

Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo

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RESEARCH ON INTANGIBLE HERITAGE AND STORYTELLING EVENT
IN THE ACTION AREA - FINAL REPORT

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Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo Sector Study: Research on intangible heritage and storytelling event in the action area

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Cairo has been a dominant political, cultural, commercial and religious capital throughout history playing a prominent role during Fatimids, reaching its golden age during Mamluks, and sustaining its cosmopolitan significance during Ottoman times. Due to its unique peculiar skyline, it has been known to scholars and historians as “City of the thousand minarets”.

Historic Cairo was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979 recognizing its “absolutely unquestionable historical, archaeological and urbanistic importance.” Upon ICOMOS recommendation, the inscription was based on the following criteria:

1. Several of the great monuments of Cairo are incontestable masterpieces;
2. The historic centre of Cairo groups numerous streets and old dwellings and thus maintains, in the heart of the traditional urban fabric, forms of human settlement, which go back to the middle Ages;
3. The historic centre of Cairo constitutes an impressive material witness to the international importance on the political, strategic, intellectual and commercial level of the City during the medieval period.

URHC Goals and Objectives In July 2010, UNESCO-WHC launched the Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo (URHC) in the framework of a larger program of technical assistance to the Egyptian Government concerning the management of the World Heritage Site, focusing on the following objectives:

1. The preparation of a Conservation Plan for Historic Cairo’s “Core and Buffer Zones”, which would include the Management Plan required by the WH Operational Guidelines;
2. The establishment of an institutional framework to undertake and develop a sustainable urban conservation policy, promoting coordination and collaboration amongst different institutions, administrations and agencies concerned with the management of the World Heritage Site;
3. The creation of an appropriate and shared information platform for urban conservation.

To achieve these goals, an interdisciplinary team of local and international consultants are collaborating with the concerned bodies to develop a set of protection measures in order to uphold the site’s Outstanding Universal Value, to prevent further decay of the historic urban fabric and to enhance the socio-economic conditions of Historic Cairo.

This report identifies the component of the activities with the community activities that is related to collecting and synthesizing stories related to intangible heritage in the form of map, performance and as short videos documenting the whole process to promote citizen participation and collect information pertaining to resident needs, intangible values, meanings and urban dynamics that will in turn feed into recommendations concerning future interventions. The idea is to emphasize the inextricable link between the monument and urban life and to stress the fact that its totality is what constitutes heritage.

يحدد هذا التقرير المكون من الأنشطة المشتركة مع الأنشطة المجتمعية التي تتعلق بجمع وتوليف القصص المتعلقة بالتراث غير الملموس في شكل خريطة، وتم تصوير مقاطع فيديو قصيرة حيث توثق العملية برمتها لتعزيز مشاركة المواطنين وجمع المعلومات المتعلقة باحتياجات المقيمين والقيم المعنوية والمعاني وديناميكية الحضرية التي من شأنها أن تغذي بدورها توصيات بشأن التدخلات في المستقبل. والفكرة هي للتأكيد على العلاقة المعقدة بين الأثر والنسيج العمراني المحيط بها والتشديد على حقيقة أن مجملها هو ما يشكل التراث.

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SECTION ONE

FIELD INVESTIGATION OF PERTINENT ISSUES THROUGH FOCUS INTERVIEWS



This report was produced in the framework of Urban Regeneration project for Historic Cairo - World Heritage Centre - UNESCO

INTRODUCTION

This activity ran parallel to the structured survey of buildings, plots and public spaces of the study area. It attempted to answer questions related to themes conducive to a better understanding of the intangible heritage of the study area from the perception of the local community. These themes included the following:

- I. The Neighbourhood
 - a. Neighbourhood divisions, sub divisions and landmarks as perceived by the residents.
 - b. Identifying commercial and industrial activities for each neighbourhood as perceived by the residents.
 - c. Transitional changes in specific blocks or streets.

- II. Its Heritage
 - a. Popular history and myths related to major heritage sites as recounted by residents.
 - b. Personal memories of major heritage sites as recounted by residents.
 - c. Activities and structure of administration and control for major heritage sites as perceived by residents.

The aim was to identify the main themes for a parallel narrative that sheds light on perceptions of the study area from the point of view of stakeholders in general and residents in particular.



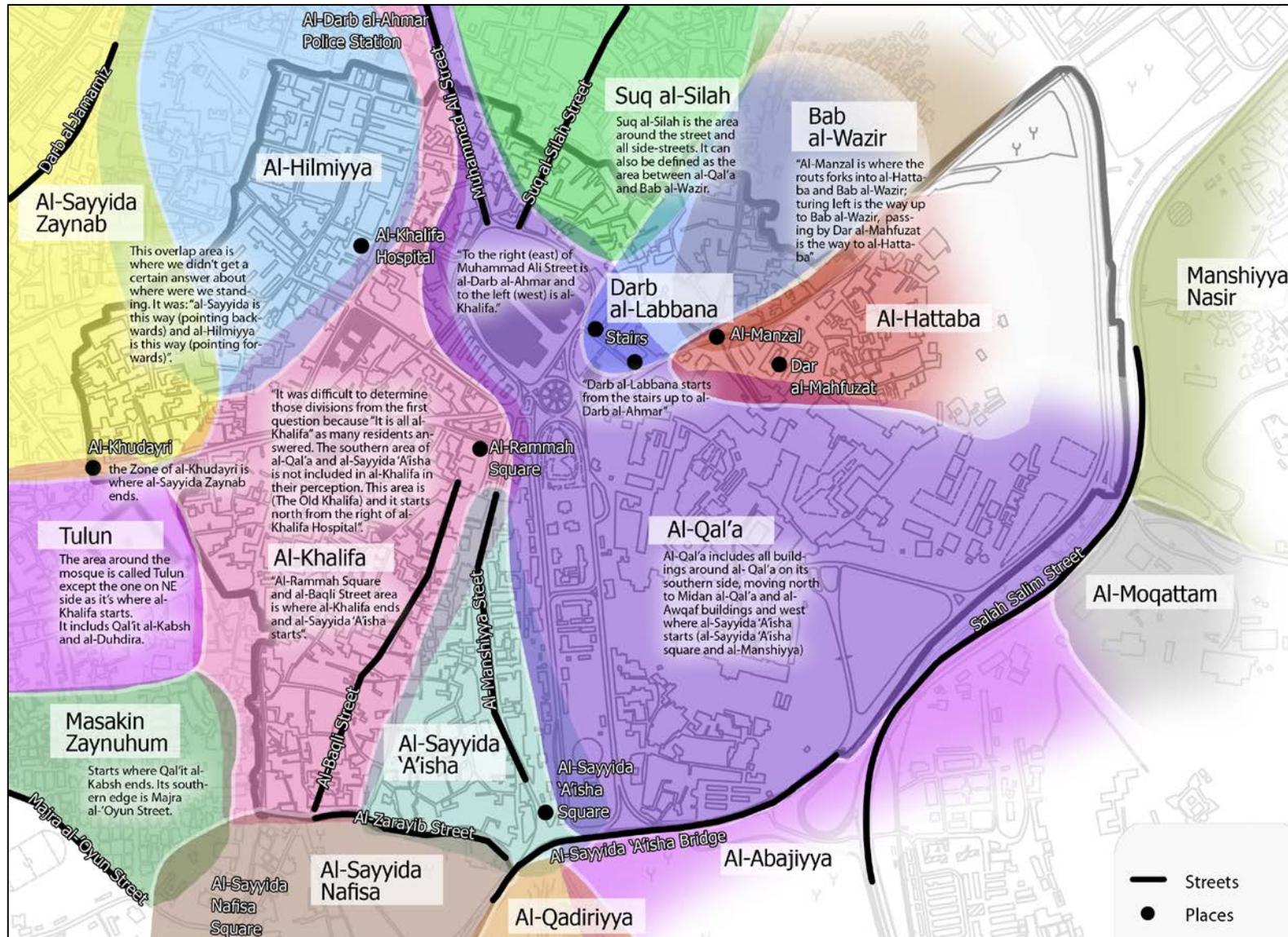
I. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

a. NEIGHBOURHOOD DIVISIONS, SUB DIVISIONS AND LANDMARKS AS PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Action plans and interventions tend to have borders based on parameters such as administrative divisions and/or patterns of urban fabric. They also reflect the perceptions of the professionals in charge of the study or project more than those of the local community. It was therefore important to compare how residents see their community – particularly its neighbourhood divisions – with official maps. Residents were asked about their address then asked to name their neighbourhood and tell us how far it extended, its main landmark building and street and to describe the nearest transportation route. This was then compared to the administrative *shiyakha* map.

As a result the following set of maps was produced:

1. Neighbourhood divisions as perceived by residents
2. Neighbourhood sub-divisions as perceived by residents
3. Comparison to administrative *shiyakha* divisions
4. Landmark buildings and transportation routes



Residents were asked to name the quarter where they live and describe the landmarks marking its borders. They were then asked to subdivide it into smaller neighbourhoods.

Fig. 1 – Quarters and border landmarks as perceived by residents

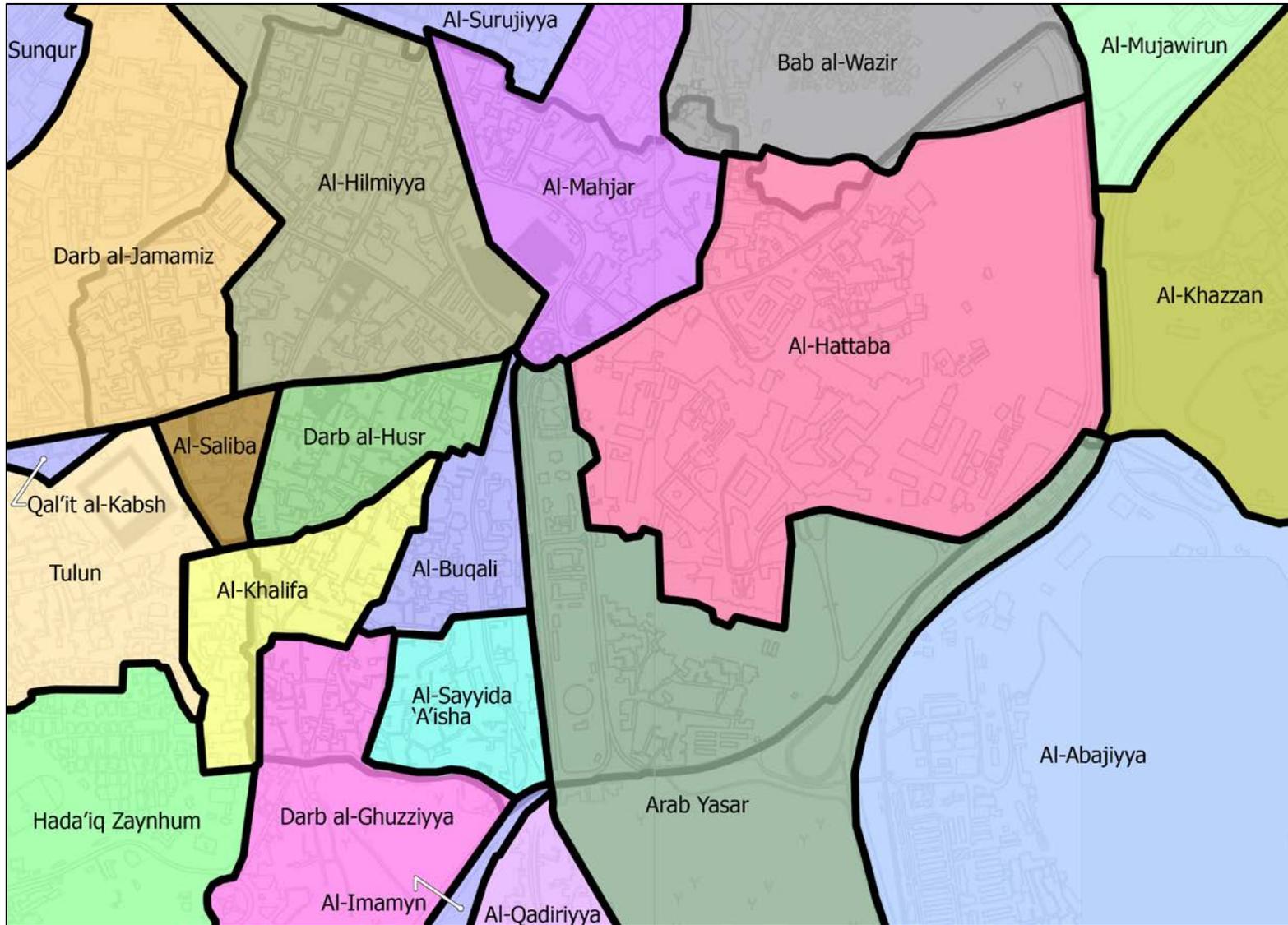
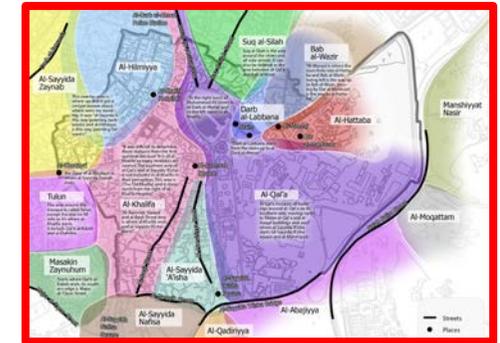
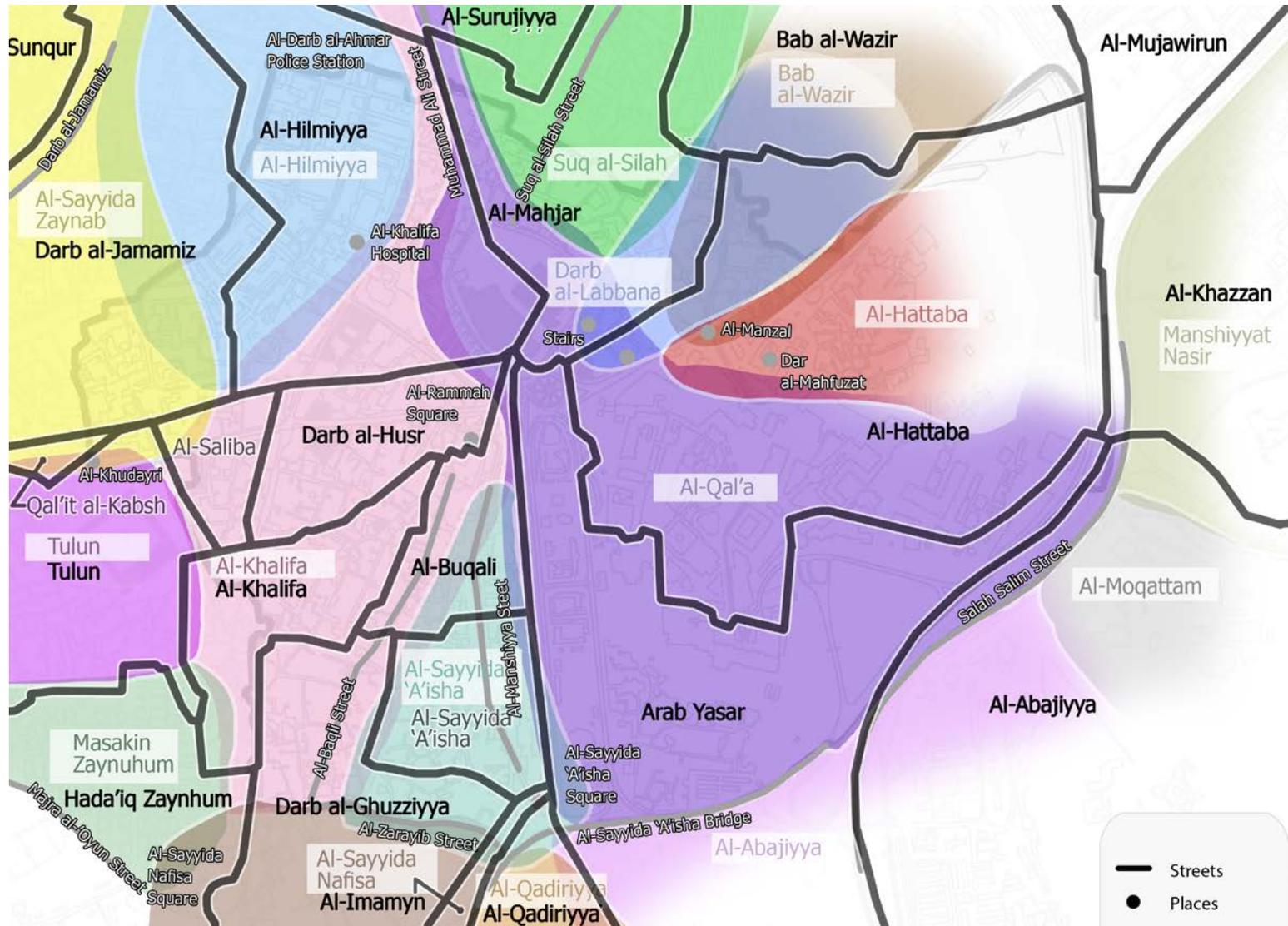
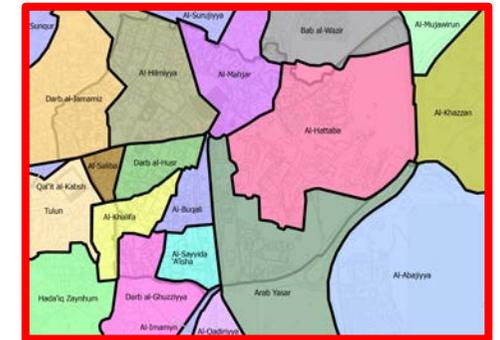


Fig. 3 – Official shiyaka divisions



Neighbourhoods



shiyakhas

Fig. 4 – Comparison to administrative shiyaka divisions. (shiyakha divisions in black)

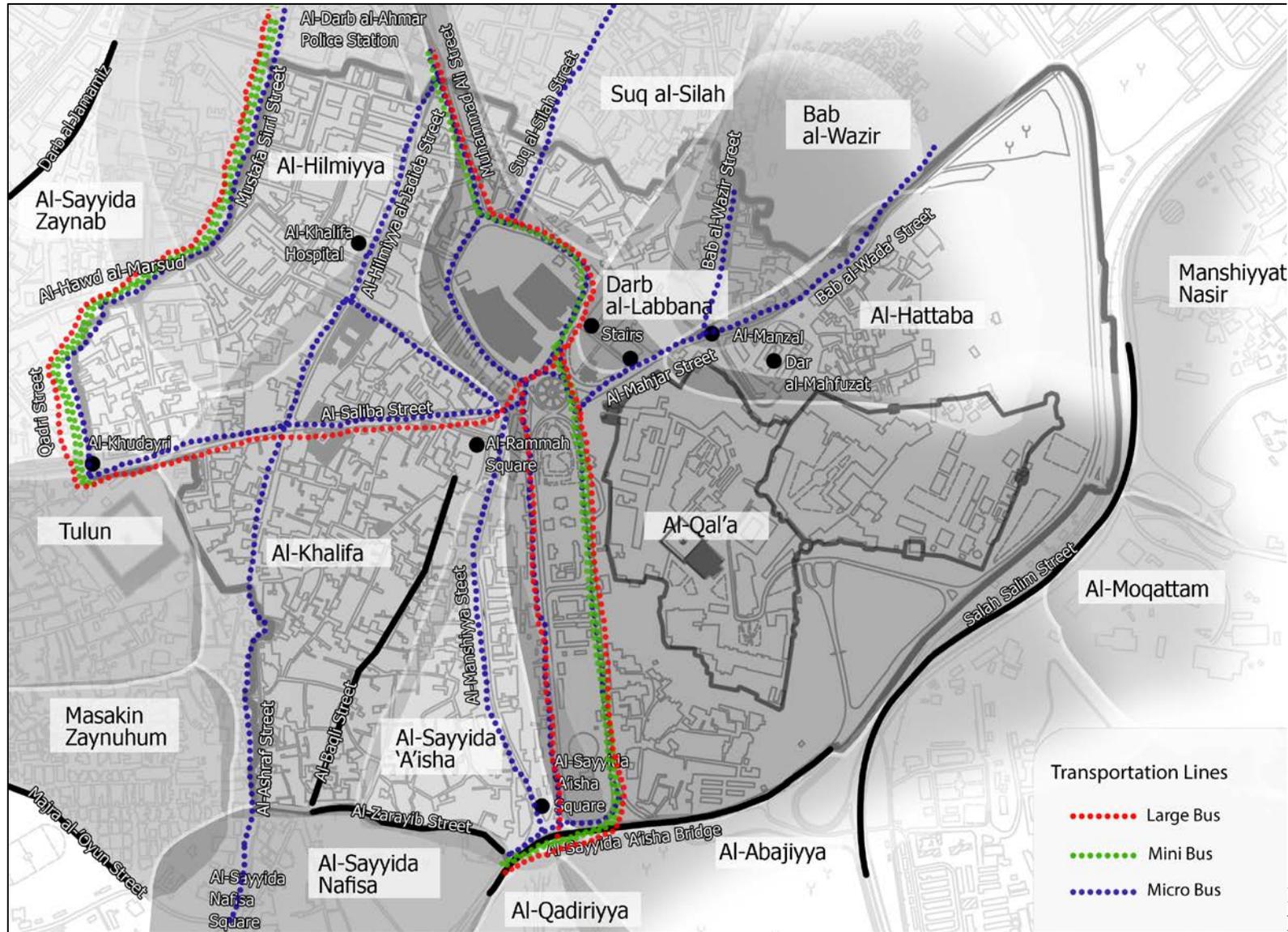
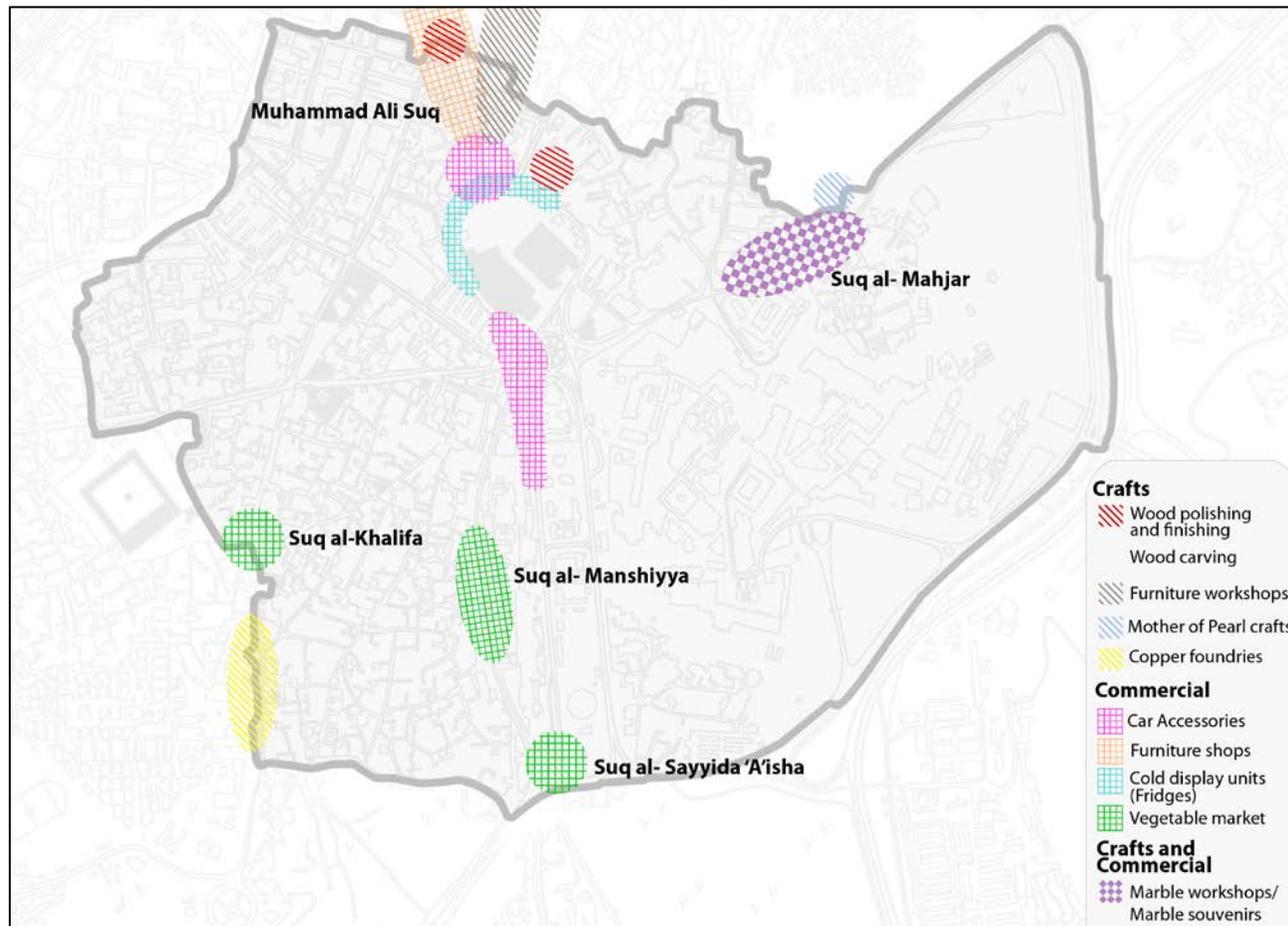


Fig. 5 – Transportation routes and landmarks

b. COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES FOR EACH NEIGHBOURHOOD AS PERCEIVED BY THE RESIDENTS.



Residents were asked to identify what neighbourhoods are famous for, whether in terms of wholesale or retail commercial zones or in terms of crafts and small industries. The map produced shows a concentration of activities related to furniture around Muhammad 'Ali Street, marble around al-Mahjar, food around al-Sayyida 'A'isha Square, and car accessories and commercial fridges around Muhammad 'Ali Square and copper in al-Ashraf Street. Interviewees also mentioned that the area of al-Khalifa in general is known for its skilled workers particularly in the construction business and in home repairs.

Fig. 6 – Landmark commercial and craft zones as perceived by the residents

c. THREE CASE STUDIES FOR HERITAGE SITES UNDER TRANSITION

Changes in Maydan al-Qal'a around Sultan Hasan and Rifa'i mosques - from the construction of al-Rifa'i Mosque and the introduction of the ruling family as a patron and effector of change in the neighbourhood, then the transformation of the street between the two mosques into a pedestrian passageway/recreation ground, then the current situation of controlled access to this passageway.

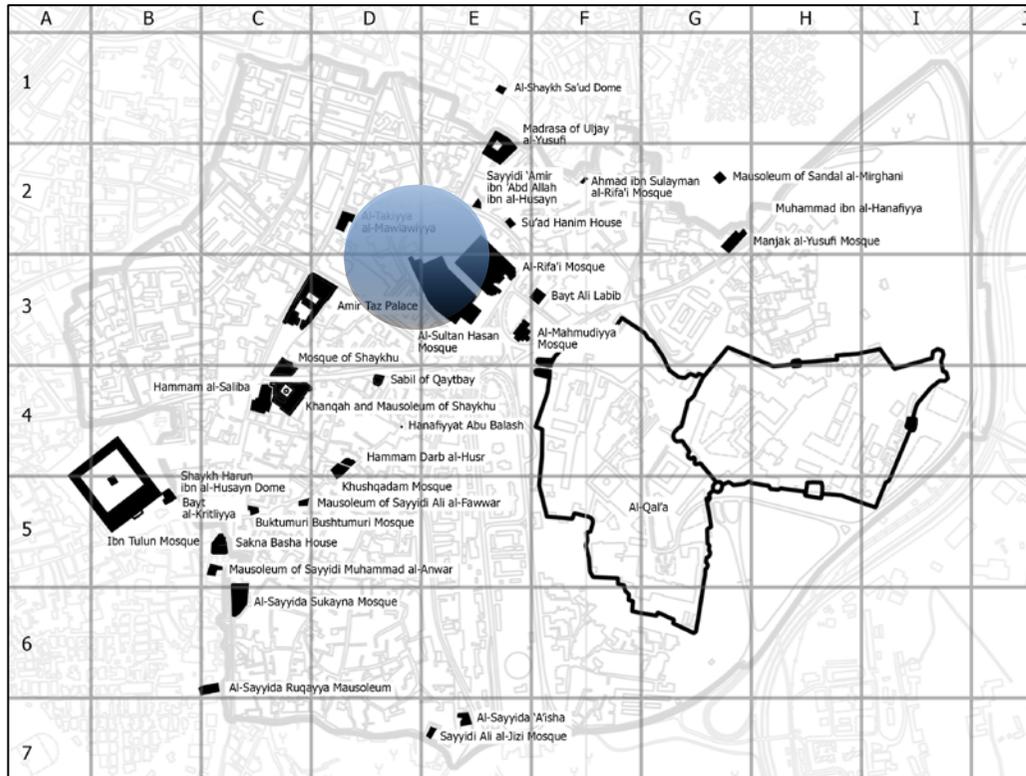


Fig. 7- Location of zone of transition I



Fig. 8 - Zone of transition I: Passageway between Sultan Hasan & Rifa'i

Concerning the Muhammad 'Ali family, the rituals and charitable activities related to al-Rifa'i Mosque are still retained in popular memory. A resident mentioned that carriages carrying flowers used to come to honor the dead. Another mentioned that,

“39 Shaykh Muhammad Shakir street was the residence of the cooking staff of the Royal family. The family business nowadays is selling meat. They own a big butcher shop in al-Hilmiyya.”

The caretakers of al-Rifa'i Mosque still point out the graves of the members of the royal family – particularly King Faruq - and of the Shah of Iran to visitors. They also refer to a recent incident when,

“On the day of King Faruq's birthday, 300 people gathered and wanted to visit the king. They were not allowed in as it was almost closing time. The last attempt to bury a member of the royal family tried was with Queen Fawziyya but the burial was denied because there was no request made to the national security... If members of the royal family want to visit the people buried in the mosque they need to file a request and someone from the police force has to accompany them.”

Concerning the changing function of the *maydan*, and particularly the passageway between al-Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i, it continues to be perceived by many as a place of recreation, this in spite of the fact that the *maydan* itself is a fairly busy traffic hub and the movement the passageway is closed at night and movement is restricted because of the closing of its western gate except during Friday prayer time.

Residents are aware that their rights are curtailed because they are unfairly judged as a threat to the monuments. According to a female resident,

“Before they closed off the road between the al- Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i, there used to be a lot of coffee shops and we used to love to go and sit there. They might have done that to protect the monuments but no one harmed the monuments before. Al-Rifa'i mosque was always there”.

They also retain the memory of the demolition of the houses in order to create the square in the first half of the 20th century – an earlier example of heritage taking precedence over people. It is interesting that in one interview with a male resident, this was connected to the accident during the construction of Sultan Hasan Mosque, in which the minaret fell over a *kuttab*, but with a twist,

“It is said that the minaret destroyed homes and killed orphans. Houses were also destroyed or built in a certain way to protect the square here.”

Another younger male resident also talks of the space beside al-Rifa’i Mosque as a space for activities that were allowed then and are now curtailed,

“There is a small open space outside the Rifa’i exit where kids play football in the weekends and on holidays. I used to go there with my friends on Thursdays to play football when I was young, the space was bigger and we would stay up playing till our mothers shouted at us to come home.”

It should also be mentioned that in the mapping survey conducted with the residents of al-Hattaba during the information campaign, a number of them mentioned the small round garden with the fountain lying east of al-Sultan Hasan as a place of recreation. Children also drew it in their rendition of the square as part of the art activities during the campaign. Residents continue to defend their right to the square – but are being shifted away from the monuments.

This tug of war is also seen with the *mawlid* of al-Rifa’i. Of course, for most of the visitors to al-Rifa’i Mosque, the point of attraction is the shrine of al-Rifa’i, not the graves of the royal family, this in spite of the fact that he is not really buried there. According to the caretaker,

“Ahmad al-Rifa’i never came to Egypt. The person buried here is his grandson ‘Ai Abu Shubbak. He is the son of the daughter of al-Rifa’i and he was a Rifa’i sufi with many miracles (karamas). His grandfather Ahmad al-Rifa’i was buried in Iraq. He is one of the four sufi qutbs another one of whom was Sayyid al-Badawi for example.”

Foremost among the activities related to the shrine is the *mawlid* which takes place ***;

“The hadra (sufi ritual) was every Friday for an hour and for two days before the mawlid. The path of the mawlid procession is always changing due to the unstable political situation. The original path is: al-Sayyida Zaynab- Port Sa’id street - al- Qal’a - al-Rifa’i Mosque. The procession used to pass through the street between Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa’i but it is now closed. The path has been modified to go around the mosques instead of through them. The procession is always lead by a shaykh on a horse and next to him the boat that carries the spirit of Shaykh al- Rifa’i. Food is usually offered to the people in the street.”

Among the personal memories of the *mawlid* collected is that of a middle-aged female resident:

“When I was a child my mother would tell me as soon as I got home from school that it is time for the mawlid. I would change by uniform and rush to catch the sharrif - a person who sat on a camel that was loaded with tea. I loved getting there on time to drink tea from him”

This tug of war is also seen inside the mosques as fairly harmless activities are restricted. This is not always the doing of the Antiquities authorities. Sometimes it is a third actor, religious authorities as represented by the Ministry of Endowments, that is at play;

“Regarding marriage ceremonies they too have been banned from the mosque because people did not dress appropriately and they were always loud etc.” (Mosque caretaker on Sultan Hasan – marriages have also been banned from Al-Rifa’i)

Sometimes the tug of war is between the Antiquities and the Endowments authorities. A case in point is Manarat al-Sultan Hasan, a program of religious lessons run by a *shaykh* employed by the Endowments authorities and supported by a large group of young volunteers, most of them not from the neighbourhood. This group monopolises the religious and cultural activities that take place in Sultan Hasan, and according to the caretaker of the mosque, have a freehand in setting the program as long as it does not include political activities. The problem between them and the Antiquities authorities is related to the opening hours of the mosque, which Manarat al-Sultan Hasan want to extend, particularly during Ramadan when they feel the mosque should be open 24 hours. This request is sometimes denied and sometimes allowed. Other points of contention include the use of the closed spaces in the mosque, which Manarat al-Sultan Hasan want opened for teaching activities.

Changes around Ibn Tulun Mosque starting from the clearing around the mosque, to the introduction of a second *ziyada* (the fenced monument buffer zone), to the gating of Ibn Tulun Street, to the removal of the fence and the gate during the revolution. Other issues include closing the Duhdaira entrance to the Mosque of Ibn Tulun and moving the garbage collection point from in front of Gayer Anderson Museum to the last remaining patch of green at the junction point between Ibn Tulun Street and al-Saliba Street. This involved a shifting around of the recreational areas around Tulun with residents gradually being shunted out further and further away from the mosque.

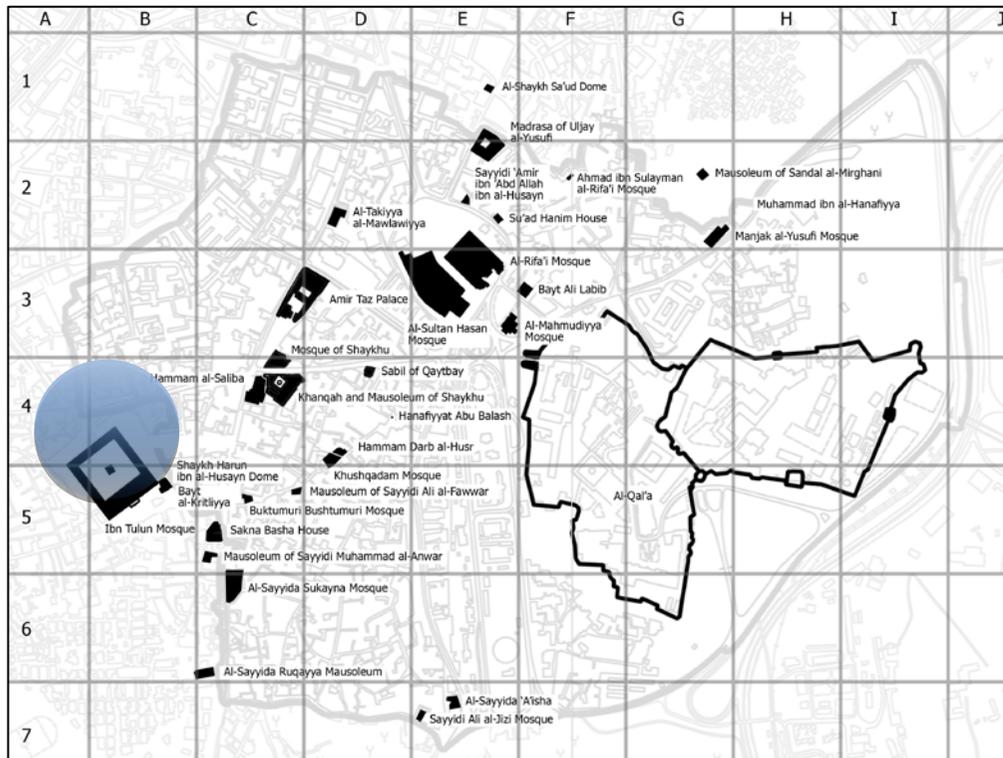


Fig. 9 – Location of transition zone 2



Fig. 10 – Picture taken by the residents of Tulun gate and checkpoint (pre 2011)

Perception of the history of the mosque of Ibn Tulun is checkered. Ibn Tulun is more often portrayed as a sinner who built the mosque through illegitimate means, tried to compete with the mosque of the prophet, or the Ka'ba, and thus jinxed it. Its size is thus seen as a curse not a blessing.

"Ahmad Ibn Tulun is a cursed man, his mosque is really big. He was trying to imitate the Prophet (PBUH). The prophet built the Ka'ba there and he built his mosque here... this is why nowadays only tourists visit the mosque... it's not like al-Sayyida Zaynab or Sukayna. You go in and the people are Muslims like us praying. Not like Tulun only tourists are inside". (Male resident)

"Ahmad Ibn Tulun didn't build this mosque from his own money. He was walking once and he found a hole, he dug more and found a box... The money he found he used to build the mosque and the rest he gave away to the poor. He did not take any for himself. When he built the mosque he used to let the people in with a fee. He built it to resemble the Ka'ba. Did you notice (pointing with fingers describing the shape of the arches). So al-Sayyida Zaynab cursed him saying "in ruins Tulun" so now only tourists visit the mosque". (Male resident)

Other stories were more grounded in the stories told in older literature from the Mamluk Period (viz. al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*) and also in the geography of the area and as such were more balanced.

"Ahmad Ibn Tulun built using elephants. He had elephants that helped in combat in wars and were also used in construction, and the neighbourhood Birkat al-Fil was named after the elephants of Tulun because they used to go drink from the lake located in the neighbourhood. He chose the location of the mosque based on two points: a place where no water could reach the mosque, and if there was a fire the mosque wouldn't be damaged. So he built the mosque on a high rock. He built the mosque with the same number of doors as the Ka'ba. He even chose to protect his mosque from fire and water because the Ka'ba was burnt once and drowned under water another time". ((Male resident)

For others, the reference to the Mosque of the Prophet is seen as a positive point.

"It is big and gives you sense of happiness, when you go in it is like you went to see the prophet in Medina. Before I used to go attend a religious class every Thursday from zuhr (noon prayer) till after 'asr (afternoon prayer) (Female resident)

The importance of Ibn Tulun Mosque is also related to personal experiences of certain places around it or in it- in some cases as places of recreation not prayer. This is the case for the space overlooking Ibn Tulun Street between the *ziyada* and the Antiquities fence for the older people, and the space



between the mosque and the Gayer Anderson Museum for the younger people. Older people have memories of the former space as a garden that was used by families in summer where it was breezy and cool. Boys still sneak into the latter space to play football and are constantly being driven out by the mosque caretakers. Both groups are resentful of the fact that they have been deprived of their right to the place.

“The garden in front of Ibn Tulun in the area now fenced off was where we went for a breath of fresh air. It was sloped and beautiful. The young kids would play there and we liked going and sitting there.” (Male resident)

“We like to play football in the fenced area outside the ziyada but the caretakers are always chasing us away. If we are allowed to play here we would take care of the place and prevent others from vandalizing it. There are no places to play football in the neighbourhood other than here.” (a group of boys)

Value is also derived from the religious and charitable activities that are run by an NGO under the supervision of the Endowments *Shaykh*. They seem not to be as active although they are particularly busy during Ramadan when they distribute food and clothes and hold religious lessons. The mosque shaykh enjoys a closer relationship with the people of the neighbourhood. One recent disagreement between the Endowments (with the users on their side) and the Antiquities authorities was related to the lighting of the mosque. The electrical connections had partially malfunctioned almost immediately after the conservation project. The Antiquities authorities did not have the means to fix it and would not allow the Endowments/residents to do so for fear that their work would damage the mosque. The problem continued for almost three years and was recently resolved after the Antiquities allowed the Endowments/residents to fix the lighting under their supervision (source: Athar Lina – www.atharlina.com)

Another complaint from the way the Antiquities Authorities run the mosque comes from the people of al-Duhdayra west of the mosque. They complain that the Antiquities Authorities refuse to open the doors of the mosque on this side and as such deny the residents ease of access for prayer. (source: Athar Lina – www.atharlina.com)

The history of the conjoined houses of Amina b. Salim and al-Kritliyya (currently Gayer Anderson Museum) also seems to be one of exclusion of the community. The conversion of the two houses into a museum to house the sections of the collection of Colonel Gayer Anderson, a British officer and collector who lived in Bayt al-Kritliyya in the mid 20th century is a laudable project - as were the activities that used to take place with neighbourhood children to raise their awareness of the importance of heritage. These activities stopped around 2010 although the museum is fairly well visited by school children, many of them from neighbourhood schools. Yet it seems that local children are not allowed to enter alone.

- Did you visit Bayt al-Kritliyya before?
- No, they don't take us on trips there at all in school.
- Why do you need a trip? Its right here.
- Only Muhammad Hasan from our class is allowed to enter. His mother works inside the museum.
- Who doesn't allow you to enter?
- The security even if we buy the ticket. (conversation with a group of male schoolchildren)

"I don't know what this museum is. You can ask inside. I live in the building opposite but I have never been inside. Neither have my children. My grandchildren went with their school." (Female resident)

"There used to be evening shows, but there was theft. ... They had no performances only talks. Once it was someone talking about breastfeeding in Ancient Egypt and the other time it was about this Ahmos guy doing God knows what God know when ... They also had activities for children in the garden. They taught them hieroglyphs – you know – that bird language- they were quite regular and for free. My daughter used to go." (Male resident)

Older residents talk of its 14 secrets – all related to supernatural phenomena. Some can be traced to older local legends. For example, the lake of mercury is probably related to the legend recounted by al-Maqrizi of the lake of mercury that Khumarawayh, the son of Ibn Tulun dug at the foot of the Citadel (he would sleep in a boat floating on the lake to cure his insomnia). Memory of these legends is fading in local consciousness but they have been recorded in Theo-Gayer Anderson's book, *Legends of the Cretan Woman* (AUC Press).

"The house is known to have 14 secrets. I know 3 : the first is that the bayt had a hall where poor people could walk into the house and eat and drink for free. Once thieves entered the house and tried to rob the haramlik. The ghosts caught the thieves because they knew the owners of the house were good people and wanted no harm to come to them. The second is about the well of the house, when the well dried up bats started living there. It was said that when the moon is a crescent, any girl that goes and looks down the well would get married instantly. The third story was the lake of mercury that was created by a man who wanted to rule the land. The devils are known to drink mercury and therefore he created the lake so that they would help him rule, they stole gold for him" (Male resident)

"The house used to be haunted by a ghost and Gayer-Anderson was scared of it at the beginning then he got used to it". (Male resident)

Another connection that was severed was that between the shrine of Harun al-Husayni which lies between the museum and Ibn Tulun Mosque and whose entrance is currently through the Museum. He is said to have come in a vision to the resident of the house, warned of the coming of a thief. She in return built the shrine in memory of his vision.

“It is said – and God only knows – that he is Shaykh Husayn the son of Shaykh Harun. He once came to Zaynab Hanim (the owner of one of the two Kritliyya houses) and told her a thief is coming this night. And a thief did come while she and her maid were all alone and after he took stuff he froze in his place and could not move and her maid was able to overpower him. Zaynab Hanim then decided to build a shrine to Shaykh Harun next to her home. It should not be part of the house but they enclosed it within the wall they built when they were restoring.” (Male resident)

The museum authorities were the ones who proposed and executed the security fence and gate that was installed at the entrance of Ibn Tulun street. One gate was at the entrance from al-Saliba Street and the other at the southern end of Ibn Tulun Street. Entrance to the street was at the discretion of the gatekeepers, who only allowed certain cars in and asked to see some people’s identification. This was a source of anguish for the people and the gate and fence were removed during the security vacuum of the 18 days of the 25th of January revolution. Most residents are happy that is gone, but some shopkeepers catering to tourism speak with nostalgia of how clean the street was and how ordered.

“After the Azhar bombing, with the kid who blew himself up there, they found with him documents for an operation in al-Sayyida ‘A’isha and Ibn Tulun, then they found the two veiled women (munaqqaba) in al-Sayyida ‘A’isha with explosives and concluded that Ibn Tulun Mosque must be a terrorist target. They closed the street (Ibn Tulun St.) with gates at its beginning and end but they overdid it. For 3-4 years there was a police checkpoint that was over-zealous to the point that they would conduct body searches on residents and inspect women especially at first. They also searched all the customers coming to the shops. Once someone was coming into my shop and they made him pay 10 pounds to enter and we went and fought with them and they gave back the money. After the (25 Jan) revolution, people dismantled the iron fence and gates, sold some of the iron, and put some of it around the mosque of al-Sayyida Sukayna – it was quite a cool move.” (Male resident)

One side effect of the removal of the gate and fence was the development of a major point for garbage collection immediately outside the gate of the Museum. The government was not able to solve this problem. It was resolved only when a local resident decided to construct a wooden stall selling refreshments there and prevented people from throwing garbage there. He solved the problem but is currently under threat of being removed by the Antiquities Authorities because he is encroaching on the monument. The garbage collection point then moved to the small triangle of garden at the northern tip of Ibn Tulun Street – which ironically was the place people had been reduced to using as a local garden in lieu of the previous garden that had existed in the eastern buffer zone of Ibn Tulun Mosque (source: athar lina; www.atharlina.com)

Changes around the Citadel especially in the two areas declared as lying within the buffer zones of the Citadel monument area., 'Arab Yasar and al-Hattaba, Focus was on al-Hattaba because this area was one of the sites for the URHC information campaigns and 'Arab Yasar was already the focus of a study by Kareem Ibrahim. Issues effecting urban change included the ban on renovation of buildings meant to gradually evacuate the area and clear it of all buildings and residents, and the closing of the Hattaba Citadel Gate.

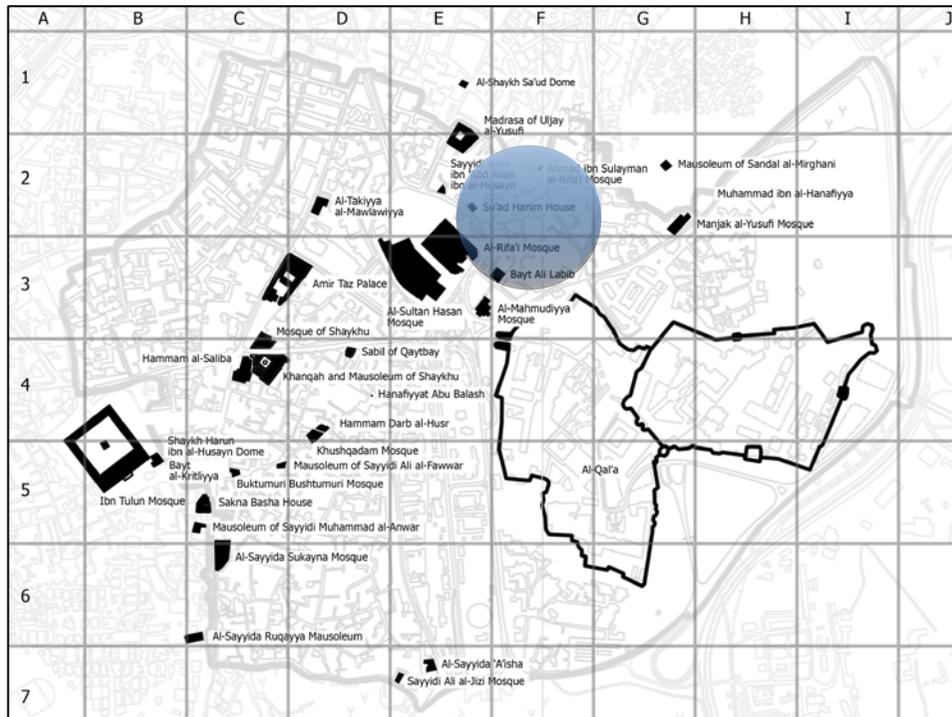


Fig. 11 – Location of transition zone 3



Fig. 12 – Al-Hattaba from the East

The people of al-Hattaba work in the Citadel but their relationship to it is hostile. Their homes lie in the Citadel buffer zone and the government wants to clear it from all buildings and accordingly does not give residents renovation or reconstruction permits. Residents are therefore leaving the neighbourhood. And there are no steps from the government to recompense them for their lost homes. After the earthquake of 1992 a number of houses collapsed and this also accelerated the process. The neighbourhood currently does not benefit economically from the Citadel – because of side gate being closed and also because of the dwindling tourism after the revolution. (Antiquities inspector)

Many of the Hattaba residents work in the Citadel, either as government employees, or as security personnel or cleaners, and some children mentioned that their relatives own bazaars there. They were very negatively affected by the closing of the back gate of the Citadel because since this happened, the area died commercially and service deteriorated. In general, the perception is that most of the benefit to be derived from the Citadel – as a major tourist attraction – goes outside the area/

“The Citadel, when there is a call for bids for commercial projects, an outsider comes and pays under the table and wins the bid. So don’t start a project for services and upgrade then let outsiders come and win the bid and make profit.” (Male resident)

Other monuments, such as al-Khanqah al-Nizamiyya, are seen as a source of trouble because they are left untended and unclean. Another historical building perceived as a poorly utilised resource is an unlisted historic building called Shaykh Shahin that used to be a school. It should also be noted that the area between the outer gate and inner gate is closed to the neighbourhood but children were able to climb the fence and play there. Yet these are all relatively minor problems compared to the urgent and pressing issue of the ban on restoration and rebuilding that the government imposed in an attempt to accretively clear the area of all buildings and transform it into an empty buffer zone for the Citadel.

“We have been living in this neighbourhood since the time of the Ottomans and the English and the monuments were there and they are still here. Suddenly the Antiquities (authorities) are holding us accountable for the monuments and telling us not to restore or rebuild our homes. Give us a model and we will build the houses according to the model and solve this problem once and for all.. Every couple of days I found someone at my door – what is your name? what is this address? I am a law-abiding citizen and when this happens I get scared. I look small in front of my kids.” (Male resident)

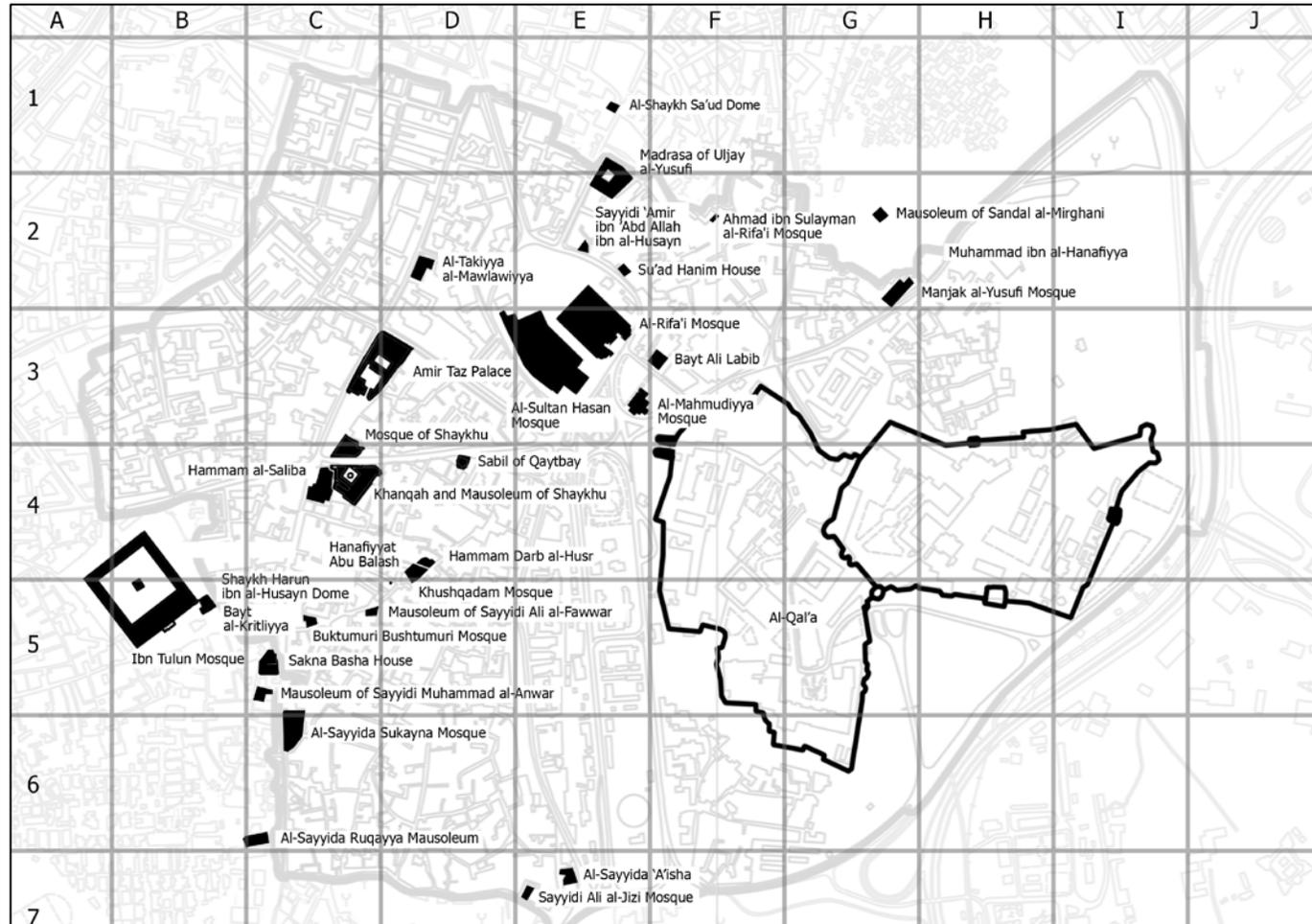
It is not clear how seriously these measures are enforced or how some home-owners are able to side-step them and others not. The impression one got was that building anew is easier than renovation – it may also be that those who can afford to build have more power to defy the regulations. One

of the new homes we went to belonged to an MSA inspector for example, who seemed to be in the upper end of the income spectrum. It should also be noted that when the issue was brought up in the community meeting the MSA inspector working in the Citadel himself, implied that the ban is illegal and can be overturned

“Since 2008, we pledged only to record new concrete buildings as infractions. I- personally and those working with me - have never filed a report against anyone restoring their home or plastering or renewing its façade. We - as antiquities officials- are bound by the decree of the Minister of Culture that was issued in 2008 delineating the borders of the Citadel (heritage) are. The borders of the buffer zone include ‘Arab Yasar starting from Salah al-Din Street and al-Hattaba starting from Bab al-Wada’ Street...After the 25 January Revolution, I personally have told people from al-Hattaba that I have maps .. that prove that al-Hattaba is an old neighbourhood that was recorded in the old surveys as “Arab village”. It is only after the British came and built their barracks (in the Citadel) that it came to be known as al-Hattaba after people who worked in wood (hatab) came and worked and settled there. I told them to hire a lawyer and I will give him the maps to use them to prove that the area is historical”.
(Antiquities inspector)

The Hattaba case is a clear example of problems that only need political will to be resolved. The opening of the rear gate and the revision of the 2008 decree are actions that do not require financial resources. They simply require that the government change its policy towards heritage and start to view it more as a living changing city and less as islands of listed monuments that need to be protected from a hostile environment.

II. CULTURAL HERITAGE AS PERCEIVED BY THE NEIGHBOURHOOD (WITH A FOCUS ON LISTED MONUMENTS)



Appendix One includes relevant excerpts from the interviews organised by site and sub-organised according to 4 categories, personal memories, popular memories, activities and control. The review of the areas of the Citadel Square, Tulun and al-Hattaba was mostly based on these interviews. The following section will attempt to extrapolate an understanding of how listed monuments are perceived by looking at a selection of the area's monuments in detail. The section after will include a mapping of activities and control.

Fig. 13 - Sites referred to in the interviews

a. PERCEPTION OF LISTED MONUMENTS

Amir Taz Palace and Al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya – cultural node in al-Suyufiyya Street

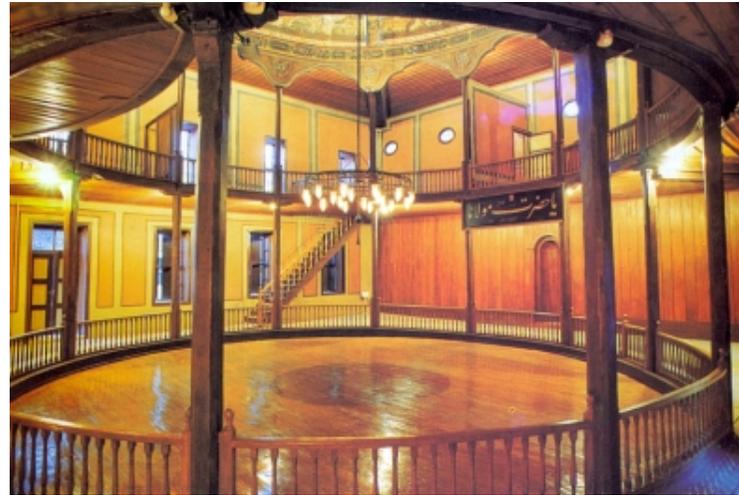


Fig. 14 – Amir Taz palace

Fig. 15 – Theatre of al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya

“This building is not ours, it is for the foreigners. We go to Amir Taz palace. There are the same activities here but this is not ours, this belongs to the foreigners” (Female resident talking about al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya)

“We are always allowed to enter the Palace and attend all the activities.”

“Nobody goes to Taz. It used to be, when they held a performance there, that the whole area would be totally closed off and they would not even allow residents to come through. Now the performances are free and open to all but - still - not many people go”

“This place is very special to me because since I found out about it my life started to change radically. Every time I go there something new and interesting happens. One time I met someone that encouraged me to start my artistic path and after a while I went there again and found an

announcement for an art diploma in an art center right next to where I live." (excerpts from interviews with three different male residents of al-Suyufiyya Street discussing Taz)

Both buildings have been the subject of successful conservation projects and currently host cultural activities. Al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya and Qubbat Hasan Sadaqa were restored by the Italian Mission and Al-Amir Taz was restored by the Historic Cairo Project. Al-Taliyya al-Mawlawiyya hosts occasional cultural events, particularly in the Dervish Theatre and had a steady program of training activities related to conservation and heritage management that currently is more occasional than periodic. Al-Amir Taz Palace is a cultural centre run by the Ministry of Culture's Cultural Development Fund. It hosts a steady program of cultural activities that attracts audiences from all over the city. It also has a program of lessons in the arts and culture that targets the neighbourhood's children and youth.

Neighbourhood perception of the Takiyya is that it is a place for outsiders and foreigners. Part of the storytelling performance was held there and none of the children who attended had been to the theatre before, with the result that their behavior in there was unruly and overexcited. Views of Taz are more varied. There is an agreement that the activities have become more inclusive but that that had not always been the case. The memory of the street being cordoned off for visiting dignitaries such as Suzanne Mubarak and Prince Charles is still alive but there is a general acknowledgement that the activities are now open to all. However, not everyone goes.

It was our experience that not everyone is comfortable entering the space. We had difficulties convincing passersby to attend the community meeting held there although they were more than happy to stand outside and discuss the slide show discussing issues related to heritage and introducing the work of URHC.

In this context, reference should also be made to Sabil Qaytbay in al-Saliba Street. This building houses a library of books on Islamic architecture and is also the home of an online film school. Both activities are run by the Cultural Development Fund and this building seems to be quite remote from the interests of the residents who don't know much about it and do not make use of it.



Al-Mahmudiyya, Uljay al-Yusufi, Khushqadam, Shaykhu and Manjak al-Yusufi - as examples of neighbourhood mosques



Fig. 16 - Al-Mahmudiyya Mosque

Fig. 17 - Khushqadam Mosque

Fig. 18 - Shaykhu Complex

“The person who built the mosque was an ordinary person, not very popular. The mosque is popular because of its location nothing more. The MSA tried to close the mosque several times and the residents refused, the last time being in Ramadan. Other mosques are sometimes closed for conservation too but they are on the main streets so the residents are not attached to them”. (Male resident on Khushqadam Mosque)

“The mosque is beautiful and the people working in it are sweet and they pray the five prayers. People pray here usually and they love the mosque too. It is usually full on Fridays. There was water that surrounded the mosque but now it is all dried up”. (Female resident on al-Mahmudiyya Mosque)

There is no sunlight inside the building and the residents don't like praying there.” (Antiquities Inspector on al-Mahmudiyya Mosque)

“Shaykhu is two mosques not one the mosque which is open all the time, and the mausoleum and khanqah (sufi hospice) which is always closed”
(Male resident)

Both al-Mahmudiyya and Khushqadam are seen as fairly insignificant by the Antiquities Authorities. The community, however, takes pride in them as local mosques and continues to care for them. For the communities of Darb al-Labbana and Darb al-Husr, al-Mahmudiyya and Khusqadam are is where they go for Friday prayers and where they hold Ramadan religious and social activities. In both cases, the community has taken charge of the mosques after convincing the Antiquities Authorities to turn a blind eye. For the Antiquities Authorities, overburdened as they are, these buildings are a liability that ideally should be shut down for their protection. What the Antiquities Authorities wish to avoid at all costs is the repetition of cases like the mosque of Manjak al-Yusufi, a neighbourhood mosque in the cemetery quarter of Bab al-Wazir from which the inlaid *mihrab* panels were stolen and which is currently embroiled in a fog of acrimonious exchange of accusations of theft between the Antiquities Authorities and the community.

“Manjak al-Yusufi has two brothers, and their buildings constitute one set. This one, the second has a shrine in the vicinity of Umm ‘Abbas, the third in Suq al-Silah. The thieves who robbed Manjak also robbed the other two mosques in the set.” (Male resident’s take on antiquities theft in Manjak and other buildings – (historically speaking the information is incorrect although the mosque of Manjak has indeed been robbed)

One of the mosques mistakenly referred to as built by Manjak’s brother, is Uljay al-Yusufi. This mosque is also a very popular neighbourhood mosques with a fairly active program of religious and charitable activities.

“It is a very important mosque full of people at prayer times especially Fridays even though it is in close proximity to al-Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa’i mosques” (Antiquities inspector on Uljay al-Yusufi)

Uljay al-Yusufi also the theatre for another form of conflict – a conflict between the official history as told in history books and art-historical tomes and the popular narrative of myth and ritual. This theme is discussed in detail in a separate section below.

“Also known as “al-sayis” in reference to the stableman of al-Sultan Hasan. There is a marble column on the north-west side of the building said to cure all respiratory diseases. Patients would lick the column until their tongue bled. Some women gain money by offering water to clean the patient’s mouth and the column. The government later built a wall around the column to stop this ritual.” (Antiquities inspector)

Al-Sayyida Sukayna, al-Sayyida 'A'isha, al-Sayyida Nafisa and al-Sayyida Ruqayya – as examples of popular shrines

Fig. 19 – Al-Sayyida Sukayna

Fig. 20- Al-Sayyida Nafisa

Fig. 21 – Al-Sayyida Ruqayya

“I saw her once in a dream vision and since then I work here. I came to her once crying when my daughter was pregnant and she came to me in my dream. First a man I don't know came and gave me water to drink – I had never had such delicious water – then she (Sittina 'Ai'sha) came and she looked beautiful – she looked like (the Islamic preacher) 'Abla al-Kahlawi, but with green eyes and a fair complexion. She told me, “name the son Hala will get Yusuf” and that made me happy and I stopped worrying. Then she came to me a second time and asked me to call the son of my son Yusuf as well. Now two of my grandchildren are called Yusuf.” (A female attendant in the mosque and shrine of al-Sayyida 'A'isha)

If you go to Sayyida Aisha Mosque now, you will see on the mosque in the rear (something that looks like) a loaf of bread, a sardine, a salted fish (fasikh) an onion – I can't remember. They have a story. A man entered the mosque and he was poor but he had some money. He claimed to have no money or food at all. They gave him bread, a sardine and a green onion and he ate them. The man who gave him the food was suspicious. He asked him to swear by al-Sayyida 'A'isha that he had no money. He swore and immediately threw up the food he had eaten intact. They hung it on the building and it has been there ever since. (A female visitor to the mosque of al-Sayyida 'A'isha)

“She is the daughter of al-Imam al-Husayn. He would call her “Grandmother of your father”. Her real name was Amina but they called her Sukayna because she was peaceful and quiet (li-sukuniha). She is sākina, sakīna, mustakīna. (sakina: calm; sakina: immanence of God; mustakina: peaceable and quiet). Her name also comes from sakan or dwelling – that she dwells everywhere..” (The female director of a local religious/charitable initiative linked to al-Sayyida Sukayna – on al-Sayyida Sukayna)

“Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami (Egypt’s foremost munshid) only comes for al-Sayyida Nafisa.” (Endowments official)

First Sayyid Mida (a local businessman and contractor – community leader) was restoring it after obtaining all the necessary permits from the Antiquities and the Awqaf, then one of the residents objected to the work saying he was making it look like a church and that he (the resident) could do better. But he did nothing, then Sayyid Mida continued work but the Athar asked him to stop for a while (although he had the necessary permits), Then he started to work anyway and he finished now and opened the prayer area (in front of the shrine). But the shrine is still closed because the Athar are working on it. There was a problem with the ladies’ prayer area. They could not agree on whether to fence it off with a brick wall as the residents wanted or with an iron fence as the Athar insisted. They ended up constructing it in iron and it is now open. (A male resident talking about al-Sayyida Ruqayya Shrine)

Three of these mosques are in the process of being listed as monuments by the Antiquities Authorities. The most important point to be made here is concerning the threat this step could constitute to the rituals, religious activities and popular narratives that make these shrines what they are. It is important that the listing does not curtail the renewed “making of memories” like the ones quoted above in these shrines. It is also important to note that some features that could seem insignificant (such as the food shaped sign on al-Sayyida ‘A’isha Mosque) need to be preserved for their popular intangible value in spite of a low artistic value. Equally noteworthy is the amount of effort the community puts into caring for these sites. While some of these efforts could result in the loss of old fabric (such as in the case of al-Sayyida Ruqayya which is already listed) it is important that these efforts are directed and channeled and not restricted or curtailed. They are a sign of a sense of ownership that should be encouraged.

Sandal al-Mirghani, Ribat Ahmad b. Sulayman al-Rifa’i, al-Shaykh Su’ud Dome – listed monuments also kept alive by popular myth and ritual

“Sirr al-Khitm al-Mirghani brought a tree with him from Sudan more than 100 years ago. He planted it here in the mausoleum. The tree has date-like fruits growing on it that have a unique sweet and bitter taste. People travel to eat the fruits and it is said that it cures diabetes”. (Male resident on religious significance of the Mirghaniyya site)

It is said that it is called “Sitt Rifa’iyya” and it is said that it is called that because six people of the Rifa’i order are buried here or that there is a lady buried here of the Rifa’i order” (Male resident on Ribat Ahmad b. Sulayman al-Rifa’i)

“Seven of the daughters of al-Rifa’i are buried there.” (Male resident on Ribat Ahmad b. Sulayman al-Rifa’i)



“The mawlid was held with Mawlid al-Rifa’i. The shaykh is buried in the dome. The procession was unique. Wooden carriages were used and different acting scenes were played on each one. Comedy was the main genre of the scenes for example a woman giving birth to puppies etc.” (Male resident on Shaykh Su’ud Dome)

Sandal al-Mirghani is a Mamluk dome that was appropriated by the Mirgahniyya sufi order. The dome is protected because it is part of a site venerated by the Mirghaniyya and their visitors. Ribat Ahmad b. Syalayman al-Rifa’i continues to live in public imagination because of interpretations of its popular name Al-Sitt Rifa’iyya (literally either the six Rifa’is or the Rifa’I woman) and the *mawlid* of Shaykh Su’ud Dome was definitely a factor in maintaining the community’s attachment to the monument.

Shrines of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, ‘Ali al-Jizi, Amir b. ‘Abdullah b. al-Husayn, Buktumuri al-Bushtumuri, Harun al-Husayni, ‘Ali al-Far – as examples of unlisted shrine of local significance



Fig. 22 – Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyya



Fig. 23 - ‘Ali al-Jizi



Fig. 24 – ‘Ali al-Far



Fig. 25 - Al-Buktumuri al-Bushtumuri

“It used to have a mawlid where they distributed meat that they slaughtered here in the middle of the cemetery. There was a man staying in the shrine and he was the one who organized it but he died last year and it was not held since... He was from the Idrisiyya tariqa. His son tried to organise the mawlid after his death but it did not work out. (Male resident on Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya Shrine)

“This area was inundated with water some time ago and all the tombs made of wood were damaged and replaced with masonry tombs. This shrine was damaged too but the Awqaf said that it would need 9000 pounds to restore it. At the end it did nothing. Then al-Husayn came to a man in a dream vision and told him, help my brother. The man spent 35,000 to restore the shrine. (Male resident on Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya Shrine)

“A mawlid took place in this mosque each year celebrating the start of Ramadan. People wore new clothes and cooked beans and meat. Nowadays the mawlid is not celebrated. It was last celebrated 10 years ago. The building has been renovated.”(Male resident on al-Jizi Shrine)

“They say he is the son of al-Hasan. In the shrine used to sit a man called al-Shaykh Husni. He knew how to expel snakes from homes. He is the one who held the monument. His sons took over after he died. It is held two days before the Mawlid al-Rifa’i. They have Quran, and they distribute cinnamon drinks and dervishes attend. There is no dhikr. This building collapsed some 30 years ago and with it the seven buildings behind it. The man who rebuilt the building rebuilt the shrine too. It is not a monument.” (Male resident on Amir b. ‘Abdullah b. al-Husayn Shrine)

“A tradesman built it– he would build a mosque in every country he traveled to”; Some people say that Buktumuri al-Bushtumuri is buried under the guard’s room and some people say this is not true. (Residents about Buktumur al-Bushtumuri)

His original name is not al-Far, it is al-Fawwar. People called him al-Far because he was a dissident under during the Muhammad ‘Ali rule and he was always being imprisoned in the Citadel jail. They would put him in Jail, lock the door, then they would find him outside. So they said he is like a rat (far). It is like Shaykh Kishk. They would set the hungry dogs on him in his prison cell, then find them sleeping peacefully next to him. They called him a magician. The mawlid took place with Mawlid al-Sayyida Sukayna. It used to pass from al-Khalifa police station, al-Suyufiyya Street and then back to Darb al-Husr. The celebration of this mawlid also disappeared. Decorations are only hung on the outside of the mosque with dhikr inside”. (Male resident on ‘Ali al-Far)

“It is said – and God only knows – that he is Shaykh Husayn the son of Shaykh Harun. It is said that he once came to Zaynab Hanim (the owner of one of the two Kritliyya houses) and told her a thief is coming this night. And a thief did come while she and her maid were all alone and after he took stuff he froze in his place and could not move and her maid was able to overpower. him. Zaynab Hanim then decided to build a shrine to

Shaykh Harun next to her home. It should not be part of the house but they enclosed it within the wall they built when they were restoring.” (Male resident on Harun al-Husayni)

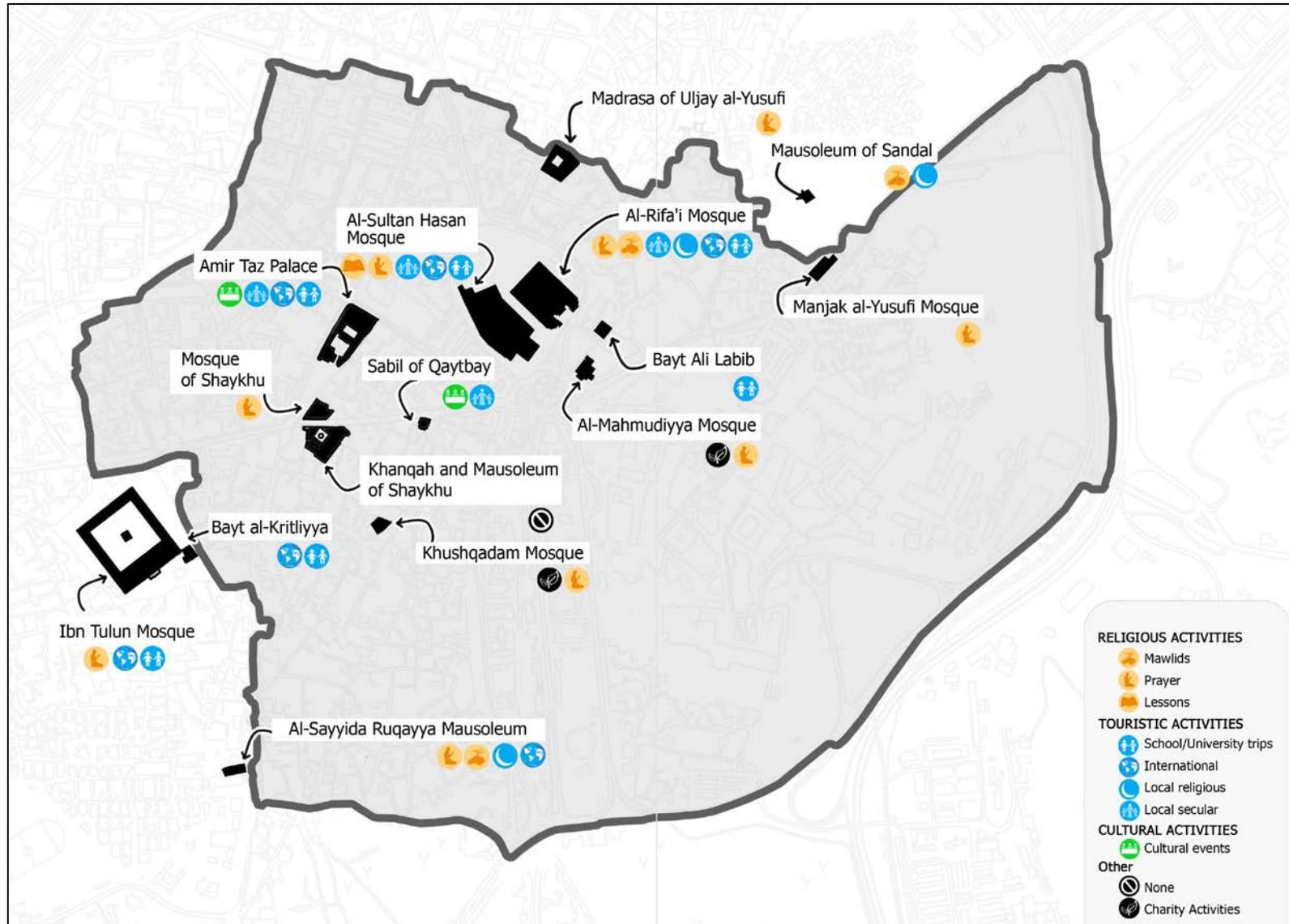
The area continues a number of local seemingly unimportant neighbourhood shrines. Most of them are not much to look at and many of them are visited and remembered by a precious few. More research needs to be put into the significance of these shrines and how big their contribution is to the identity of the different neighbourhoods.

b. MAPS OF ACTIVITIES, VALUE AND CONTROL

The maps are mostly related to the information concerning perceived values, activities, and systems of control. Binaries such as cultural vs. religious value are mapped. Activities and responsibilities are plotted. Not all buildings included in the list above are represented. Representative monuments were chosen. They include: (from north to South; East to West): Uljay al-Yusufi,, Sandal al-Mirghani, Taz, Sultan Hasan, al-Rifa'i, Manjak, Shaykhu, Qaytbay, al-Muhammadiyya. 'Ali Labib, Ibn Tulun, al-Kritliyya, Khushqadam, al-Sayyida Ruqayya. More work needs to be done on the Citadel and it will be included in the Final Report.

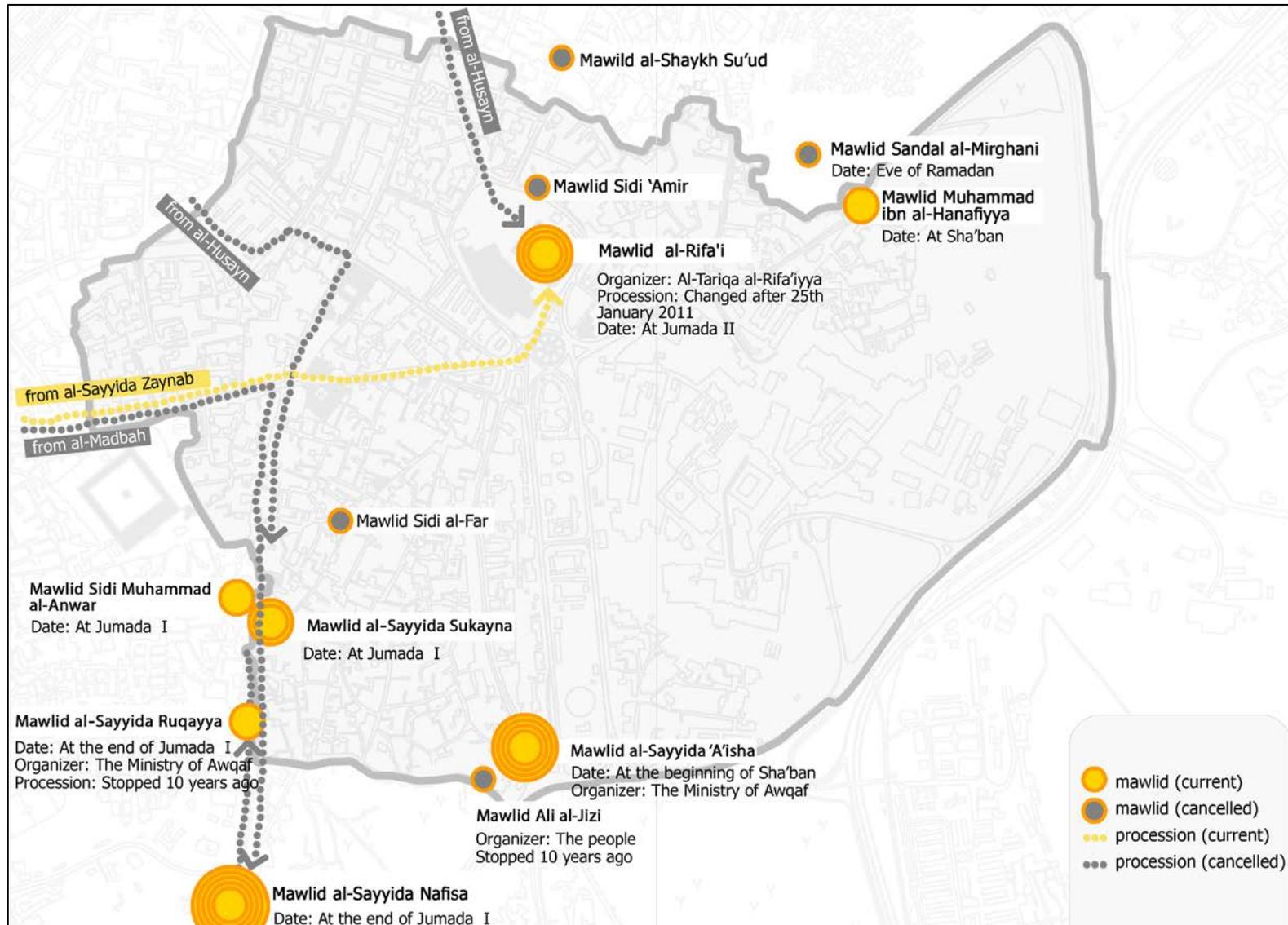
The maps include:

1. Map of activities
2. Map of *mawlid*s
3. Map of responsibilities and control
4. Cultural vs. religious value



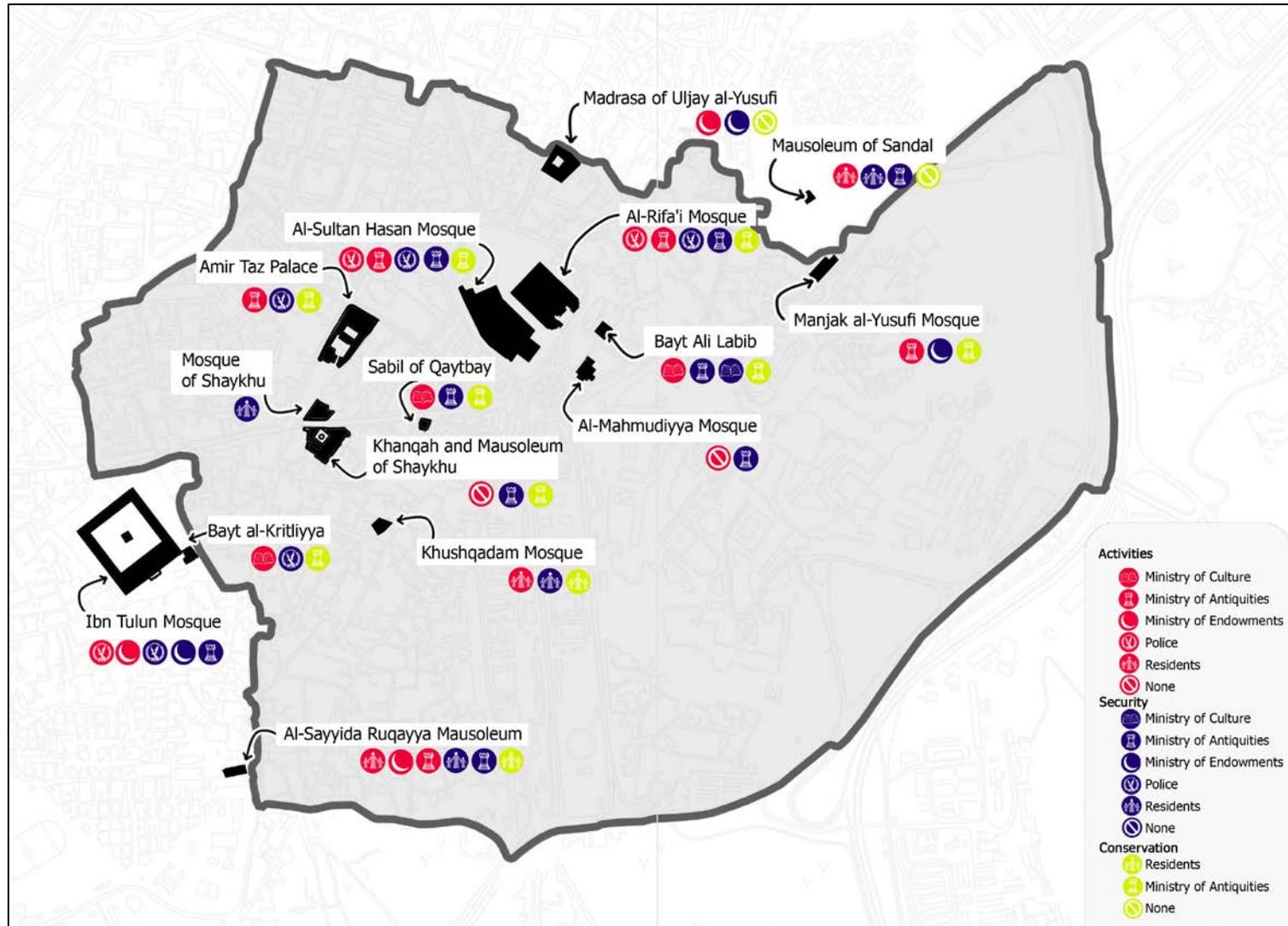
Religious activities catering to users that go beyond the community are concentrated in al-Sultan Hasan Mosque due to the Manarat al-Sultan Hasan activities, and al-Rifa'i and al-Sayyida Ruqayya due to visitation. Mosques like Manjak al-Yusufi, Khushqadam, al-Mahmudiyya, and Shaykhu to a lesser extent, only cater to residents. Tourism is most popular in the Tulun/Gayer Anderson and Sultan Hasan/Rifa'i clusters. Cultural activities are concentrated in al-Suyufiyya in Taz and to a lesser extent, in the Mawlawiyya Takiyya.

Fig. 26 - Map of activities in representative monuments



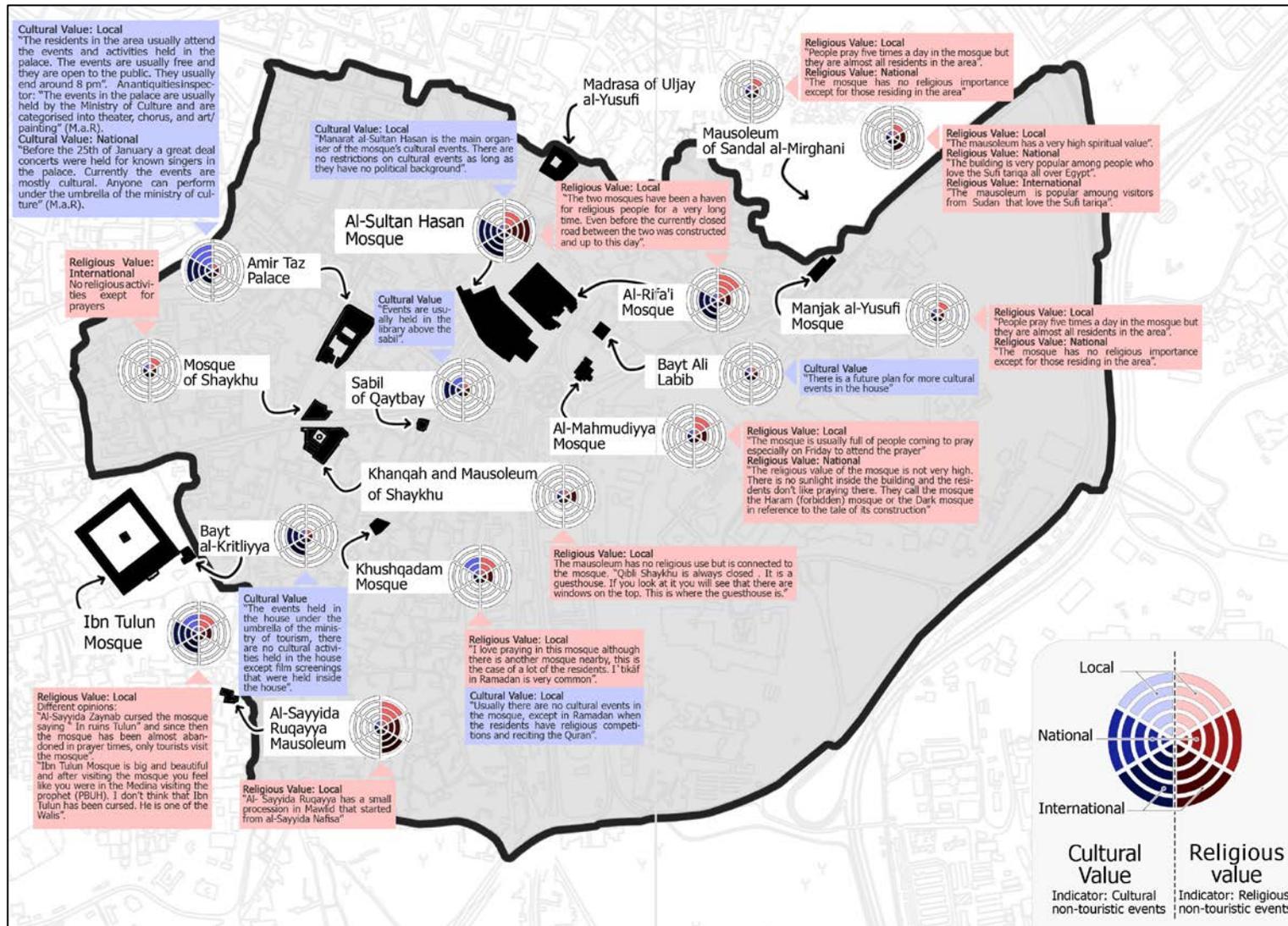
The most popular *mawlid* is al-Sayyida Nafisa, followed by al-Sayyida 'A'isha then al-Rifa'i. These *mawlids* are visited by followers from all over Egypt. Al-Sayyida Sukayna and al-Sayyida Ruqayya are local *mawlids* that attract visitors from beyond the neighbourhood but are not of national importance. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya and al-Anwar are minor neighbourhood *mawlids*. It should be noted that six *mawlids* (out of 8 neighbourhood *mawlids*) were discontinued in the recent past.

Fig. 27 - Map of *mawlids* in Study Area



This map brings together the actors responsible for listed heritage sites. The questions asked were; who runs the activities, who is in charge of security and who is responsible for conservation? The Ministry of Culture is responsible for the cultural activities in Taz and Sabil Qaytbay, while cultural activities of a more religious nature such as those in Tulun and Sultan Hasan are organised by representatives of the Ministry of Endowments (although more through personal initiative than support from the Ministry). In buildings protected by Tourist Police (major sites), permission to conduct these activities has to be sought from them. Most local mosques have minor religious, charitable and cultural activities carried out by the people of the street. *Mawlid*s are also organised locally with major *mawlid*s being provided with support from the Ministry of Endowments and from the Police. With the exception of minor local mosques and popular shrines (both major and minor), conservation is the responsibility of the Antiquities Authorities. The Ministry of Endowments is responsible for funding the conservation of active places of worship under the supervision of the Antiquities.

Fig. 28 - Map of responsibilities and control



This map compares the two major types of use related value; cultural and religious. The indicator of cultural value is cultural tourism and activities and that of religious value is religious tourism and activities. These were then subdivided into three types; local (Cairo); national (Egypt) and international. These two values are often in conflict and are reflected in policies of conservation; For whose benefit is the building restored, who is granted access inside, who is allowed to run activities in and around the building? Some religious buildings such as Tulun, Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i have a balance of cultural and religious activities, as opposed to al-Sayyida Ruqayya for which religious value is much stronger (although it is a Fatimid shrine of high art-historical value)

Fig. 29 - Cultural vs. religious value

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FOR SECTION ONE

1. The disappearance of intangible heritage

One example is the disappearance of *mawlids* and the recurring theme of minor *mawlids* disappearing with the death of the individuals organising them, and of the government cancelling or shortening *mawlid* processions. We also see a growing perception of them as un-Islamic among the religious establishment and the educated. Another example is with local artisanal crafts and workshops noticeable in areas such as Muhammad 'Ali where carpentry workshops are being taken over by retail. A third example is recreational activities such as pigeon rearing, decoration of carts and cart horses, both of which are linked to local events such as trade meets and competitions organised by the community.

Fig. 30 – Pigeon tower seen from Muhammad 'Ali Street





2. Hidden resources that should be utilised

Most of the minor shrines and mosques are maintained by the neighbourhood and many of the conflicts in monuments are because the residents wish to restore religious buildings and the Ministry of Antiquities is not letting them. Furthermore the most popular mosques are those that have cultural, charitable and religious activities that are run by the neighbourhood to serve its poor. This is an indication that people are willing to spend time and money on activities they believe are necessary in places they perceive as theirs. Most of the activities in non-religious monuments are not seen as necessary and they definitely are not perceived by the people as theirs. While, this kind of participation is no substitute for state involvement, particularly where basic services and infrastructure is concerned, it should not be ignored as a primary potential for the conservation of the heritage of Historic Cairo, particularly on the long term.

Fig. 31 – Shrine and local charity hub built by a businessman in memory of his wife north of Sayyida Nafisa



3. Hidden power structures that need further investigation

Hidden resources are directly connected to power structures that have to be understood before any kind of intervention is attempted. One can identify general patterns of hierarchies of power based on wealth, family, connections, personal merit, religion, etc. But it should also be noted that they change from one neighbourhood to the other and that within one area, there will be shifting maps of power and conflict between different groups. For example in al-Khalifa, there is an acknowledged community leader who comes from an old established family, has a flourishing business that employs people from the neighbourhood and also allows him to have useful connections within the government, is of a charitable disposition and has taken responsibility for one of the street's most important shrine/mosques. Then there is a second, more hidden, power structure of the families dealing in drugs. Then there are the politicians and would be politicians, the secondary charitable groups, the social climbers who have left the neighbourhood but continue to maintain a connection to it, the newcomers who are patrons of shrines or have bought property but are not originally from the neighbourhood, etc. This, or course, is interconnected with other power structures such as those of the governmental actors in the neighbourhood, external actors working in development (NGOS, conservation projects, etc.).

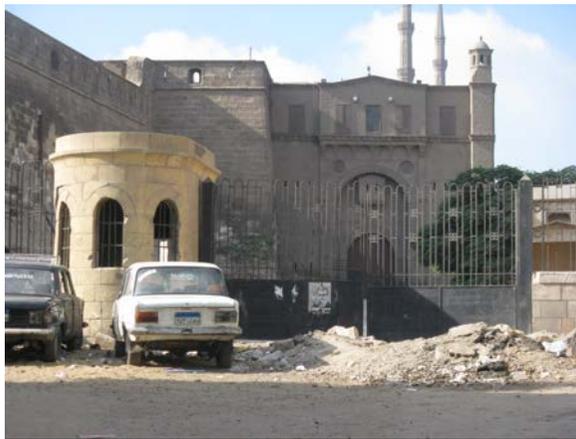
Fig. 32 – Al-Hattaba Club – informal headquarters of community leaders in the neighbourhood of al-Hattaba



4. The continued exclusion of the people from their heritage

Examples abound of these practices and the culprit is almost always the Antiquities Authorities. From the difficulties facing residents who wish to contribute to the maintenance of religious buildings, to the exclusion of residents from activities taking place in monuments, to the continued threat of inclusion within the monument buffer zone of buildings in proximity to monuments, to limiting access to monuments, particularly to children. One cannot over-emphasise how detrimental this is to heritage on the short and long-term. Heritage will not be conserved unless it is seen as a resource, unless it is perceived as relevant.

Fig. 33– Fences and gates disconnecting Sultan Hasan and Rifa'i from the community



5. Spirals of distrust and blame games

The relationship between all stakeholders is currently ruled by distrust and blame. This is not just between the traditional government – residents – civil society triad, this is between the different types of actors within the government, the different members of the community and of course the different representatives of the amorphous mass of NGOs, pressure groups, interest groups, professionals and academics, international organisations, etc., that have a vested interest that they act on within the community. Distrust and blame are directly related to frustration, and could be contained to moderate levels if frustration drops or hope is introduced. This will only happen if successful models of intervention are introduced – even on a small scale – and are perceived to work.

Fig. 34 – The Citadel Hattaba gate –subject of contention between the neighbourhood and the government



6. The perceived scope of tangible heritage

It is important to work to widen the scope of what is perceived as heritage and, as such, worthy of preservation. Besides, listed monuments, which are generally acknowledged by all stakeholders as heritage (whether they act on this acknowledgement or not is another issue), there are unlisted historic buildings, structures housing intangible heritage but themselves not of historic value, street fabric and public spaces. Changing public perception is an uphill job, but work has to be done within all stakeholder circles, but directly within the community to do that.

Fig. 35 – Acknowledged heritage in the background, unacknowledged heritage in the foreground (Bab al-Wazir)

SECTION TWO

RAW MATERIAL AND CONCEPTUALISATION OF STORYTELLING PERFORMANCE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the storytelling event was to emphasise the inextricable link between the monuments and the community. The information and stories collected about resident perceptions of their neighbourhood's heritage, their understanding of its history, their personal histories in relation to it, and the power structures within the monuments were interwoven with information from basic historical sources. The event was interactive and aimed at engaging a wide variety of audiences. It was also meant as a magnet event for the feedback session and community meeting held on the following day in al-Mawlawiyya and Taz.

The message we wished to drive across was that heritage is not just monuments, it is the people, their histories and activities and the urban fabric of streets and buildings within their life and stories are played out.

I. FORMAT, TIME AND VENUE

Rather than limit the performance to one venue, the format was a story-telling walk that moves through the street taking people to different sites of heritage and stopping at specific points to recount stories and engage with them. inviting them to tell their own stories too.

The story telling walk started in the passageway between Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i, moved to the palace of Amir Taz, then ended in al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya. Al-Qal'a Square and al-Suyufiyya Street were chosen because they are central within the study area and also because they cover an area that had not been included in the information campaigns which were al-Hattaba in the northeastern section of the study area and Darb al-Husr more towards the southwest.

The walk took place on a Friday immediately after Friday prayer thus taking advantage of the large number and variety of people there at the time.



This report was produced in the framework of Urban Regeneration project for Historic Cairo - World Heritage Centre - UNESCO

Route:

Meeting point in the passageway between Sultan Hasan and Rifa'i.

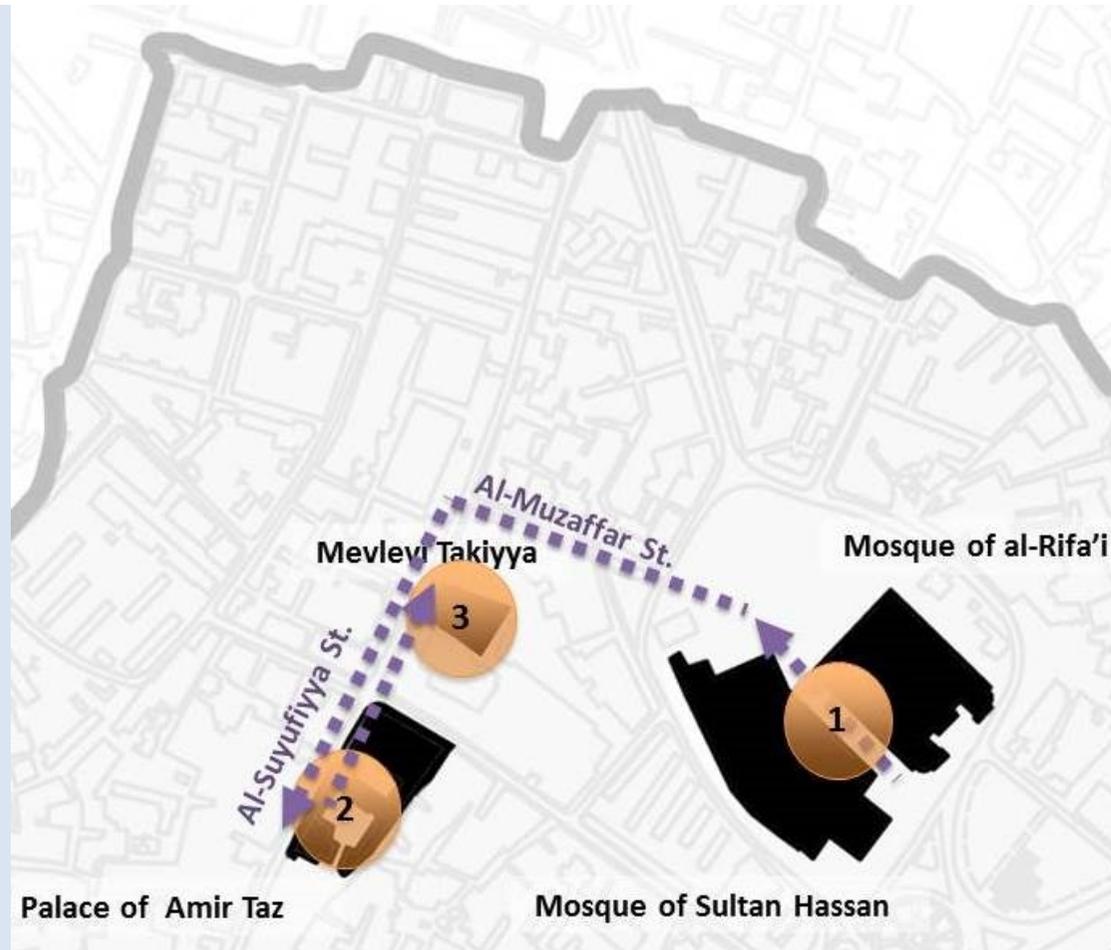
Story 1: the passageway – opposite Sultan Hasan entrance.

Walk through gate up al-Muzaffar street and turn left into Suyufiyya Street – walk past al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya to Taz.

Story 2: in Taz.

Walk up to al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya.

Story 3: al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya..



Fig, 36 – Proposed location and route of the storytelling event

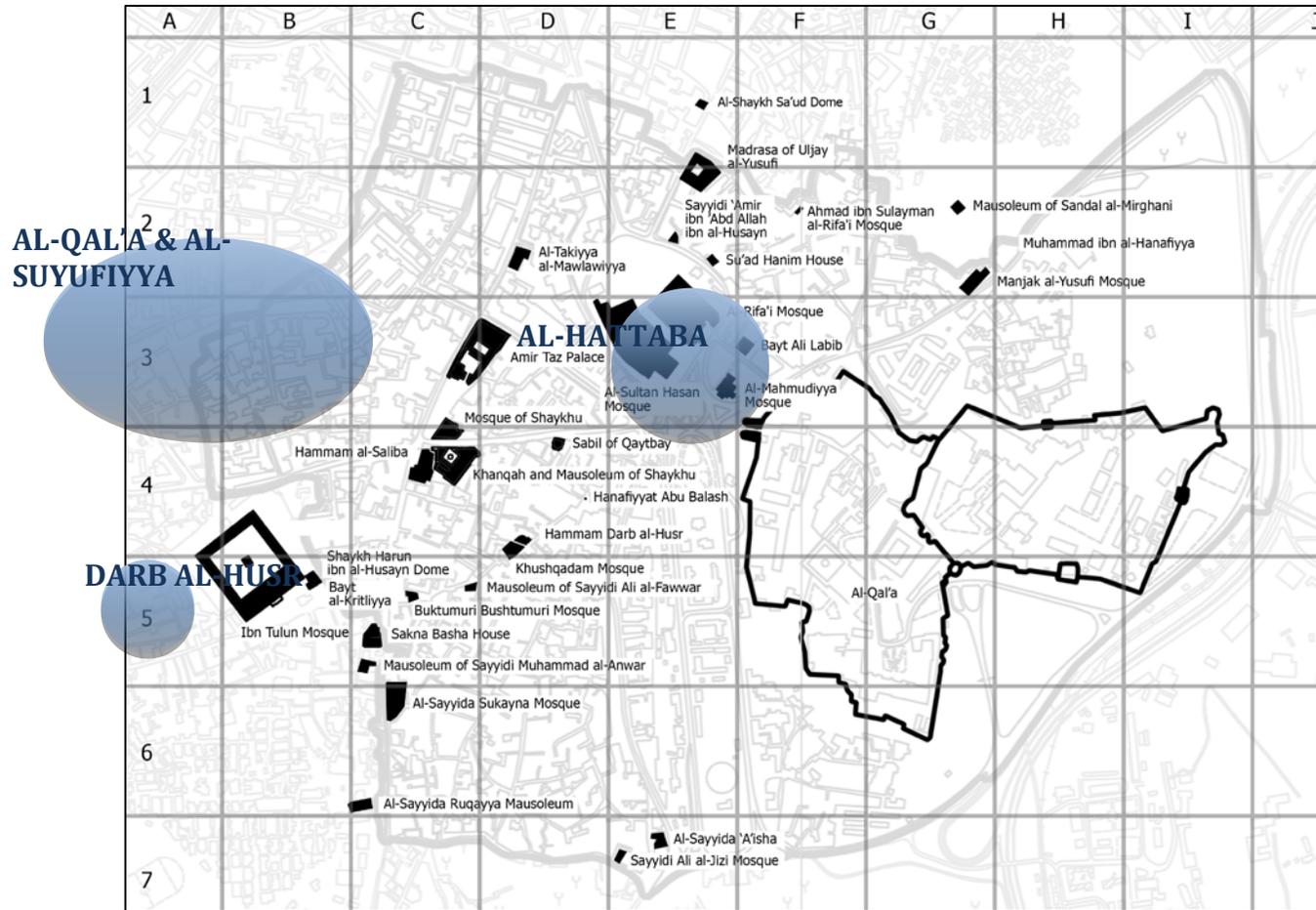


Fig. 37 – Venues of URHC community events

II. CONTENT

The focus of the stories was the triangle of relationships between the monument, its keepers (the Comite – SCA – MSA) and the community. Stories were taken from Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*, 'Ali Mubarak's *Khitat*, the Bulletins of the Comité de Conservation, recent conservation records of the works done in Amir Taz Palace by the Historic Cairo Development Project and the work done al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya by the Italian Mission and from interviews detailed above. This was also augmented by stories from the repertoire of the 1001 performance that Chirine al-Ansary has been working on since the beginning of her career.

Story told in the passageway between al-Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i

The story mainly focused on universal themes such as power and piety and how they played out in ways in the history of rulers such as al- Sultan Hasan and resonated in the lives of his people. It wove together the real histories of the building of the *madrasa* of Sultan Hasan and the ill-omened collapse of its minaret killing 300 orphans with imaginary stories such as the future life of one of three orphans surviving the attack. It also incorporated contradicting perceptions of the *madrasa* - for example its majesty and beauty opposed to the sacrilege of placing the funerary dome behind the *qibla iwan*. The story also included reference to the space between the two mosques before it was closed to traffic, particularly – in a time bending myth - bus no. 13 which passed through and from which alighted daily a young handsome man secretly loved by Rawhiyya, one of the three orphan survivors of the minaret collapse. The story also incorporated a much earlier historical incident of a tightrope walker who walked a rope stretched between the minaret and the Citadel wall. His name was Shaykh Sahaba (literally cloud) because people thought he was able to walk on clouds.



Fig. 38 – Storytelling at Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'



Figs. 39-41 – Storytelling at Sultn Hasan and al-Rifa'i

Story told in Taz Palace

As the story progressed it sought to create even more complex weavings of stories that transgressed in increasingly intricate ways the geography and history of Historic Cairo. In Chirine’s portrayal of this alternative history of Islamic Cairo, Juha (a comic folk figure) fishes for coloured fish from Birkat al-Fil, buildings are connected underground through secret passageways and underground canals and Bayt al-Kritliyya contains a magic well that allows people to see the face of their future love reflected in its water. The well featured as a protagonist in a love triangle between two *amirs*, the son of Amir Taz, an *amir* living in Yashbak Palace and a girl called Lutfiyya. The story moved through the streets of Cairo featuring landmarks such as Sabil Umm ‘Abbas and the Citadel. The story ends with the female descendants of the couple (the son of Amr Taz and Lutfiyya) coming to the same palace to

go to the girl's school that had existed there in the early 20th century, the dilapidation of the palace as it was transformed into a storage space for books and eventually its conservation and revival as a cultural centre.

The group then moved to a second courtyard in the palace and Chirine invited the audience to tell the stories they know of 'Ali Abu Shubbak whose shrine gives al-Rifa'i mosque its name. It told of how 'Ali Abu Shubbak survived an attempted assault by elevating high above the ground through the power of the Quran. This was followed by the story of the the Rifa'i order and their ways of hunting snakes and the myth that the Rifa'i mosque was built for the Rifa'i order after they saved Khushyar Hanim, the mother of Khedive Ismail from a snake bite. This was followed by another story that told the tale of a boy who liked to draw and another who liked music and how they came to Amir Taz Palace to learn arts and a final story of snakes.



Fig. 42-44 – Storytelling in Amir Taz Palace

Story told in al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya

The story explained the symbols behind the theatre and the rituals. The theatre is like the heart of a human being, the circular movement represents the cycle of life, the rhythm that the Mevlevi Dervishes spin to is like the pulse of a human being, their head-dress and white clothes are reminiscent of the coffin and burial cloth and ultimately we are all connected to each other, to earth, and to God. The story then moved to the garden, where refreshments were served and Chirine told a final fictitious love triangle between al-Amir Taz, a young girl and the jeweler the girl loved. It ends with Amir Taz blinding himself and entering the Mawlawiyya Tariqa.



Fig. 45- Storytelling in al-Taliyya al-Mawlawiyya



Fig. 46 - Reception in al-Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya



Fig. 47 - Storytelling in al-Mawlawiyya garden



Fig. 48 - The URHC team in al-Mawlawiyya garden

APPENDIX

EXCERPTS FROM STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS

Below are relevant excerpts of conversations organized by site and categorized into four many groups; Personal experience. Popular history, activities and control. It should be noted that this was not a methodical survey or questionnaire but the result of random interviews with people in the street. Only relevant extracts are included in the table below. Repetitive information has been omitted.

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
1	B-5	Ibn Tulun Mosque	<p>“It is big and gives you sense of happiness, when you go in it is like you went to see the prophet in Medina. Before I used to go attend a religious class every Thursday from <i>zuhr</i> (noon prayer) till after <i>’asr</i> (afternoon prayer) (F.a.R)</p> <p>“The garden in front of Ibn Tulun in the area now fenced off was where we went for a breath of fresh air. It was sloped and beautiful. The young kids would play there and we liked going and sitting there.” (M.a.R.)</p> <p>“We like to play football in the fenced area outside the <i>ziyada</i> but the caretakers are always chasing us away. If we are allowed to play here we would take care of the place and prevent others from vandalizing it. There are no places to play football in the neighbourhood other than her.” (pM.c.R.)</p>	<p>“Ahmad Ibn Tulun is a cursed man, his mosque is really big. He was trying to imitate the Prophet (PBUH). The prophet built the Ka’ba there and he built his mosque here... this is why nowadays only tourists visit the mosque... it’s not like al-Sayyida Zaynab or Sukayna. You go in and the people are Muslims like us praying. Not like Tulun only tourists are inside”.(M.a.R)</p> <p>“Ahmad Ibn Tulun didn’t build this mosque from his own money. He was walking once and he found a hole, he dug more and found a box... The money he found he used to build the mosque and the rest he gave away to the poor. He did not take any for himself. When he built the mosque he used to let the people in with a fee. He built it to resemble the Ka’ba. Did you notice (pointing with fingers describing the shape of the arches).So al-Sayyida Zaynab cursed him saying “in ruins Tulun” so now only</p>	<p>“All prayers are held in the mosque, Friday prayer, <i>kuttab</i> (Quran lessons), lectures given by professors to the students visiting the mosque”. (M.a.gW; the worker inside the mosque)</p> <p>“It has no activities – no lessons – no nothing” (F.a.R.)</p> <p>“There are no activities there – only the mosque. It used not always be this empty. It used to get lots of tourists – up to five busloads at a time” (M.a.R.)</p>	<p>Permission for events is divided between the Awqaf and the tourism police. Awqaf give permissions for local events such as weddings. Tourist police for events that are not local (cultural or touristic) Tourism police could also decide to close early if they perceive a security check. Opening hours from <i>fajr</i> (dawn) prayer to <i>’isha</i> (evening) prayer. (M.a.R)</p>

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
				<p>tourists visit the mosque". (M.a.R)</p> <p>Ahmad Ibn Tulun built using elephants, he had elephants that helped in combat in wars and were also used in construction, and the neighbourhood Birkat al-Fil was named after the elephants of Tulun because they used to go drink from the lake located in the neighbourhood. He chose the location of the mosque based on two points: a place where no water could reach the mosque, and if there was a fire the mosque wouldn't be damaged. So he built the mosque on a high rock. He built the mosque with the same number of doors as the Ka'ba. He even chose to protect his mosque from fire and water because the Ka'ba was burnt once and drowned under water another time". (M.a.R)</p>		
2	B-5	Bayt al-Kritliyya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Did you visit Bayt al-Kritliyya before? - No, they don't take us on trips there at all in school. - Why do you need a trip? Its right here. - Only Muhammad Hasan from our class is allowed to enter. -Why? - His mother works inside the 	<p>"The house is known to have 14 secrets. I know 3 : the first is that the <i>bayt</i> had a hall where poor people could walk into the house and eat and drink for free. Once thieves entered the house and tried to rob the <i>haramlik</i>. The ghosts caught the thieves because they knew the owners of the house were good people and</p>	<p>No events take place in the house; previously movies were filmed in the garden. (M.a.Tg) And there were children's activities that stopped more than 3 years ago (M.a.gA)</p> <p>There used to be evening shows, but there was theft. Zahi Hawwas - the one with the hat (<i>Abu</i></p>	<p>Tourist Police are always on site for security under the Ministry of Antiquities' Museum administration. As a museum, it has a more strict security policy to guarantee the safety of the collection (M.a.gA)</p> <p>"Some 5 years ago, a foreigner (<i>Khawaja</i>) came along with two</p>

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
			<p>museum.</p> <p>- Who doesn't allow you to enter?</p> <p>- The security even if we buy the ticket. (conversation with M.c.R)</p> <p>What is this museum?</p> <p>- I don't know, I came once with my school but I don't remember its name.</p> <p>Is your school here in this street?</p> <p>- No it's far. (M. c. R.)</p> <p>"I don't know what this museum is. You can ask inside. I live in the building opposite but I have never been inside. Neither have my children. My grandchildren went with their school." (F.a.R)</p> <p>"The wall around the house is new. It used to be two separate houses one owned by Amina b. Salim and the other by Zaynab Hanim Mukhtar. Gayer-Anderson bought the house belonging to Zaynab Hanim first, then he bought the house of Amina b. Salim and he connected them. A long time ago, there used to be an alley (<i>hara</i>) between them that anyone could walk through and it was the connection between two gardens...</p> <p>After the Azhar bombing, with the</p>	<p>wanted no harm to come to them. The second is about the well of the house, when the well dried up bats started living there. It was said that when the moon is a crescent, any girl that goes and looks down the well would get married instantly. The third story was the lake of mercury that was created by a man who wanted to rule the land. The devils are known to drink mercury and therefore he created the lake so that they would help him rule, they stole gold for him" (M.a.R) (note: connection to the story of <i>Khumarawyh b. Ahmad b. Tulun</i>)</p> <p>"The house used to be haunted by a ghost and Gayer-Anderson was scared of it at the beginning then he got used to it". (M.a. R.)</p>	<p><i>Burnita</i>) used to use them as a chance to steal. He was Minister of Antiquities at the time. For example, he would bring 50 chairs, a machine (?) and two speakers and say it cost 28 thousand pounds, which of course it did not. All activities were con jobs. (In response to a question about the kinds of shows? They had no performances only talks. Once it was someone talking about breastfeeding in Ancient Egypt and the other time it was about this Ahmos guy doing God knows what God know when. Hawwas is a big thief and no one is able to prove it. They also had activities for children in the garden. They taught them hieroglyphs – you know – that bird language- they were quite regular and for free. My daughter used to go. (M.a.R)</p>	<p>architects. He said he was the grandson of Anderson. They restored the house and he is the one who fixed the fence and made all these renovations in the building. (M.a.R)</p>

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
			<p>kid who blew himself up there. They found with him documents for an operation in al-Sayyida 'A'isha and Ibn Tulun, then they found the two veiled women (<i>munaqqaba</i>) in al-Sayyida 'Aisha with explosives and concluded that Ibn Tulun Mosque must be a terrorist target. They closed the street (Ibn Tulun St.) with gates at its beginning and end but they overdid it. For 3-4 years there was a police checkpoint that was overzealous to the point that they would conduct body searches on residents and inspect women especially at first. They also searched all the customers coming to the shops. Once someone was coming into my shop and they made him pay 10 pounds to enter and we went and fought with them and they gave back the money. After the (25 Jan) revolution, people dismantled the iron fence and gates, sold some of the iron, and put some of it around the mosque of al-Sayyida Sukayna – it was quite a cool move.” (M.a.R.)</p>			
3	B-5	Mausoleum of Sayyidi Harun al-	-	“It is said – and God only knows – that he is Shaykh Husayn the son of Shaykh Harun. It is said that he	“The shrine (<i>maqam</i>) is now closed. There used to be a man sitting there and he used to hold a	The owner of the clock shop in front of the shrine says he still has the key the shrine – although he

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		Husayn		once came to Zaynab Hanim (the owner of one of the two Kritliyya houses) and told her a thief is coming this night. And a thief did come while she and her maid were all alone and after he took stuff he froze in his place and could not move and her maid was able to overpower him. Zaynab Hanim then decided to build a shrine to Shaykh Harun next to her home. It should not be part of the house but they enclosed it within the wall they built when they were restoring." (M.a.R)	small <i>mawlid</i> just a <i>hadra</i> and <i>dhikr</i> and when he died, it stopped." (M.a.R)	himself said that it is now part of Bayt al-Kritliyya.
4	C-3	Amir Taz Palace	<p>"We are always allowed to enter the Palace and attend all the activities, we once attended Abu al-Ghayt dancing here and it was beautiful" (M.a.R)</p> <p>"Nobody goes to Taz. It used to be, when they held a performance there, that the whole area would be totally closed off and they would not even allow residents to come through. Now the performances are free and open to all but - still - not many people go" (M.a.R)</p> <p>"This place is very special to me because since I found out about it</p>	<p>"The palace was used as a book storage facility by the Ministry of Education. It is said that the basement reached the Citadel". (M.a.gA)</p> <p>"The palace belongs to some people from Alexandria and the Antiquities (al-Athar) is operating it." (M.a.R)</p>	The events in the palace are usually held by the Ministry of Culture and are categorised into theater, chorus, and art/ painting. Before the 25 th of January, concerts were held for well-known singers in the palace. Currently the events are mostly cultural. Anyone can perform under the umbrella of the Ministry of Culture. (M.a.R) (M.a.gA)	The Ministry of Culture (Fund for Cultural Development) is in charge of all the events that take place in the palace. There are three committees, each committee is in charge of a specific genre whether painting/drawing, chorus or theatre. Multinational companies usually sponsor exhibitions held in Ramadan. The Ministry of State for Antiquities is responsible for the protecting the monument (M.a.gA).

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
			my life started to change radically. Every time I go there something new and interesting happens. One time I met someone that encouraged me to start my artistic path and after a while I went there again and found an announcement for an art diploma in an art center right next to where I live." (M.a.R)			
5	C-4, D-4	Hammams (Public Baths)	"Most of the <i>hammams</i> are no longer in use for example Darb al-Husr Hammam is now a series of workshop places" (M.a.R)	"There were three <i>hammams</i> in the area; Darb al-Husr, Hammam al- Saliba and Hammam Umm 'Abbas" (M.a.R)	"The <i>hammams</i> were dedicated to the women in the morning and men at night. A procession was made for a bride as she entered the <i>hammam</i> ". (M.a.R)	The buildings are no longer used as <i>hammams</i> and Hammam al-Husr is under the control of the residents.
6	C-4	Shaykhu (Qibli and Bahari)	Researcher: I only caught one person coming out of the mosque (a resident with the key) and he admitted he has the key and only goes in to use the toilet and make check up on the place.	"What made Shaykhu build his mosque was that Ahmad Ibn Tulun built his enormous mosque as you know at this era people rushed to do good so he built his mosque as an extension to Ibn Tulun Mosque". (M.a.R)	"Shaykhu is two mosques not one the mosque which is open all the time, and the mausoleum and <i>khanqah</i> (sufi hospice) which is always closed" (M.a.R) "Qibli Shaykhu is always closed. It is a <i>madyafa</i> (guesthouse). If you look at it you will see that there are windows on the top. This is where the guesthouse is." (M.a.R)	The Ministry of State for Antiquities is the entity responsible for the closing of Shaykhu Qibli.(M.a.R)
7	C-5	Sayyidi 'Ali al-Far	-	His original name is not al-Far, it is al-Fawwar. People called him al-Far because he was a dissident under during the Muhammad 'Ali rule and he was always being imprisoned in the Citadel jail. They would put him in Jail, lock	"A small procession was performed in olden times at the same time as Mawlid al-Sayyida Sukayna, hot beverages were prepared (cinnamon and fenugreek). Beans and meat were also given out". (F.a.R)	The <i>mawlid</i> is no longer held. It used to be organized by the residents of the neighbourhood

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				the door, then they would find him outside. So they said he is like a rat (<i>far</i>). It is like Shaykh Kishk. They would set the hungry dogs on him in his prison cell, then find them sleeping peacefully next to him. They called him a magician. (M.a.R)	"The <i>mawlid</i> took place with Mawlid al-Sayyida Sukayna. It used to pass from al-Khalifa police station, al-Suyufiyya Street and then back to Darb al-Husr. The celebration of this <i>mawlid</i> also disappeared. Decorations are only hung on the outside of the mosque with <i>dhikr</i> inside". (M.a.R)	
8	C-5	Buktumuri al-Bushtumuri Mosque	-	"A tradesman built it- he would build a mosque in every country he traveled to" (M.a.R) Some people say that Buktumuri al-Bushtumuri is buried under the guard's room and some people say this is not true. (G.a.R)	Open only for prayer (G.a.R)	-
9	C-5	Sakna Basha House	"I once went up there, it is beautiful from the inside. The ceilings are beautiful. When the housekeeper comes back from vacation, I could take you up there. He has the keys" (M.a.R) "The house is haunted. My friends and I were once standing in front of the house and one of them through a big nail at the window glass at bounced back at him and hit him in the nose and wounded him. (M.a.R.)	"A very famous singer (<i>'alma</i>) used to live here. The Khedive Isma'il gave her the house as a present. Parties were held here and many important people came to them. The house has a fountain and some gilded ceilings" (M.a.R) The house originally belonged to Muhammad 'Ali Pasha. He gave it to the Khedive who then gave it to Sakna Pasha. She held performances and parties there, then later when she found out she could not bear children she became blind and turned the	It is now closed. The owners are restoring it.	"After her death, her family lived in the house and then the Awqaf took the building then a man named Dusuqi bought it and now a woman owns it" (M.a.R) (<i>note: house is owned by Mona Zakaiyya, a conservation architect and previously responsible for the and partners</i>)

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				<p>house into a <i>kuttab</i> but it did not flourish so she sold it to Muhammad Bak but the house was too big for him so he sold it to a contractor called Hasan for 90 gold coins. The area of the house is 866 sq. m, and it still has ceilings that are decorated with gold paint (<i>ma' al-dhahab</i>). The contractor is the one who converted the guestrooms into shops. Before that he had rented them out as lodging to people from the Levant then to people from the Sudan. This was around 1936. He then sold it to a company owned by Mona Zakariyya, Shahira and Ayman. They are like to buy old houses. They bought houses worth 3 million, four hundred and sixty thousand and restored them."</p> <p>Suhayr al-Murshidi, the actress, came to the house with the director Asma al-Bakri. She started to cry because she had acted the role of Sakna Pasha and had not known that the house still exists. (M.a.R)</p>		
10	C-5	Mausoleum of Sidi Muhammad	-	Sayyidi Muhammad al-Anwar the paternal uncle of al-Sayyida Nafisa and the descendant of S. al-	A very short two hour <i>mawlid</i> is held immediately after al-Sayyida Nafisa Mawlid. (M.a.gW)	Under the Awqaf – conservation under the supervision of the Antiquities. Currently being

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		al-Anwar		Husayn. (M.a.gW)		restored by residents. The <i>mawlid</i> is organized by the neighbourhood. (M.a.gW)
11	C-6	Al- Sayyida Sukayna Mosque	“There are no activities inside the mosque except for prayer and the <i>mawlid</i> . The women’s prayer hall is always dark and the toilets are mixed. The <i>imam</i> of the mosque kept telling me to go sit in next to the shrine because the dark prayer hall is unsafe” (F.a.R)	<p>“The mosque has two shrines, the one Sayyida Sukayna is buried in and the one her daughter is buried in. The one you can see is the one Sayyida Sukayna is buried in. No one knows where the other one is. Next to the shrine there is a secret passage to the basement.” (M.a.R)</p> <p>“Al-Sayyida Sakina ia a direct descendant of the prophet. She is the daughter of al-Imam al-Husayn and her mother is S. al-Rabab b. al-Qays al-Amir al-Nasrani. She was born in 47 H and died in 117 H. (M.a.gW)</p> <p>She is the daughter of al-Imam al-Husayn. He would call her “Grandmother of your father”. Her real name was Amina but they called her Sukayna because she was peaceful and quiet (<i>li-sukuniha</i>). She is <i>sākina</i>, <i>sakīna</i>, <i>mustakīna</i>. (<i>sakina</i>: calm; <i>sakina</i>: immanence of God; <i>mustakina</i>: peaceable and quiet). Her name also comes from <i>sakan</i> or dwelling – that she dwells everywhere. When a suitor came for her, al-Husayn told him take Fatima (her</p>	“The procession started from al-Ghuriyya passing through Bawwabat al-Mutawalli, al-Mugharibilin, al-Hilmiyya al-Qadima, Hasan al-Anwar, al-Saliba, al-Khalifa and then to the mosque”. (G.a.R)	Ministry of Awqaf and the residents. The residents are in charge of the <i>mawlid</i> . Foremost among them was a local arabesque carpenter (‘Alalla) who died last year and now his son has taken over.

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				<p>sister) not Sukayna because she is lost in Godly love and does not care for men. If a human greets her, she will think it is an angel talking to her. Not everybody feels peace (dwells) in her mosque, she chooses who visits her and does not give <i>sakina</i> (peace/immanence of God) to anyone. She does not like noise or <i>dhikr</i>. Only those with a bond or connection (<i>wasl</i>) to God can find peace/dwell (<i>yaskun</i>) in her mosque. She always chooses and sorts through people and those who cross her threshold often will take from her peace (<i>sakina</i>) and calm nature. Her <i>mawlid</i> is also quiet it has <i>sakina</i> like her. Yasin al-Tuhami (Egypt's foremost <i>munshid</i>) is came to sing once and the podium caught fire. He swore never to enter al-Khalifa again even if they gave him 100,000 pounds. Once people from the police wanted to hold a <i>dhikr</i> session and I tried to stop them saying that S. Sukayna does not like <i>dhikr</i>. They insisted and started to install the speakers and wiring and everything caught fire. And I told them, let this be a lesson to you. S. Sukayna does not like <i>dhikr</i>." F.a.R (the woman in</p>		

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
				charge of a charitable tent next to the mosque – called al-Hajja Amira)		
12	C-6	Al-Sayyida Ruqaya Mausoleum	<p>“The <i>mawlid</i> held here is not very old. It started only 30 years ago, <i>madih</i> (chants in praise of the prophet) and <i>dhikr</i> (rituals in remembrance of God) are held one day each year in the mosque” (M.a.R)</p> <p>First Sayyid Mida (a local businessman and contractor – community leader) was restoring it after obtaining all the necessary permits from the Antiquities and the Awqaf, then one of the residents objected to the work saying he was making it look like a church and that he (the resident) could do better. But he did nothing, then Sayyid Mida continued work but the Athar asked him to stop for a while (although he had the necessary permits), Then he started to work anyway and he finished now and opened the prayer area (in front of the shrine). But the shrine is still closed because the Athar are working on it. There was a problem with the ladies’ prayer area. They could not agree on</p>	<p>“Al –Sayyida Ruqaya is mostly loved and visited by the Shi’a, she is considered a saint and is the descendant of al-Imam’ Ali. She was very knowledgeable and taught women a lot about Islam” (M.a.R)</p> <p>Al al-Bayt (the descendants of the prophet) were prosecuted starting from the Umayyad period after al-Husayn was killed in Iraq. The left the Caliphate centre of rule and moved to other countries, among them Egypt. The Egyptians have always been a kind people, and to them, the love of Al al-bayt is a religion. This is because the prophet asked us to take care of them. On the other hand, the Boharis and Shi’a who come to visit S. Ruqayya, and S. Nafisa, their motives for loving Al al-bayt are different. Their motives are tinged with politics and financial gain – their love is not pure like the love of the Egyptians.”</p> <p>One of the <i>karamas</i> of S. Ruqayya is that someone once wanted to</p>	<p><i>Mawlid</i> procession path: Used to have a very small procession – from al-Sayyida Nafisa to the mausoleum but now there is no procession. Some say the last procession was ten years ago some say nine years.(P.a.R)</p> <p>Bahara tribe is usually present and they visit the mosque on a regular basis.</p>	<p>The organization of the <i>mawlid</i> is the responsibility of the Awqaf officials with most of the work and financial support coming from the neighbourhood.</p> <p>All conservation work has to go through the Awqaf and Antiquities for permission. Most of the problems were between the residents and the Antiquities. The Awqaf were not involved in this conflict. (M.a.R)</p>

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			whether to fence it off with a brick wall as the residents wanted or with an iron fence as the Athar insisted. They ended up constructing it in iron and it is now open. (M.a.R)	harm her and hit her and as he raised his arm to do so it was paralysed. Nobody knows if this story is true or not". (M.a.gA)		
13	Outside map (C-8)	Al- Sayyida Nafisa Mosque	<p>"Many people came from governorates around Cairo. Tents were set up and special flags were hung on them representing which <i>tariqa</i> was practiced there. Beans were offered in a special tent to the people who came to the <i>mawlid</i>. Games were held for adults and children. The Ministry of Endowments also celebrates the <i>Layla al-Kabira</i> by inviting popular <i>shaykhs</i> to recite the Quran and perform <i>inshad</i> inside the mosque." (M.a.R)</p> <p>Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami (Egypt's foremost munshid) only comes for al-Sayyida Nafisa. (M.a.gW)</p>	<p>"Al-Sayyida Nafisa was a saint she was very close to God and had special powers. She once threw some of the water she uses for ablution on a paralysed little girl and she was able to walk again. Since that day people lived and tried to be near her as possible after hearing the girl's story. The land next to her mosque and shrine was turned into a burial area to blessed by her" (M.a.R)</p> <p>Al-Sayyida Nafisa b. Sayyidi al-Hasan al-Anwar b. Zayd al-Ablaj b. S. al-Husayn is the only one who married after after a vision he had of the God's Prophet (who orderd her to marry) Ishaq al-Mu'atamin. (M.a.gW)</p>	The procession started from al-Madbah passing through al- Sad, al- Saliba, al-Khalifa and then to the mosque. (G.a.R)	The Ministry of Endowments is responsible for managing and administering the <i>mawlid</i> . This is in addition to the individual responsibility of each <i>tariqa</i> for running its tent and rituals. Neighbourhood residents also contribute,
14	D-2	Al-Takiyya al-Mawlawayya	"This building is not ours, it is for the foreigners. We go to Amir Taz palace. There are the same activities here but this is not ours, this belongs to the foreigners" (P.a.R)	" The sons of Sayyid al-Badawi were buried in the <i>takiyya</i> some seventy years ago" (M.a.R)	"There was a hospital for the poor inside the building. Even the medicine was for free. It had all specialties. There was also an ablution and prayer space. Until Faranfoni (Fanfoni) began the conservation process. The place	Conservation by Fanfoni under the supervision of the Ministry of State for Antiquities. Occasional training activities under the supervision of the Italian mission and also under the Antiquities.

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					lost its original value. The hospital was more important to us.” (M.a.R) “Nowadays the Italian center for conservation is in the building. A part of the building is also a private residence” (M.a.gA)	
15	D-4	Sabil of Qaytbay	“ The books in the library on top are mostly culture books and a lot of heritage students visit the library” (M.a.R) The library is specialized in Islamic Civilisation. It is open till 2:00 pm to the public every day except Friday. Lending is not allowed. (M.a.gC)	This <i>sabil</i> is 75 meters underground. It is made out of marble. All Egyptians used to drink from it (artesian water). No one used to drink from the Nile. All the water treatment plants that exist now were not there before. All Egyptians drank from this well. (M.a.R)	The <i>sabil</i> is open from 2: 00 pm to 8:00pm. Lectures are sometimes held in the library above the <i>sabil</i> . (F.a.R) The <i>sabil</i> houses the Arab School for Cinema and Television, an online school that holds courses in Arabic and gives a professional certificate after an exam at the end of the course. It is run by the Fund for Cultural Development (The Ministry of Culture) (M.a.gC)	The activities held in the <i>sabil</i> are held by the Ministry of Culture. (G.a.R) (note: Fund for Cultural Development)
16	D-4	Hanafiyyat Abu Balash (Free Tap)	“ It is a landmark in our street, when we want to meet or describe where to go somewhere we say at or near to “ Hanafiyyat Abu Balash”, even though it is no longer there it is still important to us”.	“The tap was the main source of water for the residents (the poor). Rich people and families who would not let the woman of the house outdoors mostly relied on the Saqqa one sack of water cost 0.5 piasters. Brides used to go to fill water from the tap after a week of their marriage” (M.a.R)	There were two taps of free water - one in Darb al-Husr that has not been in use for 40 years and one in Maydan al-Rammah that has not been in use for 50 years. (M.a.R)	The government was in charge of hiring a person who worked inside a wooden kiosk handing water to the residents for free. The working hours of the tap were from early morning to noon and then from 1:00 pm to 3:00pm. (M.a.gA)
17	D-4	Khushqadam Mosque	“The person who built the mosque was an ordinary person, not very popular. The mosque is	None of the residents know anything about Khushqadam, Except one person who said he is	All prayers are held in the mosque. <i>i'tikaf</i> (mosque retreat) is also very popular here. Usually	The residents have the key to the mosque. They open the mosque during prayer times only. The

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			<p>popular because of its location nothing more. The MSA tried to close the mosque several times and the residents refused, the last time being in Ramadan. Other mosques are sometimes closed for conservation too but they are on the main streets so the residents are not attached to them". (M.a.R)</p> <p>"I don't know much about the mosque. My husband does because he prays there, but it is beautiful".(F.a.R)</p> <p>"The people love the mosque because it is our heritage and we really want to protect it. All the five prayers are held in this well ventilated mosque. It maybe not the closest mosque but we love praying there".(F.a.R)</p>	a sultan. However, they do mention that it is a monument of historical importance.	there are no activities other than prayer in the mosque. There are only Quran competitions in Ramadan. (F.a.R)	competitions held in Ramadan are organized by the residents not Awqaf. (M.a.R)
18	E-1	Al-Shaykh Su'ud Dome	-	-	"The <i>mawlid</i> was held with Mawlid al-Rifa'i. The <i>shaykh</i> is buried in the dome. The procession was unique. Wooden carriages were used and different acting scenes were played on each one. Comedy was the main genre of the scenes for example a woman giving birth to puppies etc." (M.a.R)	The Ministry of State for Antiquities.
19	E-2	Madrasa of Uljay al-	-	"Also known as " <i>al-sayis</i> " in reference to the stableman of al-	"The <i>madrasa</i> is located in Suq al-Silah. It is a very important	Ministry of State for Antiquities is responsible under the supervision

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		Yusufi		Sultan Hasan. There is a marble column on the north-west side of the building said to cure all respiratory diseases. Patients would lick the column until their tongue bled. Some women gain money by offering water to clean the patient's mouth and the column. The government later built a wall around the column to stop this ritual." (M.a.gA)	mosque full of people at prayer times especially Fridays even though it is in close proximity to al-Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i mosques" (M.a.gA)	of the Ministry of Awqaf" (M.a.R)
20	E-2	Mausoleum of Sayyidi 'Amir ibn 'Abd Allah ibn al-Husayn	-	A descendant of al-Husayn and is not related to al-Rifa'i. the keeper of the mausoleum helped in the hunting of snakes in the area became an avowed member of the order (<i>akhadh al-'ahd</i>) (M.a.R) "They say he is the son of al-Hasan. In the shrine used to sit a man called al-Shaykh Husni. He knew how to expel snakes from homes. He is the one who held the monument. His sons took over after he died. It is held two days before the Mawlid al-Rifa'i. They have <i>Quran</i> , and they distribute cinnamon drinks and dervishes attend. There is no <i>dhikr</i> . This building collapsed some 30 years ago and with it the seven buildings behind it. The man who rebuilt the building rebuilt the shrine too. It is not a monument."	"A small <i>mawlid</i> is celebrated by the residents a day before Mawlid al-Rifa'i" (M.a.R)	The Residents.

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21	E-2	Su'ad Hanim House	-	"Was one of the richest people in the city. She lived there with her sister and family. It is a very beautiful house with magnificent <i>mashrabiyyas</i> " (M.a.R)	-	A person interested in monuments (Professor in the Faculty of Antiquities) bought the house. A rehabilitation process is ongoing. (M.a.R)
22	E-3	Al-Rifa'i Mosque	<p>"When I was a child my mother would tell me as soon as I got home from school that it is time for the <i>mawlid</i>. I would change by uniform and rush to catch the <i>sharrib</i> - a person who sat on a camel that was loaded with tea. I loved getting there on time to drink tea from him" (M.a.R)</p> <p>There is a small open space outside the Rifa'i exit where kids play football in the weekends and on holidays. I used to go there with my friends on Thursdays to play football when I was young, the space was bigger and we would stay up playing till our mothers shouted at us to come home." (M.a.R.)</p>	<p>A large number of the royal family (Muhammad Ali) are buried here, the most popular being King Faruq. Carriages carrying flowers used to come to honor the dead. The Shah of Iran Muhammad Reza is also buried in the mosque. It is also known that 39 Shaykh Muhammad Shakir street was the residence of the cooking staff of the Royal family. The family career nowadays is selling meat. They own a big butcher shop in al-Hilmiyya. (M.a.gA).</p> <p>"It is said that he is one of the <i>walis</i> one day the residents wanted to test his super natural abilities so they slaughtered cats and dogs and served it as his lunch. When he saw that he said "bsss (sound used by Egyptians to call cats) there, go there" and the animals came back to life. (M.a.R)</p> <p>Ahmad al-Rifa'I never came to Egypt. The person buried here is his grandson 'Ai Abu Shubbak. He</p>	<p>The last wedding ceremony conducted in this mosque was December 2012, then it stopped for the same reasons mentioned for al- Sultan Hasan mosque. (M.a.gA)</p> <p>The <i>hadra</i> (sufi ritual) was every Friday for an hour and for two days before the <i>mawlid</i>. The path of the <i>mawlid</i> procession is always changing due to the unstable political situation. The original path is: al-Sayyida Zaynab- Port Sa'id street - al- Qal'a - al-Rifa'i Mosque. The procession used to pass through the street between Sultan Hassan and al-Rifa'i but it is now closed. The path has been modified to go around the mosques instead of through them. The procession is always lead by a <i>shaykh</i> on a horse and next to him the boat that carries the spirit of Shaykh al- Rifa'i. Food is usually offered to the people in the street. (M.a.gA)</p>	<p>If members of the royal family want to visit the people buried in the mosque they need to file a request and someone from the police force has to accompany them.</p> <p>On the day of King Faruq's birthday, 300 people gathered and wanted to visit the king. They were not allowed in as it was almost closing time. The last attempt to bury a member of the royal family tried was with Queen Fawziyya but the burial was denied because there was no request made to the national security.</p> <p>According to the law of 2008 the conservation of both mosques (al-Rifa'i and al-Sultan Hasan) is to be funded by Awqaf. When money is requested by MSA the request is usually refused. (M.a.gA)</p>

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				is the son of the daughter of al-Rifa'i and he was a Rifa'i sufi with many miracles (<i>karamas</i>). His grandfather Ahmad al-Rifa'i was buried in Iraq. He is one of the four sufi <i>qutbs</i> another one of whom was al-Sayyid al-Badawi for example. (M.a.gA)		
23	E-3	Al-Sultan Hasan Mosque	“Before they closed off the road between the al-Sultan Hasan and al-Rifa'i, there used to be a lot of coffee shops and we used to love to go and sit there. They might have done that to protect the monuments but no one harmed the monuments before. Al-Rifa'i mosque was always there”. (F.a.R)	“It is said that the minaret destroyed homes and killed orphans. Houses were also destroyed or built in a certain way to protect the square here.” (M.a.R)	Manarat al-Sultan Hasan are the main organisers of the mosque's cultural events. Regarding wedding ceremonies they too have been banned from the mosque because people did not dress appropriately and they were always loud etc. (M.a.gA) Manarat al-Sultan Hasan have been meeting here for more than a year and the organisers have nothing to do with any governmental organization. (M.a.gW)	There are no restrictions on cultural events as long as they have no political background. (M.a.gA) Any event is allowed as long as no one discusses politics. (M.a.gW)
24	E-3	Al-Mahmudiyya Mosque	“The mosque is beautiful and the people working in it are sweet and they pray the five prayers. People pray here usually and they love the mosque too. It is usually full on Fridays. There was water that surrounded the mosque but now it is all dried up”.(F.a.R) There is no sunlight inside the building and the residents don't	“The Ottoman ruler took the land from people who owed him money and therefore it is called the <i>haram</i> (forbidden) or the Dark mosque”.(M.a.gA)	The <i>masjid</i> is always full of people praying. Shaykh Muhammad Najib the Imam is very popular and the people of the neighbourhood love to pray behind him. He also supervises a number of charitable activities that take place in the mosque people donate things they do not need and they are distributed in the mosque. This is one of many charitable activities	A resident committee takes care of the site and does minor maintenance and restoration work with the permission of the Awqaf and the MSA.

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			like praying there.” (M.a.gA)		that take place here. (M.a.R)	
25	E-7	Al-Sayyida 'A'isha	<p>“I saw her once in a dream vision and since then I work here. I came to her once crying when my daughter was pregnant and she came to me in my dream. First a man I don’t know came and gave me water to drink – I had never had such delicious water – then she (<i>Sittina 'Ai'sha</i>) came and she looked beautiful – she looked like (the Islamic preacher) ‘Abla al-Kahlawi, but with green eyes and a fair complexion. She told me, “name the son Hala will get Yusuf” and that made me happy and I stopped worrying. Then she came to me a second time and asked me to call the son of my son Yusuf as well. Now two of my grandchildren are called Yusuf.</p> <p>A long time ago, I used to sell cigarettes in the street. This was before I came to work here in S. ‘A’isha mopping the floor and cleaning the windows and spraying visitors with scent. It was during Ramadan and I had bought a chicken and was sitting in the <i>maqam</i> (shrine) when a S. ‘A’isha spoke to me and told me to travel to Minya, my hometown. I got up</p>	<p>If you go to al-Sayyida Aisha Mosque now, you will see on the mosque in the rear (something that looks like) a loaf of bread, a sardine, a salted fish (<i>fasikh</i>) an onion – I can’t remember. They have a story. A man entered the mosque and he was poor but he had some money. He claimed to have no money or food at all. They gave him bread, a sardine and a green onion and he ate them. The man who gave him the food was suspicious. He asked him to swear by al-Sayyida ‘A’isha that he had no money. He swore and immediately threw up the food he had eaten intact. They hung it on the building and it has been there ever since. (F.a.R)</p> <p>Another version of the story: A man had some salted fish with him and in front of him was another man. The former found that he was missing a fish and accused the latter of eating it. The latter denied it. The former took him to S. ‘A’isha and asked him to swear by her that he did not take the fish and the other man swore. As soon as he did that, the fish</p>	<p>Mawlid al-Sayyida ‘A’isha is one of the biggest in the area. This is because she is descended from the prophet. She is the daughter of Ja’far al-Sadiq b. ‘Ali Zayn al-‘Abidin b. S. al-Husayn. Her <i>mawlid</i> is as almost as big as that of al-Sayyida Nafisa with the same rituals and activities but on a smaller scale of course. (M.a.gW)</p> <p>The procession (<i>zaffa</i>) started from al-Qal’a down to al-Sayyida ‘A’isha. Another ritual was to change the covering of the shrine annually immediately before the start of the <i>mawlid</i>. The covering should be green but in 2007 or 2008, the changed the colour to black and people talked about this being a sign of increase “shi’afication” – they recently changed it back to green. (M.a.gA)</p>	The Ministry of Endowments is responsible for holding the <i>mawlid</i> with the help of the neighbourhood. The person responsible for the covering (<i>kiswa</i>) is ‘Umar al-Faruq funded by the Ministry of Endowments.

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			to go and passed by my mother to tell her. My mother told me to go to my daughter first, so I went to her and found she had no food in the house so I gave her the chicken. So in a way, S. 'A'isha sent me to my daughter with the chicken. I used to have a mental illness and I became better here in S. 'A'isha. She is generous with the generous and (or noble with the noble - <i>karima</i>) and prayers here are answered. (F.a.R)	jumped out of his mouth and intact although he should have already digested it. (F.a.R)		
26	E-7	Sayyiddi 'Ali al-Jizi Mosque	<p>"Many years ago the roof collapsed on top of our heads during <i>fajr</i> prayer. During the renovation process there was no sign that anyone was buried in the mosque". (M.a.R)</p> <p>There is no <i>ziyara</i> (visitation) to the mosque now. Ages ago, it used to have a wooden shrine but people removed it and when they rebuilt the mosque after it collapsed they rebuilt it in two stories the ground floor for men and the first floor for women. (G.a.R)</p>	<p>When they were restoring the mosque, they dug a lot of pits to find out if al-Jizi is really buried there. They did not find a single bone. But he was buried here a long time ago - 100 years ago maybe more. Nobody remembers him or his story but they say that his family and children used to live in the house opposite the mosque but they all grew old and died. Some say he was a great warrior - a great swordsman. (G.a.R)</p>	<p>"A <i>mawlid</i> took place in this mosque each year celebrating the start of Ramadan. People wore new clothes and cooked beans and meat. Nowadays the <i>mawlid</i> is not celebrated. It was last celebrated 10 years ago. The building has been renovated."(M.a.R)</p>	<p>The residents are in charge, They are the ones who renovated the mosque. Some donated cash, and others volunteered their work. (G.a.R)</p>

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27	F-2	Ribat Ahmad ibn Sulayman al-Rifa'i	-	<p>It is said that it is called "Sitt Rifa'iya" and it is said that it is called that because six people of the Rifa'i order are buried here or that there is a lady buried here of the Rifa'i order.(M.a.R.)</p> <p>"Seven of the daughters of al-Rifa'I are buried there." (M.a.R.)</p>	"Some people come and visit it – some of them are even foreigners; from France and Germany, some students too. They came and take pictures of the Rifa'i up there and this one too." (M.a.R.)	The shrine was in there but the Antiquities came and said they will restore it and I don't know what they did."
28	F-3	Bayt Ali Labib	-	"The House called "Bayt al-Fan". A famous person used to live here an Egyptian and then an Amir". (M.a.R)	"The house has been turned into an exhibition. There is also an exhibition hall". (M.a.R) <i>(note: The house is to become an architectural cultural centre called House of Architecture)</i>	<p>The house is currently under the supervision of the Ministry of State for Antiquities but events are also organised by the Cultural Development Fund.(M.a.gA)</p> <p>"The place is closed now and it should open in a couple of months. Now nobody is allowed in and photography is not allowed" (Phone conversation with Dr. 'Isam Safiyy al-Din, professor at Fine Arts, Helwan University and will run the place when it opens.)</p> <p>"You are our guests" (An Antiquities inspector overheard telling Dr. Safiyy al-Din)</p> <p>"People who lived in this house include 'Ali Labib, Hasan Fathy, and Wisa Wassef. Some of their belongings will be exhibited in the house because it is planned to become a museum called House of</p>

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						<p>Egyptian Architecture (Bayt al-Mi'mar al-Misry). It used to be divided into flats and the Antiquities offered them replacement flats in other areas they refused. So they evacuated them anyway because the place is listed as a monument and now they residents have sued and there is a pending lawsuit." (Prof. Safiyy al-Din)</p> <p>"Our direct superior is Prof. Safiyy al-Din. The Antiquities officials feel that Prof. Safiyy al-Din has to take their permission in everything. Nobody (of the neighbourhood) knows anything about these places. I live in S. Zaynab and knew nothing about these places till I started work here (F.a.g.A. – security official)</p>
29	F-3, G-3, H-3, I-3, F-4, G-4, H-4, I-4, F-5, G-5, F-6, G-6	Al-Qal'a	-	The person who liberated the Citadel was Muhammad 'Ali. Egypt was in crisis. Muhammad 'Ali liberated it from the British, the Jews and the Turks. Egypt is always in crisis – it's not just now. Around 1955 – 66, no one would even walk in the street in the neighbourhood at all. The whole country had come to a standstill. There was no soap or detergent. The soap the	The people of al-Hattaba work in the Citadel but their relationship to it is hostile. Their homes lie in the Citadel buffer zone and the government wants to clear it from all buildings and accordingly does not give residents renovation or reconstruction permits. Residents are therefore leaving the neighbourhood. And there are no steps from the government to recompense them for their lost	-

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				government distributed (al- <i>tamwin</i>) was full of flour. (F.a.R)	homes. After the earthquake of 1992 a number of houses collapsed and this also accelerated the process. (M.a.gA) The neighbourhood currently does not benefit economically from the Citadel – because of the side gate being closed and also because of the dwindling tourism after the revolution. (M.a.gA)	
30	G-2	Mausoleum of Sandal al-Mirghani	-	<p>“Sirr al-Khitm al-Mirghani brought a tree with him from Sudan more than 100 years ago. He planted it here in the mausoleum. The tree has date-like fruits growing on it that have a unique sweet and bitter taste. People travel to eat the fruits and it is said that it cures diabetes”. (M.a.R)</p> <p>“Sandal is the name of the place. He has many shrines in Egypt and outside Egypt – in Aswan, Alexandria and Eritrea. Al-Mirghani whose is buried here is the uncle of the current head of an opposition party in the Sudan. (M.a.R.)</p>	<p>“There is a <i>takiyya</i> (hospice) next to the mausoleum connected to a Sufi order of Sudanese origins. A family lives there and gets a monthly pay from the Sufi order. Visitors are common during the <i>mawlid</i> and are usually nonresidents”. (M.a.gA)</p> <p>Al-Mirghani Mawlid is held with Mawlid al-Sayyida ‘A’isha. A <i>hadra</i> is also held at the same time. (M.a.gA)</p> <p>It has a <i>mawlid</i> but the Big Night (<i>al-Layla al-Kabira</i>) is held in Aswan, not here. Here, we only have a <i>dhikr</i> organized by the Mirghaniyya order. The people living there are followers (<i>muhibb</i>) they guard the place. It is visited by people from everywhere inside and outside</p>	The <i>hadra</i> and <i>mawlid</i> are organized by the Mirghaniyya Tariqa under the supervision of the Ministry of Endowments. The <i>tariqa</i> is, to all intents and purposes, responsible for protecting the place and keeping it secure because representatives of it are present almost all the time. This is in spite of the fact that responsibility lies with the Ministries of Endowments and Antiquities.

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
					Egypt. (M.a.R)	
31	G-2	Manjak al-Yusufi Mosque	-	<p>“Manjak al-Yusufi has two brothers, and their buildings constitute one set. This one, the second has a shrine in the vicinity of Umm ‘Abbas, the third in Suq al-Silah. The thieves who robbed Manjak also robbed the other two mosques in the set.” (M.a.R.)</p> <p>“These people were buried here 700 years ago – the man, his wife, and son were buried here.” (M.a.R.)</p>	Only prayer is held here and almost all participants in prayer activities are from the neighbourhood.	<p>“The Ministry of Endowments is responsible for the mosque. On the other hand the key to the mosque is given to the residents during <i>zuhr</i>, <i>maghrib</i> and <i>‘isha</i>. Tourism is nonexistent in the mosque. Even though up till 2011 the neighbourhood was famous for seashell crafts but this was not in any way promoted by the Ministry of Tourism”. (M.a.gA)</p> <p>“It was restored by the Antiquities in 1992 (after the earthquake. They are responsible for it and they should take care of it but they do nothing.” (M.a.R.)</p> <p>Six years ago, the <i>minbar</i> panels were stolen. They were carved and inlaid with silver. Some of the residents believe they were stolen by Antiquities officials. Others believe that they were stolen by one of the people frequenting the mosque and taking care of it.</p>
32	H-2	Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya	-	“Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya was the brother of al-Hasan and al-Husayn and a descendant of Ali (PBUH)” (M.a.R)	The Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya <i>mawlid</i> s held with the <i>mawlid</i> of Sayyida ‘A’isha and Al-Mirghani <i>mawlid</i> . More people visit this <i>mawlid</i> than al- Mirghani on both local and national level. (M.a.R)	<p>The Sufi order is in charge of the mosque.</p> <p>“This area was inundated with water some time ago and all the tombs made of wood were damaged and replaced with</p>

#	Location on map	Site Name	Personal Experiences and Perceptions	Popular History	Activities	Control
					<p>“It used to have a <i>mawlid</i> where they distributed meet that they slaughtered here in the middle of the cemetery. There was a man staying in the shrine and he was the one who organized it but he died last year and it was not held since. His name was Magdy and he was from the Idrisiyya <i>tariqa</i>. His son tried to organise the <i>mawlid</i> after his death but it did not work out. (M.a.R.)</p>	<p>masonry tombs. This shrine was damaged too but the Awqaf said that it would need 9000 pounds to restore it. At the end it did nothing. Then al-Husayn came to a man in a dream vision and told him, help my brother. The man spent 35,000 to restore the shrine. (M.a.R.)</p>

M: male	F: female	P: group	a: adult	c: child	r: resident	gA: Antiquities	gC: Culture	gW: Awqaf
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