

WEST ISLAMIC INFLUENCES ON ARCHITECTURE IN EGYPT¹

(before the Turkish Period)

BY

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Islamic art, like many other arts that had their traditions spread among several countries under one common bond, developed, in each country of the Islamic world, a school with a local taste of its own more or less distinct from the contemporary schools in the other countries, but nevertheless, all of them always bear one strong common character of the dominating style. Many of these schools exchanged influences, and it is not unusual to find some features of one school exhibited in the monuments of another, thus betraying the presence of influences exerted from one on the other. Sometimes the emigrant features can be seen at a glance when exhibited in the big masses, but they are not so easy to be detected when connected with small elements and details of decoration.

In my thesis², I tackled the analyses of Calyx-Forms and their components, and found that in some cases they showed influences from West Islām acting in Egypt during several occasions. This increased my interest in the subject, first aroused by Prof. Creswell, who referred to some researches dealing with mutual influences exchanged between Islamic West and Egypt³. My researches, in

(¹) All the figures are drawn by the author.

(²) The title of the thesis was "Simple Calyx-ornaments in Islamic Art", being a contribution to the study of Islamic floral decorations.

(³) MARÇAIS: *Les échanges artistiques entre l'Égypte et les pays Musulmans occidentaux*, (Hesperis, vol. XIX, 1934, pp. 95-106 and 9 figures); LEXIOLD TOUBES BALBAS: *Intercambios artísticos entre Egipto, y el Occidente Musulmán*, (Al Andalus, vol. 3, p.p. 411-24, with figures and plates, Madrid and=

addition to the information extracted from the above sources, are here given in chronological order with my own views on some of the points mentioned in these sources, which, I thought, needed discussion.

395-61 (970-72) ... THE MOSQUE OF AL-AZHAR

The old parts of this mosque dating from the time of al-Mu'tizz and al-'Azīz, exhibit four features which must have been inspired by West Islamic influences.

The first feature, the double stem in the floral ornaments carved in stucco, is still to be seen in the parts dating from the first periods of the mosque¹. This feature made its appearance here in a firm date for the first time in Islamic Egypt. I discussed it in an article published in Arabic², under the problem of the dating of the so-called Mihrāb of ash-Shabih³, a synopsis of which is given below (pp. 4-5), and proved that it was a favourite of North Africa and Andalus from the early periods of Islām.

The second existing feature is the transept leading to the mihrāb. Although this feature made its first appearance in Islām in Syria, in the Great Mosque of Damascus, 87-97 (705-15)⁴, and in the Mosque of Qasr al-Hair ash-Sharqī, 110 (729)⁵, yet it seems to have been neglected in these regions and adopted by the architects of the Great Mosque of Qairawān, 221-48 (836-63)⁶, and the Mosque of

=Granada, 1935); CRESWELL: *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. I, (pp. 5, 9, 60-62, 68-72, 101-104, 115-17, 239-41, 278, 285, etc. ...): HAUTECOEUR and WIET: *Les Mosquées du Caire*, vol. I, pp. 219-22; PAUTY: *L'Evolution du despositive*, (Bull. Etudes Orient. t. II, p. 91).

(¹) CRESWELL: *M.A. Eg.*, I, Pls. 7 a-c, 8 a-b.

(²) FARID SEĀFI: *Ornaments and Styles of Sāmārrā*, (Bull. Of the Faculty of Arts, Fu'ūd I Univ., vol. XIII, Pt. II-Dec. 1951-pp. 1-39 with 35 figures drawn by the author and 13 plates. In Arabic).

(³) Loc. cit. pp. 30-32; CRESWELL, op. cit. Pl. 3 c.

(⁴) CRESWELL, *E.M.A.*, I, pp. III-14, Figs. 57, 66.

(⁵) Ibid. pp. 337-39, Figs. 403, 411-12, Pl. 56 c-d.

(⁶) Idem. II, Fig. 180. The presence of the transept in the Great Mosque of Qairawān may appear at the first glance to be doubtful, owing to the=

Qarawīyyīn, in Fās, 245 and 345 (859 and 956)¹. It is more probable that it came to Egypt from North Africa rather than from Syria.

The other two features must have existed once:—

(a) The dome over the mihrāb, (b) The squinches carrying it.

(a) The existing dome is the work of Sulṭān al-Ghawrī, 900-22 (1501-16)². An original one must have existed once in the same place. This can be easily confirmed by the columns added at the end of the transept when meeting the bay close to the Qibla wall, so as to carry three arches that form with the wall above the mihrāb a true square in plan³, which obviously must have been intended to be covered by a dome.

(b) The squinches under the dome must also have existed originally, being the most likely type of transition, which was extensively used in nearly all Fāṭimid monuments with the exception of the Fortifications of Cairo, erected by Badr al-Gamālī, where the spherical triangle pendentives are used throughout.

The earliest squinches in Islām appeared in Sāmarrā in the Bāb al-ʿĀmma, 221 (836)⁴, but must have come to Egypt through Maghrib, as many examples exist there in a period that falls between those of ʿIrāq and the earliest examples in Egypt, *e.g.* in the Mosque of Sūsa, 236 (850-51)⁵, where the squinches are hidden behind a flat ceiling,

=design of the arcades in sanctuary. They are arranged perpendicular to the Qibla wall, with the central aisle wider than the rest, a practice quite usual in the mosques of North Africa and Spain. But in the Great Mosque of Qairawān, we notice that there is an aisle which runs parallel close to the Qibla wall, formed by an arcade, against which the series of aisles perpendicular to the Qibla wall, stop. There is also an intermediate arcade that runs parallel to the same wall and cuts across all the perpendicular aisles, except the central wider one, which is thus more accentuated and receives more importance than the other aisles, and I do not hesitate to call it a transept.

(¹) *Idem.* M.A. Eg. I, p. 62, Fig. 22.

(²) *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.

(³) *Ibid.* Figs. 20-21.

(⁴) *Idem.* E.M.A., II, Pl. 51 c.

(⁵) *Ibid.* pp. 250-51, 367, Pl. 61 a-b.

but the brackets carrying the columns of the squinches are visible; also in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān, 248 (862-3)¹, and in the Great Mosque of Tūnis, 250 (864)².

IV (X) cent. ury. (Late) ... MIHRĀB OF ASH-SHABĪH (so-called)

The remains of a mihrāb may be observed immediately to the west of the Mausoleum of Yaḥyā ash-Shabīh in a line with its back wall. The fluted head of the mihrāb is visible but the rest is below the ground level. The mihrāb once had some stucco ornament which have disappeared, but fortunately, a cast was taken in 1903 and is still preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art³. A photograph of the original was published by Strzygowsky⁴. The stucco decoration were considered as Ṭūlūnid by Franz⁵, but Flury⁶ was of the opinion that it bears witness that the mihrāb is earlier than the foundation of the Azhar Mosque and it is possible to attribute it to the middle of the Xth century A.D. He refused to think of an earlier date, for the narrow band of inscription betrays a developed type of Kufic lettering. He was also quite aware of the developed stem which played a prominent part in Fāṭimid decoration. He pointed to the mihrāb of the ruined Mosque of Khargird⁷, which shows a similar combination of motives of the linear style, the decorative steep-cut style and the vine-leaf ornamentation, also the developed double stems associated with half-palmettes and vine-leaves⁸. He raised a question: whether our mihrāb is to be regarded as an Egyptian creation, or as an imitation of a foreign model⁹, but could not answer it.

(¹) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 16, E.M.A., II, Figs. 235-37, Pls. 84-85.

(²) E.M.A., II, pp. 323-24, Fig. 243, Pl. 92b.

(³) Idem. M.A. Eg. I, Pls. 17, 24-26, etc.

(⁴) Asiens Bildende Kunst, Abb. 496.

(⁵) FARID SHĀFI'Ī: Ornaments and styles of Sāmārra, pp. 30-32, Pl. 10; CRESWELL, M.A. Eg. I, Pl. 3 c. 114 c.

(⁶) Franz: Kairo, p. 134.

(⁷) In CRESWELL: M.A. Eg. I, pp. 15-18 and Figs.

(⁸) Ibid. p. 18.

(⁹) Ibid. p. 18.

The double stem, although well known in Byzantine art, yet it was absolutely rare in the ornament of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid styles in Egypt, while in Islamic West, it was widely used and can be seen in many examples from Spain and North Africa. It exists in the ornament in the interior of the dome above the mihrāb of the Mosque of Qairawān, 248 (862-3)¹, in the Mosque of the Three Doors, 252 (866)², at Madinat az-Zahrā', 325-52 (936-62)³, in a window in the Church of Tarragone, 349 (960)⁴, in the Great Mosque of Cordova, 350-5: (961-6)⁵, in an ivory casket in the Church of Zamora, dated 353 (964)⁶, a marble basin in Morocco, dated 398 (1008)⁷, an ivory casket dated 441 (1049-50)⁸, and many other examples.

We have seen that it appeared in a firm date for the first time in Egypt in the Mosque of al-Azhar (above p. 1), and the next dated example is found in the Mosque of al-Hākim (below, p. 6). In other words, this feature did not appear before the Fāṭimid invasion of Egypt.

The presence of the double stem in our mihrāb (Fig. 1), associated with other Ṭūlūnid elements, showing a more developed stage than those in al-Azhar, makes me attribute the mihrāb to a date later than the Azhar Mosque and earlier than the Mosque of al-Hākim, i.e. in the last quarter of the Xth century, when local traditions were combined with West Islamic influence, and which appears to me to be a sound answer to the question of Flury.



FIG. 1

(¹) MARÇAIS, Manuel I, Figs. 38, 39; CRESWELL, E.M.A. II, Figs. 235-7, Pls. 84-85.

(²) MARÇAIS, op. cit. Fig. 42 d.; CRESWELL, op. cit. Pl. 93 b-c.

(³) BOSCO, Madinat az-Zahra ... Pls. XXVII-XXXIII, Figs. 18, etc.; MARÇAIS, op. cit. Fig. 152; 153. TERRASSE, L'Art Hisp. Maur., Pls. X-XIII.

(⁴) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 141; KÜHNEL, Maurische Kunst, Pl. 18.

(⁵) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 164-5; TERRASSE, Pls. XV, XXII, XXVII, Figs. 24-5. KÜHNEL, Pl. 15.

(⁶) TERRASSE, Pl. XXVI.

(⁷) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 155, c, 156; TERRASSE, Pl. XXXVII.

(⁸) TERRASSE, Pl. XL.

This monument exhibits several features of West Islamic origin:

(a) The double and triple stems in the ornament carved in stone in the monumental entrance and in the two minarets¹. We have seen this feature before in the Mosque of al-Azhar (above p. 2) and the Mihrāb of ash-Shabīb¹ (above p. 4).

(b) The transept and the dome over the mihrāb are still existing².

(c) The squinches under the dome, still exist³.

(d) The Kūfic frieze with a curved top edge is found under the dome⁴.

The prototype of this feature is found in the Mosque of Sūsa, 236 (850-51)⁵.

(e) The monumental entrance with niches in the flanks and fronts⁶.

It must have come from the monumental entrance of the Mosque of Mahdiyya⁷.

(f) The position of the two minarets at the two corners of the main façade⁸.

This feature must have come also from the Mosque of Mahdiyya⁹.

(g) The two cubes surrounding the minarets in the two corners of the main façade¹⁰.

(¹) M.A. Eg., I, Pls. 17, 24, 26, etc ...

(²) CRESSWELL, M.A. Eg., I, p. 81, Figs. 27, 32, 44, Pls. 18-22.

(³) Ibid. p. 81, Figs. 27, 32, Pls. 22 b, 44, 109 a, c, d.

(⁴) Ibid. Pl. 109 a, c.

(⁵) Idem. E.M.A., II, pp. 249 ff., Fig. 196, Pls. 60 a, 61 b.

(⁶) M.A. Eg., I, Figs. 32, 44, Pls. 15 b, 17.

(⁷) MANÇAIS, I, Fig. 55.; M.A. Eg., I, pp. 68, 72, 101.

(⁸) M.A. Eg., I, p. 102, Figs. 32, 44.

(⁹) Ibid. p. 9, Fig. I, Pl. I c.

(¹⁰) Ibid. Figs. 32, 44, Pl. 16 a.

I think that this shape must have been inspired by the square base of the Andalusian and North African type of minarets¹, which started with the minaret of the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān 105 (742)², the Manār of Sūsa-245 (859)³, the minaret of the Gr. Mosque of Cordova 340 (952)⁴ and the minaret of the Mosque of Sfax IV (X)⁵ etc., (see below under the item of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, the minaret).

(h) The moulded hood of a window in the Western Minaret⁶ (Fig. 2).

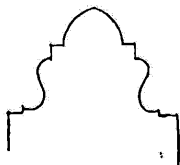


FIG. 2
Western Minaret of
the Mosque of Al-Hakim
(M.A.Eg. I, Pl. 29c)

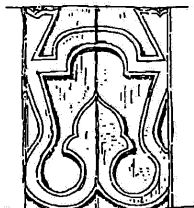


FIG. 3
W. Minaret of the
Mosque of Al-Hakim
(M.A.Eg. I, Pl. 32b)

The prototype is seen in the minaret of the Gr. Mosque of Sfax IV (X)⁵.

(i) The kite-shaped ornament near the top of the Western Minaret⁷ (Fig. 3), was considered by Marçais⁸ as the prototype of such ornament in Spain and N. Africa, and tried to prove it by pointing to the style of the coffered ceiling of the Great Mosque of Cordova, being more related to Fustāt rather than to 'Irāq, as was the view of Felix Hernandez.

(¹) FANID SHĀFI'ī : The Minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn. a View on its Architectural Composition (Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fu'ad I Univ., vol. XIV, May 1952, Arabic section, pp. 167-184, 6 figures and 13 plates).

(²) E.M.A., I, p. 328, Fig. 399, Pl. 53 d.

(³) Ibid. II, pp. 273-76, Fig. 220, Pl. 69 d.

(⁴) Ibid. p. 141, Fig. 146.

(⁵) M.A. Eg., I, p. 104, Fig. 45; Marçais, I, Fig. 91, pp. 113-14.

(⁶) M.A. Eg., I, Pl. 29 c.

(⁷) Ibid. Pl. 32 b.

(⁸) MARÇAIS, Échanges, pp. 95-97, Fig. I.

The above mentioned North African features, and the next to come in the Mosque of al-Hākīm, are so numerous that it is difficult to accept the theory of Marçais; in fact, it is quite possible to believe the contrary, especially in view of the West Islamic examples quoted by him and dated earlier than the Mosque of al-Hākīm. The examples are: the carved ornament in the Gr. Mosque of Cordova, 350-55/ (961-66)¹, and the ivory casket from Cordova dated 355 (966)².

Therefore, I consider this feature of the kite-shaped ornament to be one of the many others introduced to Egypt from North Africa.

(j) The rectangular flat niches with curved hoods³.

The origin of this feature started at 'Irāq in al-Ukhaidir⁴, but must have come to Egypt "via" North Africa⁵, as we see it in the niches under the dome of the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān, 248 (862-3)⁶.

(k) Square panels placed with their diagonals in vertical and horizontal positions⁷.

This feature started to be seen in 'Irāq, was carried to North Africa⁸, and then transferred eastwards to Egypt. North African examples are seen in the Gr. Mosque of Sūsa, 236 (850-51)⁹, and in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān¹⁰.

(l) The idea of making a Kufic frieze round the top of the square below the zone of transition is seen in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawan, the Gr. Mosque or Tūnis and the Mosque of Sūsa.

As for the idea of placing two domes in the back corners of the sanctuary, as in the Mosques of al-Azhar and al-Hākīm, it seems that

(1) MARÇAIS, Manuel, I, Fig. 127 b; Échanges, Fig. I.

(2) Échanges, Fig. I.

(3) M.A. Eg. I Pls. 17.

(4) E.M.A. II, Figs. 44-45, 49-50, 59-60 etc ..., Pls. 10-14, etc.

(5) FLURY, al-Hākīm ... Taf. xix; MARÇAIS, Échanges, pp. 100-101 also his Coupole ..., p. 14; TORRES BALBAS, loc. cit. p. 413.

(6) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 16, 33; CRESWELL, E.M.A. II, Pl. 55.

(7) M.A. Eg. I, Pls. 17, 23 a-b, 29 d. etc ..., FLURY, al-Hākīm ..., Taf. XIX.

(8) TORRES BALBAS, loc. cit. p. 413; Mosquées, I, p. 224.

(9) MARÇAIS, in CRESWELL, E.M.A. II, pp. 251-53, Fig. 200, Pl. 62 a. Échanges, p. 101.

(10) E.M.A., II, Pls. 53 A. 56.

it does not come from the west, as it does not appear there until the middle of the Vth (XII) century¹.

IV (X) (end). A FLAT MIHRĀB IN THE MOSQUE OF IBN TŪLŪN

This mihrāb is carved in stucco on one of the piers in the sanctuary². It was once believed to be Tūlūnid, but several motifs made me think of a Fāṭimid date for it, and discussed it in a special article³.

The ornament shows clearly an evolved stage if compared with the true Tūlūnid ornaments. The stems are elongated, as we have seen in the mihrāb of ash-Shabīh; also the Kūfic word in the central panel has its vertical shafts plaited, a characteristic of a comparatively later evolution of the Kūfic script⁴.

Two West-Islamic features can be seen in this Mihrāb:—

(a) The moulded hood within the tympanum of the arch (Fig. 4) is one of the same category as that found in the Western Minaret of the Mosque of al-Hākīm (above p. 7, Fig. 2).

Earlier examples exist in the Minaret of the Mosque of Sfax⁵, and in Qal'a of Banī Hammād IV (X)⁶. There is another example, carved in the marble dado on the left of the Mihrāb of the Mosque of Qairawān, which, if proved to be datable in the III (IX) century, will be the earliest existing in Islām⁷.

(b) The shafts of the Kūfic script are joined to form a symmetrical composition of a panel (Fig. 5). This reflects a Western

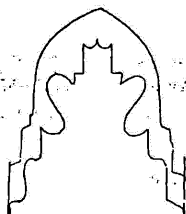


FIG. 4
Early Fatimid Mihrab
in the Mosque of
Ibn Tūlūn

(¹) M.A. Eg., I. pp. 60-61.

(²) E.M.A., II. pp. 349-50, Fig. 257 mihrāb marked (Mi). Pls. 101 a. 123 a.

(³) FARID SHĀRĪT: An Early Fāṭimid Mihrāb in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn. (Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Foudā I Univ., vol. xv. Pt. I-May 1953, pp. 67-81, 24 figures and 2 plates).

(⁴) Survey, vol. II. pp. 1761-65, Figs. 587, 607.

(⁵) M.A. Eg., I. Fig. 45, p. 104; MARÇAIS, I. pp. 113-14, Fig. 91.

(⁶) MARÇAIS, I. Fig. 80 b.

(⁷) Ibid. Fig. 36 E.

Islamic flavour well known in Maghreb, the earliest example of which is found in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān¹.

In view of the above features and the other evidence mentioned in my article, I was tempted to date this mihrāb in the early Fāṭimid period, and to consider it close in date to the Mihrāb of ash-Shabāh and the Mosque of al-Ḥākim.

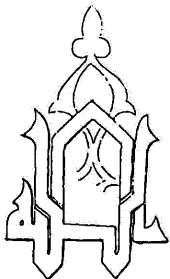


FIG. 5

Çirca 400, (1010) .. SABA' BANĀT

They contain the squinches under the domes¹.

411-27 (1021-36) .. ENTRANCE TO THE
ZIĀDA OF THE MOSQUE OF AL-ḤĀKIM

This edifice, known as the tomb of Abu'l-Khair al-Kulaibātī, is identified by Prof. Creswell as the entrance to the Ziāda of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, begun by the Khalif az-Zāhir, 411-27 (1021-36), and completed by as-Sultān as-Ṣāliḥ Nagm ad-Din, 637-47 (1240-49), and al-Mu'izz Aybak, 648-55 (1250-57)².

The form of the arches, and the arrangement of voussoirs of one and two blocks alternately, goes very well with an XIth century date, e.g. the Saba' Banāt, the Mosque of al-Guyūshī, and the Khadra ash-Sharifa³.

This is another example of the monumental entrance.

V (XI) .. MAUSOLEUMS IN THE CEMETERY OF ASWĀN

Several Maghribī features are seen in many of these mausoleums :—

(a) The ribbed domes⁴: The earliest examples exist in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān, 248 (862-63), and the next is in the Gr. Mosque of Sūsa, 250 (864)⁵.

(¹) I quoted many examples found in West Islām in my article "An early Fāṭimid Mihrāb ...", pp. 76-78, Figs. 17-20.

(²) M.A. Eg., I, Pl. 34.

(³) Ibid. pp. 115-17, Fig. 54, Pl. 36.

(⁴) Ibid. Pls. 43 b-d.

(⁵) E.M.A., II, Pl. 84 b.

(⁶) Ibid. Pl. 92 c.

(b) Many domes of these mausoleums have a pointed outline¹, most probably constructed neither like the usual type of two centres and two segments (Fig. 6), nor like the keel type of two centres, two segments and two straight lines (Fig. 7), but constructed from four centres and four segments (Fig. 8).

The prototype can be seen in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān².

(c) A great number of the domes in this cemetery rest on octagonal drums of a peculiar shape of exterior. The eight sides of the drums are concave in plan and the upper corners curve outwards like horns³.

The prototype of concave sides of drums (but without horns), occur in Maghreb⁴ in the Gr. Mosque of Sūsa, 236 (850-51)⁵ and in the Gr. Mosque of Qairawān⁶.

469-74 (1077-82) ... MINARET OF AL-MASHHAD AL-QIBLĪ, NEAR SHALLĀL.

The finial is an octagonal pavillion surmounted on an octagonal drum⁷ of the same peculiarity as those of the above-mentioned mausoleums of Aswān, *i.e.*, concave sides and top horns.

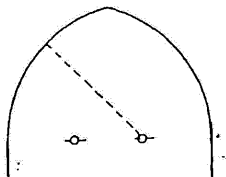


FIG. 6

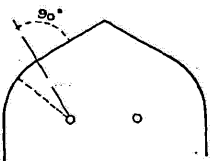


FIG. 7

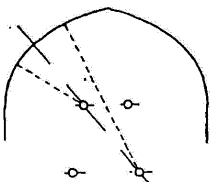


FIG. 8

(¹) M.A. Eg., I, Pls. 41 b, d, 43 a-c.

(²) E.M.A., II, Pl. 84 l.

(³) M.A. Eg., I, pp. 136-37, Fig. 69, Pls. 40-44.

(⁴) Ibid. p. 137.; E.M.A., II, p. 250. ft. n. 1.

(⁵) E.M.A., II, p. 250, Pl. 59 a-c.

(⁶) M.A. Eg., I, Fig. 73, Pls. 45 a-c. 122 c.

474 (1081-82) ... MINARET OF ESNA.

It has an octagonal drum with curved sides and top horns¹.

478 (1085) ... MOSQUE OF AL-GUYŪSHĪ.

(a) Squinches under dome².

(b) Kūfic frieze with top edge curved³.

(c) Four-centred outline of the dome⁴.

(d) The composition of the minaret⁵, the mass of which actually starts from the parapet of the façade of the Mosque, bears a striking resemblance to the composition of the earlier existing minarets in North Africa, *viz.* the Minaret of Qairawūn, 105-9 (724-7) or 248 (862-3)⁶, and the Minaret of the Great Mosque at Sfax, 370 (981)⁷.

The resemblance lies in the idea of the three main storeys: the first, the base, square in plan and height usually not more than twice the side of the square, the second, a recessed block surmounted on the base, and the third, a pavillion placed on top of the second storey, and covered with a dome. The upper two storeys in the Minaret of al-Guyūshī are actagonal, while they have a square plan in the Maghribī examples; but still, this difference does not effect the close resemblance in proportion and general character between the two minarets.

The importance of the Minaret of al-Guyūshī comes from being the oldest existing link in the course of evolution of the type of minarets of Egypt known as the "Mabkhara" type, which survived

(¹) *Ibid.*, Fig. 72. Pl. 123 b.

(²) *Ibid.*, Pl. 110 a.

(³) *Ibid.*, Pls. 110 a, 116 a.

(⁴) *Ibid.*, Pl. 110 b.

(⁵) *Ibid.*, Pls. 46, 123 c.

(⁶) E.M.A., I, p. 323 Fig. 399, Pl. 53 d.

(⁷) MARÇAIS, I, pp. 113-14, Fig. 91; M.A.Eg., I, Fig. 45.

until the second quarter of the XIVth. century A.D. Such a type, in my opinion, is more related in composition and proportion to the Maghribī rather than to the Syrian traditions¹, (see below under the item of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the minaret).

480-85 (1087-92) ... THE FĀTIMID FORTIFICATIONS OF CAIRO.

(a) The staircases in the adjoining towers of Bāb an-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ, have rising tunnel vaults². My attention was attracted by the fact that the nearest datable example in Islām is found in the upper part of the Manār of Sūsa, 245 (859)³.

(b) On the inside flanks of the projecting towers of Bāb Zuwayla, are two panels with cusped hoods, the top ones of which have small lobes⁴. These cusped hoods bear a great resemblance to the lobed arches in the great Mosque of Cordova, 350-55 (961-66)⁵, in the windows in the Mosque of Bāb Mardum in Toledo, 370 (980)⁶, also the lobed arches in a marble basin dated 377 (987)⁷.

(c) The corrugated edge of the arch of Bāb al-Futūḥ, is thought to be inspired from the lobed arches of Maghreb and Spain⁸.

(d) Columns used as bonds in the curtain walls and gateways looking as rounded stone discs placed at intervals⁹.

(¹) This question is discussed in detail in my article: "The Minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn", pp. 171-74.

(²) M.A.Eg., I, pp. 172-3, 189-90, 54 c.

(³) CRESWELL, in his E.M.A., II, p. 274, mentions that a part in the staircase in the Manār of Sūsa is covered by a rising tunnel-vault. I pointed this remark to him, but he answered that he was not certain that the vault was original and promised to verify this question when possible.

(⁴) Mosquées, II, Pl. 33; M.A.Eg., I, Pl. 72 c-d.

(⁵) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 126, 146.

(⁶) KÜHNEL, Maur. Kunst, Pl. 16; Zakī M. Ḥasan: Funūn al-Islām, Fig. 518.

(⁷) MARÇAIS, I, p. 238, Fig. 138.

(⁸) Mosquées, I, pp. 237-38.

(⁹) M.A. Eg., I, pp. 167-68, 177, 183 etc ... Figs. 82, 99, Pls. 49 b, 50, 52-55, 57-59, 72, etc. ...

The oldest example, according to Muqad-lasī, existed once in Akkā harbour in the time of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭālūn⁽¹⁾, but the oldest existing one is found in Maḥdiyya Harbour⁽²⁾.

It seems, therefore, that this feature may be considered among those that started in the East, were transferred to the West, and carried back to Egypt.

500-10 (1100-10)³ ... MASHHAD AT ASWĀN.

The dome is of the four centred type⁽⁴⁾.

500-20 (1100-25)⁵ ... MAUSOLEUM OF SHAIKH YŪNUS.

(a) The four-centred dome⁶.

(b) The curious moulding in the hood of the window in the Western Minaret of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim is adopted here⁶ occupying the whole height of the window. Such an evolution must have been a local one.

q 500 (1100) ...⁷ THE MAUSOLEUM OF IKHWAT YŪSUF.

(a) The squinches carrying the dome⁸.

(b) The ornamental friezes on top of the horizontal bands of Kūfic inscriptions have their upper edges turned outwards⁹. This must be an evolution adopted here from the Kūfic frieze with a curved top edge we have seen before (p. 6), in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim.

(1) M.A.Eg., I, pp. 5, 210; E.M.A. II, pp. 359-60.

(2) M.A.Eg., I, pp. 5, 210, Pl. 2 d.

(3) Ibid., pp. 224, 291.

(4) Ibid., Pls. 78 a.e. 110 e.

(5) Ibid., pp. 232-34, 291.

(6) Ibid., Fig. 132, Pls. 112 a-b.

(7) Ibid., pp. 234-236.

(8) Ibid., Pl. 112 c.

(9) Ibid., Pls. 81 b, 118 a.

515-25 (1120-30) ... THE MAUSOLEUM AT QŪṢ¹. (on the east side of the Mosque)

(a) The outline of the dome is four-centred².

(b) The zone of transition is surmounted by a drum which carries the dome. This drum has sixteen sides, all concave and their top corners leaning forward and projecting like horns³.

516 (1122)⁴ ... THE MAUSOLEUM OF UMM KULTHŪM.

(a) The edge of the arch of the mihrāb is lobed and composed of half circles and triangles alternately, representing the ends of radiating grooves⁵. Marçais tackled the problem of lobed arches⁶ and pointed to its first appearance in Islām in the gateway of Raqqa, 155 (772)⁷. Other examples must be added here: in al-Ukhaiḍir, q 159 (776)⁸, and in the Mosque of 'Amr, 212/827, in the hoods of the small niches between the windows⁹ and in similar windows in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn 263-65 (876-79)¹⁰. A developed example from the Qal'a of Banī Hammād¹¹ comes between those 'Irāqī and 'Abbāsīd examples and the typical Fāṭimid radiating hoods of mihrābs which became the common type during that period and started with the mihrāb of Umm Kulthūm. In fact, Maghreb possesses the connecting links of the evolution of that feature, as noticed in the great Mosque of Qairawān, 248 (862-63)¹², and in Sedrāta, III (IX) century¹³, then the example from the Qal'a of Banī Hammād¹⁴.

(¹) M.A. Eg., I, pp. 236-38.

(²) Ibid., Pl. 112 f.

(³) Ibid., pp. 239-41.

(⁴) Ibid., Fig. 135, Pls. 82 b, 118 b.

(⁵) MARÇAIS, pp. 148-51.

(⁶) E.M.A., II, Pl. 2 c.

(⁷) Ibid., Figs. 41, 44, 59, Pls. 10 c, 19 b.

(⁸) Ibid., Pl. 38 a-b.

(⁹) Ibid., Pl. 98 a-b.

(¹⁰) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 72.

(¹¹) Ibid., Figs. 16, 38.

(¹²) Ibid., Fig. 46.

It can be said, therefore, that the use of the radiating hood in the Fāṭimid period was first inspired by Maghribī influences.

(b) The geometrical pattern in the concave surface of the mihrāb of Umm Kulthūm reflects another influence from Maghreb. The pattern is quite similar to that in glass mosaics in the Qal'a of Banī Hammūd¹.

519 (1125). THE MOSQUE OF AL-AQMAR².

(a) The monumental entrance³.

(b) The radiating hoods with lobed arches in the façade⁴.

(c) The hood above the entrance doorway is concave and placed above the rectangular niche of the entrance⁵.

(d) The double stems in the decoration⁶.

(e) The squares placed diagonally.

520 (1125) ... THE MAUSOLEUM OF 'ĀTIKA⁷.

The dome is ribbed both in the exterior and the interior⁸.

520-27 (1125-33) ... THE MAUSOLEUM OF SAYYEDA RUQAYYA⁹.

(a) The dome is ribbed on both sides¹⁰.

(b) The hoods of the windows in the octagonal drum are moulded¹¹. We have met with this feature before in the Mosque of al-Hākim

(¹) MANṢAṢ. I, Figs. 70, 101; the geometrical pattern in the last figure is the same as that in the Mihrab of Umm-Kulthūm.

(²) M.A. Eg. I, pp. 241-46.

(³) Ibid., Pl. 82 c.

(⁴) Ibid., Pls. 82 c, 83 c.

(⁵) Ibid., Pl. 83 a-d.

(⁶) Ibid., pp. 228-31.

(⁷) Ibid., Pls. 80 a, III d-e.

(⁸) Ibid., pp. 247-53.

(⁹) Ibid., Pls. 86 a,c, 87 a, 113 a-b.

(¹⁰) Ibid., Pls. 86 c, 113 b.

(above p. 7), also in the Mausoleum of Shaikh Yūnus (p. 14) which showed a greatly evolved shape. Another evolved example is seen in the the Bāb Zuwāila (p. 13), but I am inclined to consider the moulded hoods in Sayyida Ruqayya as directly connected with the examples of the Qal'a of Banī Hammād, V (XI) cent.¹ and not an evolution from the former examples in Egypt.

520-45 (1125-50) ... THE MAUSOLEUM OF AL-ḤAṢAWĀTĪ².

- (a) The Kūfic frieze has a curved top edge³.
- (b) The squinches under the dome⁴.

524-44 (1130-49) ... THE MOSQUE OF AL-AZHAR⁵.

- (a) The squinches under the dome of al-Ḥāfīz⁶.
- (b) The double stems in the floral decoration⁷.
- (c) The dome at the North-Western end of the transept⁸.

This idea is a Fātimid importation from North Africa⁹, where we see some examples, e.g. The Qubbāt Bāb al-Bahū, 261-89 (875-902) in the Great Mosque of Qairawān¹⁰; a dome in the Great Mosque of Tūnis, added between 301 (913) and 391 (1001)¹¹; it is said also that a dome was added in a similar position at the North end of the central aisle of the Mosque of Qarawiyyīn at Fās in 388 (998)¹².

(¹) MAḤṢAB, I, Fig. 80.

(²) M.A.Eg., I, pp. 259-60.

(³) Ib., Pl. 120 b.

(⁴) Ib., Pl. 113 e.

(⁵) Ib., pp. 254-57.

(⁶) Ib., 91 b, 113 c.

(⁷) Ib., Pl. 90 a.

(⁸) M.A.Eg., I, Pl. 113 d.

(⁹) Ibid., p. 257.

(¹⁰) E.M.A., II, p. 326, Pl. 49 a-b.

(¹¹) Ibid., p. 324, Pl. 91 b.

(¹²) Al-Jazna'i, Zahrat al-Ās, p. 40-41. Bel's Trans., 96-97. See M.A.Eg., I, p. 257, ft. n. 3.

(d) The moulded hoods of the six stucco panels in the interior of the above mentioned dome¹.

ç 549 (1154)² ... THE BAB AL-AKHDAR, close to the Mosque of Sayyednā al-Ḥusain.

The moulded hood of the panel above the entrance³.

550 (1160) ... THE MOSQUE OF AṢ-ṢĀLIḤ ṬALĀI⁴.

(a) The "Portico in Antis"⁵ which is a solitary example in Egypt⁶.

The prototype of this feature is found in the Mosque of Bū Fatāta, 223-26 (838-41)⁷, at Tūnis.

(b) There are perforated windows in the Qibla wall and bands of Kūfic inscriptions along the walls and round the arches⁸, also a perforated window in the Museum of Islamic Art, No. 2388, which came from the same mosque⁹, all of which contain floral decoration among them we find many split-palmettes with eyes between ribs, a favourite motive in North Africa and Spain, where it was born and where it took its successive stages of evolution. We can see several examples of this feature in the ornament carved in the miḥrāb of the Great Mosque of Cordova, 350-55 (961-66)¹⁰, in a marble basin at Marrākesh, d. 393 (1008)¹¹, originally from Cordova; also in the Great

(¹) M.A.Eg., I, Pl. 91 a.

(²) Ibid., pp. 271-273.

(³) Ibid., Pl. 96 d.

(⁴) Ibid., pp. 275-288.

(⁵) Ibid., pp. 277-78, Fig. 172, Pl. 99 a.

(⁶) Ibid., p. 278, E.M.A., II, p. 248.

(⁷) E.M.A., II, pp. 246-48, Figs. 195-96, Pl. 58 d.

(⁸) M.A.Eg., I, Pls. 105-8.

(⁹) Ibid. Pl. 100 a.

(¹⁰) MAŢÇAIS, I, Fig. 156; TERRASSE, L'Art H.M., Pl. XXXVII; GALOTTI, Hesperis, III, (1923), pp. 361-21, 4 plates.

(¹¹) MAŢÇAIS, I, Figs. 154, 155 B.B'; TERRASSE, L'Art H.M., Pl. XXVII.

Fig.9



Fig.10



Fig. 11



Fig.12



Fig.13



Fig.14



Fig.15



Fig.16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig.21

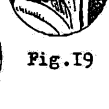


Fig.19



Fig.20



Fig.22

Fig. 9. Church of St. Eulalie; Fig. 10, Gr. Mosque of Cordova, 350-55 (961-966); Fig. 11, Marble Basin in Marrakesh, 398 (1008); Figs. 12-16 Tlemcen, Gr. Mosque, 531 (1136); Fig. 17-18, Cairo, Mosque of as-Šālih Ṭalāi', 535 (1160); Fig. 19, Toledo, Church of St. Maria la Blanca, c. 595 (1200); Fig. 20, Cairo, Maus. Of Imām ash-Shāfi', 608 (1211); Fig. 21, Cairo, Madrasa al-Kāmilīyya, 622 (1225); Fig. 22. Alhambra, Mid. viii (xiv).

Mosque of Tlemcen, 530 (1153)¹, and in the Great Mosque of Tinmal, 448 (1153)². Some stages of the evolution of this feature are shown in Figs. 9-22 which explain how it evolved from the twists and curls of the lobes of the acanthus leaves. Marçais is quite right in suggesting that West Islamic craftsmen were responsible for the above works in the Mosque of Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalūj³.

(c) The split stems are also found among the floral decoration in the mosque⁴.

(d) The moulded hoods appear also in this mosque, crowning some panels and openings in the tympanums over the windows, placed at the corners of the main façade and the flanking façades⁵.

(¹) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 232, 233, 242, 244. TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Figs. 41-43.

(²) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 205, ;

(³) Échanges, p. 101.

(⁴) M.A.Eg., I, Pl. 100 a, c-d.

(⁵) Ibid. Fig. 167.

608 (1211) ... THE MAUSOLEUM OF AL-IMĀM ASH-SHĀFI'Ī¹.

This monument contains many ornament, mainly floral, of undoubted West Islamic origin. The decoration is carved in stucco in the spandrels and panels in the façades of the transition zone and in the balustrades above the square part of the building. They are here described and analysed as follows :

(a) The bands surrounding the façades and framing the arches and sides of the flat niches, are formed by undulating split-palmettes, each growing one out of the other and filling the spaces in between (Fig. 23). Only little portions of these bands can be taken as original: some in the N.E.² chamfer (Pl. 1a), others in the S.E. (Pl. 1b), also in the S.W. one (Pl. 2a), the rest are restoration.

The split-palmettes exhibit the hollowed discs between the ribs (Fig. 23), a feature of undoubted West Islamic origin as we have seen before (above pp. 18-20).

(b) Each chamfer in the four corners has a group of two spandrels plus one spandrel at each end of each face, making a total of four spandrels in each corner. All these spandrels contain floral decoration of the same West Islamic origin. Fortunately I found photographs³ taken before



FIG. 23

(¹) CRESWELL, *Chronology*, pp 74-75.

(²) The directions of the façades in relation to the cardinal points, verified on site by means of the compass are as follows :

The wall containing the three mihrābs is exactly the Southern one and not the South-Eastern as it should be to give the true direction towards the Ka'ba. Consequently, the opposite wall is the northern, the door leading from the Mosque to the mausoleum is in the Eastern wall and the opposite one is the Western.

(³) In the Library of the Museum of Islamic Art, there are albums of photographs of Islamic monuments in Egypt, and written on the first page that they were registered in A.D. 1897.

In album No. I., some photographs of the Mausoleum of al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī (Nos. 55-6, 61, Pls. 27 and 30), show the location of the original decoration of the façades, also in album No. 2 (Nos. 76-7, 78, Pls. 35-36).

the enormous restoration of the façade carried out by the Comité. These photographs show the original parts of the panels and the spandrels, also the remains of the original decoration and elements, on the basis of which the remaining parts were restored.

There are several types of designs for these spandrels :

1. A pattern repeated in the four spandrels of the N.W. chamfer (Pl. 2*b*), and in the left and right spandrels of the N.E. one (Pl. 1*a*). It seems that this pattern was taken from some remains in the East end of the North façade (Pl. 1*a*).

2. Another pattern, almost similar to the previous one, is used in the four spandrels of the South-East corner (Pl. 1*b*). The similarity lies in the composition, arrangement and elements, but the latter show some difference in proportion.

The original pattern can be clearly seen in the left spandrel of the South-East corner (Pl. 1*b*).

3. A solitary type appears in the right hand spandrel in the N.E. corner only (Pl. 1*a*), which I believe to be original. One important point must be noted : the design is not of the usual symmetrical type.

4. Another solitary type is seen in the left hand spandrel in the same corner, *i.e.* the N.E., which is different from all others, as it contains two words in Kūfic : "al-'izza Lillāh", the meaning of which is : (Glory to God). The same sentence is found, as will be seen later, in the balustrade posts. The spandrel in question, has a duplicate placed symmetrically on the other side of the axis of the opening in the middle of the chamfer, but the Kūfic words are placed reversed in the latter spandrel so as to make the symmetry complete. It is to be noted that the "Zū" is wrongly written "Dhāl", exactly as in the balustrade posts, (below p. 27 and Pl. 5*a*). I believe also that this type is original.

5. A type in the spandrel at the west end of the South façade, (Pl. 2*a*).

6. A type in the right spandrel of the South-Eastern chamfer, (Pl. 1*b*).

7. A type in the South end of the West façade (Pl. 2a).

8. A type in the left spandrel of the South-Eastern chamber, (Pl. 1b).

The four last types, as far as I think, are either original or at least restored after originals that existed once in the same places. It is to be noted that the types (5) and (7) have asymmetrical designs.

All these patterns are formed as usual, by undulating or twisting stems giving birth to leaves which fill the spaces.

It is interesting to notice that the leaves, except in types (3) and (4), are nearly of one kind, viz., a bud-shaped leaf with a straight base, (Fig. 24). The same kind of leaf is also found in the panel of the balustrade post (Pl. 4), but the filling and the small ornamental particles contained in the elements of the spandrels are different, being composed of round holes, crescent shapes, transversal and longitudinal ridges and panels (Fig. 24).

Prototypes of the filling again exist in West Islām : in the Great Mosque of Tlemcen, 530 (1135)¹, the Great Mosque of the Kutubiyya 541-59 (1146-63)², the Great Mosque of Tinmal, 548 (1153-54)³, and the Mosque of Tūzur, 590 (1194)⁴.

The prototypes of the bud-shaped leaf exist also in Maghribī decoration from the Almohad period⁵.



FIG. 24
(Pls. 1b, 2)



FIG. 25
(Pl. 5a)

(¹) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 232, 242.

(²) Ibid., Fig. 200; TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pl. LXX.

(³) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 205-7, 251; TERRASSE, *op. cit.*, fig. 78, Pls. LXIII-LXIV.

(⁴) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 233 C, 236, 243.

(⁵) RICARD, Fig. 407; TERRASSE, *L'art H.M.* Figs. 45, 81. Curiously enough that particular shape of leaf with a straight base became more frequently used in West Islām from the end of the thirteenth century, (MARÇAIS, II, Figs. 255, 353-54; TERRASSE and HEINANT, *Les arts decor. au Maroc*, Figs. 12 c. 24 (above); RICARD : *Pour Comprendre ...* Figs. 207-8, 411).

In type (3) the bud leaf is joined by a split-palmette. The filling is sometimes composed of small plant elements, in others of indentations and in some cases both are combined, but mostly they have become decayed and confused.

The straight-base of the bud leaf in this type of pattern is slightly rounded at the corners and the filling inside is arranged sepal-fashion as in calices (Pl. 1*a*), but the outline remains bud-shaped (Fig. 26).



FIG. 26
(Pl. 1*a*)

Type (4) contains elements of one kind: the split palmette, which fill the spaces round the symmetrically placed sentence (Glory to God), in such a way that recalls "le décor floral compact", which is a West Islamic feature, employed there since VI (XIIth) century¹. The split-palmettes contain ribs and empty spaces alternately, which is another Maghribi feature discussed before (above pp. 13-20). Such elements exist in other panels as we shall see later.

A round panel is placed in the centre of the hood above the door leading to the roof in the S.E. chamfer (Pl. 1*b*) which contain plant elements arranged symmetrically. One of them (Fig. 27) looks rather doubtful. It has an outline resembling a winged-leaf, a shape which seems to be out of place among the other elements of Maghribi taste. It is quite probable that it was introduced here during the recent restoration.



FIG. 27
(Pl. 1*b*)

Two other roundels in the N.E. chamfer are filled with compact elements. A calyx (Fig. 28) looks very close to a bud. The two roundels are apparently original.

In the same chamfer are some rectangular panels. One of the two smaller ones is filled with elements similar to those in spandrel type (3), the elements in the other resemble those in the bands but are symmetrically arranged.

(¹) MALÇAIS, pp. 382, 408, Figs. 236-37.

West Islamic influence is represented by the discs alternating with ribs (Figs. 9-22).

Two other longer panels are placed below the two smaller ones mentioned above, and one of the formers still retains fragments of the original ornament of the same West Islamic taste, and which served as a basis for the restoration of the rest, and therefore, we must be very careful when dealing with the originality of the rest of the ornament.



FIG. 28
(Pl. 1a)

In all the hoods of the decorated panels we notice that they are carried on each side by small graceful engaged columns, the capitals of which are all of one type, of undoubted West Islamic origin (Pls. 1, 2).

PANELS IN THE BALUSTRADE POSTS.

The parapet above the square part of the building is divided in each face into four long horizontal panels by vertical posts, one at each corner and three in between. Some of the posts are decorated with slightly sunken panels filled with floral elements and some are filled with geometrical patterns, while the long horizontal panels of the parapet are all decorated with very deeply carved geometrical designs.

A number of the posts has been restored, but others which are the most important of all, still retain the greater part of their original decoration. Photographs of the Mausoleum of al-Imām ash-Shāfiʿī, taken before A.D. 1897 (Above, p. 21, ft. n. 3), show that the original panels are those in the posts in the North façade, viz., panel "A" (Pl. 3) placed at the two corners, panel "B" (Pl. 4) placed on either side of the central panel "C" (Pl. 5a). One more in the S.E. corner has a geometrical pattern which possibly served as a model for the other

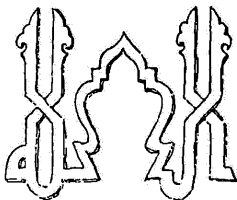


FIG. 29

geometrical posts in the N.W. and the N.E. corner posts, which do not concern us here.

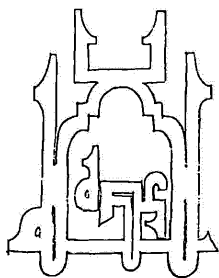


FIG. 30

It is interesting to notice that the sentence is read from below upwards.

This panel represents some important features:

The idea of forming a symmetrical pattern from Kufic letters is a product of West Islām (Figs. 29-31). The top ends of the shafts form two frames, both in our panel of the lobed arch type, which is another feature from the West¹.

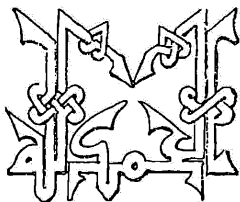


FIG. 31

The presence of a pointed oval eye placed at the meeting of the two lobes of each split-palmette (Fig. 32) is the result of the meeting of the transversal curves of the veining. Analogous forms are seen in Tlemcen (Fig. 12) and in other examples from the West², which are all derived from the acanthus eyes³ (Fig. 9).

(¹) Qal'a of Banī Hammād, v (xi), (MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 80 a, b), MARÇAIS discussed this feature in his 2nd volume, p. 633.

(²) In the Great Mosque of Cordova, 350-55 (961-66) (MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 155 a, b') In the Great Mosque of Tlemcen (Ibid. Fig. 242 etc.).

(³) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 155 a, a'.

Panel "B" (Pl. 4) contain other elements of Maghribī and Andalusian origins, viz. the bud-shaped leaves with straight bases (Fig. 33) (above p. 22); veining alternating with hollowed discs (Figs. 33-34) or with empty spaces (Fig. 35); and lastly the stem that penetrates through the base (Fig. 33)¹.



FIG. 32
(Pl. 3)



FIG. 33
(Pl. 4)



FIG. 34
(Pl. 4)



FIG. 35
(Pl. 5a)

The double stem reached Egypt in the Fāṭimid period apparently from the West. (Above pp. 2, 4, 6).

The calyx with three sepals is of no particular origin or importance.

This panel, therefore, represents a mixture of local and Maghribī features.

Post "C" (Pl. 5a) is placed in the axis of the North façade. The decorative pattern exhibits the same idea as the corner panels, i.e. a mixture of Kūfic and floral decorations.

The Kūfic words are more complicated than the others, being composed of two words: one is either "Allāh" or "lillāh", the other word is meaningless unless some sort of a fault is assumed in the representation of one of the letters (Fig. 36) which is usually read "Dūl" or "Dhāl", but if the letter is assumed to be a "Zāy" the meaning at once becomes clear, and the word is easily read: al-'izza, i.e. Glory, and the whole sentence becomes: "al-'izza lillāh" which means (Glory to God), but must be read from bottom to top in the same way as in the above mentioned sentence: "Allāh lahu al-mulk".



FIG. 36
(Pl. 5a)

(¹) TREKASSER, and HEINAGT: L'Art Decor. au Maroc, Figs. 18 a, 16, Pl. XXIII.

The prototype of the decorative pattern formed by the same words is found in the gateway of Qaṣba Oudaia at Rabāṭ, 591 (1195)¹, (Fig. 30), only with a slight difference in writing. Curiously enough, the meaning in the Mausoleum of Al-Imām Ash-Shāfi'ī can be easily arrived at if that fault in writing is assumed, but in the case of the Maghribī example, it looks difficult to decipher without the help of its derivative in Egypt. An example painted in the Minaret of the Kutubiyya² is formed only of one word "al-'izza" correctly written, also another in the same minaret³ is formed of two words, one is "lillāh" but the other is undecipherable.

The floral elements in this panel are chiefly of one kind: the split-palmette (Fig. 32), filled with that well known Maghribī feature: alternate ribs and wide spaces. A bud-shaped element is placed at the two corners filled with equilateral triangles. That kind of triangles is a native of Andalus and Maghreb as seen in the Great Mosque of Cordova, 350-55 (961-66)⁴.



FIG. 37
(Pl. 5a)

Another West Islamic feature is the lobed arch with a little spiral at the top of each lobe (Fig. 37). The prototypes can be seen in the arches of the Mosque of al-Kutubiyya, 541-58 (1146-63)⁵, in the Mosque of Tinmal, 548 (1153-4)⁶, and in the gateway of Qaṣba Oudaia at Rabāṭ, 591 (1195)⁷.

Thus, the analysis of the decoration in the façades of the Mausoleum of al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, mainly Kūfic and floral carved in stucco, suggests that fresh and strong influences from Maghreb and Andalus had arrived in Egypt at the time of the complete rebuilding of that Mausoleum in 608 (1121); and I believe that Muslim craftsmen from the West took share and co-operated with local craftsmen in

(¹) RICARD, *op. cit.* Fig. 403, p. 182; MARÇAIS, I, p. 354 etc. Figs. 220-21; TERRASSE, L'Art. H. M., Pl. LIX.

(²) BASSET and TERRASSE, *Hesperis*, V (1925), Fig. 46 c.

(³) *Ibid.* Fig. 46 d.

(⁴) TERRASSE, L'Art H. M., Pl. XXII.

(⁵) TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pl. LXV; MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 200.

(⁶) TERRASSE, *op. cit.*, Fig. 57, Pls. LXII-LXIV.

(⁷) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 201.

adorning that building, considered sacred by the Muslims, introducing some of their original ornamental native features and elements.

622 (1225) ... MADRASA AL-KĀMILIYYA.

Some stucco bands of Kūfic inscriptions and floral ornament in the background were taken from the remains and are now kept in the Museum of Islamic Art. (Nos. 82-86, 1403-1405) (Pl. 6).

Andalusian and Maghribī features are quite clear, e.g.,

(a) The lobed-arches, which can be clearly seen in the remains of the stucco grilles of the windows, (Pl. 5b).

A very close prototype exists in the Gateway of the Qasba of Oudaya, 591 (1195)¹, in Rabāt, in the Bāb ar-Ruāḥ, VI (XII)² and in the Bab Aganaou at Marrākesh, c. 1200 A.D.³.

(b) The straight-base which can be seen in some elements (Fig. 39).

(c) The well known ribs alternating with plain spaces, (Figs. 38-39).

It is quite clear that these features must have appeared with the arrival of a fresh wave of influence from West Islām, brought by some Andalusian or North African craftsmen.

634 (1237) ... THE MINARET ABOVE BĀB AL-AKHḌAR, close to the Mosque of Sayyednā al-Ḥusain.

In the Southern face of the square part of the minaret, there are three panels (Pls. 7-9) filled with stucco ornament mainly floral,



FIG. 38
(Pl. 6)



FIG. 39
(Pl. 6)

(¹) MARÇAIS, *op. cit.*, Figs. 220-21; TERRASSE: L'Art H.M., Pl. LIX.

(²) MARÇAIS, *op. cit.*, Fig. 219; TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pl. LVIII.

(³) MARÇAIS, *op. cit.*, Fig. 223; TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pl. LVII.

which produced some calyx forms in my collection (Figs. 40-41). The West Islamic characteristics are quite distinct, *e.g.*

- (a) The floral elements.
- (b) The moulded hoods.
- (c) The symmetrical Kūfic patterns.
- (d) The lobed panels.



FIG. 40



FIG. 41

64) (1242-43) ... MAUSOLEUM OF THE 'ABBĀSID KHALIFS.

(a) The dome is of the pointed and four centred type¹.

(b) In the spandrels above the entrance doorway, we see the well known feature of the symmetrical pattern formed by the shafts of the Kūfic inscriptions, composed of one word "al-yumn" correctly placed on the right side of the axis and reversed on the other, and the shafts of the "lāms" joined to form a lobed arch (Pl. 10)².

(c) The double stems can be detected among the floral ornament³.

(d) Many of the split-palmettes are filled with that West Islamic feature: the ribs alternating with plain spaces (Pl. 10).

(e) The curved hood above the rectangular niche of the entrance doorway is again another West Islamic feature⁴.

It can be noted that although some of the original West Islamic features are still visible, yet the local taste is clearly felt.

(¹) *Mosquées*, II, Pl. 56.

(²) *Ibid.*, II, Pl. 57.

(³) *Ibid.*, Pls. 57-58.

(⁴) *Ibid.*, Pl. 57, below.

THE MAMLUK PERIOD

648 (1250) ... THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHAGAR AD-DURR.

(a) A Kūfic ornamental pattern formed by the vertical shafts of the letters symmetrically arranged, is placed in a pointed arched panel in the centre of the hood above the doorway facing the mihrāb (Pl. 11)¹, reading "al-'Izza li-llāh.

This feature is a Maghribī one, but our panel seems to be a descendant from some examples that came to Egypt in earlier periods, e.g., Mausoleum of al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī (Pl. 1a).

665-67 (1267-69) ... THE MOSQUE OF BAIBARS.

(a) The monumental entrance² has a West Islamic origin as we have seen in The Mosque of al-Hākim (above p. 6) and in the Mosque of al-Aqmar (above p. 16). The monumental entrance of The Mosque of Baibars must have evolved from those two local examples.

(b) The flat niches with concave hoods³ must also have evolved from those in the flanks of the main entrance of the Mosque of al-Hākim (above p. 8), and the entrance of the Mosque of al-Aqmar (p. 16).

(c) The square panels placed diagonally⁴ are also descendants of the earlier examples in the Mosque of al-Hākim (above p. 8) and the Mosque of al-Aqmar (above p. 16).

(d) The Minarets at the corners of the façade, are not visible at present but can be suggested by the existence of the remains of

(1) Mosques, II, Pl. 63.

(2) Ibid. Pl. 66.

(3) Ibid. Pls. 65-67.

(4) CRESWELL, Baibars ..., *loc. cit.*, Pls. [XVI, XVIII B; Mosques, II, Pl. 66.

a staircase in one of the corners¹. A drawing of the façade in the "Description de l'Égypte"² makes this suggestion certain.

(e) Prisse d'Avennes³ published a drawing of a window of painted stucco, the ornaments of which exhibit West Islamic influence; but there is another drawing in the same plate representing a band, which most probably is the band now existing running round the interior faces of the walls under the window sills.

There is a clear difference between the published and the existing ornament of that particular band, which makes one doubt if those stucco ornaments in the grille with their west Islamic touch were true reproductions of the original decorations.

(f) The small lobes round the arch of the South-Eastern entrance⁴ and in a window in the North-Western façade⁵. These lobes are closely related to the Andalusian and Maghribi small type rather than to the large lobes of the Syrian type which we shall see later in the Mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pāsha.

666-72 (1267-73) ... MAUSOLEUM OF MUṢṬAFĀ PĀSHĀ.

(a) There is stucco decoration formed by geometrical patterns of panels with symmetrically moulded and lobed hoods between the spandrels of the mihrābs in the room adjoining the existing liwān and in the roundel above the apex of the central mihrāb⁶. The main liwān also contains the same type of decoration in the tympanum of the vault above the mihrāb⁷ (Pl. 12).

Analogous examples exist in Maghrib⁸, in the Mosque of Tāza, 693 (1294)⁹, and Bāb Lāla Rayḥāna, 693 (1293)¹⁰. There is a

(¹) CRESSWELL, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 5.

(²) *Ibid.* Fig. 7.

(³) Prisse d'Avennes, vol. I, Pl. 8; CRESSWELL, *Baibars...*, Pl. xxvi.

(⁴) Mosquées, I, pp. 282, 305, 305; II, Pl. 65.

(⁵) CRESSWELL, *Baibars*, *loc. cit.* Pl. xxiii b.

(⁶) C. R. Exercises 1915-19, Pls. xlii-xlii.

(⁷) *Ibid.* Pl. xlii.

(⁸) Mosquées, I, p. 305, explaining the relation with decoration in Maghrib, Tlemcen, South Spain and Sicily.

(⁹) MARÇAIS, II, p. 478, Fig. 245.

(¹⁰) *Ibid.* p. 527, Fig. 254.

continuous sequence of examples in Maghrib and Andalus proving that although such ornaments in Egypt are earlier than those in West Islām, yet the latter must have evolved from the early examples mentioned above (pp. 22, 30), and whose influence first appeared in the Mausoleum of Al-Imām Ash-Shāfi'.

The lobes around the entrance¹ are not made in relief, but are flat round stones arranged to act as voussiors². This type is more related to a type well known in Syria during the 7th cent. H. (XIII A. D.), e.g., the mihrāb of the Madrasa Sulṭāniyya, 620 (1223-4)³; the mihrāb of Madrasa Al-Firdaws at Aleppo, 633 (1235-6)⁴; entrance of Madrasa Qara Tāy at Qonia, 649 (1251-2), and whose architect might have been a Syrian⁵; also the mihrāb of Qubbat as-Silsila at Jerusalem restored by Baibars⁶.

It is possible to detect, with some difficulty, that the split palmettes in the secondary plane, are filled with ribs alternating with either "eyes" or plain spaces (Pl. 12).
683-4 (1284-5) ... MADRASA AND MAUSOLEUM OF QALA UN...

(a) The twin-windows⁷ which appear for the first time in Egypt.

(b) The mihrāb of the Mausoleum has a plan of a horse-shoe form⁸. The earliest Islamic examples exist in the mihrāb in the Great Mosque of Cordova, due to al-Hakam II, 961-976⁹; also in the mihrāb of the Great Mosque of Qairawān¹⁰.

(¹) Mosquées, I, pp. 282, 302.

(²) C.R. loc. cit. Pl. XLII.

(³) CRESWELL, loc. cit. p. 185, Pl. XXVIII b.

(⁴) Mosquées, I, p. 282.

(⁵) CRESWELL, Baibars... loc. cit. pp. 185-6. Pl. XXVIII A.

(⁶) Ibid. p. 186, Pl. XXIX.

(⁷) Mosquées, I, p. 305; II, Pls. 73-76; E.M.A., II, p. 354.

(⁸) CRESWELL, The Muslim Architecture of Egypt, vol. II Ayyūbid and Early Mamluk. (Under print).

(⁹) Ibid.

(¹⁰) E.M.A., II, p. 308.

(c) The horse-shoe form of arches in the minaret¹.

(d) Panels with lobed hoods placed at the springing of the soffits of arches under the dome². Maghribī examples are well known, one of them is the arches above the miḥrāb of the Mosque of the Kutubiyya, 541-58 (1146-63)³.

695-703 (1295-1304) ... MADRASA OF AN-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD...

(a) Lobed arches in the minaret⁴ which probably evolved from earlier local examples mentioned above (p. 34).

(b) The hoods of an opening in the square part of the minaret⁵ and of two blind panels on either side of the opening are of the moulded type.

(c) The intersecting lobes in the sides of the horizontal panels containing Naskhī inscriptions⁶. This is the oldest example I could find in Egypt. The idea of such a type of intersecting semi-circles exists since the beginning of the XIth cent. A.D. in N. Africa, in a niche in the minaret of the Qal'a of Banī Ḥammād⁷. Later Maghribī examples are: Rabāṭ, Bāb er-Ruwāḥ, VI (XII)⁸, and Bāb Qaṣba of Oudaia, 591 (1195)⁹; Marrākesh, Bāb Agenaw, c. 1200¹⁰.

The miḥrāb of the Madrasa is ornamented with stucco floral elements among which are some forms in a high convex relief filled with perforated floral patterns. I do not agree with what was suggested in "Les Mosquées du Caire"¹¹, that these convex forms were

(1) Mosquées, I, p. 305; II, Pls. 13. 80; E.M.A., II, p. 354.

(2) Mosquées, II, Pl. 83 (left).

(3) BASSET et TERRASSE, *Hesperis*, vol. XVI (1926), Fig. 70.

(4) Mosquées, I, p. 292; II, Pl. ; PRISE D'AVENNES, vol. I, Pl. xv.

(5) PRISE D'AVENNES, vol. I, Pl. xv.

(6) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 72.

(7) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 219; TERRASSE, *L'art. H.M.*, Pl. LVIII.

(8) MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 220-21; TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pl. LIX.

(9) *Ibid.* Fig. 223; KÜHNEL: *Moor. Kunst*, Pl. 31; TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pls. LVI-LVII.

(10) Mosquées, I, p. 233.

inspired by the ornament in St. Maria la Blanca in Toledo¹. The only resemblance lies in the presence of some convex forms in the latter but nothing more, which is too weak an evidence to make one believe the existence of any relation.

696 (1296) ... MOSQUE OF IBN TŪLŪN.

The works of Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lājīn in that mosque contain many Andalusian and Maghribī features as follows:

(a) The "prue" or "praw" brackets in the room behind the mihrāb (Pl. 13). Marçais noticed that their form greatly resembles that in St. Maria la Blanca in Toledo, c. 600 (1200), and suggested that this city is the source from which the shape of the brackets in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn was taken². Torres Balbas did not agree with this view and explained that this feature was frequently employed in many Andalusian towns since the middle of V. (XI), and followed its origin and evolution³.

(b) The horse-shoe arches under the bridge which joins the minaret to the Mosque⁴, and also the arch of the entrance to the minaret⁵.

(c) The twin windows in the faces of the minaret each having a horse-shoe arch⁶.

(d) "Les modillon à copeaux" under the bridge⁷ (Pl. 14).

(e) In addition to the above mentioned features I have already published a contribution to the study of the subject of West Islamic influences in relation with the problem of the Minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn⁸. I give a synopsis of my view below:

(¹) MARÇAIS, II, Fig. 370; KÜHNEL, *Maur. Kunst*, Pl. 70.

(²) *Échanges*, pp. 103-4, Fig. 8.

(³) TORRES BALBAS, *loc. cit.* pp. 416 ff.

(⁴) *Échanges*, pp. 101-2, Fig. 5-7; E.M.A., II, p. 354.

(⁵) E.M.A., II, Pl. 98c.

(⁶) *Échanges*, pp. 101-2, Fig. 7; E.M.A., II, p. 354, Pl. 98c.

(⁷) *Mosquées*, I, p. 215; E.M.A., II, p. 350.

(⁸) FARID SHAF'Ī: The Minaret of The Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, A View on its Architectural Composition. (Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I Univ., vol. XIV, Pt. I, May 1952, pp. 167-184, in Arabic, 6 figures and 13 plates).

Many arguments, views and researches on the minaret have been laid for discussion, the result of which is that it was rebuilt by Husām ad-Dīn Lājīn, in 696 (1296), and that it retained many features and characteristics from the Malwiyya of Sāmarrā, a fact that suggests the influence of an earlier model¹.

The lower part of the minaret has a stair in the outer face. The lower two thirds of this part are square or rather rectangular in plan, and the top third is circular. An octagonal pavillion is placed on top with a staircase in the interior. The finial of the pavillion is a "Mabkhara".

Such a problem represents a mixture of different traditions and factors that can be analysed as follows:

The type of the higher pavillion with the "Mabkhara" on top, is the local type used in Cairo which began to make its appearance in the Minaret of Abu-l-Ghaḍanfar, 552 (1157)², and the sequence continues down to 735 (1335-6) (below pp. 38-39).

The round top third with the external stair is obviously inspired from some minaret of the Malwiyya type, whose remains must have existed on site at the time of rebuilding.

The square type of minarets with a square lower part is a well known form adopted in Syria, Egypt and West Islām since the Umayyad period. The characteristics of each local type differ according to the treatment, shape and proportions of the square base, the top parts and the finials of minarets. Although it is quite probable that the idea of the square base of West Islamic minarets had evolved from the square towers of Syrian temples and churches, yet the proportions and composition of minarets in Maghreb and al-Andalus developed into an individual type with a pronounced local taste, which differs clearly from the contemporary Syrian ones. The difference can be seen when comparing the minarets in Syria with those in North Africa and Spain.

(¹) Discussed in CRESWELL, II, pp. 350-54; Mosques, I, pp. 215-16.

(²) M.A.Eg., I, Pl. 123 d.

The Syrian examples are: Aleppo, the Great Mosque, 482 (1089-90)¹; Bozra, in the Mosque of al-Khidr, 528 (1134)²; Ma'rrat an-Nu'mān, in the Great Mosque, 575 (1179)³; Aleppo, in the Great Mosque of the Citadel, 610 (1213-4)⁴; Bozra, in the Mosque of 'Amr, 618 (1221)⁵.

The majority of these Syrian minarets are formed by a square shaft which occupies most of the total height, sometimes leaving a little part on top for a pavillion of a different form. The height is usually four or five times the side of the square.

The oldest example in Islamic West is the Minaret of Qairawān, which can be dated either in 105 (109) 724-7, or in 248 (862-3)⁶. It is clear that its shape is somewhat related to the Syrian type of towers, but that shape had developed into a local western type which was adopted for most minarets built in North Africa and Spain, e.g.: Fās, in the Mosque of Qarawiyyīn, 345 (956)⁷; Sfax, The minaret of the Mosque, c. 370 (981)⁸; Qal'a of Banī Hammād, 398 (1007)⁹; Rabāt Tit, V (XI)¹⁰; Tinmal, The Great Mosque, 548 (1153)¹¹; Rabāt, the Mosque of Ḥasan, 591-4 (1195-8)¹²; Marrākesh, the Mosque of the Qaṣaba 59 (1196)¹³; Sevilla, The Giralda, 593 (1197)¹⁴; Marrākesh, The Minaret of the Kutubiyya, 593 (1197)¹⁵; Tlemcen, the Mosque of Agadir, 1236-83¹⁶.

(1) CRESWELL: The Evolution of the Minaret, with special reference to Egypt, (Extract from the Burlington Magazine, vol. XLVII), p. 7, Pl. I. d.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, p. 7, Pl. I e.

(3) *Loc. cit.*, p. 7, Pl. I f.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, p. 7, Pl. I g.

(5) *Loc. cit.*, p. 7, Pl. I h.

(6) E.M.A., I, p. 328, Fig. 399, Pl. 53 d.

(7) MARÇAIS, I, pp. 309-12, Figs. 168-69.

(8) *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14, Fig. 91.

(9) *Ibid.*, Fig. 90.

(10) TERRASSE, L'Art H.M., Pl. XLVIII.

(11) *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIX.

(12) *Ibid.*, Pls. LX, LXXIII; MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 228.

(13) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 230.

(14) TERRASSE, *op. cit.* Pl. LXXII; MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 229.

(15) TERRASSE, Pls. LI, LXXI; MARÇAIS, I, Figs. 224, 227.

(16) MARÇAIS, II, pp. 481-82, Fig. 343.

Many other examples can be traced down to the Turkish period, most of them following one local type, *i.e.* a high square body with a pavillion on top covered by a small dome.

The proportion of the square part of the minaret to the total height varies between 1 to 2 or 2 to 3 and 3 to 4, while the height of the square is approximately three times the side of the square. These proportions are nearly the same for the Egyptian examples starting with the minaret of the Mosque of al-Guyūshī, 478 (1085)¹ which is closely related to the minaret of Qairawān (above p. 30). The second example in the Fāṭimid period is the minaret of Abu-l-Ghaḍānfar, 552 (1157)² the square part of which became more slender but the proportions remained the same. We meet with another example of that type in the Ayyūbid period in the Minaret above the Bāb al-Akhḍar in contact with the Mosque of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusain (above pp. 29-30), also in the minaret of the Madrasa aṣ-Ṣālihiyya, 641 (1243-4)³. In the Mamluk period, the sequence continues as follows: the minaret of Zāwiyat al-Hunūd, c. 1250 A. D.,⁴ the remaining square part of the minaret of Faṭma Khātūn, 683 (1248)⁵, the minaret of the Mausoleum of Sulṭān Qalā'ūn, 684 (1285)⁶, in which we note that another smaller square part is placed above the lower one instead of the usual octagonal pavillion; there is an old square part in the minaret of the Mosque of al-Baqlī, end of XIII A.D.⁷; the Minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn under discussion; the minaret of the Madrasa of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad at Naḥḥāsīn, 695-703 (1295-1303)⁸; the minaret of the Mosque and Mausoleum of Salār and Sangar al-Gawlī, 703 (1303)⁹, which is one of the smartest examples in the Mamlūk period; the minaret of the Khanqā

(¹) M.A. Eg., I, Pl. 46.

(²) Ibid., Pl. 123 d.

(³) Mosquées, II, Pl. 59.

(⁴) Ibid., Pl. 61 (right).

(⁵) Ibid., Pl. 70 (below).

(⁶) Ibid., II, Pls. 73, 80.

(⁷) CRESSWELL: The Evolution of the Minaret, p. 10.

(⁸) The top part of this minaret is obviously late. Mosquées, II, Pl. 80.

(⁹) Mosquées, II, Pl. 92.

of Baibars, 709 (1309)¹; the minaret of the Mosque of Sunqur Sa'dī, 715 (1315)² and the sequence ends with the minaret of the Khanqā of Amīr Qūṣūn in the southern cymetry, 735 (1335-6)³.

Most of the above Egyptian examples have their tops of the Mabkhara type with the exception of the minarets of: Fāṭma Khatūn, Qalā'ūn, An-Nūṣīr Muḥammad and Amīr Qūṣūn. The top of the first one is totally missing, while in the next two examples the finials might have originally been of the Mabkhara type, but now they have the Turkish pencil type, obviously a reconstruction in that late period.

I agree with Prof. Creswell in his view that that type of minaret is a local Egyptian one, which covered two centuries in the course of evolution, but I cannot agree with his opinion that the minaret of the Mosque of al-Guyūshi, the oldest example in Egypt, is of the Syrian type.

The minaret of al-Guyūshi, if compared with the series of Syrian minarets and then with West Islamic ones, no doubt exhibits a closer resemblance in taste, character and proportion to the latter series, more especially to the Minaret of Qairāwan, the oldest in North Africa, than to the Syrian type.

I must, therefore, point to two cases in the evolution of Egyptian minarets, where inspiration and influence, in connection with the composition, came direct from Maghrib and Andalus: the first in the case of the minaret of the Mosque of al-Guyūshi, and the second in that of the minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn, where that West Islamic influence took a good share, in collaboration with earlier and contemporary local traditions, in producing that unique form of the Minaret.

698 (1298) ... MOSQUE OF ZAIN AD-DIN YŪSUF.

The outlines of circles and rounded ends of panels are composed of interlaced small semicircular lobes⁴.

(¹) Mosquées Pl. 100.

(²) Ibid., Pl. 101.

(³) Ibid. Pl. 117.

(⁴) Ibid., I, p. 302; C.R. *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIV.

This is the second example of such a feature in Egypt, the first is seen in the minaret of the Madrasa of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad at Naḥḥāsīn (above p. 38).

700-10 (1300-10) MAUSOLEUM OF BADR AD-DĪN AL-QARĀFĪ.

It contains the horse-shoe arch¹.

700 (1300) (circa) MOSQUE OF QŪS.

A row of lobed arches is placed above the miḥrāb², but contains for the first time in Egypt, rows of stalactites within the lobes.

Older examples are found in the Mosque of Tleincen, 530 (1136)³, in Rabāṭ, in the Door of the Qaṣba of Oudaya, 591 (1195)⁴, and then came in vogue in the fourteenth century.

703 (1303) MOSQUE OF SALĀR AND SANGAR AL-GAWLĪ.

(a) The horse-shoe arch is used in the minaret⁵.

(b) The semi-circular small lobes are used in the outline of circular and rounded ends panels in an inscription frieze in the court⁶.

703 (1303) ... MOSQUE OF AL-ḤAKIM.

In the Qibla wall, there are two stucco blind windows filled with carved ornamental pattern, composed of Kufic inscription which can be read either "Lillāh al-Mulk", or "Al-Mulk Lillāh" set symmetrically on either side of the central axis, the left being reversed⁷. We have seen such Maghribi panels before in the Mausoleum of al-Imām Ash-Shāfi'i (above p., Pls. 1, 3, 5a).

(¹) Mosquées, I, p. 305.

(²) CRUSWELL, Brief Chronol. p. 65; SALADIN, Manuel, I, Fig. 69, under the erroneous title "Mihrab du tombeau de la Sultane Chadiarat ed-Dorr au Caire".

(³) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 107.

(⁴) Ibid. Fig. 220; TERRASSE, L'Art. H.M., Pl. LIX.

(⁵) Mosquées, II, Pl. 92.

(⁶) Mosquées, II, Pl. 97 (2).

(⁷) FLURY, AL-ḤAKIM... p. 21, Pl. V (1-2); Échanges, p. 104, Fig. 9; ZAKI M. ḤASAN, Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn, Fig. 3 (p. 255).

703 (1303)..... MOSQUE OF 'AMR.

The mihrāb of Salār in the main façade contains a row of lobed arches filled with stalactites¹.

715 (1315) MOSQUE OF ḤASAN ŠADAQA.

(a) Horse-shoe arches in the octagonal drum of the dome (Pl. 15a).

(b) The shafts of columns of the above arches are covered with floral ornaments arranged geometrically (Pl. 15a), a well known practice in Islamic West, such as in the Moque of Tinmal, 548 (1153-4)² etc...

(c) The lobed outline of the roundels and panels³, which we have already seen in previous monuments.

719 (1319) MOSQUE OF AMĪR ḤUSAIN.

Above the mihrāb there is a row of lobed arches filled with stalactites⁴.

The lobes round the arch of the entrance⁵ are more closely related to the Syrian examples mentioned under the Mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pāsha (above p. 33). Here they are more developed and resemble those in Qara Ṭāi Madrasa at Qonia⁶.

730 (1330) MOSQUE OF ABI-L-YŪSUFAIN.

It contains the twin windows and the horse-shoe arch⁷.

(¹) CRESWELL: The works of Baibars, p. 191, Pl. xxxi, in which the author attributed this mihrāb to Baibars, then corrected the attribution to Salār in E.M.A., II, p. 174. It is attributed also to Baibars in: Mosquées, I, p. 117.

(²) MANÇAIS, I, Fig. 251.

(³) Mosquées, I, p. 302; II, Pls. 97 (3) 101, 102; C.R. *op. cit.* Pls. lxxxii lxxxiii.

(⁴) Mosquées, I, pp. 292, 302, 305; II, Pl. 104.

(⁵) Ibid., I, p. 282; II, Pl. 103 right.

(⁶) CRESWELL, The Works of Baibars ..., p. 185-6, Pl. xxviii a.

(⁷) Mosquées, I, p. 305.

A fresh wave of influence from West Islām makes itself clearly felt in the decoration of the Qibla wall.

(a) The outer arch of the mihrāb is corrugated with a series of lobes, each formed by three cusps and each ends, on both sides, with a little curl which comes in contact with the curl of the other lobe, (Pl. 15 b)¹.

Such lobes and curls must have been inspired by Maghribi prototypes. They exist in the Mosque of the Kutubiyya at Marrakesh, 541-58 (1146-63)¹ and in the Great Mosque of Tinmal, 548 (1153-4),².

(b) The spandrels of the mihrāb are filled with painted floral elements, geometrically arranged, of the well known "décor floral compact" of West Islām³ (Pl. 15 b). There is also an element of the calyx-palmette type (Pl. 15b) which has analogous forms in Maghrib⁴.

(c) Above the mihrāb, there is a group of three arched panels within a rectangular frame (Pl. 16b). The arches are of the lobed type, and rest on four attached colonettes, the height of which is nearly half that of the arched panels, or in other words, the centres of the arches are stilted, above the level of the colonettes, to a height nearly equal to the radius of the arches. The arched panels are filled with geometrical patterns. Such a description of the whole group of elements mentioned above, has a very close analogous example in an entrance of the Madrasa Bu 'Ināniyya at Fās,⁵.

(d) Above the rectangular panel with the three arches is another one filled with lozenges, the sides of which are corrugated, being composed of a series of split-palmettes growing from one another and having little spirals at their tops. (Pl. 16a). This is a well known

(¹) TERRASSE, L'Art. H.M., Pls. LIV, LXV.

(²) Ibid., Pls. L, LXII.

(³) MARÇAIS, I, p. 408.

(⁴) TERRASSE, Figs. 71, 81.

(⁵) MARÇAIS, II, Fig. 277.

feature in Maghrib, *e.g.* in the Mosque of Tinmal, 548 (1153-4) ¹, in the Mosque of Taza, 693 (1924) ², in Qairawān, in Bāb Lālā Raiḥāna, 693 (1293), ³, and in Tlemcen in the Mosque of Sidi Bel-Ḥasan ⁴.

(e) Within the lozenges described in item (d) above, there are geometrical patterns formed by straight lines, curves, lobed arches and plaited knots (Pl. 16a). These are quite similar to the patterns within the lozenges in Bāb Lālā Raiḥāna ³ and the Mosque of Sidi Bel-Ḥasan ⁴ mentioned above.

(f) We also notice many floral elements, mainly split-palmettes which are filled with a series of strongly curved ribs, sometimes forming, at the meeting of the lobes, pointed oval eyes. The close curved ribs as well as the eyes are known among the characteristics of West Islam. We can also see some elements resembling the pine cones filled with triangles and lozenges which is another well known feature from Maghrib and Andalus.

818-23 (1415-20) MOSQUE OF AL-MU'AYYAD.

Two blind windows with carved ornaments in stucco are placed in the top part of the N. W. wall of the mausoleum, on the side facing the ṣaḥn. the ornament exhibit Andalusian and Maghribi traditions. One of the windows contains a geometrical pattern of a West Islamic design (Pl. 17). This is the third time we meet with such a feature. The first was the example in the Mausoleum of Muṣṭafa Pāsha, (Pl. 12) and the second was that in the Mosque of al-Gamālī Yūsuf. (Pl. 16a). The other blind window is filled with floral elements of undoubted Maghribi origin ⁵.

(¹) MARÇAIS, I, Fig. 251; TERRASSE, Pl. LXIV left.

(²) MARÇAIS, II, Fig. 254.

(³) Ibid., Fig. 283.

(⁴) Ibid., Fig. 355.

(⁵) Ibid., II, Fig. 366; SALADIN, Manuel, I, Fig. I.

q. IX-X (XV-XVI) ... MOSQUE OF SHAIKHŪ.

The mihrāb once contained ceramic tiles decorated with geometrical and star patterns¹. They were made in a technique termed "Cuerda Seca" typical of Andalus in IX-X (XV-XVI)².

q. VIII-X (XIV-XVI) ... FUSṬĀT, FRAGMENTS OF LUSTRE POTTERY.

These fragments were discovered in the debris at Fuṣṭāt. A good number of them is preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, Nos. . They are of different groups which can be attributed to different periods and styles, but all of them are of unmistakable Andalusian stamp that was well known during VIII-X (XIV-XVI)³.

This is the first instance that we meet with West Islamic influence in one of the branches of Islamic decorative art in Egypt not directly connected with architecture.



The above mentioned tabulated examples show quite clearly that waves of influences from West Islām had reached Egypt in several occasions. Each wave, after its arrival, slowly began to lose momentum and to gradually desintegrated, or in other words, its effects and the traditions that came with it began to be acclimatized and digested by local factors and became completely absorbed in course of time. In some cases, a wave might have been succeeded by another before or after being completely lost among local traditions.

It is natural for one to think that works of art that bear strong and clearly distinct characteristics and features from Andalus and Maghrib, must have been actually excuted on site by craftsmen from the West.

(1) PROST: *Les Revêtements ceramiques dans les Monuments de l'Egypte*, (M.M.I.F.A.O. 1917) pp. 44-46, Pl. XII (2).

(2) RICARD, *Pour Comprendre...* p. 318; MIGON, *Manuel*, II, pp. 270-72, Figs. 405-7.

(3) Museum of Islamic Art, Nos. 5865, 5392 (2), 6181 (7), etc....

The earliest strong waves must have come with the Fāṭimid invasion of Egypt. Their effects are clearly visible in the first stages of Fāṭimid art, more especially in architecture, examples of which are mentioned under the Mosque of Al-Azhar, in the so-called Mihrāb of Yahyā ash-Shabīb, in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, and the stucco mihrāb in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. Traces and sediments from these waves were more or less felt during the V (XI) cent. and the first half of the VI (XII), A fresh wave came about the middle of the VI (XII) cent., the influences of which are seen in the hoods of the windows in the octagonal drum of the dome of Maṣḥad As-Sayyeda Ruqayya, and the Bāb Al-Akhḍar, and the Mosque of Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāi. Marçais suggested that this wave radiated from Maghrib in consequence of the political and military conditions there, when 'Abd al-Mu'min came in full power and delivered Maḥdiyya baḡ, in 554 (1159), from the hands of the Christians from Sicily who were in possession of it for 12 years¹.

The next powerful wave came during the building of the Mausoleum of al-Imām ash-Shāfi'i, or more definitely, when the façades were taking their final coat of plaster and stucco ornament. There is a good possibility that this wave was set in motion by the disturbances aroused by the wars of the Christians, one of whose victories over the Muslims was "Las Navas de Tolosa," 1210 A.D.². Influences of this wave might have survived for a quarter of a century, as it is exhibited also in the stucco ornaments of al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliyya and the Minaret above the Bāb al-Akhḍar, but it is more probable that several waves came in succession and were acting during that period.

Western traces in the Mosque of Baibars might have been sediments from previous waves, because the next powerful one made its influence clear in the Mausoleum of Muṣṭāfa Pasha.

Again it is quite obvious that a series of waves from West Islām were active in Egypt during a long period beginning with the building of Qalā'ūn's complex, 683-685 (1284-1285). Other traces are well

(¹) Échanges, p. 101.

(²) Mosquées, I. p. 305.

exhibited in a series of monuments until the second half of VIII (XIV) cent. This period is well marked, from the historical point of view, by the continuous relations, mostly friendly, between the Mamlūk court and the Muslim Sultāns of Maghrib¹, as well as the Christian kings of Spain. Embassies and envoys were continuously carrying correspondence, and sometimes presents, from one side to another².

The blind windows of the Mosque of Al-Mu'ayyad must have been influenced by a fresh wave coming at the time of building that Mosque³.

It is not easy to try always to establish some relation between the arrival of each wave and some historical factor that might have been responsible for the production of each wave of artistic influence. In fact, I do not think that this is necessary in all the cases because the contact in the west between the Muslims themselves, and between them and the Christians, never ceased through all the periods, and such

(¹) Échanges, p. 101.

(²) ATIYA (AZIZ SURIAL): *Egypt and Aragón* (Leipzig, 1938).

This booklet deals with the correspondence and embassies exchanged between the court of Aragón and the Mamluk Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the oldest of which is dated 699 (1300), and the last dated 730 (1330).

This is also dealt with in: Maxmiliano A. Alarcón Santón and Ramon García de Linares: *Los documentos Arabes diplomaticos del archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid, Granada, 1940.

The latter reference was pointed to me by Dr. Ḥusain Mu'nis, who kindly translated for me many of the important documents, two of which can be added to those previously published by Dr. 'Aṭīyya, the first is a truce between al-Ashraf Khalil and the King of Aragón dated 692 (1293); the second, a treaty of friendship and peace between Barsbāi and the King of Aragón, dated 833 (1430).

Thus historical records show that numbers of persons were continuously moving from Spain and N. Africa to Agypt (e.g. in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, under Ibn Zuhri, V (XI) cent.; Ibn Maimūn, A.D. 1135-65; Ibn Gubair, A.D. 1145-1217; Ibn Mu'ī, A.D. 1168-1231; Ibn Khaldūn ... etc.).

Craftsmen and architects were, unfortunately, not considered by historians as worthy of recording in their books. Nevertheless there is not the slightest doubt that such artisans must have followed the same courses and movements.

(³) MARÇAIS, (II, p. 652) pointed to historical and artistic relations between West and East Islām during that period, the result of which is some works of art produced in Syria and Egypt, including the windows in the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad.

conditions must have caused a number of the natives either to be exiled or to take refuge in more safe countries, far from such disturbances, and Egypt was not only one of these but also was much praised for its luxury and wealth. Egypt at the same time served as a bridge that linked the West with the East, and through which the Western Muslims were able to accomplish one of the most important duties in their religion, viz., The pilgrimage to the two sacred places to Muslims: The Ka'ba at Makka and the Ḥaram ash-Sharīf at Jerusalem. Pilgrimages to these two places never ceased, and Ibn Jubair mentioned the presence of some Maghribī pilgrims residing in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn¹. In such occasions, craftsmen must have passed through Egypt, and quite probably executed some works of art, using their own native traditions. Moreover, there is a possibility that some of these craftsmen, at one time or another, might have settled in Egypt and mixed with the local technical atmosphere, or might have radiated their influences upon some local craftsmen, for we have seen in some cases that these Western traditions were developed in course of time mixed with local taste.

I do not think that this article has exposed every possible West Islamic influence and feature in the art of Egypt. It is not an easy task to do so, and I shall be really grateful to the scholars of Islamic art who will kindly point to me the items that escaped my attention, and to the points in my article, they have some doubts about.

(¹) CRESWELL (pp. 336-7) quoted a translation from Maqrīzī: Later the Maghribiyyīn stopped there, i.e. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, with their camels and baggage when they passed through Egypt on their pilgrimage. (Khitāṭ, I, p. 268, numbered 269, lines 5-8). Prof. CRESWELL's deductions were: "This state of affairs must have begun at least as early as A.D. 1184, for Ibn Jubair, who visited the mosque in that year, expressly mentions that it served as a *ma'wā* for the Maghribiyyīn". (Ibn Jubair: de Goeje's ed., p. 52, lines 5-10; and Yaqūt, III, p. 398, line 15).

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