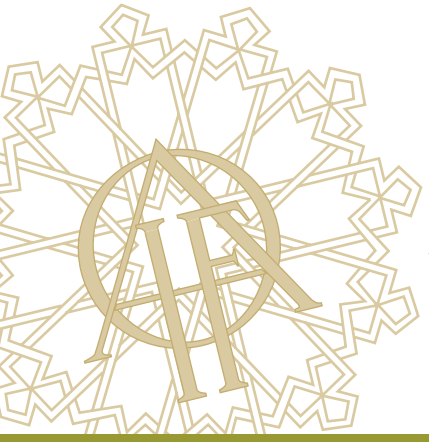
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Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Leonor Fernandes

Sufi Architecture in Early Ottoman Cairo [avec 6 planches].

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SUFI ARCHITECTURE IN EARLY OTTOMAN CAIRO

Doris BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF
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The overthrow of the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt in 1517 by the Ottomans had its impact on the architectural scene of Cairo. Under Ottoman rule, Sufi shaikhs took their place along with members of the ruling class as sponsors of religious foundations, and Sufi foundations began to display an individual as well as eclectic character that represents an interesting development in the history of religious architecture in Cairo. Reflecting the social and religious — and even the political — situation of the time, this eclecticism is symbolic of the increasingly important role then played by the shaikhs in the religious and social arenas of the country. Already under the Mamluks, Sufi shaikhs had sponsored religious foundations of all types; however, these were overshadowed by the great number of royal foundations. Nor had Sufi foundations then yet formed — as far as extant examples reveal — a distinct architectural category.

Sometimes the role of the shaikhs expanded to become even political in nature. Indeed, the overthrow of the Mamluks has been attributed to the intrigues of three Sufi shaikhs : Dašṭūṭī, al-Bakrī and Abū'l-Saʿūd al-Ǧarḥī, who are said to have urged Sultan Selim to rescue Egypt from the tyranny of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ġūrī [1]. Although perhaps apocryphal, this story, related by ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulsī, epitomizes the power attributed to the shaikhs of the period. Other historians report that certain shaikhs, such as Muḥammad al-Širbīnī, predicted the date of the Ottoman conquest two years prior to its occurrence [2]. And Shaikh Barakāt al-Ḫayyāṭ was able to foretell the exact date of the conquest [3]. Such reports, even if inaccurate, indicate the political involvement of the shaikhs. And it is not outside the realm of credibility that some shaikhs, through their contacts with the Ottomans, may have paved the way for the conquest of Egypt.

[1] al-Nābulsī, *al-ḥaqīqa wa'l-maǧāz fī riḥlat al-šām wa miṣr wa'l-ḥiǧāz* (1105/1106); ms. Dār al-Kutub, Ǧuġrāfiā 344, fol. 131.

[2] al-Šaʿrānī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, II, 136.

[3] al-Ġazzī, Naǧm al-Dīn, *al-kawākib al-sā'ira bi a'yān al-mi'a al-'āšira;* Bayrūt 1979, I, 167.

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The ascendancy of the shaikhs had its roots in the late Mamluk period [1]. In fact, even during early Mamluk rule, one notes the occasional emergence of a powerful shaikh sponsored by the ruler or amir. Still, the shaikhs could always be subdued to royal authority, fall in disgrace or even be put to death [2]. It was not until the Ottoman conquest that the power of the Sufi shaikhs reached its peak, favoured perhaps by the fact that the Ottomans took care to remove from the capital all aspects of official religious authority. As one aspect of this policy, the Abbasid caliphate, established in Cairo by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars after the Mongol invasion — which made Cairo the spiritual successor of Baghdad, the former capital of the Muslim empire — was moved by Sultan Selim to Istanbul in an attempt to continue the caliphal tradition there. Furthermore, the Ottoman sultans also regarded themselves as guardians of the holy places which they conquered from the Mamluks, and the *Kiswa* (i.e., the veil of the Kaʿba) annually dispatched from Cairo by the Mamluk sultans as their exclusive privilege, came to be sent from Istanbul.

The defeat of the Mamluks had not only a political, but a religious consequence as well, since the Ottomans had deliberately created a vacuum that soon was to be filled by the charismatic Sufi shaikhs operating from their foundations. In the eyes of the masses, the latter came to replace the religious authority once represented by the central political power. The *Mawlid al-Nabawī* (Birthday of the Prophet) is an example to be mentioned in this context. Traditionally, this feast had been celebrated at the Citadel in the presence of the Mamluk sultans and was similarly perpetuated under the rule of Ḫāyrbak (a Mamluk amir appointed by the Ottomans as first governor of Egypt) [3]. Later however, and until the nineteenth century, this celebration occurred at the residence of the shaikh of the Bakriyya Sufi order at Azbakiyya [4]. Due to their descendance from the Caliph Abū Bakr, and hence their relation to the Prophet himself, the Bakrīs played a leading role in Cairene social and religious life throughout the Ottoman period and reached leadership positions among other Sufi houses, who regarded them as their spiritual leaders [5].

[1] Fernandes, Leonor, «Some aspects of the *zāwiya* in Egypt at the eve of the Ottoman conquest», *Annales Islamologiques* XIX (1983), 9-17; Garcin, Jean-Claude, « Histoire et hagiographie de l'Egypte musulmane à la fin de l'époque mamelouke et au début de l'époque ottomane», *Hommage à Serge Sauneron*, Cairo 1979.

[2] Pouzet, Louis, *Ḫāḍir b. Abī Bakr al-Mihrānī*, *BEO* XXX (1978), 173-83; Maqrīzī, *al-mawāʿiẓ wa'l-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa'l-āṯār*, II, 431, 433; *kitāb al-sulūk li maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, Cairo 1970, II, 2, 516; al-Saḫāwi, *al-tibr al-masbūk*, (n.d.), 220.

[3] Ibn Iyās, *badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Cairo/Wiesbaden 1961, I, 438.

[4] Čelebī, Evliyā, *Siyahatnamesi* X, *Misir*, *Sudan*, *Habeş*, Istanbul 1938, 287, 466.

[5] al-Bakrī, M.T., *kitāb bayt al-ṣaddīq*, Miṣr 1323 H, 374.

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The rising power of the shaikhs was coupled with a certain economical well-being which made them independent of the rulers and their sponsorship. By the Circassian Mamluk period, due to contributions from the masses to their foundations, many shaikhs had become relatively rich, if one may judge by the hagiographies in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Šaʿrānī. Some of them, we are told, were even able to lend money to the Sultan or to raise large sums whenever the need arose [1].

The financial power of the shaikhs, supported by the contributions of the masses, translated itself into increasing building activity, which was not confined only to the foundation of *zāwiya*(s), but included Friday mosques and *madrasa*(s) as well. This phenomenon started in the Circassion Mamluk period when it seems that the Sufi shaikhs strove to compete with the ruling class as sponsors of religious foundations. Furthermore, it is during this period that many *zāwiya*(s) were promoted to Friday mosques by the introduction of the *ḫuṭba* in the foundation [2]. In his enumeration of Friday mosques, Maqrīzī mentions two mosques built by shaikhs : that of Šams al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī (817/1414) and al-Zāhid (818/1415; Index 83) [3]. Two decades later, Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn ʿUmar al-Ġamrī appeared as a great restorer of religious buildings, as well as founder of a Friday mosque [4]. (Pl. XV *a*).

The architecture of Sufi foundations followed the prevalent style of the period, a style primarily dictated by distinct aesthetic values. According to this style, the architectural outlook of a building alone did not reveal its functions. The *zāwiya* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf with its cruciform plan and its rich decoration (Index 172, dated 697/1298) could well have been a *madrasa* or a *ḫānqā* built by an amir. The *ḫānqā* of Baybars al-Ǧašankīr (Index 32, dated 706-709/1306-1310) might have been a *madrasa,* and so forth. The minaret of Shaikh al-Zāhid, the only surviving structure of his original Friday mosque, indicates that its architecture was conventional. The same could be said about the minaret of al-Ġamrī's mosque, depicted by Roberts [5]. Furthermore, one can mention :

— the mosque of Sīdī Madyan (ca. 870/1465; Index 82), called by his biographers a *zawiya* [6], which has a minaret and a plan similar to that of Sultan Barsbay's

(1) Šaʿrānī, II, 103; Ġazzī, I, 192; Ibn Iyās, III, 75.

(2) Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ op. cit.* II, 331.

(3) Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, 327; van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum,* IFAO, Cairo 1903, 668 f.

(4) Garcin, *op. cit.*, 290; Šaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, II, 121.

(5) Roberts, D., *The Holy Land ... Egypt and Nubia,* London 1842-49, III, 13.

(6) Šaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, II, 101; Saḫāwī, *al-ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, Būlāq, X, 150; Mubārak, A., *al-ḫiṭaṭ al-ǧadīda al-tawfīqiyya,* Būlāq, 1306 H, V, 30.

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ḫānqā, combining lateral recesses as in a *qāʿa*, a combination used in the period (Pl. XV *b*);

— the mosque and mausoleum of Shaikh Abū'l-ʿIlā at Būlāq, of which only the portal, the minaret and the mausoleum dome have survived (890/1485; Index 340) [1], but which are enough to indicate that its structures conform totally to the royal architecture of the Qāytbāy period;

— the *madrasa* of Shaikh Dašṭūṭī with his mausoleum dome, which has a cruciform prayer hall with a lantern in the center, a common combination [2].

Whereas the foundations by these shaikhs were in conformity with the traditional architecture of the period, Sufi foundations of the following decades (i.e., in the early Ottoman period) display an array of features worth mentioning here. Surviving examples in Cairo reveal a tendency towards emancipation from former conventions. Hence the minaret which under the Mamluks used to be attached to all sorts of buildings, including *zāwiya*(s) and tombs, [3] tends to disappear. Despite the use of Mamluk architectural vocabulary, Sufi foundations of the early Ottoman period present a different layout which distinguishes them from their Mamluk counterparts.

The new trend was without a particular style; instead, it seems to follow the needs and character of the shaikh around whom the foundation crystallized. In contrast, official religious architecture (mosques and *madrasa*(s), etc.), erected by pashas and amirs, followed entirely an Ottoman style, of which the mosque of Sulaymān Pasha at the Citadel (935/1528; Index 142) or his *madrasa* (called *takiyya sulaymāniyya;* Index 225; 950/1543) are examples. Or they followed the Mamluk tradition, as did the mosque of Maḥmūd Pasha (Index 135; 975/1568) (this mosque, however, has an Ottoman minaret); or the two styles were blended, such as at the mosque of Sinān Pasha at Būlāq (Index 349; 979/1571).

The individual character of Sufi foundations is well illustrated by three buildings dedicated to the Ḫalwatī order by three shaikhs who came to Egypt in the last decades of the Mamluk period [4]. These buildings are the *zāwiya* of ʿAbd Allāh Damirdāš

[1] Mubārak, *op. cit.*, IV, 51.

[2] Wiet and Hautecœur, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, 341; Mubārak, *op. cit.*, IV, 111.

[3] al-Ẓāhirī, Ḫalīl, *zubdat kašf al-mamālik wa bayān al-ṭuruq wa'l-masālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, 31.

[4] Martin, B.D., « A short history of the Khalwati order of Dervishes », in *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*, Nikka R. Keddi (ed.), Berkeley 1972, 275-305.

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al-Muḥammadī [1], the Friday mosque of Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī (945/1538; Index 212) [2], and the *takiyya* of Ibrāhīm al-Kulšānī (926-931/1519-1524; Index 332) [3].

The original outlook of the three structures has fortunately been fairly well preserved. Two are described as *zāwiya* by the biographers of the Shaikhs Damirdāš and Ibrāhīm al-Kulšānī, while the foundation of Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī is called *maʿbad.* None of these terms, however, is used either in inscriptions on the buildings nor in their respective *waqf* documents [4].

The Dome of Damirdās al-Muḥammadī.

The architecture of this large domed structure has already been described in a previous article as belonging to a series of domes erected in the fifteenth century for Sufi-related purposes outside the urban center of Cairo [5]. These domes are characterized by their wider-than-high proportions and also their lack of the pronounced transitional zone of Mamluk funeral domes. They are plain brick built on stone bases and resting on squinches instead of the more common triangular pendentives.

Shaikh Damirdāš built his dome within an orchard which he and his wife used to cultivate and which provided for his and his descendants' financial support as well as the financial support of the foundation. Despite its similarity to previous Mamluk Sufi domes, this one contains a feature unique in Cairene architecture : tiny cells for use in the *ḫalwa* (exercise of meditation and seclusion, which the Ḫalwatī order particularly observed, hence their name) are inserted within the masonry of the domed chamber. Underneath the southeastern squinch of the dome is the tomb of the founder, who also established a *ṭarīqa* based on a hereditary-leadership system known by his name as a branch of the Ḫalwatiyya. Damirdāš dome is probably the oldest of the three Ḫalwatī foundations, since the shaikh is said to have been buried in it in 1523; the foundation itself is assigned by biographers of the shaikh to the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy (1468-1496). A later *waqf* document refers to the original foundation deed (now missing) as dated 919/1513 [6].

(1) Šaʿrānī, II, 147; Ġazzī, II, 192.

(2) Šaʿrānī, II, 184; Ġazzī, II, 150.

(3) Šaʿrānī, II, 148; Ġazzī, II, 84.

(4) Behrens-Abouseif, D., « Three *zāwiya*(s) in early Ottoman Cairo », paper presented at *the 7th International Congress of Turkish Art*, Warsaw 1983, (under publication).

(5) Behrens-Abouseif, D., « An unlisted monument of the 15th century : the dome of zāwiyat al-Damirdāš», *Annales Islamologiques* XVIII (1982), 105 ff.; Mubārak, *op. cit.*, III, 112.

(6) Maḥkamat Miṣr, Registers of the Maḥkama al-Šarʿiyya, 28, No. 7, 20 Ǧumādā I, 1105 (Nr. 28 7) *ahli.*

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The architecture of this earliest of Ḫalwatī foundations conforms to the Mamluk architectural tradition, except for the presence of the *ḫalwa* cells, which represent an adaptation to the needs of the dwellers. The two later examples, however, show an even greater adaptation to their founders' personalities, resulting in a more individual layout.

The Mosque of Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī.

Šaʿrānī writes that Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī established a *maʿbad* on the Muqaṭṭam hill, where he also dug a tomb for himself. The present building is referred to as *ǧāmiʿ* by its foundation inscription [1] as well as in a *waqf* document [2]. Al-Manāwī writes that after Šāhīn's death, the sultan — who would have been Sulaymān the Magnificent — built a mausoleum for him and enlarged the endowment upon his foundation [3]. The mosque, once reached by a ramp [4], is today practically inaccessible. Its present condition does not allow a detailed and exact description of the plan, since many parts are in ruin. It is, however, obvious that the plan was adapted to the cliffy nature of the ground on which the complex occupies narrow strips on different levels.

The prayer hall is oblong with windows overlooking the cemetery. Cells, large enough to have been used as dwellings, are built near, as well as underneath, the prayer hall. Traces indicate that the top of the Ottoman-style minaret at the northeast corner of the mosque was once covered with tiles, such as are still attached to the minaret of Sulaymān Pasha's mosque as well as the dome of Shaikh Saʿūd. The mausoleum dome, if built immediately after the death of the shaikh, would have been built nine years after the mosque. Located on the northeastern corner of the mosque and higher than the rest of the complex, the dome follows the tradition of Mamluk funeral domes and is comparable to the mausoleums of other shaikhs, such as those of Abū'l-ʿIlā, Šaʿrānī and Dašṭūṭī, all of which are brick constructions. It is difficult to tell whether the building included cells for the *ḫalwa;* one could assume, however, that the surrounding caves of the Muqaṭṭam provided ample seclusion for this exercise and that the remoteness of the site made special retreat structures superfluous.

[1] van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum,* IFAO, Cairo 1903, 604.

[2] Wizārat al-Awqāf, siǧill al-Daftarḫāna, Waqf 503, dated 958 H.

[3] al-Manāwī, cit. by Mubārak, *op. cit.,* V, 30.

[4] Mubārak, *ibid.,* 31 f.

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THE TAKIYYA OF IBRĀHĪM AL-KULŠĀNĪ [1].

Located in a dense urban area amidst markets and *wakāla*(s) overlooking the busy street of Taḥt al-Rabʿ, opposite Bāb Zuwayla to the southwest, the complex of Ibrāhīm al-Kulšānī has neither the isolation of Šāhīn's *maʿbad* nor the countryside character of zāwiyat al-Damirdāš. According to an inscription on the building, it was started in 926 and completed in 931; its foundation deed — in the names of the son and grandson of the founder — is dated 948/1541 [2].

In spite of its partially ruined condition, the original layout of the complex has been preserved. The foundation was generally known as Takiyyat al-Kulšānī, *takiyya* being a term used in the *waqf* document to designate the dwellings of the Sufis (Pl. XVI *a*). It is the earliest foundation to be referred to by this Turkish term which was introduced to Egypt after the Ottoman conquest. Inscriptions on the building contain other designations, such as *maqām* (shrine), *manša'a* and *ʿimāra* (foundation).

The layout of the complex is unique in Cairene architecture : In the middle of a raised platform stood a great mausoleum dome surrounded on three sides by the Sufi cells and the various other structures of the *takiyya,* while a garden occupied the rear (i.e., the fourth side). The platform, according to the *waqf,* formerly included a prayer niche and was, therefore, used for prayer. Included in the complex were twenty-four cells as well as a mosque and an oblong hall overlooking the street on the northeast side (Pl. XVI *b*). Above the mosque were two apartments (*riwāq*) which also overlooked the street : one for Ibrāhīm al-Kulšānī's son and successor as head of the *ṭarīqa,* and the other for his grandson, the son of his daughter. Both apartments are dedicated in the *waqf* to them and to their descendants. (As in the case of the other two Ḫalwatī foundations already mentioned, we are dealing here with a hereditary system of leadership within the order).

The mausoleum dome was dedicated exclusively to the founder and to his descendants, and no minaret is mentioned in the foundation deed. The dome, whose architecture also conforms to the tradition of Mamluk funeral domes, is on a much greater scale than those on the other two foundations. It is covered with tiles, haphazardly applied on the wall facing the platform. With a few exceptions, all are of the 18th century Iznik type. This circumstance and the fact that no tiles are mentioned in the *waqf* indicate that they must be a later addition.

[1] Mubārak, *op. cit.*, VI, 54. — [2] Wizārat al-Awqāf, siğill al-Daftarḫāna, Waqf 432.

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To compare the three Ḫalwatī foundations of ʿAbd Allāh al-Damirdāš, Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī and Ibrāhīm al-Kulšānī, briefly described, is to admit that they are totally different. Of course, neither in Mamluk nor in Ottoman architecture are two religious buildings identical. However, as regards the three cases discussed here, the difference lies in the whole meaning and concept of the building, despite the fact that the elements of which they are composed are rooted in the Mamluk architectural tradition. The single common feature of the three buildings is the fact that each has been modelled according to the specific ideas and needs of its founder, and it was those ideas and needs that resulted in each structure's uniqueness :

— The dome of Damirdāš with its orchard location resembles other *zāwiya* domes built within gardens in the Mamluk period, and the *ḫalwa* retreat — an important exercise in the Damirdāšiyya worship which continues to this day — is architecturally expressed in the small cells located within the walls of the dome.

— The ascetic life of Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī is reflected in the isolated location of his *ǧamiʿ* with its detached mausoleum (Pl. XVII). Al-Ḫalwatī's biographer writes that for 47 years the shaikh did not enter the city and for days would not utter a word. In turn, the irregular, multilevel configuration of this structure is dictated by the topography of the site on which it stands. The fact that this foundation had the status of a Friday mosque was probably due to the necessity of providing a place for Friday prayer service to the inhabitants of such an isolated location. It remains, nevertheless, an oratory for an ascetic and his disciples, rather than a mosque for a large public.

— Ibrāhīm al-Kulšānī, an intellectual and author of philosophical treatises and poetical works, on the other hand, apparently cared little for seclusion and withdrawal, for he built his complex in a densely trafficked urban setting. He also seems to have been a man of important social contacts — his son married the widow of the last Mamluk Sultan, Ṭūmānbāy — and his influence among the Ottoman military establishment was so great that he was accused of trying to rule Egypt and was exiled to Istanbul for a time. Al-Kulšānī must also have had at his disposal great financial means which allowed him to build his *takiyya* in such a prestigious location. His mausoleum dome, built in the very center of the *takiyya* complex, epitomizes the prominent role played among his followers by the Shaikh. So important was that

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role, in fact, that his biographer al-Manāwī [1] writes that the Shaikh's disciples used to fight each other for the right to drink the remains of his washing water!

Although an inscription band located on the interior facade of the vestibule indicates that the foundation was built for the Ḫalwatiyya order, neither the *waqf* nor the present building reveals anything about the presence of cells that might have been built specifically for the *ḫalwa*. A Turkish traveller in 16th century Cairo, Muṣṭafā Pasha, in fact, notes that, unlike the dervishes of Anatolia, those of Cairo did not practice this exercise. It is quite possible that he was referring to the Kulšaniyya in this context [2]. Another Turkish traveller, Evliyā Čelebī, writes that only Turks were admitted at this *takiyya;* the *waqf*, however, is silent on this matter [3].

The architecture of the three Ḫalwati foundations allows the foregoing conclusions on the diverse character of this Sufi order — that is to say, the dominant role played by each of the shaikhs and the individual interpretation made by them of the preferred way of life in a Ḫalwatī community. One can also mention here a fourth Ḫalwatī shaikh, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Karīm al-Dīn al-Ḫalwatī, disciple of Damirdāš (d. 1578) who established a *zāwiya* on the Ḫaliğ near Qanṭarat Aqsunqur. This foundation was located in a pre-existing Mamluk mosque erected during the reign of Sultan Ğaqmaq (1438-53) by Amir Kizilbuġā; hence his *zāwiya* represents another pattern that differs totally from the three mentioned above. Due to its location in the Kizilbuġā mosque, the shaikh came to be known as Karīm al-Dīn Kizilbuġā. The original building has been replaced by a late Ottoman reconstruction [4].

The fact that each of these foundations has its individual architectural character reflecting its own system and function is not, however, a characteristic confined solely to these foundations as a result of their belonging to this particular order. Other examples of Cairene Sufi architecture erected in the same period demonstrate this tendency to individuality, as well as a similar lack of interest on the part of the shaikhs in giving their complexes contemporary royal or princely outlooks :

— The *zāwiya* of Shaikh Ḥasan Ibn Ilyās al-Rūmī (Pl. XVIII *a-b*), a Turk from Istanbul who was occupied with official functions (hence this title : *nāẓir al-aḥkām al-šarʿiyya bi'l-diyār al-miṣriyya, qāḍī'l-quḍā, šaiḫ al-islām*) [5]. This *zāwiya,* with its exceptionally

[1] al-Manāwī, cit. by T. al-Ṭawīl, *al-taṣawwuf fī miṣr ibān al-ʿaṣr al-ʿuṭmānī,* Cairo 1946, 163.

[2] Muṣṭafā ʿAlī's description of Cairo 1599; ed. Tietze, A., Vienna 1975, 47.

[3] Čelebī, *op. cit.*, 243 f.

[4] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, H., *Tārīḫ al-Masāğid al-Aṯariyya,* Cairo 1946, 342 f.; Mubārak, *op. cit.* IV, 109.

[5] Mubārak, *op. cit.*, VI, 55.

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prestigious location beneath the royal *ṭablaḫāna* near the Bāb al-ʿAzab entrance of the Citadel (Index 258), carries an inscription assigning its foundation to 929-930/1522-1523) [1], although its *waqfiyya* — as in the previous examples — bears a later date, 940/1533 [2]. Only the prayer hall has survived of this complex explicitly dedicated in its foundation deed to foreign Sufis (*aʿǧām*), whose order, if any, is not mentioned. The hall is vaulted and owes nothing to the Mamluk architectural tradition, but rather to Anatolian provincial architecture [3]. The description in the *waqf*, where Sulaymān Pasha, the Governor of Egypt, is named as sponsor, allows us to reconstruct the complex. Its facade included three entrances : The middle one leading to the minaret-less *zāwiya* or prayer hall was flanked to the right by four cells and to the left by a kitchen and another cell. The entrance to the right of the *zāwiya* led to a tomb and a garden, and that to the left, to a great courtyard where was located the founder's tomb, which unlike previous examples was not a domed structure. The surviving portion of the facade is rather plain with a doorway framed by a pointed arch with cushion *voussoir*. Five cells are mentioned, and the *waqf* states that the total number of Sufi dwelling in the *zāwiya*, including visitors, was not to exceed ten. There is no mention of any successor to the founder, nor of any habitation for the founder within the *zāwiya*.

— Another *zāwiya* sponsored by the same Governor of Egypt was that of Shaikh Saʿūd (Index 510), located at Suwayqat al-ʿIzzī (Pl. XIX). Sulaymān Pasha's *waqf* deed [4] describes it as a small complex, which includes a dome — the *zāwiya* itself — a courtyard, an apartment (*riwāq*) for the shaikh, as well as two shops. It also states that only Shaikh Saʿūd was to be buried in the *zāwiya* dome. No reference is made to any successor, and as was the case with Ḫasan al-Rūmī, no specific order is mentioned as associated with this structure.

Only the *zāwiya* dome has survived : a small structure with an elongated dome covered with green tiles like those adorning the mosque of Sulaymān Pasha at the Citadel. The small scale of the *zāwiya* marks it as a chapel (*masǧid*) with importance limited locally to the quarter where it stands.

[1] van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 602.

[2] Wizārat al-Awqāf, siǧill al-Daftarḫāna, Waqf 1079.

[3] Meinecke, M., « Die Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Kairo nach der Osmanischen Eroberung von 1517 », *IV^e Congrès International d'Art Turc, 1971;* Etudes historiques; Univ. de Provence, 1976, 145-52.

[4] Wizārat al-Awqāf, siǧill al-Daftarḫāna, Waqf 1074, dated 975/1567; Šaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, 144.

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— The *zāwiya* founded by Shaikh Sīnān at Darb Qirmiz in the Ǧamāliyya quarter (Index 41; dated 994/1585) — lately restored by the German Archeological Institute — was another contemporary Sufi structure (Pl. XX) [1]. Although the structure is popularly known as a *zāwiya*, the only extant inscription refers to it as the tomb of the founder (*ḍarīḥ*).

The structure is composed of an oblong hall in the shape of an irregular rectangle covered by two adjacent domes, one of which rests on pendentives carved with stalactites, while the other is a groin-vault surmounted by a lantern, similar to that of ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī (Index 300, 13th century).

The tomb of the founder is located beneath the lanterned groin vault; the remaining area (i.e., that covered by the large dome) must have been the *zāwiya* itself. The architecture of this building comprises elements rooted in Mamluk architecture, with no Ottoman influence; however, its layout does not conform to classical Mamluk architecture.

According to Meinecke, little information about Shaikh Sīnān could be gathered from historical sources. It is reported only that he was venerated by governors and high officials but that he never accepted donations from them. We may assume, therefore, that this foundation — unlike that of Ḥasan al-Rūmī and Shaikh Saʿūd — was erected through Shaikh Sīnān's own means, that is to say, without offical sponsorship.

Conclusion

The examples of Sufi foundations mentioned here represent architectural patterns that should not be interpreted merely as the decadence of style indicative of the end of a period. Instead, they should be seen in their social context, for the diversity within these Sufi foundations corresponds to the individuality of their respective institutional structure. This architectural individuality, in turn, reflects the role played by the shaikhs as independent and powerful charismatic personalities supported by the masses, as well as by officials.

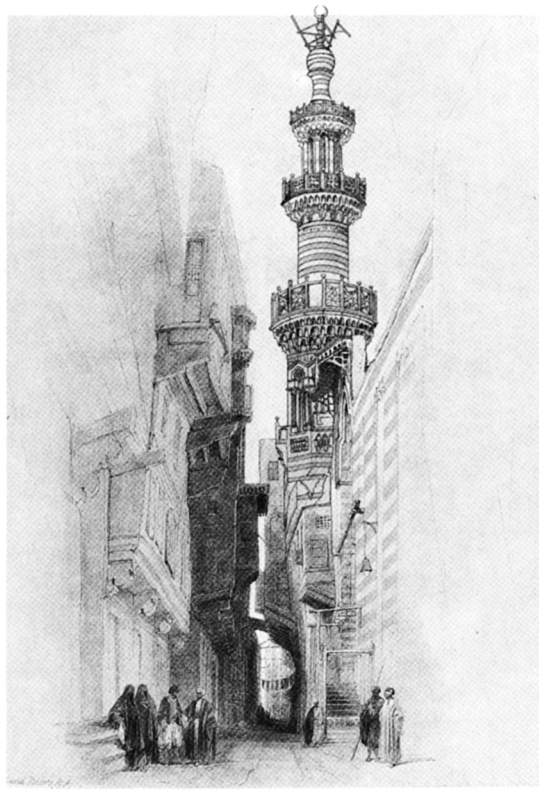
The Mamluk sultans sponsored Sufism not only in its individual *zāwiya* form, but also, and principally, in its academic form which was characterized by the *ḫānqā* and the *ḫānqā-madrasa*. When this sponsorship disappeared with the demise of Mamluk rule,

[1] Meinecke, M., *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amirs Sābiq ad-Dīn Miṭqāl al-Anūkī und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo*, Mainz 1980, 79-86.

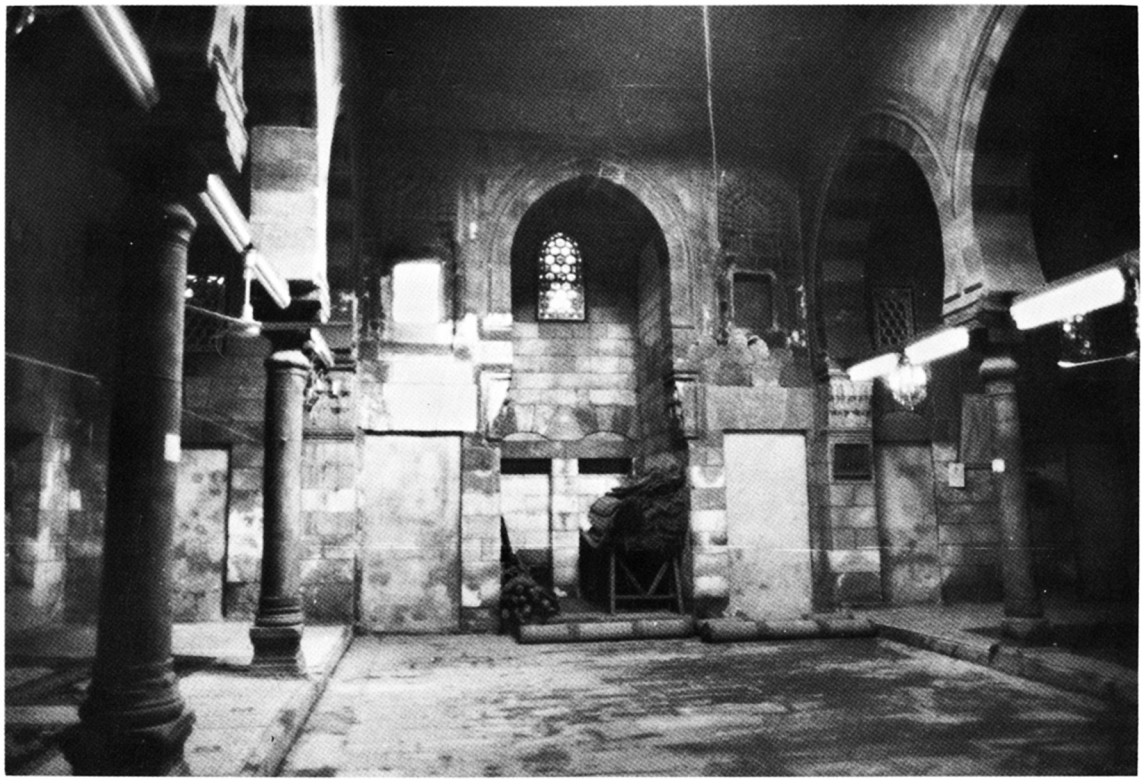
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popular Sufism began to dominate the religious scene, a shift reflected in architectural form as well. The compulsion to imitate official architecture disappeared, and Sufi architecture of the period instead began to distinguish itself by its adaptability to landscape and to intended usage, circumstances which resulted in new and unique architectural manifestations.

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a — The minaret of Shaikh al-Ġamrī at Marǧūš Street depicted by Roberts.



b — Interior of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Madyan.

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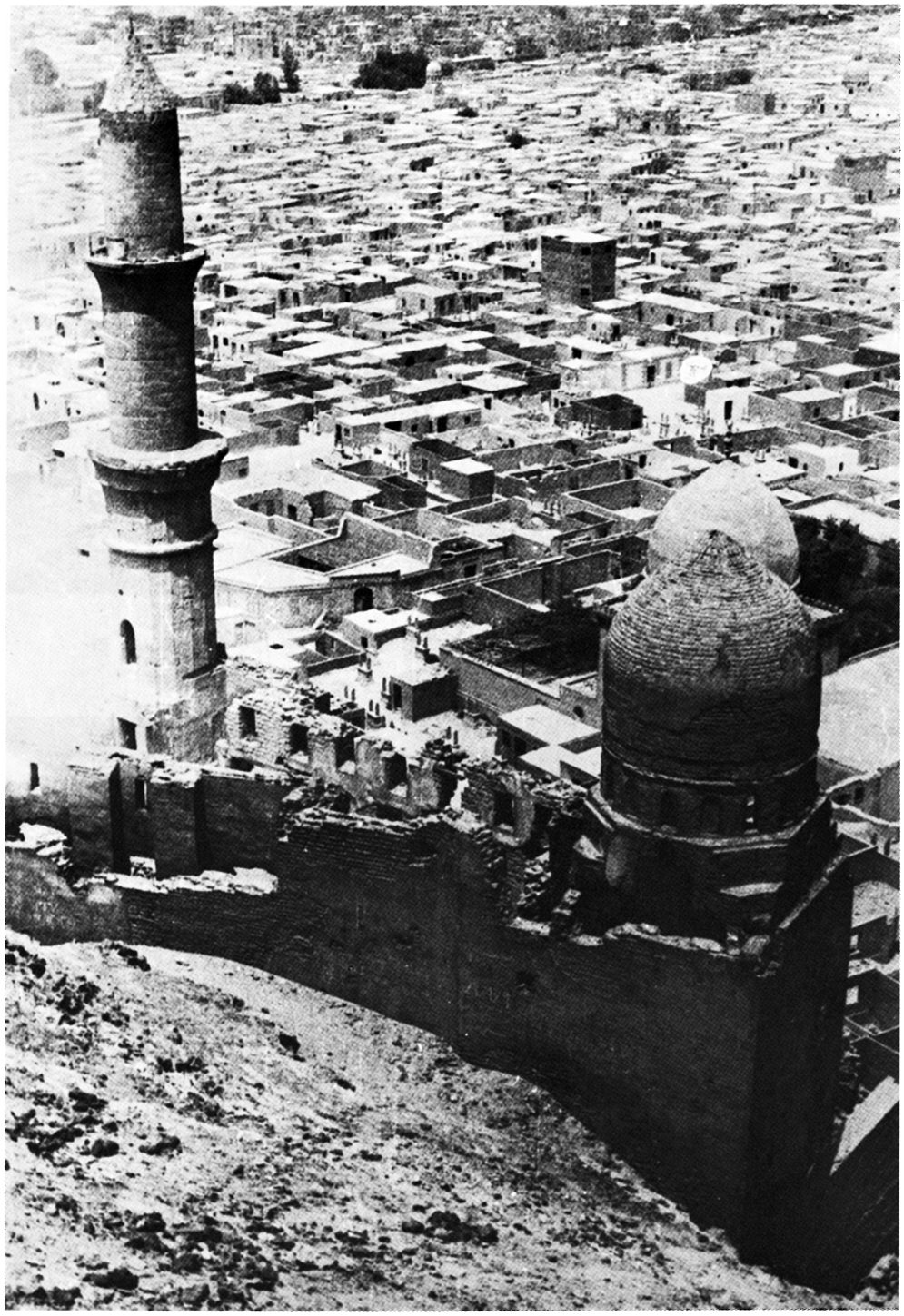


a — Entrance of Takiyyat al-Kulšānī, at Taḥt al-Rabʿ.



b — Mausoleum dome of the Kulšāniyya.

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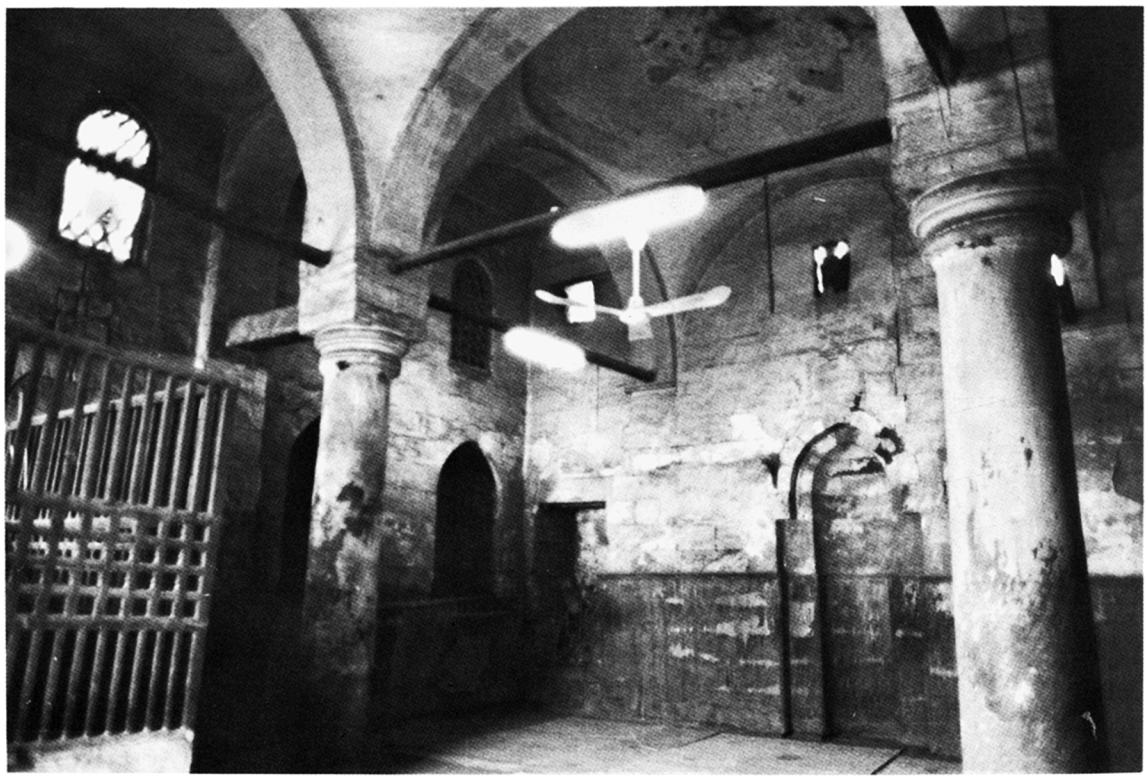


Mosque and mausoleum of Šāhīn al-Ḫalwatī.

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a — The *zāwiya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī at the foot of the Citadel.



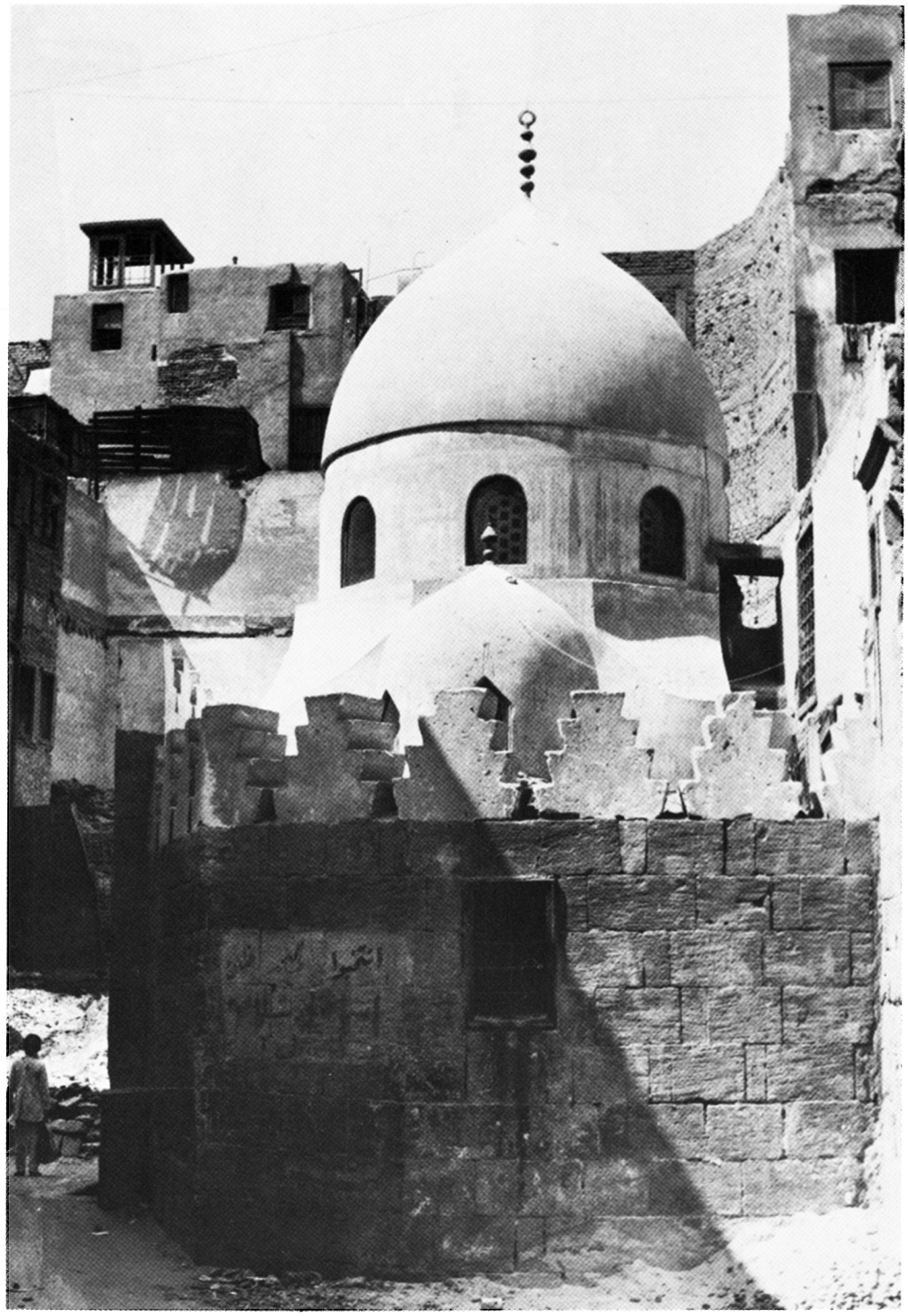
b — Interior of Zāwiyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī.

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The *zāwiya* of Shaikh Saʿūd at Suwayqat al-ʿIzzi.

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The *zāwiya* of Shaikh Sīnān at Ğamāliyya.

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