

# The Abu Mandour Zawiya in Kom Al-Afrāh in Rosetta - Egypt, Analytical Study In Light of the Depictions of Travelers and Archaeological Evidence

Mahmoud Ahmed Darwish

Professor of Islamic Archeology  
Faculty of Arts - Minia University  
Prof.mdarwish@gmail.com

**Abstract:** *Kom Al-Afrāh, located in the south of Rosetta, represented the historical city that inhabited from the Pharaonic era until the Abbasid era when the Islamic city was established in the north. During the Islamic era, it was a haven for worshipers and Sufis who settled in this area away from the noise of the city, and when they died, Sufi Zawiya were erected on their graves, among the most important that were included in the Kom Al-Afrāh area are Al-Bawab Zawiya and Abu Mandour Zawiya. A number of travelers who visited Rosetta in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries painted Abu Mandour Zawiya, which is located at the foot of Abu Mandour hill which called Kom Al-Afrāh. It was found from their drawings that the Zawiya consisted of several elements, including the mosque, Among the most important of these elements is the house attached to the Zawiya to the northeast and southeast of the mosque, which consisted of two floors, the first of them represents a space for visitors to sit, defined by columns that support the second floor, which consisted of rooms for the purpose of staying visitors and those in charge of the affairs of the for the purpose of staying visitors and those in charge of the affairs of the Zawiya. In addition to two postal card with a picture of the Zawiya showing its architectural elements consisting of the house, the mosque, the minaret and the dome. It has been shown from these images that the mosque was part of the Zawiya of the Sufis erected on the tomb of their sheikh, Sayyid Mohamed Abu Mandour. This study, which is being done for the first time, proved that the Zawiya were not only small mosques, but rather were religious institutions that consisted of the mosque, the visitors' house, their reception places, and the tomb of the Sheikh, the owner of the Zawiya. The researcher proved that the Abu Mandour area included two Zawiyas, Al-Bawab Zawiya and the Abu Mandour Zawiya, He has previously published his studies and the results of the excavations he made on Al-Bawab Zawiya, while the study of Abu Mandour Zawiya is the first study. So, the researcher investigated the drawings by Carsten Niebuhr, Sonnini de Manoncourt, Luigi Mayer, Dominique Vivant Denon, Édouard de Montulé and Charles Théodore.*

**Keywords:** The Zawiya of Abu Mandour, Kom Al-Afrāh, Rosetta - Egypt, Carsten Niebuhr, Sonnini, Luigi Mayer, Vivant Denon, Édouard de Montulé.

## First: The historical and archaeological significance of Kom Al-Afrāh in Rosetta

Kom Al-Afrāh, located in the south of Rosetta (figs. 1-2), represents the historical city that inhabited from the Pharaonic era until the Abbasid era when the Islamic city was established in the north [1]. Strabo [2-3-4] mentioned the ancient Rosetta [5-6-7-8-9], which is located at the mouth of the Rosetta branch [10-11-12-13-14], as "Boulbitine" [15], and its ruins [16-17-18-19-20-21] are located south of the present Rosetta [4-22-23] in the Abu Mandour Hills [1-3-24-25-26-27-28]. This strategic location had a great impact on increasing interest in fortifying it, especially in the era of the New Kingdom The era of Merneptah [29], Ramses III [29-30-31], and King Psamtik I [3-431-32], founder of the dynasty (26), where a city arose at each mouth of the Nile, with fortifications (Bourgade) and high castles on both sides of the river [2].

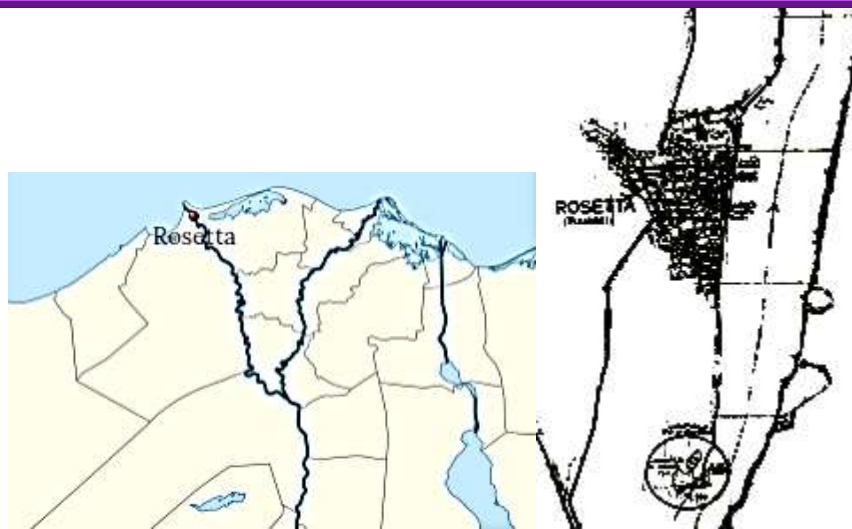


fig. 1. Location of Rosetta

fig. 2. The location of the Abu Mandour Zawiya, south of Rosetta

When Alexander conquered Egypt (331 BC. M), it remained under Persian occupation since the fall of the rule of the Pharaohs and the Thirty Dynasty in the year (343 BC. M), and Boulbitine was a popular market and had a large temple (the Temple of Boulbitinum) <sup>1</sup>[33-34]. After the construction of Alexandria and the transformation of trade to the Canopic branch, Rosetta began to decline, but it continued to perform its religious and commercial role, and it continued to manufacture war wheels [33-16-34-35-36].

Rosetta was built on the ruins of the city of Boulbitine [37], Pharaonic antiquities were found dating back to the era of Psamtik I and Nechau, and there is a part of a column with writings on both sides preserved in the British Museum and dating back to the era of Psamtik I, and there is another part dating back to the era of Nectanebo I with an inscription showing the king during his presentation An offering [38]. Granite columns [16-39-40-41] and inscriptions [42] dating back to the fourth or third century BC<sup>2</sup> [41], have been discovered. There are many granite and marble columns and capitals of the Corinthian and Ionic styles that were reused in many of the Islamic buildings of Rosetta<sup>3</sup> [43].

Rosetta represented an isolated Christian domain in the Byzantine era [44] until the Arab conquest from the rest of the Delta cities, because it was surrounded by lakes and waterways, and this role continued to be clear until the Arab conquest [44]. After 'Amr ibn al-'Aas conquered Alexandria and demolished its impregnable walls [45]; Rosetta was one of the cities that the Islamic army entered into peace [14-44-46-47-48]. It was one of the important maritime centers, and the Arabs realized the importance of forts and towers, and therefore, they studied the art of siege and the manufacture of heavy machinery [49], and thus they began to learn new methods

---

<sup>1</sup> This temple contained a copy of the decree issued by the Council of Priests to King Ptolemy V (Abyvans) in the year (196 BC. AD), and this decree is famous for the Rosetta stone, which was discovered in August of the year (1799) by Pierre Francois Xavier Bouchard (1772-1832). He was an engineer officer in the French campaign while carrying out engineering work at the Qaitbay Castle "Saint Julian" near Rosetta, and it is now one of the most important antiquities displayed in the British Museum in London, under No. (1065).

<sup>2</sup> Briccia referred to the marble columns of various shapes used in the construction of mosques and ancient houses, as well as the stone pieces on which hieroglyphic writings were inscribed, and were reused in houses, ancient mosques and the Citadel of Qaitbay. It is made of green granite that was reused in a Catholic church and is currently preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> We often find that the columns and capitals of all buildings, including the Qaitbay Citadel, houses and mosques, even the Zaghloul Mosque contains 244 of these ancient columns.

The researcher found more than fifteen pieces of granite bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions during the excavations of the castle in (1985), and these pieces were reused in the construction of the castle, and they bear the names of kings from the twenty-sixth dynasty.

in the art of erecting castles and building forts [50-51].

When the Byzantine danger increased in the era of the Abbasid state, the Caliphs began to restore the strongholds and fortresses [52], and then, the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mutawakkil (233-247 AH / 847-861 AD) [53] ordered the governor 'Anbasa bin Ishaq to build a group of Ribats [8] in 239 AH (853 AD) [54-55], in order to face the Byzantine threat to the Egyptian ports. Also, the reason that prompted Al-Mutawakkil to establish the Rosetta Ribat and many of the Ribats on the Mediterranean coast [17-56-57] was the Byzantine invasion of Damietta, so he ordered the building of the Ribats on the ports of the Nile from Tennis to Alexandria [8].

Ahmed bin Tulun [37] was also interested in these ports, as the Islamic city arose near the Ribat of Rosetta during the reign of Ahmed bin Tulun in 256 AH (870 AD), and Ahmed bin Tulun's plan was clear, which was to defend the ports, and he concluded a truce with the Byzantine emperor with his keenness to pay attention to the repair and renewal of forts So that the truce is not a trick, followed by a sudden attack [58].

Therefore, Rosetta developed a warlike origin, the Ribat was the nucleus of this emerging city in conditions full of conflicts, and the military impact began to appear clearly on its planning, where it was subjected to various circumstances that governed this planning, the first of which was the city's location on the River Nile, which is the first source of water, and the emergence of the city reflected the importance of fortification to protect its existence and develop its urbanization [51].

In the Mamluk era [59], during the rule of Sultan Al-Ashraf Sha'aban bin Hussein [60-61-62-63], a tower was built on top of the hill located west of Abu Mandour Mosque In relation to Prince Salah al-Din Khalil bin Aram [64], on Prince Salah al-Din Khalil bin Aram, the first deputy of Alexandria, who appointed his deputy in the city of Rosetta (Prince of Markaz) [65] Fayrouz [66] al-Rumi al-'Arami or Fayrouz al-Salahi<sup>1</sup> [67].

The Mamluk sultans were interested in establishing military fortifications and means of monitoring the enemy [7-8], and increased interest in Rosetta [8-67-68-69], as it became an independent port in its own right [70-71-72-73]. The lighthouse, which was apparently old Baybars al-Bandaqari in Rosetta, was one of the most important of these fortifications [8-66-73-74-75]. On top of Abu Mandour Hill, Salah al-Din Ibn Aram (667-782 AH / 1365-1380 AD) built a tower on the shore of the Nile [8-66] by Fairouz al-Rumi al-'Arami (Prince of Rosetta) [65] in 775 AH (1373 AD), and Sultan Qaytbay [1-76] built a tower [69-72-77-78-79-80-81]. Ibn Duqmaq [66] mentioned the lighthouse of Rosetta and the tower of Salah al-Din Ibn 'Aram. He also mentioned that the wedding halls are mosques known for answering supplications, and below on the shore of the Nile there is a mosque known as the Prophet's Mosque.

In addition to the war walls surrounding the city, which were erected during the reign of Sultan Al-Ghuri [82]. These fortifications have contributed to protecting the city through the ages against any external aggression [83].

Combe [81] mentions that he does not know anything about the condition of the tower built by Prince Salah al-Din bin Aram at the end of the 14th century AD, and he concluded that it was certainly not in the south of the city, where the hill and the lighthouse are located, which does not agree with the location of the Qaitbay Tower. Ibn Duqmaq's statement was a clear reason for this confusion, as he stated that the lighthouse is located above the kom and not on it, and it is known that the distance between Qaitbay Castle and this kom is eleven kilometers, so it is illogical for a lighthouse to be established to monitor ships in the sea so far away, given that Qaitbay Castle is located on the coast of the sea, which is not so [84].

And if we go back to what the Turkish Admiral Peri Réis said [81-85], who came to Rosetta in the year 1521 AD, and mentioned a phrase that identified the locations of two towers, he said: "We discovered, ten miles into the sea from Rosetta port, a tower similar to a fortress erected at the entrance to the Nile branch, from the south and another tower in front of the entrance, three miles from the city.

From what this admiral mentioned, the features of the Qaitbay and Salah al-Din bin Aram towers are clear, as it is confirmed to us that the tower of Salah al-Din bin Aram was located at a distance of ten miles (16 km) south of the mouth at the top of the hill west of the Abu Mandour Mosque, which is located south of Kom al-Afrah, which was lower in height, this indicates that this tower was located at the bottom of the Kom in its south, and the hill on which it was located represented the highest peak in the hills of the region. Therefore, it was devoid of tombs that extended south of the city at the Abbasid Mosque, which is located on the tomb of Mohsmed al-'Abbasi [86-87], who died in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AH (13 AD) [1-65].

Kom al-Afrah, which was mentioned in the text of Ibn Duqmaq, extended from the Abbasid mosque to the mosque of Abu Mandour, and to the south of it was the Salah al-Din bin Aram tower mentioned by Perry Rice [1-87].

The researcher proved that the Abu Mandour area included two Zawiya, Al-Bawab Zawiya and the Abu Mandour Zawiya, He has

---

<sup>1</sup> Al-Nuwairi spoke about the "the raid, which consisted of six boats, that raided at night on Abu Qir, and the thieves got off from three boats to it, and the Muslims realized it, and they came to them in abundance. The pirates also attacked Rosetta Island again and captured twenty-five men and women, and the Muslims managed to defeat them and free the captives. This was a reason for the conquest of the city of Alexandria in 767 AH (1365 AD), when it fell into the hands of the Crusaders led by Peter Luzhnan, who spent there six of the darkest days in the history of the city.

previously published his studies and the results of the excavations he made on Al-Bawab Zawiya [88], while the study of Abu Mandour Zawiya is the first study.

### Second: Abu Mandour Zawiya in the paintings of European travelers

The Zawiya for the Sufis, is a place intended for worship, accommodation and feeding of the incoming and outgoing. It is known as a religious school and a free guesthouse, very similar to a Christian monastery in the Middle Ages, and with these epithets, it is similar to the gorges or gorges in the East. The meaning and content of the term “Zawiya” often overlap with the term “Ribat” due to the intersection and overlap of their jihadi, devotional and accommodation roles. The Zawiya was also a Qur’anic school, and these schools were one of the most important ways to teach religious matters and some literary sciences, teaching in the way of reading to the sheikh, and they are often linked to Sufism [89-90-91-92].

The Zawiya and the Khanqa were not established in Egypt until the Ayyubids came to power in the late twelfth century, they proliferated during the Mamluk period (1250-1517) and the later Ottoman period of Egypt (after 1517), when the Sufi brotherhoods were important religious organizations for much of the population. In Mamluk Egypt, the Khanqa was an official institution usually established by an elite patron (sultan or emir) and not necessarily associated with a particular Sufi order. Smaller and less formal popular Sufi institutions that were usually dedicated to a specific sheikh and a specific Sufi brotherhood [92-93-94].

It is important to highlight this important historical and historical site through the observations, writings and paintings of European travelers during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, who described this region accurately, an analytical study of the writings and paintings of a group of European travelers, which dealt with this important site and these travelers.

- Carsten Niebuhr (1760)
- Charles Nicolas Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt (1799)
- Luigi Mayer (1801)
- Dominique Vivant Denon (1802).
- A picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya
- A postal card with a picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya
- Édouard de Montulé (1818-1819)
- Charles Théodore (1869)

#### 1. Painting of Kom Al-Afrah, showing the Nile and the Zawiya of Abu Mandour by Carsten Niebuhr (1815-1733) (pls. 1-2)

Carsten Niebuhr (1815-1733) [95], an explorer, mathematician and German map scientist who worked for the Danish state, he was born in a village in northwestern Germany in Lower Saxony. In 1760, one of his trainers proposed that Niebuhr join a scientific expedition sent by Frederick V of Denmark to Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and Syria. Niebuhr studied mathematics for a year and a half before the mission began, and he managed to learn some Arabic. Niebuhr visited Egypt during his scientific trip and described the cities in his book: "Journeys to the Arab countries and other countries surrounding it".

The writings of Niebuhr described the city of Rosetta and Abu Mandour hill: Rosetta is a large city located on the west bank of the Nile, and Ali is high overlooking the river on one side and its outlet on the other, In the south is a view of the high, painted above by Bournefund view of the city dug on the sixth painting [54]. Near this village, near the village of Abo Mandour, the Nile is clearly visible. Twenty columns of marble were discovered and moved to Cairo. The Europeans residing in Rosetta thought that they found the city of Canopus in this place.

#### Description

It is clear from the picture drawn by Niebuhr that the photographer painted it while standing on Abu Mandour Hill, where the River Nile teeming with sailing boats appears, and the Green Island appears in the east, as well as the city with its landmarks and minarets, in the right Zawiya from the bottom, Abu Mandour Zawiya appears at the foot of the hill, where the minaret and the dome, it also shows some Zawiya components, especially the two-story house.





Pl. 1. Painting of Kom Al-Afrah, showing the Nile and the Zawiya of Abu Mandour by Carsten Niebuhr

Pl. 2. Details of the painting of Carsten Niebuhr (a part of pl. 1)

## 2. General view of Abu Mandour hill embracing the old Zawiya by Sonnini (pls. 3-4)

Charles Nicolas Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, was a noble and natural French scientist [96]. On the orders of King Louis XVI, he embarked on an expedition to Africa with Baron de Tott, yet Sonnini stayed in Egypt and did not go further, for a tour of the city's ruins.

Sonnini came to Egypt during 1777-1780, where he stated in his book: "I traveled to Egypt commissioned by the Count Buffon to do several researches to present to Minister Bertin". He published his book on his journey to Egypt in three volumes accompanied by drawings about Egypt and its effects and agricultural wealth, but although the book describes Egypt to the scientists of the French campaign has sunk on it, Sonnini trip is one of the most important reference literature on Egypt in the eighteenth century. His date of travel to Egypt was published almost twenty years later in 1799 [87].

The town of Rosette, Sonnini has drawn a general view of Tel Abu Mandour embracing the old mosque. It is likely that the painter is located on the island that was facing the hill of Abu Mandour, which is revealed in (pls. 3-4). It depicts a general view from the top of the Abu Mandour hill, It was opposite the archaeological hill, which may have been mentioned by Jollius in his writings as located south of the city of Rosetta.

### Description

In this picture, which was drawn from the eastern bank of the Nile, Kom Al-Afrah appears as a high sandy hill that slopes towards the northeast and southeast, and the Abu Mandour Zawiya, which is based on a stone pier overlooking the water directly, is at the top of the picture, while the Zawiya consists of a mosque topped by a dome and minaret, and the entrance is located In the southeast, it is in the middle of a stone crowned with a triple arch.

A window is topped by the door, and the facade to the right of the entrance is occupied by windows with pointed arches, while the minaret consists of a square base topped by an octagonal floor that ends with stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony surrounded by a wooden fence. As for the dome, it is bulbous in shape with ribs, and it is topped by a crescent.

The second section of the Zawiya is the attached house on the northern side, consisting of two floors. On the second floor, there are two rooms standing on columns representing the first floor. The northern room has three windows, while the southern room has four windows on the southeastern wall and two windows on the southern wall.

As for the columns, each of them consists of a base, a body and a crown, and three columns appear from the southeast, and these columns define a spaciousness that represents the first floor that was dedicated to sitting, where a wooden deck is placed, while the second floor represents a residence for a residence that ascends to it by a ladder in the southwest.



pl. 3. General view of Abu Mandour hill embracing the old Zawiya by Sonnini



pl. 4. General view of Abu Mandour hill embracing the old Zawiya by Sonnini (a part of pl. 3)

## 3. General view of Abu Mandour hill embracing the old Zawiya by Sonnini (pls.5-6)

Sonnini made another picture from atop a hill or Mandour (1799), where the Zawiya is located at the foot of the hill overlooking the Nile [98-99].

### Description

This picture was drawn from above Abu Mandour hill and shows the hill sloping towards the Zawiya in the southeast, the River Nile and the island located in the southeast,

Abu Mandour Zawiya overlooks the Nile and consists of two parts; the first is the mosque in the south, showing the minaret and the dome.

The minaret has three floors, the first square and the second octagonal, ending with stalactites that bear the muezzin's balcony. The dome is bulbous in shape with ribs and surmounted by a crescent, on the northwestern wall of the mosque there are three arched windows. As for the second section, a two-story house appears, and the second floor has vaulted windows as well.



pl. 5. Abu Mandour hill and the Zawiya by Sonnini

pl. 6. Abu Mandour Zawiya by Sonnini (a part of pl. 5)

#### 4. Abu Mandour fortress at the top of the hill by Luigi Mayer [100] (pl.7-8-9)

From the original drawings in the possession of Sir Robert Ainslie <sup>1</sup>[101-102-103], taken during his embassy to Constantinople by Luigi Mayer<sup>2</sup>

Luigi Meyer [1755- 1803), an Italian-German artist and one of the oldest European painters of the late 18th century in the Ottoman Empire [104]. [26] Meyer was a close friend of Sir Robert Ainsley, a British ambassador to Turkey between 1776 and 1792, and most of his paintings and drawings were commissioned during this period by Ainsley.

He traveled extensively through the Ottoman Empire between 1776 and 1794, and became famous for his paintings and paintings of the panoramic landscape of ancient sites from the Balkans to the Greek islands, Turkey and Egypt, particularly the ancient antiquities and the Nile. [27]

Many works were collected in Ainsley's collection, which was later presented to the British Museum, which gives us valuable

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Ainslie: (1730-1804), resided in the earlier part of his life at Bordeaux, in 20 Sept. 1775 'The king has been appoint Robert Ainslie to be his majesty's ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Sir Robert Ainslie left England in May, 1776, for Constantinople, where he arrived in November following, and remained till 1792. Sir Robert Ainslie had the reputation while in Turkey of being a great favourite and boon companion of the Sultan.

Sir Robert Ainslie took advantage of his position at Constantinople to amass a collection of ancient coins from Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and the north of Africa.

Sir Robert Ainslie's researches embraced antiquities of various kinds, objects of natural history, and illustrations of the East and its current life.

Three volumes of drawings were published, in the words of the dedication, 'under his auspices.' The first of these is entitled 'Views in Egypt, from the original drawings in possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, taken during his Embassy to Constantinople by Luigi Mayer; engraved by and under the direction of Thomas Milton; with historical Observations and incidental Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of that Country 1801.

This was followed by two bilingual volumes, English and French, entitled 'Views in the Ottoman Empire, 1803; and 'Views in Palestine, 1804. The coloured plates in these volumes are ninety-six in number; and fifty-four were afterwards given in the first edition, and seventy-one in the second edition, of 'Views in Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, London, 1810.

information about the Middle East at that time. Meyer not only painted ancient monuments, but also added fascinating details of everyday life and local fashion and expression of social life [27].

Meyer's works became very common and were widely printed and widely circulated in successive editions from 1801 onwards. Luigi Mayer painted a painting depicting the Abu Mandour Mosque in Rosetta from his series in Egypt in 1802. This painting is almost identical to what is mentioned in the Sonnini plate from the Zawiya of the lung and the location of the painting on the opposite side of the hill. In the details, it is clear that there is the Abu Mandour fortress at the top of the hill.

### Description

The picture is from the southeast, where it appears in the River Nile, and on the west bank is the Zawiya of Abu Mandour, and behind it is the wedding hall, and above it is a four-story tower.

As for the Zawiya, it consists of a mosque whose entrance is to the southeast, and it is located in the middle of a stone crowned with a huge pointed arch that rests on two pillars on both sides. It is knotted with a pointed arch that opens to the south and is topped by an arched window.

Each of the second and third has a window in the southeast and two windows in the south, and the fourth appears to be an annex house in the northwest of the Zawiya, consisting of two floors, the first with a door in the south and a window in the southeast, and the second with a door in the middle surrounded by two windows on both sides.

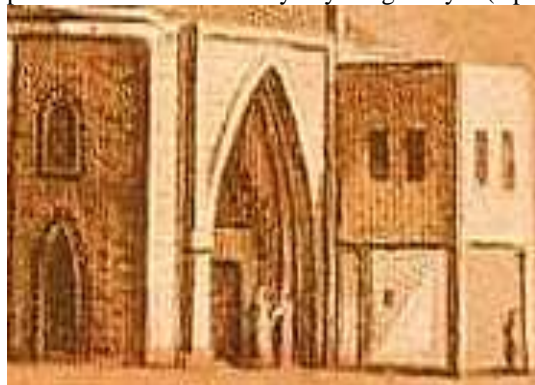
The southeastern section of the Zawiya consists of two floors. The first is spacious, delimited by columns, and the second represents a room with four windows, two in the southeast and two in the south.



pl. 7. Abu Mandour Zawiya and fortress at the top of the hill by Luigi Mayer



pl. 8. Abu Mandour Zawiya by Luigi Mayer (a part of pl. 7)



pl. 9. The gate of Abu Mandour Zawiya by Luigi Mayer (a part of pl. 7)

### 5. Abu Mandour hill in Rosetta by Dominique Vivant Denon (pls. 10-11-12)

Dominique Vivant Denon: Is a French sculptor, painter, writer, diplomat and archaeologist, he was appointed by Bonaparte as director of the Louvre Museum between 1802 and 1815 in the wake of the French campaign against Egypt. During this period, he was able to develop the museum's collection of monuments that he collected during Napoleon's various campaigns [105].

Dennon, a leading figure in the artistic world of the First Empire, was born on January 4, 1747, in Geoffrey, near Châlons-sur-Saône in Franche Comté (region of France) [106].

At the age of eighteen went to Paris not only to study the law (his parents wanted to be an investigating judge) but also drawing and engraving [105].

He began with Bonaparte in Toulon in order to prepare for the Egyptian mission, where he took Napoleon preparing for this famous campaign 1798, which represents a difference in the history of Egypt, and was part of the composition of the scientific group, which included more than one hundred of the greatest scientists and artists of France, He was appointed as a founding member of the

Institute of Egypt. He was accompanied by Desykes in Upper Egypt and was one of the few members of the Egyptian Institute in 1799 [107].

In 1802, Dinon published his book “Voyage dans la Basse et Haute-Egypte”, which was the result of his research during the Egyptian mission. Dinon completed three hundred and twenty-five drawings of the total of nine hundred drawings and photographs included in the book “Le Description de l’Egypt” Not colored. Dinon visited Rosetta in many of his paintings, as he mentioned in his book on his visit to Egypt.

Rosetta in the writings of Dinon and his description of Abu Mandour hill: Rosetta, which he called the Franks, is Rosette or Rosetta, on the banks of the Nile where it was built on the Nile branch and near the mouth of Boulbitine, near the ruins of a town by that name,

To be located at the bend of the river, where there is the hill of Abu Mandour (pl. 5), half a ridge of Rosetta, and what can support this view, is the highlands that dominate this hill, which must have been formed by sediments, there are some columns and other monuments that were found, about twenty years ago, some of them on this hill.

Its first boundaries are recognized by the sand hills that are covered from northwest to southeast, which were formed only from the walls and towers that are today the nucleus of these sediments. As in Alexandria, the population of this city is constantly decreasing [108].

### Description

In the two pictures, Abu Mandour Zawiya appears which is located on a quay overlooking the Nile. In the northwest, the slope of the hill appears towards the southeast, and the Zawiya consists of the mosque, which consists of a minaret and a dome, and the minaret consists of three floors: the square base and the octagonal floor that ends with stalactites bearing the muezzin’s balcony, while the cylindrical floor holds the helmet that takes the shape of the onion dome and bears the crescent, and show the cables that were installed by the lamps at night.

The second section includes the two-story house, the second rests on columns, and it turns out that the house used to extend towards the northwest as well, as part of it appears as two floors as in the southeast.



pl. 10. Abu Mandour hill in Rosetta by Dominique Vivant Denon



pl. 11. Abu Mandour hill in Rosetta by Dominique Vivant Denon



pl. 12. Abu Mandour hill in Rosetta by Dominique Vivant Denon (a part of pl. 11)

### 6. A picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya

This picture showing the architectural elements of Abu Mandour Zawiya which consisting of the house, the mosque, the minaret and the dome. It has been shown from these picture that the mosque was part of the Zawiya of the Sufis erected on the tomb of their



sheikh, Sayyid Mohamed Abu Mandour.

This picture depicts the northern facade of the Zawiya, and in the background appears Abu Mandour hill, which slopes towards the southeast, where the Zawiya is located in the southeast and overlooks the River Nile. It is clear in this picture the architectural components of the Zawiya that consists of the mosque from which the minaret and the dome appear, the minaret consists of three floors. The base represents the octagonal floor, topped by stalactites that carry the muezzin's balcony, and above it is a cylindrical floor, topped by an onion-shaped helmet topped by a crescent. The cables that were attached to the lamps and fixed to the helmet appear.

The house attached to the Zawiya consists of two floors, the second of which is based on columns representing the first floor. The eastern section of the house on the second floor overlooks the northeast with two windows, while the northwestern section overlooks with five windows topped by small skylights. The first floor of the house on the northwestern end is occupied by a door topped by a small window.

The architect relied on the implementation of a shed representing the first floor overlooking to the northeast to be a seating area for visitors and those in charge of affairs in the Zawiya.



pl. 13. A picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya

## 7. The postal card with a picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya

### Description

This picture represents the northern facade of the Zawiya. On the right of the picture, the slope of Abu Mandour Hill, which slopes towards the southeast, where Abu Mandour Zawiya is located in the southeast and overlooks the River Nile. The mosque from which the three-storey minaret, and part of the second floor. The octagon is topped by stalactites that carry the muezzin's balcony, and above it is a cylindrical floor with a bulbous helmet topped with a crescent moon, and the cables to which the lamps were attached and which were attached to the helmet are visible.

The house attached to the Zawiya consists of two floors, the second of which is based on columns that appear in the southeast, and represent the first floor. The southeastern and northwestern parts of the house on the second floor overlook to the northeast with timber windows, and the first floor of the house in the northwestern section is occupied by a door and several windows.



pl. 14. The postal card with a picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya



pl. 15. The postal card with a picture of Abu Mandour Zawiya (a part of pl. 14)

## 8. pl. 16. Abu Mandour hill Rosetta by Édouard de Montulé 1818 (pl. 16-17)

Édouard de Montulé (1792-1828) is a French traveler, (1792-1828), who made trips to many countries such as Egypt, America, Italy, Sicily and others. He described these countries and what he went through in several books, including:

- Voyage en Amérique 'Italie, Sicile et L'Égypte pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818 et 1819, 1821

- Recueil des cartes et des vues du voyage en Amérique en Italie en Sicile et en Égypte fait pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818 et 1819, 1821
- Voyage en Angleterre et en Russie en 1821, 1822 et 1823, 1825
- Travels in Egypt during 1818 and 1819

The publication of his travels is remarkable for the illustrations, maps, and inscriptions of his own hand that adorn his works. The collections he collected in Egypt are kept in the Tessé Museum in France.

Edward visited Rosetta during his trip to Egypt and wrote about it in his book "Travels in Egypt during 1818 and 1819". And he drew a picture of the Abu Mandour Zawiya, which overlooks the River Nile.

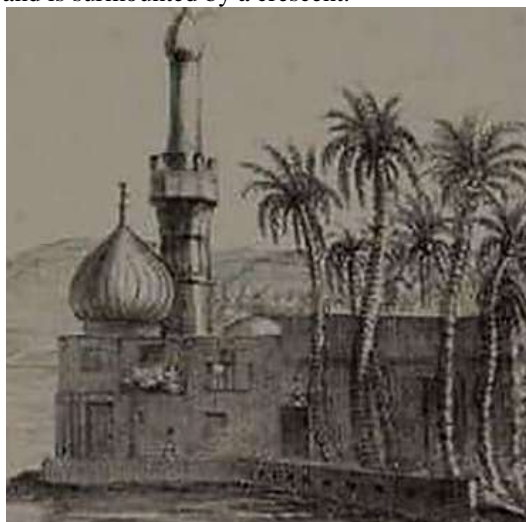
#### Description

Abu Mandour Zawiya appears. It consists of the mosque and the attached two-story house, the upper one rests on columns, the windows and balconies of the second floor appear. There is a door in the middle of the northern facade that may be the door leading to the house, while the door leading to the mosque is located close to the northwestern end of the facade.

As for the minaret, from it appears the octagonal floor, topped by stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony, and above it the cylindrical floor, which is topped by a bulbous helmet with ribs and bearing the crescent, as for the dome, it is located to the southeast of the minaret and takes the bulbous shape. It has ribs and is surmounted by a crescent.



pl. 16. Abu Mandour hill Rosetta by Édouard de Montulé 1818



pl. 17. Abu Mandour hill Rosetta by Édouard de Montulé 1818 (a part of pl. 16)

#### 9. Abu Mandour hill Rosetta by Charles Théodore (Frère Bey) Frère (French, 1814–1888) (pls. 15-16) .7

Charles-Théodore Frère was a French Orientalist painter of historical subjects, genre scenes, local scenes, landscapes (with figures) and seascapes; water colourist and draughtsman. The son of a Paris music publisher, Frère studied at the École des Beaux-Arts under Léon Cogniet and Camille Roqueplan. On completing his studies, he travelled throughout France and several journeys to Africa and the Near East, on returning to Paris, he exhibited *Vue des Environs de Strasbourg* at the 1834 Paris Salon.

His exhibits at the Salon in subsequent years were nearly all Orientalist paintings as a result of several journeys to Africa and the Near East. He undertook a further journey to the Near East, visiting Malta, Greece, Egypt and Turkey becoming one of the few artists to paint Beirut, Damascus and Palmyra. In 1853, he established a studio in Cairo, becoming the court painter there. The viceroy of Egypt elevated him to the rank of bey. In 1869, he once again travelled to the Egypt, now as a member of Empress Eugénie's party, for the opening of the Suez Canal [109-110].

#### Description

In the picture (pls. 15-16), Abu Mandour Zawiya, which is built on a sidewalk overlooking the Nile, and the slope of the hill, appears towards the Zawiya, the entrance to the mosque appears, consisting of a stone crowned with a pointed arch, in the middle of which is the door opening, and on its right are two windows, each of which is covered by a fence of wide cistern wood.

Above the entrance is a minaret in the Mamluk style, from which appears an octagonal story with arched windows, and ends at the top with stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony, surrounded by a fence of wood.

Above this is a cylindrical floor that ends with an onion-shaped helmet, with ribs surmounted by a crescent. As for the dome, it is to the southeast of the minaret, and it is bulbous in shape with ribs, and it is surmounted by a crescent.

In the southeast of the mosque there is a two-story house, and we find that part of it is based on columns carrying a room representing the second floor of the house, while the northwestern part of the house represents the second floor of a room with a mashrabiya made of fine and narrow auspicious wood.



pl. 18. Abu Mandour hill Rosetta by Charles Théodore (Frère Bey) Frère

pl. 19. Abu Mandour hill Rosetta by Charles Théodore (Frère Bey) Frère (a part of pl. 18)

### Third: The Zawiya of Abu Mandour in Kom Al-Afrah in Rosetta

The area of Abu Mandour hill is located south of the city of Rosetta in the Buhaira Governorate, and it is a group of sandy hills in the form of a mountain hill, next to it is the Sidi Abu Mandour Mosque, which was built in 1312/1897 AD.

The mosque was named by this name in relation to the God-knowing Mohsmed Abu Mandour, who was known as "Abu al-Nadr" because of his strong eyesight.

His lineage goes back to Imam Mohsmed ibn al-Hanafiya ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, may God be pleased with him, from his wife, the Hanafi lady, whom he married after the death of Lady Fatimah al-Zahra, the daughter of the Messenger, may God's prayers and peace be upon him.

He came to Rosetta in 991 AD, and he was teaching people about their religion with him, he died in 1002 AD.

Abu Mandour Mosque (Figs. 1-2) [1] By Khedive Abbas Helmy II (1312H/1894AD), who completely demolished the zawiya and built the mosque in its place (pl. 20-21), the mosque has three entrances in the northeastern, southwestern and northwestern walls, each of which is a rectangular opening topped by a straight lintel topped by a small window, and each of the three entrances is surrounded by two windows. As for the southwestern entrance, it leads to the water cycle, the tank room, and the fountain, which is located in the west of Zawiya and has a copper window on the northwestern side.

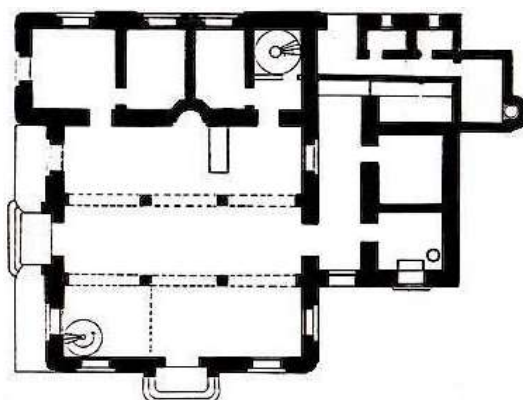
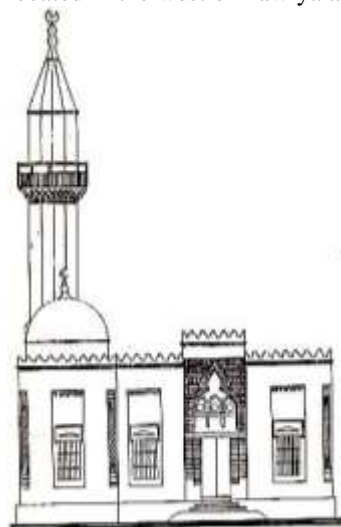


fig. 1. The facade of Abu Mandour Mosque

fig. 2. Plan of Abu Mandour Mosque

The minaret took the Ottoman character with a pencil style top, it consists of a square base rises from the roof of the mosque and turns into an octagon by inverted triangles and the octagonal body devoid of decorations. It is topped by rows of stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony. Above it is an octagonal floor with a pointed octagonal top, topped by a copper crescent. The dome is based on a cylindrical neck with eight windows arched with pointed arches, and the body of the dome is decorated with ribs that

meet at the top where the copper crescent rises.



Pl. 20. Abu Mandour Mosque and Kom Al-AfrAh Northeast and Northwest Facades (1901)



Pl. 21. Abu Mandour Mosque and Kom Al-AfrAh Northwest and Southwest Facades (1901)

The mosque is a rectangular area, divided into three cross-sections defined by two pillars, each of three pointed arches and the ceiling is based on four marble columns, and on both sides of the mihrab are two doors: the first leads to the room of the shrine of the 'Arif in God "Abu al-Nadhar". It is a "square room, in the middle of the burial chamber made of ornate wood. Above the cabin there is an inscription band, and below it there are inscriptions in Kufic and Diwani scripts." Another room is attached to it, as for the second door, it leads to a room that represents the base of the minaret and another room is attached to it. The shrine room has two windows to the southeast and northeast, and the two rooms located behind the mihrab between the shrine and the minaret has two windows to the southeast (pls. 22-23-24).



pl. 22. Abu Mandour Mosque, the northeastern and southeastern facades



pl. 23. Abu Mandour Mosque, the southwestern facade





pl. 24. Abu Mandour Mosque, the southwestern facade

#### **Fourth: A comparative analytical study of the Abu Mandour zawiya with the modern mosque**

We have nine pictures of Abu Mandour Zawiya in Kom al-Afrah, dating back to between 1760 and 1894, these pictures show the development that took place on the Zawiya, and it is clear from the picture that Niebuhr (pls. 1-2) painted for Abu Mandour Zawiya at the foot of the hill where the minaret and the dome. Some components of the Zawiya, especially the two-storey house, are shown. In Sonnini's picture of the east bank (pls. 3-4), Abu Mandour Zawiya is shown on a stone pavement, the entrance is located in the east, in the middle of a stone crowned with a triple arch, the door is topped by a window, and the facade to the right of the entrance is occupied by windows with arches pointed,

The minaret consists of a square base topped by an octagonal floor that ends with stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony surrounded by a fence of wood, and above that is the third cylindrical floor, which is topped by a helmet with ribs and above it the crescent, while the dome is bulbous in shape with ribs and above it the crescent.

The attached house on the northern side consists of two floors, on the second floor there are two rooms standing on columns representing the first floor. The northern room has three windows, while the southern room has four windows on the eastern wall and two windows on the southern wall. As for the columns, each one consists of a base, a hull and a crown, and three columns appear towards the southeast. These columns define a spaciousness representing the first floor, which was designated for sitting, where a wooden deck was placed, while the second floor represented a residence to ascend to by a ladder in the northwest.

As for the second picture drawn by Sonnini (pls. 5-6) from above Kom Al-Afrah, it shows the hill sloping towards the Zawiya in the east, and the Abu Mandour Zawiya overlooks the Nile and consists of two parts, the first is the mosque in the south and shows the minaret and the dome, and the minaret is of three floors, the first square and the second an octagon ends with muqarnas bearing the muezzin's balcony, the dome is bulbous in shape with ribs and the crescent is surmounted by the crescent, and on the western wall of the mosque there are three arched windows.

In the picture drawn by Luigi Mayer (pl. 7-8-9), the Zawiya of Abu Mandour, which consists of a mosque with an entrance to the Zawiya, is located in the middle of a stone crowned with a huge pointed arch resting on two pillars on both sides, from which comes out from the top of a veil that wraps around the arch and around a block. The entrance, and the southern facade with right-angled refractions, with the first one located to the right of the main entrance. There is another entrance arched with a pointed arch that opens to the south and is topped by an arched window.

Each of the second and third windows has a window in the Zawiya and two windows in the south. As for the fourth, it appears that it is an annex house in the western corner, consisting of two floors. The first has a door in the south and a window in the Zawiya, and the second has a door in the middle surrounded by two windows on both sides.

As for the Zawiya ern section of the Zawiya, it consists of two floors. The first represents a spaciousness delimited by columns, and the second represents a room with four windows, two in the east and two in the south. It is clear that the artist was influenced by the entrances to Gothic buildings. Whereas the main entrance in Sonini (pls.3-4) is made of stone crowned with a triple arch, here it is made of stone crowned with a huge pointed arch reminiscent of Gothic entrances.

The Zawiya consists of a mosque consisting of a minaret and a dome, and the minaret has three floors: a square base and an octagonal floor that ends with stalactites carrying the muezzin's balcony, as for the cylindrical floor, it bears the helmet that takes the shape of the onion dome and bears the crescent, and the cables that were used to fix the lamps at night are visible.

The second section, includes the two-storey house, the second resting on columns, and it turns out that the house used to extend towards the northwest as well, as part of it appears as two floors as in the east.

In the card bearing the image of the Abu Mandour Zawiya (Pl. 13-14) its architectural elements are shown, consisting of the house, the mosque, the minaret, and the dome. This image represents the northern facade of the Zawiya. The architectural components that consist of the mosque from which the minaret and the dome appear, the minaret consists of three floors, the base represents the octagonal floor, topped by stalactites that hold the muezzin's balcony, and above it is a cylindrical floor topped by an onion-shaped helmet topped by the crescent, we see the cables attached to the helmet, which used to hang the lamps.

The house attached to Zawiya consists of two floors, the second of which is based on columns representing the first floor. The eastern section of the house on the second floor overlooks the northeast with two windows, while the western section overlooks with five windows topped by small skylights. The first floor of the house on the western end is occupied by a door topped by a small window. The architect relied on the implementation of a shed representing the first floor overlooking to the northeast to be a seating area for visitors and those in charge of corner affairs.

The card bearing the image of Abu Mandour Zawiya (plate 15), showing its constituent architectural elements: the house, the mosque, the minaret, and the dome. This picture represents the northern facade of the Zawiya, and the mosque from which the three-storey minaret appears, and part of the second floor is octagonal, which is topped by stalactites that carry the muezzin's balcony, and above it is a cylindrical floor topped by an onion-shaped helmet topped by a crescent, and the cables attached to the helmet that were carry lamps.

The house attached to Zawiya consists of two floors, the second of which is based on columns that appear in the east, and represent the first floor, the eastern and western parts of the house on the second floor overlook to the northeast with timber windows, and the first floor of the house in the western section is occupied by a door and several windows.

In the picture (pls. 16-17) Édouard de Montulé, the Abu Mandour Zawiya appears, and it consists of the mosque and the attached house, which consists of two floors, the upper one rests on columns, and the windows and balconies of the second floor appear, and there is a door in the middle of the northern facade that may be the door leading to the house while the door is located Leading to the mosque close to the western end of the facade.

As for the minaret, it shows the octagonal floor, which is topped by stalactites that carries the muezzin's balcony, and above it is the cylindrical floor, which is topped by a bulbous helmet with ribs and bearing the crescent. The dome is located to the east of the minaret and is bulbous in shape. It has ribs and is surmounted by a crescent.

In the picture of Charles Théodore (pls. 18-19) Abu Mandour Zawiya appears, and the entrance to the mosque consists of a doorway crowned with a pointed arch in the middle of the door opening, and to its right two windows, each with fences made of cistern wood. Vaulted windows and ends at the top with stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony, surrounded by a fence of wood, above that is a cylindrical floor that ends with the onion-shaped helmet and ribs topped by the crescent, while the dome is to the east of the minaret and is bulbous in shape with ribs and above it the crescent.

In the east of the mosque, there is a two-story house, and we find that part of it is based on columns carrying a room representing the second floor of the house, while the western part of the house represents the second floor of a room with a mashrabiya made of fine wood.

It is clear from the above, that the minaret and the dome in all the images are located in the northern corner of the old mosque, and between it and the mausoleum there is an entrance, and the minaret has three floors. It is topped by a polygonal helmet topped by a crescent. As for the mausoleum, it is located in its current position and is topped by the dome with ribs, and above it is the crescent. The house attached to Zawiya is clearly visible in all the photos, and it consists of two floors.

The first is spacious, delimited by columns that support the second floor, which consists of rooms overlooking the outside with windows. It is clear from the pictures the development that continued on the houses attached to the Zawiya.

The Sonini period (plates 3-4) and Luigi Meyer (pls. 7-8-9) are the beginning of the expansion of these annexes, and they were reduced in size beginning with Edward in 1818-1819 (pls. 16-17), and this continued until only a portion of them remained basic.

We can therefore trace the history of the Postal Carte (plate 13-14-15) to before 1818, when the extensions were in the northeast, southeast, and southwest. As for the purpose of making the first floor a spaciousness defined by columns, it is due to the encroachment of sand, where the corner is located at the foot of the hill. Therefore, the use of the first floor was limited to the seating area designated for the patrons of the corner, while the residence was on the second floor.

It was confirmed that Khedive Abbas Hilmi II had completely demolished the zawiya and built the mosque in its place (1312 AH / 1894 AD) (figs. 1-2). The mosque has three entrances in the northeastern, southwestern and northwestern walls.

He built a new minaret in a place other than the place where the old minaret was, and it took the Ottoman character with the top in the shape of a pencil. The hull is octagonal, devoid of decoration, surmounted by rows of stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony. It is topped by an octagonal floor, topped by an octagonal peak in a pointed shape, topped by a copper crescent. The dome was erected in the place of the ancient dome that tops the mausoleum. It is based on a cylindrical neck with eight windows arched with pointed arches. The body of the dome is decorated with ribs that meet at the top where the copper crescent is above the dome (pls. 20-21-22-23-24).

We can explain the reason for relocating the old minaret, which was to the right of the interior in the northern corner, and due to the fact that the shrine room is located to the left of the interior, he created three rooms in the southeastern side behind the qibla wall to

place the minaret in one of them, and between the minaret and the shrine he erected two rooms by entering the first from the shrine room and to the second room of the minaret.

It was also confirmed that the minaret and dome that were erected in the architecture of the modern phase of the mosque did not reach the aesthetic value of the previous minaret and dome, and this was confirmed when comparing the modern minaret and dome with their similarity in the form of Sonnini (pls. 3-4) and Luigi Meyer (pls. 7-8-9) and Edward (plates 16-17) and Charles (pls. 18-19), where the Mamluk style is represented in the decorations of the body and the stalactites of the minaret, as well as in the ribs that cover the body of the dome, where we find the body of the minaret devoid of decorative elements except for the stalactites, and also, the ribs of the dome Not as perfect as the old dome.

As for the entrance to the Zawiya, it was as depicted by Sonnini (plate 3-4) and Charles (plate 18-19) with an opening topped by a straight lintel and crowned by a pointed arch. As for Luigi Meyer's drawing (plate 7-8-9), he showed his influence on European architecture.

Where we find that the artist is influenced by the entrances to Gothic buildings, where the main entrance to the northeast at Sonnini is made of a stone crowned with a triple arch, while we find it here made of stone crowned with a huge pointed arch, similar to the entrances to Gothic churches, including, for example, the entrance to the church of Notre Dame de Paris (Pl. 25).



pl. 25. The entrance resembles the entrance to the church of Notre Dame de Paris in the Gothic style

### Conclusions

- The research dealt with an analytical study of nine pictures drawn by travelers for the Abu Mandour Zawiya in Kom Al-Afrah, drawn or photographed between 1760 and 1894. 1894.
- It is clear from the images included in the research that the Abu Mandour Zawiya is located at the bottom of the hill called Kom Al-Afrah and includes a mosque characterized by its minaret and dome, in addition to the house attached to the corner, which was designated as a resting place for visitors to the corner and those in charge of its affairs.
- The corner of Abu Mandour was based on a stone pavement, and the entrance was located in the east, while the minaret consisted of a square base topped by an octagonal floor that ends with stalactites bearing the muezzin's balcony surrounded by a wooden fence. The dome is bulbous in shape with ribs and a crescent moon is above it.
- The annex house, on the northeastern and southeastern sides, consisted of two floors, and the rooms of the second floor were formed by columns representing the first floor.
- The picture drawn by Luigi Mayer is unique in that the entrance is located in the middle of a stone crowned with a huge pointed arch that rests on two pillars on both sides, from which comes out from the top of the veil that wraps around the arch and around the entrance block. It is influenced by the entrances to Gothic buildings, while the main entrance at Sonnini is made of stone crowned with a triple arch.
- It turns out that the minaret and the dome in all the pictures are located in the northern corner of the old mosque, and between it and the mausoleum there is an entrance, and the minaret has three floors. The crescent, as for the mausoleum, is located in its current position, and on top of it is the dome with ribs, and on top of it is the crescent.
- It is clear from the pictures the development that continued on the houses annexed to the corner, and the Sonnini period (1899) and Luigi Mayer (1801) are the beginning of the expansion of these annexes, and their size decreased starting from Edward in 1818-1819, and this continued until only a small part remained.
- It was confirmed that Khedive Abbas Hilmi II had completely demolished the Zawiya, and built the mosque in its place (1312 AH / 1894 AD), and built three entrances in the northeastern, southwestern and northwestern walls, as well as erecting a new minaret in a place other than the place where the minaret of the corner, which took on the character the ottoman with a pencil top, and the dome was erected in the place of the old dome that tops the mausoleum.
- We can explain the reason for relocating the old minaret, which was to the right of the interior in the northern corner, and due to the location of the shrine room to the left of the interior, he created three rooms in the southeastern side behind the qibla wall to place the minaret in one of them, and between the minaret and the shrine he set up two rooms to complete the entrance to the mosque. The first from the shrine room and the second from the minaret room.
- We were assured that the minaret and dome that were erected in the modern architecture of the mosque did not reach the aesthetic value of the previous minaret and dome, as the first minaret represents the Mamluk style in the decorations of the body and stalactites, as well as in the ribs that cover the body of the dome, where we find the body of the minaret free of The decorative elements, with the exception of the muqarnas, also, the ribs of the dome are not as perfect as the old dome.

## References

- [1] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed (2017). Encyclopedia of Rosetta, 1, Cairo: The Arab Nation Foundation for Publishing and Distribution, pp. 26-144-145-180-231.
- [2] Kamel, Wahib (1947). Diodore in Egypt, Cairo, pp. 67-68.
- [3] Kamel, Wahib (1953). Strabon in Egypt, Cairo, pp. 9-48.
- [4] Khafaja, Muhammad Saqr (1966). Herodotus talks about Egypt, Cairo, pp. 88-89-108.
- [5] Al-Hamawi, Yakout (1906). Glossary of countries, 4, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, Cairo, p. 252.
- [6] Ibn Hawqal (1873). Paths and kingdoms, 1, Leiden, p. 90.
- [7] Al-Qalqashindi (1914). Sobh Al-Asha in the construction industry, 3, Cairo, p. 360, 4, p. 390.
- [8] Al-Maqrizi (1968). Sermons and consideration in the mention of plans and effects, 2, Cairo: Al-Adab Press, 1, pp. 53-72-73-74-129-214, 2, p. 72-74-129, 3, p. 512, 4, p. 765.
- [9] Mubarak, Ali (1305 AH / 1888 AD). The New Compromise Plans, 11, Cairo, p. 75.
- [10] Hassan, Salim (2001). Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, 2, Cairo: Egyptian General Book Authority, pg. 46.
- [11] Gardinen A.S. (1947). *Ancient Egyptian Anomastica*, I, Oxford, pp. 102-103.
- [12] Moret, A. (1932). L'Egypte Pharaonique, dans Hantaux, Histoire la Nation Egyptienne, II, Paris, p. 70.
- [13] May (August 1797). *Letters from the East*, Letter 7.
- [14] Amelineau, E. (1954). *La Geographie de L'Egypte copte*, Paris, pp.119-120-404-405. [14]
- [15] Zahran, M. A. Willis A. J. (2008). *The Vegetation of Egypt*, Springer. pp.192-253.
- [16] Julius (1978). A brief study on the city of Rosetta - Description of Egypt, 3, translated by Zuhair Al-Shayeb, Cairo, pp. 77-222-224.
- [17] Clot Bey (1930). An overview of Egypt, 1, Arabization of Muhammad Masoud, Cairo, p. 422.
- [18] Dictionnaire Quillet, (1962). *Rosette*.
- [19] Jullien, Ch.A. *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nurd*, 17, p. 58.
- [20] Encyclopedia Britannica, Rosette.
- [21] Lezine A. et Abdul Tawab, A. R. (1972). *Introduetion a l'etude des maisons ancienne de Rosette*, IFAO, I, du Caire, p. 150.
- [22] Description de l'Egypt (1984). Egyptian Cities and Regions, translated by Zuhair Al-Shayeb, Cairo, p. 375.
- [23] Ali, Abdel Qader Abdel Aziz (1995). Climate Changes and the Nile Flood, Water Symposium in the Arab World, Egyptian Geographical Society - Cairo, 1, p. 287.
- [24] Toson, Omar (1925). The Geography of Egypt on the History of the Nile, Cairo: The Scientific Council, p. 10.
- [25] Ramzy, Muhammad (1958). Geographical Dictionary of the Egyptian Country, 2/2, Cairo, pg. 300.
- [26] El-Falaki, Mahmoud Pasha (1967). Ancient Alexandria, translated by Mahmoud Saleh Al-Falaki - Alexandria, pp. 170-171.
- [27] Toson, Omar (2012). History of the ancient Gulf of Alexandria and Mahmoudiya Canal, Cairo: Arabic words for translation and publication, pp. 12-13.
- [28] Sonnini C. S. (1800). Travels in upper and lower Egypt, London, p.144.
- [29] Qadri, Ahmed (1985). The Military Institution in the Age of Empire, 1570-1087 BC, translated by Mukhtar Al-Suwaifi and Mohamed Al-'Azab Musa, Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Authority, pp. 225-256.
- [30] Breasted, James Henry (1999). History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Era, translated by Hassan Kamal, Cairo: The Egyptian General Book Organization, pp. 254-256.
- [31] Topuzada, Zakia Youssef (2008). The History of Ancient Egypt, the Modern State and the Late Ages, Faculty of Arts – 'Ain Shams University, pp. 129-142-212.
- [32] Sameh, Kamal El Din (1986). Glimpses in the History of Egyptian Architecture, Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Authority, p. 19.
- [33] Champollion, Jean François (1814). *L' Egypte sous les Pharaons, ou recherches sur la géographie, la religion, la langue, les écritures et l'histoire de l'Egypte avant l'invasion de Cambyse*, II, Paris, II, p.24.
- [34] Budge, W. (1950). *The Rosetta stone*, British Museum - London. Bevan G .R. *Egypt under the Plemic dynasty*, pp. 265ss.
- [35] Bell, Idris (1972). Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest, translated by Abdel Latif Ali, Cairo, p. 203.
- [36] Tawfiq and Al-Nasiri, Syed and Syed Ahmed (1977). Landmarks of the History and Civilization of Egypt, Cairo, pp. 20-119-120.
- [37] Forster (1922). *Alexandria, a history and a guide*, Alex. pp. 185-186-189.
- [38] Porter, B. and Moss, R. (1927-1952). *Topogaphical Biblioglophy of Anciant Egyptian Hlieoglaphic*, Oxford.
- [39] Hassan, Saleem (1957). Ancient Egypt, 2, Cairo: The Egyptian General Book Authority pp. 85ss.
- [40] Fikri, Mohamed Amin (1962). Geography of Egypt, 2, Cairo, p. 185.
- [41] Briccia (1922). *Alexandria and Egyptum*, Bergamo, pp. 352-365.
- [42] Nosh, Ibrahim (1946). History of Egypt in the era of the Ptolemies and the Romans, 2, p. 229.
- [43] Habachi, L. (1934). *Sais and it's monuments, Annals du service des Antiques Egyptianes*, 42, pp.369-407.
- [44] Al-Kindi (1908). Governors and Judges, investigation by Raven Kast, Beirut, pp. 96-122-190-191.



- [45] Al-Shayal, Mohamed Jamal Al-Din. (1949). Alexandria, the city's topography and its development from ancient times to the present, the historical magazine, 2, p. 240.
- [46] Ibn Abdul Hakam (1914–1920). Fattouh Egypt and its works, Cairo – Leiden, p. 85.
- [47] Al-Nuwari Al-Iskandari (1968-1976). Familiarity with the flags regarding the rulings and matters decided in the battle of Alexandria. Published and investigated by Dr. Aziz Suryal Attia, Hyderabad2, p. 67.
- [48] Butler (1946). The Arab Conquest of Egypt, translated by Muhammad Farid Abu Hadid, 1, Cairo ٢٢٥. 257.
- [49] Fahmy, Ali (1974). The Islamic Navy in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Seventh to the Tenth Century, History of the Egyptian Navy, Alexandria, p. 344.
- [50] Zaki, Abdel Rahman (1958). Military architecture in the Middle Ages between the Arabs and the Crusaders, Historical Journal, 7, p. 116.
- [51] Othman, Mohamed Abd al-Sattar (1988). Islamic city, the world of knowledge - Kuwait, 128, pp. 135-147-148.
- [52] History of Naval Martial Arts in the Mediterranean, Egyptian Antiquities Authority – Cairo, pp. 7-20-21.
- [53] Maher, Souad (1966). Governorates of the United Arab Republic and its remaining monuments, Cairo, p. 136.
- [54] Niebuhr, Carsten (2007). A Journey to the Arabian Peninsula and to Other Neighboring Countries, 1, 'Abeer Al-Mundhir, Beirut, Lebanon: Arab Propagation, 1, pp. 17-18-185-186, 2, pp. 52-53-54. No. 6.
- [54] Niebuhr, Carsten. A Journey to Arabia and its Surroundings
- [55] Creswell (1952–1959). Early Muslim Architecture, 1-II, oxford, p.127.
- [56] Bakri (1911). Morocco in the countries of Africa and Morocco, Paris, p. 37.
- [57] Ibn Zohayra (1969). The Brilliant Virtues in the Beauties of Egypt and Cairo, investigated by Mostafa El-Sakka and Kamel El-Mohandes, Cairo.p. 102.
- [58] Mahmoud, Hassan Ahmed (1960). Islamic Civilization of Egypt, Cairo, pp. 89-90.
- [59] Mahmoud Ahmed Darwish. The fortifications of Alexandria and Rosetta before the English campaign in 1807, International Journal of Cultural Inheritance & Social Sciences (IJCISS), Vol. 3 Issue 6, September 2021, pp. 54-76.
- [60] Hassan, Ali Ibrahim (1944). Studies in the history of the Maritime Mamluks and in the era of Nasser Muhammad in particular, Cairo, p. 237.
- [61] Salem, Abdelaziz (1961). History of Alexandria and its Civilization in the Islamic Era, Cairo, p. 76.
- [62] Al-'Abadi, Ahmed Mukhtar (1974). The Egyptian Navy in the Time of the Ayyubids and Mamluks, History of the Egyptian Navy, Alexandria University, p. 599.
- [63] Attia, Aziz Suriel (1983). The Book of Knowledge of Knowledge, World of Thought, 2, p. 127 and beyond.
- [64] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed (1989). The buildings of Rosetta and their wooden artifacts in the Ottoman era, manuscript of a master's thesis, Faculty of Archeology - Cairo University, pp. 144-163.
- [65] Ibn Duqmaq (1893). Victory for Wasta 'Aqd Al-Amsar, Cairo, 5, Cairo, p. 114.
- [66] Rosetta Court Records, Document on Rajab 13 995 AH (1587 CE), Record 15, p. 204, Article 151. Document on Jumada I 15 995 AH (1587 CE) Record 15, p. 237, Article 2344.
- [67] Al-Nowayri Al-Iskandari (1968-1976). Familiarity with the flags regarding the rulings and matters decided in the case of Alexandria, 2, published by Aziz Suryal Attia, Hyderabad - Deccan, p. 108.
- [68] Ibn Taghri Bardi (1926-1975). The Shining Stars in the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, investigated by Muhammad Mustafa Zayda and others, Cairo, 15, p. 334.
- [69] Sarhank, Ismail (1897). Facts of News and Sea Countries, Cairo, 2, p. 36.
- [70] Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani, (1969-1972). Anbaa Al-Ghamr, Ibn Al-Omar, 3, achieved by Hassan Habashi, Cairo, p. 336.
- [71] Al-Sayrafi (2002). Anbaa' al-Hasr with the news of the era, achieved by Hassan Habashi, Cairo, pp. 442-445.
- [71] Ibn Iyas (1894). Badaa'i flowers in the facts of the ages, Cairo, p. 23, 2/2, 4-5, pp. 31-150-151, 3, pp. 31-155-156. [72] 'Ashour, Said Abdel-Fattah (1963). The Crusade Movement, Cairo, 2, p. 1232 and beyond.
- [73] Maher, Souad (1967). The Navy in Islamic Egypt, pp. 123-124-331.
- [74] Ibn Shaddad (1994). Sultan's anecdotes, Cairo: Al-Khanji Library, p. 230.
- [75] Khanke, Jamil (1948). History of the Egyptian Navy, Cairo: Egyptian Book House, p. 121.
- [76] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. Preservation of the architectural heritage, (Sultan Qayet-Bey Castle in Rosetta - Egypt, as example), Volume 18, Issue 4, December 2016, pp. 1239-1259.
- [77] Zaki, Abd al-Rahman (1960). Salah al-Din Castle and Other Contemporary Castles, Cairo, p. 93.
- [78] Abdel-Wahhab, Hassan (1956-1957). Architectural Styles in Rural Egypt, Journal of the Egyptian Scientific Council, 38, p. 37.
- [79] Shafei, Farid (June 1975). Arab Islamic Environmental Architecture, Al-Dara Magazine - Saudi Arabia, p. 329.
- [80] Maher, Souad. Mosques of Egypt, Cairo: The Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, 4, p. 17.
- [81] Combe, Et. *La fort Qayt-bay a Resette*, Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie, BSRAA, 33, p. 320-321-322.
- [82] Mahmoud Ahmed Darwish. The fortified fence around Rosetta, field study in the maps of the French Campaign 1798-1801, International Journal of Research in Cultural inheritance and Social Sciences (IJCISS), Volume 1, Issue 2, September 2019, pp. 52-69.
- [83] Mahmoud Ahmed Darwish. The role of Rosetta fortifications against the English expedition on Egypt, (new vision through the

- French and British documents), journal of international academic research for multidisciplinary (JIARM), Volume 4, Issue 10, November 2016, pp. 192:219.
- [84] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. Preserving the urban heritage of the Qaitbay Citadel in Berrechid - Egypt, and investing it in tourism. Proceedings of the International Conference: Tourism and Hotel Development in the Arab World - Middle East University - Jordan, Amman: Middle East University (September 2012).
- [85] Peri Réis. *Bahrije de Peri Réis dans Voyage de carlier de Pinon*, Blochet, p. 169 note 3.
- [86] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed (2020). The Rakhito Writes History, Great Britain's Campaign against Rosetta in 1807, in Light of British Archives Documents, Cairo: The Arab Nation Foundation for Printing and Publishing, p. 83.
- [87] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed (2021). The Rakhito Writes History, Great Britain's Campaign against Rosetta in 1807, in Light of British Archives Documents, International Journal of Academic Multidisciplinary Research (IJAMR), Vol. 5, Issue 5, May 2021, pp. 1-17.
- [87] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed (2021). The Rakhito Writes History, Great Britain's Campaign against Rosetta in 1807, in Light of British Archives Documents, International Journal of Academic Multidisciplinary Research (IJAMR), Vol. 5, Issue 5, May 2021, pp. 1-17.
- [88] Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. Archaeological study of Zawyat Muhammad Al-Bawab, south of Rosetta, in light of documents and excavations, International Journal of Cultural Inheritance & Social Sciences (IJCISS), Vol. 2 Issue 4, September 2020, pp. 44-52.
- [89] Blair, Sheila; Katz, J.; Hamès, C. (1960–2007). "Zāwiya". In Bearman, P.; Bianquis, Th.; Bosworth, C.E.; van Donzel, E.; Heinrichs, W.P. (eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Brill.
- [90] Kane, Ousmane (1995). "Zāwiyah". In Esposito, John L. (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Oxford University Press.
- [91] Petersen, Andrew (1996). "zawiya". *Dictionary of Islamic architecture*. Routledge. p. 318.
- [92] Bloom, M. Jonathan; S. Blair, Sheila, eds. (2009). "Khanaqah". *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*. Oxford University Press.
- [93] Blair, Sheila; Katz, J.; Hamès, C. (1960–2007). "Zāwiya". In Bearman, P.; Bianquis, Th.; Bosworth, C.E.; van Donzel, E.; Heinrichs, W.P. (eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.
- [94] Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (2007). *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of Architecture and its Culture*. The American University in Cairo Press
- [92] Bloom, M. Jonathan; S. Blair, Sheila, eds. (2009). "Khanaqah". *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*. Oxford University Press.
- [95] Wikipedia (30 December 2018). Garsten Niebuhr, Date of citation: 21 January 2019.  
[https://ar.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%D9%83%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%86\\_%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A8%D9%88%D8%B1&oldid=32399132](https://ar.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%D9%83%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%86_%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A8%D9%88%D8%B1&oldid=32399132)
- [96] SONNINI DE MANONCOURT, [eng.travelogues.gr](http://eng.travelogues.gr)
- [97] Sonnini, C. S. (1799). Voyage dans la Haut et basse Egypt, fait par ordre de L'ancien government, et contenant des observations de tous genres Paris, Cheze. Buisson, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Hnutefcuillie 3 n°. 2o. an 7 de la république.
- [98] Collection: Hellenic Library - Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation  
<https://eng.travelogues.gr/tag.php?view=12866>
- [99] Sonnini de Manoncourt, Charles Nicolas Sigisbert (1799). Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Égypte, fait par ordre de l'Ancien Gouvernement, et contenant des observations de tous genres, Collection de Planches, Paris, F. Buisson, An VII, Table of Contents: 11
- [100] Mayer, Luigi (1804). Views in Egypt, Palestine, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, London: Thomas Bensley.
- [101] <https://historyarchive.org/works/creators/robert-ainslie>
- [102] <https://art.famsf.org/luigi-mayer/mosque-abou-mandour-19633018218>
- [103] <https://historyarchive.org/works/books/views-in-egypt-1801>
- [104] Diane Fortenberry, Souvenirs and New Ideas travel and collecting in Egypt and the near east, Oxbow books oxford UK.
- [105] Denon, Dominique Vivant - [napoleon.org](http://napoleon.org)
- [106] George Long, Esq. Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, monuments, Obelisk, Temples, Sphinxes, Sculpture, Statues, Paintings, Pyramids, Mummies, Papyrus, and the Rosetta stone, p.203.
- [107] Dominique-Vivant Denon- [oxfordreference.com](http://oxfordreference.com)
- [108] Denon, Par Vivant (1807). Voyages dans la basse et la haute Egypte pendant les campagnes de Bonaparte en 1798 et 1799, A Londres.
- [109] Charles Theodore Frere", *Rehs Galleries*. Retrieved 3 May 2012.  
[http://www.rehs.com/charles\\_theodore\\_frere\\_a\\_caravan\\_crossing\\_the\\_desert.html](http://www.rehs.com/charles_theodore_frere_a_caravan_crossing_the_desert.html)
- [110] Cazenave, Elisabeth (2004). *L'Afrique du Nord révélée par les Musées de Province*, Edt, Bernard Giovangeli Association Abd el Tif, pp. 49-483.