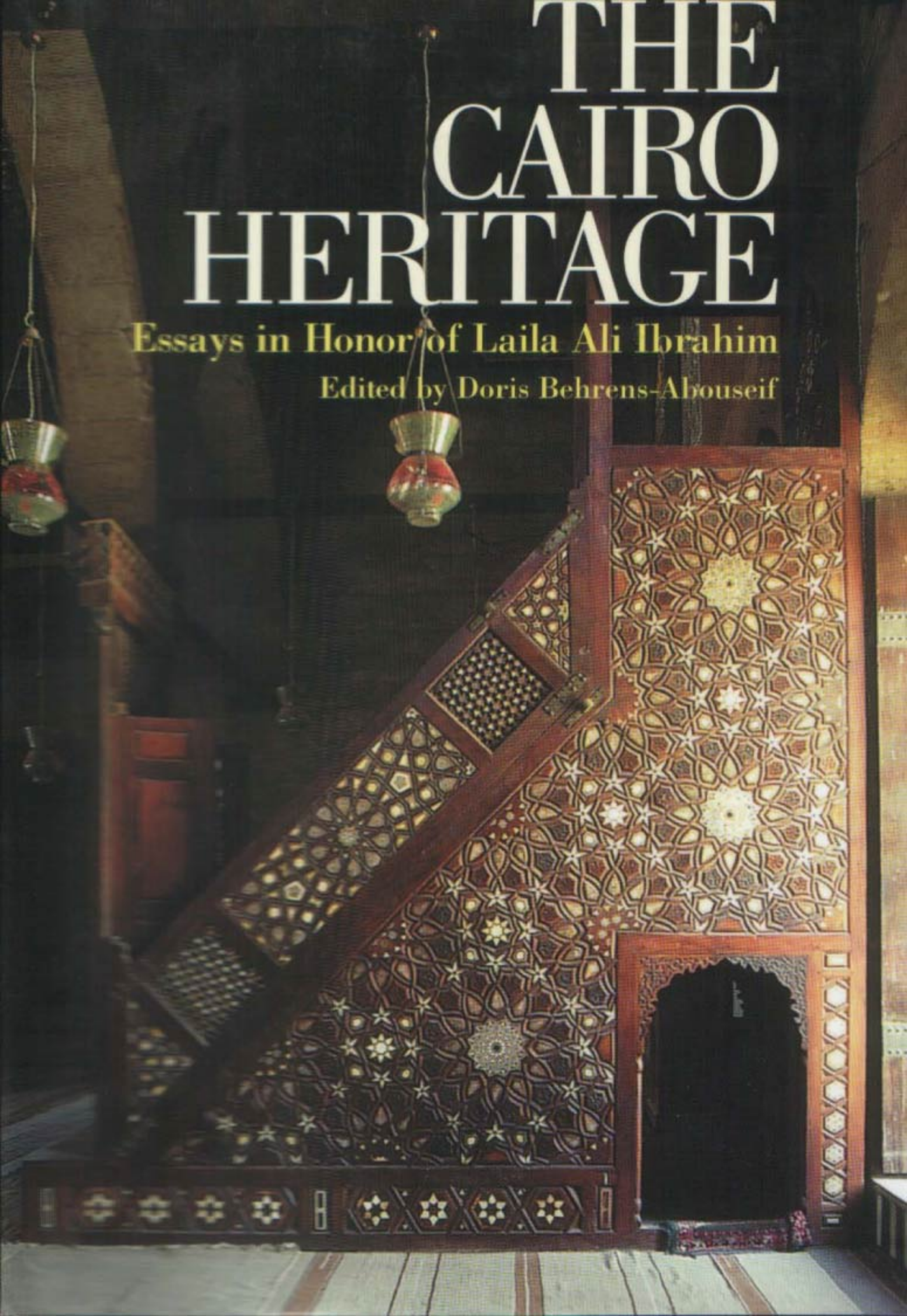


THE CAIRO HERITAGE

Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim

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The Minaret of Ibn Tulun Reconsidered

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The mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun in Cairo has been exhaustively described and documented by K. A. C. Creswell and those who preceded him.¹ However, a careful review of Creswell's work reveals that the great scholar did not satisfactorily explain why certain elements and/or features in buildings changed over time. It is my intention to re-examine the history of the minaret and offer new thoughts concerning those matters that Creswell did not address.

The minaret of Ibn Tulun stands in the northwestern *ziyada* of the mosque (figs. 2 and 3).² It is connected to the mosque by means of a bridge to the roof of the building. The passageway under the bridge takes the form of large, horseshoe arches. The entrance of the minaret gives way immediately to the stairs of the minaret and is also decorated with a handsome horseshoe arch. The spiral-shaped minaret consists of four distinct stories: the lowest is quadrangular, the next level is circular, and the final two are octagonal. The four sides of the quadrangular story are decorated with blind horseshoe arched windows, each of which features a spirally-decorated column. The circular story is plain, while the upper stories are in the *mabkhara*-style,



Fig. 1. Painting of the minaret by Robert Hay, 1840, showing the grain boat on top

and they are separated by and decorated with tiers of *muqarnas*. Above the top two stories is a shallow ribbed dome surmounted by a copper crescent.

The geographer and traveler Ya'qubi (d. 278/891) provides an amusing story about how the shape of the minaret came to have such an exotic form.³ He quotes the historian Ahmad al-Katib (who is known as Ibn al-Daya), who says that the builders asked Ahmad ibn Tulun what style he wanted for his minaret. The historian adds that it was known that Ahmad ibn Tulun never trifled in anything during any official meeting. However, it happened that, during one such meeting, Ahmad ibn Tulun took in his hand a roll of white paper and began to play with it by rolling it over his finger, until it was pulled out on one side and got stuck on

the other in his hands or finger. This action greatly surprised his audience. To avoid embarrassment, Ibn Tulun then told his workers to construct the minaret in that shape, which they proceeded to do.⁴

Muqaddasi (d. 375/985–86) provides the earliest description of the minaret of Ibn Tulun which, he says, is small, built of stone, with its staircase outside.⁵ Al-Maqrizi, while quoting the historian Quda'i (d. 454/1062), states that the mosque was built after the style of the Great Mosque in Samarra, and likewise the minaret.⁶ Ibn Duqmaq admired the architecture of the minaret of the mosque, saying that it was unique because its staircase is on the outside, allowing someone to climb up to the top on large and spacious steps which are wide enough to permit two loaded camels to ascend to its summit.⁷ In another passage, Ibn Duqmaq quotes Quda'i by referring to a boat-shaped finial (*'ushari*) which Ibn Tulun had fixed on top of the minaret. Ibn Duqmaq adds that it had been part of the famous treasure which he had found.⁸

The traveler Nasir-i Khusraw relates the story that the caliph al-Hakim purchased the mosque and the minaret, which suggests that the original minaret still existed during al-Hakim's reign



Figs. 2 and 3. The minaret of Ibn Tulun's mosque (Fig. 3 before 1943)

(386–411/996–1021), and that it was also standing when Nasir-i Khusraw visited Cairo in 439/1047–48. It was probably still standing at Qudā'i's time in the eleventh century.

Creswell says that the present minaret, although it resembles the minaret of the Great Mosque of al-Mutawakkil at Samarra in having a staircase on the outside, is not a direct copy of the earlier structure, for it is divided into distinct stories; the minaret of the Great Mosque of Samarra features a single access ramp that leads in an unbroken spiral to its peak. He adds, however, that the minaret might have once resembled that at Samarra.⁹ Creswell concludes that since Ibn Duqmaq's description does not correspond to the present minaret, this must be a later construction.

The Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr visited Egypt in 578/1183.¹⁰ He says that the mosque of Ibn Tulun was one of the oldest mosques in the city, and that it was elegant in execution and vast in architecture. Ibn Jubayr also informs us that the sultan (meaning Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi) made the mosque a retreat (*ma'wa*) for the "strangers," (migrants or pilgrims) from the western part of Barbary and Spain, where they might live and receive lectures. In addition, Salah al-Din granted for their support a monthly allowance. Ibn Jubayr adds that among the admirable things that were related to him by one of those living in the mosque is that the sultan arranged for them to have their own rules and did not appoint anyone to interfere in their affairs. This was the reason why they had appointed one of their own community to act as their ruler. This account is important for the history of the mosque, for it documents the change of its function from that of a place of worship into that of a legally and officially inhabited place.

According to Al-Maqrizi, who based his comments on the work of Ibn Tuwayr (d. 617/1220), during the Nile Festival (*wafa' al-nil*) in 461/1067 a long, strong cord was tied between the boat-shaped finial on top of the minaret (*'ushari*) and the street. There a man dressed as a cavalier holding a lance and shield made acrobatic performances as he rolled down the rope to the street to where the caliph was sitting.¹¹ In another section, al-Maqrizi says that during the early years of the reign of Sultan al-Kamil (615–635/1218–38), the minaret was always illuminated on the evening of the middle of Sha'ban, a tradition that was later abandoned.¹²

Creswell suggests that the presence of an upper story (in the story of the acrobat) implies that the minaret was seriously damaged at the time of al-Hakim.¹³ Nevertheless, al-Maqrizi's evidence suggests that in the eleventh century there was a tower in existence.

Jonathan Bloom believes that the use of the minaret for acrobatic performances was inappropriate for a mosque where Friday prayer was held, and he concludes that the *adhan* must have been announced within the mosque, from the dome of the original Tulinid *fawwara* (fountain) which once stood in the middle of the courtyard.¹⁴ Bloom, however, disregards the chroniclers' several mentions of rope-dancers in the Mamluk period who used the minarets of major mosques, such as those of the sultans Qalawun and Hasan, to span their ropes for acrobatic shows.¹⁵

It is not unlikely, however, that the minaret of Ibn Tulun, although originally intended to serve for the call for prayer,¹⁶ was later on no longer used for this purpose. A reason for this might be that the area to this (northern) side of the mosque was not very densely inhabited. At the same time the *adhan* from the minaret, which is, due to the size of the mosque, rather remote from the prayer hall, could not have reached the inhabitants of the area on the southern side. It is likely, therefore, the call to prayer shifted from the minaret to the roof of the mosque or to the entrances.

Ghazi Muhammad believes that the fact that the original minaret was free-standing encouraged Ibn Tulun's descendants to claim it as an independent property.¹⁷ He also argues that their attempt to destroy the minaret may have damaged it seriously, so that the caliph al-Hakim had to reconstruct it and, on this occasion, he attached it to the mosque. No source, however, mentions such an undertaking. Ghazi Muhammad bases his argument on the fact that the minaret was in excellent condition during later Fatimid times—especially in the year 461/1068, when it was used for the acrobatic performances mentioned above.

Ibn Duqmaq and al-Maqrizi state that the Mamluk sultan Lajin sought refuge in the mosque while he was still an amir, hiding in its minaret for a period of one year during a period of civil strife. It is impossible to believe that Lajin actually hid inside the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Tulun, but one may accept that he hid or lived in the buildings near it, meaning the ablution fountain and the remains of a

khizanat sharab (apothecary) that Ibn Tulun had erected nearby. During that time (before 695/1296), the mosque must have been in a very poor state, to the extent that the *adhan* was now announced by someone standing at one of the doors of the building. Thus the original ablution fountain, the minaret, and their environs were unused.

Creswell has surveyed several studies regarding the date of the minaret as it existed in his day.¹⁸ Von Kramer, Margoliouth and Herzfeld agree that the lower part of the minaret is original while the upper was built at a later time, but they do not suggest specific dates for the different parts of the structure. Prisse d'Avennes, Herz, and Gotthiel believe that the whole minaret was later than the mosque, but none suggest a specific time for its construction. Corbet believes that the lower part is Fatimid, while the upper is later; however, he stands alone in this conclusion, as does Van Berchem, who suggests that the whole minaret is original but that its lower part was tampered with while the arches were added later. Lane-Poole makes no comment concerning the minaret. Franz Pasha and Thiersch find that the lower part is original while the upper is later in date than the mosque. Rivoira agrees with Van Berchem's idea that the lower part was original and believes that this part was tampered with by the addition of the horseshoe arches later in 791–92/1389–90, but also maintains that the upper story is Lajin's work. Diez is the only scholar to think that the lower part is contemporary with the mosque but erected by another

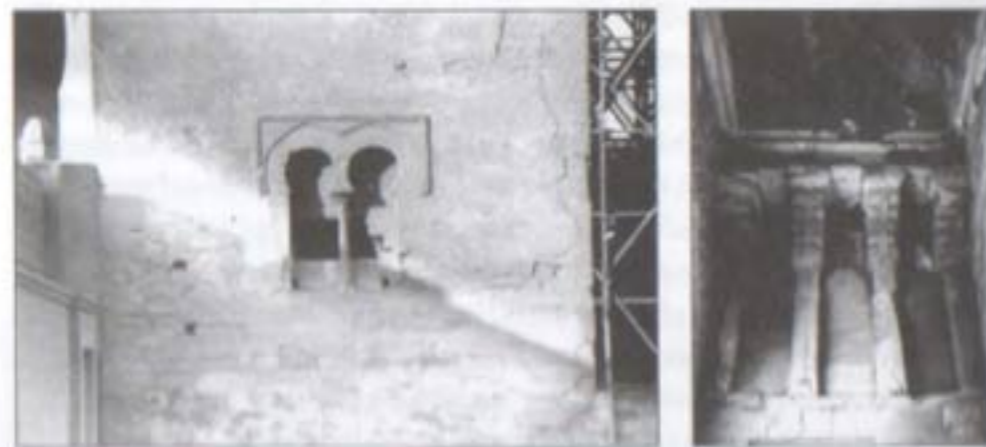


Fig. 4 (left). The hole in the south-western side of the minaret dug for Patricolo's investigations

Fig. 5. The underside of the bridge that connects the minaret to the roof of the mosque

er architect; he also maintains that the upper part was the work of Sultan Lajin. Finally, Salmon and Hauteceur attribute the entire structure to Sultan Lajin in 695/1296. This was later confirmed by Creswell after an archaeological test conducted by the architect Patricolo in 1920.¹⁹ The result of this test was a hole that was tunneled on the southwestern side of the minaret, which can still be seen today (figs. 3 and 4).²⁰

Doris Behrens-Abouseif rejects Creswell's attribution of the entire minaret to Lajin, arguing that the upper octagonal stories and their ribbed dome (*mabkhara*) could be attributed to Sultan Lajin, not the lower stories (meaning the quadrangle and circular shafts). She also attributes the blind horseshoe windows on the lower story to Lajin's works. Her arguments are that Sultan Lajin would have built the entire minaret "in a uniformly Mamluk style," which was not the case, that the sources which mention many of Lajin's restorations fail to mention any reconstruction of the minaret of Ibn Tulun, which is strange for such a prominent and unique structure. A further argument is the unusual absence of a historic inscription to commemorate such an undertaking. Also the fact that Muqaddasi mentions the minaret of Ibn Tulun as being made of stone makes the disappearance of such a solid stone construction unlikely. Furthermore, Behrens-Abouseif argues that if the boat on top of the minaret continued to stand until the reign of Lajin (who replaced the boat after the restoration was completed), "the original structure never reached such a state of dilapidation that it was necessary to replace (the boat) with a completely new one."²¹

Corbet suggested that the bridge was a later addition to the present minaret (fig. 3). However, the investigation conducted by Ghazi Muhammad demonstrated the uniformity of the structure of the bridge and the minaret.²² There is no doubt that the *modillon à copeaux* under the bridge that connects the minaret to the roof of the building is a foreign element (fig. 5). It was a common form in western Islamic architecture but has not been found in any other monument in Egypt.²³

Another foreign element is the horseshoe arches of the entrance of the minaret, and under the bridge. This type of arch culminated in North Africa and Spain, where it flourished and became a general architectural feature of that area. According to Ghazi Muhammad, who

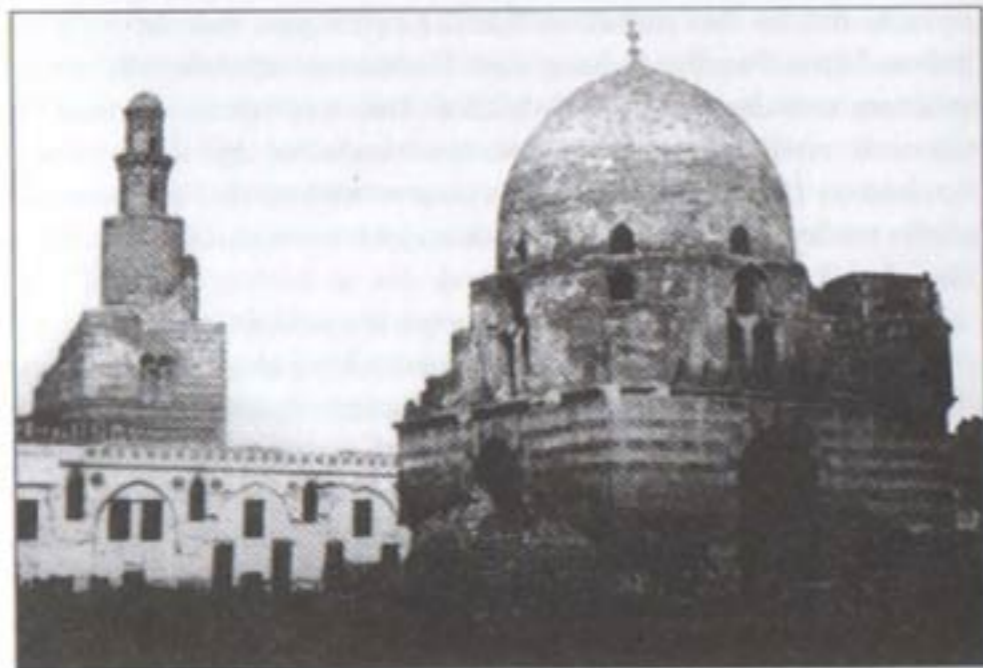


Fig. 6. View by Beato of the minaret from within the mosque, 1862–84

attributes the minaret to the Caliph al-Hakim, these elements existed already in Egypt during the Fatimid period. He says that Nasir-i Khusraw's story gives every reason to believe that al-Hakim joined it to the mosque. This suggestion is further supported by the excellent condition of the minaret in 461/1068. The new features could then be attributed to the fact that craftsmen of Moroccan or Andalusian origins were employed in this reconstruction. Ghazi Muhammad adds that the octagonal stories are different from the rest of the minaret and attributes them to Sultan Lajin.²⁴

Farid Shafi'i and Ghazi Muhammad attribute the horseshoe arch decoration on the faces of the quadrangle to the period of Lajin (figs. 2, 3, and 5). Because of the horseshoe decorations, Farid Shafi'i suggests that the lower quadrangle was built either by an Andalusian architect or a Maghribi architect. He even suggests that it may have been built by an Egyptian architect who could have had other architects assisting him, who may have come from such regions as Andalus or Maghrib. The Egyptian architect might then have given them the liberty to apply their own styles to the building. If this idea is accepted,

one may suggest that the North African architect (or the North African associates) was/were drawn from among the Maghribis who were living in the mosque during the Ayyubid period.

This argument is supported by the fact that the horseshoe decorations are centered on the quadrangular base, horizontally, whereas they are off-center vertically, in relation to the height of the minaret (figs. 2 and 3). This implies that these decorations were made to suit the lower quadrangular story without concern for the symmetry of the minaret's elevation, which suggests that the lower and upper stories were not built simultaneously. Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the horseshoe decorations were made at the same time as the quadrangular story.

Ghazi Muhammad also found out that the format of the stones in the present domed structure of the central fountain in the courtyard are larger than those of the minaret, implying that the two structures were not built at the same period.²⁵

Since there is general agreement that the quadrangular story was of a different period than the *mabkhara* top structure, and since it is likely that the horseshoe decorations were made by a craftsman from the western Muslim world, it is very likely that this craftsman was among the Maghribis who dwelt in the mosque during the reign of Salah al-Din. Whatever his intentions, Salah al-Din revived the function of the building as a mosque and introduced a *madrassa* curriculum for the benefit of the resident Maghribi community. We also know that, during the reign of Sultan al-Kamil, the minaret was decorated with lamps on festive occasions.

Ghazi Muhammad's hypothesis that the quadrangular story of the minaret was reconstructed by the Caliph al-Hakim cannot be supported because there is not the least stylistic relationship between this structure and the minarets of al-Hakim's famous mosque. Since we know that the mosque and its minaret were neglected for a long time during the late Fatimid period, the minaret may have needed a reconstruction by the time the Ayyubids were in power. There is no doubt that the upper floors are Mamluk, but we lack definite proof that they were built by Lajin.

A final question concerning the minaret and its bridge is: what function did the bridge serve? The only answer is that it may have been

intended to give access from the minaret to the roof of the mosque. The *waqfiyya* of Sultan Lajin does not refer to any function related to the roof of the mosque, although it stipulates that it should be cleaned weekly. Neither does it include any description of the mosque or its minaret, which is not to be expected since Lajin was not the founder.²⁶ The salaries of *mu'adhdhins* are mentioned without indicating in which part of the mosque the *adhan* should be performed.

According to al-Maqrizi, sometime during the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (693–741/1293–1340), Qadi Karim al-Din al-Kabir built two new minarets in the mosque.²⁷ These minarets were added on both extremities of the *qibla* wall. In the nineteenth century, 'Ali Mubarak confirms that the mosque of Ibn Tulun had three minarets, two of which were still standing on its southern (meaning the *qibla*) side.²⁸ He adds that these minarets were built of brick and had inner staircases. 'Ali Mubarak was thus distinguishing between these two minarets and the third minaret, which was built of stone and had its stairs on the outside.

The reason for Qadi Karim al-Din al-Kabir to add two new minarets to the mosque of Ibn Tulun short after Sultan Lajin's additions and restorations in 695/1296 may be that the area behind the prayer hall of the mosque was densely urbanized and required the *adhan* to be performed on this side of the mosque, where a *mu'adhdhin* on the remote spiral minaret might not be well heard.

One may suggest that the bridge may have been used by the *mu'adhdhins* to reach the new minarets; however once the *mu'adhdhins* had reached the roof through this bridge, they would still have had a long walk ahead before reaching the two new minarets. The bridge was of not much relevance as an access to the minarets.

The form of the minaret of Ibn Tulun was not repeated elsewhere until the mosque of Amir Tashtumur was built sometime before 743/1343.²⁹ Ibn Taghribirdi describes the minaret of this mosque as having been *halazawn* (snail-shape).³⁰ Doris Behrens-Abouseif suggests that the architect of that mosque was inspired by the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Tulun. However, this minaret did not survive. Moreover, the fact that its shape was not repeated again shows that the spiral form was unsuited to the taste of Cairene Islamic architecture.

The minaret of Ibn Tulun has awkward proportions and its architecture is not in harmony with that of the mosque. Its quadrangular story has artistic relation neither to its circular shaft nor to its octagonal *mabkhara* pavilion. The horseshoe arch decorations are alien to the scheme of the whole building.

The minaret is placed asymmetrically to the mosque, off the *mihrab* axis, for no obvious reason. There are two explanations, however, for this location. The first may be that the solid rock on this particular location was more suitable for the foundation. The second reason is that the asymmetrical position of the minaret made it more visible from within the mosque. This is especially true from the perspective of the *qibla* hall. If the minaret had been placed along the axis of the *mihrab*, its view would have been obstructed by the structure of the *fawwara* of the Fatimid Caliph al-'Aziz, which was built in the center of the courtyard, immediately after the old one burned down. From this perspective the asymmetrical placement of the minaret was visually successful.

It is not easy to tell precisely when the original minaret of Ibn Tulun was demolished. We know that Muqaddasi (before 375/985–6) saw a stone minaret, which suggests that Ibn Tulun's original minaret was built of stone. This was then purchased by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim, perhaps because of its building material, and it was still standing in the eleventh century.

The fact that Ibn Jubayr does not mention the minaret while describing the new functions of the mosque of Ibn Tulun as a shelter for the Maghribi pilgrims, suggests, in my view, that the original minaret was no longer standing at that time, which is the second half of the twelfth century.

Since the minaret of Ibn Tulun is mentioned to have been decorated with lamps during the reign of Sultan al-Kamil (615–635/1218–38), we may suggest that it was rebuilt sometime between the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century. The present quadrangle lower part would date from this period. The presence of Maghribis in the mosque accounts for the western-Islamic style of the horseshoe arches that decorate the shaft. The circular shape of the upper structure could have been maintained as a reminiscence of the original circular minaret.

After becoming Sultan, Lajin revived the glory of the mosque, which once had offered him a shelter while he was hiding from his enemies. He may have added the *mabkhara* at the top of the minaret, which is certainly Mamluk and belongs stylistically to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

During the Ottoman period, a small *zawiya* with a tomb was added in the area next to the main minaret and the original old ablution fountain, which was also removed by the Comité. The boat-shaped finial surmounting the original minaret was transferred to the new one, where it stood until it was blown away in a windstorm, to be replaced by a copper crescent in 1892.

Although the historian Jabarti records that the boat-shaped finial was blown down in a storm on 12 of Ramadan, 1105/8th May, 1693,³¹ the minaret was depicted with its boat-shaped finial by Protain in the *Description de l'Égypte*.³² Moreover, Jomard describes it as being ten feet long and notes that it was kept full of grain all year round and attracted a great number of sparrows.³³ The same boat is seen on illustrations by Pascal Coste, Robert Hay (fig. 1), and Prisse d'Avennes.³⁴ It is also mentioned by Savigny de Moncorps in 1869 and Vaujany in 1880.³⁵ The boat-shaped finial (*ushari*) must have fallen after this date, for late nineteenth century photographs show the minaret without a finial. It was replaced with a crescent in 1892.³⁶

The minaret of Ibn Tulun, even if it may not always have been successful in serving its original function as a platform for the *adhan*, remained, because of its unique shape, a significant landmark. To the present time, it offers an enjoyable and spectacular view of medieval and modern Cairo.

Notes

1. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (New York, 1979), 327–59; Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1952–9, repr. New York, 1978), 223–29.
2. Photographs in this study are copies taken from Creswell's photo albums located at the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo, whose staff I would like to thank.

3. Ya'qūbi, *Kitāb al-buldān* (Najaf, 1957), 124; *Les Pays*, translated by Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1937), 243–44.
4. Ya'qūbi, 124. Creswell mistakenly writes that Ya'qūbi related this story about the minaret of Samarra (*EMA*, 2:353, note 13). See the description of Samarra in Ya'qūbi, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbi* (Beirut, 1960), 21–32. Ibn Duqmāq tells a similar story; he attributes the shape of the minaret to the fact that Ibn Tūlūn, who usually never played with anything in his fingers, did once, during a meeting, unconsciously roll a piece of paper around his finger. The surprised audience stared at each other. Becoming aware of what was happening, Ibn Tūlūn, who was an intelligent person, reacted very quickly, saying: "I am doing this because I wish to build the minaret of my mosque like this." He then ordered his master-masons to build the minaret after this model. Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat 'iqd al-amṣār*, ed. K. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), 124.

A similar story is given by al-Maqrīzi who, quoting Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, says that Ibn Tūlūn never trifled with anything. Therefore, when he noticed that people stared at him while he was rolling a piece of paper around his finger, which was unusual for him, he called for the architect of his mosque and told him to construct the minaret, which was intended for the call to prayer, to be built in this shape. This is how it acquired this form. Al-Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ* 2:267. Ghazi Muhammad believes that Ibn Tūlūn used the rolled paper to explain his idea of the shape of the Samarra minaret to the Christian architect al-Naṣrāni, because the latter was probably not an Iraqi, and not familiar with spiral towers with an external staircase. Ghazi Rajīb Muhammad, "The Minaret of Ibn Tulun: Its Construction and Description," *Sumer* 23 1/1 & 2 (1967):84.

5. Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālim*, ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 199, also, trans. G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo (Calcutta, 1897), 326.
6. Al-Maqrīzi, 2:266.
7. Ibn Duqmāq, 124, does cite his source, but in the following passage he relates the story about the paper roll, as originally told by Ya'qūbi. Neither Ya'qūbi nor Muqaddasi, however, mention this particular episode in their accounts.
8. Ibn Duqmāq, 123. The following are several points related to the boat-shaped finial: (1) Balawi speaks of a copper boat (*markab naḥās*) at the top of the minaret. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Madīni al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn*, ed. by Kurd 'Alī (Cairo, 1939), 183; mentioned also by al-Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ* 2:266. (2) Al-Maqrīzi adds that people used to believe that the boat-shaped finial turned with the direction of the sun; however, he corrects this statement by saying that it actually turned with the wind, 2:267. (3) The boat-shaped finial resembles a certain type of medieval oil lamp which may be related to the fact that it is reported to have been lit during the Ayyubid period. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo, 1985), 32, 53.
9. Creswell, *EMA*, 2:352.
10. Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla* (Beirut, 1959), 26–27, transl. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), 199.

11. Al-Maqrizī, 1:477; Ghazi Muhammad, 87; Jonathan Bloom, *The Minaret: Symbol of Islam* (Oxford, 1989), 129.
12. Al-Maqrizī, 2:267. The Turkish historian Evliya Çelebi says that, during the seventeenth century, the boat had the talismanic function of protecting the city against the dangers of disastrous Nile floods. He adds that one of the Ottoman amirs used to entertain himself by riding his horse to the summit of the minaret. This is according to Behrens-Abouseif, 54.
13. Creswell, *EMA*, 2:336.
14. Bloom, 129.
15. Behrens-Abouseif, 72, 99.
16. According to al-Maqrizī's version of the story, 2:267.
17. Ghazi Muhammad, 87.
18. Creswell, *EMA*, 2:352.
19. In 1920 Patricolo tested that theory by doing some archaeological investigation. He began by cutting horizontally through the masonry of the blind horseshoe arch facing the west side. The result was that he found no junction circular in plan, and there was no break in the stone's continuity. Also, there was nothing that indicated the presence of steps which would have circled round the shaft, which proved Creswell's theory to be false; Creswell, *EMA*, 2:354. Thus the lower part was not merely a casing but was of one form with the whole minaret, which must be attributed to Sultān Lājīn. Creswell then concluded that Qudā'ī was accurate when he said that the minaret was copied from that of Samarra. I omitted from this survey Sameh's attribution of the square part to Lājīn and the cylindrical shaft as original Tūlūnid work. This idea proved to be false after Patricolo's excavations. See Kamal al-Din Sameh, "Evolution of Minarets in Egypt," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University* (1955-56), 167.
20. It is logical that this tunnel was hewn on this side of the minaret and not the other side, because it was more convenient for the workers to climb on top of the *zāwiya* and tomb of Shaykh al-Madīni or Shaykh al-Būshī. For this structure see, 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khīṭaṭ al-jadīda al-tawfiqiyya li Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1982), 309; Yusūf Aḥmad, *Jāmi' Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn* (Cairo, 1917), 45; Robert Williams, "The Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn," *The Moslem World* 8/3 (July 1918):232. The building can be seen in both Protain's and Robert Hay's illustrations. It had been demolished in 1943.
21. Behrens-Abouseif, 50-53.
22. Ghazi Muhammad, 85.
23. Farid Shāfi'ī, "Ma'dhanat masjid Ibn Tūlūn: ra'y fi takwīnihā al-mi'māri," *Majallat kulliyat al-adāb*, 4 (1952):177; Ghazi Muhammad, 88. This feature is found in the mosque of Cordova 346/958, and because of that it is considered that the Umayyads used them in al-Andalus. But owing to the continuous wars and troubles, it seems that these elements were carried elsewhere to other Spanish cities and to Morocco. See George Marçais, *L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident* (Paris 1954), 165; Ghazi Muhammad, 88. Such an element was also used at St. Milan at Segovia in 1057, *Ibid.*, 88-89.
24. *Ibid.*, 90.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Waqf* deed of Sultān Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Sayfi, *Dār al-Wathā'iq wa'l-Mahfūzāt*, nos 17/3 & 18/3. Muḥammad Amin, *Fihrist wathā'iq al-qāhira battā nihāyat 'aṣr al-salāṭin al-mamālik* (Cairo, 1981), 7.
27. Al-Maqrizī, 2:268.
28. 'Alī Mubārak, 309.
29. Discussed by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, 53; Jonathan Bloom, 129, provides a reference (al-Maqrizī, 2:464), which does not describe the minaret. However, it is described by Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fi mulūk miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* 9:102.
30. See previous note.
31. According to Creswell who quotes al-Jabartī.
32. Protain, *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, Planches 1, plate 29.
33. Cited by Creswell, *EMA*, 2:352.
34. Pascal Coste, *Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Caire* (Paris, 1839), plate 4/1; Robert Hay, *Illustrations of Cairo* (London, 1840), plate 4; Prisse d'Avannes, *L'Art Arabe d'après les monuments du Caire* (Paris, 1869-77), 1, plate 3.
35. Creswell, *EMA*, 2:351-52. In another section, Creswell wonders whether the copper boat-shaped finial had been a relic of Ancient Egypt, like the ark of Ra; Creswell, *EMA*, 2:337. However, this term is incorrect, because the boats that are discovered in the Ancient Egyptian tombs are not those of the Sun God Ra, but small scale models of actual boats that were used on the river Nile. Do we then understand that Creswell is suggesting that one of the two famous treasures discovered by Ibn Tūlūn was in fact, an Ancient Egyptian tomb?
36. Maḥmūd 'Ākkūsh, *Tārīkh wa waṣf al-jāmi' al-tūlūni* (Cairo, 1927), 103.

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