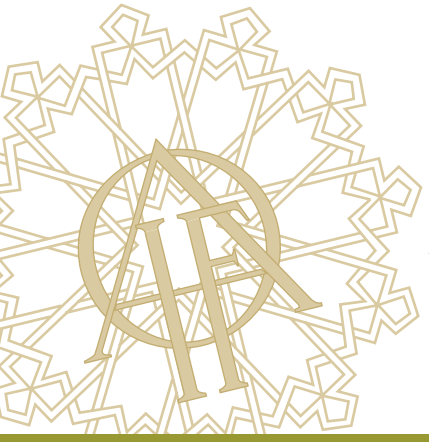
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AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156

Leonor Fernandes

Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].

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THREE ṢŪFĪ FOUNDATIONS IN A 15TH CENTURY WAQFIYYA

Leonor FERNANDES

The 15th century witnessed the spread of the *ḫānqāh-madrasa(s)* such as those of Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (Index n. 35, 811/1408) and al-Ašraf Barsbāy in the city proper (Index n. 175, 829/1425). However, it also witnessed the rise of *turba* complexes, i.e. a mausoleum associated with a *ḫānqāh* and/or a *gāmiᶜ*, *madrasa* built in the desert. Such *turba(s)* captured the attention of every ruler from Farağ b. Barqūq to Qanṣūh al-Ġawrī at the end of the Mamluk period.

Because of the 'Sunni Sufism' [1] that was practiced in *ḫānqāh(s)*, and its acceptance by the *ᶜulamā'* and *fuqahā'*, sultans were strongly motivated to construct *ḫānqāh(s)*. On the other hand, the strained economic conditions that were draining the treasury of the empire from the end of the 14th century had reached their nadir by the beginning of the 15th century, and more precisely by 806/1403 as Maqrīzī often claims. It seems that in such strained times, the whole country moved towards Sufism as a way of escaping the burden of every-day life. It is indeed interesting to note that during the 15th century, when corruption had permeated all levels of society, and when natural catastrophes in the form of plague and famine, had sapped the country, some of the largest *ḫānqāh(s)* were built, and some of the most generous support for sufis was provided by sultans like al-Mu'ayyad Šayḫ (d. 824/1421) and al-Ašraf Barsbāy (d. 841/1437). Ironically enough, the latter, who had imposed severe economic hardships on his subjects [2], during his long reign (824-841/1421-1437) posed as a champion and protector of Sufism.

[1] The use of the terms « Sunni Sufism » as opposed to « Popular Sufism » is deliberate and reflects the conclusions reached by the present writer in an unpublished work. For further information cf. « The Evolution of the Khānqāh Institution in Mamluk Egypt », Ph. D. dissertation. Princeton University, 1980.

[2] For further information on the reign of Barsbāy, cf. A. Darrag, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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A study of the *waqf* in the name of Barsbāy confirms this assertion. Indeed, we read in the *waqfiyya* of al-Ašraf Barsbāy[1] that the sultan erected a *makān* (place) in al-Qāhira in the Šāriʿ al-Aʿẓam which he founded as a *ḫānqāh-madrasa* with a *ḫuṭba;* a *turba* outside Bāb al-Naṣr in the desert, founded as a *ḫānqāh* for sufis, which formed part of his funerary complex (*madrasa*-mausoleum-*ḫānqāh*); a *zāwiya* built opposite to his complex, next to a *qubba* he erected for the Aḥmadiyya Rifāʿiyya[2].

Furthermore, the *waqfiyya* allocates a monthly sum of 1,000 *dirhams fulūs ǧudud*[3], from the revenues of the *waqf,* to the *zāwiya* of Ḏu'l Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859) in the Qarāfa al-Ṣuġra. Part of this amount was to be used to restore the *ḍarīḥ* (tomb) of the founder of Egyptian Sufism, while the rest was reserved for buying water, mats, and lamps for the *zāwiya.*

It is therefore clear that Barsbāy attached a particular importance to ṣūfī foundations. The present essay examines three of the foundations grouped in the *waqfiyya* under the title *' al-ǧihāt allatī bi'l-ṣaḥrā '*, and which had separate endowments providing for their upkeep and functions.

I. — AL-ǦIHĀT ALLATĪ BI'L-ṢAḤRĀ'.

As previously mentioned, the buildings of Barsbāy in the desert consisted of : his funerary complex, listed by the Index of Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo, 1951 as number 121 (fig. 1) : the Mosque of al-Ašraf Barsbāy,

(1) *Ḥuǧǧat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Ašraf Barsbāy.* Dār al-Waṯā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Maḥkama 173, maḥfaẓa 27, dated 876/1471. Also Wizārat al-Awqāf, Siǧill al-Daftarḫāna 880, dated 1030/1620. Both *waqfiyya(s)* are copies of the original dated 840/1436 which consisted of a compilation of all of Barsbāy's *waqf(s).*

(2) The order of the Rifāʿiyya was founded by Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d. 578/1183) and was known for its extreme practices among which : eating snakes, walking on fire and so forth. Some of these practices have been attributed to the influence of primitive Shamanism during the Mongol occupation of Iraq (M. Köprülüzade, *Influences du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmans,* Istanbul 1929). For further information on the spread of the order in Egypt, cf. E. Bannerth, « La Rifāʿiyya en Egypte », *MIDEO* X, 1970.

(3) According to Qalqašandī, the new currency called *fulūs ǧudud* was coined in 759/1358 during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥasan. Each *fils* weighed one *miṯqāl* and was worth one *qirāṭ* of the *dirham, Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā* III, 440. Cf. also al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Ǧumān,* Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Tā'rīkh 1584, XXV/4, 668. For a detailed discussion of currency rates during the Circassian period, cf. W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultan,* Berkeley 1957, 41-73.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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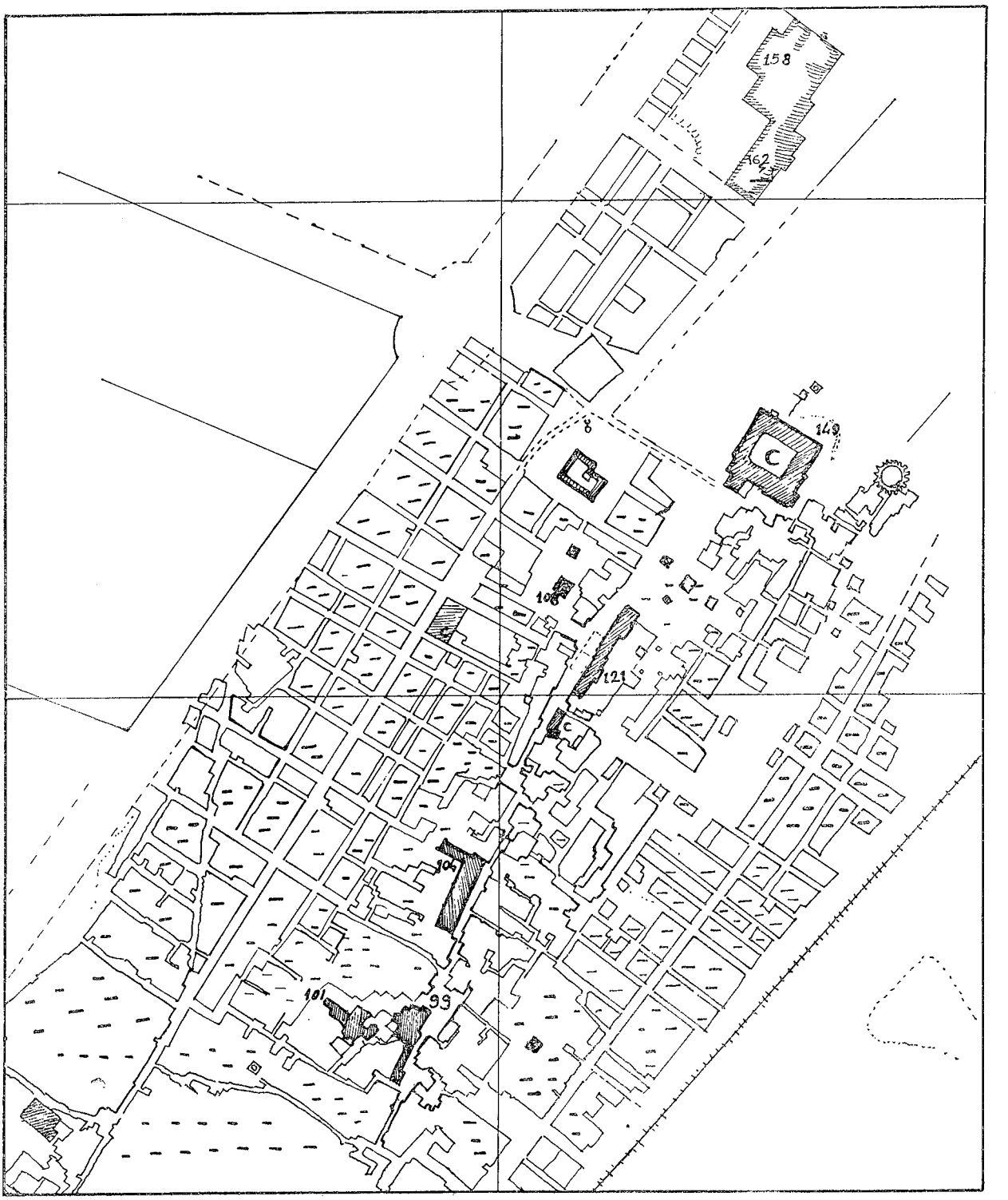


Fig. 1. — Map of the northern cemetery, from the *Survey of Egypt*.

99. Mosque of Qāytbāy.
101. Maqʿad of Qāytbāy.
104. Rabʿ of Qāytbāy.
108. Qubbat maʿbad al-Rifāʿī.
121. Ḫānqāh of Brasbāy.
149. Ḫānqāh of Farağ b. Barqūq.
158. Mosque of Sultan Īnāl.
162. Ḫānqāh and Mausoleum of Qurqumās.

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Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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835/1432; a *qubba* listed as number 108 : Qubbat Maʿbad al-Rifāʿī, beg. 10th/16th century [1]; and a *zāwiya,* of which nothing but a bi'r (well) remains.

A. Funerary complex in the desert (Pl. VII, A).

a) Before examining the information provided by the *waqfiyya* on the complex in the desert, a few comments on the choice of its location and the site on which it was erected, the Mīdān Qabaq, are in order.

The complex of al-Ašraf Barsbāy lies about 160 m. to the S of the ḫānqāh of Faraǧ b. Barqūq (Index n. 149, 803-813/1400-1411), in the part of the city of Cairo known to-day as the northern cemetery (fig. 1).

Prior to the 15th century, a large hippodrome : Mīdān Qabaq occupied the site on which this cemetery was founded. According to Maqrīzī [2], the Mīdān Qabaq (known also as al-Mīdān al-Aswad, Mīdān al-ʿĪd, al-Mīdān al-Aḫḍar, and Mīdān al-Sibāq), extended from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr. He further adds that in 660/1261, al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (d. 676/1279) built the *masṭaba* (race track) to promote military games.

During al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign (693-741/1293-1340 with interruptions) the *mīdān* was abandoned, and people started to fill the site with *turba*(*s*). Maqrīzī suggests that the first emir to build on the site of the race track was Yūnus al-Dawādār who built his tomb around 780/1378. Other emirs and sultans soon followed his example, and the desert became urbanised as a consequence.

This attempt to urbanise the *ṣaḥrā'* was deliberate and can be considered a conscious effort to create new residential quarters far from the congested urban center, yet along the pilgrimage road. The work that points to this attempt most clearly is that of Faraǧ b. Barqūq (d. 815/1412). Indeed, having built a *ḫānqāh* near Qubbat al-Naṣr according to his father's will, the sultan transferred the Sūq al-ǧimāl (camels' market) and the Sūq al-ḥamīr (donkeys' market) from their original location at the foot of the Citadel to a new site opposite his *turba* in the

[1] Even though the *waqfiyya* does not give the exact date of construction of this *qubba,* we may deduce from the document that it was built around 837/1433.

[2] al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l-Iʿtibār fī Ḏikr al-Ḫiṭaṭ wa'l-Āṯār,* Būlāq 1853, II, 111-113, 463.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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desert. Furthermore, Maqrīzī informs us that Sultan Farağ had planned to build in the same area, close to his funerary complex, a large *ḫān* (caravansérail) for travellers with a *sūq* (market) next door, a *ḥammām* (bath-house), a *ṭaḥūn* (grain mill), and a *furn* (bakery) [1].

At his death in 815/1412, Farağ b. Barqūq's big project was left unfinished, and the sources do not indicate that his immediate successors were disposed to complete it. Indeed, Barsbāy's choice of the site for his funerary complex seems to suggest his wish to continue the tradition of erecting *turba(s)* in the desert near the Turbat al-Ṣūfiyya, and along the road from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr. However, it also seems to suggest his wish to underscore the sufi character of the desert area, since he built two other foundations for ṣūfīs : a *zāwiya,* and a *qubba-zāwiya,* across from his complex.

b) *Structures of the funerary complex dealt with in the waqfiyya.*

The *waqfiyya* of al-Ašraf Barsbāy mentions two structures on the road from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr. The first consists of a *madrasa* and its dependencies — to which the founder's mausoleum is attached (Pl. VII, B). The second, referred to by the document as a *turba,* consists of the *ḫānqāh* and its dependencies.

The *madrasa* (plan, 2-B), which has a separate entrance, consists of two *īwāns* (Qiblī and Baḥrī) separated by a *dūrqāʿa.* A door in the *dūrqāʿa* leads to the mausoleum (plan, 1-A) attached to the *madrasa.* The latter has two upper floors : the first a *riwāq* (large living unit) and its dependencies, the second a *ṭabaqa/ṭibāq* (a type of duplex) [2]. Three other units : a *maṭbaḫ* (kitchen), a *mīḍaʾa* (ablution fountain), and a *ḥawš* (burial ground) were part of the *madrasa* (plan, 6, 5, 4). All the units mentioned above are entered from doors in the *dihlīz* (vestibule), reached through the main entrance to the *madrasa.* From the street, two flights of stairs lead to a *masṭaba* (platform) giving access to the main entrance.

The *ḫānqāh* proper (plan, 3-C) had two separate entrances leading to its various units, namely : two *sabīl(s)* (public fountains), two *riwāq(s),* 10 *ṭibāq/ṭabaqa*

[1] *Ibid.,* 464.

[2] For detailed information on *ṭibāq* and *riwāq,* cf. Laila ʿAlī Ibrāhīm « Middle class Living Units in Mamluk Cairo : Architecture and Terminology », *AARP 14,* 1979.

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(plan, 11), 7 *ḫalāwa/ḫilwa* (cells), two *ṣahrīǧ* (cisterns), two *ḥawš* (plan, 13, 14), an *iṣṭabl* (stable), a *maṭbaḫ*, and a *makān* with a *miḥrāb*.

The first entrance to the *ḫānqāh* opened onto a long passage (*maǧāz*) that separated the *madrasa* from the *ḫānqāh*. Along the passage were six doors leading to six of the above-mentioned units. Thus, the first door to the right led to the first *sabīl* (plan, 7), the second door led to 7 *ḫalāwa* and their latrines (plan, 8), the third door led through a staircase, to a *riwāq*, the fourth door led through a staircase to five *ṭibāq*. The *iṣṭabl* (plan, 9) beneath the *riwāq* was reached from the fifth door in the passage. Finally, the sixth door in the passage led to the *maṭbaḫ* (plan, 10) located at the back of the *ḫānqāh*. All of the above mentioned units have disappeared.

The second entrance to the *ḫānqāh* led to the remaining units : five *ṭibāq*, a second *riwāq*, a *makān* with a *miḥrāb*, the second *sabīl* (plan, 15), and the two *ḥawš*. Three of the preceding units (*ṭibāq, riwāq, makān*) occupied the upper floor of the *ḫānqāh*.

It is interesting to note that the most important units (*ṭibāq, sabīl,* and the *makān* with the *miḥrāb*) were placed at the street side, while the *maṭbaḫ* and the *iṣṭabl* were located at the back of the complex. Moreover, even though the two structures of the funerary complex-*madrasa* and *ḫānqāh* had separate entrances, they nevertheless communicated from the inside by means of a door in the passage separating them. It was through this opening that ṣūfīs living in the *ḫānqāh* could easily reach the *mīḍa'a* as well as the *masǧid* itself.

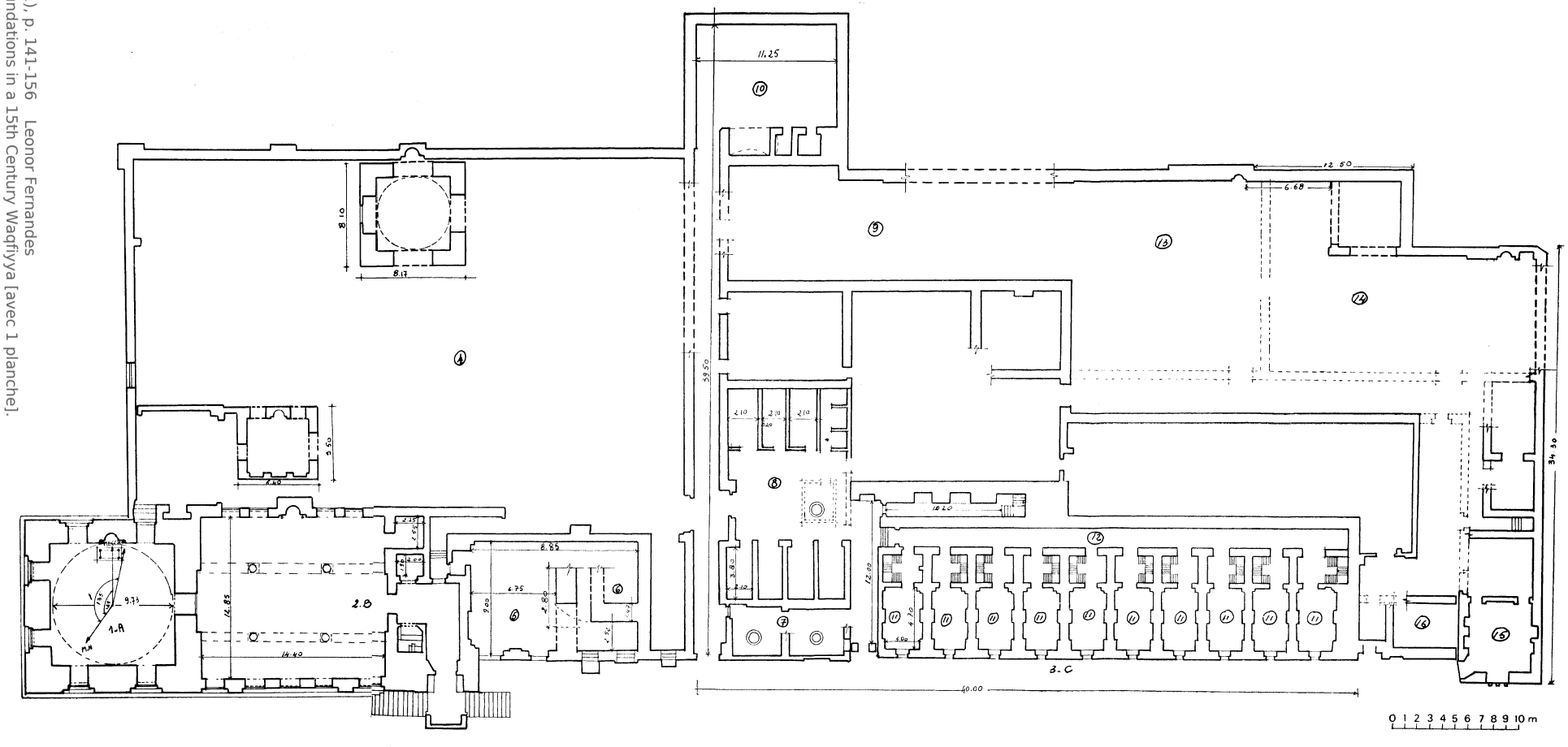
B. The Zāwiya and Qubba.

The *waqfiyya* of al-Ašraf Barsbāy mentions two other structures that form part of the group of buildings referred to in the document as « *al-ǧihāt allatī bi'l-saḥrā'* : a *zāwiya* for the *fuqarā' min al-muslimīn*, and a *qubba* for the Aḥmadiyya Rifā'iyya.

The *zāwiya*, which has now disappeared, had its own entrance and consisted of various units, two of which were located at the street side. Hence, the *ḥawḍ* (trough) with a *maq'ad* (loggia) above it, were placed along the façade, opposite to the funerary complex. A *bi'r* (well) with a *sāqiya* (water wheel) activated by animals, a *maṭbaḫ* (kitchen), a *mīḍa'a* (ablution fountain), and a *qā'a* with dependencies, were built behind the *ḥawḍ*.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
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Plan of Sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy's Madrasa and Turba.

1-A : Qubba. 3-C : Turba. 5 : Miḍā'a. 7 : Sabīl. 9 : Iṣṭabl. 11 : Ṭibāq. 13 : Ḥawš I. 15 : Sabīl.
2-B : Madrasa. 4 : Ḥawš. 6 : Maṭbaḫ + dependancies. 8 : Cells + latrines. 10 : Maṭbaḫ. 12 : Passage. 14 : Ḥawš II. 16 : Storage room.

The *zāwiya* proper was on the second floor and consisted of an *īwān musṭaḥab* (?) which communicated with the *maq'ad* mentioned above. A third floor above the *zāwiya* consisted of a *ṭabaqa* (type of duplex) and its dependencies.

The second structure also built opposite to the funerary complex and referred to by the *waqfiyya* as *makān,* was reached from the street through an independent entrance. From inside however, this *makān* communicated with the *zāwiya* next door. The *makān* itself consisted of a *qubba* with a *miḥrāb,* a *ṭaḥūn* (grain mill), and other dependencies.

II. — FUNCTION OF THE STRUCTURES AS DEFINED BY THE WAQFIYYA.

Having described the four buildings erected by Barsbāy in the desert : the *madrasa* and *turba* on one side of the road from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr, and the *zāwiya* and the *qubba* opposite to them, the *waqfiyya* outlines the function of each of them, as well as that of their various units. Thus, the *madrasa* (plan, 2-B) is founded as a *masǧid* where people would be free to enter and pray, and where they would gather on Fridays to hear the *ḫuṭba.* Furthermore, the same structure is founded as a *madrasa* for the *ḥanafī* rite. Accordingly, the appointed *ḥanafī* šayḫ was to meet daily in it, with four *ḥanafī* students to work on religious sciences.

The *makān* with a *miḥrāb,* located on the upper floor of the *ḫānqāh,* was also founded as a *masǧid.* There, sufis who were residents of the *ḫānqāh* would gather with their šayḫ for their daily prayers, for *Qur'ān* readings, meditation and so forth, during certain hours of the day and the night. As with most *ḫānqāh* foundations, however, no *ḫuṭba* was said in the *makān/masǧid,* and sufis had to go the *madrasa* for their Friday prayers.

The *qubba* entered from the *madrasa* is reserved for the burial of the founder and his children, while the two *ḥawš* in the *ḫānqāh* were reserved for his descendants and *ḫawandāt/ḫawand* mothers of his children.

The purpose of the two *sabīl(s)* was the distribution of water to both sufis and passers-by during certain hours fixed by the *nāẓir* (administrator) of the *waqf.* The water for the two *sabīl(s)* came from the two *ṣahrīǧ(s)* (cisterns) which were filled with water from the Nile, carried on camels' back. The water thus stored was

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exclusively reserved for drinking, while the water needed for other usages came from the *bi'r* (well) located in the *zāwiya* across the street. The water pulled by a *sāqiya* was distributed to the various units — *mīḍa'a, ḥawḍ, ṭibāq* — through a system of underground water-conducts [1].

The *ṭibāq* on the upper floor of the *ḫānqāh* and the *ḫalāwā* on the lower floor served as living units for the sufis and their šayḫ. As stipulated in the *waqfiyya,* each sufi was entitled to a living accommodation but no more, and single occupancy was stressed more than once in the document.

In addition to these living units, the *waqfiyya* mentions three *riwāq,* one of which was located on the upper floor of the *madrasa* and the two others in the *turba.* Since *riwāq* were larger than *ṭibāq,* they had to be reserved for more important people. Hence, the *riwāq* in the *madrasa* was the residence of the *šayḫ mudarris* and his family. The *riwāq* that was entered from the third door in the passage separating the madrasa from the *turba,* and which extended over part of the *iṣṭabl,* was reserved for the *šādd al-awqāf* (supervisor of the waqfs) who was also entitled to the *iṣṭabl.* The remaining *riwāq* was reserved for the descendants of the founder. The latter endowed his family with the *maṭbaḫ* of the *turba,* as well as other privileges referred to in the document as *bāqī al-amākin allatī bi'l-turba min ḥuqūq.*

The function of the two structures opposite the funerary complex, the *zāwiya* and the *qubba,* are also defined by the *waqfiyya.* The *qubba* was founded as *zāwiya-masǧid* for the Aḥmadiyya Rifāʿiyya, and as such offered a gathering place for sufis of this particular *ṭarīqa.* In it, sufis met to pray, meditate, and perform their rituals at certain hours fixed by their šayḫ.

[1] Whenever building space allowed it, founders planned their constructions on both sides of the street. This plan allowed them, first, to encroach on the latter by putting *maqāʿid* (benches) which they rented; second, it secured a more economical distribution of water. Indeed, instead of duplicating the water system on both sides of the street, they installed the *bi'r* (well), *sāqiya* (water wheel), and sometimes *maṣnaʿ mā'* (reservoir for the decantation of water?) on one of the two sides. An elaborate system of water conducts carried the water to the opposite side of the street and distributed it to the various units which needed it. Cf. *Ḥuǧǧat Waqf al-Amīr Muġultāy al-Ǧamālī,* Wizārat al-Awqāf, Siǧill al-Daftar-ḫāna 1666, 729/1328.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
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The construction built next to the *qubba*, the *zāwiyya*, was found as a hospice for the *fuqarā' min al-Muslimīn*, known for their virtues and piety. Furthermore, it offered a shelter to poor Muslims and sufi travellers in need of a temporary residence. So conceived, the *zāwiya* was performing the functions of a *ribāṭ* [1].

The information provided by the *waqfiyya* thus suggests the presence of three separate sufi foundations performing three distinct functions. Indeed, as specified by the document, the *ḫānqāh* was founded for mystics appointed by the *wāqif* (founder) who put them under the control of a *šayḫ al-ṣūfiyya*, also appointed by him. Both the *šayḫ al-ṣūfiyya* and the sufis were paid a monthly salary and were required to perform specific duties prominent among which was the daily attendance of the *waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf* (sufi ritual).

Furthermore, each of the sufis in the *ḫānqāh* received a living accommodation which he could not rent or share with anyone else. Life within the foundation was regulated by the *šayḫ al-ṣūfiyya* in accordance with the stipulations of the *wāqif*. The latter, who provided the sufis with all their needs (salary, daily ration of bread, clothes and so forth), also required them to take up permanent residence in the foundation. This condition was enforced by the *šayḫ al-ṣūfiyya* who, however, could allow sufis up to five days off per month, up to six months off, for the *Ḥağğ* (pilgrimage), and up to three months for the visit of their parents, at his discretion.

It appears, therefore, that the *ḫānqāh* helped some chosen sufis to lead an organized community life, under the supervision of a leader, within a foundation that provided for all their material needs.

Unlike the *ḫānqāh* across the street, the *zāwiya* mentioned by the *waqfiyya* was founded for poor Muslims and sufis who were neither appointed by the *wāqif* nor entitled to a monthly salary or even an individual living unit. Indeed, the document specifies that the *zāwiya* could be used as residence by sufi travellers

[1] In the 15th century *zāwiya(s)* were gradually taking over the functions of *ribāṭ(s)*. Thus, we read in some *waqfiyya(s)* « the *zāwiya* ... known as *ribāṭ* », « *al-zāwiya al-maḏkūra al-ma'rūfa bi'l-ribāṭ* », or even « *al-zāwiya ... wa hiya allatī anša'hā ribāṭan* ». Cf. *Ḥuğğat Waqf al-Šayḫ Zayn al-dīn Qiğmās*, Dār al-Waṯā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Maḥkama 65, Maḥfaẓa 11, dated 810/1407; also *Ḥuğğat Waqf Arġūn Šāh*, Maḥkama 195, Maḥfaẓa 30, dated 890/1485.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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and poor Muslims provided that they qualified for it. Furthermore, it stipulates that the money allocated to the foundation had to be used for the daily *simāṭ* (tables) offered twice a day for the residents of the *zāwiya*. Moreover, although the *šayḫ* of the *zāwiya* was mentioned, his powers and duties were left unspecified, and his relationship to residents of the foundation undetermined.

The information provided by the *waqfiyya* allows us to suggest that the *zāwiya* was a *ribāṭ* or hostel, not only for poor Muslims and transient sufis, but also for the sufis of the *qubba* next door. Indeed, the *šayḫ* of the *zāwiya* was also the *šayḫ* of the *fuqarā' al-Aḥmadiyya al-Rifāʿiyya* for whom the *qubba* was reserved.

The *qubba* and its dependencies was founded for sufis of this order, and served as their meeting place. They met to pray there, meditate, listen to the teachings of their *šayḫ ṭarīqa,* and perform their rituals; but took their meals and spent the night in the adjacent *zāwiya-ribāṭ*. Thus, the *qubba-zāwiya* was clearly associated with the religious activities of the members of the *ṭarīqa* Rifāʿiyya sponsored by Barsbāy.

It is interesting to note that although the *qubba* was a royal foundation, it was named after a *ṭariqa* rather than a *šayḫ* or even its founder — Barsbāy — as was the *ḫānqāh* across the street. Furthermore, even though the latter sponsored ' popular Sufism ' as practiced in *zāwiya(s),* he did not choose to associate his mausoleum with the *qubba-zāwiya,* but rather attached it to a foundation promoting ' Sunni Sufism ' : the *ḫānqāh.*

III. — DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS AMONG THE INCUMBENTS OF THE WAQF.

Section eight of the *waqfiyya* deals with the distribution of occupations among the recipients of salaries paid from the revenues of the *waqfs* reserved for the ' *ǧihāt allatī bi'l-saḥrā'* ' the *madrasa* and the *turba* on one side of the road from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr, and the *zāwiya* and *qubba* on the opposite side.

Since *zāwiya(s)* were not built for organized Sufism, the *waqfiyya* is totally silent about the occupations of its members within the foundation. Indeed, except for the *sawwāq* (lit. driver) who was in charge of operating the *sāqiya* (water

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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wheel), and whose monthly salary was fixed to 30 *dirhams fiḍḍa*[1] (which covered equipment, the price of cows activating the *sāqiyya* and their food), the document gives no hint of any secular activity occuring in the *zāwiya* or *qubba*.

Furthermore, since the foundation was not meant for sufis who were directly appointed by the founder, and since their numbers could vary from one day to the other, the *šayḫ* was left free to spend the amount of 195 *dirhams fiḍḍa* (6½ *dirhams* per day) as he saw fit, provided that he offered two *simāṭ* to the needs of the *fuqarā'*.

In contrast to the minimal information provided by the *waqfiyya*, on the *zāwiya* and *qubba*, its details on the funerary complex are most illuminating. Indeed, the document mentions the exact number of the *waqf* beneficiaries, their salaries, and their occupations within the complex. The two following sections will deal with these matters.

Although the funerary complex of Barsbāy is physically large, and its endowments numerous, the number of the recipients of funds is far too small compared with similar foundations at the time. This was mainly due to the fact that most residents of the foundation, or even people affiliated with it, held more than one position. Moreover, jobs held by one person were not confined to one structure of the complex, and often a job in the *madrasa*-mausoleum would parallel a position in the *ḫānqāh*. The reason behind this phenomenon may be construed as an attempt to fight the spread of a corrupt social practice that was widespread in this unsettled age : *nuzūl* (giving away or selling) of the *waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf*[2], by offering the incentive of an additional salary to members of the foundation.

Appointments to the various positions in the funerary complex discussed by the *waqfiyya* are as follows.

[1] According to Ibn Faḍl Allah al-ʿUmarī, the silver *dirham* was made of 2/3 silver and 1/3 copper, and was equal to 48 *fils*. *Masālik al-Abṣār*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Maʿārif ʿĀmma 8 mīm, v, 67 verso. Cf. Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā* III, 439. See also Popper, *op. cit.*, 43.

[2] By the mid-15th century, the practice of *nuzūl* had become so widespread that measures had to be taken to thwart any attempt from the part of ṣufis to do so. Maqrīzī (*Kitāb al-Sulūk li Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, IV/2, 661) informs us that in 827/1423 orders were given to beat any sufi who gives away his position.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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1) One *Ḥanafī šayḫ* whose function was to teach religious sciences to students of the *madrasa.* The appointed *šayḫ* held a second position, that of *ḫaṭīb* of the *masǧid.* Accordingly, he had to deliver the *ḫuṭba,* in the *masǧid,* on Fridays as well as on religious occasions.
2) Four *Ḥanafī* sufi students, interested in studying religious sciences. The four students had to meet every day with their *šayḫ* in the *madrasa,* except on holidays. There, the *šayḫ* would give them a *dars* in any of the following : *Tafsīr, Ḥadīṯ, Fiqh, Naḥw* or all of them together. While the *šayḫ* had his residence in the *riwāq* designated for him in the *madrasa,* the students who spent the whole day in the *madrasa* occupied some cells (*ḫalāwā*) in the *turba.*
3) One *Imām* who was to lead the daily prayers in the *masǧid.* The *Imām* who guided the prayer on Fridays, was also appointed as head of the sufi/*qurrā'* (*Qur'ān* readers) and *šayḫ al-ṣūfiyya.*
4) Seventeen sufis/*qurrā',* appointed in the *ḫānqāh.* The sufis and their *šayḫ* met daily at certain hours of the day and night, as fixed by the *nāẓīr* (administrator) of the *waqf,* to read a complete *ḫatma* of the *Qur'ān.* They would then dedicate the reading to the founder and his children, his descendants, and all Muslims. Furthermore, the *šayḫ al-ṣūfiyya* and his sufis had togather every day, after the *ʿaṣr* prayer for the *waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf* or *ḥuḍūr* (sufi ritual). Since the sufis were also *qurrā',* they were required to meet every Friday before the prayer with their *šayḫ* to read parts of the *Qur'ān.*
5) Three *mu'aḏḏin* in charge of the call to prayer (*aḏān*) in the *madrasa-masǧid.* One of them was also put in charge of the *takbīr* after the *imām* during the prayers. The two others held an additional job of *farrāš* (janitor). Besides chanting the *aḏān* from the minaret of the madrasa, the two men were responsible for cleaning the building.
6) One *farrāš-qayyim* (janitor/lamp-lighter) for the *madrasa,* mausoleum, and *turba.* The individual resided in the *turba* but was required to clean the two other structures as well. His job stipulated that he sweep the floors of the three structures and cover them with the proper mats or carpets. He was also responsible for cleaning the oil lamps, refilling them when necessary, and lighting them at fixed hours.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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7) One *muzammalātī* whose responsibility was to move the water from the two *ṣahrīǧ(s)* (cisterns) to the *sabīl(s)* of the complex, and assure its distribution to sufis and passers-by during certain hours fixed by the administrator of the *waqf.*
8) One *bawwāb* (door-keeper) who held two additional jobs. He was *muraqqī al-ḫaṭīb,* in charge of accompanying the *ḫaṭīb* to the *minbar* for the *ḫuṭba* on Friday. Moreover, he was responsible for the distribution of the *aǧzā'/ǧuz'* (parts) of the *Qur'ān* to the *qurrā'* (readers) on Fridays.
9) One *šādd al-awqāf* who was to collect the revenues from the various endowments on the foundation.
10) One *ʿāmil al-awqāf / mubāšir* who acted as accountant and cashier, keeping his books in order for the *nāẓīr* to audit.

IV. — ALLOCATION OF REVENUES FROM THE WAQFS.

All of the above-mentioned officials appointed by the founder were entitled to receive a monthly salary from the revenues of the *waqfs* on the foundation. In return, they had to perform their daily duties as defined by the document. A failure from the part of the recipient of a salary to fulfil the daily requirements of his position entitled the administrator of the *waqf* to dismiss him from the foundation and appoint someone else in replacement. Nevertheless, if the official had serious reasons-sickness, a trip to perform the *Ḥaǧǧ,* and so forth-preventing him from attending to his duties, he could keep his position, and therefore received his monthly salary. Furthermore, even though the *waqfiyya* stipulates that no crippled or sick man should be appointed in the complex, it specifies that salaries paid to officials of the foundation should not be discontinued because of sickness or aging.

Salaries paid from the *waqf* funds varied from one person to the other, as well as from one job to the other for the same individual. Moreover, the incumbents were paid in different currencies, depending on their availability on the market. Indeed, as shown below, some *maʿlūm* were paid in silver *dirham,* while others were in *fulūs ǧudūd.* According to the *waqfiyya,* the exact value of the *dirham fiḍḍa* in relation to the *dirham fulūs* was the following : 1 *dirham fiḍḍa* equalled 20 *dirhams fulūs.* The alternation of the currencies for the payment of salaries

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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to the beneficiaries of the *waqf* underscores the serious shortage in copper coins during Barsbāy's reign. Commenting on this crisis al-ʿAynī writes :

> « The *fulūs ǧudūd* decreased very much in this year (826/1423) because of their transfer from the Baḥr to the Bilād al-Yaman and also due to the fact that copper coins were melted and used for making vessels » [1].

Incumbents	*Position*	*Salary*
1 Ḥanafī šayḫ	Mudarris	75 d. silver
	Ḫaṭīb	200 d. fulūs
1 Šayḫ	Imām	35 d. silver
	Šayḫ ṣūfiyya	50 d. fulūs
		3 *raṭl* of bread daily
4 Ḥanafī ṣūfīs	Students	20 d. silver each
		3 *raṭl* of bread daily
17 Ṣūfīs	Ṣūfiyya/Qurrā'	20 d. silver each
		3 *raṭl* of bread daily
1 Man	Muzammalatī	35 d. silver
		2 ½ d. silver for equipment
		3 *raṭl* of bread daily
1 Man	Farrāš/Qayyim	15 d. silver
		3 *raṭl* of bread daily
1 Man	Mu'aḏḏin/Mukabbir	400 d. *fulūs*
		3 *raṭl* of bread daily
2 Men	Mu'aḏḏin/Farrāš	400 d. *fulūs* each
1 Man	Bawwāb/Muraqqī	50 d. *fulūs*
	al-Ḫaṭīb	3 *raṭl* of bread daily

Even though the information provided by the *waqfiyya* reveals a clear tendency toward pluralism of positions for many of the foundation's members — a feature prevailing in most religious institutions of this period, one can still perceive a great reluctance on the part of the founder to see it spread. Indeed, the document

[1] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Ǧumān, op. cit.*, folio 541. For further information about the economical reasons behind the shortage of copper coins see Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* IV/2, 629-31, 634, 641-642.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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bears a clause explicitly forbidding anyone to hold more than one position at the time in the foundation, unless otherwise specified by the *wāqif*.

As suggested earlier, this pluralism of jobs might be construed as an attempt to tie the appointees to the foundation by offering them an additional source of income. Furthermore, it might have been adopted as a preventive measure against the widespread practice of selling positions. A further step in this direction, but by no means an innovation of Barsbāy, was the hereditary character of positions. Indeed, the *waqfiyya* stipulates that positions held by the *arbāb al-waẓā'if* are to be inherited by their sons at their death, provided that they qualified for their father's positions. If so, the *nāẓir* had to appoint the deceased's son to the position with the same salary and the same privileges. In case the son was too young to occupy that position, the administrator had to appoint someone else to replace him until he became eligible for it.

CONCLUSION

The foundations of Barsbāy in the desert, *al-ǧihāt allatī bi'l saḥrā'*, even if interpreted with the aid of the *waqfiyya*, still raise many questions. Indeed, the very existence of a *ḫānqāh*, a *zāwiya*, and a *qubba* in such proximity is difficult to explain. I can however offer speculative explanations for the presence of those three foundations dedicated to Sufism.

First, there is no doubt that by building the funerary complex and the two structures opposite to it, Barsbāy was trying to emulate his predecessor if not surpass him. Second, by the mid-14th century it has become common for a sultan to erect a mausoleum which he attached to a foundation for sufis, and Barsbāy was no exception to this practice. The interesting development here however, was Barsbāy's attempt to integrate various religious and social functions in an institutional microcosm of the spiritual world, the nucleus of which was the *ḫānqāh*. This microcosm was also to include a living unit for his family.

Barsbāy's choice to build his mausoleum in the vicinity of three foundations for sufis might, moreover, reflect his abiding concern for the ' after life ' and a deeper involvement in sufi rituals than his predecessors. Nonetheless, these possibilities do not fully account for the building of three structures serving the same purpose : the support of Sufism. A better explanation can be deduced if

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya [avec 1 planche].
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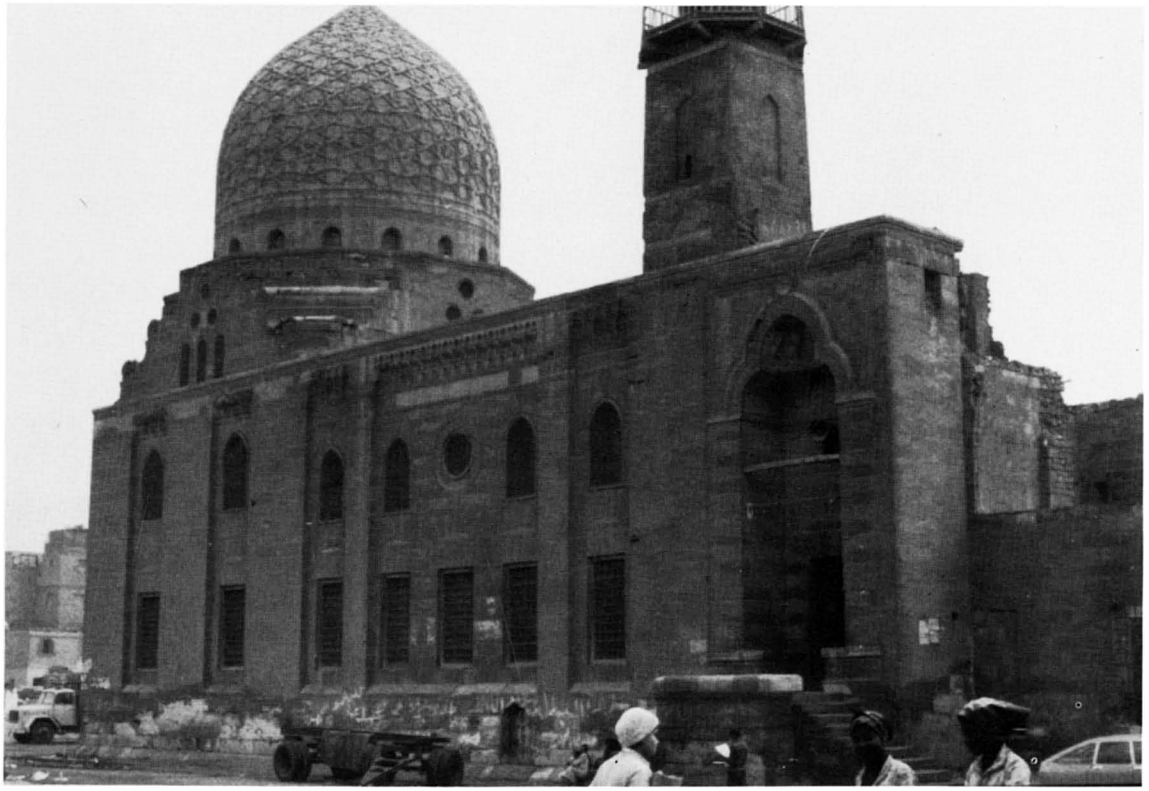
one takes a closer look at the titulature used in the inscriptions on the ceiling of the *madrasa* [1]. Indeed, these inscriptions describe Barsbāy as the sultan ' put on the throne according to the Sunna ', the one who ' rules according to the Book of the Prophet '. Furthermore, the titulature used by the *waqfiyya* refers to the sultan as the supreme Imām. It might be far fetched to read in those claims an attempt on Barsbāy's part to assert his authority over the temporal and spiritual life of his subjects. However, when they are considered with the unusual foundation of three structures reserved for sufis, as well as the dedication of a monthly sum from the revenues of his *waqfs* to the *ḍarīḥ* and *zāwiya* of Ḏu'l Nūn al-Miṣrī, the founder of Egyptian Sufism, they may well pinpoint this autocrat's desire to legitimize his rule to the masses by identifying it with what appealed to them most : Sufism.

[1] Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Egypt,* Cairo 1894-1903, II 367.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
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A. — Funerary complex of al-Ašraf Barsbāy in the desert.



B. — Madrasa and Mausoleum of al-Ašraf Barsbāy in the desert.

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156 Leonor Fernandes
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