

**UNIVERSITY OF EGYPT**

**BULLETIN**

**OF**

**THE FACULTY OF ARTS**

**VOL. I. PART 2**

**DECEMBER 1933**

The Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts is issued twice a year,  
in May and December. Price per copy 20 P.T. post free.

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# THE FOUNDATION OF CAIRO

BY

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Origin of the Fāṭimid Dynasty. — Establishment at Qairawān. — Astrological reasons for an attack on Egypt. — Gōhar, the General of al-Muʿizz, the fourth Fāṭimid Khalif, invades Egypt. — Fall of Fustāt. — Foundation of al-Qāhira (Cairo). — The Walls and Gates.

## ORIGIN OF THE FĀṬIMID DYNASTY.

The Fāṭimids<sup>(1)</sup> traced the origin of their dynasty to ʿUbaydallāh the Mahdī, whom they claimed to be the brother of the twelfth Īmām who had mysteriously vanished at Sāmarrā. There are other versions<sup>(2)</sup> and, according to one of them, he was the son of one of the "hidden" Īmāms who succeeded to the direction of the sect after the death of the seventh Īmām. However, in spite of De Goeje's learned and ingenious study<sup>(3)</sup>, Becker<sup>(4)</sup> and Reitemeyer<sup>(5)</sup> both agree that the origin of the Fāṭimids is still involved in obscurity. The opponents of the Fāṭimids attributed the origin of the dynasty to Ma'mun al-Qaddāh, an oculist who founded

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<sup>(1)</sup> So called, as the author of the *Jāmiʿ at-Tawārīkh* says, because they based their claims to spiritual and temporal authority "on the nobility of their descent from Fāṭima," the Prophet's daughter; see BROWNE (E. G.), *Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 195.

<sup>(2)</sup> For a discussion of this question see QUATREMÈRE ~~et al.~~ — *Historiques sur la dynastie des Khalifes Fātimides*, *Journal asiatique*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, t. II, p. 97 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein et les Fatimides* (Leiden 1886).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, I, p. 2.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, n. 112.

an extreme Shi'a sect<sup>(1)</sup>. He died A.D. 875 and his son 'Abdullāh carried on his teachings, established seven stages of initiation and claimed to be an Imām of the family of Muhammad, the son of Ja'far as-Ṣādiq. He acquired a great reputation at Aḥwāz, but eventually had to flee to Basra and then to Salamīya where a son named Aḥmad was born to him.

At his death, Aḥmad succeeded him and sent a Dā'ī<sup>(2)</sup> to 'Irāq. The latter met Hamdān ibn al-Ash'ath, known under the name of Qarmaṭ, who was converted, and became the founder of the Qarmathians. These in turn became the forerunners of the Faṭimids. Aḥmad had two sons, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, known as Abū ash-Shalaghlagh. Ḥusayn succeeded his father and he, on his death, was succeeded, not by his son Sa'id, but by his brother Abū ash-Shalaghlagh, who sent two dā'īs to Morocco, viz : — Abū 'Abdallah and his brother Abū l-'Abbās. They established themselves among the Berbers with extraordinary success and soon acquired an enormous following of armed men, by means of whom the last Aghlabid prince, Ziyādat-Allah, was driven out of the country in 909 A. D.<sup>(3)</sup>

A son of Ḥusayn named Sa'id had meanwhile been brought up by his uncle Abū ash-Shalaghlagh. He became celebrated at Salamīya (15 miles east of Hamā) after the death of the latter, but later on had to flee to Morocco by way of Egypt, where he narrowly escaped arrest, a fate which actually overtook him at Sigilmāsa. He was rescued by the victorious Abū 'Abdallah, who humbly prostrated himself before him and hailed him as the expected Maḥdī and, in Rabī' II, 297 (January, 910), he was prayed for in the Mosque of Qairawān as «the Imām 'Ubaydallah al-

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<sup>(1)</sup> E. g. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ IBN SHADDĀD HĪMYARĪ, in IBN AL-ATHĪR, VIII, p. 20 ff., translated by FAGNAN, *Annales du Maghreb*, p. 276 ff. The following version is taken from MAQRĪZĪ, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 348; Casanova's trans., IV, pp. 2-4; also translated in SILVESTRE DE SACY'S, *Chrestomathie*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., II, p. 88. See also QUATREMÈRE, *loc. cit.*, p. 115 ff.

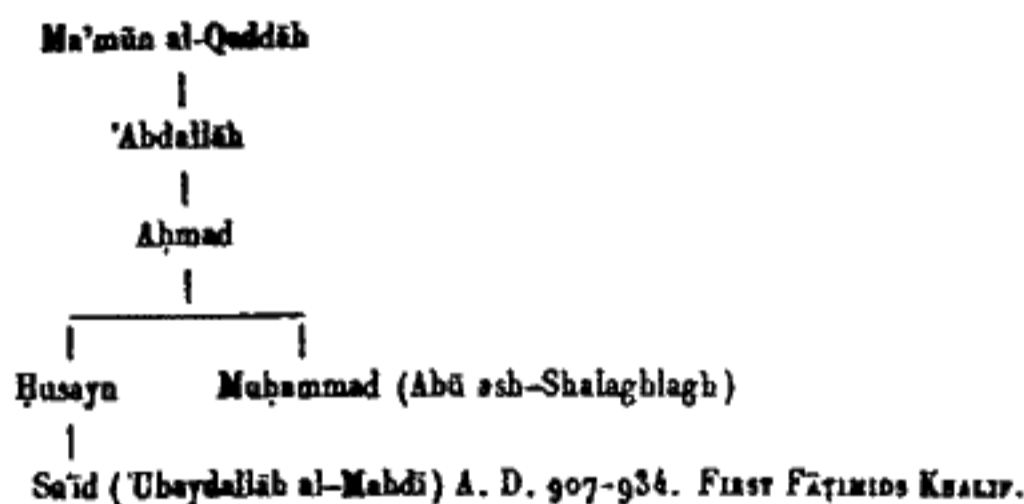
<sup>(2)</sup> The title means «missionary», literally «he who calls». It was the fifth in the scale of dignitaries in the sect; see CARRA DE VAUX's article «Dā'ī» in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, p. 895.

<sup>(3)</sup> See IBN AL-ATHĪR, VIII, pp. 30-36; translated by FAGNAN, *Annales du Maghreb*, pp. 290-99.

Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful»<sup>(1)</sup>. Abū 'Abdallāh soon found himself ignored and, becoming jealous, began to cast doubts on the genuineness of the Mahdī, saying that he ought to work miracles and so give proofs of his mission. The Mahdī nipped the danger in the bud by having him murdered<sup>(2)</sup>, and **مَلِك** for twenty five years, establishing his authority from Fez to the frontiers of Egypt, against which he had sent three expeditions, in 301 H. (913)<sup>(3)</sup> 302 H. (914)<sup>(4)</sup> and 306 H. (918)<sup>(5)</sup>. He founded al-Mahdiyya in Dhu'l-qāda 303 (7<sup>th</sup> May 916)<sup>(6)</sup> and died there in Rabī' I 322. Until then he had resided at Raqqāda<sup>(7)</sup> four miles from Qairawān.

He was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Qāsim, who took the title of al-Qāim. He sent an army against Egypt and took Alexandria, but was driven out by the brother of the Ikhshīd and sustained a crushing defeat

<sup>(1)</sup> I give below his genealogy in tabular form for the sake of clearness : —



<sup>(2)</sup> His murderers sarcastically replied to his protests saying «He whom thou has told us to obey, has told us to kill thee». 'ARĪB IBN SA'ĪD AL-QURṬUBĪ, transl. by NICHOLSON, *An Account of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa* (Bristol, 1840), p. 126; IBN AL-ATHĪR, p. VIII, p. 41 (Fagnan's transl., *Annales*, p. 307); and MAQRĪZĪ, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 351, l. 5 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 12).

<sup>(3)</sup> IBN AL-ATHĪR, VII, p. 63.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83-4.

<sup>(6)</sup> MAQRĪZĪ, *op. cit.*, I, p. 351, l. 14 (transl., IV, p. 12). AL-BAKRĪ, a much earlier authority, for he wrote in the eleventh century A. D., gives fuller details, saying that 'Ubaydallāh first inspected the place in 300 (912/3), that the walls were finished in 305 (917/8) and that the Prince made his entry into the new town in Shawwāl 308 (Feb./March. 921). *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trad. par Mac Guckin de Slane (1913, ed.), p. 68; also given in REITEMEYER'S, *Städtegründungen*, p. 138.

<sup>(7)</sup> AL-BAKRĪ, p. 28, transl., p. 69 [63]; and IBN AL-ATHĪR, VIII, p. 38.

during his retreat<sup>(1)</sup>. He died 13 Shawwāl 334 (18<sup>th</sup> May 946) after a reign of twelve years, and was succeeded by his son al-Mansūr, who, in 337 (948/9) founded Manṣūriya, the fourth royal suburb built in the neighbourhood of Qairawān<sup>(2)</sup>. He reigned until his death in Shawwāl 341, and was succeeded by his son al-Muʿizz who was then twenty-four years of age. Al-Muʿizz was a highly educated and cultivated man as well as an energetic ruler. With the assistance of his Prime-Minister and Commander-in-Chief Gōhar, a Byzantine Greek, he soon brought order and tranquillity to his kingdom. This however, was merely a prelude to the conquest of Egypt, the aim of his life, for which purpose he had amassed a fortune of twenty-four million dinars, and spent two years in digging wells and building rest houses on the road to Alexandria<sup>(3)</sup>.

ASTROLOGICAL REASONS FOR ATTACK ON EGYPT. — De Gœje suggests that al-Muʿizz was led to meditate this attack on Egypt on account of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the Ram in 356 (967). In support of this view he shows by numerous examples the enormous part astrology played in the daily life of the medieval East, especially among the Fāṭimids. He mentions the books on astrology and the occult sciences of which ʿUbaydallāh (later the Mahdī) was robbed near Ṭahūna when he was a fugitive in Africa. These books, which were recovered by al-Qāim during his otherwise profitless campaign against Egypt, are supposed to have contained the prediction, current at that time, that the rule of the Arabs in the west would cease at the end of the third century of the Hijra<sup>(4)</sup>. This prediction, according to de Gœje, was undoubtedly

<sup>(1)</sup> IBN AL-ATBĪR, VIII, p. 213.

<sup>(2)</sup> AL-BAKRĪ, transl., de Slane, p. 64 [58]; and REITEMEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>(3)</sup> For the above see MAQRĪZĪ, *Khitaṭ*, I, pp. 349-353 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 7-17), and LANE POOLE, *History of Egypt*, pp. 92-101.

<sup>(4)</sup> Compare the similar prediction as to the duration of Cairo in MAQRĪZĪ (*Khitaṭ*, I, p. 372, transl., IV, pp. 69-70) and his statement that whenever ~~the sun~~ <sup>the sun</sup> entered Gemini, famine has afflicted Egypt. Equally fatal to the country, according to him, is the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in Cancer. The prediction as to the duration of Cairo being 460 years is also referred to by IBN KHALDŪN, *Prolegomena*, in *Notices et Extraits*, XX, p. 231.

connected with the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of the Ram, due in 296 (908), a year which actually did witness the fall of the Aghlabids and the inauguration of Faṭimid rule at Qairawān. It is known that the Faṭimids expected that a new era, the era of the true religion, would commence with a state of the heavens due in 316 H. (928). The origin of his dynasty dating from 296 (908), de Goeje suggests, with great probability, that al-Muʿizz, who is known to have been well versed in astrology<sup>(1)</sup>, was prompted by a similar conjunction in 356 (967), to commence in this year the equipment of his great expedition against Egypt<sup>(2)</sup>. He reminds us that even Hūlāgū Khān in 656 (1258) at the summit of his power, did not dare to attack Baghdad until his astrologer, the celebrated aṭ-Ṭūsī, had reassured him<sup>(3)</sup>.

THE INVASION OF EGYPT. — As a result of internal disorders, famine caused by a low Nile and plague, Egypt lay helpless and open to an invader, and its precarious position was fully reported to al-Muʿizz by the refugee Yāʿqūb ibn Killis, a renegade Jew and former favourite of Kāfūr. The Arab tribes were accordingly summoned, and Gōhar at the head of 100,000 men, with ample stores and equipment on pack animals, marched from Qairawān 14 Rabiʿ I, 358 (5<sup>th</sup> Feb. 969)<sup>(4)</sup>. He arrived at Gīza in 17<sup>th</sup> Shaʿbān 358 (6<sup>th</sup> July 969)<sup>(5)</sup>, forced the passage of the river and, falling upon the army drawn up on the east bank, totally

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<sup>(1)</sup> QUATREMÈRE, *Vie du Khalife Moezz*, *Journal asiatique*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, t. II, p. 207. quoting Ibn al-Athīr, Haidar-Razī and an-Nowayrī.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein* (1886), pp. 115-128, and especially. pp. 121-124.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>(4)</sup> QUATREMÈRE, *Vie du Khalife Moezz*, *loc. cit.*, t. II, pp. 425-435; LANE POOLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2; and MAXN (J.), *The Jews in Egypt under the Faṭimid Caliphs*. I, p. 17.

<sup>(5)</sup> IBN AL-ATHĪR, VIII, p. 435; Fagnan's transl., *Annales*, pp. 366-7; IBN AL-ADHĀRĪ, *Bayān*, I, p. 229; Fagnan's transl., I, p. 321; ABU'L-FIDĀ, *Taqwīm*, p. 108; Reinaud's transl., I, p. 148; and his *Ta'rīkh*, II, p. 498; IBN DUQMAQ, V, p. 35. ll. 16-17 and 20; QALQASHANDĪ, p. 349; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 68 (gives date as 12<sup>th</sup> Shaʿbān); MAQRĪZĪ, *Khitāt*, I, p. 361, l. 20; Casanova's transl., IV, p. 42 (also transl., in REITEMEYER, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*, p. 190).

defeated it<sup>(1)</sup>. The City then surrendered; the Fāṭimid Army passed through Fustāt in triumph<sup>(2)</sup> and camped on the great sandy plain lying to the north<sup>(3)</sup> a plain which was bounded on the east by the Muqaṭṭam<sup>(4)</sup>, and on the west by the Khalīg, a canal which ~~ran~~ <sup>connected</sup> the Nile to the north of Fustāt, passed by the ancient Heliopolis and finally entered the sea at Suez. This plain was free from buildings except those belonging to the Garden of Kāfūr, a Coptic monastery called Dayr al-ʿIdam, which occupied the site of the Mosque of al-Aqmar, and a little castle called Qaṣr ash-Shauk, the name of which still survives, as the name of a quarter<sup>(5)</sup>.

FOUNDATION OF AL-QĀHIRA (CAIRO). — That very night Gōhar marked out (*ikhtatā*) the site of the palace destined for the reception of

<sup>(1)</sup> Within less than a century the story of this conquest had become surrounded with legend, and a fantastic account of it is given by Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, who says that the troops of al-Muʿizz, consisting of 30,000 mounted slaves, swam across the Nile, led by a black dog, whilst the Khalif himself came by sea, sailed up the Nile and beached his ships. Nāṣir claims to have seen seven of them in 439 (1046/7). He omits all reference to Gōhar and attributes the foundation of Cairo to the Khalif himself; see SCHEFER's, *Nassiri Khusrau*, pp. 125-6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Yāqūt makes the extraordinary statement that the inhabitants of Fustāt had made an agreement with him that he should not settle down in the town. Reitemeyer rejects this account as very improbable (*Städtegründungen*, p. 113) and also points out that Maqrīzī's statement that the Khalif had designated the site beforehand in contradicted by another statement of his (and of IBN DUQMAQ, V, p. 36, ll. 8-11) that the Khalif on his arrival at the end of 361 (972) was not satisfied with the site chosen by Gōhar, and would have preferred the neighbouring heights (i. e. the high ground south of Fustāt, to-day dotted with the remains of Napoleon's windmills), or one on the banks of the Nile (*op. cit.*, p. 113).

<sup>(3)</sup> This area to-day is either covered with houses or mounds of debris, and no sand is visible until one comes to Abbassiya. However, excavations at the Burg az-Zafar (the north-eastern angle of Saladin's enclosure) have shown that there is fine yellow sand at a depth of about 7 metres below the present ground level. The foundations of the Burg az-Zafar rest on this stratum.

<sup>(4)</sup> That part of this canal which passed through Cairo was filled up at the end of the nineteenth century, and its place taken by the tram line which runs from the Mosque of Sayeda Zenab to adh-Dhāhir. This street bears the name of Shari'a Khalīg al-Maṣrī.

<sup>(5)</sup> For a discussion of this topography see RAVAISSE, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la Topographie du Caire*, M. M. A. F. C., I, pp. 415-419.

al-Mu'izz, and when the notables of Fustāṭ came next morning to congratulate him, they found that the foundations had already been excavated. He made an enclosure, about 1200 yards square, of sun-dried bricks (*tūb*)<sup>(1)</sup>. Maqrizī says that in his day a long section of this wall still existed « 50 cubits behind the present wall » (i. e. Saladin's), between the Bab al-Barqīya and the Darb Baṭūṭ, until it was destroyed in 803 (1400/1). He remarks on the astonishing size of the bricks — 1 cubit long and 2/3 of a cubit wide — and says that the wall was thick enough for two horsemen to ride abreast<sup>(2)</sup>. It is curious to find that Yāqūt<sup>(3)</sup> uses the very same expression when speaking of the thickness of the walls of the Qaṣr of al-Mahdiyya, the first capital of the Fāṭimids. The reason for broad ramparts is sufficiently obvious. It is to enable the body of men defending the wall being rapidly rushed to any spot threatened by escalade or otherwise. As early as Roman times it was the practice of the besiegers to construct great towers of wood, moveable and higher than the walls to be attacked. These, when brought up to the walls, commanded the ramparts and, by means of flying bridges, allowed a storming party to be thrown upon them. Unless the ramparts were broad the besieged would only be able to oppose a single line of men to a deep column of attack<sup>(4)</sup>. It was to be a fortified enclosure containing two palaces<sup>(5)</sup> for the Khalif, Government Offices, and quarters for the garrison. There were also many other buildings, such as the Treasury, Mint, Library, the Imperial Mausoleum, Arsenal, Stables, etc.

<sup>(1)</sup> IBN DUQMAQ, V, p. 36, l. 6; MAQRIZI, *Khitaṭ*, I, p. 377, l. 13 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 81). See also IBN LYĀS, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, I, p. 45, l. 12; and VAN BERCHEM, *Notes*, p. 38.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Khitaṭ*, I, 377, l. 33 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 82-83). Van Berchem suggests (*Notes*, p. 39, n. 1) that the cubit spoken of by Maqrizī is the *dhirā' baladī*, the base of the whole Egyptian system of measurement. It measures .578 m., which gives  $58 \times 38.5$  cm. as the size of the bricks used. This may be regarded as a certain, for Maqrizī's measurement of the south side of the Mosque of 'Amr as 190 cubits gives 109.82 m. on this basis, and its actual length is 109.20 internally.

<sup>(3)</sup> IV, p. 694, l. 20, quoted by REITENEYER, *Städtegründungen*, p. 139.

<sup>(4)</sup> See VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *History of Architecture*, Macdermott's, transl., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 24-25.

<sup>(5)</sup> The Eastern or Great Palace and the Western or Lesser Palace.

The intention of Gōhar is very clearly expressed by Ibn Duqmāq<sup>(1)</sup> who says that he «built palaces for his master so that he and his friends and their armies were separate from the general public, as [later on] was the custom with the kings who were sons of ‘Abd al-Mumīn, and who did so in Marrākesh and Tlemcen and other places».

It was first named al-Manṣūrīya, *The Victorious*, evidently after the palace-city al-Manṣūrīya, founded outside Qairawān by al-Manṣūr billāh, the father of al-Mu‘izz. This coincidence in names struck Kay, who remarks<sup>(2)</sup> that the foundation of an isolated and fortified palace-city appears to have been simply in accordance with the already established custom of the Fātimid Court<sup>(3)</sup>, and that al-Manṣūrīya, which neither became the nucleus of a new city nor superseded Qairawān, the ancient capital, was doubtless the prototype of al-Qāhira. It is pretty evident, as Reitemeyer has pointed out<sup>(4)</sup>, that Gōhar must have had orders to build a palace-city which should stand in the same relationship to Fustāt as Manṣūrīya did to Qairawān, and in this connection it is interesting to note that two of the gates of Manṣūrīya, according to al-Bakrī<sup>(5)</sup> were named Bāb Zuwayla and Bāb al-Futūḥ, names which we shall see adopted for two of the gates of Cairo. It recalls in many of its aspects the arrangement at Pekin, of the Chinese City, the Tartar City and the «Forbidden City», as laid out by Kubilai Qān three centuries later<sup>(6)</sup>. As Kay has pointed out, there is nothing to show that either Gōhar or his master intended to found a new city in the ordinary sense of the word,

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<sup>(1)</sup> V, p. 36, ll. 7-8. Maqrīzī, however (I, p. 364, l. 26; Casanova's transl., IV, p. 49; also translated in REITEMEYER, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*, p. 193) is not so specific.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Al-Qāhira and its Gates*, J. R. A. S., 1882, p. 233.

<sup>(3)</sup> And of the Aghlabids before them. The first act of Ibrāhīm, the founder of the dynasty, was to build al-‘Abbāsīya, a royal enclosure, three miles to the south of Qairawān, to which it bore the same relationship as al-Manṣūrīya did later on; see BALĀDHURĪ, p. 234; Hitti's transl., p. 371; AL-BAKRĪ, p. 28; de Slane's transl., pp. [70-71] 64; IBN AL-ATHĪR, VI, p. 107; IBN AL-‘ADHĀRĪ, I, p. 84; Fagnan's transl., I, p. 112; etc.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Städtegründungen*, p. 114.

<sup>(5)</sup> P. 25; de Slane's transl., p. 64 [58].

<sup>(6)</sup> See YULE's *Marco Polo* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), I, pp. 392-378.

or foresaw what afterwards happened, viz : — that the population of the triple city Fustāt-al-Askar-al-Qatai would gradually move to the immediate vicinity of the Imperial stronghold and, eventually, on the extinction of the dynasty by Saladin in 567 (1171), would overflow into the ~~town~~ and erect mosques and secular buildings on the site of its rapidly decaying pavilions. Until then no person was allowed to enter the walls of al-Qāhira but the soldiers of the garrison and the highest officials of the State <sup>(1)</sup>.

As for its site, Maqrīzī says <sup>(2)</sup> that Gōhar wished it to become a fortress placed between the Qarmathians and the town of Miṣr, so as to protect the approaches to the latter.

Under a dynasty like the Fāṭimids, who stood for mysticism, such an important operation as the foundation of a city could not be undertaken without the assistance of astrologers <sup>(3)</sup>. Gōhar, therefore, had them summoned and told them to choose a propitious moment for the foundation of the town, so that the Fāṭimid dynasty would never be dispossessed of it. All along the line of trenches, dug to receive the foundations of the walls, were fixed posts, connected by cords on which were hung bells, so that when the exact moment arrived the astrologers could send a signal down the line. They told the workmen to stand by, ready to throw into the trenches the stones and mortar which were placed within their reach, but before the right moment arrived, a crow alighted on the cord, the bells tinkled and the workmen, thinking that the signal had been given by the astrologers, set to work. At this moment the planet Mars

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, J. R. A. S., 1882, pp. 230-231. He adds that both Ibn Khallikān and Abu'l Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Bardī refer to Gōhar's foundation as *al-Qaṣr*.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 361, l. 3 (transl., IV, p. 42); and KAV, *ibid.*, p. 230).

<sup>(3)</sup> The same idea prevailed at the foundation of Baghdād, the first brick being placed in position on a day and at an hour which had been fixed beforehand by the astrologer Naubakht (al-Khaṭīb, Salmon's text, p. 1; transl., p. 76 and Ya'qūbi, p. 238. l. 15, who says that he was assisted by the Jewish astrologer Māshā Allāh ibn Sarīya); and at the foundation of Dīn Panāh, one of the Seven Cities of Dehli, by Humāyūn. «In the middle of the sacred Muḥarram 940 (August 1533) at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers», Humāyūn put a brick on the earth and then all his court did the same, and on the same date work was commenced on the palace; see CARR STEPHEN, *Archaeology of Delhi*, p. 185.

was in the ascendant; this planet was for them Qāhir al-Falak, the Ruler of the Sky, and this they considered an evil omen<sup>(1)</sup>. It would appear from the somewhat disjointed account of Maqrīzī<sup>(2)</sup> that the new city was first named al-Manṣūrīya, evidently after the palace-city founded outside Qairawān by the third Fātimid Khalif, al-Manṣūr billah, and that it was only when al-Mu'izz came to Egypt four years later and, from his own

<sup>(1)</sup> MAQRĪZĪ, I, p. 377, l. 19 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 377 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 81-82); Anon. Gotha M.S., transl. by REITENMEYER, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*, p. 189; RAVAISSE, *Essai*, loc. cit., I, p. 420. Many examples of the complete lack of system in MAQRĪZĪ's *Khīṭaṭ* might be given, even if one confined oneself to his account of the Fātimids. In this he describes twice over the flight of Sa'īd (later 'Ubaydallāh) to Egypt and Morocco and his arrest and imprisonment at Sigilmāsa, then he gives the history of each of the Fātimid Khalifs from al-Mahdī to the extinction of the dynasty by Saladin. After this he comes back and describes the site chosen for Cairo, the extent of that city, and then the victorious arrival of Gōhar and the foundation of the city, together with a certain amount of information about the Fātimid Palace. He then relates its fate under the Ayyūbids, after which comes a chapter full of extracts and verses collected from many authors. He then describes the main arteries of medieval Cairo as they were in his day, and finally takes us right back to the building of its first wall by Gōhar and the story about the astrologers.

We have another instance of this method in his account of the enclosure of Saladin. He first describes the works executed by him in 566 H. (I, p. 379), apparently getting his date from Ibn Abi Tay, and in his second volume, coming back to the subject, gives a quotation from Imād ad-Dīn which refers to the more ambitious scheme commenced by Saladin in 572 H. (II, p. 233, l. 22). It is obvious that he does not realise that these two accounts refer to two distinct phases of Saladin's work; the insight of Casanova (*Citadelle*, M. M. A. F. C., VI, pp. 535-538), however, has made this clear, and my own archæological examination of the walls has confirmed it; see my *Archæological Researches at the Citadel of Cairo*, B. I. F. A. O., XXIII.

This complete lack of method observable in Maqrīzī, is of course chiefly due to his «Scissors and paste» method of compilation, the works of many authors being drawn upon but not digested. Nevertheless as many (three-quarters according to Guest) of these works no longer exist, MAQRĪZĪ's *Khīṭaṭ* derives enormous value from this fact, and, in spite of the above criticism, it is easy to see with Guest that «the diligence and learning of the writer of *El Khīṭaṭ* cannot but command admiration. He has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large quantity of information that would but for him have passed into oblivion» *of Writers, Books and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzī in this Khīṭaṭ*; J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 196.

reading of the horoscope, saw a good omen in this fact, that the name of al-Qāhira — «the Subjugator» or «the Triumphant» — was given to the town. Maqrīzī says that they made the walls of brick and called the town al-Manṣūrīya until al-Muʿizz, on his arrival four years later (7 Ramaḍān 362 = 11<sup>th</sup> June 973)<sup>(1)</sup>, changed its name to al-Qāhira, although, about seven lines later, he tells the story of the astrologers in such a way that one might think the name of al-Qāhira had been given to it there and then. It is Ravaisse<sup>(2)</sup> who has made this last point clear, a point that Lane-Poole appears to have missed<sup>(3)</sup>. Becker, in his article on Cairo in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (I, p. 821) adopts Ravaisse's view.

The story about the astrologer and the crow is so clear and circumstantial that none of the writers who have discussed the foundation of Cairo have thought of doubting its authenticity<sup>(4)</sup>. It appears to have escaped their notice that a nearly similar story is told by Masʿūdī (A. D. 943) in his obviously legendary account of the founding of Alexandria by Alexander the Great. He says that the workmen, by order of Alexander, placed themselves along the lines marked out for the new town. Stakes were fixed in the ground at intervals along these lines, and a cord was attached to them, one end of which was fixed to a marble pillar in front of the King's tent. Bells were attached to the cord and the workmen waited for a signal to be given, on hearing which they were all at the same moment to start work on the foundations. Alexander hoped by this means to ensure that a fortunate hour and horoscope should

<sup>(1)</sup> IBN HAMMĀD, p. 44, transl., p. 68; and IBN AL-ʿADHĀRĪ, I, p. 237; transl., I, p. 333. Maqrīzī (*Khitaṭ*, I, p. 277, ll. 18-19) says 5<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Essai*, loc. cit., I, p. 420, n. 2.

<sup>(3)</sup> *History of Egypt*, p. 103.

<sup>(4)</sup> E. g. VANSLEB, *Nouvelle relation*, pp. 117-19; GRANGER, *Relation du Voyage*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., pp. 136-8; FOURMONT, *Description des plaines d'Héliopolis et de Memphis*, pp. 19-21; MARCEL, *Égypte*, p. 100; CURZON (R), *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 24-5; MRS. POOLE, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, p. 135; *Le Caire*, pp. 55-6; VAUJANY, *Le Caire*, pp. 98-100; ABBATTE, *B. I. É.*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, t. 1, p. 17; LANE-POOLE, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 24-5; his *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 105; and his *Cairo (in the Mediæval Towns Series)* pp. 118-119. BECKER'S art. *Cairo* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, p. 821; TODD, *Banks of the Nile*, pp. 55-56; and O'LEARY, *Short History of the Fātimid Khalifate*, p. 122.

prevail at the foundation of the town. But alas! when the day and moment chosen had arrived, his head felt heavy and he slept, and a crow at a chance moment alighted on the line, set the bells ringing, and the workmen set to work. Alexander awoke and, when he realised what had happened, said *al had wished one thing, but God wished otherwise* <sup>(1)</sup>.

Thus it would appear that the story related by Maqrīzī had been in circulation twenty six years before the foundation of Cairo, the town to which he applies it. This puts the matter in quite a new light; Maqrīzī's account can no longer be accepted without great reserve, in fact, I consider that the foregoing fully entitles us to regard it as a legend.

THE WALLS AND GATES. — The outline of the enclosure of Gōhar can be traced throughout the greater part of its circuit with considerable accuracy, thanks to the information given by Maqrīzī, except that part between the Bāb an-Naṣr and Bāb al-Barqīya for which we have no details. Owing to the fact that the preliminary work was done at night in great haste, it was observed on the following morning that there were irregularities in the lay-out of the palace, the lines not being straight <sup>(2)</sup>. No doubt this was the case with the city walls also. Nevertheless it formed a fairly regular square, oriented approximately to the four cardinal points. The south side faced Fustāṭ, the west ran along the canal, the east faced the Muqāṭṭam, and the north the open country.

There were seven gates, as follows : — in the south wall the double arched Bāb Zuwayla <sup>(3)</sup>; in the west wall the Bāb al-Farag and the Bāb

<sup>(1)</sup> MAS'ŪDĪ, *Prairies*, II, pp. 423-5.

<sup>(2)</sup> IḤṢ DUQNĀQ, V, p. 36, l. 18; QALQASHANDĪ, p. 349; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 68; and MAQRĪZĪ, *op. cit.*, I, p. 361; l. 28; (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 12). See also RAVAISSE, *Essai*, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 420-21, and III, p. 112.

<sup>(3)</sup> MAQRĪZĪ, *op. cit.*, I, p. 380, ll. 25-9 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 39) says *«this gate, when the Qa'id Gōhar founded Cairo, consisted of two doors, side by side, near the masjid known under the name of Sām, son of Nūḥ. It was by one of these that al-Mu'izz entered when he came to Cairo, and it was this one which was next the mosque, of which there remains to-day a vault, whence the name of Bāb al-Qūs (Gate of the Arch) given to it. It was preferred by the public: they entered and left by it, while the other gate was not used; it was a common saying that whoever*

Sā'ada; on the north the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb an-Naṣr; and on the east the Bāb Barqīya and the Bāb al-Qarrāṭīn (later re-named Bāb al-Maḥrūq). None of these gates exists to-day, but the site of many of them can be fixed with great accuracy, as Ravaisse and Casanova have shown.

**THE FIRST BĀB ZUWAYLA.** — The site of the first Bāb Zuwayla is fixed by the statement of Qalqāshandī and Maqrīzī that a fragment of it, which still existed in his day, was near the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ. If one enters by the present Bāb Zuwayla and walks on, leaving the Mosque of al-Muayyad on the left, one comes almost immediately to a late Turkish sebīl (called the Aqqadīn School on the 1/5000 map of the Survey). At the corner nearest the Bāb Zuwayla is a little door leading to the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ, which gives us our fixed point <sup>(1)</sup>.

**THE BĀB AL-FARAG.** — The site of the Bāb al-Farag is not so clearly indicated, but Casanova <sup>(2)</sup> has collected all the passages in Maqrīzī relating to it, as follows : —

(1) « There were in the west side of Cairo, that is to say the side which faces the Grand Canal, two gates; one, the Bāb as-Sā'ada, the other, Bāb al-Farag » <sup>(3)</sup>. Other passages also place this gate in the west side <sup>(4)</sup>.

(2) « The *rab'* of the sultan outside the Bāb Zuwayla between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag. This region is known to-day under this

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passed through the other never succeeded in any affair. This gate (i. e. the unlucky one) has disappeared without leaving any trace. A similar account is given by QALQASHANDĪ, p. 353; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 69. The Bāb Zuwayla took its name from a tribe who occupied a suburb of al-Maḥdiya. This tribe had provided a contingent to Gōhar's army and, on the foundation of the city, had been allotted a quarter near this gate.

<sup>(1)</sup> See RAVAISSE, *Essai*, loc. cit., I, pp. 421, n. 3, and 440-441. He says that it is also known as the Mosque of Ibn al-Banā, and that it was formerly a synagogue called the Synagogue of Sām ibn Nūḥ, which the Khalīf al-Ḥākim had turned into a mosque. The present building, however, is modern.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Citadelle*, loc. cit., pp. 526-7.

<sup>(3)</sup> I, p. 362, l. 8.

<sup>(4)</sup> I, p. 364, l. 11; I, p. 380, l. 23; II, p. 24, l. 3.

name : they call it *Taht ar-Rab'* . . . . . <sup>(1)</sup>. *Taht ar-Rab'* still exists.

(3) «In the middle of Gumāda II, 818 they commenced to destroy the stone wall between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag» <sup>(2)</sup>.

Casanova adds that a street — *Sikket el-Cheykh Farag* — which may well be a souvenir of this gate, is shown on Napoleon's map of 1798, at the side of Sharia Taht ar-Rab' near the Khalīg.

I therefore conclude that it was at the south end of the west side, and not at the west end of the south side, as Casanova places it on his map (see his pl. II), contrary to the express statement of Maqrīzī, four times repeated, that it was in the west side.

We must now try to fix the site of this angle of the wall. If we draw an imaginary line westwards from the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūh, we have, just south of it, a street the west part of which is called Sikket an-Nabawīya and the east part Sharia al-Ashrāqīya. To the north of this imaginary line we have innumerable little streets, each of which ends in a *cul-de-sac*, instead of opening into the Sikket an-Nabawīya. Why do all these twisted alleys stop dead in this way? I suggest that they all stopped short at the wall of Gōhar, which ran just south of them, and that the street plan has survived to this day. We have another instance of a similar thing in the fact that there is not a single opening on the north side of the Sharia Taht ar-Rab', which we know ran along outside the south wall of Badr al-Gamālī, although this wall was removed by al-Muayyad 500 years ago. If my suggestion is correct, the south wall must have joined the west wall on the site of the present Egyptian Court of Appeal, and it is therefore here that I place the Bāb al-Farag.

THE BĀB AS-SA'ĀDA. — Ravaisse <sup>(3)</sup> puts both the Bāb al-Fārag and Bāb as-Sa'āda on the west side, but places the latter nearest the south-west angle of the city. As Maqrīzī speaks of the *rab'* of the Sultan outside the Bāb Zuwayla between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag, it surely follows that these two gates were neighbours, and that the Bāb as-Sa'āda was beyond, i. e. further north than, the Bāb al-Farag.

The Bāb as-Sa'āda is placed close to the south end of the west wall.

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<sup>(1)</sup> I, p. 379, l. 32. — <sup>(2)</sup> I, p. 379, l. 32. — <sup>(3)</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 421 and pl. 2.

Casanova, because of the passage in Maqrīzī<sup>(1)</sup> according to which it took its name from Sa'adat ibn Ḥayyān, who came from Morocco after Gōhar had built Cairo, and installed himself at Gīza. Gōhar went to meet him, whereupon he struck camp and entered Cairo by this gate in Ragab 360 (May 971), Casanova<sup>(2)</sup> concludes that he must have crossed to Fustāt by the Bridge of Boats and marched on Cairo from the south, and as he entered by the Bāb Sa'ada, which we know was in the west side, he concludes that it must have been very near the south end of that side. If Sa'adat ibn Ḥayyān had been intent on entering Cairo by the first gate he came to, this argument might have weight, but as we have seen that he must have refrained from entering by the Bāb al-Farag, the first gate he would come to, this cannot have been the case. He evidently chose the Bāb Sa'ada as being the most convenient route of access to the palace or other buildings to which duty called him. A street called Darb Sa'ada preserves the memory of this gate, but as this street runs parallel to the Khalig from Bāb al-Khalq to the Mosque of Sultan Gaqmāq, it is possible that the Bāb Sa'ada stood as far north as the latter.

THE FIRST BĀB AL-FUTŪḤ. — Maqrīzī says<sup>(3)</sup> that, of the first Bāb al-Futūḥ, there still existed in his day a fragment of the vault and the left pier, together with some lines of Kufic inscription, and that this fragment was at the head of the Ḥāret Bahā ad-Dīn to the south, beneath the wall of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. This mosque was commenced in Ramaḍān 380 (November/December, 990) and was outside the walls of that day, so the first Bāb al-Futūḥ must have stood quite near its western corner.

THE FIRST BĀB AN-NAṢR. — The first Bāb an-Naṣr likewise occupied a site well within that of the present one. Maqrīzī<sup>(4)</sup> speaks of having seen a fragment of one side of it opposite the west corner of the Madrasat al-Qāṣid, where there was a *raḥaba* (open square) which separated this madrasa from the two southern doors of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. This

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 383, l. 4; and Casanova's transl., IV, p. 95.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 526-7.

<sup>(3)</sup> I, p. 363, l. 2 and p. 381, l. 28-30 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 43 and 92. also in VAN BERCHEM, *Notes*, p. 58).

<sup>(4)</sup> I, p. 361, l. 38 and p. 381, l. 20-21 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 43 and 91).

madrasa no longer exists, but a *Mosquée du Cheikh Kased* appears on Napoleon's plan of 1798. I therefore place it near the southern corner of the Mosque of al-Hākim, and astride the Sharia Bāb an-Naṣr, as it seems probable that the alignment of this street has not altered <sup>(1)</sup>.

THE BĀB AL-BARQIYA. — The site of the Bāb al-Barqīya is extremely difficult to fix, for Maqrīzī's chapter on the Gates of Cairo stops short after the heading «Bāb al-Barqīya». Casanova adds that this paragraph remains blank in all the Paris MSS. of Maqrīzī that he has consulted, and that in some of them even the heading Bāb al-Barqīya is lacking <sup>(2)</sup>. No gate of this name exists to-day; it is even absent from the map of 1798. Nor do we know in any precise manner the position of the northern part of the eastern wall.

THE BĀB AL-QARRĀTĪN. — The site of the Bāb al-Qarrātīn may be fixed with comparative accuracy, as the site of the gate which replaced it is still known, under the name Bāb al-Maḥrūq or «Burnt Gate». This name was given to it owing to the action of a party of 700 Mamlūks who fled from Cairo on learning of the execution of the Emīr Aqṭāi on 21<sup>st</sup> Sha'bān 652 (6<sup>th</sup> October 1254). During the night they left their houses and proceeded towards this gate, which they found closed, it being the custom at that time to close all the gates of Cairo at night. They therefore set fire to the great door, and escaped through the breach made by the flames; henceforth this gate was known as the Bāb al-Maḥrūq <sup>(3)</sup>. As Maqrīzī tells us that there existed until 803 (1400/1) a great fragment of the brick wall of Gōhar between the Bāb al-Barqīya and the Darb Baṭūṭ, and that this wall was 50 cubits behind the wall of Saladin <sup>(4)</sup>, we may place the site of the first Bāb al-Qarrātīn at that distance within the present Bāb al-Maḥrūq.

<sup>(1)</sup> At the Bāb al-Qanṭara, for example, the alignment has remained true.

<sup>(2)</sup> See his translation, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>(3)</sup> Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 383 (Casanova's transl., *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 96-97), also his *Kitāb as-Sulūq*, translated by Quatremère under the title *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, I, pp. 47-49, where the date, however, is given as 3<sup>rd</sup> Sha'bān.

<sup>(4)</sup> *ibid.*, p. 377, l. 34 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 82-83; the translation says 550 cubits — a misprint for 50).

If we draw a line eastwards from the Mosque of Sām Ibn Nūḥ to a point immediately alongside the site indicated above for the first Bāb al-Qarrātīn, we shall probably be very nearly on the line of the wall of Gōhar, and it is interesting to note that this line can be drawn between the ends of a number of blind alleys, which stop on either side of it, just as we found when we drew a line westwards from the same mosque. It is only crossed by one zig-zag street, the Sharia Hidān al-Mōṣl, in which stands the Mosque of the Emīr Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī.

THE BĀB AL-QAṬARA. — Two years after the foundation of Cairo, Gōhar added another gate, the Bāb al-Qaṭara, which took its name from the bridge (*qaṭara*) which he threw across the Grand Canal, so as to put the town in communication with the port of al-Maqs during the advance of the Qarmathians, in Shawwāl 360 (July/Aug. 971)<sup>(1)</sup>. I should add that a bridge, the Qaṭarat al-Gedīd, existed here until the Canal was filled up at the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> Century. It is Casanova again who has collected the passages in Maqrīzī which refer to this gate<sup>(2)</sup>. I have altered the order of them so as to improve the logical sequence and clearness of the demonstration.

(1) «The Khaṭṭ (quarter) of the Bāb al-Qaṭara was known under the name of al-Muratāḥia and al-Faraḥia<sup>(3)</sup>. This latter quarter according to Maqrīzī<sup>(4)</sup> is the same as the Sūq al-Amīr al-Guyūsh».

(2) «The Sūq al-Amīr al-Guyūsh leads to the Bāb al-Qaṭara»<sup>(5)</sup>. Abu'l-Maḥāsin tells us that the name of Amīr al-Guyūsh was changed to Margūsh<sup>(6)</sup>. We must therefore conclude that the Bāb al-Qaṭara was at the point where this street, which still exists under the latter name, crosses the Khalig.

(3) «Close to the Bāb al-Futūḥ is a road which goes to the quarter

<sup>(1)</sup> MAQRĪZĪ, I, p. 382, l. 38 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 95 and QALQASHANDĪ, p. 354; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 70.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Citadelle*, loc. cit., pp. 528-9.

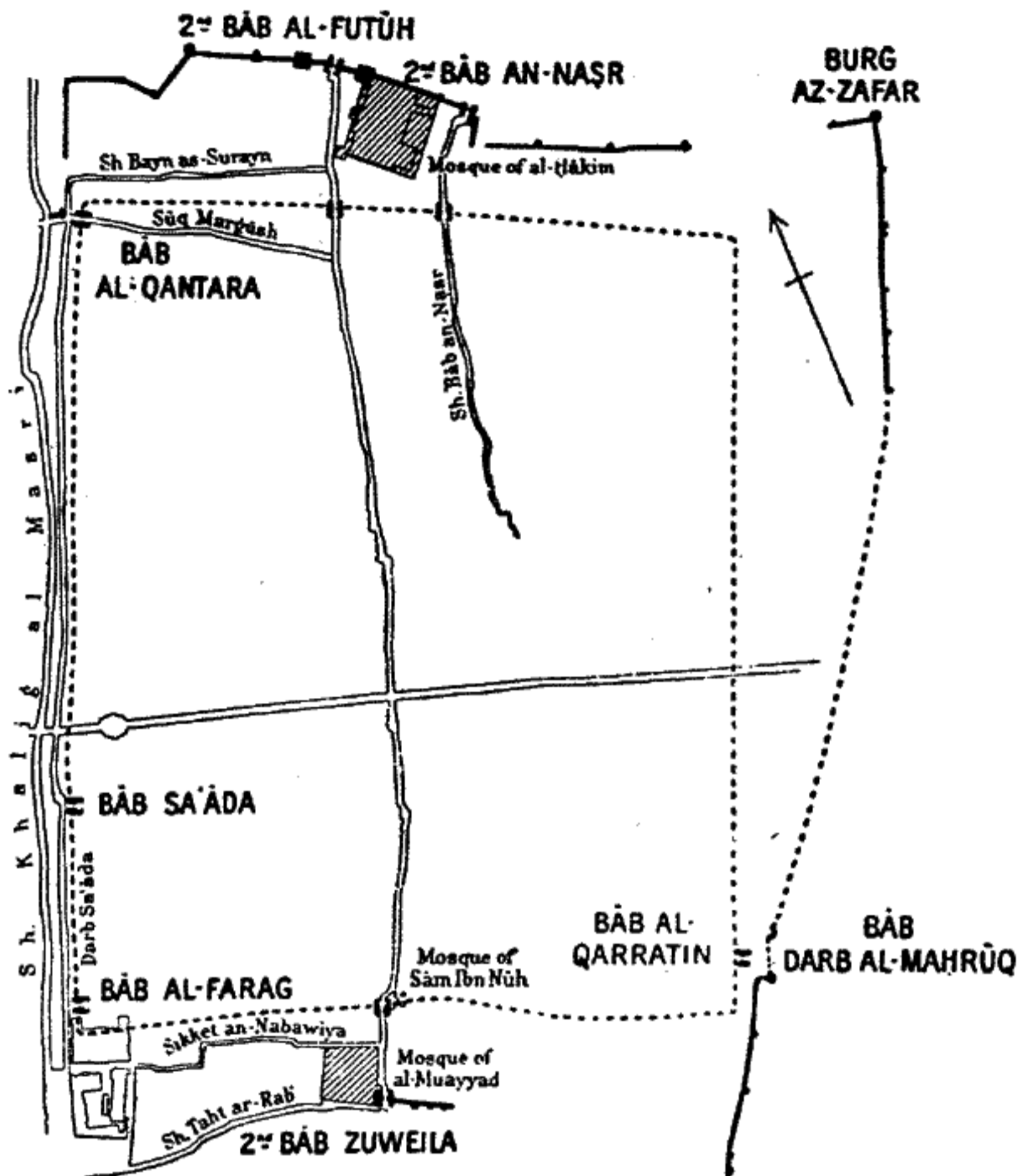
<sup>(3)</sup> II, p. 14, l. 21, and ~~II, p. 22, l. 1~~

<sup>(4)</sup> II, p. 36, l. 1.

<sup>(5)</sup> I, p. 385, l. 34.

<sup>(6)</sup> Ed. Juynboll, II, p. 420, quoted by ~~Maqrīzī~~ Casanova; also RAVAISSE, *op. cit.*, 2<sup>e</sup> partie p. 39, n. 2.

of Bahā ad-Dīn and the Bāb al-Qanṭara»<sup>(1)</sup>. This quarter according to Maqrīzī<sup>(2)</sup>, lay between the old and the new Bāb al-Futūḥ, and therefore



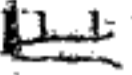
..... Original enclosure of Gôhar

The Walls and Gates of Cairo.

between the old and new enclosure. As a matter of fact a street, called Sharia Beyn as-Sureyn («Between the two walls») goes westwards from the south-west corner of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, where we have placed

<sup>(1)</sup> I, p. 376, l. 7. — <sup>(2)</sup> II, p. 2.

the first Bāb al-Futūḥ and, more remarkable still, makes a right-angled turn at its west end to join the Sūq Margūsh at the very point which we have suggested as the site of the Bāb al-Qanṭara.

At this very point on the north side of the junction of the roadway with the  Patricolo, during excavations about twelve years ago, found the base of the north tower of a gateway, with a half round front similar to the towers flanking the Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, in that the plan shows that the curved front portion was decorated with a sunk panel curved on plan.

The lower part of a spiral staircase is visible in the hinder part of the tower and, to the north of it, far below the present surface of the ground, is the lower part of a stone wall which runs north parallel to the Sharia Khalīg al-Maṣrī, that is to say, the line of the old Canal.

AN IRON GATE TRANSFERRED FROM FUSTĀṬ. — Reitemeyer remarks that just as the Arabs, when founding new towns in 'Irāq, were fond of transferring the doors of old towns to the new ones <sup>(1)</sup> so Gōhar, when founding Cairo, transferred thither an iron door from the Palace of the Emirate at Fustāṭ <sup>(2)</sup>, but we are not told exactly where he placed it <sup>(3)</sup>. He was probably anxious to emulate al-Mahdiyya, which, according to al-Bakrī, had two doors entirely of iron <sup>(4)</sup>. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of

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<sup>(1)</sup> For example the gate of the old Persian town of Zendaward was transferred to Wāṣit, and afterwards from Wāṣit to Baghdād shortly after its foundation; TABARĪ, III, p. 321, l. 5.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115 (quoting IBN DUNQĀQ, IV, p. 10). Also recorded by Qalqashandī (Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 57), who says that this door had been added to the Palace by the Ikshīd in 331 (942/3). There may have been others also, for Muqaddasī says that the town was fortified and had iron gates (p. 200, and Ranking's transl., in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1258, p. 328).

<sup>(3)</sup> Qalqashandī merely says it was transferred to the Qaṣr. Lane-Poole, speaking of the attack made by the Qarmathians in 971 A. D., says that the *Khandaq*, or great dyke, (see below) had only one entrance which was closed by an iron gate (*History of Egypt*, p. 106). As usual he does not state his authority. This may have been the same gate, transferred once more.

<sup>(4)</sup> P. 29; de Slane's transl; p. [74] 66 the *Kitāb al-Istibṣar*, p. 8; Fagnan's transl., p. 14; and the *Rud al-Qartās*, Beaumier's transl., p. 329. Muqaddasī, when speaking of the Ribāṭ Āb-i-Shuturān, says that it was the most beautiful ribāṭ in Persia,

this practice is the following : 'Ammūriya (Amorium in Phrygia)<sup>(1)</sup> was captured by the Khalif al-Mu'tasim in 223 (838), after a siege of 55 days, and levelled to the ground, the town gate being taken to Sāmarrā<sup>(2)</sup>. After Sāmarrā was abandoned it was taken to Raqqa<sup>(3)</sup> but in 353 (964) it was sent to the Qarmathians by Saif ad-Dawla to help in satisfying their demands for iron<sup>(4)</sup>. We next hear of its being employed at Aleppo by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf in 654 (1256) in his restoration of the Bāb Qinnasrīn. When the Mongols took Aleppo in 1258 it was the first thing that they looted, but Baybars recaptured it when he took the city, tore off the plates of iron with which it was faced, and transported them, together with the great nails, to Cairo<sup>(5)</sup>.

THE KHANDAQ OR TRENCH. — We have seen that the site of al-Qāhira was chosen for the express purpose of covering the approaches to the triple city of Fustāt-al-Askar-al-Qatai, and of defending it against attacks by the Qarmathians who devastated the plain and threatened Fustāt. As part of this scheme of defence, Gōhar ordered the digging of a great trench, ten cubits in depth and width, which ran west from the Muqattam to

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and had a door of iron. It had been built by a Governor of Sistān under the Samānids, c. 315 (927); see HERZFELD, *Khurasan*, in *Der Islam*, XI, p. 166. The only gateway of Mayyāfarīqīn (the Greek Martyropolis) in Nāṣir-i-Khusrau's day (1046) had a solid iron door, into whose construction no wood entered; Sebeker's transl., p. 25; and LE STRANGE, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 111-112. He also tells us that at Diyārbekr, there was an inner and outer circle of fortifications each with four gates entirely of iron; *ibid.*, p. 27. Two pairs of fine doors entirely of iron still exist in the great iron gateway of the Citadel at Aleppo, one in the outer entrance tower, the other at the inner end of the main gateway. Both bear inscriptions of Malik az-Zāhir Ghāzī; the former dated 608 (1211/2) the latter 606 (1209/10); see VAN BERCHEM, *Inscriften aus Syrien*, pp. 39-40; and VAN BERCHEM and FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, pp. 211-213; also mentioned by H. COWPER SWAINSON, *Through Turkish Arabia*, p. 91.

<sup>(1)</sup> The modern Assar Qal'a; HAMILTON, *Researches in Asia Minor*, I, p. 451 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Description of Aleppo*, MS. ar. 1622, Bibliothèque nationale, extract translated by BLOCHET in *R. O. L.*, VI, p. 31, and the article 'Amorium' in the *Encyc. of Islam*, I, p. 334.

<sup>(3)</sup> BLOCHET, *ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>(4)</sup> DE GOËJE, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>(5)</sup> BLOCHET, *ibid.*, p. 237-238.

Miniet al-Asbagh. It was commenced Sha'bān 360 (June 971) and very quickly finished<sup>(1)</sup>. Two attacks by the Qarmathians are recorded shortly after this, one in Rabī' I, 361 (Dec. 971) and the other in 363 (974); the dyke was crossed on the second occasion, but Cairo held out<sup>(2)</sup>.

SUN-BAKED BRICKS EMPLOYED FOR WALLS AND GATES. — Unfortunately we have not a single architectural detail on the walls and gates built by Gōhar, except the statement of Maqrīzī, quoted above, that the sun-baked bricks of the fragment seen by him near the Bāb Bārqiya measured a cubit by two-thirds of a cubit. Large bricks are a characteristic of early work in Persia and Mesopotamia. Usher<sup>(3)</sup> says that the bricks composing the ancient wall at Kuyunjik (Nineveh), averaged 15 inches square by 5 thick. When speaking of the *Ateshgar* near Iṣfahān, where a wall was shewn him as all that remained of the ancient fire temple, he comments again on the great size of the bricks<sup>(4)</sup>. Ferrier saw kiln-baked bricks measuring 20 inches by 15 in the ruins of Balkh<sup>(5)</sup>, and even larger ones « nearly three feet long and four inches thick » scattered about in the Citadel at Farah in Sīstān<sup>(6)</sup>. He also mentions bricks a yard square at Rūdbār and Pulkar on the Helmund<sup>(7)</sup>. Colonel C. E. Yate mentions large flat bricks « say a foot square by two to three inches thick » in a series of mounds and ruins in Sīstān, between Margān and Jalālābād on the Hāmun<sup>(8)</sup> and also in a ruined bridge of two arches called Takht-i-Pūl, near Pulgī<sup>(9)</sup>. At Gumish Teppé (Silver Hill) a mound on the

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<sup>(1)</sup> See KAY, *ibid.*, p. 230, and RAVAISSE, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 421-2, quoting MAQRIZI, *Khitaṭ*, II, pp. 136-9.

<sup>(2)</sup> QUATREMÈRE, *Vie du Khalife Moëzz*, *loc. cit.*, III, pp. 83 and 177-180; also LANE-POOLE, *History of Egypt* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) pp. 106 and 113; and KAY, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

<sup>(3)</sup> *London to Persepolis*, p. 394.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 596.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4. He says that they bore cuneiform inscriptions, which he finished his editor, Captain W. Jesse. I do not know whether this discovery has been confirmed.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 410-1.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 122.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

shores of the Caspian, about twenty feet in height and full of broken bricks, he saw some averaging 14 inches square by 3 1/2 thick<sup>(1)</sup>. Colonel A. C. Yate<sup>(2)</sup> mentions four bridges, the Pūl-i-Khātūn, Maruchak, Tīrpūl and Pūl-i-Khishkī (at the junction of the Khuskh and Murghab rivers) as being built of flat kiln-baked bricks about a foot square. Euan Smith mentions kiln-baked bricks 11 inches square in the ruins of Qalā'i-Fath in Sīstān<sup>(3)</sup>, he also speaks of a reservoir at Nād 'Alī «with enormous bricks»<sup>(4)</sup>. Lady Shiel<sup>(5)</sup> says that the rampart at Veramīn, about half a mile square and strengthened with bastions at short intervals, is constructed of unbaked bricks of large size.

Although there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the above examples, they cannot be exactly dated, nevertheless they serve to show that the use of large bricks was widely spread. We will now consider more exactly dated examples. At Ctesiphon the inner city wall is built on a foundation course of three layers of burnt bricks, stamped with the name of Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B. C.), which had been pillaged from the ruins of Babylon. They measure from 31 to 33 cm. square and vary from 6-7 1/2 cm. in thickness. The bricks of the outer wall and the rest of the inner wall, due to Seleukos Nikator, c. 300 B. C., are about 36 cm. square and 13 cm. thick<sup>(6)</sup>. The bricks used for the great Īwān of Ctesiphon, which Herzfeld has shown to be the work of Shāpūr I (A. D. 241-272), measure 30-32 cm. square and 8-9 cm. thick<sup>(7)</sup>. At Tell Mismai, about two hours ride away, Commander Jones found sun baked bricks 14 inches square, and large kiln baked bricks also<sup>(8)</sup>. Near Dastagird

<sup>(1)</sup> *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 272-3.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Afghan Boundary Commission*, pp. 149 and 189.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Eastern Persia*, I, p. 293.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 299.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, p. 187.

<sup>(6)</sup> SARRE and HERZFELD, *Archäologische Reise*, II, pp. 53-55. — The excavations of Andrae and Koldewey have shown that the bricks used in Assyria and Babylonia from the earliest times were always large. For details see SARRE and HERZFELD, *op. cit.*, II, p. 110, n. 2 (quoting W. ANDRAE, *Festungswerke von Assur*, p. 14; *Anu-und Adad-Tempel*, p. 3; and KOLDEWEY, *Tempel von Babylon*).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76 and 62.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, N. S., Vol. XLIII, p. 81.

Herzfeld found a town wall with bricks 42 cm. square and 13 1/3 cm.<sup>(1)</sup> thick.

The walls of the round city of Baghdād, founded by al-Manṣūr in 145 (762), were built with sun-dried bricks, some of which were square, measuring a cubit each way and weighing 200 ~~naṭl~~ others were a cubit long but only half a cubit wide<sup>(2)</sup>. The enclosing wall of the Mosque at Raqqa c. 154 (770) is built of mud bricks 43 cm. square and 11 cm. thick<sup>(3)</sup>. The latest example known to me occurs at Shurgāz, in the so-called Mil-i-Nadiri, a minaret dating from the xi<sup>th</sup> or xii<sup>th</sup> Century A. D. The kiln-burnt bricks of which it is built measure 14 × 12 × 2 inches<sup>(4)</sup>.

We may therefore assert that the enclosure of Gôhar, judging from the single architectural fact known about it, exhibited Persian influence, for the bricks hitherto used in Egypt were of quite moderate size.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Iransche Felsreliefs*, p. 237. Between each course was a layer of reed matting.

LE STRANGE, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 19, and SARRE-HERZFELD, *op. cit.*, II, p. 108, n° 3.

<sup>(2)</sup> SARRE-HERZFELD, *op. cit.*, II, p. 359-361.

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