

AL-MAKRĪZĪ'S KHITAT AND THE MARKETS IN CAIRO DURING THE MAMLŪKS ERA

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Introduction

Located between Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean and also situated at the center of the intercontinental trade routes¹, the Near East had one of the most vibrant economies by large scale of production activities, the domestic market diversity and noteworthy trade networks with Asia, Africa and Europe until the end of 11th century². While Baghdad was an important metropolis in the early Middle Ages³, trade intensity began to shift from Iraq and Persian Gulf to Egypt, Red Sea and the port cities of Arabian Peninsula in the 10th century. Therefore, Cairo su-

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¹ In addition to the Asian spice and silk, the Near East goods were purchased and transported by the European merchants in return for silver in the 13th century. There were three main routes connecting the Levant and the Near East to Europe uttermost points of Asia. The first link was the north route which set off from Constantinople to the north of Black Sea and reached Central Asia. The Central route used to connect the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean via Asia Minor, Syria, Persia and Baghdad. As for the south link, it connected Alexandria, Cairo and the Red Sea to the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. See Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2000, p. 23; see also; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1923, p. 106; Maria Ivanova, *The Black Sea and Early Civilizations of Europe, The Near East and Asia*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2013, p. 2; Todd Richardson, *Palague, Weather and Wool*, Authorhouse, Indiana 2009, pp. 163-4; S. Labib, "Egyptian Commercial Policy in the Middle Ages", *Studies in the Economic History in the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, Oxford University Press, London 1970, p. 70; D. Abulafia, "Asia, Africa and the Trade of Medieval Europe", *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan and E. Miller, Cambridge University Press, New York 1987, p. 461, Abdullah Mesut Ağır, *Memlûklarda Ticaret*, Çizgi Kitapevi, Konya 2015, pp. 73-4.

² Şevket Pamuk, "Political Economy and Institutions in the Near East since the Rise of Islam", *Islam and Economic Development: Past and Present Conference*, North Carolina 2010, p. 1.

³ Ibn Khaldun cites that the number of the bathhouses added up to sixty-five thousand in the reign of Caliph Ma'mun and because of being composed of forty cities which were adjacent to each other, the prosperous city was not surrounded just a single wall, Ibn Haldun, *Mukaddime*, II, ed. Zakir Kadiri Ugan, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 1996, p. 224.

perseding Baghdad emerged as an important city⁴. Especially, the aspect of Cairo changed as a result of major developments in economic and cultural areas taking place during the long-term sultanate of al-Nasir Muhammad (709-741/1310-1341) and thus the city began to be called "umm al-dunya", in the meaning of "mother of the world". In particular, flow of the scholars, artisans and prosperous merchants of the East to Cairo⁵ who fled away from the Mongol invasion, had constituted the fundamental factor that contributed to economic development of the city⁶. Besides the significant roles that the Mamlüks (1250-1517) played on commercial relations with Far East, Central Asia, Desht-i Qipchaq, East Africa, the Red Sea and the Levant⁷, one of the most distinguishing features of State was also the markets

⁴ Subhi Labib, "Ortaçağ İslâm Dünyasında Kapitalizm", *Tarih Okulu*, tr. Mustafa Alican, 24 (2013): 228; Establishment of Baghdad, alias *Medinat al-Salam*, in the early years of the Islam was concerned with the development of the commercial activities on the Persian Gulf. Aden became the main port for the economic activities on the Red Sea and African Coasts. Due to increase in importance of Cairo gradually during the reign of the Fatimids, sea transport centered on the Red Sea, therefore the monopoly that the Abbasids had on this trade came to an end. See Anna Ihr, "The Spread of Middle Eastern Glass", *Encounters Materialities Confrontations Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction*, ed. Per Cornell and Fredrick Fahlender, Cambridge Scholars Press, New Castle 2007, p. 200.

⁵ See, E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, pp. 280-90.

⁶ Bruce Stanley, "Cairo", *Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Dumper, Bruce E. Stanley, ABC-CLIO Press, California 2006, p. 110.

⁷ Mamlüks attached major importance to the international commerce like their predecessors; the Fatimids and the Ayyubids. When the State's geographical position and activities on the Levant are taken into account; commerce, in addition to the gains acquired from being commercialized the spice to Europe, was also a political instrument for the Mamlüks to become an ally of the Italians during the embargoes placed by the papacy against Egypt between 1291 and 1344. Especially, the spice trade was monopolized by the Karīmī Merchants in the Bahri Period. This position had changed on behalf of the sultans in the Burji period when they started to play a significant role in the spice trade and as a result of being monopolized the trade activities by the sultans, the commercial life of Egypt had damaged. The Portuguese's reconnaissance voyages caused the Mediterranean trade to lose its former vitality towards the end of the 15th century; therefore both the Mamlüks and the Italians had been badly influenced from this condition. While the process between 12th and 15th centuries were forming an interim period that the superiority in the economic field would transfer from the Near East to Europe, The Mamlüks, governing in Egypt and Syria in the second half of the 13th century, would be the main actor of this process. See, Michael Winter, "The Ottoman Occupation", *Cambridge History of Egypt*, v.I, ed. Carl Petry, Cambridge University Press, New York 1998, p. 494; Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy, 1244-1291: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade of the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre 1244-1291*, Leiden: Brill 1975; Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society 1300-1600", *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, Cambridge University Press, New York 1994, p. 319-20; Eliyahu Ashtor, "Observations on Venetian Trade in the Levant in the XVth Century", *East-West Trade in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Variorum Reprints,

(*sūqs*), in which certain goods were sold, particularly seen in Cairo. A. Raimond states that the district of markets and caravanserais which occupied the center of Cairo reflected the evolution of the city as a whole during the Mamlūk era, with a phase of expansion and prosperity in the first half of the 9th/15th century, a period of decline between 748/1348 and 802/1400, and finally a period of restoration under the reigns of the Sultans Barsbay, Ka'it Bay, and Kansuh al-Ghūrī in particular⁸. Like the typical markets in the Medieval Islamic World, these specialized markets were active in the streets known by the vocational name of the artisans and the craftsman⁹. In other words, craftsmen and shopkeepers were placed in different marketplaces according to type of goods they traded. For example, Sūq al-Shammā'īn one of Cairo's leading marketplace in which waxes were only sold. Likewise, in coppersmith market, just copper and in the fur bazaar, different types of furs were commercialized. Paper, textiles, jewelry, tobacco and slave markets were also serving in various parts of the city¹⁰. There were also grain and timber markets established in Cairo where people gathered and had dealings on Friday

London 1986, pp. 533-586; Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants" *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1/2, Cambridge 1956, pp. 45-56; Walter J. Fischel, "The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt: A Contribution to the Economic History of Medieval Islam", *JESHO* 1/2, Leiden 1958, pp. 159-60; N. Coureas, "Controlled Contacts: The Papacy, the Latin Church of Cyprus and Mamluk Egypt 1250-1350" *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen-J.V. Steenbergen, Leuven 2005, p. 403; Eliyahu Ashtor, "Le Monopole de Barsbāy d'après des Sources Vénétiennes", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 9 Madrid 1979, pp. 551-572; M.T. Ferrer, "Catalan Commerce in the Middle Ages", *Catalan Historical Review*, 5, Barcelona 2012, pp. 42-43; Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History*, p. 298; Ağır, *Memlûklarda Ticaret*, pp. 98-104; Due to the slavery system that the Mamluks based on, it was requisite for State to purchase Mamlūks regularly. From this aspect, they procured slaves from Desht-i Qipchaq, Caucasus and Central Asia. Because of the slave trade, the Mamlūks developed close relationships with Golden Horde. As well as the continuity of the stability of the State system, the slave trade also joined the two States against the common enemy, the Ilkhanids. See David Ayalon, "Memlûk Devletinde Kölelik Sistemi", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, tr. Samira Kortantamer, IV, İzmir 1989, pp. 211-247; A. Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War 1260-1281*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1995, pp. 81-82, 90; Michael Burgan, *Empire of the Mongols*, Chelsea House Publishers, New York 2005, p. 42; Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East*, Leiden: Brill 1995, p. 30; Sato Tsugitaka, "Slave Traders and Kārimī Merchants", *Mamluk Studies Review*, X-1, Chicago 2006, pp. 141-232; Ağır, *Memlûklarda Ticaret*, pp. 174-97.

⁸ André Raymond, "Sûk: In Cairo under the Mamlūks and Ottomans" *Encyclopedia of Islam*, v.9, Leiden: Brill 1997, p. 792.

⁹ Cengiz Tomar, "Pazar: Memlûklar Dönemi", *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, v.34, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul 2007, p. 205.

¹⁰ Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fettāh 'Āşūr, *al-Āsr al-Memālīkī fī Mısır wa al-Sham*, Dār al-Nahdād al-Arabiya, Cairo 1976, p. 308; Amira El Azhary Sonbol, *The New Mamluks: Egyptian Society and Modern Feudalism*, Syracuse University Press, New York 2000, p. 23; K. Y. Kopruman, "Memlûklar Döneminde Mısır'da Sosyal Hayat", *Doğuştan Günümüze Büyük İslam Tarihi*, VII, İstanbul 1989, p. 37.

mornings. Cairo had fifty-four markets while Fustat had nineteen¹¹. A wide variety of shops in Cairo's markets have attracted the foreign merchants until the Ottoman conquest¹². Here, I will both try to provide information the markets in Cairo during the Mamlūks period according to al-Makrīzī's Chronicle *Kitāb al-Mawaiz wal-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Hitat wal-Asār*, and discuss some certain questions that I believe are illustrative for the scope of the article such as; what were the typical features of the Medieval Islamic markets? Why were different marketplaces needed for the sale of certain goods? What were the main agents that affected the order of the domestic markets in the Middle Ages? What types of markets were located in the Near East before the Mamlūks? I will start with background in order to make the subject more comprehensible and the questions formed by some of the themes of the paper given above will be discussed in the background section. The aim of the study is to collect all the details about the markets orderly activating in Cairo during the Mamlūk period in the light of *al-Khitat*.

The Background

The Persian Word, *Bāzār*, means outdoor public spaces where vendors and purchasers gathered at certain times for commercial purposes. As the meaning widened in the course of time, it inferred the traditional business district, street and avenue according to a plan of the city or a zone formed by certain number of shops. A day of week, on which it was customary for people to gather for exchange, is called *Bāzār* (bazaar)¹³. Bazaar is *sūq* in Arabic (pl. *Asvāq*), derived from the Aramaic word *shūkā* has the same meaning. M. Rodinson indicates that *sūq* may be related to *sūku* in Sami Akaddian language and *shūk* stated as the streets and squares in the ancient Hebrew texts, means *forum* in Latin. Like the French term *marché* and English *market*, *sūq* has double meanings that denote both commercial commodity trade and the place where the exchange activities are conducted¹⁴. The Greek term,

¹¹ Kasim Abdu Kasim, *Aswāk Mısr fī ʿAsr Salātīn al-Mamālīk*, Cairo 1978, p. 6; *Sūq Berber, Sūq Wardān, Sūq al-Kabīr, Sūwayqā al-Maqārīyā Sūwayqā al-Wāzır, Sūq al-Ḍayātīn, Sūwayqā dār Faraj, Sūwayqā masjūd al-Qaysām, Sūwayqā Masjūd al-Qarūn, Sūwayqā Dar al-Nahhās, Sūwayqā al-Adwān, Sūwayqā al-Raqīq* were some of the markets in Fustat. See İbrahim Mohammad b. Aydemir al-ʿĀlāʿī b. Duqmaq, *Kitāb al-Intisār la Wāsitat aqd al-Amsār*, Beirut: al-Maktāb al-Tijārī li al-Tibāʿah wa al-Tawziʿ, Beirut publication date not given, pp. 33-34.

¹² Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: An Introduction*, Bonn University Press, Goettingen 2012, p. 15.

¹³ Cengiz Kallek, "Pazar", *Diyanet İslām Ansiklopedisi*, v.34, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul 2007, p. 194.

¹⁴ Tn. Bianquis and P. Guichard, "Sūk", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, v.9, Leiden: Brill 1997, p. 786; see also Werner Diem and Hans-Peter Radenberg, *A Dictionary of the Arabic Material of S. D. Goitein's A*

Qaysāriyya (vikala, bedesten¹⁵) is a covered bazaars and larger market place with its warehouses and *khans* (caravansary) for lodging, so it is separated from *sūq*¹⁶. *Qaysāriyya*, *funduq*, *khan* or *wikala* all meant the same: the warehouses where the goods are stored, a square that offers an area commercial activities and accommodation for the merchants¹⁷. *Suwayqa's* (bāzārce in Persian) are the smaller marketplaces in which townspeople frequently stop by to supply for their daily needs¹⁸.

The medieval Islamic cities came into prominence by heterogeneous structural features and a great castle they have. In general, there was a mosque at the center of it and many shops belonging to wholesalers and retailers were ranged on both sides of thoroughfares extending towards the main gates (bāb). The city was divided into several neighborhoods in accordance with the mosque, synagogue, church and *sūq* in which the craftsmen and traders were placed according to their occupations¹⁹. The markets were categorized into three types as *the local*, *the seasonal* and *the annual* in the regions where the commercial activities were lively in the Middle Ages. In the local markets, founded in a particular region, there were many shops selling variety of goods indigenous of the region²⁰. They were the permanent markets and the markets for foodstuff and the other goods such as garments situated at different places²¹. So, what was the main reason underlying the distinction of market discrimination in this way? First of all, the value of the market place and the shops here were determined by the potential customer. While the retailers

Mediterranean Society, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1994, p. 109.

¹⁵ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul, Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1996, p. 210.

¹⁶ S. D. Gotein, *A Mediterranean Society: Daily life*, University of California Press, California 1983, p. 29; M. Streck, "Kaysāriya", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, v.4, Leiden: Brill 1997, p. 841.

¹⁷ Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2003, p. 63, see also Ibn Khaldun: *The Mediterranean in the 14th Century: Rise and Fall of Empires*, ed. Ana Serrano and Jeronimo Páez López and José María Cabeza Méndez and María Jesús Viguera and Fundación José Manuel Lara and Legado Andalusi and Real Alcázar, Scientific Coordination, Seville 2006, p. 96; Sonbol, *The New Mamluks: Egyptian Society and Modern Feudalism*, p. 23.

¹⁸ Kallek, "Pazar", p. 194.

¹⁹ Marjorie Kelly, *Islam: The Religious and Political Life of a World Community*, Greenwood Publishing Group, California 1984, p. 89; D. M. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century*, London: Routledge 2014, p. 51.

²⁰ Altan Çetin, "Memlûklar Dönemi Doğu Akdeniz Müslüman Şehirlerinin Ekonomik Yüzü", *GEFAD*, 29, Ankara 2009, p. 373.

²¹ Marwan Atf al-Dilain, "al-Silā et-Ticāriyye fī'l-Asvāk al-Misriyya fī Devlet al-Memālik al-Burciyya", *al-Majalla al-Urduniyya li al-Tārih wa al-Āsar Urduniyye li't-Tārih wa al-Āsar*, 2/2, 2012, p. 57.

generally were deployed in the vicinity of mosque, bridge, city gates and the busiest streets that the circulation of people was intensive, craftsmen and wholesalers used to settle into less crowded streets. Due to the risk of fire and sound pollution; blacksmiths, coppersmiths and carpenters had settled in the suburbs. The competition arising between them from the audit requirements and ethnic, religion and compatriot relations might be seen as the other factors that were effective on the artisans belonging to the same profession located at the same market²². The fact that competition among the artisans was reflected on the quality standards of the goods, price control policies, and the various alternatives available to the customers in finding the best choice of goods throughout the bazaar were among the functions of the market diversity that could be rated in favour of the consumers²³. Clustering of colleagues at the same place was also for the benefit of both wholesalers and retailers in terms of time saving and reduction of transport costs²⁴. Seasonal markets were installed during the time when the certain goods arrived to Mecca, Jeddah, Syria and Egypt. As for the annual markets, these were installed at a certain time of a year²⁵. The last two were temporary bazaars²⁶. In Egypt, three types of markets were seen: The first was the covered one called as *Sūq al-Ĵamlūn al-Kabīr* and *Sūq Ĵamlūn al-Saġīr*, the other was *al-Saqāif*, the outer surface of which was covered with wood. The last market including many tents was pertained to the vendors²⁷. Apart from the markets founded during the Mamlūk era, commercial life continued in

²² Kallek, "Pazar", p. 198.

²³ I. M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1984, p. 100; Kopraman, "Memlūklar Döneminde Mısır'da Sosyal Hayat", p. 37.

²⁴ Kallek, "Pazar", p. 198.

²⁵ Çetin, "Memlūklar Dönemi Doĝu Akdeniz Müslüman Şehirlerinin Ekonomik Yüzü": 373; the example of the best annual market was *Yabanlu Bazaar* set up in Kayseri, in Anatolia every year from August – September. This market that served forty days was accepted as an international one due to the participation of foreign merchants coming from the countries of east, west, north and south. Zakariya Qazvini, who perfectly stated the exchanging activities in this market where participation was very high, reported that the merchants coming from far away countries struggled a lot to take place in this market, and that the eastern merchants sold their good to westerners while northeners' sold theirs to southerners, and that apart from Turkish and Greek slaves, various horses and mules, satin fabric and exotic animal furs were sold here; Zakariya Qazvini, *Asār al-Bilād wa Ahbār al-İbād* ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Gottingen 1848, p. 357. See also Faruk Sümer, *Yabanlu Pazarı: Selçuklular Devrinde Milletlerarası Büyük Bir Fuar*, Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, İstanbul 1985; Mikhail Bayram, "Türkiye Selçuklularında Devlet Yapısının Şekillenmesi", *Türkler*, v. 7, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel and Kemal Çiçek and Salim Koca, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara 2002, p. 246.

²⁶ Dilain, "al-Silā al-Tjāriya", p. 57.

²⁷ Çetin, "Memlūklar Dönemi Doĝu Akdeniz Müslüman Şehirlerinin Ekonomik Yüzü", p. 377-78.

the *sūqs* dating back to the Fatimid and the Ayyubid periods²⁸.

The market diversification and specialization in the Near East go back to the early days of Islam. During the period of Prophet Muhammad, different marketplaces were allocated for the foodstuffs, animals and the slaves. As a matter of fact, bazaar tradition in Arabia was the same before the advent of Islam. For example, local food markets were established in a place on a certain day of the week and were outdoor bazaars. The first bazaar in Medina, founded by Prophet Muhammad, was inside a tent which was free of taxation²⁹. In the later years, new bazaars were established to the encampment cities such as Fustat, Basra and Kufa during the reign of Caliph Omar. Among them, bazaars of Basra, founded on the busy streets and at extensive areas, would consist of such markets as camel, straw and locksmith³⁰. During the reigns of the Umayyads and Abbasids, bazaars showed great improvement in parallel with the development of the cities. Although their number declined in Baghdad as a result of several fires occurring in blacksmiths and spice markets under the power of Great Seljuks³¹, bazaars of Basra saved their liveliness³². Some of the trading centers in Basra in the 10th century are as follows:

Sūq al-Dabbaghīn (leather dealer market), *Sūq al-Ibil* (camel market), *Sūq al-Tabbanīn* (straw market), *Sūq al-Wazzanīn* (scale market), *Sūq al-Dhibāb* (gazelle leather wholesaler), *Sūq al-Attārīn* (perfume and drug market), *Sūqs of Nahr al-Bīlal*, *Sūq al-Qadīm*, *Sūq al-Sha'arrīn*, *Sūq Bāb 'Uthmān*, *Sūq Bāb al-Masjīd al-Jāmī'*, *Sūq al-Warraqīn* (paper market and in which the books were sold and copied), *Sūq al-Ta'am* (foodstuff market), *Sūq al-'Allāfīn* (fodder market), *Sūq al-Khallātīn* (pickle market), *Sūq al-Saqat* (junk dealer market), *Sūq al-Qassābīn* (butchers market)³³, *Sūq al-Ghanam* (ovine market), *Sūq al-Raqīq* (slave market), *Sūq al-Sayyārīfah* (goldsmith market), *Sūq*

²⁸ Kasim, *Aswāk Mīsr*, p. 4-15.

²⁹ Benedikt Kohler, *Early Islam and the Birth of Capitalism*, Lexington Books, New York 2014, p. 129; M. Lecker, "On the Markets of Medina (Yathrib) in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 8, Jerusalem 1986, p. 133-47.

³⁰ Kallek, "Pazar", p. 196.

³¹ On 9 June and 8 July 1092 fires breaking out in *Mualla Canal*, it is reported that together with goldsmith market, jeweler market, florists burnt down, and that the fire started at noon time continued until evening, and that the bazaar lost its original property and that in this disaster, many people passed away, see D. S. Richards, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kamil Fi'l-Ta'rikh of Ibn Al-Athīr*, London: Routledge 2014, p. 264.

³² Tomar, "Pazar", p. 203.

³³ *The usage of "Qassāb" (butcher) varied from region to region as "Lahhām" and "Jazzār"*. See Muhammed b. Ahmed el-Mukaddesī, *Ahsenü't Tekâsīm*, tr. D. A. Batur, Selenge Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, p. 49.

al-Qaddāhīn (glass market), *Sūq al-Ballūrīyīn* (glassware market), *Sūq al-Saffārīn* (coppersmiths market), *Sūq al-Haddādīn* (blacksmiths market), *Sūq al-Najjārīn* (carpenters market), *Sūq al-Rayhān* (musk market), *Ashāb al-Fākihah* (fruit seller), *Sūq al-Bazzāzīn* (tailors market), *Sūq al-Harīr* (silk market) and *Dār al-Qattān* (linen market)³⁴.

Nasir Khusraw, who visited Basra in the 11th century, reports that everyday three bazaars were founded at different places of the city and people would go shopping at *Sūq al-Huza'a* in the morning, at *Sūq u Osman* in the afternoon, at *Sūq al-Qaddāhīn* in the evening. He also mentions about a trading method adopted at these bazaars. According to the information given by the author; the one who had goods, used to deliver it to the moneychanger in returns for a receipt, then he would transfer the money to moneychanger after he had bought what he desired³⁵. Major cities in the Middle East such as Baghdad, Kufa, Medina, Damascus, Fustat, Jerusalem and Tabriz used to comprise of the most outstanding examples of Medieval market type. Ibn Battuta, who visited Tabriz in the first of the 14th century, was astonished when he entered the Ghazan Bazaar and depicted it as follows:

“The next morning I entered the town and we came to a great bazaar, called the Ghazan bazaar, one of the finest bazaars I have seen the world over. Every trade is grouped separately in it. I passed through the jewellers' bazaar, and my eyes were dazzled by the varieties of precious stones that I beheld. They were displayed by beautiful slaves wearing rich garments with a waist-sash of silk, who stood in front of the merchants, exhibiting the jewels to the wives of the Turks, while the women were buying them in large quantities and trying to outdo one another. As a result of all this I witnessed a riot--may God preserve us from such! We went on into the ambergris and musk market, and witnessed another riot like it or worse”³⁶

Some of the markets in Baghdad and at the other major centers of the Near East are as follows:

Sūq al-Atash (beverage market, Baghdad), *Sūq al-Silāh* (weapon bazaar)³⁷, *Sūq*

³⁴ Paul Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh Through the Tenth Centuries*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2001, pp. 244-45.

³⁵ Nāsir Khusraw, *Safarnāme-i Nāsir-i Khusraw-i 'Alawī* ed. M. Ganizāde, Berlin, 1922, p. 51.

³⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, Routledge 2005, p. 101.

³⁷ Abu Cafar Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī*, tr: Franz Rosenthal, State University of New York Press, New York 1989, p. 33; Yaqūt al-Hamāvī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Dar Sader, III, Beyrut: publication date not given, p. 284.

*al-Sulasa*³⁸ *Sūq al-Atīkā*, *Sūq Baghdad*, *Sūq al-Bahrayn*, *Sūq al-Baqar* (cattle market), *Sūq al-Hakamah* (Kufa)³⁹, *Sūq Abd al-Vahid* (Kufa)⁴⁰ *Sūq al-Hattābīn* (wood market, Medina), *Sūq al-Ẓuhr* (camel market, Medina)⁴¹, *Sūq al-Thalāthā* (Baghdad)⁴², *Sūq Yahyā* (Baghdad)⁴³ *Sūq al-Attārīn* (drug market, Damascus), *Sūq al-Dawwāb* (mounts market), *Sūq al-Dhahabīyīn* (goldsmiths market, Damascus), *Sūq al-Famiya* (Damascus), *Sūq al-Khawāssīn* (wool market, Damascus), *Sūq al-Khayl* (horse market, Damascus), *Sūq al-Rammāhīn* (spearman market, Damascus)⁴⁴, *Sūq al-Humur* (donkey market, Damascus), *Sūq al-Qamh* (wheat market, Damascus)⁴⁵, *Sūq al-Berber* (Fustat), *Sūq al-Wardān* (Fustat)⁴⁶, *Sūq al-Tayr* (birds market, Fustat)⁴⁷, *Sūq Hammām al-Fa'ar* (Fustat), *Sūq al-Kabīr* (Fustat), *Sūq al-Attārīn* (perfume and drug market, Jerusalem), *Sūq al-Hadrawāt* (vegetable market, Jerusalem), *Sūq al-Qattānīn* (linen market, Jerusalem), *Sūq al-qumāsh*⁴⁸ (textile market, Jerusalem), *Sūq Sulaymān* (Jerusalem)⁴⁹.

Market continuity and regularity largely depended upon political and economic stability and also the attitude of State towards the public. Besides disorders arising from disruption of the administration, the crisis as a result of natural events such as drought, famine, disasters and epidemics etc. might be mentioned among the reasons affecting the domestic markets negatively. In such cases, order and harmony in the markets gave place to recession and the state would be deprived of important tax revenues. Here, Ibn Khaldun, who has great inferences concerning to state-public-market relations, cites as following:

³⁸ Hamāvī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, p. 284; Ibn Battūta reports that *Sūq al-Sulasa* taking place in the eastern part of Baghdad was one of the biggest bazaars, and that it had rich shops; in addition, various arts were carried out as well. See, Ibn Battūta, *Seyahatnāme*, p. 319.

³⁹ Cafar et-Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī: Index*, ed. Ehsan Yar-Shater and A. V. Popovkin, XL, New York 2007, p. 497.

⁴⁰ Hamāvī, *Muʿjam*, p. 283.

⁴¹ Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī: Index*, p. 497.

⁴² Hamāvī, *Muʿjam*, p. 283.

⁴³ Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī: Index*, p. 497.

⁴⁴ Mohammad b. Ahmad al-Yūnūnī, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnūnī's Dhayl Mir'at al-Ẓamān*, ed. Li Guo, Leiden: Brill 1989, p. 240.

⁴⁵ Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī: Index*, p. 497.

⁴⁶ Hamāvī, *Muʿjam*, p. 284; Ibn Duqmaq, *Kitāb al-Intisār*, p. 33.

⁴⁷ Mukaddesī, *Ahsenū't Tekāsīm*, p. 211.

⁴⁸ The one who used to carry out textile trade was called as *bazzāzīn*, *karrābīsīn* and *rahadīme*. See, Mukaddesī, *Ahsenū't Tekāsīm*, p. 49.

⁴⁹ Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1997, pp. 805, 838.

“State and ruler serve as the world's greatest market place providing the substance of civilization. If State and ruler are in need of money and income diminishes or gives out or the expenditures can never be reduced, then the property in the possession of the ruler's entourage allowances such as officers, troops and the commanders who are responsible for protecting the State in government services will decline and as a result, they cut down salaries that have to pay to their relatives and the officers serve under them. Thus, their purchasing power and subsistence go down. They constitute the greatest number of people (who make expenditures), and their expenditures provide more of the substance of trade than (the expenditures of) any other (group of people). Thus, recession begins in the markets because of the shortage of capital. Profits of commercial goods and products go down. Revenues from the land tax such as *kharac* decrease, because the land tax and taxation (in general) depend on cultural activity, commercial transactions, business prosperity, and the people's demand for gain and profit. It is the dynasty that suffers from the situation and that has a deficit, because under these circumstances the property of the ruler decreases in consequence of the decrease in revenues from the land tax. State is the largest market, mother of the bazaars and source of the incomes and the expenses. After the decline of the incomes and expenditures of State, the reduction in the exchange ratio in the markets is quite natural⁵⁰. If State refrains from tyrannical administration, never deflects from the right way and goes straight by abstaining from weakness, pure silk and pure gold will be demanded in the bazaars. If State keeps track of vicious intentions and depends on animosity and malice; middlemen of the wickedness and superstitious will crowd into the bazaars...”⁵¹

Ibn Khaldun considers that as a result of both deserted markets and financial difficulties of people, State revenues and budget would inescapably decline. While the people were subjected to the normal taxation in the most productive era of State, the markets might be forced to the additional impositions towards the processes of collapse⁵². In that case, the business turned upside-down in the

⁵⁰ Ibn Haldun, *Mukaddime II*, p. 75.

⁵¹ Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammed b. Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, ed. Franz Rosenthal, London: Routledge 1958, p. 365; Ibn Haldun, *Mukaddime I*, pp. 52-3.

⁵² For example, the reign of Barsbay when *Matjar as-Sultani* was applied intensely, it was an era when people were pressed with heavy taxes, and native and foreign merchants and people were exposed to heavy tax sanctions. With this respect, the authors characterize Barsbay not only cruel but also money lover and greedy; and there is no doubt that this negative state policy affected the domestic bazaars of Cairo in negative way. See Abouseif, *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria*,

country⁵³. One of the other factors affecting the stability of the markets during instability periods were the irruptions of the gangs, Bedouins and the Mamlūk groups. Espacially, an unruly gang, called *Munser*, emerged in Cairo and looted the markets and robbed the merchants towards the end of the Mamlūks period. For example, in 901/1496 *Munser* broke into the market around İbn Tolun Mosque and plundered the shops⁵⁴. In 902/1497, they seized the goods of the merchants in *Bāb al-Lūk* market⁵⁵. Members of *Munser* this time attacked to *Sūq al-Hacib* and *Taht al-Rubā'* and likewise robbed some of the shops in 903/1498⁵⁶. After the governor of Cairo had been informed about this event, some of them were caught and killed. Once again, members of the gang robbed the merchants in 908/1503⁵⁷. During the ongoing confusion between the Mamluks in 694/1295, the doors of the shops were broken at *sūq al-silāh* and the weapons were looted⁵⁸. On the other hand, markets could also be negatively affected by the attacks of European pirates on the port cities. For example, on August 785/1383, Franks entered the port of Beirut with a naval power consisting of twenty ships. Despite some success of the Mamluks, they proceeded to Sayda and confiscated Muslims' property and set the market on fire⁵⁹. In particular, the Mamlūks of Egypt has plenty of samples of the events originating from the light of these reasons and exposing some of the markets in Cairo such like the harmful activities resulted in the loss of their vitality. In addition to these factors, the battles also affected the domestic trade negatively⁶⁰.

p. 15; Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages*, p. 278; A. L. Udovitch, *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, Darwin Press, Princeton 1981, p. 103.

⁵³ İbn Haldun, *Mukaddime* II, p. 85.

⁵⁴ Muhammad b. Ahmad b. İyās, *Badā'i al-Duhūr fī Wakā'id al-Wakā'i al-Duhūr*, II, Metabiu'l-Shaab, Cairo 1960, p. 590.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 610.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 668.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 714; Ağır, *Memlûklarda Ticaret*, p.227.

⁵⁸ Badr al-Din Aynī, *İkd al-Ĵumān fī Tārih akh al-Ĵaman*, al-maktabat al-shamela, publication date and the place not given, p. 280.

⁵⁹ İbn Hajar al-Asqalanī, *Inba al-Qumr wa Abnā al-Umr*, ed. Hasan Habashī, I, Cairo 1929, p. 274; for the other ruined market examples, see Jamāl al-Dīn Ābī'l-Mahāsīn Yusūf b. Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Misr wa al-Qāhira*, ed. Wizarat al-Sakafa wa al-Irshād, Dār al-Kitāb, al-maktabat al-shamela, XV, Egypt, publication date not given, p. 496; Badr al-Din Aynī, *İkd al-Ĵumān*, al-maktabat al-shamila, p. 221; Makrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, p. 301; V, p. 184.

⁶⁰ For example, during the İlkhānid invasion to Syria at 1299, the Mongols pillaged Damascus and imposed large quantity of taxes on the bazaars; see Ahmet Sağlam, "İlhanlı Hükkümdarı Gazan Han'ın Suriye'yi İşgali Sürecinde İbn Teymiyye'nin Siyasi ve Dini Mücadelesi", *İĴOSES*, 3/6, (2016), p. 41-42.

MARKETS IN CAIRO DURING THE MAMLŪKS ERA

Cairo, having the structural features of classical Medieval Islamic cities, had variety of markets during the Mamlūks Era, as it was before. Nasir Khusraw, who went to Cairo during the rule of the Fatimids, mentions about the *khans* found in the city, whose areas were thirty square ells, could host three hundred and fifty people. The author, emphasizing the marketplaces in some of which were lightened by the candles perpetually owing to a lack of the sunlight, probably must have referred the covered markets. The traveler also puts forward the view related to the characters and general traditions of the merchants and the features some of the products in the city as follow:

“All the merchants in Old Cairo are honest in their dealings. If one of them lies to a customer, he is mounted on a camel with a bell in his hand and paraded the city and force him to ring the bell and to cry out: "I deserved this punishment why I lied, and am suffering reproach. Whoever tells a lie is rewarded with this punishment." The sellers in the market such as grocery store, *‘attar* (perfume market) and the *kirman* (peddler) suppliesacks whatever the customer needs to carry for the sold products. Whether it is manufactured from glass, or tile or paper, shoppers do not need to take their own bags to carry away purchased goods. The lamp oil is derived from the radish and turnip seed is called “*zayt hārr*”. Sesame is in short supply and its oil is valuable at there. Olive oil is cheap. Peanut is more expensive than almond. Marzipan is not more than one dinar for ten maunds. Sellers and shopkeepers ride their saddled donkeys and commute between homes to work. Everywhere at the heads of the lanes, donkeys are kept saddled and ready. Anyone who wants may hire it in return for the low price. It is said that everyday there were fifty thousand beasts which were saddled and hired. No one mounts a horse except the soldiers and the militiamen. That is to say, members of the markets and bazaars, craftsmen and clerks do not ride horse. I saw many dappled donkeys much like horses, but more beautiful. The citizens are very rich. While I was there in the year of 439/1047, sultan ordered general feast for the birth of his son. The city and bazaars were so embellished that, were they to be described, some would not believe that drapers’ and moneychangers’ shops could be so decorated with gold, jewels, coins, gold spun cloth and embroidery that there was no room to sit.”⁶¹

⁶¹ Nasir-i Khusraw, *Naser-e Khusraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnama)*, ed. W. Thackston, Bibliotheca Persica, New York 1986, p. 55; Nasir-i Khusraw, *Sefernâme*, p. 35-6.

Al-Muqaddasī, a notable geographer in the Middle Ages, described Egypt as the richest country in terms of shops and grain and advised to the traders to go to Egypt for commerce⁶². Despite praising the country, he had criticized the people of Fustat by describing the men as bibulous and the women as prostitute, each of whom had two husbands⁶³. It is remarkable that al-Makrīzī, who lived roughly 350 years later him, also provided information on the presence of both prostitutes and drunkards in Cairo markets. As well as criticizing marketplaces in respect to moral condition in Cairo, there were also prominent bazaars such as *Sūq Bāb al-Futūh*, *Sūq al-Ketebiyān* and *Sūq al-Silāh* extolled by the latter author with their virtue and merit. Ibn Battuta, who travelled Egypt in 725/1325, mentioned about the adjacent routes and a chain of uninterrupted bazaars from Alexandria to Cairo, and from Cairo to Aswan in the Upper Egypt, shows domestic market vitality in the country during the Bahrī Mamlūks period⁶⁴. The vibrant markets went on in Cairo throughout the Mamlūks Era, although some of them disappeared or lost attractiveness due to various reasons. I consider depending on Ibn Khaldun's inference that one of the main factors of the dynamism in the Egyptian markets, which might be seen on the one hand to the detriment of people, on the other hand on behalf of the shopkeepers, was related to the general character of the public. According to Ibn Khaldun, the Egyptians are dominated by joyfulness, levity, and disregard for the future. They store no provisions of food, neither for a month nor a year ahead, but purchase most of it in the (daily) market⁶⁵. On the basis of the evidence currently available, it seems fair to suggest that the general habit of people probably kept Egyptian markets constantly alive. But unfortunately, Egyptians were caught off guard to the scarcity and famine most of time seen in the country⁶⁶.

⁶² Mukaddesī, *Ahsenü't Tekāsīm*, pp. 50-3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁶⁴ Ebū Abdullah Muhammed Tancī ibn Battūta Tancī, *İbn Battūta Seyahatnâmesi I*, çev. A. Sait Aykut, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, s. 44; Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, p. 50.

⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, p. 127.

⁶⁶ The Cairenes used to rush into the bazaars during the drought, famine and economic crisis and cause turmoil. An incident occurred al-Muayyad Shayh's time constitutes a good example for the situation given above. In 819/1416, a crisis took place based upon rise in price of the wheat which increased to 200 dirhams per irdeb. Naturally, the people thronged in front of the bakeries in order to buy bread. Because of Egypt's insufficient wheat importation, it was not possible to find wheat in such cases. Hence forth, the people of Lower Egypt came to Cairo to purchase grain. However, thereby the price increase was hindered by the *mukhtasib*, none of the black marketer (*mukhtakir*) wanted to sell wheat. After a ship loaded with grain had arrived to Cairo, the crowds crushed each other to have the grain even some of them had died within the tumult. See al-Dīn Ahmād b. 'Alī al-Makrīzī, *Kitāb*

Despite the dazzling and diversity of the markets in Cairo, al-Makrīzī states that the previous situation of Cairo's busiest thoroughfare, *al-Qasaba*⁶⁷, which was located between *Bāb al-Futūh* and *Bāb al-Ẓuwayla*, was more brilliant than his time⁶⁸. According to the author, fifty-two markets were founded between *al-Lūq* and *Bāb al-Bahrī* many of which were demolished and he was eyewitness to sixty stores (hānūt) belonging to these markets. *Al-Qasaba*, having one of Cairo's largest markets, had formerly contained 12,000 stores. A variety of stores selling foodstuff, beverage and several products such as stationery and yarn had deployed throughout the marketplace extended from *al-Ramil* to *al-Husaynī al-Mashad al-Nafisiyya*. He also emphasizes that it was impossible to count the number of shops in *al-Qasaba* and because of the workload and the crowd of people, vast amount of trash worth 1000 dinars used to accumulate in the streets per day, therefore the people from different towns of Egypt were proud of it. Especially, the poor were benefiting from the discarded garbage. By virtue of the fact that many stores were closed, *al-Qasaba* was a shadow of its former self according to the author⁶⁹. In this context, it was possible to encounter to the samples of both the markets that lost their glamour and vitality and the construction of new markets or restoration activities or be transferred a marketplace to a different location aimed at the conservation Cairo's domestic market tissue during the Mamlūks Era.

1. FOOD MARKETS

a. Sūq Bāb al-Futūh

This sūq, which was also active during the Ayyubids periods⁷⁰, was situat-

al-Sulūk li Ma'rifāt Duwal al-Mulūk, VI, ed. Muhammad 'Abd al-Qadīr, Dār al-Kitan al-'Ilmiya, Beirut 1997, p. 396; Ağır, *Memlūklarda Ticaret*, p. 82.

⁶⁷ Kristen Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action: Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, p. 50; *al-Qasaba*, taking space an area of approximately 60 hectares had 57 markets and 228 caravanserais. See Raymond, "Sūk", p. 792.

⁶⁸ Al-Makrīzī, in his *el-Hitat*, focused on caravansaries and bazaars in *al-Qasaba* where trade activities were very dense. Here, the markets, apart from some exceptions, were categorized according to the goods they used to trade on. The fundamental center of trade during al-Makrīzī was the field in the north of jewelry shops and in the south of cookie shops where there were 21 sūqs and 18 caravansaries. According to the author, half of the sūqs and all of caravansaries were established during *Bāb al-Futūh* and *Bāb al-Ẓuwayla*. See Nezar al-Sayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City*, Harvard University Press, Harvard 2011, p. 142.

⁶⁹ Taqiy al-Dīn Ahmād b. 'Alī al-Makrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawaiz wal-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Hitat wal-Asār*, II, Maktaba al-Sakafa al-Diniya, Cairo 1987, pp. 94-5.

⁷⁰ Ağır, *Memlūklarda Ticaret*, p. 217.

ed inside *Bāb al-Futūh*⁷¹ (the gate of conquests') and was restricted between the gate and *Bahā al-Dīn quarter*. It was established by Amir Qaraqush, officer of the Ayyubids after he had settled in *al-Bahā al-Dīn*. There were grocery and butcher stores aligned with two sides of the street. According to al-Makrīzī, it was the most fascinating market in Cairo that attracted many people from the neighboring cities who wanted to buy beef, mutton and goat's meat. He also praised the artisans' morality of the *sūq* by characterizing them "the righteous". Unfortunately, *Sūq Bāb al-Futūh* lost its attraction in the course of time⁷².

b. Sūq Khan al-Rawwāsīn

One of the most beautiful markets in Cairo, *Sūq Khan al-Rawwāsīn* was an important market inside *Sūq Amir al-Juyūsh Suwayqa*. There were twenty stores in the *sūq* in which food supplies were sold. It also disappeared over time⁷³.

c. Sūq Hārat al-Barjawan

This *sūq*, which was among Cairo's oldest markets, was called as *Sūq Amir al-Juyūsh* in the Fatimid Period. After Amir al-Juyūsh Badr al-Jamālī had departed for Egypt and had built his own house known as *Dār al-Muzaffar in Barjawan Quarter*, it was named as *Sūq Hārat al-Barjawan*⁷⁴. Every neighborhood of Cairo would envy the brilliance of *al-Barjawan*⁷⁵. Situated between *Sūq Khan al-Rawwāsīn* and *Sūq al-Shammā'īn*, the market reached along *Mosque of al-Hākīm* and the east of *Bayn al-Qasrayn*⁷⁶. It was off in 805/1403⁷⁷ and was described as the one of Cairo's most wonderful bazaars by al-Makrīzī, who saw the *sūq* before it disappeared. In addition to *Rūmī* and *Suwayd* baths, two bakeries were found within it, therefore people living around *Barjawan Quarter* would never be in need of different mar-

⁷¹ It is the last stop in the north of the street starting from *Bāb al-Zuwayla*. These two gates used to determine the north and south boundaries of the Fatimids and *Bāb al-Futūh* was built by Wazīr Badr al-Jamālī. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction*, Leiden: Brill 1992, p. 68; Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: The Practical Guide*, American University in Cairo Press, Cairo 2008, p. 207.

⁷² Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 95.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁴ Yaacov Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden: Brill 1991, p. 71; Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 95; *Hārat* means Quarter.

⁷⁵ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 95.

⁷⁶ Terence Walz, "Sudanese, Habasha, Takarna and Barabira: Trans-Saharan Africans in Cairoas Shown in the 1848 Census", *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean*, ed. Terence Walz, K. M. Cuno, American University in Cairo Press Series, Oxford, 2010, p. 55.

⁷⁷ Raymond, *Cairo*, p. 147.

kets. The stores aligned on both sides of the street that sell almost all kind of food-stuffs such as the butchers in which a variety of meats were sold, cheesemonger, buttery and liver stores were coincided here⁷⁸. *Sūq al-Attārīn wa'l-Warragīn* (pharmacists and papers market) and *Suwayqa al-Attārīn* were the other bazaars situated within *Sūq Hārat al-Barjawan*⁷⁹. There was also a shop where it was possible to find everything needed for dining table. Another store selling only the black seed oil, which was used to light candle wicks made of cotton. Every evening, in particular, black seed oil was sold for 30 dirhams that was equal to half of a dinar. Both roasted and raw meats were also available in the shops. There were customers for roasted meat from the dawn till early morning. Perhaps the most outstanding artisan was the weigher who weighed the coins and goods in return for a fee, was called as *qabbānī*⁸⁰. This market was overcrowded at all times and would never become sparse. But later on, it lost its former importance as the bazaars given above; and al-Makrīzī likens end of it as dry of a creek in summer times (wadi). In 809/1407, Amir Togan revived the market with the constructions of new madrasa and stores; however, it changed into back after he had been arrested⁸¹. As can be seen from its general character, *Sūq Hārat al-Barjawan*, which was a versatile bazaar with the artisans trading different types of product, was separated from the specialized bazaars of Cairo in the period of the Mamlūks.

d. Sūq Bayn al-Qasrayn (Betwixt the Palaces)

Bayn al-Qasrayn, was the section dividing the Great East Palace in which the Khaliph and his family, eunuchs, servants lived from the West Palace which was smaller than the Great East Palace situated next to the wide Kafūr Garden⁸². According to al-Makrīzī it was one of the world's greatest markets with wide a square which was so large that ten thousand cavalries could parade within it⁸³. It lost its importance after the Fatimids had collapsed. Foodstuffs such as meat and fruit were sold in the market⁸⁴.

⁷⁸ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 95.

⁷⁹ Leigh Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, Leiden: Brill 2010, pp. 170-1.

⁸⁰ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, pp. 95-6; Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action*, p. 138.

⁸¹ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 96.

⁸² S.L. Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem*, The Other Press, Kuala Lumpur 2007, p. 102.

⁸³ S.J. Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo A.d. 642-1850*, Leiden: Brill 1977, p. 54.

⁸⁴ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 97; Ağır, *Memlūklarda Ticaret*, p. 219.

e. *Sūq Bāb al-Zuhūmā*

Bāb al-Zuhūmā was one of the names of the palace gates in the Fatimid Period in which there located *Sūq al-Sayārīf* instead of *Sūq Bāb al-Zuhūmā*⁸⁵. Across *Sūq al-Sayārīf*, *al-Khāshibā* to *Sūq al-Kharrirīyīn* (silk dealer market), *Sūq al-Suyūfīyīn* (sword market) and *Sūq al-Anber* (amber market) were situated. *Sūq al-Anber* was the dungeon called *al-Ma'ūna* in the past. *Sūq al-Ẓujjāyīn* (glassware market) was across the *Sūq al-Suyūfīyīn*. *Sūq al-Qashshashīn* (straw market) was located next to *Sūq al-Suyūfīyīn*. In the Mamlūks Period, *Sūq al-Khārratīn* (carpenters' market) was located instead of *Sūq al-Qashshashīn* and the area of *Sūq al-Suyūfīyīn* was expanded towards *darb al-silsala*, and a new market called *Sūq al-Amshātīyīn* (comb Market) was built between *Sūq al-Saḡā* (goldsmiths' market)⁸⁶ and *Madrasa of Sālīhīya*. The following market after *Sūq al-Amshātīyīn* was *Sūq al-Nākliyīn* (nuts market). One of Cairo's the most beautiful markets *Sūq Bāb al-Zuhūma* was famous for its tasty meals.

f. *Sūq al-Khālāwīyīn* (Sugar candy bazaar)

Sūq al-Khālāwīyīn, one of the indispensable markets in the Mamlūk period, was the market selling a broad array of confectioneries (halvah). Al-Makrīzī states that the people were astonished when they saw the pots and heavy copper boiler manufactured by excellent craftsmanship in the stores. The author also himself saw a barker selling the candies for 170 *dirhams* per *qintar*. There were also active barkers in this *sūq* in order to make goods more attractive. The candies in various colors were called *al-majmū'a* (combined). Especially, troubles related to the sugar production taken place at al-Vajh al-Qiblī (Upper Egypt)⁸⁷ caused halt

⁸⁵ The gateway to the palace was used for the delivery of meat and other victuals, especially in the Ramadan days and held onto the name *Bab al-Zuhuma* because of the disagreeable smell of fat (zuhm) giving off from the site. See al-Bahnāsī and Gaballa Gaballa, *Mamluk Art: The Splendour and Magic of the Sultans*, ed. MWNF Museum Ohne Grenzen, Cairo 2001, p. 180.

⁸⁶ Mamlūks with whom metal embroidery was very advanced, the ones who were busy with gold and silver were called *sā'ighūn*. There were artisans who conducted gold plating (*wa-nās yasūghū*), and producing gold leaves (*daqqa al-dhahab*), making gold and silver plating over iron (*al-Hadīd wa-yatlī-hi bi'l-dhahab aw al-fidda*) among *Sā'ighūn* artisans. Combining precious metals with other metals activity was a very common craft in Mamlūks Egypt. *Al-Sāgha al-Kabira* (goldsmiths market), *Sūq al-Kūfīyīn* (the inlayers), *al-dabābīlyūn* (ring-makers market), *Suyūfīyīn* (sword-makers), *al-Rammāhūn*, *al-Ẓaradyāt* (coats of mail), *al-Mahmūz* (spurs), *Qufaysat min Hadīd* (lattice work) are the examples of specialization markets that were busy with metal products during the Mamlūks period. In addition to these markets, artisans of bell-makers, blacksmiths, knife makers, spoon makers, and needle makers in Geniza texts are categorized among the specialized artisans in metal in the Mamlūks Egypt. See Luitgard E.M. Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork Fittings in Their Artistic and Architectural Context* Leiden: Brill 2006, p. 151.

⁸⁷ There were several refineries producing sugar in Upper Egypt. The main problem these refineries encountered was the Bedouins' ('Urbān) attacks. For example, in the second half of the 14th

of running of water mills (dawālīb) and sugar refineries (matbakh al-suqqar), thus the production of sugar decreased and many branches of sugar industry disappeared⁸⁸. Al-Makrīzī remarks that he himself witnessed various transparent and red ceramic dishes full of milk and all kinds of cheeses and also candies in the shape of banana and cucumber placed between the two glittery dishes in this *sūq*. According to the author, people astonishingly watched this marvelous tray while it was being carried. The month of Receb, before the holy month of Ramazan, it was time when the most beautiful confectioneries were exhibited. In this season, candies in the shape of horse, lion, cat and other animals called ‘*alālīk*’ (sing: ‘*allāqa*’) were hung with a rope in front of the stores, which were about 4-10 *ratls*, were generally sold to the children. Candies were demanded by both the rich and the poor, who bought them for their family. In addition to *Sūq al-Khālāwīyīn* these kinds of candies were sold in the markets both in Egypt's rural areas and at the other cities most especially in the 15th night of *Shabān* and *Ramadan* and during the Ramadan fest (‘*Iyd al-Fitr*). The most attractive dessert was *khāshkananī*⁸⁹ placed in the *sūq* in special days. *Al-basīndūd* and *al-masāsh* were among the other desserts for sale within the market as well. This *sūq* completely disappeared in the first quarter of 15th century⁹⁰.

g. Sūq al-Shawwāyīn (Roast market)

Cairo's first roast market, *Sūq al-Shawwāyīn*, formerly known as *Sūq al-Shrāyihīyīn* (sliced meat bazaar), was extending from *Bāb Hārāt al-Rum* to *Sūq al-Khālāwīyīn*. The market was called as *Sūq al-Shawwāyīn* because of the roast meat sold by some of the artisans. *Sūq al-Shrāyihīyīn* moved outside of *Bāb al-Zuwayla* and started to be called as *al-Bāstīyīn* in the Burjī period. Al-Makrīzī gave the foundation date of the *sūq* as October 364/975 by quoting from Ibn al-Zulaq's *Sirat al-Mu'izz* and Ibn al-‘Abd al-Zāhir's *Khitat al-Qāhira* and showed its place near the Mosque of *Nuh b. Bassam*. *Sūq al-Mātiyīn* was located near *Sūq al-Shrāyihīyīn*. When Emir

century, they attacked to the factories and refineries and usurped raw sugar, white sugar and oxen that were the main element of the production. One of the other factors affecting the sugar production adversely was the Black Death (tā‘ūn) generally seen in the rural regions of Egypt which was caused culminated by decreasing number of the experienced craftsmen. *Sūq al-Khālāwīyīn* regressed as a result of the reasons abovementioned. See Tsugitaka Sato, *Sugar in the Social Life of Medieval Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, p. 66.

⁸⁸ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 99.

⁸⁹ It is the name of *baklava* in the Mamlūks Period, see, Shayh Ahmād Rizā, *Qamus Dār al-‘Āmī wa al-Fāsikh*, Beirut, 1981, p. 508.

⁹⁰ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 100.

Cevher moved *Bāb al-Ẓuwayla* to its current location, the zone between *Sūq al-Shrāyhyīn* and *Bāb Ẓuwayla al-Kabīr* expanded and it became *Sūq al-Gharābīlīn* (sift market) where the stores dealing with sifting flour located⁹¹. Across *Sūq al-Gharābīlīn*, there were locksmith stores known as *al-dabbab*. The stores of cheesemongers were clustered from *al-dabbab* to *Bāb al-Ẓuwayla* who sold all kinds of cheese supplied from Sham. In addition, *al-mūjbirīn* (bonesetters) providing health care who were also active in al-Makrīzī's time, moneychangers and foodstuff sellers were also among the artisans in this sūq⁹². Like the *Barjawan Quarter market*, *Sūq al-Shawwāyīn* can be characterized by miscellaneous market and differs from the other specialized bazaars.

h. Sūq al-Bandaqāniyīn

This market was on the way of *Sūq al-Ẓujjāyīyīn*, *Suwayqa al-Sāhib* and *Sūq al-Abzāriyīn*. The former name of the sūq was *Sūq Bi'r Ẓuwayla* because of the well located in the site known as *Bi'r Ẓuwayla*. The Caliph's stables known as *Istabl al-Ḥumayza* were next to it. *Qaysāriyat Yunūs* and *al-Rub'i* were located around the well whose location was called *al-Bandaqāniyīn* and the marketplace within it known as *Sūq al-Bandaqāniyīn* in the Mamlūks period. A great fire occurred in 751/1350 in *Sūq al-Bandaqāniyīn*, and some of the ruins remained from the calamity were witnessed by al-Makrīzī⁹³. Victuallers, foodstuff sellers, cheesemongers, bakers and the painters were among the artisans working in the market. *Sūq al-Bandaqāniyīn* disappeared in the beginning of the 15th century⁹⁴.

Despite the good aspects of the food markets described by the author, some irregularities also took place in the bazaars performed by the purveyors. For example, Muhammad b. Khalaf, a seller of dried and salted poultry, inspected by the *Muhtasib of Cairo* in 742 [1341 A.D.] and the carrions of 1196 pigeons and 33000 starlings were found in his storehouse and all of them had changed in colour and smelled putrid. As a result, he not only reprimanded but also punished him in the public eye and all the birds destroyed⁹⁵.

⁹¹ For the activities of Amir Jawhar, see S.J. Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion*, p. 54; Raimond, *Cairo: 37-8*; Golia, *Cairo: City of Sand*, p. 52-3.

⁹² Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 100.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁹⁵ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 97; Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action*, p. 144.

2. TEXTILE MARKETS

a. *Sūq al-Jūhiyīn* (Baize Market)

The Baize Market was located immediately after *Sūq al-Lajmiyīn* where the baize fabrics brought from Europe were sold. These kinds of fabrics were generally used for chair coverings, curtains and saddles. On the basis of al-Makrīzī's narrating who formerly saw a few people both from public and the elites, dressing garments were manufactured from baize fabric only when it rained, it seems fair to suggest that this type of fabric was not utilized for clothing in the early period of the Mamlūks. Dressing baize garments were ordinary in Europe, *Bilād al-Maqrīb* and particularly in Alexandria, I think the fact that the city was the gathering center of the foreign merchants who dressed baize must have affected on Alexandria's way of dressing. However in many parts of Egypt, Baize was worn while it was raining and was casted aside after it stopped. An event about the baize garment related not to be caught on in Egypt that was storied by al-Makrīzī is very interesting:

“Some fine day, al-Qādī al-Rā'īs Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā (al-Makrīzī's uncle) was appointed as Muhtasib of Cairo instead of al-Qādī Ziyā al-Dīn. When Ziyā al-Dīn saw Tāj al-Dīn dressed in Baize, he asked ironically why he put on Baize, and added that "this is for the mule!" Then, Tāj al-Dīn sent for the seller from Qaysāriyya al-Fadil who sold the baize to him and gave back the dress, and took his money back. Ziyā al-Dīn suggested to his friend not to dress baize again.”

Even though it was found odd in the beginning, the baize garments were adopted by the poor after a period of time. Likewise, the elites also demanded that type of dresses in the course of time. For example, al-Malik al-Nāsır Faraj was one of the sultans, who dressed Baize. Especially, in the Burjī period, as a result of high demand for baize probably because of the economic decline in Egypt, the number of merchants dealing with Baize increased⁹⁶.

b. *Sūq al-Shārabishiyīn* (Official's dress market)

All garment products belonging to Sultans and high-ranking officers such as *wāzirs*, *umara*, *ulama* and *qādīs* were sold in this *sūq*. In the Bahrī Mamlūks period, the *amirs* and the Mamlūks were wearing wide and yellow hat called *gallūt* manufactured from quilting fabric. It had hooks but no head scarf at the bottom of it. The end of long curled hair dangling from the *gallūt* downwardly

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

was attached to a red or yellow silk pouch. The Mamlūks were also wearing narrow-sleeved clothes which were white, blue or red in color which were similar to that of Europeans. Al-Makrīzī, who portrayed the uniform styles of the military services till the reign of Sultan Kalawun, states that military apparels changed both in the period of aforesaid sultan and his successors⁹⁷. For example, after Sultan Ashraf Khalīl had come to power; he gathered his *hāssaākiyas* and the Mamlūks and chose apparels for them such as *gallūt al-zarqāṣ*, *tirāzāt al-zarqāṣ*, *qānabīsh al-zarqāṣ*, *al-aqbīya al-atlāsī*. Thus, the bureaucrats and officials could be distinguished from one another according to the uniforms they wore. Al-Zāhir Barqūq, one of the sultans that amended the Mamlūk's uniforms, ordered to be worn *shārbūsh*, which was triangle-shaped without turban resembling a crown. *Shārbūsh*, was the official hat sold in *Sūq al-Shārabishiyīn*. Thus, the name of the market came from *shārabishiyīn*, plural form of *shārbūsh*. Although the style of official dress changed according to the rank of the officials, *shārbūshs* were the same for all the officers. However, the obligation to wear *shārbūsh* was also annulled in the Burjī Period. There were merchants dealing with official dresses in the *sūq* whose customers were both sultans and the amirs. Artisans would make large amount of money, thereby having dealt with the high-ranked officials.

After the elites had been proscribed from shopping in *Sūq al-Shārabishiyīn* by Barqūq, the market solely served for sultan. Sultan charged *nāzīr al-khāss* with preventing the violations in the market. Anyone who violated the order was punished immediately⁹⁸.

c. Suwayqa Amir Juyūsh

This market situated between *Hārāt Barjawan* and *Hārāt Bahā al-Dīn* was called as *Sūq al-Khurūqiyīn* in the period of Ayyūbids. *Madrasa of al-Aqjīya* was built by Amir Mazqoj al-Asadī, who was a high-ranked official in the Burjī Mamlūks. The market was known as *Sūq Amir al-Juyūsh*. However, Cairenes denominated the *Suwayqa Amir Juyūsh* and al-Makrīzī who found it strange stated that he could not understand why it was called as *suwayqa* because of being amongst the largest markets in Cairo. There were tailors in the market called as *al-raf'āūn* and *al-habbāqūn*. One of the most striking features of this market was the presence of the painters. Furriers, hatters, clothing manufacturers, drapers, textile and *khil'at* merchants were among the artisans, who had an important place on the com-

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

mercial life of the market. Along with the bedroom suite shops (al-firāsh), there were also cotton stores, thread choosers (al-maqāzīl), eating houses and perfume shops ranging from the endpoint of the *sūq* towards *Bāb al-Qantara*. The existence of a *Qaysāriyya* and the *khans* seems to be one of the other conspicuous features of the market which must have probably been built in order to lodge the buyers who came from the remote regions of Egypt⁹⁹

d. *Sūq al-Jamlūn al-Saqīr*

This market was located from the beginning of *Suwayqa Amir Juyūsh* to *Bāb al-Nāsir* and *Rahba Bāb al-ʿIyd. Madrasa of Sayramīyā* and *Bāb al-Camiʿ al-Khāqimī* was inside *Sūq al-Jamlūn al-Saqīr*. Its former name was *al-Umara Qarshiyīn Beni Nūrī*. Afterwards, the *sūq* was called as *Jamlūn al-Saqīr* and *Jamlūn b. Sayrām* that the latter's name was related to Jamāl al-Dīn Shiwayh b. Sayrām, who was among the high-ranked officials during the sultanate of al-Malik al-Qāmil Muhammed b. ʿAdīl Abī Baqr in the Ayyūbīds period. *Madrasa of al-Sayramīyā*'s name also came from Jamāl al-Dīn Shiwayh b. Sayrām. According to Makrīzī, while formerly the stores selling linen (bazzāzīn), blue raw fabrics, cotton garments, tailors and dry cleaners were located in the marketplace, afterwards the artisans engaged in door latch (al-dhabbīyīn) joined them. *Al-dhabbīyīn* could meet the demand of anyone within a day who asked for about one thousand door latches. As is seen some of the market samples, the barkers were active here in front of the stores as well. This market came to an end during the Burjī Mamlūks and a new market was built instead of it in 809/1407¹⁰⁰.

e. *Sūq al-Harīriyīn (Silk market)*

The market was between *Bāb Qaysāriya al-Anbar* and *al-Bundaqāniyīn* previously known as *es-Saghā al-Qadīma* and *Sakīfe al-Addās* that's why both jewelers and shoe-dealers (al-sākifa) had the stores in this site. Its name was *al-Kharīriyīn al-Sharābiyīn* in al-Makrīzī's time. *Sūq al-Ḥujjājiyīn* (glassware market) and *al-Sākifa* (Kharrazīn, cobblers market¹⁰¹) occupied some parts of the market. However, when the *qaysāriya* was built by Amir Yunus al-Dawadār in 1378 around the silk bazaar, the artisans of *al-Sākifa* moved there. There were also shoe-dealers selling women's shoes in the vicinity of the market¹⁰².

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 101

¹⁰¹ This *sūq* was in the direction of Ibn Tolun Mosque; see. Ibn. Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, s. 496.

¹⁰² Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 102.

f. Sūq al-Jamlūn al-Qabīr

This market was in the middle of *Sūq al-Shārabishiyīn* from where *al-Bundaqāniyīn* and *Hārat al-Barjawan* could be reached. *Al-bazāzūn* (drapers) appeared to outnumber the other artisans in the *sūq*. When al-Nāsir Muhammad's Mamlūk Balabqa al-Turkmanī passed on in 706/1307, Sultan consecrated *Sūq al-Jamlūn al-Qabīr* to his tomb. In 790/1388, two gates that were being closed at nights were built to the market. The night watchmen, known as *sahib al-ʿasas* and *wali al-tuf* would patrol with the torches in their hands every night in the vicinity of the market to provide the security. These security staffs were responsible for preventing a fire within the marketplace, breaking up the fights and keeping the drunkards and the thieves away. This task was abolished in the 15th century¹⁰³.

g. Sūq al-Farrāyīn (Cardigan market)

This market was in the direction of *Sūq al-Aqfāniyīn* (shrouded bazaar) and *Mosque of al-Azhar*. The cardigans made of fur were manufactured and sold in the market which was formerly named as *Sūq al-Kharūqiyīn*, then was called as *Sūq al-Farrāyīn*. Furs were in vogue during the reign of Sultan Barquq, because most of *ʿumara* were wearing the high-priced *khilāts* manufactured from various furs such as sable, lynx and squirrel. Because of its exorbitant price, only elites could buy the clothes made of furs during the abovementioned sultan's term¹⁰⁴.

h. Sūq al-Bahāniqiyīn (Skullcap market)

This market, whose wooden gate was opened to *al-Qasaba*, was between *Sūq al-Jamlūn al-Qabīr* and *al-Qaysāriya al-Shurb*. It was also known as *Sūq al-Khushayba* (timber bazaar)¹⁰⁵. The horses and seemingly horse drawn carriages were never permitted to pass into the market. The boaters and various skullcaps called *al-qawwāfī* and *al-tawwāqī* were sold to the young boys and girls in the market. By the existence of the factories producing skullcaps, the market seemed both a bazaar and an industrial area in Cairo. The *ʿumara*, the Mamlūks and military men were wearing *al-taqīya* without winding round turban in the Burjī period, while placing *al-taqīya* with turban was an obligation in the Bahrī Mamlūks. Therefore, whoever violated this rule was condemned by the people. *Al-taqīyas* in variety of colors such as yellow, red and blue were being sold in the market. Their length was formerly 1/6 *zirʿa* with a round and wide top. During the reign of al-Nāsir Faraj,

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

Circassian skullcaps in the shape of a dome called *tavagī al-jarqaziya* were in use of which length was about 2/3 *zir'a*. The remarkable detail given by al-Makrīzī that as a result of the silver and gold shortage in Egypt, the women would come into prominence with their beanies instead of ornaments. When wearing beanie became a tradition, the brims started to be adorned with gold and silver¹⁰⁶.

1. Sūq al-Khal'ayīn (Official clothes market)

This market situated between *Qaysāriya al-Fūdīl* and *Bāb al-Zuwayla al-Kabir* was formerly known as *Sūq al-Hashshābīn* (lumberjack bazaar). It was called as both *al-zaqīq* (lane) and *Sūq al-Khal'ayīn* in al-Makrīzī's time. Both official clothes and dresses for civil were sold within it. The market place was the passage way for the people who were shuttling from *al-Qasaba* to *Hārat al-Bātilīya* and *Hohod Aydogmush* during daytime till mid-night¹⁰⁷.

3. VOYAGE AND WEAPON MARKETS

a. Sūq al-Murahhālīn (Voyage market)

This sūq was located between *Bahā al-Dīn Quarter* and *Madrasa of Sayrāmīya*¹⁰⁸. There were shops on both sides of the street in the marketplace as it was in *Sūq Bāb al-Futūh. Mahfe* (howdah), camel harnesses and all kinds of requisites for a voyage were sold here. In particular, it was one of the markets in Egypt in which the goods were sold for pilgrimage. Al-Makrīzī remarks that people from all over the country came to *Sūq al-Murahhālīn* where one could equip a hundred camels in one day without trouble. During Sultan Faraj's combat against Amir Shayh and Amir Navruz¹⁰⁹, soldiers bought materials for campaign in return for a low price or without paying any money in the intensity of battle conditions; that's why it lost former liveliness. Afterwards, most of the stores were ruined and the number of artisans decreased in the marketplace¹¹⁰.

b. Sūq al-Silāh (Weapons Market)

Located between *Madrasa of Zāhirīya* and *Qasr Bashtaq*, *Sūq al-Silāh* was founded after the Fatimid period. Various weapons such as bows and arrows were sold

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁰⁸ A madrasa built in Cairo before 635/1238. See Ahmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhira wa Madārisuhā*, Cairo 1965-69, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁹ For the uprisings during the reign of Sultan Faraj, see Jamāl al-Dīn Ābī'l-Mahāsīn Yusūf b. Al-Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Misr wa al-Qāhira*, 13, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Ilmiya, 1992, pp. 171-2.

¹¹⁰ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 95; Ağır, *Memlūklarda Ticaret*, p. 218.

in the market. There was a *khan* in front of it which was afterwards attached to *Sūq al-Silāh*. Moneychangers were located just outside the market. There were seats for the customers that could spend time in the daytime and the peddlers selling food who were called as *arbāb al-maqā'id* around the market as well. The street between *sūq al-silāh* and *arbāb al-maqā'id* was enlightened by the candles and the people hereby could walk around at nights. Al-Makrīzī cites that people with bad character and mashers were wandering inside the *sūq*, especially at nighttime. Sultan Barqūq had the old *khan* demolished in *Sūq al-Silāh* and had the *Madrasa of Zāhirīya* built instead of it. After he had built the madrasa, the number of *arbāb al-maqā'id* around the market were decreased¹¹¹.

c. *Sūq al-Muhāyyirīn* (Pilgrim costumes market)

This market was between *Mosque of al-Aqmar* and *Sūq al-Jamlūn b. Sayrām*. The street extended from *Sūq Hārat Barjavān* and *Sūq al-Shammā'in* towards *al-Ruqn al-Muhlaq Rahbat* and *al-Bāb al-Iyd'* would run through within the market. There were two traders in the *sūq* in agreement with each other about the price of the products they sold; that is to say, they would never cut under. The market had become more lively both when the voyages would be organized to Jerusalem and also in the pilgrimage season. Al-Makrīzī cites that a *shayh*, owner of a store, had advised to his son not to do bargain with the pilgrims (hadjis) who had to buy *ikhram* (pilgrim dress) and to buy the dresses back at low price after they had returned owing to the fact that they had no place except them to sell out the second hand *ikhram*. After a while, alternative bazaar was built to this market called *Sūq al-Cāmī' al-Tolūnī* and the *ikhrams* also started to be produced within the *Sūq al-Khaymīyīn* (tent market)¹¹².

4. ORNAMENT AND JEWELRY MARKETS

a. *Sūq al-Qafaysat* (lattice market)

The *sūq* situated across the *Qubbat al-Mansūrī* had arbors and each of arbors had lattice made of iron under it. On these lattices in a state of suspension, jewels such as rings, bracelets, earrings and bangles were sold. The necklace was an indispensable jewelry for Egyptian women all of whom had necklaces on their necks. The necklaces sold in the markets were mostly made of amber. Egyptian women were very fond of jewels sold in *Sūq al-Qafaysat*. A department called *Dār al-Ayar* was an important section in the *sūq* which gauged the jewelry sold to the

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 101.

customers. The market was subjected to *Bimāristān al-Mansūrīya* and the taxes acquired from here were appropriated for the *waqf*. After being appointed as *nāzīr* to *Bimāristān al-Mansūrī* in 1325, Jamāl al-Dīn Aqqush, vicegerent of Karak (nā'ib), covered the upper side of the market with canvas because of the sun's heat. This cover could be opened and closed via a rope at any time. *Sūq al-qafaysat* moved to newly built *qaysariya* across the jewelry bazaar in 1429¹¹³.

b. Al-Sāgha (Goldsmiths' market)

This *sūq* was extending towards the *Madrasa of Sālihīya* in the direction of *Bayn al-Qasrayn*. The kitchens of Great Eastern Palace occupied this site in the Fatimid Period from where 1200 pots of food in various colors were handed out each day to be shared among the poor by passing through *Bāb al-Ẓuhūma*¹¹⁴. Between 1243 and 1249, *Bāb al-Ẓuhūma* was demolished in order to build Hanbalī Shaykh's aisle of *Madrasa of Sālihīya* (qa'a). *Al-Saghā* was built by al-Malik al-Sā'īd Baraka Khan, son of Baybars, in order to maintain the members of *al-Sālihīya*¹¹⁵. Ornaments and jewelries adorned with precious stones were sold in the stores aligned in the same direction. Money changers were active in the market as well. Having also notable importance in the international trade, *al-Sāgha*, which was built in the narrow streets and the parade routes, had several entrance gates. The main gate was across the *Madrasa of Sālihīya* and most of the stores belonged to Armenians, Copts and the Jews. In the western part of the marketplace, the Jews established their own quarter known as *Hārat al-Yahud*¹¹⁶. Contadini touches upon a significant detail in his work that in the Mamlūk Period, there was familial link between the jewelers and manuscripts. For example, the two holy Qurans belonging to the Mamlūk period, one of which dated 1302, had been written in the *Mosque of Sūq al-Saghā*, and the other dated to 1397, whose *qātib* was the son of a jeweler¹¹⁷.

c. Sūq al-Qūftīyyin

This market was near *al-Bandaqāniyyīn*, *Hārat al-Jodariya* and *al-Ĵamlūn al-Kabīr*. There were craftsmen engaged in gold and silver inlay on copper products

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹⁴ Bahnasi, Gaballa, *Mamluk Art*, p. 180.

¹¹⁵ Makrīzī, *al-Khitāt*, II, p. 102.

¹¹⁶ Bahnasi, Gaballa, *Mamluk Art*: 180.

¹¹⁷ A. Contadini, "Threads of Ornament in the Style World of the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries", *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local* ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2016, p. 292.

called *al-tattaim al-nahhās* within the market. The most outstanding examples art of inlaid metalwork in the Mamlūk Era could be seen here, and the products produced by the art of *al-tattaim al-nahhās* were much sought after in Egypt¹¹⁸. It was possible to come across household metal goods in the houses made by using *al-tattaim al-nahhās* in Egypt. In the wedding ceremonies, the seats for the brides inlaid with ebony and ivory called *diqqa* which were produced by the art of *muqaf-fad*, resembled sort of beds. The price of a *diqqa* was about 200 dinars. As a matter of fact, social and economic decline seen in the second half of the Mamlūk's era also affected the number of inlayers negatively and al-Makrīzī confirms that inlayers were scarce and less inlaid metalwork was being produced in the early 15th century. One of the other reasons was the plagues that caused the death of many craftsmen¹¹⁹.

d. Sūq al-Shammā'īn (Candle Dealers' Market)

This This sūq reached from *Mosque of al-Aqmar* to *Sūq al-Dajjācīn* in the direction of *Bāb al-Nāsr*¹²⁰. Its name was *Sūq al-Qammāhīn* in the Fatimids period. In *Sūq al-Shammā'īn*, there were many artisans dealing with wax trade. Among many different types of candles, *shumū' al-mavkibīya* was the largest in large size which were manufactured for the mosques, maşjids and palaces. *Shumū' al-fanūsīya* was for the lanterns. As for *shumū' al-tavvāfāt*, it was hand-held wax sold in this market. The shopkeepers situated side by side were open from the morning till night. An interesting detail given by al-Makrīzī about the *sūq* is significant. According to the author, there was a prostitute residing in *Sūq al-Shammā'īn* whose soubriquet was *Dhuiyrāt-ī Shammā'īn* and she used to spend most of her time with the men who seemed like a drunk (*musalākīn*). She had an idiosyncratic dress and anyone who saw her, could easily realize that she was a prostitute. A large amount of money had been spent for the candles in *Sūq al-Shammā'īn*. Al-Makrīzī, who saw twenty stores there before, cites that as a result of destruction, five stores remained in time. Fatimids had many traditions in which the candles were used. However,

¹¹⁸ For more information on the Mamlūks metalwork and art of inlaid, see E.M. Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork Fittings in Their Artistic and Architectural Context*, Leiden: Brill 2006; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact*, Bonn University Press, Goettingen 2012; Maryam Ekhtiar, *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Yale University Press, New York 2012.

¹¹⁹ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 105.

¹²⁰ W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D. Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghārī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt*, University of California Press, California 1955, p. 29; Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 96.

due to the disappearance most of the customs remained from their predecessor and sort of the candles sold in this *sūq* which have been thought as more of a luxury than a necessity, *Sūq al-Shammāʿīn* was not caught on in the Mamlūks period. Lanterns were hung throughout the market during the festivals and the streets were impassable because of the harsh light. *Shumūʿ al-Mavkibīya* was sold quite few in Ramadan and each of them was 10 *ratl*. *Shumūʿ al-Ajāl*, which was about 1 *ratl*, was being sold to the young who came to Tarawih Prayer. Al-Makrīzī states that he was incapable of praising this spectacular market, in particular in Ramadan days and it was away from the brighter days as before¹²¹.

5. HARNESS MARKETS

a. *Sūq al-Mahmīziyīn* (Spurs market)

The market, which was active in the Fatimid Period, was renewed after the collapse of State. Al-Maʿūna was situated next to its entrance. This dungeon was transformed into *Sūq al-Amber* during the reign of Sultan Kalawun (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.). *Al-Māristan waʿl-Wakalā* and *Dār al-Darb* were across the market that these three places were known as *Darb al-Shamsīyā* in the Mamlūk period. There were stores selling spurs from *Darb al-Shamsīyā* to *Hamman al-Hāratin*. Al-Makrīzī, who saw these stores, remarks that the people purchased the spurs made of gold and silver and they who fear God purchased spurs made of iron with gold plating in the past¹²². This can be considered as a kind of fashion at that time. However, afterwards the people gave up purchasing spurs made of gold and silver. During the Burjī Mamlūks period, spurs made of silver were in demand while golden spurs utterly disappeared. In addition to spurs, other horse equipments were sold in the market as well. One of them was the gag-bit produced from silver which had gold plating on. A silver gag-bit was equal to the weight of 500 dirhams. Bridles made of silver chains were among the horse equipment sold in *Sūq al-Mahmīziyīn*. Egyptian people, both elites and people would formerly demand the horse equipment made of gold and silver, and then this tradition was left by the ordinary people but upper class and the wealthy people whose financial conditions were better than the general public, carried on the tradition in the Mamlūks Era. One of the other items sold in the bazaar was the cutter, whose handgrip was made of gold and silver, was used for sharpening chisels. According to al-Makrīzī, the artisans and the craftsmen in *Sūq al-Mahmīziyīn* were among the wealthy people¹²³.

¹²¹ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 96.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 97.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 98.

b. Sūq al-Lājmiyīn (Bridle Market)

Like *Sūq al-Mahmūziyyīn*, *Sūq al-Lājmiyīn* also the market for the horse equipment, where bits and bridles called *al-lajm* were sold, was one of Cairo's lively markets. Besides, the craftsmen dealing with dyeing of spurs and the saddles were the main element of this market. The saddles yellow and blue in mixture color were the main product for sale in the bridle market. One of the old traditions remained from the Abbasids period was the usage of saddles of Black Bulgarian leathers by the *qādīs* which was manufactured and sold for the *ʿulama* in *Sūq al-Lājmiyīn* during the Mamlūks Era as well. The saddles, either pure gold or silver or engilding on silver were in used by the Mamlūk military forces during the reign of Sultan Barquq. In conjunction with the poverty increased after 1403, demands on saddles inlaid with gold and silver decreased comparatively. According to al-Makrīzī only the *ayan al-ʿumāra* and the *mamālīk al-ʿumāra* were able to have gold and silver saddles at his time¹²⁴.

c. Sūq al-Khawāissiyīn (Breeching market)

This *sūq* was next to *Sūq al-Shārabishiyīn*. The breeching called *al-Khāvāīs* was sold here for *ʿumara* and cavalries. *Ajnād al-khāvāīs* was 400 silver dirhams during the Bahrī period before the reign of Kalawun. *Al-khāvāīs* for *malik al-ʿumerā al-kabīr* was 300 dinars, for *ʿumara al-tablkhanāt* was 200 dinars, for *mukaddam al-halqa* was between 150 and 170 dinars in Kalawun's reign. *ʿUmara* and *khassākiyā* started to buy golden *khiyasā* in the reign of al-Nāsir Muhammad. There were among the *khiyasās*, which were adorned with the precious stones, engraved by the art of inlaid. Sultan al-Nasir assigned vast sums for silver and gold *khāvāīs* for his Own Mamlūks annually. This custom continued until the reign of al-Nāsir Faraj and decreased during Muayyad Shayh's reign. When Wāzir Sahib ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAbdullah b. Zambūr was arrested¹²⁵, he had left behind six thousand *khiyasās* and six thousand *gallūts*.

Bayādh al-amma (the great and the good) were among the permanent customers of *Sūq al-Khawāissiyīn*. Although it seemed far away from its own previous form according to Al-Makrīzī, infants' dress and military uniforms nonetheless were being sold in the market¹²⁶.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹²⁵ Sahib ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAbd Allah b. Zambūr, one of the entrepreneurs of the upper class in the Bahrī Period, has been dealing with sugar export, salt and oil trading, but he was dismissed from the office in 753/1352. See Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun*, Leiden: Brill, 1995, p. 147.

¹²⁶ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 99.

6. THE OTHER MARKETS

a. *Sūq al-Dajjājīn* (Poultry Dealers' Market)

Located immediately after *Sūq al-Shammāʿīn*, various kinds of birds were sold such as chicken and geese in *Sūq al-Dajjājīn*. One of the shops within the market was selling sparrow birds for the charitable people with the intention of releasing them. Al-Makrīzī narrates that the two boys working as barkers in front of the store were touting as "whoever buys and sets the birds free, he will be deserving of heaven!" Therefore, people who wished to do a favor would buy a large number of birds to set them free. The price of each of sparrow was 1 *féls*. Every Friday, there were bird sellers selling doves, nightingales, blackbirds, parrots and quails in the market. As it seems, they were probably not the artisans having stores in the *sūq* but participating the trade activities on a certain day of the week as a peddler. The price of a quail was 1000 dirhams that was equivalent to 50 dinars. There was also big competition among the bird sellers. According to the author, formerly many young bird lovers called *al-tavvāshīya*, who competed with each other to purchase the birds, had been gathering in this *sūq*. *Al-tavvāshīya*, generally belonging to the elites who never haggled on the price, would buy ornate and expensive cages for the birds they had. They also used to pay down no matter how much it costs¹²⁷. Large amount of money was paid for the special voice of the birds and the more extraordinary the birds style of singing and the higher its voice, the higher its price¹²⁸. Inside *Sūq al-Dajjājīn* there was a *qaysāriyā* in which situated booksellers and book copiers called *Sūq al-Qātibīya*¹²⁹. The *Qaysāriyā* had two gates one of which was in the middle of *Sūq al-Dajjājīn*. The other gate was in the direction of *Bayn al-Qasrayn*. When Khidr b. Al-Tanqāziya became the naib of *al-Maristān al-Mansūrī*, he had *Sūq al-Dajjājīn* and the *qaysāriyā* demolished. A new market was built instead of it and oil merchants and bird sellers were placed to newly-built market.¹³⁰

b. *Sūq al-Kutubiyīn* (Booksellers bazaar)

The area of the *sūq* occupied between *es-Saghā* and *Madrasa of Sālihīya*¹³¹ was about 800 yards of distance towards the north direction of *Bāb al-Zuwayla*¹³².

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 96

¹²⁸ Housni Alkhateeb Shehada, *Mamluks and Animals: Veterinary Medicine in Medieval Islam*, Leiden: Brill 2013, p. 210.

¹²⁹ Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, p.29.

¹³⁰ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, 96.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹³² Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.*, p. 29.

Before, there was a book market on the eastern side of Mosque of 'Amr b. al-As; however, it abruptly declined in the 14th century. In 1301, *Sūq al-Kutubiyīn* was established in the vicinity of *Sūq al-Saghā*, thus it became the neighbor of the *waqfs of Bīmāristān al-Mānsūrī*. Then it was moved to the *qaysāriyya* between *Mosque of Aqmar* and *Rukn al-Mukhlaq*, where the former was beside *Sūq al-Dajjācīn* and latter was adjacent to *Sūq al-Khasriyīn*. However, many of the books stored in the warehouses of the *qaysāriyya* began to decay because of the intensive moisture. Therefore, it was transferred to its former site and continued to serve for 'ulama and bookish people¹³³. In addition to *Sūq al-Kutubiyīn* extolled by the author, both *Sūq al-Silāh* and *Sūq al-Jiyād* (horse bazaar)¹³⁴ were also praised in terms of human values, morals and virtue. According to al-Makrīzī generally the customers of *Sūq al-Silāh* were heroic and brave and the people walking around in the *Sūq al-Kutubiyīn* were fond of science and literature. It was also possible to come across some of the book stores around the *Mosque of Azhar* and *Sūq al-Shammā'īn* where the prostitutes wandered. In the 15th century, there were book stores at the site near to *Madrasa of Barsbāy*. In the Mamlūks period, *Sūq al-Kutubiyīn* was not only the market exhibiting the books for sale, but also the place where the books were copied¹³⁵.

c. *Sūq al-Sanādiqiyīn* (Packing Case Bazaar)

An important part of *al-Māristān* called *fundūq al-dabābiliyīn* occupied the *Sūq al-Sanādiqiyīn*'s place before it was established. Many kinds of chests, beds and cabinets made of wood were sold in this market. Formerly both *Saqan al-Dajājīn* and *Sūq al-Sayyūfiyīn* (sword bazaar) were close to each other; and a number of victuallers were located at the latter market. Due to the excessive smoke rising from the eating houses, the *sūq* was called as the center of the smokes (al-kutb al-dā'irat al-dakkhan) by Kādī al-Kudāt Jalāl al-Dīn Jād-Allah¹³⁶.

¹³³ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, II, p. 102.

¹³⁴ In addition to *Sūq al-Jiyād*, there was also horse market called *Sūq al-Khayl* below Qalat al-Jabal and in front of *Bab al-Silsala*. Although *Sūq al-Khayl* has been mentioned many times at various Mamluk sources, no information was given about this *sūq* by the author in *al-Khitat* in the section where the markets are introduced. For *Sūq al-Khayl* and the events taken place here, see Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kānz al-Duwar wa Jamī' al-Ghurar*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann, VIII, Cairo 1971, p. 93; Ibn Hajar, *Inba*, I, p. 238; III, p. 477; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, VII, p. 147, 176, 191, 195; IX, p. 162, 189; X, p. 83, 85, 230; XI, p. 39, 73; Aynī, *Ikd*, p. 252, 280, 281; Makrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, p. 299.

¹³⁵ Robert Irwin, "Mamluk Literature", *Mamluk Studies Review*, ed. Bruce D. Craig VII, Chicago 2003, p. 3; Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 102.

¹³⁶ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 102.

d. Sūq al-‘Anbariyīn (Musk market)

The market was between *Sūq al-Kharīriyyīn al-Sharābiyyīn* and *Qaysāra al-‘Isfīr* in the direction of *Sūq al-Harrātīn* (furnishers’ bazaar). *Al-Ma’ūna Dungeon* occupied instead of the marketplace in the period of the Fatimids. With its stink and narrowness, appearance of the dungeon was scary. The schedule of converting such a stinker place into odorous bazaar was related to Amir Qalawun who had to pass by *al-Ma’ūna* everyday while shuttling from home to *Qal‘at al-‘Jabal* and because of the dirty smell and screams of the prisoners exposed to torture could have encouraged him to demolish the dungeon before he came to power. As well as, the people around *al-Ma’ūna* were suffering from the mentioned situation, another complaint of the people concerned with the starving, nudity and lice were subjected to the prisoners under bad conditions. When Kalawun came to power, he realized his plan by demolishing the dungeon and started the construction of *Sūq al-‘Anbariyīn* instead of it around the *Mosque of Mawrid al-Khulafā‘*, also known as *al-‘Jadīd al-Nāsiri*. The main customers of the musk market were the women who were fond of various perfumes. Every woman had a vial pendant necklace full of musk pervading nice odor. Various perfumes sold in the market were not only for the people, but also for housing. The merchants of *Sūq al-‘Anbariyīn* were among Cairo’s dignitaries and wealthy people. The houses and the stores in the market were consecrated to *Mosque of Zāhir Baybars* when al-Nāsir Mohammad passed the throne. As a result of wide-spread counterfeit perfumes 769/1368 and the decline of the welfare in Egypt in the beginning of 15th century, the demand to the market reduced, thus it lost its former liveliness and a few stores remained within *Sūq al-‘Anbariyīn*. After being claimed to be closed of the market from the *nāzir of mosque of ‘Jadīd* by some of the Cairene, al-Musta‘in Billah al-Abbasi, who was the son of Kahiph al-Mutawakkil al-Allah Mohammad, transferred it to *Qaysāriya al-‘Isfīr*. In the meantime, it stayed closed about 2 years; however, came into activity in 818/1415¹³⁷.

e. Sūq al-Kharrātīn (Furnish market)

While it was on route from *Sūq al-Mahmūziyyīn* to Mosque of al-Azhar, and it passed from *Sūq al-Kharrātīn* and was located between *Dār al-Darb* and *al-Wiqāla al-Amiriyya*. The painters formerly deployed in the marketplace that’s why called as *‘Akbat al-Sabbāqin* (painters market), after that was known as *Sūq al-Qashshāshīn* (straw bazaar). Although painters active in the markets are frequently mentioned

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 102-3.

by the author, there is no explanatory information given about the characterization of the craftsmen and the quality of their work¹³⁸. It was called as *Sūq al-Kharrātīn* in the Burjī Mamlūks period. There were about fifty stores within the market of which maker of furniture and child cribs, cutleries and the pharmacists were its artisans. Furnish market came also to an end in a time of crisis seen in the period of Burjī Mamlūks. Among the Mamluks' amirs', Jamāl al-Dīn Yusuf confiscated the stores from the beginning of the *sūq* to *Hammām al-Harrātīn* and started a new construction in the marketplace. However, he was sentenced to death and Sultan Faraj ordered both the construction and the possession of the killed amīr to *Bayt al-Mal* to be made over¹³⁹.

f. Sūq al-Akhfāfiyīn (Shoemaker market)

Sūq al-Akhfāfiyīn was in the vicinity of *Sūq al-Bandaqāniyīn*. It was one of Cairo's new markets which were built by Dawadār Amir Yunus al-Nawrūzī in a devastated part of *Sūq al-Bandaqāniyīn* damaged from the fire in 779/1378. After completion of the construction of the shoemaker market, the shoe-sellers within *hat al-hārīriyīn* and *hat al-zujjājiyīn* were transferred to this *sūq*. Especially *sermuza*, a kind of woman shoe, were sold in the market¹⁴⁰.

g. Sūq al-Aqbā'iyīn

This market situated at the outside of *Bāb al-Ḍuwayla* was available from the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars till 1417¹⁴¹. No more information has been given by the author about the products sold in the market.

7. SUWAYQAS IN CAIRO

Fifteen *suwayqas* were introduced by al-Makrīzī in his work. He informed the origin of their name and where they located; however, did not mention what type of goods sold within the markets except for a few bazaars.

a. Suwayqa al-Sāhib

The marketplace could be reached by getting through *al-Bandaqāniyīn* and *Bāb al-Hoha*. *Suwayqa al-Sāhib* was the oldest market dated to the Fatimids era. Its

¹³⁸ For the painters and painting in the Mamlūk Era, see, D. Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, Aris and Philips Ltd., Warminster 1978; Esin Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C. 1981; N. Atasoy, "Un manuscrit Mamlūk illustré du Sāhnāma", *Revue des études islamiques* I France 1969, pp. 151-8.

¹³⁹ Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

name came from Abū al-Faraj Yaqob, who was Caliph al-‘Aziz Billāh Nizar b. Al-Mu‘izz's wazir, because the market was situated in front of his house called *Dār al-Dībāj*. The line of both the wazir's house and the marketplace was known as *Hat Dār al-Dībāj*. Because of manufacturing of brocade, *Suwayqa Dār al-Dībāj* was also called as *Dār al-Tiraz* in later years; however, it was continued to be called as *Sūq al-Sāhib* till the end of the Caliphate. Safi al-Dīn Abdullah, Al-Malik al-‘Adil Abī Baqr b. Ayyūb's wazir, built a madrasa known as *al-Sāhibīya* in the Mamlūks era and a bathhouse around the market. Thereby, the name of *Suwayqa al-Sāhib* dated to the Ayyubids period, and also continued in their successor's term. It was one of the most respected markets in Cairo because of dwelling the *wazir* and *‘ayan al-quttāb*. After the emergence of the economic problems within State, this *sūq* lost its former vitality¹⁴².

b. Suwayqa Khizanāt al-Bunūd

This small market reached from *Bāb Darb Rāshid* to *Khizanāt al-Bunūd*. Its former name was *Suwayqa Reydān al-Saklābī*¹⁴³.

c. Suwayqa al-Masudī

This *suwayqa* was inside *Hārat Zuwayla*. Its name comes from al-Malik al-Masud Aksis b. al-Malik al-Kāmil's Mamlūks Sārim al-Dīn Qaymaz al-Masudī. He was put to death because of cruelty and dictatorship¹⁴⁴.

d. Suwayqa al-Taqlaq

This *suwayqa* was located between the beginning *al-Hārat Sālihiya* and *Mosque of al-Azhar*. The name of the market comes from Amir Sayf al-Dīn Taqlaqa al-Silāhdār. Previously, there were only four shops in the market. After the destruction of *Suwayqa al-Sālihiya* in 779/1378, reconstruction activities started in *Suwayqa al-Taqlaq* but unfortunately it also came to end in the beginning of the Burjī Period¹⁴⁵.

e. Suwayqa al-Sawwānī

This *suwayqa* was out of *Bāb al-Nāsir* and *Bāb al-Futūh* and in the direction of *Ibn Sayrām Garden*. Al-Makrīzī had dilemma about the name of the *suwayqa* that either it might have come from ‘Alā al-Dīn Ali b. Masud al-Sawwānī, one of

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.

the amirs of Baybars or Qarāja al-Sawwāni, the amir during the reign of Kalawun¹⁴⁶.

f. Suwayqa al-Balshūn

It was out of *Bāb al-Futūh*. The name of the *suwayqa* comes from Sabiq al-Dīn Sunqur al-Balshūn, one of Salāh al-Dīn Yusuf b. Ayyūb's Mamlūks in the Ayyubid era¹⁴⁷.

g. Suwayqa al-Lift

This *suwayqa* was out of *Bāb al-Nāsir* and around the Lift Well. *Dār al-Ibn al-Hajīb* was in front of it. The *suwayqa* was Cairo's turnip and cabbage center which were sold in the several shops within it. In addition, animal feeding stuff among the products was available in *Suwayqa al-Lift*¹⁴⁸.

h. Suwayqa Zāwiya al-Khiddām

It was also out of *Bāb al-Nāsir*. Foodstuffs were sold in the market which completely disappeared in the beginning of 15th century¹⁴⁹.

1. Suwayqa al-Ramla

Located between Suwayqa Zāwiya al-Khiddām and Mosque of al-Malik, the *suwayqa* which was seen by al-Makrīzī, was the marketplace where foodstuffs were sold¹⁵⁰.

i. Suwayqa Cami' Al-Malik

This market was characterized by al-Makrīzī as one of the biggest foodstuff markets in the city. It was seen by the author in 1403 before it disappeared¹⁵¹.

j. Suwayqa al-Sanābita

Its name comes from *Ahl al-Sunbāt*; and this market was also seen by al-Makrīzī¹⁵².

k. Suwayqa al-Arab

This *suwayqa* was adjacent to Reydāniye. It was demolished because of in-

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 106.

creasing prices of the products in 775/1374. Al-Makrīzī cites that a bakeshop situated at the entrance of the marketplace was used to bake seven thousand loaves of bread per a day in 759/1358. However, after a while, crowded market gave place to the sound of owls and reverberation¹⁵³.

l. Suwayqa al-‘Izzī

This *suwayqa* was close to *Qalat al-Jabal* and there were many tombs instead of the marketplace before it was established. Its name comes from Nākib al-Juyūş Amir İzz al-dīn Aybek al-‘Izzī. *Suwayqa el-‘Izzī* was active in al-Makrīzī’s term¹⁵⁴.

m. Suwayqa al-‘Ayyātīn (Screechers market)

This market was at *Hat al-Maqş* near to *Bāb al-Bahr*. The name of the market comes from Masud b. Muhammad b. Sālim al-‘Ayyāt who did not build the *sūq* but dwelled around it. However, he then constructed a mosque within the market. Another detail related to the name of the market originated from an event which al-Makrīzī heard from Shayh Khusām al-Dīn Shahrāzūriyya. Accordingly, Nāzir al-Khass al-Nashu made all the shopkeepers obliged to sell honey during the reign of al-Nāsir Muhammad b. Kalawun. A *qintar* of it was 20 dirhams. Under these circumstances, they went to Sultan and made a complaint by crying out. As a result, this obligation was abolished. Due to the cry out of the artisans, this *sūq* was called as *al-‘Ayyātīn*¹⁵⁵.

n. Suwayqa al-Irrāqiyān

This *suwayqa* was located in Fustat and the construction history of it dates back to Umayyad's period. Qaribā al-Azdī and Zuhāfā al-Tāī who was among the faction of *Kharījites*, dissented to Ziyād b. Umayya, one of the walis of the *Umayyads*, then the wali corresponded with Caliph Muawiya in order to have the permission to kill them. However, Caliph ordered to have them deported instead of killing. After the provision, the two men accompanied with 200 people migrated to Egypt and settled Qūm Sarāj in 53/673. They built a mosque and the mentioned market whose name depended on the emigrants came from Iraq¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 107.

Conclusion

In this paper, thirty-four *sūqs* and fourteen *suwayqas* are approached in the light of the information in al-Khitat. Considering the data given by the author, five important features come to the forefront with the markets: The site, the quality, the period, characterization of people in terms of morality, and nostalgia. The first is related to the location of the markets, which is also mentioned in the background section, occupied on the streets near the mosques and the city gates, especially in *al-Qasaba* between *Bāb al-Futūh* and *Bāb al-Ẓuwayla* where the circulation of people was strong during the Mamlūks era in parallel with the market types in the Middle Ages. It is possible to encounter both the versatile markets and the markets located within a different market in contrast to the medieval specialized markets types, as can be seen from the example of *Sūq Hārat al-Barjawan* and *Sūq al-Shawwāyīn* (roast market) that forms the second feature of the *sūqs* in Cairo. The third characteristic of the markets are related to their destiny which is completely relevant to political, economic and social decline seen in the Burjī Period. As a result, State's bright era favorably affected the domestic markets while economic weakness and political instability resulted in the disappearance of many *sūqs* in Cairo. The other feature is the value of the markets in terms of moral conditions, which are based on the author's views entirely, may be forms the most interesting detail about the *sūqs* given *al-Khitat*. The markets such as *Sūq al-Silāh* and *Sūq al-Kutubiyīn* were extolled by al-Makrīzī because of their virtuous customers and were preferred from the other markets in Cairo. Finally, we think that the bazaars which were in good condition during the Fatimids and the Ayyubids periods, had either deteriorated or had completely vanished during his own time made the author feel nostalgic about these past periods.

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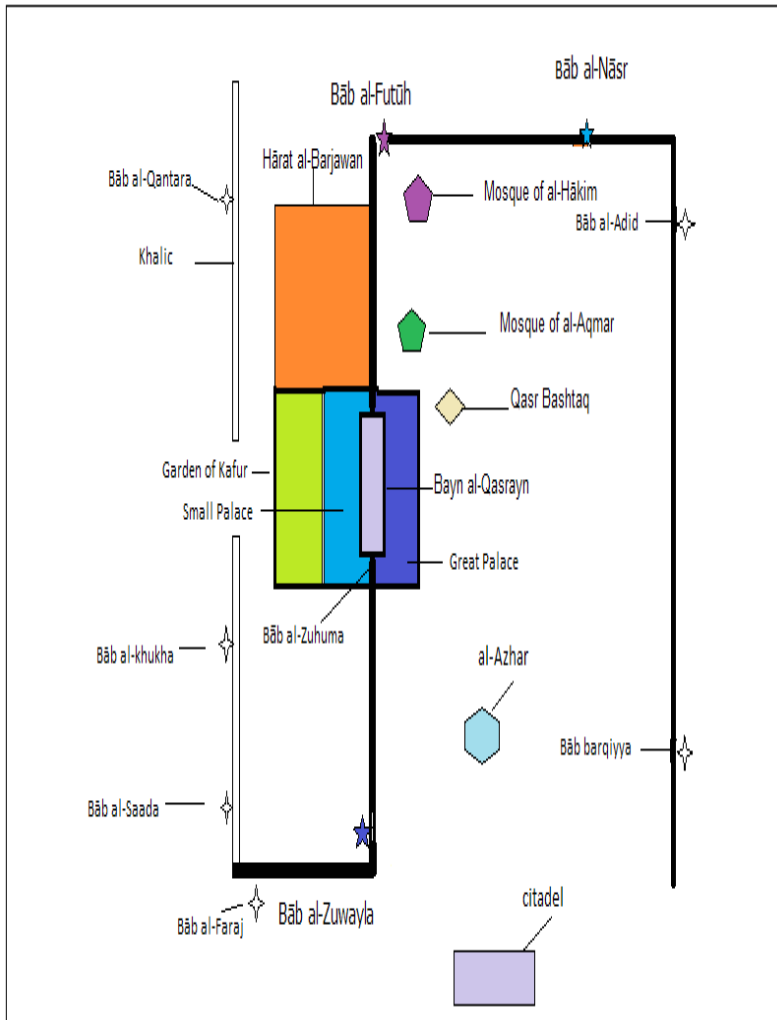


Table 1^{157*}

Al-Qasaba

157 * It has been drawn in the light of the data given in Cassandra Vivan, *Americans in Egypt, 1770-1915: Explorers, Consuls, Travelers, Soldiers, Missionaries, Writers and Scientists*, Mc Farland Company Inc. Publishers, North Carolina 2012, p. 11; Raymond, *Cairo*, p. 155; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, p. 49; *al-Qasaba* is now the el-Mu'izz Street. See Maria Golia, *Cairo: City of Sand*, Reaktion Books, London 2004, p. 53.

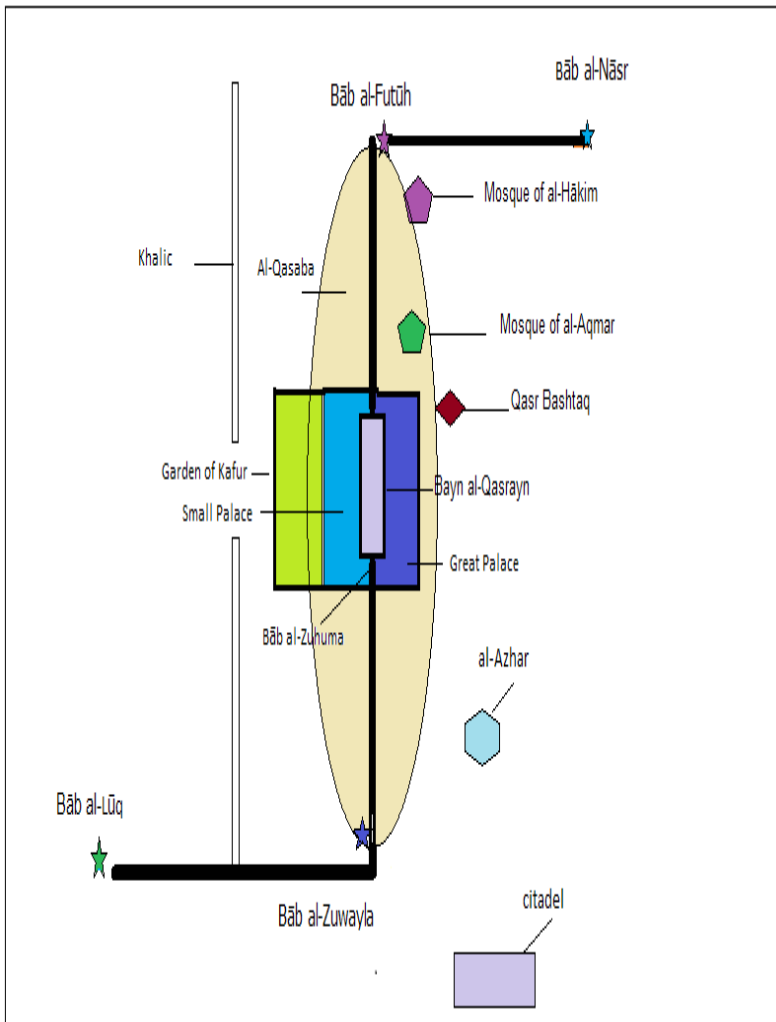


Table 2^{158*}

Hārāt al-Barjawan

158 * It has been drawn in the light of the data given in Lapidus *Muslim Cities* and al-Makrīzī's *el-Hutat*. See also Makrīzī, *al-Khitat*, p. 96; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, p. 49; See also Hasen 'Abd al-Wahāb, *Tahtit al-Qahira ve Tanzimaha munzu Nashatiha*, Cairo 1957, p. 45-6; F. Ratté, "Understanding the city through travelers' tales: Cairo as seen as experienced by two fourteenth century Italians", *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers*, London: Routledge 2015, p. 64.