

American University in Cairo

## AUC Knowledge Fountain

---

Theses and Dissertations

---

6-1-2019

### Women, Architecture and Representation in Mamluk Cairo

Amina Karam

Follow this and additional works at: <https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds>

---

#### Recommended Citation

##### APA Citation

Karam, A. (2019). *Women, Architecture and Representation in Mamluk Cairo* [Master's thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/787>

##### MLA Citation

Karam, Amina. *Women, Architecture and Representation in Mamluk Cairo*. 2019. American University in Cairo, Master's thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/787>

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

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Studies

**Women, Architecture and Representation  
in Mamluk Cairo**

A Thesis Submitted to

Department of Arab and Islamic Civilization

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

by Amina Karam

(under the supervision of Dr. Ellen Kenney)

Spring 2019

## Contents

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>The Transitional Reign of Shajar al-Durr</b> .....	<b>7</b>
Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din (1250).....	11
The Complex of Shajar al-Durr (1250).....	13
<b>The ‘Formative’ Period of the Early Bahri Mamluks</b> .....	<b>18</b>
Hammam Iltutmish Khan (between 1264 and 1285).....	21
Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih (Fatima Khatun) (1283).....	22
Ribat al-Baghdadiyya (1285).....	26
Mausoleum at Zawiyat al-‘Abbar (1283-84).....	27
Ribat al-Sitt Kalila (1295).....	28
<b>The Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad</b> .....	<b>30</b>
Turbat al-Sitt (c. 1318).....	34
Mosque of al-Jazira al-Wusta.....	37
Mosque of Sitt Hadaq (1336-37) and the Mosque of Sitt Miska (1339-40).....	37
<b>Al-Nasir’s Successors</b> .....	<b>43</b>
Khanqah of Tughay (before 1349).....	49
Turba of Narjis and Turba of Umm Hajji.....	56
The Mausoleum of Malktumur al-Hijazi (1347).....	57
Al-Madrasa al-Saghira (1350).....	58
Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya (1360).....	58
Mausoleum of Khawand Zahra’.....	62
Mausoleum for the mother of al-Nasir Hasan (1354-61).....	63
Turba of Tulubay (1364).....	66
Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban (1368-69).....	68
Turbat Khawand Samra al-Nasiriyya.....	75
<b>The Circassian Mamluks</b> .....	<b>77</b>
The Southern Mausolea at the Funerary Complexes of Faraj ibn Barquq (1400-11) and al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (1415-20).....	87
Mausoleum of Khadija Umm al-Ashraf (1430-40).....	88
Hammam and Sabil of Surbay (before 1448).....	90
Masjid al-Shaykh Madyan.....	90
Zawiya (before 1451).....	94
Madrasa of Fatima Umm Khawand (1450s).....	95
Ribat of Zaynab (between 1453 and 1461).....	96
Masjid Fatima al-Shaqra’ (1468-69).....	102
Mosque of Asalbay, Fayoum (1498-99).....	103

<b>Women and the Culture of Mamluk Architecture</b> .....	<b>106</b>
The Role of Women in Mamluk Architecture .....	106
The Feminine Idiom: Self vs. Sultanate.....	114
The Mamluk Household and the Shifting Architectural Image.....	120
Pilgrimage and Philanthropy .....	121
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>125</b>
<b>Appendix: Foundation Inscriptions</b> .....	<b>128</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>151</b>
Primary Sources .....	151
Secondary Sources .....	153
<b>Figures</b> .....	<b>162</b>

## List of Figures

FIGURE 1. Monuments associated with Mamluk women, (base map after URHC, <i>Historic Cairo: Visitors Map</i> ; additions after Warner, <i>Monuments</i> , 24).....	137
FIGURE 2a. Monuments associated with Mamluk women, showing chronology (base map after Warner, <i>Monuments</i> , 24). .....	138
FIGURE 2a. Monuments associated with Mamluk women, showing status (base map after Warner, <i>Monuments</i> , 24). .....	138
FIGURE 3. Madrasa and Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, plan (after Arida, Archnet). .....	165
FIGURE 4. Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub. ....	166
FIGURE 5. Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, inscription above entrance. .	166
FIGURE 6. Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, carving above window. ....	167
FIGURE 7. Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, <i>mihrab</i> . ....	167
FIGURE 8. Map of Khalifa Street (after Survey of Egypt in Behrens Abouseif, “The Lost Minaret,” 5).....	168
FIGURE 9. Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr, plan (after Le Comité, “1915-1919,” Plate 33). .....	168
FIGURE 10. Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr (after Creswell, Archnet).....	16
FIGURE 11. Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr (after Creswell, Archnet). ....	169
FIGURE 12. Mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs (after Creswell, Archnet). ....	169
FIGURE 13. Drawing assumed to be of the Complex of Shajar al-Durr (after Pascal Coste in Behrens-Abouseif, <i>Cairo</i> , 116). .....	170
FIGURE 14. Madrasa al-Firdaws, plan (after Discover Islamic Art, MWNF) .....	170
FIGURE 15. Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr, painted transitional zone and drum (after al-Athar Lina). .....	171
FIGURE 16. Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr, <i>mihrab</i> (after John A. and Caroline Williams, Archnet). .....	171
FIGURE 17. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih, plan (after Arida, Archnet). 172	172
FIGURE 18. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih (after Creswell, Archnet).....	173
FIGURE 19. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih, nineteenth century photograph (after Behrens-Abouseif, <i>Cairo</i> , 131). .....	173
FIGURE 20. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih, stucco decoration (after Creswell, Archnet) .....	174
FIGURE 21. Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih, interior (after Creswell, Archnet). ....	174
FIGURE 22. Zawiyat al-‘Abbar, plan (after Creswell, <i>Muslim Architecture</i> ). ....	175
FIGURE 23. Zawiyat al-‘Abbar, second mausoleum (after Creswell, Archnet).....	176
FIGURE 24. Zawiyat al-‘Abbar, interior of second mausoleum (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	176
FIGURE 25. Turbat al-Manufi also identified as Turbat al-Sitt (after Vivek Agrawal and Sonit Bafna, Archnet). .....	177
FIGURE 26. Mosque of Sitt Miska (after Creswell, Archnet). ....	177
FIGURE 27. Mosque of Sitt Miska, plan (after Meinecke, Islamic Art Network). ....	178
FIGURE 28. Mosque of Sitt Miska, portal detail. ....	179

FIGURE 29. Mosque of Sitt Miska, foundation inscription.....	179
FIGURE 30. Mosque of Sitt Miska, decorative plaques on portal.....	180
FIGURE 31. Mausoleum of Sultan Qalawun, <i>karma</i> scroll.....	180
FIGURE 32. Mosque of Sitt Miska, glass mosaic (Williams, “The Mosque of Sitt Miska,” 59). .....	180
FIGURE 33. Madrasa of Aqbugha, <i>qibla</i> wall (after Creswell, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, AUC). .....	181
FIGURE 34. Diagram of the <i>qibla</i> wall at the Great Mosque of Medina based on Ibn Abd Rabbihi’s description (after Jairazbhoy, “The History,” 31). .....	181
FIGURE 35. Khanqah of Tughay, plan (after Abd al-Raziq, “Trois Fondations,” 114) .....	182
FIGURE 36. Khanqah of Tughay, section (after Abd al-Raziq, “Trois Fondations,” 114). .....	182
FIGURE 37. Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar, plan (after “Aslam al-Silahdar Mosque Conservation Project,” Agha Khan Trust for Culture). .....	183
FIGURE 38. Khanqah of Tughay, sketch showing possible phases of construction and proposed layout for the main spaces.....	184
FIGURE 39. Location and borders of the Khanqah of Tughay at the Northern Cemetery (after Google Earth) .....	185
FIGURE 40. Khanqah of Umm Anuk and Mausoleum of Khawand Tulubay at the Northern Cemetery (after Creswell, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, AUC). .....	186
FIGURE 41. Khanqah of Umm Anuk (after Creswell, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, AUC). .....	186
FIGURE 42. Khanqah of Umm Anuk (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	187
FIGURE 43. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, eastern façade (after Creswell, Ashmolean Museum). .....	187
FIGURE 44. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, <i>qibla</i> wall (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	187
FIGURE 45. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, main <i>iwān</i> . .....	188
FIGURE 46. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, blind stucco window.....	188
FIGURE 47. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, stucco medallion above <i>mihrab</i> . .....	188
FIGURE 48. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, stucco medallion on northern wall.....	188
FIGURE 49. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, Qur’anic inscription band of main <i>iwān</i> (after O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 81.6).....	188
FIGURE 50. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, interior inscription of the mausoleum.....	189
FIGURE 51. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, stucco decoration on <i>pishtaq</i> (after Meinecke, <i>Die mamlukische Architektur</i> , plate 84c). .....	189
FIGURE 52. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, surviving fragment from stucco decoration on <i>pishtaq</i> .....	189
FIGURE 53. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, tile mosaic inscription on the dome. ....	190
FIGURE 54. Khanqah of Umm Anuk, stucco decoration on the transitional zone.....	190
FIGURE 55. Khanqah of Umm Anuk construction joint between the dome and <i>iwān</i> . ..	190
FIGURE 56. Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar (after The Islamic Art Network).....	191

FIGURE 57. Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar, stucco medallion (after Creswell, Archnet)	191
FIGURE 58. Khanqah of Qawsun, stucco medallion (after Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah of Emir Qawsun in Cairo," Plate 10c).	191
FIGURE 59. Sabil of al-Nasir Muhammad (after Creswell, Archnet).	191
FIGURE 60. Mosque of al-Maridani, tile mosaic window grill (after Islamic Art Network).	191
FIGURE 61. Reconstruction of the Fatimid Eastern Palace (after Ravisse, <i>Essai</i> , Plate 5).	192
FIGURE 62. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, plan (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , 146).	193
FIGURE 63. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , plate 25b).	194
FIGURE 64. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, northern facade (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , plate 27c).	194
FIGURE 65. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, main portal (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , plate 35a).	194
FIGURE 66. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, foundation inscription (after O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 36.3).	195
FIGURE 67. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, minaret (after Le Comité, "1915-1919," Plate VII).	195
FIGURE 68. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, mausoleum interior (after Creswell, Archnet).	196
FIGURE 69. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, vestibule ceiling (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , plate 35c).	196
FIGURE 70. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, main <i>iwan</i> (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , plate 37c).	196
FIGURE 71. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, arcade (after Speiser, <i>Die Madrasa</i> , plate 42d).	196
FIGURE 72. Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, stucco inscription band (after O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 36.9).	197
FIGURE 73. Mosque of Sultan Hasan, stucco inscription band of the hanafi <i>madrasa</i> (after O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 133.9).	197
FIGURE 74. Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, blind stucco window.	197
FIGURE 75. Mosque of Sultan Hasan, Hanafi Madrasa, stucco medallion and inscription (after O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 133.9).	197
FIGURE 76. Mausoleum of Malktumur al-Hijazi, stucco medallion, (after Speiser <i>Die Madrasa</i> , 33a).	197
FIGURE 77. Sultaniyya, nineteenth century (after Archnet).	198
FIGURE 78. Sultaniyya (after Islamic Art Network)	198
FIGURE 79. Sultaniyya, northern dome (after Islamic Art Network)	198
FIGURE 80. Dome of Yunis al-Duwadar (after Matjaz Kacicnik, Archnet).	199
FIGURE 81. Sultaniyya, minaret (after Creswell, Ashmolean Museum).	199
FIGURE 82. Sultaniyya (after Vivek Agrawal and Sonit Bafna, Archnet).	199

FIGURE 83. Mosque of Sultan Hasan, side niche on portal (after Islamic Art Network).	199
FIGURE 84. Turba of Tulubay, entrance (after Creswell, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, AUC)	200
FIGURE 85. Turba of Tulubay, mausoleum.	200
FIGURE 86. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, plan (after Islamic Art Network).	201
FIGURE 87. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, aerial view (after Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Archnet).	202
FIGURE 88. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, eastern corner (after Creswell, Archnet).	202
FIGURE 89. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, main facade (after Creswell, Archnet).	202
FIGURE 90. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, main portal (after Creswell, Archnet).	203
FIGURE 91. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, main portal.	203
FIGURE 92. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, main iwan (after Creswell, Archnet).	203
FIGURE 93. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, <i>qibla</i> wall (after Creswell, Archnet).	203
FIGURE 94. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, wooden ceiling of antechamber (after Creswell, Archnet).	204
FIGURE 95. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, <i>iwan</i> of cluster A (after Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Archnet).	204
FIGURE 96. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, construction joint between <i>sabil</i> and inner portal (after Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Archnet).	204
FIGURE 97. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban, inner portal (after Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Archnet).	204
FIGURE 98. Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq, plan (after Islamic Art Network).	205
FIGURE 99. Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq, south-eastern elevation (after Prisse d’Avennes, Archnet).	205
FIGURE 100. Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq, dome of male mausoleum (after Vivek Agrawal and Sonit Bafna, Archnet).	206
FIGURE 101. Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq, dome of female mausoleum (after Nasser Rabbat, Archnet).	206
FIGURE 102. Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq, <i>qibla</i> wall of male mausoleum.	206
FIGURE 103. Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq, <i>qibla</i> wall of female mausoleum.	206
FIGURE 104. The Mosque of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, plan (after Arida, Archnet).	207
FIGURE 105. Funerary Complex of Barsbay with the Mausoleum of Umm al-Ashraf on the right (after Lekegian, Victoria and Albert Museum).	208
FIGURE 106. Mausoleum of Umm al-Ashraf (after Creswell, Archnet).	208
FIGURE 107. Mausoleum of Umm al-Ashraf, transitional zone (after Creswell, Archnet).	208
FIGURE 108. Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan, plan (after Egyptian Antiquities Authority in al-Juhayni, <i>Ahya’ al-Qahira</i> , plate 19).	209



FIGURE 109. Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan (after Creswell, Archnet).....	210
FIGURE 110. Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan, portal (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	211
FIGURE 111. Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan, minaret (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	211
FIGURE 112. Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan, <i>mihrab</i> (after Creswell, Archnet).....	211
FIGURE 113. Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan, interior (after Creswell, Archnet).....	211
FIGURE 114. Madrasa of Fatima Umm Khawand (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	212
FIGURE 115. Madrasa of Fatima Umm Khawand, portal (after Creswell, Archnet) ...	212
FIGURE 116. Madrasa of Fatima Umm Khawand, portal detail. ....	212
FIGURE 117. Ribat of Zaynab (after Le Comité, “1900,” Plate I). .....	212
FIGURE 118. Ribat of Zaynab, portal (after Creswell, Archnet).....	213
FIGURE 119. Ribat of Zaynab, portal (after Creswell, Archnet).....	213
FIGURE 120. Ribat of Zaynab, aerial view (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	214
FIGURE 121. Ribat of Zaynab, north-western <i>iwan</i> (after Creswell, Archnet).....	214
FIGURE 122. Ribat of Zaynab, main <i>iwan</i> (after Le Comité, “1900,” Plate I). .....	214
FIGURE 123. Funerary complex of Sultan Inal, north-eastern portal (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	214
FIGURE 124: Mosque of Fatima al-Shaqra,‘ portal (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	215
FIGURE 125: Mosque of Fatima al-Shaqra,‘ carved stone detail from portal (after Creswell, Archnet). .....	215
FIGURE 126. Mosque of Fatima al-Shaqra,‘ minaret (after Creswell, Archnet).....	216
FIGURE 127. Mosque of Fatima al-Shaqra,‘ <i>mihrab</i> (after Marjaz Kacicnik, Archnet). .....	216
FIGURE 128. Mosque of Fatima al-Shaqra,‘ stone carvings <i>mihrab</i> conch (after Marjaz Kacicnik, Archnet).....	216
FIGURE 129. Mosque of Asalbay (after Facchinelli, Bibliothèque National de France). .....	217
FIGURE 130. Mosque of Asalbay, <i>mihrab</i> (after Creswell, Ashmolean Museum).....	217
FIGURE 131. Mosque of Asalbay, minbar (after Creswell, Ashmolean Museum).....	217
FIGURE 132. Mosque of Asalbay, portal (after Creswell, Ashmolean Museum).....	218
FIGURE 133. Mosque of Asalbay, carved brick from the portal (after Le Comité, “1899,” Plate IV). .....	218

## Introduction

The competitive and opulent nature of the Mamluk era, dominated by a military class of slave-soldiers, can still be perceived through the magnificent monuments of their capital city, Cairo, and its outlying cemeteries. Among the hundreds of surviving monuments, at least ten are associated with female members of the ruling elite, mostly relatives of current or previous sultans. Additional monuments are described in topographical literature or mentioned in historic sources, in the context of obituaries and in biographical works. Perceptions of these monuments have varied from assertions of the participatory role of women to their dismissal as unique instances with minimal intervention.

This study seeks to understand how women in Mamluk society participated in the culture of patronage and construction, looking at monuments associated with women not as a body of work but as the architecture of individual players within the larger building context of Mamluk Cairo. It will not be restricted to monuments with known patronesses but will first consider the role of women in architectural and urban development. To better understand their contribution, it will consider the broader relation of women and space by exploring three main questions: How did women of the Mamluk elite interact with Cairo and its people? How did they contribute to the shaping of their city? Finally, how do the monuments represent the associated women, if at all, contributing to their political and social presence.

The spatial aspect of women's lives can be divided into three inter-connected categories; residential, urban - where the question of 'visibility' in the public domain comes into play - and burial. Women of the Mamluk elite resided in the *harem* or women's quarters of their homes, accessed only by relatives and family members and

often separated by a curtain.<sup>1</sup> In middle-class housing, composed of vertically arranged living units, the upper storeys were designated as the women's quarters.<sup>2</sup> At the citadel, the sultan's private quarters, where his family lived, lay beyond the symbolic Bab al-Sitara (Door of the Veil), and was regulated by a strict hierarchy of spaces, refined and expanded by al-Nasir Muhammad, with several *qa'as* for his wives and slave-girls.<sup>3</sup> How much influence did these women have on the spaces they lived in and how did it reflect on their status? Women from different social classes traditionally brought to their marriages a substantial dowry in the form of household items, utensils, bed-spreads and furnishing, displayed in a procession as they were taken to the bride's new home – a practice still common in modern Egyptian society.<sup>4</sup> The value of these items reflected the woman's status.<sup>5</sup> Al-Nasir Muhammad upgraded his wife Qutlumulik's quarters after she gave birth to a son, "redecorating her room in velvet and silk."<sup>6</sup> Particularly towards the fifteenth century, the Ayyubid *Qa'at al-'Awamid* re-emerged as a throne-hall for the primary wife or *Khawand al-Kubra*. Ibn Shahin describes how the *khawandat* furnished it with gold and silver utensils and curiosities, including a golden lamp with a jewel that glowed at night.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars generally agree that seclusion was a privilege of elite or upper-class women while women of the general public participated in every-day activities and contributed to the economy through a variety of professions, from bath attendants to mid-wives, as well as the academic sector as scholars and teachers.<sup>8</sup> Women also made up an integral part of the textile industry, working from their homes as

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, *La Femme*, 179-181.

<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim, "Middle Class Living Units," 28.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, "Residential, Architecture," 52; Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 180, 188.

<sup>4</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 12-14.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 322.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Shahin, *Zubdat*, 131.

<sup>8</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, *La Femme*, 3, 180; Lev, "Women," 148, 157.

spinners.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, authorities continuously attempted to regulate women's activities, behavior and dress, which was not only a construct of modesty but also a means of defining social hierarchy.<sup>10</sup> In Ramadan 825/1422, women were banned from visiting the cemeteries while in 841/1347-48 they were forbidden from public areas in response to the outbreak of a plague - an act which seems to have had a negative effect on certain markets.<sup>11</sup>

While many women from scholarly families received instruction from male family members or female scholars, Berkey takes Ibn al-Hajj's outrage at the presence of women at teaching circles in mosques to mean that it was common practice.<sup>12</sup> The visitation of shrines in the cemeteries is particularly recognized as an expression of female religiosity, possibly because they were otherwise excluded from other forms of worship.<sup>13</sup> Comparable to men's *sufi* institutions, exclusively female *ribats* allowed women to participate in *sufi* and other mystical practices while also providing housing for those in need, particularly unwed, divorced or widowed women.<sup>14</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum, the wives of sultans rarely left the citadel. An unusual story tells of how shops were closed and roads cleared so that Khawand Tughay and the rest of the *harem* could travel unobserved to meet al-Nasir Muhammad at Giza for a hunting trip.<sup>15</sup> Other occasions, such as the birth of a son, called for public ceremony in the mother's honor although she was absent from the public eye. Another aspect that has been greatly explored for both Mamluk and other royal women is the ceremony surrounding their pilgrimage as they left Cairo by the

---

<sup>9</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 34; idem, "Women and Gender," 25.

<sup>10</sup> Lev, "Women," 153-54.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 152-153, 155.

<sup>12</sup> Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education," 100.

<sup>13</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 95; Rapoport, "Women and Gender," 41.

<sup>14</sup> Idem, "Marriage," 38-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 41-45; Sabra, *Poverty*, 84-85.

<sup>15</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:59; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:74-75; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 92.

desert route in a decorated palanquin.<sup>16</sup> Historians reported on the charitable deeds of the pilgrims as well as extravagant displays of wealth embodied in the palanquin and elaborate preparations of the journey.<sup>17</sup> Discussing similar ceremony surrounding Ayyubid princesses, Tabbaa notes that “although their person was hidden from view by veils, cloaks, and curtains, their actions were highly visible.”<sup>18</sup>

In the late fourteenth and, more commonly, the fifteenth centuries, private *qa'as* and *maq'ads* next to mausolea were used by the founder and his family while visiting their departed or participating in religious activity.<sup>19</sup> An unusual case is presented in al-Ghuri's complex where a separate *maq'ad qibti*, or closed *maq'ad*, is specified in the *waqf* for the use of the women of the sultan's family.<sup>20</sup>

At their death, women of the Mamluk elite made their final journey through the city, from the citadel or their respective homes to their *turbas*. Historians often comment on notable mourners who attended the funeral and paid their respects. Women who had sponsored religious institutions or mausolea were laid to rest there. Alternatively, they could be included in family mausolea or burial places.

With restricted public access, how did women of the Mamluk elite contribute to the shaping of their city? Women owned property, through inheritance or purchase, and even administered endowments in both the city and its peripheries. In his study on the economic status of women in the Mamluk era, Petry observes that “the assignment of custodianship over property and the endowment of charitable trusts,” particularly in the fifteenth century, demonstrates the “remarkable degree of parity between men and women who belonged to the ruling elite.”<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, the

---

<sup>16</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 92-96.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>18</sup> Tabbaa, “Dayfa Khatun,” 19.

<sup>19</sup> O'Kane, “Domestic and Religious Architecture,” 168-170.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>21</sup> Petry, “Class Solidarity,” 84.

influence of royal and elite women can also be seen in the adoption of fashion trends by the women of Cairo who sought to emulate their dress.<sup>22</sup> As mentioned above, authorities disapproved and often went to violent extremes to prohibit the new garments.<sup>23</sup>

The most impactful contribution to the urban environment is, however, patronage of religious institutions (madrasas, *khanqahs*, mosques, etc.), especially given Mamluk enthusiasm for construction. ‘Abd ar-Raziq identifies eleven monuments associated with women of the Mamluk household, including the Mosque of Asalbay in Fayoum.<sup>24</sup> His interest is part of a more extensive study entitled *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Égypte*. Howayda al-Harithy conducts a survey of female patronage in the Mamluk era, focusing primarily on the patronesses and classifying patronage according to the function of the institution. She does not include the Mosque of Asalbay but adds two more monuments evidenced in historical accounts: Ribat al-Baghdadiyya and Turbat al-Sitt.<sup>25</sup> In her MA thesis entitled “Mamluk Female Patronage,” Nanis Hanna similarly explores the question of female patronage in Cairo by first looking at the relevant monuments, including commercial and residential buildings mentioned in historical sources, before discussing and comparing female patronage in other dynasties such as Seljuk Anatolia and Timurid Iran as well as Mamluk Jerusalem.

Mamluk monuments are more than just splendid religious institutions - the addition of mausolea render them personal statements within the complicated and often violent fabric of Mamluk politics. Inscriptions, urban location, emblems and decorative elements all contribute to the image and status of the associated persons.

---

<sup>22</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:427, 4:111; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 184; Lev, “Women,” 153-54.

<sup>23</sup> Lev, “Women,” 153-54.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Abd ar-Raziq, “Trois Fondations,” 96; idem, *La Femme*, 19-27.

<sup>25</sup> al-Harithy, “Female Mamluk Patronage,” 324-333.

For the women who were seldom in the public eye, the “representational ‘presence’” of architecture which complements the “‘invisibility’ of charitable acts” is dually important.<sup>26</sup> How, then, do the monuments represent their associated women and their unique identities?

The first five chapters of this study offer a chronological narrative of women’s contribution to the architectural and urban landscapes. It will focus primarily on religious monuments, built for the benefit of the public, as well as funerary structures. Each chapter will begin with an overview of the designated period, providing the historical and urban contexts against which the monuments were built. Chapter six will take a step back in an attempt to identify broader patterns or themes that encompass the collective monuments, questioning the role and participation of women in Mamluk architecture before addressing issues of image and representation.

---

<sup>26</sup> Ruggles, “Vision,” 5.

## The Transitional Reign of Shajar al-Durr (1250-1260)

Both victim of and participant in the violent Ayyubid power struggles, al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub increasingly surrounded himself with loyal *mamluk* slave-warriors to whom he granted substantial *iqta'* and authority.<sup>27</sup> Following his death, the Salihyya *mamluks* were able to take advantage of the resulting power vacuum and rise to autonomous power. While al-Maqrizi identifies Shajar al-Durr as the first Mamluk ruler, Ibn Iyas considers her the ninth Ayyubid sultan of Egypt.<sup>28</sup> Although she justified her position and authority as the mother of an Ayyubid heir, Shajar al-Durr emerged from the same political climate of later Mamluk sultans by virtue of her relation to al-Salih as well as *mamluk* solidarity, succeeding in “cross(ing) the gender division” within that system.<sup>29</sup> In either case, her political and cultural influence is important to the Mamluk dynasty and her reign offered stability for them as well as continuity to al-Salih’s favourable policies.<sup>30</sup>

Shajar al-Durr rose to the forefront of the political arena as sultan on 10 Safar 648/14 May 1250 but her political career began as the concubine, wife and close ally of al-Salih. She was with al-Salih when he was still governor of Diyarbakir and then of Damascus (1239- 1240), even accompanying him during his imprisonment at al-Karak where she gave birth to their son Khalil.<sup>31</sup> Al-Salih was finally able to consolidate power and rule as the Ayyubid sultan in Egypt between 1240 and 1249. Rather than simply a queen-consort, Shajar al-Durr can be acknowledged as al-Salih’s deputy, assuming his duties when he left for military expeditions and developing an

<sup>27</sup> Levanoni, “Mamluk’s Ascent,” 124-25, 127; idem, “Shajar al-Durr,” 210-12.

<sup>28</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 1:459; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur*, 1:286.

<sup>29</sup> Rapoport, “Women and Gender,” 9.

<sup>30</sup> Levanoni, “Mamluk’s Ascent,” 129, 137; idem, “Shajar al-Durr,” 214.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, “Mamluk’s Ascent,” 123; idem, “Shajar al-Durr,” 210-211.



understanding of military and government affairs.<sup>32</sup> In an act that would later serve Shajar al-Durr's autonomous rule, al-Salih justified a woman's involvement through his son, Khalil - who had in fact died in infancy – appointing Shajar al-Durr as regent.<sup>33</sup>

When al-Salih took ill and died on 14 Sha'ban 647/22 November 1249 at a critical moment during the battle against the Franks near Mansura, she kept his death a secret, trusting only a select few and ruling in his stead until his heir, Turanshah, could arrive. Animosity soon spread between him and the *mamluks* and she had Turanshah assassinated.<sup>34</sup> Instead, the *mamluks* elected Shajar al-Durr, who had been instrumental in navigating the political and military problems at hand, as the new sultan.<sup>35</sup> Wolf discusses the “gendered panegyrics” of Shajar al-Durr's titles as seen on her coinage and as repeated during *khutbas* and prayers. In addition to traditional titles for noble women, they include descriptions of her as queen mother, *walidat al-malik al-mansur Khalil*, *walidat al-malik* and *umm Khalil*, as well as *al-Salihyya* in reference to her husband.<sup>36</sup> Others are more conventional titles in the feminine form, such as *al-musta'simiyya*, in reference to the Abbasid Caliph, and *malikat al-muslimin*.<sup>37</sup>

Because of her precarious position as a female leader in a decidedly patriarchal society, Shajar al-Durr faced unique challenges. As she could not assume all the responsibilities expected of a sultan, 'Izz al-Din Aybak was elected alongside her to head the military.<sup>38</sup> Her inauguration lacked the traditional procession through the

---

<sup>32</sup> Idem, “Mamluk's Ascent,” 129; idem, “Shajar al-Durr,” 212.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, “Mamluk's Ascent,” 137; idem, “Shajar al-Durr,” 212.

<sup>34</sup> Idem, “Mamluk's Ascent,” 133-34.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>36</sup> Wolf, “Pen,” 200-202.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Levanoni, “Mamluk's Ascent,” 137; idem, “Shajar al-Durr,” 215-16.

city and she remained screened behind a curtain as the amirs declared their loyalty.<sup>39</sup> Recognizing the potential for architecture to counter her absence, Shajar al-Durr commissioned two monuments shortly after her ascension; a mausoleum for her late husband, the first funerary structure within the city-proper built into his madrasa at Bayn al-Qasrayn, and her own funerary complex at the Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery. While the imposing tomb of al-Salih serves to visually celebrate and eternalize her husband, from whom she drew legitimacy, within the city's landscape, her complex reflects her own authority.<sup>40</sup>

Both foundations are also grounded in Ayyubid patronage traditions. Various, mostly male members of society participated in the patronage of religious institutions during that era. Yet within the Ayyubid household women played a pivotal role, often commissioning monuments for male relatives such as the Kamiliyya (1239) built for al-Kamil Muhammad by his three daughters.<sup>41</sup> Thus the act of patronage itself catered to Shajar al-Durr's image as a member of the ruling elite. Her architectural program also bears striking parallels to that of Dayfa Khatun who ruled Aleppo as queen-regent on behalf of her grandson Salah al-Din II between 1236 and 1243.<sup>42</sup> The Khanqah of al-Farafra and the Madrasa of al-Firdaws, which may have also functioned as a *khanqah*, located within and without the city walls respectively, are attributed to her.<sup>43</sup> The latter displays titles similar to those of Shajar al-Durr, including *al-satr al-rafi'* *wa-l-hijab al-mani'* and *'ismat al-dunya wa-l-din*.<sup>44</sup> She is also identified on one inscription as the mother of (*walidat*) Sultan al-Malik al-'Aziz.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 1:286; Levanoni, "Shajar al-Durr," 214.

<sup>40</sup> Ruggles, "Visible and Invisible Bodies," 70-71.

<sup>41</sup> Humphreys, "Women as Patrons," 36, 41.

<sup>42</sup> Tabbaa, "Dayfa Khatun," 21-22.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>44</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "Lost Minaret," 12; Tabbaa, "Dayfa Khatun," 26.

<sup>45</sup> Tabbaa, "Dayfa Khatun," 26.

Another structure associated with Shajar al-Durr is the *Qa'at al-'Awamid* at the citadel. It is unclear if this was originally built for women of the sultan's household or as al-Kamil's audience hall.<sup>46</sup> In either case, this hall, where Shajar al-Durr built her dais known as *martabat khatun*, became associated with the royal *harem* and as the Khawand al-Kubra's quarters in the fifteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

Did Shajar al-Durr's monuments yield the desired effect? After just 80 days of rule the *mamluks* succumbed to Abbasid and Ayyubid dissent and Shajar al-Durr married Aybak, abdicating in his favour.<sup>48</sup> The body of Najm al-Din Ayyub was moved to the newfound mausoleum with Aybak presiding over the funeral of his master.<sup>49</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi adds that Shajar al-Durr participated by making generous donations, but refers to her as al-Salih's slave-girl.<sup>50</sup>

Levanoni argues that because of the perceived shortcomings of her gender, Shajar al-Durr's role had always been intended as transitional.<sup>51</sup> Aybak, the fourth candidate approached for the position of *atabakiyya*, was chosen by his peers not because of his qualifications but because he was "a weak candidate" and a "middle-ranking (amir)."<sup>52</sup> The more powerful amirs, mainly Aqtay and Baybars, waited patiently for their opportunity. Nevertheless, Shajar al-Durr's actions speak for her ambition and authority as she effectively ruled and controlled the treasury, even after her abdication.<sup>53</sup> With Aybak's intended marriage to the daughter of the Abbasid Caliph, Shajar al-Durr saw her power slip further away. The rivalry between them grew and Shajar al-Durr had Aybak assassinated. In turn, Shajar al-Durr was arrested

---

<sup>46</sup> Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 93-95.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 1:286; Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 94.

<sup>48</sup> Levanoni, "Shajar al-Durr," 215.

<sup>49</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:218.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 7:23.

<sup>51</sup> Levanoni, "Mamluk's Ascent," 137, 142; idem, "Shajar al-Durr," 214.

<sup>52</sup> Idem, "Mamluk's Ascent," 138-39.

<sup>53</sup> Idem, "Shajar al-Durr," 216.

and executed. Her body was thrown from the citadel and buried three days later. Thus ended the controversial career of Shajar al-Durr that ushered in the new Mamluk era.

### **Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din (1250)**

Built into the northern corner of the madrasa, where the hall of the Maliki *shaykh* had been, the domed mausoleum protrudes from its façade to dominate the then still developing Bayn al-Qasrayn area.<sup>54</sup> The addition is composed of a small entrance vestibule leading into a short passage-way from which the mausoleum is entered, set at an angle to follow the *qibla* orientation (Fig. 3). The composition of its façade (Fig. 4) is a variation on the madrasa's, with three elongated keel-arched recesses framed by a continuous moulding, a rosette at the centre of each and rectangular windows below. The central window, which corresponds to the *mihrab*, is higher than the other two, echoing the pattern of the madrasa's openings, while the lintels and relieving arches are similarly carved (Fig. 6). The portal to the left is a small, unassuming structure emphasised by a rectangular frame. The joggled *ablaq* voussoirs of the lintel contrast to the carvings of the window lintels. A marble plaque above them bears the foundation inscription. At the time, the mausoleum boasted the largest *mihrab* in Cairo and the first to be panelled with marble in the tradition of Ayyubid Damascus (Fig. 7).<sup>55</sup> The conch is thought to have been decorated with glass mosaic, similar to the *mihrab* at Shajar al-Durr's mausoleum.<sup>56</sup> A carved wooden cenotaph stands at the centre of the chamber, below the dome.

The primary significance of the mausoleum is in its relationship to the surrounding urban environment. Although common in Ayyubid Damascus, it

<sup>54</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:218; Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 100-101.

<sup>55</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 102; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 114.

<sup>56</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 114.

introduces a new feature to the Cairene urban landscape as the first mausoleum built within the city.<sup>57</sup> Construction of mausolea attached to religious foundations would become a prerogative of the Mamluk elite. The mausoleum of al-Salih also became a nucleus for subsequent royal Mamluk patronage and ceremony.<sup>58</sup>

The foundation inscription (Fig. 5) above the portal merely states that al-Salih lies in this *turba*, giving his titles and the circumstances of his death, battling against the Franks as ordained by God (see Appendix, 1).<sup>59</sup> Although some of the interior inscriptions have since been effaced, there is no indication of a reference to Shajar al-Durr or any other founder. The texts simply state that the *qubba* or *turba* is for al-Salih and give the date of his death but not of the mausoleum's construction, thus eliminating the delayed period between his death and final burial.<sup>60</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir even claims that Najm al-Din built the mausoleum along with his two madrasas while Maqrizi distinguishes between the two entities, stating that Shajar al-Durr built (*banatha*) the mausoleum and was also responsible for arranging its *waqf*.<sup>61</sup> A similar case can be found at the Khanqah of al-Farafra, believed to fall under Dayfa Khatun's patronage, where the foundation inscription only mentions its construction under Salah al-Din II in 635/1237.<sup>62</sup>

If the mausoleum was meant to link Shajar al-Durr's image to al-Salih's and thus legitimize her reign, why isn't she present in the epigraphy? Was the act of patronage itself enough to make that statement? Al-Salih's mausoleum, which includes verses of the Qur'an describing paradise and its eternal reward for the pious as well as several allusions to al-Salih's heroism, reads clearly as a commemorative

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 104-105.

<sup>60</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 114.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *al-Rawda*, 105; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:218.

<sup>62</sup> Tabbaa, "Dayfa Khatun," 25.

monument for the late sultan and his victory.<sup>63</sup> It attempts to present an alternative narrative to the actual events in which al-Salih plays a passive role. Behrens-Abouseif suggests that the “absence” of a founder in the mausoleum of al-Salih allows for “a more collective memory,” addressing the larger Mamluk ambition of which Shajar al-Durr is a part.<sup>64</sup> It is also possible that the inscription was completed after Shajar al-Durr’s abdication, when she was forced to play a secondary role in the public sphere.

### **The Complex of Shajar al-Durr (1250)**

Shajar al-Durr’s own funerary complex, built shortly afterwards, was located at the Cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa, outside the city proper.<sup>65</sup> The site was situated close to the citadel in a garden area between Cairo and the then still prospering Fustat.<sup>66</sup> Fewer plot restrictions also meant that Shajar al-Durr could build a *hammam*, palace (*dar*) and garden, as described by Maqrizi.<sup>67</sup> Yet the complex did not warrant a separate entry in his *Khitat*, only a brief mention under Harat al-Musamada.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Duqmaq includes a short entry on Shajar al-Durr’s *turba* and *dar* where the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakil later resided.<sup>69</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi writes that she was buried in the *turba* she built for herself while Ibn Iyas states that it was at a madrasa next to *bayt al-khalifa*.<sup>70</sup>

The deliberating factor in the choice of location must have been the sanctity of the area, in close proximity to mostly female saints of *ahl al-bayt*; in addition to the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa, Shajar al-Durr’s mausoleum stands opposite the shrines of Sayyida ‘Atiqa and al-Ja‘fari, and near those of Sayyida Ruqayya and Sukayna (Fig.

---

<sup>63</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 114.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, 114.

<sup>67</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:39.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Duqmaq, *al-Intisar*, 125.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 6:378; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur*, 1:295.

8).<sup>71</sup> Although Shajar al-Durr was the first ruler to be buried there,<sup>72</sup> she may have been following the example of the mother of the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-‘Adil who built a *ribat* at this cemetery.<sup>73</sup>

All that remains of Shajar al-Durr’s complex is the mausoleum – a domed chamber with doors on three sides (Fig. 9). Like that of al-Salih, it adheres to established Fatimid practice but with a smaller brick structure and a keel arched dome echoing the form of the surrounding shrines, although it is not ribbed in the same manner (Fig. 10-11).<sup>74</sup> The façade is also decorated with keel arched niches and medallions. Half a keel arch at the edge of the main facade suggests that it initially continued west of the current structure, perhaps to form a vestibule or portico leading into the mausoleum.<sup>75</sup> It is very similar to the Mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs behind the Mosque of Sayyida Nafisa in shape and design (Fig. 12).<sup>76</sup> Perhaps encouraged by this resemblance, Shajar al-Durr’s own complex would become associated with the Abbasid Caliphs, several of whom resided at the palace while the last Caliph is buried at her mausoleum.<sup>77</sup>

Behrens-Abouseif believes Pascal Coste’s drawing of a vaulted *iwan* behind a minaret at the Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery, closely resembling that of al-Salih’s madrasa, most likely depicts the ruins of Shajar al-Durr’s complex (Fig. 13).<sup>78</sup> Based on what seems to be the exterior orientation of the *qibla iwan*, she also suggests a plan similar to Dayfa Khatun’s Madrasa of al-Firdaws, with “two *iwan*(s) back to back”

---

<sup>71</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “The Lost Minaret,” 7; idem, *Cairo*, 114.

<sup>72</sup> Idem, *Cairo*, 54.

<sup>73</sup> Idem, “The Lost Minaret,” 6.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>75</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 137.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 92-93. Based on the style of the architecture, its resemblance to Shajar al-Durr’s mausoleum as well as the date of the earliest cenotaph which “bears the name of Abu Nadla, the Ambassador of the ‘Abbasid Khalif” and the date to 10 Rai’ II 640/7 October 1242, Creswell believes that it was built by the latter and thus pre-dates Shajar al-Durr’s mausoleum. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 126, however, argues that this mausoleum was built by al-Zahir Baybars for his sons (d. 1266 and 1269).

<sup>77</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 92.

<sup>78</sup> Idem, “The Lost Minaret,” 1-3.

(Fig. 14).<sup>79</sup> This exterior *iwan* could possibly form the “‘*mastaba*’ ... for the Prayer of the Dead” mentioned in ‘Ali Mubarak’s description.<sup>80</sup> Alternatively, Tabbaa finds precedence for this unusual feature in palatial architecture, particularly since at the Madrasa of al-Firdaws it once overlooked a garden and a small pool, creating a “paradisiac image.”<sup>81</sup>

More fluted keel arched niches, with floral carvings in the spandrels, frame the interior of the mausoleum’s three entrances, complementing the *mihrab*, while the transitional zone and drum are painted in a manner similar to the decoration at the Mausoleum of the Abbasid Caliphs. A strapwork border divides the surfaces into zones of vegetal or geometric patterns (fig 15). Polylobed medallions decorate the *muqarnas* squinches while *bukhariyya*-type medallions are painted between the windows of the drum, filled with vegetal scrolls which blossom into two lily flowers on either side. Two inscription bands can be found in the mausoleum, a lower Qur’anic band of carved wood that passes through the *mihrab* and an upper band just below the transitional zone. Only a small section of the former survives. Based on the style of the Kufic inscription, set within cartouches, it is believed to be reused spolia from a Fatimid monument, possibly the Western Palace or a previous monument at the cemetery.<sup>82</sup> The upper band has been repainted with Shajar al-Durr’s titles but there is evidence of an earlier inscription.<sup>83</sup> In an act of vandalism, this band was painted in black shortly after Shajar al-Durr’s execution before her titles were re-painted in a bid to revive her legacy.<sup>84</sup> Creswell believes the text, which gives

---

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Tabbaa, “Dayfa Khatun,” 28-29.

<sup>82</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 138; Behrens-Abouseif, “Lost Minaret,” 12.

<sup>83</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 138-39.

<sup>84</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “Lost Minaret,” 12; Wolf, “Pen,” 207.



the titles of Shajar al-Durr as queen (see Appendix, 2), is a copy of an earlier version, possibly the original, and thus dates the mausoleum to her brief reign.<sup>85</sup>

The conch of the *mihrab* displays a striking glass mosaic depicting vegetal stems against a gold background with mother-of-pearl droplets - a tree of pearls (Fig. 16). There is some debate over the dating of this mosaic. Ruggles believes it is a visual reference “in the most highly charged place” meant to evoke Shajar al-Durr’s name.<sup>86</sup> Since glass mosaic was reportedly added to the Mosque of ‘Amr, probably during the Umayyad era, and to the *mihrab* of al-Sayyida Nafisa during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Hafiz, its use in Shajar al-Durr’s mausoleum may be another reference to the sanctity of its neighbors.<sup>87</sup> Alternatively, the mosaics could have been added to the mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr as well as that of al-Salih during the reign of Qalawun when the medium was reintroduced, albeit sparingly, to the architectural canon.<sup>88</sup> In this case, adding the mosaics to the mausolea is not only an honorary gesture, but one that serves to link Qalawun’s image, whose own madrasa employs a similar *mihrab*, to his masters. Behrens-Abouseif, however, argues that “there is no historical justification” for this theory, especially since the inscription was not replaced at that time.<sup>89</sup>

Although the complex of Shajar al-Durr in its entirety must have created an impressive image, the location, architectural features and scale of the mausoleum create a message of piety that contrasts with al-Salih’s imposing complex. Set within a garden area, the complex of Shajar al-Durr must have also presented quite the paradisiac scene. In the end, the location of Shajar al-Durr’s mausoleum played an

---

<sup>85</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 139.

<sup>86</sup> Ruggles, “Visible and Invisible Bodies,” 71.

<sup>87</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 116.

<sup>88</sup> Flood, “Umayyad Survivals,” 67; Kenney, “Mixed Iconography,” 179, 199.

<sup>89</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “Lost Minaret,” 14.

important part in the keeping and shaping of her legacy, for she lived on as a pious figure in traditional lore.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 14-15; idem, *Cairo*, 115.

## The 'Formative' Period of the Early Bahri Mamluks (1260-1310)

The late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, particularly the reigns of al-Zahir Baybars (1260-1277) and al-Manusr Qalawun (1279-1290), are usually perceived as the “formative” period of Mamluk culture in terms of political and social structure as well as architecture and patronage.<sup>91</sup> Displaced from their roots and brought to a strange land at a young age to be trained as slave-warriors, the Mamluks formed an exclusive class based on ideals of comradeship, loyalty and ethnicity.

As they transitioned from a military corps to the ‘ruling elite’ the Mamluks inherited the claim of the Ayyubids as defenders of Sunni Islam - a role that was deemed necessary in light of the continuous Crusader and Mongol threats.<sup>92</sup> Al-Zahir Baybars introduced new military as well as administrative reforms governed by a strict hierarchy.<sup>93</sup> *Iqta'* was distributed in accordance to this new system whereby a *mamluk's* allotted *iqta'* and “degree of economic power” was proportionate to his rank.<sup>94</sup> As a result, women were excluded from *iqta'* and inheritance of land in what Rapoport describes as “gender specific mechanisms of transmitting property.”<sup>95</sup> During Qalawun's reign, hierarchy was further reinforced by “status symbols” such as dress and gifts.<sup>96</sup> Observance was so strict that Qalawun is said to have divorced one of his wives for arrogantly bestowing the different offices associated with the sultan's court onto her slave-girls.<sup>97</sup>

The early Mamluks went to great length to legitimize their claim to power and emphasise their newfound authority. Al-Zahir Baybars even reinstated the Abbasid

---

<sup>91</sup> Rabbat, “In Search,” 21-22.

<sup>92</sup> Humphreys, “The Expressive Intent,” 94; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 5-7.

<sup>93</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 6, 8-12.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>95</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 21-22.

<sup>96</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 12, 26-27.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

Caliphate at Cairo.<sup>98</sup> With no real authority, the caliphs remained a significant ceremonial presence throughout the Mamluk era necessary for the investiture of a new sultan.<sup>99</sup> As ‘Servants of the Haramayn’ the Mamluks annually sent a *kiswa* or cover for the Ka‘ba with the pilgrimage caravan.<sup>100</sup> Following Shajar al-Durr’s precedent, they also continued to patronize the same *sunni* and *sufi* institutions as their predecessors, including madrasas and *khanqahs*, which were closely linked to their personal mausolea.<sup>101</sup> Al-Salih’s mausoleum also became the centre of ceremony and urban narrative from which the early Mamluks drew legitimacy; Baybars built a madrasa adjacent to that of his master at Bayn al-Qasrayn and Qalawun followed suit, building a funerary complex opposite.

Because the Mamluk military caste was both foreign and estranged from the governed masses monuments were not only a legitimizing performance of pious duty and scholarly patronage but also an important form of communication with the public.<sup>102</sup> Unlike the Ayyubids who largely continued the Fatimid architectural tradition, the Mamluks gradually sought to develop a new visual identity to reflect the changing regime while referencing elements of the past.<sup>103</sup> The result is an “experimental” era by which “processes of selection, appropriation, hesitation, alteration and rejection” determine the prevalent architecture.<sup>104</sup> Taragan describes Baybars’ approach as “regional practice steeped in historical reference.”<sup>105</sup> His architecture in Cairo is a continuation of Fatimid-Ayyubid tradition, accented by Syrian features, such as his signature portal and spolia.<sup>106</sup> Qalawun, on the other

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 6; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 9.

<sup>99</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>101</sup> Humphreys, “The Expressive Intent,” 94.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 117-119.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 104-105.

<sup>104</sup> Rabbat, “In Search,” 21, 31.

<sup>105</sup> Taragan, “Sign,” 64.

<sup>106</sup> Humphreys, “The Expressive Intent,” 89; Taragan, “Sign,” 59-60; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 121, 124.

hand, ushers in a radical new style. His monuments, which were constructed by Sanjar al-Shuja'i, are a combination of carefully curated "novel ... elements" combined with "resonant archaisms" drawn from important Umayyad monuments - particularly the Dome of the Rock and The Great Mosque of Damascus - to form what Flood describes as "a chronological eclecticism."<sup>107</sup> These nostalgic elements are one way in which the early Mamluk leaders sought to evoke a connection between the current regime and past Islamic leaders.

Architecture and patronage were not restricted to the rulers; both Mamluk amirs and 'ulama participated with smaller, more humble structures such as the Ribat of Ahmad ibn Sulayman al-Rifa'i (d.1291) with its delicate stucco decoration and painted glass medallions.<sup>108</sup> During the second half of the thirteenth century members of the Banu Hanna family, "a dynasty of powerful and wealthy viziers and bureaucrats," patronized five monuments in and around their home town of Fustat, including the Ribat al-Athar which allegedly housed relics of the Prophet.<sup>109</sup>

Three women from the ruling elite stand out in relation to architecture; Iltutmish Khatun, wife of al-Zahir Baybars, his daughter Tidhkarbay Khatun and Fatima Khatun, wife of Sultan Qalawun. Only the mausoleum of the latter survives, once part of a madrasa complex, and there is some discrepancy over the attribution of a patron. Iltutmish built a *hammam* while Tidhkarbay sponsored one of the most important female *ribats* of the era. The inscription of a small mausoleum adjacent to the funerary *khanqah* of Aydakin al-Bunduqdar also indicates that it was built by the daughter of an amir while the Ribat of Sitt Kalila, which falls under the first reign of

---

<sup>107</sup> Flood, "Umayyad Survivals," 74.

<sup>108</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 143-145.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

al-Nasir Muhammad, can also be added to the list of institutions associated with women during this period.

### **Hamam Iltutmish Khan (between 1264 and 1285)**

Iltutmish Khan (d. 683/1284-85), daughter of Muqqadam al-Khawarizmiyya Baraka Khan, was the wife of al-Zahir Baybars and mother to his heir al-Malik al-Sa'id Baraka Khan (r.1277-79).<sup>110</sup> She played a pivotal role in negotiations of 676/1277-78 between her son and the Mamluk amirs who were displeased with the sultan's preference of the *khassakiyya mamluks*.<sup>111</sup> As she approached their camp outside Damascus, riding in a palanquin, the amirs came out to greet her, kissing the ground, spreading silk along her path and walking before her until they arrived.<sup>112</sup> Although she managed to reach an agreement with them, the sultan did not accept their terms, resulting in conflict and his eventual deposal.<sup>113</sup>

Iltutmish founded (*ansha'atha*) a *hammam* adjacent to the ablutions space of her husband's madrasa (1263-64).<sup>114</sup> The *hammam* does not seem to have been very successful for Maqrizi reports that it deteriorated into a *zuqaq* before a *funduq* was built in its place by Amir Jamal al-Din.<sup>115</sup> It probably stood where the Sabil-Kuttab of Isma'il Pasha, built by Muhammad 'Ali in 1828, stands today.<sup>116</sup> Does the *hammam*'s location next to her husband's madrasa bear any significance? Was it perhaps meant to serve it? Or was it simply a matter of convenience?

---

<sup>110</sup> al-Safadi, *al-Wafi*, 9:204.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 7:265-270.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 268-270.

<sup>114</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:152.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> Warner, *The Monuments*, 151, writes that "the site ... was previously occupied by a Mamluk *funduq*."

### **Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih (Fatima Khatun) (1283)**

Down the road from Shajar al-Durr's complex is the *turba* of Umm al-Salih, Sultan Qalawun's wife Fatima Khatun (fig 8). Contemporary scholar Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir reports on the construction of the *turba*, also described as a *qubba*, between Dhu'l-Qa'da 682/January-February 1284 and Rabi' I 683/May-June 1284.<sup>117</sup> He identifies Sanjar al-Shuja'i as the person responsible for the grand and speedy construction (*al-mubashir l-'amaliha/'ala yadd*).<sup>118</sup> Maqrizi on the other hand discusses the Madrasa of Turbat Umm al-Salih built in 682/1283-84, stating that it was founded by Sultan Qalawun (*ansha'aha*), under the supervision of (*'ala yadd*) Sanjar al-Shuja'i, but at the commission of (*bi-rasm*) Umm al-Salih.<sup>119</sup> While Behrens-Abouseif asserts that Qalawun thus "founded this building ... and dedicated it to his wife," al-Harithy interprets Maqrizi's statement on Fatima's "request" as "clearly (identifying) Fatima Umm al-Salih as the patron of the building" and rejects the notion that "it was built by the Sultan in her memory."<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, only part of the foundation inscription has survived, running at the top of the eastern and southern exterior walls of the mausoleum. The legible text reads titles consistent with the sultan's at the time and can be taken to refer to Qalawun but the context is now lost (see Appendix, 3).<sup>121</sup>

There is some discrepancy over the date of Fatima Khatun's death. Maqrizi claims she passed away on 16 Shawwal 683/26 December 1284, a few months after the completion of her *turba*.<sup>122</sup> According to 'Abd al-Zahir, Sultan Qalawun and his son, al-Malik al-Salih 'Ali, visited her at the newly constructed *turba* on 29 Rabi' I

<sup>117</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *al-Rawda*, 104.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.; idem, *Tashrif al-ayam*, 55.

<sup>119</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:250.

<sup>120</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 129; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 324.

<sup>121</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 140-41.

<sup>122</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:250.

683/15 June 1284, prayed for her and distributed alms, strongly suggesting that she had previously died.<sup>123</sup> Maqrizi repeats the story stating that Qalawun distributed alms at her grave and adds that he also arranged endowments (*ratab laha waqfan*) to support reciters and scholars.<sup>124</sup> If Maqrizi's date is taken to be 16 Shawwal 682/7 January 1284 instead, as Van Berchem suggests, it places Fatima's death one month prior to the start of construction.<sup>125</sup> In either case, it would seem that Qalawun, even if fulfilling his wife's wishes, was responsible for founding and endowing Fatima's funerary complex.

Perhaps because of her untimely death, this narrative differs greatly from others, such as that of Tidhkarbay or Tughay (discussed below) who are clearly acknowledged as founders or patronesses. Fatima Khatun was not Qalawun's only wife, but she is the only one with a known *turba* and the little information available on her is mostly given in that context. She was also the mother of Qalawun's eldest son and favored heir, al-Salih 'Ali. In subsequent years the mausoleum took on a more dynastic role, receiving the bodies of al-Salih 'Ali (d.1288),<sup>126</sup> Khatun, another daughter of Qalawun who married al-Zahir Baybars' son Baraka Khan, and one of al-Nasir Muhammad's sons, Sultan al-Salih Salih (d.762/1361).<sup>127</sup> In fact, Ibn Duqmaq curiously fails to mention Fatima Khatun and attributes *turbat khatun* to Qalawun's daughter.<sup>128</sup> He also specifies that the *nazir* was stipulated as "whoever was the *zimmam al-adur al-sultaniyya*," the person in charge of the royal *harem*.<sup>129</sup> Ibn

---

<sup>123</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Tashrif al-ayam*, 55; Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 146; Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 184.

<sup>124</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:250.

<sup>125</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 146; Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 184.

<sup>126</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Tashrif al-ayam*, 289; Ibn Duqmaq, *al-Intisar*, 125.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn Duqmaq, *al-Intisar*, 125.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*



Taghribirdi similarly states that Qalawun's estranged daughter was buried at a "turba known by her father (*ma'rufa bi-walidiha*) between Misr and al-Qahira."<sup>130</sup>

The mausoleum, entrance block, minaret base and connecting corridor are all that survive of the funerary madrasa today (Fig. 18). While the entrance block follows the street alignment, the mausoleum juts out at an angle to follow the *qibla* orientation (Fig. 17).<sup>131</sup> Nineteenth century photographs show the ruins of the madrasa which extended from the mausoleum's eastern corner (Fig. 19), as evidenced by the springing of an arch with traces of foliate stucco decoration on the soffit (Fig. 20).<sup>132</sup> Visually, the complex is very different from its neighbour, the Madrasa of Shajar al-Durr, and other contemporary monuments. It introduces some of the elements that would distinguish Qalawun's complex, also supervised by Sanjar al-Shuja'i, and the Mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalil next to it. The tripartite fenestration system, which featured prominently on both the mausoleum and the madrasa, are the first of its kind in Cairo.<sup>133</sup> Behrens-Abouseif compares the openings to early Gothic Crusader architecture in Syria, particularly the Krak des Chevaliers, and also to Norman architecture in Sicily.<sup>134</sup>

In contrast to the exterior, the interior of the mausoleum currently lacks any trace of applied decoration. However, the composition of the space is quite imposing; arched recesses, probably once carried on engaged columns, frame the windows and alternate with squinches to mask the shift from square base to octagonal transitional zone (Fig. 21).<sup>135</sup> Ibrahim attributes Sanjar al-Shuja'i's "squinch filled in with a

---

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 7:272.

<sup>131</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 129-30.

<sup>132</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 185; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 129, 131.

<sup>133</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 182.

<sup>134</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 129.

<sup>135</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 183.

stalactite pendentive” to the “initial” but “unsuccessful experiments” of the early Bahri Mamluks.<sup>136</sup>

The new architectural language is complimented by more traditional Fatimid and Ayyubid elements such as the portico preceding the mausoleum, with niches or *mihirabs* flanking the doorway as in the Fatimid *mashhad* of al-Sayyida Ruqayya.<sup>137</sup> Keel-arched windows in the drum, surmounted by another oculus, fragments of stucco decoration and *kufic* inscriptions framing the windows, also feature. Yet the foreign and novel character of the architecture is dominant. ‘Abd al-Zahir writes that there was nothing comparable to it.<sup>138</sup> He reports that after its completion, the sultan came down with his children to view the *qubba* and was impressed, honouring al-Shuja‘i for his efforts.<sup>139</sup> This sentiment is again repeated in the author’s chronicle of Qalawun’s reign, *Tashrif al-ayam wa-l-‘usur*, where he describes Qalawun’s decision to build a *maristan* as a reaction to his visit to his late wife’s *turba*.<sup>140</sup>

The funerary complex of Umm al-Salih is the first Cairene monument of Sultan Qalawun. The speed with which Qalawun turned to the construction of his own project suggests that he had previously entertained the idea. Apart from Shajar al-Durr, none of his predecessors, including Baybars, had commissioned personal mausolea.<sup>141</sup> Satisfied with the visual impact and success of Umm al-Salih’s monument, he gave al-Shuja‘i the order for his own funerary complex. Elements tentatively introduced at the Turba of Umm al-Salih are now developed, in some cases translated into stone, center-stage at Bayn al-Qasrayn. The Turba of Umm al-Salih

---

<sup>136</sup> Ibrahim, “Transitional Zones,” 9.

<sup>137</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 182.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zahir, *al-Rawda*, 104.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> *Idem*, *Tashrif al-ayam*, 55-56.

<sup>141</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 132-34.

can thus be perceived as an important part of the architectural experimentation of Qalawun's reign.

### **Ribat al-Baghdadiyya (1285)**

The history of Tidhkarbay Khatun, daughter of former Sultan al-Zahir Baybars, offers a striking alternative to the seemingly passive account of Fatima Khatun. In a section on *hikr* lands, Maqrizi writes that she endowed part of the *hikr al 'Ala'i*, located west of the Khalij, as *waqf* for her benefit in 734/1333-34, stipulating that after her death the revenue would go to the following institutions: the Ribat al-Baghdadiyya, a mosque on *hikr* Sayf al-Islam, outside Bab Zuwayla and to her own *turba* at al-Qarafa al-Sughra, next to the Mosque of Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir.<sup>142</sup>

Tidhkarbay is mostly recognized for the Ribat al-Baghdadiyya which she built (*banat*) in 684/1285-86 for al-Shaykha Zaynab bint Abi al-Barakat al-Baghdadiyya.<sup>143</sup> Also known as Riwaq al-Baghdadiyya, it was built on prime location opposite the later Khanqah of Baybars al-Jashankir (1307-10) on the corner of al-Darb al-Asfar and al-Jamaliyya, and soon developed into a popular refuge for widows.<sup>144</sup>

The term *riwaq* can refer to either a colonnaded hall in religious architecture or a residential unit.<sup>145</sup> The only other *ribat* described by Maqrizi as a *riwaq* is that of Ibn Sulayman al-Rifa'i (c.1291) which consists of a longitudinal hall divided by an arcade, and a domed mausoleum built into the south-eastern bay, possibly after the *Shaykh's* death.<sup>146</sup> The term here can be understood as a reference to the arcade.<sup>147</sup> This was most likely the case with Riwaq al-Baghdadiyya however, observing the frequency of the use of this term in *waqf* documents for living units around al-Azhar,

---

<sup>142</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:217, 4:135.

<sup>143</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 303; Ibn Hajar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, 1:480; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 2:346.

<sup>144</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 303; Ibn Hajar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, 1:480; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 2:346.

<sup>145</sup> Amin and Ibrahim, *Mustalahat*, 57-58; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 143.

<sup>146</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:304; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 143.

<sup>147</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 143.

Ibrahim suggests it may have been connected to the living and teaching spaces of ‘ulama.<sup>148</sup> Rather than simply describing the physical space, *riwaq* in this context may also reflect the specific association with a pious or learned figure.

In patronizing al-Shaykha al-Baghdadiyya and setting her up in her own establishment, Tidhkarbay was not only participating in the re-establishment of Cairo’s religious landscape but also in bringing Ayyubid trends to the new capital. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Aleppo was home to six *khanqahs* for women while Damascus, where the term *ribat* is reserved for female institutions, included fifteen *ribats* in the city and five in its outskirts.<sup>149</sup> Women of the Fatimid household also built several women’s *ribats* in Cairo, but these were located at the *Qarafa*, outside the city proper.<sup>150</sup>

#### **Mausoleum at Zawiyat al-‘Abbar (1283-84)**

One of the mausolea forming the monument recognized today as Zawiyat al-‘Abbar includes a foundation inscription stating that construction was ordered by (*amar bi-insha*’) the daughter of an amir.<sup>151</sup> The complex consists of a modern prayer hall built between two domed mausolea (Fig. 22). The first, overlooking the street, was initially part of the Khanqah of Aydakin al-Bunduqdar (d. Rabi‘ II 684/June-July 1285), a Salihi Amir and initial master of al-Zahir Baybars who held several prominent positions under the early Bahri sultans.<sup>152</sup> Because of an exterior inscription on the south-western and north-western facades, Creswell argues that the original *khanqah* would have continued to the north-east of Aydakin’s mausoleum, but its relation to the smaller mausoleum, located on the far side of the current prayer

<sup>148</sup> Ibrahim, “Middle-class Living Units,” 25-26.

<sup>149</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 40.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>151</sup> *Comité*, 1901, 107-108.

<sup>152</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:291-92.

hall, is unclear.<sup>153</sup> Like that of Aydakin, the mausoleum in question is a square chamber with a ribbed dome (Fig. 23).<sup>154</sup> The drum is completely covered with stucco decoration with a Qur'anic inscription band arranged into cartouches above a row of keel-arched windows fitted with stucco grills. Based on the similarities between the two domes, Creswell dates them to the same period.<sup>155</sup>

Although the mausoleum is currently entered from the north-eastern side, the original entrance was most likely opposite the *mihrab*, echoed on the side walls by keel-arched niches in a more traditional format.<sup>156</sup> The interior of the drum is equally decorated with a variety of stucco patterns. A Qur'anic inscription band runs below the window level while a wider and more elaborate foundation inscription is placed above them (Fig. 24). Unfortunately, the incomplete inscription gives no indication as to the identity of the founder other than her titles and those of her father, but it is possible that she was connected in some way to Aydakin (see Appendix, 4). Traces of stucco decoration suggest the *mihrab* and walls were once also highly decorated.<sup>157</sup>

### **Ribat al-Sitt Kalila (1295)**

Sitt Kalila bint 'Abd Allah al-Tatariyya, also known as Dulay, was the wife of Sayf al-Din al-Barli, Silahdar of al-Zahir Baybars. On 13 Shawwal 694/26 August 1295, Amir 'Ala' al-Din al-Barabah endowed a *ribat* for her benefit (*awqafahu... 'ala al-Sitt Kalila*) which also doubled as a *masjid* (*ja'alahu masjidan wa ribatan*) and employed an *imam* and a *mu'adhdhin*.<sup>158</sup> It was built adjacent to the Ayyubid wall, near the later Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar (1344-45).<sup>159</sup> At the time of its

<sup>153</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 185, 187.

<sup>154</sup> Warner, *The Monuments*, 114.

<sup>155</sup> Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, 187.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:303.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

construction, it would have been a relatively secluded structure, standing in the vicinity of a cemetery away from the main road linking Cairo to the citadel.<sup>160</sup>

Sitt Kalila's relationship with Ala' al-Din al-Barabah is unclear, as is her role in the *ribat*. Would she have resided there or just benefitted from its endowments? Given the privacy restrictions prevalent at the time, combining a public mosque with a woman's *ribat* seems unusual. At least one other *ribat* designated specifically for women was part of a larger institution, the Madrasa of Sunqur al-Sa'di (1315), but it was probably separate from the madrasa space.<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 3:199, writes that urbanization of the area beyond the Mosque of al-Salih Tala'i, 'which had developed into a cemetery during the Fatimid period, began after the year 700/1300.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 4:254.

## The Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (1310-1341)

Al-Nasir Muhammad was first proclaimed sultan in 693/1293 at the age of seven, under the regency of Amir Kitbugha who usurped the throne a year later. Even though he was the official regent, several incidents suggest that al-Nasir Muhammad's mother, Khawand Ashlun bint Shaktay (d. before 1303), a Mongol refugee who married Qalawun in 1283,<sup>162</sup> was responsible for her child, holding considerable respect, if not influence, among the Mamluk amirs. When conflict between the amirs resulted in a blockade of the citadel, Ashlun climbed to the top of the wall to confront them.<sup>163</sup> Al-'Ayni also reports that earlier that year she allowed Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil's devastated widow (probably Khawand Urduktay) to arrange and participate in mourning rituals at her late husband's mausoleum, even after the amirs had objected.<sup>164</sup> Before al-Nasir's deposal, they approached her with the decision, speaking directly to her through Bab al-Sitara, and reassuring her that no harm would come to her son.<sup>165</sup> Al-Nasir was re-instated as sultan in 698/1299 but his reign was again interrupted in 708/1309.

Al-Nasir Muhammad was able to regain definitive control of the Mamluk empire for the third and last time in 709/1310, reigning under considerable peace and stability until his death in 741/1341. Perhaps as an act of rebellion or in an attempt to ensure his autonomy, al-Nasir Muhammad proceeded to introduce several controversial changes to the systems established by his predecessors.<sup>166</sup> One of the most controversial policies was *al-rawq al-Nasiri*, introduced in Syria in 1313 and in

---

<sup>162</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 4.

<sup>163</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 2:253; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 8:45; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 1:382.

<sup>164</sup> al-'Ayni, *Iqd al-juman*, 270.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 28-30.

Egypt in 1315, which undermined the hierarchy of the *iqta'* and ensured its distribution to favored amirs while otherwise proceeding in an “arbitrary manner.”<sup>167</sup>

Al-Nasir’s third reign is also recognized for its incessant urban and building activities with over thirty mosques in addition to madrasas, *khanqahs* and other religious and secular institutions, mostly founded by members of the Mamluk class. Building endeavors were not necessarily individual acts of patronage but often part of the sultan’s policy of large-scale urban development.<sup>168</sup> The city continued to expand beyond its walls, primarily to the south between Bab Zuwayla and the citadel, although some development occurred to the north as well.<sup>169</sup> Urbanization was also directed westward on land reclaimed from the receding Nile.<sup>170</sup> Al-Nasir Muhammad distributed the 600 hectares embraced by al-Khalij al-Misri and al-Khalij al-Nasiri (1325) as grants to his amirs, with the understanding that they would provide basic infrastructure and amenities - ranging between bridges, *hammams* and mosques - as a catalyst for urbanization.<sup>171</sup> Funerary monuments continued to be erected in the southern Qarafa but also began to appear east of the city in the Sahara, ‘along the road leading out of Cairo from the citadel and around Baybars’ abandoned Maydan al-Qabaq.<sup>172</sup> Although the *diwan al-‘ama’ir* was established to supervise and manage all building activity, al-Nasir Muhammad was personally involved in various projects, from designing dams and waterworks (much to the dismay of his engineers) to the furnishing of his amirs’ palaces.<sup>173</sup>

---

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 53, 142.

<sup>168</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 55.

<sup>169</sup> Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, 33-35.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>171</sup> Raymond, *Cairo*, 126; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 55-56.

<sup>172</sup> Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, 35.

<sup>173</sup> Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 240.



In addition to “construction activities,” Levanoni discusses al-Nasir’s *harem* as one of the three main excessive “forms of expenditure” during his reign.<sup>174</sup> Al-Nasir not only purchased a large number of slave-girls but he also provided them with a luxurious lifestyle at the height of extravagance and fashion.<sup>175</sup> He sought to strengthen his relationship to trusted amirs through marriage<sup>176</sup> and was also keen on creating ties to Genghis Khan’s lineage by marrying the Mongol princess Tulunbay bint Tughay in Rabi‘ I 720/April 1320, although the marriage did not last.<sup>177</sup> She was met at the port of Alexandria and taken first to the royal residence in a wheeled *kharka* (chariot) of gold before proceeding up the Nile to Cairo.<sup>178</sup> There, the *manzara* at the hippodrome was transformed into a hall for her (*dahliz atlas ma‘dani*) where a large banquet was held.<sup>179</sup>

Al-Nasir’s wives were often the center of ceremony, especially during weddings or after the birth of a son. Among a discussion of elaborate expenses in the year 738/1337, Ibn Taghribirdi describes how after another wife, Qutlumsalik bint Tankiz, gave birth to their son al-Salih Salih, the sultan refurbished her quarters with embroidered velvet and silk as well as new cushions and furniture.<sup>180</sup> Celebrations in her honor lasted for seven days.<sup>181</sup> Visibility was, however, still restricted. When the sultan invited his *harem* to join him on an excursion to Giza in 723/1323 roads were cleared and shops closed so that Khawand Tughay, led on horseback amongst her entourage, could pass unobserved.<sup>182</sup>

---

<sup>174</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 155. The third form is his “patronage of the Bedouin.”

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 184, 48-49.

<sup>177</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:122-123.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:119; al-Harithy, “Female Patronage,” 322.

<sup>181</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:119; al-Harithy, “Female Patronage,” 322.

<sup>182</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:74-75; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:59.

To accommodate his growing *harem* and family, Al-Nasir expanded their quarters by building al-Qa‘at al-Sab‘a overlooking the hippodrome and Bab al-Qarafa.<sup>183</sup> The renovation was part of an elaborate transformation of the citadel, begun in 1333, that included the implementation of a rigid hierarchal zoning system, gradually progressing from the outer public arenas to these inner private quarters, accessed through the Bab al-Sitara and Bab al-Nahhas.<sup>184</sup>

Contrary to expectation, projects involving women remained few and marginal. Despite the size of al-Nasir Muhammad’s *harem*, the prestige accorded to some of its members and the heightened building activity prevalent at the time, only his favorite wife is recognized for a religious institution, the Khanqah of Tughay (d.1348), but it is believed to have been built after his death. Three others are mentioned in relation to a *turba* but that of Khawand Urdutakin is the only monument that can be dated with certainty to al-Nasir’s lifetime. Sitt Hadaq, al-Nasir’s former nanny and head of his household, is reported to have obtained not one but two *hikrs*, building a Friday mosque on each. Outside of the royal household, Tidhkarbay, al-Zahir Baybars’ daughter, continued her previous activities by participating in the construction of a Friday mosque, although her exact role is disputed.

The greatest privilege was awarded to al-Nasir’s mother, Ashlun. She was initially buried in a *turba* next to Mashhad al-Sayyida Nafisa but in 703/1303 al-Nasir had her moved to his newfound madrasa at Bayn al-Qasrayn.<sup>185</sup> Not only did he honour her by interring her body in a monumental mausoleum at the heart of the city, he did so by choosing to be buried alongside her, even though after his death he was taken to his father’s mausoleum instead.

---

<sup>183</sup> Idem, *Khitat*, 3:370; Levanoni, Turning Point, 157-158; Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 188.

<sup>184</sup> Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 285.

<sup>185</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:230; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 2:370; al-‘Ayni, *Iqd al-juman*, 440; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 8:208.

## Turbat al-Sitt (c. 1318)

Khawand Urdukin, the daughter of Nughay al-Silahdar al-Tatari was married to al-Ashraf Khalil (d.1293) before she became the first wife of his brother and successor al-Nasir Muhammad.<sup>186</sup> Their son ‘Ali was declared al-Malik al-Mansur, heir to the throne, but sadly died in 710/1310-11 at the age of six and was buried in his father’s mausoleum at Bayn al-Qasrayn.<sup>187</sup> Urdukin arranged his funeral and contributed her inheritance from al-Ashraf Khalil as *waqf* towards the mausoleum of al-Nasir, providing for Qur’an reciters at ‘Ali’s grave.<sup>188</sup> Al-Nuwayri specifies the endowment as shares from Khan Dar al-Ta‘m in Damascus, inherited from al-Ashraf Khalil and her daughter, a quarter of which provided bread for employees at the madrasa-mausoleum.<sup>189</sup>

Urdukin and al-Nasir Muhammad divorced in 717/1317-18, but she did not leave the citadel until Jumada II 719/July-August 1319. Although she took up residence in Harat Zuwayla, she remained under al-Nasir’s care (*ratab laha ma yakfiha/ratab laha ‘idat rawatib*).<sup>190</sup> Al-Nuwayri reports a monthly allowance of 5,150 dirhams in addition to clothing, food, spices and sweets.<sup>191</sup> The house she resided in and the square before it came to be known as Dar Khawand and Rahbat Khawand respectively.<sup>192</sup> A *hammam* near the *rahba* that once belonged to the residence was also referred to as Hammam Khawand.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:117; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 1:347; al-Harithy, “Turbat al-Sitt,” 107.

<sup>187</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 2:458; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 1:347; al-Harithy, “Turbat al-Sitt,” 107.

<sup>188</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 32:174; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 2:458; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 1:347; al-Harithy, “Turbat al-Sitt,” 107.

<sup>189</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 32:174.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 1:347; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:117; idem, *Suluk*, 3:17; al-Harithy, “Turbat al-Sitt,” 107. al-Nuwayri writes that the divorce was only a rumor but confirms that she was asked to leave the citadel. al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 33:68-69.

<sup>191</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 33:68.

<sup>192</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:92,117; al-Harithy, “Turbat al-Sitt,” 107.

<sup>193</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:148.

In addition to al-Nasir's support and al-Ashraf's inheritance, a *waqfiyya* in Urdutakin's name dated 18 Rabi' II 717/30 June 1317, about a year before her divorce, gives an extensive list of "eight residences (*dar*), two *hammams*, two stables, three caravansaries (two *funduqs* and one *qaysariyya*), two apartment buildings (*rab*'), land and agricultural plots."<sup>194</sup> The *waqf* names Khawand Urdutakin as the beneficiary and stipulates that the revenue should revert to her endowments and mausoleum in the event of her death.<sup>195</sup> In his *Khitat*, Maqrizi discusses one of these properties previously known as Hikr Tukan, west of the Khalij.<sup>196</sup> He also mentions Qaysariyat Khawand Urdutakin al-Ashrafiyya outside al-Jamlun.<sup>197</sup> In both instances, Urdutakin is referred to in relation to her first husband, al-Ashraf Khalil.

Urdutakin died in Muharam 724/January 1324 and was buried at the mausoleum she founded (*ansha'atha*) near Bab al-Qarafa, known as Turbat al-Sitt.<sup>198</sup> She left a thousand slave-girls and servants whom she freed.<sup>199</sup> Neither the *waqfiyya*, which is unfortunately incomplete, or historians give information on the *turba* other than its name and founder. It was probably built sometime between 1307, the date of Yalbugha al-Turkumani's first structure in the southern cemetery, and 1317, before or shortly after the *waqfiyya* was drawn up.<sup>200</sup> Ibrahim suggests that the Khawand Urdutakin built her own *turba* because she was no longer eligible for burial at a royal mausoleum.<sup>201</sup> However, none of al-Nasir's wives, or even those of his predecessors, are known to be buried in their husbands' mausolea.

<sup>194</sup> al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt," 108.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:215; al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt," 103.

<sup>197</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:230.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 3:117, 215.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 3:117; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 1:347.

<sup>200</sup> al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt," 108.

<sup>201</sup> Ibrahim, "Transitional Zones," 22n.

In 726/1325-26 al-Nasir Muhammad also buried one of his other children in the same *turba*.<sup>202</sup> Does this suggest that he may have contributed in some way to its establishment and therefore had the right to do so? As mentioned above, he was enthusiastically involved in several of his amirs' projects and palaces.

Based on Ibn al-Zayyat's guidebook of the cemetery, Ibrahim and al-Harithy argue that the dome popularly identified today as Qubbat al-Manufi should in fact be recognized as Turbat al-Sitt (Fig. 25).<sup>203</sup> Today, all that remains of that structure is an *iwan* leading into an adjacent dome with an unusual "spherical profile ... surmounted by a lantern" - a type more commonly found in Syria.<sup>204</sup> The structure was once connected to a second, smaller dome via a "vaulted passage," as evidenced by Creswell's photograph.<sup>205</sup> Al-Harithy suggests that the *turba* would have included a secondary function proportionate to the size of Urduktakin's endowments, possibly - according to her analysis of the spaces - a *qubba-zawiya* related to *sufi* practice.<sup>206</sup>

Turbat al-Sitt was clearly an important building and the resting place of a respected woman. Maqrizi does not discuss it in a separate entry but mentions it several times in association with Khawand Urduktakin.<sup>207</sup> Turbat al-Sitt was thus most likely a primarily funerary monument. This does not negate that Urduktakin probably arranged for regular Qur'an recitations or other religious ceremony to be conducted at the mausoleum or its adjacent spaces.

---

<sup>202</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 33:245.

<sup>203</sup> Ibrahim, "Transitional Zones," 11, 22n; al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt," 103-105.

<sup>204</sup> al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt," 113, 116.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 114, 118-119.

<sup>207</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:95, 117, 215.

## Mosque of al-Jazira al-Wusta

Tidhkarbay, the daughter of al-Zahir Baybars discussed above, is also associated with the Mosque of al-Jazira al-Wusta (the middle-island or al-Zamalek today), but with some inconsistency. In his *Khitat*, Maqrizi names Tidhkarbay's servant, al-Tawashi Mithqal, as the founder (*ansha'ahu*), repeating al-Shuja'i's identification.<sup>208</sup> However both al-Maqrizi, in his later book *al-Suluk*, and Ibn Taghribirdi refer to a mosque on the same island as that of *bint al-Malik al-Zahir*.<sup>209</sup> Is Tidhkarbay the true patroness, commissioning Mithqal to act on her behalf? Did she perhaps help finance her servant's project? Or has she been projected onto the building because of the founder's association with her? Without a foundation inscription, her role is difficult to determine.

## Mosque of Sitt Hadaq (1336-37) and the Mosque of Sitt Miska (1339-40)

Amongst the list of mosques repeated by historians as built during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad are those of Sitt Hadaq and Sitt Miska, which stood on *hikrs* of the same name.<sup>210</sup> Both were located between the two Khalijs, near Birkat al-Nasiriyya and Maydan al-Mahar (1320). The first *khutba* took place at the Mosque of Sitt Hadaq on the 20<sup>th</sup> of Jumada II, 737/January 24, 1337.<sup>211</sup> The mosque, built in place of Manzarat al-Sukara, was located on Khatt al-Maris between Qanatir al-Siba' and Qantarat al-Sad.<sup>212</sup> This area attracted mainly Sudanese settlers and a large *suq* was established there.<sup>213</sup> By Maqrizi's time it seems to have developed a disreputable image.<sup>214</sup> The *hikr* of Sitt Miska was located further north, in the area of Suwayqat

<sup>208</sup> Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 116; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:137.

<sup>209</sup> Idem, *Suluk*, 3:318; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 206.

<sup>210</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 177; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:17-18; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:196.

<sup>211</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 117; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:117.

<sup>212</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 117; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:117; idem, *Suluk*, 3:318; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:209.

<sup>213</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:209.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:209.

al-Saba'in.<sup>215</sup> The mosque (Fig. 26) was built on the Khalij, near the Aqsunqur Bridge and the Mosque of Bashtak on the opposite bank (1337).<sup>216</sup> It became a densely built-up area as amirs and other notables moved there.<sup>217</sup> It is still active today and stands on a small road off Port Said Street known as Sikat Suq Miska. The foundation inscription states that Sitt Hadaq "ordered the construction ... during the months of the year 740" (see Appendix, 5) but the first *khutba* took place on 10 Jumada II 741/1 December 1340.<sup>218</sup>

There is some confusion as to whether Hadaq and Miska are the same woman. Maqrizi, in his *Khitat*, and Ibn Taghribirdi consider them two slave girls of al-Nasir.<sup>219</sup> However, Maqrizi amends this information in *al-Suluk* stating that the *dada* Hadaq was also known as Sitt Miska al-Qahramaniyya and clearly attributes both mosques to her.<sup>220</sup> Ibn Hajar similarly alludes to the confusion.<sup>221</sup> The attribution on the foundation inscription of the surviving Mosque of Sitt Hadaq, "Sitt Hadaq known as Sitt Miska al-Nasiriyya," supports the assumption that they are the same woman; a slave-girl and the *dada* of al-Nasir Muhammad who later became head of his household.<sup>222</sup>

In addition to overseeing feasts and celebrations Hadaq was in charge of the *harem* and the sultan's children.<sup>223</sup> She performed the pilgrimage in 728/1328, earning her a brief mention in Ibn Batutta's *rihla*, and may have gone a second time in 738/1339 accompanying al-Nasir's wife Khawand Tughay.<sup>224</sup> The foundation

---

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., *Khitat*, 3:209.

<sup>216</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 117; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:138; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:209; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:318.

<sup>217</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:209-10.

<sup>218</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 117; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:138; Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 193-94.

<sup>219</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:210; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:196.

<sup>220</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:17-18.

<sup>221</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:106.

<sup>222</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 193-94; 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Trois Fondations," 108-109, 111.

<sup>223</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:210; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:106.

<sup>224</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:113, 243; Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq," 61. Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:106, only mentions that she "once went on pilgrimage" but does not give the date.

inscription describes her as a “pilgrim to the house of God and visitor of the Prophet’s tomb.” She was also the *dada* and loyal ally of al-Nasir Hasan.<sup>225</sup> For a short period after his arrest in 1351 Hadaq’s assets were confiscated and her movements restricted.<sup>226</sup>

Al-Harithy believes that the foundation of a Friday Mosque, a phenomenon “still limited to powerful amirs” is an “honor” that speaks of Hadaq’s high status.<sup>227</sup> It is certainly an achievement for Hadaq is the only woman to found a Friday mosque during this period - with the possible exception of Tidhkarbay. Since over thirty mosques were built during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad function is perhaps a response to the requirements of a new neighborhood rather than simply the patron’s status.<sup>228</sup> With two adjacent *hikr* plots, it is Sitt Miska’s participation in urbanization activity that is unique.

The Mosque of Sitt Miska is a small hypostyle structure, one bay deep on the three lateral sides and two bays deep on the *qibla* side (Fig. 27). In the northern corner, a small chamber separated by a wooden screen, originally protruding from the façade, serves as a mausoleum. Two entrances open onto the north-western and south-western *riwaqs*. The inscription discussed above is carved onto a marble plaque above the latter (Figs. 28-29). It is flanked by two square plaques depicting four *karma* scrolls in each corner (Fig. 30). The scrolls are quite similar to those on the marble and wooden friezes at the mausoleums of Qalawun (Fig. 31) and al-Nasir Muhammad respectively.

The building fits neatly into the prevalent architectural canon although it is modest in size and design. Williams finds parallel particularly with the Mosque of al-

<sup>225</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:138, 149; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 10:231-32.

<sup>226</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:145, 149; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 1:220, 225.

<sup>227</sup> al-Harithy, “Women’s Patronage,” 331.

<sup>228</sup> Shuja’i, *Tarikh*, 115-18; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:210; idem, *Suluk*, 3:314-318; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:198-210.



Maridani (1339-40) because of the inscription on the façade from *Surrat Ya-Sin* (36) “in exactly the same high position” as well as the treatment of the keel arched niches in the corners of the courtyard façade.<sup>229</sup> Decoration is otherwise concentrated on the *qibla* wall. The *mihrab* is composed of a double niche, each framed by joggled *ablaq* voussoirs, with a geometric pattern of marble, turquoise and mother of pearl inlay in the spandrels. The conch of the *mihrab*, however, is a surprising glass mosaic depicting branches, originally extending from a vase or cup, with “mother-of-pearl drops and rosettes” (Fig. 32).<sup>230</sup> The *mihrab* as a whole in addition to the glass mosaic closely resembles that of the contemporary Madrasa of Aqbugha ‘Abd al-Wahid (739/1338-39) (Fig. 33). Since both the Mosque of al-Maridani and the Madrasa of Aqbugha were supervised by the head architect (*ra’is al-muhandisin*) Mu‘allim ibn al-Suyufi, Williams suggests that he was also responsible for the construction of the Mosque of Sitt Hadaq - further proof of the high esteem she commanded among the Mamluk elite.<sup>231</sup> However, while Maqrizi specifies the foundations of al-Maridani and Aqbugha as al-Suyufi’s projects, he does not mention him in connection with Sitt Hadaq.<sup>232</sup>

The use of glass mosaic increased significantly during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad and featured prominently in the building and restoration programs of the Syrian governor Tankiz.<sup>233</sup> Nevertheless, the appearance of the ‘tree of pearls’ motif in Cairene religious monuments is a rare and seemingly sporadic recurrence. Glass mosaic was more commonly applied to significant monuments as a sign of commemoration. Even the two madrasas of al- Taybarsiyya (709/1309-10) and

<sup>229</sup> Williams, “The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq,” 58.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-59.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-60.

<sup>232</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:232.

<sup>233</sup> Flood, “Umayyad Survivals,” 68; Kenney, “Mixed Iconography,” 180-184.

Aqbugha ‘Abd al-Wahid (739/1338-39), both built in the *ziyada* of al-Azhar Mosque, can be interpreted as “commemorative retrofitting.”<sup>234</sup> How then does the Madrasa of Sitt Miska fit in?

Williams suggests that glass tesserae found their way into the palace stores as a gift from Tankiz and since al-Nasir allowed favored amirs to access the treasury, Aqbugha and Sitt Hadaq were able to use them in their respective monuments, employing the same artisans.<sup>235</sup> While this theory addresses Sitt Hadaq’s access to the material, the rarity of its application suggests a conscious decision on behalf of the patroness, perhaps related to deeper connotations. Observing the exclusive depiction of the “vessel-and-vine motif” in glass mosaic, Kenney suggests it is meant to evoke “one particular model,” possibly the Dome of the Rock or, by extension, the holy city of Jerusalem.<sup>236</sup> At least until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, mosaic decoration also reportedly featured at the Haram in Mecca - on the courtyard facade, the dome covering the well of Zamzam and on at least one of its gates - as well as the Mosque of Medina – on the courtyard façade but also on the upper portion of the *qibla* wall, depicting fruit trees (Fig. 34).<sup>237</sup> Although not as popular as that of the Damascus mosque, a *karma* scroll was also present at the latter.<sup>238</sup>

The use of both glass mosaic and a *karma* scroll – two features intentionally employed in Qalawun’s building program to evoke a connection with Umayyad precedents and sacred monuments – cannot be a coincidence, even if some of the material was salvaged.<sup>239</sup> The foundation inscription clearly describes Sitt Hadaq as a “pilgrim to the house of God and visitor of the Prophet’s tomb” (see Appendix, 5) and

---

<sup>234</sup> Kenney, “Mixed Iconography,” 200.

<sup>235</sup> Williams, “The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq,” 63.

<sup>236</sup> Kenney, “Mixed Iconography,” 196-97.

<sup>237</sup> Jairazbhoy, “Architecture,” 22, 25, 27, 30-31.

<sup>238</sup> Flood, “Umayyad Survivals,” 60.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

it is also possible that she commissioned this mosque a year after returning from her second pilgrimage. It is difficult to ascertain what she would have experienced on her visits, especially since the mosque of Medina was heavily damaged by a fire in 654/1256.<sup>240</sup> However, based on al-Samhudi's description, glass mosaics depicting "trees and mansions of Paradise" could still be seen in the fifteenth century.<sup>241</sup> Given the selective nature of the glass mosaic decoration in Cairo and Sitt Hadaq's own history, perhaps the decoration was chosen as an expression of piety alluding to the holy sites and thus serving the commemorative nature of Sitt Hadaq's second mosque.

---

<sup>240</sup> Jairazbhoy, "Architecture," 32.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 30.

## Al-Nasir's Successors (1341-1390)

The Qalawunid dynasty continued after al-Nasir Muhammad for another 41 years with the rapid succession of three generations of his young and often ill-equipped heirs. Al-Nasir's *mamluks* were divided into conflicting "coalitions" advocating different candidates for the sultanate to suite their own ambition.<sup>242</sup> Because of his marriage policies, several of the amirs were already stepfathers and guardians to potential sultans while others sought to make similar alliances, such as Arghun al-'Ala'i (d.1347-48) who was married to the mother of al-Salih Isma'il (r.1342-45) and al-Kamil Sha'ban (r.1345-46).<sup>243</sup>

But the sultans were not always submissive. Van Steenberg describes "the period's pattern of politics ... as one in which sultans tried repeatedly to counter the political muscle of senior amirs, whereas those amirs were constantly torn between subverting individual Qalawunid sultans and remaining loyal to the Qalawunid cause."<sup>244</sup> When al-Muzzafar Hajji (r.1346-47) ambushed and massacred senior amirs in 1347,<sup>245</sup> they were soon replaced by a new generation of "mid-fourteenth century magnates such as Shaykhu (and) Sarghitmish," who monopolized power while maintaining the appearance of dynastic rule.<sup>246</sup> Al-Nasir Hasan managed to achieve considerable, although brief, autonomy during his second reign. The struggle between the sultan and amirs is best epitomized by his complex. Built opposite the citadel in place of the palace Yalbugha al-Yahawi, it is often read as a monument of victory and a declaration of triumph over his father's controlling *mamluks*.<sup>247</sup> However, al-Nasir

---

<sup>242</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 116, 185.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>244</sup> Van Steenberg, "The Mamluk Sultanate," 204.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> *Idem*, "The Amir Yalbugha," 443.

<sup>247</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 203, 205.

Hasan was in turn overpowered by his own *mamluks*.<sup>248</sup> Led by Yalbugha al-Khassaki, they transferred the sultanate to a “new generation of Qalawunids.”<sup>249</sup> The cycle was finally broken when Barquq, a former *mamluk* of Yalbugha, was proclaimed sultan in 1382 and then again in 1390.<sup>250</sup>

The political climate coupled with the relatively young age of some of the sultans allowed women of their household, particularly mothers, to emerge more prominently onto the socio-political stage.<sup>251</sup> The mother of Umm al-Salih Isma‘il and her entourage rode out with him on trips to Siryaqus and Giza where Isma‘il also allowed his favorite women to join in on riding games and races.<sup>252</sup> In an unprecedented incident in Rabi‘ II 744/September 1343-January 1344, Umm al-Salih participated with other elite women in popular culture, visiting the newly discovered remains of an ancient building outside of Cairo rumoured to belong to companions of the Prophet.<sup>253</sup> The find and its reported sanctity triggered mass visits, particularly from women who enthusiastically aided in the dig.<sup>254</sup>

In 755/1354, during his annual Ramadan stay at Siryaqus, al-Salih Salih prepared an elaborate banquet in honor of his mother Qutlimalik, to Amir Shaykhu’s disapproval. Al-Salih had her ride in a royal procession through the *hawsh* dressed in the sultan’s robes and appointed her slave girls and servants different amiral ranks, one of whom held up the *qubba wa-l-tayr* (parasol and bird) for her.<sup>255</sup> Al-Salih personally participated in the preparation and serving of the meal.<sup>256</sup> This incident

---

<sup>248</sup> Van Steenberghe, “The Amir Yalbugha,” 443; idem, “The Mamluk Sultanate,” 207.

<sup>249</sup> Idem, “The Amir Yalbugha,” 434.

<sup>250</sup> Idem, “The Mamluk Sultanate,” 202, 210.

<sup>251</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 185.

<sup>252</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:5.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 3:401-402.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., 4:206; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 186-87.

<sup>256</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:206; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 186-87.

offers a striking contrast to earlier practice when Sultan Qalawun allegedly divorced one of his wives because she emulated the sultan's ranking system.<sup>257</sup> It also coincides with a foiled plot to assassinate Shaykhu and Sarghitmish on their return to Cairo - an act which led to the arrest and deposal of al-Salih Salih.<sup>258</sup>

At the citadel, the assertive influence of the queen-mothers, other women of the *harem* and their eunuchs might be reflected in the re-allocation of "royal functions ... to the previously private area of the *hawsh*."<sup>259</sup> Interestingly, the *harem* could be depicted as either a refuge or a place of exile for the sultan. Like al-Nasir Muhammad himself, who was "sent back to live with his mother" after his first deposal, his successors were often restricted to the *harem*.<sup>260</sup>

These women were also mothers seeking to protect their sons. When al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il became ill in Rabi' II 743/September-October 1342, his mother accused Urdu, mother of al-Ashraf Kujuk (r.1341-1342) of sorcery, attacking her and her slave-girls.<sup>261</sup> She celebrated the sultan's recovery by taking a golden lamp to Mashhad al-Sayyida Nafisa.<sup>262</sup> Narjis sought revenge for her murdered son later that same year. Maqrizi writes that the murderer's twelve-year old son was arrested "to satisfy Umm al-Mansur Abi Bakr" while she personally looted his house with her servants and slave-girls.<sup>263</sup> According to al-Shuja'i, to "quench her rancour and cool the anguish of her grief," the amirs had al-Mu'min, the complicit governor of Qus, crucified at Bayn al-Qasrayn, as she watched from the Madrasa of Qalawun.<sup>264</sup>

---

<sup>257</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 191.

<sup>258</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:206-207.

<sup>259</sup> Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 294.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 182, 294.

<sup>261</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:381; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum* 10:81.

<sup>262</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:381; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum* 10:81.

<sup>263</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:359; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 196.

<sup>264</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 206.

Despite the political influence of senior amirs, al-Nasir's successors still enjoyed some form of authority as well as control over the royal treasury - a privilege women of the sultan's household greatly benefitted from, especially during the short reign of al-Kamil Sha'ban (August 1345 – September 1346).<sup>265</sup> The women of the latter's household held great influence over him, to the extent that "iqta'at and allowances were now granted only through their mediation."<sup>266</sup> His regime is criticized for the liberties taken by servants and women as well as the confiscation of iqta' and property.<sup>267</sup> In addition to a sugar factory (*ma'sara*) and a *mandhara* on Birkat al-Fil, taken from the *wazir* of Baghdad Najm al-Din,<sup>268</sup> al-Kamil's mother (also that of al-Salih Isma'il) received a residence on the Nile front as her share from the confiscated property of Hajj 'Ali - the royal cook since al-Nasir Muhammad's reign, arrested in in Jumada I 746/1345.<sup>269</sup> She also took 500 fidans from the heirs of Amir Taqzдумur whose property and iqta' had reverted back to the treasury.<sup>270</sup> Al-Kamil also gave his wife, Ittifaq, a previous *muwallada* renowned for her beauty and voice, another of Hajj 'Ali's residences at al-Mahmudiyya as well as other "real estate assets."<sup>271</sup> After al-Kamil was deposed in Jumada II 747/September-October 1346 property of his mother, Ittifaq and other wives were returned to their rightful owners.<sup>272</sup>

The spending of al-Kamil and his brothers took its toll on the treasury.<sup>273</sup> After the deposal of al-Muzzafar Hajji, the *majlis al-mashura*, made up of nine amirs, took over the treasury, stipulating a meagre daily allowance of one hundred dirhams for the

<sup>265</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 186, 190.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>267</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:33-34.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:34; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 190.

<sup>269</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:120-121; *idem*, *Suluk*, 4:11.

<sup>270</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:12,15; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 190.

<sup>271</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:120-121; *idem*, *Suluk*, 4:11; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 187; Ittifaq was married to three consecutive sultans and brothers, al-Salih Isma'il, al-Kamil Sha'ban and al-Muzzafar Hajji.

<sup>272</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:35.

<sup>273</sup> Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 194.

sultan.<sup>274</sup> Perhaps it is telling that Qutlumalik was unable to obtain the residence of al-Saba' Qa'at promised to her by Amir Sarghitmish after the arrest of its owner in 754/1353.<sup>275</sup> Al-Nasir Hasan was able to regain control during his second reign but, according to Maqrizi, was similarly criticized by his *mamluk* Yalbugha for granting women *iqta's*.<sup>276</sup>

Other women of the Mamluk elite also elicited disapproval for their lavish behaviour. The excessive and competitive display of wealth by the wives of several amirs during the pilgrimage of 746/1347 was addressed in *khutbat al-'id* at the citadel.<sup>277</sup> The trend of wearing two long chemises, begun by two of al-Nasir Hasan's wives, even reached the populace in 750/1349-50 but was soon banned by authorities.<sup>278</sup>

While the death of al-Nasir Muhammad tipped the political balance of the Mamluk system, the devastation of the Black Plague greatly affected the economy. Despite the extreme losses caused by the plague, building activity in the second half of the fourteenth century continued as "heirless funds" enriched the treasury, reaching a climax with al-Nasir Hasan's ambitious complex.<sup>279</sup> Rapoport also observes "a revival in female patronage of religious buildings" during the second half of the fourteenth century and relates it to the breakdown of the "gendered division of property" after the plague.<sup>280</sup> This may have facilitated women's participation but they are also complimented by strong political and social factors.

In the forty-one years following al-Nasir Muhammad's reign there are several monuments associated with women in Cairo but available information is often

---

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>275</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:110-111.

<sup>276</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 10:311; Van Steenberghe, "The Amir Yalbugha," 433.

<sup>277</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:16-17; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 93.

<sup>278</sup> Lev, "Women," 153.

<sup>279</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 57.

<sup>280</sup> Rapoport, "Women and Gender," 19.



inconclusive and varies from detailed entries in Maqrizi's *Khitat* to mention in obituaries or brief allusions in historic texts. As previously mentioned, the Funerary Khanqah of Khawand Tughay (d.1348), al-Nasir Muhammad's favourite wife, as well as the mausolea of two of his other wives are believed to date to this period rather than to al-Nasir's lifetime. In 1347, Tatar al-Hijaziyya commissioned a mausoleum for her murdered husband which she incorporated into a madrasa during the reign of her brother, Sultan Hasan, in 1360. Al-Nasir Hasan is also believed to have commissioned a funerary complex for his mother while his wife, Khawand Tulubay (d. 1364) is buried at her mausoleum at the Northern Cemetery. The mausoleum of Khawand Zahra' is briefly alluded to in reports on the violent riots of 802/1399. Possibly the most significant monument associated with a woman of the Mamluk elite is the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban, or Khawand Baraka, built in 1368.<sup>281</sup> Despite the information available, there is still some ambiguity about its attribution and patronage. Only one institution was founded by a woman outside the ruling circle; the Madrasa al-Saghira built by al-Sitt Aydukin, wife of Amir Sayf al-Din Bakuja al-Nasiri in the 1350s.<sup>282</sup>

The lack of involvement of the extravagant and influential queen-mothers described above, with the exception of Tughay and Baraka, seems contradictory. In fact, until al-Nasir Hasan's colossal building endeavour, the sultans did not commission religious monuments or institutions but only a few civic buildings, including al-Salih Isma'il's palace of al-Duhaysha.<sup>283</sup> Rather, Mamluk amirs were responsible for the new monuments such as the Mosques of Aslam al-Silahdar (1344-45) and Aqsunqur (1346-47), the Complex of Shaykhu (1349-57) and the Madrassa of

---

<sup>281</sup> al- Harithy, "Female Patronage," 332.

<sup>282</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:394.

<sup>283</sup> Kahil, "The Architects," 170-71.

Sarghitmish (1356). The primary mausoleum at the Mosque of Aqsunqur was, however, dedicated to his stepson, the deposed Sultan al-Ashraf Kujuk, and also contains the bodies of several of his brothers.<sup>284</sup>

### **Khanqah of Tughay (before 1349)**

Khawand Tughay's beauty, virtue and status reached almost legendary proportions, encouraged by the lavish descriptions of her pilgrimage and lifestyle. She was purchased in Damascus by Amir Tankiz for 90,000 dirhams before she was sent to al-Nasir Muhammad.<sup>285</sup> Tughay's original owner allegedly followed her to al-Nasir's court but was paid off by the sultan.<sup>286</sup> He freed and married her, probably after she gave birth to his heir Anuk in 721/1321, and she remained the sultan's favorite during his lifetime, replacing Urduktakin as Khawand al-Kubra.<sup>287</sup>

Khawand Tughay performed the pilgrimage twice, in 721/January 1322, after the birth of her son, Anuk, and in 739/July 1339.<sup>288</sup> The first pilgrimage was a spectacle! It was the first time a Mamluk sultan's wife embarked on such a journey which cost the sultan 80,000 dinars and 680,000 dirhams.<sup>289</sup> Tughay left Cairo in a lavish procession and rode under the sultan's banners.<sup>290</sup> She was accompanied by camels carrying potted vegetables as well as cows to provide her with milk and cheese.<sup>291</sup> To celebrate, al-Nasir also suspended Mecca's taxes on wheat.<sup>292</sup> On the pilgrims' return, he rode out to meet Tughay, hosting a large banquet, distributing investiture robes to the attendees and honoring the amirs' wives as well as the

---

<sup>284</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 188-89.

<sup>285</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:48; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:221.

<sup>286</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:48; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:221.

<sup>287</sup> al-Safadi, *A 'yan*, 2:600; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:221; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:300.

<sup>288</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:221; Maqrizi, 4:300; al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 50.

<sup>289</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:53.

<sup>290</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 33:31; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:48.

<sup>291</sup> al-Safadi, *A 'yan*, 2:600; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:300; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:48; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 347.

<sup>292</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:48; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:221.

*qahramanat*.<sup>293</sup> While several historians repeat the almost formulaic story of Umm Anuk's journey, her second pilgrimage is reduced to a brief report.<sup>294</sup> Al-Shuja'i only dwells on it to discuss rumors of Tughay's affair with Amir Bashtak, which proved to be false.<sup>295</sup>

Tughay continued to command considerable respect after the sultan's death and did not remarry but remained at the citadel. In 747/1347-48, for example, she intervened on behalf of a servant of al-Nasir Muhammad, al-Tawashi Kafur al-Hindi, who had fallen out of favour with the current sultan, al-Muzafar Hajji.<sup>296</sup> She was also appointed guardian of al-Nasir Hasan, who had lost his mother at an early age, with Sitt Hadaq as his nanny.<sup>297</sup>

Although no *waqf* or other legal documents have come to light, historians give a glimpse of Tughay's economic activities. In addition to her husband's support and inheritance, Tughay, as the sultan's senior wife, received her share of gifts.<sup>298</sup> She was in direct contact with al-Qadi Karim al-Din al-Kabir (d.1324) sometime before he fell out favor with the sultan.<sup>299</sup> Through an agent (*wakil*), Tughay purchased a house known as Dar al-Zayniyya from the daughter of al-Zahir Baybars after the latter's husband died in Safar 723/January-February 1323.<sup>300</sup> Two decades later, she bought Hammam al-Khushayba from the heirs of Amir Aydughmugh (d. Sha'ban 743/January 1343) and endowed it towards her *turba*.<sup>301</sup> Tughay also contributed to the endowments of al-Nasir's mausoleum after her son's death in 1340, arranging for reciters and for the distribution of bread.<sup>302</sup> She even sold Anuk's clothing and

---

<sup>293</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:53.

<sup>294</sup> al-Safadi, *A'yan*, 2:601; al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 50; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:300.

<sup>295</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 53, 57-58.

<sup>296</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:28.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:138; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 10:232.

<sup>298</sup> al-Safadi, *A'yan*, 2:601; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:300.

<sup>299</sup> al-Safadi, *A'yan*, 3:146; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:77; *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 347.

<sup>300</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 33:66.

<sup>301</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:153; *idem*, *Suluk*, 3:383.

<sup>302</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:426; *idem*, *Suluk*, 3:295; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:160.

donated the proceeds.<sup>303</sup> Maqrizi adds that for the following year, Tughay held regular gatherings at his grave every Friday with complete Qur'an recitations and a feast for participants.<sup>304</sup>

Khawand Tughay passed away during the plague in Shawwal 749/December 1348 - January 1349 and was buried in her *turba*, leaving behind 1,000 slave girls, all of whom she freed and provided for, as well as eighty servants and "a lot of money."<sup>305</sup> Maqrizi specifies that she founded (*ansha'at*) a *khanqah* in the Sahara' (the Northern Cemetery), outside Bab al-Barqiyya and endowed it with many properties to accommodate *sufis* and reciters as well as provide a regular salary (*muratab*) for her slave-girls.<sup>306</sup> The *khanqah* is strategically located at the intersection of the ceremonial road that leads out of Cairo from Bab al-Wazir, below the citadel, and the road joining it from Bab al-Barqiyya.<sup>307</sup> Initially, the former road served to link the citadel with Baybars' Maydan al-Qabbaq but the area evolved into a cemetery under al-Nasir Muhammad.<sup>308</sup>

As it stands today, the *khanqah* is composed of a central vaulted *iwan* flanked by a domed mausoleum to its south and another smaller chamber, also originally domed, to its north (Figs. 35-36).<sup>309</sup> The springing of an arch on either side of the *iwan* indicates the courtyard was bounded by an arcade on its northern and southern sides, from which the mausoleum was accessed.<sup>310</sup> Masonry remains also show that the southern façade of the *khanqah*, overlooking the road coming from Bab al-Barqiyya, protruded slightly from the mausoleum to accommodate a row of vaulted

<sup>303</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:295; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:160.

<sup>304</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:295.

<sup>305</sup> al-Safadi, *A'yan*, 2:600; ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:221; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:300, 426; idem, *Suluk*, 4:96; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 10:238.

<sup>306</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:300.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.; Hamza, *Northern Cemetery*, 49.

<sup>308</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:360-61. Hamza, *Northern Cemetery*, 24.

<sup>309</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Trois Fondations," 115.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 117.

cells (Fig. 41).<sup>311</sup> A minaret would have been located at the opposite end of the current structure, possibly next to the main portal.<sup>312</sup> According to al-Jabarti, it was torn down during Napoleon's invasion along with part of the northern wall.<sup>313</sup> The suggested layout, as well as several other features, are reminiscent of the Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar (1344-45) (Figs. 37-38).<sup>314</sup> Al-Jabarti also writes of a waterwheel on elevated land opposite the portal, where Shaykh al-Islam 'Abd Allah al-Sharqawi later built his mausoleum (Fig. 39). It was connected to the *khanqah* by a small aqueduct with an archway to allow pedestrians through.<sup>315</sup> Based on the simple squinches seen in the northern dome chamber, which differ from the common *muqarnas* squinches seen in Tughay's mausoleum, it is also possible that it was reconstructed sometime after the *khanqah*'s destruction.<sup>316</sup>

Several aspects of the architecture and its decoration distinguish the *khanqah* and thus relay the privilege and status of the patroness. The *iwan*, crowned with a monumental *pishtaq*, marks a return to the Persian vaulted *iwan*, also employed in Ayyubid and early Bahri Mamluk architecture (Figs. 40-42).<sup>317</sup> This "true *iwan*" and the Qur'anic inscription band (*Surat Ya-sin*) "which runs on the same level on (its) three walls" not only differ from contemporary monuments but are also comparable to the Sultan Hasan Complex.<sup>318</sup> Kahil suggests that the *khanqah* may thus fall under the repertoire of al-Hujayj, court architect of al-Salih Isma'il and al-Nasir Hasan.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah," 42, observes that monuments built in the cemetery from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods followed a similar arrangement with "the entrance and its dependencies being situated on one side opposite the *qibla*" while "all minarets... are built on a main street, beside the principal entrance" with few exceptions.

<sup>313</sup> al-Jabarti, *Tarikh*, 3:379.

<sup>314</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Trois Fondations," 116.

<sup>315</sup> al-Jabarti, *Tarikh*, 3:379.

<sup>316</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Trois Fondations," 115.

<sup>317</sup> Kahil, "The Architects," 174.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., 173.

*Khanqahs* are usually associated with minimal decoration but the main *iwan* employs a variety of stucco decoration (Figs. 44-49). In addition to the Qur'anic inscription band, which continues on the outside of the *pishtaq*, a central medallion above the *mihrab*, rather than the usual oculus, is flanked by two blind windows with a foliate-scroll design branching from a central stem. Two smaller medallions are centered on the side walls and are thus slightly shifted from the arches leading into the eastern chamber on one side and framing the window of the mausoleum on the other. The conch and spandrels of the *mihrab* are also executed in stucco but it is possible that its body was covered with marble panels.

Although compositions of stucco medallions, blind windows or *bukhariyyas* are a common decorative scheme in Bahri Mamluk architecture they vary considerably in style and design.<sup>320</sup> The composition of these medallions, divided into registers incorporating inscriptions, rondels, and cartouches, are similar to contemporary metal work and in this respect resemble the medallions of the Khanqah of Qawsun, the Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar (Figs. 57-58) and, possibly, the medallion once present at al-Nasir's Iwan al-Kabir at the citadel.<sup>321</sup> Ibrahim and Rogers observe certain technical similarities to Qawsun's medallion which employs unique sculptural petals believed to be the product of a Tabrizi workshop.<sup>322</sup> The medallions of Tughay are the only other example to share rosette bosses and high relief borders while the spandrels of the *mihrab* are another rare example of applied bosses; "a style alien to Cairene tradition."<sup>323</sup> The Khanqah of Tughay thus displays Persian features assimilated into Mamluk architecture. Given the rarity of this technique which

---

<sup>320</sup> Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah," 49.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 50-51; Rabbat, *The Citadel*, 251.

<sup>322</sup> Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah," 50; Rogers, "Appendix II," 60, suggests the Shamsiyya Madrasa in Yazd as its "direct prototype."

<sup>323</sup> Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah," 50, 57; Rogers, "Appendix II," 60.

appears in “the buildings of the most powerful of (al-Nasir’s) amirs” as well as that of his “favorite wife,” Ibrahim links it to court-workshops trained in the Persian idiom.<sup>324</sup>

Ilkhanid or Persian influence is also visible in other elements of the stucco decoration, particularly in the Chinese lotus on the dome’s interior inscription (Fig. 50) as well as in the surprising floral designs on the spandrels of the *pishtaq*, only small fragments of which remain (Fig. 51-52).<sup>325</sup> Despite the popularity of *chinoiserie* and other floral elements in Mamluk art since the 1320s, the Sultan Hasan Complex is the only other known monument from the Bahri period to employ such designs, most notably the carved band of paeonies and chrysanthemums on the portal.<sup>326</sup>

The crowning element of the Khanqah of Tughay is the tile mosaic inscription band of white *naskhi* on a blue background encircling the base of the dome (Fig. 53). It ends in a cavetto cornice supporting tiled trefoil crenellations. The *khanqah* is one of thirteen documented Bahri Mamluk monuments that employ tile mosaic but the only other known monument with this arrangement is once again the mausoleum of Aslam al-Silahdar, although the cartouche-based design on a white background is quite different (Fig. 56).<sup>327</sup> Tughay’s inscription, with green foliate decoration filling in the spaces between the letters, is more similar to that on the drum of the Sabil of al-Nasir Muhammad (1346), but the latter is set in plaster instead of a mosaic background (Fig. 59).<sup>328</sup> Prost observes that the colors employed for all three monuments, blue, white and green, are of the same composition.<sup>329</sup> The nearby mausoleum of Tashtimur Hummus Akhdar (1334) shows traces of green tiles but unfortunately very little survives.

---

<sup>324</sup> Ibrahim, “The Great Khanqah,” 57.

<sup>325</sup> Meinecke, “Die Mamlukischen Fayencemosaikedekorationen,” 122 (note 85).

<sup>326</sup> Rogers, “Evidence,” 387, 398; Meinecke, “Die Mamlukischen Fayencemosaikedekorationen,” 122 (note 85).

<sup>327</sup> Prost, *Les Revêtements*, 6.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid., 4. Meinecke, “Die Mamlukischen Fayencemosaikedekorationen,” 122-123.

<sup>329</sup> Prost, *Les Revêtements*, 4.

Like the stucco decoration discussed above, tile mosaic not only shows Persian influence but also alludes to Persian craftsmen at court workshops. Although there is evidence of earlier Persian features,<sup>330</sup> the first documented Ilkhanid workshop was set up by a *banna* from Tabriz in 1330 as part of increased diplomatic relations between al-Nasir and the Ilkhanid Sultan Abu Sa‘id.<sup>331</sup> He reportedly built the two minarets of the Mosque of Qawsun (1329-30), modeled after those of the Ilkhanid vizier ‘Ali Shah (1318-22) in Tabriz.<sup>332</sup> Other craftsmen followed, seeking work in Cairo, particularly after Abu Sa‘id’s death in 1335.<sup>333</sup> However, the exclusivity of tile mosaic strongly suggests that it was restricted to court workshops, especially considering the tile mosaics on the portals of the Mosque of al-Maridani (1339-40) (Fig. 60). As mentioned above, this mosque was supervised by the head architect Mu‘allim ibn al-Suyufi and materials for the mosque’s construction, including timber and marble, were provided by the sultan.<sup>334</sup>

Unfortunately, no foundation inscription survives for the *khanqah* and no date is given by historians for its construction. It is usually assumed to be sometime after Tughay’s second pilgrimage in 1339 and her passing in 1348.<sup>335</sup> Maqrizi and Ibn Taghribirdi mention Tughay as an example of those who built up the Sahara,’ ranging from Tashtimur Hummus Akhdar in 1334 to Tashtimur Tullayla, 1348, but her monument is excluded from al-Shuja‘i’s list of *khanqahs* built during the reign of al-

---

<sup>330</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 155-56, discusses how early Persian features, such as the high-relief stucco *mihrab* at al-Nasir’s madrasa, may have been the work of Mongol refugees. Earlier examples of tile-mosaic include the Khanqah of Baybars al-Jashankir (1307-10) and, possibly, the Mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad (1318-1335). The minarets of the latter belong to the earlier phase of construction (1318). While the tile-work may have been added to them at a later date, inspired by the minarets of Qawsun, *Ibid.*, 177, argues that, because of the unconventional shape, “it is more likely that the minarets and their tiles were designed simultaneously,” suggesting Seljuk Anatolian inspiration instead.

<sup>331</sup> Bakhoum, “Foundation,” 17-18; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 155-56.

<sup>332</sup> Bakhoum, “Foundation,” 17-18; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 155-56.

<sup>333</sup> Bakhoum, “Foundation,” 17-18, 30.

<sup>334</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:109, 232

<sup>335</sup> al-Harithy, “Female Patronage,” 328.



Nasir Muhammad.<sup>336</sup> Similarities to the Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar as well as precursors to the Complex of al-Nasir Hasan confirm the *khanqah* belongs to post al-Nasir Muhammad architecture. However, the manner in which the *iwan* leans against the transitional zone of the mausoleum, with a clear construction joint in between (Fig. 55), as well as the unusual protrusion of the southern façade suggest that the mausoleum was built first and the *khanqah* constructed around it (Fig. 38). The exterior stone façade is higher than that of the mausoleum and thus obscure the lower windows of the transitional zone, unifying the different components (Fig. 43).<sup>337</sup> Similar observations have been made for the Khanqah of Qawsun and the Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar.<sup>338</sup>

The construction process may have lasted anywhere between a few months to several years. Could the mausoleum, at least, have been commissioned before al-Nasir Muhammad's death? Tughay's brother, Amir Aqbugha 'Abd al-Wahid was for a time appointed *shadd al-'ama'ir*, probably on his sister's merit.<sup>339</sup> It is tempting to think Tughay may have benefitted from her brother's position especially since both his own madrasa and that of Sitt Hadaq, Tughay's possible companion on her second pilgrimage, were built between 1339 and 1340. Yet the strong resemblance between the domes of Tughay and Aslam favor a later date.

### **Turba of Narjis and Turba of Umm Hajji**

The *turba* of Narjis (d.1356), an *umm walad* and the mother of al-Nasir's immediate successor al-Malik al-Mansur Abu Bakr, was located at the Qarafa near al-Shaf'i's canal while the *turba* of the mother of al-Malik al-Muzzafar Hajji was

<sup>336</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 117; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:361; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:187.

<sup>337</sup> Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah," 45; 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Trois Fondations," 118.

<sup>338</sup> Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah," 45, surmises from the available masonry that "the evidence ... points to two, or possibly three, stages of construction" that start with the domed mausoleum.

<sup>339</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:299; al-Safadi, *al-wafi*, 9:179.

located at al-Rawda, outside al-Bab al-Mahruq.<sup>340</sup> Both instances are mentioned only because a relative, a son and grandson respectively, are reported to have been buried there (*bi-turbat walidatih/bi-turbat jiddatih*).<sup>341</sup> The date of these mausolea are unknown. Perhaps they were built during the reigns of their children or else were erected by their families posthumously.

### **The Mausoleum of Malktumur al-Hijazi (1347)**

The mausoleum of Malktumur al-Hijazi was built posthumously after the amir was ambushed and killed on 19 Rabi' I 748/6 June 1347.<sup>342</sup> It is rather strange that Malktumur, one of al-Nasir Muhammad's close amirs, had not already commissioned a monument in his name.<sup>343</sup> His wife Tatar, a daughter of al-Nasir, quickly undertook that task, building a mausoleum at Rahbat al-Eid.<sup>344</sup> He was moved there on 17 Ramadan/21 December of the same year. Even though she remarried, Tatar is buried with Malktumur in this mausoleum.

A mausoleum at the center of the old Fatimid city is unusual for the time when most amirs were building on the outskirts or extensions of the city. It was built in place of Bab al-Zumurrud, one of the gates of the Fatimid Eastern Palace (Fig. 61). Tatar also owned an adjacent *qasr* of the same name that came to be known as Qasr al-Hijaziyya.<sup>345</sup> Tatar must have purchased it sometime after the death of its previous owner, Qawsun, in 1342, who incidentally had been her husband's enemy and goaler before his own arrest.<sup>346</sup> Did Tatar purchase the property purposefully after her husband's passing or did she already own it before his death and therefore find it

<sup>340</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 252; al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw*, ' 7:216.

<sup>341</sup> al-Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 252; al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw*, ' 7:216.

<sup>342</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:47-48; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 10: 157.

<sup>343</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:66.

<sup>344</sup> Idem, *Khitat*, 2:337, 3:130; idem, *Suluk*, 4:61.

<sup>345</sup> Idem, *Khitat*, 2:337, 3:130; idem, *Suluk*, 4:61.

<sup>346</sup> Idem, *Khitat*, 3:130.

convenient for the hastily built mausoleum? Maqrizi gives a detailed account of the renovations and improvements Tatar undertook before taking up residence there, including supplying the palace with water and building a stable on the ground floor.

The mausoleum was initially a free-standing structure. It is entered from the south rather than from its street façade - possibly the direction of the adjacent *qasr* (Figs. 62, 64). Although it is a simple structure, it supports one of the earliest masonry domes in Cairo, imitating the ribbing of conventional brick domes and plastered over for a smoother finish.<sup>347</sup> Kessler notes that the neatly stacked masonry and concealed vertical joints mark the progress of the craftsmanship from earlier, cruder attempts.<sup>348</sup>

#### **Al-Madrasa al-Saghira (1350)**

Maqrizi invests few lines to describe this madrasa, built by (*banatha*) al-Sitt Aydukin, wife of Amir Sayf al-Din Bakuja al-Nasiri in 751/1350-51.<sup>349</sup> It lay between Khatt Bayn al-‘Awamid and Tawahin al-Malahin, in the area south-west of Bayn al-Qasrayn.<sup>350</sup>

#### **Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya (1360)**

Over a decade after erecting the mausoleum, Tatar al-Hijaziyya, now sister of the reigning Sultan Hasan, built a small mosque-madrasa between her *qasr* and mausoleum. The foundation inscription on a marble plaque above the doorway (Figs. 65-66) names the founder who ordered its construction (*amara bi-insha*’) as “*al-adir al-masuna Tatar Khatun al-Hijaziyya*” - a title she inherited from her former husband and seems to have kept despite remarrying - “*karimat* (sister of) ... *nasir al-dunya wa-*

---

<sup>347</sup> Kessler, *Carved Masonry Domes*, 6, dates the dome to 1360.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:394.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

*l-din Hasan*” (see Appendix, 6a).<sup>351</sup> The inscription gives the end of Ramadan 761/August 1360 as the completion date.<sup>352</sup> Another inscription on one of the doors of the madrasa, now at the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, confirms the founder but describes al-Sitt Tatar al-Hijaziyya as one of the scholars of the Muhammadan creed (*min ‘ulama’ al-milla al-muhammadiyya*), suggesting that Tatar not only sponsored a *madrasa* but also had a personal interest in religious studies (see Appendix, 6b).<sup>353</sup>

The importance of this institution is perhaps reflected in Maqrizi’s relatively detailed account in which he emphasises Tatar’s founding role (*ansha’atha*), distinguishing between three adjacent components; the madrasa, with a minaret for the call to prayer, the *qubba*, discussed above, as well as a *maktab la-l-sabil* that is now lost.<sup>354</sup> The result is an unusual, rather cramped plan that lacks any symmetry or coherence but nevertheless displays unique architectural elements and fine craftsmanship (Fig. 62).<sup>355</sup> Various endowments, including the adjacent *qasr* to be rented out after Tatar’s death, provided for the madrasa’s expenses and for the orphans of the *kuttab*. In addition to an allowance, they received five loaves of bread daily, winter and summer clothing as well as additional meals in Ramadan and on feast days.<sup>356</sup> Only high ranking amirs were appointed to oversee the complex and it remained a prestigious institution until Jamal al-Din Yusuf al-Bahasi, Ustadar of al-Nasir Faraj, usurped Tatar’s property and used it as a prison.<sup>357</sup>

At least part of the complex initially overlooked an open square known as Rahbat al-Hijaziyya to its east - once part of the larger Rahbat al-‘id of the Fatimid

---

<sup>351</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 247.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>353</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 36.4.

<sup>354</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:231.

<sup>355</sup> Abdel Wahab, “al-‘Imara al-islamiyya,” 191.

<sup>356</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:130, 231.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:231.

compound (Fig. 61).<sup>358</sup> As mentioned above, the *qasr* extended to the south, although its exact relationship to the madrasa is unfortunately unclear.<sup>359</sup> Madrasas associated with their founder's residences were often closely associated with them.<sup>360</sup> The Mamluk amir and scholar Sanjar al-Jawli built a funerary complex in front of his palace on Saliba street (1303-04) which possibly included a learning space while the first floor of the Madrasa of Mithqal (764/1361-62) could only be accessed from Mithqal's palace.<sup>361</sup>

The main entrance to the Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya is on Darb Qirmiz which links the *rahba* to Bayn al-Qasrayn (Figs. 64-65). It is a rather discreet and unassuming structure to the left of the mausoleum, receding from the façade to clear its *mihrab*, at a height just below the oculus on the mausoleum's *qibla* wall. The madrasa's western façade overlooks 'Atfit al-Qaffasin. It includes a secondary entrance next to a stone minaret at its southern end, comparable to the minarets of al-Sultaniyya and Sultan Hasan, although more modest in size.<sup>362</sup> Curiously, Maqrizi singles out this minaret in his description, perhaps alluding to the original domestic nature of the complex (Fig. 67).<sup>363</sup> Behrens-Abouseif suggests the "unique" choice of verse .... for the second storey of the minaret, addressing "the Day of Judgement when idolaters ... will suffer God's painful punishment" may be an allusion to Malktumur al-Hijazi's murderers.<sup>364</sup> The *sabil kuttab* has since disappeared. While 'Abd al-Wahab believes it would have continued along the western façade, Speiser

<sup>358</sup> Ibid., 3:91; Ravisce, *Essai*, 58-59, Plate 5.

<sup>359</sup> Ravisce, *Essai*, 63, Plate 5; Speiser, "Die Madrasa," 163.

<sup>360</sup> O'Kane, "Domestic and Religious Architecture," 167-68.

<sup>361</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 158; O'Kane, "Domestic and Religious Architecture," 168.

<sup>362</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 193.

<sup>363</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:231.

<sup>364</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 193.

suggests the main façade as the most likely location, flanking the portal on the opposite side of the mausoleum.<sup>365</sup>

From the main portal of the madrasa a small vestibule with a coffered ceiling (Fig. 69) leads to a marble-paved courtyard overlooked by three unequal *iwans*. According to Maqrizi, Tatar arranged for (*ja'alat biha*) several activities to take place within this madrasa including a lecture for Shaf'i scholars, a lecture for Maliki scholars, Friday prayers, for which a *minbar* was provided, an imam to lead the five daily prayers and a library (*khazanat kutub*).<sup>366</sup> As a result of the madrasa's unconventional orientation, both the main south-western *iwan* facing the entrance (Fig. 70), and the smaller south-eastern one - technically the *qibla iwan* - have *mihirabs*. Each *iwan* could also have hosted the different lectures. The north-western *iwan* is a long rectangular space separated from the courtyard by a triple arcade from which the mausoleum is accessed (Fig. 71). Residential units would have been located on the upper floor. The complex may have also extended across the street to the west, connected to the madrasa by a bridge on the upper floor.<sup>367</sup>

A colourful stucco inscription band of gold *naskhi* letters on a blue background runs throughout the madrasa in an attempt to unify the different spaces (fig, 72).<sup>368</sup> Although the verses are in *naskh* rather than *kufic*, the scrolls in the background and the lobed border at the top, originally red, are similar to the inscriptions at the four madrasas of the Sultan Hasan complex (Fig. 73). A stucco blind window on the south-eastern wall, with a six-pointed rosette pattern (Fig. 74) is also reminiscent of the decorative roundels in the latter inscription bands (Fig. 75).

<sup>365</sup> Abdel Wahab, "al-'Imara al-islamiyya," 192; Speiser, "Die Madrasa," 158.

<sup>366</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:230-231.

<sup>367</sup> Speiser, "Die Madrasa," 140, 159.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

The inscription in the Hanafiyya *madrasa* of the Sultan Hasan Complex is signed by Muhammad Ibn Bilik al-Muhsini, who began his architectural career under al-Nasir Muhammad and was also an accomplished calligrapher, dedicating a Qur'an manuscript to him in 730/1330.<sup>369</sup> It is possible that al-Muhsini or his craftsmen worked on this *madrasa* as well. The involvement of court workshops would address similarities noted by 'Abd al-Wahab in the wood work of this *madrasa* and the buildings of al-Nasir Muhammad, most notably the coffered ceiling of the entrance vestibule.<sup>370</sup> A similar ceiling can also be found at the palace of Bishtak (1334-39), one of al-Nasir's closest amirs. Kahil even suggests that given the patronesses status, like the Khanqah of Tughay, al-Hujayj may also be responsible for the *Madrasa* of Tatar al-Hijaziyya.<sup>371</sup>

The *madrasa* was also furnished with a wood and ivory *minbar*, unique in its square design more common in Fatimid and North African examples, as well as a marble vessel (*zir*), typically found in mosques or public buildings to provide drinking water, intricately decorated in an arabesque pattern.<sup>372</sup>

### **Mausoleum of Khawand Zahra'**

Khawand Zahra' is another daughter of al-Nasir Muhammad, the sister of al-Salih Isma'il and al-Malik Sha'ban. She was married first to Aqsunqur al-Nasiri (d.1347) then to Amir Taz in 752/1351.<sup>373</sup> Despite its prestigious location at Bab al-Wazir her mausoleum is only briefly mentioned in reports of the 802/1399 looting and vandalism which initially targeted the property of Aytimish but also affected the

---

<sup>369</sup> Kahil, "The Architects," 158, 161; Muhammad Ibn Bilik al-Muhsini was from the *awlad al-nas* but was given the rank of Amir of One Hundred by al-Nasir Hasan. He was with the sultan during his last stand against Yalbugha al-'Umari and was then imprisoned in Alexandria.

<sup>370</sup> Abdel Wahab, "al-'Imara al-islamiyya," 191.

<sup>371</sup> Kahil, "The Architects," 173.

<sup>372</sup> Abdel Wahab, "al-'Imara al-islamiyya," 193; O'Kane, *Illustrated Guide*, 150, 194.

<sup>373</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:137; Shuja'i, *Tarikh*, 111, 235.

mosque of her husband Aqsunqur (747/1346-47).<sup>374</sup> Ibn Iyas refers to the looting of carpets from Qubbat Khawand Zahra' next to Aytimish's residence (also known as the palace of Alin Aq or Khayrbak), while Ibn Hajar describes the structure as her *turba*.<sup>375</sup> Both instances suggest a primarily funerary function. According to Amir Khayrbak's foundation deed, a waterwheel on the property of the palace also bears Khawand Zahra's name.<sup>376</sup>

No date is given for the mausoleum or for Khawand Zahra's death, but it does not seem likely that her mausoleum was built before Aqsunqur's who, by Maqrizi's account, was an enthusiastic patron greatly involved in the construction process.<sup>377</sup> Behrens-Abouseif suggests that a "mid-fourteenth century minaret" as seen in a nineteenth century photograph by Francis Frith, as well as a Mamluk *iwan* now incorporated into the Ottoman Zawiya and Sabil Kuttab of Shaykh Murshid (1533-34), between the Mosque of Aqsunqur and the Madrasa of Aytimish could have been part of Khawand Zahra's complex.<sup>378</sup>

### **Mausoleum for the mother of al-Nasir Hasan (1354-61)**

Mention of a mausoleum for Sultan Hasan's mother appears in the 1578 *waqf* document of Masih Pasha, the Ottoman governor, and is corroborated by Evilya Çelibi who reports that the complex of Masih Pasha stood opposite that of Sultan Hasan's mother as well as that of Qawsun.<sup>379</sup> The monument known as al-Sultaniyya corresponds to the described location.<sup>380</sup> Devoid of any foundation or historic texts, the main argument against this identification is its controversial dating. Creswell

<sup>374</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:560; Ibn Hajar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, 2:96; Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 153.

<sup>375</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:560; Ibn Hajar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, 2:96; Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 153.

<sup>376</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 153.

<sup>377</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:111.

<sup>378</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 153.

<sup>379</sup> Idem, *Cairo*, 214.

<sup>380</sup> Makar, "al-Sultaniyya," 72; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 214.



attributes the structure to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, believing the *waqfiyya* of Mesih Pasha to be “vague.”<sup>381</sup> However, as demonstrated in Farida Makar’s extensive study, there is ample architectural evidence to support a mid-fourteenth century dating.<sup>382</sup> If al-Nasir had commissioned a funerary monument for his mother Kuda, who died in 1341 when he was still a boy, it must have been during his second reign (1354-61).

Al-Sultaniyya is an impressive and unusual structure. The plan - two domes flanking a vaulted *iwan* - is a development of the type introduced at the *khanqahs* of Qawsun and Tughay (Figs. 77-78). In addition to a minaret, they are all that survive of the larger complex.<sup>383</sup> The domes themselves are something of a mystery. Supported on high drums, the ribbed double dome structure, ending in *muqarnas* brackets, “translate” both the form and structure of a “Central Asian type of brick dome into the limestone material of Cairo,” and are particularly reminiscent of later fifteenth century Timurid examples.<sup>384</sup> Although unnecessary in masonry domes, the outer shell is reinforced with an additional inner shell as in the Iranian tradition.<sup>385</sup> The construction of the inner shells, however, are different. While the northern one is constructed of concentric masonry courses, the southern shell is a “twelve sided domical vault.”<sup>386</sup> The only other double-dome in Cairo pertaining to this period is the unusual brick dome of the Mosque of Sarghatmish (1356).<sup>387</sup> Creswell and Kessler also compare the domes of the Sultaniyya to that of the Amir Yunis al-Duwadar (before 783/1382) where the ribs similarly protrude from the drum to rest on *muqarnas* brackets, although it is a single-shell structure and quite different in

---

<sup>381</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 128-129.

<sup>382</sup> Makar, “al-Sultaniyya,” 73-77, 142-144.

<sup>383</sup> The monument was heavily reconstructed by *Le Comité de Conservation des Monuments de L’Art Arabe*.

<sup>384</sup> Kessler, *Carved Masonry Domes*, 9-10.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>386</sup> Makar, *al-Sultaniyya*, 28.

<sup>387</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 216.

profile.<sup>388</sup> Kessler suggests that the latter marks the evolution of the Sultaniyya or “‘Samarqand’ type of domes ... into the context of local building traditions.”<sup>389</sup>

Makar, however, observes that “the idea of combining ribs and stalactites,” while new to dome architecture, are characteristic of earlier *mabkhara* minarets.<sup>390</sup>

The northern drum of the Sultaniyya is also covered with a vegetal design in low relief around the windows, similar to carvings at the Complex of Shaykhu and the Madrasa of Sarghatmish.<sup>391</sup> The upper portion of the drum is decorated with a repeated square *kufic* composition of the names of the Prophet and the four Caliphs, common to Iranian and Anatolian architecture.<sup>392</sup>

Several similarities to the Sultan Hasan Complex support the theory of his patronage or at least a contemporary dating - first and foremost the masonry *iwan*.<sup>393</sup> The shape and decoration of the carved stone *mihrab*, with an Anatolian-type *muqarnas* conch, resembles the side niches on the portal of Sultan Hasan’s mosque (Figs. 82-83) while an inscription band with *Surrat Ya-Sin* would have continued around the main *iwan*.<sup>394</sup> Unlike the domes, the minaret at the northern corner of the complex fits neatly into the prevalent architectural canon, resembling those of the Sultan Hasan Complex and the Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya (Fig. 81).<sup>395</sup> The third storey, however, is a hexagonal shaft rather than the usual open pavilion and the minaret may have initially been a “a four-storeyed configuration.”<sup>396</sup>

It is curious that the circumstances surrounding such a unique and impressive monument could remain unclear. The scale of the complex, its experimentation in

---

<sup>388</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 128; Kessler, *Carved Masonry Domes*, 9-10.

<sup>389</sup> Kessler, *Carved Masonry Domes*, 10.

<sup>390</sup> Makar, “al-Sultaniyya,” 86.

<sup>391</sup> Makar, “al-Sultaniyya,” 75.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 31; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 216.

<sup>393</sup> Makar, “al-Sultaniyya,” 142-144; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 217.

<sup>394</sup> Makar, “al-Sultaniyya,” 8, 10; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 217.

<sup>395</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 187.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*

incorporating foreign and traditionally brick forms and techniques into masonry architecture as well as the similarities to the Sultan Hasan Complex strongly suggest that they “bear the mark of one and the same mind.”<sup>397</sup> Makar summarizes the buildings as the work of a “brilliant architect” who “picked up his ideas in Anatolia, Persia and Syria, and ... blended them with local features to produce his own original creations.”<sup>398</sup> But were they the result of the same patron and, more importantly, was it built to honor an otherwise forgotten queen-mother? Mamluk historians, including al-Maqrizi, are silent on such an endeavor.

An “uncarved band” on the exterior of the remaining structure, presumably meant for an inscription, as well as the contrasting bareness of the southern dome suggest that the monument was never completed - another trait shared with the Sultan Hasan Complex.<sup>399</sup> Perhaps the incomplete monument, as well as its ambiguity, can be explained by the Sultan’s sudden demise.

### **Turba of Tulubay (1364)**

The foundation inscription of this monument attributes its construction to “*al-adir al-karima Khawand Tulbiya*” on 10 Rajab 765/13 April 1364 (see Appendix, inscription 7a) while the inscription on the cenotaph names the deceased simply as Khawand Tulbiya (see Appendix, inscription 7b).<sup>400</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi and al-Malti confirm the *turba* belonged to al-Nasir Hasan’s wife Tulubay.<sup>401</sup> Although Maqrizi wrongly identifies her as al-Nasir Muhammad’s wife, “Tulunbay also Dulubiyya,” he gives a date of death corresponding to the former.<sup>402</sup>

---

<sup>397</sup> Makar, “al-Sultaniyya,” 144.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>400</sup> ‘Abd ar-Raziq, “*Un Mausolée*,” 8-9.

<sup>401</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:84; idem, *al-Manhal*, 7:31; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 1:360.

<sup>402</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:122; ‘Abd ar-Raziq, “*Un Mausolée*,” 9.

Thus, this *turba* belongs to Khawand Tulubay, wife of al-Nasir Hasan of whom very little is known. Shortly after al-Nasir's death in 762/1361, she was married to his rival and killer Yalbugha al- Khassaki.<sup>403</sup> Initially one of al-Nasir Hasan's *khassakiya mamluks*, Yalbugha's power greatly increased during the Sultan's second reign but mistrust, rivalry and ambition, fueled by rumors, soon breached their relationship. In 1361, Sultan Hasan's attempt to arrest Yalbugha turned into conflict from which the latter emerged victorious and Sultan Hasan simply disappeared.<sup>404</sup> His marriage to Tulubay can be considered part of his "taking over of the household of his former master."<sup>405</sup> Tulubay died a few years later in Rabi' II 765/January 1364 - as confirmed on her cenotaph - and was buried in her *turba*.<sup>406</sup> Her death thus predates the foundation inscription by three months.<sup>407</sup> The addition of the phrase "taghamaduha Allahu bi-rahmatihī" (also found on the tombstone) further suggests that the mausoleum was completed posthumously. Of Tulubay's wealth, Ibn Taghribirdi simply reports that she left a lot of money.<sup>408</sup>

Like the Khanqah of Tughay across the street, this mausoleum was built at the intersection of two important roads leading out of Cairo (Fig. 40). Today it is surrounded by a maze of modern graves that obscure the original boundaries of the site. It consisted of a walled court entered from a simple recessed portal to the north (Fig. 84), with the mausoleum on the eastern side.<sup>409</sup> The foundation inscription on the outer entrance, described above, continues on either side of the doorway and starts with the *basmala* and Qur'an 24:36.<sup>410</sup> While commonly used on religious

<sup>403</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:6; al- Harithy, "Female Patronage," 328.

<sup>404</sup> Van Steenberghe, "The Amir Yalbugha," 430-433.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*, 431, 435.

<sup>406</sup> While historians give the date of her death as the 24<sup>th</sup> of Rabi' I, a marble plaque on her cenotaph gives the date as Friday the 27<sup>th</sup> of Rabi' I; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:122; idem, *Suluk*, 4:276; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:84; idem, *al-Manhal*, 7:31; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 1:360; 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Un Mausolée," 5.

<sup>407</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Un Mausolée," 5.

<sup>408</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 7:31.

<sup>409</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 111.

<sup>410</sup> 'Abd ar-Raziq, "Un Mausolée," 8.

monuments, the choice of verse for the portal, describing the praise of God in his house, echoes that of the Sultan Hasan Complex. It also suggests regular religious activity was intended to take place within the enclosure.

The mausoleum protrudes onto the eastern road so that it is freestanding on three sides in a manner reminiscent of Sultan Hasan's mausoleum (Fig. 85). The dome is a brick structure rather than the more fashionable masonry of the time, with a stucco inscription band around its base of which only small fragments remain.<sup>411</sup> The interior is equally plain. A cenotaph stands at the center of the mausoleum but, apart from the identification plaque, is made of re-used Fatimid marble. Perhaps the modesty of Tulubay's mausoleum as well as the absence of any familial references on its inscriptions reflects her precarious position.

#### **Madrassa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban (1368-69)**

The Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan is located on the western side of al-Tabbana street and stands amongst several monuments of high-ranking amirs, presiding over the Sultan's ceremonial route to the citadel (Fig. 87).<sup>412</sup> Standing at a height of 18 meters, this double-domed madrasa was clearly designed to impress.<sup>413</sup> The larger, primary dome and minaret, with a carved octagonal shaft instead of the more prevalent *ablaq* masonry,<sup>414</sup> are situated next to each other at the southern end of the main façade while the recessed portal stands on the northern end, flanked by a *sabil* to its left and a water trough to its right. Following the precedent of the Sultan Hasan Mosque, the portal is an Anatolian-style *muqarnas* vault otherwise unique to Cairo (Figs. 90-91). Behrens-Abouseif suggests that it might even be the work of the same

---

<sup>411</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>412</sup> 'Abd al-Fattah, "Ba'd al-Mabani," 9-10; Rabbat, "Staging," 9, 17.

<sup>413</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 219.

<sup>414</sup> Idem, *Minarets of Cairo*, 197.

craftsmen.<sup>415</sup> The portal includes two foundation inscriptions, the first, upper band starts on the outer face of the portal and continues across the recess, tracing the arches of the side niches and central window, while the second shorter version flanks the doorway. The inscriptions proclaim that the construction of this madrasa was ordered by Sultan Sha‘ban for his mother (see Appendix, 8).

Khawand Baraka was a former slave-girl and mother of Sultan Sha‘ban ibn al-Amjad Husayn ibn al-Nasir Muhammad.<sup>416</sup> Al-Amjad Husayn (d. Rabi‘ II 764/January-February 1363) himself never became sultan, although his supporters conspired on at least two occasions, in 748/1347 and 762/1361, to enthrone him.<sup>417</sup> Baraka gained prominence after their son, al-Ashraf Sha‘ban, ascended the throne on 15 Sha‘ban 764/30 May 1363, a few months after Husayn’s death.<sup>418</sup> She later married Uljay al-Yusufi, an act which may have helped advance his career.<sup>419</sup>

In 770/1369, a year popularly referred to as “the Year of Umm al-Sultan,”<sup>420</sup> Khawand Baraka left Cairo for the pilgrimage in a grand ceremonial procession.<sup>421</sup> Her lavishly decorated palanquin was accompanied by the sultan’s banners (*‘asa’ib sultaniyya*) all the way to the Hijaz<sup>422</sup> where she made significant donations at Mecca and Medina.<sup>423</sup> Some of the rhetoric of Tughay’s pilgrimage is repeated in the description of potted herbs carried by camels as well as a list of notable *mamluks* who accompanied her.<sup>424</sup> According to its foundation inscription, al-Ashraf Sha‘ban ordered the construction of this madrasa for his mother “in the months of 770”

---

<sup>415</sup> Idem, *Cairo*, 219.

<sup>416</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258.

<sup>417</sup> Idem, *Suluk*, 4:63, 257; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 1:159, 333; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 119.

<sup>418</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258.

<sup>419</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 3:42, 355.

<sup>420</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:6; Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 94.

<sup>421</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; idem, *Suluk*, 4:330; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11: 54-55; idem, *al-Manhal*, 3:355-356; Ibn Hajar, *al-al-Durar al-kamina*, 2:6.

<sup>422</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11: 55.

<sup>423</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; Ibn Taghribirdi, 3:356.

<sup>424</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258.; idem, *Suluk*, 4:330; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11: 55.

(September 3, 1368 – July 25, 1369), so construction must have begun before her pilgrimage departure while the *waqfiyya* bearing her name, dated 771/1369-70, must have been prepared shortly after her return.<sup>425</sup>

Maqrizi identifies one of the properties endowed towards the madrasa as the *'imara* of Umm al-Sultan. Before it was transformed by Khawand Baraka, the dilapidated house standing on Khatt al-Rukn al-Mukhliq between Darb al-Asfar and al-Aqmar Mosque was recognized as Dar al-Amir Muzafar al-Din Musa ibn al-Salih 'Ali, the son of Qalawun.<sup>426</sup> She rebuilt the property (*ansha'atha/banat*) as a *qaysariyya* for leather with a multi-storey *rab'* above, and endowed it towards her madrasa.<sup>427</sup> On the same plot next to the *rab'*, 'a monumental portal which led into a large square was also attributed to Khawand Baraka.<sup>428</sup> She intended to build a palace (*qasr/qa'a*) there but died before she could complete it.<sup>429</sup> Ibn Iyas similarly mentions that she built (*banat*) *rab'* Umm al-Sultan as well as *Qaysariyyat al-Julud*.<sup>430</sup>

Khawand Baraka died at the end of Dhu'l-Qa'da 774/May 1373 and was buried at her madrasa.<sup>431</sup> After falling ill, she was taken to the island of al-Rawda but passed away soon after.<sup>432</sup> Her funeral started at al-Rawda, passing through al-Saliba street to Sabil al-Mu'mini below the citadel where the Sultan joined to pray for her, before she was taken to her madrasa.<sup>433</sup> Most of her obituaries greatly praise her charity and piety as well as her beauty.<sup>434</sup> She is assumed to be buried in the larger mausoleum

---

<sup>425</sup> Fernandes, "Madrasa," 75.

<sup>426</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:144-145.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:145; idem, *Suluk*, 4:356-357.

<sup>428</sup> Idem, *Khitat*, 2:338, 2:231.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:231, 3:145; idem, *Suluk*, 7:65-66.

<sup>430</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:115.

<sup>431</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; idem, *Suluk*, 4:356; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 356; idem, *Nujum*, 11:58, writes that she passed away in Dhu'l-Hijja of the same year.

<sup>432</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:58; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:114-15.

<sup>433</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:115.

<sup>434</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:58, 125; idem, *al-Manhal*, 356; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:115.

while al-Ashraf Sha‘ban lies in the smaller one.<sup>435</sup> His body was brought there in secret by loyal followers after his assassination instead of to his own unfinished complex.<sup>436</sup> Two of Baraka’s other children, Khawand Shaqra’ and al-Mansur ‘Ali, as well as three of al-Ashraf Sha‘ban’s sons, Isma‘il, Qasim and Hajji, are reportedly also buried at the madrasa.<sup>437</sup> However the only available funerary text is an inscription on a cenotaph in the larger mausoleum commemorating al-Ashraf’s sister Khawand Zahra.<sup>438</sup>

Because of the unusual angle between *qibla* direction and street alignment, the plan in its entirety is rather unconventional (Figs. 86-87). Standing at a street corner, the madrasa is free-standing on three sides. From the direction of the citadel, the chamfered eastern corner gives passers by a better view of the madrasa, while allowing the *qibla* iwan and mausolea to communicate with al-Tabbana (Fig. 88). The *hawl* and loggia above it, to the right of the portal, are separate structures and may have been commissioned by al-Ashraf after his mother’s death.<sup>439</sup>

The main portal leads into a vestibule from which a long passage runs the length of the building, lined by several rooms on either side, and branching out to the left to join the courtyard (Fig. 86). But the main component of the structure, directly accessed through a portal, is the traditional *qibla*-oriented four *iwan*-madrasa (Fig. 92). Four portals flanking the smaller side *iwans* lead to secondary spaces – an arrangement that recalls that of the recent Sultan Hasan Mosque. The *qibla* wall is composed of a central *mihrab* between two arched niches that frame rectangular windows (Fig. 93). This tripartite composition is decorated with colored marble,

---

<sup>435</sup> Fernandes, “Madrasa,” 62.

<sup>436</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:76.

<sup>437</sup> Fernandes, “Madrasa,” 54-58.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., 54; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 125.19.

<sup>439</sup> Fernandes, “Madrasa,” 79.



including a unifying Qur'anic inscription band. A heavily damaged wooden inscription band at a level just above the *mihrab* runs through the courtyard and all four *iwans* while a second Qur'anic band is carved into the top of the courtyard façade.

The *qibla iwan* is flanked on either side by the domed mausolea. The smaller southern mausoleum stands off a small passage linking the courtyard's south-western portal and the madrasa's secondary entrance while the larger mausoleum, which belongs to Baraka and overlooks al-Tabbana, is accessed through an antechamber. This space, emphasized by a painted wooden ceiling and Qur'anic inscription band (Fig. 94), may have been used for *sufi hadras*, described by Ibn Iyas, and could also have served as a *khazana* for the magnificent Qur'an manuscripts that were endowed for the madrasa.<sup>440</sup>

Since Maqrizi specifies that the madrasa taught only the Hanfai and Shaf'i rites, two courtyard-*iwan* units and their auxiliary spaces (labeled cluster A and B on the plan, Fig. 86) are assumed to be the teaching spaces for either *madhab*, taking the Sultan Hasan Mosque as model.<sup>441</sup> While cluster B is accessed through the north-western courtyard portal and is a simple courtyard-*iwan* unit, cluster A (Fig. 95) is more complex. Fitted into the triangular gap between street façade and courtyard, it is not aligned with the *qibla* direction. The cluster is accessible from the mausoleum's antechamber, and thus communicates with both the main courtyard and mausoleum. It could also be accessed from the madrasa's main corridor through an inner portal just opposite the vestibule. Because of its exterior character, with *maksalas*, foundation inscriptions and a bent entrance, as well as a construction joint between this portal and the adjacent *sabil*, Bakhoun suggests that the corridor was initially a public street

---

<sup>440</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:115; Fernandes, "Madrasa," 50-52.

<sup>441</sup> Fernandes, "Madrasa," 44; Bakhoun, "The Madrasa," 102.

before it was incorporated into the building during the final stage of construction (Figs. 96-97).<sup>442</sup>

It is also possible that the inner portal and the cluster beyond had a more ceremonial function, perhaps serving as an exclusive space for the sultan and his family when visiting the deceased or participating in religious rituals. Spaces for the use of patrons, such as the courtyard-*iwan* unit adjacent to the mausoleum at the Madrasa of Barquq (1384-86), designated as such in his *waqfiyya*, were common, although they became more prominent in the fifteenth century.<sup>443</sup> Two clusters at the Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq (1400-11), very similar in plan to cluster A, are believed to have had similar functions (Fig. 98).<sup>444</sup>

The Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan displays all the creativity and splendor expected of royal patronage but the question as to who deserves the credit remains. The phrase “*amar b-insha’ ... l-walidatih*,” repeated twice on the main portal as well as on the neighbouring *sabil*, can be found in eight more inscriptions.<sup>445</sup> Sha‘ban’s titles repeat standard Qalawunid titles while others imply events specific to his reign, such as “*sahib al-thughur al-sakandariyya*” which “refers specifically to al-Ashraf Sha‘ban’s reprisals after the sack of Alexandria in 767/1365 by Pierre I.”<sup>446</sup> The blazon of the sultan appears on the drinking trough to the left of the portal as well as on the wooden inscription band of the madrasa space.<sup>447</sup> His name also reportedly featured prominently on the portal of Baraka’s *qaysariyya* for when Sultan Barsbay took over the building in 825/1422, he exchanged Sha‘ban’s name for his own on the inscription either side of the door.<sup>448</sup>

<sup>442</sup> Bakhoun, “The Madrasa,” 103-105.

<sup>443</sup> O’Kane, “Domestic and Religious Architecture,” 168-170.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>445</sup> al- Harithy, “Female Patronage,” 333.

<sup>446</sup> Fernandes, “Madrasa,” 79.

<sup>447</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 220.

<sup>448</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 3:145.

Despite the monument's testimony, the chronicles and the *waqf* document for this building clearly identify Khawand Baraka as the founder who constructed (*ansha'at/banat*) and financed it.<sup>449</sup> According to Maqrizi, the madrasa was built by Baraka Umm al-Sultan al-Ashraf (*ansha'atha/banat*) in 771/1369-70.<sup>450</sup> She established ('*amalat*) Shaf'i and Hanafi lectures as well as a water trough (*hawd ma'*) for pedestrians.<sup>451</sup> Similarly, Ibn Taghribirdi attributes the madrasa to her ('*amaratha/ansha'atha*) while al-Malti describes her as the owner (*sahibat al-madrasa*).<sup>452</sup> Ibn Iyas in particular praises the benefits of the madrasa she established (*ma fa'alathu*) which included a *hudur* for *sufis*, a *maktab* for orphans, a *hawd* and *sabil*.<sup>453</sup> Al-Harithy reconciles this discrepancy by suggesting "the sultan ordered the building on his mother's behalf."<sup>454</sup> A similar case would be the Madrasa of Fatima Khatun, which Maqrizi explicitly recounts was founded by Qalawun at his wife's request. Behrens-Abouseif believes that Sultan Sha'ban, born in 1353-54, would have still been very young at the time of the madrasa's construction and thus Baraka would have been "the de-facto ruler" who commissioned it.<sup>455</sup>

Al-Ashraf Sha'ban commissioned his own ambitious complex in 777/1375 but not before the madrasa of his mother, Khawand Baraka, was built. Just as Khawand Baraka, riding under the sultan's banners on her way to pilgrimage, was not simply fulfilling a pious duty but representing her son and the sultanate, the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan is also designed to project her position as queen-mother. It was completed three years after the murder of Yalbugha in 1366 which reopened the strife between

<sup>449</sup> Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture," 114.

<sup>450</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:258; idem, *Suluk*, 4:356-357.

<sup>451</sup> Idem, *Khitat*, 4:258.

<sup>452</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 11:58; idem, *al-Manhal*, 356; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 2:52.

<sup>453</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 2:115.

<sup>454</sup> al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 333.

<sup>455</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 218.

*mamluk* factions.<sup>456</sup> The brief repose from the dominating amirs following his death allowed Khawand Baraka to emerge more assertively onto the public stage. The madrasa can thus be read as a proclamation of power – the Sultan validating the authority of his mother. This is only strengthened by al-Maqrizi’s account of Qaysariyyat Umm al-Sultan which shares the same issues of attribution.

Given the location as well as certain aspects of the design, the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan was also possibly intended to fulfill a larger ceremonial function.

Processions often engaged with the buildings they passed and the sultan often entered the most important monuments to perform ceremonial and charitable acts.<sup>457</sup> This intended ceremonial function of the madrasa was probably as short-lived as the reign of al-Ashraf Sha‘ban, but it remained a prestigious institution. Its persistence as a landmark is reflected in Ibn Iyas’ account of Qaytbay’s return to Cairo in 873/1469 when silk was spread from the madrasa to the citadel.<sup>458</sup>

### **Turbat Khawand Samra al-Nasiriyya**

Another *turba* that is only briefly mentioned in sources is that of Khawand Samra, listed after the Khanqah of Qawsun in Ibn al-Muwaffaq’s *Murshid al-zuwwar ila qubur al-abrar*.<sup>459</sup> Samra is believed to be the wife of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘ban but her identification as *al-Nasiriyya* suggests that she was most likely connected to al-Nasir Muhammad or al-Nasir Hasan.<sup>460</sup> The *turba* is also briefly mentioned as the hiding place of Amir Bishtak al-Sha‘bani who jumped from its minaret in 803/1401.<sup>461</sup> Based on this alleged location, the *turba* is also suggested as a possible identification for al-Sultaniyya. However, Makar refutes this theory as,

<sup>456</sup> Van Steenbergen, “The Mamluk Sultanate,” 208-209.

<sup>457</sup> Rabbat, “Staging,” 8.

<sup>458</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur*, 4:34; ‘Abd al-Fattah, “Ba’d al-mabani,” 9-10.

<sup>459</sup> Muwaffaq. *Murshid al-zuwwar*, 2:110.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

according to Ibn Iyas, the *turba* is said to be located “towards the entrance of the Mosque of Qawsun,” not the Khanqah, “outside Bab al-Qarafa” and thus “towards the (south-west) where the mosque of Qawsun possibly was.”<sup>462</sup>

---

<sup>462</sup> Ibid.

## The Circassian Mamluks (1390-1517)

The first Circassian Sultan, al-Zahir Barquq, came to power as *al-amir al-kabir* and *atabek al-'asakir* under al-Mansur Hajji but managed to monopolize power to the extent that he issued coins with his own blazon rather than the sultan's.<sup>463</sup> All pretext was soon dropped as he claimed the throne in 784/1382. Riddled with the usual factional conflict coupled with racial tensions and animosity towards the Circassians, the transfer of power was by no means smooth. Barquq was deposed in 791/1389 and al-Mansur Hajji reinstated as sultan. His return to power the following year not only ended the Qalawunid house but also the domination of the Bahri Mamluks. To emphasize the newfound era, Barquq instigated several integral changes to the system and ceremony, such as moving *mazalim* hearings to the Palace of the Stables and changing the days on which they were held.<sup>464</sup> Despite his efforts to distinguish himself from his predecessors, Barquq was careful to add his own funerary madrasa to the pantheon of monuments at Bayn al-Qasrayn, thus elevating himself to their status and validating his rule.

With the end of the Qalawunid dynasty the regime returned to its original system whereby various *mamluk* coalitions competed, often through violent conflict, for supremacy, with the strongest among them crowned sultan.<sup>465</sup> Because of the strong interdependency between sultan and *mamluks*, who elected him, the sultan, particularly from the reign of Inal onwards, yielded little power over his amirs or even the *ajlab*.<sup>466</sup> On several occasions, they were known to openly protest the sultan.<sup>467</sup> Several sultans did attempt to establish their sons as heirs to the throne but few

<sup>463</sup> Levanoni, "Mamluk Conception," 385.

<sup>464</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 27.

<sup>465</sup> Levanoni, "Mamluk Conception," 385.

<sup>466</sup> *Ibid.*, 386-87.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*

succeeded and most enjoyed only a brief and limited reign.<sup>468</sup> Al-Nasir Faraj ibn Barquq and al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qaytbay, were perhaps the exception to the rule.<sup>469</sup>

In addition to the bonds of slavery that characterized the *mamluk* class, “racial solidarity” was integral to the new system as their identity shifted from mostly Turkish-born *mamluks* to Circassians.<sup>470</sup> Only a few non-Circassian *mamluks* were able to reach high-ranking positions, regardless of capabilities.<sup>471</sup> Perhaps this was fueled by early prejudices against their growing factions but also, unlike their Bahri predecessors, Circassian *mamluks* were brought to Cairo at a relatively older age, sometimes even as adults, and thus retained their own culture and identity.<sup>472</sup> Once settled, Circassian *mamluks* often arranged for their families to join them in Cairo.<sup>473</sup> Ignoring *mamluk* protocol, sultans favoured their relatives and brothers-in-law for important offices, conferring on them ranks of *khassikiyya* or even *amir* without the necessary training.<sup>474</sup>

The importance of the familial bond is also reflected in the sultan’s new household. Whereas in the fourteenth century, particularly the first half, a large *harem* had been integral to the make-up of the *mamluk* class, in the fifteenth century reliance on slave girls gradually decreased as the family unit tightened.<sup>475</sup> Women of the Mamluk household came from various ethnicities and backgrounds, ranging from slave girls to noble women, such as Shahzada, the daughter of the Ottoman Sultan

---

<sup>468</sup> Ayalon, “Circassians,” 145.

<sup>469</sup> Levanoni, “Mamluk Conception,” 385.

<sup>470</sup> Ayalon, “Circassians,” 138, 142-43.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, 142-43.

<sup>472</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 4.

<sup>473</sup> Ayalon, “Circassians,” 144.

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>475</sup> Rapoport, “Women,” 13.

who married Sultan Jaqmaq.<sup>476</sup> They also increasingly included Egyptian women from prominent families.<sup>477</sup>

In contrast to the extravagant queen-mothers of the second half of the fourteenth century, several women of the Mamluk household are recognized, even commended, for their political prowess, although often in vague terms. After the enthronement of al-Nasir Faraj, he appointed his mother, Sherin, a previous slave-girl, as Khawand al-Kubra to replace his father's wife.<sup>478</sup> But the Khawand al-Kubra was for the most part the primary wife of the sultan, such as Barsbay's wife Julban, who was approached by her people on official matters.<sup>479</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi even observes that she would have managed her son's reign well had she lived.<sup>480</sup> Towards the second half of the fifteenth century, historians comment on the strong relationship between sultans, such as Inal and Khashkudum, and their wives, never taking a second, even though the latter's household included concubines. Khawand Zaynab, wife of Sultan Inal, reportedly enjoyed unprecedented influence over the sultan and the management of affairs of state.<sup>481</sup>

The Circassian period was not, however, devoid of scandal. Al-Nasir Faraj brutally murdered his ex-wife Fatima over allegations of an affair.<sup>482</sup> In Jumada I 852/July 1448, Jaqmaq divorced Mughal and evicted her from the citadel, acting on rumors that she had cursed his favorite slave girl Surbay and thus caused her death a month before.<sup>483</sup> Such accusations were not uncommon. Speculation of poisoning also circulated around Julbans's illness and death in 839/1436.<sup>484</sup>

---

<sup>476</sup> Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 107, 113.

<sup>477</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 4.

<sup>478</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:69-70; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 6:316.

<sup>479</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 7:317; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 5:14.

<sup>480</sup> Idem, *Nujum*, 15:203; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:16.

<sup>481</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:44-45; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 4: 156.

<sup>482</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 13:130; idem, *al-Manhal*, 6:346; Ibn Hajar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, 2:488; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 3:224.

<sup>483</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:263-64; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 113.

<sup>484</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 5:15.



The hierarchal system within the *harem* was more pronounced during the Circassian era and its organization was reflected by the designation of spaces at the citadel's *qusur al-juwaniyya*. The Khawand al-Kubra is invariably referred to as *sahibat qa'at al-'awamid*, (Resident of the Hall of Columns). Writing in the mid-fifteenth century Ibn Shahin (d.1468) lists al-Qa'a al-Kubra also known as al-'Awamid, for the Khawand al-Kubra, Qa'at Ramadan, Qa'at al-Muzzafariyya and al-Qa'a al-Mu'allaqa for the second, third and fourth wives while al-Qa'a al-Barbariyya was designated for slave-girls.<sup>485</sup> Al-Qa'a al-Mu'allaqa may describe an upper level hall.<sup>486</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi's obituary of the former slave girl Khawand Julban carefully details her ascension to Khawand al-Kubra. After the death of her predecessor, Barsbay married Julban and "decreed (*rasam*) that she take up residence at Qa'at al-'Awamid as did the royal wives (*khawandat*) preceding her."<sup>487</sup> Barsbay also brought her family and relatives to Cairo. Following her death, Fatima bint al-Zahir Tatar took her place and "was moved" to the *qa'a*.<sup>488</sup> When Sultan Jaqmaq divorced Mughal, she was moved from al-Qa'a al-Kubra to Qa'at al-Barbariyya before she left the citadel for her brother's house.<sup>489</sup>

These women were also represented more prominently in public ceremony. Ibn Taghribirdi's account of Faraj ibn Barquq's procession on his way to Syria, in Dhu'l-Hijja 814/1412, includes a description of seven coloured silk palanquins carrying the Sultan's *harem*, with the embroidered palanquin of his sister, as the Khawand al-Kubra, standing out.<sup>490</sup> The primary form of ceremony and "expression of piety" for women continued to be the pilgrimage.<sup>491</sup> The sister of Sultan Barquq, 'Aisha or

<sup>485</sup> Ibn Shahin, *Zubdat*, 36-37; 'Abd ar-Raziq, *La Femme*, 179.

<sup>486</sup> Ibrahim, "Residential Architecture," 52.

<sup>487</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 5:14-16.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>489</sup> al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 5:255.

<sup>490</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 13:143.

<sup>491</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 95; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 107.

Umm Baybars, performed the pilgrimage in 792/1390, carrying an embroidered *kiswa* for the Prophet's Chamber.<sup>492</sup> However, the ceremonial pilgrimage was mainly the prerogative of the Khawand al-Kubra. Julban (834/1431),<sup>493</sup> Mughal (850/1446-47), Zaynab(861/1456) and Shakarbay (868/1464) - the primary wives of the four consecutive Sultans Barsbay, Jaqmaq, Inal and Khushqadam (not counting the brief intervals of their respective sons) – all performed the pilgrimage.<sup>494</sup> In a unique initiative, Shakarbay (d. Jumada I 870), known as Khawand al-Ahmadiyya, also regularly attended the annual *muwliids* of Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanta.<sup>495</sup> Both Shakarbay and Khushqadam were devoted followers of his. Al-Malti records at least two occasions, Sha‘ban 866 and Jumada II 867, during which she left to visit the saint with other Mamluk women.<sup>496</sup> According to her wishes, her coffin was wrapped in a patched quilt and was preceded by the saint's banners.<sup>497</sup>

Fatimah, the wife of Qaytbay, followed suite, performing the pilgrimage in 879/1475 with her sister-in-law, and travelling in a palanquin embroidered with pearls and semi-precious stones.<sup>498</sup> The final and most extravagant ceremonial pilgrimage by a Khawand al-Kubra was that of Qansuh al-Ghuri's wife in 920/1514-15.<sup>499</sup> Not only was there a lavish display of goods and wealth but the procession also deviated from the traditional discreet route to cross the city, although the palanquin was actually empty.<sup>500</sup> The intended audience included the Ottoman ambassador.<sup>501</sup> In a striking turn of events, the wife of Qansuh al-Ghuri returned quietly to the citadel

<sup>492</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 5:297.

<sup>493</sup> Ibid., 7:228; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 14:354-55; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:15; Ibn Hajar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, 3:460.

<sup>494</sup> Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 107.

<sup>495</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:68-69.

<sup>496</sup> al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:143, 160.

<sup>497</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:346; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:199.

<sup>498</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 4:104; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 107, 121.

<sup>499</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 5:409-12; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 107.

<sup>500</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 5:409-12; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 94; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 126.

<sup>501</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 94.

without the usual ceremony and distribution of alms.<sup>502</sup> Her “miserly behavior” throughout her pilgrimage was greatly criticized by the public.<sup>503</sup>

Corruption, lack of discipline within the Mamluk ranks as well as plague, drought and several other devastating challenges including Timur Lane’s attack on Syria in 1400 and the rise of the Timurids contributed to the inevitable downfall of the Mamluk Empire.<sup>504</sup> The economy and integrity of the system, in constant jeopardy since the fourteenth century, continued to deteriorate. In early 1516, the Mamluks proved a poor match for the ambitious Ottoman army. Mamluk autonomous rule which lasted for 250 years ended as the last sultan, Tumanbay, was executed in 1517 and Egypt became a province of the Ottoman Empire.

Under the strain of these economic hardships, which gained momentum at the turn of the century, the Circassians inherited a capital city “diminished in extent and population.”<sup>505</sup> However, it did little to deter the building culture of the Mamluks. Cairo enjoyed brief revivals under the reign of Barquq as well as in the mid-fifteenth century, coinciding with a renewed position in the spice trade.<sup>506</sup> The city once more began to develop and grow, particularly in the northern cemetery, the western suburbs and at the nearby Nile port of Bulaq.<sup>507</sup> Building and urban policies largely depended on the reigning sultans and the enthusiasm of their amirs. For example, al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh and his amirs sponsored residential palaces and pleasure gardens along the western bank of the Nile and the Khalij while Jaqmaq and Inal favored re-development and organization of the existing urban fabric, widening streets and

---

<sup>502</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur*, 5: 439; Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 94; Johnson, “Royal Pilgrims,” 127.

<sup>503</sup> Johnson, “Royal Pilgrims,” 127.

<sup>504</sup> Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, 37; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 3-4.

<sup>505</sup> Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, 39-40.

<sup>506</sup> Ibid., 41-48; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 57.

<sup>507</sup> Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, 41-48; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 57.

clearing obstructions.<sup>508</sup> In addition to his patronage in the various cities of the Empire, Qaytbay also embarked on an extensive restoration campaign.<sup>509</sup>

The Qasaba, the main thoroughfare through the core city, continued to be a magnet for royal patronage. Barquq was the last ruler to patronize a funerary complex at Bayn al-Qasrayn although Sultan Inal built a commercial complex there as part of his controversial initiative to widen and improve the streetscape.<sup>510</sup> It consisted of a *rab'* and two *hammams*, one of which still survives.<sup>511</sup> Barsbay built a funerary madrasa (1423-4) south of Bayn al-Qasrayn while al-Ghuri chose a more central location for his extensive religious and commercial complex, near al-Azhar mosque.<sup>512</sup> Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh built his mosque-madrasa at the other end of the Qasaba, next to Bab Zuwayla.<sup>513</sup> Perhaps more pressing than religious patronage, the city center was also the focus of economic development with several commercial enterprises and buildings sponsored by Barquq, who established the Khan al-Khalili area,<sup>514</sup> as well as Inal, Barsbay, Qaytbay, al-Ghuri, and their amirs.<sup>515</sup> But the high density of endowed monuments within the city made it difficult to find suitable plots. Patrons often resorted to the controversial legal system of *istibdal* or even resorted to illegal means to obtain coveted plots.<sup>516</sup> Jamal al-Din Ustadar is notorious for usurping *waqf* property in al-Jamaliyya, ruining otherwise functioning institutions such as the complex of Tatar al-Hijaziyya.<sup>517</sup> As a result of the increasing

---

<sup>508</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 57-59.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>510</sup> Raymond, *Cairo*, 172.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>513</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 57.

<sup>514</sup> Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, 38.

<sup>515</sup> Raymond, *Cairo*, 174-76.

<sup>516</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 46-47.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid.*

commercialization, the Mamluk elite moved out of the city center, making room for the middle classes.<sup>518</sup>

Most Sultans were alternatively drawn by the spaciousness and sanctity of the Northern cemetery where fewer plot restrictions allowed for imposing and regal monuments.<sup>519</sup> Barquq himself expressed his wish to be buried in the vicinity of pious *sufis* rather than at his madrasa. His son and heir, Faraj, complied building a large funerary *khanqah* (1400-11). Just to the south of it, Barsbay also had a second complex built. The area gradually became more urbanized with commercial as well as religious institutions, the most ambitious of which is Qaytbay's complex (1472-74) that including the Friday mosque attached to his mausoleum and a *sabil-maktab*, a separate mausoleum for his sons with a loggia, a drinking trough and a *rab*.<sup>520</sup>

Qadis and officials also featured prominently in Cairene patronage, such as 'Abd al-Ghani al-Fakhri (1418), the Qadi 'Abd al-Basit with monuments in Syria and the Hijaz as well as Cairo (1420), and Qadi Abu Bakr Ibn Muzhir (1479-80).<sup>521</sup> Qadi Zayn al-Din Yahya was one of the primary patrons during the reign of Jaqmaq, commissioning several monuments, including a mosque on the Khaliq (1444) and at Bulaq (1448-50).<sup>522</sup>

According to Rapoport, women in the Circassian period continued to endow and build throughout the Mamluk cities, albeit on a smaller scale with "small family tombs and neighborhood mosques."<sup>523</sup> Their contribution was facilitated by family endowments as opposed to traditional *iqta*.<sup>524</sup> In Cairo, they mostly belong to women connected in some way to the Sultan. In contrast to their male counterparts,

---

<sup>518</sup> Raymond, *Cairo*, 176.

<sup>519</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 57,

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*, 273-278.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid.*, 246-49, 284-286.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, 242-265.

<sup>523</sup> Rapoport, "Women and Gender," 21-22.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

only one monument, a small domed mausoleum simply identified as Umm al-Ashraf, can be found at the Northern cemetery (1430-1440). The rest of the monuments are located within the city proper. Surbay, Sultan Jaqmaq's favorite slave-girl, is mentioned as the owner of a *hammam* and *sabil*. Mughal, Jaqmaq's wife, was reportedly involved in the construction of the Mosque of Shaykh Madyan while one of his mothers-in-law, Fatima, also built a madrasa near Bab al-Qantara (1450s). The respected wife of Sultan Inal and mother to his heir, Khawand Zaynab, is associated with a small *ribat* off Bayn al-Qasrayn (1461). The so-called Masjid al-Mar'a belongs to an unknown woman by the name of Fatima al-Shaqra' (1468-69). Finally, although Qaytbay's wife Fatima was an extremely wealthy and popular woman, it is his slave-girl and mother to his heir Asalbay who is associated with a mosque, curiously situated in Fayoum (1498-99). Women also continued to make contributions to the endowments of family members, such as Sherin, mother of al-Nasir Faraj, who added to the endowments of her son's *turba* and arranged for reciters at the Madrasa of Barquq.<sup>525</sup> She also restored the Ribat al-Khauzi at Mecca and reformed its endowments.<sup>526</sup>

The low number of funerary institutions or mausolea may correspond to the inclusion of women in royal funerary complexes. The southern dome of the Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq and that of the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh are dedicated to female members of their families. Sherin (d.802/1399-1400), Zaynab (d. 852/1422) and Shakarbay (d.870/1465), are also all reportedly buried at their husbands mausolea, the Madrasa of Barquq at Bayn al-Qasrayn, the Funerary Complex of Sultan Inal and the Turba of Khushqadam, both at the Northern Cemetery.<sup>527</sup> Two of Barsbay's

<sup>525</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 6:317; al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:70.

<sup>526</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 6:317; al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:70.

<sup>527</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:68-69; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 6:36; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:346.

wives, Fatima bint Qajqar (d. 15 Jumada II 827/May 15 1424) and Julban (d. 2 Shawwal 839/April 19 1436), are buried at the *qubba* of his madrasa<sup>528</sup> and his *turba* at the Northern Cemetery respectively.<sup>529</sup> Fatima, a third wife of Barsbay but also the daughter of al-Zahir Tatar, who died in poverty and debt in Safar 874/August-September 1469, was buried with her father.<sup>530</sup> Similarly, one of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's wives, Zaynab (d. Rabi' I 826/February-March 1423), was also buried in her father Barquq's mausoleum at the cemetery.<sup>531</sup> Interestingly, Surbay al-Jarkasiyya (d.852/1448) was buried at the *turba* of Qanibay al-Jarkasi, dedicated to her master Sultan Jaqmaq while his wife Zaynab bint al-Jarbash (d. 842), whose mother was related to Sultan Barquq, was buried at the latter's *qubba*.<sup>532</sup> Zahra,' a third wife and mother to Jaqmaq's successor al-Mansur Uthman, was buried in a madrasa built by her son at Bab al-Bahr.<sup>533</sup>

Religious institutions were not the only way women could participate in charitable activity. Women from Mamluk families, as well a few freed-women, were responsible for "eleven of the twenty-three *waqfs*" surveyed by Adam Sabra, stipulating the distribution of bread, mostly between 1460 and 1516.<sup>534</sup> According to Sabra's study, the majority of these are designated for distribution "anywhere," two are at a "*masjid*" and "al-Azhar" respectively while a third, belonging to Dalbar, a former slave-girl of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, Inal's son and heir, at her tomb.<sup>535</sup> Additional examples include the *waqf* of Fatima bint Sudun (863/1459) which stipulated a monthly sum for bread and water to four of Cairo's prisons. She also

<sup>528</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:99; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 7:105.

<sup>529</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 7:317; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 15:203; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:15.

<sup>530</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:92.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid., 12:40.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid., 12:98-99.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid., 12:38.

<sup>534</sup> Sabra, *Poverty*, 92-93.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid., 90-91.

arranged for sweets to be “distributed every year in Rajab, the middle of Sha‘ban, and the two Feasts to the Sufis congregating at the tomb of Sayyidi Habaib al-Ansari.”<sup>536</sup>

### **The Southern Mausolea at the Funerary Complexes of Faraj ibn Barquq (1400-11) and al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (1415-20)**

Double-domed funerary architecture reached its peak with the Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq at the Northern cemetery, largely because the relatively underdeveloped area allowed for free-standing and symmetrical structures. Built between 1400 and 1411 by both Faraj and his brother ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, who replaced him for a brief two-month reign in 1405, it is a combination of a hypostyle and four-*iwan* plan, with two domes flanking the main *riwaq* (Fig. 98) in a manner reminiscent of the now lost *khanqah* of Qawsun.<sup>537</sup> The southern mausoleum of the *khanqah* is designated for the women of the Sultan’s family while the northern one belongs to Faraj and his father Barquq.<sup>538</sup>

From the exterior, the two identical masonry domes - the largest of their time - carved with a chevron pattern set above a stepped, undulating transitional zone, contribute to the symmetry and imposing monumentality of the structure (Fig. 99).<sup>539</sup> In contrast to the stark prayer hall, both mausolea are also highly decorated with a marble dado as well as stucco grills and colored glass in the windows. The domes, carried on stone *muqarnas* pendentives, are painted in red, white and black concentric designs (Figs. 100-101). However, variations in design betray the superiority of the Sultans’ mausoleum. The marble dado, for example, is higher in the northern mausoleum than in the southern female one and the *mihrab* of the latter is also

---

<sup>536</sup> Ibid., 86-87.

<sup>537</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 231-34.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., 237.

<sup>539</sup> Ibid., 234.



awkwardly narrow (Figs. 102-103).<sup>540</sup> The Qur'anic inscription band of the southern dome, describing the eternal reward of the pious (43:67-73), also mentions that the faithful will enter paradise with their spouses.<sup>541</sup>

The Complex of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, built a few years after the former (1415-29), follows a similar plan with two mausolea flanking the main *riwaq*, designated for male and female members of his family (Fig. 104).<sup>542</sup> The northern male mausoleum was completed after the Sultan's death in 1421 and includes two cenotaphs for al-Mu'ayyad and his son.<sup>543</sup> The Sultan's larger cenotaph and the window sills are decorated with marble inlay.<sup>544</sup> The southern female mausoleum, which was never finished, also contains two cenotaphs but they are of plain marble and the mausoleum is devoid of any decoration.<sup>545</sup>

#### **Mausoleum of Khadija Umm al-Ashraf (1430-40)**

A small mausoleum at the Northern cemetery is only popularly known as that of Khadija Umm al-Ashraf, attributed to the mother of al-Ashraf Barsbay whose own funerary complex stands nearby (836/1432-1433) (Fig. 105).<sup>546</sup> Apart from the interlocking stucco decoration of the brick dome, the mausoleum is completely plain and devoid of any inscriptions (Figs. 106-107).<sup>547</sup>

It is possible that the mausoleum once belonged to Barsbay's complex which originally spanned both sides of the road.<sup>548</sup> The main mosque-madrassa, attached to the mausoleum, stands on the eastern side next to a *rab'* for resident *sufis*. Barsbay also provided a graveyard behind it for his amirs, scholars and family, including three

---

<sup>540</sup> Ibid., 237.

<sup>541</sup> O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 149.11.

<sup>542</sup> Swelim, "The Complex," 130-33; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 243-44.

<sup>543</sup> Swelim, "The Complex," 130-33.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 126-127.

<sup>547</sup> al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 328.

<sup>548</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 257.

mausolea dedicated to “the Sultan’s parents, his brother Yashbak and ... the (Amir) Yashbak the treasurer.”<sup>549</sup> These mausolea are simple structures but they boast some of the finest examples of carved masonry domes. The *qubba-zawiya* of al-Rifa‘i is the only surviving structure of the western extension.<sup>550</sup> It would have stood opposite Barsbay’s madrasa-mausoleum but is now separated by modern buildings. The mausoleum of Umm al-Ashraf stands to the south of it.

It is rather unusual that Barsbay would commission a mausoleum for his mother away from the others, unless perhaps it was built at a much earlier date before the complex was formed. Based on the interlocking decoration of the dome, which appears on minarets between 1370 and 1442, as well as on the dome of the mausoleum of Taghribirdi (1440), Creswell suggests a dating between 1430 and 1440 and supports its attribution to the reign of Barsbay.<sup>551</sup> ‘Abd al-Wahab, on the other hand, challenges this identification, firstly because the mother of Barsbay is not identified among his family members who came to Egypt, and secondly because of its dating. He argues that the brick dome, its decoration and *muqarnas* squinches fall under the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>552</sup> The carved stucco decoration of the dome is also a far cry from the neighboring masonry domes, with their intricate star patterns, and the lack of a foundation inscription suggests a lesser patron and occupant. ‘Abd al-Wahab instead attributes the mausoleum to an unknown woman during the Bahri Mamluk period by the name of Khadija.

---

<sup>549</sup> Ibid., 255.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>551</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 126-127.

<sup>552</sup> ‘Abd al-Wahab, “‘*Asr al-jarakisa*” 34.

## Hamмам and Sabil of Surbay (before 1448)

Surbay was the favorite slave girl of Sultan Jaqmaq.<sup>553</sup> When she fell ill in 852/1448, she was taken to al-Hijaziyya at Bulaq to recover but died shortly afterwards in Rabi' II/June of the same year.<sup>554</sup> She was buried at the *turba* of Qanibay al-Jarkasi, dedicated to Sultan Jaqmaq.<sup>555</sup>

Surbay's obituary in al-Malti's *Nayl al-amal* states that she was the owner (*sahiba*) of a *hammam* at Qanatir al-Siba' and a *sabil* at Bulaq.<sup>556</sup> Al-Sakhawi elaborates, similarly stating that she was the owner of the *sabil* and the building above it as well as two *hammams* and a *rab'* above them.<sup>557</sup> Ibn Iyas, on the other hand, writes that she founded (*ansha'at*) the *sabil*.<sup>558</sup> While the Qanatir al-Siba' buildings were commercial structures, the *sabil* can be considered a charitable foundation. Surbay's *sabil* reflects the general trend towards the thriving port-city but it could also be part of Sultan Jaqmaq's initiative there. He built the docks at Bulaq and paid considerable attention to its development as well as the roads leading to it from Cairo.<sup>559</sup>

## Masjid al-Shaykh Madyan

Khawand Mughal was not born into the Mamluk elite but was in fact the daughter of the prominent judge Nasir al-Din ibn al-Barzi. She "crossed caste lines" when she married Jaqmaq while he was still an *amir*.<sup>560</sup> This was her third marriage - her second had been arranged by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh despite her father's

<sup>553</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:66; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Hawadith al-Duhur*, 1:169; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 5:254.

<sup>554</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:66.

<sup>555</sup> Ibid.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid. al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 5:254.

<sup>557</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:66.

<sup>558</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:263-64.

<sup>559</sup> Raymond, *Cairo*, 184.

<sup>560</sup> Petry, "Class Solidarity," 90.

objections.<sup>561</sup> Jaqmaq took other wives after his enthronement but Mughal remained the Khawand al-Kubra until she fell out of favor with the Sultan.<sup>562</sup> She performed the pilgrimage for the first time in 850/1446-47 but historians, including Ibn Iyas, give a relatively quiet description of her journey.<sup>563</sup> The pilgrimage that year also included Khawand Nafisa, another of Jaqmaq's wives, which Johnson suggests betrayed the rising tensions between Mughal and her husband.<sup>564</sup> In Jumada I 852/July 1448, the Sultan divorced Mughal and evicted her from the citadel, acting on rumors that she had cursed his favorite slave girl Surbay and thus caused her death.<sup>565</sup>

Al-Sakhawi continues to praise Mughal's charitable and pious deeds after the divorce. She performed the pilgrimage regularly until that of 871/1467 for which she left on the earlier Rajabi caravan, and she also visited Jerusalem.<sup>566</sup> On one occasion she journeyed with a popular female scholar, Nashwan, with whom she was closely associated.<sup>567</sup> Mughal's pilgrimages were always accompanied by various charitable acts and she even sent money to the Holy Cities during a prolonged illness.<sup>568</sup> She died on 5 Dhu'l-Hijja 876/14 May 1472 and was buried at her family's *hawsh* near the Shrine of Imam al-Shaf'i.<sup>569</sup>

As part of Mughal's obituary, Ibn Iyas adds that she built ( *amarat*) the Mosque of Shaykh Madyan at al-Maqs, an area known today as Bab al-Sha'riyya.<sup>570</sup> Just across the Khalij from the city center, the growing commercial port also attracted rural migrants and became renowned for its popular religious institutions and pious

---

<sup>561</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:126-27.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid.

<sup>563</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 15:372; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:256; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 107.

<sup>564</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 15:372; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:256; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 111.

<sup>565</sup> al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 5:255; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:263-64; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 113.

<sup>566</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:126-27; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 111.

<sup>567</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:126-27, 129-30.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., 12:126-27.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid., 12:127; Petry, "Class Solidarity," 90.

<sup>570</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 4:70.

*shaykhs*.<sup>571</sup> Shaykh Madyan ibn Ahmad himself had come to Cairo from the small town of Ashmon.<sup>572</sup> His *zawiya* was built next to that of his colleague ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Baktimur where he had previously resided.<sup>573</sup> Neither al-Sakhawi, al-Sha‘rani or ‘Ali Mubarak comment on the patronage of the *zawiya*.<sup>574</sup> Although al-Sakhawi discusses Shaykh Madyan’s wealth, he simply remarks that a *zawiya* which also hosted Friday prayers was built for him.<sup>575</sup>

Mughal’s sister, Zaynab (d. 11 Muharam 875/10 July 1470), equally admired for her piety, charity and learning, was a follower of Shaykh Madyan while his nephew, al-Shaykh Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Dayyim al-Maydani (d. 885/1480), was her mentor.<sup>576</sup> It is possible that they were both involved with the foundation of the *zawiya*.<sup>577</sup> Al-Sha‘rani also reports that Sultan Jaqmaq was the recipient of one of Shaykh Madyan’s alleged miracles.<sup>578</sup> Faced with financial difficulties, the Sultan sought help from the Shaykh who sent him a stone pedestal as a gift but when the Sultan inspected it at the citadel, he found it to be metal and was able to sell it for a substantial sum.<sup>579</sup> Although rather far-fetched, al-Sha‘rani’s story may be founded on actual contact between the Sultan and Shaykh. Was Mughal’s patronage in any way connected? The *zawiya* is generally dated to 875/1465 but al-Juhayni argues for an earlier dating, 842-843/1438-39, which would place it before or at the start of Jaqmaq’s reign (1438-1453).<sup>580</sup> The earliest of a number of *waqfs* connected to the

---

<sup>571</sup> Raymond, *Cairo*, 173.

<sup>572</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘9:151; al-Juhayni, *Ahya’ al-Qahira*, 164.

<sup>573</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘9:151.

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid.*, 9:151; al-Sha‘rani, *Tabaqat*, 2:138-142; Mubarak, *Khitat*, 110-112.

<sup>575</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘9:151.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid.*, 12:49.

<sup>577</sup> Qasim, *al-Mazarat al-islamiyya*, 92; al-Juhayni, *Ahya’ al-Qahira*, 164.

<sup>578</sup> al-Sha‘rani, *Tabaqat*, 2:141-42.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>580</sup> al-Juhayni, *Ahya’ al-Qahira*, 165-166.

*zawiya* is, however, dated 24 Shawwal 852/21 December 1448, shortly after Mughal's divorce.<sup>581</sup>

'Ali Mubarak writes that the mosque was carried on four marble columns and included marble flooring, a waterwheel and cistern (*sahrij*) as well as the shrine or *darih* of Shaykh Madyan.<sup>582</sup> The plan, with a covered courtyard (*durqa 'a*), arcades forming the south-eastern and north-western *iwans*, and small lateral *iwans* flanked by subsidiary rooms, can be considered a combination of a *qa 'a* and hypostyle hall, apt for the functions of a *zawiya* and mosque (Fig. 108).<sup>583</sup> This type of plan developed in the *zawiyas* of the early Circassian period such as that of al-Abnasy (before 796/1393), also at Bab al-Bahr, as well as the mosque-madrassa of al-Ashraf Barsbay at the northern cemetery.<sup>584</sup> The north-west arcade, which lies on the main street façade, leads into Shaykh Madyan's mausoleum to the west with a second burial chamber opposite for his sons.<sup>585</sup> Several rooms also originally opened onto the *qibla* wall. Al-Juhayni suggests the room to the immediate right of the *mihrab*, with a small built-in *kutubiyya*, belonged to Shaykh Madyan.<sup>586</sup>

Although it may seem like a simple structure of typical fifteenth century design, the portal, slightly angled from the rest of the façade, and minaret next to it, are nevertheless fine architectural examples (Fig. 109).<sup>587</sup> The conch of the tripartite portal, decorated with *ablaq* decoration radiating from three points, rests on five tiers of *muqarnas* (Fig. 110). The minaret was not aligned with the portal but rather follows the *qibla* direction with the rest of the madrasa, a trait developed under Sultan

---

<sup>581</sup> Qasim, *al-Mazarat al-islamiyya*, 93.

<sup>582</sup> Mubarak, *Khitat*, 110.

<sup>583</sup> al-Juhayni, *Ahya' al-Qahira*, 174, 182-84.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>587</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 234; al-Juhayni, *Ahya' al-Qahira*, 167.

Jaqmaq.<sup>588</sup> Creswell's photographs show an octagonal shaft with "alternating plain and decorated" keel arched openings and niches, and engaged columns in the corner (Fig. 111).<sup>589</sup> The dome which would have stood on the other side of the minaret is unfortunately lost.

The marble floors of the main *iwans* and the painted wooden ceilings, reconstructed by the Comité, also contribute to what al-Sakhawi describes as size and opulence uncharacteristic of a *shaykh*.<sup>590</sup> Given the rarity of marble decoration due to the economic crisis of Jaqmaq's reign, brought on by the two-year drought of 842-43/1438-39 and the plague of 848/1444-45, this is especially surprising.<sup>591</sup> A burial *hawsh* lies to the south of the mosque for followers and devotees.<sup>592</sup>

### **Zawiya (before 1451)**

Al-Sakhawi describes Fatima bint al-Jamal Yusuf ibn Sunqur, wife of Taj al-Bilqini, as a pious woman who performed the pilgrimage and was devoted to the saints.<sup>593</sup> She established (*itakhadhat laha*) a *zawiya* for the benefit of widows near *khawkhat al-maghazli*, inside Bab al-Qaws, and was buried there in 11 Muharam 855/13 February 1451.<sup>594</sup> This *zawiya* was one of a few women's institutions established during the fifteenth century in response to the economic crisis.<sup>595</sup>

---

<sup>588</sup> Tantawy, "Architectural Patronage," 116-117.

<sup>589</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 234.

<sup>590</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, '9:151; al-Juhayni, *Ahya' al-Qahira*, 174, 178.

<sup>591</sup> Tantawy, "Architectural Patronage," 10-11, 188.

<sup>592</sup> al-Juhayni, *Ahya' al-Qahira*, 166, 175.

<sup>593</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, '12:113.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid; Rapoport, *Marriage*, 44.

<sup>595</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 43-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 44.

## Madrasa of Fatima Umm Khawand (1450s)

Daughter of Qanibay al-'Umari al-Nasiri Faraj and his slave woman Shakarbay, Fatima was renowned as a pious woman who was not only learned in the Qur'an but also studied *tafsir* and *hadith*.<sup>596</sup> Her daughter from her second husband, Zaynab, married al-Zahir Jaqmaq, earning Fatima the title Umm Khawand.<sup>597</sup> From her son-in-law's reign until 882/1477, Fatima performed the pilgrimage regularly, accompanied on at least one occasion by her husband and daughter.<sup>598</sup>

Fatima's obituary in al-Malti's compendium refers to her as the owner of (*sahiba*) a small mosque "between the two walls, outside Bab al-Qaws and inside Bab al-Shi'riyya."<sup>599</sup> Al-Sakhawi's entry, on the other hand, includes a fairly detailed account of the madrasa she built (*'amarat*) at Bab al-Qantara, near Darb al-Kafuri (Fig. 114-115).<sup>600</sup> Perhaps drawing on her own scholarly interests, Fatima endowed a library there and arranged for lectures on *hanafi* thought, *hadith* and *tafsir*.<sup>601</sup> In addition to teaching activities, it also hosted Friday prayers.<sup>602</sup> 'Ali Mubarak reports that the madrasa, then known as Zawiyat Khawand, included a *minbar*.<sup>603</sup> The privilege of holding Friday prayers had become more widespread in the fifteenth century, shared by various members of the community, but permission to hold a *khutba* was still required from the Sultan as well as religious scholars and thus may speak to the importance of the institution and its founder.<sup>604</sup>

An inscription on the recessed portal names "Fatima bint al-marhum Qani..." as the founder who ordered its construction but no date survives (see Appendix, 9).<sup>605</sup>

---

<sup>596</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:98-99.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>598</sup> Ibid.; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 330.

<sup>599</sup> al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 8:66.

<sup>600</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:98.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid.

<sup>603</sup> Mubarak, *Khitat*, 2:128.

<sup>604</sup> Fernandes, "Mamaluk Architecture," 109; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 330.

<sup>605</sup> *Comité*, 1899, 45; O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 58.1; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 330.



Based on the “curved arabesques” on the lintel of the portal, Creswell dates the structure between 1450 and 1475 (Fig. 116).<sup>606</sup> Al-Sakhawi reports that work began during the reign of Fatima’s son-in-law, al-Zahir Jaqmaq (r.1438-1453) and continued after his death.<sup>607</sup> The madrasa can thus be attributed to the 1450s. According to Qasim, al-Sha‘rani, who resided at this madrasa when he first came to Cairo, recounts that its upper three storeys were built of wood and initially included a minaret that was destroyed by a fire.<sup>608</sup> The madrasa also contained a mausoleum for al-Shaykh ‘Ali al-Humar.<sup>609</sup>

Since Fatima’s paternal grandmother was Sultan Barquq’s sister, both Fatima, who died on 2 Jumada I 892/26 April 1487, and her daughter Zaynab are buried at his madrasa on Bayn al-Qasrayn.<sup>610</sup> After Zaynab’s death in Jumada 864/March 1460, Fatima made arrangements at al-Qubba al-Barquqiyya for *hudur* to be performed for fifteen people after noon prayers, as well as regular Qur’an readings, including the reading of *Surat al-Kahf* every Friday by three different readers.<sup>611</sup>

### **Ribat of Zaynab (between 1453 and 1461)**

Zaynab bint Hasan ibn Khalil ibn Khass bek, also known as bint al-Khass or Khawand al-Khassikiyya, is portrayed as an exceptional woman who exercised great influence on the affairs of state after her husband, Inal, became Sultan in 1453.<sup>612</sup> Historians comment on their unique relationship emphasizing that Inal never took a second wife from their marriage in 852/1422 to his death in 865/1461.<sup>613</sup>

---

<sup>606</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 138.

<sup>607</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘ 12:98.

<sup>608</sup> Qasim, *al-Mazarat al-islamiyya*, 146-47.

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>610</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘ 12:41, 98-99; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 8:66.

<sup>611</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘ 12:98.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid.*, 12:44-45; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 7:234; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur* 4:156-57.

<sup>613</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘ 12:44-45; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur* 4:156-57.

Khawand Zaynab performed the pilgrimage in 861/1457, setting out in the habitual ceremonial parade.<sup>614</sup> Accompanied by her children (two sons and two daughters), the pilgrimage was more of a family affair than simply the first lady's journey of the Bahri period.<sup>615</sup> In fact, the main story recounted by al-Malti and Ibn Taghribirdi is that her eldest son, al-Mu'ayyad Ahmad, was Amir al-Hajj that year.<sup>616</sup> Only Ibn Iyas recounts Khawand Zaynab's ceremony and embroidered palanquin.<sup>617</sup> Al-Sakhawi gives a more detailed description of her recovery from an earlier illness, when she returned to the citadel from her house in Bulaq in a palanquin surrounded by her elaborate entourage carrying candles and lanterns.<sup>618</sup>

It seems to have been a difficult year for the pilgrims who suffered from thirst but news of the family's safety was met with celebration.<sup>619</sup> To commemorate her pilgrimage, Khawand Zaynab founded the 'Utufiyya Madrasa at Mecca earlier that same year (861/1356-57), next to the Great Mosque.<sup>620</sup> While historians in Egypt are silent on her Meccan patronage, the Meccan scholar Ibn Fahd describes a grand *qa'a* overlooking the *haram* through five large windows, a large *riwaq*, various amenities as well as a storage basement.<sup>621</sup> Three other madrasas were founded in Mecca during the Circassian period, reflecting increased interest and control over the Hijaz, particularly during Sultan Barsbay's reign; the Basitiyya Madrasa (1431-32), built by the Qadi Zayn al-Din 'Abd al-Basit, who served under Sultan Barsbay, the Zimamiyya Madrasa (835/1431-32), by Amir Khushqadam (d.839/1435), chief eunuch also under

<sup>614</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:111; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:23; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:341.

<sup>615</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:111; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:23; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:341.

<sup>616</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:111; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:23; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:341.

<sup>617</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:341.

<sup>618</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, '12:45.

<sup>619</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 113; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:341.

<sup>620</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ithaf al-wara*, 4:372; Mortel, "Madrasas," 248.

<sup>621</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ithaf al-wara*, 4:372; Mortel, "Madrasas," 248.

Sultan Barsbay, and the Madrasa of Sultan Qaytbay, or al-Ashrafiyya (884/1480).<sup>622</sup>

While many women of different backgrounds commissioned *ribats* throughout the city's history, including the wife of al-Malik al-Ashraf Isma'il, the Rasulid Sultan of Yemen (1403-04), the only other documented madrasa founded by a woman is the Madrasa of Tab al-Zaman al-Habashiyya (580/1184), a freed woman of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadi.<sup>623</sup>

Ibn Iyas gives a detailed, although curiously unique, account of Khawand Zaynab's return from pilgrimage. In honor of her return, amirs and dignitaries walked alongside her palanquin from al-Buwayb to Birkat al-Hajj. The *qubba wa-l-tayr* (parasol and bird) was held above her head as she ascended to the citadel, silk cloth was laid out between Bab al-Sitara and Qa'at al-'Awamid where she assumed her throne (*martaba*) as gold and silver were scattered over her head. Then came the amirs bearing gifts to each member of the family.<sup>624</sup> Regardless of the accuracy of the report, it is indicative of the popular perception of Khawand Zaynab. This extravagant description bears striking resemblance to Qaytbay's return from a prolonged trip, as well as that of his wife Fatima's pilgrimage.<sup>625</sup> The imagery involved - particularly of the 'parasol and bird' - portrays Zaynab receiving the same honors bestowed on Sultans.

Months prior to his death in Jumada I 865/February 1461, Sultan Inal established a *waqf ahli* or family endowment for the benefit of Zaynab and their four children.<sup>626</sup> Unlike his charitable endowment, which fell under the responsibility of his son Ahmad, Khawand Zaynab was the appointed "inspector (*nazir*) and

---

<sup>622</sup> Mortel, "Madrasas," 246-50, 252. The other three madrasas built during the 15<sup>th</sup> century were patronized by rulers from India while in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Rasulids of Yemen had been particularly keen on madrasa patronage to promote their own political agenda.

<sup>623</sup> Mortel, "Ribats," 32-47; idem, "Madrasa," 238.

<sup>624</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 3:343.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid., 4:34, 106-107.

<sup>626</sup> Reinfandt, "Religious Endowments," 54-55.

administrator (*wilaya*)” of the family endowment, “who determined the distribution of the foundation’s income.”<sup>627</sup> This may have been due to Zaynab’s experience but it was also as a precautionary measure against confiscation if Ahmad, his heir, were in charge.<sup>628</sup> Such measures were soon justified for Khawand Zaynab and her family’s fortune changed dramatically after Sultan Inal was taken violently ill and forced to abdicate in favor of al-Mu’ayyad Ahmad.<sup>629</sup> Four months later, a coup was staged against him but not before Ahmad had significantly expanded his family’s endowments.<sup>630</sup> The new Sultan, Khushqadam, took advantage of Zaynab’s wealth and demanded an initial payment of 50,000 dinars.<sup>631</sup>

About a year later, Zaynab, accompanied by one of her daughters, moved to Alexandria to be with her imprisoned sons. When the younger, Muhammad, passed away she petitioned the Sultan to allow him to be buried in the funerary complex of his father.<sup>632</sup> Through it all, Ibn Iyas writes that she remained resilient and unchanged.<sup>633</sup> The family’s hardships lessened under Sultan Timurbuġha, who freed al-Mu’ayyad Ahmad but restricted his residence to Alexandria, and Sultan Qaytbay, who treated Khawand Zaynab with the utmost respect.<sup>634</sup>

Khawand Zaynab died on 13 Jumada I 884/2 August 1479<sup>635</sup> and was buried with her husband at his funerary complex in the northern cemetery.<sup>636</sup> The mausoleum contains two cenotaphs; the eastern cenotaph, nearest the *mihrab*, is for the Sultan while the western one bears an inscription declaring that it was made by

---

<sup>627</sup> Ibid.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>629</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:218-219; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur*, 3:369-370.

<sup>630</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:252; Reinfandt, “Religious Endowments,” 54.

<sup>631</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘12:45; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:122; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur* 4:157.

<sup>632</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:251.

<sup>633</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur* 4:156-57.

<sup>634</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘12:45; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 16:252; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur* 4:156-57.

<sup>635</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘12:45; al-Malti, *Nayl al-amal*, 7:234; Ibn Iyas, *Bada’i’ al-zuhur* 4:157.

<sup>636</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw’ al-Lami*, ‘12:45.

Sultan Inal for his wife (see Appendix, 10a).<sup>637</sup> Al-Sakhawi's obituary states that she founded several buildings (*ansha'at al-dur al-kathira*) but only specifies a *ribat* for widows built on Harat 'Abd al-Basit, a short distance from Shari' al-A'zam.<sup>638</sup> It is possible that Zaynab also commissioned a *ribat* in Mecca that was left unfinished during the events of 865/1461.<sup>639</sup>

Like the *zawiya* of Fatima bint al-Jamal Yousuf, Khawand Zaynab's decision to build a *ribat* in Cairo may have been a response to the decrease in the number of female institutions in the fifteenth century, closing due to the economic crisis.<sup>640</sup> Given the status and acclaim reached by Khawand Zaynab, the state of her *ribat* is unfortunate. All that is documented of the *ribat's* external features is the main eastern portal, composed of a conch on *muqarnas* pendentives, framed by a tripartite arch in the fifteenth century tradition (Fig. 118). A trefoil opening rests in between, on top of a small rectangular window flanked by two plaques with vegetal carvings. A photograph of the *ribat's* vestibule by Creswell shows an intricate groin vault with fan-pendentives, culminating in a rosette set within a cross (Fig. 119). The vault is quite similar to that of the Madrasa of Uljay al-Yusufi in the previous century (1373).

The *ribat* followed a two-*iwan* plan with cells all around, except for the *qibla* wall of the south-eastern *iwan* (Figs. 117, 120-122).<sup>641</sup> Photographs of the *qibla* wall show simple *ablaq* decoration emphasizing the arch of the *mihrab*, framing an inscription band and forming a large medallion above it, in place of the traditional oculus (Fig. 122). According to the Comité's report, while the damaged inscription on the portal was Qur'anic, this foundation inscription in the eastern *iwan* confirms that

<sup>637</sup> O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 158.13.

<sup>638</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:45.

<sup>639</sup> Mortel, "Ribats," 47.

<sup>640</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 43-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 44.

<sup>641</sup> Comité, 1900, 106.

the monument was founded by a woman, “*al-sharifa dhat al-satr al-rafi‘ wa-l-hijab al-mani,*” from Inal’s family, “*mawlana al-sultan al-malik al-malek al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr Inal,*” although her name is unfortunately illegible (see Appendix, 10b).<sup>642</sup> No date is given but Creswell assumes that it was built during the reign of Sultan Inal (1453-1461).<sup>643</sup>

The Comité’s plans do not show a domed mausoleum but the *ribat* may have included a shrine – possibly the rectangular space connected to the vestibule (Fig. 117).<sup>644</sup> Patrons preferred to be buried in the cemetery and it was not unusual for monuments in the city, such as the nearby mosque of Qadi ‘Abd al-Basit, to lack mausolea.<sup>645</sup> Living units continued on the first floor which also included a two-*iwan qa‘a* above the eastern *iwan*.<sup>646</sup> A common fifteenth century feature, it might have been intended for the use of the founder and her family, or else was used by the Shaykha of the *ribat*.<sup>647</sup>

Aspects of the portal design and *ablaq* decoration resemble contemporary structures including the Mosque of Qadi Zayn al-Din Yahya (1444) and the funerary complex of Sultan Inal (1453-61), particularly the north-eastern portal (Fig. 123) but it is, however, simpler. Since Khawand Zaynab did not lack the necessary power or wealth to achieve a monumental structure - as evidenced by the vestibule’s vault - its humble nature may respond to the strict and pious regulations of women’s *ribats*. The absence of external openings and the interior foundation inscription suggest an introverted design suitable for its female users.<sup>648</sup>

---

<sup>642</sup> Ibid., 106-107; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 135; Abd ar-Raziq, *Femme*, 25; al-Harithy, “Female Patronage,” 331.

<sup>643</sup> Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 135.

<sup>644</sup> Comité, 1900, 108.

<sup>645</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 247.

<sup>646</sup> Comité, 1900, 106; O’Kane, “Domestic and Religious Architecture,” 170.

<sup>647</sup> O’Kane, “Domestic and Religious Architecture,” 170.

<sup>648</sup> Comité, 1900, 106.

### Masjid Fatima al-Shaqra' (1468-69)

Identified by 'Ali Mubarak as Masjid al-Mar'a,<sup>649</sup> the foundation inscription of a small mosque on Taht al-Rab' street gives the name of "al-sitt al-masuna Fatima al-Shaqra'" and the date as Jumada II 873/December 1468-January 1469 (see Appendix, 11).<sup>650</sup> The exact identity of the founder is unknown, but assumed to be the "daughter of a wealthy amir."<sup>651</sup> Qasim believes she is the daughter of Amir Khayrbek, one of al-Ashraf Barsbay's *mamluks*, and Khadija bint Jarbash whose mother was Shaqra,' daughter of al-Nasir Faraj.<sup>652</sup> It is also possible that this mosque is a restoration or reconstruction of that of Rashid al-Din al-Baha'i (d.813/1410) mentioned in Maqrizi's *Khitat* at this location.<sup>653</sup>

The trilobed portal set at an angle to the street faces pedestrians coming towards Bab Zuwayla from the west (Fig. 124). The rest of the mosque, save the *mihrab*, was rebuilt by the Comité in the early twentieth century, while the minaret, possibly resting on an original base, is an Ottoman reconstruction (Fig. 126).<sup>654</sup> 'Ali Mubarak gives a brief description of a stone-lined corridor leading to the mosque, a courtyard with a tree, and a wooden *maqsura* enclosing two tombs.<sup>655</sup> These belong to the founder and to al-Shaykh 'Abd Allah al-Maqshati.<sup>656</sup>

Both the portal (Figs. 124-125) and the surviving portion of the *qibla* wall (Fig. 127) display carved masonry and marble plaques common to the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>657</sup> The conch of the *mihrab* is particularly unique. The radiating voussoirs of the arch join to create a weaving pattern in the conch, inlaid with black

<sup>649</sup> Mubarak, *Khitat*, 5:113.

<sup>650</sup> 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid*, 247; O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions."

<sup>651</sup> al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 333.

<sup>652</sup> Qasim, *al-Mazarat al-islamiyya*, 158.

<sup>653</sup> 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid*, 247; Qasim, *al-Mazarat al-islamiyya*, 156.

<sup>654</sup> 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid*, 247; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 333.

<sup>655</sup> Mubarak, *Khitat*, 5:113.

<sup>656</sup> Ibid. Qasim, *al-Mazarat al-islamiyya*, 157; 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid*, 247-48; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 333.

<sup>657</sup> 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masajid*, 248-49.

marble (Fig. 128). A medallion above the *mihrab*, set in a square of alternating marble and stone voussoirs bears a *naskhi* inscription with the verse 2:144 describing the *qibla* direction. The medallion is flanked by two oblong geometric panels below which are two small plaques with verses pertaining to victory (verses 3:126/8:10 and 3:160 respectively).<sup>658</sup>

### **Mosque of Asalbay, Fayoum (1498-99)**

The mosque of Asalbay at Fayoum, also mistakenly referred to as that of Qaytbay, was originally a hypostyle mosque with a courtyard, the northern part of which was built over a bridge across the Bahr Yousuf Canal (Fig. 129). The north-eastern corner of the *qibla riwaq* was cut out to allow maximum view of the canal, mirrored on the opposite side by a small chamber with a *mihrab*. The mosque originally had two entrances, one on the north-eastern façade, coupled with a minaret, and one on the north-western façade, on axis with the *mihrab*.<sup>659</sup> While the rest of the mosque was oriented towards the *qibla*, this north-western façade and the bridge were set at an angle perpendicular to the course of the canal. The northern section was destroyed by flooding and is no longer extant, but the mosque was rebuilt by the Comité on a smaller scale and the north-western portal moved to the south-eastern façade.<sup>660</sup> This portal displays both metropolitan and local styles, incorporating masonry designs and techniques into the upper brick section (Figs. 132-33).<sup>661</sup>

Ibn Iyas writes that Sultan Muhammad, the son of Qaytbay (r.1496-1498) ordered the construction of the Mosque of al-Fayoum in Shawal 903/May-June 1498 under the supervision of (*al-qa'im fi dhalik*) of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Dashtuti.<sup>662</sup>

---

<sup>658</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>659</sup> Comité, 1891, 86. O'Kane, *Mosques*, 227.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid.

<sup>661</sup> Ibid.

<sup>662</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 4:392.



True to his father's tradition, al-Nasir Muhammad also sent masons and engineers to Fayoum with al-Dashtuti, thus accounting for the mosque's unique portal.<sup>663</sup> The inscription plaque on the main portal (see Appendix, 12a), however, states that the person who built (*ansha*) the mosque and bridge was none other than "*khawand walidat al-malik al-Nasir*," referring to Asalbay, a concubine of Qaytbay's and mother to al-Nasir Muhammad, at the behest of (*bi-isharat*) Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Dashtuti.<sup>664</sup> Two medallions above the door lintel praise the Sultan reading "*'izz l-mawlana al-sultan al-malik al-nasir Muhammad – 'azz nasruh*" (see Appendix, 12b)<sup>665</sup> while a lamp that once hung in the mosque, now at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, depicts Qaytbay's name.<sup>666</sup> Thus the mosque projects Asalbay and her relation to two Sultans while also giving credit to the Shaykh.

It is rather unusual that the first and only monument connected to al-Nasir's reign would be commissioned in al-Fayoum. Whether it was built by Asalbay or her son, patronage seems to have been a collaboration with al-Dashtuti, a prominent Shaykh who, according to al-Sha'rani, was revered by Sultan Qaytbay and who also "built a number of mosques in Egypt and its villages."<sup>667</sup> A second inscription panel references another structure, built between 900/1494-95, before Qaytbay's death, and Rabi' I 903/October-November 1947.<sup>668</sup> Qaytbay visited al-Fayoum on at least two occasions during his reign, the second of which was to visit Amir Khayrbek's new farm in Dhu al-Qa'da 880/March 1476.<sup>669</sup> Given Qaytbay's building policies in major

<sup>663</sup> Ibid; O'Kane, *Mosques*, 228. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 69 observes that Qaytbay was the only Sultan to send Cairene craftsmen "to reproduce the metropolitan architectural style" in the cities of the Mamluk Empire.

<sup>664</sup> Comit , 1891, 87; O'Kane, *Mosques*, 228.

<sup>665</sup> Comit , 1891, 86.

<sup>666</sup> O'Kane, *Mosques*, 229.

<sup>667</sup> al-Sha'rani, *Tabaqat*, 2:190.

<sup>668</sup> Comit , 1891, 86; O'Kane, *Mosques*, 227.

<sup>669</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 4:115.

cities of the Mamluk Empire, it is also possible that this mosque was a continuation of one of his earlier projects.

Al-Nasir Muhammad was never intended for the sultanate but, as the only surviving heir of Qaytbay, he was enthroned by the *mamluks* the day after his father's death.<sup>670</sup> He was also the son of a slave-girl and not of Qaytbay's popular and wealthy wife, Khawand Zaynab. Asalbay must have felt over-shadowed by Zaynab and a mosque in her name, particularly one that emphasized her relation to the current and former Sultan, might have boosted her image as well as her son's. Alternatively, if al-Nasir Muhammad had commissioned the mosque, as reported by Ibn Iyas, Asalbay may have simply ensured its completion after his death. Muhammad was only able to maintain power largely due to his maternal uncle, Qansuh, who incidentally succeeded him as Sultan.<sup>671</sup> Proving an unpopular and vulgar ruler, Muhammad was ambushed and murdered on 15 Rabi' I 904/31 October 1498.<sup>672</sup> The mosque was completed about a year later in November 1499.<sup>673</sup>

---

<sup>670</sup> Ibid., 4:403.

<sup>671</sup> Ibid., 4:392, 404-405.

<sup>672</sup> Ibid., 4:401-402.

<sup>673</sup> O'Kane, *Mosques*, 227.

## Women and the Culture of Mamluk Architecture

### The Role of Women in Mamluk Architecture

From the above survey, it is clear that women were associated with urban and architectural endeavours to varying degrees, predominantly as the patrons of religious or funerary institutions. Al-Harithy estimates that Mamluk women's patronage constitutes five percent of the number of monuments of their male-counterparts.<sup>674</sup> Fleeting references in historical sources to structures such as the *turba* of Narjis or the *qubba* of Khawand Zahra' suggest that more women were involved, particularly in the construction of funerary monuments, but were not esteemed enough to warrant entries in biographical or historical accounts.

In either case, compared to other dynasties, women's patronage in Mamluk Cairo remained strikingly low and rather marginal, especially given the documented wealth and influence of Mamluk women as well as the prevalent building culture.<sup>675</sup> As discussed above, women of the Ayyubid household were greatly involved in architectural and religious patronage, often dedicating monuments to family members.<sup>676</sup> Perhaps inspired by their Seljuq predecessors, thirteen women out of a total of twenty-eight patrons from the Ayyubid household are responsible for seventeen foundations in Damascus.<sup>677</sup> In Cairo, Ayyubid women were responsible for at least two madrasas, al-'Ashuriyya, and al-Qutbiyya, in addition to the *ribat* of the mother of al-'Adil.<sup>678</sup> The Rasulids in Yemen, contemporary rivals of the Mamluks with whom they had significant diplomatic and mercantile relations,

---

<sup>674</sup> al-Harithy, "Mamluk Female Patronage," 334.

<sup>675</sup> Abouseif, "The *Mahmal* Legend," 95.

<sup>676</sup> Tabbaa, "Dayfa Khatun," 22-23.

<sup>677</sup> Humphreys, "Women as Patrons," 36.

<sup>678</sup> Ashura bint Sarouj al-Asadi and wife of Amir Aizokoj al-Asadi established and endowed the 'Ashuriyya at a previous residence while the construction of the Qutbiyya was commissioned by Mu'nisa Khatun, daughter of al-Malik al-'Adil and sister of al-Malik al-Afdal, before her death; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:208; Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education," 97-98; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 6.

similarly rose to power after the death of the Ayyubid governor of Yemen.<sup>679</sup> Based on literary sources, Sadek writes that 19 women of the ruling family founded 42 religious foundations - nearly a third of the total number built between 1230 and 1438.<sup>680</sup> Jihat (the wife of) Salih is responsible for three madrasas as well as a mosque and a *khanqah* while three of her slave-girls also built their own mosques.<sup>681</sup>

Rapoport relates women's patronage to land ownership arguing that the monopolization of land by the early Mamluks through *iqta'* reform resulted in "the exclusion of elite women from landed revenue" and thus from architectural patronage - a direct contrast to their privileges during the Ayyubid period.<sup>682</sup> Consequently, the breakdown of this "gendered division of property" after the plague allowed more women to participate.<sup>683</sup> The careers and endowments of Tidhkarbay, Urdutakin and Tughay demonstrate that elite women in the fourteenth century were still able to own and endow property in support of their institutions. The fact remains, however, that women with means and power, such as the notorious queen-mothers of al-Nasir's successors or the majority of the wealthy and popular primary wives of the fifteenth century, refrained from religious patronage.

Economic restrictions were supplemented by political and social changes. Humphreys interprets both the ceremonial and architectural programs of the Mamluks as reflecting an "ideology of kingship" based on military expression – a portrayal vastly different from Fatimid, Abbasid or even Ayyubid models.<sup>684</sup> The Ayyubids were a dynastic regime where marriage alliances were important for the stability of

---

<sup>679</sup> Sadek, "Queen of Sheba," 16.

<sup>680</sup> Idem, "Rasulid Women," 124; idem, "Queen of Sheba," 21; Only three of these structures still remain; the Madrasa al-Mutabiya (1392) in Taizz and the Madrasa al-Fatiniya (before 1366/67) and the Madrasa al-Farhaniya in Zabid.

<sup>681</sup> Idem, "Queen of Sheba," 21.

<sup>682</sup> Rapoport, "Women and Gender," 16.

<sup>683</sup> Ibid., 21-22.

<sup>684</sup> Humphreys, "Expressive Intent," 79-80.

the various Ayyubid states and women were integral to the continuity of royal lineage.<sup>685</sup> Rasulid women were also deeply involved in the conflicts of succession.<sup>686</sup> Although there were periods of dynastic rule under the Mamluks, most notably the four generations of Qalawunids, power belonged to the military elite. Even al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun had to assert his legitimacy and win back the throne “by (his) sword.”<sup>687</sup> Under the Mamluks, patronage evolved to become a primarily military and therefore male prerogative. In addition to personal ambition, women’s involvement, particularly in the Bahri period, seems to be a result of various patronesses responding to the political climate. The absence of a consistent trend may reflect the volatile nature of the Mamluk system.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, during the early formative period of the Mamluk regime, there is some continuity in the foundations of Shajar al-Durr, Tikhkarbay and to a lesser extent, Iltutmish. It is even possible that Shajar al-Durr fashioned herself after the Ayyubid regent-queen of Aleppo, Dayfa Khatun, adopting her titles as well as her strategy for patronage. The participation of these women in the building of public buildings and religious institutions can be perceived as an echo of an Ayyubid tradition within the early Mamluk era whereby women of the ruling elite contributed to the city’s intellectual and religious landscape. The funerary complex of Fatima Khatun, while playing off the same tradition, offers a slightly different narrative.

Given the vague nature of several of the monuments in question, such as the Sultaniyya and the Mausoleum of Khawand Zahra’, it is difficult to identify further patterns or compose an accurate quantitative analysis of women’s patronage. Sitt

---

<sup>685</sup> Tabbaa, “Dayfa Khatun,” 20.

<sup>686</sup> Sadek, “Queen of Sheba,” 16.

<sup>687</sup> Levanoni, “Mamluk Conception,” 380.

Hadaq is the only woman to participate in al-Nasir Muhammad's urban expansion policies, with two *hikr* plots west of the Khaliq, reflecting her position as a trusted member of al-Nasir's household staff. Apart from her two mosques as well as Urdutakin's Turbat al-Sitt, the paucity of women's patronage contrasts with al-Nasir's enthusiastic building activity as well as the extravagance of his *harem*. In the decade after al-Nasir's passing, only Khawand Tughay, whose son Anuk had died in 1341, built a *khanqah* while Khawand Tatar al-Hijaziyya built a mausoleum for her husband, adjacent to her *qasr*. Her madrasa was built during a general revival of royal patronage under the second reign of her brother, Sultan Hasan, who managed to achieve considerable autonomy from the controlling Mamluk amirs. Al-Ashraf Sha'ban's reign was, for a brief period, similarly independent, allowing for the madrasa of his mother, Khawand Baraka.

The fifteenth century brought with it new economic and political challenges for the Circassian Sultans. Despite the financial difficulties of his reign, three women connected to Sultan Jaqmaq also participate in patronage, including his favourite slave-girl Surbay who built a *sabil*. His divorced wife Mughal built a *zawiya* for the renowned Shaykh Madyan while one of his mothers-in-law, Fatima Umm Khawand, built a madrasa. With a small women's *ribat*, Khawand Zaynab is the only other Khawand al-Kubra to build a religious institution. Outside the Sultan's household, al-Sitt Aydukin (al-Madrasa al-Saghira) and the unknown Fatima al-Shaqra' (Masjid al-Mar'a) also built a madrasa and mosque respectively while Fatima bint al-Jamal Yusuf established a *zawiya* for women.

Alternatively, the associated women could be commemorated individuals for whom funerary monuments were built by family members. If it were truly intended for al-Nasir Hasan's mother, the Sultaniyya belongs to this category. The complex of

Umm al-Salih can also be considered a commemorative structure but it is often difficult to make that distinction, particularly without a *waqf* document. Fernandes questions the actual role of the “patron” and whether they are “the person giving the order to construct” or “the one who undertakes the construction at his own expense.”<sup>688</sup> This is an often-ambiguous aspect regardless of gender.<sup>689</sup> The Turba of Sitt Sutaytah in Damascus (1330), also known as al-Khatuniyya, al-Tankiziyya, after her husband Tankiz, governor of Damascus, or al-Kawkiyya, after her father, offers a similar case.<sup>690</sup> Even though Tankiz is credited with the construction of her *turba* after her death, historians specify that Sutaytah had previously purchased the plot herself, and that the functions included in the foundation were established according to her wishes.<sup>691</sup> The *turba*, which included a *ribat* and, possibly, a *maktab*, follows in the tradition of Damascene female patronage but can also be perceived as participating in Tankiz’s extensive patronage program, with a “focus on women’s concerns.”<sup>692</sup> It is possible that the monument may have included a second funerary inscription dedicated to Sutaytah, perhaps in a part of the structure that has since been lost.<sup>693</sup>

Rather than propagating one obvious patron over the other, monuments and their foundations can thus be perceived as a collaborative process without diminishing the role of various players. In the case of the funerary Madrasa of Umm al-Salih, Maqrizi relegates her role to commissioner, possibly because of her untimely death, while Qalawun is identified as the financier and founder. The same applies to the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan and the Mosque of Asalbay to varying extents. Perhaps the confusion surrounding the attribution of the Mosque of al-Jazira al-Wusta, either built by

---

<sup>688</sup> Fernandes, “Mamluk Architecture,” 114.

<sup>689</sup> Ibid., 114-115.

<sup>690</sup> Kenney, “The Turbah,” 140-141.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid., 152, 154.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid., 149-50.

Tidhkarbay or her servant al-Tawashi Mithqal, best exemplifies the problems of patronage and attribution.

Women also acted as contributors to the endowments of existing institutions.<sup>694</sup> Their contribution can be perceived as a charitable act but also, in several cases, as a reflection of the role of women in general as mourners. Urdutakin, Tughay and Fatima Umm Khawand all added to the endowments of the institutions where their children were laid to rest. The endowment could stipulate the distribution of alms or bread as well as provide for reciters and other religious practices. Tughay arranged for weekly gatherings for Qur'an recitations at the grave of her son, that lasted a year after his death,<sup>695</sup> while Fatima similarly arranged for recitations and *hudur* at the grave of her daughter Khadija.<sup>696</sup> Shirin also made contributions to the mausolea at the madrasa of her husband, Barquq, and the *khanqah* of her son, Faraj.<sup>697</sup>

Women in various Islamic and pre-Islamic dynasties shared in this role by building funerary or commemorative structures for male family members. The first Abbasid mausoleum was built by the mother of the Caliph al-Muntasir (d. 862) for her son.<sup>698</sup> Humphreys similarly observes that the "tradition" of female patronage in Damascus can be traced to Safwat al-Mulk, a Seljuk princess who built the Qubbat al-Tawawis for herself as well as her son.<sup>699</sup> The madrasa known as al-Shamiyya (c. 1180) after Sitt al-Sham Zumurrud Khatun, daughter of Najm al-Din Ayyub, includes her brother, husband and son.<sup>700</sup> Thus Shajar al-Durr's addition of a mausoleum for her husband was well-place in this tradition and perhaps even expected of her.

However, as construction of funerary monuments became the task of the Mamluk

---

<sup>694</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 95.

<sup>695</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3:295.

<sup>696</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:98.

<sup>697</sup> *Ibid.*, 12:70; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 6:317.

<sup>698</sup> Atil, "Islamic Women," 3.

<sup>699</sup> Humphreys, "Women as Patrons," 35.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.



amirs, women were relegated to financial contributions and charitable deeds.

Itutmish may have added a *hammam* to the Madrasa al-Zahiriyya but Tatar al-Hijaziyya is the only other documented example of a Mamluk woman building a mausoleum for her husband who, despite his position, had failed to do so.

Institutions, namely *ribats*, were built exclusively for women to provide refuge for those in need as well as a place for *sufi* or mystical practices.<sup>701</sup> They could also be interpreted as places for the confinement of divorced or single women.<sup>702</sup> In the Fatimid period, women's *ribats* were part of the outlying cemeteries.<sup>703</sup> The popularity of *ribats* grew during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly in Damascus and Aleppo.<sup>704</sup> In Mamluk Cairo, the only female scholar for whom a *ribat* was specifically built is the Shaykha Zaynab al-Baghdadiyya while the *ribat* al-Sitt Kalila was endowed for her benefit. Another known women's *ribat* was established by Sunqur al-Sa'di as part of his Madrasa al-Sa'diyya in 1315.<sup>705</sup> The economic crisis of the fifteenth century greatly affected religious institutions in general and many female *ribats* were forced to shut down.<sup>706</sup> The *zawiya* built by Fatima bint al-Jamal Yusuf and the Ribat of Khawand Zaynab may have been founded in response to a growing number of women in need of shelter.<sup>707</sup> Several members of the scholarly community, both men and women, even transformed their own homes, taking in divorced or widowed women.<sup>708</sup>

Like their male counterparts, the involvement of women in their respective institutions probably depended on the character and interests of each individual, but

---

<sup>701</sup> Rapoport, "Marriage," 38-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 41-45; Sabra, *Poverty*, 84-85.

<sup>702</sup> Rapoport, "Marriage," 38-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 41-45; Sabra, *Poverty*, 84-85.

<sup>703</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:345; Rapoport, *Marriage*, 39.

<sup>704</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 40-43.

<sup>705</sup> al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:254; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo*, 166.

<sup>706</sup> Rapoport, *Marriage*, 43-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 44.

<sup>707</sup> Idem, *Marriage*, 43-44; idem, "Women and Gender," 44.

<sup>708</sup> Idem, "Women and Gender," 44.

also varied according to their status and freedom of association. Mediators or agents were usually hired to carry out commercial or legal transactions on behalf of elite women, but patronesses were most likely involved in decisions on location, function and funding, as demonstrated by the Turba of Sitt Sutaytah described above, possibly under the advice of staff or family members. On one occasion, the Qadi Karim al-Din was summoned to the citadel on official business for Khawand Tughay. Annoyed by the comings and goings of the *khazindara* between the two, al-Nasir Muhammad finally invited the Qadi into his private quarters to talk directly to Tughay.<sup>709</sup> While this story is relayed as an exceptional case that exemplifies al-Nasir's trust in the Qadi at the time, it also demonstrates that communication was possible and did occur on various levels; the *harem* was not cut-off from the outside world. Al-Nuwayri also specifies that Tughay bought the Dar al-Zayniyya through a *wakil*<sup>710</sup> while al-Sakhawi gives the biography of Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Nasiri who managed the endowments and affairs of Khawand Zaynab.<sup>711</sup> She endowed a *riwaq* in her possession, part of Bayt al-Balqini on Harat Baha' al-Din, for his benefit.<sup>712</sup>

The institutions founded by Tidhkarbay, Fatima Umm Khawand and Mughal all reflect a personal dedication to religious scholarship. Mughal sponsored a *sufi shaykh* who was followed by her sister and who may also have been in contact with her husband on at least one occasion.<sup>713</sup> According to al-Sakhawi, the program of the madrasa of Fatima Umm Khawand reflects her interests in the study of *tafsir* and *hadith*.<sup>714</sup> Al-Sha'rani, describing Fatima as "naïve," also writes that she personally evicted Sidi Muhammad, Shaykh Madyan's nephew, from her madrasa at the urging

<sup>709</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 9:77; idem, *al-Manhal*, 7:347-48.

<sup>710</sup> al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arb*, 33:66.

<sup>711</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 10:40.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid.

<sup>713</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:49; al-Sha'rani, *Tabaqat*, 2:141-42.

<sup>714</sup> al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-Lami*, ' 12:98-99.

of his adversaries.<sup>715</sup> Unique features such as the glass mosaic in the Mosque of Sitt Miska and the floral decoration of the Khanqah of Tughay may point to personal preferences. However, Sitt Hadaq's position as part of the Sultan's staff is different and probably gave her more freedom of movement and association than women of his family.

Given the proximity of Tatar al-Hijaziyya's complex to her residence, it is not difficult to imagine that she could have easily followed its progress. It is also possible that Tatar frequented the madrasa to at least visit her husband. If she truly were a scholar, as stated by the inscription on the door, she may have also benefitted from the institution or its resources. It has been suggested that the larger *iwan* of the madrasa al-Hijaziyya was screened off from the courtyard for the patroness' use and convenience.<sup>716</sup> Another possible space for her use is the north-western *iwan* which she could enter directly from 'Atfit al-Qaffasin and from which she could also access the mausoleum. Tatar could also have simply sent for books from the library without leaving the privacy of her home. Without a better understanding of the madrasa and its surroundings it is difficult to determine how she could have used the space.

### **The Feminine Idiom: Self vs. Sultanate**

Despite adhering to the general canon of Mamluk architecture, there are several underlying traits in the monuments discussed above that suggest the identity as well as the role of women within the Mamluk household. The two earliest funerary complexes associated with Mamluk women, that of Shajar al-Durr and Umm al-Salih, are located at the cemetery of al-Sayyida Nafisa. As briefly discussed above, the history of the feminine association with cemeteries in Cairo goes back to the Fatimid

---

<sup>715</sup> al-Sha'rani, *Tabaqat*, 2:149.

<sup>716</sup> Dzierzyk-ray-Rogalski et al, "Burial Crypts," 77.

period and the patronage of the Fatimid queen-mother Durzan who built the Mosque and Qasr of al-Qarafa – the first Fatimid monuments outside of the walled city - in 365/969-97.<sup>717</sup> Several of the female *ribats* at the *Qarafa*, which al-Maqrizi compares to the houses of the Prophet's wives, were also built by Fatimid women.<sup>718</sup> As the shrines of the *ahl al-bayt* were founded, the Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery in particular evolved into a place of veneration and piety.

When Shajar al-Durr built her funerary complex, she may have been following in the footsteps of al-Malik al-'Adil's mother who also constructed a *ribat* there.<sup>719</sup> It was in turn followed by the Funerary Complex of Umm al-Salih while another of Qalawun's wives, Ashlun bint Shakatay, was initially buried there as well.<sup>720</sup> A similar concentration of monuments can be found in the north-western district of Damascus where the foundations of several Ayyubid women as well as two adjacent Mamluk monuments, the Madrasa al-Tayyiba al-Shamiyya and the Turba of Sitt Sutaytah, are located.<sup>721</sup> Kenney observes that by choosing her restricted plot in that area instead of a location at the growing suburbs, Sutaytah was "positioning herself by association on a par with these royal women."<sup>722</sup> The arrangement also recalls the later fifteenth century development of the Shah-i Zinda compound in Samarkand where women of Timur's household built their mausolea as opposed to the Dar al-Siyadat in Shahrissabz where male members of his family and amirs were buried.<sup>723</sup>

Proximity to the shrines in the Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery was reinforced with architectural similarities, although the Mamluk complexes were on a grander scale. Shajar al-Durr's brick and stucco mausoleum, with the pointed profile of its dome and

<sup>717</sup> Calderini and Cortese, "The Architectural Patronage," 89.

<sup>718</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:345; Rapoport, *Marriage*, 39.

<sup>719</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 6.

<sup>720</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 4:230; idem, *Suluk*, 2:370; al-'Ayni, *Iqd al-juman*, 440; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 8:208.

<sup>721</sup> Kenney, "The Turbah," 151-152.

<sup>722</sup> Kenney, "The Turbah," 151-152.

<sup>723</sup> Marefat, "Beyond the Architecture," 260.

fluted stucco decoration, draws from the features of the surrounding shrines and contrast greatly to the more stately and imposing masonry mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din.<sup>724</sup> The use of glass-mosaic, in this context, may reflect its use in the mihrab of al-Sayyida Nafisa.<sup>725</sup> Similarly, the mausoleum of Umm al-Salih was originally approached through a portico with *mihirabs* or side-niches flanking the entrance, staying true to established tropes.

Given the careful juxtaposition of Qalawun's complex with that of Najm al-Din, it is possible that the Turba of Fatima Khatun was also meant to echo that of Shajar al-Durr and thus offer a complementary image to her husband's complex. While the location of the madrasa-mausoleum of Umm al-Salih draws on the sanctity of surrounding female saints as well as Shajar al-Durr's nearby complex, its architecture, as well as Qalawun's personal participation, suggest that it was intended as part of the new Qalawunid image, perhaps as the mother of his intended heir. The monuments of Najm al-Din and Shajar al-Durr, and those of Qalawun and Fatima can thus be perceived as dual monuments; the Sultans' funerary complex stands at the heart of the city, commanding one of the busiest areas and presiding over daily activity, while their wives' complexes stand in the Cemetery of al-Sayyida Nafisa and are experienced in relation to the surrounding shrines. Like many of Qalawun's other trials, this duality did not last.

The Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery was by no means restricted to women. Umm al-Salih's son, 'Ali, was buried in her complex soon after along with several other members of her family. Al-Ashraf Khalil built his own funerary complex next to Umm al-Salih's while two of Baybars' sons are buried in the mausoleum known as that of the Abbasid Caliphs, behind the Shrine of Sayyida Nafisa. Yet the feminine

---

<sup>724</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret," 15.

<sup>725</sup> *Idem*, *Cairo*, 116.

association certainly carried through even when the attribution was inaccurate. During the Bahri period, the expanding cemeteries remained the primary domain for funerary complexes belonging to the women of the Sultan's household, such as those of Urduṭakin at the Qarafa, and Tughay and Tulubay at the Northern Cemetery. However, the Khanqah of Tughay and the Mausoleum of Tulubay still occupied a prestigious site on the main route out of Cairo. In the city proper, Tatar al-Hijaziyya initially built the mausoleum adjacent to her palace for her husband while her sister, Khawand Zahra', reportedly had a mausoleum on al-Darb al-Ahmar, close to her husband's complex. Khawand Baraka can still be considered the only queen-mother, or Khawand al-Kubra, to have a funerary complex on the main ceremonial route within Cairo.

Roded observes that "kinship to a large number of rulers" formed one of the primary reasons for the inclusion of royal women in biographical collections.<sup>726</sup> It seems to have been equally important for women of the Mamluk household to emphasize their connection to the sultan on their monuments. The clearest expression of identity for any patron is in the inscription where their name and titles are given. Of the nine surviving inscriptions discussed above, seven belong to women directly related to a reigning or previous sultan, six of which are careful to reflect that association. Qalawun and Inal's titles can still be read on the dome of Umm al-Salih and the *qibla* wall of the *ribat* of Zaynab respectively. Sitt Hadaq is identified as al-Nasiriyya, in reference to her position under al-Nasir Muhammad. Rather than identifying Tatar al-Hijaziyya as the daughter of al-Nasir Muhammad, the inscription of the madrasa states that she is the sister of the ruling Sultan Hasan. A similar association is made on the tombstone of "Zahra... daughter of ... *al-amjad sidi*

---

<sup>726</sup> Roded, *Women*, 121-22.

*Hussayn*” (d. 20 Jumada II 771/19 January 1370), adding that she is the sister of “... *al-ashraf nasir al-dunya wa al-din Sha‘ban.*”<sup>727</sup> The names and titles of Sultan Sha‘ban also dominate the madrasa of his mother. The blazon of al-Nasir Muhammad appears on the Mosque of Asalbay while Qaytbay’s is painted on its lamps. The absence of a reference to the sultan on the mausoleum of Khawand Tulubay, or any other familial reference for that matter, may reflect the political events of the years leading up to her death, married to her husband’s murderer and political front-runner. The appearance of the sultan’s name and titles is not exclusive to women’s monuments for there are a few cases where they appear on buildings of prominent amirs in the late fifteenth century, such as Qaytbay’s name on “a wooden door in the Mosque of Azbak al-Yusufi (1494-95)” or Sultan Jaqmaq’s on the Mosque of Qanibay (1441-42) where he was also buried.<sup>728</sup>

Access to court workshops have also been interpreted as links to the sultan and therefore as status symbols.<sup>729</sup> The only definite examples are the Turba of Umm al-Salih, which both Maqrizi and Ibn ‘Abd al-Zahir report was built by Sanjar al-Shuja‘i, and the Mosque of Asalbay for which al-Nasir Muhammad sent Cairene builders and craftsmen. The rare features at the Khanqah of Tughay - tile mosaic, stucco medallions and floral stucco decoration - suggest the involvement of Tabrizi workshops and reflect her unique status while similarities in the main Qur’anic inscription at Tatar’s madrasa with those of the inner madrasas of Sultan Hasan’s may indicate common craftsmen. Based on the status of both patronesses as well as overall similarities to the Sultan Hasan Complex, Kahil suggests that the court-architect al-Hujayj, was responsible for these monuments.<sup>730</sup> Williams also suggests that

<sup>727</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 125.19.

<sup>728</sup> Fernandes, “Mamluk Architecture,” 115.

<sup>729</sup> al-Harithy, “Female Patronage,” 333.

<sup>730</sup> Kahil, “The Architects,” 173.

Mu'allim ibn al-Suyufi, the head architect under al-Nasir Muhamad, was involved in the construction of the Mosque of Sitt Miska.<sup>731</sup> It is possible given the prestige of the patroness and the respect awarded to her by the sultan but the mosque is also a much humbler structure than the Mosque of al-Maridani to which it is compared.

The Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban, one of the most significant monuments of this survey, on the other hand, displays all the privileges of royal architecture in terms of location, materials, innovation and craftsmanship. Perhaps because of its opulence it was deemed necessary to blur the lines of patronage between Khawand Baraka and her son al-Ashraf Sha'ban. The differences in the attribution of the madrasa may reflect the various roles of those involved; Khawand Baraka may have ordered and financed it, as per the waqf document, while al-Ashraf Sha'ban oversaw the construction. However, this discrepancy is not simply a practical issue. As demonstrated by Fernandes' analysis, the foundation and several other inscriptions on the building render the monument a propaganda piece for the Sultan while also stating that he built it for his mother.<sup>732</sup> Like his uncles before him, Sultan Sha'ban is demonstrating where authority lies but rather than orchestrating an elaborate ceremonial display as, for example, al-Salih Salih did at the banquet he held for Qutlmalik in Siryaqus, garnering great criticism, Sha'ban and Baraka chose more orthodox methods.<sup>733</sup> The pilgrimage draws on imagery of pious Muslim female figures and asserts Khawand Baraka's role as leading lady. The building of her madrasa can also be interpreted as an investiture of authority. In turn, Khawand Baraka is representing her son - from whom she draws authority - and the sultanate.

---

<sup>731</sup> Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq," 59-60.

<sup>732</sup> Fernandes, "Madrasa," 79.

<sup>733</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4:206; Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 186-87.



## The Mamluk Household and the Shifting Architectural Image

In the early fifteenth century, the Circassian Sultan's monuments began to take on a more dynastic character in both form and context with the more assertive double-dome structures of the Khanqah of Faraj ibn Barquq and the Complex of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, designated for male and female burial, as well as the Funerary Complex of Barsbay with its multiple mausolea. Again, this trend remained brief as Mamluk women in the later Circassian period were usually included in the general family mausolea.

Mughal, Fatima Umm Khawand and Zaynab all patronized religious institutions but none chose to build personal mausolea, although all three include burial chambers or shrines for associated *shaykhs*. This may in part be due to the location of these institutions at the heart of the city at a time when it was preferable to be buried at the cemeteries. In comparison to the earlier monuments of the Khawand al-Kubra, the Ribat of Zaynab in particular is surprisingly simple and contrasts to the lavishness of her public image. This may be a result of the growing economic difficulties as well as the strict nature of the function of a women's *ribat*. Perhaps it also reflects the impersonal nature of the institution. The Masjid of Fatima al-Shaqra' is, surprisingly, the most prominent during that period in terms of architecture and location.

The change to the architectural program and burial practice of the fifteenth century corresponds to what Rapoport describes as "a dramatic shift" in the sultan's household<sup>734</sup> as it "(transformed) ... from a polygamous to a monogamous institution based on long-lasting marriages."<sup>735</sup> Ibn Iyas' report of Khawand Zaynab and Khawand Fatima's return from pilgrimage is perhaps indicative of the possible perception of the sultan's wife. The imagery involved - particularly of the 'parasol

---

<sup>734</sup> Rapoport, "Women and Gender," 13.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid., 30.

and bird' as well as Zaynab or Fatima making their way to Qa'at al-'Awamid – create an image comparable to that of the sultan. Independent female patronage is not, therefore, the only measure of a woman's status and authority within the ruling dynasty. Rather, in an act comparable to al-Nasir Muhammad moving his mother from her *turba* at the Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery to his own funerary madrasa, the inclusion of women in the sultan's monument reflects changing familial values within Mamluk society, and the position of women within that structure.

The Mosque of Asalbay offers a contrasting narrative by returning to earlier tropes. While the inscription acknowledges her role, Ibn Iyas' account only mentions that it was ordered by the sultan. As mentioned above, Qaytbay never meant for his son to become sultan and his infamous reign was riddled with scandal.<sup>736</sup> Perhaps honoring his mother, a slave-girl who lacked the prestige and power of Qalawun's primary wife, and elevating her position through the patronage of a mosque was meant to reinforce his legitimate rule as the heir of Qaytbay.

### **Pilgrimage and Philanthropy**

Although historians frequently reference the wealth of women of the Mamluk household when describing wedding trousseaux, gifts or the belongings of deceased personnel, extravagance without charity, such as that of the queen-mothers in the 1340s or the pilgrimage of Sultan al-Ghuri's wife, warranted criticism. Display of wealth through charity, generosity and piety, on the other hand, were greatly admired qualities. As opposed to military *jihad* and patronage of religious institutions for men, the strongest performance of piety for women throughout the Mamluk era remained the pilgrimage.<sup>737</sup> Perceived as reflecting the prosperity of the sultan and state in the

---

<sup>736</sup> Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, 4:403.

<sup>737</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 93, 95.

Mamluk era, pilgrimage descriptions “emphasized the elegance and luxury of the Mamluk ladies; outfits and entourage” as well as “the charity and benevolence they demonstrated.”<sup>738</sup> The image portrayed by the Mamluk Khawand al-Kubra was one projected and shared on an international level. Ibn al-Dawadari even compares Khawand Tughay’s pilgrimage procession, particularly the potted vegetables carried by camels, to an earlier pilgrimage of the Buyid princess Jamila bint Nasr al-Dawla, claiming that it is the only one to surpass Tughay’s in splendor.<sup>739</sup> The pilgrimages of the Circassian wives also reflect the increased control over Mecca and the Hijaz from Sultan Barsbay’s reign to the end of the Mamluk era.<sup>740</sup>

This association between royal women and the pilgrimage can be traced to the Abbasid dynasty, specifically Khayzarum, slave-girl of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi and mother to his heir, who performed the pilgrimage twice, in 159/776 and 171/788.<sup>741</sup> On the latter occasion, travelling as queen-mother, she transformed a house in Mecca believed to be the birth-place of the Prophet into a mosque.<sup>742</sup> Zubayda, the wife of Harun, who was the first to travel in a decorated palanquin, also embarked on the pilgrimage a number of times.<sup>743</sup> She sponsored numerous amenities along the pilgrimage road from Kufa, which came to be known as Darb Zubayda, as well as an aqueduct that transported water from the Spring of Hunain to Mecca.<sup>744</sup> Zubayda’s patronage “set an example and an ideal for later Muslim princesses” who were often cast as patrons and benefactors of the pilgrimage.<sup>745</sup> Tolmacheva explores the layered relationship between royal or wealthy pilgrims, particularly women, and

---

<sup>738</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>739</sup> Ibn al-Dawadari, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:305-306; Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 93.

<sup>740</sup> Mortel, “Madrasas,” 249, 252.

<sup>741</sup> Tolmacheva, “Female Piety,” 162.

<sup>742</sup> Abbott, *Two Queens*, 118-119; Tolmacheva, “Female Piety,” 163.

<sup>743</sup> Tolmacheva, “Female Piety,” 163.

<sup>744</sup> Abbott, *Two Queens*, 250-251; Tolmacheva, “Female Piety,” 163; Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 91.

<sup>745</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “The Mahmal Legend,” 95.

the public who “became both passive spectators of lavish displays ... and active consumers of beneficiaries of charity.”<sup>746</sup> Piety and patronage are thus intertwined in pilgrimage culture where “one was impossible or meaningless without the other.”<sup>747</sup>

On the occasion of their pilgrimage, the Mamluk women were similarly expected to make generous contributions at home, to the spectators during processions, and at the Holy cities as well as aid pilgrims along the way. The sister of Sultan Barquq took with her an embroidered *kiswa* for the Prophet’s chamber when she performed the pilgrimage in 792/1390<sup>748</sup> while his wife Shirin, mother of al-Nasir Faraj, restored the Ribat al-Khauzi at Mecca and reformed its endowments, although she is not mentioned in relation to a pilgrimage.<sup>749</sup> In terms of construction, a sister of al-Nasir Hasan built the Sabil al-Sitt on the road to Mina in 761/1359-60<sup>750</sup> while Khawand Zaynab’s ‘Utufiyya Madrasa (861/1456-57) and, possibly, her *ribat* of 1461 are the only known foundations sponsored by a Mamluk woman in Mecca, coinciding with a renewed Mamluk interest in Meccan patronage during and after Barsbay’s reign.<sup>751</sup> The fact that she sponsored a madrasa to commemorate her pilgrimage, and not a *ribat* as most women did, further highlights her role as an ambassador for the Mamluk Sultanate.

Are there associations between women’s architecture in Cairo and their pilgrimage, arguably the most important ceremony of their careers? The timing of the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban suggests that it was choreographed to correspond with her return, thus acting as a commemorative structure. Unfortunately, the dating of the monuments of the other primary wives who also performed the pilgrimage,

---

<sup>746</sup> Tolmacheva, “Female Piety,” 170.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>748</sup> Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 5:297.

<sup>749</sup> Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal*, 6:317.

<sup>750</sup> al-Fasi, *Shifa’ al-gharam*, 1:439.

<sup>751</sup> Mortel, “Madrasas,” 246-50.

Tughay, Mughal and Zaynab, are unknown. It is worth noting that Tughay's *khanqah* lies on the road she would have taken to leave Cairo for the Hijaz. Sitt Hadaq may have built her second mosque a year or two after returning from her second pilgrimage and the foundation inscription clearly describes her as a "pilgrim to the house of God and visitor of the Prophet's tomb." Both the glass mosaic conch and the *karma* scroll on the portal can be considered symbols of piety alluding to these Holy Sites, rendering her mosque a commemorative structure.

## Conclusion

The above study attempts to construct a comprehensive survey of monuments associated with women of the Mamluk elite in Cairo, relying on architectural evidence as well as historical accounts. Each monument was considered first as an individual entity situated within the larger context of Mamluk architecture and history, particularly focusing on the image of women in Mamluk culture as well as their relation to public and private space, before attempting to identify broader patterns and themes.

The vast majority of women associated with Mamluk monuments pertain to the ruling elite, mostly wives or mothers of the ruling Sultan. Most are founders of religious institutions or funerary monuments, but it is often difficult to determine their precise role, especially given the ambiguity surrounding several of the monuments discussed. In cases of discrepancy between historic accounts, foundation inscriptions or *waqf* documents, such as the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan or the Mosque of Asalbay at Fayoum, it is possible to consider them as collaborative processes involving various individuals.

Nevertheless, patronage of religious institutions or participation in urban and architectural development was decidedly low and seemingly contradicts the documented wealth, influence and, in some cases, extravagance of Mamluk women, especially compared to other contemporary dynasties. While this can in part be explained by the economic position of women, excluded from *iqta'* in the first half of the fourteenth century, the above study suggests that women's patronage was not simply a construct of wealth or power but a response to changing socio-political circumstances.

Shajar al-Durr, Iltutmish, Tidhkarbay and Fatima Khatun continued Ayyubid trends during the early formative period. The *turba* of the latter in particular was closely associated with the generation of Qalawun's new image. As construction increasingly became the prerogative of Mamluk amirs under al-Nasir Muhammad, women's participation decreased, experiencing a brief revival with the resumption of royal patronage during al-Nasir Hasan's second reign. The most famous monument associated with a woman of the Mamluk elite, the Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban, was similarly built during a lapse in the Mamluk system after the death of Yalbugha al-Khassaki. In the fifteenth century, most women of the Sultan's household were interred at their husband's or father's mausolea, making patronage of funerary monuments unnecessary while reflecting their esteemed position. Patronage of small religious institutions continued, however, with monuments such as the Zawiya of Shaykh Madyan, built by Khawand Mughal, and the Ribat of Khawand Zaynab.

These monuments were experienced by the 'ulama who might have taught at the madrasas built by Baraka, Tatar or Fatima Umm Khawand, and their students who perhaps said a prayer for them in the morning. People walked past them on their daily business or attended prayers at the mosques of Sitt Hadaq and Fatima al-Shaqra.' The public and military alike would have passed by the Khanqah of Tughay and the Turba of Tulubay on their way out of Cairo while visitors to the Sayyida Nafisa Cemetery would have experienced the Mausolea of Shajar al-Durr and Fatima Khatun in the sacred context of the *ahl al-bayt* shrines. Although today they may seem identical to the monuments of their male counter-parts, there are perceived qualities that speak to their individual identities. They share a different set of "expressive" or "metaphorical qualities" – as described by Humphreys – based on a different set of values and

expectations attributed to women.<sup>752</sup> More importantly, they suggest that these women, who chose to be visible, were integral to the identity of the Mamluk elite.

Several of the monuments negotiate between independent expression and representation of the Mamluk sultanate. Scholars have commented on the significance of the Khawand al-Kubra's pilgrimage as a "state occasion."<sup>753</sup> While they are applauded by historians for their pious endeavor, the pilgrimage of the Khawand al-Kubra and their actions reflected the generosity, prosperity and, therefore, power of the sultan and his empire.<sup>754</sup> Architecture was another medium through which these women could represent the sultan. This relationship is advertised through foundation inscriptions and, often, through the involvement of court workshops. However, in keeping with traditional views of the role of women in Islam, the essence of female architecture is in the portrayal of piety, contrasting with the male prerogative of power and domination. This aspect is inherent in Mamluk culture to the extent that Khawand Baraka's truly monumental madrasa had to be presented under the guise of the sultan.

There is also a clear evolution in the architectural representation of women from the sultan's household, corresponding to changing familial structures as well as the image of women within the Mamluk system. Architectural representation progresses from independent *turbas*, often in conjunction with religious institutions, to independent mausolea within the sultan's larger architectural program, and finally to a place within the sultan's personal mausoleum. The fifteenth century offers a direct contrast to the dual and complimentary images portrayed by the monuments of al-Salih Najm al-Din and Shajar al-Durr, or Qalawun and Fatima Khatun, as well as the independent burial of Tughay and al-Nasir's other wives.

---

<sup>752</sup> Humphreys, "Expressive Intent," 74.

<sup>753</sup> Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 129.

<sup>754</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Legend," 94-95; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 129.



## Appendix: Foundation Inscriptions

### 1. Mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din (1250)<sup>755</sup>

Description: Marble plaque above entrance, four lines of *naskh* (Fig. 5).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والذين جاهدوا فينا لنهدينهم سبلنا وان الله لمع المحسنين<sup>756</sup> هذه التربة المباركة بها

ضريح مولانا السلطان الملك الصالح

السند العالم العادل المجاهد المرابط المثار نجم الدنيا و الدين سلطان الاسلام و المسلمين سيد ملوك المجاهدين

وارث الملك عن ابائه الاكرميين ابي الفتح

ايوب بن السلطان الملك الكامل ناصر الدين ابي المعالي محمد بن ابي بكر بن ايوب توفي الي رحمة الله تعالى

وهو بمنزلة المنصوره تجاه الفرنج المخنولين مصافحا للصفاح بنحره مواجهها للكفاح

بوجهه و صدره املا ثواب الله بمرابطته و اجتهاده عاملا بقوله تعالى وجاهدوا في الله حق جهاده<sup>757</sup> و اوفده الله

الجنه العاليه و اورده انهارها الجاربه وذلك في ليله النصف من شعبان سبع و اربعين و ستمائه

<sup>755</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 104-105; O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 38.1.

<sup>756</sup> Qur'an 29:69.

<sup>757</sup> Part of Qur'an 22:78.

Translation:

“Basmala, Quran. This blessed tomb encloses the grave of the sultan al-Malik al-Salih, the lord, the learned, the just, the holy warrior, the defender, the protector of frontiers, Najm al-Dunya wa'l-Din, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, lord of the kings of the holy warriors, inheritor of the kingdom bequeathed by his most noble ancestors, Abu al-Fath Ayyub son of the sultan al-Malik al-Kamil Nasir al-Din Abu al-Ma' Ali Muhammad b. Abu Bakr b. Ayyub. He died with God Most High's mercy at the military camp of Mansura, facing the accursed Franks, presenting his throat to the swords, offering his face and breast to combat, hoping to obtain the reward of God by his combat and his effort acting in the name of God Most High. Quran. May God let him enter His elevated paradise and guide His running waters towards him. That took place on the night of 15 Sha'ban 647/23 November 1249.”<sup>758</sup>

---

<sup>758</sup> O'Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 38.1.

## 2. The Complex of Shajar al-Durr (1250)<sup>759</sup>

Description: Painted wood, possibly a copy of the original inscription.

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (هذه) ترابه الستر الرفيع و الحجاب المنيع عصمة الدنيا والدين والدة الملك المنصور  
خليل بن مولانا السلطان الملك الصالح نجم الدين ابي الفتح ايوب بن مولانا السلطان الملك الكامل ناصر الدين ابي  
المعالي محمد بن ابي بكر بن ايوب خليل امير المؤمنين قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه التي خطبت الاقلام بمنا  
قبها علي منابر الطروس وشهدت لها المفاخر بالمجد الثابت في اعلي الفردوس الذي اضحت شمس المملكة لها  
طالعة و اراء الامراء لامرها مطيعة وسامعة اعز الله انصارها وضاعف اقتدارها واعلي منارها ورفق اراها  
وجعل الجنة مثواها لاعلا امين انها مؤيدة منصوره علي مر الليالي والايام بمحمد والة وصحبة الطيبين الطاهرين  
الكرام

Translation:

“Basmala, this is the tomb of the lofty and well-protected (lit. whose veil is lofty, and screen impenetrable), Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din, the mother of al-Malik al-Mansur Khalil son of our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Abu'l-Fath Ayyub son of our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Kamil Nasir al-Din Abu'l-Ma' Ali Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr ibn Ayyub, friend of the commander of the faithful, may God sanctify his soul and illuminate his tomb, she whose qualities are praised by pens on the skins of parchments, whose honours in the highest heaven bear witness to her authenticated glory, on whom shines the ascending suns of the kingdom, to whose authority the opinions of the amirs are submissive and obedient, may God glorify her supporters and double her power, raise her status and make heaven her place of repose. She is assisted by God and victorious in the succession of nights and days, through

<sup>759</sup> O'Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 169.1.

Muhammad, his family and companions, the generous, the pure and the honourable.”<sup>760</sup>

### 3. Madrasa and Mausoleum of Umm al-Salih (1283)<sup>761</sup>

Description: Stucco band at the top of the exterior walls of the mausoleum, *naskh*.

Text:

العالم العادل المجاهد المرابط المثاغر المؤيد المنصور سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين سيد الملوك والسلاطين  
محي...[العدل في العالمين]...مولانا السلطان ... العامل العادل...

Translation:

“...the learned, the just, the holy warrior, the protector of frontiers, the assisted by God, the victorious, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the lord of kings and sultans, the reviver (of justice in the worlds) ... our lord the sultan ... the diligent, the just ...”<sup>762</sup>

---

<sup>760</sup> Ibid.

<sup>761</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 140-41; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 274.1.

<sup>762</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 274.1.

#### 4. Mausoleum at Zawiyat al-‘Abbar (after 1285)<sup>763</sup>

Description: Upper stucco band around interior drum of mausoleum dome, *naskh* divided within cartouches (Fig. 24).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم مما امر بانثنا هذه التربه المباركه الستر الرفيع والحجاب المنيع البنت الجليلة المحترمه  
المخدومه ابنة الجناب العالي المولي الاميري الكبير المجاهدي علاء الدنيا والدين

Translation:

“Basmala, has ordered the construction of this blessed mausoleum the lofty and well-protected (lit. whose veil is lofty, and screen impenetrable), the honourable, the respected, the masterful, the daughter of the authority, the lofty, the lordly, the great amir, the holy warrior 'Ala' al-Dunya wa'l-Din.”<sup>764</sup>

<sup>763</sup> Comité, 1901, 107-108; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 146.2.

<sup>764</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 146.2.

## 5. Mosque of Sitt Miska (1339-40)<sup>765</sup>

Description: Marble plaque above entrance, three lines of *naskh* (Fig. 29).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امرت بانشاء هذا الجامع المبارك

الفقيرة الي الله الحاجة الي بيت الله الزائرة قبر رسول الله عليه الصلاة و السلام

الستر الرفيع حدق المعروفة بست مسكة الناصرية في شهور سنة اربعين و سبعمائة

Translation:

“Basmala, has ordered the construction of this blessed mosque, the humble one in need of God, the one who performed the pilgrimage to God's shrine, the one who visited the Prophet's tomb, God's blessings be upon him, the lofty (lit. whose veil is lofty) Hadaq known as lady Miska al-Nasiriyya, in the months of the year 740/1339-40.”<sup>766</sup>

<sup>765</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 193-94; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 252.1.

<sup>766</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 252.1.

## 6. Madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya (1360)

### a. Portal Inscription<sup>767</sup>

Description: Marble plaque above entrance, five lines of *naskh* (Fig. 66).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بانشا هذه المدرسة المباركة من فضل الله وجزيل نعمه

طلبا لرضوانه الادر المصونة تتر خاتون الحجازية كريمة المقام الملكي

الناصرى ناصر الدنيا والدين حسن ابن السلطان الشهيد المرحوم الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون

الصالحى تغمدهم الله برحمته وكان الفراغ من ذلك في سلخ شهر رمضان سنة احدى وستين

وسبعمائة للهجرة النبوية عليه افضل الصلاة والسلام والرحمة

Translation:

"Basmala, has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa, through the grace of God and His abundant favour, seeking God's satisfaction, the virtuous princess Tatar Khatun al-Hijaziyya, daughter of his royal Excellency al-Malik al-Nasir Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din Hasan son of the late martyred sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun al-Salihi, may God protect them with his grace. Its completion was at the end of Ramadan in year 761 H/14 August 1360."<sup>768</sup>

The phrase "كريمة المقام الملكي الناصري ناصر الدنيا والدين حسن" can also be translated as "sister of his Excellency al-Malik al-Nasir Nasir al-Dunya wa-l-Din Hasan."<sup>769</sup>

<sup>767</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 247; O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 36.3.

<sup>768</sup> O'Kane, "Monumental Inscriptions," 36.3.

<sup>769</sup> Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 247, gives the translation as "sœur de Sa Majesté al-Malik an-Nasir Nasir ad-dunya wad-din Hasan."

b. Door inscription (currently at the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo)<sup>770</sup>

Text:

امر بانثشا هذا المسجد المبارك الست تتر الحجازية من علماء الملة المحمدية

Translation:

“Has ordered the founding of this blessed mosque, the lady Tatar al-Hijaziyya, one of the followers of the Muhammadan faith.”<sup>771</sup>

The phrase “من علماء الملة المحمدية” can also be translated as “of the scholars of the Muhammadan creed.”

---

<sup>770</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 36.4.

<sup>771</sup> Ibid.



## 7. Turba of Tulubay

### a. Portal Inscription<sup>772</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band on either side of the outer entrance, *naskh* (Fig. 84).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (في بيوت) أذن الله أن ترفع ويذكر فيها اسمه يسبحله فيها بالغدو والأصا<sup>773</sup>ل امر بانشاء  
هذه التربة المباركة الادركريمة خوند طولبية تغمدها الله برحمته (عا) شر رجب سنة خمس و ستين و سبعمائة

Translation:

“Basmala, Quran. Has ordered the construction of this blessed tomb the eminent princess Khawand Tulbiyya, may God bestow His mercy upon her ... on the 10th of Rajab of the year 765/13 April 1364.”<sup>774</sup>

<sup>772</sup> ‘Abd ar-Raziq, “Un Mausolee,” 8; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 80.1.

<sup>773</sup> Qur’an 24:36.

<sup>774</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 80.1.

b. Cenotaph Inscription<sup>775</sup>

Description: Marble plaque, three lines of *naskh*.

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بتاريخ وفاة خوند طولبية

تغمدها الله برحمته توفيت في يوم الجمعة

سابع عشرين ربيع الاخرة سنة خمس و ستين وسبعمائة

Translation:

“Basmala, Dated on the death of Khawand Tulbiyya, may God bestow His mercy upon her. She died on Friday 27th Rabi' II of the year 765/2 February 1364.”<sup>776</sup>

<sup>775</sup> ‘Abd ar-Raziq, “Un Mausolee,” 8-9; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 80.2.

<sup>776</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 80.2.

## 8. Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha‘ban (1368-69)

### a. Portal Inscription (Lower Band)<sup>777</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band starting on outer façade and continuing across portal recess, on either side of the entrance, *naskh* (Fig. 90).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الذين إن مكناهم في الأرض أقاموا الصلاة وآتوا الزكاة وأمروا بالمعروف ونهوا عن المنكر والله عاقبة الأمور<sup>778</sup> امر بانثا هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالدته مولانا السلطان الملك الاشرف شعبان بن المرحوم حسين سلطان الاسلام و المسلمين قاتل الكفرة و المشركين محي العدل فى العالمين مظهر الحق بالبراهين حامى حوزة الدين عز نصره

Translation:

“Basmala, Quran. Has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa for his mother our Lord the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha‘ban son of the deceased Husain, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, slayer of infidels and polytheists, reviver of justice in the two worlds, conveyor of the truth, protector of the domain of religion, may his victory be glorified.”<sup>779</sup>

<sup>777</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 125.2.

<sup>778</sup> Qur’an 22:41.

<sup>779</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 125.2.

b. Portal Inscription (Upper Band)<sup>780</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band starting on outer façade and continuing across portal recess, tracing side niches and central window, *naskh* (Fig. 90).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم<sup>781</sup> امر بانشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة  
لوالدته مولانا السلطان المالك الملك الاشرف شعبان بن المرحوم السلطان حسين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين قاتل  
الكفرة و المشركين محى العدل فى العالمين مظهر الحق بالبراهين حامى حوزة الدين سيد الملوك و السلاطين  
قسيم أمير المؤمنين قاهر الخوارج و المتمردين كنز الغزاة و المجاهدين منصف المظلومين من الظالمين ذخر  
الارمال و المحتاجين صاحب الديار المصرية و البلاد الشامية و الحصون الاسماعيلية و الثغور السكندرية و  
القلاع الساحلية و الاقطار الحجازية و الاعمال الفراتية ناصر الملة المحمدية اعز الله انصاره و ذلك فى شهور  
سنة سبعين وسبعمائة للهجرة النبوية و صلى على سيدنا محمد واله

Translation:

“Basmala, Quran. Has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa, for his mother, our Lord the Sultan, the sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban, son of the late Sultan Husain, Sultan of Islam and of the Muslims, slayer of infidels and polytheists, reviver of justice in the worlds, conveyor of the truth, protector of the territories of Islam, master of the kings and the sultans, associate of the commander of the faithful, vanquisher of heretics and rebels, the jewel among conquerors and holy warriors, the vindicator of the oppressed from the oppressors, the refuge of widows and the needy, lord of the Egypt territories, the lands of Syria, the Isma'ili fortresses, the Alexandrine borders, the coastal citadels, the Hijazi lands and the Euphratian provinces, glorifier of the Muhammadan creed, may God strengthen his supporters. This was in the year 770

<sup>780</sup> O'Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 125.3.

<sup>781</sup> Part of Qur'an 51:21.

of the hijra of the prophet (1368-9). Prayers be upon our lord Muhammad and his family.”<sup>782</sup>

c. *Sabil* Inscription<sup>783</sup>

Description: Wooden plaque on *sabil* lattice, two lines of *naskh*.

Text:

امر بانثا هذا السبيل المبارك لوالدته مولانا السلطان

الملك الاشراف شعبان بن حسين عز نصره في شهر سنة سبعين و سبعمائة

Translation:

“Has ordered the construction of this blessed water dispensary for his mother, our master the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban, son of Husain, may his victory be glorified, in the year 770/1368-9.”<sup>784</sup>

---

<sup>782</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 125.3.

<sup>783</sup> Ibid., 125.4.

<sup>784</sup> Ibid.

d. *Hawd* Inscription<sup>785</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band within the recess of the *hawd* interrupted by a medallion at the center, possibly intended for the Sultan's emblem, *naskh*.

Text:

الاعظم السلطان الملك الاشرف شعبان بن المقر الشريف الجمالي سيدي حسين بن السلطان الملك الناصر ...  
محمد...

Translation:

“... the great, the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban, son of his Excellency, the noble, Jamal al-Din Sidi Husain, son of the sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ...”<sup>786</sup>

---

<sup>785</sup> Ibid., 125.12.

<sup>786</sup> Ibid.

e. Inner Portal Inscription (Lower Band)<sup>787</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band starting on outer façade and continuing across portal recess, on either side of entrance, *naskh* (Fig. 97).

Text:

امر بانثشا هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالدته سيدنا السلطان الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسين اعز الله انصاره

Translation:

“The construction of this blessed madrasa was ordered by our lord and master the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husain, for his mother, may God strengthen his supporters.”<sup>788</sup>

---

<sup>787</sup> Ibid., 125.9.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid.

f. Inner Portal Inscription (Upper Band)<sup>789</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band starting on outer façade and continuing across portal recess, *naskh* (Fig. 97).

Text:

امر بانثنا هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالدته سيدنا ومولانا ومالك رقتنا السلطان المالك الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسين  
اعز الله انصاره بمحمد وآله امين

Translation:

“Has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa for his mother, our master and lord, the dominant over us, the sultan, the sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husain, may God strengthen his supporters through Muhammad and his family, amen.”<sup>790</sup>

---

<sup>789</sup> Ibid., 125.5.

<sup>790</sup> Ibid.



g. Courtyard Portal Inscription (Lower Band)<sup>791</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band on either side of doorway, *naskh*.

Text:

امر بانشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالدته مولانا و سيدنا السلطان الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسين عز نصره

Translation:

“Has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa for his mother our lord and master the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husain, may his victory be glorified.”<sup>792</sup>

h. Courtyard Portal Inscription (Upper Band)<sup>793</sup>

Description: Band repeated above four courtyard portals, *naskh*.

Text:

امر بانشا هذه المدرسة المباركة لوالدته مولانا و سيدنا السلطان الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسين عز نصر

Translation:

“Has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa for his mother, our Lord and master, the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husain, may his victory be glorified.”<sup>794</sup>

---

<sup>791</sup> Ibid., 125.28.

<sup>792</sup> Ibid.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid., 125.7.

<sup>794</sup> Ibid.

i. Cenotaph Inscription<sup>795</sup>

Description: Marble plaque on cenotaph in the north-eastern mausoleum, four lines of *naskh*.

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا ضريح ريحانة الجنة الست المرحومة الدرة المكنونة  
ست الستات زين الخواتين الست زهرة ابنة المقام المرحوم الامجد سيدي حسين ولد المقام  
الشهيد المرحوم الملك الناصر كريمة سيدنا و مولانا المقام الشريف المالك الملك الاشرف  
ناصر الدنيا والدين شعبان ابن حسين توفيت في يوم الاثنين ثامن عشرين جماد الاخر سنة احد و سبعين و  
سبعمائة

Translation:

“Basmala, this is the cenotaph of the basil of paradise, the deceased precious stone, lady of all ladies, most beautiful of khatuns, lady Zahra daughter of his excellency the victorious master Husain son of his Excellency the martyr al-Malik al-Nasir, sister of our master and lord his Excellency the noble, the sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din Sha'ban b. Husain. She died on Monday the 18th of Jumada II in the year 771/17 January 1370.”<sup>796</sup>

<sup>795</sup> Ibid., 125.19.

<sup>796</sup> Ibid.

## 9. Zawiya of Fatima Umm Khawand (1450s)<sup>797</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band on either side of the entrance, *naskh* (Fig. 115).

Text:

(أ)مرت بإنشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة...الحجاب المنيع و الستر الرفيع فاطمه بنت المرحوم قاني...

Translation:

“Has ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa...the lofty and well-protected

(lit. whose veil is lofty, and screen impenetrable) Fatima, daughter of the late

Qani...”<sup>798</sup>

---

<sup>797</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 58.1.

<sup>798</sup> Ibid.

## 10. Ribat of Zaynab (between 1453 and 1461)

### a. Cenotaph at the Mausoleum of Sultan Inal<sup>799</sup>

Text:

انشأ هذا القبر المبارك (ك) ...

(اي) نال العلاني الاشرفي

لجهته الكريمة ال...

(؟) ح صلاح الدنيا والدين بن (؟) الملك

حصر بن (؟) السلطان ال...

شهر الله المحرم سنة ثمان و خمسين و ثمانمائة ...

من عام سبع و خمسين و ثمانمائة

Translation:

“Constructed this blessed grave Inal (officer of) al-'Ala' al-Ashraf (Barsbay) for his eminent wife ... Salah al-Dunya wa'l-Din ... son of the sultan .../in the month of God, Muharram in the year 858/January-February 1454 in the year 857/1453-4.”<sup>800</sup>

<sup>799</sup> O'Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 158.13.

<sup>800</sup> Ibid.

b. Foundation Inscription<sup>801</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band on the *qibla* wall of the main *iwan*, *naskh* (Fig. 122).

Text:

امر بانشاء هذ الرباط المبارك ... الشريفة ذات الستر الرفيع و الحجاب المنيع ... مولانا السلطان المالك الملك  
الاشرف ابو النصر اينال عز ... المرحوم...

Translation:

“Has ordered the construction of this blessed *ribat*, ... the noble, the lofty and well-protected (lit. whose veil is lofty, and screen impenetrable) ... our lord the Sultan, the sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu'l-Nasr Inal ... may (his victory) be glorified ... the deceased ...”<sup>802</sup>

<sup>801</sup> Comité, 1900, 106-107; O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 61.1.

<sup>802</sup> O’Kane, “Monumental Inscriptions,” 61.1.

## 10. Masjid al-Mar'a (1468-69)<sup>803</sup>

Description: Carved masonry band on the *qibla* wall of the main *iwan*, *naskh*  
(Fig. 124).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (قرآن) ... الست المصونة فاطمة شقرا ... بتاريخ شهر جمادى الاخر من سنة ثلاث و  
سبعين وثمانمئة

Translation:

“Basmala, Quran ... the virtuous lady Fatma Shaqra ... Dated in the month of Jumada  
II of the year 873/December 1468-January 1469.”<sup>804</sup>

---

<sup>803</sup> Ibid., 195.1.

<sup>804</sup> Ibid., 195.1.

## 11. Mosque of Asalbay, Fayoum (1498-99)<sup>805</sup>

### a. Inscription Plaque

Description: One of two marble plaques flanking the portal window (Fig. 132).

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر أنشأ هذا الجامع و القناطر خوند والدة  
الملك الناصر أبو السعادات محمد ابن الملك قايتباي بإشارة الشيخ عبد القادر الدحطوطي نفعنا الله به و ببركاته

Translation:

Basmala (Quran) Has constructed this mosque and bridge, Khawand mother of al-Malik al-Nasir Abu al-Sa‘adat Muhammad ibn al-Malik Qaytbay at the behest of (?) al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Dahtuti, may God benefit us by him and his blessings.<sup>806</sup>

### b. Medallions

Description: Two carved brick medallions above portal lintel (Fig. 132).

Text:

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصر محمد – عز نصره

Translation:

Glory to our Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad – May his victory be praised.<sup>807</sup>

<sup>805</sup> Comit , 1891, 86-87.

<sup>806</sup> Ibid., 87; French translation given as “La construction de cette mosqu e et der arches a  t  faite par Khawan, m re du roi victorieux Aboul-Saadat-Mohamed fils du roi Kaitbay, par ordre (direction) du Cheikh Abdel-Kader-el-Zahtouti. Que Dieu nous vienne en aide par lui et ses m rites.”

<sup>807</sup> Ibid., 86; French translation given as “Gloire a notre seigneur le roi roi victorieux Mohamed que sa victoire soit lou e.”

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- al-‘Ayni, Badr al-Din Maḥmūd. *‘Iqd al-juman fi tarikh ahl al-zaman*, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Ṭantawi al-Qarmut (Cairo, 1985).
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Zahir Muḥyi al-Din. *Tashrif al-ayyam wa-l-‘usur fi sirat al-Malik al-Mansur: wa-tatanawalu al-ḥiqbah ma bayna sanatay 678 H.-689 H.*, ed. Murad Kamil and Muhammad ‘Ali Najjar (Cairo, 1961).
- *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyah al-zahirah fi khitāṭ al-Mu‘izziyah al-Qahirah*, ed. Ayman Fuad Sayyid (Beirut, 1996).
- Ibn al-Dawadarī, Abu Bakr ibn ‘Abd Allah. *Kanz al-durar wa-jami‘ al-ghurar*, vol. 9, ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo, 1960).
- Ibn Duqmaq, Ibrahim ibn Muḥammad ibn Aydmār al-‘Ala’i. *Al-Intisar li-wasitat ‘iqd al-amsar* (Beirut, 1893).
- Ibn Fahd, al-Najm ‘Umar. *Ithaf al-wara bi-akhbar umm al-qura*, vol. 4, ed. ‘Abd al-Karim ‘Ali Baz (Mecca, 1988).
- Ibn al-Fasi, Abi al-Ṭayyib Taqi al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Ali. *Shifa’ al-gharam bi-akhbar al-balad al-haram*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 2000)
- Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, Abu al-Fadl Ahmad ibn ‘Ali. *Inba’ al-ghumr bi-abna’ al-‘umr fi al-tarikh*, ed. Hasan Habashi (Cairo, 1969).
- *al-Durar al-kaminah fi a‘yan al-mi‘ah al-thaminah* (Ḥaydarabad, 1972).
- Ibn Iyas, Muhammad ibn Ahmad. *Bada’i’ al-zuhur fi waqa’i’ al-duhur*, 5 vols (Cairo, 1982-84).
- al-Jabarti, ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan. *Tarikh ‘aja’ib al-athar fi al-tarajim wa-l-akhbar*, vol.3 (Beirut).



- al-Malti, Zayn al-Din ‘Abd al-Basit ibn Khalil Ibn Shahin al-Zahiri al-Hanafi. *Nayl al-amal fi dhayl al-duwal*, 9 vols., ed. Omar ‘Abd al-Salam al-Tadmuri (Sayda, 2002).
- al-Maqrizi, Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn ‘Ali. *Kitab al-mawa‘iz wa-l-i‘tibar bi-dhikr al-khitat wa-l-athar yakhtassu dhalika bi-akhbar iqlim Misr wa-l-Nil wa-dhikr al-Qahirah wa-ma yata‘allaq bi-ha wa-bi-iqlimha*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1997).
- *al-Suluk li-ma‘rifat duwal al-muluk*, 8 vols., ed. Muhammad ‘Abd al-Qadir Atta (Beirut, 1997).
- Mubarak, ‘Ali. *Al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyah al-jadidah li-Misr al-Qahirah wa-muduniha wa-biladiha al-qadimah wa-l-shahirah* (Cairo, 1888).
- Muwaffaq al-Din Ibn ‘Utman. *Murshid al-zuwwar ila qubur al-abrar* (Cairo, 1994-95).
- al-Nuwayri, Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab. *Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab*, vol. 32-33 (Cairo, 1923).
- al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aybak. *A‘yan al-‘asr wa-‘waan al-nasr*, vol. 2-3, ed. ‘Ali Abu Zayd, Nabil ‘Ashma, Muhammad Maw‘id and Muhammad Salim Muhammad (Beirut, 1998)
- *Kitab al-Wafi bi-l-Wafayat*, ed. Ahmad Arna‘ut and Turkey Mustafa (Beirut, 2000).
- al-Sakhawi, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman. *al-Daw‘ al-lami‘ li-ahl al-qarn al-tasi*, ‘ vol. 6-9 (Beirut, 1966).
- Ibn Shahin, Ghars al-Din Khalil. *Zubdat kashf al-mamalik wa-bayan al-turuq wa-l-masalik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894).
- al-Sha‘rani, ‘Abd al-Wahab. *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra al-musama bi-lawaqih al-anwar fi-tabaqat al-akhyar*, vol. 2 (Cairo).

al-Shuja'i, Shams al-Din. *Tarikh al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun al-Salihi wa-awladih*, ed. Barbara Schäfer (Cairo, 1978-85).

Ibn Taghri Birdi, Abu al-Mahasin Yusuf. *al-Manhal al-safi wa-l-mustawfa ba'da al-wafi*, 7 vols., ed. Muhammad Muhammad Amin (Cairo, 1984)

----- *al-Nujum al-zahirah fi muluk Misr wa-l-Qahirah*, 16 vols (Cairo, 1963).

### Secondary Sources

Abbott, Nabia. *Two Queens of Baghdad: Mother and Wife of Harun al-Rashid* (Chicago, 1946).

'Abd al-Fattah, Husam al-Din Ismail. "Ba'd al-mulahazat 'ala al-'ilaqat bayna murur al-mawakab wa wad' al-mabani al-athariyya fi shawari' madinat al-Qahira," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1991): 1-10.

'Abd ar-Raziq, Ahmad. "Trois fondations feminines dans l'egypte mamlouke," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 41.1 (1973): 95-126.

----- *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo, 1973).

----- "Un Mausolee Feminin Dans l'Egypte Mamluke," *Majallat Kulliyat al-Athar* 2 (1977): 3-9.

'Abd al-Wahab, Hasan. "al-'Imara al-islamiyya: dawlat al-mamlik al-bahariyya 6 - takmilat 'asr al-sultan hassan wa khitam hadhihi al-dawla," *Majallat al-imarah* 4.5-6 (1942): 184-193.

----- "al-'Imara al-islamiyya: 'asr al-mamalik al-jarakisa," *Majallat al-imarah* 5.1 (1945): 32-37.

----- *Tarikh al-masajid al-athariyah* (Cairo, 1994).

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (N.J., 1971).

Amin, Muhammad Muhammad and Layla 'Ali Ibrahim. *al-Mustalahat al-mi'mariyas fi al-watha'iq al-Mamlukiya* (Cairo, 1990).

- Atil, Esin. "Islamic Women as Rulers and Patrons," *Asian Art* 6.2 (1993): 3-13.
- Ayalon, David. "The Circassians in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69.3 (1949): 135-147.
- Bakhoum, Diana Isaac. "The Foundation of a Tabrizi Workshop in Cairo: A Case Study of its Influence on the Mosque of Emir Altunbugha Al-Maridani," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 17-32.
- Bakhoum, Dina. "The Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban before and after Creswell," in *Creswell Photographs Re-examined: New Perspectives on Islamic Architecture*, ed. Bernard O'Kane (Cairo, 2009), 99-120.
- Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. "The Lost Minaret of Shajarat al-Durr at Her Complex in the Cemetery of Sayyidah Nafisah," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 39 (1983): 1-16.
- "The *Mahmal* Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court," *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 87-96.
- *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (Cairo, 2007).
- *The Minarets of Cairo: Islamic Architecture from the Arab Conquest to the End of the Ottoman Empire* (Cairo, 2010).
- Berkey, Jonathan P. "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 97-106.
- Calderini, Simonetta and Delia Cortese. "The Architectural Patronage of the Fatimid Queen-Mother Durzan (d.385/995): An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Literary Sources, Material Evidence and Historical Context," *Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Katia Cytryn-Silverman (Leiden, 2015), 87-112.

Creswell, K.A.C. *A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517* (Cairo, 1919).

----- *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol.2 (New York, 1952-59).

Le Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. *Comité Bulletins 1891* (Cairo, 1891).

----- *Comité Bulletins 1899* (Cairo: 1899).

----- *Comité Bulletins 1900* (Cairo, 1900).

----- *Comité Bulletins 1901* (Cairo, 1901).

Dzierzykraj-Rogalski, Tadeusz, Jerzy Kania and Medhat al-Minabbawi. "The Investigations of Burial Crypts in the Mausoleum of Princess Tatar al-Higaziyya in Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 73-85.

Fernandes, Leonora. "The Madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban" (master's thesis, AUC, 1976).

----- "Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 107-120.

Flood, F.B. "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 57-79.

al-Juhayni, Muhammad. *Ahya' al-Qahirah al-qadimah wa-atharuha al-Islamiyah: Hayy Bab al-Bahr* (Giza, 2000).

Hamza, Hani. *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Cairo, 2001).

Hanna, Nanis Nabil. "Mamluk Female Patronage" (master's thesis, AUC, 2002).

al-Harithy, Howayda. "Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila 'Ali Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 103-21.

- "Female Patronage of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo," in *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, ed. Amira El Azhary (NY, 2005), 321-36.
- Humphreys, Stephen R. "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture in Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119.
- "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," *Muqarnas* 11(1994): 35-54.
- Ibrahim, Laila 'Ali. "Middle-class Living Units in Mamluk Cairo: Architecture and Terminology," *AARP* 14 (1971): 24-30.
- "The Great Khanqah of the Emir Qawsun in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30.1 (1974): 37-64.
- "Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 47-59.
- "The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture," *Kunst des Orients* 10.1 (1975): 5-23.
- Jairazbhoy, R.A. "The History of the Shrines at Mecca and Medina," *The Islamic Review* 1(1962): 19-34.
- Johnson, Kathryn. "Royal Pilgrims: Mamluk Accounts of the Pilgrimages to Mecca of the Khawand al-Kubra (Senior Wife of the Sultan)," *Studia Islamica* 91(2000): 107-131.
- Kahil, Abdallah. "The Architect/s of the Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo," *Artibus Asiae* 66.2 (2006): 155-174.
- Kenney, Ellen. "Mixed Metaphors: Iconography and Medium in Mamluk Glass Mosaic Decoration," *Artibus Asiae* 66.2 (2006): 175-200.
- "The Turbah of Sitt Sutaytah: A Funerary Foundation for a Mamluk Noblewoman in Fourteenth Century Damascus," *Mamluk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 133-165.
- Kessler, Christel. *Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (Cairo, 1976).

- Lev, Yaacov. "Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities," in *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat (Leiden, 2017) 145-186.
- Levanoni, Amalia. "The Mamluk's Ascent to Power," *Studia Islamica* 72(1990): 121-144.
- "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26.3 (1994): 373-392.
- *A Turning Point in Mamluk History* (NY, 1995).
- "Shajar al-Durr: A Case of Female Sultanate in Medieval Islam," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, vol. 3, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenberghe (Leuven, 2001), 209-218.
- Makar, Farida. "Al-Sultaniyya," (master's thesis, AUC, 1972).
- Marefat, Roya. "Beyond the Architecture of Death: Shrine of the Shah-i Zinda in Samarqand," (PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 1991).
- Meinecke, Michael. "Die Mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: Eine Werkstätte Aus Tabrizin Kairo (1330-1350)," *Kunst des Orients* 11.1 (1976-77): 85-144.
- Mortel, Richard T. "Madrasas in Mecca during the Medieval Period: A Descriptive Study Based on Literary Sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60.2 (1997): 236-252.
- "'Ribats' in Mecca during the Medieval Period: A Descriptive Study Based on Literary Sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61.1 (1998): 29-50.
- O'Kane, Bernard. "Domestic and Religious Architecture in Cairo: Mutual Influences," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 149-182.

- *The Mosques of Egypt* (Cairo, 2016).
- *The Illustrated Guide to the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo* (Cairo, 2012).
- “The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo,” CultNat.org,  
<http://islamicinscriptions.culnat.org/default>. (accessed 2019).
- Petry, Carl F. "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 84-96.
- Prost, Claude. *Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1916).
- Qasim, Hasan. *al-Mazarat al-Islamīyya wa-l-athar al-‘Arabīyah fī Miṣr wa-l-Qahirah al-Mu‘izzīyah*, vol. 4 (Alexandria, 2018).
- Rabbat, Nasser. “In Search of a Triumphant Image: the Experimental Quality of Early Mamluk Art,” in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Bonn, 2012), 21-35.
- *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (N.Y., 1995).
- *Staging the City: Or How Mamluk Architecture Co-opted the Streets of Cairo*, Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture, vol. 9 (Berlin, 2014).
- Rapoport, Yossef. *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005).
- “Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview,” *Mamluk Studies Review* 11.2 (2007): 1-47.

- Ravaisse, P. *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Makrizi*.  
Mémoires publiés par la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, ed. Ernest Leroux, vol.1 (Paris, 1889), 409-481.
- Raymond, André. *Cairo: City of History*, trans. Willard Wood (Cairo, 2007).
- Reinfandt, Lucian. "Religious Endowments and Succession to Rule: The Career of a Sultan's Son in the Fifteenth Century," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 51-70.
- Rogers, J. Michael. "Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations, 1260-1360," *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire: 27 Mars – 5 Avril 1969* (Cairo, 1972), 385-403.
- "Appendix II" in Laila 'Ali Ibrahim, "The Great Khanqah of the Emir Qawsun in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30.1 (1974): 60-64.
- Roded, Ruth. *Women in Islamic Biographical Collections: From Ibn Sa'd to Who's Who* (Boulder: 1994).
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. "Vision and Power: An Introduction," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (New York, 2000), 1-15.
- "Visible and Invisible Bodies: The Architectural Patronage of Shajar al-Durr," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 63-78.
- Sabra, Adam Abdelhamid. *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250-1517* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Sadek, Noha. "Rasulid Women: Power and Patronage," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 19 (1989): 121-136.
- "In the Queen of Sheba's Footsteps: Women Patrons in Rasulid Yemen," *Asian Art* 6.2 (1993): 50-65.



- Speiser, Phillip. "Die Madrasa der Prinzessin Tatar al-Higaziya," in *Die Geschichte der Erhaltung arabischer Baudenkmäler in Ägypten : die Restaurierung der Madrasa Tatar al-Hiğaziya und des Sabil Kuttab 'Abd ar-Rahman Kathuda im Rahmen des Darb al-Qirmiz-Projektes in Kairo* (Heidelberg, 2001), 139-190.
- Swelim, Tarek M. "The Complex of Sultan al- Mu'ayyad Shaykh at Bab Zuwayla" (master's thesis, AUC, 1986).
- Tabbaa, Yasser. "Dayfa Khatun, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron," in *Women, Patronage and Self-representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (New York, 2000), 17-34.
- Tantawy, Shams el-Din. "Architectural Patronage in the Reign of Sultan Jaqmaq in Cairo" (master's thesis, AUC, 1994).
- Taragan, Hanna. "Sign of the Times: Reusing the past in Baybars' Architecture in Palestine," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London, 2006), 54-65.
- Tolmachev, Marina. "Female Piety and Patronage in the Medieval Hajj," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power Patronage and Piety*, ed. Gavin R.G. Hambly (New York, 1999) 161-180.
- Van Berchem, Max. *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Mémoires Publiés par la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, ed. Ernest Leroux, vol.19 (Paris, 1894).
- Van Steenberg, Jo. "The Amir Yalbugha al-Khassaki, the Qalawunid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamluk Society: A Reassessment of Mamluk Politics in the 1360s," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131.3 (2011): 423-443.

----- “The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State: Household Politics and the Case of the Qalawunid *bayt* (1279-1382),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56 (2013): 189-217.

Warner, Nicholas. *The Monuments of Historic Cairo: A Map and Descriptive Catalogue* (Cairo, 2005).

Wolf, Caroline Olivia M. “‘The Pen Has Extolled Her Virtues:’ Gender and Power within the Visual Legacy of Shajar al-Durr in Cairo,” in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour and Irvin Cemil Schick (Edinburgh, 2014), 199-216.

Williams, Caroline. “The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq,” *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 55-64.

## Figures