The madrasa of Umm al Sultan Sha‘ban

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THE MADRASA OF UMM AL SULTĀN SHA'BAAN

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The system of transliteration adopted in this paper is that of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* except for the following changes: \( j \) instead of \( dj \); \( q \) instead of \( k \). The orthography of Mamluk names has been made to follow that of the Arabic sources. The adoption of one particular spelling, where divergent forms exist, is purely a matter of convenience and indicate no particular commitment on the writer's part.
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Abstract

The subject of the present thesis is the study of the madrasa of Umm al-sultān Shābān 770/1368-69. Very little has been published on that monument of the late 14th century. I have therefore attempted to solve some of its problems of attribution, structure, as well as tried to analyse its inscriptions in the light of the historical events of the reign of al-Ashraf Shābān 764-776/1363-1376.

The inscriptions, exceptionally, are topical references and revealed the appearance of a new title of: Şahib al-Thughur al-Sikandariyya to become part of the Mamlūk titulature. The title has its origin in the reprisals of al-Ashraf Shābān against the Christian population, after the sack of the city of Alexandria in 767/1365 by Pierre I Lusignan in an attempt to revive the Crusade.

The architecture of the madrasa presents three major problems, firstly: the presence of two mausolea on either side of the qibla Īwān (a rare plan in Cairo). The large mausoleum E₁ (N) was more elaborate in its decoration and was evidently intended for the founder: Khwand Baraka. The smaller E₂, of less importance was probably intended for her late husband Ḥusayn b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who had died in 764/1363.
When al-Ashraf Shābān died in 778/1376, he was buried secretly in his mother's madrasa, by himself. Although historians do not indicate precisely which dome he was interred, it appears from the study that he was buried in the small mausoleum (S).

Subsequently, in the light of the literary evidence one may conclude that, the madrasa was used as a funerary complex where one dome - the large - was reserved for the female descendants of Khwand Baraka's family, and the other - the small - for the male descendants of Shābān's family.

Secondly, according to Maqrīzī the madrasa was endowed for the two rites: Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī as against Ibn Iyās' mention of the four rites. The plan of the madrasa itself presents two blocks consisting of an open courtyard, an ʿiwān and living accommodations attached to them. A parallel between these two blocks and the four madrasas of sultan Ḥasan's mosque-madrasa helps to identify them as "teaching units" reserved for the two rites.

Ibn Iyās' statement of four rites may however be explained. Indeed, if we assume that the madrasa, as most late 14th century madrasas, was used as a mosque: there would
have been no restrictions on the rites taught there. Ibn Lıyās has therefore perhaps confused the private aspect of teaching in a madrasa with the public aspect of teaching in a mosque.

Thirdly, in his description of the madrasa, Ibn Lıyās mentions a Hawd and Maqtab for orphans which are not mentioned by Maqrizi. The construction at the right of the porch and breaking bond with it is identified here as a Hawd. Since its inscription is in the name of al-Ashraf Sha'ban, it must be contemporary with the madrasa.

Why did Maqrizi (d.845/1441-42) omit it? One plausible explanation is that, at Sha'ban's death, the Hawd was finished but not yet endowed. It was probably left so until Barsbay's time. The latter would have seized it, endowed it, and put it into working order, without altering the inscription but simply filling in the medallion in the middle of the inscription with his painted blason: "CIZZ LI MAULANA AL-SULTAN AL-MALIK AL-AHSHAF BARSBAY AZZA NASRUHU."

The inscriptions of the madrasa state that al-Ashraf Sha'ban has built it for his mother. However, historians ascribe it to Khwand Baraka whom they say had built it in 771/1369-70. The discrepancy between the inscriptions and the historians is explained so: Sha'ban ordered the construction
of the madrasa for his mother from the royal treasury in 770/1368-69 while she was on pilgrimage in the Hijāz. However, the madrasa should be ascribed to Khwand Baraka as the historians record, since the endowment document waqfiyya is in her name, and dated 771/1369-70 i.e. when she was back from the Hijāz.

As the madrasa was erected only a few years after the sack of Alexandria and was built by al-Ashraf Sha'bān as gift to his mother, it is reasonable to see in its unusually long foundation inscription with a long series of titles, as the display of a young ruling sultān who has freed himself from the tutelage of the Atābāk, and who wants to ascertain his newly gained authority.
CHAPTER I : INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions as van Berchem says are some of the best contemporary evidence for a construction. A dated inscription was generally put up at the conclusion of works (hence the absence of foundation inscription on the mosque-madrasa of Sultan Hasan 757–63/1356–62 which was left unfinished due to the founder's death). However, the date generally refers to the beginning of works. Sibt ibn al-Cajami (d.818/1415) says "on lit dans l'histoire d'ibn Ḥābīb: en 768/1366–67 Mānḳilibūghā fonda sa mosquée et un réservoir d'eau dont l'utilité n'a pas besoin d'être démontrée, mais l'inscription de sa porte Nord indique que l'édifice fur fondé le 1er Ṣafar 767/3 Octobre 1365, et la même date se lit sur sa porte orientale. Ces différentes indications ne sont pas contradictoires, commencée en 767/1365, elle fut achevée en 768/1366–67".  

The formulation and titulature of foundation inscriptions is for the most part highly stereotyped and detailed analysis of particular instances therefore generally unrewarding. However, exceptionally, in the case of those of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Shabban, they appear to have some topical reference. Using van Berchem's Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Egypt as a source, one may draw up a comparative table with the titulature of previous Mamluk rulers. Van Berchem tends to take the sense of some
of the titles for granted. However, this is misleading as examination of al-Ashraf Shābān’s titles will show. These must therefore be re-interpreted in the light of the events of his reign.

The most detailed inscription of the madrasa is that on the main portal facing the Shāri` al-Tabbāna. It is a foundation inscription which consists of a band of Naskh script in a cartouche, running from the outer side of the porch at the right, round inside the entrance bay below the stalactites round the side niches and window above the entrance to the outer side of the porch at the left.

The inscription as published by van Berchem reads:

(From G IX v.18)

Гしていない( العلماء و الكتب والأعمال الفضيل) 
وادي الزكاة ولم يخف من الله نعمة الله ذلك إن يك.Oت ممن العبدين ام بانشاء

هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالديك السادة السادة الملاك الملك الملك الأشرف شعبان بـ

المنجحين خالق المسلمين والمسلمين قاتل القراءة والشركتين يضمن المعلم في

العالمين يظهر الحق بالبراهين على خدمة الدين سيد الملوك والسلاتين قـ

أمير الروميين تاجر الخوارج والشردين كنز الفقراء والمجاهدين من صف الظلمين من

الطلابين ذكر الامل والخليجيين صاحب الدمار العظيم والبلاد الشام والخليج

الاساسية والظفرة المكندرسية والقلاع الساحرة والاقطار الحجازية والاعمال الفراتية

نادر الشباuridad امز الله انصاره وذلك في شهر سنة سبعين وسبعينgie

المهرة العمرية خليج الله على سيدنا محمد وآله
Has ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Shabban son of the late Husayn Sultân of Islam and all Muslims

Exterminator of infidels and polytheists

He who revives justice in the world

The living evidence of justice and its glorious testimony

Defender of the faith

Lord of princes and sultans

The equal partner of the caliph

The suppressor of unorthodoxy and rebellion

Treasure of Ghazils and fighters for faith

The refuge of the oppressed from their oppressors

Succour of widows and the needy

Master of Egypt and Syria, of the fortresses of the Imamiyya, of the coasts of Alexandria, of the castles of the [Palestinian]
coast, of the Hijāz, of the Middle Euphrates

Recourse of the Milla of Muḥammad.

May (God) glorify his victories. In the month of the year 770 H.

a- Religious Titles

The religious titulature appears to be of less immediate relevance to the present study. I shall therefore stress the secular titles which, as I shall hope to show, are all related to historical events of the period. For the title of Ṣāḥib al-Thughūr al-Sikandariyya which appears here for the first time, I have had to rely mainly on primary sources contemporary with Ṣaḥbān's reign 764–778/1363–76, as well as the colophons of Armenian Manuscripts copied at the time. More material could be gained from medieval European sources in Latin and French. However, since the present thesis deals primarily with the madrasa-building, I have been obliged to omit consideration of them.

Sulṭān al-Islām wa'l-Muslimin was a standard Ayyūbid title which acquired even greater importance during the Bahri Mamlūk period. It had been officially conferred on Baybars al-Bunduqdārī by the "puppet" Ābbāsid caliph in Cairo who made him not only sulṭān (of İslām and all muslims)
but also 'sultan of all lands he would conquer'.

Sayyid al-Mulūk wa'l Salāṭīn is a claim to the supremacy of the sultan of Egypt over other Muslim rulers. As he was 'Sultan al-Islām wa'l Muslimīn' and 'Wasīm Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn' it followed naturally that the sultan of Egypt was also Sayyid al-Mulūk wa'l Salāṭīn.

Hāmi Hawzat al-dīn. Contemporary chroniclers state that al-Ashraf Sha'bān was a fanatical Ḥanafī encouraging, for example, Shāfiʿīs to turn Ḥanafīs and rewarding them for this. It is interesting to note that in the Waqfiyya page of two Qur'āns in the name of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, he is given the title of al-Maqām al-Imāmī.

Muḥyī al-Ḥadīth fi'l-Ḥalāmīn, Muṣṭir al-Raqq bi'l Barāhīn, Dhikr al-Ārāmī wa'l Muḥtājīn, Munṣīf al-Maṣūmīn min al-Zālimīn. The chronicles relate that in 769/1367 after his release from the tutelage of Yilbughā who had died in 768/1366, al-Ashraf Sha'bān's behaviour became all the more generous and he became the refuge of those who had been unjustly treated. Specific evidence of this is provided by Maqrīzī in his account of the famines of Egypt.
In 776/1374, the Nile flood was so low that a great famine followed. Prices rose tremendously and people starved, dying in the streets which were full of beggars and corpses. The sultan gathered the needy together and allotted them to the wealthiest emirs and merchants for their upkeep. Each one was assigned one or two beggars whom he had to feed and as a result no beggars were seen anymore in the streets of Cairo.\(^{12}\)

Qasim Amīr al-Mu'minīn appears for the first time in Egypt in 659/1260 when it was officially conferred on Baybars al-Bunduqdārī by al-Mustansir billah the 'Abbāsid caliph in Cairo.\(^{13}\) The title derives from the previous titles related to Amīr al-Mu'minīn and here appears in its final and grandest form. Although originally a Seljuq title, it became restricted to sultans of Egypt during the Bahri Mamluk period. By the time the Mamluks came to replace the Ayyubids, the title had become the prerogative of the ruler while Khalil Amīr al-Mu'minīn was used by the crown prince.\(^{15}\)

**b- Secular Titles**

Kanz al-Ghuzzā wa'l Mujāhidīn, Qātil al Kafara wa'l Mushrikīn. In his analysis of the sack of Alexandria by the Cypriot king Pierre I the Lusignan in 767/1365, al-Nuwayrī\(^{16}\) lists seven reasons for the attack which show both that it was a result of the mistreatment of Christians...
by Muslim rulers of Egypt, as well as a revival of the Crusade.

In his translation of this part of the text, Combe writes: "Lorsque le Chypriote eut décidé d'attaquer la cité, il demanda l'aide des rois chrétiens sur le conseil du Pape... chez lui, se trouve la grande croix et s'il la sort pour la guerre (الخوارج) aucun roi de la chrétienté ne manque de se joindre à lui avec son armée." 17

In their account of the sack, chroniclers refer to the invaders—Venetians, Genoese, Cypriots—who sacked the city, killed Muslims and put the cross on the gates (بابة) of the city as: al-Kafara al-Franj al-Kilāb (sic), Kilāb al-Naṣārā (sic) 18.

It is therefore possible to infer that the conventional titles of Qāṭil al-Kafara wa'l Mushrikīn—already present in the titulature of Qalā'ūn and al-'Ashraf Khalīl—was referring rather, to the revival of the Crusade during al-'Ashraf Sha'bān's reign, and designating al-'Ashraf as the leader of the anti-Crusade.

In 768/1366 Alexandria was again attacked but this time the sultan's troops were ready. Finally, in 769/1367-68—one year before the madrasa was constructed—the Franks attacked Tripoli but were driven back to Ayās/Lajazzo where they were finally defeated by the Nā'id of Aleppo Mūnklībughā. 19
Qāhir al-Khwārīj wa'l Mutamaddīn
In the year 768/1366 there were two major rebellions. One of them led by the Atābak Yilboghā. Dissatisfied with the sultan's growing power, he attempted to replace him by his brother Anūk. Upon the refusal of the caliph, he himself placed Anūk on the throne, gave him the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr. In the presence of this fait accompli says Maqrīzī, the caliph had to agree and invested Anūk as the new sultan.20 This is one of the rare cases in the 14th century where there were two Mamlūk claimants to the throne each trying to overthrow his rival. The rebellion ended in Yilboghā's death and the victory of Shaʾbān. This victory was more than a military gain for the latter, for up till 768/1366 Yilboghā was the true master of the state, and al-Ashraf Shaʾbān a minor and no more than a puppet.21 After Yilboghā's death, the sultan, freed from the Atābak's tutelage began to rule independently.22

There was a second revolt in 770/1368-69 when the emīr Ḥayyār b. ʿIsā, a member of the tribe of Banū Kilāb rebelled against al-Ashraf Shaʾbān. It was not his first rebellion, for a few years earlier in 765/1363-64 he had led a rebellion which had lasted two years. His continuous raids on pilgrims to Mecca and on merchants on the roads between Egypt and Syria led al-Ashraf Shaʾbān to crush him.
A force was therefore sent against him led by the Viceroy (Nā'ib) of Aleppo, Qushtumur who defeated this rebel.\textsuperscript{23} The two revolts which ended in Sha'ban's victory explain well his title of Qāhir al-Khawārij wa'l Mutamarridin.

\textit{Śahib al-Diyār al-Misrīyya, wa'l bilād al-Shāmiyya wa'l Aṣṭār al-Hijāziyya.} These titles first occur in the titulature of Baybars, who had set off for a series of conquests among which that of the Hijāz which he conquered in 668/1270. It appears as if Sha'ban was consciously modelling his titulature on that of Baybars. However, although these titles borne first by Baybars referred to his own conquests, their revival by al-Ashraf Sha'ban was evidently meant to refer to his minor conquests.

\textit{Śahib al-Ḥusūn al-Ismā'īliyya.} The fortresses of the Ismā'īliyya (in northern Syria)\textsuperscript{24} had survived the Mongols only to be taken by Baybars al-Buḥdudārī who virtually eradicated them in 668/1270. However, Baybars left them as an autonomous community on payment of a tribute, a practice which continued down to al-Ashraf Sha'ban's time. Yet the presence of this title in Sha'ban's titulature evidently refers to his own conquests of these fortresses. Qalqashandī writes\textsuperscript{25} that al-Ashraf Sha'ban conquered all the fortresses of the Da'wa and the Armenian
countries with the help of Quṣḥumur al-Ḥasanī.

Unfortunately, the text is not fully legible. However, it seems to discuss events involving the Arab tribes and the defeat of the Banū Kilāb.

Sāhib al-ʿūmāl al-Furāṭiyya refers to the fortresses of the Middle Euphrates. This was most probably Qalaʿat Jaʿbar which was the residence of the ʿUrbān (i.e. Arab nomads belonging to the tribe of al-Fuḍl)\(^27\). One of the branches of this tribe were the Banū Kilāb who had been defeated by the troops of al-ʿAshraf Ṣabaʿīn in 770/1368-69.

Maqrīzī writes\(^28\)

Furthermore, Ṣalgāshandī adds:\(^29\)

The title is evidently therefore a further allusion to the defeat of the Banū Kilāb by Ṣabāʿīn's troops.

Sāhib al-ʿilāʾ al-Sāhilīyya. Van Berchem correctly remarks that the fortresses of the Sāhil in Mamlūk terminology are those of the Syrian or Palestinian coast.\(^30\)
However, consideration of the historical background suggests a more relevant interpretation of the title. In 769/1367, Pierre I the Lusignan king of Cyprus, launched an attack against Tripoli while its Na'ib was on the pilgrimage to Mecca. The sultan dispatched Menklibughā the Na'ib of Aleppo to repel the attack. The Franks were defeated and fled to Ayās/Lajazzo in Cilician Armenia but were pursued by the sultan's troops who were once again victorious. It was such a triumph to Menklibughā, that when he built his mosque in Aleppo he boasted of the victory in his foundation inscription. In 761/1359, the district of Sīs the capital of Cilician Armenia was invaded by the sultan of Egypt. In 765/1363-64, the ruler of Sīs sent a messenger to al-Ashraf Ṣa'bān asking him to reduce the annual tribute exacted from them.

In the colophon of an Armenian manuscript copied in 1367 we read: "On the 6th day of the month of May, Mincak (Manjak) the (amir) of Tarsus...recruited soldiers...and he marched upon the citadel of the capital of the city of Sīs... Furthermore Qalqashandī states that the Cilician fortresses of Kawārra (N of Ayās) Kirzāl (near Kawlak/Gulek) were conquered by al-Ashraf Ṣa'bān's troops and were restored in 769/1367 and 770/1368-69. Quoting the Tathqīf, he also states that al-Ashraf Ṣa'bān's
troops under the command of Quṣṭumur conquered most of (Cilician) Armenia and that Sīs its capital was raised temporarily to the status of a Niyāba. 38

Significantly, these conquests and restorations came in the year preceding the construction of the madrasa. One may therefore suggest that the title of Sāhib al-ṣilā' al-Sāhiliyya here referred not so much to the Syrian or [Palestinian] coast, but in particular to Shābān’s conquests in Little Armenian. 39

Sāhib al-Thughur al-Sikandariyya (East and West ports: Bukīr/Abukīr and Silsila)

The title appears first in al-ʿAshraf Shābān’s titulature though it was later appropriated by the Circassian Mamlūks for their titulature. Van Berchem was the first to suggest40 that this refers to an historical event which took place in Alexandria in 767/1365.

In 767/1365 in his attempt to revive the Crusade, Pierre I the Lusignan of Cyprus supported by Venitians and Genoese invaded Alexandria. Taking the town by surprise while its governor was absent, they sacked it, plundered its houses, burnt the gates, qaṣariyyas, Khāns, and returned with rich booty before the sultan’s troops could reach it. 41 Many muslims, men and women were taken prisoners and trade came to stop. 42
The sack was regarded as a terrible defeat for al-
Ashraf Sha'ban. It would therefore have been sheer irony
to claim the title of Sāhib al-Thughūr al-Sikandariyya.
However, this explains itself when we look at Sha'ban’s
immediate retaliation upon the Christian population
particularly the Frankish merchants within his territories.
A decree (Marsūm) was issued ordering the imprisonment
of all Christians. In reprisal for the sack of
Alexandria in 1365 all Italian merchants especially
Venetians and Genoese were gaol. Sha'ban began peace
talks in 1366 but prepared to counter-attack on Rhodes
and Cyprus....

Realising the importance of naval power, Yalbugha
summoned carpenters from all sides and had wood gathered
from Syria and Lebanon to build ships. He further
decreed that the building of the fleet was to be at the
expense of the Christian population of Egypt, Syria, and
Jerusalem. Ibn Hajar writes:

The Christians had to give up one quarter of their
fortune to the treasury partly to ransom muslims who had been taken prisoners by the Franks, and partly to rebuild the town of Alexandria. 47 Further reprisals are also recorded in colophons of Armenians manuscripts. In the colophon of a manuscript copied in 815 of the Armenian era (1366) in Jerusalem we read:

"In this year, the Franks carried off captives from (Alexandria)... hence whatever christians there were (the Mamluks of Egypt) seized and carried off, and whatever churches there were they shut them all down. They killed our [rai'is] they also killed numerous other priests and churchmen. 48"

Another colophon of a manuscript written in Jerusalem in 1367 says:

"...we were afflicted with manifold grief, we were imprisoned and put in chains, we were dragged before the judges every day by reason of the fact that the Franks had occupied (Alexandria) and had killed numerous and countless Ta'iks (Arabs) and had carried off men and women as captives to the island of (Cyprus). 49"

The church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was temporarily closed 50, and the monks imprisoned while taxes paid by the pilgrims visiting it were vastly increased when it was re-opened. 51 However, as Heyd points out 52, Sha'bân's revenge fell mostly upon the Venetians and
Genoese merchants who were sent to prison, tortured or put to death, while their factories in Alexandria were closed and their goods confiscated. The immediate impact of these measures was felt in Europe where spices, coming from Yemen through Alexandria, became scarce and their prices increased.

Subsequently, the city of Alexandria acquired a new importance in Mamlūk eyes, and was raised to the status of a Mā'yāba with a Nābīb who was emīr of hundred and commander of thousand, with the title of Malik al-Imārāt.53

This analysis shows therefore that/ a considerable number of Shābān's conventional titles, which he inherited from earlier Mamlūk rulers/, can be shown despite the generally accepted view of their stereotyped character in the context of the historical events, to be topical references.

c- Other inscriptions of the madrasa

1- There is a second foundation inscription on the Sābīl next to the portal in the Shārī' al-Ṭabbāna. It is in Māshkī- two lines - written on a wooden panel above the window grille. It reads:

ام بانش ان السبيل البارك لوالدته ملاط السلطان الملك الامير شعبان بن حسين عز نصره في شهرين سنة سبعين وسبعين.
"Has ordered the construction of this Ṣabīl for his mother our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husayn may (God) glorify his victory, in the months of the year 770/1368-69.

2- The third dated inscription is to be found on a marble panel on the cenotaph in the North mausoleum.

The inscription is in the name of Khwand Zahrah daughter of Husayn b. al-Nasir Muhammad, and sister of al-Ashraf Sha'ban, who died on Monday 791/1389-90. Van Berchem points out that there are no references in the historical sources indicating that Sha'ban had a sister—Khwand Zahrah—who died in 771/1369-70. I shall attempt to deal with this personage in chapter IV.

The remaining inscriptions bear no date though some of them mention the founder's name.

3- The inscription on the jamb of the main entrance
on the Shariʿ al-Tabbāna is in bold Naskhī, and runs in a recess on both sides of the porch. It starts outside on the right side of the porch, continuous in the entrance bay above the mastabas, and ends again on the outside on the left side. It reads:

"C XXII v.4/ Has ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿban son of the late Husayn/Sultan of Is̱lam and all moslems, extirpator of infidels and polytheists, he who revives justice in the world, the living evidence of justice and its glorious testimony, defender of the faith, may (God) glorify his victory.

4- The inscription on the jambs of the door (entrance to the large teaching unit, see chapter III below) in the main passage to the Sahn. The inscription in Naskhī is set in a cartouche and read:

ام باتشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالدتنا سيدنا السلطان الملك الأشرف عثمان بن حسين آم الله انصاره
"Has ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother our lord the sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Shābān b. Husayn may (God) glorify his victories/may (God) make his supporters victorious."

There is another inscription above the previous door, set in a cartouche below the stalactite hood crowning the upper part of the recess.

5- There are four identical inscriptions on the jambs of the four doors on the sides of the North and South Īwāns in the Ṣabān. The Nasīkh inscriptions are set in cartouches above the mastabas:

امر بإنشاء هذه المدرسة لولدته سيدنا وبلاك وملك رقائه السلطان الانوراوي شعبان بن حسين عز الله انصاره بحمد وآله .

"Has ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother our lord and master and possessor of our lives the sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Shābān b. Husayn may (God) glorify his victories/may (God) make his supporters victorious.

"Has ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother our lord the sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Shābān b. Husayn may (God) glorify his victories/may (God) make his supporters victorious."
mother, our lord and master the sultān al-Ashtar Sha'ban b. Husayn may (God) glorify his victory.

The most interesting feature in these four inscriptions is that the expression li wālidatihī (for his mother) is placed invariably in the left corner of the right jamb so that it is particularly conspicuous. This is particularly relevant to the arrangement of the inscription of the Hawd (see below chapter II), and hence to the question of the respective status of sultān Sha'ban and his mother as founders (see below chapter V).

6- The rest of the inscriptions are mainly Qur'ānic. Qur'ānic thuluth inscription round the walls of the courtyard (Saḥn) below the crenellation, set in a recessed band. The Basmāla is placed at the qibla side at the right hand upper corner of the Saḥn: Sūrat Alī C Imrān C III v.190 to 195 (only the first 35 words of this verse).

7- Inscription on the qibla wall. This is a thuluth inscription carved out in marble and set in a recess. The Basmāla is placed at the right corner of the qibla wall where the inscription starts to continue inside the mihrāb niche at the base of the couch, and end at the left corner of the qibla wall. Sūrat al-Baqara C II v.145

8- Inscription of the large mausoleum E₁
Interior

A *thuluth* inscription carved out in stone and painted in blue on a gold ground is set in a recess around the dome, above the windows and blind niches of the drum. *Sūrat al-ʿAraf* C VII v. 54 to 56

There is another inscription in a medallion in the centre of the dome. It is a *thuluth* inscription painted in blue on a gold background. *Sūrat al-Ankabūt* C XXIX v. 57

The qibla wall must have borne an inscription which has totally disappeared.

Exterior

The inscription on the exterior runs round the dome above the windows and niches of the drum, and correspond to the inscription inside the dome. It is in *thuluth* carved in stone. The *Basmala* is placed at the street side (qibla direction). *Sūrat al-Baqara* C II Āyat al-Kursī v. 255 to 257.

9- Inscriptions of the small mausoleum E₂

Interior

There are two inscriptions in the small mausoleum. The first one is a band of *thuluth* set in a recess. The letters carved out in stone are painted in blue on a gold ground as in the large mausoleum. The inscription runs above the windows and niches of the drum. *Sūrat Zumar* C XXXIX v. 73 to 75
The other inscription, in a medallion in the centre of
the dome is illegible. It is painted in blue on a gold
ground. It must probably be Surat al-Ankabūt C XXIX v.57

Exterior
A band of thuluth inscription carved out in stone
and set in a recess, runs round the drum above the windows
and niches. It corresponds to the inscription inside the
dome. The Basmala is in the direction of the qibla.

10- A Tiraz band in thuluth carved out in stone

and set in a recess runs throughout the facade from the
Sharí al-Tabbūna to the side entrance in the Cātfat
Kāshif. It starts at the upper right corner of the porch,
continuous throughout the recesses of the facade below
the stalactite hood, to end right before the side entrance.
Surat Yā' Sīn C XXXVI

11- A second inscription is found on the face of
the porch. It frames the arch, traces its contours and
forms two little squares enclosing a floral motif. It
is a Kufic band in flat relief, the lettres of which are
of an archaic type and oddly arranged. The Basmala is
placed at the lower right corner of the spandrel of the
arch.
11- Inscription on the face of the porch.

a- Surat al-Baqara C II Ayat al-Kursi v.255  
   (from 1 to 4)

b- Surat al-Baqara C II v.285+six words of 286  
   (from 5 to 7)

c- al-Izz Lillah Wahdihi  
   (8)

d- al-Mulk Lillah al-Wahid al-Qaher  
   (9)

12- Inscription on an octagonal panel in the main passage to the Sahn. It is in Naskhi carved in five lines.
"Has ordered the construction of this/madrasa our lord the sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf / may (God) glorify his victories for his mother / He who stops anything from it/ or from its Waqf the Prophet will ignore him on the day of resurrection (C II v.181) if anyone changes the bequest/ after hearing it the guilt shall be on those who make the change for God hears and knows (all things)."

13- Inscription on the wooden minbar. On a small panel above the door of the minbar and set between two bosses below the stalactites crowning its upper part, is a Naskhī inscription. The letters are painted in blue Sūrat al-Ahzāb C XXXIII v.56.

"Has constructed this minbar Sāhib al-Waqām al-Munif our lord the emīr ʿAlī, one of the Khāṣṣakī emīrs, in the month of Ramaqān." Van Berchem writes "Le style avancé des caractères et les titres élevés donnés à un simple page trahissent une époque plus récente que celle de la madrasa, peut-être la fin du 9e siècle ou 10e." The type of script used for the inscription indicates indeed that it is not contemporary with the madrasa.
The title of al-Munif does not occur in inscriptions of the Bahri period. Its first occurrence appears to be in the text of a letter received by Barquq in 792/1389 and reproduced by ibn al-Furat.59

"محتوى من إسمه الكريم الامام و الامام الامام المضيفة ..."

It appears in an inscription on the Wakala of Qaytbay,60 dated 885/1480 where he is referred to as

"الخان الطافر المعظم ..."

On the same inscription we read "الحل الطافر ..."

It is highly probable therefore that the minbar was added to the madrasa at a latter period—perhaps early or late Ottoman—by an emir Ali of whom nothing can be learned from the sources.

It appears therefore that the inscriptions of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Shacbün 770/1568-69 in the name of her son use titles which, though for the most conventional, are topical references to historical events of his reign 764-778/1363-76.

The possible explanation for the adoption of such a long titulature with so many topical references included in one main inscription, is that: In 769/1367— one year before that of the foundation inscription—al-Ashraf Shacbün had freed himself from the tutelage of the Atabak Yilbugha, thus becoming the real master of the state. It is therefore evident that when ordering the madrasa
for his mother, a few months later, he would wish to display his power and assert himself as the true ruler of Egypt.
CHAPTER II: HISTORY

The inscriptions of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Shabban name al-Ashraf Shabban as the founder and are evidently topical commentary on the events of his reign 764-778/1363-76, have already been considered.

There remains the evidence of the contemporary historical sources\(^1\). The 15th century sources concur that the madrasa was built by Khwand Baraka\(^2\) mother of sultan al-Ashraf Shabban b. Husayn in the year 771/1363-70. There are only two detailed accounts in Maqrizi (d.845/1441-42) and Ibn Iyäs (d.930/1524).

Maqrizi\(^3\) writing in 840/1436 describes the madrasa as grandiose (Jalila) and says it was for the two rites, Shafi\(^4\) and Hanafi and that it had a Hawd Mā' lil Sabīl at the main porch.

Ibn Iyäs\(^4\) writing almost a century later mentions its Sabīl. However, he speaks of Durūs lil Madhhabīh al 'Arba\(^c\) of Ḥudūr for Sufis taking place every day and of a Hawd and Maktab.

Ibn Iyäs' account raises problems. a- Why four rites when apparently the madrasa was founded for two? How could
this have been legally possible? b- Was there a Ḥawd and Maktab which Maqrizī omitted to mention?

a- It is the rule for Islamic religious monuments to have an endowment document (Waqfiyya) drawn up when the building is more or less complete; specifying its constitution in perpetuity, endowing it, and allotting income for its maintenance and upkeep. In the case for example of a madrasa, it would specify the rite(s) it was for, the number of students and their stipends. Such documents are legally binding in perpetuity and generally contain anathemas against subsequent changes.5

Changes were not steadfastly opposed by Qādis. However, Maqrizī reports that in 780/1378, Barqūq (then ʿAmīr Ḵabīr) gathered the Qādis and Shaykhs to discuss whether, and if so how, certain Waqf could be converted or declared redundant. The upshot of his enquiry was that in no case could properties made Waqf to pious foundations (mosques, madrasas, Ḵāņāns) be appropriated or substituted by anyone.6

He also writes that in 778/1376 a group of emirs tried to force the Qādī al-Qādī Sharaf al-Dīn Mansūr to legalise the substitution of houses made Waqf, but he
refused, for *Istibdāl* was not admitted at the time.\(^?\)

وفي اثناء ذلك الزمان بعض امراء الدولة تأتي القضاة غرب الدين ابن منصور الحنفی ان يحكم له باستبدال بعض الدور المؤقتة بملك احسن منه على المذهب ابن حنفیة

...وكان الاستبدال بالاحياث حيث فقد بيعه في مصر والشام فاتبع ابن منصور من الاستبدال لللادمان....

Despite the *Qudis's* opposition to any change, many instances of appropriation, substitution, *Istibdāl* (replacing one *Waqf* by another) or even sometimes reorganisation of *Waqf* could be given for the Bahri period and even more later. One may give various examples:

Maqrīzī writes that in 810/1403 Jamāl al-dīn al-Uṣṭādār needing a site for his madrasa substituted some lands in Giza for land in central Cairo already made *Waqf* to cemeteries. Moreover, he appropriated the *Waqf* endowments of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān, for his own madrasa. In 812/1410, Faraj b. Barquq declared this appropriation illegal and restored them.

According to Ibn Taghrībirdī:\(^10\)

"The eunuch Zain al-dīn Firūz ibn ʿAbd Allah ar-Rūmī (d. 814/1411-12) was a favourite of his master al-Malik an-Nāṣīr. Before his death, he began the building of his college mosque in the quarter of the Sieve Makers inside the Zuwaila Gates, and he established a number of pious foundations for it, but he died before it was completed...al-Malik an-Nāṣīr then took possession of the moneys of which he
he had constituted a foundation for the benefit of Koran readers, orphans, and settled them upon the Ṣāhīrī mosque in the Desert plain. He next bestowed the above-mentioned college upon Grand ḇuṭr Damūrḍash al-Muḥammadī, who destroyed it and began to make of it a caravansery; but before it was finished Damūrḍash... was killed. Then Ābd al-Baṣīṭ ibn Khallaṣ al-Dimashqī... took possession of the caravansery, completed it, placed above it apartments, it is now the Baṣītiya Market. But I note that it is still a college-mosque in accord with the intention of Firūz, to whom belongs the reward therefor, and a caravansery in the opinion of the one who made it a caravansery, and upon him rests the sin therefor."

A few years later in 830/1428, Sulṭān Barsbāy appropriated a number of Waqfs including a Rab and Khirba of Umm al-sulṭān Shaʿbān and the Waqfs of Ẓādi Zain al-dīn Yaḥyā.  

Although such major changes as confiscation of Waqf or substitution were not permitted, it seems that minor changes dealing with the reorganisation of Waqfs were sometimes tolerated. However, they would entail an addition (Dhayl) to the existing Waqfiyya, stating the changes and re-alloacting the endowment or adding new sources of income.
Thus Maqrizi reports that in 690/1299 sultan al-
Ashraf Khalil added new endowments to the Maristan of
Qal'atun 683-84/1284-85 (Index no 43). Sauvaget cites Sibt ibn al-
Ajami: "En 829/1425 l'emir
Nasir al-din Hejji... l'agrandi (grande mosquee d'az-Zakii)
et constituait un Waqf specialement en faveur de la partie
de l'edifice qu'il avait construite." Moreover, the
Waqfiyya of Barsbay contains an addition to his wife's
endowment document.

... ا ن يَصْرَفُ فِي كِلَ شَهْرٍ مِن تَأْيِنٍ هَـ مِن رَسْمٍ وَقْفِهِ السَّمْتُ لِمَا شَآرَى وَقَفْحُ
جهته خوند فاطمة الف درهماً ليسونوا ذلك من حال وقفاً الذي وقفته
تيس تأرخه ان نحو لما شروته في كتاب وقفاً الكتيب بخط بعض ميسود
 هذا الوقف ترسية في مارس وقفاها.....

One may therefore conclude that severe prohibitions
found at the end of Waqfiyyas or on buildings were in
fact concerned with major changes.

It is not uncommon to find decrees issued to restore
the original Waqf of a building or abolishing practices
which did not figure in the Waqfiyya at the time the document
was drawn up according to the founder's will. There is
a decree of Qadi al-jad al-
(Qaymariyya) in Syria dated 825/1422, reallocating outgoings
and maintaining some distribution of food but suppressing
others, and making a Waqf to circumcise those residents of the madrasa who were not already circumcised. This suggests that some of the stipendaries were evidently not muslims.\textsuperscript{16}

In the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Shābēn, the prohibition against any change in the madrasa is found not only at the end of the Waqfiyya,\textsuperscript{17} but also on an octagonal panel conspicuously placed on the wall of the main passage facing the entrance to the Sahn bearing dire threats against anybody who changes or substitutes anything from its endowments (Awqāf) or in the madrasa itself.\textsuperscript{18}

In the madrasa complex, money was allocated for a certain specific number of students, teachers, Shaykhs, servants... Their subsidies and salaries were fixed by the Waqfiyya. Land or other properties were accordingly made Waqf on the madrasa: in practical terms at this period, the revenues would go partly to its personnel and partly to the founder himself or his personally appointed stipulated representative or Nāẓir al-Awqāf. If this arrangement were to be changed i.e two more rites added, a redistribution of the endowment between all four rites, which would obviously have been against the provisions of the original Waqfiyya, would have been necessary.\textsuperscript{19}
It would be difficult to view the addition of two rites entailing an increase in the number of the stipendaries and their teacher’s as well as the provision of new living accommodations as a minor change. Moreover Maqrizi who was plainly conversant with Maghiyya material in archives does not refer to any such change (though it might have been after his time).

However, in his obituaries of the year 772/1370-71 the latter writes:

"In the year 772 ه there died Badr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Nābulṣī the Ḥanbali faqīh, Mufti of the Dār al-ʿAdl and teacher of the Ḥanbali in the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Shaʿbān."

In the events of the same year he speaks of the appointment of another Ḥanbali teacher as his successor to teach in the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Shaʿbān in the Tabbāna.

If Maqrizi is right in his first statement, the obituary suggests parasitic implantation into madrasas specified for certain rites of Shaykhs (i.e. mudarrisīn) of other rites. This has legal implications which lie outside the scope of the present thesis. (Nothing is known of
he also mentions, it is a fact that
is strongly expressed opposition,
Two during the late 14th century. 27
not have drawn funds from the
some after the afternoon
building (e.g. the large
mausoleum) for their

Sabīl, Hawd, and
does not coincide
Hawd MR' lil Sabīl. 29
Hawd to the left
of the complex,
the right
consists
10 m long,
for
out
of
Sabīl.

Sahraurquamaa
the **Malikis**. The problem is interesting, however, and deserves detailed consideration elsewhere.

However, the presence of **Shaykhs** from all four rites could be explained differently. By the mid-14th century, there was a strong tendency for madrasas to have **Khutbas** as a matter of course: Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya 761/1360 (Index no.36)\(^22\); Mosque-Madrasa of Sultan Hasan 757-63/1356-62 (Index no.133); Madrasa of Ulgay/Olchay al-Yusufi 774/1372 (Index no.131)\(^23\); complex of al-Ashraf Sha‘ban which he had started to build in 777/1375 (a year before he died).\(^24\)

Although nothing definite is known of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban (770/1368-69) it is highly probable that it also had a **Khutba**. Its status as a mosque might explain the presence of a **Hanbali** mudarris. For whereas madrasas were private foundations, mosques were public\(^25\) and therefore used for public teaching. **Shaykhs** would take a position somewhere and students would gather around them as constantly occurred in the Azhar mosque in Cairo or the Great mosque of Aleppo.\(^26\)

It is possible therefore, that Ibn Iyās’ reference to the four rites indicates a confusion between teaching in a public mosque and that of private madrasas.
Regarding Hadrās he also mentions, it is a fact that despite Ibn Taymiyya’s strongly expressed opposition, Hadrās became fashionable during the late 14th century. However, the Sūfis need not have drawn funds from the endowment: they would simply come after the afternoon prayer and use some part of the building (e.g. the large mausoleum or ante-room to that mausoleum) for their Hadrās and leave after it.

b- Ibn Iyās’ reference to the Sabil, Hawd, and Maktab also raises problems since it does not coincide exactly with Maqrīzī’s reference to the Hawd Mā‘l lil Sabil. The monument itself evidently houses a Sabil to the left of the porch incorporated into the facade of the complex, and a construction — most probably a Hawd — to the right of the porch and which breaks bond with it. This consists of a recess with a moulded cornice, 1.95m deep, 5.80m long, 5m high. The walls of this recess are bare except for an inscription band which runs in a cartouche set about 3m from the ground. Its ceiling is in wood decorated with angular strapwork. The inscription bears the name of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān b. Husayn. Although the beginning and end of the inscription, including its designation, are now missing, the shape of the recess can only be that of a Hawd. Moreover, in the Maqṣṣiyya of sultan Tūmanbey dated 919/1515, there is a description of the palace of Qurqūmās.
situated in the Khatt al-Tabana opposite the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'ban. The exact location of the palace being: "facing the Hawd near Umm al-Sultān's madrasa". The recess has two upper floors. The first of these consists of an open loggia with a wooden triple arch on a wooden colonettes. Traces of a bracket for an awning can still be seen on the outer left wall of the loggia. (The loggia in its present state may well be later. But a cornice moulding below the timber flooring shows clearly that an upper floor was envisaged).

The inscription runs on two courses of masonry from the outer wall of the Hawd at the right (now hidden by the construction abutting against it), along the rear wall, to the outer left wall. The missing initial part occupies about 2m, enough space for between six to eight words. The remaining part of the inscription is on the rear wall of the Hawd. Van Berchem gives it as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Plusieurs mots} & \quad \text{L'hebep ? le jalal} \\
\text{2 ou 3 mots} & \quad \text{2} \\
\text{32} & \quad \text{33} \\
\text{34} & \quad \text{35} \\
\text{This should be read as follows:} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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\text{34} & \quad \text{35} \\
\text{This should be read as follows:} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
The inscription suggests very strongly that it was executed after Khwand Baraka’s death in 774/1372. Indeed, whereas all the inscriptions in the madrasa complex state that the construction was ordered by Sha’ban for his mother, there is no room for these words on the inscription of the Hawd. The missing part at the beginning of the inscription is wholly on the inner right hand wall and therefore almost illegible to the passer-by. There is space for at most eight words, which very possibly would have been of the form بسطة/امرأة، هذا الحوض المبارك مولانا العامم (far more than eight words) which leaves no space for the expression لى والدتيه (for his mother). The missing part at the end of the inscription is on the inner left wall and is, likewise illegible from the street. This would presumably have included the date of the construction which would again have used up all the available space.

The historical sources provide no evidence one way or another. However, taking the break in bond at the Hawd and the inscription into consideration, the only possible conclusion appears to be that the Hawd was ordered and built by al-Ashraf Sha’ban some time after his mother’s death (i.e. after 774/1372).
The Hawd was evidently built after the rest of the complex since from the break in the bond at the rooms behind the Hawd and up to the side door(i.e. about 30m in, from the Tabbana; the North wall of the madrasa runs unbroken. Its masonry indicate that it was one of the outer walls of the complex.

The loggia above the Hawd is reached by stairs entered by a door from the vestibule of the main porch. This door was evidently not original and probably did not figure in the original plan of the madrasa, since its arch is lower than the one facing it in the same vestibule.

If the Hawd and Maktab were contemporary with the madrasa, why then did Maqrizī fail to mention them? Any answer is inevitably provisional but the following suggestions may be offered: Sha'ban possibly ordered and built the Hawd and loggia. At his death, the building was all but finished since even the foundation inscription was erected. However, the construction was then left unendowed for a long period.

It is not uncommon for constructions to be left unfinished at a royal founder's death. However, they were usually absorbed by his successors. The Hawd, nevertheless, evidently remained untouched during the reign
of al-Ashraf Sha'bān's sons al-Mansūr ʿAlī 778-83/1376-82 and Ḥujjī b. Sha'bān 783-84/1382-83, 791/1388-89, who were too young, powerless and poor. The Ḥawd could not have been put into working order by Faraj b. Bārquq 801-15/1399-1412 who, on the contrary, decided to destroy al-Ashraf Sha'bān's own complex (Khānqāḥ-Mosque-Madrasa) which had been begun in 777/1375-76 at the foot of the Citadel. Moreover, in 810/1408 Jamāl al-dīn al-Ustādār misappropriated the Waqf (endowments) of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān. It is therefore highly improbable that any further progress been made with the Ḥawd and loggia till the reign of Barsbāy.

In 825/1423, with the aid of Qādī Jamāl al-dīn al-Bulqīnī - under whom not less than 700 substitutions took place - he seized or substituted Waqfs to endow his own madrasa-mausoleum in the desert. These included Waqf lands of al-Ashraf Sha'bān namely those in the vicinity of Qalīyūbiyya and at Qalīyūb itself. Barsbāy moreover seized the Waqf endowments of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān including the Rab located in the vicinity of the madrasa of Jamāl al-dīn al-Ustādār and the Khānqāḥ of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ. As the Waqfiyya in his name records, the Rab and land he appropriated for his own madrasa. At the same period, Barsbāy seized the Khirba of Umm
al-Sultan Shabban which remained unfinished at her death and transformed it into a Wakala which he endowed upon his own madrasa. As the inscription had been put up on the porch, he removed the name of Shabban from the Tiraz and put his own.46

Since these seizure were given a veil of legality by Istibdal (substitution), he must have offered some Waqf in return. One appropriate minor reparation would have been for Barsbay to take the unfinished Hawd; endow it and put it into order without altering the inscription, but painting the plain cartouche in the middle of the rear wall. The medallion is slightly raised and appears to have been intended to be carved, however, it was most probably left uncarved due to the founder's (Shabban's) death. Since no traces of carving appear now, Barsbay's blason must have been painted rather than carved:47

"Cizz lī Maulānā al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashrāf Barsbay Azza Naṣruhu ".

As for the loggia above the Hawd, it may then have been transformed into a Maktab for orphans48 as mentioned by Ibn Iyās.

This eliminative argument shows that virtually no-one before Barsbay could have been involved. However, one point still remains to be considered: If Barsbay
appropriated the **Hawq** and endowed it with **Waqf** why did he not change the inscription in his name as he did on the porch of **Umm al-Sultan Shabban's Khirba**?

The only possible explanation is that: Since the **Hawq** was practically finished and his works on the construction rather insignificant, Barsbay would not put his name on it. However, he did alter the inscription by merely removing Shabban's name from the **Tiraz** and by painting his blason on the plain medallion in the middle of the inscription on the **Hawq**. 49

In 709/1308 al-Nasir Muhammad (in somewhat different circumstances) removed Baybars's name from the **Tiraz** on his **Khanaqah** 50 without replacing it by his own. Although that was a political matter which was not the case here, it demonstrate that such erasures, even if not standard practice, might involve merely token changes of founders' names in inscriptions. Detailed research might well show those to be more frequent than has so far been considered likely.
1- Situation

The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān (Index n°125)\(^1\) lies on the Darb al-Āhmar, an area linking the South gate of the old city of al-Qahira to the administration centre of Mamlūk Cairo in the Citadel\(^2\), which began to develop in 700/1300, in the section known to the historians as Ḳhāṭṭ al-Tabbāna. (now the Shārī‘al-Tabbāna).\(^3\)

Of the five extant monuments on 'the road to the Citadel' from the period 700/1300 to 770/1368-69 four were founded by ʿemīrs.

1- The madrasa-ḫānqah of Ahmad al-Mihmandar 725/1324-25 (Index n°115)

2- The mausoleum of Abū l-Yūsufayn circa 730/1329 (Index n°234)

3- The mosque of Ṭūnbigha al-Nāridān 739-40/1339-40 (Index n°120)

4- The mosque of Aqsunqūr 747-48/1346-47 (Index n°123)\(^4\)

The fifth extant monument: the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān 770/1368-69 is the only royal foundation and by far the most important and complex (I use this latter term deliberately).
2- Plan

The madrasa is cruciform and axially symmetrical so that the qibla iwan is the same depth as that facing it (see plan). The qibla iwan has a mausoleum to either side, a relatively rare feature in Cairene architecture. There are only six extant buildings with two mausolea attached to single complex in Cairo, only two of them earlier than the complex of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban 770/1368-69. However whereas all the rest are located in cemeteries outside the town, the present madrasa lies in the centre of the town.

The Khaqān of Qusān/Qawsūn 737/1335 (Index no.290) both of them with a mausoleum on either side of the qibla construction. The precise date of the fourth the Sultaniyya (Index no.288-289) has yet to be established. The others both later than the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban are: The Khaqān of Faraj b.Barqūq 803-13/1400-11 (Index no.149), and the Mosque/Madrasa of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh 818-23/1415-20 (Index no.190).

The plan of all Cairene madrasas and mausolea are determined by the fact that the main axis must be qibla oriented. Mausolea however are also invariably on the street.
The siting of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban was determined both by its main axis and by the two mausolea flanking the qibla iwan. Since the line of the Tabba‘na deviates from the qibla at this point by almost 45°, and since it was also regarded as essential for facades to follow the street, the problem of adjustment was particularly acute and the solution correspondingly ingenious.

The principal construction was cruciform/open courtyard with four iwan. The main iwan was oriented towards Mecca as were the mausolea to either side of the qibla iwan. The large mausoleum B₁ was located in the space between the SE and NE iwan (a)(d), and the small one B₂ in the space between the SE and SW iwan (a)(b). The relation of the two mausolea and the main unit to the street was probably fixed simultaneously. The mausolea however may well have been built after the main unit.¹⁰

There are also two building blocks B₁,B₂ similar in plan but different in size. Both consist of an open courtyard with an iwan and a small room off it. The large B₁ was on the main street in the rectangular area between the facade and the Mecca oriented iwan, while the smaller B₂ was housed in the area between the SW and NW iwan (b)(c).
The madrasa of Sultan Hasan 757-63/1356-62 where each rite has its own teaching place consisting of an open courtyard, an Iwan, and dependencies provides a close parallel in plan.

The four madrasas are entered from the four doors in the Sahn. Each entrance bears an inscription specifying its Madhab. Moreover, enclosed living rooms are attached to each of the four madrasas.

In the two rite madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban 11 the two block $B_1, B_2$ are also entered from doors in the Sahn though the inscription above the doors contains no reference to the rite. Furthermore, living accommodation is also attached to the two teaching units above the Iwans; and the two blocks are isolated from one another by the high Iwans of the Madrasa.

The Waqfiyya of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban 12 is of no help in identifying them more precisely. However, it seems evident, in view of their plan which follows that of the four madrasas in Sultan Hasan's mosque-madrasa built only a few years previously, that the two blocks are for the two rites named by Maqrizi.

Since the complex was for the two rites Shafi'i and Hanafi, and since Sha'ban was a fanatical Hanafi, the
large teaching block $B_1$ with its main entrance particularly elaborate in its decoration (two inscription bands and a stalactite hood crowning the upper part of the recess) was, despite the lack of information in its inscriptions, specifying its Madhhab, certainly used for Hanafis.

In accordance with Cairene practice, the portal and the minaret were on the main street: the Khatt al-Tabbana. The porch block $A$ at the northern end of the facade is deeply recessed and gives on to a vestibule, again a reminiscence of Sultan Hasan's mosque-madrassa. Though it was usual for minarets to be at the porch or above the jambs of the portal, the only available space with masonry substantial enough for a minaret base once the building was up, lay between the large mausoleum $E_1$ and the large teaching unit $B_1$.

The sabil $C$ a screened recess at the left of the porch appears for the first time as an integral element of a complex.

The facade of the complex is also unusual. Its single stretch comprises portal, sabil, and minaret on the main street. It makes a sudden 45° turn where it meets the qibla wall, another right angle turn towards the Atfet Kashif and finally a 45° turn to the side.
facade on the Atfat Kāshif.

3- The facade and its relation to the rest of the building


The facade of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Schā'ban stretches from the Shārī‘al-Ṭabbāna North to the Atfat Kāshif South. At the North is the porch – the main decorative feature of the facade – with a vestibule on its axis. The porch rises to the whole height of the facade. It has a nine-tier muqarnas vault originally painted cobalt blue (lajvard) and gold, traces of which can still be seen. The frame consists of flat relief carvings which have their precedents in the carved stone in the interior of the mosque of Al-Tunbughā al-Māridānī 739–40/1339–40. These reappear sparsely on a number of monuments of the 1340's–50's. However, the porch of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Schā'ban is the first occurrence of flat relief carvings used overall
to decorate the whole frame of a porch. It is framed by a Kūfīc inscription band on a ground of fine scrolls which strongly recall the scroll ground of illuminated Fāṭihās of contemporary Qur'āns. These motifs (of Mongol Iranian origin) were probably introduced into Egypt with the Qur'ān of Öljaitū 713/1315 which was widely copied and imitated up to the period of al-Ashraf Sha'bān 778/1376.

As may be deduced from traces apparent to inspection, the flat relief carvings of the porch of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān were painted in gold, red and blue.

The rest of the facade shows extensive use of Ablaq. It is broken by a series of shallow recesses with three inset tiers of windows crowned by a rectangular stalactite hood. The windows of the lowest tiers are rectangular; those of the second one are pointed; and those of the third with a central colonette supporting two horse-shoe arches surmounted by a circular window. The windows of the lowest tiers have bronze grilles; those of the two upper tiers have thin metal grilles.

The recesses, nine in number, are not regularly placed on the facade but are determined by the internal requirements of symmetry within the building. Thus we find two recesses (1,2) giving on to the large teaching
block $B_1$ each placed in the centre of the wall with respect to the interior. About three meters to the South of these is another one (3) giving on to a bay of the large mausoleum $B_1$. The location of this is determined by a bend in the NE wall of the large mausoleum which had to open on the street.\(^1\)\(^9\) Beyond the angle of the gībla wall, there are four recesses (4,5,6,7). Three of which (4,5,6) are grouped together in regular spacings. The first two (4,5) are determined by the interior windows flanking the mihrāb of the large mausoleum $B_1$ while the third(6) and the fourth(7) correspond to windows of the gībla Iwān (a). There are two further recesses (8,9) corresponding to the street windows of the small mausoleum $B_2$. The location of the last recess(9) of the facade is determined solely by the interior disposition of the window in the centre of the SW wall of the small mausoleum. The position of the remaining recess (8) is determined then by the available space on the exterior. The corners of the gībla Iwān and the small mausoleum are chamfered off on a single alignment, evidently to follow the line of the pre-existing side street ʾAtfat Kāshif. The small mausoleum $B_2$ was accordingly set back and its outer corner cut away.
Though the openings of the recesses are treated in the same way (i.e. with bronze grilles for the lower tier and thin metal grilles for the two upper tiers), the recesses of the qibla wall show a clear difference of treatment. Here, the two upper tiers of openings are blind and do not show at all from the interior. Their purpose therefore is merely to maintain the regularity of the exterior niches.

Below the stalactite hood of the porch, a Qur'ānic Tirāz band (Sūrat Yā' Sīn) runs across the facade and its recesses. This begins at the right upper corner of the right jamb of the porch and ends at the side entrance on the Āṭfāt Kāshif. The whole facade is crowned by fleur de lys crenellations of two courses of stone. These project slightly and are set on a flat muqarnas cornice.

4- Entrances

The ground plan indicates that there were two major passages inside the complex: one from the main porch block straight to the now ruined rear of the complex and the other, originally vaulted, branching off (O) to enter the Sāhn at its NW door. The secondary entrance
on the side street (مَتِّـع مَهْـشِـيَّ) leads through a vestibule, straight to the SE door of the سَبْنَ. A side door (f) off this vestibule opens into the small mausoleum.

The four doors in the corners of the سَبْنَ lead to the various blocks of the complex. The SW door gives access to the smaller teaching unit B₂ by a partially vaulted vestibule with a door in its right wall. The NE door to the left of the ِقَبْـلا ِإِنْـوان gives access to the large mausoleum E₁ by means of an irregularly shaped ante-room from which another door (u) leads into the large teaching block B₁, thus connecting it with the سَبْنَ. The main entrance to B₁, a vaulted passage with three right angle turns, is on the opposite side.

In this system of inter-communication, the irregularly shaped ante-room connecting the large mausoleum E₁ with the large teaching unit B₁ and the سَبْنَ of the madrasa is of central importance. It is correspondingly lavishly decorated with painted wooden ceiling and a Qur'ānic inscription band (سَوْرَة َالْفَاتِحَة C XLVIII).

Ibn Iyas writes²¹ that حَدِّيْشَ took place every day
in the madrasa. However, he does not specify where. In fact, few buildings where there were Hadras show from their plan where these were intended to take place. The location of this room, however, adjacent to the large mausoleum E₁ suggests that it may well have been used for this purpose. Alternately, it may have been intended for the Qur'ān readers attached to the tomb. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writes ²²: "In the great cemetery of al-Qarāfa... people build chambers and hire Koran-readers who recite night and day in agreeable voices..."

In the Waqfīya of Barsbāy²³ we read that the Ṣāqīf appointed a man to take care of the Qur'āns, preparing them for the readers, and putting them away when reading was over. In the madrasa of Umm al-Sulṭān Shābān, there were at least five Qur'āns²⁴ each in two volumes the dimensions of which were at least 70cm x 80cm. Qur'ān readers were to read all day long from these Qur'āns according to the founder's will (readers of course knew them off by heart). Once reading was over, the Qur'āns had to be put away and kept in a suitable place. Libraries often are attached to mausolea e.g. the mausoleum of Qalā'ūn, Barqūq, Faraj b. Barqūq. The large mausoleum where reading took place could not provide such a space
for keeping these valuable, monumentally heavy Qur'āns. It is therefore very probable that due to its proximity with the large mausoleum, the irregularly shaped room was also used as a Khazāna for the Qur'āns. The room could then have been used by Sufis after the afternoon prayer for their Ḥadras and at the same time it would have served as a depot for the enormous Qur'āns off the complex.

5- Access to the upper storeys

The disposition of the rooms on the upper floors is only indirectly indicated by the ground plan. The only blocks with no space for an upper storey are the courtyards and airshafts, the four main ʿIwāns (a, b, c, d) and the porch which rises to the full height of the building. The remaining blocks were at least two storeys high. Thus on the facade, the large teaching block B₁, the sabīl C and the vestibule of the main porch A all have upper storeys. As regards the rear of the complex, the small teaching block B₂ and the side entrance passage (f), each have upper storeys. The triangular space (F) which houses the staircase has two or three storeys and the rooms behind the portal unit A have two.

The staircase in the triangular area (F) is now the principal means of access to the upper storeys. On the
first floor is a broad corridor following the line of the main passage below. From this corridor sets of rooms are reached. However, there is an area above the irregular ante-room which is isolated by the open courtyard of the large teaching block $B_1$, the solid base of the minaret, and the high back of the NE Iwân (d). This was made accessible by a wooden bridge across the small courtyard of the large teaching unit $B_1$. The upper storeys of the small teaching block $B_2$ must have been reached by an independent staircase which has now disappeared.

There remains the room above the side entrance of Çatfat Kasîf which is isolated from all sides. Access to this room was ingeniously provided by another wooden bridge running along the exterior wall from an opening in the rear wall of the small teaching block $B_2$. It is supported by stone brackets, four if which are still exposed. Wooden beams projecting ten courses of stone above the bridge (about six feet) were evidently for a low roof. At the room itself, other projecting beams set a further ten courses higher indicate that they were supporting the higher roof above the door into the room.
CHAPTER IV: THE DESIGNATION OF THE FUNERARY MADRASA

The madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'ban contains two mausolea flanking the qibla iwān. The large one E₁ has a mihrab and a cenotaph in the centre. The small one has a cenotaph but no mihrab.

These two mausolea attached to a single complex raise two questions: for whom were they intended? and who was actually buried in them? The second question is easier to answer.

The inscriptions on the two mausolea are Qur'ānic and give no information on the person(s) buried or any date. The only informative inscription is that on a marble panel from the cenotaph in the large mausoleum.¹ It bears a date² and the name of a certain Khwand Zahrah daughter of Ḥusayn and sister of al-Ashraf Sha'ban.

1- Literary evidence

From the literary sources we know that at least seven persons were buried in the madrasa.

1-Khwand Baraka 774/1372
2-Al-Ashraf Sha'ban 778/1376
3-al-Manṣūr C. Ali 783/1382
4-İsmâ'îl b. Sha'ban 797/1394–95
5- Qasim b. Sha'ban 801/1399
6- Khwand Shaqra' 804/1401
7- Hajji b. Sha'ban 814/1411

1- On Tuesday 18th Dhu'l Qa'da 774/1372 Khwand Barska mother of sultan al-Ashraf Sha'ban died and was buried in the madrasa which she had built in the Tabbana.

This fails to show in which Qubba (mausoleum) she was interred. Bur, presuming that the madrasa was built for her, as a gift, by her son al-Ashraf Sha'ban, it is reasonable to suppose that the more richly decorated mausoleum was hers.

2- On the 5th Dhu'l Qa'da 778/1376 al-Ashraf Sha'ban was murdered and buried in the madrasa of his mother.

The historians all concur that al-Ashraf Sha'ban was buried
in his mother's madrasa. Yet none of them indicate which of the two mausolea was his. Ibn Iyās use of the expression *Tījāh al-madrasa* is inconclusive since it has no specific sense in an architectural context.

Two historians (al-ʿAynī followed by Ibn Taṣhrībīdī) agree that al-ʿAshraf Ṣḥābān was buried in a separate mausoleum. If we assume that Khwand Baraka was buried in the large mausoleum, this would imply that Ṣḥābān was buried in the small dome which has neither decoration nor a mihrāb. (For the personage it was actually intended for, see below).

3- al-Mansūr ʿAlī (778/83-1376-81) Ṣḥābān's successor reigned five years. He died in 783/1381-82 at the age of twelve and was buried in the madrasa of his grandmother Umm al-Sultān Ṣḥābān.

4- ʿIsā ʾīl b. Ṣḥābān the brother of al-Mansūr

Zain al-dīn Ḥājjī died on the 13th Ramadān 797/1394-95

... راية اسماعيل ابن الباشر شعبان بن حسين في الثالث عشر رضوان من خمس سودين سنة 16

... اسماعيل بن الباشر شعبان توفي في يوم الجمعة الثالث عشر شهر رضوان المسمى سنة سبع وسبعين وسبع سبع سنة ودفن عند والده شعبان بنته جدته الخاتون بركة والدة الباشر شعبان بخط النباتة وظهر القاهره الحربية 17
Ibn al-Furat (d. 807/1404-5) gives the burial place of Isma'il as: by his father, at his father's (dome). His use of this expression is further indication that al-Ashraf Sha'bân was not buried beside his mother, and reinforces al-Ayni's and Ibn Taghibirdi's statement that he was buried by himself in a Qubba. Furthermore, Ibn al-Furat's statement strongly suggests that after the burial of Sha'bân, his male descendants came to be buried in their father's mausoleum i.e. the small dome $E_2$.

5- Qasim b. Sha'bân, a son of al-Ashraf who is known little is known died in 801/1400 and was also buried in the madrasa of his grand mother.

6- In 804/1402 Khwand Shaqrâ' a daughter of Husayn and sister of Sha'bân died and was buried in the madrasa of her mother Khwand Baraka.
7- Ḥājjī b. Ṣaḥbān succeeded his brother al-Manṣūr Ḥāfiz in 783/1381-82 but was overthrown by Barquq in Ramadān 784/1382. He was reinstated in 791/1389 for a short time but was again overthrown in 792/1390 by Barquq who thereafter kept him prisoner in the Citadel where he died in 814/1412. He was buried in the funerary complex of his grand mother Ḥkwand Baraka in the Tabbāna.

Although the sources give no evidence for the location of his burial, it is reasonable to suppose that since his brother Ismā'īl had been buried with his father, he would have been buried there too. From the literary evidence therefore we may concluded that the small domed mausoleum was used for the male descendants of Ṣaḥbān’s family.

The remaining personage buried in the madrasa, Ḥkwand Zahrah presents a problem. As van Berchem 25 points
out there is no reference to her in any of the sources. The only evidence for her burial in the madrasa is the marble panel on the cenotaph in the large mausoleum. The inscription reads:

بسطه هذا ضريح بحاتة الجنة تست المرحومة الدرة الكثينة السنتين ست الخواتين المست زهرة ابنة الامام المرحوم الامجد 26 سدى حسين ولد الامام الشهيد المرحوم الملك الناصر كريمة المسلمين الامام الشريف الملك الناصر ناصر الدين والد حسين توفى يوم الاثنين ثم من عشر من جمادى الآخر سنة احد وثمانين وسبعمائة

The inscription must refer either to a Khwand Zahrah who died too young to concern any of the historians, or else to someone whose name has been phonetically altered by the chroniclers.

Mamlûk onomastics are beyond my competence, but my supervisor, Dr. Rogers, has suggested that I add a paragraph of his at this point for the sake of clarity. There are few possible distortions. If for the initial voiced sibilant, zayn, we substitute the unvoiced sibilant, sin, (ṣad would have been phonetically possible but is lexically improbable) and for the moment regard the hu as intrusive, we have four possibilities: Sārâ, Sārâ, Sarâ, Sarâ. The second pair, to judge from Steingass, may be eliminated. However, the first pair are
attested forms of the Semitic name, Sarah (Steingass 640); and, in particular, are attested by the Mamlûk sources for the late 15th century, including Ibn Iyâs. Sârâ, which in Persian also means pure, excellent, musk, ambergris (Steingass 640), is lexically the more suitable, but we are not here obliged to choose between them since the Arabic historians of the Mamlûks are not an infallible guide to the orthography of non-Arabic words. I have not yet discovered any other evidence that the Mamlûks voiced their initial sibilants; but the distortion is characteristic of e.g. BBC "Thomas Hardy" English. The aspirate hā may then have served two purposes: to lengthen the first syllable; or to turn into proper Arabic a name so barbarously pronounced that it sounded non-Semitic to Arabic ears. Ibn Taghribirdî who, he says, wrote a treatise on the possible corruptions of Persian and Mamluk Turkish in Arabic "Tahârif Awlād al ā' Arab fî'l-Asmā' al-Turkiyya", would presumably have got the name right in the first place.

The only personage of this name known to me is the princess Khwand Zahrah mentioned by Maqrîzî, a daughter of al-Nâṣîr Muḥammad who married the emir Tāz in 752/1351.28

و في مقتبل ربيع الآخر كان عرس خود زهرا ابنة السلطان
الملك الناصر محمد و هي زوجة اقتصر الناسري المتقتل زمن المظفر
 حاجي على الإمبراطور ٣٠٠
She cannot however be the personage referred to in the inscription since she was a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and not of Ḥusayn his son.

Maqrīzī reports that in 769/1367 Khwand Sarāh a daughter of Ḥusayn and therefore Shaʿbān’s sister was married to Mānkūlībughā al-Shamsī.  

He also reports under the events of the year 770/1368-69 that she then married the emīr Bashtāk.

Though no historians mention the year of her death, she may well be the personage referred to in the inscription who died on Monday 18th Jumādā al-Āakhir 791/1389.

In the obituaries of the year 791/1389, al-Jawhari reports that Khwand Shaqrā, a daughter of sulṭān Ḥasan died on Tuesday 28th Jumādā al-Awwal.  

Except for the year 791/1389, this has nothing to do with the inscription on the panel which specifies a daughter of Ḥusayn (al-Malik al-Amjad) and not Ḥasan. Moreover, the inscription indicates that Khwand Zahrah died on Monday 18th Jumādā al-Āakhir and not Tuesday 28th Jumādā al-Awwal 791/1389.
This eliminative argument leaves us therefore with one possible personage Khwand Sārah who died on Monday 18th Jumādā al-Ākhar 791/1389.

2- For whom were the two mausolea

Since the complex has two mausolea, we now return to our first question: which was intended for whom? In 777/1575 al-Ashraf Shārūbān began the construction of a complex (Khānahā-Madrassa-Jāmi) at the foot of the Citadel.34 It is probable that he intended his own mausoleum to be attached to this, however, it was left unfinished on his death.35 The inscriptions on his mother’s madrasa state that it was founded by Shārūbān for her: consequently, it is evident that the large decorated mausoleum was intended for her and not him.

In 774/1372 Khwand Baraka died and was buried in this mausoleum. She was the first to be buried there. Subsequently therefore this mausoleum was most probably used for the female members of her family as the inscription on the marble panel on the cenotaph is in the name of Khwand Zahrah/Sārah who died in 791/1389 suggests.

The small undecorated mausoleum is obviously to be of lesser importance. However, it was very possibly built
for the father of Sha'ban Husayn b. al-Masir Muhammad who, Maqrizi reports, died in 764/1362 though there is no record of where he was buried.

By the time Khwand Baraka came to build her madrasa in 769/1367, she was the mother of a ruling sultan and in a position therefore to accord her late husband who never mounted the throne, quasi-royal honours by transferring his body to her foundation in the Tabbâna.

One might expect the sources to comment on this, however, this was common in Cairo. One may cite two cases of royal reburials, one earlier and one later. According to Maqrizi in 690/1288 al-Ashraf Khalil transferred the body of his father from the Citadel to the mausoleum in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. When Barquq's madrasa-mausoleum intra-muros was finished in 788/1386, he transferred to it the bodies of his father Anas and his five children. There would, therefore, be nothing extraordinary in Khwand Baraka reburying her late husband's body in her madrasa.

In later foundations with two mausolea - the Khângâh of Faraj b. Barquq 803-13/1400-10, and the Mosque/Madrasa of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh 818-23/1415-20, which are both family mausolea - males and females were buried separately. Thus, the NE mausoleum of the Khângâh of Faraj b. Barquq
contains the tomb of Faraj himself, of Barqūq, and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Faraj’s son. The S mausoleum was for Faraj’s wives and daughters.\textsuperscript{40}

According to Maqrīzī, the W mausoleum of the mosque/madrasa of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh contained the tomb of his daughter, while the E mausoleum contained his tomb as well as his son’s.\textsuperscript{41}

In the case of the complex of Umm al-Sulṭān Shābān, the literary evidence has shown that the males were buried in the South mausoleum and the female were buried in the North mausoleum.

Although no Islamic law or teaching imposes separate burial for men and women, the tradition of separate burial became well established in Cairo by the end of the 14th century. Even when buried under a single dome, the men and the women were separated by a low wall dividing the tomb chamber. In the Waqfiyya of Qaytbay one finds\textsuperscript{42}
In the Qubba are two burial chambers, one of which intended for the burial of men chosen by Allah from among the Waqif and his sons, and those other men chosen to be buried there. The other is intended for the burial of the Waqif's daughters and his descendants, and those other women chosen to be buried there in the Qubba.

This indicates clearly that men and women were to be buried separately.

We must conclude therefore that, when founding the madrasa complex, Khwand Baraka intended it to be a burial place for herself and her late husband. However, due to circumstances which left Sha'ban's complex unfinished, her complex was transformed into a family mausoleum where, incongruous as it may appear, the small domed mausoleum became the burial place of Sultan Sha'ban and his sons, while the larger was reserved for the females of Khwand Baraka's family (her daughters i.e. the sisters of al-Ashraf Sha'ban b.Husain.)
CHAPTER V : THE FOUNDER

The foundation inscriptions of the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'ban dated 770/1368-69 named al-Ashraf Sha'ban as the founder. However, all historians concur that Khwand Baraka mother of al-Ashraf Sha'ban founded it in 771/1369-70. The foundation inscription of the complex reads:¹

Historians writing on Khwand Baraka say:

One is therefore faced with two claimants to the status of founder, al-Ashraf Sha'ban and his mother, and two possible dates 770/1368-69, 771/1369-70 for the construction of the madrasa. However, there is no real conflict between the inscriptions and the sources.

It is reasonable in Islam to consider the founder of a monument (Waqif) to be the one who pays for its construction and therefore whose name figures on the inscription. However, a number of monuments bear the
expression (من المال) (from his own money/at his own expense). This implies that there must be constructions which were (regularly) not paid for by the founder himself. Such inscriptions fall into three main categories:

1- Inscriptions stating that the construction has been paid for by the founder himself. (Where explicit reference is made we may assume that the founder paid).

2- Inscriptions stating that the construction has been paid for by someone else.

3- Inscriptions in the name of the person who ordered the works but not in the name of the actual founder (Waqif).

As examples one may consider:

1- **Inscriptions stating that the construction has been paid for by the founder himself.**

   - **An inscription in the **Khāngāh** of Sunqurjah in Syria dated 554/1156**

   ٥٥٤ هـ عن هذا الرابط في أيام الدولة السيد بن بكر بن زكى مولاها
   ستبرحا من ساله ٥٣٠ سنه أربع وخمسين وخمسائة

   "Has founded this **Ribāt** at his own expense during the reign of Abū'1 Qāsim Mahsūn b. Zankī... Sunqurjah... in 554 H."
- The inscription on the mosque of emīr Aḥmad al-Mīḥmandār (Index n°115) in Cairo dated 725/1324-25

"Has ordered the construction of this Turba and mosque from his private fortune Aḥmad al-Mīḥmandār..."¹⁷

- An inscription in the name of emīr Qarāṭāy in Tripoli dated 726/1325-26

"Has ordered the construction of this minbar ..... Qarāṭāy b.ʿAbdallah al-Naṣīrī at his own expense..."²⁸

- The Qaṣṭal Shabāriq built by Yilbughā al-Ṣāliḥī dated 746/1344

"Has ordered the construction of this sabīl ..... Yilbughā al-Ṣāliḥī at his own expense in 746H "³⁹

These inscriptions specify that the money used for the construction is the founder's. However, there are also inscriptions in which it is stated that it is not.
2- Inscriptions stating that the construction has been paid for by someone else.

- An inscription in the name of Muṣīn al-dīn 'Anar dated 524/1130
  انشاء هذه المدرسة الباركة الامير الكبير الاسفسلال معين الدين انر
  حقوق الملك المجاهد .. طفتكين من خيرات سيد ه الرحمة ...
  "Has founded this madrasa the Emīr Kabīr Isfahsalār
  Muṣīn al-dīn 'Anar, the freedman of ... Tughtekīn
  from the beneficence of his late master..."

- The inscription of the Qaṣṭal C Atawī in Syria dated 748/1347
  إنشاء هذا السبيل البارك .. موسى العطائي من مال ولد ه
  البرجوم ناصر الدين بهد سنان وأربعين ومائة ألف حالة ...
  "Has founded this sabīl ... Musa al-C Atawī from
  the money of his late son Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad
  in the year 748 H."

- The inscription on the madrasa Khātūniyya in Syria (Tripoli) dated 775/1374 in the name of Aydimūr al-Ashrafī
  إنشاء هذا المكان البارك مولانا الكريمlinkyالنائبين الصيدلءين .. حسب صيتها الحقية ...
  ويدمر الإمارة مولانا .. في شبكة أداره الكريمية الجدة ...
  "Has founded this Makān/Madrasa... Aydimūr al-
Aḥṣafī in association with his late wife Arghūn Khātūn as directed in her will."12

The madrasa is known to historians as the madrasa Khātūnīyya i.e. ascribed to Arghūn Khātūn and not to her husband who built it after her death. In this case, it appears from the text of the inscription that the Waqfiyya was drawn up in 773/1371 and that the first revenues of the Waqf were to be used for the construction of the monument itself. . . .

This is an exceptionally interesting record: the practice must have been standard; but this inscription is as far as I have been able to ascertain unique.

It appears from these cases that even a dead person whose money is used for the construction of a monument may nevertheless be entitled to a mention in the foundation inscription.

3- Inscriptions in the name of the person who ordered the works but not in the name of the actual Waqif.

Even though the person whose money is used for the construction of a monument is entitled to a mention in the foundation inscription, this is not invariably the case as Herzfeld13 shows with the Jāmiʿ al-Ḥanābila in
Damascus. The inscription is dated 599/1201-2 and is in the name of Gökbürī. Ibn Kathīr says that the mosque had been begun a year previously by Qudāma al-Muqaddasī who ran out of money during its construction. Gökbürī sent a large sum to complete it and his name appears in the inscription which contains no reference either to Qudāma al-Muqaddasī or to the year 598/1201 when works had begun. 14

Furthermore, the inscription on the madrasa of Yāl-Malik al-Jūkandār in Jerusalem dated 741/1340 reads:

"Has constructed that Makān/Madrasa... Yāl-Malik al-Jūkandār al-Malikī ... in the year 741/1340."

Van Berchem points out that according to the historical sources, the Waqfiyya 16 of the madrasa is dated 745/1341 and is in the name of his wife, the daughter of Sayf al-dīn Qutluqtimur al-Nāṣirī. Apparently he says, her husband built it for her with her money, but no mention of her is found in the inscription.

In the case of the madrasa (Qādiriyya) of Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. Dulghādir/Dulqādir (Dhu`l Qādir) 17 in Jerusalem dated 836/1433 18

انفرت هذه المدرسة المباركَة ۸۵۰ ضحكات ومشروع جمعة الأمير ناصر الدين محمد بن دلغadir سنة ست وثلاثين وثمانية
"Has founded this madrasa ... Miṣr Khāṭūn, the wife of the emīr Naṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. Dulghādir .... in 836 H."

The inscription is in the name of his wife Miṣr Khāṭūn who built the madrasa in 836/1435. However, according to Mujīr al-dīn who saw the additional endowment act dated 897/1496 (the first endowment act had been mislaid), this was written in the name of her husband Naṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. Dulghādir.

Van Berchem writes that the madrasa was evidently constructed by Miṣr Khāṭūn with her husband's money "la madrasa Ghādiriyya à l'intérieur du Ḥarem a été fondée par (Waqīfuḥā) l'emīr Naṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. Dulghādir, après qu'elle eut été construite, avec son argent à lui, par sa femme (Zawjā) Miṣr Khāṭūn." He adds, "on peut inférer que sa femme agissait en son nom peut-être par procuration."20

These cases show that the foundation inscriptions do not necessarily name the actual founder in whose name the Waqīfiyya was drawn up and whose signature appears on the Waqīfiyya, but name instead the person who gave the order to construct the monument. These are usually but not necessarily the same person.
4- Who has founded the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān

These previous inscriptions are all from emirs' foundations. The inscriptions of the madrasa of Umm al-sultān Sha'bān relate to a royal foundation and bear the name and titles of Sultān Sha'bān. Nevertheless, there is no need to infer a difference in principle.

The titles on the inscription with the date 770/1368-69 are topical references to the events of Sha'bān's reign.21 The historians 22 unanimously assert that in the year 770/1368-69 Khwand Baraka mother of Sultān al-Ashraf Sha'bān made a pilgrimage to the Hijāz and did not return until 771/1369-70.23 She was therefore absent from Egypt during the greater part of the construction works.

Sha'bān was still very young and had almost been ousted from power. One way of displaying his supremacy, newly won, would have been to grant his mother's request for land for a funerary madrasa to be built from the royal treasury (Bayt al-Māl).24 But, as the above mentioned discussion show, he would then have put his name and titles on the building25 although making it a gift to his mother.26

When Khwand Baraka returned from the Hijāz in 771/1369-70, the works were probably almost finished since the foundation inscriptions were already up.
However, the *Waqfiyya* (endowment document) was not yet drawn up. This was therefore written in her name since it was she who provided the endowments—a *Rab* and the *Qaisariyyat al-Julūd* (leather market) incidentally, a very profitable concern, so that the revenues must have been considerable.

Therefore, although Sultan *Sha‘bān* evidently paid for the construction of the monument, and put his name and titles on the foundation inscription; the real founder of the madrasa in the sense of its endower (*Waqif*) was his mother who drew up its constitution. Al-‘Ashraf *Sha‘bān*’s orders to construct the building from the royal treasury by proxy for his mother thus explains the phraseology of "Has ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother." But the *Waqfiyya* in her name would then make the madrasa hers, as did the *Waqf* pages of the Qur’āns she gave to the institution.
CONCLUSION

Creswell's work on the architecture of Egypt systematically covers all the monuments of Cairo up to 726/1325. However, thereafter the monuments of the later 14th century have only been published as scattered monographs.

The subject of the present thesis has been the Madrassa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'ban 770/1368-69, which is virtually published. The madrasa, a major royal foundation of the late Bahri period in the Khaṭṭ al-Ṭabbānī on the way from Bab Zuwayla to the Citadel. It presents considerable problems in the way of attribution, chronology and structure. I have attempted to solve some of these; and in addition to use its inscriptions to corroborate the solutions.

1- The problem of attribution is crucial, for whereas the inscriptions are in the name of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and give him as its founder, the historians ascribed the madrasa to his mother Khwand Barsaka, who allegedly founded it in 771/1369-70.

The discrepancy between inscriptions and sources can however be explained quite simply; al-Ashraf Sha'ban
evidently ordered the madrasa to be built for his mother out of the royal treasury in 770/1368-69, while she was on pilgrimage in the Ḥijāz. However, since she endowed it on her return from the Ḥijāz in 771/1369-70, the Waqfiyya dated 771/1369-70 is in her name and the madrasa properly hers.

2- The architecture of the building presented various problems, firstly the existence of two domed mausolea, one on either side of the qibla īwan, attached to the complex. There are few extant monuments in Cairo with such a plan. The evidence I have adduces strongly suggests that the large dome was built for the founder: Khwand Baraka, and was later used as a burial place for the female descendants of her family. The designation of the small mausoleum was most probably as follows: By 763/1367 Khwand Baraka was the mother of a ruling sultan. She doubtless wished to honour her late husband who died in 764/1362 by building a (small) mausoleum for him in her complex in the Tabbāna, and transferring his body there.

At his death in 778/1376 al-ʿĀshraf ʿAbd al-Samad was buried separately in his mother's madrasa, hence in the small dome. Relatively unimportant as it was, this was then
used as a burial place for male descendant of his family. Thus the funerary complex came to be used as a family mausoleum, one qubba being reserved for the ladies and one for the gentlemen.

Soon after though, in the Circassian period, there are two cases of this – the Khānah of Faraj b. Barqūq 803-13/1400-11; and the Mosque/Madrasa of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh 818-23/1415-20 built as funerary complexes where male and female of the founder’s family were buried separately.

Secondly, there is the problem of the madrasa. The architecture of the building presents two blocks $E_1, E_2$ with an open courtyard, an iwan, a room attached to it as well as living accommodations above the iwan. These were identified here as teaching units in view of their plan which strongly recalls that of the four madrasas in sultan Hasan’s Mosque-Madrasa built a few years earlier.

The existence of the two teaching units supports Maqrīzī’s mention of the two rites, Shāfi’ī and Hanafi, ordered by the founder of the madrasa. However, Ibn Iyās mentions that it was for all four rites. This statement is very difficult to make sense of, but an
attempt was made to solve the contradiction as follows:
By the late 14th century, most madrasas were used as mosques
i.e. the Khutba was held there. Although Maqrīzī gives
unspecific information, the madrasa of Umm al-Sultān
Shā'ban was almost certainly one of these.

In mosques there was rarely any restriction on the
rites taught. Shaykhs of all four rites would take a
position in the mosque and students would gather around
them, as it has happened in the Azhar mosque since the
fall of the Fatimids.
If we take Ibn Iyās' mention of the four rites seriously,
therefore he must have been referring to the public
aspect of teaching in a mosque as against Maqrīzī's
mention of the two rites with private endowed madrasas
in the complex.

Ibn Iyās' description raises a third problem.
He mentions a Hawd and Maktab for orphans, besides the
sabil mentioned by Maqrīzī. The Hawd bears an inscription
and in the name of al-Ashraf Shā'ban therefore ought to be
contemporary with the madrasa. Why did Maqrīzī omit it?
The tentative solutions adduced here were based on eliminative
arguments as the historians were of no help.
From the terms of its inscription the Hawd and loggia were built by al-Ashraf Sha’bān after his mother's death. He died before they could be endowed. Though the construction was finished and the inscription put up in his name, a relief medallion for his cartouche was however left uncarved. The building was left unendowed till the time of Barsbay. Only he was in a position to endow the building. He removed Sha’bān's name from the inscription without putting his own but must nevertheless have painted his own blason on the medallion. The loggia above the Hawd was then transformed into a Maktab for orphans mentioned by Ibn Iyās, and the building put into working order.

3- The inscriptions in the name of al-Ashraf Sha’bān, exceptionally, revealed themselves to be topical reference to the events of his reign 784-78/1383-76. One addition to a standard Mamlūk titulature Sāhib al-Thughūr al-Sikandariyya, refers specifically to al-Ashraf Sha’bān's reprisals after the sack of Alexandria in 767/1365 by Pierre I the Lusignan of Cyprus in an attempt to revive the Crusade. We may conclude that this and other secular titles were determined by current events.

The solutions to some of the problems raised by
the architecture of the building as well as the historians accounts offered here are for the most tentative. However, since little has been written on the subject, they represent a contribution to the understanding of the complex and are therefore at least provisionally valid till the lost part of the Waqfiyya reappears.
NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1- An exception to this would be the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh 818-23/1415-20 in Cairo, where several dates recorded appear to record a sequence of the construction of the building.

2- J. Sauvaget, Les Tresors, 41.

3- Van Berchem, CIA Egypte I 279.

4- Van Berchem's reading of الہجرة النبویه is to be corrected to الہجرة الهجریة.

5- The translations given are rather free but 'fidelity' is a relative matter, and it is less distracting in protocols to give the titulature with the sound of its medieval European equivalent.

6- Mrs. Laila CAli Ibrahim considers these formulae عزصره وعززالله یسaaaار to originate in Hadith relating to the prophet on entering Mecca. لا الدالا الله وحده ونصر عده وعز جنده وهم الاحراب وحسده.

Hence the translation: "There is no God but God alone. He hath made his slave victorious and glorified his hosts and defeated the factions of the ungodly."

7- The question of the acceptance of the Abbâsid caliph of Cairo by the Vlams of the Mamlûk state is still very obscure and for the moment we may assume that the ceremony of investiture of the new sultan of Egypt by the caliph was mostly formality.
8- Van Berchem CIA Egypte I 144 note 3 quoting Ibn Taghrībirdī. For further reference see CIA Egypte II 300 note 3.

9- By the mid-14th century and up to the mid-15th century the sultans of Egypt were powerful enough to claim supremacy over the other Muslim rulers. The Mongols had lost their prestige after the death of Abū Saʿīd, in the 1360's Timūr's empire was only in its infancy, and the Ottomans were still weak. The claim therefore was not mere pretension.


11- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/1 174, 282-83; Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujūm XI 81-82.

12- Wiet, Traité 42. Although this account is not directly relevant to the period of construction (770/1368-69) of the madrasa, it nevertheless shows Shaʿbān's generosity, and Maqrīzī had no need to act the panegyrist otherwise.

13- Van Berchem CIA Egypte I 119, 144; cf. Hamdallah Mustaʿufī in J. A. 4eme série t.XII 272; Qalqashandī Diwan quoted by van Berchem CIA Egypte I 119 note 2; al-Suyūṭī Husn al-Muhādara III 58.

14- Tughril Bey was given the title of Qasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn by the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad in 452/1060. This title also occurs in the titulature of the Seljūks of
Rūm principally in that of 'Alā' al-dīn Kayqubād (1219-36). I am indebted to Dr. Rogers for this information

15- In a treaty – the text of which is given by Qalqashandi in Subh XIV 48 – Baybars bears the title of Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn while his son and heir is given the title of Khalīl Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn which he later replaced by Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn at the death of his father.

16- Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Numayrī lived in Alexandria during the 8th/14th century, and witnessed the sack of the city in 767/1365. He wrote his Kitāb al-Imam fī ma Jarrat bihī al-Ahkām wa'l Umūr al-Muqdiyya fī Wāqi'at al-Iskandariyya, after the sack.


18- Al-Numayrī. *Ilmām* quoted by Maqrīzī in Sulūk III/1 421; see also 107; Ibn Taghrībirdī *Nujūm* XI 29; Ibn Kathīr al-Bidāya wa'l Nihāya XIV 319-20. The latter in his account of the sack of Alexandria writes about his interview with the Syriac patriarch which he qualifies as:

 ولكن حافل أنت حمار من أكثر الكفار لحنم اللهد...

19- Maqrīzī *Sulūk* III/1 149-50; Ibn Taghrībirdī *Nujūm* XI 52; Ibn Iyās *Tarīkh* I 222.

20- Maqrīzī *Sulūk* III/1 134

... قال آنا (يليهما) اعنه وأوديه ومن الشركة غيرى؟ فلم يجد الخليفة

بدأ من سلطنة آنلك....

22- Maqrizi Khitat II 240; Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujum XI 53; Ibn Haijar Durar II 288.

23- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 175; Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujum XI 54; Qalqashandi Subh IV 207; see also Gaudfroy-Demombynes La Syrie under 'Nīyabat al-Damaš' 190.

24- El Alamut v. I 352.

25- Qalqashandī Subh IV 179; see also R. Dussaud Topographie 139-40.

26- For further information on these fortresses see Qalqashandī Subh IV 146-47; see also Gaudfroy-Demombynes La Syrie 114-15-16. Fīdāwī or Fīdāʾī member of the Najārī Ismāʾīlīs.


28- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 175; see also Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujum XI 106

29- Qalqashandī Subh IV 138

30- Van Berchem CIA Égypte I 93.

31- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 150.

32- Herzfeld CIA Syrie du Nord 1344 gives the inscription

انحا هذا الجامع الحسيب الهارب النقي إلى الله تعالى النور الاعرف الحالم البوللي الماني المخرب السفاح أبو عبد الرحمن ملك بقايا الأعراف كافل الملك الحلبية حين كبر الفرسان على إياش في غرفة صغيرة تسع وستين وسبعين ومائتة وثمانين اعماك الجوامع المنصرة بالديار المصرية ادع الله مالكنا مولانا السلطان الملك الأعراف أعز الله إعصاره

33- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 50; Gaudfroy-Demombynes La Syrie
34- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 92.
35- A.K. Sanjian Colophons 1367.1. I am indebted to Dr. Rogers for this reference.
36- Qalqashandi Subh IV 135; Gaudefroy-Demobynes La Syrie 101.
37- Qalqashandi Subh IV 136; Gaudefroy-Demobynes La Syrie 101.
38- Qalqashandi Subh IV 179; Gaudefroy-Demobynes La Syrie 190, 217.
39- The kingdom of Cilicia came to an end in 1375 when al-Ashraf Sha'ban defeated Leo VI and took him as a prisoner to Egypt where he remained until Sha'ban's death in 778/1376. Heyd Commerce du Levant II 91.
40- Van Berchem CIA Egypt I 281, II 503.
42- Al-Jabarri reporting this event says:('Aja'ib I 62)

43- Ibn Kathir al-Bidaya wa'l-Nihaya XIV 314-15
44- Golubovich Serie 113-115. I am indebted to Dr. Rogers for this reference.
45- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 113; Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujum XI 30; Ibn Ḥajjār Durrār V 214; Ibn Kathīr al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya XIV 315, 320.

46- Ibn Ḥajjār Durrār V 214

47- Ibn Kathīr protested against these measures which he thought were unlawful since Christians were already paying the Jizya and since they were loyal subjects they should not be held responsible for what other foreign Christians did in Alexandria. al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya XIV 315.

48- Sanjjan Colophons 1366.1

49- Ibid., 1367.2.

50- Maqrizi writes (Suluk III/1 191)

51- Van Berchem QIA Jerusalem ville 386, see also note 4.

52- Heyd Commerce du Levant II 55-56.

53- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 114-15; Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujum XI 30; Ibn Iyās Tarikh I 214 calls it a Niyaba even when referring to it before the sack. He probably relied on Qalqashandī who wrote (Subh III 404)

54- Mrs. Allouba read it and not which gives the date of Khwand Zahra’s death: Monday 18th Jumādā al-Ākhār 791/1389.
55- Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim describes the panel as (al-Khiṭṭat al-
Jadīda IV 60 q).

We can assume that the panel was painted in blue and
gold as were the lintels of the madrasa.

56- Van Berchem C.I.A. Égypte I no. 182.
57- Ibid., no. 185.
58- Ibid., 287.
59- Ibn al-Furat Tārīkh al-Duwal IX/2 222; see also
Qalqashandī Subh VIII 79-84.
60- Van Berchem C.I.A. Égypte II 495.
NOTES ON CHAPTER II

1- Maqrizi Khitat II 399, Suluk III/1 210; Ibn Taghriribi

2- For the title of Khwand/Khudawand see Quatremere

3- Maqrizi Khitat II 399.

4- Ibn Iyas Tarikh I 237

5- In his chapter "The Law in the Middle East" (Law 203-6) Henri Cattan writes: "The dedication of a Waqf must be irrevocable unconditional and permanent... Abū Ḥanīfa held a Waqf to be revocable by its maker unless the
declaration had been confirmed by a court decree... His disciples took the contrary view and held that a declaration of Waqf is in its nature irrevocable. It is this later opinion which has prevailed in practice under the Hanafi school.

On Waqf see EI, Waqf; Gaudefroy-Demombynes La Syrie LXXIX; Hasanein RabC "Some Financial aspects of the Waqf system in Medieval Egypt" al-Majallat al-Tarikiyya (1971) 1-24; The term Waqf is used variously to mean:

a- Pious foundations

b- The land they occupy which has been made Waqf.

c- The endowments made Waqf to them i.e. land, buildings...

6- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 345-46.

See also Ibn Hajar 'Inba' I 178.

7- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 269

8- Maqrizi Khitat II 402

9- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 210, Khitat II 79.

10- Popper, History of Egypt I 219

11- Darrag Le Waqf 29-40

12- Maqrizi Khitat II 381

من بلاد عظام السلطان من رقف المارستان واحب ان يوجد له رقف..
13- Sauvaget Les Tresors 55
14- Darreg Le Waqf 9

Mrs. Shahira Mehrez informs me that the Waqfiyya of Sultan Hasan contains an additional Waqf document stipulating new lands to be made as Waqf as further endowment for the existing building.

15- Sauvaget Decrets BEQ 3 (1933) 14- Māristān Arghūnī in Aleppo 801/1399

مر بعده دق هذا البيمارستان وفتحه بعد شته ٤٠٠

Another inscription in the same building dated 825/1423

أطلع مولاها البقر الأغر الفسي تأتي يد الملك الصالح مولانا مملوك

الإمبره في نفسه وهو الناظر الشرقي على البيمارستان الفسي افرعون الكطلي

بحلب المجريا على ما شرط الواقف أعماه الله في كتاب رفعت فيه هو

يخير شرط الواقف

Ibid., 15. See also BEQ 12 (1947-48)56 Inscription on Nur al-dīn's Māristān in Ḥama dated 757/1356.

16- Sauvaget Decrets BEQ 11 (1932) Madrasa ʿUmarīyya.

17- Waqfiyya of Umm al-Sultān ʿAbbān n°47 Maḥkama, unpublished

18- Van Berchem CIA Egypte I 283.

19- Some Waqfiyyas (Sultān Hasan, and many 15th-16th century Ottoman foundations) do specify that the 'surplus revenue' should be reinvested. In the Waqfiyya of Umm al-Sultān ʿAbbān no specific reference to such surplus is found, and no reference to reinvestment.

20- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/1 193

21- Ibid., 190.
22- Maqrizi Khitat II 382
23- Ibid., 399
24- The Waqf page of one of the Qur'an of al-Ashraf Shebani dated 778/1376 (Dar al-Kutub no.10) states that the complex was in fact a Khangan-Madrasa-Jami. 
25- In the case of Umm al-Sultan's complex, only that part used as a mosque (open courtyard and cruciform iwan) would be open to the public.
26- Such Shaykh would not receive subsidies from the Nazir but would live on gifts from their students or on the generosity of private donors.
27- The complex of al-Ashraf Shebani at the foot of the Citadel had a Khangan for resident Sufis. Ibn Iyaz writes (Tarikh I 231)

28- See below chapter III
29- Maqrizi regularly uses this expression to designate the room to the left of the porch with a foundation inscription inbedded on its wooden grille.
30- Waqfiyya of Tumanbay dated 919/1517, published by Abd al-Latif Ibrahim. Mu'tamar 213
31- It is difficult to estimate the depth of this loggia since the upper floor occupied by a primary school and the loggia divided into classrooms. The rear is in a dangerous state. As for the second floor I was
unable to reach it either from the madrasa or from the house abutting it. However, from the ground and from the room behind the Hawd, it shows that the masonry of the rear wall of the Hawd from the ground up to the height of the loggia is homogenous. It is therefore possible that the Hawd and loggia were built simultaneously.

32- Van Berchem CIA Egypte I 288

33- Mrs. C Allouba reads al-Magarr al-Shahid instead of al-Magarr al-Sharif. Van Berchem writes "J'ai cru lire al-Magarr ach-Charif mais ces deux termes sont rarement associes en Egypte du moins... il faut peut être lire al-Maqam ach-Charif ou encore al-Magarr al-Achraf". In fact al-Magarr al-Sharif occurs on all the Waqf pages of Sha'bân's Qur'ans in the Dār al-Kutub (Mushaf nos 7, 8, 9, 15) where Husayn is referred to as al-Magarr al-Sharif. Husayn here is described as al-Magarr al-Shahid and not as al-Maqam al-Marhum al-Amjad as on the inscription on the marble panel on the large mausoleum. The title of Maqam was reserved to sultans (van Berchem CIA Egypte I 248, 285) whereas al-Magarr could be used by emirs. Husayn was a prince who attempted though with little success to mount the throne. However, after his death in 764/1362 he was given the courtesy title of al-Malik al-Amjad which
evidently justifies the use of Maqám for him. Ṭaghārībirdī writes (Nujum XI 21)

... "Maqâm is a title reserved to Muluk." According to him Muluk here is synonymous with 'personage bearing the title of Malik' which Husayn bore (CIA Egypte I 248 note 5).

34- Al-Jamali: upper class diminutive. It refers to Jamāl al-dīn Husayn's Iṣqab... (Ibn al-Furat Turkish al-Duwal IX/1 390). Husayn was the son of a sultan and therefore born free, so the nisba is not that of a Mamluk's owner, and Jamālī must refer here to al-Magarr

35- Sayyidī (lord, master, prince). This title occurs very rarely in the inscriptions on Cairene monuments of the Bahri period. The present monumental inscription is the first still extant. It next occurs 40 years later on the Maqṣīyya inscription on the madrasa-mausoleum of Barsbay 827/1425 (Index n°175) where it is used to designate Barsbay's son Jamāl al-dīn Yūsuf (CIA Egypte II n°247) /

Qalqashandī gives for al-Sayyid (Subh VI 16)

السيد من الألقاب السلطانية والسيد نسبة لل-cigaretة وهو من الألقاب الخاصة بالجانب الشريف

Khalīl al-Zāhirī writes (Zubdat III)

... ولا أولاد الملك من السلطان إلا من يطلق عليه لقب إبر فولسد

السلطان يقال في حقه نجل القائم الشريف والليلية يقال ليهم الإسياح

It appears therefore that the title of Sayyidī was
used in the Baḥrī period to designate the heir to the throne or the sultan's male children. This would also reconcile the titles of al-Maqām al-Amjad - Maqām being used for personages with the title of Malik - with that of Sayyidī.

36- See chapter I.

37- Maqrīzī reports that when Khwand Baraka died in 774/1372 the Khirba containing a Qāṣa was left unfinished until Barsbay's time. (Sulūk IV/2 621)

38- Maqrīzī Sulūk IV/1 183; Qalqashandi Subh III 367; Ibn Taḡrībirdī Najūm XI 155 (though the latter implies that it had been finished cf. Popper History of Egypt II 12). Ibn Ḥajar writes (Durar II 307)

39- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/1 210, IV/2 620-21, Khitāt II 79.

40- Darrag writes that illegal appropriations of waqfs actually increased in the 15th century, he cites Ibn Ḥajar's report that a Ḥanāfī qāḍī had said: "If we were to live long enough, the Ḥanbalī qāḍī and myself, there will not remain a single waqf in the country" 'Inbā' quoted by Darrag Le Waqf 27. For further details on Jamāl al-dīn al-Bulgīnī see Sakhawī DawĪ IV n°301.

41- Darrag Le Waqf 51

42- Ibn Duqmāq Intiqār V 47-48

43- Maqrīzī gives the location of the Raqq when describing
the 'Imārat of Umm al-Sulṭān Sha‘bān (Khīṭāt II 79)

Though the property of Khwand Baraka had been seized by Jamāl al-dīn al-Ustādār, this was actually given back by Faraj b. Barqūq on Jamāl al-dīn's disgrace.

44- Darrag Le Waqf 40 (texte Français)

45- See note 37 above.

46- Maqrīzī Sulūk IV/2 620-21, Khīṭāt 73

47- As the walls of the Hawd were covered with a thick coat of plaster as it appears in one of the photographs in the Cresswell collection, it is very probable that when removing this coat, the remains of the painted inscription on the medallion were also removed. However the Comité gives no information on the restoration works on the Hawd.

48- By that time the standard fashion of Hawd and Maktab was well established.

49- This would explain why the Waqfiyya of Tumanbāy 919/1517 refers to it as: تلا طلاطلا طلاطلا طلاطلا طلاطلا without mentioning the founder whose name was effaced.

50- Maqrīzī Khīṭāt II 417; see also 403 Madrasa of Jamāl al-dīn al-Ustādār.
NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1- The numbers used there are those of the 'Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo' Survey of Egypt 1951.

2- This road from Bab Zuwayla to the Citadel through the cemeteries of Cairo, was opened in 700/1300 (Maqrizi Khitat II 110).

3- The various sectors (Khitat) of the 'road to the Citadel' are listed by Maqrizi (Ibid.,).

4- This mosque incorporated the royal tomb of Kuchuk.

   However, since this was appropriated and the mosque built by an Atabak Aqsunqur al-Nasiri, it is perhaps more exactly described as an emir's foundation.

5- The madrasa of Salar and Sanjar al-JawlI 703/1303-23 (Index no. 221) is irrelevant here since the two mausolea are contiguous and not on either side of the qibla iwan.

6- For the reconstruction of the Khanqa of Qawsun see article by Layla AlI Ibrahim "The great Khanqa of the Emir Qawsun" 37-64.

7- Greswell dates it to the 2nd quarter of the XVth century (Brief Chronology 129) but in her unpublished M.A. thesis al-Sultaniyya (January 1972) Farida Makar argues strongly for a late XIVth century date. This is on the
whole more probable.

8- The khānah of Faraj b. Barqūq and the Mosque/Madrasa of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh were both intended as family mausolea. The inscriptions of the mausolea in the Khānah of Faraj b. Barqūq show that the North mausoleum was for the males and the South for the females of the founder’s family (Van Berchem CIA Égypte II 212). According to Maqrīzi (Khīṭat II 329), the West mausoleum of the mosque/madrasa of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was for the wives and daughter of the sultan while the East was intended for himself and his sons.

9- Christel Kessler Funerary Architecture 257-267

10- Since this unit of the madrasa was doubtless to serve as a mosque, it was almost certainly built first. Maqrīzi (Khīṭat II 329), reports that the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad had only a qibla īwān when the first Friday prayer took place in the mosque.

On the plan of the madrasa in the qibla īwān, the windows of the mausolea opening on to that īwān are dead centre in the side walls α', α₂, but are off centre from the interior of the mausolea. This shows that the two mausolea must have been planned, if not built second.

11- Maqrīzi (Khīṭat II 399) speaks of two rites, but he also speaks about Ḥanbalī teaching in the madrasa (Sulūk III/1 190, 193). For this disputed point see
above chapter II.

12- Unpublished Waqfiyya of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban dated 1368-69, Ma'kama no. 47. The part dealing with the description of the architecture of the madrasa is missing.

13- Salihi Najm al-din Ayyub 641/1243 (Index no. 38); Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad 695-703/1295-1303-4 (Index no. 44); Mosque of Altunbugha al-Maridani 733-40/1333-40 (Index no. 120); Mosque of Shaykh 750/1349 (Index no. 147); Khanaqah of Shaykh 756/1355 (Index no. 152); Madrasa-Mausoleum of Sirghatmish 757/1356 (Index no. 218); Mosque-Madrasa of Sultan Hasan 757-63/1356-62 (Index no. 133). The first minaret of the latter collapsed before the complex was finished. See article by Rogers Seljuk Influences on the Monuments of Cairo 45 note 18.


15- In the extant monuments of Cairo, the planning of porch and vestibule as a single block appears for the first time in the Khanaqah of Baybars al-Jashankir/Chishtnegir 706-9/1306-10 (Index no. 32) (where the axis is however slightly deflected). It gradually develops to acquire a monumental form in Sultan Hasan's Mosque-Madrasa 757-63/1356-62 (Index no. 133) which was widely imitated.

Mosque of Shaykhū 750/1359 (Index n°147); Khānah of Shaykhū 756/1355 (Index n°152); Mosque of Șirğatmish 757/1356 (Index n°218); Mosque-Madrasa of Sultān Hasan 757-63/1356-62 (Index n°133).

17- Qur’āns of: ʿArghūn Shāh 750/1349 (Dār al-Kutub n°54); Șirğatmish 757/1356 (Dār al-Kutub n°61); Khwānd Baraka 769/1367 (Dār al-Kutub n°6); al-ʿAshraf Shakhbān 769/1367 (Dār al-Kutub n°8).

18- See article by Rogers Evidence for Mamlūk-Mongol relations 1260–1360 385–403.

The Waqf pages of the Qur’ān of ʿOljeitū 30 juzʿ, in the name of Bektimūr al-Ṣāqī state that the Qur’ān is to be used by all moslems for studying, copying, reading على جميع المسلمين ينتمون بذلك في القراءة والنقل والبطالة والدراسة (Dār al-Kutub Qur’ān n°72 Juzʿ 15,16,22,27,30). Other Waqf pages of the above mentioned Qur’āns (see note 17) state that they should be put at the disposal of all moslems and hence were also probably intended to be copied.

19- The windows of the mausoleum on the street were mostly used for the reading of the Qur’ān by Shaykhs who often appear in Waqfiyyas as part of the personnel on the foundation.

20- The door (X) at the back of the complex, restored by the Comité, who restored the N wall and the door (exercises 1946–53; 2em rapport 1949–50) gives on to the ruins of
small cells which may perhaps be accommodations for Ṣūfīs.

21- Ibn Iyās Tarīkh I 237

22- Gibb Travels 51

23- Darrag Le Waqf 65

... [Arabic text]

24- See Qur'āns nos 6, 7, 8, 9, 15 Dār al-Kutub.

25- The level of the room above the vestibule to the main portal lies seven steps higher than that of the passage, due to the height of the vestibule; while that of the rooms above the Sabīl and the large teaching block B1 lie one step below.

26- Such wooden bridges are already found in the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshankīr/Chāshnegīr 706-9/1306-10; and the Khānqāh of Shaykhū 756/1355.

27- At two points - at the end of the vestibule and the present access to the ablutions - there are remains of battens which most probably supported a further staircase.
NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1- See inscription, chapter I
2- The date will be discussed below. Van Berchem read it 771/1369-70, Mrs. Allouba reads it 791/1389
3- Maqrizi Khitaṭ II 400
4- Ibn Ḥajr Durar II no. 1281
5- Ibn Taghhrībirdī Nujum XI 58
6- Ibn Iyās Tārīkh I 227
7- See chapter V
8- He was cut into little bits, put in a quffa and thrown into a well. After some days, the quffa was pulled out from the well by one of his servants who brought him in secret at night, to the madrasa of his mother and buried him there.
9- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 262
10- Ibn Taghhrībirdī Nujum XI 76
11- Ibn Iyās Tārīkh 233
12- The editor of the Nujum, Muhammad Ramzi says implausibly in a note (Nujum XI 59 note 1) that it is possible that Sha'bān was buried in the Qubba opposite the madrasa as stated by Ibn Iyās. However, the Qubba he refers to is evidently Ottoman therefore his suggestion is implausible.
13- Ibn Taghribirdī Nujūm XI 76
14- Ibid., 188
15- Ibn Iyās Tarīkh I 255
16- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/2 844
17- Ibn al-Furāt Tarīkh al-Duwal IX/2 418. According to Ibn Taghribirdī (Wiet Manhal n° 426) and Ibn Hajar (Durar I 392), Isma‘īl died in 735/1392
18- Sakhwāi Daw‘ VI 181
19- al-Jawhārī Nuzhat II 24
20- Ibn Hajar ‘Inbā‘ I 213
21- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/1 1091
22- al-Jawhārī Nuzhat II 148
23- Maqrīzī Sulūk IV/1 200
24- al-Jawhārī Nuzhat II 295; see also Sakhwāi Daw‘ III 87; Ibn Iyās Tarīkh I 290; Popper History of Egypt I 103
25- Van Berchem CIA Egypte I 285
26- See chapter II inscription on Hawd and note 33
    al-Amjad, Qalqashandī writes (Subh VI 10)
    ... من القاب بعض المقرب وبها كتب وبها التاج وتحويه في القاب الصدر
    الاجل وهو افضل التفضيل من البجع وهو الشرف والإصلاح ... ...
27- Mrs. Allouba reads تسليمين. In fact, van Berchem writes
    in a note (CIA Egypte I note 6 p. 285) "ma copie
    portait 791H. mais Cha‘bān était mort à cette époque et
    l’inscription le désigne comme sultan régnant. Sur ma
    demande M. Ali Bahgat m’écrit que l’original porte
    et non تسليمين، il faut 771H. Je crois avoir lu
    dans la date du mois الآخر et non . Le
18 Jumādā'ī ne tombe pas sur le Lundi peut-être est-ce le 28 Jumādā' al-Ākhar?" However, even the 28th Jumādā' al-Ākhar 771H does not fall on a Monday, it falls on a Sunday. Van Berchem's observation that the inscription refers to Sha'ban as reigning sultan is given no explanation. He might have relied on the laqab of Nasir al-Du'ali wa'l-dīn given to Sha'ban. However, this is merely the sovereign form of Nasir al-dīn (van Berchem CIA Egypte I 285) found on some coins in the name of Sha'ban (see Stanley Lane-Poole Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum IV).

28- Maqrizi Suluk II/3 840
29- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 157
30- Ibid., 170
31- I have checked the dates 18th, 28th Jumādā' al-Awwal, and 18th, 28th Jumādā' al-Ākhar of the year 771/1368-69 as well as the year 791/1389. The only date which falls on a Monday is the 18th Jumādā' al-Ākhar 791/1389.
32- al-Jawhari Nuzhat I 280; Maqrizi Khiṭat II 74
33- The 28th Jumādā' al-Awwal falls indeed on a Tuesday, the possibility of a mistake of the sources may therefore be eliminated.
35- Maqrizi Suluk III/1 251, 271.
36- As Khwand Baraka was not yet married to Ulğay/Ölchay al-Yūsufī, the second mausoleum could not have been for him.
37- Maqrızī Sulūk III/1 89
38- Maqrızī Khitat II 381

ثم أمر بنقل ابيه من القلعة إلى القبة المنصورية حتى دفن فيها

39- al-Jawhari Nuzhat I 132

فهي كتب صارة المدرسة الظاهرة بين القرون ولم كان يم الخمسة رابع عشره رغم بنقل تم أولاده الخمسة من مدافنهم إلى القدسية بالديسة الظاهرة ونقلت رمة الجوهر إلى ولد السلطان والمحارب مشاه امامه حتى دفن بالديسة الظاهرة 390

40- Van Berchem C.I.A. Égypte II 316
41- Maqrızī Khitat II 329
42- Mayer Sayyibay 12
NOTES ON CHAPTER V

1- See chapter I. This has induced Creswell to call it 'the madrasa and mausoleum of Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban' (Brief Chronology 112)

2- Maqrizī Sulūk III/1 210
3- Ibn Ḥajar Durar I 474
4- Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujūm XI 58-59
6- Herzfeld CIA Syrie du Nord 227
7- Van Berchem CIA Égypte I 171-172
8- Bobernheim CIA Syrie du Nord 55
9- Herzfeld CIA Syrie du Nord 328
10- Van Berchem Inscription Arabes de Syrie 448
11- Herzfeld CIA Syrie du Nord 329-30
12- Bobernheim, Syrie du Nord 115. For complete text of Waqfiyya see 115-116.
14- However the case here is different from that of Umm al-Sultān Sha'ban's madrasa since Gökbūrī had not paid for the construction of all the building but merely sent some money to complete the works.
15- Van Berchem CIA Jerusalem ville 266


17- Dhu'ul Qadr. Turkmen dynasty which ruled for nearly centuries (738-922/1337-1522). Arabic sources use the spelling Dhul Qādar and in one of the dynasty’s inscription Dulqādir. See Ela Dhu’ul Qadr

18- Van Berchem CIA Jerusalem ville 319

19- Ibid., note 4

20- Ibid., 319-20

21- See chapter I

22- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/1 177; Ibn Taghrībirdī Nujūm XI 54; Ibn Ḥajar Durar II 7

23- Maqrīzī Sulūk III/1 181

24- Ibn Ḥajar reports that al-Ashraf Shābīn was extremely generous to his mother (Durar II 7)

25- On the death of Mihrimah Sultan the wife of the vizier Rūstēm Paşa part of her Khāṣṣ estate were granted as mulk to the Valide Sultan. Menage (some notes on the Devshirme BSOAS XXIX (1966) 72 adds, on the understanding that she should make them over as Waqf to the mosque at Uskūdar, the Atik Valide Camii, which she was in the course of founding. The gift was evidently also conditioned upon some mention to her son Selīm 2nd in the inscription. I am indebted to Dr. Rogers for this information.
Maqrizi (Suluk I/3 737) reports that in the year 686/1284-85, the sultan (Qal'atun) gave a large sum to the daughter of Baraka for the construction of a mosque, on the condition that his name was mentioned in the inscription

26- Interestingly, another construction Qa'a which can be attributed to Khwand Baraka on similar grounds, bore an inscription in the name of her son Sha'bân (Maqrizi Khitat II 79).

Muhammad Mustafa Naguib writes ("Khwand Baraka" al-Qahira 196) of two objects in the MIA in Cairo no.449 a Kursi, no.452 a Qur'an box, both from the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'bân, and says they bore inscriptions in the name of Sha'bân. I have examined both but neither bear any inscription at all.

27- Maqfiyya of Umm al-Sultan Sha'bân dated 771/1369-70 Mahkama 47; unpublished.

28- Maqrizi Khitat II 79

29- Qur'an no.6 Dár al-Kutub in the name of Khwand Baraka dated (Monday) 3rd of Dhul Qada 769/1367

Qur'an no.7 Dár al-Kutub, in the name of al-Ashraf Sha'bân dated 15th of Sha'bân 770/1368-69
see also Qur'ān nos 8, 9, 15 Dār al-Kutub

These confirm Lane-Poole's assertion; "All these last Qur'āns were destined for the school in the Khuṭṭ et-
Tabbāna... founded by Baraka the sultan's mother"

The Art of the Saracen in Egypt 258
1- Manuscripts and Waqfiyyas

**Igd**

"عَدَدِ الْجَانِّ فِي تَأْيِيْخِ أَهَلِ اللَّهَ مَخْطَطَ ۴۰۰ دَارَ" الكتب مكتبة هامة 1584

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**Waqfiyya**

وفية أم السلطان شعبان محكمة 48 محفظة 2

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<th>Baybars</th>
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</table>
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3. Inscription on the Carobaph
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