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THE MOSQUE OF SITT HADAQ

Outside the walls of medieval Cairo, in the district of the Darb al-Gamamiz, today a modest working-class neighborhood, there stands a solitary survivor from the Mamluk period. This is a plain congregational mosque far from the other medieval monuments clustered in the heart of the historic city and along its ceremonial arteries. The inscription informs us that the mosque was built in 740 (1339–40) by Sitt Hadaq, a slave woman and the *dāda* (nursemaid) of Sultan Nasir Muhammad ibn Qala-

wun (fig. 1). This in itself is noteworthy: it means that the mosque, among all of Cairo's remaining monuments, is the one only constructed by a court lady. It also means that among all the monuments surviving from the period of Sultan Nasir Muhammad, whose third reign from 1310–41 was the most brilliant period of medieval Cairo, especially in architecture, this is the only one built by a woman.¹ Furthermore, a study of the Qur'anic inscription on the façade and of the remains of the decoration



Fig. 1. Cairo. Mosque of Sitt Hadaq. Façade. (Photo: courtesy Fine Arts Library, Harvard)

on the mihrab, supplemented by information supplied by al-Maqrizi, the topographer of medieval Cairo, leads us to comparisons with other major monuments of the period and to some insight into court patronage.

Like many of the monuments of historic Cairo, this mosque is today under siege from the many pressures of contemporary urban society. In 1990 and again in 1993 the mosque was closed and undergoing extensive excavations due to damage from the rising subsurface water table. The decoration of the mihrab — all that is left of the mosque's ornamentation and an important statement about fourteenth-century architectural practices — is about to vanish. It seems worthwhile therefore to record what we can about the mosque before the evidence disappears completely.

Location. On a contemporary map,² the mosque lies in an area bounded on the north by Abdin Palace, on the east by Sharia Port Said, on the south by Sayyida Zaynab and on the west by Midan Lazoghli. Slanting across this rough quadrangle, more or less from southwest to northeast, is a street which starts as Sharia al-Nasriya and becomes Suwayqat al-Sabba²in. These names are all that remain of the area's fourteenth-century topography: the canal of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, and the Seven Windmills. The canal was dug in 1325 to drain the swamps left by a receding Nile for new urban expansion to the west of, and more or less parallel with, the Khalij al-Masri or the Great Canal which since pharaonic times had connected the Nile with the Red Sea, and the windmills were once distinguishing features of the orchard section to the southwest of the city of al-Qahira. This area was also known as al-Maris, because most of its inhabitants came from the Sudan.³ The mosque of Sitt Hadaq stands at the intersection of two small streets, one leading from Suwayqat al-Sabba²in, and the other one at right angles from Sharia Port Said, the street which in the late nineteenth century replaced the filled-in Khalij. On the eastern side of the Khalij, near what was the Bridge of Lions, Amir Bashtak built a mosque in 1337. Its portal and minaret are all that remain of the only other contemporary building in this area.

Description. Just over the door of Sitt Hadaq's mosque is a historic inscription, which reads: "The foundation of this mosque (*jāmi'*) was ordered by the Needy of God, the Pilgrim to the House of God [i.e., Mecca] and visitor to the tomb of the Messenger of God (i.e., Medina) — on him blessings and greetings — the Elevated Curtain Hadaq, known by the name of Sitt Miska al-Nasiriyya

[slave of the sultan] in the months of the year 740 [i.e., between July 9, 1339, and June 27, 1340]."⁴

The name of the patron and the date of construction are thus known. Maqrizi tells us that Hadaq, known also as Miska or Lady Musk, was a slave in the household of the sultan, where from nursemaid (*dāda*) she rose to stewardess (*qahramana*) in charge of the affairs of the harem and of the training and education of the children of the royal house.⁵ The sultan entrusted to her all the matters of his wives, and she ruled over his household so that no one ever spoke to her as anything but as the Lady Hadaq.⁶ The sultan was guided by her opinion "in planning royal weddings and in grand entertainments given on feasts and festivals."⁷ Maqrizi further notes that Hadaq acquired an enormous fortune and great fame, and lived a long life marked by devotion, charity, and good works.⁸ Although most sources refer to her as the "nurse of al-Malik al-Nasir,"⁹ in fact her position was that of controller of Nasir Muhammad's harem. Lady Hadaq, or Lady Musk, was then a slave, most likely Sudanese, who rose to a position of power, influence, and wealth at the sultan's court. This information is corroborated by other clues.

The mosque's exterior decoration is simple and, since it is typical of contemporary Mamluk façades, it is unremarkable. Decoration is confined to the southwest and northwest faces,¹⁰ which are of dissimilar lengths but are united by the horizontal and vertical elements they share. A band of inscription in handsome monumental Mamluk thuluth script runs the length of both faces. It begins in the far eastern corner and ends at the western corner. Its placing is high on the façade, at a level four-fifths the building's height. Vertically, the two faces contain seven bays, six on the southwest façade and one on the northwest. Each bay contains two basic elements: above the inscription, a panel of stalactites in four rows; and below the inscription at mid point on the façade, a composite window unit of a round light over two arched panels. There is a slight difference in the shape and arrangement of the stalactite niches of the panels which provides rhythm and variety: beginning in the southeast corner, the square panels in bays number 1, 3, 5, 7 have four rows of pointed keel-arched stalactites; in the panels of nos. 2 and 6 the niches are round and are arranged in a suggestive stair step outline; no. 4, is deeper than the other six units, and the stalactites form a canopy over the main entrance.

Inside the mosque the courtyard is framed on all sides by three arches which rest on piers. A torus molding outlines the arches. Above the molding and between the

arches are blind keel-arched panels. The hood of these arches is formed by three rows of stalactite niches, and in the middle of the denticulated hood so formed is a small blank keel-arched panel. There are two full panels and two half panels in each courtyard face. The half panels meet and connect in the angles of the walls. This gives to each corner a distinct — albeit somewhat unplanned and haphazard — appearance (fig. 2).

The Qurʾanic inscription. The Qurʾanic inscription is from Qurʾan 36: 1–18:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

1. Ya Sin

2. By the law-holding Qurʾan,

3. You are truly of those sent,

4. On the path that is straight,

5. A revelation from the Mighty, the Merciful,

6. That you may warn a people whose ancestors were never warned; thus they are heedless.

7. The Word has been realized against most of them, yet they have not faith.

8. Surely We have put on them fetters reaching to their chin, so they are stiff-necked.

9. We have set a bar before them, a bar after them, and covered them so that they see not.

10. Whether you warn them or warn them not, it is the same: they do not have faith.

11. You warn only one who follows the Reminder and fears the Beneficent in secret. To such bear tidings of forgiveness and of rich reward.

12. It is We who bring the dead to life, and inscribe what they have sent before them and the traces that they left behind; everything We have kept in a clear register.

13. Coin for them a similitude: the people of a city when those sent came to it.

14. When we sent to them two men, they called them both liars, so We sent them a third in reinforcement. They said, "We have surely been sent to you."

15. They said, "You are only mortals like us: The Beneficent has sent nothing down. You only speak lies."

16. They said, "Our Lord knows that we are sent to you;

17. Our duty is only to deliver the clear message."

18. They replied, "We feel you augur ill. If you desist not, we shall stone you, and painful chastisement will come upon you from us."¹¹



Fig. 2. Mosque of Sitt Hadaq. View of courtyard with corner angle. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

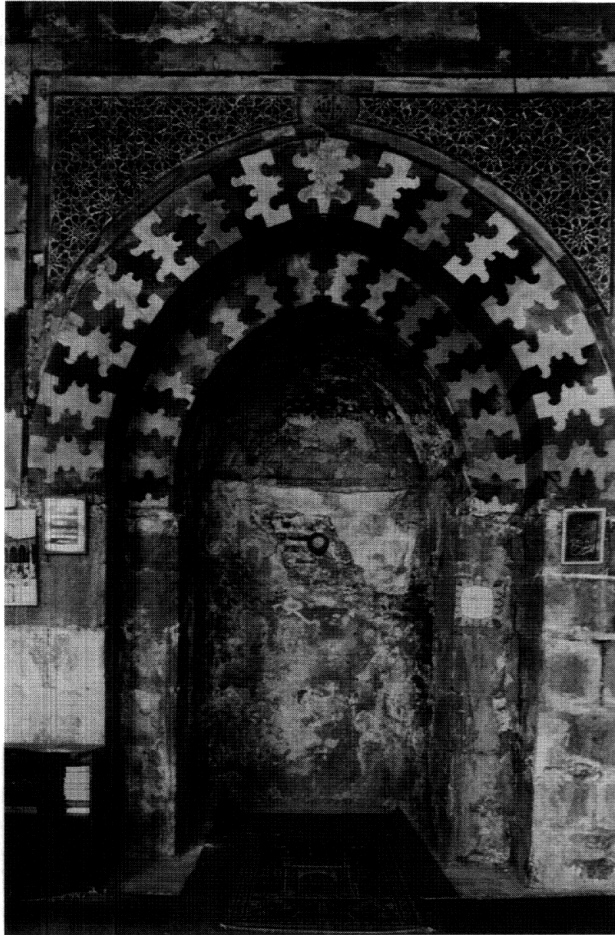


Fig. 3. Mosque of Sitt Hadaq. View of mihrab (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

The name "Ya Sin" is believed to be a mystical name for the Prophet, who said this sura was "the heart of the Qur'an."¹² It is widely regarded by Muslims as having great mystical and protective powers. In the context of this inquiry, the verse is archaeologically significant because it survives on only one other building in Cairo, namely on the mosque of the Amir Altunbugha (Golden Ox) al-Maridani, where it appears in exactly the same high position on the exterior façade. The arrangement on the Maridani façade also consists of vertical bays, in which the panels of four rows of stalactites sit just above the inscription band, with windows below it.

The mosque of al-Maridani was begun in the year 739 (July 20, 1338–July 9, 1339) and finished in Ramadan 740 (March 1340).¹³ In other words, it was begun a year before the mosque of Sitt Hadaq and completed while her mosque was still being built.

Maqrizi describes this former slave amir as "a tall and handsome youth with a kind expression. He was generous and of wise judgment."¹⁴ His fair face caught the fancy of the sultan, who made him one of his favorites. He rapidly advanced to cupbearer (*saghi*) and was married to one of the sultan's daughters.¹⁵

The mosque he built is located on the Darb al-Ahmar, outside the Bab Zuwayla, which in the fourteenth century became a major ceremonial route to the Citadel. Originally the area was a cemetery for the people of Cairo, who then built their houses there. In 738, the amir bought the houses at half their value and razed them to build the mosque. Maqrizi notes that the construction costs were about 300,000 dirhems, a sum which did not include the cost of the wood, marble, and other materials donated by the sultan and the columns taken from the Rashida mosque.¹⁶

Another curious similarity between the mosques of the Amir Altunbugha al-Maridani and the Lady Hadaq is the decoration of the interior courtyards. Around the façade of the courtyard of the mosque of al-Maridani, above the torus molding which outlines the arches, not only does the same kind of keel-arched stalactite ribbed panel fill the spaces between the arches but half panels also meet in the corners in the same seemingly haphazard way.

The mihrab. Inside the sanctuary of the mosque of Sitt Hadaq, the original decoration of the qibla wall is regrettably missing. The upper part of the mihrab is all that is left. But it is these remnants that lead to another set of contextual associations (fig. 3).

The decoration of the upper mihrab is in four parts: (1) the outer frame of oblong red and black squares, alternating and interlocking with identical white ones; (2) the spandrel, between the frame and the double arch, filled with a multicolored geometric repeat design of twelve-pointed stars in red marble and mother of pearl, in whose interstices are turquoise stars of four arms; (3) the double arch over the niche, the ensemble's most eye-catching element, made up of voussoirs, red and black between white, whose interlocking and juggled forms have a marked chiropteran shape; and (4) the hood of the niche. Here the ornament has suffered badly. The hood was once covered in glass mosaics of green, black, and red, mixed with rosettes of mother-of-pearl on a golden background. The design is of a vase, whose upper lip is decorated with pearly studs. From the vase emerges a double-branched curving floral form. At the top the branches meet to enclose a mother-of-pearl



Fig. 4. Mosque of Sitt Hadaq. Detail of mihrab hood.

rosette pendant; to the sides the branches are decorated with mother-of-pearl drops and rosettes (fig. 4).

There is only one other example of a mihrab hood decorated exactly like this one, and it is in the madrasa of the Amir Sayf al-Din Aqbugha (White Ox) ^ʿAbd al-Wahad.¹⁷ This amir built his monumental complex in the *ziyada* or outer enclosure area of the mosque of al-Azhar, to the left of the main entrance, and opposite the madrasa of Amir Taybars, completed in 1309. Aqbugha's addition consisted of a madrasa, constructed in the year 739 (July 20, 1338 – July 9, 1339),¹⁸ a tomb (*qubba*), completed in Muharram of the year 740 (July 1339),¹⁹ and a minaret erected in 740 (July 9, 1339 – June 27, 1340).²⁰ The overall plan of the complex is rectangular: the third which is behind the southwest façade consists of a tomb chamber, entrance vestibule, and minaret, and the two-thirds beyond that, of the madrasa.

The madrasa's current use as the library and repository of al-Azhar's valuable collection of manuscripts and Qurʾans has crowded its interior with shelves, desks, and

display cabinets, but the central courtyard area delimited by four corner piers and lateral columns is discernible. This plan is more reminiscent of a congregational mosque plan than it is of a madrasa with iwans.

The mihrab is on the southeast wall. In its overall form it is very similar to that in Sitt Hadaq's mosque. An outside frame consists of red and black marble rectangles, alternating and interlocking with white rectangles. In the spandrels formed by the square frame and the double arch is a multicolored geometric repeat design of twelve-pointed stars and four-armed stars in red marble, turquoise, and mother-of-pearl. This is identical to the spandrel design above Sitt Hadaq's mihrab niche. In the outer and inner arch around the central niche, joggled black, red, and white voussoirs interlock into trefoil forms. Here, the scheme is the same as that of the arches of Sitt Hadaq, but the quantity of the voussoirs and the shapes of the joggle are different. Finally, in the hood of the niche, in a much better state of preservation, it is easy to see that on a golden background black, green,

and red glass tesserae form a pattern in which two large branches rise from a mother-of-pearl studded goblet and bifurcate to fill the space on either side of the vase. This design of curling stems and mother-of-pearl decorations is virtually identical with that in the mihrab hood of Sitt Hadaq.

Maqrizi has much to say about Amir Aqbugha.²¹ The land for his complex he took by extortion, and the madrasa, described as gloomy with neither the happiness of mosques, nor the consolation of houses of worship,²² was built with materials illegally seized or stolen and by laborers and artisans who were not only underpaid, but beaten and whipped as well. Maqrizi describes Aqbugha's mamluk in charge of overseeing the building as "a servant worthy of his master — there was nobody meaner, crueller, nor harder of heart."²³

Sultan Nasir Muhammad, however, appears to have been oblivious to Aqbugha's shortcomings. In the sultan's service he rose from purchased slave, to superintendent of construction (*shadd al-^camā^rir*), to commander of the sultan's mamluks (*muqaddam mamālik*), and in the year 732 (beginning of October 1331) he was advanced to supreme majordomo (*ustadar al-sultānīya*),²⁴ a position which gave him responsibility for the administration of all supplies for the sultan's household as well as for those of his mamluks.²⁵ Aqbugha's prestige continued to increase, and Maqrizi relates that the sultan's esteem and affection for Aqbugha grew so great that all the people in the sultan's household were afraid of him and treated him with caution, "and it continued in this way until al-Malik al-Nasir died."²⁶ In the description of Aqbugha's madrasa, Maqrizi relates that "Mu'allim ibn al-Suyufi, head of the engineers (*ra^ris al-muhandisin*) built it. He supervised the building of the mosque of al-Maridani."²⁷

In sum, Amir Aqbugha and Amir Altunbugha al-Maridani both held prominent positions at court. Their monuments were built by the court architect at the same time (739–740) Sitt Hadaq also had a position of power and was held in affection at court. The dates of her mosque coincide with those of the two amirs; and the dates of all three buildings overlap. Aqbugha's and Altunbugha's were begun in the same year (739) and those of Sitt Hadaq and Tankizbugha were finished in the same year (740). Moreover, her mosque is linked to each of theirs by a distinct feature, in one case by the Qur³anic inscription and the courtyard corner panels, in another by the decoration of the mihrab hood. It seems likely, therefore, that Mu^callim ibn Suyufi, the court architect, could have supervised the construction of her building as well.

However, one puzzles over the connection between the mihrab of the devout and honored Hadaq and the mihrab of the oppressive and objectionable Amir Aqbugha. Of the constructions from the early Mamluk dynasty which are associated with women's names the most interesting for this study is the madrasa-mausoleum of the Khawand Tughay (1348), not for its architectural and stylistic relevance, but for the information it adds about the period.

Tughay was a great lady, a wife of Sultan Nasir Muhammad and the mother of his favorite son and heir Anuk. Maqrizi supplies interesting details of her life.²⁸ She began her career as one of his slave girls. After the birth of Anuk, the sultan married her and gave her the title *al-khawand al-kubra* (senior princess). "She was glorious in beauty and astonishingly lovely and she experienced more happiness than any other of the wives of the Turkish [i.e., Mamluk] kings in Egypt, and the blessings which reached her from the sultan never reached his other wives. The sultan never stayed attached so long to the love of any other woman."²⁹

Some degree of the favor in which she was held can be seen in Maqrizi's description of her pilgrimage in 1321 which she embarked on five months after the birth of her son Anuk.³⁰ He describes the departure of her entourage on Wednesday the 27th of Shawwal accompanied by Qadi Karim al-Din al-Kabir and the adjutant (*naqib*) amirs Saruja and Baktash. The sultan's flags waved, the band played, and behind her trudged the camels bearing vegetables, salad greens, and sweet-smelling herbs planted in litters filled with earth. Cows were also part of the caravan so that she could have fresh milk to drink and fried cheese to eat for her lunch along the way.³¹ Maqrizi observes, "No journey was ever commissioned for any other of the sultan's ladies like hers."³² When Tughay returned three months later, "the Sultan went out to meet her and laid out a huge banquet, and he gave robes of honor to all the amirs, to the holders of office and to the ladies in waiting (*qahramanat*), such as Sitt Hadaq known as Sitt Miska."³³ Maqrizi ends the account with the comment: "It was a noteworthy day. Nobody had heard of a similar pilgrimage for the extent of its goodness and the extent of its bequests."³⁴ In 739 (1338–39) Khawand Tughay again went on pilgrimage, and again she was escorted by Amir Bashtak.³⁵

Special honors were accorded Khawand Tughay, but the pilgrimage at this time was increasingly a court function. The third reign of Nasir Muhammad (1310 to 1341) was a period of prosperity and peace for the kingdom. The Crusader and the Mongol threats had been dealt

with and, as an indication of the measured security of the regime, it became safer to make the pilgrimage. The sultan himself, unlike any previous Egyptian sultan,³⁶ went three times: in 1313, in 1320, and 1332. Occurring in the last month of the Muslim year, the pilgrimage was also a way of giving thanks. Khawand Tughay went in 1322 after the birth of her son Anuk. The sultan went in 1332, the year in which Anuk was married. The pilgrimage was also among the feasts in which the court women played an active role and received many honors.

In the inscription on her mosque Sitt Hadaq indicates that she made the pilgrimage. Ibn Battuta saw her in Mecca on October 14, 1328,³⁷ and Ibn Taghribardi notes that she made the pilgrimage in 730 (1330) in the company of Tughay.³⁸ As *dāda* and stewardess of the royal household it is very likely that Hadaq would have accompanied the senior princess to Mecca. Sitt Hadaq's mosque was built not far from the Amir Bashtak's mosque (the sultan's son-in-law who accompanied Tughay twice on pilgrimage).³⁹

In his account of the Princess Tughay, Maqrizi also comments, "It is said that she is the sister of the Amir Aqbugha 'Abd al-Wahid."⁴⁰ In 1332 with splendid pomp, Anuk, son of Tughay, the sultan's favorite son, was married. In the same year Aqbugha became majordomo. Aqbugha, the brother of Tughay, seems to have been advancing through his relationship with the sultan's favorite wife.⁴¹

Both Sitt Hadaq and Amir Aqbugha held prominent positions at court, and seem to be connected through the person of Khawand Tughay; but it does not explain why gold and glass-colored mosaics decorate their mihrabs, the only two such of this period, and in virtually identical pattern. The technique is rare and expensive. It is more common in Greater Syria where it dates back to the Byzantine period, and survives in Jerusalem and Damascus, in the earliest Muslim monumental structures.

Among the Islamic monuments in Cairo, there are only two mihrabs which might be considered as precedents, both built by rulers and both at a time when Syrian influences were strong. The first is the mihrab hood in the mausoleum of Shagar al-Durr (Pearl-Spray), the concubine, then wife, of Salah Najm al-Din Ayyub, the last of that dynasty. The date of her tomb is 1250, ninety years earlier than Sitt Hadaq's. Although it uses gold glass cubes in the background and mother of pearl on the branches, the design is quite different. It is from a trefoil, instead of a goblet, that upwards and outwards three branches fill the available space of the hood,⁴² in a clear reference to the name of the patroness. The second one,

the mihrab hood of the madrasa of Sultan Qalawun (1285), is closer both in time and in the nature of its decoration. Against a golden background vine scrolls laden with fruit emerge from a goblet-shaped container and cover the surface of the upper niche. The mother-of-pearl roundels appear in rosettes along the base of the hood, but are sprinkled singly among the branches.⁴³

Much closer in design and in time, though not in space, is the glass mosaic mihrab hood of the mosque founded by 'Isa ibn Umar al-Burtasi in Tripoli (Syria) between 1290 and 1324 (fig. 5).⁴⁴ In this example, a black and green acanthus spray springs from a footed goblet and fills the golden background of the mihrab hood. The rim of the goblet is decorated with mother-of-pearl roundels as are those of Aqbugha and Sitt Hadaq. Of the founder of this mosque we know his full name, 'Isa ibn 'Umar ibn 'Isa, al-Amir Sharaf al-Din ibn al-Burtasi al-Kurdi; his date of birth, 665 (1266), and his death, 15th of Ramadan 725 (1324), but no other details about his life or a reason for the glass mosaics. However, his mosque does provide a clue for the channel by which this strong Syrian influence came to the mihrabs of Sitt Hadaq and Amir Aqbugha: the person of Tankiz, governor general of Syria.

Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Husami was the *na'ib* or viceroy of Damascus from 1312 to 1314; from 1314 until his death in 1340, he was Guardian of the Empire, (*kāfil al-mamālik al-ashraf bi al-shā'm*), through whom all other viceroys in Syria communicated with the sultan in Cairo.⁴⁵ He was a military man, but also a man of high culture and a man known for his piety and charity. For more than twenty-five years he served Nasir Muhammad well as administrator and friend. Their relationship was long and intimate. Tankiz was with Nasir Muhammad during his voluntary exile at Kerak (1309–10). His daughter Qutlughmalik married the sultan and was the mother of al-Salih, born in 1337–38⁴⁶ and reigned from 1342–45. Two other daughters of Tankiz were married to the sultan's sons. According to Maqrizi it was Tankiz who bought Tughay as a slave girl for 90,000 dirhams,⁴⁷ and sent her to the sultan, who loved her more "than any of his wives, even including the daughter of Amir Tankiz."⁴⁸ When Tughay went on pilgrimage after the birth of Anuk in the year 721 (1321), Tankiz "also sought permission to go on the hajj and it was given to him."⁴⁹ The births of children, marriages, and the pilgrimage were always occasions of great festivities and a time when massive numbers of gifts were exchanged, "and when the Amir Tankiz sent a gift from Damascus to the sultan an abundant part of it would be for the Khawand Tughay."⁵⁰

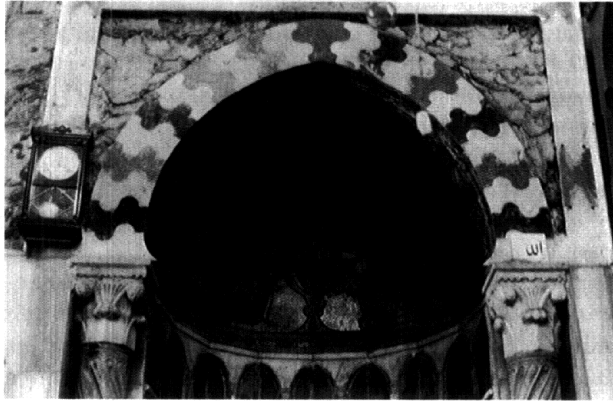


Fig. 5. Tripoli. Madrasa-mosque of al-Burtasi. Mihrab. Mosaic half-dome. (Hayat Salam Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli*, fig. 38).

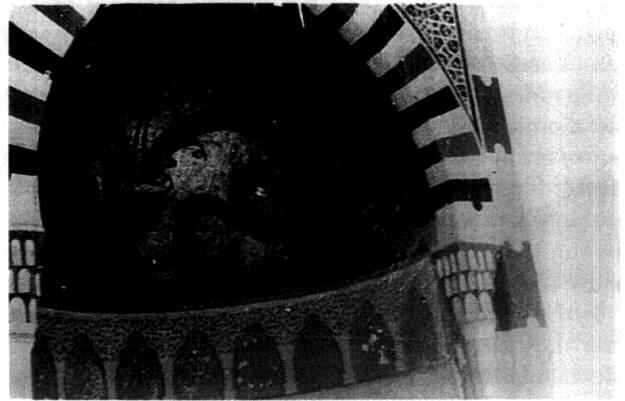


Fig. 6. Damascus. Mosque of Tankiz. Mihrab. Mosaic half-dome. (Photo: Abd al-Razzaq Moaz)

Tankiz's long tenure as governor general of Syria saw an extensive program of urban restoration. Mosques, madrasas, khanqahs, baths, and markets were erected and religious buildings were restored in Damascus, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Tripoli. Although many of the monuments in Syria have since been destroyed, with the help of secondary sources it is possible to substantiate two important links with building practices in Cairo: Tankiz's interest in mosaic mihrabs, and the interchangeability of certain designs.

In 1317–18 Tankiz built a mosque in Damascus. Although only two portals and a minaret survive today, it is known that the qibla wall was decorated with mosaics.⁵¹ The mihrab was embellished with a green acanthus on a gold background (fig. 6).⁵² In 1318–19 Tankiz ordered the dome of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem restored and regilded. In 1328 repairs were made to the Great Mosque of Damascus which included a new mihrab and marble paneling.⁵³ In 1328–29 Tankiz ordered the madrasa/khanqah built in Jerusalem. The mihrab has glass mosaic decoration in its conch. It is difficult to make out the elements exactly, but it is obvious that tendrils sprays emerge from a pearl-lipped vase, and there are pearl rosettes among the branches.⁵⁴ In 1331–32 under Tankiz's orders the mihrab in the haram at Hebron was restored. The mihrab is described as virtually identical with the one in Jerusalem.⁵⁵ The conchs of both mihrabs are decorated with glass mosaics, "probably from stock made originally for the restoration of the mosaics at the Great Mosque in Damascus."⁵⁶ In 1330–31 the mihrab in the al-Aqsa mosque was restored. Burgoyne writes that because of the close resemblance in the marble pan-

eling of these three mihrabs (Jerusalem, Hebron, al-Aqsa) one should "conclude that all three examples are the work of the same team of specialists."⁵⁷ Burgoyne does not note whether there were mosaics in the Aqsa conch, but he does write that "marble wall panelling is rare in Jerusalem."⁵⁸ In Cairo, marble paneling was common. Obviously there has been an interchange of technique and craftsmen.

In Damascus, before their use by Tankiz, glass mosaics for decoration occurred only in the tomb chamber of the Madrasa Zahiriyya built by Zahir Baybars in 1277, but on the walls, not in the mihrab. During his sultanate, Baybars had also ordered the restoration of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock which had suffered neglect under the Ayyubids.⁵⁹ During the reign of Tankiz, however, mosaic mihrabs are incorporated into at least two of his buildings (the mosque in Damascus and the madrasa in Jerusalem). He also restored monuments decorated with mosaics (the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus), and restored the mosaic mihrab in Hebron, and possibly that of al-Aqsa. It seems likely, therefore, that restoring the early Syrian monuments had led Tankiz to revive this ancient craft for decorating monuments of his own time.

The link in time (ca. 1320) and place (Syria) between the mihrab of al-Burtasi and those of the powerful Tankiz is clear, even though we do not know what the personal connections were between the two patrons. In addition, on the qibla wall of the Burtasi mosque is a panel which links this mosque in Tripoli with the mosque of the Amir Altunbugha al-Maridani in Cairo. The design in the panel is based on arrow shafts laid out

along the sides and in the center of the rectangle. This design is found in many buildings in both Egypt and Syria throughout the Mamluk period. Some examples are:

- Madrassa Zahiriyya (1277), Damascus, tomb chamber, qibla wall
- Mausoleum of Zayn al-Din Yusufi (1298), Cairo, entrance to the tomb chamber⁶⁰
- Khanqah-madrassa of Sultan Baybars (1309–10), Cairo, tomb chamber, qibla wall
- Madrassa-mosque of al-Burtasi (1290–1324), Tripoli, qibla wall⁶¹
- Madrassa Qartawiya (1316–26), built by Governor of Tripoli, qibla wall⁶²
- Mosque of al-Qassab (early 14th c.), Damascus, qibla wall⁶³
- Mosque of Taynal (1336), built by governor of Tripoli, portal⁶⁴
- Mosque of al-Maridani (1340), Cairo, qibla wall

This is not an exhaustive list of the appearance of this arrow design. Even so it serves to indicate that the same design was used in both areas and to illustrate the exchanges in the early Mamluk period between Syrian and Egyptian decorative practices. It also points to the connection between the decorative elements of Greater Syria and of the Cairene monuments of this study.

At this point, having explored some of the architectural relationships among the three monuments of this study and the personal relationships of its patrons, Sitt Hadaq, and Amirs Aqbugha and Altunbugha, the following conclusions seem plausible. Both the sultan of Egypt and the governor-general of Syria were great patrons of architecture. During the period of peace that prevailed during Nasir Muhammad's third reign, he pursued his architectural interests not only in Egypt, but throughout his realm.⁶⁵ The sultan and his viceroy also enjoyed close personal relations and often exchanged gifts on important occasions. In 738 (1337–38) Qutlughmalik, Tankiz's daughter and the sultan's wife, bore Nasir Muhammad a son. Among the gifts that Tankiz may have sent to Nasir Muhammad or to Tughay were glass tesserae and the craftsmen to set them. There is a surviving inscription stating that the Dar al-Qur'an Tankiz had ordered in Damascus was completed in the year 739 (1338–39).⁶⁶

The sultan was not only a great patron of the arts and architecture, he also encouraged his leading amirs to build monuments, often sending them materials from palace stores. Maqrizi mentions this in his description of the construction of the mosque of Amir Altunbugha al-Maridani.⁶⁷

It is also known that buildings were quickly built, and often at the same time, and that in them the decorative

work was often similar. The plan of the mosque of Altunbugha, with its open courtyard, four arcades, and great dome over the mihrab area, is similar to that of Nasir Muhammad's mosque at the Citadel restored only a few years earlier (1334–35). In 1338–40 Mu'allim ibn Suyufi was supervising two buildings at once, those of the Golden and White Oxes, and possibly also that of Sitt Hadaq. Nasir Muhammad may have offered the Syrian tesserae to Aqbugha — or more likely, Aqbugha, as majordomo, appropriated them from the royal stores. Maqrizi relates: "He brought to his madrasa furniture, instruments, stone, lumber, marble, paint, everything he needed without paying anything for it, taking it by force from the people or by treachery from the treasury of the Sultan."⁶⁸

These mosaics may also have been offered to Sitt Hadaq for her mihrab, and the artisans, having just used a similar design on the mihrab of Aqbugha, may have approximated it on her mihrab to save time and energy.

In conclusion, patronage in medieval Cairo, as elsewhere, was more a function of power and wealth than of gender. Sitt Hadaq was a patron whose wealth and power derived from her close association with the ruler's harem, not unlike the black eunuchs of the Ottoman Empire who later endowed Cairo with monuments. The Lady Hadaq was able to use her position to build a monument which still remains a document of her time, and her case offers insight into some of the court relationships during Cairo's greatest period of architectural development.

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NOTES

1. Of the many extant constructions from the Mamluk period (1250–1517) for which there is positive identification, ten are associated with women's names. Six of these belong to the Qalawun dynasty (1279–1382). Except for Hadaq's they were all built for, or by, royal ladies: the madrasa-mausoleum of Fatma Khatun (1283), the wife of Sultan Qalawun and the mother of his eldest son; the khanqah-mausoleum of Khawand Tughay (1348), favorite wife of Nasir Muhammad; the madrasa-mausoleum of Tatar al-Hijaziya (1348–1360), daughter of Nasir Muhammad; the khanqah-mausoleum of Khawand Tulbay (1364), principal wife of Nasir Muhammad; the madrasa-mausoleum of Umm Sha'ban (1368), mother of Sultan Sha'ban.
2. The Survey of Egypt, *Map of Mohammedan Monuments* (Giza, 1949), I. E6.
3. Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-jadīda li-Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira mudunihā al-qadīma* (Cairo, 1888–98) 3: 93.
4. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet: *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Cairo: IFAO, 1941) 15: 126–27, no. 5793.
5. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-l'tibār bi-dhikr al-*

- khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār* (Bulaq; 1270/1853) 2: 116. Here Maqrizi refers to two ladies — Sitt Hadaq and Sitt Miska — but it is clear from the inscription that only one lady is involved. See also Ahmad Abd al-Raziq, "Trois fondations féminines dans l'Égypte mam-louk," *Revue des études islamiques* 41 (1973): 97–111.
6. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 2: 7; Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat dūwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1972) 2: 235, n. 2.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
 8. *Ibid.* The texts do not mention dates of birth or death, but if in December 1285, when Nasir Muhammad was born she was at least 10 years old, by 1351, when the last mention of her occurs (Maqrizi, *al-Sulūk*, 2: 381) she would have been at least 75 years old.
 9. H. A. R. Gibb: *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge, 1962) 2: 357. See no. 302.
 10. *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* (1889) 3: 26; 6: 4.
 11. Abd al-Raziq, "Trois fondations féminines," p. 108. For the Qurʾānic translation I thank John A. Williams.
 12. Cyril Glassé, "Ya Sin," *Concise Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New York, 1989).
 13. Combe, Sauvaget, Wiet, *RCEA*, 15: 110–11, no. 5772; p. 124, nos. 5794, 5795.
 14. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 308.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Ministry of Waqfs, *The Mosques of Egypt* (Giza: Survey of Egypt, 1949) vol. 1, pl. 60.
 18. Combe, Sauvaget, Wiet, *RCEA*, 15: 111, no. 5773.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 122, no. 5791.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 127, no. 5800.
 21. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 383–85.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 384.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 a.d.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghri Birdi's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 93.
 26. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 384.
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Ibid.*, 2: 425–26.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
 30. Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, p. 233.
 31. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 425.
 32. Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, p. 233.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 426.
 36. P. M. Holt, "Naṣir Muhammad ibn Qalāwūn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (hereafter *EI*²).
 37. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, 2: 357.
 38. Ibn Taghribardi, *Nuḡum al-Zāhira*, 10: 332, as noted by Abd al-Raziq, "Trois fondations féminines," p. 110.
 39. Between 1330 and 1340 there are two epitaphs mentioning ladies on pilgrimage: the mother of the Amir Nasir al-Din (d. 1333) and the daughter of the Amir Bashtak (d. 1338); Combe, Sauvaget, Wiet, *RCEA*, 15: 20, no. 5629; 15: 109, no. 5769.
 40. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 425.
 41. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1: 391; Abd al-Raziq: *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo: IFAO, 1973), 5: 31.
 42. K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959) p. 138, pls. 42 and 107a. Cf. with the illustration in Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1989), pl. 65, which shows that the base of the hood, and consequently the trefoil, has been vandalized.
 43. Creswell, *MAE*, pl. 108. There are mosaics also in the mihrab of the mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun, restored by Sultan Lajin in 1296, but they are not in the hood, and the main decoration is the *shahāda* in black cursive script on a golden background (pl. 81b). The mihrab of the madrasa of Amir Taybars (1309) also has mosaic decoration, but the mosaics are in the spandrels around the arch, do not show gold, and depict a pomegranate tree (pls. 99b and 113).
 44. Hayat Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge, Mass.: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1983) pp. 34–50, figs. 36, 38.
 45. Holt, "Naṣir Muhammad ibn Qalāwūn" *EI*².
 46. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2: 432.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
 48. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 425.
 49. Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, p. 232.
 50. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 426.
 51. M. H. Burgoyne: *Mamluk Jerusalem* (London, 1987) quoting al-ʿUmari, p. 237.
 52. Salam-Liebich, *Tripoli*, p. 49; S. ʿAbdul Hak and K. Moaz, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas* (Damascus, n.d.), illustration, p. 108.
 53. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 236.
 54. *Ibid.*, pl. 20, p. 97; pl. 18.17.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
 58. *Ibid.*
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, pl. 84b.
 61. Salam-Liebich, *Tripoli*, figs. 36, 37.
 62. *Ibid.*, fig. 100.
 63. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
 64. *Ibid.*, figs. 39, 49.
 65. For example, see his works in Jerusalem as cited in Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 77 et sqq.
 66. Combe, Sauvaget, Wiet, *RCEA*, 15: 115, no. 5780.
 67. Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 308.
 68. *Ibid.*, p. 384.