



ANNALES ISLAMOLOGIQUES

en ligne en ligne

AnIsl 17 (1981), p. 141-156

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THREE ŠUFĪ FOUNDATIONS IN A 15TH CENTURY WAQFIYYA

Leonor FERNANDES

The 15th century witnessed the spread of the *ḥānqāh-madrassa(s)* such as those of Ġamāl 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 *ḥānqāh* and/or a *gāmi'*, *madrassa* built in the desert. Such *turba(s)* captured the attention of every ruler from Faraġ b. Barqūq to Qanšūh al-Ġawrī at the end of the Mamluk period.

Because of the 'Sunni Sufism' ⁽¹⁾ that was practiced in *ḥānqāh(s)*, and its acceptance by the 'ulamā' and *fuqahā'*, sultans were strongly motivated to construct *ḥānqāh(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 *ḥānqāh(s)* were built, and some of the most generous support for sufis was provided by sultans like al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ (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» as opposed to « Popular Sufism » is deliberate and reflects the conclusions reached by the present writer in an unpublished work.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'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961.

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 Šāri‘ al-A‘zam which he founded as a *ḥānqāh-madrassa* with a *ḥuṭba*; a *turba* outside Bāb al-Našr in the desert, founded as a *ḥānqāh* for sufis, which formed part of his funerary complex (*madrassa-mausoleum-ḥānqāh*); a *zāwiya* built opposite to his complex, next to a *qubba* he erected for the Aḥmadiyya Rifā‘iyya⁽²⁾.

Furthermore, the *waqfiyya* allocates a monthly sum of 1,000 *dirhams fulūs ġudud*⁽³⁾, from the revenues of the *waqf*, to the *zāwiya* of Ḍu‘l Nūn al-Miṣri (d. 245/859) in the Qarāfa al-Šuġra. Part of this amount was to be used to restore the *darīh* (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 šūfī foundations. The present essay examines three of the foundations grouped in the *waqfiyya* under the title ‘*al-ġihāt allatī bi‘l-šaḥrā*’, and which had separate endowments providing for their upkeep and functions.

I. — AL-ĠIHĀT ALLATĪ BI‘L-ŠAḤRĀ’.

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⁾ *Ḥuġġat Waqf al-Sultān al-Ašraf Barsbāy*. Dār al-Watā‘iq al-Qawmiyya, Maḥkama 173, maḥfaẓa 27, dated 876/1471. Also Wizārat al-Awqāf, Siġill al-Daftarḥāna 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 Rifā‘iyya was founded by Aḥmad al-Rifā‘ī (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. Köprülü-zade, *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 Rifā‘iyya en Egypte », *MIDEO X*, 1970.

⁽³⁾ According to Qalqašandī, the new currency called *fulūs ġudud* was coined in 759/1358 during the reign of Sultān Ḥasan. Each *fiṣ* weighed one *miṭqāl* and was worth one *qirāt* of the *dirham*, *Šubḥ al-A‘šā* III, 440. Cf. also al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ġumān*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Tā‘riḥ 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.

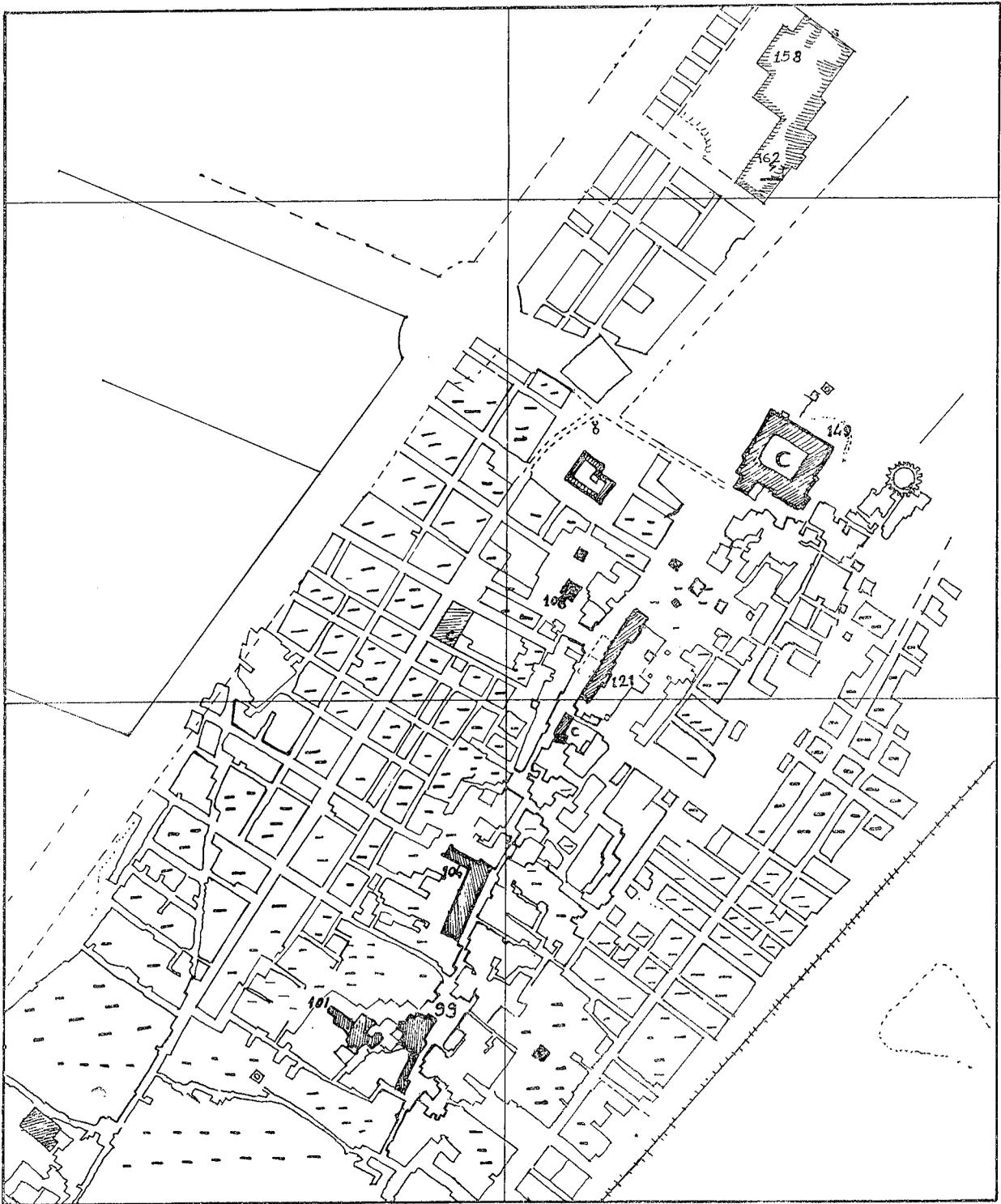


Fig. 1. — Map of the northern cemetery, from the *Survey of Egypt*.

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|-------------------------------|--|
| 99. Mosque of Qāyrbāy. | 121. Ḥānqāh of Brasbāy. |
| 101. Maq'ad of Qāyrbāy. | 149. Ḥānqāh of Faraḡ b. Barqūq. |
| 104. Rab' of Qāyrbāy. | 158. Mosque of Sultan Īnāl. |
| 108. Qubbat ma'bad al-Rifā'i. | 162. Ḥānqāh and Mausoleum of Qurqumās. |

835/1432; a *qubba* listed as number 108 : Qubbat Ma'bad al-Rifā'i, 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 *Midān Qabaq*, are in order.

The complex of al-Ašraf Barsbāy lies about 160 m. to the S of the *ḥānqāh* of Farağ 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 : *Midān Qabaq* occupied the site on which this cemetery was founded. According to Maqrīzī ⁽²⁾, the *Midān Qabaq* (known also as al-*Midān al-Aswad*, *Midān al-Īd*, al-*Midān al-Aḥḍar*, and *Midān al-Sibāq*), extended from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Našr. He further adds that in 660/1261, al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (d. 676/1279) built the *masṭaba* (race track) to promote military games.

During al-Nāšir Muḥammad's reign (693-741/1293-1340 with interruptions) the *midān* 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 Farağ b. Barqūq (d. 815/1412). Indeed, having built a *ḥānqāh* near Qubbat al-Našr according to his father's will, the sultan transferred the *Sūq al-ḡimāl* (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-Mawā'iz wa'l-I'tibār fī Dīkr al-Ḥiṭaṭ wa'l-Ātār*, Būlāq 1853, II, 111-113, 463.

desert. Furthermore, Maqrizī informs us that Sultan Farağ had planned to build in the same area, close to his funerary complex, a large *ḥān* (caravansérail) for travellers with a *sūq* (market) next door, a *ḥammām* (bath-house), a *ṭahūn* (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-Şūfiyya, and along the road from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naşr. However, it also seems to suggest his wish to underscore the sufi character of the desert area, since he built two other foundations for şūfis : 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-Aşraf Barsbāy mentions two structures on the road from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naşr. 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 *ḥānqāh* and its dependencies.

The *madrasa* (plan, 2-B), which has a separate entrance, consists of two *iwāns* (Qibli and Baḥrī) separated by a *dūrqā'a*. A door in the *dūrqā'a* 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 *maṭbaḥ* (kitchen), a *mīda'a* (ablution fountain), and a *ḥawş* (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 *maşṭaba* (platform) giving access to the main entrance.

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

(1) *Ibid.*, 464.

(2) For detailed information on *ṭibāq* and *riwāq*, cf. Laila 'Alī Ibrāhīm « Middle class

Living Units in Mamluk Cairo : Architecture and Terminology», *AARP* 14, 1979.

(plan, 11), 7 *ḥalāwa/hilwa* (cells), two *ṣahrīḡ* (cisterns), two *ḥawṣ* (plan, 13, 14), an *iṣṭabl* (stable), a *maṭbah*, and a *makān* with a *miḥrāb*.

The first entrance to the *ḥānqāh* opened onto a long passage (*maḡāz*) that separated the *madrasa* from the *ḥānqāh*. 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 *ḥalāwa* 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 *maṭbah* (plan, 10) located at the back of the *ḥānqāh*. All of the above mentioned units have disappeared.

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

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 *maṭbah* and the *iṣṭabl* were located at the back of the complex. Moreover, even though the two structures of the funerary complex-*madrasa* and *ḥānqāh* 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 *ḥānqāh* could easily reach the *mīḍa'a* as well as the *masḡid* itself.

B. THE ZĀWIYA AND QUBBA.

The *waqfiyya* of al-Aṣraf Barsbāy mentions two other structures that form part of the group of buildings referred to in the document as « *al-ḡihāt allatī bi'l-sahrā'* : 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 *maṭbah* (kitchen), a *mīḍa'a* (ablution fountain), and a *qā'a* with dependencies, were built behind the *ḥawḍ*.

The *zāwiya* proper was on the second floor and consisted of an *iwān mustaḥab* (?) which communicated with the *maqʿad* 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-Naşr, 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 *masġid* where people would be free to enter and pray, and where they would gather on Fridays to hear the *ḥuṭba*. Furthermore, the same structure is founded as a *madrasa* for the *ḥanafī* rite. Accordingly, the appointed *ḥanafī* ṣayḥ 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 *ḥānqāh*, was also founded as a *masġid*. There, sufis who were residents of the *ḥānqāh* would gather with their ṣayḥ for their daily prayers, for *Qurʿān* readings, meditation and so forth, during certain hours of the day and the night. As with most *ḥānqāh* foundations, however, no *ḥuṭba* was said in the *makān/masġid*, 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 *ḥānqāh* were reserved for his descendants and *ḥawandāt/ḥawand* 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 *ṣaḥriġ(s)* (cisterns) which were filled with water from the Nile, carried on camels' back. The water thus stored was

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 — *mīda'a*, *ḥawḍ*, *ṭibāq* — through a system of underground water-conducts ⁽¹⁾.

The *ṭibāq* on the upper floor of the *ḥānqāh* and the *ḥalāwā* on the lower floor served as living units for the sufis and their *ṣayḥ*. 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 *madrassa* 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 *madrassa* was the residence of the *ṣayḥ mudarris* and his family. The *riwāq* that was entered from the third door in the passage separating the *madrassa* 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 *maṭbaḥ* 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-masğid* for the Aḥmadiyya Rifā'iyya, 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 *ṣayḥ*.

(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 *maqā'id* (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 *maṣna' 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. *Ḥuḡḡat Waqf al-Amīr Muḡultāy al-Ġamālī*, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Siğill al-Daftar-ḥāna 1666, 729/1328.

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 *hānqāh* was founded for mystics appointed by the *wāqif* (founder) who put them under the control of a *ṣayḥ al-ṣūfiyya*, also appointed by him. Both the *ṣayḥ 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 *wazīfat al-taṣawwuf* (sufi ritual).

Furthermore, each of the sufis in the *hānqāh* received a living accommodation which he could not rent or share with anyone else. Life within the foundation was regulated by the *ṣayḥ 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 *ṣayḥ 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 *hānqāh* 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 *hānqāh* 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-maḍkūra al-ma'rūfa bi'l-ribāṭ*», or even «*al-zāwiya* . . . wa

hiya allati anša'hā ribāṭan». Cf. *Ḥuğğat Waqf al-Ṣayḥ Zayn al-dīn Qiğmās*, Dār al-Waṭā'iḳ al-Qawmiyya, Maḥkama 65, Maḥfaẓa 11, dated 810/1407; also *Ḥuğğat Waqf Arğūn Şāh*, Maḥkama 195, Maḥfaẓa 30, dated 890/1485.

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 *simāt* (tables) offered twice a day for the residents of the *zāwiya*. Moreover, although the *šayḥ* 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 *šayḥ* of the *zāwiya* was also the *šayḥ* of the *fuqarā' al-Aḥmadiyya al-Rifā'iyya* 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 *šayḥ 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 Rifā'iyya* sponsored by Barsbāy.

It is interesting to note that although the *qubba* was a royal foundation, it was named after a *ṭarīqa* rather than a *šayḥ* or even its founder — Barsbāy — as was the *ḥānqāh* 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 *ḥānqāh*.

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 'ḡihāt allatī bi'l-saḥrā' the *madrassa* 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

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 occurring 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 *šayḥ* was left free to spend the amount of 195 *dirhams fiḍḍa* (6½ *dirhams* per day) as he saw fit, provided that he offered two *simāt* 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 *madrassa*-mausoleum would parallel a position in the *ḥānqāh*. 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 *waḥīfat 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 Faḥl Allah al-ʿUmarī, the silver *dirham* was made of 2/3 silver and 1/3 copper, and was equal to 48 *fls*. *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 sufis 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.

- 1) One *Ḥanafī šayḥ* whose function was to teach religious sciences to students of the *madrasa*. The appointed *šayḥ* held a second position, that of *ḥaṭīb* of the *masğid*. Accordingly, he had to deliver the *ḥuṭba*, in the *masğid*, 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 *šayḥ* in the *madrasa*, except on holidays. There, the *šayḥ* would give them a *dars* in any of the following : *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīṭ*, *Fiqh*, *Naḥw* or all of them together. While the *šayḥ* 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 (*ḥalāwā*) in the *turba*.
- 3) One *Imām* who was to lead the daily prayers in the *masğid*. The *Imām* who guided the prayer on Fridays, was also appointed as head of the sufi/*qurrā'* (*Qur'ān* readers) and *šayḥ al-šūfiyya*.
- 4) Seventeen sufis/*qurrā'*, appointed in the *ḥānqāh*. The sufis and their *šayḥ* met daily at certain hours of the day and night, as fixed by the *nāzīr* (administrator) of the *waqf*, to read a complete *ḥatma* of the *Qur'ān*. They would then dedicate the reading to the founder and his children, his descendants, and all Muslims. Furthermore, the *šayḥ al-šūfiyya* and his sufis had together every day, after the *'aṣr* prayer for the *wazīfat al-taṣawwuf* or *ḥuḍūr* (sufi ritual). Since the sufis were also *qurrā'*, they were required to meet every Friday before the prayer with their *šayḥ* to read parts of the *Qur'ān*.
- 5) Three *mu'addīn* in charge of the call to prayer (*aḍān*) in the *madrasa-masğid*. 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 *aḍān* 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.

- 7) One *muzammalātī* whose responsibility was to move the water from the two *ṣahrīğ(s)* (cisterns) to the *sabil(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-ḥaṭīb*, in charge of accompanying the *ḥaṭīb* to the *minbar* for the *ḥuṭba* on Friday. Moreover, he was responsible for the distribution of the *ağzā' / ġuz'* (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 *'āmil al-awqāf / mubāšir* who acted as accountant and cashier, keeping his books in order for the *nāzīr* 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 *Ḥağğ*, 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 *ma'lūm* were paid in silver *dirham*, while others were in *fulūs ġudūd*. 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

to the beneficiaries of the *waqf* underscores the serious shortage in copper coins during Barsbāy's reign. Commenting on this crisis al-°Aynī writes :

« The *fulūs ġudūd* 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⁾.

<i>Incumbents</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Salary</i>
1 Ḥanafī šayḥ	Mudarris	75 d. silver
	Ḥaṭīb	200 d. fulūs
1 Šayḥ	Imām	35 d. silver
	Šayḥ šūfiyya	50 d. fulūs
		3 <i>raṭl</i> of bread daily
4 Ḥanafī šūfis	Students	20 d. silver each
		3 <i>raṭl</i> of bread daily
17 Šūfis	Šūfiyya/Qurrā'	20 d. silver each
		3 <i>raṭl</i> of bread daily
1 Man	Muzammalati	35 d. silver
		2 ½ d. silver for equipment
		3 <i>raṭl</i> of bread daily
1 Man	Farrāš/Qayyim	15 d. silver
		3 <i>raṭl</i> of bread daily
1 Man	Mu'aḏḏin/Mukabbir	400 d. <i>fulūs</i>
		3 <i>raṭl</i> of bread daily
2 Men	Mu'aḏḏin/Farrāš	400 d. <i>fulūs</i> each
1 Man	Bawwāb/Muraqqī	50 d. <i>fulūs</i>
	al-Ḥaṭīb	3 <i>raṭl</i> 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-°Aynī, *°Iqd al-Ġumān*, *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.

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-wazā'if* are to be inherited by their sons at their death, provided that they qualified for their father's positions. If so, the *nāzir* 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-ğihāt allatī bi'l sahrā'*, even if interpreted with the aid of the *waqfiyya*, still raise many questions. Indeed, the very existence of a *hānqāh*, 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 *hānqāh*. This microcosm was also to include a living unit for his family.

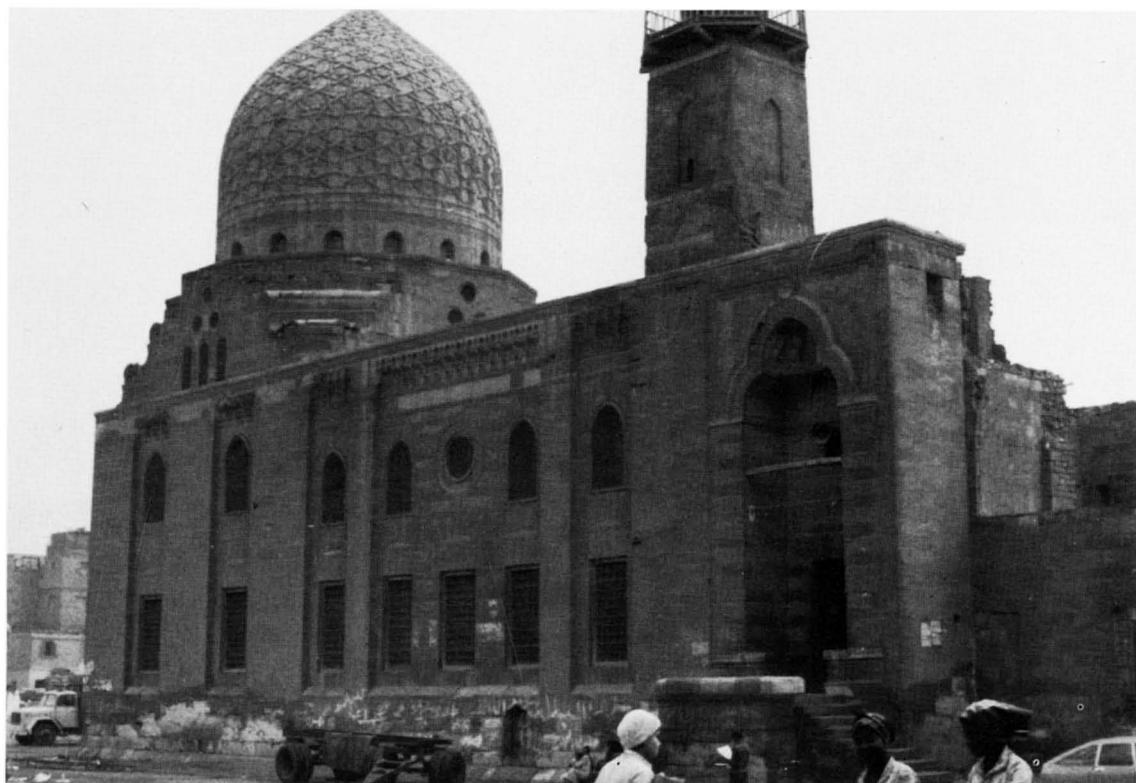
Barsbāy's choice to build his mausoleum in the vicinity of three foundations for sufis might, moreover, reflect his abiding concern for the 'after life' and a deeper involvement in sufi rituals than his predecessors. Nonetheless, these possibilities do not fully account for the building of three structures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

one takes a closer look at the titulature used in the inscriptions on the ceiling of the *madrassa* ⁽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 *ḍariḥ* and *zāwiya* of Du’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.*



A. — Funerary complex of al-Ašraf Barsbāy in the desert.



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