Women and their Architectural Contributions in the Bahri Mamluk State

(648 AH - 784 AH / 1250 AD - 1383 AD)

“a cultural study”

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Abstract

Women's architectural and civilizational contributions in the various aspects of life have revealed their lofty status and distinct role in enriching the Arab-Islamic thought. These contributions have proven women's pioneering role in the advancement and service of their society. During the reign of the Bahri Mamluks, women continued to enjoy an ample share of freedom and respect that Islamic law guaranteed to them since the Muslims advent to Egypt, which had the greatest impact on their active participation in the various aspects of political and public life as well.

Women also paid attention to the scientific, cultural and artistic aspects. They were also interested in the social life, and their contributions are evident on their different establishments, which undoubtedly indicate their mature intellectual and cognitive awareness. Such interest left behind many buildings and architectural facilities that were not limited to women of Mamluk origin, but also to all rich women of
Egyptian society who enjoyed social and scientific status as well.

Religious architecture, which varied between mosques, Madrasas, khanqahs, and ribats (hospices), were the main concern of women, followed by the other urban facilities, such as quitrents, houses, and palaces. These facilities were built according to the architectural style that prevailed in the Mamluk era, which is characterized by the diversity of decorations and the use of well-carved stones in white and black. Women also managed to make these urban facilities as centers for spreading knowledge in mosques and Madrasas and providing them with the most qualified sheikhs and teachers, as well as books needed by learners. In addition, they set up maktabs for the education of orphans, and free sabils. They also built ribats to house homeless women. Moreover, they established other facilities for a purely economic purpose and allocated them many endowments to guarantee the continuation of these establishments in performing the purposes for which they were established.

1. Introduction

Egypt witnessed a new phase of its history upon the accession of Shajar al-Durr to the throne of the first Mamluk or Bahri sultanate (648 AH - 784 AH / 1250 AD - 1382 AD). It marked the golden age of Egypt's history in the Islamic eras, due to the prosperity of the country's conditions in all its political, economic, administrative, and intellectual aspects. As a result, Egypt became the focus of attention of scholars from all over the Islamic world.

The Bahri Mamluks era enriched Egypt with a magnificent architectural heritage in terms of quality and quantity, as a continuation of the previous prominent architectural heritage of the Fatimid and Ayyubid states. It can be seen that the Mamluk architecture combined the aesthetic features of the former states and created a distinct type of its own character and function.¹

The researchers, with their various cultures and affiliations, shed light on the urban Mamluk facilities, and allotted books and volumes to them to record their minute details. They praised the restoration and renovation processes that these facilities underwent. In this regard, women's urban contributions received part of this attention and study, though they were partial as they shed light only on the contributions of the

¹ عبد المنعم حمدى – دراسات فى تاريخ الأيوبيين والمماليك , ط1 , دار المعرفة الجامعية , القاهرة , 2000 , ص 15.
most famous women of the era. In addition, there was no comprehensive study of the architectural achievements of all women of the Bahri Mamluk era.²

Hence, this study is of importance as it tries to fill the gap left behind by many historians who did not mention women and their works in their writings except in brief, for reasons related to the traditions of that era on the one hand, and due to the lack of writings specific to women on the other. Hence, there is a lack of literature on women and their various achievements, including the architectural, which the researcher manages to overcome by examining women's contributions to the urban facilities that added to the Mamluk architecture its artistic and aesthetic touch. Such contributions reflected the extent to which they enjoyed their rights, which began to increase with the passage of time.³

Women and their Social Status during the Bahri Mamluks Era:

The Islamic Sharia granted women their full rights, and put an end to the injustice that befell them before Islam, so the rulers and the knowledgeable Muslim thinkers took it upon themselves to give women their rights in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law. This bestowed upon the Muslim woman a social status different from those in other societies. She enjoyed all freedoms, provided that they do not conflict with the principles of Islamic law. In addition, women enjoyed their social rights, the full right to manage their own affairs and the affairs of their families and relatives, alongside their political, administrative, economic and intellectual rights.

She played an active political role in the country’s administration, leading it in the most urgent moments to overcome its crisis. In addition, she managed to express opinion and provide advice to those in authority who did not hesitate to act on her advice. For example, Shajar al-Durr⁴ concealed the death of al-Malik al-Saleh Najm al-Din Ayyub (637 AH - 647 AH / 1239 AD - 1249 AD) because of the Crusaders' attack on Egypt and their occupation of Damietta in 647 AH / 1249 AD⁵. She ruled the country until the arrival of al-Malik al-Saleh's son Turan Shah (647 AH / 648 AH / 1249 AD - 1250 AD) from the Levant. After his assassination, the Mamluks chose her to be the first queen to rule Egypt. She abdicated power to Izz al-Din Aybak⁶ (648 AH - 655 AH / 1250 AD - 1257 AD), which is considered the finest examples of successful administration and work to spare the country from political crises and the scourge of wars.

² سعيد عاشور : تاريخ مصر الأسلامية , الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب , 1993 م – ص 201.
³ د. أحمد رضا أحمد عمر – أسهام المرأة فى المجال العمرانى والثقافى فى العصر الأيوبى 570 - 658 هـ / 1174 - 1260 م , ص 3.
⁴ She was killed in 655 AH/1257 AD. For more information, see:
⁵ المقرئي ، أحمد بن علي ، ( ت 845 هـ / 1441 م ) , السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك , تحقيق عبد القادر عطا , دار الكتب العلمية , بيروت , 1997 م , ج1 , ص 437.
⁶ ابن نفري بردي ، النجوم الزاهرة وصناعة النجوم , مصدر سابق , ج 6 , ص 333.
In addition, there was Khawand Baraka, one of the most notable powerful women in Egypt at this time. She was the mother of al-Malik al-Said. She supported her son against his opponents of princes, and was able, thanks to her advice, to reach a solution that satisfied all parties\textsuperscript{7}.

In the Mamluk society, women also had their intellectual and cultural contributions, along with men, in enriching the Arab-Islamic thought. Women excelled in Hadith studies, Islamic jurisprudence, poetry and literature, such as Sett al-Khutab\textsuperscript{8}, Juwayriyah bint Al-Shihab Abi Al-Hassan Ahmed\textsuperscript{9}, and Fatima bint Al-Shihab Ahmed bin Al-Qasim\textsuperscript{10}.

As for women's social contributions, they did many good deeds of righteousness and charity. They established facilities for purely humanitarian and religious purposes. They allocated many endowments to ensure providing these establishments with the finances necessary to continue performing their set functions. For example, Khawand Toghay\textsuperscript{11}, the wife of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun and the mother of his son Anuk, She performed Hajj in 728 AH / 1322 AD and spent 1000 dinars as well as 680,000 on charitable causes\textsuperscript{12}.

There was also Khawand Baraka, the mother of Sultan Al-Ashraf Shaban (764 AH - 778 AH / 1362 AD - 1376 AD) who she spent lavishly on the poor during her Hajj in 771 AH / 1368 AD\textsuperscript{14}. Also, Zahraa bint Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad Qalawun established Sabil Al-Sitt on the Mina road in 761 AH / 1359 AD to provide accommodations to the pilgrims and designated many endowments to ensure carrying out its charitable functions\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{7} Events of 678 AH/1279 AD. For more information, see: 
- ابن تグري بردي، النجوم الزاهرة، مصدر سابق، ج7، ص229.

\textsuperscript{8} Sitt Al-Khatib: Daughter of Sheikh Taqi Al-Din Al-Subki, she died in 773 AH / 1371 AD. For more see: 
- ابن حجر، أحمد بن علي، (ت 852 هـ / 1449 م )، “ابناء الغمر ابنا ابي الغمر”， ج1، ص1، 1998.

\textsuperscript{9} Juwayriyah bint Al-Shihabi: Abu Al-Hasan Ahmad bin Ahmad Al-Hukari, alone in narrating Al-Nasa’i. She died on Safar 22 in the year 773 AH. For more see:
- ابن تغري بردي، النجوم، ج11، ص180.

\textsuperscript{10} Fatima bint Al-Shihab Ahmed bin Al-Qasim died in 783 AH / 1381 AD. For more see:
- ابن حجر، ابي الغمر، ج1، ص249.

\textsuperscript{11} Khawand Toghay: Umm Anuk, wife of Sultan Muhammad bin Qalawun, died of an epidemic in 749 AH / 1348 AD and left behind a lot of money. For more see:
- المغرزي، أحمد بن علي، (ت 845 هـ / 1441 م )، “السدرة المعرفة دولة الملك”، تحقيق عبد الناصر عطية، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، 1997، ص4، ص86.

\textsuperscript{12} المغرزي، أحمد بن علي، (ت 845 هـ / 1441 م ) – الخطط المقرزية، وضع حواشيه خليل المنصور، ط1، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، 1998، ج4، ص299.

\textsuperscript{13} Khawand: A title that was common in the Mamluk era. It conveys the meaning of respect and is used to address males and females alike. It means (master or lady).

\textsuperscript{14} ابن تغري بردي، النجوم، ج3، ص356.

\textsuperscript{15} عائشة مانع عبيد، المرأة في مكة ودورها الحضاري خلال العصورين الأيوبى والمملوكي، أطروحة دكتوراه لم تنشر، جامعة الملك عبد العزيز، كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية، السعودية، الرياض، 2009، ص187.
As for the female concubines in the Mamluk court, many had a privileged position, such as Al-Sitt Miska, the nursemaid of the palace during the reign of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad. Later, she managed the palace affairs, such as holding banquets and celebrations. She became of importance as she became responsible for all affairs of the Mamluk palace.

Women in Egypt practiced various professions, either for wages or to provide sustenance for their families, so they worked in teaching and giving lessons to women and men alike. They also took care of patients in bimarists (hospitals) and provided them with food and drink and kept them clean. Others took the religious path of Sufism, while some worked in singing and playing, or in markets, trade, buying and selling. As for the countryside, women worked alongside men on the land and raising animals in addition to their work in the house. In general, women in the countryside enjoyed fewer rights than women in the city.

The Features and Characteristics of Mamluk Architecture

The Mamluk era is considered the golden age of Islamic architecture in Egypt, as it is a clear manifestation of the magnificent arts of Islamic architecture. The Mamluk architecture is a product of the Islamic architectural heritage of the countries that preceded the Mamluk state in Egypt, especially the Fatimid architecture, in addition to the architectural heritage of the Mamluks' countries. There were also some secondary architectural influences of the Seljuks and Mongols that occurred due to the cultural links between these states or through the captives of the Mongol campaigns who tried to control Egypt and the Levant.

The Mamluks were proud of the Islamic architectural heritage and adhered to its basic features in terms of design and planning, but their developments included other aspects away from these main features. They worked on developing the architectural styles inherited from the Fatimids and Ayyubids to cope with the development witnessed by the Mamluk era in various aspects. In addition, they aimed mainly to highlight the beauty and splendor of their architecture.
As a result, most of the Mamluk architectural facilities consisted mostly of a sahn (courtyard) ventilation, surrounded in the middle of the building for lighting and 24 by iwans. The sahn is also surrounded by various building facilities or elements 25.

These architectural buildings can be accessed through entrances or external portals. These buildings usually consist of three entrances, two side and one main, which is surmounted by the minaret to distinguish it. These entrances were called the memorial entrances. The main entrance is distinguished by the façade 27 that is surmounted by a panel of marble inscribed with the founder's name and year of construction. The an inner defensive wall to the opposite of the entrance, which they inherited from the Ayyubids 29, continued to be used, except that they added to it a vestibule 30 decorated with geometric patterns and spaces to provide tranquility and prepare the soul to receive lessons or perform religious rites.

The Mamluks paid great attention to the facades of their buildings, and they were keen to show their adoption to the Islamic scripts and Quranic verses. They were also interested in their decorations and geometric shapes to give an aesthetic character to their architecture 31.

As for the minaret, it was also distinguished by its splendid style of construction, and it was built on a square-shaped base surmounted by polygonal and round tiers 32.

They used the building materials that were available in their environment, such as the bricks, stone, wood 33 and columns that were used in building mosques, which were made locally, after they were imported from other regions 34.

The Religious Architecture

Women during the Bahri Mamluks era showed great interest in religious architecture, which was associated with the spiritual aspect of man and his religious belief. There were many forms of religious architecture such as mosques, masjid jami' (congregational mosques), Madrasas, ribats, khanqahs, mausoleums, or charity cemeteries. Therefore, it can be seen that every founder of religious buildings allocated endowments that allow these cemeteries continue their set purpose. Endowments were also allocated to pay the wages of those entrusted with taking care of these buildings.

24 علي ثويني، معجم عمارة الشعوب الإسلامية , ط 1 , بغداد , 2005 م ، ص 445.
25 The Iwan: It is an open vaulted architectural space. For more see:
26 سامي عبد الله المغلوث، اطلس تاريخ العصر المملوكي , ط 1 , الرياض , 2013 م ، ص 281؛ حسن باشا، مدخل إلى الأثار الإسلامية , دار النهضة العربية , القاهرة ، 1990 م ، ص 127.
27 سامي عبد الله، اطلس, ص 127.
28 عاصم محمد رزق, اطلس العمارة الإسلامية والقبطية بالقاهرة , ط 1 , مكتبة مدبولى , القاهرة , 2003 م , ج 2 , ق 1 , ص 1293.
29 علي ثويني, معجم, ص 325.
30 علي ثويني، معجم, ص 112.
31 محمد حسن جودي, الفن العربي, ص 123.
32 سامي عبد الله أطلس تاريخ العصر المملوكي, ص 281.
33 علياء عكاشة, العمارة الإسلامية في مصر, القاهرة, 2008 م , ص 29.
and the salaries of teachers, workers and students in some cases, in addition to carrying out maintenance and restoration if necessary.

Women were highly concerned with religious architecture such as building the masjid jamī’ (congregational mosques), to perform the religious rites and for educational purposes as well. Mosques were beacons for teaching various lessons at the hands of the best fuqaha (Islamic jurisprudents) and scholars, especially the religious studies. Over time, Madrasa found its way as a social institution that played a great role in learning the boy’s various studies in various fields. At first, Madrasas were established by Muslim princes and kings, then by wealthy women and men alike. Ribats and khanqahs were also founded to play important intellectual and social roles. However, some religious buildings were restricted to performing their religious goal, such as the burials, cemeteries and mausoleums.

**Mosques**

**Sit Hadaq Mosque**

This is one of the most magnificent mosques established by women during the Bahri Mamluks era. It was established by Sitt Hadaq, the nursemaid of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun, who had an influential position in the Mamluk court. Such influence continued after the death of Sultan Al-Nasir, and she loyally supported his son Sultan Al-Nasir Hassan against his opponents from the Mamluks. In addition, she preferred imprisonment with him to abandon him, until she died in prison.

**The Architectural Layout of the Mosque**

The Mosque of Sit Hadaq stands in a small street eastward Sharia Port Said Opposite to El Madrasa El Khidewiya. It has two facades. The main facade includes the main entrance. It is a two shuttered portal surmounted by a marble panel with constitutive inscriptions in prominent Mamluk Naskh script. It is followed by the sahn that is surrounded by four iwans. In the southeastern side, there is the qiblah rectangular iwan, where the mihrab is located in its southeastern side. The mihrab consists of a semi-circular apse. To the right of the mihrab, there is a wooden minbar (pulpit) made of unassembles panels.

The third iwan includes Dekkat al-Mubaligh (Orator's Desk) and a small door that leads to the roof and the minaret. To the northwestern side of this iwan, there is a burial chamber with a wooden dome. There is a modern wooden cabin in the middle that is placed over the tomb of the building.

As for the minaret, it was characterized by simplicity of design. It was implemented on a blank square-shaped base that is devoid of inscriptions and...
architectural elements. It is surmounted by two cylindrical tiers, the first wider than the second that ends with a wooden finial\textsuperscript{40}.

**Al-Sit Miska Mosque**

She is one of the maidservants of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun. She established her mosque near the Aqsunqur aqueduct\textsuperscript{41} on al-Khalij al-Kabir outside al-Qahira\textsuperscript{42}. The construction of this mosque was accomplished on the tenth of Jumada al-Akhir (741 AH / 1340 AD). This mosque was so famous that the neighborhood and the next market where it was built were given the same name\textsuperscript{43}.

**The Architectural Layout of the Mosque**

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

The building fits neatly into the prevalent architectural canon although it is modest in size and design.

**Madrasas**

**Madrasa of Umm Al-Sultan**

It is a Mamluk-era complex located in the Al-Darb al-Ahmar area. It was known by attribution to Khawand Baraka, the mother of Sultan Al-Ashraf Shaaban bin Hussein, who ordered its construction in 771 AH / 1369 AD. It is located outside Bab Zuweila along al-Tabbana street near the Citadel\textsuperscript{44}. It was concerned with teaching the Shafi‘i and Hanafi madhhab at the hands of the then best scholars and jurisprudents\textsuperscript{45}.  

\textsuperscript{40} عاصم محمد رزق، اطلس، ج2، ص 716.
\textsuperscript{41} Aq Sunqur bin Abdullah al-Nasiri, named after his teacher, Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun, and he was one of the those close to him, and the husband of one of his daughters. He died in 748 AH / 1347 AD. For more see: ابن تغري بردي، المنهل الصافي، ج3، ص 355.
\textsuperscript{42} المقرزى، الخطا، ج4، ص 496.
\textsuperscript{43} المقرزى، الخطا، ج3، ص 92.
\textsuperscript{44} المقرزى، السلوك، ج4، ص 258.
The Architecture of Madrasa

The exterior of madrasa consists of three stone façades crowned by tri-leaf crenellations\(^ {46} \) and adorned with Qur'anic inscriptions in Naskh script.

The external façade includes a unique main entrance with two stone benches on both sides, of which the right one decorated with Quranic verses, and the left one recorded the name of Sultan al-Ashraf Shaaban. In the middle of these two stone benches, there is wooden two-shutter portal. Each shutter includes two bands of copper from above and below\(^ {47} \). The door is surmounted by a panel of high-relief inscriptions in Naskh script indicating the originator of this madrasa. This door leads to a square vestibule preceded by a vaulted entrance with a pointed arch. It includes a bench with a marble seating. To the right, there is a door with a stone benches on either side. It is surmounted by a high-relief inscription in Naskh script. This door leads to the roof and the minaret\(^ {48} \). To the left of it, there is another door that leads to a rectangular corridor that its southern wall is adorned with a marble panel decorated with Naskh inscriptions indicating the originator of madrasa. This inscription includes the prohibitions to dissolve the waqf (endowments) of madrasa or violating the stipulations of its waqf\(^ {49} \).

This portal leads to an exposed square sahn in which there are four doors surmounted by repeated Naskh inscriptions indicating the founder of this madrasa. The rectangular main sahn of the madrasa is surrounded by iwans on four sides in a cruciform configuration. The first is the qibla iwan, which is located in the southeastern side, in which there is a hollow mihrab with a semicircular niche with a pointed arch resting on two octagonal marble columns. To the right of this iwan is a simple wooden minbar, and to its right is dekkat al-mubaligh made of wood as well. The walls of these iwans are adorned with Quranic inscriptions. The iwans had richly painted and gilded wooden ceilings\(^ {50} \).

The Annexes of Madrasa

The qibla iwan is flanked by two tomb chambers with lofty domes. The large tomb chamber on the northern is where Khwand Baraka and a daughter, Khwand Zahra, are buried. As for the southern side, it is dedicated to the burial of Sultan Al-Ashraf Shaaban and his son Al-Mansur Hajji. These two tombs were built in the southwestern side of madrasa, and they are accessed through a secondary entrance that leads to a door opening with a stone lintel\(^ {51} \) made up of joggled-voussoirs\(^ {52} \). It is surmounted by a shed of wood, carried on three wooden corbels\(^ {53} \).

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\(^ {46} \) علي ثويني، معجم، ص 432.
\(^ {47} \) عاصم محمد رزق، ج 2، ق 1، ص 1291.
\(^ {48} \) عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1291.
\(^ {49} \) علي مبارك، الخطط، ص 60.
\(^ {50} \) عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1291.
\(^ {51} \) علي ثويني، معجم، ص 491.
\(^ {52} \) علي ثويني، معجم، ص 685.
\(^ {53} \) عبد السلام احمد، دراسات، ص 326.
This door leads to a square vestibule, where there is another door in its northwestern side, leading to the tomb of Khawand. Her daughter's tomb includes a hollow mihrab, and is preceded by a small room designated for the guard. There is a door leading to the Sultanic burial chamber in the southeastern side of the vestibule. It was designated for the burial of Sultan Al-Ashraf Shaaban and his son. Both tombs are similar in design, construction, and decoration, except for the northern, which is larger than the southern.

The Minaret

It was built later, and it consists of a square-shaped base upon which a circular balcony rests on several tiers of muqarnas. These are surrounded by a tier adorned with filigreed stone ornaments adorned with floral and geometric patterns. The first is octagonal and includes four sides, confronting four skylights. As for the second, it is cylindrical decorated with floral and epigraphic ornaments. The finial of minaret no longer exists, as it was demolished completely.

B- Madrasa al-Hijaziya

It is also known as the madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziya as it was established by Khawand Tatar, the daughter of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun, and the wife of Prince Buktumr al-Hijazi. She established her architectural complex, which included the palace, the madrasa, its annexes, and rahba (field) on the land of al-Kasr al-Sharqi al-Kabir (Great Eastern Palace) at the site of Bab al-Zumurud (Emerald Gate). She was highly concerned with teaching the Shafi’i jurisprudence, so she entrusted Sheikh Siraj al-Din Omar ibn Raslan al-Balqini to this task. This is in addition to the Maliki jurisprudence, which was taught by the best faqihs of that era.

The madrasa included a bookcase for learners, as well as a minbar, and some buildings, such as Maktab al-Sabil (for teaching Quran), the burial chamber, and the minaret. She allocated many endowments for her architectural complex to spend their proceeds on the salaries of personnel and teachers, in addition to the additional expenses of feasts and holidays. Doing such charitable activities, she sought the reward of God. The construction of this complex completed in 761 AH / 1359 AD, and with the passage

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54 سعاد ماهر، مساجد مصر واولياؤها الصالحين، ج 3، ص 306.
55 عاصم محمد رزق، اطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1291.
56 Muqarnas: is a three-dimensional architectural decorative element that flourished in its most complete form mainly during the Islamic period and is most pervasively used in domes and semi-domes. For more see:
57 علي ثويني، معجم، ص 717.
58 المقريزي، الخطط، ج 4، ص 230.
59 Siraj al-Din Omar ibn Raslan al-Balqini: He died in 805 AH/1402 AD in Cairo and was buried there. For more see:
60 ابن تغري بردي، الدليل، ج 1، ص 497.
of time the madrasa turned into a mosque. Hence, teaching ceased there and it was confined to establishing prayers⁶¹.

**The Architecture of Madrasa**

From the outside, the madrasa had two facades of stone, one main and the other secondary. The main facade is located on the northeastern side, and the main entrance can be found at its northern end. It is a two wooden shutters portal surmounted by a marble panel that records its foundational inscription. It is implemented in Naskh script and reads as follows:

**In Arabic**

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أمر بأنشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة من فضل الله وجزيل نعمه/ طلبا لرضوانه الادر المصونة تتر خاتون، الحجازية كريمة المقام الشريف الملكي/ الناصرى ناصر الدنيا و الذين حسن بن السلطان الشهيد المرحوم الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون الصالحي تغدهم الله برحمته، وكان الفراغ من ذلك في سلخ شهر رمضان سنة احدى وستون وسبعمائة للهجرة النبوية عليه افضل الصلاة والسلام والرحمة.
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**It means:** "This Blessed madrasa was built - by the bounty of God and His abundant blessings - / Seeking His pleasure, - by orders of the Preserved Tatar Khatun al-Hijaziya, the sister of the honorable royal dignitary/ al-Nasiri, the Protector of the World and of Religion Hasan bin the late martyr Sultan Al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun Al-Salihi, may God bless them with His mercy. Its construction ended in the end of Ramadan 761 of the Prophet’s migration, upon him be the best prayers, peace and mercy."

As for the second façade, its western end includes a secondary door with a single shutter made of wood. It is surmounted by a rectangular window with a screen of metal mesh⁶³. To the left of the door there is a lower window topped by three similar rectangular windows, followed by ornamental lozenges that surround the burial chamber, which protrude slightly from the façade⁶⁴.

A vestibule leads to the main entrance from the inside. It is a square vestibule whose floor is covered with stone tiles. The ceiling of vestibule is made of wood and decorated with inscriptions from the Holy Qur’an in Naskh script. The vestibule leads to a door leading to a roofless sahn whose floor is covered with colored marble. There

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⁶¹ بعمت محمد أبو بكر، "منبر جامع الست تاتار"، ص 143.
⁶² عاصم محمد رزق، اطلس، ج 2، ص 1183.
⁶³ علي ثويني، معجم، ص 698.
⁶⁴ عاصم محمد رزق، اطلس، ج 2، ص 1183.
are two wooden doors on the southeastern side of the sahn, of which one leads to the ablution place\textsuperscript{65} and the other to a small room\textsuperscript{66}.

The sahn is surrounded by three iwans, the first of which is the rectangular iwan of qiblah. It is located in the southeastern side. The qibla wall contains a hollow mihrab with a niche containing a pointed arch of joggled-vousoirs. It rests on two octagonal marble columns, topped by a hood surrounded by an inscription of Quranic verses. A wooden minbar is placed next to the mihrab. The southwestern side of this iwan includes three upper windows with pointed arches adorned with stucco stained glass. The northern side includes a blind doorway, with a door opening on its north. It includes two wooden shutters that lead to a staircase that leads to the roof and the minaret\textsuperscript{67}.

As for the second iwan, it is located in the southwestern side, somewhat similar to the qibla iwan. It includes a hollow mihrab, but it is small in size\textsuperscript{68}. The third iwan is located in the northwestern side and dekkat al-mubaligh is placed in the middle. It is made of wood and can be accessed by a staircase made out of wood, behind which Kursi al-Mushaf (holder of the Qur’an) is placed. This iwan contains a lower window and three upper windows. In addition, there is a door with two wooden shutters and in its northeastern wall that leads to the burial chamber. There is another door opening in the southwestern wall that leads to a small room for recitation\textsuperscript{69}.

The Annexes of Madrasa

The Domed Mausoleum

It is located on the western side of the qibla iwan. It is a square chamber that has two facades crowned by tri-leaf crenellations. There is a window opening with a metal mesh in its lower section. This window is surmounted by a straight lintel of joggled vousoirs, topped by a tympanum upon which a relieving arch of interlocked stones rests. The walls are decorated with a band of inscriptions in Naskh script\textsuperscript{70}.

As for the interior, it includes a wooden structure on a rectangular base cladded with marble panels. It contains a hollow mihrab with a pointed arch resting on two octagonal marble columns on their southeastern side. The hood is decorated with radial patterns. There are two window openings on the northeastern and northwest sides. As for the southwestern side, it contains a door leading to the domed chamber. The door is topped by wooden band of inscriptions in Naskh script\textsuperscript{71}.

\textsuperscript{65} علي ثويني، معجم، ص 747.
\textsuperscript{66} عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1183.
\textsuperscript{67} نفس المصدر، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1183.
\textsuperscript{68} علي مبارك، الخطط، ج 6، ص 24.
\textsuperscript{69} عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1183.
\textsuperscript{70} علي مبارك، الخطط، ج 6، ص 24-25.
\textsuperscript{71} عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 1183.
The Minaret:

The minaret rests on a square base, surmounted by one octagonal tier, surrounded by a band of Qur’anic inscriptions in Naskh script. This minaret is located in the western side of madrasa.

Maktab al-Sabil

It is one of the buildings annexed to the madrasa. It was designated for housing the Muslim orphans. An instructor was appointed to teach the Holy Qur’an. The proceeds of its endowments are allocated to provide their daily provisions. Each orphan would have five loaves of bread per day, along with a monthly amount of money, two outfits a year, one in summer and the other in winter.

Khanqah of Khawand Toghay

It was built by orders of Khatun Khawand Toghay, a slave wife of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun. She is said to be the sister of Prince Aqbugha bin Abdul-Wahid. She was very beautiful. Sultan Al-Nasir freed her and married her. She is the mother of his son Anuk, and she lived in luxury. She gained a privileged position in the state, so the Mamluk princes feared and respected her, and treated her as they did with the Sultan. She enjoyed this position even after the death of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad, and she was charitable and pious, so she took over the education of Sultan Al-Nasser Hassan after his mother's death. In addition, she did the pilgrim twice in a large entourage in the company of senior statesmen.

Khawand Toghay died in the epidemic of 441 AH / 0846 AD, and she ordered the emancipation of all her maidservants and servants, who numbered one thousand maidservants and eighty eunuchs. Moreover, she allocated a salary sufficient for to each of them.

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72 نفس المصدر، ج2، ص1183.
73 علي مبارك، الخطط، ج6، ص25.
74 ابن تغري بردي، النجوم، ج10، ص187.
75 Aqbugha bin Abdul Wahid: Aqbugha bin Abdullah bin Abdul Wahid al-Nasiri al-Amir Alaa al-Din, died in 744 AH/1343 AD. For more see :
76 المقرئي، الخطيط، ج4، ص299.
77 ابن تغري بردي، النجوم، ج10، ص383.
78 ابن حجر، الدرر، ج2، ص1.
79 ابن تغري، بردي، النجوم، ج10، ص187.
The Architecture of Khanqah

Khawand Toghay ordered the construction of this khanqah in the desert outside Bab al-Barqiya near the mausoleum of Prince Tashtamur al-Saqi. It consists of three stone facades crowned with serrated crenellations. A band of Qur’anic verses inscribed in Mamluk Naskhi script revolves along these three facades. It is made out of colored faience tiles. The main entrance is located in the southeastern side of the main facade. It leads to an open sahn surrounded by the remains of dilapidated vaults from the northeastern and southwestern sides, most likely representing the facilities of khanqah, such as the silos, kitchen, bathroom and the stable, etc. All the interior walls are decorated with floral and geometric stucco ornaments. The khanqah contains two domed burial chambers, one small located on the northeastern side, and the other large located on the southwestern side. It includes a hollow mihrab with a pointed arch made of joggled voussoirs, so its construction shows the splendid architecture of the era.

Khawand Toghay was buried in the large domed burial chamber. Al-Jabarti describes her tomb, saying: “On her tomb, there is a structure of white marble; and at her head there is a large opening on a tombstone with a beautiful gilded script that records the name of endower).
This khanqah was dedicated to the Sufis. In addition, reciters were appointed, and residences were set up for the muezzin, guards and servants. She also appointed a nazir (official) to supervise it and manage the endowments designated to the khanqah.

At the outer portal of khanqah, a waterwheel was set up to deliver water to the khanqah through an aqueduct. The waterwheel can be accessed with two slides, and below it there is an animal trough.

Ribats:

They are religious and military facilities in which warriors reside for worship, preparation for jihad and ambush for the enemies of Islam who invade their country. Later, the ribat became a mere shelter for worshippers, and some were allocated to women, as they were houses to support women, orphans, widows and divorced girls who have no supporter.

Ribat al-Baghdadiyya:

This ribat was established by Tezkar Bai Khatûn (Daughter of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars, in al-Darb al-Asfar in the vicinity of Khanaqah of Baybars. It was built in 684 AH / 1280 AD for Zaynab bint Abi al-Barakat, known as Ribat Bint al-Bughdadiya. It was the residence of this Sheikha and the philanthropist women, where they managed to preach other women and remind them of the matters of religion. One of the most famous female sheikhs who assumed the position of sheikh in this ribat is al-Sheikha al-Saliha Umm Zaynab Fatima bint Abbas al-Bughdadiya. She was ascetic and enjoining good deeds, from which many women of Egypt and Damascus benefited. She died in Dhul-Hijjah in 614 AH, at the age of eighty. Later, every woman assumed this position of sheikdom in this ribat is known as al- Bughdadiya.

The ribat became famous for its strong control and protection of the women residing there. It was also the shelter for the divorced or deserted women till they remarry or return to their husbands. After the political turmoil after 806 AH / 1403 AD, divorced women were prevented from residing there. The chief judge of Hanafism managed its affairs and assumed its supervision.

Ribat al-Hijaziya:

It is located in Al-Qarafa Al-Kubra (Great Cemetery), next to the Al-Waziriyah Mosque. It was built by Fawz, a maidservant of Ali bin Aḥmad al-Jarjarāʾī Al-Wazir. It was designated for charitable deeds by Umm al-Kahir al-Hijaziya, who was a preacher. She was very famous for her generosity and good morals. The ribats of the

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86 المقرئي، الخطط، ج 4، ص 299؛ عاصم محمد رزق، اطلس، ج 2، ق 2، ص 957.
87 علي مبارك، الخطط ج 6، ص 49.
88 حسن باشا، مدخل، ص 133.
89 المقرئي، الخطط، ج 4، ص 303.
90 Abu’l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Ahmad al-Jarjarāʾī was a Fatimid official of Iraqi origin, who served as the Fatimid vizier from 1027 until his death on 27 March 1045.

- ابن تغري بن بري، النجوم، ج 5، ص 22.
cemetery are structures designated for the elders and worshiping widows. There, preaching councils were held. Many endowments were allocated to support these ribats\textsuperscript{91}.

Mausoleums:

A- Qubbat Tulbiyya:

This mausoleum is attributed to Princess Tolbay bint Abdullah al-Nasiriyyah al-Tatariya, the wife of Sultan Al-Nasir Hassan bin Muhammad bin Qalawun. Therefore, she was called al-Nasiriyyah. After his death, she married to Prince Yalbugha al-Umari al-Khassaki\textsuperscript{92} and remained with him until her death on 24 Rabi’ al-Akhir 765 AH/1363 AD and left behind a huge wealth\textsuperscript{93}.

The Architecture of Mausoleum:

The mausoleum includes one main façade of stone in the northwestern side. It embraces a main entrance of stone surrounded by two similar stone benches surmounted by a band of prominent Naskh inscription that reads:

\textit{Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim: Fī Buyūtīn Allāhu 'An Turfā’a Wa Yudhkara Fīhā Asmuhū Lahu Fīhā Bil-Ghudūwī Wa Al-‘Āşāl”...} "Amara Bi-Insha’ hazehe al-Turba al-Mubarakah al-adir al-Karima Khawand Tulbiyya Taghamadaha Allah berahmateh ... sanat khams wa-sitteen wa-sub’uma’ah".

It means: "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. ‘That light shines’ through houses ‘of worship’ which Allah has ordered to be raised, and where His Name is mentioned. He is glorified there morning and evening." This blessed mausoleum was built by orders of the Eminent Princess Khawand Tulbiyya, may God have mercy on her... in the year of seven hundred and sixty-five."

There is a wooden two shuttered panel that leads to a square chamber topped with four internal transition areas.

In the southern wall of the dome is a hollow mihrab with a semi-circular conch. The floor of the dome is covered with stone tiles. There is a rectangular marble structure in the middle. The four facades of the chamber are adorned with high-relief Naskh inscriptions. The inscriptions on the southern façade read as follows:

\textsuperscript{92} Yalbugha al-Umri al-Khassaki, al-Hasani the master of al-Zahir Barquq, was killed by his Mamluks in Rabi’ al-Akhir of 768 AH / 1366 AD. For more, see:

\textsuperscript{93} عاصم محمد رزق, أطلس, ج2, ق2, ص1251.

\textsuperscript{94} مصطفى مصطفى, الخطي، ج2, ص340. 31, ص379. 2, ص793.
In English: "Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim. Tarikh wafat Khawand Tulbiyya Taghamadah Allah berahmateh ... towofeyat Yawm al-Joma, sabe' Ashar, rabi` al-Akhir sanat khams wa-sitteen wa-sub'uma'ah". It means: "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.: The date of death of Khawand Tulbiyya, may God have mercy on her. She died on Friday, 17th of Rabi al-Akhir in the year of seven hundred and sixty-five."

The Civil Architecture

Islamic architecture is distinct with its richness of architectural elements, and its interest in all aspects of life. It was highly concerned with religious architecture in its various forms as well as its civil architecture that was highly distinct from the religious architecture. It is noted that the Islamic civil architecture expressed the visions of architect, and his architectural philosophy when establishing urban edifices and facilities. Just as women had an ample chance in establishing religious facilities, they also had their share in civil architecture, in the form of houses, ruhbas, and palaces, as well as the Qisareya, hammat (public baths), and other forms of civil architecture.

Palaces:

Qasr al-Hijaziya:

This palace was established by Khawand Tatar al-Hijaziya, daughter of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun, in the vicinity of her madrasa and its annexes in Ruhbat al-Eid district. The land of this palace was a possession of Sayf al-Din Qosoun. After his death, Khawand Tatar bought it and built this palace there. She spent a lot on its construction until she brought the water to the top. She built a large stable for horses in front of the palace, and a large square overlooked by the windows of the palace. She endowed this palace with the madrasa and its annexes. It was dedicated for celebrations and weddings. When she died, the Mamluk princes lived there for wages.

The Houses

They are known in Arabic as دار: Dar (pl. Door) to refer to the house or the residence.

Dar Khawand

It is attributed to Khawand Urdutakin, the daughter of Nughay al-Silahdar al-Tatari. She was the wife of Sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil, and after his death, she married to...
Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun\textsuperscript{98}. She lived in this house after he divorced her, and she was benevolent and established her mausoleum known as Turbat al-Sitt and designated many enowments for it\textsuperscript{99}. She died on Saturday, the thirteenth of Muharram, 724 AH / 1323 AD. The Sultan, the princes, and the judges attended her funeral, and she was buried in her mausoleum\textsuperscript{100}. She also ordered the emancipation of more than a thousand of her female slaves and servants, and she gave a lot of money in charity, and this house remained until it was destroyed. Prince Salah al-Din Muhammad bin Badr al-Din Hassan bin Nasrallah al-Istadar took it in the year 825 AH / 1421 AD, and made it part of his house that he established next to this house.

She also ordered the emancipation of more than a thousand of her servants, and she gave a lot of money in charity. This dar (house) remained until it was demolished. Later, Prince Salah Al-Din Muhammad bin Badr Al-Din Hassan bin Nasrallah\textsuperscript{101} Al-Ustadar\textsuperscript{102} took it in 825 AH / 1421 AD and annexed it to the house that he established next to it\textsuperscript{103}.

B- Al-Dar al-Qardamiyya

It belongs to Khawand Aisha, known as al-Qardamiyya, the daughter of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun. This residence is located outside Bab Zuweila in Khutt al-Mawazniyyin in the street leading to Ras al-Manjabiyyah. Prince Uljay al-Yusufi\textsuperscript{104} built this house, then Khawand Aisha bought it as she had abundant money, but she wasted most of it in worldly pleasures. Hence, she became so poor at the end of her life. Finally, she died on the fifth of Jumada al-Awwal 787 AH. Prince Jamal al-Din Mahmoud bin Ali al-Ustadar\textsuperscript{105} resided in this house for a temporary period, and he built his madrasa in front of it\textsuperscript{106}.
C- Dar Tolbay

It is attributed to Khawand Tolbay\textsuperscript{107}, the daughter of Toghay bin Hindr bin Bakr bin Doshi Khan bin Genghis Khan\textsuperscript{108}, the wife of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun. This residence is located next to Hammam al-Asar, Haret al-Jawaniyya near Darb al-Rashidi. It was established by the vizier Shams al-Din Sunqur al-Asar\textsuperscript{109}, then it became the property of Khawand Tolbay, and it is known after her\textsuperscript{110}.

Al-Ruhab (Sing: Ruhbat):

A- Ruhbat al-Hijaziya

It refers to the vast yards and squares. It is located in front of Madrasa Al-Hijaziya, and it is a part of Ruhbat Bab Al-Eid. It was established by Khawand Tatar Al-Hijaziya, and was known after her\textsuperscript{111}.

B- Ruhbat Khawand

It is attributed to Khawand Urdutakin, the daughter of Nughay al-Silahdar\textsuperscript{112}. It is located at the end of the Zuweila neighborhood near Suwayqat al-Masoudi and Darb Al-Saqlabba. It is one of the ancient squares, it was known as Ruhbat Yaqut\textsuperscript{113}. It was possessed by several individuals until Khawand Urdutakin owned it, and it was known after her\textsuperscript{114}.
Al-Qisareya-t\textsuperscript{115}:

Qisareya-t Umm al-Sultan:

It was established by Khawand Baraka, the mother of Sultan Al-Ashraf Shaaban bin Hussein. Previously, it was a residence for Prince Jamal Al-Din Igdady Al-Azizi\textsuperscript{116}, then its possession was transferred to Prince Muzaffar Al-Din Musa, Al-Saleh Ali Bin Al-Mansur Saif Al-Din Qalawun, but it was demolished. The Khawand Baraka possessed it and built her Qisareya in its place in khutt al-Rikn al-Mukhalaf, and specified it for selling leather.

A housing quarter consisting of several storeys was built over it. It was allocated for public housing. A hall was also build over the land of this tenement, of which only its portal survived. This Qisareya and quarter were designated as endowments to spend their proceeds on her madrasa, until the vizier Jamal al-Din Yusuf al-Ustadar\textsuperscript{117} seized it and made it a waqf for his madrasa. In addition, he seized the hall that its possession transferred to Sultan Al-Ashraf Barsbay, who transferred it to a wikala (tenement house) in 825 AH / 1421 AD. In addition, he changed the inscription on al-Tiraz (foundational panel)\textsuperscript{118}, making it Barsbay instead of Shaaban bin Al-Hussein\textsuperscript{119}.

Al-Hammamat:

Hammam Khawand

It is located near Ruhbat Khawand. Formerly, it was designed within the residence known as Dar Khawand Urdutakin before its separation. It was allocated to men and women. It used to receive men at the beginning of the day, then women in the afternoon. It continued to perform its aimed function until Prince Salah al-Din

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\textsuperscript{115} Qisareya: (Caravanserai or Merchants’ Inn), “the plural of Qisaryun”, i.e., the market. It was used later to refer to the commercial street in the cities. Fustat knew Qisareyas that were attributed to their owners or what was sold in them. It survived throughout all Islamic times and included a number of shops, similar to the markets. Each Qisareya was independent and rectangular or square. They had rows of shops and outer gates that sometimes their number was seven. They were guarded by one or two guards. Above these shops, there were residences inhabited by foreigners and others. Every Qaysareya had a bathroom, hammam, and sometimes it was topped with a mosque.

\textsuperscript{116} Jamal al-Din Idaghdi al-Azizi: He was one of the Mamluks of al-Malik al-Aziz, the ruler of Aleppo. Then he became one of the most senior princes. He died in Damascus in 664 AH / 1265 AD.

\textsuperscript{117} Jamal al-Din Yusuf: bin Ahmed bin Muhammad bin Ahmed Abu al-Mahasin al-Biri, killed in Jumada al-Akhirah in 812 AH / 1409 AD. For more, see:

\textsuperscript{118} Al-Tiraz: It is a band of inscriptions on stone, marble, or wood, and a name is usually inscribed on it to denote the originator and date of construction. It is usually found on the facade of the building, window openings, doors, and iwans, or on both sides of the main entrance. For more, see:

\textsuperscript{119} المقرئي: الخطط, ج 3, ص 296; السخاوي، الضوء, ج 10, ص 144; السخاوي، الضوء, ج 10, ص 394.
Muhammad al-Ustdar, son of the vizier Badr al-Din Hassan ibn Nasrallah demolished it, and attached it to his nearby residence\(^\text{120}\).

**Conclusion:**

After this brief study of women's architectural contributions in the Bahri Mamluk sultanate, the following results were concluded:

1- The rule of the Bahri Mamluk state lasted for more than a century. The sultans of this state aptly proved their ability to manage the country's affairs, repulsing the dangers that beset it. Therefore, security and peace prevailed throughout their state. This was reflected in the prosperity of the economic and intellectual conditions of the Mamluk state, at a time when the other Arab-Islamic cities, especially in the east of the Islamic world, were suffering from political instability. Hence, Cairo was the haven for everyone looking for political stability as well as intellectual enlightenment.

2- The recovery of the economic conditions of Egypt, especially after recovering its trade routes after as a result of the political turmoil that took place in the Islamic east and led to the accumulation of huge funds. This is in addition to the increasing Mamluk sultans' revenues of internal and external trade that they allocated to huge architectural edifices that marked their era.

3- Despite the scarce information about women’s activities in general in Egypt, the available information reveals their political, intellectual and social role in the Bahri Mamluk era. Some of them led the country in its most urgent times and some supported the Mamluk sultans with advice and guidance at other times.

4- There were also many women who had clear intellectual influence in various fields, especially in the religious studies.

5 - Women in the Bahri Mamluks era were highly interested in urban facilities in the light of the massive urban revolution of the era.

6- Women contributed mainly to two basic architectural styles, namely, the religious and civil. The Religious architecture constituted the largest part of their architectural concerns.

7- Mosques and madrasa, as well as mausoleums, occupied the largest part of women's interests in religious architecture.

8- Civil architecture was not stand on equal footing with the religious architecture in attracting women's interest in that era.

9- Women were keen to secure their architectural facilities to ensure the continuation of their work even after the death of their founders. Hence, they allocated endowments to meet their needs of expenses, and appointed employees responsible for following up and monitoring these endowments.

\(^{120}\)المقريزي: الخطط، ج 3، ص 148.
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