

The Fatimid Influences on Some Religious Mamluk Constructions in Egypt

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Abstract: Mamluk architecture has many historical and artistic elements. This paper mainly aims at clarifying that Fatimid and North African effects are presented on Mamluk walls and interiors, while describing the cause behind the case. The researcher used a descriptive and empirical approach to clarify the reasons behind this phenomenon. Among such factors are the Mamluk architect and his school of art, as well as his restorations of Fatimid monuments, which greatly influenced Mamluk architecture. The paper's final argument that any continuity of the Fatimid past was the result of an 'admiration' by a patron and/or an architect, as a consequence of personal as well as topographical factors.

Keywords: Fatimid Architecture, Fatimid Arts, Fatimid Influences, Mamluk Architecture.

التأثيرات الفاطمية على بعض عمائر المماليك الدينية في مصر

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المخلص: تزخر عمارة عصر دولة المماليك بكثير من العناصر الفنية والمعمارية، التي مازال كثير منها بحاجة ماسة للدراسة والفحص، ولذا فقد هدف هذا البحث إلى توضيح العناصر الفنية الفاطمية القادمة من عمارة شمال إفريقيا وإبراز سماتها الفنية، ومدى تأثير بعض العمائر المملوكية بها، كما هدف إلى بيان أهم الأسباب التي أدت إلى ظهور تلك العناصر الفنية من جديد على عمارة عصر دولة المماليك. وقد استخدم الباحث كلاً من المنهج الوصفي والمنهج التحليلي في تحليل أسباب ظهور هذه العناصر، وقد تمتثلت أهم هذه العوامل في: المهندس المعماري المملوكي، ومدرسته الفنية، وطريقته في ترميم العمائر الفاطمية، وهو ما أدى إلى تأثير المعمار المصري بهذا النوع من التقاليد الفنية الفاطمية وتطبيقها على عمائر عصر المماليك، وبالتالي فقد استمرت التقاليد الفاطمية في التجدد والظهور. وكذلك فقد أثبتت الدراسة أن الموقع الجغرافي قد أدى دوراً مهماً في ظهور التأثيرات المعمارية الفاطمية على عمائر عصر المماليك، إذ أدى وجود مباني المماليك داخل العاصمة القاهرة، وقربها من العمائر الفاطمية، إلى نقل وتقليد بعض العناصر الفاطمية على عمائر عصر المماليك في مصر.

الكلمات الدالة: العمارة الفاطمية، الفنون الفاطمية، التأثيرات الفاطمية، العمارة المملوكية.

Literature Review:

There is a formal continuity with the Fatimid past in religious monumental constructions in late medieval Cairo. On the other side, some scholars have proudly discussed the idea of transmitting the previous Fatimid traditions in different aspects from the religious and topographical point of view. This also goes for the complexity of any doctrinal implication, as well as for the wider meanings and intentions of these formal continuities and changes. For instance, debates in (Yasser Tabbaa's *Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*)¹ give a visual and religious implication about the transference of Fatimid features to Sunni constructions. The study tackles the transmission of the muqarnas as an example from the Shiite architecture. Tabbaa proposes that their rapid spread throughout the Islamic world operated within a system of reciprocating ceremonial gestures, which conveyed a new and formal language that helped negotiate the gap between the myth of a unified Sunni Islam and its actual political fragmentation. The study of Stephen Humphreys (*Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo*) proudly implies the expressive intent in the Mamluk architecture of Cairo from historical and symbolic intention rather than artistic and architectural ones. He also demonstrates that the Ayyubids hired the Fatimid forms and techniques of Isma'ili institutions, whereas the Mamluks had the same needs as the Ayyubids, but the impact was radically different².

Nasser Rabbat's study (*Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources*)³ was greatly interested in on the historical intent of the Mamluk architecture in the Mamluk sources. Chroniclers proudly described the formation of Mamluk art in their context. However, although they made a great effort to emphasize the urban, political, social, economic, and cultural contexts, they rarely considered their formal, artistic, or symbolic significance.³ A dissertation given by Jo Van Steenburgen (*Ritual, Politics, and the City in Mamluk Cairo*) also dealt with this phenomenon but in its political, ritual and historiographical context. The study put the case of Bayn al-Qasrayn as an example of this issue clarifying the influence of the area on the surrounding monuments. The study also dealt simultaneously with Cairo's transformation from an exclusive palace city into a genuine urban center of residential, commercial and cultural activities⁴. In this paper the study will deal with the topic from a different perspective; it will tackle the styles and Fatimid decorative elements found in the Mamluk architecture, and will focus on an analytic study of these ornaments and the reasons behind their occurrence in different aspects.

¹ For more details see, Reviewed Work(s): Desai, Madhuri "The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival" by Yasser Tabbaa, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (University of California Press ,Dec, (2002): 563-565

² Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo": A Preliminary Essay, *Studia Islamica*, Brill, 1972, No. 35 (1972): 69-119.

³ Nasser Rabbat, , Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources, *Mamluk Studies Review*, Vol. 6, University of California, (2002):155-176

⁴ Jo Van Steenbergen. "Ritual, Politics and the City in Mamluk Cairo: "The Bayna l-Qasrayn as a Dynamic Lieu De Mémoire, 1250-1382." In *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean : Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alexander Beihammer, S Constantinou, and M Parani, 98, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.(2013):227–276.

Introduction:

Mamluk architecture offers an exceptional variety of monuments that demonstrate the progress of art and architecture. The madrasa, which is a theological construction for the four doctrines of Islam, continues the religious construction of the Bahary period of a cruciform plan with its the four iwans¹. The oldest Bahary example in Egypt is the madrasah of al-Zāhir Baybars² 660-662AH/1362-1363AD. The architectural elements of the Bahrite Mamluk period had been inspired significantly by Syrian, Persian and Moroccan effects in some of their buildings, considering their freedom in architectural elements.³In the mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr Syrian impact⁴ could be traced in its facade.⁵

Byzantine impacts that had been adopted in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem were employed inside Qalāwūn's mausoleum.⁶ Iranian and Persian influences could also be seen in the minarets of the Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the Citadel. In other cases, some Andalusian influences could be traced in the Bahrite Mamluk architecture such as Sultan Ḥusām al-Din Lājīn's renovations in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in the room of *dār al-imārah* beside the mihrab⁷ in the form of animal heads⁸. Other Andalusian elements were found on the bridge linking the minaret to the western Riwaq.⁹ Seljuk impact on the madrasah of Sultan Hasan is found in the northwest entrance of the madrasa; where the portal reveals the decorative effect of Anatolian

¹ For more details see. K.A.C. Creswell, "The Origin of the cruciform plan of the Cairene Madrasas", *BIFAO, Bulletin de l'institut Français d'archéologie Orientale*, Vol.XXI, L'Égypte (1922): 1-54.

² From the Mamluks of al-Salih Najm al-Dīn Ayyub, the last Ayyūbīd sultan of Egypt purchased by 'Ala' al-Din Aidakīn al-Bunduqdār, the merchant, and took his epithet al-Bunduqdārī. For more details See. al - Qalqaṣandī, *Ma'āṭir al-ināfah fī ma'ālim al-khilāfah*, Vol.II, (Kuwait: 1985), 106; Ibn Taghī Bardī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abu-l-Mahāsīn Yūsuf al-Atābikī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah*, Vol. VI (Cairo: 1963-1972), 359; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, Released by Muḥammad Mustafa, Vol.I, Pt.I, (Cairo, 1975), , 308-342; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shaḍarāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Vol.III (Bayrūt: No date), 350, 388; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, (London: 1901), 262-275; David Aylon, *Mamluk Military Society*, Collected Studies, (London:1979), 7; Sa'īd 'Abd-l-Fattāh 'Āshūr, *al-Ayyūbiyūn wa-l-mamālik fī Miṣr wa-l-Shām*, (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyah, , 1998), 201-217.

³ Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah al-Islāmiyah fī Miṣr, min al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ḥata nahāyat al-'aṣr al-mamlūkī*, (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī,2012), 223.

⁴ K.A.C. Creswell., *Muslim Architecture of Egypt, Ayyubids and Early Bahrite Mamluks*, (Oxford: 1959), .145,146; Ibrahim 'Āmir, "Ta'thīrat Mi'māriyah wāfidah 'ala al-'amā'ir al-mamlūkīyah bi madīnat al-Qāhirah", (*Bulletin of the Association of the Arab Archeologists Magazine*, Cairo,2000), Vol.II, 2000,725

⁵ Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhab, *al-Ta'thīrāt al-mi'māriyah bayn Āthār Sūriyā wa Miṣr*, (Cairo: al-Dār al-Jāmi'iyah, 1962),18.

⁶ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 201; Prisse D'Avennes, *Islamic Art in Cairo*, (Cairo: AUC, 1999), 16.

⁷ Creswell's estimations about these figures that they are almost 25cm and 15cm high, and are placed 60cm. A part from center to center, so that in length of just over 3m, there are three intermediate ones and two corner ones. See Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 227.

⁸ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, .227; Farīd Shāfi'ī, *al-'Imārah al-'arabiyah fī 'aṣr al-wullāh*,(Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization), 2002, 489

⁹ Farīd Shafī'ī, *al-'Imārah*,481 ; Doris Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture, An Introduction*, (Cairo: AUC, 1989), 55

Seljuk along other styles from Gothic Art.¹ Fatimid influences could be traced on numerous Mamluk monuments in Egypt such as:

The keel-arched niches and recesses:

The keel-arched niches are shown on the external frame of the mihrab inside Shajar al-Durr's dome². The Mamluk sultana of Egypt, wife of Mu'izz Aybak,³ built her dome in Al-Ashrafiyya Street near the mausoleum of Sayyidah Ruqqayah.⁴The sanctity of the cemetery might have motivated Shajar al-Durr to proudly choose this location only a few years before her dramatic death. The cupola is primarily a square plan with an attractive brick dome.⁵The mihrab style of this dome is like a keel-bow with an external stump flanked by arched panels on the right and the left of the western wall (Pl.I).The two niche spandrels are bordered by lozenges and by a ring medallion full of stalactites forming the shape of solar rays⁶ (Fig.1)

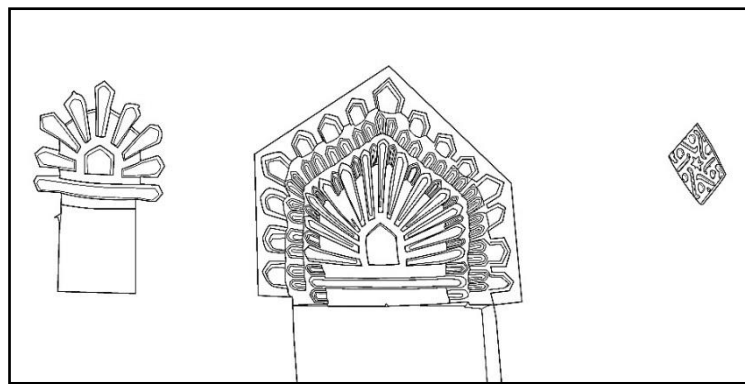


Fig.1 Details in the western façade of the dome of Shajar al-Durr
Done by the Researcher

¹ Max Herz, *Mosquee du Sultan Hasan*, (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français, 1899), Pl.IX; Doris Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks, A History of the Architecture and Its Culture*, (London: 2007), 208,209.

² The first Mamluk Sultana ruled over Egypt, and she was the slave of al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb who married her later after her freedom. Later she managed to get her power by marrying the Sultan Ayyubak al-Turkumānī. She was mad with jealousy resolved to get rid of him and had him murdered in his bath on 24th of Rabi' I 655AH/12th April 1257AD. Three days later, she was handed over in the 14th April 1257AD, and buried near to the Mashihad of Sayyida Naḥsah after ruling for 90 days. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, I, 286-295; Lane Pool., *A History*, 255-261; Van Berchem. Max, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, Tome I, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 113.

³ Despite the construction of the dome before the ascending of the sultana to the throne, Turānshāh officially was the last Ayyubid sultan of Egypt. In addition, I agree with Max Van Berchem and Creswell that she was the first Bahary Sultan of Egypt and she took the title of Umm al-Malik al-Manşūr Khalīl after the death of Turānshah the last Ayyubid sultan. She also she took the title which was *'ismat al-Dīn* as a royal epithet. Her dome which she had built for herself few years earlier had once a text that was clearly drawn up between the death of Turānshah (29th Muharram 648AH/3rd May 1250AD), and the accession of the first Mamluk Ayyibak (29th Rabi' II 648AH/31st July 1250AD). So the sultan bears the sovereign title that neither the name of Tūrānshah nor that of Ayyibak. See; Van Berchem, *Corpus*, p.112.; Creswell. *M.A.E*, II, 139.

⁴ Luis Hauteceur et Gaston Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Texte, I (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1932), , 247; Munāzamat al-'awāşim wa-l-mudun al-islāmiyah, *Usus al-tasmīm al-mi'mārī wa-l-takhtīt al-ḥadarī fī-l-'uşūr al-islāmiyah al-mukhtalifah bi-l-'āşimah al-Qāhirah*, (Cairo: 1990),77; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*, 206.

⁵ For more details see. Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 136-137; Munāzamat al-'Awaşim, 77; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*,207-209

⁶ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II,136; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*,207.

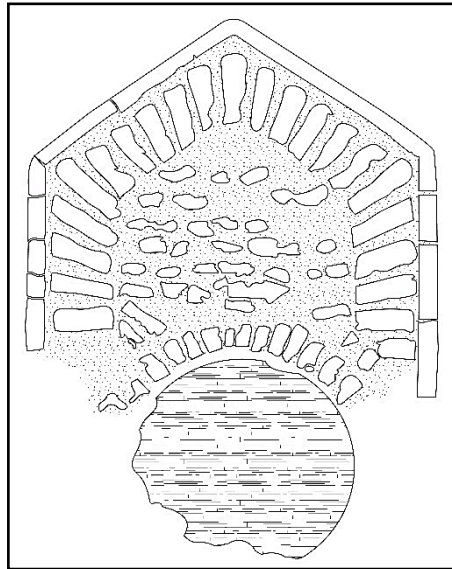


Fig.2- Fatimah Khātūn dome N.Side W.wall

Done by the Researcher

This style of niches recalls the western façade of al-Aqmar mosque,¹ and was also found in the mihrab of Mashhad of Sayyida Ruqayyah (Pl.II).² Two medallions on each spandrel of the mihrab are similar to the ones in the arches overlooking the courtyard of the same mosque.³ The two arches on the outside of the quill remind us of the western façade of the mosque of al-Şāliḥ Talā'i' ibn Ruzayk. To the west the keel-arched niches were also employed on the main door of the dome.⁴ Despite appearing earlier on the Abbasid domes adjacent to the Mashhad of Sayyida Nafīṣah,⁵ their decorative style follows Fatimid prototypes of religious buildings in Egypt including the mihrab in the mausoleum of Imām Yaḥiyya al-Shabīḥ.⁶ The keel-arched windows also occurred on the facades of the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdār⁷ especially the western

¹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 136; 'Abdallah Kamil Mūsa, *The Fatimid Architecture in Cairo*, (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1995), 3.

² Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées I*, 247; Doris.B Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*, 75, Pl.56

³ Ahmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah wa madārisuhā*, Vol.I (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1965), 99, Pl.42; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Sattār 'Uṣmān, *Mawsū'at al-'Imārah al-Fātimiyyah*, (Cairo: Dār al-Qāhirah, , 2006), Pl.15

⁴ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 136; *Munazamat al-'Awaṣim*, Pl.169/1

⁵ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 136; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*.92.

⁶ A.K. Musa, *Fatimid Architecture*, 66, Pl.78.

⁷ The mosque of Baybars was built in al-Husayniyah quarter and was the first Friday mosque. Its date is inscribed in one of the panels of the main portal which is Rabī' II 665AH/ Jan1267AD; seven years after al-Zāhir Baybars' access to throne. See Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, p.121; Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, p. 154; Bloom. Jonathan.M, "The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdār in Cairo", *Annales Islamologiques*, 18, Le Caire, (1982),56; D. Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 121. As mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, Baybars brought the marble and rocks from the citadel of Jaffa and it was finished in Shawwāl 667AH/Jun 1269AD. See Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-'i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-Āthār*, Released by Ayman Fu'ād Sayid, 5 Volumes, Vol.IV, Part I and II, (London: 2003), I,188-193 See also Sāmiḥ 'Abd al-Raḥman Fahmī,"

entrance of the mosque (Pl.III). This type of keel-arched niche was used in most Fatimid monuments in Egypt. The spandrels of the arched arcades overlooking the courtyard that were added by the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ at al-Azhar mosque are of the same type and form (Pl.IV) with slight differences¹. The western entrance is adorned with arched recesses on the sides of the Mosque of Baybars, above which is a panel of beautiful stucco stalactite² ornaments composed of three broad and pointed arched panels. This type occurred also in the flanks of the northern and southern entrances³ (Pl.V). This sort of recess⁴ was employed on the flanks of the protruding gate of al-Aqmar Mosque (Pl.VI) and the shell hood.⁵The flat keel-arched recesses also seen on the sides of the western entrance of Baybars mosque⁶ followed its prototype that occurred on the flanks of the main entrance of the Ḥākim mosque⁷. In 666-672AH/1267-1273AD during the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī a mausoleum was built as a *ribāt* in the cemetery of Imām al-Shafi'ī, which was known as the mausoleum and the Ribāt of Shaykh Yūsuf al-‘Adawī⁸, also known as the Ribāt of Azdumur⁹, as well as the mausoleum of Muṣṭafa Bāshā¹⁰. The building has an elegant mihrab (4.50m high) that has a hood in the shape of a keel-arched recess, which carries Moroccan influences from North Africa¹¹ (Pl.VII). The mihrab is located in the greater iwān and set askew. The

Jāmi' al-Zāhir Baybars"-Dirāsah mi'māriya wa fanniya, Vol.III *Dirāsāt Āthariya Islāmiya*, (Cairo: Department of Antiquities 1988), 102.

¹ Samuel Flury., *Die Ornamente der Hakim-und Ashar-Moschee*; Materialien zur Geschichte der älteren Kunst des Islam, (Heidelberg: 1912). Tav.XXI/2; A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I,50, Pl.16

² The first type occurred in the minaret of the Mashihad al-Jiyūṣī, see A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I,101; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*, 67; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *al-‘Imārah*,110.

³ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 156-158; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*,124; Dalia Majdī al-Biyālī, "al-Āthār al-mi'māriyah li-l-sultan al-Zāhir Baybars bī Miṣr wa-l-Shām", (M.A, Tanta University: 2008),187-189.

⁴ Some believed that his type of ornaments especially when it is directed to the mihrab and the qibla has a symbolic meaning to the direction of the *ṣalah* or the prayer, but this case it is not directly oriented to the Qibla unlike those in the Mashihad of al-Sayyidah Ruqayyah. See Doris Abu Seif, "The Façade of the Aqmar mosque in the context of the Fatimid Ceremonial", *Muqarnas*, Vol IX, Brill, (1992),37.

⁵ Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées* I, 247; A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I,101; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*,73;A.K.Musa, *Fatimid Architecture*,101; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *al-‘Imārah*,113; M.A.‘Uthmān, *Mawsu'at al-‘Imārah*, I, 342 ; Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, Muḥammad Sayf al-Dīn, *al-Aqmar*, (London:2000), 44.

⁶ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 156; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.

⁷ A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I, p.70; Farīd Shāfi'ī, "West Islamic influences on Architecture in Egypt", Vol.XVI, Part II, *Bull. Of the Faculty of Arts*, Cairo, (1953), 31.

⁸ He was one of the companions of the Shaykh ‘Uday ibn Musāfir and lived in the time of al-Zāhir Baybars and was in charge of promote good and forbid evils. He was acting as a political consultant for the sultan. He died in 672AH/1272AD and buried in this dome. See Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-Sayyarah fi tartīb al-ziyārah*, Cairo, 1907,186,225; Su‘ād Māhir, *Masājid Misr wa awliyā’uha al-ṣāliḥūn*,Vol. III, (Cairo: al-Majlis al-‘Alī li-l-Shu‘ūn al-Islāmiyah,1971),38-43.

⁹ The mausoleum is of stone and measures 23m wide and 28m deep. The interior is of *talātāt* and the vaults and arches of brick. The entrance has a cross vault vestibule 3.20m square, while the Ṣaḥn is almost square flanked on the east side by five little tunnel-vaulted cells. The entire construction consists of *iwāns* and vaulted cells. For more details see For more details on this construction see Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 178-180; see also S.Māhir, *Masājid*, III, 38-43.

¹⁰ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 180.

¹¹ Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 305.

room on the left of this iwān has a triple mihrab, which is a rare feature that was first found in the mausoleum of Ikhwat Yūsuf¹. Keel-arched recesses also occurred in the mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn²(682-683AH/1283-1284AD), which is located in al-Ashrāfiyya street near the mosque of al-Sayyida Nafīṣah³. There is a variety of windows inside the mausoleum, and between each opening, there is a shallow niche. The wall was surrounded by three similar examples; one in the south side of the west wall and another in the north side of the west wall (Pl.VIII) (Fig.2). They are shown like keel-arched recesses⁴ with a shallow conch similar to those of Aqmar's façade from the Fatimid period.⁵

The keel-arched niches were also found in the minaret of the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn⁶ which is located in the outskirts of Bayn al-Qasrayn.⁷ There are four wide iwāns around a rectangular courtyard in the Madrasah with the cupola to the east.⁸ The minaret is made of brick and is located directly behind the portal and begins with a square shaft. The minaret is finished in stucco with trendy medallions, lozenges, niches with a keel arch, and panels with lace-like patterns (Fig.3) (Pl.IX). To the front at the top is a niche course with lobed arches filled with geometrical designs

¹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 178,179.

² As attributed by ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī, the dome was constructed by al-Mansur Qalāwūn to his wife Faṭīma Khātūn or Umm al-Ṣaliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī son of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and they put an amount of charity on this building. She died in Ṣawāl 683AH/1382AD. His son al-Ṣaliḥ with buried in this dome with his sister Khātūn. Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li waṣīat 'aqd al-amṣār*, part IV (Bayrut: no date), 125; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, IV, Pt1, 585.

³ The madrasah was fully described by Creswell, of a traditional design of the madrasahs at that time. It is well known by its vaulted gateway and its Moroccan square minaret. The dome has disappeared but from the close analogy that this mausoleum bears to that of al-Ashraf Khalīl, it may safely be concluded that its dome was similar. For more farther details see Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 182,183; see also D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 129,130.

⁴ Creswell mentioned them as recessed windows without mentioning the type of the arches. See Creswell, *M.A.E*, II,183.

⁵ A.Fikrī, *Masājīd*, I,101; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*,73;A.K.Musa, *Fatimid Architecture*, 101; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*,113; M.A.'Uṭmān, *Mawsu'at al-'Imārah*, I, 342; Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, M.Sayf al-Din, *al-Aqmar*, 44.

⁶ He was the son of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and ruled for three-interrupted periods. For more details on the bibliography of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn see. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*,VIII,115, 116, XIX, 3; al-Qarmānī, *Akhbār al-duwal wa 'āthār al-uwal fi-l-tarīkh*, Released by Fahmi Sa'd, Aḥmad Ḥaṭīf, Vol.II, (Bayrūt: 1st edition: 1992), 276-282; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 134; S. 'Āshūr, *al-Ayyūbiyūn wa-l-mamālik*,235-250.

⁷ Al-Maqrīzī says; the madrasah is adjacent to the Manṣūriyah dome to the east of it, and there was a bath on its site. The sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil Zayn al-Dīn Katbughā ordered that the madrasah should be built on its place. When the sultan was returned to the reign for the second time, the construction was completed in 698AH. The madrasah is one of the most splendid buildings, and has a marvelous white marble door, which was mainly brought from the church of Acre by al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad purchased the property of the madrasah and put several endowments on. When his son Anūk by his wife Khātūn Tūghāy died on Friday 17th Rabī' I 741AH/10th Aug 1340AD at the age of 18, he had him buried in this dome and created special endowment for it. He encompassed the four Islamic doctrines in it. See Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.III, Pt.I, 225-530.

⁸ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II,235.

reminiscent of the Mamluk decorations in the mihrab of al-Azhar Mosque.¹In the arched niches are Fatimid decorative elements; three patterns were located on either side of the cube².The central one is accessible and the ones which border it are blind. Above is a stunning arabesque area with two spherical lozenges. The keel-arched niches occurred in the north side of the eastern wall in the courtyard. These forms of quill niches existed in some Fatimid monuments, including the keel arches of the spandrels in the external arcade of al-Azhar Mosque³.

The keel-arched niches and recesses are shown in Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr⁴ at al-Jamāliyah⁵.The Khānqāh occupied an area of 70x30m. The dome was designed in an axis parallel to the Khānqāh, which is at an angle with the street alignment. The façade has been lavishly adorned with a splendid epigraphic band. The portal is a majestic building with a deep and intricate entry, anticipating the vestibules of subsequent mosques. The path faces a circular arch made of cushion voussoirs. The house has a sleek minaret.⁶The courtyard is almost rectangular, and the walls of the side cells are decorated with a group of keel-arched windows (Pl.X) (Fig.4).



Fig.3

Keel-arched recess -Qalāwūn's minaret

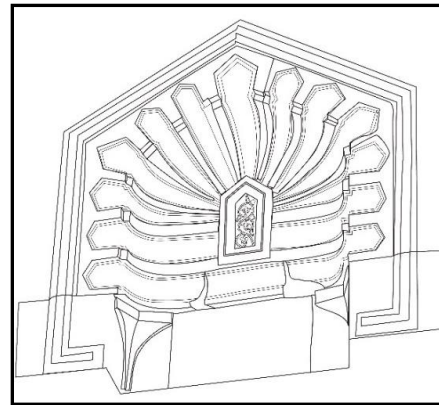


Fig.4

Keel arched recess-Baybars al-Jashinkīr

Done by the Researcher

¹ Creswell, *M.A. E*, II, 237; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 153.

² Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 238.

³ Flury, *Die Ornamente*, Tav.XXI/2; Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées I*, 218,219.

⁴ He was purchased by al-Manşūr Qalāwūn when he was young; he was then promoted to highest ranks and then worked under the service of al-Ashraf Khalīl. For details. See. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nahāyah*, Vol.XIV, (Bayrūt, 5th ed, 1983),33; al-Qalqashandī, *Ma'āthir al-ināfah*, Vol.II, 135;al-Şafadī, *A'iyān al-'aşr wa a'wān al-naşr*, Vol.II, (Damascus:1998) 71-37; *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafiyāt*, 1st ed, Vol.X (Bayrut: Dār Iḥiyā' al-turāth al-'arabī , 2000), 218; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, VIII, 226.

⁵ Dawlat 'Abd al-Karīm, *Ma'āhid tazkiyat al-nufūs fī Mişr*, (Cairo: Abnā' Wahba & Ḥassān, 1980), 97.

⁶ This type of minarets which is topped by a *mabkhrāh* style modeling firstly could be seen in the dome of Abu-l-Ghadanfar al-Fā'izī 552AH/1157 from the Fatimid period with the cube structure also it could be seen in the minaret of al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn, and minaret of Ibn Tūlūn from the works of Lājīn. See Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 36. Therefore, it is hard to assume wither the minaret of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr was a Fatimid or Ayyūbid inspiration. But in my opinion I could rather assume that it gathered both influences because of the location of the Khānqāh in the middle of the Fatimid outskirts and the palace of the vizierate as well as it is much closer to the dome of al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn which is situated in the heart of Cairo in Bayn al-Qaşrayn.

The Fatimid Influences on Some Religious Mamluk Constructions in Egypt

The walls of the chambers were all over the blind arched recesses of an inside conch like sunrays. The first is a keel-arched recess with an inner medallion and the conch rises like a sunray (Fig.4). The second form is the rounded blind recess with the inner shell conch, especially the mausoleum of al-Ḥaṣawātī. The third type of keel-arched recesses is nearly blind and free of any inner component conch and shell construction. The artisans and architects worked together, which is why the arched keel recesses were almost distinct, between blind and open as narrow windows with a primary view over the inner chambers of Sufi students and newcomers.

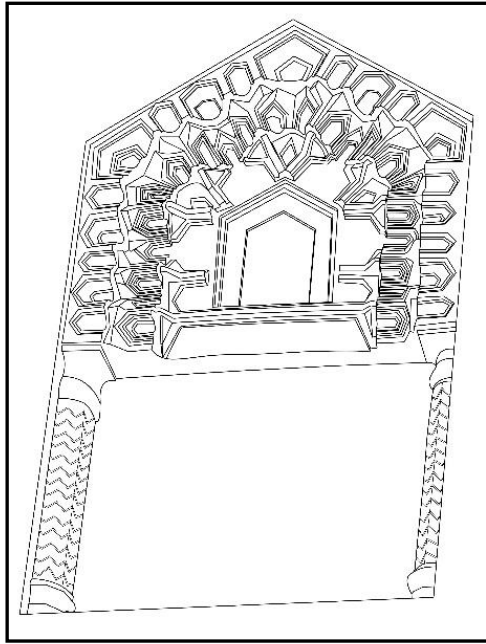


Fig.5

Keel-arched recess-al-Maridānī

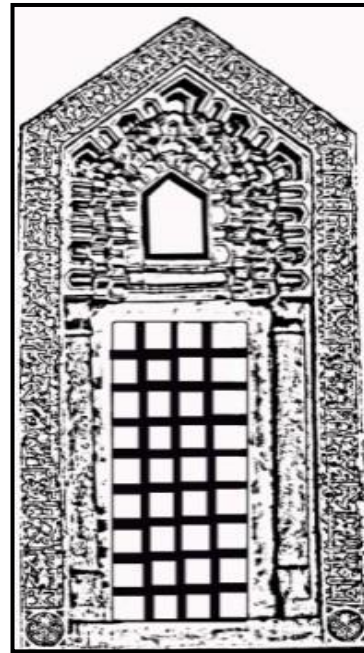


Fig.6

Keel-arch-mosque of Aslam al-Silahdār

In the vicinity of Bāb al-Wazīr, as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, the emir al-Ṭanbughā al-Maridānī¹ erected his congregational mosque aside to *sikkit al-tabbānah* in 738AH²/1339AD over the remains of ancient graves. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ordered the destruction of old remaining houses to build the mosque in their place, and the works cost 300.000 dirhams plus about 15.000 dinars for the marble and wood. He reused the stones of the old Fatimid mosque of Rāshidah. On the 24th of Ramadan 740AH/March 1339AD the first Friday sermon was celebrated, which has an impressive and special minaret.³

¹ al-Tanbughā al-Maridānī was from the prominent emirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad being, trustful enough to marry his daughter, held the title "the cupbearer" *al-Sāqī*, he took the governorate of the Levant and Aleppo in 743AH/1342AH for two months. He died in 744AH/1343AD for details. See Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, X, p.105; al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, IV, Pt.I, 227-229.

² Al-Maqrīzī had mentioned this date, although it is mentioned in a foundation inscription over the west entrance gives the date 739AH/1338AD while the main and the northern entrance and give the date of completion as Ramadan 740AH/1340AD. See D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 183.

³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, Vol III, Pt.I, 227,228.

The keel-arched recesses can be seen clearly in the spandrels of the arcade, with alternating rosettes and lozenges overlooking the courtyard (Fig.5) (Pl.XI).¹ Having keel-arched recesses on the spandrels of arcades was mostly found in al-Azhar mosque² (Pl.IV). Nevertheless, there are few differences here, with the course of al-Maridānī being different from that of al-Azhar with conk like sunrays. The lozenges and fluency rosettes also offer a Fatimid interpretation of the same stalactite squinches across the interior. They are similar to the spandrels of the keel-arched arcades in the frontal arcade of al-Šāliḥ Talā'i' ibn Ruzayk mosque³. However, stucco keel arched recesses are mainly shown in the mihrab of the *mashhad* of al-Sayyida Ruqayyah⁴. The keel-arched recesses are clearly shown in the mosque of Aṣlam al-Silāḥdār⁵ that was constructed in the year 746AH/1345AD.⁶ The mosque's only Fatimid feature is clearly displayed in the finest stucco decoration. The stucco is found in the mausoleum, the mihrab, and the qibla wall, while the opposite iwān are decorated with six roundel, lozenge and medallions.⁷ Keel arches (Pl.XII) have also been employed in the same parts (Figs.6) and they go back to those of al-Maridānī mosque⁸ (Fig.5) (Pl.XI) filled with a stucco course of stalactites, which are mainly western Fatimid in style⁹. This same decorative element of the mosque of al-Maridānī is found in the spandrels of the frontal arcade in al-Azhar mosque (Pl.IV)¹⁰. The keel-arched ornaments were also used in the buildings of

¹ Yeomans Richard, *The Art and Architecture of Islamic Cairo*, (UK :Garnet Publishing Limited, 2006, 152.

² Flury, *Die Ornamente*, Tav.XXI/2.

³ A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I, 105.

⁴ A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I, 98, Fig.16; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*, Pl.56; Yeomans, *Islamic Cairo*, 65.

⁵ He was one of the Mamluks of al-Manṣur Qalāwūn al-Alfī. He was then under the service of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn during the niyābah of Katbughā after the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl, he was given to the amir Aqūsh al-Manṣūrī, then he became one of the Mamluks of Salār. He became the governor of Ṣafad. He was then promoted to amīr mā'ah and muqqadim alf. He died in 746AH. Al-Maqrīzī stated that he died on Saturday 10th Ša'bān 747AH. For his bibliography, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafiyāt*, Vol.IX, 168,169; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, IV, Pt.I, 235,236; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, IX, 3.

⁶ The mosque was known by the commons as the mosque of *Sidī Aṣlān* and it is situated off the Darb al-Aḥmar southeast of Fatimid Cairo close to the wall of Salah al-Dīn and *bāb al-mahrūq*. Its southern façade is close to *darb šuḡlānsquare* and the northwestern on the present *šāri' Faṭimah al-nabawiya* or *Jāmi' Aṣlam*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, IV, Pt.I, 232; Alī Bāshā Mubārak *al-Khīṭaṭ at-tawfīqiya al-Jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa-muduniḥā wa-bilādihā al-qadīma wa-l-šahīra*, Vol.II (Cairo:Būlāq,1886), , 99,100;Chahinda Fahmi Karīm "The Mosque of Aṣlam al-Silāḥdār." (Master's thesis, American University in Cairo, 1978), 21; "The mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahā'ī al-Silāḥdār" (746/1345), *Annales Islamologiques* 24, IFAO, Le Caire, (1988), 235-247.

⁷ Dr Chahinda Karīm believed that these kinds of ornaments since they having been Mamluks, they were added later to the mosque. See Chahinda Karīm, "The Mosque of Aṣlam", 33,110,114.

⁸ Chahinda Karīm, "The mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahā'ī", 250.

⁹ I can estimate that these parts haven't been added later as mentioned by Dr Chahinda Karīm because they are cut into the masonry of the arcades and the spandrels of the arches and there are no any traces of additions to the wall itself. So it is mainly a part of the construction plan.

¹⁰ Flury, *Die Ornamente*, Tav.XXI/2.

the Circassian Mamluk period. The mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh¹ has several such motifs despite its purely Mamluk design and arts.

The present mosque was the outcome of a series of additions and renovations, but a drawing by the French Pascal Coste shows the original scheme of the inner courtyard and the central fountain.² Old pictures of the Mosque reveal that the exterior of the Qibla arch had semi-circular arches with stalactite medallions on arch spandrels and keel arched niches (Pl.XIII), with sunrays.³ This type of ornaments occurred in the arcade of the Azhar mosque⁴ (Pl.IV) being engaged to medallions in the spandrels with a stalactite filling. The medallions within the blind recesses also occurred in the mosque of al-Šāliḥ Talā'ī' (Pl.XIV) in the spandrels of the arches facing the courtyard with the same design like that of al-Mu'ayyad.⁵

Projecting entrances:

A projecting entrance is mainly found in Fatimid and Tunisian architecture, such as the mosque of al-Mahdiyah dated 303AH/916AD. (Pl.XV). It is a monumental entrance, which includes a large central arched view flanked by two shallow recessed stories. The use of monumentalized portals represents one of the major requirements in Fatimid mosques.⁶ The mosque of Baybars has three projecting entrances. The main entrance is the western one (Pl.XVI), while the other two entrances are located in the north and south walls⁷. This type of entrance was used in the mosque of al-Hākīm bi' Amr Allah⁸ (Pl.XVII), which developed to that in al-Aqmar Mosque, and the monumental entrance of Baybars Mosque.⁹ The mosque of Baybars has also carried other features from the

¹ According to al-Maqrīzī, "the mosque is located nearby *bāb zuwailah* replacing an ancient prison that was called *Khazānat shamā'il* and it was one of the extraordinary monuments of its time by its elegance and beauty. The construction began in 14th of Rabī' I 818AH/1415AD on the remains of the prison of Šamā'il. The reason of the construction was vow by the sultan who decided to build a mosque for himself having vowed that he would build a mosque on it site, should he survived. The sultan removed the old properties from the placement of the mosque. The inauguration was in 21st of Shawwāl 820AH/1419AD with an extravagant celebration as the fountain was filled by a molten sugar. The sultan died in 18th of Muḥḥaram 824AH/1423AD and was buried in his dome located east to the mosque". For more details see For more details see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, pt.I, 334-347 ; also see Fahmī 'Abd al-'Alīm, *Jāmi' al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh*, (Cairo: Department of Antiquities 1994), 24.

² Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe; ou, Monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1826, color.* (Paris: Typ. de Firmin Didot frères et compagnie, 1839), plate XXX.

³ F. 'Abd al-'Alīm, *Jāmi' al-Mu'ayyad*, Fig.13.

⁴ Flury, *Die Ornamente*, Tav.XXI/2.

⁵ D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 243.

⁶ The mosque was erected by the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdī in Tunisia. See Devonshire, R. L, *Quatre vingt mosquées et autres monuments musulmans du Caire*, IFAO, (Le Caire:1925), 40, 188; Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 161; Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 221; Bloom Jonathan M, *The Origins of Fatimid Art, (Muqarnas, Vol. 3 1985)*, 23.Pl.I.

⁷ Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 221,261; Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 156-158 ; Ḥasan al-Bāshā and others, *al-Qāhirah, Tārīkhuhā, Funūnahā, wa-'Āthārihā*, (Cairo: Mu'asasat al-Ahrām, 1970), 61; S.Māhir, *Masājid*, III, 35; Sāmiḥ.A.Fahmī, "Jāmi' Baybars" Vol.III, *Dirāsāt Āthāriya Islāmiyah* Cairo, Department of Antiquities (1988) 106-108; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*, 94; A. Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imarah*, 227.

⁸ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 68; Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 220,221.

⁹ F. Shāfi'ī, "West Islamic influences", 31.

mosque of al-Ḥākīm such as the four corner towers located on the outer elevation on four sides¹.

Cushion voussiors:

The decorative elements on the arch of the western entrance of Baybars mosque also recall that of al-Ḥākīm and al-Aqmar² displaying a type of attached masonry forming what is known as cushion voussiors (Pl.XVIII). This prototype also occurred in the Bāb al-Futūḥ from the works of Badr al-Jamālī in the Fatimid period 480AH/1087³ (Pl.XIX). The row in the internal ring on the sides of the two towers is formed.⁴The only difference is that in the mosque of Baybars it is situated on the soffits far arch of the western gate, as opposed to the one of Bāb al-Futūḥ. The cushion voussiors are shown in the portal of the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr in the main portal, which is embedded with this ornament. The ornament series (Pl.XX) runs on the portal's main arch intrados.⁵ It recalls that of Bāb al-Futūḥ from the works of Badr al-Jamālī⁶ and the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars in the western entrance (Pl.XVIII)

The transept:

As Creswell assumed, a *maqṣura* was simply obscured by a wide dome at Baybars Mosque, primarily in the qibla portico, which is believed was a prototype of that of Imām al-Shāfi'ī. Moreover, it is located on the square opposite to the main mihrab A transept extended from the *Maqṣura's* entrance into the courtyard⁷ (Pl.XXI). The transept is primarily a Fatimid mechanism in al- Azhar Mosque,⁸ and the mosque of al-Ḥākīm bi'Amr Allah⁹.(Pl.XXII)

Cross or groin vaults:

The **Cross or groin vault** was used at the gates of Baybars mosque (Pl.XXIII); at the north entrance the bay of entry is covered with cross vaults flanked with shallow recesses having scalloped-arched heads.¹⁰ This is another Fatimid device seen in Bāb al-Naṣr that goes to the works of Badr al-Jamālī, where the entrance bay carried a shallow dome and each of the two towers is covered with a cross vault ¹¹(Pl.XXIV). In Baybars

¹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 161.

² Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Vol I, (Oxford, 1951), 98.

³ Creswell, *M.A. E*, II, 156; Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 237; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmi' Baybars",106 ; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al- 'Imārah*, 227.

⁴ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 177.

⁵ Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I 284; D.Abd al-Karīm, *Ma'āhid*, 100; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 163.

⁶ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 156; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.

⁷ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 160. Fig.90; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmi' Baybars", 112.

⁸ Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I ,219; A.K.Musa, *Fatimid Architecture*, 14; Munazamat al-'Awaṣim, 28; M. 'Abd al-Sattār 'Uthmān, *Mawsū'at al- 'imārah*.I, 278; A. Abd al-Rāziq, *al- 'Imārah*, 87.

⁹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 76; Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 222; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmi' Baybars", 119; Munazamat al-'Awaṣim, 35; A. Abd al-Rāziq, *al- 'Imārah*,101.

¹⁰ Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 262; Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 157.

¹¹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, .171; Hauteceur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 236.

mosque the northern part of the southern entrance is different showing this device above the entrance bay¹, which is another prototype of Bāb al-Naṣr. (Pl.XXIV). Cross vaults occurred also in the ceiling between the arches of the Qibla wall in the mosque of Aq Sunqur at Bab al-Wazīr² (Pl.XXV), and they resemble those found in Bāb al-Naṣr (XXIV) and the mosque of Baybars (Pl.XXIII).

Lozenges, rounded medallions and other Fatimid influences:

Baybars mosque has a row of lozenges over the blind recesses at the sides of the western and northern portals of Baybars mosque (Pl.XXVI).³ Such motifs are mainly Fatimid⁴ and recall those in the mosque of al-Ḥākīm⁵ (Pl.XXVII), and the main façade of al-Aqmar.⁶ There are a few variations between the two mosques, notably in their inner decoration, where a vase adorns al-Aqmar mosque from the inside⁷ (Pl.XXVIII). In the minaret of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lozenges were added to its shaft carved in stucco, but the whole shaft is decorated with fine arabesque motifs sculptured in high relief on several stages⁸ (Fig.7). Rounded medallions Fatimid in style appear above the arched recesses with conch-shell hoods in the southern portal of Baybars.⁹



Fig.7

Lozenge- minaret of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad



Fig.7/a

Medallion- mosque of Aṣlam

Done by the researcher

¹ For this entrance, see Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 158.

² Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 284; A. Abd al-Rāziq, *al-‘Imārah*, 286; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 188.

³ Creswell, *M.A. E*, II, 156,157; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.

⁴ D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.

⁵ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 98.Fig.39; A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, I, Pl.70

⁶ J.al-Ṣādiq, *al-Aqmar*, 44.

⁷ As Believed by Caroline Williams, it has a special interpretation as symbolizing al-Ḥasan and al-Husayn. See D.Abu Seif, "The Façade of al-Aqmar", 35.Fig.5

⁸ Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 291; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*, 100, Pl.71.

⁹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 156,157; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.

These are reminiscent of Al-Aqmar mosque seen on the wide conch of the main gate within a shallow recess.¹ A rounded stucco medallion is seen also inside the mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahā'ī and in the Qibla² (Fig.7/a). They are mostly found in Fatimid mosques showing a variety of features such as in al-Azhar mosque³, Aqmar mosque in the spandrels of the arches, and the mosque of al-Ṣaliḥ Ṭalā'ī⁴. The same type of stucco medallion of the mosque of Aṣlam occurred in the stucco ornaments decorating the main Iwān of the Khānqāh of Khawand Tuḡḡāy, the wife of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn⁵. This device became a tradition in the Mamluk arts and architecture; therefore, the doctrinal tendency could be excluded.

Among the obvious criteria in Baybars mosque are the usage of multiple **piers** instead of columns, especially in the area of the maqsūrah and some parts in the Qibla riwāq;⁶ a feature that recalls those of al-Ḥākim mosque⁷. The gateways of Baybars mosque, especially the western gate, are covered by **spherical-triangle pendentives** that were seen in Bab al-Futūḥ, and Bāb Zuwailah⁸. To sum up, some of the western Fatimid elements had been retained in Egypt's Mamluk constructions, and have strengthened their walls, gates, and halls. Mamluk architecture preserves a number of foreign elements; whether Persian⁹, Moroccan¹⁰, or Syrian¹¹. As previously mentioned, North African influences had been seen in Mamluk architecture, so the question is: Why were these North African characteristics used in the Mamluk architecture of Egypt, despite their differing styles of art and even doctrine overview? Is there any explanation why the Mamluks preserve Fatimid traditions in most of their buildings? On the other hand, did the artist or his school of arts have any other considerations to contend with?

¹ A.Fikrī, *Masājīd*, I, 93.Fig.14; D.Abu Seif, "The Façade of al-Aqmar",36.Fig.6; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Imārah*, 113; ; M.A.'Uthmān, *Mawsu'at al-Imārah*, I, 340.

² Chahinda Karīm, *The Mosque of Aṣlam*, 33,110,114.

³ Flury, *Die Ornamente*, Tav.XXI/2; Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 254, Fig.156.

⁴ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 244, 282.

⁵ Amina Karam, "Women, Architecture and Representation in Mamluk Cairo", (M.A, AUC, Cairo, 2019),53

⁶ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 159; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmi' Baybars",119.

⁷ A.Fikrī, *Masājīd*, I, 66; Jonathan.Max Bloom, "The mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo", *Muqarnas*, Brill, (1983), Vol. I, 17; D.Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*, 63 ; M.A.'Uthmān, *Mawsu'at al-Imārah*, I, 311; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Imārah*, 101.

⁸ Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 161

⁹ A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Imārah*, 263.

¹⁰ Some Andalusian influences were used in the Bahrite Mamluk architecture especially in the works of Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in the room of *dār al-imārah* beside the mihrab in the forms of the head of the animals. Creswell estimated they are almost 25cm and 15cm high, and are placed 60cm. A part from center to center, so that in length of just over 3m, there are three intermediate ones and two corner ones. See Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 227. Besides, some Andalusian impacts could be found in the bridge that connected the minaret to the western Riwaq in the same mosque. Farīd Shafī'ī, *al-Imārah*, 481 ; D. Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture*,55. Some Andalusian features can be witnessed in the minaret of the complex of Qalawūn mainly over its façade Ḥasan Qāsim, *al-Mazārāt al-Islamiya wa-l-Āthār al-'arabiyyah fī Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah*, Vol.III (Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2018), 173.

¹¹ H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Ta'thīrat al-mi'mariyyah*,18.

The analytical study:

The appearance of Fatimid characteristics in Mamluk monuments has mostly been caused by the location of the Mamluk buildings in or about the outskirts of the Fatimids. This feature led Mamluk architects to try to harmonize their constructions that they built in the same area with the other Fatimid buildings. For instance, the dome of Shajar al-Durr, is located in al-Ashrafiya street within a group of other mausoleums related to the Fatimid era, such as the dome of al-Sayyida Ruqayyah¹. Nearby the dome of al-Sayyida 'Ātikah and imam al-Ja'farī is located near the dome of Shajar al-Durr², as well as the dome of al-Sayyida Sukayna³. This is an interpretation of the Fatimid legacy that could be traced walking through al-Ashrafiya Street from the mosque of al-Sayyida Nafīṣah, within sanctity of Fatimid spiritual tombs and Mashāhid. Naturally, the Mamluk architect would have been able to appreciate Fatimid art and would have tried keeping the architectural elements together in harmony while following their style (Fig.8). The doctrinal aspect was therefore neither Shi'ite nor Sunni, but was a technical and creative development by continuing the predecessors' practices. Therefore, the location of the dome of Shajar al-Durr within the spiritual sanctity of Al al-Bayt was the reason for this type of impact on her monuments.

The location played a vital role in the westernization of Mamluk constructions here, for example in the case of the madrasah of sultan al-Zāhir Baybars⁴ located in al-Mu'izz street (Fig.9). The district is characterized by its Fatimid architecture, such as the mosque of al-Ḥākim bi'Amr Allah, Aqmar mosque, the walls and gates of Badr al-Jamālī, and the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Talā'i' ibn Ruzayk. Therefore, naturally the Mamluk monuments must have been inspired by those glamorous Fatimid monuments. In order to achieve harmonization, his architect had to retain the same Fatimid style in his buildings. The location factor played a great role in the mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn known as the Mausoleum of Umm al-Sāliḥ especially in the keel-arched recesses inside.

The mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn is located in al-Ashrāf Street (Fig.8) which occupies several mausoleums from the Fatimid period such as the dome of Sayyida Sukayna, the domes of Sidī Ja'farī and Sayyida 'Ātikah, and the mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqayyah⁵. These tombs carried the traditional Fatimid features such as the keel arches especially in the northwestern façade of the *mashhad* of Sayyidah Ruqqayah⁶ and the mihrabs in the prayer hall.⁷The location requires that before construction the architect needs to explore the place, so that when he sensed the spiritual appeal of the Fatimid monuments of Āl al-Bayt he was controlled by the motive to be inspired by their art and design in his Mamluk buildings.

¹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 247; Munazamat al-'Awaṣim, 77; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*, 206.

² Yūsuf Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides du quartier d'al-Mashāhid", *Annales Islamologiques*, IFAO, Tome 17. Le Caire, (1971): 11.

³ Y. Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides", 7-10.

⁴ For more details on this madrasah see , Creswell, "The Origin of the cruciform plan", 1-54

⁵ For details on these tombs see, Y. Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides", 7-29.

⁶ Munazamat al-'Awaṣim, 54, Pl.273/2

⁷ Y.Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides", 21,22.



Fig.10

The location of the Khanqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr

After

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The Fatimid keel-arched recesses were also found in a stucco revetment on the minaret of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawūn. Their presence is interpreted because of the madrasah's position within the dense Fatimid monuments like the mosque of al-Aqmar and al-Ḥākim. Moreover, the madrasah is located in the main Fatimid Street, which is al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allah (Fig.9). This theory demonstrates the sacred importance of the site that allows the artist to be influenced fully by the essence of the place and its monuments best revealed in the minaret of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This minaret does not only contain Fatimid elements, but has some Syrian impacts as well included in its main portal that had been moved from one of the churches in Acre. Accordingly, multiple impacts occurred within the same monument in the same location. The same area played a vital role in representing Fatimid influences like the cross vaults in Āq Sunqur mosque (Pl.XXV), despite being located near the southern outskirts of historical Cairo and Bayn al-Qasrayn suburban.

The location also played a great role in representing the Fatimid influences in the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr, situated within a group of Fatimid monuments. The Fatimid keel-arched recesses appeared in the walls of the interior from the courtyard resembling those in al-Aqmar mosque in its type of arcades.¹ Cushion voussoirs are shown on the portal of the Khānqāh resembling those in Bāb al-Futūḥ². The building is acting as a *sufi* foundation or a Khānqāh which means it is a religious construction. Then, of course, the metaphysical condition of those buildings must have influenced them tremendously, but the Khānqāh is situated near Fatimid constructions (Fig.10) and their inspiration could be the definite result. It is located near Bāb al-Futūḥ, and an ancient Fatimid dome is located facing the Khānqāh³. It is also close to al-Aqmar mosque in the same urban as al-Ḥākim mosque. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned that the Khānqāh was built on the placement of *dār al-wazārah al-kubra*⁴ adjacent to the eastern Fatimid palace and near bāb al-'īd⁵ and Bāb al-Naṣr⁶. That means that the Khānqāh was built within Fatimid vicinity. The location also became a reason for representing some Fatimid features in the mosque of Aṣlam al-Silaḥdār. Especially the keel arched recesses in the walls of the qibla, and the opposite Iwān⁷. The mosque is situated next to the Fatimid monuments in the south suburb of Fatimid Cairo such as, Bāb Zuwaila, and the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i' ibn Ruzayk. Some Fatimid features are shown in the

¹ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 243,244.

² Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 177.

³ Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 231.

⁴ Established by Badr al-Jamālī, the vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir bi-l-Allah inhabited by most of the Fatimid viziers, also by the Ayyubid sultan al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and his successors. The Mamluk sultans also inhabited this settlement until the sultan Baybars II built his Khānqāh on a part of its property. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 438-440.

⁵ One of the gates of the great eastern Fatimid palace at Bayna –I-Qasrayn. A vast court *raḥba* lied in front of it. It has been given its name for the festivals and banquets held in front of it. In certain times, the caliphs used the vast court in front of it for their slaughtering. This gate was in the place of nowadays al-Darb al-Aṣfār district near by the Khanqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr For more details see Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.II,216, 432

⁶ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, IV, Pt.I, 732.

⁷ Chahinda Karīm, *The Mosque of Aṣlam*, 33,110,114.

mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. Al-Maqrīzī stated that the mosque is close to Bāb Zuwaila¹. (Fig.11) It is also located near the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'ī ibn Ruzayk; the mosque that has a large group of keel arched recesses in the western arcaded façade and spandrels of the keel-arched columns of the arcades². The place thus played a significant role in conveying western Fatimid traditions, and the architect needed the same Fatimid features to harmonize with the existing monuments in the same area. The sultan supervised the construction himself, as mentioned in his waqfiyah³. This is evidence that the location is a key reason for transmitting Western Fatimid characteristics to Mamluk architecture. Those architectural elements have therefore become a tradition for westernization in the buildings of the Mamluks, as the position has become a focal factor for the relocation of the Fatimid equipment to Mamluk buildings.

Some causes related the architect and the supervisor:

The most important local event that inspired the building of Baybar's mosque was the decision of the emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Ḥillī to restore the Azhar mosque to *khuṭbah* status. According to al-Maqrīzī, 'Izz al-Dīn built a fine residence near al-Azhar and wished to restore the mosque so that it could be used for Friday sermons.⁴ He conducted substantial renovations, repaired its walls and corners, washed the roof from inside, furnished it with mattresses and hangings, and restored the maqṣūrah.⁵ He left several residual pieces, such as the wood that once covered the original Fatimid mihrab now in the Algerian museum.⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, mentioned that Baybars built his mosque on placement of an old quarter, and sent for a number of architects from outside Egypt, such as Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy al-Musta'rab and al-Ṣāhib Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥanna to look at a suitable place for the mosque⁷. Al-Maqrīzī, stated that sultan Baybars was keen on accompanying his two above-mentioned supervisor in every step made especially when mounting his horse accompanied by his favorite supervisor and the Qādis to the west of the ground of Qarāqūsh and discussed the mosque. He had measurements made and addressed problems and information surrounding his construction⁸. Logically, during restorations of al-Azhar the two retainers would join either him or his architects. They served as managers for every aspect of his work and started adding to his mosque and madrasah the designs they have seen in Fatimid buildings especially during the restoration and the renovations have been achieved by the architects in the mosque of

¹ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, pt.I,334-347 ; F.A al-'Alim, *Jāmi' al-Mu'ayyad*, 24.

² Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 277.

³ Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was the one who was supervising the construction works. See F.'Abd al-'Alīm, *Jāmi' al-Mu'ayyad*,140,150, the document line 684. According to al-Maqrīzī, the sultan had appointed an engineer for putting the plan of the mosque and his name was Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Burjī. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 344.

⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol. III, Pt.I, 102.

⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol. III, Pt.I, 102; Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, 190; Creswell, *M.A.E*, I, 38; 'Abd al-Raḥman Zakī, *al-Azhar wama ḥawluḥ min Āthār*,(Cairo: 1972), 26,27; Bloom, "Mosque of Baybars", 63.

⁶ Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, 189,190.

⁷ The mosque was finished in Shawwāl 667AH/Jun 1269AD. See Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.I,188-193

⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 189.



Fig.11

The location of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh

After

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al-Azhar,¹ which were held on the same date of the construction of Baybars mosque 14th of Rabī' II 665AH/Dec 1266AD².

The same idea could be applied to the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr. Al-Maqrīzī, mentioned that when Baybars restored the mosque of al-Ḥākīm bi Amr Allah after the great earthquake on the 23rd of Dhul Ḥijja 702AH/August 1303AD, and added two Mamluk minarets, he also paved the mosque, and added a cistern in the middle of the courtyard. The piers were rendered, and the walls painted and restored. He also organized numerous lessons of the four doctrines of Islam and set up a booklet to read the Quran.³ Five years later, Baybars al-Jāshinkīr established a great Khānqāh in al-Jamāliyah according to his Waqfiyah, in the year 707AH/1308AD.⁴ This explains being inspired by the Fatimid architecture while renovating the mosque of al-Ḥākīm, when he added some Fatimid touches especially inside his Khānqāh overlooking the courtyard, as well as the cushion voussoirs on the intrados of the arch of the main portal as mentioned before.

Al-Ṭanbughā al-Maridānī's architect was Ibn al-Siyūfī,⁵ who had founded the Uqbughāwiya madrasah in al-Azhar in the year 734-740AH/1333-1339AD⁶. Al-Mu'alim al-Siyūfī who was titled as *al-Muhandis*⁷ had a good amount of knowledge, and started the construction in 739AH/1338AD, finished on the 24th of Ramadan/14 March 1340AD⁸. It means that the Aqbugāwiyah started its construction before the mosque⁹. The two constructions were therefore designed by the same architect, who possessed a great deal of expertise and an opportunity for inspiration from the Fatimid art of al-Azhar mosque. Particularly the decorative elements that strengthen the spandrels of the courtyard arcades. Furthermore, the architect himself was influenced while touring the Islamic monuments. As a result, Ibn al-Siyūfī was obviously inspired

¹ That was in 665AH/1266AD, See A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*, 88.

² The date was mentioned in a slab above the northern entrance with eight lines saying that the mosque was restored in this year by order of the sultan Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. See Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, 121.

³ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 114,116.

⁴ Leonor Fernandes, The Foundation of Baybars al-Jāshankīr: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture, *Muqarnas*, Vol. 4, Brill (1987), 23,24; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*, 248. According to al-Maqrīzī, the construction started in the year 706AH/1306. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.II, 732.

⁵ Al-Mu'alim al-Siyūfī was the chief architect in the time of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn and was also in charge of constructing the mosque of al-Ṭanbughā al-Maridānī. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 542; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah*, 280.

⁶ Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, 183; 'Iṣām 'Arafah, "Masjid al-Ṭanbughā al-Maridānī bi-l-Qāhirah", (M.A, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 1981), 241.

⁷ The title *muhandis al-'amā'ir* who was in a charge of the constructions and was the expert in the art of geometry, see al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fi ṣinā'at al-inshā*, Volume V, (Cairo: al-Matb'a al-Amīriyah, 1915), 467.

⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 227; Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, 191,192.

⁹ According to Van Berchem, the foundation slab above the main portal has inscription in three lines of nash says that the whole construction started in the year 734AH/1333AD. See Van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, 183. See also Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *Tārīḥ wa 'Athār Miṣr al-Islāmiyah min al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ḥata nahāyat al-'aṣr al-fāṭimī*, (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, , 1999), 128.

during his works in the madrasah al-Uqbughāwiyah by the Fatimid art inside that great Fatimid institution; al-Azhar mosque.

Conclusion:

To conclude, Mamluk monuments retain some of the ancient Fatimid features that enhanced Egypt's walls, gates, and halls. It is somehow unusual to see these features in Mamluk constructions as a first impression, but because of certain reasons, they had been borrowed. The first reason is the location of the monument itself in or within the Fatimid outskirts. That was achieved by the architect to harmonize the western influence in Mamluk architecture with other Fatimid monuments. In certain Mamluk masterworks, the implementation of Western influences also played a crucial role in the westernization of certain Mamluk constructions.

The second factor was the Mamluk architect himself, who was influenced by Fatimid masterworks while restoring them, but at times, he inserted his own touches in the Mamluk constructions. This factor could be obviously seen in the mosque of al-Zahir Baybars and the mosque of al-Ṭanbughā al Mardānī, all of which has its own architect who was greatly inspired by the Fatimid architecture. This criterion was therefore the architect's main learning institution, especially in the Bahary Mamluk era.

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The Plates



Pl.I. Mihrab-dome of Shajar al-Durr



Pl.II. mihrab-dome al-Sayyida Ruqayya

After www.islamic-art.org



Pl.III

Keel arched recess – Baybars mosque



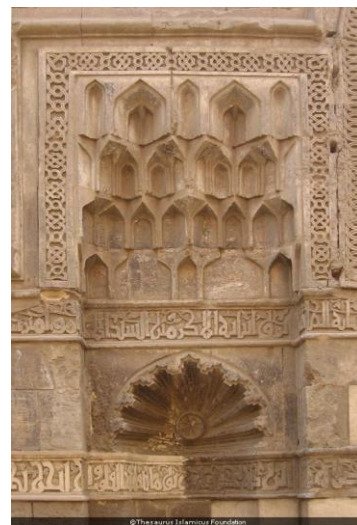
Pl.IV

Keel-arched recess- al-Azhar

Photographed by the researcher



Pl.V Baybars mosque-south portal



Pl.VI. al-Aqmar mosque-west portal

After. www.islamic-art.org

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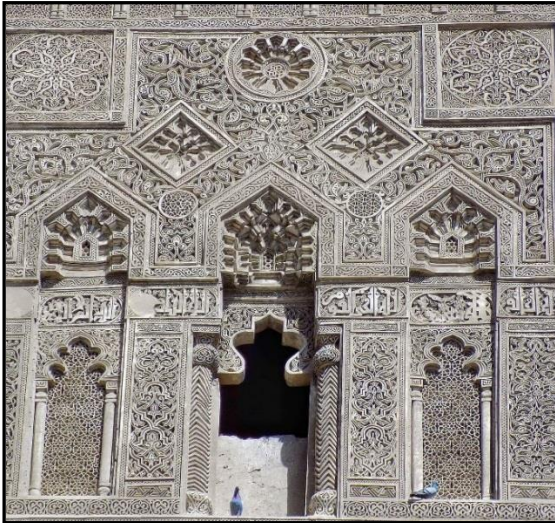


Pl.VII. Ribāt of Azdumur-mihrab



Pl.VIII. Mausoleum of Fatima Khātūn

Photographed by the researcher



Pl.IX
Al-Naṣir Muḥammad- minaret



Pl.X
Khānqāh of Baybars II-walls of the Khanqāh

Photographed by the researcher



Pl.XI
Al-Tanubgā al-Maridanī –arcade's walls



Pl.XII
mosque of Aṣlam-walls of the Qibla

Photographed by the researcher

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Pl.XIII
Al-Mu'ayyad-walls of the arcades



Pl.XIV
al-Şāliḥ Ṭalā'i' - walls of the arcades

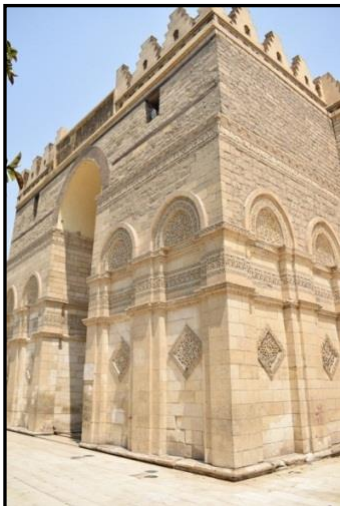
Photographed by the researcher



Pl.XV
Al-Mahdiyah mosque-main entrance
After. www.archnet.org



Pl.XVI
mosque of Baybars- western entrance
photographed by the researcher



Pl.XVII
Al-Ḥākīm mosque-main entrance



Pl.XVIII
Baybars mosque- western gate

Photographed by the researcher

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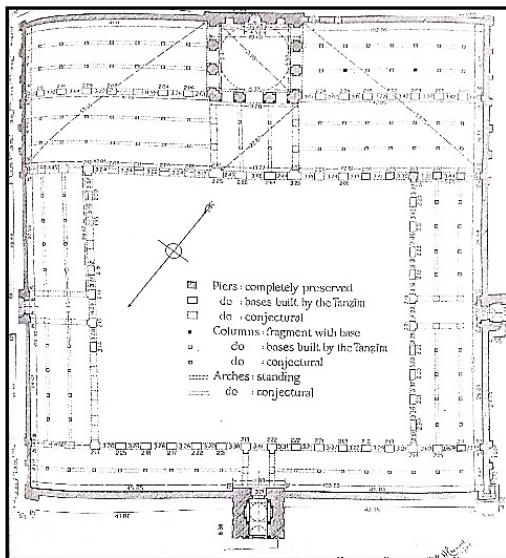


Pl.XIX
Bāb al-Futūh-inner flanks



Pl.XX
Baybars al-Jāshinkīr- main portal

Photographed by the researcher



Pl.XXI
Baybars-plan-transept and Maqsūrah
After: Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, II, Fig.90



Pl.XXII
al-Ḥākīm mosque – transept –shrine
after: www.islamic-art.org



Pl.XXIII
Baybars mosque-cross vault-northern gate

Photographed by the researcher



Pl.XXIV
Bāb al-Naṣr- cross vault

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Pl.XXXV

· Cross Vault – Qibla –Āq Sunqur mosque



Pl.XXXVI.

Baybars mosque northern entrance-decoration

Photographed by the Researcher



Pl.XXXVII

Lozenge – al-Ḥākīm's main portal

Photographed by the researcher



Pl.XXXVIII

Lozenge- al-Aqmar western façade north end

after. www.islamic-art.org