



Publikationen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Stefanie Schmidt

Badr al-Jamālī and the Mosques of Aswan: New Considerations Based on a Building Inscription from the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo Bd. 79 (2023), 1–18 (§)

<https://doi.org/10.34780/fb6q-hqv5>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Copyright (Digital Edition) © 2024 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
Email: info@dainst.de | Web: <https://www.dainst.org>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die [Nutzungsbedingungen](#) von iDAI.publications an. Sofern in dem Dokument nichts anderes ausdrücklich vermerkt ist, gelten folgende Nutzungsbedingungen: Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeber*innen der jeweiligen Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de). Etwaige davon abweichende Lizenzbedingungen sind im Abbildungsnachweis vermerkt.

Terms of use:

By downloading you accept the [terms of use](#) of iDAI.publications. Unless otherwise stated in the document, the following terms of use are applicable: All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de). Any deviating terms of use are indicated in the credits.

IMPRESSUM

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo

erscheint seit 1930/*published since 1930*

MDAIK 79, 2023 • 320 Seiten/*pages* mit 147 Abbildungen/*illustrations*

Herausgeber/*Editors*

Dietrich Raue • Ralph Bodenstein
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo
31, Sharia Abu el-Feda
11211 Kairo-Zamalek
Ägypten
www.dainst.org

Peer Review

Alle für die Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo eingereichten Beiträge werden einem doppelblinden Peer-Review-Verfahren durch internationale Fachgutachterinnen und -gutachter unterzogen./*All articles submitted to the Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo are reviewed by international experts in a double-blind peer review process.*

Redaktion und Layout/*Editing and Typesetting*

Gesamtverantwortliche Redaktion/*Publishing editor*:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Redaktion der Abteilung Kairo (<https://www.dainst.org/kairo/redaktion>)
Kontakt für Manuskripteinreichung/*Contact for article submissions*: redaktion.kairo@dainst.de
Redaktion/*Editing*: Elisabeth Wegner, DAIK
Übersetzung und Korrektur der arabischen Abstracts/*Arabic translation and proofreading of the abstracts*: Mahmoud Ibrahim, Mariam Adel
Satz/*Typesetting*: le-tex publishing services GmbH, Leipzig
Corporate Design, Layoutgestaltung/*Layout design*: LMK Büro für Kommunikationsdesign, Berlin (www.lm-kommunikation.de)

Umschlagfoto/*Cover illustration*: El-Marg falcon-headed deity (Photo and © S. Connor)

Druckausgabe/*Printed edition*

© 2024 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden
Druck und Vertrieb/*Printing and distribution*: Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden (www.harrassowitz-verlag.de)

P-ISSN: 0342-1279 – ISBN: 978-3-447-12197-2

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Eine Nutzung ohne Zustimmung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und/oder der jeweiligen Rechteinhaber ist nur innerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes zulässig. Etwaige abweichende Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für Text und Abbildungen sind gesondert im Band vermerkt./
This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law is only allowed with the permission of the German Archaeological Institute and/or the respective copyright holders. Any deviating terms of use for text and images are indicated in the credits.

Druck und Bindung in Deutschland/*Printed and bound in Germany*

Digitale Ausgabe/*Digital edition*

© 2024 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Webdesign/*Webdesign*: LMK Büro für Kommunikationsdesign, Berlin
XML-Export, Konvertierung/*XML export, conversion*: digital publishing competence, München (www.dpc-consulting.org)
Programmierung Viewer-Ausgabe/*Programming viewer*: LEAN BAKERY, München (www.leanbakery.com)

E-ISSN: 2943-7970 – DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/8671-90u7>

Zu den Nutzungsbedingungen siehe/*For the terms of use see*: <https://publications.dainst.org/journals>



ABSTRACT

Badr al-Jamālī and the Mosques of Aswan

New Considerations Based on a Building Inscription from the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin

Stefanie Schmidt

The article revisits the discourse on the impact of Badr al-Jamālī on the construction of minarets and mosques in Upper Egypt and substantiates this with regional evidence based on a building inscription of a mosque in Aswan. The inscription, currently housed in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, dates from the year A.H. 491/1098 C.E. It is argued that the builder of the mosque, who can be identified as a high-ranking official in Upper Egypt, had affiliations with Badr al-Jamālī and his son through patronage. In addition, the paper publishes for the first time the brick band inscription on the so-called Ṭābiya minaret, a tower from the Fatimid era that was demolished in 2021 for unknown reasons without any historical building documentation. At the end of the article, the earliest datable mosque (318/930) and minaret are identified for Aswan.

KEYWORDS

Badr al-Jamālī, Aswan, mosque, minaret, Ṭābiya tower

Badr al-Jamālī and the Mosques of Aswan

New Considerations Based on a Building Inscription from the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin

Introduction

¹ In Upper Egypt, there are four (until recently five) minarets believed to have been built in the Fatimid Period¹. One is located in Esna, another in Luxor, and two (formerly three) lie to the south of Aswan, specifically near Shellal in al-Bab (Mashhad al-Baḥrī) and further south, in Bilal (Mashhad al-Qiblī)². The fifth tower is situated half a mile south of the Old Cataract Hotel within a military zone called Ṭābiya, just south of the modern Basma Hotel. For unknown reasons, the Ṭābiya tower was demolished in 2021 and subsequently neatly rebuilt³. In his discussion of the minarets, Keppel A. C. Creswell suggests that all five towers were built on behalf of Badr al-Jamālī, the *wazīr* (467–487/1074–1094) of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustaṣir (427–487/1036–1094), also known as Amīr al-Juyūsh⁴. According to Creswell, the minarets symbolised Badr al-Jamālī's restoration of order after a period of unrest in Upper Egypt⁵. Creswell's theory is opposed by Jonathan Bloom, who proposes that the minarets should be dated before Badr al-Jamālī's campaign in Upper Egypt⁶. Bloom's objection revolves around the notion that Badr al-Jamālī would not have had the time to engage in the construction of

¹ I would like to extend my gratitude to Ralph Bodenstein, Eugenio Garosi, Heike Lehmann, and the anonymous reviewer for their valuable input, which has greatly enriched the quality of this research. Moreover, I would like to thank Frédéric Bauden and the Fondation Max van Berchem as well as the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, for giving me the possibility to publish the enclosed photographs in this article. My sincere gratitude is directed towards Chris Scott for his technical assistance in implementing the script onto the photographs. Transcriptions are conducted in accordance with the IJMES Transliteration System.

² El-Hawary 1935; Creswell 1978, 146–155; Bloom 1984.

³ The coordinates of the new tower are 24° 04' 38.41" N 32° 53' 10.56" E. The online newspaper *cairo24.com* reported on 20.05.2021 that sources had confirmed the demolition of the tower: <<https://www.cairo24.com/1210994>> (04.02.2023). According to the article, the Ṭābiya tower was registered as antiquity no. 10357 in 1951 and published in the Egyptian Gazette 115 on 27.11.1951. The article also includes a photograph of the still-standing tower with part of the Kufic inscription and another photograph taken after its demolition.

⁴ For Badr al-Jamālī, his campaigns and rule in Egypt, cf. Dadoyan 1997, 106–127; Dadoyan 2010.

⁵ Creswell 1978, 155. For this campaign, see the entry in »Life of Christodulos« in the *History of the Patriarchs* reproduced in Quatremère 1811, 86 f.

⁶ Bloom 1984, 167.

monuments in Upper Egypt, including what he refers to as the »lesser towers of Aswan«, Shellal and Luxor⁷. An anecdote in al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, however, weakens Bloom's, argument by recounting that Badr al-Jamālī marched to Aswan and built a victory mosque (*masjid al-naṣr*) at the place where he defeated Kanz al-Dawla Muḥammad⁸. This article's objective is not to provide a detailed building historical analysis of these minarets. This task is currently being undertaken by Amelia Blundo in her Ph.D. thesis, which will make a substantial contribution to dating these monuments. Instead, this paper aims to provide further evidence of a connection between Badr al-Jamālī, his son al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī, Abū al-Qāsim Shāhinshāh (487–515/1094–1121), and Aswan, hitherto overlooked in discussions of a Fatimid building programme in the region⁹.

Fatimid Building Activities in Esna and Aswan

2 Only the minaret in Esna is securely dated¹⁰. According to a building inscription, it was constructed in the year 474/1081 and commissioned by Fakhr al-Mulk Sa'ad al-Dawla [...] Abū Maṣṣūr Sārtakīn al-Juyūshī¹¹. It was built about four years after the associated mosque (*jāmi'*)¹² in 469–470/1077, which, in turn, was constructed on orders of the Amīr al-Juyūsh [...] Abū al-Najm Badr al-Mustaṣirī, also known as Badr al-Jamālī¹³. Sārtakīn, the patron of the minaret, is known from other inscriptions as a high-ranking official in Upper Egypt, who likely fell in the battle of Ascalon in 494/1101¹⁴. According to Ibn Muyassar, cited by Jean-Claude Garcin, he served as the governor of Qus¹⁵. He may potentially be the same person who appears as Sa'ad al-Dawla S(h)ārtakīn al-Qawwāsī in the *History of the Patriarchs* in the section on Cyril (469–486/1077–1093), where he is called the governor of Aswan¹⁶. In the *History*, Sārtakīn issued the order to send the former Nubian King Solomon to the Amīr al-Juyūsh in Cairo, after a brother of Kanz al-Dawla had offered to track him down in the monastery of St. Onuphrius.

3 The close association with the Amīr al-Juyūsh is evident through Sārtakīn's *nisba* al-Juyūshī, which he bears in the minaret's building inscription. This clearly indicates that Sārtakīn was not merely an independent patron, as Bloom assumes when he sees the minaret of Esna only »vaguely associated« with Badr al-Jamālī¹⁷. Instead, the *nisba* implies

-
- 7 Bloom 1984, 167: »Badr [al-Jamālī] hardly had time to build monuments during his forays into Upper Egypt. [...] Badr al-Jamali hardly would have ordered one of the lesser towers when he had the entire resources of the state at his disposal. Had he been a patron he certainly would have recorded that fact for posterity, as he did elsewhere. The towers at Aswan, Shellal, and Luxor must then be the product of other patrons.«
- 8 Al-Maqrīzī 1991a, 398 no. 911. The location of this mosque is not specified. However, if it was built at the site of the battle between Badr al-Jamālī and Kanz al-Dawla, it would have been situated outside the city area. Therefore, the Fatimid mosque situated in the *sūq* of Aswan appears improbable. For the information that the *sūq* area once had a Fatimid mosque, I thank Wolfgang Müller.
- 9 El-Hawary 1935; Creswell 1978, 146–155; Bloom 1984.
- 10 For the Mashhad al-Qibli, a *terminus ante quem* of 534/1139 is established based on the presence of graffiti inside the building; cf. el-Hawary 1935, 149 (= RCEA VIII, 217 f. nos. 3097. 3098). However, the construction date may be earlier if, for instance, the minaret underwent (partial) restoration or reconstruction before the graffiti were inscribed.
- 11 Wiet 1941, 145–147 no. 1 (complements RCEA VII, 203 no. 2720).
- 12 Wiet 1941, 147, identified this as the earliest documented use of the term *jāmi'* for a mosque. The database Thesaurus d'Épigraphie Islamique (TEI; <<http://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/>> [23.02.2023]) includes an earlier example mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, dating to 403/1012–1013, unless it is an anachronism; see TEI ID 50660. The publication by Bernard O'Kane referenced in this context is accessible via the following link: <<https://tinyurl.com/43y22t98>> (23.02.2023).
- 13 RCEA VII, 202 f. no. 2719.
- 14 Wiet 1941, 147, who refers to RCEA VII, 209 f. no. 2728 (473/1080, Qus); 222 no. 2742 (476/1083, Upper Egypt). For his death in Ascalon, cf. Wiet 1930, 143.
- 15 Garcin 1976, 82.
- 16 Quatremère 1811, 88.
- 17 Bloom 1984, 163: »Although Badr al-Jamali is mentioned in the inscription recording the building of the Isna
-

a strong client-patron relationship between Sārtakīn and the Amīr al-Juyūsh, making it highly likely that Sārtakīn was one of Badr al-Jamālī's military slaves¹⁸. Patronage in Islam establishes enduring bonds between partners that permeate all strata of social and political life¹⁹. Badr al-Jamālī, himself a military slave from Armenia, based his power on a private army of soldier-slaves who also held significant positions in his administration beyond the military sphere²⁰. Although the Esna minaret was not directly built by Badr al-Jamālī, the monument is distinguished by the close connection between patron and client, with the latter completing the mosque initiated by his patron by adding the minaret.

4 In addition to this and to the previously mentioned victory mosque of Aswan, we encounter another monument indirectly associated with Badr al-Jamālī in Upper Egypt. The evidence comes from a building inscription now housed in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin (Fig. 1)²¹. According to the inventory book, the stone was acquired by the Prussian consular agent Todros Bulos²² in Thebes and originates from Aswan²³. The inscription commemorates the construction of a mosque in 491/1098, commissioned by Amīr Sayf al-Dawla Abū Maṣṣūr حطاح al-Afdālī²⁴.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| I. 6003 RCEA VIII, 38 f. no. 2867 | Limestone ²⁵ , ca. 30 × ca. 52 cm | A.H. 491/1098 C.E. Thebes (acquisition) Aswan (find-spot) |
|---|--|---|

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ

أَمِنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ

إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أَوْلَتْكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ مِمَّا أَمَرَ بِإِنشَاءِ هَذَا

mosque in 469–470 (1077), he is not directly associated with inscriptions on the Isna minaret or on the other minarets of this group.«; and Bloom 1984, 167: »Only the Isna tower is even vaguely associated with him, for he [Badr al-Jamālī] restored the mosque to which Sartakin later added the tower.«

18 For military slaves in Islam, cf. Forand 1971; Pipes 1981; Lev 1987. For the ›Jamālī house‹ and its associates, cf. Dadoyan 1997, 106–153.

19 Forand 1971; Pipes 1981; Lev 1987. For the early form of patronage in Islam between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, entailing conversion to Islam and representing a more hierarchically structured dependency, distinct from that observed among soldier-slaves, cf. Crone 1987 (esp. 35–42).

20 For Badr al-Jamālī, cf. Dadoyan 1997, 106–127.

21 Pictures can also be found on <<https://id.smb.museum/object/1522957/inschriftenstein-stein>> (28.03.2023) and under TEI ID 6202 <<https://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/User/EpigraphyDisplay.aspx?id=6202&pan=1&st=6202&sc=1>> (28.03.2023).

22 For information on him and his son Mohareb Todros, see Hagen – Ryholt 2016, 248–250.

23 The stone is registered in the inventory book of 1885/1886 of the Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Aegyptische Abteilung, under ÄM 9563 (file no. 894/86) and annotated with the label »Assuan« <https://storage.smb.museum/erwerbungsbaeucher/IV_AEM-B_SLG_NC_09000-09999_LZ_1885-1886.pdf> (05.02.2023). Aswan as provenance is also indicated in the RCEA VIII, 38 f. no. 2867, referencing the »Communication d'E. Kühnel«. From 1931 to 1951, Ernst Kühnel served as director of the Islamic Department of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, where the stone was transferred to, probably in 1934. Today, the inscription is catalogued as I. 6003 in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin. See also the inventory book, I. 4901–I. 6350, which includes entries from 1926 to 1936 and is available for download at: <https://storage.smb.museum/erwerbungsbaeucher/IV_ISL-B_SLG_NC_4901-6350_LZ_1926-1936.pdf> (05.02.2023).

24 Providing the name without diacritical marks acknowledges the existence of various potential consonant combinations for this name. For a discussion, see § 5–7.

25 Despite the absence of natural limestone deposits in Aswan, limestone has been identified as a construction material in the Satet temple on Elephantine, opposite Aswan, as well as in the pillars of Amasis; cf. Kaiser et al. 1997, 159–161. 176. Moreover, the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria houses a Byzantine building inscription (inv. no. 22810; 6th century) made of limestone, which is said to come from Aswan; cf. Bernand 1989, 180 no. 237. It commemorates repair work on a wall carried out under an *epikeimenos* overseeing border affairs, thus indicating its placement in the border region of Aswan; cf. Schmidt 2022, 81 f. Furthermore, limestone flooring has been discovered in the late Roman palace of the fort of Nag' el-Hagar, ca. 30 km north of Aswan; cf. Mackensen et al. 2006, 190. While the (privately financed) Arabic and Coptic tombstones from Aswan were primarily made of local Nubian sandstone, monuments of public significance might have utilised alternative materials imported to Aswan. For the tombstones, cf. Schmidt 2021.

| | |
|---|---|
| المسجد المبارك الأمير سيف الدولة أبو منصور حطاح | 4 |
| الأفضلى ابتغاء مرضاة الله تعالى و رجاء لثوابه و خوفا من | 5 |
| عقابه في شهور سنة إحدى و تسعين (وا)وأربع مائة و | 6 |
| حشره الله مع مواليه الطاهرين | 7 |

»(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The mosques of God are only to be maintained by those who (2) believe in God and the Last Day and establish prayer and give *zakāt* and fear (3) none but God, for those ought to be among the rightly guided. The foundation of this (4) blessed mosque was ordered by the Amīr Sayf al-Dawla Abū Maṣṣūr حطاح (5) al-Afḍalī seeking God's pleasure, the Exalted, and hoping for His reward and out of fear of (6) His punishment. In the months of the year 491 (1098) and (7) may God resurrect him with his pure associates.«

1–3 Q 9, 18 (*sūrat at-Tawba*). Based on the still sound chronological approach by Nöldeke 1860, 171, this *sūra* is one of the later Medinan *suwar* and dates to the period after the expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ (end of A.H. 2/624 C.E.). There are, in fact, more recent studies dedicated to the dating of the Qurʾān, such as the project »Corpus Coranicum« (<<https://corpuscoranicum.de/de/commentary>> [28.03.2023]) or the studies of Nicolai Sinai (2010), but they have not yet addressed the *sūrat at-Tawba*. Because of its apparent association with places of worship, *sūrat at-Tawba* has been favored for inscriptions on mosques, as discussed by Hoyland 2002, 28.

4 حطاح. The inscription lacks diacritical marks, and the discussion below illustrates that opting for one spelling over the other is inadvisable. RCEA VIII, 38 f. no. 2867, gives Khuṭlukh.

6 *wa-aw-arbaʿ*. The additional letters *alif* and *wāw* cannot be meaningfully accounted for. A scribal error, while appearing peculiar given the significance of the monumental inscription, is arguably the most plausible explanation.

5 By the end of the 11th century, the *nisba* al-Afḍalī certainly refers to al-Afḍal, the son and successor of Badr al-Jamālī²⁶. Hence, at least two mosques establish close ties between Aswan and Badr al-Jamālī: one commissioned by Badr al-Jamālī after the defeat of Kanz al-Dawla, the other built by his son's client حطاح al-Afḍalī. The relationship between Badr al-Jamālī and حطاح al-Afḍalī may potentially be further illuminated. The RCEA (ed. pr.) provides the client's *ism* as Khuṭlukh, using initial and final *khā*²⁷. However, due to the absence of diacritical marks, *jīm* and *hāʾ* are likewise possible readings²⁸.

6 None of the different name combinations (Khuṭlukh/Khuṭluj/Khuṭluḥ, etc.) are actually very common in Arabic onomastics. A search in the database Onomasticon Arabicum (OA), which provides more than 27,000 name references and is based on prosopographic sources like the *Onomasticon Arabicum* by Leone Caetani and Giuseppe Gabrieli, yielded only two results, both for the name Khaṭlakh with the honorific title Sayf al-Dīn²⁹. A search in the Arabic Papyrology Database (APD), allowing searches with and without diacritical marks, produced no entries for any variant³⁰. A combined

26 Walker 2007.

27 RCEA VIII, 38 f. no. 2867.

28 I thank the anonymous reviewer for highlighting the additional variant Qutluḡ. Although the possibility of other letters should not be ruled out, a name composed of one of the letters inscribed on the stone, namely *khāʾ*, *jīm*, or *hāʾ*, appears more likely.

29 <<https://onomasticon.irht.cnrs.fr/>> (28.03.2023); cf. OA IDs 29044 and 29045.

30 <<https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/asearch.jsp>> (28.03.2023).



1

search in The Hadith Transmitters Encyclopedia³¹, which enables searches in 65 bibliographical dictionaries, yielded no entries for any of the consonant combinations.

7 A search using the TEI database yielded seven results for Khuṭlukh and two entries for Khuṭluj, whereby it should be noted that most inscriptions lack diacritical marks, leaving the interpretation of the name to the editor's preference³². Among these inscriptions is one cited in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, his history of the Ayyubid sultans of Cairo, which also draws a connection between a person named Khuṭluj/Khuṭlukh and Badr al-Jamālī. Inconsistencies in the use of the name in the different editions of this text further complicate the selection of the correct spelling³³. In the following, the text of Muḥammad M. Ziyāda's 1934 edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* is used as a basis, in which Khuṭluj is used as the name. However, this does not imply that Khuṭlukh should be excluded as the correct spelling of the name.

8 During the Third Crusade, the city of Ascalon, Badr al-Jamālī's former power base, could only be held with great effort. In 587/1191, the Muslims abandoned Ascalon and razed its fortifications³⁴. Al-Maqrīzī reports that the destruction of the towers (*abrāj*) was divided among the emirs, one of whom bore the name Khuṭluj – who, in turn, discovered a predecessor with the same name:

31 <<http://hadithtransmitters.hawramani.com/>> (22.05.2023).

32 <<http://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/>> (28.03.2023). However, this result needs slight modification as a comparison with the original publications revealed two discrepancies: the database entries for Sharon 1977, 180 (TEI ID 2982), Jerusalem (610/1213–1214), and Sharon 1997, 171 (TEI ID 6702), Ascalon (484?/1091–1092?), should be corrected to Khuṭluj instead of Khuṭlukh according to the edition. For Khuṭlukh: RCEA VIII, 38 f. no. 2867 (TEI ID 6202), Aswan (491/1097–1098); RCEA IX, 229 f. no. 3528 (TEI ID 8261), Baalbek (596/1199–1200); RCEA X, 20 f. no. 3630 (TEI ID 2894), Jerusalem (604/1207–1208); Sharon 1999, 74 no. 11 (TEI ID 2622), Baniyas, Syria (637/1239–1240); Makariou 2001, 98 no. 67 (TEI ID 41112), Jerusalem (599/1202–1203). For Khuṭluj: Sharon 1977, 182 (TEI ID 32837), Jerusalem (609/1212–1213); however, the stone appears to have a dot above the final letter; Sharon 1997, 159 no. 9 (TEI ID 6703), Ascalon (484?/1091–1092?).

33 While Sharon 1997, 171, provides the name Khuṭluj, we find in the editions of Ziyāda both Khuṭlukh and Khuṭluj, raising the question of whether it could be a mistake, as he uses different names even when referring to the same individual; see al-Maqrīzī 1934, 106; al-Maqrīzī 1956, 106.

34 Sharon 1997, 138 f.

Fig. 1: Building inscription on a mosque commissioned by a client of al-Afdal

»Al-Hāfiz ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Mundhirī said in his *al-Muʿjam al-Mutarjim*³⁵: »I heard the most esteemed *amīr* Ayāz b. ʿAbdallāh – who is Abū al-Manṣūr al-Bāniyāsī al-Nāṣirī – who said: »When we destroyed Ascalon, I received the tower al-Dāwiya and Khuṭluj destroyed a tower, and we found on it an inscription: »it was repaired by Khuṭluj«. This is a strange coincidence!« And comparable to this is what reports us the most esteemed *qāḍī* Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib, who said: »I saw in Ascalon the tower al-Dam, and Khuṭluj al-Muʿizzī (?) destroyed it – in (the month of) Shaʿbān. And I saw upon it an inscription: »its repair ordered the Lord and most esteemed Amīr al-Juyūsh – who is Badr [al-Jamālī] – executed by his slave and *walī* Khuṭluj in Shaʿbān«. I was amazed by this coincidence. How is it possible that it was repaired in Shaʿbān by a Khuṭluj and destroyed in Shaʿbān by a Khuṭluj?«³⁶

9 Repair work on a tower in Ascalon was undertaken by a slave of Badr al-Jamālī named Khuṭluj, who finds a lexical parallel in the name of al-Afḍal’s client حطاح³⁷. Given the rarity of the name, we may cautiously consider that the slave and *walī* of Badr al-Jamālī, known from Ascalon, and حطاح al-Afḍalī, who built the mosque in Aswan, might actually be the same person. It is indeed known that Mamlūks could have several patrons. A letter from al-Afḍal to Ibn Athīr suggests, moreover, that al-Afḍal held authority over his father’s Mamlūks³⁸. حطاح al-Afḍalī might have become al-Afḍal’s slave after Badr al-Jamālī’s death, subsequently modifying his *nisba* – an act seldom documented but not without precedent³⁹.

10 There is a further coincidence that connects Badr al-Jamālī and al-Afḍal to Aswan. During his father’s tenure (478/1085), al-Afḍal commenced the construction of a mosque in Fustat, known as Jāmiʿ al-Fiyala, whose minaret, according to Hassan M. E. el-Hawary, exhibits similarities with that of the Mashhad al-Baḥrī near Aswan⁴⁰. The Jāmiʿ al-Fiyala was built as a nine-bay domed mosque, a mosque type not particularly common in Islamic architecture. Geoffrey R. D. King lists a total of 20 structures of this type from all Islamic regions⁴¹. Only four of these mosques are known from Egypt – two were constructed in Fustat, namely the Jāmiʿ al-Fiyala and the Mashhad Ṭabāṭabā, one in Asyut, and one in Aswan, known as the now demolished mausoleum of the 77 Walis⁴². For the latter, Creswell points out that despite the modern designation as a »mausoleum«, the architectural features suggest it was built as a mosque rather than a tomb⁴³. The ground plan of the 77 Walis, preserved only through a draft by Josef Strzygowski, reveals a 12 m long square prayer hall divided into nine bays (3 × 3 m) with two entrances, one directly opposite the *miḥrāb*⁴⁴. The minaret, located outside the building, could be accessed from the interior by a third door. Creswell dates the 77 Walis to the end of the 10th or the 11th century but ultimately leans toward the latter, as he believes the site only developed as a building ground with the expansion of the Fatimid cemetery in the 11th

35 For this book, cf. al-Maqrīzī 1934, 106 comm. 1, 3.

36 Al-Maqrīzī 1934, 106, 5–12, in the section for the year 587/1192. The later Khuṭluj may be the same person, who in 590/1193–1194 was left in Cairo with 900 horsemen; cf. al-Maqrīzī 1934, 116, 9.

37 Sharon 1997, 159 f. no. 9, relates the construction of the tower to a fragmentary inscription of which Charles Clermont-Ganneau made a squeeze; see RCEA VII, 258 f. no. 2789. However, the reconstruction of the date of 484/1091 and the name of the builder as Khuṭluj/Khuṭlukh seem to be influenced by al-Maqrīzī’s text.

38 Cited by Wüstenfeld 1881, 280; Wiet 1930, 143 (I had no access to his source).

39 Ayalon 1975, 218 f.

40 El-Hawary 1935, 145. For the mosque, cf. Creswell 1978, 155–160; King 1989, 353–356. The date of 478/1085 is provided by al-Maqrīzī 1853, 289.

41 King 1989, 332–374.

42 King 1989, 345–358.

43 Creswell 1978, 145.

44 For this mosque, see the only existing plan drafted by Strzygowski and published by Clarke 1903, 123 fig. 3, upon which all subsequent discussions rely. As noted by Monneret de Villard 1930, 4 fn. 1, the name of the 77 Walis was reassigned by the local residents to the closest tomb following the mosque’s destruction. For the 77 Walis, see also the discussions in Creswell 1978, 144 f.; King 1989, 351–353.

century⁴⁵. Due to the modern demolition of the 77 Walis without any architectural documentation, it is impossible to gain more clarity on potential similarities between this structure and the Jāmiʿ al-Fiyala. We can thus only note another coincidence, namely the presence of such a rare architectural type in the same town where *حطاح* al-Afḍalī, the client of a man who commissioned himself a nine-bay domed mosque in Fustat, constructed his own mosque.

The Minarets of Aswan

11 While there is thus substantial evidence for the construction of mosques in Aswan in connection with Badr al-Jamālī and his associates, it remains uncertain whether the same applies to the minarets south of Aswan. While el-Hawary notes structural similarities between the Mashhad al-Baḥrī tower (al-Bab) and the minaret of the Jāmiʿ al-Fiyala in Fustat, Bloom points to external influences for the minarets⁴⁶: based on Ibn Jubayr's travel account, Bloom draws comparisons between the Upper Egyptian towers, the mausoleums of Aswan, and some minarets in the Hijaz. According to him, shared features include, for instance, the faceted brickwork and *qarnaṣa*, as well as the »square lower story with acroteria, tapered cylindrical shaft, and lantern on free-standing columns«⁴⁷. Bloom summarises: »The towers of Upper Egypt find their formal ancestors in towers built in the holy city of Mecca, closely linked to the region by contemporary pilgrimage routes.«⁴⁸ He opposes the possibility that the minarets were built by Badr al-Jamālī, and argues they were »[c]learly the work of local patrons inspired by architectural ideas then current across the Red Sea in the Hijaz«⁴⁹. This important observation cannot be further explored within the scope of this paper. However, for an assessment of potential influences on the towers in Aswan, it would certainly be necessary to also include minarets from other Islamic countries, such as Iran or North Africa⁵⁰. It should, moreover, be noted that the question of whether the towers can be attributed to Badr al-Jamālī or not cannot be solely answered by the style of the minarets. As shown above, the work may have been carried out by a local client of Badr al-Jamālī or his family, who, in turn, may have been inspired by stylistic trends from outside of Egypt. To gain more clarity regarding possible ties, it would be necessary to identify the individuals responsible for the construction of the towers. For two of the Aswan towers, namely the so-called Ṭābiya tower and the Mashhad al-Baḥrī, we actually find Arabic building inscriptions. These were set as Kufic inscription bands made from whole bricks around the towers, a technique thus far unparalleled in Egypt⁵¹.

45 Creswell's contemplated dating to the 10th century relies primarily on his observation that the 77 Walis and the Mashhad Ṭabāṭabā in Fustat share some structural elements, whereby he assumes that the Mashhad Ṭabāṭabā was constructed around the time of the death of Sharif Ṭabāṭabā in 334/945–946; cf. Creswell 1978, 15, 145. However, as noted by King 1989, 350 f., the memorial for Sharif Ṭabāṭabā does not necessarily have to have been built at the same time as his death, which should also be taken into account when taking the Mashhad Ṭabāṭabā as a chronological reference point for the 77 Walis.

46 El-Hawary 1935, 145; Bloom 1984.

47 Bloom 1984, 167. See similarly Bloom 1983, 23 f.

48 Bloom 1984, 167.

49 Bloom 1984, 167.

50 A further illustration of the extent of travel to Aswan can be exemplified through the journey of the Persian traveller Nāsir Khusraw (1004–after 1070), who was born in contemporary Tajikistan.

51 Bloom 1984, 163, notes that this technique was »common in eastern Islamic lands«, but does not provide further evidence to support this significant observation. To give a few examples: brick bands encircling towers, though not executed with whole bricks as in Aswan, can be found in contemporary Iran, for example, in the mausoleum tower of Ali ›Gonbad Ali‹ in Abarkuh (11th century), the Pir-i Alamdar mausoleum in Semnan (566/1170–1171; for the date, cf. Creswell 1926, 291), the Lajim tower in Savadkuh, the Resket burial tower in Sari (11th century), and the Gonbad Qabus in Golestan (11th century).

12 Deciphering the inscription of the Tābiya tower is now, after its demolition, only possible based on photographs. On the occasion of the demolition in 2021, the on-line newspaper *cairo24.com* published an article featuring a photograph showing one side of the still-standing tower and part of the inscription⁵². It also mentions that it contained a part of the Throne Verse (Q 2, 255)⁵³, portions of the *sūrat al-Ikhlās* (Q 112, 1–4), and the name of Abū Bakr as the builder. The TEI database provides photographs of the other three sides of the tower (Figs. 2. 3. 4)⁵⁴. With this information and the four photographs, it is possible to reconstruct a substantial part of the three-line inscription. Unlike the building inscription of the Mashhad al-Baḥrī tower, it runs from bottom to top rather than from top to bottom.

13 It starts in line 3 with the *basmala* and an elongated *bā'* marking the beginning of the inscription (Fig. 2). Following this, the first two verses of *al-Ikhlās* are visible (Fig. 3). The text makes a full circle around the tower, ending shortly before the *basmala* in لا تاخذة which is already part of the Throne Verse (Fig. 4). The space in line 3, only partly visible in the photographs, would be sufficient to include the first four verses of *al-Ikhlās* and the beginning of the Throne Verse, interrupted at تاخذة. It continues in line 2 with سنة above the word بسم in line 3, most clearly seen in the photograph of *cairo24.com* and Fig. 4. The text forms another complete circle, ending shortly before سنة with the word خلفهم of the Throne Verse (Fig. 4). The text continues at the top of the tower in the first line, which does not make a full round, but ends in the middle of the photograph (Figs. 2. 3), marking the end of the inscription. Here, as is typical of building inscriptions, we find the name of the builder preceding the word البناء, which is above سنة in line 2 (Fig. 4 and *cairo24.com*). Before البناء, three final letters and perhaps a *sīn* or *shīn* can be seen. The last three letters can be read as a *khā'*, *jīm*, or *hā'*, followed by an *alif* or *lām* and again *khā'*, *jīm*, or *hā'*. The name of the builder appears to be Ibrahim (Fig. 4), which does not align with the name Abū Bakr suggested by *cairo24.com* as the tower's builder.

The complete inscription reads:

- 1 [...] ابراهيم [...] حلح/حاح⁵⁵ البناء رحمة الله
- 2 سنة ولا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم (2, 255) *
- 3 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد و لم يولد (112, 1–4) * الله لا إله إلا هو الحى القيوم لا تاخذة

»(3) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Say ›He is God (who is) One. God, the Eternal. He neither begets nor is born (Q 112, 1–4). God! There is no God except Him, the Ever-Living, the Ever-Lasting. Neither (2) drowsiness nor sleep overcome Him. To Him belongs what is in the heavens and what is on earth. Who is the one who can intercede with Him except with His permission? He knows what is ahead of them and what is behind them (Q 2, 255)«. (1) [...] Ibrahim [...] the builder. The mercy of God.«

52 <<https://www.cairo24.com/1210994>> (03.02.2023).

53 According to Hoyland 2002, 28, the Throne Verse was one of the most commonly used proclamations of faith on public monuments.

54 Accessible under <<http://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/>> (03.02.2023), TEI ID 46272 nos. 97 a; 98 a. b. The photos are provided by courtesy of the Fondation Max van Berchem and the TEI database.

55 All consonant combinations are possible.



2

Fig. 2: Tābiya tower – start of the inscription in line 3 with *basmala*

14 It becomes clear that the information we obtain from this inscription is insufficient to establish a connection to a patronage relationship or understand the historical context of this building. We do not even know how the builder of this monument referred to it; it could have been a *manāra* («minaret/lighthouse») ⁵⁶ or any other sort of tower.

15 In contrast, the Kufic inscription from the Mashhad al-Baḥrī tower is fully legible and provides all the typical information that a building inscription would offer – the

56 The term *manāra* was employed in contemporaneous inscriptions for «minaret», which can be easily verified by a text search in the TEI database. Nonetheless, in the papyri and according to Muslim historians, this term was also used for «lighthouse»; see P. GenizahCambr. 54, 8 (1031, Fustat). Al-Maqrīzī 2002, 82, 19, uses it in reference to the lighthouse at Alexandria as one of the wonders of Egypt.

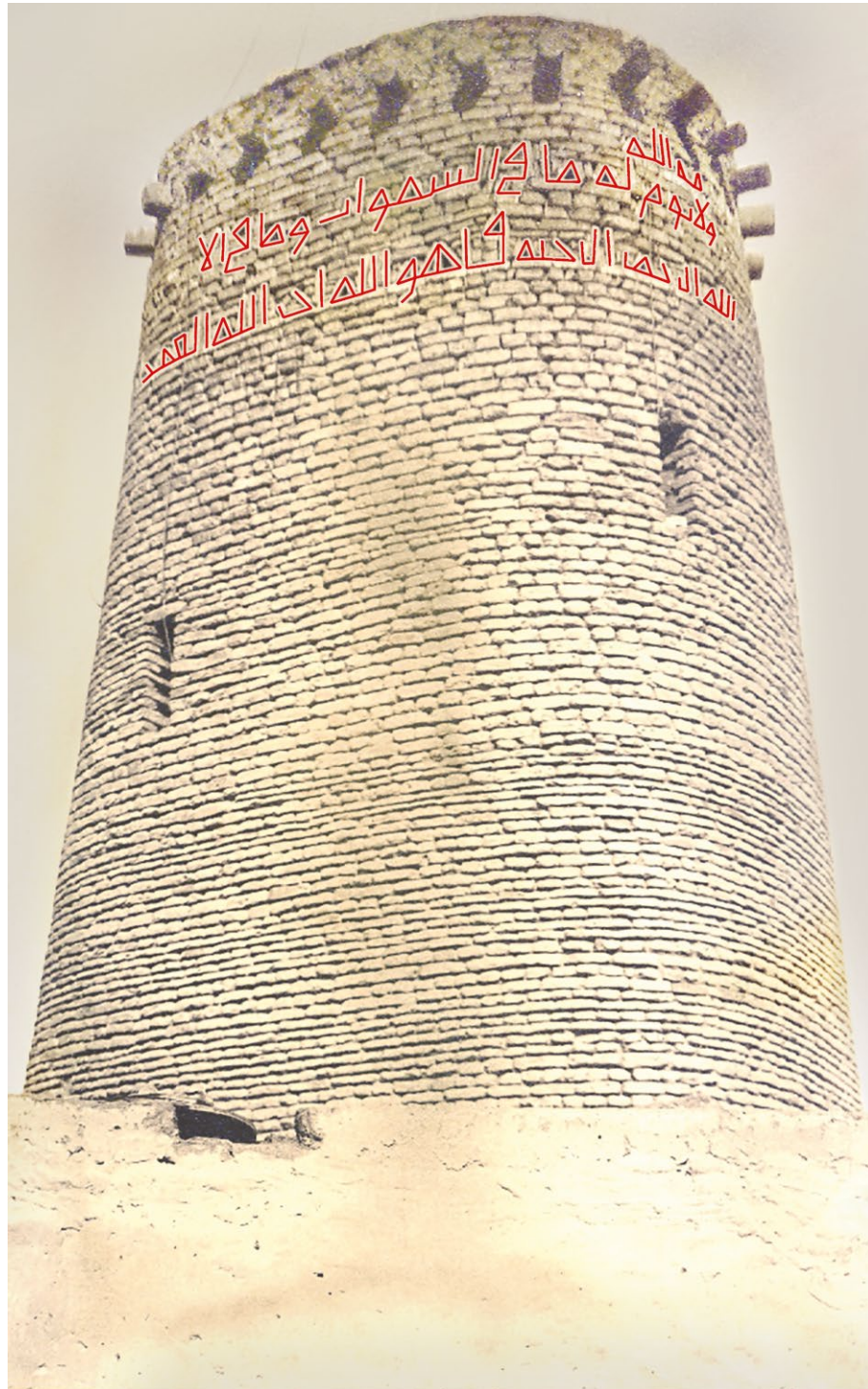


Fig. 3: Tābiya tower – continuation
in line 3 with *al-Ikhlās*

3

basma at the beginning, the name of the person responsible for the construction, a designation for the type of building, a declaration of faith, and the name(s) of the builder(s):

»(1) In the name of God and by God. ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad, b. Aḥmad b. Salama increased/raised (*rafaʿa*) this *manāra* seeking God’s reward, His mercy, and His benevolence. (2) Work of Ḥātim, the master builder (*al-bannāʾ*), and his son.«⁵⁷



4

Fig. 4: Tābiya tower – part of the Throne Verse in line 2; name of the builder in line 1

¹⁶ However, neither ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad nor the builder or his son can be identified with any known individual so far, rendering the inscription likewise inconclusive regarding potential external connections or a patronage relationship.

¹⁷ The use of the verb *rafaʿa* (»he increased/raised«), as noted by el-Hawary, is unusual in building inscriptions⁵⁸. It could have been borrowed from the Qurʾān, where it appears in *sūrat an-Nūr* »(the light shines) in houses that God has permitted to be raised (*turafaʿa*)« (Q 24, 36). Another possibility is that the use of this verb points to an earlier construction that was raised in height by the builders. Indeed, the discussion surrounding the five Fatimid minarets often overlooks the possibility that these towers, along with their associated mosques, might have had predecessors that did not neces-

58 El-Hawary 1935, 144.

sarily date from the Fatimid Period. Minarets were likely introduced in Egypt during the time of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, who is said to have added the first one to his mosque (begun in 263/876–877) in Cairo⁵⁹. Whether the mosque and minaret were actually built simultaneously or if the minaret was added later remains a subject of debate⁶⁰.

18 The first minaret of Aswan is indeed documented for the 10th century. In his travel account, the geographer al-Muqaddasī mentions a *manāra ṭawīla* in the town⁶¹. There is no indication of its specific location. If it was situated within the boundaries of the ancient town, the Ṭābiya tower can certainly be excluded, as archaeological investigations have shown that the 10th-century town did not extend beyond the area of the modern Coptic cathedral⁶². A mosque in Aswan dating from the 10th century is documented in al-Maqrīzī's biographical narrative *al-Muqaffā*. In the entry for the Iraqi *ḥadīth* transmitter Abū al-Mufaḍḍal al-Shaybānī (297–387/910–997)⁶³, it is mentioned that Abū al-Mufaḍḍal heard *ḥadīth* in the mosque of Aswan during his visit to the city, likely in 318/930⁶⁴. This mosque seemed to hold a prominent place in the city, perhaps being the only mosque until that time, as al-Maqrīzī refers to it as »mosque of Aswan« (*bi-jāmi' Aswān*)⁶⁵. Whether this mosque was the one to which the minaret belonged that al-Muqaddasī observed during his visit or if it was indeed the Ṭābiya tower remains uncertain. Thus, the dating of the three minarets in the Aswan region will have to await the findings of Blundo's research. However, what could be demonstrated is that there are legitimate arguments for religiously motivated building activities in Aswan carried out by Badr al-Jamālī himself as well as by clients associated with him and his family.

59 For the mosque, see Creswell 1940, 332–356; for its date, see Creswell 1940, 335. For a discussion of early minarets, see Bloom 1983, 21 f.

60 The debate concerning the minaret in early research was summarised by Creswell 1940, 352–355.

61 Al-Muqaddasī 1906, 201. Interestingly, the *Catalogue Général* records a tombstone of a muezzin (*al-mū'adhdhin*) dating from the 10th century that, based on its formula, can be attributed to Aswan; cf. CG VIII, 75 no. 2964 (= no. 2761/819; possibly the inv. no. 2761 is an error for no. 2721); his name was [...] al-Ḥasan al-Makanna Abū al-Abhar b. ʿAlī b. ʿIsā *al-mū'adhdhin*. For funeral formulas that were used in Aswan, cf. Schmidt 2021.

62 Von Pilgrim et al. 2014/2015, 20.

63 The Banū Shaybān was a sub-branch of the Banū Rabī'a; cf. MacMichael 1922, 183.

64 Al-Maqrīzī 1991b, 115 no. 2556. For the date, cf. Pakatchi 2009.

65 Al-Maqrīzī 1991b, 115 no. 2556.

Bibliography

- al-Maqrīzī 1853** al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ic̣tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār II. Al-Juzʿ al-thānī min Kitāb al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār fī Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah wa-l-Nīl wa-mā yataʿalliqu bihā, ed. by M. al-ʿAdawī (Cairo 1853)
- al-Maqrīzī 1934** al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk I 1, ed. by M. M. Ziyāda (Cairo 1934)
- al-Maqrīzī 1956** al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk I 1, ed. by M. M. Ziyāda (Cairo 1956)
- al-Maqrīzī 1991a** al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr II, ed. by M. al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut 1991)
- al-Maqrīzī 1991b** al-Maqrīzī, Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr VI, ed. by M. al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut 1991)
- al-Maqrīzī 2002** al-Maqrīzī, Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ic̣tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār I, ed. by A. F. Sayyid (London 2002)
- al-Muqaddasī 1906** al-Muqaddasī, Descriptio Imperii Moslemici (Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm), ed. by M. J. de Goeje, BGArab 3 (Leiden 1906)
- Ayalon 1975** D. Ayalon, Names, Titles and ʿNisbasʿ of the Mamlūks, IOS 5, 1975, 189–232
- Bernand 1989** A. Bernand, De Thèbes à Syène (Paris 1989)
- Bloom 1983** J. M. Bloom, The Mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo, Muqarnas 1, 1983, 15–36
- Bloom 1984** J. M. Bloom, Five Fatimid Minarets in Upper Egypt, JSAH 43, 2, 1984, 162–167
- Caetani – Gabrieli 1915** L. Caetani – G. Gabrieli, Onomasticon Arabicum. Ossia Repertorio alfabetico dei nomi di persona e di luogo contenuti nelle principali opere storiche, biografiche e geografiche, stampate e manoscritte, relative all’Islam I/II (Rome 1915)
- CG** H. Hawary – H. Rached – G. Wiet, Catalogue Général du Musée Arabe du Caire. Stèles funéraires I–X (Cairo 1932–1942)
- Clarke 1903** S. Clarke, Thursday, 1st May, 1902, PSAL (Ser. 2) 19, 1903, 117–124
- Creswell 1926** K. A. C. Creswell, The Evolution of the Minaret, with Special Reference to Egypt III, The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 48, 279, 1926, 290–292. 294–298
- Creswell 1940** K. A. C. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture. Umayyads, Early ʿAbbāsids & Ṭūlūnids II. Early ʿAbbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids, and Samānids. A.D. 751–905 (Oxford 1940)
- Creswell 1978** K. A. C. Creswell, The Muslim Architecture of Egypt I. Ikhshīds and Fāṭimids. A.D. 939–1171 (Oxford 1952; Repr. New York 1978)
- Crone 1987** P. Crone, Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law. The Origins of the Islamic Patronate, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge 1987)
- Dadoyan 1997** S. B. Dadoyan, The Fatimid Armenians. Cultural and Political Interaction in the Near East, Islamic History and Civilization 18 (Leiden 1997)
- Dadoyan 2010** S. B. Dadoyan, s. v. Badr al-Jamālī, in: K. Fleet – G. Krämer – D. Matringe – J. Nawas – D. J. Stewart (eds), Encyclopaedia of Islam III (Leiden 2010), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23492> (02.04.2023)
- el-Hawary 1935** H. M. el-Hawary, Trois minarets fatimides à la frontière nubienne, BIE (Ser. 6) 17, 2, 1935, 141–153
- Forand 1971** P. G. Forand, The Relation of the Slave and the Client to the Master or Patron in Medieval Islam, International Journal of Middle East Studies 2, 1, 1971, 59–66
- Garcin 1976** J.-C. Garcin, Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale. Qūs, TAEI 6 (Cairo 1976)
- Hagen – Ryholt 2016** F. Hagen – K. Ryholt, The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H. O. Lange Papers, ScDan IV 8 (Copenhagen 2016)
- Hoyland 2002** R. Hoyland, s. v. Epigraphy, in: J. D. McAuliffe (ed.), Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān II (Leiden 2002) 25–43
- Kaiser et al. 1997** W. Kaiser – F. Andraschko – M. Bommas – H. Jaritz – W. Niederberger – C. von Pilgrim – M. Rodziejewicz – A. Seiler – M. Ziermann, Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 23./24. Grabungsbericht, MDAIK 53, 1997, 117–193
- King 1989** G. R. D. King, The Nine Bay Domed Mosque in Islam, MM 30, 1989, 332–390
- Lev 1987** Y. Lev, Army, Regime, and Society in Fatimid Egypt, 358–487/968–1094, International Journal of Middle East Studies 19, 3, 1987, 337–366
- Mackensen et al. 2006** M. Mackensen – M. el-Bialy – A. von Kienlin – H.-C. Noeske – F. Schimmer – B. Seeberger – M. Sieler, The Late Roman Fort at Nag el-Hagar near Kom Ombo in the Province of Thebaïs (Upper Egypt). Report on the First Season of the Egyptian-Swiss Joint Mission, MDAIK 62, 2006, 161–195
- MacMichael 1922** H. A. MacMichael, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan and Some Account of the People Who Preceded Them and of the Tribes Inhabiting Dārḥūr (Cambridge 1922)
- Makariou 2001** S. Makariou, L’Orient de Saladin. L’art des Ayyoubides. Exposition présentée à l’Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, du 23 octobre 2001 au 10 mars 2002 (Paris 2001)
- Monneret de Villard 1930** U. Monneret de Villard, La necropoli musulmana di Aswān, Maṭbūʿāt Maṭḥaf al-Fann al-Islāmī (Cairo 1930)
- Nöldeke 1860** T. Nöldeke, Geschichte des Qorāns (Göttingen 1860)
- Pakatchi 2009** A. Pakatchi, s. v. Abū al-Mufaḍḍal al-Shaybānī, in: F. Daftary – W. Madelung (eds), Encyclopaedia Islamica II. Abū al-Hārith–Abyānah (Leiden 2009) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-9831_isla_COM_0109> (02.04.2023)
- P. GenizahCambr.** G. Khan, Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections (Cambridge 1993)
- von Pilgrim et al. 2014/2015** C. von Pilgrim – M. Marée – W. Müller, Report on the 15th Season of the Joint Swiss-Egyptian Mission in Syene/Old Aswan

يعيد هذا المقال النظر في النقاش حول دور بدر الجمالي في بناء المآذن والمساجد في صعيد مصر، ويدعم ذلك بأدلة إقليمية مستندة على نقش بناء مسجد في أسوان. يعود تاريخ هذا النقش، المحفوظ حاليًا في متحف الفن الإسلامي في برلين، إلى عام 491 هجريًا / 1098 ميلاديًا. يُزعم أن مُشيد هذا المسجد، الذي يمكن التعرف عليه كمسؤول رفيع المستوى في صعيد مصر، كان على صلة مع بدر الجمالي وابنه. علاوة على ذلك، ينشر هذا المقال لأول مرة النقش المنفذ على شريط من الأجر على ما يعرف بمئذنة الطابية، وهي برج من العصر الفاطمي تم هدمها في عام 2021 لأسباب مجهولة دون إجراء أي توثيق لهذا المبنى التاريخي. في نهاية المقال يتم تحديد أقدم مسجد ومئذنة مسجلين (318 هجريًا / 930 ميلاديًا) في أسوان.

الكلمات المفتاحية

بدر الجمالي، أسوان، مسجد، مئذنة، برج الطابية

(2014/2015), 1–27 figs. 1–42 <https://swissinst.ch/downloads/Swiss%20Institute%202014_2015.pdf> (02.04.2023)

Pipes 1981 D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam. The Genesis of a Military System* (New Haven 1981)

Quatremère 1811 E. M. Quatremère (ed.), *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines. Recueillis et extraits des manuscrits coptes, arabes, etc., de la Bibliothèque Impériale II* (Paris 1811)

RCEA E. Combe – L. Kalus – J. Sauvaget – G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe I–XVIII* (Cairo 1931–1991)

Schmidt 2021 S. Schmidt, *The Problem of the Origin of Tombstones from Aswan in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo*, *ChronEg* 96, 192, 2021, 353–370

Schmidt 2022 S. Schmidt, *The Frontier Zone at the First Cataract before and at the Time of the Muslim Conquest (Fifth to Seventh Centuries)*, in: J. Bruning – J. H. M. de Jong – P. M. Sijpesteijn (eds), *Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World. From Constantinople to Baghdad, 500–1000 CE* (Cambridge 2022) 73–102

Sharon 1977 M. Sharon, *The Ayyūbid Walls of Jerusalem. A New Inscription from the Time of al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā*, in: M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem 1977) 179–193

Sharon 1997 M. Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP) I. A, HdO I 30, 1* (Leiden 1997)

Sharon 1999 M. Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP) II. B–C, HdO I 30, 2* (Leiden 1999)

Sinai 2010 N. Sinai, *The Qurʾan as Process*, in: A. Neuwirth – N. Sinai – M. Marx (eds), *The Qurʾan in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾanic Milieu, Texts and Studies on the Qurʾan 6* (Leiden 2010) 405–440

Walker 2007 P. E. Walker, s. v. al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Jamālī, in: K. Fleet – G. Krämer – D. Matringe – J. Nawas – D. J. Stewart (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam III* (Leiden 2007) <https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_SIM_0189> (02.04.2023)

Wiet 1930 G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum I. Égypte 2, 1. Le Caire*, *MIFAO* 52 (Cairo 1930)

Wiet 1941 G. Wiet, *Nouvelles inscriptions fatimides*, *BIE* (Ser. 6) 24, 2, 1942, 145–158

Wüstenfeld 1881 F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen. Nach arabischen Quellen* (Göttingen 1881)

SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Title Page: Photo J. Kramer; © Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, CC BY-SA 4.0 (<<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>>), <<https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/1522957/inschriftenstein-stein>> (02.04.2023)

Fig. 1: Photo J. Kramer; © Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, CC BY-SA 4.0 (<<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>>), <<https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/1522957/inschriftenstein-stein>> (02.04.2023)

Fig. 2: Modifications S. Schmidt, C. Scott; photo © Phototheque Max van Berchem no. 98 a, provided by Thesaurus d'Épigraphie Islamique, ID 46272, <<https://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/User/PhotosGalleryDisplay.aspx?id=46272&sc=1&st=46272>> (22.03.2023)

Fig. 3: Modifications S. Schmidt, C. Scott; photo © Phototheque Max van Berchem no. 97 a, provided by Thesaurus d'Épigraphie Islamique, ID 46272, <<https://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/User/PhotosGalleryDisplay.aspx?id=46272&sc=1&st=46272>> (22.03.2023)

Fig. 4: Modifications S. Schmidt, C. Scott; photo © Phototheque Max van Berchem no. 98 b, provided by Thesaurus d'Épigraphie Islamique, ID 46272, <<https://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be/thesaurus/User/PhotosGalleryDisplay.aspx?id=46272&sc=1&st=46272>> (22.03.2023)

ADDRESS

Stefanie Schmidt
Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich
Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften,
Ägyptologisches Seminar
Fabeckstraße 23–25
14195 Berlin
Germany
stefanie.talea.schmidt@fu-berlin.de

METADATA

Titel/*Title*: Badr al-Jamālī and the Mosques of Aswan. New Considerations Based on a Building Inscription from the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin

Band/*Issue*: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 79, 2023

Bitte zitieren Sie diesen Beitrag folgenderweise/
Please cite the article as follows: S. Schmidt, Badr al-Jamālī and the Mosques of Aswan. New Considerations Based on a Building Inscription from the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, MDAIK 79, 2023, § 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.34780/fb6q-hqv5>

Copyright: Alle Rechte vorbehalten/*All rights reserved*.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/fb6q-hqv5>

Schlagworte/*Keywords*: Badr al-Jamālī, Aswan, mosque, minaret, Ṭābiya tower