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The Mausoleums of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil

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By

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For the soul of my great father,
for my lovely mother, my husband
and my daughters
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Abstract

This thesis will conduct an architectural analysis of two nearly contemporary mausoleums situated on the northern tip of the Southern Cemetery of Cairo near the Sayyida Nafisa shrine. The Southern Cemetery is the oldest one, which stretches from the east at Muqattam hill to the south at Fustat. The mausoleums of the princess Fatima Khatun and al-Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil date to the late 13th century. Among the interesting aspects of the mausoleum of Fatima Khatun (Umm al-Salih), the wife of al-Mansur Qalawun, is its unique Maghribi style minaret. In addition, apart from his splendid mausoleum, al-Ashraf Khalil, Qalawun’s son, constructed other royal secular buildings in the Citadel. I relied on a number of primary and recent sources, notably the Comité Bulletins. This study also traces the efforts exerted by the Comité and contemporary projects to safeguard the monuments from the encroachment of secular buildings and the rising of the groundwater table. The area is privileged by its religious significance, its funerary function, and the historic imperial mausoleums. Considering its dense population and the dilapidated status from which the two Mamluk complexes have suffered, prompt action should be taken for a twofold purpose: to restore the missing parts of the cultural heritage as well as to encourage the residents to maintain it and raise their living standard at the same time.
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Literature Review

The complexes of Umm al-Salih and al-Ashraf Khalil have received very little attention within the researches in this field and the buildings themselves have been neglected since the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century when the Comité undertook some restorations and issued some recommendations. Both mausoleums share not only their location and history, but also, they have many common architectural features. They have also suffered from similar neglect. I will rely in the research on the primary sources, such as \textit{al-Altaf al-khafiyya} by Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir, (1223-1292), who held high chancery positions as private secretary under Baybars, Qalawun and al-Ashraf Khalil, and \textit{Nihayat al-ʿrab} by al-Nuwayri (1278-1333).\textsuperscript{1} Other historians, who were not contemporary to the two complexes, provided biographic details, such as Ibn Duqmaq (1349-1407), \textit{al-Jawhar al-thamin fi siyar al-khulafa’ wa’l-muluk wa’l-salatin}; Qalqashandi (1355-1418), \textit{Ma’athir al-inafah}; al-Maqrizi, (1364-1442), \textit{Kitab al-mawaʾiz waʾl-iʾtibar bi-dhikr al-khitat waʾl-athar}; al-Sakhawi (1428-1497), \textit{Tuhfat al-ahhab wa baghiyyat al-tulab}; al-ʿAyni, (1361-1451) \textit{Iqd al-juman fi tarikh ahl al-zaman}; Ibn Iyas (1448-1524), \textit{Jawahir al-suluk}, and al-Jabarti (1753-1822), whose work \textit{ʿAjaʾib al-ʿathar fi al-tarajim waʾl-ʿakhbar} is the most useful source during the late Ottoman era. Of course, the funerary buildings themselves constitute the basic source of data in this study. Creswell’s \textit{The Muslim Architecture of Egypt} (1958) gives a detailed description of the two buildings and previous scholarship on them.

Among more recent sources, Suʿad Maher, \textit{Masajid Misr wa-awliyaʿuha al-salihun} gives a detailed history along with a helpful description of these complexes. Doris Behrens-Abouseif in

her book *Cairo of the Mamluks* (2007) briefly described the two complexes, although she provided extra valuable information about them. Nasser Rabbat’s *Mamluk History Through Architecture* and Raymond’s *Cairo* were useful in understanding the area surrounding the complexes prior to their erection as well as the buildings attributed to al-Ashraf Khalil. However, so far there has not been a thorough work on these two neglected complexes and their area.

Most scholars’ accounts were limited and concise, and they omitted to identify the location of the *takiyya* and madrasa in the complexes of Umm al-Salih and al-Ashraf. The thesis will include their historical context, their architecture, in so far as it can be reconstructed from the sources, as well as suggestions for a future project for the area surrounding them. The similarities with other neighboring structures such as the shrines of Sayyida Ruqayya, ‘Atika and Ja‘fari, and the mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs will also be discussed.

I aim to present a comprehensive study of these complexes from the date of their foundations until today and the attempts undertaken by the khedival family and the Comité to preserve them. I hope that my thesis will accelerate the process of conservation and refurbishing, which in turn might encourage tourism in the area.

**Methodology**

The methodology that I will use is the comparative analysis approach. I will rely on the original plans from the archives of the citadel, which I have already been able to obtain. A detailed study will be made of 19th century photos of the area in question.

The study will first examine the evidence for what these buildings looked like at the date of their construction. I will compare tombs of Qalawun’s family to underline some structural similarities between them and the mausoleums for a better understanding of the development of
the architectural elements from the late thirteenth until the early fourteenth century. Furthermore, the restorations carried out by the Comité de la Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe will be discussed in detail. Finally, Athar Lina is a participatory conservation initiative founded in al-Khalifa district in 2012, run by the Built Environment Collective Megawra in partnership with the Ministry of Antiquity. Its mission is to restore the monuments and to integrate the local community with them. It renovated the Shagar al-Durr mausoleum and now is working on restoration of the Imam al-Shafi‘i dome. The portfolio of Athar Lina will be examined to visualize to what extent the area could be embellished and be useful to the inhabitants of al-Khalifa.

Chapters summary

Introduction

The Mamluks followed the Ayyubids and the Fatimids in the respect for establishment of religious structures for their wives, mothers and daughters. Likewise, wives of Sultans were keen to erect religious structures such as madrasas, that served the educative and social needs of their society. The Mamluks left a valuable heritage of 28 monuments related to female patrons in Cairo which are evidence of their appreciation of the role of women. Many studies mentioned Shagar al-Durr for her political role, however they did not tackle in a comprehensive way the buildings of other female patrons. Among the most prominent female imperial funerary complexes in the late thirteenth century is the complex of Fatima Khatun, Qalawun’s wife, that lies near the mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa. Unfortunately, Fatima Khatun’s complex has suffered from the rise of groundwater that eroded its base and its walls. This thesis will attempt

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2 *Bulletins*, vols. 1 (1883), 12 (1895), 18 (1901), 22 (1905), 29 (1912).
to shed light on and analyze the common architectural features of that period in the mausoleum of Fatima Khatun as well as the adjacent complex of al-Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil, which has suffered from the same circumstances. Also, the study will trace the efforts of conservation in the area in the last two centuries and will serve as a call to undertake the necessary measures to preserve this precious heritage.

Chapter one: Historical background

This will discuss both the location and the historical context of the area surrounding the complexes of Fatima Khatun, the wife of al-Sultan Qalawun, and al-Ashraf Khalil his son. They are both situated in the Khalifa district. The name is derived from the funerary dome of the Abbasid caliphates (640/1242), built by al-Zahir Baybars, behind the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa. Khalifa Street, where the above-mentioned mausoleums are situated, is a prolongation of al-Mu‘izz or the Qasaba street and links Fatimid Cairo to al-Fustat, while the part from Sayyida Sukayna until Sayyida Nafisa is named al-Ashraf street.

I will describe the importance of the area from the religious as well as the secular perspective. Al-Khalifa Street encompasses also other tombs of political dignitaries. The area was suffered twice, once when the Abbasid army razed al-Qata‘i‘, except for its mosque, and the administration was transferred again to al-‘Askar, the former Abbasid capital, in 292/905. The second time was when al-Fustat and its northward expansion was burned in 565/1169 in the

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conflict between the two ministers Shawir and Dirham. According to al-Sakhawi, in 528/1134 the wife of the Fatimid Caliph al-Amir was the first to urbanize the district of al-Khalifa and ordered the erection of the shrine of Ruqayya, one of the descendants of the prophet. The chapter will include also the biography of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil.

Chapter two: Architectural layout and analysis

This will focus on architectural elements, including the minaret, dome, entrance, arch and mihrab, of the two mausoleums and speculations on the function of the different architectural elements in terms of their components, decoration, and inscriptions. The unique shape of the minaret of Umm al-Salih may suggest its derivation from the Maghribi style. Its tripartite window, consisting of an oculus above double-arched openings, became a constant feature of Mamluk facades.

Each element will be described, and the importance of its occurrence on the buildings will be investigated. Similar characteristics show up in several Islamic lands. Comparative material from Iran, North Africa and Anatolia or Minor Asia concerning the dome, minaret and niches, will be illustrated. Some decorative elements are even derived from Pharaonic traditions such as the lotus shape on the capitals.

Creswell’s The Muslim Architecture of Egypt is one of the key sources along with the plans from the Citadel archives of this chapter. It will be seen that the mausoleum of al-Ashraf

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5 Portfolio of Athar Lina.
6 Al-Sakhawi, Tuhfat al-ahbab, 121.
Khalil and its analogue, that of Umm al-Salih exhibit many similarities, in size and plan. It is noteworthy that despite the difference in gender both imperial mausoleums are the same in size.  

Chapter three: Conservation Undertaken by the Comité and later

This chapter deals with the efforts of conservation deployed in the area in the late 19th century. The Royal family in the second half of the 19th century, such as the Khedives ‘Abbas I and Ismail, deployed efforts to preserve the holy shrines there as well as the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalil. Additionally, the Comité (the Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art) tried to save the madrassa of Fatima Khatun by liberating and eliminating the encroachment of surrounding buildings. Hertz cleared the façade and the entrance of al-Ashraf Khalil. However, by 1883 modern constructions surrounded the mausoleum. Many factors, both natural and man-made, contributed to increasing deterioration to the mausoleums.

This chapter will also discuss the future project of restoration of the two complexes and the surrounding area. The work will be accomplished by Athar Lina initiative headed by Dr. May al-Ibrashi, funded by the American Research center in Egypt and the American Embassy in Cairo. The state of the two domes, that of Fatima Khatun and that of al-Ashraf Khalil, has deteriorated to a great extent, both being inundated by groundwater. Hopefully, with the help of plans, the project might include the rebuilding of the takiyya of Fatima Khatun and the madrasa al-Ashrafiyya adjoining his mausoleum within the guidelines of the Charter of ICOMOS. It is a race against time.

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8 Comité *Bulletin*, 14, 1895.
9 Athar Lina Portfolio.
Chapter four: Conclusion

Thus, this street has its great significance from the religious perspective as well as from the historical and architectural perspective. In addition, the importance of the imperial tombs should encourage all the stakeholders to adopt the appropriate action in order to preserve and maintain this cultural heritage for both citizens and tourists alike. If funding the project of Athar Lina is among the limitations that delay the implementation, the aid of an NGO might be a pragmatic approach to contribute to accelerate the process of restoration.
Chapter one

Historical Background

Introduction

This chapter provides the setting for the monuments with a history of the area and the patrons of the main monuments. It presents a biography of Fatima Khatun Umm al-Salih (682-1283) and al-Ashraf Khalil (689-692/1290-93) along with that of the patrons of the most interesting mausoleums neighboring them. It will reflect not only the pious foundations of al-Ashraf Khalil but also his secular buildings as well as his military achievements.

1.1- Location

The importance of the area where the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa and our two complexes, that of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil were situated, started in the Abbasid period. It occupies the place of al-ʿAskar (133/750) that was located to the north of Fustat, the earliest Islamic capital, and south of the Tulunid capital of al-Qataʾiʿ (256/870) (fig. 1.3). When the Fatimid capital was founded in 359/970, the city of Fustat, already known by Misr, was the commercial metropolis of Egypt, with the highest urban density where there were markets and caravanserais.¹⁰ Near Bab Zuwayla, there was a Jewish community as well as a Christian residential area. Two Christian quarters had formed inside Qahira: one Harat al-Rum was south of Bab al-Nasr and another one of the same name was near Bab Zuwayla.¹¹ Maqrizi reported:

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¹⁰ Abu-Lughod, Cairo, 19.
¹¹ Raymond, Cairo, 78.
“The people who earned their living in Cairo, after performing the evening prayer, returned to their homes to Old Cairo… from the New Gate to Bab al-Safa” near Sayyida Nafisa. After the fire of Fustat that lasted for 54 days in 563/1168, fortunately most of the inhabited areas were repaired and the holy shrines situated in al-‘Askar were renovated.

The area of al-Qata‘i‘ was once gardens in which in the early 12th century al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub used to walk by the light of the manazir, the pavilions of al-Kabsh, constructed on the hill of Yashkur in 640/1242-43. From these pavilions, one could see the gate of al-Fustat and Bab Zuwayla as well as the Rawda citadel. In the mid-13th century, during the reign of the Mamluks, when al-Qahira, the old Fatimid City was gradually developed, the term Misr was used to indicate it and the term Misr al-Qadima (Old Cairo) was used to refer to Fustat and its extension al-Qata‘i‘ (fig. 1.3). The Khatt al-Saliba formed the administrative boundary between al-Qahira and al-Fustat. It is worth noting that al-Nasir Muhammad’s elder daughter had her house in al-Kabsh, and her father descended from the citadel to al-Kabsh to visit her after her wedding.

Mu‘izz street or Shari‘ al-‘Azam was the main north-south street that intersected the main east-west street (al-Saliba or the cross) that connected Rumayla square near the citadel to the

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12 Ibid.
13 Goiten, A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities, 1:18
14 Pavilions lavishly embellished, bordering the Nile or the Khalij to take advantages of both the view and breezes.
15 Sayyid, The Topography and the Urban Evolution of Cairo, 197-8; Mackenzie, Ayyubid Cairo, 84.
16 Lane-Pool, Art of The Saracens in Egypt, 9.
17 Rabbat, Citadel, 155.
Nile and the Qanatir al-Siba' over the Khalij between Birkat al-Fil and Birkat Qarun (fig. 1.2).\(^{19}\)

South of Bab Zuwayla, Mu’izz street was divided into two, the eastern branch leading to Sayyida Nafisa, which then turned southwest to the eastern gate of al-Fustat, Bab al-Safa, and the western branch which joined the continuation of the Saliba and Qanatir al-Siba'.\(^{20}\)

The southeastern branch of al-Mu’izz street or al-Shari’ al-‘Azam was named al-Siyufiya. After crossing al-Saliba street it was divided into three parts; the first was Rukbiyya Street, the second al-Khalifa Street where the mausoleum of Shagar al-Durr is located, then the street of Sayyida Nafisa or of al-Ashraf from the *takiyya*\(^{21}\) of Sayyida Ruqayya until the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa (fig. 1.1).\(^{22}\) It is a blessed area as Sayyida Nafisa was buried there in the place where she used to live in 208/822, as it was in the capital al-‘Askar.\(^{23}\) She was the granddaughter of Hasan, the son of Fatima al-Zahra’, and the person from whom Imam al-Shafi‘i learnt religious jurisprudence. Thus, the area around her grave became a preferred cemetery for many Egyptians. The same street is venerated by many other shrines commemorating the descendants of the prophet such as the shrine of Sayyida Ruqayya, those of ‘Atiqah and Ja’fari next to it, and also the mosque and the shrine of Sayyida Sukayna. All of these were built based on dreams and

\(^{19}\) Hazem, *Maydan al-Rumayla*, 93.

\(^{20}\) Bridge of Lions over the Khalij, founded by Baybars al-Bunduqdari.

\(^{21}\) *Takiyya* means a hospice, a religious establishment that appeared during the Ottoman period, where dervishes lived and worshipped. A *takiyya* consisted of a courtyard surrounded by cells of two or more storeys for the Sufis, one iwan, and a mausoleum. It is equivalent to the Mamluk *khanqah*.

\(^{22}\) Mubarak, *Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, 2: 181-190; a shrine or *mashhad* is a place where a martyr is buried.

anecdotes. The *mahmal*, the cover of the Ka'ba, used to be carried through this street on its way to reach Mecca.

In front of these three shrines is situated Shagar al-Durr’s mausoleum (655/1257). Her complex also contained a palace, a madrasa and a *hamnam*. It was the first imperial one that was built near the mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa and the shrine of Ruqayya. She was also the first to introduce the idea in Egypt of associating the madrasa with the mausoleum by adding a mausoleum in 1250 to the madrasa of her husband al-Salih Najm al-Din in the Qasaba, the main artery between the southern and the northern gates of the Fatimid city.

Similarly, more than 20 years later, Sultan Qalawun (678-689/1279-1290), one of the prominent Bahri Mamluks, chose the extension of the same street for his wife Fatima Khatun to build a complex that included a madrasa annexed to her mausoleum, on groves of trees belonged to him. It was the second secular imperial female mausoleum after that of Shagar al-Durr in proximity to those of the female saints. The mausoleum also contains her son al-Malik al-Salih, Khatun the daughter of Qalawun, the daughter-in-law of al-Zahir Baybars, and two of al-Nasir Muhammad’s sons, al-Malik al-Salih Isma‘il and al-Salih Salih. Next to the mausoleum stands

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24 Tetsuya, "Cairene Cemeteries," 94.
25 The *mahmal* used to be carried through this street of al-Khalifa district on its way from Bab al-Nasr to Fustat, and back via the Rumayla square to be viewed by the Sultan seated in the Citadel, reaching again Bab al-Nasr and then al-Raydania (al-‘Abbasiyya). Haddad, *Qalawun*, 58.
27 A great builder who commissioned many buildings such as the great hospital *bimaristan*, whose priority was given to needy people, the weak and the helpless.
the complex of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil, al-Malik al-Salih’s brother, who reigned for only three years (689-692/1290-1293).29

The above-mentioned mausoleums are located at the north of al-Qarafa al-Sughra, on al-Khalifa Street near the Sayyida Nafisa mausoleum to which was added a mosque built by al-Nasir ibn Qalawun in 714/1314.30 The area stretching from the Muqattam Hill until Fustat is known as the Southern Qarafa. The area between Imam al-Shafi’i and al-Fustat is known as al-Qarafa al-Kubra (the greater and older cemetery) while the area from the mausoleum of al-Imam al-Shafi’i to the Muqattam Hill is called al-Qarafa al-Sughra (the smaller one). 31 The Qarafa al-Kubra32 was initially the cemeteries of the Copts and the Jews of Fustat. It was inhabited by many people who benefitted from the aqueduct built by Ibn Tulun near the Habash lake. The Hill of Muqattam was considered as a holy area venerated by both Muslims and Copts.33

Different classes were buried in the Qarafa, ranging from sultans to the poor as well as descendants of the prophet and pious figures who were venerated by the masses. Accordingly, some relatives of the rulers were buried there to guarantee blessings from the holy family and the continuous prayers of passers-by. For instance, in al-Ashraf street, behind the mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa, are buried the Abbasid caliphs under a great dome (640/1242). Under this dome,

32 The Fatimids distributed meat and sweets in this cemetery during feasts. Prayers were intensified during the outbreak of plague or the rise of the Nile. Horses races and polo games were held there during the Mamluk era. On the other hand, judicial punishment was executed. Tetsuya, “Cairene Cemeteries”, 91
33 Tetsuya, “Cairene Cemeteries”, 87.
two of the sons of al-Sultan Baybars as well as the first Abbasid caliph in Egypt, Abu Nadla (640/1242), the ambassador for the first family of the Abbasid Caliphs in Bagdad, were buried. Likewise, in the same street in front of the mausoleum of Shagar al-Durr, stands the shrine of Ruqayya, the daughter of ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, built by al-Amiriyya the wife of the Fatimid Caliph al-Amir bi-Ahkam Allah, renovated by his cousin and successor, the Caliph al-Hafiz in 526/1132 (fig. 1.6). Nearby, there are the shrines of ‘Atiqa and Ja’fari, probably built by al-Hafiz (514/1120). ‘Atika is either the prophet’s aunt or the wife of Muhammad, the Caliph Abu Bakr’s son. Ja’fari was the son of Ja’far al-Sadiq, the grandson of Zayn al-‘Abidin, who is the grandson of ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib. The Sayyida Sukayna shrine and mosque is situated on the other side of the street. She is Zayn al-‘Abidin’s daughter, and the grand-daughter of al-Husayn and the great-granddaughter of ‘Ali, or al-Husayn’s daughter. Consequently, many prominent figures benefitted from the blessings of these numerous holy shrines by erecting their tombs nearby.

According to Shafi’i, Fatimid Cairo, the fourth capital, has had the function of a fortress since it was reserved for the Caliph, his family and his commanders while the subjects lived in the old capitals, al-Fustat, al-‘Askar, and al-Qata‘i’ (fig. 1.4). The two ponds of al-Fil al-Kubra and al-Fil al-Sughra separated walled Fatimid Cairo from the old capitals until the arrival of Saladin. He encircled Cairo and the old capitals by a third wall and chose another more defensive location, the Citadel, to be the residence of the ruler (572/1176). Thus, it can be said that the area

of the mausoleums of Fatima and al-Ashraf flourished more by being inhabited, in particular, around the ponds that became residential areas under the reign of the Ayyubids. The wall and the aqueduct erected by Salah al-Din divided the city into the urban area of Sayyida Nafisa at the northwest and the Qarafa at the southeast.\textsuperscript{38} Ibn Jubayr, the Andalusian traveler (578/1183) said, “The Qarafa is one of the wonders of the world for the tombs it contains of prophets…of his companions, ascetics, and saintly men renowned for their miracles…”\textsuperscript{39}

After Fatimid rule, in the middle of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, Ibn Said, an Andalusian traveler reported that, unlike inside al-Qahira, outside it ‘the buildings lining the streets are made of reeds or mud clay; they are tall, poorly ventilated, and ill lit’.\textsuperscript{40} However, the area south of Bab Zuwayla, once inhabited by the Sudanese troops, was turned into parks and gardens. From the palace of Saladin\textsuperscript{41} to the Citadel, one could pass between trees and flowers; similarly, one could stand at the mosque of Ibn Tulun, built on Yashkur hill, and “see the gate of Zuwayla without a single building obstructing the view”.\textsuperscript{42} Cairo started to become more urbanized with the advent of the Mamluks. According to al-Maqrizi, there were no buildings between Bab Zuwayla and Ibn Tulun’s Saliba until 641/1244.\textsuperscript{43} There were gardens between Misr and al-Qahira, from the gate of Zuwayla to the mausoleum of Nafisa.\textsuperscript{44}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Al-Ibrashy, “Khalifa district”, Athar Lina.
\item Mackenzie, \textit{Ayyubid Cairo}, 145.
\item Raymond, \textit{Cairo}, 96.
\item It was situated in the Great Hall of Dar al-Wizara, northeast of the Great palace.
\item Raymond, \textit{Cairo}, 97-98.
\item Ibid.
\item Raghib, “Les mausolées fatimides”, 3.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Al-Jabarti mentioned that under the pretext of enlarging the streets, the French soldiers in 1798-1800 destroyed the doors of the quarters and the terraces of the shops that lined the main street, Shari‘ al-‘Azam, that once connected Bab Zuwayla to al-Saliba. Unfortunately, they also demolished the manazir and mansions of the emirs around Birkat al-Fil, in order to get wood and marble. It could be possible also that they were the cause behind the disappearance of many monuments in al-Ashraf street such as the madrasa of Shagar al-Durr (fig. 1.5).

1.2 - The Earlier Shrines in the Area

In accordance with the significance of the mausoleums of saints for the Fatimids, al-Amir (489-524/1096-1130) commissioned his vizier Ma‘mun al-Bata‘ihi to clean and restore the remains of old buildings in the area between Bab Zuwayla and Sayyida Nafisa, and ordered the owners of the lands lying in that area to build on or hire or sell them; otherwise they would be confiscated. Lamps were lit all night and guardians protected the shrines.

1.2.1 Sayyida Ruqayya shrine

The Sayyida Ruqayya shrine is to the north of our two mausoleums. According to the inscriptions on its portable wooden mihrab, ‘Alam al-Amiriyya, the wife of the Caliph al-Amir

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46 Ibid, 577.
47 Coste, Toutes les Egyptes, 105.
49 Qur’an reciters were appointed and the Moulid (her birthday festival) is held annually until today.
bi-‘Ahkam Allah, commissioned a wooden cenotaph as well as the wooden mihrab (fig. 1.7). It was more elaborately carved than a previous example, that of the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa.\footnote{Zaqzuk, Mahmoud, Mawsu‘a al-hadara al-islamiyya, 892-891; Al-Basha, al-Qahira tarikhuha finumuha, 360.} It is worth mentioning that all the decorative patterns used in this mihrab were followed through the Mamluk period, especially since the design of the six-pointed stars appeared for the first time.

The Sayyida Ruqayya shrine is preceded by a portico divided into three parts by two double columns, that overlooked a court (fig. 1.8 a, b).\footnote{Haddad, Qibab, 65.} The entrance is flanked by two niches, similar to the mausoleums of Fatima Khatun, al-Ashraf Khalil, the Abbasid Caliphs and the mashhad of al-Juyushi. Its ribbed dome, below which is painted the date of 527/1133, has also a frieze of angular Kufic of Qur’anic inscriptions (fig. 1.9 a).\footnote{Raghib, “Les mausolées Fatimides”, 23.} The main mihrab is flanked by two niches, and surmounted by floral kufic knotted Qur’anic inscriptions. In the middle of the shell conch, there is an epigraphic medallion, in which is carved the name of ‘Ali surrounded by the name of Muhammad for six times to form a six-pointed star (fig. 1.10 a,b). All the structure was built in baked brick. It is interesting to note that the shrine of Ruqayya was emulated in the mausoleum of Yahya al-Shabih (544/1150) in many aspects, such as the symmetrical of the two niches that flank the mihrab, the ribbed dome, the two tiers squinches and the ambulatory, on the three sides, surrounding the dome (fig. 1.9 b,c).

Prominent figures were entombed near the shrine under the Ottoman rule. ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda, the great Ottoman builder, restored it. Under the reign of Sa‘id Pasha, a takiyya for the Qadriyya sufi order had been built nearby. The wife of Khedive Abbas I enlarged
the tomb and commissioned a wooden grill inlaid with mother of pearl. 54 The silver screen that protect the saint tomb was a gift from the Shi‘i Bohra community.55

1.2.2 The ‘Atiq̱a and al-Ja’fari shrines

The ‘Atiq̱a and al-Ja’fari mausoleums are situated next to the shrine of Ruqayya in front of the mausoleum of Shagar al-Durr (fig. 1.11). Both were built in bricks covered by plaster. These two undated mausoleums are less decorated than Sayyida Ruqayya. Creswell dated that of Ja’fari earlier than that of ‘Atiq̱a, probably between 493/1100 and 513/1120. While the dome of ‘Atiq̱a has sixteen ribs, an imported style from Ifriqiya, the dome of al-Ja’fari is stilted similar to that of Shagar al-Durr. Like the shrine of Ruqayya, the squinches consist of two tiers (fig. 1.12-13). According to Behrens-Abouseif, the dome and the mihrab emphasize the sanctity of the person to whom the building is dedicated. Interestingly, the dome of ‘Atiq̱a has some irregularity in its square base as it replaced the portico of the earlier one. The entrance of al-Ja’fari, which was placed in front of the mihrab, was walled to be used as the mihrab of the mausoleum of ‘Atiq̱a. Subsequently, the entrances were placed at the north-east side.56

To the north of ‘Atiq̱a and al-Ja’fari domes lies the Sayyida Sukayna shrine and mosque. It is highly venerated by all Egyptians, although most probably she is buried in Medina and not in her shrine near Sayyida Nafisa.57 The Fatimid mausoleum was transformed to a mosque under

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54 Ibid, 28-29.
56 Ibid., 11.
the Ottomans in 1173/1759-60. Then it was again completely rebuilt by the Khedive Abbas I in 1266/1849-1850.58

1.2.3 The Abbasid Caliphs mausoleum

To the south of the two turbas, one can visit the great mausoleum of the Abbasid caliphs (640/1240), which is behind the Sayyida Nafisa shrine (fig. 1.14). In an attempt to legitimize his reign, Baybars built the mausoleum of the Abbasid caliphs, which includes twenty tombs: the two sons of Baybars, the Abbasids Caliphs, and their sons and grandsons. There is a wall that probably surrounded a court in front of the dome (fig. 1.15). Unfortunately, the mosque of Sayyida Nafisa was built against the south-western side. The entrance on the northwest side is similar to the entrance of the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalil, and those of Fatima Khatun and Shagar al-Durr. The panels on either side of the entrance are niches, a feature that is repeated also in the shrine of Ruqayya (fig. 1.16). On the other side, its façade is adorned by lozenge patterns filled by eight-pointed star and round patterns of rosette between keel-arched fluted panels, which recall the façade of the mausoleum of Shagar al-Durr as well (fig. 1.17).59

The seat of the caliphate in Baghdad was moved to al-Diyar al-Masriya by al-Mustansir and al-Hakim bi-‘Amr Allah Abu’l-‘Abbas, whose predecessor was killed during his fight against the Mongols. The Abbasid Caliph was settled in al-Kabsh, near the Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun and Nafisa’s shrine, by al-Ashraf Khalil, after being imprisoned for 30 years.

Qalqashandi goes on to say that the Caliph was restricted to reside in a tower, his only duty being to pray for the Sultan in the congregational mosque.\(^6^0\)

1.2.4 Al-Sayyida Nafisa

Al-Sayyida Nafisa mosque is situated at the border that separated al-Qata’i’ from al-‘Askar. The shrine of Nafisa is situated in Darb al-Siba’, named for its location near Qanatir al-Siba’, the Bridge of Lions. Sayyida Nafisa was the daughter of al-Hasan al-Anwar, the grandson of al-Hasan, ‘Ali b. Abi Talib’s son. Her husband was Ishaq al-Mu’taman, Ja’fari al-Sadiq’s son, who was the grandson of ‘Ali Zayn al-‘Abidin (al-Husayn). They came to Egypt on their return from al-Quds, and al-Siri ibn al-Hakam, the Abbasid Amir of Egypt, housed her in Darb al-Siba’ in 208/822. Her house became the location of her tomb.\(^6^1\) As she was known for her piety and her interpretation of the Qur’an, supplications were considered to be answered at her tomb. In addition, she healed the ill people like the story of an ill Jewish girl who was cured after visiting Sayyida Nafisa.\(^6^2\) Therefore, her shrine became a stop for Meccan pilgrims and a preferred burial spot for Egyptians to acquire blessings. Al-Nasir Muhamad ibn Qalawun established a mosque adjacent to the shrine in 715/1314. It was restored by ‘Abd al-Rahman Khatkhuda in 1171/1757. Khedive Abbas and Sa’id Pasha again restored it in the middle of the 19th century.

It has been noted by Behrens-Abouseif that the plan of the Fatimid shrines, in particular that of Ruqayya and that of Ja’fari, is analogous to the shrine of al-Juyushi as well as the Great Iwan of al-Nasir as they consisted of a majlis with a T-shaped plan. The majlis consists of three aisles and two rows of columns, forming a large space divided into a central larger hall flanked

\(^{60}\) Qalqashandi, *Ma’athir al-inafa*, 118, 222-3.

\(^{61}\) Ibid, 129, 135.

by two smaller halls. It has a portico that is separated from a central space, either an open or roofed court, by a set of doors and a dome or lantern above the central hall. In the case of an audience hall, for example, the hall of Najm al-Din Ayyub consisted of two iwans and two side iwans or alcoves. Originally, it appeared in Abbasid houses and was then imported to Egypt during the Tulunid reign (246-292/860-905) in houses in Fustat. Therefore, it can be said that the design of the majlis was kept to be used as shrines in the Fatimid period and continued as a hall of audience until the Mamluk era, as it will be explained later with regard to the qa’a al-Ashrafiyya in the Citadel.

1.3 - Biography of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil

The Mamluks were the principal power in the Middle East, ruling Egypt and Syria for over 250 years. Al-Mansur Sayf al-din Qalawun al-Alfi, a Qipchak Turk from the Black Sea, was bought at the age of twenty by the Ayyubid Sultan, al-Malik al-‘Adil, at the high price of 1,000 dinars; hence, his nickname “al-Alfi” or ‘the Thousander’. Among his titles was ‘al-Salihi’ as he was a follower of al-Salih Najm al-Din, after which he was appointed to the court of Aybak and then of al-Zahir Baybars. Over time Qalawun rose in rank to become Sultan (678-689/1279-1290). He was handsome, generous and courageous; he seldom talked in Arabic. Like Baybars, he defeated the Mongols and the Crusaders while defending Syria. In addition to his military achievements, he strengthened diplomatic and commercial relations with the Mongols of the

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Golden Horde, and the Byzantium kingdoms in order to boost the economic prosperity of the Mamluk Empire. Moreover, Qalawun ruled Egypt for a period of eleven years; his descendants, comprising fifteen rulers, reigned over Egypt for almost one century from 1290 to 1382.

1.3.1 Fatima Khatun

Fatima Khatun was the first wife of Qalawun. She was called also Umm al-Salih as she was the mother of al-Salih ‘Ali, Qalawun’s favorite son. Khatun means a noblewoman in Turkish. She died in 682/1283 and was buried in her complex near the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa; hence, the madrasa of the former was known later as takiyya al-Sayyida Nafisa. When Sultan Qalawun went to Syria for a military confrontation with the Mongols, al-Malik al-Salih ‘Ali, who was the eldest son of al-Mansur Qalawun and his heir to the throne, was appointed as his viceroy in Cairo. According to al-Maqrizi, it was rumored that ‘Ali’s brother, al-Ashraf Khalil, poisoned him. In mourning, Qalawun made many generous donations to charity and endowed Qur’an reciters to Fatima’s mausoleum, where the body of their son al-Salih was interred in 687/1287. It contains also Ghazia Khatun, the daughter of Qalawun, the wife of the son of al-Zahir Baybars and two of al-Nasir Muhammad’s sons, al-Malik al-Salih Isma’il and al-Salih

66 Maqrizi, Mawa’iz, 238; Poole, History of Egypt, 525.
67 Raymond, Cairo, 114.
68 Mubarak, Khitat, 6: 4; 2, 190; Al-Sakhawi, Tuhfat al-ahbab wa baghyat al-tulab, 126-7. See appendix text I
69 On the occasion of the marriage of his father with a Syrian Princess, ‘Ali was fascinated by a lady who was the wife of Emir Katbugha. ‘Ali succeeded in marrying her after she was divorced. Interestingly, her sister also married ‘Ali’s brother, al-Ashraf Khalil (Devonshire, Rambles, 40).
70 Raymond, Cairo, 46.
71 Ibn Iyas, Jawahir al-suluk, 131; Maher, Masajid Misr wa-’awliya’uha al-salihun, 3: 46-47.
Salih. The mausoleum and the madrasa of al-Ashraf Khalil is next to that of Fatima Khatun in al-Ashrafiyya street. Though the former is very dilapidated, its dome was taken as a model in restoring Qalawun’s mausoleum which was built in 683/1284, four years earlier; it is highly likely that both resembled the one featured in the mausoleum of Umm al-Salih.

The above architectural works were constructed by the emir, the shadd al-‘ama’ir or superintendent of royal constructions, Sanjar al-Shuja‘i. After he had successfully built the mausoleum of Fatima Khatun, he went on to supervise the construction of the huge complex of Qalawun, including the hospital, which was a model of the ones built later by the Normans in Sicily during the reign of Frederic II, a madrasa, and a mausoleum. Furthermore, al-Shuja‘i supervised many structures in Damascus for Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil.

Ibn Duqmaq and Maqrizi attributed the funerary madrasa to ‘Fatima Khatun’ or ‘Umm al-Salih’ although the monument has no dating inscription. Qalawun founded this building on a former garden between Misr and al-Qahira, near Sayyida Nafisa’s tomb, and dedicated it to his wife in 683/1283. Her son al-Salih was subsequently interred there four years later. Unlike Fatima Khatun’s mausoleum, that of Khalil featured the foundation date and his royal titles on the exterior wall. Interestingly, the buildings of al-Malik al-Salih ‘Ali include the Qaysariyya of

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72 Rizq, Atlas al-‘imara al-islamiyya, 2: 83; Creswell, Muslim Architecture, 183.
73 Mubarak, Khitat, 6: 4.
74 Devonshire, Rambles in Cairo, 40.
75 Ghanim, Tarikh al-hadara al-islamiyya fi Siqqilia wa atharuh al-‘ala al-‘Uruba, 130.
76 Rabbat, “Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society”, 32.
77 Maqrizi, Mawa‘iz, 2: 394.
Amir ‘Ali in al-Mu’izz street close to Jaharkas qaysariyya on Darb Qaytun as well as the *funduq* and *rab‘* near the mosque of Sam ibn Nuh and Bab Zuwayla.78

1.3.2 Al-Ashraf Khalil

Al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Salah al-Din Khalil (689-693/1290-93) was the eighth Turkish Mamluk who ascended the throne after the death of his father al-Mansur Qalawun.79 In fact, when the elder son of Qalawun, al-Salih died, he had intense grief as he had prepared him for the succession. He did not, perhaps, consider his second son a suitable candidate for the throne. This explained why he never signed the diploma of investiture for al-Ashraf Khalil. Another explanation is that he may have known about the enmity between his son and the minister Turantay who clearly preferred al-Salih.80 Despite his father’s apparent reluctance; however, al-Malik al-Ashraf, only a few days after Qalawun's death, led the ceremonial procession, entering Bab al-Nasr and ascending to the citadel via the Gate of Zuwayla. In the *maydan* of the citadel, he received the oath of the emirs, the commanders, and the army.

Al-Nuwayri reported that al-Ashraf Khalil was known for being extremely handsome and courageous. He was also generous with his emirs and soldiers by exempting them from taxes.81 He also introduced many titles to his name, which was standard in the Mamluk era from al-Nasir Muhammad on.82 He founded his funerary institution while Qalawun was still on the throne and

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78 Haddad, *Qalawun*, 73.
80 Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 143.
an inscription on his tomb mentions him as the son of the sultan, which attest the prerogative of his future reign. Indeed, he added six titles over the known titles of his father to have twenty titles.  

83 He was fond of buying Mamluks; he brought Armenian and Caucasian slaves to house them in the towers of the citadel.  

84 He also differentiated the Qipchaq by housing them in the Golden Hall and the Emerald Hall. He built the qa‘a al-Ashrafiyya, the eastern Iwan in the Citadel, and his madrasa near the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa.  

85 He ordered a well dug in al-‘Arish in Sinai and installed on it a saqiyya or noria.  

86 One major and vital project that he started but did not finish was the building of a tower to bring water to the citadel in an aqueduct over the walls of Salah al-Din.  

87 His reign also witnessed an advancement in medicine and astrology; Ibn al-Nafis, originally Jewish, was the chief of the physicians.  

88 Khalil had arranged religious lessons for jurists in his madrasa adjacent to his mausoleum and appointed reciters of the holy book as well as servants for it.  

89 When he was killed in 693/1294, al-Ashraf was thirty years old and was buried in his turba.  

90 Thus, he reigned only for three years and two months.


88 Kassim, *Dirasat fi tarih Misr al-ijtima‘i*, 113.


90 Mubarak, *Khitat*, 6:4; turba means not merely a tomb but a complex that could include a madrassa also, for instance.

After ascending the throne, Khalil appointed, instead of Turantay, Baydara as the deputy of the Sultanate, viceroy, and brought Shams al-Din from the Hijaz to become his vizier. Among his military exploits, in 689/1291 he besieged Acre and liberated it along with Beirut. Acre was the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the last principality of the Franks. On Khalil’s return to Cairo, the city was adorned to receive him. He visited the tomb of his father upon his arrival and endowed it and his own with the booty and lands taken from Acre and Tyre, as stipulated in the waqf deed. He also took Sidon and Tyre and besieged the Rum citadel in Armenia by employing sophisticated weapons including twenty-three catapults (mangonels) in 691/1292. Whereas he prepared his army to liberate Iraq from the Mongol, he had a good relationship with the Golden Horde. Khalil then added the title ‘Salah’ as in Salah al-Din; it is written in Muhammad Ghanim’s poem:

مليكان قد لقبا بالصلاح

فيوسف لا شك في فضله

و لكن خليل هو الأشرف

Two Kings have been called the righteous, Khalil and Joseph

Joseph, there is no doubt in his favor, but Khalil is the honorable.

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92 Turantay had his funduq or caravanserai near al-Maqs (Ramsis square now), where the Syrian oil merchants used to reside.
94 Idem, Cairo of the Mamluks, 142-143.
95 Ahmad, ‘Abd al-Raouf, Al-Ashraf Khalil, 73.
96 Ibn Iyas, Bada ‘i ‘al-zuhur, 365. (My translation)
It is worth mentioning that perhaps the cruelty and imprudence of Khalil shown towards his father’s emirs after his death provoked the hate of his retinue, leading to his assassination by his mamluks. There are several documented examples of his harsh treatment. For instance, al-Ashraf Khalil arrested and murdered emir Husam al-Din Turantay, who was appointed by Qalawun as the viceroy of the sultanate; he expelled the two sons of Baybars with their mothers from Karak and sent them to Constantinople; he arrested and tried to kill Emir Lajin, the viceroy in Syria, and, finally, he killed Sunqur al-Ashqar, the Sultan of Damascus and Emir Jaqmaq. Consequently, in 693/1293 during a hunting journey, on his way to Alexandria, Baydara, Bahadir, and Lajin mortally wounded Khalil in a sword attack. He was buried in the madrasa al-Ashrafiyya close to Nafisa’s shrine. In revenge, the Ashrafiyya mamluks and Qatbugha, the viceroy of Khalil’s young brother al-Nasir, killed Baydara. Accordingly, Lajin and other suspected mamluks fled. Fearing execution for the murder of Khalil, Lajin sought refuge in the mosque of Ibn Tulun, in which he vowed that he would restore it. Thus, he repaired the minbar and many other parts of the building after he succeeded to the sultanate.

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97 Hadad, Qalawun, 74.
98 Ibn Iyas, Bada’i’ al-zuhur, 379; Haddad, Qalawun, 139-40; Quatemère, Histoire des sultans mamluks, 2:139.
99 Ibn Iyas, Bada’i’ al-zuhur, 374-75
100 Qalqashandi, Ma’athir al-‘inafah, 2: 124.
101 Lane-Pool, Art of the Saracens, 20-22.
A- His buildings in the Citadel

Saladin chose to build his citadel on a rocky spur projecting from the Muqattam hill in 571/1176. He undertook the project of protecting the two cities, Cairo and Fustat, by encircling them with a single wall and building a citadel. The Citadel’s north enclosure (200 x 240 meters) was intended for military purposes and was completed by Saladin. The south and the north enclosures were connected by the Gate of the Tower (Bab al-Qulla), erected later by Sultan Baybars (658-674/1260-1276). Al-Malik al-Kamil built the royal residence in the south enclosure including a hall (iwan), a library that was the remnant of a Fatimid library, a palace of Justice (637/1240), and the royal stables. Although the last Ayyubid Sultan Salih Najm al-Din abandoned the Citadel to live on the Island of Rawda, his wife and successor, Shagar al-Durr built there the Hall of the Columns. Baybars built the ‘House of Gold’, that had a majlis, an iwan and two suffas or alcoves, and the Dar al-‘Adl to receive petitions each Monday and Thursday. His successor Qalawun built a dome (the Qubba al-Mansuriyya) beside his great Iwan, overlooking the Red Court in 684/1286. It was replaced by the mosque of Muhammad ‘Ali. His great Iwan included a hall of Justice and a reception hall for ambassadors (with 32 columns of red granite, each 8 m. high), drawn in the Description de l’Egypte (fig. 1.19).

102 Refurbished later by Qalawun (1279-1290), then by al-Ashraf Khalil in 692/1293.
103 Raymond, Cairo, 85-90.
104 A majlis consisted of a T-plan arrangement, a central deep room flanked by two narrower spaces. They are separated from a court by a portico, which had usually three wooden folded doors corresponding the three parts of the majlis. (Rabbat, Citadel, 115).
105 Raymond, Cairo, 128; Rabbat, Mamluk history, 155; al-Maqrizi, Khitat, 208.
106 Today, it is the space in front of Bab al-Qulla and the mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad.
Afterward, the name was changed to al-Iwan al-Ashrafi in 692/1293. This was demolished in turn by his brother al-Nasir Muhammad in 710/1311 to be the Great Iwan. The Ablaq (striped) palace had four halls and overlooked the stables, the market for horses and the hippodrome at *maydan al-Rumayla* beneath the Citadel (fig. 1.22). Interestingly, during the Ottoman period, the Ablaq palace became a workshop where the cloth cover for the Ka’ba was woven.

**The qa’a al-Ashrafiyya**

A reception hall was unearthed beside the Great Iwan in 1985 (fig. 1.20). It was reported that al-Ashraf Khalil inaugurated it in 691/1292 on the occasion of the circumcision of his younger brother al-Nasir Muhammad and his nephew Musa, the son of his deceased brother al-Salih ‘Ali. It has a *qa’a* type plan with two unequal iwans, one on the northwest, overlooking the city and the other smaller one on the southeast, connected to al-Iwan al-Kabir (fig. 1.21). The *durqa’a*, with two *suffas* at its sides, is accessed by two narrow entrances at the southwest and the northeast walls (fig. 1.23 a,b). These two entrances have stone staircase; the northern door leads to the roof and the southern leads most likely to other structures or courtyards on either side (fig. 1.26 a,b). The *durqa’a* measures 14.25 by 12.7 meters. At the entrance of the southwest wall, there is a fragment of black and white strips of marble, above which are a series of porphyry colonnettes with gilded capitals alternating with trilobed niches, filled with mosaics (fig. 1.23 a, b). Fragments of a large frieze of glass mosaic scenes remain above this frieze. Then,

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113 Rabbat, *Citadel*, 158.
above the glass mosaics, longitudinal slits are evidence for wooden panels that were fixed by nails into wooden pegs.\textsuperscript{114} The floor was paved with marble in geometric patterns, furnished by a central octagonal marble fountain (now non-extant).\textsuperscript{115} Polychrome strips of marble adorned the higher step, 30cm. from the \textit{durqa’a}\textsuperscript{116} (fig. 1.26). Carved floral marble panels covered the dado. These panels had intricately ornamented reliefs of vegetal motifs (figs. 27-8). According to Rabbat, this \textit{qa’a} might have belonged to al-Ashraf Khalil (693/1293), since the name “al-Ashraf” is inscribed on one of the four monolith columns of granite lying nearby (fig. 1.30). The text reads, among all the columns, “Glory to our master the sultan, the greatest al-Malik al-Ashraf, sultan of Islam and Muslims, may God bestow glory on his supporters (fig. 1.31 a, b).”\textsuperscript{117} They might have supported a portico or a wooden dome in the \textit{durqa’a}.\textsuperscript{118} This \textit{qa’a} must have been inhabited by the most powerful emirs and viceroys of the sons of al-Nasir. It dominated the Khatt al-Saliba al-Kubra (the Great Crossing) connecting the Ibn Tulun mosque to the stables. Interestingly, a rope was sometimes stretched between the minaret of Sultan Hasan and the roof of the adjacent \textit{Burj al-Rafraf}, a structure identified in the \textit{Description de L’Egypte}.\textsuperscript{119} The \textit{rafraf} was either adjacent or on top of the \textit{qa’a}; it was like a belvedere or pergola. Rabbat quotes Nuwayri’s explanation: “this royal \textit{rafraf} was the place where the sultan sat regularly for a

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 160.
\textsuperscript{115} Rabbat, \textit{Citadel}, 158-60.
\textsuperscript{116} I obtained a legal permission from the Ministry of Antiquities and the Citadel archives and I took these photos on the spot.
\textsuperscript{117} Rabbat, \textit{Citadel}, 156-7.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{119} Rabbat, \textit{Citadel}, 150-4. The rope was used during great events for clowns show. (Lane-Pool, \textit{Art of the Saracens}, 22).
private audience” (fig. 1.32).\textsuperscript{120} Maqrizi mentioned that al-Ashraf Khalil erected the \textit{Rafraf} overlooking Giza until al-Nasir ibn Qalawun demolished it in 712/1312.\textsuperscript{121}

Glass mosaic is another medium found in the \textit{qa‘a} of al-Ashraf Khalil which was applied mainly in the conch of the mihrabs through the Bahri Mamluk period. Examples are the mihrabs of the mausoleums of al-Salih Najm al-Din and Shagar al-Durr; the frieze at Qasr al-Ablaq in Damascus (1266, now non-extant); the frieze and mihrab of the Qubba Zahiriyya in Damascus (1277-81); the conch of the mihrab of the madrasa of Qalawun (1285); the frieze at the Qubba al-Mansuriyya at the Citadel of Cairo (1286); the mihrab added by Lajin (1299) in the mosque of Ibn Tulun; the frieze that no longer exists at Qasr al-Ablaq at the Citadel of Cairo (1315) and the mihrab of the mosque of Sitt-Miska (1339).\textsuperscript{122}

It seemed that Baybars revived Umayyad art in the Qubba al-Zahiriyya (throne hall) which became a model for his successors, such as Qalawun and his sons Khalil and al-Nasir. They most probably brought Syrian craftsmen to adorn the hall and the palace in Cairo.\textsuperscript{123} Indeed, the Qubbat al-Zahiriyya represents the culmination of nearly two decades of revival of the Ummayad art, as he restored the interior mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{124} The scenes of mosaic that surmounted the small niches of the southwest wall of the \textit{qa‘a} find their parallel in the Qubba al-Zahiriyya, and ultimately in the Umayyad mosque. The similarities could be shown in the acanthus leaves covering the roof and the towers with gabled roof ending

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{120} Nuwayri, \textit{Nihaya}, 30, 43, apud Rabbat, \textit{Citadel}, 156.
  \item \textsuperscript{121} Maqrizi, \textit{al-Mawa‘iz}, 3: 686. See Appendix, text II
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Abdulfattah, “Glass Mosaics in a Royal Mamluk Hall”, 205-207.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Kenney, “Mixed Metaphors,” 176.
\end{itemize}
with three lobes incrusted with mother-of-pearl finials (fig. 1.24). The bilateral symmetry is resonated in the central tower flanked by two smaller towers, surmounted by bulbous domes with splayed drum zones, as well as two trees bearing fruits on branches (fig. 1.25). Gold cubes were in the background. Similar trees, but carved in stucco, could be seen above the mihrab of al-Maridani mosque (1339). The scenes of qa‘a probably serve to convey a message since it reflected the images of citadels and castles that imply the exploits and the victory of which either al-Ashraf or Qalawun was proud.126

The Iwan al-Ashrafi: According to Ibn al-Dawadari, Khalil’s Iwan was adorned with scenes of emirs, each with his blazon inscribed above his head. Nevertheless, al-Maqrizi and al-‘Ayni described these scenes on the walls of the rafraf which he had enlarged. In contrast, Baybars was a very austere ruler: only scenes of hunting and military exercises could be noticed on the Baptisere de Saint Louis, recently attributed to him, for instance.127 Thus, despite his short reign of only three years (689-693/1290-1293), al-Ashraf Khalil’s ambition and enthusiasm led him toward military action as well as civil and reform deeds. Not only did he clear the Syrian coast of Crusaders, but he also refurbished the audience hall of his father in the citadel.128

To conclude, the introduction of the portico in front of the dome chamber can be traced from Fatimid period shrines in the early 12th century; then it was retained in the Ayyubid and the Mamluk mausoleums. Furthermore, being adjacent to the holy shrine and being an integral part of the pilgrimage circuit added significant importance to the two complexes. Accordingly, after

125 Abdulfattah, “Glass Mosaics in a Royal Mamluk Hall”, 211-213; Rabbat, the Citadel, 160-1.
126 Rabbat, Citadel, 166.
127 Ibid., 172.
128 Ibid., 147.
reviewing the importance and the value of the patrons of the two complexes, and the life and sanctity of the historical area in which they are situated, their conservation will be reviewed.
Chapter Two
Chapter two

Architectural layout and Analysis

From Pharaonic times Egyptians venerated the dead in cemeteries situated near the capitals, such as the necropolis of Sakkara next to Memphis. Similarly, in the Islamic era, near the Muqattam Cliffs, mausoleums and domes were erected over pious Sheikhs tombs, and then near to the latter imperial complexes were built. In the account of the medieval chronicler Ibn Battuta, he described the cemeteries of al-Khalifa as a place of pilgrimage, especially for those Muslims who are unable to afford the journey to Mecca.\textsuperscript{129} This chapter will shed the light on the architectural elements of the remnants of the mausoleums of the princess Fatima Khatun and the sultan al-Ashraf Khalil. Unfortunately, the missing elements were more extensive than that of the surviving parts of the monuments under study. The most characteristic architectural features will be studied by the analysis of old photographs and drawings and contemporaneous buildings, especially since the two surviving structures have been subject to many modifications.

Description

The architecture and the decorative program of the complexes of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil have been subject to many modifications. The functions of some areas were changed, houses and other tombs were built next to them, and many parts of their decoration were destroyed. In this chapter, I will provide a detailed description of the architectural configuration of the remaining elements. By inspecting plans and old images, along with a

\textsuperscript{129} Rodenbeck, \textit{Cairo}, 66.
comparative analysis, I will attempt to present a better understanding of how the surviving spaces were used as well as to speculate on the place of some missing elements.

2.1 The complex of Fatima Khatun

In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Mamluk architecture under the patronage of Baybars, Qalawun, and al-Ashraf Khalil adopted new architectural features derived from the west and the east of the Islamic world.\textsuperscript{130} Al-Mansour Qalawun instructed the emir Sanjar al-Shuja‘i to supervise the construction of Umm al-Salih’s complex. Both the complex of al-Ashraf Khalil including the madrasa al-Ashrafiyya, and the Turbat al-Sitt Khatun including the takiyya al-Qadiriyya\textsuperscript{131} were built on a garden established by Qalawun, one hundred- and twenty-five-meters south of the Fatimid shrines.\textsuperscript{132}

All that survives of the funerary madrasa is the rectangular base of the minaret, and the mausoleum which has lost its dome (fig. 2.2).\textsuperscript{133} The madrasa is the earliest example in the cemetery to exhibit urban features through its following the street alignment in the placement of its minaret and portal (fig. 2.3). The mausoleum is wider than Shagar al-Durr’s, but of the same height as the mausoleums of Najm al-Din and al-Ashraf Khalil. It is worth noting that the madrasa was converted to a takiyya Qadiriyya, known also as takiyya Nafisa, where some Turks lived during the Ottoman period.\textsuperscript{134} Photos from the nineteenth century show the minaret intact (fig. 2.4).

\textsuperscript{130} Rabbat, \textit{Mamluk History}, 6.
\textsuperscript{131} Al-Sakhawi, \textit{Tuhfat al-abhab}, 126; the Qadriyya order follows the Shazliyya.
\textsuperscript{132} Williams, \textit{Islamic Monuments in Cairo}, 122.
\textsuperscript{133} Comitè, \textit{Bulletin}, fas. 18, 1901, 110.
\textsuperscript{134} Rizk, \textit{Atlas al-‘imara al-‘islamiyya}, 92.
2.1.1 The minaret of the madrasa

The minaret has a massive, rectangular tapering base, which stands at the left side of the entrance. The base was built of limestone, then fired brick was used for the lost upper part. What remains is 21.20 m. high, on a square base 5.8 x 6.05 m. On the south-east side there is a small opening, surmounted by a lintel and crowned by an ogee molding. This opening could have been reached by a 10 m. high movable wooden ladder. There are four windows, one on each side. Each window, enclosed by a trilobed arch, has two engaged colonnettes, with lotus capitals and bases. This narrow opening is capped by an arcuated lintel, a Syrian feature (fig. 2.5), as are the crenellations at Bab al-Futuh, each of which has a monolithic capstone. Inside there are stairs, with light coming dimly through a small opening in the north-west side. The staircase makes six flights around a square core. On the exterior there is on each side a pointed-arch recess with cavetto returns that encloses the trilobed window, standing above projecting sills with a molding similar to that running on the top edge of the minaret (fig. 2.6). The second tier was most probably covered by a shallow brick dome set on a pavilion in the form of a mabkhara. The earliest surviving pavilion is that of the Maridani minaret (740/1340).

From the 19th century photograph we can see that the lost upper part consisted of a two-storeyed plastered brick structure. A rectangular base was surmounted by the pavilion with tall openings and semicircular arches set within larger recessed arches 3.42 m. high. These arches

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135 Ibid.
136 Rizk, Atlas al-‘imara al-islamiyya, 94.
137 Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 1: 186.
138 Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 2:183; Maher, Masajid Misr, 50.
139 Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic Architecture in Cairo, 17.
were slightly horseshoe-shaped. Above this pavilion, a cornice separated it from another much shorter octagonal part pierced by tiny trilobed windows, topped by a shallow brick dome. This hybrid minaret is similar to those of al-Baqli (696/1297) and Tankizbugha (763/1362). The latter is in the northern cemetery and bears the last seen example of a *mabhara* (fig. 2.4). All the three minarets have no transitional zone between the rectangular section and the elongated octagon of the pavilion section.\(^{140}\) The minaret of Tankizbugha stands separate from the mausoleum and has a square base like that of Fatima Khatun. On the other hand, the minaret of al-Baqli differs from that of Fatima Khatun in its hexagonal rather than octagonal upper structure.\(^{141}\)

### 2.1.2 The entrance and façade

Adjacent to the minaret is a high pointed-arched portal, flanked by two engaged columns and, from the south, by a wall that goes back and then forms a right angle at an antechamber in front of the tomb. This wall has rectangular recessed windows (fig. 2.7). The portal, which has an ogival vault, leads into an open space. On the right is a narrow hall, once tunnel-vaulted (fig. 2.8), which leads on the southeast into the antechamber that must once have had a flat wooden roof.\(^{142}\)

**A) The gateway**

This was buried to half its height when the Comité started excavations. They revealed that there was a double flight of four steps. It was flanked by a pair of columns; two stone benches stand on either side under the vault. The latter leads to another doorway, which had two

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\(^{141}\) Ibid.

door-leaves. The lintel and a part of the tympanum had to be recovered by the Comitè as the ground level had risen sharply by 3m and the lintel was broken (fig. 2.7). The doorway opens onto a broader recess covered by a brick tunnel-vault, and then leads through a high opening on the right (northeast) that makes an obtuse angle with the massive wall of the doorway to a vaulted rectangular hall or gallery (now unroofed). The remains of the vault exist at the ends of this passageway. The passageway is lit by two tiers of three rectangular windows (G, H and I) (fig. 2.1). One is at the northwest side next to the main entrance and the others face southwest. The relieving arches above the lintels of the lower windows serve as sills for the upper windows, which are slightly narrower (fig. 2.10 a). The southeast side leads to the narthex or the portico that preceded the tomb.  

B) The Portico

The funerary dome is preceded by a now uncovered, but formerly covered porch on the northwest side like that of al-Ashraf Khalil and the Shrine of Sayyida Ruqqaya. This feature appeared earlier in the mosque of al-Salih Tala’i’ (555/1160) in Cairo and previously in the Bu Fatata mosque in Tunisia (223-226/838-841), which have roofed porticos. The portico has three openings (K, L, M) and two others at either end (N, O) (fig. 2.1). All the openings are spanned externally by stone lintels, and internally by lintels covered by relieving arches of mixed stone and brick (fig. 2.9 a, b). All the windows in both the gallery and the portico are set externally in tall shallow recesses. From these windows, the only remaining ones are the

144 Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 182.
145 Al-Haddad, al-Qibab, 80-81.
windows of G, H and N. Cavetto moldings surmount the top of the first two (G and H), and two tiers of stalactites surmount the latter (N) (fig. 2.10). Creswell noted that the recesses framing L and M were once flanked by columns, but now no recess can be noticed. Although the portico is now roofless, the presence of a recess for a beam just below the level of the windows of the mausoleum suggests that there was originally a flat roof. Like the mausoleum of Qalawun, a wooden frieze with inscriptions ran along the interior between the lintels of the lower windows and the sills of those above, since wooden wall-plugs to hold it are embedded in the masonry. Concerning the two opposite openings P and Q, Creswell did not believe that they were opened as they are very narrow and not set in recesses.147

2.1.3 The dome

A- The exterior

The mausoleum is made of brick on two base courses of slightly battered stone.148 It has a carved stone naskh frieze (fig. 2.11) beneath the stepped crenellations. A part of the inscription can be seen from the main road on the south-west side, while the remains of crenellations exist only on the south-east side (fig. 2.12). The inscription reads:

 Laguna al-adl al-mujahid al-mu’azzam al-mu’attal al-mustansir
 Sultan al-‘slam wa-l-muslimin sidd al-mulk wa-l-ulama’ mughżī

147 Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 182.
148 Ibid; Rizk, Atlas al-timara, 92.
The door (R) at the northwest is flanked by two keel-arched niches of Fatimid derivation. Similar doorways at the center of the two other sides, southwest and northeast, are crowned by beams with a semicircular brick relieving arch above (fig. 2.13 a, b). In the center of each side is a large window consisting of two slightly horse-shoe arches with an oculus above them, separated by a wooden post and enclosed in a round cavetto arch. All the round-arched windows have lost their stucco Kufic inscriptions on a floral background, except that on the northeast side (fig. 2.14). The surviving inscription reads: "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و على أله و سلم تسليما".

On the northeast façade at the corner near the qibla wall the springing of an arch at a height of half a meter is still extant (U). This displays carved stucco with beautiful trilobed floral patterns and a subtle border of guilloche braid at the sides (fig. 2.15 a, b). This arch and the stucco ornament which decorated its soffit show that the madrasa might have extended northeast and southeast of the mausoleum.151

B- The interior

The dome chamber is now bare of any decoration. It unfortunately lost its original dome and now has a poor wooden cover instead, erected in 1895.152 The wall above the three doors is made of stone covered by plaster. The dome chamber has two round-arched salients on each wall, each of which was originally supported by two pairs of engaged columns, from which sprang the two arches (fig. 2.17). The outer arch forms the support for a side of the octagonal dome.

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150 Rizk, Atlas al-’imara, 93. (See translation in appendix, text IV)
drum, while the inner one frames the window above the three doors and above the mihrab. The mihrab, now whitewashed, has a carved rosette above the apex of the conch (fig. 2.16).

C- The pendentives

The dome was supported on the corners by pendentives, each formed by three tiers of niches, two in the middle, one above and one below. Each pendentive is topped by a squinch arch (fig. 2.18). The drum has eight keel-arched windows, surmounted by a circular one that alternates with a blind keel-arch and roundel internally. Externally, the drum has eight shallow recesses topped by a semicircular arch that probably rested on two colonnettes, framing a window and an oculus (fig. 2.19). These recessed panels were adorned by floral patterns as well as inscriptions carved in stucco, but unfortunately, all of them have disappeared except for a few parts that can still be seen on the northeast and south-east sides.

2.2 Al-Ashraf Khalil mausoleum (687/1288)

The mausoleum of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil is located between the mosque and shrine of Sayyida Nafisa and the Abbasid Mausoleum on the south and the complex of Fatima Khatun on the north, thirty meters south of the latter. A remarkable resemblance is noticeable in the plans of the mausoleums of the al-Ashraf Khalil and Abbasid Caliphs (fig. 2.20). Sanjar al-Shuja’i was the supervisor of works for both the complexes of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil. They are almost identical in size, and both have an octagonal drum as well as a narthex that precedes the dome chamber. The mausoleum is now fenced off by a grill made by the Comité in 1909. It is

unfortunately surrounded by blocks of modern buildings on the southeast and is only partially visible on the southwest, while from the northeast it is obstructed by an ice-cream factory. However, it is better conserved than Fatima Khatun. According to Behrens-Abouseif, the Comité in 1903 restored the dome of Qalawun based on the design of that of al-Ashraf Khalil (fig. 2.38 b, c).  

2.2.1 The entrance and façade

A) The portico

Al-Ashraf Khalil dome was constructed five years after that of Fatima Khatun. Since the ground has risen nearly three meters and the monument has sadly deteriorated, the portico has almost vanished with the exception of a part of the northeast wall on which some carved inscriptions are barely legible (fig. 2.21). It was entered by a doorway (B) in the center of the northwest side, in front of the entrance of the mausoleum. The latter is flanked by two niches that have lost their engaged columns (fig. 2.22). The main entrance was also flanked on its inner side by two similar recesses. On the northeast wall, there is a blocked door (C) and a recess of 50 cm. deep (D), above which there is a window (fig. 2.23). It appears to have had another door in the south-west wall leading into the annex, which is most probably a later addition as it is built of small half-dressed blocks. In his account, which was written in 1952, Creswell explains that a series of square holes could be seen in the façade of the mausoleum. These holes might have held beams that roofed the portico. Wooden battens embedded in the inner face of the north-east wall

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156 Ibid., 218.
also suggest that there must once have been a tall frieze running all around beneath the flat ceiling, exactly as in Fatima Khatun’s mausoleum.

2.2.2 The dome

A- The exterior

The mausoleum reflects the splendor and the magnitude that the owner once possessed. It rests on a beveled plinth, which has almost completely disappeared apart from the eastern corner (fig. 2.20 (b)). It tapers slightly and is crowned by stepped crenellations, which are the same type as those of the mosque of Baybars I and the dome of al-Salih Najm al-Din (fig. 2.24 a, b).

There is a doorway at the center of each wall except the qibla wall. The doorways along with the mihrab are surmounted by a pointed-arched window with a cavetto molding. The south-east and the north-east walls still retain some traces of decoration, such as Kufic carved in stucco, as in Fatima Khatun, but one cannot see them now because of the adjacent residential buildings.

The date of the foundation can be clearly read beneath the crenellations on the exterior four walls. It states that this qubba was built in 678/1288, which means before the death of Khalil’s father Qalawun 1290. As quoted by van Berchem in Creswell’s account, the tomb must have been finished after the ascension of Khalil to the throne because of the series of titles added to his name. The foundation inscription reads (fig. 2.24 a, b):

بسمة، امر بإنشاء هذه القبة الشريفة مولانا و سيدنا السلطان الملك الإشرف العالم العدل المجاهد المرابط المتغير المؤيد المظفر المنصور
صلاح الدنيا والدين ... قاتل الكفرا و الشرك اين قاهر الخوارج و المتمردين مبدل الطغاة و المارقين محي العدل في العالمين منصف
المطلومين من الطالمين كنز الفقراء و المساكين كهف الضعفاء و المنقطعين ناصر الحق بالبراهين محي ملة سيد المرسلين حامي حوزة الدين
ابو الفتح خليل بن مولانا و سيدنا السلطان الأعظم الملك المنصور العالم العدل المجاهد المرابط المتغير المؤيد المظفر المنصور سلطان العرب

157 Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 216.
Unlike the masonry, the zone of transition is octagonal and made of brick. The height is about 6 m., with a shallow arch in each face set on engaged colonnettes decorated with chevrons in stucco. Interestingly, the transitional zone is made by a step at each corner between the square and the octagonal drum (fig. 2.25). These steps are below the opened middle niche of the third tier of the muqarnas. A series of short beams projected all around the drum (fig. 2.26). Patricolo assumed that they might have supported a stucco molding, but Creswell suggested that this unusual feature perhaps supported a gallery.

B- The interior of the dome chamber

The windows that surmount the mihrab and the doorways have a narrow wooden frieze with no decoration slightly below the apex (fig. 2.27). The mihrab and each doorway were flanked by columns. According to Patricolo the interior wall was paneled with marble, now

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158 O’Kane, *The Monumental Inscriptions of Cairo*, inscription number 275.1. See translation in appendix, text VI.
161 Patricolo replaced Hertz and headed the Technical Section of the Comité from 1914 to 1923.
163 Ibid., 217.
missing, up to the capitals of the engaged columns. However, all that Creswell found of such material was in the left mihrab of the narthex, where a small red marble strip flanked by two white ones remained at ground level. Given that wooden wall-plugs can be noticed above the doorways, apart from those found beneath the ceiling, one can speculate that another broad frieze ran all around at this level. There are four arched panels of stucco carved with intricate and dense arabesques above the pointed-arched windows (fig. 2.28). The latter have lost their grilles, but they are surrounded on their inner faces by a narrow strip of stucco carved with floral motifs. The other windows all have double grilles. The inner grill is of stucco cut in arabesque patterns which retained considerable pieces specimens of blue, green, and yellow glass (fig. 2.29), like those of the mausoleums of al-Salih Najm al-Din and the Abbasid Caliphs, whilst the outer stucco was without glass, but had geometrical patterns like those of the Qalawun complex.

C- Squinches and transitional zone

Above the wooden frieze are stalactite squinches. They consist of three tiers of five niches in each corner, which recall the keel-arched stalactites of Zayn al-Din Yusuf. Between the two upper tiers of each corner a triple grilled window in stucco can be seen, a pair on the same level and one hexagonal above them, similar arrangement of windows of the Abbasid caliphs dome (fig. 2.30 a, b and c). The central niche of each top tier forms a window that corresponds to the upper part of the triple window mentioned above. Above the three tiers of stalactites, Qur’anic naskh inscriptions on a floral background, extracted from Surat al-‘Umran, are arranged

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164 Bulletin de Comité 1915-1919, 61; Williams, Islamic Monuments, 123.
165 Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 217.
166 Ibid.
167 Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 143; Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, 216
in eight cartouches separated by magnificently carved medallions, which form twelve-pointed stars in the middle (fig. 2.31):  

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\text{(193-189:4:189-193)}
\]

\[
\text{ان في خلق السموات و الأرض و اختلاف الليل و النهار..........كفر عنا سيئاتنا و توفنا مع الابرار}
\]

“In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the alternation of night and day [........] expiate from us our evil deeds, and make us die (in the state of righteousness) along with the pious believers.”

These inscriptions are topped by 24 circles filled with stucco grilles of different geometrical patterns, such as six-pointed stars, that once were set with stained glass that added colors to the interior. Only a few remnants of these colored glasses can still be seen (fig. 2.32). Every two circles alternate with an oculus, which make eight oculi which correspond with the center of the sides of the octagonal drum. The circles themselves are linked by interlocking smaller circles. Above these oculi, a large wooden frieze with almost no traces of decoration is surmounted by a row of little wooden corbels probably used for lamp chains (fig. 2.27 and 35). The wooden frieze at the north-west side bears a few remnants of colored vegetal patterns, white on a blue background.

The pendentives are usually executed above the cubic base and are confined to the transitional zone, clearly marked on the exterior. In both mausoleums the pendentives are abnormal; in Fatima Khatun’s dome chamber the pendentives are entirely confined to the square

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169 Ibid.
base, while in that of al-Sultan al-Ashraf they are in the cubic base as well as in the octagonal drum (fig. 2.33).

The most interesting characteristic of the mausoleum is that the dome has eight rounded buttresses that alternate with four windows of parabolic profile. The dome is similar to that of Sultan al-Salih in its profile. Before the work of restoration of 1917 done by the Comité, examination showed that it was constructed in two layers of brickwork. Because of the outer layer’s poor mortar, the dome became deformed.\(^{172}\)

The unique feature of the mausoleum is its irregularity; the whole building tapers towards the northwest. In addition, the portico itself tapers in the same direction as the dome chamber and from the southwest to the northeast wall. The thickness of the wall increases from right to left by 40 cm (fig. 2.20). Despite the fact that no vestiges of a madrasa were found, and no available source indicated its presence, Creswell believed that the madrasa, which taught the four rites of Islamic law. It must have been adjacent, based on al-Maqrizi, who wrote that Jamal al-Din al-Ustadar, Barquq’s majordomo,\(^{173}\) dismantled it to build a minaret in al-Azhar mosque.\(^{174}\) The initial waqf deed has not been found. Nonetheless, the deeds copied in ‘Abd al-Zahir’s chronicle allude to that the madrasa was ‘adjacent’ to the mausoleum, which is the same term used in Qalawun complex. This might explain that the madrasa was separated from the mausoleum by a passage.\(^{175}\)


\(^{173}\) Majordomo, superintendent of the household, the kitchen, pages, and servants. Lane-Poole, *The Saracens of Egypt*, 29.

\(^{174}\) Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 143.

\(^{175}\) Ibid.
2.3.1 Architectural Analysis

A- Arch and Niches

Arches

The broken arch has developed through Islamic history. The rounded horseshoe arch was first used extensively under the Umayyads in Andalusia, and was widespread in the Maghrib from the eleventh century under the Almoravids (1056-1147) and Almohads (1130-1269).176 The earliest example of the horseshoe arch in Egypt is in fact in the dome of Fatima Khatun (683/1284), then in the Qalawun complex (683/1284) and a few years later, in the Complex of Salar and Sanjar al-Jawli (703/1303).177 Although al-Shafi‘i holds the view that the earliest Islamic example of the horseshoe arch form is displayed in the Great Mosque of Damascus, I support the view that the horseshoe arch was a Maghribi borrowing.178 In the Fatima Khatun mausoleum, the pointed arches exhibited in the frame of the windows of the minaret as well as the keel arches in the windows in the octagonal drum, and in the two niches flanking the main doorway of the dome are borrowed from Fatimid architecture, while the trilobed arch exhibited in the frame of the windows in the minaret reflect Andalusian influence.179

In the al-Ashraf Khalil mausoleum, the parabolic arch exhibited in the four windows above the drum shows Iranian influence (fig. 2.35), whereas the keel-arched windows pierced in

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177 Creswell, Short Account, 315.
178 Al-Shafi‘i, al-‘Imara al-‘arabiyya, 203-207.
the drum, and the pointed arches in the two niches flanking the entrance of the dome reflect Fatimid influence. Hence, it can be noticed that both mausoleums were influenced by Seljuk and Fatimid vocabulary. Yet, like Qalawun’s complex, Fatima Khatun’s has more Andalusian influence than the al-Ashraf Khalil mausoleum.

Niches

Indeed, the presence of niches suggests Byzantine influence like the shell niche in which the Godess Aphrodite lies, according to Byzantine mythology, then the Coptic influence. In terms of the mihrab, there are Qur’anic inscriptions in the al-Ashraf mausoleum, whereas in that of Fatima, it seems it had recent decoration in its conch in the shape of a lamp. The presence of two niches at the entrance of the two tombs recalls those of the mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs behind Sayyida Nafisa and the Shrine of Sayyida Ruqqayya. The presence of three mihrabs has a Fatimid Shi‘i connotation that continued into the Mamluk period. For instance, in al-‘Aqmar mosque (519-1121), there are also two niches flank the entrance beside the name of ‘Ali and the prophet (fig. 2.37), while in the Ruqayya shrine, there are five mihrabs: three inside and two outside; this perhaps is related to the prophet and the family of his daughter including ‘Ali, al-Husayn and al-Hasan. Similarly, the madrasa of al-Salih Najm al-Din had two niches flanking the main mihrab as did the dome chamber of the complex of Mustafa Pasha in the late 13th century. Side niches are also found at the entrance of the Khanqah of Baybars al-Jashankir 706/1307.

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180 Al-Shafi‘i, al-‘Imara al-‘arabiyya, 607-611.
B- Dome and zone of transition

Domes

Early tombs in Egypt included those of the Fatimids in Aswan (ninth century) and in their shrines in Cairo (fig. 2.38), then the Ayyubids built large domes, such as that of Imam al-Shafi‘i for large numbers of pilgrims.\textsuperscript{182} During the Mamluk era, the first and most important structure in many complexes was the mausoleum. It had to be tall and prominent. The aristocracy preferred to erect their mausoleums close to their own residences, such as that of Shagar al-Durr.\textsuperscript{183} Mausoleums also exhibited the power and wealth of the patron or the patroness.\textsuperscript{184}

The domes of al-Ashraf and Fatima Khatun were hybrid; the base is stone while the dome itself is brick, similar to the dome of the Zawiyah of Zayn al-Din Yusuf (697/1298)\textsuperscript{185} and later the twin domes of Sanjar al-Jawli and Salar (703/1303).\textsuperscript{186} Moreover, the dome of Umm al-Salih may have had the same design as that of al-Ashraf Khalil with the buttresses that decorate and consolidate it.

Qalawunid architecture seems to have been inspired by the tripartite bay of the Norman architecture of Sicily.\textsuperscript{187} The oculus and the two double-arched openings, along with the double round arch, were framed by a frieze of Kufic inscriptions carved on bricks covered with plaster

\textsuperscript{182} Tantawy, “Articulating a New Architectural Pattern,” 2.
\textsuperscript{183} Delius, Islam, Art and Architecture, 136; Behrens, Cairo of the Mamluks, 17
\textsuperscript{184} Kessler, The Carved Masonry Domes, 3-4
\textsuperscript{185} A zawiya was for minor religious figures and for Sufi orders but had no lodgings. It was introduced in Cairo under the Ayyubids.
\textsuperscript{186} Abd al-Wahhab, Hasan, Mumayizzat al-‘imara al-islamiyya, 185; Particolo, Comitè, 1915-1919, 61.
\textsuperscript{187} Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 129; Haddad, al-Mansur Qalawun, 188-191.
like that of Fatima Khatun. Additionally, in the drum of al-Ashraf Khalil’s dome the oculi, which are covered with stucco decorations, are close to those found in the palaces of Seville.\footnote{Haddad, \textit{Al-Mansur Qalawun}, 193.} Indeed, the triple windows of Umm al-Salih’s complex are the earliest example in Islamic architectural history. Thus, both mausoleums mirror the Byzantine influence, Sicily and Seville.

\textbf{Zones of transition}

It seemed that the first use of squinches springing from a lower cube in mausoleums in Egypt was in Aswan. Upper Egypt was an area frequented by pilgrims coming from North Africa to visit the Hijaz by crossing the Red Sea.\footnote{Shafi’i, \textit{al-‘Imara al-‘arabiyya}, 533, 567.} By adopting the Sasanian squinches instead of the Byzantine pendentives, the Fatimids and subsequently the Ayyubids resorted to having an exterior transitional zone at the top of the rectangular base below the dome.\footnote{Karim, \textit{Jawami‘ wa-masajid umara‘ al-sultan al-Nasir}, 336.} For its exterior decoration, the transitional zone was often stepped from the Ayyubid period until the mid-14\textsuperscript{th} century, while for the interiors, the Fatimids were satisfied to have plain or two-tiered stalactite squinches like in the Ruqayya dome and the mausoleum attached to al-‘Amri mosque (550/1155-56) in upper-Egypt.\footnote{O’Kane, \textit{The Mosques of Egypt}, 36.} Each tier of the interior corresponds to one step of the exterior.\footnote{Ibrahim, “The Transitional Zones of Domes”, 6.} The octagonal drum was originally adopted from Syrian funerary domes.\footnote{Behrens-Abouseif, \textit{Cairo of the Mamluks}, 129.} Laila Ibrahim made interesting comparisons between pairs of domes from different periods in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century.\footnote{Ibrahim, “The Transitional Zones of Domes”, 6.} In the Ayyubid period, the two mausoleums of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub and his wife Shagar al-
Durr have no drum but have three-tiered stalactite squinches, while the exterior shape of the domes is different. Al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub’s dome (641-648/1243-1250) is smooth and hemispherical; that of his wife is stilted but also smooth (648/1250). The other pair from the Mamluk period, the domes of the mausoleums of al-Ashraf Khalil and his step-mother Umm al-Salih, have an almost identical exterior transitional zone. However, that of al-Ashraf has stalactite squinches like those of Shagar al-Dur and her husband, while that of Fatima has pseudo-pendentives with keel-arched stalactites. Hence, al-Ashraf Khalil returned to the pre-Mamluk device of muqarnas squinches, whereas the impact of Byzantine pendentives was evident in the Fatima Khatun complex. It can be speculated that development of both the squinch and the pendentive generated the muqarnas squinch.  

Regarding the keel-arched windows of three lights, those of al-Ashraf Khalil echo those of the mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs (639/1242), which displays the second earliest Egyptian example of stucco window grilles, with a floral arabesque design, and extant glass (fig. 2.31 c). This arrangement subsequently became standard in Mamluk domes with squinches.

The interior transitional zone of Fatima Khatun is formed of a pendentive of three-tiered muqarnas at the corners. Likewise, in the southern cemetery, the complex of the princess Urdutakin (Turbat al-Sitt) known also as ‘al-Manufi’, the wife of al-Nasir Muhammad, used the same brick pendentives. These two Cairene monuments are deemed the only two with

\[\text{\textsuperscript{195}} \text{Ibid., 9.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{196}} \text{Ibid., 11.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{197}} \text{Tantawy, “Articulating a New Architectural Pattern: The Masonry Domes of Egypt”, 5.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{198}} \text{The mausoleum of the princess Urdutakin, the daughter of Nugay al-Tatari and the sister-in-law of al-Malik al-Salih ‘Ali ibn Qalawun, consists of one iwan flanked by two domes, one of which has a lantern, which is a Syrian feature (Al-Harithy, Howaya, “Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification” in \textit{The Cairo Heritage}, 102-119).}\]
pendentives prior to 1350.⁻¹⁹⁹ It seemed that Qalawun tried to introduce many novelties in the mausoleum of Umm al-Salih.

C- Minaret

Originally, the idea of having the tall rectangular base of a minaret goes back to Byzantine church towers. The chronicler Ibn al-Faqih mentioned that when al-Walid I built the Damascus mosque in 93/715, he kept the rectangular Roman towers, which may have served as minarets.⁻²⁰⁰ The form could also have been derived from the lighthouse of Alexandria.

The Spanish Umayyad caliph `Abd al-Rahman III introduced the square-shaft minaret to Morocco when, in 344-5/955-6, he commissioned new minarets for the two congregational mosques of Fez, apparently to counter Fatimid advances in the region. Furthermore, during the Almohad dynasty (524-667/1130–1269), the square-shaft minaret of the Córdoban type was developed on a scale never seen before, and subsequently was widely adopted in Cairo.⁻²⁰¹

The minarets of the mosque of al-Hakim (403/1013) were built in two tiers, square and octagonal, and square and cylindrical. Subsequently, the minaret of the mashhad of al-Juyushi (478/1085) that is very close to Qayrawan mosque; it has the rectangular shaft carrying a narrower rectangular storey, followed by an octagon, topped by a dome.⁻²⁰² Nevertheless, in the Ayyubid period, the upper stories became increasingly elongated as demonstrated in the minaret of al-Salih Najm al-Din and the vanished one of Shagar al-Durr.⁻²⁰³ In the Mamluk era, minarets

⁻¹⁹⁹ Ibid.
⁻²⁰⁰ Al-Shafi ‘i, 637; Hassid, The Sultan’s Turrets, 20, 49.
⁻²⁰² O’Kane, The Mosques of Cairo, 23.
were added to a wide variety of religious monuments, including madrasas and khanqahs attached to tombs. In the case of Qalawun, the position of the minaret of his complex as well as that of Fatima Khatun is at the end of the structure at the northern side, which is related to Maghribi traditions. It could be said that the minaret was similar to the minaret of Zawiyat al-Hunud (658-688/1260-1290), particularly in its key element, the mabkhara, which imitated the minaret of the shrine of the Fatimid emir Abu’l-Ghadanfar (552/1157), whose mabkhara is the earliest example in Islamic Cairo. The influence of Pharaonic elements also is manifest in the minaret of Fatima Khatun in the capitals of the engaged colonnettes on the trilobed arched windows.

2.3.2 Maghribi, Seljuk and Syrian influence

For more than 250 years under the Mamluks, Cairo was the capital of an empire that encompassed the holy cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, the Taurus Mountains in the north, the Tigris River in the east, the Yemeni highlands in the south, and the coast of Sicily in the west. It is plausible that a mutual exchange in the architectural traditions occurred in the Islamic monuments of these areas. Consequently, the two mausoleums under study exhibit an amalgam of Syrian, Iranian and Maghribi art and architecture that produced and shaped the identity of a distinctly Mamluk architecture.

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Many skilled Iraqi and Syrian craftsmen fled to Egypt after the attack on Baghdad of the Mongol Hulagu Khan in 656/1258. Furthermore, the Mamluk presence in Syria and south-eastern Anatolia was one of the main factors that attracted the finest craftsmen due to the power and wealth of the patrons in Cairo.\textsuperscript{207} Syrian influence is shown in the proportions of the square part to the total height of the minaret, which is almost 2:3, for instance.\textsuperscript{208} Nevertheless, if it is admitted that square minaret was adopted from Syria, it developed into a local type in Maghreb and al-Andalus, which was reflected on the minaret of Fatima Khatun. The muqarnas cornices displayed in the recessed windows in the façade of Fatima Khatun's mausoleum and the squinch stalactites in the square domed funerary chamber of al-Ashraf are also Syrian decorative elements.\textsuperscript{209} The octagonal drum was originally borrowed from the Syrian architecture. There were already many earlier examples of female complexes in Syria such as that of the niece and daughter-in law of Salah al-Din, Dayfa Khatun, the patroness of Madrasa al-Firdaus in Aleppo (1235-36) which included a ribat\textsuperscript{210} and a mausoleum.\textsuperscript{211} The most intriguing aspect that confirm the influence of Mesopotamia is the geometrical design that adorns the interior of the funerary chamber of al-Sultan al-Ashraf. The geometrical patterns carved between the two lower windows above each doorway present the inverted Y-fret that suggest craftsmen brought from Mosul as the motif is distinctive on Mosul metalwork (fig. 2.34).\textsuperscript{212} Moreover, the portico that precedes the mausoleums under review derived ultimately from Mesopotamia as it was an integral part of

\textsuperscript{207} Blair, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 77.
\textsuperscript{208} Shafi’i, “West Islamic Influences,” 34-39.
\textsuperscript{209} Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 129; Haddad, al-Qibab, 110.
\textsuperscript{210} A ribat was originally a military frontier and religious edifice, then later it was developed in towns for Sufi congregations. It could include a small iwan, fountain, and rooms used as residences for sheikhs.
\textsuperscript{211} Humphreys, “Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus, 35.
the T-plan hall of Ukhaidir palace (101-184/720-800) and it was used in the western Fatimid palace, later incorporated into the hospital of Qalawun. Employing the medium of bricks in domes also echoes the Fatimid and Syrian architectural traditions.

Madrasas were first built extensively in the Great Seljuk empire by the minister Nizam al-Mulk in the 11th century. In Egypt, Salah al-Din attached a madrasa to the grave of al-Imam al-Shafi‘i. This invention not only inspired the successors of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, but also the great dome itself, added in 607/1211, was a prototype for them. This tradition was also widespread in Seljuk Anatolia, as at the complex of Khuand Khatun (634/1237) in Kayseri.

Moreover, the architecture of the two imperial mausoleums under study reflected Andalusian influence given that many craftsmen refugees came from Andalusia to the Maghrib and subsequently to Egypt after the fall of Cordoba in 633/1236. Maghribi influence is represented in the placement of the minaret on the north far from the prayer hall, and in its horseshoe arch as in the complex of Fatima Khatun. In addition, the hollow ribbed dome shown in the neighboring Ruqayya shrine was seen earlier in the Qayrawan mosque, which certainly inspired Fatimid architecture. The stucco decorative elements in al-Ashraf Khalil’s dome on the spandrels of the arches above the four doorways, filled with scrolls of veined split-palmettes

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216 Shafi‘i, West Islamic Influences, 118.
interlaced with trilobed floral motifs (fig. 2.34), suggest an Andalusian influence. Similar floral patterns carved in stucco are found on the soffit on the remains of the arch springing on the southwest wall of Fatima Khatun’s mausoleum (fig. 2.16). Some of these main Maghribi decorative elements continued in the Qalawnid dynasty. The arrangement of the windows in the mausoleum of Qalawun, namely the oculus and the two horseshoe arched openings, which was initiated in the mausoleum of Fatima Khatun, testifies this Maghribi influence. Maghribi features were exhibited also in the mihrab of the mausoleum of Qalawun’s complex, namely in the small horseshoe niches. Later, Maghribi influence is also shown in the lobed arches as well as the polylobed inscription cartouches in stucco on al-Nasir Muhammad’s minaret (fig. 2.36 a, b).

It is interesting to note that both evolution and novelty were present in the transitional zones from the Fatimid to Ayyubid and Mamluk architecture. For instance, the number of tiers of stalactite squinches increased from two tiers to three and more, and instead of having in the transitional zone the stalactite squinches enclosed and separated from the windows between them as in Ruqayya dome, all were joined together by muqarnas units. Also, the arches of the niches became gradually pointed instead of keel-shaped.

Obviously, the Mamluks closely followed the Ayyubids in their architectural style. Like the mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din, the facade of the mausoleum of Qalawun was aligned with the street in the very heart of the city. Like the mausoleum of the wife of al-Salih Najm al-Din, Umm al-Salih, Fatima Khatun’s tomb stood in the cemetery near the holy shrines, and was

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217 Ibid., 28, 31. The author also pointed out too that the mausoleum of the Abbasids and al-Imam al-Shafi’i have similar western influence in their floral motifs.

218 Shafi’i, West Islamic Influences, 34-39.

219 Haddad, Qibab, 101.
accessed through a narthex.\textsuperscript{220} However, while the mausoleum of Fatima Khatun is set back from Khalifa Street, the al-Ashraf Khalil mausoleum projects into the roadway, so that passers-by could bless the deceased and profit from the Qur’an readers who chanted night and day from their windows.\textsuperscript{221}

Despite the fact that both mausoleums shared many common architectural devices, there are many peculiarities that characterized each structure. Both were constructed in the same media; the lower part in stone, the domes in brick. The rectangular hall preceding the domed chamber along with the two niches flanking the door, the floral pattern carved in stucco, the \textit{naskh} inscription on the facades and the shape of the crenellations are all similar as well as the mihrab, which is in a tall recess. But divergences were also in many other aspects. The most characteristic features in the Fatima Khatun mausoleum lie in its unusual plan with a corridor between the portal and the antechamber of the mausoleum, as well as its unique Maghribi inspired minaret. Apart from this, the projections and recessions of its facade was an aesthetic factor that broke the monotony of large walls in a narrow street.\textsuperscript{222} Regarding al-Ashraf Khalil’s mausoleum, the series of oculi in its drum and the irregularity of the plan as well as the buttresses on the dome made it very distinct. In terms of the inscriptions, the dome of al-Ashraf Khalil is more elaborate and has a well-preserved \textit{naskh} inscription beneath the sawtooth crenellations on the exterior.

It can be deduced that the architectural devices of the two mausoleums anticipated the adoption of many innovations that became standard in many later monuments in Egypt. These

\textsuperscript{220} Behrens, \textit{Islamic Architecture in Cairo}, 93.
\textsuperscript{221} Rodenbeck, \textit{Cairo}, 77.
\textsuperscript{222} Behrens-Abouseif, \textit{Cairo of the Mamluks}, 84.
include new decorative elements in the oculi and paired horseshoe-arched openings, the pseudo-
dependentives, buttresses on the dome, which will manifest in the Ottoman period, three centuries
later like Sinan Pasha mosque in Bulaq, the grilled windows of geometrical and floral patterns of
stucco and finally the astonishing stained glass of the oculi. Even the portico that preceded the
mausoleum was later imitated in some buildings, such as in the mausoleum of Baybars al-
Jashankir’s khanqah (709/1310), where the portico overlooked the main street via three
windows, the central one being the largest.

Later, rather than Maghribi influence, Syrian and Iranian Seljuk influences were more
influential in later Mamluk buildings in Cairo. For instance, the complex of Umm Anuk,
Khawand Tughay has a funerary khanqah with two unequal funerary domes flanking the iwan.
One only survives and has on its drum exquisite tile mosaic in Iranian fashion displaying a
large white inscription, interspersed by green foliage on a blue background. In the cemetery
south of the Citadel, Sultan Hasan’s mother’s complex (the Sultaniyya) has twin ribbed and
double-shell funerary domes flanking an iwan, which is also one of the obvious examples of
Ilkhanid influence in Egypt (751-761/350-60).

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223 Similar colored glass was seen earlier in the stucco arabesque grills in the mausoleum of al-Salih Najm
al-Din. Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic Architecture in Cairo, 91.
224 Haddad, Qibab, 81.
225 The complex had a minaret that was destroyed by the French campaign: al-Jabarti, ‘Aja’ib al-’athar, 4:
162, apud Maher Masajid Misr, 254; al-Basha, al-Qahira tarikhuhu, 176.
Thus, it can be said that al-Ashraf Khalil’s mausoleum represents an intermediate phase between Qalawunid architecture, which borrowed many Byzantine and Sicilian artistic elements, and that of al-Nasir Muhammad and his sons, which was influenced by Persian architecture.
Chapter Three
Chapter three

3.1 The restorations done previously and proposed in the future

During the course of the work of the Comité (the Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art) that lasted from 1881 to 1953, its members were involved with most of the Islamic monuments in Egypt. It was founded by decree of the Khedive Tawfik. The Comité had a governmental status as it functioned under the auspices of the Awqaf authority. In 1939, it was replaced or renamed as “The Conseil Superieur pour le Service de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe”. The conservation attempts of the Comité were significant in the two mausoleums under review. Unfortunately, since the mid-twentieth century, many factors contributed to the dilapidated status of the monuments. Only with the initiative of Athar Lina, founded in 2012, did the area witness some restoration of its mosque and shrines. The team of Athar Lina developed integrated methodologies for lowering the water table that threatens the 13th century domes of significant cultural heritage.

3.1.1 Renovation efforts undertaken by the Comité

After his trip to Paris in 1867, fascinated by Hausmann’s revolutionary urban planning policies, Khedive Ismail tried, with his minister ‘Ali Mubarak, to transform Cairo into a “Paris along the Nile”. Nevertheless, sometimes, Mubarak’s vision was opposed to that of the Comité. While Khedive Ismail aimed to modernize the city of Cairo and conserve only a sample of each type of monument, the task of the Comité was to conserve all the Islamic architectural

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229 Fahmy, “Modernizing Cairo: A Revisionist Narrative”, 193.
heritage.\textsuperscript{230} By 1920, the Comité had studied and identified the cemetery buildings in need of conservation. It wished to raise awareness not particularly for cultic purposes, but mainly for aesthetic and artistic values. Since it could not prevent further burial activities on waqf land, the Comité argued that the area intended for burial should not be used for residences. Ironically, it had greater expectations in the cemetery. In fact, while it desired the protection zone around cemetery monuments to be roughly twenty meters, the buffer zone that it obtained did not usually exceed the width of two meters.\textsuperscript{231} For example, the protection zone around the minaret of the Umm al-Salih complex is two meters. Moreover, people living near the Sayyida Nafisa cemetery refused to ban the use of the cemetery.\textsuperscript{232} People resented the Comité when it turned down any proposal for new construction that would encroach on the monuments.\textsuperscript{233} Its task was usually implemented by the Awqaf as the funding organization that compensated the owners of expropriated structures and by the Tanzim, whose task was to organize and widen the city streets. The shrine and the mosque of Sayyida Nafisa were reconstructed and some decorative elements were moved to the museum; however, the Comité regretted that the mosque obscured the western façade of the mausoleum of Abbasid Caliphs.\textsuperscript{234} On the other hand, the Comité suggested that the religious activities of the Qadiri Sufis move from the mausoleum of Sultan al-Ashraf north of Sayyida Nafisa to a nearby plot of land.\textsuperscript{235}

\textsuperscript{230} Ibid, 226; El-Habashi, \textit{Athar to Monuments}, 149; Reid, “Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism”, 65.
\textsuperscript{231} Al-Ibrashy, “The Cemeteries of Cairo and the Comité de Conservation”, 241-248.
\textsuperscript{232} Fahmy, “Modernizing Cairo: A Revisionist Narrative”, 192.
\textsuperscript{233} Reid, “Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism”, 65.
\textsuperscript{234} Al-Ibrashy, “The Cemeteries of Cairo”, 243.
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid.
The general administration of waqfs informed the Comité of the defective state of Fatima Khatun’s dome next to takiyya al-Qadiriyya. The technical department recommended that the dome be replaced by a watertight one (fig. 3.3). Also, the openings had to be closed to prevent bird damage; in addition, the walls that were backfilled had to be cleared.236

In another attempt to conserve the mausoleum of Umm al-Salih, the Tanzim237 stopped the work undertaken by the owner of a house next to the dome, Muhammad Wahdan, whose digging operation was near the foundation of the dome and asked him to refer to the Comité. The latter acquired a two by six-meter strip from a building adjoining the northern facade of the minaret by virtue of an agreement established between the architect in chief and the owner of the building. Accordingly, the owner would cede two meters to the monument and the Comité would buy the rest of a length of six meters by a sale contract and a written commitment on the part of the owner.238 Following a requisition addressed to the Tanzim to reconstruct the apartment building neighboring the mausoleum of Fatima Khatun in 1912, the Comité seized the opportunity to clear the mausoleum from the northeast side. In return, the owner of the building, Wahdan was ready to cede an area of one by two meters on the condition of allowing windows to overlook the monument (fig. 3.1).239

Likewise, the commission found a steam mill had been erected which partially backed onto the mausoleum of al-Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil. The monument itself was rented to a


237 Tanzim directed by ‘Ali Mubarak, ordered by the Khedive Ismail, to organize and widen the streets of Cairo.

238 Bulletin de Comité, fas. 22, 1905, 1906, 74. See the table in the Appendix.

239 Bulletin de Comité, fas. 29, 1912, 1913, 67.
gravedigger who used it as a warehouse for his materials. The Comité recommended the reconstruction of the south-west angle of the dome (figs. 3.13-14), the installation of some lintels, and a firmly secured door.  

The heirs of Ibrahim Haiwan asked the Tanzim for a new authorization for the steam mill between the takiyya al-Qadriyya and the dome of al-Ashraf Khalil (fig. 3.5). Despite the Committee’s declaration that it would cause damage to the monument, the key was entrusted by the General Administration of Waqf first to the Sheikh of the takiyya Qadiriyya and then to the Sheikh of the mausoleum of Khalil. Hertz cleared the façade and the entrance of al-Ashraf Khalil’s tomb, but since the soil always slipped back, he also suggested erecting a wall covered with a grid to protect the monument against rain and further land encroachment. The technical department observed that the monument was surrounded on all sides by modern constructions since 1883. Despite ongoing reminders from the Comité offices to the Waqf authority to study the status of the industrial property, the case remained unresolved.

After examination, the technical department demanded the removal of the takiyya backed on the western side of Fatima Khatun and its reconstruction at a suitable distance from the monument on the land assigned to it (fig. 3.3 b). El-Usta ‘Ali and Fatima Ibrahim were also asked to reconstruct an adjoining house to the north of the dome of al-Ashraf Khalil on the condition that they leave a plot of land 10.5 by 2 meters (fig. 3.4). It is assumed that this plot is

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242 Bulletin de Comité, fas. 18, 1901, 110.
243 Bulletin de Comité, fas. 21, 1904, 1904, 80.
the one between the two mausoleums; it is to the north of the dome of al-Ashraf Khalil and to the south of the dome of Fatima Khatun.

The Comité had previously sued owners for their encroachment on the dome of al-Ashraf Khalil, and so on this occasion the chief architect, in order to minimize court cases as much as possible, was in favor of accepting this request. In 1911 the General Administration of Waqfs and the Comité agreed to leave an independent entrance for a residential building called “Haiwan” on the southeast of the mausoleum al-Ashraf Khalil on the condition that it opened up an area of two by five meters between the two buildings (fig. 3.13). The governorate of Cairo sent to the Comité the letter of Mr. al-Sayyid asking to install a flour mill and a condenser at a distance of four meters from Fatima Khatun mausoleum and at a distance of five meters from Khalil mausoleum (fig. 3.5). The Comité had categorically rejected that request in 1894 and again in 1919. Moreover, the Comité wanted to acquire the area between the two mausoleums in order to make sure that there were no remains there belonging to the Khalil complex.

The Comité built a staircase leading directly to the dome chamber without passing through the vaults of the takiyya (fig. 3.7). According to Particolo, the Comité could not identify the boundaries of the madrasa with its dependencies and lodgings established by Qalawun in the court to the north of the dome in the enclosure adjoining to it, without excavating to reveal foundations or other traces of it (fig. 3.10). On the other hand, he rejected the idea that a

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244 Bulletin de Comité, fas. 25, 1908, 1909, 99.
245 Bulletin de Comité, fas. 28, 1911, 1912, 102-3.
portable wooden ladder had been used to reach the door of the minaret, suggesting that an adjacent structure might have provided a link to it.  

**Analysis of the work and its consequences**

Based on the plan of the Citadel archives, the old photos and the reports published by the Comité, we can reach several conclusions. Without the intervention of the Comité, the residential buildings would have leant against the minaret. Thanks to the Comité, the corridor and the portico of Fatima Khatun mausoleum would have never seen the light or would have been demolished as, based on the 1904 plan, the Haiwan family wanted to take over this plot of land. Moreover, the above-mentioned plot of land measuring two by ten meters around the dome agreed upon by the owners and the Comité, gave the public the opportunity to walk around the mausoleum. Had the Comité not interfered in leaving a sufficient area in 1911 to liberate the al-Ashraf Khalil dome from the surroundings, the walls of the apartment buildings would have blocked even the windows of the mausoleum, as demonstrated in figure 3.16, until today. The Comité also did important work in consolidating the dome by changing the mortar of the outer layer of its brickwork. Furthermore, the southeast and southwest walls of the al-Ashraf Khalil dome were surrounded by the residential buildings of the Haiwan family and others. It is noteworthy that since 1948 the Comité had wanted to demolish the buildings at the northeast corner of the Umm al-Salih dome but it was unable to do so. However, the tombs indicated in the figures 3.10-11 were demolished in 1917.

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248 Ibid., 53.
Nonetheless, the *takiyya* of Fatima Khatun that occupied the area at the southeast and northeast of the dome chamber at far as the northeast side of the minaret (fig. 3.12) was demolished and the residential buildings of Hajj Ibrahim Haiwan were constructed on its place. However, these residential buildings replaced the mill built in 1895. On the same plot of land was installed the factory of Hawai (1922-24) between the two mausoleums. The above-mentioned land belonged to Fatima, the daughter of Ibrahim and her husband Usta ‘Ali. The transfer of the religious activities of the *takiyya* Qadiriyya to another location in 1904 gave further opportunity for the encroachment of buildings.

### 3.1.2 Other restorations in the area

In the eighteenth century ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda had dug a well to bring water to the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa and the surrounding residential buildings. In the late nineteenth century, the descendants of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha had restored many shrines in the area.²⁴⁹ ‘Abbas I restored the shrine of Sayyida Ruqayya and expanded its *takiyya*. He also renovated the mosque of Sayyida Nafisa. Under the reign of Khedive Ismail (1876), the *takiyya* was built for the Qadiriyya Sufi order within the madrasa of al-Ashraf Khalil, which was established as an endowment and a branch of the *takiyya* of Sayyida Nafisa.²⁵⁰ In the early twentieth century, the Comité removed the graves and buildings from the vicinity of the schools of Umm al-Salih and

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al-Ashraf Khalil before it undertook the restoration of the domes of Shagar al-Durr and the Abbasid Caliphs. Sultan Husayn Kamil intended to reconstruct the *takiyya* of Sayyida Ruqayya and to construct a *zawiya* at Shagar al-Durr. However, because of his death (1917), the project was not implemented.\(^{251}\) From 1920 and throughout the twentieth century, the *maydan* of Sayyida Nafisa underwent development until the early twenty-first century. The construction of public housing in Zaynhum district took place in the 1950s and 60s. The most conspicuous change was the construction of Salah Salim Road that contributed to the isolation of Sayyida Nafisa area from the south Qarafa cemetery which stretches southward and eastward. Many factories were subsequently established there. After the earthquake of 1992, under the auspices and the sponsorship of Suzanne Mubarak, the Zaynhum project expanded in order to accommodate the number of underprivileged displaced people. In 2002, the Ministry of Tourism launched a project for the shrines of the descendants of the Prophet, which consisted of the renovation of al-Khalifa Street and the restoration of the shrines, but the project was not completed. The project, called *Masar Ahl al-Bayt* (Descendants of the Prophet Itinerary), started with the beautification of the street which mainly focused on fixing facades but also included plans to build a new mosque for Sayyida Ruqayya adjacent to the shrine.\(^{252}\) The plans were put aside and only in 2015 did the Cairo governorate start to build the mosque and again renovate the Maydan Sayyida Nafisa, to pave the streets and sidewalks, and regulate traffic and parking. Hence, most of the maintenance was concentrated on the shrines for their religious value and not


\(^{252}\) Ibid., 221.; The project of *Masar Ahl al-Bayt* was resumed in 2017 to make festival in the street to promote tourism, it was then suspended because of lack of security.
on the two Mamluk mausoleums. Additionally, the establishment of the district of Zaynhum contributed more to the damage of the latter.

### 3.1.3 The current damage

Despite the fact that the buildings reflected the power and the wealth of their patrons in the golden age of the Mamluk era, their present physical state reflects the social state of the surrounding area. In other words, the inhabitants of the Khalifa district are disadvantaged people with a poor sanitation system. The expansion of commercialization and industrialization in the old parts of Cairo was one of the major factors in the deterioration of the monuments there.\(^{253}\) In the case of our two mausoleums of Umm al-Salih and al-Ashraf Khalil, there existed nearby an automotive repair shop, a brass foundry and, still existing, the Hawaii Ice Cream factory (fig. 3.17). The first tomb stagnates in the greasy liquid leaking from the repair shop, in which float old tires and debris, and the second has been damaged by the water that runs off from the factory.\(^ {254}\) It is inappropriate to have an industrial zone in the cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa so close to the holy shrines.

Due to the constant rise of the street level, the ground level of the monuments was eclipsed, and the facades were hidden by encroaching buildings. The effects of rising damp appear on the monument's walls up to a height of two meters.\(^ {255}\) The water interacts with chemicals in the masonry and with the oxygen in the air on the wall surface. This interaction forms crystalline

\(^{253}\) Williams, *Endangered Legacy*, 239.

\(^{254}\) Ibid.

salts which reduce the strength of the material until the whole of the fabric is damp and disintegrates.

In addition to the vanished madrasa of al-Ashraf Khalil of which no trace was found, the madrasa of Umm al-Salih was also the victim of the neglect and industrialization. The latter madrasa may have been similar to that Qalawun (fig. 3.8 c). It is likely that Qalawun tried out his innovations in the madrasa of his wife before proceeding with the construction of his own. The arches in the photos of the Comité and Creswell indicate some similarities (fig. 3.8 a,b,c). The arch of the southeast iwan consisted of a central arch flanked by two narrower ones at its two sides. In Qalawun madrasa, the three arches are supported by two columns, that have similar arrangement above them, except the middle one is flanked by one narrower at each side. The remnants of the arches of the Fatima Khatun madrasa were comprised of a series of narrow twin tall arches, with above them a small pointed arch to lighten the weight. These unique arches presented on the southeast, (fig. 3.18) were probably above the mihrab which was in the middle and had the highest and widest arch. One can assume that this madrasa had only two iwans like that of Qalawun in the Qasaba. Unfortunately, all the work of conservation done by the Comité was assigned to the takiyya Qadiriyya of al-Ashraf Khalil and not on the grounds of the Umm al-Salih complex.256

3.2 Restoration of Athar Lina project

Since the revolution of January 2011, many initiatives emerged to protect the cultural heritage. This date marked also a turning point in the technology of social media. The internet is

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nowadays the most effective tool to disseminate information to a wide audience. Facebook is utilized to raise public awareness about the deteriorating state of some monuments by sharing knowledge through photos and events. Social media has a profound impact on our understanding of our heritage. The flow of information is now readily accessible to the public and not just to a few scholars. Currently, one cannot disguise the valuable and unfortunately neglected cultural heritage of these two monuments. Thanks to the initiative of Athar Lina, people can be aware of their forgotten historical heritage.

Athar Lina or "the monument is ours" is a participatory conservation initiative founded in al-Khalifa in 2012, run by the Built Environment Collective Megawra in partnership with the Ministry of Antiquity. Megawra is a twin organization including the NGO and an architecture firm. Its aim is to conserve cultural heritage as well as integrating and rehabilitating the community to preserve the monuments and promote tourism. Athar Lina is headed by Dr. May al-Ibrashy and is partially funded by the American Research Center in Egypt and the American Embassy in Cairo. Al-Khalifa Municipality stretches from Citadel Square in the north to include sections of al-Shafi‘i cemetery in the south. The Athar Lina action area borders are al-Saliba Street in the north, al-Baqli Street in the East, Sayyida Nafisa Square and cemetery in the south and Zaynhum Housing and Ibn Tulun Mosque to the East. Regarding the southern area of al-Khalifa street, the Athar Lina pilot project aims to manage the ground water and its reuse

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‘transforming it from a source of harm to a social resource.’ After the success of their conservation of the 14th century mosque of Ahmad Kuhya and the 13th-century dome of Shagar al-Durr in 2015, Athar Lina took over an abandoned mosque adjacent to the dome of Shagar al-Durr and rehabilitated it for the community. The activities, run by volunteers, present medical services for nominal fees, crafts, Qur’an recitations, and sports for children of the district of al-Khalifa. It also offers field trips, lectures, and workshops.

In particular, it aims in collaboration with the Ministry of Housing, and the Water and Sewage Companies to treat the problems related to the damp and salt corrosion in the most critical cases, our two imperial domes. Piezometers, a device that measures the pressure and the height of the groundwater, were drilled east and west of the domes. It revealed that the water table reaches approximately at least 40 cm above the floor of the monuments under study.

3.2.1 Future proposed solutions for the groundwater

After the schema of the Athar Lina project (fig. 3.22), the street level along with the water level rise from the mosque of Ahmad Kuhya, at the beginning of the street before its cross with the Saliba street at the north, until our two mausoleums. Although the water level goes down before reaching the two tombs, while the street level continues to rise, the monuments stand below the water table level by 40cm in Fatima Khatun and 90cm in al-Ashraf Khalil. After analyzing a sample of the water taken from the piezometer next to Fatima Khatun, the

water was found to be neither underground water, nor wastewater. Hence, this would facilitate the treatment for the reuse of this water.

To understand the topographic differences, all the domes of Ruqayya, Ja‘fari and ‘Atiqa lie on a low level, while the Zaynhum area and the ridge are about 8 meters higher.²⁶³ Accordingly, Athar Lina proposed through their participants, including students and young professionals, several solutions for the middle and the south section. The plans are friendly for the environment, socially conscious and do not demand a high budget. The water could be extracted, collected, then treated and stored for recycling in the same area; for instance, for irrigation, cleaning purposes, or firefighting.

One of the objectives of Athar Lina project is to integrate the community to preserve the potable water. First, the residents should learn how to ration water consumption and know how far its economic return would be in the future. In order to reduce water consumption, the process would include separating the greywater²⁶⁴ from the wastewater pipes, monitoring and checking periodically the sewage of the district. In cases where a facility had a leakage and did not fix its sanitary system, imposing fines would be a practical approach. A cistern near the domes of ‘Atiqa and Ja‘fari was discovered as well as an ancient spring in Zaynhum, which could be useful assets in the dewatering process.

The area of our two mausoleums under review is surrounded by a vast cemetery behind and a ridge measuring half a feddan in front. The tile factory, situated in the cemetery behind the

²⁶⁴ Greywater is gently used water from sinks, tubs, and washing machines.
two domes, uses much water with much leakage. A group of participants proposes moving this factory or disconnecting its network from the water mains. By treating with sand, gravel and use of plants, they suggested a dewatering system for the historic building by collecting excess water in a small tank in the neighboring open space; the cultivation of the ridge wetlands could use the excess filtered water by means of drip irrigation (fig. 3.23). The water could also be transferred mechanically by traditional means such as water wheels, which could be attractive to locals and tourists alike.

This use could have dual benefits. Tanks for storage could be under the *maydan* and be connected to the cemetery water network for planting of vegetation. Also, establishing a fountain in Sayyida Nafisa Square would embellish the area and would be a practical solution for diversion of the excess water. Thus, Athar Lina has a spectrum of creative ideas that could be implemented. Their participants and volunteers seek to reduce as much as possible the quantity of excess water coupled with energy saving.

The garden of the ridge would occupy a surface area of 300 m² and link the Zaynhum residential area and al-Khalifa street. It would be irrigated by the extracted dewatering system of the two mausoleums. This garden area, provided with different amenities, would represent a step forward for the social and economic development and living standards for all the inhabitants of al-Khalifa district. The greenery would purify the air and combat pollution. The elevated area (fig. 3.23-4-5) could be used for cafés with a panoramic view and the street level would be for shops that cater to the community demands.
A random sample was taken in a survey to know the different opinions of the inhabitants of Khalifa and Zaynhum districts, of different age groups (fig. 3.26). Both districts have the problem of collecting garbage. Although they feared the lack of security in the park, they liked the idea of the greenery.

3.3 Assessing the restoration within ICOMOS guidelines

ICOMOS is a non-governmental organization formed in 1965 and linked to UNESCO. According to the Charter of ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites, the "archaeological heritage" is that part of the material heritage that provides primary information. It comprises all vestiges of human existence together with all the portable cultural material associated with them.

The principles of conservation respected by the Comité conform to those of the Charter for the Protection of Archeological Heritage (1990). As the archaeological heritage is a fragile and non-renewable cultural resource, land use must therefore be controlled to minimize any potential harm to the monument.

The Athar Lina initiative also strives to implement the guidelines and articles of the Charter. For instance, the provision of information to the general public is an important element in the protection process. Securing the cooperation of the local people in the management and conservation of historical sites is encouraged in article 6 as well as in the Burra Charter (2013). Any transfer of architectural elements of the heritage to new locations represents a ‘violation of

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the principle of preserving the heritage'.\textsuperscript{267} This article was not implemented when the Comité agreed upon the relocation of the religious activities of the \textit{takiyya} and its part adjoining the Fatima Khatun dome in 1904. However, the Burra Charter (2013) added a rider: unless this was the sole solution for ensuring its survival. Indeed, the presence of the madrasa, according to the Comité, was critical for the mausoleum.

### 3.4 Suggested solutions for restoration and recommendation

Apart from water and garbage, there are critical cracks in the fabric. The walls of brick or stone should be protected from the crystallized salt and then strengthened and plastered. Chemical insulation should be applied for the roof and the domes against the rain. Windows should be repaired and replaced. Arches should be strengthened, and the magnificent stained glass should be restored, especially since it was noted by the Comité that the colored glass was well conserved. Today, however, the stained glass in the oculus covered with a stucco lattice can hardly be seen.\textsuperscript{268} The missing inscriptions should be copied and replaced. The wooden friezes should be replaced and repainted as close as possible to the original traces. Eventually, the madrasa with its unique arches as illustrated in the photos of Creswell could be reconstructed if the residential buildings that occupy the land were relocated. Considering the availability of old photo showing the original shape of the top of the minaret, it could also easily be rebuilt. Fundraising could be from NGOs and Arab Gulf countries as in the case of the restoration of Bayt al-Suhaymi. Other small limitations that could encounter the implementation of Athar Lina project could be resolved. For example, trees and plants that are not only for aesthetic value but

\textsuperscript{267} \textit{The Burra Charter}, Article 9 of Conservation Principles, 5.

also for the purification of the air could be added incrementally, and cafes and shops could be paid for by installment.

Restoration should be done as soon as possible; the two monuments are on the verge of collapse. However, the restoration should preserve the authenticity of the monument in harmony with the original. One could hope that the park could be like the Agha Khan park but on a smaller scale. Nevertheless, it should not detract from the historic value of monuments. The view of the two domes together could be useful in two ways; to project lights on their walls to present a Sound and Light show and to organize cultural events accompanied by music in Ramadan nights, for instance. In this context, adults and children would be more involved with their heritage.

**Recommendations**

According to Ruskin (1819-1900), “the more a building bears the marks of the past, the greater is its historic value,” (fig. 3.19).\(^{269}\) His concept was the minimum intervention of new materials in restoration, and that restoration would be undertaken only if there was an urgent need for rapid action to protect the structure from decay. Restoration should be done carefully; each stage should be carefully documented. The historic and aesthetic value of a building would be gone if it lost its authenticity. Anything that has value, such as fragments of decorated stucco, stained glass, and details of inscriptions should be conserved in situ.\(^{270}\)

The rehabilitation of the area should be considered an integral part of the restoration, especially since the adjacent ridge could be cultivated and used as a garden. This would come as

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\(^{270}\) Ibid.
a final step. The complex of Fatima Khatun could be used as a library like the *sabil* of Qaytbay in the Saliba street or as a place for summer school, in particular the open court to the northeast of the dome. It could be used as a hall for cultural lectures like in Bayt al-Mi‘mar in the house of ‘Ali Labib in Darb al-Labana, or as to present the Dervish show as in the complex of al-Ghuri or simply to use its different spaces as offices for the employees of the Ministry of Antiquity.
Chapter Four
Chapter Four

Conclusion

It is noteworthy that there was a marked mutual exchange of arts between eastern and western countries. For instance, in addition to the building of church towers in the Renaissance period that echoed rectangular minarets, the twin horseshoe arches surmounted by an oculus inspired the architecture of the Fatima Khatun mausoleum. The use of Syrian-like ablaq in Venice was well known due to the commercial ties that linked the two countries. Apart from that, the outstanding hospital of Qalawun became a model for the ones built later by the Normans in Sicily during the reign of Frederic II.

In 1940 the Tanzim divided the cemetery into two basic areas, one south of the Citadel and the other north of the Citadel. The area in which are located the Sayyida Nafisa mosque and the two Mamluk mausoleums is a part of the southern cemetery. The building of Salah Salim avenue in the mid-20th century resulted in isolating the Sayyida Nafisa cemetery from the southern cemetery. The animated and more accessible area adds considerable importance to the mausoleums on the part of inhabitants and the government than their counterparts located in the less-populated area. However, it can be said that the mausoleums erected in the desert are more fortunate than those located in the city for being far from sewage and ground-table issues.

Among the earliest tombs in the southern cemetery are the Sayyida Nafisa tomb and the holy shrines. Sayyida Ruqayya shrine contains the largest carved stucco mihrab in Egypt, and al-

\[^{271}\text{Gudi, al-Imara al-islamiyya, 107.}\]
\[^{272}\text{Ghanim, Tarikh al-hadara al-islamiyya, 130.}\]
\[^{273}\text{Al-Ibrashy, History of the Southern Cemetery, 190.}\]
Ja‘fari and ‘Atiqa are considered the only example of twin domes from the Fatimid period. It is obvious that Fatimid influence was strong on Mamluk architecture. The first squinches in funerary domes were in Upper Egypt in the 10th century. Some of them have mihrabs and external projecting zones of transition. These features, apart from the projections, were reflected in Cairo. Furthermore, the ribbed domes of ‘Atiqa, Ja‘fari and Ruqqayya shrines, which imitated the domes of Ukhaidir palace and the Qayrawan mosque, were also widespread later, being found in the tomb of al-Sawabi (685/1286), the mausoleum of the Zawiya of Zayn al-Din Yusuf (697-735/1298-1335) and that of ‘Ali Badr al-Din al-Qarafi (699/1300) in the southern cemetery, a fashion that continued in the Burdi Mamluk period until the arrival of the Ottomans in 923/1517.

It can be concluded that al-Ashraf Street reassembles some of the most characteristic features that remain the nucleus of Islamic architecture in the Mamluk era until the present day. The dome of the mausoleum of the Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil also exhibits many affinities with Ayyubid architecture. It is similar to the mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs (639/1242) in its plan, in the two flanking niches, the hexagonal window that surmount the two keel-arched windows, and the stalactite pendentives in the drum as well as the three doorways. Its stalactites above windows and the stalactite pendentives are considered one of the earliest examples in Egypt; these features became not only constant in the later Mamluk architecture but also, even if their use waned during the Ottoman period, were revived in the 20th century in neo-Mamluk architecture in Egypt. Moreover, the similar size and height of the mausoleums of Umm al-Salih and al-Ashraf Khalil show the same respect for their occupants, irrespective of gender.

274 Shafii, al-‘Imara al-‘arabiyya, 1:546.
More information on al-Ashraf `Khalil’s patronage could be gleaned from further excavation of the Qa’a al-Ashrafiyya, especially since his titles on the granite columns certify to his patronage of the site, and match those of his mausoleum:

The Qa’a al-Ashrafiyya is the only surviving royal hall from the Mamluk period that could give new insight about the richness of the typical decoration of such a structure.

It is not surprising that both the Ottoman rulers and the Khedivial family devoted more attention to the holy shrines in a country whose nation is very pious by nature. They have also most of the restoration consecrated to Shagar al-Durr mausoleum for her distinct political role in the history. However, these two imperial mausoleums should not be left to ruin.

More excavation or conservation efforts in the two mausoleums is certainly needed too. This could lead to the discovery of other remains of foundations, or evidence that might entail uncovering original decoration, as in the case of the mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din in 1999 after the earthquake of 1992, or revealing of another layer of painted decoration as in the dome of Shagar al-Durr in 2013-15. Additionally, hopefully, the buildings surrounding the two mausoleums would be relocated; this would certainly help in identifying the location of the vanished arches of the madrasas of both Fatima Khatun and al-Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in order to reconstruct their plans. Helped by the photos and plans of the Comité, the vanished madrasa of Fatima Khatun could be retraced to rejoin the minaret. Furthermore, the top of minaret could be rebuilt exactly like it was illustrated in a photo dated from 1912, one century ago.

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It is surprising that the *Bulletins* of the Comité did not mention any information on the madrasa of Fatima Khatun even though it was connected to the surviving arch that formed the western side of the qibla iwan of the madrasa as illustrated in the photos of the Comité. After studying the reports on both mausoleums, there was only information related to the madrasa or the *takiyya* of al-Ashraf Khalil, built by Khedive Ismail in the 19th century. Was the *takiyya* of Fatima Khatun already in ruins? Perhaps also, if the cultic religious of the *takiyya* Qadiriyya were not transferred in 1904, encroachment of buildings would not have occurred.

Preservation of the monuments of the district of al-Khalifa would be very beneficial to its inhabitants. If residents see the benefits of their heritage culture, the sense of belonging and wish to preserve their monuments would be strengthened. Their problems, pertaining to collecting garbage, enhancing the security and providing the needed services, do not necessitate a great budget to be resolved. Thus, a conservation plan ought to improve the living standards of the indigenous of the Khalifa district, which in return would motivate them to appreciate the cultural value of the mausoleums of Fatima Khatun and Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil. Moreover, preventing the circulation of cars in the street of al-Khalifa and reserving it only for pedestrians is a pragmatic and practical approach for the constant congestion prevailing the area. Financial constraints that might delay the implementation of the restoration program as well as the project of Athar Lina for diverting the groundwater to cultivate the ridge might be helped by the aid of an NGO along with a local donation campaign to accelerate the process.

Finally, we should be careful that the restoration would not detract from the authenticity and the aesthetic value of the monuments, especially since these two mausoleums are the only extant commemorative monuments for the wife and the son of al-Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun. Second, it is not plausible that because of lack security, the festival of *Masar ‘Al al-Bayr* has
been suspended for two years up to now. Interestingly, just before submitting this thesis, it has been noticed that there are many workers laboring in the ridge opposite to our two mausoleums, which could be an auspicious sign of area renewal.
Appendix

Chapter I

The descendants of Hasan and Husayn, the grandsons of the Prophet\textsuperscript{277}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{chart1}
\caption{Descendants of Ali}
\end{figure}

Text I

...طريق المشهد النفيسي تجد مدرسة الصالح و هذه المدرسة بجوار المدرسة الأشرفية و موضعها من جملة البساتين الذى أنشأه الملك المنصور قلاوون على يد الأمير علم الدين سنجر الشجاعى فى سنة أثنتين و ثمانين و ستمائة برسم ام الملك الصالح

\textsuperscript{277} Bloom, "The Mosque of the Qarafa in Cairo," 15.
علاء الدين على بن الملك المنصور قلاوون فلما كمل بناؤها نزل إليها الملك المنصور و تصدق عند قبرها بالمال جزيل و جعل لها وقفا على القراءة على قبرها.  

Text II

الرفرف

عرفه الملك الأشرف خليل بن قلاوون، وجعله عالياً يشرف على الجيزة كله، وبضه وصور فيه أمراء الدولة وخواصها، وعقد عليه قبة على عمد وزخرفها. وكان مجلساً يجلس فيه السلطان، واستمر جلوس الملك به حتى هدمه الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون في سنة اثنتي عشرة وسبع مائة، وعمل بجانبه برجاً بجوار الأسطبل نقل إليه المماليك.  

Chapter II

Text III

The learned, the just, the holy warrior, the protector of frontiers, the assisted by God, the victorious, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the lord of kings and sultans, the reviver (of justice in the worlds) ... our lord the sultan ... the diligent, the just ...  

Text IV

"In the name of God the Merciful, Peace be upon our master Muhammad and his family."

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281 My translation of the surviving inscription in Fatima Khatun mausoleum
Text V

The titles “Salah al-Dunya wa’l-Din” and “Abu’l-Fath Khalil” of sultan al-Ashraf Khalil that are found on the foundation inscription of his mausoleum are also mentioned in this manuscript. 282

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Text VI

Our Lord and Master, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Knowledgeable, the Just, the Warrior, the One Stationed to Guard the Territories, the Fighter at the Borders, the Supported, the Triumphant, the Victorious, Salah al-Dunya wa’l-Din … Killer of the Infidels and the Polytheists, Conqueror of the Outcasts and Mutineers, Exterminator of the Despots and the Dissenters, Reviver of Justice in All Worlds, the Treasure of the Poor and Needy, the Supported of the Truth with Evidence, the Reviver of the Religion of the Master of Prophets, the Defender of the Borders/Lands of the Religion, Abul-Fath Khalil, son of our Lord and Master, the Greatest Sultan, al-Malik al-Mansur, the Knowledgeable, the Just, the Warrior, the One Stationed to Guard Territories, the Fighter at the Borders, the Supported, the Triumphant, the Victorious, Sultan of Arabs and non-Arabs, Dominant over the Nations, Sultan of the Levant and the Yemen, King of the Two Seas, Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, the One in Charge of the Two Sanctuaries, King of the Egyptian Homelands, of the Lands of the Hijaz, of the Lands of the Levant, of the Lands around the Euphrates, and the Land of Diyarbekir, the One of his kind of Kings of his time, the King of the World … Sayf al-Dunya wa’l-Din, Sultan of Islam and
the Muslims, Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists, Conqueror of the Outcasts and Muntineers, Qalawun al-Salihi, Partner of the Prince of the Faithful.  

Chapter III

Restorations of the mausoleums of Fatima Khatun and al-Ashraf Khalil

(registered in the *Bulletins* of the Comité)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The work done in Fatima Khatun</th>
<th>The work done in al-Ashraf Khalil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1882-3</td>
<td></td>
<td>The monument itself was rented to a gravedigger who used it as a warehouse for his materials. The Comité recommended the reconstruction of the south-west angle of the dome and a door well secured. The commission found a steam mill partially backed onto the mausoleum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Despite the rejection of the Comité, the key of the dome was entrusted by the General Administration of Waqf first to the Sheikh of the <em>takiyya</em> Qadriyya and then to the Sheikh of the mausoleum of Khalil. The heirs of Ibrahim Haiwan asked the Tanzim for a new authorization for a steam mill between the <em>takiyya</em> al-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Hertz cleared the façade and erected a wall with a grill to protect the mausoleum. Since the original dome had collapsed, the roof of the dome chamber had to be replaced by a watertight one. The technical department demanded the removal of the takīyya backed on the west side of the mausoleum and its reconstruction at a suitable distance on the land assigned to it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>The Comité acquired a two by six-meter strip from a residential building adjoining the northern facade of the minaret. The Comité bought this plot of land by a sale contract. (0.460 mill. egyptian pound per square meter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-9</td>
<td>One can assume that this plot of land was also between the two mausoleums, (according to the plan of the Citadel archives (Fig. 3.4)) Usta ʿAli and Fatima Ibrahim asked to reconstruct an adjoining house to the north of the dome and to leave a plot of land 10.5 by 2 meters. The technical department and the architect in chief approved the provisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>The Comité agreed to leave an independent entrance for a Qadiriyya and the dome of al-Ashraf Khalil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1912  | The Comité asked to clear the mausoleum from the northeast side. The owner of the building, Wahdan ceded an area of one by two meters on the condition of allowing windows to overlook the monument.  
1917  | The tombs at the eastern side of the mausoleum, in the court, were demolished.  
1915-1919  | Due to the raising of the ground, the lintel was broken and the Comité reconstructed it again (fig. 3.9).  
| The Comité built a staircase leading directly to the dome chamber without passing through the vaults of the takiyya  
1920-4  | The Comité also did important work in consolidating the dome by changing the mortar of the outer layer of its brickwork.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The establishment of the factory of Hawai between the two mausoleums</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. al-Sayyid asked to install two flour mills and a condenser at a distance of four meters from Fatima Khatun mausoleum and at a distance of five meters from Khalil mausoleum. The Comité had categorically rejected that request in 1894 and again in 1919.</td>
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Illustrations

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The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of its Large Cities (UNU, 1997) United Nations University
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Dar al-ʿAdl http://descegy.bibalex.org/

*Description de l'Égypte*
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http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1075535/the-mausoleums-of-mamluk-sultan-photograph-unknown/
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بسملة، امر بإنشاء هذه القبة الشريفة مولانا و سيدنا السلطان الملك الاشرف العالم العادل المجاهد المرابط المثاغر المؤيد المظفر المنصور

**Fig. 2.24 (a) Northwest side**
Fig. 2.24 (b) Southwest side

قاهر الخوارج و المتمردين قلاون الصالحي قسیم امیر المؤمنین ادام الله ایامه و حرس انعامه
corner. A series of square holes that must once have received the ends of the beams which roofed the narthex (non-extant today)
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http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1288971/mausoleum-of-mamluk-sultan-al-photograph-kac-creswell/
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https://www.facebook.com/historiccairo/photos/a.389190664457956/2086299584747047/?type=3&theater
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(commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Al_aqmar_facade.jpg)

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https://ismailimail.blog/2016/04/03/ziyarat-originally-referred-to-visiting-the-tomb-of-the-prophet/
Chapter Three
The Mausoleum of Fatima Khatun

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