

American University in Cairo

AUC Knowledge Fountain

Archived Theses and Dissertations

6-1-1994

Architectural patronage in the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq in Cairo

Shams El-Din Tantawy

Follow this and additional works at: https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds



Part of the [Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture Commons](#), [Architectural History and Criticism Commons](#), and the [Near Eastern Languages and Societies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

APA Citation

Tantawy, S. (1994). *Architectural patronage in the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq in Cairo* [Thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds/1104

MLA Citation

Tantawy, Shams El-Din. *Architectural patronage in the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq in Cairo*. 1994. American University in Cairo, Thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds/1104

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by AUC Knowledge Fountain. It has been accepted for inclusion in Archived Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of AUC Knowledge Fountain. For more information, please contact mark.muehlhaeusler@aucegypt.edu.

ARCHITECTURAL
PATRONAGE IN THE
REIGN OF SULTAN
JAQMAQ IN CAIRO

BY
SHAMS EL-DIN TANTAUY

1994

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
LIBRARY

1079
20.

Theses

Declaration to be signed by the author.

NAME... Shams... EL-DIN... Mahmoud... Tantawy.....
TITLE OF THESIS.....
.. Architectural Patronage In the Reign of.....
.. Sultan Jaqmaq In Cairo.....
DEPARTMENT. Arabic Studies. YEAR. 1994. [Library no.....]

Please sign and date ONE of the following paragraphs:

1. The thesis may be consulted in the Library and photocopied.

Signed.....Date.....

OR

2. The thesis may be consulted in the Library, but may not be photocopied. The restriction on photocopying will cease two years after the date below, unless I apply for, and am granted, its renewal.*

Signed... Shams EL-DIN Tantawy.....Date... 11/5/1994.

OR

3. The thesis may neither be consulted nor photocopied without written permission from me, or from the appropriate Head of Department if I cannot be contacted. This restriction will cease three years after the date below, unless I apply for, and am granted, its renewal.*

Signed.....Date.....

* Application for renewal of restrictions will be considered by the Librarian, the appropriate Head of Department and the Chairman of the Academic Board or his nominee.

Tantawy, Shams El-Din
Architectural patronage i
n the reign of Sultan Jaq
Thesis 1079

The American University In Cairo
Spring semester 1994

THESIS
1994/1074

M.A. Thesis
Architectural Patronage In the Reign of Sultan Jagmaq
In Cairo

This thesis is submitted to the departement
of Arabic studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Departement of Arabic Studies
Islamic Art and Architecture

Presented by: Shams El-Din Tantawy

June 1994

THIS THESIS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE

BY

SHAMS ELDIN TANTAWY

HAS BEEN APPROVED

JUNE 1994

Shams Eldin Tantawy

CHAIRMAN, THESIS COMMITTEE

[Signature]

READER, THESIS COMMITTEE

[Signature]

READER, THESIS COMMITTEE

[Signature]

CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC STUDIES

To My Father

Transliteration system

The system of transliteration adopted in this thesis is according to the "International Journal of Middle East Studies" except for the following:

a	Long	ى
d		ض
h		ح
s		ص
t		ط
u		و
z		ظ

The arabic wards are underlined except for the names and the following wards:

Madrasa, Khanqah, Takkiya, Wikala and Iwan.

Naskhi, Thuluth, sura and Basmala.

Qadi, Waqf and Suq.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

- Dr. Bernard O'Kane The Supervisor of my Master, who put the guide lines for my research and helped me to reach the conclusion.
- Dr. George Scanlon He was, and is, my Professor who directed my attention to a very interesting field of research and taught me a lot about it.
- Dr. Laila Ibrahim She supplied me with main sources that were very helpful.
- Dr. Khaled Deemer The editor of the Thesis, who helped in presenting the Thesis in its most presentable form.
- Mr. Nigel Ryan He helped me with the Preliminary editing.
- Ms. Lucy Seton-Watson She edited the final research with all patience and understanding.

Arch. Omar al-Faruq

For his great encouragement and moral
support and helpful discussions

I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Wilkins the
head of the SPCL, for her great help during the years of my
research at the department, Mrs. Mona Rif`at, Mrs. Camilia
Mustafa Mrs. Nadia Ali and Mrs. Soheir Fahmy.

Special thanks to the photocopier Mr. Muhammad Abu Bakr & Amr
Kamel.

Last but not least my family for thier blessing.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: SULTAN JAQMAQ	
Biography	5
Jaqmaq's personality	6
Foreign affairs	7
Relations with the Abbasid caliphs	8
Religious politics	9
Economic situation	10
Art and architecture	12
CHAPTER TWO: AMIRIAL PATRONAGE UNDER SULTAN JAQMAQ	15
(A) TAGHRI BIRDI COMPLEX	
Founder	16
Site	16
Description and analysis	
Plan	17
Facades	18
Mausoleum	21
Minaret	23
Sabil and kuttab	24
Interior	24
Inscriptions	26
(B) MINARET OF QANIBAY AL-SHARKASI	
Founder	28
Site	28
Description and analysis	28

Inscriptions	30
(C) MOSQUE OF QARAQAJA AL-HASANI	
Founder	31
Site	31
Description and analysis	
Plan	32
Facades	32
Minaret	35
Interior	37
Inscriptions	39
(D) MOSQUE OF AL-JAMALI YUSUF	
Founder	40
Site	41
Description and analysis	
Plan	41
Facade	42
Interior	43
Inscriptions	45
CHAPTER THREE: BUILDINGS OF AL-QADI YAHYA	46
Biography	47
(A) MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT PORT SA`ID STREET	
(BAYN AL-NAHDAYN)	
Site	50
Description and analysis	
Plan	51
Facades	52

Minaret	56
Interior	57
Inscriptions	59
(B) MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BULAQ	
Site	61
Description and analysis	
Plan	63
Facades	64
Minaret	65
Interior	66
Minbar	68
Inscriptions	68
(C) MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT SIKKAT AL-HABBANIYYA	
Site	69
Description and analysis	
Plan	69
Facades	70
Minaret	72
Interior	73
Inscriptions	76
(D) RIBAT OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BAYN AL-SURAYN	
Site	77
Description and analysis	77
Inscription	78
CHAPTER FOUR: MOSQUES OF SULTAN JAQMAQ	80
(A) MOSQUE OF AL-SULTAN JAQMAQ AT AL-MARASINA STREET	
Site	81

Facades	99
Dome	99
Interior	100
Inscription	100
(B) MAUSOLEUM OF NASR ALLAH	
Site	101
Description and analysis	
Plan	101
Facades	101
Dome	102
Interior	102
Inscription	103
(C) MAUSOLEUM OF AL-SABA` BANAT	
Site	104
Descriptive analysis	
Plan	104
Facades	104
Annexed vaults	106
Dome	106
Interior	107
(D) THE MAUSOLEUM OF ABU AL-KHAYR AL-SUFI	109
CHAPTER SIX: OTHER BUILDINGS	
(A) SABIL AL-WAFA'IYYA	
Site	110
Description and analysis	110
Inscription	111
(B) TAKKIYYA TAQIY AL-DIN AL-BISTAMI	

Description and analysis	
Plan	81
Facades	82
Minaret	83
Interior	84
Inscriptions	85
(B) MOSQUE OF JAQMAQ AT DARB SA`ADA	
Site	86
Description and analysis	
Plan	86
Facade	86
Minaret	88
Interior	89
Inscriptions	91
(C) MOSQUE OF JAQMAQ AT DAYR AL-NAHAS	
Site	92
Description and analysis	
Facade	92
Minaret	93
The interior	93
CHAPTER FIVE: FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE IN THE PERIOD OF SULTAN JAQMAQ	94
(A) THE MAUSOLEUM OF INAL	
The Founder	96
Site	96
Description and analysis.	
Plan	98

Site	112
Description and analysis	112
Inscription	114
CONCLUSION	115
Sites	115
plans	116
Minarets	116
Mihrabs	118
Ceilings	118
Facades	119
Woodwork and Metalwork	119
Portals	120
Mausoleums	120
Patrons	121
APPENDIX	124
(A) THE SO-CALLED MAUSOLEUM OF AL-SADAT AL-SHANAHIRA	
Site	124
Discription and analysis	
Plan	124
Facades	125
Dome	125
Interior	126
Inscriptions	127
Conclusion	127
Bibliography	128

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore a period of Cairene architectural production that has not yet been systematically researched. Although the buildings constructed during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq neither show lavish decoration nor are conceived on a monumental scale, they do demonstrate unique architectural features worth exploring. Mosques, for example, undergo fundamental changes in both form and function. Mosque and madrasa become one institution, with the two designations used interchangeably and the functions of the latter practised in the former. The mosque sometimes comes to incorporate the khanqah, becoming a compact multi-functional design, as in the Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bayn al-Nahdayn Street. Yet despite the development and preeminence of this new type of structure, a number of arcaded buildings continue to be constructed. The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bulaq is an example of this phenomenon. The present research aims to explore the different functions of the most important mosques constructed during the period of Sultan Jaqmaq's reign, and attempts to outline the impact of this period on later Islamic art and architecture in Egypt.

Value of the topic

The construction of buildings during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq is significant not only in its own right, but also because the works of this period form an important link in the

development of Circassian Mamluk architectural style. They constitute a transitional period between Bahri Mamluk architecture and the magnificent buildings of the Qaytbay period.

Despite the economic and social instability that characterized Jaqmaq's reign, patronage of architecture never ceased. The numerous small, less lavishly decorated buildings constructed during these years often demonstrate remarkable architectural features. Yet most research on fifteenth-century architecture in Cairo has tended to focus on Qaytbay's period alone, presenting it as the apogee of Circassian architecture. The present study attempts to reveal the importance of those buildings constructed during Jaqmaq's reign, not only for their influence on subsequent architectural forms and styles, but also because they possess a unique architectural character.

Research material

The extant buildings (or those for which illustrations have been preserved) constructed during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq are:

1. The Taghri Birdi Complex (844/1440; index 209) on al-Saliba Street.
2. The Mosque of Qanibay al-Sharkasi (845/1442; index 154) of which only the minaret has survived.
3. The Mosque of Qaraqaja al-Hasani (845/1442; index 206).
4. The Mosque of al-Jamali Yusuf (circa 850/1446; index 178); thought to be a house converted into a mosque.

5. The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at the intersection of Port-Said and al-Azhar streets (Bayn al-Nahdayn street; 849/1444, index 182).
 6. The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bulaq (853-4/1448-9; index 344).
 7. The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Sikkat al-Habbaniyya (856/1452-3; index 204).
 8. The Ribat of al-Qadi Yahya that existed on Port Said Street (Bayn al-Surayn) (856/1452; index 141). The portal, the only surviving part of the building, is now on display in the garden of the Islamic Museum.
 9. The Mosque of Sultan Jaqmaq at Marasina Street (Lajin al-Sayfi; 853/1449, index 217).
 10. The Madrasa and Sabil of Muhammad b. Jaqmaq at al-Azhar (855/1451; index 180).
 11. The Mosque of Sultan Jaqmaq at Dayr al-Nahas, near al-Fustat; destroyed (842-57/1438-53; index 317).
 12. The Mausoleum of Amir Inal in the Northern Cemetery (855/1451; index 158).
 13. The Mausoleum of Nasr Allah (circa 845/1441; index 88).
 14. The Mausoleum of al-Saba` Banat (842-57/1438-53; index 110).
 15. The Mausoleum of Abu'l-Khayr Muhammad al-Sufi; destroyed (853/1449; index 373).
 16. Sabil al-Wafa'iyya (846/1442; index 557).
 17. Takkiyya of Taqiy al-Din al-Bistami (847/1442; index 326).
- Appendix:** The Mausoleum of al-Sadat al-Shanahira, attributed by

Creswell to Qaraqaja al-Hasani (before 853/1449; index 86).¹

Analyses of the structure and function of these buildings form the basis of the research.

¹ Creswell, K. A. C., "A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517," Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale de Caire 16 (1919): 130.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF SULTAN JAQMAQ

Biography

Jaqmaq's personality

Foreign affairs

Relations with the Abbasid caliphs

Religious politics

Economic situation

Art and architecture

CHAPTER ONE

SULTAN JAQMAQ (842-56/1438-53)

Biography

The end of the fourteenth century saw the decline of the Qip̄jaq Turkish Mamluks and their replacement by Circassians, known as Burji Mamluks because they left the river bank and moved up to the Citadel. Sultan al-Zahir Barquq was the first Circassian sultan (803/1400), Tuman Bay (922/1517) the last; he was defeated by the Ottomans at al-Raydaniyya and hanged on Bab Zuwayla.¹

During the reign of al-Zahir Barquq, Sayf al-Din Abu Sa'id Muhammad Jaqmaq al-'Alay al-Zahiri was brought to Cairo by Khwaja Kisl, bought by al-'Alay 'Ali b. al-Atabiki Inal al-Yusufi, and given to the Sultan. During the reign of Faraj b. Barquq, Sayf al-Din Jaqmaq became cupbearer, then an amir of the third class. When his brother revolted against al-Malik al-Nasir, Jaqmaq was arrested and imprisoned. After his brother was captured and executed, Jaqmaq was pardoned and released.

He held no amirial position until the death of al-Nasir and the appointment of Shaykh al-Muhammadi as ruler. During the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh he became amir 'ashara khazindar and was promoted to amir of the first class during the reign of al-Malik al-Muzzafar Ahmad, son of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. He became amir tablakhana then muqaddim alf in the reign of Sultan Tatar.

¹ Ibn Iyas, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, Bada'i' al-zuhur fi waqa'i' al-duhur, ed. Muhammad Mustafa (Cairo, 1963-1984), vol. 5:146.

In 856/1438, the final year of the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbay, he became chief of the Egyptian armies (a position known as amir silah³).

Under Sultan al-`Aziz Yusuf, the son and the successor of al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbay Jaqmaq became nizam al-mulk. One year later Sultan al-Aziz was removed, and Jaqmaq, adopting the royal title al-Zahir, replaced him. He was the thirty-fourth Turkish Mamluk sultan and the tenth Circassian.⁴

Jaqmaq died in 856/1453 at the age of 81, leaving the sultanate to his son `Uthman. He ruled for a comparatively long period that was characterized by typical Mamluk traits, lavish gifts on the one hand and severe punishment on the other, by which he effectively controlled the Mamluks.

Jaqmaq's Personality

Sultan Jaqmaq was reputed to be religious, honest, generous, and honourable. Known for his piety, he was modest, and stood up for the `ulama' and the pious men; he loved orphans, and granted them financial support; he spoke very good Arabic and knew fiqh, on which he was occasionally consulted. Ibn Iyas described him as following the typical Turkish rule of "Disregard fairness; who

³ Lane-Poole, Stanley, The Art of the Saracens in Egypt (London, 1886), 30.

⁴ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:198.

complains first is to be trusted more than any later complainer."⁵

Immediately after Jaqmaq's election to the sultanate, Qurqumas, the man who had first proclaimed him Sultan, revolted against him and occupied the mosque of Sultan Hasan, which he used as his base of operations. After a skirmish between the Mamluks of the new Sultan and Qurqumas, the latter was defeated, captured, and imprisoned in Alexandria. As a consequence of Qurqumas's rebellion the stairs to the minarets of Sultan Hasan were removed (not for the first time in their history⁶), in an attempt to secure the Citadel from similar threats in future.

Foreign Affairs

During the early years of his sultanate Jaqmaq faced several challenges, not the least of which was the threat of foreign rebellion. Opposition to his rule came from Syria: for a brief period the ex-sultan, al-`Aziz, who had managed to escape from Qa`at al-Barbariyya,⁷ posed a threat. However, al-Aziz was soon captured and sent to the Alexandria prison, the usual Mamluk practice with an ex-sultan's sons.

⁵ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:300.

⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, Islamic Architecture in Cairo: an Introduction (Cairo, 1989), 123.

⁷ The usual treatment for the son of an ex-Sultan was to send him to Alexandria prison; however, rather than humiliate al-`Aziz, Barsbay's son, Jaqmaq chose to keep him under house arrest on the Citadel in Qa`at al-Barbariyya. Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-Zuhur, 2:209.

Jaqmaq's relations with the Timurids flourished. He accepted many gifts from Shah Rukh, son of Tamerlane, including a cover for the Ka`ba which Barsbay had previously refused. Jaqmaq's acceptance of this gift shows unusual tolerance for what is normally seen as a claim to sovereignty; he presumably accepted it from piety as a donation of purely religious significance. He also accepted many presents from the amir of al-Madina.

Jaqmaq's military campaigns, however, were not markedly successful, perhaps because he was so little troubled by foreign adversaries, save for occasional raids on his coasts by European ships. The few retaliatory attacks that he made on the island of Rhodes in 847 and 848⁸ were generally considered to have been military failures, particularly in the light of al-Ashraf Barsbay's conquest of Cyprus in 828 H., when the king of Cyprus was imprisoned and made to pay the diyya to the sultan of Egypt.⁹

Relations with the Abbasid Caliphs

Jaqmaq's reign spanned the tenure of three `Abbasid caliphs. In 846/1442 the Caliph al-Mu`tad bi'llah Abu`l-Fatih Dawud b. al-Mutawakkil `Ala Allah Muhammad al-`Abbasi died and his brother, al-Mustakfi bi'llah Sulayman, was elected by al-Mu`tad to be the new caliph. Al-Mustakfi bi'llah was the eleventh Abbasid caliph in Egypt. On his death in 1451, when al-

⁸ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:238, 241.

⁹ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:100, 108.

Mustakfi bi'llah died, his brother al-Qa'im bi'amr Allah Abu'l al-Baqa' Hamza became caliph. Jaqmaq took part with the four official qadis in the election and honouring of each new caliph, allowing a huge procession to proceed from the Citadel to the new caliph's home.

The Abbasid caliphate was in fact a token institution. The caliph had to share with the four qadis of the four madhhabs in the election of the new sultan.

Religious Politics

Sultan Jaqmaq was a very pious Muslim, a fact that adversely affected Jews and Christians in Egypt. In 847, after Jaqmaq had ordered the destruction of the Mu'alaga Church, the king of Abyssinia threatened to cut the flow of the Nile to the Egyptian lands if the Christian patriarch did not receive better treatment. In response, Jaqmaq pulled down another church in Qasr al-Sham` and transferred its parts to the mosque located beside it, converting the kursi of the patriarch into a minbar.¹⁰ He then signed an agreement with the patriarch in Egypt prohibiting him from support for any of the Abyssinian kings without permission from Jaqmaq himself, on pain of imprisonment or execution. Copies of the registered agreement were given to the Sultan and each of the four qadis.

Jaqmaq's policies of religious discrimination are further illustrated by his ordering Muslims to sever relations with

¹⁰ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:259.

Christians and Jews in all social affairs, including medical supervision. Such strict segregation was not carried out, however, since Egyptians of all religions were deeply intermingled and had not previously been subjected to such segregation.¹¹

Jaqmaq's piety also kept him from building his own mausoleum. None of his mosques included mausoleums, and he himself was buried in the mausoleum of Qanibay al-Sharkasi.¹²

Economic Situation

It is well documented that Jaqmaq faced a very critical economic situation during his reign. Ibn Iyas reports that at Jaqmaq's death only 30,000 dinars were in the country's treasury.¹³ Earlier, in 843, meat, butter and honey were not seen in the markets and the price of an acre of barsim had risen to 3,000 dirhams.¹⁴

When the Nile failed to flood for two consecutive years in 842-3, the country faced a serious crisis. Prices of goods rose steadily, crops and grain were in limited supply, people and livestock starved. Nationwide prayers, foreign funds, and attempts to import supplies all failed to relieve the situation.

¹¹ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:265.

¹² Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:300.

¹³ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:302.

¹⁴ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:222.

Chaos soon ruled in the streets. It was only after four years that the economic situation began to improve.

There is no doubt that this economic instability had its effect on the process of architectural production. The construction of mosques, madrasas and mausoleums continued, but subject to new economic restrictions. Decoration was modest. The use of marble was limited; it was stone carving in high and low relief that remained the predominant decorative technique.

Although most of the great patrons of monumental architecture were of the amirial class, the economic situation affected them as well. They had to take three things into consideration. First, any extravagant expenditure on their part would give the sultan an excuse to raise their taxes. Second, it would generate contempt among the lower class of the population, who were suffering from starvation. Finally, they had to bear in mind that even future income was not guaranteed because the economic situation was stagnant. For these reasons, the architecture of this period was lacking in richness of material and monumentality of scale.

The second crisis was the plague. According to Ibn Iyas, the first plague to spread during Jaqmaq's reign occurred in 848, with approximately 5,000 deaths in Cairo daily.¹⁵ In 853 it appeared for the second time in five years. The Sultan's son Ahmad, by Khwand Shahzada, was one of its victims.¹⁶

¹⁵ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:241.

¹⁶ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:272.

Despite these catastrophes, Jaqmaq insisted on the preservation and maintenance of endangered religious buildings. In 844, while praying at the Mosque of Ibn Tulun after the Nile flood, he ordered the reconstruction of those portions of the mosque that had become dilapidated. He also kept a close watch on the supervisors in charge of the mosque-madrasas. In 849, when the minaret of the Madrasa al-Fakhriyya fell onto the people below, Jaqmaq immediately ordered the madrasa's supervisor, Qadi b. Hajir, to pay the *diyya* to the families of the victims.¹⁷

Art and Architecture

Doris Abouseif describes Jaqmaq as an extreme orthodox (muslim) who had no interest in art, to the extent that he prohibited all kinds of entertainment, including even shadow-plays.¹⁸ However, Jaqmaq only started forbidding extravagant patronage art once he was faced with a severe economic crisis. His restrictions might well have been an attempt to win God's forgiveness and blessing. His piety certainly did affect much of the art and architecture of his period, whose patrons were restricted in the extent of decoration in their buildings. On the other hand, Jaqmaq paid handsomely to restore other monuments, even outside Egypt: for example, he paid 2,500 dinars

¹⁷ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i` al-zuhur*, 2:248.

¹⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo, 1985), 128. These shadow-plays included *Khiyal al-Dhil*, *al-Za'tuta* and *Nubat Khatun*; previously these had been performed every night at the Citadel.

for the architecture of the waqf of Jerusalem and Hebron.¹⁹ He also financed some restoration of the ceiling of the Dome of the Rock. At the same time, science was supported and encouraged. For example, in the year 853 H.a chemist named Sharif Assad al-Din Muhammad was sponsored by Jaqmaq to carry out chemical experiments even though the experiments failed.²⁰

Jaqmaq's architectural economies were for a good reason. He appears particularly responsible compared with other sultans. Both Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and Sultan Qaytbay are known to have made use of resources belonging to the people to finance decorative construction. The former stripped the marble floors from domestic residences for use in his new mosque and took the door and copper chandelier from the Mosque of Sultan Hasan to decorate it, paying a trifling 5,000 dinars.²¹ Qaytbay made use of the people's money and goods whenever he could, be it for military construction or for less important expenditures. He firmly believed that what entered the Sultan's pocket need not be returned.²²

Although Egypt had rarely experienced such political stability, Jaqmaq worked within his limits, which contributed to

¹⁹ al-Hanbali, Abu al-Yumn al-Qadi Mujir al-Din, al-Uns al-jalil bitarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil (Amman, 1973), 96,97.

²⁰ al-Hanbaly, al-Uns al-jalil bitarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil, 271.

²¹ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:20.

²² Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:20.

religious sensitivities rejected lavish decoration at times when money and materials were not available. He preferred his structures to be of modest pretensions rather than place undue strains upon his people.

CHAPTER TWO

AMIRIAL PATRONAGE UNDER SULTAN JAQMAQ

- A. The Complex of Taghri Birdi at al-Saliba
- B. The Minaret of Qanibay al-Sharkasi at al-Sayda
`A'isha
- C. The Madrasa of Qaraqaja al-Hasani at Darb al-Gamamiz
- D. The Mosque of al-Jamali Yusuf at al-Sultan al-Sahib

CHAPTER TWO
AMIRIAL PATRONAGE UNDER SULTAN JAQMAQ

The genuine progress that was achieved in architecture during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq was made by a number of his amirs. Each of these amirs constructed a building which incorporated an innovative architectural concept. These will be discussed in the following two chapters.

II (a) THE TAGHRI BIRDI COMPLEX (844/1440)

The Founder

Sayf al-Din Taghri Birdi al-Rumi al-Baklamishi was a Mamluk and became amir ashara in the reign of al-Nasr Faraj b. Barquq. He was gradually promoted until he reached the position of dawadar under Jaqmaq.²³

The Amir Taghri Birdi built his mosque in 844/1440 and was buried in the mausoleum attached to it. The mosque is also known by the name of Saghri Wardi, and also functioned as a khanqah.²⁴

The Site

The mosque is situated at the intersection of al-Alfi Street and al-Saliba Street, where many of the Mamluk amirs chose to build their monuments after it became the main route to the new centre of government in the Citadel. The only other mosque that was built on the Saliba during the reign of Jaqmaq was the mosque of Jaqmaq himself (Lajin al-Sayfi). This last lies on the northern extension of al-Saliba Street, called al-Marasina Street.²⁵

²³ Ministry of Waqfs, The Mosques of Egypt (Cairo, 1948), 94.

²⁴ Van Berchem, Max, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (henceforth CIA), Première partie, Egypte, le Caire, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894-1903), I.1:380.

²⁵ Mubarak, `Ali, Al-khitat al-jadida al-tawfiqiyya li-Misr wa'l-Qahira (Bulaq, 1888), 224.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mosque is of the typical Circassian form, with four iwans overlooking a courtyard (Fig. 1). The entrance vestibule is square in plan, with an arched door on its right leading into the domed mausoleum chamber. Facing the entrance is a window looking onto the corridor leading to the central court. The entrance could have been a simple passage making the transition from the street to the qibla orientation of the court; but to disguise the difference in axes of the qibla and street, the entrance was bent twice. Passing through the corridor, a passageway leads to the ablution area, opening onto the main court on the south side. At the mid-point of the corridor and directly after the passage doorway, a staircase leads to the roof, where we find the minaret doorway.

The interior is set nearly at a 45-degree angle in relation to the street so as to adjust the mosque to the correct qibla orientation.²⁶ At the same time the main facade respects the street alignment without any projections. The mausoleum which lies directly to the right of the vestibule can also be reached from the qibla iwan by a U-shaped tunnel with two windows. This connection was not really necessary, since the mausoleum can be reached from the entrance vestibule and opens directly onto the qibla iwan from the north; but the idea of the tunnel was, first,

²⁶ Kessler, Cristel, "Funerary Architecture Within the City," Colloque Internationale sur l'Histoire du Caire (Cairo, 1969), 265.

to introduce more light into both mausoleum and gibla iwan through its two windows; second, to fenestrate the side facade of the mosque; and third, not to waste area within the thickness of the eastern wall due to the tilted plan needed for orientation. Despite the strange shapes made by the tunnel windows as they pierce the wall at points of differing thickness, the plan shows the ingenuity of the builder in placing a regular four-iwan plan in such an awkward site.

Facades

As is characteristic of Mamluk urban architecture, the main street facade presents the most important external elements of the complex: the monumental portal, the dome, the minaret, and on the left of the upper floor, the kuttab (Pl. 1a). The sabil below it on the ground floor is now utilized as a shop (Pl. 1b).

The South Eastern Facade

The portal is situated almost in the middle of the south eastern facade; on its right is the dome chamber with two recessed windows, and on its left the sabil-kuttab unit. Trefoil crenellations run above the facade below the dome of the mausoleum (Pl. 2a).

The main portal is set in a pishtaq (Pls. 2a, 2b). The portal is capped by a five-tier stalactite hood occupying the top of a recessed trilobed arch. A smooth semidome decorated with radiating bichrome ribbons surmounts the stalactites. A

centrally placed trilobed opening just below the stalactite hood has the form of the stalactites which it replaces, and is thus in harmony with the overall design of the hood (Pl. 3a). This trilobed opening was described by Da`ad `Abd al-Raziq in her thesis as "being pierced with the usual trilobed element".¹⁷ The trilobed shape is usual, but its piercing the hood is unusual. It is first seen in the portal of the madrasa of al-Aqbughawiyya, in front of the mosque of al-Azhar (740/1339).¹⁸ The function of these openings in the upper level of the portal is not known, although they are very similar in form to the openings found on *mabkhara*-type minarets. They might have been made to allow the ventilation of fumes and smoke produced by the oil lamps of the mosque. The openings provide ventilation even when the windows are closed, and thus would help prevent the painted wooden ceiling of the mosque from being blackened by smoke.

Directly below the stalactite hood an inscription band, divided in the centre by a roundel, bears the *shahada*.¹⁹ In the middle of the recessed portal unit there is the usual rectangular window set within a niche, surmounted by a panel containing three tiers of rectangular stalactites (Pl. 3a). Just below the inscription band, and flanking the rectangular stalactites, are

¹⁷ Abd al-Raziq, Da`ad Hasan, "The Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances of Cairo," M.A. Thesis, American University of Cairo, 1990: 121,122.

¹⁸ Ministry of Waqfs, *Mosques of Egypt*, 18, plate 59.

¹⁹ Van Berchem, *CIA*, I.1:380.

two inscription panels (Pl. 3a). The window was originally flanked by two colonnettes which are now lost.

Above the wooden doorway is a lintel surmounted by a shallow relieving arch. The lintel is decorated with complex joggled voussoirs of trefoil form, the lower elements made of stone and the upper carrying black marble inlay (Pl. 3a). The lower stone trefoils are inlaid with small turquoise - coloured lozenges. The relieving arch consists entirely of white and black joggling of inlay adopting a horizontally arranged reciprocal trefoil pattern. The entire portal is framed by carved double mouldings: one framing the stalactite hood, and the lower and wider one framing the remainder of the portal. Two additional inscription bands are on the two sides of the doorway; just below them, two mastabas flank the door.

The section of the facade to the right of the portal is provided with two pairs of windows, set in niches; the lower windows have lintels below shallow relieving arches, and the upper windows have pointed arches (Pl. 4a). The lintels of the lower windows are carved with a trefoil pattern whose inlay no longer exists, and the relieving arches are joggled in a trefoil design (Pl. 4b). A bichrome chevron design is carved in low relief between the lintels, which is soon repeated at the Mosque of Jaqmaq (Lajin al-Sayfi), located at the beginning of the same street.

The North Eastern Facade

On the side street, the north eastern facade protrudes into the street at its northern corner (Pl. 5a). In the middle of this facade is a bull's eye window, set in a coloured stone panel and flanked by two identical recesses on each side (Pl. 5b). The recesses are surmounted by four tiers of rectangular stalactites and contain two windows. The lower window has a lintel set below a relieving arch, while the upper window has a pointed arch (Pl. 5b). The first recessed niche from the corner has two small openings with round arches within the tiers of stalactites on the level of the lowest tier, similar in their placement, if not their form, to the trilobed opening in the entrance described above (pl. 6a). Similar openings are found in the mosque of Qadi Yahya at Sikkat al-Habbaniyya (856/1452) above the upper window inside the recess beside its portal (Pl. 65a); however, those are not arched, but are similar in form to the openings seen on *mabkhara*-type minarets.

At the corner of the mosque there is an engaged octagonal column with a stalactite capital (Pl. 6b). A carved chevron design decorates its shaft. The capital is composed of two tiers of stalactites; the base is badly damaged.

The Mausoleum

The mausoleum is capped by a stone dome. The dome has higher and narrower proportions than others of the period, and is decorated with a stone-carved decoration in a high relief

(Pl. 7a). The design is of interlacing chains narrowing with the curved surface of the dome as they approach the apex (Pl. 8a), finally becoming a ribbed cap carrying the finial. Just below the plain drum (which may originally have borne an inscription) is a slightly projecting 16-sided base with alternating windows and niches (Pl. 7a). The drum and base rest on a stepped octagonal transitional zone with four keel-arched window-sets, one on each alternative face. That number of windows is necessary to provide enough light to the interior, and they are designed in a two-tier triangular disposition (two-plus-one) to give greater strength.

The design carved on the stone dome is an exact copy of the decoration of the dome of Khadija Umm al-Ashraf (826-841 H.) (Pl. 11a), and similar to the decoration seen on the upper sections of the minaret of the Madrasa of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay on the Qasaba (828/ 1425), the two minarets of the Khanqah of Faraj b. Barquq in the Northern Cemetery (813/ 1440), and the minaret of Qaraqaja al-Hasani at Darb al-Gamamiz (Pl. 29b), which was built in the same year as Taghri Birdi's mosque. Such a pattern employed on a domed surface poses technical difficulties since it has to meet at the point of the dome's apex. The design is perhaps not a very successful one for a dome, although it is effective on the shafts of minarets because it is longitudinal and therefore suited to the verticality of the minarets.

The articulated squinches carrying the dome are the only remarkable feature of the interior of the domed mausoleum

(Pls. 9a, 9b). They too are similar to the squinches of the dome of Khadija Umm al-Ashraf (Pl. 11b), whereas the rest of the interior of the domed chamber is completely plain. The upper eight windows alternate with eight keel-arched niches carved with arabesques (Pl. 10a). A very narrow mihrab with bichrome sunburst decoration on its hood is set in the middle of the mausoleum's eastern wall. The cenotaph is placed perpendicular to the wall, slightly to the left of the mihrab rather than in alignment with it (Fig. 1).

The Minaret

The minaret's square base has four keel-arched windows and carries a balcony supported by a stalactites with a restored stone-carved balustrade bearing pierced grilles (Pl. 12a). Old photographs by Creswell show that it used to have a wooden handrail (Pl. 1a).³⁰ The second shaft is circular in plan and has a carved decoration in an interlacing star pattern (Pl. 12a). Perhaps the design of the stone carving on the minaret's upper shaft might have been more suitable for the dome, and vice versa, since the star pattern design is limited here to this very small area, and needed more space to appear clearly. Vertically, the scale of the pattern allows only one complete star and one incomplete one to be formed. However, if the craftsman had made the elements of the pattern smaller to allow the generation of

³⁰ Creswell, K.A.C., Unpublished archival photographs of Islamic monuments: Rare Books Library, American University in Cairo, Album 24.A

more complete stars, he would have faced the problem of its being less visible from the street.

The third shaft has recently been reconstructed following the model of the original.³¹ It has a balcony with columns carrying a bulbous finial (Pl. 12a).³²

The Sabil-Kuttab

The kuttab on the upper floor at the far left of the main facade, consists of two wooden semi-circular arches (Pl. 13a), with a large wooden balcony which projects from the facade and is supported by a row of thick wooden corbels (Pl. 1b). A similar but smaller projecting wooden balcony is built on the facade of the kuttab of the Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at al-Azhar; and another larger one at the Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at al-Habbaniyya.

The Interior

The entrance leads to a square vestibule covered with a painted wooden coffered ceiling with small wooden stalactite pendentives at the corners (Pl. 14a). On the left of the vestibule, opposite the entrance into the domed mausoleum chamber, there is a corridor which provides access into the court on its southern side (Pl. 14b).

³¹ Ministry of Waqfs, Mosques of Egypt, 94, plate 118.

³² Comité de Conservation de Monuments de l'Art Arabe, Procès verbaux des séances, Rapport de la Deuxième Commission (Cairo, 1882-1951)

The four iwans are raised above the level of the court by one step and covered by painted flat wooden ceilings. A carved stone Qur'anic inscription band which lies directly under the continuous moulding at the top of the open court bears the date of completion of the mosque (Pl. 15a).³³ As usual, the gibla iwan is the largest and deepest of the four iwans. It is connected to the mausoleum by a U-shaped corridor that opening through its eastern wall, as is required by the adjustments in plan to accommodate the differing street and gibla alignments. A plain stone mihrab flanked by two marble engaged columns is set in the centre of the gibla wall, surmounted by a bull's eye window and flanked by two pointed-arched recesses (Pl. 15b). Each recess has a rectangular window, and a pointed-arch window above. Without the light coming from the open court, the interior of the gibla iwan would have been quite dim, because the windows allow little light to enter due to the great thickness of the gibla wall in which they are set (the result of the necessary structural adjustment between the street and gibla alignments). A very large thuluth inscription band painted on a wooden cavetto runs below the ceiling of the gibla iwan (Pl. 16a). Wooden stalactite pendentives are set at the corners of the iwan and similar stalactite compositions are set at equal distances along the cavetto dividing the inscriptions (Pl. 16a). There is a small room on the left of the gibla iwan which could be for the khatib. It has a large window, similar to those of the gibla

³³ Van Berchem, CIA, I.1:380.

2. Along the upper part of the interior court's wall:

Basmala, Qur'an (II: 256), Jumada al-awwal in the year H. (844/1440-1).³⁶

بسملة، سورة البقرة، آية ٢٥٦. جمادى الأولى سنة أربع وأربعين وثمان مائة

3. In the entrance vestibule over the door, divided in two parts:

Basmala, Qur'an and that was in the month of Jumada al-Akhir in the year (844/1440-1).³⁷

بسملة، آية قرآنية. و ذلك في شهر جمادى الآخر عام أربع وأربعين وثمان مائة.

³⁶ Van Berchem, *CIA* I.1:380.

³⁷ Van Berchem, *CIA* I.1:380.

II (b) THE MINARET OF QANIBAY AL-SHARKASI (845/1441-42)

The Founder

Elected shadd al-sharabkhana in 844/1440 in place of al-Tunbugha al-Marqabi, Qanibay al-Sharkasi was promoted to dawadar kabir in 849/1444-45, and became amir akhur kabir (chief of the army) on the death of Qaraqaja al-Hasani. When Jaqmaq died he asked the Sultan's son to make good the back-pay owing to his soldiers, and received the reply that the treasury contained no more than 30,000 dinars. Jaqmaq had not bothered to build himself a mausoleum and was buried in Qanibay al-Sharkasi's tomb near the Citadel.³⁸

The Site

The mosque was situated on Sayyida 'A'isha Square. Sayyida 'A'isha Street starts from Maydan al-Rumayla (the Citadel square) and extends to the south until it reaches Sayyida 'A'isha Square. Reconstruction has obliterated most of the original structure except for the minaret. This is on the right corner of the new mosque, which overlooks the narrow Hara Sharkas.

Description and Analysis

The minaret's stone base is connected to the eastern facade of the new mosque. The old stones of the minaret stand out

³⁸ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i' al-zuhur, 2:300; al-Sakhawi, Shams al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman, Al-daw' al-lami' li'ahl al-garn al-tasi' (Beirut, 1966): 74.

clearly from the new ones of the mosque, making the square base of the minaret distinct from the rest of the facade. The height of the base section exceeds the roof of the mosque by almost four meters; this section is surmounted by a stone stalactite balcony with a wooden rail. The second section is rounded and decorated with a stone-carved chevron design; it supports an octagonal stalactite balcony with no surviving railing (Pl. 19a). Above the chevron and immediately below the octagonal balcony there is an inscription band. The upper part of the minaret has been lost. Photographs taken by Creswell (Pl. 19b, 19c) show only a clumsy restoration consisting of the addition of a further cylindrical shaft with a bulbous top and a finial mounted on a wooden stick. A recent reconstruction by Behrens-Abouseif describes the third shaft as likely having been a stone-carved balcony carrying a pavilion and another stalactite cornice, surmounted by a bulbous top and a finial. This reconstruction, which was carried out on a stylistic basis, shows how splendidly proportioned the minaret must have been (Fig. 2)¹¹.

The minaret of Qanibay's mosque follows the pattern set by the minarets of Faraj b. Barquq (803/1400) and Taghri Birdi (844/1440). The cylindrical second segment rises directly from the squarish base, dispensing with an octagonal transition shaft. This configuration was first seen in mabkhara-type minarets such

¹¹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 122, 123, fig. 25.

as those of Qala'un (684/1284-5, added by his son al-Nasir Muhammad)⁴⁰ and Baybars al-Jashankir (706-9/1306-10).⁴¹

Despite the splendid proportions of these minarets, they were never repeated. Subsequent development of the minaret was in two directions: a square base with an octagonal shaft for the second section, or else an octagonal base with a cylindrical second section.⁴² After adoption of the pavilion-type minaret, the same omission of the octagonal shaft was found in other cases such as the minarets of the khanqah of Faraj b. Barquq, then those of Taghri Birdi and Qanibay al-Sharkasi.

The minaret of Qanibay al-Sharkasi is in a perilous condition. It is badly damaged and leans dangerously towards the hara, threatening the facing building.

Inscriptions

Although the old mosque had been almost completely replaced, Van Berchem was able to read an inscription (which no longer exists) dating the foundation to 845 H. All the interior inscriptions were in a state of disrepair obscured by a thick layer of white paint which extended to the cornices of the ceiling.⁴³
 ألا جلى الاكملى الافضلى العضدى المئاخرى الهامى القوامى قاتباى الجركسى امير
 اخور الملكى الظاهرى..... الله تعالى السعاده بمحمد. عز مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر
 أبو سعيد جقمق خلد الله ملكه..... و ذلك بتاريخ سنة خمس و اربعين و ثمان مائه.

⁴⁰ Ministry of Waqfs, *Mosques of Egypt*, 209.

⁴¹ Ministry of Waqfs, *Mosques of Egypt*, plates 51, 209.

⁴² Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 20.

⁴³ Van Berchem, *CIA*, I.1 381, 382.

II (c) THE MOSQUE OF QARAQAJA AL-HASANI (845/1442)

Founder

Qaraqaja al-Hasani was one of al-Zahir Barquq's Mamluks. He was one of the amirs who supported Jaqmaq when Qurqumas rebelled against him, helping to give Jaqmaq stability on the throne. Qaraqaja al-Hasani was first elected by Jaqmaq in 842/1338 to be *r'as nuba kabir*, the head of the army in the campaign sent to Syria, then promoted *amir akhur kabir* in the same year. In 848/1443 he was sent with his army to al-Bihayra to settle the Arab bedouins who were in revolt there. He and his son died on the same day, 18 Safar 853/12 April 1449. Qaraqaja al-Hasani was described by Ibn Iyas as a religious person of exceptional character. When he died, Qanibay al-Sharkasi took his place as *amir akhur kabir*.⁴⁴

Site

The mosque is situated on Darb al-Gamamiz Street, which branches from al-Khalij al-Masri at the intersection with Harat al-Sadat, which leads to Birkat al-Fil. This is a very narrow section of the street, which allows very little of the facade to be seen clearly. The mosque also had a *sabil* on the same street, which no longer exists.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur fi waqa'i' al-duhur*, ed. Muhammad Mustafa (Cairo, 1963-1984), 2:273

⁴⁵ 'Ali Mubarak, *Khitat al-jadida*, 5: 176

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mosque's plan is typical of the period: a four-iwan plan, with the gibla iwan the widest. The iwan opposite the gibla is deep but not wide; the two side iwans are shallow and small. From the entrance a corridor opens to the court on the south side; at the end of the corridor is the ablution area. The northern side of the main court opens to a staircase leading to the roof, where a bridge leads to the door of the minaret.

Facades

The mosque currently has three facades; the fourth, the southern facade, is incorporated into another building.

Western Facade: The western facade is the main one. It is very narrow and contains the portal and a single shallow recess on the left (Pl. 20a).

The portal is on the right of the facade, within a deep recess surmounted by a small, badly damaged room. The recess is covered by a wooden ceiling (Pl. 20b). It is decorated with square panels framing a large central square that contains a medallion decorated with a complex interlaced star pattern (Pl. 21a). The recessed wall of the portal is decorated with a rectangular stalactite hood. Many of the stalactites are decorated with a shell-like design (Pl. 21b). Beneath the stalactite hood in the central area of the portal is a small window, not set in the usual recess flanked by two colonnettes of most portals of the

Circassian Mamluk period. The small window is flanked by two square kufic panels carved in low relief (Pl. 22a). The panel on the right of the window still has traces of what was written there; the one on the left is badly damaged and very difficult to read.

The shallow relieving arch is not placed directly over the lintel, but instead there is one course of masonry between. The relieving arch is formed of joggled voussoirs in yellow and black, flanked by vertical stones of the same height (Pl. 22b). The lintel is decorated with bichrome trefoil voussoirs and framed by a black border (Pl. 23a). The two inscriptions on the sides of the portal recess are badly damaged. Only the one on the left of the recess can be read in parts (Pl. 23b). Much higher up on the same walls, two strange panels run horizontally, drop downwards vertically, then turn horizontally once again towards the recessed wall (Pl. 24a). Both these panels were intended to carry inscriptions, although neither does. Another non-original small panel, in very bad condition and bearing the date of the renovation carried out by a Khedive of Egypt whose name is illegible (Pl. 24b), runs between the two aforementioned inscribed panels on the right of the recess.

The rest of the facade has only one shallow recess, surmounted by four tiers of rectangular stalactites, to the left of the portal. Below the stalactites is a window of the "Qala'un set" type, composed of two horseshoe arches supported on engaged colonnettes with a bull's-eye window centred above (Pl. 25a).

(This composition, first used in Qala'un's complex, became a characteristic feature of much of the period's architecture). A rectangular window at street level is provided with a lintel decorated with three joggled voussoirs, above which is a relieving arch, also with trefoil joggled voussoirs. This window currently has a modern steel grille (Pl. 25b).

Northern Facade: The side facade facing onto the hara is connected by a modern wooden bridge to a free-standing minaret that stands in the middle of the hara (Pl. 26a). This facade has three shallow recesses of different heights, all of which have non-moulded edges and contain windows (Pl. 26b). The higher recess, located on the left of the facade, has an upper pointed-arched window and a lower rectangular one with a lintel and a relieving arch of joggled voussoirs. The middle recess is identical to the one on the left, but lower. The recess on the right is the lowest, and has only a rectangular window topped by a lintel with joggled voussoirs. This window originally formed the doorway of an additional entrance to the mosque for important people (Pl. 27b).⁴⁶

Two further pointed-arched windows flank the left recess. Near the top of the facade is a projection of four spiral stairs, completely covered; these cannot be seen from the roof (Pl. 27a). Currently, the corner between the main facade and that facing

⁴⁶ Ibrahim, 'Ali abd al-Latif, "Watha'iq al-tarikhiyya al-qawmiyyah: magmu'it al watha'iq al-mamlukiyya." *Mijalat kuliyat al-adab* 18 (Cairo, 1956): 200, 226.

onto the hara is restored with a simple triangular chamfering; however, an early photograph taken by Creswell shows that the corner was previously chamfered with a curved form (Pls. 28a,28b).

Eastern Facade: The eastern, qibla facade wall has little decoration but for the projection of the mihrab at its centre, the bull's-eye window above the mihrab projection, and four pointed-arched windows flanking it. It is on this facade that the mosque's only surviving crenellations, with the trefoil form typical of the period, can be seen (Pl. 29a). There is also a single continuous moulding running horizontally one course below the crenellations.

Minaret

The free-standing minaret is situated on the north of the mosque in the middle of Harat al-Sadat (Pl. 29b). The minaret completely separate from the building, and the only entrance to it is from the roof of the mosque, to which it is connected by high wooden bridge (Pl. 30a). The height of the bridge allows easy passage beneath it. The surrounding buildings are built a distance from the free-standing minaret, radiating an air of respect, though there is no entrance at the base of the shaft. It is not known why the minaret is built in this unusual way; although this together with the ambience of the mosque perhaps served to dominate the entrance of the hara. Old photographs of the minaret show that it previously had a wooden bridge in very

bad condition before it was replaced by the present one. There is no trace of stone joints, which eliminates any suggestion that there was once a gate to the *hara* under the bridge. Perhaps the concept of a free-standing minaret connected to the mosque by a bridge was inspired by the mosque of Ibn Tulun, whose minaret was of the same style after its restoration by Sultan Lajin in 1296. Although there is no *ziyada* as in the mosque of Ibn Tulun, Qaraqaja al-Hasani seems to have had the power to build his minaret outside the mosque on neighbouring land without intruding on the *hara*.

It may legitimately be asked whether the mosque and the minaret of Ibn Tulun were built at the same time;⁴⁷ but it would be difficult to ask the same question about the Qaraqaja al-Hasani mosque, because during this period it was not acceptable for a mosque to lack a minaret. It can be seen from an examination of the mosque that the wall on the north side, where the architect would normally have placed a minaret, was not sufficiently thick to support the base of a minaret. What suggests that the location of the minaret was changed while the construction was in progress is the existence at the northern wall of the strange projection taking the form of four spiral steps. This projection suggests that a previous staircase structure was removed so as not to block the entrance to the *hara* (Pl. 27b).

⁴⁷ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, The Minarets of Cairo (Cairo, 1985), 50.

The lower structure of the minaret consists of a high stone square base extending up to the level of the mosque roof. Above this is a narrower segment, penetrated by the entrance, access to which is provided by the wooden bridge that spans the *hara* below. The rest of the minaret adopts the usual sequence. The first section is octagonal, with a fluted keel-arch in each side, topped by a balcony (Pl. 30b). The second section is circular, with stone decoration similar to that on the minarets of the complex of Faraj b. Barquq in the Northern Cemetery. The circular shaft is surmounted by a second stalactite balcony. Both balconies have lost their stone-carved hand-rail (Pl. 29b). The upper section of the minaret is a bulbous-shaped structure that is not original. Originally it may have had a canopy carrying another stalactite balcony, upon which was set a bulbous top.

Interior

The court, which has lost its original ceiling, is entered from the southern wall. Both northern and southern walls are decorated with four fluted keel-arched niches. A carved stone inscription band runs around three sides of the court; the fourth side of the iwan opposite the *qibla* is decorated by a *kurdi* (Pl. 31a). A huge thuluth inscription band painted on the wooden cavetto below the ceiling runs round all four iwans. The painted inscriptions are divided at the midpoints of the cavetto and at the corners by small wooden stalactite pendentives (Pl. 31b). The *qibla* iwan is framed by a large horse-shoe arch, supported on

stalactites and framed by a double moulding with a loop at its top (Pl. 32a).

The mihrab is of stone. The outer arched recess rests on two slender octagonal marble columns; the hood of the niche is decorated by a bichrome sunburst pattern radiating in reddish stripes in very bad condition (Pl. 32b). There is an illegible inscription band below the hood. The mihrab framed by a colourless stripe with a loop at its top, connected to another rectangular stripe framing the low-relief carved arabesque decoration on the spandrels of the mihrab (Pl. 32b).

The iwan opposite the qibla which is framed by a painted wooden kurdi instead of an arch has stalactite footings, below each of which is a wooden panel carved with a horseshoe arch (Pl. 33a). The "Qala'un set" window which appears on the main facade to the left of the portal is seen on the centre of the western iwan with a pointed arch below, since the rest of the wall is facing the corner of the mosque (Pl. 33b). The two side iwans are framed by a stilted pointed arch (Pl. 35a).

The wooden minbar is placed on the right of the mihrab. It is a modern restoration, but follows the style of the period, decorated with a complex interlaced star pattern with brass joints. The upper part of the arch of the minbar is carved with floral designs, which are repeated on the upper pavilion. Prior to its restoration, the bulbous top was the only painted part of the minbar (Pl. 34a, 34b).

Inscriptions

The entire mosque, including the inscriptions, was restored by the Comité in 1913. The inscriptions have not been published but Creswell succeeded in reading the date of the mosque as 845 H., despite the fact that it was at that time covered by a thick coat of paint."

The two square Kufic inscription panels are badly damaged. 1. Of the inscription on both sides of the door, only the left hand part the word "qaraqaja" can be read. The new panel reads "This was built by Qaraqaja al-Hasani in the year 845 H. and was restored in the reign of the Greatest Khedive of Egypt [] the year 1314 H."

انشأ هذا الجامع الأمير قراقجا الحسنى فى سنة ٨٤٥ من الهجرة و جددت عمارته فى عهد
خديو مصر الأعظم..... هجرية.

2. The inscription that runs around the court on the three sides of the iwans except the western iwan which has the kurdi (Pl. 35a). On the south wall this is badly damaged, but some words can be read, including the names of Qaraqaja al-Hasani and Sultan Jaqmaq and the year 1314. On the qibla iwan is Qur'an (II, 265), the Throne sura, till . On the north iwan is the rest of the verse. الا باذنه

مر بتشاء هذا الجامع الأمير قراقجا الحسنى السلطان جتمق.... سنه
نمس واربعين و ثمان مائه. سورة البقره آية الكرسى ٢٥٦.

" Creswell, K. A. C., "A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to AD 1517," Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale de Caire (Cairo, 1919), 129.

II (d) THE MOSQUE OF AL-JAMALI YUSUF (842-56/1438-53)

Dating the mosque of al-Jamali Yusuf presents specific problems. Creswell identified the building as the Madrasa al-Sahibiyya,⁴⁹ whereas the Index to Muhammadan Monuments listed it as having been completed during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq. This latter is the attribution I find most convincing, both historically and stylistically. Historically, the personality of al-Jamali Yusuf was active in the period of Jaqmaq. Stylistically, the decoration on the portal can be attributed to the Circassian period.⁵⁰

Founder

Yusuf b. `Abd al-Karim b. Barkah al-Qibti al-Masri, known as al-Jamali Yusuf (and also as Ibn Katib Jakim), occupied a number of important positions in the administration of Sultan Jaqmaq. His career included the posts of army supervisor (nazir al-jaysh) and special supervisor to the sultanate (nazir al-khass) of Jaqmaq. Born in 819 H., he was held in high regard for his administrative skills: Ibn Iyas stated that no one matched al-Jamali Yusuf in administrative ability. He held high office during several sultanates, and remained an important figure in the administration until his death in Dhu'l-Hijja 862 H.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 102.

⁵⁰ `Abd el-Raziq, "Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances", 127.

⁵¹ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:350.

Site

The mosque is situated close to the mosque of Muhammad b. Jaqmaq, in an alley called al-Sultan al-Sahib that is so narrow that it is hard for the pedestrian to see any decoration higher than the portal. The alley starts from Darb Sa'ada and ends at al-Azhar Street.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mosque deviates from the usual four-iwan plan, with only two iwans overlooking the main court (Fig. 4). On the right of the entrance is a small lobby which provides access to a staircase leading to the first floor and continuing to the roof.

The two-iwan plan is uncommon in mosques of this period. The two wings of the qibla iwan are reminiscent of contemporary domestic architecture, which has led to the suggestion that this mosque was a conversion from a Mamluk residence. Such conversions were not unknown, other examples being Dar Muhyi al-Din Yahya (converted to become the Mosque of Sharaf al-Din), the majestic hall that became the madrasa of Khushqadam,⁵² and Qa'at al-Ghannam, which became the Ghannamiyya Madrasa.⁵³

⁵² Pauty, Edmond, Les Palais et les Maisons d'Époque Musulmane au Caire (Cairo, 1932), 46, fig. 37.

⁵³ Garcin, Jean-Claude et al., Palais et Maisons du Caire, 2 vols (Paris, 1982), I:86, 179.

Facade

The mosque has a single facade fronting a narrow alleyway (Pl. 36a). It lacks a minaret and there are no indications that one ever existed, this being consistent with the suggestion that it was originally a domestic building. The walls of a residential building would be less capable of supporting the weight of a minaret. The facade is decorated with recesses, each of which is topped by two rows of stalactites. The upper windows set in the recesses are of the "Qala'un set" type, while the lower street-level windows are rectangular and surmounted by relieving arches (Pl. 36b). Two continuous mouldings run the length of the facade at the top; the upper one is moulded and the lower is decorated with a single row of stalactites.

The portal is covered by a trilobed arch containing a stalactite hood composed of four tiers of stalactites surmounted by a semi-dome decorated with a horizontal chevron pattern (Pl. 37a). A rectangular grilled window, flanked by two square Kufic inscription panels, is located below the stalactite hood. The relieving arch above the doorway consists of marble voussoirs joggled in a fleur de lys pattern, flanked by two marble panels decorated with a black marble design (Pl. 37a). The lunette is carved with a vegetal design similar to that of the neighbouring mosque of Muhammad b. Jaqmaq. The lintel is decorated with intricate trefoil designs which are joggled, and the whole is flanked by another two trefoil panels (Pl. 37b). The entire portal is framed by double mouldings divided at the hood, forming a loop at the top and another hexagonal loop at the bottom of the

hood which is considered as a new feature (Pl. 37a). The wooden door is completely new.

Interior

The entrance hall opens onto a court covered by a wooden ceiling with a lantern at the centre (Pl. 38a). Both motifs and colours of the ceiling decoration suggest an awkward restoration. There are large iwans on the eastern and western sides; the other two sides of the court are flat. These sides have four shallow niches, with ogee arches like those of the mosque in arch in Bistam's mosque (702/1302), (Pl. 38b);⁵⁴ they appear to have been restored.

The eastern qibla iwan has wings to left and right. The wing to the left (north) has two rectangular lower windows and two arched upper window (Pl. 39a). Both wings have shallow niches, topped by wooden panels with carved inscriptions. The wooden ceiling covering the left wing has been clumsily repainted, and the kurdi on the front of this looks awkward, and is undoubtedly a late restoration (Pl. 39a).

There is a stucco mihrab at the centre of the main iwan qibla wall. The concave niche of the mihrab is decorated in polychrome marble, which appears to be very modern. The upper part of the niche is decorated with a band of intricate stucco designs. Above this is a multilobed arch with a ribbed semidome (Pl. 40a).

⁵⁴ Wilber, D. N., The Architecture of Islamic Iran: Ilkhanid period, 127

The two spandrels are decorated with stucco designs similar to Chinese cloud patterns (Pl. 40b). Three inscription cartouches above the mihrab are topped by three round arched stucco grilles, each with different designs. Above, as far up as the roof, the wall is decorated with stucco designs. Centred above the three arched openings is a stucco roundel (Pl. 40b), and flanking the decoration above the mihrab are two arched openings with stucco grilles (Pl. 40b). None of this decoration is original, however. Stucco mihrabs and decoration are not a feature of fifteenth-century Mamluk architecture, and the designs used here are purely Ottoman. The painting on the wall to the left of the mihrab hood and below the arched stucco grill also strikes a discordant note. The corners of this panel bear the names of the first four caliphs. There is also a circle containing the names of the "Seven Sleepers"⁵⁵ surrounding a roundel with the name of their dog "Kitmir" at its centre (Pl. 41a).

The western iwan is fitted with a wooden balcony utilized as a dikkat al-mubalagh. Access to this structure is from the first floor, where there are two shallow niches to the sides. The wooden ceiling above the balcony boasts a central eight-pointed star with a projecting medallion for hanging a mosque lamp (Pl. 41b).

⁵⁵ The "people of the cave": their names were sometimes inscribed to bring baraka and ward off evil. Paret, R., "Ashab al-Kahf", Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden, 1986).

It is possible that when the house was converted into a mosque the only addition was the mihrab. Yet given the design and detail of the portal, as pointed out by Da'ad `Abd al-Raziq, this conversion could only have taken place during the reign of Jaqmaq.⁶⁶

Inscriptions

1. The two square kufic panels are identical (Fig.5):

Qur'an (IX, 18). This verse is often inscribed on the jambs of portals in naskhi, but here it is written in square Kufic and is repeated on both panels.

سورة التوبة, آية ١٨ " انما يعمر المساجد" الى " و أتى الزكوة"

2. The wooden panels fitted on the interior niches of both left and the right wings.

The left wing:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (a) Qur'an (XXI, 102). | سورة الانبياء آية ٢١ " لا يسمعون حسيها" |
| (b) Basmala, Qur'an (XXXIX, 73): | سورة الزمر آية ٧٣ " وسبق الذين" |
| (c) Qur'an (XXXIX, 73). | سورة الزمر آية ٧٣ " حتى اذا جاؤها" |
| (d) Qur'an (XXXIX, 73). | سورة الزمر آية ٧٣, ٧٤ " فادخلوها خالدين" |

The wooden panels on the window of the right wing is up side down. It is badly damaged and illegible.

The two panels above the two doorways of the southern wall of the court are also illegible except for the words "صدق الله العظيم"

⁶⁶ `Abd el-Raziq, "Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances," 128.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BUILDINGS OF AL-QADI YAHYA

The Founder.

The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Port Sa'id Street,
(Bayn al-Nahdayn).

The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bulaq.

The Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Sikkat al-
Habbaniyya.

The Ribat of al-Qadi Yahya at Bayn al-Surayn

CHAPTER THREE

THE BUILDINGS OF AL-QADI YAHYA

This chapter considers only the works of al-Qadi Yahya, who is widely considered the greatest builder of the period. Because of his distinctive style of architecture, his buildings must be compared first with each other, and only then with the other amirial constructions. Al-Qadi Yahya's buildings, sites and new features deserve discussion and analysis in their own right.

Al-Qadi Yahya Zayn al-Din, who held the post of *ustadar* during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq, commissioned many buildings in Cairo. He is often seen as the most prolific builder of this period. His buildings display idiosyncrasies, possessing a style that differs slightly from the constructions of other amirial patrons.

Al-Qadi Yahya's career in public service spanned the reigns of eight Circassian Mamluk sultans: Abu Sa'id Jaqmaq (842-57/1438-53), al-Malik al-Mansur 'Uthman (857/1453), al-Ashraf Inal (857-65/1453-61), Al-Mu'ayyad Ahmad (865/1453), al-Zahir Khushqadam (865-72/1453-67), al-Zahir Yalbay (872/1467), al-Zahir Tumurbugha (872/1467), and al-Ashraf Qaytbay (872-901/1468-95).⁵⁷ However, all of al-Qadi Yahya's buildings were erected during Jaqmaq's reign, a fact that seems at odds with that

⁵⁷ Ibn Iyas, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, *Bada'i' al-zuhur fi waqa'i' al-duhur*, ed. Muhammad Mustafa (Cairo, 1984), 3:3.

sultan's reputation for being antagonistic towards new construction.⁵⁸

Biography

Amir Zayn al-Din Yahya al-Ustadar, the son of `Abd al-Raziq the Armenian, and generally known as Al-Qadi Yahya, was born at the beginning of the ninth century H. By the time of Jaqmaq's accession in 842/1438 he had held a number of important positions, and he continued to be promoted until in 853/1448-9 he reached the position of ustadar, replacing `Ali b. Qays.⁵⁹ The ustadar was responsible for supervising the properties and finances of the royal family. Since it brought him very close to the Sultan, the holder of this post found himself in an advantageous position.

Yet despite enjoying the confidence of the Sultan, al-Qadi Yahya had enemies. In 854 H., upset by the delay in payment of their salaries, the Mamluks set upon al-Qadi Yahya and nearly killed him as he rode from the Citadel to the Mosque of al-Maridani. He managed to escape. They also attacked Abu al-Khayr al-Nahas, one of the wazirs, who escaped with great difficulty. The Mamluks then went to the Sultan and demanded that both men be given up to them. Jaqmaq refused and threatened to abdicate. But the Mamluks persisted, and were only partially appeased when

⁵⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, The Minarets of Cairo (Cairo, 1985), 128.

⁵⁹ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:276.

Abu'l-Khayr al-Nahas was arrested and sent to be imprisoned at Tartus.⁶⁰

Unresolved hostility between the ustadar and the Mamluks was to continue throughout al-Qadi Yahya's administrative career. Yet he retained the confidence of the Sultan, who, after his marriage to al-Qadi Abd al-Basit's daughter in 855 H., took the unusual step of apologising to his ustadar for the enmity of his Mamluks.⁶¹

In the year 857/1453, al-Malik al-Mansur `Uthman succeeded his father Jaqmaq. The economic situation was critical, and the new Sultan found only 30,000 dinars in the royal treasury.⁶² He asked the princes who were supervising the royal expenses to pay large amounts of money to balance the royal accounts, and a number of officials complied with the Sultan's request. Qadi Yahya Zayn al-Din, however, refused to pay, claiming that he himself was in serious difficulty owing to the amount of salary owed to him. He was immediately removed from office and placed under the authority of Jani Bek, the ex-governor of Jeddah, who replaced him in the ustadariyya. Qadi Yahya was later asked to pay 500,000 dinars.⁶³ His fortunes continued on a downward spiral until he was beaten to death on the orders of Qaytbay.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-Zuhur, 2:279,285.

⁶¹ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:289.

⁶² Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:302.

⁶³ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:302, 303.

⁶⁴ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:303.

Al-Qadi Zayn al-Din Yahya's three mosques and his ribat bear witness to the wealth and power he exercised during the sultanate of Jaqmaq. They stand in remarkable contrast to the monuments erected by Jaqmaq himself. Jaqmaq's three mosques in Cairo show extreme simplicity with their plain walls and mihrabs, with very little interest shown in the niceties of architectural decoration. But unlike his Sultan, al-Qadi Yahya was an active patron of architecture. And though the mosques he constructed show restraint in their decoration (largely a matter of economy), they testify to the survival of the desire to decorate.

It is unlikely that the three buildings always associated with his name represent the sum total of Yahya's patronage. He also had a house beside his mosque at Bayn al-Nahdayn, although it has not survived.⁶⁵

The variety in types of al-Qadi's mosques leads to conclusion that Yahya had his own style that was unique, although consistent with the principles of the period. The different sites on which he chose to build not only provide a documentary guide to the history of the area during this period, but also show that he chose them to serve his buildings to the best advantage.

⁶⁵ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i'al-zuhur, 2:259

III (a) THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT PORT SA'ID STREET
(BAYN AL-NAHDAYN), (849-51/1444-45)

Site

The mosque was built directly on the bank of the al-Khalij al-Masri canal (the modern Port Said Street). A row of houses overlooked the canal from the west; on the east it was bounded by Bayn al-Nahdayn. Ibn Iyas mentions that the mosque was built beside Zayn al-Din's own house, near the *gantara* of the Muski district. Al-Hafiz b. Hajir Shaykh was employed at the madrasa teaching hadith and sunna.⁶⁶ During the construction of al-Azhar Street the southern facade of the mosque was demolished and rebuilt in alignment with the new street.⁶⁷ Al-Qadi Yahya seems to have selected the site to be close to the royal buildings and to be situated on a major thoroughfare. The al-Khalij al-Masri site was particularly prestigious and popular as it was the canal that reached Suez and the street had been one of the city's major routes since al-Nasir Muhammad started building on its other side.

⁶⁶ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, 2:259, 260.

⁶⁷ Abd al-Wahhab, Hasan, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1946), 2:34.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The construction of al-Azhar Street necessitated other modifications to the mosque. The southern facade had to be aligned with the new street, which radically realigned the ground plan of the burial chamber. An additional portal was added to the facade. This leads to a vestibule, opening on the right into the burial place and also containing a staircase leading to the upper floor. The original entrance into the mosque was from the northern facade, through a vestibule, with a window opening onto the main iwan. A door on the left of the vestibule leads to the minaret staircase, situated behind the base of the minaret. On the right of the vestibule is an opening onto the corridor leading to the central court (Fig. 6).

To the west of the main portal was another entrance, below ground level, which once led to the subterranean ablution area and to the cells which Dawlat 'Abd-Allah suggests was occupied by members of the Shafi'i medhab.⁶⁸

Unlike al-Qadi Yahya's other two mosques, which employ hypostyle plans (see below), this mosque is based on a four-iwan plan with a wooden *shukhsbaykha* (lantern) covering the central court. The court is one step lower than the four iwans. The southern iwan, that of the *gibla*, is the largest, followed by the opposite, northern iwan. The two side iwans are very shallow.

⁶⁸ Abd-Allah, Dawlat, *Institutions of Self-Purification in Egypt Throughout the Ayyubid and Mamluk Period* (Cairo, 1980), 194, 195.

South of the court is a door which opens onto a corridor, leading to a longitudinal room opening onto the burial chamber. As mentioned above, the ablution area was constructed on a lower level, below the mosque but slightly above the canal level to facilitate the transfer of water (Fig. 7).

In addition to the side entrance to the underground level, another passage with a staircase leads to the main court, entering on the southern side. This passage formed the only interior link between the underground level and the mosque. In addition to the ablution area and the Sufi cells, the plan includes a store-room on the northern side (Fig. 7). The entire area was covered and raised to the level of the main court when construction of al-Azhar Street commenced after the canal was filled in and covered.

Although the mosque plan is oriented to the qibla, the eastern facade was parallel to Bayn al-Nahdayn Street. This type of ground plan was characteristic of Mamluk architecture.

The Facades

The mosque has no dome. It is possible that the burial chamber was once capped by a dome which was removed when the mosque was modified to adapt to the new street. The facades are all dressed with large blocks of stone and were inlaid with some marble designs directly above the windows. This type of decoration on the lintels substitutes a curvilinear design for the geometric designs common during the fourteenth century. Such designs in inlaid marble seem to be an intermediate stage between

techniques of marble inlay and the inlaying of marble or stone with red or black paste.

The Eastern Facade

This is on Port Sa'id Street (Pl. 42a). The mihrab does not project externally on this facade, but the wall is pierced by a bull's-eye window above the mihrab. On either side are recesses with two tiers of windows; the lower tier are rectangular, while the upper windows are of the "Qala'un set" type, composed of two arches with a bull's-eye opening centred above them. These windows in the second tier are arched and pointed, and have stucco grilles with arabesque designs inlaid with coloured glass; the lower windows have iron grilles.

On the upper level on the left of the facade there is a kuttab with a wooden balcony, one side of which projects more than the other (Pl. 43a). This gives it the appearance of being orientated counter to the facade. The tilting of the kuttab's balcony may have been an attempt to make it visible from the street, like the large-scale example of the portal of Sultan Hasan's complex. This was tilted so as to be seen from the Citadel, and the idea might perhaps have inspired the architect of the later mosque. The kuttab in Mamluk buildings was usually set on the corner, above the sabil, so as to be visible from both streets, but in this building there was only one free corner and this was reserved for the minaret. This may account for the tilting of the balcony.

Although the kuttab was completely restored by the Comité (Pl. 43a), its condition before restoration, with the tilting, can be seen in pre-restoration photographs (Pl. 43b).⁶⁹

The Northern Facade

This facade has no important feature except the portal and, on its west side, a very low pointed arch of which only the topmost part can still be seen above ground (Pls. 44a, 44b). To the left is the base of the minaret. The rest of the facade is attached to another building.

The portal is a trilobed arch with a stalactite hood (Pl. 45a). Five tiers of stalactites support a smooth semi-dome with a horizontal chevron pattern. An inscription appears directly below the stalactites in black and white marble (Pl. 45b). The rectangular central window is topped by a stalactite hood and framed by engaged colonnettes. Both upper and lower lintels are decorated with a marble trefoil pattern, which is a unique feature.⁷⁰ Below the stalactite hood are two square carved-stone panels, each of which has a central roundel with four loops connected by an arabesque design.

The portal has a plain flat lintel surmounted by a relieving arch decorated with a marble joggled fleur-de-lys pattern. Two square panels decorated with star designs flank the relieving

⁶⁹ Comité 1908, Pls. III, IV.

⁷⁰ 'Abd al-Raziq, Da'ad Hasan, The Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances of Cairo, M.A Thesis: American University in Cairo, 1990: 125.

arch, while another two panels of fleur de lys flank the flat lintel. The lunette is carved in low relief with a floral design (Pl. 45b).

Many of the unique features of the portal may not in fact be original, as the whole building was restored by the Comité and the marble decorations may have been added, as in the case of the minaret.

The Western Facade

This facade originally overlooked the canal from its latrines, but now overlooks Port Said Street. Most of it is damaged, and the rest is completely restored.

The Southern Facade

It appears from the Comité photographs and plans (Fig. 6, Pl. 46a) that the entire southern facade was abutting another building and consequently completely lacked ornamentation. Once the buildings were removed and al-Azhar Street was put in place perpendicular to al-Khalij al-Masri, the southern facade faced onto al-Azhar Street. This presented the problem of having a blank facade on an important street. Therefore the facade was restored in Circassian Mamluk style and a portal almost identical to the existing one was added (Pl. 46b).

The Minaret

The minaret is situated to the left of the northern entrance (Pl. 47a). It can be reached via a staircase opening onto the entrance vestibule. The minaret has been heavily restored, and only the first shaft is original. Before the reconstruction by the Comité, the second segment was octagonal. This segment is itself generally assumed to have replaced a stone shaft (Pl. 47b).

The lower segment of the shaft bears inscriptions, The second shaft is decorated with a marble arrow pattern. The final storey is circular in plan and consists of cylindrical columns with stalactite crowns, carrying a balcony that is surmounted by a bulb shape topped with a bronze finial. Each of the three balconies has stone balustrade screens carved with arabesque designs. Before the restoration the minaret had no marble decoration, and was devoid of the arrow patterns such as those now seen on the second segment.

What characterized minaret decoration at this period was simple carved-stone designs. The mouldings carved on the stone shafts were usually interlacing (such as those on the minaret of Qaraqaja al-Hasani of 1442; this resembles the decoration of the dome of Taghri Birdi of 843/1440), or chevron designs (as on the minaret of Qanibay al-Sharkasi, 845/1442). Sometimes interlacing star patterns were used (as on Taghri Birdi's minaret). However, the upper segment of the minaret of al-Qadi Yahya's mosque at Bayn al-Nahdayn was probably little different from the original,

since it was the trend at this time to have a pavilion carrying the bulbous top.

The Interior

The entrance vestibule is roofed with stone groin vaults with a recessed central cross element, a feature common in Mamluk architecture.

The four iwans have coffered and gilded wooden ceilings (Pl. 48a). Flat timber roofing (rather than a barrel vault) of the main iwan first appeared in the Madrasa of Iljai al-Yusufi (1373), after which it became the norm. Vaults were never again used to roof an iwan, except in the Mosque of Qanibay al-Rammah Amir Akhur (1503),⁷¹ where exceptional cross-vaulting is used in the iwans.

This change in material and roofing techniques marks a move away from Syrian models and the emergence of an indigenous style. The introduction of wooden roofing was accompanied by a decrease in the size of iwans. The reduction in size allowed the area to be covered with timber without supports.

The reduced size of iwans can perhaps be explained in part by the increase in the total number of madrasas in Cairo.

However, directly above the stalactite frieze which runs round all four iwans is a moulded, gilded thuluth inscription. There are small hanging wooden stalactite pendentives in each corner. The central court has painted inscriptions immediately

⁷¹ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, Islamic Architecture in Cairo (Cairo, 1989), 152, 153.

below the ceiling, which has a *shukhshaykha* rising from wooden triangular corners (Pl. 48b). The *shukhshaykha* ceiling is decorated with an interlace pattern and an inscribed central medallion which reads: "Completed in the reign of the Khedive Hilmi II, 1307", indicating that it is a later addition.⁷² The square wooden surround of the *shukhshaykha* is beautifully panelled with square and rectangular panels. The rectangular panels are decorated with a gilded *ansa*, and some with gilded arabesque designs; the square panels are decorated with a rectangular pattern (Pl. 48b).

The *mihrab* is a simple stone construction above which are three stucco windows with coloured glass (Pl. 49a). The middle window is a bull's-eye. This three-window arrangement is repeated in the opposite *iwan*.

The two main *iwans* are framed with horseshoe arches. The narrowness of the side *iwans* prevented the use of high horseshoe arches and they are framed by stilted pointed arches, flanked by two keel-arched panels, each containing a window.

A wooden *minbar* on the right of the *mihrab* bore decoration consisting of an interlaced star pattern inlaid with ivory (Pls. 50a). Inscription panels of both the *minbar* and a *kursi* were discovered in Paris as part of the Schefer collection.⁷³

⁷² Comité de Conservation de Monuments de l'Art Arabe (henceforth Comité), Procès verbaux des séances, Rapport de la Deuxième Commission (Cairo, 1889), 6:116.

⁷³ Van Berchem, Max, *CIA*, I.1:389.

From the southern side of the main iwan one can reach the burial place through a corridor covered by a wooden coffered ceiling. The burial place also can be reached from the new entrance of al-Azhar street. The burial place has a wooden ceiling decorated similarly to the iwans of the madrasa, which could be a new restoration since the burial places usually were covered by domes.

The Inscriptions

1. The naskhi inscription on the two jambs of the portal:

Basmala, Qur'an (IX:17), Jumada al-awwal in the date 848 H.⁷⁴

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ، سُورَةُ التَّوْبَةِ، آيَةُ ١٨ - بِتَارِيخِ جُمَادَى الْاَوَّلِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَارْبَعِينَ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ.

2. The inscription written round the court starting from the eastern Iwan. Ordered by his excellency Amir Ustadar al-Zayni Abu Zakariyya Yahya started in 8__ and was finished in the 2nd of sha`ban in the year 848 H.

أمر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك مولانا المقر الأشرف الكريم العالى المولوى الاميرى الكبيرى
الاجلى المحامى المخدومى السيدى السندى المالكى الذخرى العضدى النظامى الهامى
المشيرى السفيرى الزينى ابو زكريا يحيى امير أستاذ دار العالیه و كان الابتداء فى.....
سنة..... و ثمان مائه و الفراغ منه فى ثلثى شعبان المكرم سنة ثمان و اربعين وثمان مائه.

⁷⁴ Van Berchem, Max, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (henceforth CIA), Première partie, Egypte, le Caire : 2 vols (Paris, 1894-1903), I.1:383.

3. The naskhi inscriptions on the panel on the minbar:⁷⁵

"ordered the construction of this blessed minbar", a formula that is repeated practically verbatim on the panel of the kursi.

The inscription on the minbar reads "Al-Maqqar al-Ashraf al-'Ali, the Amir al-Zayni, the elevated ustadar, may his victory be glorified

أمر بإنشاء هذا المنبر المبارك المقر الأشرف العالی الامیری الزینی استاد دار العالیة عز نصره.

4. The naskhi inscription on the panel on the kursi and the minbar:⁷⁶

أمر بإنشاء هذا الكرسي المبارك المقر الأشرف العالی الزینی استاد دار العالیة عز نصره فی شهر سنة ثمان و أربعین و ثمان مائه.

5. The naskhi inscriptions on the panel on the tomb:⁷⁷

أنشأ هذا المدفن المبارك الفقير الى الله تعالى المقر الأشرف العالی الزینی يحيى استاد دار العالیة و جامكدار عز نصره بتاريخ جمادى الآخر سنة خمسين و ثمان مائه.

6. The naskhi inscription on the tomb of Shaykh Faraj al-Sutuhi which was added later:⁷⁸

هذا ضريح سيدى فرج السطوحى اعاد الله بركته على من جدد هذا المعروف وعلى المسامین بمحمد و آله.

⁷⁵ Van Berchem, CIA I.1:389.

⁷⁶ Van Berchem, CIA I.1:390.

⁷⁷ Van Berchem, CIA I.1:389.

⁷⁸ Van Berchem, CIA I.1:389.

III (b) THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BULAQ (853-4/1448-9)

The Site

The urban development of Bulaq began during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad in the first half of the fourteenth century. The urbanization of the district was originally concentrated at Has al-Kiyala, near the port area of Sahil al-Jilal.⁷⁹

The population quickly increased and, to satisfy the demands of a new community, markets, hammams, wikalas, rab`s and mosques were erected. Mud-brick houses were erected from Sahil al-Jilal to Bab al-Bahr and along the river side north of al-Hatiri Mosque up to al-Asyuti Mosque. Palaces were erected overlooking the Nile.⁸⁰ The first mosque to be built in this area was that of Aydamur al-Khatiri, followed few years later by al-Qadi Fakhr. None of these buildings has survived.

The commercial importance of Bulaq in the fifteenth century resulted in a massive influx of population and the area became sufficiently important to attract the attention of court patrons.

Bulaq was the primary transit point for goods coming from both Alexandria and Upper Egypt. It achieved effective control over all the trade routes passing through Egypt, including trade on the major routes from India and Yemen to Aydhab, and the channels of European trade, particularly from Venice.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Hanna, Nelly, An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods (Cairo, 1983), 42.

⁸⁰ Hanna, Urban History of Bulaq, 43.

⁸¹ Hanna, Urban History of Bulaq, 86.

There was no funerary architecture in Bulaq, and it did not have truly monumental buildings until the Mosque of Mustafa Mirza was constructed there at the end of the seventeenth century. Nor did it attract the direct patronage of the Sultan; even al-Nasir Muhammad did not himself order buildings erected in Bulaq, although he encouraged others to build there and provided the building materials for projects such as the Mosque of al-Hatiri.²¹

The commercial character of Bulaq dictated the type of buildings constructed in the area. Wikalas, commercial centres and hammams were preferred. Although Suq al-Ustadariyya, Waqf al-Ustadar and Wikalat al-Maqarr al-Zayni have all been associated with al-Qadi Yahya, neither of his two wagfiyyas mentions that he constructed any buildings in Bulaq. Ustadariyya is a titular job description, and it may well be that the sug was named after another ustadar. In addition, too many amirs bore the name Zayn al-Din for us confidently to attribute Wikalat al-Zayni to al-Qadi Zayn al-Din Yahya. Even though it was of an earlier date, the district was intended to include such buildings after it became the new port of Cairo.

In 852/1448, Zayn al-Din Yahya al-Ustadar built a mosque in Bulaq which was called, besides al-Qadi Yahya Mosque, Madrasat al-Ustadariyya and, later, Jami' al-Mahkama.²² This supplemented the two mosques already in the area, those of Sa'di

²¹ Hanna, Urban History of Bulaq, 86, 87.

²² Hanna, Urban History of Bulaq, 43.

b. al-Ji'an and of Taghriburmish al-Zardakash.⁸⁴ Since the site was vacant, al-Qadi Yahya's mosque was built free-standing. It was not necessary to make any adjustments to compensate for differing qibla and street alignments. As one of the first buildings in the area, the mosque dictated the layout of the surrounding streets. It became the new centre of the district, a key architectural feature overlooking the Nile.

Like his first, Yahya's second surviving mosque was constructed on the bank of a water source, in this case the Nile. Over the centuries the Nile has moved westwards, exposing new land, and the mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bulaq was built on land that had previously been the river channel.⁸⁵ But as the Nile continued to shift its course westwards, yet more land became available in front of the mosque, and new buildings and monuments were erected here, the most important of which were the Mosque of Sinan Pasha and Wikalat al-Kharnub.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mosque of al-Qadi Yahya in Bulaq is a hypostyle mosque built to service the large community attracted to the area by its commercial success (Fig. 8). Three of the mosque's sides have two riwaqs each, while the fourth, the qibla side, has three riwaqs

⁸⁴ Hanna, Urban History of Bulaq, 64

⁸⁵ Hanna, Urban History of Bulaq, 43.

with a wooden dome over the mihrab bay. The free-standing plan allowed for a number of entrances.

The Facades

The facades are simply articulated with recessed windows and an upper tier of "Qala'un set" openings. An inscription band runs above the windows, but with no inscriptions (Pl. 51a). Work on the mosque appears not to have been completed, even though al-Qadi Yahya went on to commission another mosque in al-Habbaniyya.

There is an entrance in each facade except for that of the qibla; the main portal is centred in the west facade (Pl 51b). Multiple entrances were necessary for the large numbers of people coming in and out of the mosque. The two side entrances have horizontal stalactites (Pls. 53a, 54a), whereas the main entrance, opposite the qibla, is distinguished by its trilobed arch. The trilobed arch consists of groin vaults, surmounted by a semi-dome decorated by a tier of stalactites (Pl. 52a). The central window is in a recess, its hood a concave pointed niche. It is flanked by two large panels, each carved with a geometrical pattern and with an inscription panel above and below (Pl. 52b). The two side portals are nearly identical. Both are recessed and surmounted by three tiers of stalactites, which enclose small domes, (Pl. 53b, 54b). Below the stalactites is a recessed panel including a window with a metal grille. The panel is also surmounted by a rectangular stalactite hood. Directly above the doorway is a marble lintel inlaid with an arabesque design. The northern portal has only one decorated voussoir, above which is a

relieving arch with joggled voussoirs flanked by two carved-stone panels with star patterns. The panels of the northern portal are the only carved panels in the building. The three portals are distinguished by a higher elevation than the rest of the mosque in a form of pishtags.

The northern portal, which now leads to the ablution area, has a Pharaonic sill with hieroglyphics. It was a common Mamluk practice of the time to incorporate masonry from pre-existing buildings in the sills of mosques as a symbol of victory, as in the mosque and khanqah of Shaykhu.

The two corners of the southern facade (Pl. 55a), are chamfered with a remarkable trilobed curved shape (Pl. 55b).

The Minaret

The minaret is located directly to the left of the main entrance. To the right, opposite the minaret, is an arched doorway opening onto the court. A staircase leads from this opening up to the roof of the mosque, where the entrance to the minaret is located. Only one octagonal storey has survived (Pls. 56a, 56b).

The octagonal segment is pierced with the usual keel arches. A small stalactite balcony and a carved rosettes are alternately decorating the bottom of the octagonal segment, a feature which was repeated in the period of Qaytbay. The top of the segment is bearing an inscription.

The base of the balcony is in the form of a cavetto with an unusual motif of carved-stone lozenges rather than the usual

stalactites. This lozenge composition is an innovation. The lozenge motif is a prototype for the decoration of the minaret of Qaytbay's madrasa at Qal`at al-Kabsh,⁶⁶ as well as his mosque at al-Rawda. The minaret of Qal`at al-Kabsh is decorated with the same lozenges on a smaller scale. The same lozenges also feature, with some variations, in the decoration of the minaret of Yashbak Min Mahdi at the mosque of Imam Layth.⁶⁷

The now truncated minaret must have continued with either an octagonal or cylindrical shaft. As is the norm in fifteenth-century Mamluk minarets, it would have been completed by a pavilion with a bulbous top. A cylindrical middle shaft can be proposed for two reasons: (1) the minaret of Qala`t al-Kabsh is based on this minaret and it possesses such a shaft; and (2) the cylindrical shaft matches the cavetto profile of the balcony of the Bulaq mosque's minaret, parallels to which can be seen in Qaytbay's madrasa at Qal`at al-Kabsh and the minaret of Yashbak at the Mosque of Imam Layth. The cavetto of the minaret was partially restored (Pl. 57a)

The Interior

The four riwaqs, roofed by wooden ceilings, surround an open court. The wooden ceiling has been repaired on several occasions, though some of the original wooden beams remain. There is no

⁶⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 125, Pls., 60, 67.

⁶⁷ Abd al-Wahhab, Hasan, *Tarikh al-masajid al-'athariya*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1946), 2:240, plate 135.

crenellation extant, but there are some traces of inscriptions at the top of the court (Pl. 57b). The *riwaqs* are arched, with three pointed arches on each side, resting on marble columns with Byzantine and Coptic capitals. The central arches on the four sides of the court are a little wider than those flanking it (Pl. 58a). Wooden impost blocks lie between the columns and the arches, providing stability against earth movements (Pl. 58b). The rest of the arches in the mosque run in a single direction, with the only transverse arches located at the meeting-points and under the dome in front of the *mihrab* (Pl. 60a). The previous example of this phenomenon was the stone dome in front of the main *mihrab* in the Complex of Faraj b. Barquq (1400-11).

The interior is undecorated except for carved-stone medallions above the main and southern entrances (Pl. 59a, 59b). The hood of the stone *mihrab* has a radiating sunburst design in deep red on the hood. Two tiers of carved-stone inscriptions contain a dedication to Sultan Jaqmaq. A continuous double moulding borders the arch and decorates the *mihrab*. This is connected by a loop to another double moulding which frames the bull's eye above (Pl. 60a).

A pointed wooden dome with wooden stalactites below covers the bay in front of the *mihrab* (Pl. 60b). Clerestory windows run along the drum. They appear on the exterior as small trilobed arches different from the interior. The *qibla riwaq* is in fact almost all reconstructed. The wooden dome (Pl. 61a), the ceilings and the *minbar* have been completely restored (Pls. 61b, 62a). The

mihrab is restored but the hood and the inscription are original (Pl. 62b).⁸⁸

The Minbar

This is a remarkable piece of woodwork (Pl.63a), with decoration based on the star pattern (Pl. 63b), but differing slightly from the star pattern in the detailing on the door. It is surmounted by a bulbous wooden top supported by a stalactite balcony, very similar to the treatment of minarets. The minbar is devoid of the luxurious decorative materials such as ivory inlay.

The Inscriptions

The inscription on the western door, written on the four rectangular squar kufic: "Ordered the construction of this mosque by al-Maqar al-Ashraf al-ali al-Zayny Ustadar of the great al-Malik al-Zahiry may his victory be glorified"⁸⁹

أمر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك المقر الأشرف الكريم العالى الزينى استاد دار العالىه الملكى
الظاهرى عز نصره.

The inscription of the southern door is almost the same but with the addition of "willing the face of god". The Naskhi Inscription on the two jambs of the portal: Qur'an (IX, 17) in Sha`ban 852.⁹⁰

أمر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك ابتغاء لوجه الله تعالى المقر الأشرف
الكريم العالى الزينى استاد دار العالىه الملكى الظاهرى عز نصره. سورة التوبه آيه ١٨
و كان الفراغ من ذلك فى شهر شعبان سنة اثنى و (خمسين) و ثمان مائه.

The Inscription on the mihrab: انشأ هذا الجامع المبارك فى صحائف مولانا

السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد جقمق عز نصره فقير رحمة ربه, ابو زكريا يحيى الشافعى, عامله
الله باطرقه الخفى.

⁸⁸ Comité, 32: plates XL-CLXIII.

⁸⁹ Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariyya*, 2:238

⁹⁰ Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariyya*, 2:239

III (c) THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT SIKKAT AL-HABBANIYYA (856/1452)

The Site

The mosque, which is also referred to by Ibn Iyas as a madrasa,⁸⁹ was built in 856/1452 on the street known as Sikkat al-Habbaniyya, which today intersects with the main artery of Muhammad 'Ali Street. It extended to al-Khalij al-Masri through an area known as Dila` al-Samaka. The street is curved and there is a small square in front of the madrasa which most probably provided a forum for the surrounding community.

The mosque was located in an aristocratic section of the city, and the site was surrounded by large houses with gardens that overlooked Birkat al-Fil from the west. The mosque itself overlooked the lake,⁹⁰ and was thus the third mosque constructed by al-Qadi Yahya on the banks of a water source.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mosque has a hypostyle plan (Fig.10), with three sides of the court having a single riwaq and the qibla side a double riwaq. The entrance in the northern facade opens into a vestibule covered by a painted wooden roof. The vestibule itself provides access on the left to a corridor leading to the single riwaq

⁸⁹ Ibn Iyas, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, Bada'i` al-zuhur fi waqa'i` al-duhur, ed. Muhammad Mustafa (Cairo, 1963-1984), 2:295.

⁹⁰ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i` al-zuhur, 2:295.

opposite the qibla riwags of the mosque, on the right side of the vestibule is the stair case leading up to the roof. A second opening in the vestibule opens into a hallway leading to the ablution area.

The Facades

The Main Facade

Three of the exterior walls of the mosque border other buildings, so only the northern facade with the portal can be described (Pl. 64a). This facade is divided in two by the minaret (Pl. 64b). The section to the left of the minaret contains the portal and projects slightly, while the section to the right has the large wooden balcony of the kuttab on its upper floor and is punctured on the ground floor by an entrance to the kuttab (Pl. 64c).

On the left of the portal are two windows, the lower of which has an iron grille, surmounted by a relieving arch with a lintel of bichrome inlaid marble based on the trefoil motif (Pl. 65a). The higher window also has an iron grille, surmounted by a carved-stone lintel with geometric designs. Three higher openings surmount this lintel, similar to the openings found at the mosque of Taghri Birdi. Such openings in this position are rare among Mamluk mosques of this period, particularly over windows. The whole recess ends with horizontal stalactites.

Above the portal is an inscription band running the entire length of the projecting facade, framed by a continuous moulding

which itself intertwines with the moulding framing the trilobed arch of the portal (Pl. 66a).

To the left of the facade is an extension, with a wooden *mashrabiyya* covering the window of the *mu'adhdhin's* upper-storey residence (Pl. 66b). This room can be reached by a narrow stone spiral staircase. According to the plan in the *wagfiyya* (Fig. 10), this extension is not contemporary with the building. The entrance to the ablution area was from the north wall of the corridor, not from the east as it is currently. At some stage the northern entrance was blocked and replaced by the staircase leading to the *mu'adhdhin's* room.

Following the mosque of Bulaq, the portal in al-Qadi Yahya's mosque at Sikkat al-Habbaniyya is in the form of a trilobed arch with a remarkable groin-vaulted hood, surmounted by a semi-dome supported by two curved tiers of stalactites (Pl. 67a, 68a). The groin vaults and the span between them are decorated with either a sunburst or a zigzag pattern of bichrome stripes (Pl. 67b). A central rectangular window, flanked by two colonnettes and surmounted by two stalactite pendentives supporting the central space between the two groin vaults, is set below the portal's trilobed hood. Below the window is a relieving arch of bichrome voussoirs joggled in a *fleur-de-lys* pattern, flanked by two bichrome zigzag designs which themselves incorporate a *fleur-de-lys* pattern (Pl. 67b). The lintel below is of greyish stone, framed by an interlace of inlaid marble in three colours: white, red and light-blue (Pl. 68b).

Outside the narrow marble-inlaid frame there is another, wider stone frame carved with an interlacing triangle pattern (Pl. 67b). The wooden door is undecorated except for four brass panels, possibly original, with arabesque frames, the upper panels larger than the lower two (Pl. 69a). These panels are of no special interest, and the border of the door has no decoration. The door itself is flanked by two mastabas framed by double mouldings of the type framing the whole arch. The upper part of the facade has a rectangular panel framed by the same type of moulding.

The Minaret

The minaret lies directly to the right of the entrance. Only the lower segment of the original survives. The upper section of the existing minaret is of plastered wood (Pl. 69b); for safety reasons, columns were erected here by the Comité. On the lower segment there are inscriptions just below the stalactite balcony.

The location of the minaret to the right of the portal reverses the format of al-Qadi Yahya's other two mosques, both of which have their minarets to the left of the portal. This difference can be accounted for by the angle of the street. The placement of the minaret on the right ensures that it is seen from both axes of the angled street, as well as from a second street which lies perpendicular to the minaret's axis.

The Interior

The interior is similar to that of the Bulaq mosque, with what little decoration exists restricted mainly to the gibla wall and the mihrab.

The main entrance to the mosque is bent; there is also a new secondary entrance from the ablution area. The ablution area is situated outside the mosque, typically for the period.

The entrance vestibule has a window facing the door, surmounted by a carved-stone lintel whose curvilinear designs (with missing inlay) are similar to the lintels of the mosque at Bayn al-Nahdayn (Pl. 70a). Over the lintel is a relieving arched with joggled voussoirs. Above this is a pointed-arch window.

To east of the vestibule there is a corridor which opens on one side to the southern iwan and on the other in the ablution area (Pl. 70b).

The facades facing onto the court are tripartite: the middle arch is wide, horseshoe-shaped and rounded, while those on either side are pointed enabling the height of each arch to be the same (Pl. 71a). Between the arches are pierced medallions composed of 16 stalactites radiating around a central opening. These pierced decorated medallions are an original feature, though the mosque of al-Maridani has a similar circular piercing in the spandrels of the courtyard arches (Pl. 71b). The medallions are set in circular moulded frames connected by loops to the continuous moulding which frames the arches, which in turn connects to the horizontal moulding that runs round the courtyard above the arches.

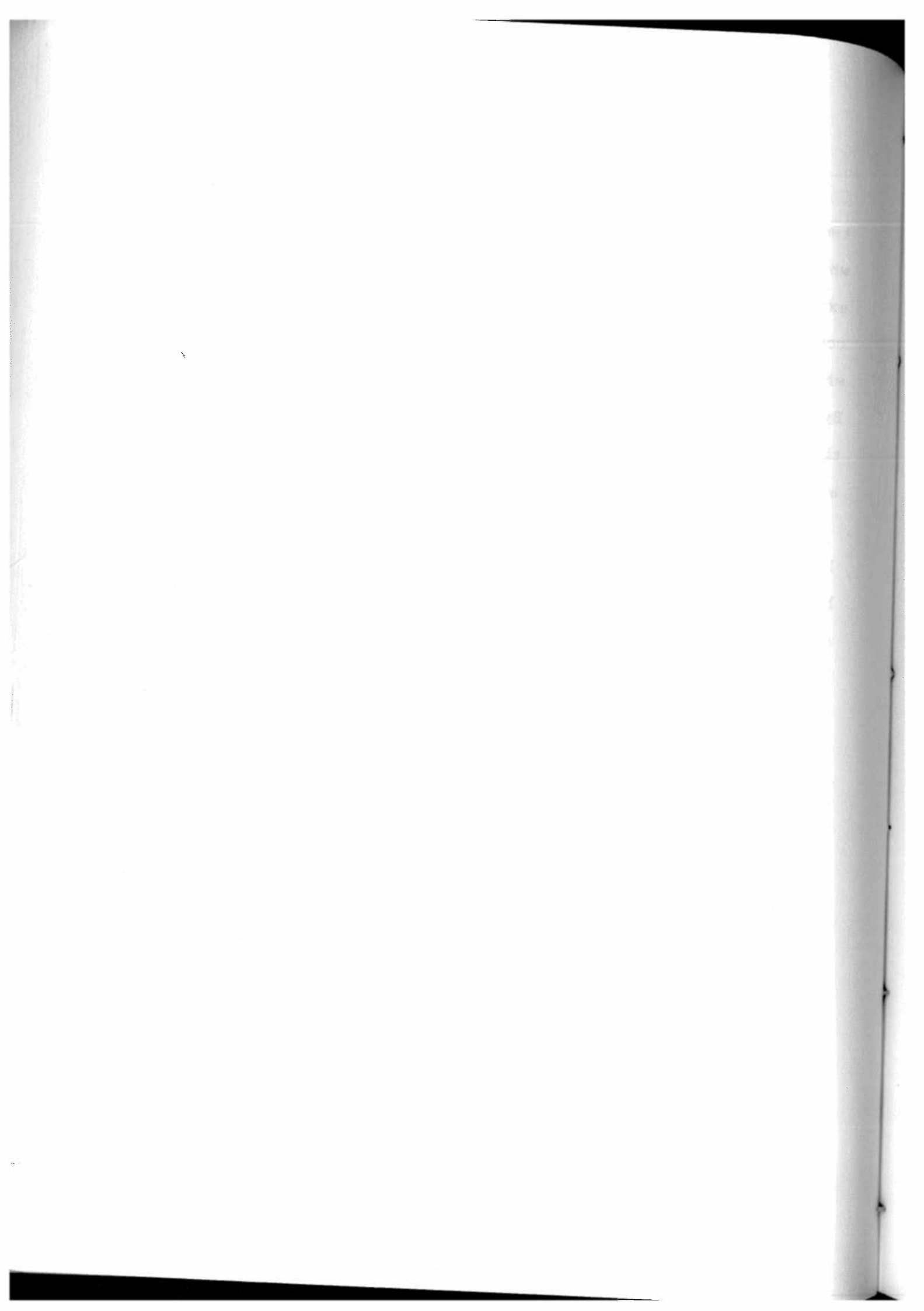
The stone mihrab is decorated with a carved inscription in two tiers, with a hood of radiating ribs carved in low relief, which lead to the half-circles of a multilobed arch on the extrados of the arch (Pls. 72a, 72b). This innovative composition was later used in the mihrab of the madrasa of Inal, which was added to Inal's mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery.⁹¹ By this time marble mihrabs had fallen from favour, leading to the development of rather different decorative schemes from those evolved for marble.

The upper inscription band comprises a Qur'anic verse; the lower contains the name of the founder and specifies the mosque being build during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq . This is the second example after the Bulaq mosque of the name of the Sultan being cited. Hasan 'Abd al-Wahab concluded that the name of the Sultan was included as a simple formality but that the Sultan was not himself involved in the construction of the mosque.⁹² Al-Sakhawi mentioned that the Sultan wanted to be honoured by changing his name to that of the Prophet, but preferred to use both names since the Mamluks would doubt his Turkish origin. He thus ordered his name to be written on several mosques constructed and renovated during his reign.⁹³

⁹¹ Creswell, K. A. C., Unpublished archival photographs of Islamic monuments: Rare Books Library, American University in Cairo, Album 24. A.

⁹² 'Abd al-Wahhab, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya*, 2:242.

⁹³ Al-Sakhawi, *Al-daw' al-lami'*, 3:71.



The Inscriptions

The tiraz band runs over the facade: Qur'an (II, 254) the throne verse till " وسع كرسيه " ⁹⁶

The Inscription on the mihrab: سورة الحج آية ٢١
 The upper band: basmala, Qur'an (XXII, 78). يا أيها الذين آمنوا
 The lower band: This mosque was constructed during the reign of Sultan al-Malik Muhamad abu Said Jaqmaq may his victory be glorified, Yahya. ⁹⁷

انشأ هذا الجامع المبارك في صحائف مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد جقمق عز نصره فقير رحمة ربه, يحيى, عامله الله بلطفه الخفى بمحمد وآله.

The inscription on the Kursi:

"Waqf of Mawlana Sultan al-Zahir Muhammad Abu Sa'id Jaqmaq." ⁹⁸

وقف مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد جقمق عز نصره.

⁹⁶ `Abd al-Wahhab, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya*, 2:241.

⁹⁷ `Abd al-Wahhab, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya*, 2:241.

⁹⁸ `Abd al-Wahhab, *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya*, 2:242.

III (d) THE RIBAT OF AL-QADI YAHYA
AT BAYN AL-SURAYN (856/1452)

This ribat, popularly known as the Mausoleum of Shaykh Abu Talib, was only associated with its founder al-Qadi Yahya Zayn al-Din after its inscription was uncovered in 1900.

The Site

The ribat was constructed on Bayn al-Surayn Street not far from al-Qadi Yahya's Bayn al-Nahdayn mosque at the north end of the cross street.⁹⁹ The whole building has since been destroyed. Nothing remains except the portal, now in the garden of the Islamic Museum in Cairo.

Description and Analysis

From a map in the Ministry of Waqfs which details every antique building it is approximately possible to estimate the dimensions of the ribat, and from Creswell's photo collection it is possible to give a limited description of the facade (Pls.76a, 76b).¹⁰⁰

The portal consists of a trilobed arch with a shallow recess, reached by three descending steps. The trilobed hood is decorated with groin vaults, surmounted by a conch

⁹⁹ Russell, Dorothea, *Medieval Cairo* (London, 1962), 281.

¹⁰⁰ Creswell, Unpublished archival photographs of Islamic monuments: Rare Books Library, American University in Cairo: album A.24

(Pl. 77a, 77b). The vaults end in two tiers of stalactite pendentives, with an rectangular window in the central vault (Pl. 77a). Over the door is a flat lintel with a naskhi inscription. The lunette is decorated with arabesque stone carving surrounding the central word Allah. The top of the trilobed arch is decorated with a slightly recessed frame flanked by two wooden corbels. This indicates that originally there was a wooden balcony or mashrabiyya which did not survive the portal's removal to the museum (Pl. 76c).

A shallower recess on the left of the portal had two windows; the lower is flat, the upper arched. Further left a bull's eye was flanked by two high arched windows. Of these two the lower appears not to be original.

The Inscriptions

1. An inscription to the right and left of the portal reads: "Has ordered the construction of this convent His Excellency [the great amir] Zayn al-Din ... in the month of Safar of the year 856" (March 1452).¹⁰¹

امر باتشاء هذا الرباط المقر الاشرف العالى زين الدين وذلك فى شهر صفر سنة ست
و خمسين و ثمان مائه.

¹⁰¹ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 133; Van Berchem, CIA I:1 394.

2. On the window inside the recess, to the left of the portal, the new inscription added after the undated burial of al-Shaykh Abu Talib says:

"This is the tomb of the pious Shaykh, Sidi Abu Talib."¹⁰²

هذا ضريح الشيخ الصالح سيدي ابو طالب.

¹⁰² Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 133; Van Berchem, CIA I:1 394.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MOSQUES OF JAQMAQ

The Mosque of Jaqmaq at Marasina street.

The Madrasa and Sabil of Muhammad Abu Sa'id

Jaqmaq at Darb Sa'ada.

The Mosque of Jaqmaq at Dayr al-Nahas.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE MOSQUES OF AL-ZAHIR JAQMAQ

The religious buildings of al-Zahir Jaqmaq were not the best of their period. On the contrary, they were modest in both size and decoration. However, though they have not much to show, there are certain aspects which merit discussion in the following chapter.

IV (a) THE MOSQUE OF AL-ZAHIR JAQMAQ
AT AL-MARASINA (853/1449)

Though it was built by Sultan Jaqmaq, this mosque is also known as the Mosque of Lajin al-Sayfi. It was completed on 9 Sha`ban 853/27 September 1449.¹⁰³

The Site

The mosque is located at the northern end of al-Saliba Street, once called al-Haud al-Marsuf, which branched from al-Khalij al-Masri. `Ali Mubarak describes the street as starting "from Hadrat al-Hina street, and ending with Labudiyya street."¹⁰⁴

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mosque is hypostyle in form, with a rectangular court surrounded on all four sides with riwaqs (Fig 11). In fact this is the only example in this period of a rectangular court.

The aisles of the eastern riwaq (the qibla side) are doubled, whereas the other riwaqs around the court are single aisles. The interior plan of the mosque is tilted in relation to the street alignment, with corresponding variations in the

¹⁰³ Creswell, K. A. C., "A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517," Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale 16 (1919): 132.

¹⁰⁴ Mubarak, `Ali, al-Khitat al-jadida al-tawfiqiyya li-Misr wa'l-Qahira (Cairo, 1888), 5:224.

thickness of the walls of the southern facade. The minaret is located on the right of the entrance .

Facades

There is only one street facade (Pls. 78a, 78b), and this is of considerably less richness than those of other mosques of the period. The eastern and western facades have windows, but these two sides of the mosque are presently abutted by other buildings.

The portal, which is provided with increased verticality through the use of a pishtaq (Pl. 78a), has a trilobed arch with a hood consisting of six tiers of stalactites surmounted by a semi-dome decorated with a bichrome sunburst pattern (Pl. 79b). Centred below the hood is a recessed rectangular window surmounted by three tiers of flat stalactites. Above the plain lintel over the doorway is a relieving arch with bichrome voussoirs joggled in a fleur de lys pattern, with a plain lunette between the lintel and the arch. The lintel is framed by a stone-carved border composed of several interlaced bands (Pl. 79a). A rectangular moulding frames the entire portal unit, while the trilobed hood is framed by a flat border forming a loop at its top and enclosing the spandrels. By analogy with the other mosques of Muhammad b. Jaqmaq, this flat framing band was probably coloured red. The wooden door is flanked by the two usual mastabas.

The rest of the facade, to the right of the portal, is divided into two wide recesses (Pl. 78b), each topped by a series

of furrowed stalactites, a feature which is innovative for the period (Pl. 80a). Each recess has two pairs of windows. The upper windows are pointed, their arches and spandrels framed by a flat border in the same manner as the portal hood. The lower, rectangular windows have lintels carved with trefoil designs, with red paste filling the grooves (Pl. 80b, 81a). Between the lintels of adjacent rectangular lower windows is a bichrome zigzag pattern similar to that used between the windows of Taghri Birdi's mosque (Pl. 81b).

At the base of the minaret can be seen two trefoil crenellations carved into the fabric of the minaret. They are the only ones that survive on the exterior (Pl. 82a).

A stone mizrab near the south-east corner was intended to drain water from the surface of the roof, away from the facade (Pl. 80a). Though this is the only mizrab of this period, it is not unique, as there is also a mizrab on the portal of Bab Zuwayla, but it is unclear whether either of these are original.

The Minaret

The minaret was tilted, so as to be in alignment with the qibla wall rather than the street. Only one original octagonal segment survives; the upper circular segment is an Ottoman-period addition. With its sparse stone carving and poor finishing, the octagonal shaft does not suggest that the design of the original upper segments was in any way exceptional (Pl. 82b).

The Interior

The interior of the mosque is completely plain, with no trace of decoration apart from the stone-carved mouldings above the lintels of the three doors of the northern *riwaq* (Pl. 83a). Each of these lintels is surmounted by a joggled relieving arch, framed by a rectangular interlacing moulding.

The *mihrab* is entirely plain, with no decoration or inscription. It also has lost the two marble colonnettes which originally flanked it (Pl. 83b).

The southern wall has two sets of windows, with a very small wooden flat ceiling in the space between the inner and outer openings (Pl. 84a). This was due to the great thickness of the southern wall as a result of the different orientation of the walls.

The whole ground level of the mosque's interior has been raised to avoid contamination and damage from sewage (Pl. 84b).

The open court is rectangular in plan, with two unequal pointed arches on northern and southern sides, of which those opposite the entrance are much larger (Pls. 85a, 85b). The other two sides are tripartite: in the centre is a large pointed arch and the two side arches are smaller (Pl. 86b). Around the court are two kinds of trefoil crenellation; on the eastern and southern sides are one size and shape of crenellation, on the western and northern sides are another (Pl. 86a). Neither looks original, though the first kind is the same shape as one of the two forms of crenellation attached to the base of the minaret.

There are also two mouldings below the crenellation of a different shape, which are also unlikely to be original.

The dikkat al-mubalagh is located at the western iwan on a higher level, covering only the central, larger bay (Pl. 86b). It can be reached from a wooden staircase set in a recess at the middle of the wall of the western iwan. The recess has an elongated window with an iron grille, topped by a wooden mashrabiyya (Pl. 87a).

The Inscription

The only surviving inscription is on the main portal. Inside, nothing remains.

The inscription bands on the portal:¹⁰⁵

Basmala, Qur'an (IX, 18), On the left, "Ordered to build by al-Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Jaqmaq in the 9th of Sha`ban 845 H." and further up, "Muhammad Abu Sa`id Jaqmaq may his victory be glorified".

بسمه، سورة التوبة، آية ١٨، صدق الله العظيم. أنشأ هذا الجامع المقام الاعظم الشريف
السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد جقمق عز نصره في تاسع شهر شعبان سنة ثلاث و
خمسين وثمان مائه.

¹⁰⁵ Van Berchem, CIA I.1:391, Mubarak, Ali, al-Khitat al-jadida 5:224

IV (b) THE MADRASA AND SABIL OF MUHAMMAD
ABU SA`ID JAQMAQ AT DARB SA`ADA (855/1451)

The Site

This madrasa and sabil are located in the district of al-Azhar, on Darb Sa`ada, which branches perpendicularly from al-Azhar Street, parallel to the Qasaba. Entering the Darb Sa`ada one faces the mosque entrance, which is positioned so as to confront the visitor to the alley.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The plan is of the four-iwan type. The deepest of the iwans is that of the qibla, while the iwan opposite is extended on both sides by the addition of small wings. The two lateral iwans are narrow and shallow.

Four steps descend to the doorway of the portal. Entrance into the interior is through a vestibule opening on the right to a corridor, which leads to the main court through two doors flanking the back wall of the southern iwan. This corridor ends in the ablution area, while the one on the left leads to the sabil, which is two steps higher so as to match the higher level of the street outside.

The Facade

The eastern facade runs along the alley. It has two identical recesses and a separate one on the right (Pl. 88a).

Each of the two identical recesses is topped by a rectangular stalactite hood. Each recess contains two windows, the upper windows of the "Qala'un-set" type and the lower windows rectangular (Pl. 88b). Flat coloured bands decorate the area above the upper windows, outlining the arches and framing the spandrels. The lintels of the lower windows are joggled with the usual bichrome trefoil voussoirs, and surmounted by relieving arches. In each set is a plain panel between the upper and the lower windows, which was intended to bear an inscription. Between the two recesses lies an unusual feature of an octagonal bull's eye, framed by an octagonal moulding (Pl. 89a). This is the first use of an octagonal bull's eye in Mamluk architecture. Another separate recess, also topped by a stalactite hood, differs in fenestration: the upper window is a semicircular arch and the lower one is rectangular, with a flat lintel surmounted by a relieving arch of bichrome trifoliate voussoirs (Pl. 89b).

On the left of the facade, near the portal, there are two small windows over each other; the lower one is bigger and grilled (Pl. 90a). Neither is likely to be original as their size, height and position follow none of the previous compositions. On the top of the facade under the continuous moulding runs a plain panel intended to bear inscriptions.

The portal, which is set perpendicular to the facade (Pl. 90a), consists of a trilobed arch with a semi-dome decorated with horizontal ablaq courses at the top of four tiers of stalactites (Pl. 90b). There is a naskhi inscription in a small

panel just below the stalactite hood; this inscription is flanked by two square panels decorated with star patterns.

A rectangular window flanked by two engaged colonnettes is set within a recess topped by three tiers of stalactites immediately below the inscription panel (Pl. 91a). On either side of the window are panels decorated with a bichrome zigzag reciprocal trefoil pattern (Pl. 91b). Below this, two panels with zigzag patterns of the same colours flank the relieving arch; these zigzag panels are similar to those between the windows of the facade in the Marasina Street mosque (Pl. 81b). The relieving arch is decorated with joggled voussoirs in a fleur de lys pattern. The flat wooden lintel above the doorway does not look original. The stone lunette below the relieving arch has carved floral designs (Pl. 92a). An inscription band runs from the side walls of the recess, cut only at the door near its top. The wooden door is plain and the doorway is flanked by the two traditional *mastabas*. The whole portal is framed by moulding, which meets with another moulding framing the trilobed hood, forming a loop at the top. At the end of the facade there are two adjacent rectangular windows with flat lintels surmounted by relieving arches of bichrome trifoliate voussoirs. A large wooden door now blocks the *sabil* (Pl. 92b).

The Minaret

The minaret at the north-eastern corner of the building is angled to be in alignment with the *qibla* rather than the street, a feature which is repeated in all the mosques of this period.

The minaret has three segments (Pl. 93a). The base is square, while the second and the third sections are octagonal. The octagonal segments are decorated with a keel-arched recess on each side. The tympanums of the arches are alternately plain and decorated by ribbed flutings. The third segment is decorated with interlacing mouldings separating deep undecorated niches. According to Behrens-Abouseif, this is the only royal minaret of the period not to be built entirely in stone, the second storey being made of plastered wood (Pl. 93b).¹⁰⁶ It could well be that Jaqmaq preferred wood to stone after the minaret of an early mosque fell and killed many people during his sultanate¹⁰⁷.

The Interior

The interior was described by Creswell as "mean and shabby", hardly representative of a royal commission.¹⁰⁸ The entrance vestibule has a *mastaba* on the left and a pointed arch opening to the main corridor on the right (Pl. 94a). The vestibule is roofed by a wooden ceiling which is beautifully panelled of squares and rectangles (Pl. 94b). The square panels have painted borders of floral designs. Two original rectangular panels survive on the eastern side of the ceiling. They have finely carved symmetrical floral designs on a white ground (Pl. 95b).

¹⁰⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, The Minarets of Cairo (Cairo, 1985), 128.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Iyas, Bada'i' al-zuhur, 2:248.

¹⁰⁸ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology," 133.

The court is uncovered. There is no evidence of crenellation or wooden decoration, since the upper walls have been completely restored (Pl. 95b).

The main iwan has a plain mihrab at the centre of its qibla which can hardly be original, as it is made of new masonry (Pl. 96a). From the interior, the externally octagonal bull's eye is circular, it is flanked by two windows and punctures the wall above the mihrab. The roof of the qibla iwan is of wood and has been almost entirely restored. There are none of the usual dripping stalactites at the corners; instead there is an angled wooden brace in the form of a trefoil, an impoverished substitution (Pl. 94b). The only wooden stalactites are located at the lower ends of the kurdi which appears directly behind the pointed horseshoe arch (Pl. 96b, 97a). A kurdi in this position is uncommon: typically the iwan is framed by either a kurdi or an arch, but not both together. However, this composition looks original.

The western iwan is shallow but wide. It is extended on both sides by two wings, each framed by a modern kurdi with stalactite bases (Pl. 97b). The iwan's coffered ceiling looks original, although it is in a very bad state. The two side iwans are very shallow and fronted by stilted arches; each has four newly restored recesses.

The Inscriptions

The naskhi inscription panel on the portal¹⁰⁹:
 Ordered to build This blessed Madrasa, Maulana al-Sultan Muhamad
 Abu Sa'id Jaqmaq....in the month of Muhram in the year 855.

أمر باتشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر محمد ابو سعيد جقمق خلد
 الله ملكه و ثبت قواعد دولته بمحمد و آله يا رب العالمين و كان الفراغ من ذلك في مستهل
 شهر المحرم سنة خمس و خمسين و ثمان مائه.

The inscription on a wooden panel on one of the two doorways
 opening onto the court¹¹⁰: This blessed madrasa was constructed
 in the 1st of Muharam in the year 855.

و كان الفراغ من هذه المدرسة في مستهل شهر المحرم سنة خمس و خمسين و ثمان مائه.

¹⁰⁹ Van Berchem, CIA, I.1:392

¹¹⁰ Van Berchem, CIA, I.1:393.

IV (c) THE MOSQUE OF JAQMAQ AT
DAYR AL-NAHAS (842-56/1438-53)

The mosque at Dayr al-Nahas was also known as Jami' al-Makhfi, after a shaykh known by this name who was buried there.¹⁰⁷ The mosque is completely destroyed. The only documentation for it is a photograph taken by Creswell. The photograph is of the main facade, which was the only surviving part of the building when he photographed it (Pl. 98a).¹⁰⁸

The Site

Ali Mubarak mentions that the mosque was situated between the mouth of the Khalij and old Cairo.¹⁰⁹

The Facade

A shallow recessed portal was topped by a rectangular stalactite hood in three tiers (Pl. 98b). Just below the hood was a rectangular window, set in a slightly recessed niche with a stalactite top. The doorway had a flat lintel with a relieving arch above; between the lintel and the relieving arch was a lunette.

On the left of the portal was a shallow recessed niche with a stalactite hood containing a pair of windows with flat lintels

¹⁰⁷ Mubarak, Khitat al-jadida, 5:110.

¹⁰⁸ Reproduced in Behrens-Abouseif, Minarets of Cairo, Pl. 112.

¹⁰⁹ Mubarak, Khitat al-jadida, 5:110.

and relieving arches. Around the windows was a looped double moulding framing the two lintels. The lower window was rectangular; the upper one was topped by an arch with joggled voussoirs. An illegible inscription band ran in the space between the two windows.

The crenellations were much more developed than those of the previous mosques; they had a higher profile and articulated foils (Fig. 17).

The Minaret

The minaret lay on the left corner of the mosque, and was probably angled to be in alignment with the qibla. The minaret seen in Creswell's photograph consisted of a base and two upper segments. The base was square, the second segment octagonal, and the third cylindrical and carrying a stalactite balcony surmounted by a bulb. Each facet of the octagonal segment was decorated with a keel arch framed by a moulding. The circular segment was plain and had a wooden balcony. The bulbous top appears not to have been original, since in the style of the period the stalactite balcony would carry a pavilion.

The Interior

The interior was described by Creswell as mean and modern, and no inscriptions were found.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology," 133.

CHAPTER FIVE

FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE IN THE PERIOD OF SULTAN JAQMAQ

The Mausoleum of al-Ashraf Inal

The Mausoleum of Nasr allah

The Mausoleum of al-Saba` Banat

The Mausoleum of Abu al-Khayr al-Sufi

CHAPTER FIVE

FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE IN THE JAQMAQ PERIOD

This chapter discusses the architecture of free-standing mausoleum structures in the Jaqmaq period, i.e. those not associated with a madrasa or incorporated into a complex.

Mausoleums were first introduced in large numbers into Egypt by the Isma'ili Shi'i Fatimids to serve as sites of pious devotion.¹¹¹ From that time onward they played a very important role in the development of the architecture of Islamic Egypt.

Mausoleums in Egypt began as free-standing structures such as those in the Fatimid cemetery at Aswan, which contains a number of brick domes having a variety of shapes, sections and zones of transition.¹¹² It is in the dome that the greatest development is seen through the construction of the mausoleums. The dome underwent many changes in proportion, height, and decoration in the different materials (wood, brick and stone) that were used.

The Sunni Ayyubids introduced the monumental wooden dome, allowing higher and larger sections because of the lighter weight of wood and the greater ease of construction. A good example of the wooden dome is that of al-Imam al-Shafi'i (1211). The elaborate application of composite stalactite squinches, which

¹¹¹ Kessler, Cristel, "Funerary Architecture Within the City," *Colloque Internationale sur l'Histoire du Caire* (Cairo, 1989), 258.

¹¹² Creswell, K. A. C., *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt I*: 131-145, Pls. 109, 110.

developed during the late Fatimid period, was in turn developed by the Mamluks in wood with a decorative rather than structural function.

Mamluk mausoleums were built as a personal memorial and also for religious purposes. The stone dome was introduced by the Mamluks, and was probably first applied in the small hemispherical dome, devoid of external decoration, that covers an unidentified chamber to the rear of the twin mausoleums of Sanjar and Salar al-Jawli (1303/4). The stone dome underwent great development during the Circassian period in particular.

Although most of the mausoleums of the important amirs were incorporated within a madrasa, khanqah or complex, the construction of free-standing mausoleums never stopped and continued developing in a separate line.

It was desirable for patrons to build their mausoleums as part of a madrasa complex, in order to take advantage of the orphans' Qur'an readings in the burial place. It may have been economic constraints that stimulated the continued construction and development of free-standing mausoleums in this period.

v (a) THE DOMED MAUSOLEUM OF AL-ASHRAF INAL (854/1448-9)

The Founder

The Amir Inal was a Circassian mamluk, bought by al-Khawaja 'Ala' al-Din and sold to al-Malik al-Zahir Barquq. When Barquq died, Inal was transferred to his son Faraj b. Barquq, who granted him his freedom.

Inal continued to be promoted throughout the reigns of al-Ashraf Barsbay and al-Zahir Abu Sa'id Jaqmaq, finally reaching the position of Atabik al-Asakir (the greatest of the amirs), a post he held until the death of Jaqmaq. When Jaqmaq's son al-Mansur 'Uthman was proclaimed, as the new sultan, the Mamluks refused to be ruled by a boy. Inal was brought to the Citadel by force to be appointed, and was named the Sultan al-Ashraf Inal in 857/1453 - the same year that the Ottomans entered Constantinople. Al-Ashraf Inal ruled for eight years, until his death in 865/1461.

The Site

The Amir Inal was one of the few Mamluks in the reign of Jaqmaq to turn his attention to the Northern Cemetery, on the eastern desert outskirts of Cairo. During the reign of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars, it had been the site of a hippodrome where the sultan and his amirs would take part in chivalric sports

(*furusiiyya*).¹¹³ Tournaments and contests were organized, and the royal class became very familiar with this area. However, during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad it fell out of favour as a recreational area and buildings began to be erected.

By the time of Jaqmaq, the Northern Cemetery already contained the two monumental complexes of Sultan Faraj b. Barquq and Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay, although the area was generally neglected by the patrons of architecture.

The main reason for the neglect of the Northern Cemetery during this period was that there was no patron willing to lay out the expenditure necessary for building a large structure in this undeveloped area. Indeed it is almost certain that Inal himself did not originally intend to construct a large complex. It is clear from the different heights of the facades and the spectacular location of the minaret to balance the facade, all of which were added after Inal became a sultan, that his mausoleum, erected while he was still an amir, was not designed as part of a complex (Pl. 99a).¹¹⁴ In any event, the development of the complex in association with his mausoleum was not financed by Inal himself, for Ibn Iyas records that the rest of the complex was financed and built by his special supervisor, the nazir al-

¹¹³ Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, Islamic Architecture in Cairo: an Introduction (Cairo, 1989) 135, 136.

¹¹⁴ Tovell, Joyce Pressey, The Khanqah of Sultan Inal in the Northern Cemetery In Cairo, M.A. Thesis: American University in Cairo, 1991: 107-109.

khas al-Jamali Yusuf, the cost of construction amounting to 12,000 dinars.¹¹⁵

Only Inal's mausoleum will be discussed here, since it was the only structure in the complex that was built during the reign of Jaqmaq. It has certain important characteristics of the period.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The domed mausoleum of the Amir Inal lies on the far right (north-east) corner of the main facade of his complex in the Northern Cemetery. The entrance to the mausoleum is on its western side, and is several steps higher than ground level. The mausoleum was originally a freestanding structure, before being connected to the complex. It has a square ground plan and is covered by a carved stone dome.

The *mihrab* is set at the centre of the mausoleum's eastern wall and does not project externally because of the massive thickness of the wall. There is a rectangular niche, flanked by two windows, at the middle of the northern wall, while the southern wall has three windows. The entrance in the western wall occupies the space equivalent to that of a window in the other walls (Fig. 13).

¹¹⁵ Ibn Iyas, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, *Bada'i' al-zuhur fi waqa'i' al-duhur*, ed. Muhammad Mustafa (Cairo, 1963-1984), 2:331.

The Facades

The southern wall has three windows set into recesses topped by flat stalactites. The eastern and northern facades are similar to each other. The western facade, which has the entrance, has two recesses, the one on the left for the entrance, and the one on the right for a window. An inscription band on the lintel above the doorway contains the *shahada* written in *thuluth*, carved in low relief and set against a floral background (Pl. 99b).

The Dome

The dome bears a chevron design going along the high drum. Carved loops filled with balls of blue glass paste interlace with the lowest chevron into a moulding that runs around the top of the plain drum (Pl. 99b).¹²⁰ Sixteen arched windows at the base of the dome's drum alternate with another sixteen blind niches. The dome is carried on a high zone of transition, where the stalactite pendentives of the interior are expressed externally at the four corners by Turkish triangles.¹²¹ The vertical walls in between the triangular corners are pierced by three arched windows surmounted by three bull's-eye windows set in a triangle.

¹²⁰ Behrens-Abouseif claims that these balls also appeared on the second storey of the minaret of al-Nasir Muhammad's madrasa, and on the mabkhara structures decorating the corners of the facade of the Maridani mosque: *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, 143.

¹²¹ Tovell, "Khanqah of Sultan Inal", 107.

The interior

Dripping stalactite pendentives support the dome. These are composed of two forms, usually a conch-shaped hood, but occasionally a slightly recessed semicircular arch with concave ribbing (Pl. 100a). A simple moulding runs around the four sides of the chamber. The mihrab has lost its two flanking columns. The lower part of the mihrab niche is adorned with a stone-carved star pattern interlaced with floral designs (Pl. 100b). The hood is decorated with red zigzag stripes, like those seen earlier in the mihrab of al-Qadi Yahya at Bayn al-Nahdayn. The spandrels are framed by a band which interlaces at the top of the pointed arch. A Naskhi inscription band, running just below the hood decoration, is carved in low relief.

The Inscriptions

The inscription at the north-east angle on the exterior summit of the north and east facades which states that the mausoleum was consecrated on 1 Muharram 855/3 February 1451:¹²²

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ، سُوْرَةُ الْبَقْرَةِ، أَيُّهُ ١٩٣ أَمْرٌ بِأَنْشَاءِ هَذِهِ الْقَبْرِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى الْمَقْر
الْأَشْرَفِ الْكَرِيمِ الْعَالِي الْمَالِكِي الْمَوْلَوِي الْأَمِيرِي الْكَبِيرِي السَّيْدِي السَّنْدِي الذَّخْرِي الْعَضْدِي
الْهَمَامِي النَّظَامِي الْأَوْحَدِي الْأَمْجَدِي السَّيْفِي أَيْنَالِ الْعَلَايِ الْإِتَابِكِي أَتَابِكِ الْعَسَاكِرِ الْعَنْصُورِ
الْمَجَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ وَكَانَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْهَا مُسْتَهْلًا مُحْرَمَ افْتِتَاحِ عَامِ خَمْسٍ
وْخَمْسِينَ وَثَمَانٍ مِائَةٍ.

¹²² Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 134.

V (b) THE MAUSOLEUM OF NASR ALLAH (c. 845/1441)

Also known as the Mausoleum of Kuz al-`Assal.
The founder of this mausoleum is completely unknown.

The Site

The Mausoleum of Nasr Allah is located on Sultan Ahmad Street in the Northern Cemetery, between the mausoleums of al-Saba` Banat and al-Sadat al-Shanahira.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mausoleum has a square plan. At the centre of the northern and eastern facades is a recessed window, and at the centre of the western facade is a door. The mihrab takes this position in the eastern interior wall, and there is a window is on the north side of the mausoleum (Fig. 14).

The Facades

Like the other facades, the western facade (with the doorway) is undecorated except for recesses (Pl. 101a). The doorway lacks any distinctive decoration such as a rectangular stalactite hood to distinguish it from the window recess (Pl. 101b). Each of the recesses has a rectangular window, topped by a flat arch and a relieving arch (Pl. 102a). Trefoil crenellations top all four facades of the mausoleum. In the rear of the gibla facade is a bull's-eye window, now blocked

(Pl. 102b).

The Dome

The dome is a smaller version of the dome on the Mausoleum of the Amir Inal (Pl. 103a). The decoration consists of a chevron design ending at the bottom of the dome in small circles (rather than loops), although without the blue glass bulbs that adorn the looped circles on the dome of Inal. The dome is set on a very high drum, pierced by 16 arched windows alternating with 16 blind niches. Above this level is a tiraz band bearing an inscription. The dome is topped by a bronze finial (Pl. 103b).

The octagonal zone of transition is pierced on each side by three arched windows, surmounted by three bull's eyes in a triangular composition (Pl. 103a) similar to those in the mausoleums of Sultan Inal and Saba` Banat. Two out of three of the upper windows have been closed (Pl. 102b).

The Interior

The mihrab is set within two pointed arches and flanked to right and left by two further pointed arches, the one on the left a niche and the one on the right a window. The mihrab, unusually, was not adapted for columns.¹¹⁹ Over the mihrab there is a large bull's eye covered by some courses of bricks, and framed by a circular moulding. The bull's eye and the moulding around it

¹¹⁹ Fernandez, Maria Luisa, "The Visual Composition of the Circassian Period Qibla Wall in Cairo," 2 vols, Ph.D. Thesis: Harvard University, 1990: 37.

are of the same width as the outer arch of the mihrab.¹²⁴

Fernandez states that this qibla wall is unique in the period for its complete lack of decoration;¹²⁵ however, the qibla walls of the mausoleum of al-Saba` Banat, of Inal's mausoleum (except for the mihrab) and of the mausoleum in the Taghri Birdi complex are also completely without decoration. In fact this qibla wall has a unique feature which does not appear in any other contemporary mausoleums: the bull's eye over the mihrab (Fig. 15).

The dome is supported by carved stalactite pendentives in two designs, a conch-shaped hood and concave ribbing. In the middle of the fourth row of the stalactites, there is a free hanging stalactite enclosing a semi dome. This feature is similar to the enclosed small domes on the side portals of al-Qadi Yahya at Bulaq. Below the stalactites a continuous moulding runs round all four sides of the mausoleum (Pl. 104a).

The Inscription

The inscription around the drum is: Qur'an (III, 26, 27)

سورة آل عمران آية ٢٦, ٢٧ " قل اللهم الى بغير حساب"

¹²⁴ Fernandez, "Visual Composition", 37.

¹²⁵ Fernandez, "Visual Composition", 37.

V (c) THE MAUSOLEUM OF AL-SABA` BANAT

The mausoleum of al-Saba` Banat is anepigraphic, undated and its founder is unknown. Creswell dates it as no later than 1450, within the period of Jaqmaq's reign.¹¹¹

The Site

The mausoleum of al-Saba` Banat is located in the Northern Cemetery, south-west of the al-Ashraf Barsbay complex. A further free-standing structure, with some other ruins beside it, lies to the south-west of the mausoleum. The ruins consist of low vaults, set at an angle to the mausoleum. Another ruin is attached to the eastern facade; this looks as if a fence surrounded the area.

Description and Analysis

Plan

The mausoleum has a square plan, with a pair of windows in each side except the western one, where there is an entrance in the centre and a later blocked niche to its left (Fig. 16).

The Facades

The western facade has the entrance, the other three have two recesses topped by stalactite hoods, each containing a window with a flat lintel and a relieving arch (Pl. 105a). A single tier

¹¹¹ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 132-3.

of stalactites decorates the top of the four facades. The stalactites are carved with alternating modules, one conch-shaped and the other a plain arch (Pl. 105b).

The Western Facade

The western facade contains the portal, set within a shallow recess and surmounted by a trilobed arch with an undecorated hood. The idea of the trilobed arch was to keep the style of the period even if it did not comprise a stalactite hood. The doorway, within a pointed arch, is raised by three steps and flanked by two short mastabas. A single moulding forms a rectangular frame around the arch of the doorway (Pl. 106a). Around the top of the trilobed arch is a shallow recessed frame, this in turn being framed by a second frame that is flush with the wall surface (Pl. 106b).

To the left of the entrance, just beside the bottom of the trilobed arch, are traces of the springing of an arch (Pl. 106b). At the left corner of the western facade there are the remnants of a masonry old joint, orientated in the direction of the nearby ruined structures. These joints indicate the existence of an annex which was once connected to the front of the dome chamber. That the blind niche set to the left of the portal, its lintel with joggled voussoirs, was originally open is apparent from the fact that the courses of masonry blocking the niche are not in alignment with those of the facade. However, the niche is not repeated on the right side, which spoils the symmetry of the facade. Probably this niche was a secondary entrance rather than

a window, for several reasons. (1) It is on the same level as the entrance; (2) a window in this originally covered position would not have served as a practical source of light; and (3) it differs in style from the windows in the other facades, all of which are set in shallow recesses topped by rectangular tiers of stalactites. This secondary entrance was probably situated over the vaults which are thought to have been attached to the mausoleum. The new level which it served might have been a terrace for the family to sit and listen to Qur'an readings. In fact the two buildings cannot be built at the same time; the annex was added later.

The Annexed Vaults

The structure connected to the west side of the dome was intended to lead to the annexed vaults (Pl. 107a). The lower pointed vaults, which certainly comprised the burial places, come up to the level of the floor of the mausoleum. The higher pointed vaults were superimposed on the lower ones. There are no parallels for two tiers of vaulting in burial chambers in the funerary architecture of this period. This supports the interpretation of its function that I have advanced above.

The Dome

The dome, set on a high drum and topped by a bronze finial, is devoid of any exterior decoration. The drum is pierced by 16 round-arched windows (Pl. 105a).

Do the height of the dome, its plain surface (it has not been renovated) and the wide distance from the rim of the octagon suggest that further decoration above the stalactite frieze has disappeared? This treatment of the zone of transition is not seen elsewhere except in the so-called mausoleum of Tangizbugha, where the stalactites end in projecting dog-tooth edges. There are no signs of crenellation. This stalactite frieze below the drum of the dome was described by Creswell as a unique feature;¹¹⁷ however, the mausoleum of Tangizbugha has a similar one. The cube of the mausoleum also lacks the crenellations that were the usual treatment for the top of the facades, although the stalactite frieze there could be considered a substitution for them.

The zone of transition consists of a pyramidal shape similar to those of Inal's mausoleum, though more squat. The corners are connected by a flat vertical surface with three semi-circular arched windows below a triangle of three bull's-eye openings (Pl. 107b). The pyramidal triangles carry a short octagonal base which supports a frieze of three tiers of stalactites. The upper tier is composed of simple arched units (Pl. 107b).

The Interior

The interior has stalactite pendentives supporting the dome; these are decorated in accordance with the tradition of the period. The modules of the stalactites here are carved as conch-

¹¹⁷ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 132-3.

shaped hoods, with concave ribbing or as semi-circular arches, like the frieze on the exterior (Pl. 108a). Under the stalactite pendentives is a continuous frieze of stalactites, decorated alternately with the conch-shaped hood and the semi-circular arch. A plain mihrab looks newly restored.

There are no inscriptions in the building.

V (d) THE MAUSOLEUM OF ABU'L-KHAYR AL-SUFI

This mausoleum is listed in the Index of Muhammadan Monuments (373) as a work of the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq. Today it no longer exists. It was located in the south-west of the Northern Cemetery. In the 1970s the mausoleum was demolished to make way for the autostrada to Nasr City. It seems to have been of undistinguished appearance, as it failed to attract any art historians to describe or photograph it.

CHAPTER SIX

OTHER BUILDINGS

Sabil al-Wafa'iyya.

Takkiyya Taqyi al-Din al-Bistami.

CHAPTER SIX
OTHER BUILDINGS

VI (a) SABIL AL-WAFA'IYYA (840/1442)

Most of the sabils of the Mamluk period are attached to a complex, but sabil al-Wafa'iyya is an example of one that is free-standing.

The Site

sabil al-Wafa'iyya is located on Khiyamiyya street, attached to the left of the mosque of Inal al-Yusufi.

Description and Analysis

The entrance to the sabil is from the left, northern side. It is a pointed arch with a plain wooden door. The section of wall that has the arch is slightly recessed behind the facade of the sabil (Pl. 109a).

The sabil facade consists of a large iron grille surmounted by a wooden plaque bearing an inscription that records the date of the completion of the construction (Pls. 109b, 110a). Two engaged columns flank the iron grille. The columns are octagonal and carved with a zigzag pattern similar to the engaged columns of the Mosque of Taghri Birdi. The columns have bell-shaped bases. The interior of the sabil has little that is distinctive. It is covered by a flat wooden roof.

The Inscription

There is only the inscription on the wooden plate above the iron grille bearing the date of the Sabil 840:

و كان الفراغ من ذلك فى شهر الله المحرم سنة اربعين و ثمان مائه.

VI (b) THE TAKKIYYA OF TAQIY AL-DIN
AL-BISTAMI (847/1442)

The takkiyya of Taqiy al-Din is the only takkiyya found in the period of Jaqmaq, and its portal is the only example of a takkiyya portal in the period; Da`ad Hasan `Abd al-Raziq does not include it in her thesis on Circassian Mamluk monumental entrances.¹¹⁸

Site

The takkiyya is located a few metres behind the mosque of Qanibay al-Ramah, below the Citadel area. In this zone of the Citadel area the ground level rises steeply by approximately five meters; the takkiyya was built another six steps above this high ground level.

Description and Analysis

Nothing remains of the original building but the portal, and perhaps a section of wall to its left. To the right of the portal, at a lower level, is the fourteenth-century portal of Darb al-Labbana (Pl. 111a). This portal is set perpendicular to the takkiyya facade, making a highly confusing composition of the two styles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Pl. 111b).

¹¹⁸ `Abd al-Raziq, Da`ad Hasan, "The Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances of Cairo", M.A. Thesis: American University in Cairo, 1990.

Six steps on the left of the portal ascend to the ground level of the takkiyya. The door follows the rectangular-hood style of the side portals of al-Qadi Yahya's Bulaq mosque, Jaqmaq's Dayr al-Nahas mosque, and Qaraqaja al-Hasani's mosque at Darb al-Gamamiz. The top of the portal consists of three flat tiers of stalactites set in a shallow recess (Pl. 112a). The modules of the stalactites are of the three usual styles: the conch, the concave ribbing and the plain arch. There are carved-stone inscriptions on the two sides of the portal. That to the right of the doorway is completely illegible; in the other inscription the words "Sultan Jaqmaq" can be read (Pl. 112b). The entire portal is framed by a simple moulding. There is a flat roof supported by corbels (Pl. 113a), and three narrow windows with triangular arches set high on the left side of the portal (Pl. 111a, 111b).

Below the stairs leading up to the portal is an arch with a wooden door, which is supposed to be a store room. Creswell's photos show no arch, but a much larger rectangular opening. A new moulding runs with the steps to the balustrade at the base of the portal platform (Pl. 113a, 113b). The original decoration of the base of the balustrade was a frieze decorated with interlaced lozenges; this decoration also appeared on the dividers of the balustrade. The doorway of the takkiyya leads to a passage covered with timber ribs in very bad condition.

The Inscriptions

1. On the left of the portal: ".....Sultan Jaqmaq may his victory be glorified in the year of 847"

.....السلطان جقمق عز نصره و ذلك في عام سبعة و اربعين و ثمان مائه.

CONCLUSION

Sites

Plans

Minarets

Mihrabs

Ceilings

Facades

Woodwork and Metal Work

Portals

Mausoleums

Patrons

CONCLUSION

Many of the buildings that have been discussed share certain common features which characterize the Jaqmaq period.

1. The sites

Although the sites occupied by buildings of this period are not concentrated in any particular area, there is a degree of consistency within the period as to the reasons underlying the choices of sites. In the case of the mosques erected under the patronage of al-Qadi Yahya, the primary concern in selecting a site seems to have been proximity of water. All three of his mosques lie directly on a water source. Yahya's mosque at Bayn al-Nahdayn was on the canal of al-Khalij al-Masri, the Bulaq mosque was situated on the bank of the Nile, and the mosque at Sikkat al-Habbaniyya was placed to overlook Birkat al-Fil. Unfortunately after the topographical changes of the last two centuries none of these mosques still overlooks a water source.

Al-Qadi Yahya wanted to guarantee a supply of water for these three mosques, but he was also motivated by other, less logistical concerns. Water canals, lakes and the Nile served as important communication and transportation thoroughfares, so mosques built on sites adjacent to them would be seen frequently by the passers-by. The mosque at Bulaq would also have been seen by foreign traders using the port.

The options for constructing free-standing mausoleum structures were more limited. Here, once it became the new area

for the expansion of the city, the Northern Cemetery was the only viable choice, unless the mausoleum could be attached to an already existing complex. Sultan Inal chose the Northern Cemetery to build his tomb; the mausoleum of Taghri Birdi was built in the city because it was attached to a madrasa.

2. Plans

The religious complexes of Sultan Jaqmaq's period have common functions and plans. Each complex consisted of a mosque or madrasa (both using the four-iwan plan); some included mausoleums, and most included a sabil and kuttab. The end of the fourteenth century began with a new concept of a mosque: a covered court with a lantern and a decrease in the size of the side iwans. Some of the mosques of the Jaqmaq period follow this concept. However, other mosques still continued to be built with the open court or in a hypostyle form. This shows that the period of Jaqmaq was really an experimental phase to see which plan was going to be developed.

3. Minarets

A consistent stylistic feature during the Jaqmaq period is the placement of the minaret. In all these buildings but three, minarets were placed over one or other of the portal jambs (the exceptions are Jaqmaq's mosques at al-Azhar and Dayr al-Nahas and Qaraqaja al-Hasani's mosque at Darb al-Gamamiz, which has a peculiar location in the middle of the hara). During the Mamluk period the location of the minaret shifted from its earlier

position over the entrance to one of the jambs, either to right or left. The relocation was patently not for structural reasons, since many of the early minarets are still standing (for instance in the madrasas of Najm al-Din and al-Nasir Muhammad on the Qasaba). Whatever the reason may have been, the displacement of the minaret was an important factor in encouraging the development of the portal into a major architectural element in Cairene architecture. Previously the decoration of the portal and the minaret were on the same axis and thus in competition with one another; but the displacement of the minaret allowed portal and minaret each to develop its own independent style of decoration. The minarets of this period were skewed away from the street alignment to face the qibla, as in the minarets of Jaqmaq's three mosques, of Yahya's three mosques, and the minaret of Qaraqaja al-Hasani.

The minarets of Yahya's three complexes partially collapsed. The minaret of Jaqmaq's al-Marasina madrasa lost its second storey; the minaret of Qanibay al-Sharkasi lost its third storey; and the minaret of Taghri Birdi lost its third balcony; its bulbous top had to be replaced by an Ottoman one until it was reconstructed in original form by the Comité. The top of Qaraqaja al-Hasani's minaret is also not original. All these examples point to the structural weakness of the minaret during the Jaqmaq period, and indicate that at this time it was still elegance took precedence over safety. These trial-and-error experiments were the bridge by which the architects were able to cross to another phase where the minaret's structure was

perfected. The few decades following the Jaqmaq period showed a remarkable development in minarets; although they grew taller and thinner, they achieved better structural construction and magnificent proportions.

4. Mihrabs

The period of Jaqmaq was pre-eminently the period of stone decoration. This affected most of the components of these buildings, and one of these was the mihrab. The mihrabs of this period are of stone, and undecorated apart from royal and Qur'anic inscriptions (except for that of Inal's mausoleum, which has a complete carved-stone panel, and the stripes decorating the hood of Yahya's mihrab at al-Habbaniyya). The stone mihrab continued to be the norm in the madrasa during the Qaytbay period.

There may be reasons related to piety for the adoption of the plain stone mihrab: extensive decoration may have distracted the faithful from their prayers. But it may well be that the initial impetus, particularly during Jaqmaq's reign, was largely economic. Marble was an extravagant and expensive material to use in such hard times.

5. Ceilings

Throughout the Jaqmaq period, mosques are consistently roofed with painted and gilded wooden ceilings. This trend begins in the thirteenth century and continues up to the end of the Circassian period. Iwan ceilings were usually supported by a

cavetto, inscribed with a Qur'anic verse in thuluth style gilded on a coloured background (usually blue), with stalactite pendentives at the corners. Covered courts needed to be pierced by a lantern to light the space beneath. These lanterns were new items; their roofs were decorated by painting and gilding, and sometime inscribed.

6. Facades

All the mosques described have remarkable chamfered corners articulated in stone with a pronounced variety of designs. The only mosque with a different style of chamfered corner is Taghri Birdi, where an octagonal engaged column is used instead. In all cases, the main idea was to decorate the corner at the intersection of two streets. All the buildings of this period share the same form of trefoil crenellation, with minor variations, except for the so-called mausoleum of al-Sadat al-Shanahira, whose dating by Creswell is open to question (see Appendix).

7. Woodwork and Metalwork

Although there is a preponderance of remarkable woodwork in the Jaqmaq period, represented by projecting wooden balconies, minbars and kursis, there are no examples of bronze work in these mosques. None of the doors has a fine bronze medallion or arabesque bands. This may be a further reflection of the prevailing economic situation.

8. Portals

The portals of the Jaqmaq period are generally of the same type, with a stalactite hood. There is little to differentiate them from those of the Bahri Mamluk period, except for the buildings of al-Qadi Yahya. Yahya used groin vaults in the main portal of his Bulaq mosque and in his ribat.

9. Mausoleums

The mausoleums of the period saw more development and innovation than the mosque-madrassa complexes. Characteristics of funerary architecture during this period included decorative patterns such as zigzag motifs on carved stone domes, interlaced stripes such as the dome of Taghri Birdi. The emergence of an innovative, higher zone of transition is most apparent in the mausoleums of the Amir Inal and al-Saba` Banat, where so-called "Turkish" triangles with pyramidal corners are used.¹²⁹ Both these mausoleums have an octagonal drum above the zone of transition; this provides the dome with even greater height. All the zones of transition of this period have the three semi-circular windows surmounted by a triangular set of three bull's eyes.

¹²⁹ Tovell, "Khanqah of Sultan Inal", 107-109.

10. Patrons

Undoubtedly al-Qadi Yahya was the most important architectural patron of his time. Each of his mosque complexes reflects creativity. Although the mosques at Bulaq and at Sikkat al-Habbaniyya utilize a hypostyle plan, that at Bulaq is a completely symmetrical free-standing structure with three entrances, while the Sikkat al-Habbaniyya mosque is asymmetrical with a bent entrance. Yahya's complex at Bayn al-Nahdayn uses a cruciform four-iwan plan.

The burial place of al-Qadi Yahya was a problem. As he had three mosques in Cairo he had to choose one for the site of his mausoleum. He chose the mosque at Bayn al-Nahdayn, the earliest of the three. The reason for attaching his burial chamber to this complex rather than those at Bulaq or Sikkat al-Habbaniyya was because of the prestige of the site. The district of Bulaq had never attracted people of royal class to erect funerary architecture there. Not till the seventeenth century, when the mosque of Mustafa Mirza was built, did Bulaq have a monumental building.¹²⁶ If the areas of Sikkat al-Habbaniyya and Bayn al-Nahdayn are compared, it can be seen that although Sikkat al-Habbaniyya was an aristocratic area, Bayn al-Nahdayn was more important because it was at the heart of the city centre.

The most important of the funerary complexes that preceded Yahya's buildings during this period was Taghri Birdi's complex on al-Saliba Street (844/1440). The main complex after Yahya was

¹²⁶ Hanna, Nelly, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo, 1983), 86, 87.

that of Sultan Inal (1451, 1456) in the Northern Cemetery. It is thus apparent that the amirial class preferred to build their funerary complexes in three places: on the Qasaba, on al-Saliba Street, and in the Northern Cemetery.

Although Jaqmaq constructed three buildings in Cairo, the same number as Yahya, his buildings are not comparable to Yahya's. Though the features of Jaqmaq's buildings were borrowed from his amirs, their execution was of a lower quality. Other amirs were also important patrons, as can be seen in the commissions of Taghri Birdi and Qaraqaja al-Hasani, both of whose mosques followed the trend of the cruciform plan.

After this analysis, it can indeed be said that there was a distinctive style during Jaqmaq's period, as well as the development and the evolution of new features that would be maintained and developed during the remainder of the Circassian period.

The architectural elements, (The minarets, the portals, and the facades) are all constructed and decorated according to the same concept of design. Even the sites were chosen on the same bases. The stone decoration, the woodwork, the painted ceiling and the stone mihrab are stylistically the same. If both architectural and decorative items are of the same style during this period, they were distinctively different compared to the other periods. Nevertheless it was a link between the Bahri and the Circassian Mamluks, a fact that is evident in the presence during this period of main features of both. This is seen in the

revival of the classical arcaded mosque with a dome over the mihrab, and on the other hand, some of the features of Qaytbay (rosettes carved on the minaret bases, elaborate groin vaults in the decoration of the portal's hood and the designs of the stone decoration) originally appeared during Jaqmaq's time. The Circassian style, specially the period of Qaytbay, was in debt to the architecture produced during the reign of Jaqmaq in the formation of their own style and the solidification of their new ideas.

Appendix

The so-called Mausoleum of al-Sadat al-Shanahira

APPENDIX

THE SO-CALLED MAUSOLEUM OF AL-SADAT AL-SHANAHIRA

The Site

The so-called Mausoleum of al-Sadat al-Shanahira is located at the southern end of the Northern Cemetery. It was attributed by Creswell to Qaraqaja al-Hasani,¹³¹ but this attribution is called into question on the stylistic grounds of the stone dome decoration, the zone of transition, the type of crenellation and the form of the interior. In attributing the building to Qaraqaja al-Hasani Creswell seems to have ignored questions of style and depended on documents in the possession of Ahmad Hashim (who had charge of this part of the Northern Cemetery¹³²) which probably referred to another mausoleum.

Description and Analysis

The Plan

The mausoleum has a square plan. At the northern facade is a recessed window near the north eastern corner, and another window near the north western corner but not set in a recess. At the centre of the western facade is a door. The mihrab takes this position in the eastern interior wall flanked between two rectangular recesses.

¹³¹ Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 130.

¹³² Creswell, "A Brief Chronology", 130.

The Facades

The cube of the mausoleum does not differ significantly from others of Jaqmaq's period. A moulding runs along all four facades, just below the crenellation which crowns the cube

The western facade contains the entrance. It is set in a recess whose hood is decorated by flat rows of stalactites, and is accessed by two steps, flanked by two mastabas. A flat lintel surmounts the entrance which lies on the north-east facade there is a window set in a recess that extends up to the top of the facade (Pl. 114b). The hood of the recess is decorated by three tiers of flat stalactites. The windows are set in similar recesses with rectangular stalactite hoods (Pls. 115a, 115b). A stone plaque set in the wall of the main facade to the left of the entrance records the date of the mausoleum's renovation (Pl. 116a).

The crenellations, of stepped and undercut type indicate an earlier date than the period of Jaqmaq for the mausoleum (Pl. 116b). This type of crenellation had fallen out of favour during the Circassian period, and had been replaced by the trefoil type, in the mausoleums of Inal, Saba` Banat, Nasr Allah, etc. (Fig. 17).

The Dome

The dome is ribbed, with a flange between every two ribs, a treatment seen before in Cairo at the twin domes of Salar and Sanjar al-Jawli (1303-4) and also in the Sultaniyya domes (c.1360) it is set on a cylindrical drum to provide it with

greater height (Pl. 114a). However the profile of this dome is still relatively low and heavy in comparison to most of the drums of the period, which were higher and pierced so as to give more light to the interior (Pl. 117a). The octagonal transition zone is pierced on four sides by pairs of arched windows surmounted by a bull's eye (Pl. 117b). The corners of the octagonal zone have two steps, unlike the Mausoleum of Nasr Allah, which has three steps. Although the period is rich in stone-carved domes, none of them was ribbed. The majority of decorated domes had low relief stone carving such as that in Inal's mausoleum. Taghri Birdi's dome was ribbed, but in an interlaced design.

The Interior

The interior of the building is almost devoid of decoration. The mihrab is set in the qibla wall on axis with the entrance, flanked between two rectangular niches and has no decoration (Pl. 118a). The two columns which originally flanked the mihrab's niche are now missing (Pl. 118b). Another plaque identical to that located next to the entrance is set in the wall to the left of the mihrab (Pl. 119a).

The stalactite pendentives supporting the dome are similar to those seen in most of the mausoleums of this period, and even earlier. However here the individual elements of stalactite unit themselves differ from other examples; here, the modules are plain with no evidence of the conch shell-like shape that is characteristic of all the mausoleums of this period (Pl. 119b).

From the interior that the tripartite windows composition exhibited on the exterior are contained within a round-arched niche. The arch of this interior niche can be detected from the outside because it is slightly lower than the bull's eye window (pl. 116b).

The Inscriptions

1. The stone plaque to the right of the entrance, and in the interior next to the mihrab, provide the date of the renovation of the dome as the year 1314 H., during the reign of the Khedive Abbas Hilmy II.

جددت هذه القبة المباركة في عصر خديوى مصر الاعظم عباس حلمى الثانى الافخم
بمباشرة لجنة حفظ الآثار القديمه العربيه فى عام أربعة عشر و ثلاثمائه والى هجرية.

2. The inscription panel beside the mihrab niche: "This dome was restored by the Comité in the reign of the Great Khedive in the year 1314 H."

جددت هذه القبة المباركة فى عصر خديوى مصر الاعظم عباس حلمى الثانى الافخم
بمباشرة لجنة حفظ الآثار القديمه العربيه فى عام أربعة عشر و ثلاثمائه والى هجرية.

Conclusion

The evidence mentioned above - the stepped and undercut crenellation style; the ribbed stone dome carved in high relief; the low zone of transition; and the style of decoration of the stalactites, without the characteristic conch-shaped hood of this period - points to the conclusion that this mausoleum was built substantially earlier than Jaqmaq's period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abd-Allah, Dawlat. Institutions of Self-Purification in Egypt Throughout the Ayyubid and Mamluk Period (Cairo, 1980).
- Abd al-Raziq, Da'ad Hasan. "The Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances of Cairo." M.A. Thesis: American University in Cairo, 1990.
- Abd al-Wahhab, Hasan. Tarikh al-masajid al-athariya. 2 vols (Cairo, 1946).
- Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions." Annales Islamologiques 21 (1985): 73-93.
- . "A Circassian Mamluk Suburb of Cairo." AARP (Art & Archaeology Research Papers) 14 (1978): 17-23.
- . Islamic Architecture in Cairo: an Introduction (Cairo, 1989).
- . The Minarets of Cairo (Cairo, 1985).
- . "The Northeastern Expansion of Cairo under the Mamluks." Annales Islamologiques 17 (1981): 157-189.
- Bourgoin, Jules. Les Arts Arabes (Paris, 1873).
- Comité de Conservation de Monuments de l'Art Arabe. Procès verbaux des séances: Rapport de la Deuxième Commission. 41 vols (Cairo, 1882-1951).
- Creswell, K. A. C. "A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517." Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale de Caire 16 (1919): 39-164.
- . The Muslim Architecture of Egypt 2 vols: (London, 1952)

- . Unpublished archival photographs of Islamic monuments: Rare Books Library, American University in Cairo.
- Davis, R. H. C. The Mosques of Cairo (Cairo, 1944)
- Fernandes, Leonor E. "The Evolution of the Khanqah Institution in Mamluk Egypt." Ph.D. Thesis: Princeton University, 1980.
- Fernandez, Maria Luisa. "The Visual Composition of the Circassian Period Qibla Wall in Cairo." 2 vols. Ph.D. Thesis: Harvard University, 1990.
- Garcin, J.-C. et al. Palais et Maisons du Caire. 2 vols (Paris, 1982-3).
- Al-Hanbaly, Abu al-Yumn al-Qadi Mujir al-Din. al-Uns al-jalil bitarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil. 2 vols (Amman, 1973).
- Hanna, Nelly. An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (Cairo, 1983).
- Ibn Iyas, Muhammad b. Ahmad. Bada'i` al-zuhur fi waqa'i` al-duhur. ed. Muhammad Mustafa (Cairo, 1963-1984).
- Ibn Taghri Birdi, Abu al-Mahasin. al-Nujum al-zahira fi muluk Misr wa'l-Qahira. 16 vols (Cairo, 1963-1972). Trans. by William Popper as History of Egypt 1382-1469 A.D. 7 vols (Berkeley, 1960).
- Ibrahim, `Ali abd al-Latif. "Watha'iq al-tarikhiyyah al-qawmiyyah: magmu`it al watha'iq al-mamlukiyah." Majallat kuliyyat al-adab. Vol. 18 (Cairo: Cairo University Press, December 1956).
- Ibrahim, Laila `Ali. The Mamluk Monuments of Cairo. Quaderni dell' Istituto Italiano di Cultura per la RAE (Cairo, 1976).

- and Amin, M. Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents (648-923H/1250-1517) (Cairo, 1989).
- Kessler, Christel. The Carved Masonry Domes of Medieval Cairo (Cairo, 1976).
- . "Funerary Architecture Within the City." Colloque Internationale sur l'Histoire du Caire (Cairo, 1969). 257-267.
- Lane-Poole, S. The Art of the Saracens in Egypt (London, 1886).
- al-Magrizi, Taqiy ad-Din Ahmad. Kitab al-mawa'iz w'al-i'tibar fi dhikr al-khitat wa'l-athar. 2 vols (Bulaq, 1893).
- Ministry of Waqfs. The Mosques of Egypt (Cairo, 1948).
- Mubarak, `Ali. Al-khitat al jadida al-tawfiqiyya li-Misr wa'l-Qahira (Cairo, 1888).
- Nagib, Mustafa. "Nazra Jadida `ala al-nizam al-mi`mari li'l-madaris al-mut`amida wa tatawuruh khilal al-`asr al-mamluki." Special edition of Kulliyat al-athar II (Cairo, 1978).
- Paret, R., "Ashab al-Kahf" Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden, 1986)
- Pauty, Edmond. Les Palais et Maisons d'Epoque Musulmane au Caire (Cairo, 1932).
- Russell, Dorothea, Medieval Cairo (London, 1962).
- al-Sakhawi, Shams al-Din Muhammad b. `Abd al-Rahman. Al-daw' al-lami` li'ahl al-qarn al-tasi` (Beirut, 1966).
- Shafi'i, Layla Kamal. "Mabani al-Qadi Yahya bi'l-Qahira, dirasa athariyya mi`mariyya." Ph.D. Thesis: Cairo University, 1982.

Tovell, Joyce Pressey. "The Khanqah of Sultan Inal in the Northern Cemetery in Cairo." M.A. Thesis: American University in Cairo, 1991.

Van Berchem, Max. Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Première partie, Egypte, le Caire: vol. I.1 (Cairo, 1894-1903).

Wahdan, Sharif Muhammad. "The Circassian Maktabas of the Circassian Mamluk Period." M.A. Thesis: American University in Cairo, 1988.

Waqf Abu Zakariyya Yahya b. Abdalla, No. 154, dated 876 H. (Cairo, Dar al watha'iq al-qawmiyya)

Waqf Yahya Amir Ustudar, No. 110, dated 855 H. (Cairo, Dar al watha'iq al-qawmiyya)

Wiet, Gaston. Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Première partie, Egypte, le Caire: vol. I.2 (Cairo, 1894-1903).

---. The Mosques of Cairo (Cairo, 1966).

The American University In Cairo
Spring semester 1994

M.A. Thesis

Architectural Patronage In the Reign of Sultan Jagmaq
In Cairo

This thesis is submitted to the departement
of Arabic studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Departement of Arabic Studies
Islamic Art and Architecture

Presented by: Shams El-Din Tantawy
June 1994

ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS

- Map 1 The Complex of Taghri Birdi at al-Saliba Street
- Map 2 Minaret of Qanibay al-Sharkasi at al-Sayda `A'isha
- Map 3 Mosque of Qaraqaja al-Hasani at Darb al-Gamamiz.
- Map 4 Mosque of al-Jamali Yusuf at al-Sultan al-Sahib.
Madrasa of Muhammad b. Jaqmaq at Darb Sa`ada.
Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bayn al-Nahdayn Street.
Ribat al-Qadi Yahya at Bayn al-Surayn.
- Map 5 Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Bulaq.
- Map 6 Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya at Sikkat al-Habbaniyya.
- Map 7 Mosque of Jaqmaq at al-Marasina.
- Map 7 Mausoleum of Inal in the N. Cemetery.
- Map 8 Mausoleum of al-Saba` Banat in the N. Cemetery.
- Map 9 Mausoleum of Nasr Allah in the N. Cemetery.
Mausoleum of Abu al-Khayr al-Sufi in the N.
Cemetery.
- Map 10 Mausoleum of al-Sadat al-Shanahira in the N.
Cemetery.
- Map 12 Sabil al-Wafa'iyya at al-Khayamiyya.
- Map 13 Tikkiyya Taqiy al-Din at the Citadel area.

FIGURES

- Fig. 1 Plan of Taghri Birdi Complex.
- Fig. 2 Plan and elevation of the Minaret of Qanibay al-Sharkasi (by Doris Behrens-Abouseif).

- Fig. 3 Plan of the Mosque of Qaraqaja al-Hasani.
- Fig. 4 Plan of the Mosque of al-Jamali Yusuf.
- Fig. 5 Detail of the inscription.
- Fig. 6 Plan of the Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya
(Bayn al-Nahdayn).
- Fig. 7 Section.
- Fig. 8 Elevation.
- Fig. 9 Plan of the Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya (Bulaq).
- Fig. 10 Plan of the Mosque of al-Qadi Yahya (Sikkat al-
Habbaniyya).
- Fig. 11 Plan of the Mosque of Jaqmaq (al-Marasina).
- Fig. 12 Plan of the Mosque of Muhamad b. Jaqmaq (Darb
Sa'ada)
- Fig. 13 Plan of the Mausoleum of Inal.
- Fig. 14 Plan of the Mausoleum of Nasr Allah.
- Fig. 15 Elevation of the Qibla wall (by Maria Fernandez).
- Fig. 16 Plan of the Mausoleum of al-Saba' Banat.
- Fig. 17 Types of crenellations of the period.

PLATES

THE MOSQUE OF TAGHRI BIRDI

- Pl. 1a General view (by Creswell).
- Pl. 1b The portal and the kuttah.
- Pl. 2a The portal, the dome and the minaret.
- Pl. 2b The portal.
- Pl. 3a The details of the portal.
- Pl. 4a The recess of the facade.

- Pl. 4b The lintel decoration.
- Pl. 5a The eastern facade.
- Pl. 5b The bull's eye.
- Pl. 6a Detail in the recess of the eastern facade.
- Pl. 6a Detail of the chamfered corner.
- Pl. 7a The dome profile.
- Pl. 8a The decoration of the dome.
- Pl. 9a The interior of the dome chamber.
- Pl. 9b Detail of the squinches.
- Pl. 10a Detail of the arabesque design between the windows of the drum.
- Pl. 11a Mausoleum of al-Khadija Umm al-Ashraf.
- Pl. 11b The interior of the dome chamber of al-Khadija Umm al-Ashraf.
- Pl. 12a The minaret of Taghri Birdi.
- Pl. 13a The interior of the kuttab.
- Pl. 13b The exterior of the kuttab.
- Pl. 14a The vestibule.
- Pl. 14b The archway to the left of the vestibule.
- Pl. 15a The open court.
- Pl. 15b The ghiba iwan.
- Pl. 16a Detail of the cavetto and the wooden stalactite.
- Pl. 16b Detail of the ceiling.
- Pl. 17a The side iwan.
- Pl. 17b The side iwan (by Creswell).
- Pl. 18a The minbar.

THE MINARET OF QANIBAY AL-SHARKASI

- Pl. 19a The minaret after the loss of two section.
Pls. 19b, 19c The previous condition of the minaret
 (by Creswell).

THE MOSQUE OF QARAQAJA AL-HASANI

- Pl. 20a The main facade.
Pl. 20b The portal.
Pl. 21a Detail of the ceiling above the portal.
Pl. 21b Detail of the rectangular stalactite hood.
Pl. 22a Detail of the central window flanked by the two
 square kufic panels.
Pl. 22b The relieving arch.
Pl. 23a The lintel.
Pl. 23b The inscription on the left jamb of the portal.
Pl. 24a The plain panel.
Pl. 24b The plate dating the restoration.
Pls. 25a, 25b The recess of the main facade.
Pl. 26a The northern facade.
Pl. 26b The location of the minaret in Hara al-Sadat.
Pl. 27a The spiral projection from the northern facade.
Pl. 27b The window which was originally the secret door.
Pl. 28a Previous condition of the main facade (by
 Creswell).
Pl. 28b The main facade after restoration.
Pl. 29a The eastern facade.
Pl. 29b The minaret.

- Pl. 30a The doorway of the minaret.
- Pl. 30b Detail of the stone carving on the minaret.
- Pl. 31a The kurdi of the western iwan.
- Pl. 31b Detail of the cavetto.
- Pl. 32a The gibla iwan.
- Pl. 32b The mihrab.
- Pl. 33a Detail of the kurdi.
- Pl. 33b The western iwan.
- Pl. 34a The minbar.
- Pl. 34b The minbar.
- Pl. 35a The side iwan.

THE MOSQUE OF AL-JAMALI YUSUF

- Pl. 36a The main facade.
- Pl. 36b A recess in the main facade.
- Pl. 37a The portal.
- Pl. 37b Detail of the lintel over the doorway.
- Pl. 38a The ceiling of the court.
- Pl. 38b One of the shallow recesses at the side walls
of the court.
- Pl. 39a The northern wing.
- Pl. 40a The gibla wall.
- Pl. 40b The mihrab.
- Pl. 41a The painted panel to the right of the mihrab.
- Pl. 41b The western iwan.

Plates of the inscriptions on the wooden panels.

THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BAYN AL-NAHDAYN STREET.

- Pl. 42a The eastern facade.
- Pl. 43a The eastern facade before restoration (by the
Comite).
- Pl. 43b The eastern facade after restoration (by the
Comite).
- Pl. 44a The western facade.
- Pl. 44b The secondary doorway to the left of the portal.
- Pl. 45a The portal hood.
- Pl. 45b The portal.
- Pl. 46a The new facade looking onto al-Azhar street.
- Pl. 46b The new portal.
- Pl. 47a The minaret after restoration.
- Pl. 47b The minaret before restoration (by the Comite).
- Pl. 48a The ceiling of the qibla iwan.
- Pl. 48b The shukhshaykha (lantern).
- Pl. 49a The qibla iwan.
- Pl. 50a The minbar.

THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BULAQ.

- Pl. 51a The main western facade.
- Pl. 51b The main western portal.
- Pl. 52a Detail in the hood of the portal.
- Pl. 52b Detail of the side panels.
- Pl. 53a The southern portal.
- Pl. 53b Detail of the southern portal.
- Pl. 54a The northern portal.

- pl. 54b Detail of the rectangular stalactite hood.
- pl. 55a The southern facade.
- pl. 55b The chamfered corner.
- pls. 56a, 56b The minaret.
- pl. 57a The minaret before restoration (by Creswell).
- pls. 57b, 58a The western riwaq.
- pl. 58b Detail of the inscription on the western court wall.
- pl. 59a The roundel decoration on the interior of the southern portal.
- pl. 59b The roundel decoration on the interior of the northern portal.
- pl. 60a The gibla bay.
- pl. 60b The new wooden dome.
- pl. 61a The gibla bay before restoration (by the Comite).
- pl. 61b The gibla riwaq before final restoration (by the Comite).
- pl. 62a The gibla riwaq after restoration.
- pl. 62b Detail of the mihrab.
- pl. 63a The minbar.
- pl. 63b Detail of the star pattern of the minbar decoration.

MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT SIKKAT AL-HAEBANIYYA.

- pl. 64a The main southern facade.
- pl. 64b The left side of the main facade.
- pl. 64c The right side of the facade.

- Pl. 65a The window to the left of the portal.
- Pl. 66a The portal.
- Pl. 66b The mashrabiyya
- Pl. 67a The hood of the portal.
- Pl. 67b The lintel above the doorway.
- Pl. 68a Detail of the hood.
- Pl. 68b Detail of the border framing the lintel.
- Pl. 69a Detail of the copper panels decorating the portal.
- Pl. 69b The minaret.
- Pl. 70a The vestibule.
- Pl. 70b The corridor leading to the southern riwaq.
- Pl. 71a The open court.
- Pl. 71b Detail of the pierced roundel.
- Pl. 72a The mihrab (by Creswell).
- Pl. 72b The mihrab.
- Pl. 73a The wooden dome (by Creswell).
- Pl. 73b The painted ceiling of the qibla riwaq.
- Pls. 74a, 74b, 74c Different styles of columns.
- Pl. 75a The minbar (by Creswell).
- Pl. 75b The kursi (by Creswell).

THE RIBAT OF AL-QADI YAHYA

- Pl. 76a The main facade.
- Pl. 76b The portal.
- Pl. 76c The portal after restoration.
- Pl. 77a, 77b The hood of the portal.

THE MOSQUE OF JAQMAQ AL-MARASINA

- Pls. 78a, 78b The main southern facade.
- Pl. 79a The portal.
- Pl. 79b Detail of the stalactite hood.
- Pl. 80a The recess of the main facade.
- Pl. 80b The right side of the main facade.
- Pl. 81a Detail of the lintel.
- Pl. 81b Detail of the pattern between the lintels.
- Pl. 82a Detail of the base of the minaret.
- Pl. 82b The minaret.
- Pl. 83a The decoration above the interior doorway.
- Pl. 83b The mihrab.
- Pl. 84a Two windows above the mihrab.
- Pl. 84b The rectangular court.
- pl. 85a The arches of the gibla riwaq.
- Pl. 85b The view from the northern riwaq.
- Pl. 86a The corner of the southern and western riwaqs.
- Pl. 86b The view from dikkat al-mubalagh.
- Pl. 87a The mashrabiyya that projecting over the recess
which has the wooden staircase.

THE MOSQUE OF MUHAMAD B. JAQMAQ.

- Pl. 88a The eastern facade.
- Pl. 88b A recess on the eastern facade.
- Pl. 89a The octagonal bull's eye.
- Pl. 89b The separate recess.
- Pl. 90a The portal.

- Pl. 90b Detail of the hood.
- Pl. 91a The portal recess.
- Pl. 91b The trefoil panel flanking the central window.
- Pl. 92a The lunette.
- Pl. 92b The sabil.
- Pl. 93a The minaret.
- Pl. 93b The minaret before restoration (by Creswell).
- Pl. 94a The doorway to the right of the vestibule.
- Pl. 94b The corner of the main iwan.
- Pl. 95a The open court.
- Pl. 95b The ceiling of the entrance vestibule.
- Pl. 96a The gibla iwan.
- Pl. 96b The kurdi of the main iwan.
- Pl. 97a Detail of kurdi.
- Pl. 97b A kurdi framing the left wing of the western iwan.

THE MOSQUE OF JAQMAQ AT DAYR AL-NAHAS.

- Pl. 98a The main facade.
- Pl. 98b Detail of the main facade.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF INAL

- Pl. 99a The eastern facade.
- Pl. 99b The dome.
- Pl. 100a The interior (by Creswell).
- Pl. 100b The mihrab (by Creswell).

THE MAUSOLEUM OF NASR ALLAH

- Pl. 101a The dome chamber.
Pl. 101b The western facade.
Pl. 102a The northern facade.
Pl. 102b The eastern facade.
Pl. 103a The dome profile.
Pl. 103b The dome.
Pl. 104a The interior.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF AL-SABA' BANAT.

- Pl. 105a The dome chamber.
Pl. 105b The northern and eastern facades.
Pl. 106a The western facade.
Pl. 106b The portal.
Pl. 107a The vaults.
Pl. 107b The zone of transition.
Pl. 108a The interior (by Creswell).

SABIL AL-WAFA' IYYA

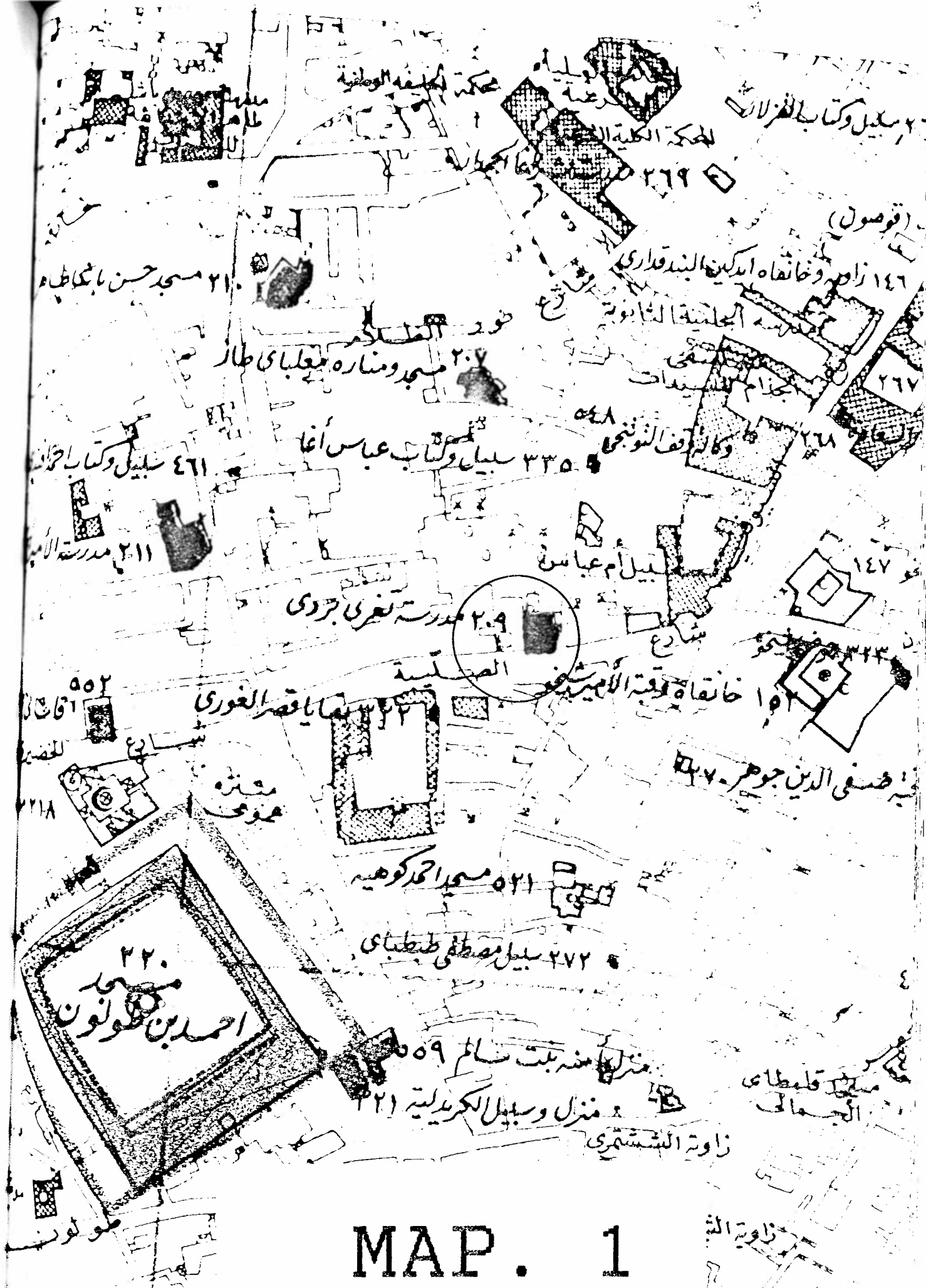
- Pl. 109a The doorway.
Pl. 109b The wooden panel above the iron grille.
Pl. 110a The window of the sabil.

TIKKAYA TAQYI AL-DIN AL-BISTAMI

- Pl. 111a Darb al-Labana.
Pl. 111b The portal.
Pl. 112a The rectangular stalactite hood.

* Page consisting of Illustration
key

MAPS



MAP. 1



MAP. 2

١٣٢ مسجد السلطان حسن

ميدان
المدعي

مسجد الحمودية ١٢٥

باب العرب

ميدان الدين

قسم بوليس

تلغراف
وتليفون

فايدباي ٧٤

حديقة
المنشئية

١٤٨ مسجد السلطان قاضيه

٥٤٩ شارع الزعيم محمد بن خلاون

٦٦٧ تقاطع الميدان

تقاطع خلاون

ميدان
صلاح الدين

١٥٤ مارة

٣٧٧ مسجد الحاج محمد باشا

١٥٥ زاوية مصطفى باشا

موضع قبة ميدان

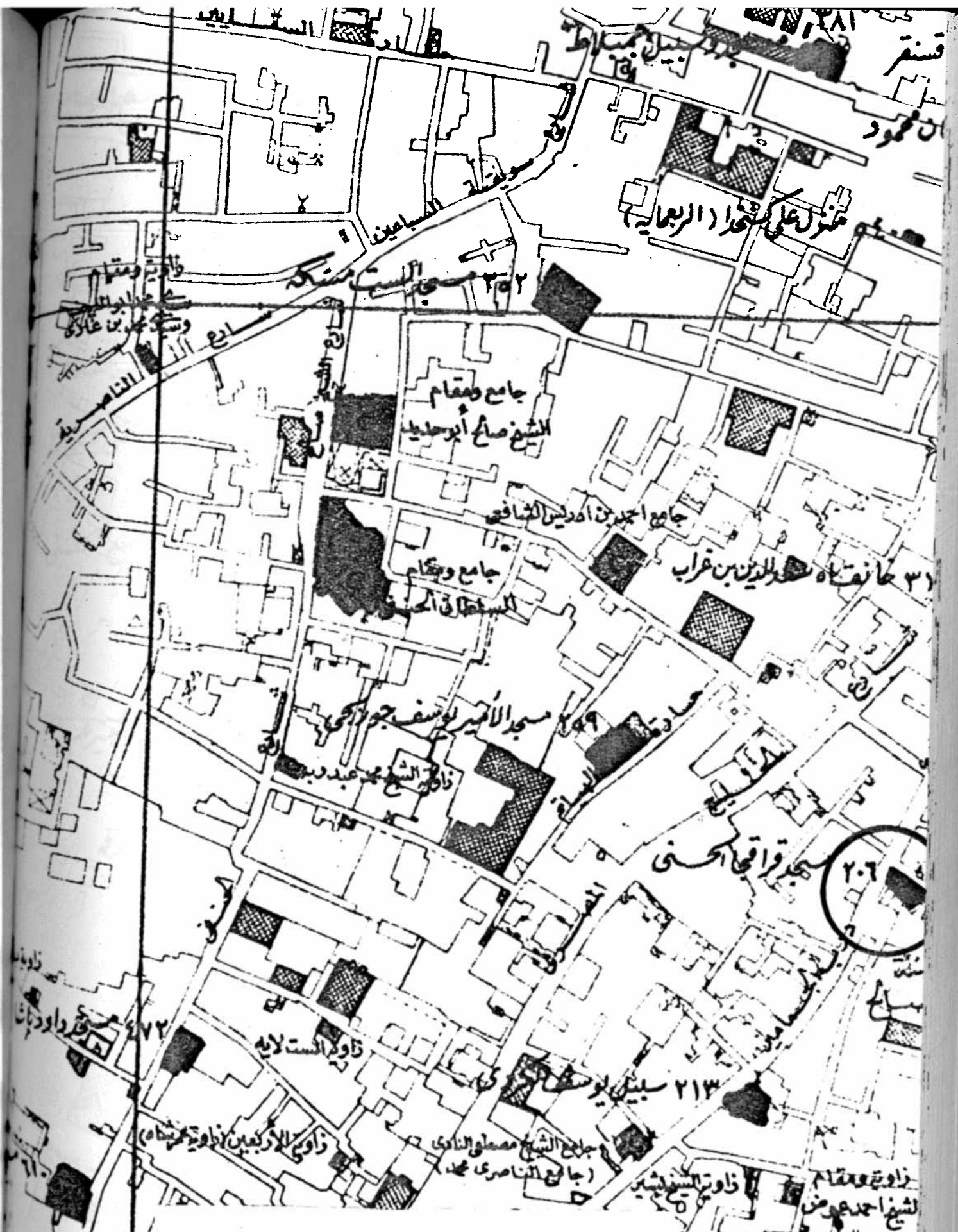
ان السيدة عائشة

لعل
ساقية الناصر محمد

يسكارة

بدر الدين

مسجد حسن بن علي



MAP . 3



جامع مرادباش ١٨١

١٨٢

١٨٠

١٧٧

١٨٥

١٨٦

١٩٤

١٩٦

١٩٢

١٩٣

١٨٧

١٥١

١٤٦

١٤٧

١٥٢

١٥٣

MAP . 4

تفكهنانی

نمدسی الشعارین

ب

وكالة سليمان باشا ٥٣٦
بن باشا العوردية ٥٣٨

قسم بولاق
(مركز البوليس)

زاوية الأربعين
(زاوية سقيليه) (خراب)

جامع ابراهيم الزيني

٣٤٨
مئذنة العسلايا

جامع أبو مريم
الجواد

جامع سيدى محمد
شمس الدين الوسطى

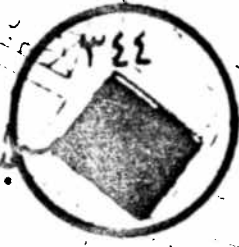
جامع للعاقى

٣٤٩

الأنصارى

شماره

جامع ومقام
سيدى الأنصارى



٣٤٤
مئذنة العمرانى

مقام سيد الخوصى

٦٠٣
مدرسة ميرزا

مقام الشيخ عطيه

٣٤٣
مسجد مصطفى جوزجى ميرزا

مدين بدر

٣٤٢
مسجد سيدى

بولاق

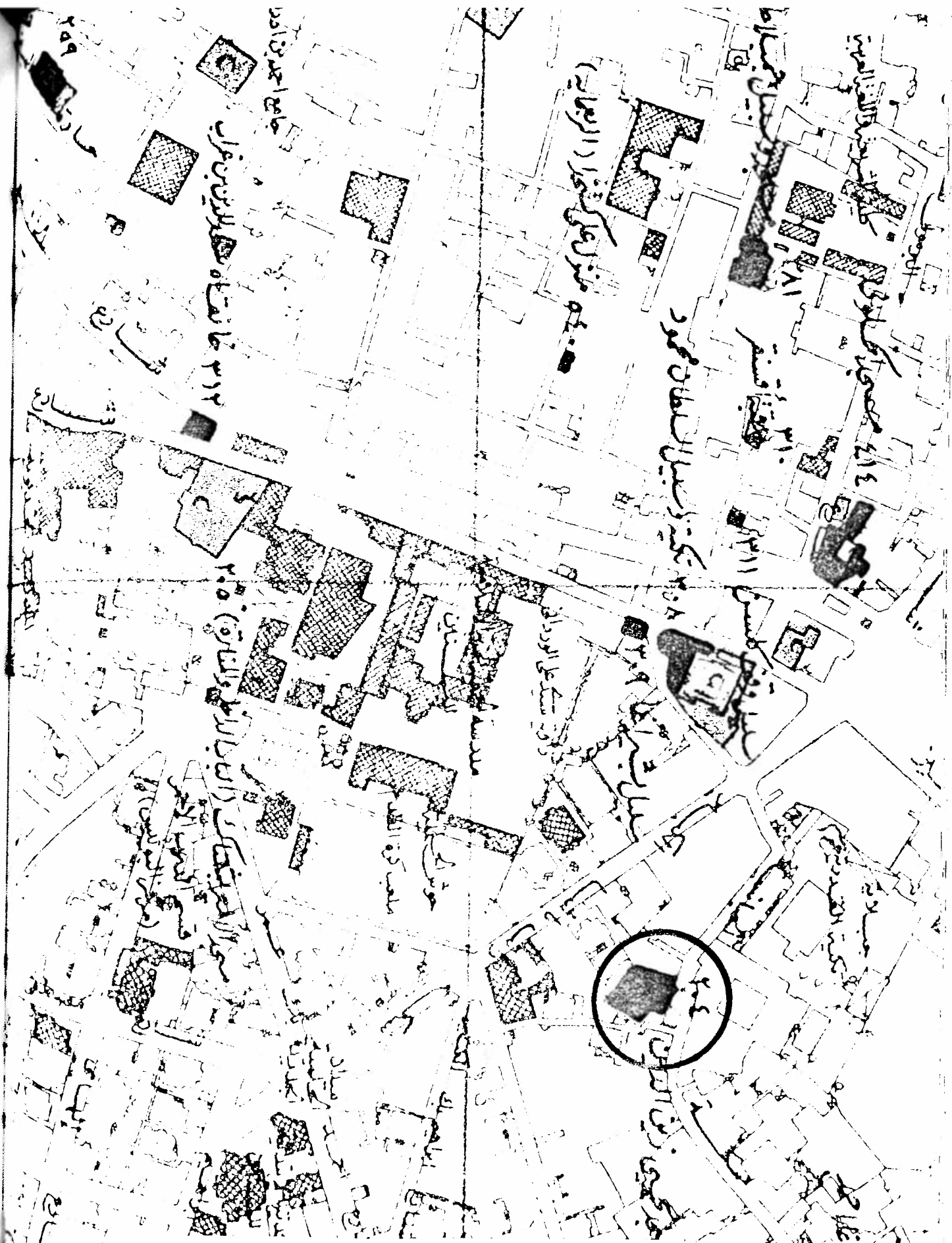
جامع سيدى احمد
السند بلوى

جامع الحكيم

مسارده صحن

مكت رابيه

MAP. 5

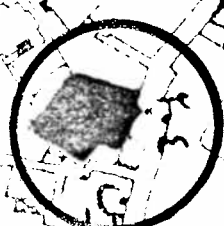


جامع احمد بن ابي
٣٣٢٢ حضانة هـ
٣٣٢٢ حضانة هـ

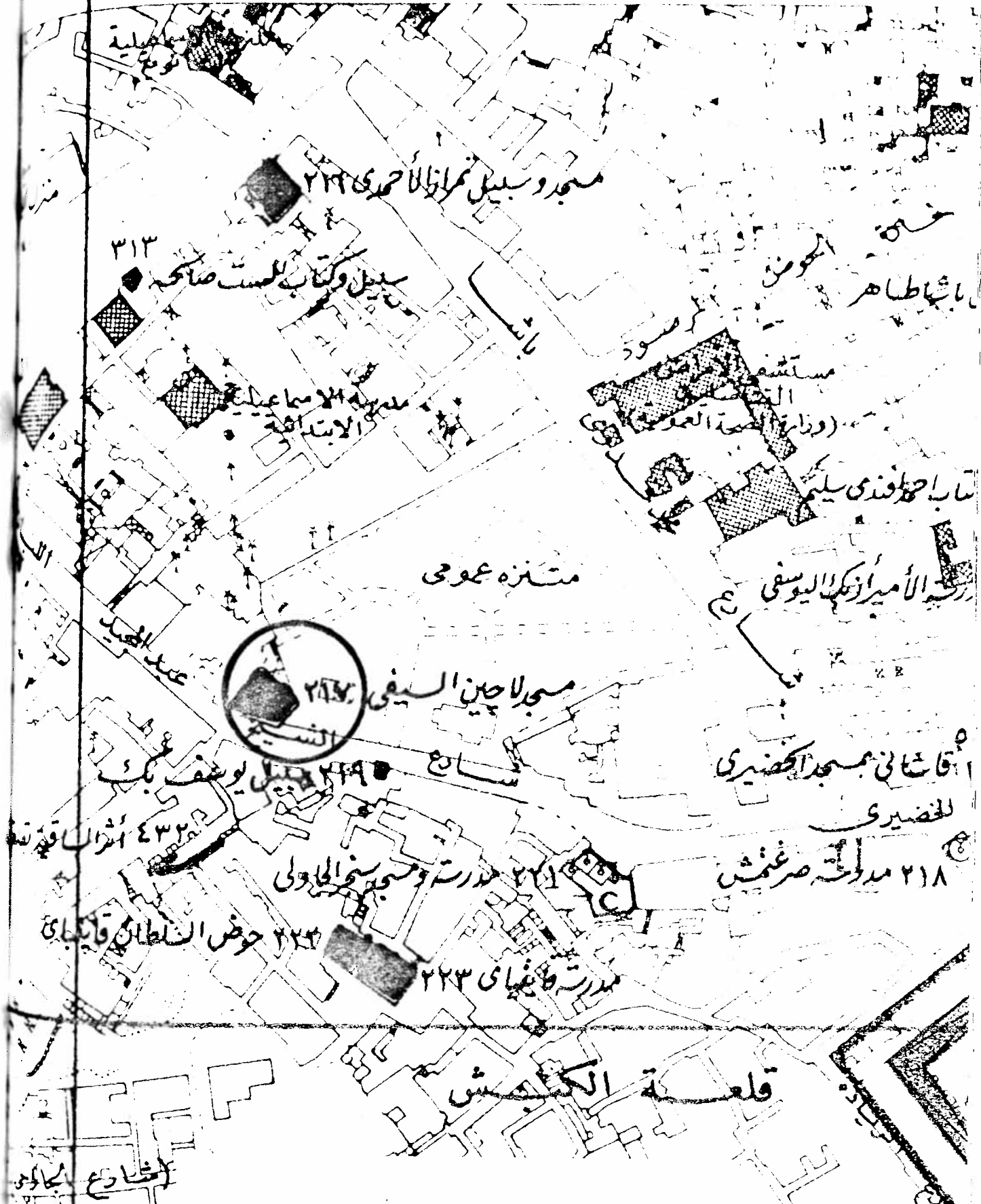
منزل علي كرهه (البرهان)

مكتبة وسيل السطان محمود

مسجد الامير محمد (الملك والملك)



MAP. 6



MAP. 7

تتبع

ميدان
المولد النبوي

الأمير

تتبع

١٦١

قبة السلطان قانصوه ابوسعيد

الملك

بلوكات النظام
(حكمدارتيه بوليس)

ج

قبة وخانقاه ومدرسة السلطان الأشرف

١٥٨

قوس

مسجد الامير قرقماس (امير كبير)

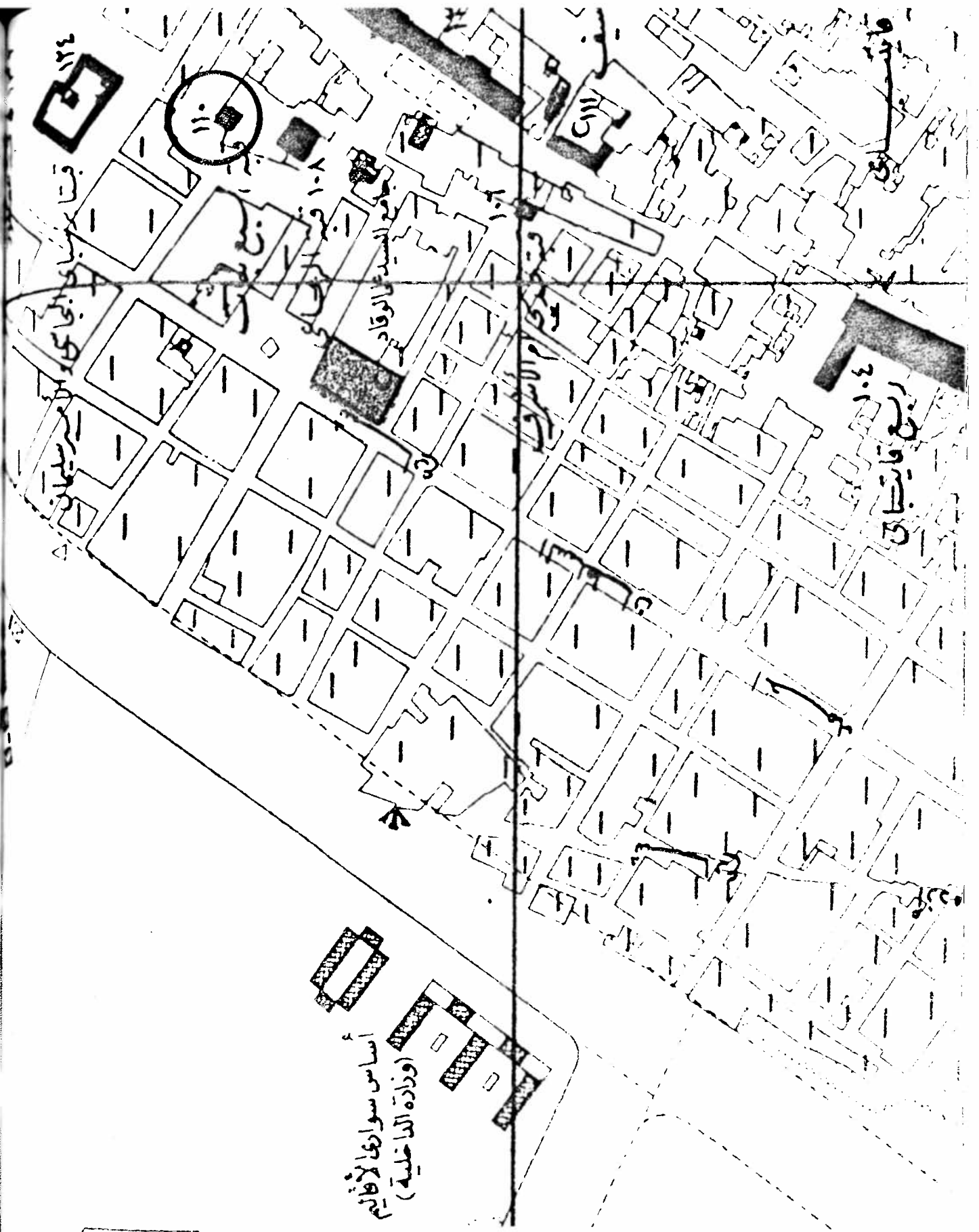
١١٥

تتبع

الظاهر

برقوق

MAP . 8



١١٤

قنطرة الجاى

جامع السيد الوقاد

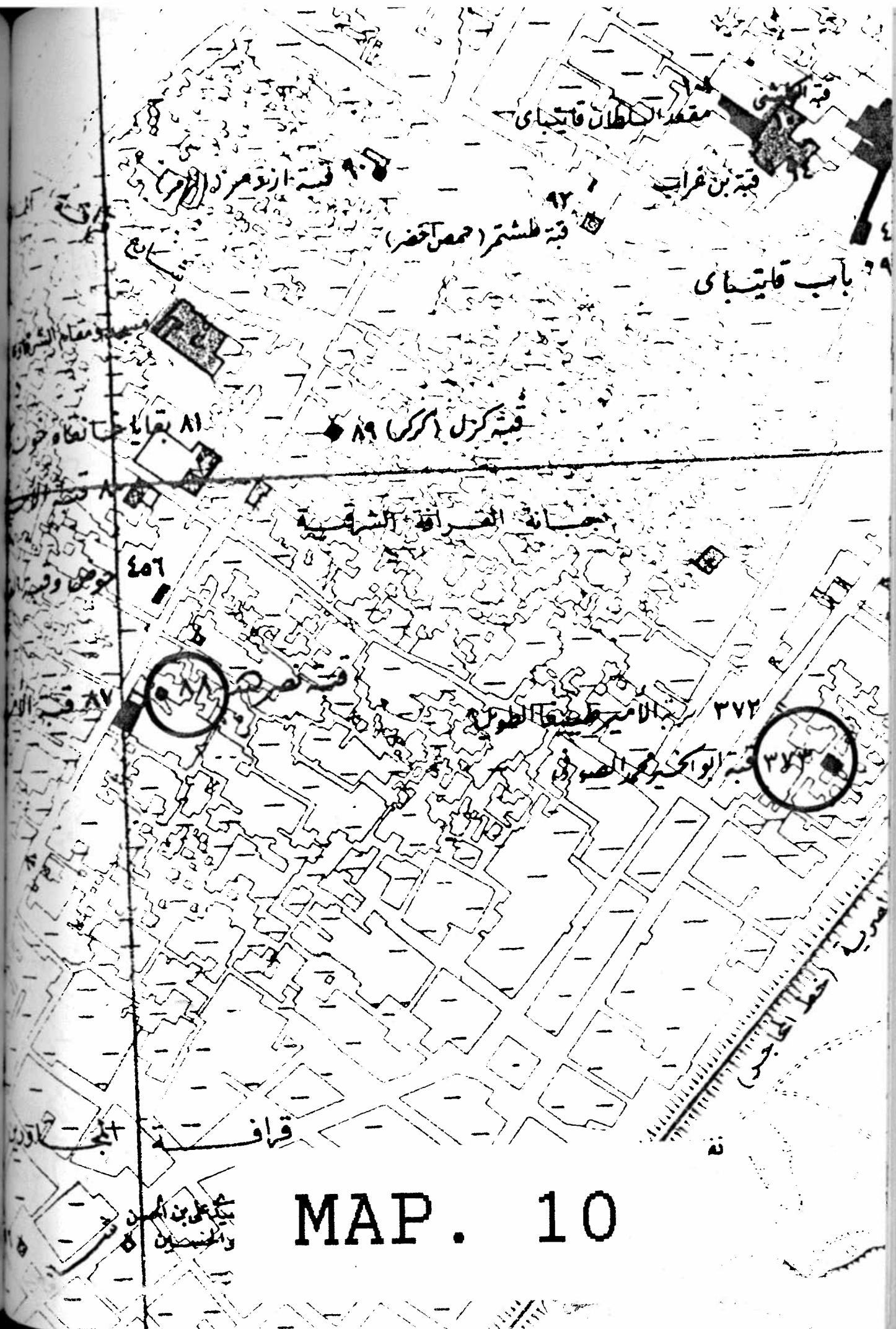
ربيع قانتباني

أساس سوارى لأفليم

وزارة الداخلية

(وزارة الداخلية)

MAP. 9



مقبره السلطان قلیتجای

قبة بن فراب

قبة طشتر (صحن اخضر)

باب قلیتجای

قبة کزل (کرکس) ۸۹

معمارة الفرافة الشرقية

۴۵۶

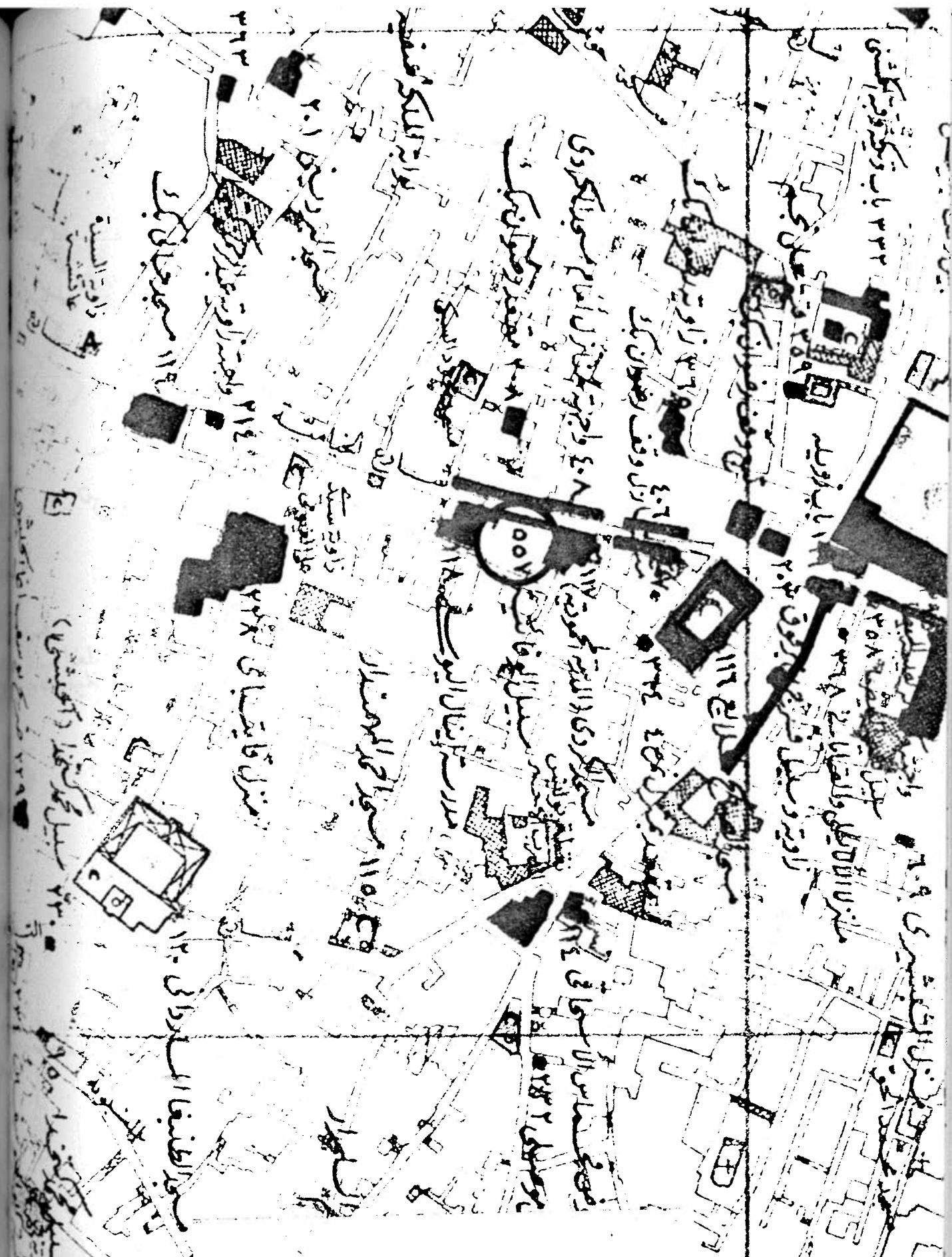
۳۷۲

۳۷۳

قوافل

MAP. 10

محمد علی بن احمد
والمستوفی



MAP. 11

مسجد متجك البوسنى

قبة الكومى ٢٥٦

البهارستان المؤيدى ٢٥٧

شيرازى ٤٧٦

بوابه درب البان ٢٥
٤٩٧ منزل على لبيب

مدرسة قانباى امير خور ١٢٦

قبة قانصوه ابوسعيد

زاوية حسن الرومى ٢٥٨

مسجد المحمديه ١٢٥

باب العرب ٥٥٥

مسجد محمد المغرب ١٤٥

٥٤٩ بقايا قصر الناصر محمد بن قلاوون

١٤٣ مسجد الناصر محمد بن قلاوون

٥٠٣ مسجد محمد على الكبير

ميدان صلاح الدين

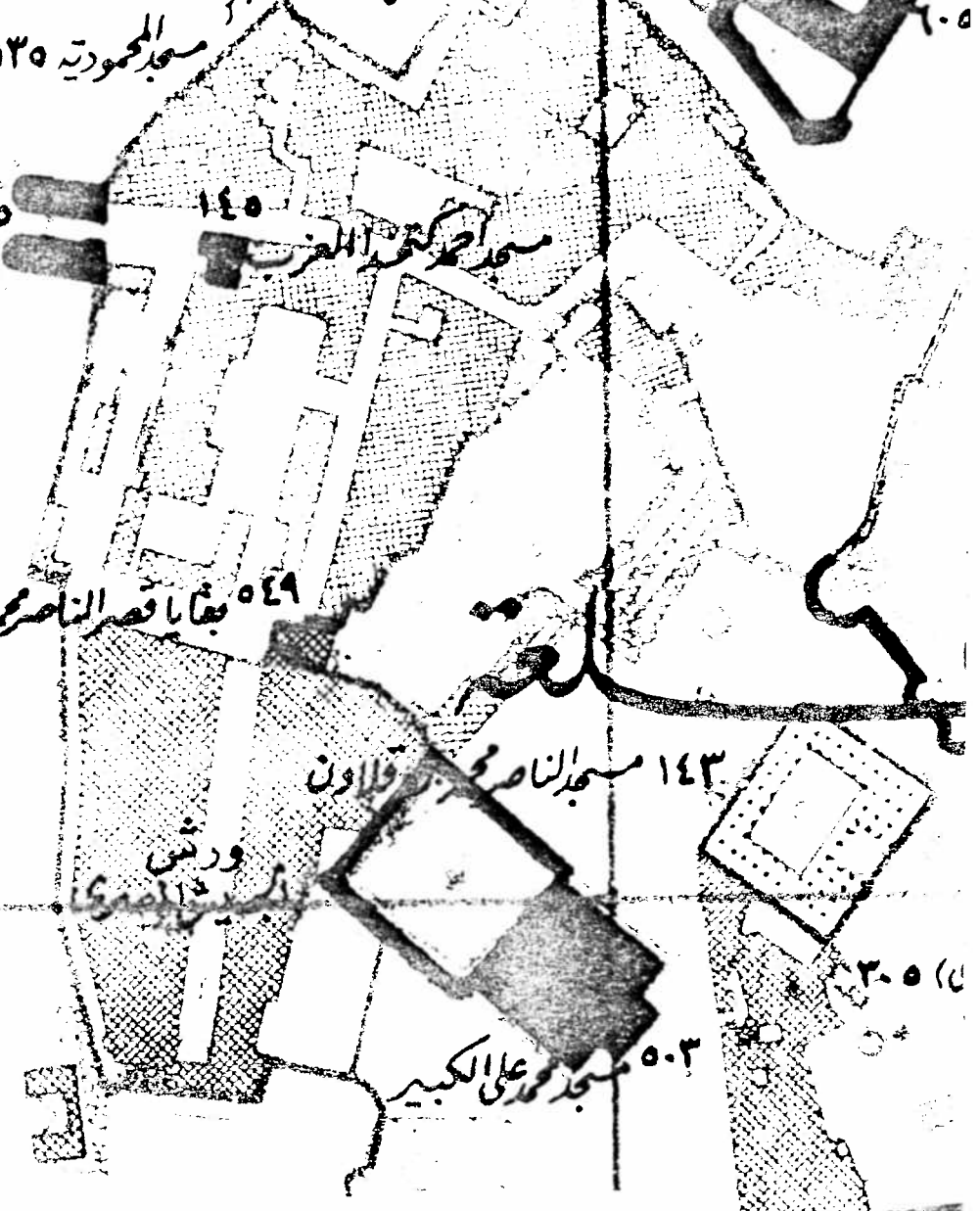
حديقة المشية

ميدان
المدعى

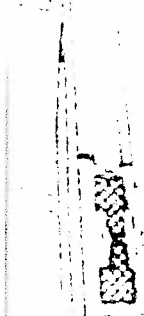
رباشا

MAP. 12

٦٠٦ دار العرب



قسم
تلفزيون
وتليفون



بقية كزل الكركا ٨٩ • ٨١ بقايا حانقاه فوسندام الكركا

القراقة الشقية

٤٥٦

قبة نصر بن علي بن الحسن
٨٧ قبة الامير ازديك

قراقة المجاورين

٨٦ قبة السادات المشاهرة

زاوية سيد علي بن الحسن
مخو الحسين

زاوية خود شاد خان

العنبر

نفق

نفق

MAP . 13

FIGURES

THE MOSQUE OF TAGHRI BIRDI (844/1440)

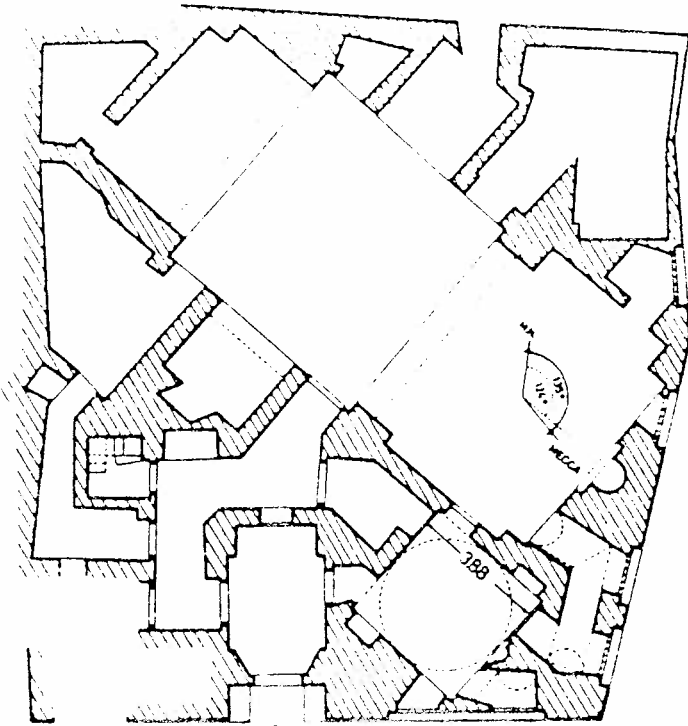
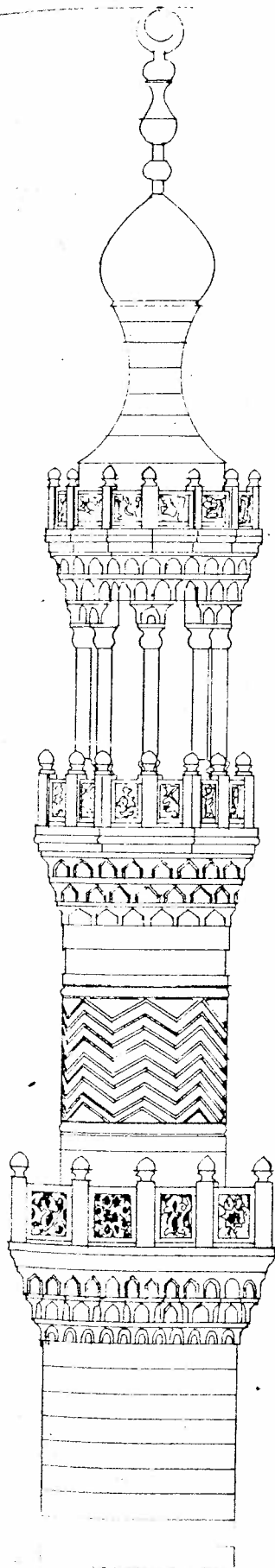


Fig-1

THE MINARET OF QANIBAY AL-SHARKASI (844/1440)



1:50

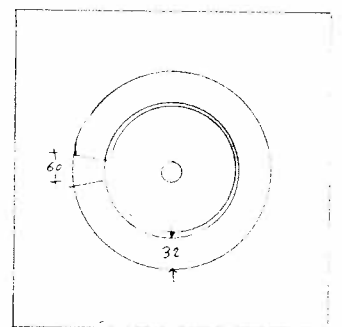
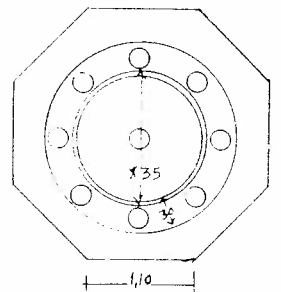
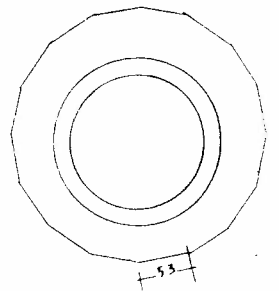


Fig-2

THE MOSQUE OF QARAQAJA AL-HASANI (845/1442)

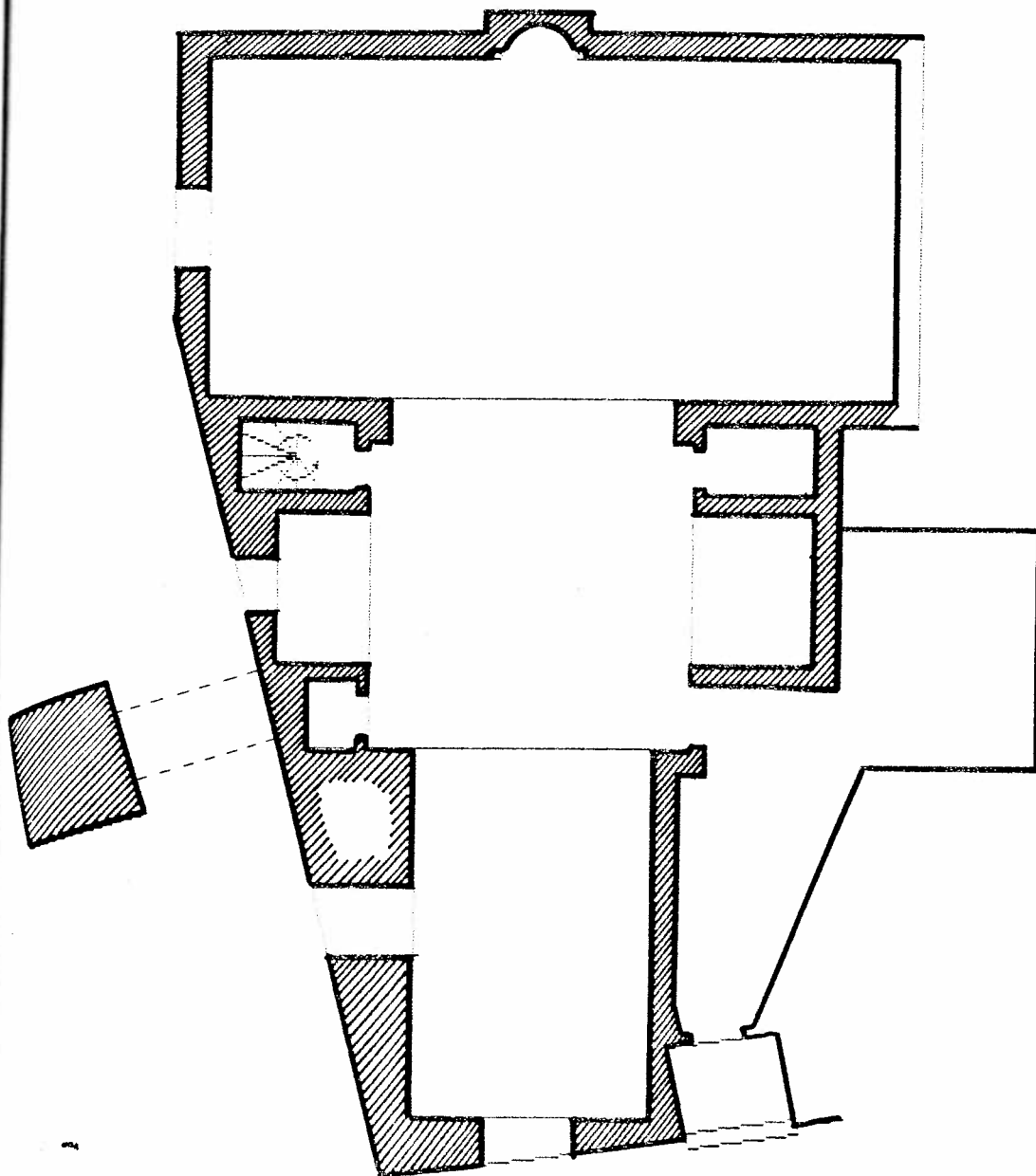


Fig-3

THE MOSQUE OF AL-JAMALI YUSUF (C.850/1446)

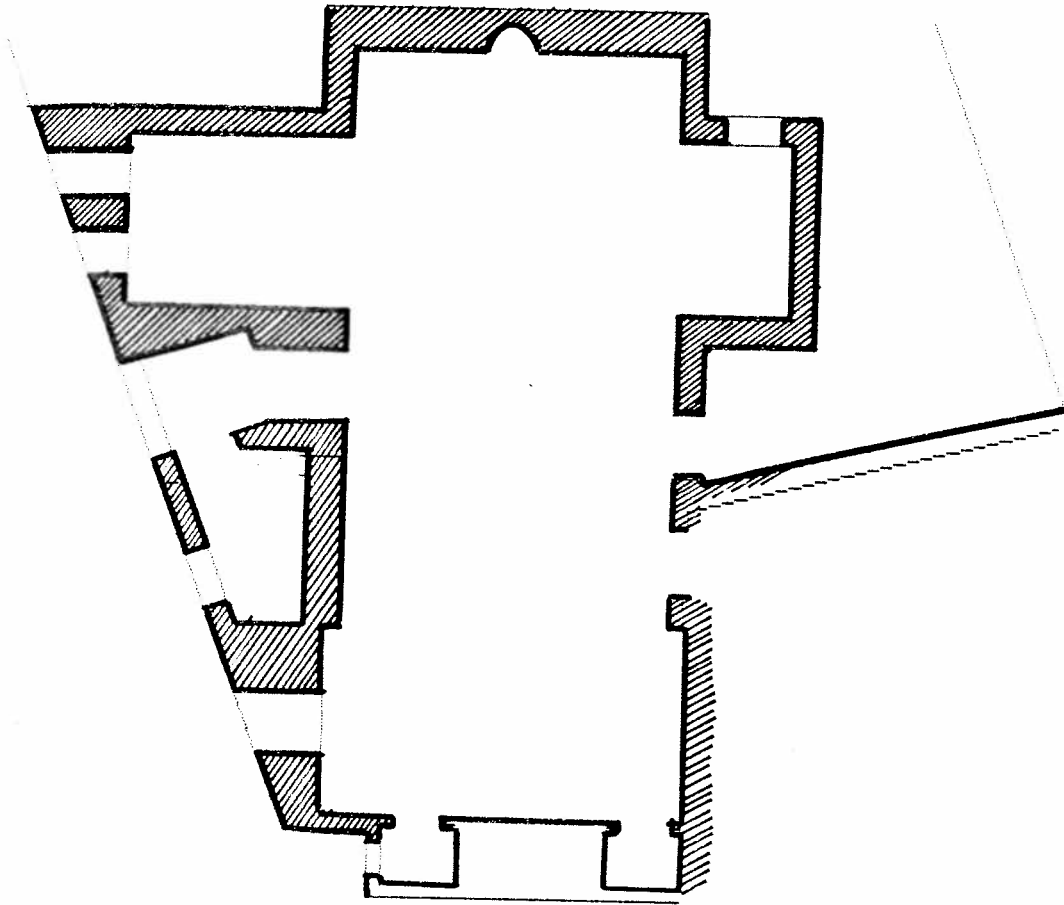


Fig-4

THE MOSQUE OF AL-JAMALI YUSUF (C.850/1446)

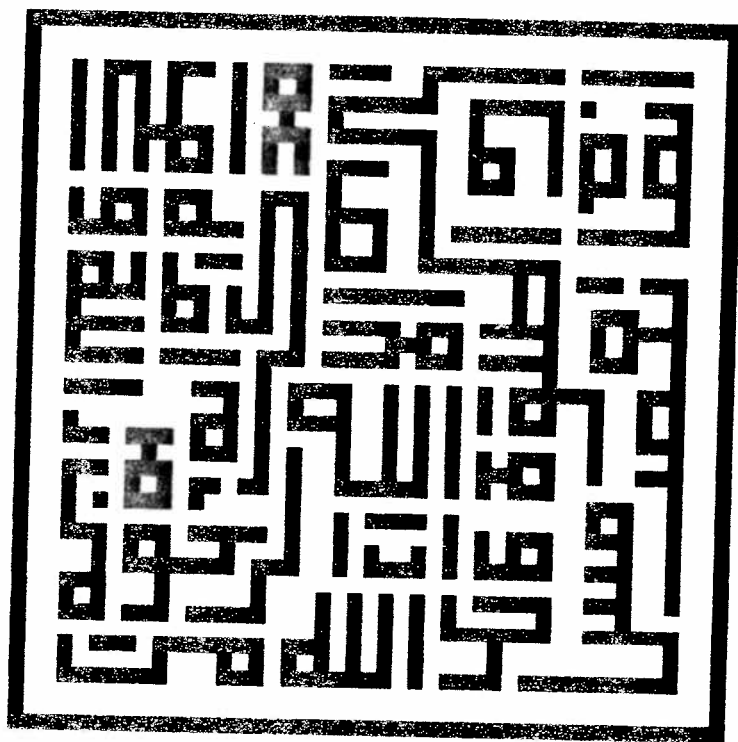


Fig-5

THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA (BAYN AL-NAHDAYN)
(849-51/1444-45)

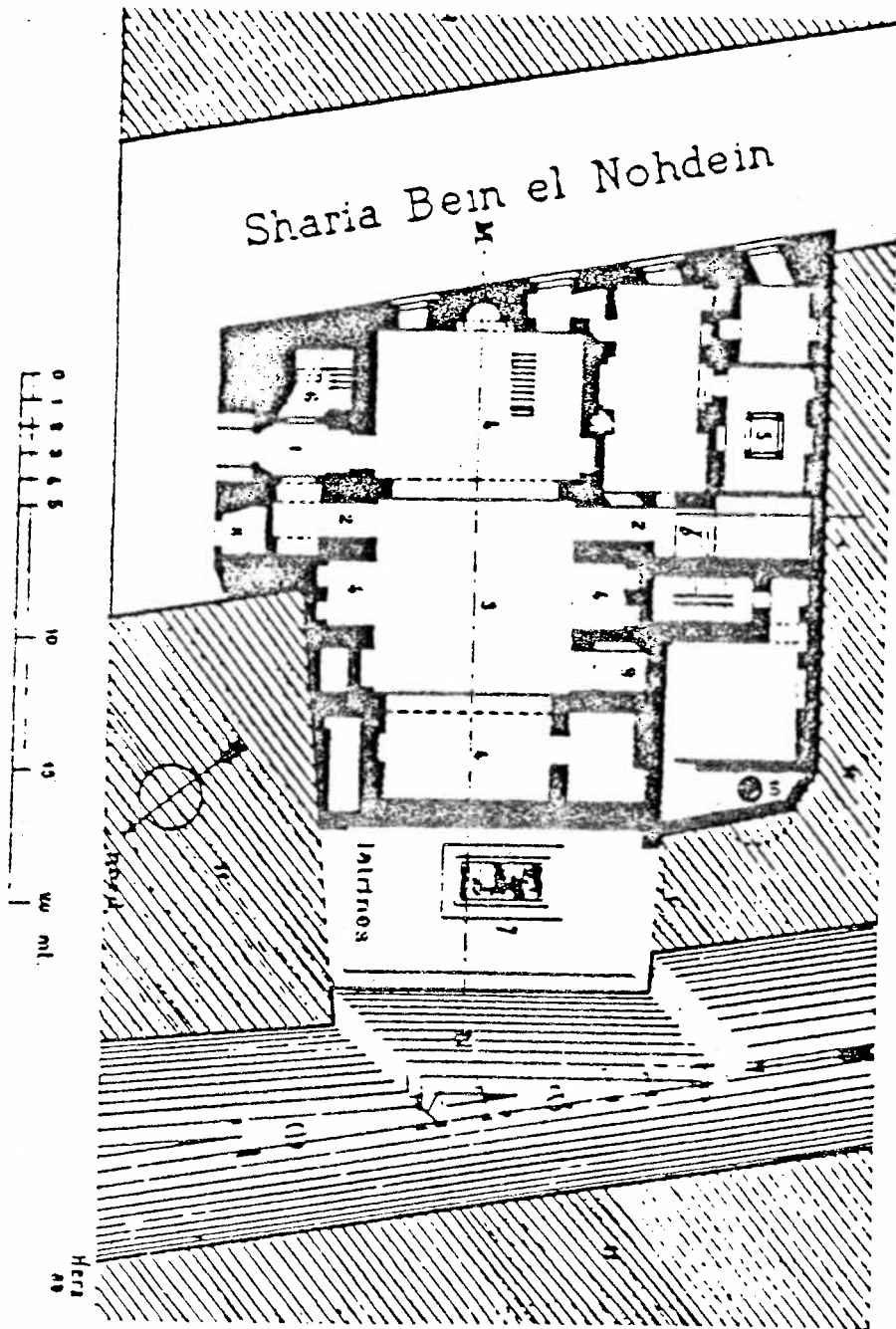


Fig-6

Coupe suivant MN

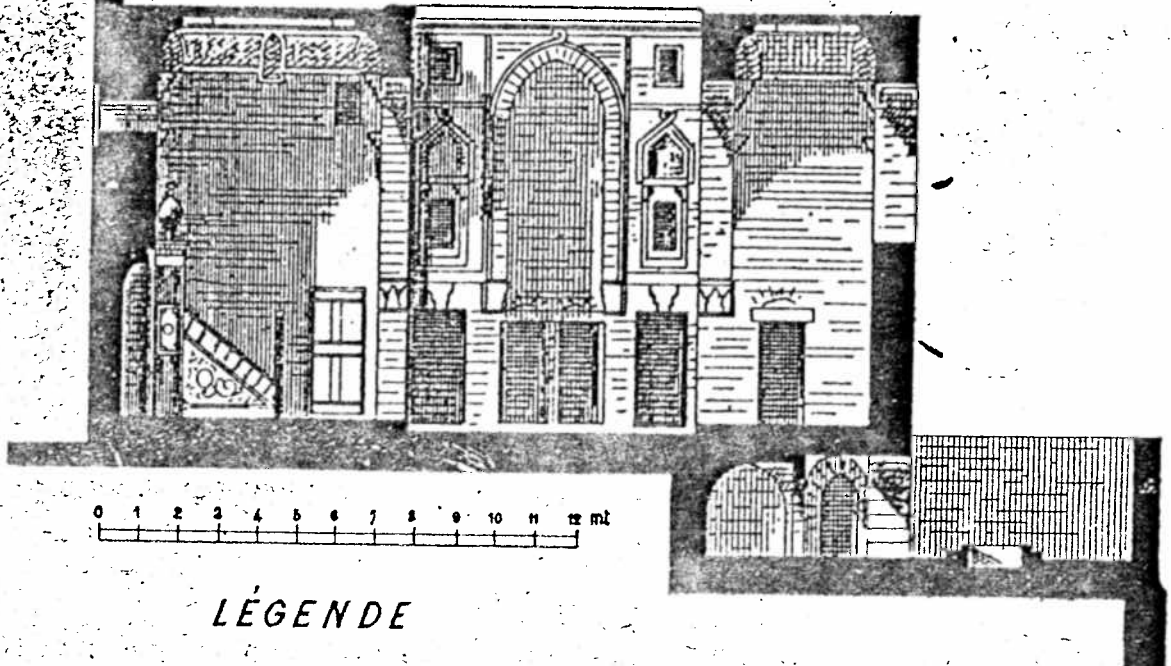
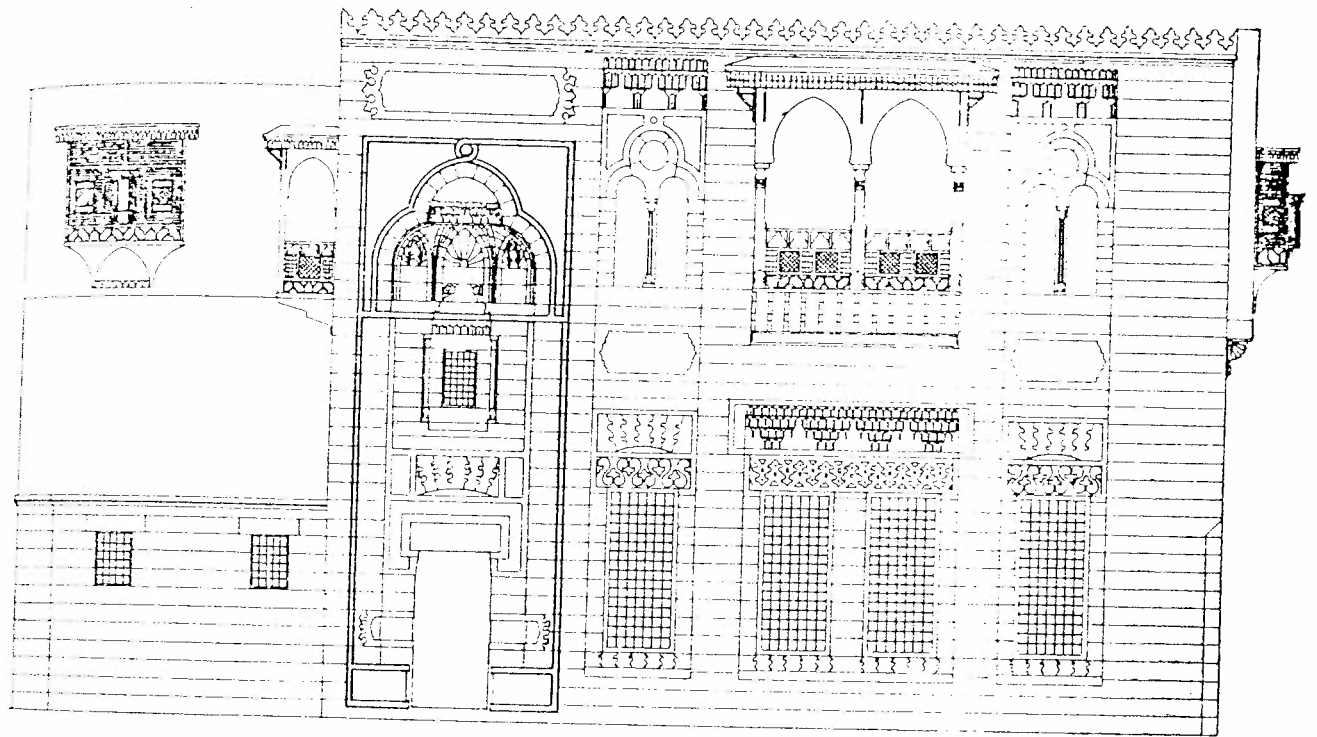


Fig-7

THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BAYN AL-NAHDAYN
(849/1444)



الوجهة القبليّة

Fig-8

THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT BULAQ

(852-53/1448-49)

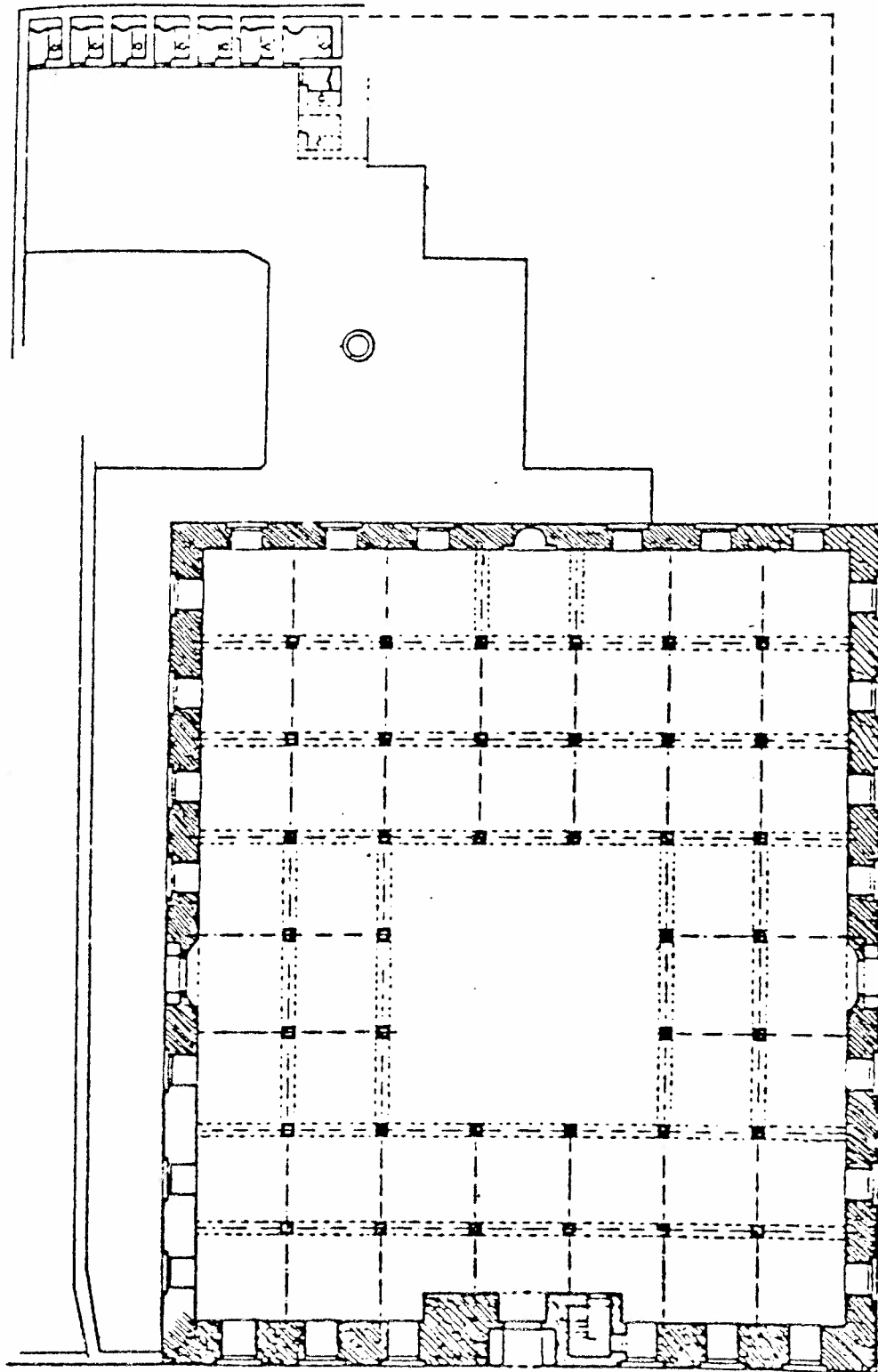


Fig-84

THE MOSQUE OF AL-QADI YAHYA AT SIKKAT AL-HABBANIYYA

(856/1452)

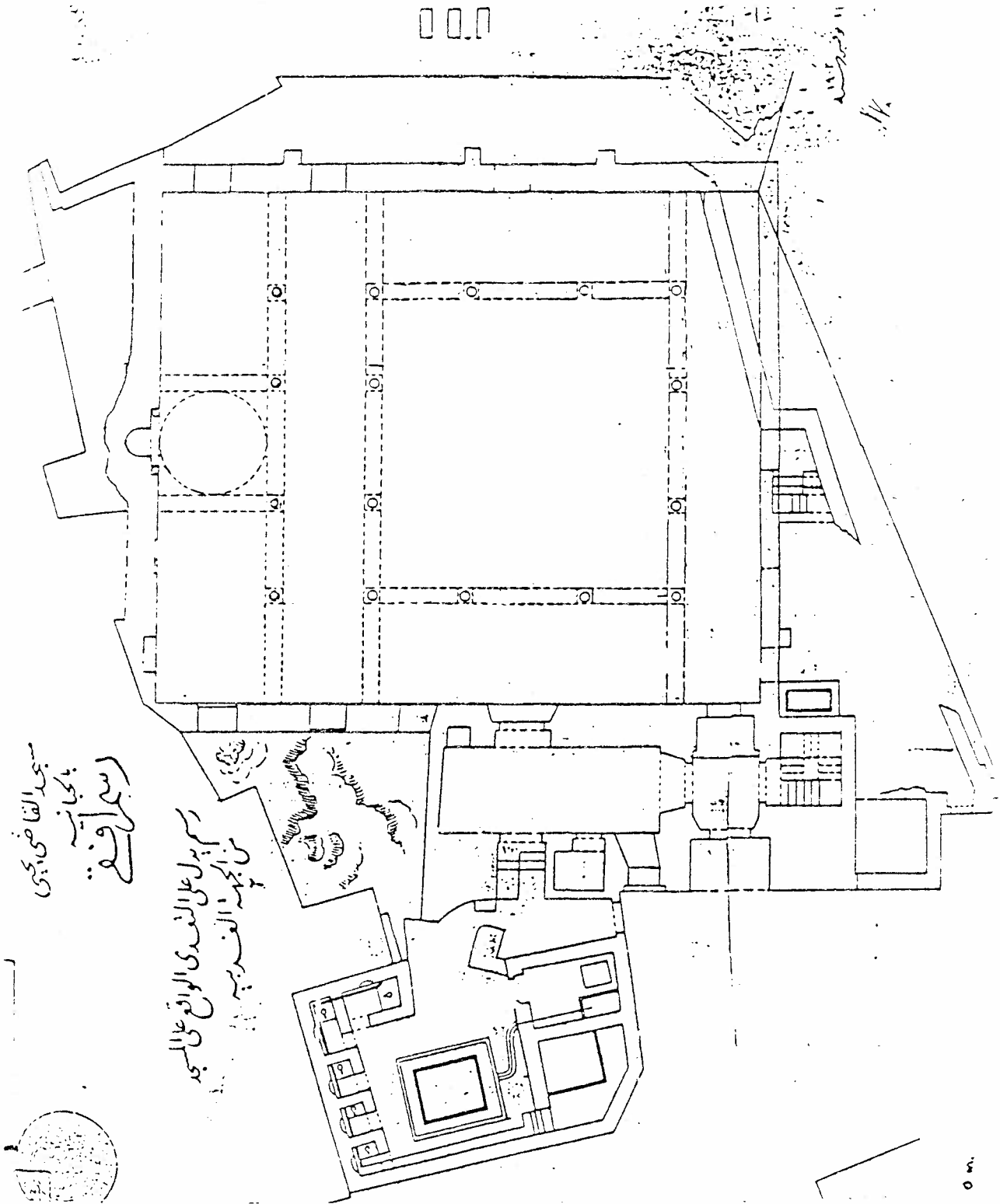


Fig-10

MOSQUE OF JAQMAQ AT AL-MARASINA (853/1449)

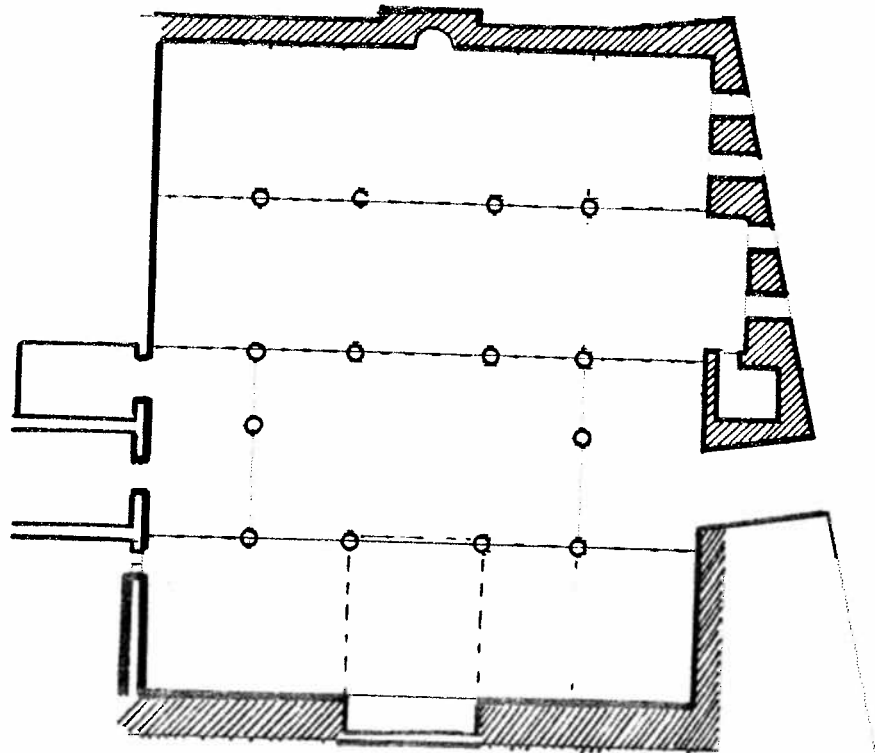


Fig-11

THE MADRASA OF MUHAMAD B. JAQMAQ DARB SA'ADA

(845/1442)

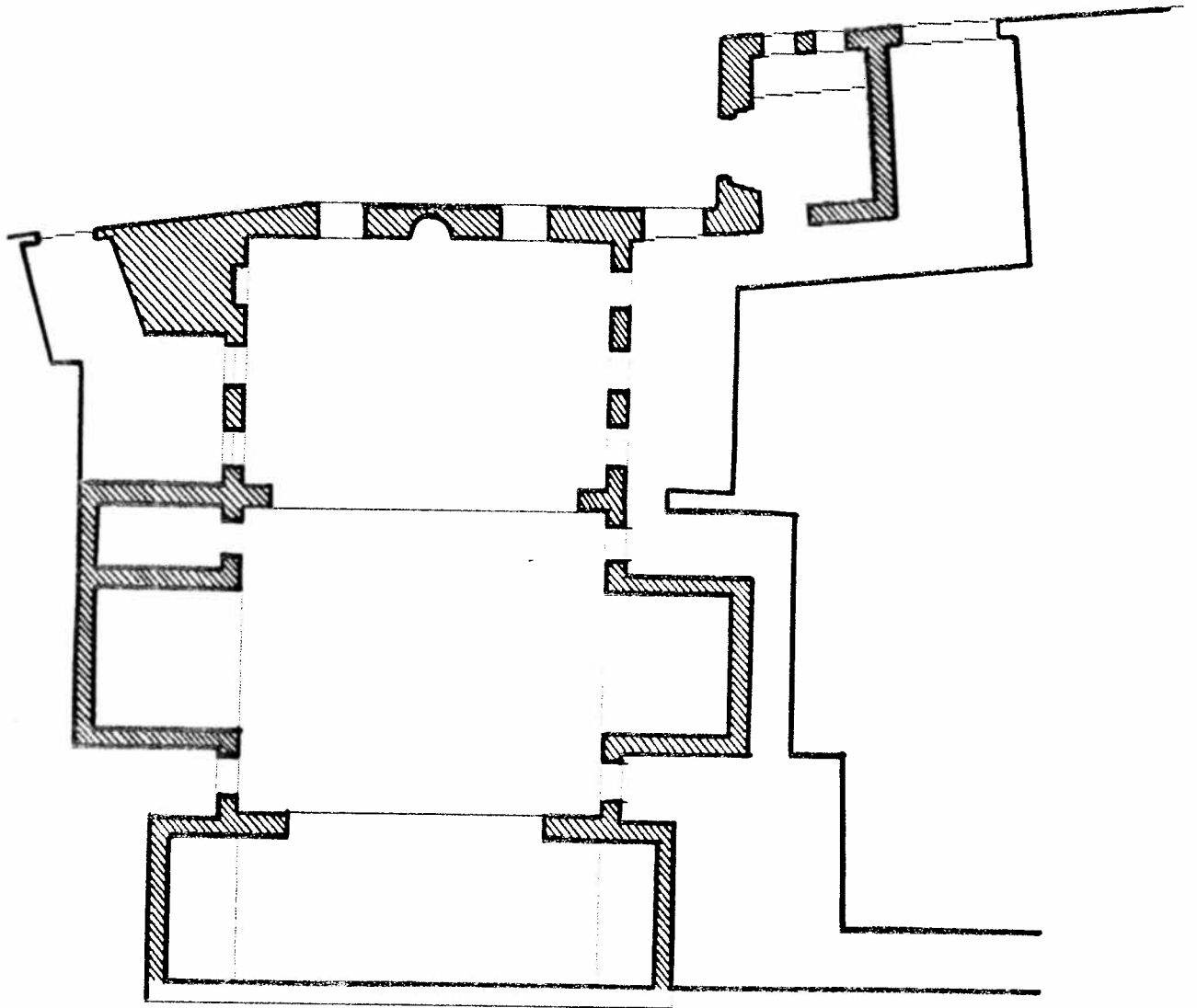


Fig-12

THE MAUSOLEUM OF INAL (855/1451)

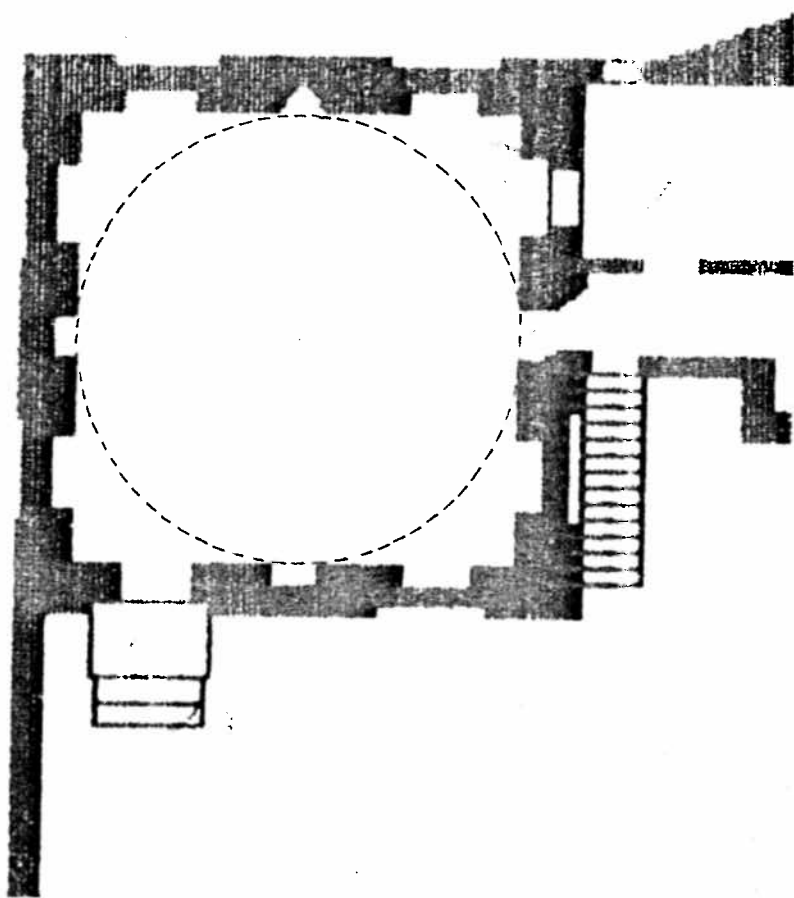


Fig-13

THE MAUSOLEUM OF NASR ALLAH (C. 845/1441)

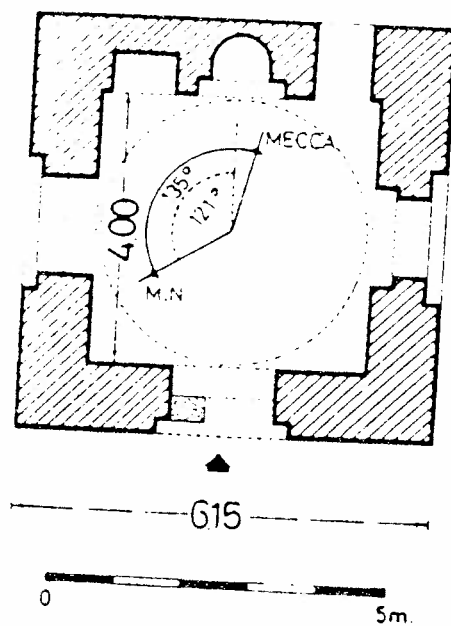


Fig-14

THE MAUSOLEUM OF NASR ALLAH (C. 845/1441)

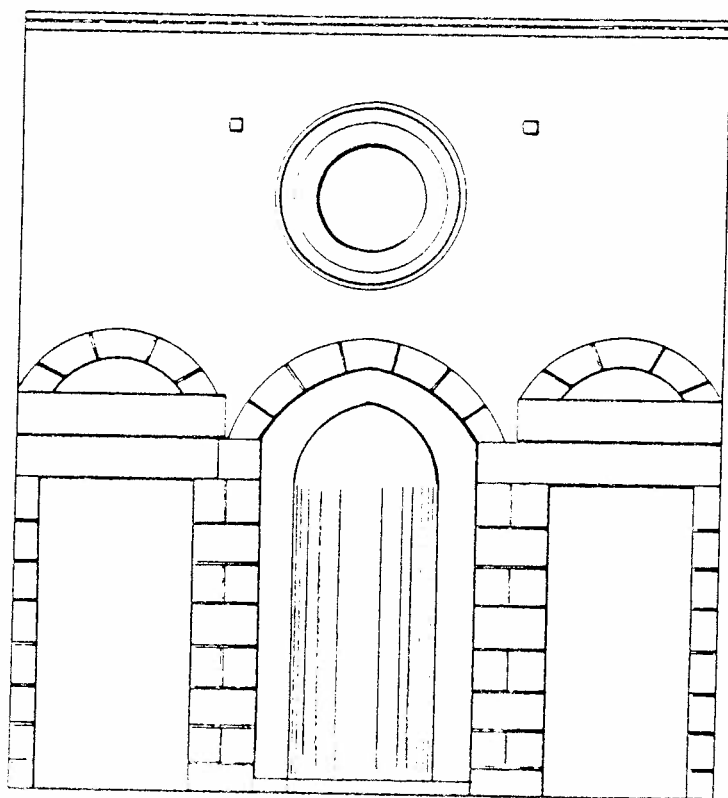


Fig-15

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every receipt, invoice, and bill should be properly filed and indexed for easy retrieval. This is particularly crucial for businesses that deal with a high volume of transactions, as it allows for quick verification of financial data and helps in identifying any discrepancies or errors.

Next, the document addresses the issue of budgeting and financial forecasting. It suggests that businesses should create a detailed budget at the beginning of each fiscal year, taking into account all expected income and expenses. Regularly comparing actual performance against the budget can provide valuable insights into the company's financial health and help in making informed decisions about future investments and operations.

The third section focuses on the importance of staying up-to-date with the latest tax laws and regulations. Tax professionals are recommended to provide ongoing advice to ensure that the business is always in compliance with the law. This can help in maximizing tax deductions and credits, thereby reducing the overall tax burden and increasing profitability.

Finally, the document concludes by highlighting the significance of seeking professional advice from accountants and financial advisors. These experts can provide personalized guidance tailored to the specific needs and goals of the business, ensuring that all financial matters are handled correctly and efficiently.



Qadi Yahya Bulaq



Qaraqaja al-Hasani



Qadi Yahya Hebbeniyye



Taghri Birdi



Qadi Yahya Azhar



Naer Allah



Jaqmaq Marasina



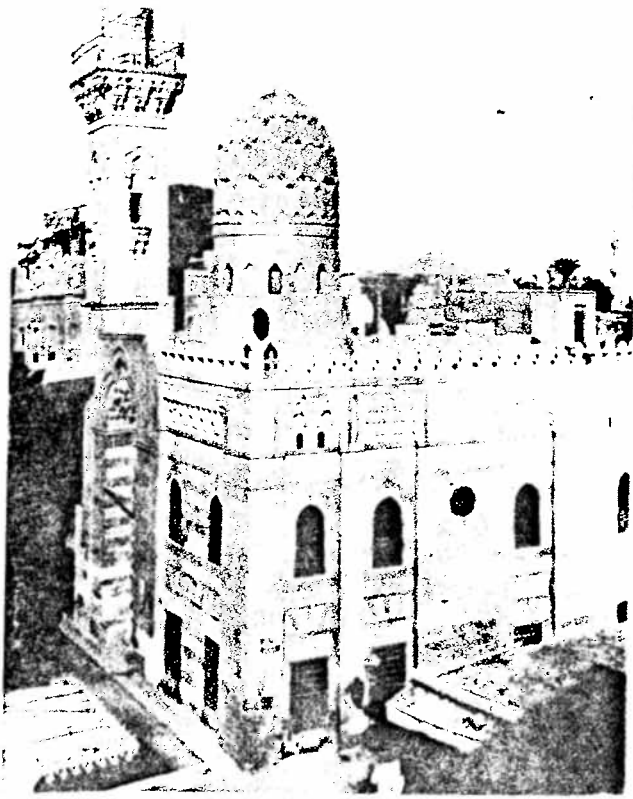
Jaqmaq Dayr al-Nahas



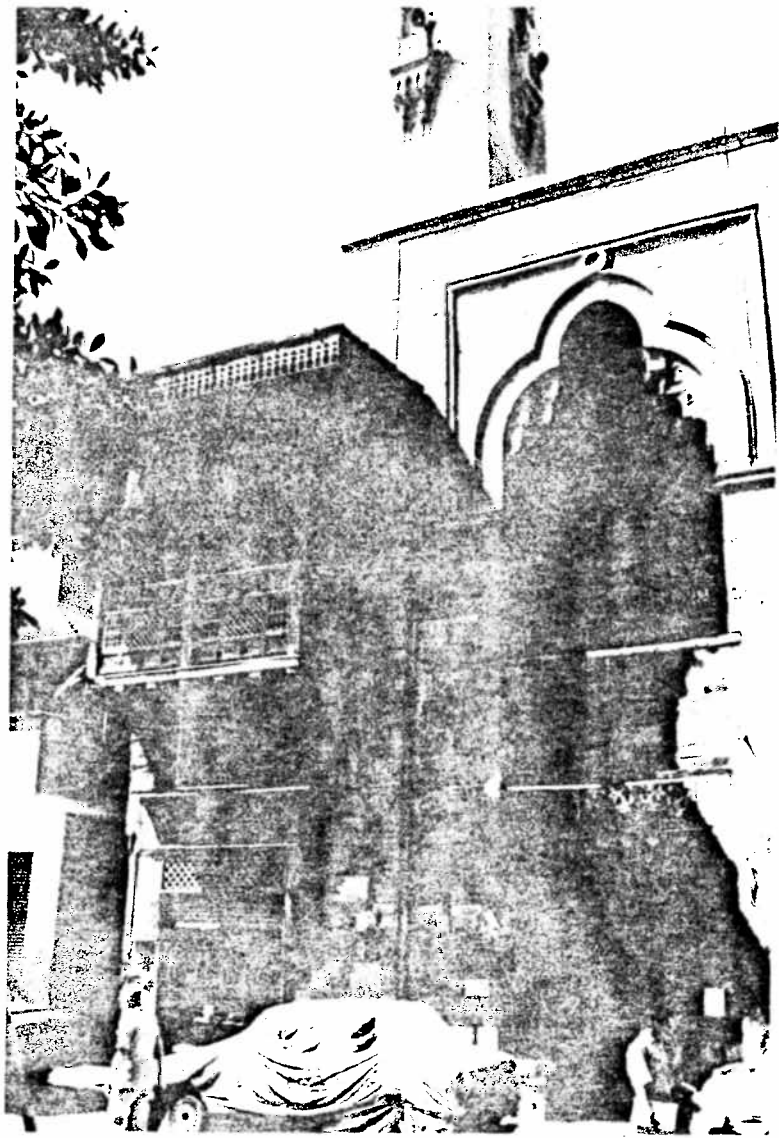
al-Sadat al-Shanahira

Fig. 17

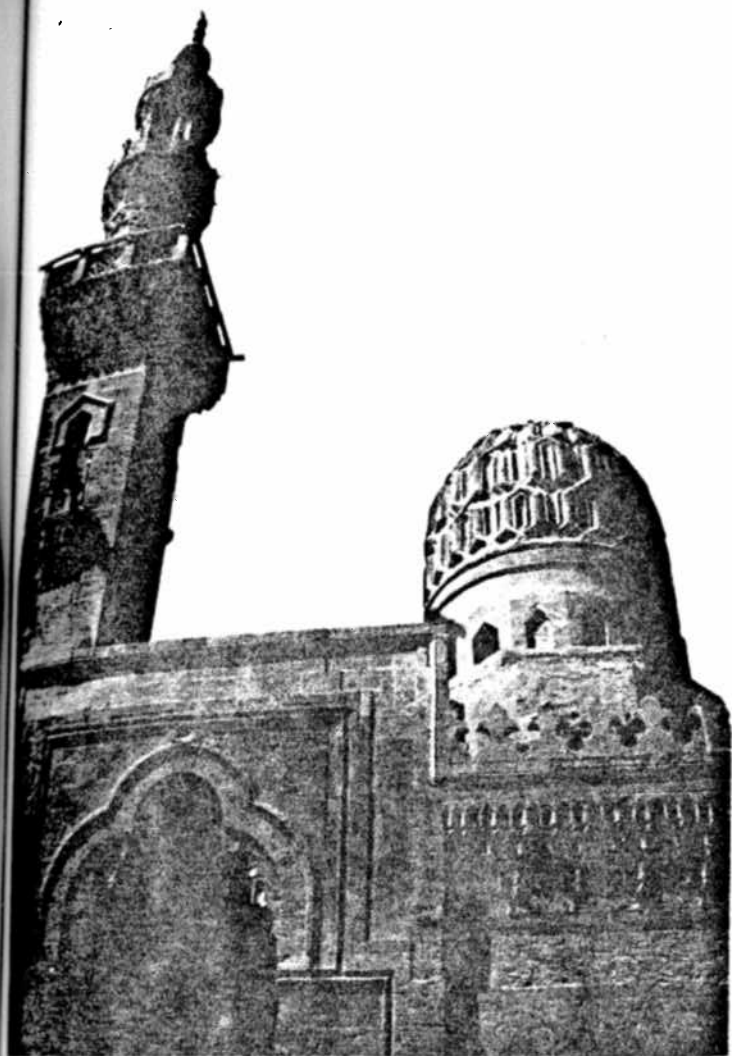
PLATES



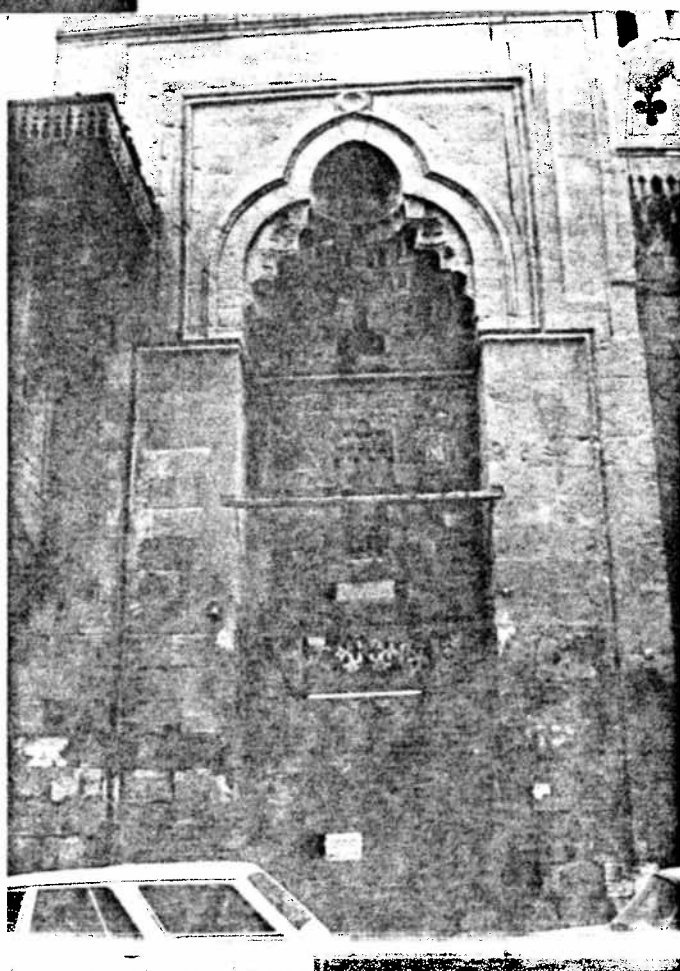
(a)



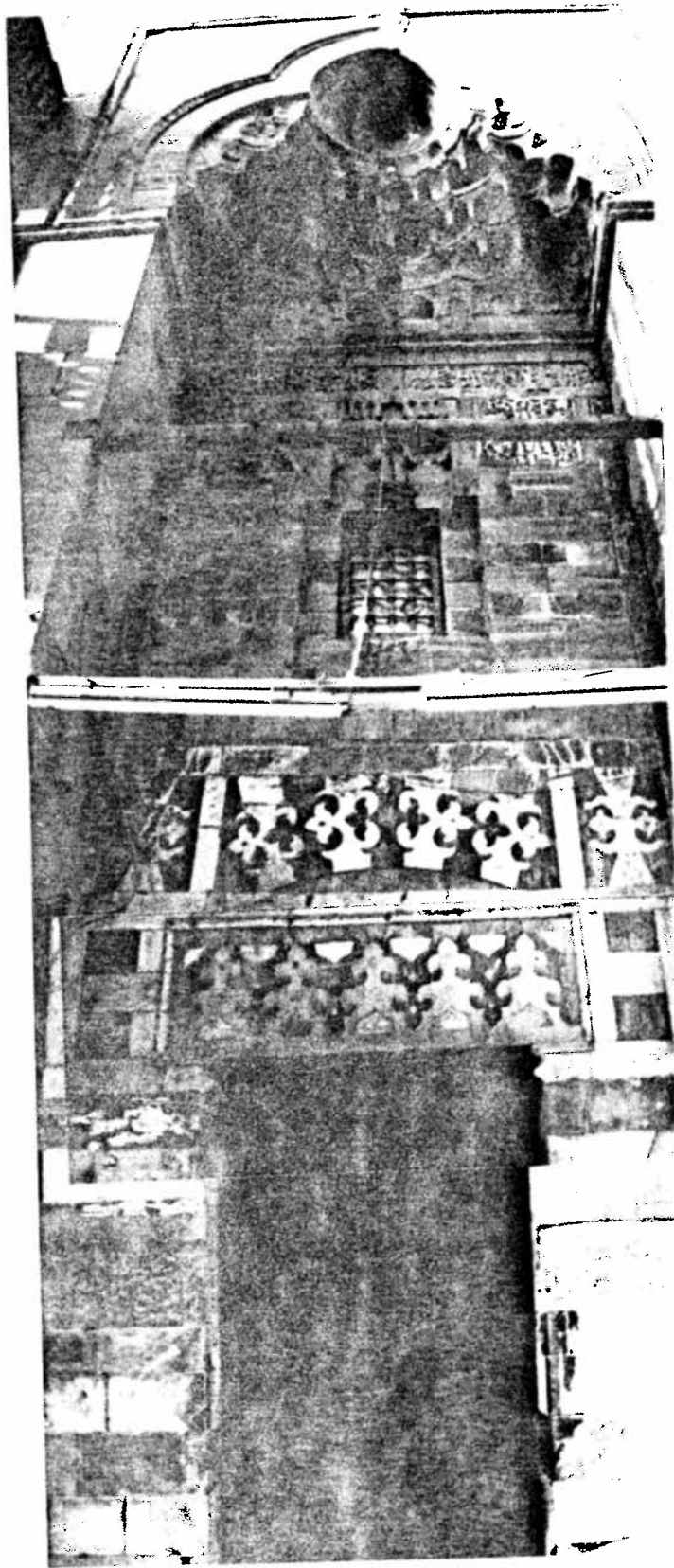
(b)



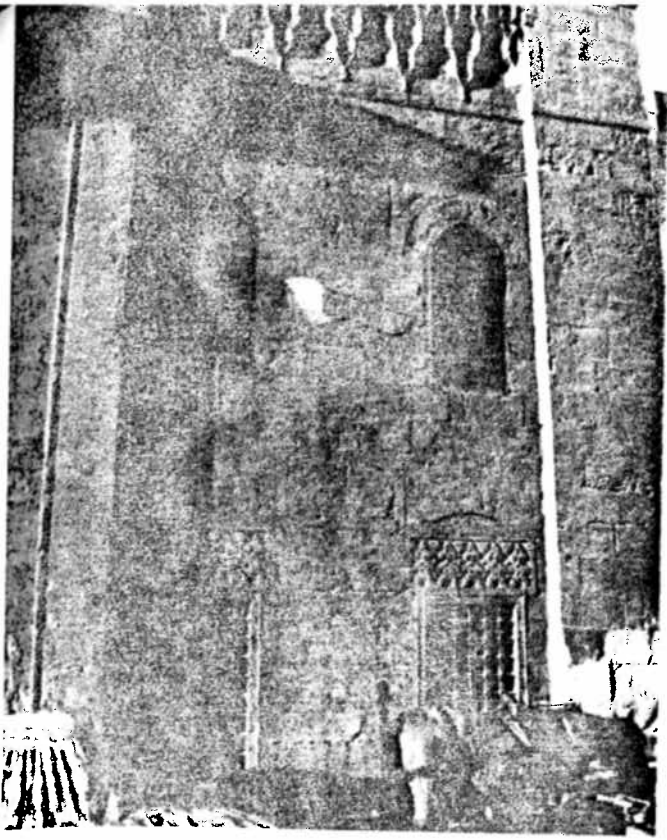
(a)



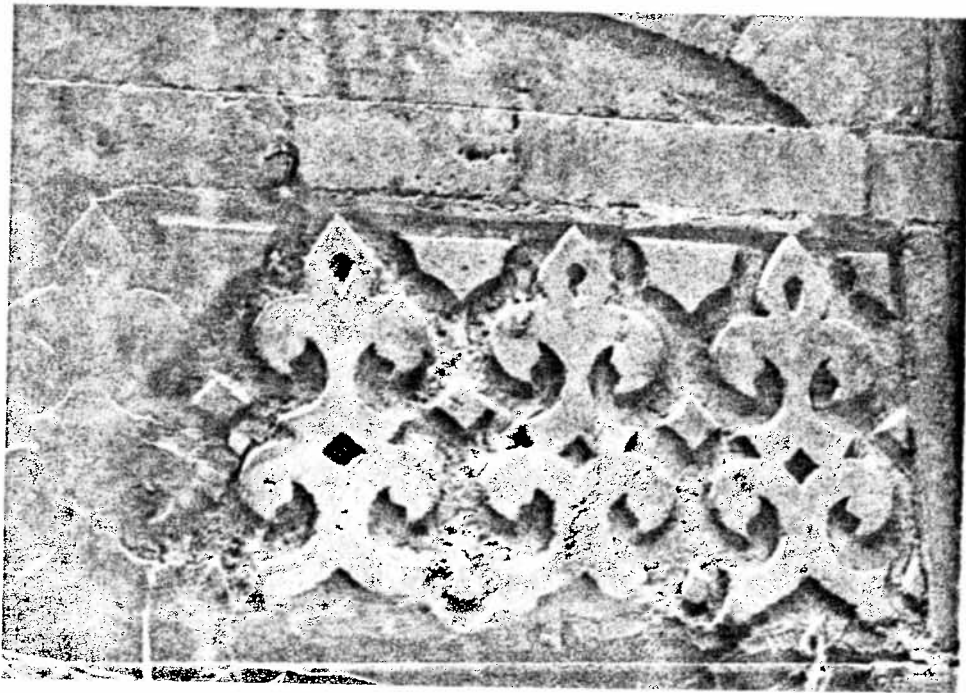
(b)



(a)



(a)



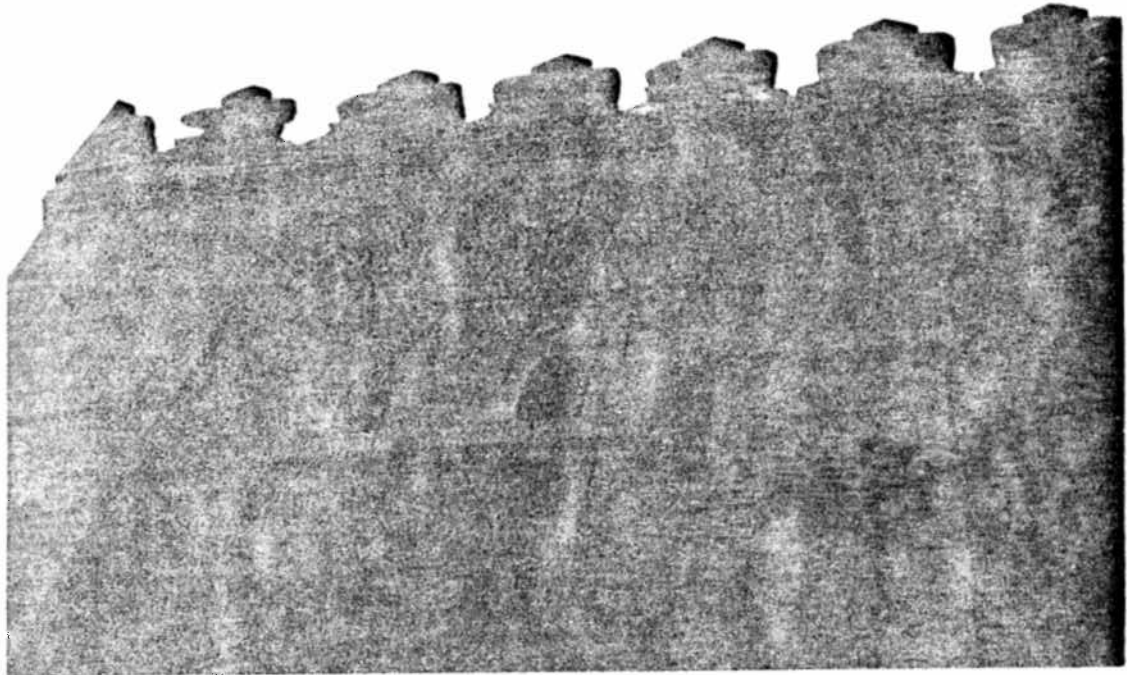
(b)



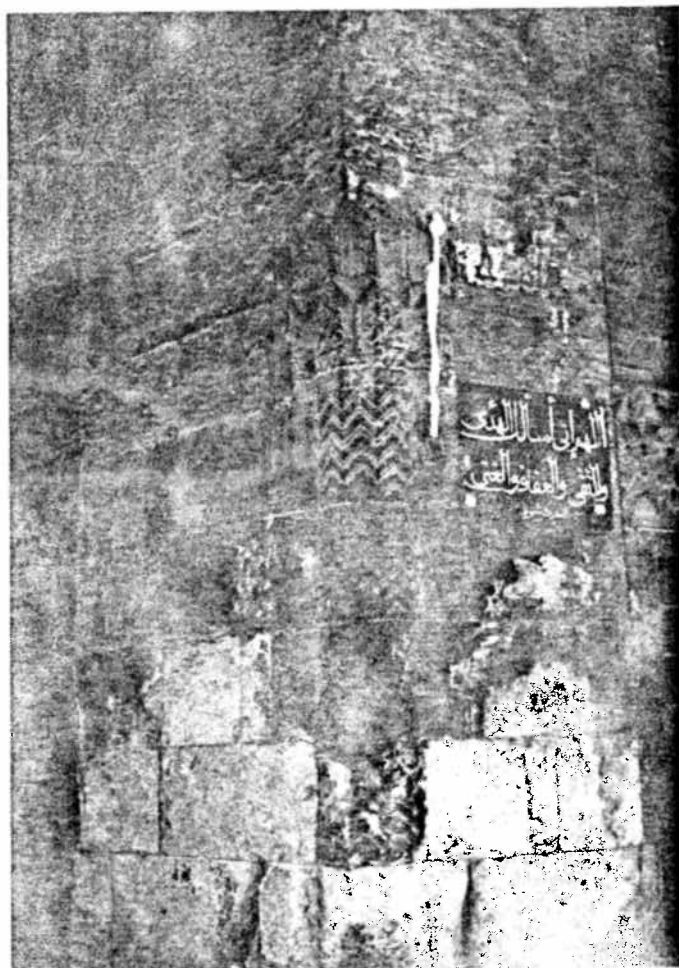
(a)



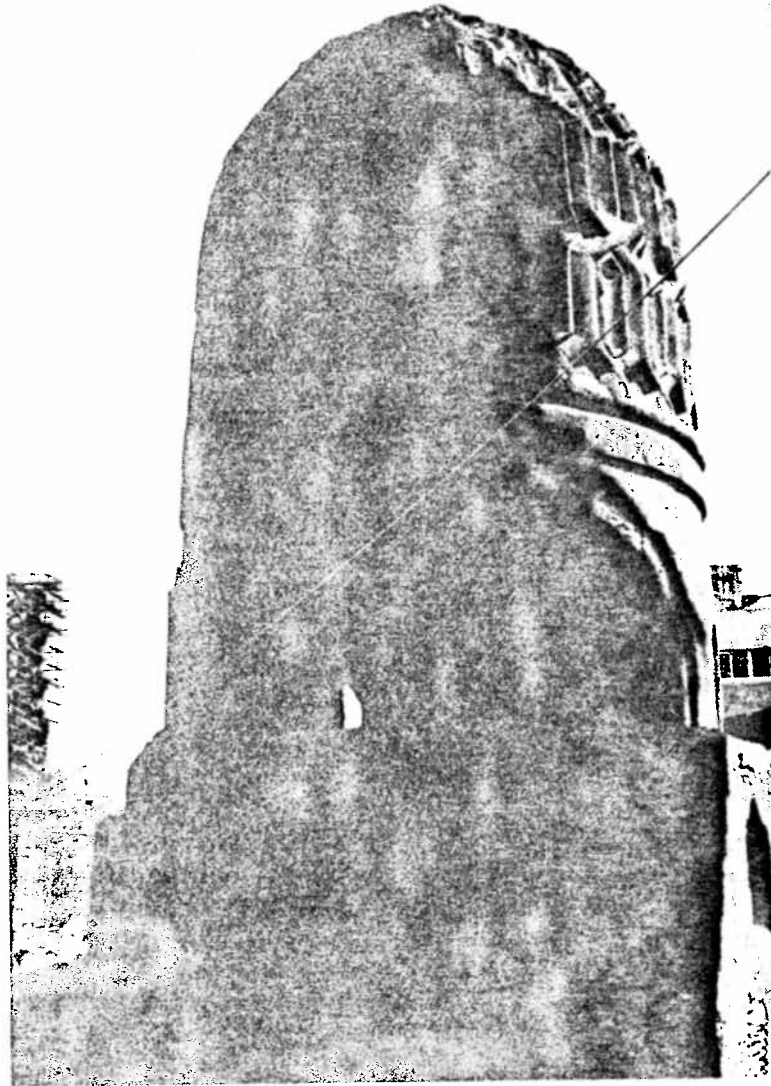
(b)



(a)



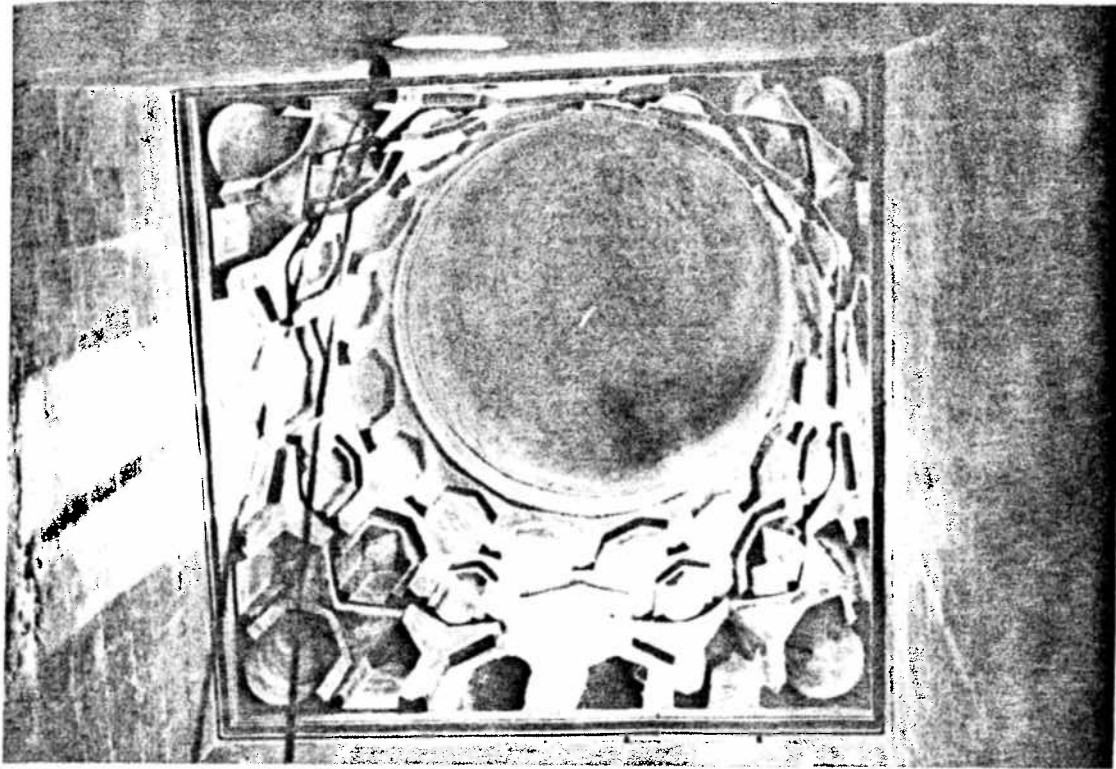
(b)



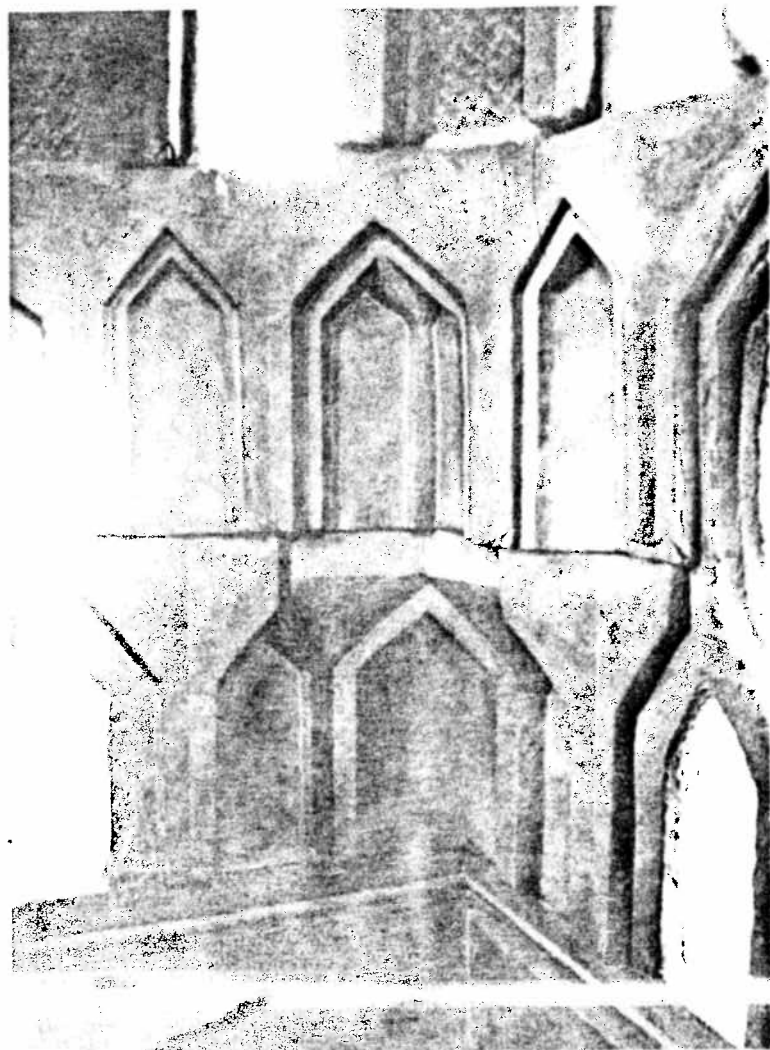
(a)



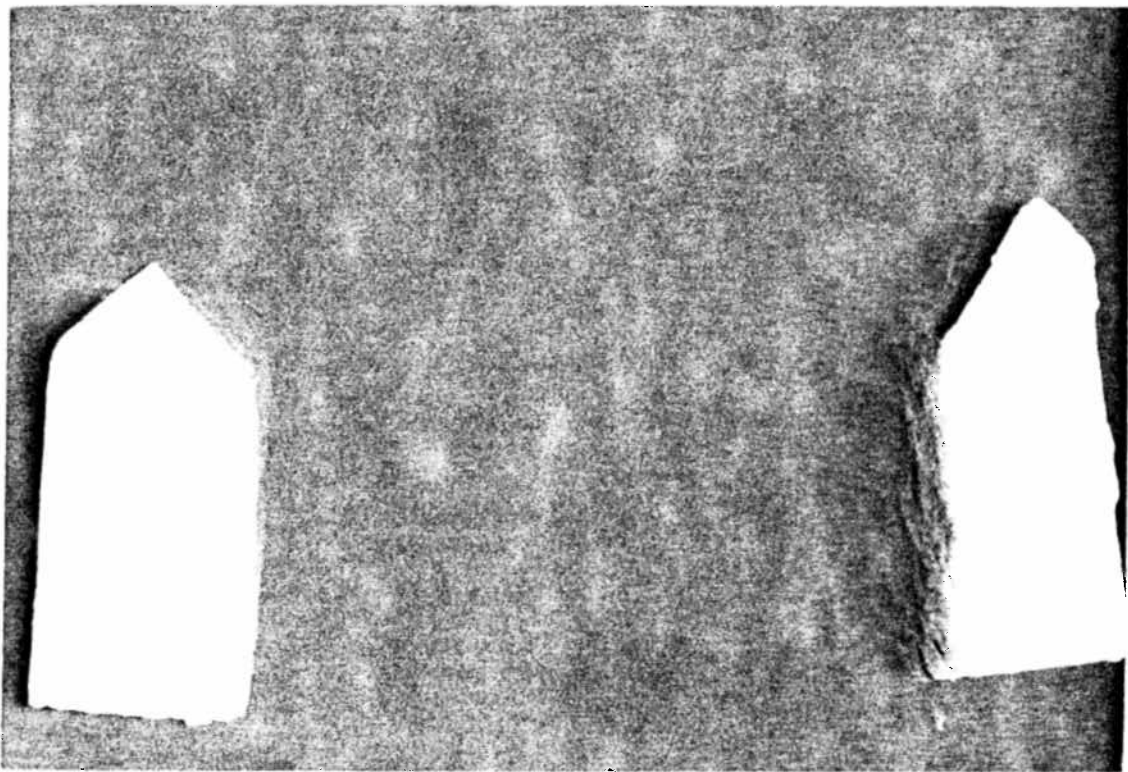
(a)



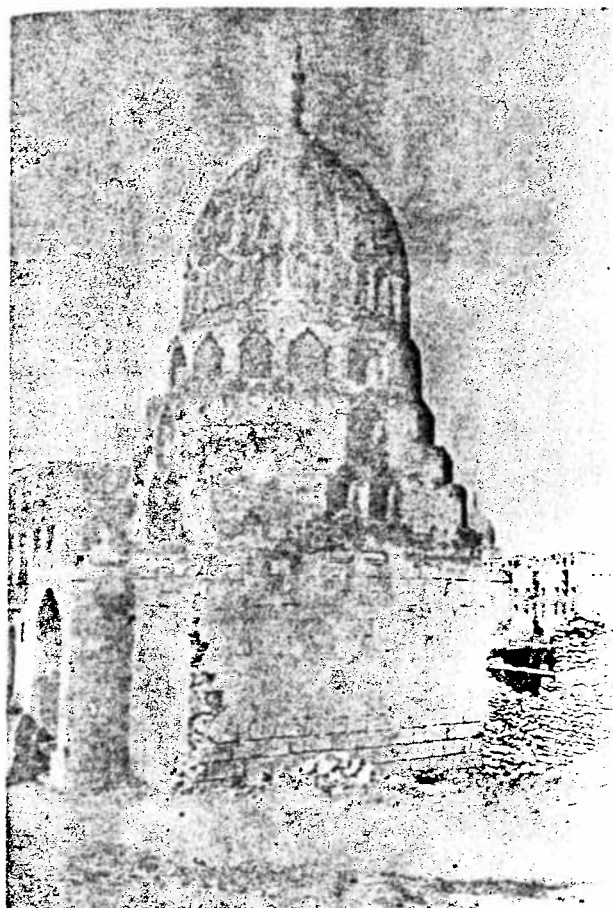
(a)



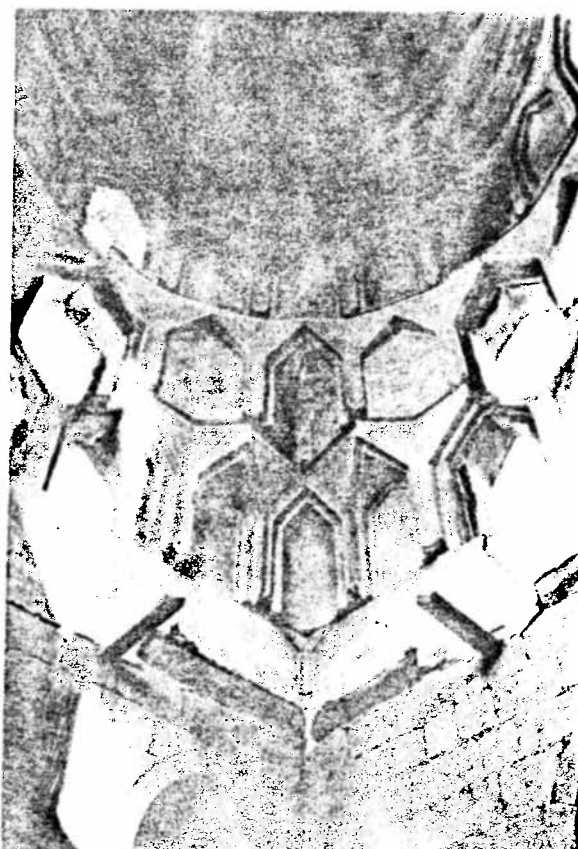
(b)



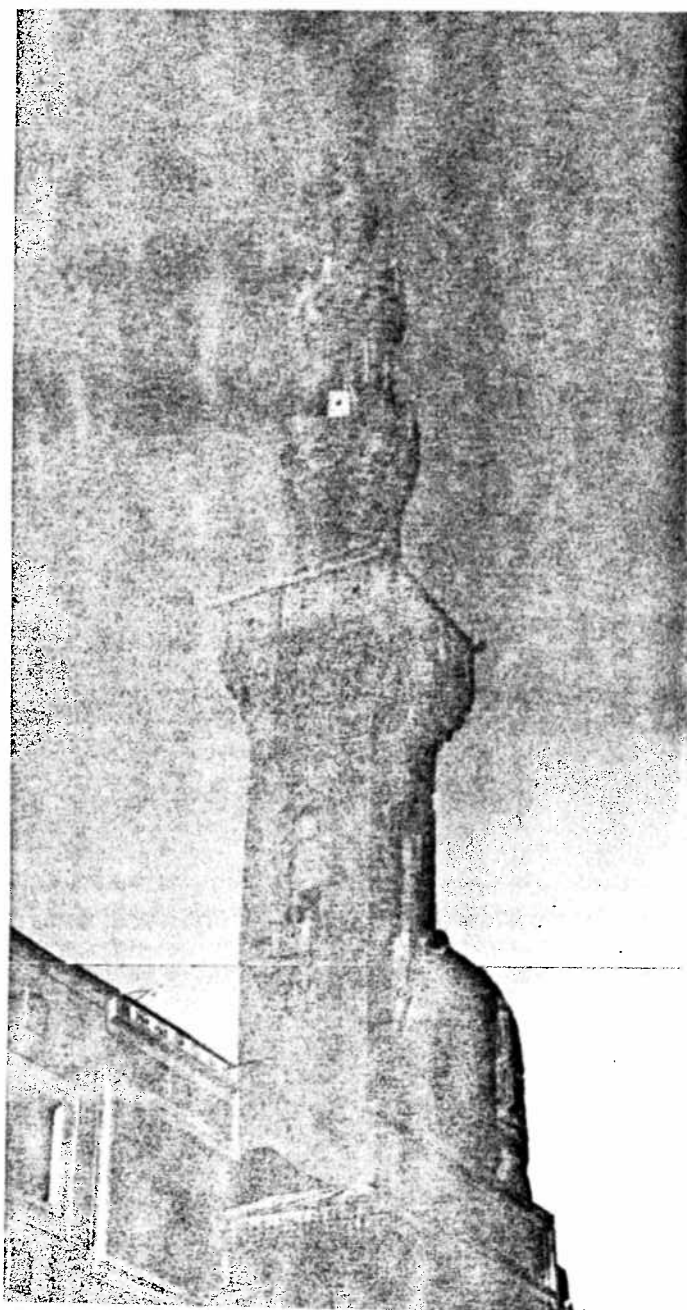
(a)



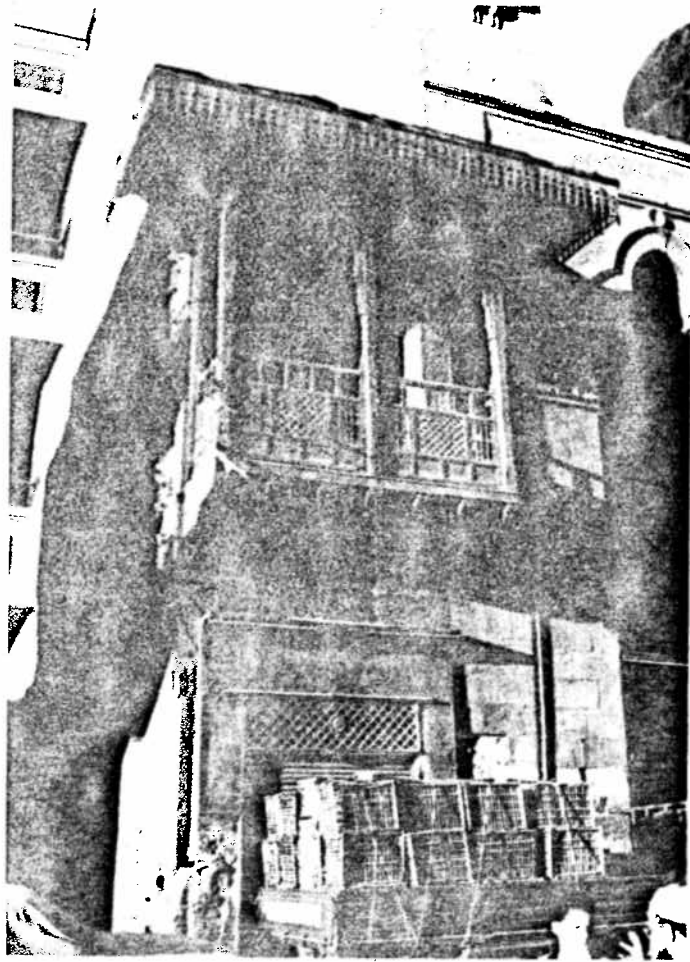
(a)



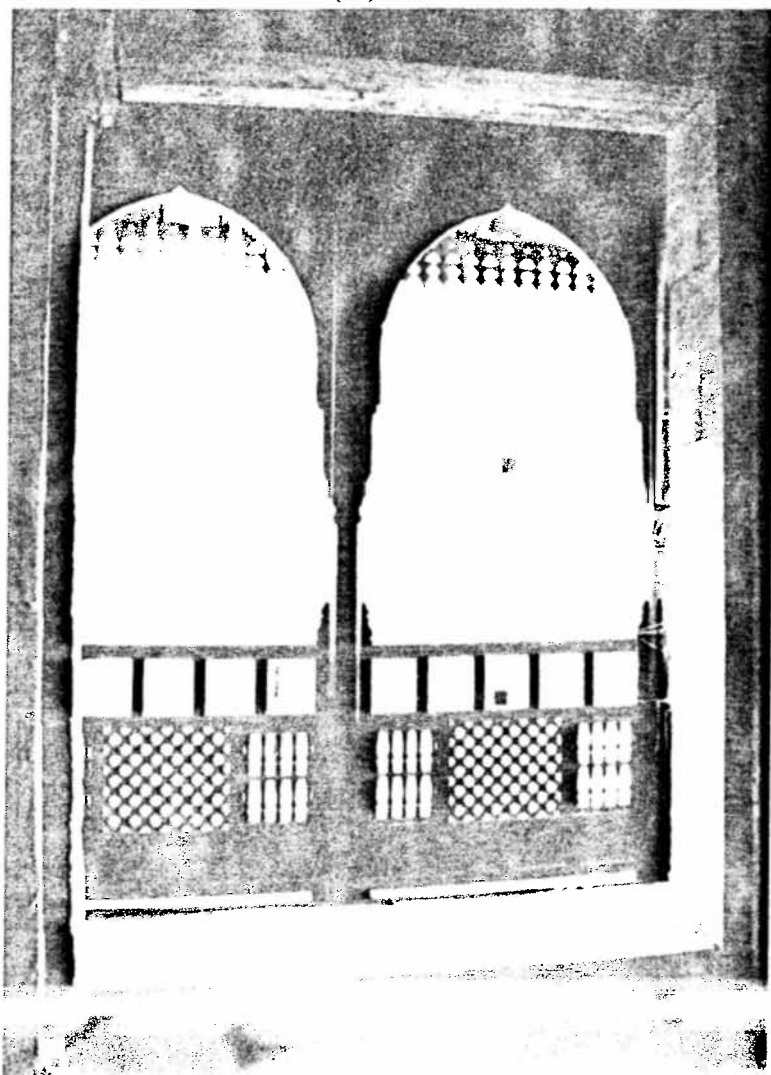
(b)



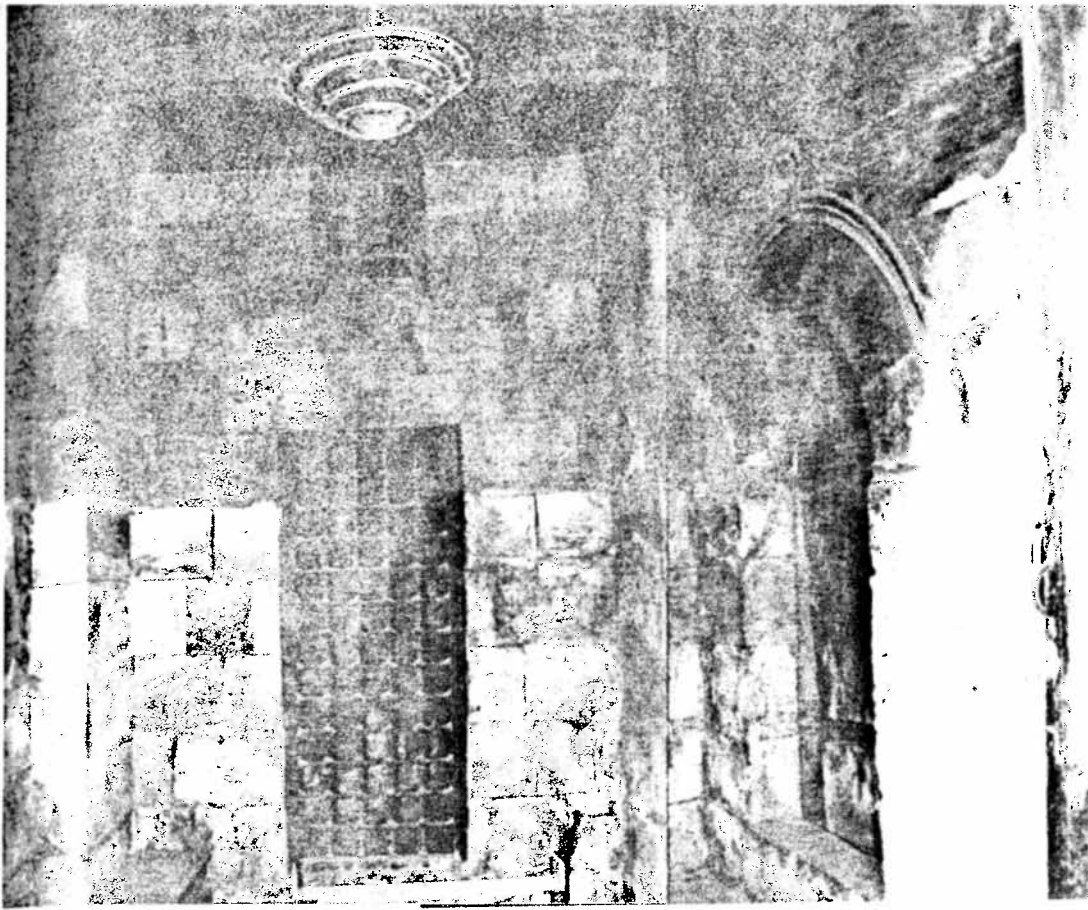
(a)



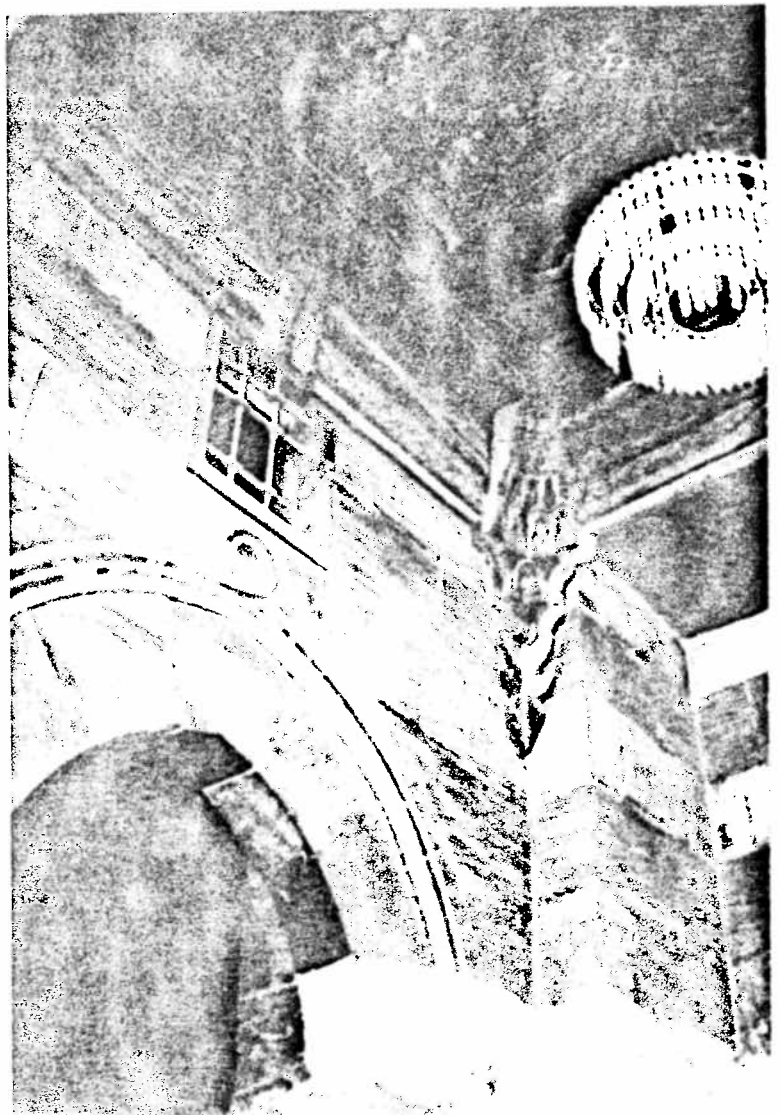
(a)



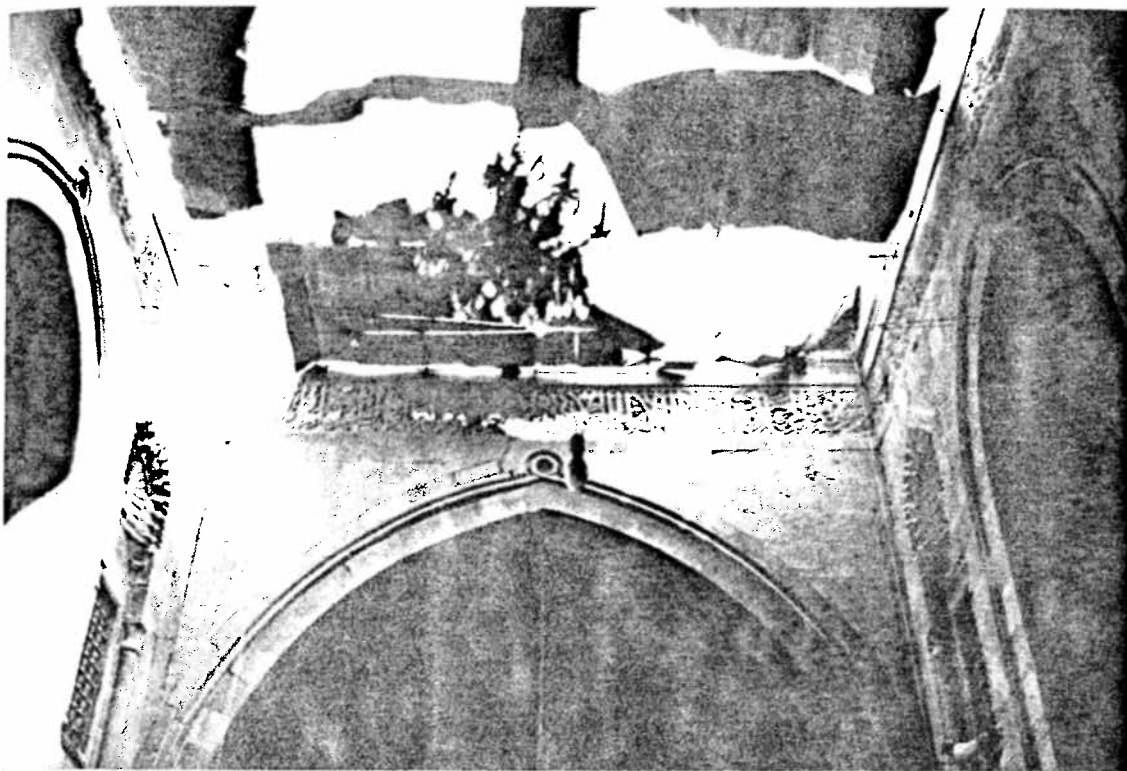
(b)



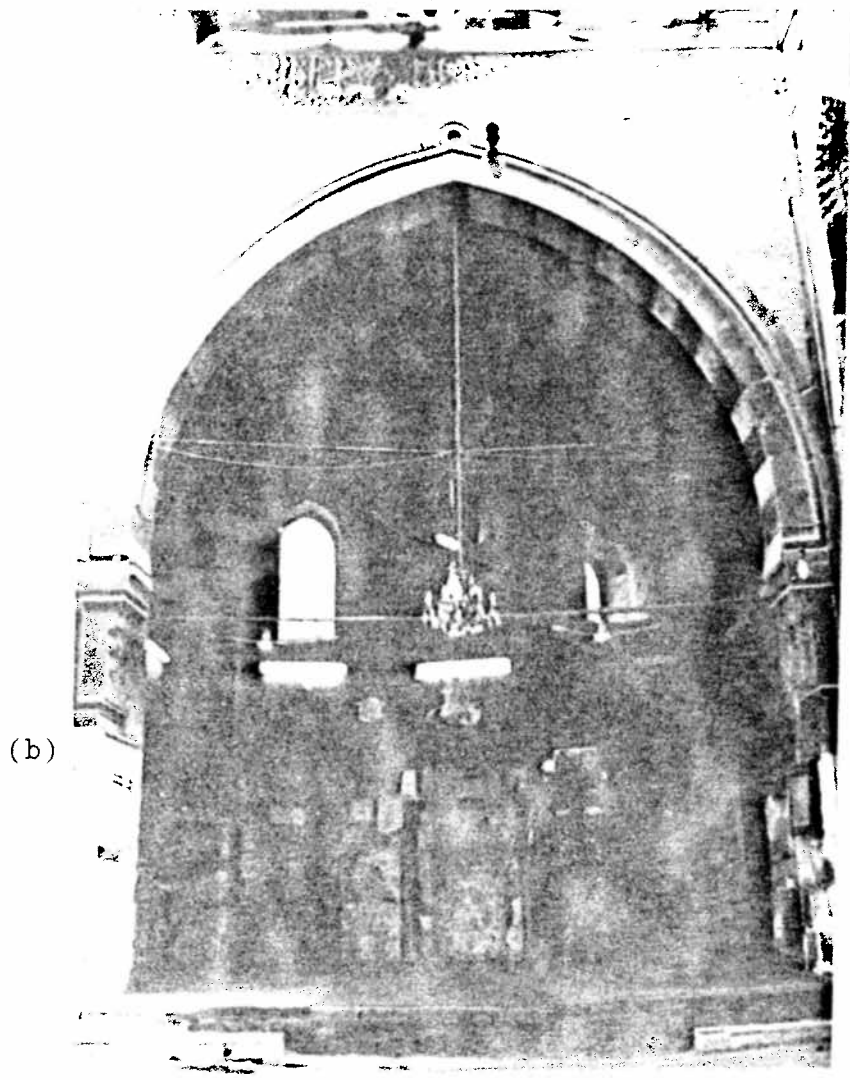
(a)



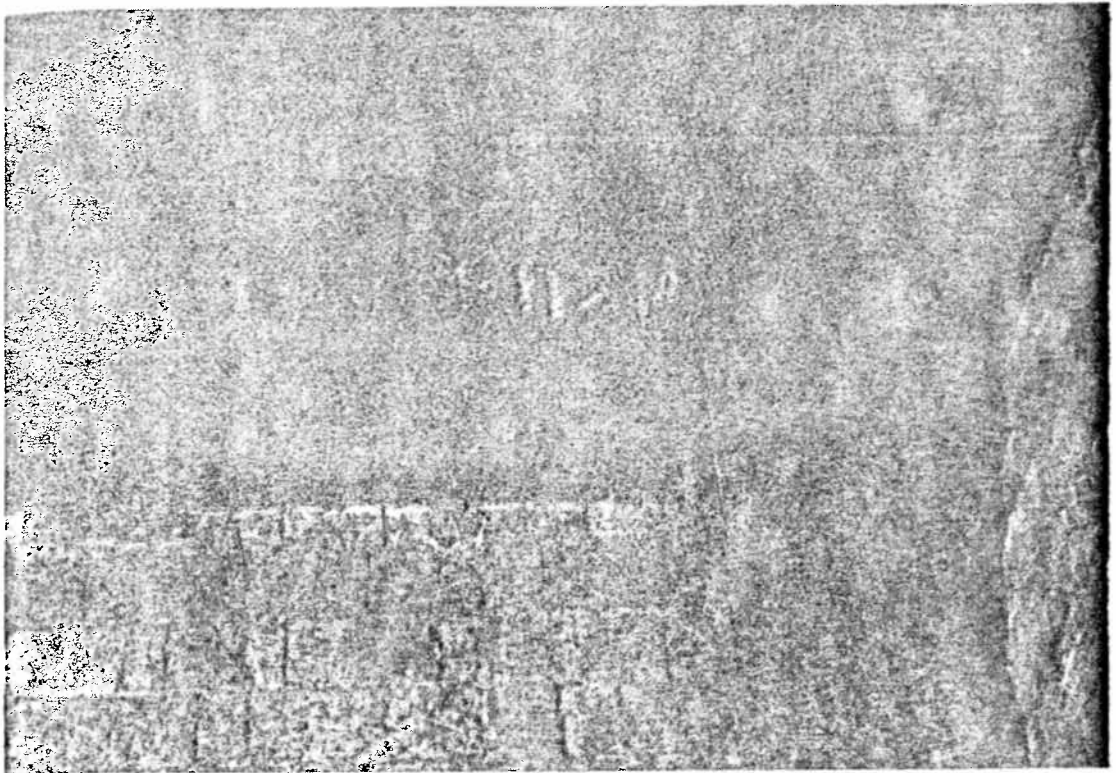
(b)



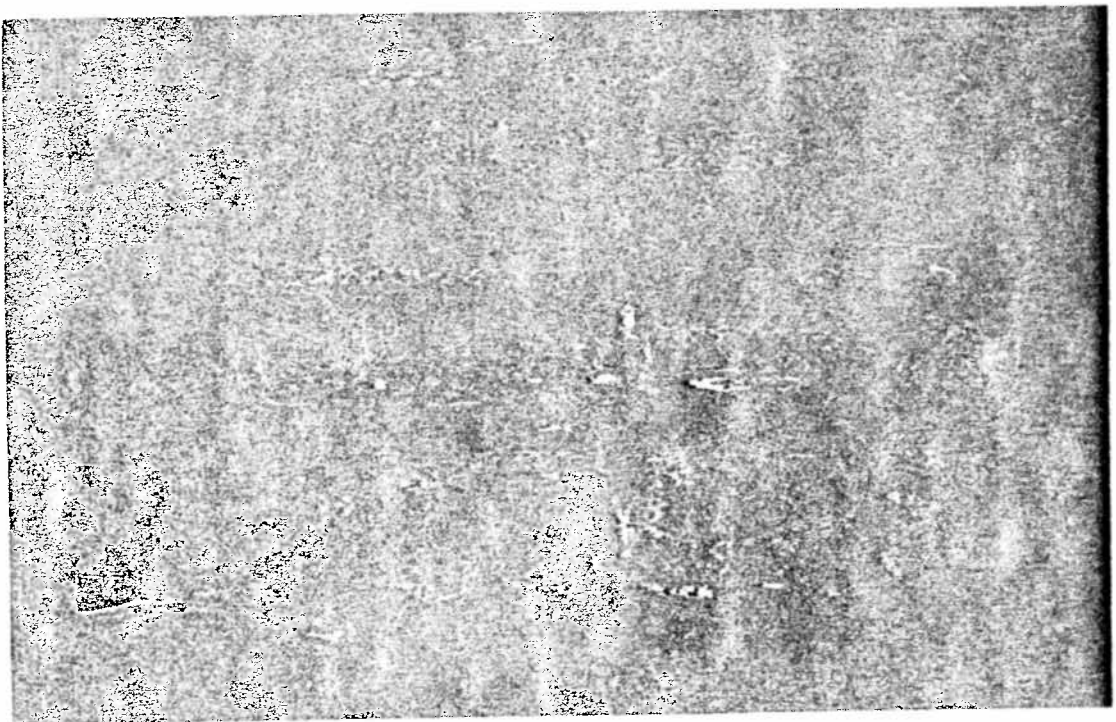
(a)



(b)



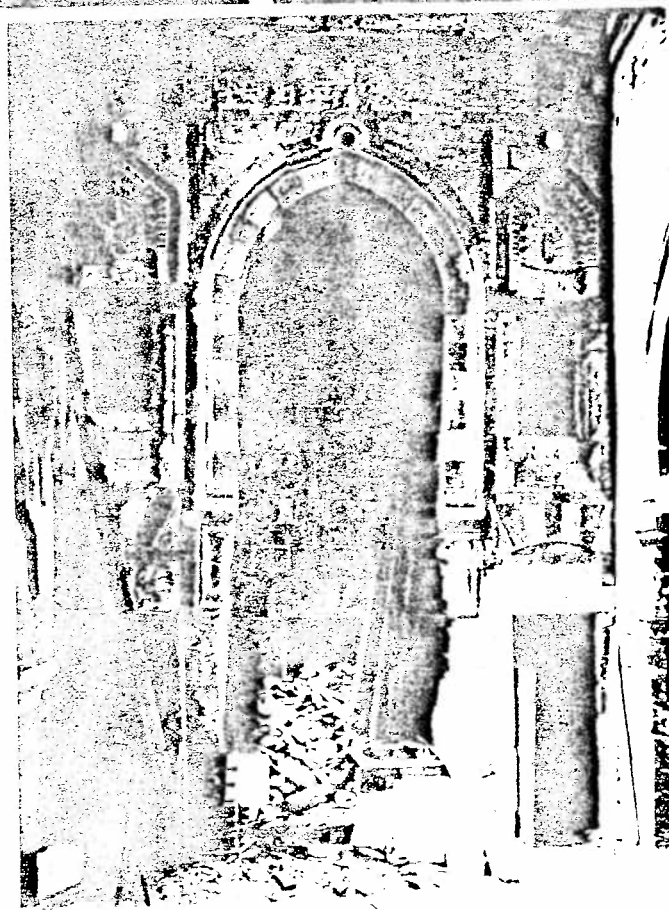
(a)



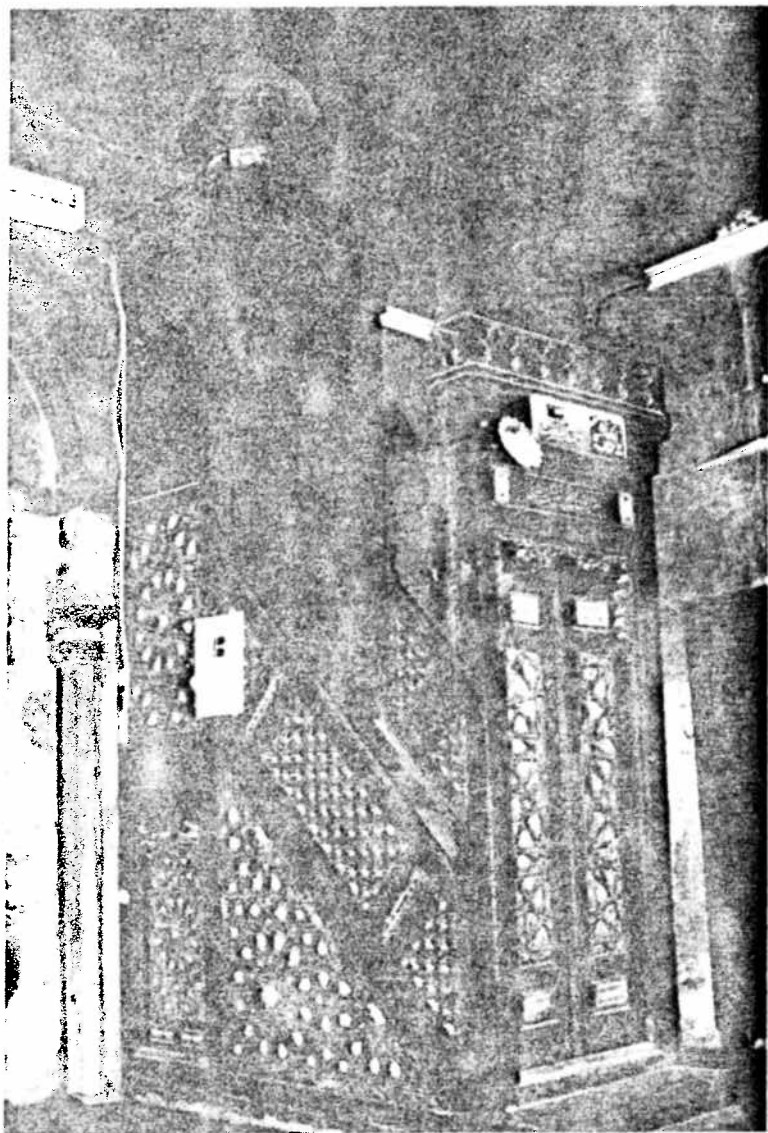
(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)

(a)



(b)



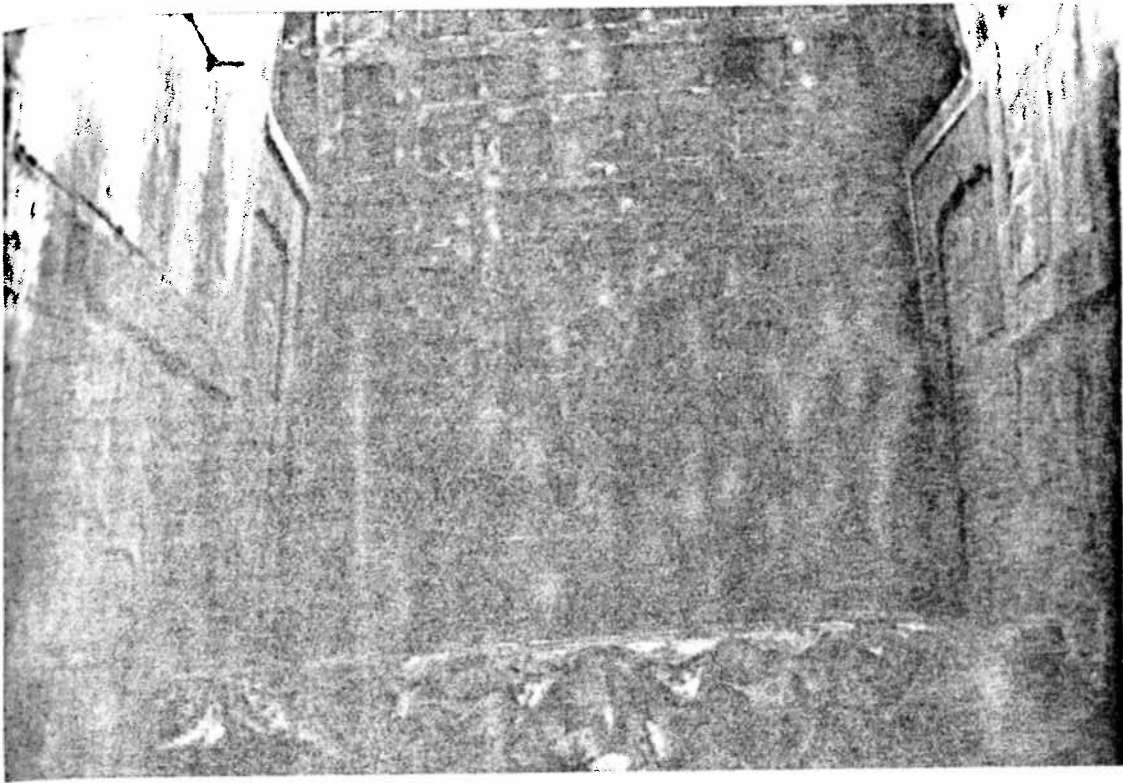
(c)



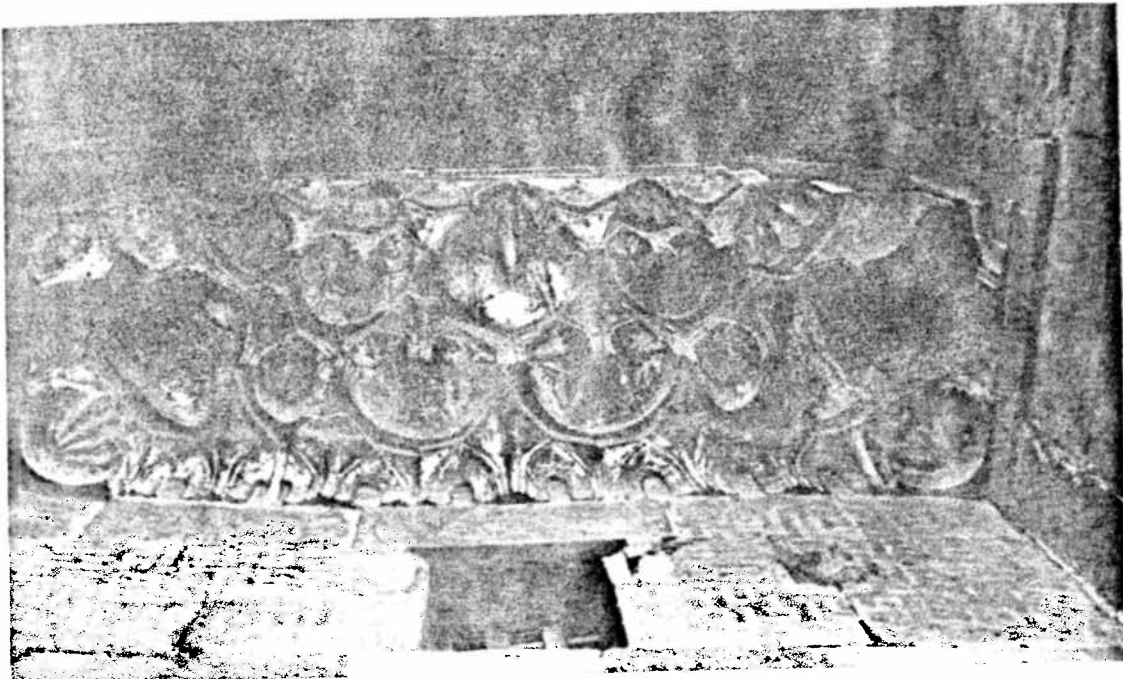
(a)



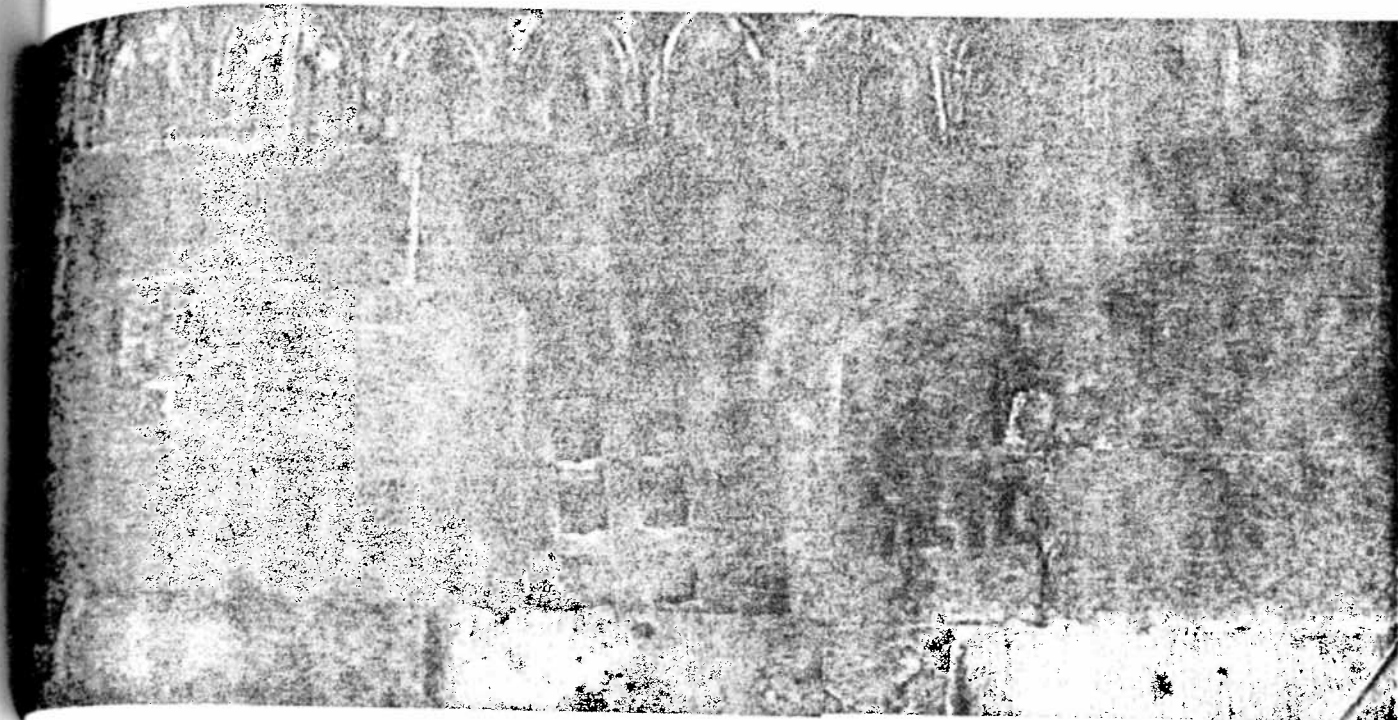
(b)



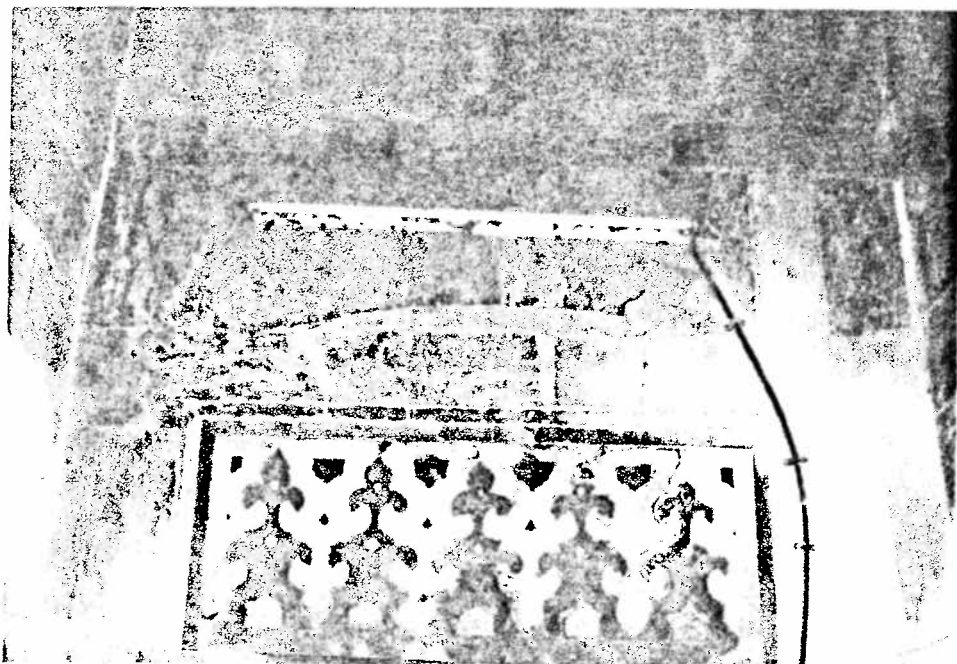
(a)



(b)



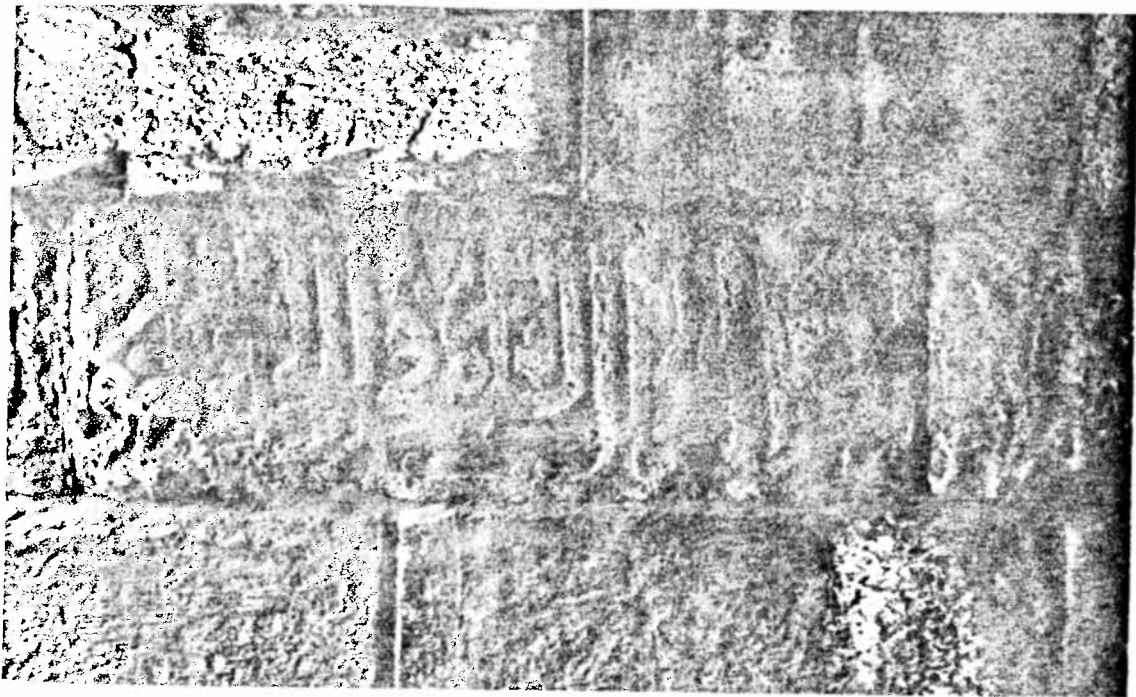
(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



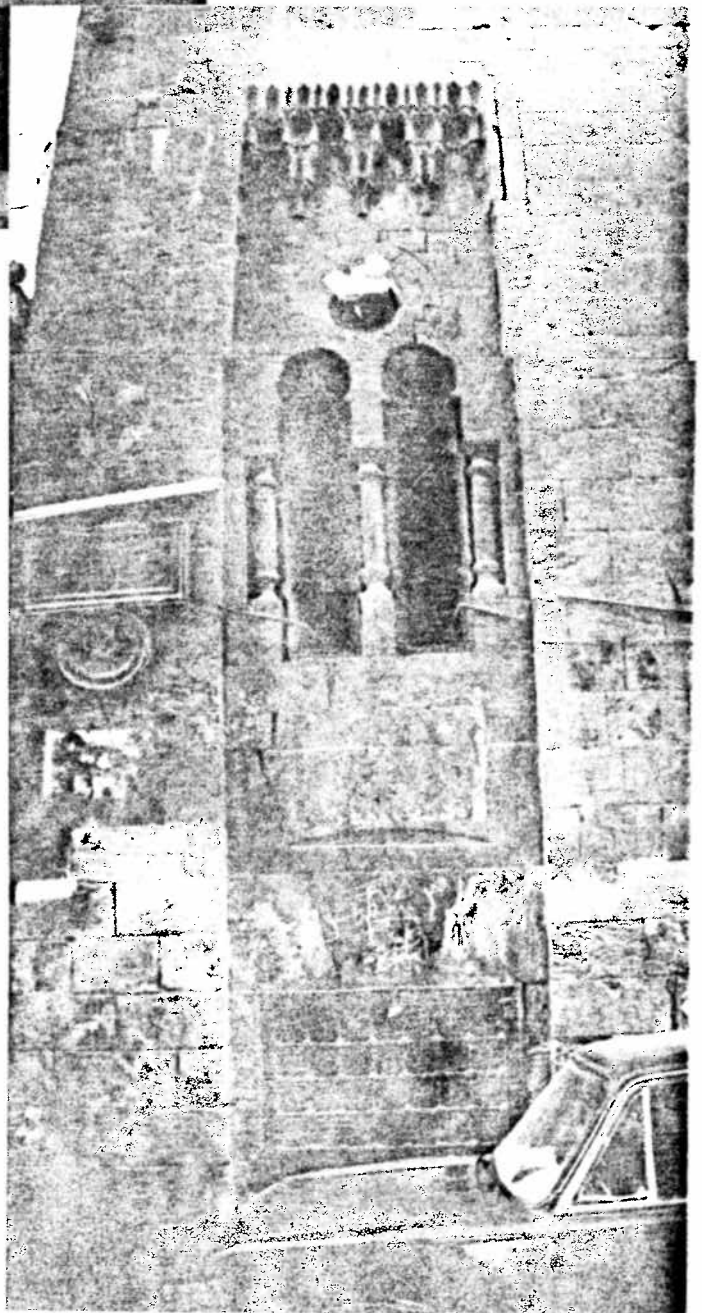
(a)



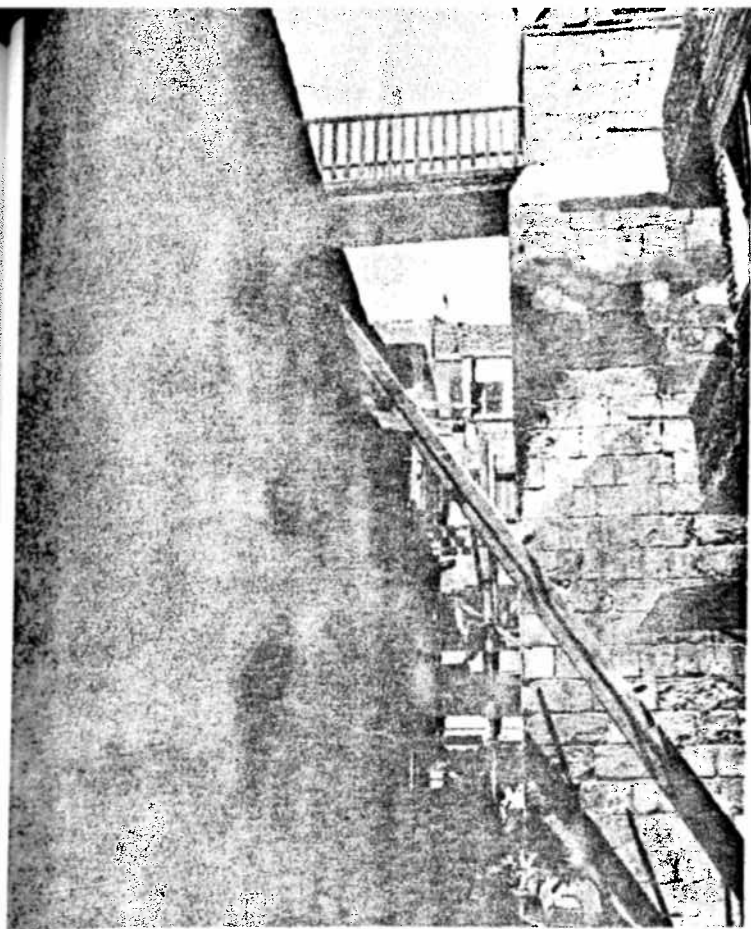
(b)



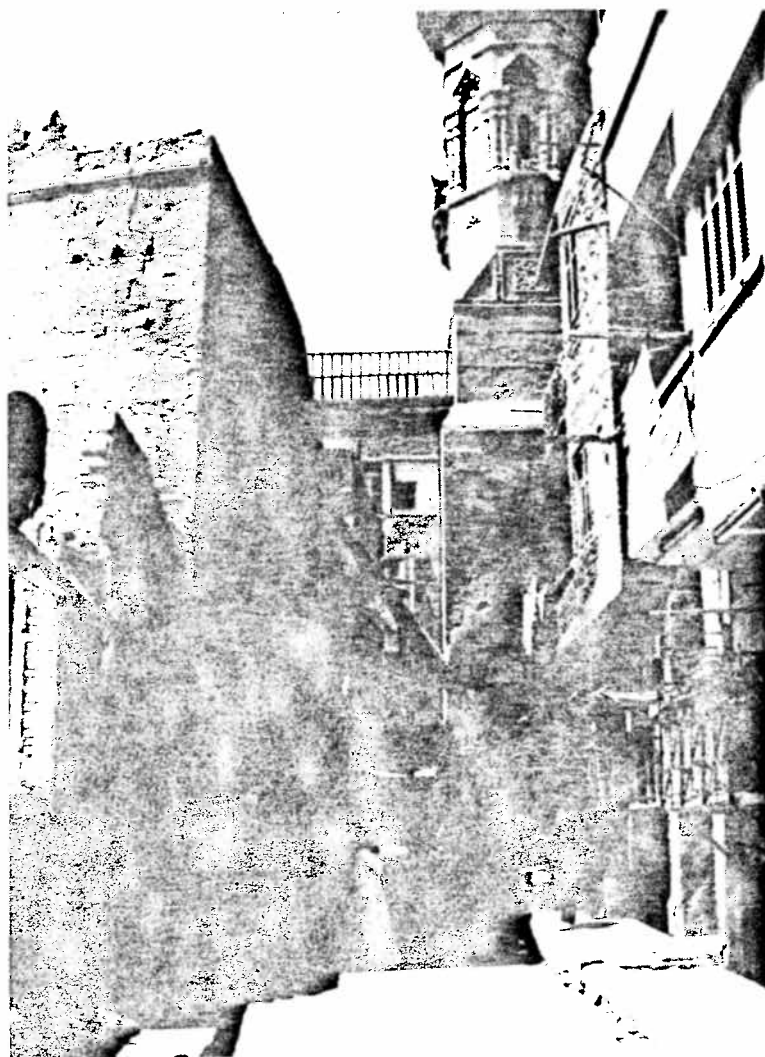
(a)



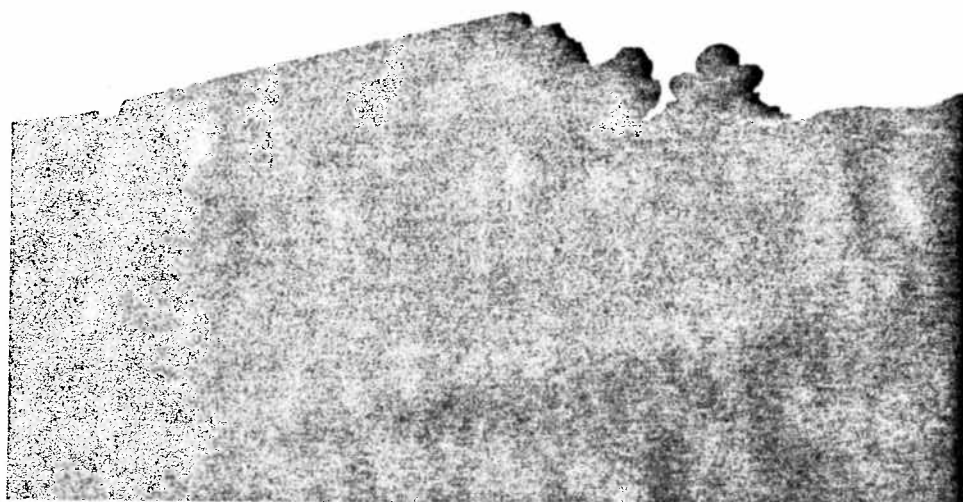
(b)



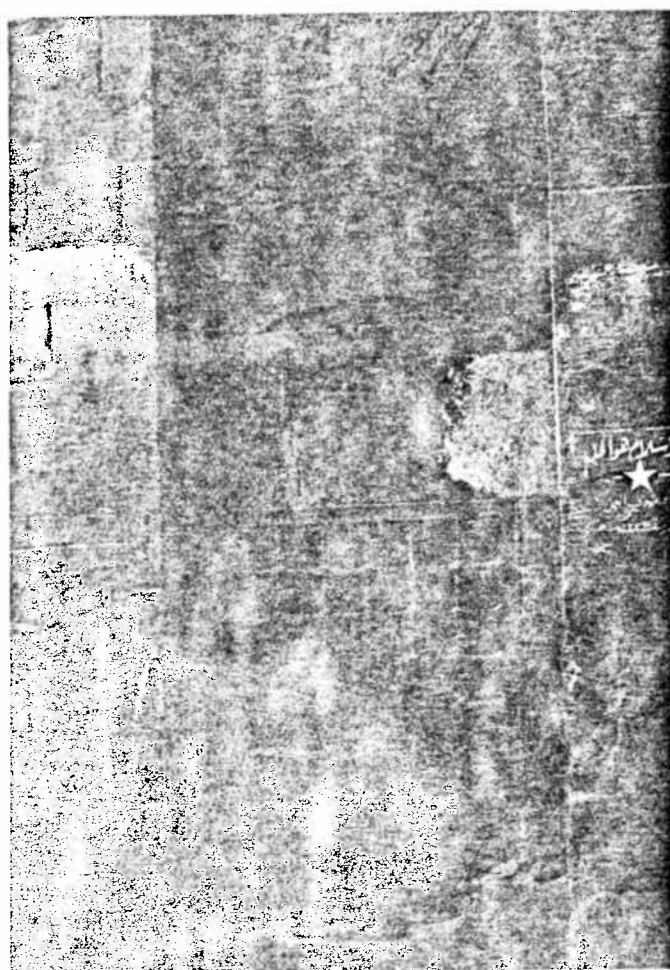
(a)



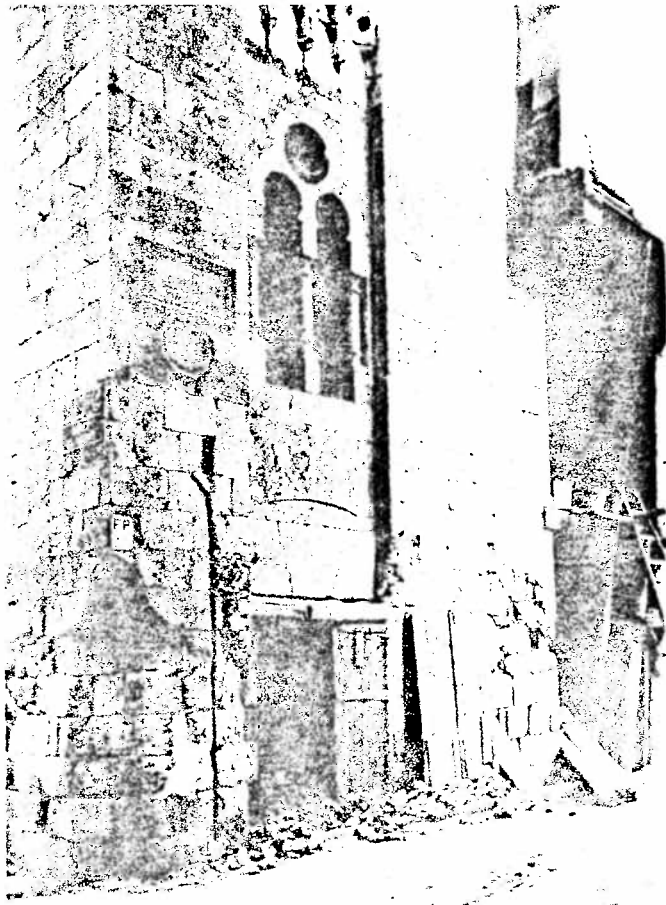
(b)



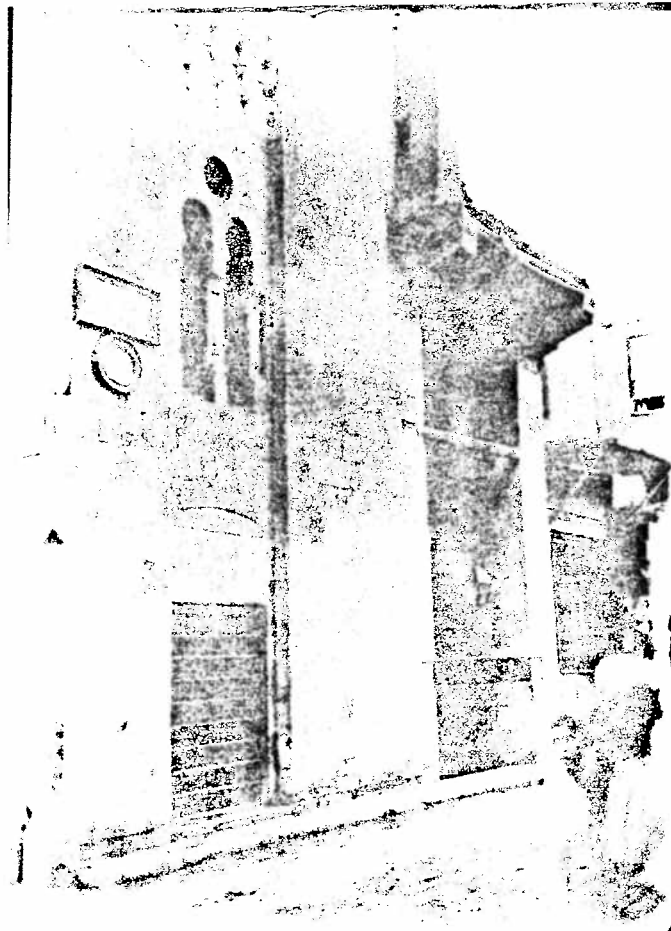
(a)



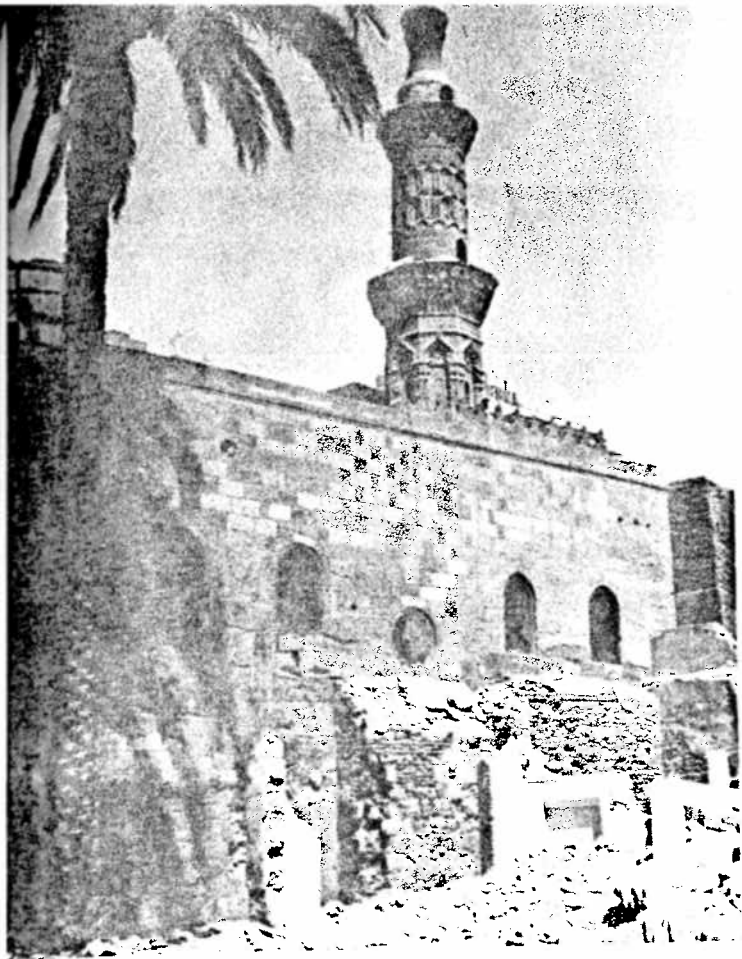
(b)



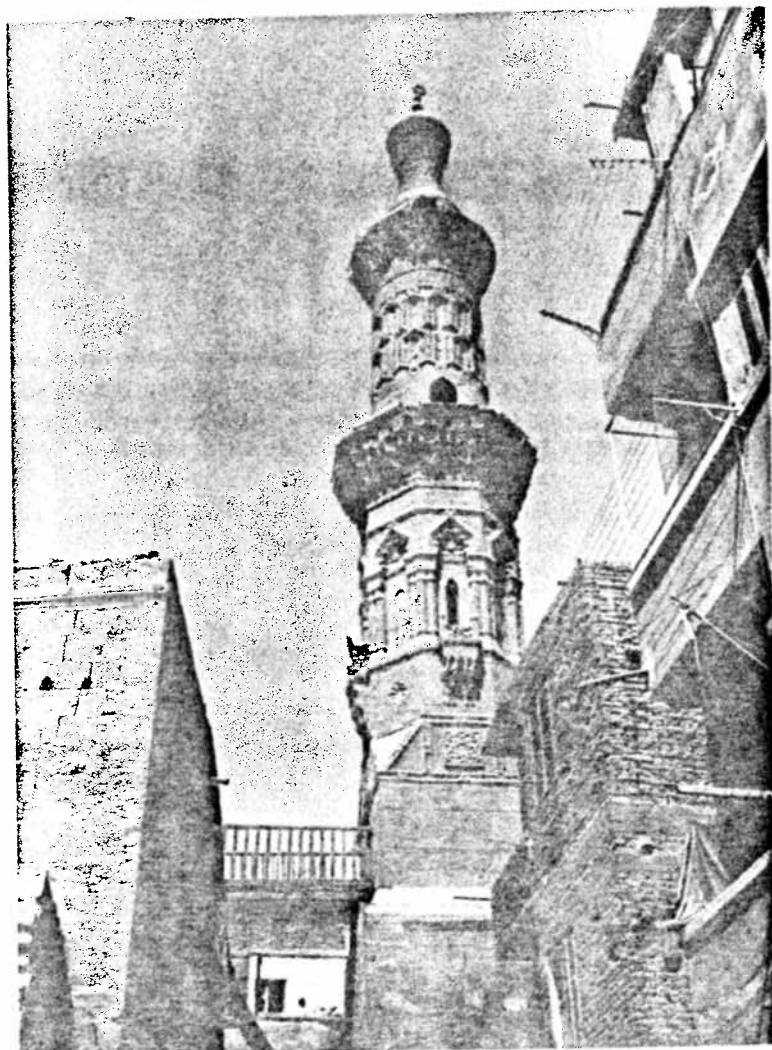
(a)



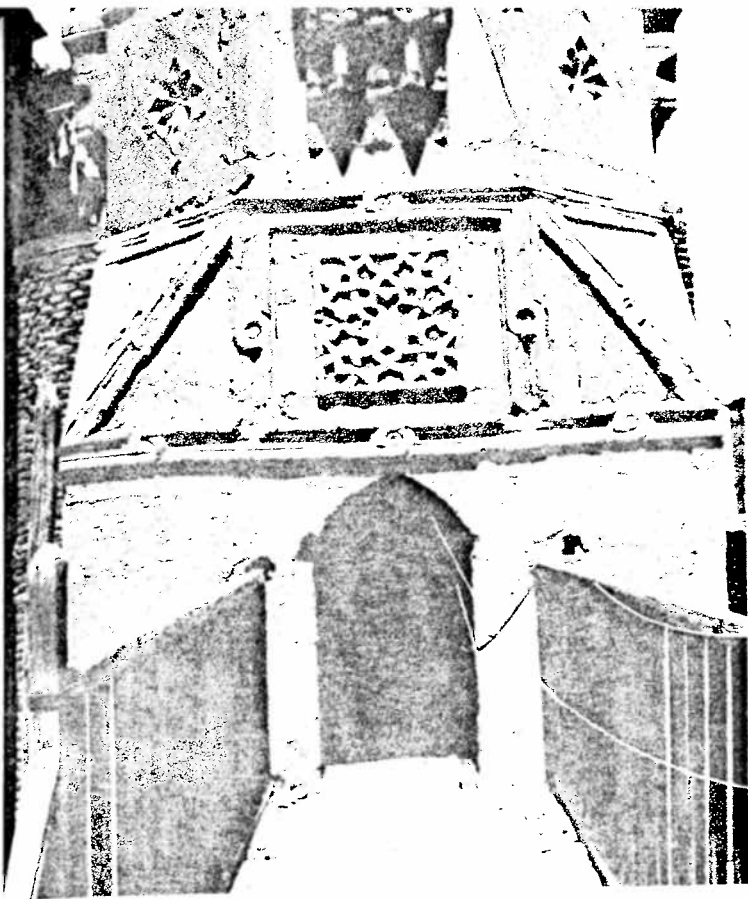
(b)



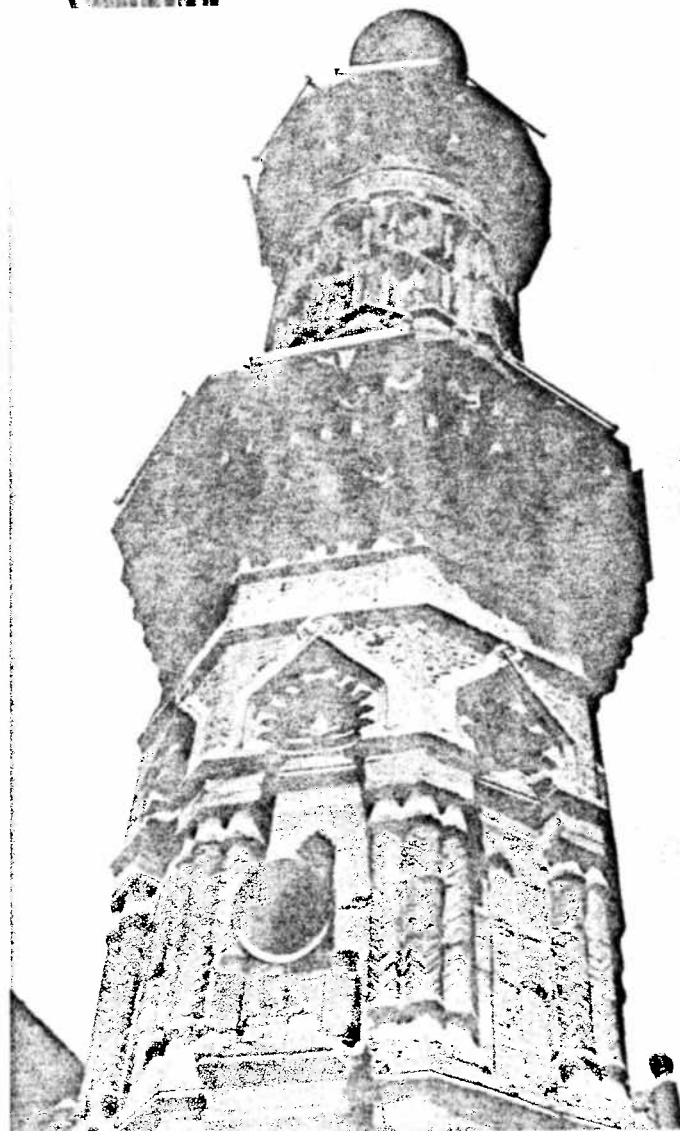
(a)



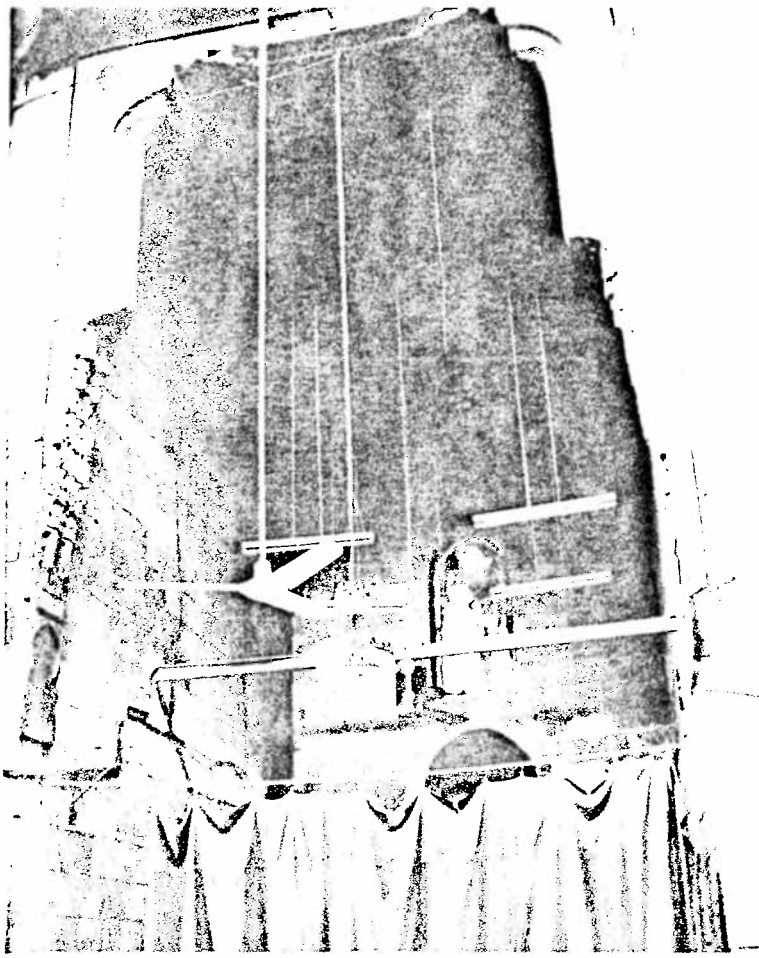
(b)



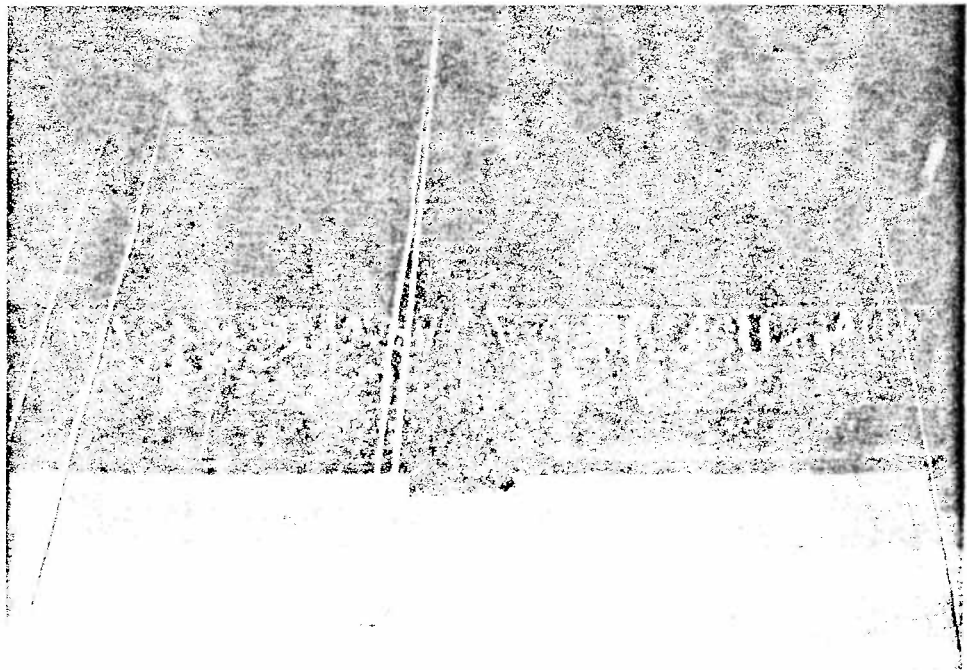
(a)



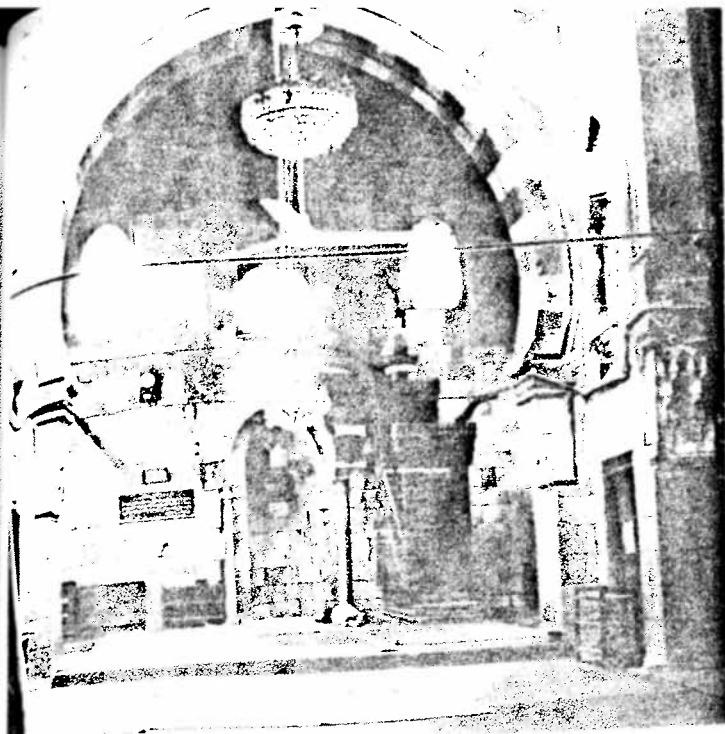
(b)



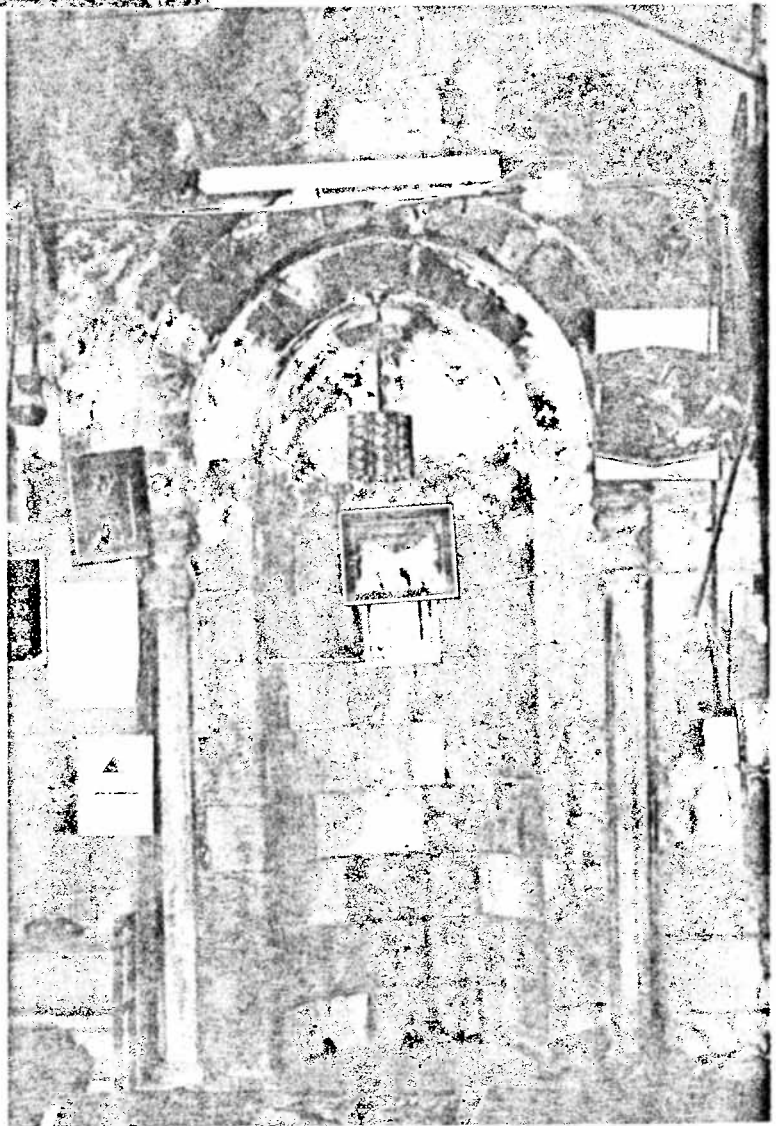
(a)



(b)



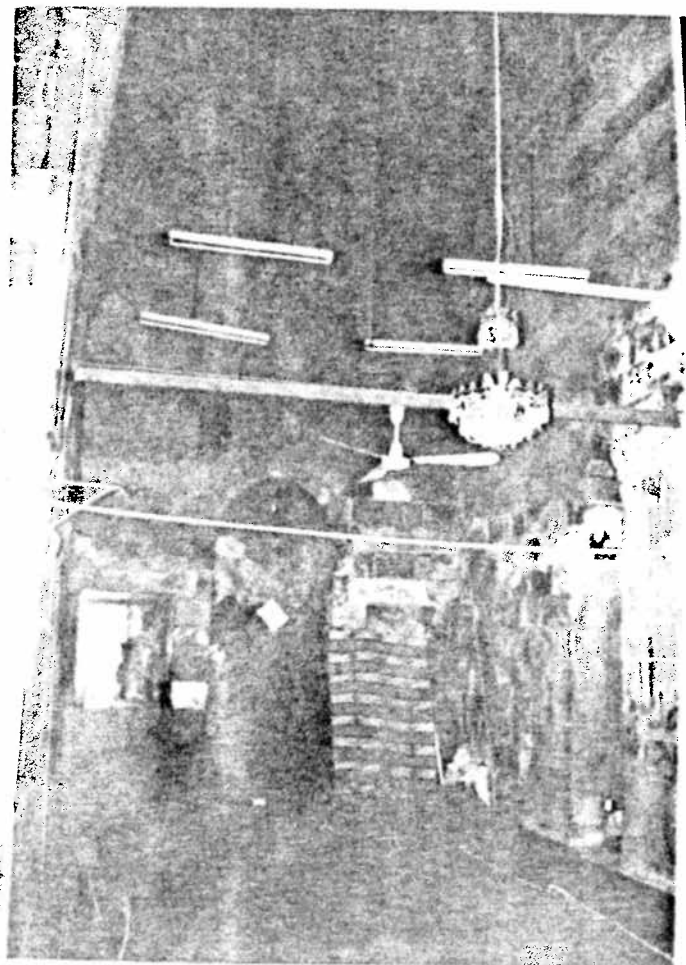
(a)



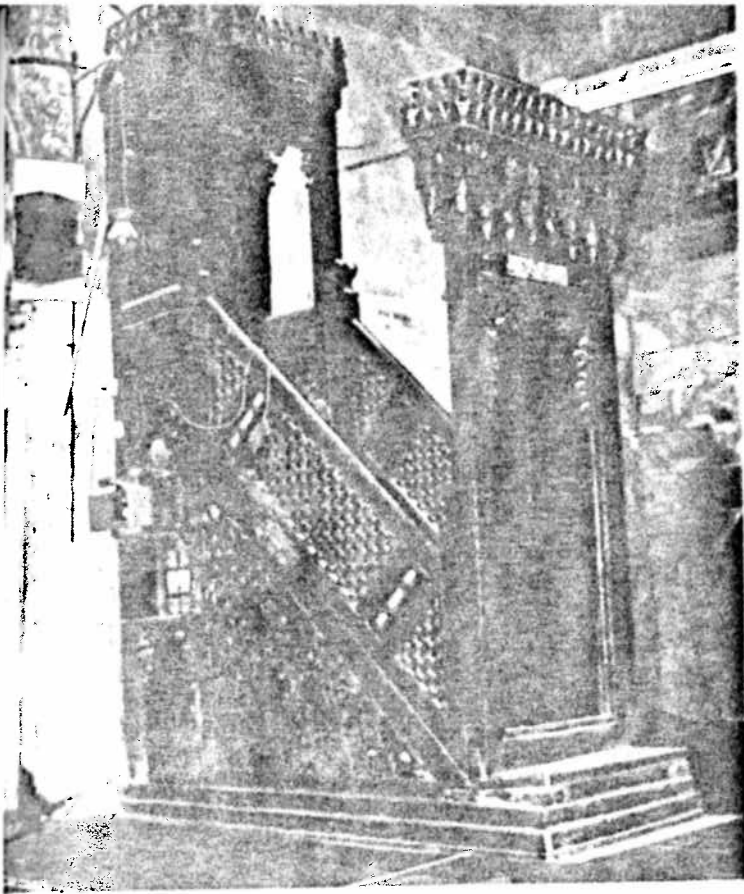
(b)



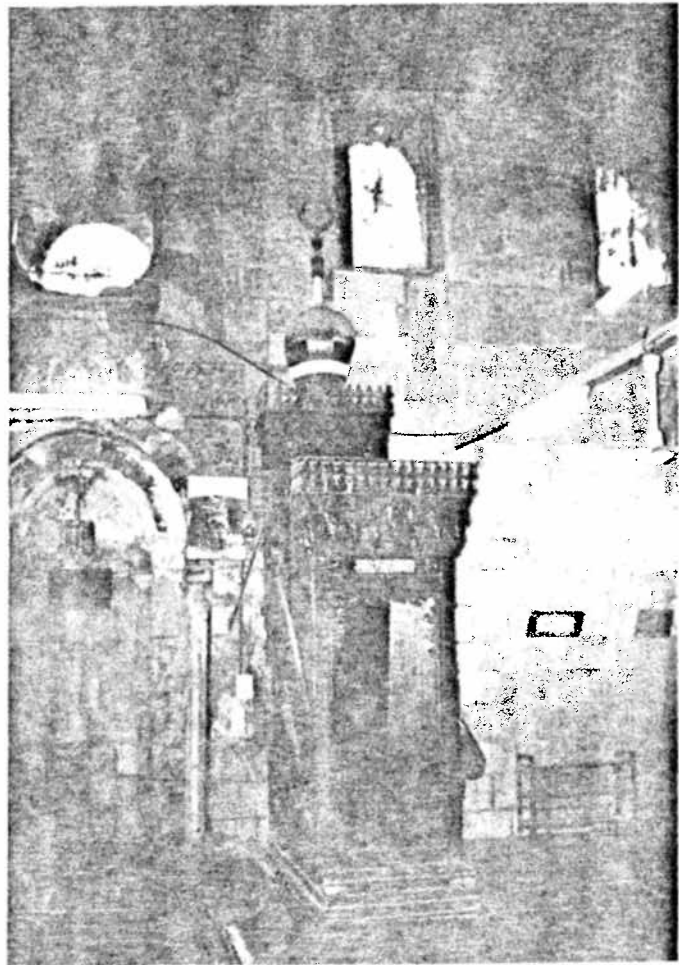
(a)



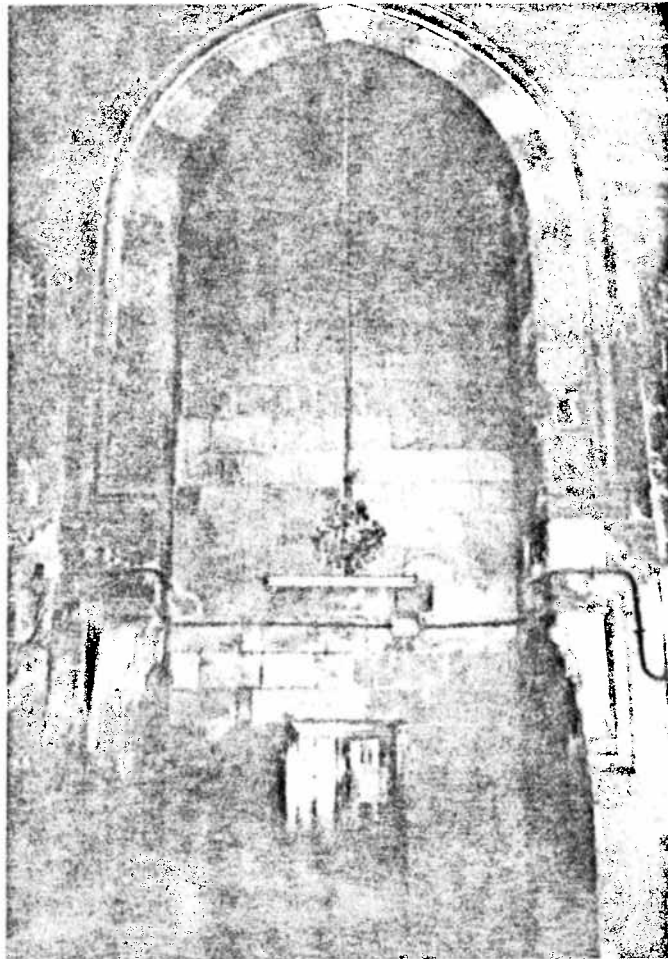
(b)



(a)



(b)



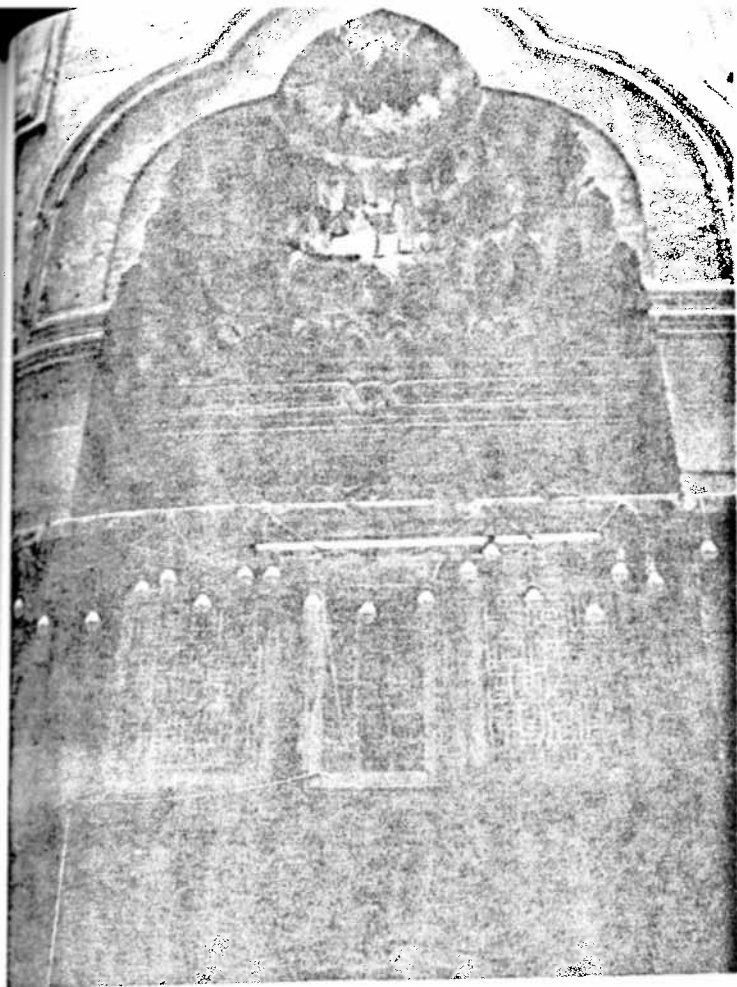
(a)



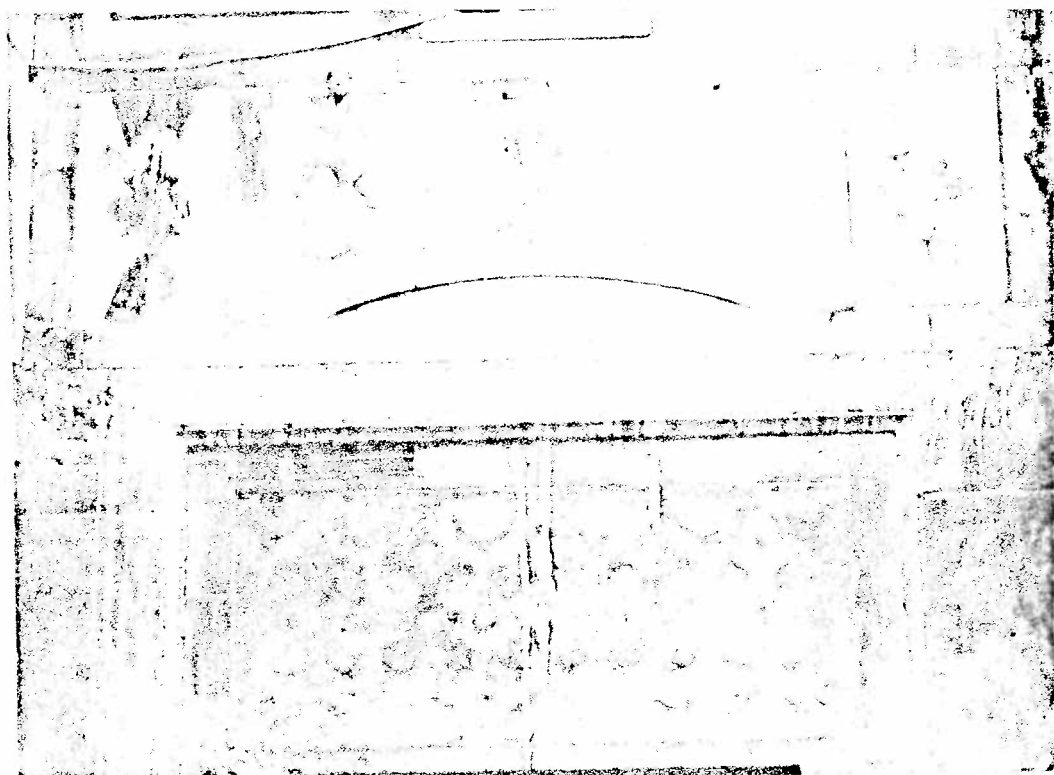
(a)



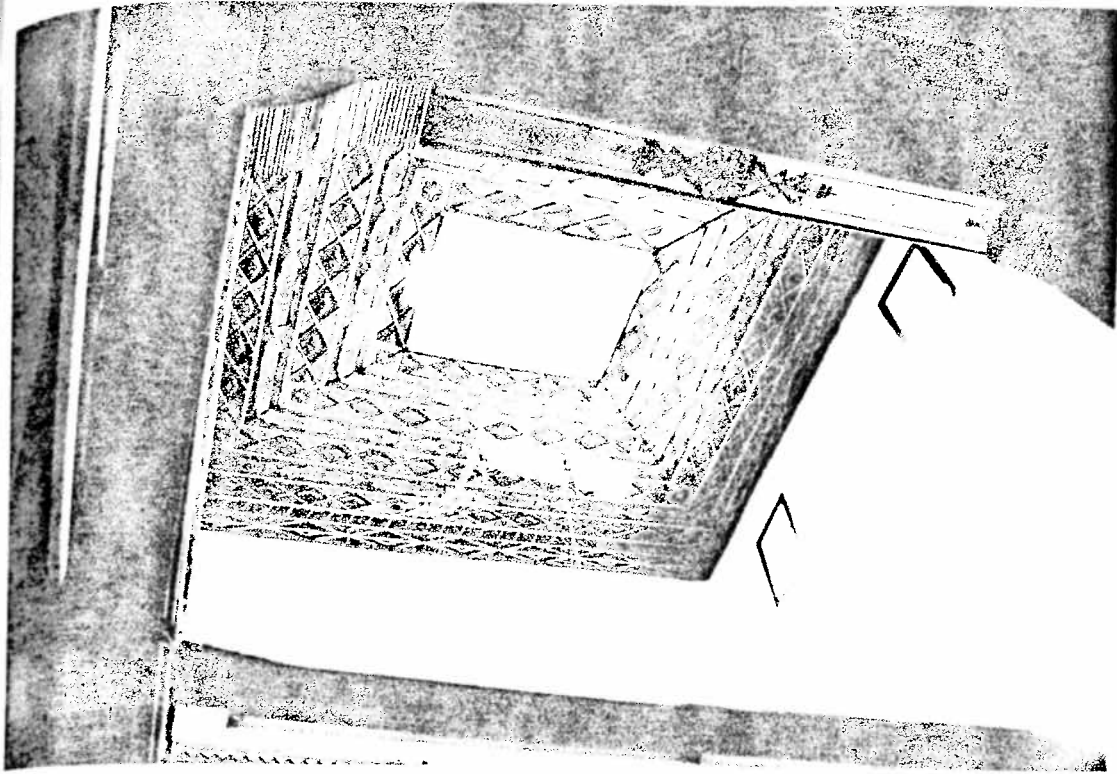
(b)



(a)



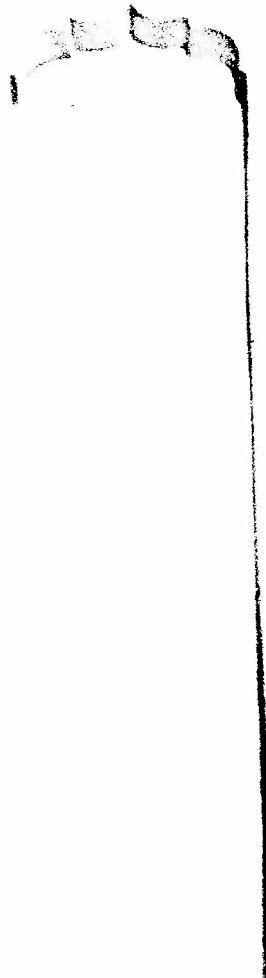
(b)



(a)

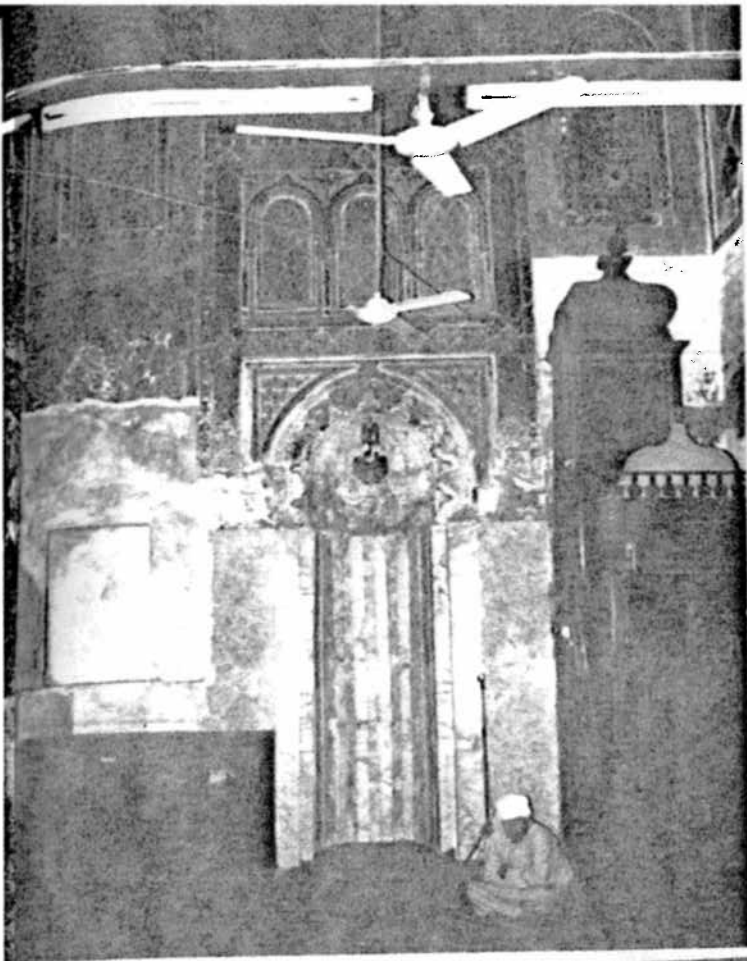


(b)

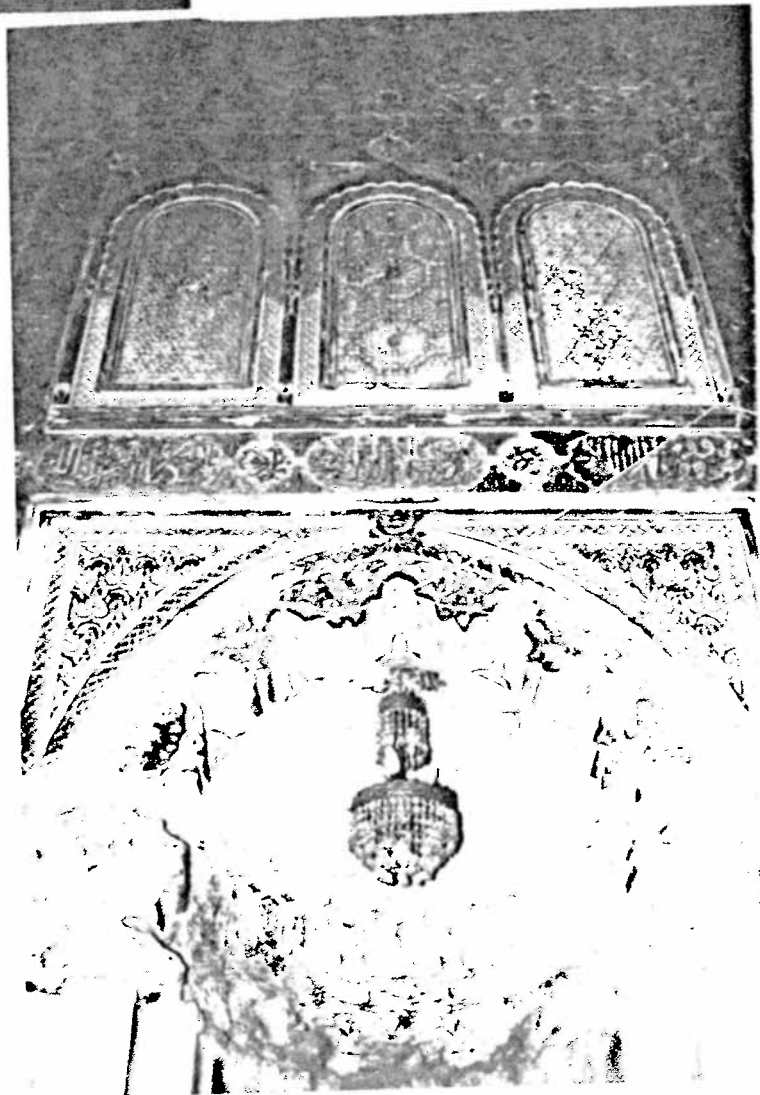




(a)



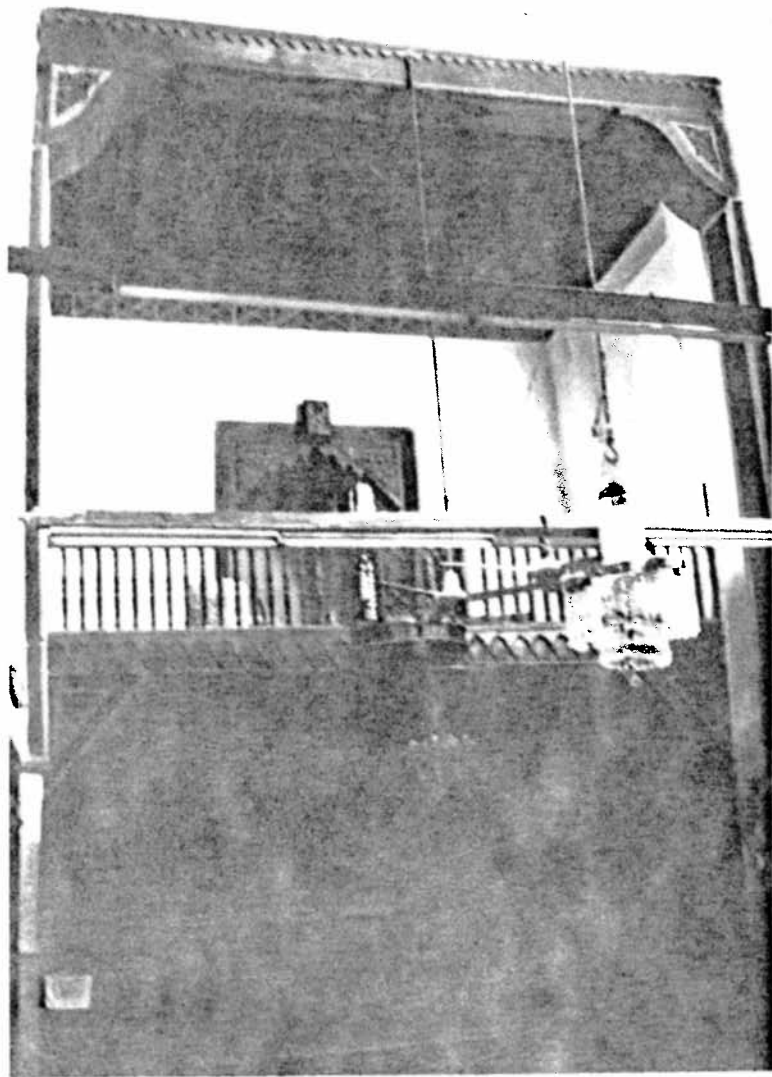
(a)



(b)



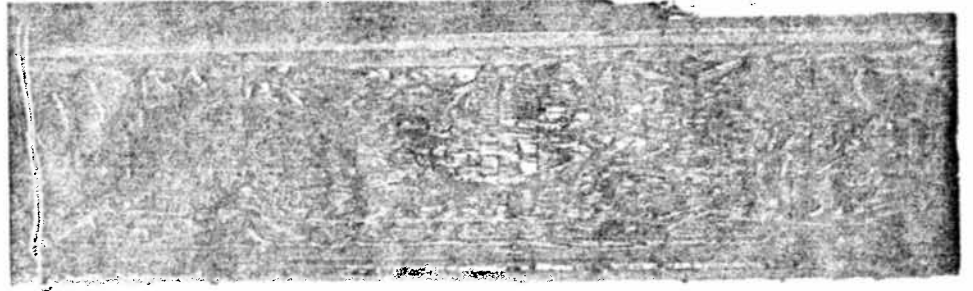
(a)



(b)

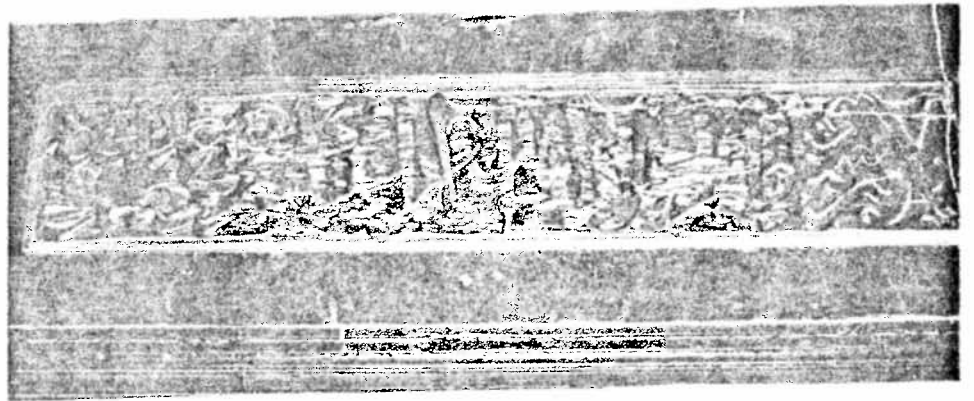
The right wing

(e)

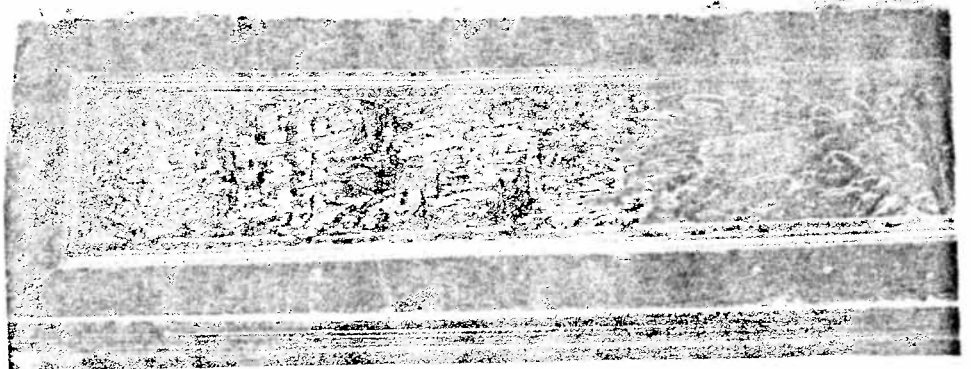


The southern wall
of the court

(f)

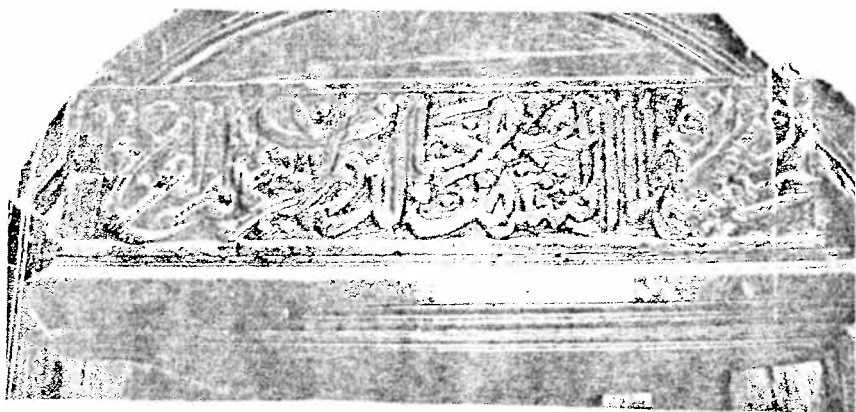


(g)



The left wing

(a)



(b)

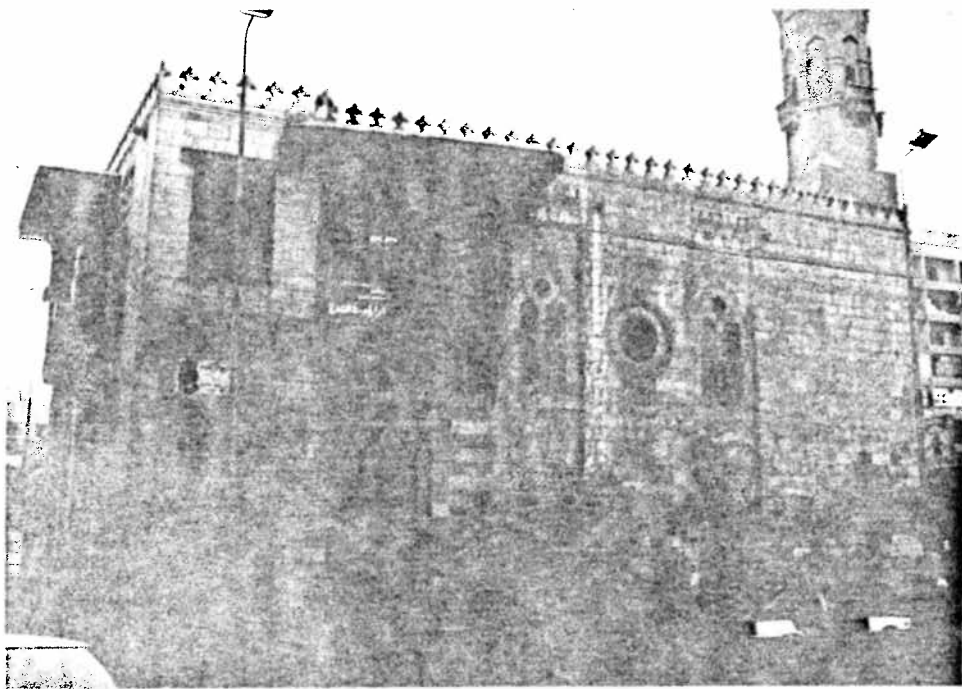


(c)



(d)

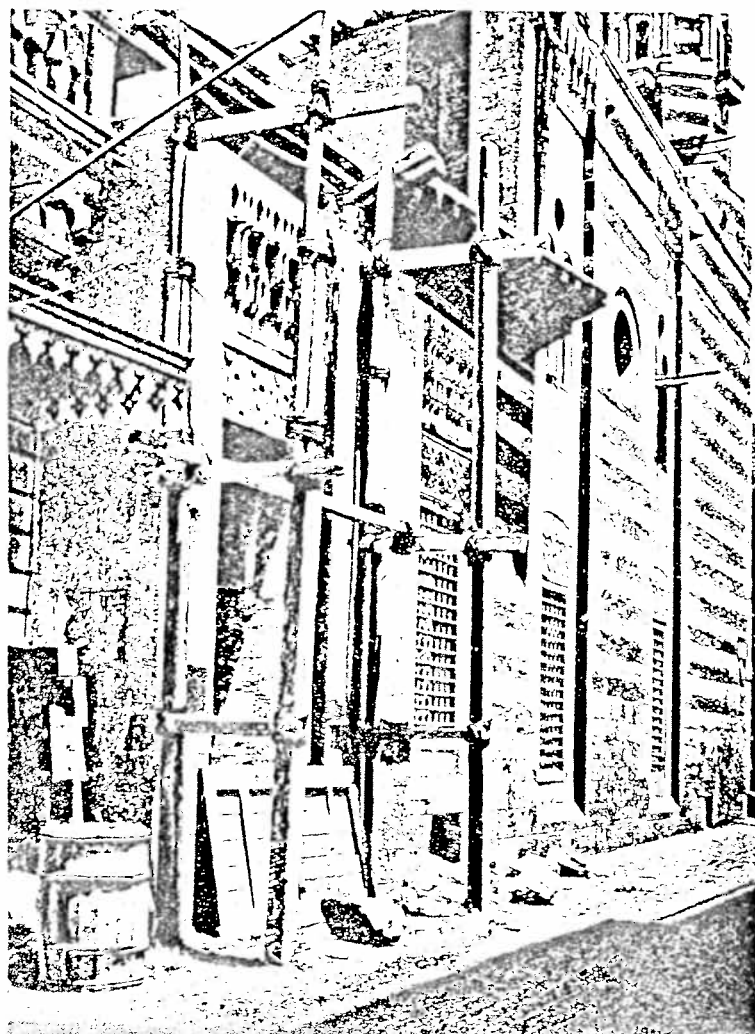




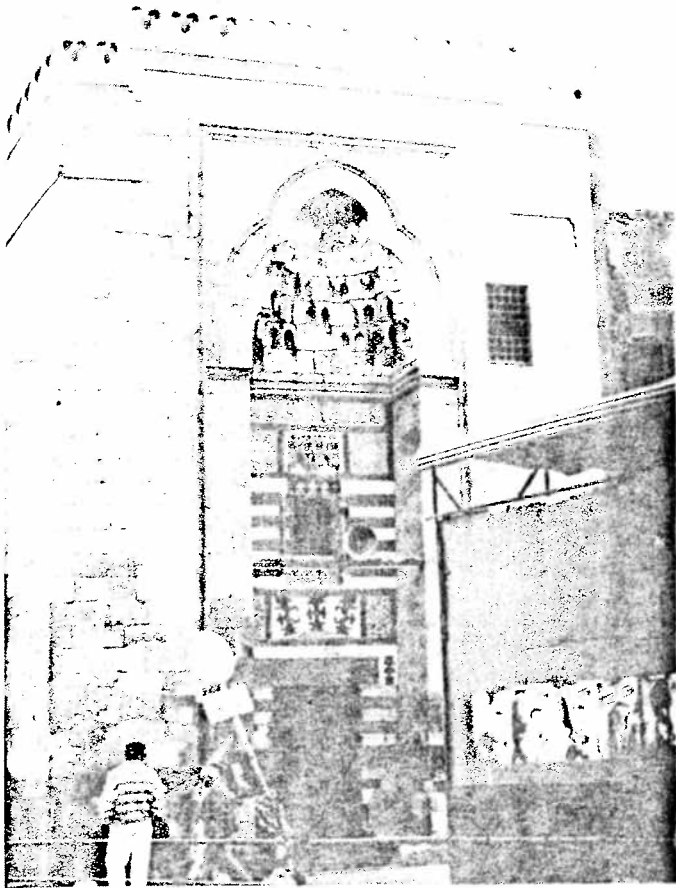
(a)



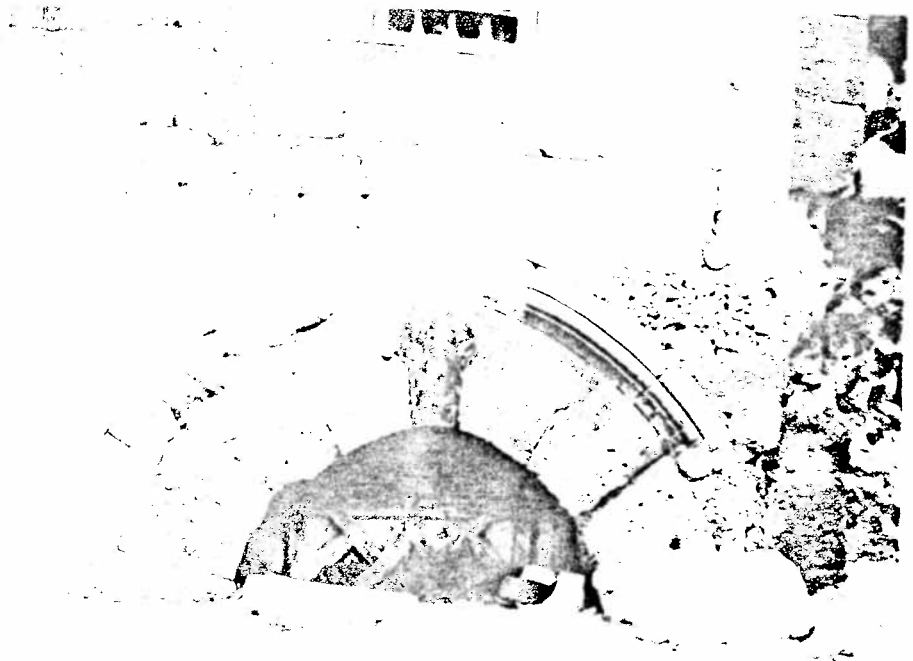
(a)



(b)



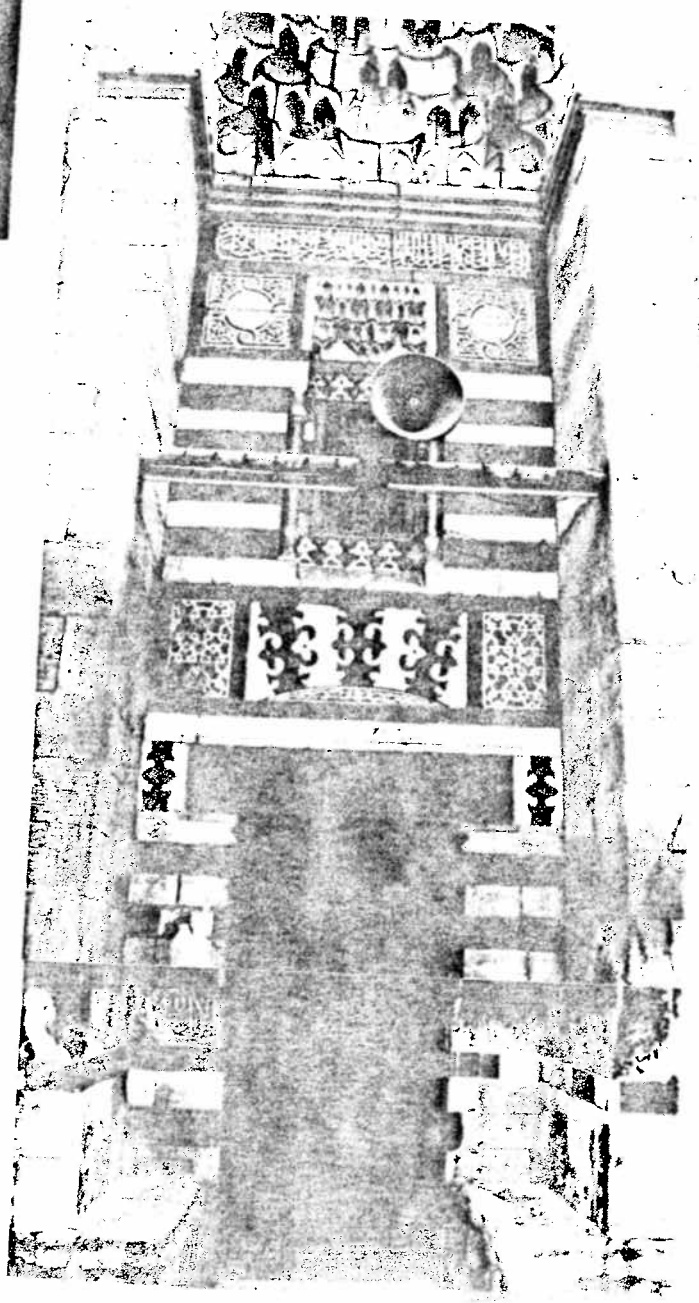
(a)



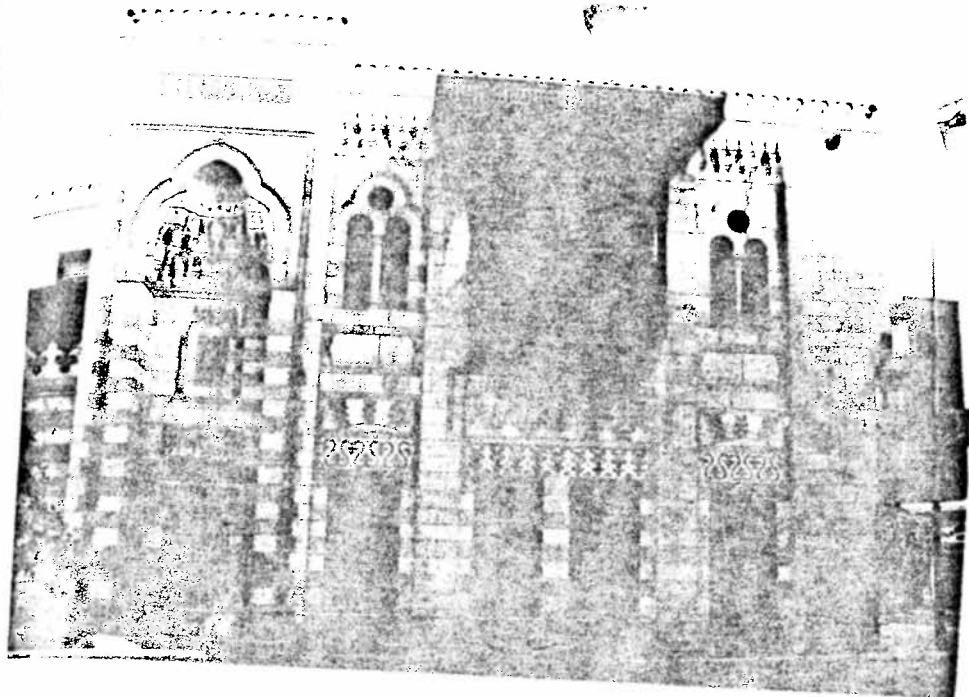
(b)



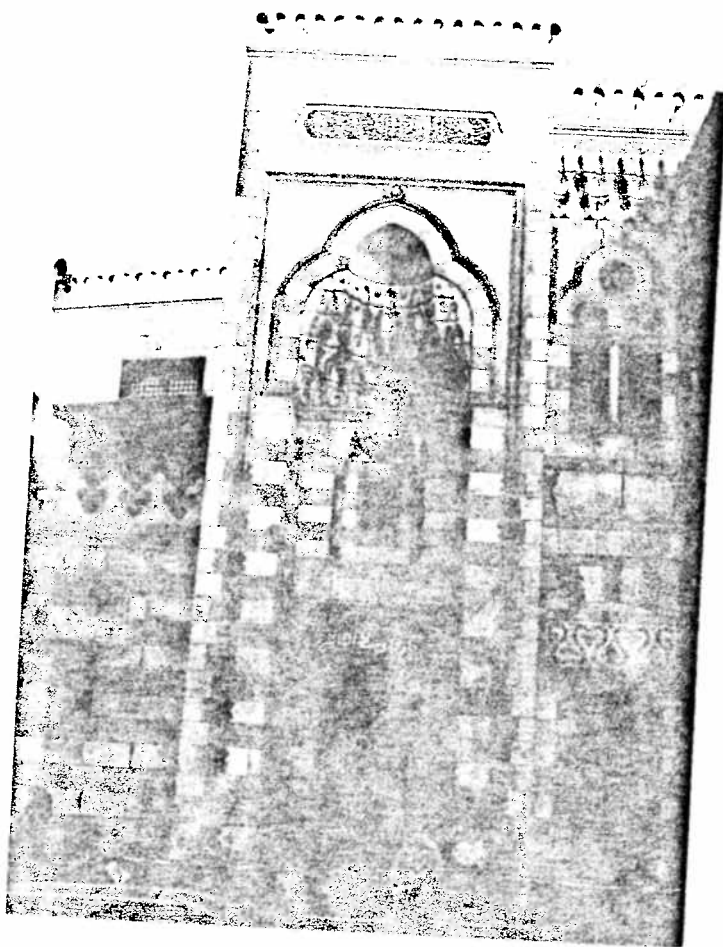
(a)



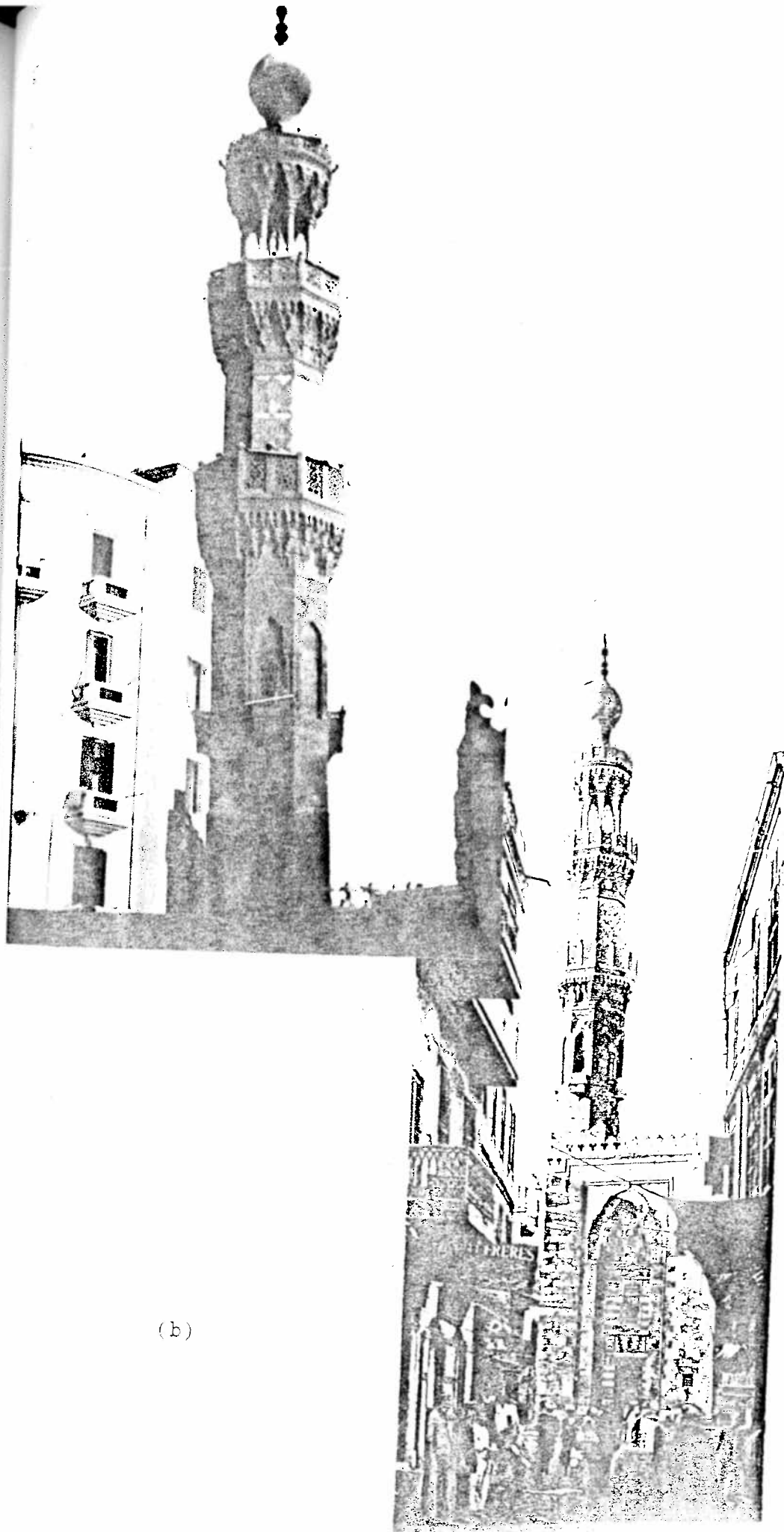
(b)



(a)

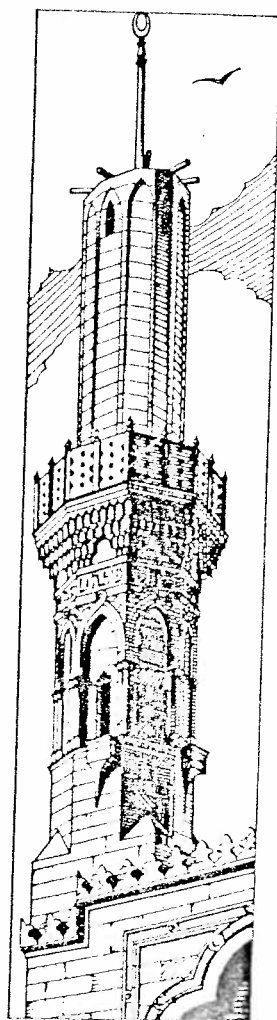


(b)

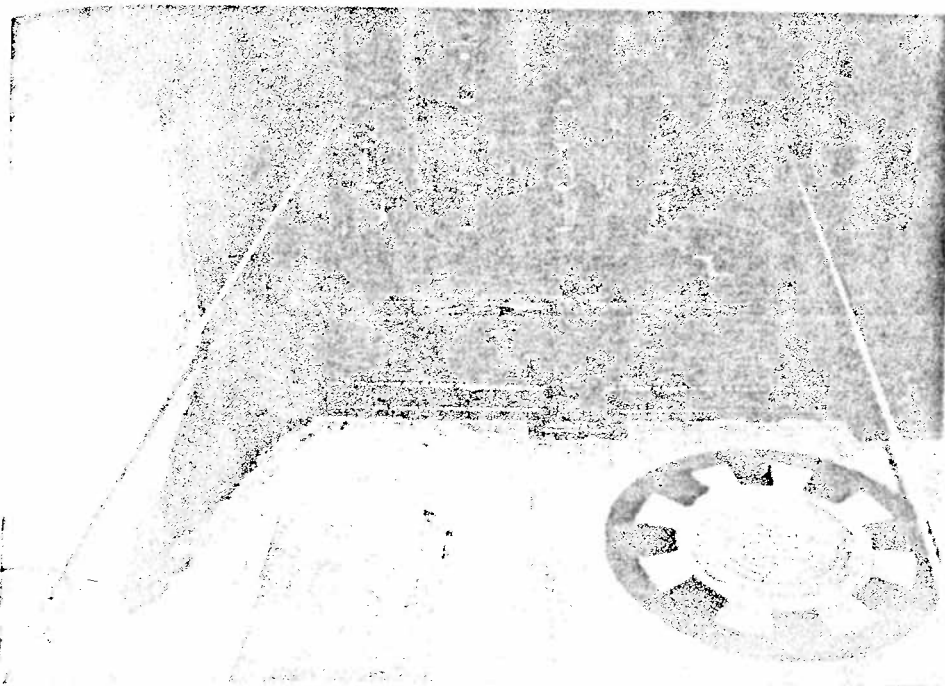


(b)

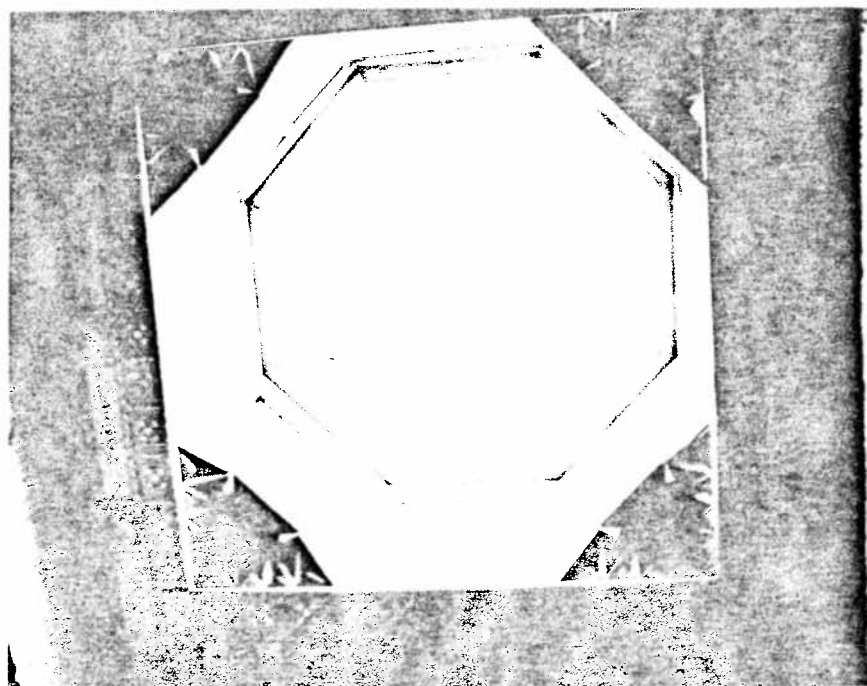
LE MINARET
AVANT LA RESTAURATION



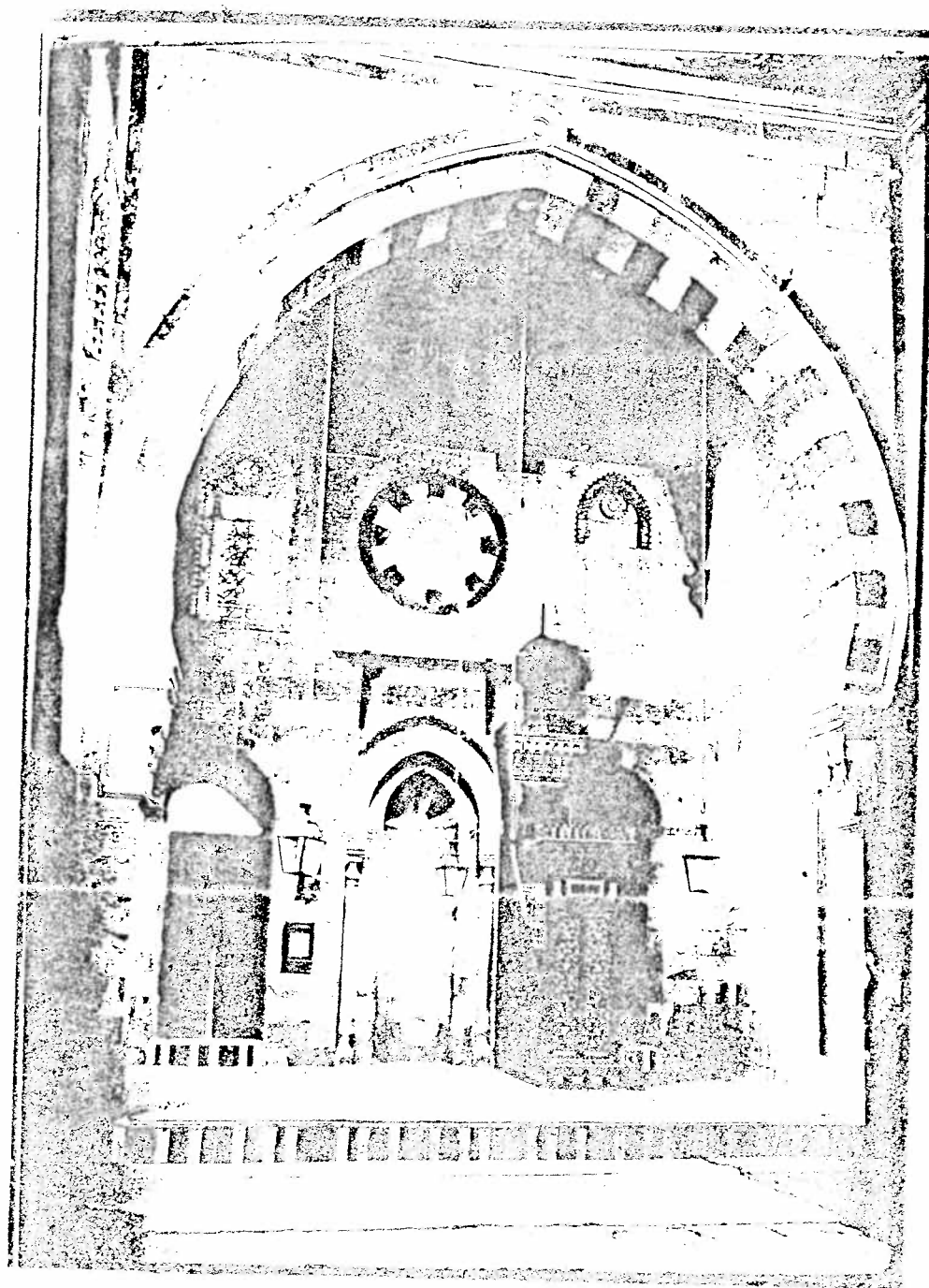
MOSQUÉE HADI YEHIA
ZEIN EL-DYN
À BEIN EL-NEHDEIN



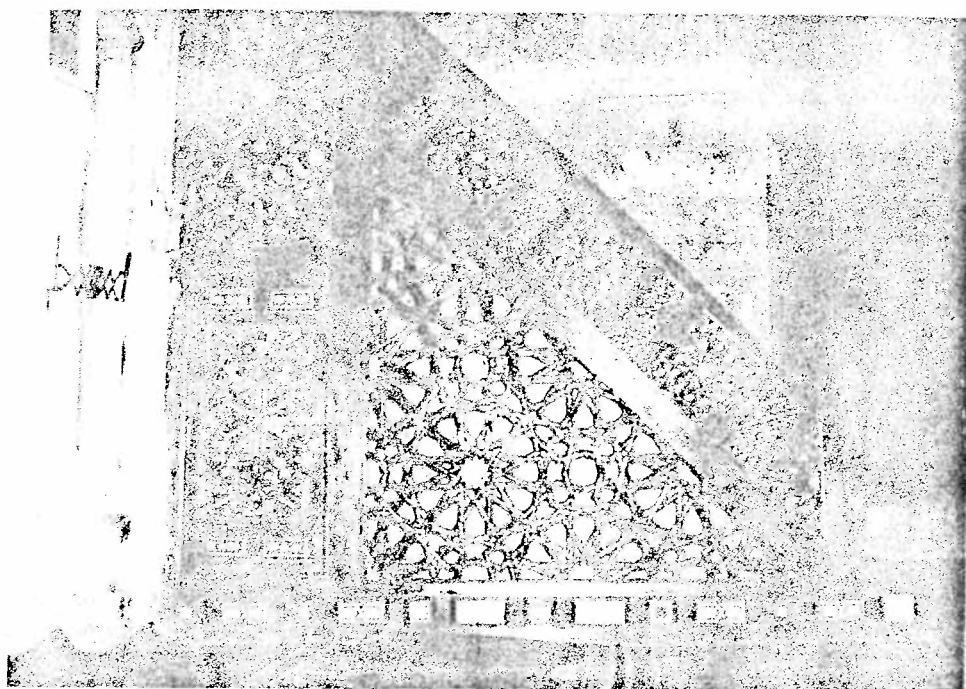
(a)



(b)



(a)



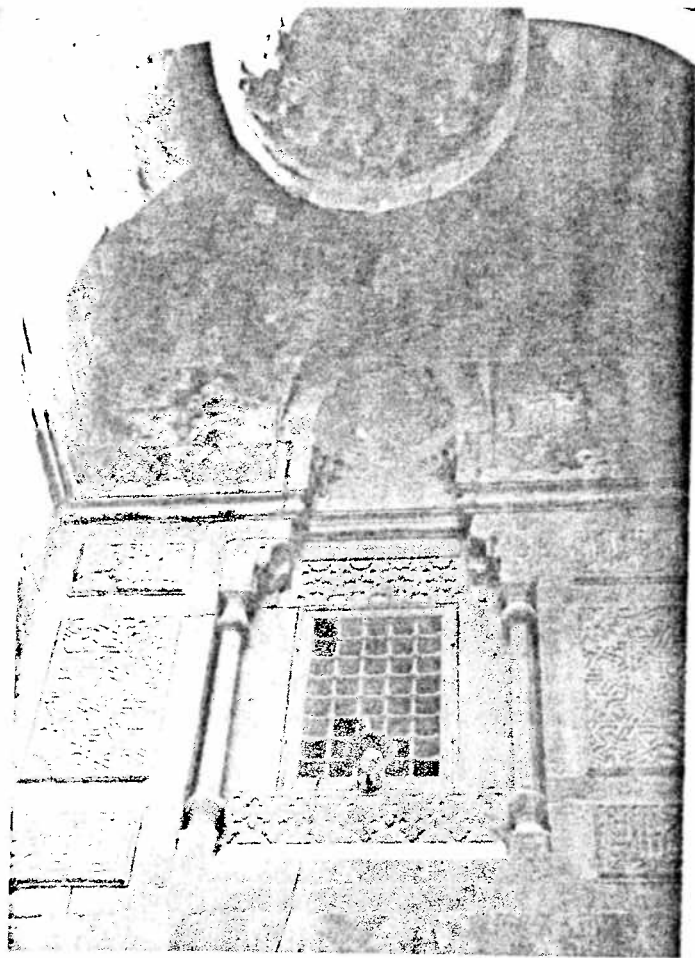
(a)



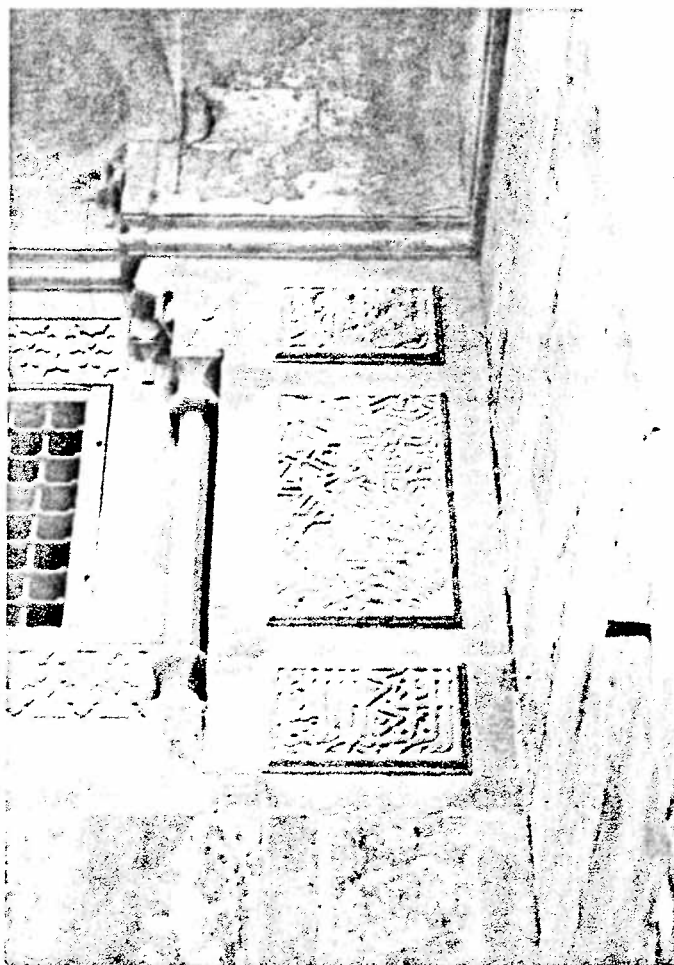
(a)



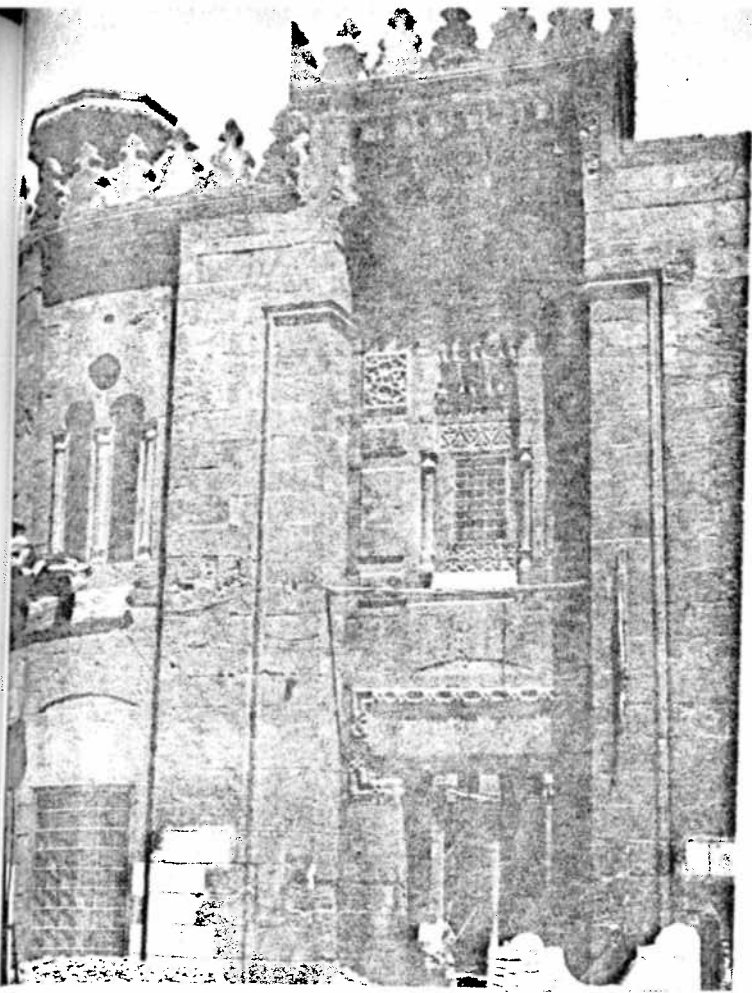
(b)



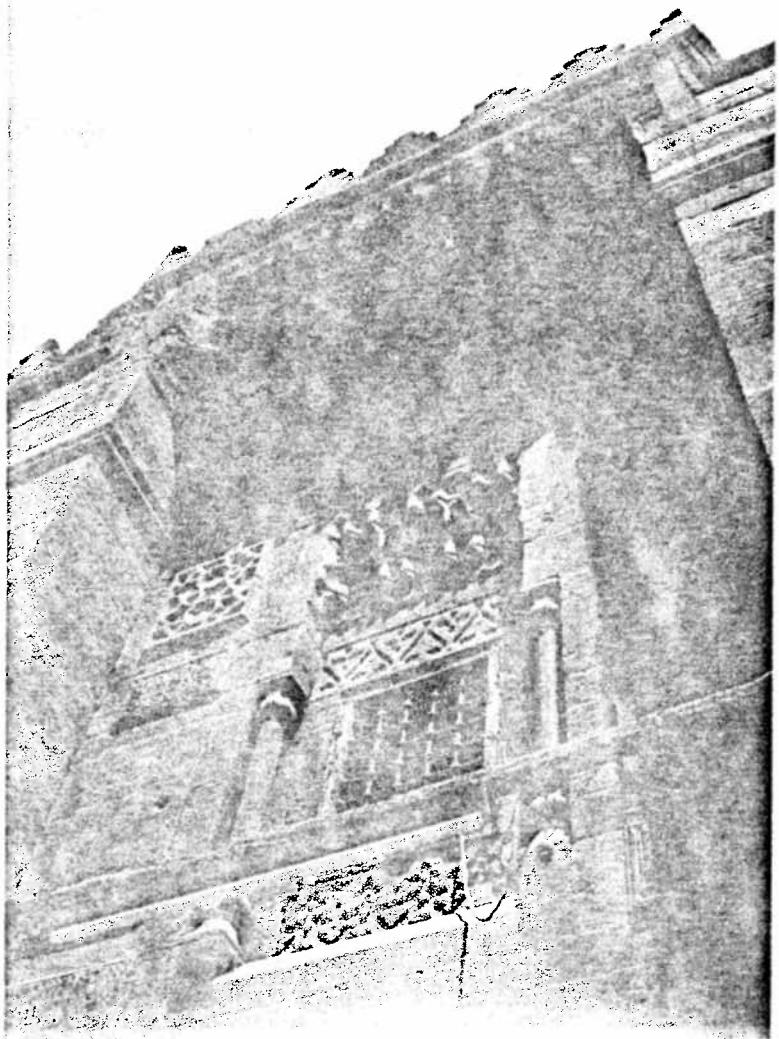
(a)



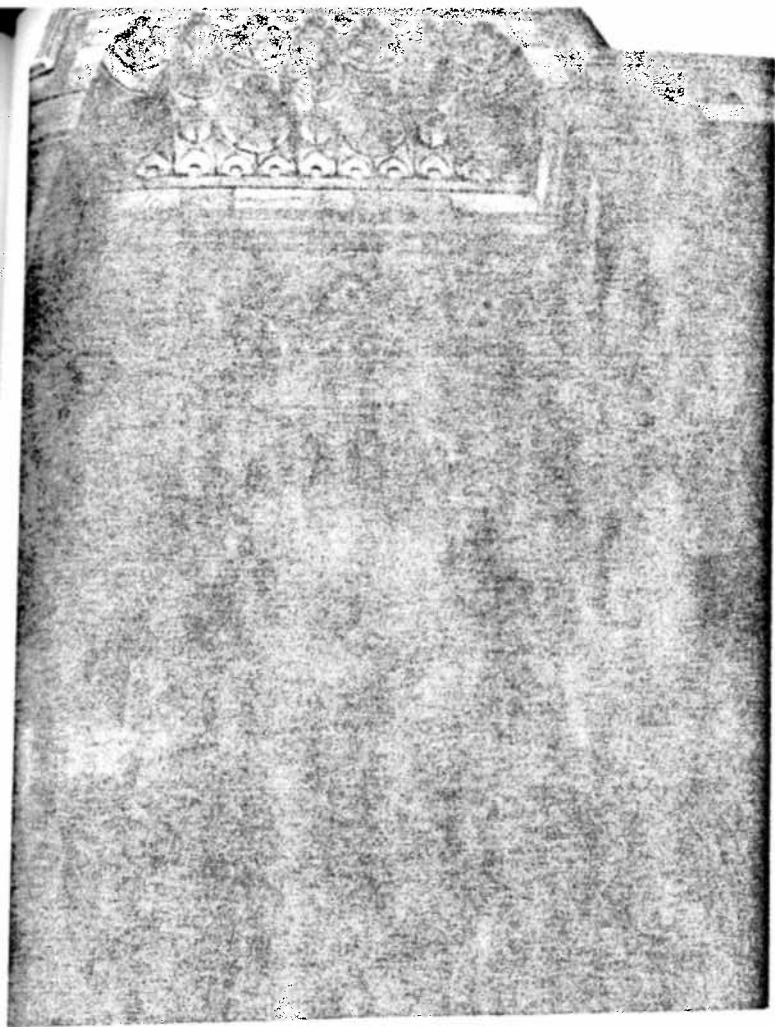
(b)



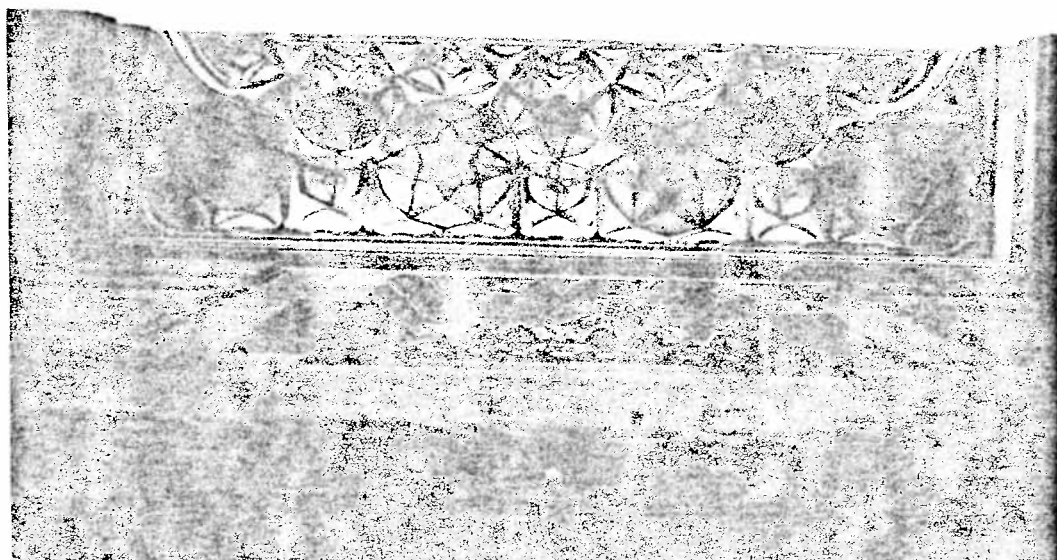
(a)



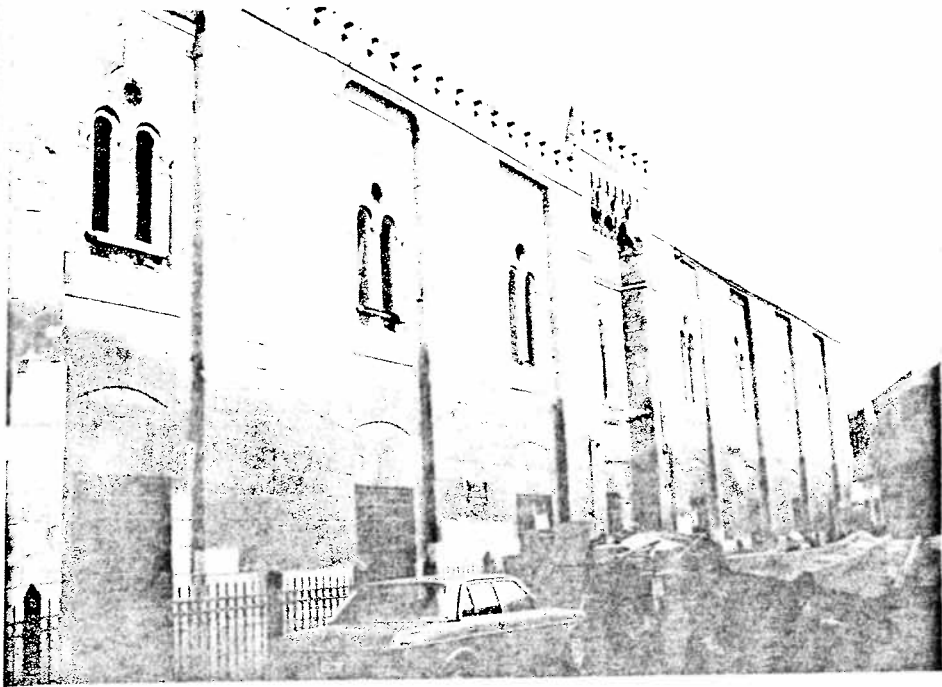
(b)



(a)



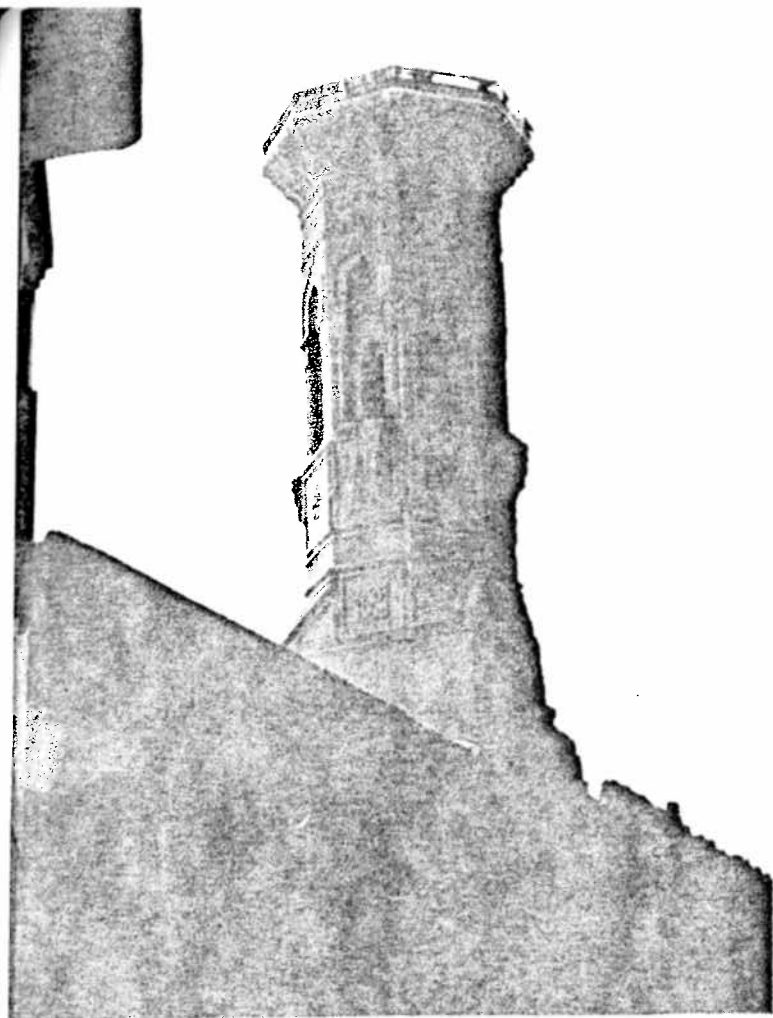
(b)



(a)



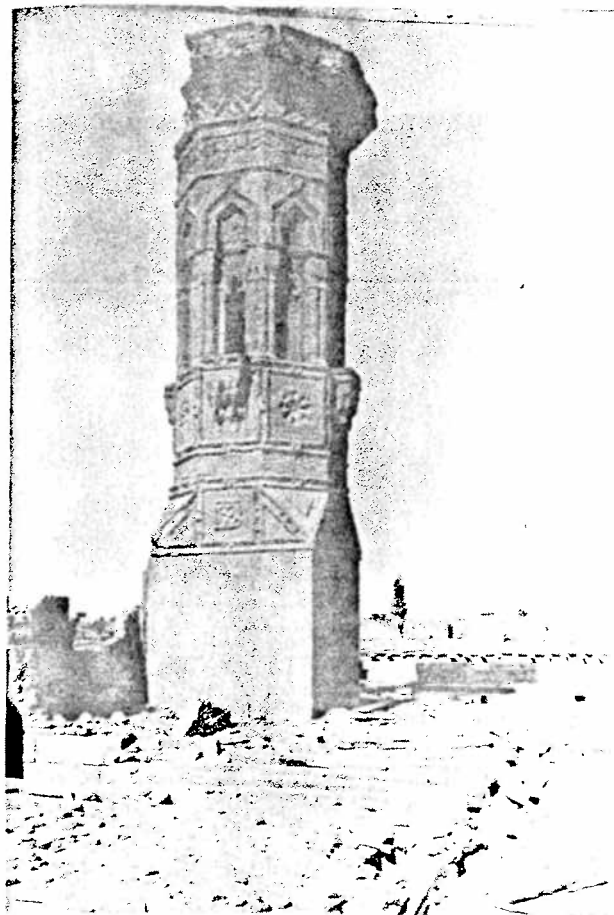
(b)



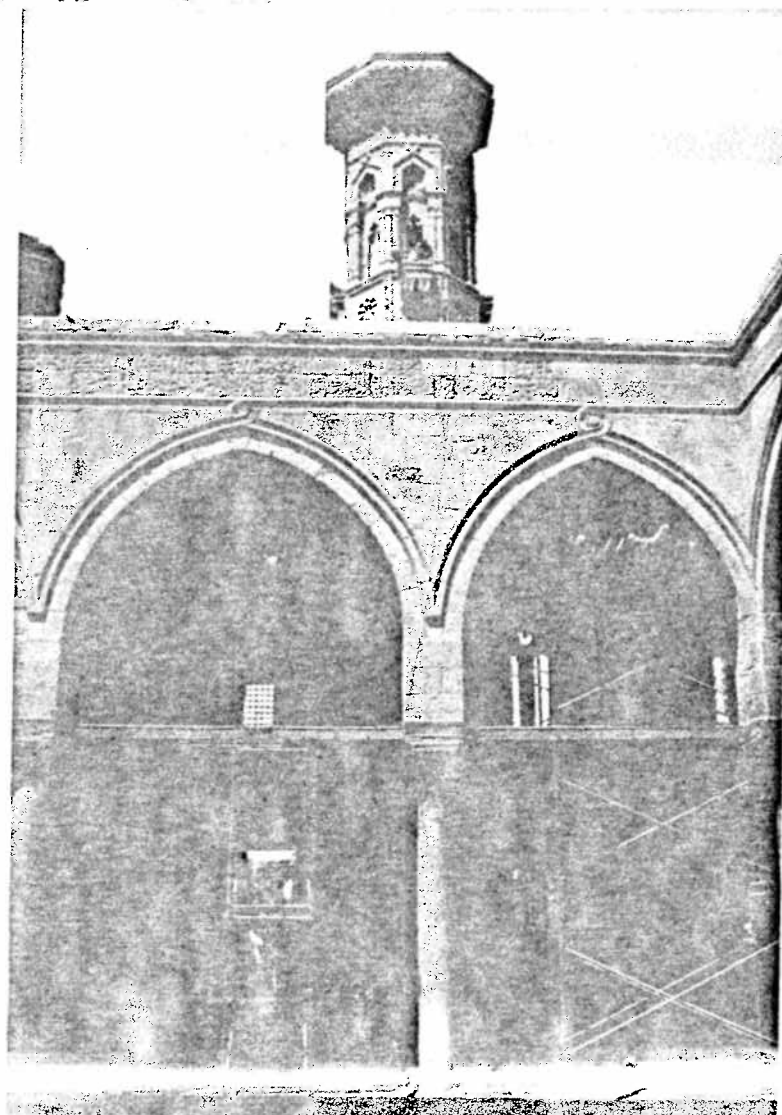
(a)



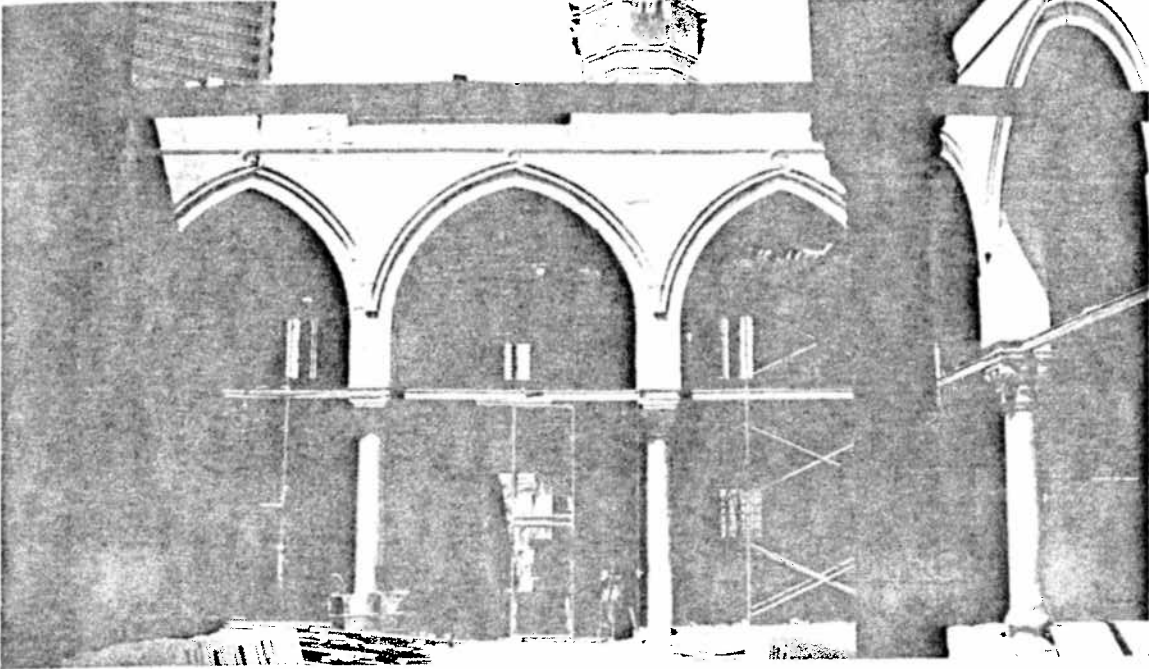
(b)



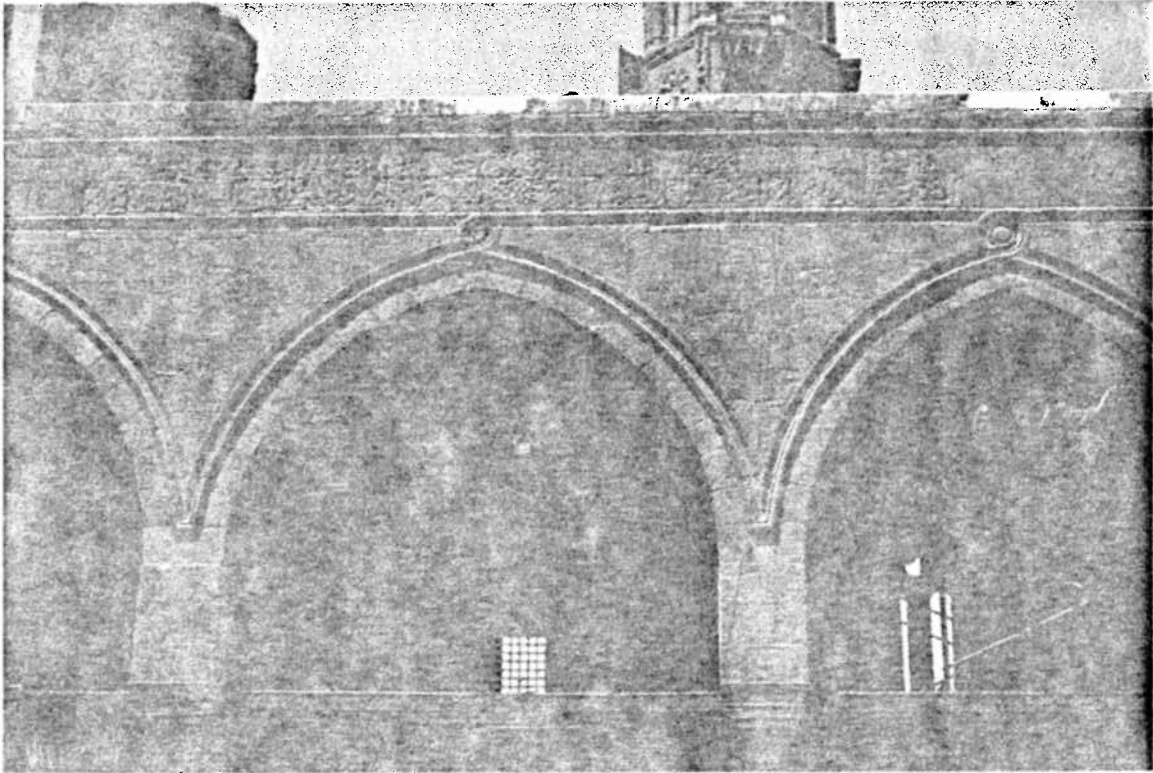
(a)



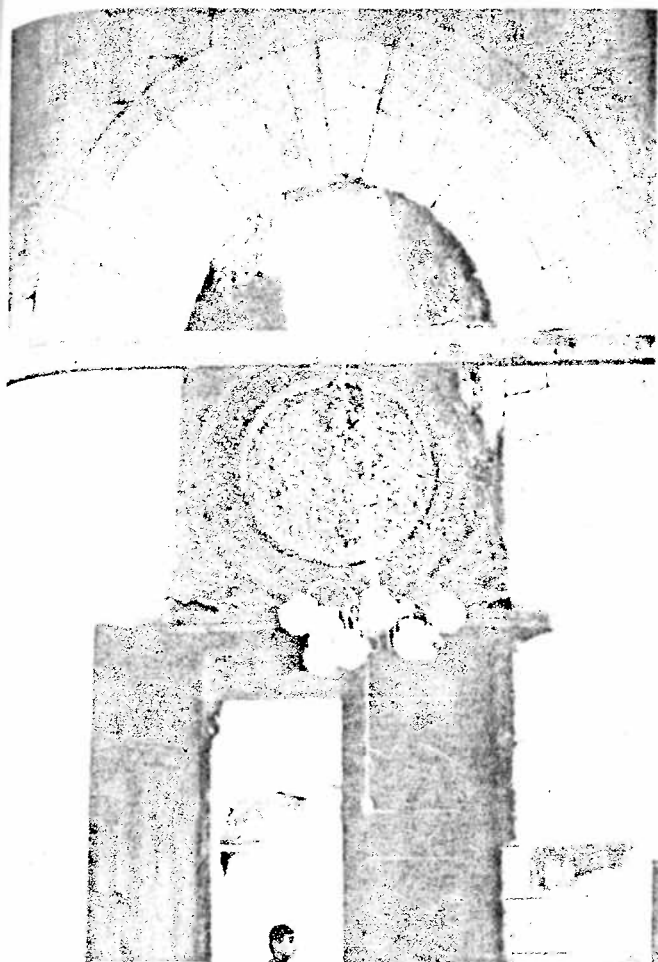
(b)



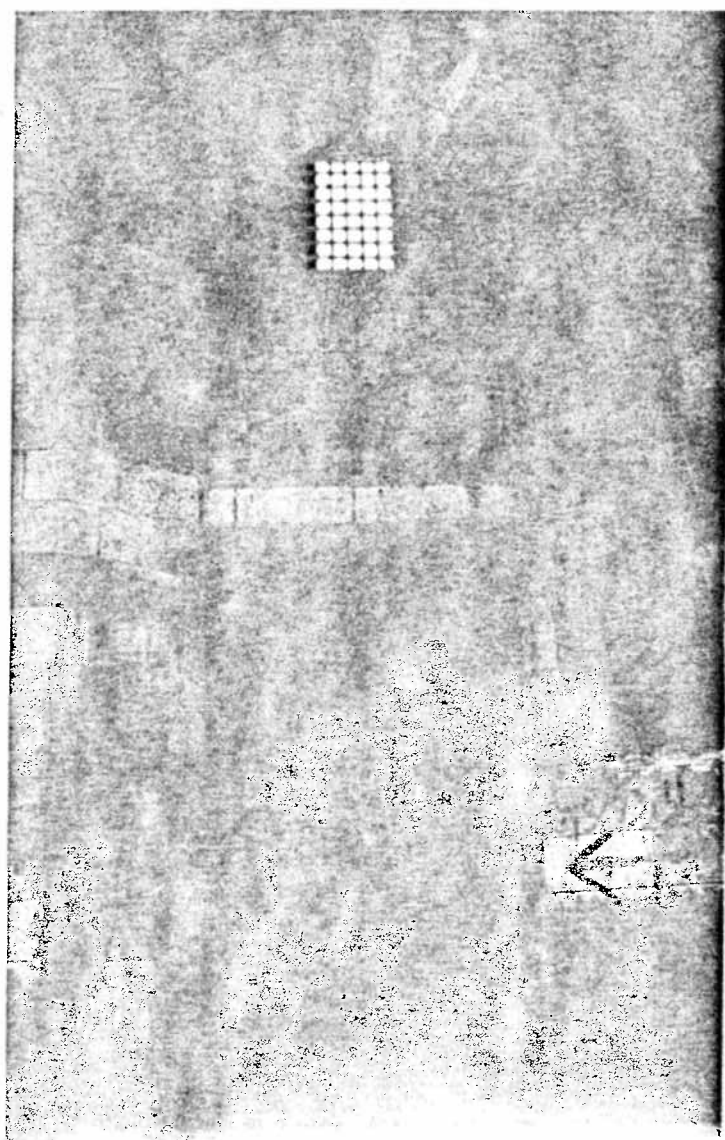
(a)



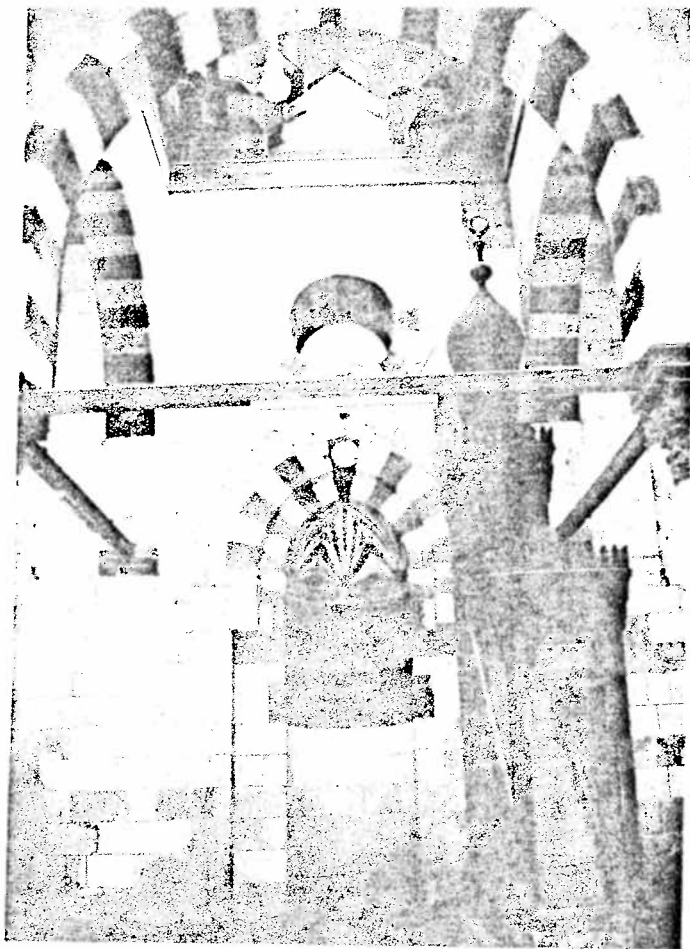
(b)



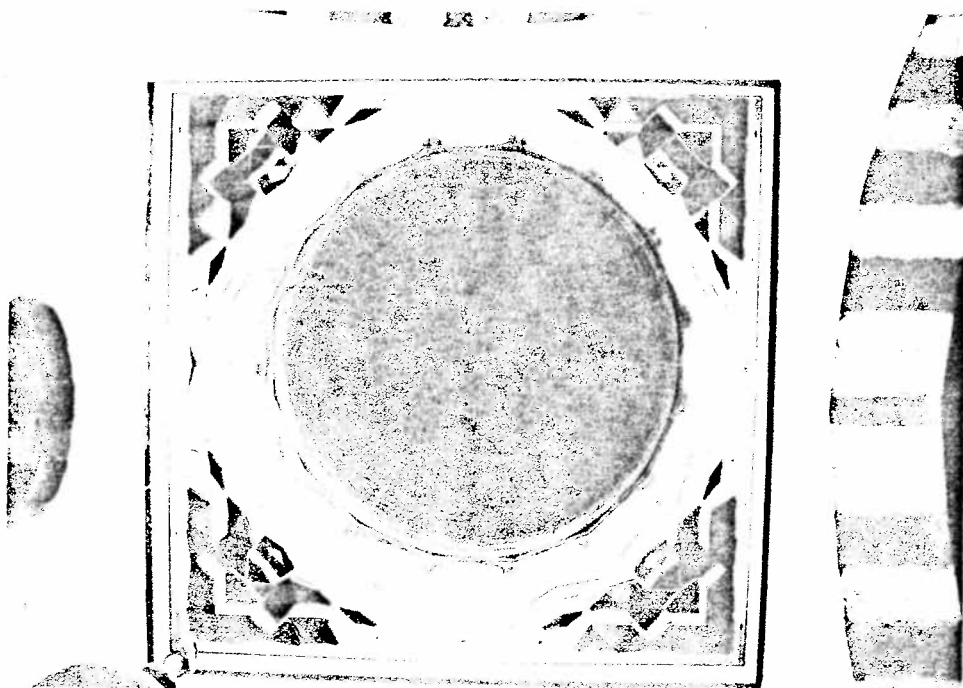
(a)



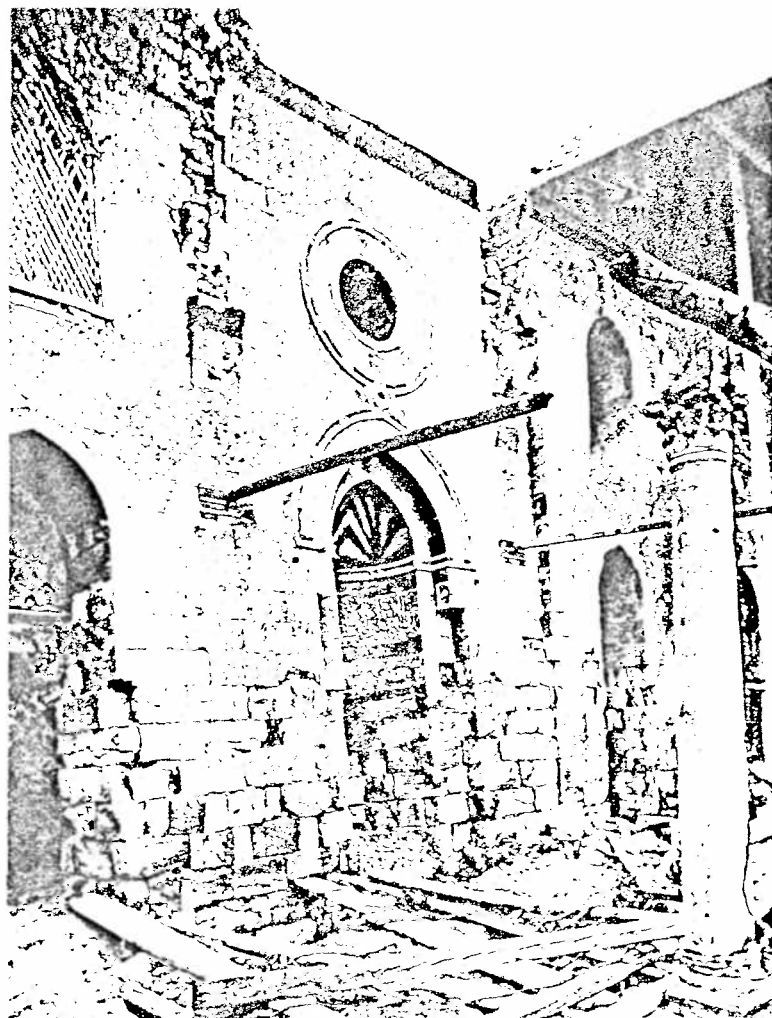
(b)



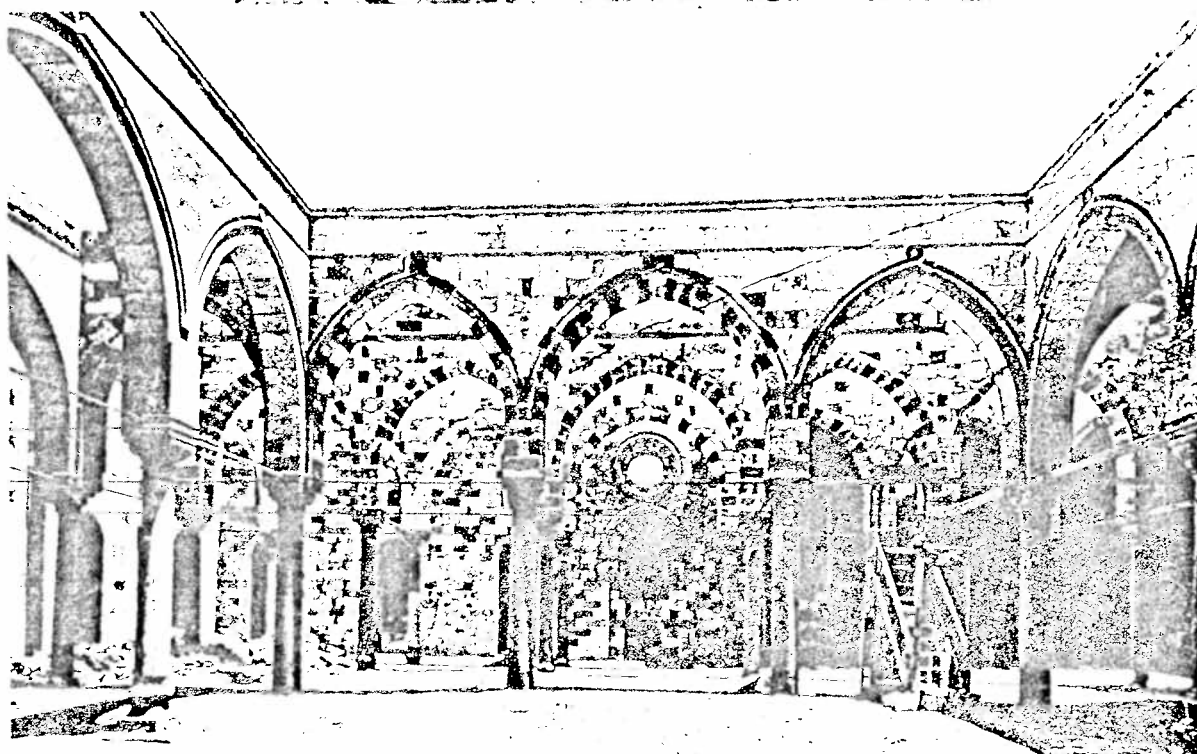
(a)



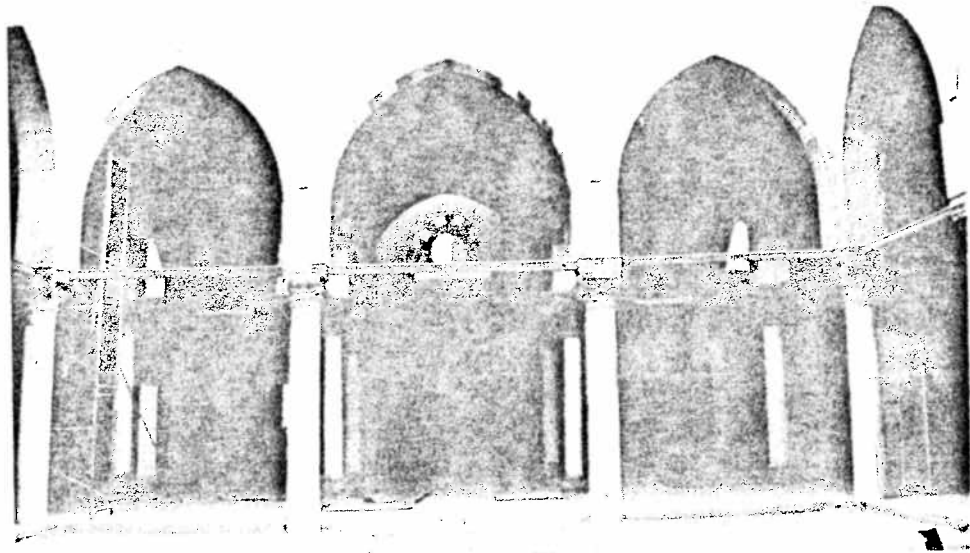
(b)



(a)



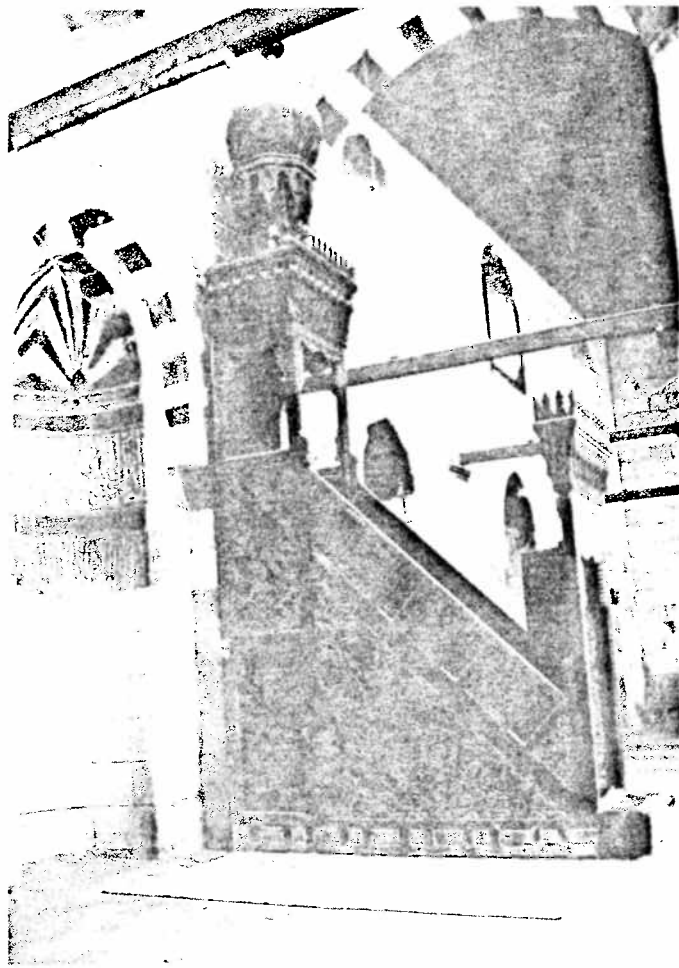
(b)



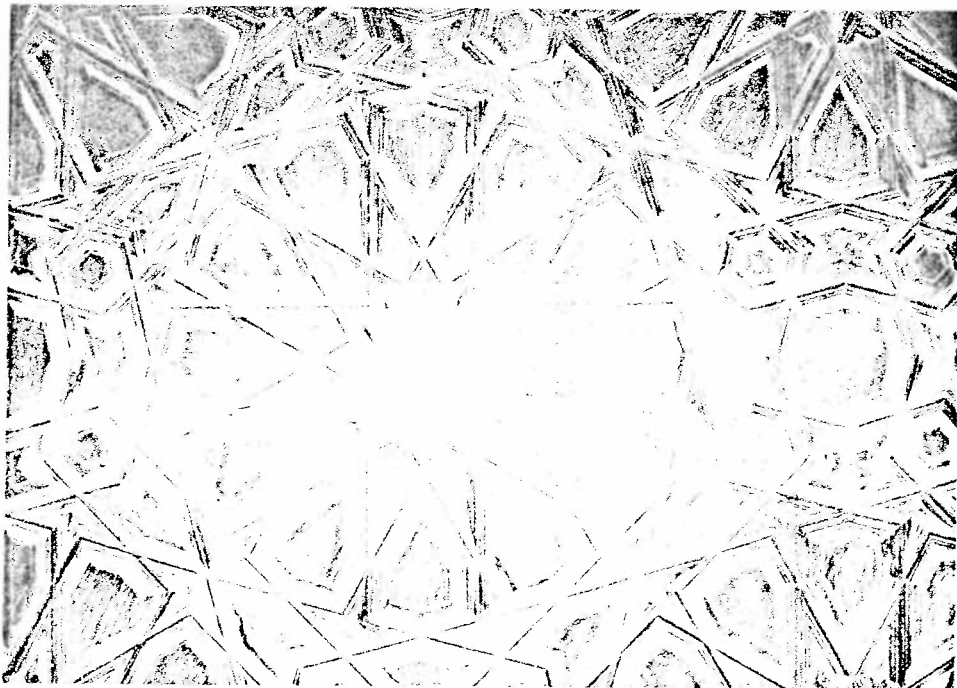
(a)



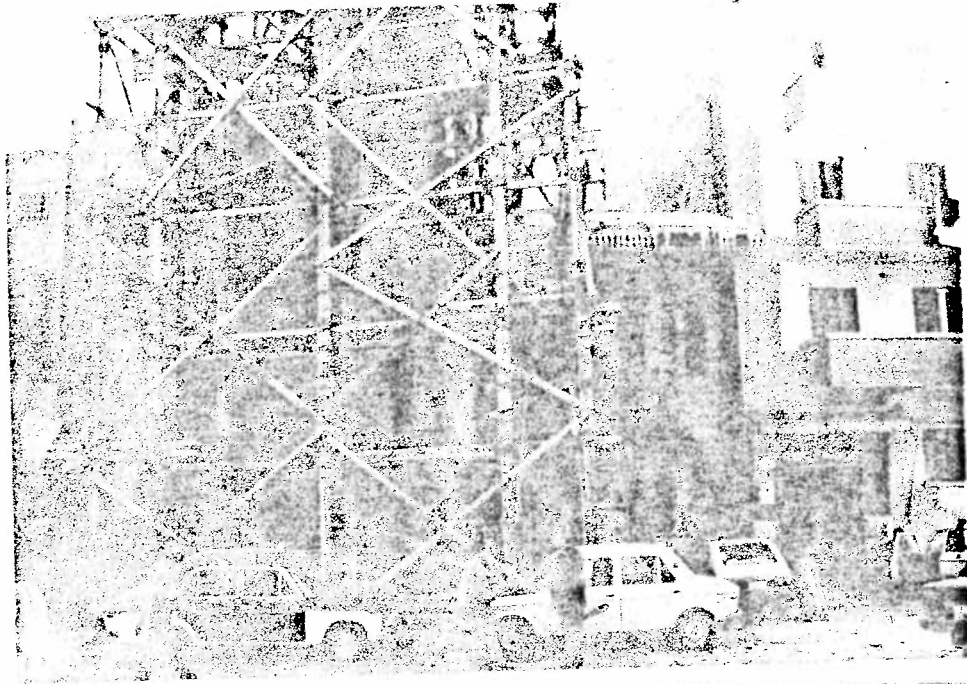
(b)



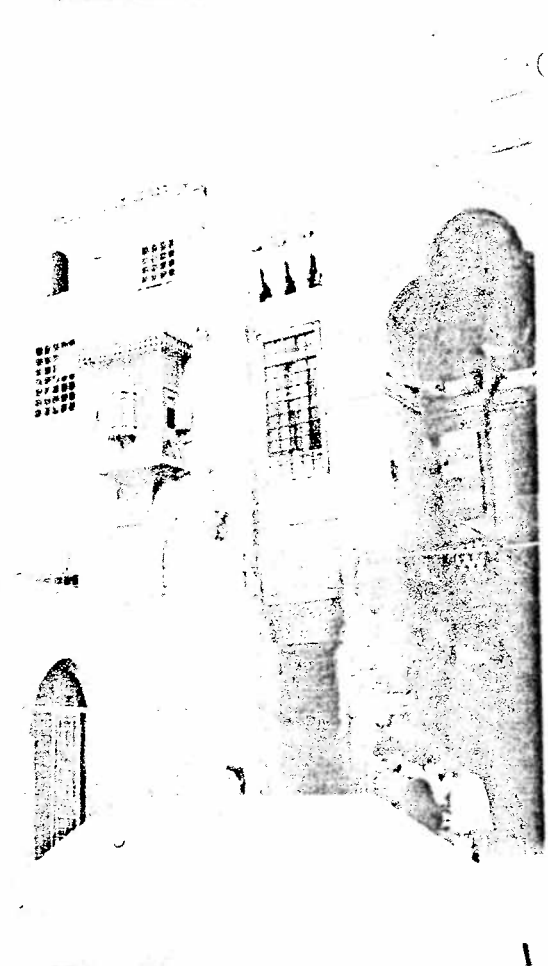
(a)



(b)



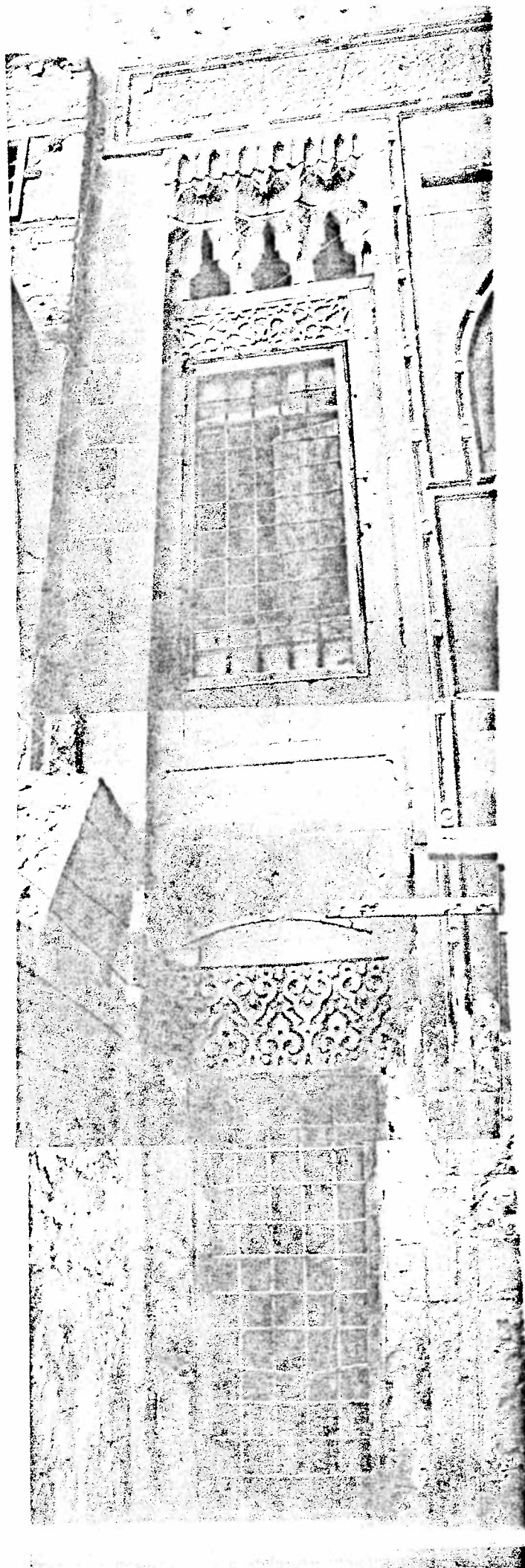
(a)



(b)



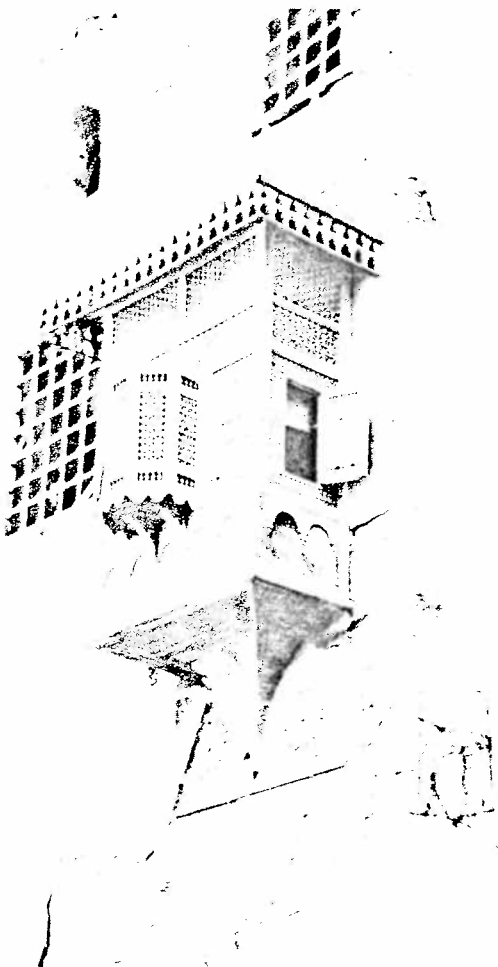
(c)



(a)



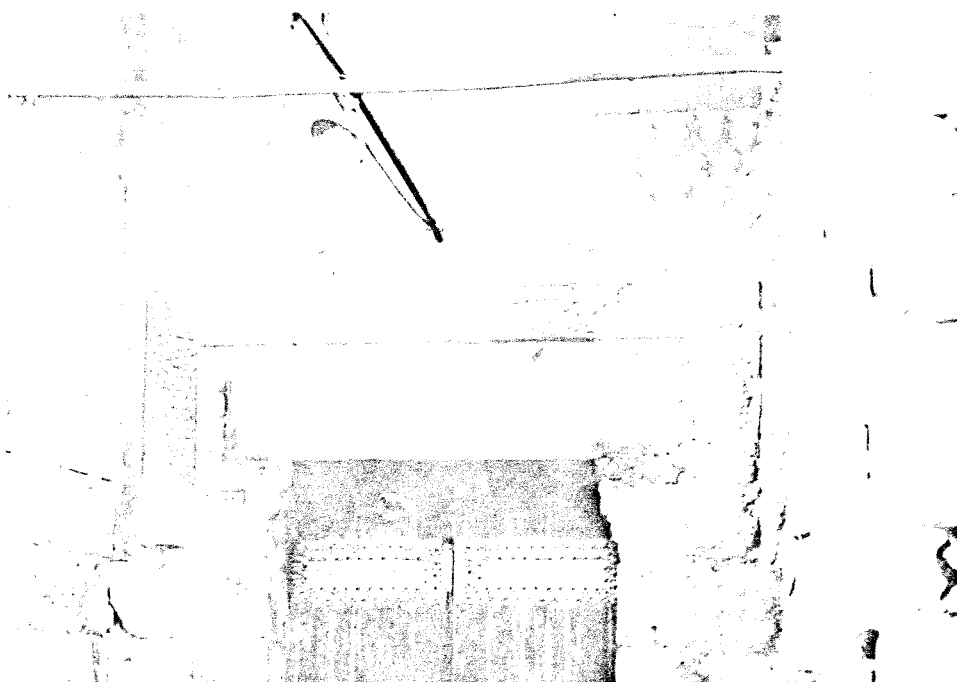
(a)



(b)



(a)



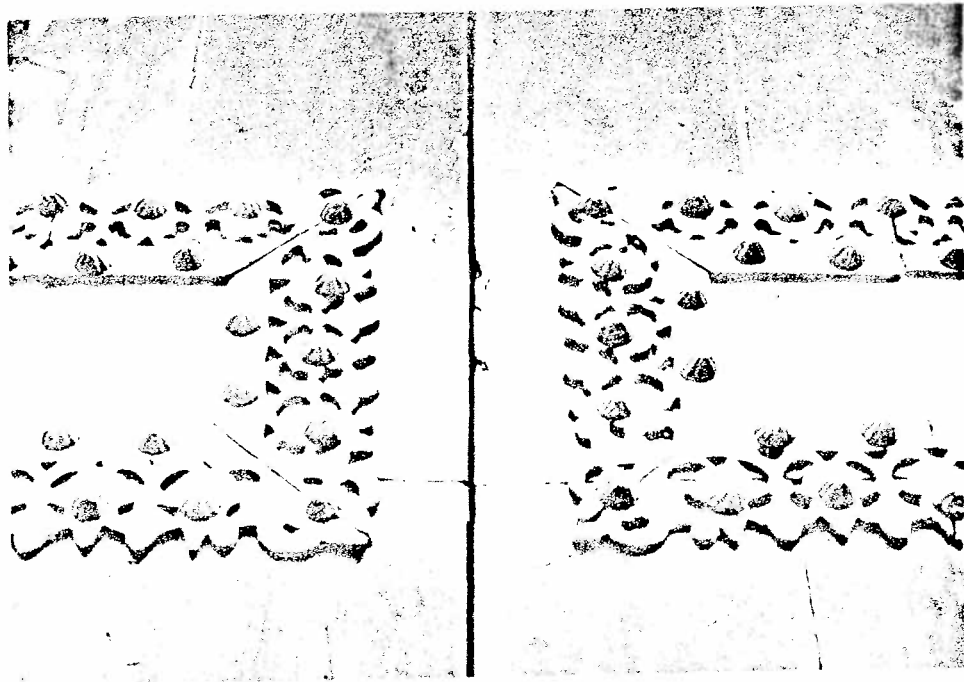
(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



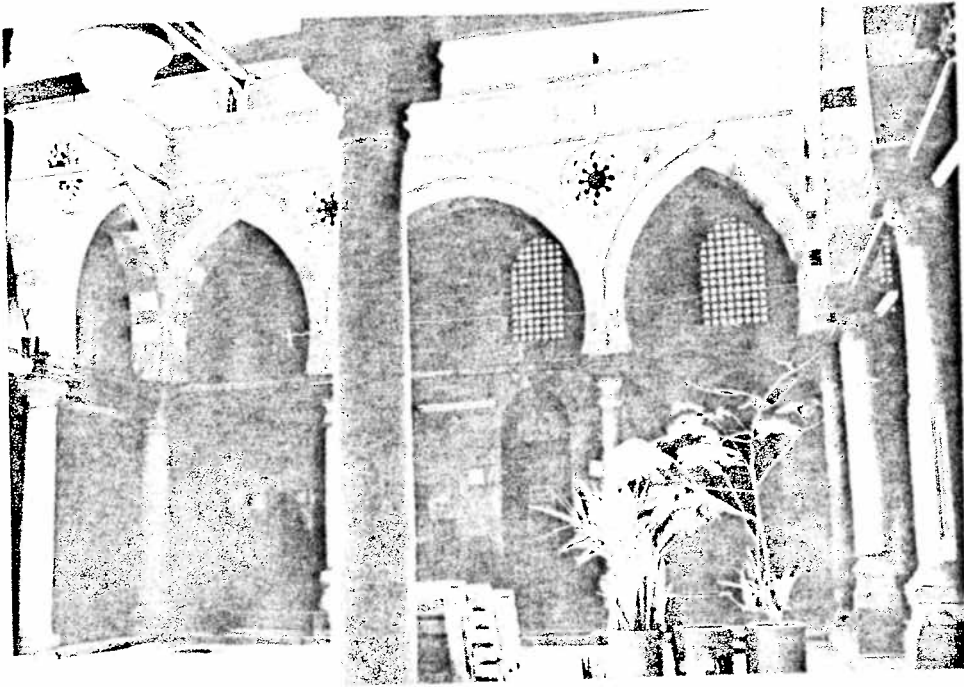
(b)



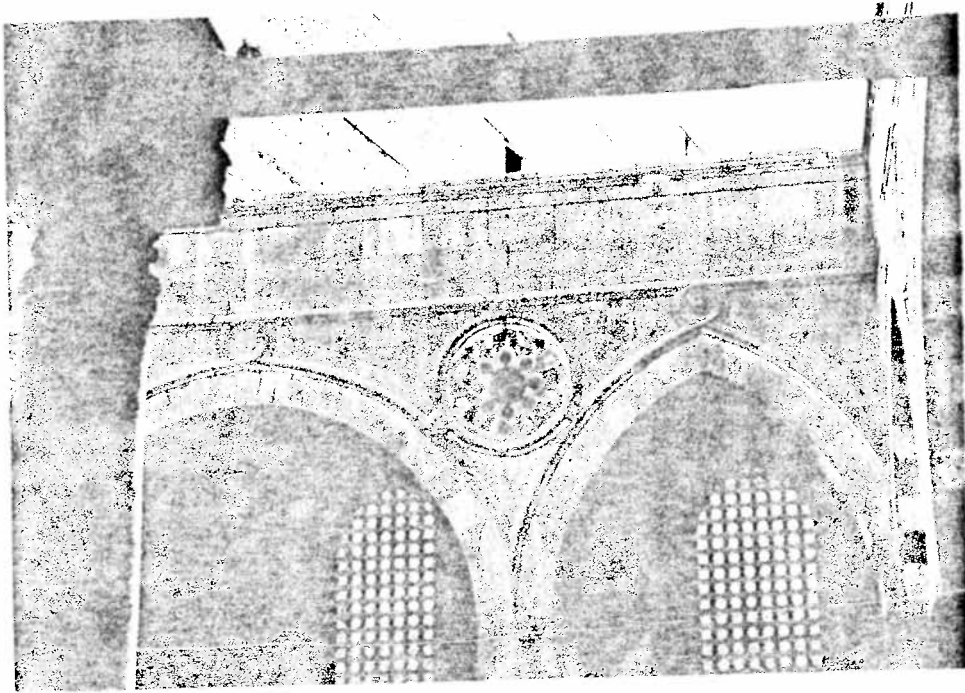
(a)



(b)

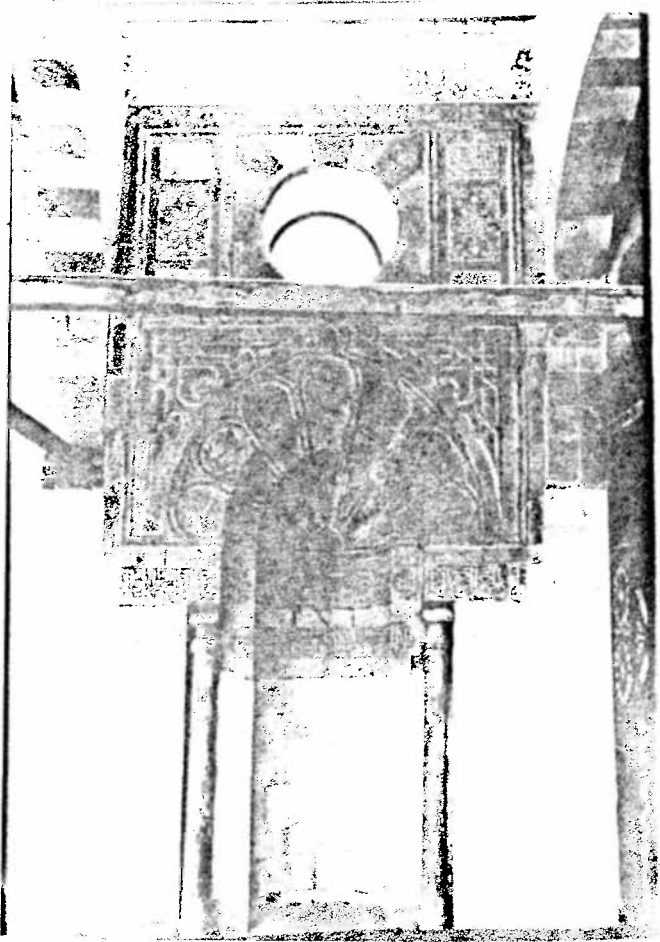


(a)

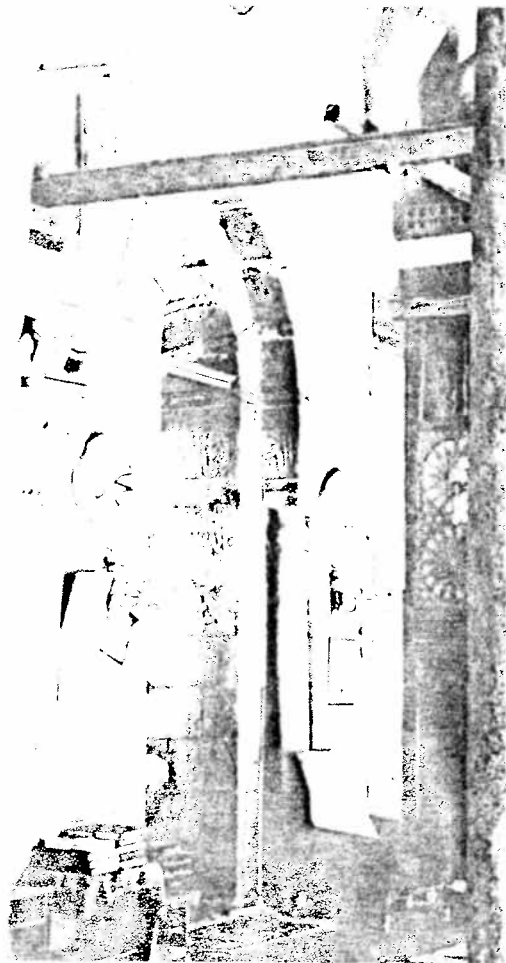


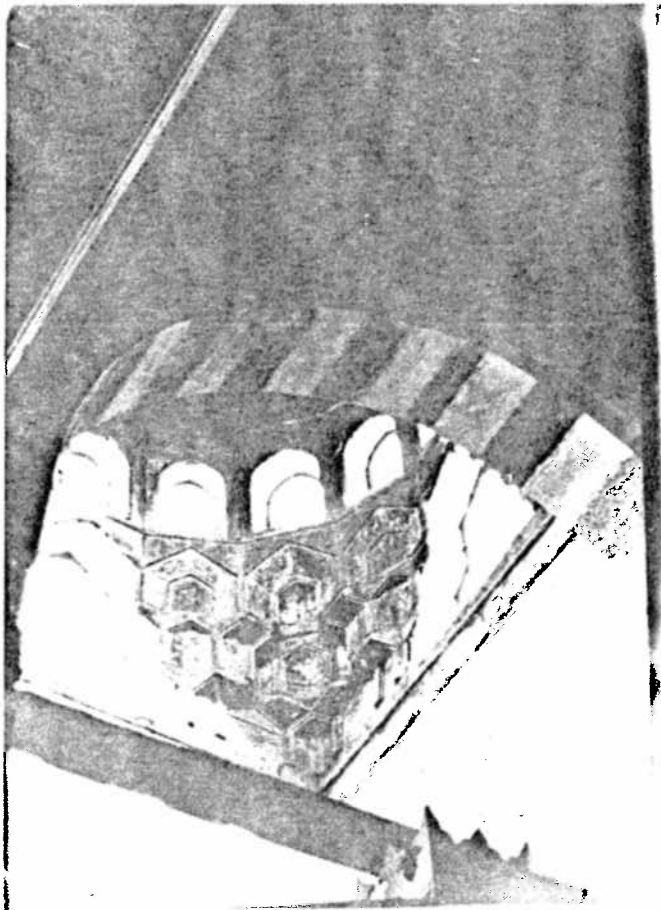
(b)

(a)

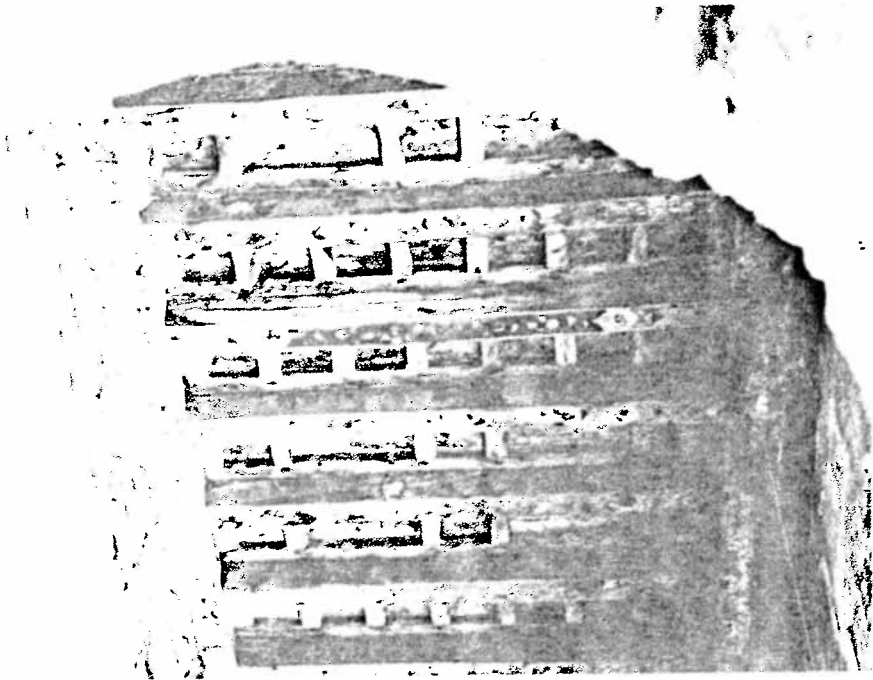


(b)

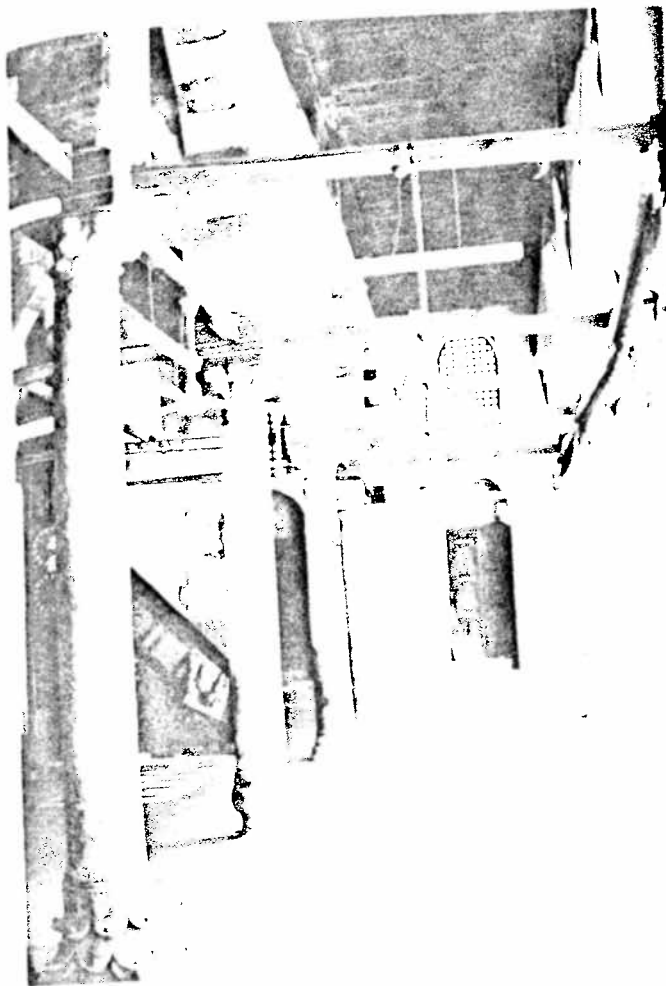




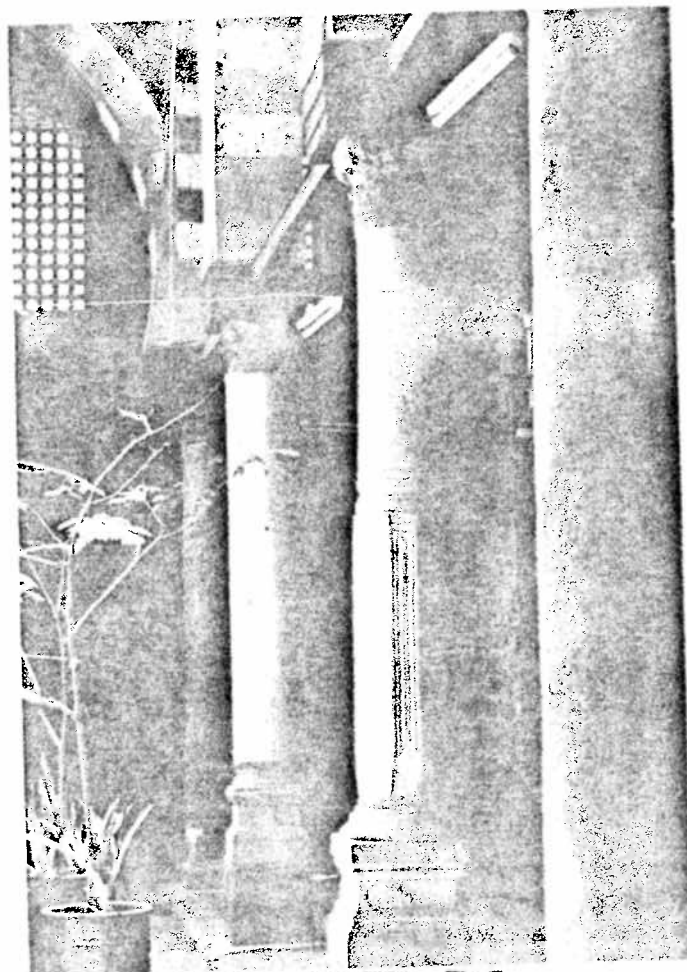
(a)



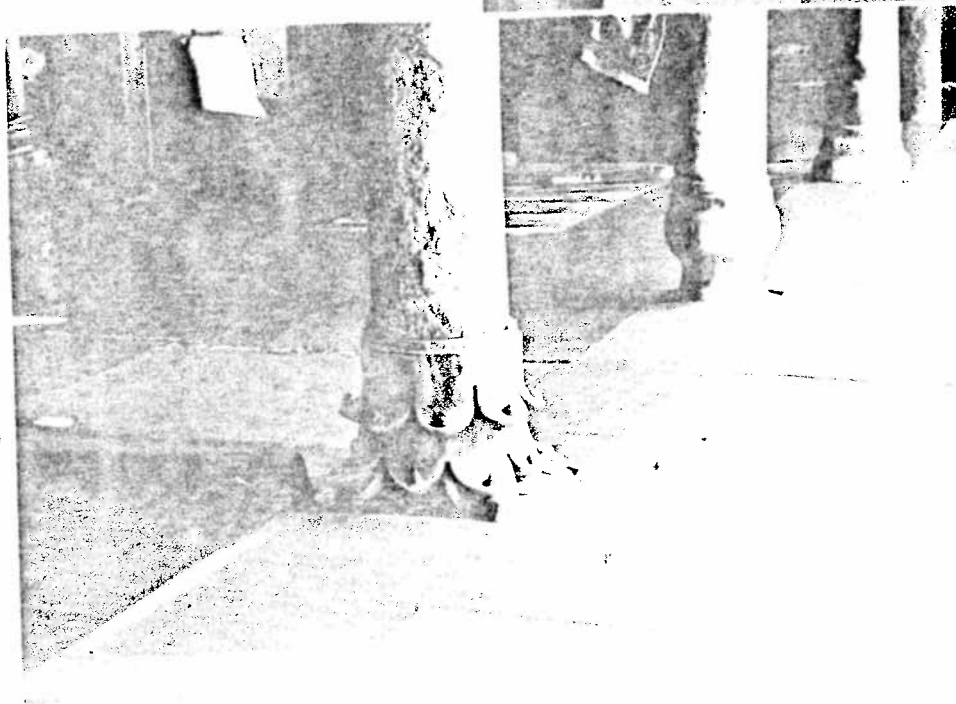
(b)



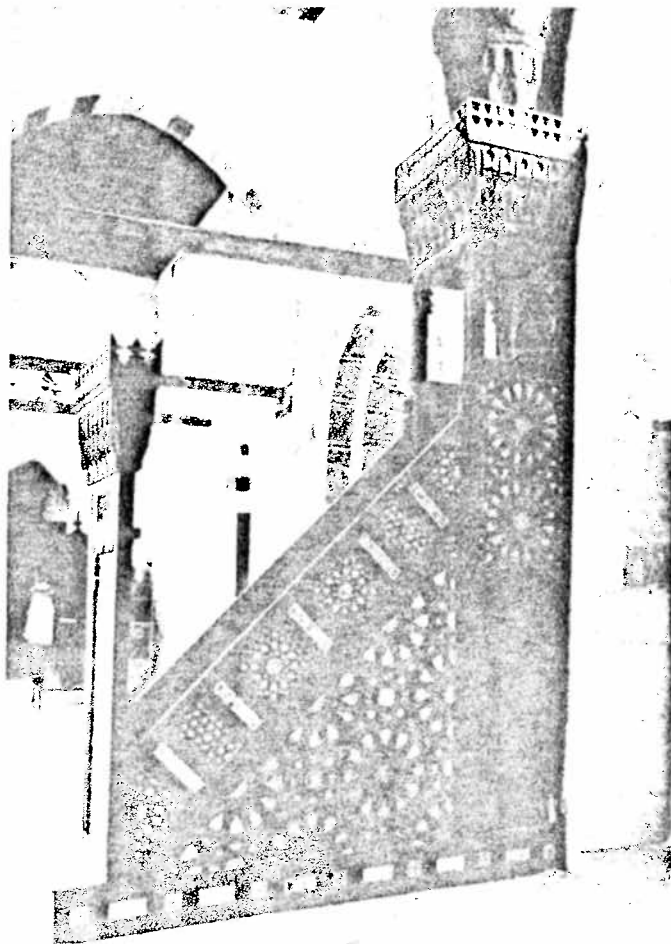
(a)



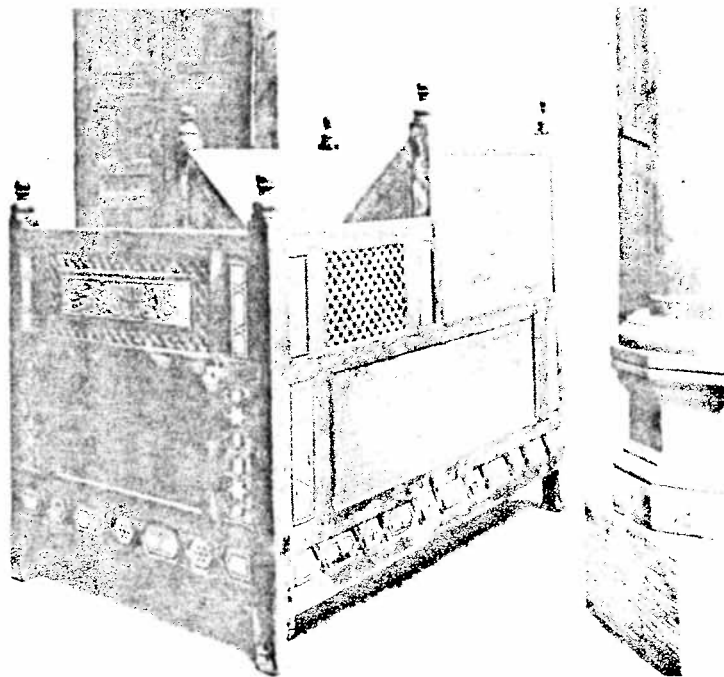
(b)



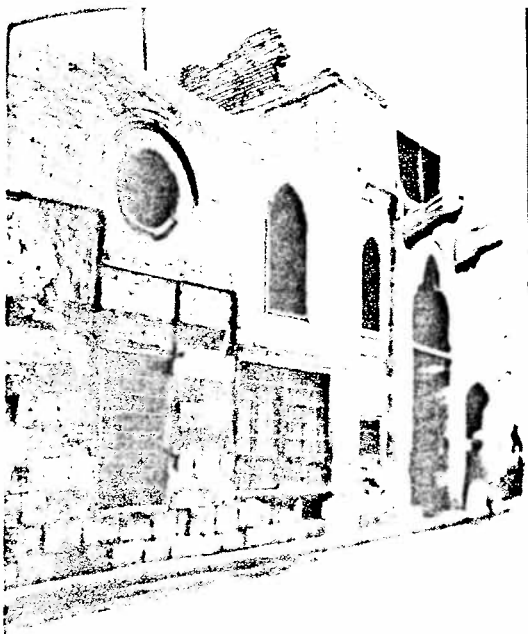
(c)



(a)



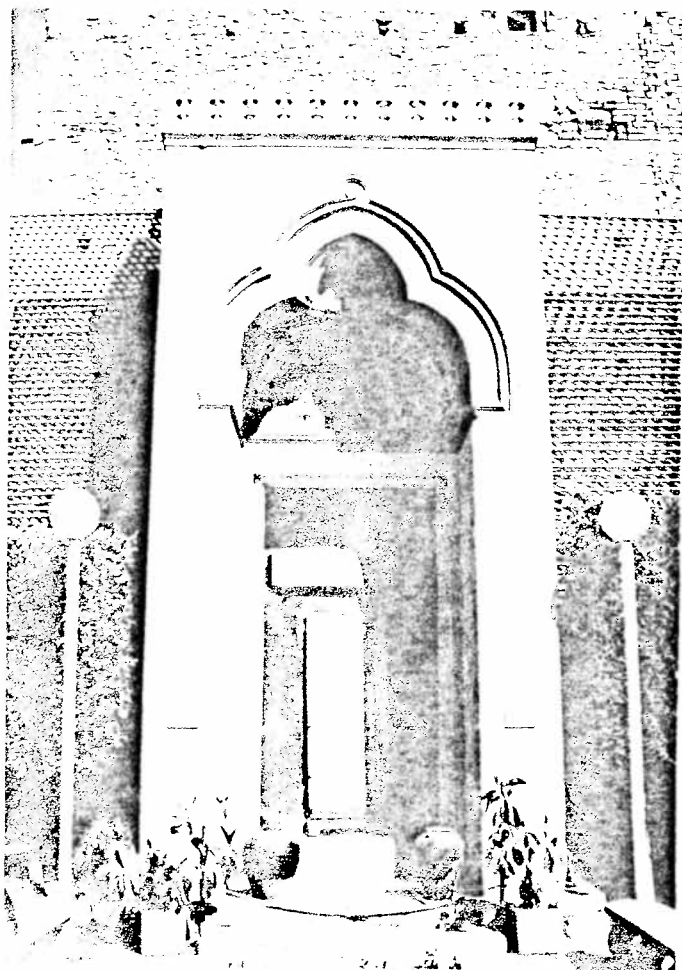
(b)



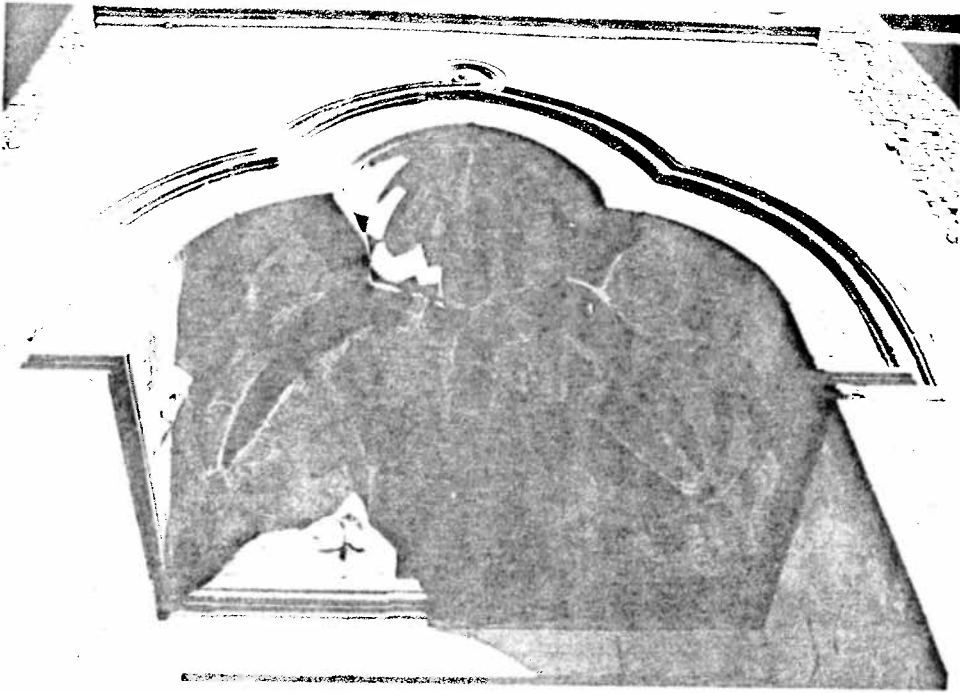
(a)



(b)



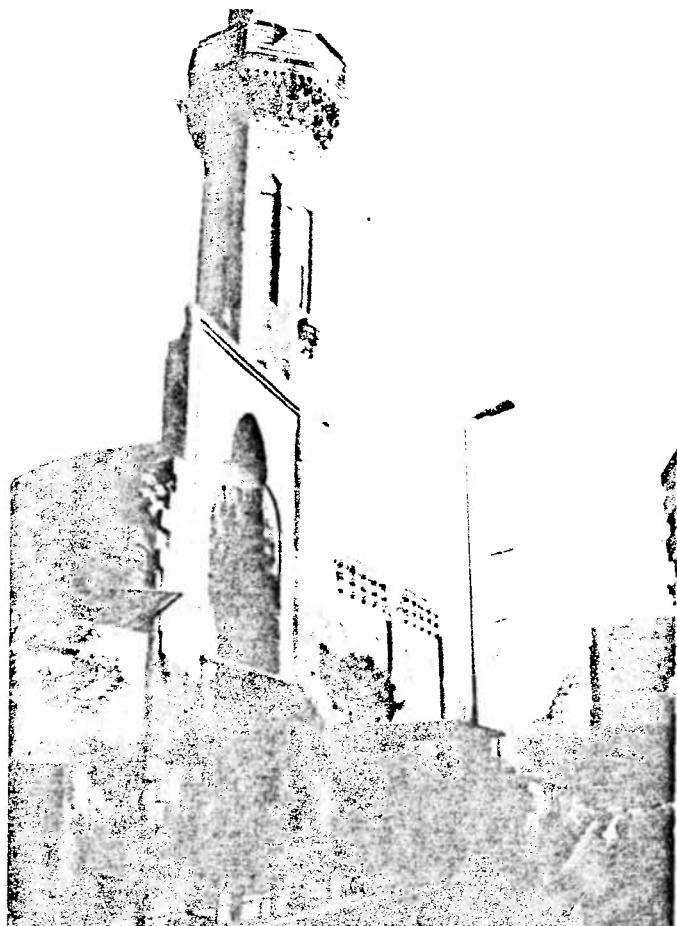
(c)



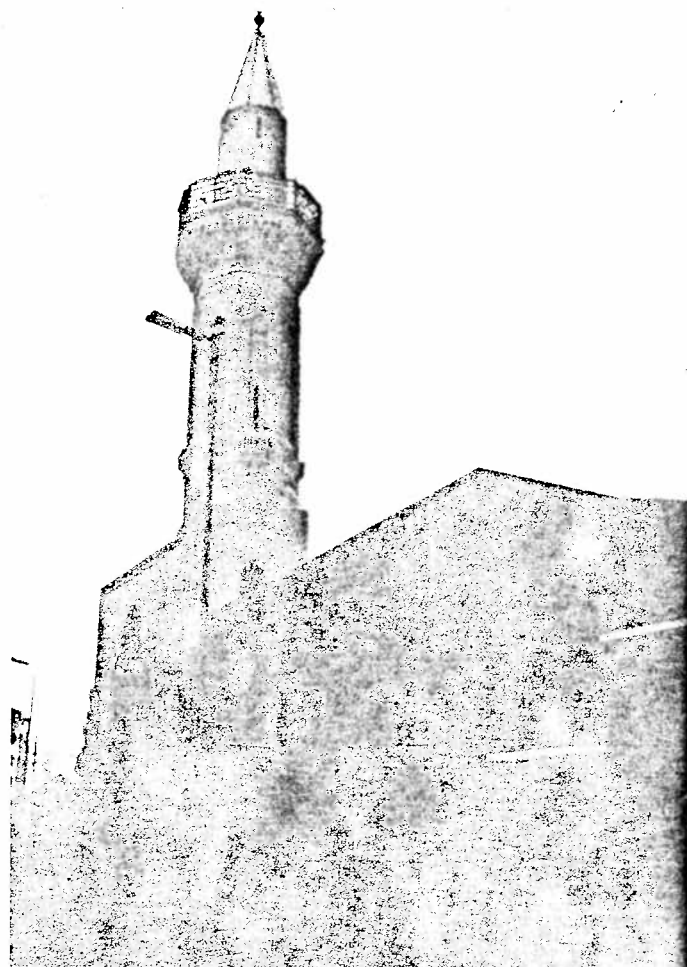
(a)



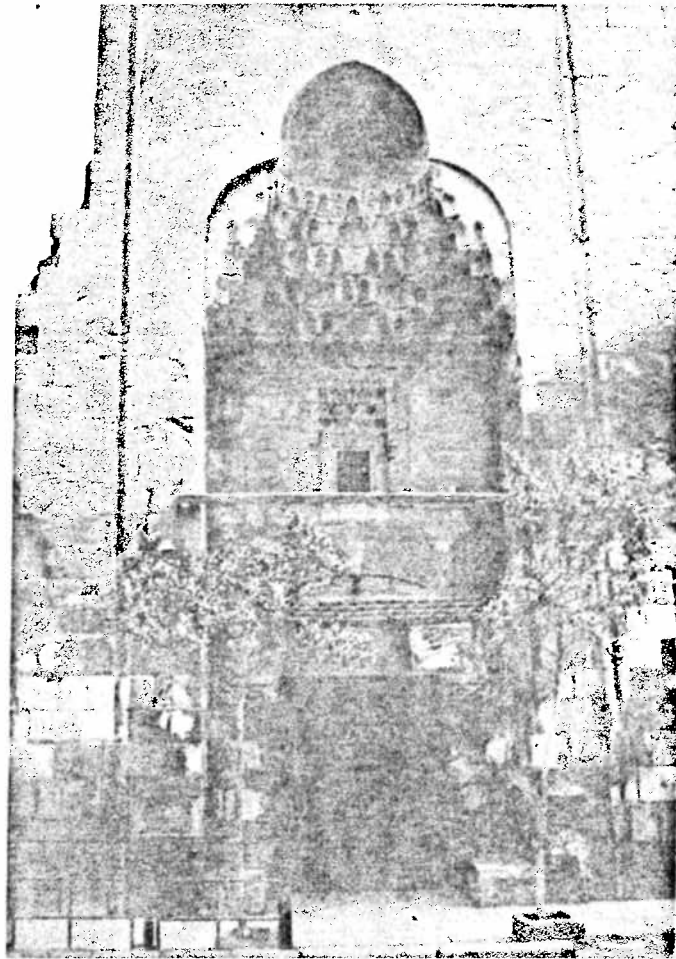
(b)



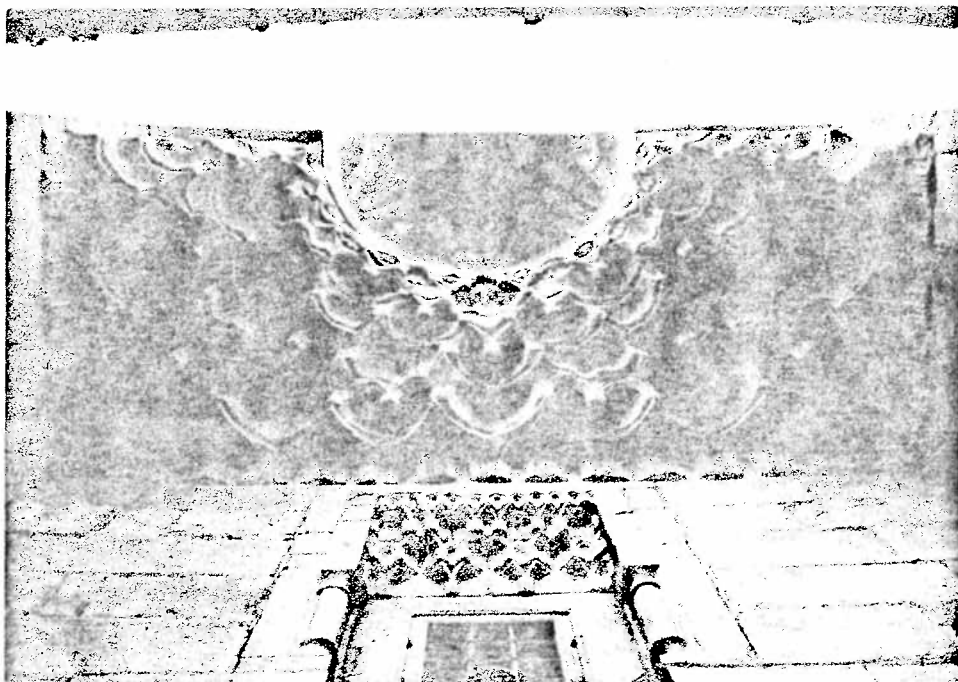
(a)



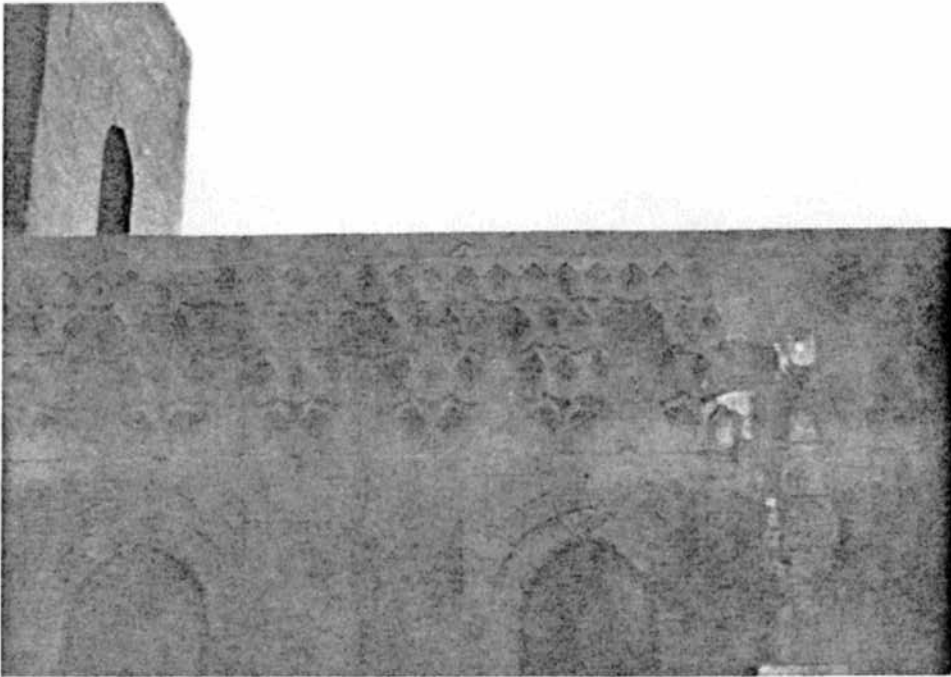
(b)



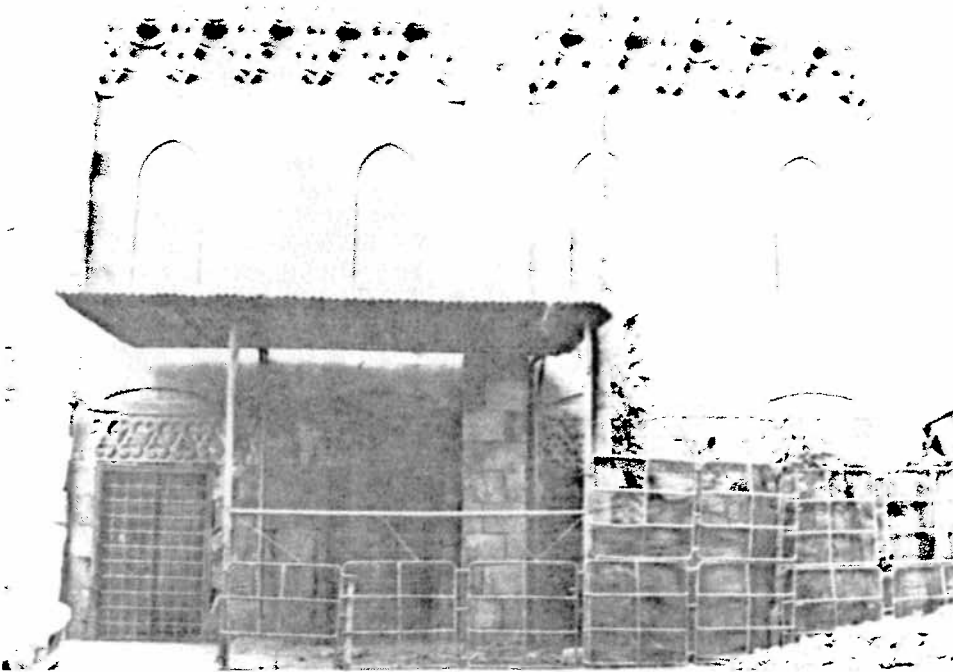
(a)



(b)



(a)



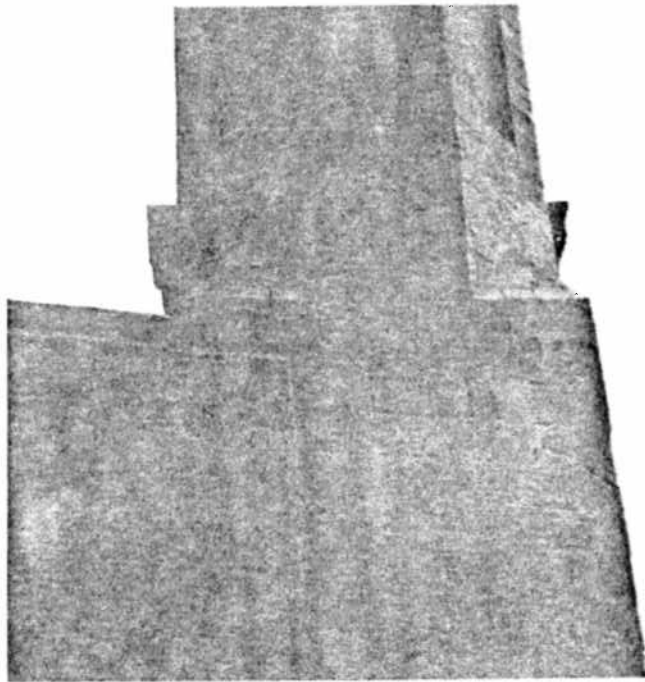
(b)



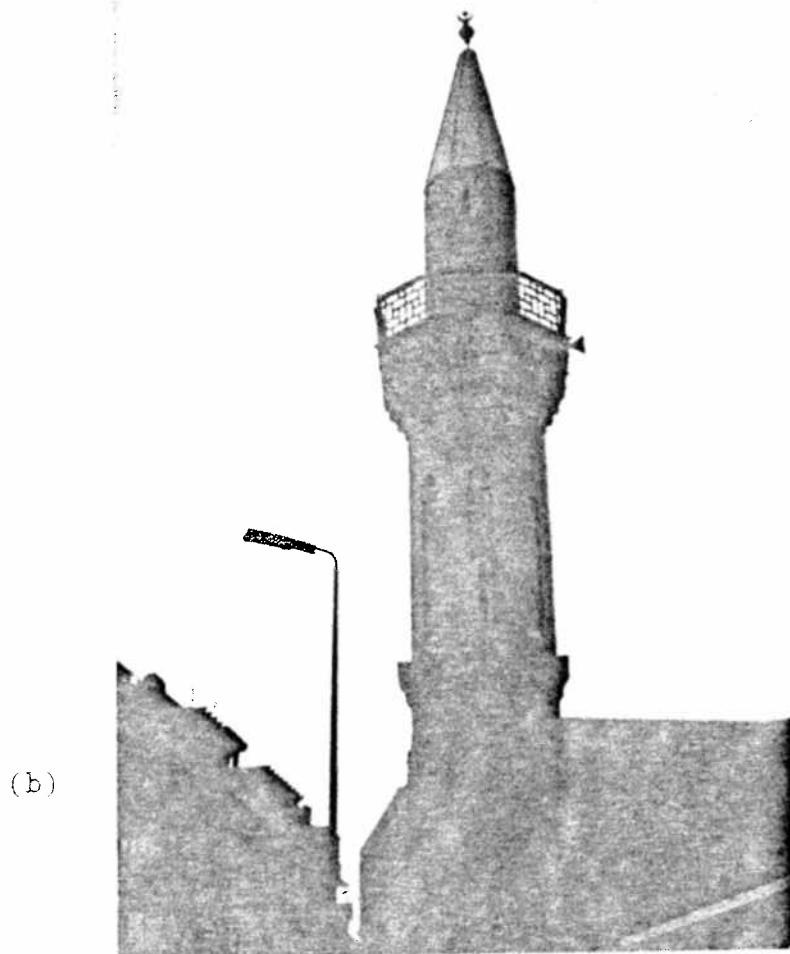
(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



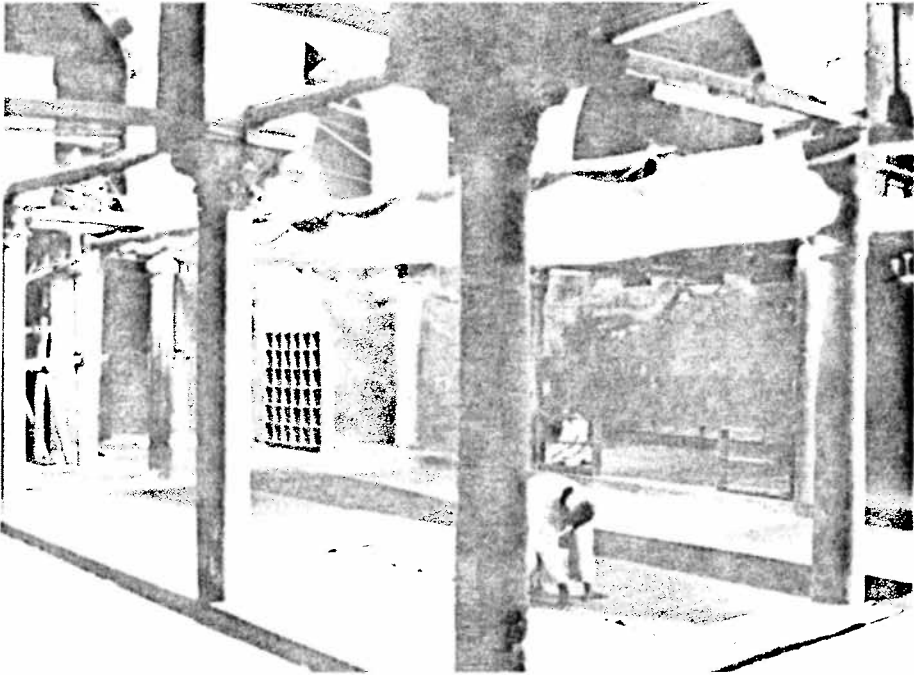
(a)



(b)



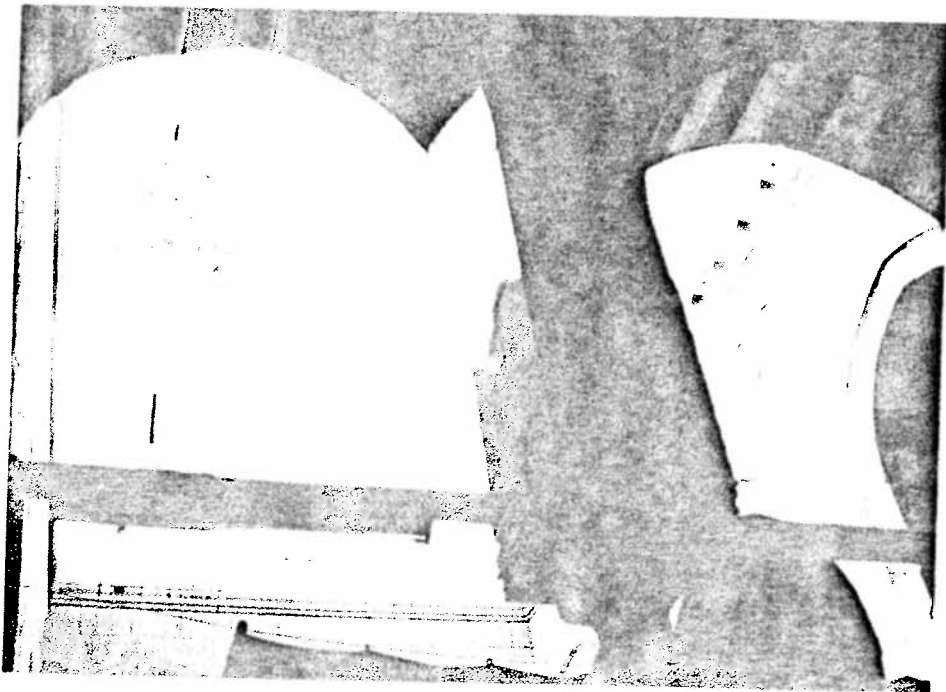
(a)



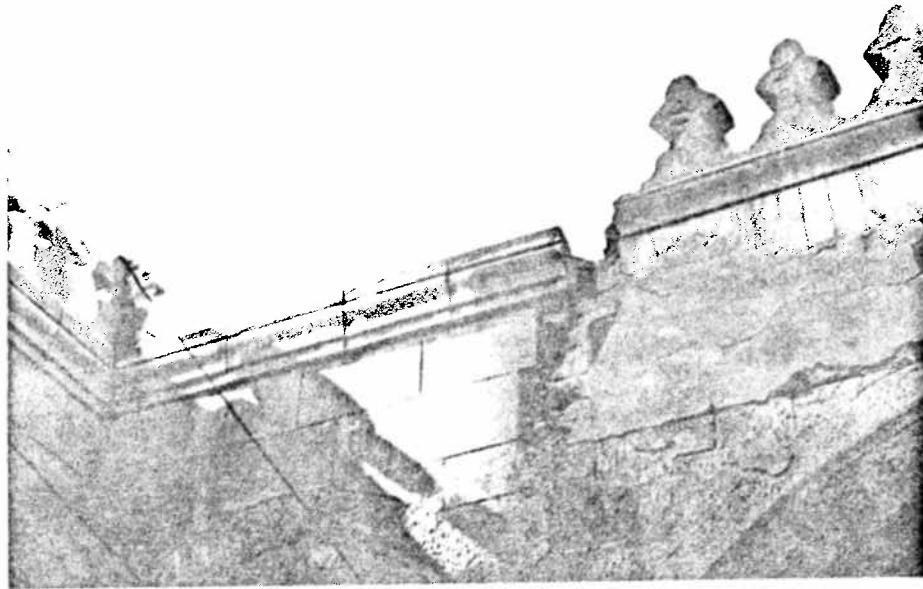
(b)



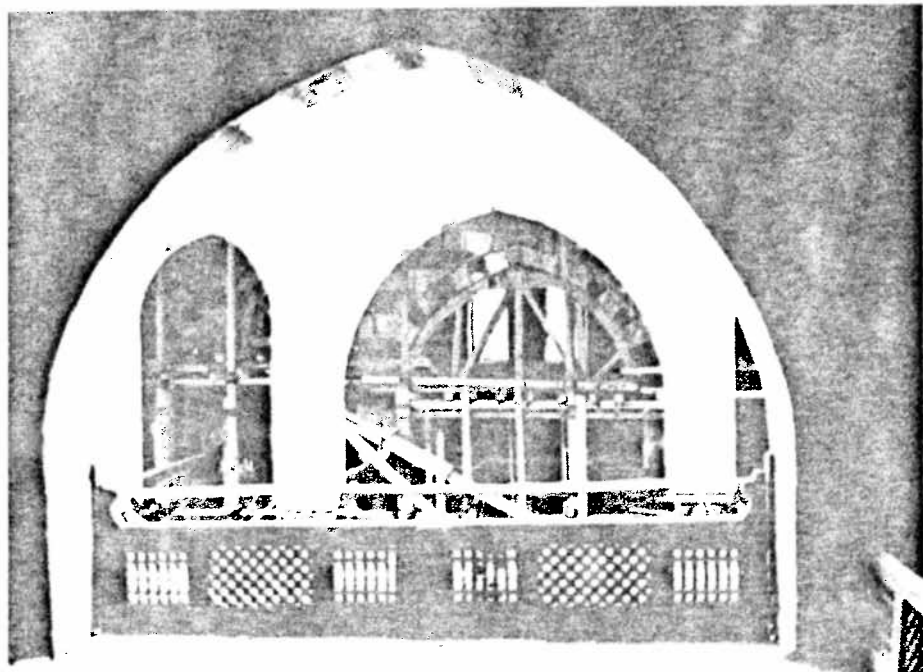
(a)



(b)



(a)



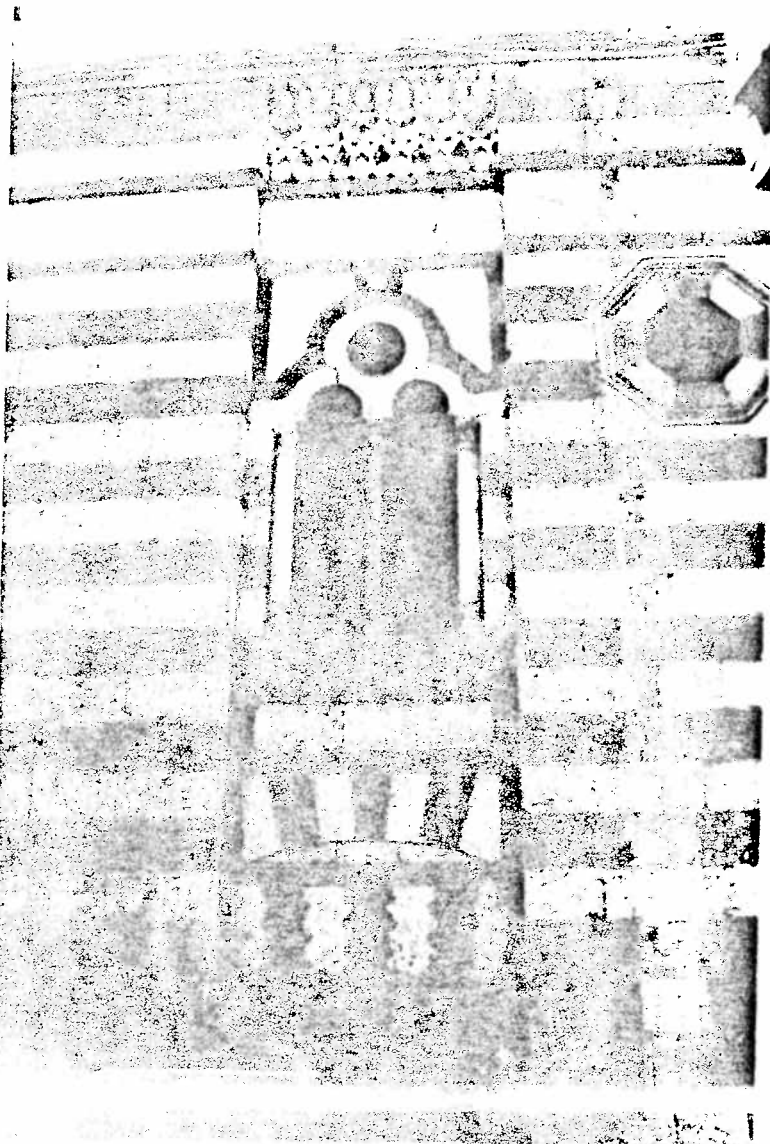
(b)



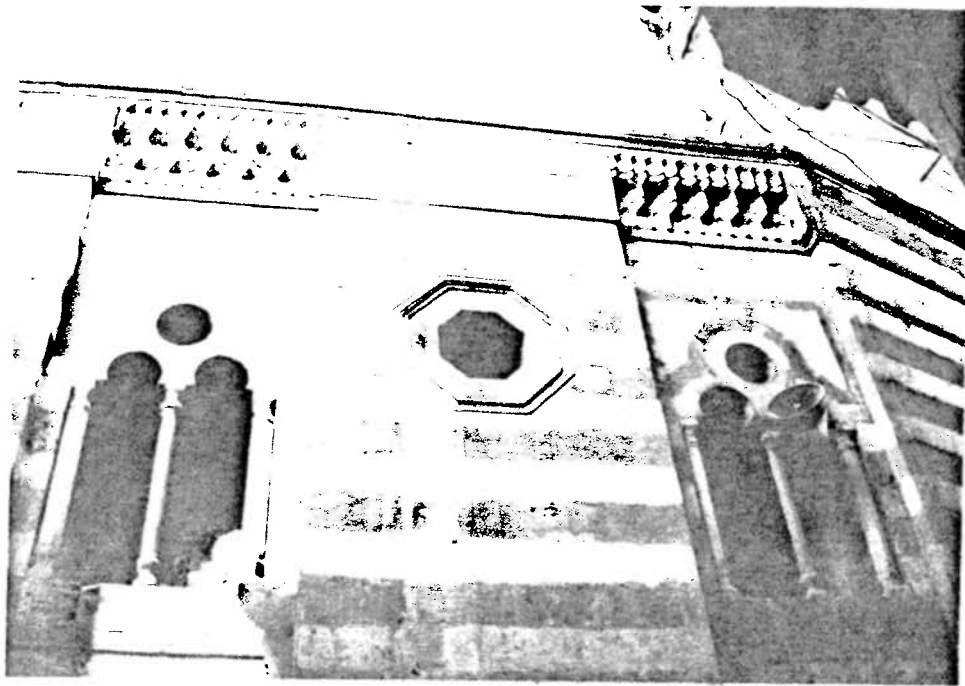
(a)



(a)



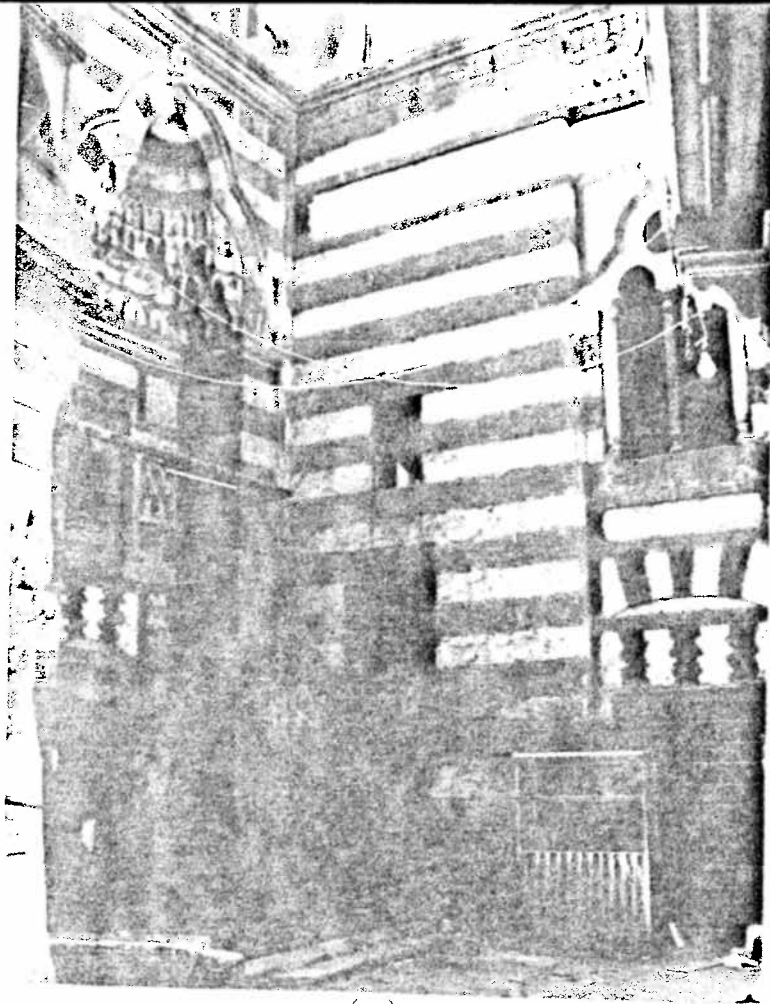
(b)



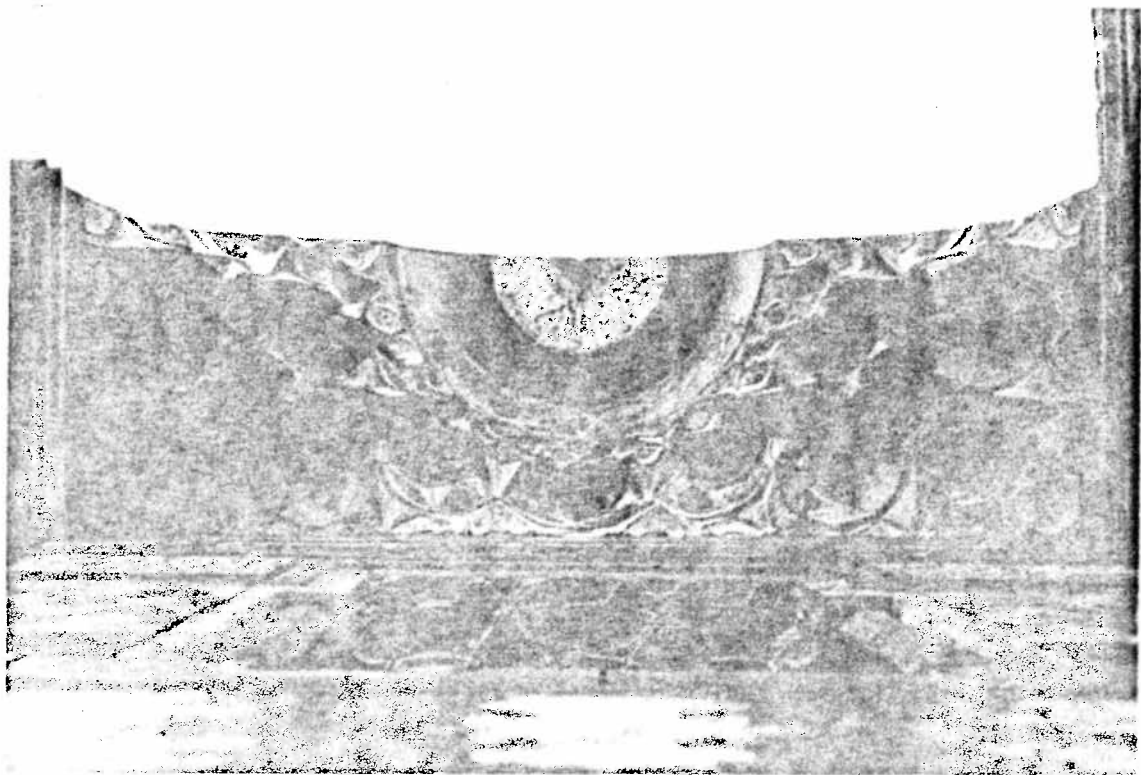
(a)



(b)

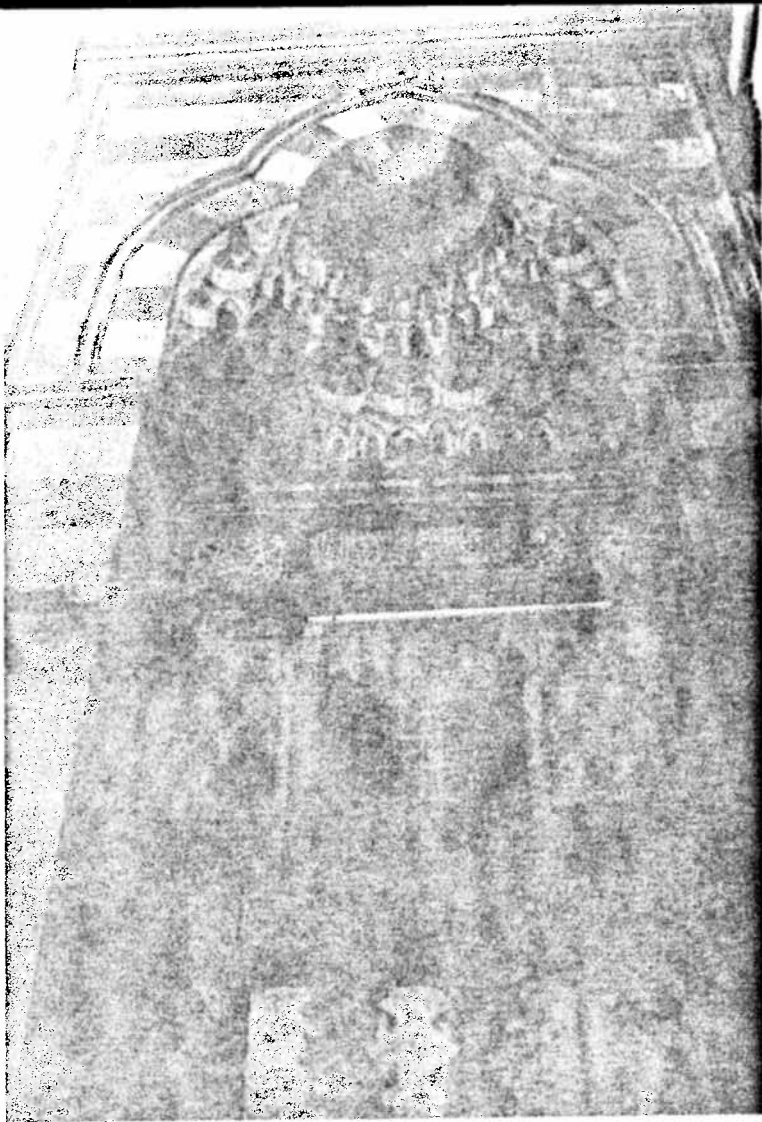


(a)

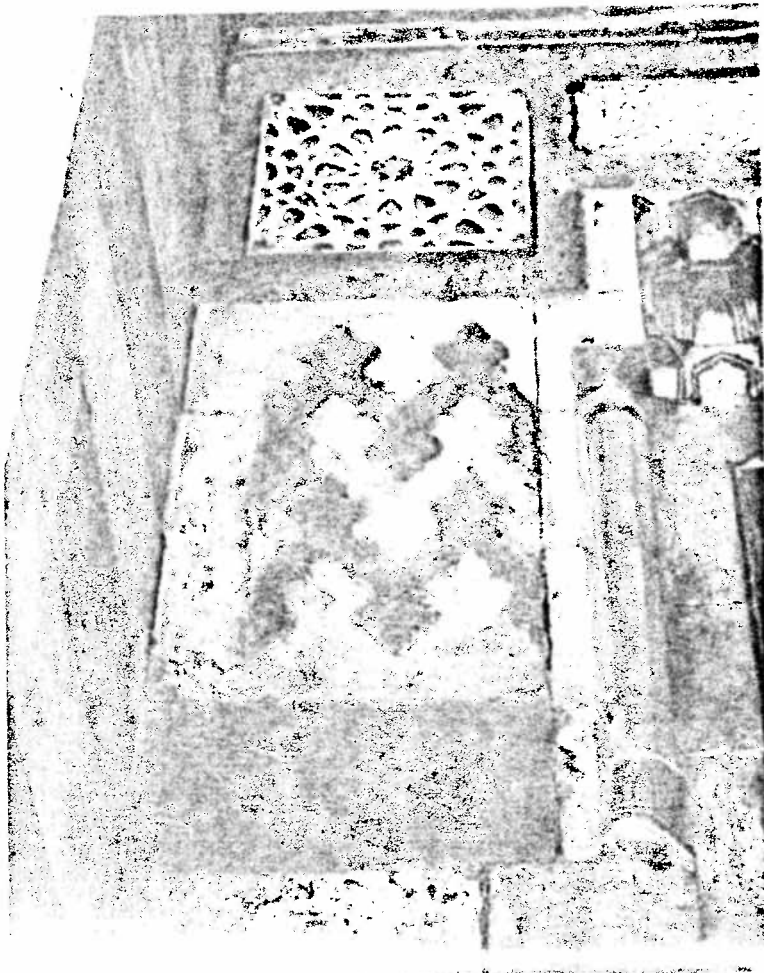


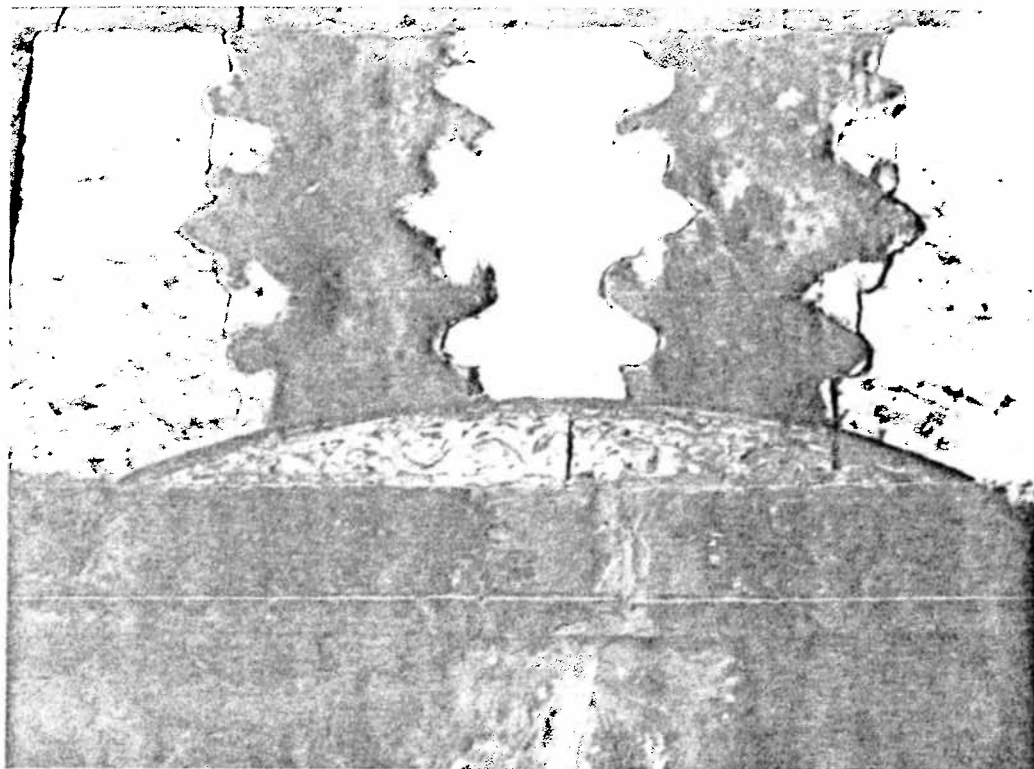
(b)

(a)



(b)

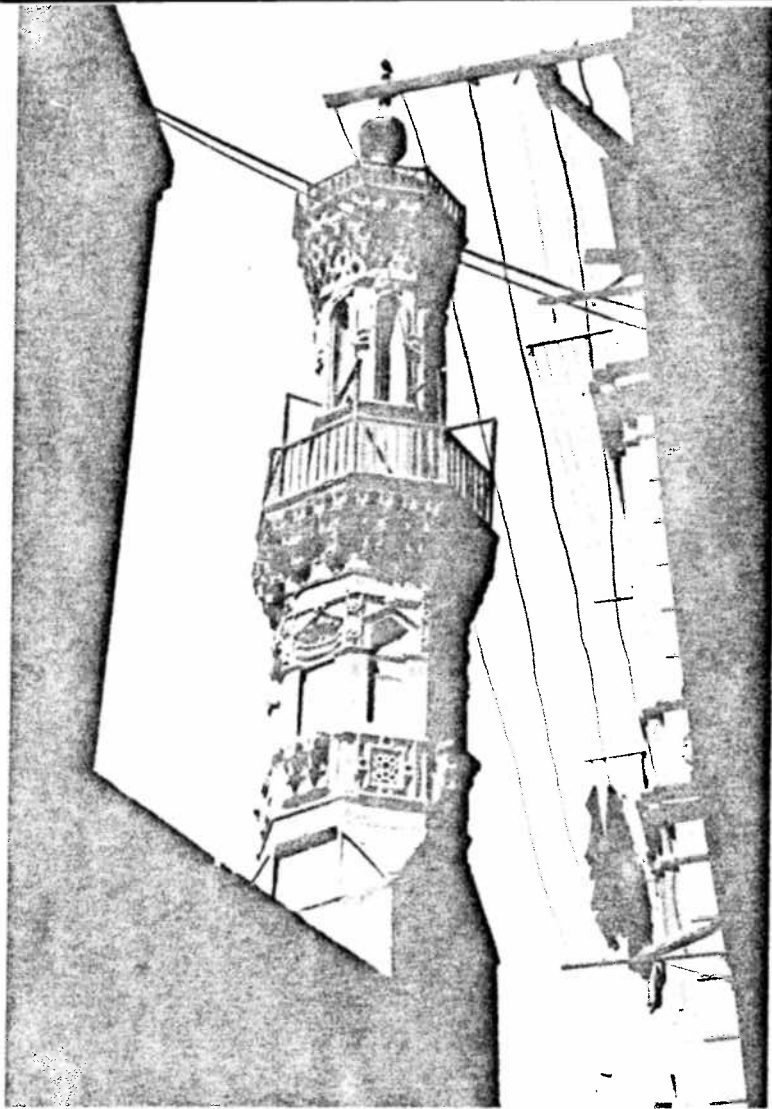




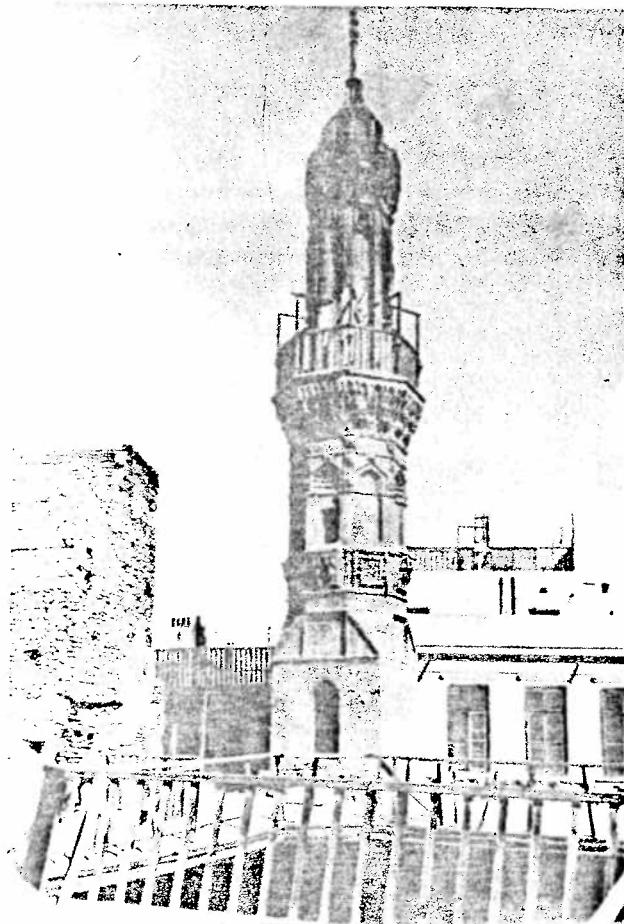
(a)



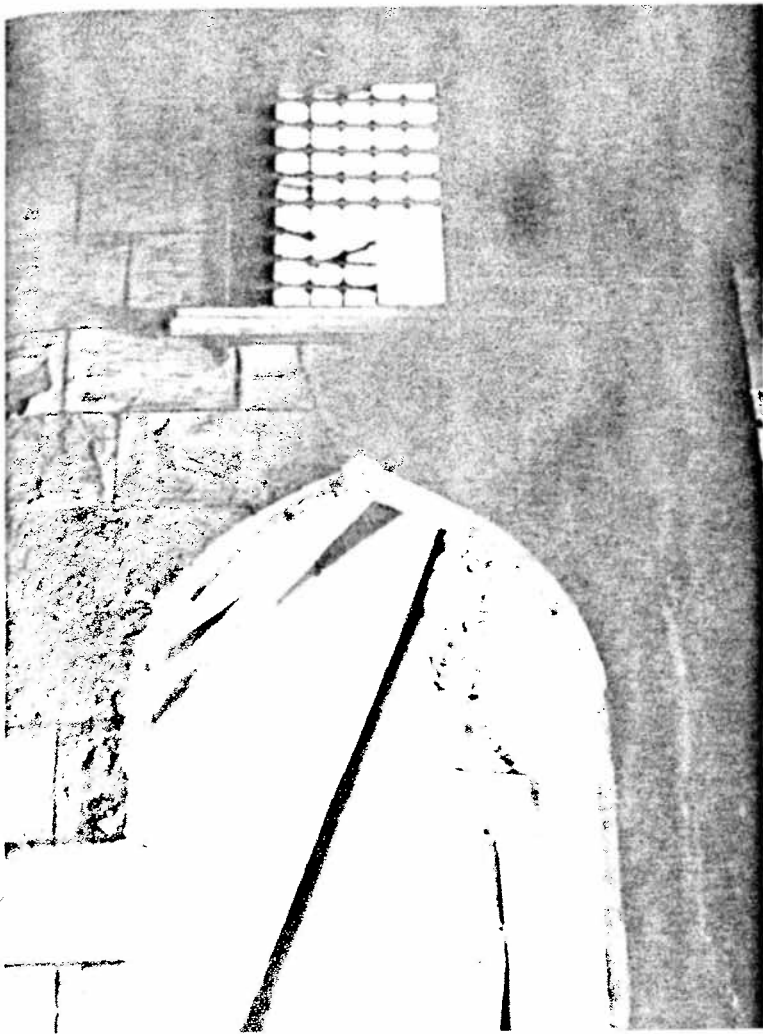
(b)



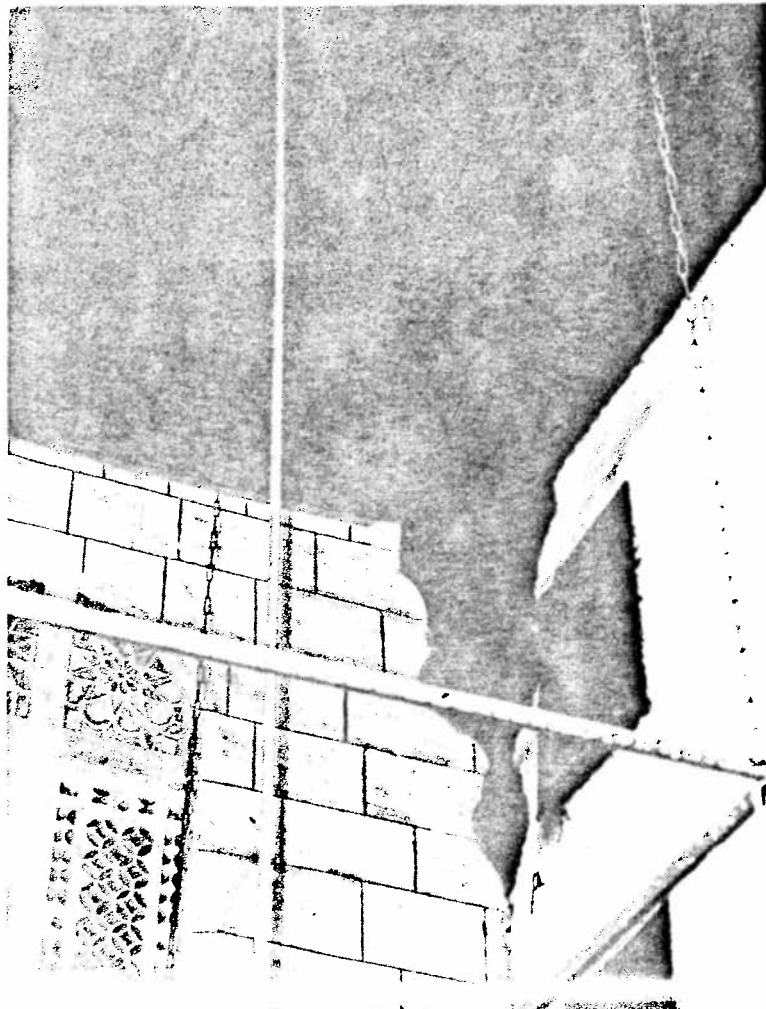
(a)



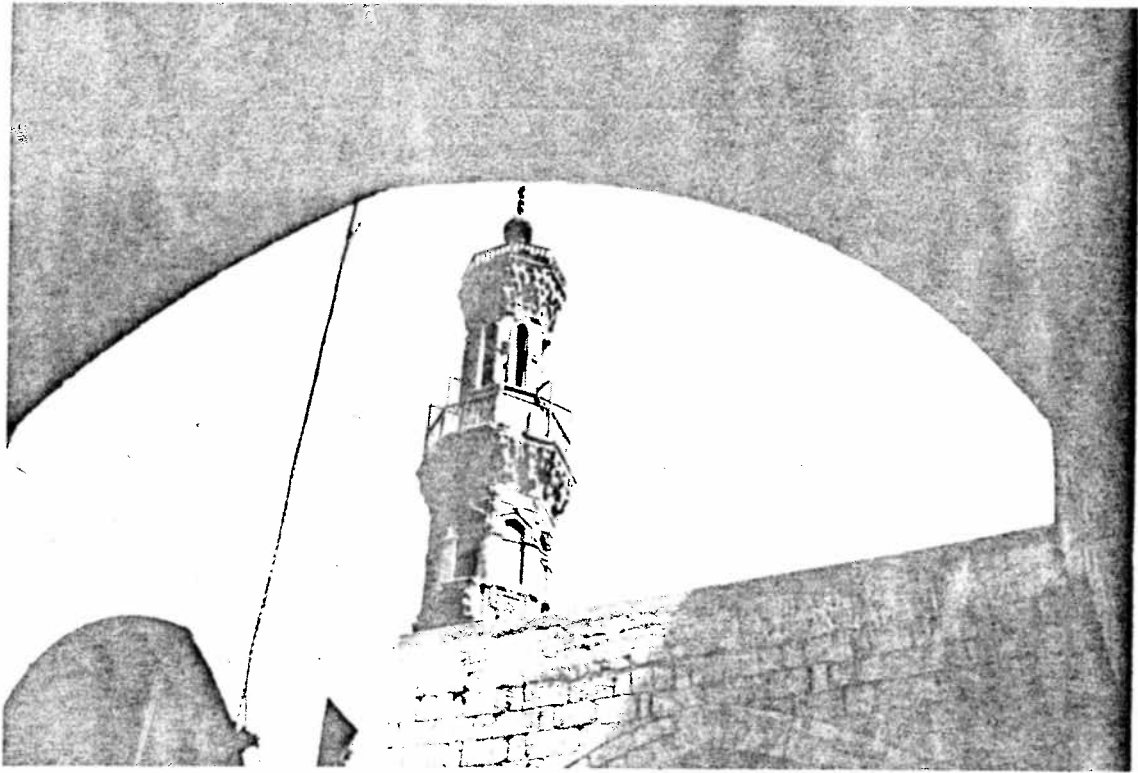
(b)



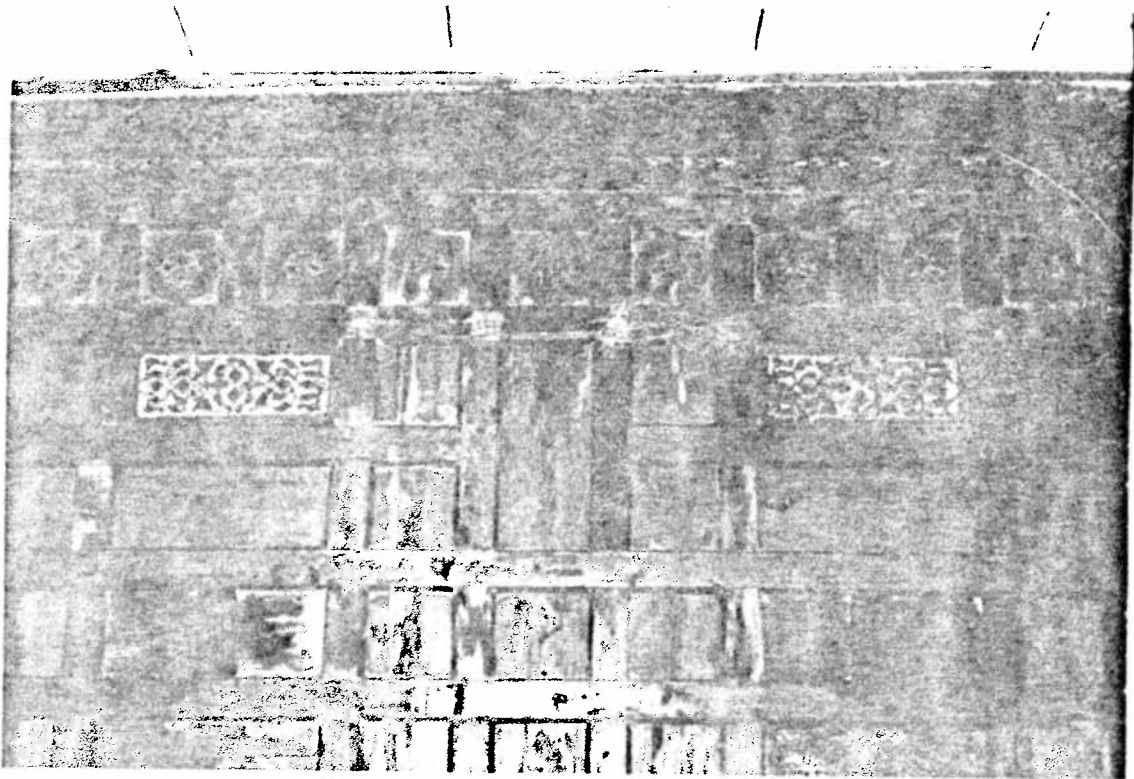
(a)



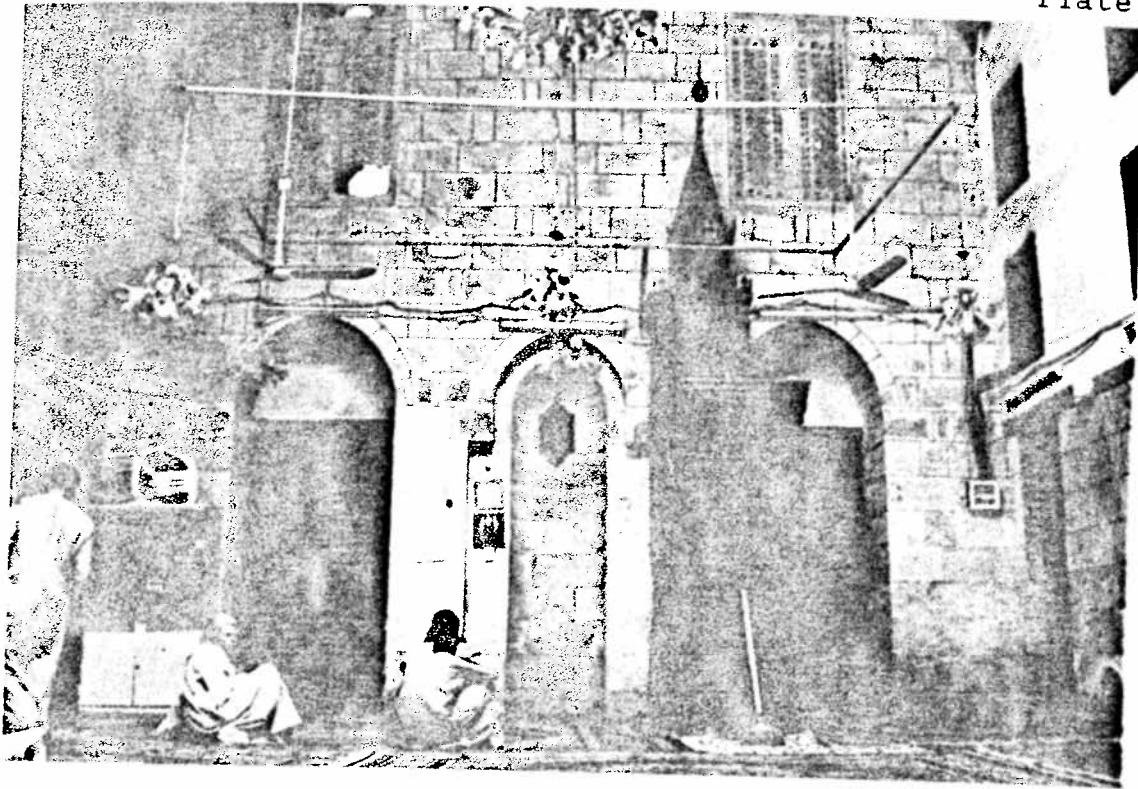
(b)



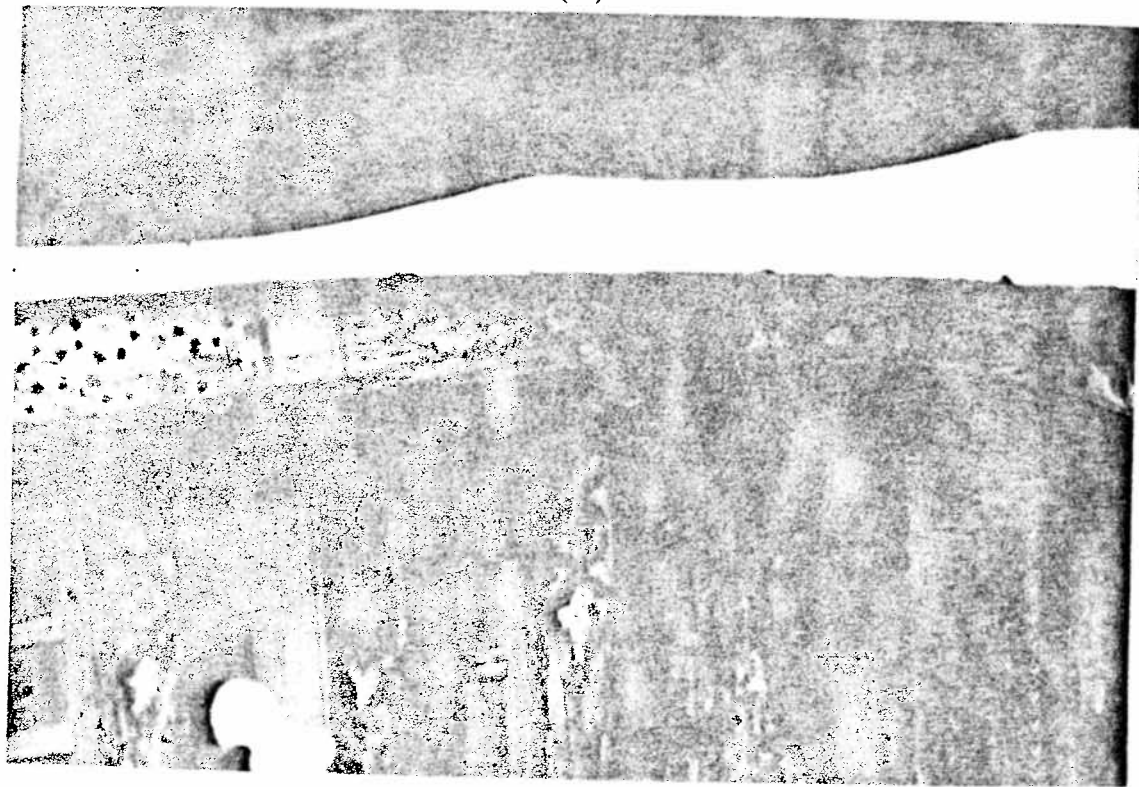
(a)



(b)

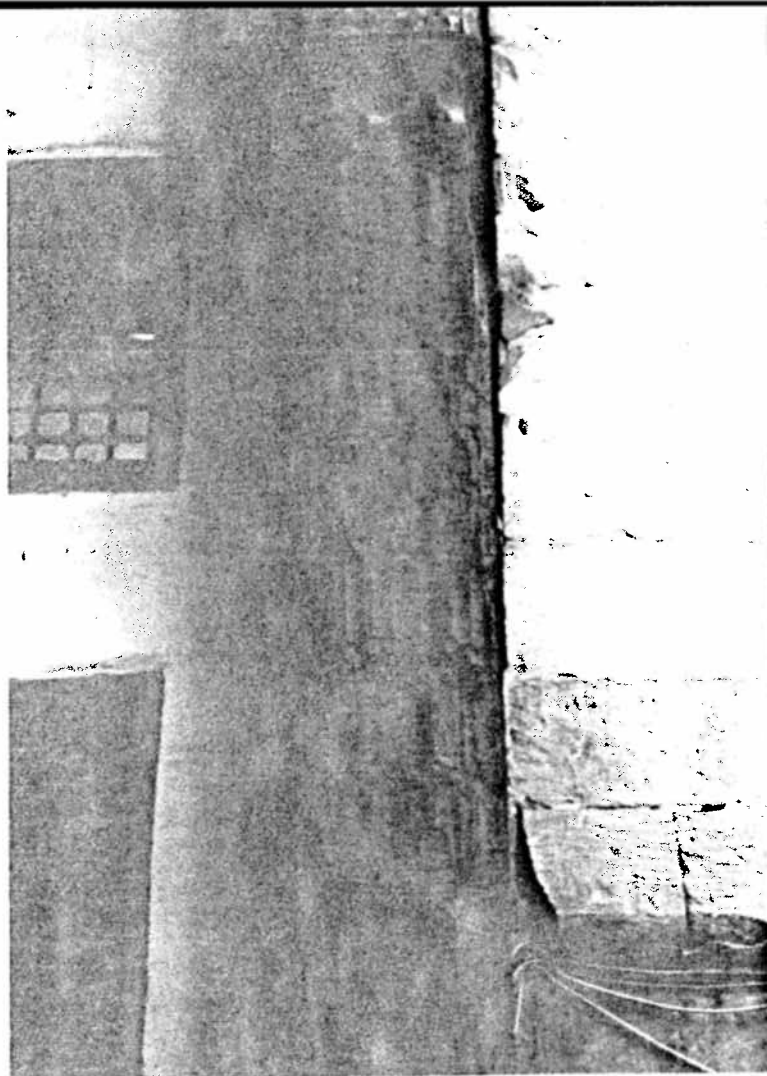


(a)

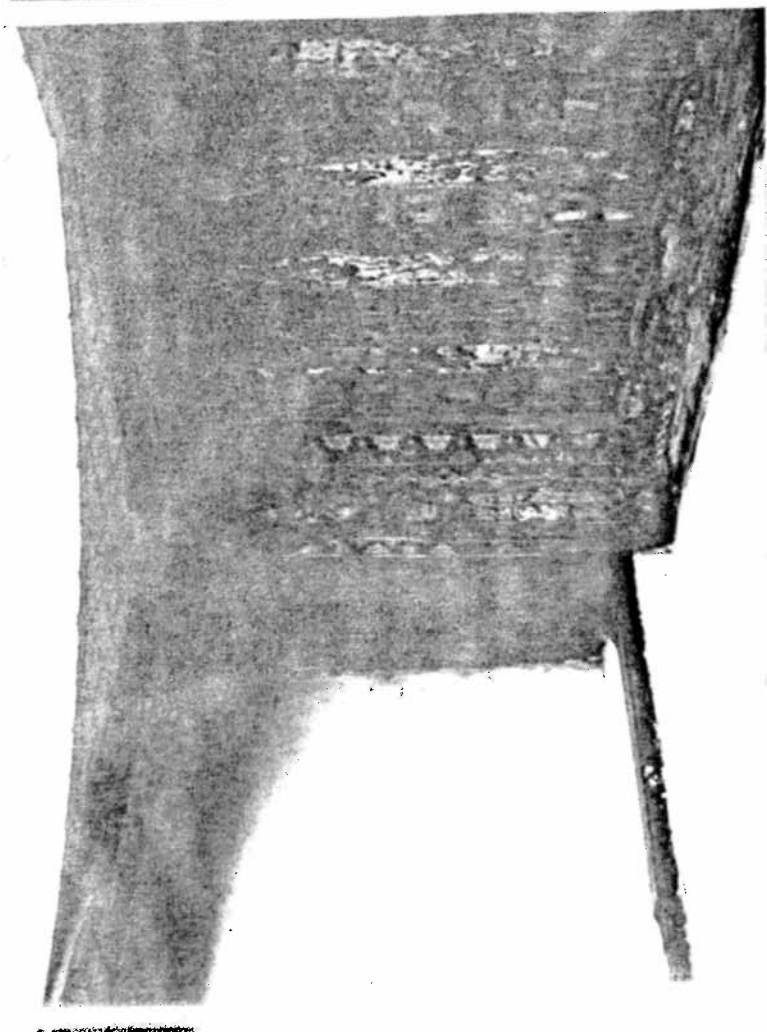


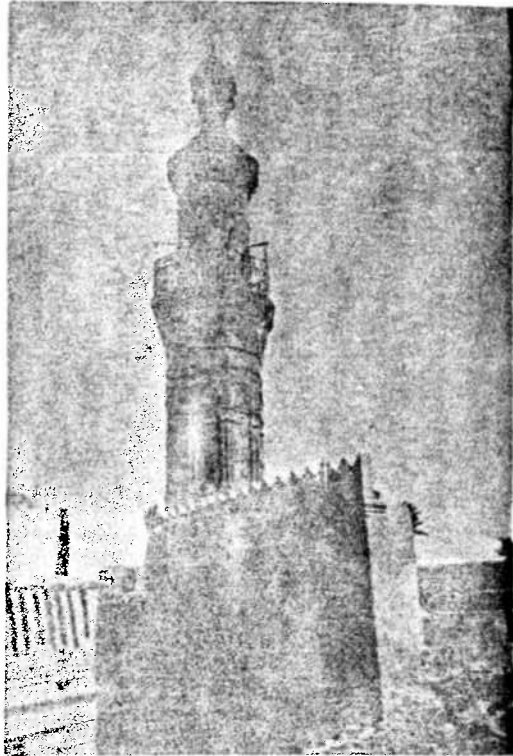
(b)

(a)

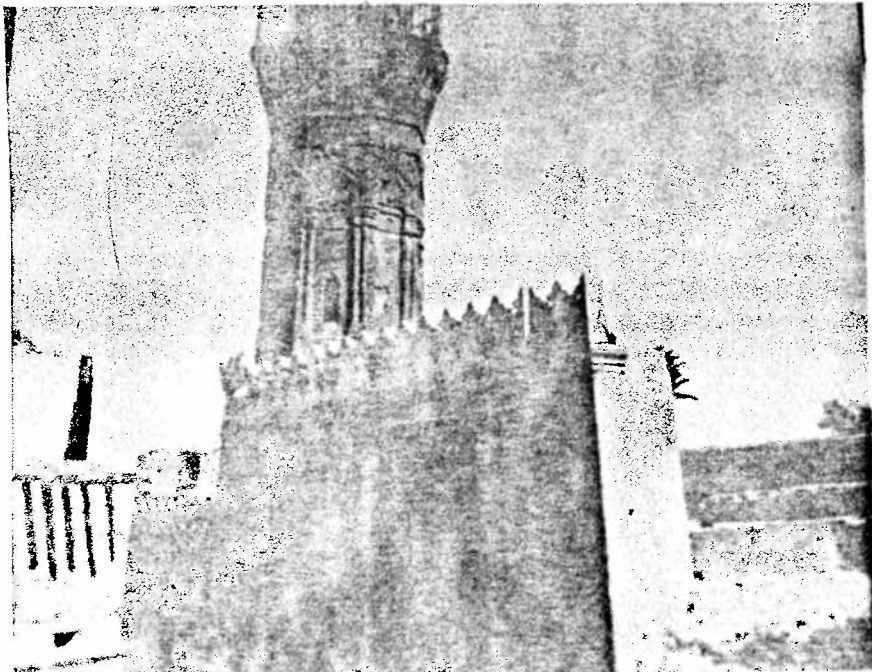


(b)

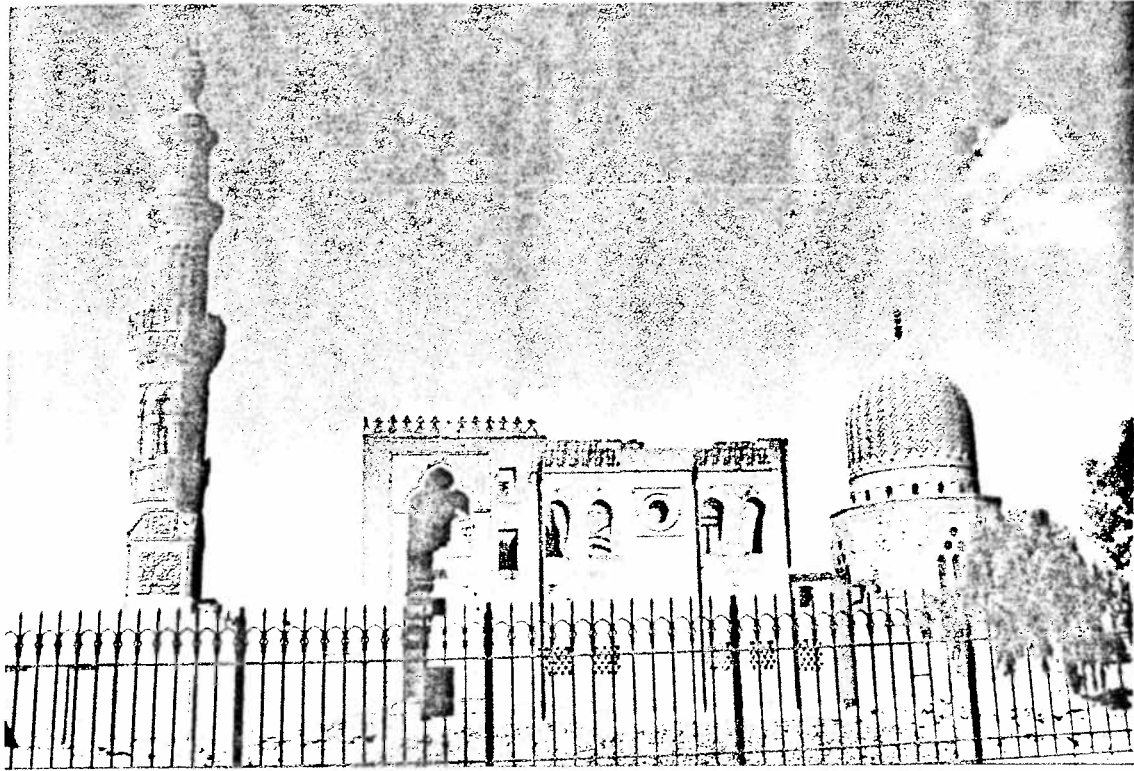




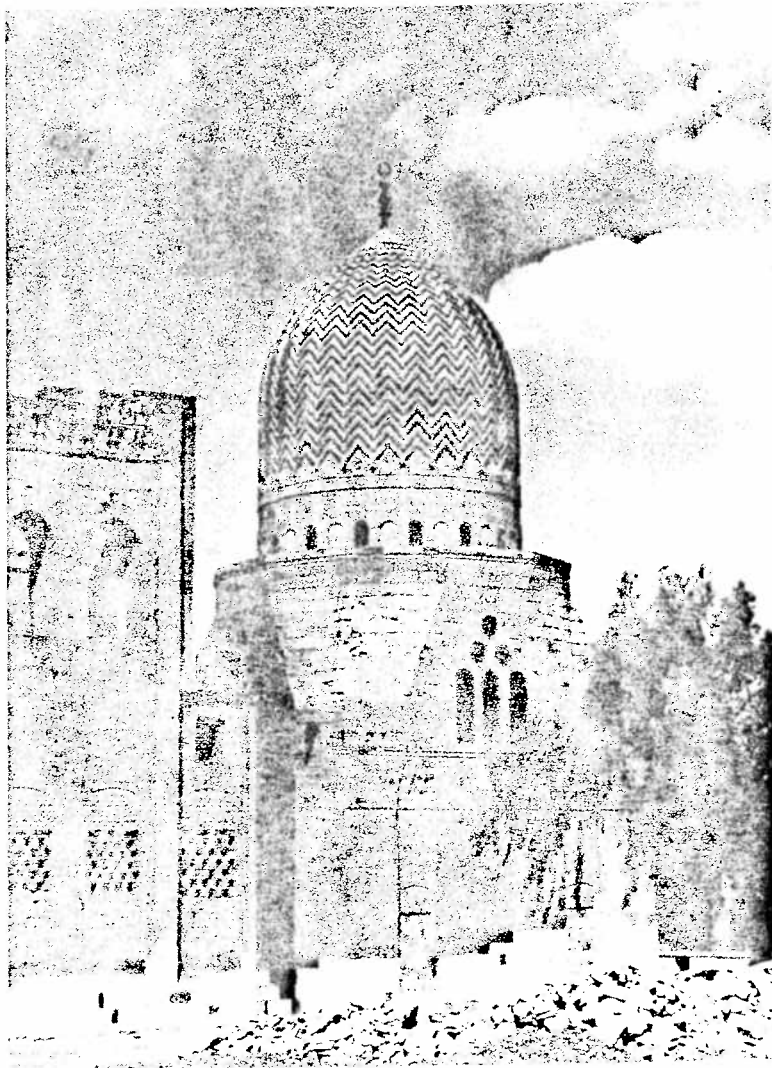
(a)



(b)



(a)



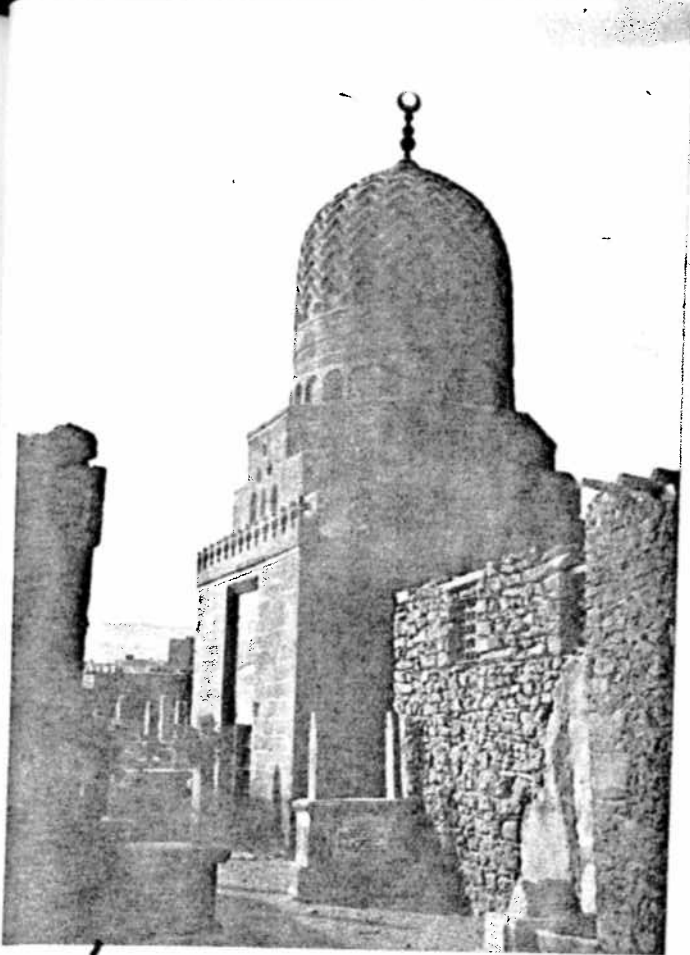
(b)



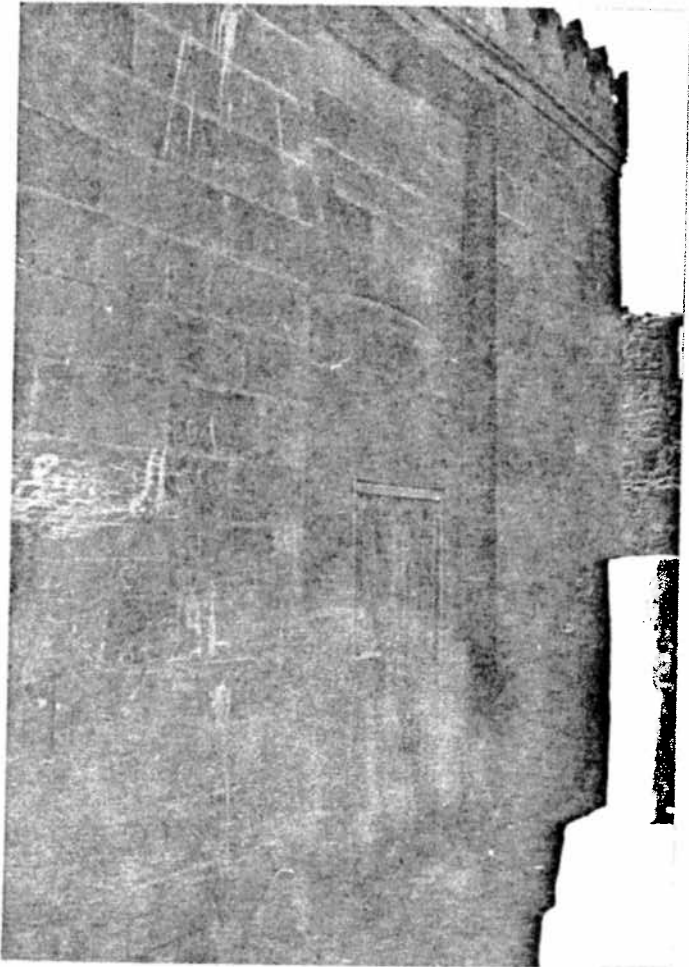
(a)



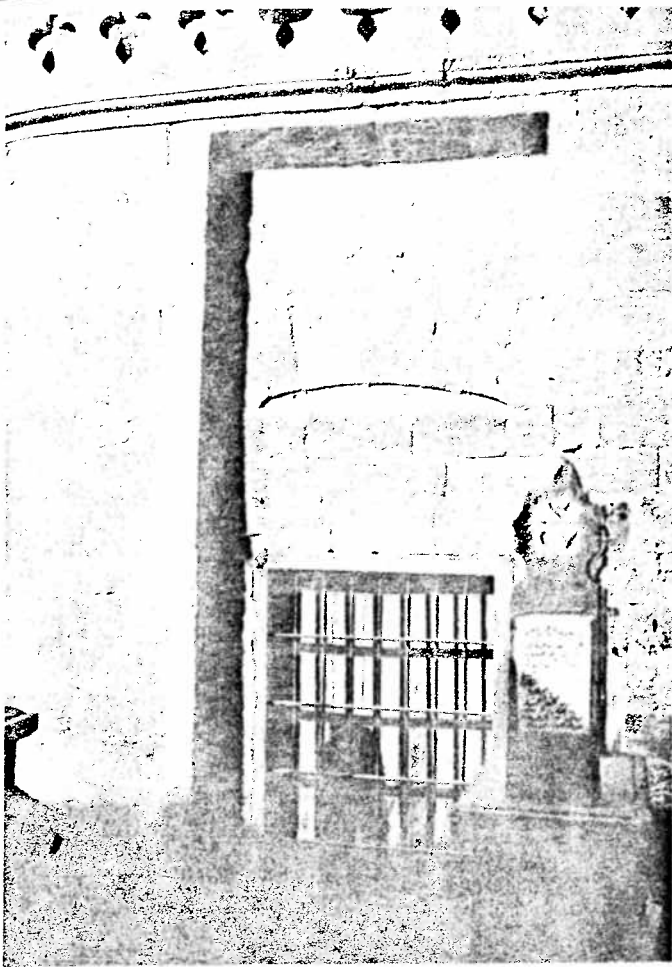
(b)



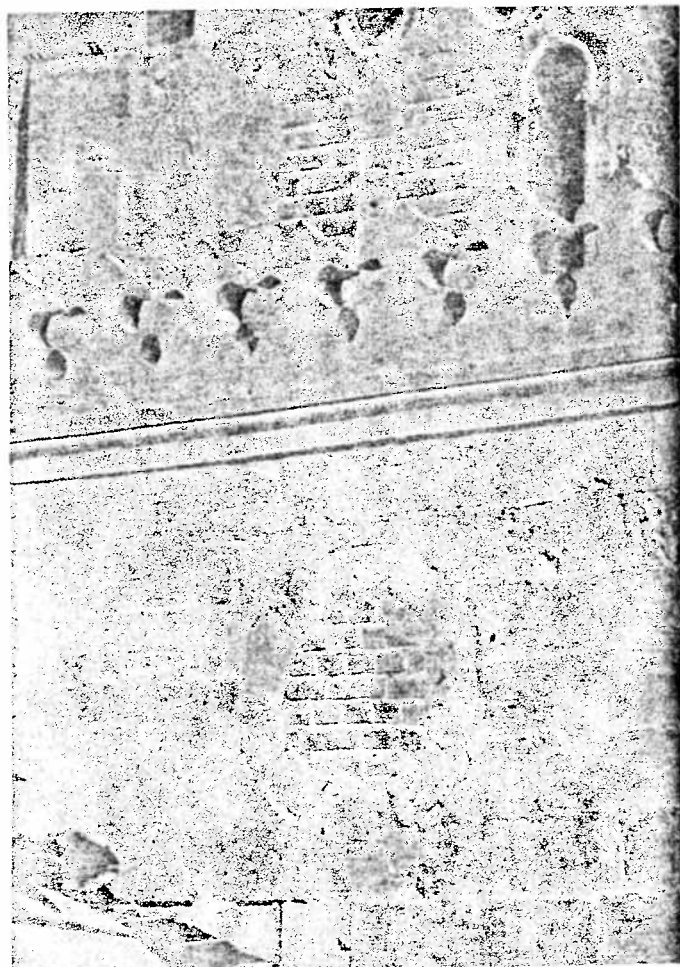
(a)



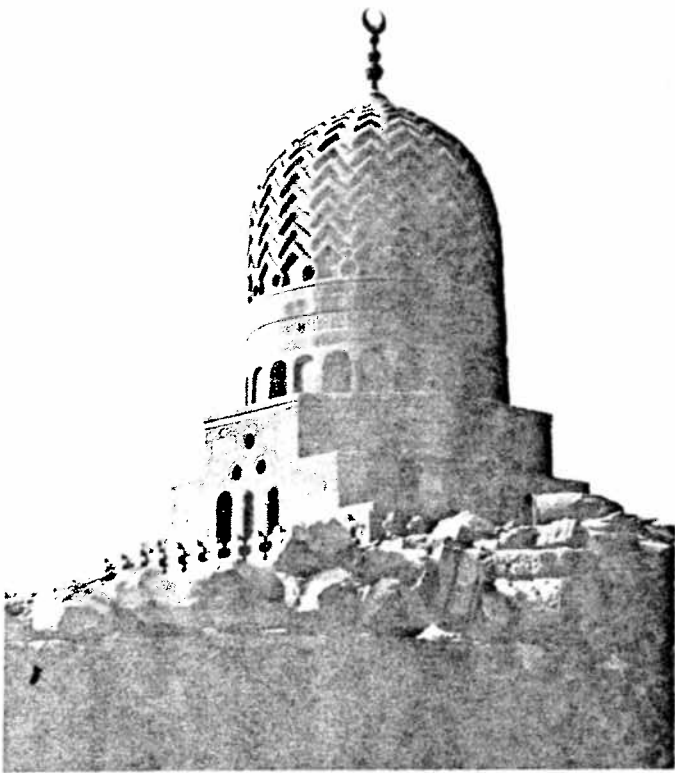
(b)



(a)



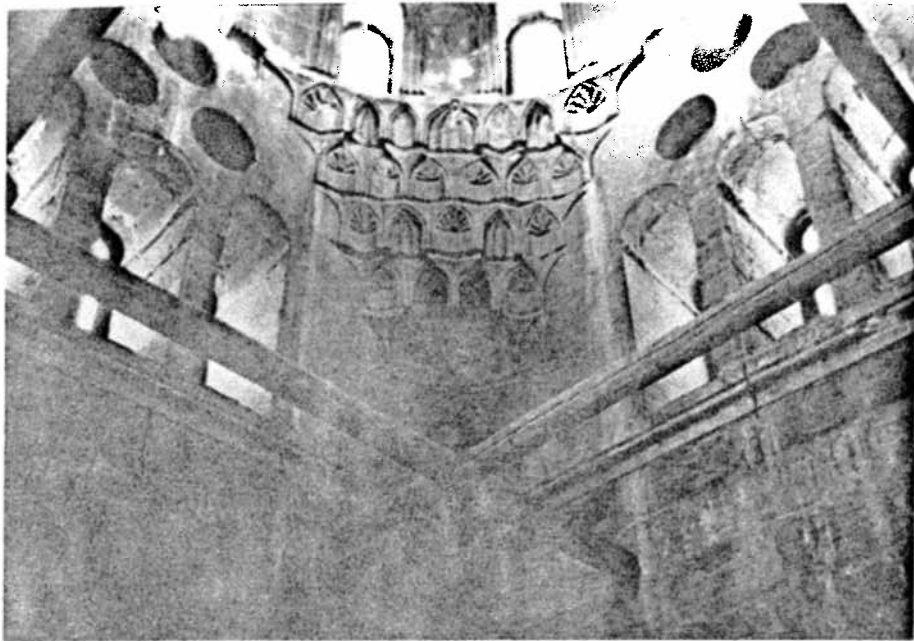
(b)



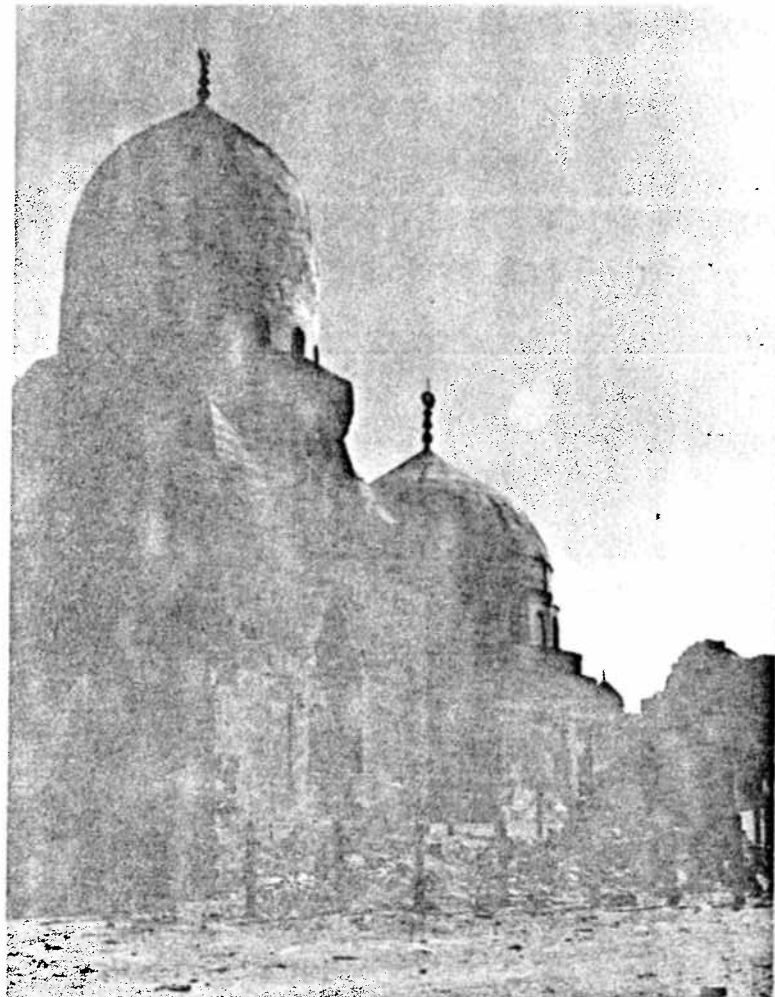
(a)



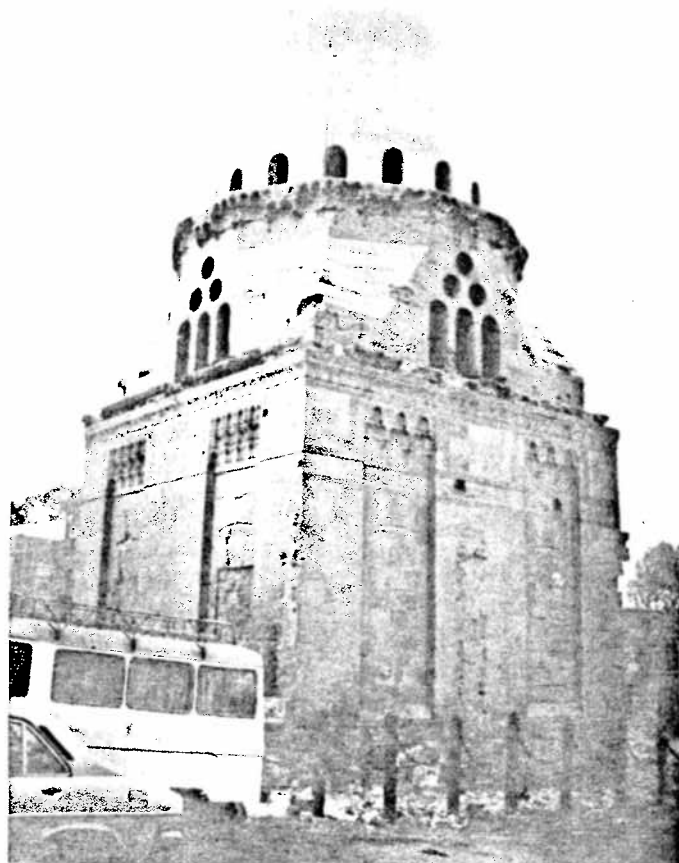
(b)



(a)



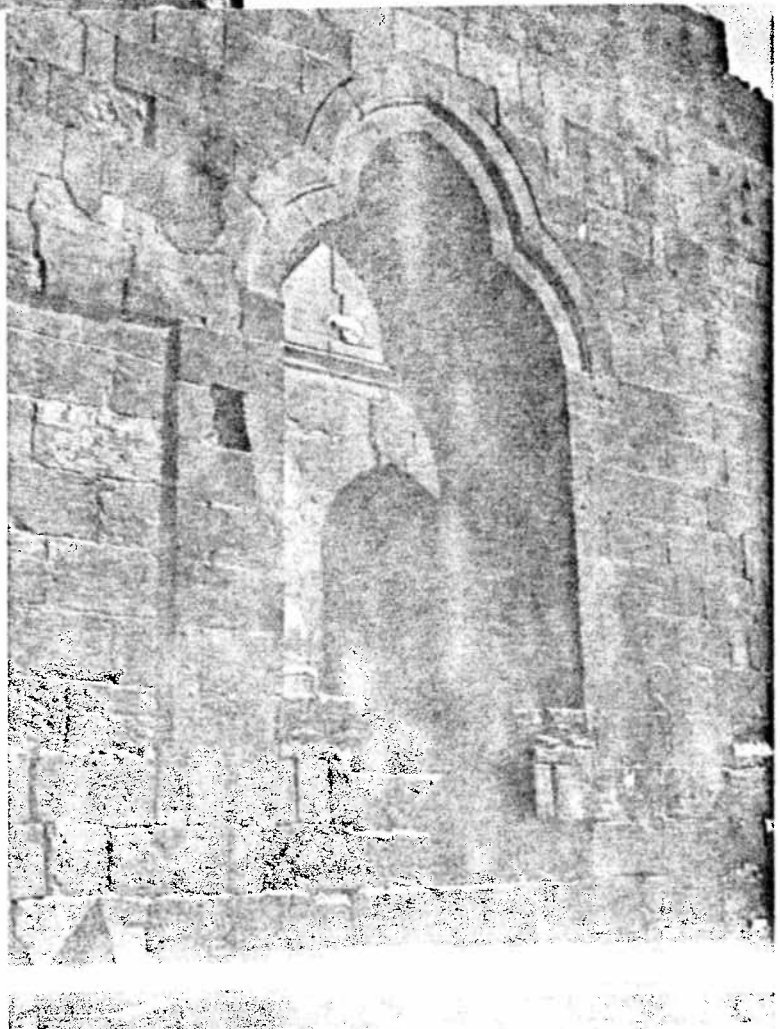
(a)



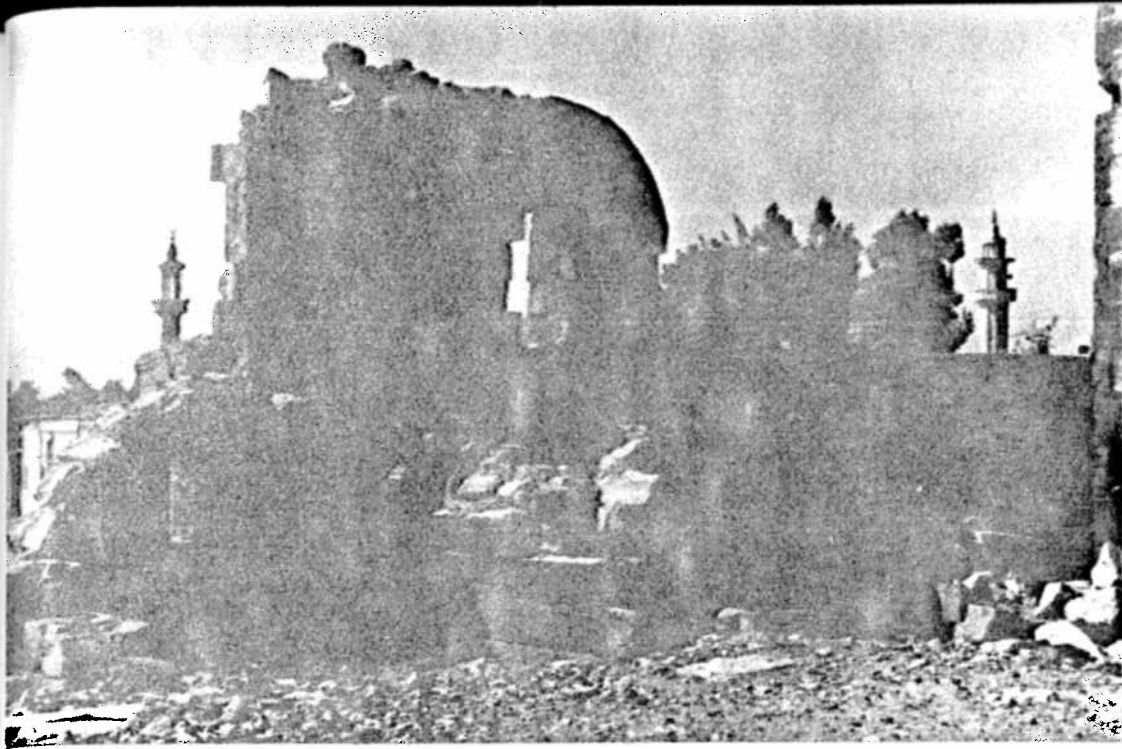
(b)



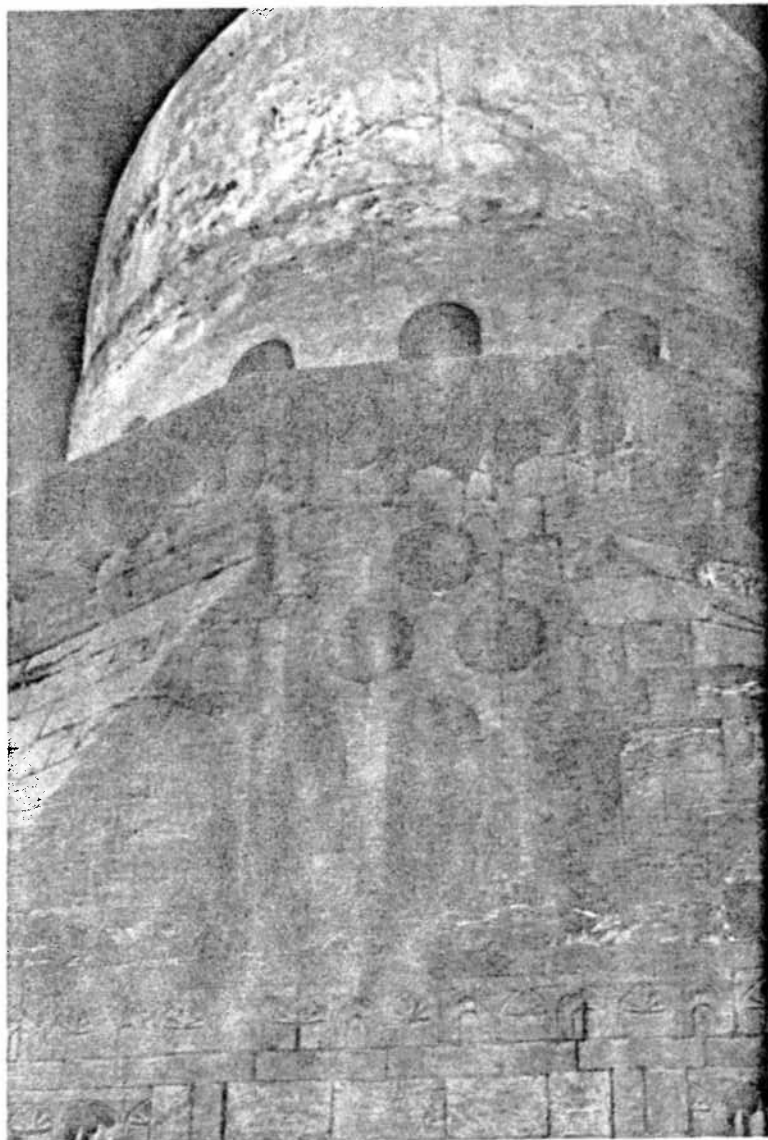
(a)



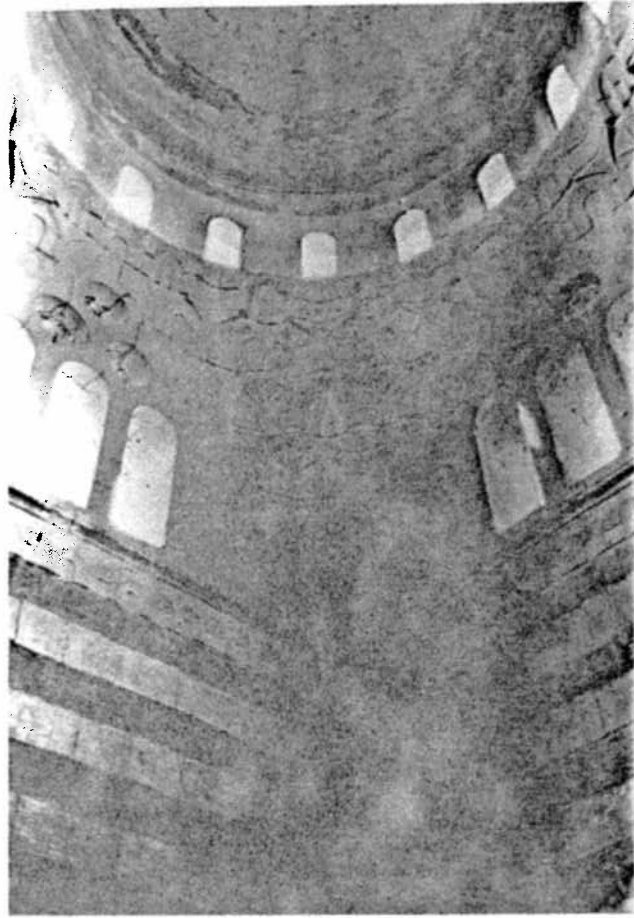
(b)



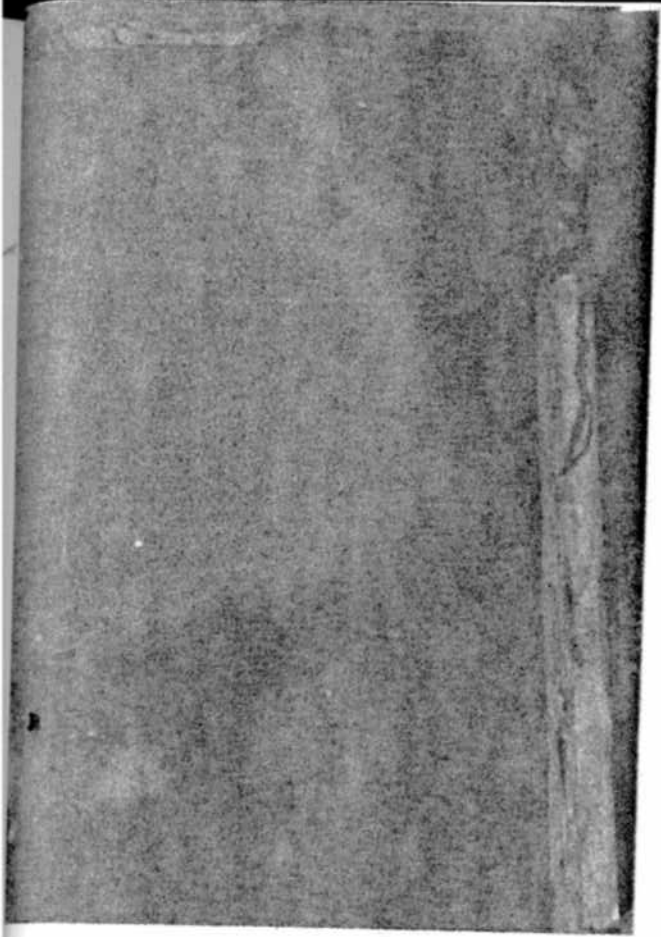
(a)



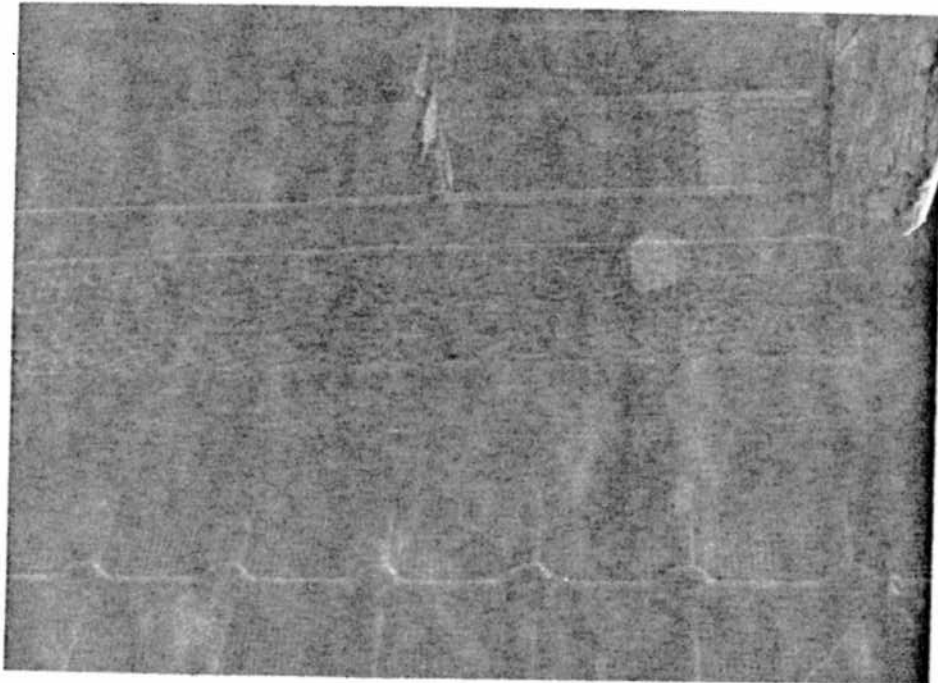
(b)



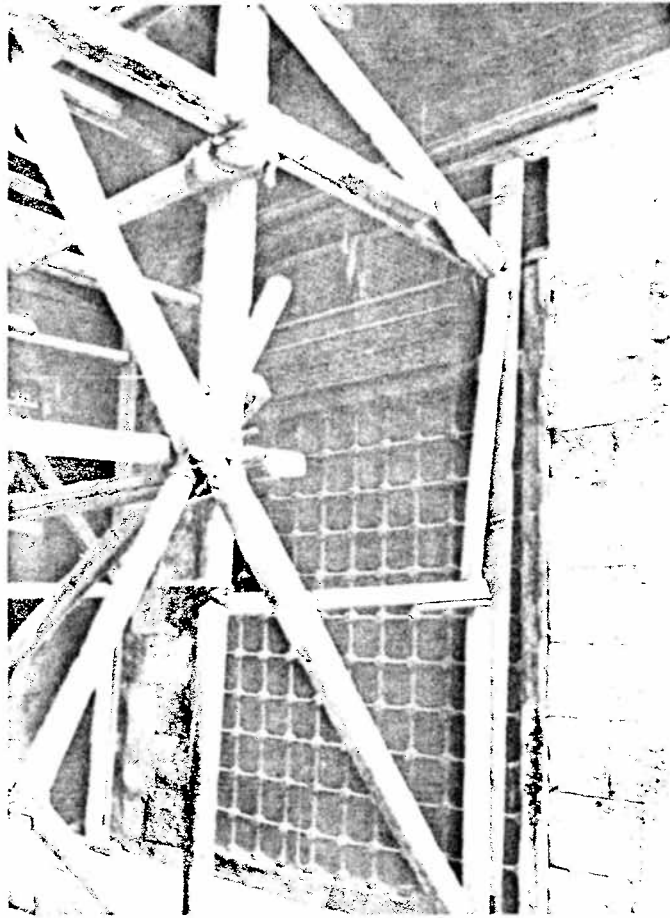
(a)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(a)



(b)



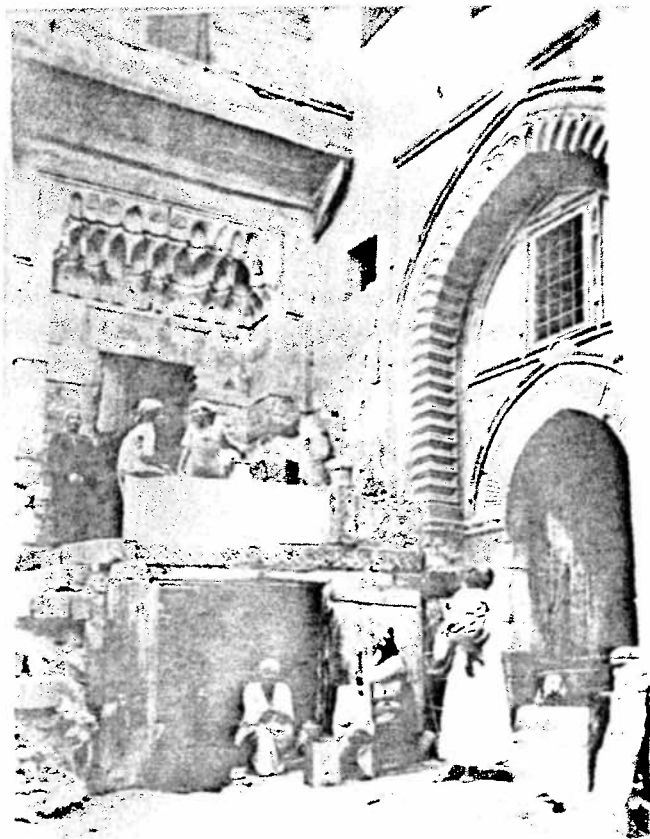
(a)



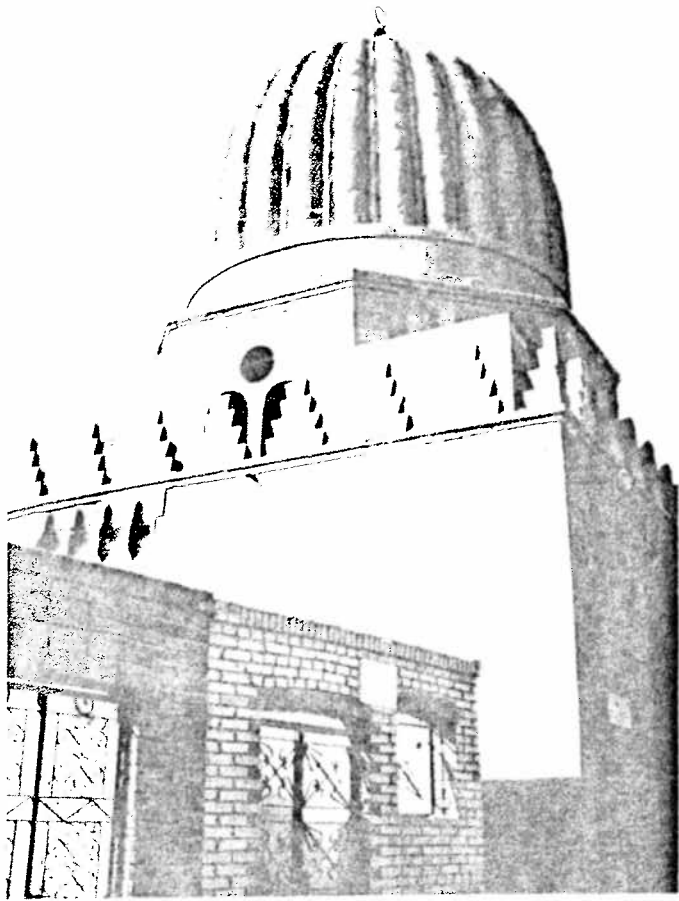
(b)



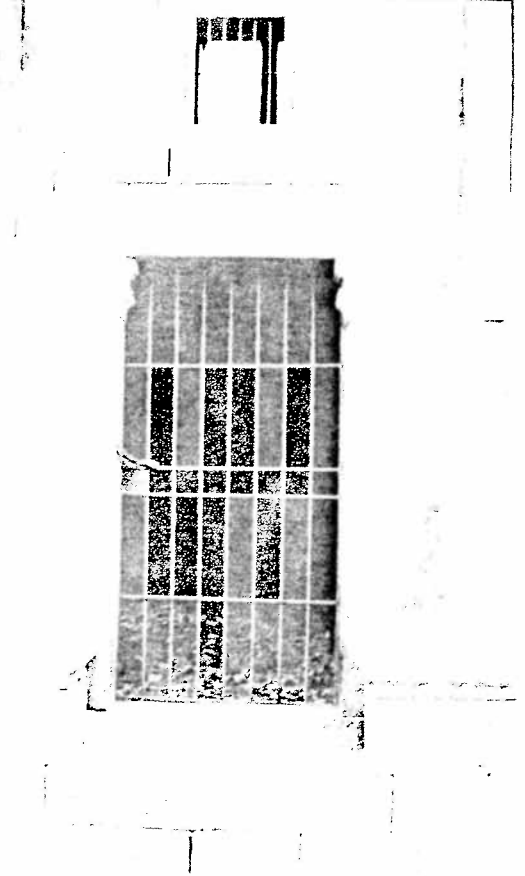
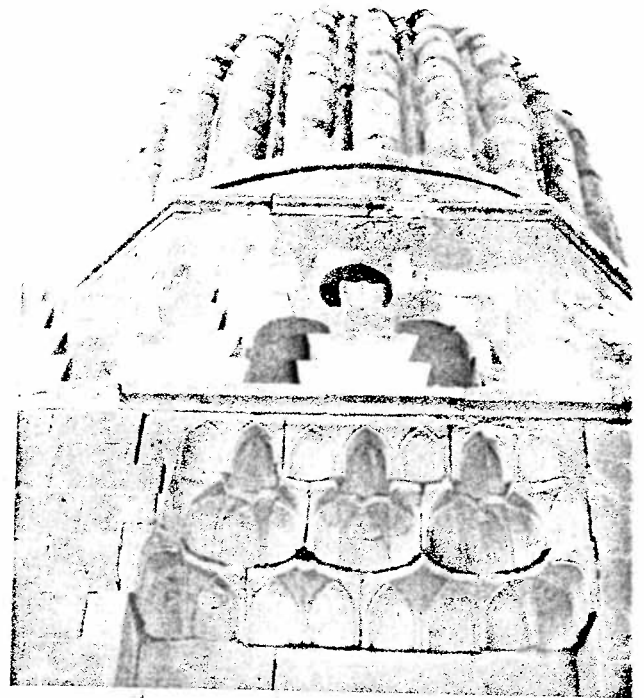
(a)



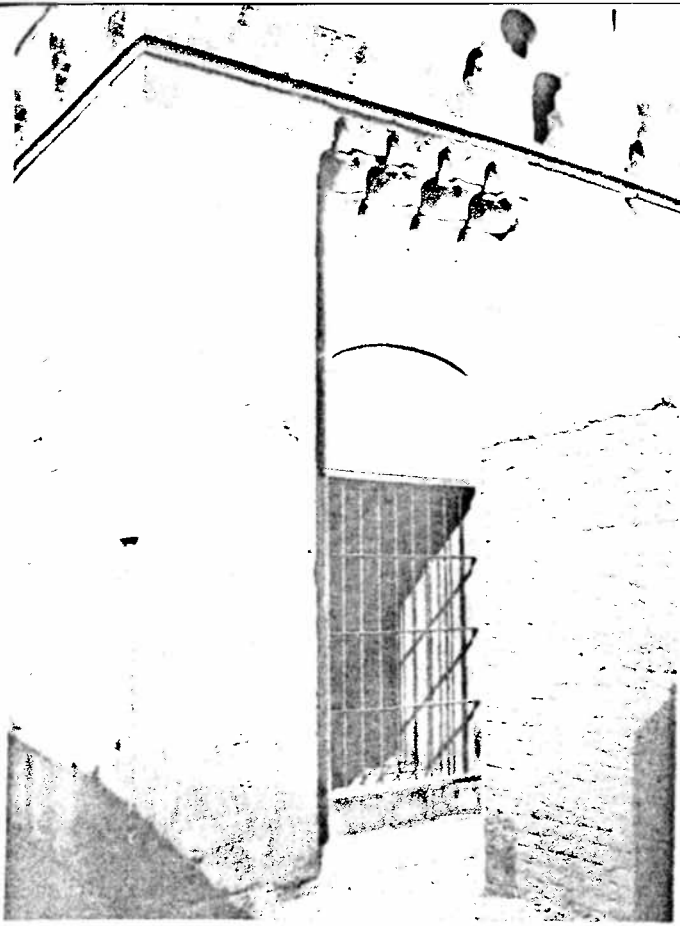
(b)



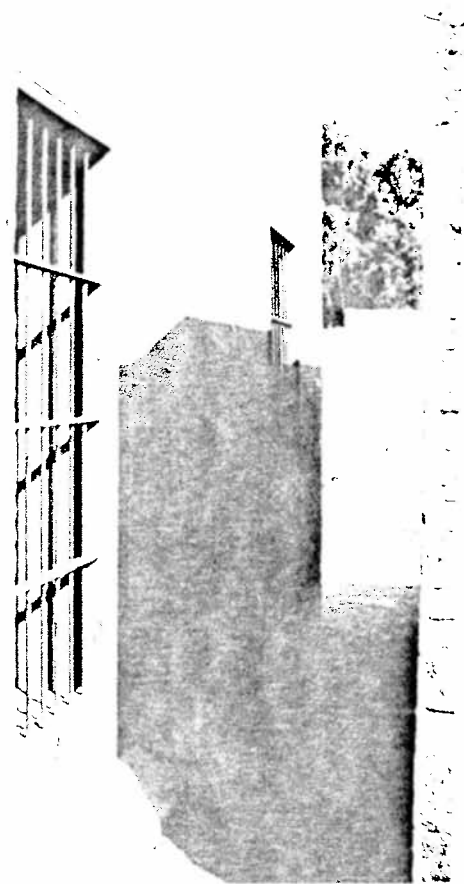
(a)



(b)



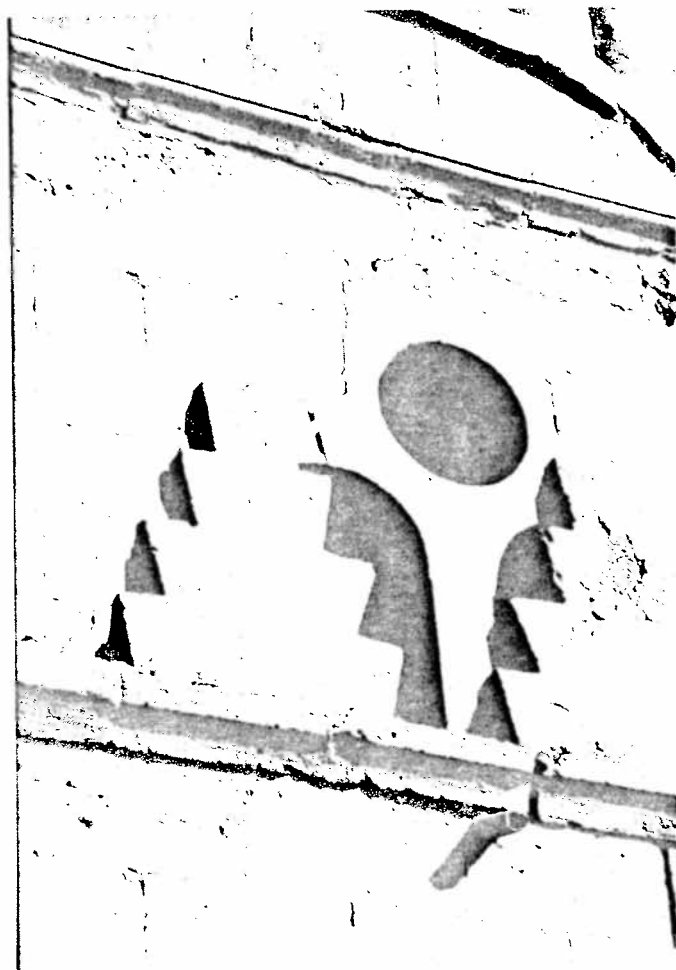
(a)



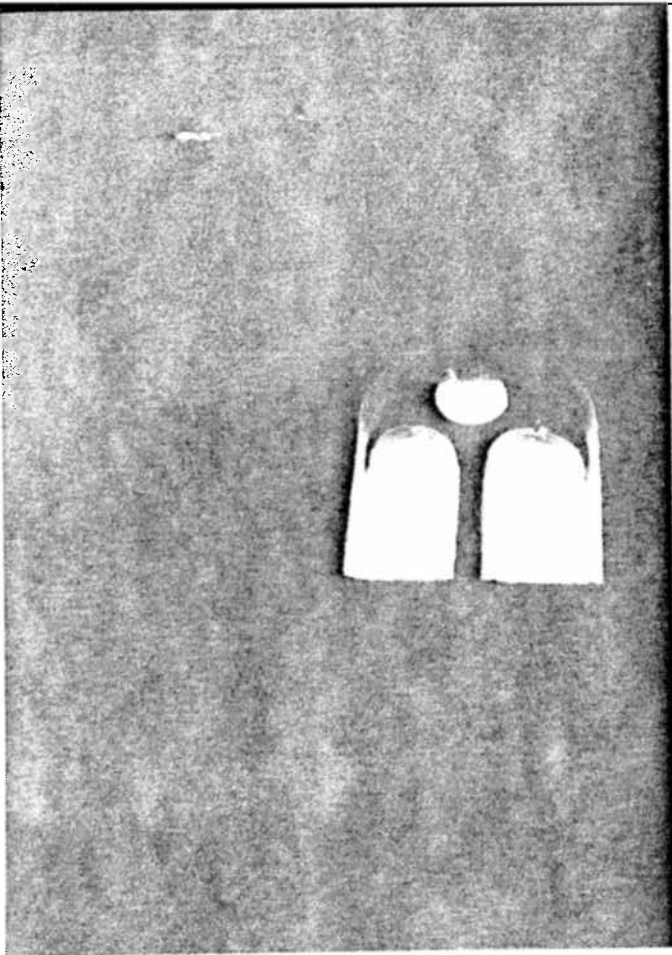
(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)

AMERICAN UNIV. IN CAIRO LIBRARY



3 8534 01836 6728