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Qāytbāy´s *Madrasah*s in the Holy Cities
and the Evolution of Ḥaram Architecture

Qāytbāy was renowned for being a great traveler, who in spite of his advanced age spent a great part of his time traveling and sight-seeing both within and outside of Egypt. Among his travels were a visit to Jerusalem and the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. As he was also a great builder and sponsor of religious and philanthropic foundations, Qāytbāy used his tours to inspect construction works everywhere and to articulate his own ideas about architecture. In the following pages the design of Qāytbāy´s *madrasah* in Medina will be discussed, with reference to his *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and Mecca, in order to demonstrate the Sultan´s role in the articulation of what may be understood as the concept of *ḥaram* architecture.

The *waqf* descriptions of Qāytbāy´s *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and in Medina document the innovations that the monuments themselves can no longer demonstrate.[1] The original appearance of the Ashrafīyah in Jerusalem has not been preserved, and the *madrasah*s of Mecca and Medina are no longer extant. The innovations at the *madrasah* of Medina were considered at that time bold enough to provoke a discussion among the *'ulamā'*, as Ibn Iyās and al-Samhūdī report.[2] In his reconstruction of the Ashrafīyah in Jerusalem, Archibald Walls has reconstructed architectural features that occurred there for the first time.[3]

Although this was not usual for Mamluk architecture outside Cairo, both Qāytbāy´s *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and Medina were erected by Cairene craftsmen.[4] The Ashrafīyah of Jerusalem was rebuilt by order of the Sultan who, displeased with its original layout, ordered its remodeling by craftsmen sent from Cairo. As

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for the *madrasah* in Medina, it was erected by a team of Egyptian craftsmen who were working at the time on the restoration of the Prophet′s Mosque.

Prior to his pilgrimage in 884/1480, Qāytbāy undertook the restoration of the Prophet′s Mosque, which lasted with interruption from 879/1474-75 to 881/1477. In the following year, 886/1481, a fire devastated the sanctuary so that new radical restorations had to be made which were completed in 889/1484. The construction of the Sultan′s *madrasah* began in Rabī' I 883/June 1478, that is, after the first restoration of the Prophet′s Mosque was resumed, and it was completed in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482, prior to the completion of the second restoration.[5] The reason for the relatively long time span between the beginning and completion dates of the *madrasah* was probably the second restoration of the Prophet′s Mosque, which required the involvement of the craftsmen working at the *madrasah*. The simultaneous occurrence of the *madrasah* construction and the restoration of the mosque gave the master-craftsmen the opportunity to make adjustments to both buildings in order to achieve a unity of design between the two.

The Medina *madrasah* abutted the Prophet′s Mosque south of Bāb al-Salām and north of Bāb al-Raḥmah. It was part of a complex that occupied the block between two east-west oriented streets leading to these gates. Both gates, piercing the western wall of the mosque, led directly into the prayer hall. The *madrasah*′s facade was striped with black and white masonry, and a two-storied minaret stood above the entrance on the street leading to Bāb al-Salām. It was built on the Egyptian *qā'ah* plan with a northern and a southern *īwān* separated by a *dūrqā'ah*. It had seven windows *(shabābīk)* opening directly onto the Prophet′s Mosque; five others overlooked the street (fig. 1).

The *waqfīyah* mentions that on the *madrasah*′s northern side there was a two-storied building called a *majma'*, which is an assembly hall.[6] Its lower floor had three windows *(shabābīk)* opening onto the Prophet′s Mosque and the upper floor overlooked the mosque′s roof. On the northern side of the *majma'* was a *sabīl* with one window opening onto the mosque and another onto the street. The window on the mosque′s side must have served to give the worshipers inside the mosque access to water from the *sabīl* (fig. 2).

Adjacent to the *madrasah* on its western side was a *ribāṭ*, a complex of thirty-eight cells built around a courtyard, in the middle of which was an octagonal domed fountain. It is not clear whether this *ribāṭ* had one or two stories.[7] No cells

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[5]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:145, 196.

[6]van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du sud, I: Jerusalem ville* (Cairo, 1922), 89; in Mujīr al-Dīn′s terminology, *majma'* is another word for a mall mosque.

[7]The precise location of this *ribāṭ* is not indicated in the document, neither in relation to the *madrasah* nor to the street.

overlooking the mosque or the street are mentioned, which suggests that they opened onto the courtyard. Another forty-two cells were beneath the *madrasah* and the *majmaʿ*, some of them with windows overlooking the Prophet′s Mosque; others were integrated into the *madrasah* itself, overlooking its interior and connected with the Prophet′s Mosque by a staircase. This makes for a total of eighty cells. The document does not specify how many cells overlooked the mosque. Al-Samhūdī writes that Qāytbāy′s complex had a total of thirty openings (*fataḥāt*) pierced on three levels and overlooking the mosque[8] (figs. 3 and 4).

From the reconstruction of the plan of the Prophet′s Mosque as it was in the fifteenth century, it appears that between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥmah ten naves run parallel to the *qiblah* wall,[9] six of which were part of the sanctuary, the other four belonging to the lateral western *riwāq*. Since the complex was located between Bāb al-Raḥmah and Bāb al-Salām, only its southern part, probably the *madrasah*, was juxtaposed to the prayer hall itself; the northern part, or *majmaʿ*, was juxtaposed to the lateral western *riwāq*.

If thirty openings overlooked ten naves, one is tempted to imagine that three windows arranged vertically opened onto each nave but, according to al-Samhūdī, there were also three doors leading through the *madrasah* into the mosque.[10] The *waqfīyah* uses the word *shabābīk* for windows, a term which usually does not include the arched bays with stucco grills filled with colored glass, which are called *qamarīyah*, nor does it include the oculi. Al-Samhūdī uses the general term for openings (*fataḥāt*), which can refer to any type of openings, including doors.[11] When the sanctuary was rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Majīd, the number of naves between the two gates was only nine.[12] The reconstruction showing how Qāytbāy′s *madrasah* abutted to the Medina mosque, as shown in figures 1 and 2, can therefore be only schematic and conjectural.

On both streets adjacent to the Qāytbāy complex were apartment houses and shops. Other buildings, including the public kitchen, a *ḥammām*, a mill, a bakery, and a *wakālah*, were built opposite the *madrasah*′s entrance, partly on the *qiblah* side of the mosque. Based on the *waqf* document, this description suggests that, in order to erect this *madrasah* with the living units and the *sabīl* communicating with the mosque through windows, it must have been necessary to make important

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[8]al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 2:643.

[9]Ṣāliḥ Lamʿī Muṣṭafá, *al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: Taṭawwuruhā al-ʿUmrānī wa-Turāthuhā al-Miʿmārī* (Beirut, 1981), 87.

[10]al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 2:643.

[11]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laila Ali Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents* (Cairo, 1990), 69, 90 f.

[12]Muṣṭafá, *al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, 94.

modifications in the mosque´s western wall, in fact eliminating it entirely in this section and replacing it by the *madrasah*´s facade.[13] It seems very likely that these restorations and the planning of the *madrasah* were coordinated so as to produce a *madrasah* with a facade inside the mosque.

The *madrasah* did not stand directly on the street level, but was built above a row of shops on the street side, and above living units on the inner side overlooking the Prophet´s Mosque. Its floor must have been, therefore, on a level higher than the mosque´s, and the living units beneath must have had their windows close to their ceiling in order to leave enough vertical space for the *madrasah*´s facade with its windows.

The innovation at the *madrasah* of Medina consisted of its juxtaposition to the sanctuary in an intimate way, with its facade forming the lateral wall of the prayer hall. Ibn Iyās and al-Samhūdī refer to the windows as a characteristic feature of the *madrasah* complex; they report that some *'ulamā'* objected to their presence, arguing that the windows constituted an intrusion into the Prophet´s Ḥaram. But, as might be expected, the Sultan found other scholars to override them. Whereas Ibn Iyās mentions only the *fatwá* authorizing the windows, al-Samhūdī, who also refers to this *fatwá*, writes that God made the Sultan change his mind, so that the windows were ultimately walled up. Unlike Ibn Iyās, al-Samhūdī was an eyewitness in Medina, so that his version is more trustworthy. It is difficult to imagine, however, how so many windows could be done without.

Due to the lack of a *waqf* document, we are less informed about the Ashrafīyah of Mecca, which was built prior to that of Medina. It was completed just in time to host the Sultan during his pilgrimage in 884/1480. Located on the left hand side of Bāb al-Salām on the eastern wall of the Ḥaram, it included also a *majma'* overlooking the Ḥaram. Its curriculum included the teaching of the four rites of Islamic law with four teachers and forty students, as well as Sufi services. Its premises comprised seventy-two living units, a primary school (*maktab*) for forty pupils, a *ribāṭ*, a *majma'* for the four chief *qāḍī*s, and a library. Both the *madrasah* of Mecca and that of Medina were built by the same contractor-architect, Ibn al-Zamin.[14]

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[13]al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, 2:640 f.

[14]Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamin was a merchant who had been working as a commercial agent for Qāytbāy already prior to the latter´s sultanate. Qāytbāy sent him to Mecca on business and at the same time to build for him a religious complex next to the Holy Mosque, and another in Medina next to the Prophet´s mosque. He moreover executed infrastructural works, such as the conduction of source water to the holy cities and for pilgrims´ use. When a fire broke out in the Prophet´s mosque, he was in charge of the reconstruction as well as of building the Sultan´s *madrasah*. From all historical accounts it appears that Ibn al-Zamin was a contractor who designed the buildings as well. Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī, *Kitāb al-I'lām bi-A'lām Bayt Allāh*

Whether in Medina or Mecca, Qāytbāy′s constructions provoked a controversy. In Mecca, the contractor and architect Ibn al-Zamin laid the foundations of the complex in such a way as to make them encroach upon the *mas‘á*, thus disturbing the *ḥajj* ritual. This infuriated the *‘ulamā’*, but the petitions they sent to the Sultan were not of much help; Qāytbāy confirmed Ibn al-Zamin′s appointment and dismissed the *qāḍī* who had tried to stop the construction. Quṭb al-Dīn comments by expressing his mixed feelings about Qāytbāy who, although one of the most pious and charitable rulers was, nevertheless, able to act in such a ruthless manner.[15]

For both of his constructions in Mecca and Medina, Qāytbāy did not hesitate to demolish his predecessors′ buildings in order to replace them with his own or to remove them simply for aesthetic purposes; in Mecca an old *sabīl* was demolished because it obstructed the view of his new *madrasah* and an ablution fountain of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān was razed because its space was needed. In Medina a *ribāṭ*, parts of the Madrasah Jūbānīyah, the Dār al-Shubbāk, as well as houses had to make place for the Sultan′s new religious complex. Ibn Iyās reports how the acquisition of the houses had raised a controversy which led one of the house owners to kill the *qāḍī* involved in the transactions. This did not, however, stop the Sultan′s scheme.[16] In fact, the demolition of parts of the Jūbānīyah, a pious foundation, could not have been fully correct.

Quṭb al-Dīn, who also criticized Sultan al-Ghawrī′s encroachments upon the Holy Mosque in Mecca, commented with resignation that the Sultan would not have listened to the jurists anyway; they were too dependent on the rulers to be capable of true opposition.[17] This, in fact, conforms with what Mamluk sources regularly report about the *‘ulamā’*′s opposition being easily overruled; alternative jurists could always be found to issue more convenient opinions.

The idea of establishing visual contact between a building and an adjoining mosque or shrine was obviously not a matter of mere architectural design, but rather of religious significance. As Christel Kessler has demonstrated in the case of Mamluk funerary architecture, sultans and amirs tried to place their mausoleums in a location adjacent to the prayer hall of their mosques, both connected by windows, so that the soul of the dead would benefit from the *barakah*, or blessing,

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al-Ḥarām (Mecca, 1370/1950), 197; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, 2:639; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr*, 3:188; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi‘ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi‘*, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1896), 8:260; U. Haarmann, ″Eine neue Quelle zur Bautätigkeit Sultan Qāyitbāys im ersten Jahrfünft seiner Herrschaft,″ forthcoming in *Gedenkschrift Michael Meinecke* (Damascus, 1998), n. 2.

[15]Quṭb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-I‘lām*, 101.

[16]Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr*, 3:145.

[17]Quṭb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-I‘lām*, 212.

emanating from the mosque′s prayers.[18] In the recess of a window overlooking the street, a *shaykh shubbāk*, regularly mentioned in *waqfīyah*s of religious foundations, would sit reciting the Quran for the soul of the dead, thus extending this *barakah* to the passersby, and soliciting at the same time their prayerful response.

The practice of attaching a mausoleum to a religious building started under the Saljuqs, when Sultan Sanjar (d. 1157) built his mausoleum next to a mosque in Marw, connecting them with a window.[19] A few decades later the Zanjid vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Jawād al-Iṣfahānī erected a *ribāṭ* for Persian visitors and a mausoleum for himself on the eastern side of the Prophet′s Mosque. The complex was built across the street, facing the mosque′s door, Bāb ‘Uthmān, also called Bāb Jibrīl. The mausoleum, where the vizier was buried in 1193, was pierced with a window facing yet another window in the mosque, allowing the passersby to see the Prophet′s tomb within the sanctuary. The two windows established a visual connection between the tombs of Jawād and the Prophet.[20] Jawād had been a great benefactor of the Holy Cities, where he ordered important improvements at his own expense, such as the reconstruction of the walls of Medina. To the south of this *ribāṭ*, there was another funerary structure purchased by Shīrkūh, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s uncle, in which he and his brother, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s father, were to be buried.

Also in Medina, the funerary *madrasah* called al-Jūbānīyah, erected in 1324 by Jūbān, the *atābak* of the Ilkhanid sultan Abū Sa‘īd, was connected with the Prophet′s Mosque through a window pierced in the wall of the mausoleum. After his death the remains of Jūbān were sent from Baghdad to Medina for his burial there. This, however, was prevented by the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who gave orders to bury him at the cemetery of Baqī‘. Al-Samhūdī mentions that the reason for this opposition was the location of the mausoleum: in order to be buried facing the *qiblah*, Jūbān′s feet would have had to point at the Prophet′s grave.[21] Part of this *madrasah* was later demolished by Qāytbāy in order to build his own *madrasah* at this place.

In Ayyubid Syria, when al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238) built his mausoleum near the great mosque of Damascus, he pierced the mosque′s northern wall with a window, ignoring the general opposition against his initiative. A similar conflict occurred in Cairo, at the Azhar mosque, when the amir Jawhar al-Qanqabā’ī built his funerary *madrasah* (1440) adjacent to the sanctuary′s northern wall and wanted to pierce a window in the prayer hall to connect it with his mausoleum. He

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[18]Christel Kessler, "Funerary Architecture with the City," in *Colloque international sur l’histoire du Caire* (27 Mars-5 Avril 1969) (Cairo, n.d.), 257-68.

[19]Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Yacut′s geographisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1924), 4:509.

[20]al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, 3:689.

[21]Ibid., 2:702.

requested, therefore, a *fatwá* from the jurists authorizing him to do so. The jurist and historian al-ʿAynī, who was involved in this case, refused to sign this *fatwá* and accused the others who had signed it of corruption. This episode was recorded by al-Sakhāwī in his biography of Jawhar and by al-ʿAynī himself. None of them, however, discusses the arguments presented by the two parties.[22]

The earlier *madrasah*s of Āqbughā (1340) and Ṭaybars (1309-10), which were erected in the northwestern *ziyādah* of al-Azhar, are not mentioned to have provoked any opposition from the *ʿulamā'*. In Jerusalem several religious foundations built along the portico of the Ḥaram included funerary chambers with windows opening onto the Masjid al-Aqṣá.

To understand the *ʿulamā'*ʹs opposition to Qāytbāyʹs windows at his *madrasah* in Medina, it is necessary to understand the layout of the Ḥaram complex prior to Qāytbāyʹs constructions and the physical relationship between the adjoining buildings and the mosque. In his description of the Prophetʹs Mosque, al-Samhūdī mentions that dwellings, *madrasah*s, and *ribāṭ*s surrounded the mosque with their walls facing its doors. This description indicates that there was a street between the mosque and the surrounding quarters.

Only on the *qiblah* and western sides did buildings abut the mosque. Between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥmah, there were two buildings adjacent to, and overlooking, the prayer hall; one was a house called Dār al-Shubbāk because it had a window onto the mosque. It was built by Kāfūr al-Muẓaffarī (d. 1311-12), known as al-Ḥarīrī, one of the eunuchs who attended the mosque. It was the only house with a window overlooking the mosque; al-Samhūdī does not indicate, however, the reason for this exception, which could have been related to Kāfūrʹs task of policing the precinct. The other building was Jūbānʹs funerary *madrasah* mentioned above, whose window by that time had been walled up. It was there, on the site of the Dār al-Shubbāk and parts of the Jūbānīyah, that Qāytbāy built his *madrasah*. A bakery, a mill, a *wakālah*, and a public kitchen were erected on the *qiblah* side of the mosque on the site of houses whose demolition he also ordered.

Burtonʹs map, which was drawn during the reign of ʿAbd al-Majīd, shows streets next to the Prophetʹs Mosque, except on the *qiblah* side and along the western side between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥmah. This means that buildings touched the mosque to the south and west of the prayer hall. Burton himself writes of the Medina mosque: ″Like that at Meccah, the approach is chocked by ignoble buildings, some actually touching the holy ʹenceinte,ʹ others separated by a lane compared with which the road round St. Paulʹs is a Vatican Square.″[23]

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[22]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ*, 3:82f.; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān* (Cairo, 1989), 566.

[23]Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*, 2 vols.

The layout of the Meccan shrine was a different matter. Originally, in pre-Islamic times, the sanctuary was the roofless unwalled space around the Ka'bah. Houses surrounded this central space with streets between them converging from all sides towards the open space. With the expansion of the sanctuary in the Islamic period at the expense of the surrounding quarters, walls and porticoes were added around the central space. The legitimacy of the surrounding pre-existing dwellings could not be questioned. Gradually, the houses around the sanctuary which served as guest-houses during the pilgrimage season were replaced by philanthropic foundations of the *ribāṭ* and *madrasah* type, including a hospital, to provide lodging and teaching and care for sojourners and pilgrims. The earliest *ribāṭ* was founded in 400/1009-10. It was followed by several others to house the poor and the Sufis. As for *madrasah*s, they began to appear slightly later and multiplied in the following centuries so that by the end of the fifteenth century almost the entire wall of the holy mosque was hidden behind buildings.[24] This made it necessary for Qāytbāy to demolish two *ribāṭ*s in order to establish his own religious complex along the mosque´s wall.

The sources do not mention windows between the satellite structures and the mosque; these dwellings overlooked the mosque at the level of the roof, and not below. Windows are mentioned only in the case of the Dār al-Nadwah, formerly an adjacent guest-house that the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (r. 892-902) had turned into a prayer hall. It thus became an extension of the mosque, at which point large windows were pierced in the wall between it and the sanctuary.[25]

The construction of windows in the Medina mosque was protested by the *'ulamā'* with the argument that this was an indiscretion against the Prophet, whose tomb lay within the mosque. Such an argument could not have been used in Mecca, where from the outset the sanctuary had been exposed to its neighbors, or in Jerusalem, where the Ḥaram with its large open space was surrounded by religious and residential buildings built above porticoes, creating a zone of transition between the city and the sanctuary.

Qāytbāy´s *madrasah* in Medina had an interesting feature in common with the Ashrafīyah of Jerusalem: a visual opening onto the adjoining sanctuary. The *madrasah* in Jerusalem was completed in 887/1482, slightly after that of Medina. The building was devastated by an earthquake in 1545.[26] Later restorations did not

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(New York, 1964) 1:307, 392.

[24] al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, 2 vols., ed. N. Ma'rūf (Mecca, 1956), 1:328 ff.

[25] Quṭb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-I'lām*, 133 ff.

[26] 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, ˝Wathīqat al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy: Dirāsah wa-Taḥlīl al-Madrasah bi-al-Quds wa-al-Jāmi' bi-Ghazzah,˝ *Dirāsāt fī al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 1979), 483-538, 509 ff.; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:325 ff.; Walls, *Geometry and Architecture*, 198, n. 1, 199.

replicate the original shape. The unusually detailed description in the *waqf* deed, and a comprehensive description by the contemporary historian Mujīr al-Dīn, in addition to the vestiges of the *madrasah* itself, allowed Archibald Walls to produce a reconstruction of this remarkable building, erected within the complex of the Masjid al-Aqṣá.

The *madrasah* acquired its final configuration after Qāytbāy visited Jerusalem and expressed his dislike for the first building, the reconstruction of which he ordered to be executed by Egyptian craftsmen. Like the *madrasah* of Medina, it was designed with an Egyptian *qāʿah* plan, on a north-south axis. It was constructed on two floors; the *waqfīyah* refers to lower and upper *madrasah*s. Mujīr al-Din calls the lower *madrasah* a *majmaʿ*,[27] which consisted merely of a hall reached from the Masjid al-Aqṣá by an entrance on its eastern side.[28]

The *madrasah* projected onto the Ḥaram of the Masjid al-Aqṣá with three facades pierced by large windows (fig. 5). The *qiblah*-side *īwān* had ten large rectangular windows (*shabābīk*) in its lower part, and six arched windows (*qamarīyāt)* in its upper part. The northern *īwān* had six large rectangular windows surmounted by eight arched windows and a bull's eye in its upper part.

The *madrasah* was built in place of a section of the western portico, which was partly integrated into the *majmaʿ* on the lower floor. When Qāytbāy's Egyptian master-mason inspected the first *madrasah*, he disliked in particular the way it abutted the portico.[29] The new design was bold. It needed the authority of a sultan to encroach upon the adjacent Madrasah Baladīyah, to block the window of the *madrasah*'s tomb-chamber, to demolish parts of the Ḥaram's portico and, moreover, to make the *madrasah* project beyond the portico onto the Ḥaram in such an unprecedented manner.

The plan of the Jerusalem *madrasah* differs from the commonly known *qāʿah* applied in religious architecture, however, in that, instead of a lateral recess, it has on one side a *maqʿad* (fig. 6) or loggia that commanded the Ḥaram panorama through three large arches. The *maqʿad* is a feature of Cairene residential architecture, where it is connected with a reception hall (*qāʿah)*, while it overlooks at the same time the inner courtyard of a house. Although it is the only *maqʿad* in the Cairene style known so far to have been used in religious architecture, the idea of a loggia overlooking the Ḥaram was not new in Jerusalem. Smaller loggias with a double-arch

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[27]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:328. This term is not used in the *waqf* description of this building, but it was used in the earlier document describing the *madrasah* that Qāytbāy replaced with this one.

[28]Michael H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (London, 1987), 589-605.

[29]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:509, n. 1; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, ″Wathīqat al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy,″ 499 f.

window existed already in several Mamluk satellite buildings around the Ḥaram. They had double arched windows overlooking the Ḥaram,[30] such as the one at the Manjakīyah (762/1361), the pair of lateral chambers at the Is'ardīyah (1340s), and the one at the 'Uthmānīyah (840/1437). These were sometimes surmounted by domes, as at the Manjakīyah and the Is'ardīyah. There is also a kind of forerunner to this device in Fatimid architecture at the Azhar mosque where the caliph al-'Azīz built a *manẓarah*, or loggia, where he used to sit on festive occasions with his family.[31]

The *madrasah*s of Qāytbāy in both Medina and Jerusalem were built in order to have a maximum number of bays overlook the adjoining sanctuary. Both had their *majma'*s built so as to give their residents visual access to the sanctuary, creating a permanent interaction between the community of the sojourners (*mujāwirūn*) and the shrine.[32]

In Jerusalem, the Masjid al-Aqṣá had been able to integrate additional structures into its premises apparently without legal conflicts because of the open character of its architecture and the natural separation of the platform from the walls. Mujīr al-Dīn defines the Masjid al-Aqṣá as the entire enclosed complex, and not only the Umayyad mosque known as al-Jāmi' al-Aqṣá, which is a *jāmi'* within the *masjid*.[33] By means of this definition, he included the surrounding buildings within the sanctuary. This idea is essential for understanding Qāytbāy′s windows in Medina. In the Ḥaram of Jerusalem the surrounding *madrasah*s and hostels were not viewed as ″outdoor″ structures; their windows and doors, as well as Qāytbāy′s *maq'ad*, were not considered an intrusion into the sanctuary, but rather were considered part of it. Already in the eleventh century, oratories were built along the walls of the Ḥaram in Jerusalem, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions a handsome mosque along the eastern wall, within the portico, between Bāb al-Raḥmah and Bāb al-Tawbah (the Golden Gate).[34] This could have been the building used by the Shāfi'ī scholar, Shaykh Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāwūd, who is reported to have

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[30]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 391, 368-79, 552.

[31]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270/1853-54), 1:465 ff.

[32]In Jerusalem the cells were at the same level as the *madrasah*, whereas the *majma'* was beneath it; in Medina the *majma'* was adjacent to the *madrasah*, and the cells were partly beneath it or included in the adjacent *ribāṭ*.

[33]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:11, 24.

[34]Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Book of Travels*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Albany, 1986), 25; idem, *Safarname,* trans. S. Najmabadi and S. Weber (Munich, 1993), 59 f.; idem, *Safarnāmah*, trans. Y. al-Khashshāb (Cairo, 1993), 72. Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:27; Michael H. Burgoyne, ″The Gates of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf,″ in *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik′s Jerusalem*, pt. 1, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 9 (Oxford, 1992), 105-24, esp. 111, 120.

founded in about 1058 an oratory described as a *madrasah*, and also as a *zāwiyah*, above Bāb al-Raḥmah.[35] It was during the Mamluk period, however, that religious monuments with funerary chambers began to cluster along the northern and western porticoes of the Ḥaram,[36] whose street walls faced the busiest quarters of the city. In all these *madrasah*s and *khānqāh*s the main hall (*majma'*) was built so as to have windows overlooking the Ḥaram. Some of these satellite buildings had their entrances within the portico, while others had two entrances. These were reached from both the street and the portico, or they might be reached only from the street. Several of them, such as the Awḥadīyah (697/1298), the Amīnīyah (730/1329), the Arghūnīyah (759/1358), the Khātūnīyah (completed 782/1380), and the Baladīyah (782/1383), included funerary chambers with a window open to the Ḥaram. The living units were either on the street side, or on the upper floor with a view of the Ḥaram.

Here it is interesting to add a note about the use of the term *majma'* in the sources and in the *waqf* deeds in connection with the Ḥaram structures. *Majma'* means literally ″place of assembly″ and it refers in these texts to the main hall in a residential institution that includes the *miḥrāb*. The term *majma'* is never used in *waqf* descriptions of Cairene religious architecture. This cannot be explained by local scribal traditions, for the terminology used in Qāytbāy′s *waqfīyah*s is otherwise the same for foundations in or outside of Egypt. Also, Mujīr al-Dīn uses this term when speaking of the ″prayer halls″ of the *madrasah*s and *khānqāh*s in Jerusalem. The choice of the term *majma'* instead of *masjid* seems to be of particular significance. It may involve a premeditated avoidance of the term *masjid* in the context of these boarding institutions since they were part of the Masjid al-Aqṣá. The *madrasah*s, *ribāṭ*s, and *khānqāh*s in the Masjid al-Aqṣá were seen as dependencies to lodge pilgrims and provide religious education, rather than autonomous mosques. Another example for this complementary relationship between the shrine and the adjoining structures is the absence of a *miḥrāb* at the *madrasah*s of Ālmalik and Sanjar al-Jawlī, both situated along the northern portico.[37] Instead, their *qiblah* walls are pierced by three windows each, the central one, which replaces the *miḥrāb*, being the largest; its view of the Ḥaram to the south is oriented to Mecca. The view of the Ḥaram thus replaces the *miḥrāb*: the Dome of the Rock and the Jāmi' Aqṣá, both on the same axis signal the more remote Ka'bah which is in the same cardinal direction. It should be recalled in this context that the *madrasah* of Qāytbāy at Medina had neither an *imām* nor a

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[35]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:28, 34.

[36]Rā'if Najm, *Kunūz al-Quds* (Amman, 1983), 131 f.

[37]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 201, 308, 313 f.

khaṭīb. This means that the community prayed in the Prophet′s Mosque and gathered for teaching and Sufi rituals in the adjoining boarding structures.

While the satellite foundations created a zone of transition between the city and the shrine, the Mamluk market of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, is connected with the Ḥaram through a gate, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, located along the western portico. This magnificent gate, built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Amir Tankiz for the benefit of the Masjid al-Aqṣá and the Tankizīyah,[38] signals the market-street to the visitor of the Ḥaram, thus emphasizing the intersection between the urban-commercial zone and the religious precinct. It fulfills an equivalent function from the street′s perspective where its market side, which was once also decorated, signals the Ḥaram to the market visitor.

Although it did not stretch along the entire enclosure, the portico built along the northern and eastern walls of the Ḥaram contributed to the creation of a parallel to the layout of a classical mosque. Mujīr al-Dīn′s reading of the Masjid al-Aqṣá as a mosque built around a courtyard, within which is the Dome of the Rock, having porticoes and minarets and encompassing educational and boarding structures, is of particular interest because it established a formal parallel between the Masjid al-Aqṣá and the mosques of Mecca and Medina. It is interesting to note here that the Mamluk minarets at the Jerusalem Ḥaram were placed so as to be attached to the Ḥaram rather than to the individual *madrasah*s. The minaret of Bāb al-Silsilah, built at the same time as the Tankizīyah, and most likely also by Tankiz, stands above an entrance to the Ḥaram, and not at the *madrasah*. With the Meccan shrine the Jerusalem Masjid shares the central structure, a common feature that the Muslim theologians were aware of as they made the parallel between the Rock in Jerusalem and the Black Stone in Mecca.[39] It shares with Medina the classical mosque plan of porticoes around a courtyard.

By the late Mamluk period the three holiest mosques of Islam in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem were encircled by hospices and religious institutions devoted to lodging communities of pilgrims and sojourners from various parts of the Muslim world. These buildings, which had expanded gradually and spontaneously from the eleventh century onward, added a new dimension to the shrines, creating an architectural and functional intermediary between them and the city. The intensive building activity of the Mamluks adjacent to the Ḥaram in Jerusalem was the most articulate manifestation of this phenomenon. It was Qāytbāy, however, who made a concept out of this phenomenon, as the bold layout of his *madrasah*s in Medina and Jerusalem demonstrate. The Sultan′s visit to Jerusalem in 880/1475, prior to

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[38]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 273 ff.

[39]Cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1994), 157 f.; al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-Sājid bi-Aḥkām al-Masājid* (Cairo, 1397/1977), 291.

his pilgrimage to Medina in 884/1480, seems to have been decisive for the architecture of his buildings in both cities. It inspired him to reshape the first and to emulate in Medina the Ḥaram pattern he had witnessed at the Masjid al-Aqṣá. The boldness of this design was due to the Sultan´s personal involvement with architecture and to his power of taking radical measures when necessary.
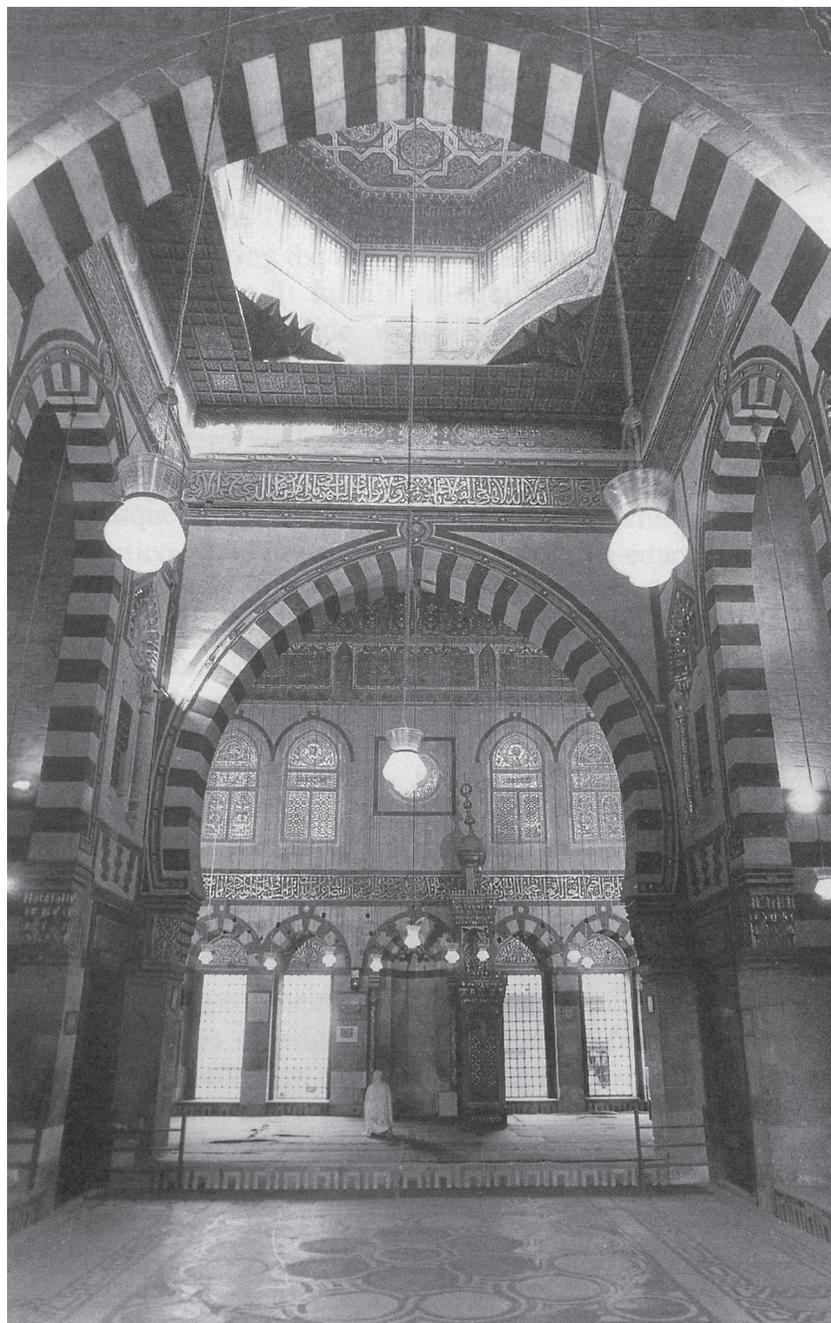
Figure 1. The *qāʿah* interior of Qāytbāy´s funerary mosque in Cairo
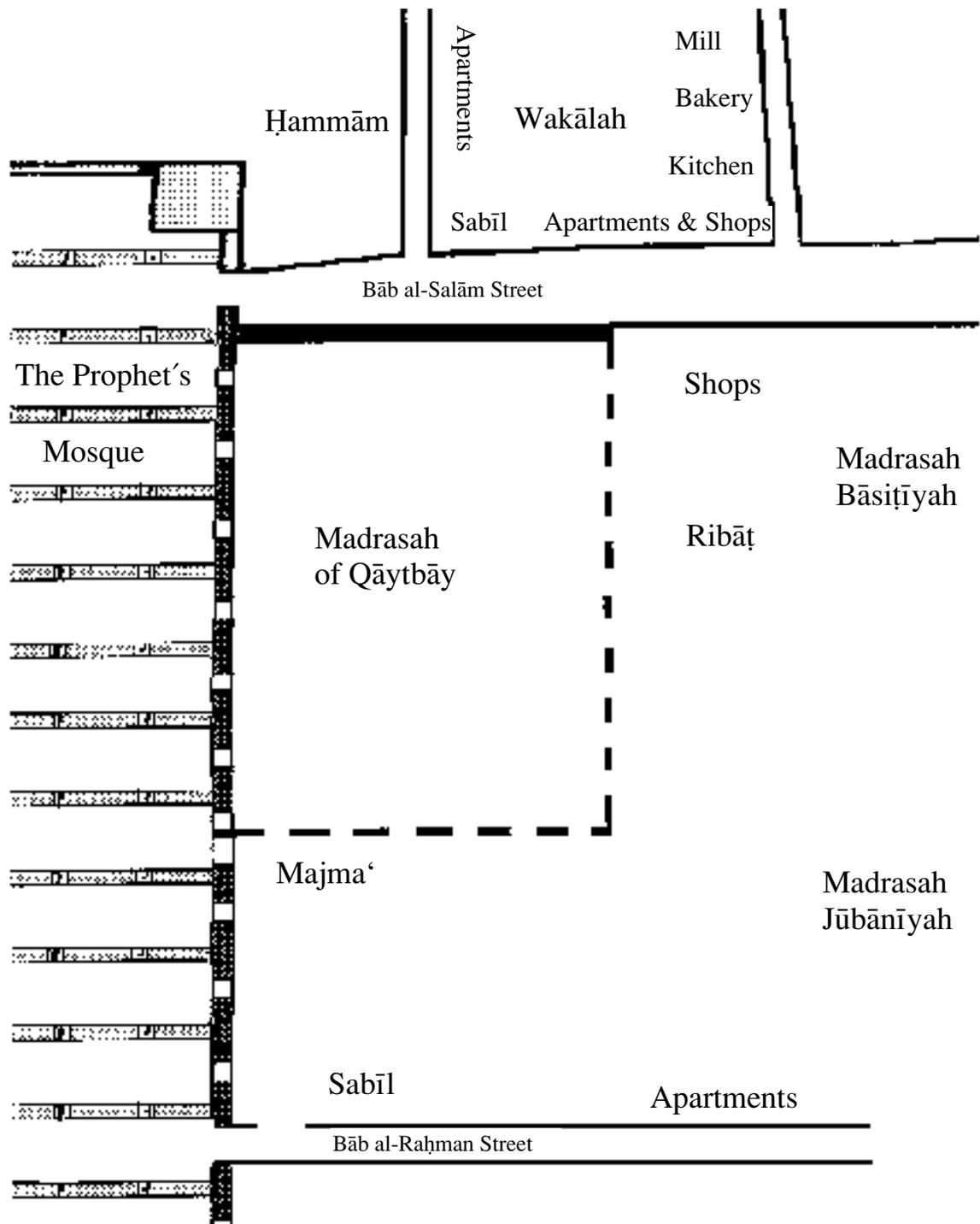
Figure 2. Schematic reconstruction of the layout of Qāytbāy´s complex in Medina
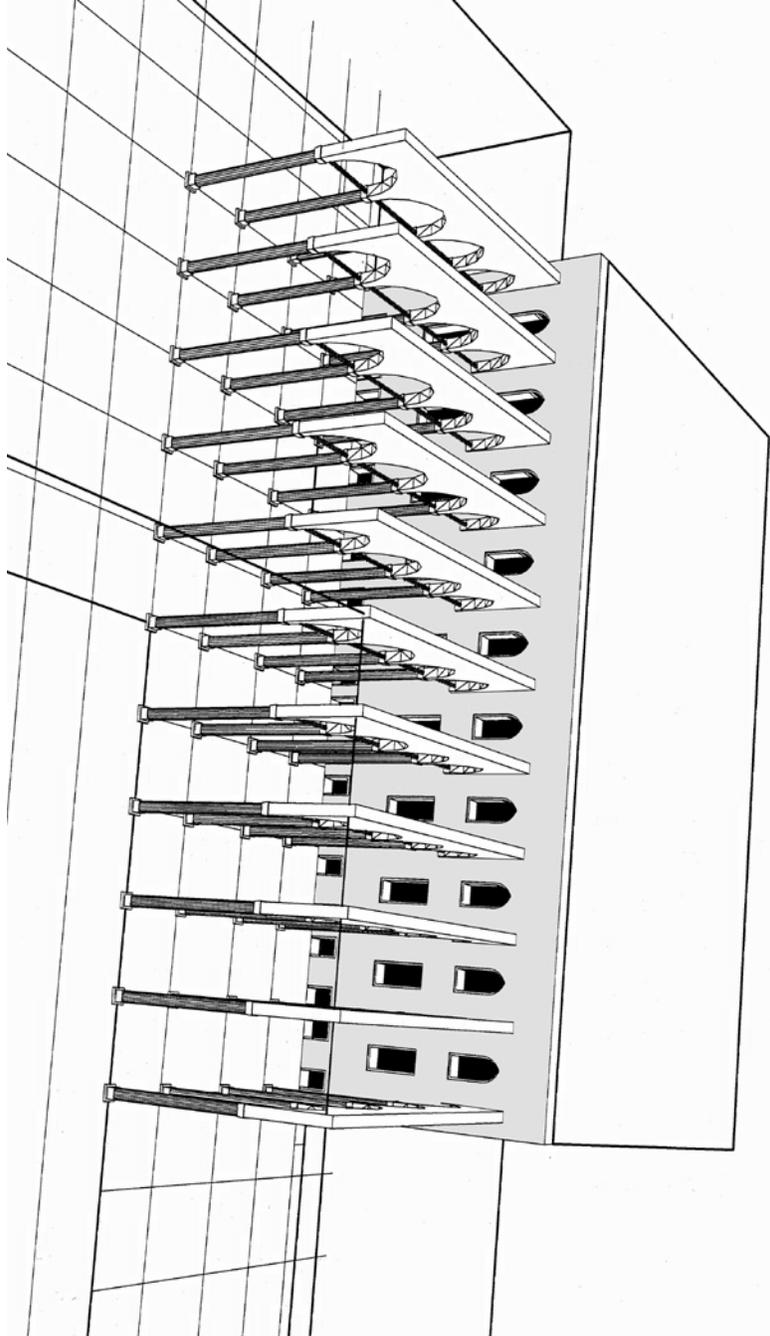
Figure 3. Axonometric drawing of Qāytbāy's *madrasah* and *majma'* in Medina
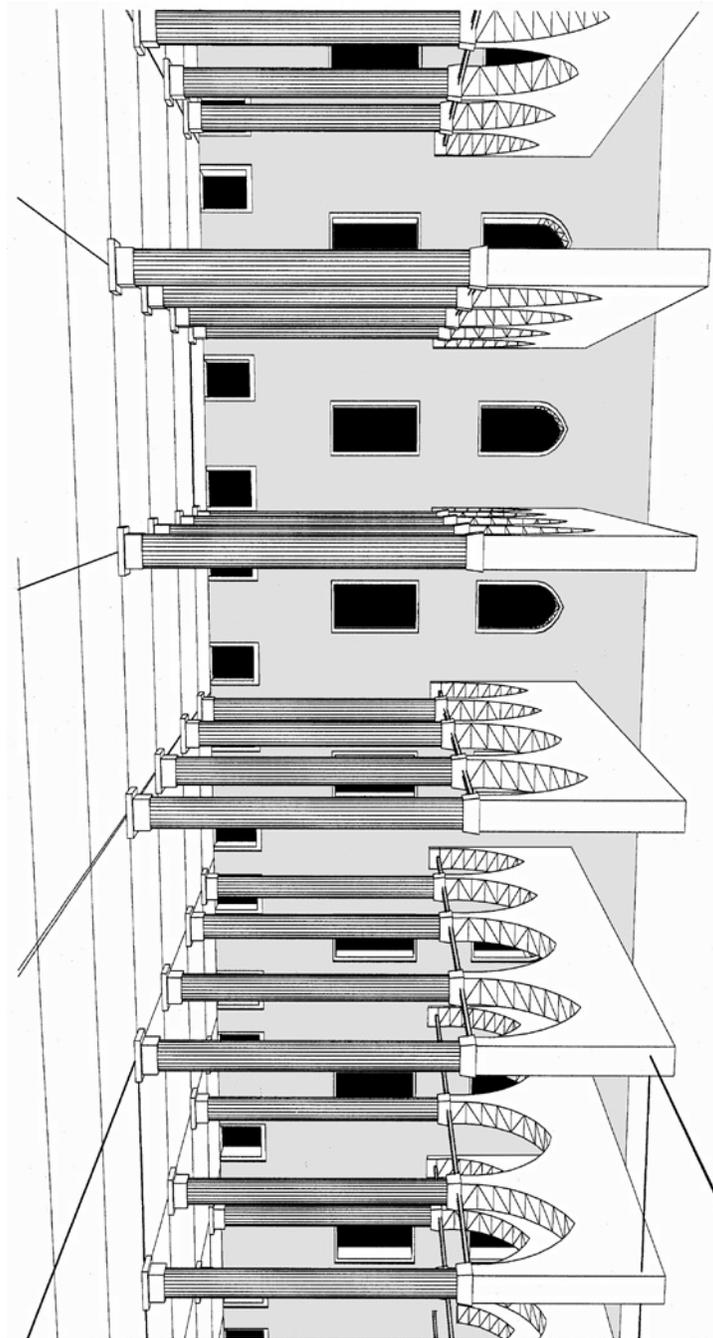
Figure 4. Schematic elevation of Qāytbāy´s *madrasah* and *majma'* in Medina
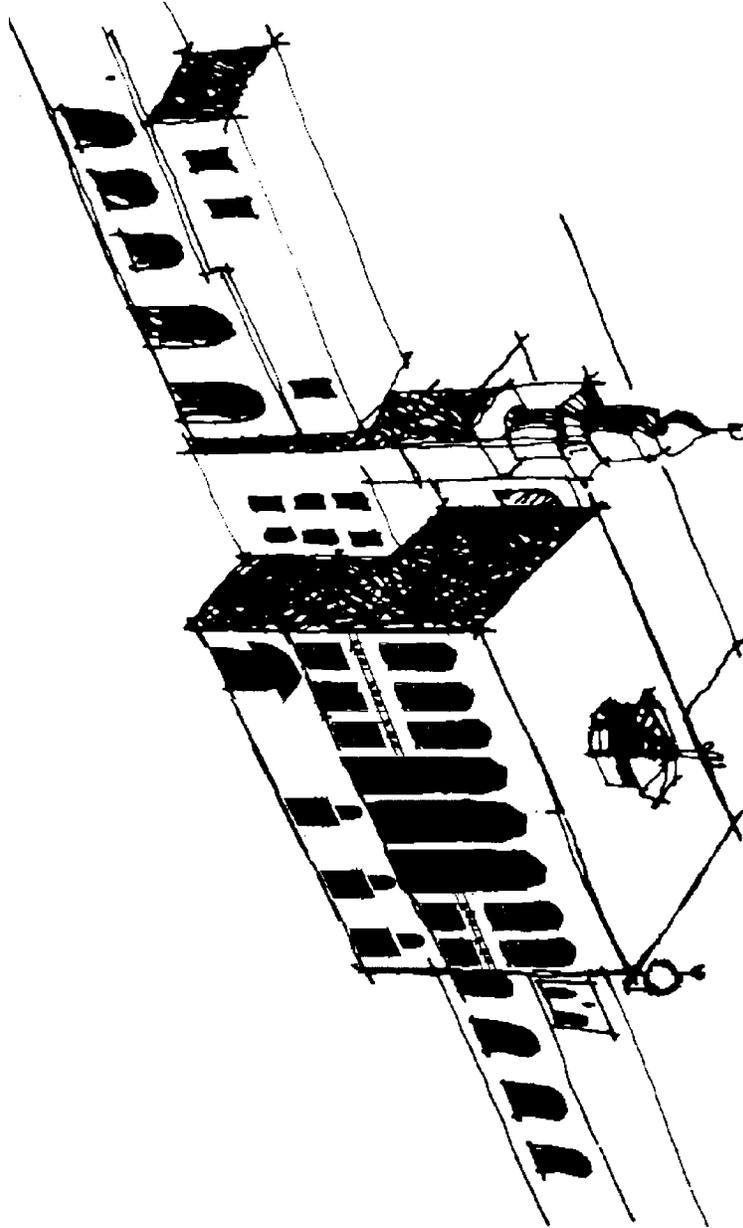
Figure 5. Qāytbāy′s *madrasah* in Jerusalem (based on A. C. Walls)
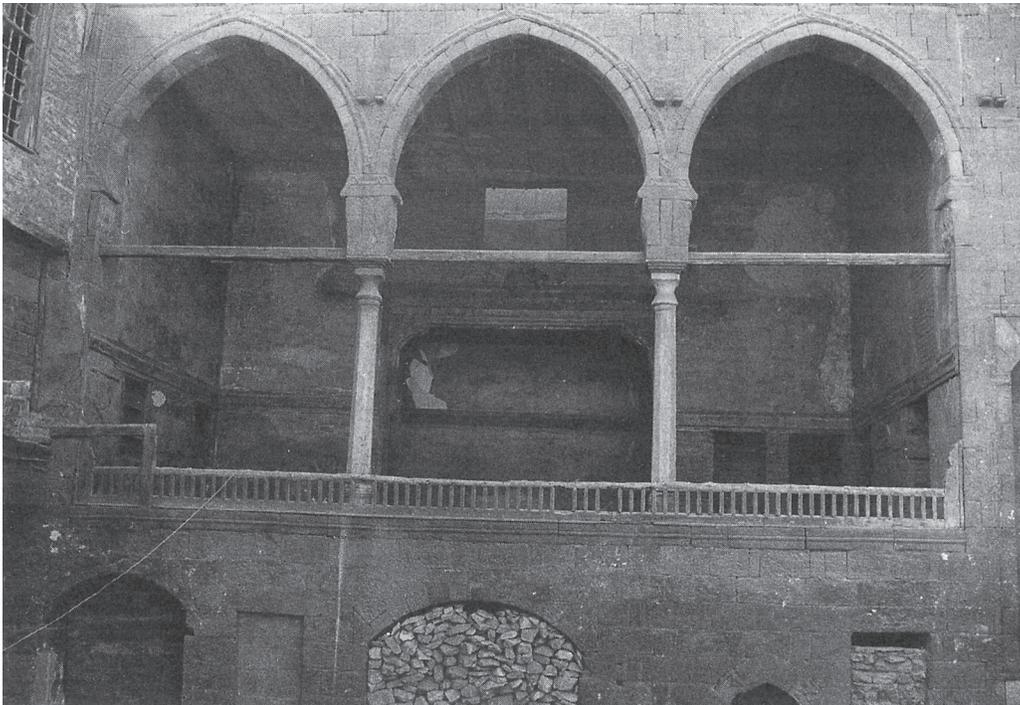
Figure 6. *Maqʿad* from the period of Qāytbāy (Bayt al-Razzāz)