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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**THE CONSERVATION HISTORY
OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR**

A Thesis Draft Submitted to
Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in the History of Islamic Art and Architecture

by Farah Shoukry

under the supervision of Dr. Ellen Kenney

Spring 2015

To the *sultāna* and sultan of my world,
Laila el-Baradei and Ibrahim Shoukry.



The Conservation History of the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr

Abstract

This M.A. thesis aims to critically analyze the conservation history of the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. Although Shajarat al-Durr's biography is a well-published topic in the field of Islamic History, her only surviving architectural patronage lacks comprehensive documentation for its conservation schemes through history. The first chapter presents the biography of the *sultāna* in relation to the architectural analysis of the mausoleum. The second chapter investigates the theoretical concepts of conservation from an Islamic history point of view. Chapter three traces the conservation history of the mausoleum with a focus on the work of the Comité. The fourth chapter evaluates a more modern conservation practice with the theme of community participation that is currently taking place in al-Khalīfa under the name of Athar Lina project. The last chapter provides a summary of the research work identifying gaps in the study. It also discusses the accumulated challenges of conserving the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr as presented in history and identifies a number of related areas worthy of study. Documenting the conservation work in an accessible manner to the world of Islamic art and architecture is recommended to perceive monuments in a more authentic light. *The Conservation History of the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr* serves as a research example highlighting the timeliness of monuments and how they evolve over time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Plates	vi
Acknowledgments	x
Preface	xi
CHAPTER ONE: MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR	
1.1 Literature Review	1
1.2 The Story of the Sultāna	4
1.3 The Southern Cemetery	8
1.4 Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Complex	11
1.5 Description of the Mausoleum	15
1.6 Discussion	19
CHAPTER TWO: WAQF AND CONSERVATION IN ISLAMIC HISTORY	
2.1 “Literary” Conservation by Historians	31
2.2 Conservation by Decree: Interventions by Elites	35
2.3 Conservation by Waqf	39
A. Waqf principles	39
B. Shajarat al-Durr’s Waqf “Imagined”	41
2.4 Discussion	44
CHAPTER THREE: CONSERVATION WORK OF THE COMITÉ	
3.1 Comité	49
3.2 ‘Abbāsiyya Archives	51
3.3 Comité’s Conservation Scheme	53
3.4 Analysis of the Comité’s Conservation Strategy	57
3.5 Post Comité (1961-2006)	66
3.6 Discussion	67

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPATORY CONSERVATION PRACTICES

4.1 The Athar Lina Initiative	71
4.2 Mausoleum Conservation	73
4.3 Participatory Approach to Conservation	76
4.4 Discussion	83

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Concluding Remarks	89
5.2 Chronological Summary	98

BIBLIOGRAPHY 103

Appendix 1: ‘Abbāsiyya Archives	111
Appendix 2: Comité Bulletins	147
Appendix 3: Statement of the Danish Institute in Egypt	149
Appendix 4: ICOMOS 2008	150
Plates	151

List of Plates

PLATE 1: MAUSOLEUM OF AL-ŞĀLIḤ NAJM AL-DĪN.

PLATE 2: COINS OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.

PLATE 3: MAP OF AYYUBID CAIRO SHOWING AL-QARĀFA AL-KUBRĀ AND AL-QARĀFA AL-SUGHRA.

PLATE 4: QUBBAT AL-IMAM AL-SHAF'Ī.

PLATE 5: BAYN AL-QAŞRYN AREA.

PLATE 6: SAYYIDA 'ATIKA AND JA'FARI MAUSOLEUM.

PLATE 7: SAYYIDA RUQYYA MAUSOLEUM.

PLATE 8: MOSQUE OF SAYYIDA SUKAYNA.

PLATE 9: LOCATION OF THE SHAJARAT AL-DURR MAUSOLEUM ON MAP.

PLATE 10: MOSQUE OF SAYYIDA NAFĪSA.

PLATE 11: BLACK AND WHITE IMAGE OF THE AYYUBID MINARET BY PASCAL COSTE.

PLATE 12: COLORED IMAGE OF THE AYYUBID MINARET BY PASCAL COSTE.

PLATE 13: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPLEX OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.

PLATE 14: MINARET OF AL-ŞĀLIḤ NĀJM AL-DĪN.

PLATE 15: MINARET OF ZĀWIYAT AL-HUNŪD.

PLATE 16: MUḤAMMAD AL-'ANWAR MOSQUE AT AL-'ASHRAFIYYA STREET.

PLATE 17: LOCATION OF MUḤAMMAD AL-'ANWAR MOSQUE.

PLATE 18: NORTHERN CORNER OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

PLATE 19: ŞALIḤ ṬALĀ'I MOSQUE.

PLATE 20: MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR ATTACHED TO THE 19TH CENTURY MOSQUE.

PLATE 21: PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR AS IT STANDS TODAY.

PLATE 22: PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.

PLATE 23: DETAIL OF THE NORTHWESTERN FACADE.

- PLATE 24: DETAIL OF THE NORTHWESTERN FACADE MAIN PANEL.
- PLATE 25: SOUTHEAST ELEVATION OF THE MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 26: NORTHEAST ELEVATION OF THE MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 27: SOUTHWEST ELEVATION OF THE MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 28: NORTHWEST ELEVATION OF THE MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 29: SECTION DRAWING OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR;
- PLATE 30: MOSAIC MIHRĀB OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.
- PLATE 31: MEDALLION WEST OF THE NORTHERN WINDOW AFTER CONSERVATION (TOP),
MEDALLION EAST OF NORTHERN WINDOW AFTER CONSERVATION (BELOW) -
MAUSOLEUM INTERIOR OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.
- PLATE 32: SHAJARAT AL-DURR MAUSOLEUM INTERIOR.
- PLATE 33: INTERIOR ELEVATIONS OF THE MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 34: ABBASID CENOTAPH AT THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.
- PLATE 35: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WOODEN TOMB OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.
- PLATE 36: CONSECUTIVE CHANGES TO AL-ŞĀLIHYA COMPLEX.
- PLATE 37: DETAIL OF AL-ŞĀLIḤ MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 38: MINARET DETAIL OF AL-ŞĀLIHYA COMPLEX.
- PLATE 39: AL-'AQMAR MOSQUE.
- PLATE 40: INTERIOR OF AL-ŞĀLIḤ MAUSOLEUM.
- PLATE 41: PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF AL-ŞĀLIḤ.
- PLATE 42: PLAN OF AL-'AQMAR MOSQUE.
- PLATE 43: MAUSOLEUM OF THE ABBASID CALIPHS
- PLATE 44: MAUSOLEUM OF THE ABBASID CALIPHS (LEFT) AND THE MOSQUE OF AL-SAYYIDA
NAFĪSA (RIGHT).
- PLATE 45: SHRINE OF THE ABBASID CALIPHS

- PLATE 46: MIHRAB OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF AL-ḤASAWATĪ.
- PLATE 47: PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM AND MADRASA OF SHAYKH ZAYN AL-DĪN YUSUF.
- PLATE 48: MAUSOLEUM AND MADRASA OF SHAYKH ZAYN AL-DĪN YUSUF.
- PLATE 49: MAUSOLEUM OF FĀṬMA KHĀTŪN.
- PLATE 50: 'UMM AL-SULTĀN SHA'BĀN.
- PLATE 51: AL-ḤAKIM MOSQUE.
- PLATE 52: PLAN OF THE RAWḌA CITADEL AFTER CRESWELL.
- PLATE 53: PLAN AND SECTION OF THE CAIRENE ḤAMMĀM.
- PLATE 54: HERZ 1902 ABLUTION COURT PROPOSAL
- PLATE 55: AS BUILT ABLUTIONS BASIN
- PLATE 56: 1902 SITE PLAN: MAUSOLEUM (BLUE), MOSQUE (RED), WET AREA (GREY),
ABLUTIONS PROPOSAL (YELLOW)
- PLATE 57: 1902 ABLUTION PROPOSAL (YELLOW) OVERLAYED WITH OLDER DESIGN (RED)
- PLATE 58: 1902 ABLUTIONS PROPOSAL - PLAN AND SECTION.
- PLATE 59: MOSQUE OF AL-KHALĪFA.
- PLATE 60: MOSQUE OF AL-KHALĪFA.
- PLATE 61: MAX HERZ PASHA.
- PLATE 62: CRESWELL.
- PLATE 63: CRESWELL SPECIAL COLLECTION AT THE RARE BOOKS SECTION OF THE AMERICAN
UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO'S LIBRARY.
- PLATE 64: CRESWELL IMAGE OF SURROUNDING CONTEXT.
- PLATE 65: MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUH.
- PLATE 66: MOSAICS MIHRAB PUBLISHED IN CAIRO OF THE MAMLUKS BY DORIS BEHRENS-
ABOUSEIF IN 2007.
- PLATE 67: MU'IZZ STREET

PLATE 68: ATHAR LINA LOGO.

PLATE 69: ATHAR LINA PROJECT PHASES.

PLATE 70: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION WORKSHOPS.

PLATE 71: ATHAR LINA-PREPARATORY WORK AT THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR.

PLATE 72: ATHAR LINA- MIHARAB MOSAICS IS CLOSED OFF.

PLATE 73: ATHAR LINA- PLASTERING CONSERVATION.

PLATE 74: ATHAR LINA- PLASTERING AND WOODEN CONSERVATION.

PLATE 75: ATHAR LINA HERITAGE SCHOOL.

PLATE 76: URHC PROJECT.

PLATE 77: URHC BUFFER ZONE.

PLATE 78: SAVE MU'IZZ STREET.

PLATE 79: ONLINE PETITION IN FAVOR OF SAVING EGYPTIAN HERITAGE.

PLATE 80: STAKEHOLDERS MEETING.

PLATE 81: CLINIC SPACE PRIOR TO CONSERVATION EFFORTS.

PLATE 82: CLINIC SPACE AFTER CONSERVATION.

PLATE 83: ARCHITECTURAL SECTION FOR CLINIC EXTENSION -PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL.

PLATE 84: ARCHITECTURAL PLAN FOR CLINIC EXTENSION -PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL.

PLATE 85: ATHAR LINA- CLINIC RE-USE.

PLATE 86: BANNER FOR THE ATHAR LINA CLINIC FACILITY.

PLATE 87: SPEND YOUR DAY AT AL-KHALĪFA STREET EVENT BANNER.

PLATE 88: MIDAN AL-SAYYIDA NAFĪSA 2012 DEVELOPMENT PROPOSAL.

PLATE 89: ZOMAL CROWD FUNDING PLATFORM.

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Preface

This study aims to investigate the secret behind the survival of the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr to this day. The reason for the choice of this topic stems out of a personal fascination with the legend of Shajarat al-Durr, a rare example of a female who has attained the throne in Ayyubid Islam. The story of the *sultāna* of eighty days is an interesting drama on many levels. A story of power, love, and revenge, it is no surprise that it has been composed into novels, plays and movies in recent years. Although Shajarat al-Durr ruled for a short period, she was involved in politics for a much longer duration. She had been among the sultan's harem, a wife to two political leaders, and a *sultāna* herself. No wonder Shajarat al-Durr remains a historical political icon until today. The mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr is a single case study that reveals a complex narrative documenting its survival to this day. The study manifests the importance of studying the conservation history of monuments and affirms that the layers of restoration in time become part of the monument's history.

From its earliest centuries, Arab and Islamic culture developed theories of conservation. These theories were inspired by the socio-political context of the early period. The Arabian tradition of narrating history in an oral manner to preserve culture was passed from generation to generation. Tracing the chain of historical narrators, later verifying the chain of transmitters was practiced once more in an Islamic context to preserve the prophetic traditions. Most importantly the Qur'an was preserved via the *ḥafẓa* (people who memorize the Qur'an by heart) and later documented on paper with the development of the Arabic language tools. The same cultural values of preserving heritage carried over into the waqf institution. The waqf served to guarantee the perpetuity of the pious memory through the timelessness of the architectural establishment. The waqf was understood as a local endeavor by which charitable founders could maintain and conserve their property for years to come.

As the term ‘heritage’ indicates, it is associated with inheritance. It speaks of shared values and identifying a sense of belonging to a group of people who ‘inherit’ culture. This culture is a product of the economic and political context in which it is found. Originally the term was associated with architecture and archeology, but now the definition assumes the inclusion of a greater scope towards integrated conservation and urban landscapes.¹ The issue with cultural heritage is that it is not always seen as a priority for national development. Unless there are clear economic benefits for such investments in conservation, monuments would be continually lost. Incentives to relate cultural heritage with economic development include: job creation, city center revitalization, local tourism and small business incubation.²

The current conservation schemes occurring at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr under the umbrella of Athar Lina initiative apply the above-mentioned philosophies. Thus the initiative provided a motivation to examine the restoration schemes at the mausoleum and understand how the conservation philosophies changed over time. It sheds light on the difficulties encountered by conservators who are pre-occupied with mediating conflict resolutions between local inhabitants, arbitrating between institutions sharing the responsibility of decision-making, as well as sorting out funding means to conserve historical Cairo.

The Conservation History of the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr is a work in progress to highlight the survival of monuments and how they evolve over time. The study serves as a microscopic investigation in the field of Islamic art and architecture in the hope to be used as a reference.

¹ Loulanski, "Cultural Heritage in Socio-economic Development," 1.

² Ibid., 1.

CHAPTER ONE: MAUSOLEUM OF SHAJARAT AL-DURR

This chapter presents a short biography of Shajarat al-Durr (d. 655/1257) followed by a detailed description of her mausoleum.³ The purpose is to envision the mausoleum as a living monument. In other words, the personal biography of the patron serves as a historical reference for clarifying any discrepancies about the functionality of the mausoleum and provides analytical depth when analyzing the architectural elements. The chapter attempts to discuss the biography of *sulṭāna* and present the main events as they are recorded in history.⁴ It also aims to discuss the building program commissioned by Shajarat al-Durr, and understand the reason behind choosing al-Qarāfa as a location for the complex. It also attempts to decipher the mausoleum's unique architectural elements and the theme of the main discussion is to relate these elements to the patron's persona.

1.1 Literature Review

The best biography written about Shajarat al-Durr is by Götz Shregle who compiles the history written by Arab historians and orientalist alike.⁵ Creswell provides a brief account of Shajarat al-Durr before presenting the architectural details of the mausoleum. Creswell references primary sources such as Maqrīzī, Ibn Duqmāq and Ibn 'Iyās. Hertz and Van Bercham, Comité architects, have also published a short history of Shajarat al-Durr as part of the mausoleum report in the Comité *Bulletins*, though Creswell's work remains more

³ The name of Shajarat al-Durr has been spelled out differently by Arab historians and as a result has various English transliterations. The discrepancy relates to colloquial versus classical forms of the word. For the purpose of this research, the classical version has been adopted, following suit with al-Maqrīzī. Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, 3:123.

⁴ The title *sulṭāna* is not fully accepted by scholars of Islamic history, because the status of a female *sulṭān* is contradicting formal theological views of governorship. In early centuries of Islam the term *sulṭān* [which stems out of the root word *sulṭa*] had an abstract noun meaning 'the authorities' but by 5th/ 11th century it was used to refer to an individual. In medieval Arabic dictionaries, *sulṭān* is defined as authority e.g. Ibn Mazūr (d. 1312) *Lisān al-'Arab* or al-Fayūzabādī (d. 1414) *al-Qamūs al-Muḥīt*. (Cook, *New Cambridge History of Islam*, 1: 373; Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, 2:780). However, the term *sulṭāna* is used throughout this thesis paper to refer to Shajarat al-Durr acknowledging her exceptional position as a female ruler.

⁵ Shregle, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten*.

critical.⁶ A more recent, concise version is provided by David J. Duncan who classifies the literature about Shajarat al-Durr into three categories: Arab, orientalist and feminist accounts. The article presents the different historians' biases when recording the history, as well as their intentions when presenting their viewpoints. According to Duncan, the Arabs have marginalized the *sultāna* for different reasons, and the orientalists have neglected her role in their accounts of the Crusader battles.⁷ Duncan applauds the work of Shregle, but nonetheless criticizes it for not providing a comprehensive conclusion and describes it as an incomplete project.

On the other hand, feminist accounts have tended to exaggerate the role of Shajarat al-Durr at the cost of the actual events. The rare presence of women as political rulers explains why scholars were attentive to Shajarat al-Durr's biography, and why they often exaggerated her accomplishments. The feminist voices can be traced in more recent works of Su'ād Maher Muḥammad, Amalia Levanoni, and Wafā' 'Alī with varying degrees of scholarship.⁸ Levanoni and 'Alī's research work is heavily footnoted which makes the content evaluation more objective. Muḥammad offers a comprehensive publication – a compendium of *The Mosques of Egypt and their Righteous Saints*. However, the book is poorly referenced. The reason why Muḥammad has included the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr within the mosques of religious figures is worth noting. It is presumed that the author is recognizing the political role of Shajarat al-Durr. The background of the authors should also be taken into consideration when reviewing the literature. A clear example can be witnessed when comparing Levanoni and Muḥammad's perceptions of Shajarat al-Durr. Levanoni - an

⁶ The Comité de Conservation des Monument des l'Art Arabe was formed in 1881 by the khedive to preserve the Islamic and Coptic monuments in Egypt. This organization was a body within the Ministry of Awqaf. In 1936, the responsibility was passed from the Awqaf to Ministry of Education. *Islamic Art Network*.

⁷ Duncan, "Scholarly Views."

⁸ Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr*; Levanoni, "The Mamluks' Ascent to Power"; 'Alī, *Nufūdḥ al-nisā'*.

established scholar in medieval Islamic history - has compared Shajarat al-Durr to two other female rulers from Ilkhanid Persia and Mongol India.⁹ Yet Muḥammad - an Egyptian historian - chose to compare Shajarat al-Durr to Hatshebsut (d. 1458 B.C.) and Cleopatra (d. 30 B.C.) who are pharoanic female figures.¹⁰ This choice reflects the identity of the authors and the research they are familiar with. I have relied on the work of Creswell to analyze the main events of Shajarat al-Durr's biography. Complementary sources such as Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Levanoni, Muḥammad and 'Ali are referenced for specific details in order to further visualize the life of the *sultāna*.

Behrens-Abouseif attempted to reconstruct Shajarat al-Durr's complex according to the description of the waqf by Maqrīzī (d.825/1422).¹¹ His encyclopedic work known as *al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khitāṭ wa-al-āthār* provides valuable information regarding the neighborhood of al-Khalīfa in which the mausoleum is situated. Behrens-Abouseif used the information that Pascal-Xavier Coste provided in 1290/1837 about the ruins of a mosque in the cemetery of al-Sayyida Nafisa. Coste was a French architect active in Egypt around the mid-19th century- at the time of Muḥammad 'Ali.¹² Using the ḥammām and the mosque shown in the *Déscription de l'Égypte* plan, Behrens-Abouseif was able to allocate the proximities of the complex components on the map. As for the history of the mausoleum, the starting point is Creswell. Creswell's account in the *The Muslim Architecture in Egypt* provides a thorough architectural description of the mausoleum. The primary sources cross-referenced in his footnotes support Creswell's deep analytical knowledge.

⁹ "Radiya (d.1240), the daughter of Sultan 'illtutmus, who ruled Delhi for three and a half years during the period of slave kings... [and] Tandū (d.1419), the daughter of Ḥasan Ibn 'Uwayas, who ruled for about three years in Mongol Ilkhanate of Persia." Levanoni, "Shajar al-Durr," 208.

¹⁰ It is remarkable to note the similarities between Cleopatra and Shājarat al-Durr, for both have managed to set the stage for new ruling dynasties. Cleo was the last Queen among the Pharaohs, and Shājarat al-Durr was the last ruler in the Ayyubid dynasty. Both legends left the political scene in a dramatic exist. Cleo was poisoned and Shājarat al-Durr pushed off the Muqqatam cliffs.

¹¹ Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret of Shajarat al-Durr."

¹² Coste, *Architecture Arabe*, 46.

1.2 The Story of the Sultāna

The exact date of birth of the *sultāna* is not mentioned, however, the first reference to Shajarat al-Durr is the year 637/1239 when she is said to have reached the palace of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn (r. 638/1240-647/1249).¹³ Originally, a Turkish slave, she made her way to be among the sultan's harem. As al-Ṣāliḥ's second wife she bore him a child, Khalīl, and was known as 'Umm Khalīl, a name she used to retain legitimacy during her period of rule, although her son had died during infancy.¹⁴

The *sultāna* was applauded by historians for her wit and leadership skills, and sometimes the victory against the Crusaders was attributed to her. In 647/1249, Louis IV occupied Damietta, and in the meantime al-Ṣāliḥ fell ill on his way back from Syria.¹⁵ He attempted to prepare for war but died before he could do so. Shajarat al-Durr delayed the announcement of al-Ṣāliḥ's death, and publicized that the sultan was ill and that no one would be allowed to visit him. She gave orders in his name and assigned Mamluk amirs to take over the court administration and the army leadership. She sent for his son Turānshāh to be in charge.¹⁶ The Mamluk army managed to block the Crusades, and took several army officials as hostages. After this battle, a conflict of interest occurred between Turānshāh and the Mamluks, whom they hunted down and killed near a town called Fāraskūr near Damietta.¹⁷

Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī describes the funeral of al-Ṣāliḥ, at which all the *baḥri* Mamluks and amirs carried al-Ṣāliḥ from the Rawḍa Citadel to his mausoleum commissioned by Shajarat al-Durr which was annexed to al-Ṣāliḥ's school in Bayn al-Qasryn area.¹⁸ To

¹³ Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr*, 257.

¹⁴ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 135.

¹⁵ Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr*, 257.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁸ *Comité 1902*, 142.

express their grief, the funeral attendees were dressed in white and had their heads shaved.¹⁹ The next morning the *sultāna*, judges, mamluks and all the people visited the mausoleum.²⁰ The elegant funeral of the sultan which lasted for three days could have been a source of inspiration for Shajarat al-Durr to build her own mausoleum, one in which she could be remembered (Pl. 1).

Shajarat al-Durr then assumed power upon the consensus of the mamluks, for she was the mother of prince Khalīl.²¹ It is doubtful that al-Ṣāliḥ would have agreed to violate the traditions of Sunni Islam and allow a woman to rule. It is mentioned in historical sources that al-Ṣāliḥ had delegated his authority to Shajarat al-Durr. Letters with the sultan's official signature were used by Shajarat al-Durr during the ten-day period during which his death announcement was delayed.²² Whether the sultan's signature was forged on the letters or was signed by al-Ṣāliḥ himself during his time of illness is debated.²³ The fact remains that al-Ṣāliḥ acknowledged the transfer of authority. Levanoni provides an interesting explanation on how al-Ṣāliḥ was able to delegate his authority without violating orthodox Islamic law. He delegated his authority to his dead son Khalīl, and then made Shajarat al-Durr act on his behalf: a cunning act of legal manipulation, though it is doubted to be the only one in the Ayyubid dynasty.²⁴

Why would the Mamluks agree to a female sultan? One explanation could be the Turkish background of the Mamluks, as they were brought up in an environment that was favorable to women.²⁵ However, this reason could be easily contested. The Mamluks had travelled away from their home at a young age and thus would be more in line with the

¹⁹ Ibid., 142.

²⁰ Ibid., 142.

²¹ Ibid., 258.

²² 'Ali, *Nufūdh al-nisā*, 109.

²³ Muḥammad, *Masājid Misr*, 258.

²⁴ Levanoni, "Shajar al-Durr," 212.

²⁵ Ibid., 217.

traditions of the Islamic region. Another explanation could be related to Shajarat al-Durr's dominant and strong personality. If she was in charge at the time of the sultan's death, it would only make sense to prolong this period of transitional delegation of authority. Shajarat al-Durr had the reputation of being a tough woman – smart, cunning, and almost ruthless – qualities which enabled her to survive among the Mamluk elite, if only for a short while.

In all cases, Shajarat al-Durr's position as a female sultan could only be temporary.²⁶ While al-Šāliḥ and his Mamluks may have agreed to female political power, opposition would have been guaranteed from Sunni 'ulama' and the people. This unusual position of Shajarat al-Durr was reflected in the inauguration ceremony.²⁷ Instead of having the commonly known oath of allegiance in the presence of royalty, state officials and judges with an eventful parade along the route to the Citadel, Shajarat al-Durr stayed in the palace at the Citadel, and the amirs entered one by one to state their oath.²⁸ Thus, it must be understood that the *sultāna* carried out her royal tasks within the societal constraints and traditions of what was acceptable as a female widow of Mamluk origin. Nonetheless, Shajarat al-Durr was able to legitimize her rule by having coins struck in her name (Pl. 2),²⁹ as well as by having the Friday prayer dedicated to her name.³⁰ As soon as the news reached the Abbasid Caliph about Shajarat al-Durr's new official position, he sent an official letter expressing his disapproval of the fact that she was in power. It appears in more than one historical reference that the Abbasid Caliph was upset that the *sultāna* was ruling Egypt, and the following statement was sent to Shajarat al-Durr denouncing her authority:

“From 'Abī-Aḥmad 'Abd-Allah al-Musta'ṣim bi'l-Allah, commander of the faithful, to the princely soldiers and ministers of Egypt, peace be upon you, we

²⁶ Ibid., 214.

²⁷ Ibid., 214.

²⁸ Ibid., 214.

²⁹ Shregle, *Die Sultānīn von Ägypten*, 19.

³⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, “The Maḥmal Legend,” 87.

were informed that you have delegated matters in the hands of Shajarat al-Durr, the widowed slave of al-Malik al-Şālih and appointed her as your *sultāna*, if you have no men qualified to rule; inform us and we will send you those qualified.”³¹

Qimat Qaşr, al-Şālih’s first wife, and Shajarat al-Durr’s main enemy, was the one who asked the Caliph to send this letter.³² Shajarat al-Durr reacted to that statement and she married Aybak, al-Şālih’s favorite Mamluk amir, the head of the army.³³ She made him divorce his first wife, further evidence of Shajarat al-Durr’s strong personality. In 654/1256 she learned that Aybak was to marry the daughter of the amir of Mawşil. Shajarat al-Durr opposed this marriage, and planned his death.³⁴ He was murdered in 655/1257.³⁵ Aybak’s Mamluks sought to take revenge. They had her imprisoned in a tower in the Citadel.³⁶ She suffered a tragic death and her body was thrown in the Citadel ditch.³⁷ She was buried in her mausoleum three days later.³⁸ This dramatic exit of the *sultāna* underscores her unpopularity. For three days her corpse had been left unattended, until she was moved to her mausoleum. Obviously, she was hated by al-Şālih’s family, sisters and relatives. She was their brother’s second wife of a Mamluk origin. She was also despised by the Mamluks for they thought they were more capable of assuming that position. She was also most probably rejected by the Egyptian people on account of being a female ruler who dishonored al-Şālih’s death by marrying one of the Mamluks.

³¹ Muḥammad, *Masājid Misr*, 258 (My translation).

³² *Ibid.*, 258.

³³ *Ibid.*, 258.

³⁴ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 136.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

1.3 The Southern Cemetery

The cemetery can be perceived as a place for the living as much as it was for the dead. Amongst the burial chambers were residential houses, mosques, bathhouses and markets. People went there to commemorate the dead, but also to participate in religious festivities. The cemetery has witnessed several waves of transformation across the centuries, with its boundaries shifting to accommodate the city's changing morphology.

In the late 2nd /9th century, Ibn Ṭūlūn built a new capital, al-Qaṭā'i', which had a mosque, Dār al-‘Imāra and a palace.³⁹ South of this area, a few funerary structures were built. This phase of urbanization continued during the Fatimid era. The Fatimids were responsible for mobilizing interest in the cemetery through their veneration of religious figures and Shi‘ī Imams. The Qarāfa under the Fatimids and its northern extension of al-Sayyida Nafīsa was the most important cemetery.⁴⁰ It remained the same under the Ayyubids, for there was a direct route from Bāb Zuwayla to Qala‘at al Jabal (572/1176) – the new administration quarter - and thus it was natural that the emphasis would be on the southern cemetery. A large fire took place in Saladin's era - south of Bāb Zuwayla, in an attempt to defeat a revolt by the Sudanese refugees. According to Maqrīzī, the area outside of Bāb Zuwayla was turned into gardens reaching the Shrine of Sayyida Nafīsa (d. 208/824).⁴¹ Next to the gardens was a road leading to the citadel, referred to either as Darb al-Aḥmar or as Ṣalība Street, where the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (266/879) is located.⁴² It is doubtful that the gardens were the only feature characterizing the area south of Bāb Zuwayla after Saladin's intervention. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, the Iraqi physician, described the area in 597-598/ 1201-1202, mentioning

³⁹ Al-Ibrashy, *Southern Cemetery of Cairo*, 77.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴¹ MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 28.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 41.

that ruins were present among the agriculture section and that green space covered the grounds between the two capitals of al-‘Askar and al-Qaṭā’i.⁴³

However, the Ayyubids had a different mission than the Fatimids. They worked on spreading the Sunni doctrine.⁴⁴ This was achieved by building madrasas and *khānqas*, and by promoting religious figures such as al-Imam al-Shafi‘i (d. 204/819). With the exception of the tomb of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and his madrasa, which were located at al-Qahira, most of the Ayyubid funerary monuments were located in al-Qarāfa.⁴⁵ Maqrīzī mentions that since the time of al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 636/1238) the area near the tomb of al-Shafi‘i was known as al-Qarāfa al-Sughra while the area to the west was known as al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā (Pl. 3).⁴⁶

The two main contributors to the Ayyubid cemetery were Saladin and al-Malik al-Kāmil. Saladin built a madrasa annexed to the tomb of Imam al-Shafi‘i and gave generous donations to the cemetery foundations.⁴⁷ Al-Kāmil constructed the dome over the grave of al-Shafi‘i and transformed a small adjacent mosque into a *jāmi‘*, and supplied it with water via an aqueduct from Birkat al-Ḥabash (Pl. 4).⁴⁸ Stephennie Mulder argues that the significance of the mausoleum of al-Imam al-Shafi‘i is not necessarily related to the veneration of the Sunni imam, or connected at all to the Ayyubid policies of demoting the Shi‘ī beliefs. According to Mulder, the massive wooden dome built by al-Kāmil over al-Shafi‘i’s tomb could have been meant more simply to symbolize the grandeur of his mother’s resting place,

⁴³ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁴ Al-Ibrashy, *Southern Cemetery of Cairo*, 77.

⁴⁵ Mūsalla of Ibn al-Arsufī (577/1181-1182), Tomb of Ibn Firroh Shatibī (595/1198-99), Tomb of Shihab al-Dīn Tusī (596/1199-1200), Tomb of Imam al-Shafi‘ī (608/1211-12), Mausoleum of Abu Mansur Isma‘il Fahkr al-Dīn Tha‘lib (591/1194-95), Mausoleum of Fakhr al-Farisi (622/1225-26), Tomb of Abu al-‘Abbas Ahmad Harrar (630/1232), Tomb of the Abbasid caliphs (640/1242-43), Tomb of Abu al-Su‘ud al-Wasitī (644/1246-47), Tomb of Shājarat al-Durr (648/49-1250); MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 41.

⁴⁶ “When al-Malik al-Kāmil buried his son next to the tomb of al-Imam al-Shāfe‘ī in 608 H, he built a great dome above al-Shāfe‘ī’s tomb, and connected it to an aqueduct where the source of water is from nearby pond of al-Ḥabash... People then built their funerary structures from the bigger cemetery to the vicinity of al-Shāfe‘ī. It was known as the small Qarāfa.” (Translated.) Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, 3: 648.

⁴⁷ MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 41.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 41.

and later other family members were buried there.⁴⁹ The dome may have been inspired by the Dome of the Rock (c.71/691), one of the earliest examples of a double-shell wooden dome on a large scale.⁵⁰ However, for the present discussion, the main significance of Imam al-Shafi‘i’s mausoleum is that it changed the urban morphology of the Cairene cemeteries. This latter construction attracted the building activity of funerary structures in the smaller Qarāfa, which resulted in the deteriorated state of the larger Qarāfa.⁵¹

Supporting funerary establishments was considered an act of charity. Paying salaries to religious figures was a practice carried out by many rulers. Al-Malik al-Kāmil (615/1218-636/1238) preferred religious mystics over the urban poor and the *zakāt* represented a political shift. Al-Şāliḥ ‘Ayyūb (636/1238-647/1249) also showed the same preference in Damascus and other Syrian towns, where he supported people affiliated with law colleges and *khānqas* and those who lived in seclusion.⁵² The cemetery under the Ayyubids was a unique tomb city of visitations and individual pilgrimages. It hosted the tombs of both royalty and the common poor. The behavior of royalty should only be understood as an amplified version of what ordinary people do.⁵³ The funerary endowments were no different. The motives for the funerary endowment deed were to commemorate the deceased, to preserve the prestige of the family, as well as to secure redemption for their beloved.⁵⁴ It was common to distribute food in the cemeteries as an act of charity.⁵⁵ It was home to many tombs, shrines, palaces and markets.

The Ayyubids, followed by the *baḥri* Mamluks, gradually demolished the work of the Fatimids and the palatial city. The Bayn al-Qaşrayn area was transformed into religious

⁴⁹ Mulder, "The Mausoleum of Imam Al-Shafi‘i," 41.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵¹ MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 41.

⁵² Lev, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions*, 17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

complexes commemorating the names of their founders (Pl. 5). In contrast to al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum, which Shajarat al-Durr commissioned to be built adjoining his madrasa in al-Qasaba within the Fatimid city, for her own mausoleum, Shajarat al-Durr chose a location in the southern cemetery amongst the mausoleums of female saints. The choice of the exact location of the mausoleum conveys an architectural statement. The location of the former is associated with a royal capital and on a busy street, while that of the latter – at al-Qarāfa – implies a more religious connotation. Shajarat al-Durr's mausoleum location in the vicinity of *Ahl al-bayt* funerary structures has successfully preserved her story.

1.4 Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Complex

The buildings associated with Shajarat al-Durr are the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ, part of her own complex at the cemetery of al-Sayyida Nafīsa. As mentioned earlier, Shajarat al-Durr annexed al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum to his madrasa in al-Qaṣaba following his death in 647/1249-1250 A.D. This project set the stage for structures with combined funerary-educational functions to become a common practice in the later Mamluk period. Shajarat al-Durr commissioned her own complex at al-Sayyida Nafīsa after being enthroned. Her building program included a mausoleum, palace, madrasa, *ḥammām*, and a large garden.⁵⁶ Since the Ayyubids adhered to the Shafi'i rite, the construction of mosques was not a common building activity. The Shafi'i rite allowed only one mosque per district, and the mosques of ʿAmr and al-Aqmar already fulfilled this function. It is important to note that this was the first mausoleum to be built by a patron during his or her own lifetime.

Given the morphology of the cemetery at the time, the palace can be pictured as an ungated residential entity.⁵⁷ It must have dominated the skyline of the large *bustān*,

⁵⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 7.

⁵⁷ Ibid., *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 63.

contrasting with the lush green of its surroundings. In later Mamluk times, the possession of the palace often did not remain with the family, especially if the founder's reign ended in disgrace. The same scenario likely applied to the case of Shajarat al-Durr. The palace most probably reverted to the next ruling sultan, who would then bestow it upon the next successor in office to partially compensate him.⁵⁸ The palace of Shajarat al-Durr was known as *Dār al-Khalīfa*, and Maqrīzī mentions that the Abbasid caliphs resided there during the Mamluk period. Consequently, the whole neighborhood came to be known as the quarter of al-Khalīfa, a nomenclature that is retained to this day.

The Abbasid Caliph is said to have built *ḥammām* al-Khalifa. It was still in use by the time of ‘Ali Mubārak (1306/1888) for both men and women and it is attributed to the waqf of Shajarat al-Durr.⁵⁹ The *ḥammām*, or public bathhouse, was a functional necessity of society. On the whole, today Cairene *ḥammāms* are endangered monuments, due to negligence, decay and in spite of adaptive reuse; few examples survive (Pl. 53). The architectural typology of *ḥammāms* can be traced to Roman examples. Their location was dependent on the presence of water infrastructure.⁶⁰ Their prime function was to provide for hygiene needs for individuals and perhaps to perform ablution rituals for the five daily prayers. Cairene bathhouses were usually cruciform in plan.⁶¹ The windowless walls of brick covered with plaster were of thick dimensions far beyond their structural requirements to retain heat.⁶²

According to the hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of the complex of Shajarat al-Durr – proposed by Behrens-Abouseif, the components of the complex existed in close proximity to each other. They are almost linear in composition, with the *ḥammām* at the north followed by the palace, then the madrasa and the mausoleum at the south end. The

⁵⁸ Ibid., 63.

⁵⁹ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 6:67. The assumption is that Ḥammām al-Khalifa is built (or renovated) on the earlier model of Shajarat al-Durr, given that it was financed by her waqf.

⁶⁰ Fadli, "The Historic Ḥammāms of Cairo," 60.

⁶¹ Ibid., 60.

⁶² Ibid., 60.

mausoleum is located exactly opposite the mausoleum of Sayyida ‘Ātika (c. 515/1122) and the mausoleum of Ja‘fari (c.493/1100-515/1122); and the mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqyya (c. 527/1133) is found at its south west corner (Pls. 6 - 7). The northern side of the complex is bordered by the mausoleum of Sayyida Sukayna (d.117/735) (Pl. 8). Thus, Shajarat al-Durr chose to be remembered among the sites of female saint’s shrines, and the whole neighborhood is named after al-Sayyida Nafīsa (d. 208/824), who was the daughter of Abu Muḥammad Ḥasan, a descendant of Caliph ‘Ali (Pls. 9 - 10).⁶³ The legend of Sayyida Nafīsa survives to this day: she is renowned for her piety and virtue to the extent that some miracles are attributed to her.⁶⁴

Behrens-Abouseif has attempted to reconstruct the building complex of Shajarat al-Durr based on a hand-rendered image drawn by Pascal Coste (Pls. 11 - 12). The beautiful drawing was assumed by Behrens-Abouseif to depict the madrasa’s minaret (Pl.13). The image shows a brick minaret in almost perfect condition in the midst of a ruined site. Coste explains that this deterioration was a result of the presence of the French expedition which left the area in ruins. Coste’s short description of the image says that it is a mosque that belonged to the 2nd/9th or 3rd /10th centuries. According to Behrens-Abouseif’s analysis, the minaret is datable to 648-1250/ 658-1260s for it shows great stylistic resemblance to the minaret of al-Ṣāliḥiyya (c. 641/1244) and the Ayyubid minaret of Zāwiyat al-Hunūd (660/1260) (Pls. 14 - 15).

Did Shajarat al-Durr’s waqf include a madrasa or a mosque? Behrens-Abouseif’s assumption that the waqf of Shajarat al-Durr was a madrasa rather than a mosque is based on Maqrīzī’s account. Indeed, the waqf by the *sultāna* could have initially functioned as a madrasa, but this does not rule out the possibility that its function might change over time. It

⁶³ Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 4.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 4.

is possible that the madrasa was turned into a prayer space and it stopped functioning as a madrasa, given that the Hanafī school of thought prevailed in the later Mamluk period. The evidence backing up this argument includes later historical sources pointing to a mosque there rather than a madrasa, among them being the account of Evliya Çelebi, the 17th century Ottoman traveler who wrote about his visit to the cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa.⁶⁵ Çelebi mentioned the mosque of Shajarat al-Durr, which he found in outstanding condition due to her large waqf. Behrens-Abouseif challenges the *Déscription de l'Égypte* map and claims that it confuses the location of a mosque called al-'Anwar with the presumed location of the 'madrasa / mosque' of Shajarat al-Durr. To this day, the mosque of Muḥammad al-'Anwar is found in al-Khalīfa Street (c.1195/1781), northwest of the mausoleum (Pls. 16 - 17).

Another issue to be resolved is the reconstruction of the missing zone at the northern corner of the mausoleum, for which the findings of Creswell and Patricolo have been considered. The left panel on the northwest façade shows an incomplete keel arch, which was justified by Patricolo to have followed al-Şāliḥ Ṭalā'i's mosque typology (c. 555/1160) in having a portico supersede the mausoleum's entrance (Pls. 18 - 19).⁶⁶ Comparing a mosque to a mausoleum points out to a weak assumption. Furthermore, Behrens-Abouseif reconstruction of the mausoleum suggests that the madrasa shared the northeast façade of the mausoleum with minaret of the madrasa attached to the southeast side. This reconstruction would then be problematic because it would have made more sense for the northwestern façade to function as the main elevation, strengthening the visual connection between the mausoleum of 'Ātika and Ja'fari and that of Shajarat al-Durr. Moreover, there would be no need for such clustering at a relatively non-urbanized part of the city.

⁶⁵ Evliya Çelebi documented forty years of travel in 10 volumes, *Seyahatname* of first-handed observations and descriptions where many of the incidents recorded are dependent on folk stories. His frequent travels where most of the times in the company high-ranking men of state. Çelebi visited many towns of the empire in Anatolia, the Balkans, and the Arab provinces, and ventured beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire as well. Winter, *Mamluks and Ottomans*, 123.

⁶⁶Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 137.

Visualizing the patronage of Shajarat al-Durr helps us interpret the real intentions behind building a grand architectural structure in the cemetery. The *sultāna* sought to commemorate her memory within a profile of piety that was reflected on the young students' education –learning Islamic theology, as well as providing a functioning bath house to visitors of the cemetery. Regardless of her true intentions, this project speaks of the *sultāna*'s wish to be remembered as a pious ruler who did good deeds and thought herself worthy to build her funerary structure next to the shrines of *Ahl al-bayt*.⁶⁷

1.5 Description of the Mausoleum

The mausoleum as it stands today is a freestanding structure surrounded by an irregularly shaped courtyard, and it stands at a skewed angle relative to the street alignment. It can be accessed from the Khalīfa street by a series of seven descending steps due to the rise in the street level of about a meter (Pls. 21- 22). With the exception of the mihrab wall, each side is centered by a door opening. The main entrance is through the northeastern door.

The most interesting feature about the mausoleum is the keel-shaped dome. The unique curve of the dome is in harmony with the exterior architectural treatment. The keel-arched theme of the triangular window composition at the zone of transition matches the profile of the eight openings at the octagonal base (Pl. 29). The apex of the dome reaches a height of 14 m – measured from the interior ground level of the mausoleum – which is approximately double the width of squared chamber below.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Aliaa al-Sandouby had compiled a dissertation on the *Ahl al-Bayt* featuring important shrine and tombs in both Cairo and Damascus. The study has more value now than ever, for it has documented the *Ahl al-bayt* monuments before the mass destruction of monuments due to the Syrian revolution. It highlights three aspects related to the survival of the of *Ahl al-bayt* shrines over time: narrative, practice and the visible built form. It recognizes the intangible aspects of shrines. The intangible values of shrines as heritage symbolize a complex of rituals, and changing political and religious ties that connect the visitors to the Prophet and his family. The narrative as a constituent of cultural heritage preservation and has contributed to the process of formation and transformation of shrines. Sandouby, *Ahl al-Bayt in Cairo and Damascus*, 18-20.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 136- 137.

The mihrab at the center of the southeast façade projects slightly and it is bounded by two large blind niches of keel-arched shapes with fluted recesses (Pl. 21). Two circular medallions and another two lozenges decorate the upper part of the walls. The lozenges have a fluted design, while the latter has a star-like pattern.

The chamfered corners of the southeast façade demonstrate that it was free-standing at that end (Pls. 23 - 25). The northeast elevation has no elaborate exterior decoration, due to the building of a mosque in the 19th century, which was later demolished by the Comité (Pl. 28). The stripped-off plastering at the right side of the northeastern façade reveals the original construction material of bricks infused with palm trunks. Therefore, it cannot be verified in absolute terms that the mausoleum was originally built as a freestanding structure. The half keel arch at the far left of the southwest façade casts doubt on the idea of a genuinely freestanding structure (Pl. 27).

Actually, the ‘freestanding’ appearance of the monument is a result of the Comité’s intervention, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. A detailed description of the mausoleum is given by Creswell, who serves as a significant witness to the before-and-after conservation efforts done by the Comité. Creswell’s account is given in the year 1335/1917 and he explains that little could be seen from the exterior at his time. A house was built against the southwestern side of the mausoleum and the northeastern side was occupied by a mosque built in the early 14th/ 19th century, which also covered the northwestern side (Pl. 20).⁶⁹ The entrance to the mausoleum was through the north corner joining the mausoleum and 14th/ 19th century mosque. The house and the 14th/ 19th century mosque were later demolished.⁷⁰ The door at the northern corner stands as witness to the 1290/1873 mosque demolition with the lintel bearing a dated inscription 1242 /1826-7 and referring to

⁶⁹ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 136.

⁷⁰ Warner, *The Monuments of Historic Cairo*, 49.

an unnamed Abbasid Caliph.⁷¹ According to Mubārak, the mosque of al-Khalifa was restored by Sayyid Sulīmān ʿĪssā, the supervisor of the waqf for about a quarter of waqf's budget.⁷²

The mosque is said to have marble columns, *minbar*, ablution court and a minaret. The mausoleum dome had two shrines, and on the door was an inscription that read:

“This is the shrine of the Caliph of worth,
His traits decorated to the people,
His virtuous architecture speaks of opulence,
Bannī Abbas congratulates you with pride.”⁷³

The unique features of the mausoleum serve to justify why the architectural jewel has undergone several layers of restoration. The interior walls are decorated with rectangular panels of dense stucco carving at the three facades with the exception of the mihrab.⁷⁴ The keel-arched niches above the three entrances are carved into flutes that radiate from a central panel. The frames of the niches are composed of two rows of mini-stalactites and the spandrels are beautifully carved with very dense floral. Pointing to the shallow panel above the main entrance, Farīd Shāfiʿī suggests that the Kuffic ornamental patterns formed by the vertical shafts of letters that are symmetrically arranged in the keel-shaped panels is a Moroccan feature.⁷⁵ However, the panels decoration seems to be a continuation of earlier precedents such as the mausoleum of al-Imam al-Shāfiʿī. The transitional zone has two tiers of stalactites from which the recent polychrome paint has been stripped off, unearthing original painted medallions. The ongoing conservation work is discussed in Chapter 4 (Pl. 31).

⁷¹ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 136. This inscription signifies that the Abbasid caliphs were guardians of the mausoleum and complex till this period of time, renovating and rebuilding Shajarat al-Durr's waqf.

⁷² Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 5:32; Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 136.

⁷³ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 5:32 (My translation). Mubārak adds that a dated inscription carved on a stucco plate bears the date 509/1115 which confirms Coste's assumption. This could either indicate that Mubārak relied on Coste's information, or that Shajarat al-Durr's complex was based on an earlier Fatimid construction.

⁷⁴ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 138.

⁷⁵ Shāfiʿī, *West Islamic Influences*, 31.

The interior is famous for the mosaic mihrab showcasing a tree of pearls – considered the earliest surviving example of the medium in the Ayyubid period in Egypt (Pl. 30).

Michael Meinecke argues that the mosaics were introduced around the time of the reign of Sultan Qālāwūn (r.677/1279-689/1290), following the later Syrian decorative style found at the mihrab of his funerary complex.⁷⁶ With stylistic comparison the tree motif easily fits the suggested Qālāwūnīd era.⁷⁷ The motif is a representation of the queen’s name, literally a tree branching with pearls. The tree occupies a central position and has a background of golden mosaics. Such personal projection increases the probability of assuming that the patron was directly involved in the design and construction process of the mausoleum and that its mosaic decoration was not a later addition.

Two inscription friezes line the interior; the lower wooden frieze has carved decoration (Pls. 32 - 33). Creswell suggests that it might have been taken from the Fatimid Western Palace (c. 364/975-385/996). It is possible that the wooden frieze was borrowed from the Fatimid royal city, and perhaps even borrowed from the Fatimid building structures that were present at the cemetery. The second wooden frieze was covered in stucco on which was carved *naskh* Qur’anic inscriptions. Van Bercham and Herz studied this inscription and concluded that it most probably copied an original one.⁷⁸ It was suggested that the upper frieze was once painted over in a thick layer of black by Shajarat al-Durr’s “enemies”.⁷⁹ Later, in the Ottoman period, it was painted over in white with the queen’s titles.⁸⁰ The

⁷⁶ Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals," 66.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 66.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 139.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 139; “Afterwards, the technical department moved the tomb of the *sulṭāna* Shajarat al-Durr to examine the engraved inscription that was reported by Mr. P. Casanova during the 97th session of the committee. Due to certain marks that could clearly be seen, we were able to conclude that in question was a very interesting ancient inscription, carved on wood, and on which overlapped the ruins of another inscription made of stucco, of another era, more recent. It has been decided to take a photograph of this latter in order to see more clearly the inscription originally carved. It would also be useful to proceed with the cleaning of the tomb hall, which will allow to find out whether there are blocked windows under the plastering with the objective to re-open them since the place lacks both light and air.” (Translated) *Comité 1900*, f89.

⁸⁰Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 92.

controversial legacy of the patron, first hated and then transformed into a legendary icon, is a key point in discussing the conservation history of the mausoleum.

The mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr used to host two cenotaphs, one for an anonymous Abbasid Caliph, and the other attributed to Shajarat al-Durr. The anonymous cenotaph at the mausoleum was present up until the year 1249/ 1877, but has disappeared later during restoration (Pl. 34.)⁸¹ The 1318/ 1900 Comité *Bulletins* published notices concerning that matter. The sources of the information for the report include the *Déscription de l'Égypte* and an 1888 report of Dār al-Ma'ārif. The cenotaph was believed to be attributed to the seventeenth and last caliph who died in Egypt in 945-46/ 1538-39. A smaller cenotaph, positioned off-center, was said to belong to Shajarat al-Durr.⁸² The reconstruction of the wooden cenotaph that is attributed to Shajarat al-Durr is more or less a collage of wooden panels bearing Qur'anic verses (Pl. 35).⁸³ The Qur'anic inscriptions reveal nothing special about the patron or the time of the mausoleum construction. The contents speak of God's mercy, heaven as a reward for the believers, and other verses in praise of the Prophet. The juxtaposition of verses without a consistent theme increases the likelihood that the cenotaph is composed of recycled elements. It was suggested that Shajar al-Durr was buried beside the wall near the north-eastern exit.⁸⁴ However, when the Comité excavated the floor of the mausoleum in search of the tomb's entrance, nothing was found.

1.6 Discussion

The purpose of recounting the lively history of Shajarat al-Durr before the technical description of the mausoleum is to help the reader visualize the domed chamber within the thrilling political context of the late Ayyubid period. The erected building has as much

⁸¹ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 138.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 138.

⁸³ *Comité 1900*, 111.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

character as that of the patron. Analyzing Shajarat al-Durr's story in connection with Ayyubid architectural patronage supports this conclusion. The *sultāna*'s involvement with the royal family gave her enough reason to commission her own project when she had the opportunity. She made use of the circumstances to attain substantial power, without which it is doubtful her mausoleum would survive to this day. In order to compare her mausoleum to stylistic precedents we need to picture the Ayyubid context in Egypt and Syria as a whole.

If we look closely at Shajarat al-Durr's story, there are clues that indicate the *sultāna*'s strong character and intellect – the traits that ultimately led to her building commission. Those clues are intertwined with the biography of her first husband al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn. Zooming in on a few years of al-Ṣāliḥ's chronology, he experienced many hardships as a result of his connection with the royal family. Not only physical hardships of imprisonment but the day-to-day struggles with distrusting siblings, courtship management and military stewardship. During the lifetime of his father, al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-Ṣāliḥ's brother al-ʿĀdil was appointed as heir to the Egyptian throne, while al-Ṣāliḥ was delegated the less prestigious responsibility of governing Aleppo. Al-Kāmil feared that his son would take over Egypt's reign in his time. After his short period of governorship (637-38/1239-40) al-Ṣāliḥ was fighting his Ayyubid rivals in Syria and Palestine over the governorship of Syria and his brother al-ʿĀdil over Egypt.⁸⁵ Al-Ṣāliḥ lost to his rivals in Damascus when his army deserted him and was captured by his cousin al-Nasīr Dāwūd. Al-Ṣāliḥ was imprisoned together with Shajarat al-Durr and Baybars al-Bunduqdārī.⁸⁶ Al-Ṣāliḥ, the legitimate heir to the Ayyubid throne, learnt that he should create his own circle of trust so as not to be betrayed once again. He worked on building his own army by recruiting mamluks - a process which was first introduced by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.⁸⁷ He bestowed large *iqṭās* upon his favored amirs

⁸⁵ Levanoni, "The Mamluks' Ascent to Power in Egypt," 123.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

in order to guarantee their loyalty. Al-Ṣāliḥ later killed his brother al-‘Ādil out of fear that he would reclaim the throne.⁸⁸ Years later, his own son Turānshāh was murdered.

Such bloodshed was not the only legacy bequeathed by Ayyubid princes to later Mamluk rulers. Al-Ṣāliḥ introduced rules and practices at court and to the army that were followed years later. He delegated roles to Mamluk amirs of his own al-Ṣāliḥyya unit, so that he would be free to join military expeditions or keep to his own palace. He restricted those who reported to him to the top managerial ranks. The delegated responsibilities among his trusted few obviously included Shajarat al-Durr. As the wife and former mistress of al-Ṣāliḥ Nājm al-Dīn, Shajarat al-Durr would have learned the necessary life lessons to survive the complex political traps of al-Ṣāliḥ’s reign. She was familiar with the system of administration at the court and its delegated Mamluk personnel. Shajarat al-Durr’s authority extended beyond the boundaries of the palace. She gave orders to both the administrative staff and the army. She knew the personal strengths and weaknesses of those who worked with the sultan. With her wit and cunning behavior, she was able to lobby for her accession to the throne after al-Ṣāliḥ’s death. The circumstances of the victory of the Mamluks winning over the Franks worked in Shajarat al-Durr’s favor sparing the oath of allegiance to the Ayyubids’ line of rule rather than directly assuming power.

I argue that Shajarat al-Durr’s role was a transitional one in the first place. She was not forced to step down but rather abdicated the throne to Aybak to secure her authority against Mamluk rivals. A woman of her intelligence would surely understand the odds of staying in power amongst a family of Ayyubids who doubted her legitimacy and an army of soldiers who saw themselves to be more worthy of her throne than she was. The question of whether or not the Abbasid caliph sent his letter in objection to her reign hardly influenced her to step down. Her years of governorship can be presumed to have represented a

⁸⁸ Ibid., 127.

continuation of al-Şāliḥ's administrative procedures with no substantial change to the systems in place before his departure.

I would also like to dispute the commonly quoted reason of Shajarat al-Durr's plot against Aybak. It is doubtful that it was fueled by jealousy because he considered marrying another woman. If love was the moral of the story, it is more likely she would have taken revenge against the future second wife. The analysis of the *sultāna*'s persona speaks of a strong character and a tough heart. From a more pragmatic perspective, the *sultāna* would not take a license to kill unless Aybak trespassed her authority. Six years into office (654-55/1256-7), Aybak commissioned a madrasa beside commercial structures in Fustat.⁸⁹ The endowment estate included a double *ḥammām*, an apartment house and a commercial building.⁹⁰ Moreover, he used al-Şāliḥ's citadel at the island of Rawḍa for storing the building materials.⁹¹ Thus, Aybak's foreseen marriage is yet another manifestation of him taking control, and should not be judged as the sole cause of Shajarat al-Durr's vengeance. She was once again walking in al-Şāliḥ's steps, getting rid of rivals to the throne.

The genius of the *sultāna* is not restricted to her interpersonal skills, but her ability to achieve the best out of the foreseen circumstances. The finest illustration of her opportunistic intelligence is her decision to build her funerary endowment right after she constructed that of her late husband. If the pious intentions are set aside, it may very well seem an extremely bold feminist statement. Now that the sultan had been commemorated in a presentable royal structure in the heart of the city, the *sultāna* could have an equally fabulous funerary complex in the vicinity of the Citadel.

⁸⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 54.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁹¹ It is interesting to note that Baybars restored the citadel at Rawḍa probably out of faithfulness to his master. Later al-Mansur Qalawun dismantled the recently restored building to use the construction materials for his own complex. *Ibid.*, 54-55.

By comparing the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr to earlier funerary structures, it becomes clear that there was always a shared precedent portraying similar architectural features (Pls. 36-38).⁹² This comparative analysis is used to emphasize continuity of local building traditions. The mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr shares many architectural similarities with the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ (c.647/1250). In return, al-Ṣāliḥ arguably reflects several decorative similarities with the mausoleum of al-Imam al-Shafi‘i, notably the circular and angled square medallions above the keel-arched niches on the exterior facades (Pl. 4). The three mausoleums are reminiscent of Fatimid decorative vocabulary – al-Aqmar’s façade, for example (c. 519/1125) (Pl. 39). It has been noted by Creswell, that the tripartite composition of the mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs (around 658/1260) – similarly that of Shajarat al-Durr – bears resemblance with the Ka‘ba covering which was described by Nāṣir Khussru in 442/1050. According to Khussru, on each side of the Ka‘ba there are three golden embroidered mihrabs on a white and horizontally striped background, with the central mihrab is the largest.⁹³ Creswell's argumentation for this analogy, was based on the fact that the *Kiswa* was always woven in Egypt from quite an early date.⁹⁴ In other words, the tripartite design was commonly applied – from a design point of view – upon squarish structures; and the *Kiswa* pattern was yet another variation.

Al-Ṣāliḥ’s mausoleum is more monumental than the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. The current state of the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ has undergone changes from what it used to be in 648/1250 (Pl. 36). The transformations to the layout started during the reign of al-Zahīr

⁹² Galila el-Kadi and Alain Bonnamy documented a modern narrative of the funerary buildings, yet emphasizing the history of al-Qarafa. The book traces paradigm shifts in religious beliefs related to commemoration and built funerary structures. It also analyzes the north, south and east quarters of the Cairene cemeteries while tackling urban challenges of inhabited cemeteries and heritage related issues. The organized and clear manner by which maps and images of the mausoleums are displayed in the book facilitated the stylistic comparison of mausoleums in the Cairene cemeteries. El-Kadi, *Architecture for the Dead*.

⁹³ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 93.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

Baybars when he first erected his madrasa (c.658/1260) to the north of the Ṣālihiyya complex.⁹⁵ The domed chamber is architecturally bigger in size with interior dimensions of 10.65m, almost one and a half times the size of Shajarat al-Durr's mausoleum.⁹⁶ The exterior decoration bears resemblance to the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr and the mausoleum ornamentation matched the façade of the madrasa (c. 641/1244). The façade overlooking al-Qaṣaba bears the same tri-partite composition of the main panels. The interior also shows some decorative similarities with Shajarat al-Durr, though gives off a more extravagant air. It is lined with two wooden friezes, but the wall height and proportions convey more grandeur than that of Shajarat al-Durr (Pl. 40). The apex of the dome reaches at a height of 20 meters.⁹⁷

The ingenuity of the architect can be detected in working with the surrounding constraints. The mausoleum was built in response to an existing urban morphology on the site that originally occupied the Fatimid western palace and parallel to a once existing eastern palace. The plan of the mausoleum shows that it is aligned to the street, a feature first witnessed in al-Aqmar mosque (Pls .41- 42). Most Cairene historical buildings of this period are set askew to the street to get the true orientation of the *qibla*.⁹⁸ The western façade of the mausoleum was integrated with the pre-existing Ṣālihiyaa madrasa and the mausoleum was built on land previously occupied by an existing room for a Mālkī sheikh residing in the madrasa, which Maqrīzī mentioned in his *Khiṭaṭ*.⁹⁹ The poet Ibn al-Sīnyra said the following verses when he passed by al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum:

⁹⁵ Nairy Hampikian, conservation professional, traces the conservation history of the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ and analyzes the morphological development to the complex since its foundation. Hampikian's doctoral dissertation presents the archeological history of al-Ṣālihiyya complex highlighting the work of DAIK (German Archeological Institute in Cairo) in which she was part of the team, and recommends a general action plan for conserving the complex in the future. The study was referenced for relative archeological details for the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ. Hampikian, *Complex of al-Ṣālihiyya*.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹⁹ Maqrīzī, *Khiṭat*, 3: 466.

“You built schools for the holy scholars
To survive the day of judgement
No place have you found to build a home [mausoleum]
To reside in except next to Mālik”¹⁰⁰

The protruding mausoleum on al-Qaṣaba is meant to dominate the busy street, imposing its iconic significance on the passerby. By attaching the mausoleum to al-Ṣāliḥ’s madrasa, the sultan’s memory was re-established on the main spine of al-Qahira.¹⁰¹ Shajar al-Durr also continued al-Ṣāliḥ’s policy of having presence in al-Qahira. The mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ set the stage of transforming the Fatimid city into both a religious and funerary exhibition for later Mamluk amirs. The connectedness of the three structures of the Ṣāliḥiyya madrasa, mausoleum and the madrasa of al-Zahīr may indicate the close relationship between the founders.¹⁰² The madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ – whether by accident or design – acted as a legitimizing symbol for the later Mamluk rule and an architectural typology to be followed.

By a close examination of the Cairene cemeteries, several similar architectural examples can be identified. The tomb of the Abbasid caliphs (around 658/1260) exhibits the closest external decorative relationship (Pls. 43-45). Its foundation can be attributed to Baybars and hosts many cenotaphs, the earliest of which is an envoy of the Abbasid Caliph Abu Nadla dated to 640/ 1242-3.¹⁰³ The façade has the same decorative treatment of keel-arched niches, the fluted medallions on the spandrels, and lozenges and geometrical decorative details.¹⁰⁴ Also the stalactites above the chamfered corners are similar.¹⁰⁵ Another example is found at the mausoleum of al-Ḥasawatī (c.544/1150) where the stalactite keel-

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 3: 467 (My translation).

¹⁰¹ Hampikian, *Complex of al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, 17.

¹⁰² Ibid., 67.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 138; Creswell dated the mausoleum to 640/1242, assuming that Abū Naḍla was the founder. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 92.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 92.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 92.

arched frame of the mihrab shows some resemblance to that of Shajarat al-Durr, although the conch of the mihrab and the surrounding epigraphy is strikingly different. The southeast façade of the mausoleum and madrasa of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Yusuf (c.697/1298) shows fluted keel-arched panels and chamfered corners (Pls. 47- 48).

The centrality of Shajarat al-Durr to the material presented here must not lead us to assume that the building patronage by a queen was as unique. The *sultāna* is merited for the strategic precision of the construction timing, but the concept of female patronage is not new. She spent some time in Syria in the retinue of al-Ṣāliḥ when he was governor and, more generally, the Ayyubids governed Egypt and Syria simultaneously. Female patrons of funerary architecture set precedents in Saladin's Aleppo, in Ayyubid Cairo, as well as in the later Circassian Mamluk dynasty where the tradition reached a far more elaborate air. The patronage of females was strongly represented in Ayyubid Damascus. The endowed madrasas, mausoleums, hospices, *rībāṭs* and *khānqas* were not limited to the princesses of the royal family; documented examples illustrate that even daughters of 'ulama' as well as the wives of military soldiers managed to endow charitable foundations.¹⁰⁶ Later Mamluk examples show that it would become a trend among the Mamluk royal elite. Faṭīma Khātūn (c.682/1284), the wife of Sultan Qālāwūn followed a similar concept at the neighborhood of Sayyida Nafīsa (Pl. 49). Other examples of female mausoleums attached to religious foundations include al- Khuwānd Ṭughāy - Naṣīr Muḥammad's wife - built a mausoleum-*khanqa* in the Northern Cemetery in 749/1348, and the madrasa of 'Umm al-Sulṭān Sha'bān at the foot of the Citadel built in 770-71/1368-69.¹⁰⁷

The patronage of females in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods is embedded within the social context of the time. D'Hulster and Van Stenbergen establish an alternative lineage for

¹⁰⁶ Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture," 36.

¹⁰⁷ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 19.

the Mamluk rulers to the obvious father-son throne transfer.¹⁰⁸ Mamluk sultans in many instances married female relatives of earlier sultans in order to compensate for their lack of pedigree.¹⁰⁹ Ten princesses of the Mamluk dynasty were referenced for the ‘in-law marriage’ theory. Shajarat al-Durr was notably excluded from this discussion because her career was significantly covered by earlier literature due to her direct involvement in politics. However, the marriage lineage theory can be observed in the reign of Shajarat al-Durr. She herself was the transitional node between two sultans. Moreover, Aybak’s attempted marriage to the daughter of the Baghdad Caliph to strengthen his political network is an example of this phenomenon. The marriage theory can also be linked to the role of women as caretakers of property as discussed by Carl Petry, who identifies economic symbolism to these marriages. Women were assigned to take care of endowed properties as they were symbols of longevity – outliving their male relations – which means property was sustained for a longer time span.¹¹⁰

Shajarat al-Durr’s role of transition between the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties places her at a chronological juncture. Consequently, it is important to recognize the patron and her architectural outcome as a continuation in the historical narrative without focusing on distinctions of nomenclature, between what amounted to Saladin’s or Nasīr’s eras. The same transitional principle follows suit with the stylistic categorization of the decorative themes of her building. The keel-arched and fluted-style decoration is typical of the Ayyubid period, borrowed from the Fatimid dynasty and later influential for the Mamluk building identity. The Fatimid mosque of al-Ḥakīm (c. 316/928) and al-’Aqmar Mosque (c. 519/1125) bear resemblance with this type of paneled decoration and carved medallions (Pls. 39, 51).

¹⁰⁸ D’Hulster, “Family Matters.”

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹¹⁰ Petry. “Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain,” 125.

In the Cairene context, given the Fatimids' infusion of the cemetery with commemorative structures and the tradition among female Ayyubid royalty to endow foundations, it comes as no surprise that Shajarat al-Durr commissioned a complex. The site's location in the southern outskirts of al-Fustat, with its low urban density, must have dictated the layout of the building complex. The mausoleum is located opposite the shrines of 'Ātika and al-Ja'fari. The buffer zone between the funerary buildings is what later developed into a street. The idea of having the mausoleum at the most visible and accessible location was also an innovation of Shajarat al-Durr at the Qaṣaba. Her endowment must be seen not only as a rightful advantage of governorship, but perquisite Ayyubid royalty through marriage.

The idea of funerary commemorative structures goes back to ancient times, but their practice in the Islamic era is arguably not a continuation of a pre-Islamic tradition. Early Islamic practitioners condemned the erection of mausoleums in the belief of an equal and humble burial. In fact, early Muslim doctrine condemned any architectural glorification of tombs to an extent that the funerary ceremonies themselves were not favored.¹¹¹ Oleg Grabar proposes, after a thorough study of early commemorative structures, that the 4th/11th and 5th/12th century revival of domed mausoleums may have been inspired by princely domestic architecture.¹¹² The early surviving mausoleums served to glorify holy places or to pay tribute to young princes.¹¹³ Apart from the early mausoleums in Iraq commemorating 'Ali and al-Ḥusāyn, higher concentrations of commemorative structures are present in the north-eastern provinces of Iran and in Egypt.¹¹⁴ It makes sense in terms of prestige to adopt the same form when attempting to commemorate a venerated individual. The Fatimids are the known to have exploited the mausoleum and shrine idea in commemorating Shi'a Imams and

¹¹¹ Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 8.

¹¹² Ibid., "The Islamic Dome," 197.

¹¹³ Ibid., 39.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 40.

religious figures. Likewise, identifying with the form of the domed chamber as a religious commemorative structure became an inherited tradition in later Islamic dynasties. This tentative explanation that way back beyond the foundation date of the mausoleum in order to justify why the mausoleum takes the main form that it does.¹¹⁵

To what extent was the *sultāna* involved in overseeing the construction of her property? Ayyubid sultans had set the trend of making a public appearance during inauguration ceremonies and being directly involved with the construction supervision. Al-Malik al-Kāmil is said to have joined his princes and mamluks in digging the Nile bed with his own hands, and al-Şāliḥ ʿAyyūb personally supervised the construction work at his citadel at Rawḍa (Pl. 52).¹¹⁶ In the case of a female ruler, however, such public presence is highly unlikely. She may have spoken of her architectural desires to the construction supervisor and he would have taken care of it. Al-Qarāfa, like the public markets, afforded opportunities for social mixing that was not generally permissible in the confines of the city itself.¹¹⁷ Thus, subtle visits to the construction site may have occurred, given the flexible atmosphere of the context. Otherwise freedom of women in the traditional public sphere was complicated by social boundaries between classes, occupations, ethnic groups and religious communities.¹¹⁸ The Qarāfa as a means to publically express oneself in the practices of visitations and among the neighboring communities may have contributed to Shajarat al-Durr’s decision to have her mausoleum to be built in the cemeteries.

¹¹⁵ Caroline Williams has written extensively on the Fatimid shrines in Egypt and illustrated the semiotic decorative significance on al-Aqmar façade. Williams, “Cult of the ‘Alid Saints,”; Ibid, “The Façade of the Aqmar Mosque.” Christopher Taylor criticized earlier literature which emphasized the Shiʿī doctrine in saint veneration arguing that it is partially a local tradition. Taylor, “Re-evaluating the Shiʿī Role.” Yasser Tabbaa has focused on Ayyubid Syria while Neil Mackenzie’s focused on Ayyubid Egypt. Both comprehensive demonstrate a clearer image of the Ayyubid funerary context. Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety*; Mackenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*.

¹¹⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 32.

¹¹⁷ Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 57.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 57.

The presence of Shajarat al-Durr's complex in the cemetery of al-Sayyida Nafisa is an architectural metaphor of both power and piety. It is in the 'vicinity of the righteous,' bounded by the mausoleums of female members of *Ahl al-bayt*. Better yet, it is in the vicinity of the Citadel, the Ayyubid administrative throne. It is also a strong reminder of the extensive participation of the elites in venerating the dead, a common cultural value that was strongly present in medieval society. Within such a socio-cultural context, the cemetery was a favorable arena for the *sultāna* to independently demonstrate a pious and notable presence.

CHAPTER TWO: WAQF AND CONSERVATION IN ISLAMIC HISTORY

This chapter traces the conservation mechanisms and attitudes which contributed to the survival of the built heritage of Shajarat al-Durr. Three main concepts are discussed: ‘Islamic’ historiography, elites’ intervention and the waqf system. The first section compares and contrasts the work of three medieval historians in order to understand the meaning of conservation in early historical writings. The second section reflects on examples of conservation interventions commissioned by royalty throughout the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman dynasties. Such attitudes towards the preservation of religious monuments helps us understand how the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr survived. The third section discusses some of the basic waqf principles and how they relate to conservation. Finally, a theoretical reconstruction of the endowment deed of Shajarat al-Durr is presented in order to highlight the importance of the waqf system – and documents – in preserving monuments.

2.1 “Literary” Conservation by Historians

Conservation in theory is deeply rooted in Islamic philosophy. The roles of the Qur’an and hadith have contributed to this philosophy. According to Mahdī Ḥudjat, the Qur’an does not use the term *tarīkh* (history).¹¹⁹ However, other synonyms such as *qisas*, *ḥadīth*, *naba’* are present among the verses. Such terminology indicates the emphasis of the Qur’an on narrating timeless incidents for humankind, and thus consolidating history for future generations.¹²⁰ Hadith literature, on the other hand, depends on *isnād* – a process of tracing the chain of transmitters of the hadith to the Prophet, a process which guarantees verification of the sources and thus preserves oral history.¹²¹ Principles of verification of sources were

¹¹⁹ Jokilehto, *History of Architectural Conservation*, 11. Ḥudjat, *Cultural Heritage in Iran*, 25.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹²¹ On a side note, hadith transmission was popular among medieval female scholars. Asma Sayeed has looked at a well-constructed profile of two Mamluk ladies, Zaynab bint al-Kamal (646-740/1248-1339) and ‘Aisha bint Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Hadī (723-816/1323-1413), who were hadith transmitters in Mamluk Damascus. The

applied in historical writings of the Islamic era. Analyzing the writing methodology of historians is a valuable indicator to understand conservation from a theological perspective. The writings of al-Tabarī (224-311/839-923), Ibn Khaldūn (732-809/1332-1406) and Maqrīzī (765-846/ 1364- 1442) have set their own criteria of scholarship trying to conserve history.

Al-Tabarī (224-311/839-923) is an influential Persian scholar and historian, wrote on history, theology and a commentary on the Qur'an. *Tarīkh al-rusūl wa 'l-mulūk* also known as *Tarīkh al-Tabarī* is among the earliest texts written compiling Islamic history. Tabari relied on *isnād* as a method of verifying narrative, relying on the works of earlier historians to compose his history. His sources included the work of Ibn Isḥāq, Kalbī Ibn Sa'ad and al-Muqafa'. Al-Tabarī's writing was influential in the early era of the Islamic Caliphate for it justifies the existence of a new religion to the whole human history.¹²² Accordingly, al-Tabarī's writing is much more comprehensive than earlier monographs. He used a large number of earlier sources, and his style of writing is void of the 'fanciful' tone that accompanied many later writings. Probably, his learning and career as a jurist and a *faqīh* contributed to the authenticity and truthfulness of his work. The understanding of writing history at that time was more or less quoting the sources of earlier times, and arranging those quotes into a logical narrative. Early histories can be perceived as a continuum of oral history, which was passed down to future generations. Factual texts were listed, one after the

practice of hadith transmission was favored by females due to its suiting nature from a social perspective. The *ijaza* (certification system) was given at an early childhood age long before the students actually studied the material and were eligible of teaching; a practice which was not common in other religious subjects of study. This arrangement permitted less interactive time between female students and male teachers. Moreover, hadith studies can be learned at different ages and various capacities. At an elementary stage students would learn short basic narratives, and at a more advanced stage students would memorize longer passages with the accompanying structure of the chain of transmitters. Although the above mentioned profile is indicative of the Ḥanbalī Mamluk Syrian context, it draws interesting observations regarding the role of women as scholars. Hadith transmission was an exceptional career path that welcomed female students at a time when women were excluded from the studying other theological subjects. It also highlights the role of female scholars outside the madrasa institutions. It is highly unlikely that females were registered as teachers in educational facilities. The flexible and non-institutionalized medium in which woman participated in society must be affirmed for it is generally marginalized in medieval history. Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadīth Transmission," 74-75.

¹²² Straley. *Perspective and Method in Early Islamic Historiography*, 31.

other, and sources were verified by attaching an *isnād*. What is defined as a fact now is not necessarily what early historians understood as a fact. Conflicting accounts can be present but each would have its independent source of verification. Thus, al-Tabarī can be considered a pioneer in the field of historiography in the early period of Islam inspiring a new genre of scholarship.

Ibn Khaldūn (732-809/1332-d.1406) is considered the founder of sociology and is best known for his *Muqaddima*. The *Muqaddima*, literally meaning introduction, is the preface preceding his three-volume compendium of world history. He was born in Granada, studied in Fez and worked within the judiciary system in Egypt during the reign of the Sultan Barquq.¹²³ In many aspects, Ibn Khaldūn's interpretation of history and scholarship were ahead of his time. The following phrase could be interpreted as his definition of history: "the inner meaning of history involves speculation, an attempt to get to a truth, subtle explanation of the causes and origins of existing things."¹²⁴ He criticized historiographical scholarship identifying the reasons why historians relay misleading information. Among such reasons is the partisanship of scholars, reliance upon transmitters without verification of sources and sequence of events, and not questioning the context in which the narratives were written.¹²⁵ He explains why court historians may be susceptible to error when they seek praise or to maintain power. The work of Ibn-Khaldūn draws attention to the contextual factors associated with early historical references, which is an important consideration in evaluating the authenticity of early writings.

Maqrīzī (765-846/1364- 1442) is well known for his *Khiṭaṭ*. The 15th-century historian compiled the urban history of Cairo's buildings, architecture, streets and *ḥāras* in an

¹²³ Rosenthal ed., *Muqaddimah*, 825.

¹²⁴ Ibid, *Muqaddimah*, 55.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 351.

unprecedented work, which is referenced until today.¹²⁶ The tone of writing is authoritative and critical, nostalgic and generally nationalistic. He influenced many later works, including the *Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiya* in the 19th century Egypt by ‘Alī Mubārak.¹²⁷ The *Khiṭaṭ* aims to describe the Cairene urban morphology and history, which can be considered architectural conservation in literary format. Maqrīzī somehow feared losing the urban heritage in the future, and hence was inspired to compile the encyclopedic work.

Reflecting on the writings of the above-mentioned historians, it is deduced that the idea of conservation and preservation has prevailed throughout Arab and Islamic history. It is also noted that the histories of this earlier period take a much simpler perspective than modern day theories. This perspective presents itself as fact-based and the system of verification of sources is inspired from the oral tradition. ‘Islamic’ historiography – if such a label is valid – was a product of its time and context. It was also a by-product of judicial philosophies, according to which reasoning and verification were essential tools to compile legal codes. It is written in an authoritative tone, criticizing the conduct of earlier societies while idealizing the demeanor of the *umma*. History, hence heritage, was preserved to learn lessons from the past and enlighten Islamic societies. Historical writings, especially Maqrīzī’s genre of *Khiṭaṭ* can be understood as conservation in a literature format that co-existed with the waqf system which will be discussed in the following section.

¹²⁶ Rabbat, “The Medieval Link,” 30.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 36.

2.2 Conservation by Decree: Interventions by Elites

Religious monuments – mosques and shrines alike – have always attracted royalty to invest in their upkeep; repairing the buildings and altering the waqf budget. Though very little information is available specific to the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr, the restoration efforts practiced within the Cairene context – and elsewhere – reflect common conservation trends that may have been practiced at the mausoleum.

Hussam Maḥdī studied the extent of conservation efforts along the history of Islamic dynasties in Cairo, taking four mosques as cases studies: mosque of ‘Amr (21/642), Ibn Ṭūlūn (256/879), al-Aḏhar (359/970), and al-Ḥākīm (381/992). Charting the conservation efforts, carried out at the above mentioned Cairene mosques, it becomes evident that the conservation of monuments was known and practiced in the Arab-Islamic world. The Ayyubids contributed generally less to the preservation – and building – of mosques than the Fatimids. The Mamluks projected slightly better performance than the Ayyubids, while the Ottomans focused mostly on al-Azhar mosque.¹²⁸ In fact, during the latest phases of the Mamluk period, awqaf properties were almost half the area of Cairo.¹²⁹ Although Maḥdī’s study cannot be used to draw mere generalizations, it gives an indication about the relative attitudes employed across dynasties to preserve mosques. The mosque of ‘Amr witnessed considerable renovations, and the present form cannot be compared to its original.¹³⁰ The most interesting contribution to the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was by Lajīn in 696/1296.¹³¹ Lajīn was hiding in the mosque because of his accusation of assassination of Ṣultān al-Aḥsraf Khalīl. He vowed that once he was powerful and wealthy he will restore this mosque; and he

¹²⁸ Maḥdī, *Attitudes Towards Architectural Conservation*, 45.

¹²⁹ Amīn, *Al-Awqāf*, 98.

¹³⁰ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn restored the *minbar*, and the interior (568/1172). Al-Afram (687/1288), Taj al-Dīn (696/1296), Salār (702/1302), Qaytbay (876/1471) repaired structurally the mosque and restored its interior arrangement. Maḥdī, *Attitudes Towards Architectural Conservation*, 34.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

did.¹³² The mosque of al-Ḥākīm had been restored along the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman eras.¹³³ Interestingly, two merchants by the 8th/14th and 9th/15th century centuries financed its restoration, ascertaining that upper and middle classes of the society were also keen – and able – to preserve the religious heritage. Likewise, al-Azhar mosque presents remarkable cases of renovations, extensions and additions across centuries. Twenty-eight different actors contributed to its historical re-shaping.¹³⁴ It is with no doubt that the ‘pious’ contributions by the elites across dynasties, shaped and preserved the Cairene heritage. However, the wide programs of ‘repairs’ were not necessarily authentic or matched the stylistic genre of the monuments.

Finbarr Flood studied the ‘influence’ of Umayyad stylistic features and its re-emergence within Mamluk buildings. The vine leaf decoration – known as the *karma* – which was beautifully present in the Great Mosque of Damascus, had reappeared in the mausoleum of Baybars in Damascus (c. 671/1281), and in the Cairene mausoleums of Qālāwūn (c. 683/1285) and his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (c. 703/1304).¹³⁵ With the same logic of stylistic copying in mind, Flood supports the argument made by Meinecke about the mihrab mosaics of the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr being a later Qālāwūnid addition, for it matches the stylistic chronology and again shows a Syrian inspiration.¹³⁶ Another argument made by Flood suggests that patrons copied stylistic features – whether architectural or decorative – from older buildings in order to legitimize their rule.¹³⁷ Such behavior is believed to have

¹³² The additions of Lajin included: the central stone fountain, the decoration of the main mihrab, two of the stucco mihrabs, window grilles, the wooden dome above the sanctuary, and restoring part of the minaret. Only the stucco framing is original for the central mihrab, but the marble panels in the conch as well as the golden mosaics are Lajin's restoration. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 223.

¹³³ Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyub (637/1240-647/1249) restored the *zīyada*, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad contributed to renewing the interior (760/1359) and two merchants financed the restoration of the minaret and interior arrangement (780/1378-9, 827/1424). Maḥdī, *Attitudes Towards Architectural Conservation*, 42.

¹³⁴ As an example, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn added a *sabīl-kuttāb* (569/1173), Baybars al-Bunduqdarī repaired the *maqṣura* and the interior arrangement of the mosque (665/1266-7), Qaytbay constructed a minaret (873/1469), and ‘Uṭhmān Katkhuda constructed a madrasa and a *riwāq* (1148/1735). *Ibid.*, 40.

¹³⁵ Flood, “Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals,” 61-65.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

contributed to the changes in the physical and spatial configuration of the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr and at the cemetery of al-Sayyida Nafīsa. The tomb of the Abbasid Caliph (c. 658/1260) – commissioned by Baybars – shows direct resemblance to the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr (c. 647/1250), which in turn shows strong resemblance to the Ṣālihiyya madrasa (c.641/1244) that is very similar to the mausoleum of al-Imam al-Shafi‘ī –renovated by al-Kāmil. Therefore, the existence of a stylistic chronology (or lack of it) is a means to interpret how sultans sought to draw their legitimacy.

Natural disasters were yet another factor that accelerated the notion of restoration and rebuilding. In the aftermath of the shocking 703/1303 earthquake which caused much damage to Cairo and its cemetery, substantial renovation efforts took place in the city proper during the reign of al-Naṣir Muḥammad.¹³⁸ Al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) mentions a contemporary account describing the cemetery at the time of al- Naṣir Muḥammad: “[the cemetery] has monumental buildings, magnificent palaces that are enchanting to the eye...[with] its *jāmi*’s, *zāwiyas*, *ribāts* and *khānqas*, but not many people live there.”¹³⁹ Later Mamluk sultans and amirs followed the example of al-Naṣir’s Muḥammad’s building and rebuilding endeavors, though they did not receive as much attention by Maqrīzī. Jaqmaq, ‘Ināl, and Qaytbāy were known for their tours around the city; ordering the removal of illegal structures, the building of commercial structures, and the implementation of necessary repairs.¹⁴⁰ Besides demonstrating his piety in renovating al-Azhar and ‘Amr mosque, Qaytbay refurbished several other shrines. His work included building a dome over the tomb of the prophet in Media, restoring the shrines of al-Shāfi‘ī and Imam al-Laīth as well as building several madrasas in Bilād al-Sham, al-Ḥijāz, and Alexandria.¹⁴¹ He also restored the tomb of al-

¹³⁸ Al-Ibrasy, *The Southern Cemetery*, 81.

¹³⁹ Quoted by El-Kadi, *Architecture of the Dead*, 34.

¹⁴⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 32.

¹⁴¹ Sandouby, *Ahl al-Bayt*, 234-5.

Sayyida Nafisa; reconstructing and decorating the dome, columns and minaret.¹⁴² The year 741/1348 marks the Black Death in Egypt's history, during which one-third of the Cairene population was wiped out. However, such a catastrophic death toll did not result in great change on the urban morphology of the cemetery.¹⁴³ As many as sixteen plagues occurred during the period of 749/1348-919/1513.¹⁴⁴ Strangely enough, the deteriorating economic and political conditions of the late Mamluk era were paralleled by beautiful mosque architecture – for example the funerary complex of Qaytbay at the Northern Cemetery (879/1474).

The Ottoman governors and princes in Cairo also undertook to repair the shrines along with other religious institutions. For instance, the Ottoman governor, 'Ali Pasha al-Wazir (r. 956-961/1549-1554) commissioned the restoration of the *maqām* of al-Sayyida Zānab at Qanāṭir al-Sibā'.¹⁴⁵ However, the Ottoman rulers were not as keen as the mamluks to build lavish funerary structures. Out of the one hundred and ten pashas heading the government between 923/1517 and 1130/1798 (i.e. from the end of the Mamluk rule till the French Expedition), just twenty-seven endowed charitable properties, in which only six buildings are found in the cemetery.¹⁴⁶ The 17th century Dutch traveler, Jon Sommer, noted that “[the cemetery] measured just seven leagues in circumference in the days of the Mamluks.”¹⁴⁷ It was not until the time of Muḥammad 'Ali (r. 1220/1805 -1264/1848) that significant urbanization changed the map of the cemetery. 'Ismā'il Pasha (r. 1280/1863-1296/1879) further 'modernized' Cairo and the cemetery once again hosted spacious mausoleums of the royal elite.

¹⁴² Ibid., 234-5.

¹⁴³ El-Kadi, *Architecture for the Dead*, 34

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 34.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 238-9.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 35.

¹⁴⁷ Quoted by El-Kadi, Ibid, 35.

In contrast to the vigorous initiatives that were taken by the elites towards restoration of religious monuments, the involvement of the locals was not as clear. The small scale interventions were not given much attention in historical references, thus, assessing their attitudes towards heritage preservation is somehow challenging. However, it cannot be denied that local efforts to preserve religious monuments were present; within a practicing society, and strong cultural traditions. It is difficult to believe that only two names mentioned by ‘Ali Mubārak in the 19th century had contributed to the restoration of the mosque and mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr (Sayyid Sulīmān ‘Īssā, and Sheikh Marzūq al-Farāsh).¹⁴⁸ The unrecorded contributions may have included visitors of *Ahl al-bayt* who have associated the *sūltāna*’s mausoleum with a saint-like reverence. Indeed, Shajarat al-Durr’s complex was associated with the *maḥmal* tradition, which reached its peak during the Ottoman period.¹⁴⁹ The ceremony entailed carrying the embroidered cover of the Ka’ba on a *maḥmal* – a palanquin – all the way to Saudi Arabia. Although Shajarat al-Durr was not mentioned in any historical source to have performed the pilgrimage herself – or accompanied the convoy, and that al-Zāhir Baybars was the one who introduced the idea; the popular culture preferred to associate this tradition with the *sūltāna*.¹⁵⁰ Between the restoration efforts of the elites and the practicing values of the locals; the mausoleum and remnants of the complex had managed to survive.

2.3 Conservation by Waqf

A. Waqf principles

The waqf principles are derived from the Qur’an and sunna by the four main schools, developed by later jurists and are concerned with the upkeep of charitable foundations from

¹⁴⁸ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 5:32; Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:61.

¹⁴⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 89.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 90.

an Islamic law point of view. The development of those principles is based on the Islamic jurisprudence and reflects the social and political context in which they emerged. As with any legal code, the waqf principles were developed on a theoretical level, but in practice they were not always as absolute as the theory stipulates. Dina Bakhom has articulately discussed the principles of maintenance and repair of monuments embedded in the waqf system and its relation to conservation practices. Primarily, the waqf system guaranteed a source of funding for the repair of monuments, and if the monetary resources were not available it suggested alternative income-generating activities, such as the renting part of the waqf properties.¹⁵¹ Secondly, it ensured a system of management according to which the waqf *nazir* (supervisor) and a team of engineers, architects, and artisans periodically maintained the endowed property.¹⁵² The benefit of the endowed property was prioritized over the perpetuity of the actual buildings, meaning that the function of the waqf property could be adjusted due to the change in needs of the beneficiaries.¹⁵³

The main goal of waqf principles was to ensure the perpetuity of charitable foundations for future generations. The Ḥanafī school of law defines waqf as, “non-obligatory donation of the revenues of an object that remains the subject of a successive ownership.”¹⁵⁴ This encompasses religious buildings, residential, funerary and public venues, for they were all building typologies that can be endowed. Mosques - as the main central nucleus of early Islamic societies- received the most attention in the *fiqh* of waqf. This is directly linked with charity and the beneficiaries are the Muslim population. Funerary monuments on the other hand received the least of attention; as their purpose is a matter of theological debate.

¹⁵¹ Bakhom, *Waqf in Relation to Maintenance and Repair*, 107.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁵⁴ El-Ḥabashī, *Athar to Monuments*, 16.

The four pillars of the waqf are the donor (*wāqif*), the endowed property (*mawqūf*), the beneficiaries (*mawqūf 'alīh*), and the endowment deed (*wathīqat al-waqf*).¹⁵⁵ The donor in the present case is Shajarat al-Durr; the endowed property is the hypothetically reconstructed complex; the beneficiaries – would be the students at the madrasa; and the endowment deed is a written legal contract between the benefactor and beneficiaries to ensure the perpetuity of the endowed property. An attempt to visualize the endowment deed will be discussed in the following section.

B. Shajarat al-Durr's Waqf "Imagined"

Early waqf endowment deeds of the Ayyubid era and early *baḥri* Mamluks are rarely available. It comes as no surprise that the original waqf document of Shajarat al-Durr did not survive and its contents are only hinted at in historical sources. The purpose of reconstructing the waqf document is to envision the monument in its Ayyubid social and political context. The hypothetical version of the deed is used later to explore some of the waqf principles and how this system of maintenance applied conservation principles before they were codified in modern times.

This reconstruction is inspired by Miroslav Mělcák's earlier attempt to reconstruct the waqf document of the madrasa al-Shāmīa al-Juwwāniyya in Ayyubid Damascus, sponsored by Saladin's sister (d. 617/1220) and dated approximately thirty years earlier than the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr.¹⁵⁶ Mělcák relied on a *mukhtasar* (published summary) to reconstruct the document; unfortunately, primary evidence is much more limited in Shajarat al-Durr's case. The first hand sources available are the actual mausoleum, numismatic evidence and al-Maqrīzī's brief hints. Secondary sources include Behrens-Abouseif's study,

¹⁵⁵ 'Azab, *Fiqh al-'umrān*, 445.

¹⁵⁶ Mělcák, "Reconstruction of the Lost Ayyubid Waqf," 4.

from which the previously-discussed reconstruction of the building complex is used as a reference for descriptive purposes. The document outline is based on Bakhoum's study of waqf in which later Mamluk documents were studied in order to come up with a general framework of the waqf document.¹⁵⁷ The main themes prescribed in the waqf document include specifying the supervisor of the waqf, the purpose and description of the endowed property, stipulating the land boundaries and the tax income it yields, the breakdown of the budget for building maintenance and forecasted expenditures for the live-in staff.¹⁵⁸

The opening statement of the waqf would comprise the name of the founder followed by sultanic titles that indicated power and piety, the endowed property, date of construction, and specification of the supervisor who would look after the waqf after his death. The waqf included a madrasa, mausoleum, *ḥammām* and a large garden; as previously discussed in the introductory chapter. Therefore, the endowment deed is presumed to be in the name of 'Umm Khalīl, 'Ismat al-Dūnya wa al-Dīn, Fāṭma Shajarat al-Durr, [widow of the deceased] Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nājīm al-Dīn 'Ayyūb Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abu Bakr, the document is dated to the year 648 /1250, and the *naẓir* of the waqf is vizier Baha' al-Dīn Ibn Ḥanna who would inherit this property and to be succeeded by his descendants.¹⁵⁹

The second paragraph would include the purpose of the endowed property and its functions. The enclosed purpose in the waqf document marked the official profile of the patron. Most probably it was one that exaggerates piety, humbleness and good will. A commonly quoted prophetic tradition expressing the pious options on which the deceased would leave behind as heritage is used to justify the establishment of the profound project: "When the son of Adam dies, all his deeds stop (to be rewarded) except from three (deeds) a

¹⁵⁷ Bakhoum, *Awqaf Properties*, 9.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁵⁹The names for the *sultāna* are borrowed from the coins and the inscription frieze found in her mausoleum. The full name of al-Ṣāliḥ is copied from the inscription frieze at his mausoleum in Bayn al-Qasryn area. Najm al Din's titles is found on his cenetoph (*Comité 1902*, 140); Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 114.

continuous charity, beneficial (religious) knowledge that he leaves behind (and people benefits from) or a righteous child that prays for him.”¹⁶⁰ Qur’anic verses are also another method to communicate piety. Selected verses found at the wooden cenotaph of Shajarat al-Durr were included for that purpose. The purpose of the waqf stated in the document does not necessarily reveal true intentions. Patronage of grand architectural projects was an expression of sultanic power and sometimes was used as a method to increase personal revenue. Though such intentions are never written down, hints can be detected in grand sultanic titles chosen by the patron and the size of the endowed land, which sometimes exceeds by far the purpose of sustaining the property.

The third section of the deed embraces a description of the endowed property starting from the *qibla* side of the structure. Apart from referencing the complex reconstruction, architectural analogy would be used to interpret building components with more depth. Al-Ṣāliḥ’s madrasa, which is dated to 640-642/1242-44, was used as an indicative building typology. The madrasa of two iwans was one of the earliest teaching the four school rites.¹⁶¹ It is probable that Shajarat al-Durr was inspired by the comprehensive curriculum for her waqf. Bathhouses and palaces existed in the cemetery. The palaces, sometimes known as kiosks existed at the cemeteries since Fatimid times to host visitors of the tombs. The most famous of these was Qasr al-Qarāfa. Qasr Al-Qarāfa built in 336/ 976 by Taghrīd, mother of the Fatimid ruler al-‘Azīz, and it had an annexed bathhouse, a well and a garden.¹⁶² Al-Ḥakim later renovated that palace in 520/1126 to accommodate Sufi ceremonies.¹⁶³ Though by the end of the Ayyubid era it is doubtful that the palace had survived in a glamorous state, or survived at all; the combination of a *ḥammām* and a palace at the cemeteries was a Fatimid

¹⁶⁰ Azzb, *Fiqh al-‘Umrān*, 445 (Translated). Amīn, *Al-Awqāf*, f16.

¹⁶¹ Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 3: 121.

¹⁶² Al-Ḥaddād, *Qarāfat al-Qāhira*, 45.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 45.

inherited conception. The idea of the palace would be understood as a residential house and not as a grand building as the word palace indicates. Shajarat al-Durr's premises was later occupied by the Abbasid caliphs in the later Mamluk era.¹⁶⁴

The last section commonly addresses the yearly tax revenue based on the endowed land area, which generates a fixed income tax rate. The land boundaries description is very sketchy as indicated by the landmarks of surrounding monuments. The land area of Shajarat al-Durr's complex can be conceptually visualized to be bordered on the *qibla* side by the Ayyubid walls and the once existing structures, to the north by the mausoleum of Sayyida 'Ātika, to the east by the mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqyya, and the west to be bounded by the mausoleum of Sayyida Sukayna. The second point of the financial section addresses the annual budget which was then subdivided according to the yearly building maintenance ratios, and the employment salaries and charitable giveaways to the poor and needy. Estimating the finances for the waqf is almost an impossible endeavor without the stipulations of the original deed. The yearly annual income could have covered the maintenance fees of the building, the students residing at the madrasa, the Qur'an reciters, guards, servants of the palace, and caretakers of the *ḥammām* and garden.

2.4 Discussion

Original waqf deeds are highly valued by contemporary Islamic art and architecture scholars, who have been able to extract from these documents detailed information about the architecture of the period, chronologies of patronage by the ruling class, the functional program of buildings, the cost of construction and operation of the edifices, and most importantly the ambiguous waqf principles.

¹⁶⁴ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 139.

Though *fiqh* in all four schools of rites have almost always included a chapter on the rules of *awqaf*, those principles in many instances were not closely followed in practice. Politics and the interplay of the judiciary system had a great role in deviating the waqf practice from original principles. The degree of such corruption varied from one period to another, but it was generally a persistent problem to the extent that historians often mentioned the names of rulers who did not confiscate the waqf lands in a way that contradicted the basic principle of perpetuity.¹⁶⁵ Generally, the laws were in favor of strict adherence to the waqf as stipulated by the founder, but many times they was not adhered to. For example, within the Mamluk dynasty Qālāwūn's endowment was repeatedly enlarged by his descendants, and Faraj enlarged the endowment of his farther Barqūq.¹⁶⁶

In principle, the dissolution of a waqf could be handled in one of two ways. Either the owner or beneficiaries had to prove in court that they were in a state of extreme poverty or that the waqf property had become completely destroyed, beyond the scope of repair.¹⁶⁷ One can imagine that the second option may have applied to the case of Shajarat al-Durr's endowment. The sparsely inhabited funerary location that the complex occupied may explain why the school did not survive for a long time. A change of the endowment's administrative personal, the new political agendas of succeeding rulers and the monopoly over the state's treasury may well have put an end to the stipulations of the waqf long before the structural functionality of the building gave way. Although the French expedition in the 18th century may have caused such damage to the madrasa and its affiliated functions,¹⁶⁸ it is nevertheless likely that the waqf fell into disuse earlier than the 18th century.

Using the madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ Nājm al-Dīn as an analogy to that founded by Shajarat al-Durr allows us to speculate about why the latter was established in the first place.

¹⁶⁵ 'Abassī, "The Classical Islamic Law of Waqf," 123.

¹⁶⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 12.

¹⁶⁷ 'Abbasī, "The Classical Islamic Law of Waqf", 142.

¹⁶⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 1.

Historians agree that madrasas in the Ayyubid period were launched for three main reasons. The first purpose of these foundations was to strengthen Sunni Islam against Fatimid Shi'ism. Secondly, they were founded to produce local professionals qualified to run the new administration. The graduates of these schools were not only religious imams and *faqih*s, but also government officials at all levels.¹⁶⁹ The third and most important justification is that the establishment of madrasas enabled rulers to control the religious elite to a considerable degree.¹⁷⁰ Al-Şāliḥ 'Ayyūb was very selective when it came to the appointment of 'ulama'. When he first came to office he fired earlier judges after proving that they acquired money unlawfully in previous years.¹⁷¹ He then promoted the 'ulama' of his choice. Al-Şāliḥ 'Ayyūb founded a strong relationship with the 'ulama' in order to restore political stability and gain their support. The 'ulama' enjoyed renewed prestige under the Ayyubid dynasties. They were important intermediaries between the military regimes and the general populace.¹⁷² The dominance of the Shafi'i school of law at the time of al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb goes back to the time of Saladin. Saladin may have chosen the Shafi'i rite specifically because he personally followed that particular school of law. In addition, the appointed qadi had the support of the Egyptian majority.¹⁷³ By the time al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb came to power, the Shafi'i's had dominated the office for about sixty years.¹⁷⁴ Thus, it comes as a surprise that he chose to have a four rite madrasa in a religious context dominated by one *madḥab*. He may have wanted to weaken Shafi'i authority as well as unify the branches of jurisprudence into four main *madḥabs*. The multi-rite madrasa was modeled on an earlier one by Caliph al-Mūstansir in Baghdad.¹⁷⁵ It is interesting to know that al-Şāliḥ's determination to resurrect educational institutions was not

¹⁶⁹ Lahmuddin, *Sunni 'Ulama'*, 49.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁷² Talyor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 9.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁷⁵ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 12.

in line with his own inclinations. He was a military man, not a religious scholar. Al-Ṣāliḥ personally had no interest in scholarship; however, he made it a point to promote the transmission of knowledge by establishing a number of scholarly institutions.¹⁷⁶ This supports the theory that the educational establishments were following a political agenda.

The educational system in the Ayyubid context was, to a great extent, informal and flexible - incomparable to that of modern day institutions. However, madrasas did adopt a sort of curriculum. This curriculum varied according to the stipulation of the founders in the waqf deed, as well as to the method of teaching of the appointed teachers and directors. *Fiqh*, the Qur'an and hadith were the constituents of the core curriculum. The endowment ensured salaries for professors and allowance and accommodation for the students.¹⁷⁷

Another question is the initial source of funding for Shajar al-Durr's pious project. Here again some clues may be derived by analogy to al-Ṣāliḥ's practice. The sultan is said to have financed his madrasa using money from the *bayt al-māl*.¹⁷⁸ The treasury office still under the authority of the *sultāna* most probably provided the monetary resources to cover her waqf commissions, both al-Ṣāliḥ's mausoleum and hers. The treasury income heavily relied on tax collection. The Ayyubids were known to be strict in collecting taxes of both the *zakāt* and *jizā*. The *zakāt* are the mandatory taxes paid by Muslims as a percentage of their income, commercial activities, property or agricultural produce. The *jizā* are taxes paid by the Christian and Jewish community for their safekeeping in their hometown under the authority of Muslim rulers. The Geniza documents presented many examples of non-exemption of the urban poor, even though the petitioners were far under the poverty threshold defined by Muslim jurists.¹⁷⁹ The Ayyubid seem to have inherited the strictness of the tax

¹⁷⁶ Lahmuddin, *Sunni 'Ulama'*, 54.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁷⁸ It is maybe relevant to note that the endowments made by Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn were not from his own property but from the *bayt al-māl*. Amīn, *Al-Awqaf*, 61.

¹⁷⁹ Alshech, "Islamic Law," 363.

collection system from the Fatimids. Though the Ayyubid rulers conveyed an image of piety and consulted Muslim jurists for matters of Islamic law practices, the tax collection system was rigidly applied. The Shafi'i school of law was the most ambiguous in terms of defining the poor and needy as well as the least tolerant of exempting those who are unable to pay the *jizīa*.¹⁸⁰ The Ayyubids may have followed the Shafi'i's opinion for monetary benefits. Egypt was in a declining economic state and all means of increasing the state revenues were welcomed, however authoritarian the policies may have been. In any case, the exact financial sources for the upkeep of buildings are difficult to determine unless the actual waqf document is present. What can be verified, at least, is the fact that the treasury had enough money to cover al-Ṣāliḥ's and his wife's pious endowments.

Despite the absence of evidential records prior to modern conservation efforts, one can speculate about how the mausoleum managed to survive to this day. Other than the "literary" conservation of historians and most importantly the waqf system; the religious attribution to the mausoleum might be another the reason why it has survived. It is located near venerated mausoleums and thus may have received some restoration treatment in connection; receiving attention from both royal patrons as well as the locals.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 374.

CHAPTER THREE: CONSERVATION WORK OF THE COMITÉ

This chapter discusses the conservation history of the mausoleum in the period of 13th /19th and 14th /20th centuries. The most important conservation work was carried out by the Comité in the 1300s/1900s. It involved demolishing nearby structures and building a new mosque. Almost a hundred years later, restoration work was carried out in the 1300s/1990s by the Supreme Council of Antiquities. This section presents an analysis of the conservation principles according to which each of these entities operated, with the work of the Comité constituting the main focus of discussion. The literature for this chapter includes the Comité *Bulletins*, as well as the Dār al-Maḥfuzāt documents – also referred to as the ‘Abbāsiyya Archives. The PhD dissertation by ‘Alā’ el-Dīn el-Ḥaḇashī provides a helpful analysis of the conservation strategies of the Comité. Donald M. Reid emphasizes the Europeans domination at this point in history and critiqued the Comité’s organizational structure and political agenda. The evident European influence of the Comité cannot be undermined for the institution was based on contemporary European concepts.¹⁸¹ Although, this point is substantially valid, the monuments would not have made it to this day without the works of esteemed architects such as Creswell and Max Herz. The biographies of the Comité researchers and architects provide informative insights on the strategies employed in the mausoleum’s conservation.

3.1 Comité

The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe was founded in 1881 by Khedive Tawfīk. The khedive’s decree was due not only to his personal interest in Arab art, but also to political motivations that are best understood in the context of preceding events. A

¹⁸¹ Ormos, *Max Herz*, 1:55.

few months prior to the establishment of the Comité, Tawfīk's predecessor, Khedive Ismail, came under siege by 'Urābī, rebelling against the British occupation.¹⁸² Tawfīk's initiative therefore could be seen as reclamation of control from European officials. The interest of westerners in Islamic art and architecture had been on the rise since the time of the documentation of Egypt's heritage compiled during Napoleon's expedition, which aroused the interest of both scholars and tourists alike to visit Cairene monuments.

Arguably, Egyptian architects, engineers, archeologists, and urban planners of the 18th and 19th centuries were more interested in the living heritage.¹⁸³ The mosques were restored to their functional use and venerated sites of shrines and mausoleums were visited and repaired in pious attempts. Instead of marveling at architectural jewels, they were busy making use of them. Inherently, the gap between Islamic theology and architectural preservation was the main philosophical conflict debated between the Comité and the Awqaf. Technically, the Comité was a department under the Awqaf since its inception. It remained so until 1355/1936, when it was shifted to the ministry of Education, referred to as al-Ma'ārif.

Thus, resistance to the Comité came from two quarters: governmental and popular. At the ministerial level, the recommendations of the Comité were often thwarted by the aspirations of modernity embodied in Ministry of Public Works, under which the Tanzīm department carried out demolition works to widen street networks and create spacious boulevards. The Tanzīm institution was founded in 1880 by Khedive Ismail.¹⁸⁴ Ismail Pasha dreamt of a 'Paris along the Nile' reflecting his fascination with European planning schemes and sought to implement such a vision at the Suez Canal inauguration ceremony.¹⁸⁵ 'Ali Mubārak, head of Public Works, led the demolition plans for creating new street arteries and public squares to realize the Parisian vision. At the same time, the Comité sought to preserve

¹⁸² Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism," 61.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 58.

¹⁸⁴ Al-Ibrashy, "The Cemeteries of Cairo," 252

¹⁸⁵ Ibrahim, "Extract from a Diary", 244.

as many architectural monuments as possible. The urban planning schemes reflect a polarity in the urban fabric of historic Cairo. The self-generative nature of the traditional urban fabric was paralleled by modern urbanization schemes of the khedive. Between the traditional and the modern, local and global, preservation and demolition, old and new, the Cairene urban fabric reflects the struggles of these polarities until today.¹⁸⁶

At the popular level, people were not happy about the Comité's strategies for preserving monuments. 'Encroachments' were removed from the perimeter around existing monuments to make space for a buffer zone.¹⁸⁷ The Comité worked to 'free' the monuments from the city.¹⁸⁸ It aimed to preserve the monuments avoiding the addition of new elements to the original structure.¹⁸⁹ As a result, tourists could easily access such monuments to visit and take photos, shopkeepers and house owners who were forced to evacuate or relocate resented such propositions. The Comité worked in the favor of a different clientele; tourists and researchers.¹⁹⁰

3.2 'Abbāsiyya Archives

The 'Abbāsiyya documents provide a wealth of information on the conservation work of the monuments. The Comité prepared a list of priority monuments with a numbering system which, with some modifications, is used to this day.¹⁹¹ The Shajarat al-Durr mausoleum, monument number 168, is among those monuments prioritized by the Comité

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 245.

¹⁸⁷ Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism", 64.

¹⁸⁸ Hampikian, *Complex of al-Şālihiyya*, 249.

¹⁸⁹ Ormos, *Max Herz*, 2:70.

¹⁹⁰ Hampikian, *Complex of al-Şālihiyya*, 84.

¹⁹¹ Pierre Grand Bey was the first to assign numbers to the mosques in Cairo in his 1874 map. He manages to numerically assign 279 monuments, although he mentions elsewhere that the total number of monuments exceed 800. The Egyptian National Archive behold a list of 664 monuments dated to 1883 and signed by E.T. Rogers, the Comité's secretary. ¹⁹¹ Numerous versions of the numerical maps were developed, but Grand Bey's system was used as a reference for many years to identify monuments of the Arab-Islamic architecture. Ormos, *Max Herz*, 2:359.

and included in the conservation plan.¹⁹² The records found at Dār al-Maḥfuẓāt concerning Shajarat al-Durr's property represent a compilation of correspondences of all parties involved in the conservation of the mausoleum from the start of the project in 1307/1889 until the early 1400s/1980s, 20 years after the institution was formally dissolved. The content of the documents ranges from bill of quantities, financial offers by the Comité's architects and contractors, petitions by the guardian of the mausoleum, reports of theft, as well as land acquisition contracts of houses that were demolished during the conservation schemes. Most of the handwritten documents go back to more than a hundred years, representing their own genre of heritage that needs to be preserved. These records are key in tracing the conservation history of the mausoleum and understanding the dynamics between the different parties involved in the conservation policies.

The methodology adopted to analyze these records is quite simple. Documents were first organized according to an ascending chronological order, and then the content was filtered identifying the sender, receiver and the theme of the issue addressed. The style of writing found in the documents is generally formal, addressing the top management in most cases. Subject and date are a consistent part of the format, and the documents often have serial codes by which they are referred in subsequent correspondence. Signatures and a ministerial official stamp are part of the government's formal procedures designed to 'legalize' the content of the documents. The language of writing is either Arabic or French, though Arabic is the more dominant language.

The documents reveal that the Comité was practicing the basics of project management: adhering to the time schedule, monitoring the quality of work, and balancing the budget. The financial records keep track of the Awqaf's budget. The Comité's budget was

¹⁹² Warner, *Monuments of Historic Cairo*, 45.

always straightened, and never corresponded to the quantity of work to be done.¹⁹³ The documents serve also as legal contracts clarifying the liabilities and responsibilities of involved parties and individuals. Modern scholars and conservators praise the systematic way in which the Comité members handled their tasks and documentation.¹⁹⁴ Almost a hundred years of documentation reveal the history of the operational dynamics of the Comité and the different governmental bodies that share the responsibility of conserving the monuments. In the following section, the details of the Shajarat al-Durr's conservation initiative are presented.

3.3 Comité's Conservation Scheme

The conservation scheme, which started by the late 1300s/1900s, remains more or less unfinished. Over a period of a hundred years, the Comité undertook several restoration initiatives to the mausoleum. The most important conservation proposal, which was consolidated by 1335/1917, was to isolate the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr, leaving it as a standalone monument. In other words, the mosque needed to be detached, and the street to be widened as part of the Tanzīm's plans.¹⁹⁵ Changing the location of the mosque and widening the street also meant that some of the existing houses needed to be demolished, and the land purchased from the original owners.¹⁹⁶ For clarity's sake the term 'old' mosque refers to the 13th/19th century mosque and the 'new' mosque refers to the one built by the Comité in the

¹⁹³ Ormos, *Max Herz*, 1:60.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 1:69.

¹⁹⁵ The Tanzīm (Alignment) was founded in 1845 and revitalized in an institution in 1879-80. Its responsibilities extended to re-planning Cairo streets in the late 1880s. Al-Ibrashy, "The Cemeteries of Cairo," 252.

¹⁹⁶ The Comité *Bulletins* of 1930-32 mentions the Tanzīm proposal: "The alignment proposal of Tanzīm at Darb Rāgīh will encroach upon a surface of 16.965 square meters of land that belong to the Comité and that is annexed to Shājarat al-Durr's mosque. This surface will be replaced by another one of 43.510 square meters and belongs to Mr. Abdu Mustafa Gabr. The difference is evaluated to be 21.236 L.E., in other words 0.8 L.E. per meter. The Tanzīm asks the Comité to kindly pay the sum in question, in order to proceed with the formalities related to the expropriation. The request was examined, and a total of 2.236 L.E. was paid to the Tanzīm for clearing the mosque." (*Comité 1930-32*, 234). See Appendix 2.2.

14th/20th century. The details of this proposal are discussed in the following section, and a chronological summary of the Comité's conservation scheme is presented below:

- 1320/1902: Mausoleum restoration
- 1321/1903: Ablution proposal for old mosque
- 1335/1917: Mosque proposal drawing - buying land
- 1336/1918: Demolition of old mosque and some of the surrounding structures
- 1337/1919: Beginning of the mosque construction
- 1338/1920: Work interruption to verify ownership of houses
- 1346-1349/1927- 1930: Mausoleum restoration
- 1350-1368/ 1931-1949: Locating technical drawings of the mosque
- 1357/1938: Petition by the Khalīfa community to complete mosque construction
- 1375/1955 Water seepage at the mausoleum due to a nearby fire hazard

The earliest document in the Archives representing actual evidence of this initiative is dated to 1309/1891 and deals with a house that was to be demolished in Darb Rāghīḥ on the northeastern side of the mosque which was seen as encroaching on the mausoleum- mosque complex. However, the first practical steps of preserving the mausoleum occurred almost ten years later, in 1320/1902. The exterior and interior restoration work at the mausoleum involved excavating the ground floor to its initial level, cleaning the walls and removing the bricks closing off the high window openings.¹⁹⁷

In 1320/ 1902, a letter was issued by the chief architect of the Comité blaming the local contractor in charge of the restoration work, Mu'allim 'Abd al-Nabī, to have caused damage to the mausoleum due to water seepage from the wet area of the neighboring

¹⁹⁷ *Comité 1902*, f79. Appendix 2.1.

mosque.¹⁹⁸ A proposal to re-work the ablutions area was then suggested (Pls. 54-58). The 1320/1902 *Comité Bulletins* mentions the new design proposal for the ablution area:

“...The technical department suggests to build external stairs connecting the mosque to the tomb and to replace the actual basin of ablutions with taps, given that its presence has contributed a lot to the damages caused to the tomb. According to the study presented by Mr. Herz Bey, it is concluded that such modifications can be done next year, separately from the actual works. Meanwhile, the ablutions area will be closed.”¹⁹⁹

Action was taken relatively quickly to fix the water leakage problem. In 1321/1903, a new set of drawings was issued, and the permit was granted from the Public Works institution to proceed with the proposal.²⁰⁰ The *Comité* set an open bid calling upon contractors willing to implement the new wet area proposal with a fixed budget of 80 pounds estimated beforehand. Mu‘allim ‘Ali Ibrahīm was contracted to proceed with the construction work of the new ablutions area.²⁰¹ For some reason, the above-mentioned proposal was never realized. A year later, the imam of the mosque wrote a petition complaining that the water supply for the mosque was cut for more than a year and a half.²⁰² Whether the water was returned to the mosque afterwards remains unclear, but apparently the water seepage was a motive to disengage the mosque.

In 1335/1917, a royal decree was presented by Khedive Ḥusayn expressing his willingness to finance the construction of the new mosque.²⁰³ A committee was formed representing royalty in order to sponsor the execution of the new mosque proposal. The new

¹⁹⁸ Archives. Appendix 1.1.

¹⁹⁹ *Comité 1902*, f79. Appendix 2.1.

²⁰⁰ Archives. Appendix 1.2.

²⁰¹ Archives. Appendix 1.3-1.4.

²⁰² Archives. Appendix 1.5.

²⁰³ Ibrashy, *Southern Cemeteries of Cairo*, 187. Archives. Appendix 1.6-1.8.

mosque was an example of the “Islamic Revival” style that was favored by the Awqaf (Pls.59 - 60).²⁰⁴ The architectural style of the building was favored by both the royal family and the ministry, showcasing the national architectural heritage of Islamic Egypt in the medieval era.²⁰⁵ From a practical point of view, they wished to facilitate the use of buildings and the revivalist approach was a suitable architectural style for that occasion.

Shortly afterwards, the Comité commenced the legal process to buy the land surrounding the mosque on which residential houses were found.²⁰⁶ Upon compensating the house owners, a local contractor was hired to demolish the old mosque and some of the surrounding structures. In 1337/1919, actual work to build the new mosque was started accommodating for the Technical Department’s decision to create a buffer zone around the mausoleum. The main contractor supervising the rebuilding of the mosque and renovations at the mausoleum was Filippo Garazzo, a professional contractor who joined the Comité’s restoration team, and whose role was mainly managing another local contractor ‘Alī Omar.²⁰⁷ Garazzo drafted more than ten versions of the bill of quantities. The work at the mosque came to a stop in 1338/1920 because one of the house permits needed to be finalized.²⁰⁸ The hectic legal process of verifying ownership of houses lasted for more than 20 years. A complementary bill of quantities was issued in 1343/1924, suggesting a wooden roof for the mosque construction – the last remaining item which was never realized.²⁰⁹

In 1346/1927, another phase of renovation work took place at the mausoleum. The scope of work included sculpting the exterior façade of the mausoleum and accentuating the

²⁰⁴ Other terminologies referring to the Islamic Revival style is neo-Arab, neo-Islamic or neo-Mamuk which was popular with the facades of private villas and palaces as well as public buildings such the Awqaf building (1316-1348/ 1898-1929) and the Museum of Arab Art building (1321/1903). Sandouby, *The Ahl al-Bayt*, 175.

²⁰⁵ Ormos, *Max Herz*, 2:86.

²⁰⁶ Archives. Appendix 1.9.

²⁰⁷ Archives. Appendix 1.10-1.19.

²⁰⁸ Archives. Appendix 1.20.

²⁰⁹ Archives. Appendix 1.21.

grooves between stones of the fence surrounding the buffer zone.²¹⁰ In the year 1349/ 1930, Verrucci, one of the Comité's architects, proposed to renovate the exterior flat panels.²¹¹ The exact reason that the mosque was never completed remains unclear. It continued to be a pending issue until the late 1359/1940s as documented by correspondences exchanged between the Awqaf, al-Ma'ārif, and Tanzīm, trying to locate the last set of technical drawings amongst them, and avoiding responsibility for the mosque construction.²¹² Meanwhile, the Khalīfa community petitioned for the need of a functioning mosque, but their calls were in vain.²¹³

In 1375/1955 the buffer zone behind the mausoleum was illegally used as a carpentry storage space.²¹⁴ This space was initially part of the 1321/1903 scheme of relocating the ablutions area of the old mosque. A massive fire erupted at the storage site and water during the firefighting attempt affected the mausoleum. The water though did not affect the interior of the mausoleum; restoration work was done to the boundary fence and exterior stone floor.

3.4 Analysis of the Comité's Conservation Strategy

This section analyzes the conservation strategies of the Comité as expressed in the group's interventions at the Shajar al-Durr complex. One method to approach this question is to study the philosophies of the team of specialists who collectively conveyed the preservation policy practiced.²¹⁵ The team of international architects and researchers charted the definition of 14th /20th century conservation policies in Egypt. Hungarian, British and Italian scholars left a conservation mark on almost all significant monuments in historic

²¹⁰ Archives. Appendix 1.22-1.24.

²¹¹ *Comité 1930-32*, 234

²¹² Archives. Appendix 1.25.

²¹³ Archives. Appendix 1.26.

²¹⁴ Archives. Appendix 1.27, 1.28

²¹⁵ El-Habashi, *Athar to Monuments*, 97.

Cairo. The first of these is Max Herz Pasha, of Hungarian origin, the chief architect of the Comité from the period of (1308/1890-1332/1914), and the head of the Arab Museum, known today as the Museum of Islamic Art (Pl. 61).²¹⁶ We can see his work embodied in the initial phase of Shajarat al-Durr's conservation scheme, since he prepared the technical reports published in the *Bulletins* in which he gave his recommendations for the conservation work. This stage of preparatory work includes collecting all available information about the monument ranging from scholarly published articles, historical records, photographic evidences, travelers' records, archival history, endowment deeds, maps, site surveys, and oral history.²¹⁷ The reports consulted for this thesis -Shajarat al-Durr and al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb- prepared by Herz speak of remarkable scholarship. Primary sources, such as al-Maqrīzī, were consulted to obtain necessary background information and assess the historical value of the studied monuments. His precision of scholarship and eye for detail was observed during his reconstruction of the wooden cenotaph of Shajarat al-Durr, and the similar research strategy he applied to al-Şāliḥ's wooden cenotaph. Herz generated objective research reports based on all information accessible to him, thus setting the bar of scholarly research at a very high level for his time.

Herz's conservation methodology was representative of his day, practicing the single monument conservation method.²¹⁸ The theory of protecting a group of monuments or complete areas was not a common practice during Herz's time.²¹⁹ He preferred preservation to restoration, though his ideologies were not always realized given the limitations of the Comité's staff and allocated budget.²²⁰ Herz central role is realized when visiting the Comité *Bulletins*. He was a member of the technical committees, often an author of archeological

²¹⁶ Ormos, "Preservation and Restoration," 123.

²¹⁷ Hampikian and al-Ibrashy, "Archival Photography," 121.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 128.

²¹⁹ Ormos, *Max Herz*, 2:80.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:80.

reports, managed contractors and issued financial offers. Prior to his occupation as a chief architect of this prestigious institution, he worked at the Technical Office of the Awqaf administration. Thus, his focus was almost always on religious complexes in which the monuments would be functionally used after intervention where ‘functionality’ of buildings implies restoration rather preservation. The ablution court proposal stands as an example for this type of restoration work, though it was never realized.

Herz was expelled from his position in 1332/1914 due to the war circumstances taking place at the time. He left his position to Patricolo, a hardworking Italian architect, who headed the Technical Office of the Comité from 1332/1914-1342/1923. He was mentioned earlier in Creswell’s thorough description of the mausoleum in the *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, in which he was quoted pointing out that the mausoleum could have been preceded by a portico, as at the mosque of al-Şāliḥ Ṭalā’i’. Such a reference points to an analytical investigation of the monument’s surroundings. At this instance it is a doubtful observation for a mosque typology was compared to that of a mausoleum. However, Patricolo urged the Comité for extensive research before launching any intervention.²²¹

The 1335/1917 conservation strategy of the mausoleum was thus under Patricolo’s supervision.²²² The background research carried out before the implementation of the action plan was detailed enough. However, there’s a contradiction between what was perceived of Patricolo at other conservation interventions –being sensitive to the urban fabric - and what actually occurred at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. This contradiction can be clarified when understanding the difference between the meaning of conservation then and now. The “parasitic” structures were allowed to be removed and only the “original fabric” should be preserved.²²³ On the contrary, conservation today considers all layers of history of a certain

²²¹ Ibid., 131.

²²² Archives. Appendix 1.29- 1.31.

²²³ El- Habashi, *Athar to Monuments*, 130.

monument, where later encroachments are part of the monument's history at a certain point. This understanding allowed the demolition of the original mosque and surrounding buildings with no second thoughts. It is for this reason that Nicholas Warner, architect and architectural historian, criticized the conservation scheme of the Comité. Simply, the conservation philosophies of the 14th/ 20th century is different than the current holistic approach to preserving monuments.²²⁴

The field of Islamic architecture is indebted to Creswell, since many of the demolished buildings survive in the historical record due to his documentation (Pl. 62). He was an energetic photographer and his invaluable collection, now housed at the American University in Cairo, is a national treasure (Pl. 63). In addition to documenting individual monuments, his photographs document their surrounding urban context, which is equally important in today's strategies of urban conservation and management. The 13th/19th and 14th/ 20th century residential buildings found in photographs document a neglected heritage.²²⁵ The residential buildings that were demolished prior to the mosque construction serve as an example (Pl. 64).

Creswell cannot be considered to have been directly involved in the conservation scheme for the mausoleum, since he joined the Comité later than 1335/1917. However, despite such marginal relevance to the conservation strategy evaluation, he was an active member of the Comité and benefited the institution beyond estimation. An example to demonstrate his characteristic persistence and determination was his ability to lobby the Ministry of Public Works and al-Tanzīm to fast-track archeological explorations, the most important of which is the excavation works for the Ayyubid wall, receiving a budget of 40,000 Egyptian pounds.²²⁶ This means that the Comité's effectiveness was highly dependent

²²⁴ Warner, *Monuments of Historic Cairo*, 46.

²²⁵ El-Rashidi, "A Study of the Unintended in Creswell's Photographs," 247.

²²⁶ Hamilton, "Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell," 13.

on the individual efforts of the influential scholars such as Creswell. This personalized recognition should be considered when evaluating the conservation strategy.

An important question to ask was to what extent did the international identity of the Comité affect the conservation practices? At the end of the day, a mosque was demolished in order to build another one right next to it. The idea of demolishing a religious building to preserve a non-functional mausoleum itself makes a strong statement. Even after rebuilding the mosque, it remained without an ablutions court – a necessary component that could not have been missed if indeed the mosque's ultimate purpose was the performance of prayers. This communication gap between the Comité and the local population can be sensed when the community issued a petition calling for a functioning mosque. It can be said that the Comité more or less was preserving the monuments of historic value from an academic and an orientalist point of view.

What was the state of the mosque before demolition? Was it necessary to demolish the mosque in the first place? And how was the intervention financed? As it is understood from the archival records, the mosque or *zāwya* was functioning prior to the Comité's intervention. The notion to demolish was carried out in order to preserve the mausoleum, which was suffering from the water seepage. The idea of sacrificing a mosque in order to save a mausoleum is highly controversial, not only because the mausoleum concept is debated in fundamental Islamic theology but also because a mosque was demolished when the simple act of fixing the ablution court could have restored it to practical functionality.

The mosque, in comparison to all other types of pious establishments, received the most attention from the waqf jurists. Defined as the house of God, it was regarded as being a 'pure' establishment which houses the Muslim daily prayers. The direct devotion to God contributed to the strict rules of its perpetuity and preservation. The most basic principle

announces that the waqf of the mosque is irrevocable.²²⁷ This means that no changes are to be made to the original establishment either through physical construction or rehabilitative use. The physical prohibitions highlighted that no additions to the mosque could be integrated once it was claimed as a waqf - with a few interpreters who allowed minimal construction in cases of extreme necessity.²²⁸ Also the mosque function could not be substituted, and it should not be used for any other purpose.²²⁹ The above-mentioned principles favor preservation the building in the most authentic form possible denouncing demolition attempts as unorthodox.

Hypothetically, if indeed the mosque ‘necessarily’ required knocking down, and its rebuilding was approved, how did the waqf system justify this situation? Simply it did not. Waqf principles highlight the upkeep of the mosque and would only allow for rebuilding if the building fell into ruins. Assuming once more that the demolition process was necessitated to the building’s ruined state, how would the waqf system allocate the budget for its rebuilding? The answer would be provided by the endowment deed. If the mosque fell to ruin and waqf revenues were dedicated for its upkeep, then the revenues should not be used for its rebuilding. Rather, they are to be directed to charity or sponsoring the upkeep of another mosque.²³⁰ Since the original waqf document did not survive, reinstating specifics of the maintenance budget is impossible.

So if the maintenance budget did not cover reconstruction, what are the alternative funding methods specified by the waqf to transform the ruins into a functioning mosque? The following excerpt summarizes the transformative procedures:

“A mosque is considered ruined in two cases: if its building has collapsed or if its users have ceased to use it. There is a debate on how to manage a situation

²²⁷ ‘Abassī, “The Classical Islamic Law of Waqf”, 127.

²²⁸ El-Habashi, *Athar to Monuments*, 40.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

where a mosque has fallen into ruin and no revenues would be available for its reconstruction. The first camp of interpreters advised to return of the waqf of the mosque to its donor (founder) or to the identified heirs. The second camp allowed selling a portion of its remains to sponsor the preservation and the restoration of the remaining parts. In the case people no longer use the mosque, the latter camp of interpreters advised on the sale of the building and the spending of the income on building or restoring any other mosque in the vicinity. There is a third opinion that is more conservative affirming on the perpetual quality of the mosque even after it collapsed. Such opinion prohibits exchanging the ruined mosque or to sell its remains. In this case, if the reconstruction is possible, the remains of the ruined mosque should be preserved until it can take place, and if it is impractical the remains should be given to another mosque or to charity.”²³¹

Considering these measures in connection with the situation at Shajar al-Durr’s complex, in reference to option one, the donors were not available. It would have been possible to apply option two: selling the ruins in order to finance the new project, though it is highly unlikely that the cost of broken bricks would yield any significant income. Finally, the last alternative would not have presented any practical measures to finance rebuilding.

The demolition of the mosque highlights the discrepancies between the waqf principles and Comité’s actions. The act of demolishing the existing mosque to create a buffer zone, and building another one instead defies the waqf principles on several theoretical levels:

- Necessity: Rebuilding was not a forceful requirement, since other solutions could have been employed to make the mosque functioning.

²³¹ Ibid., 42-43.

- Perpetuity: The demolition of the mosque meant that its endowment came to end, and the rebuilding process could be seen as a new endowment.
- Authenticity: The re-building is not actually a re-construction since the plan and architectural style were ultimately different.
- Funding: The new project was sponsored by a distinctly different budget, which contradicts its original nature.

The contradiction between the waqf principles and the actual intervention is diluted once we understand that the proclaimed principles are practically impossible to fulfill in eternity. Moreover, by the end of the 13th/19th century, Islamic jurisprudence was marginalized once European-style laws were introduced through the judiciary court. Nevertheless, evaluating the Comité's intervention based on the waqf principles highlights the philosophical differences between the Awqaf and the Comité. What kind of justification –if any – did the Awqaf offer for the Comité in order to carry out this intervention? The rules allowed for flexibility in different circumstances. The substance of perpetuity is to guarantee the long-term benefit of the charitable act, and the building's upkeep is not an aim in itself. Therefore the conception of building a new mosque did not deny beneficiaries of performing their prayers in the long run.

Muḥammad ‘Abduh was a distinguished scholar and a mufti, who was active in the early 14th/20th century (Pl. 65). He was the Grand Mufti of Egypt in 1306/1888 and was a member of the Supreme Council of the Awqaf. ‘Abduh was contemporary to the establishment of the Comité. He is considered to be a pioneer, for his thoughts and judgments were ahead of his time. He realized the importance of preservation early on, and did not hesitate to say so.²³² He criticized the work of the Comité at one point, expressing his objections towards the institute selectively preserving mosques that were considered

²³² El-Habashi, *Athar to Monuments*, 310.

important from an architectural point of view, while neglecting the needs of local residents to have a well-functioning mosque regardless of their touristic importance.²³³ Muḥammad ‘Abduh is considered the founder of Islamic Modernism. He studied in al-Azhar and was a student of Gamal al-Dīn al-Afghanī. He wrote and edited a series of works discussing theological essays addressing the concept of preservation as well as sculpture and figurative painting in Islam. Together with the Minister of Awqaf, Ḥasan ‘Asīm, in 1320/1902 he opposed Khedive ‘Abbās Ḥilmī after he issued a decree allowing the exchange of Awqaf properties, which defied the purpose of *awqaf*. Muḥammad ‘Abduh then acknowledged the work of the Comité but opposed its preservation methodology. He observed that there were a limited number of mosques among the list of monuments. ‘Abduh saw that the idea behind repairing (*islāḥ*) mosques was to preserve the building in a social sense in order to perform the spiritual rituals. His views are another reflection of the philosophical juncture between the religious ‘ulama’ representing the Awqaf and the Comité.

On the other hand, evaluating the mausoleum’s conservation schemes within a modern framework yields a completely different perspective. The idea of having an empty buffer zone next to the mosque and mausoleum for visual emphasis alone is not an ideal solution as a conservation strategy. The unidentified land’s ownership in the long run promotes encroachment and illegal land use. Other than the extreme case of the 1375/1955 fire, the unidentified space is a magnet for dumping garbage, given that the neighborhood lacks a proper collection system, an issue that still persists to this day.²³⁴ In brief, the conservation strategy of the Comité at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr was indicative of its period, and a product of the political and social context in which it is situated.

²³³ Ibid., 317.

²³⁴ Archives. Appendix 1.32.

3.5 Post Comité (1961-2006)

The only available archival records during the 1390/1970s and 1400/1980s are theft reports.²³⁵ This is probably an indication of the government's superficial involvement in monuments conservation at the time. An article published in al-Ahram newspaper, has triggered the search for the missing [Abbasid] cenotaph at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. The photo documentation for this cenotaph could not even be found at the archives of the Islamic Museum. The legal aspect of the documents was concerned with determining a monetary value of the cenotaph upon which the liable party would pay a fine. Such logic dilutes the value of heritage elements, thus indicating an ineffective approach to monument conservation. In the early 1400s/1980s, another theft incident was reported, this time reporting missing wooden inscriptions and marble pieces from the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr.²³⁶ The police report suggest that a local resident from the neighborhood had stolen the keys from the guard, hoping to search for hidden treasures underneath the mausoleum floor. We are left with an unresolved clichéd story of the underground hidden treasures as a justification for the missing decorative work.

It wasn't until the 1400s/1990s that another conservation attempt took place at the mausoleum, one which was extended until 1427/2006 and was carried out by the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA).²³⁷ This phase of restoration works is more or less unpublished. Despite the absence of scholarly literature concerning this phase of restoration, the confirmation that indeed such work did take place is present within the Antiquities archives.²³⁸ The MSA had done a questionable job in restoring the mausoleum. The scope of work included excavating boreholes at the mausoleum ground in search of the entrance to the

²³⁵ Archives. Appendix 1.33.

²³⁶ Archives. Appendix 1.34.

²³⁷ Archives. Appendix 1.35.

²³⁸ Archives. Appendix 1.36.

underground burial.²³⁹ Nothing was found and it was suggested that the burial had disintegrated due to the high ground water table. Their work included complete plastering of walls with cement mortar, and painting over the woodwork of the Fatimid frieze, as well as painting over interior decoration.²⁴⁰ The blocked north-eastern doorway for it was opened, and three wooden doors were manufactured for the mausoleum. The interior stone flooring was removed in order to add a layer of waterproofing, then the same old stones were re-installed. The same was done for the exterior courtyard but new stone tiles were fixed. The outside northeastern part of the dome was restored. The boundary fence was also rebuilt. Moreover, detailed conservation work was carried out to 'beautify' the mosaics: missing parts were added and the loose parts were fixed (Pl. 66). Also, the faded drawings in the drum of the dome were traced according to the original and photo-documented.

3.6 Discussion

The history of the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr as it survives through the documentation is in line with the political history of Egypt. The thoughtful establishment of the Comité was partially due to the royal family's personal interest in Islamic monuments. The government under colonial influence was open to the idea of hiring a group of international specialists to preserve the monuments of significant architectural value. For the first thirty years the Comité gained momentum and experience in dealing with the local construction disciplines and other relevant government bodies. The ministries of the Awqaf, Public Works and Education were founded at more or less the same period and the top

²³⁹ Mubārak mentions that Shajarat al-Durr was carried to the madrasa beside the caliph's residence and was buried there. Would that explain why the boreholes carried out in 1992 in search of the entry to the underground burial chamber did not yield any positive results? Or is Mubārak referring to the madrasa while meaning the mausoleum – as in one complex? Unfortunately, Mubārak's work is unreferenced, therefore, the historical source on which this information is based is not clear. However, the confusion in terminology seems to be a logical explanation. Mubārak, *Khīṭat*, 5:34.

²⁴⁰ Al-Ibrashy, *Shajar al-Durr Mausoleum Conservation Project-Interim Report*.

managerial positions were often shared by the same individuals. For example, ‘Ali Pasha Mubārak occupied the position of head of the ministries of Public Works and Education during the second half of the 13th/19th century.²⁴¹ The concept of multiple managerial posts was also practiced in connection with the Comité. Herz Pasha was the head of the Comité as well as the director of the Islamic Arts Museum. By today’s standards the holding of multiple managerial positions by the same individual is not recommended, for it fosters for a conflict of interest by different institutions. However, at the time the practice worked in the favor of the Comité, by facilitating a high level of coordination and communication. In addition, the safeguarding of artifacts was easily guaranteed: when objects of fine art were found they were transported directly to the museum and thus a valuable collection was established.

When the responsibilities of the Comité were handed from the Awqaf to the Ministry of Education in 1355/1936, the focus of its conservation schemes was diluted. In other words, it became a reactive process rather than proactive one. Unless there was a pressing need to preserve the monuments due to unprecedented state of deterioration, the buildings were left as they were. Conservation efforts suffered considerably following the 1952 revolution. It was at a time when the state had shifted from a monarchy to a nationalist presidential system, and conservation efforts were not seen as a priority. In 1373/1953, the functions of conservation were taken over by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, which is known as the Ministry of Antiquities.²⁴² The defects of the urban management conditions, which persist to this day, can be attributed to Egypt’s political system in which the state is the main and almost sole actor. The government dominates the planning and implementing of any project. Developmental projects for tourism are always favored over local development.²⁴³ Moreover, the population has increased tremendously over the past 50 years and mass housing has

²⁴¹ El-Habashi, *Athar to Monuments*, 150.

²⁴² Williams, “Islamic Cairo: A Past Imperiled,” 594.

²⁴³ Sedky, *Living with Heritage in Cairo*, 231.

become a necessity. As a result, the trespassing on the Cairene monuments was unavoidable.²⁴⁴ Historic Cairo, with its center and periphery, became an opportunity for real estate development.²⁴⁵ The year 1381/1961 marks an important date in the history of the Comité – Department of Antiquities. That year, it was formally dissolved and its responsibilities were in transition for a number of years.

In the 1390s/1970s, at the time of Sadat, the prospects for conservation efforts were looking up as now the government had set a preliminary peace agreement with Israel and could focus on internal issues.²⁴⁶ Instead, however, the situation with the monuments worsened and foreign missions assisted in the conservation projects. Those projects tended to be built in phases – a mosque here, a madrasa there, a residence somewhere else. The separate works were not coordinated. Nevertheless, the conservation works were of very high standards and efforts were usually made to use local craftsmen, local materials and technologies, supplemented by specialists.²⁴⁷ As of the 1400s/1980s, UNESCO called for an urban conservation plan, but the Egyptian Antiquities Organization continued its same working concept of focusing on individual monuments.²⁴⁸ However, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization cannot be totally blamed for the restoration problems. It was dealing with a rapidly decaying infrastructure and area conservation had not been widely practiced yet with the exception of the Citadel.²⁴⁹

It was not until the 1413/1992 earthquake that serious restoration schemes were taking place out of fear for losing a great number of monuments completely. Egypt called for both national and international support to restore its monuments. However, the 1413/1992

²⁴⁴ Williams, “Islamic Cairo: A Past Imperiled,” 593.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 593.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 594.

²⁴⁷ Danforth, *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, 3.

²⁴⁸ Williams, “Islamic Cairo: A Past Imperiled,” 594.

²⁴⁹ Speiser, “The Egyptian-German Restoration of the Darb-Qirmiz,” 23.

restoration wave was too often problematic in that restorers often did not follow international standards of conservation. At the time, non-specialized contractors in conservation work were taking over the jobs. Portland cement was used in stabilizing foundations and fixing facades; a material which is banned by international conservation standards.²⁵⁰ The 1413/1992 restoration of the mausoleum provides as an example of Portland cement being applied at the exterior wall plastering. With the Mubārak era came the first ideas of urban conservation. The conservation standards were publicized as an open-air museum concept. The Mu‘izz Street project, though heavily criticized, was among the successful endeavors in that sense (Pl. 67). The historic spine was turned into a pedestrian route, facades of residential houses were painted, some commercial activities were relocated, and the monuments were profoundly restored. Ultimately, the open museum conservation philosophy did not yield sustainable results. Due to the vulnerable state of the police and security post the 25th of January revolution, the vehicular-ban could not be enforced. On the other hand, the most recent conservation initiatives were answered following the 25th of January revolution whereby civil society was the main actor. The Athar Lina conservation initiative carried out at the premises of Shajarat al-Durr’s mausoleum is an example of such civic participation and is discussed in the following chapter.

²⁵⁰ Williams, “Islamic Cairo: A Past Imperiled,” 594.

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPATORY CONSERVATION PRACTICES

This chapter aims to present the Athar Lina initiative and explore the role of civil society in heritage conservation. A brief description of al-Khalifa neighborhood today is provided to facilitate an objective debate about the pros and cons of adopting a participatory approach in such a context. Information collected on this initiative comes from Athar Lina's website, as well as the minutes of meetings collected during the Athar Lina volunteering program, newspaper articles and online press releases.

4.1 The Athar Lina Initiative

The current phase of restoration taking place in al-Khalifa neighborhood is the Athar Lina initiative. The Athar Lina initiative presents a worthwhile case study, showcasing the operational dynamics of community participation taking a lead in preserving heritage. It is a participatory conservation project promoted by the Built Environmental Collaborative (known as Megawra) headed by May al-Ibrashi, along with a network of conservation and heritage activists, who took a proactive step towards sustainable conservation of monuments (Pl. 68). The objective of the participatory approach is to narrow the gap between all involved stakeholders in the decision-making process.

The Athar Lina, Arabic for "the monument is ours," is the theme of initiative, which takes the form of workshops, exhibitions, and discussions questioning the ownership of and responsibility for monuments. Who has a right to claim the monument? Is it the state, residents of the neighborhood, academic professionals, or visitors and tourists? The project is a collaboration between the Ministry of Antiquities and the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute. The participatory events facilitated understanding the needs of the different stakeholders, which enabled changing the conservation conception from a burden to a resource (Pls. 69 - 70). Among the recommendations of the workshop was the need to raise

awareness among children of the heritage value of monuments through storytelling. A second recommendation was to restore the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. A third theme was to organize an event encouraging local tourism to visit the monuments and participate in active games of drawing a large map for entrance signage to the street. The initiative is ongoing and new objectives emerge soon after the targeted objectives are realized, given the demanding context being dealt with. As soon one targeted objective is reached another one emerges.

Designing a participatory approach within al-Khalīfa neighborhood is not an easy task, for the urban morphology of the site and the socio-economic conditions of the local community encompasses a lot of challenges. Al-Khalīfa has undergone profound changes in recent years. Referring to the neighborhood as a cemetery is no longer appropriate. It is a crowded quarter with animated daily life activities. The main artery along which the mausoleum resides is narrow by modern day criteria, barely allowing vehicular circulation. Motorcycles and small pick-up trucks make their way through the bustling street. Low-rise residential houses are present amongst the monuments. Coffee houses are aligned against the street facades. Tiny shops selling essential goods occupy the ground floor of residential buildings. Ironmongery, carpentry and mechanics workshops contribute to the bustling, noisy street. Young children play among the havoc. This typical Cairene street could be classified by today's scholarship as a low-density urban squatter zone or a slum area. David Sims, in his book *Understanding Cairo* has highlighted census miscalculations that were quoted heavily by journalistic literature rendering a rather negative image about the 'tomb dwellers'.²⁵¹ The misconception is primarily due to the stagnant perception of historic cemeteries as graveyards, while in the present day they are legalized residential neighborhoods. The following quote by Maqrīzī reminds us that the cemetery was never intended to be a deserted place; it was a city for the living as much as it was a place for the dead:

²⁵¹ Sims, *Understanding Cairo*, 20-24.

Two worlds meet in the graveyard,
That of Life and that of Beyond
-what a beautiful place to stay!
While the hermits wander around the tombs and pray
The revelers let continuous music play;
how many nights did we listen to the tone
of music softening the hardest stone,
while the moons fills the world with beam that shining flow
and his joyous face smiles on kindred faces below.²⁵²

4.2 Mausoleum Conservation

The report published on the recent conservation work taking place at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr illustrates accuracy in documentation, noting on the progress of the pre and post-conservation work (Pl. 71). Before restoration could take place, necessary preparatory work was carried out at the mausoleum grounds.²⁵³ The preparatory work included site clearing of debris and garbage deposits – at the buffer zone and inside the dome. The mihrab area was closed off as it was excluded from this phase of restoration (Pl. 72). Moreover, the scaffolding was erected at the mausoleum interior – to facilitate working on the upper sections of the walls and the dome.²⁵⁴

Complete visual documentation of the mausoleum and site was carried out. The scope of work included conservation of interior and exterior plastering, repairing painted stucco, restoration of wooden inscription friezes, fixing wooden doors and windows, and repairing

²⁵² Quoted by Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 63.

²⁵³ Al-Ibrashy, *Shajar al-Durr Mausoleum Conservation Project-Interim Report*.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

masonry walls (Pls. 73 - 74). The documentation speaks of professional methods both technically and methodologically. Architectural drawings and a detailed condition survey of the interior and exterior elevations of the mausoleum were prepared.²⁵⁵ The building material and its state of deterioration was documented and treated following the ICOMOS ISCS standards.²⁵⁶ Material surfaces was mechanically cleaned using soft brushes. The walls that had cracks were quickly stabilized and the loose plaster was treated. The conservation of the polychrome in the transitional zone was first checked by UV photography in order to confirm the presence of colors below the white wash.²⁵⁷

The same technique – UV photography – was used at the drum of the dome which resulted in a marvelous discovery of two medallions at the northern corner (Pl. 31). The thin gypsum layer covering the polychrome was removed by mechanical cleaning using soft brushes as well as chemically by adding a thin layer of resin, and the empty spaces between the paint were filled with acrylic paint.²⁵⁸

The discovery of the medallions is a splendid accomplishment for it offers the field of Islamic art and architecture a rare example of late Ayyubid wall painting decorations. The decoration scheme of the medallions is rather intricate in style: a pointed ovoid where three pointed tulips project at equidistance from the top center, and at 45 degrees from the right and left margins. The body of the medallion is of interlacing floral arabesque design. Two delicate branches dangle from the sides of the central medallion in a downward curve. Beneath the ovoid body, a tripartite interlacing string points towards the central medallion – from the two bottom corners.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ ICOMOS ISCS system stands for International Scientific Committee for Stone, a system introduced by the International Council on Monuments and Sites. The reference is useful in highlighting technical conservation terminology and analyzing the causes and patterns of stone deterioration.

²⁵⁷ Al-Ibrashy, *Shajar al-Durr Mausoleum Conservation Project-Interim Report*.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

Evaluating the quality of the painted medallion in such a condition, would not yield a fair judgement. The process of unveiling the motif, has left the painting in a monochromatic outline, with the detailed brushstrokes invisible. The two medallions show distinguishable variations, indicating that they have not been traced of a pre-set mold, rather copied by hand. The design concept is the same, although executional differences are clear. The western medallion is more circular in form while the eastern is narrower. The tulips on the eastern medallion are more luscious and spread out than the former.

Other detailed conservation work included the interior carved stucco panels which were restored meticulously after thorough documentation and performing a condition survey on a scale of 1:1.²⁵⁹ The panels were first dry cleaned using soft brushes, and treated by ammonium and mechanically cleaned using scalpels to remove bird deposits. Moreover, the upper and lower wooden inscription friezes were restored using preliminary consolidation, chemical and mechanical methods of treatment. Modern green paint on the wooden tie beams was removed revealing traces of inscription.²⁶⁰ Also, the modern painting was removed from the wooden doors and windows – an addition by the Comité in the 20th century – revealing the original wooden carpentry.²⁶¹

As for the masonry conservation, exterior cement plaster was removed up to a level of 2 to 2.5 m - measuring from the dome floor – in which salt encrustation and efflorescence was removed mechanically by brushes.²⁶² After desalting the masonry, grouts were treated with a lime mortar and a second layer of lime mortar was applied. On the interior, the masonry was treated up to the level of the lower inscription frieze.²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Al-Ibrashy, *Shajar al-Durr Mausoleum Conservation Project-Interim Report*.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

The recent Athar Lina report on the mausoleum conservation is a reflection of modern conservation thinking. Evidence and scientific findings directly influence the decision-making process. It also shows that the scientific methods better help quantify damage to historical material, a considerable development if compared to the Comité reports, which were based solely on visual observation and literary analysis.²⁶⁴ It is a far cry from the 1992 restoration documentation, which consists of a single handwritten sheet of paper as the only surviving evidence.

The ingenuity of the conservation work in that context is that it is complemented by the community's awareness of the value of the mausoleum (Plate 75). The story of the legendary *sultāna* is narrated to young children. Parents understand the importance of heritage in encouraging tourism, which ultimately benefits their entrepreneurship activities. The architectural conservation is the least problematic encounter in that setting. It is more 'restoring' the inhabitants to value the history of the place they're living in. The details of this process is discussed in the upcoming section.

4.3 Participatory Approach to Conservation

Eversince the 1997 UNDP report for Historic Cairo - which stressed upon urban upgrading and poverty alleviation; independent conservation projects sought to work within such a conservation framework.²⁶⁵ The work of Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) at Darb al-Aḥmar initiated in the year 2000 aimed to restore historically significant building while at the same time improving the livelihoods of its inhabitants. Yet another example is the Darb al-Aṣfar project (1994-2001) implemented by the Supreme Council of Antiquities and funded by the Kuwait Arab Fund for Social Development.²⁶⁶ The restoration of historical buildings

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ UNDP, *Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo*.

²⁶⁶ Rappai, *Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo*, 15.

such as Bayt al-Suḥaymī was done through an integrated participatory approach.

Furthermore, Civil society has become a major player in heritage conservation in Egypt after the 25th of January Revolution. This is not to say that prior to this date, civil society had no interest in monument conservation; but in the first two years following the Revolution, civil society organizations became more active than ever before.

Following the 25th of January revolution, numerous reports –both national and international- have called upon the Egyptian authorities to take action in order “to save” heritage. UNESCO and local NGOs have also joined in with a voice of urgency. In 1432/2011, the Director General of UNESCO addressed the importance of protecting Egypt’s heritage sites, which were being violated by the day.²⁶⁷ The director also acknowledged the efforts of civil society to protect cultural heritage in Egypt. Reports of robberies of artifacts and their re-emergence in international museums, the burning of libraries, the deterioration of monuments, and the scavenging of archeological sites had grabbed the attention of both global and local conservation professionals alike. Upon that announcement, UNESCO put up an action plan to preserve an international heritage site and the Urban Regeneration of Historic Cairo (URHC) project was put forward (Pl. 76). The first phase aimed at defining the boundary and buffer zone of Historic Cairo as well as putting together a thorough report with the help of a diverse group of consultants to study and analyze the Historic Cairo site (Pl. 77). This phase is currently coming to an end. The next phase for the URHC project is to put up an effective management model that could carry out area conservation.²⁶⁸

What is new to the conservation scene in the URHC project is the non-institutionalized representatives (stakeholders) who have showcased their concerns using social media and formed informal bodies to take action. The examples are numerous,

²⁶⁷ UNESCO, *UNESCO Director-General*. <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/710>>.

²⁶⁸ Rappai, *Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo*, 126.

including minute-by-minute updates reporting abusive violations to monuments' physical state, opinionated articles on online blogs and magazines, and live protests in front of representative authorities. Facebook pages entitled "Save Cairo," "Save Historic Cairo," and "Save Mu'izz Street" represent a selective sample relevant to the scope of research, which generate timely reports of incidents of violations (Pl. 78). Online blogs and independent electronic newspapers have also played a vital role in stirring public awareness of the weighty issues at hand (Pl. 79). *Cairo Observer* and *Egypt's Heritage Review* alerted the reading audience to the neglected status of heritage. Online petitions were circulated and signed. Taking action a step further, protests were held by heritage activists –risking arrest – in several cities and governorates as a last resort to protect registered monuments.

The idea of having the conservation approach labeled as an initiative is to have civil society at the core of the stakeholders 'map' (Pl. 80). In theoretical terms, Aristotle explained civil society as the sphere of 'good society' in which order will be achieved and conflict resolved.²⁶⁹ In this case, civil society refers to the local community and the Megawra NGO, which is running the participatory approach, conservation and heritage activists as well as recruited volunteers. This is more or less what makes stakeholder management a difficult task. Answering questions about who benefits, who pays and who cares is pivotal in coordinating the economics of participatory discourse.²⁷⁰

Cultural heritage stakeholders share multiple responsibilities at the same time. The beneficiaries in that case are the local community, followed by governmental institutions, and the worldwide audience. The local community does not benefit from the literal act of monument conservation but from the urban conservation approach as a whole. The mausoleum repair work is a small stake in the conservation initiative. The participatory

²⁶⁹ Ioannides, *Progress in Cultural Heritage Preservation*, 2.

²⁷⁰ Bowitz, "Economic Impacts of Cultural Heritage," 6.

approach aims to respond to the needs of the community in which it exists. For example, the idea of re-use was adopted at the adjoining mosque, where a former clinic was to be re-opened according to discussions with residents of the neighborhood who expressed the need for medical facilities (Pls. 81-86). The government institution is also an actor in this conservation scheme. The MSA supervises the conservation work carried out al-Ibrashi through its Inspectorate Department to maintain a monitoring and controlling upper hand of the state's monuments. In that respect, the governmental representation is temporarily freed of its financial responsibilities.

Payments and financing for the project were segmented according to the project phases. Funds by international donors create the larger bulk of the monetary resources, though symbolic contributions by the local community are present to increase their sense of ownership of the project. The involvement of civil society at the different planning stages of investment is of great importance. The local communities at the core of the economic model benefit from the value-chain of income generating activities and job creation related to local tourism.²⁷¹ In the longer run, however, there will be a need for national budgetary resources in order to sustain cultural tourism by making the area more accessible, to encourage rehabilitation of the historic city and provide adaptive reuse of buildings.²⁷²

I have identified a set of practices with the aim to evaluate the effectiveness of the participatory method to heritage conservation. To begin with, the decision-making is lobbied by the local community. Empowering the local community to look after their neighborhood monuments, ultimately transforms the monument from a burden to a resource. Politics and power struggles are involved in the everyday practices and routine decision-making.²⁷³ The extent of the decision-making process is on a scale between centralization and

²⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁷² Ibid., 6.

²⁷³ Mason, "Conference Report: Economics and Heritage Conservation," 560.

decentralization.²⁷⁴ The Athar Lina initiative holds periodic meetings with a wide-ranging audience that includes representatives of the local community, the Ministry of Antiquities, the Cairo Governorate, the head of the district, heritage activists and NGOs focused on developmental work. Within such meetings the local community express their socio-economic needs that were either not realized by the governmental authorities or are triggered by the ongoing discussion of conservation practices. The sub-topics range from the need of a garbage collection system, to affordable medical facilities or improving children's education. Once these needs are expressed, they cannot be ignored for they remain more pressing issues for the local community than the welfare of monuments. On the other hand, the shortcoming of such a model is that the decision-making process is a prolonged one. It does consume a lot of energy and requires a great deal of effort. Moderating regular meetings with the local community and formal writings to the national institutions hinder quick progress. A balance needs to be achieved in order to sustain the efficiency of the participatory conservation approach.

Furthermore, the local community has a high sense of ownership. The residents of al-Khalīfa have a strong sense of belonging and ownership in their neighborhood. As inhabitants of the area, they are familiar with its everyday history. They have seen the monuments deteriorate, and sometimes have contributed to its deterioration. This makes it a difficult task for professionals to intervene. Unless the people accept the conservation specialists, they would stand in objection to any conservation scheme. Establishing friendly and professional social conduct with the residents is a primary step to start working in the neighborhood. The people feel the worth of the religious funerary structures and often participate in the weekly

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 560.

and annual spiritual events taking place at the mausoleums of *Ahl al-bayt*.²⁷⁵ Thus, winning the locals over to the idea of restoring a mausoleum and a mosque space did not encounter much resistance. The good social foundation with al-Khalīfa residents yields more benefits than a permission to restore. They are themselves resourceful; some have experience in carpentry, others can obtain local materials at very cheap prices, and some are willing to volunteer in organizing events (Pl. 87).

The participatory project is a flexible model that is responsive to the local needs and solves problems on the spot is promoted by the non-hierarchical organization of the initiative. Both the professionals and the local community are benefiting from the experience. The professionals are seeking a sustainable conservation model and in the meantime the local community have a channel to vocalize their needs. The incremental design of the initiative facilitates the adoption of flexibility in both the decision-making and developmental growth. Concise targets when reached open the gateways for more progress to happen. The garbage collection initiative is an example illustrating the proactive rather than the reactive responsive actions. It is still underway, but already Megawra NGO is brainstorming solutions with environmental agencies to either assist in garbage collection or to find incentives for recycling to take place. Another example showing responsiveness is the adaptive re-use of the mosque area. The ground floor at the mosque was utilized as a clinic for a number of years, but after the doctor died, the clinic fell into disuse. The people asked for the revival of the clinic and it is included within the fifth phase of Athar Lina initiative to finalize necessary legal work to reopen the medical facility. The idea of reuse is reflected on the methodological approach to conservation. Excessive rigidity could lead to less-than-optimal use of properties. Despite such responsiveness, the flexible model operating in al-Khalīfa is in itself non-

²⁷⁵ Mawlid is an event celebrated in Egypt to venerate the memory of *Ahl al-bayt*. Out of the eleven mawlid celebrated in Cairo, seven are dedicated to female figures: two Fāṭimas, Zaynab, Sukkayna, Ruqyya, Nafisa and ‘Aīsha. Each mawlid start a few days earlier than the actual date, and last for a week. Sandouby, *Ahl al-Bayt*, 88.

replicable. The initiative is just too 'local'. This means that each application of the participatory approach needs to be adapted for the context it deals with.

Participatory practices involve community upgrading and capacity building, which capitalizes on the knowledge of individuals, is an essential factor in the Athar Lina initiative. For example, an educational carpentry session was carried out by one of the local craftsmen for those interested to learn and it was moderated by an entrepreneurship specialist. Through such activities, knowledge sharing is guaranteed and local craftsmen are equipped to expand their business skills beyond al-Khalifa borders.

Another participatory theme is to capitalize on the micro-economy, in which local resources are utilized whenever possible. A nearby carpentry workshop works with Megawra in related conservation work. Also, this workshop participates in periodic exhibitions facilitated by the initiative. The initiative coordinators make it a point to promote food and beverages shops within the area during their events. Revitalizing the crafts of the neighborhood is another means to trigger economic benefits for the residents. Encouraging crafts in the neighborhood is closely tied with cultural tourism, for it is a means of keeping heritage alive. The target sector can then be strengthened by promoting further the alternative use of heritage venues for exhibitions, events and other activities in order to broaden visitor participation and strengthen the links between cultural heritage and the arts.

²⁷⁶ In other words, the link between culture and tourism is the most visible aspect of the contribution of culture to local development.²⁷⁷

Regarding the handling of non-sustainable funding sources, the issue with international or local grant-funding agencies is that the project has to comply with the agencies' agendas. The funding for the different project phases – whether by the American

²⁷⁶ Ioannides, *Progress in Cultural Preservation*, 20.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

Research Center in Egypt, the British Council, or the Barakat Trust – is provided on a project-by-project basis and cannot always be guaranteed. For example, the Danish Institute has funded the first phase of Athar Lina initiative in the revolutionary spirit following 2011 events with the aim of encouraging cultural participation and freedom of expression.²⁷⁸ This access to funding is questionable in current volatile political conditions. Each new donor requires a different proposal and the project targets are influenced in that manner. Finding a sustainable funding resource remains the main obstacle to carrying out conservation schemes.

All in all, it can be said that the participatory approach is effective when it delivers the agreed-upon targets according to the community needs. Nonetheless, efficiency capitalizes human resources, utilizes minimal financial and environmental resources within the preset timeframe of delivering the project. In that respect, we can say that the participatory conservation approach is effective but not necessarily efficient.

4.4 Discussion

The Athar Lina initiative presents an overwhelming experience. The role of heritage professionals is intertwined with developmental work far greater than the sole goal of preserving monuments. The location of the monuments within an informal area further complicates the idea of conservation through community participation. As has been observed, participatory conservation is closely tied to political awareness. Unless citizens know their rights, they cannot participate effectively to ensure necessary changes. Socio-economic need is a primary concern in historic Cairo and it is thus important to be addressed; otherwise, conservation of monuments will remain a marginalized topic.²⁷⁹ Providing educational and health services is a priority. Learning about the values of heritage can be taught in schools

²⁷⁸ Appendix 3.1.

²⁷⁹ Rappai, *URHC First Report of Activities*, 79.

through informal education.²⁸⁰ Improving the electrical, water and sewage infrastructure is a must to ensure decent living standards for the local community. Nevertheless, heritage activists cannot deal with all of this alone. Urban upgrading is the state's responsibility in the first place, but since it is a huge challenge it is often neglected and the role is assumed by developmental NGOs. To make the process more manageable, Megawra needs to affirm more precise delegation to NGOs in order to solely focus on the conservation methodologies and preserve more monuments.

Is the mausoleum restoration within the Athar Lina initiative considered a restoration project or conservation one? To answer this question we must relate to the difference between the two words, which are more or less synonyms, but restoration has a negative connotation in the world of modern conservation founded by John Ruskin in the 13th/19th century. Restoration was associated with historical revival accentuating the aesthetic qualities of the monuments without giving much attention to the historical values they convey. Conservation, on the other hand, highlights the historicity of the object. It values the time lapse in which it has survived. The term conservation acknowledges that the monument may produce something new in the present, while the roots to its past are traceable.²⁸¹ Conservation is also associated with the scientific models it adopts, reflecting an evolution in practice.²⁸² The manifestation of such values are echoed in Athar Lina's conservation practices, which emphasize studying the history of the monument, adopting minimal intervention, and using technology is an aid to achieve quality results. In that respect, the current phase of repairs at the mausoleum is conservation work.

At first impression, the conservation work at the mausoleum may seem to inherit the qualities of the single monument conservation approach, which has been criticized in the

²⁸⁰ Loulanski, "Cultural Heritage as a Socio-Economic Development Factor," 2.

²⁸¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," 370.

²⁸² Clavir, "The Social and Historic Construction of Professional Values in Conservation," 1.

work of the Comité. This approach, which treats a monument in isolation of its surroundings, aims to establish the monument as an architectural masterpiece. However, this would not be an accurate representation of the project at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr, as it falls within the Urban Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo, which was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage site officially in 1979/ 2011. Placement within a larger planning framework is a practice of urban conservation, but in stages.²⁸³ Being categorized as a World Heritage site is just another form of the ‘cultural routes’ conservation concept introduced in the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) charter of 2008. The cultural routes concept recognizes the conservation values as a common heritage that goes beyond national borders, and which requires joint efforts.²⁸⁴

Looking at the bigger picture of the Cairene urban fabric, the Athar Lina project emerges as representative of many socio-economic, cultural and political dilemmas of historic Cairo. There are many challenges to conserving Cairene Islamic monuments, and the location at the historical cemetery complicates the matter further. The Cairo metropolis lacks means of sustainable urban development. The absence of effective urban development schemes by the state is not only due to the unavailability of monetary resources but also to deficiencies in the planning mechanisms and executive administration. Urban upgrading schemes often neglect the socio-economic factors of the neighborhood residents when commencing on a ‘comprehensive’ level of urban planning. The 1418/1997 report on Historic Cairo shows such a lapse, as do recent URHC reports. The broad level of planning shows the gap between designers and on-site work, where the top-down level of planning neglects many delicacies of the complex urban fabric.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Hampikian, “Urban Conservation,” 226.

²⁸⁴ *ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes*, 1. Appendix 4.1.

²⁸⁵ Ibrahim, “Extract from a Diary,” 253.

The deficiency in the administration occurs at both a micro and a macro level. At the micro-level of local district administration, political corruption has overwhelmed its functional responsibilities. On a higher level, the governor and his cabinet to a large extent trespass on the responsibilities of the local administration, completely marginalizing their role. Furthermore, the opaqueness of the governmental system results in lack of citizen awareness about their rightful services.

Historic Cairo, both the center and the periphery, is considered a prime real-estate location. The government and private equities often consider empty plots of land found within the historic zone for developmental projects. Such a developmental scheme is also considered at Midan al-Sayyida Nafisa, where the government seeks to build a large mosque in the area surrounded by a public park (Pl. 88). This initiative – though respected for its public purpose – is unnecessary in terms of functionality, since the area is in close proximity to al-Sayyida Nafisa and located within a zone where mosques and *zāwiyas* are found at every corner. Should this project be implemented, it will superimpose its skyline over the domes of *ahl al-bayt*, the historical landmarks of al-Khalīfa. With the restructuring of the urban space and commercialization of historic Cairo, the memory map of Cairo subsides into unrecognizable geography. This urban memory is part of the intangible heritage values of the city and it is worth preserving for future generations.

Another challenge is the lack of safety.²⁸⁶ Indeed the issue of safety is sometimes exaggerated, with al-Khalīfa identified with high crime rates, and often the socio-economic needs are disregarded in this categorization. However, the safety issue could be related to the inadequate governmental representation, which turns a blind eye on the needs of the neighborhood. Other technical challenges with conserving the monuments concern lack of

²⁸⁶ Al-Ibrashy, *Historic Cemeteries*, 63.

electrical and sewage infrastructure. This has been prioritized by the Athar Lina initiative, which has renovated the bathroom facilities.

Reflecting on Athar Lina initiative has helped identify a number of sustainable heritage conservation practices that encourages civic participation. The first step is to raise awareness. To ensure that heritage lives on, the guardians – or the neighborhood – should know about the importance of such a monument. When people realize the value of such monuments, then they will experience the interventions of the state as being less intrusive.

Another practice relates to managing funding. Economic sustainability of conservation projects aims to secure a funding source other than the state's budget to ensure more autonomy in responding to the neighborhood needs. Crowd-funding campaigns from the inhabitants themselves and from heritage activists are an alternative to the Antiquities budget (Pl. 89). Local finances would then be managed by the community representatives to carry out the community development activities.

Responding to the needs of the local population is yet another sustainable participatory practice. The needs of the community dictate the progress of the conservation project. A reversed decision-making approach contrary to the common “top-down approach” is seen as more sustainable, even though it sometimes leads to a prolonged time frame. Strengthening the role of civil society in heritage conservation ensures the livelihood of monuments, even though the values of heritage conservation are to a large extent intangible.

Conducting research and documentation is an essential professional practice. Monument preservation practices are carried out periodically. Therefore, careful documentation of the conservation work is a must to ensure a higher degree of authenticity when carrying out later practices of restoration. It is an accumulative process. Documentation proves to be an integral element in preserving the monument's heritage. From an abstract point of view, heritage is the selective living history from which we inherit from

past generations, shape at present, and save for future generations. The ‘Abbāsiyya archive has proven to be an invaluable reference for tracing the conservation work of the Comité. The Athar Lina report on the mausoleum conservation is of professional value and should be standardized in the Egyptian conservation practices by the government and independent consultants.

Another sustainable practice is safeguarding heritage through social media. Social media is currently the most effective tool to disseminate information to a wide audience. It can be used as a lobbying tool to engage and influence policy-makers about sustainable conservation practices. The significance of social media has been acknowledged in bringing people together as an alternative news channel in the 25th of January revolution, and it has become widely used by Egyptians. Already, heritage activists are utilizing Facebook to raise public awareness about the severe state of deterioration of monuments in recent times. Governmental institutions have also discovered the advertising potential of social media and are frequently posting artistic photographs of monuments in order to encourage national and international tourism. Through social media, what was once accessible to a few scholars is now widely available to the public.²⁸⁷ This also means that historical material has become more accessible. It is not a matter of obtaining the information, but rather of analyzing the data content. Developing analytical digital tools for heritage research is an abstract suggestion for the future of Islamic art and architecture studies.

Athar Lina’s model can be said to be a top-down initiative in disguise. It is guided by professionals and supported by local community. It is a responsive solution that aims to prolong the lifetime of monuments through sustainable conservation. It can be classified as a success story for the active role of civil society in heritage conservation, in the hope that it could be replicated more efficiently in the Egyptian historical contexts.

²⁸⁷ Giaccardi, *Heritage and Social Media*, 43.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Concluding Remarks

The structure by which this thesis is presented mirrors the conservation practice, in a theoretical sense. It first presents the background research on the history of the patron, monument location, and architectural precedents before tracing the conservation efforts that occurred at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. The historical analysis positions the patron within a historical chronology, in order to evaluate the architectural patronage by a mind of the time. By comparing and contrasting the architecture of the monument to other similar examples, missing information is extrapolated.

Revisiting the biography of the patron provides theories about the history of the monument and how it survived through time. The heroine of the story is a unique *sultāna* who introduced funerary-educational complexes in Egypt. Attaching her husband's mausoleum to his madrasa in Fatimid Cairo, Shajarat al-Durr set the trend of the madrasa-mausoleum complex, which remains one of the strongest architectural statements in the city to this day. She chose her complex to be situated in a less high-profile area, yet amongst popular female saints. The message is clear: Shajarat al-Durr sought to be remembered among the other venerated female Islamic figures. The context in which the mausoleum existed is conveyed in written historical literature. The cemetery was a place to commemorate the dead, to do charity such as distributing bread and goods amongst the poor, and was interpreted as a place with high spiritual relevance. Though the urbanization of the cemeteries changed over time, many of the practices and traditions associated with them lived on. The Sayyida Nafisa cemetery was one that was visited regularly by locals because of its religious associations. The details of the story are blurred for a long number of years, during which we know that the mausoleum and the complex were maintained in good condition, due to the waqf system. The innovative queen set the trend of combining a mausoleum with a four-

school madrasa complex as a single charitable endowment in her name. The mausoleum is the extant monument preserving the memory of its patron. Its history demonstrates that the patron was directly involved in commissioning her funerary complex. The decorative keel arches on panels, windows and stalactites and the beautifully decorated mihrab symbolizing the Shajar al-Durr's name indicate both the queen's elegant taste and her interest in continuity with the decorative modes of the past.

In the years following her death in 656/1258, Shajar al-Durr was widely reviled. She was regarded as a rebel, a female who ruled against the conservative doctrine of society. Those negative sentiments were expressed in the later reception of her mausoleum, for example, where the lower *naskh* frieze was painted over in black. Somehow, after this wave of hatred, the queen came to be loved again. The black paint was painted over in white copying the original inscriptions, and the mausoleum went through several layers of restoration. The emotional upturn could be due to the association of Shajarat al-Durr with *ahl al-bayt* and the *maḥmal* tradition. The legend of the *sultāna* was venerated by the society at large, reflecting the power of urban memory. Early phases of restoration are not documented; some of them are known just by passing referernces. An Abbasid Caliph built a mosque and attached it to her mausoleum as the door lintel indicates. Sheikh Marzūq al-Farāsh renovated the mosque and mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr in 1294/1877.²⁸⁸ It is assumed that prior individual initiatives were carried out occasionally to keep the mausoleum intact for as long as possible. It is not until the 14th/20th centuries that we have institutionalized documentation of how the restoration process took place.

The Comité archives are a historical treasure when studying the conservation work. At a first glance, they show how drastically different the Comité's conservation approach was

²⁸⁸ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:61. Sheikh Marzūq al-Farāsh was the brother of the man who was in charge of the mosque renovations in 1900. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 136.

from that generated by the waqf system. The waqf more or less perceives heritage from a religious and spiritual point of view, and somehow responds to the needs of the locals. The upkeep of monuments was a result of community development programs funded by revenues from different agricultural, industrial and commercial economic activities. On the other hand, the Comité sought to apply professional methods of conservation and to comply with international standards. What if the Comité had never come into existence? Would the mausoleum have survived? The absence of the Comité would probably have meant that the Awqaf institution would have retained responsibility for all religious monuments. Given the priorities of the Awqaf, monuments with a religious function would have survived, but secular buildings would most probably not have. While the Comité has been heavily criticized for its conservation approaches, its overall effectiveness as an institution should not be overlooked. Without its efforts, many of the listed monuments would have likely not made it to this day. The challenges faced by the Comité in dealing with other governmental bodies, institutions, local communities and individuals still persist. More or less, the fragmentation of the governmental bodies sharing the responsibility of monuments preservation remains in place.

The archival documents of the Comité indicate that several parties were involved in the restoration process. The Comité initially operated under the Ministry of Awqaf, by whom the budget was allocated, before being transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. The Tanzīm was another institution with which the Comité had to coordinate its restoration proposals. The Ministry of Public Works oversaw any proposals that dealt with sanitary infrastructure – for example the ablution proposal of the mosque of Shajarat al-Durr. In brief, the system can be described as a centralized project management system operating within a bureaucratic government. The Comité architects prepare the technical drawings after careful reviews, but final approval had to be granted from the internal technical department as

well as the deputy of the ministry. Next, the legal documents and building permits had to be finalized, a phase which was followed by the estimation of the proposed budget. The budget then had to be approved, and the contractor selected following the procedures of an open bid. The appointed contractor might then hire another local contractor – as in the case of Filippo Gazzo and ‘Ali Omar. Status reports had to be issued from time to time and formal correspondences had to be issued whenever the delivery time was delayed or damage occurred. This extended process might be interrupted due to shortage in budget or a missing legal document or even a petition from the *shaykh*.

The Athar Lina initiative taking place in recent years is a complete contradiction to the state’s leading role in the 14th/20th century. The initiative is designed in a participatory manner to raise awareness among al-Khalīfa neighborhood about the value of their surrounding heritage. The technical conservation of the mausoleum is just a small element in this initiative, and the nearby mosque space was adapted to the developmental activities proposed by the inhabitants. It is used as an office for Megawra NGO, a clinic for the public, a place to hold classes for children, and a site for awareness events. Innovative participatory skills were employed in order to educate children about historical characters, to give craftsmen a chance to improve their entrepreneurship expertise and to provide the local community with channels to vocalize their needs. The direct method by which the residents see the merits of preserving heritage is through revenues generated from local tourism. Periodic events and exhibitions are held in al-Khalīfa through which both the monuments and the commercial activities of the neighborhood receive national exposure.

Though the bureaucracy of the governmental institution has hindered the action plans of monument rescue in many instances, some of these same institutions facilitated the research and documentation of preserved monuments. Comparing the Comité to participatory initiatives may lack a certain parallelism, it can elucidate the benefits of a governmental

organization versus a community-based effort. The authoritative power of the state, the nationwide scope of monuments preservation, and the availability of resources stand out as the fundamental factors in favor of the government. On the other hand, the participatory designed conservation approach micro-analyzes the needs of the community, providing a more sustainable outcome. In other words, the monuments would survive as long as the society sees the necessity and benefits of heritage preservation.

Taking note of the different conservation methodologies practiced at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr, it becomes clear that conservation is a product of time and place. While the three main stages of the mausoleum conservation, namely the waqf maintenance, the Comité restorations and Athar Lina initiative share common heritage-related goals, they show significant methodological differences. The waqf system followed the guidelines of Islamic jurisprudence, though the practical manifestation of such laws was subject to the manipulations of the administration system. The upkeep of monuments was an inherited by-product of the perpetuity principle inherent in the waqf institution. Whatever the quality of the maintenance system was, the buildings remained fully integrated with the urban surrounding. The pious vision of the waqf is completely different that the operational methodology of the Comité. The Comité architects were following technical conservation standards of the scholarly traditions that shaped the vision of the organization. The single monument conservation theory inspired their architectural interventions. The Athar Lina initiative is somewhat different; it is applying the single conservation method though does not neglect the urban context. The initiative is signed off to abide international conservation standards –such as ICOMOS- and is restricted by ministerial supervision.

Another point of comparison is the sustainability of funding, visually graphed as a parabola. The finances of the waqf system were initially provided by the state, or in other words royal patrons and upper class elite, and were sustained by the closed-loop revenue-

generating model. In part, the corruption in the waqf administration led to the development of the Comité. In the early years of its operation, the Awqaf still maintained its independent budget while the Comité was running on the philanthropic donations of the royal family. With the independence of the Antiquities department came the conflict of interest with the *Awāqf* in restoring the Islamic architecture monuments. The effectiveness of the Antiquities department was determined by the state's annual budget, which was subject to the selective prioritization of the political agenda. Since conservation has dropped to the bottom of economic priorities in the current challenging socio-political conditions, funding conservation projects relies heavily on foreign donors and international agencies. The sustainability of funding could be on the upsurge, if modern trends of crowdfunding were utilized, allowing the national and international audience to decide the future of heritage independent of the governing system.

By analyzing the conservation history of the mausoleum, it becomes clear that the different conservation philosophies employed are directly linked to the political context of the state. The political and administrative situation has direct bearing on prioritizing conservation schemes. Heritage conservation was a personal project at the time of the khedive, a burden on the state after the 1952 revolution, and a public reclamation of rights after 25th of January revolution. Only time will tell the future of conservation initiatives in the current unpredictable political conditions. The sustainability of the financial model is reflected on the primary beneficiaries of the conservation intervention. The core beneficiary of the waqf and civic initiatives is the local community; categorized as the urban poor in the case of the waqf system and neighborhood inhabitants in the latter. On the other hand, the Comité targeted tourists and the society's elites, who had an eye for the city's architectural gems. The users profile' reflects the political themes of the time: from Islamic socialism, to elitist monarchy, then to global-nationalism.

A combined operational framework led by conservation professionals, called on for community members, and facilitated by the state would increase the efficiency of heritage preservation initiatives. That means the state is to relieve participatory conservation initiatives of urban upgrading tasks, giving the conservation professionals more autonomy to preserve monuments, and engaging inhabitants in the process. For that to occur, drastic governmental reform measures need to be employed. Yet, with the exponential drive of community conservation projects, co-operation between conservation professionals and government entities is bound to happen in upcoming years.

Putting this case study in perspective, it is one amongst a list of more than six hundred monuments that were identified by the Comité as worthy of heritage conservation. Its singularity has both benefits and drawbacks. The main advantage of focusing on one case study is the vertical progress of the presented research material. The analytical depth presented through the “vertical progress” was adopted in lieu of vast comparative examples, which would have undermined the multidisciplinary research methodology. The background literature combines history, architecture, conservation and public policy related to the biography of one building in order to make specific observations. However, specific observations cannot be generalized. For example, the technical difficulties of conserving the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr would not be the same in the case of another funerary complex, even if it were in an approximate location and built within a similar time frame.

This research endeavor has attempted to compile the conservation history of the mausoleum, but reconstructions of both the building complex and the waqf document remain speculative. A number of related areas worthy of further research and investigation in future work are hereby identified and include the following: empty land plots, conservation stakeholders’ analysis, preservation of the archives, and the conservation literature.

The empty land pockets next to monuments present a problematic issue with regards to conservation. The possibility that such lands would encourage encroachment on the monuments' buffer zone is a demotivating factor to conserve monuments in the first place. By 'encroachment' it is not meant the informal land use efforts but rather development projects preferred by both governmental organizations and the private sector. A proposed legal solution for the best land use of these plots is highly needed.

An analysis of the conservation stakeholders in the Egyptian context is yet another area worthy of further research. The fragmentation of the responsibilities of carrying out heritage work in Egypt is a complicated process that requires immediate reform. The institutions and organizations including the Ministry of State of Antiquities, the Ministry of Awqaf, the National Organization for Urban Harmony, the Cairo Governorate, the General Organization for Public Planning as well as the independent conservation consultants and professionals, the mandates of international organizations and the local communities associations all share the responsibility of heritage conservation. A matrix to mediate between the interests of those different groups is a first step for institutional reform and facilitation of Egyptian conservation experience.

The 'Abbāsiyya archives has proven to be a valuable resource in studying the history of the conservation work during the Comité era. It is in itself a historical reference that should be adequately preserved. An electronic database for those documents is highly recommended. 'Alā' al-Habashi, together with the American University in Cairo, provided a precedent when the Comité *Bulletins* were made easily available on the online website *Islamic Art Network*. The Dār al-Maḥfuzāt would benefit Islamic art and architecture scholarship beyond measure if it undertook such an initiative.

The literature discussing Islamic monuments rarely discusses the restoration work done except in passing paragraphs. The reason for bypassing the conservation history in

Islamic architecture books may be the technical nature of the conservation reports. There is a tendency in the field of Islamic Art and Architecture to sideline the recent past and contemporary changes to buildings in terms of conservation activities. The conservation practices should be more accessible to historians so that they might more effectively evaluate the authenticity of the surviving monuments.

This thesis argues that the different conservation stages a monument passes through are an indispensable reference for studying the monument in its present state. In spite of the sparse documentation from 7th/13th to 13th/19th century, the conservation practices carried out there can be postulated on the basis of historical literature and neighboring architectural examples. No better lesson is learned from the conservation initiatives at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr than that it is an ongoing process, and it is a much more dynamic practice than simple restoration of a monument. It is an overlapping, and often overwhelming, sequence of tasks, incorporating both academic and practical efforts. The channel of communication is multi-layered, and involves coordination between governmental institutions as well as individuals. To sum up, the survival of monuments is a collective responsibility of the society. The socio-cultural and economic indicators at each point in time are the factors determining the fate of heritage. Society decides whether monuments survive or deteriorate, and so far the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr is holding up amidst the complexities of the conservation field in Egypt.

5.2 Chronological Summary

The following table presents a chronological summary of the conservation efforts that took place at the complex of Shajarat al-Durr:

Date	Entity	Description
647/1250	Shajarat al-Durr	Commissioning of the mausoleum and complex construction which included a palace madrasa, <i>ḥammām</i> , and a large garden. ²⁸⁹ The <i>naẓir</i> of the waqf is vizier Baha' al-Dīn Ibn Ḥanna. ²⁹⁰
654/1257	Shajarat al-Durr	Shajarat al-Durr suffered a tragic death and her body was thrown in the Citadel ditch. ²⁹¹ She was buried three days later in her mausoleum. ²⁹²
994/1538-995/1539	Abbasid Caliph	The cenotaph of the Abbasid Caliph was added to the mausoleum hall. It was believed to be attributed to the seventeenth and last caliph who died in Egypt in 945-46/ 1538-39. ²⁹³ The anonymous cenotaph at the mausoleum was present up until the year 1249/ 1877, but disappeared later during restoration. ²⁹⁴
994/1538-995/1539	Abbasid Caliph	The Abbasid Caliph is said to have built <i>ḥammām</i> al-Khalifa. It was still in use by the time of 'Ali Mubārak for both men and women and it was financed by the waqf of Shajarat al-Durr. ²⁹⁵
1241/1826-1242/1827	Abbasid Caliph	The door at the northern corner stands as a witness to the 1290/1873 century mosque which was later demolished by the Comité. The date 1242 /1826-7 is carved on the lintel and refers to an Abbasid Caliph. ²⁹⁶

²⁸⁹ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:26; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 7.

²⁹⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 114.

²⁹¹ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 136.

²⁹² Ibid., 136; Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 6:67.

²⁹³ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 139.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 139.

²⁹⁵ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 6:67.

²⁹⁶ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 136.

1290/1873	Supervisor of the Waqf: Sayyid Sulīmān ‘Īssā	The mosque of al-Khalifa was restored by Sayyid Sulīmān ‘Īssā, the supervisor of the waqf for about a quarter of waqf’s budget. ²⁹⁷ The mosque is believed to have had marble columns, <i>minbar</i> , ablution court and a minaret. ²⁹⁸
1293/1877	Sheikh Marzūq al-Farāsh	Sheikh Marzūq al-Farāsh renovated the mosque and mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr in 1294/1877. ²⁹⁹
1319/1902	Comité: Technical Department	A house that was to be demolished in Darb Rāgiḥ on the northeastern side of the mosque which was seen as encroaching on the mausoleum- mosque complex. ³⁰⁰ A proposal to re-work the ablutions area was suggested by Herz bey for it has “contributed to a lot of damages caused to the tomb”. ³⁰¹
1320/1903	Comité; Public Works; Local Contractor: Mu‘allim ‘Ali Ibrahīm	Action was taken relatively quickly to fix the water leakage problem. In 1321/1903, a new set of drawings was issued, and the permit was granted from the Public Works institution to proceed with the proposal. ³⁰² However, the above-mentioned proposal was never realized.
1321/1904	Imam of the Mosque	The imam of the mosque wrote a petition complaining that the water supply for the mosque was cut for more than a year and a half. ³⁰³
1335/1917	Khedive Ḥusayn	In 1335/1917, a royal decree was presented by Khedive Ḥusayn expressing his willingness to finance the construction of the new mosque. A legal assessment to buy the housing property neighbouring to the mausoleum was issued. ³⁰⁴ The khedive died the same year.

²⁹⁷ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 5:32; Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 136.

²⁹⁸ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 5:32.

²⁹⁹ Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:61.

³⁰⁰ Archives.

³⁰¹ *Comité 1902*, f79. Appendix 2.1.

³⁰² Archives. Appendix 1.2.

³⁰³ Archives. Appendix 1.5.

³⁰⁴ Archives. Appendix 1.6-1.8.

1336/1918	Comité; Local Contractor	The Comité commenced the legal process to buy the land surrounding the mosque on which residential houses were found. ³⁰⁵ Upon compensating the house owners, a local contractor was hired to demolish the old mosque and some of the surrounding structures.
1337/1919	Comité: Technical Department; Professional Contractor: Filippo Garazzo; Local Contractor: ‘Alī Omar	In 1337/1919, actual work to build the new mosque was started accommodating for the Technical Department’s decision to create a buffer zone around the mausoleum. The main contractor supervising the rebuilding of the mosque and renovations at the mausoleum was Filippo Garazzo, a professional contractor who joined the Comité’s restoration team, and whose role was mainly managing another local contractor ‘Alī Omar. ³⁰⁶ Garazzo drafted more than ten versions of the bill of quantities.
1338/1920	Comité	The work at the mosque came to a stop in 1338/1920 because one of the house permits needed to be finalized. ³⁰⁷ The hectic legal process of verifying ownership of houses lasted for more than 20 years.
1342/1924	Comité	A complementary bill of quantities was issued in 1343/1924, suggesting a wooden roof for the mosque construction – the last remaining item which was never realized. ³⁰⁸
1345/1927	Comité	In 1346/1927, another phase of renovation work took place at the mausoleum. The scope of work included sculpting the exterior façade of the mausoleum and accentuating the grooves between stones of the fence surrounding the buffer zone. ³⁰⁹
1348/1930	Comité Architect: Verrucci	In the year 1349/ 1930, Verrucci, one of the Comité’s architects, proposed to renovate the exterior flat panels. ³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ Archives. Appendix 1.9.

³⁰⁶ Archives. Appendix 1.10-1.19.

³⁰⁷ Archives. Appendix 1.20.

³⁰⁸ Archives. Appendix 1.21.

³⁰⁹ Archives. Appendix 1.22-1.24.

³¹⁰ *Comité 1930-32*, 234

1349/1931-1368/1949	Comité; Awqaf; al-Ma'ārif; Tanzīm,	The exact reason that the mosque was never completed remains unclear. It continued to be a pending issue until the late 1359/1940s as documented by correspondences exchanged between the Awqaf, al-Ma'ārif, and Tanzīm, trying to locate the last set of technical drawings amongst them, and avoiding responsibility for the mosque construction. ³¹¹
1356/1938	Khalīfa Community	Meanwhile, the Khalīfa community petitioned for the need of a functioning mosque, but their calls were in vain. ³¹²
1374/1955	Comité	In 1375/1955 the buffer zone behind the mausoleum was illegally used as a carpentry storage space. ³¹³ This space was initially part of the 1321/1903 scheme of relocating the ablutions area of the old mosque. A massive fire erupted at the storage site and water during the firefighting attempt affected the mausoleum. The water though did not affect the interior of the mausoleum; restoration work was done to the boundary fence and exterior stone floor.
1380/1961	Department of Antiquities	The year 1381/1961 marks an important date in the history of the Comité – Antiquities Department. That year, it was formally dissolved and its responsibilities were in transition for a number of years.
1393/1974	Egyptian Antiquities Organization	The [Abbasid] cenotaph at the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr was reported missing. ³¹⁴
1401/1981	Egyptian Antiquities Organization	In the early 1400s/1980s, another theft incident was reported, this time reporting missing wooden inscriptions and marble pieces from the mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr. ³¹⁵

³¹¹ Archives. Appendix 1.25.

³¹² Archives. Appendix 1.26.

³¹³ Archives. Appendix 1.27, 1.28

³¹⁴ Archives. Appendix 1.33.

³¹⁵ Archives. Appendix 1.34.

1411/1991-1412/1992	Egyptian Antiquities Organization	The scope of work included excavating boreholes at the mausoleum ground in search of the entrance to the underground burial. Nothing was found and it was suggested that the burial had disintegrated due to the high ground water table. Their work included complete plastering of walls with cement mortar, and painting over the woodwork of the Fatimid frieze, as well as painting over interior decoration. ³¹⁶ The blocked north-eastern doorway for it was opened, and three wooden doors were manufactured for the mausoleum. The interior stone flooring was removed in order to add a layer of waterproofing, then the same old stones were re-installed. The same was done for the exterior courtyard but new stone tiles were fixed. The outside northeastern part of the dome was restored. The boundary fence was also rebuilt. Moreover, detailed conservation work was carried out to 'beautify' the mosaics: missing parts were added and the loose parts were fixed. Also, the faded drawings in the drum of the dome were traced according to the original and photo-documented.
1426/2006	Supreme Council of Antiquities	1991-1992 Conservation attempts continued.
1433/2012-1436/2015	Athar Lina; Megawra	The scope of work included conservation of interior and exterior plastering, repairing painted stucco, restoration of wooden inscription friezes fixing wooden doors and windows and repairing masonry walls. ³¹⁷ Removing the white wash on the interior – by using the UV photography technique – which was used at the drum of the dome, resulted in a marvelous discovery of two medallions at the northern corner. ³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Al-Ibrashy, *Shajar al-Durr Mausoleum Conservation Project-Interim Report*.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

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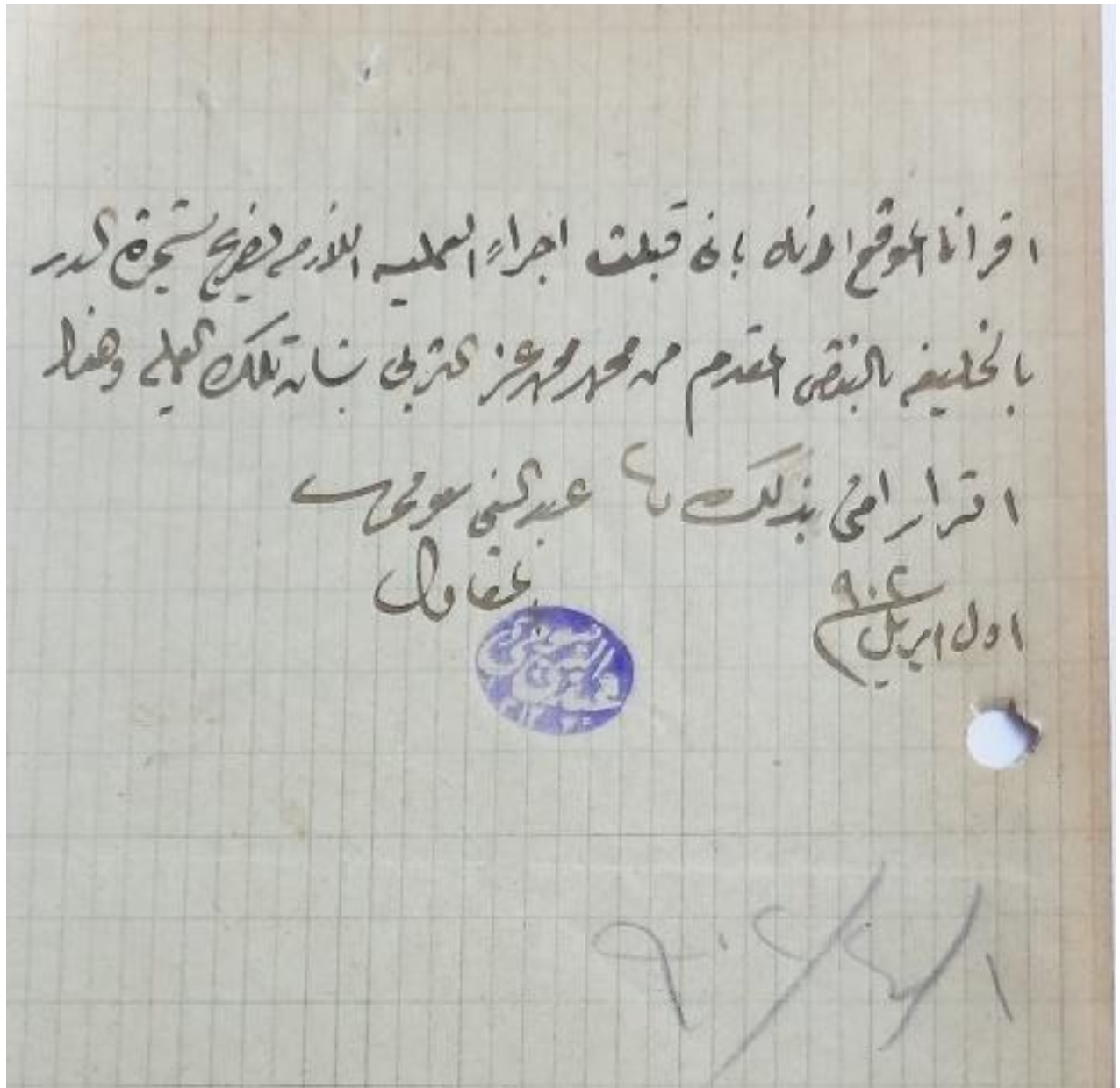
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Appendix 1: 'Abbāsiyya Archives



Appendix 1. 1: Local Contractor Abd al-Nabi is in Charge of the Preparatory Conservation Work in 1902.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مصلحة العمه العموميه

بخصوص اعمار رسم مسجد شيخ الدر

رقم الهندس

١٤٤

شطب جزء

١٤٤

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وذكرنا اننا سعادتكم مرفوقه ١٤٠٨ رقم ٤٤ رسم على صورته عند الهندس العمه العموميه
ادخلك مسجد شيخ الدر القائم بشارع الخلفه وصيت انه الكادى بعمدات الرسم الكادى وحفظت رسمه
الذي من مرسله سعادتكم فخره السلامه وقامت مرفوقه ترجمه العمل على وجهه افندوم



١٩٠٤

دائرة الهندسة
١٤٤

١٤٤

Bureau.
et consigner a l'architecte qui est chargé de donner le
détail.

١٠٠٠٠

١٨ يناير ١٩٠٤

افندوم سعادتكم عمه العموميه
مدير الهندس

١٦٤/٤/١٤

Appendix 1. 2: Permission from the Public Works to Commence on the Ablution Design Proposal.

دعوة حفظ الآثار
حفظنا إلا القليل من

إعلان

من لجنة حفظ الآثار لفتح العريضة

لجنة نقل آثاره طالع عشر آفكليه من صبح يوم الأربعاء ٧ أكتوبر الجاري عظام من فخار
 من عليه نصير روية مسجدة كدر باج الخلفه صبغ الحرج على مبلغ ٨٠ بالرياحلي
 فتح كل من يريد ان يخطب في هذا المقام انه يحضر يوم الجمعة ويطلع على الآثار المذكورة
 ايضا ويقدم عطاءه راضيا بظروف اسم سعاده رئيس اللجنة ويدر عموم الترخيص صاحبها
 يتايبه قدمه ثمانية جملات صريه وكل عطاء يقدم بعد وقت غروب الشمس اوله كونه صاحبها
 باقائه بغيره لا يقبل ويصلحه ان يخطب في وقت الغروب وبقية عطاءه كانه روية انه تشمل عنه
 السب اما عطاءه الذي يقدم باسم جملة يتخصص في حفظ فضله



1904

أكتوبر

1904/10

Appendix 1. 3: Open Bid Announced by the Comité in 1903.

بانه كورانه ارسبه بستن عمل در ۶ و ۷ ضمیمه سنج كور مفاولا جبا صلح

۶ كلف فراد مخرج ۹۰۴ ۷ كلف مخرج ۱۰۰
۱ سزوه و كلف مخرج ۱۰۰

۱ سزوه كلف مخرج ۱۰۰

۱ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰

۱ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰

۱ كلف مخرج ۱۰۰

۴ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰ ۲۲ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰

۳ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰

۳ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰

۱۹ كلف مخرج كورانه ۱۰۰

۶ / ۱۰۰

Appendix 1. 4: Preliminary Bill of Quantities 1903.

أوقاف عمومية ناظري سعاد تلو أقد حضورك

بعد هذا السعاد تلم محمد عيسى اباها وخطيب مسجد شجرة الدر وما اعرض عنه ان مسجدنا المذكور منفعة المياه
تقرى يامنى سنين ورضى وسبب ذلك العماره التي سبوا الامر باطلوا را الاثار ان القديمه التي استبدلتها
من اول شهر شعبان الماضى ولحد الآن لم تكمل مع ان وشى باب المسجد لم يكمل بناه لحد الآن ابنا والاذان
باب المسجد على الارض فكان هذا الحق بالعماره اولا للاذان عليه حيث ان ما عمر من الخفيات وغيرها لم يحصل
به استغناء لحد الآن لعدم وجود مياه وقد حصل لنا عابيه المشقه وقد من بصرى عندنا سيدك فارجو من سعاد تلم
الامر لمن يلزم بتكميل العماره مع بنا باب المسجد حتى تكمل قائمه الشعاره وكثيره وجود الصلبي لانهم ملجوا للقاصدين
لوجود الماء كانه محمدي
المذكور

Dr. Youssef
Rue Chaouar
Tripoli 24.3.04

٢٤ ربيع الثاني ١٣٢٤

تم تصحيحه في ١٤ ربيع الثاني ١٣٢٤
بمقام لجنة الأوقاف

عز قلوبك يا محمد بن لجنة الأوقاف العربية

عمارة دوة مياه مسجد شجرة الدر انتهت وكتب عنها المحضر اللازم . اما وجه باب المسجد فلم
يتم برأى لجنة الأوقاف وما اشتغلت به اللجنة قط . بنا عليه لزم تزقيمه لغرض تكتم للمعلومية
لجنة الأوقاف العربية

١٩٠٤
٩ يونيو

Handwritten signature

1903/7/9

Appendix 1. 5: Petition by the Local Imam in 1903 Complaining that Water Supply was Cut Off at the Mosque

مرسوم

بتزج ملكية أجزاء عقارات لازمة لتخليص قبة شجرة الدر الأثرية بشوارع الخليفة بقسم الخليفة بمدينة القاهرة

بمخبر سلطان مصر

بعد الاطلاع على قانون تزج الملكية للنفقة العمومية الصادرين بتاريخ ٢٤ ديسمبر سنة ١٩٠٦ و ٢٤ أبريل سنة ١٩٠٧ ؛

وبناء على ما عرضه علينا وزير الأشغال العمومية ، وموافقة رأي مجلس الوزراء ؛

رسمنا بما هو آت :

المادة الأولى

تتبع للنفقة العمومية بالطرق المعتادة وحسب القواعد المتبعة ملكية أجزاء عقارات لازمة لتخليص قبة شجرة الدر الأثرية بشوارع الخليفة بقسم الخليفة بمدينة القاهرة. وهذه الأجزاء مساحتها خمسون متراً مربعاً وستة ديسيمترات مربعة، وهي مبنية بالأرقام ١ و ٢ و ٣ وباللون الأصفر على الرسم الموضوع لهذا الغرض. وورادة بالكشفيين الملاحقين بمرسومنا هذا .

المادة الثانية

على وزير الأشغال العمومية والمالية تنفيذ مرسومنا هذا كل منهما فيما يخصه ما

مدر بالمت في ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٣٥ (أول يناير سنة ١٩١٧)

حسين كامل

بأمر الحضرة السلطانية
رئيس مجلس الوزراء
حسين رشدي

وزير الأشغال العمومية
اسماعيل سري

وزير المالية
يوسف وهبة

بيان الملك المفيدة أسماءهم في الملكية أو أسماء وأرض اليد على العقارات اللازم نزع ملكيتها لتخليص قبة شجرة الدر الأثرية بشارع السيدة بالقاهرة

رقم العقار على الرسم	المدينة	القسم	المحافظة	اسم وأرض صاحب الملك أو وأرض اليد	محل إقامته	تعيينه	ملاحظات
١	القاهرة	الحليفة	مصر	صاحب الأثره صالح احمد بك	منزل رقم ٢٧ بجارة السلطان الخنسي قبة السيدة	الحكومة الخليفة	وارد بالبريد منزل بواجهة بحرية متخلف ثمة ٩ عوايد باسم ورثة المرحوم جمعة راجح أرشدم الست خديجة
٢	"	"	"	ورثة محمد عبيد	منزل رقم ١١ بعانة الدهلين بداخل عطفة الخليفة بشارع الفر الطويل قسم الخليفة	"	وارد بالبريد منزل مركب من دورين وله ركوب على المنزل قبلة عمارة ٧ وهو مكلف باسم محمد افندي سليمان ثمة ٩ عوايد
٣	"	"	"	الست سكيته بنت برعى زوجة محمد شلى المبيض	منزل رقم ٩ بشارع الخليفة أمام مسجد السيدة رقية قسم الخليفة	"	وارد بالبريد منزل مركب من ثلاثة أدوار بالأرض ثمة ٩ عوايد باسم ورثة برعى اسماعيل المبيض

على الوجه المشروح أعلاه تحرر هذا الكشف بمعرفة ما في ٣٠ نوفمبر سنة ١٩١٦ (امضاء) نظرا ما في ٢ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٦ مدير أعمال تنظيم القاهرة (امضاء) مراقب تنظيم القاهرة (امضاء) يعتمد ما في ٤ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٦ محافظة مصر (ختم)

كشف موقعه في الفترة الأولى من المساحة الآتية من قانون بيع الملكة بأن القدرات الآتية مع ملكيتها لطولها مدة فترة المأجرة شارع الخليفة بالقاهرة

رقم الأرض	المدينة	القسم	القائما	مساحة الأرض		حسابات الملك	السطح	اسم صاحب الملك أو صاحب الجند بقطعة الكشوف السابق	ملاحظات
				متر مربع	دراهم				
١	القاهرة	الخليفة	مصر			جدة أرض فضاء حالي من الأرض جامع مسجود متحيز كائن بدارية راجع	٥٤	١٧	دارية بالمرد متفرقة واجبة بحرية تخلف مرة في عوليد باسم ورثة الرجوم خمسة (أشهر است حذقة)
٢						جدة أرض فضاء حالي من الأرض جامع مسجود متحيز كائن بدارية راجع	١٣	٩	دارية بالمرد متفرقة واجبة بحرية تخلف مرة في عوليد باسم ورثة الرجوم خمسة (أشهر است حذقة)
٣						جدة أرض فضاء حالي من الأرض جامع مسجود متحيز كائن بدارية راجع	٣٩	٢٣	دارية بالمرد متفرقة واجبة بحرية تخلف مرة في عوليد باسم ورثة الرجوم خمسة (أشهر است حذقة)
							٥٠	٦	

لحق الوثائق المسجلة منذ ١٢٠٠ ق.م.م. في تاريخ ١٩١٧

قطر ولذره محدودان مئرا مرعا وستة وانبساطات مربعة لا يبرعا على الوجه المرسوم أعلاه كغير هذا الكشوف بمعقود في ٣٠ في ١٠ و١٩١٦ (امضاء) بظرفا في ٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٦ صدر أعمال تنظيم القاهرة (امضاء) حرافد تنظيم القاهرة (امضاء) في ٤ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٦ محافظة مصر (ختم)

١٢ - ٢
مصلحة تنظيم مصر

٨٧

حضرة صاحب المعالي وزير الاوقاف ورئيس لجنة لاثار العربيه
الموضوع الجزآن المنزوه ملكيتهما لأخلاء قبه شجرة الدر الاثرية بالخليفة

باسم صالح بسك احمد وورثه محمد عيسد
رد نمرة ٤٢٧ لجته في ١٩ نوفمبر سنة ١٩١٦ ونمرة ٥٧٠ في ١٥
يناير سنة ١٩١٧

من ضمن الاجزاء المقتضى نزع ملكيتها لتخليه قبه شجرة الدر الاثرية بالخليفة بناء على العرسوم السلطان
الصادر في ٨ مارس سنة ١٩١٧ على حساب لجنة الاثار العربيه الجزآن رقم ١ ورقم ٢ باسم صالح
بك احمد وورثه محمد عيسد ومساحتها ٦٧ ر ٢٦ متر

هذا ان الجزآن لم يمكن الاتفاق حياً مع اصحابها على التمن ولذلك تعين خبير من قبل المحكمة الاهليه
لتتعيينها تنفيذاً لقانون نزع الملكيه فتمتبعها بمبلغ ٨٢٨ مليمه جنييه وقد رت له المحكمة اتعاباً ومصاريف
الخ مبلغ ٧٨٠ مليمه جنييه ٣

ولما كان التمن الذي وضعه الخبير حد القيمة والاتصاف المفدره له في محلها فلم تعارض المصلحة
فيهما . وعليه ذلك نرجو التكم بالامر بصرف المبلغين المذكورين وقدرهما ٦٠٨ مليمه جنييه الى قلم
حسابات مصلحة تنظيم مصر ليصرف منه اتعاب الخبير المذكور بعد اخذ المخالصة اللازمه منه كالعادة
على امر التقدير الصادر له من المحكمة وتسوية اذاع تمن الجزئين خزانه المحكمة الاهليه لأمكان
استصدار قرار بالاستيلاء عليهما عملاً بقانون نزع الملكيه انقدم مراقب تنظيم
٧ ابريل سنة ١٩١٧ حضر

مصر

١٠٢

Appendix 1. 9: Comité Buying Land Properties.

معلومات

(نمرة ٢٢٤) فروع

تخصه عطاء المواصفات للذمير عد علمية كبرية
مهندسين الدر مساو انخواج فيليو جارازو

وزارة
المواصلات
والبنية التحتية

مجلس الاعمال
البنية التحتية

٤٤٧	نمرة القيد
٤٤٦	البيكوبيا
	عدد المرفقات
	نمرة الدوسيه

صفحة محمد ادهي خانج وسويتا قارا الى الهندية

بناء على القرار نمرة ٦٦٠ الصادر من مجلس الادارة في ١١ فوجيد سنة ١٩١٨ قد
 ترخص في تاريخه أدناه الى المواجه فيليو جارازو المقاول باجراء أعمال العجبة بي
 اللازمة لمهندس الدر الكائن شارع خليفه بخصر ... في السليق من مفاات مقايستها
 الابتدائية التي مبلغها ٢٥٤٦ مليم جنبه مليم جنبه احتلطي كطائه وفي ميعاد ١١ فوجيد
 من تاريخ هذا كالشروط التي عقدت معه وأرسلت له صورتها مع صورة المقايسة للشروع في اجراء تلك الاعمال
 والسير فيها على موجبها وعلى مقتضى التعليقات والمواصفات التي تعطى له من هندسة اللجنة وهذا للعلمية بذلك
 واعطاء المقاول ما يلزم من التعليقات والمواصفات ما
 تحرير في ١١ فوجيد سنة ١٣٤٧ - ١٩١٨

باشمهندس الآثار
العربية

R. Patricolo

23-11-18

J. Garazzo

30-11-18

Appendix 1. 10: Filipo Garazzo Appointed as a main Contractor in 1918.

Chantier Chagaritte
Contract S. Mourou
Abdou marboum

عقد انفاق

ما بينه كل من الحاج فيليب حمار وزيد وكوسيه ب. ورمزيو المفاولة بمصر شارع سوف التوفيقية قريب اول وبيد المعلم
صيه محمد عبده المرخاماني العاطله بالخزفه الجديده بنوع رسم الخليفه قريب ثاني
على ما يأتي

اولاً قبل الفريضة الاول اعطنا مفاولة تشغيل السله العمده الرخام وعشب اليباب الكبير اللوزم لمسجد السنه فاطمة شجرت الدر
الفريضة الثاني بالشرحي والاسعار الاثني بيانك

ثانياً قبل الفريضة الثاني اقد مفاولة العمده وعشب اليباب الكبير المذكور بالبند الاول بالشرحي والاسعار الاثني اولاً ان
اجرت العامور من الاربعة العمده المنقضي تشغيله ووضع في صحفه المسجد بسمر المعامد الواحد ١٤٥ الف
رغشمايه وشمون غرضه صبح ثانياً العامور بسم المنقضي تشغيله ووضع امام قبله المسجد بسم ٨٠٠ ثانياً بانه فخره
صبح ويدخل عند ذلك الفواعد والشجان اللوزم للعماميد ثالثاً اجرت ضاعه العشب اللوزم لليباب الكبير بمبلغ وفخره
متمتاً به فخره صبح

ثالثاً فريضة الفريضة الثاني بان اجرت الشارسي كانته للعمده او اليباب من اصل المفاولة المذكور بالبند الثاني وان الشغل
يكون على حسب الرسم المطبق للفريضة الاول من رهنه اشارات واذا حصل تغير في الرسم فيكون بانفاق اخر
خلاف القيمة المنقطف عنك

فريضة الفريضة الثاني بانعام هذا العمل في مدة لوتزيد عنه التفتون يوم نخفي من تاريخه اربا
فريضة الفريضة الاول في نوع القيمة المنقطف عنك على اربع مدراي انه في كل عشر يوم نخفي من الشغل بدفع للفريضة
الثاني ربع القيمة ويكون بموجب ايصاله مرفع عنك من وعند تسليم العمده وعشب اليباب لمخض بالشمه من اثنان
الفريضة الاول ملزوم بدفع ما ينبغي من الحساب للفريضة الثاني حالاً

فريضة الفريضة الثاني بلا مظم فنيب المعواميد والعشب في حاله تكبيره كما انه اذا حصل جبر ارتفع في التشغيل فيكون
الفريضة الثاني ملزوم بدفع قيمة ما يثلف في الحال للفريضة الاول ويكون دفعه على وانع فوايز المشركه المدبوره طرفه
الفريضة الاول

فخرت هذه الشره من شحميه فخرت يد كل من المنفا فديده شمه للعمل بموحيه عند اللزوم واذا حصل نقاضي تكون
معلمه من المخططة المنقطف بالنظر في اقامة الدعوى والفصل فيل
في ابريل ١٩١٩



1919/5/5

Appendix 1. 11: Contract between Filipo and Local Contractor dated to 1919.

(١٩٢٨/٢٠٠٠)

وزارة الأوقاف

لجنة حفظ الآثار العربية

كشف قبة من الأعمال التي صار إجرائها بعمرة المسجد

(محل) قبة شريف

Appendix 1. 12: BOQ Submitted by Aly Omar in 1928. Page 01

ملاحظات	مقايير	مبالغ		بيان الاعمال	تقديرات
		بسة	جسالة		
		٩٨,٧٤	١٦,٧٨٤	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	
١	١٧٠	٩٨,٧٤	١٦,٧٨٤	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١
"	٢٧,٨٦	٥٤٤	١٦,٨٦٦	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	٤
"	١٧,٥١	٦٢٩	١١,١٢٤	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١-٤
"	٤٦,٩١	٨٩٠	٤١,٧٤٢	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١-٤
"	١٠,٤٨	٦,٧٥٥	١١,٦٠٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١-٤
"	٤,٦٥	٥,١٠٠	٤,٤٥٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	٧
طولي	٢,٠٠	٦,٠٠	٤,٤٠٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١
"	٤٤,٨٤	١,١٠	٤,٤٨٧	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	٩
ملاع	١٥,٨٠	٥٦	١,١٤٨	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٠
ملاع	٥,٥٥	١,٤٠	٤,٦٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٤
ملاع	٨,٤٤	١,٤٠	١٦,٥٠٨	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٤
كيلو جرام	١٧١,٦١	٥٤	٥٤,٠٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٤
ملاع	١٦,٤٤	٦٠	٩,٨٦	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٥
ملاع	٢١,٥٤	٦٠	٤,٤١٤	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٦
ملاع	٦٥,٧٩	٢٠	١٩,٦٤٧	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٧
كعب	٤,٠٠	١٤	٢٥٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٨
"	٥,١٤	٢,٧٠	١٤,٦٠	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	١٩
"	٤,٩٧	٤٠	٦,٠٨٩	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	٢٠
"	٦,٤٤	١,٨٤	٣,١٤٨	مقايير مشاة الاحكام	٢١
			٤٥١,٨١٦	اصول	
			٤٥١,٨١	اصول	
			٤٤٦,٦٤٥	اصول	

بسن

Appendix 1. 13: BOQ Submitted by Aly Omar in 1928. Page 02.

ملاحظات	مقادير	قبة	مبالغ		بيان الاعمال	كمية
			حسنة	جملة		
			٢٢٦,٦٥٠		مقبلة	
			٢٢٦,٦٥٠		مقبلة	
			١,٣٤٥٨		تسليم من المصلحة على الجاهل دفن اولاد بأفندي بعلب جبرما انة وقدره ١٠٤٤٥٠	
			١٤٤,١٧٧		مقبلة	
			١٤,٤١٧		تسليم من المصلحة على الجاهل دفن اولاد بأفندي بعلب جبرما انة وقدره ١٠٤٤٥٠	
			١,٩٩٦		مقبلة	
				١,٩٩٦		

هذا الكشف تمرد بمعرفةنا ببلوغ مائة وتسعة وستون مائة مائة

القاهرة في ١٨ يناير سنة ١٩٢٨ المقاول الملاحظ المهندس مدير الآثار العربية

صار مراجعة ذلك بمعرفةنا في سنة ١٩٢٨

Appendix 1. 14: BOQ Submitted by Aly Omar in 1928.

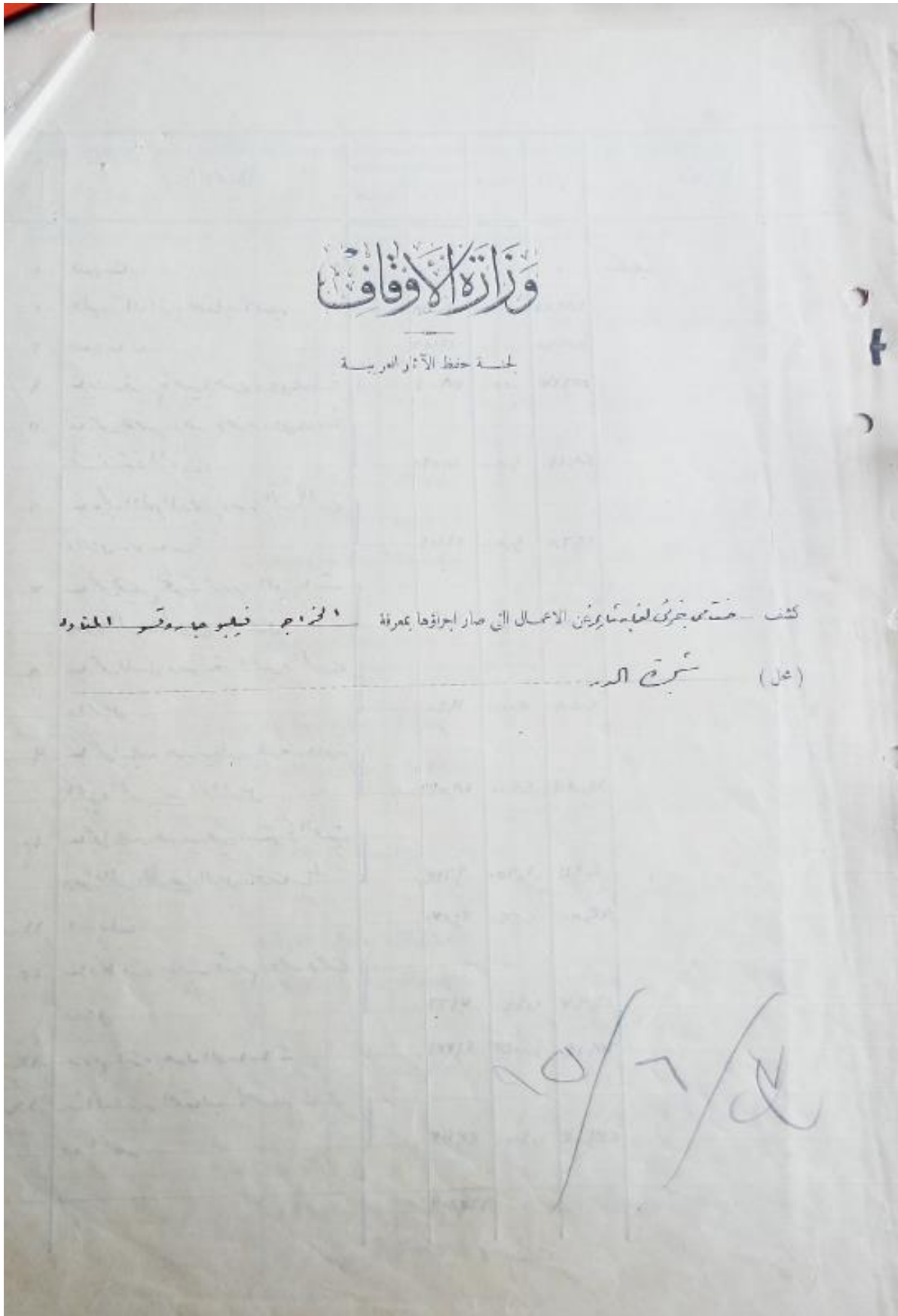
وزارة الأوقاف

لمسة حفظ الآثار العربية

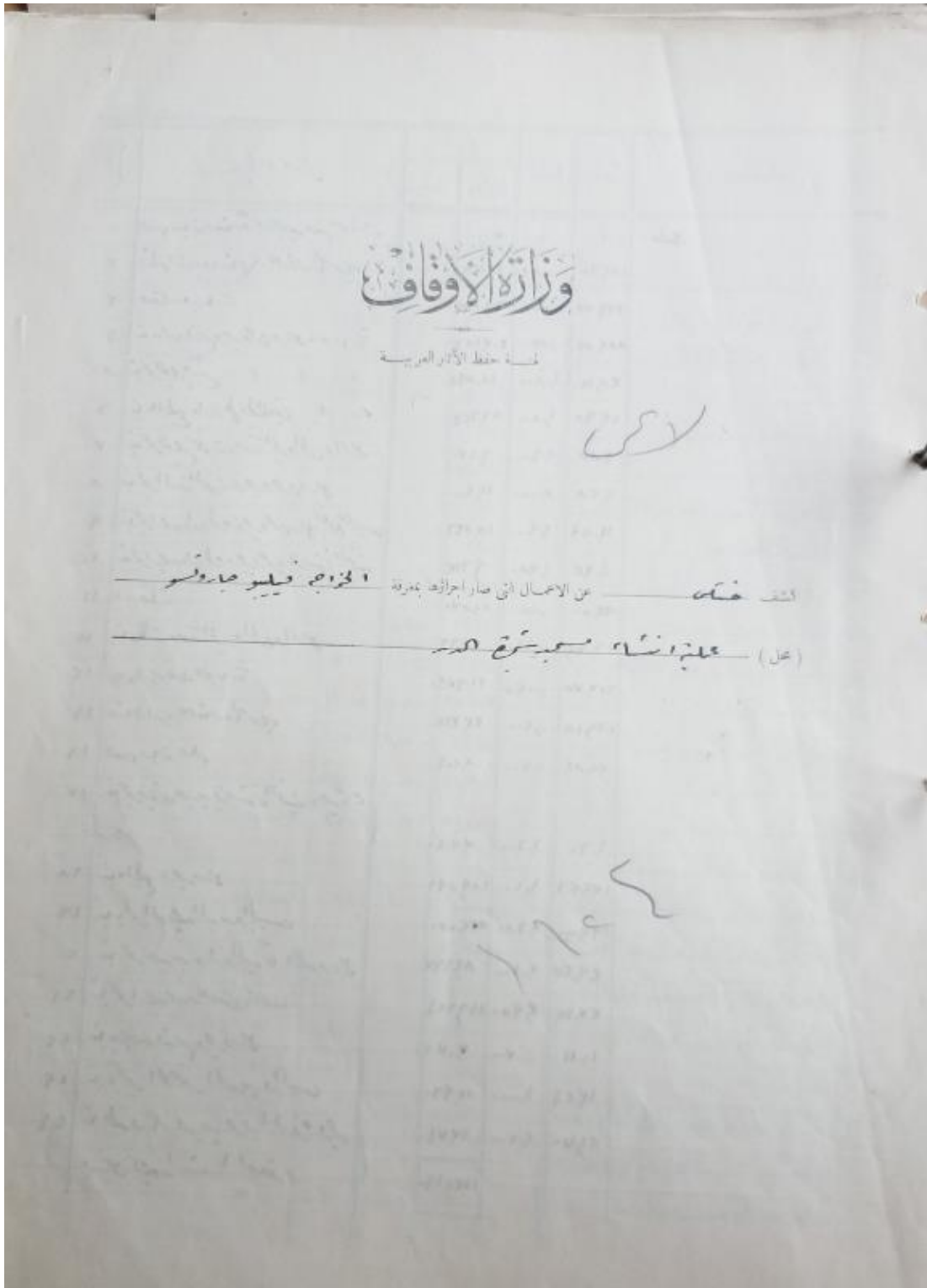
كشفت الرفعة لعاشرة عن الاعمال التي صار اجراءها بمعرفة الخرافة جارسة

(علن) عملة انشاء سيرة الـ

Appendix 1. 15: BOQ Filippo Garazzo (1923).



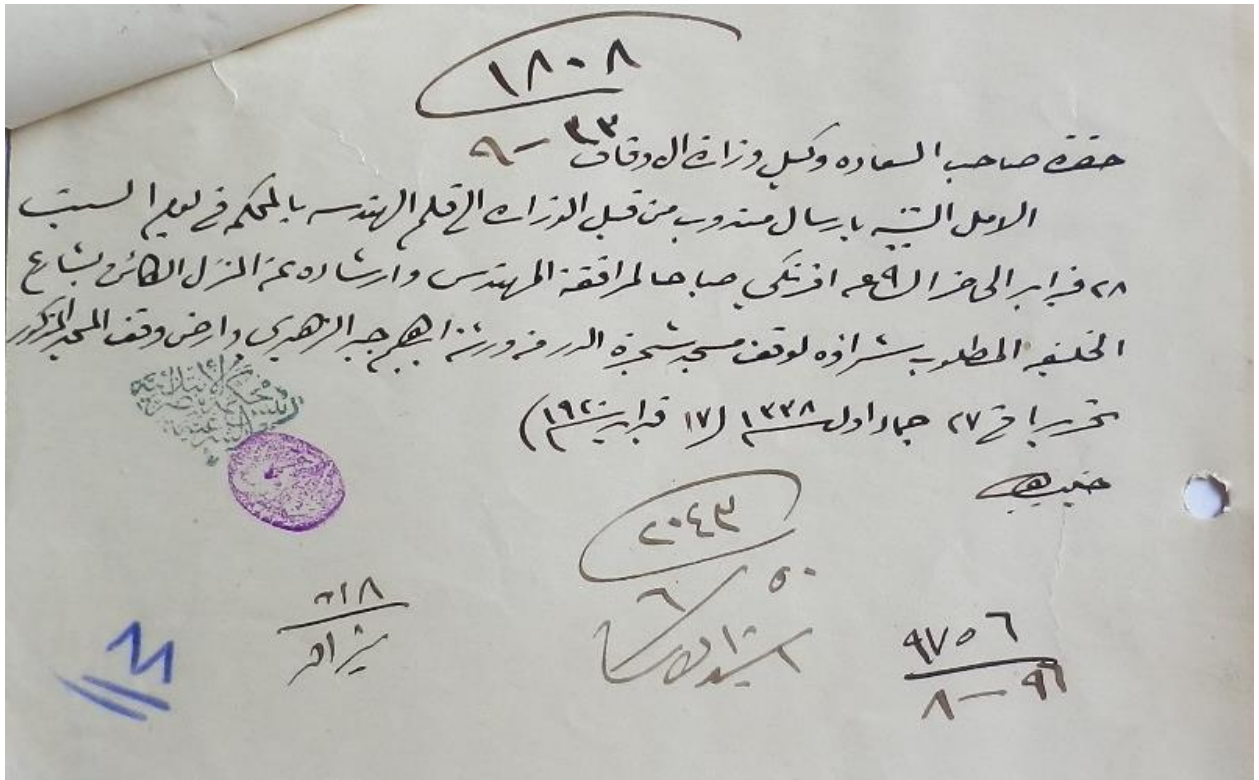
Appendix 1. 16: BOQ Filippo Garazzo (1923).



Appendix 1. 17: BOQ Filippo Garazzo (1924).

وزارة الأوقاف		
خطة - فقط الأثر العربية		
1	مبنى مسجد جامع	10000
2	مبنى مدرسة	15000
3	مبنى مكتبة	20000
4	مبنى دارالعلم	25000
5	مبنى دارالرحمة	30000
6	مبنى دارالهدى	35000
7	مبنى دارالهدى	40000
8	مبنى دارالهدى	45000
9	مبنى دارالهدى	50000
10	مبنى دارالهدى	55000
11	مبنى دارالهدى	60000
12	مبنى دارالهدى	65000
13	مبنى دارالهدى	70000
14	مبنى دارالهدى	75000
15	مبنى دارالهدى	80000
16	مبنى دارالهدى	85000
17	مبنى دارالهدى	90000
18	مبنى دارالهدى	95000
19	مبنى دارالهدى	100000
20	مبنى دارالهدى	105000
21	مبنى دارالهدى	110000
22	مبنى دارالهدى	115000
23	مبنى دارالهدى	120000
24	مبنى دارالهدى	125000
25	مبنى دارالهدى	130000
26	مبنى دارالهدى	135000
27	مبنى دارالهدى	140000
28	مبنى دارالهدى	145000
29	مبنى دارالهدى	150000
30	مبنى دارالهدى	155000
31	مبنى دارالهدى	160000
32	مبنى دارالهدى	165000
33	مبنى دارالهدى	170000
34	مبنى دارالهدى	175000
35	مبنى دارالهدى	180000
36	مبنى دارالهدى	185000
37	مبنى دارالهدى	190000
38	مبنى دارالهدى	195000
39	مبنى دارالهدى	200000
40	مبنى دارالهدى	205000
41	مبنى دارالهدى	210000
42	مبنى دارالهدى	215000
43	مبنى دارالهدى	220000
44	مبنى دارالهدى	225000
45	مبنى دارالهدى	230000
46	مبنى دارالهدى	235000
47	مبنى دارالهدى	240000
48	مبنى دارالهدى	245000
49	مبنى دارالهدى	250000
50	مبنى دارالهدى	255000
51	مبنى دارالهدى	260000
52	مبنى دارالهدى	265000
53	مبنى دارالهدى	270000
54	مبنى دارالهدى	275000
55	مبنى دارالهدى	280000
56	مبنى دارالهدى	285000
57	مبنى دارالهدى	290000
58	مبنى دارالهدى	295000
59	مبنى دارالهدى	300000
60	مبنى دارالهدى	305000
61	مبنى دارالهدى	310000
62	مبنى دارالهدى	315000
63	مبنى دارالهدى	320000
64	مبنى دارالهدى	325000
65	مبنى دارالهدى	330000
66	مبنى دارالهدى	335000
67	مبنى دارالهدى	340000
68	مبنى دارالهدى	345000
69	مبنى دارالهدى	350000
70	مبنى دارالهدى	355000
71	مبنى دارالهدى	360000
72	مبنى دارالهدى	365000
73	مبنى دارالهدى	370000
74	مبنى دارالهدى	375000
75	مبنى دارالهدى	380000
76	مبنى دارالهدى	385000
77	مبنى دارالهدى	390000
78	مبنى دارالهدى	395000
79	مبنى دارالهدى	400000
80	مبنى دارالهدى	405000
81	مبنى دارالهدى	410000
82	مبنى دارالهدى	415000
83	مبنى دارالهدى	420000
84	مبنى دارالهدى	425000
85	مبنى دارالهدى	430000
86	مبنى دارالهدى	435000
87	مبنى دارالهدى	440000
88	مبنى دارالهدى	445000
89	مبنى دارالهدى	450000
90	مبنى دارالهدى	455000
91	مبنى دارالهدى	460000
92	مبنى دارالهدى	465000
93	مبنى دارالهدى	470000
94	مبنى دارالهدى	475000
95	مبنى دارالهدى	480000
96	مبنى دارالهدى	485000
97	مبنى دارالهدى	490000
98	مبنى دارالهدى	495000
99	مبنى دارالهدى	500000
100	مبنى دارالهدى	505000

Appendix 1. 18: BOQ Filippo Garazzo (09-1924).



Appendix 1. 20: Document dated to 1920 showing that a Legal Documents of House Ownership is still Pertaining.

موقفنا من موقف

سنة في يوم الاثنين ١٤ اكتوبر ١٩٢٤
 الى السيد مدير مكتب
 اول - في الاموال والاجرة بالسيد والمختصة انما التي عند بالية من
 والشروط والمواصفات التي تمت لها في ١٢ اكتوبر ١٩٢٤
 تأييداً من المصارف التي في العمل من يوم ٢٠ اكتوبر ١٩١٨ وهدايا من المراجعة على اطار
 صبي بار في عهد عهد السيد القديم وجعلهم الحياكة الحياكة والكمالات
 الرواثة التي تم تزويجها وهدايا من الامارات وبارها من اوقف العمل
 في اول فبراير ١٩١٩ اوقف العمل لعدم تمام الاجراءات اللازمة لتزويج ملكية احد المنازل
 باليوم المبرم للسيد على درج اجمع في ٢٩ ابريل ١٩١٩ في قسم من اللجنة
 ٥٥٤
 انه بعد الاشارة بناء المختصه حول التي امره وانما يباين عن بعض المقام والشروط
 في اوقات والشروط الخاصة منقاد الجاهل وذلك لتجنب الاضرار التي تنجم من استمرار
 ايقاف العمل وأذنه للمدارك ١٥٢ مايو ١٩١٩ بالسيد وهذا هو السيد الذي تمده لانه
 اربعة شهر فانه المصارف لاني اول سبتمبر ١٩١٩ ثم اوقف العمل بعد ذلك
 في ١٥ اكتوبر ١٩١٩ واستمر في الاول من ١٩٢٠ حتى طلب من المصارف استمرار
 العمل في عهد مديره بيلوكة العمل القديم ان لا يهمل اسفار ولا في
 هذا الطلب يستمر وقتاً استغفار الاعين وصانعاً فقد قرر من ان يصار اليه
 في اربع اربعة اشهر واستمر المصارف في العمل لاني اول اكتوبر ١٩٢٠ ثم اوقف
 العمل انظاراً لظروف العمل لتمام اجراءات تزويج الملكة في عهد السيد القديم
 اغلقت السيد وموظفاته لاستعداد الاربعه الملهة لوانه السيد من
 واستمر العمل موقوفاً لاني اول اكتوبر ١٩٢٢ حتى لوفده انه انما تزويج الملكة قد تمت في اول

Appendix 1. 21: Status Report Written in 1924 showing that Wooden Roofing was suggested for the Mosque.

(١٩٢٧/١٢٠٠٠)

وزارة الأوقاف

لجنة حفظ الآثار العربية

كتب وتمتدول عن الاعمال التي صار اجراءها بمعرفة عمر
(محل) فهد بن محمد المر

Appendix 1. 22: Page 01 of the BOQ Submitted by 'Ali Omar in 1927.

رقم الفقرة	بيان الاعمال	مبالغ		مقايير	ملاحظات
		حسنة	جارية		
1	تظهير وقال انتم للمقالب المصوبه	٩٦٤٠٠	١٧٠	١٩٦٠	
٤	بناء بيتين قديمين وحيد وحسن ريو لاسان	٢١٥٢٥	١٧٠	١٩٦٠	
١-٤	بناء بيتين قديمين وحيد وحسن ريو لاسان	٤١١٥٩	١٧٠	١٩٦٠	
٤-٤	بناء بيتين قديمين وحيد وحسن ريو لاسان	٤١١٥٩	١٧٠	١٩٦٠	
٤	بناء دار الحجر السنوناسة ومونة الجير الحسن	٧٤٨١	١١٨	١٩٦٠	
١٧	الجير سنونو الجديد المنقوت	٩٠٥٥	١٦٧٥	١٩٦٠	
	ومونة الجير والحسن والرمل	٣١٧٥	٩٤٥	١٩٦٠	
١٨	نخبة ودرلان نلسنك	١٤٦٠٠	٤١٥٠	١٩٦٠	
١٤	ابوابه عربيه بسطه حنبله نلسن	١١٤٠٠	١٠٠	١٩٦٠	
	اصل	١١٦٠٦٦			
	يستبعد منه قدامه عطاء الحنا والاسرير	١١٦٠٦			
	برافق المايه ١٠٪				
	اصل	١٠٤٤٥١			
	يستبعد منه تا ميه حنبله برافق	١٠٤٤٥			
	المايه ١٠٪				
	٩٤٠١٤				
	٩٤٠١٤				

Appendix 1. 23: Page 02 of the BOQ Submitted by 'Ali Omar in 1927.

ملاحظات	متاخير	قيسة	مبالغ		بيان الاحتمال	تخمة
			جسلة	برتبة		
			٩٥	١٤		

هذا الكشف تحرر بمقرتنا
 القاهرة في ١٩٢٧ سنة
 الملاحظ المهندس مدير الآثار العربية

صار مراجعة ذلك بمقرتي في سنة ١٩٢٢
 صمدية محمد احمد علي

Appendix 1. 24: Page 03 of the BOQ Submitted by 'Ali Omar in 1927.

١٢٩-٢١

بشأن - مسجد شجر الدر

٢٠
١٤٠/٥١٥

حضرة صاحب العزة وكيل وزارة الأوقاف (قسم المساجد)
رد اعلى كتاب الوزارة المؤرخ ٢ مايو سنة ١٤٠ رقم ٧٢ بشأن مسجد
شجرة الدر نتشرف بالافادة بان هذا المسجد ليس مسجلا ضمن الآثار العربية
الجوارية لقبة شجرة الدر الاثرية فقد تحرر لقسم هندسة الأوقاف في
١٤٠ / ١ / ١٢٨ رقم ١١٣٣ (رد اعلى خطابه المؤرخ ١٢ / ٨ / ١٣٨ رقم
١٤٠) لتقوم وزارة الأوقاف بتحديد وتوسيع المسجد بعد ان تولت
سلطة التنظيم نزع ملكية بعض الأملاك الجاورة ومعه رسمان احدهما افق
من المسجد والآخر من الواجة والمقذنة . تم تحرر كذلك في ١٤٠ / ٨ / ٦
رقم ٢٨٦٥ الى قسم الأعيان والاستبدال بوزارة الأوقاف (رد اعلى خطابه
المؤرخ ٢٠ / ٣ / ١٤٠ رقم ١٠٠ / ٢٨ / ٩٥) ومعه رسم يبين حالة
المسجد والبيوت التي نزع ملكيتها حوله .

وقد توضح في الكتابين المذكورين كافة البيانات الخاصة بهذا الموضوع

وتفضلوا عزتكم بتقبل فائق الاحترام ..

وكيل المعارف

١٤٠ سنة

م د اود

١٢٩
١١

حزيران

Appendix 1. 25: Correspondence from al-M'aref to Awqaf Highlighting the Diversion of Taking Responsibility for Shajarat al-Durr Mosque.

بخصوص

عدد الأوراق المكتوبة ولم

صورت نصر العودال

عدد الصفحات

لسيد محمد الحليفة العياشي الشهير بمسيرة الورد ليعلم الخلفه خيرتكثرة
موقوفه عليه منه زمانه بعيد ولا تقام به السخا تراخوة بياقر المساجد بالرغم
من وفرة ريع وقف

وقيل بأنه من ١٩١٧ تم كملت لجنة برئاسة المرور بقول بلت قسم ورعاية فعلى
تخصيصه باشا للعل على تقيمه وأنه المرسوم السلطانه حينه أمر في وقت
تقيمه على حساب الخاص وبدأ العمل فعلا في تقيمه وقدم جزر كبيره
و حال دوره اتمامه وظافة المعادل المنول به العمل وارتف العمل من ١٩٢٨
من ١٩٢٨ تقدم بطلبه أهالي قسم الخلفه لزيارات الأوقاف لاتمام تقيمه
وأنه ما في ذري الأوقاف السالفة أهم بهذا الموضوع فعلا وتمت تقايبه
تكميله من ١٩٢٨/٩/٢١ بمبلغ ٦٥٠ وبعد أنه كاد البدر من العمل يعود
من جديد ارتف ثانيا مما اضطر أهالي الكريمة المهورد المسير من العور ١٩٢٩
الذي طار الزيات اتمامه كاهته لم اليه وانهم من ١٩١٧ من ١٩٢٩
وهم يسعون لتمامه

فما صحت الحقتة من هذه الوقائع؟ وهل ترى زيات الأوقاف من حالة
صحة هذه الوقائع؟ أنه الوقت قد آتاه لاتمامه وتعليقه أهالي الكريمة صفة آتاه
شعارهم الدينية فيه؟

١٩٢٨/٤/٢٨

طهه الاصل

٩٥/٥/٢٤

Appendix 1. 26: Petition by the Local Community Dated to 1940.

١١٤١
 ١٩٥٥/٨/٧
 السيد الخدم مدير الادارة الهندسية
 عناية تبة شجرة الدر والسور المحيط بل تقري
 أعمال التصدوع والتدعيم اللزوم والتي نتجت عنه تسرب
 مياه الطلاء الترابية الذي سبب مخزونه التدهور
 الواقع خلف حوضه العيب فوجدت انه المياه قد
 أثرت على كتف بئر تبة الحبيب البحر للعيب وصورتها للخراب
 وهذا اللتف يحتاج الى حرم وإصلاحه بناءه بالطوب ليهدد بتقديم
 كذلك أثرت المياه على الحبيب البحر للسور المحيط بالعيب
 فنصفت اللتامه من بئر تبة اجزاء من بئر واضفت مياه
 اجزاء اخرى من تسبب بالمياه مما يحتاج الى كلة المباد
 المنع من حرم وبناء الاجزاء التي نصفت من بئر وذلك
 في حدود مبلغ ١٠٠٠ ما كافي
 ٥٥/٨/٧
 در حيد ٣ ارضين
 ١٩٥٥/٨/١٥
 ١٩٥٥/٨/١٤

Appendix 1. 27: Report on the Fire Hazard that occurred in 1955.

كشف مقبول

مجموع المال المطلوب لبقية شجرة الدurr

١- كم صدم فضاء فوده على الدurr = $131 \times 0.120 = 15.720$

٢- كم بناء الطوب البدر للهدم = $1,100 \times 0.4 = 440$

٣- كم مال لهدم الهدم على الدurr = $101 \times 1.01 = 102.01$

٤- كم كلف ريسه 25. = $101 \times 0.95 = 95.95$

٥- كم نقل صدمات للمالك = $0.9 \times 0.001 = 0.0009$

٦- كم ميات نقل ريسه وطوب الدurr

١٠

1,000

٢١,١٥٥

٢,١١٥ / ١٠

٢٤,٢٧٠

٢١,٧٤٠

٢٦١ (منه عشرة من هجر)

Appendix 1. 28: Preliminary BOQ Showing the Scope of Work After the 1955 Fire Incident near the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr.

MÉMOIRE SUR LE TOMBEAU DE LA SULTANE CHAGARAT AD - DOSS

Le Tombeau de la Sultane Chagarat ad-Dorr, est intéressant édifice au point de vue de l'art musulman, ainsi que de l'histoire de l'Egypte, bâti vers l'année 846 de l'hégire, a été l'objet des soins du Comité depuis l'année 1899. En 1900 ce dernier avait proposé des recherches pour retracer les inscriptions d'époque fatimide, cachées sous des couches de peinture postérieures, de la frise existant sur les parois de l'intérieur de l'édifice; les bulletins annuels ne relatent pas l'étendue des recherches en question, ni les résultats obtenus. Les travaux exécutés en 1902 ne causèrent qu'une dépense de L.E. 160, tandis que dans l'année suivante 1903 d'autres travaux d'assainissement, consistant dans le remplacement du bassin d'ablutions par des robinets ne coûtèrent que L.E. 80. L'étendue limitée des travaux exécutés ne changèrent pas de beaucoup les conditions du monument, qui serré par trois côtés, sud est et nord, par des bâtiments (voir plan No.1) dont le sol était et est encore plus élevé que celui du dallage du tombeau, se trouvait exposé aux préjudices des infiltrations de l'humidité. Du côté est, d'autre part, le remplacement du bassin d'ablution n'avait résolu le problème de l'assainissement que très partiellement. Ce dernier aurait été presque nul sans un dégagement complet, réclamant des frais que les ressources du Comité n'avaient pas permis -

21
11
Cependant, dans les premiers jours du mois de novembre 1916 le cas se présenta qui devait provoquer une décision immédiate dans ce sens. Saisi par le sieur Saleh bey Ahmed de son intention de démolir et de reconstruire sa maison attenante à l'est du tombeau, le Service du Comité prit d'accord avec l'intéressé des mesures en vue de prévenir tout préjudice au monument. A la suite de ces dispositions une partie des décorations de la façade est de ce dernier fut mis à jour, permettant de supposer que d'autres détails pourraient encore se trouver cachés derrière une autre bâtisse limitrophe. Entre temps le Service entamait avec le sieur Saleh Bey des pourparlers pour l'acquisition d'une bande de terrain destinée à dégager et à isoler les ornements découverts. Cependant les démarches engagées s'étant

1917/11/16

Appendix 1. 29: Patricolo Report in 1917- Page 01.

heurtées contre des tergiversations et des prétentions exorbitantes, une demande fut adressée au Ministère des Travaux Publics pour l'expropriation de la bande de terrain tout le long du monument sur les côtés est et sud. (Voir plan No.2). La demande fût prise en considération, et un Décret portant la date du 1er. janvier année courante faisait droit au Comité. Ce Décret constitue un précédent d'une importance capitale pour la conservation des monuments qu'il vient de proclamer d'utilité publique.

D'après ce dernier le Comité dut inscrire parmi ses dépenses une somme de L.E. 400.-- pour faire face aux frais des expropriations en question et de quelques travaux accessoires nécessaires au moment même de la démolition des immeubles frappés par le tracé du plan No.2.

Toutefois cette dépense ne tranche qu'à demi la question principale susénoncée. L'assainissement du monument réclame aussi le déplacement définitif de la cour d'ablutions et le reculement vers le nord de la mosquée moderne, dans le but de compléter le façonnage en manière de permettre de descendre le niveau de tout le terrain, entourant des quatre côtés le monument, plus bas que le dallage de ce dernier. Ces travaux ne pourront s'accomplir qu'au moyen de la démolition et reconstruction complète de la mosquée et de ses annexes suivant le plan d'avant-projet ci-joint (Voir plan No.3).

Etant donné qu'il sera possible de remployer la plus grande partie des matériaux provenant des démolitions, il sera suffisant de prévoir une dépense de ce chef ne dépassant pas les L.E. 400.-- en dehors de L.E. 200.-- qui vraisemblablement représenteront les frais d'expropriation des immeubles qu'il faudra englober pour l'exécution du projet en question et qui sont compris entre la mosquée actuelle et la rue publique située au nord des dits immeubles.

En dernier lieu une autre somme d'environ L.E. 400.-- sera indispensable pour procéder aux travaux de mise en état du monument, ainsi qu'à la construction du chemin creux tout autour de ce dernier, avec mur de soutènement, grille en fer en bordure de la rue et escalier d'accès séparé.

Appendix 1. 30: Patricolo Report in 1917- Page 02.

Les travaux de mise en état comprendront :

1o. Sondages, nettoierents des murs et des frises en bois, et réparation des niches et ornements en plâtre.

2o. Rétablissement des anciens murs démolis ainsi que de l'entrée primitive.

3o. Mise en état des mosaïques de la niche de prière et des ornements en bois à l'intérieur, ainsi que des restes de décorations des façades.

4o. Boiseries de portes et fenêtres, grillages.

5o. Ouvrages de toute nature qui pourraient être jugés indispensables ultérieurement.

Le 3 mars 1917

A. Patricolo.

59

مطبخية الأتسار
 إدارة العامة للأثار الإسلامية والقبطية
 ملف رقم ١٥٠/٨
 السيد / مهندس عام تقدم بطلب القاء
 بحد التربة . تتوي باقادة ساداتكم بأن مدفن نجرة الدررم (١٦٦) شارع
 السيدة نفيسة قد تراكم بجزائرها بمدفن الأثرية ناتجة من القاء الأهالي مخلفاتهم بمدفنه
 سنوات لذلك نرجو العما على إزالة مدفنه الأثرية - رسا على مد مر هذا المدفن وصيانة
 له .
 وتدعوا ساداتكم تبيوا دامت الاحترام
 المهندس
 بال كرس
 ٥٩/١٤٥٥
 ١١٥١/١٩/٥١
 رخصت

Appendix 1. 32: Document Recording that the Mausoleum was a Garbage Collection Point (1959).

وزارة الثقافة
 هيئة الآثار المصرية
 متحف الفن الاسلامي
 رقم: ٥/١١-٧
 السيد / مدير عام مصلحة الآثار
 تحية طيبة وبعد :
 فإيساء الى ما أشرتتم به سيادتكم على طلب نيابة الخليفة بنداب أحد الانصاء لتقدير
 قيمة تابوت مدفون شجرة الدر حتى تتمكن النيابة من التصرف في القضية رقم $\frac{1671}{258}$
 ع. ج الخليفة
 أتصرف بلافاضة أن المتحف قام بالاتصال بالسيد / عبد الرؤوف حلي رئيس أقسام
 التصوير الاملاص بمصلحة الآثار لموافاته بصور التابوت المذكور اذا كانت لديه ، وفعلأرسل
 سيادته الى المتحف عددا من الصور لم يجد المتحف صورا لهذا التابوت من بينها .
 كما انتقلت شخصا ومعى السيد / سليمان أحمد سليمان أمين أول المتحف صباح أسس ٥/٢٧
 الى مكان المدفن ولكننا لم نتمكن من دخوله لانه مغلق ولم نجد حارسا له
 كما لم نجد قاعدة للتبوت لمعرفة مقاساته .
 ولما كان هذا التابوت قد سرق وغير موجود ولا توجد صور له نيتعذر تقدير قيمة له
 ويمكن الرجوع في هذا الشأن الى الادارة العامة لتفتيش الآثار الاسلامية والقبطية المختصة بالمعاشر
 وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام
 مدير عام متحف الفن الاسلامي
 روفية عزبي
 ٢٨ / ٥ / ٧٤

مصلحة الآثار
٥/٢٠
الرقم
١٢٦٤١
الرفقات
الترتيب

١١٧
 ١٢/٤
 السيد مدير عام الهيئة العامة للآثار المصرية
 معرفانه عن اعطائه رقم ٥/١١-٧
 ١٩٧٤
 الاستاذة رتيبة احمد
 ١١/٧/٧٤

Appendix 1. 33: Report of Missing Cenetoph dated to 1974.

هيئة الآثار المصرية
قطاع الآثار الإسلامية والقبطة
المراقبة العامة للتقارير والحسابات

عجا جلد جدا

٨ - ١٥٠٠ / ١٦٩

السيد / مراقب عام جنوب القاهرة
تحية طيبة وبمسرة

أخطرتنا وحدثت مباحث الآثار بآونة وقوع تعدى على مدفون مسجدة
الدر و سرقت بعض القطع الأثرية الرخامية والخشبية والكتابات من
داخل المدفن ..

رجاء موافقتنا بتقرير عاجل اليوم عن هذا التعدى والأجراءات
التي اتخذها التفتيش وكيفية دخول التعدى الى داخل القبنة

و نفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام

المراقب العام

٨١/٤/٩

سيدة الزميل
٨١/٤/٩

Appendix 1. 34: Theft Incident Reporting Missing Marble Pieces and Wooden Inscriptions in 1981.

١٦
٨ - (٦٩)
هيئة الآثار المصرية
الإدارة العامة
للآثار الأثرية والقبائلية

السيد الأستاذ / سكرتير تحرير جريدة الاهرام
تحية طيبة بجمعك ...

ارجو التكرم بموافقتنا بسوره فتوغرافيه لتأبوت مدن شجرة الدر والموجود بارشيه بالجريده والذ يسبق
نشره بمناسبة الفيه القايره لضرورة احتياج الهيئة اليه .
وتفضلوا بقبول وافر الاحترام

الدير العام
زاور
تحريرا في ٢٨/٨/١٩٧٤
زهير

Appendix 1. 35: Document Dated to 1974 Showing Issued from the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

تقرير عمال الترميم التي تمت بقية تجديده (179)
 في الفترة من 1990-1991 م. 1410/1990

- تم عمل الترميمات تحت إشراف قطاع الترميم بالآثار الإسلامية.
- أتمت الشركة القائمة بالأعمال شركة العامل للمقاولات.
- أتم العمل على أعمال الترميم 14 ممدوح عودة (قطاع الطرقات بالآثار الإسلامية).
- الترميم بالمعادن - تم العمل بالتزيم المقارن من 1990-1991 م وذلك بعد ما أتم العمل 14 مديراً الدراسات الأثرية والميدان 14 سيرام الترميم الأثرى لتصور لجنة عمل الترميم من 1990/10/10 م تم نصب التماثيل.
- تم عمل جدران القبو خلف حرم منزل المدفون ولم يتم العثور على شيء ويرجع أم لقبه قد سقط عند مدة ورم بسبب المياه الجوفية. توقف العمل 1990-1991 م.
- إزالة طينته البياض من الأفرز اطهر الشافى وعمل طينته بياض جديدة.
- فتح باب بالواجهة الشمالية الشرقية للضريح حيث أنه كان مسدود ببقشوم.
- إزالة الأفرز الحجرية وتم عمل طينته عازلة تم إعادة هذه الأفرز مرة أخرى.
- إزالة طينته البياض من الخارج وعمل طينته جديدة.
- ترميم الركن الشمالي الشرقي للقبو من الخارج.
- عمل سور جديد من الحجر ويحيطه سور من الحديد.
- إزالة الأفرز والميطة بالضريح من الجهتين الجنوبية والشمالية وعمل تركيب أفرز جديد.
- إزالة المبرم الحجري خارج الضريح ووضع طينته عازلة ثم تركيب المبرم جديد.
- تم عمل بئر مياه جديدة للضريح - تم الانتهاء من ترميم المعمار من 1991/10/19 م.

- 1- تقوية وتنظيف الأجزاء بالقبو.
 - 2- استكمال الأجزاء المحفورة بطاقيّة الحجاب وتقوية الأجزاء البعيدة.
 - 3- استكمال بعض الأجزاء الضيقة بالشرفة المحيطة بالأبواب الثلاث للقبو.
 - 4- إعادة الرسومات المطروحة بالمقرنات من رتبة القبو (2 و3 و4) وتوثيقه.
- تاريخه 1990/1410 م تم عمل بعض استلام القبو.

Appendix 1. 36: 1992 Supreme Council of Antiquities Report on Conservation Activities carried out at the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr.

Appendix 2: Comité *Bulletins*

— 79 —

La Section technique trouve que la maison en question renferme une jolie salle (ka'a) de l'époque de la mosquée et qu'il y aurait tout intérêt à conserver. Elle a visité en même temps à côté de la dite maison un abreuvoir qui est aussi de la même époque et qui a été transformé en boutiques. Elle demande à l'Administration générale des Wakfs de l'évacuer provisoirement pour permettre au Comité sa réparation, après quoi il pourrait être utilisé comme auparavant.

C. TOMBEAU DE CHAGARAT EL-DORR.

La troisième visite a été pour le tombeau de Chagarat el-Dorr où par suite des derniers déblaiements on a amené le sol à son niveau primitif.

Au ras du sol au-dessous du mihrâb on a découvert des mosaïques en marbre dont une partie est d'un travail excessivement fin.

La Section technique propose de faire construire un escalier extérieur conduisant de la mosquée au tombeau et de remplacer le bassin d'ablutions actuel par des robinets, car sa présence a beaucoup contribué aux dommages dont a été atteint le tombeau. Du plan présenté par M. Herz bey, il ressort que ce changement pourra être fait l'année prochaine, indépendamment des travaux actuels. En attendant la cour d'ablutions sera fermée.

D. TOMBEAU DE SAYEDA ATIKA.

M. l'Architecte en chef a fait enlever l'épais crépi qui couvrait les ornements et les anciennes inscriptions coufiques des parois intérieures de la salle du tombeau. Il se propose de présenter sous peu un projet complet des travaux à exécuter dans le groupe de monuments dont ce tombeau fait partie.

E. MOSQUÉE KHOCHKADAM EL-AHMADI.

Sur l'avis de M. Herz bey, la Section technique a visité cette mosquée et elle a appris à ce propos avec regret que l'Administration générale des Wakfs a vendu un terrain touchant le côté ouest de la mosquée, ce qui empêchera la réouverture des fenêtres dont on voit des traces.

Elle a aussi profité de l'occasion pour examiner les deux bassins, dont un rempli d'eau, situés au nord de la mosquée, assez loin cependant pour que des infiltrations soient à craindre. La mosquée a besoin de travaux. — M. Herz bey se propose d'élaborer les études nécessaires.

ainsi que de l'entrée. Puis, dans sa réunion du 6/7/1932 (R. 665), elle charge le Service du Comité d'établir un plan complet de tout l'immeuble et de désigner la partie à sauvegarder, pour assurer la conservation des deux façades et de l'entrée, et permettre ainsi au Ministère d'aliéner le reste de la maison.

Or, il a été constaté que le classement des façades et entrée en question empêcheront l'utilisation du restant de la superficie de la maison, vu que celle-ci n'a pas d'autre façade ou issue.

Après délibération, il est décidé, à regret, de se limiter au classement de la façade ouest, sous réserve que le Ministère des Wakfs, au moment de l'échange, impose comme condition aux acheteurs des lots donnant sur la rue Cheykhoun, de soumettre leurs projets de façades à l'approbation du Comité, afin qu'elles soient en harmonie avec le sabil. D'autre part, le Bureau devra prendre des photographies des parties intéressantes de la maison, avant sa démolition.

b) Mosquée de Chagarat ad-Dorr.

La modification de l'alignement du Tanzim à Darb Râghih, empiètera sur une superficie de 16m.,965 d'un terrain vague appartenant au Comité, et annexé à la mosquée de Chagarat ad-Dorr. Cette superficie sera remplacée par une autre de 43m²,510 appartenant au sieur Abdou Moustapha Gabr. La différence a été évaluée à L.E. 21,236, à raison de L.E. 0,900 le m².

Le Tanzim demande au Comité de vouloir bien verser la dite somme, pour lui permettre de poursuivre les formalités relatives à l'expropriation.

Il est décidé de donner suite à la demande du Tanzim, en lui versant la somme de L.E. 21,236 pour le dégagement de la mosquée.

Est approuvée aussi la proposition de M. E. Verrucci Bey tendant à la conservation des décorations subsistantes, qui re-

— 235 —

hausent les niches méplates de la coupole, et la restauration de celles disparues si possible.

c) Mosquée de 'Amr Ibn al-'As.

M. Sayed Metoualli Bey fait examiner par la Section Technique les fondations mises au jour dans le sabil de la mosquée, avant de les remblayer, pour permettre la célébration de la cérémonie du dernier vendredi de Ramadân.

Les Membres présents témoignent leur intérêt pour ces fouilles, qui renseignent sur le plan de la mosquée, à un stade de son histoire.

Sur la proposition de M. Verrucci Bey, il est demandé que le Bureau des Monuments complète le plan détaillé de ces fondations, en indiquant leur situation et épaisseur, avant de les remblayer, et de le soumettre à la Section Technique dans une de ses prochaines réunions.

Les Membres présents examinent aussi une ancienne fenêtre découverte à l'extrémité nord de la façade ouest, à la base du minaret récent, et manifestent leur intérêt pour les décorations anciennes mises au jour.

Sir Robert Greg signale d'autre part, sur le mur qui aboutit à cette fenêtre, les traces d'une autre fenêtre ancienne qu'on pourrait dégager, dans l'espoir de découvrir d'autres bois anciens semblables aux premiers.

La Section Technique examine enfin les anciennes ouvertures de fenêtres qui ont été rétablies dans le riwâq sud et se montrent satisfaits de ces travaux.

d) Tour sud-ouest de la forteresse romaine de Qasr ash-Sham'.

S.E. Simaika Pacha rend compte que, dans sa réunion du 26 février 1923 (R. 583), la Section Technique avait décidé, en vue de dégager la tour sud-ouest de la forteresse romaine de

Appendix 3: Statement of the Danish Institute in Egypt

Culture as a means of participation

Egypt's new political context has produced a vivid cultural field of identity and expression. There is a relative freedom of cultural expression. The revolution has initiated street art as an open space for expression that rapidly has gained popularity as a tool of expressions on social and political change.

These developments in Egypt are followed with considerable interest in Denmark, including by artists involved in art in the public space in a Danish context and more broadly by members of the public. 'Culture as a means of participation' is thus a strategic area with great potential for dialogue between Egyptian and Danish partners, particularly when including art forms with a broad audience and participatory dimension. As a case in point, this was demonstrated by DEDI's project 'Arts & Culture in public space: Copenhagen workshop' where Egyptian and Danish street artists and urban planners worked together in 2013. Similarly, DEDI's 'Athar-lina project' reclaims monuments of Islamic Cairo through participation of its residents and cultural heritage stakeholders in a series of workshops and debates.

DEDI will continue some of its ongoing activities under this priority area, including 'Art & Culture in Public Spaces' organised jointly with the Danish Agency for Culture, and the Danish Centre for Culture and Development (DCCD). New activities will be identified according to the 'Principles of engagement' in section 5 below. Building on lessons learned, a three to four day thematic event will be held once during the three-year strategy period. As an example, an event on 'Women artists in contemporary culture' would render close collaboration relevant with CKU as well as KVINFO.

Appendix 3. 1: Statement of the Danish Institute. Image Source: dedi.org.eg

Appendix 4: ICOMOS 2008

THE ICOMOS CHARTER ON CULTURAL ROUTES	CHARTRE ICOMOS DES ITINÉRAIRES CULTURELS
<p>Prepared by the International Scientific Committee on Cultural Routes (CIIC) of ICOMOS</p> <p>Ratified by the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS, Québec (Canada), on 4 October 2008</p>	<p>Elaboré par le Comité scientifique international des itinéraires culturels (CIIC) de ICOMOS</p> <p>Ratifiée par la 16^e Assemblée Générale de ICOMOS, Québec (Canada), le 4 octobre 2008</p>
<p>Preamble</p> <p>As a result of the development of the sciences of conservation of cultural heritage, the new concept of Cultural Routes shows the evolution of ideas with respect to the vision of cultural properties, as well as the growing importance of values related to their setting and territorial scale, and reveals the macrostructure of heritage on different levels. This concept introduces a model for a new ethics of conservation that considers these values as a common heritage that goes beyond national borders, and which requires joint efforts. By respecting the intrinsic value of each individual element, the Cultural Route recognizes and emphasizes the value of all of its elements as substantive parts of a whole. It also helps to illustrate the contemporary social conception of cultural heritage values as a resource for sustainable social and economic development.</p> <p>This more extensive notion of cultural heritage requires new approaches to its treatment within a much wider context in order to describe and protect its significant relationships directly associated with its natural, cultural and historical setting. Within this advance, the concept of the Cultural Route is innovative, complex and multidimensional. It introduces and represents a qualitatively new approach to the theory and practice of conservation of the cultural heritage.</p> <p>Cultural Routes represent interactive, dynamic, and evolving processes of human intercultural links that reflect the rich diversity of the contributions of different peoples to cultural heritage.</p> <p>Though Cultural Routes have resulted historically from both peaceful and hostile encounters, they present a number of shared dimensions which transcend their original functions, offering an exceptional setting for a culture of peace based on the ties of shared history as well as the tolerance, respect, and appreciation for cultural diversity that characterize the communities involved.</p> <p>The consideration of Cultural Routes as a new concept or category does not conflict nor overlap with other categories or types of cultural properties—monuments, cities, cultural landscapes, industrial heritage, etc.—that may exist within the orbit of a given Cultural Route. It simply includes them within a joint system which enhances their significance.</p>	<p>Préambule</p> <p>Comme résultat du développement des sciences reliées à la conservation du Patrimoine Culturel la nouvelle catégorie patrimoniale représentée par les Itinéraires Culturels rend compte de l'évolution des idées concernant le concept du patrimoine culturel, du rôle croissant des valeurs attribuées à son milieu et à sa signification à l'échelle territoriale et révèle sa macrostructure à des niveaux différents. Cette catégorie lance le modèle d'une nouvelle morale de conservation qui envisage les valeurs culturelles comme un patrimoine commun, ouvert, au-delà des frontières et exigeant des efforts unifiés. En respectant la valeur inhérente à chacun de ses éléments, l'itinéraire Culturel enrichit le message spirituel du passé de tous ceux qui le composent comme des pièces appartenant à un ensemble qui renforce leur sens. Il illustre également la conception contemporaine des valeurs du patrimoine pour la société en tant que ressource d'un développement social et économique durable.</p> <p>Cette notion élargie du patrimoine suggère aussi de nouvelles approches de traitement à l'intérieur d'un contexte beaucoup plus ample afin d'expliquer et de sauvegarder les relations significatives directement associées à son milieu culturel et historique, ainsi qu'à son environnement naturel ou créé par l'homme. Dans ce contexte, le concept d'itinéraire Culturel est innovateur, complexe et multidimensionnel. Il introduit et représente un apport qualitatif à la notion du patrimoine et à sa conservation.</p> <p>Les Itinéraires Culturels représentent des processus évolutifs, interactifs et dynamiques des relations humaines interculturelles détachant la riche diversité des apports des différents peuples au patrimoine culturel.</p> <p>Bien qu'ils soient le résultat de confrontations historiques ou de rencontres pacifiques entre des peuples, aujourd'hui les Itinéraires Culturels présentent une pluralité de dimensions partagées qui au-delà de leur fonction primitive, offrent un cadre privilégié pour construire une culture de paix inspirée non seulement dans les liens communs, mais aussi dans l'esprit de tolérance, le respect et l'estime de la diversité culturelle des différents communautés humaines qui ont contribué à leur existence.</p> <p>La considération des Itinéraires Culturels comme nouvelle catégorie patrimoniale s'harmonise avec les autres catégories consacrées et reconnues. Elle les reconnaît et les met en valeur, en enrichissant leur signification dans un cadre intégrateur, multidisciplinaire et partagé. Elle ne se confond pas non plus avec d'autres catégories et types de</p>

Appendix 4. 1: ICOMOS 2008 Preamble- Cultural Route Concept.



قبة ومدرسة السلطان الصالح أيوب
مسبيل وكتاب خسروه بانسا

Plate 1: Mausoleum of al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn.
Image Source: Comité *Bulletins* 1902.



Plate 2: Coins of Shajarat al-Durr at the British Museum Collection.
Image Source: Google.

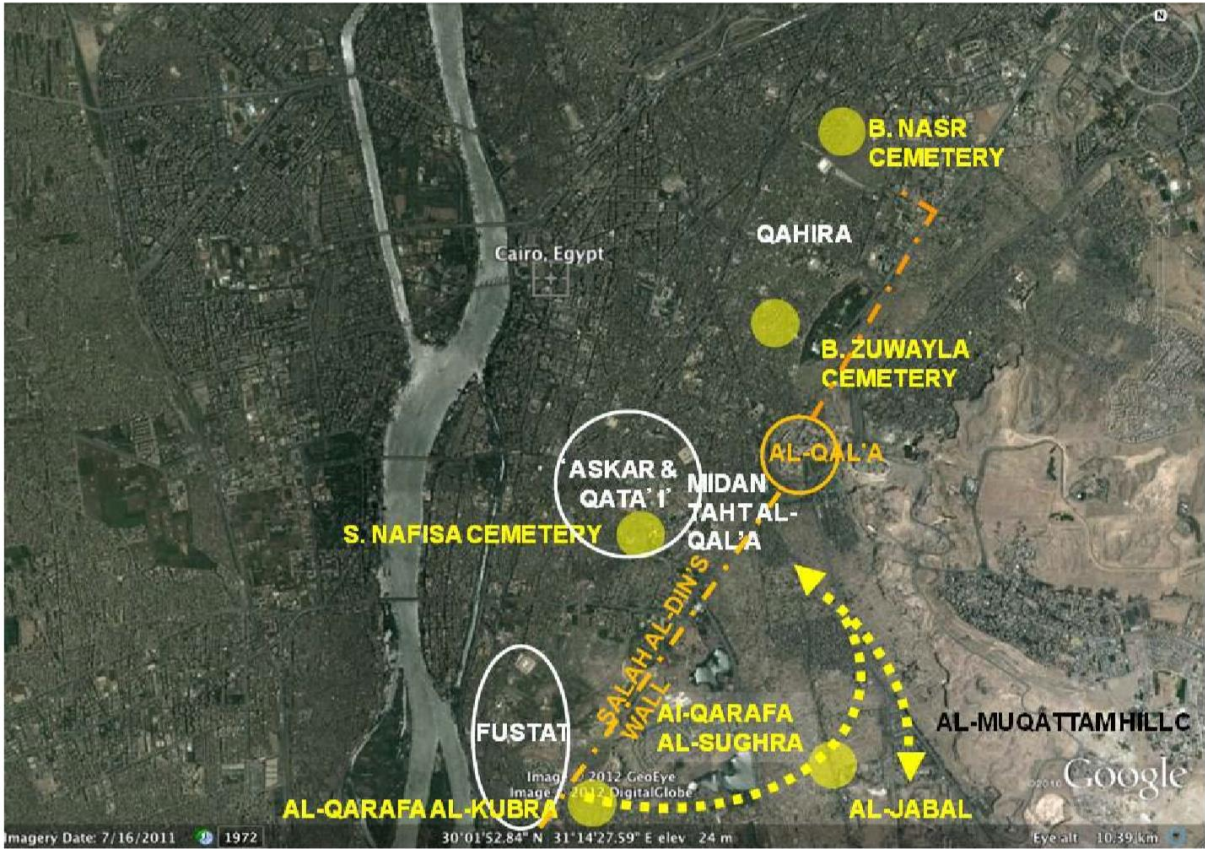


Plate 3: Map of Ayyubid Cairo showing al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā and al-Qarāfa al-Sughra.
Image Source: al-Ibrashy, *Historic Cemeteries*, 61.

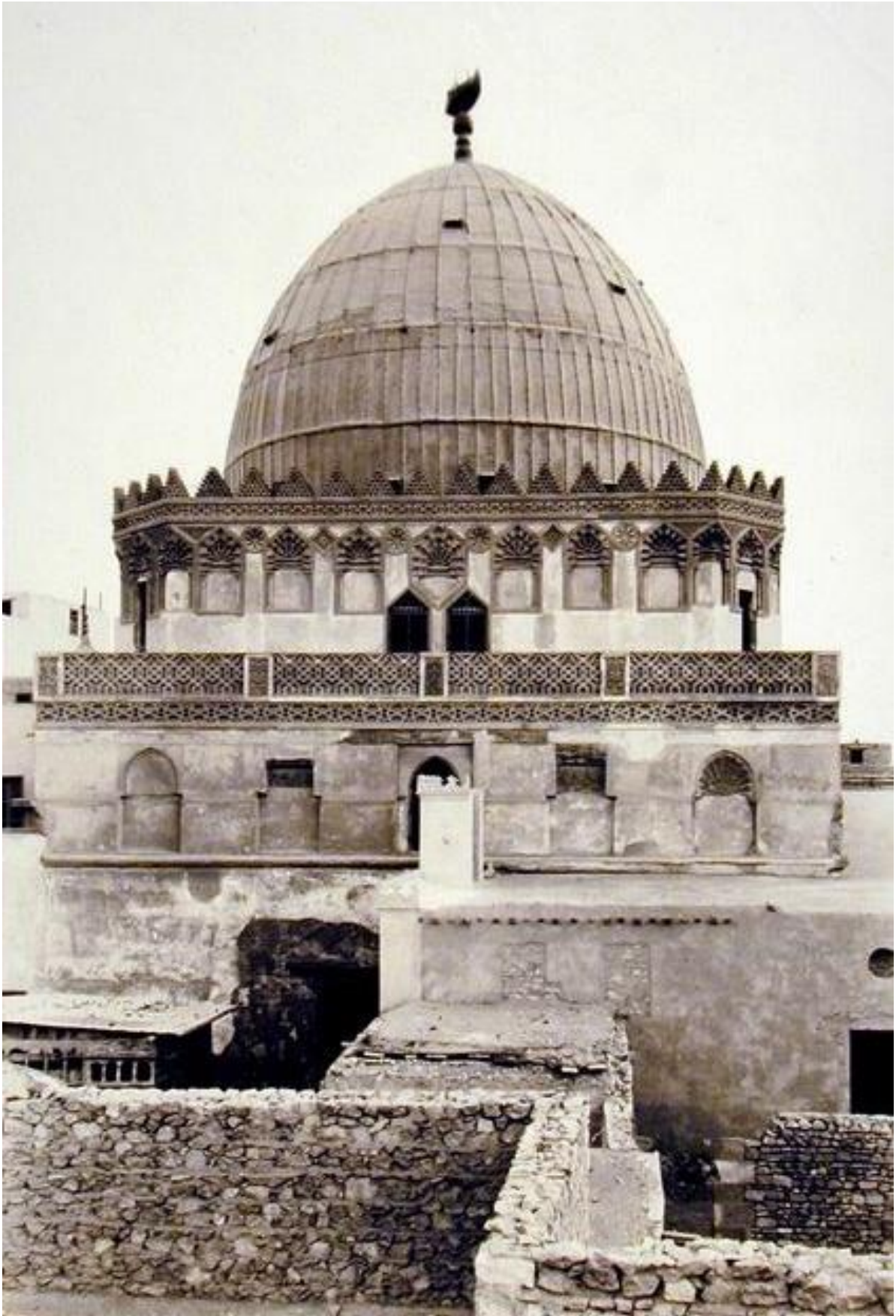


Plate 4: Qubbat al-Imam al- Shafi'i.
Image Source: Archnet.



Plate 5: Bayn al-Qaşryn Area.

Image Source: Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 58-59.

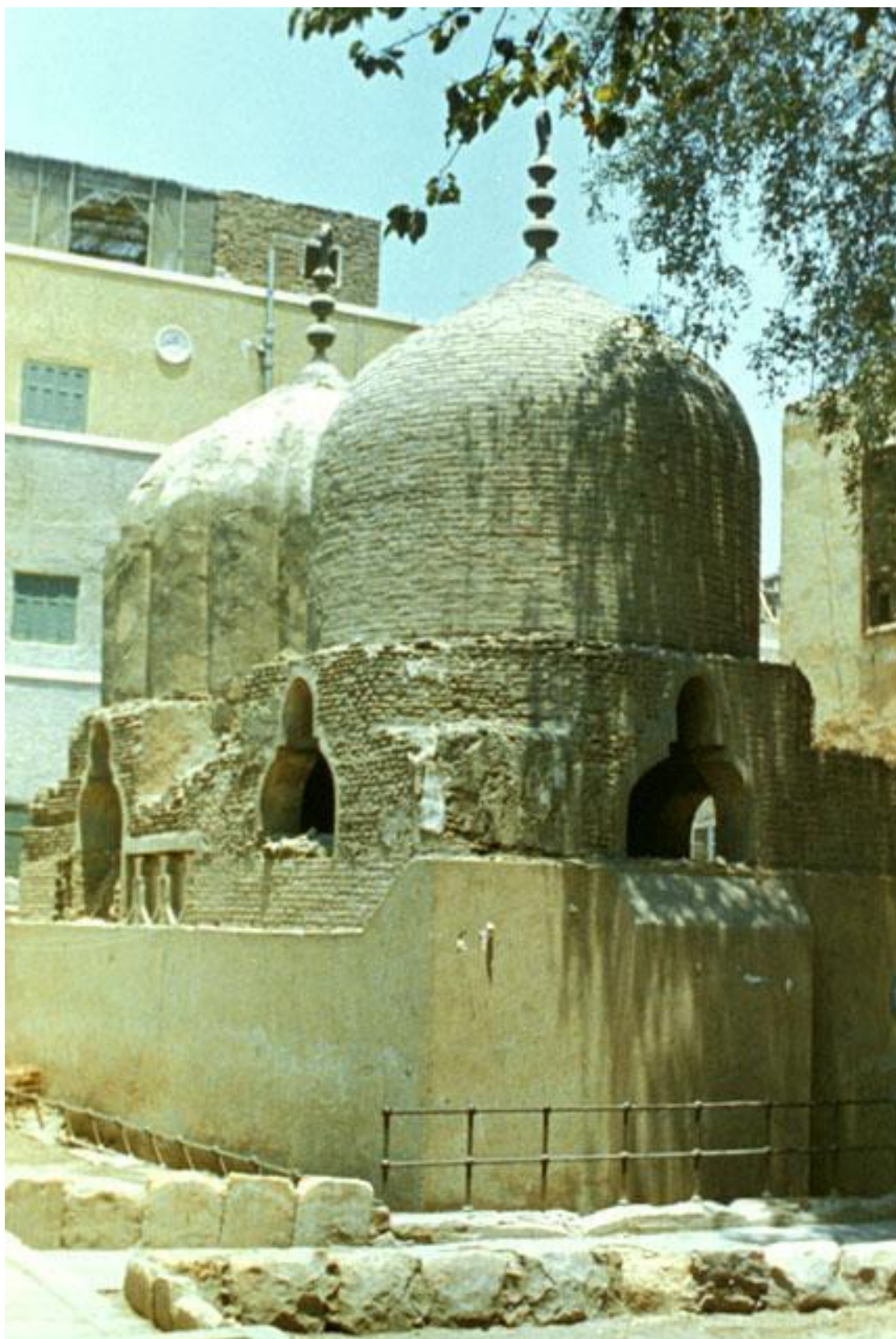


Plate 6: Sayyida 'Atika and Ja'fari Mausoleum.
Image Source: Archnet.

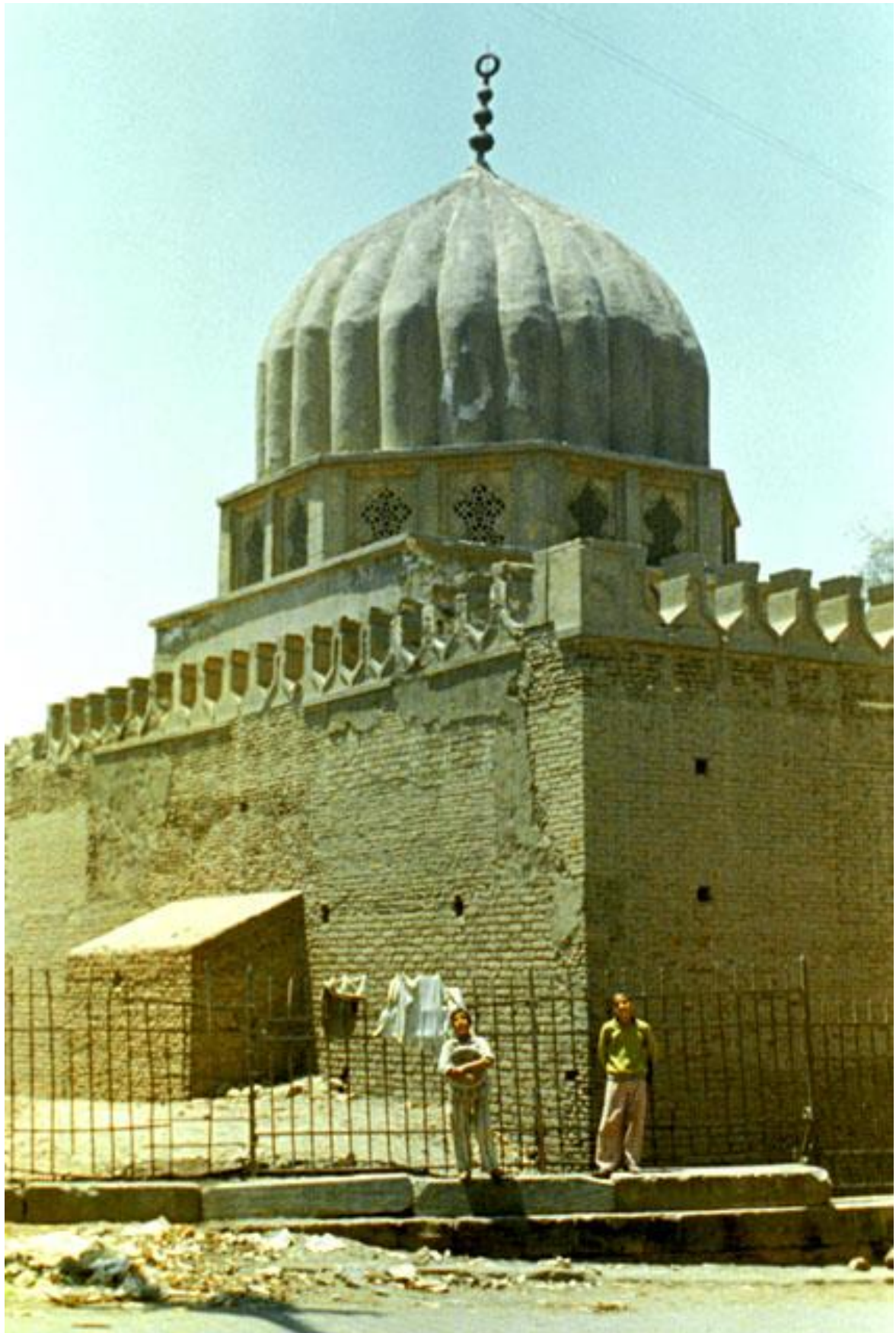


Plate 7: Sayyida Ruqyya Mausoleum.
Image Source Archnet.

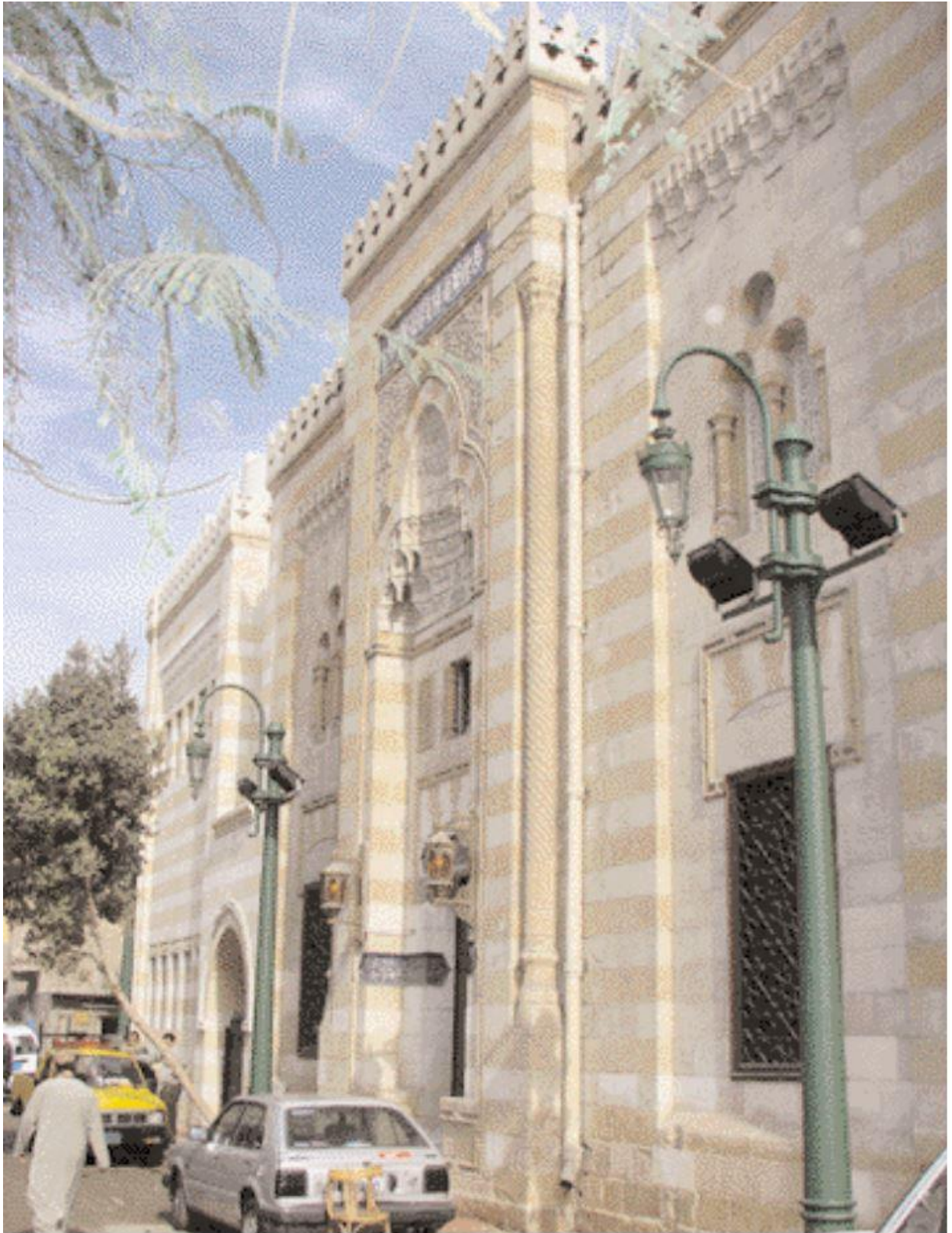


Plate 8: Mosque of Sayyida Sukayna.
Image Source: Google.

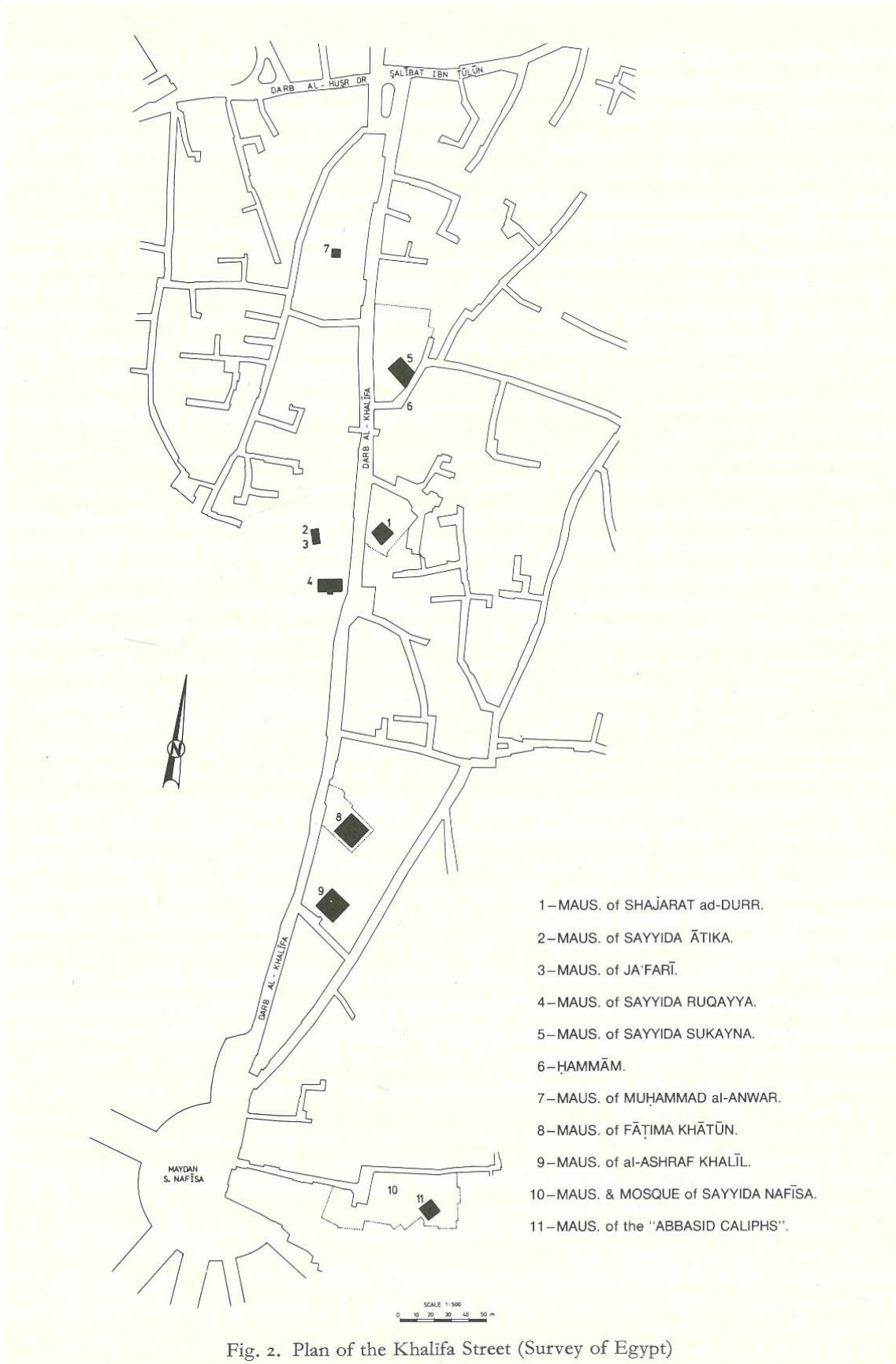


Fig. 2. Plan of the Khalifa Street (Survey of Egypt)

Plate 9: Location of the Shajarat al-Durr Mausoleum on Map.

Image Source: Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 5.



Plate 10: Mosque of Sayyida Nafisa.
Image Source: Google.



Plate 11: Black and White Image of the Ayyubid Minaret by Pascal Coste.
Image Source: Coste, *Architecture Arabe*.



Plate 12: Colored Image of the Ayyubid Minaret by Pascal Coste.
Image Source: Coste, *Architecture Arabe*.

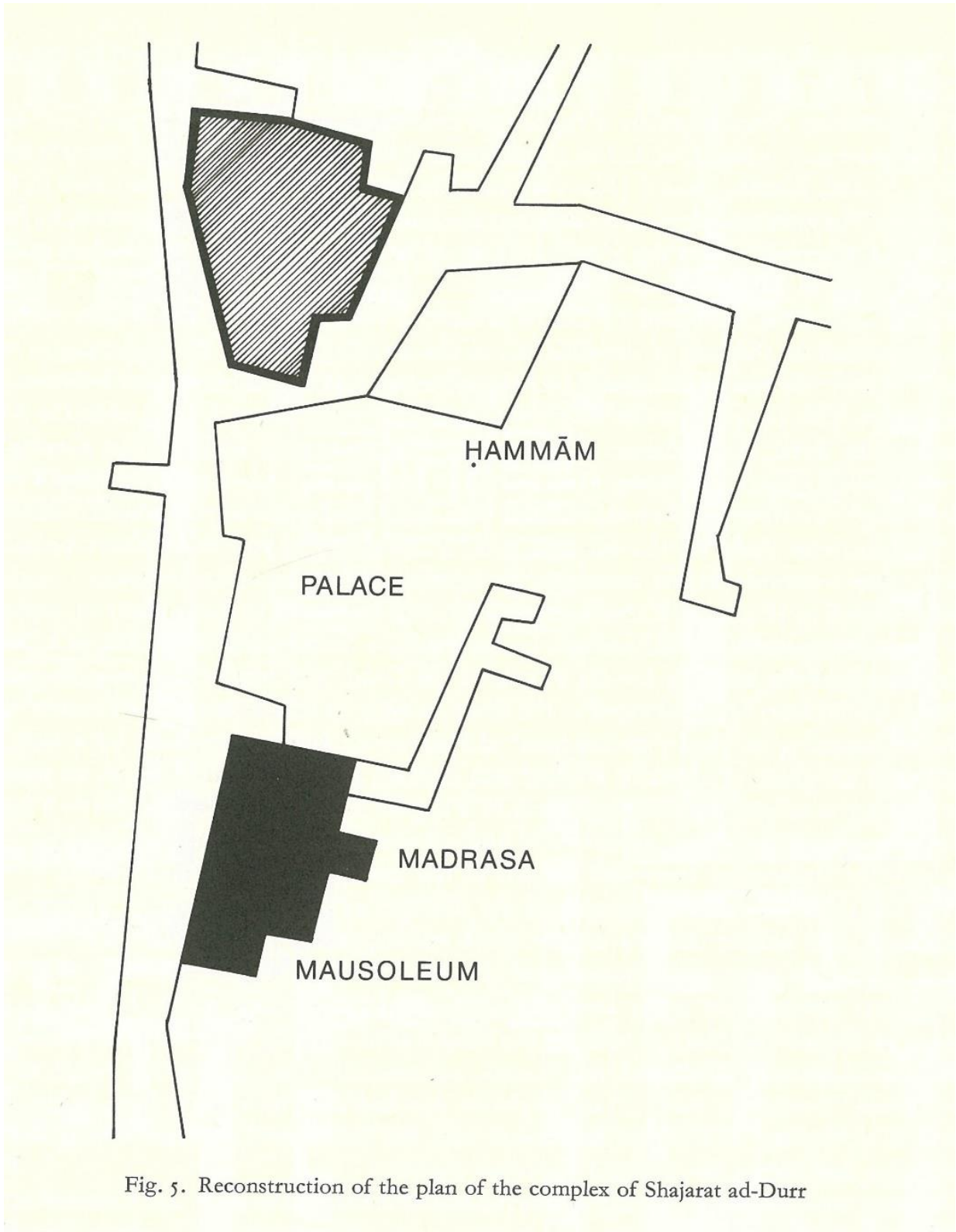


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the plan of the complex of Shajarat ad-Durr

Plate 13: Reconstruction of the Complex of Shajarat al-Durr.
Image Source: Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 11.



Plate 14: Minaret of al-Şāliḥ Nājm al-Dīn.
Image Source: Creswell Photo Archives. Archnet.

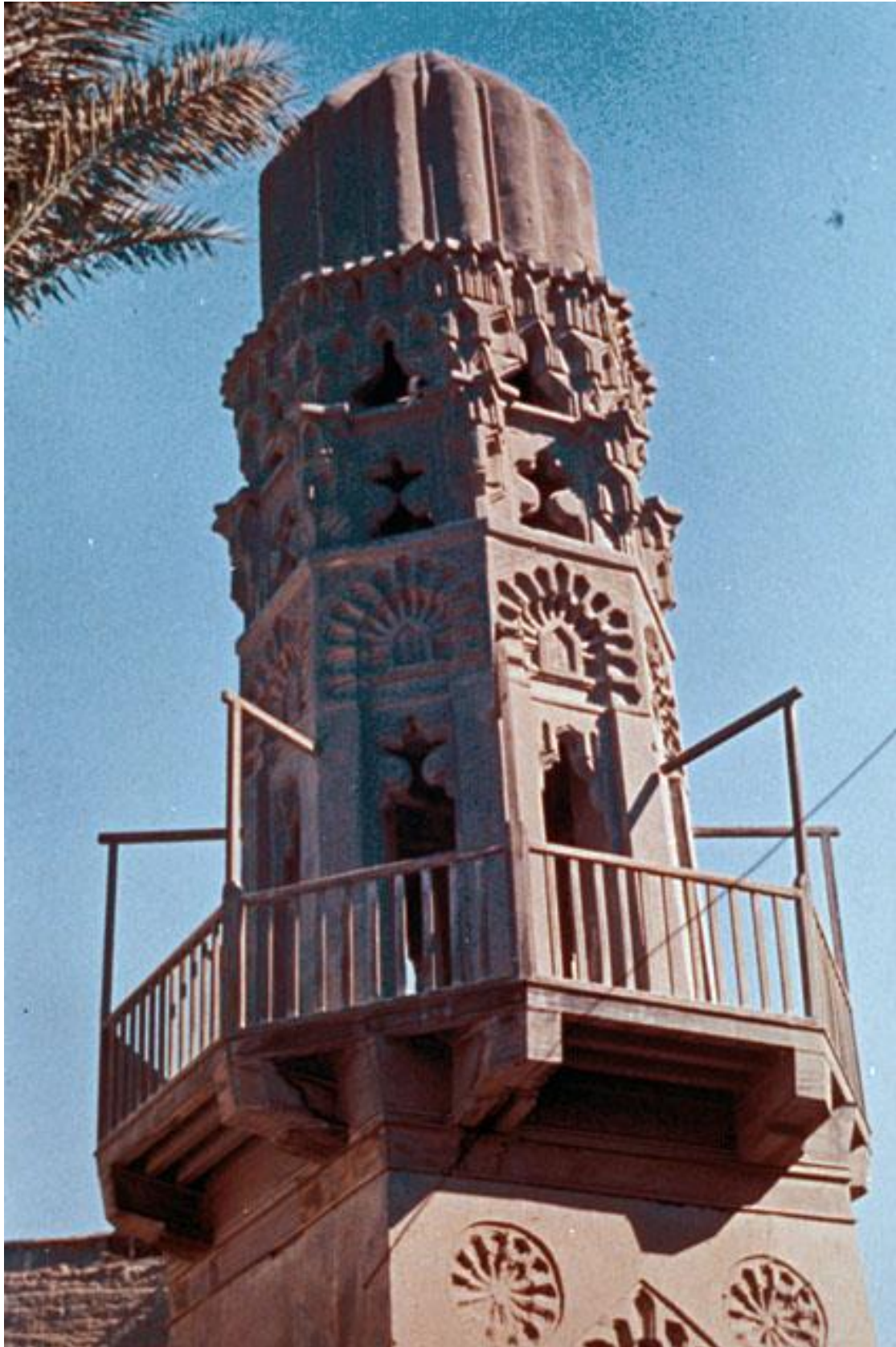


Plate 15: Minaret of Zāwiyat al-Hunūd.
Image Source: Archnet.



Plate 16: Muḥammad al-'Anwar Mosque at al-'Ashrafiyya Street.
Image Source: atharlina.com.



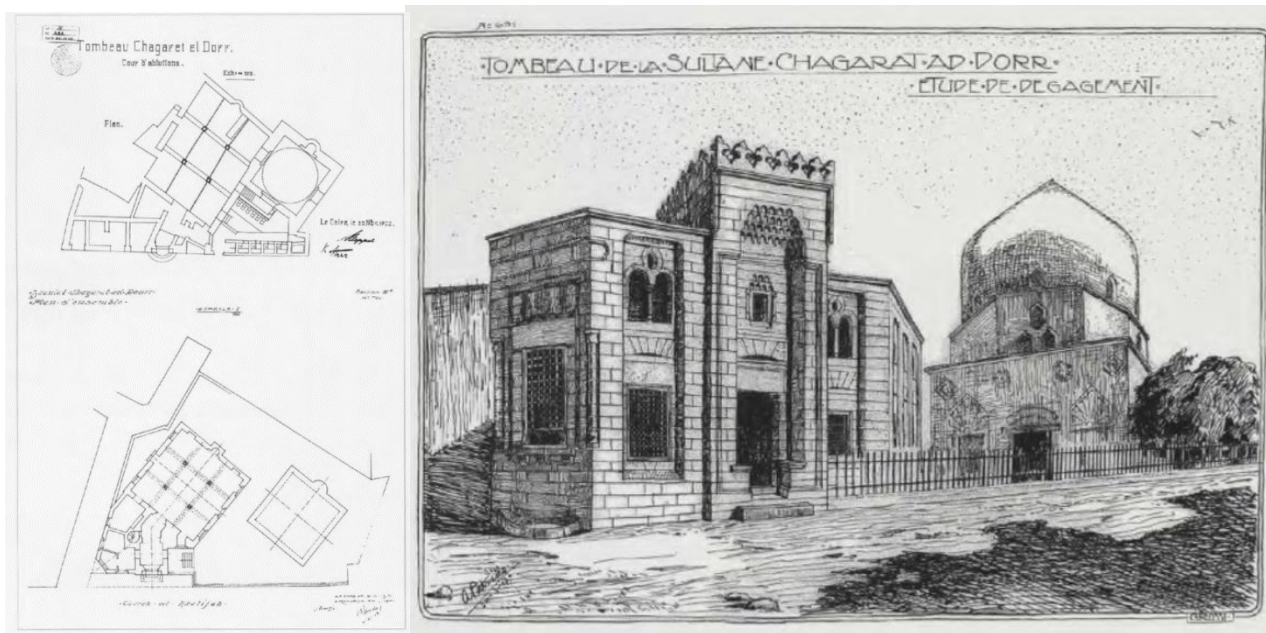
Plate 17: Location of Muḥammad al-'Anwar Mosque -Google Image 2012.
Image Source: atharlina.com



Plate 18: Northern Corner of the Mausoleum.
Image Source: Creswell Photo Archives. Archnet

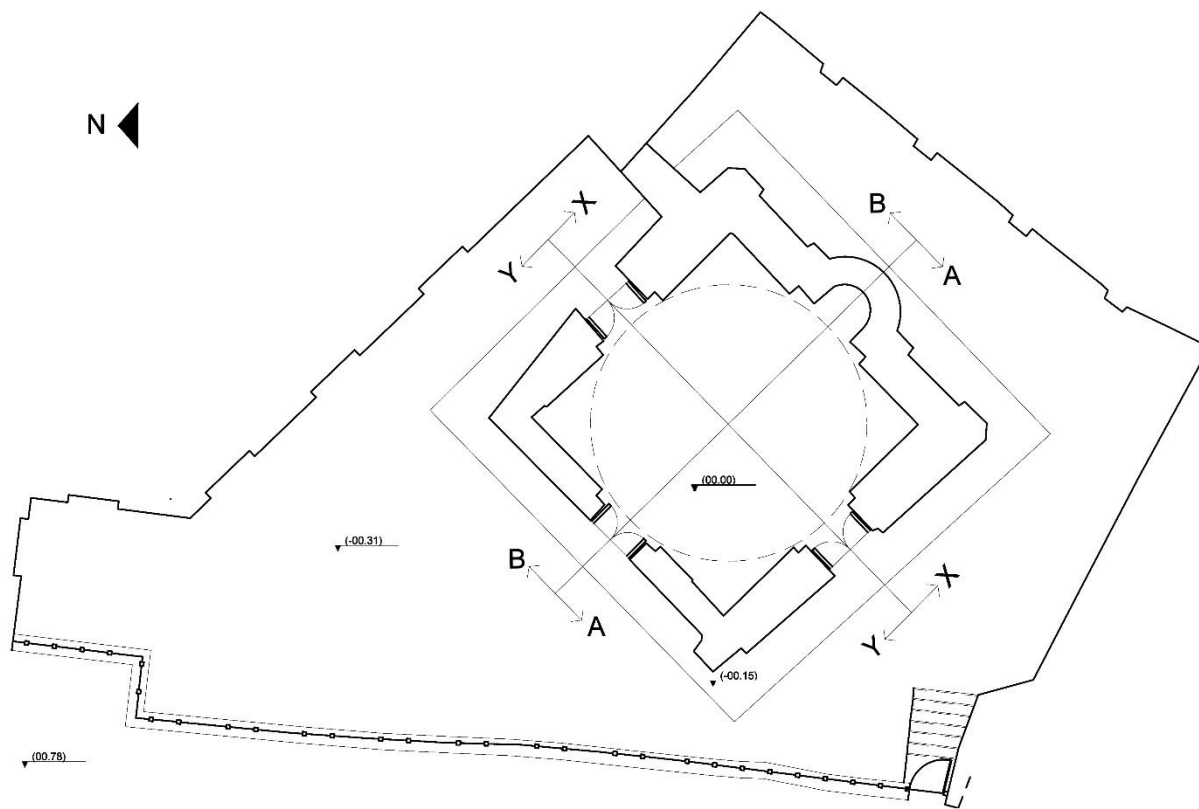


Plate 19: Şaliḫ Ṭalā'i Mosque.
Image Source: Archnet.



"Plans of the tomb of Shagarat al-Durr and its context. Left above: before disengagement (1902); left below: after the construction of a new zāwya (1919); [right]: proposal (later executed) for the disengagement of the tomb and construction of a new zaawiya." Warner, *Monuments of Historic Cairo*, 48-49.

Plate 20: Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr attached to the 19th Century Mosque.
Image Source: Warner, *Monuments of Historic Cairo*, 48-49.



PLAN +2.00



Plate 21: Plan of the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr as it stands today.
 Image Source: Athar Lina Report.

XXXIII.

•••Mausolée de la Sultane
•Chagarat ad-Durr •••

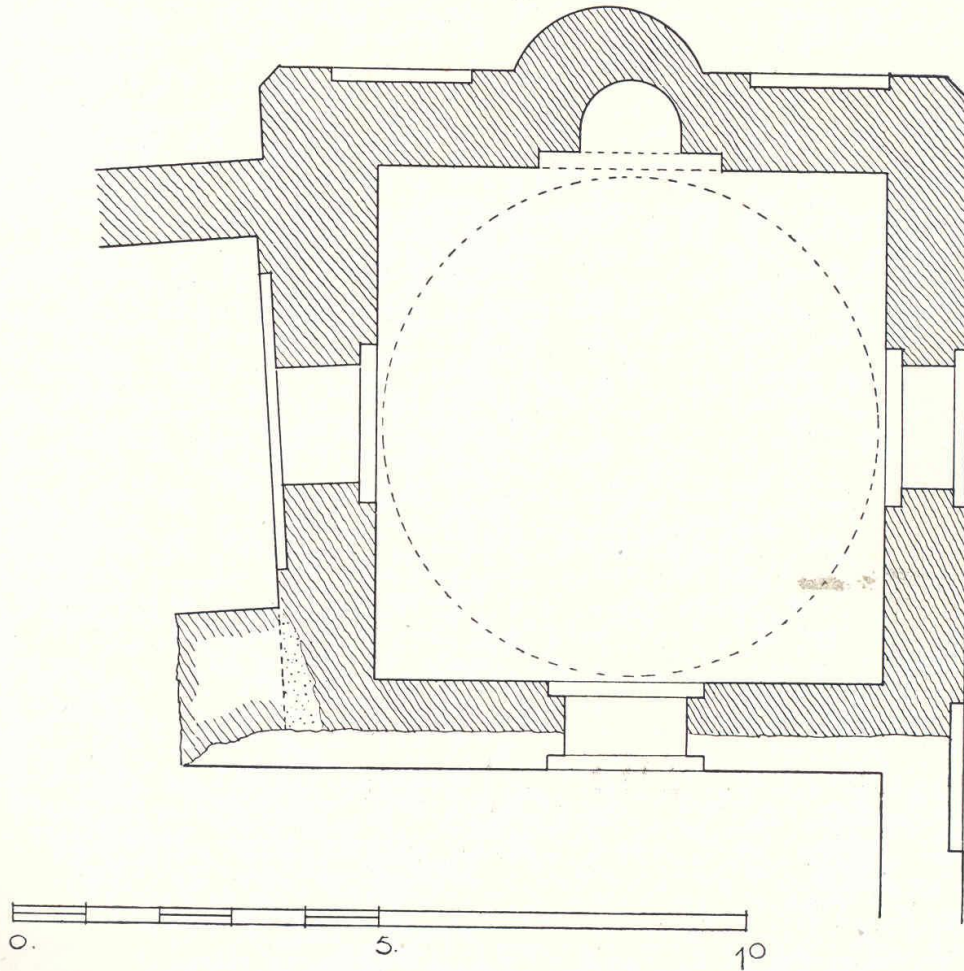


Plate 22: Plan of the Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr.
Image Source: Comité *Bulletins* 1900.



Plate 23: Detail of the Northwestern Facade.
Image Source: www.msobieh.com



Plate 24: Detail of the Northwestern Facade Main Panel.
Image Source: www.msobieh.com

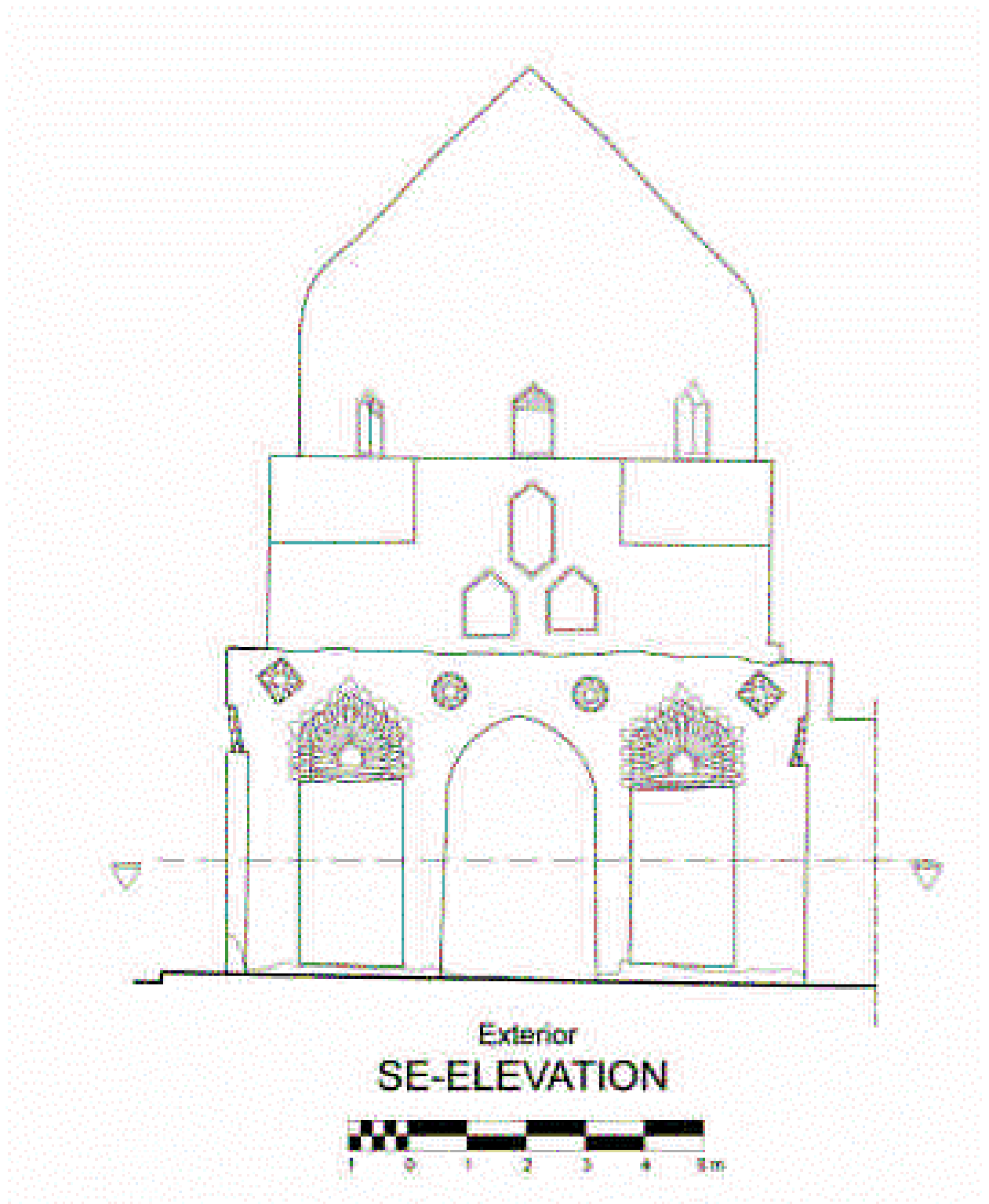


Plate 25: Southeast Elevation of the Mausoleum.
Image Source: Athar Lina Report.

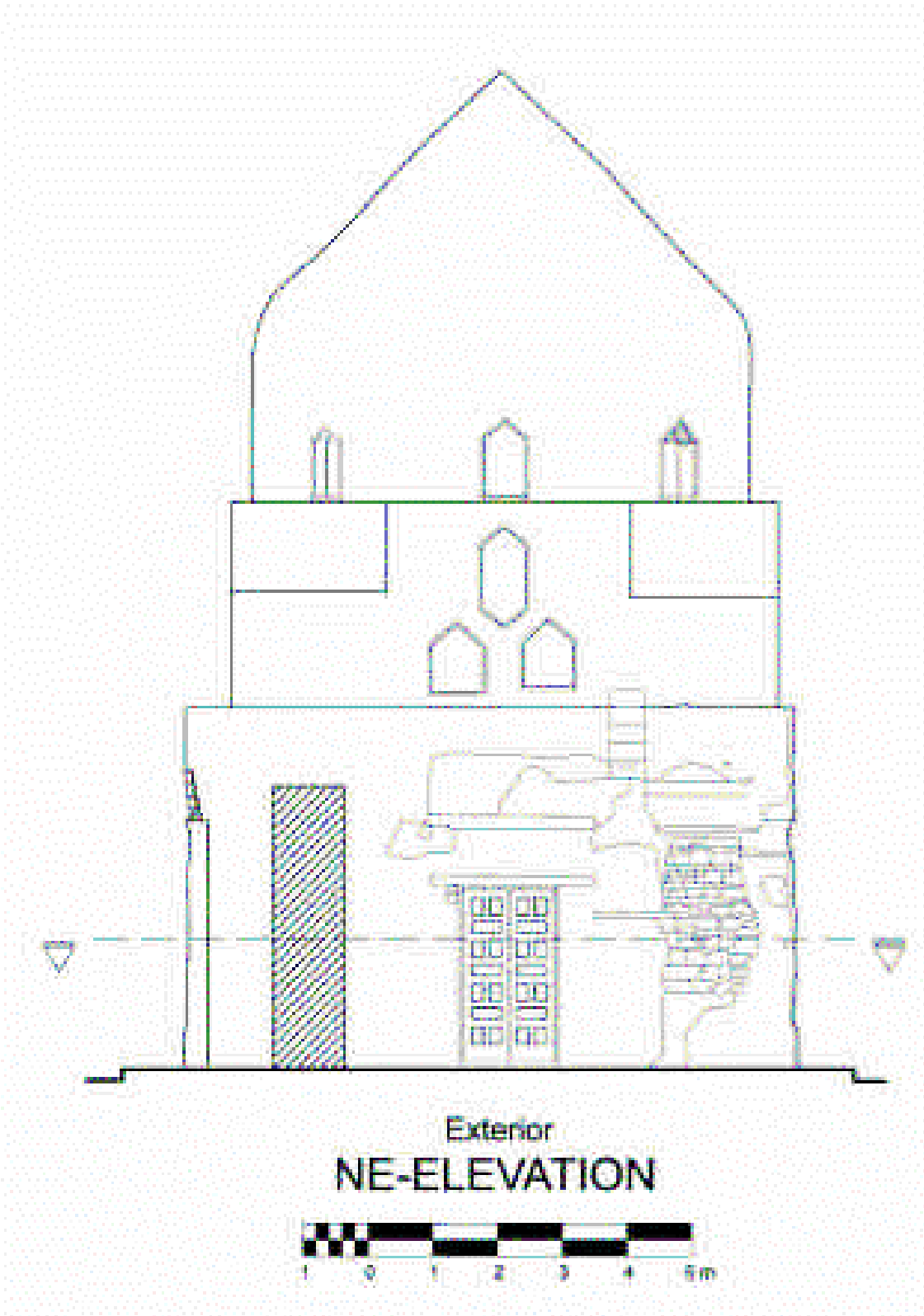


Plate 26: Northeast Elevation of the Mausoleum.
Image Source: Athar Lina Report.

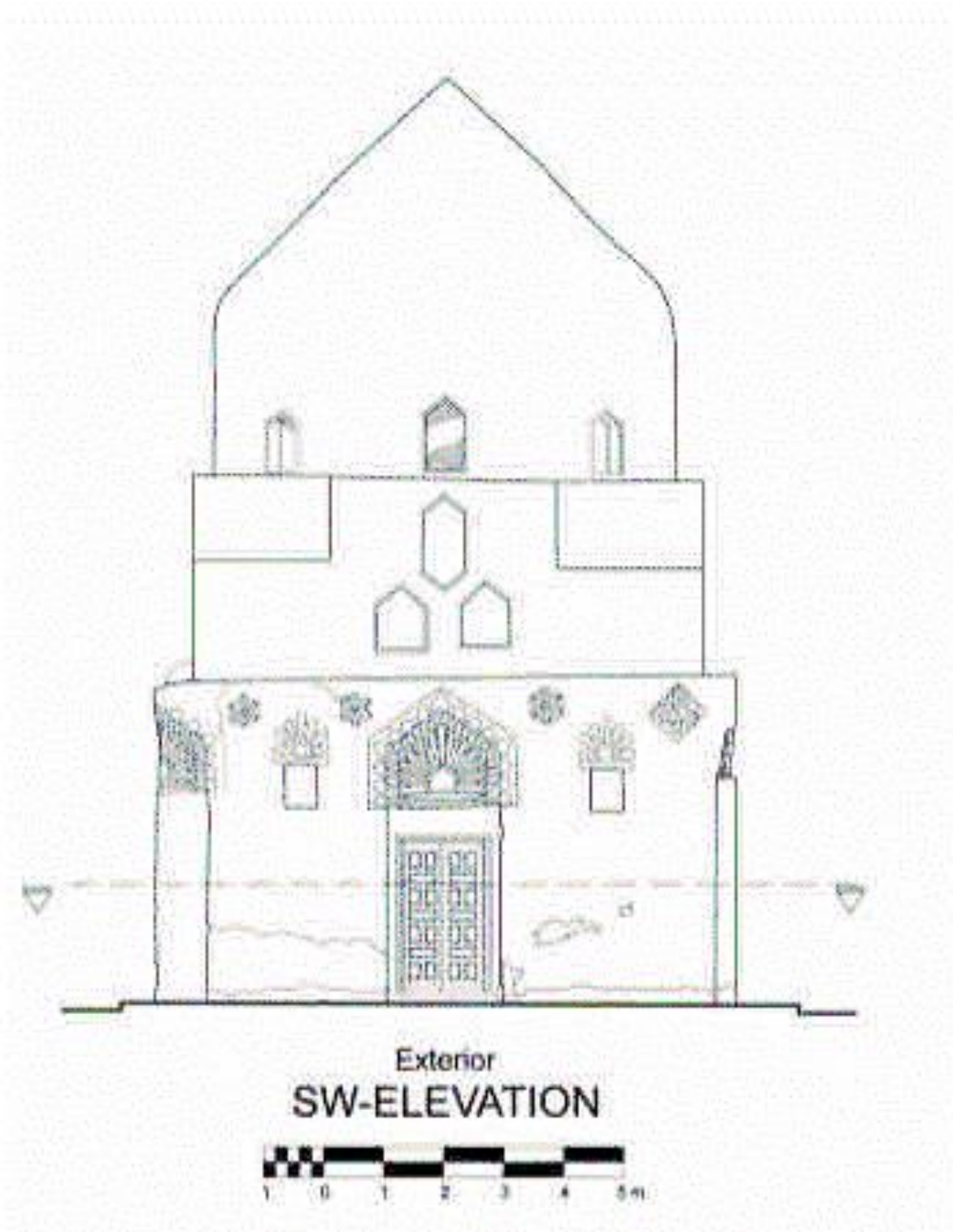


Plate 27: Southwest Elevation of the Mausoleum.
Image Source: Athar Lina Report.

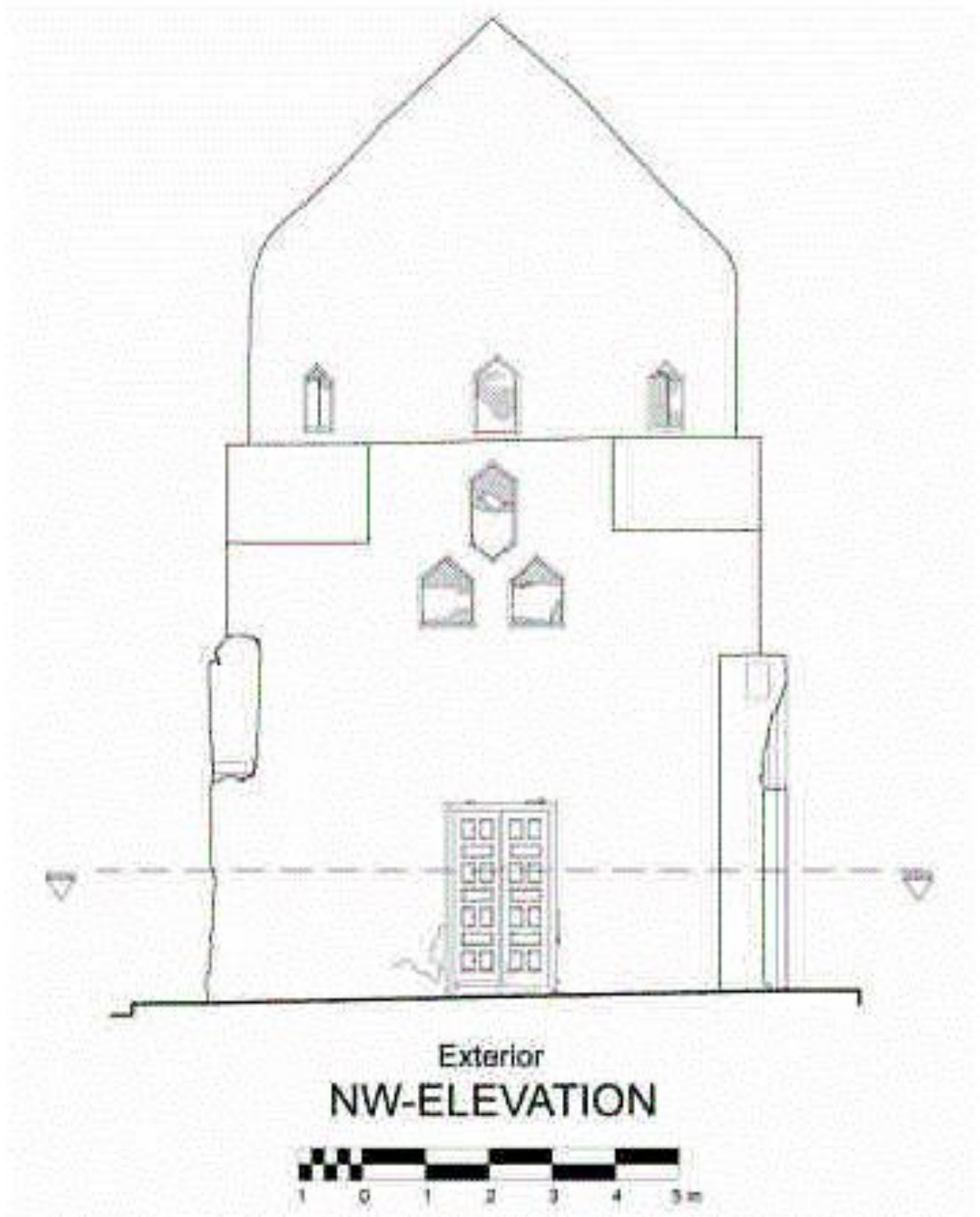


Plate 28: Northwest Elevation of the Mausoleum.
Image Source: Athar Lina Report.

لوحة ٦

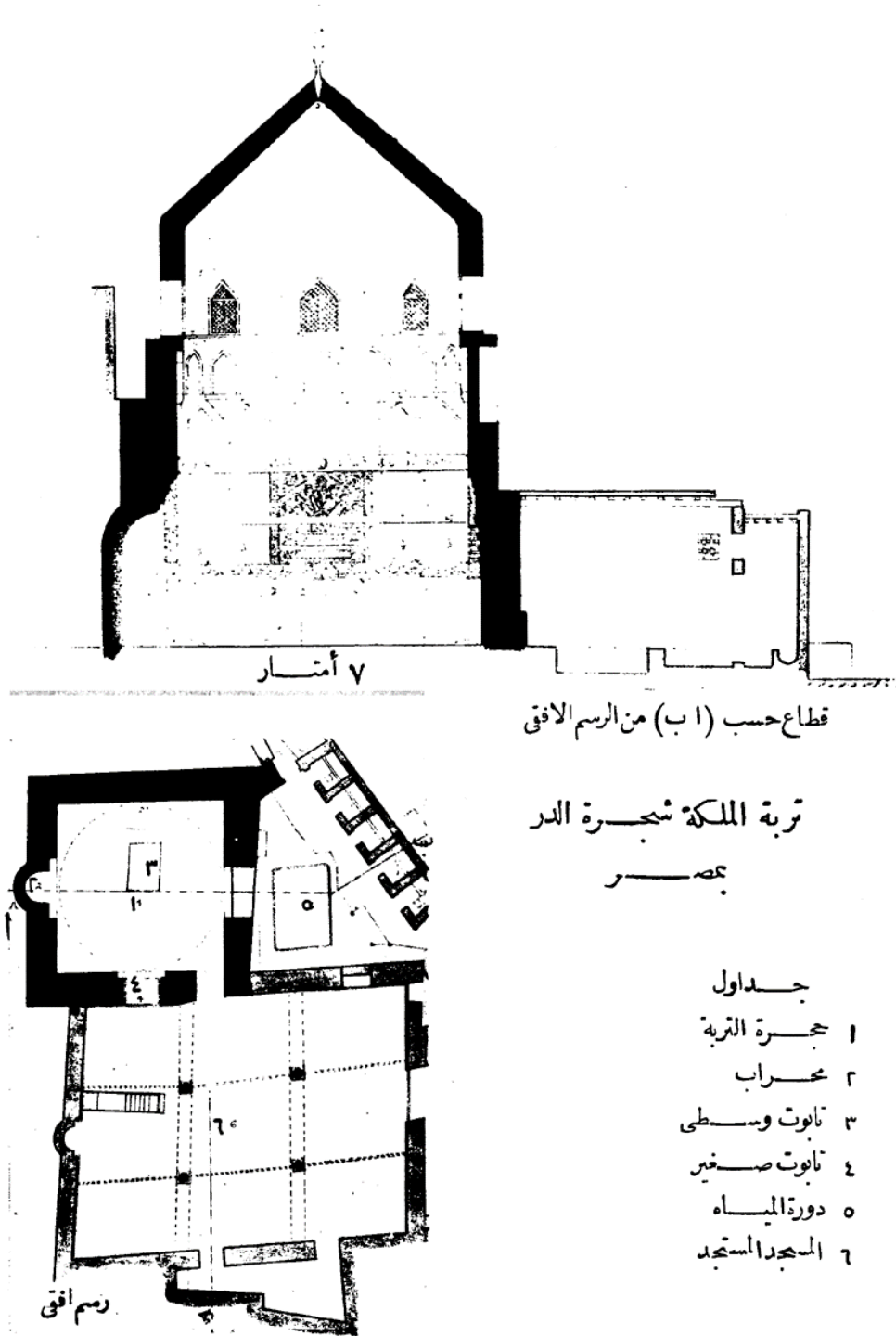


Plate 29: Section Drawing of the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr;
Image Source: Comité *Bulletins* 1900.



Plate 30: Mosaic Mihrab of Shajarat al-Durr.
Image Source: Archnet.



Plate 31: Medallion West of the Northern Window after Conservation (top), Medallion East of Northern Window after Conservation (below) - Mausoleum Interior of Shajarat al-Durr. Image Source: Athar Lina Report.

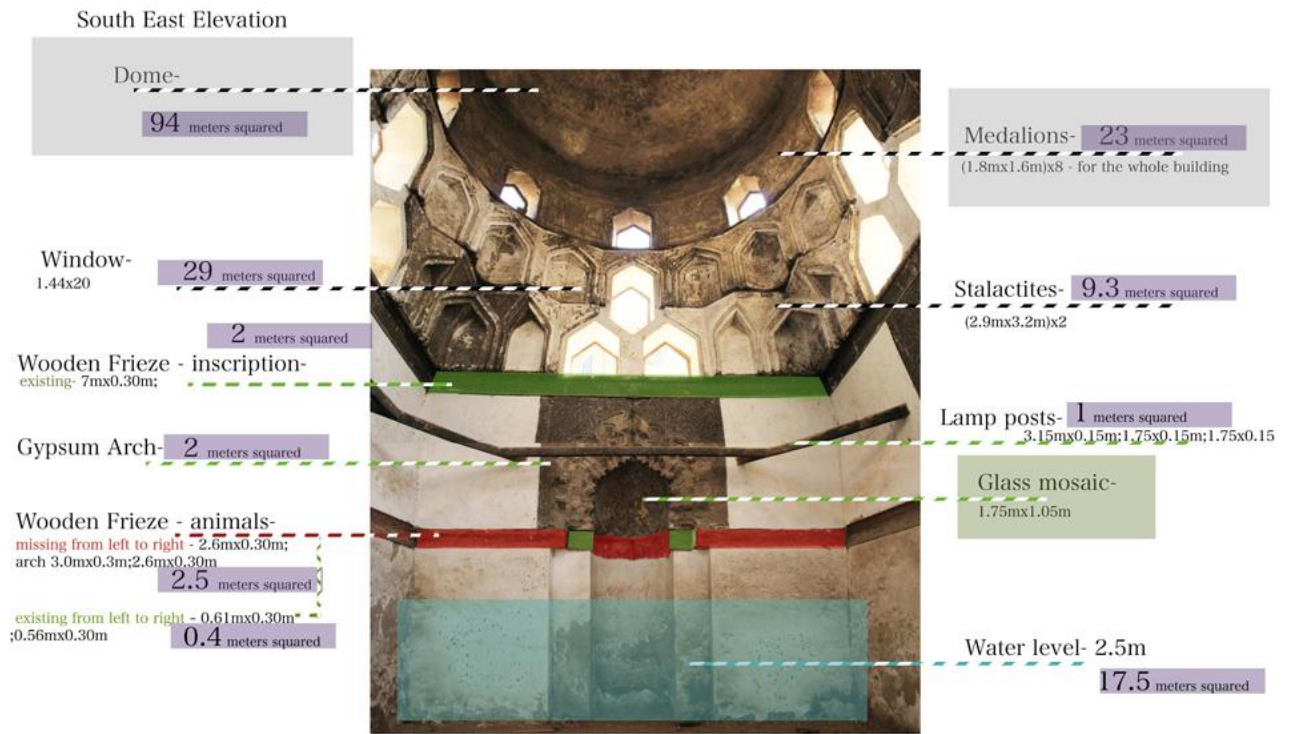


Plate 32: Shajarat al-Durr Mausoleum Interior.
Image Source: atharlina.org.

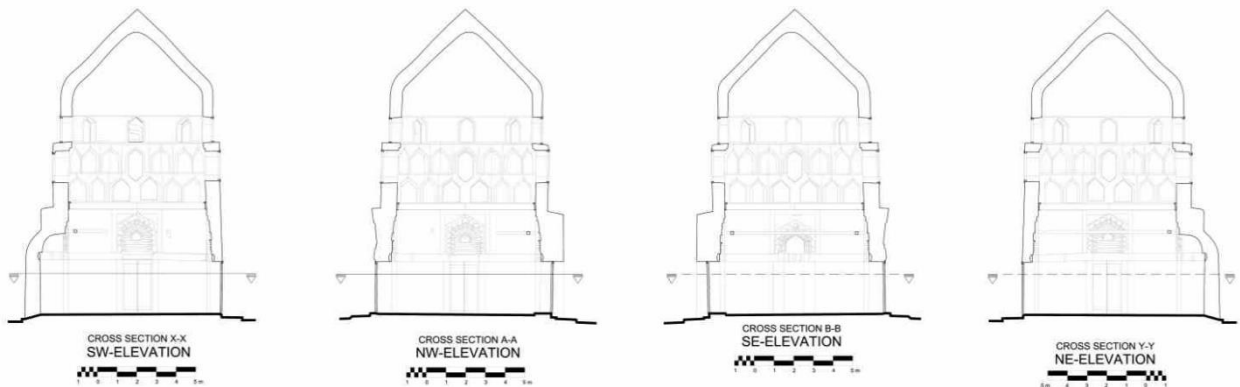


Plate 33: Interior Elevations of the Mausoleum.
Image Source: Athar Lina Report.



تربة الملكة شجرة الدر
بمصر

صفة جنوية
(مسدودة ببناء حديث)

تابوت وسطى

Plate 34: Abbasid Cenotaph at the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr.
Image Source: Comité *Bulletins* 1900.

١ و ٢ و ٣ سورة ٢ آية ٢٥٦ و ٢٥٧ (جزء) ٤ و ٥ سورة ٣٩ آية ٧٣ (جزء) ٦
سورة ٧ وآية ٥٢ (جزء) ٧ سورة ٧ آية ٥٤ و ٥٥ وأما الألواح ٨ و ٩ و ١٠ و
فنقوش عليها بعض سمجات نكتبها كما هي مغلفة

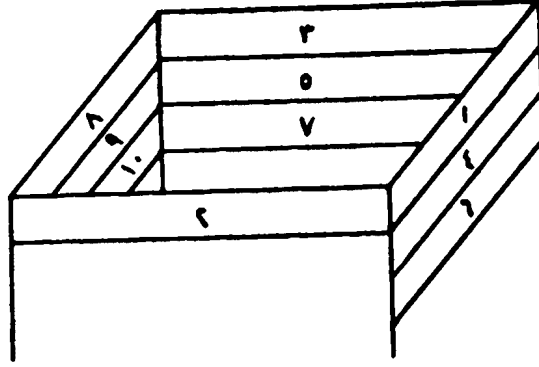


Plate 35: Reconstruction of the Wooden Tomb of Shajarat al-Durr.
Image Source: Comité *Bulletins*.

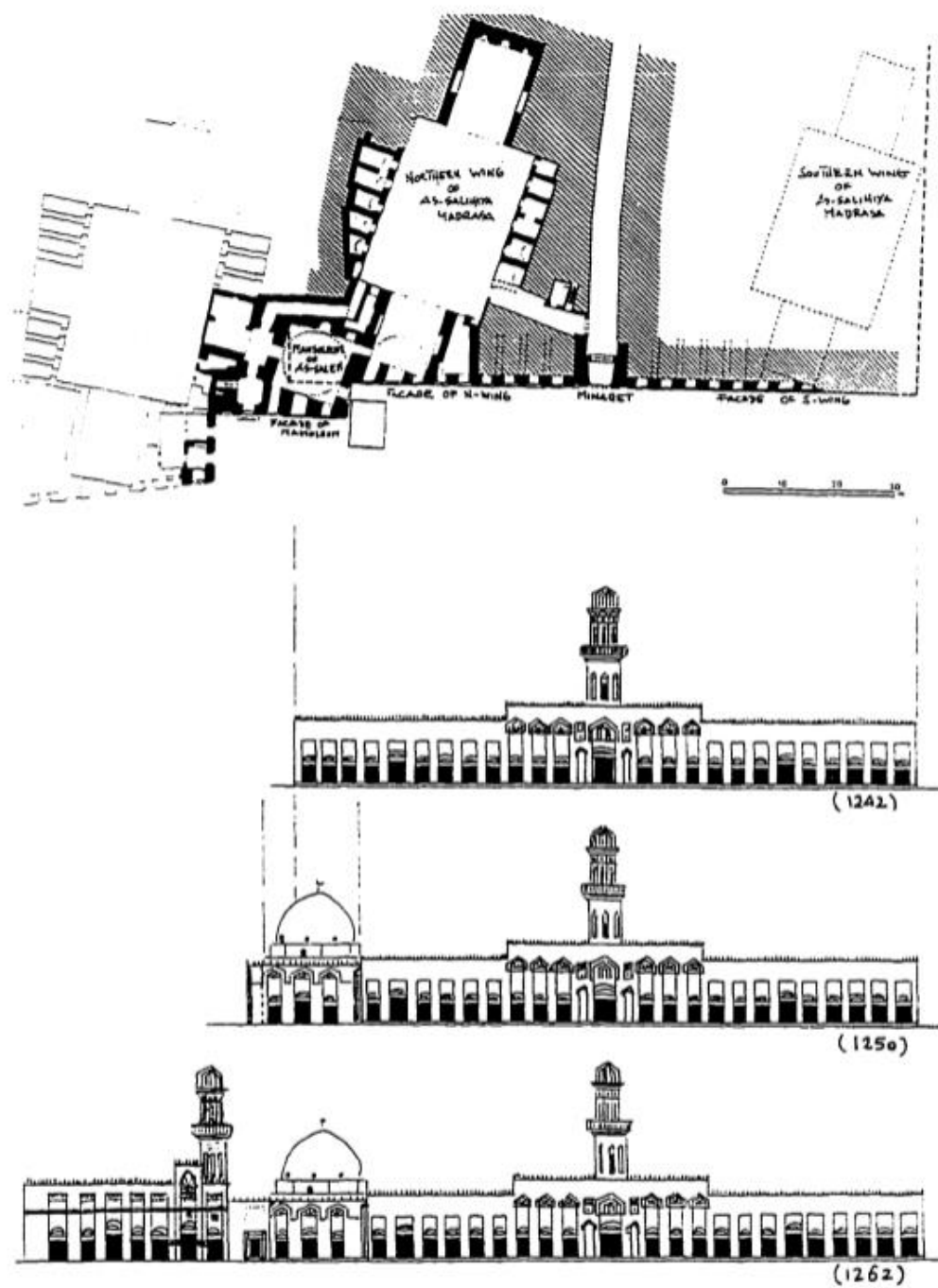


Fig. 49 c. Consecutive changes on the site between the years 1242 and 1262

Plate 36: Consecutive Changes to al-Ṣāliḥiyya Complex and Neighbouring Buildings.
Image Source: Hampikian, *Ṣāliḥiyya Complex*.

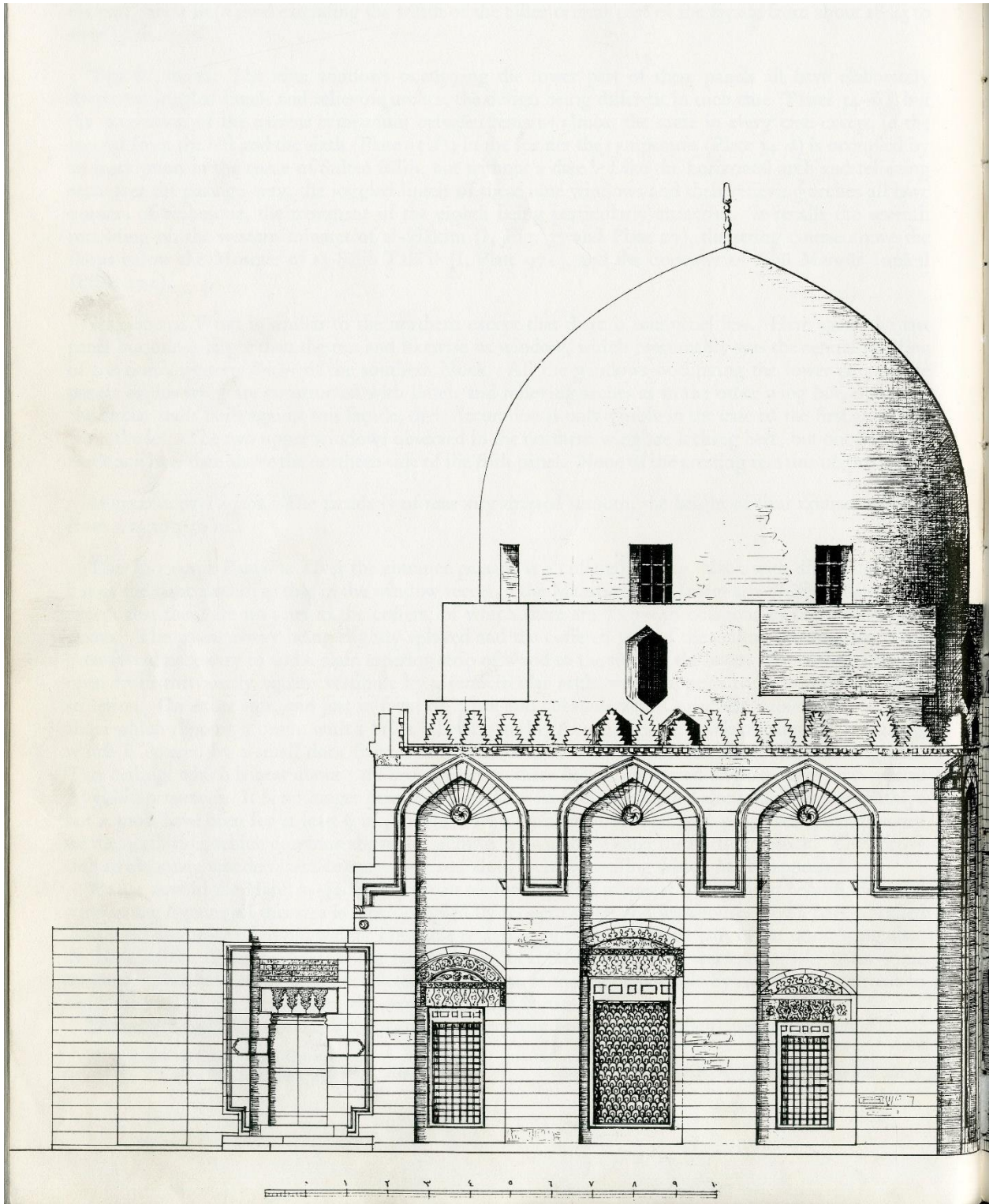


Plate 37: Detail of al-Şālih Mausoleum.

Image Source: Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (From the *Comité de Conservation*).

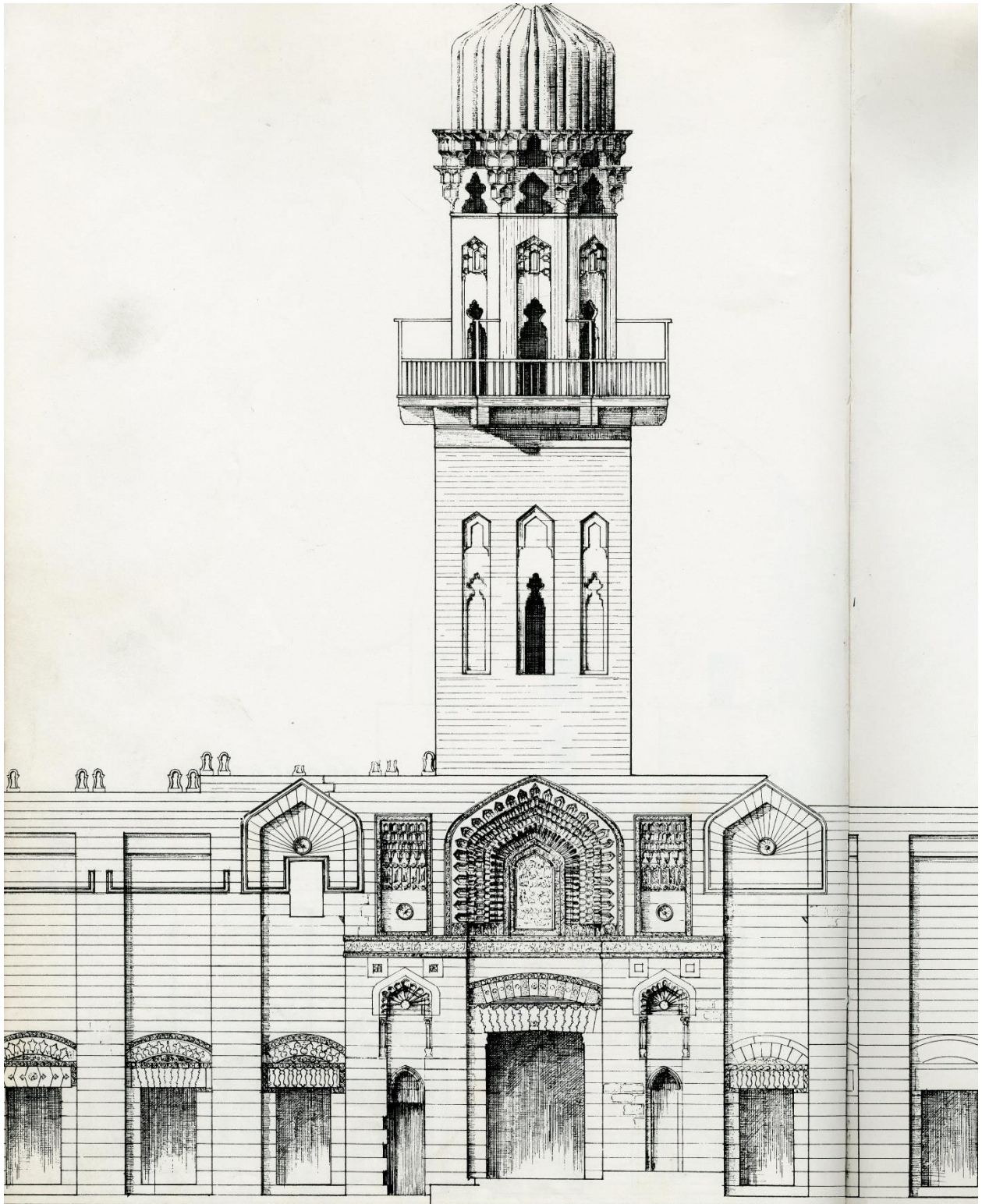


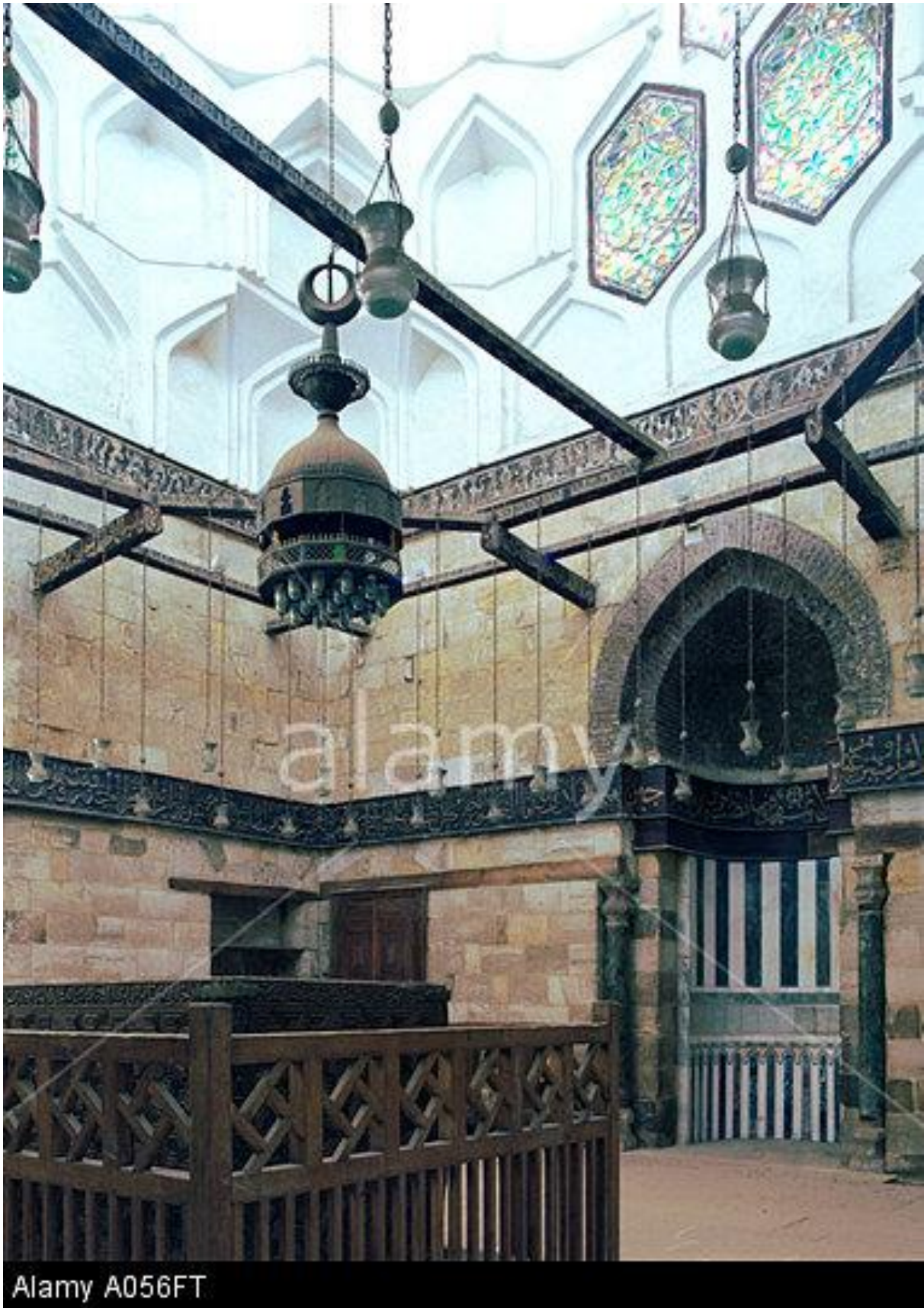
FIG. 45. MADRASA AND MAUSOLEUM OF SULTAN SĀLIH NEGM AD-DĪN: west facade. (From the Comité de Conservation.)

Plate 38: Minaret Detail of al-Şālihyya Complex.

Image Source: Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* (From the Comité de Conservation).



Plate 39: Al-Aqmar Mosque.
Image Source: Archnet.



Alamy A056FT

Plate 40: Interior of al-Şāliḥ Mausoleum.
Image Source: Google.

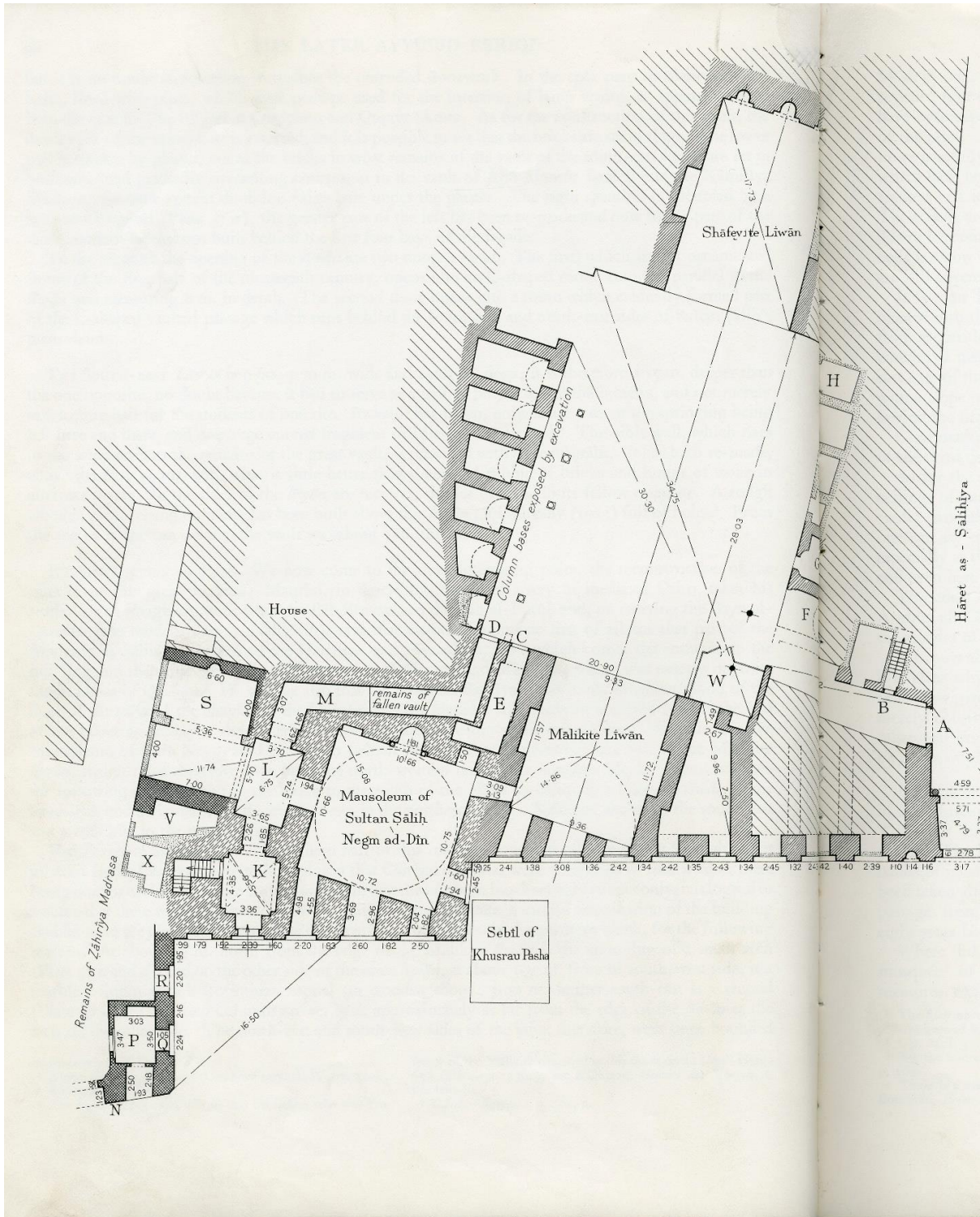


Plate 41: Plan of the Mausoleum of al-Şāliḥ.
 Image Source: Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*.

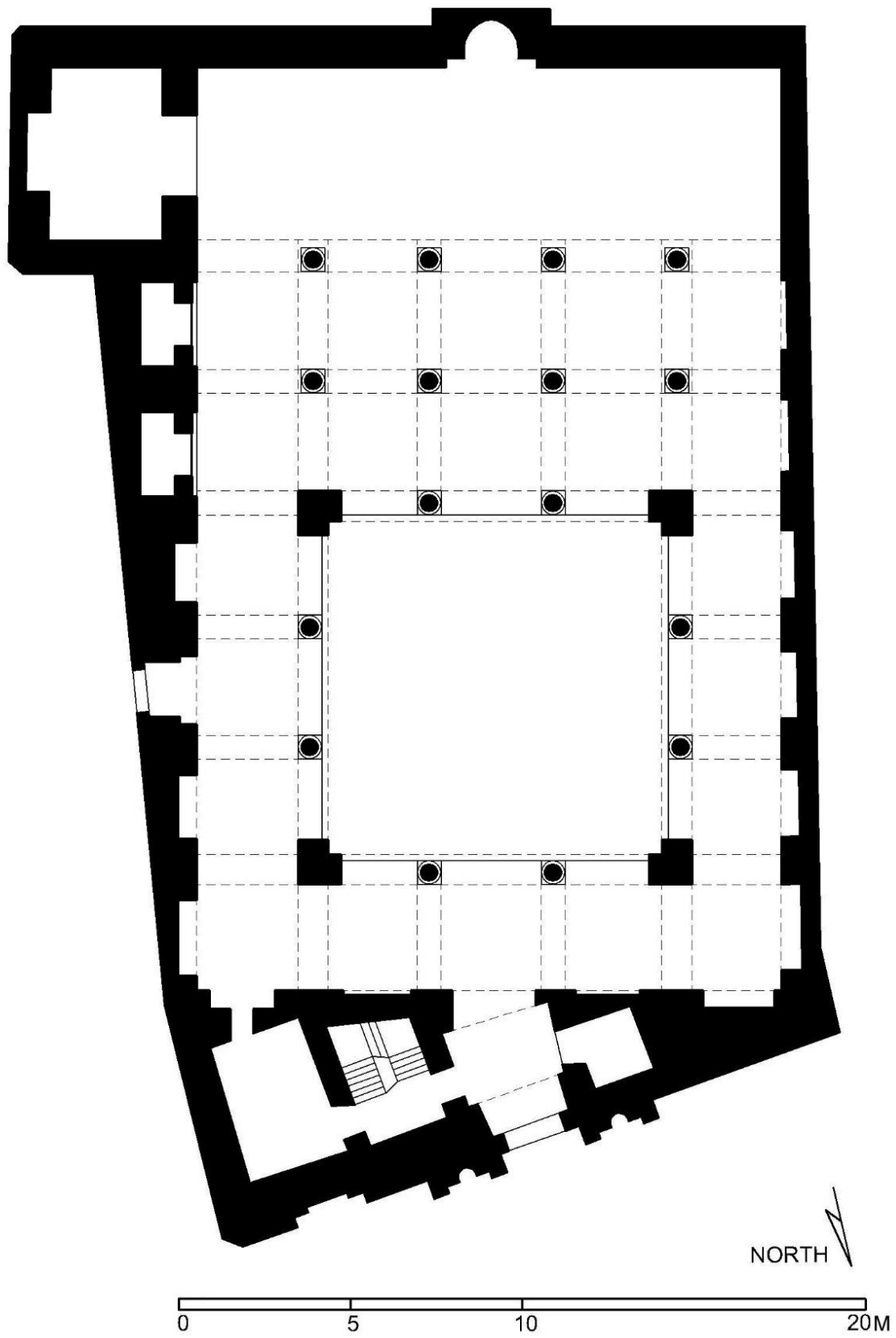


Plate 42: Plan of al-'Aqmar Mosque.
Image Source: Archnet.

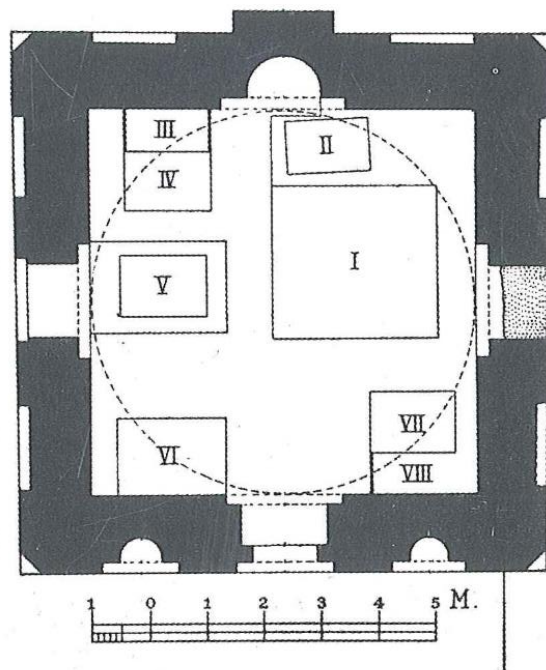
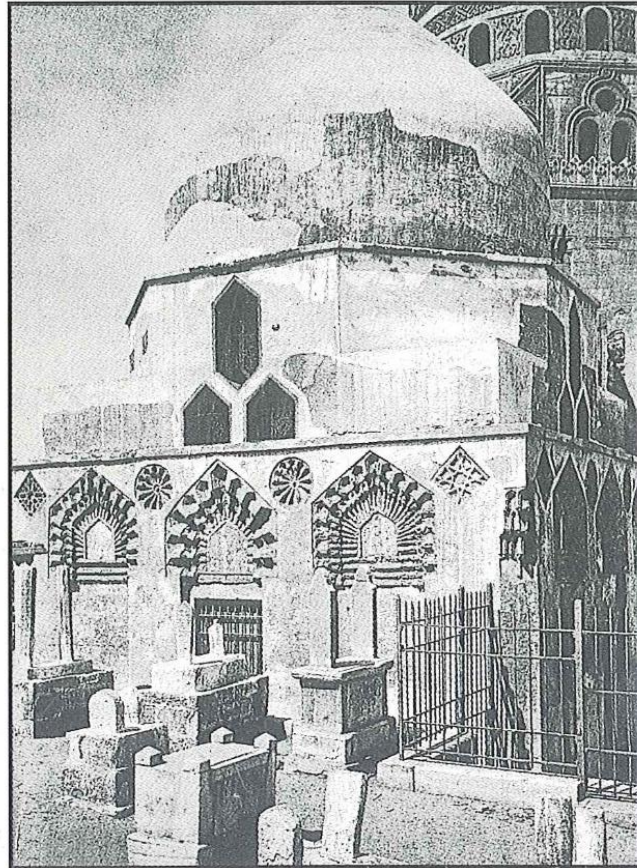


Plate 43: Mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs
Image Source: El-Kadi, *Architecture for the Dead*, 41.



Plate 44: Mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs (left) and the Mosque of al-Sayyida Nafisa (right). Image Source: El-Kadi, *Architecture for the Dead*, 39.



Plate 45: Shrine of the Abbasid Caliphs
Image Source: Archnet.

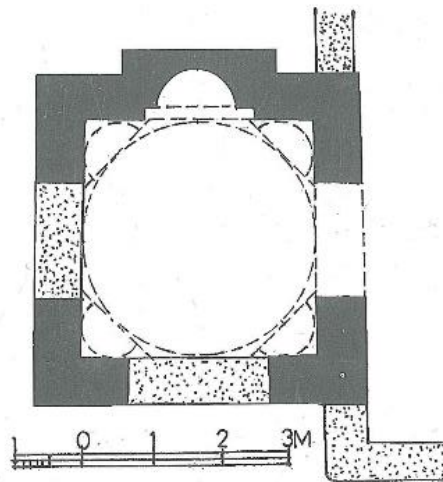
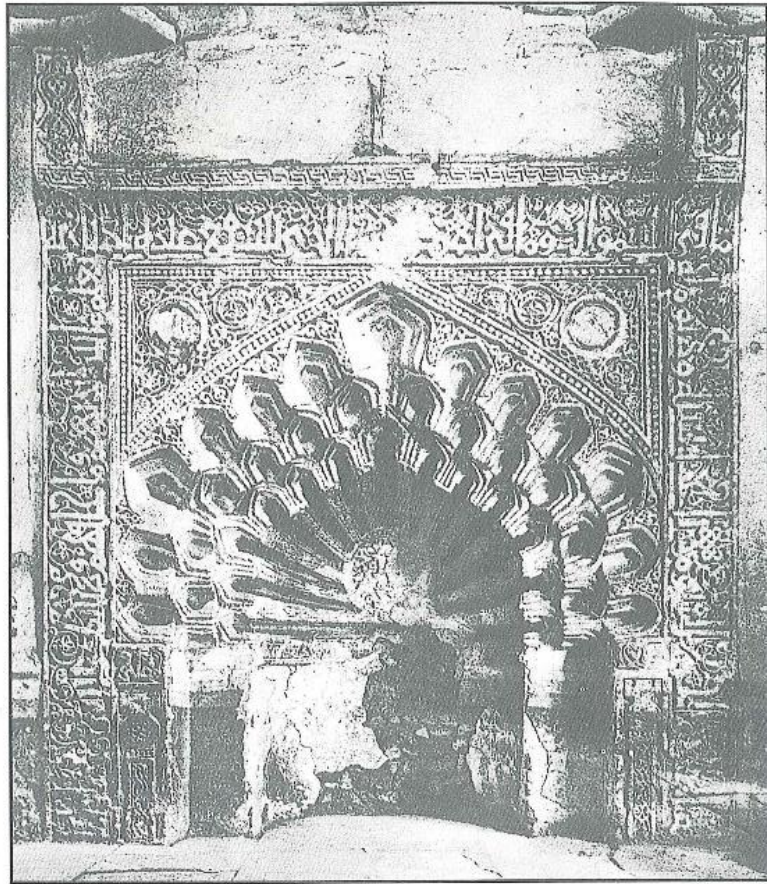
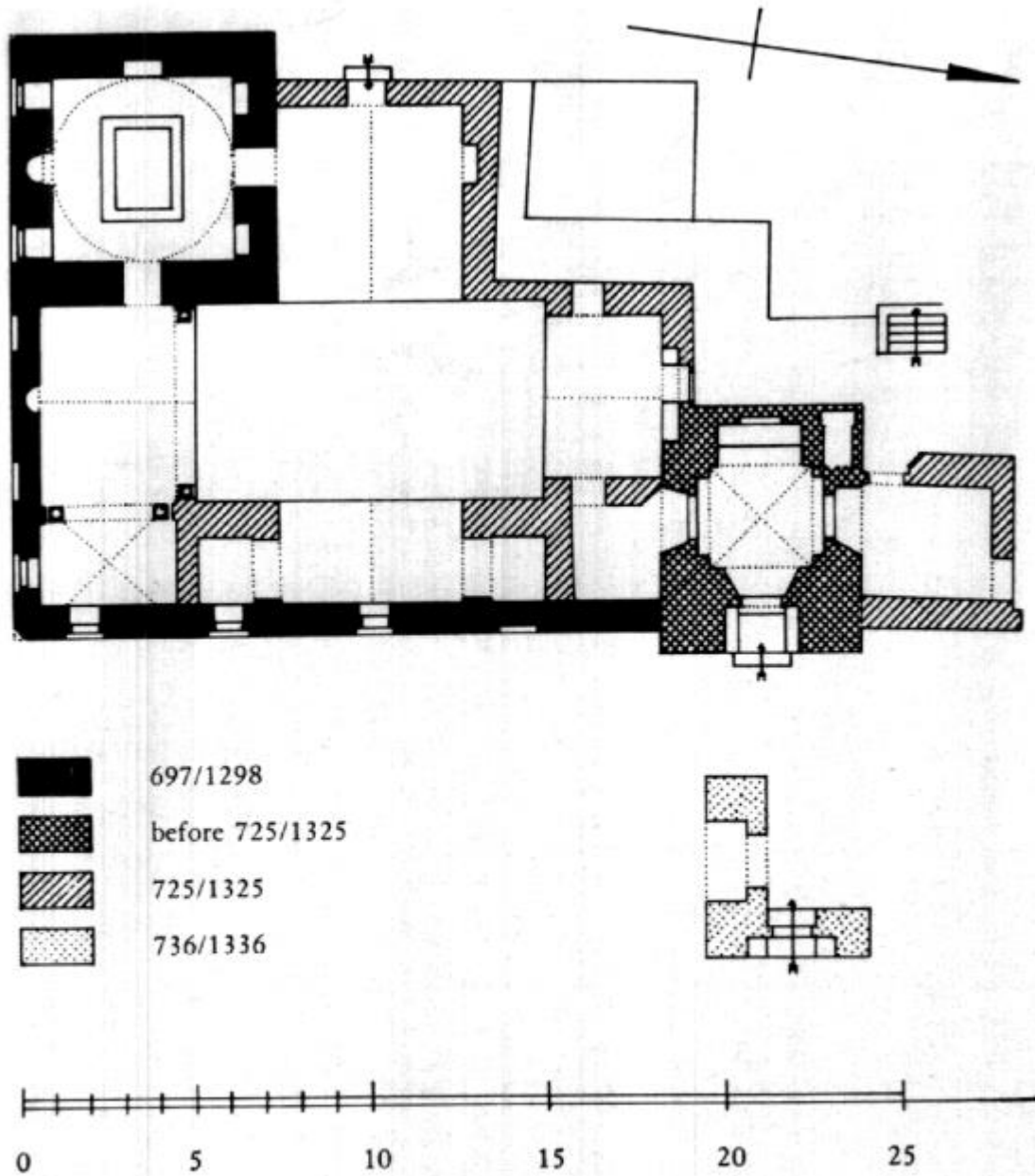


Plate 46: Mihrab of the Mausoleum of al-Ḥasawāṭī.
Image Source: El-Kadi, *Architecture for the Dead*, 57.



5. Cairo. Shrine of Zayn al-Din Yusuf. Plan. (From: Layla Ibrahim, "Zawiya of Šaiḥ Zain al-Din Yusuf in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 34 [1978], fig. 1).

Plate 47: Plan of the Mausoleum and Madrasa of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Yusuf.
 Image Source: Archnet (From *Mitteilungen*).

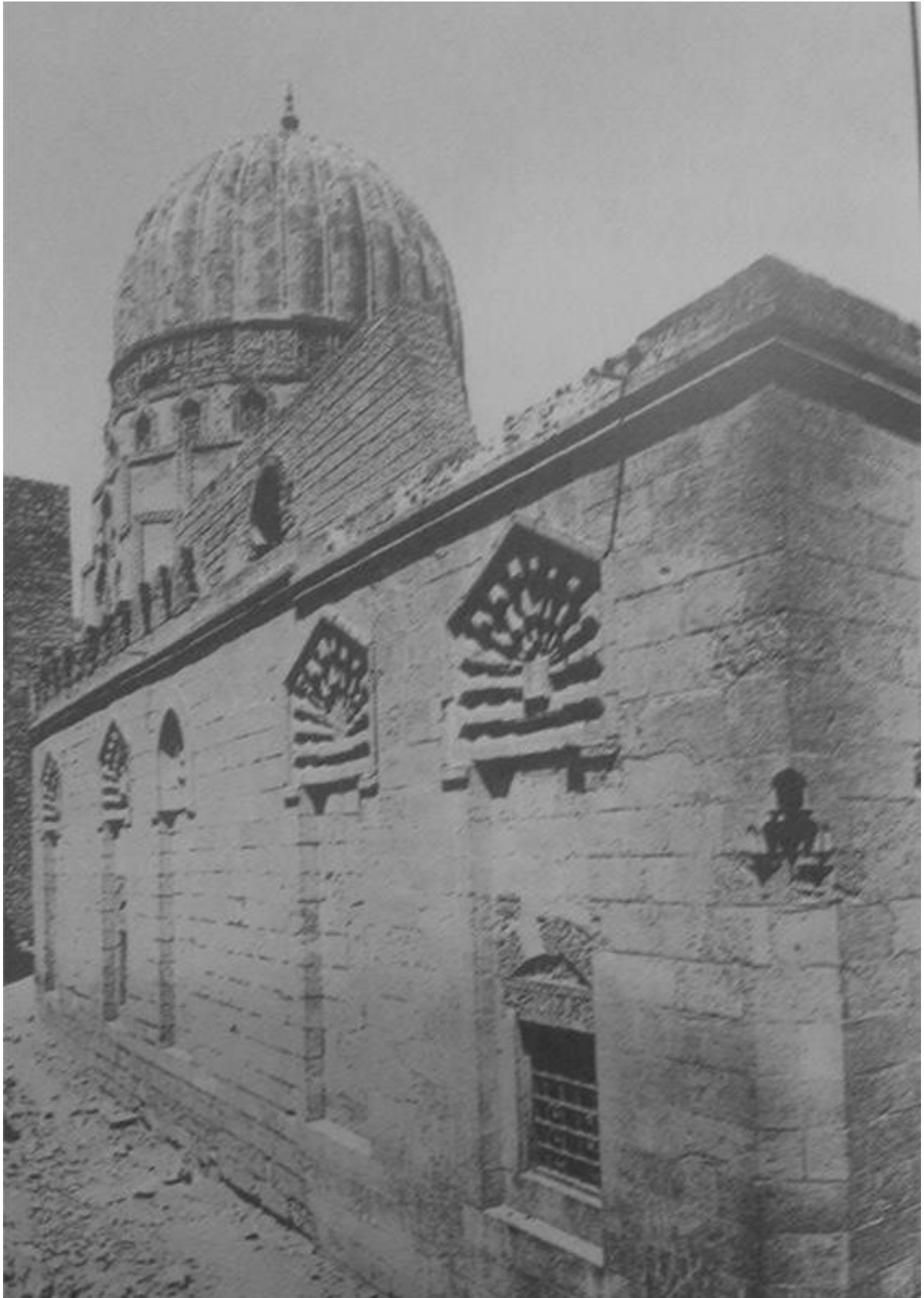


Plate 48: Mausoleum and Madrasa of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Yusuf.
Image Source: El-Kadi, *Architecture for the Dead*, 68.



Plate 49: Mausoleum of Fāṭma Khātūn.
Image Source: Archnet.



Plate 50: 'Umm al-Sulṭān Sha'bān.
Image Source: Archnet.



Plate 51: Al-Ḥakim Mosque.
Image Source: Archnet.

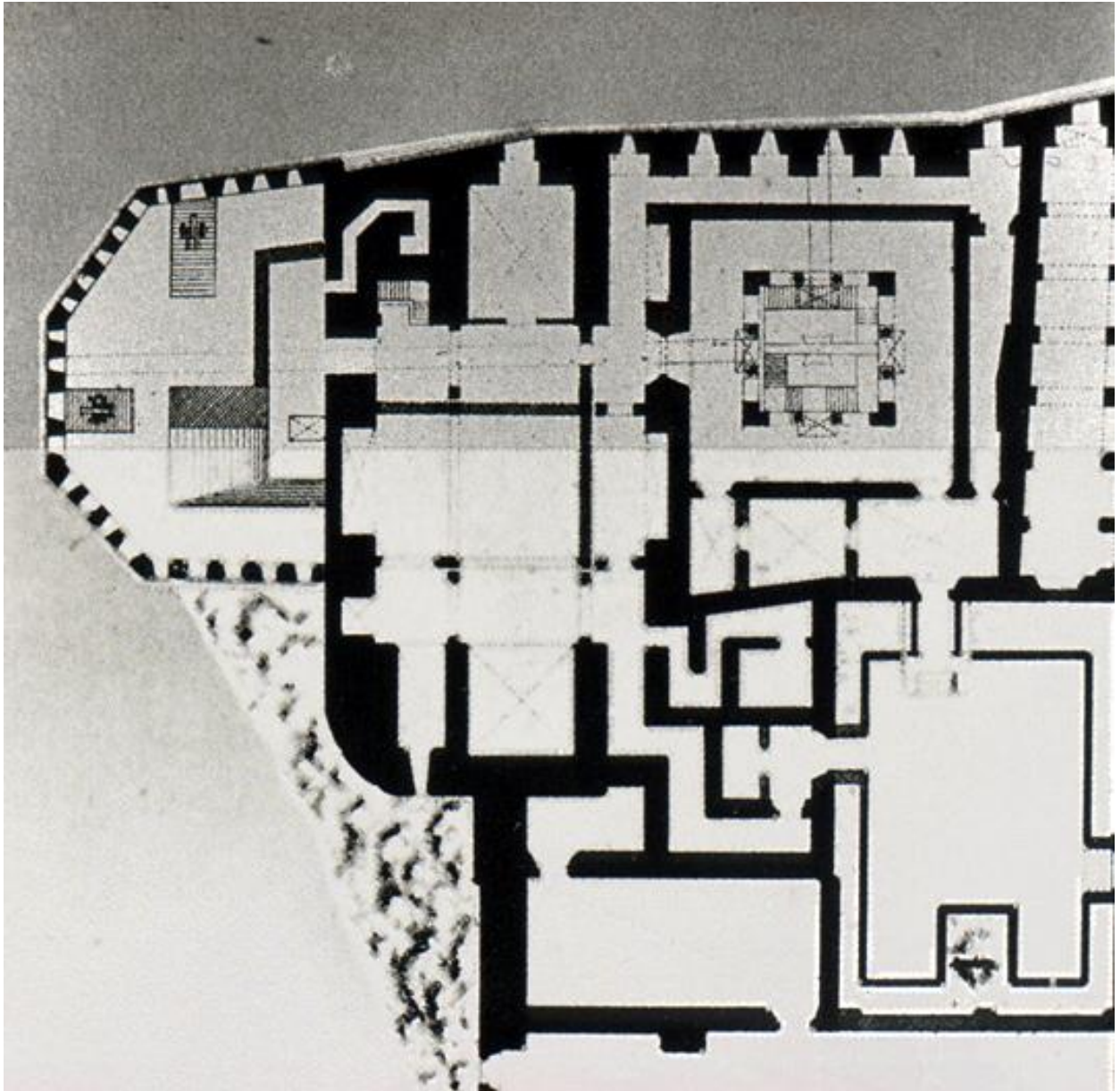


Plate 52: Plan of the Rawḍa Citadel after Creswell.
Image Source: <http://web.mit.edu/>

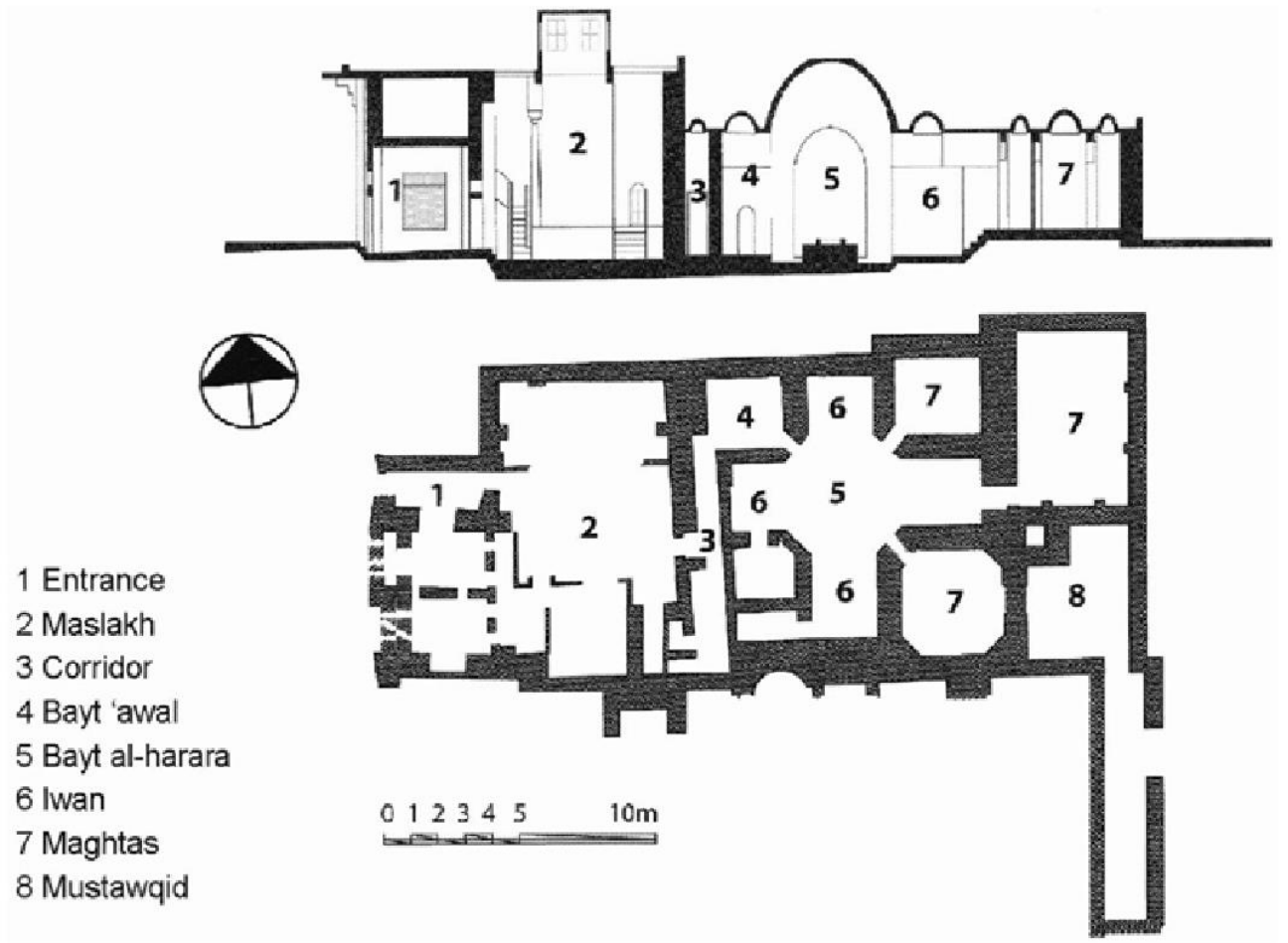


Plate 53: Plan and Section of the Cairene Ḥammām.
 Image Source: Fadli, “Historic Ḥammāms of Cairo”, 68.

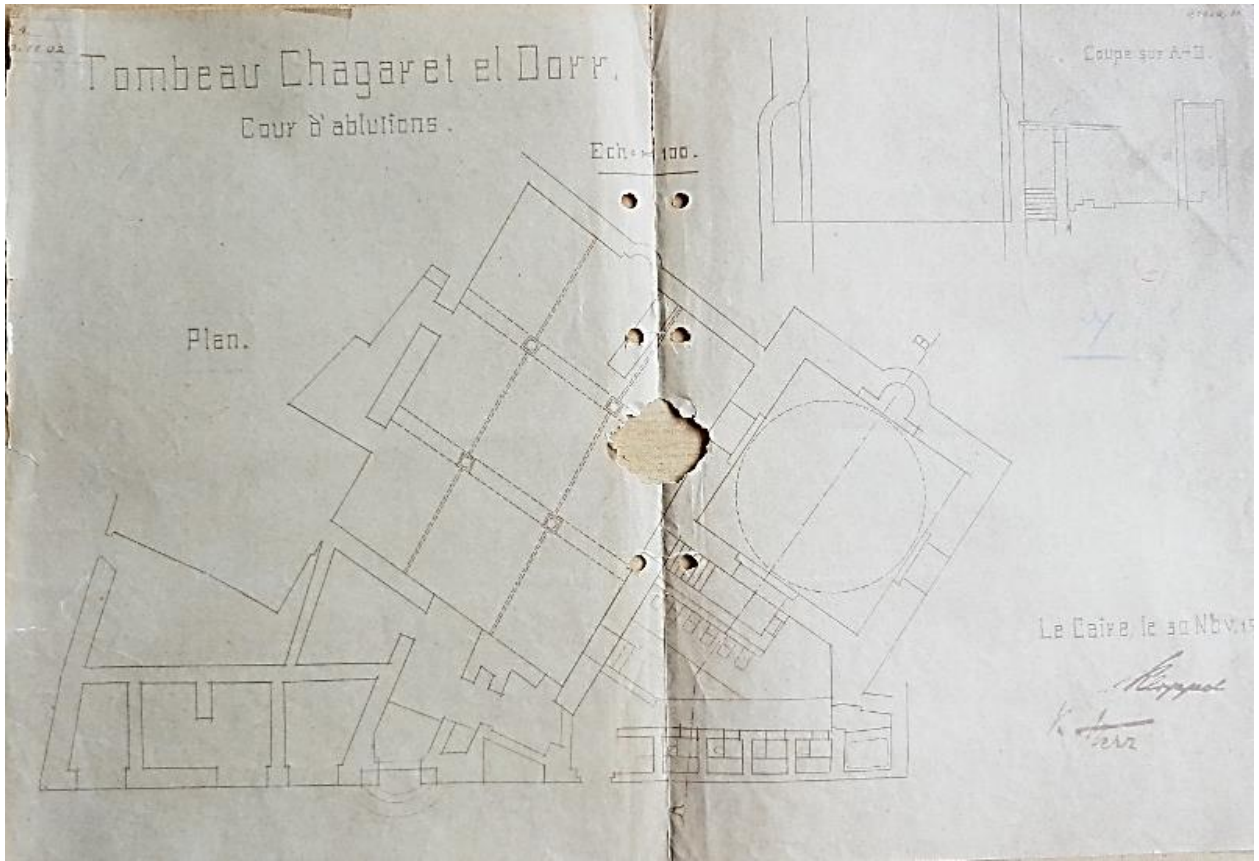


Plate 54: Herz 1902 Ablution Court Proposal
Image Source: 'Abbāsiyya Archives.

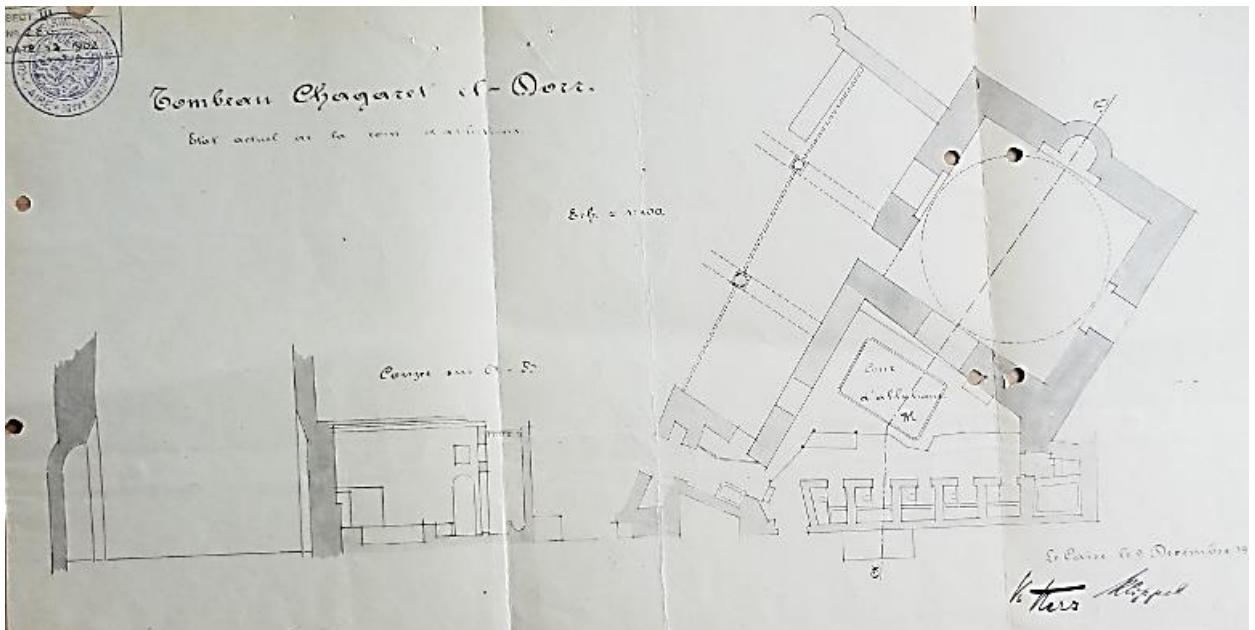


Plate 55: As Built Ablutions Basin
Image Source: 'Abbāsiyya Archives.

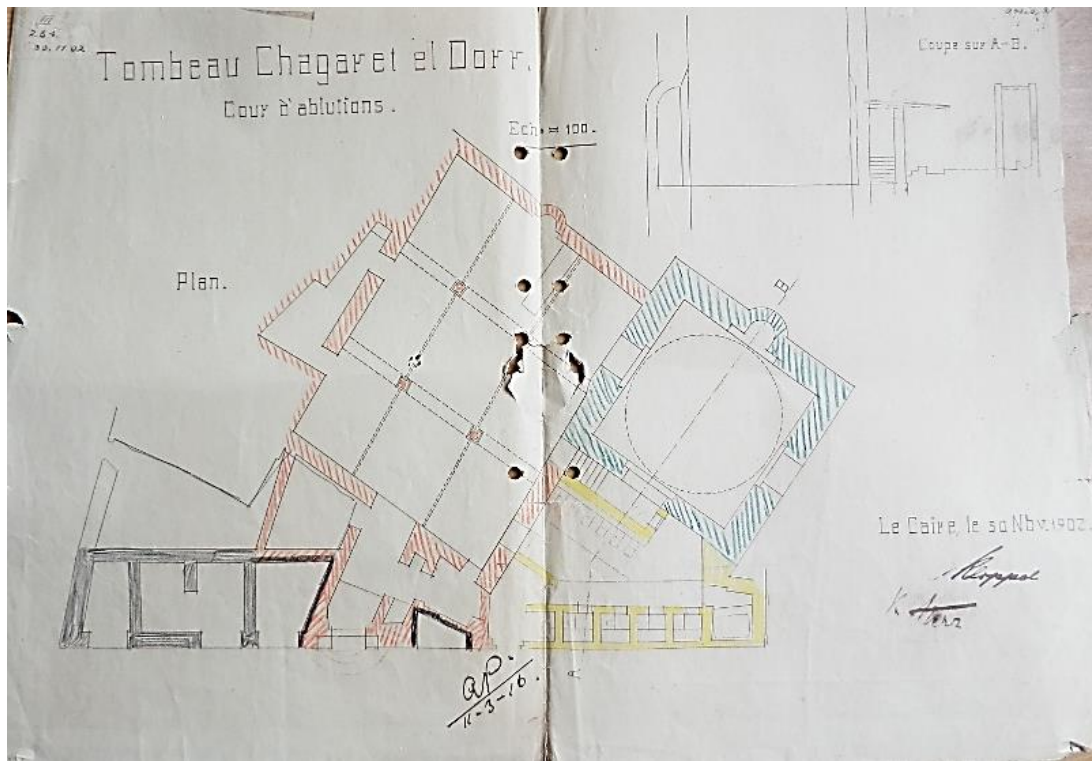


Plate 56: 1902 Site Plan: Mausoleum (Blue), Mosque (Red), Wet Area (Grey), Ablutions Proposal (Yellow)

Image Source: 'Abbāsiyya Archives.

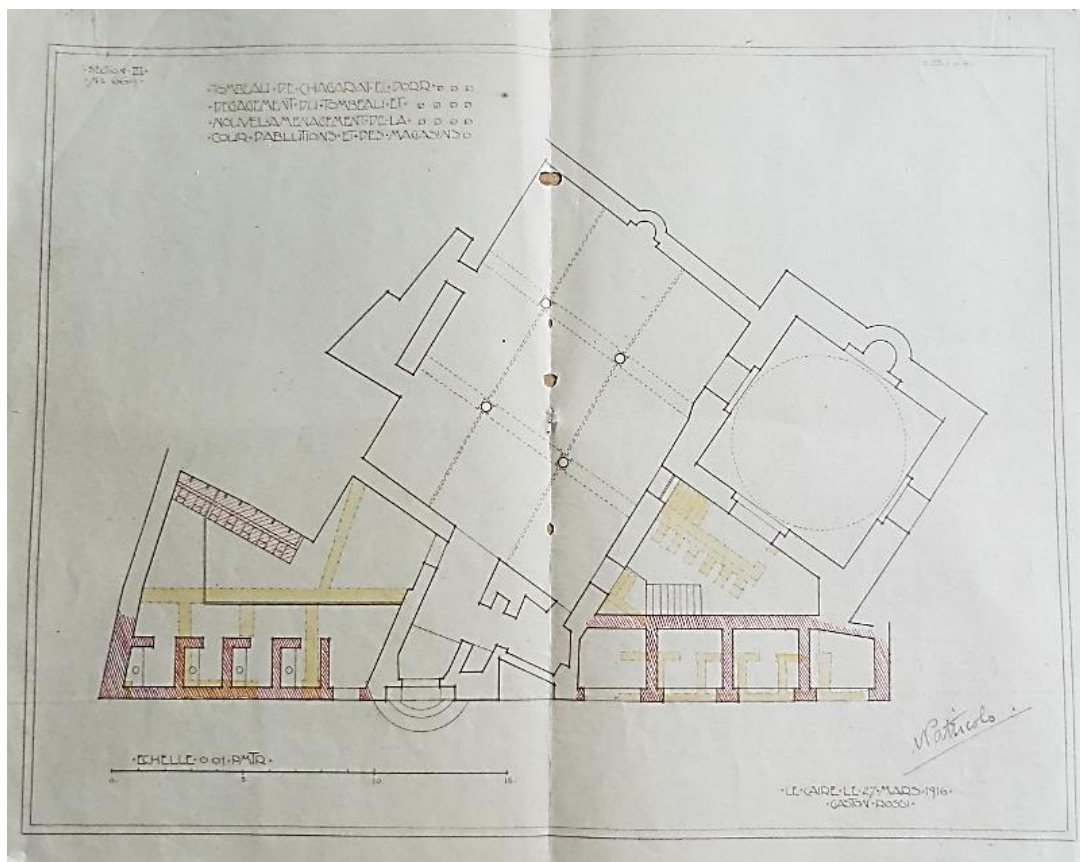


Plate 57: 1902 Ablution Proposal (Yellow) Overlaid with Older Design (Red)

Image Source: 'Abbāsiyya Archives.

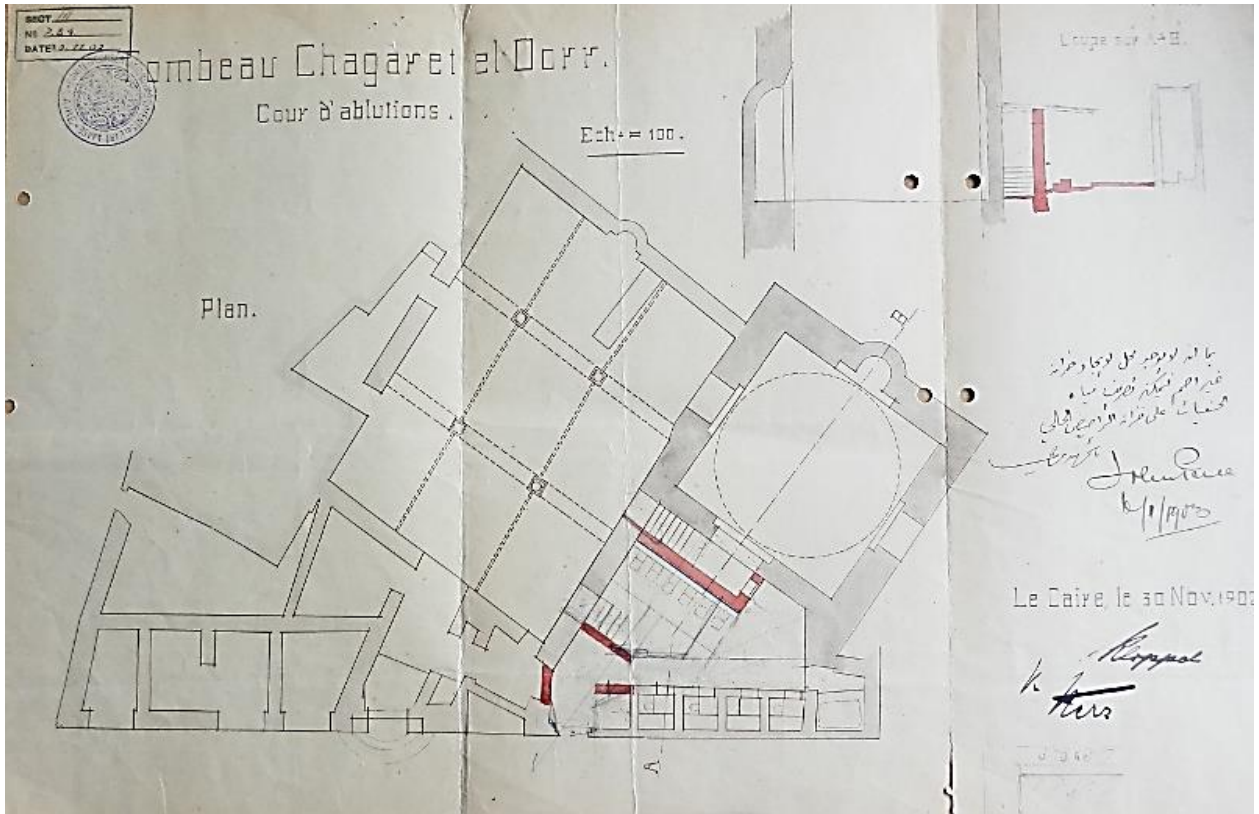


Plate 58: 1902 Ablutions Proposal - Plan and Section.
Image Source: 'Abbāsiyya Archives.'



Plate 59: Mosque of al-Khalifa.
Image Source: www.msobieh.com



Plate 60: Mosque of al-Khalifa.
Image Source: www.msobieh.com



Plate 61: Max Herz Pasha.
Image Source: cairobserver.com



Plate 62: Creswell.
Image Source: Google.



Plate 63: Creswell Special Collection at the Rare Books Section of the American University in Cairo's Library.
Image Source: academia.aucegypt.edu

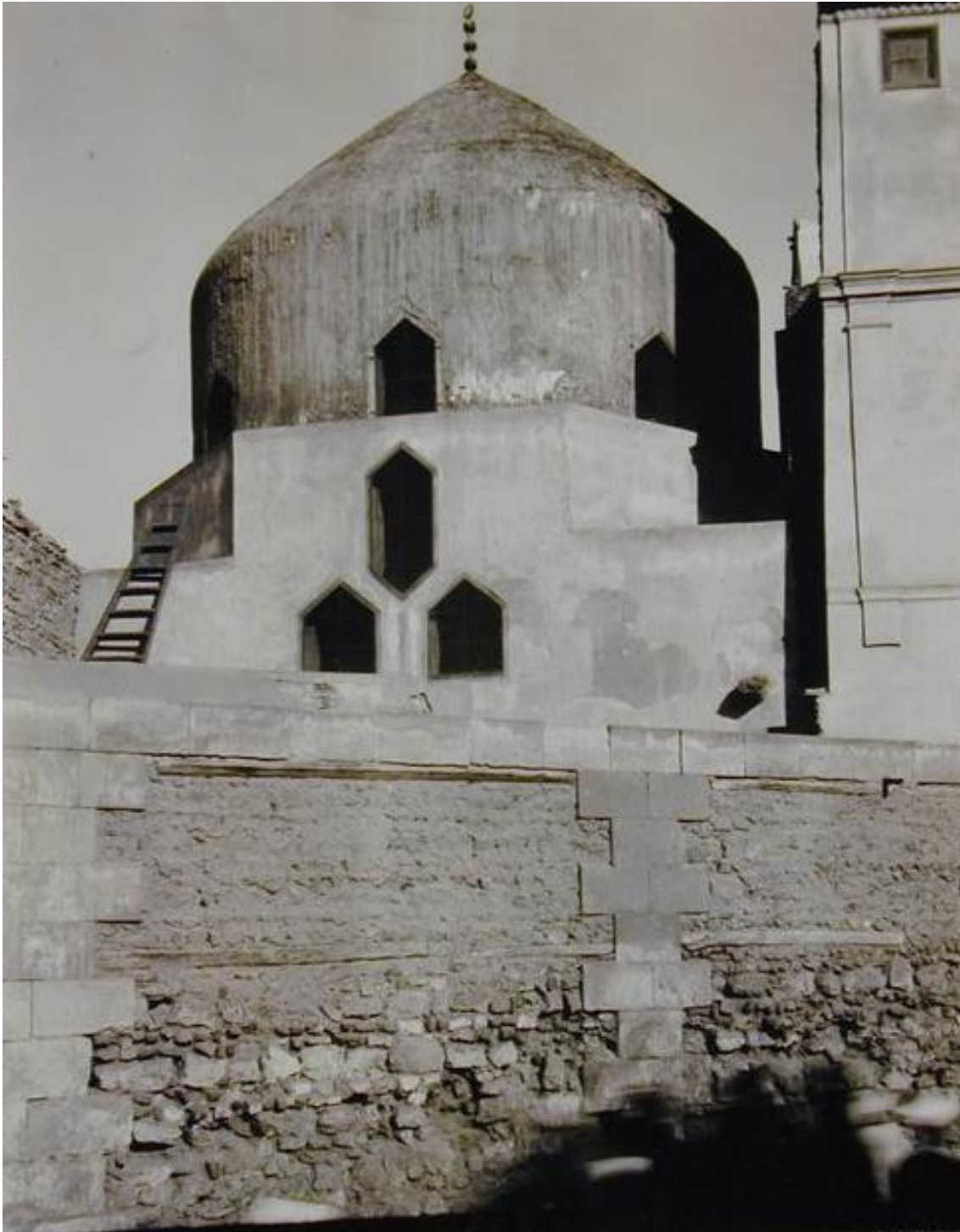


Plate 64: Creswell Image of Surrounding Context.
Image Source: Creswell Photo Archives, Archnet.

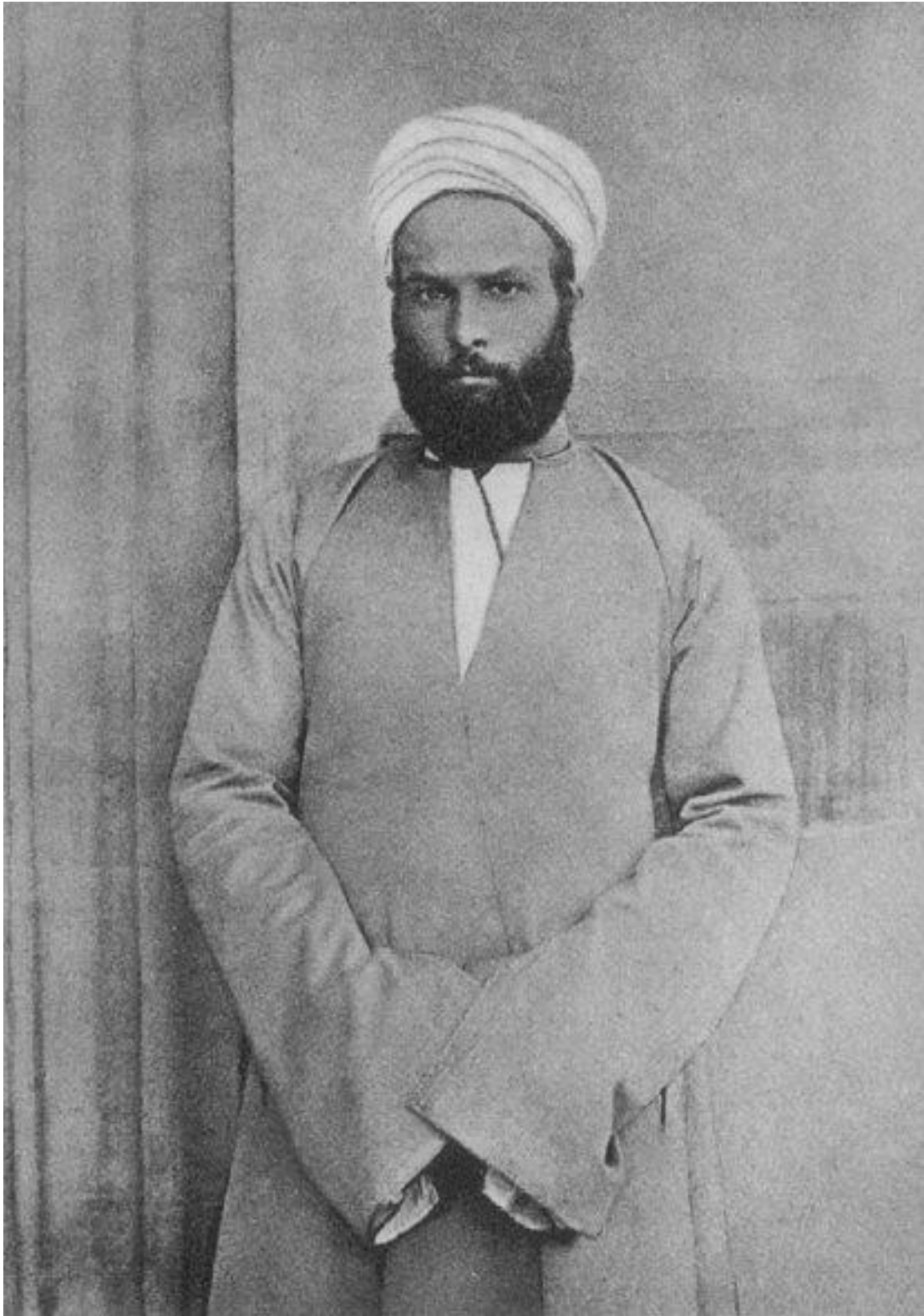


Plate 65: Muḥammad ‘Abduh.
Image Source: Wikipedia.

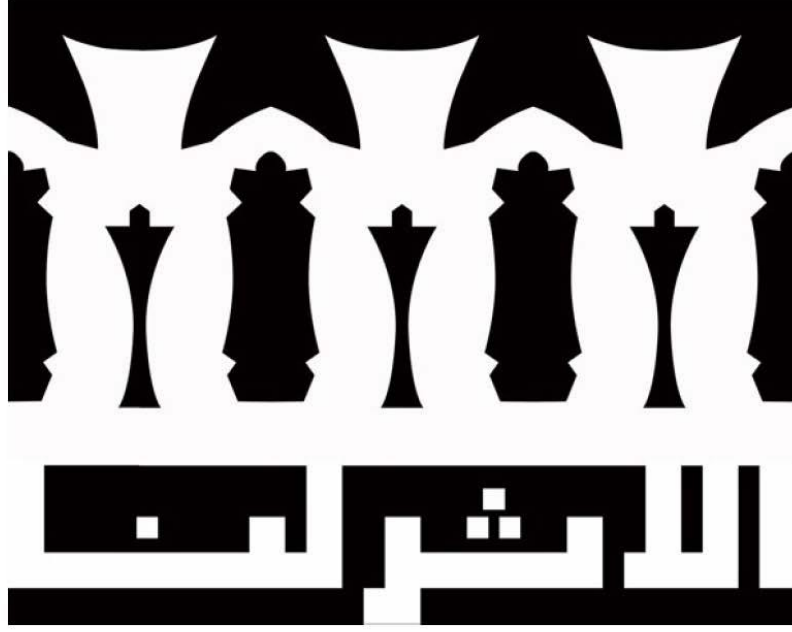


Plate 66: Mosaics Mihrab Published in Cairo of the Mamluks by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in 2007.

Image Source: Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 117.



Plate 67: Mu'izz Street.
Image Source: www.egypttailormade.net



Al-Athar Lina: Participatory Design Project on the Monument-Street Buffer Zone in al-Khalifa Area. In collaboration between the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute and the Ministry of Antiquities.

**مشروع التصميم التشاركي حول علاقة الاثر بالبيئة
المحيطة بالتعاون بين وزارة الآثار والمعهد الدنماركي**

Plate 68: Athar Lina Logo.

Image Source: thearchitecturalcommittee.wordpress.com

مراحل المشروع PROJECT PHASES

الورشة التشاركية الأخيرة (6-5) 2012/10/13-12 تنقل المرحلة التصميمية والنموذجية مع التركيز على 3 قضايا تم تحديدها في الورش المسبقة هي منطقتي الأثر التي تضم شجرة الدر وفناء المسجدة رفة ومسجد الأثر مع الأراضي والمباني المحاورة غير المستغلة وأجزاء تقسيم لأحياء الشارع كما اعلم مبرمما بالشارع لاستطلاع آراء الأهالي حول التوصيات.

Final participatory workshop (5-6 & 12-13/10/2012) switches to the design phase. Design recommendations are produced for the 3 focus issues identified in the previous workshops: the monument cluster of Shagarat al-Durr and Ruqayya; the mosque of Muhammad al-Anwar and surrounding abandoned plots and buildings; and a general needs assessment for the street. An interim exhibition in the street invites feedback and discussion.

ندوة رمضان (2012/8/7) للتصريف بأخر مستجدات المشروع.

Follow up Ramadan Seminar (7/8/2012)

الندوة الأولى (2012/6/30) ندوة تعريفية بمجالس الحد من طوبى بنات كلمة السيد أمين عام المجلس الأعلى للأثار تلاها عرض لمكرة المشروع ومناقشة مع الجامعيين وسجل الرئيس في المشاركة في ورش العمل ثم حفل ذكر وثورة للفرقة الموسيقية المصرية.

SEMINAR ONE (30/6/2012) Introductory seminar in Ibn Tulun Mosque. Opening speech by the Chairman of the Supreme Council of Antiquities followed by a presentation explaining the project idea, an open discussion with the audience and a chance to register for the workshops and finally, a whirling dervish performance by al-Mawlawiya al-Misriyya.

ورشة البحث التشاركي الثالثة (13 - 14) 2012/7/7 بأغلبية من الأهالي عقد باليوم الأول اجتماع مفتوح للأهالي لمناقشة مشاكل الشارع ثم تلا ذلك باليوم الثالث ورشة عمل مفصلة للمصطلحين بالورشة لدراسة القطاع الجنوبي من الشارع ويشمل قنبي الأشرف حليل وأثر الصالح.

Participatory research workshop III (13 - 14 / 7/2012) with a majority of residents. A meeting open to all residents was held the first day to focus on the general problems of the street. In Day two, registered participants studied the southern section of the street which included the domes of Umm al-Salih and al-Ashraf Khali.

ورشة البحث التشاركي الثانية (10 - 11) 2012/7/11 بأغلبية من الحكومة ونخبة تربيت الورشة الأولى مع دراسة القطاع الأوسط من الشارع الذي يشمل فيه شجرة الدر ومشاهد السيدة رفة والحفري وعكاك.

Participatory research workshop II (10 - 11 / 7/2012) with a majority of government officials. Same sequence as previous workshop with the field research component focusing on the middle section of the street that includes Shagarat al-Durr, Ruqayya, Ja'fari and Akka.

ورشة البحث التشاركي الأولى (10 - 11) 2012/7/11 بمشاركة جميع الأطراف المعنية بأغلبية من المجتمع المدني. محاضرات عن فكرة المشروع، معنى التصميم التشاركي وتاريخ الشارع تلاها لعبة تبادل أدوار لتسهيل التفاهم والتواصل. في اليوم الثاني كان التركيز على دراسة القسم الشمالي من شارع الخليفة بين جامع بن طوبى والمسجدة سكنية.

Participatory research workshop I (10 - 11 / 7/2012) with all stakeholders with a majority of civil society. Introductory lectures on participatory design, the purpose of the project and the history of the street were followed by a role playing exercise to facilitate communication and empathy. Day two was spent studying the northern section of the street starting from Ibn Tulun Mosque and ending with Sayyida Sukayna.

Plate 69: Athar Lina Project Phases.
Image Source: thearchitecturalcommittee.wordpress.com



Plate 70: Community Participation Workshops.
Image Source: thearchitecturalcommittee.wordpress.com



Covering the mosaic mihrab



Site before cleaning



Site before cleaning



During cleaning



After cleaning

Plate 71: Athar Lina-Preparatory Work at the Mausoleum of Shajarat al-Durr.
Image Source: The Athar Lina Report



Mihrab before conservation



Mihrab after conservation

Plate 72: Athar Lina- Miharab Mosaics is Closed off.
Image Source: The Athar Lina Report

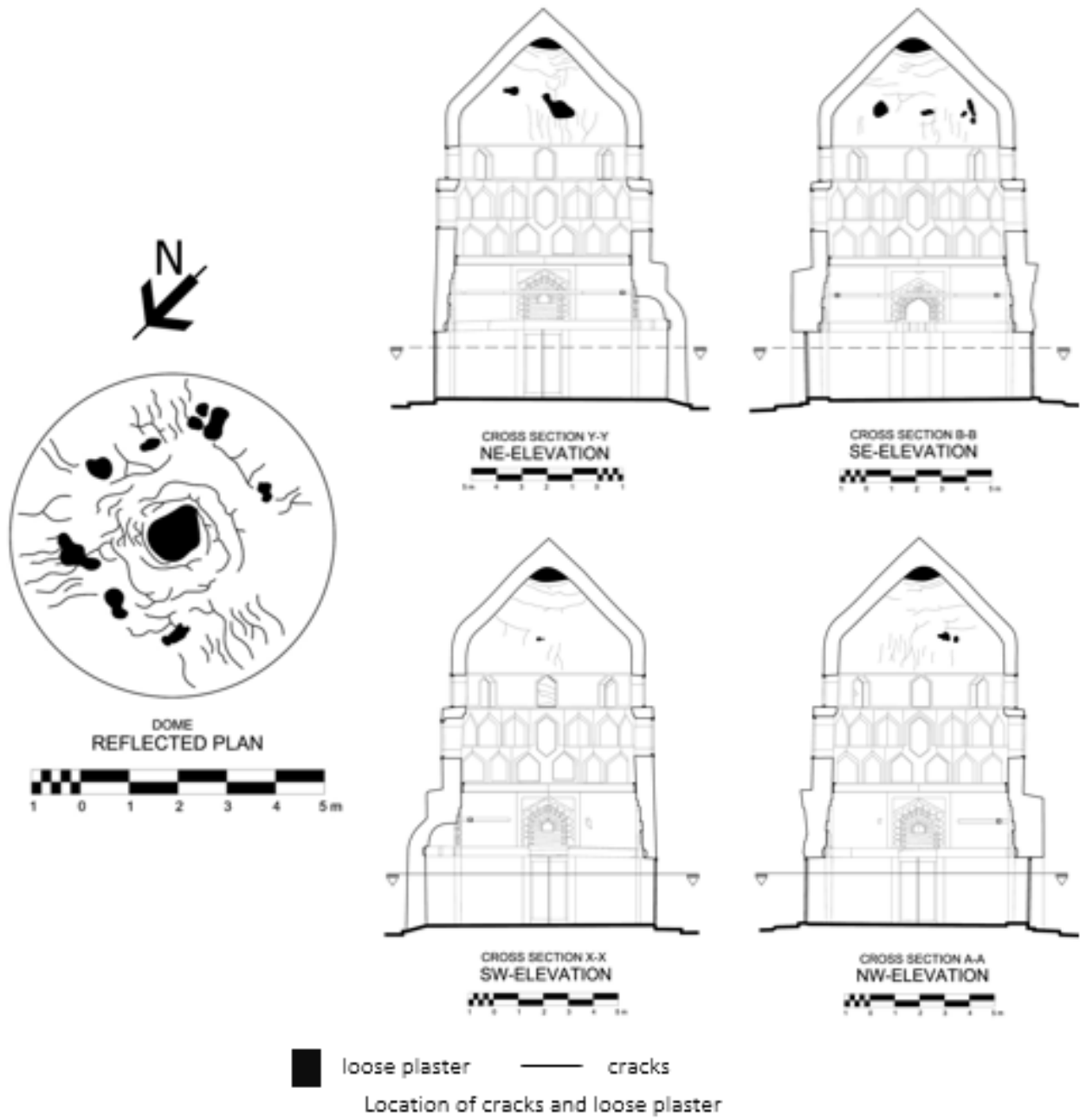


Plate 73: Athar Lina- Plastering Conservation.
 Image Source: Athar Lina Report



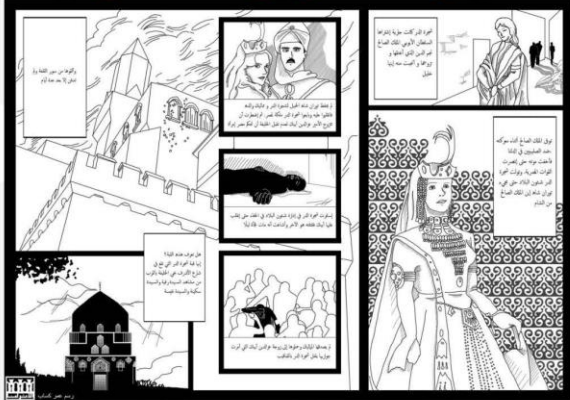
Example of the documentation and condition survey of the lower inscription frieze.



Cleaning, treating with insecticide and dammar.

Plate 74: Athar Lina- Plastering and Wooden Conservation.
 Image Source: The Athar Lina Report

مدرسة الآثار من خلال الفن



ضرورة الاهتمام بالأطفال وتوعيتهم بأهمية آثارهم وتاريخهم أحد الموضوعات التي نركز فنانسها خلال ورش العمل والندوات. كما تم طرح فكرة التوعية من خلال الفن، وكان من حسن الطالع أن ورشة العمل الأخيرة كانت في أمتافاف مدرسة شجرة الدر الأبدائية الواقعة في مواجهة جامع أحمد بن طولون وهي مدرسة شديدة الرفق ذات إدارة مسنيرة ومتعاونة. كما قمنا بتجربة فكرة توزيع رسومات تلوس للنوع بالبارف مثل القصة المصورة المعروضة أعلى والتي تعكس قصة شجرة الدر. لاف هذه الفكرة استحسان الأطفال والكتاب. المشروع المفرف هو تنظيم مدرسة توعية الآثار من خلال الفن تعقد لافاف أسبوعية لأطفال المنطقة والمدون التقليدية أو نظم دروسا مسطبة عن تاريخ مصر. وسنقوم بتنظيم المدرسة جمعية الفكر العمراني بالشاركة مع جمعاف أخرى متخصصة في التربية والتعليم وتنطوعن للعمل مع الأطفال.

مناطق ترفيهية للأطفال



المدرف الففاء أمام قبة الأشرف خلفة:

هذه المنطقة تكون من عدد من المدرجات أوبها درف مؤدى إلى نادى الشباب وهي غير مسطبة وقابلة للتطوير كرفه خرفاء للشارف بها منزهاف ومناطق للعب الأطفال. المطلوب أولا التوصل إلى نظام لتنتبب التربة والتأكد من عدم إهبافها وكذلك إختيار أشجار ونبافاف نفوى التربة ولا تتطلب ماء كثيرا للركى. ومن الممكن إعادة تدوير المواد المسطبة بطرفه منكرة لتوفر أماكن للعب والجلوس.

أراضف ففاء منفرقة بالشارف والحوارف المنفرقة:

من الملحوظ بشارف الخلفة وجود أراضف ففاء كرفه غير مسطبة وخاصة حول الآثار. من الممكن استغلال هذه الأراضف ولو بطرفه مؤقتة كمناطق عامية للجلوس وللعب الأطفال لمن توفر التمويل للماء عليها. هناك طرف بسيطة للرافعة على المسطوب الأراضف وكذلك للرافعة على مساحاف صرفة وهي كلفا تسمح بالركى المحدود وكذلك تسمح بنقل السافاف إذا نطلب الأمر. وقد قام فراف العمل بإعداد فكرة مسطبة لمعلم للأطفال الصغار ومنطقة للجلوس في أرفف ففاء بدر الكحالفة كنموذج لهذا النوع من المشافف المحدودة.

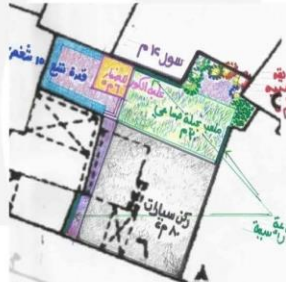


Plate 75: Athar Lina Heritage School.

Image Source: thearchitecturalcommittee.wordpress.com



Plate 76: URHC Project.
 Image Source: www.urhcproject.org

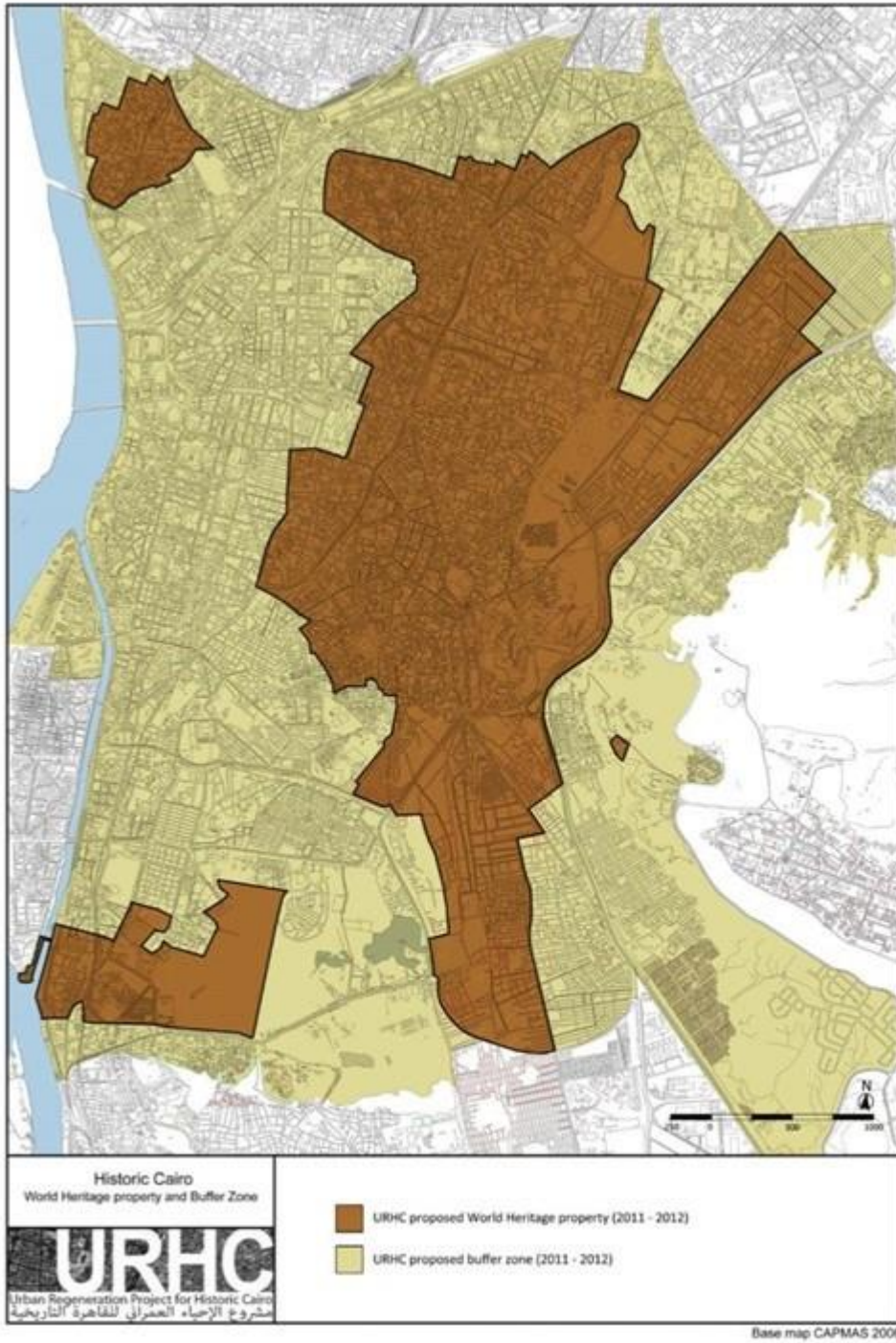


Plate 77: URHC Buffer Zone.
Image Source: URHC 2012 First Report of Activities.



Plate 78: Save Mu'izz Street.
Image Source: Facebook Page.



Plate 79: Online Petition in Favor of Saving Egyptian Heritage.
Image Source: Change.org



Plate 80: Stakeholders Meeting.

Image Source: thearchitecturalcommittee.wordpress.com



Plate 81: Clinic Space Prior to Conservation Efforts.
Image Source: atharlina.com



Plate 82: Clinic Space after Conservation.
Image Source: atharlina.com



Section of Mezzanine
 قطاع يوضح الدور المسروق

Plate 83: Architectural Section for Clinic Extension -Preliminary Proposal.
 Image Source: atharlina.com

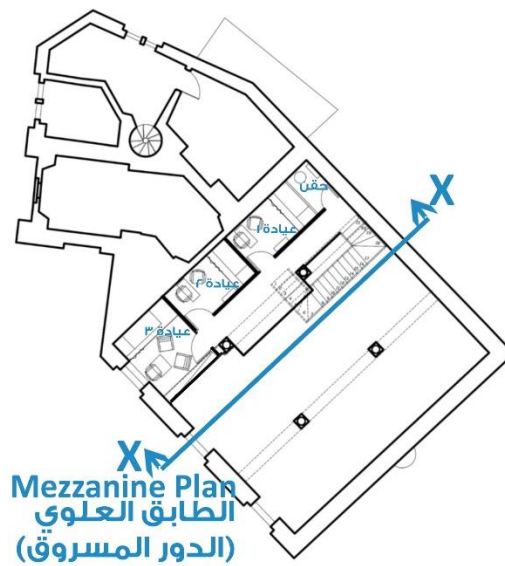


Plate 84: Architectural Plan for Clinic Extension -Preliminary Proposal.
 Image Source: atharlina.com.

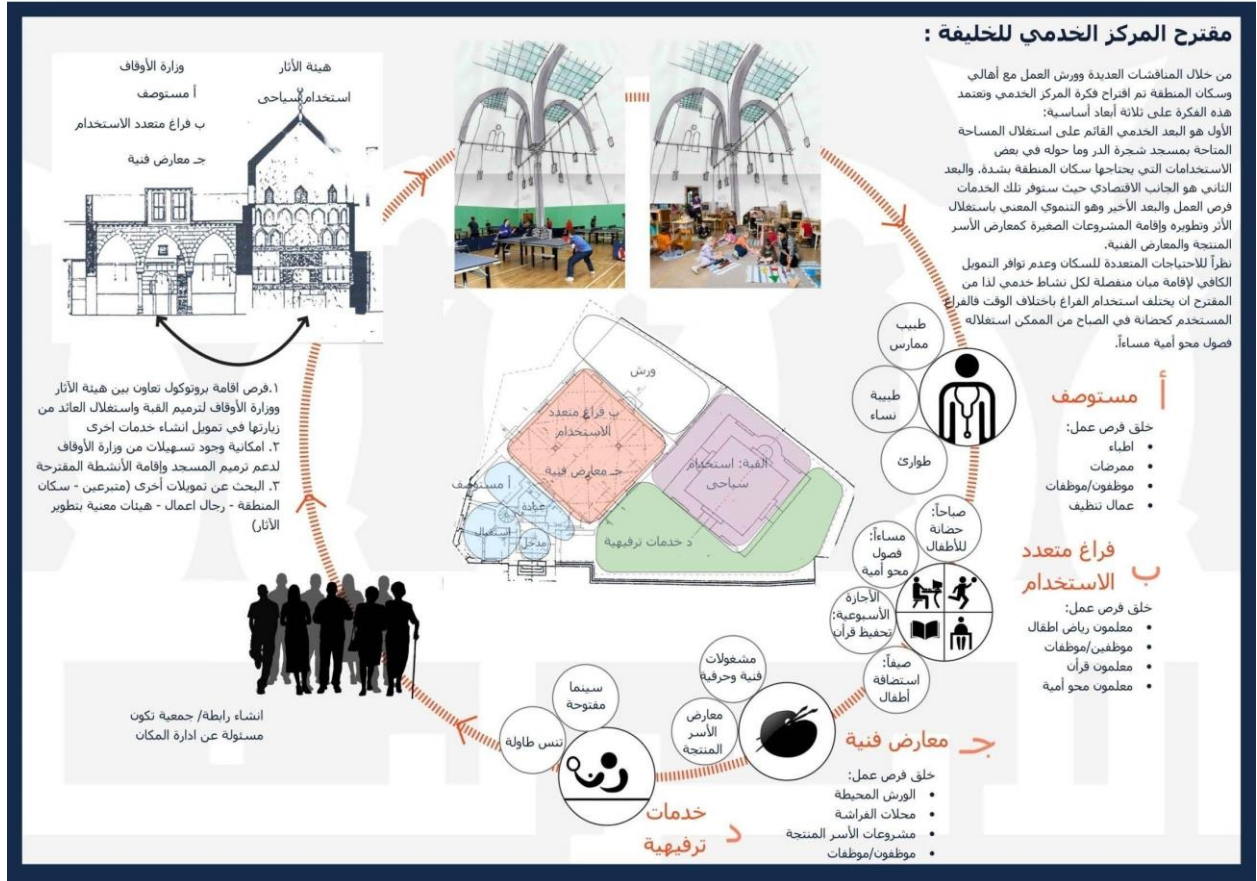


Plate 85: Athar Lina- Clinic Re-use.

Image Source: thearchitecturalcommittee.wordpress.com

افتتاح مستوصف الخليفة

(لأحباب السيدة سكينة)

بمركز الخليفة الخدمي
يوم 6 ابريل 2014
بعد صلاة العصر

يبدأ العمل بالمستوصف
بعيادة الباطنة والأطفال
يوميًا ماعدا الجمعة والسبت
من الساعة 5 عصرا وحتى 10 مساء

سعر موحد للتذكرة 10 جنيهاً

قام بترميم المستوصف مبادرة الأثر لنا
بمشاركة أهالي شارع الأشراف
وبالتعاون مع جمعية الفكر العمراني
(مجاورة)
وذلك ضمن مشروع ترميم قبة شجرة الدر

قريباً إضافة عيادات في تخصصات أخرى ومعامل

كما سيتم تشغيل المركز الخدمي
ويتضمن حضانة وكتاب
ومركز الثقافة والتوعية بالتراث

مجاورة



Plate 86: Banner for The Athar Lina Clinic Facility.
Image Source: Athar Lina Facebook page.



Plate 87: Spend Your Day at al-Khalifa Street Event Banner.
Image Source: Athar Lina, Facebook Page.



Plate 88: Midan al-Sayyida Nafisa 2012 Development Proposal.
Image Source: Youm7



Plate 89: Zomal Crowd Funding Platform.
Image Source: Athar Lina Facebook Page.