The Influence of Adopting the Shīʿī Creed on Cairo's Religious Architecture under the Fatimids from Tour Guiding Perspective: An Analytic Study

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ARTICLE INFO	Abstract
	Since their successful conquest of Egypt in 969 AD/358 AH, the Fatimids had realized the extreme intricacies that they will eventually encounter in turning Egypt to a secured *Shīʿī* base. Egypt was meant to be the primary Fatimid outpost from which the Fatimids can securely launch their potential political/ideological campaigns that will dominate the entire Islamic world. Such expected distress did primarily arise from the robust domination and resistance of the *Sunnī* stream back then. Accordingly, the Fatimids decided to maximize the exploitation of all potential facilities, whether corporeal or moral, with special focus on the religious architecture, to achieve their political and alien ideological targets inside Egypt and beyond its borders afterwards. Based on this proclivity, the aim of this study is to investigate the impact of introducing the *Shīʿī* doctrine to Egypt on Cairo's religious architecture. In this context, the study will analyze major architectural and artistic outlines that were premiered in chief Fatimid mosques and Mashhads across the city of Cairo and its outskirts. The study will be primarily approached from a Tour-Guiding perspective in terms of propelling the abilities of Egyptian Professional and student Tour guides towards better analyzing and demonstrating the philosophy of the Fatimid religious architecture in Cairo in front of the tourist groups. This analytic criterion is also meant to be understood and carefully used by Tour Guides whilst explaining any archaeological or historical site across Egypt from pre-historic to modern and contemporary.

Introduction

Upon seizing the caliphate from the Umayyads in 750 AD/133 AH, the Abbasids exerted their maximum efforts to retain their precious political victory. Expectedly, such official triumph was considered a dramatic loss for the *Shīʿītes* whose main political and religious targets were to restore the Islamic caliphate to the progeny of ʿAlī and Faṭima. Accordingly, the *Shīʿītes* decided to commence their journey in the Islamic world

through disseminating their creed thoughts and ideology in a secret manner to avoid any expected confrontation with the Abbasids.[1] Simultaneously, they were divided into rival religious orders, each struggling for the Imamate requisition. For instance, the *Ismāʿīlī* order, to which the later Fatimid Caliphs trace their descent. The followers of the *Ismāʿīlī* doctrine had always considered their order to be a revolutionary order promising the Islamic world the prospective political and religious salvation. The region of northwest Africa, also known as *bilād Al-maghrib Al-ʿarabī* was chosen by the *Ismāʿīlīs* to be a homeland of their alien bid due to its remote locality from the Abbasid's domination.[2] Consequently, the daʿī Abū ʿAbdallāh Al-Shīʿī was in charge of preaching the *Ismāʿīlī* doctrine in northwest Africa among its residents from the Berbers, especially in *Kutāma* from the region of *Qusṭanṭīna*.[3] The 11th I*smāʿīlī* Imam, ʿUbayd Allāh Al-Mahdī, established the first official Fatimid caliphate after his valuable success in defeating the Aghlabids.[4] In the same context, the Fatimids adopted the city of *Raqqāada* as a temporarily capital before moving their capital to the newly founded city of Al-Mahdiya.[5] Therefore, the Fatimids were able to establish, for the first time, an official political and religious entity based on the *Shīʿī* creed . That peculiar nascent caliphate jostled with the Abbasid caliphate in spreading their political dominance along with their alien religious doctrine across the Islamic world. Al-Mahdī soon realized that his politicAl-religious structure will not be capable of achieving its goals if he continues stationing in Al-Mahdiya. Thus, he aimed to move his State and its capital eastwards, i.e., Egypt. Such axial move occurred in terms of exploiting its median location along with its economic resources as a strategic base from which he could launch different religious missions and political expeditions to control the Islamic world.[6]

Notably, the Egyptians played an axial role in the success of the Fatimid conquest in 969 AD/358 AH under Caliph Al-Muʿizz (953-975 AD), for they were weary of the decadent political, economic and social conditions of Egypt, especially in the last phase

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[1]- Muhammad Ḥasan, ʿAydarūs, al-Dawlah al-Islāmīyah al-khāmisah: al-khilāfah al-Fāṭimīyah : usrat al-Imām Muḥammad al-Maktūm ibn Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawīyah, al-Qāhirah (2010), p.18

[2]- Hasan Ibrāhīm, H., *Al-Fāṭimīyūn fī misr wa-aʿmāluhum Al-siyāsīyah wa-Al-dīnīyah bi-wajhin khāṣṣ*,   Cairo (1932., p. 50, 51; Al-ʿAydarūs, *Al-Khilāfah*, p.35

[3]- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimīyūn*, p.54,55; Heinz V., Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdi: the rise of the Fatimids,* Leiden ; New York (1996), p.39, 41; Muṣṭafa, *Al-Shīʿa*, p.218; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ʿUways, *Qaḍīyat nasab Al-Faṭimīyīn amāma manhaj Al-naqd Al-tārīkhī*, Cairo (1985), p.16

[4]- Martin S., Briggs, "The Fatimite Architecture of Cairo (A. D. 969-1171)," The *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol.37, No. 210 (Sep., 1920),p.138

[5]- Muṣṭafa, *Al-Shīʿa*, p.179; Muhammad A., ʿUthmān, *Mawsūʿat Al-ʿimārah Al-Fāṭimīyah,* Cairo, (2006), pt.1, p.12; Abdullah Kamel M., Abdoh, *the Fatimid architecture in Cairo,* Cairo (1998.), p.12; Anna, Contadini, *Fatimid art at the Victoria and Albert Museum,* London (1998), p.3; Shainool, Jiwa, *The Fatimids,* London (2018), p.7

[6]- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimīyūn*, p.111; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Al-Dawlah Al-Fāṭimīyah fī Miṣr : tafsīr jadīd,* Cairo (2016), p.123,124; ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah,* pt.1, p.49; Taqī Al-Dīn Ahmad b.ʿAlī Al-Maqrīzī's and JiwaShainool, *Towards a Shiʿi Mediterranean Empire: Fatimid Egypt and the Founding of Cairo : The Reign of the Imam-Caliph Al-Muʿizz from Taqī Al-Dīn Ahmad b. ʿAlī Al-Maqrīzī's Ittiʿāz ạl-ḥunafāʾ Bi-akhbār Al-aʾimma Al-Fāṭamiyyīn Al-Khulafāʾ'. Vol. 11. New York;London (2009), p.10; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, Tārīkh Al-dawlah Al-Fāṭimīyah fī Al-Maghrib, wa-Miṣr, wa-Sūrīyah, wa-bilād Al-ʿArab,* Cairo (1958), p.112, 117

of the Ikshidids dynasty.[7] During that last phase, Egypt was caught up in a vortex of instability. An unfortunate combination of natural calamities and political struggles between the remnants of the ruling class of the Ikshidids led to a state of lawlessness and anarchy.[8] Consequently, large numbers of Egyptians persisted in corresponding Al-Muʿizz to enter Egypt as savior, regardless the Fatimids' alien religious streams, especially after promising and assuring the Egyptians a fully free religious life based on the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).[9] The *aman* (gurantee of safety) which was carried to the Egyptians by the Fatimids assured that they could continue practicing the Islamic rituals according to their own traditions.[10] Since they conquered Egypt, the Fatimids had realized the extreme difficulty in turning Egypt to a secured *Shīʿī* base from which they can conquer the entire Islamic world,[11] especially with the domination of the *Sunnī* doctrine. Undoubtedly, the *Sunnī* stream contradicted their alien *Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī* religious thoughts which they wanted to disseminate among the Egyptians. For instance, the absolute beliefs in the idea of the divine Imamate,[12] and the general orientation towards precluding any principles adopted by different *Sunnī* doctrines.[13] Also, they regarded the companions as apostates, faithless, and dissemblers, thus, they deserve to be cursed according to the *Shīʿī* beliefs in different public, social and religious occasions.[14] In this context, the Fatimids decided to maximize the exploitation of all possible facilities, especially religious architecture, to achieve their political and religious targets inside Egypt and across its borders. Based on this proclivity, the aim of this study is to investigate the impact of introducing the *Shīʿī* doctrine to Egypt on Cairo's religious architecture under the Fatimids through analyzing a group of selective examples of major mosques and Mashhads from the city of Cairo and its outskirts. In the same context, the paper analyzes the worldly-wise architectural orientation that was adopted and deployed by the Fatimid Caliphs, their viziers, and high officials in utilizing extant and newly built religious institutions in propagating the principles of the *Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī* doctrine among the Egyptians. [15]

Objective

The peerless architectural legacy that Egypt had featured throughout its long history, since the prehistoric eras, did have a clear impact on materialistically reflecting the unique aspects and personality of the State during each historic phase. In the same context, such heritage mirrored the political and religious orientation of the ruling stratum back then. By contemplating the great archaeological treasures of the Fatimids that de-

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[7] - Briggs, *Fatimite*, p.138; Jiwa, *Fatimid*, p.15; Sayyid, *Al-Fāṭimīyah*, p.131, 132

[8] - Jiwa, Fatimids, p.124

[9] - Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimīyūn*, p.111; Sayyid, *Al-Fāṭimīyah*, p.132,133; Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr, *Tārīkh Al-Dawlah Al-Fāṭimīyah,* Cairo (1994), p.80

[10] - Jiwa, *Fatimids*, p.126

[11] - Contadini, *Fatimid*, p.3; Sayyid, *Al-Fāṭimīyah*, p.154

[12] - Muḥammad ʿImārah, *Ḥaqāʾiq wa-shubuhāt ḥawla Al-Shīʿah wa-Al-Sunnah,* Cairo, (2010), p.76; Asaf A.A. Fyzee, *A Shìite creed: a translation of Risālatuʹl-ìtiqādāt of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Bābawayhi Al-Qummī, known as Sḥaykh Sadūq,* London ; New York, (1942), p.139

[13] - ʿImārah, *Shubuhā*t, p.80

[14] - ʿImārah, *Shubuhāt*, pp.80-81, ʿUways, *Qaḍīyat Nasab*, pp.43-44

[15] - Shiḥātah ʿĪsá Ibrāhīm, *Al-Qahirah*, Cairo (1999), p. ;79Surūr , *Tārīkh*, p.80

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fine the alleys and streets of historic Cairo, one can imagine how significant and influential the Fatimid dynasty was in Egypt. Certainly, the adoption of the *Shīʿī* Creed by the Fatimids, as a ruling class, besides their consistent endeavor in disseminating their novelty across Egypt, resulted in a partial reformation in Cairo's religious premises from both architectural and decorative perspectives. In consequence, it is believed that the extracted information from analyzing such Shīʿī oriented architectural changes and innovations, from Tour Guiding perspective, is significant for professional and student Tour Guides. Such significance arises from achieving a better perception and demonstration of the Fatimids architectural and decorative orientation and philosophy in front of various tourist groups. I believe that if this norm is properly adopted by Professional Tour Guides, it will be an axial tool in reducing the traditional descriptive methodology in favor of implementing a correct analytic criterion, especially in cultural tours.

Aims

Accordingly, this study aims in the first place at investigating and analyzing the direct and indirect urban influences of embracing the *Shīʿītes* ideology by the Fatimid ruling stratum on Cairo's existing and innovated religious architecture back then.

The mosque of ʿAmr ibn Al-ʿAs (641 AD/20 AH) comes on the top of those extant historical mosques back then (fig. 1) (Plate 1).[16] Shortly after Jawhar conquered the city of *Al-Fusṭaṭ,* he re-organized the *khuṭba* in its congregational mosque. The Friday sermon was invoked for praising the Fatimid Imam-Caliphs and officially making the *duʿaʾ* for them instead of the Abbasids. Such carefully calculated orientation occurred in the shadow of confirming their political and religious dominance over Egypt.[17] Eight months later after the Fatimid conquest, an official order was placed by *Al-Muʿizz* to add a *Shīʿī* part in the Azan, which was حى على خير العمل"[18] Add to that, Jawhar ordered the inner and outer walls of the mosque to be painted in green which was the official slogan of the ʿAlīds.[19] The second Fatimid Caliph al -ʿAzīz (957-996 AD/346-386 AH) substituted the original minbar of ʿAmr ibn Al-ʿAs mosque by a new gilded tribune in terms of following to the *Shīʿī* traditions in furnishing their mosques. Also, he dedicated the mosque to the teaching purposes of what is so called "*Al-rasāʾil Al-wazīrīya*" which was delivered by the Vizier Yaʿqūb ibn Kilis about the *Shīʿī* jurisprudence.[20] Al-Ḥakim (996-1021 AD/386-412 AH) contribution to Amr mosque was notable, he added a tremendous silver chandelier to the mosque, estimated by 100,000 dirham, in addition to specifying numerous endowments to cover the mosque's different financial needs and expenses.[21] In the same context, he added two naves to the courtyard along with a fine portable

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[16]- The mosque of ʿAmr ibn Al-ʿAs. Date: 641/21 AH. Location: Shari' Sidi Hasan al-Anwar, Midan 'Amr ibn al-ʿAs. District: Al-Fustat, Cairo. Archnet.org

[17]- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimīyūn*, p.120; Jiwa, Fatimids, p.128

[18]- Surūr, *Tārīkh*, p.80; Sayyid, *Al-Fāṭimīyah*, p.144

[19]- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimīyūn*, p.121

[20]- Ibrāhīm, *Al-Qahirah*, p.107

[21]- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭmīyūn*, p.122; Suʿād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wa-awliyāʾuhā al-ṣālihūn*, Cairo (1971-1983), pt.1, p.68; Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh Al-masājid Al-atharīyah*, Cairo (1994), p.25

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mihrab executed in teak.[22] Al-Ḥakim hostile attitude towards the *Sunnī* doctrine and its adherents was quite illustrated in cursing the companions of Prophet Muhammad on both inner and outer walls of mosque.[23] When he decided to leave his personal imprint on the mosque, Al-Mustanṣir (1036-1094) decorated the middle part of the main *mihrab* with a precious broad silver band engraved with the Caliph's name.[24] For those reasons, we can conclude that many Fatimid Caliphs aimed at exploiting the significance of *Jamiʿ ʿAmr* and its popularity in Egypt in propagandizing and disseminating the *Shīʿī* Jurisprudence through overriding the religious activities that took place within the mosque . In the same context, the Fatimids demonstrated their dominance over the mosque, in front of the *Sunnī* Egyptians, through restoring different parts of the mosque along with adding multiple Fatimid-style architectural elements. The mosque reached its architectural peak during the Fatimid era.[25]

Similarly, the mosque of Ahmad Ibn Ṭūlūn (876-79 AD/263-265 AH),[26] was of a great interest to the Fatimids (fig. 2) (Plate 2). Eight months later after delivering the first official *khuṭba* at *Jamiʿ ʿAmr*, the minbar of Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque was used in favor of the Fatimid caliphate.[27] Sheikh ʿAbdelsamīʿ, orator of *Ibn Ṭūlūn* mosque, was obviously following the *Shīʿī* traditions of *Al-khuṭba* when he praised "*Ahl Al-Bayt*" in the Friday prayer. In the same vein, he praised the commander Jawhar in an absolute hint that Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque became officially under the Fatimid control and was geared to deliver the *Shīʿī* rites and thoughts. In the year 1077 the Fatimid vizier Badr Al-Jamālī restored the mosque on behalf of Caliph Al-Mustanṣir*,* that restoration was recorded in a marble panel which was placed above a door in the northern *Zīyāda*.[28] *Al-miḥrab Al-Mustanṣirī* could be used as a notable evidence of imposing the *Shīʿī* spirit over the mosque. The original *miḥrab* is now preserved in the museum of Islamic arts in Cairo. It was commissioned in 1097 by the vizier Al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh in the reign of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustanṣir. It is executed in fine stucco engraved with various vegetal and geometric patterns.[29]The *miḥrab's* upper register is famous for its inscription which is considered a strict *Shīʿī* slogan. Right after the *shahādā* phrase we can observe an additional part, that is to say, "علي ولى الله" which was a traditional Fatimid device in tracing their descent to *Ahl Al-Bayt* (fig. 3).[30] It seems possible that when the Fatimids exploited the already extant major mosques in Cairo's outskirts back then, they were keen not to waste any time in targeting and achieving their specified *Shīʿī* ideological aims. However, this phenomenon was merely an initial step towards creating a revolutionary religious architectural

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[22]-   Muḥammad, *Masājid,* pt.1, p.67

[23]-   Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭmīyūn*, p.125

[24]-   Muḥammad, *Masājid*, pt.1, p.68; ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb, *Al- Masājid*, p.25

[25]-   ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb, *Al- Masājid*, p.26

[26]- The mosque of Ahmad Ibn Ṭūlūn. Date: 876-879/263-65 AH. Location: El-Sayeda Zainab. District: Al-Saidah Zainab. <u>Archnet.org</u>

[27]-   Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭmīyūn*, p.123

[28]-   ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb, *Al- Masājid*, p.44

[29]-   Bernard O'kane, *The illustrated guide to the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo*, Cairo; New York (2012), p.83

[30]-   Kamil, Ismāʿīl,, *Dirāsāt atharīyah*, *masjid Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, Cairo (1963), p.11

network across Cairo. That theme was clearly demonstrated later in their various religious buildings and institutions in Cairo and its environs.

Al-Azhar mosque (970-972 AD/359-361) has always been regarded as the jewel of the Fatimid religious architecture (fig. 4) (Plate 3).[31] Shortly after Jawhar laid the foundations of Cairo, the future capital city of the Fatimids, he commenced the building activities of Al-Azhar which was meant to be a place of worship and the seat of learning the *Ismāʿīlī* jurisprudence.[32] Its name , Al-Azhar, "the radiant," is one of the Fatimid related-epithets connected with light that they favorably applied to their mosques.[33] It is believed according to the *Shīʿī* doctrine that Allah Almighty created from the light of Fatima a lantern which was hung to the Throne. The earth and heavens were flourished by that light. Thus, Fatima was called *Al-Zahrā'*.[34] Jawhar smartly realized the potential threats and dangers that will be enclosed within the planned enforcement tendency of the *Shīʿī* doctrine in Egypt. As a result, he preferred to utilize Al-Azhar in achieving that gradual required ideological transformation within the Egyptian society. In a short period of time, Al-Azhar became one of the most illustrious centers of learning and education in the Islamic world.[35] Jawhar started off the plan by adopting the *Shīʿī* oriented azan and *khuṭba* which had already been in use in the mosques of Al-Fusṭaṭ and Al-Qaṭaʾiʿ.[36] Simultaneously, Al-Azhar played an axial scholastic role as a primary educational institute and theological college.[37] It was responsible for religious teachings alongside spreading the *Shīʿī* creed.[38] For instance, the teachings of the famous *ḥalaqa* of Al-Qadi Abu Al-Hassan Ibn Al-Nuʿmān that were held there.[39] Notably, the surviving Fatimid inscriptions at Al-Azhar are entirely Quranic. However, the selection of the verses was, most probably, made for propaganda purposes, that is to say, to support the claims to religious orthodoxy of the *Shīʿī* Fatimids versus of the Sunni majority of Egypt back then.[40]

Starting from the reign of Al-Ḥakim, Al-Azhar turned to be the beacon of the *Shīʿī* bid. Accordingly, he did devote numerous personal properties as endowments to cover the financial needs of Al-Azhar, especially its architectonic restoration and general upkeep operations, in terms of assuring the continuity of its religious role.[41]

[31]- Al-Azhar mosque. Date: 970-972/359-361 AH. Location: Al-Azhar Street. District: Al-Darb al-Ahmar, Cairo. Archnet.org

[32]- RichardYeomans, *the Art and architecture of Islamic Cairo,* Reading (2006), p.51

[33]- Bernard O'Kane, The *Mosques of Egypt*, Cairo (2016), p.11

[34]- Idrīs I. Al -Qurashī, *Kitāb Zahr Al- Al-Maʿānī.* Beirut (1991), p.177

[35]- Jiwa, *Fatimids*, p.131

[36]- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭmīyūn*, p.124

[37]- R.A. Jairazbhoy, *An outline of Islamic architecture,* London (1972), p.153

[38]- Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, et al, Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250, New Haven (2001), p.192

[39]- Ibrāhīm, *Al-Qahirah*, p.79,107; Paul E. Walker, *Fatimid history and Ismaili doctrine,* Aldershot, Burlington (2008), p.10

[40]- O'Kane, *Mosques*, p.14

[41]- ʿĀṣim Muḥammad Rizq, *Aṭlas Al-ʿimārah Al-Islāmīyah wa-Al-Qibtīyah bil-Qāhirah,* Cairo (2003), pt.1, p.150; ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb, *Al- Masājid*, p.48; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic archi-*

The 11th Fatimid Caliph Al-Ḥafiẓ established a unique wooden kiosk right next to the western door at the front of the mosque. This kiosk was named "the kiosk of *Faṭima*," for it was believed that an anonymous Imam had a dream that *Faṭima*, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad, appeared in this spot. Therefore, Al-Ḥafiẓ built that kiosk under her name as a way of confirming the trace of Fatimids to *Faṭima* and the credibility of the *Shīʿī* creed.[42]

Upon succeeding his father, the Fatimid Caliph Al-ʿAzīz showed practically his ultimate enthusiasm towards fortifying the foundations of spreading the *Shīʿī* bid through the religious architecture to attract the Egyptians peacefully and willingly to the new doctrine.[43] He chose a unique plot outside *Bab Al-Futūḥ* to establish a *Shīʿī* mosque, which was known later as Al-Ḥakim mosque (990-1013/379-404 AH) (fig. 5) (Plate 4).[44] The construction work took place under the supervision of his favorite vizier Yaʿqūb Ibn Killis in 989 AD/378 AH.[45] It was intended for Al-Ḥakim, along with both Al-Azhar and *Ibn Ṭūlūn* mosques, to accommodate the whole population of Cairo on Friday congregational prayers.[46] Al-ʿAzīz aimed, as well, beyond establishing this mosque, to emphasize the secular and religious presence of the Caliph and to serve as a setting for the ceremonial pageantry of the Fatimid dynasty.[47] Like Al-Azhar, this mosque had an epithet, that is to say, Al-Anwar which translates as "the illuminated".[48] His successor, Al-Ḥakim, accomplished the construction task after spending almost 40,000 dinars.[49] In this context, we could speculate tha*t* Al-Ḥakim managed to turn his mosque to an ideal *Shīʿī* religious-educational center. In turn, he placed four massive silver chandeliers and furnished the ground with fine mats and rugs. Also, he was keen to dedicate many buildings as endowments to finance the mosque on continuous basis.[50]

Important to realize, during the reigns of both Al-Azīz and Al-Ḥakim, a weekly *majlis*, led by a *Shīʿī dāʿī* for *the Ismāʿīlīs*, was held on both Thursdays and Fridays at Al-Azhar mosque with different assemblies for men and women. Moreover, the number of the learning sessions increased the ruling time of Al-Ḥakim to reach five sessions a week, each designated for a different type of audience: commoners in one, women of the palace in another, the elite men and outsiders in yet two others, and so on.[51] Al-Ḥakim mosque is also characterized by few other architectural and decorative elements which helped, in turn, in demonstrating the Fatimid *Shīʿī* spirit. For instance, the fine decoration that articulates the upper story of the southern minaret of Al-Ḥakim mosque. It is adorned with lavish interlaced geometric pat-

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tecture in Cairo: an introduction, Leiden ;New York (1989), p.58; Muḥammad, *Masājid*, pt.1, p.199

42- ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1, p.278

43- Muḥammad, *Masājid*, pt.1, p.228, 230, 231; ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1, p.296

44 Al-Ḥakim mosque. Date: 990-1013/379-404 AH. Location: Shari' al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah. District: Al-Jamalia, Cairo. Archnet.org

45- Abouseif, *Architecture*, p.63

46- Briggs, *Fatimite*, p.146

47- Grabar, et al, *Islamic*, p.193

48- Muṣṭafá ʿAbd Allāh Shīhah, *Al-Āthār Al-Islāmīyah fī Misr: min Al-fatḥ Al-ʿArabī ḥattá nihāyat Al-ʿasr Al-Ayyūbī, 20-748 H/641-1250 M,* Cairo (1992), p.117

49- Shīḥa, Al-Athār, p.117; O'Kane, *Mosques*, p.17

50- Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭmīyūn*, p.129

51- Walker, *Fatimid*, p.11

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terns in stucco that imitate the traditional decorative designs that crown Fatimid prayer niches (fig. 6).[52] Additionally, the same minaret exhibits an unusual architectural feature, i.e., the presence of an interior private oratory, at the roof level, with carved niches, entrance, and ceiling.[53] Doris Abouseif assumes that the roof was most probably used in performing special religious activities under the umbrella of the *Shīʿī* practices.[54] It could also be permissible to assume that the lavish inscriptions which adorn the mosque's façade were meant to proclaim an ideological related-message to the subjects in respect of demonstrating the power of the Fatimid caliphate in front of the by passers.[55]

The Caliph Al-Mustanṣir had visibly demonstrated his appreciation to the mosque and its religious role through executing some remarkable renovations in different parts of the mosque, especially the northern minaret in terms of preserving the mosque and its sacred role within the *Shīʿī* context.[56]

Despite the fact of being nowadays an unvisited property of an Egyptian air-force base, the Mashhad of Badr Al-Jāmālī still stands and shines as a masterpiece in the skyline of the Fatimid religious architecture in Egypt (fig. 7) (Plate 5).[57] Also, it is considered as one of Egypt's most enigmatic religious monuments.[58] In 1085 AD/477 AH, the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustanṣir instructed his Vizier and Military Commander in chief, amir Al-juyūsh, Badr Al-Jamālī to build this multi function foundation.[59] The strategic locality of this mosque on the edge of the Muqattam cliffs along with its architectural outlines, that resembles a fort, could easily fulfill the planned core functions of the place such as the ṣalah, which is according to the Fatimid philosophy the root of Islam, also, the Jihad which preserves this root for the sake of making *Al-daʿwah* towards Allāh's religion.[60] As a consequence, Al-Jāmālī could had possibly meant to portray the Fatimid Imams, in front of the *Sunnī* populace of Egypt, as heroic Caliphs who are responsible for protecting Islam and making the required *daʿwa*. The dimensions of this concept could be determined from the inscription lines of the foundation panel above the entrance. It begins by two Verses from the *Qurʾan* " The places of worship belong to god; so call not along with God, upon anyone, and A mosque that was founded upon Godfearing from the first day is worthier for thee to stand in; therein are men who love to cleanse themselves; and God loves those who cleanse themselves."[61] The inscription then continues: "this blessed Mashhad was built by the servant of the Imam Al-Mustanṣir …

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[52]-   Abouseif, *Architecture*, p.64
[53]-   Grabar, et al, *Islamic*, p.193
[54]-   Abouseif, *Architecture*, p.65
[55]-   Grabar, et al, *Islamic*, p.195
[56]-   Muḥammad, *Masājid*, pt.1, p.236
[57]-   The Mashhad of Badr Al-Jāmālī. Date: 1085/477-478 AH. Location: Southern Cemetery, Plateau of the Muqattam. District: Al-Muqattam, Cairo. Archnet.org
[58]-   O'Kane, *Mosques*, p.22
[59]-   Ja'far us Sadiq M. Saifuddin, *Al Juyushi : a vision of the Fatemiyeen,* Surrey (2002), p.14; Shīḥa, *Al-Athār*, p.124
[60]-   Caroline Williams, "The Cult of ʿAlid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo Part II: The Mausolea" *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 39-60. p.40; Saifuddin, *Al-Juyshi*, p.23, 24
[61]-   Quran 9:108

may God prolongs his power and elevates his word outwit his enemies and those envious of him according to his pleasures… in the month of Muḥarram 478/1085.[62] Therefore, Al-Jamālī combined Salat and jihad in terms of achieving successive victories in the cause of Allah and the Imam.[63] The exact function of this building has been obscure and fervently debated between scholars. However, its architectural elements and inscriptions had ostensibly helped in determining that function. For example, the *Qurʾanic* inscriptions over the entrance allude to the premises as a *masjid*, however, its strange location crowning a spur of the Muqaṭṭam would not for real attract the people to pray.[64] Furthermore, the inscription refers to it as a Mashhad, but nobody is known to be buried there.[65] Another scholastic stream placed a plausible hypothesis, i.e., the main reason beyond the foundation of that historic building was to commemorate the victories of *Badr Al-Jamālī* against the rebels after the crisis of 1060.[66] Famous archaeologists Farid Shafiʿī and Ahmad Fekri have argued that this so-called mosque had camouflaged a military watchtower that tended to alert the Cairenes ,through its minaret and dome, from any expected attack from the *Sunnī* seljuks who were threatening Egypt back then.[67] In other words, the minaret and possibly the dome could had acted as lookout points to report any suspicious military movement by a specific signal from the minaret to the guards on the city gates.[68] The Arabic term "Mashhad" means "place of witnessing." Therefore, it could be also regarded as a commemorative monument for those *Shīʿī* martyrs who had died fighting for faith and creed. In some cases, the Mashhad could possibly signify a shrine for the ʿAlūds or ʿAlawī saints.[69] Certainly, the richly decorated stucco miḥrab is considered *par excellence* a chief piece of art in the interior of the Mashhad. It is a simple concave recess which is remarkably notable for its carved designs of names which once embellished the bosses. We could notice from the remaining traces that it displayed the names of Muhammad and ʿAlī in an intertwining fashion.[70] It is strongly believed that demonstrating the names of Muhammad and ʿAlī together was habitually executed in the decorative arts of the Fatimid State in respect of affirming their descent to ahl Al-bayt along with articulating their Imam's spiritual authority. The dome chamber annexed to the building is of great interest. The stucco medallion at the dome's apex displays a *Qurʾanic* inscription that contains a six-pointed star formed by the names of Muhammad and ʿAlī, each repeated three times. As a consequence, the Fatimids in this unique monument did, most probably, exploit the religious architecture, because of its significance to the populace, in serving their alien targets which rotate around the nucleus of the *Shīʿī* doctrine.

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[62]- Caroline Williams, "The Cult of ʿAlid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo Part I: The Mosque of al-Aqmar" *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 37-52, p.39; Rizq, *Aṭlas*, pt.1, p.457.

[63]- Saifuddin, *Al-Juyshi*, p.26

[64]- Abdouh, *Fatimid*, p.25

[65]- Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.37

[66]- Countandine, *Fatimid*, p.9

[67]- Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.37; Shīḥa, *Al-Athār*, p.124

[68]- Jaroslaw Dobrowolski, *The living stones of Cairo,* Cairo (2001), p.14

[69]- Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.38

[70]- Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.39

Al-Āqmar mosque is a moon in the skyline of the Fatimid religious architecture in Cairo.[71] This neighborhood mosque was constructed on Al-Muʿizz St., in Al-Jamālya district, in 1125 AD/518 AH by the Vizier Maʾmūn Al-Baṭāʾiḥī on behalf of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Āmir Biʾḥkām Allāh (1101-1130 AD/494-524 AH) .[72] The epithet of "Al-Aqmar," which means luminous like the moon, was chosen for this mosque.[73] According to the Shīʿī beliefs, he light of the moon was created from the light of Al-Hasan.[74]. It is distinguished in the history of Islamic architecture in Egypt by being the first mosque with an absolute alignment of its main façade with the main street while the interior of the mosque is properly oriented toward Mecca.[75] Additionally, the façade is amongst the very first facades in Islamic Egypt to enjoy unique lavish decorative elements from inscriptions to different floral and geometric patterns engraved in stones with versatility (fig. 8) (Plate 6).[76] From the architectural point of view, this facade is notable for exhibiting a tripartite division formed by a group of three keel arched niches.[77] From the decorative perspective, the façade displays multiple Shīʿī related-decorative elements that instantly trigger the viewer' s expectation that it was planned, by the patron, from the beginning that the façade would be a masterpiece in this historical edifice. It could be assumed that the displayed decorative components were intentionally and carefully chosen to confirm and deliver specific Shīʿī ideology related messages even starting from the name of the mosque. Most likely, the general theme of the applied decorative units to the facade could be connected to the following Qurʾanic verse: "Among His signs are the night and the day and the sun and the moon."[78] The previous hypothesis is placed because according to the Fatimid doctrine the Imams Ṭāhirīn are considered as Ayaāt Allāh. In this context, the Imams represent the shining sun in the day and the moon which spreads its light at night over the believers.[79] This thought seems to be affirmed by the presence of the circle representing the sun with emanated rays in the center of the arch above the entrance. The radiating sun could illustrate another Qurʾanic verse strictly adhered to the divine role of the Fatimid Imams.[80] The Qurʾanic verse connected to that notion recites as follows: "It is he who made the sun to be a shining glory and the moon to be a light of beauty."[81] Upon taking a closer look at the discussed sun disc, the viewer will notice that it takes the form of a pierced medallion encircling pierced names of Muhammad and ʿAlī as if it is the axis of the globe around which everything must necessari-

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[71]- Al-Āqmar mosque. Date: 1125/518-519 AH. Location: Shari' al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah. Disrtict: Al-Jamalia, Cairo. Archnet.org

[72]- Rizq, Aṭlas, pt.1, p.642

[73]- Ja'far us Sadiq M. Saifuddin, Al Aqmar : a living testimony to the Fatemiyeen, Surrey (2000), p.20

[74]- Al -Qurashī, Kitāb Zahr Al- Al-Maʿānī, p.177

[75]- Muḥammad, Masājid, pt.1, p.322; Abouseif, Architecture, p.72; Grabar, et al, Islamic, p.197

[76]- Muḥammad, Masājid, pt.1,p.323; Shīḥa, Al-Athār, p.130; Sayyid, Al-Fāṭimīyah, pp.615-616

[77]- Yeomans, Islamic, p.63

[78]- Quran 41:37; masājid, pt.1, p.102

[79]- Saifuddin, Al-Aqmar, p.20,21

[80]- Saifuddin, Al-Aqmar, p.39; Ahmad Fikrī, Masājid Al-Qāhirah wa-madārisuhā, (Cairo), 1965, pt.1, p.102

[81]- Quran,10:5

ly rotate.[82] Most probably, it is the first of its kind in the Fatimid art history of Cairo (fig. 9).[83] Notably, *Qurʾanic* verses of purification, i.e., *Ayāt Al-Taṭhīr*, which adorn and articulate the discussed medallion, in a circular fashion, is of a great interest.[84] Those *Ayāt* were broadly used by the Fatimids in their calligraphy and inscriptions as conceptual refreshment to whoever sees those *Ayāt* in terms of tracing their descent back to Ahl Al-Bayt and in turn legitimizing their political position and their *Shīʿī* doctrine.[85] Carved on the upper right side is a very unusual decorative motif that triggers the necessity for a *Shīʿī* related-symbolic interpretation. The discussed decorative unit displays a cupboard door. A credible religious exegesis has been proposed. It refers this decoration to a well-known *Shīʿī* hadith that says "I am the city of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate."[86] The foundation inscription which lies directly under the cornice of the façade mentions the name of Al-Mustaʿlī, the father of the reigning Caliph, back then, Al-Āmir (fig. 10). This is the only surviving Fatimid inscription of its type in Egypt. Most probably, Al-Āmir aimed to exploit the façade through the inscriptions in legitimizing his rule through succeeding his father Al-Imam Al-Mustaʾlī (1094-1101 AD/486-494).[87] A second foundation inscription bisects the façade at midpoint. It features a very specific *Qurʾanic* verse that underscores the value of Ahl Al-Bayt. This verse occupies the large medallion of the main hood. It recites as follows: "O people of the House (Ahl Al-Bayt), God only desires to put away from you abomination and with cleansing to cleanse you."[88] Thus, the *Shīʿī* always regard this verse as evidence for their claims to the Imamate of ʿAlī who lost the visible caliphate to win another invisible one.[89] It could be permissible to state that the presence of this verse was used a religious device and a reminder for those who oppose the *Shīʿī* doctrine. The Corners of Al-Aqmar façades are peculiar from architectural, decorative, and conceptual perspectives. Each corner was described by Al-Maqrīzī as Al-rukn Al-Mukhallaq or the perfumed corner. Also, Al-Maqrizi mentioned the corner as Al-rukn Al-Mukhawwaq or the wide corner.[90] These beveled corners are distinguished by 3 niches on which an important verse is engraved, "Verily God is with (top niche) those who are God fearing (bottom right niche) and with those who are good-doers (bottom left niche).[91] Also, the presence of two roundels flanking the upper niche on either side is observable. Those roundels contain both names of Muhammad and ʿAlī. From the symbolic perspective, a religious message could be delivered to the façade viewer in connection with emphasizing the *Shīʿī* doctrine if it is read as follows "Verily God is with Muhammad and ʿAlī" (fig. 11).[92] Additionally, the left wing of the building is characterized by the presence of a recessed panel covered by a very shallow fluted hood with

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[82]-   Saifuddin, *Al-Aqmar*, p.39
[83]-   Saifuddin, *Al-Aqmar*, p.42; Fikrī, *masājid*, pt.1, p.101
[84]-   Shīḥa, *Al-Athār*, p.130
[85]-   ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1, p.339
[86]-   O'Kane, *Mosques*, p.30
[87]-   Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.43; ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1, p.34
[88]-   Quran, 33:33
[89]-   Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.44
[90]-   Safifuddine, *Al-Aqmar*, p.50; ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1, p.344
[91]-   Quran, 16:128
[92]-   Williams, *Al-Aqmar*, p.44

a medallion in its center. The medallion has the name of Muhammad repeated in a circular interlacing pattern with the name ʿAlī in the middle (fig. 12).[93] This piece of decoration is another evidence of the Shīʿī slogan combining both names of "Muhammad and ʿAlī". The left wing is also unique for the presence to two lozenges flanking on either side the main shallow niche. One is engaged with geometric carving and the other with a vase and plant motif. Caroline Williams has suggested that the two plants standing in the vase symbolize Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, sons of Caliph ʿAlī *and* Faṭima (fig. 13).[94] In the same context, those two plants could possibly represent Abdullah ibn Abd Al-Muttalib, father of the Prophet Muhammad, and Abu Ṭalib ibn Abd Al-Muttalib, father of ʿAlī. This hypothesis is based on a Shīʿī stream that considers both men to be the primordial light.[95] Considering the validity of this hypothesis, we can appraise this unit as another evidence the Fatimids were keenness at implementing symbolic decorative arts in delivering specific meanings within the Shīʿī context.

Shading some light of information on Mashhad Al-Juyūshī could be a starting point toward achieving a broader understanding of "Al-Mashhad" as a prime religious foundation during the Fatimid era. Al-Mashhad or the holy shrine, according to the Fatimids, was one of the magic architectural tools to effectively use in the executive process of disseminating the Shīʿī doctrine in Egypt. The Mashhad significance arises from its coherence with Ahl Al-Bayt who were, along with their relics, deeply admired and appreciated by the Egyptians. From the linguistic perspective, the term Mashhad is derived from the verb "Shahd" which translates as saw or witnessed. Consequently, the term Mashhad does mean "being seen or witnessed."[96] Additionally, Al-Mashhad could stand for the location of the"shahada," especially when referring to the sacred mausolea of the Shīʿī Imams. This stream is supported by the fact that many of the precedent Imams were killed or poisoned, thus, they were considered as martyrs.[97] Egypt, especially Cairo witnessed tangible activities, during the Fatimid period, in establishing Mashhads for Ahl Al-Bayt. Those Mashhads are called the "Fatimid Mashhads." Taking into account that the special religious cult of the ziyāra, or visiting the tombs of the holy dead, had obviously prevailed throughout the middle ages,[98] it could be admissible to hypothesize that the Fatimids were keen at utilizing the Mashhad architecture in actively drawing the attention of the Egyptians towards Shi'ism. was For instance, the Mashhad of Yaḥyā Al-Shabīh which was established in 1150 AD/545 AH during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Ẓafir bi-Allāh (1149-1154 AD/543-548 AH) (fig. 14).[99] It is located in the southern cemetery, about 250 m to the south of the mausoleum of Imam Al-Shāfiʿī.[100] It is at-

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[93]- Abouseif, *Architecture*, p.73; ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿImārah*, pt.1, p.342

[94]- Abouseif, *Architecture*, p.73

[95]- Al -Qurashī, Kitāb Zahr Al- Al-Maʿānī, p.178

[96]- ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1,p.17; Grabar, et al, *Islamic*, p.197

[97]- ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿImārah*, pt.1, p.19

[98]- Christopher S. Taylor, "Reevaluating the Shiʿi Role in the Development of Monumental Islamic Funerary Architecture: The Case of Egypt." *Muqarnas* 9 (1992), 1-10, p.8

[99]- The Mashhad of Yaḥyā Al-Shabīh. Date: 1150/545 AH. Location: Southern Cemetery, District: Misr al-Qadīmah, Cairo. archnet.org; Rizq, *Aṭlas*, pt.1, p.745

[100]- K.A.C. Creswel, *Early Muslim architecture*, New York (1979, c.1969), vol.1, p.264; ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿimārah*, pt.1, p.91

tributed to Yaḥyā Ibn Al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Al-Maʾmūn ibn Jaʿfar Al-Sadiq Ibn ʿAlī Zayn Al-ʿAbdūn Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.[101] He was called Yaḥyā Al-Shabīh (likeness or resemblance) because the resemblance of his facial features to those of the Prophet Muhammad.[102] He was invited to live in Egypt by *Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn* in terms of blessing the country by a man from Ahl Al-Bayt.[103] The dome of this Mashhad plays a notable role in its attribution to Ahl Al-Bayt due to the presence of five large cenotaphs and two smaller ones. Embedded in the two ends of the second cenotaph, there are two expressive epitaphs in the name of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Qāsim Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib with the date 18 Ramaḍān 261 AH along with *Ayāt Al-Taṭhir* from the *Qurʾān*.[104] The third cenotaph is remarkable for other epitaphs in the name of Yaḥā Ibn Al-Qāsim, while another epitaph, in the name of salve mother of the children of *ʿAbd Allah Ibn Qāsim* is embedded in one end of the fifth cenotaph.[105] The Mashhad encloses 3 mihrabs, one in each bay of the south-eastern ambulatory. The central mihrab is considered the main one, it could be compared in size to that of Al-Sayyida Ruqayya, but it is inferior in Quality.[106] The middle part of its conch is engaged by a medallion encircling the name ʿAlī. Accordingly, it confirms the descent of the deceased to Ahl Al-Bayt through ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

The discussed hypothesis is supported by the Mashhad of Muḥammad Al-Jaʿfarī which most likely dates back to 1122-1125 AD/515-518 AH (fig. 15).[107] *Al-Jaʿfarī* was, most probably, the son of Jaʿfar Al-Sādiq Ibn Muḥammad Al-Al-BāqirIbn ʿAlī Zayn Al-ʿAbdūn Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.[108] The important feature to notice in the interior of this Mashhad is few traces of a *Qurʾānic* inscription of which we can still read few words. This *Qurʾanic* verse reads as follows: "Surely your lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days — then sat Himself upon the throne, covering the day with the night it pursues urgently — and the sun, and the moon, and the stars subservient, by His command. Verily, His are the creation and the command. Blessed be God, the lord of All Being. Call on your lord, humbly and secretly; He loves not transgressors" (fig. 16).[109] In the Fatimid *Shīʿī* traditions, the sun and the moon are of a special significance in connection with delivering symbolic messages. The moon bears testimony to the existence of the sun. Consequently, the Fatimid *Duʿāt* are like the moon which reflects the sacred light emanating from the *Aʾimāt* who represent the sun.[110]The *Qurʾanic* inscriptions were used here in an indirect way in affirming the role of the *Duʿāt* and Imams in disseminating the *Shīʿī* creed.

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[101]- ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿImārah*, pt.1, p.90
[102]- Creswell, *Muslim*, vol.1, p.265
[103]- Shīha, *alʾthār*, p.149; Rizk, *Aṭlas*, pt.1, p.754
[104]- ʿUthmān, *Al-ʿImārah*, pt.2, p.97
[105]- Creswell, *Muslim*, vol.1, p.266
[106]- Creswell, *Muslim*, vol.1, p.266
[107]- The Mashhad of Muḥammad Al-Jaʿfarī. Date: 1122-1125/493-516 AH. Location: Shari' al-Kahlifah. District: Al-Kahlifah. Archnet.org; Cairo; Williams, *Mausolea*, p.42
[108]- Williams, *Mausolea*, p.42
[109]- Quran, 7:54; Williams, *Mausolea*, p.42
[110]- Saifuddin, *Al-Aqmar*, p.25

Adjacent to this Mashhad is that of Sayyida ʿAtika, an aunt of the Prophet Muhammad .It dates back to the period between the years 1120-1125 AD/513-518 AH.[111] The interior of this Mashhad is remarkable for the presence of *Ayet Al-Kursī* "the throne verse" which begins in the corner of the West wall under the transition zone (fig. 17). Despite the fact that the presence of this verse is not an unusual quotation to find in different Islamic foundations, especially religious and funerary, its presence here is rooted in the power of symbolism. According to the *Shīʿī* creed the mention of "those who intercede with Him by His leave "would have meant the Prophet himself and Ahl Al-Bayt to whom the Fatimds trace their descent.[112]

Correspondingly, the Mashhad of Umm Kulthūm is another concrete evidence of the Fatimid orientation towards exploiting the descendants of Ahl Al-Bayt and their final resting places, in Cairo and its environs, in pleasing the Egyptians and affirming the veracity of their doctrine (fig. 18). This Mashhad is located on *Shariʿ Al-Imam Al-Shāfiʿī* some hundred yards to the south of the mausoleum of Abū Manṣūr Ismāʿīl.[113] The foundation of this Mashhad was ordered in 1122 AD/515-16 AH by the Fatimid Caliph Al-Āmir for Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jaʿfar as-Sādiq Ibn Muḥammad Al-Baqir Ibn ʿAlī Zayn Al-ʿAbdīn Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.[114] The most interesting feature in this Mashhad is its beautiful and unusual middle mihrab which is executed in stucco on a background of brick.[115] The lower part of its middle register is engaged by two rows of eight pointed stars and hexagons outlined by pearled borders. There are five stars in each row, and each star contains either the name of ʿAlī or Muhammad. Although it is not the first time for the name ʿAlī to appear in a Fatimid Mashhad, it is the first surviving instance of its appearance as a part of the decorative embellishment of a mihrab.[116] On this account, this Mashhad follows the traditional theme of the Fatimid religious institutions in terms of affirming the presence of the name of ʿAlī as the head of the Fatimid genealogy according to the *Shīʿī* doctrine.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, this paper resulted in two prime illations. First, from the architectural perspective, this research proved that the major Fatimid religious buildings that were established, within Cairo and its suburbs, had purposely transcended the borders of their architectural functionality to enclose and indirectly express a significant series of unprecedented symbolic ideological meanings, especially with regard to tracing the descent of the Fatimids to Ahl Al-Bayt. Those symbolic notions were carefully demonstrated to the *Sunnī* Egyptian population, by means of a chain of architectural units and allegory elements, in respect of gradually propagandizing and disseminating the principles of the *Shīʿī* doctrine amongst the Egyptian society. Accordingly, the Fatimid religious architec-

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[111]- The Mashhad of Umm Kulthūm. Date: 1120-1125/493-516 AH. Location: Shari' al-Kahlifah, District: Al-Kahlifah Cairo; Williams, *Mausolea*, p.45

[112]- Williams, *Mausolea*, p.44

[113]- Creswell, *Muslim*, vol.1, p.239; Rizq, *Aṭlas*, pt.1, p.630

[114]- Date:1122/515-516 AH. Location: Qarafa al-Sughra, Cairo. Archnet.org; Williams, *Mausolea*, p.46; Rizq, *Aṭlas*, pt.1, p.630

[115]- Creswell, *Muslim*, vol.1, p.239

[116]- Williams, *Mausolea*, p.47

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ture, along with multiple elements of its rich decorative art, could be strongly accredited with being the one *Shīʿī*, nonmilitary, dynamic tool in bolstering the foundations of the Fatimid sovereignty in Egypt.

Secondly, from the Tour Guiding perspective, this paper demonstrated, through analyzing the philosophical orientation of the Fatimids' religious architecture and decorative arts in Cairo, a suggested Tour Guiding criterion that is expected, if properly implemented, to improve the Tour Guides explanation skills. This criterion is primarily based on showing the Tour Guides how to master different effective ways in successfully underscoring, analyzing, and mingling the needed historical and archaeological information from primary, modern, and contemporary sources. Subsequently, how to represent the extracted philosophical notions in a convenient language that is properly perceived and understood by most clients regardless their ages and cultural levels. Within the same context of affirming the significance of implementing the analytic methodology while tour guiding the different sites, nowadays, Tour Guides in Egypt are facing unprecedented challenges due to the astounding spread and usage of modern technology, especially in the communication field. Realistically, any tourist can now acquire any needed information, during their visit to Egypt, about any monument or archaeological site, by the tip of his/her finger, through utilizing smartphones and other communication technologies. Therefore, it is now extremely crucial for all currently licensed and future Tour Guides to prove that the human factor is irreplaceable in the Egyptian Tour Guiding field. This target could be effactually achieved through focusing more on the analytic methodology while demonstrating any monument or site. This methodology has proved its effectiveness in soundly capturing the minds of the tourists and directing their sights to visualize the deep meanings and aesthetic symbols that settle beyond the stone surface of the monument.

Ultimately, for the good and prosperity of the Egyptian cultural tourism, Tour Guides have to consistently improve their learning and reading skills to be properly capable of analyzing the previously mentioned philosophy of the visited monument, especially from the historical, architectural, aesthetic, and artistic perspectives.

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Figures and Plates[*]
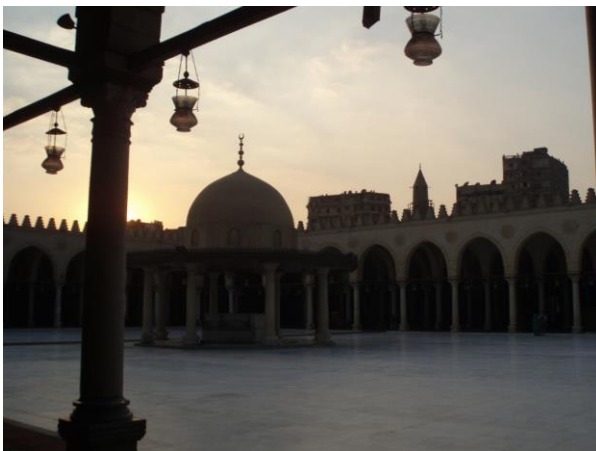
Fig .1. The mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ
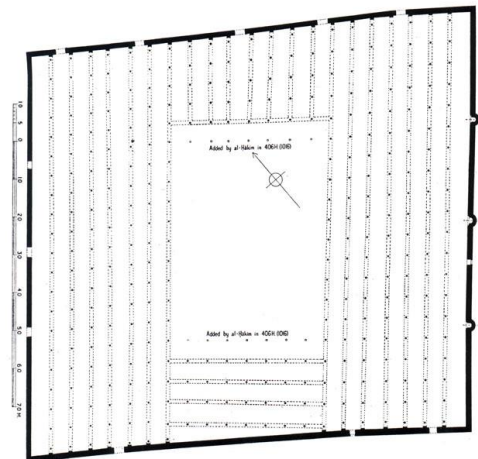
Plate.1. Plan of the mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

[*] **The photographs are taken by the author.**

* **Floor plans by Archnet.org**

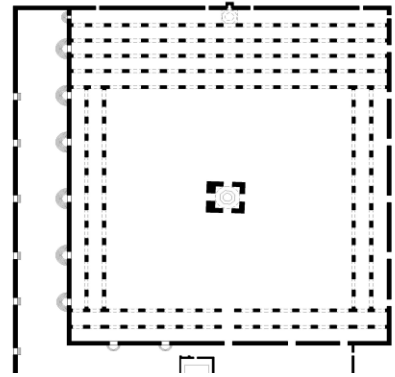**Fig. 2.** The mosque of Ahmad Ibn Ṭūlūn

Plate.2. Plan of the mosque of Ahmad Ibn Ṭūlūn

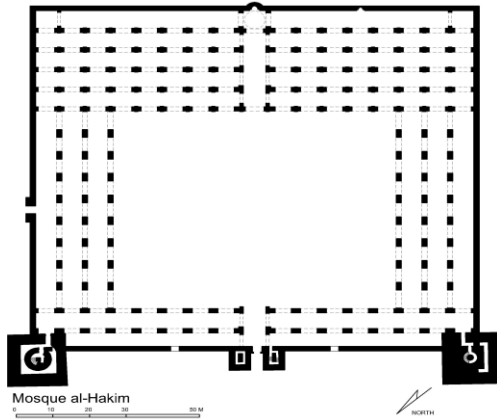**Fig. 3.** Al-miḥrab al-Mustanṣirī (by Bernard O'kane)

Fig.4. Al-Azhar mosque

Plate.3. Plan of Al-Azhar mosque
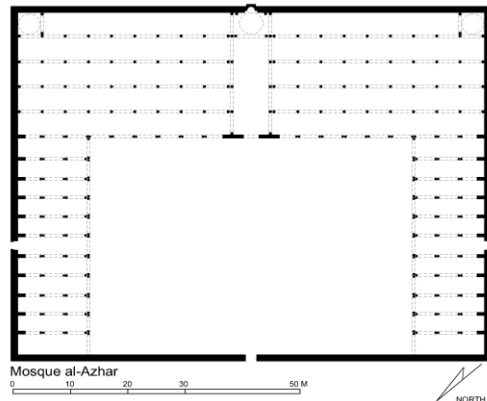

Fig. 5. Al Ḥakim mosque

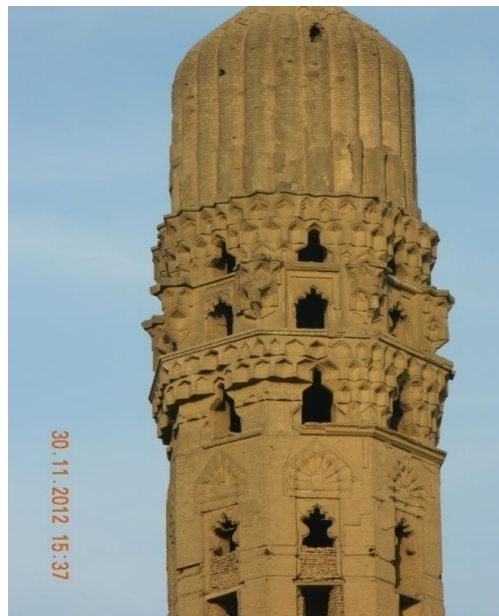

Plate.4. Plan of Al Ḥakim mosque

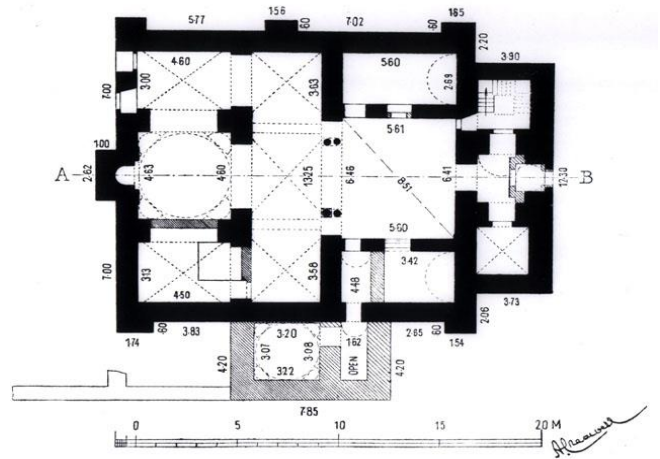**Fig.6.** The southern minaret of al-Ḥakim mosque

Fig.7. Mashad al-Juyūshī

Plate.5. Plan of Mashad al-Juyūshī
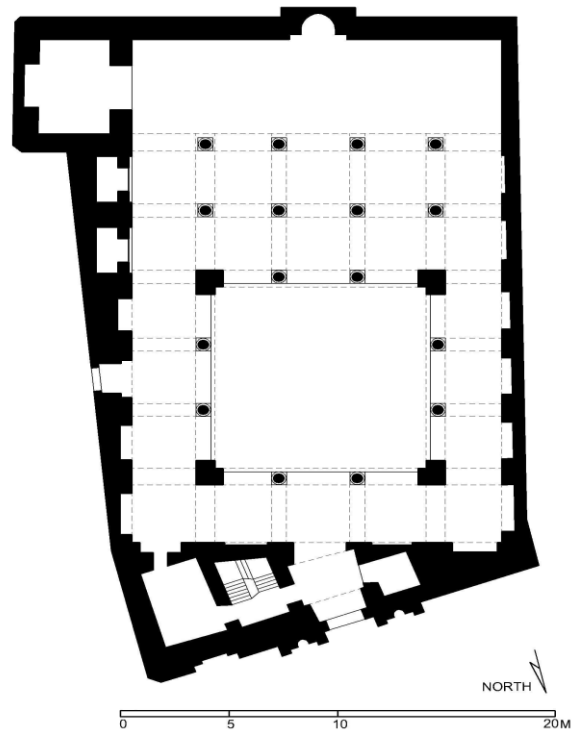

Fig. 8. The façade of al-Aqmar mosque

Plate.6. Plan of al-Aqmar mosque

Fig.9. The roundel enclosing Ayāt al-Taṭhīr and the names of Muḥammad and ʾAlī
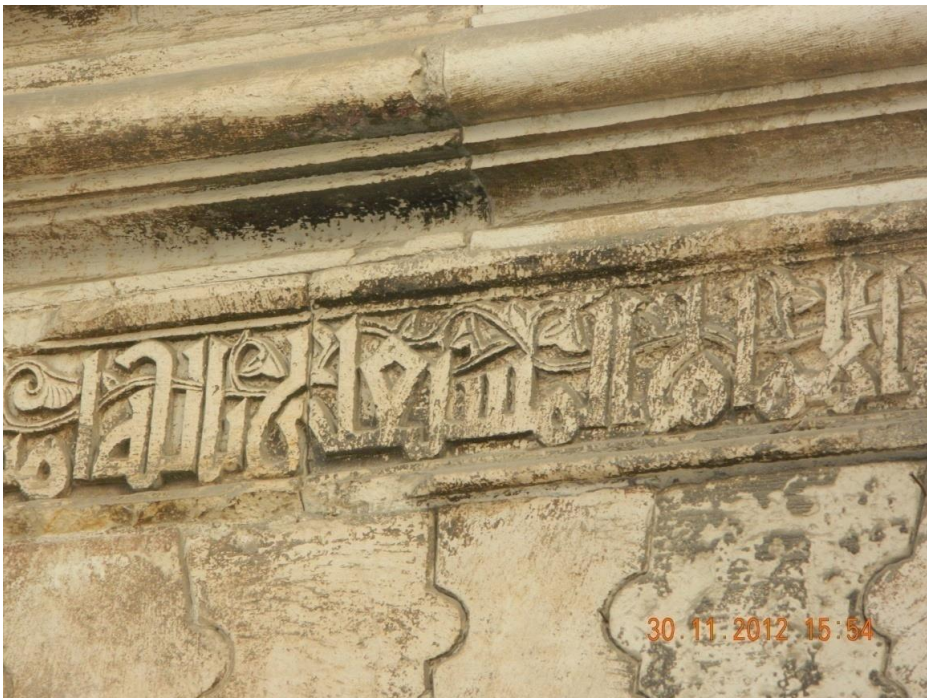

Fig.10. The inscription in the name al-Imam al-Mustaʾlī

Fig.11. Al-rukn al-Mukhallaq

Fig.12. The medallion on the left niche showing the name of Muḥammad repeated in a circular interlacing pattern with the name ʿAlī in the middle
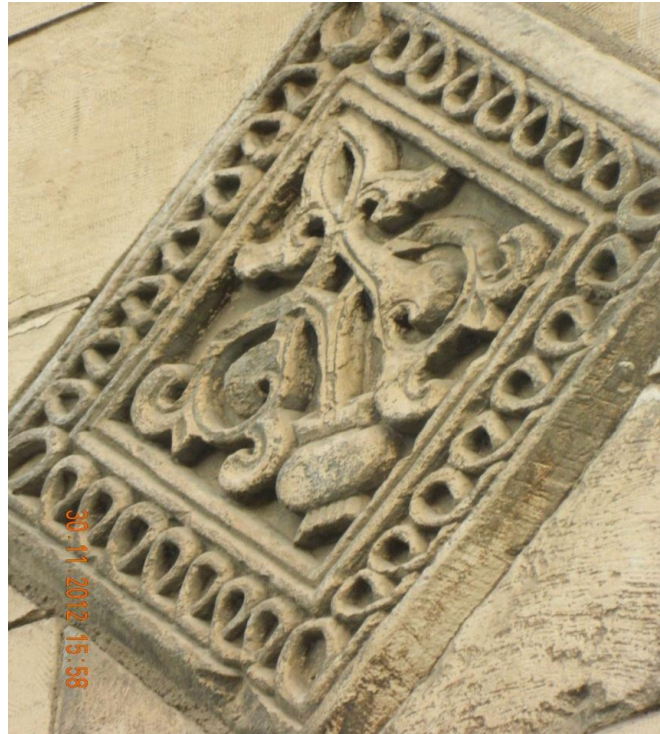
Fig. 13. The vase with the two plants symbolizing al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn
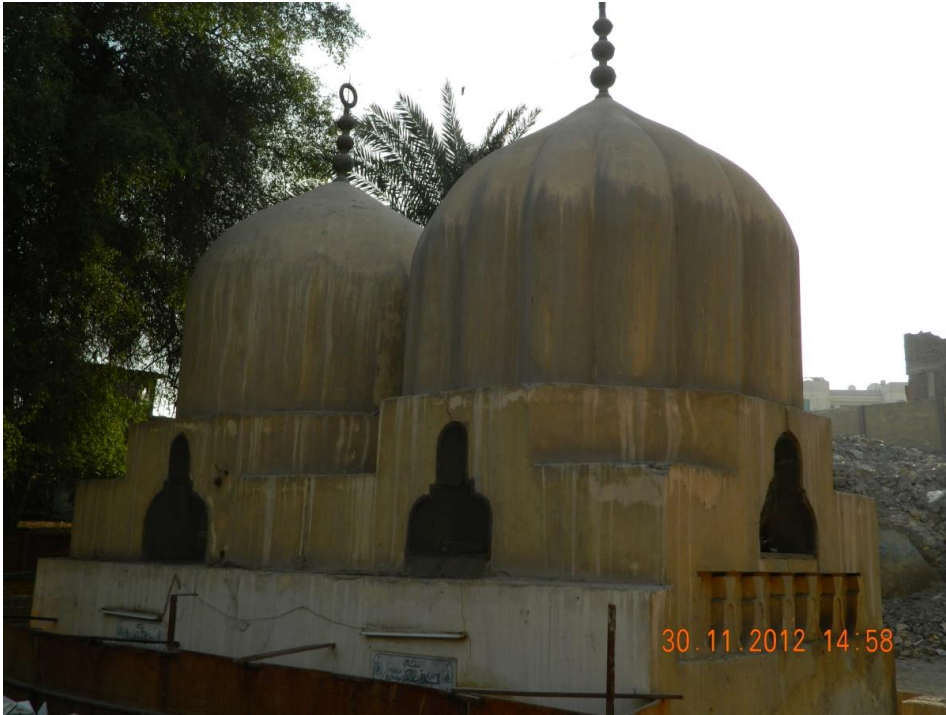

Fig. 14. The Mashad of Yaḥyā al-Shabīh

Fig.15. The Mashads of Muḥammad al-Jaʿfarī and Sayyida ʿAtika

Fig. 16. Traces of the Qur'anic inscriptions in the interior of the Mashad of Muḥammad al-Jaʿfarī

Fig.17. Qur'anic inscriptions representing Ayet al-Kursī "the Throne Verse" in the interior of the Mashad of Sayyida ʿAtika

Fig.18. The Mashad of Umm Kulthūm

تأثير اعتناق المذهب الشيعى على عمارة القاهرة الدينية تحت الحكم الفاطمى من منظور الإرشاد السياحى: دراسة تحليلية

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الملخص	معلومات المقالة
يُعد المنهج التحليلي من أهم الأدوات التوضيحية التى يلجأ إليها المرشد السياحي المحترف أثناء تناوله بالشرح لإحدى المواقع التراثية أو الأثرية خاصة فيما يتعلق بجولات السياحة الثقافية. لذا فإن التطبيق العلمي الصحيح لهذه المنهجية التحليلية يُعد من أهم الأسباب التى تشجع السائح دوما على الاستعانة بالمرشد السياحي المصري حيال زيارته للمواقع التاريخية والأثرية بدلا من الاعتماد على مواقع الانترنت أو الكتب الإرشادية المختلفة فى تقديم المعلومة المطلوبة وبالشكل الصحيح. من هنا جاءت فكرة البحث الذى يهدف فى الأساس إلى تحليل آثار اعتناق الفاطميين للمذهب الشيعي على العمارة الدينية فى القاهرة ومصر الفسطاط سواء القديم منها أو المستحدث وذلك من منظور الإرشاد السياحي. هذه المنهجية التحليلية تعُد نموذجاً عملياً للمرشد السياحي المحترف وطالب الإرشاد السياحي فى كيفية الوقوف على آليات مزج المنهج التحليلي بالمنهج الوصفي عند تقديم وتوضيح المعلومة وذلك على أساس علمي ومتوازن ومن ثم يمكن تعميم تطبيق هذا النموذج على كافة المواقع الأثرية الأخرى و فى إطار المساهمة فى تطوير آليات الإرشاد السياحي فى مصر.	**الكلمات المفتاحية** عقيدة الشيعة؛ آل البيت؛ المشهد؛ عمارة المسجد؛ الإرشاد السياحي. **(JAAUTH)** **المجلد 19، العدد 2، (2020)، ص 27-52.**