

özel binaları bir yana bırakırsak, iki grubun yaklaşık aynı sayıya ulaştığı görülüyor: Memlûklu emirlerin yaptırdıkları eser sayısı 124 iken, Osmanlılar tarafından yaptırılan eser sayısı 125'tir. Ayrıca, yukarıdaki iddianın sahipleri tarafından Osmanlıların bazı Memlûklu eserlerini tamir ettirerek bunların günümüze ulaşmasına imkân verdiği; yani el-Ezher Camii ve Amr İbn el-Âs Camii gibi bazı önemli eski eserlere Osmanlılar tarafından yapılan eklemelere neden hiç değinilmediği de cevaplandırılması gereken önemli bir sorudur.

Bundan dolayı Kahire, çok sayıdaki önemli camiini Osmanlı dönemine borçludur. Bunlar, her ne kadar Memlûklu emirlerinin yaptırdığı büyük binalara (Sultan Hasan Camii veya Medresesi ile Kalavûn, en-Nâsır Muhammed, Berkûk ve Kayıtbay binaları gibi) benzemese de, özel bir mimarî üslubuyla ayrıcalık taşımaktadır. Bunlara örnek olarak Süleyman Paşa Camii (Sâriyetü'l-Cebel) (935 H/1528 M), Mahmûdiye Camii (975 H/1568 M), Sinan Paşa Camii (979 H/1571 M), Melike Safiyye Camii (1019 H/1610 M), yanlışlıkla Tekke olarak bilinen Sultan Mahmûd Medresesi (1164 H/1750 M) ve Muhammed Bey Ebu'l-Zahab Camii (1188 H/1774 M) gibi eserler sayılabilir.

Kahire dünya şehirleri arasında muhteşem abideleriyle temayüz etmektedir. Bu şehir, çok sayıda İslam eserini barındırması bakımından eşsizdir. Ayrıca, Osmanlı dönemini zaman bakımından daha yakın ve süre bakımından daha uzun olarak yaşamış olmasından dolayı bu döneme ait eserlerin sayısı çoktur. Öyle ki, sadece Kahire şehrinde cami, zâviye, tekke, ev, han, sebil, medrese, hamam vb. resmî kayıtları yapılan eserlerin sayısı 228'i bulmaktadır.

Osmanlı dönemi binalarının büyük bir kısmı Memlûklu Mısır mimarisinin tabîî uzantısı sayılmaktadır. Saf Osmanlı üslubunu aksettiren binalar birkaç örnekten ibaret olup bunlar özellikle camilerdir. Cami yapımında, önceden olduğu gibi ve özellikle de mekân böyle bir tasarıma elverdiğinde, büyük cami tarzında inşaatlar devam etmiş; el-Kâhyâ Camii (1147 H/1734 M) örneğinde olduğu gibi dört yandan revakların kuşattığı açık avlulu camiler yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, Dâvûd Paşa Camii gibi tek eyvanlı küçük medreselere benzeyen camiler de vardır.

İç ve dış mekânlarda Memlûklu mimarî tarzına ait ayrıntıların çoğunlukla korunduğu görülmektedir. Cephelerde dikey girintiler, bunların alt kısımlarında pencereler, üst kısımlarında gözpencereler, süslü kemerlerle çevrilmiş kapı girişleri; iç mekânlarda beş

Ayrıca, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Arap ülkelerinde genişlemesi ve mukaddes topraklara yapılan Hac ziyaretini kolaylaştırma gayretleri Kahire için, ve aynı zamanda Şam için, çok faydalı olmuştur. Bunun sonucunda, Hac kabilelerinin toplanma merkezi konumunda olan el-Kasaba çevresindeki ana ticaret bölgeleri gelişmiş ve el-Makrîzî (ö. 1442 M) döneminde 58 olan han sayısı Osmanlılar zamanında 360'a kadar yükselmiştir.

Şunu da belirtmek gerekir ki Osmanlı döneminde Kahire'de gerçekleşen mimarî faaliyetin boyutları, bugüne kadar yazıldığından çok daha büyüktür. Osmanlı fethinin ardından Kahire'de mimarî hareketin durgunlaştığı ileri sürülmüşse de, özellikle o dönemdeki mimarî faaliyetleri konu alan birkaç araştırmacının son yıllarda yaptığı çalışmalar, bu iddiaların ya önyargılardan ya da bilgi eksikliğinden kaynaklandığını ortaya koymuştur⁽³⁾. Osmanlı dönemi öncesinde bağımsız bir devlet olan Mısır'ın bu dönemde yıllık gelirinin bir kısmını merkeze vergi olarak ödeyen bir Osmanlı vilayeti haline gelmesine rağmen, Mısır'daki Osmanlı dönemi mimarî faaliyeti Memlûk dönemiyle rahatça kıyaslanacak kadar çoktur.

Mısır'da vali olarak görev yapan Osmanlı paşaları imar hareketlerini üstlenmişler, ama gayretlerinin çoğunu Bulak, Reşîd ve İskenderiye limanlarında yoğunlaştırmışlardı. Osmanlıların Mısır'ı fethini izleyen birkaç on yıl içinde Bulak'ta toptancı hanları, dükkânlar, mektepler, camiler yapılarak bu limandaki hizmet binaları çoğaltılmıştır. Bu nehir limanında yapılan camiler, Sinan Paşa camii örneğinde görüldüğü gibi, Anadolu ve İstanbul camilerinin üslubunu yansıtmaktadır. Buna rağmen, Bulak gibi ana limanlardaki inşaat faaliyeti süre ve yer olarak sınırlı kalmıştır. Osmanlı paşaları 1580lerin ortalarından başlayarak gayretlerini daha yoğun bir biçimde yerel güçlerle mücadeleye ayırmak zorunda kaldığından imar çalışmaları bu yıllardan sonra azalmış; diğer taraftan, bu mücadeleler çoğu zaman onların azil ve idamlarıyla sonuçlanmıştır.

Osmanlıların Mısır'ı fethiyle Fransızların Mısır'ı işgali arasındaki 1517-1798 döneminde yapılan mimarî eserleri gösteren bir listede⁽⁴⁾ Osmanlı yönetimi tarafından yaptırılan bina sayısı 199 olarak belirtilmiştir. Aynı zaman diliminde Mısır'daki Memlûklu emirleri tarafından inşa ettirilen binaların sayısının ise yaklaşık 233 olduğu görülüyor. Ancak, şehir hayatında büyük önemi bulunan kamu binalarını (cami, medrese, tekke ve sebil gibi) gözönüne alıp ev, saray vb.

⁽³⁾ Mesela bkz. André Raymond, *Le Caire*, 1993; *Le Caire des Janissaires*, 1995; Michael Rogers, "al-Kâhira", *EF*, IV, 1978, p. 424-441.

⁽⁴⁾ 1951'de Mısır'da kadastro ofisi tarafından yayınlanan İslam eserleri listesi.

İbn Haldûn, Sultan Berkûk döneminin başında, 784 H/Ocak 1383 M.de Kahire'yi ziyareti sırasında şunları anlatır: "Orada dünyanın baş şehrini, cihanın bağ ve bahçelerini, milletlerin mahşer gününü ve karınca sürüleri gibi yolları dolduran insanları gördüm. İslam'ın eyvanı, mülkün taht merkezi oradadır ki her tarafında kasırlar ve saraylar bulunmakta, fezalarında da hankâhlar, medreseler ve yıldızlar parlamaktadır... Kentin insanlarla dolup taşan sokaklarında ve her türlü nimetlerle dolu caddelerinde dolaştım."⁽¹⁾ İbn Haldûn, *Mukaddimesi*'nde de şöyle diyor:

"... Bundan dolayı, sanatlar buraya iyice yerleşmiş ve türlü kısımlara ayrılmıştır. İlim eğitimi de bu sanatlar cümlesindedir. Salahaddin-i Eyyubî zamanından ve ondan sonraki dönemlerden bu yana geçen iki yüzyıl içinde Türk devletinde meydana gelen gelişmeler de bu durumu pekiştirmiş ve muhafaza etmiştir. ... Şöyle ki, bu Türk emirleri, devletleri zamanında çokça medrese, zaviye ve ribât yaptırarak, gelir getiren akarlarını buralara vakfetmişlerdir. İşte bunun için vakıflar çoğalmış, bunlardan hasıl olan gelirler ve sağlanan faydalar yüksek meblağlara ulaşmıştır. ... Vakıf gelirlerinden ilim öğrenenlerle öğretenlere ayrılan hisselerin çok olması sebebiyle bunların adedi de çoğalmıştır. İlim tahsil etmek maksadıyla Irak'tan ve Mağrip'ten halk buraya akın etmiş, buradaki ilim pazarı canlılık kazanmış ve ilim ummanı coşmuştur."⁽²⁾

Kahire Osmanlı döneminin başlarında hızlı bir şekilde gelişmiştir. Artan nüfus, şehri mükemmelliğe ulaştıran ciddî bir imar hareketi doğurmuştur. 1700lerde imarda bir doruk noktasına ulaşan Kahire, aynı zamanda da 18. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar dünya ticaretinin önemli merkezlerinden biri olmuştur. Fransa'nın Mısır'ı işgali sırasında hazırlanan ilk haritayı incelediğimizde ve özellikle bunu Memlûk dönemindeki durumla karşılaştırdığımızda bu gelişmeyi açıkça görebiliriz. Avrupa'ya açılan konumu sebebiyle Kahire, Akdeniz çevresindeki en büyük siyasî varlığı temsil eden Osmanlı Devleti'nin gelişen ticaretinden büyük fayda görmüş, doğu ticaretinin ana geçit noktası haline gelmiştir; Ümit Burnu yolunun keşfedilmesi Kahire'yi hemen değil, ancak çok yavaş bir biçimde etkilemiştir. Şehir Osmanlı iç ticaret ekseninin merkezinde olduğundan ve Osmanlı vilayetleri arasında sınır bulunmadığından, mal ve şahısların serbest geçişlerine imkân sağlıyordu.

⁽¹⁾ İbn Haldûn, *et-Ta'rifu bi-İbni Haldûn ve Rihletihî Garben ve Şarken*, inceleme: Muhammed b. Tavîit el-Tancî, Kahire 1951, s. 246-247.

⁽²⁾ *el-İber ve Divânu'l-Mubtede' ve'l-Haber*; Beyrut 1983. c. II, s. 778-779.

Böylece Mısır'da İslam mimarisinde I. Dünya Savaşının başına kadar süren uzun bir Türk dönemi başlamıştır. Bahrî (Türk) Memlûk Devleti (648-791 H/1250-1389 M), Burcî (Çerkez) Memlûk Devleti (784-922 H/1382-1517 M) ve daha sonra, I. Selim'in Mısır'a girmesiyle (1517), Osmanlı hakimiyeti ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu dönem 254 H/868 M'de Ahmed b. Tolun'un gelişiyle başlamış, 202 yıllık Fâtımî devri hariç olmak üzere, Osmanlı tahtına bağlılığıyla bilinen Abbas Hilmi Paşa'nın 18 Aralık 1914 tarihinde İngiliz işgal güçleri tarafından Hidivlikten düşürülerek Hüseyin Kâmil Paşa'nın Sultan unvanı ile Mısır'ın başına getirilmesine ve böylece Mısır'ın Osmanlı Devletiyle olan resmî bağının tamamen koparılmasına kadar sürmüştür. Bütün bu dönem boyunca yapılan mimarî eserler, yönetici zümreyi oluşturan Türklerle Mısırlı geniş halk kitleleri arasındaki ilişkilerin önemli bir ürünü temsil eder; dolayısıyla, bütün yönleriyle incelemeye değer zengin bir araştırma konusu oluşturur. Bu bakımdan, her devirdeki eserlerin bir kısmını inceleyen çalışmalar yapılmışsa da, bu konu yukarıda belirtilen açılardan bir bütün olarak henüz yeterince incelenmiş değildir. Elinizdeki kitap, yaklaşık bin yıllık bir dönemin en az ilgi gösterilen devri olan Osmanlı Devrini, yani 1517-1805 dönemini bu açılardan ele almaktadır.

Bu kitap Mısırlılarla Türkler arasındaki kültür bağını ortaya koymayı hedef alan çalışmalarımızdan biri olup, aynı amaçla yapılmış diğer iki çalışmamız "Mısır'da Türk Kültürünün Tezahürleri" ve "Mısır'da Basılan Türkçe Eserler" konusundadır. Bu iki çalışmadan ilki Mısır kültürü üzerindeki Türk tesirini çeşitli yönleriyle ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. İkincisi ise Mısır'da basılmış bulunan Türk kültürüne dair kaynak eserleri konu almaktadır.

Bazı tarihçilere göre Zengîler, Eyyûbîler ve Memlûklular ayrı devletler değildir; temel esasları ve idarî yapıları aynı kalmış olduğundan, bu üç devlet Selçuklu Devleti'nin bir devamını teşkil etmiştir. Öyle ki üçünün de bayrakları sarı renklidir ve üzerinde kırmızı şahin işareti vardır. Türk yönetimini Arap ülkelerine tanıtan bu devletler Osmanlı hâkimiyetinin bu ülkelerde kolayca yerleşmesine zemin hazırlamıştır.

Şüphesiz, Mısır'da ve diğer Arap ülkelerinde yapılan ve büyük bir kısmı günümüze kadar ulaşan İslam eserlerinin büyük çoğunluğu, bin yıla yakın bir zaman dilimi içinde birbirlerini izlemiş olan Türk devletlerinin, Osmanlı Devletinin ve Mehmet Ali Paşa ailesinin döneminden miras kalmıştır. Ayrıca bu eserler, Mısırlılarla Türkler arasında çeşitli alanlarda gerçekleşmiş olan kültür ve medeniyet etkileşiminin elle tutulur delillerini oluşturmaktadır.

SUNUŞ

Prof. Dr. Ekmeleddin İhsanođlu

Türkler ile Mısırlıların birbirlerini tanımaları, Abbasî devletinin Türk asıllı kumandanlarından Ahmed b. Tolun'un Mısır'a tayin edilmesiyle (254-270 H/868-883 M) başlayan erken bir döneme dayanır. Ahmed b. Tolun yönetiminde kurulan Tolunoğulları Devleti (254-292 H/868-905 M) Mısır'daki ilk Türk devleti olup bunu diğer Türk devletleri ve yönetimleri izlemiştir. İki taraf arasındaki beraberlik, Fatimîler dönemi (358-567 H/969-1171 M) hariç olmak üzere İhşidîler (323-358 H/935-969 M) ve Eyyübîler (564-650 H/1169-1252 M) dönemlerinde de devam etmiş ve daha sonraki asırlarda daha da sağlamlaşmıştır.

Bu devletlerin yönetimi altındaki Mısır'da imar ve inşaat hareketleri artmış, ilim ve edebiyat canlanmıştır. Ahmed b. Tolun bu topraklarda kendi adıyla tanınan camii ve bîmaristanı yaptırmış, döneminde saraylar, bahçeler inşa edilmiş, ilim ve edebiyat gelişmiştir. Bilhassa Eyyübîler zamanında Mısır ve Şam'a dünyanın her tarafından âlim ve öğrenciler akın etmiş; ilim ve edebiyatın çeşitli sahalarında telif hareketleri canlanmış ve çok sayıda Arapça kitap kaleme alınmıştır. Cami, medrese, hastane, tekke, kale, kervansaray, han, hamam, sebil ve köprüler inşa edilmiş, fakir öğrenciler için yurtlar yapılmış ve vakıflar kurulmuştur.

Bu devletlerin döneminde din, siyaset, imar ve diğer konularda birçok önemli gelişmeler kaydedilmiştir. Bunlardan biri, özellikle Eyyübîler devrinde Mısır'da ve Şam'da Şiiliğin zayıflaması, bu bölgelerin yeniden Abbâsî halifeliğinin nüfuzu altına girmesi, Sünniliğin hakim olması ve Hanefî mezhebinin Arap ülkelerinde yayılmaya başlamasıdır. Bu sırada Türk askerî aristokrasisi Mısır'da yönetimi elinde tutmuş; tımar sistemi yayılmış, komutan ve emirlerin Türk Memlûklarını saflarına alarak yetiştirmesi adet olmuştur. Mimaride ise kerpiç ve tuğla yerine taş kullanımının ağırlık kazanması ve ahşap oymacılığının gelişmesi bu devirde başlamıştır.

In the light of available information, the book describes those monuments that have an established history, whether or not they have survived to the present day. Attached to the entry of each monument is a detailed map of its area and location. In the case of destroyed monuments, these maps can serve as an important tool in identifying the location of historical remains, unearthing, examining and photographing them.

This book resulted from a long-time collaborative effort, in which Eng. Muhammed Abou Al-Amayem has the largest share. But initially, when the idea of this work first took shape in my mind - more than ten years ago, I conceived of it as a research project that would result in a comprehensive publication. As soon as I explained the idea to the late Dr. h.c. Ahmed Mohammad Issa, the well-known Egyptian scholar, former Vice-Chairman of IRCICA Governing Board, he planned and took steps to concretise it; thus, it was him who helped in realising it effectively. Therefore, I would like to pay a tribute to his esteemed memory once again on this occasion. I would also like to express my special thanks and appreciation to my dear colleague Dr. Salih Sa'dawi who worked with perseverance in conducting the necessary checks and arrangements on the contents and preparing the index and tables. I would also like to thank Dr. Tahsin Ömer Tahaoğlu for his valuable contributions during the early stages of the project, our dear staff member Mr. Davud Tefir for his diligent work in the typesetting and composition of the book, Arch. Olcay Öztürk for her valuable efforts in re-drawing the maps and plans, and the staff of IRCICA library and Yıldız Printing House for their assistance.

This first volume of *Islamic Monuments in Cairo during the Ottoman Period* is devoted to monuments such as mosques, schools, *zawiyas* and *tekkes*. A second volume to be published later will be devoted to houses, caravanserais, *sabils*, burial shrines and other buildings.

The present volume depicts 141 monuments that were built during the period from the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 until the beginning of Mehmed Ali Pasha's rule in 1805. Those built from this date until 1914, i.e. during the remaining part of the Ottoman period, will be studied separately. Of the buildings presented in this volume, 28 mosques and *zawiyas* date back to the 10th H/16th century A.D., 32 mosques and *zawiyas* to the 11th H/7th century A.D., 64 mosques and *zawiyas* to the 12th H/8th century A.D. and 16 mosques and *zawiyas* to the early 13th H/early 19th century A.D.

This book attempts to provide a detailed record of Ottoman buildings in Cairo. The entries are arranged in chronological order⁵ and the official registration number, the date of construction, the names of patrons and the location in Cairo are given for each entry. A description of the building follows, highlighting its main features and any later developments therein. When applicable, status in connection with the Waqfs Administration of Egypt is defined. Finally, the main sources mentioning the building in question are cited.

Numerous references and materials were used in the preparation of this book: photographs from the archive collections of the Arab Monuments Preservation Committee, photographs from IRCICA's archives, location maps, horizontal and vertical sections of buildings, photographs taken by Eng. Muhammed Abou Al-Amayem, and all kinds of explanatory materials. We have tried to give explanations on Egyptian architecture, albeit briefly, in the footnotes. In order to help the reader locate the monuments, we added an appendix comprising maps obtained from the Egyptian Survey Authority. Most of the small maps accompanying the entries in the book were drawn anew for this publication. On the maps, mosques are indicated by a sign representing the crescents posted on top of minarets. In each case, the crescent is directed towards the north.

⁵ Except the 16 works which were built, restored, rehabilitated or enlarged by Abdul Rahman Katkhuda that are arranged chronologically among themselves from no. 74 (1729) to 87 (1762).

Taher (1224 H/1809-10 A.D.). Mosques in the pure Ottoman style include Mehmed Ali Pasha's mosque in the Citadel, and his mosque in Al-Khankah with its dome built in the Ottoman style but with a new form that appears to have been influenced by the Yashbak Mosque which was situated near Al-Qasr Al-Aini on the Nile, as well as the Mosque of Silahdâr Suleyman Aga.

The graceful Ottoman minaret style was maintained in 19th century mosque architecture, as in the mosques of Muhammed Sherif Pasha Abu Al-Shawareb, Hussein Pasha Abu Isba, Fatima Al-Nabawiyya (whose minaret was pulled down in February 1999), Al-Ashmawi, Muhammed Bey Al-Mabdoul, Sheikh Salih Abu Hadid, Al-Mashhad Al-Husseini and Al-Matarawi.

At later times, Mameluke architecture was revived in a new form known as modern Islamic architecture. Mameluke minarets re-appeared in the early 20th century, as seen in the Mosques of Al-Shamiyya in Al-Dawaween, Al-Khazindar in Shubra, Nazli Sherif in Al-Agouza, Nabiha Yakan in Al-Muneira, Haram Al-Minshawai Pasha in Abbasiyya and Sultana Malak in Heliopolis. Quasi-Memluka minarets can be found in the Mosques of Abul Yusr Kaab Al-Ahbar in Naseriyya, Abul Hassan Al-Shazli and Al-Khawas in Qantaret Al-Dikka and Al-Hanafi respectively.

Such technical and aesthetical attributes of the monuments, the changes they underwent in different periods, as well as the variations observed in the purpose and the intensity of architectural activity, give some evidence of socio-cultural interactions between the peoples and mutual influences between their architectures. The Ottoman architecture in Egypt is a legacy of the long-term coexistence of the Egyptians and the Turks; therefore, it reveals facts as to the common aspects of their history. With this book, as well as with other research works it published on the Islamic cultural and architectural heritage, IRCICA aims to highlight the progresses achieved by Islamic civilisation in various historical and geographical contexts and to underline the cross-cultural and regional aspects of the heritage it produced. Within this framework, the Centre has previously published a photograph album on the historical buildings and monuments of Egypt entitled *Egypt As Seen in the Nineteenth Century* (Istanbul, 2001). The album contains the photographs of some of the monuments that are covered in the present book.

Starting from the early Ottoman times, there were also some mosques built in an almost purely Ottoman style, including the Mosque of Suleyman Pasha Al-Khadim in the Citadel and its adjoining school (935 H/1528 A.D.), the Mosques of Sinan Pasha (979 H/1571 A.D.) and of Muhammed Bey Abou Al-Dahab (1188 H/1774 A.D.) which is similar to it, and Queen Safiyya (1019 H/1610 A.D.). Schools built in the Ottoman design style also appeared, including Suleymaniyya (950 H/1543 A.D.) *Medrese* and Mahmoudiyya (1164 H/1750 A.D.), also known as Sultan Mahmud I *Medrese*. The Iskender Pasha *Tekke* has a design similar to that of the latter two schools: an open court surrounded by a number of rooms separated from the court by an aisle, in place of the earlier *khankah* (dervish monastery). This design survived well into the 13th H/19th century A.D., as can be seen in the Naqshbendi *tekke* in Darb Al-Jamameez.

The Ottoman period also saw the partial or total reconstruction of some old mosques, either similarly to their originals or with different styles. Most renown for restoration works is Abdul Rahman Katkhuda Al-Qazdaghli, who renovated many buildings, including major mosques and burial shrines. The extensions and annexes which were added to Al-Azhar Mosque at the orders of the Katkhuda survived to the present day.

Also, as in the case of the Youssef Chorbagi (Al-Hayatem) Mosque, the *Rumî* (Turkish) style of mosque architecture, with floral motifs ornamenting the façades, continued to be applied. Tombs and burial grounds were particularly influenced by Ottoman style ornamentation until the 13th H/19th century A.D.

The number of small *zawiyas* increased during the Ottoman period, since many Sufis and Dervishes built their own *zawiyas*, in which they were later buried, particularly in the districts outside old Cairo including Al-Husseiniyya, Bab Al-Shaariyya and Bab Al-Bahr. There was also a notable increase in the number of independent *sabils* and *sabils* attached to *schools* adopting the traditional Ottoman design. The *sabils* are not included in the present volume, which is devoted to mosques, schools and prayer places; they will be covered in the second volume together with all other types of works.

A major architectural change took place in the early reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha. Ottoman influences became firmly entrenched in Cairo's buildings, while traditional Mameluke architectural styles remained clearly visible, as in the Mosque of Hasan Pasha

also mosques with a single vault, resembling small *medreses*, such as the Mosque of Dawud Pasha.

Most of the interior and exterior architectural details of the Mameluke style were preserved, including façades with vertical recesses and doorways with ornamented trefoil arches. Interior features include pointed arches, luxurious scrap marble pulpits, marble skirting boards, ceilings framed with ornamental inscriptions, and many other details characteristic of previous periods.

However, new elements were introduced into some of the buildings, including the graceful cylindrical minaret with a pointed conical top. The earliest examples of this type of minaret had two balconies, as in the Mosques of Suleyman Pasha in the Citadel and Boulaq, as well as the Mosque of Jaheen Al-Khalwati. In later times, minarets with a single balcony prevailed as a most widespread feature of Cairo mosques. Examples are found in the Mosques of Iskender Pasha, Mesih Pasha, Murad Pasha, Queen Safiyya. The segmental arch was also common, particularly in caravansarais and houses. *Rumî* (Turkish) ceilings which appeared in pre-Ottoman times also continued to be used.

The number of small-area mosques increased in comparison with pre-Ottoman times. Mosques were built with three aisles parallel to the wall of the *qibla* (direction of the Ka'ba), with a passage between two doors, as in the Mosques of Al-Mahmoudiyya (975 H/1567 A.D.), Iskender Pasha (963 H/1556 A.D.), Murad Pasha (986 H/1578 A.D.), and Al-Jawhari in Al-Attaba 13th H/19th century A.D.). These might have been based on the design of the Mosque of Al-Ashraf Barsbay (835 H/1432 A.D.) in Sakhra and the Mosque of Al-Ghuri in Arab Al-Yassar (915 H/1509 A.D.). There were also mosques with two aisles only, such as the Mosque of Zulfikar Bey (1090 H/1679 A.D.). A mosque could also consist of a number of aisles parallel to the wall of *qibla*, with no open court. Instead, there would be a window in the roof; examples of this type include the mosques of Youssef Chorbagi (1177 H/1763 A.D.), Muharrem Efendi (al-Kurdi) (1145 H/1732 A.D.), Al-Khudeiri (1181 H/1767 A.D.), Sayyeda Aisha (1176 H/1762 A.D.), Ebussuud Al-Jarihi (1176 H/1762 A.D.), Ahmed Azaban (1109 H/1697 A.D.), Al-Sadat Al-Wafaiyya (1199 H/1784 A.D.) and Al-Jawhari in Shams Al-Dawla Alley (1261 H/1845 A.D.). Moreover, some mosques were renovated in the Ottoman era adopting a different designs, such as the Mosques of Al-Habeshli (Aksungur Al-Farghani) (1080 H/1669 A.D.) and Altı Parmak 1031-1123 H/1621-2 -1711 A.D.).

According to a list⁴ of the buildings belonging to the period 1517-1798, i.e. from the Ottoman conquest of Egypt until the French expedition, the number of buildings constructed under Ottoman rule is 199. As to the number of buildings constructed upon the orders of Mameluke emirs in Egypt during the same period, it is 233. However, if only public facilities such as mosques, schools, *tekkes* and *sabils* (public fountains) are taken into account, leaving aside private buildings such as houses and palaces, the two figures are approximately the same: 124 Mameluke buildings as compared to 125 Ottoman buildings. Furthermore, the above claim also disregards the fact that the Ottomans restored some Mameluke buildings and built extensions to some important old works such as Al-Azhar Mosque and Amr Ibn Al-As Mosque, which ensured their survival.

Thus, Cairo inherited many important mosques from the Ottoman period. Although they do not compete with monumental constructions of Mameluke emirs (such as the Mosque or *Medrese* of Sultan Hassan and the buildings established under Qalawun, Al-Nasser Muhammed, Barquq and Qaytbay), these mosques have a unique architectural style, as may be seen in the Mosques of Suleyman Pasha (Sâriyat el-Jabal) (935 H/1528 A.D.), Mahmoudiyya (975 H/1568), Sinan Pasha (979 H/1571 A.D.), Queen Safiyya (1019 H/1610 A.D.), the *Medrese* of Sultan Mahmoud which is mistakenly known as a *tekke* (1164 H/1750 A.D.) and the Mosque of Muhammed Bey Abu Al-Dahab (1188 H/1774 A.D.).

No wonder Cairo distinguishes itself with its magnificent monuments. It is unequalled for the number of Islamic buildings it houses. Given that the Ottoman rule in Egypt was long and relatively recent, the number of buildings dating from that period is high. There are 228 officially registered buildings such as mosques, *zawiyas* (Sufi lodges), *tekkes*, houses, caravanserais, *sabils*, schools, public baths and burial shrines.

The majority of buildings dating from the Ottoman period represent a continuation of the architecture of the Mameluke period in Egypt. Buildings reflecting a purely Ottoman style are few, and most of them are mosques. Architects of the Ottoman period continued to conceive large mosques especially if the land area was suitable, and built wide courtyards surrounded by aisles as seen in the case of Al-Kikhya Mosque (1147 H/1734 A.D.). There are

³ See e.g. André Raymond, *Le Caire*, 1993; *Le Caire des Janissaires*, 1995; Michael Rogers, "al-Kâhira", *EI* ², IV, 1978, p. 424-441

⁴ The list of Islamic monuments which was published by the land registry office in Cairo in 1951.

Ottoman State, being the largest Mediterranean political entity, sought to promote trade, a pursuit which was largely favourable to Cairo given its accessibility from Europe. Cairo became a main gateway for east-bound trade, and was only partially affected by the discovery of the new route round the Cape of Good Hope. It was also the axis of domestic Ottoman trade, a position which was enhanced by the freedom of movement and transportation and the absence of borders between the provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Cairo, as well as Damascus, were important meeting points for *hajj* (pilgrimage to the Muslim holy places in Mecca and Medina) caravans; therefore, they benefited from the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into Arab lands and the Ottoman efforts to organize and promote *hajj* journeys. As a result, the main business centers around Al-Qasaba, which was a meeting point of the caravans, developed rapidly, and the number of its caravanserais rose from 58 at the time of Al-Maqreezi (d. 1442) to 360 in the Ottoman period.

The building activity in Ottoman Cairo was richer and more widespread than actually depicted in existing literature. Though some have claimed that the architectural pulse of Cairo slowed down in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest, recent researches focusing on the architecture of that period have shown with certainty that such claims arise from either presuppositions or lack of knowledge.³ Although Egypt was turned from an independent country into an Ottoman *vilayet* (province) that had to pay part of its annual income as taxes due to the central government, there was a considerable architectural activity in the Ottoman era that was of no lesser extent than that of the high Mameluke age.

The Ottoman pashas who served as Governors of Egypt carried out public works, but their efforts were mostly directed towards Bulaq, Rashid and Alexandria. Public buildings in the riverside city of Bulaq increased considerably within the first decades after the Ottoman conquest due to the construction of growing numbers of trade centers, shops, schools and mosques. Among these, mosques in particular, such as the Sinan Pasha Mosque, reflected the architectural styles of Anatolian and Istanbul mosques. Still, the building activity undertaken in this port and others remained relatively limited in duration and extent. Starting from the 1580s, the Ottoman pashas had to devote more efforts to struggling with local political movements, and often ended up being dismissed or executed.

other Arab countries and which generally survived until the present, date from the periods of these Turkish states which succeeded each other over a millennium, including the Ottoman State and the period of the Mehmed Ali Pasha and his successors. These works provide remarkable concrete evidence of the multifarious interactions that took place between the Egyptians and the Turks in various areas of social and cultural life. On this point, Ibn Khaldun wrote, during his visit of Cairo in 784 H (January 1383 A.D.), at the beginning of the reign of Sultan Barquq that there he saw "the capital of the world, the orchards and gardens of the universe, a doomsday of peoples, and crowds filling the streets like a swarm of ants. The abode of Islam, the seat of government is there, since it is bedecked by mansions and palaces, and its skies shine with inns, *medreses* and stars. I went through the city's streets which were busy with crowds and its avenues abounding with all kinds of supplies."¹ In his *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun wrote:

"Therefore, the crafts are firmly established there and exist in many varieties. One of them is scientific instruction. This (state of affairs) has been strengthened and preserved in Egypt by the events of the last two hundred years under the Turkish dynasty, from the days of Salah-ad-dīn b. Ayyūb on. ... they built a great many colleges, hermitages, and monasteries, ... and endowed them with mortmain endowments that yielded income. ... As a consequence, mortmain endowments became numerous, and the income and profit (from them) increased. Students and teachers increased in numbers, because a large number of stipends became available from the endowments. People traveled to Egypt from the 'Irāq and the Maghrib in quest of knowledge. Thus, the sciences were very much in demand and greatly cultivated there. ..."²

Cairo developed rapidly in the early Ottoman era. Population growth caused a considerable increase in urban development activities. Construction activity in Cairo reached its peak in the 1700s A.D. The city remained an important center in world trade until the end of 18th century. The first map of the city drawn by the cartographers of the French expedition realistically attest to it, especially as compared to the state of the city in Mameluke times. The

¹ Translated from: *An Introduction to Ibn Khaldun and his Travels East and West*, edited by Mohamed Ibn Taweet Al-Tangi, Cairo 1951, pp. 246-7.

² Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, Bollingen Series XLIII, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980, vol. 2, p. 435.

building material; woodcarving developed.

Thus, a long Turkish period started in the Islamic architecture of Egypt, and lasted until the outbreak of World War I (1914). The *Bahriyya* (Turkish) Mameluke State first ruled (648-791 H/1250-1389 A.D.), then came the *Burdjiyya* (Circassian) Mameluke State (784-922 H/1382-1517 A.D.) and finally the Ottomans, with Selim I's conquest of Egypt (1517 A.D.). The entire period started with the advent of Ahmed Ibn Tulun in 254 H/868 A.D., and interrupted only during the 202-year Fatimid period, it continued for centuries until the deposition of Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha, who was loyal to the Sublime Porte, by the British occupation forces on 18 December 1914, Hüseyin Kamil Pasha succeeding him with the title of Sultan. Thus Egypt's official relations with the Ottoman State severed completely.

The architectural works built during this period reflect the relationship between Turkish administrative circles and the Egyptian people, and therefore deserve to be examined under their different aspects. Though there exists studies relating to some aspects of the architecture of each period, the subject has not been evaluated in its entirety from the above viewpoint. The present publication aims to do it with respect to the architecture of the Ottoman period (1517-1805 A.D.), i.e. the least studied portion of the millennial Turkish-Egyptian togetherness.

One of the objectives of the present book is to highlight the cultural ties existing between the Egyptians and the Turks. Our other works directed to the same aim are about "Manifestations of Turkish Culture in Egypt" and "Books Printed in Egypt in Turkish Language". The first of these points out the various aspects of Turkish influence in Egyptian culture, and the second one examines the reference works about Turkish culture which were printed in Egypt.

According to some historians, the states of the Zangids, Ayyubids and Mamelukes were not distinctly separate, but taking into consideration that these states' foundations and administrative structures remained essentially the same, they successively constituted a continuation of the Seljukid State. They all had the same yellow flag with a red falcon emblem. By introducing the mode of Turkish administration to the Arab world, they paved the way for the stability of Ottoman rule in Arab lands.

Certainly, the greatest part of the Islamic architecture which was built in Egypt and

INTRODUCTION

Prof. Dr. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu

Affinities between the Turks and the Egyptians started at the time when Ahmed Ibn Tulun (254-270 H/868-883 A.D.), one of the Abbasid commanders of Turkish origin, was appointed to Egypt. Thus the Tulunid State (254-192 H/868-905 A.D.), the earliest Turkish ruling dynasty in Egypt, was established. Contacts between the two nations survived well into the Ikhsheedi State (323-358 H/935-969 A.D.) and the Ayyubid State (564-650 H/1169-1252 A.D.), with the exception of the Fatimid period (358-567 H/969-1171 A.D.) and were consolidated further in later times.

Following the emergence of these states, construction and urban development works gained momentum, scientific and literary activities increased. During Ahmed Ibn Tulun's reign, the famous mosque and the *bimaristan* (hospital) named after him were built, as well as palaces and gardens; science and literature flourished. Especially under the Ayyubid State, there was a flux of learners and scholars from different parts of the world into Egypt and the Levant. Authorship proliferated in various fields of knowledge; numerous works were written in the Arabic language. Mosques, *medreses* (schools), hospitals, *tekkes* (Sufi lodges), castles, caravanserais, inns, public baths, water fountains and bridges were built; *waqfs* (religious endowments) and hostels were established for the benefit of the students.

An important process that took place under the rule of these states, particularly the Ayyubid State, was that the dominance of the Abbasid caliphate was re-established in Egypt and Syria: the Shi'ite school lost ground to the Sunni faith; the latter gained prominence, and the *Hanafi* school of jurisprudence began to spread in the Arab countries. Meanwhile, the Turkish military aristocracy maintained power in Egypt; the *timar* system spread out, recruitment of Turkish Mamelukes by army commanders and emirs became common practice. In architecture, starting from this period, baked clay and brick were replaced by stone as a

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