APPENDIX 2
ABOUT AL-KHALIFA

1. Location and borders

The study area extends from Ibn Tulun Mosque in the North to al-Sayyida Nafisa Square in the South. It is triangular with Ibn Tulun and Sarghatmish Mosques marking the northwestern tip, Khushqadam Mosque roughly marking the northeastern tip and S. Nafisa Mosque marking the southern tip. Its main spine runs north south in the middle and is called, from south to north, al-Ashraf (also al-Balasi), then al-Khalifa, and then it branches into two streets, the eastern street called al-Rukbiyya and the western called Ibn Tulun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>20085 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>253284 m² = 60.3 feddans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of parcels</td>
<td>1497 parcels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of residential units</td>
<td>5206 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of inhabited units</td>
<td>4737 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of non-residential units</td>
<td>775 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily generated waste</td>
<td>9038 kg, about 9 tons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Left: Al-Khalifa – basic information

2. Main landmarks of the study area

- The 9th century mosque of Ibn Tulun, centre of city of al-Qata‘i’, Islamic Egypt’s first autonomous capital and Egypt’s earliest mosque to have retained its original form (A)
- The Ottoman houses of al-Kritliyya and Amna Bint Salim constructed in the mid-20th century into a museum housing the collection of British officer Gayer-Anderson who lived in the houses in the 1930s (C)
- The 18th century house of Sakna Pasha given, along with the title of Bey, to Egyptian singer Sakna, by Khedive Ismail at the end of the 10th century (H)
- The Fatimid shrines of S. Ruqayya (M) al-Ja’fari and ‘Atika (L), the Ottoman shrine of Muhammad al-Anwar (I), all descendants of the prophet Muhammad. This is in addition to the popular 19th century mosque and shrine of S. Sukayna (J), also a descendant of the prophet and other minor religious shrines such as that of Ibn Sirin, interpreter of dreams (N) and Shaykh Harun the patron saint of the house of al-Kritliyya (C).
- The mosques and madrasas of al-Ashraf Khalil (P), Fatma Khatun (O), Sarghatmish (B), Safiyy al-Din Jawhar (E) and Khushqadam, all religious and funerary structures belonging to sultans and amirs of the Mamluk regime. This is in addition to the Mamluk residential qa‘a (residential hall) turned Ottoman Mosque of Ahmad Kuhya (D).
- Minor sabils (public fountain) from the Ottoman period (F, G) and from the 19th century (W)
- The dome of Shajar al-Durr (K), Islamic Egypt’s only female ruler who is both the last of the Ayyubids and the first of the Mamluks. Adjoining it is the unfinished mosque from the 1920s now housing al-Khalifa Community Centre, the headquarters of Athar Lina and Megawra.
- The mosque and shrine of S. Nafisa (V), arguably Cairo’s most popular shrine, lies within the historical cemetery of the same name which houses such gems as the dome of the ‘Abbasid Caliphs (U), the Fatimid shrine of Mufi al-Dayn (redeemer of debts) (U) and the popular shrines of Sitt Jawhara (S. Nafisa’s...
APPENDIX II:

The latter two mark the visitation trail of S. Nafisa which extends northwards to include her private Ma’bad (oratory) (S), the location of her home, the mosque of al-Mu’arrif (Q) and the shrine of al-Arbi’in (R), all marking epiphanous events in her life.
3. The urban development of the city

The urban development of Cairo in the Islamic period; left: Map showing development from 641 to 868 (base map © Andre Raymand, Cairo; right from top to bottom: Old Cairo (al-Fustat) today – Amr ibn al-ʿAs Mosque; Ibn Tulun Mosque

a. The beginnings of al-Fustat and al-ʿAskar

The city of Fustat was established as Egypt’s capital after its conquest during the spread of Islam in AD 642 / AH 20, on the banks of the Nile near the Babylon Fortress, an area currently known as Misr al-Qadima. It is at Fustat that the first mosque in Egypt was erected: ‘Amr Ibn al-ʿAs Mosque. After the demise of the Umayyad rule, a new capital was established by the succeeding ʿAbbāsids in Egypt. This new city was called al-ʿAskar and was located north of Fustat, and became the headquarters and site for the military encampment.

b. Al-Sayyida Nafisa

S. Nafisa lived in the zone between al-ʿAskar and Fustat in the neighbourhood of al-Maragha with her husband Ishaq Ibn Jaʿfar al-Sadiq during the ʿAbbāsid era. Nafisa was the daughter of al-Husayn Ibn Zayd Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Ali Ibn Talib and Zaynab bint al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Ali, making her a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad from both her parents’ sides. She was known for her piety and temperance, in addition to her jurisprudence and interpretation of the Quran. The people of Egypt started gathering around her, to be close to her blessings, including the scholars and imams of that period. When S. Nafisa sensed the proximity of her death, she dug for herself a grave in her house. However, following her death during the holy month of Ramadan of AD 824 / AH208 her husband wished for her to be buried in al-Baqi’, a cemetery in Medina close to the Prophet’s Mosque. The people of Egypt were not happy with this decision and requested that she be buried in Egypt to bless her. Her husband agreed when he saw a vision telling him to do so. Al-Maqrizi writes that the tomb of S. Nafisa became known as one of the places in Egypt where supplications are answered. The site became popular for visitation which inevitably resulted in people digging their graves in the area surrounding S. Nafisa’s grave for the proximity to her blessings. The first notable changes in
the area of today's al-Khalifa started with the S. Nafisa area which had become the seat of the cemetery and a place of visitation.

c. The origins of the City of al-Qata’i’

When Ahmad Ibn Tulun was sent to Egypt by the ‘Abbasids in AD 868 / AH 253, he built the city of al-Qata’i’ to be the new capital, northeast of the city of al-‘Askar, spread over a square mile from Jabal Yashkur (Mount Yashkur) to Maydan (square) Ibn Tulun, later known as Maydan al-Rumayla and the Qaramaydan at the foot of where the Citadel is now. The city was named al-Qata’i’ due to the way it divided or quartered the area for each of the army’s denominations. Ibn Tulun built a mosque, the palatial complex (dar al-imara), a maristan (hospital), aqueduct and well in his new city. Dar al-Imara was built adjacent to the mosque; the two were connected by a door through which the governor could directly access the minbar (pulpit) in the mosque from the palace. The palace faced a parade ground and park, which contained gardens and a hippodrome. The Tulunid dynasty was short-lived as Ibn Tulun had established his and his successors’ rule as independent from the Caliphate and in AD 905 / AH 292 the ‘Abbasids reoccupied Egypt and in retaliation razed the whole city. Today only the mosque remains.

d. The foundation of al-Qahira (Fatimid Cairo) (969-1171)

At the start of the Fatimid rule, Fustat had expanded northward reaching Jabal Yashkur and southward till Istabl ‘Antar. The city was split into two parts: the lower quarter in the southwestern area of Fustat, considered the part with the highest urban density containing markets, caravanserais, and the mint; and an upper quarter containing Jabal Yashkur, the foot of the Muqattam Plateau, and Birkat al-Habash (pond) which is currently known as al-Basatin. The upper quarter is considered the urban extension of the lower quarter and includes the residential part of the city. When the Fatimids arrived in AD 969 / AH 358 they built the walled northernmost quarter: al-Qahira. It became the heart of the capital in AD 1168 / AH 563, when Vizier Shawar transferred the government from Fustat to al-Qahira and set fire to the former in anticipation of the Crusaders’ attack.

By the end of the Fatimid period (11th C AD), many of the older neighbourhoods were left to ruins due to famine, epidemics and economic and political crises. The area of al-‘Askar and al-Qata’i’ remained in ruins until a construction boom in the area during the second half of the 12th century AD. This included the extension of the main al-Qasaba (spine) through al-Qahira and Bab Zuwayla to S. Nafisa which was called al-Mashahid Street (shrines). Royalty and viziers would finance the restoration of the fallen shrines in the area, most of which are located on current al-Khalifa street and its surroundings. It was during this period that the shrines of S. Sukayna, S. Ruqayya, Ja’fari and ‘Atika were built.

e. The Ayyubid period (1171-1250)

With the demise of the Shi’a Fatimid rule, their Ayyubid successors confirmed the Sunni doctrine and erased manifestations of Shi’ism throughout Egypt. They established Sunni schools to disintegrate the remnants of Fatimid rule, in the area of Bayn al-Qasrayn (“between the two palaces”, located along al-Mu’izz li-Din Illah St.). They built the Citadel moving the seat of power and new government to outside the city walls. Al-Saliba Street was established from the Citadel westward past Ibn Tulun mosque and then southward to Fustat. At the end of the Ayyubid period, Shajar al-Durr wife of the last of the Ayyubid rulers, al-Salih Najm ad-Dīn Ayyub, built for herself a mausoleum close to the shrines of Ahl al-Bayt (the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) along what is currently called al-Khalifa Street.
f. The Mamluk period (1250-1517)

Although the shrines were of great importance during the Fatimid period for their political agenda, their importance grew and took root during the Mamluk period, where al-Mashahid and al-Qarafa received great care and attention from the Mamluk rulers and the upper middle class resulting in the introduction of new facilities. During the Mamluk period these areas slowly transformed and became characterised as multifunctional spaces as opposed to being of a purely religious nature as was the case during the Fatimid period. To legitimise his rule Sultan al-Zahir Baybars had his sons buried at the 'Abbasid Caliphs Mausoleum, at S. Nafisa, which the 'Abbasid Caliphs built there when they settled in Egypt during the reign of Baybars after their downfall in Baghdad. Not long after, on al-Khalifa Street, near the shrines of the Prophet's descendants, Sultan Qalawun built a dome and school for Fatma Khatun, his wife and mother of his heir, which gave her the name of Umm al-Salih. Her son al-Ashraf Khalil built a dome and school adjacent to her complex.

The area between the Citadel and Cairo underwent urban development during the Mamluk period, particularly during the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (AD 1293-1341 / AH 693-741), in addition to the area north of Fustat. Due to the transfer of the seat of government to the Citadel, the princes and officials setup their residences around the Citadel. A number of markets were established in Maydan Rumayla. Despite the fact that Fatimid Cairo was a commercial center, the commercial activities and crafts workshops were located outside Bab Zuwayla and stretched all the way to the shrine of S. Nafisa. Al-Maqrizi has indicated the concentration of bathhouses inside the walls of Fatimid Cairo as well as between Bab Zuwayla and Ibn Tulun mosque showing the urban prosperity at the time. In AD 1314-5 / AH 714, al-Nasir Muhammad renovated the tomb of S. Nafisa and established a mosque adjacent to it. The 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfi b’illah lived near the tomb of Shajar al-Durr in AD 1336-7 / AH 737. Interest in the area of the shrines along al-Khalifa street continued during the reign of the Bahri Mamluks, resulting in the renovation of the shrines of S. Ruqayya by al-Sharif Husayn Ibn Abu Bakr al-Husayni in AD 1440-1 / AH 844. The area was further popularised when Sultan Qaytbay issued a decree to establish the mawlid (observance of the birthday) of S. Nafisa which was attended by the Sultan himself, following his restoration of the shrine.

With the erection of the city walls in the Ayyubid era, and the aqueduct during the Mamluk period (which divided the Qarafa), the northern part of the city (including the area of S. Nafisa and the area connecting it to Bab Zuwayla) became enclosed. The rest of the Qarafa stretching southeast at the foot of the cliffs was left outside the walled perimeter to which the shrine of S. Nafisa became a figurative gate to the city while Maydan al-Rumayla, at the foot of the Citadel, was considered the political gate of the Sultanate. During the Mamluk period the road connecting the shrine of S. Nafisa and Cairo made it the starting point for visits.

g. The Ottoman Period (1517-1798)

A number of sabils were constructed in the area surrounding the S. Nafisa shrine. One of these was constructed by Isma'il Katkhuda in AD 1751-2 / AH 1165, accompanied by a gate and fence around the shrine of S. Nafisa in AD 1756 / AH 1170, as well as Sabil Sultan Mustafa built between AD 1736-55 / AH 1149-69 near his gate. This gate was demolished during the project that created Maydan S. Nafisa in the 20th century AD. Other sabils include those of Hajj Omar Bakir (AD 1775 / AH 1168) and Sabil al-Yazji (19th century). The large number of sabils is evidence that during the Ottoman era, the area of S. Nafisa was highly populated and visited. Abd al-Rahman Katkhudha commissioned the restoration of the shrine and mosque of S. Nafisa and built a private well that drew water with a waterwheel, in AD 1757-60 / AH 1171-3. This well supplied water for all the surrounding buildings through underground pipes, as recorded in the endowment documents, which also reported the construction of ten buildings some of which housed visitors to the shrine. Katkhudha then proceeded with restoration work on the S. Ruqayya and S. Sukayna shrines. He provided the later with the construction of a mosque; light posts; and piping to take bring water to it, a bathhouse and surrounding residences from the well at S. Nafisa. He also allocated the proceeds from
the surrounding real estate to the maintenance of the shrines. In the case of Sayyidi Muhammad al-Anwar, the shrine was rebuilt with the addition of a **zawiya** (oratory), minaret, ablution fountain and well. Katkhudha’s work on the shrines has not survived. In the two decades following his interventions, the shrines underwent another round of renovation by al-Murtada al-Zabidi who built a shrine with a **maqṣura** (space enclosed by a screen) and **zawiya** near S. Ruqayya for his wife who was buried there in AD 1782 / AH 1196. He built a small house near the shrine where he lived until his death in AD 1791–2 / AH 1206. He was buried near her.

h. **Modern Egypt (1804-present)**

The area of S. Nafisa and its shrines received much attention from Khedive ‘Abbas I + who was known for his passion for the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In AD 1850 he renovated the copper dome over the **maqṣura** of S. Sukayna. This was accompanied by the restoration of the shrine of S. Ruqayya which included returning the preceding **maqṣura** to the shrine which al-Amir Katkhuda had moved from the shrine of al-Husayn to S. Sukayna. This was followed by the expansion of the **takīyya** (sufi hospice). Both of these underwent further expansion under the direction of Tawhida, daughter of Khedive Isma’il. Abbas I also renovated the mosque of S. Nafisa and the restoration of the **maqṣura**. Some of the doors, and the marble, these works continued until AD 1855–6, completed under the reign of Khedive Muhammad Sa’id. Under the rule of Khedive Isma’il, a **takīyya** was built for the Qadiriyya Sufi order within the school of al-Ashraf Khalil, which was setup as an endowment. This well-known order branched
from the takiyya at S. Nafisa. Adham Pasha, caretaker of the S. Nafisa mosque built housing for sufis, as well as an office near the mosque, while supplying water for both of these. Khedive ‘Abbas II renovated the shrine of S. Sukayna. During the mid-nineteenth century AD, Mahmud al-Yazji built a sabil-kuttab (public fountain and Quran school) at the start of S. Nafisa Street, only the sabil remains today and it is not registered as a historic building. In 1873 restoration works were extended to the dome of Shajar al-Durr which included the renovation of its mosque and terrace.

The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe (Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art) was established by Khedive Tawfiq in 1881 for the preservation of monuments. At the start of the twentieth century the Comité removed the graves and buildings from the vicinity of the schools of Umm al-Salih and al-Ashraf Khalil, and undertook the restoration of the domes of Shajar al-Durr and the ‘Abbasid Caliphs.

During the First World War, new efforts took place to restore the domes of Shajar al-Durr and S. Ruqayya. It was planned that restoration work on Shajar al-Durr would continue, with donations from Sultan Husayn Kamil, on the reconstruction of its ablution fountain, the creation of the maydan in front of the dome, the construction of a zawiya, as well as the reconstruction of the takiyya of S. Ruqayya. However, he died before the project was implemented in AD 1917. The Comité took the lead and implemented part of the project to revive the memory of Sultan Husayn Kamil, but it too did not continue. The project stopped after the removal of the old mosque of Shajar al-Durr and the incomplete construction of the zawiya. In the 1920s, a new traffic plan was designed for the area. Maydan S. Nafisa was implemented as well as the streets leading towards it, but the plans for the rest of the area were on hold until AD 1950. The maydan continued to undergo development until the early twenty-first century, which has been associated with the development of the Zaynhum area where the construction of public housing has taken place in the 50s and 60s. Cairo Company for Garbage Collection occupies part of the Zaynhum hill as a depot, alongside other facilities such as clubs, social centres run by local NGOs. Another youth centre, a library, a hospital, and a school, all of which services Zaynhum, occupy the western part of Maydan S. Nafisa. On the northern side of the maydan is the Maghrabi eye hospital. In addition to the changes of the maydan and the construction of the Zaynhum housing, which radically changes the S. Nafisa landmarks, the construction of the Salah Salim Road contributed to the isolation of the S. Nafisa area from the Qarafa cemetery, which stretches southward and eastward. These factors have also contributed to the traffic issue on al-Khalifa Street where many drivers take the street as a shortcut to the districts of S. Zaynab and Downtown to avoid the heavily congested Salah Salim Road.

Around the mid-20th century many factories were set up particularly along the southern section of al-Khalifa Street producing bread, ice cream, clothing and leather products. Most of them no longer function. In 1992 a large earthquake struck Egypt leaving many casualties and much damage in Historic Cairo. Many buildings collapsed or were left structurally unsound which were left abandoned or demolished. The Zaynhum project underwent an expansion phase under the sponsorship of Suzanne Mubarak, former First Lady, as one of the projects aimed to provide housing for those displaced by the earthquake. In the 90s the S. Nafisa mosque was reconstructed. In 2002, the Ministry of Tourism launched the project for the shrines of the descendants of the Prophet, which consisted of the renovation of al-Khalifa Street and the restoration of the shrines, but the project was not completed. The project called Masar Ahl al-Bayt (Descendants of the Prophet Itinerary) started with the beautification of the street which mainly focused on fixing facades also included plans to build a new mosque for S. Ruqayya adjacent to the shrine. In preparation for this buildings in the vicinity of the shrine were torn down. The plans for the mosque were put aside until 2015, when work for the construction of the mosque was started. In 2015, Cairo Governorate implemented a project in Maydan S. Nafisa to pave the streets and sidewalk and regulate traffic and parking.
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