He destroyed the Mamluks by making a ceremony for their leaders and then killed them all as they left the Citadel (1811 A.D). He also made the Turks surrender and took Alexandria.

The confiscation of agricultural *waqf* lands and the monopolization of all cultivable land, were two important steps for the socioeconomic development desired by Muhammad 'Ali. He introduced European schools to Egypt, a very important step to separate Azhar from the control of education. The districts of al- Zahir and al-Faggala in Cairo were the areas where foreigners built private schools in Cairo. A similar process took place in Alexandria.

Industry witnessed recovery and development during Muhammad 'Ali's rule. Foreign technicians and foreign machines were imported for factories. A number of training schools and factories were located near Cairo, which exerted an ecological pull and encouraged the city's expansion.

The organization of the military and police forces was the main point assuring the city its peace again. By the year 1830 changes in the city were directed toward cleaning up the abuses, which had made the city less and less habitable. Some small ponds were filled in to allow urban development and to avoid disease. Restoration of buildings destroyed by the French and during the revolts ensued. Street gates were

replaced and guards stood over their entrances and police posts in all quarters of the city were established.

Royal palaces were scattered through the environs of the city, which allowed each to be a nucleus for a future residential zone of Cairo. Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali built himself a palace on the site of present Garden City. Another palace *Qasr al-'Ayni* was converted to a medical school named Muhammad Ali Medical School. Muhammad 'Ali also built a palace for his *harim* on the shores of the Azbakiyya in 1815 AD.

One of the most important events in Cairo's modern urban history was the filling in of the Azbakiyya Pond. This project was a result of the reorganization of the canal system of the city. The Maghribi Canal⁴², first reconstructed by al-Nasir Muhammad during the 14th century, served none of its functions well. Agricultural lands, which fed the city, were in critical shortage. In 1832-33 A.D, a new canal was dug from the area south of Bulaq, which was merged with the northern arm of the Maghribi Canal. Functionally this replaced the old western canal, the southern portion of which was allowed to dry up. The draining of al-Azbakiyya pond was achieved by digging a canal around the Azbakiyya sufficient to absorb the decreased quantity of floodwater (Fig: 50).

⁴² Another name for the Nasiri canal.

A "Tanzim" (plan) for the city of Cairo was drawn up in 1845; it contained two major projects: Shari' al-Muski, a very wide street; and a much more ambitious diagonal street cutting through residential quarters and connecting Azbakiyya with the Citadel (Sh. Muhammad 'Ali). However, neither was achieved during Muhammad Ali's life (Fig: 49).

The work of Muhammad 'Ali was essential to prepare the city for the modern era; a major phase of the plan of modernization that took place during the reign of Isma'il belongs to Muhammad 'Ali.

g-The Period of Khedive Isma'il:

After Muhammad Ali died in 1849 AD, the reign of his first three successors can not be considered as "rich" from the urban point of view.

Only one year after his succession, Ibrahim Pasha died and Muhammad Ali's nephew, 'Abbas I came to power. One can consider two major projects done by 'Abbas I. First, the railroad between Cairo and Alexandria, the first railroad ever built in Egypt; the second was the founding of a small military city in the desert called Abbasiyya.⁴³

Notable also was Alfi Bey's palace in Azbakiyya, which had been the residence of Bonaparte and Kleber and later was used as Muhammad

⁴³ For further details: Tamraz, *Nineteenth Century*.

Ali's famous language school, which was transformed in the time of 'Abbas I to the Shepherd's hotel (Plate 13).

After the death of 'Abbas I (1854 AD) Muhammad 'Ali's youngest son, Muhammad Said, took over. He built the second branch of the railroad between Cairo and Suez and constructed the barracks of Qasr al- Nil as residence for the military (the site of the present Nile Hilton at Tahrir Square) (Plate: 41). He also erected the Barrage, a project originally planned by Muhammad 'Ali. Ismail, son of Ibrahim Pasha came to power after Sa'id's death in 1863 AD.

In the past, canal building and land stabilization following flooding were always related to urban development. The construction of the Isma'iliyya and Faggala Canals preceded the development of the areas of Isma'iliyya and Azbakiyya. Al-Maghribi Canal and the canal around Azbakiyya were filled in. Azbakiyya and Isma'iliyya were brought into an urban network, which eventually extended into parts of the old city.

In June 1867, Isma'il attended the Universal Exposition in Paris, which was designed to display Paris' accomplishment to the world. After his return from this Exposition, Isma'il decided to build another Paris on the shores of the Nile.

Thinking of the appearance of Cairo for the big celebration of the Suez Canal opening, Isma'il decided to construct a new façade of Cairo

on its western edge. The Quarter of Azbakiyya was cleaned and old buildings were razed and replaced by new buildings in the European style. Isma'il planned to show the visitors the European side of Cairo, which would be comparable to their own capitals.

A commercial report sent by Mr. Beardoley (agent and General Consul of the United States of America in Egypt) to the Secretary of State at Washington, on the fifteenth of September 1873 shows the development of Cairo during the years 1867-1873:⁴⁴

"At Cairo the public embellishments were various and the changes were so considerable during these past few years, that it is difficult for a foreigner to appreciate the meaning and the nature of the change. ... Six years ago, the space between Cairo and Bulaq was almost without buildings, entirely submerged with inundation and cultivated when there was low water flood. The place is now a new elegant district named Isma'iliyya The Khedive gave the land with no cost on condition of erecting a pre-designed building. An entire new city composed of remarkable buildings was erected between the old city and the Nile. The huge pond known as Azbakiyya and around which European houses of the French quarter used to be erected was transformed to a splendid public garden with sandy passages. A very beautiful artificial lake was dug there. Around this public garden, very beautiful buildings in the European style were erected.

New large streets were paved in the city. These were a source of natural light and pure air for the very dense populated areas of Cairo; and represented new arteries of communication. Hydraulic machines are transporting clear water for all the districts of the city. A gazmeter producing six thousand cubic meters per day was used to illuminate all streets and public squares of the city. A new street was made to the north of the city and was named Faggala; another one was created to connect the city with Abbasiyya on the edge of the desert. A very elegant road was created to connect the city with the pyramids of Giza. They are

⁴⁴DAWS-IS-153-21/1

working now to convert the Gazira Island to a very beautiful public garden. A museum was also built in this garden.

The Khedive also ordered a very large theatre to be built for the Italian Opera (Plate 33); he also ordered another small one for the "Comédie Française" (Plate 40). A great number of public fountains were ordered to decorate public squares. Briefly, we witness signs of amelioration remembering the occidental energy more than the oriental attitudes.

This report shows that a great part of the city had completely changed during the years 1867-1873. Although an exaggeration in parts, Beardoley's report shows that the major transformations of the urban development of "modern" Cairo were achieved within a decade.

A comparison of the plans of Cairo during the nineteenth century demonstrates that Azbakiyya was a central part of the city. Having been the limit for the new road of Bulaq during the period of the French Expedition, Azbakiyya became the hinge between the old city and the new environs during the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

When Muhammad 'Ali built a new street connecting Azbakiyya to Shubra, he underlined the importance of this district considering it the center of the city. Sh. Ibrahim Pasha connecting old Cairo with Bulaq became another new street. These two streets constituted the major connection between the north and the south of Cairo. In 1845 the street of al-Muski was enlarged and linked to the "Qasaba" (Fig 22). This axis

⁴⁵D.E., 1: pl. 15.

was made to connect the main commercial area (situated in the old city), with the port of Bulaq again by the way of Azbakiyya.⁴⁶ Twenty years later the same street was elongated to connect Qaytbay's northern cemetery to the shore of the Nile. Forming an east-west artery, this street took Azbakiyya as its center (Fig: 20). When the railway station was erected in the north of the city, the main street giving access to the city from the station passed around Azbakiyya. Thus Azbakiyya represented an obligatory passage between Cairo and Alexandria as well as a central part of the city through which passed major new streets.

This distinguished status of Azbakiyya made it the favorite place for economic activities e.g., companies of tourism, departmental stores.... etc. The theatres, bars, and money changing were other activities existing in Azbakiyya. The eastern part of Azbakiyya became the residence of Syrians who later played a very important intermediate role between the Egyptians and the British.

When Isma`il decided to develop Cairo as we stated before, the procedure was based on two ideas: Firstly the construction of large projects such as the Opera house and the hippodrome (Fig 21). Secondly, to give the land with no cost to those who wanted to construct elegant buildings following European façade patterns and to accomplish the

⁴⁶ Szultz, 1846.

construction of the building in a very short time. The Water Company administered this project. Cordier, a French *urbaniste*, was the director of this company. In 1868, the project was designed and Cordier gave the Khedive a plan for the organization and the development of Azbakiyya⁴⁷(Fig: 18). Several months later Isma'il asked him to make another plan for a new district near Azbakiyya (later known as Isma'iliyya). Isma'il wished to finish these projects before the opening of the Canal in 1869, but this could not be accomplished⁴⁸(Fig 19).

The guests for the opening of the Canal came to Egypt in November 1869. All the official visits took place at Azbakiyya because the new district of Isma'iliyya was not yet erected. Isma'il built his Gazira palace for his very distinguished visitor: the Empress Eugenie. Another palace was constructed in Giza for the other visitors. Isma'il also contracted with a French company to construct an iron swing bridge at "Qasr al-Nil" between the eastern bank of the Nile, and the southern tip of Jazira (Plate: 42).

As the construction of the new districts was not going as fast as the Khedive wanted, he decided to contract with another administration named *l'administration de la Voirie* to complete the work under the

⁴⁷"Quartier de l'esbekieh-evaluation approximative des travaux de voirie à exécuter sur la place de l'Esbekiyeh", signed by Cordier, 12/3/1868; DAW-IS-117-82/4.

⁴⁸Letter from the cabinet of Son Altesse 21/4/1869, DAWS-IS-45-79/3

administration of the public works minister. Another French architect called Pierre Grand, who played a major role in the urbanism of Cairo during this period, directed its administration. Firstly, Grand made a survey to know exactly what had been achieved and what had to be achieved; secondly, he made a plan for the future development of Cairo. This study might be considered as the first scientific study of the urbanism of Cairo since 1798. Not only were Azbakiyya and Isma'iliyya achieved, but another new district named al-Nasiriyya (south of Azbakiyya) was achieved as well. Isma'il also contracted with private companies to construct palaces and buildings in new districts of Cairo, which encouraged Pashas and the elite of the society to leave the old city and to build their own villas in new districts⁴⁹ (Fig 12).

Pierre Grand: the plan of Grand, published in 1874, was not a simple survey of the existing status of the city; it contained some projects that were not yet finished as well.⁵⁰ A comparison with some more recent documents shows that some public areas and spaces represented in 1874 were never realized. According to the plan of Grand, an open area existed south of Rumayla Square (Fig: 15). The realization of this part of Grand's plan meant the deterioration of three hectares of the old urban

⁴⁹A letter of Grand to Pini Bey 14/11/1870;DAWS-IS-45-79/3

⁵⁰This does not mean that the plan of Grand was a simple proposal; it represented the projects planned and approved by the Khedive; some projects were not realized due to the financial crisis.

context, a fact that was never mentioned in any topographical source of this period. Some sections of 'Imad al-Din street, which were shown on the map of Grand, were not achieved until the twentieth century (Fig: 14). Some lines of tramways were either future works, or not completely finished projects. A comparison between the plan of 1874 and the plan of 1876 showed the enlargement of the opened areas for settlement from 1000 hectares to 1178 hectares.⁵¹

'Ali Mubarak: In 1870 Isma'il appointed 'Ali Mubarak as the Minister of Public Works. He is the author of the historical topography of Egypt: *Al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-Gadida* in twenty volumes. He played a great role in the development of Cairo, but this role was a secondary one. In 1870, he presented to the Khedive a plan of Cairo showing the old city and new districts, with a future development but the Khedive preferred to contract with the company of Grand.⁵² 'Ali Mubarak as well as being the Minister of Public Works, was in time the Minister of Instructions and the Minister of the Awqaf.

Although the Khedive excluded 'Ali Mubarak from many projects, he did direct several important projects that contributed extensively to the extension of Cairo and the renewal of its urban context. One of the most

⁵¹ The archives of the Egyptian Survey "Masla'hat al-Misaha" archive maps 5 to 8.

⁵² Alleaume, 1985.

important projects that 'Ali Mubarak achieved was the upgrading of the Rumayla square fronting the Citadel⁵³ (Fig 15).

The role of 'Ali Mubarak in the plan of Cairo achieved by Grand in 1874 is not clear. In 1868, 'Ali Mubarak erected a very elegant palace of the three ministries, which he headed, at *Darb al-Gamamiz*; narrow streets and *haras* approached this palace. In the project of Grand, two main streets connecting the old city with the new one were dug. The first connected the old city to Nasiriyya; the axis of this street was made in such a way that the façade of Mubarak's palace constitutes the background of the perspective; and the second connected the first street with 'Abdin palace. (Fig 16) The fact that the palace erected several years earlier took all this importance (a background of a one-kilometer street) was certainly not a coincidence. It indicates that even if 'Ali Mubarak was not the designer of the map done in 1874, he was at least consulted.

The plan of Cairo drawn by Grand did not represent a single project; but rather three consecutive projects. The first was done by Cordier and it was concentrated mainly upon the Azbakiyya garden, the second was also done by Cordier and it was a layout of the district of

⁵³ Mansur, 1994.

Isma'iliyya, to construct a hinge between Azbakiyya and Qasr al-Nil, where a future new bridge was to be constructed, and the third was the plan of Grand which represented the three districts of Azbakiyya, Isma'iliyya and Nasiriyya.

Cairo-Paris: The great projects of Cairo were in progress while the transformation of Paris, directed by Haussmann, was not fully achieved. In spite of the appearance, Cairo was not really "Haussmannized"; the imitation of the administrative organization of Paris did not exceed the name of the services, and the basis of the organization of Paris did not exist at Cairo in any practical way. Khedival Cairo was successive extensions of the old city with a minimum of interference in the old urban context. In the newly designed districts, neither the architectural types nor the street patterns followed the Parisian model. The "Haussmannization" of Paris was based upon strong public interventions and a strong credit system; in Cairo, this European façade depended on foreign credits that had negative effects on the Egyptian economy.

Azbakiyya the Garden: Isma'il renewed the old garden made by 'Abbas I, twenty years earlier. The new garden was octagonal and it had geometrical designs. The development of Azbakiyya consisted of making the garden a center of new buildings erected to hide the old urban context. These new buildings were the Khedivial buildings and the

private constructions of the nobles and the elite of the society. From the south, the Opera house and the circus, from the east and the southeast, two high buildings of the Da'ira were erected. The Khedive gave some pieces of land to some notable foreigners among whom was the Duke of Sutherland (Fig 17).

The designer of the garden was the French architect Bariellet Deschamp. It was opened to the public in 1871. The report of Cordier in 1868 referred to Azbakiyya as a "private garden": "*The interior of the private garden was not included in this report*".⁵⁴ The Khedive wanted Azbakiyya to be a private garden to exclude it from the costs of the development project of Azbakiyya. The project tried to make the owners of buildings and apartments around the square pay the cost of the garden, to make it their own property.⁵⁵ Although the idea was applied in Europe, it did not work in Cairo. The Khedive was obliged to finance the garden and make it public. For the costs of maintenance, some kiosks in the garden were hired out for commercial activities.

The development of Cairo under Isma'il was considerable. Districts of Azbakiyya, Isma'iliyya and Nasiriyya did not represent the full ambition of the Khedive. He granted the land for the school of "Bon

⁵⁴The letter of Bariellet to Son Excellence, 27/5/1871.

⁵⁵This way of managing the project was known at Britain: each estate Bourgeoisie had the houses grouped around a square, crescent or circus. This square often had a private garden. Financed by the owners, this garden was a private property. (Rasmunssen, 1990).

Pasteur" in Shubra, and for the European hospital at 'Abassiyya.⁵⁶ Isma'il also ordered a new plan for Helwan and of the districts of al-Zahir and Faggala. Details of maps and plans of Azbakiyya during this period will be studied in detail.

h-Late Nineteenth Century and the First Two Decades of the Twentieth Century:

The first decade of the British occupation witnessed no radical alterations in the development of the metropolis but merely a continuation of the trends that had already been set in motion during the later years of Isma'il's reign. Between 1882 and 1897, Egypt's inhabitants augmented from about 6.8 million to over 9.7 million. Cairo shared in this population increase, growing from 400,000 in 1882 to almost 600,000 by the end of the nineteenth century. This growth came not from natural increase but from migration, since deaths still outnumbered births in the capital, making it impossible for the city to maintain even a constant population without continuous supply from the countryside.

Given the pressure of this concrete population increase, it was natural that Cairo expanded physically during this period. However, all expansions took place in those areas adjacent to the built-up city, areas

⁵⁶Jagailloux, 155.

that had been blocked out for development under Isma'il but had failed to fill up for the lack of population, e.g. to the south, the area of Isma'iliyya and the area eastward to 'Abdin palace. It was at this time also that the government buildings and ministry offices began to gravitate towards the strip east of and parallel to al-Qasr al-'Ayni street south of Bab al-Luq. This land, originally the site of Ibrahim Pasha's plantations during the first half of the century had been retained in Royal ownership. In the early years of Isma'il it contained the Ministry of Public Works; during the later period many additional ministries were grouped around it. These later nineteenth-century constructions formed the nucleus of the present governmental zone. The concentration of ministries led to an increased demand for housing in the vicinity. The upgrading of Darb al-Gamamiz and of Sayyida Zaynab section and the development of the Hilmiyya quarter (formerly Birkat al-Fil) were in response to these pressures.

Thus by the end of the nineteenth century the developments which took place in Cairo were entirely foreseen within the framework of growth that had been established by Isma'il's planners. The city had completed its physical and ecological evolutions into two distinct communities. The old city had been left almost intact, its abandoned areas reconstructed on the medieval pattern to house the thousands of rural migrants who had been drawn to the capital. A new European-style

city had developed parallel to it on the west and had begun to encircle it on the north, but this community remained socially and physically distinct.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, a system of mass transit was installed. It connected even the most distant points of the expanding city with the central core in a complex network upon which the present city is still heavily dependent. In December 1894, the Baron Empain was granted a concession to establish a tramway system for the city of Cairo. The original agreement had specified eight lines and routes, of which six were to radiate from the central terminal of *al-'Ataba al-Khadra* at the southeast corner of the Azbakiyya gardens (Fig: 56). This was another fact underlining the importance of Azbakiyya as being the heart of Cairo during this period. In 1914 the *Qasr al-Nil bridge*, originally constructed in 1872, was replaced by a wider and sounder structure, (plates: 41-45) which gave the Azbakiyya a greater importance being again an obligatory path from old Cairo to the western bank of the Nile.

By the year 1910, the city center had shifted westward, away from *al-'Ataba square* and towards the Nile. The districts of *Isma'iliyya* and *Nasiriyya* formed the new center of Cairo (Figs. 51, 52, 53).

CHAPTER TWO

URBAN STUDY OF AZBAKIYYA

1- Plans of Azbakiyya During Different Periods

A- Division of the Area Subject of Study (Fig. 47)

The area which we will study is bounded by al-Gharbiyya to the west, Qasr al-Dukka to the north-east, al-

CHAPTER TWO

Open square

B- The plan of the area During the Fatimid Period (Fig. 77)

During the Fatimid period, the area, as we mentioned above, was an cultural land where several palaces (mansions) were built.

a- Mansurat al-La'li's: This palace was located on the eastern bank of the channel, close to Bab al-Jamra. It surrounded the land of al-Fakhri and the pond of Bab al-Baqara. The whole

CHAPTER TWO

URBAN STUDY OF AZBAKIYYA

I- Plans of Azbakiyya During Different Periods:

A-Definition of the Area Subject of Study: (Fig: 47)

The area which we will study is bordered by al-Gumhuriyya street from the west, Qantarat al-Dikka from the northeast, al-Ruway'i and 'Abd al-'Aziz streets from the south-east with the south border being the mosque of 'Uthman Katkhuda and the Opera square.

B- The plan of the area During the Fatimid Period :(Fig: 27)

During the Fatimid period, the area, as we mentioned above, was agricultural land wherein several palaces (*manazir*) , were built.

a- Manzarat al-Lu'lu'a: This palace was located on the eastern bank of the *khalig*, close to *Bab al-Qantara*. It overlooked the land of *al-Taballa* and the pond of *Batn al-Baqara*. The whole

area was a marshland with many gardens planted.¹ Today the school of Saint Joseph at Khurunfish occupies the site of al-Lu'lu'a palace.

It was used during the days of inundation of the Nile as a house for the Caliph and his family.² It was also used as a starting point of the Caliph's outdoor riding expeditions (*rukubat*).³ It was described by al-Maqrizi as "one of the greatest palaces" (Fig: 27).

b- *Manzarat Dar al-Zahab*: Built by al-Afdal (1101-1121 A.D) during the rule of al-'Amir, this *manzara* was located between *Bab al-Sa'ada* and *Bab al-Khukha* on the area of al-Azhar street not far from al-'Attaba square (Fig:27).

c- *Mazarat al-Ghazala*: It was located near *manzarat al-Lu'lu'a* at the western bank of the *khalig*. This area now is the intersection of al-Azhar and Port Sa'id streets. Built by Abu'l-Qasim b. al-Mustansir, the father of al-Hafiz, hence the uncle of al-'Amir. The date of the erection of the palace was during the first decade of the 12th century⁴ (Fig: 27).

¹ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 1, 467.

² Reda, *Manazir*, 27.

³ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 1, 468-469; Reda, *Manazir*, 28.

⁴ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol.1, 469.

d-*Manzarat al-Dikka*: This *manzara* was located south of al-Maqs, in the area of the present Qantarat-al-Dikka square, south of Ramses square. The *manzara* was built as a royal *manzara* where the Caliphs stopped to rest on their way back to their palaces in Cairo (Fig: 27).

e- *Manzarat al-Maqs*: Al-Maqs was a port located on the site of the present Bab al-Hadid railway station. Before the shift of the Nile in the 14th century, this area was located on the western shore of the river.⁵ It was built to the northwest of Jami' al-Maqs. The patron of the *Manzara* is not known, however the patron of the mosque adjacent to it was undoubtedly al-Hakim⁶ (Fig: 27).

C-The plan of the area during the Ayyubid period: (Fig: 6)

During the Ayyubid period the area of Azbakiyya continued to be an agricultural marshland where several palaces were erected. The Ayyubids intended to build "squares" (*mayadin*), but not much information is available about these *mayadin*.

⁵ Abu Lughud, *1000 years*, 27.

⁶ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 4, 40.

However, from the description of Ibn Taghribirdi⁷, they might be large gardens having belvederes.

a- *Al-Maydan al-Salihi*: (fig: 6) This *maydan* and garden were situated near the present area of al-Luq. This was built by the Sultan al-'Adil and then taken over by al-Salih Nigm al-Din Ayyub, after whom it was named. In 1246, al-Salih built several palaces in the area, and all of these palaces had a view of the Nile.⁸

b- *Al-Maydan al-Zahiri*: (fig: 6) The patron of this *maydan* is unknown. Although this *maydan* dated from the Ayyubid period, it was named after al-Zahir Baybars, the Mamluk Sultan, who built palaces and enlarged the pre-existing garden. Later on, Qalawun razed the gardens to build a playground.⁹

c- *Khalig al-Zakar*: (Fig: 6) This *khalig* was dug by Kafur al-Ikhshidi. During the Ayyubid dynasty, it was known as "*Khalig al-Maqsi*" for the garden *bustan* of al-Maqsi, which was irrigated by the (*khalig*). It was renamed *khalig al-Zakar* after Shams al-Din al-Zakar al-Karky, one of the amirs of the Sultan al-Zahir Baybars, who had it cleaned. The *khalig* ran under 'Imad al-

⁷ Ibid, vol. 9, 37.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

Din street; it took the east direction to the Qantarat al-Dikka street and ended in the *Khalig al-Misri*¹⁰ (Fig: 59).

d- Birkat Qarmut: This *birka* was located between al-Luq and al-Maqs; it was a part of a large garden named Bustan Ibn Tha'lab who was an amir in the reign of the Sultan al-'Adil. When al-Nasir Muhammad made the Nasiri canal, the pond was filled and houses on the shores of the *khalig* were built on its place¹¹ (Fig: 4). Al-Maqrizi mentioned that this place was very elegant, and was the residence of the elite.¹²

e- Qantarat al-Kataba: Known as *Qantarat al-Maghrabi*, this *Qantara* was in the present area of the intersection of 'Imad al-Din street and Sulaiman Pasha street¹³ (Fig: 59).

D-The plan of the area during the Mamluk Period: (Fig: 7)

a- The Bakgri mosque: When Ibn Iyas wrote of the beginning of Azbakiyya,¹⁴ he mentioned that a mosque named al-Gaki was located at Azbakiyya. Abouseif, quoting Ibn Iyas, also

¹⁰ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol.9, 124-125.

¹¹ Ibid, vol. 9, 81-82.

¹² Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 328.

¹³ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 182-183.

¹⁴ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i*, vol.2, 164.

mentioned the same fact.¹⁵ On the other hand, Ibn Taghribirdi mentioned this mosque as being on the west of the *khalig*, very far from Azbakiyya.¹⁶ Al-Maqrizi also mentioned that the mosque was very far from Azbakiyya, and mentioned another mosque named al-Bakgri located near the mausoleum of Sidi 'Antar.¹⁷

Ibn Iyas also mentioned that the Gaki mosque was extant in his time, which cannot be true since the mosque was demolished in 1414 A.D, as mentioned by al-Maqrizi and Ibn Taghribirdi.¹⁸

Therefore the mosque built

near the mausoleum of Sidi 'Antar, the place where Azbak decided to built his quarter, was the al-Bakgri, mosque not the Gaki mosque.

b- Azbak's Quarter: On the southeastern shore of the pond, was the location of the quarter of Azbak. Doris Abouseif tried to draw a reconstruction of the quarter based on the *Waqf* document.¹⁹ Nothing survived of Azbak's quarter; the last part of it was the

¹⁵ Abouseif, *Azbakiyya*, 23.

¹⁶ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 200.

¹⁷ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 314.

¹⁸ Ibid, vol. 2, 314 ; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 200.

¹⁹ Abouseif, *Azbakiyya*, 28-29.

mosque, which was razed in 1869. Fortunately, Grand Bey drew the plan of the mosque²⁰ (Fig: 58).

Abouseif tried to combine the two shrines of *Sidi 'Antar* and *Sidi Wazir*, mentioned by Ibn Iyas, in the reconstruction of the complex. As a matter of fact, Ibn Iyas did not mention these two shrines only.²¹ The shrines mentioned by Ibn Iyas were probably included within the cemetery of al-Azbakiyya. According to the plan of Abouseif (Fig: 41), the two mausoleums were oriented in the same direction of the whole complex, as if the complex was designed to fit with the orientations of these two mausoleums, which cannot be easily admitted.

According to Abouseif, the house of the *Khatib* (preacher) shared a wall with the northern façade of the mosque, which made the main façade partially hidden. This cannot be an accepted reconstruction for several reasons. Firstly there was not a single example of the period supporting this. Secondly the quarter was built on a very large piece of land; therefore the architects could have very easily chosen a suitable location for the preacher's house

²⁰ Ibid, 29 ; Comité, 1894, *Report 166*, pl. 1.

²¹ Ibn Iyas wrote the following report about Azbakiyya: "Among the interesting features of the year, is the foundation of al-Azbakiyya. The name was derived from the name of its founder: Azbak al-Tutah. The place used to be a desolate place, with mounds and trees.... There were the shrines of *Sidi 'Antar* and *sidi Wazir* and others. The place was occupied of the mosque of al-Gaki, which ruins still exist.... This was the status of the area until the reign of Qaytbay." (*Badai*, vol. 3, 116).

other than the main façade of the mosque. Thirdly, the plan of Grand Bey did not show any traces of any building attached to the main façade (Fig: 58).

The *sabil-kuttab* which was shown on the plan done by Abouseif might have been on the western façade of the mosque. The plan of Grand showed a demolished building on the wall facing the *qibla*.

The other elements of Azbak's quarter were defined accurately by Abouseif. However whether these elements were aligned in the way shown in her plan is very doubtful. The quarter of Azbak was shown on the map of the *Déscription d'Egypte* as an irregular area; it occupied the southeastern shore of the pond. Therefore, the 18 shops, the *rab'*, the palace, and the *Qaysariyya* might have followed the same curve shown on the map. A proposed reconstruction based on the *Waqf* document quoted by Abouseif is represented in figure 43.

c- *Al-Ruway'i Mosque*: (plate: 46) This mosque was built by Ahmad al-Ruway'i, who was the cheif merchant (*shahbandar al-tuggar*). The mosque was built at the end of the 15th century. Ahmad al-Ruway'i was buried in it²² (Fig: 46).

²² A. M., vol. 3, 82.

E-The Map of the Area During the Ottoman Period: (Fig: 11)

The foundation of Azbak's quarter did not lead to an immediate development of the district of Azbakiyya.

During the 16th and the 17th centuries, the district of Azbakiyya did not involve more than the southeastern shore of the pond and a very small area of the Coptic quarter on the northern shore. A cemetery occupied the rest of the area, as well as houses of prostitution and drug sellers.²³

The Ottomans built few monumental complexes in Cairo; one of the largest among these was the complex of Uthman Katkhuda.

a- The complex of 'Uthman Katkhuda: (plates: 50,51,52)

Built on the southwestern shore of the pond by 'Uthman Katkhuda Kazdughli, one of the most glorious Amirs of the time, the complex consisted of a palace, a mosque, a *sabil-kuttab*, a *hammam*, residential structures and a *rab'*. The mosque, which is extant, was designed to be the center of development of a quarter rather than a structure, which would be integrated to a pre-existing urban

²³ Abouseif, *Azbakiyya*, 28-29.

setting.²⁴ The patron of the complex was the chief of the customs. In order to built his complex, 'Uthman Katkhuda razed many buildings: a fish market, an oil press, a dairy, and a number of houses²⁵ (Fig: 46).

Although the reconstruction of the complex made by Abouseif²⁶ (Fig: 44) respected the orientations of the its different elements according to the *waqfiyya*, some criticism can be suggested. The two houses on the right of the portal could not be in front of the main façade and hiding part of it. Firstly, it was not common at all in the princely architecture of the period to have the main façade of a mosque partially hidden. Secondly, the openings of the façade and the monumental entrances, along with the projecting portal would form with the house a very bizarre nonsymmetrical façade. Thirdly, the lower windows on the right of the entrance of the mosque would be closed, if the house was located on the right of the entrance. Abouseif proposed to solve this problem by suggesting the view of the window of the mosque to be on the courtyard of the house; again, this is a very strange

²⁴ Ibid, 55.

²⁵ Shalabi, *'Awdat al-Ishara*, 467.

²⁶ Abouseif, *Azbakiyya*, 57.

suggestion having no examples of Ottoman architecture to support it.

My suggested reconstruction is shown in figure 45. This suggestion is supported by the map of the *Déscription d'Egypte* (Fig: 28), which shows that the main façade of the mosque was not hidden by any building.²⁷

b- The Sharaybi Mosque: (Fig :46- N: 36) This mosque was located in the street named *Birkat al-Azbakiyya* near the mosque of al-Ruway'i. Built on six marble piers, this mosque had in its vicinity a waterwheel and latrines with an ablution area. The patron of the mosque was one of the major merchants of the period. He was excessively rich and powerful. Containing the mausoleum of *al-Shaykh al-Bakri*, the mosque was known as that of al-Bakri mosque. Al-Bakri was a mentally retarded person who lived in the vicinity of the mosque, and whose brother pretended that he was a *darwish* who could do miracles. Many people believed the legend of al-Bakri's brother; he collected a huge fortune from the people coming to visit the "*darwish*", whom he imprisoned in a small room. After the death of al-Bakri, his brother made a *mawlid* for

²⁷ D.E., *Etat Moderne*, vol. 1, pl. 25.

him and erected a mausoleum attached to the Sharaybi mosque, in which al-Bakri was buried.²⁸

c- Al-Sharaybi's Palace and Mosque: Al-Sharaybi built a palace at Azbakiyya and he erected a library in it. He also built a mosque attached to it (Fig: 46- N: 51). Al-Sharaybi was very cultured, so much that he bought all books he could at any price. The poets and the historians of the period were allowed to visit his library whenever they wanted. According to Zaki, the location of the palace was in front of the mosque of Azbak.

d- The Mosque of 'Abd al-Haq al-Sunbati: (plate: 48) This mosque was built near the house of al-Bakri shown on the map of the *Description d'Egypte*. The patron of the mosque is not known. However, it might have been built during the Ottoman period, as this area was not urbanized until the end of the seventeenth century. 'Ali Mubarak mentioned that this mosque was located near al-Bakri's residence²⁹ (Fig: 46- N: 59).

²⁸ A.M., vol.5, 32.

²⁹ Ibid, vol.3, 112.

e- The Mosque of al-Gawhari: (plate: 49) This mosque was built in the quarter of al-Azbakiyya near *al-Sikka al-Gadida*. The mosque was built on eight marble columns and the niche of the *qibla* wall was of decorated and colored marble. A very elegant wooden *minbar* with sophisticated star patterns was placed on the *qibla* wall. A small library (*khazanat kutub*) was annexed to the mosque. The building was a *Zawiya* erected by the grandfather of al-Shaykh al-Gawhari, who razed the *zawya* and built a mosque in 1847 AD³⁰ (Fig: 46- N: 44).

F- The Plan of Azbakiyya During the Period of the French Expedition: (Fig: 46)

During the French occupation, the Azbakiyya witnessed various changes. The social and cultural aspects of the French affected the urban development of Cairo and of Azbakiyya particularly. For the first time in the history of Cairo, taverns, restaurants, and coffeehouses *à l'Europeene* were established at Azbakiyya. The period of the French Expedition might be considered as the beginning of the transformation of Azbakiyya to the European district of Cairo, which took about one century to be

³⁰ A. M., vol.4, 77.

fully achieved. Many houses on the shore of the pond were converted to restaurants and cafés; they were furnished with tables and chairs and one contained a billiard table for Bonaparte's soldiers. Theaters were also introduced on the shores of Azbakiyya during the French Expedition.

Therefore, although the plan of Azbakiyya did not change in form, it changed gravely in terms of the function of buildings. From an elegant residential district, one part of the Azbakiyya district was transformed to a military quarter, and the other contained the residence of the ruling elite and the members of the *diwan*. The French confiscated many houses, which they used for administration purposes.³¹

Fortunately the map of Cairo left by the French Expedition³² shows in detail the different uses of land on the shores of the pond (Fig: 46).

a- The House of 'Uthman Bey al-Ashqar: The place of the first printer established by the French at Azbakiyya was the house of 'Uthman Bey al-Ashqar. Bonaparte confiscated the house; he hired Marcel, who was a member of the French Institute, to be in charge of it (Fig: 46- N: 64).

³¹ Abouseif, *Azbakiyya*, 66.

b- The House of al-Sayyid Su'udi: Al-Sayyid Su'udi was a *shaykh* who owned a large house on the shores of the Azbakiyya pond. The house included a very large garden, which anyone was allowed to enter. Many people used to assemble on summer evenings in the garden of the house, considering it a public one. Music and dancing were characteristics of the garden. Coffeehouses were erected in the vicinity of the house to serve the population. Many boats used to stop in front of the house to enjoy the dancing and music³³ (Fig: 46- N: 52).

c- The House of al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Mahdi:

The father of *al-Shaykh* Muhammad al-Mahdi was Christian. Al-Mahdi was converted to Islam when he was ten years old. He was educated at al-Azhar, and soon after became one of the major '*Ulama*' and the *Shaykh* of al-Azhar as well. When Bonaparte entered Egypt he appreciated him and hired him as a member of the first Diwan. He benefited from this position, and became the link between the population and the French. He built a large and very

³² D.E., *Etat Modern*, pl. 25.

³³ Zaki, *Al-Qahira*, 272.

elegant house in the area of Azbakiyya. Later on he built a larger one near al-Azhar³⁴ (Fig: 46- N: 4).

d- The Palace of Muhammad Bey al-Alfi: (Fig: 46- N: 20)

Muhammad Bey al-Alfi was a Mamluk of Ahmad Gawish. He was sold to Salim Agha, who set him free. He was hired at al-Sharqiyya as a *kashif*, and then returned to live at Cairo. He built two houses at Azbakiyya: the first was the house of Radwan Bey Yalbugha, and the second was the house of Ahmad 'Abd al-Salam. He also decided to erect a very large palace on the shores of the Azbakiyya pond. To built this palace, he bought the palace of Su'udi Bey and razed it in order to establish his new palace.

The palace was of two storeys. Having wooden copper ornamented Indian doors, This palace was a masterpiece of Ottoman residential architecture. The pavings of the palace were all in colored marble, and iron grills with colored glass covered the windows.³⁵ Within the palace many stores were erected containing goods, furniture, and weapons.

After al-Alfi had built this palace, he made a big festival and

³⁴ Ibid, 273.

³⁵ A.M., *Khitat*, vol. 3, 364-365.

invited all the residents of the Azbakiyya to eat and drink for free.

Two weeks after the opening of the palace, al-Alfi went to al-Sharkiyya, and during that period the French entered Cairo.

Bonaparte found that the al-Alfi palace was the most suitable place to reside. It was then used as the residence of Kleber, and the place where he was assassinated.³⁶

The palace was partially demolished during Cairo's second rebellion. After the French left, the palace was transformed to a language institute, as mentioned before. About the year 1841, Samuel Shepherd took the palace and restored it to establish the first British hotel in Cairo, known as Shepherd's hotel.

The hotel was rebuilt entirely in 1891, and was named after that date: "Shepherd's British Hotel". The hotel was enlarged several times: in 1899, 1904, 1909, and in 1927. Finally it was totally burned in 1952. It was rebuilt on the shore of the Nile, where it still exists (Plates: 14-31). On the site of the original Shepherd's Hotel, the government is building another branch of the Central Bank of Egypt (Plate: 32).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Shepherd's hotel was the most elegant and expensive in Cairo; many tourists

³⁶ Nelson, *Shepherd's*, 1-20.

and travelers enjoyed the site of the Azbakiyya garden from its terraces.

The hotel also had the tree under which Kleber was assassinated, which was considered something to visit for tourists, especially the French ones.

G- The Plan of the Area During the period of Muhammad

'Ali's Reign: (Fig: 49)

Many changes to the map of Cairo occurred during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali. Azbakiyya in particular, as mentioned before, changed completely: from a pond to a large park (Fig: 54).

When Muhammad 'Ali took over, a great part of the eastern shore of the Azbakiyya pond was almost in ruins. He confiscated many pieces of land in the area, particularly those parts which had been occupied by the French. He resided on the northeastern shore of the pond. Later on, the house of Muhammad 'Ali was transformed to the palace of his *harim*.³⁷

Some changes occurred in the uses of the buildings: The house of al-Bakri became the office of the public accountant and the house of the Amir Muhammad al-Ashqar became a public

³⁷ Jabarti, 'Aga'ib, vol.3, 336.

garden with a section for men and another for women. The Palace of al-Mu‘alim Girgis al Gawhari became the residence of the daughter of Muhammad ‘Ali, who was married to the *Daftardar*, (the minister of finance). On the site of the palace of al-Alfi Bey, a new language institute was established (later the palace was used as the first Shepherds hotel). A maternity hospital was erected at al-‘Ataba square as well and it was later transferred to the Qasr al-‘Ayni hospital. Part of the Azbakiyya cemetery was razed during the reign of Muhammad Ali and bones found in the cemetery were transferred to a mosque later known as *masjid al-‘Izam* (the mosque of the bones).³⁸ In 1837, Muhammad ‘Ali began to develop the Azbakiyya square and filled in the pond; the project took four years to be achieved.³⁹

Due to the increase in number of foreigners in Cairo during this period, Muhammad ‘Ali initiated many foreign institutions. e.g. consulates, churches, schools, hospitals, and the post office in the ‘Ataba square. The theater built by the French Expedition at Azbakiyya was still in use during the reigns of Muhammad ‘Ali and Khedive Isma‘il. The name of Ghayt al-Nubi was changed to

³⁸ A. M., vol. 3, 110.

³⁹ Abouseif, *Azbakiyya*, 84.

Jardin Rosetti in the honor of the Italian consul who resided in its vicinity.⁴⁰

a-The Palace of Muhammad 'Ali at Azbakiyya (Plate: 53):

The palace of Muhammad 'Ali at Azbakiyya was located at the west end of the pond. This palace had been built by al-Sayyid Ibrahim the son of al-Sayyid Su'udi, one of the Hanafi Shaykhs. When this palace was built, the patron constructed arches on its side facing the pond; he also established a recreational place for people, a theatre, coffee shops and a marina for boats. These recreational places were blocked when 'Ali Bey al-Kabir bought the palace. The Amir Ahmad Agha al-Shiwikar was the third owner of the palace; in 1796 he demolished the palace and rebuilt it in a very rich and sophisticated way. He also made the palace to look like a fort by the many defensive features he integrated in the architecture of the palace. The patron also built another residential area in its vicinity for his servants, and a very large garden. After Muhammad 'Ali came to power he took the palace for the residential quarter of his *harim*, as we stated before.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 89.

The exact location of the palace was not known, however, the fact that the palace was on the southern shore of the pond allow us to determine an approximate location of it, which might be near the house of al-Gawhary (Fig: 46 N: 45).

b-The house of 'Ali Bey al-Kabir: This house was located on the southern shore of al-Azbakiyya pond. The patron of the house was a member of the *Diwan*, at the time of the French Expedition. He erected this house in the vicinity of 'Abd al-Haqq al-Sunbati mosque (Fig 46). After his death in 1813, his wife was married to 'Ali Bey the son of Murad Bey the famous Mamluk. Soon after that she died, and the house was razed.⁴¹

H- The Map of Azbakiyya During the Reign of Isma'il: (Fig: 50) During Isma'il's reign, our study area witnessed many projects: the Nasiri canal was filled in, a thoroughfare was laid to connect the place of al-'Ataba al-Khadra and the present Opera squares; later this street was elongated to connect the opera square and 'Abdin area, where the Khedive ordered a palace to be built for his officers.

⁴¹ Kamal, *Asma'*, 293.

Al-Muski street was developed and became a major artery and a very important commercial area of Cairo during the period. Many houses of the Coptic quarter were demolished during the period and rebuilt in a European style.⁴² On the south of Azbakiyya, Isma'il established the first "Egyptian" opera house. Built in the Italian style, this opera house was situated on the southwestern part of the Azbakiyya square (Plates: 34-39).

Isma'il imitated the Parisians in everything concerning the urban design and the architecture; when the Parisians sold a part of the *jardin de Luxembourg*, Isma'il sold eight *faddans* of the Azbakiyya park⁴³ for very high prices (Fig: 35). The foreigners were the only ones who had the money to buy these pieces of land. Therefore, the local bourgeoisie and the minorities who had been resident at Azbakiyya were moved to the new districts of al-Zahir, al-Faggala, and al-'Abassiyya.

Although the new octagonal park was smaller than the first one designed at the time of Muhammad 'Ali, it was far more elegant and very well designed by the same architect who had designed the *Bois de Boulogne* in Paris (Plate: 54). Isma'il imported trees to be planted in the park, and a variety of shops

⁴² Ibid, 89.

were established there (Figs: 56&57): shops for photography, tobacco, toys, a shooting gallery and a Chinese pavilion (Plate: 104). Every day, the Khedival orchestra played local and European as well as military music. A restaurant was opened also in the Azbakiyya Park; this was a typical copy of the restaurants of the *Champs Elysées* in Paris (Fig: 56). At the area around the Azbakiyya park, many hotels were erected (Plates: 58, 60, 63, 64) and several consulates and money exchanges were established (Fig: 34).

Therefore, Azbakiyya during the 19th century changed completely. Not only the landscape of the area changed, but the population as well. While during the 17th and the 18th centuries the area was occupied by the Ottoman aristocracy and the religious bourgeoisie, during the 19th century it was inhabited by Europeans. The statue of Ibrahim Pasha, which was in 'Ataba square, was pulled down during the rebellion of Urabi in 1882; soon after that it was put at the Opera square where it still stands⁴⁴ (Plates: 55,56). Abouseif presented a plate showing the mosque of Azbak before it had deteriorated (Plate: 47). The mosque shown in the plate of

⁴³ Abuseif, *Azbakiyya*, 92.

⁴⁴ Zaki, *Cairo*, 170.

Abu-Seif could not be Azbak's. The minaret of the mosque was pointed, a feature revealing that it was not built before the 18th century; no sources mentioned that during this period the mosque minaret was rebuilt. The plan drawn by Grand in 1867 (Fig: 58) proves that the free space around the mosque was much smaller than the open square shown in the photo; the open area shown in the photo might be the area between the 'Attaba palace and al-Azhar street. Finally the mosque was razed in 1869, when the statue of Ibrahim Pasha was delivered from France in 1873, which demonstrates again that the mosque shown in the photo is not Azbak's. According to the map of Cairo done by Grand in 1846, the mosque demonstrated in the photo, is most probably the Ibrahim Agha mosque.

a- The 'Ataba Palace: (Plates: 61 & 62) This palace was originally the house of Muhammad al-Dada al-Sharaybi, the patron of the Sharaybi mosque.⁴⁵ 'Abbas I bought the palace and rebuilt it for his mother. During the urban development under Isma'il the gardens of the palace were razed but the palace itself was left.⁴⁶ The

⁴⁵ A.M., *Khitat*, vol. 3, 379.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, vol.3, 380.

palace was transformed later to a mixed court; it was finally razed in 1950 (Fig: 17).

b-The Cercle Oriental: It was located at the Opera square, and it was the place where the foreign elite used to meet. Many Egyptian pashas, who had business with foreigners, constituted part of the guests in this *Cercle* (Fig: 55).

c- The Royal Opera House (Fig: 17): The Opera house might be considered as one of the greatest attempts of the Khedive Ismail to Europeanize Cairo. It is one of the great memorials to his spirit of modernization, and his aim to create an atmosphere of modern civilization and culture.

In 1869, Khedive Isma'il gave instructions to build the Opera House on the occasion of the festivals celebrating the inauguration of the Suez Canal. Named the Khedival (Royal) Opera House, its was completely made of wooden plaster with a cost about 1.6 million pounds. It was completed in six months and its capacity was 850 persons. Two European architects designed the building: Afosconi and Rossi.

The building followed the Rococo style of architecture. The interior was ornamented with a very rich and high style art-works and decoration. Isma'il wanted the premiere performance on the

new Opera House reflect glimpses of the ancient Egyptian history. The French archeologist Fernand François was responsible for providing a concept for the proposed Opera; he choose a prose work by Camille de l'ocle and into a poetic Opera in Italian by an Italian poet called Antonio Gizlonzoni. The famous Italian composer Verdi was commissioned to supply the music of "Aida". However 'Aida was not ready for the inauguration of the Opera house, and another masterpiece of Verdi, "Rigoletto" was performed instead of it⁴⁷ (Plates: 33-39).

I-The Plan of Azbakiyya From the Period of Isma'il to the Period of 'Abbas II (Figs: 51,52,53):

Due to the increase of the population of Cairo, the city had to expand physically. The area to the west of Azbakiyya gardens witnessed great urban development (Plates: 57, 59, 65). Tall and tightly spaced commercial and financial buildings were established; these were to replace the residential villas and the small apartment houses which characterized the area during the time of Isma'il. The major commercial zone occupied the area from the Muski street on the east, (Plate: 94) to the Opera Square in the west (Plate: 61).

⁴⁷ Internet, [www. Sis. eg/calender/html/cl011197.htm](http://www.Sis.eg/calender/html/cl011197.htm)

a- Tiring of the 'Ataba Square: (Plate: 66) The 'Ataba square was one of the most important commercial centers of Cairo during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Built in 1913, the Tiring building was a multi-storey commercial building, having a variety of shops.

The architecture of the building reveals its Parisian background; it was a copy of the departmental stores of Paris, such as *Galleries Lafayette* and *Sammaritaine*. Oscar Horwitz, the architect who designed the building, was a specialist designer of commercial buildings in Paris.

The original owner of the building was the Constantinople-born Victor Tiring. When he decided to erect this building in 1910, he choose a strategic location between al-Muski district and al-Azbakiyya garden (Fig: 62). Completed in 1913, this building was the first large boutique-divided store of its kind in Cairo at the time.

In 1915 Tiring Cairo, under the management of the British, was listed as enemy property because Victor Tiring was Austrian; its activities were liquidated in 1920.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Ra'fat, www.egy.com, 1997.

b-Sednaoui of al-Khazindar Square: (Plates:67, 68) Unlike most of the owners of the departmental stores of the first two decades of the twentieth century who were Jews, Sednaoui was a Syrian merchant. He came to Egypt with his two brothers Sam'an and Silim, and opened several stores in al-Azhar street.

When the brothers Sednaoui choose the area for their department store they took into consideration keeping their distance from the rest of the departmental stores, which were mostly located in the new district of Isma'illiyya. They located their shop in the Khazindar Square near the Azbakiyya garden (Fig 62). Opened on first November 1913, the architectural style of the building follows the same features of the European stores e.g. with two domes flanking the entrance, which served as a landmark. In 1961 the building was nationalized and it still belongs to the government.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Ibid.

II- The Development of the Architecture of Azbakiyya:

A-Types:

a- The Type of Housing in the Area of Azbakiyya

During the Mamluk and Ottoman periods:

The amirial Mamluk residence served as a prototype for the amirial and bourgeois Ottoman houses. However, life during the Ottoman period influenced the basic components of the house and made them smaller in size but far more decorated.⁵⁰

The houses of Azbakiyya during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods can be divided in to three different types: the houses built within the urban context and situated on a main street, the houses situated in alleys (*haras*), and finally, the houses situated on the shores of a pond or a *khalig*. Generally, the houses situated on the streets or *haras*, were relatively high and were built on narrow pieces of land; stepped cantilevers (*rukub*) were often used to provide more space in upper floors and to provide shade on lower ones (Plate: 76). These houses did not usually have reception areas or any services at ground level⁵¹ (Plate: 87).

The houses built on the shores of a *khalig* (Plate: 93) or a

⁵⁰ Pauty, *Les Palais*, 19.

⁵¹ Hanna, *Habiter*, 147.

pond, such as the case of the pond of Azbakiyya, were distinguished from the others by several features. Firstly, the main rooms of the house or palace were located so as to provide a view of the pond or the canal; the main *qa'a* certainly had the view of water (see below). Unfortunately, there is no surviving house built on the shores of the pond of Azbakiyya; however, the houses built on the *khalig* and drawn by Coste might serve as examples of this type of housing (Plates: 69, 70). The house described by Coste had a façade on the *khalig* and the other on the street. The important elements of the house were situated so as to view the water; only the stable and the entrance vestibule were situated to view the street.⁵²

In some other houses the *maq'ad* was the element facing the water. Other houses placed a *mastaba* on the entrance façade, to provide for the sitter with a direct view of the pond.⁵³ Secondly, the *Qaytun* was an element that distinguished the waterfront Cairene architecture, a fact to be studied further in more detail. Finally, many of the houses built on the shores of the pond were constructed on pillars (*da'a'im*). This method of construction

⁵² Coste, *Architecture*, pl. XLVIII.

⁵³ Hanna, *Habiter*, 147.

provides a minimum distance between the houses and the water. An example of this type of house was that of Muhammad Jarkas at Azbakiyya; the façade of the house was supported on nine columns.⁵⁴

b- The change in the type of buildings during the modern periods:

The increase in the density of population in zones situated near the new centers of the city (Azbakiyya, Nasiriyya, and Isma'illiya), imposed the need for collective residences. By the year 1890, the private house was not built except in the districts remote from the center of the city (al-Zahir and 'Abassiyya). However, the collective residences did not represent for Cairo a totally new architectural type; Cairo had had the collective residence plan many centuries previously in the *wakala* and *rab'* buildings (Plate: 71).

The plan of these collective buildings consisted of several floors; courts, leading from the street to staircases, were the main elements of the plans of most of these buildings. The apartments of the ground floor were usually entered from the central court.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 147.

This type of plan fits both small and large pieces of land. Twenty years later this plan was used with some modifications to assemble several buildings, each formed of several floors; the central court leading in this case to several staircases.

The end of the 19th century might be considered as a period of experimentation when new architectural types were added and several types of plans were tried. The main aim of these new plans was to get the optimum use of the piece of land. Small courts were added for lighting, ventilation and for the water piping (figs: 30&31); these courts were not usually accessible. When the piece of land was very narrow the building was designed without a courtyard. When the pieces of land were very large a new design was introduced which consisted of covered passages leading to different staircases (Figs: 32&33) which were used for lighting and ventilation. In many houses we find that some windows were opened on the staircases, which were usually covered by a wooden *shukhshaykha* (Fig: 29).

B- The Elements of Residential Waterfront Architecture:

The modern period (19th and 20th centuries) is very well documented; we have nearly every building at Azbakiyya;

therefore, the study of the modern period can be far more accurate and is much easier than the study of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

The major elements of the Cairene residential waterfront architecture were the following:

a-The Qa'a : The main space of the plan of a Mamluk or Ottoman house was usually termed a *qa'a*. This was the tallest structure of the house; it had two storeys within it. It often indicated the orientation of the other parts of the house. In a Mamluk palace they usually made many *qa'as* (Plate: 84); the master *qa'a* being the *qa'at al-harim*. If the palace or the house overlooked a pond or a *khalig*, as in the case of the houses and the palaces erected around the pond of al-Azbakiyya, the *qa'a* took the main orientation viewing the pond or the *khalig*.

In fact the *qa'a* appeared for the first time in the houses of Fustat in form of a reception space called a *majilis*. Later it consisted of a reception hall, with *iwans* leading to it (Figs: 60, 61). (Plate: 77) The *iwans* were often used as seats for people around the hall (Plate: 83). The *qa'as* of Fustat were the prototypes of the Ottoman and Mamluk *qa'as*. During the Mamluk and Ottoman dynasties, the design of *qa'as* attained its maturity. The *qa'a* of

Muhibb al-Din al-Shaf'i, dated (14th century) is a real masterpiece. Surviving till now, its upper part was a light wooden structure with windows underneath the roof.

The structure is formed of a dome with squinches over a fountain made in a lower level in the ground⁵⁵ (Plate: 88). This design was treated symbolically by Hassan Fathi who considered the dome as a representation of the sky while the fountain, which had decorations recalling Mamluk carpets (Plate: 78), was taken as a representation of a small garden or a patio (Plate: 74). The whole design was therefore interpreted by Fathi as an attempt by the architect to create an "outside" internally (Plates: 81 & 82).

This interpretation was supported by the fact that the level of the ground floor of the central part of the *qa'a*, was lower than that of the *iwans* (Plate: 81). This design was often used in the open courtyard to prevent rainwater or drainage water from entering the *iwans*. The designs of the marble mosaic floors were similar to those used in the pavements of outside courts⁵⁶ (Plates: 74, 78).

b- The Maq'ad: Another important element of the

⁵⁵ Fathi, H., *Colloque*, p.135

⁵⁶ For more details about Mamluk pavements, see 'Abd al-Wahab, *Mamluk pavings*, 1998.

Mamluk architecture was the *maq'ad*. This was generally situated on the first floor, facing the north and looking to the courtyard or a street (Fig: 80). When the house had a façade on a pond or a *khalig*, other *maq'ads* were added to face the water.⁵⁷

c- **The Qaytun**: The *qaytun* was a hall which had a view on water and which was an essential part of the residences facing the water. Its design was similar to the *Qa'a* but on a smaller scale. It always included a door that gave access to the water by staircases. This door served as a point of embarkation and gave access to a boat owned by the patron of the house.⁵⁸

d- **The Qasr**: The *qasr* was a structure offering a panoramic view. It was a very important component of the water front residential architecture. The *qasr* was a hall situated in the highest part of the house or the palace; usually several rooms were attached to the *qasr*. The only *qasr* surviving from the Mamluk Odynasty is that of the Amir Qurqumas in his funerary complex in the northern cemetery.⁵⁹

The houses and palaces overlooking water had large

⁵⁷ Aboouseif, Azbakiyya, 103-104.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 105

⁵⁹ For further study of the northern cemetery, see Hamza, *The Northern cemetery*.

gardens in which kiosks and pavilions were usually erected. These kiosks were named *qasrs* as well. 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Ghurab, a coffee merchant in the 18th century, owned a house on the western shore of Azbakiyya. The *qasr* in the garden of the house, was described as a free standing one with a marble terrace surrounded by a number of rooms.

Another structure named as *qaytun* and *qasr* was built in the complex of 'Uthman Katkhuda. In the *waqf* document, the structure was defined as "a freestanding structure including a qa'a". This structure projected over the water and was supported on wooden piers. After he had enlarged the Nasiri canal, the *Amir* Radwan Katkhuda built a kiosk in the water and connected it to the palace he built on the *khalig*. The *waqf* referred to it as a *qasr*.

e- Mashrabiyya Windows: A very important development in windows on the facades took place at the beginning of the 16th century: windows of lattice woodwork appeared. This technique had been used earlier but in the interior of buildings.⁶⁰ It was also used on balustrades of loggias, musicians' galleries, or in the

⁶⁰ An example of the lattice woodwork is the screen which separated the prayer hall and the court of mosque of Maridani.

wooden lattices on the top of *qa'as* (Plate: 82). This device was suitable for facades (Plate: 72); it provided ventilation and lighting. The view from in to out is possible but not from out to in (Plate: 95). These windows were formed of small spherical pieces of wood which reflected light and provided shade on the window (Plate: 76).

*"The spherical profile of the balusters with protruding sections makes their silhouettes seem to convey the eyesight from one to the other, overbridging the gap in between, thus forming a decorative pattern all over the view seen through the window. The outside view, be it a landscape, a sunset or an object, seen through a mashrabiyya grill seems to be brought to its plane."*⁶¹
(Plate: 73)

The *mashrabiyya* was used commonly during the 17th and 18th centuries and became a landmark of the architecture of Cairo, a concept that fascinated many travelers and artisans (Plates, 90, 91). During the 16th century woodwork windows were not considered as rich as iron grills; bronze or metal lattice works were much more preferable. The windows of Azbak's palace were made of iron grills surmounted by arched bays with stucco grills carrying colored glass.

By the time of the French Expedition, the use of the woodwork window had attained its peak. (Plate: 89) The façade of

⁶¹ Fathi, H. *Colloque*, 135.

the house or the palace was often made entirely in lattice
woodwork (Plate: 75), especially when the residence overlooked a
pond, as at houses around Azbakiyya.

f- **Manzaras** : Another element of Mamluk and Ottoman
residential architecture was the *manzara*.⁶² The *manzara* consisted
of a large terrace usually built in stone in two or three levels above
the ground floor. These were built in gardens of large houses and
were often found in palaces. *Manzaras* had wooden parapets
supported on wooden corbels and were painted in several colors.

A 16th century *manzara* was a bit different: it was located in
the garden of a palace or a luxurious house and consisted of a hall
with five recesses, pierced by iron grilled windows overlooking the
garden.⁶³

g- **The Takhtabush** : This space was created during the
17th and 18th centuries. It consisted of a square recess raised one
step above the ground floor, its façade overlooked the court. This
element was not only present in the houses viewing water, but in

⁶²Not to be confused with the *manazir* of the Fatimids.

⁶³ Abouseif, Azbakiyya, 106.

houses viewing the street as well.

h-The *Malqaf*: This is a large window made over the roof of a house, and covered with a small gabled roof. Usually directed towards the north, the purpose of the *malqaf* was ventilation (Plates 85,86). This element was a common feature of practically all residential buildings in medieval Cairo (Plates: 6, 7).

C- Styles:

Monuments of the 18th century showed Turkish influences more than those of the 16th and 17th centuries; e.g. the architecture of 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda (d.1777) showed a sophistication in the quality of stalactites and the use of wide round arches. The *sabils* of the 18th century introduced the curved façade with the round arch on marble columns, a feature of the 18th century Ottoman architecture.

The particular geographical location of Egypt allowed the Egyptian architect to show different foreign influences. Cairene architecture displays North African influence, such as the horseshoe arch of Ibn-Tulun mosque as well as various pointed horseshoe. The ogee arch, the high drum of the domes as in the

Sultaniyya, Chinese lotus and chrysanthemum patterns can be discerned on the portal walls of Sultan Hassan *madrasa*. Coptic and Byzantine influences that inspired the Fatimids and the Ayyubid architects disappeared during the Mamluk period.

These influences were incorporated in Cairene architecture; different elements were selected from many sources were handled so as to form an integrated and harmonious context within a unifying architectural theme to create the distinguished medieval Cairene architecture.

Finally, during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, many architectural styles carrying European influences accompanied the architectural boom which took place in Cairo during this period.

a- The Rococo Style: Turkish architecture had already been influenced by the European styles. The Rococo style, which appeared in Europe as early as the 17th century was transported to Turkey in the 18th century.⁶⁴ It characterized the works of the period of Muhammad 'Ali in the first half of the 19th century.⁶⁵ Vases of acanthus leaves, realistic flowers, the combination of

⁶⁴ Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, 628.

⁶⁵ 'Abd al-Wahab, *Al- 'Imara*, 17.

white marble and painted or carved wood, were the principal characteristics of this style.⁶⁶ The fountain remaining in the Azbakiyya garden is an obvious example of the Rococo style (Plate: 103).

b-The Neo-Islamic Style: The foreign architects who lived in Cairo introduced what might be called the NeoIslamic Style. They applied Islamic decorative elements to the western based designs of their buildings⁶⁷. One of the most famous Italians architects in Egypt was Antoine Lasciac (1856-1946) who worked in Egypt for 54 years. He succeeded in developing a style based on local Cairene architecture.⁶⁸

A great number of the Cairene elite, in the last decades of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th Century evinced the caprice of living in an Islamic-designed house and hired European architects to design these houses. However some Egyptian architects who had studied in Europe also followed the Neo-Islamic style in their designs (Plate: 102).

⁶⁶ Abouseif, *The North Eastern*, 33.

⁶⁷ Volait, *Antoine Lasciac*, 265.

⁶⁸ For more details, Sidky, 1998.

During the first decades of the 20th century, a wide variety of styles was evident in Cairene architecture. Neo-classicism, Neo-Baroque, the Gothic style, as well as the Islamic revival style could be found at the same time in Cairo. Therefore, Cairene architecture of the first decades of the 20th century could be considered as perhaps a pseudo-Islamic one because it carries the traces of several types of architecture as a result of cosmopolitan influences.⁶⁹

c- Modernized Islamic Style: The architects of this style followed modern principles of simplification and reduction of motifs while trying to maintain the spirit of traditional architecture. Mustafa Fahmi, one of the Egyptian pioneers of architecture in the first half of the twentieth century, was one of the first to apply this style.

Twentieth century Cairene architecture was a product of both European and Egyptian Approaches. Foreign architects (Italians, French, and British) during the 20th century conjured up a new Cairene architecture by accepting some features of European and Islamic architecture and rejecting others. The resultant architectural style in Cairo might be seen as the Islamic manipulation of

⁶⁹ Sakr, *Islamic Cairene Architecture*, 32.

European architecture. Although imported features had always been the source of this architecture, the final products were not copies of these models or prototypes.⁷⁰

The houses of the early nineteenth century exhibited the architectural style called the *Rumi* style whose characteristics were the plain façade, a wooden frieze bordering the stories, and large elongated rectangular windows. Some of these buildings had gabled roofs, and others had a wooden cornice ornamenting the top of them (Plates: 79,102).

This style was introduced at the time of Muhammad 'Ali who remembered it from Greece and Turkey.⁷¹ This *Rumi* style was used until the reign of the Khedive Isma'il, as a drawing of Azbakiyya in 1868 demonstrates (Plate: 96, see also: 98,100). In his chronicle, 'Ali Mubarak described the changes that occurred in the style of architecture.

Mashrabiyya was replaced by rectangular windows, the colored dadoes that formed the paving of the qa'a and the durqa'a were replaced by large pieces of white or black marble. Façades

⁷⁰ Ibid, 109.

⁷¹ Tamraz, *Nineteenth century*, 24.

followed geometrical patterns and were divided in their length and width by cornices.⁷²

Most of the buildings of the first half of the nineteenth century were of two floors (Plates: 92, 99). Unlike the plain façades they exhibited, in most cases had highly decorated interiors.

The European style introduced during the second half of the nineteenth century employed arcades (Fig: 101) and stucco decoration on façades. Therefore the cost of the buildings in this new style was very high; it necessitated European artisans, since the Egyptian ones were not capable of using stucco. In Europe, the buildings of this style showed statues on the corners; for religion reasons vases replaced them in Cairene architecture. But the use of stucco made the introduction of the Islamic revival style much easier.⁷³

⁷² Ibid. ; A. M., *Khitat*, vol. 3.

⁷³ Tamraz, *Nineteenth Century*, 39.

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF

AZBAKIYYA:

(A) Before The French Expedition:

(a) The political status:

When Sultan Selim took Egypt in 1517, Ottomans, who were Muslims, their traditions were not new for the population of Cairo.

Although the Turkish invaders were considered foreigners - they did not speak Arabic - they were nevertheless Muslims. Their Turkish culture, being very close to the Mamluks, was not unfamiliar to the Egyptians. Therefore the declaration of Ottoman rule, which was announced in all the mosques of Cairo in 1517, was much more comprehensible than that of Bonaparte , three centuries later.¹

The Ottomans established a political regime that consisted of a Pasha (*wali*), who was considered as a *wazir* for the Sultan. In Egypt, two groups surrounded the *wali*: the *diwan*, (which

¹ Raymond, Egyptiens: 7.

consisted of officials, notables and some 'ulama'²) and Ottoman judges, e.g. *Qadi al-Quda* and *Qadi al-'Asakir*,³ the latter being sent from Istanbul for one year only. However some Egyptian judges were selected by the Pasha.

The third Ottoman power in Egypt was the Janissaries, who had the responsibility of collecting taxes and revenues of the country and sending them to the Sultan, who indirectly controlled all Egypt's resources. The Janissaries, who were the only link between the Sultan and the owners of agricultural lands, were generally considered a very important part of the ruling elite.⁴

The Mamluks were yet another very important power, controlling almost all the Egyptian provinces. While the Pasha was supposed to dominate the political scene, the other powers (the Mamluks and the Janissaries) often belittled his authority by suborning all the agricultural revenues.

(b) The Economic Status

Though reduced to an Ottoman province, Egypt benefited

² The 'ulama' were *shaiykh*s (this social group will be studied further in some detail).

³ Staffa, *Conquest*: 135.

⁴ Raymond, *Egyptians*: 11.

from its geographical location. Egyptian products found their way easily to different parts of the Ottoman Empire. Egyptian textiles were sent to several parts of Europe. Coffee constituted a major element of trade from 1650 till the end of the 18th century. The main route of the trade was from Yemen to Europe via Egypt. Spices formed another very important trade link coming from India to Europe via Cairo as well. The textile industry attained its peak between 1720 and 1760.

This was, economically, a remarkable period, which affected the architecture positively. More than 26 mosques and 41 fountains were erected, which was more than third of the buildings erected during the previous three centuries.⁵ During this period many *amirs*, especially Janissaries, played a major role by erecting several buildings. The *amir* 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda⁶ (1754- 65) alone built 12 mosques and 14 fountains.⁷

During the period 1760-1770 the Egyptian economy suffered a double crisis. European products which, due to modern machines, were of a very good quality and cheaper price, affected Egyptian

⁵ Raymond, *Egyptiens*: 47.

⁶ This *Amir* had in his service about 25000 Mamluks, which formed an important power.

⁷ Raymond, *Egyptiens*: 16.

products. This crisis affected Egyptian trade and it also affected Egyptian industry. The Syrian merchants living in Egypt, who worked for the European merchants imported all kind of merchandise, especially sugar and textiles. Even coffee, which had been for a very long time one of the main sources of Egyptian trade, was affected at the same time by sugar and textiles. Europeans found a cheaper coffee to import from Indonesia through Turkey.

(c) Social groups during the period before the French Expedition:

Egyptian society witnessed a distinct separation between the ruling class (the elite) and the indigenous population. The social class that played the role of the hinge between the two other classes was the 'ulama'.⁸

(i) The 'ulama': The 'ulama' formed the religious aristocracy who were taught in al-Azhar and did not belong to a specific social class. Being an '*Alim*' bestowed a very effective

⁸ Raymond, *Egyptiens*: 23.

social prestige. Many of the '*ulama*' would be future members of the Pasha's *diwan*.

In the history of Cairo two groups of '*ulama*' could be distinguished: the major '*ulama*' (*al-'ulama' al-Kibar*) and the minor '*ulama*' (*al-'ulama' al-Sighar*). This classification usually depended on the social and economic class of an '*alim*' more than his age or qualifications. *Al-shaykh* al-Sadat and *al-shaykh* al-Bakri were among the very famous '*ulama*' during the last two decades of the 18th century. The latter was in charge of the organization of the festival of *al-Mawlid al-Nabawi*, which was a very big festival where 80,000 assembled in different squares of Cairo to celebrate. After 1750, some of the '*ulama*' even participated in tax collecting, which made them very rich.

The political role of the '*ulama*': The Mamluks were aware of the influence of the '*ulama*' on the Egyptian population, so they had always tried to maintain good relations with them. The Ottoman Pasha wanted always to gain the protection of the '*ulama*' and especially during political crises that often took place between him and the Sultan of Istanbul.

Although the '*ulama*' represented different social classes, those who influenced the political life were usually those who belonged to the elite bourgeoisie. The '*ulama*' owed the great part of their authority as well as their revenues to the ruler. Thus they could interfere to solve internal political problems and they usually succeeded.⁹

Neither the military elite nor the Ottoman rulers could easily manipulate the '*ulama*'; for the leadership was held by hereditary right as well as by piety, spiritual capacity, and prestige. The house of *al-shaykh* al-Bakri at Azbakiyya was a place where people could gather to protest the policy of the government as well as to celebrate religious holidays.¹⁰

(ii) The Major Merchants Egyptian society was characterized during this period by a remarkable social inequality. Major merchants, who represented less than 3% of the total population, owned about 50% of the total trade of the country. As mentioned above, the merchants of coffee and spice (about 500 in

⁹ In 1873, Ibrahim Bey, one of the *amirs*, asked some *shaykhs* to make reconciliation between him and another *amir*, which they did successfully.

¹⁰ Al-Jabarti, 'Aga'ib, 1:392-399.

number) were the most rich and powerful,¹¹ those of textiles and sugar somewhat less so.

The money and the power of those merchants made them closer to the *amirs* and the '*ulama*' than to the ordinary population. The major merchants' power persisted during the period of the French Expedition and even during the first decade of Muhammad 'Ali's reign.

(iii) Artisans and Minor Merchants: The Artisans and the merchants who owned "boutiques" formed a middle social class. However, this class varied in social and economic levels, depending on the kind of craft and the location of the boutique.

In 1798 there were in Cairo about 5000 small merchants, and about 25,000 artisans.¹² The business of this class depended mostly on the internal harmony of the city.

When revolts took place at the time of the French Expedition, these merchants and artisans were the most damaged.¹³

¹¹ Lane, *The Mediterranean*, 581.

¹² Raymond, *Egyptiens*, 51.

¹³ *Ibid*, *Artisans*, 1: 152.

(iv) The ordinary population (*al-'amma*): The ordinary population, the mob, was responsible for any local rebellion. It is very hard to define this class, as it included those who had poor jobs: e.g. *zabbalin*, *hammalin*...etc. The beggars and jobless belonged to this class, which as a whole suffered from poverty, illness and ignorance. Many of these people were on drugs and resided in poor quarters, such as Husayniyya, Bab al-Wazir, Rumayla, and Ibn Tulun. Most of them resided in a *hawsh* (poor rooms grouped around a court) and *'ishash* (hamlets). Even cemeteries, such as Imam al-Shaf'i, were often used as shelters.

What really helped this class to be coherent, was belonging to narrow alleys in a quarter or a district. Forming a human power, it was this class who began the three revolutions of Cairo in 1798, 1800, and 1805.

(v) The Minorities:

1-The Copts: During the 18th century, the Copts represented about 5% of the total population, with the majority in the province. By 1798 A.D. there were about 10,000 Copts in Cairo distributed mainly in seven districts of Cairo. With the exception of

Harat al-Rum, these quarters were distributed west of the city (on the western shore of the *Khalig al-Nasiri*). The main residential area of the Copts was north of the Azbakiyya pond, which was named *Harat al-Nasara*. Although the Copts were not major merchants of textiles or gold, they were talented artisans and perfect woodworkers. They were also talented in the lapidary arts, but they usually did not have the money to do good business. Not only were Copts perfect administrators, but they were good financial workers as well. Therefore, they were hired in the service of many *amirs*.

Among the famous Copts mentioned by al-Jabarti was *al-Mu'alim Ibrahim al-Gawhari* who assumed a very high position in the financial administration of Egypt in the last decade of the 18th century.¹⁴ He had good relations with the government, and he was among the few Copts who were mentioned in al-Jabarti's chronicle. However, the case of al-Gawhari was an exception; in general, the Copts were excluded from any political role, and they had no right to be hired in governmental positions.¹⁵

¹⁴ Al-Jabarti, *'Aga'ib*, 4: 177-178.

¹⁵ Lane, *An Account*, 560.

2-The Jews: The Jews formed a very small community in Cairo. Their residences were in a small quarter in the old city named *harat al-Yahud*, near the market of gold (*al-Sagha*). Their principal activity was the trade in gold and silver and money exchange. (Figs: 34 & 36) Many of them were hired in high positions in the customs house, which gave this minority a great weight in the Egyptian economy.

3-The Syrians: The majority of Syrians who lived in Egypt were Christians.¹⁶ In 1730, Catholic Syrians began to immigrate to Egypt, to benefit from the commercial opportunities offered. But their main residence was in Damietta. From Damietta they moved to Cairo and tried to form an independent community. They resided in the area south of the cemetery of al-Azbakiyya on the west of the *khalig*, as permanent residents.¹⁷

(d)The Position of al-Azbakiyya Among the Economic Centers of the City:

¹⁶ The Christian community in Egypt included many other foreigners: Greeks, Armenians, Italians and others. However their social role was very limited and their activities were also limited in modest commerce or art.

¹⁷ Raymond, *Egyptiens et Français au Caire*, 64 – 65.

The old part of the city was kept as the fundamental heart and real center of Cairo. Although it did not represent the geographical center of Cairo,¹⁸ the old city continued to be the main center of commerce. In the south and the west, the density of population was less than in the center of the city.

The other economic centers of the city were the following: Rumayla, Ibn Tulun, Bab al-Luq and Bab al-Shari'a. The economic activities began from the center of the city and were expanded towards the edges.

This distribution followed a hierarchy of importance: tanneries, for example, were usually located on the edges of the city because they caused pollution, as well as the market of vegetables and fruits, because they needed a very large space. The banks and the money exchangers were usually located in the most important economic centers of the city. In 1873, of 21 banks in the center of Cairo, about 15 were in the old city (fig: 36). In 1899, many of the banks were located on the west of Azbakiyya where Isma'il established the new districts of Isma'iliyya and Nasiriyya.

¹⁸ The expansion of Cairo was blocked in several directions. High sandy hills and cemeteries in the east and the northeast, and the Mukattam hill east of the citadel, had always blocked the development of the city in these directions.

(Fig: 37) Finally, by the year 1911, the districts of Isma'iliyya and Nasiriyya were the real commercial center of Cairo. (Fig: 38)

Therefore, a comparison between the three maps of 1873, 1899, and 1911, would demonstrate the fact that the economic center of the city had always been very close to Azbakiyya, which proves that although Azbakiyya had never been the economic center of Cairo, it was nevertheless the residence of the financial elite for whom the area had been developed.

On the other hand, Azbakiyya witnessed a great increase of the number of hotels erected from 1868 to 1911(Figs: 39, 40, 41). The map of Azbakiyya in 1911 shows that these hotels were concentrated in the Coptic quarter, where the tourists always preferred to reside.

The social distribution of Cairo by the end of the 18th century can be assumed as follows: the Jews resided in the center of the old city and the Copts to the north of Azbakiyya, while the rich bourgeoisie, who needed large space to construct their palaces, were regrouped to the south of the city, near the citadel.¹⁹(fig:25)

¹⁹ The citadel was the center of power, therefore these rich bourgeoisie wanted to be always very near to the ruler.

At the end of the 18th century the rich bourgeoisie began to move towards Azbakiyya. They urbanized the area and, by the end of the century, Azbakiyya was the most elegant district of Cairo. For example, one of the last palaces built in the area during the 18th century was the palace of Al-Alfi Bey, which became Bonaparte's residence during the first year of the French Expedition.

B-The Social and Economic Effects of The French Expedition on Cairo:

(a)The Effects on the Population:

The period of the French Expedition, although not of long duration (1798- 1801), was a chance for Egyptians to make contact with another civilization and indeed with another social regime and administrative system. The Egyptians got the chance, for the first time since the beginning of Ottoman occupation to compare the Turkish system with something else. The revolutionary French social regime had just abandoned the notable titles, and the new laws of the Republic considered all the population free, equal in rights, and even brothers.²⁰ This helped the Egyptian to ascertain

²⁰ Freedom, equality and fraternity were the three goals of the French revolution (1789).

many negative aspects in the Ottoman social system. Chief among these was the obstacles that the Turks made between themselves and the population, whereas the French commanders made no obstacles at all between themselves and the population. The Egyptians were amazed when they saw Bonaparte talking to them in a friendly manner, even giving them gold coins in the festival of *al-Mawlid al- Nabawi*, which took place at Azbakiyya in 1798.²¹

Egyptians appreciated too the administrative system of the French, e.g. the way they organized the diwan archives, and the way the proclamations of the Expedition were translated, printed, distributed, and plastered on walls to gain maximum publicity.

By putting two of his own soldiers to death because they murdered a woman in Azbakiyya, Bonaparte wanted to proclaim to the population that there was no difference between the French soldiers and the Egyptian population.²²

The '*ulama*' also benefited from the new civilization; they regularly visited regularly the library established by Bonaparte.

²¹ Zaki, *Al-Qahira*, 252-3.

²² This was a very clever act from the French Commander to gain popular support. However, soon after that, the population found out that the French were not "so ideal", and therefore local revolts began.

Those who were members of the *diwan* discussed with the French commanders several projects concerning the health of the population, and protection against several diseases.

On the other hand, Egyptians did not feel really comfortable with the French. For Egyptians the question of religion was paramount. The fact that the Mamluks and the Ottomans were Muslims made the Egyptian feel more comfortable with the Ottoman occupation. The gap between the two cultures, the Egyptian and the French, was not easy to surmount. The French thus faced serious problems in Egypt that began with the revolts and ended with the departure of the French army in 1801.

(b) The Effect on the Mamluks and the Ottomans:

During the period of the French Expedition, the Ottomans and the Mamluks were accused of weakness, and the population found that they were not capable of stopping the French. But after the defeat of the French, the Ottomans and the Mamluks looked as if they had defeated the French, a fact which ameliorated their political position locally.

(c) The effect on the Minorities:

The other problem that affected relations between the Muslim Egyptians and the French was that of the Christian minority. The Christian community was the victim of the French plan to dominate Egypt. The French hired Christians in high positions and allowed them to ride horses, build churches, wear what they liked, and to have servants.²³ The French established a hierarchy concerning the way they dealt with Christians. Syrian Christians, the richest and who spoke French and Italian, were the closest to them. The Copts were often hired to help them in administrative works. Even the *diwan* Bonaparte formed included two Christians. Therefore, Christians maintained good relations with the French. Al-Jabarti mentioned that during *Ramadan* 1213 H. (February and March 1799 A.D.), the Christians rode horses and pretended they were in the service of the French.²⁴ After the French had left Egypt, the Christians were seen as betrayers. He also mentioned that if a Muslim robbed the Christians during the revolts, this was justifiable due to their good relations

²³ Before the French Expedition, the Christians in Egypt were not allowed to ride horses or donkeys; they were not allowed either to have Muslim servants, and they were neither hired in high positions, especially not governmental ones.

²⁴ Al-Jabarti, *'Aga'ib*, 3: 106.

with the French.²⁵ The *Farang* and the Coptic districts north of the Azbakiyya pond were pointedly attacked during the revolts.²⁶

In conclusion, the previous study shows that the French Expedition had allowed, indirectly, a confrontation between the Muslim majority and the Christian minority. The latter suddenly aware of their rights, could not accept their old situation anymore. Being the scene of the Muslim-Christian confrontations, the Azbakiyya, which was in ruins by the end of the French Expedition, had to wait for Muhammad 'Ali to begin its reconstruction.

(C) During Muhammad 'Ali's Reign:

(a) Economically:

In his attempt to develop the Egyptian economy, Muhammad 'Ali monopolized existing industries. With the funds derived from the monopoly on agricultural lands, taxation and the monopoly on commerce, he set up new industries with the help of new technicians.

²⁵ Ibid, 3: 106.

²⁶ Ibid, 3: 162.

By 1836, there were in Egypt 14 weapons factories, 29 weaving factories, 12 shops producing indigo, 4 rice mills, 1 *tarbush* factory, 3 sugar refineries, and 300 factories for pressing olives.²⁷ In these factories, about 40,000 workers were paid regular salaries. Muhammad 'Ali protected these factories and limited the imports of similar products, which made these new industries prosper.

By digging the Mahmudiyya canal to connect Alexandria to the Nile, internal trade flourished. Egypt regained its position as a very important commercial center connecting east and west. Between 1830 and 1840, the voyage from England to Egypt was reduced from 40 to 14 days, and in 1845 an Egyptian company offered regular service between Egypt and Istanbul.

The principal reason of the failure of Muhammad Ali's experiment was the determination of the foreign powers to dominate the economic scene. England felt that Egypt was a good source for raw materials and a very good market as well. When import taxes were abrogated by the British government with the approval of the Turkish Sultan, Egypt could no longer export its

²⁷ Staffa, *Conquest*, 345-349.

products, a move which might be considered the beginning of the end of Muhammad 'Ali's economic plans.

Although the external powers played a major role in the decay of the Egyptian industry, several internal factors were responsible as well. During the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, there were two kinds of industries: the already existing and the newly established ones. With regard to the former, weaving establishments, mills, indigo factories, and other arts and crafts were simply taken over. The artisans had to buy raw materials from the government, and they had to sell their productions to the government as well. The state marked every piece and fixed the prices. Unmarked pieces were confiscated.

When Muhammad 'Ali tried to establish new industries, he erected big factories of cotton and wool. The machinery of these factories represented the new technology of the western world; it required qualified workers and regular maintenance, which was not usually available, and these machines often broke down. This new machinery was sold to Egypt at very high prices, which made the final product very expensive.²⁸ Master artisans, who accepted the

²⁸ Crouchely, *The Development*, p 340.

employment salaries in the factories, were transferred to the lower class. The investments of the Europeans in Egypt were not in the domain of industry, which had a very small chance of success in a market, totally dominated by the European products.²⁹

(b) Socially:

Many changes occurred in Azbakiyya during the period of Muhammad 'Ali's reign (1805- 1845). Muhammad 'Ali resided in Azbakiyya near Azbak's mosque when he received the *farman* from Istanbul proclaiming him the ruler of Egypt. Two years later, for security reasons, he moved to the Citadel. However he kept the palace of Azbakiyya as the residence of his *harim*. Having the palace of *harim*, Azbakiyya was transformed from a military district during the French occupation to the place of the ruling elite and the rich bourgeoisie. (Fig: 26) The Alfi palace was restored and transformed to a language institute as mentioned above.

After the filling of the pond, the district of Azbakiyya was considered as the diplomatic district, and foreigners mostly

²⁹ Mustapha, The Break Down, 291-307.

occupied it. However the Copts represented a great number of the residents, especially on the northern part of the district. They were also allowed for the first time during the Ottoman dynasty to build a church on the north of the Azbakiyya garden.

The French and the Coptic quarters were in direct contact with the new diplomatic representations and foreigners communities, which allowed them to play their usual intermediary role between the Europeans and local Muslims.

(E) Economic Crises During the Reign of Isma'il:

Every urban development that Isma'il had made in Cairo was paid for by high taxation and lavish loans, which Europe lovingly heaped on him. Isma'il had borrowed his first £ 5.7 million in 1864, of which he only got £ 4.9 million after deductions. Although this might be considered a very big loss, he continued to borrow with even much higher deductions. During eleven years foreign banks had loaned Isma'il £ 68 million, but only £ 48 million reached him after at-source deduction. In 1875, Isma'il was forced to sell his share in the Suez Canal to England for a very low price (4 million pounds). In 1876, self-appointed Europeans sitting in

judgment on his financial situation told him that he owed them £ 91 million Sterling. Finally, in 1879, Britain and France took over Egyptian finances by assigning two general controllers, one British and another French. In the same year the British and the French general consuls called at 'Abdin palace and urged Isma'il to abdicate, which he did.

Isma'il could not even depend on popular support, since the population was so burdened with the very high taxation he tried to collect. Thereupon, he left the country for Europe where he died in 1895.³⁰

(F) Social and Economic Life in Cairo During the First Three Decades of The British Occupation:

The British occupation brought no sudden physical change to Cairo; England had been ruling Egypt indirectly for many years before 1882. Like the Ottomans, the British needed foreigners to help them rule Cairo. They did not want commercial Cairo to be Egyptian-owned. Britain therefore encouraged urbanization within Cairo, not only for her own administrators, but also for

³⁰ Cameroun, Egypt, 35-50.

commercially inclined foreigners from all over Europe who took most of the Europeanized part of the city as residences and commercial offices.

The British imperial task was very clear. They had to confront an increasing awareness among the rich Egyptian that for each penny they got out of the cotton they grew, the European merchants, and eventually the British, got a lot more. The bourgeoisie also wanted more say in Egyptian political affairs, and together with the Muslim hierarchy they formed an articulate opposition to the British.

What had effected the Egyptian economy the most during the period from 1900 to 1914 was the cotton boom of 1903. This was a result of the early policy of the British in getting Egyptian soil almost totally under cotton.

One of the most obvious signs of the domination of the Europeans in Cairo was their schools. British missionaries often claimed that they brought education to Egypt, but in 1876, before the British occupation, there were already 4817 Arabic schools in Egypt and about 12,000 pupils. There were also twelve separate Coptic schools in Cairo, a large Jewish one, and several Greek,

Syrian, and American schools. After the British occupation most of the missionary schools became middle-class European schools without Egyptian poor pupils.³¹ Most of the Egyptian schools were neglected in favor of these foreign schools. Rich Egyptians sent their children either to these foreign schools or abroad to learn in Europe. Therefore education in Egypt during the British occupation showed a very large gap between the privileged rich, who were learning in European schools, and the underprivileged Egyptians sitting around the pillars of al-Azhar or learning in Arabic schools. Two of these schools, established by the French, were located at Azbakiyya. Later on these two schools were bought by the Americans, and were transformed to American schools.³²

During the first three decades of the British occupation, the area of Azbakiyya represented the heart of the city and the real recreational, commercial and diplomatic center. It was the residence of foreigners and several luxurious hotels, such as Sheppard's, the Continental, and the *Hotel de Paris*, were erected around the famous garden of al-Azbakiyya.³³

³¹ There were few exceptions for this rule: religious schools continued to reserve places for poor Egyptian people; St Joseph's school at Khurunfish is still continuing to do so until now.

³² Mubarak, *Khitat*, 3: 413.

³³ Douin, *L'Egypte*, 1:52-70.

(G) The Notable Titles:

During the 19th and the 20th centuries, Egyptians adopted several notable titles (*titres de noblesse*). Being a Pasha, a *Bey* or an *Effendi*, revealed to a great extent the economic and social position of a person. The first two titles were often given to those who occupied high government positions in the police or in the army. However, The Khedive often offered these titles for huge amounts of money. One can make a case by considering the distribution of the Egyptian population in Cairo depending on those titles. The minor merchants, the industrialist as well as the workers and artisans were excluded from new quarters (Nasiriyya and Ismailiyya as well as the new part of Azbakiyya). This distribution was not accidental; the new districts were the place of the hotels and the diplomatic representations, as we had already mentioned, and the Pashas and *Beys* representing the elite of the society had business with the Europeans. Therefore it was normal for the residences of this class to be near the center of the city, where the foreigners usually resided. The price of land was very high in the new center of the city compared with areas like Zahir and/or

‘Abassiyya. Therefore it was too expensive for the ‘*Amma to reside in those districts attendant to Azbakiyya.*

The geographic distribution of each group is represented in fig. 48. In the quarters of Isma‘il each Pasha could own 5000 square meters. *Beys*, who formed the second group in the hierarchy of the Egyptian administration, represented a homogeneous distribution owning pieces of land around the area of Bab al-Luq and to the south of al-Nasiriyya.

The *effendis*, who were usually less rich than *Beys* and *Pashas*, were concentrated in the eastern limit of Isma‘il’s extensions. Very few of the *effendis* resided in the center of Isma‘iliyya, which was too expensive for their purposes.

Another category of owners, *khawagas*, owned small pieces of land usually at the center of the new districts of Cairo.

Khawagas were Christians; no Muslim was called *khawaga*.

Although the right translation of the word is “foreigners”, many local Copts were referred to as *khawagas*.³⁴ Figure.48 is an attempt to illustrate the distribution of different social classes in the new

³⁴ DAWS, Archives plan : 2.

areas of Azbakiyya, Isma'iliyya, and Nasiriyya at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Although the history of Azbakiyya began during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir who built a palace there, the real history of Azbakiyya as a main district of Cairo began when Ayn al-Taym was established on the southeastern shore of the pond.

The character of Azbakiyya underwent great change in form. From a partly quarantined district in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and early Mamluk periods, its original residential area around the pond during the Ottoman period. Finally, during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, the pond was filled and transformed into a very large park. Many houses as well as diplomatic representations occupied the surroundings of the park.

When the layout of the district had changed, the population residing in it changed as well. The area, which had been the place of palaces and Caliphs residing in summer during the Fatimid and Ayyubid Periods, was first transformed to a quarter for the nomads, notables and 'Ulama during the late Ottoman period and then partially transformed to a military quarter and the residence of the army during the period of the French Expedition. During the reign of Muhammad 'Ali the area was inhabited by the rich bourgeoisie, while the lower middle class constituted the majority of the residents during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Conclusion:

Although the history of Azbakiyya begins during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir who built a palace there, the real history of Azbakiyya as a main district of Cairo began when Azbak al-Tatah erected a quarter on the southeastern shore of the pond.

The district of Azbakiyya witnessed great change in form: from a partly cultivated marshland in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and early Mamluk periods, to an elegant residential area around the pond during the Ottoman period. Finally, during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, the pond was filled and transformed to a very large park. Many hotels as well as diplomatic representations occupied the surroundings of the park.

When the layout of the district had changed, the population residing in it changed as well. The area, which had been the place of princes and Caliphs residing in *manazir* during the Fatimid and Ayyubid Periods, was first transformed to a quarter for the minorities, notables and 'Ulama' during the late Ottoman period and then partially transformed to a military quarter and the residence of the army during the period of the French Expedition. During the reign of Muhammad 'Ali the area was populated by the rich bourgeoisie, while the foreigners constituted the majority of the residents during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The district of Azbakiyya played an important role in the urban development of Cairo; it was the hinge linking the old city and the new districts of Isma'iliyya and Nasiriyya. Azbakiyya was also an essential link of the old city to the western bank of the Nile through Isma'iliyya, especially after the erection of the Qasr al-Nil bridge.

During Muhammad 'Ali's reign, the area witnessed a construction boom; many hotels were erected and the land was sold for very high prices. Therefore, multi-storey buildings proved to be an optimum solution to get the best use of land. Thus, for private houses with gardens one built in the slightly older districts of al-Zahir and 'Abbasiyya.

The architectural elements revealed at Azbakiyya during the late Mamluk and Ottoman periods were those of waterfront architecture. They were designed in such a way as to provide a maximum view of the water, taking into consideration the privacy of the residents. Therefore, *mashrabiyya* windows, which were found to be an ingenious solution providing both a view and privacy, were used on a very large scale. The *qa'a*, *durqa'a*, and *iwans*, were elements revealing the type of life during the period; much later these elements were treated symbolically by Hassan Fathy within a modern context. Other elements, such as *shukhshaikha* and *malqaf* were used for lighting and ventilation.

On the one hand, the *Mashrabiyya* façade, wooden columns and marble dado and paving were main features characterizing Mamluk and

Ottoman residential architecture. On the other hand, the rectangular façades with stucco borders, a style called *Rumi*, characterized late nineteenth and early twentieth century architecture. Foreign architects, who were hired to design many buildings at Azbakiyya, introduced new architectural styles, such as neo-classical and Rococo. The extensive use of cast stucco was a feature imported by those architects.

The political and economic status of the city had always had a great effect on the urbanism of Azbakiyya. When Khedive Isma'il negotiated a huge cash loan from Europe, the area flourished and an architectural boom was shown. On the other hand, when he could not pay the loan back, the architectural development of the area came to a crash until the two European debt controllers came to complete Isma'il's projects.

During the Ottoman period Cairo could be divided into three principal zones: the rich zone at the center of the city, the poor zone situated at the borders of the city, and the middle class residences situated between the two. However there was another parallel distribution of the city following race and/or religion. Different social and economic levels were grouped in those quarters simply because they shared the same race or religion. Examples of these quarters were the following: *Harat al-Nasara*, *Harat al-Yahud*, *Harat al-Rum*, and others.

At the conclusion of our study, we see that Azbakiyya might be considered as a very good sample of the urban development of Cairo.

Every major political event had an echo in Azbakiyya, different social groups were very well represented in it, and even the economic status of Cairo was indirectly reflected in its urban development; a fact which makes the study of the urban development of Azbakiyya to the break of world war I, a micro study of the political, social, and economic history of Cairo.

APENDIX: 1

The Fatimid Caliphs in Egypt:

- 1- Al-Mu'izz: 969 – 975.
- 2- Al-'Aziz: 975 – 995.
- 3- Al- Hakim: 995-1020.
- 4- Al- Zahir: 1020-1036.
- 5- Al-Muntasir: 1036-1094.
- 6- Al-Musta'li: 1094-1102.
- 7- Al-Amir: 1102-1130.
- 8- Al-Hafiz: 1130-1149.
- 9- Al-Zafir: 1149-1154.
- 10- Al-Fa'iz: 1154-1160.
- 11- Al-'Adid: 1160-1171.

The Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt:

- 1- Al-Nasir Salah al-Din: 1171- 1193.
- 2- Al-'Aziz: 1193- 1199.
- 3- Al- Mansur: 1199- 1200.
- 4- Al-'Adil: 1200- 1218.
- 5- Al-Kamil: 1218- 1238.
- 6- Al-'Adil II: 1238- 1240.
- 7- Al-Salih: 1240-1250.
- 8- Al Mu'azam: 1250-1251.

The Sultans of the Bahari Mamluk period:

- 1- Shagarat al-Durr: 1251.
- 2- Al-Mu'izz Aybak: 1251-1258.
- 3- Al-Mansur Nur al-Din: 1258-1259.
- 4- Al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Din: 1259-1260.
- 5- Al Zahir Baybars: 1260-1277.
- 6- Al-Sa'id Nasir al-Din: 1277-1279.
- 7- Al-'Adil Badr al-Din: 1279.
- 8- Al-Mansur Sayf al-Din: 1279-1290.
- 9- Al-Ashraf Khalil: 1290-1294.
- 10- Al-Nasir Muhammad: 1294-1295.
- 11- Al-'Adil Zaiyn al-Din: 1295.
- 12- Al-Mansur Hussam al-Din: 1295-1297.
- Al-Nasir's second Sultanate: 1297-1307.
- 13- Al-Muzaffar Rukn al-Din: 1307-1308.
- Al-Nasir's third Sultanate: 1308-1339.
- 14- Al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Din: 1339-1340.
- 15- Al-Ashraf 'Ala' al-Din: 1340.
- 16- Al-Nasir Shihab al-Din: 1340-1341.
- 17- Al-Salih 'Imad al-Din: 1341-1344.
- 18- Al-kamil Sayf al-Din: 1344-1345.
- 19- Al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Din: 1345-1346.
- 20- Al-Nasir Badr al-Din: 1346-1350.
- 21- Al-Salih Salah al-Din: 1350-1354.
- Al-Nasir Badr al-Din's 2nd Sultanate: 1354-1361.
- 22- Al-Mansur Salah al-Din: 1361-1363.
- 23- Al-Ashraf Zayn al-Din: 1363-1377.
- 24- Al-Mansur 'Ala' al-Din: 1377-1381.
- 25- Al-Salih Zayn al-Din: 1381-1382.

The Burji Mamluk Sultans:

- 1- Al-Zahir barquq: 1382-1398.
- 2- Al-Nasir Farag: 1398-1412.
- 3- Al-Khalifa al-Musta'in: 1412.
- 4- Al-Mu'ayyid Saykh: 1412-1421.
- 5- Al-Muzaffar Shihab al-Din: 1421.
- 6- Al-Zahir Tutar: 1421.

- 7- Al-Salih Nasir al-Din: 1421-1422.
- 8- Al-Ashraf Barsbay: 1422-1437.
- 9- Al-'Aziz Yusuf: 1437-1438.
- 10- Al-Ashraf Barsbay: 1438-1453.
- 11- Al-Mansur 'Uthman: 1453.
- 12- Al-Ashraf Inal: 1453- 1461.
- 13- Al-Mu'ayyid Ahmad: 1461.
- 14- Al-Zahir Khushqudum: 1461-1467.
- 15- Al-Zahir Bilbay: 1467.
- 16- Al-Zahir Tamirbugha: 1467.
- 17- Al-Ashraf Qaytbay: 1467-1495.
- 18- Al-Nasir Muhammad: 1495-1498.
- 19- Al-Zahir Qansuah: 498-1499.
- 20- Al-Ashraf Qanbalat: 1499-1500.
- 21- Al-'Adil Tumanbay: 1500.
- 22- Al-Ashraf Qunsuwa: 1500-1516.
- 23- Al-Ashraf Tumanbay: 1516-1517.

The Ottoman Rulers of Egypt up to the French Expedition:

- 1- Khayrbek: 1517-1520.
- 2- Mustafa Pasha: 1520-1521.
- 3- Qasim al-Gamil Pasha: 1521.
- 4- Ahmad Pasha al-Wazir: 1521-1522.
- 5- Qasim Pasha: 1522-1523.
- 6- Ibrahim Pasha: 1523.
- 7- Suliman Pasha: 1523-1533.
- 8- Khusraw Pasha: 1533-1535.
- 9- Suliman Pasha: 1535-1538.
- 10- Dawud Pasha: 1538-1549.
- 11- Mustafa Pasha: 1549.
- 12- 'Ali Pasha: 1549-1555.
- 13- Muhammad Pasha: 1555-1557.
- 14- Iskandar Pasha: 1557-1560.
- 15- 'Ali Pasha: 1560-1561.
- 16- Mustafa Gahin Pasha: 1561-1565.
- 17- 'Ali Pasha al-Sufi: 1565-1567.
- 18- Mahmud Pasha: 1567-1569.
- 19- Sinan Pasha: 1569-1570.
- 20- Garkas Iskandar Pasha: 1570-1573.
- 21- Sinan Pasha's 2nd rule: 1573-1574.
- 22- Hussayn Pasha al-Khadim: 1574-1576.
- 23- Massih Pasha: 1576-1582.
- 24- Husni Pasha: 1582-1585.
- 25- Ibrahim Pasha: 1585-1587.
- 26- Sinan Pasha al-Daftardar: 1587-1589.
- 27- Owis Pasha: 1589-1593.
- 28- Ahmad Hafiz Pasha: 1593-1597.
- 29- Muhammad Qurat Pasha: 1597-1598.
- 30- Al-Sayyid Muhammad Pasha: 1598-1599.
- 31- Khidr Pasha: 1599-1603.
- 32- 'Ali Pasha Ya'ud: 1603-1604.
- 33- Al-Wazir al-Hagg Ibrahim: 1604-1605.
- 34- Muhammad Pasha al-Kurgi: 1605-1606.
- 35- Hassan Pasha al-Daftardar: 1606-1608.
- 36- Muhammad Pasha Mu'ammam: 1608-1611.
- 37- Muhammad Pasha al-Sufi: 1611-1615.
- 38- Ahmad Pasha al-Daftardar: 1615-1618.
- 39- Mustafa Pasha al-Minikly: 1618.
- 40- Ga'far Pasha: 1618-1619.
- 41- Mustafa Pasha al-Hamidi: 1619-1620.
- 42- Hassan Pasha Arna'ut: 1620-1622.
- 43- Muhammad Pasha al-Bistangi: 1622.
- 44- Ibrahim Pasha al-Silihdar: 1622-1623.
- 45- Al-Wazir Mustafa pasha: 1623.
- 46- 'Ali Pasha al-Shishingi: 1623-1624.
- 47- Mustafa Pasha Qurra: 1624-1626.

- 48- Bayram Pasha: 1626-1628.
- 49- Al-wazir Tayaniyya Pasha: 1628-1630.
- 50- Musa Pasha: 1630.
- 51- Khalil Pasha: 1630.
- 52- Bakirgi Ahamad: 1630-1632.
- 53- Hussayn Pasha: 1632-1635.
- 54- Muhammad Pasha: 1635-1637.
- 55- Naqash Mustafa: 1637-1640.
- 56- Maqsud Pasha: 1640-1642.
- 57- Ayyub Pasha: 1642-1644.
- 58- Haydar Agha Pasha: 1644-1646.
- 59- Mustafa Pasha: 1646-1647.
- 60- Muhammad Pasha Sharif: 1647.
- 61- Ahmad Pasha: 1647-1648.
- 62- 'Abd al-Rahman Pasha: 1648-1650.
- 63- Khaski Muhammad Pasha: 1650-1654.
- 64- Khalig Zada Mustafa: 1654-1655.
- 65- Muhammad Pasha: 1655-1658.
- 66- Mustafa Pasha: 1658-1660.
- 67- Ibrahim Pasha: 1660-1662.
- 68- 'Umar Pasha: 1662-1667.
- 69- Ibrahim Pasha: 1667-1668.
- 70- Qura Qash 'Ali: 1668-1669.
- 71- Ibrahim Pasha Katkhuda: 1669-1673.
- 72- Hussayn Pasha: 1673-1675.
- 73- Ahmad Pasha: 1675-1676.
- 74- 'Abd al-rahman Pasha: 1676-1680.
- 75- 'Uthman Pasha: 1680-1683.
- 76- Hamza Pasha: 1683-1687.
- 77- Husny Pasha Katkhuda: 1687.
- 78- Husny Pasha al-Damada: 1687-1689.
- 79- Ahmad Pasha al-Katkhuda: 1689-1690.
- 80- 'Ali Pasha al-Kazindar: 1690-1694.
- 81- Isma'il Pasha: 1694-1697.
- 82- Hussayn Pasha: 1697-1699.
- 83- Qura Muhammad Pasha: 1699-1704.
- 84- Sulayman Pasha: 1704.
- 85- Muhammad Rami Pasha: 1704-1706.
- 86- Muslim 'Ali Pasha: 1706-1707.
- 87- Husny Pasha al-Damada's 2nd rule: 1707-1709.
- 88- Ibrahim Pasha al-Qabudan: 1709-1710.
- 89- Khalil Pasha al-Kusig: 1710-1711.
- 90- Wali Pasha: 1711-1714.
- 91- 'Abidi Pasha: 1714-1717.
- 92- Muslim 'Ali Pasha's 2nd rule: 1717-1720.
- 93- Ragab Pasha: 1720-1721.
- 94- Muhammad Pasha al-Nashangi: 1721-1726.
- 95- 'Ali al-Muraly Pasha: 1726.
- 96- Muhammad Pasha al-Nashangi's 2nd rule: 1726-1728.
- 97- Abu-Bakr Pasha: 1728-1729.
- 98- Kaburli Zada Pasha: 1729-1734.
- 99- Muhammad Pasha al-Silihdar: 1734.
- 100- 'Uthman Pasha: 1734-1735.
- 101- Abu-Bakr Pasha's 2nd Rule: 1735-1737.
- 102- Mustafa Pasha: 1737-1740.
- 103- Suliman Pasha: 1740-1741.
- 104- 'Ali al-hakim Pasha: 1741-1742.
- 105- Yihia Pasha: 1742-1743.
- 106- Muhammad Sa'id Pasha: 1743-1744.
- 107- Muhammad Raghil Pasha: 1744-1748.
- 108- Ahmad Pasha Kur: 1748-1750.
- 109- Al-Sharif 'Abdallah Pasha: 1750-1753.
- 110- Malik Muhammad Amin Pasha: 1753.
- 111- Baltagi Mustafa Pasha: 1753-1756.
- 112- 'Ali al-Hakim Pasha's 2nd rule: 1756-1758.
- 113- Muhammad Sa'id Pasha: 1758.
- 114- Mustafa Pasha al-Sadr: 1758-1761.

- 115- Ahmad Kamil Pasha: 1761-1762.
- 116- Bakir Pasha: 1762.
- 117- Hassan Pasha: 1762-1765.
- 118- Hamza Pasha: 1765-1768.
- 119- Muhammad Raqim Pasha: 1768-1769.
- 120- Dawadar Muhammad Urfalli Pasha: 1769-1770.
- 121- Ahmad Pasha: 1770-1771.
- 122- Qura Khalil Agha Pasha: 1771-1774.
- 123- Mustafa al-Nabulsi: 1774-1775.
- 124- Ibrahim Pasha: 1775-1777.
- 125- Muhammad 'Izzat Pasha: 1777-1779.
- 126- Ra'if Isma'il Pasha: 1779-1780.
- 127- Ibrahim Pasha: 1780.
- 128- Isma'il Pasha's 2nd rule: 1780-1782.
- 129- Muhammad Malak Yakan Pasha: 1782-1783.
- 130- Al-Sharif 'Ali Pasha: 1783-1784.
- 131- Muhammad al-Salihdar Pasha: 1784-1785.
- 132- Al-Sharif Muhammad Malak Yakan Pasha: 1785-1786.
- 133- Al-Sharif 'Abid Pasha: 1786-1788.
- 134- Isma'il Pasha al-Tunsi: 1788-1790.
- 135- Muhammad 'Izzat Pasha: 1790-1794.
- 136- Salih Pasha al-Qaysari: 1794-1795.
- 137- Abu-Bakr Pasha al-Tarabulsi: 1795-1798.

The Ottoman Rulers of Egypt After the French Expedition:

- 1- Muhammad Pasha Abu Ramaq: 1801.
- 2- Muhammad Khusraw Pasha: 1801-1803.
- 3- Tahir Pasha: 1803.
- 4- Ahmad Pasha: 1803 (only one day 3rd of May)
- 5- Ibrahim Bey: 1803-1804.
- 6- 'Ali Pasha al-Tarabulsi: 1804.
- 7- Ahmad Pasha Khurshid: 1804-1805.
- 8- Muhammad 'Ali Pasha: 1805-1847.
- 9- Ibrahim Pasha: 1847-1848.
- 10- 'Abbas Hilmi I: 1848-1854.
- 11- Sa'id Pasha: 1854-1863.
- 12- Isma'il Pasha: 1863-1879.
- 13- Muhammad Tawfik Pasha: 1879-1892.
- 14- 'Abbas Hilmi II: 1892-1914.

Appendix 2

Newly Established Streets and Alleys at Azbakiyya Mentioned by 'Ali Mubarak:¹

(A) Streets:

- 1- **Al-Mahdi:** began at al-Bab al-Bahari street and ended in Kamil street; named after al-shaykh al-Mahdi, whose house was located in that street.
- 2- **Al-Gunayna** (the garden): began at the Khazidar square and ended at al-Kamil street; named after the Azbakiyya garden.
- 3- **Al-Miligi:** began at Kamil street and ended at al-Gunayna street; named after al-Miligi Pasha, whose house was there.
- 4- **Al-Bab al-Bahari** (the northern portal): began at Wish al-Birka street and ended at al-Gunayna street; the origin of the name was the location of the street opposite to the northern portal of the Azbakiyya garden.
- 5- **Kamil:** began at Wish al-Birka street and ended at the Tiyyatro square; named after Kamil Pasha, who owned a house in that street.
- 6- **Al-Fasqiyya** (the fountain): began from Wish al-Birka and ended at Kamil street; the origin of the name is not known, however a fountain probably exists in that street and after which the street was named.
- 7- **Al-Busta** (the post office): began at al-Khazindar square and ended at al-Gawhari street; obviously the origin of the name was the post office, which was erected at al-'Ataba square.
- 8- **Al-Bawaki** (the arcades): began at al-Khazindar square and ended at al-Gawhari street, the origin of the name was the arcades built on the two sides of the street, which consisted a new architectural feature introduced by the Khedive Isma'il.
- 9- **Al-Bab al-Sharqi** (the eastern portal): began from al-Bawaki street and ended at al-Busta street; the reason of the name was the location of the street opposite the eastern door of the Azbakiyya garden.
- 10- **Azbak:** began at al-'Ataba al-Khadra square and ended at al-Busta square; named after Azbak because it had his mosque.
- 11- **Maydan Azbak:** began at al-'Ataba al-Khadra square and ended at al-Gawhari street; named after Azbak because it was the old place of Azbak's quarter.

¹ Mubarak, A., 3: 413.

12- Al-Tiyatro (the theatre): began at al-Tiyatro square and ended at Bulaq street; the reason of the name was the location of the Opera house, built by Isma'il, at its beginning.

13- Al-Baydaq: began at al-Tiyatro street and ended at Tahir street; named after the shaykh Muhammad al-Baydaq who had a mausoleum there.

14- Jami' al-Kikhiya: began at al-Badrum square and ended at 'Abdin street; named after 'Uthman Katkhuda, who built a quarter at that area.

(B) Alleys (*harat*):

1- **Al-Husayni:** began at Wish al-Birka street and ended at al-Gunayna street, named after al-Husayni, one of the notables who owned a house in that alley.

2- **Galbi:** began at Wish al-Bika street and ended at al-Gunayna street; named after Tadrus al-Galbi, one of the rich Copts who lived there.

3- **Al-Madrasatayn** (the two schools): began at Wish al-Birka and ended at al-Gunayna street; the reason of the name was the two American schools located in the alley.

4- **Zughayb:** began at al-Manakh street and ended at Jami' al-Kikhiya street; named after the Comte Zughayb, who had a house there.

5- **Al-Zahhar:** began at Wish al-Birka street and ended at al-Gunayna street; named after Al-Zahhar Bey, one of the notables who had a house there.

6- **Al- 'Arbakhana** (the stable): began at Glaby alley and ended at al-Bab al-Bahari street; the origin of the name is unknown.

Appendix 3

TABLES BASED ON THE DOCUMENTS OF *DAR AL-WATH'IO AL-MISRIYYA*:

TABLE (1)
The total cost of razing one kilometer within the old urban context of Cairo by the time of Isma'il:¹

SUBJECTS	COST
The cost of buying private constructions including pieces of land.	259000
The cost of buying pieces of land for services.	113500
The cost of the demolitions of existing buildings.	240000
The cost of transporting materials and rubbish.	11600
The cost of new constructions.	750000
The total	1374000

Table (2)
The Cost of A Medical Center Built in Cairo in 1870:²

SUBJECTS	UNIT PRICE	LENGH. AREA. VOLUME	TOTAL COST (in French francs)
Underground foundation	3.5	599.63	2094.75
Masonry	7.00	110.50	773.50
Ceiling wood	7.00	320.50	2243.50
8 Windows for the underground	40.00		320.00
19 Windows	140.00		2660.00
2 doors with windows 120x 285 cm	200.00		540.00
3 doors with windows 110 x 285cm.	150.00		450.000
15 doors 95 x 220	90.00		1350.00
6 doors 90 x 220 cm	85.00		510.00
Staircases from the underground to the terrace	30.00		1440.00
Outside staircases			1000.00
2 Toilets	80.00		160.00
Stones	27.00	12	324.00
Terrace in cement	6.00	209.25	1255.50
Pavements	25.00	68.53	1713.25

¹ DAWS-IS-30-58/2. All costs were in French Francs.

² DAWS-IS-52-68/2.

TABLES (3&4)**The most important owners of land in Cairo in 1892 :**(A) The quarters of Isma'illiya, Nassiriyya, and Azbakiyya (Without the old urban context)³.

NAME	AREA (m2)
'Ali Pacha Sharif	78150
Gattawi Bey	41500
Suarez & company	21820
Hayder Pacha Yakan	18900
Ahmed Pacha Rashid	18660
Family Fahmi	15800
Mohammed Bey 'Ezzat	14960
Khayri Pacha	14320
Ghalib Pasha	12500

(B) The districts of Bulaq, Shubra, Faggala, and Zahir :

NAME	AREA (m2)
Habib bey al-Sakakini	103200
Al-Turguman	84000
Yussef Zoheb	82000
Sharkas	68000
Ganina al-Tawil	60000
Tuman Sanan	58300
Muna Sabbagh	49380
Al-Sit Kathura	42470
Family Chamachirgi	41400

Table(5)**A COMPARASON OF CAIRO'S NEW DISTRICTS OF THE CENTER AND NEW EXTENTIONS OF THE OLD URBAN CONTEXT:**⁴

	Center	Extension	Total
The number of owners who had more than 4000 m2	42	48	90
The cost of the land pound/m2	2.80	0.35	-
Total area occupied.	431900	1031525	1463425
Total cost of the lands.	1202320	361000	1570320
The average area of a piece of land.	10283	21490	16200
The average cost of a piece of land.	28780	7500	13440
The number of the most important owners	9	9	18
The area they owned (m2)	236700	589000	825700
Percentage of the land they owned to the total area of the district	55%	57%	56%

³ DAW-MPW-1/6⁴ DAW-MPW-8/8

TABLE(6)

A COMPARASON BETWEEN THE SHARE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF OWNERS IN 1892:⁵

OWNER	PERCENTAGE
La Voirie	33%
Waqfs	17.5%
Royal Family	6.5%
Pachas	16.5%
Beys	8%
Effendis	3%
Khawagas	5%
Others	10.5%

TABLE(7)

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POOR TYPES OF RESIDENCES OF CAIRO IN 1897:⁶

District	Total population	Number Residing in 'Ishash		
	Number	%	Number	%
'Abdin	49323	8.7	-	-
Bab al-Shari'a	51600	9.0	-	-
Bulaq	76281	13.4	14020	66.5
Chubra	32799	5.8	281	1.3
Darb al-Ahmar	68592	12	-	-
Azbakiyya	36070	6.3	-	-
Gamaliyya	57897	10.1	357	1.7
Khalifa	47196	8.3	-	-
Misr al-Qadima	31849	5.6	3163	15
Muski	23238	4.1	-	-
S.Zaiynab	53611	9.4	3265	15.5
Matariyya	36751	6.4	-	-
Helouan	4875	0.9	-	-
CAIRO	570062	100	21086	100

⁵ DAW-MPW, 1/6⁶ DAWS-General statistics, 1898, p.15-35

TABLE (8)**THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POOR TYPES OF RESIDENCES OF CAIRO IN 1897:⁷**

District	Residing in <i>hawshs</i>		Without Residence	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bab al- Sha'ria	512	14.3	1259	10.8
Bulag	1606	45	2204	18
Shubra	-	-	775	6.3
Darb al-Ahmar	103	2.9	984	16.3
Azbakiyya	196	5.5	720	5.9
Gamaliyya	275	7.7	2065	17
Khalifa	294	8.2	493	4
Misr al-Qadima	89	2.5	283	2.3
Muski	-	-	573	4.7
S.Zaiynab	461	12.9	685	5.6
Matariyya	-	-	550	4.5
Helouan	-	-	-	-
'Abdin	38	1	586	4.8
Cairo	3574	100	-	-

TABLE(9)**THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE OWNERS OF PIECES OF LAND WITHIN THE NEW DISTRICTS IN TERMS OF THEIR NOTABLE TITLES:⁸**

	Pacha	Bey	Effendi	Khawaga
Number	95	108	112	61
Average area of a piece of land.	5025	2165	732	2320
Total area	477380	233820	81980	141520
% to the total area of the private ownership	38%	19%	6.5%	11.5%

⁷ DAWS- General statistics, 1898. P. 15-35.⁸ DAW- MPW,6/1

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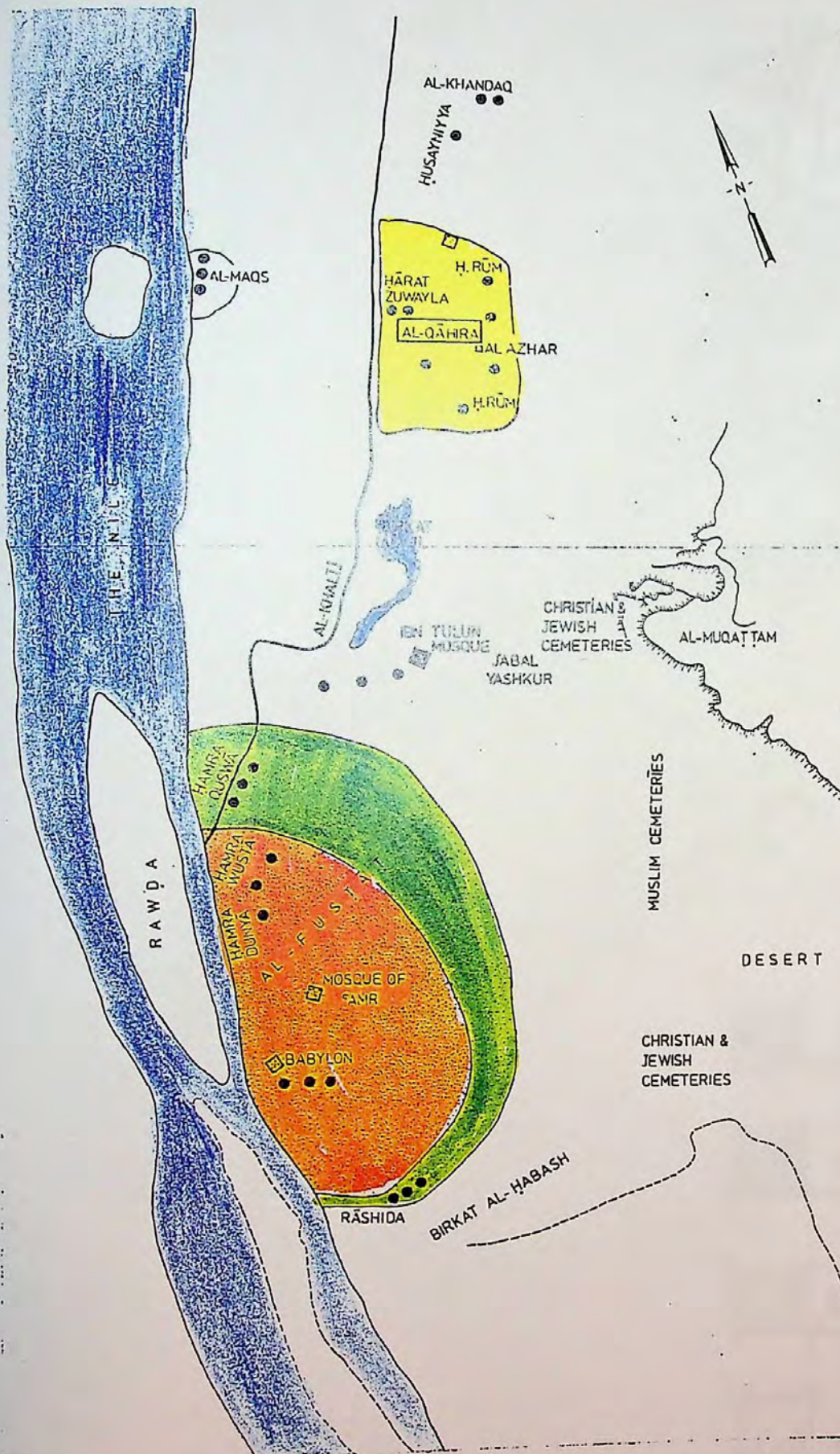
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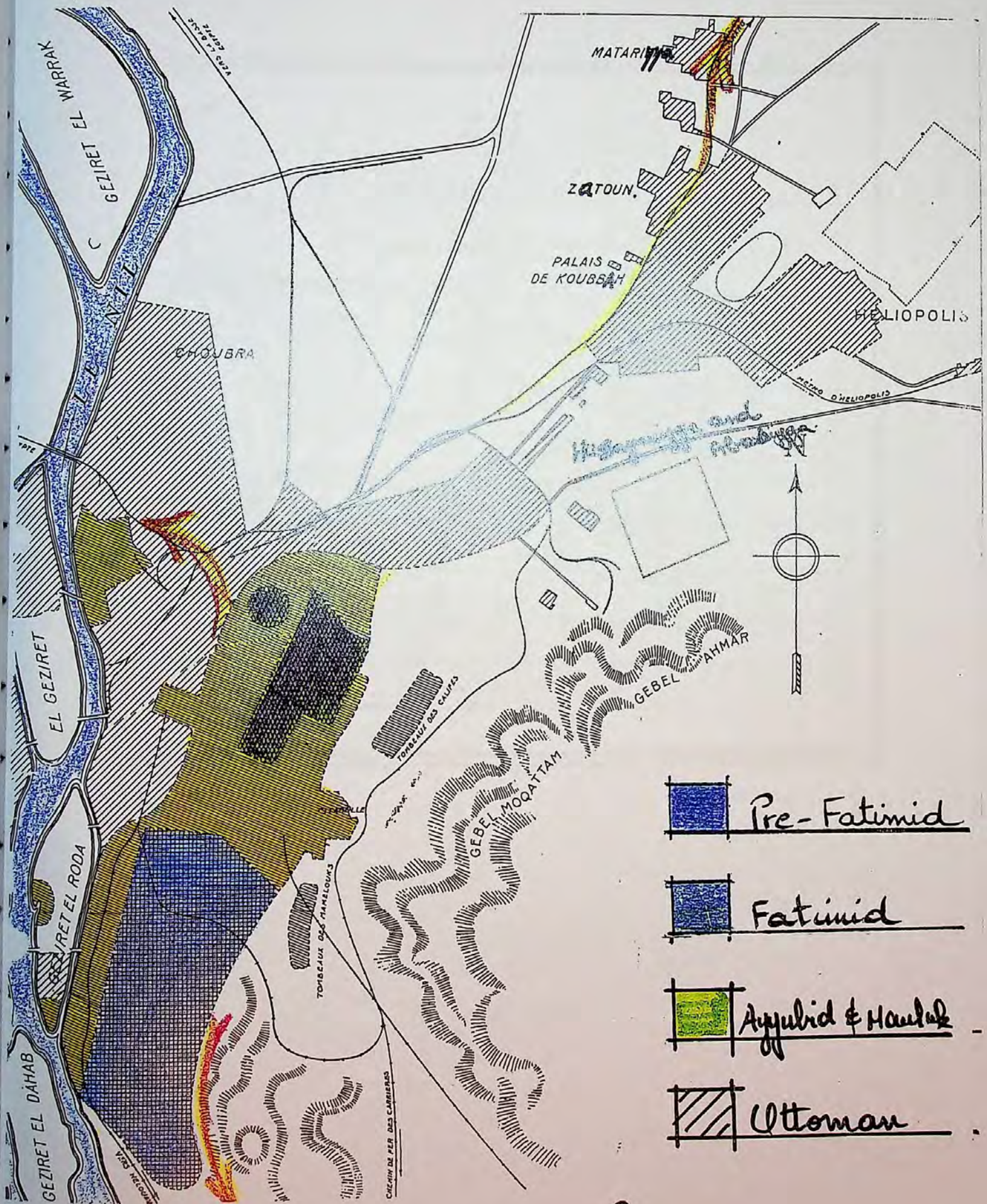
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Al-Qahira

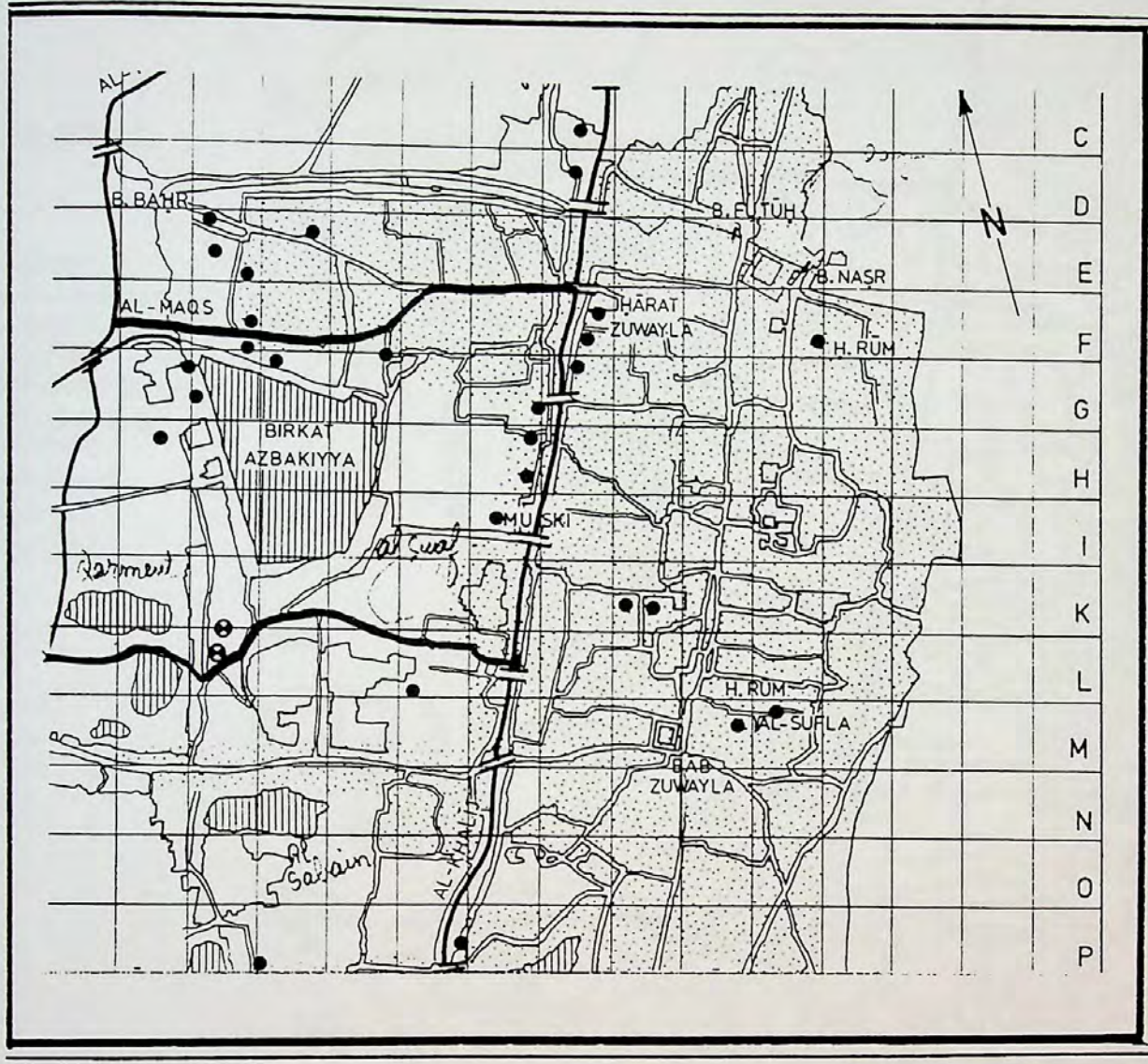
Fustat

The suburbs of Fustat

FIGURES



FIGURES

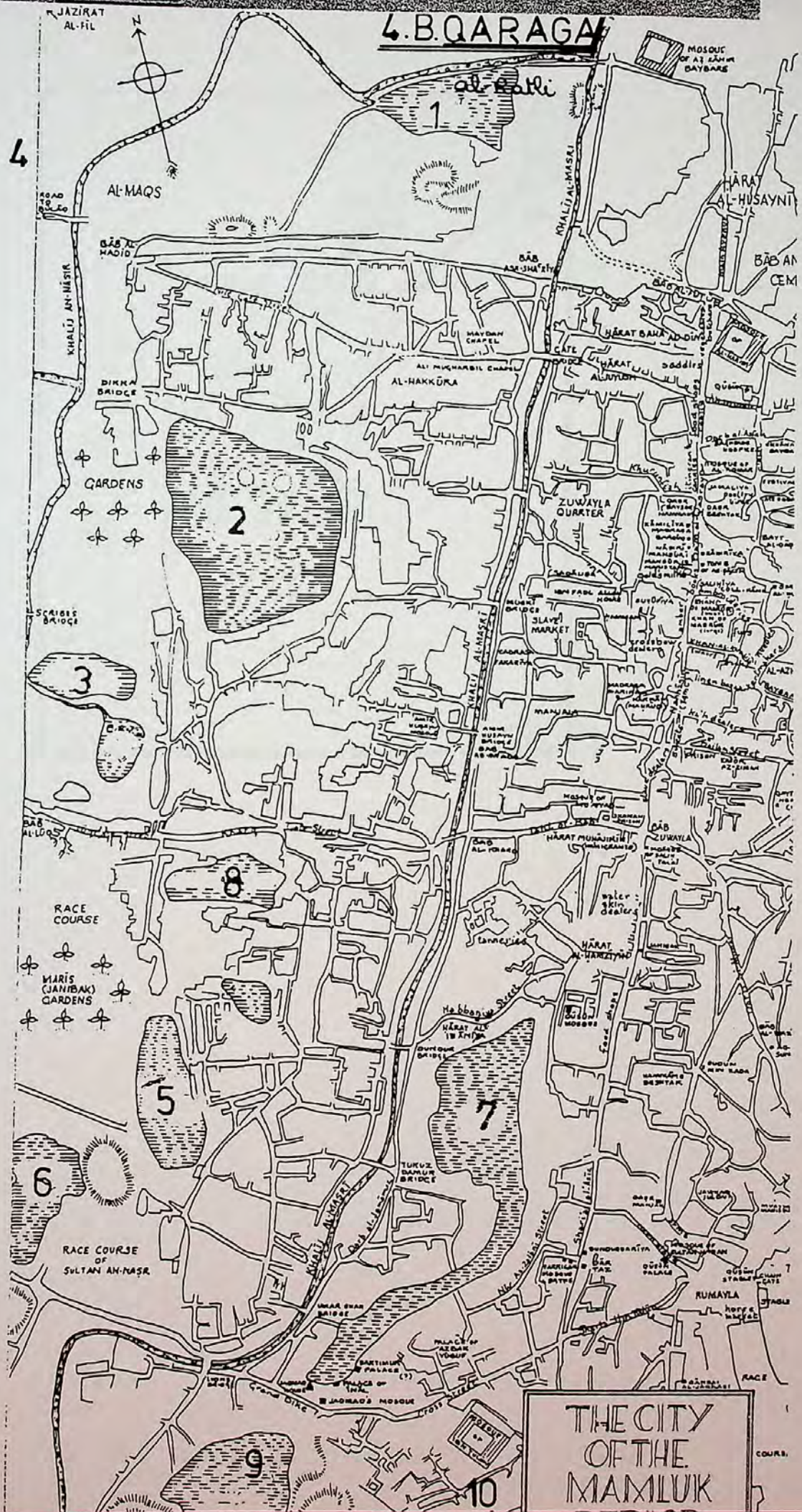


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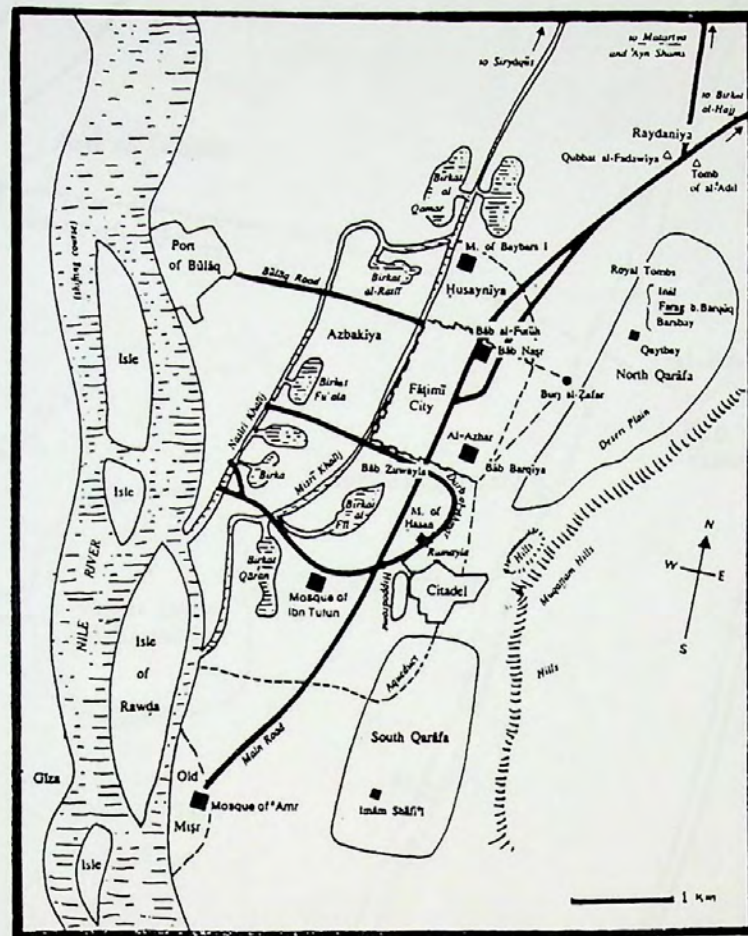
4.B.QARAGA

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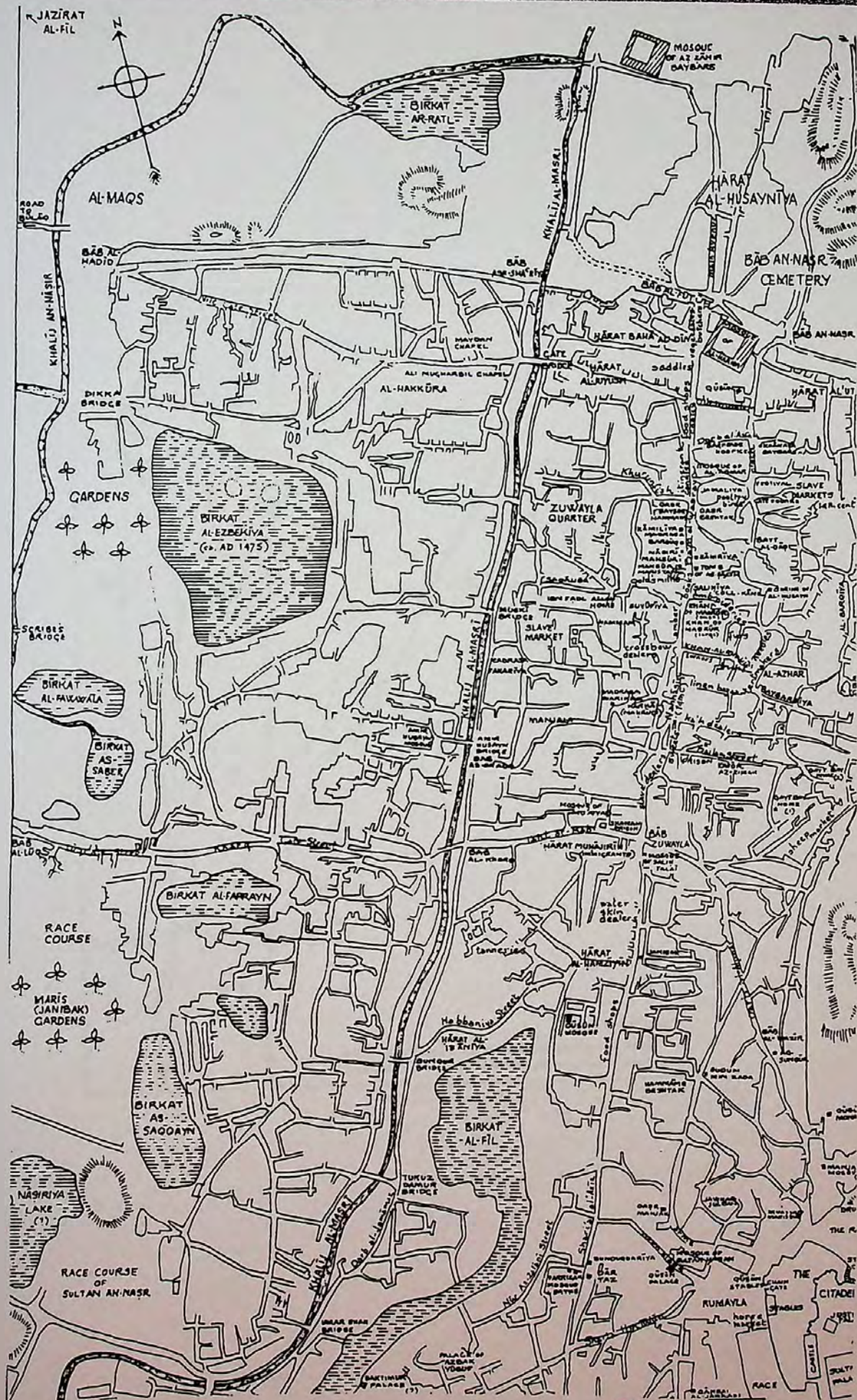
- rkat al-Ratli.
- rkat al-Azbakiyya.
- kat Qarmut.
- kat Qaraga.
- kat al-Sabba'in.
- kat al-Nasiriyya.
- kat al-Fil.
- kat al-Shuqaf.
- kat Qarun.
- kat al-Habash.



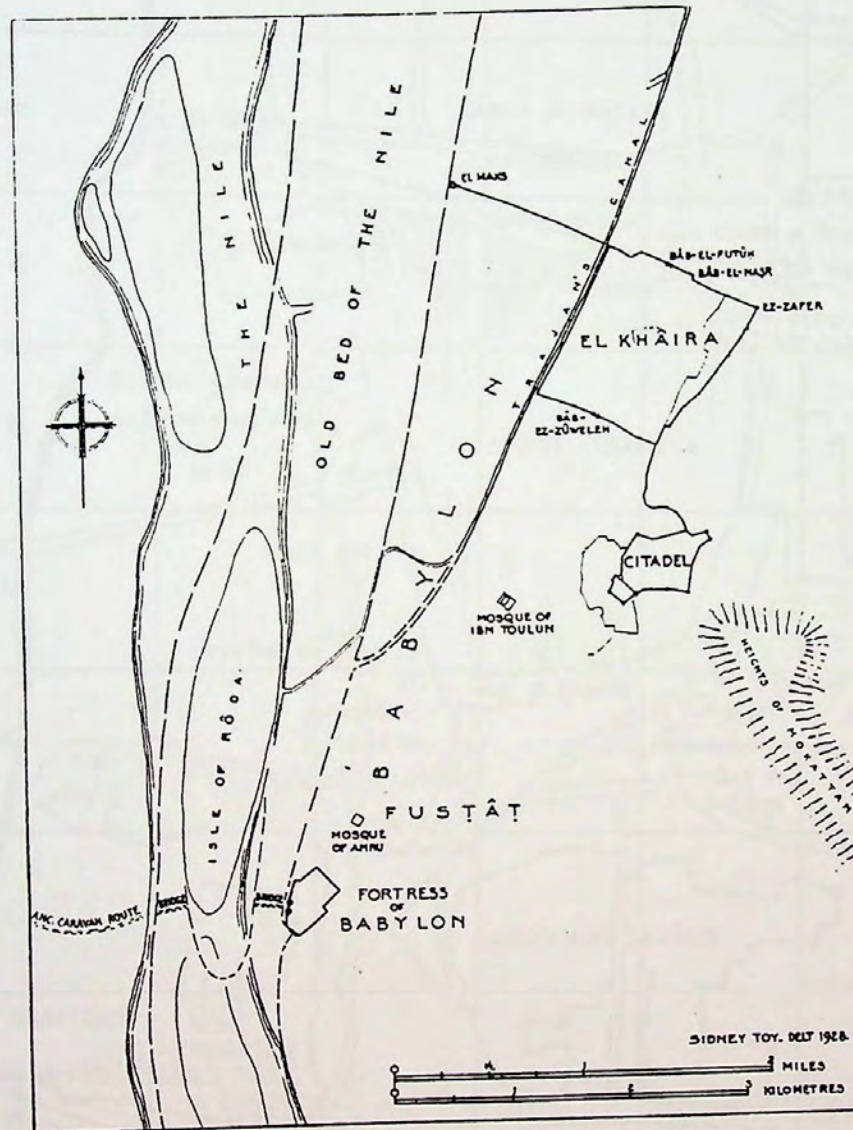
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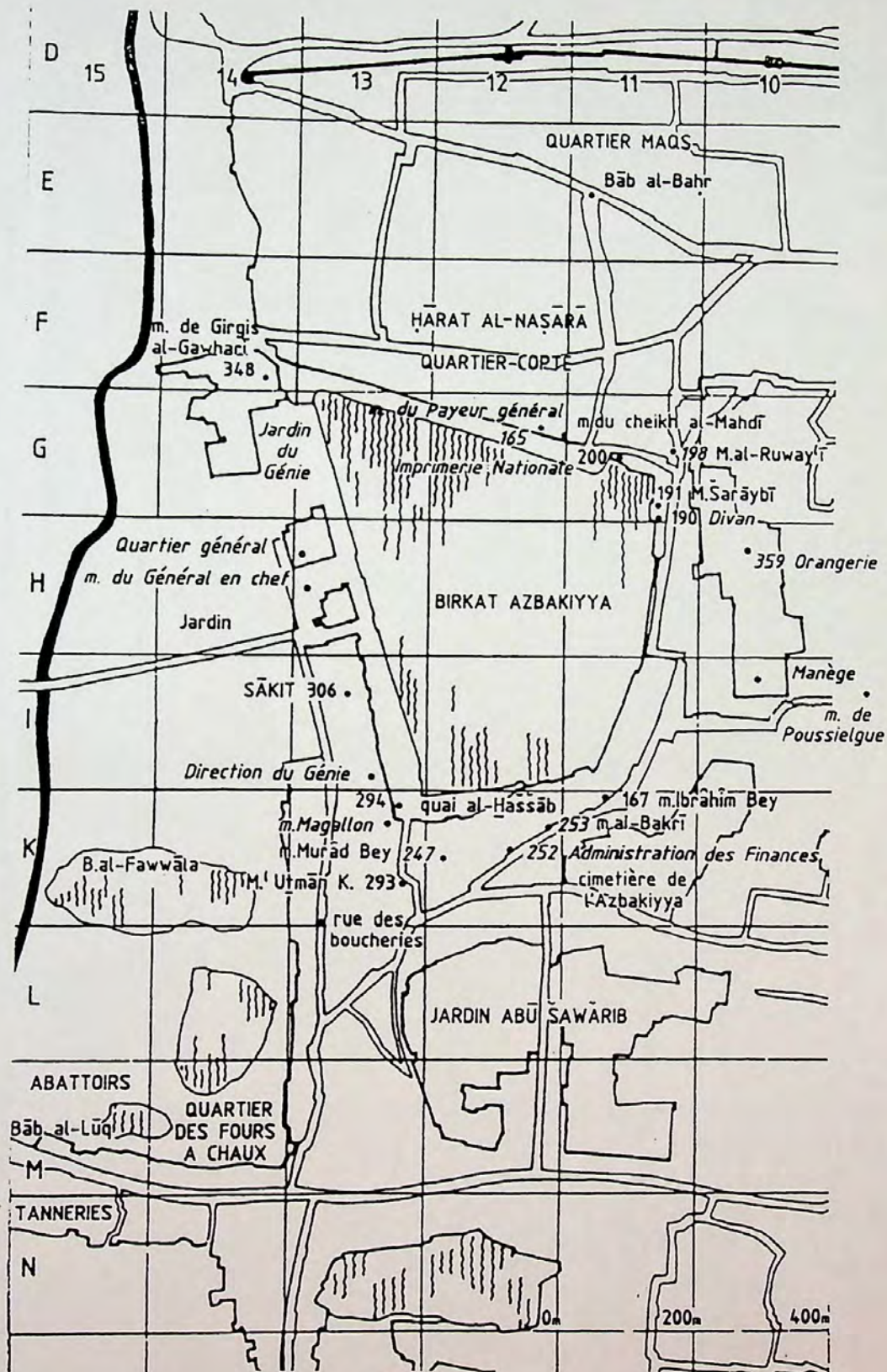




FIGURES



FIGURES



FIGURES

- 1 El Khatayeb
- 2 Dar el unban
- 3 Dar el jady
- 4 Dar el Henech
- 5 Dar el Mohaz
- 6 Dar el Nouz
- 7 Dar el Akher ou Gde Mosque
- 8 Dar el Hamam

- 9 Dar el Bey
- 10 Dar el Souk (Hussein)
- 11 Dar el Souk (Youssef)
- 12 Dar el Souk (Ismail)
- 13 Dar el Souk (Ali)
- 14 Dar el Souk (Ahmed)
- 15 Dar el Souk (Mustafa)
- 16 Dar el Souk (Moussa)

RENVOI

- 17 Dar el Akher
- 18 Dar el Akher
- 19 Dar el Akher
- 20 Dar el Akher
- 21 Dar el Akher
- 22 Dar el Akher
- 23 Dar el Akher
- 24 Dar el Akher

- 25 Dar el Akher
- 26 Dar el Akher
- 27 Dar el Akher
- 28 Dar el Akher
- 29 Dar el Akher
- 30 Dar el Akher
- 31 Dar el Akher
- 32 Dar el Akher

Scale: 0 to 400 feet



FIGURES

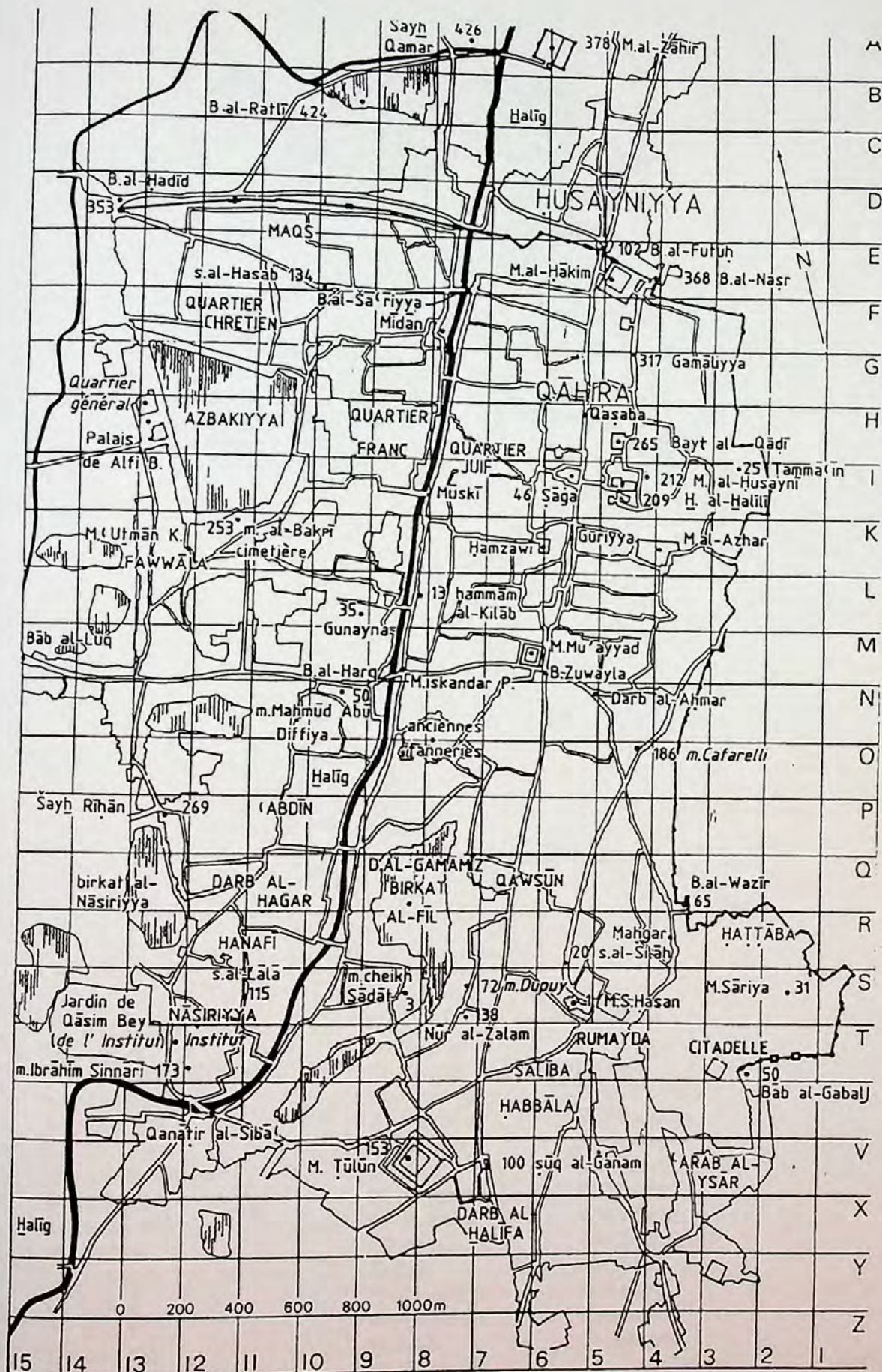
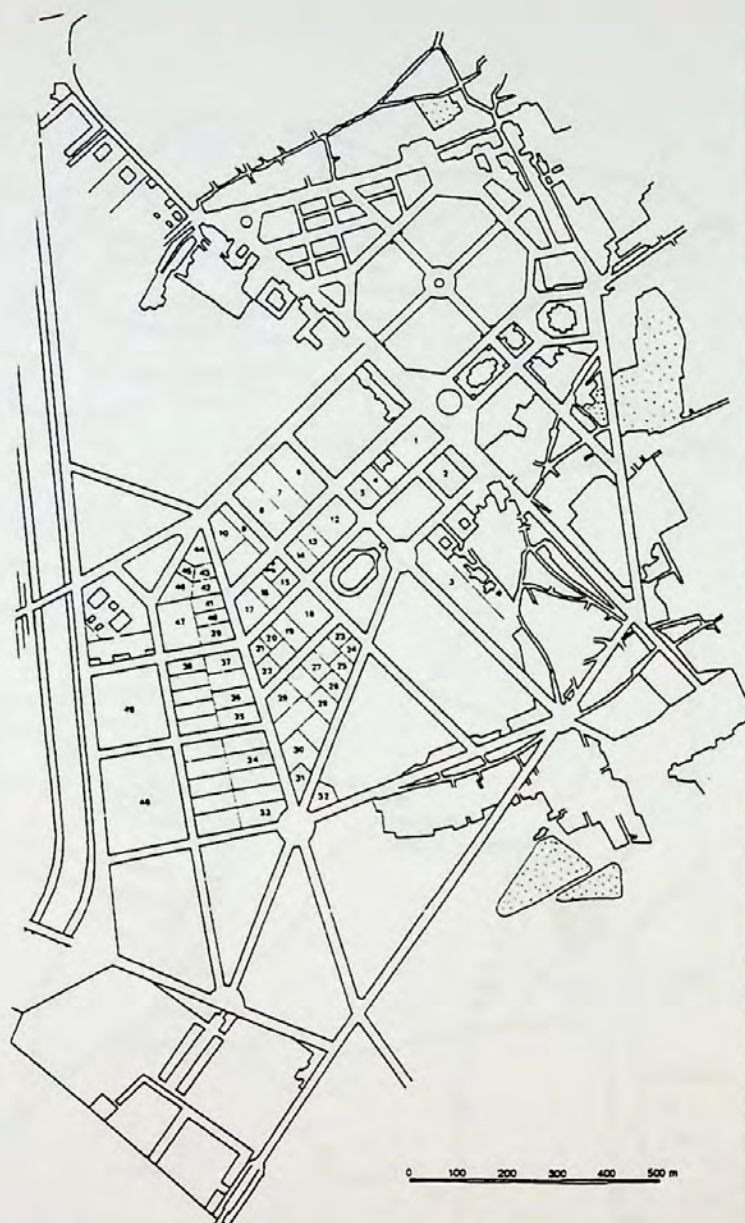


FIGURE 1

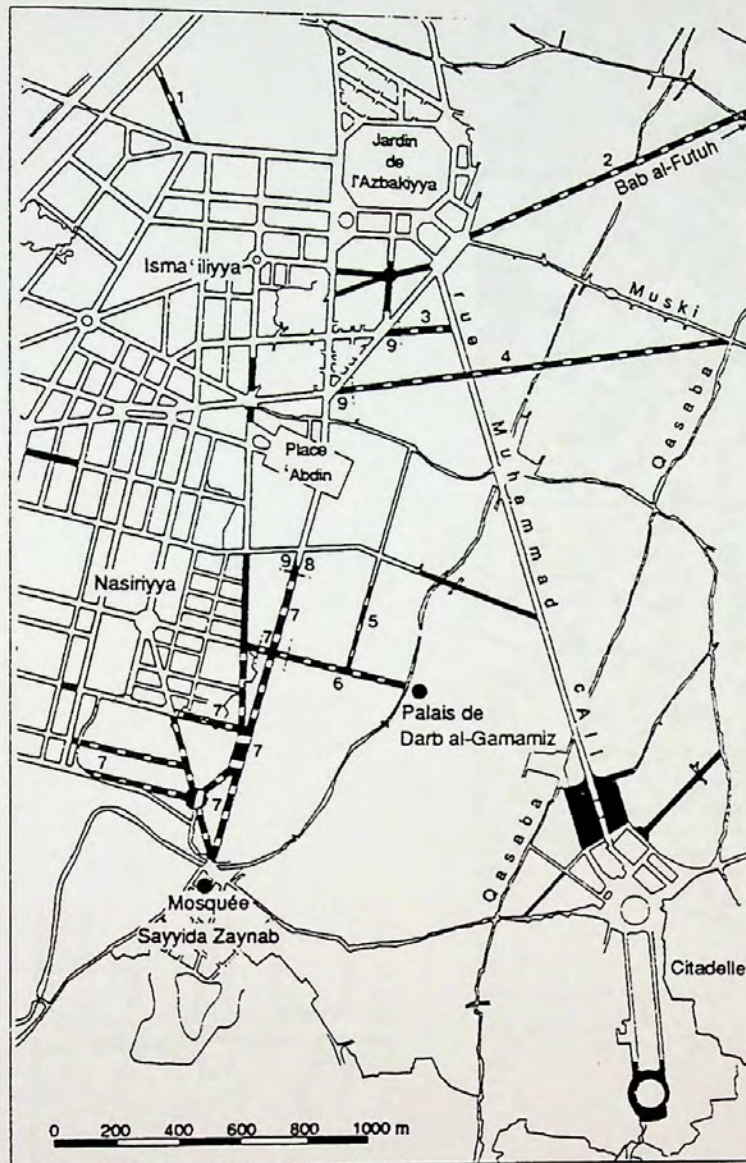


- 1- The British Consul
- 2- Zoheb
- 3- The Catholic Church
- 4- Avoscani
- 5- Sinadino
- 6- Lavison
- 7- Abraham Bey
- 8- Eram Bey
- 9- Eram Bey
- 10- Anhuri
- 12- Theremin
- 13- Casseb
- 14- Anhuri
- 15- Zaki Bey
- 16- Gotta
- 17- Karkur

- 18-Cattaui
- 19- Negrino
- 20- Begdali
- 21-Jacquier Bey
- 22-Bimbaron
- 23-Ambron
- 24-Ywos
- 25-Naggar
- 26- Rossano
- 27-Jabes
- 28-Reil
- 29- Castelnuovo
- 30-Hadjadour
- 31-Adib
- 32-Hekekian
- 33-Hussein Bey

- 34-Adrien
- 35-Julien
- 36-Rolo
- 37-Kambourian
- 38-Pandelidis
- 39- School
- 40- Yacub
- 41-Nahman
- 42-Montanari
- 43-Cambourian
- 44-Gachi
- 45-Zeheri
- 46-Suarez
- 47-Artisans

FIGURES



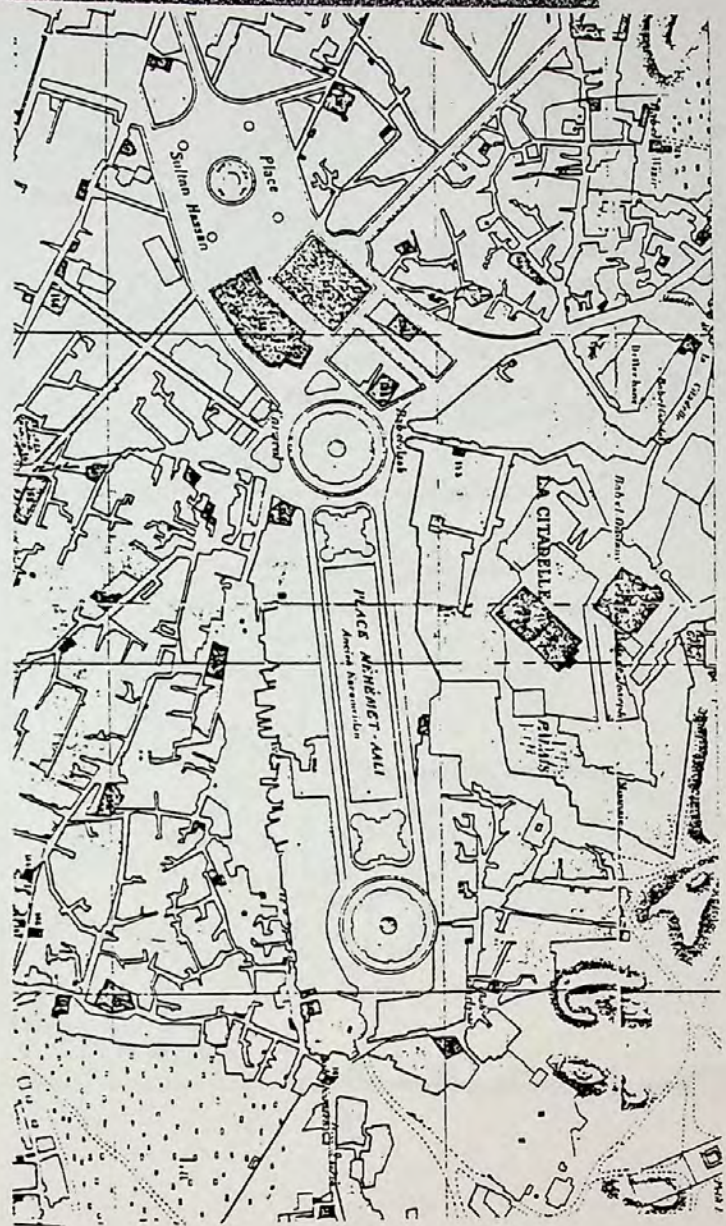
Projects indicated by the plan of Grand

Streets indicated between 1871 and 1874 and not realised

DISCUSSION

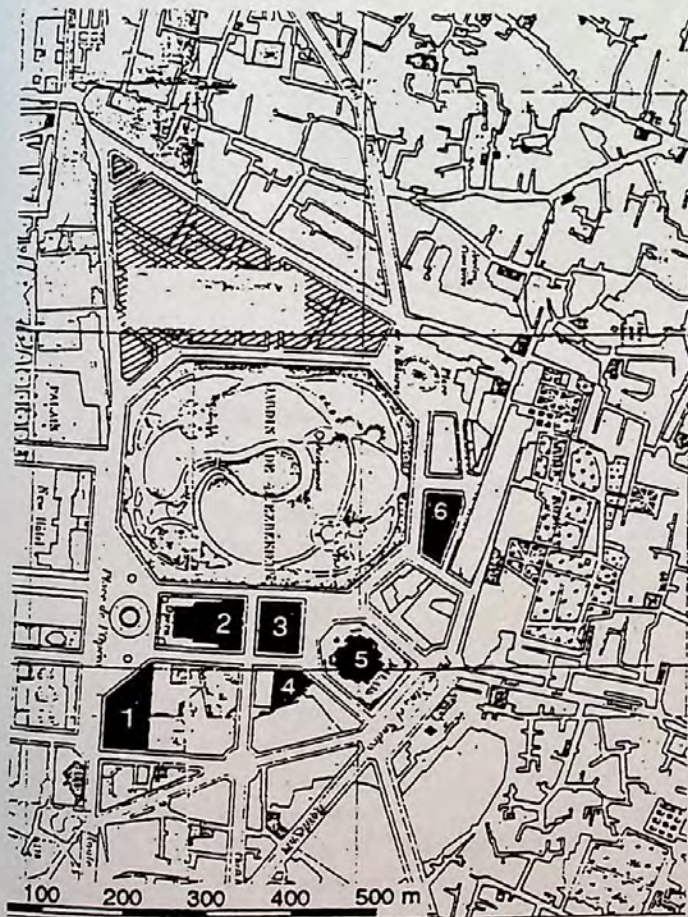


B. 1907



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FIGURES



17



16

Legend of Figure 17

The Khedive buildings:

- 1- Residential buildings.
- 2- The Opera House.
- 3- The circus, in 1869.
- 4- The theatre.
- 5- The 'Attaba palace.
- 6- Another residential building.

FIGURES



■ Hotels

- A- Ambassadors
- B- Auric
- C- Charles
- D- Commerce
- E- Europe
- F- France
- G- Girard Constand
- H- Nil
- I- Neuman, near al-Muski
- J- Oliver
- K- Orient
- L- Prindes
- M- Royal of "messageries"
- N- Shepherd
- O- Victoria

● Diplomatic representations

- 1-Hongeria
- 2-Germany
- 3-Belgic
- 4-Brasil
- 5-Spain
- 6-United States
- 7- France
- 8-France
- 9-Great Britain
- 10-Greece
- 11-Italy
- 12- Holland
- 13-Portugal
- 14-Russia
- 15- Prussia

FIGURES



- 1- The Azbakiyya garden
- 2- The road to Bulaq
- 3- The railways station
- 4- To Bab al-Futuh, (A project which was not realised)

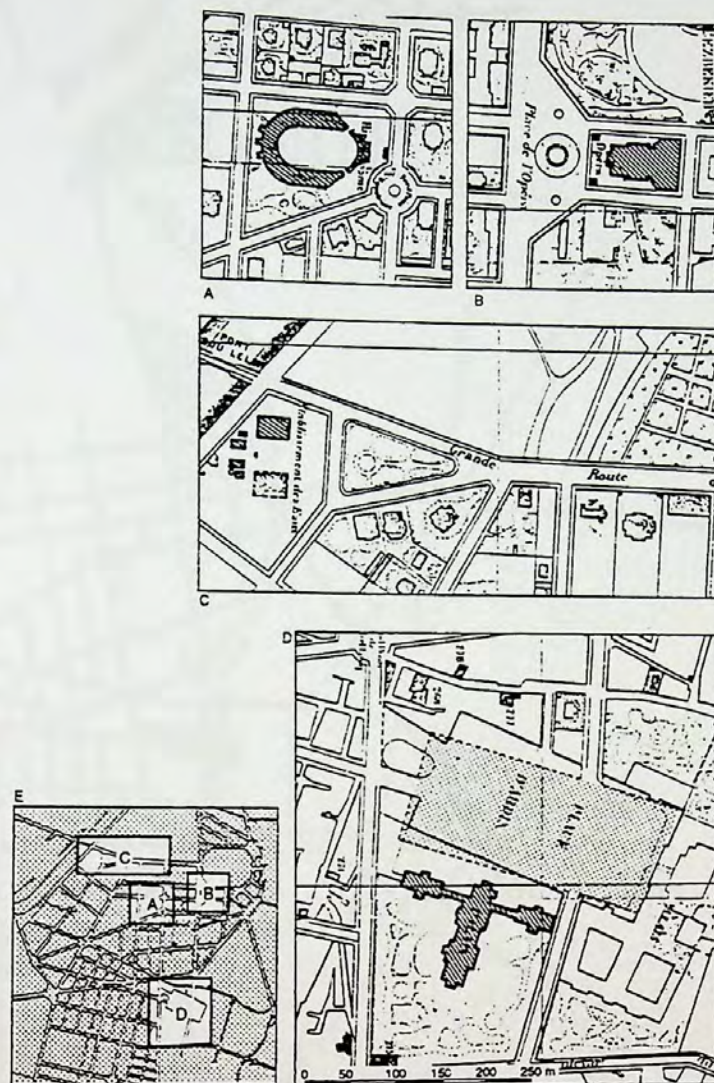
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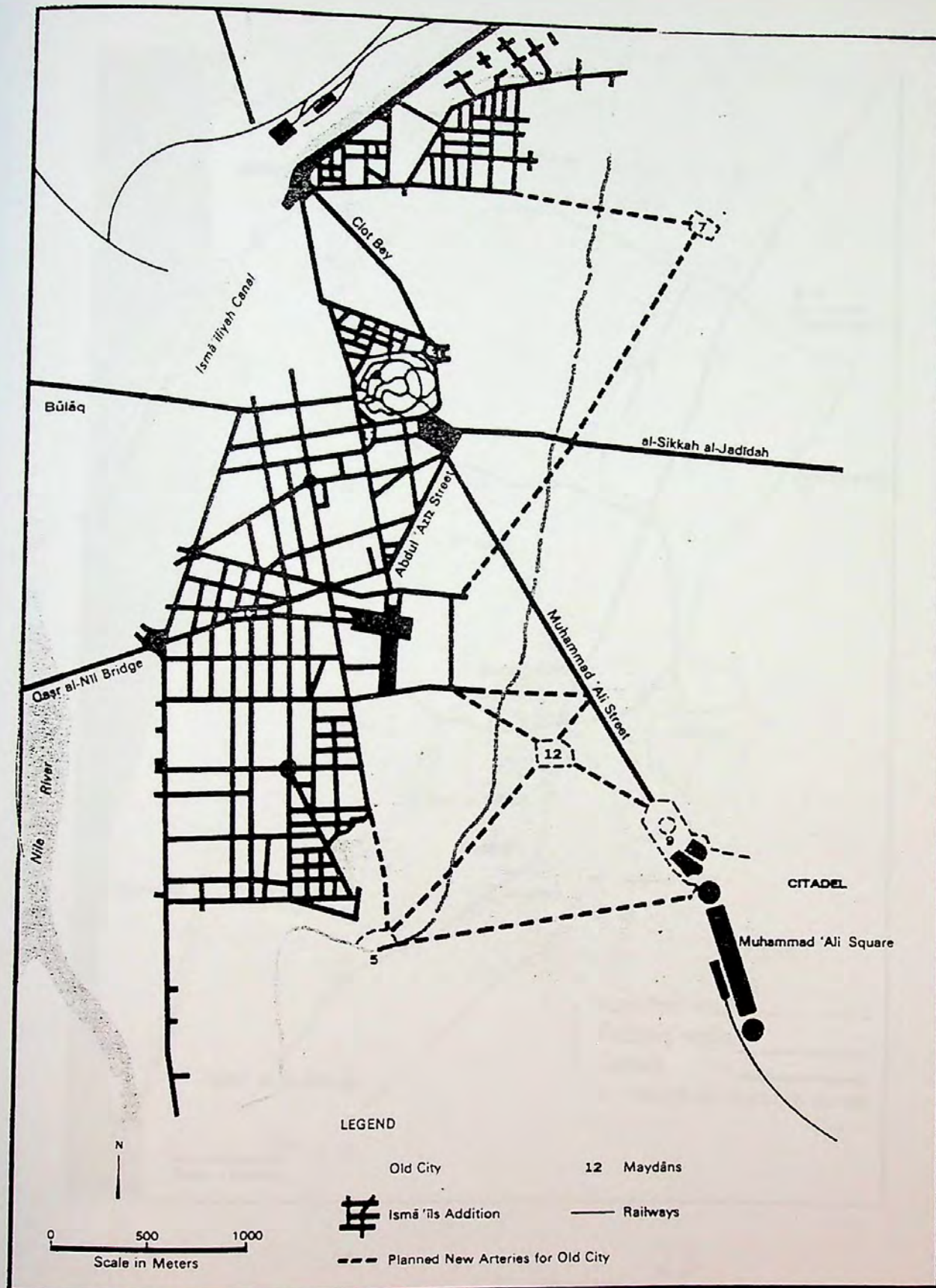
- The new urban context in 1869
- The old urban context
- The society of waters' property

FIGURES

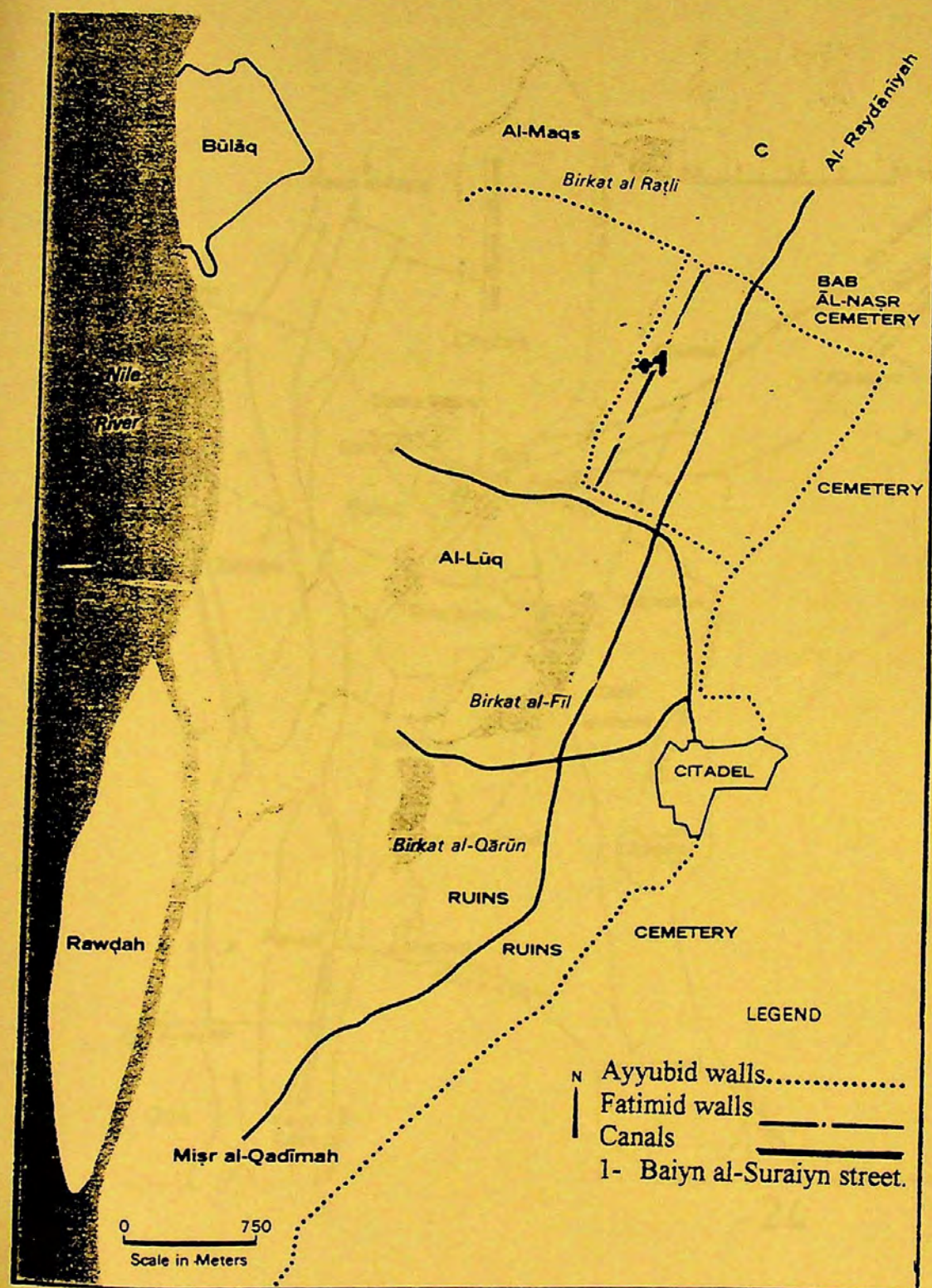


- A- The hypodrome
- B- The Opera house and the Opera square
- C- The company of water and Boulaq street
- D- The new 'Abdin palace (in dotted line : the square according to the project of Grandand which was never realised)

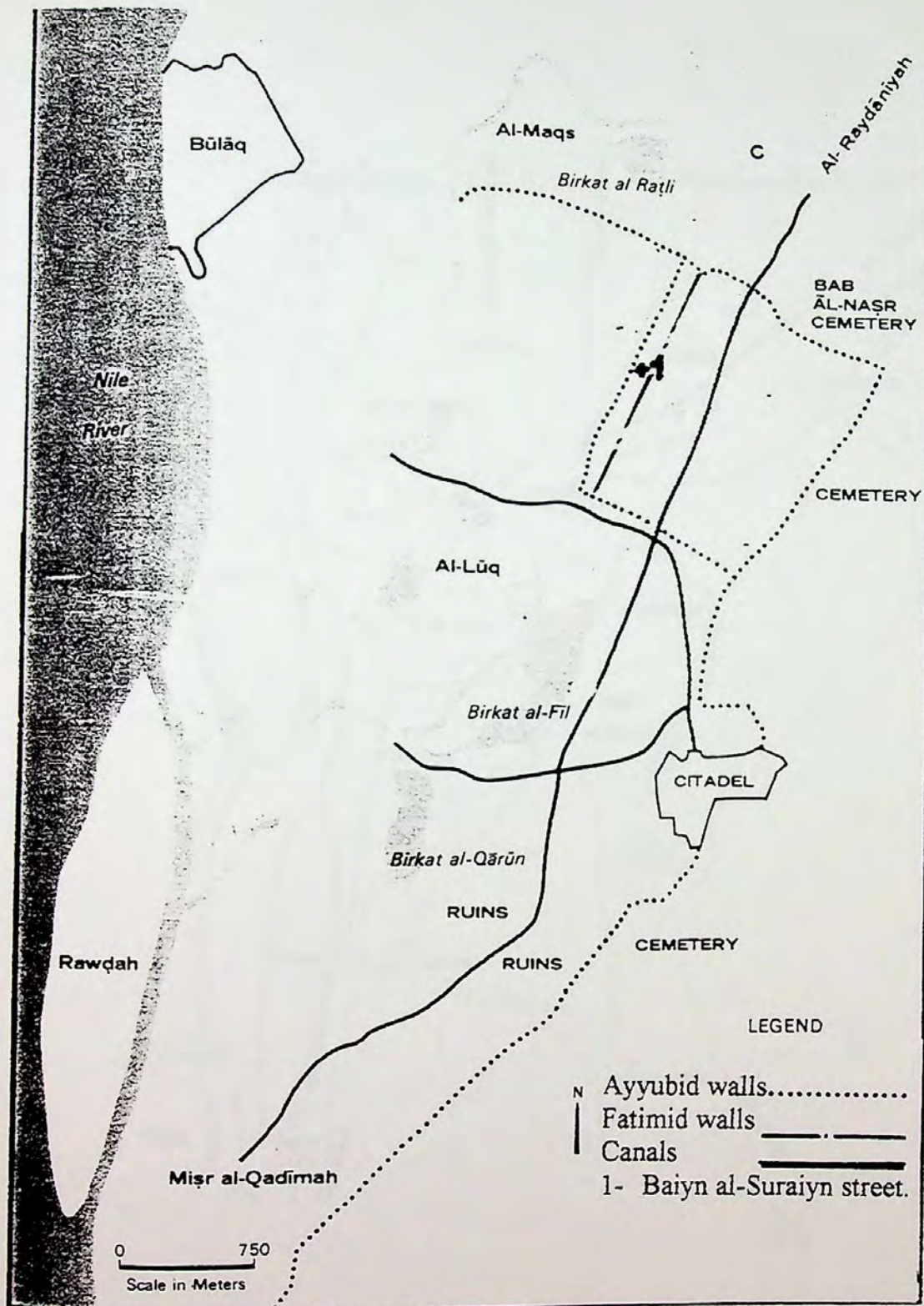
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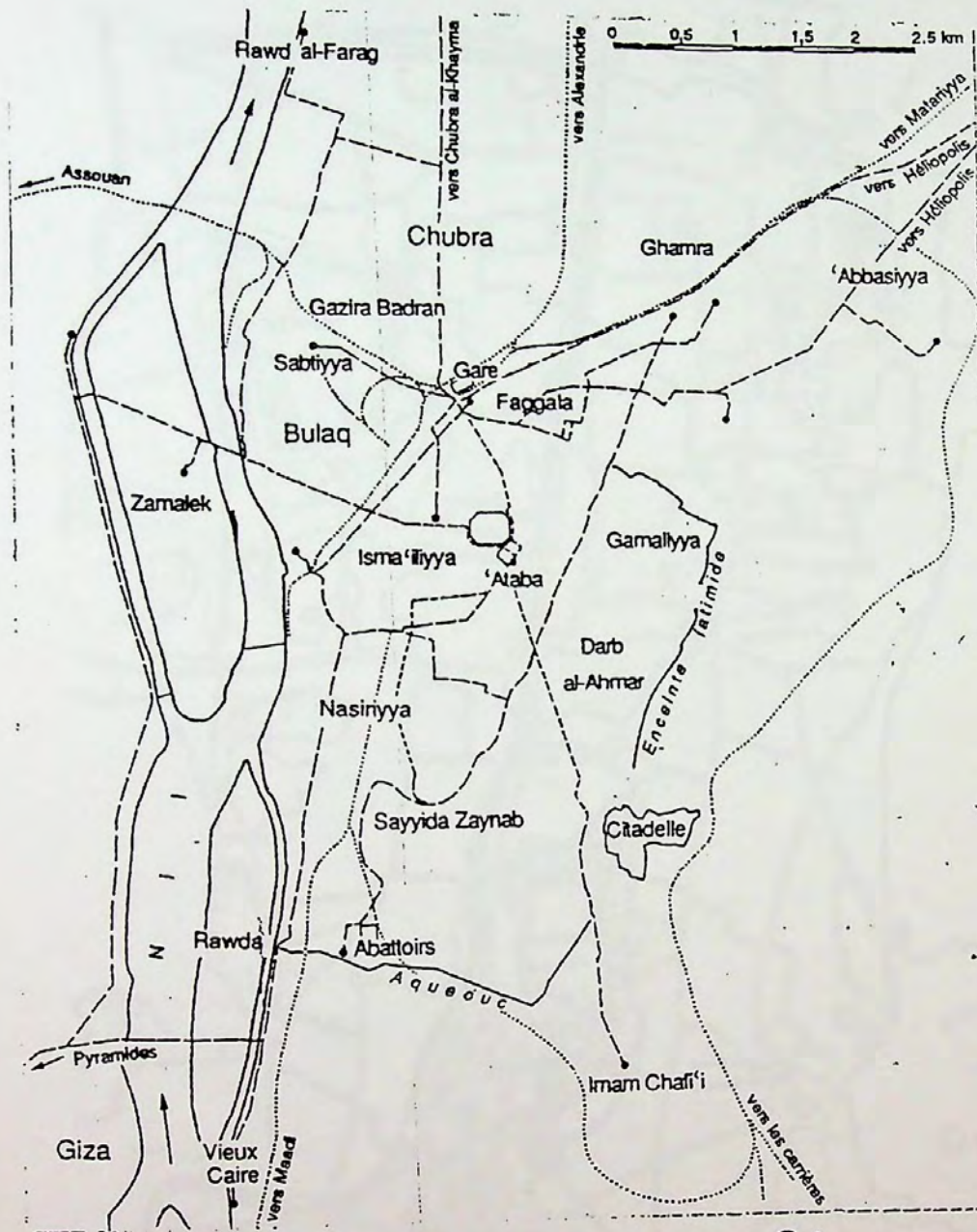
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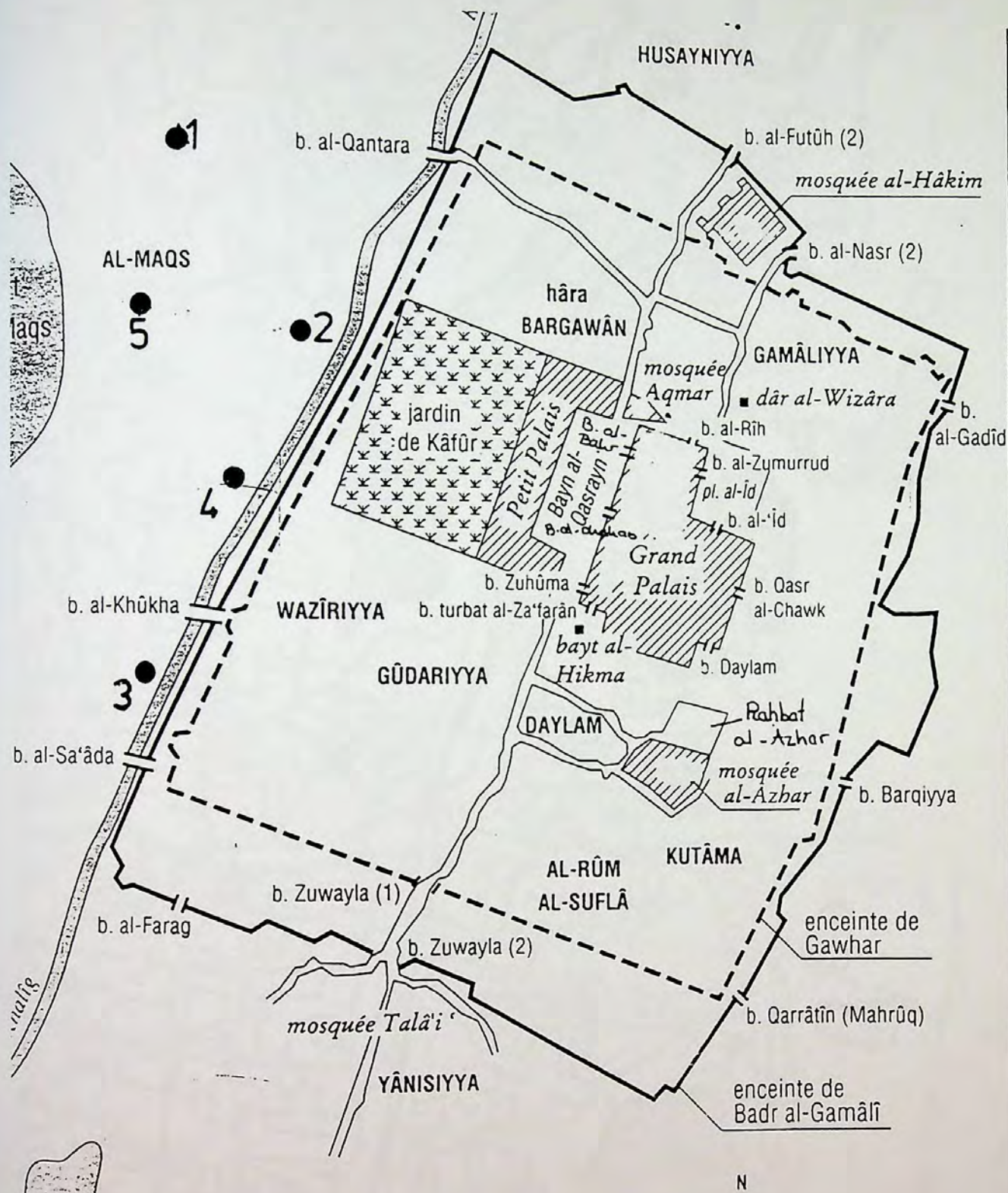


FIGURES



FIGURES





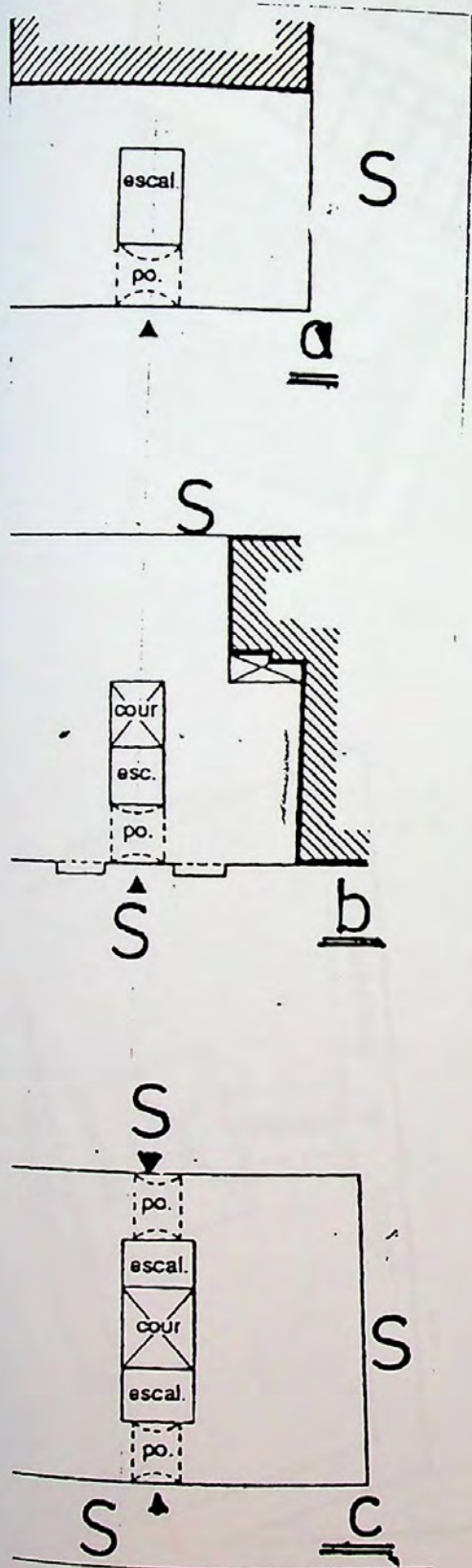
Legend of figure 27

- 1- Manzarat al- Maqs. 2- Manzarat al-L'ul'a. 3- Manzarat Dar al-Zahhab
4- Manzarat al-Ghazala. 5- Manzarat al-Dikka.

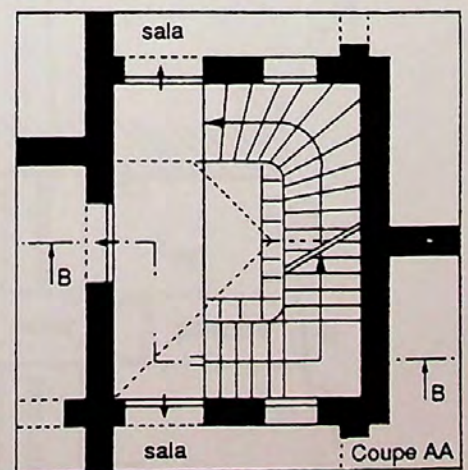
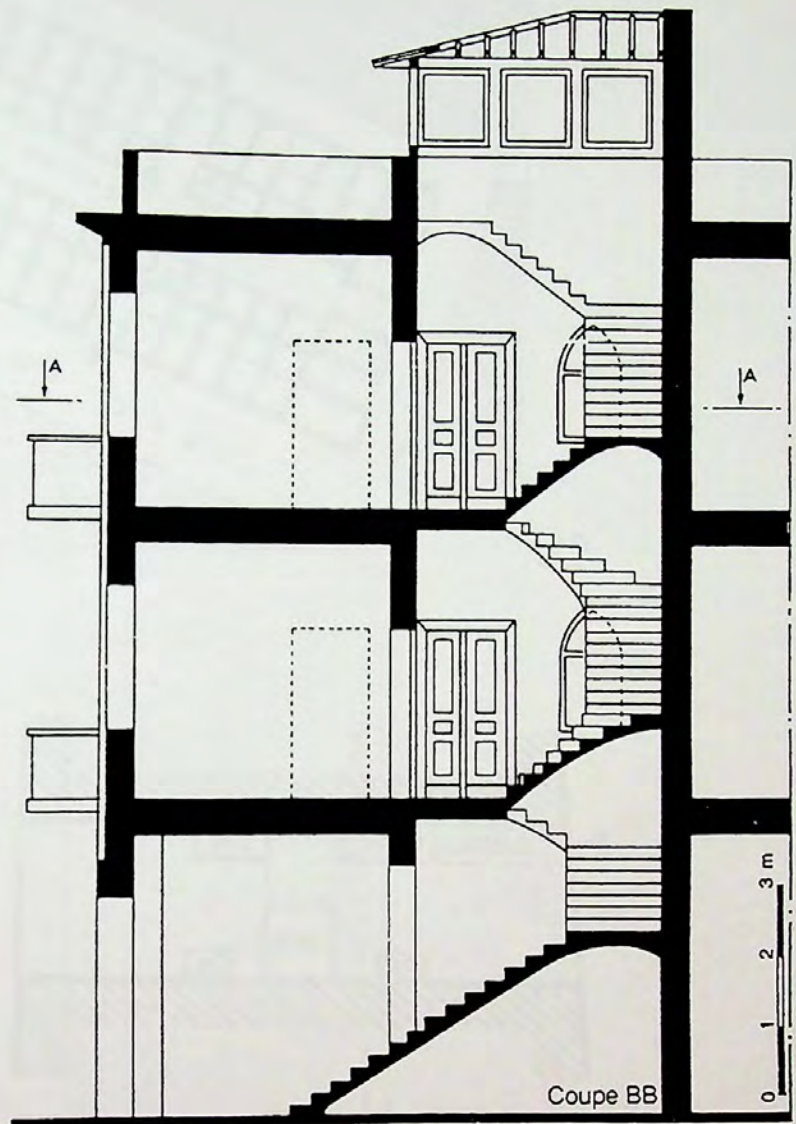
FIGURE 1



FIGURES

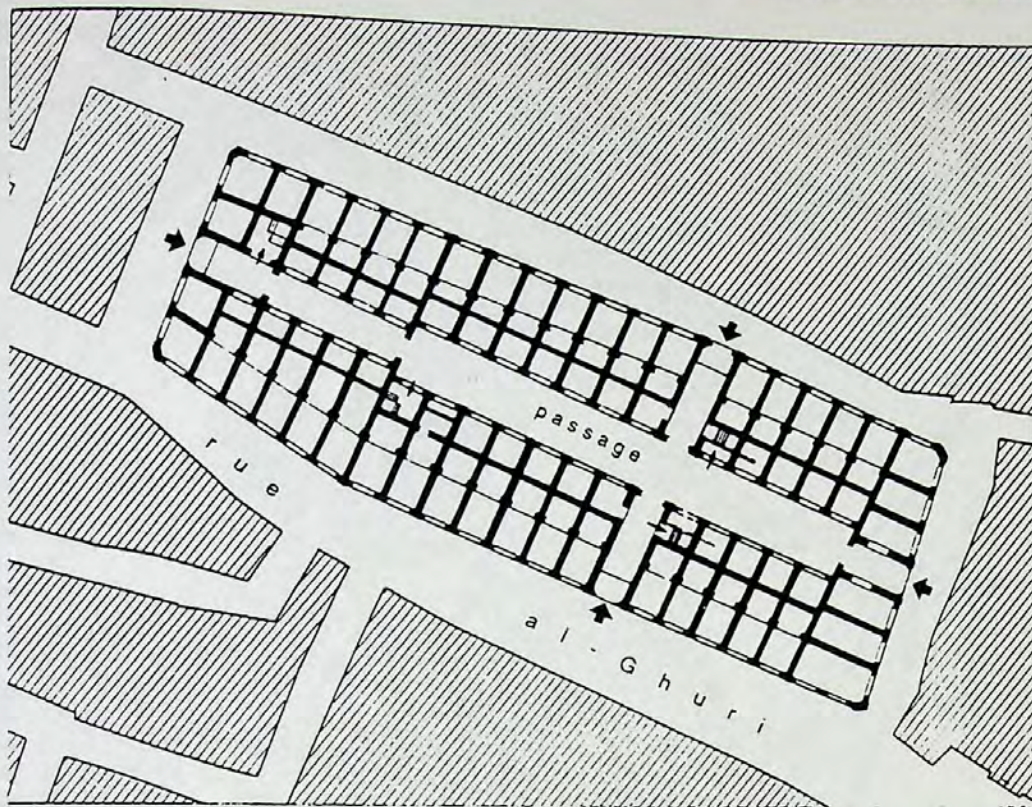


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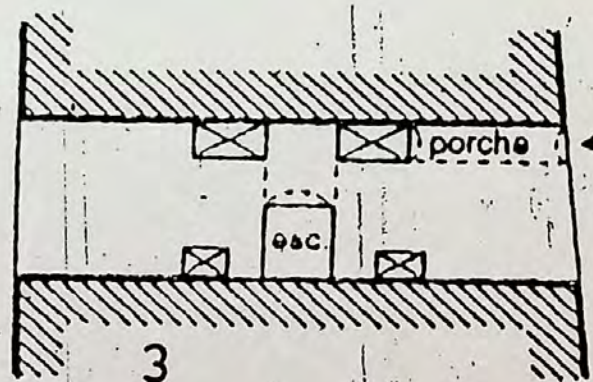
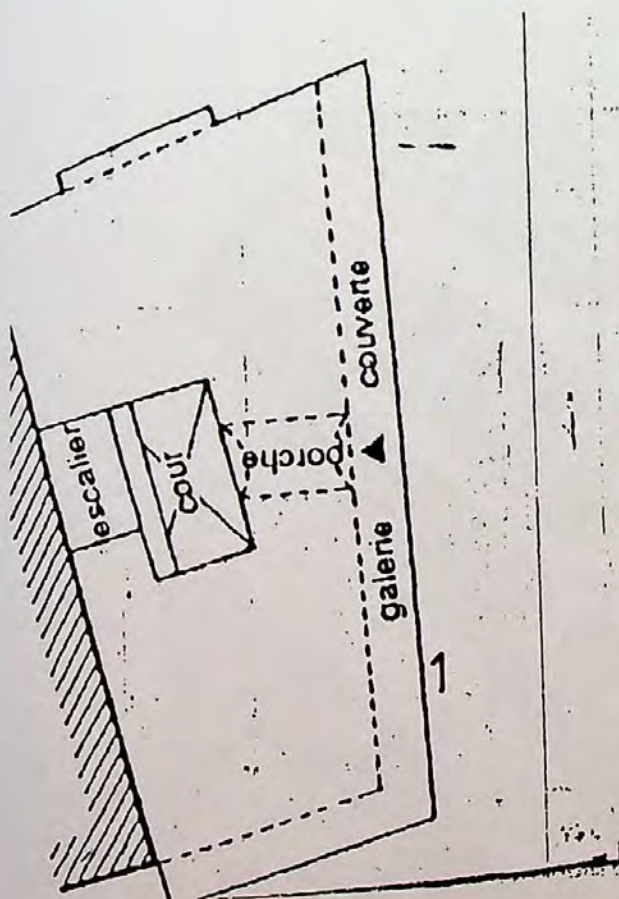


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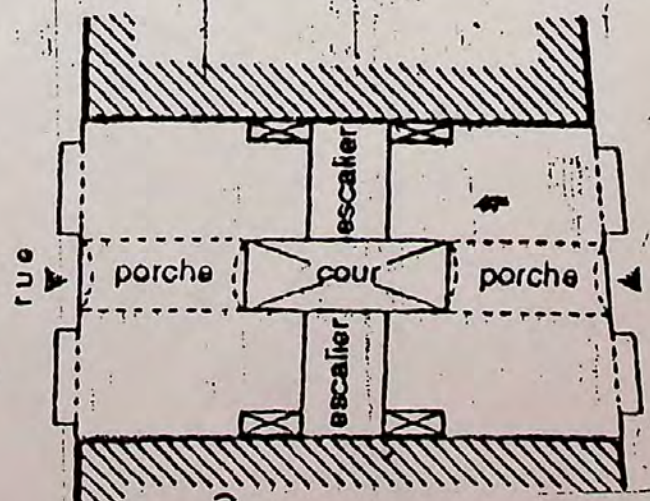
FIGURES



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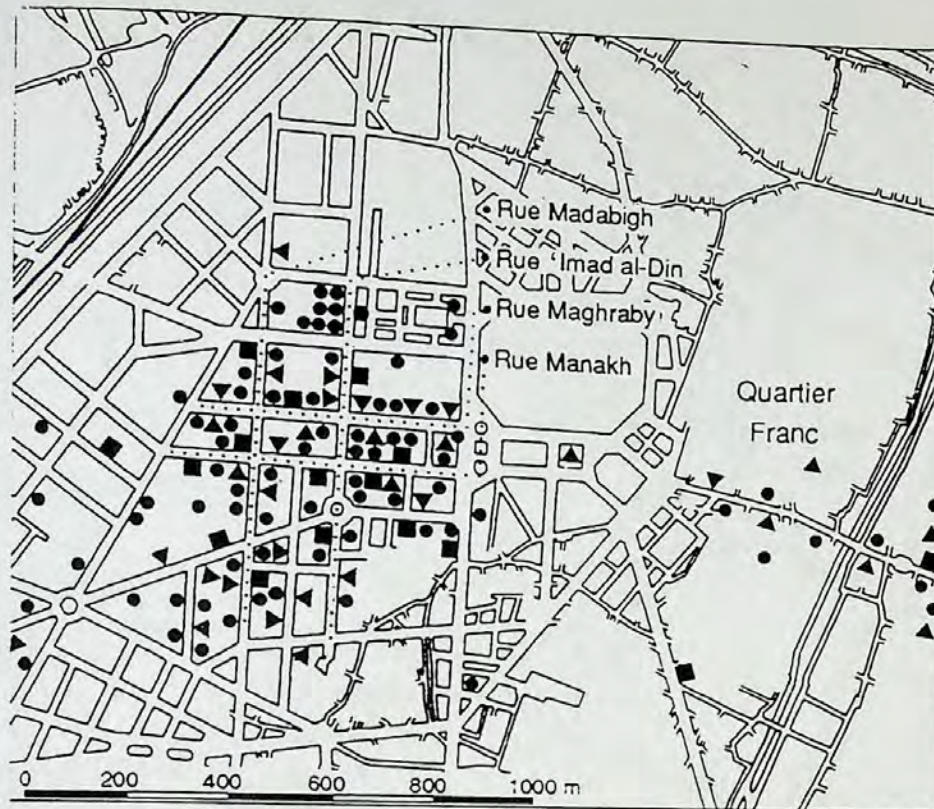
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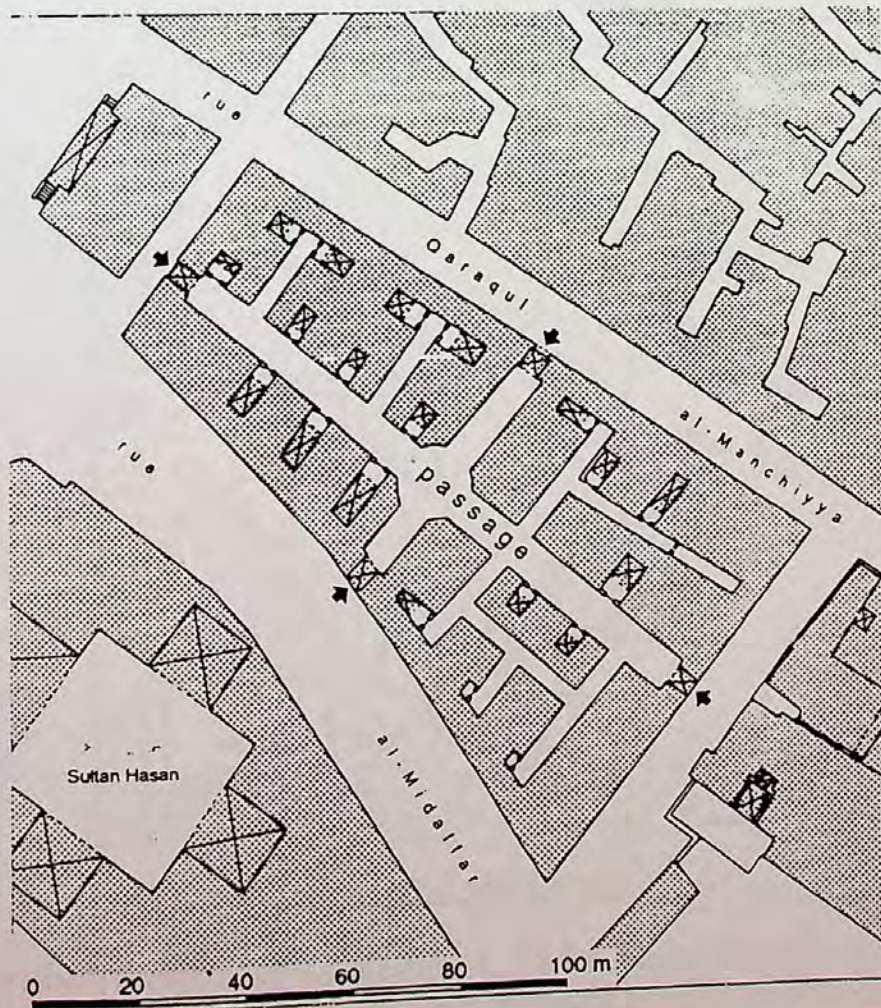
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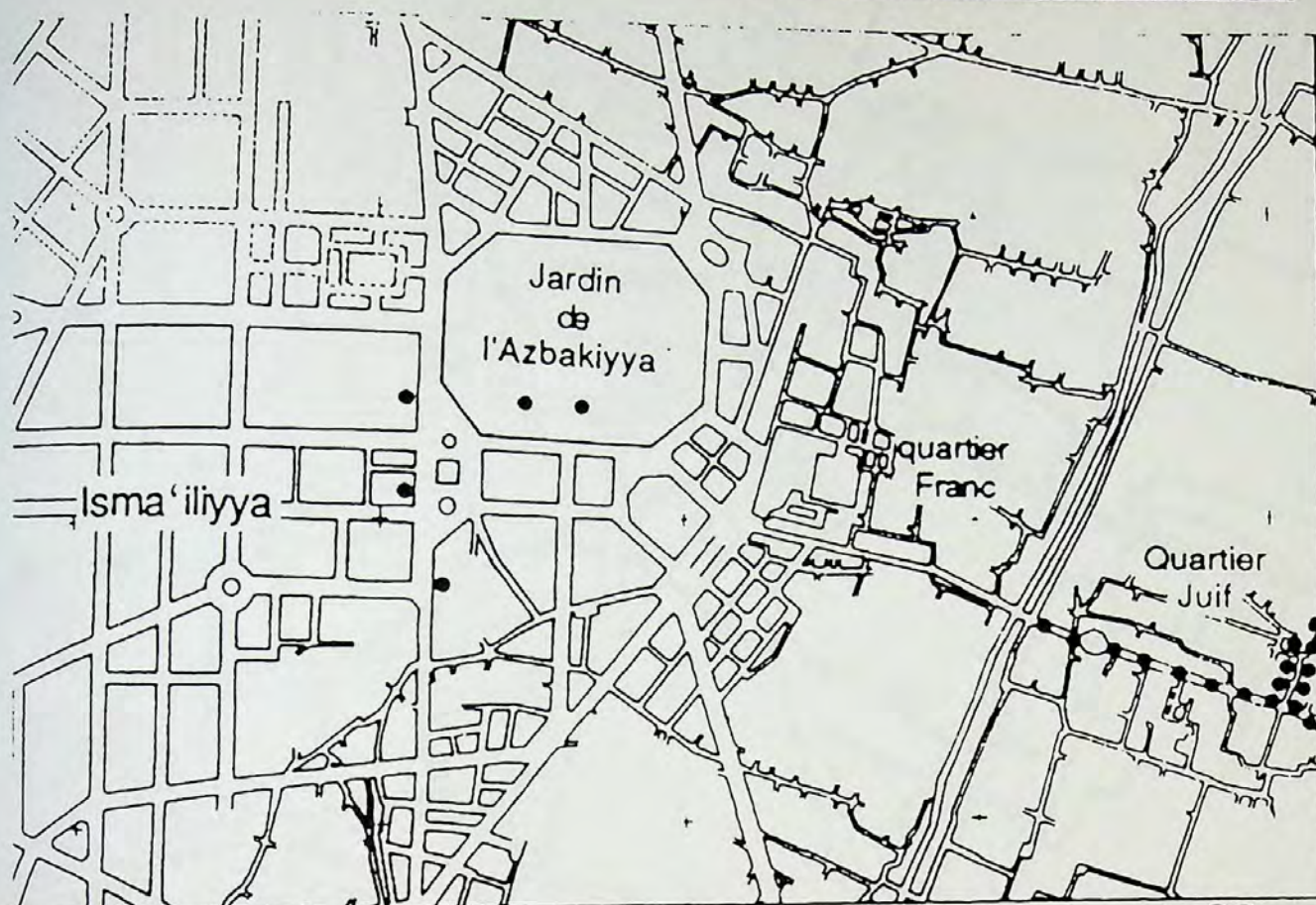
FIGURES



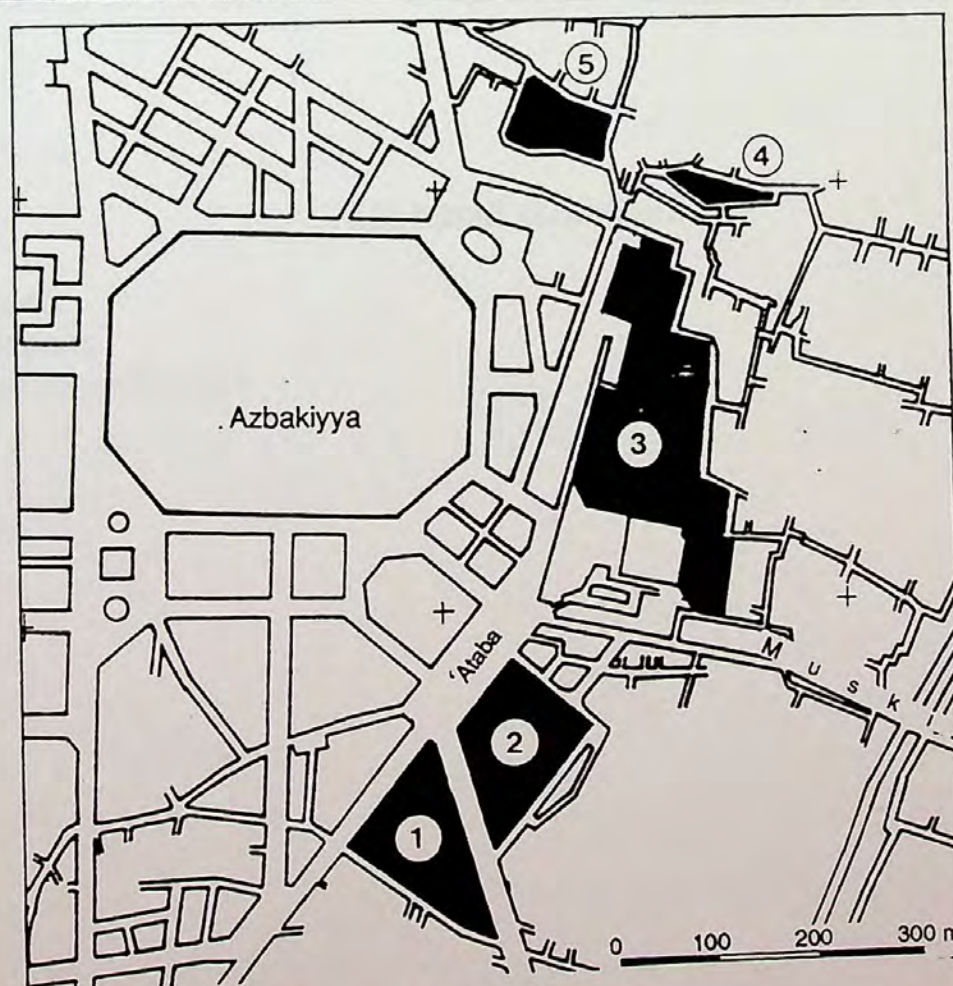
■ Banks ● Banks ▲ Money exchangers 34



FIGURES



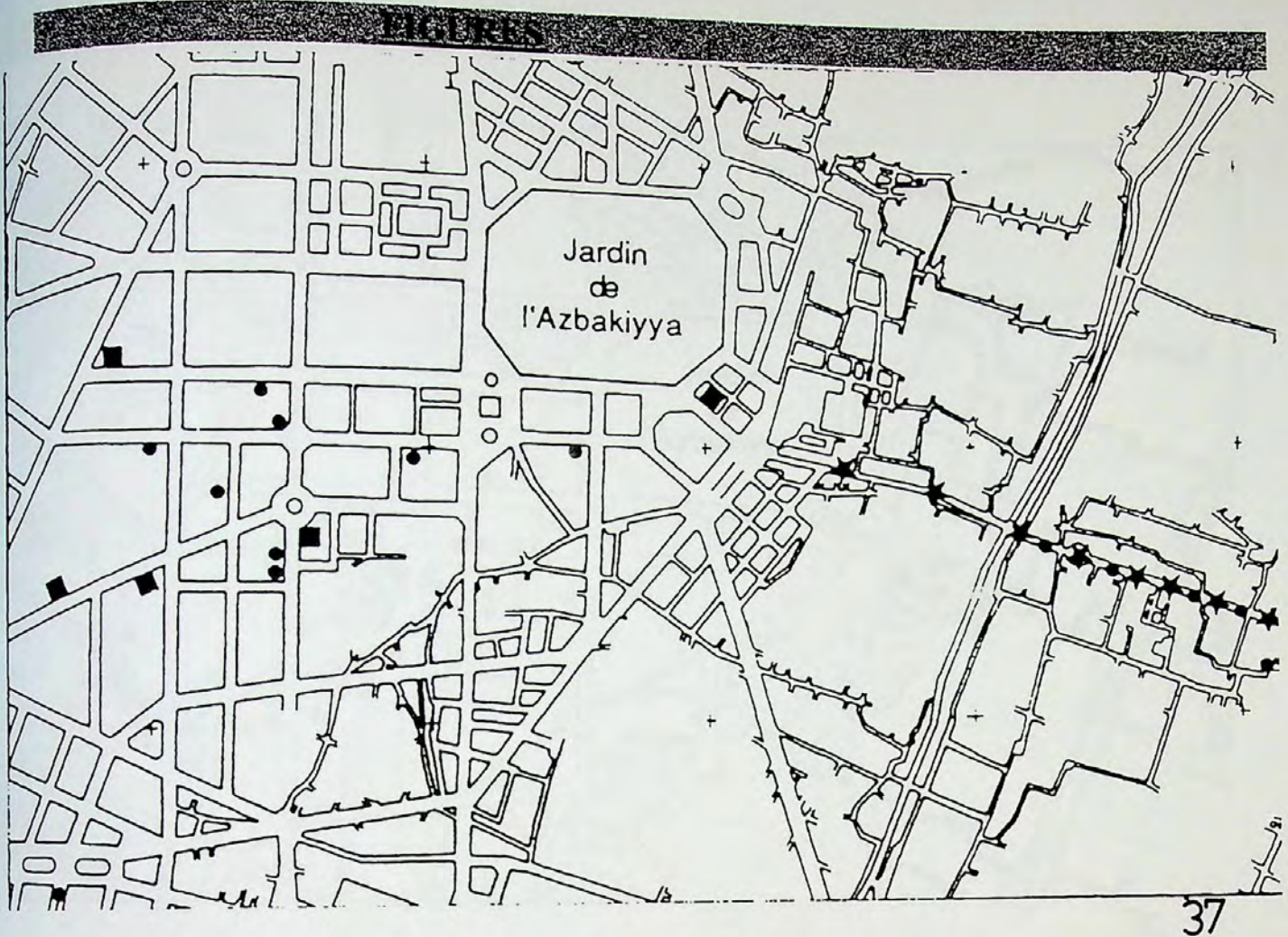
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35

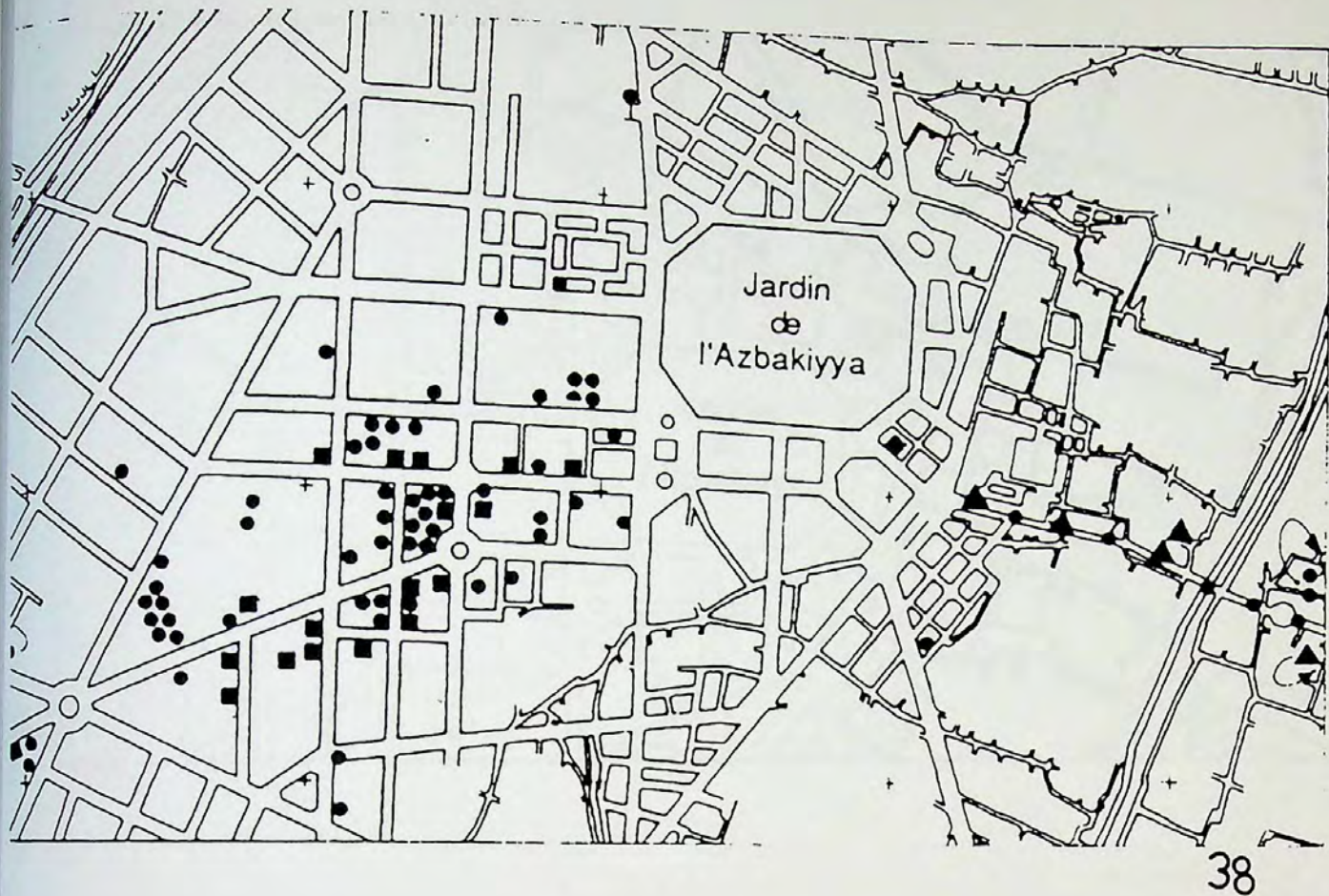
Legend of figure 35

- 1- The southern cemetery of Azbakiyya. 2- The northern cemetery of Azbakiyya.
3-Rosetti garden. 4- The fish market. 5- The cemetery of al-Gami' al-Ahmar.



The legend of figure 37

- Banks
- Bankers
- ★ Money exchangers



The legend of figure 38

- Banks
- Bankers
- ✱ Money exchangers

IKRIS

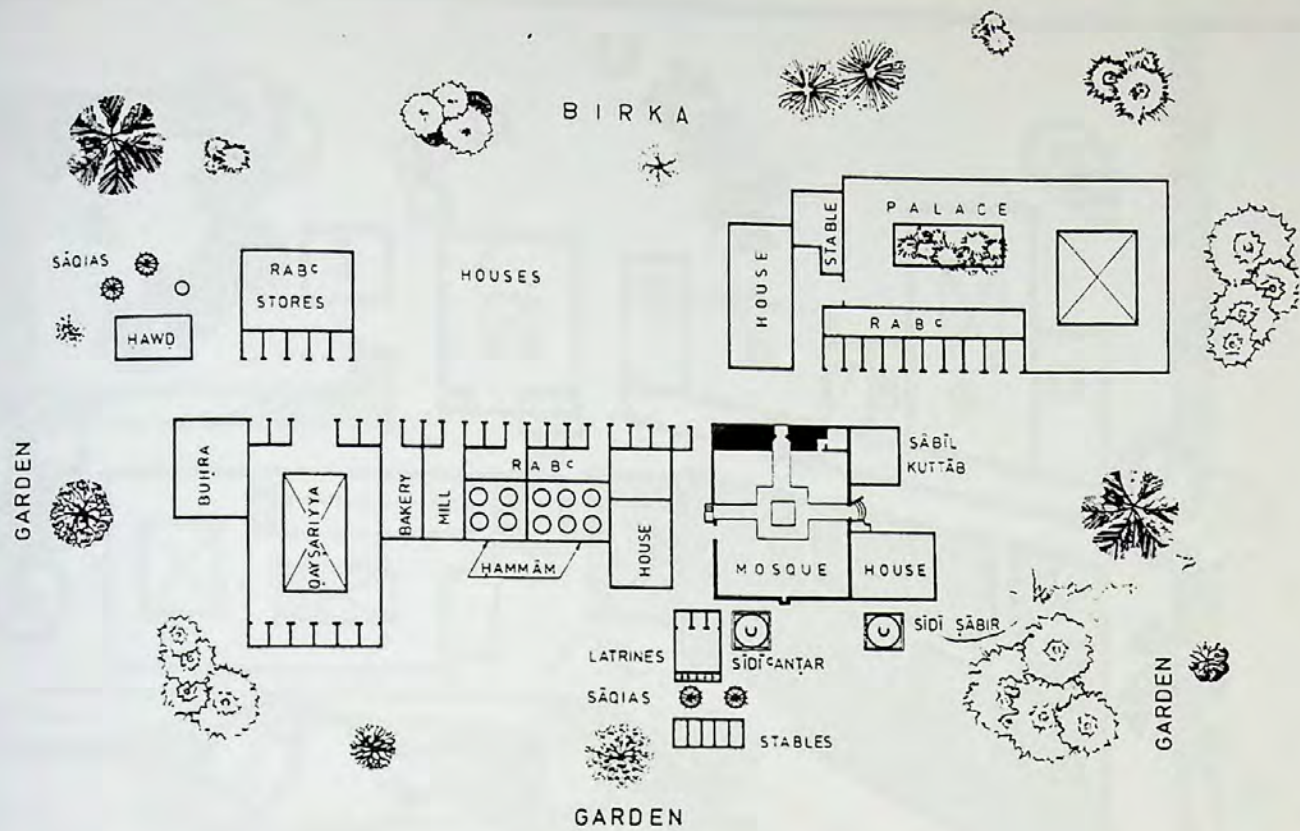


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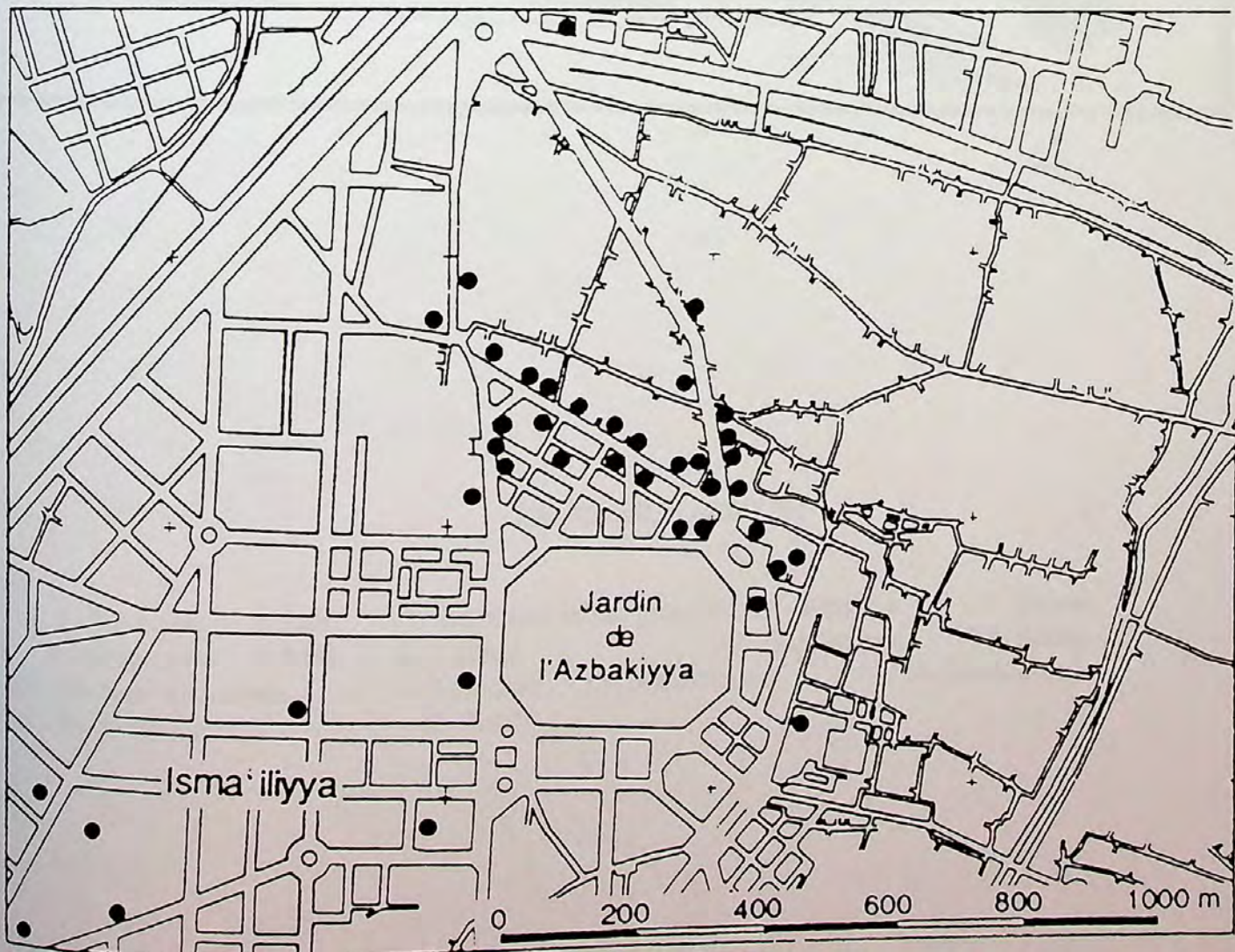


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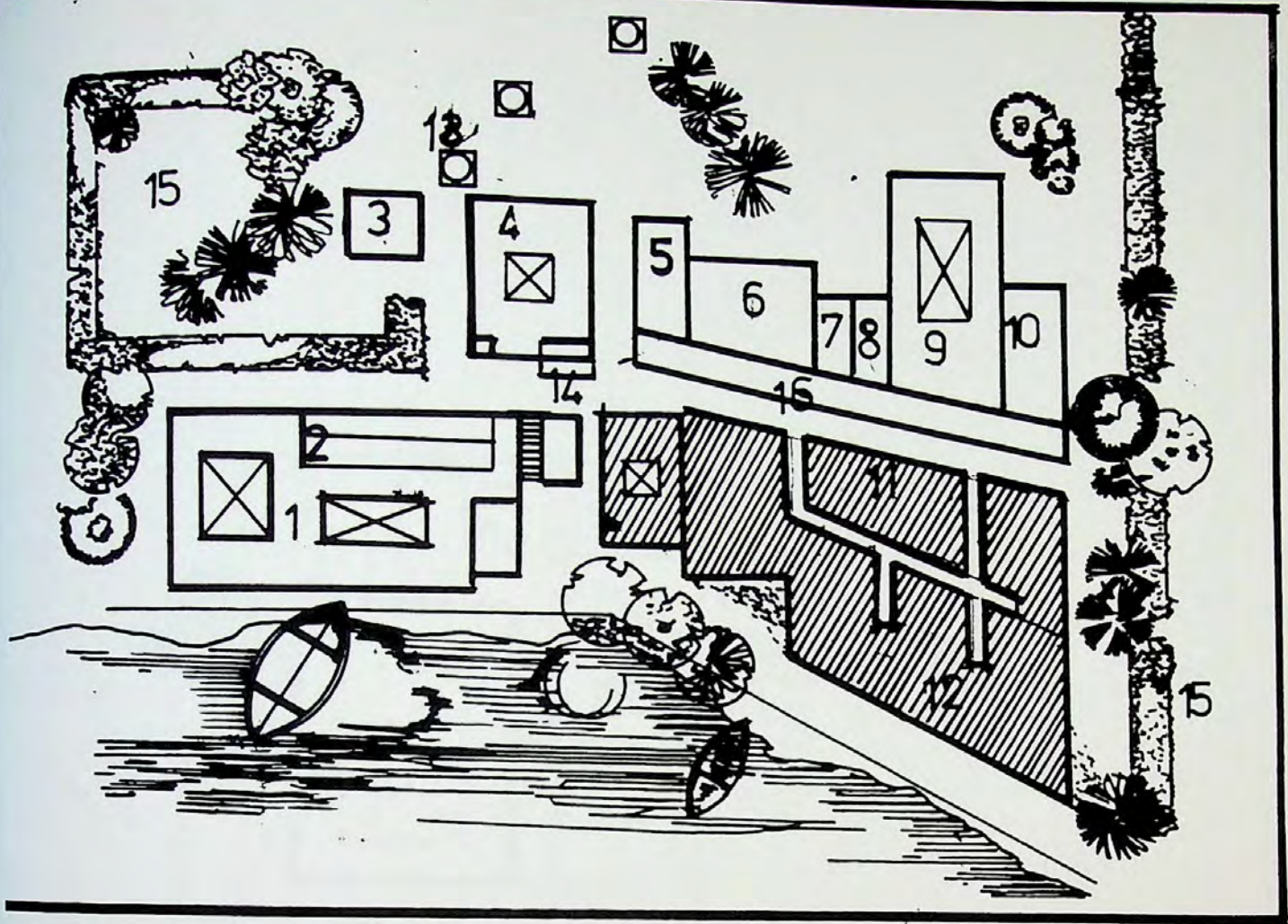
FIGURE 1



4



FIGURES



43

The legend of figure 43

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1- The palace. | 2- Rab' | 3- the house of the preacher. | 4- Mosque. | 5- House. |
| 6- Hammam. | 7- Mill | 8- Bakery | 9- Qaysariyya. | 10- Buhra. |
| 11- Rab' and stores. | 12- Houses. | 13- Mausoleums. | 14- Sabil-kuttab. | |
| 15- Gardens. | 16- Rab'. | | | |

FIGURE 5

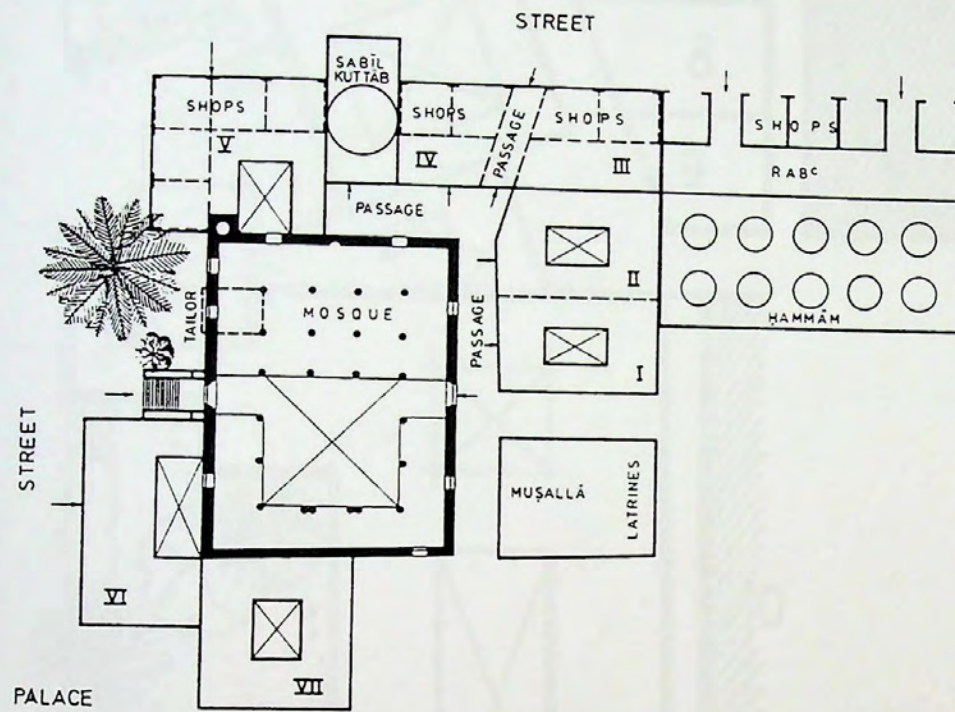
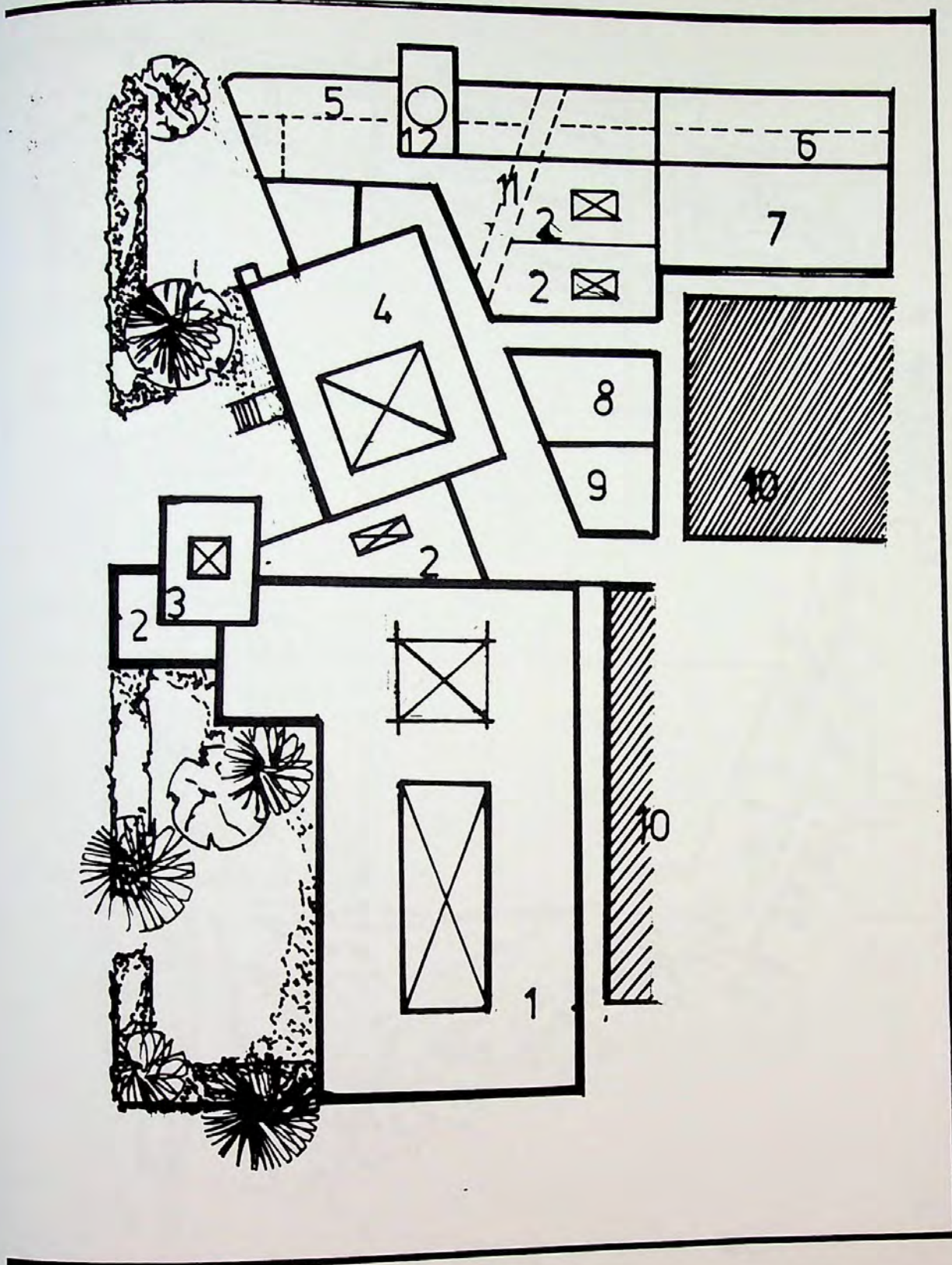


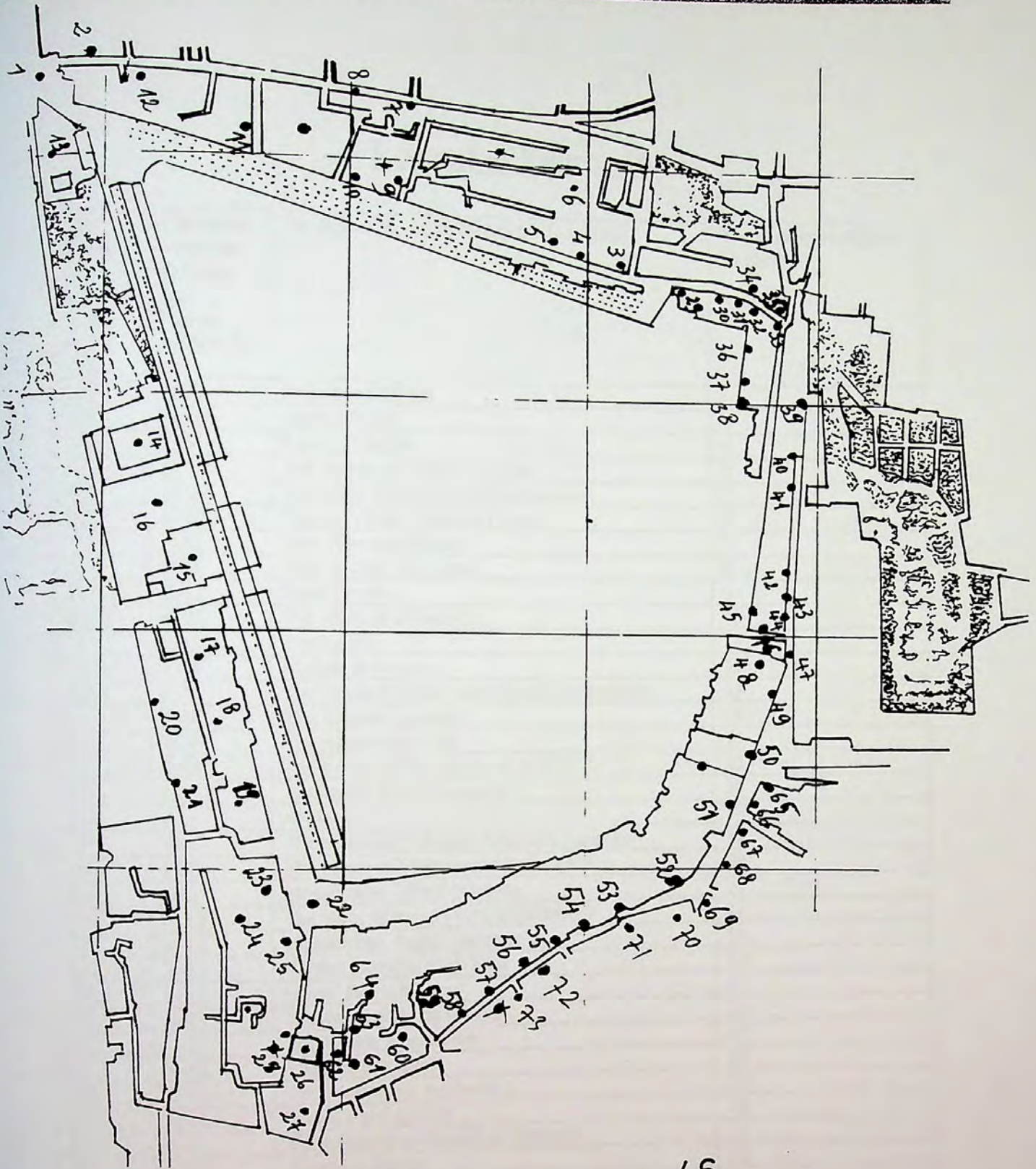
FIGURE 45



The legend of figure 45

- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1- The palace. | 2- Houses. | 3- Houses. | 4- Mosque. | 5- shops. | 6- Hammam. |
| 7- Rab'. | 8- Latrenes. | 9- Musalla. | 10- The old urban context | | |
| 11- Passage. | 12- Sabil-kuttab. | | | | |

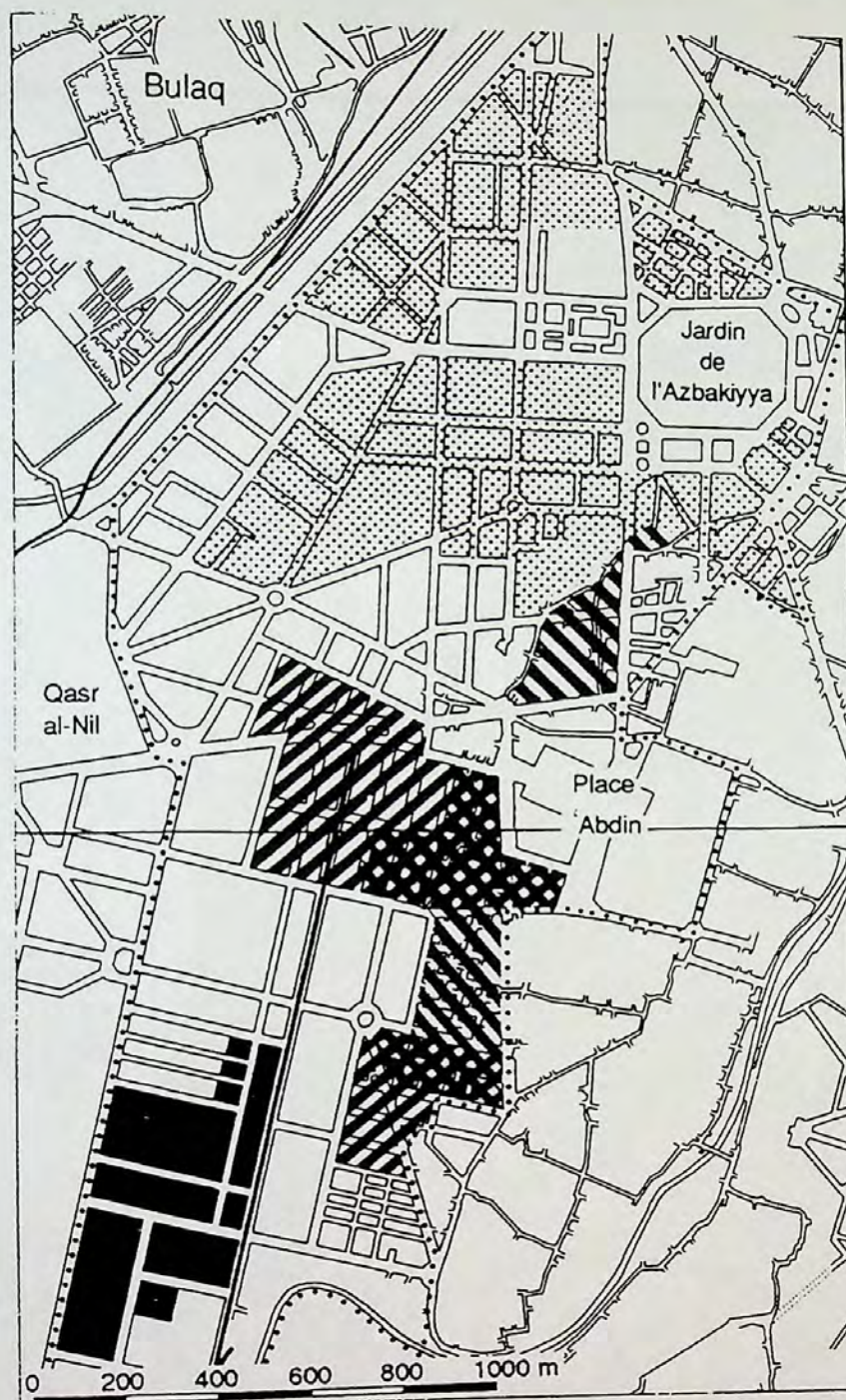
NOTES







Legend of Figure 46:

The number of the building on the D.E. map	The square where the building was located (after D.E.)	The definition, according to the D.E. map	The number on figure 46 (herein)
350	F-14	Qantarat al-Dikka	1
314	F-13	Darb al-Wasa'	2
204	G-11	Kum al-Nukhal	3
160	G-12	The <i>Shaykh</i> al-Mahdy's house	4
165	G-12	The house of the General accountant	5
168	G-12	The end of the Christian Quarter	6
257	F-12	<i>Khat Harat</i> al-Nasara	7
256	F-12	Darb al-Jami' al-Ahmar	8
174	G-12	Darb Tayyab	9
254	G-12	The Alley of al-Sakakini	10
313	F-13	<i>Darb Adab</i>	11
317	F-14	<i>Wakala & tahuna</i>	12
348	F-14	The house of al-Mu' alim Girgis al-Gawhary.	13
-----	F-14	The General's quarter	14
314	H-13	The palace of al-Alfi	15
-----	F-14	The garden of the palace of al-Alfi	16
309	I-13	Al-Shaykh Khidr's <i>zawiya</i>	17
306	I-13	<i>Al-Saka</i>	18
307	I-13	The house of 'Uthman Agha al-Khazindar	19
308	I-13	The house of Muhammad Bey al-Alfi.	20
304	I-13	Muhammad <i>Effendi's</i> house.	21
294	K-13	The stage of wood (<i>rasif al-khashab</i>)	22
299	K-13	Muhammad Agha's mosque	23
296	K-13	<i>Rahbat</i> (square) of al-Tibn	24
298	K-13	Murad Bey's house	25
290	K-13	'Uthman katkhuda mosque	26
292	K-13	The Kikhia's <i>hammam</i>	27
----	K-13	The kikhia's <i>sabil</i>	28
200	G-11	The <i>imprimerie nationale</i>	29
199	G-11	<i>Wakalat</i> al-Laymun	30
195	G-11	The house of al-Shaykh al-Ruway'I	31
196	G-11	A pottery factory	32
194	G-11	<i>Harat</i> al-Ruway'I	33
198	G-11	The Ruway'i mosque	34
197	G-11	Al-Ruway'i's <i>sabil-kuttab</i>	35
191	G-11	The Sharaybi mosque	36
190	G-11	The house of Qa'id Agha and the house of the Divan	37
189	G-11	Factory	38
193	G-11	<i>Wakala</i> of wood	39
188	H-11	<i>Wakala</i> of cotton.	40

187	H-11	The house of Isma'il Bey	41
186	H-11	<i>Darb al-'Assayli</i>	42
185	H-11	A glass factory	43
184	H-11	The <i>Sabil</i> of <i>al-Shaykh al-Gawhary</i>	44
183	H-11	The house of <i>al-Shaykh al-Gawhary</i>	45
182	H-11	Bab al-'Awy (the door of crying)	46
179	I-11	Bab al-'Attaba al-Zarqu'a	47
181	I-11	Oil factory	48
180	I-11	The house of Ayub Bey al-Kabir	49
178	I-11	The house of Bashir Agha	50
176	I-11	The Sharaybi's house	51
167	K-11	Ibrahim bey's house	52
166	K-11	Marzuk bey's house	53
164	K-11	Al-Bakri's <i>sabil</i> .	54
163	K-12	Al-Bakri's mosque	55
253	K-12	Al-Shaykh al-Bakri's house	56
252	K-12	The administration of finances	57
238	K-12	<i>Darb khukha</i>	58
246	K-12	The mosque of 'Abd al-Haq	59
245	K-12	The house of <i>al-Shaykh Musa al-Sirsi</i>	60
243	K-12	The Bakri market	61
244	K-12	<i>Sikkat 'Uthman al-Kikhiya</i>	62
248	K-12	<i>'Atfat Abu-Quta</i>	63
249	K-12	The house of 'Uthman Bey al-Ashqar	64
175	I-11	Azbak's <i>sabil</i>	65
177	I-11	Azbak's mosque	66
171	I-11	<i>Sabil al-Madayna</i>	67
170	I-11	Azbak's <i>hammam</i>	68
167	K-11	Ibrahim Bey's house	69
168	K-11	The end of the Christian district	70
159	K-11	<i>Sabil al-Dunshuway</i>	71
251	K-12	A textiles factory	72
250	K-12	<i>Sikkat suq al-Bakri</i>	73



48

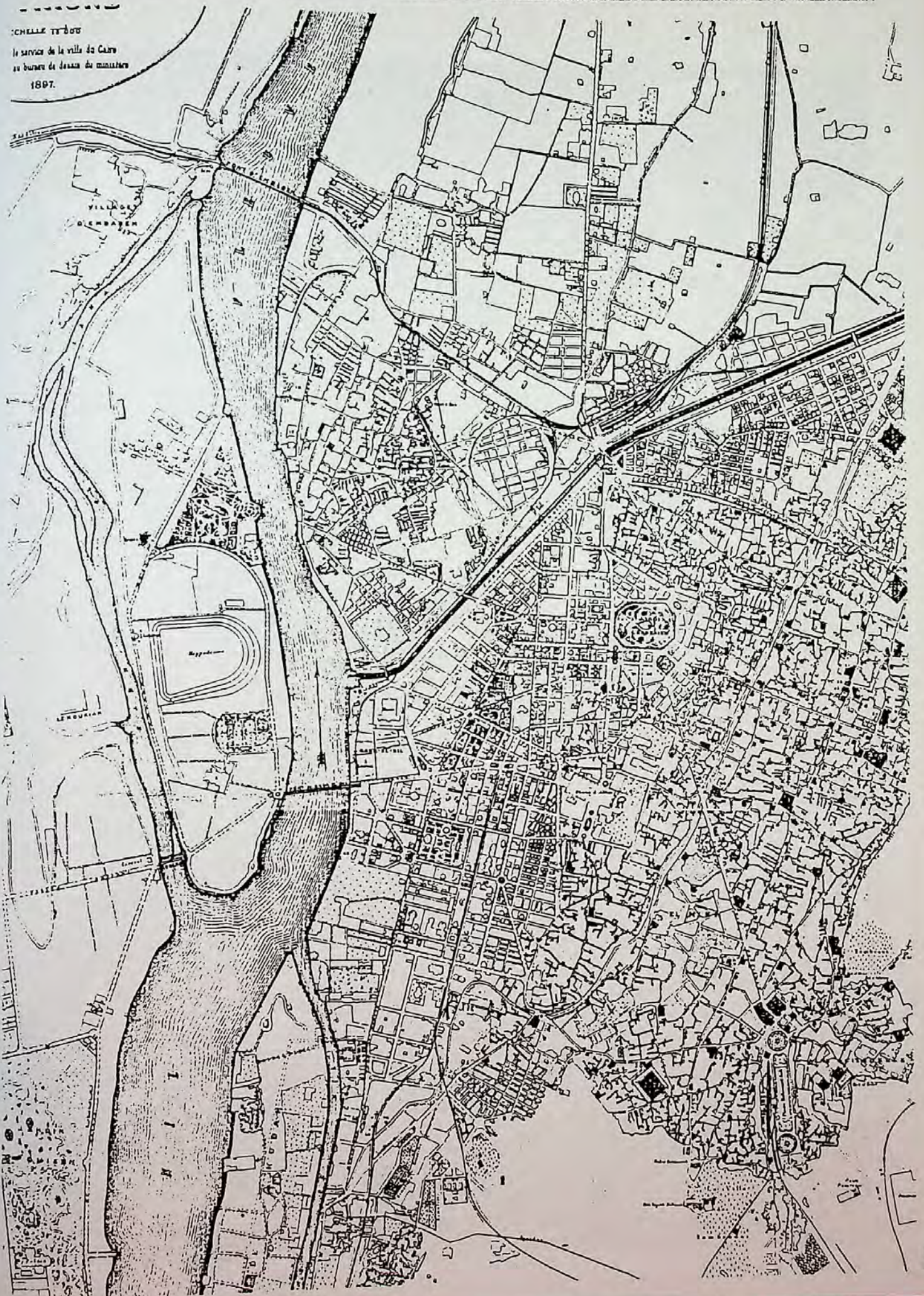
-  Khawagas.
-  Beys
-  Effendi
-  Royal Family

FIGURES



FIGURES

ÉCHELLE 1:100,000
le service de la ville de Caen
au bureau de dessin du ministère
1897.



FIGURES



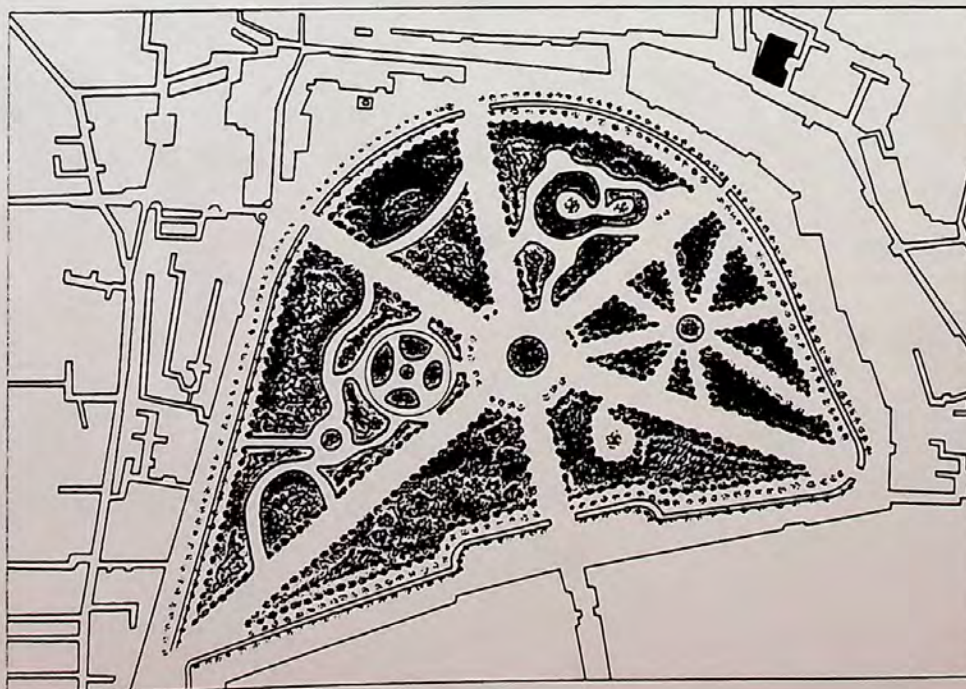
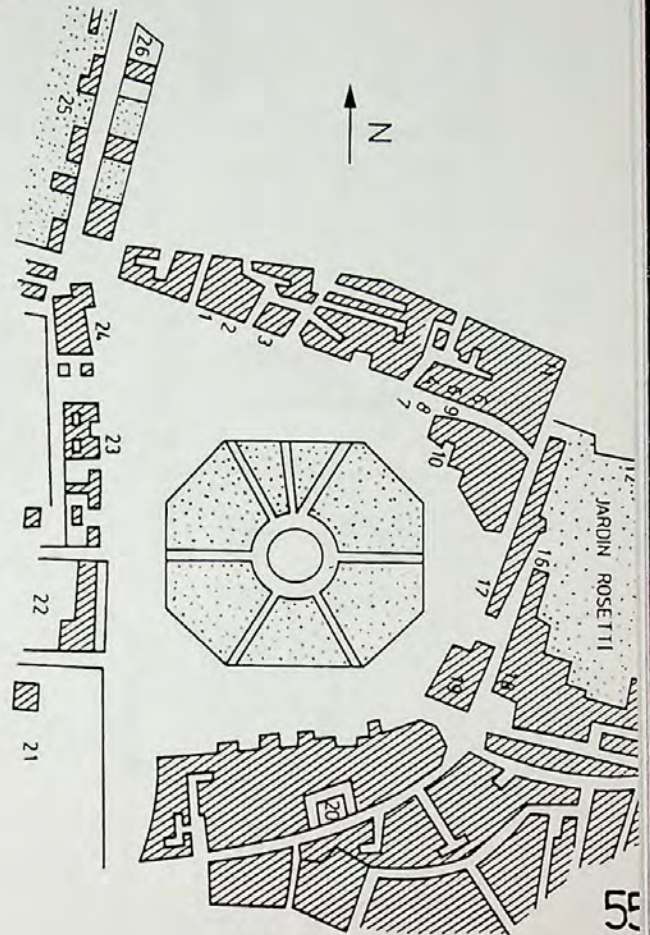
FIGURES



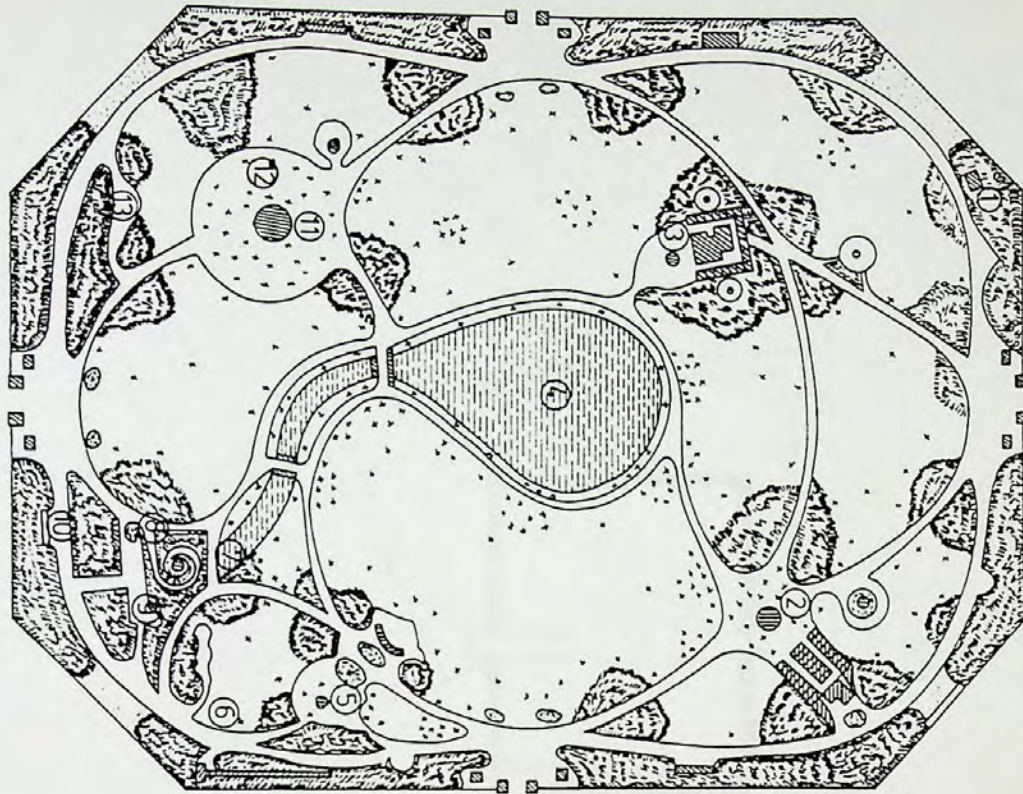
FIGURES

The Legend of figure 55

- 1- Russian Consulate.
- 2- Portuguese Consulate.
- 3- Austrian Consulate.
- 4- Cercle Oriental.
- 5- French Consulate.
- 6- Eldorado coffeehouse.
- 7- Cercle du Golbe.
- 8- Royal Hotel of the Messageries.
- 9- Ambassadors hotel.
- 10- Hotel d'Orient.
- 11- Commerce hotel.
- 12- Prussian Consulate.
- 13- Observatory.
- 14- Swedish Consulate.
- 15- Italian Consulate.
- 16- France hotel.
- 17- Dutch Consulate.
- 18- Greek Consulate.
- 19- Police.
- 20- Halim Pasha's palace.
- 21- Palace.
- 22- Cie Peninsulaire Orientale hotel.
- 23- Shepherd's hotel.
- 24- British Consulate.
- 25- Residence of the French Consul.



FIGURES

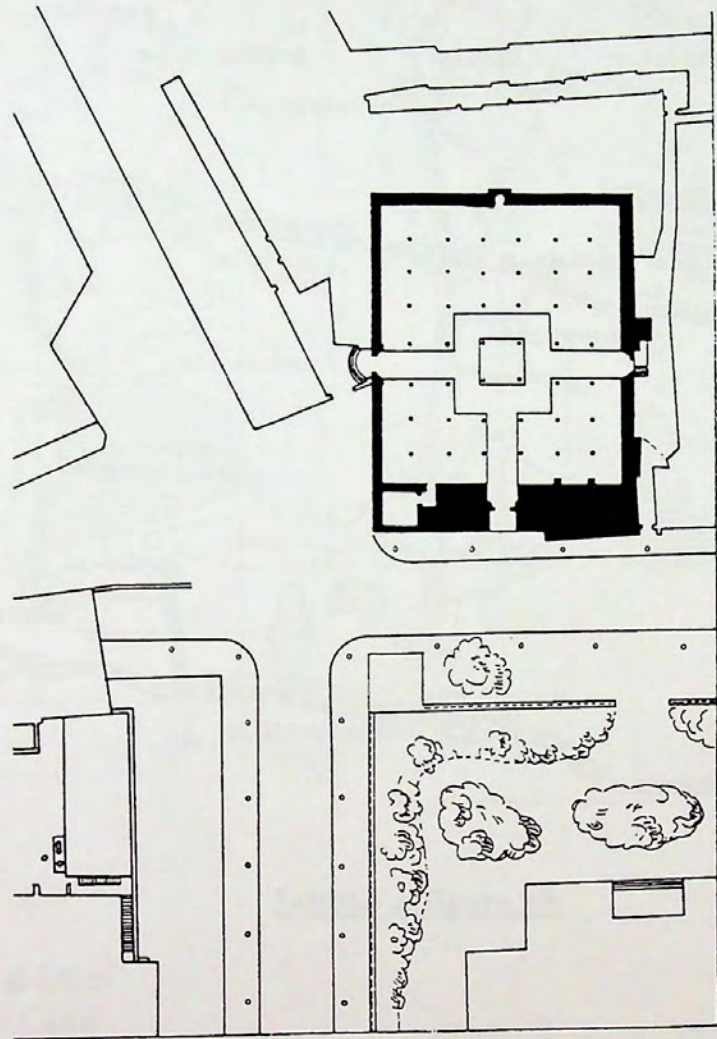


57

The legend of figure (57) (after Abu-Seif):

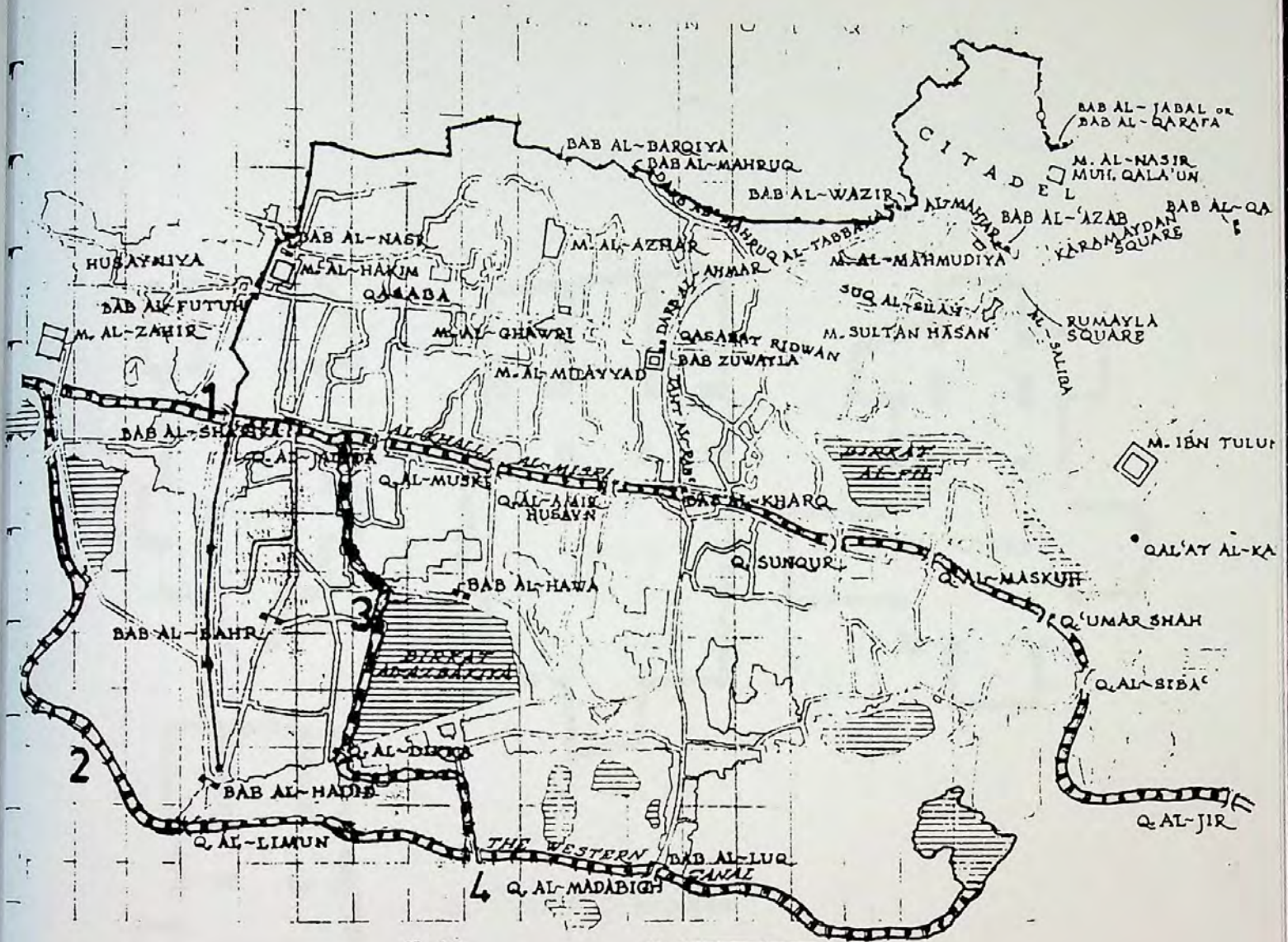
- 1- Photographer.
- 2- European coffeehouse and theatre.
- 3- Restaurant.
- 4- Artificial lake -Bicycle boats.
- 5- Oriental coffeehouse.
- 6- Shooting booth.
- 7- Ice cream café.
- 8- Belvedere.
- 9- Greek café with music.
- 10- Tobacco shop.
- 11- Kiosk for music.
- 12- Bar.
- 13- Limonade booth.

FIGURE 58



58

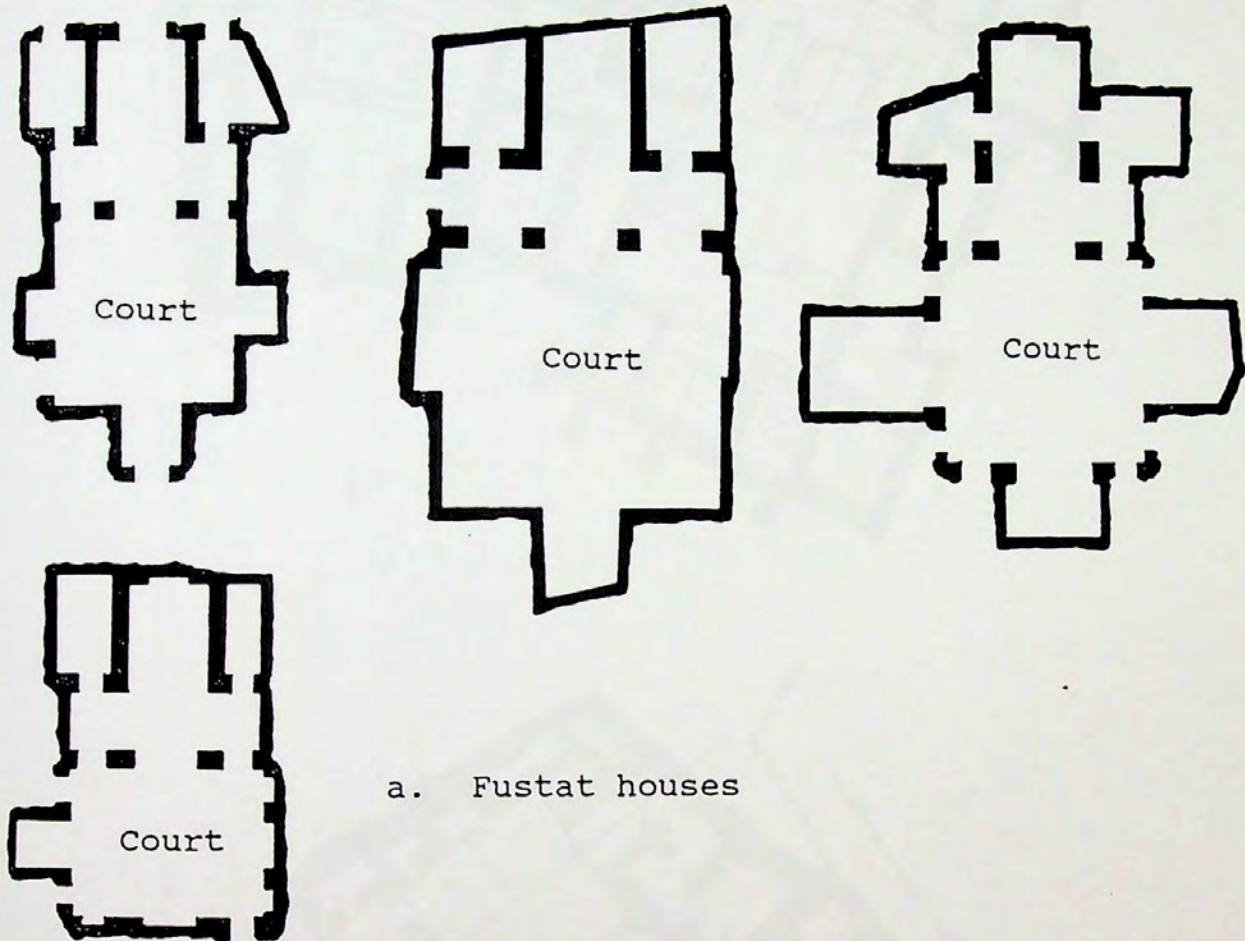
FIGURES



Legend of figure 59:

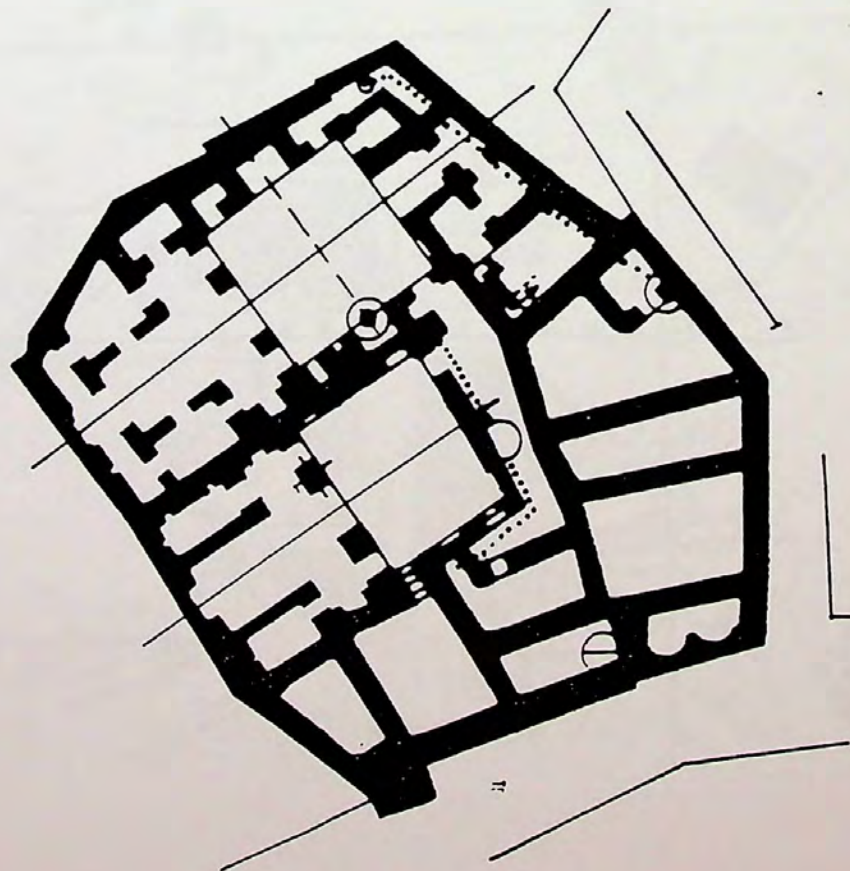
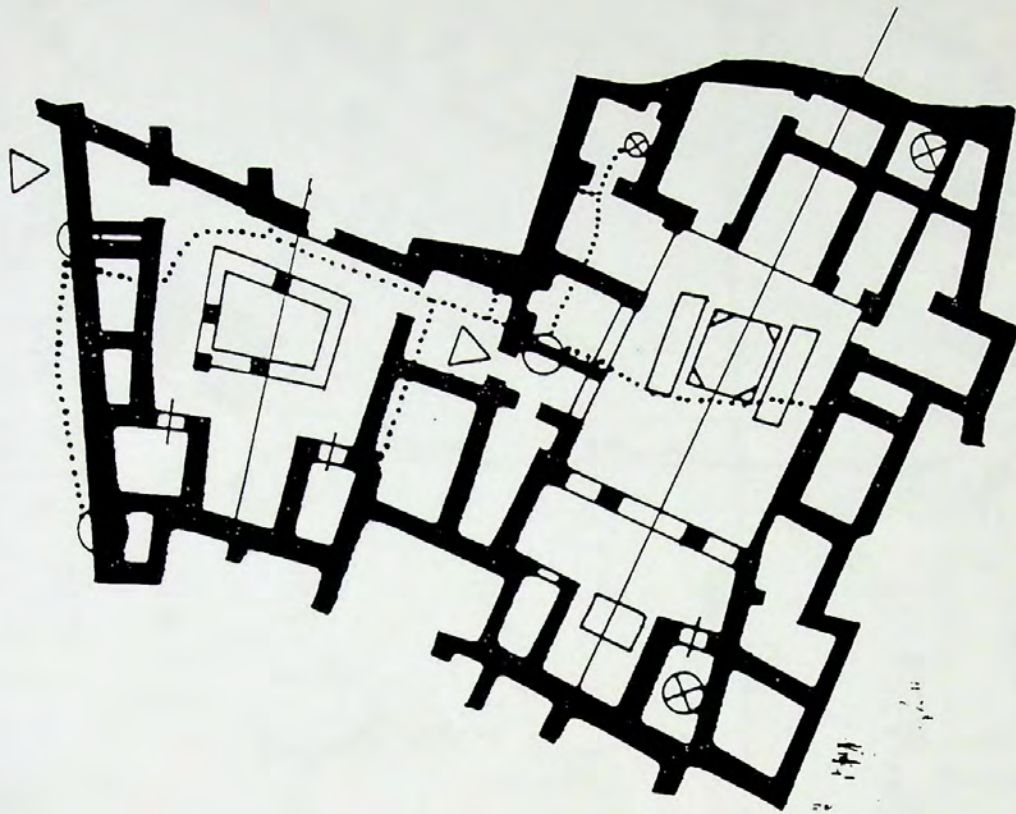
- 1- Al-khalig al-Misri.
- 2- The Nasiri Canal.
- 3- The Maghraby canal.
- 4- Qantar al-Maghribi.

FIGURES



a. Fustat houses

FIGURES



TIGER'S



- 1- Sednaoui.
- 2- Tiring.

FIGURES



63

LEGEND OF FIG. 63

Newly Established Streets and Alleys at Azbakiyya Mentioned by 'Ali Mubarak:

(A) Streets:

- 1-Al-Mahdy:
- 4-Al-Bab al-Bahari
- 7-Al-Busta
- 10-Azbak
- 13-Al-Baydaq

- 2-Al-Gunayna
- 5-Kamil
- 8-Al-Bawaki
- 11-Maydan Azbak
- 14-Jami' al-Kikhiya

- 3-Al-Miligi
- 6-Al-Fasqiyya
- 9-Al-Bab al-Sharqi
- 12-Al-Tiyatro

(B) Alleys (harat):

- 15-Al-Husayni
- 18-Al-Zahhar

- 16-Al-Madrasatayn
- 19-Al-'Arbakhana

- 17-Zoghayb

LIST OF PLATES

- 1- Bonaparte in the Institute of Egypt in the palace of Hassan al-Kashif (after the D.E.).
- 2- Al-Alfi's palace, the residence of Napoleon during the French Expedition (after the D.E.).
- 3- The ruins of the houses of Azbakiyya after the second revolt of Cairo (after the D.E.).
- 4- The garden of al-Alfi palace, where Kleber was assassinated (after the D.E.).
- 5- The festival of the opening of the *Khalig* (after the D.E.).
- 6- The northern coast of the Azbakiyya, showing the Coptic Quarter and the minaret of al-Ruwa'i mosque (after the D.E.).
- 7- The western coast of the Azbakiyya pond showing the mosque of 'Uthman Katkhuda (after the D.E.).
- 8- A Palace at Azbakiyya, the residence of 'Uthman Bey (after the D.E.).
- 9- A house of a Shaykh at Azbakiyya (after the D.E.).
- 10- The southern coast of the Azbakiyya pond, in 1800 (after the D.E.).
- 11- The Azbakiyya pond, in the 18th century (after Abouseif).
- 12- The Azbakiyya pond surrounded by gardens and palaces (1798) (after the D.E.).
- 13- The first, and the second Shepherd's hotel (after Abu al-Lughod).
- 14- Al-Alfi house transformed into the first Shepherd's hotel (after Tamtraz, N.).
- 15- The first Shepherd's hotel in 1869. On the right was Kleber's tree (after Nelson, M.).

- 16- The bill of the second Shepheard's hotel in the late nineteenth century. The logo of the hotel was the photo of the Alfi palace (after Nelson, M.).
- 17- Magicians and acrobat dancers made their shows in front of Shepheard's terrace. In the background, an elegant lady, may be one of Shepheard's guests (after Nelson, M.).
- 18- The festival held at Shepheard's hotel for celebrating the inauguration of the Suez canal (after Nelson, M.).
- 19- The terrace entrance at the turn of the nineteenth century (after Nelson, M.).
- 20- British officers who were welcomed guests in Shepheard's hotel during late nineteenth century (after Nelson, M.).
- 21- Shepheard's hotel semi-shaded terrace, and the *hantur* terminus in front of it (after Nelson, M.).
- 22- the entrance of Shepheard's hotel during the early 20th century (after Nelson, M.).
- 23- The third Shepheard's hotel; it had a gabled roof and the façade had stucco decorations (after Nelson, M.).
- 24- the second Shepheard's hotel built in 1891 showing the *Rumi* style of the late nineteenth century (after Abu al-Lughod).
- 25- Merchant in front of Shepheard's hotel, early 20th century (after Abu-al-Lughod).
- 26- The main hall of the third Shepheard's hotel; it showed a revival of the Indalusian style (after Nelson, M.).
- 27- A wedding ceremony held at the terrace of Shepheard's hotel during the first half of the 20th century (after Nelson, M.).
- 28- The complete façade of Shepheard's hotel after the building of the third floor and adding the western extension (after Nelson, M.).

- 29- One of the last photos of Shepherd's hotel, in 1950 (after Abu-al-Lughod).
- 30 & 31-The ruins of Shepherd's hotel in 1952 (after Nelson, M. & Abu al-Lughod respectively).
- 32- The actual place of Shepherd's hotel, where the a new branch for the central Bank of Egypt is under construction.
- 33-The Opera house built by Isma'il in 1869.
- 34- The Opera square in 1946 (after Abu al-Lughod).
- 35- The façade of the Kedival Opera house built by Isma'il; a European statue decorated its entrance (after the Egyptian Ministry of culture).
- 36-The interior of the old Opera house showing the very rich European style (after the Egyptian Ministry of culture).
- 37- The entrance of the Opera house; an iron parapet was hanged upon the entrance.
- 38-The Opera square during the first third of the 20th century (after the Egyptian Ministry of culture).
- 39-The statue of Ibrahim Pasha, established at the Opera square in 1872 (after [http // silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau))
- 40-The theatre built by Isma'il for the Comédie Française at Azbakiyya (after *le Progrès Egyptien*).
- 41-The Qasr al-Nil barracks in the 1940's (after Abu al-Lughod).
- 42-The first Qasr al-Nil bridge (after Abu al-Lughod).
- 43-The second Qasr al-Nil bridge in the earl 20th century.
- 44-Boats near the shore of the Nile in front of the Qasr al-Nil Barracks; the background is the first Qasr al-Nil bridge (after [http // silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).

- 45- The festival of the opening of the second Qasr al-Nil bridge 9after [http // silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).
- 46- The façade of al-Ruway‘i mosque, 15th century (after Abouseif).
- 47- The ruins of Azbak mosque before its destruction (after Abouseif).
- 48- The façade of Yusuf Agha ‘Azaban’s Mosque in the vicinity of Azbakiyya (after Abouseif).
- 49- The minaret of the mosque of al-Gawhari (after Abouseif).
- 50- The corner minaret of ‘Uthman Katkhuda mosque (after Abouseif).
- 51- The façade of ‘Uthman Katkhuda mosque (after Abouseif).
- 52- The interior court of Uthman Katkhuda mosque (after Abouseif).
- 53- The palace of Muhammad ‘Ali at Azbakiyya; the location of the palace was in front of Azbak’s mosque, which minaret was shown at the background (after Abouseif).
- 54- Nineteenth century Azbakiyya park (after Abouseif).
- 55- Ibrahim pasha’s statue established in the Opera square in 1872 (after [http//silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).
- 56- The Opera square in the late nineteenth century; Shepherd’s and Continental hotels were shown on the left and Ibrahim pasha’s statue on the right (after [http//silicon. Montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.Montaigne.u-bordeau)).
- 57- The ‘Attaba al-Khadra square in the mid-nineteenth century; the mosque of Ibrahim Agha ‘Azaban was shown on the background (after [http//silicon.montaigne. u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).
- 58- The Opera square Continental hotel in late nineteenth century (after [http//silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).
- 59- The central post office of Cairo established at al-‘Ataba al-Khadra square (after [http//silicon. montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).
- 60- The *hotel de Paris*; illustrates the 19th century *Rumi* architectural style (after [http// silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau](http://silicon.montaigne.u-bordeau)).

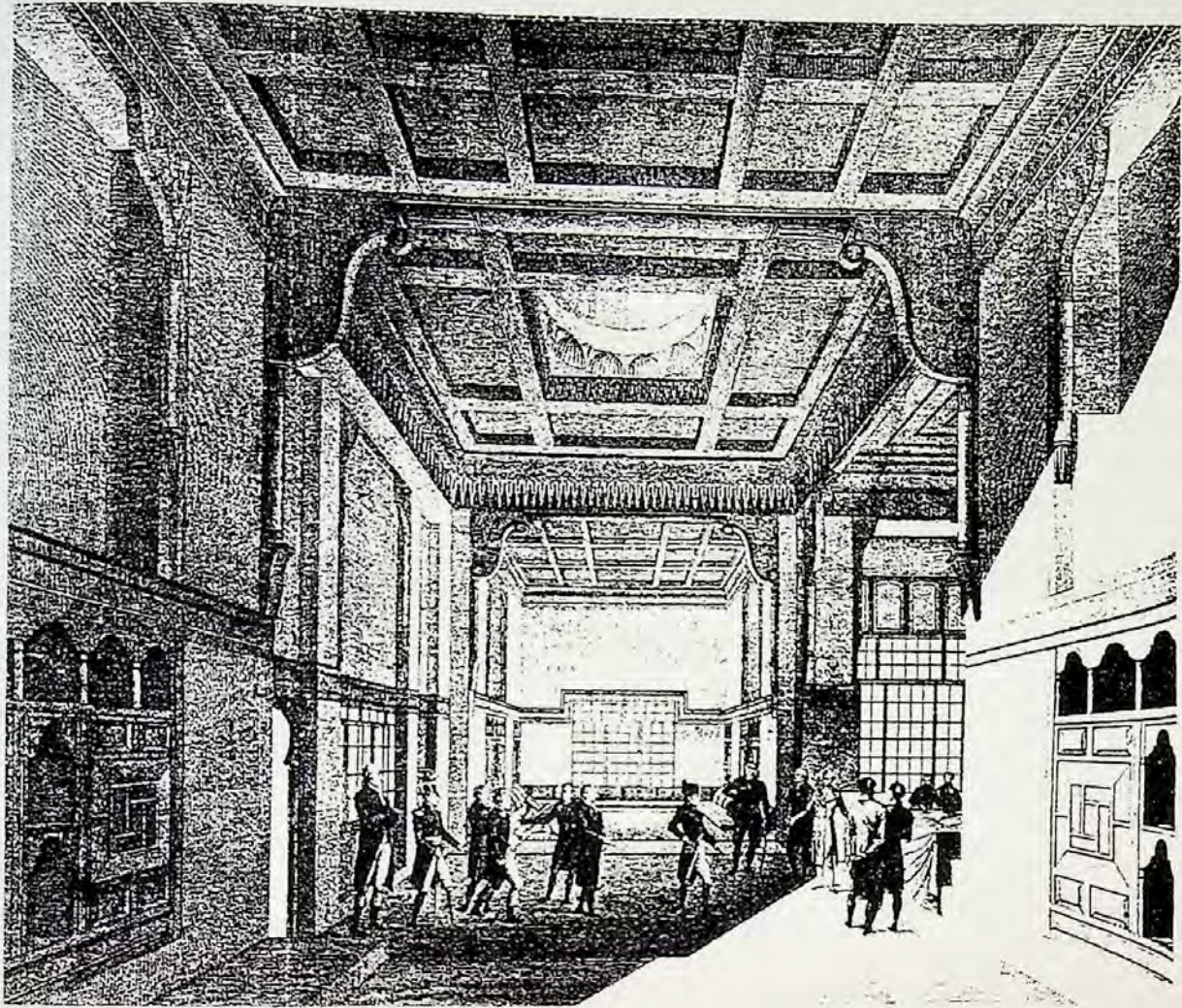
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- 66- The Tiring of al-'Attaba square built by Oscar Horwitz in 1913 (after Myntti).
- 67- Nineteenth century Sedanaoui departmental store; built by a European architect named George parcq, and modeled after a famous departmental store in Paris named *Printemps* (after Myntti).
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- 69- A loggia of an Ottoman house built on the shores of the Khalig, 19th century (after Coste).
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- 71- A multi-store *waqala* (after Coste).
- 72- *Mashrabiyya* façade on the shores of a *khalig* (after Coste).
- 73- Different types of *mashrabiyya* windows (after Ravereau & Roche).
- 74- A marble fountain at the center of an Ottoman house' open court (after Ravereau & Roche).
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- 76- Projecting *mashrabiyya* windows supported on decorated wooden beams (after Ravereau & Roche).
- 77- An *iwan* having seats; the background is the *mashrabiyya* window (after Ravereau & Roche).
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- 83- The principal elements of the ottoman house reception: *qa'a*, *durqa'a*, and *iwans* having iron grills connected to the *malqaf* (after Ravereau & Roche).
- 84- A *qa'a* having more than four *iwans*; each two *iwans* have a central *durqa'a* (after Ravereau & Roche).
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- 86- A transversal section illustrating the relation of the *malqaf* and the *shukhshaykha* in Mamluk and/or Ottoman houses (after al-Kashif, M. H.).
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- 90- Details of the *mashrabiyya* window of Hassan al-Kashif house (after D.E.).

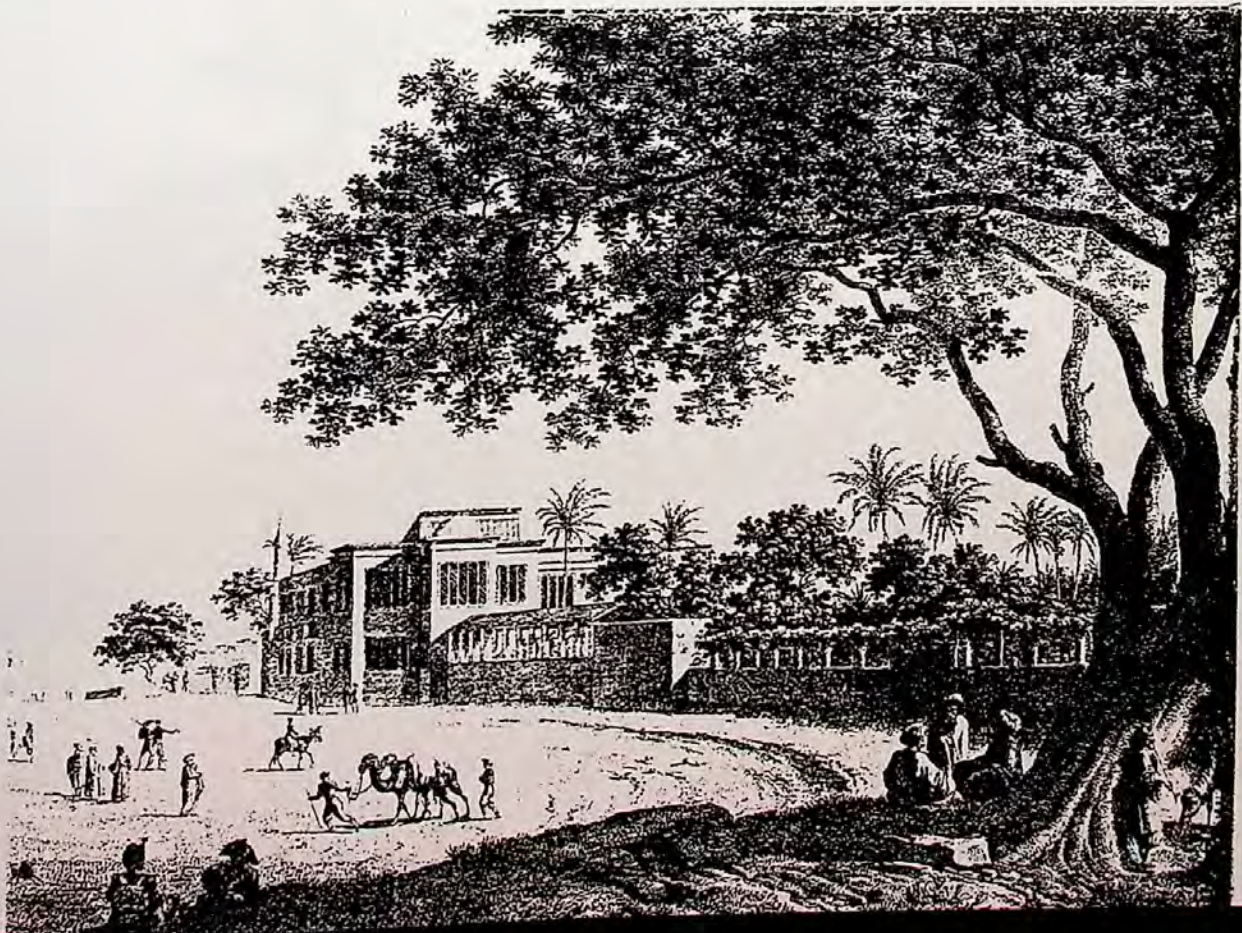
- 91- The cantilever *mashrabiyya* was used on the façades viewing the court of Hassan al-Kashif house.
- 92- A street in the Azbakiyya district in the mid-nineteenth century; the Rumi style to the side of the Mamluk one (after Lane, P.S.).
- 93- Houses on the shores of the *khalig* in 1870 (after Clerget).
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- 97- Azbakiyya, 19th century (after Abu-Seif).
- 98- The Parliament hotel and the shopping arcades al- 'Attaba square built in 1895 (after Myntti).
- 99- The Coptic quarter in the nineteenth century (after Abouseif).
- 100- The actual shopping arcades in 'Imad al-Din street.
- 101- The early twentieth century architectural style, is still surviving at 'Imad al-Din street.
- 102- A building at 'Imad al-Din street in the neo-Mamluk style.
- 103- A nineteenth century fountain at the Azbakiyya park, showing the Rococo style revived during that period (after Abouseif).
- 104- A kiosque at the Azbakiyya park; the Khedival orchestra used it on holidays; the gas-lighted lamps, which decorated the border of the artificial lake, is a remarkable feature.

PLATES

PLATES

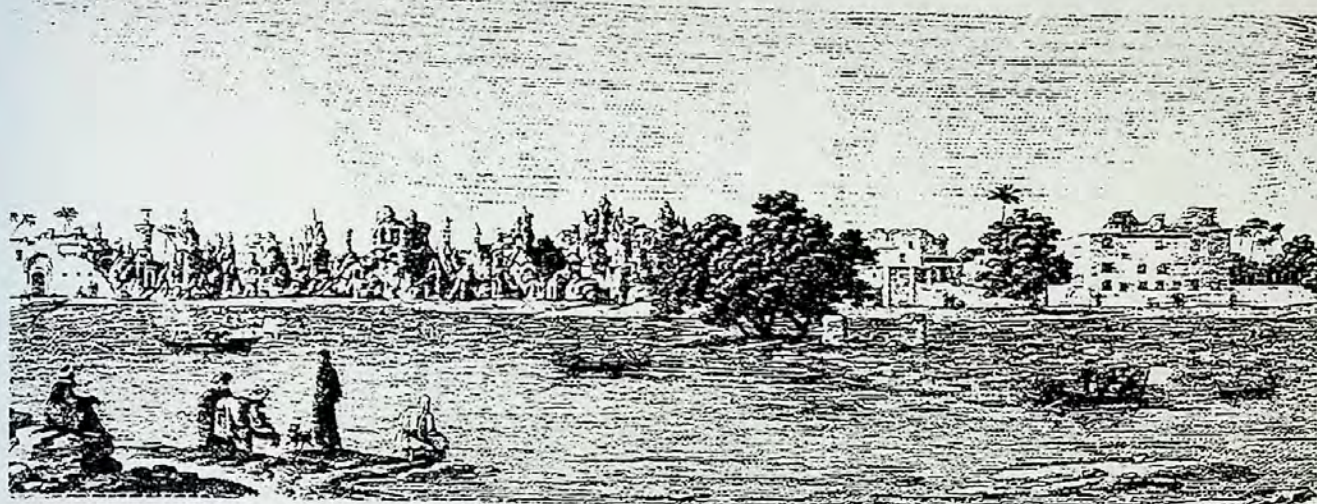


1

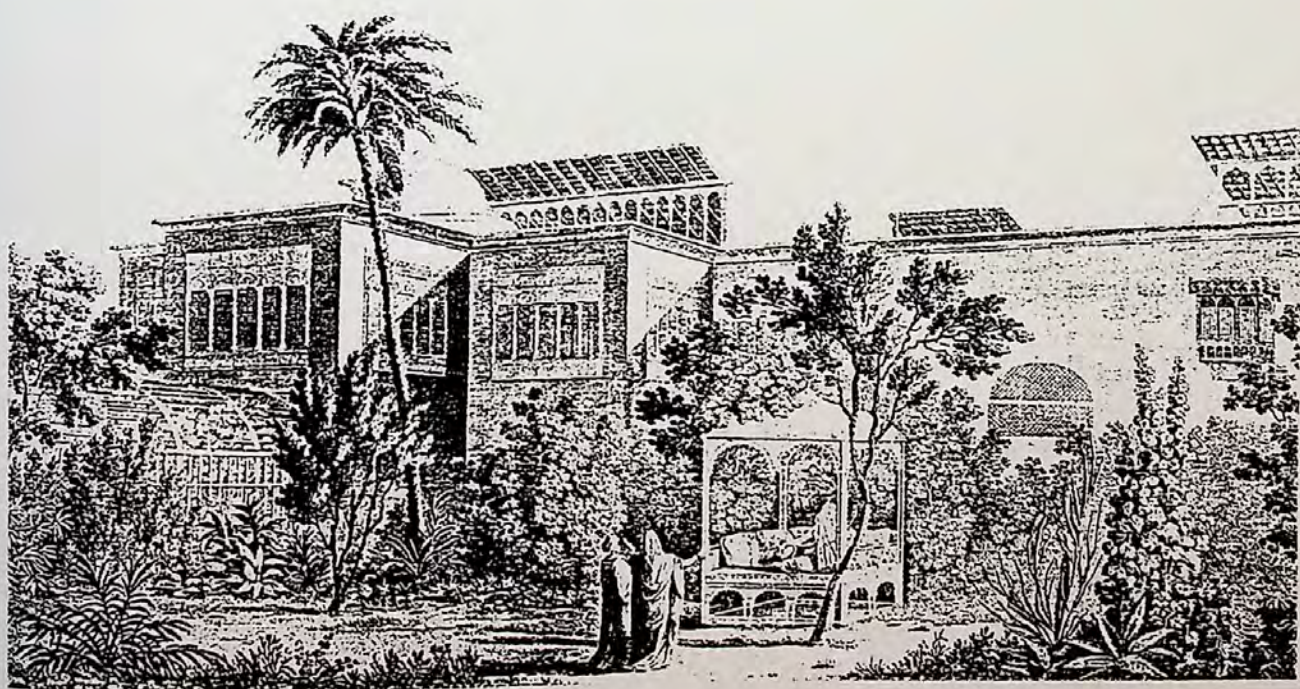


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PLATES

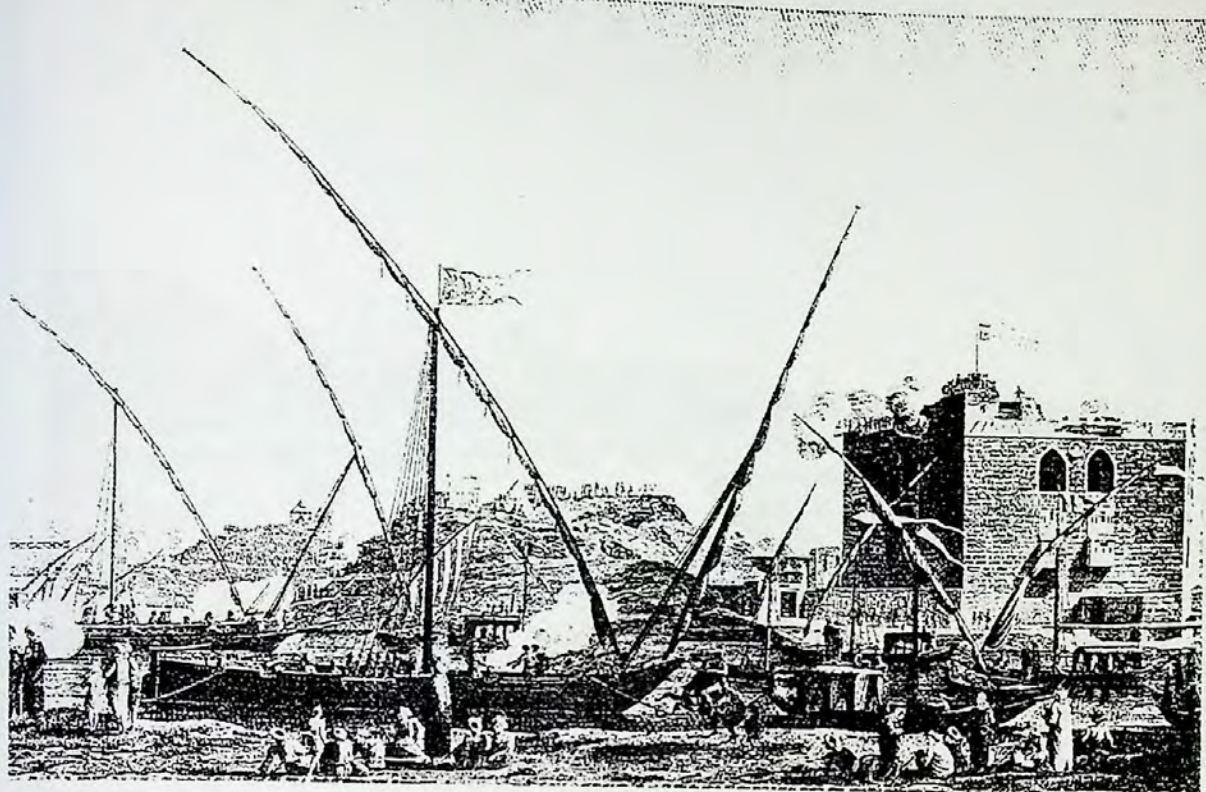


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4

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5

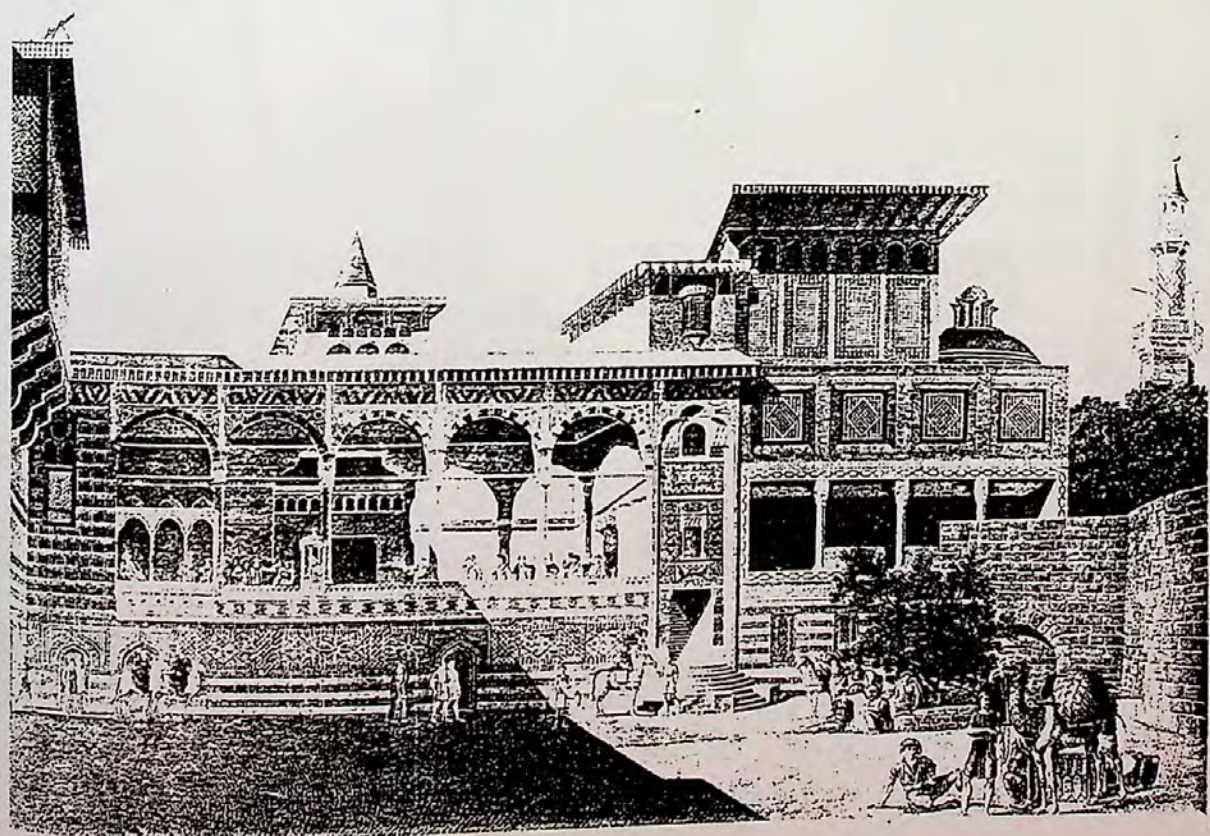


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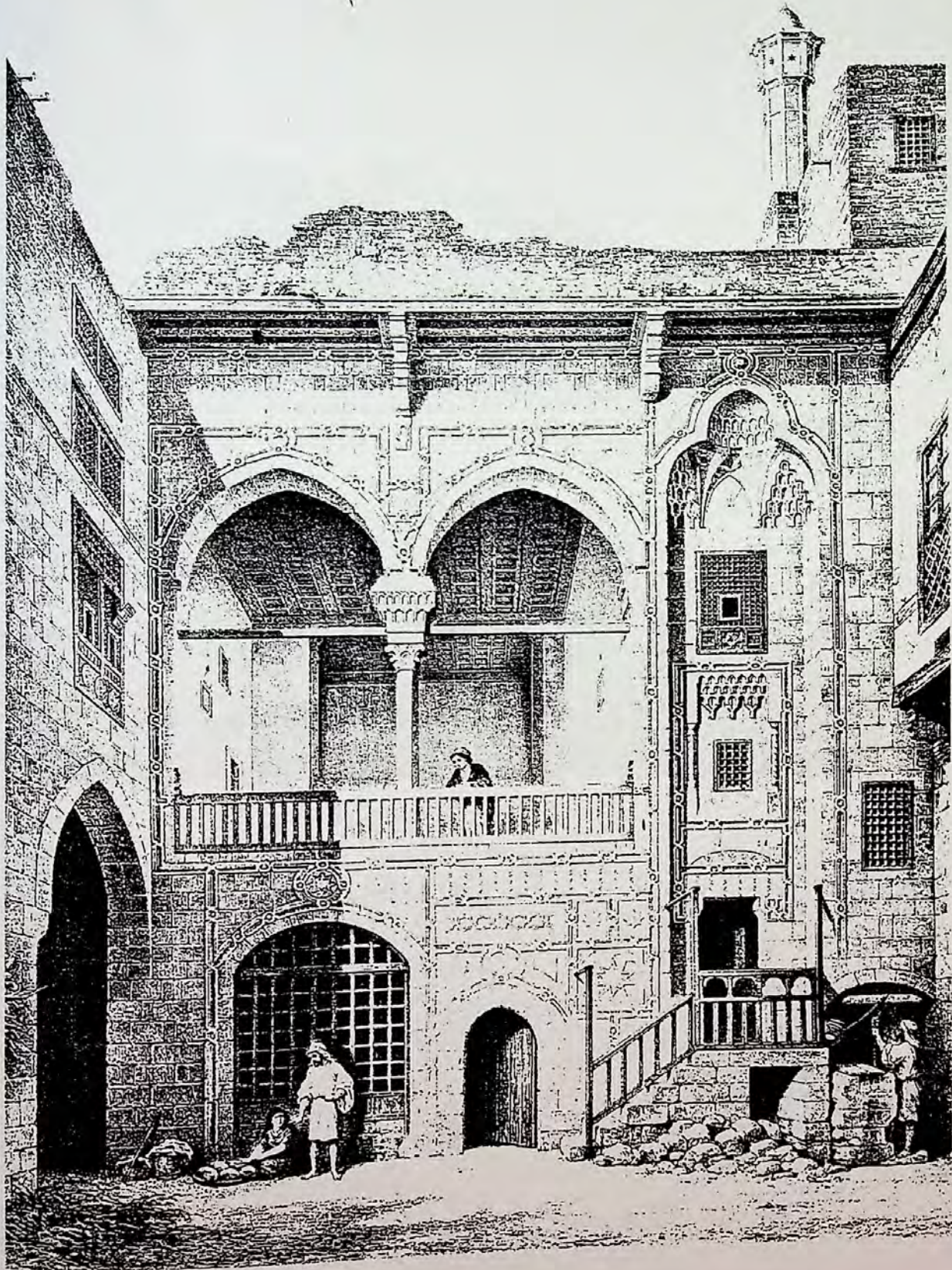


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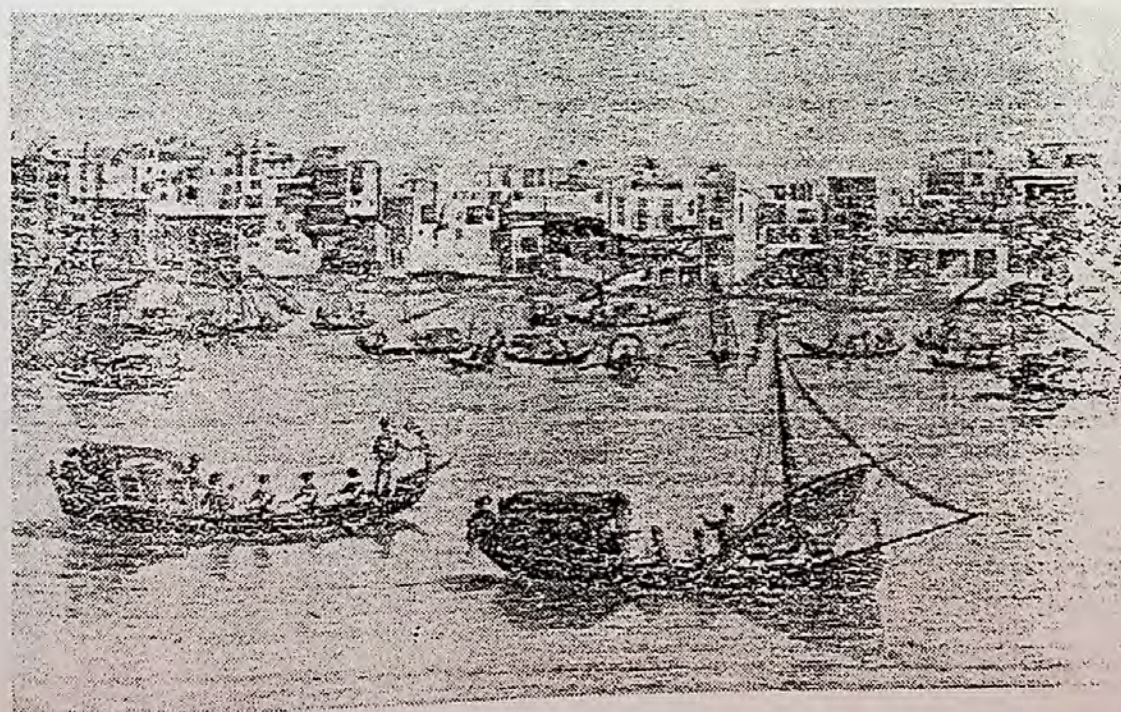


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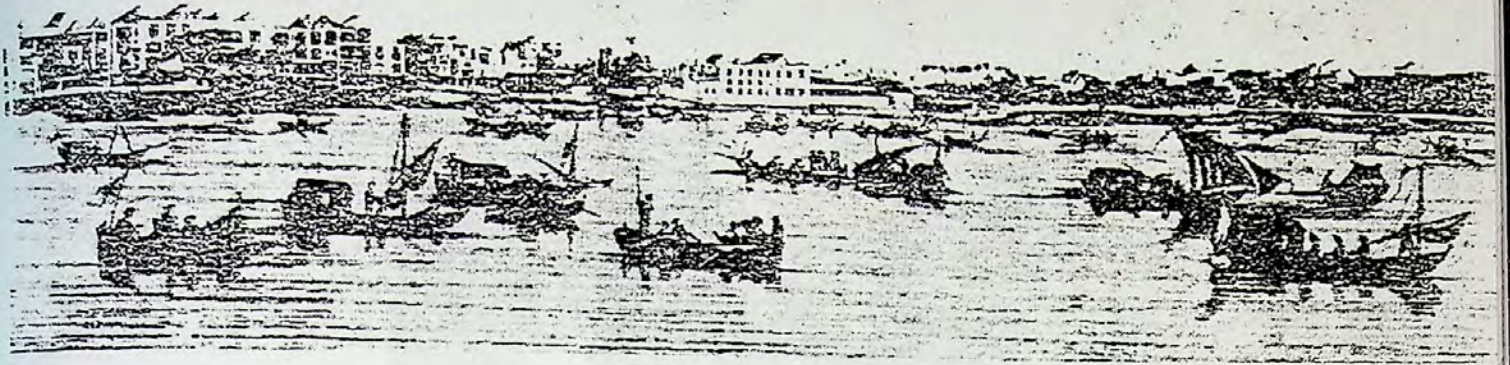
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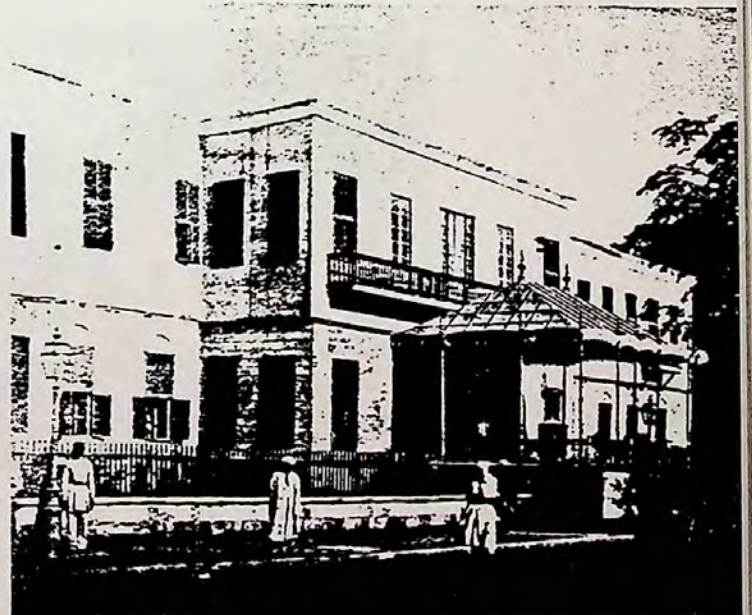
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Palace of Muḥammad Bay al-Alfi: first
Shepherd's Hotel



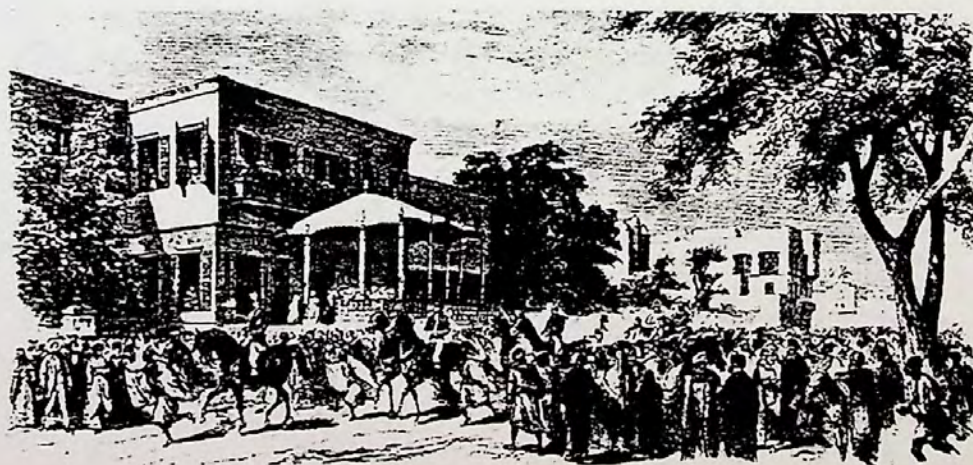
Second Shepherd's Hotel on same site, late 19th century

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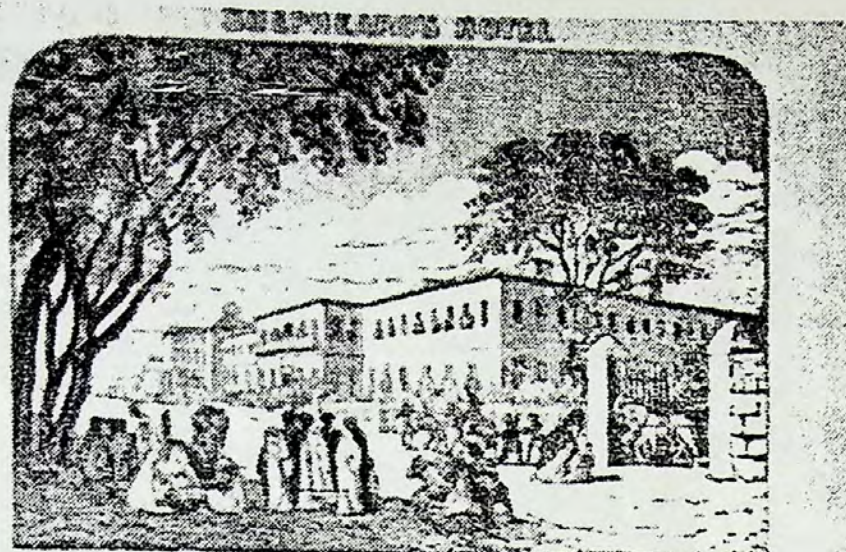


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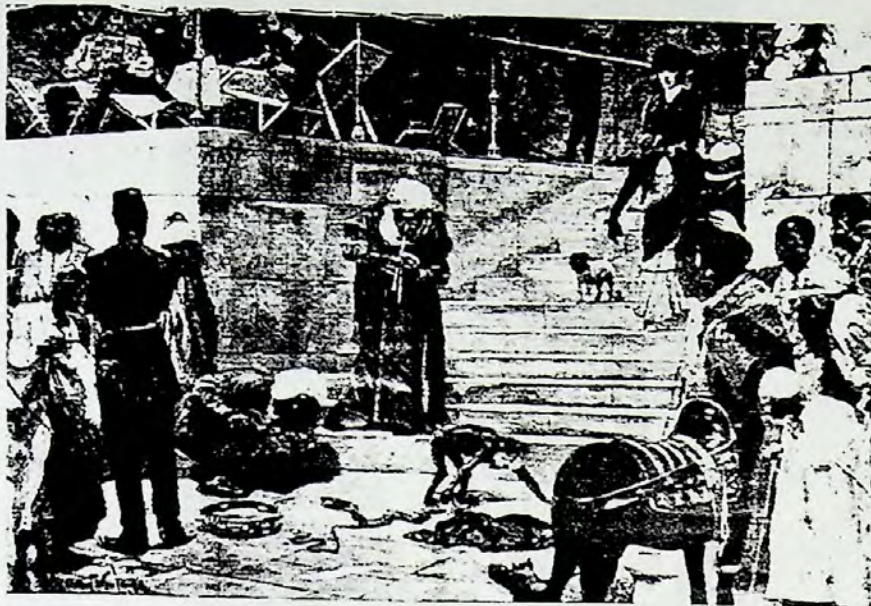


CAIRO.

Fort Masek
D. W. L. H. H. H.

		£	s	d
1863				
Dec 25				
to Dec 13	Board Lodgings	3	9	
to 23	do	5	8	
	Washing		1	2
		£	8	11

PLATES



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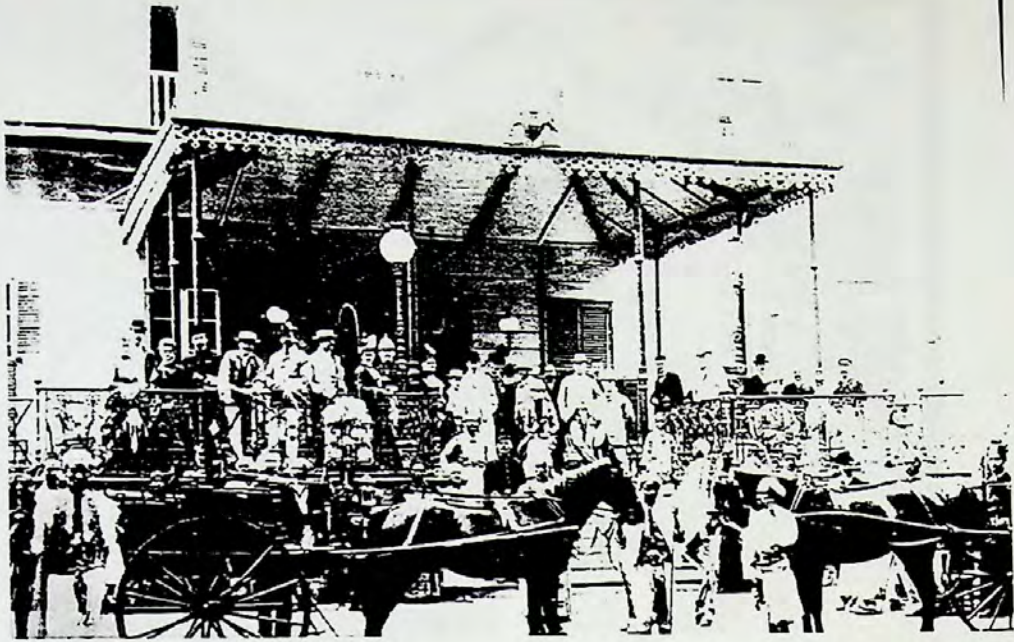


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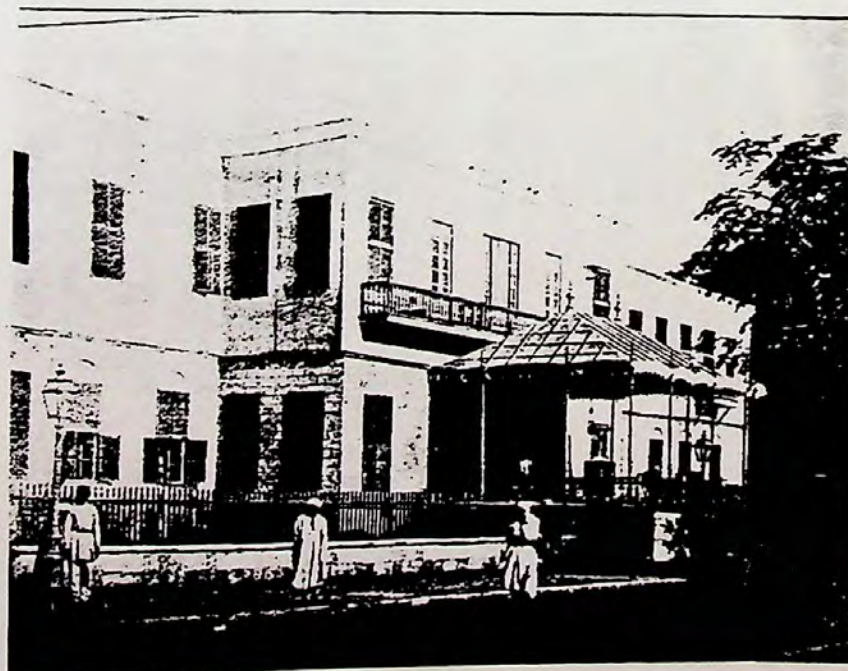


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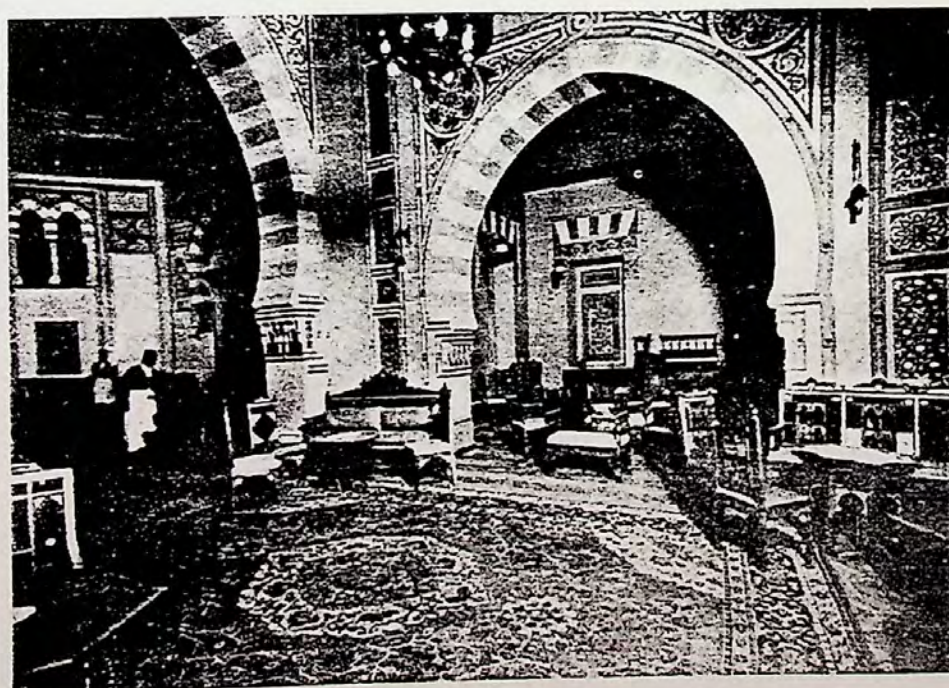


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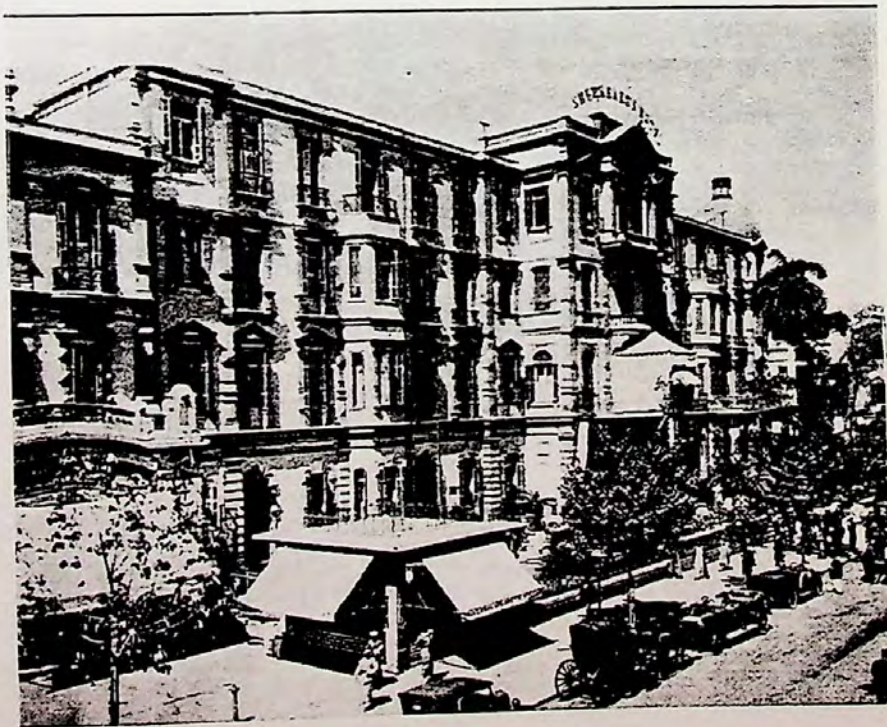


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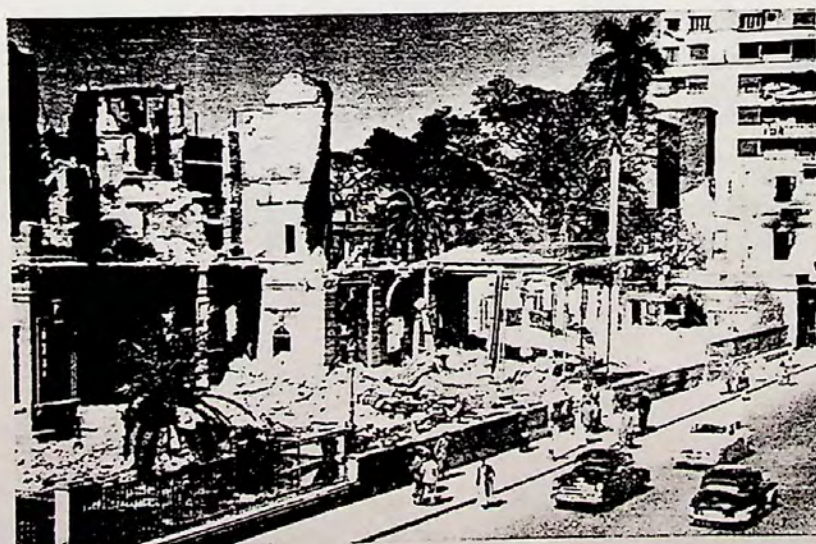


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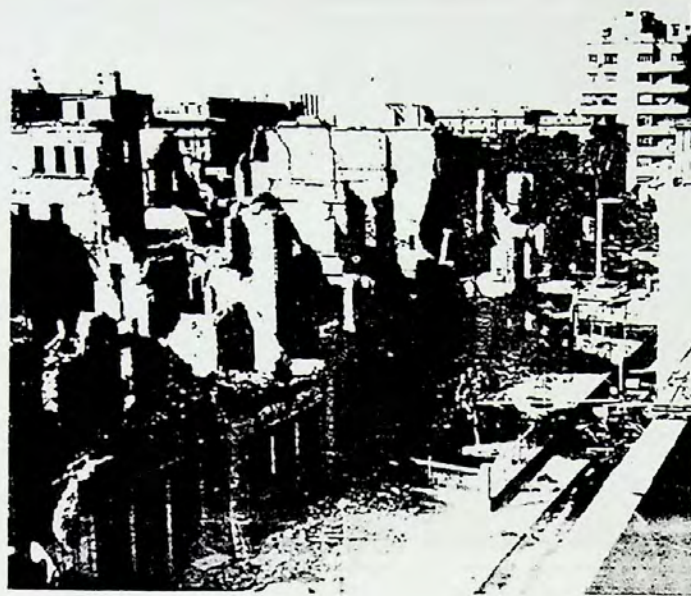


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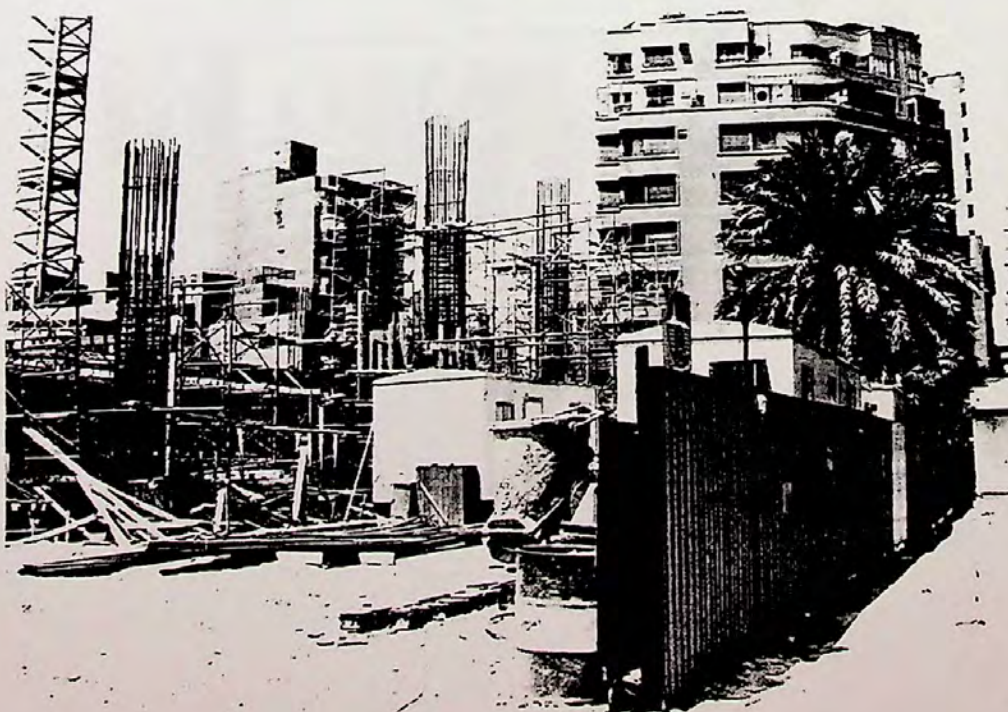


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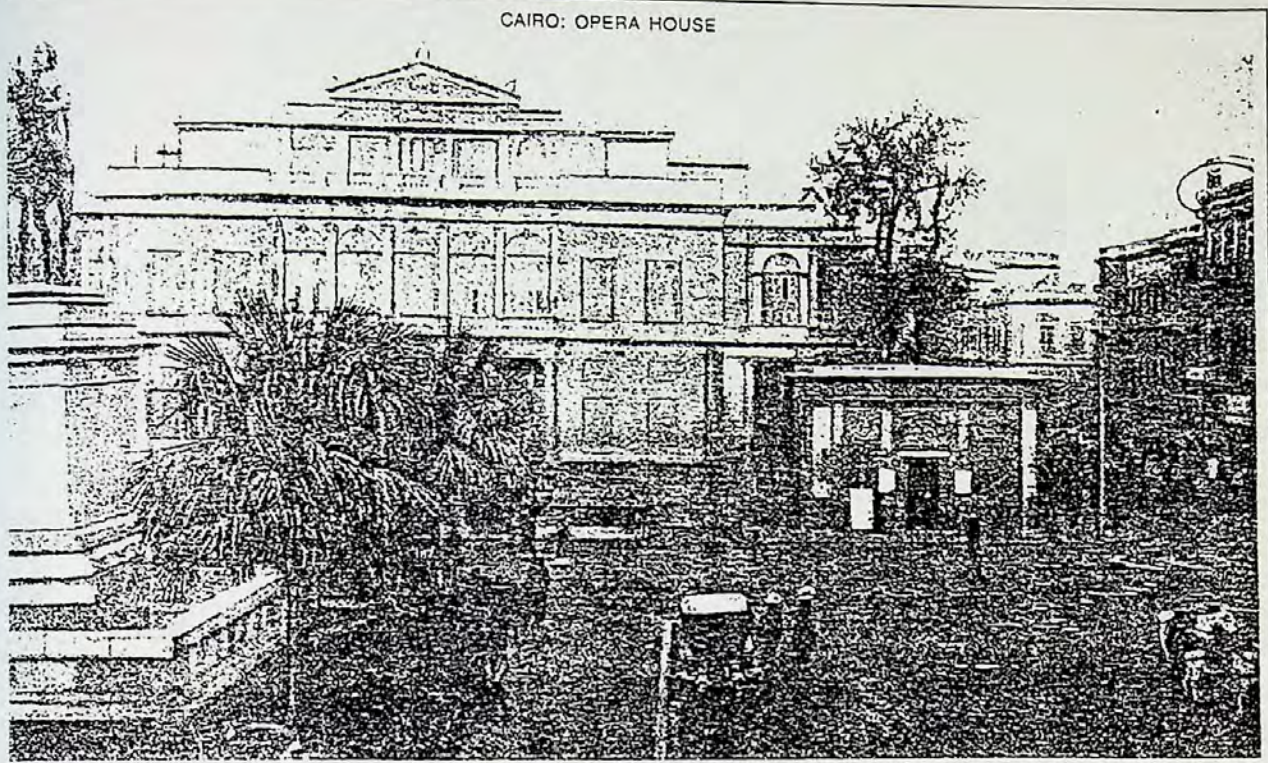
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CAIRO: OPERA HOUSE



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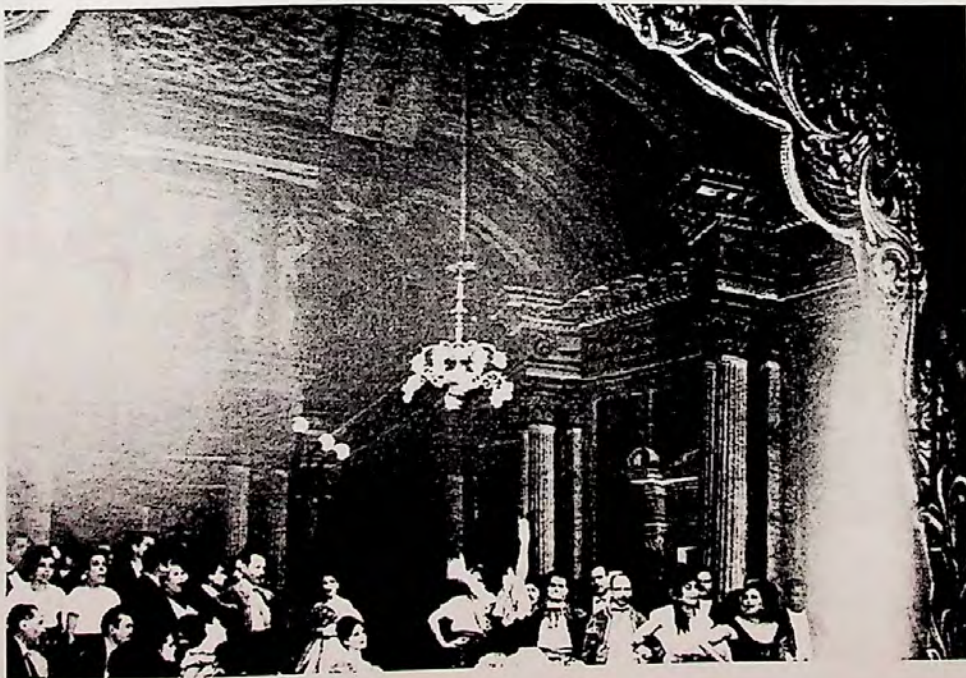


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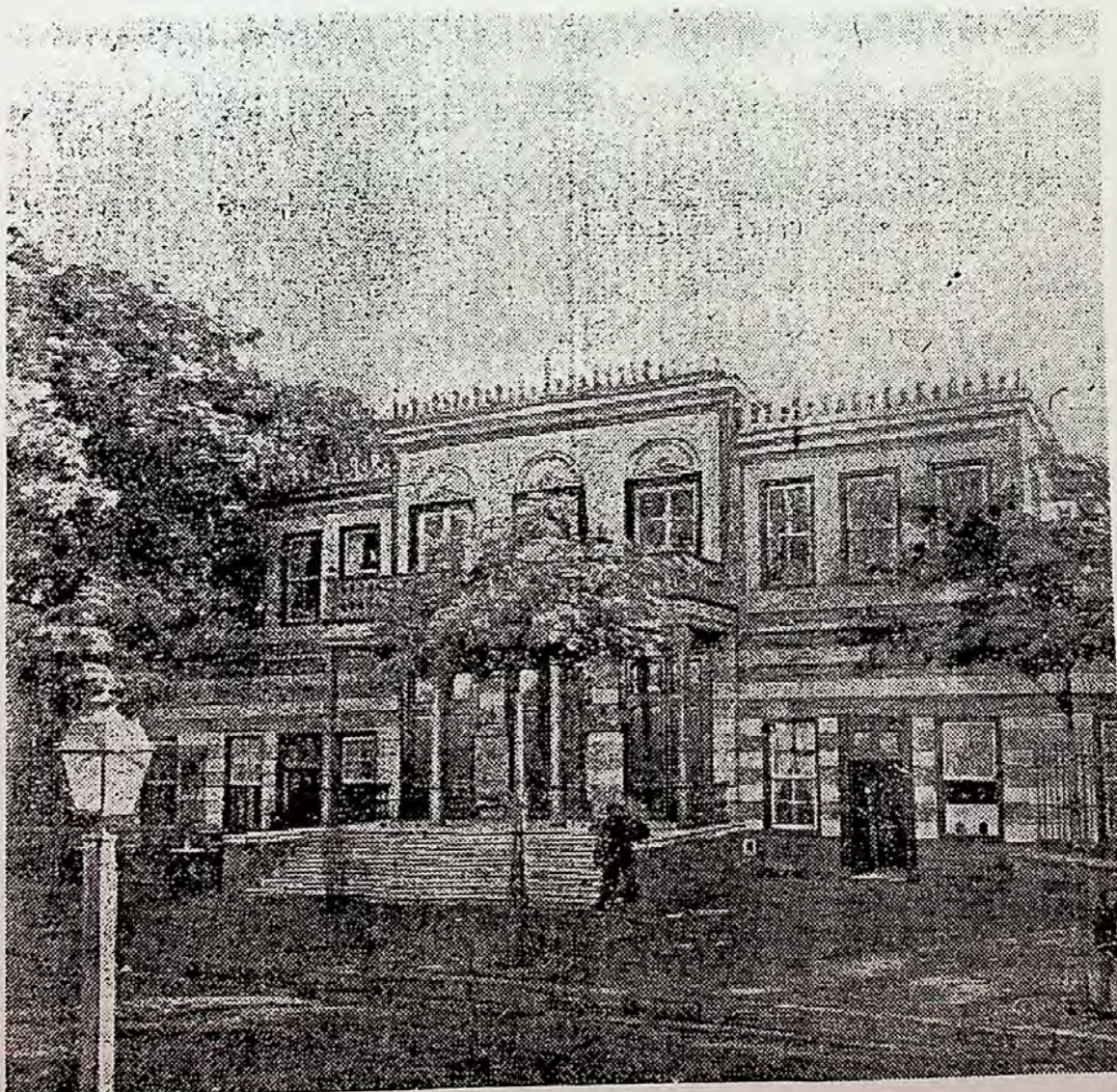


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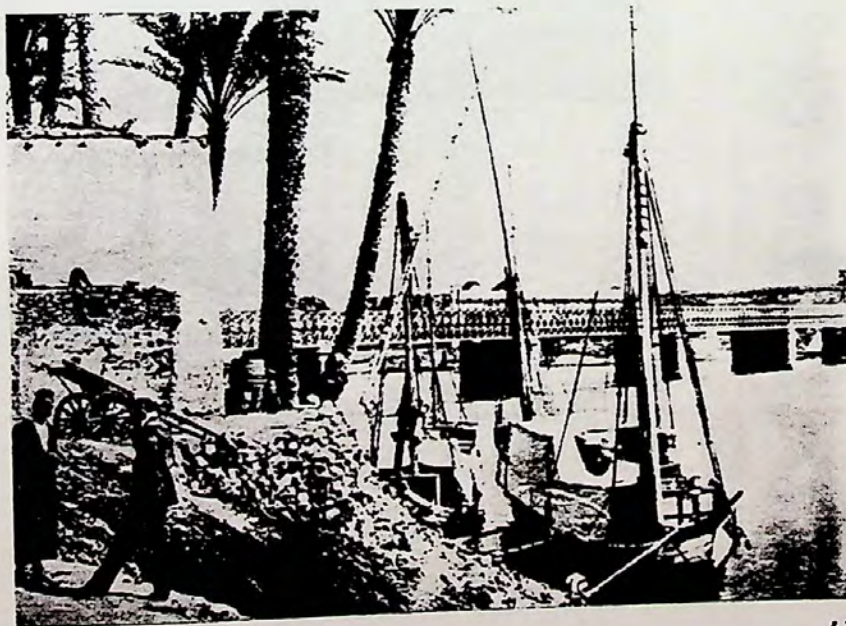


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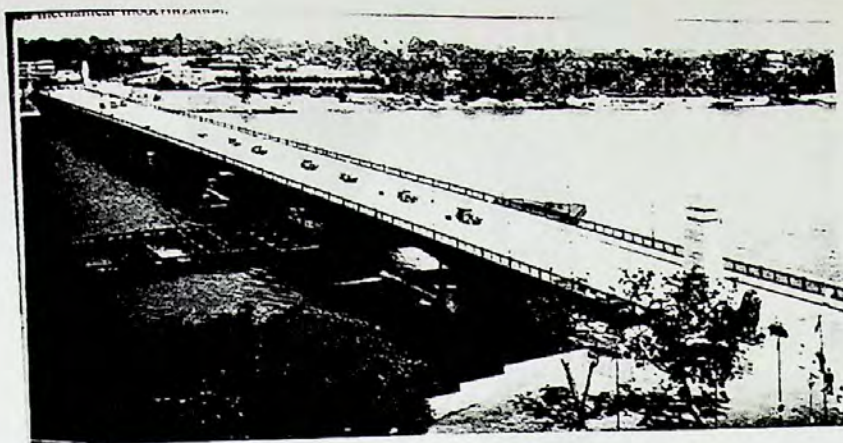


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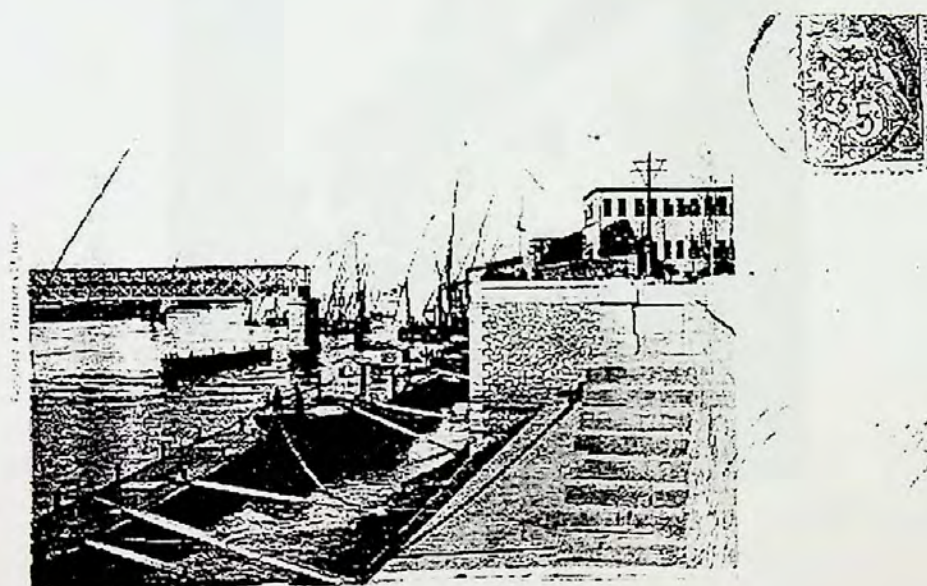


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13. CAIRO - The Great Nile Bridge. - 11

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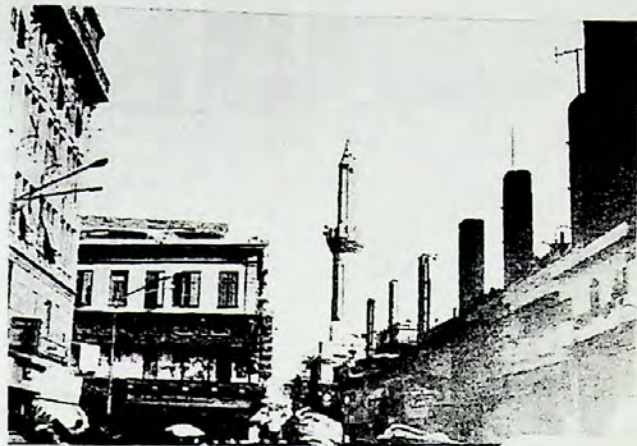


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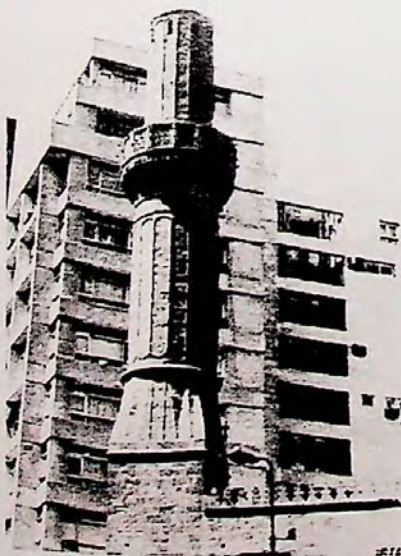
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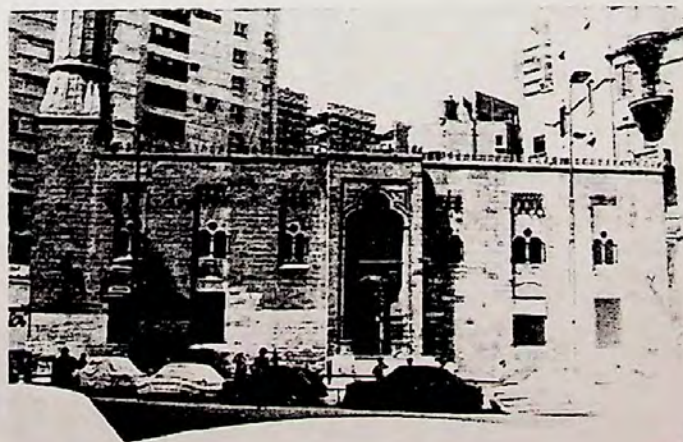
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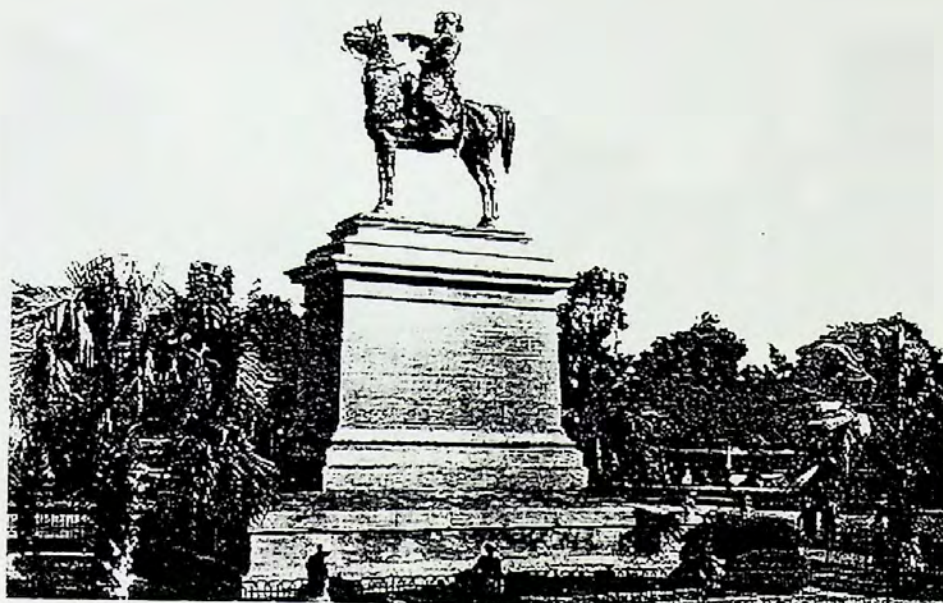


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18. CAIRO. Opera Square — II.

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57 CAIRO. — Street el Hadra Saad.

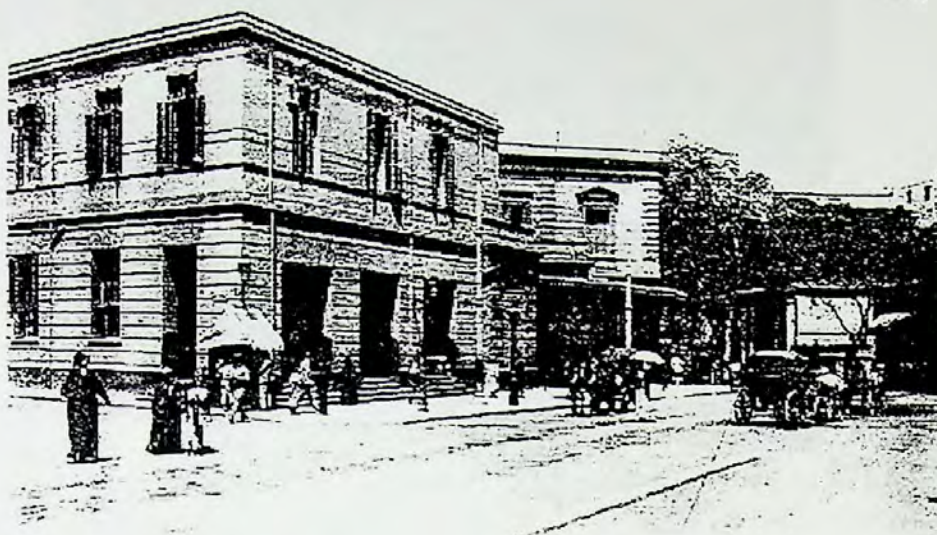
57



58 CAIRO. — Grand Continental Hotel. — LL

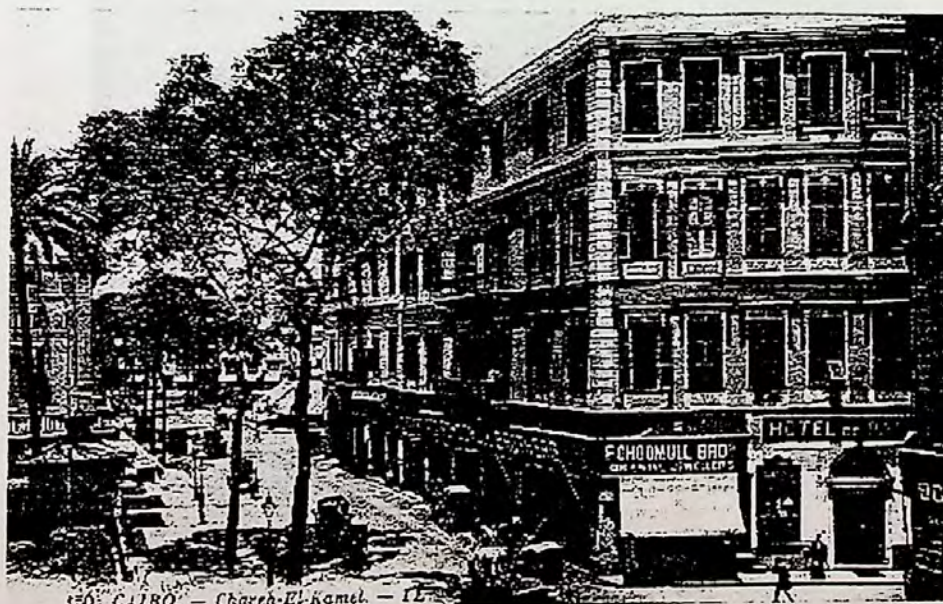
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127 CAIRO — The general Post Office — 11.

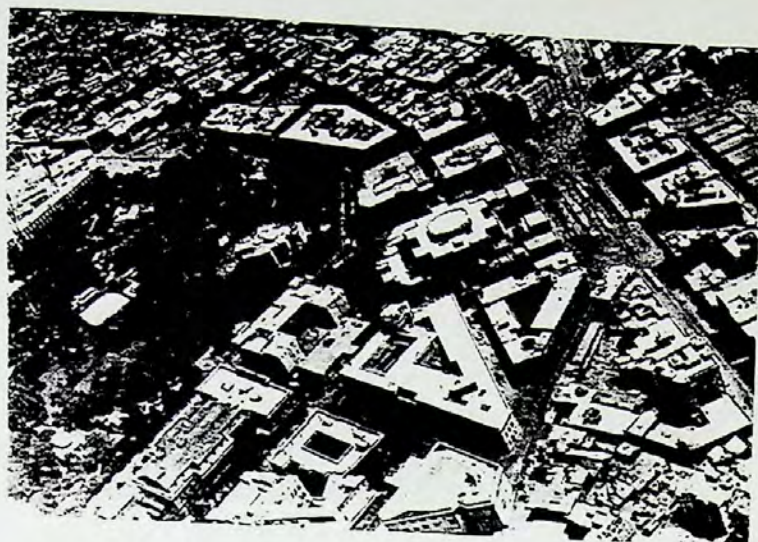
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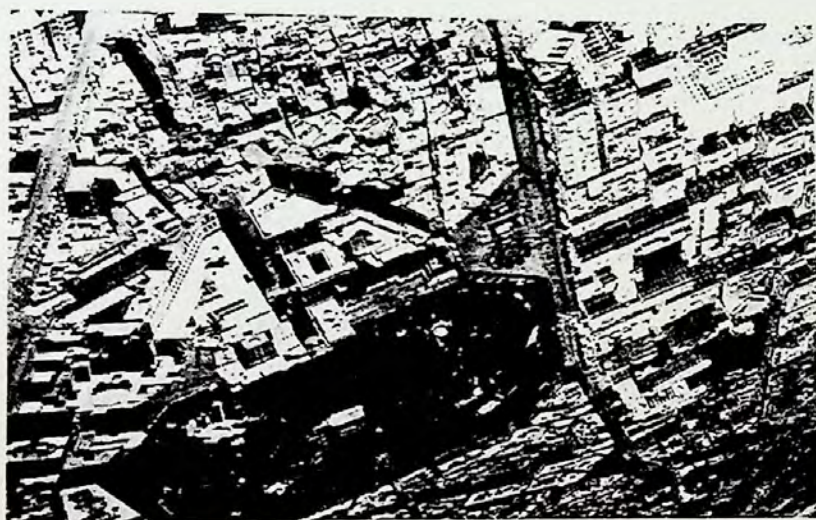
128 CAIRO — Chareh-El-Kamel. — 12.

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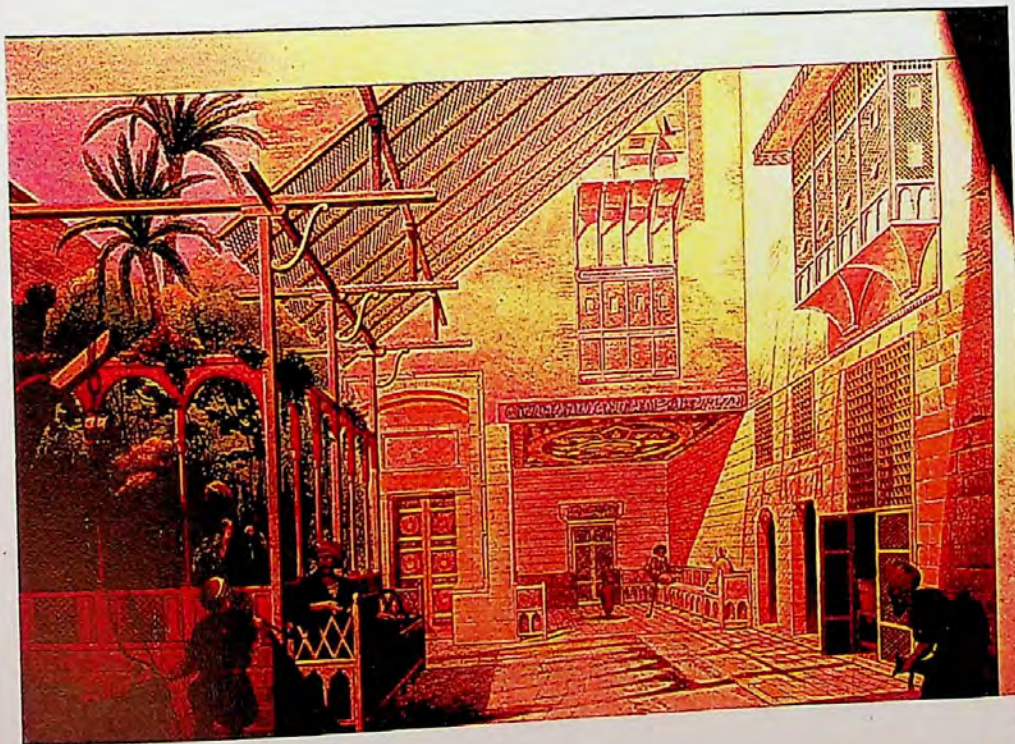


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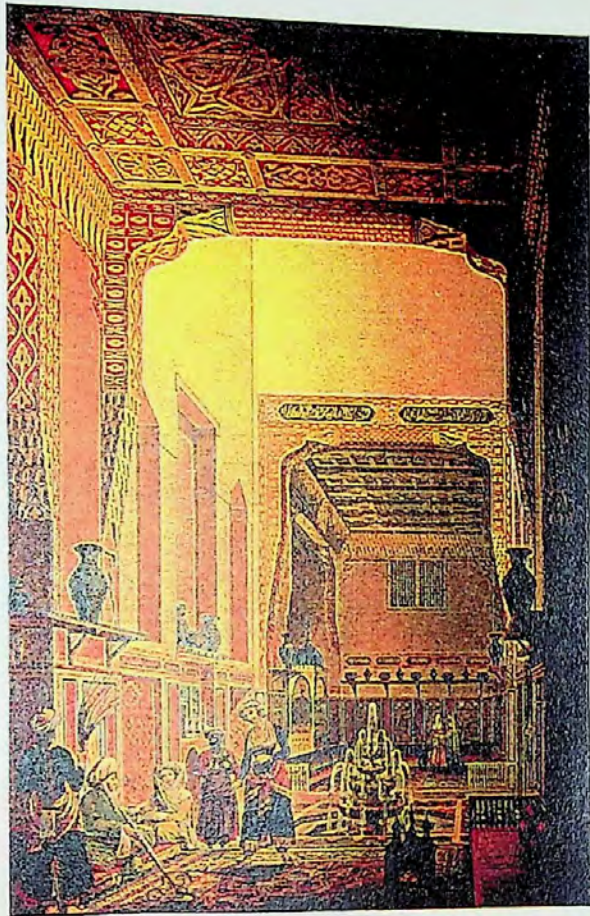


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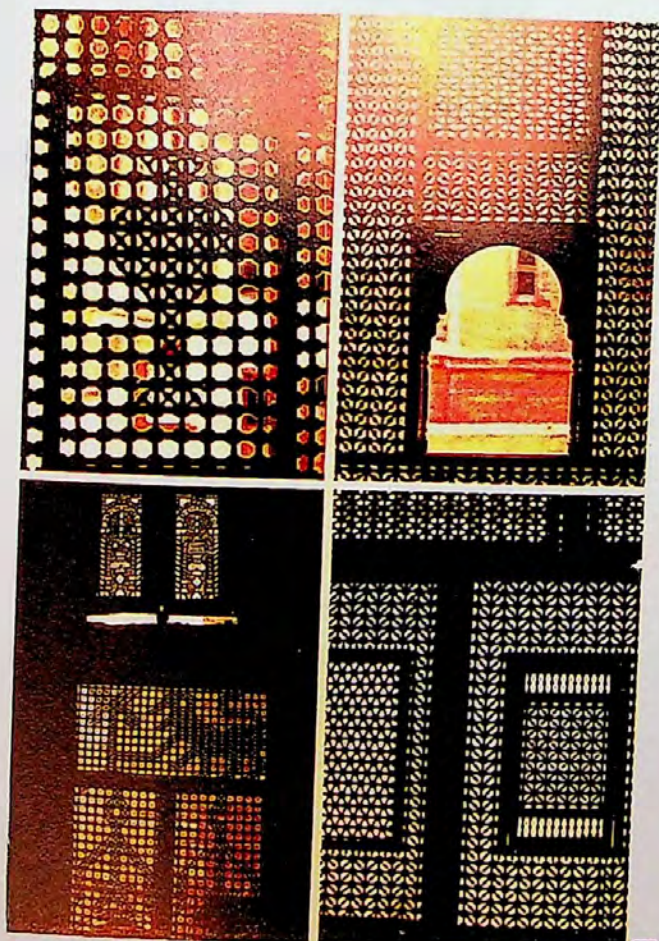


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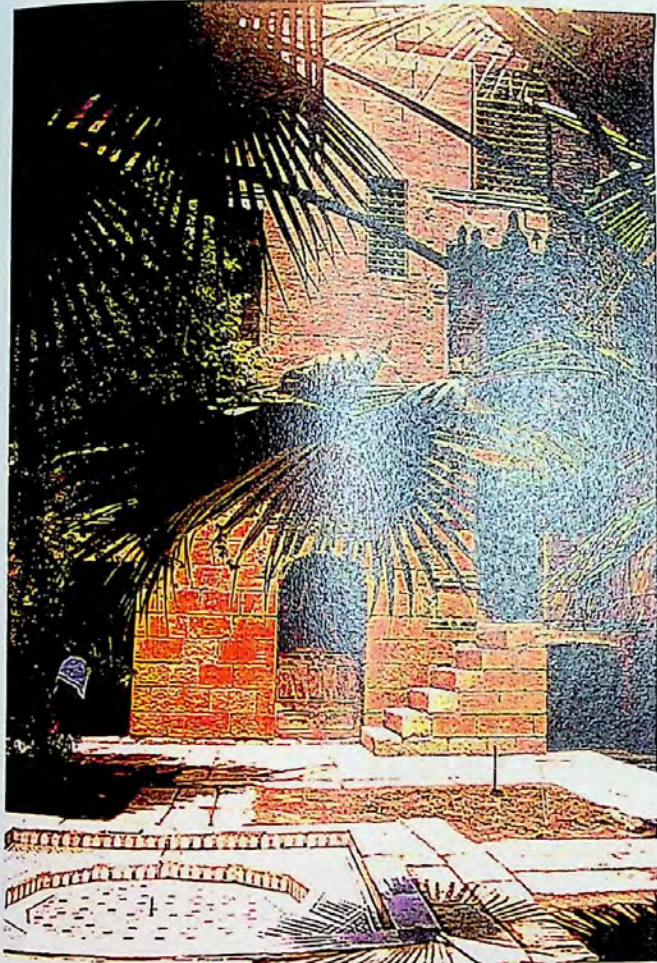


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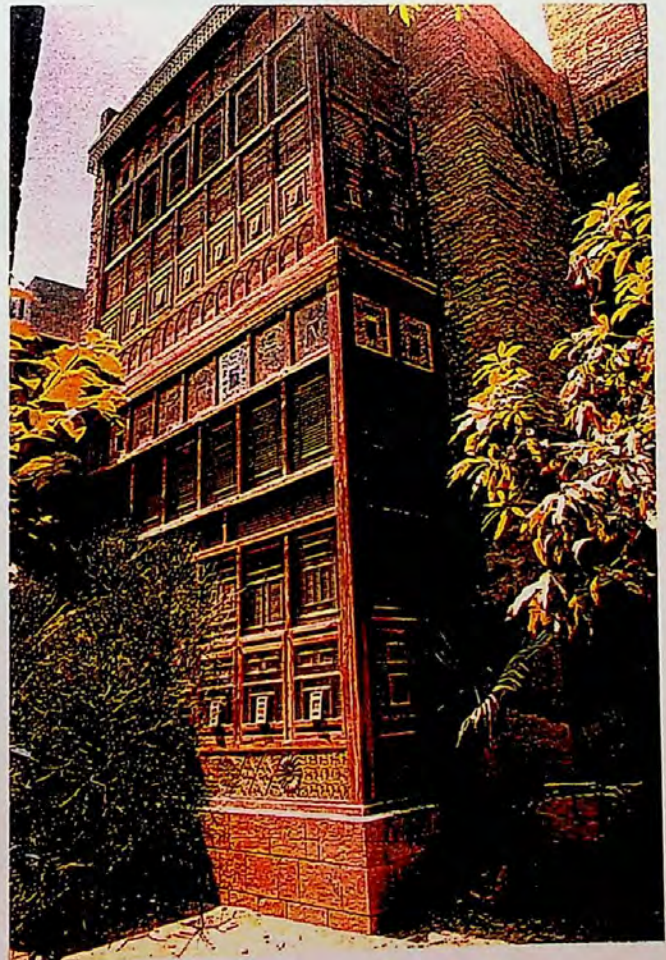


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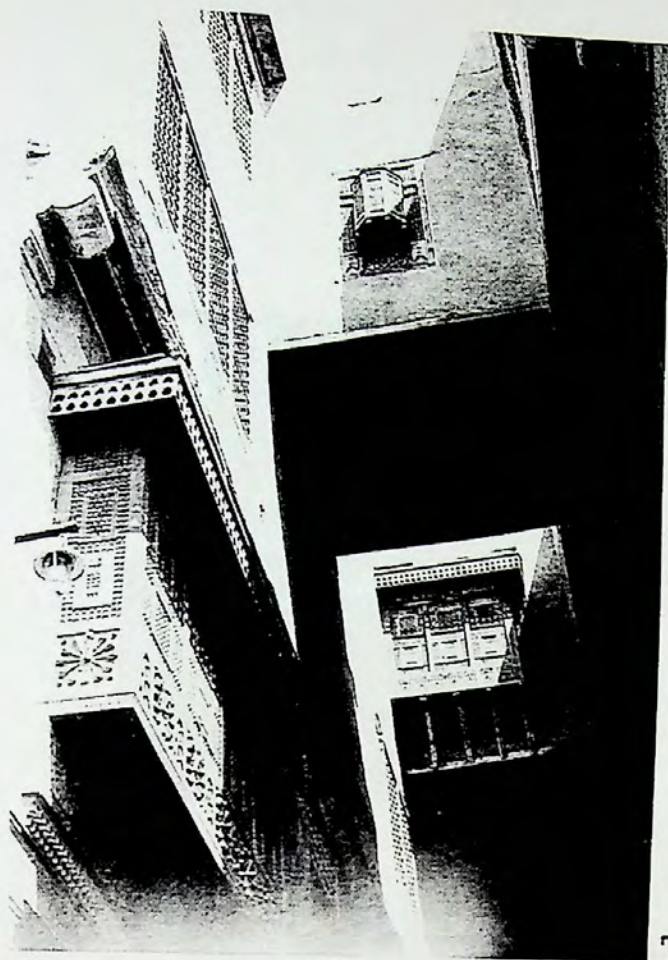


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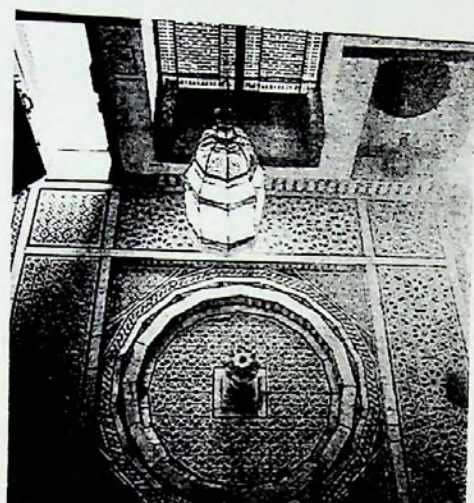


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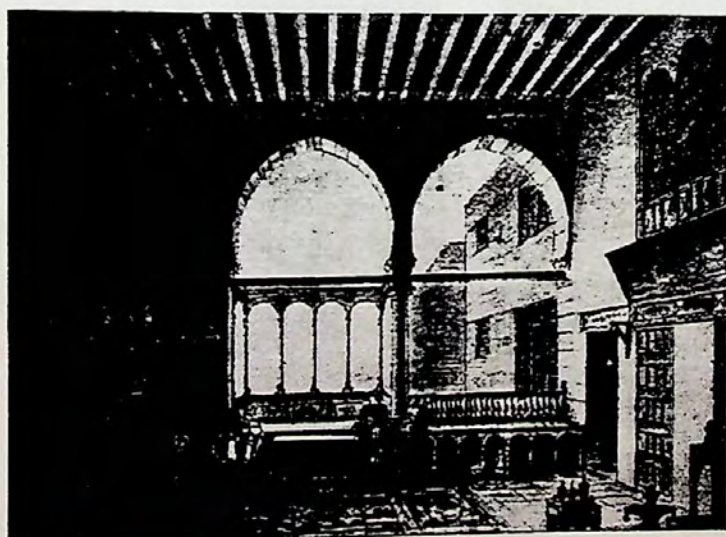


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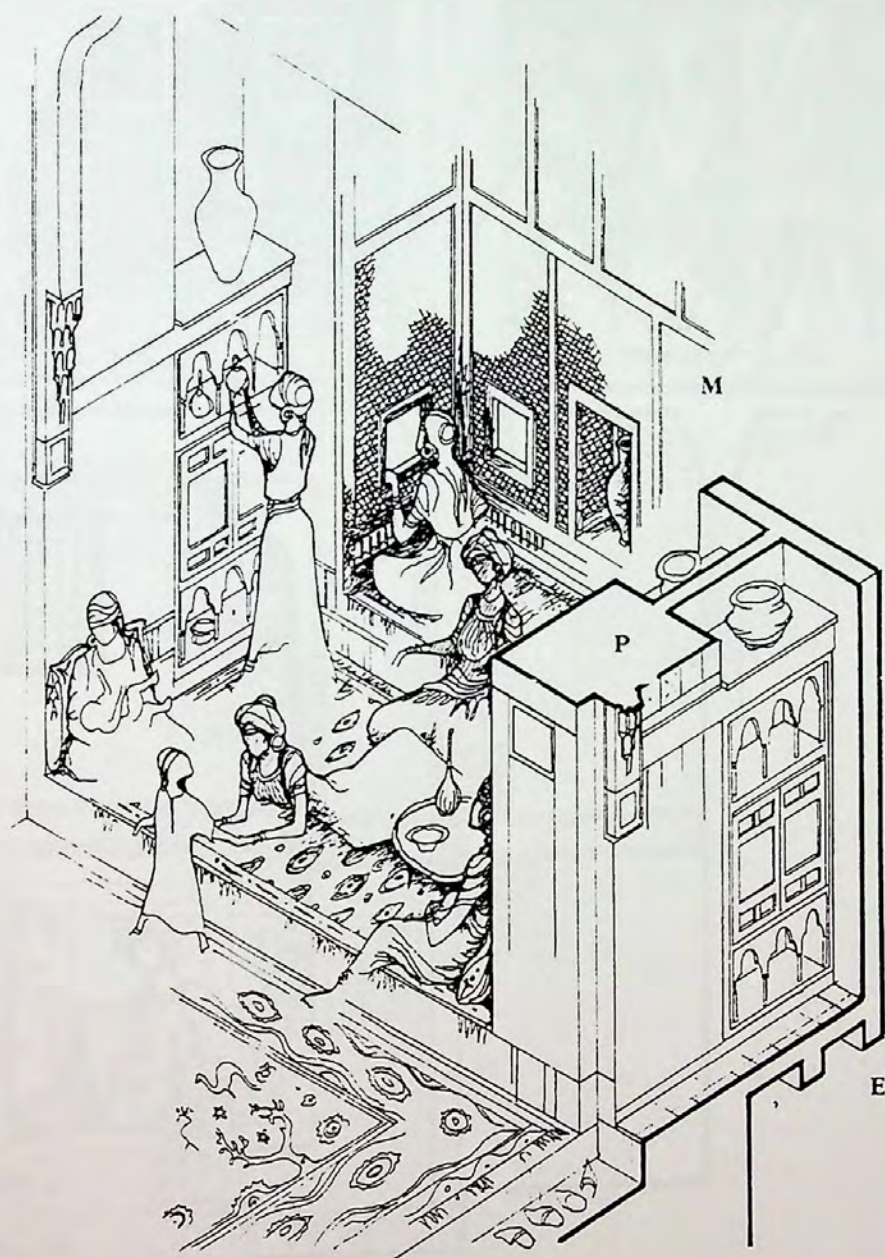


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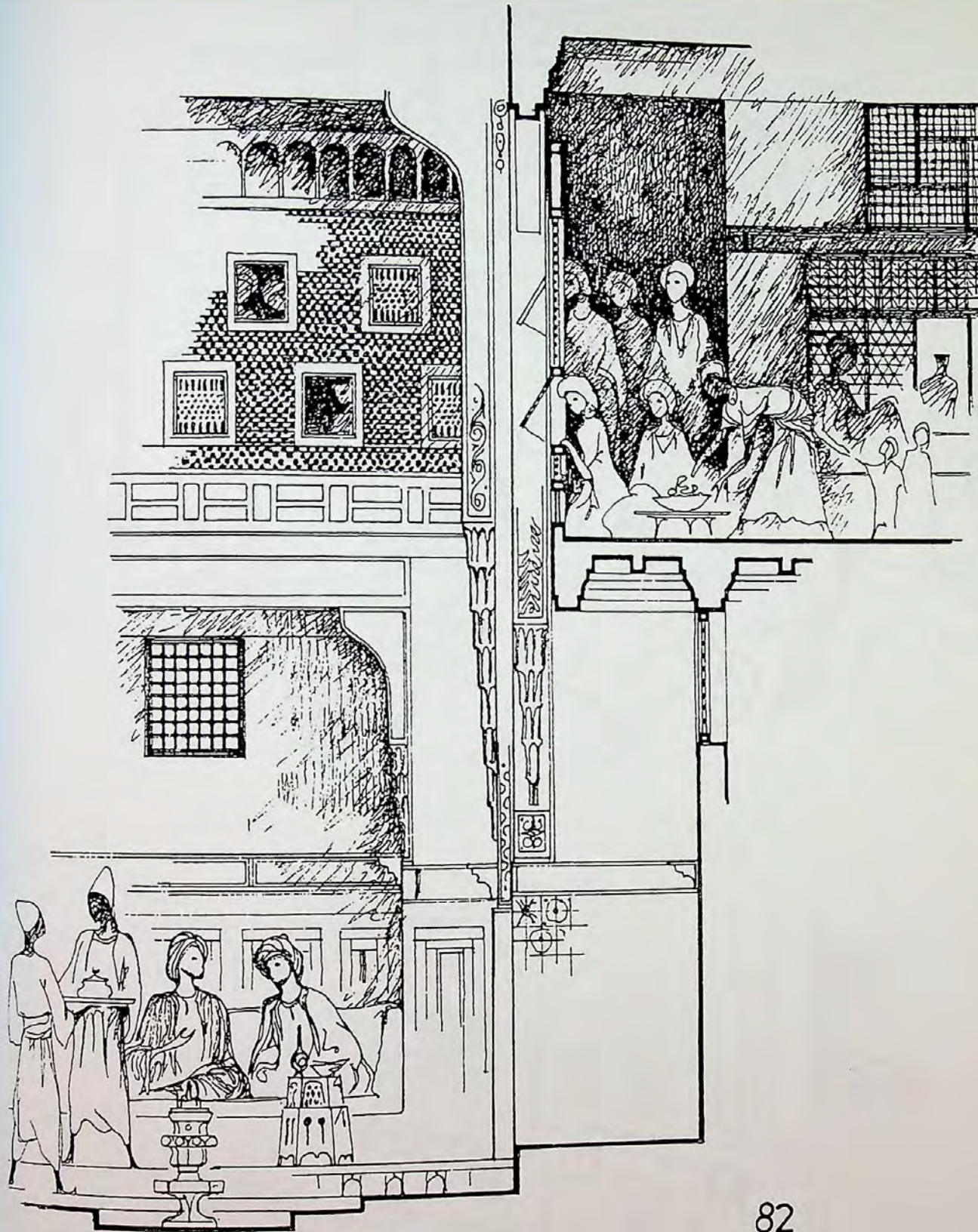
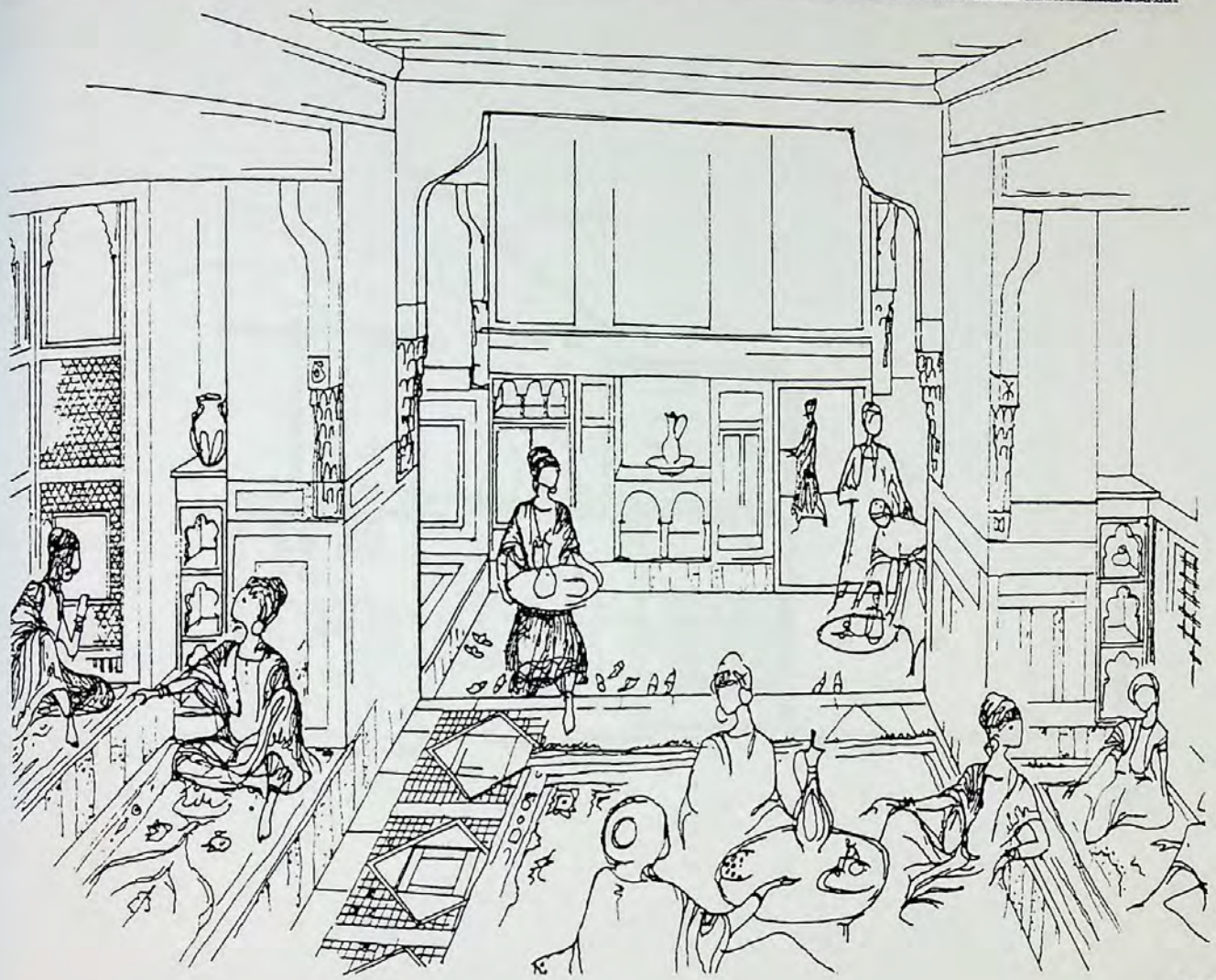
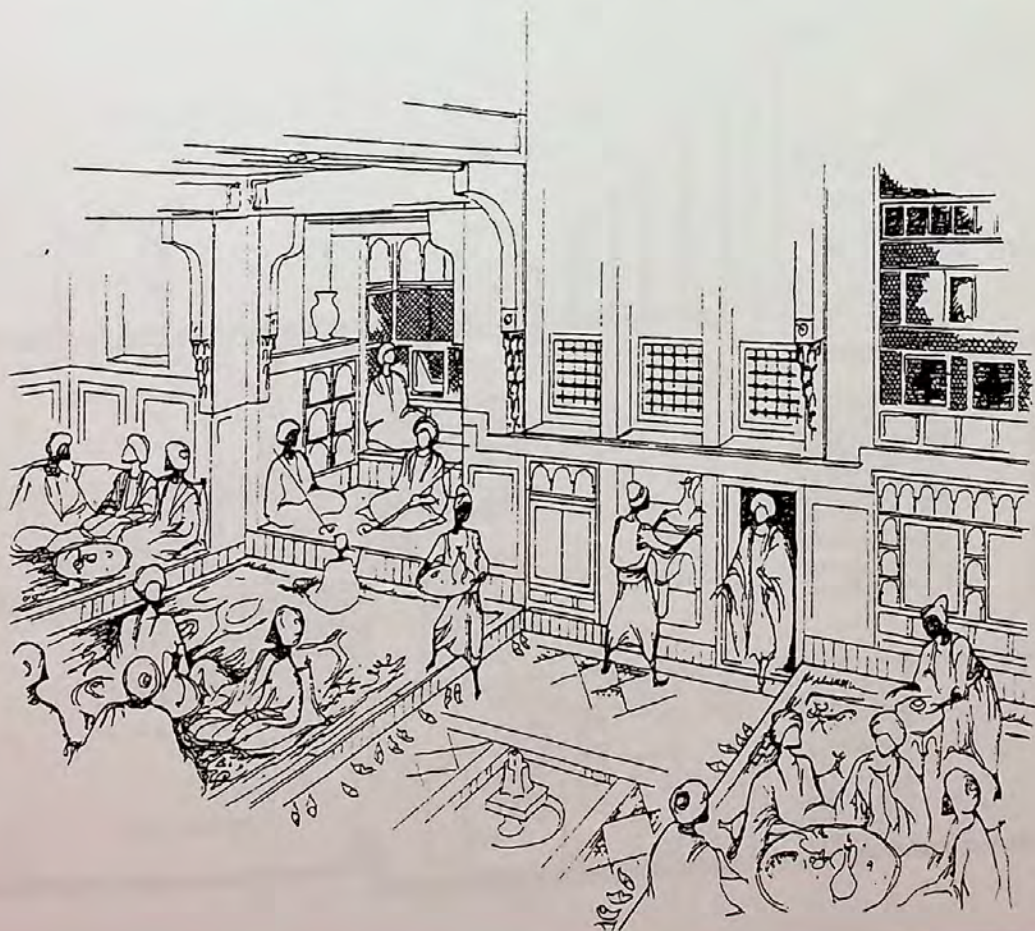


PLATE 83

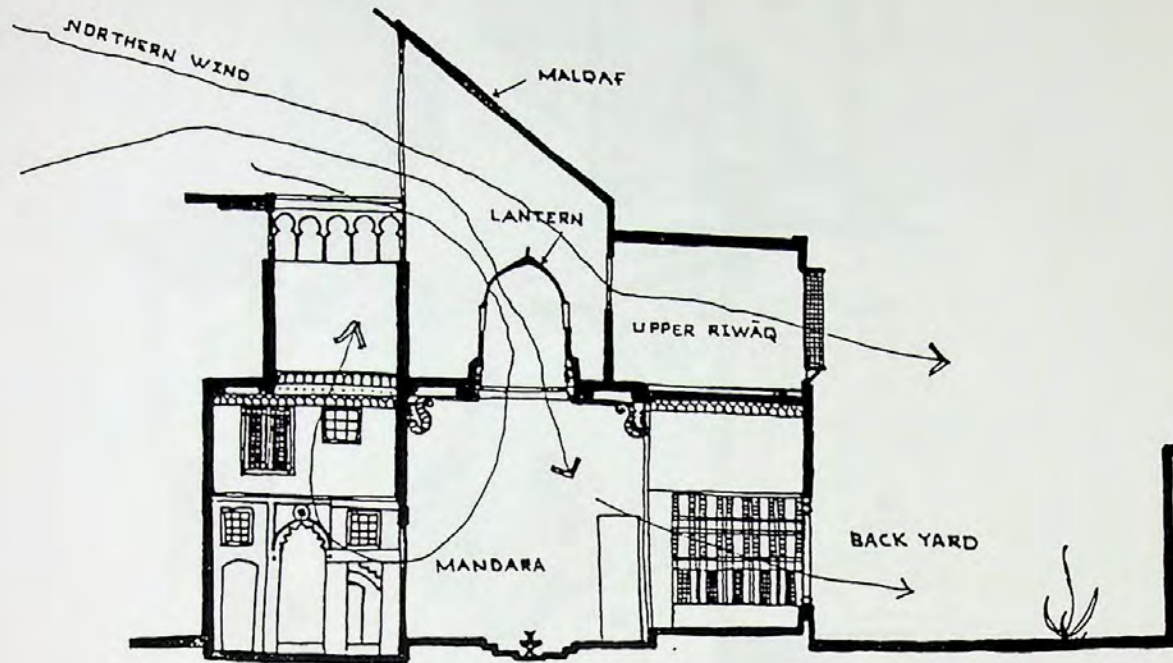


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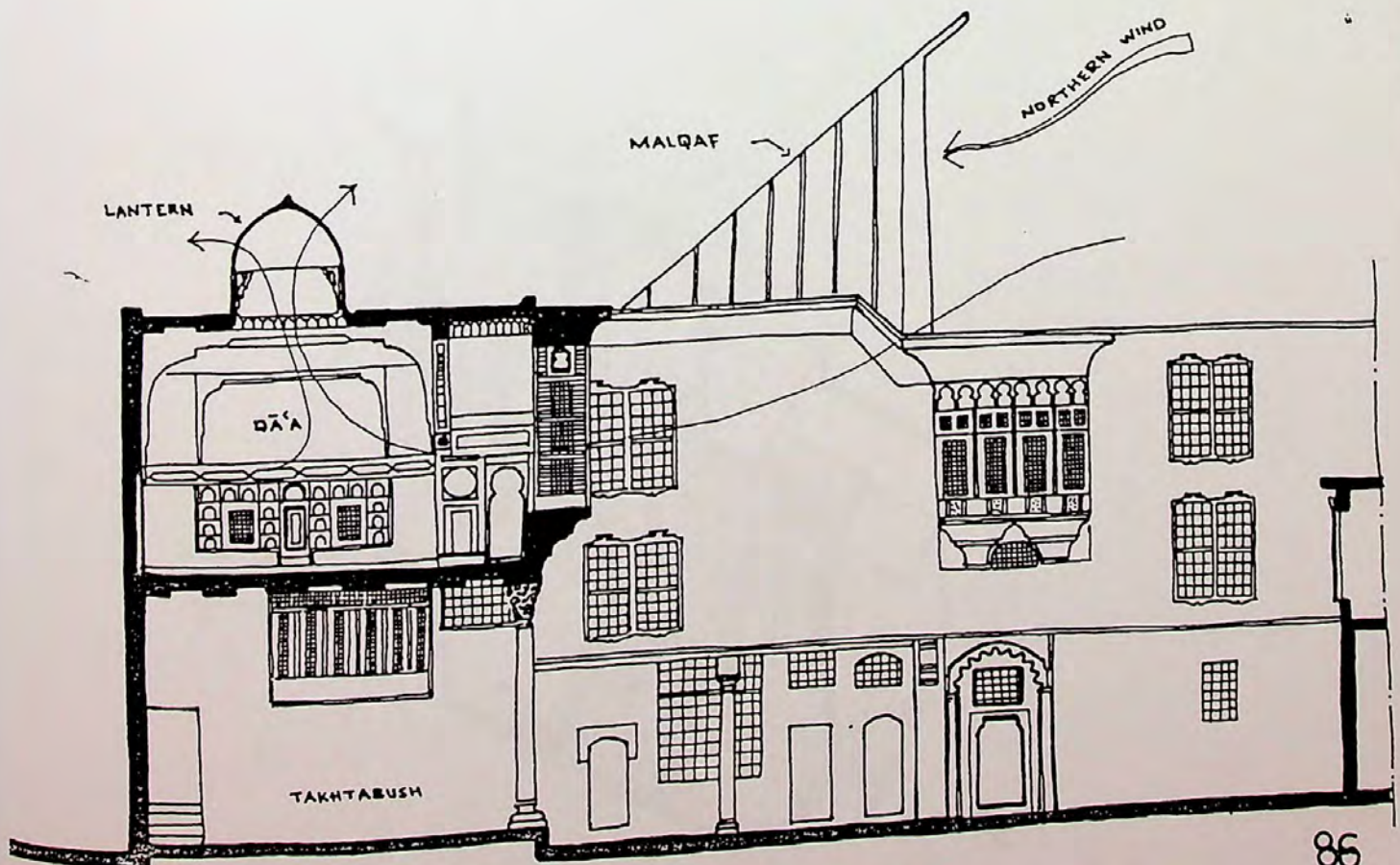


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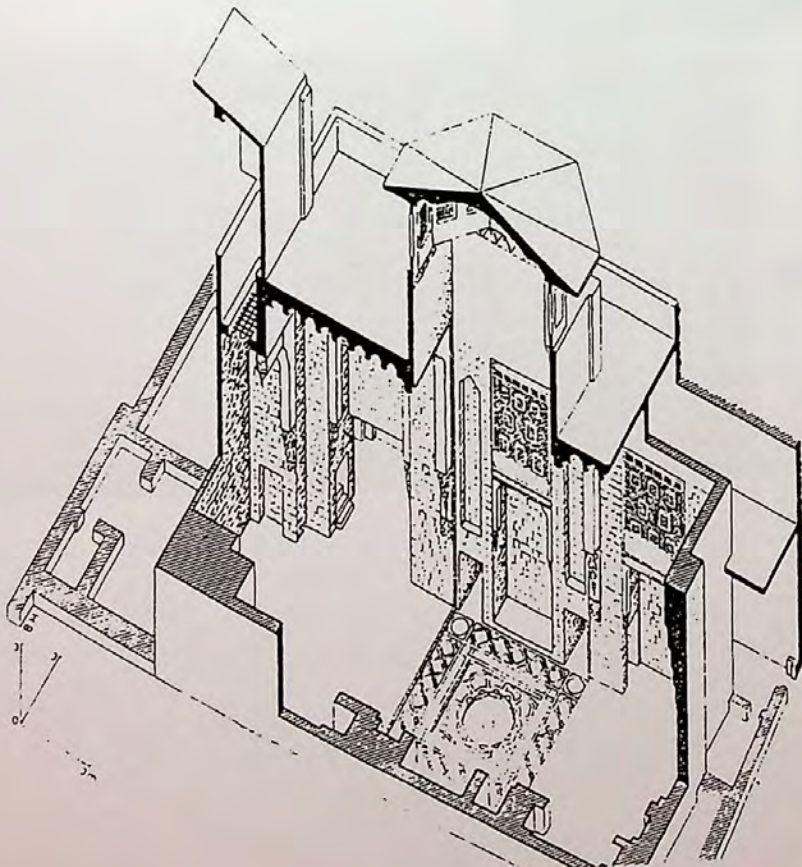


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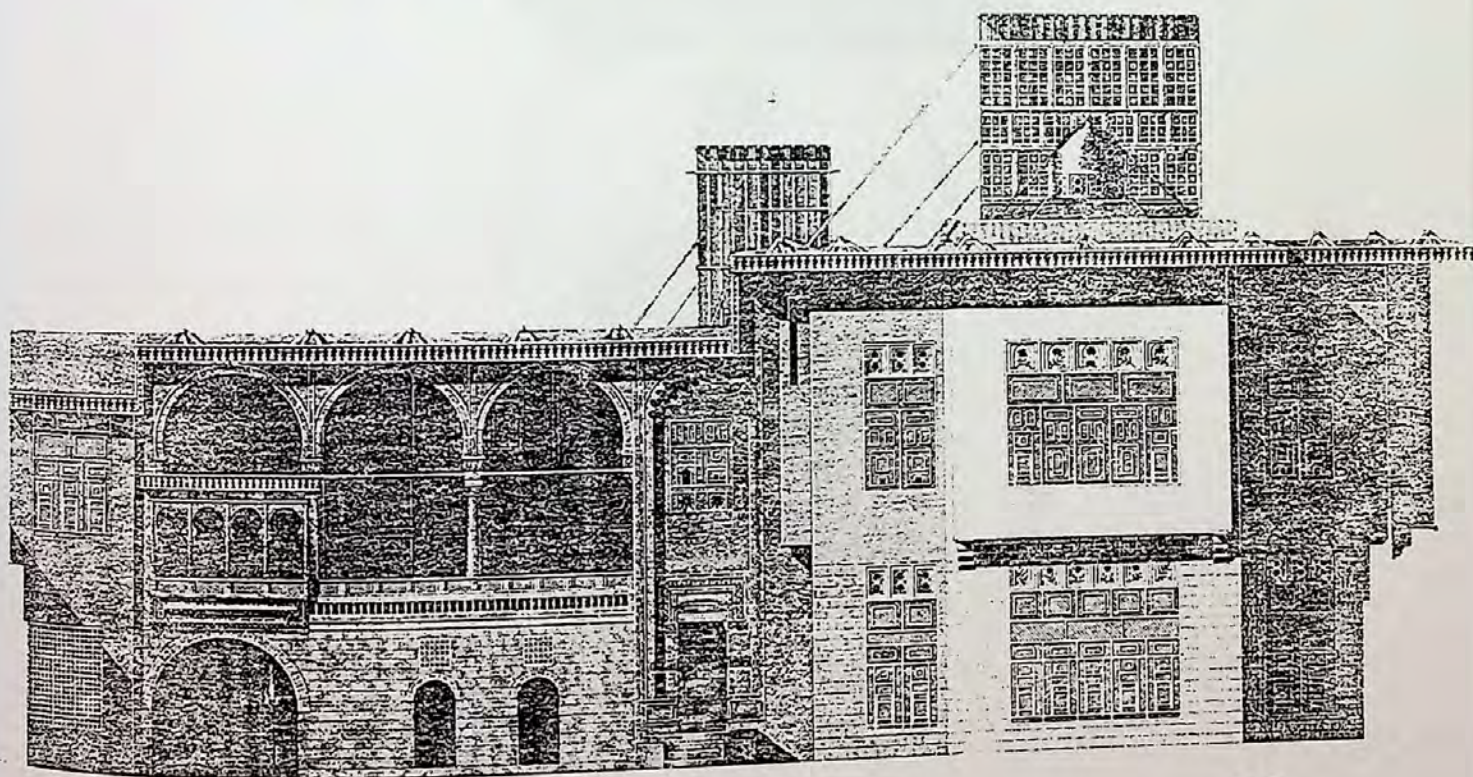
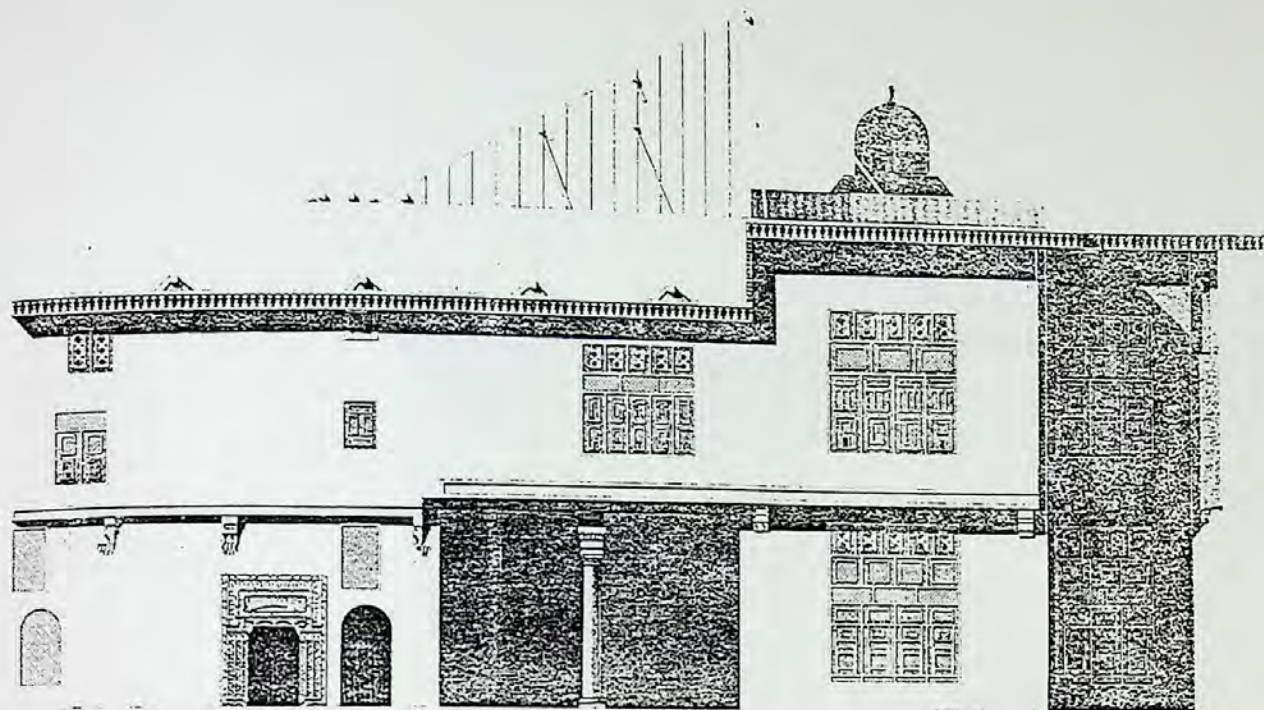


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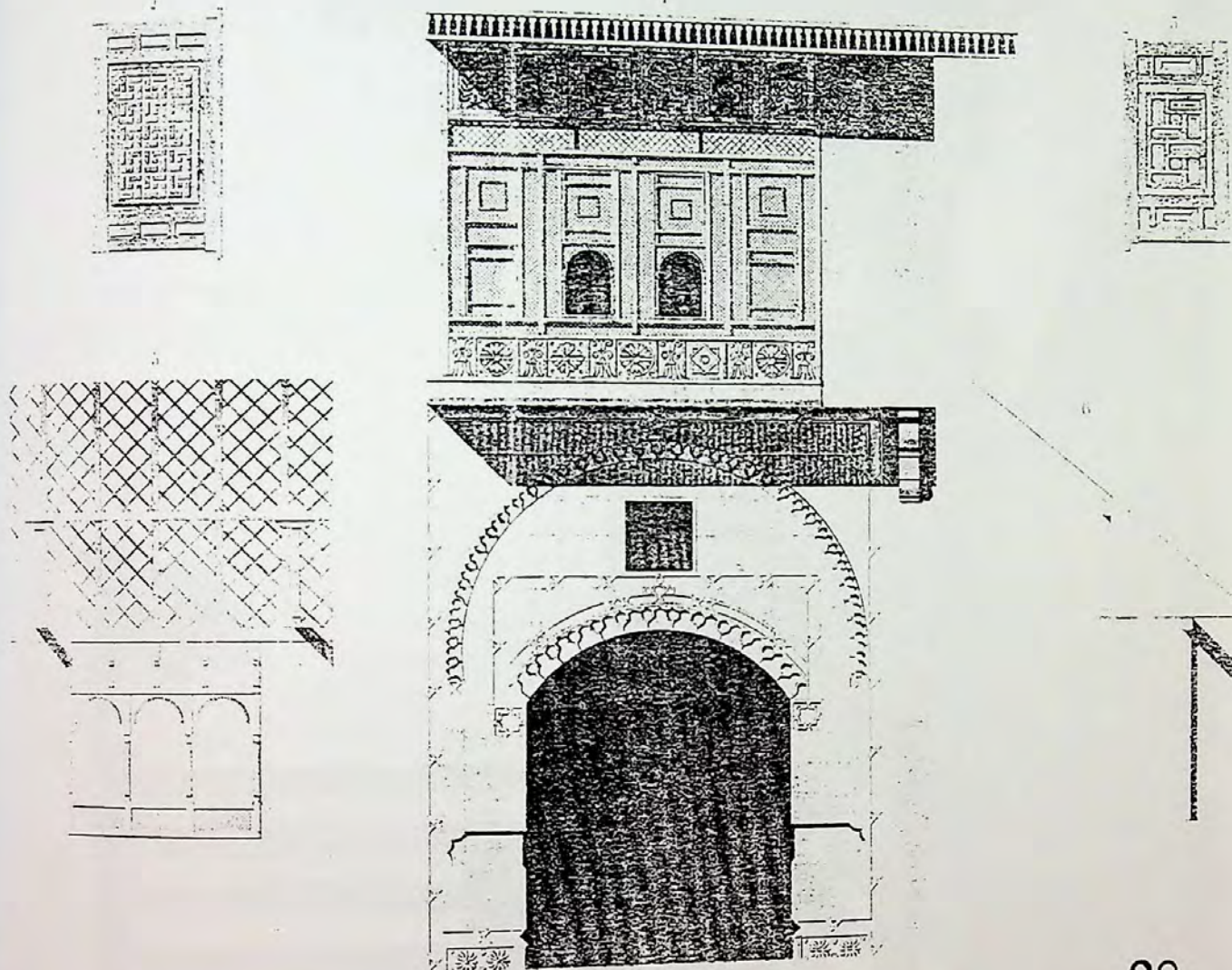


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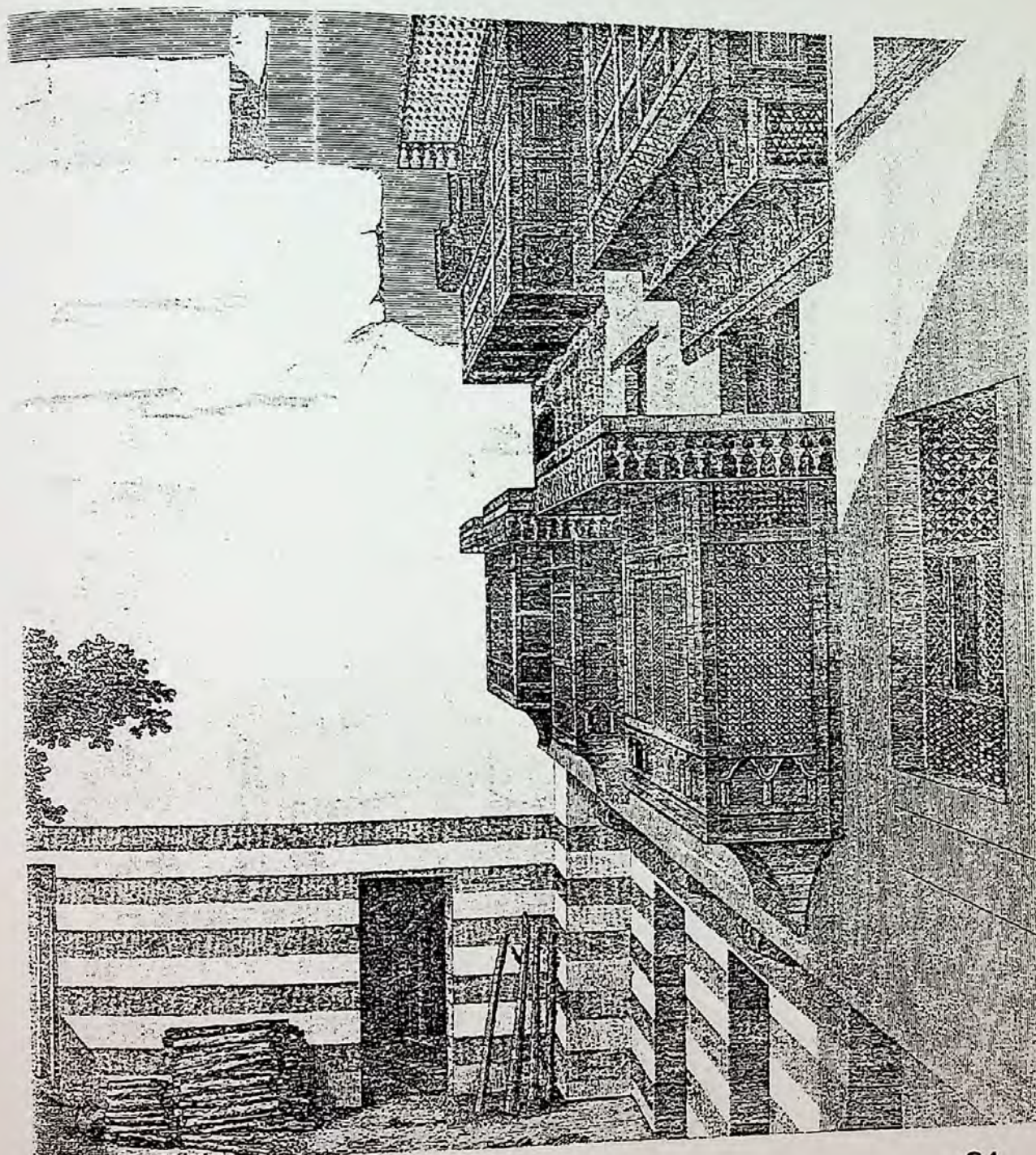
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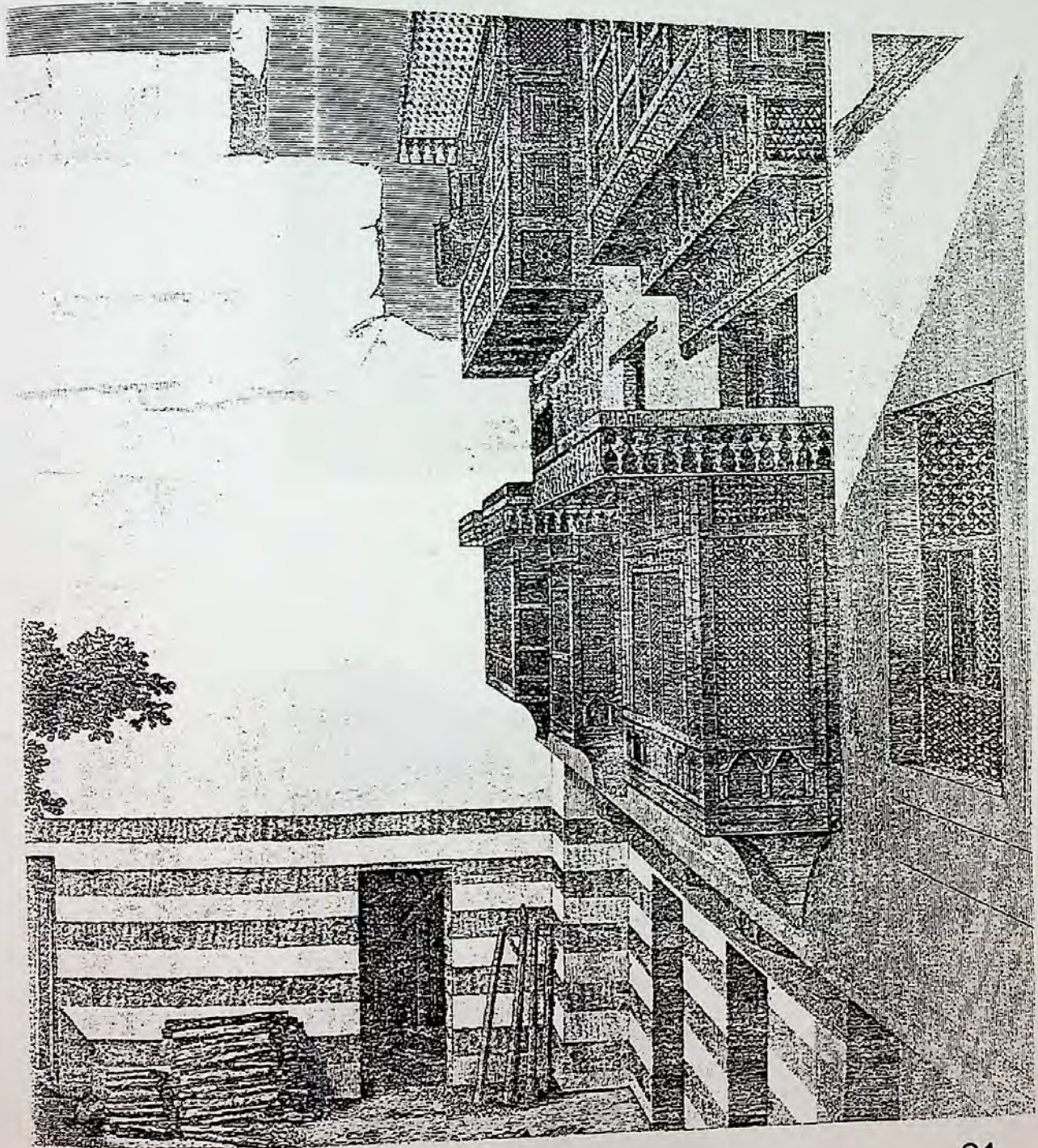
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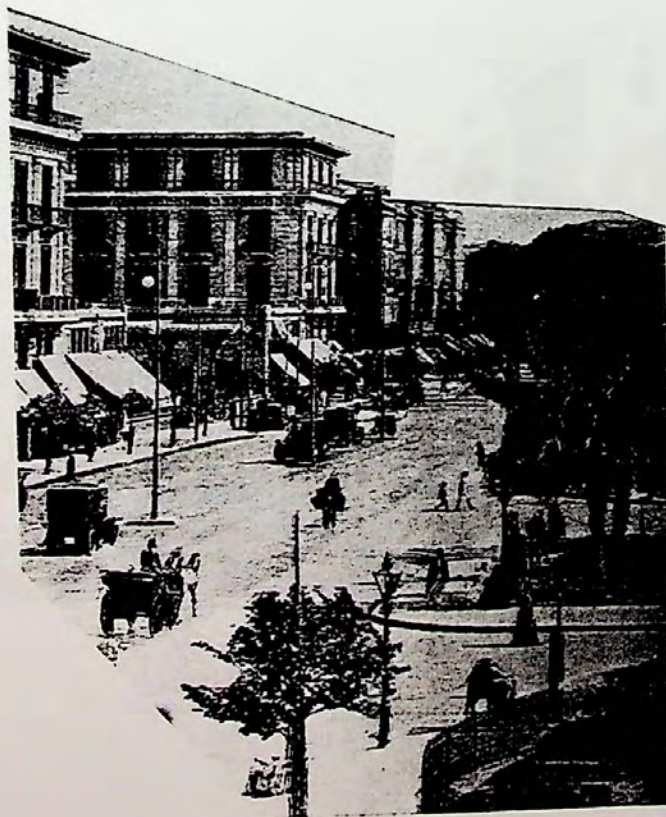


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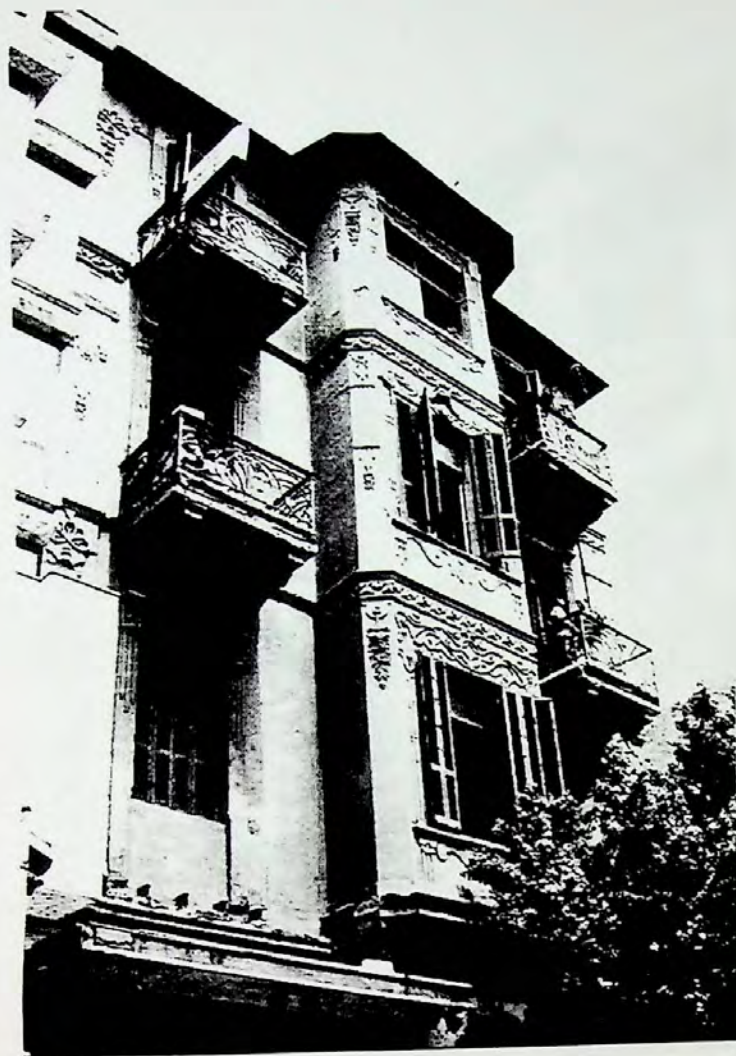


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