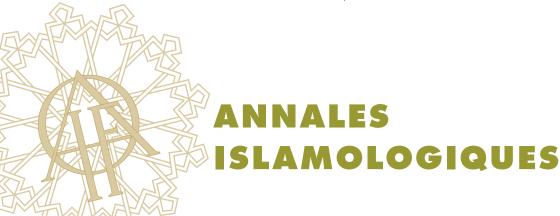
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#### Leonor Fernandes

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# THREE SUFI FOUNDATIONS IN A 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY WAQFIYYA

Leonor FERNANDES

The 15th century witnessed the spread of the hānqāh-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 hānqāh and/or a gāmi<sup>e</sup>, 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  $b\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h(s)$ , and its acceptance by the 'ulamā' and fuqahā', sultans were strongly motivated to construct  $b\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h(s)$ . 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  $b\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h(s)$  were built, and some of the most generous support for sufis was provided by sultans like al-Mu'ayyad Šayh (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» as opposed to « Popular Sufism » is deliberate and reflects the conclusions reached by the present writer in an unpublished work.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.

A study of the waqf in the name of Barsbāy confirms this assertion. Indeed, we read in the waqfiyya of al-Ašraf Barsbāy<sup>(1)</sup> that the sultan erected a makān (place) in al-Qāhira in the Šāri al-Asram which he founded as a hānqāh-madrasa with a huṭba; a turba outside Bāb al-Naṣr in the desert, founded as a hānqāh for sufis, which formed part of his funerary complex (madrasa-mausoleum-hānqāh); 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 ğudud (3), from the revenues of the waqf, to the zāwiya of Du'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-ĞIHĀT ALLATĪ BI'L-ŞAHRĀ'.

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) Huğğat Waqf al-Sultān al-Ašraf Barsbāy. Dār al-Waṭā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Maḥkama 173, maḥfaẓa 27, dated 876/1471. Also Wizārat al-Awqāf, Siğill 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'i (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 Rifā'iyya 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 *miṭqāl* and was worth one *qirāṭ* of the *dirham, Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā* III, 440. Cf. also al-ʿAynī, '*Iqd al-Ğumān*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Tāʾrīkh 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.

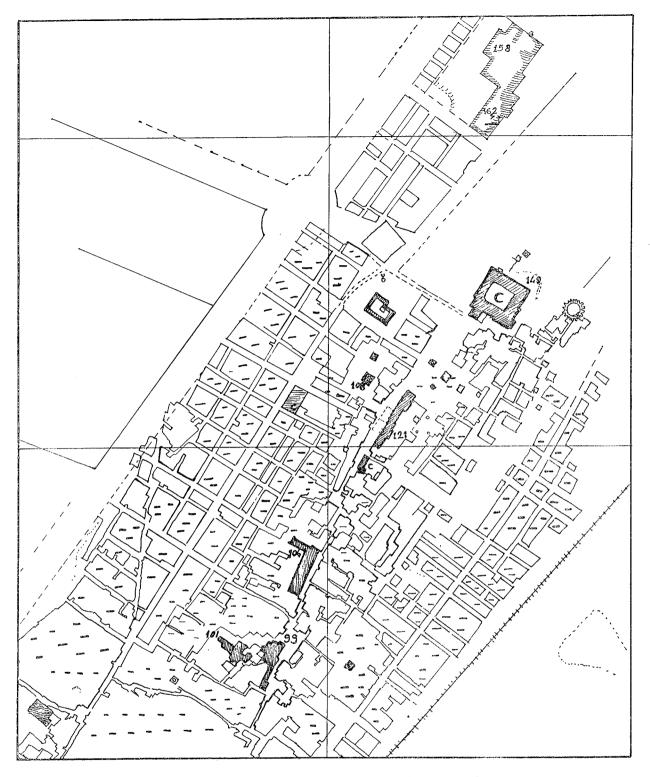


Fig. 1. — Map of the northern cemetery, from the Survey of Egypt.

99. Mosque of Qāytbāy.

101. Maq'ad of Qāytbāy.

104. Rabe of Qāytbāy.

108. Qubbat ma'bad al-Rifā'ī.

121. Hänqāh of Brasbāy.

149. Hānqāh of Farağ b. Barqūq.

158. Mosque of Sultan Ināl.

162. Hānqāh and Mausoleum of Qurqumās.

835/1432; a *qubba* listed as number 108: Qubbat Ma'bad al-Rifā'ī, beg. 10th/16th century (1); and a  $z\bar{a}wiya$ , 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 hānqāh 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: 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-Tīd, al-Mīdān al-Ahḍar, and Mīdān al-Sibāq), extended from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr. 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-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 Farağ b. Barqūq (d. 815/1412). Indeed, having built a hānqāh 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

 $^{(2)}$  al-Maqrīzī, al-Mawā'iz wa'l-I'tibār fī Dikr al-Ḥiṭaṭ wa'l-Āṭār, Būlāq 1853, II, 111-113, 463.

<sup>(1)</sup> Even though the waafiyya does not give the exact date of construction of this qubba, we may deduce from the document that it was built around 837/1433.

desert. Furthermore, Maqrīzī informs us that Sultan Farağ had planned to build in the same area, close to his funerary complex, a large  $h\bar{a}n$  (caravansérail) for travellers with a  $s\bar{u}q$  (market) next door, a  $hamm\bar{a}m$  (bath-house), a  $tah\bar{u}n$  (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  $z\bar{a}wiya$ , and a  $qubba-z\bar{a}wiya$ , 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 hānqāh and its dependencies.

The madrasa (plan, 2-B), which has a separate entrance, consists of two iwāns (Qiblī 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 tabaqa/tibāq (a type of duplex) (2). Three other units: a matbah (kitchen), a mīḍa'a (ablution fountain), and a hawš (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 mastaba (platform) giving access to the main entrance.

The  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  proper (plan, 3-C) had two separate entrances leading to its various units, namely: two  $sab\bar{\imath}l(s)$  (public fountains), two  $riw\bar{a}q(s)$ , 10  $tib\bar{a}q/tabaqa$ 

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

<sup>(1)</sup> Ibid., 464.

<sup>(2)</sup> For detailed information on *tibāq* and *riwāq*, cf. Laila 'Alī Ibrāhīm « Middle class

(plan, 11), 7 halāwa/hilwa (cells), two ṣahrīğ (cisterns), two ḥawš (plan, 13, 14), an isṭabl (stable), a maṭbaḥ, and a makān with a miḥrāb.

The first entrance to the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  opened onto a long passage ( $ma\check{g}\bar{a}z$ ) that separated the madrasa from the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$ . 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  $sab\bar{\imath}l$  (plan, 7), the second door led to 7  $hal\bar{a}wa$  and their latrines (plan, 8), the third door led through a staircase, to a  $riw\bar{a}q$ , the fourth door led through a staircase to five  $tib\bar{a}q$ . The istabl (plan, 9) beneath the  $riw\bar{a}q$  was reached from the fifth door in the passage. Finally, the sixth door in the passage led to the matbah (plan, 10) located at the back of the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$ . All of the above mentioned units have disappeared.

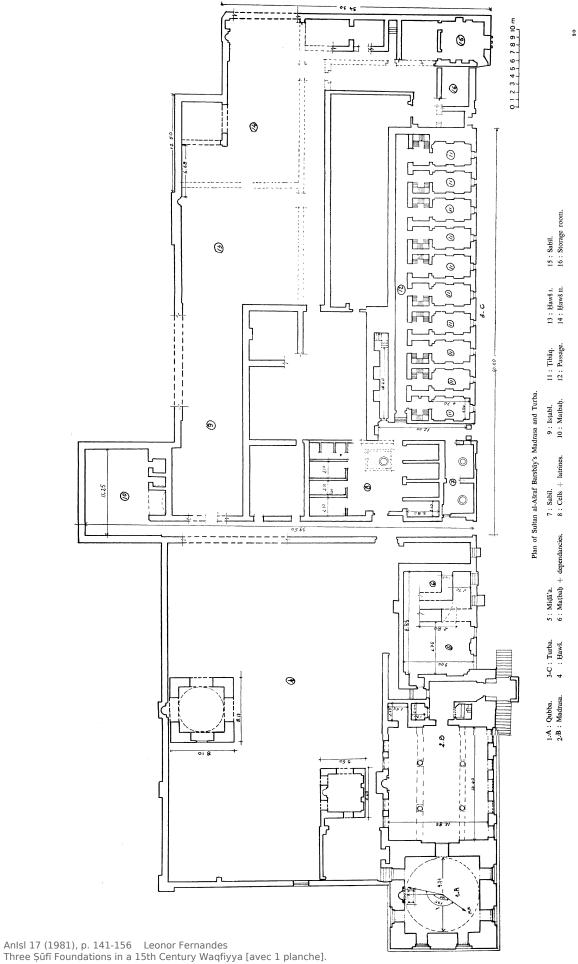
The second entrance to the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  led to the remaining units: five  $tib\bar{a}q$ , a second  $riw\bar{a}q$ , a  $mak\bar{a}n$  with a  $mihr\bar{a}b$ , the second  $sab\bar{i}l$  (plan, 15), and the two  $haw\bar{s}$ . Three of the preceding units ( $tib\bar{a}q$ ,  $riw\bar{a}q$ ,  $mak\bar{a}n$ ) occupied the upper floor of the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$ .

It is interesting to note that the most important units (tibāq, sabīl, and the makān with the miḥrāb) were placed at the street side, while the maṭbaḥ and the isṭabl were located at the back of the complex. Moreover, even though the two structures of the funerary complex-madrasa and hānqāh 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 hānqāh could easily reach the mīḍa'a as well as the masǧid itself.

#### B. THE ZAWIYA 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-ğihāt allatī bi'l-sahrā': a zāwiya for the fuqarā' min al-muslimīn, and a qubba for the Aḥmadiyya Rifā'iyya.

The  $z\bar{a}wiya$ , which has now disappeared, had its own entrance and consisted of various units, two of which were located at the street side. Hence, the hawd (trough) with a  $maq^*ad$  (loggia) above it, were placed along the façade, opposite to the funerary complex. A bi'r (well) with a  $s\bar{a}qiya$  (water wheel) activated by animals, a matbah (kitchen), a  $m\bar{t}da'a$  (ablution fountain), and a  $q\bar{a}^*a$  with dependencies, were built behind the hawd.



© IFAO 2025 AnIsl en ligne The  $z\bar{a}wiya$  proper was on the second floor and consisted of an  $iw\bar{a}n$  mustahab (?) which communicated with the  $maq^cad$  mentioned above. A third floor above the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  consisted of a tabaqa (type of duplex) and its dependencies.

The second structure also built opposite to the funerary complex and referred to by the waqfiyya as  $mak\bar{a}n$ , was reached from the street through an independent entrance. From inside however, this  $mak\bar{a}n$  communicated with the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  next door. The  $mak\bar{a}n$  itself consisted of a qubba with a  $mihr\bar{a}b$ , a  $tah\bar{u}n$  (grain mill), and other dependencies.

### II. — FUNCTION OF THE STRUCTURES AS DEFINED BY THE WAOFIYYA.

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  $z\bar{a}wiya$  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  $mas\check{g}id$  where people would be free to enter and pray, and where they would gather on Fridays to hear the hutba. Furthermore, the same structure is founded as a madrasa for the  $hanaf\bar{i}$  rite. Accordingly, the appointed  $hanaf\bar{i}$  šayh was to meet daily in it, with four  $hanaf\bar{i}$  students to work on religious sciences.

The  $mak\bar{a}n$  with a  $mihr\bar{a}b$ , located on the upper floor of the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$ , was also founded as a  $mas\check{g}id$ . There, sufis who were residents of the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  would gather with their šayh for their daily prayers, for  $Qur'\bar{a}n$  readings, meditation and so forth, during certain hours of the day and the night. As with most  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  foundations, however, no hutba was said in the  $mak\bar{a}n/mas\check{g}id$ , 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 haws in the hanqah were reserved for his descendants and hawandat/hawand mothers of his children.

The purpose of the two  $sab\bar{\imath}l(s)$  was the distribution of water to both sufis and passers-by during certain hours fixed by the  $n\bar{a}zir$  (administrator) of the waqf. The water for the two  $sab\bar{\imath}l(s)$  came from the two  $sahr\bar{\imath}\check{g}(s)$  (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  $z\bar{a}wiya$  across the street. The water pulled by a  $s\bar{a}qiya$  was distributed to the various units — mida'a, hawd,  $tib\bar{a}q$  — through a system of underground water-conducts (1).

The  $tib\bar{a}q$  on the upper floor of the  $b\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  and the  $bal\bar{a}w\bar{a}$  on the lower floor served as living units for the sufis and their šayh. 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  $riw\bar{a}q$ , one of which was located on the upper floor of the madrasa and the two others in the turba. Since  $riw\bar{a}q$  were larger than  $tib\bar{a}q$ , they had to be reserved for more important people. Hence, the  $riw\bar{a}q$  in the madrasa was the residence of the sayh mudarris and his family. The  $riw\bar{a}q$  that was entered from the third door in the passage separating the madrasa from the turba, and which extended over part of the istabl, was reserved for the sadd al-awqaf (supervisor of the waqfs) who was also entitled to the istabl. The remaining riwaq was reserved for the descendants of the founder. The latter endowed his family with the matbah of the turba, as well as other privileges referred to in the document as baqi al-amakin allati bi allati allati

The function of the two structures opposite the funerary complex, the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  and the qubba, are also defined by the waqfiyya. The qubba was founded as  $z\bar{a}wiya-mas\check{g}id$  for the Aḥmadiyya Rifā'iyya, and as such offered a gathering place for sufis of this particular tariqa. In it, sufis met to pray, meditate, and perform their rituals at certain hours fixed by their šayh.

(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. Ḥuǧğat Waqf al-Amīr Muġultāy al-Ğamālī, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Siǧill al-Daftar-hāna 1666, 729/1328,

The construction built next to the *qubba*, the  $z\bar{a}wiyya$ , 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  $z\bar{a}wiya$  was performing the functions of a  $rib\bar{a}t$  (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 šayh al-ṣūfiyya, also appointed by him. Both the šayh 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 šayh 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 šayh al-ṣūfiyya who, however, could allow sufis up to five days off per month, up to six months off, for the Ḥaǧǧ (pilgrimage), and up to three months for the visit of their parents, at his discretion.

It appears, therefore, that the  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  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  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  across the street, the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  mentioned by the waqfiyya was founded for poor Muslims and sufis who were neither appointed by the  $w\bar{a}qif$  nor entitled to a monthly salary or even an individual living unit. Indeed, the document specifies that the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  could be used as residence by sufi travellers

(1) In the 15th century  $z\bar{a}wiya(s)$  were gradually taking over the functions of  $rib\bar{a}t(s)$ . Thus, we read in some waqfiyya(s) «the  $z\bar{a}wiya$ ... known as  $rib\bar{a}t$ », « $al-z\bar{a}wiya$   $al-madk\bar{u}ra$   $al-ma^{\hat{r}}r\bar{u}fa$   $bi'l-rib\bar{a}t$ », or even « $al-z\bar{a}wiya$ ... wa

hiya allatī anša'hā ribāṭan». Cf. Ḥuǧǧat Waqf al-Šayḥ Zayn al-dīn Qiǧmās, Dār al-Waṭā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Maḥkama 65, Maḥfaṭa 11, dated 810/1407; also Ḥuǧǧat Waqf Arġūn Šāh, Maḥkama 195, Maḥfaṭa 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  $sim\bar{a}t$  (tables) offered twice a day for the residents of the  $z\bar{a}wiya$ . Moreover, although the sayh of the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  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  $z\bar{a}wiya$  was a  $rib\bar{a}t$  or hostel, not only for poor Muslims and transient sufis, but also for the sufis of the qubba next door. Indeed, the  $\check{s}ayh$  of the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  was also the  $\check{s}ayh$  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 *šayh 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 *tariqa* rather than a *šayh* or even its founder — Barsbāy — as was the  $b\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$  across the street. Furthermore, even though the latter sponsored 'popular Sufism' as practiced in  $z\bar{a}wiya(s)$ , he did not choose to associate his mausoleum with the *qubba-zāwiya*, but rather attached it to a foundation promoting 'Sunni Sufism': the  $b\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$ .

## III. — DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONSAMONG 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 'ğihāt 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  $z\bar{a}wiya(s)$  were not built for organized Sufism, the waqfiyya is totally silent about the occupations of its members within the foundation. Indeed, except for the  $saww\bar{a}q$  (lit. driver) who was in charge of operating the  $s\bar{a}qiya$  (water

wheel), and whose monthly salary was fixed to 30 dirhams fidda<sup>(1)</sup> (which covered equipment, the price of cows activating the  $s\bar{a}qiyya$  and their food), the document gives no hint of any secular activity occurring in the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  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  $\check{s}ayh$  was left free to spend the amount of 195 dirhams fidda (6½ dirhams per day) as he saw fit, provided that he offered two  $sim\bar{a}i$  to the needs of the fugarā'.

In contrast to the minimal information provided by the waqfiyya, on the  $z\bar{a}wiya$  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 *hānqāh*. 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 *wazīfat 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-'Umarī, 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 'Āmma 8 mīm, v, 67 verso. Cf. Qalqašandī, Şubḥ 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 Ma* rifat 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 šayh whose function was to teach religious sciences to students of the madrasa. The appointed šayh held a second position, that of hatīb of the masǧid. Accordingly, he had to deliver the hutba, 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 šayħ in the madrasa, except on holidays. There, the šayħ would give them a dars in any of the following: Tafsīr, Ḥadīṭ, Fiqħ, Naḥw or all of them together. While the šayħ 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 (ħalāwā) 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' (Our'ān readers) and šayh al-sūfiyya.
- 4) Seventeen sufis/qurrā', appointed in the hānqāh. The sufis and their šayh met daily at certain hours of the day and night, as fixed by the nāzīr (administrator) of the waqf, to read a complete hatma of the Qur'ān. They would then dedicate the reading to the founder and his children, his descendants, and all Muslims. Furthermore, the šayh al-ṣūfiyya and his sufis had togather every day, after the 'aṣr prayer for the wazīfat al-taṣawwuf or hudūr (sufi ritual). Since the sufis were also qurrā', they were required to meet every Friday before the prayer with their šayh to read parts of the Our'ān.
- 5) Three mu'addin in charge of the call to prayer (adan) in the madrasa-masgid. One of them was also put in charge of the takbir after the imam during the prayers. The two others held an additional job of farras (janitor). Besides chanting the adan 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 sahrīg(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-haṭīb, in charge of accompanying the haṭīb to the minbar for the huṭba on Friday. Moreover, he was responsible for the distribution of the ağzā'/ğuz' (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 ' $\bar{a}mil\ al$ -awq $\bar{a}f$  /  $mub\bar{a}sir$  who acted as accountant and cashier, keeping his books in order for the  $n\bar{a}z\bar{i}r$  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 ğudūd. According to the waqfiyya, the exact value of the dirham fidda in relation to the dirham fulūs was the following: 1 dirham fidda 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 ğudūd 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 šayḥ	Mudarris	75 d. silver
	<b>Ḥ</b> aṭīb	200 d. fulūs
1 Šayh	Imām	35 d. silver
	Šayḫ ṣūfiyya	50 d. fulūs
	,	3 ratl of bread daily
4 Ḥanafī ṣūfīs	Students	20 d. silver each
		3 ratl of bread daily
17 Şūfīs	Ṣūfiyya/Qurrā'	20 d. silver each
		3 ratl of bread daily
1 Man	Muzammalatī	35 d. silver
		2 ½ d. silver for equipment
		3 ratl of bread daily
1 Man	Farrāš/Qayyim	15 d. silver
		3 ratl of bread daily
1 Man	Mu'addin/Mukabbir	400 d. <i>fulūs</i>
		3 ratl of bread daily
2 Men	Mu'addin/Farrāš	400 d. fulūs each
1 Man	Bawwāb/Muraqqī	50 d. fulūs
	al-Ḥaṭīb	3 ratl 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

copper coins see Maqrīzī,  $Sul\bar{u}k$  IV/2, 629-31, 634, 641-642.

<sup>(1)</sup> Al-Aynī, Iqd al-Ğumān, op. cit., folio 541. For further information about the economical reasons behind the shortage of

bears a clause explicitly forbidding anyone to hold more than one position at the time in the foundation, unless otherwise specified by the  $w\bar{a}qif$ .

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 alwazā'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 saḥrā', 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  $h\bar{a}nq\bar{a}h$ . This microcosm was also to include a living unit for his family.

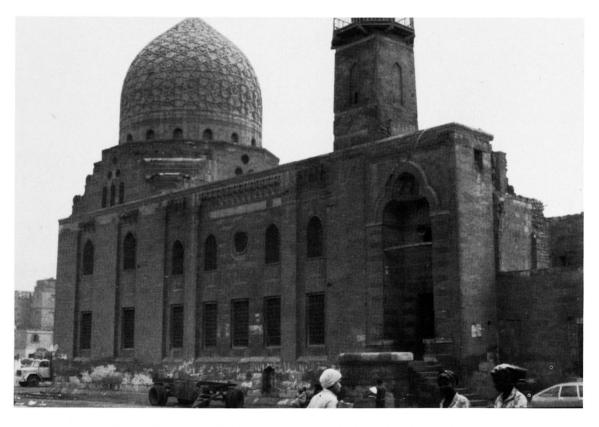
Barsbāy's choice to build his mausoleum in the vicinity of three foundations for sufis might, moreover, reflect his abiding concern for the 'after life' and a deeper involvement in sufi rituals than his predecessors. Nonetheless, these possibilities do not fully account for the building of three structures 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 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 darīh and  $z\bar{a}wiya$  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.

<sup>(1)</sup> 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.