The Fatimid Influences on Some Religious Mamluk Constructions in Egypt

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

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

التتأثيرات الفاطمية على بعض عمائر المماليك الدينية في مصر

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المتخص: تزخر عمارة عصر دولة المماليك بكثير من العناصر الفنية والعمارية التي مازالت كثير منها بحاجة ماسة للدراسة والفحص، ولذا فقد اهتم هذا البحث إلى توضيح العناصر الفنية الفاطمية القادمة من عمارة شمال إفريقيا وإبراز سماتها الفنية، ومدى تأثر بعض العناصر المملوكية بها، كما اهتم إلى بيان أهم الأسباب التي أدت إلى ظهور تلك العناصر الفاطمية من جديد على عمارة عصر دولة المماليك، وقد استخدم الباحث كلًا من المنهج الوصفي والمنهج التحليلي في تحليل أسباب ظهور هذه العناصر، وقد تمثلت أهم هذه العوامل في: المهندس المعماري المملوكي ومدرسته الفنية، وطريقة في ترميم العناصر الفاطمية، وهو ما أدى إلى تأثر المعمار المصري بهذا النوع من التقاليد الفاطمية، وتطبيقها على عمارة عصر المماليك، وبالتالي فقد استمرت التقاليد الفاطمية في التجد والظهور، وكذلك فقد أثبتت الدراسة أن الموقع الجغرافي قد أدى دورًا مهمًا في ظهور التتأثيرات الفاطمية على عمائر عصر المماليك، إذ أدى وجود مبانى المماليك داخل العاصمة القاهرة، وتوقفها من العناصر الفاطمية، إلى نقل وتقليد بعض العناصر الفاطمية على عمائر عصر المماليك في مصر.

الكلمات الدالة: العمارة الفاطمية، الفنون الفاطمية، التتأثيرات الفاطمية، العمارة المملوكية.
Literature Review:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 From the Mamluks of al-Salih Najm al-Dīn Ayyub, the last Ayyūbīd sultan of Egypt purchased by ‘Ala’ al-Dīn Aḥmad at the Rock of the Rock in Jerusalem were

3 Ahmed ‘Abd al-Rażīq, al-‘Imārah al-Islāmiyyah fi Miṣr, min al-faṭḥ al-‘arabī ḥata nahāyat al-‘aṣr al-mamlūkī, (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabi,2012), 223.

4 K.A.C. Creswell., *Muslim Architecture of Egypt, Ayyubids and Early Bahrite Mamluks*, (Oxford: 1959), 145,146; Ibrahim ‘Āmir, ‘Ta’thīrāt Miʿmāriyah wāfīdah ‘ala al-‘aṣr al-mamlūkī bi mdīnāt al-Qāhirah", (*Bulletin of the Association of the Arab Archeologists Magazine*, Cairo,2000), Vol.II, 2000,725

5 Hasan ‘Abd al-Wahhab, al-Ta’thīrāt al-miʿmāriyah bayn Āthār Sūriyā wa Miṣr, (Cairo: al-Dār al-Jāmi’iyyah, 1962),18.

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

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

8 Creswell, *M.A.E., II*, 227; Farīd Shāfī, al-‘Imārah al-‘arabīyyah fi ‘aṣr al-wullāḥ, (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization), 2002, 489

9 Farīd Shafī, al-‘Imārah,481 : Doris Abu Seif, *Islamic Architecture, An Introduction*, (Cairo: AUC, 1989), 55
Seljuk along other styles from Gothic Art. Fatimid influences could be traced on numerous Mamluk monuments in Egypt such as:

**The keel-arched niches and recesses:**

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

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1 Max Herz, Mosquee du Sultan Hasan, (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français, 1899), PLIX; Doris Abu Seif, Cairo of the Mamluks, A History of the Architecture and Its Culture, (London: 2007), 208-209.
2 The first Mamluk Sultana ruled over Egypt, and she was the slave of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb who married her later after her freedom. Later she managed to get her power by marrying the Sultan Ayybak al-Turkmānī. She was mad with jealousy resolved to get rid of him and had him murdered in his bath on 24th of Rabī’ I 655AH/12 May 1257AD. Three days later, she was handed over in the 14th April 1257AD, and buried near to the Mashihad of Sayyida Naflshah after ruling for 90 days. See Ibn Iyās, Badā‘i‘ al-Zuhūr, I, 286-295; Lane Pool., A History, 255-261; Van Berchem, Max, Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Tome I, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 113.
3 Despite the construction of the dome before the ascending of the sultana to the throne, Turanshāh officially was the last Ayyubid sultan of Egypt. In addition, I agree with Max Van Berchem and Creswell that she was the first Bahary Sultan of Egypt and she took the title of Umm al-Malik al-Manṣūr Khalīl after the death of Turanshah the last Ayyubid sultan. She also she took the title which was ismat al-Dīn as a royal epithet. Her dome which she had built for herself few years earlier had once a text that was clearly drawn up between the death of Turānshah (29th Muharram 648AH/3rd May 1250AD), and the accession of the first Mamluk Ayyubak (29th Rabī’ II 648AH/31st July 1250AD). So the sultan bears the sovereign title that neither the name of Turānshah nor that of Ayyibak. See; Van Berchem, Corpus, p.112.; Creswell, M.A.E. II, 139.
4 Luis Hautecoeur et Gaston Wiet, Les Mosquées du Caire, Texte, I (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1932). 247; Munaẓamat al-‘awāṣim wa-l-mdun al-islāmiyah, *Usus al-tasmi‘ al-mi‘mārī wa-l-takhfīf al-ḥadarī fī-l-uṣūr al-islāmiyah al-mukhtalifah bi-l-‘ūsimah al-Qāhirah, (Cairo: 1990),77; A. Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 206.
5 For more details see. Creswell, M.A.E. II, 136-137; Munaẓamat al-‘Awaṣim, 77; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 207-209
6 Creswell, M.A.E. II,136; A.’ Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah,207.
This style of niches recalls the western façade of al-Aqmar mosque, and was also found in the mihrab of Mashhad of Sayyida Ruqayyah (Pl.II). Two medallions on each spandrel of the mihrab are similar to the ones in the arches overlooking the courtyard of the same mosque. The two arches on the outside of the quill remind us of the western façade of the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Talāʾiʾ ibn Ruzayk. To the west the keel-arched niches were also employed on the main door of the dome. Despite appearing earlier on the Abbasid domes adjacent to the Mashihad of Sayyida Nafisah, their decorative style follows Fatimid prototypes of religious buildings in Egypt including the mihrab in the mausoleum of Imām Yaḥyā al-Shabīḥ. The keel-arched windows also occurred on the facades of the mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdār, especially the western

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1 Creswell, M.A.E, II, 136; ‘Abdallah Kamil Mūsa, The Fatimid Architecture in Cairo, (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1995), 3.
2 Hautecoeur et Wiet, Les Mosquées I, 247; Doris B Abu Seif, Islamic Architecture, 75, Pl.56
3 Ahmad Fikrī, Masājid al-Qāhirah wa madārisuhā, Vol.I (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1965), 99, Pl.42; Muhammad ’Abd al-Sattār ‘Uṭmān, Mawsūʿat al-ʾImārah al-Fātimiyah, (Cairo: Dār al-Qāhirah, , 2006), Pl.15
4 Creswell, M.A.E, II, 136; Munazamat al-ʾAwaṣim, Pl.169/1
5 Creswell, M.A.E, II, 136; D. Abu Seif, Islamic Architecture, 92.
6 A.K. Musa, Fatimid Architecture, 66, Pl.78.
7 The mosque of Baybars was built in al-Husayniyah quarter and was the first Friday mosque. Its date is inscribed in one of the panels of the main portal which is Rabīʿ II 665AH/Jan 1267AD; seven years after al-Ẓāhir Baybars’ access to throne. See Van Berchem, Corpus, I, p.121; Creswell, M.A.E, II, p. 154; Bloom, Jonathan.M, "The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdār in Cairo", Annales Islamologiques, 18, Le Caire, (1982),56; D. Abu Seif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 121. As mentioned by al-Maqriẓī, Baybars brought the marble and rocks from the citadel of Jaffa and it was finished in Shawwāl 667AH/Jun 1269AD. See Al-Maqriẓī, al-Mawdūʿ iz wa-l-ʾiṭbār fi dhikr al-khitṭaf wa-l-ʾAbhār, Released by Ayman Fuʿād Sayid, 5 Volumes, Vol.IV, Part I and II, (London: 2003),I,188-193 See also Sāmiḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥman Fahmī,"
entrance of the mosque (Pl.III). This type of keel-arched niche was used in most Fatimid monuments in Egypt. The spandrels of the arched arcades overlooking the courtyard that were added by the caliph al-Ḥāfiz at al-Azhar mosque are of the same type and form (Pl.IV) with slight differences. The western entrance is adorned with arched recesses on the sides of the Mosque of Baybars, above which is a panel of beautiful stucco stalactite ornaments composed of three broad and pointed arched panels. This type occurred also in the flanks of the northern and southern entrances (Pl.V). This sort of recess was employed on the flanks of the protruding gate of al-Aqmar Mosque (Pl.VI) and the shell hood. The flat keel-arched recesses also seen on the sides of the western entrance of Baybars mosque followed its prototype that occurred on the flanks of the main entrance of the Hākim mosque. In 666-672AH/1267-1273AD during the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī a mausoleum was built as a riḥāṭ in the cemetery of Imām al-Shaftī, which was known as the mausoleum and the Ribāt of Shaykh Yūsuf al-‘Adawi, also known as the Ribāt of Azdumur, as well as the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Bāshā. The building has an elegant mihrab (4.50m high) that has a hood in the shape of a keel-arched recess, which carries Moroccan influences from North Africa (Pl.VII). The mihrab is located in the greater iwān and set askew. The
room on the left of this iwān has a triple mihrab, which is a rare feature that was first found in the mausoleum of Ikhyat Yūsuf. Keel-arched recesses also occurred in the mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn (682-683AH/1283-1284AD), which is located in al-Ashrafīyya street near the mosque of al-Sayyida Naṭfisah. There is a variety of windows inside the mausoleum, and between each opening, there is a shallow niche. The wall was surrounded by three similar examples; one in the south side of the west wall and another in the north side of the west wall (Pl.VIII) (Fig.2). They are shown like keel-arched recesses with a shallow conch similar to those of Aqmar’s façade from the Fatimid period.

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

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1 Creswell, M.A.E, II, 178,179.

2 As attributed by ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī, the dome was constructed by al-Mansūr Qālāwūn to his wife Fāṭima Khātūn or Umm al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Alāʾ al-Dīn ‘Alī son of al-Mansūr Qālāwūn and they put an amount of charity on this building. She died in Šawāl 683AH/1282AD. His son al-Ṣāliḥ buried with in this dome with his sister Khātūn. Ibn Duqmāq, al-Intisār li wasṭat ‘aqd al-ansār, part IV (Bayrut: no date), 125; al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭat, IV, Pt I, 585.

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

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

5 A.Fikrī, Masājid, I,101; D.Abu Seif, Islamic Architecture, 73; A.K.Musa, Fatimid Architecture, 101; A.ʿAbd al-Rāziq, al-ʿImārah, 113; M.A.ʿUtmān, Mawsaʿat al-ʿImārah, I, 342; Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, M.Sayf al-Dīn, al-Aqmar, 44.

6 The he was the son of al-Mansūr Qalāwūn and ruled for three-interrupted periods. For more details on the bibliography of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn see. Ibn Ṭaghrī Bardī, al-Nuṣūr al-Dīn al-Qādī waʾl-Qādī, 3, 186, 196; al-Qarqūrī, Akhkhār al-duwal waʾl-ʿarâq fi tarīkh, vol. II (Bayrut: no date), 276-282; Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt al-dhahab, 134; S.ʿĀshūr, al-Ayyūbiyya wa-l-maṭālik, 235-250.

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

8 Creswell, M.A.E, II,235.
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reminiscent of the Mamluk decorations in the mihrab of al-Azhar Mosque.\(^1\) In the arched niches are Fatimid decorative elements; three patterns were located on either side of the cube.\(^2\) The central one is accessible and the ones which border it are blind. Above is a stunning arabesque area with two spherical lozenges. The keel-arched niches occurred in the north side of the eastern wall in the courtyard. These forms of quill niches existed in some Fatimid monuments, including the keel arches of the spandrels in the external arcade of al-Azhar Mosque.\(^3\)

The keel-arched niches and recesses are shown in Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jašinkīr\(^4\) at al-Jamāliyah. The Khānqāh occupied an area of 70x30m. The dome was designed in an axis parallel to the Khānqāh, which is at an angle with the street alignment. The façade has been lavishly adorned with a splendid epigraphic band. The portal is a majestic building with a deep and intricate entry, anticipating the vestibules of subsequent mosques. The path faces a circular arch made of cushion voussoirs. The house has a sleek minaret.\(^5\) The courtyard is almost rectangular, and the walls of the side cells are decorated with a group of keel-arched windows (Pl.X) (Fig.4).

Done by the Researcher

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1 Creswell, M.A. E., II, 237; D.Abu Seif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 153.
2 Creswell, M.A.E., II, 238.
3 Flury, Die Ornamente, Tav.XXI/2; Hautecoeur et Wiet, Les Mosquées I, 218,219.
4 He was purchased by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn when he was young; he was then promoted to highest ranks and then worked under the service of al-Ashraf Khalīl. For details. See. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa-l-nahāyah, Vol.XIV, (Bayrūt, 5th ed, 1983)33; al-Qalqashandi, Maʿāhir al-ināfah, Vol.II, 135; al-Ṣafādī, Aʿāyn al-ʿāsr wa aʿwān al-nasr, Vol.II, (Damascus:1998) 71-37; al-Wāfī bi-l-wafiyāt, 1st ed. Vol.X (Bayrut: Dār Iḥiyā’ al-ʿurūth al-ʿarabī, 2000), 218; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah, VIII, 226.
5 Dawlat ‘Abd al-Karīm, Maʿāhid tazkiyat al-nufūs fī Miṣr, (Cairo: Abnā’ Wahba & Hassān, 1980), 97.
6 This type of minarets which is topped by a mabkhrah style modeling firstly could be seen in the dome of Abu-l-Ghadanfar al-Fāʾizi 552AH/1157 from the Fatimid period with the cube structure also it could be seen in the minaret of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn, and minaret of Ibn Tūlūn from the works of Lājīn. See Creswell, M.A.E. I, 36. Therefore, it is hard to assume wither the minaret of Baybars al-Jašinkīr was a Fatimid or Ayyūbid inspiration. But in my opinion I could rather assume that it gathered both influences because of the location of the Khānqāh in the middle of the Fatimid outskirt and the palace of the vizierate as well as it is much closer to the dome of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn which is situated in the heart of Cairo in Bayn al-Ṣaqrāyīn.
The walls of the chambers were all over the blind arched recesses of an inside conch like sunrays. The first is a keel-arched recess with an inner medallion and the conch rises like a sunray (Fig.4). The second form is the rounded blind recess with the inner shell conch, especially the mausoleum of al-Ḥaṣawātī. The third type of keel-arched recesses is nearly blind and free of any inner component conch and shell construction. The artisans and architects worked together, which is why the arched keel recesses were almost distinct, between blind and open as narrow windows with a primary view over the inner chambers of Sufi students and newcomers.

In the vicinity of Bāb al-Wazīr, as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, the emir al-Ṭanbughā al-Maridānī erected his congregational mosque aside to sīkkit al-taḥbānah in 738AH/1339AD over the remains of ancient graves. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ordered the destruction of old remaining houses to build the mosque in their place, and the works cost 300,000 dirhams plus about 15,000 dinars for the marble and wood. He reused the stones of the old Fatimid mosque of Rāshidah. On the 24th of Ramadan 740AH/March 1339AD the first Friday sermon was celebrated, which has an impressive and special minaret.3

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

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

3 Al-Maqrīzī, Khitāt, Vol III, Pt.I, 227,228.
The keel-arched recesses can be seen clearly in the spandrels of the arcade, with alternating rosettes and lozenges overlooking the courtyard (Fig.5) (Pl.XI). Having keel-arched recesses on the spandrels of arcades was mostly found in al-Azhar mosque (Pl.IV). Nevertheless, there are few differences here, with the course of al-Maridānī being different from that of al-Azhar with conk like sunrays. The lozenges and fluency rosettes also offer a Fatimid interpretation of the same stalactite squinches across the interior. They are similar to the spandrels of the keel-arched arcades in the frontal arcade of al-Sāliḥ Talāʾiʾ ibn Ruzayk mosque. However, stucco keel arched recesses are mainly shown in the mihrab of the mashhad of al-Sayyida Ruqayyah. The keel-arched recesses are clearly shown in the mosque of Aššāl al-Silāḥdār which was constructed in the year 746/1345 AD. The mosque’s only Fatimid feature is clearly displayed in the finest stucco decoration. The stucco is found in the mausoleum, the mihrab, and the qibla wall, while the opposite iwān are decorated with six roundel, lozenge and medallions. Keel arches (Pl.XII) have also been employed in the same parts (Figs.6) and they go back to those of al-Maridānī mosque (Fig.5) (Pl.XI) filled with a stucco course of stalactites, which are mainly western Fatimid in style. This same decorative element of the mosque of al-Maridānī is found in the spandrels of the frontal arcade in al-Azhar mosque (Pl.IV). The keel-arched ornaments were also used in the buildings of

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

2 Flury, Die Ornamente, Tav.XXI/2.

3 A.Fikrī, *Masājid*, 1, 105.

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

5 He was one of the Mamluks of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn al-Alfī. He was then under the service of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn during the nīyābah of Katbughā after the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl, he was given to amīr Aqṣāḥ al-Mansūrī, then he became one of the Mamluks of Salār. He became the governor of Ṣafād. He was then promoted to amīr maʿāh and muqqadim alf. He died in 746/1345. Al-Maqrīzī stated that he died on Saturday 10th Šaʿbān 746 AH. For his bibliography, see al-Ṣafadi, al-Wīfī bi-l-wajīyāt, Vol.IX, 168,169; al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, IV, Pt.I, 235,236; Ibn Taghūrī Bardī, *al-Nuẓūm al-Zāhirah*, IX, 3.

6 The mosque was known by the commons as the mosque of Sīdī Aššāl and it is situated off the Darb al-Aḥmar southeast of Fatimid Cairo close to the wall of Salah al-Dīn and bāb al-mahrāq. Its southern façade is close to darb šuğlīnsquarre and the northwestern on the present šāriʿ Faṭimah al-nabawiya or Jāmīʿ Aššāl. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, IV, Pt.I, 232; Āli Bāshā Mubārak al- Khīṭāt at-tawfiqīya al-Jadīda li-Mīṣr al-Qaḥīra wa-mudunihā wa-bīlādihā al-qadīma wa-l-sahāra, Vol.II (Cairo:Būlāq,1886), 99,100; Chahinda Fahmi ʿArahīm "The Mosque of Aššāl al-Silāḥdār." (Master’s thesis, American University in Cairo, 1978), 21; "The mosque of Aššāl al-Bahāʾī al-Silāḥdār" (746/1345), *Annales Islamologiques* 24, IFAO, Le Caire, (1988), 235-247.

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

8 Chahinda Karīm, "The mosque of Aššāl al-Bahāʾī", 250.

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

10 Flury, *Die Ornamente*, Tav.XXI/2.

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the Circassian Mamluk period. The mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh\textsuperscript{1} has several such motifs despite it's purely Mamluk design and arts.

The present mosque was the outcome of a series of additions and renovations, but a drawing by the French Pascal Coste shows the original scheme of the inner courtyard and the central fountain.\textsuperscript{2} Old pictures of the Mosque reveal that the exterior of the Qibla arch had semi-circular arches with stalactite medallions on arch spandrels and keel arched niches (Pl.XIII), with sunrays.\textsuperscript{3} This type of ornaments occurred in the arcade of the Azhar mosque\textsuperscript{4} (Pl.IV) being engaged to medallions in the spandrels with a stalactite filling. The medallions within the blind recesses also occurred in the mosque of al-Sâlih Talâ'î\textsuperscript{5} (Pl.XIV) in the spandrels of the arches facing the courtyard with the same design like that of al-Mu'ayyad.

\textbf{Projecting entrances:}

A projecting entrance is mainly found in Fatimid and Tunisian architecture, such as the mosque of al-Mahdiyah dated 303AH/916AD. (Pl.XV). It is a monumental entrance, which includes a large central arched view flanked by two shallow stories. The use of monumentalized portals represents one of the major requirements in Fatimid mosques.\textsuperscript{6} The mosque of Baybars has three projecting entrances. The main entrance is the western one (Pl.XVI), while the other two entrances are located in the north and south walls\textsuperscript{7}. This type of entrance was used in the mosque of al-Ḥākim bi’Amr Allah\textsuperscript{8} (Pl.XVII), which developed to that in al-Aqmar Mosque, and the monumental entrance of Baybars Mosque.\textsuperscript{9} The mosque of Baybars has also carried other features from the

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\textsuperscript{1} According to al-Maqrîzî, “the mosque is located nearby bâb zuwailah replacing an ancient prison that was called Khażānat shamā’îl and it was one of the extraordinary monuments of its time by its elegance and beauty. The construction began in 14\textsuperscript{th} of Rabî’ I 818AH/1415AD on the remains of the prison of Šamā’îl. The reason of the construction was vow by the sultan who decided to build a mosque for himself having vowed that he would build a mosque on it site, should he survived. The sultan removed the old properties from the placement of the mosque. The inauguration was in 21\textsuperscript{th} of Shawwāl 820AH/1419AD with an extravagant celebration as the fountain was filled by a molten sugar. The sultan died in 18\textsuperscript{th} of Muhārām 824AH/1423AD and was buried in his dome located east to the mosque“. For more details see For more details see al-Maqrîzî, Khījiṭat, Vol.IV, pt.I, 334-347; also see Fahmī ‘Abd al-‘Alîm, Jāmiʿ al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, (Cairo: Department of Antiquities 1994), 24.

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

\textsuperscript{3} F.’Abd al-‘Alîm, Jāmiʿ al-Mu’ayyad, Fig.13.

\textsuperscript{4} Flury, Die Ornamente, Tav.XXI/2.

\textsuperscript{5} D.Abu Seif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 243.

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

\textsuperscript{7} Hautecoeur et Wiet, Les Mosquées, I, 221,261; Creswell, M.A.E, II, 156-158 : Ḥasan al-Bâshâ and others, al-Qâhirah, Tārîkhuhā, Funûnaha, wa-‘Āthârîha, (Cairo: Mu’asasat al-Ahrâm, 1970), 61;S.Mâhir, Masâjid, III, 35; Sâmi’h. A.Fahmî, ’Jāmiʿ Baybars’Vol.III, Dirâsāt Āthârîya Islāmiyyah Cairo, Department of Antiquities (1988) 106-108; D.Abu Seif, Islamic Architecture, 94; A. Abd al-Râziq, al-Imarah, 227.

\textsuperscript{8} Creswell, M.A.E, II, 68; Hautecoeur et Wiet, Les Mosquées, I, 220,221.

\textsuperscript{9} F. Shâfi’î, ”West Islamic influences", 31.
mosque of al-Ḥākim such as the four corner towers located on the outer elevation on four sides 1.

**Cushion voussoirs:**

The decorative elements on the arch of the western entrance of Baybars mosque also recall that of al-Ḥākim and al-Aqmar 2 displaying a type of attached masonry forming what is known as cushion voussoirs (Pl.XVIII). This prototype also occurred in the Bāb al-Futūḥ from the works of Badr al-Jamālī in the Fatimid period 480AH/1087 3 (Pl.XIX). The row in the internal ring on the sides of the two towers is formed. 4 The only difference is that in the mosque of Baybars it is situated on the soffits far arch of the western gate, as opposed to the one of Bāb al-Futūḥ. The cushion voussoirs are shown in the portal of the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr in the main portal, which is embedded with this ornament. The ornament series (Pl.XX) runs on the portal’s main arch intrados. 5 It recalls that of Bāb al-Futūḥ from the works of Badr al-Jamālī 6 and the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars in the western entrance (Pl.XVIII)

**The transept:**

As Creswell assumed, a maqsura was simply obscured by a wide dome at Baybars Mosque, primarily in the qibla portico, which is believed to be a prototype of that of Imām al-Shāfiʿī. Moreover, it is located on the square opposite to the main mihrab A transept extended from the Maqsura's entrance into the courtyard 7 (Pl.XXI). The transept is primarily a Fatimid mechanism in al-Azhar Mosque, 8 and the mosque of al-Ḥakim biʿAmr Allah 9 (Pl.XXII)

**Cross or groin vaults:**

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

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1 Creswell, M.A.E., II, 161.
2 Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Vol I, (Oxford, 1951), 98.
3 Creswell, M.A.E., II, 156; Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 237; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmiʿ Baybars", 106 ; A.ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *al-ʿImārah*, 227.
4 Creswell, M.A.E., I, 177.
5 Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I 284; D.Abd al-Karīm, *Maʿāhid*, 100; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 163.
6 Creswell, M.A.E., II, 156; D.Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.
7 Creswell, M.A.E., II, 160. Fig.90; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmiʿ Baybars", 112.
8 Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 219; A.K.Musa, *Fatimid Architecture*, 14; Munazamat al-ʿAwāṣim, 28; M.ʿAbd al-Sattār ʿUthmān, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿimārah*, I, 278; A. Abd al-Rāziq, *al-ʿImārah*, 87.
9 Creswell, M.A.E., I, 76; Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 222; S.A.Fahmī, "Jāmiʿ Baybars", 119; Munazamat al-ʿAwāṣim, 35; A. Abd al-Rāziq, *al-ʿImārah*, 101.
10 Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 262; Creswell, M.A.E., II, 157.
11 Creswell, M.A.E., I, .171; Hautecoeur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées*, I, 236.

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mosque the northern part of the southern entrance is different showing this device above the entrance bay\(^1\), which is another prototype of Bāb al-Naṣr. (Pl.XXIV). Cross vaults occurred also in the ceiling between the arches of the Qibla wall in the mosque of Aq Sunqur at Bab al-Waẓīr\(^2\) (Pl.XXV), and they resemble those found in Bāb al-Naṣr (XXIV) and the mosque of Baybars (Pl.XXIII).

**Lozenges, rounded medallions and other Fatimid influences:**

Baybars mosque has a row of lozenges over the blind recesses at the sides of the western and northern portals of Baybars mosque (Pl.XXVI).\(^3\) Such motifs are mainly Fatimid\(^4\) and recall those in the mosque of al-Ḥākim\(^5\) (Pl.XXVII), and the main façade of al-Aqmar.\(^6\) There are a few variations between the two mosques, notably in their inner decoration, where a vase adorns al-Aqmar mosque from the inside\(^7\) (Pl.XXVIII). In the minaret of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lozenges were added to its shaft carved in stucco, but the whole shaft is decorated with fine arabesque motifs sculptured in high relief on several stages\(^8\) (Fig. 7). Rounded medallions Fatimid in style appear above the arched recesses with conch-shell hoods in the southern portal of Baybars.\(^9\)

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\(^1\) For this entrance, see Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 158.

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

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

\(^4\) D. Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.

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

\(^6\) J. al-Ṣādiq, *al-Aqmar*, 44.

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

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

\(^9\) Creswell, *M.A.E*, II, 156, 157; D. Abu Seif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 124.
These are reminiscent of Al-Aqmar mosque seen on the wide conch of the main gate within a shallow recess. A rounded stucco medallion is seen also inside the mosque of Ašlâm al-Bahāṭī and in the Qiblā (Fig.7a). They are mostly found in Fatimid mosques showing a variety of features such as in al-Azhar mosque, Aqmar mosque in the spandrels of the arches, and the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʿī. The same type of stucco medallion of the mosque of Ašlâm occurred in the stucco ornaments decorating the main Iwān of the Khānqāh of Khawand Tughāy, the wife of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. This device became a tradition in the Mamluk arts and architecture; therefore, the doctrinal tendency could be excluded.

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

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1 A. Fikrī, Masājid, I, 93.Fig.14; D. Abu Seif, "The Façade of al-Aqmar", 36.Fig.6; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 113; M.A. ‘Uthmān, Mawsu’at al-‘Imārah, I, 340.
2 Chahinda Karīm, The Mosque of Ašlâm, 33, 110, 114.
3 Flury, Die Ornamente, Tav.XXI/2; Creswell, M.A.E, I, 254, Fig.156.
4 Creswell, M.A.E, I, 244, 282.
5 Amina Karam, "Women, Architecture and Representation in Mamluk Cairo", (M.A, AUC, Cairo, 2019), 53.
6 Creswell, M.A.E, II, 159; S.A. Fahmī, "Jāmiʿ Baybars", 119.
7 A. Fikrī, Masājid, I, 66; Jonathan Max Bloom, "The mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo", Muqarnas, Brill, (1983), Vol. I, 17; D. Abu Seif, Islamic Architecture, 63; M.A. ‘Uthmān, Mawsu’at al-‘Imārah, I, 311; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 101.
8 Creswell, M.A.E, II, 161.
9 A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 263.
10 Some Andalusian influences were used in the Bahrite Mamluk architecture especially in the works of Sultan Ḥusān al-Din Lājīn in the mosque of Ibn Tulūn in the room of dār al-imārah beside the mihrab in the forms of the head of the animals. Creswell estimated they are almost 25cm and 15cm high, and are placed 60cm. A part from center to center, so that in length of just over 3m, there are three intermediate ones and two corner ones. See Creswell, M.A.E, II, 227. Besides, some Andalusian impacts could be found in the bridge that connected the minaret to the western Riwaq in the same mosque. Farīd Shafi’ī, al-‘Imārah, 481; D. Abu Seif, Islamic Architecture, 55. Some Andalusian features can be witnessed in the minaret of the complex of Qalawūn mainly over its façade Ḥasan Qāsim, al-Mazārāt al-Islāmiya wa-l-Āthār al-ārabiyah fi Misr wa-l-Qāhirah, Vol.III (Alexandria: Bibliotica Alexandrina, 2018), 173.
11 H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, al-Ta’īrāt al-mi’āriyah, 18.
The analytical study:

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

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

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

1 Creswell, M.A.E, I, 247; Munazamat al-‘Awāsim, 77; A. Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 206.
2 Yūsuf Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides du quartier d’al-Mashāhid", Annales Islamologiques, IFAO, Tome 17. Le Caire, (1971): 11.
3 Y. Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides", 7-10.
4 For more details on this madrasah see, Creswell, "The Origin of the cruciform plan", 1-54
5 For details on these tombs see, Y. Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides", 7-29.
6 Munazamat al-‘Awāsim, 54, Pl.273/2
7 Y. Rāghib, "Les mausolées Fatimides", 21,22.
Fig. 8
The location of the dome of Shajar al-Durr, and the dome of Um al-Ṣāliḥ within the Fatimid vicinity

The Egyptian Survey Authority – ESA Plan 2
Fig. 9
The location of the madrasah of Baybars and the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad within the vicinity of al-Muʿizz Street

After.

*The Egyptian Survey Authority – ESA Plan1*
Fig. 10
The location of the Khanqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr
After
The Egyptian Survey Authority – ESA Plan 1
The Fatimid Influences on Some Religious Mamluk Constructions in Egypt

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

The location also played a great role in representing the Fatimid influences in the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr, situated within a group of Fatimid monuments. The Fatimid keel-arched recesses appeared in the walls of the interior from the courtyard resembling those in al-Aqmar mosque in its type of arcades.1 Cushion voussoirs are shown on the portal of the Khānqāh resembling those in Bāb al-Futūḥ.2 The building is acting as a sufi foundation or a Khānqāh which means it is a religious construction. Then, of course, the metaphysical condition of those buildings must have influenced them tremendously, but the Khānqāh is situated near Fatimid constructions (Fig.10) and their inspiration could be the definite result. It is located near Bāb al-Futūḥ, and an ancient Fatimid dome is located facing the Khānqāh.3 It is also close to al-Aqmar mosque in the same urban as al-Ḥākim mosque. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned that the Khānqāh was built on the placement of dār al-wazārah al-kubra adjacent to the eastern Fatimid palace and near bāb al-ʾṭird and Bāb al-Naṣīr.4 That means that the Khānqāh was built within Fatimid vicinity. The location also became a reason for representing some Fatimid features in the mosque of ʿAshʿam al-Silahdār. Especially the keel arched recesses in the walls of the qibla, and the opposite Iwān.5 The mosque is situated next to the Fatimid monuments in the south suburb of Fatimid Cairo such as, Bāb Zuwaila, and the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzayk. Some Fatimid features are shown in the

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1 Creswell, M.A.E, I, 243,244.
2 Creswell, M.A.E, I, 177.
3 Creswell, M.A.E, I, 231.
4 Established by Badr al-Jamālī, the vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir bi-l-Allah inhabited by most of the Fatimid viziers, also by the Ayyubid sultan al-Nāṣir Šalāḥ al-Dīn, and his successors. The Mamluk sultans also inhabited this settlement until the sultan Baybars II built his Khānqāh on a part of its property. See al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, II, 438-440.
5 One of the gates of the great eastern Fatimid palace at Bayna –I-Qasrayn. A vast court rahlbū lied in front of it. It has been given its name for the festivals and banquets held in front of it. In certain times, the caliphs used the vast court in front of it for their slaughtering. This gate was in the place of nowadays al-Darb al-Asfar district near by the Khanqāh of Baybars al-Jāshinkīr. For more details see Al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, Vol.II,216, 432
6 al-Maqrīzī, Khīṭāt, IV, Pt.I, 732.
7 Chahinda Karīm, The Mosque of ʿAshʿam, 33,110,114.
mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. Al-Maqrīzī stated that the mosque is close to Bāb Zuwailla⁴. (Fig.11) It is also located near the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭālā’ī ibn Ruzayk; the mosque that has a large group of keel arched recesses in the western arcaded façade and spandrels of the keel-arched columns of the arcades². The place thus played a significant role in conveying western Fatimid traditions, and the architect needed the same Fatimid features to harmonize with the existing monuments in the same area. The sultan supervised the construction himself, as mentioned in his waqfiyah³. This is evidence that the location is a key reason for transmitting Western Fatimid characteristics to Mamluk architecture. Those architectural elements have therefore become a tradition for westernization in the buildings of the Mamluks, as the position has become a focal factor for the relocation of the Fatimid equipment to Mamluk buildings.

Some causes related the architect and the supervisor:

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

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1 al-Maqrīzī, Ḧiṣāṭ, Vol.IV, pt.I,334-347 ; F.A al-‘Alim, Jāmi’ al-Mu’ayyad, 24.
2 Creswell, M.A.E, I, 277.
3 Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh was the one who was supervising the construction works. See F.’Abd al-'Alim, Jāmi’ al-Mu’ayyad,140,150, the document line 684. According to al-Maqrīzī, the sultan had appointed an engineer for putting the plan of the mosque and his name was Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Burjī. Al-Maqrīzī, Ḧiṣāṭ, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 344.
4 Al-Maqrīzī, Ḧiṣāṭ, Vol. III, Pt.I, 102.
5 Al-Maqrīzī, Ḧiṣāṭ, Vol. III, Pt.I, 102; Van Berchem, Corpus, I, 190; Creswell, M.A.E, I, 38; ‘Abd al-Rahman Zakī, al-Azhar wama ḥawluh min Athār.(Cairo: 1972), 26,27; Bloom, “Mosque of Baybars”, 63.
6 Van Berchem, Corpus, I, 189,190.
7 The mosque was finished in Shawwāl 667AH/Jan 1269AD. See Al-Maqrīzī, Ḧiṣāṭ, Vol.IV, Pt.I,188-193
8 Al-Maqrīzī, Ḧiṣāṭ, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 189.
Fig. 11
The location of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh
After
The Egyptian Survey Authority – ESA Plan1
al-Azhar, which were held on the same date of the construction of Baybars mosque 14th of Rabī’ II 665AH/Dec 1266AD.2

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

Al-Ṭanbughāl-Maridānī’s architect was Ibn al-Siyūfī,5 who had founded the Uqbughāwiya madrasah in al-Azhar in the year 734-740AH/1333-1339AD. Al-Mu’ālīm al-Siyūfī who was titled as al-Muhandis6 had a good amount of knowledge, and started the construction in 739AH/1338AD, finished on the 24th of Ramadan/14 March 1340AD. It means that the Aqbugāwiyah started its construction before the mosque.7 The two constructions were therefore designed by the same architect, who possessed a great deal of expertise and an opportunity for inspiration from the Fatimid art of al-Azhar mosque. Particularly the decorative elements that strengthen the spandrels of the courtyard arcades. Furthermore, the architect himself was influenced while touring the Islamic monuments. As a result, Ibn al-Siyūfī was obviously inspired

1 That was in 665AH/1266AD, See A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 88.
2 The date was mentioned in a slab above the northern entrance with eight lines saying that the mosque was restored in this year by order of the sultan Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. See Van Berchem, Corpus, I, 121.
3 al-Maqrizī, Khīṭāt, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 114,116.
4 Leonor Fernandes, The Foundation of Baybars al-Jāshankīr: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture, Muqarnas, Vol. 4, Brill (1987), 23,24; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 248. According to al-Maqrizī, the construction started in the year 706AH/1306. See al-Maqrizī, Khīṭāt, Vol.IV, Pt.II, 732.
5 Al-Mu’ālīm al-Siyūfī was the chief architect in the time of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn and was also in charge of constructing the mosque of al-Ṭanbūghāl-Maridānī. See al-Maqrizī, Khīṭāt, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 542; A. ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Imārah, 280.
6 Van Berchem, Corpus, I, 183; ‘Īsām ‘Arafah, "Masjid al-Ṭanbughāl-Maridānī bi-l-Qāhirah", (M.A, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 1981), 241.
7 The title muhandis al-‘amā’ir is important in the whole constructions and was the expert in the art of geometry, see al-Qalqashandī, Subh al-ašā’ fi šinā’ at al-inshā’, Volume V, (Cairo: al-Matb’a al-Amīriyah, 1915), 467.
8 al-Maqrizī, Khīṭāt, Vol.IV, Pt.I, 227; Van Berchem, Corpus, I,191,192.
9 According to Van Berchem, the foundation slab above the main portal has inscription in three lines of nāṣṣ which says that the whole construction started in the year 734AH/1333AD. See Van Berchem, Corpus, I, 183. See also Ḥāmid ‘Abd al-Rāziq, Tūrīḥ wa ʿAthār Miṣr al-Islāmiyah min al-faṭḥ al-ʿarabī haṭa nahāyat al-ʿuṣr al-fāṭimī, (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, , 1999), 128.
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during his works in the madrasah al-Uqbughāwiyah by the Fatimid art inside that great Fatimid institution; al-Azhar mosque.

Conclusion:

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

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

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Photographed by the Researcher

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