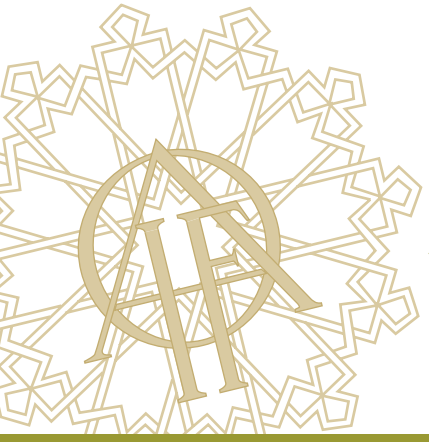
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AnIsl 21 (1985), p. 73-93

Doris Behrens-Abouseif

Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions [avec 4 planches].

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CHANGE IN FUNCTION AND FORM OF MAMLUK RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Doris BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

The *ḫānqāh* and the *madrasa* are two types of religious institutions which, unlike the mosque, were not originally planned for the use of the general public. Rather, they were restricted for the use of a certain community attached and appointed by them. For this reason, the *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa* tend to combine the features of both domestic and religious architecture. From the mosque, they borrow the Mecca orientation of the main hall [1] and the presence of a minaret. With domestic architecture they share the inclusion of living units and kitchens. Some *ḫānqāh*(s) even incorporate *ḥammām*(s) or apartments for the founder and his family.

The subject of our interest is to investigate how the living units of *ḫānqāh*(s) and *madrasa*(s) were integrated within the layout of a religious complex. This aspect of Cairene religious architecture, which has not yet been studied, is of interest because it may shed light on the changing living conditions of the institution's residents. As will be seen, the arrangement of living units in the *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa* adapted to the functional evolution of both institutions from the Ayyubid (1171-1250) to the end of the Mamluk period (1517). In the earlier phase of this evolution the living units were integrated into the religious building. Later, however, they were detached from it. This development implies more than just an architectural detail. Rather, it reflects a change in the inner organization of such institutions indicating, as will be shown, that the way in which the students or Sufis were affiliated to them had become with time less exclusive and more flexible.

Both the *ḫānqāh* and the *madrasa* were introduced to Egypt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (1169-93) after their establishment in Saljuk Iran [2]. The *ḫānqāh* was conceived of as an

[1] The only *ḫānqāh* (or *madrasa*) not to be Mecca oriented in Cairo is the foundation of Sanǧar al-Ǧawlī (703/1303) listed by Maqrīzī both as *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa*. *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l-Iʿtibār bi Ḏikr al-Ḫiṭaṭ wa'l-Aṯār*, Būlāq 1270 H., II, p. 421.

[2] Art. « Masjid » *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden 1913-34; Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 1. part. *Egypte*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique au Caire, Le Caire 1903, p. 253 f.

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institution that, providing Sufis with a home, a place of worship and their essential needs, would permit them to fully dedicate themselves to their mystic way of life. Egypt's first *ḫānqāh* was reserved for foreign Sufis and thus had a very exclusive character [1]. A certain preference for foreigners was maintained throughout the Bahri Mamluk period. Strict rules regulated the acceptance of newcomers. In early *ḫānqāh*(s) Sufis were forbidden to engage in any lucrative external activities. If they were married, their families did not live with them, and sometimes celibacy was a prerequisite [2].

Like the *ḫānqāh*, the *madrasa* was a state-sponsored institution, providing its residents with lodging, food and a monthly stipend. Future religious officials and administrators were taught orthodox Islamic law and theology according to a regular schedule of classes.

Despite similarities, in the early phase of their history both institutions incorporated features reflecting the distinctiveness of purpose in the lives of their communities. The treatment of living units in particular was affected in this way. Differences, however, tended to fade as both institutions gradually lost their original functions.

Unlike the Sufis, who dwelt in a *ḫānqāh* on a fairly permanent basis, *madrasa* students were mobile; a scholar's career was linked to his completion of courses in specific subjects with specialized instructors who were entitled to issue the *iğāza* or academic license for each topic. The *madrasa* was not generally associated with foreign recruits as was the *ḫānqāh*, and its community was thus less closed. In fact, its students were typically members of the local bourgeoisie who formed the class of *'ulamā'* and *fuqahā'*. According to Ibn al-Ḥāğğ, who wrote in the 14th century, a *'ālim* i.e. a scholar had to be available to common people in order to spread knowledge among them. The doors of a *madrasa* should therefore remain open to everyone [3]. The Sufi, on the other hand, was supposed to practice the *ḫulwa* (retreat exercise) and *zuhd* (ascetism). Ibn al-Ḥāğğ, while objecting to some extreme measures like humiliation of a novice before his admittance to a *ḫānqāh* in order to test his humbleness, sees the *ḫānqāh* as a « pure place » with an exclusive character [4]. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account also describes the strict admittance formalities to which a visiting Sufi in Cairo was submitted [5]. Al-Zarakšī who wrote at the end of the 14th century, defines the Sufi as a person who should be of good morals,

[1] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 415.

[2] Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of the Khānqāh Institution in Egypt*, PhD thesis at Princeton University 1980, pp. 82 f., 92.

[3] Ibn al-Ḥāğğ, *al-Madḫal*, Cairo 1981, II, p. 104.

[4] *Ibid.* III, pp. 78 ff., 186; Ibn al-Ḥāğğ uses the term *ribāṭ* instead of *ḫānqāh*, s. Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 427.

[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa al-Musammātu Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Ġarā'ib al-Amṣār wa 'Aǧā'ib al-Asfār*, Cairo 1958, p. 20.

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dwell with other Sufis, and be dressed like a Sufi; he should not be wealthy nor exercise any profession or trade; he might however do some sewing as common among Sufis, but not sit in a shop. He could also be a *faqīh* i.e. a scholar [1].

A — The living units in the madrasa.

We do not know what the *madrasa* built by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn looked like. An institution for the Shāfi'ī rite, it was erected near the tomb of Imām Shāfi'ī in the southern cemetery [2]. Later *madrasa*(s) were mostly built within the urban area, while *ḫānqāh*(s), unlike Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's in the heart of the Fatimid city [3], were usually built in cemeteries or suburbs.

Most of the early *madrasa*(s) were established within houses or palaces. In such cases, we may imagine that the reception hall served as place of worship and gathering, while the kitchen functioned as usual and the private apartments lodged the students. The daily prayer would take place in the main hall, but students would have to move to a congregational mosque for the Friday prayers. We do not know whether the early *madrasa*(s) were equipped with minarets. In the Mamluk period they all were.

The earliest extant *madrasa* in Cairo, that of al-Ṣāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb (641/1243) stands on the site of the great Fatimid palace in the very center of the old capital. Though its present condition is dilapidated, Creswell's plan clearly reconstructs its original layout [4].

The Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa* was composed of two wings separated by a public passage, above which the minaret still stands. Each wing has a courtyard with two facing vaulted iwans, while the courtyard's lateral sides were occupied by the living units. The students cells overlooked the courtyard and had no openings onto the street. The four *īwān* plan suited the *madrasa*'s function of teaching, for the first time in Cairo, all four rites of Islamic law.

The main façade of the Ṣāliḥiyya is occupied by an arched portal supporting the minaret, on either side of which extends a row of windows within recessed panels. These give onto the two *īwān*(s) situated on the street side [5] and other unidentified structures.

[1] al-Zarakšī, Muḥ. Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *I'lām al-Sāǧid bi Aḥkām al-Masāǧid.* Cairo 1397/1978, p. 405.

[2] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 363.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 415.

[4] K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1954, II, p. 94 ff.

[5] Since the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'iʿ (555/1160), all mosques and *madrasa*(s) in Cairo are pierced by large windows with iron grills overlooking the street and placed at a level near the floor. Windows had a function in Cairene religious foundations : *waqf* documents frequently mention the *šayḫ šubbāk* who was supposed to recite the Koran at the mosque's window for the benefit of the passers-by.

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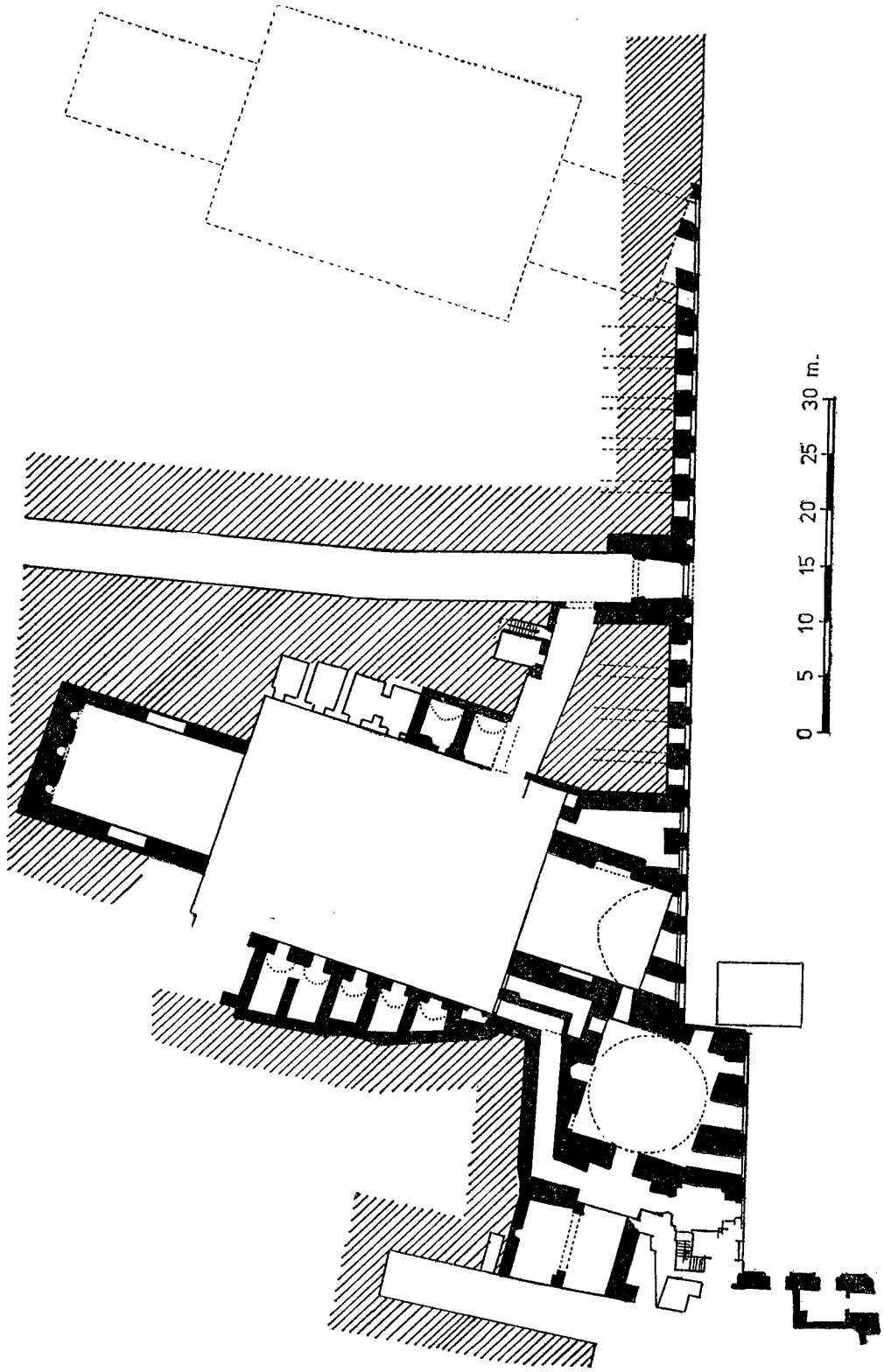


Fig. 1. — Madrasa of al-Ṣāliḥ Nağm al-Din Ayyūb (1243) (Creswell).

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The next extant *madrasa*(s) in Cairo are those of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (683-4/1284-5) and his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (703/1304), both located on the site of the

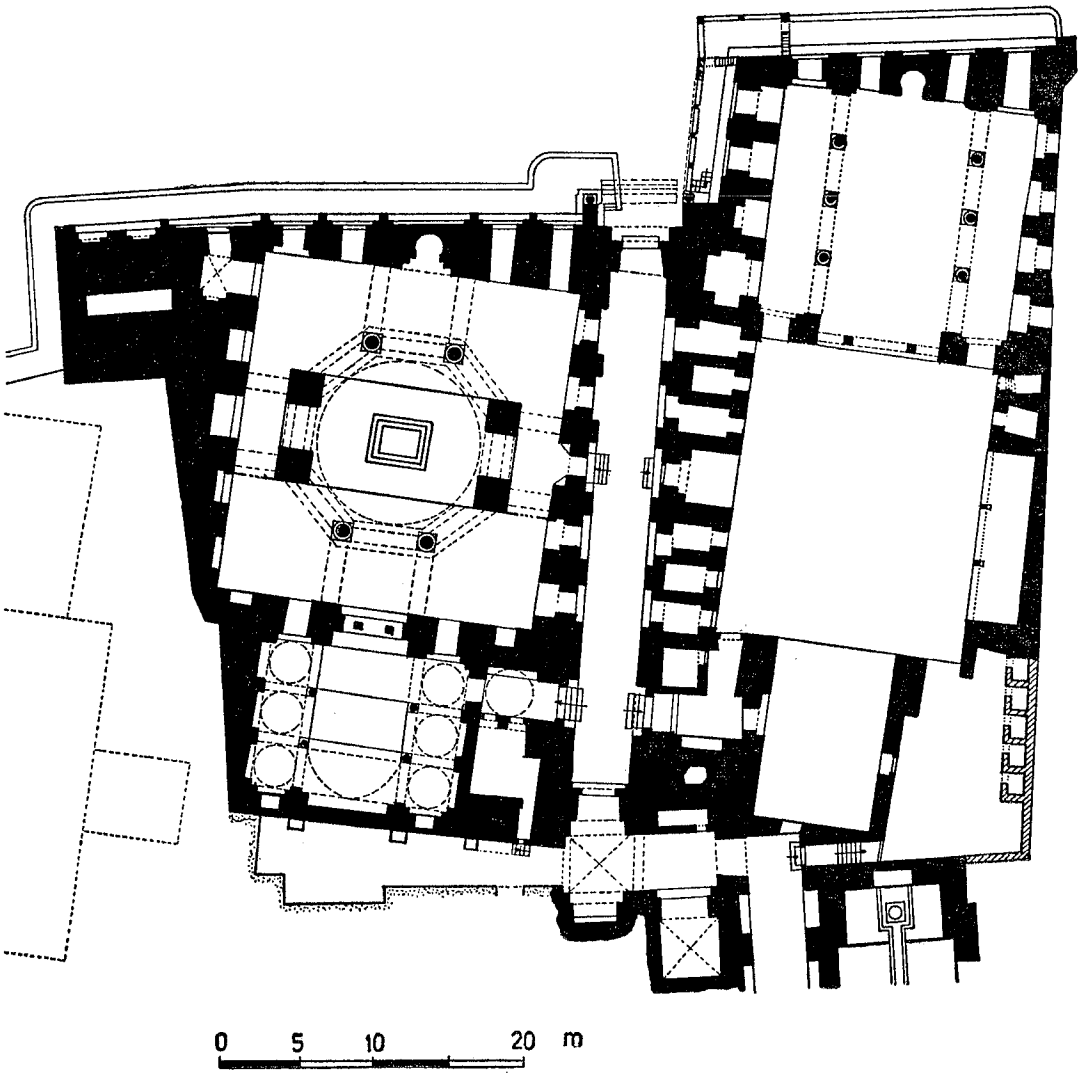


Fig. 2. — Madrasa-mausoleum of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (1284-5) (Creswell).

Western Fatimid palace opposite the Ṣāliḥiyya [1]. In both cases, as in most of the city's *madrasa*(s), the living quarters have not survived. It is possible, however, to identify

[1] Creswell, *M.A.E.*, II, p. 190 ff., p. 234 ff.

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their location using Creswell's plan. Both *madrasa*(s) have two *īwān*(s) of unequal size facing each other across a courtyard. On each lateral side there is a recess. Student cells raised on several stories were placed in the corners between these and the major *īwān*(s). The windows of the mausoleum chambers and prayer halls occupy the façades of both buildings, leaving no space for exterior cell windows.

Although Creswell calls this type of *madrasa* plan cruciform, this designation is more appropriate to later *madrasa*(s). In these, Qalāwūn's and al-Nāṣir's lateral recesses are replaced by deeper halls forming true *īwān*(s) which justify the comparison of the ground plan to a cross. This later development tended to reduce the inner space otherwise reserved for the windows of the living units. At the *madrasa* of Ṣarġitmiš on Ṣalība Street (757/1356), therefore only some cells overlook the courtyard while the rest have their windows on the exterior i.e. the street [1].

Sultan Ḥasan's *madrasa* (757-64/1356-62) [2] — the first to be attached to a congregational mosque i.e. to be a *madrasa* at the same time as a *ǧāmiʿ* — is a special example because of the totally extroverted character of its living quarters. The student cells here have been integrated into the architecture of the façade in a way unique in Cairo. Double rows of super-imposed windows occupy each of four stories, giving the complexe's northern and southern façades a striking resemblance to modern highrise buildings. The exterior orientation of the cells conforms to the ambitious character of the *madrasa*'s interior, where four huge *īwān*(s) take up the entire height and almost the total width of the wall space framing the courtyard, leaving little room for cell windows. Each of the four corner cell blocks has its own courtyard, onto which some of the cells, not overlooking the street, give.

The plans of later *madrasa*(s), such as that of Umm al-Sulṭān Šaʿbān (770/1368) and the *madrasa* of Ilšāy al-Yūsufī (774/1373) show an evolution during the 14th century towards separating the living units from the main body of the *madrasa*. This comes to be almost fully occupied by the four *īwān*(s) and the entrances to the dwelling complex. *Madrasa*(s) which did not offer all four rites, such as that of Ṣarġitmiš, which was purely Ḥanafī, also made use of the cruciform plan. The refinement of this design led to an orientation of the cells either towards the street if enough space was available or else to interior openings.

[1] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 403; *waqf* deed : Wizārat al-Awqaf, Daftarḫāna, No. 3195, dated 757 H.

[2] Maqrīzī *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 316; Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 881, d. 760 H.

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B — THE LIVING UNITS OF THE ḤĀNQĀH.

The earliest extant *ḫānqāh* in Cairo is that of Sultan Baybars al-Ǧašankīr (707/1306-7)[1]. It is the only surviving *ḫānqāh* with a cruciform plan in Cairo. The dimensions of the

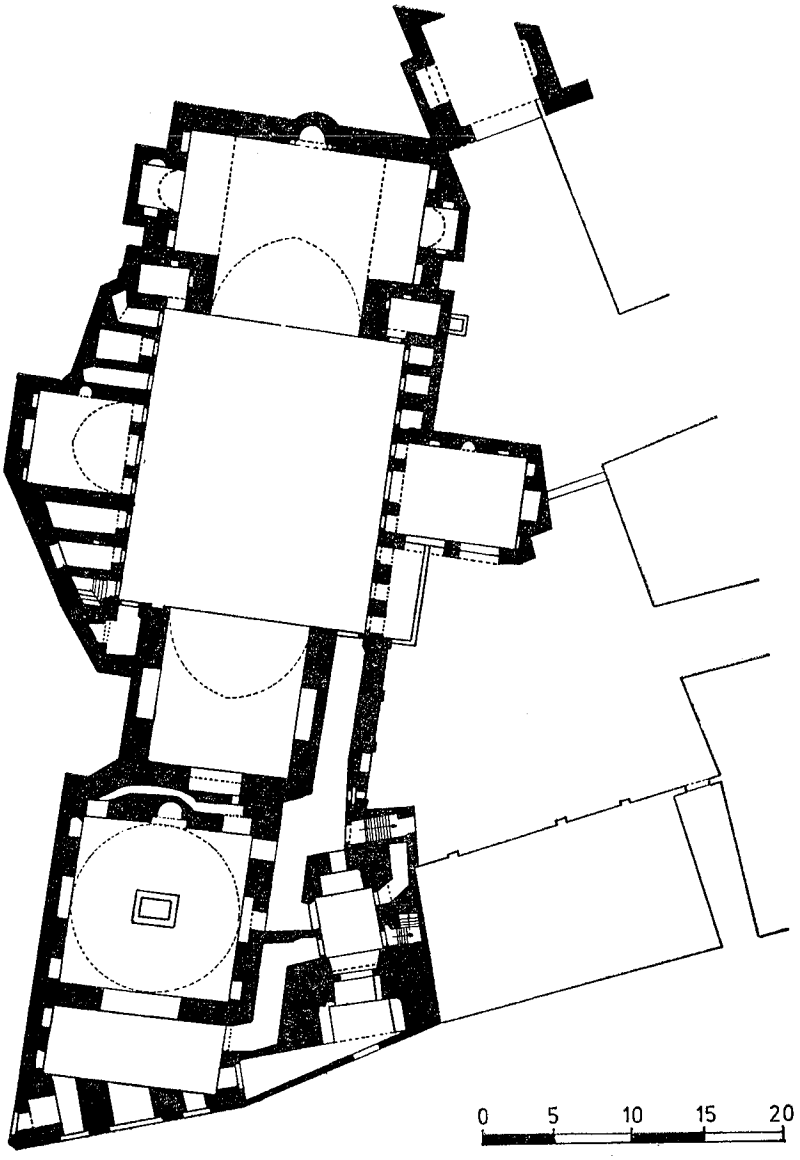


Fig. 3. — Ḫānqāh of Sultan Baybars al-Ǧašankīr (1306-7) (Creswell).

[1] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 416; Dār al-Waṯā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Citadel, Ḥuǧağ al-Mulūk wa'l-Umarā', No. 22, d. 707 H.; Creswell, *M.A.E.*, II, p. 249 ff.

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courtyard allow for several stories of cells to fit into the space between the four disparate *īwān*(s). According to the *waqfiyya*, the *ḫānqāh* housed one hundred Sufis on a permanent basis besides other non-residents. As the quarters overlooking the courtyard did not provide space enough for so many, it is likely that the building contained other cells which no longer remain. These, we can be sure, did not overlook the street, since the façade of the complex leaves no room for them.

Unlike the *ḫānqāh* of Baybars, that of Amir Šaiḫū al-'Imarī (756/1355) [1] has a plan unparalleled in *madrasa* architecture. It is composed of one large *īwān* on the *qibla* side, while the apartments of the Sufis take up two other sides of the courtyard. The fourth side is occupied by a screen wall with a small *īwān* between a few irregularly arranged rooms. The irregularity is due to the ground plan, which is almost triangular on this side of the courtyard because its exterior wall is aligned to the street. Apart from the cells overlooking the central court, others open onto interior passageways.

The *ḫānqāh* of Amir Tankizbuğā (764/1362), built atop a hill on the southern edge of the Northern Cemetery, has blind facades, the cells surrounding the courtyard on three sides open onto the interior. A prayer hall with the founder's mausoleum occupies the fourth side. This building, whose introverted architecture has a rather austere cast, seems to have been intended for a secluded type of Sufi life.

In the cemetery, the presence of windows overlooking the exterior does not affect the secluded character of a *ḫānqāh*. At the *ḫānqāh* of Sultan Faraǧ Ibn Barqūq (803-13/1400-11) the living units overlook the courtyard (on the lateral sides), interior passageways and, on the northern side, an oratory attached to the complex (*muṣallā*) as well as other funerary structures [2].

From these examples, we can discern that the *madrasa* in its early stages was more integrated into urban life than was the contemporary *ḫānqāh*. Built in the denser part of the city, the *madrasa*'s introverted plan, with the living quarters facing inwards, soon evolved towards the extroverted four-*īwān* plan, where the living units were split from the building's main body and faced the street. Street orientation also characterized Cairene domestic architecture; in her study of the *rab'*, Layla Ali Ibrahim has shown that preference was given to apartments overlooking the street [3]. This is also true for other types of houses described in *waqf* documents of the Mamluk and Ottoman

[1] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 421

[2] This *ḫānqāh* has been studied by Saleh Lamei Mostafa, *Kloster und Mausoleum des Farağ Ibn Barqūq in Kairo*. ADIK Isl. Reihe Band 2 (1968).

[3] « Middle-class living Units in Mamluk Cairo : Architecture and Terminology », *AARP* 1978 (14), pp. 17-24.

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periods, and in particular for the medium-sized houses that traditionally lacked a courtyard [1].

The four-*īwān* plan of the *madrasa* that left no inner space for the cells to overlook the courtyard was not adopted in *ḫānqāh* architecture, which retained its inward orientation. It was the *madrasa,* moreover, which first broadened its functions to include Friday prayers. This too, reflected its widening role in public life.

C — The madrasa-ḫānqāh.

The spread of Sufism during the 14th century and its integration into popular religious life led to a gradual abandonment of the *ḫānqāh*'s role as a place for seclusion and retreat. At the same time, mosques and *madrasa*(s) were also opening their doors to Sufi practices.

During the 14th century many religious foundations combined the functions of both *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa*. Maqrīzī's list of religious buildings in Cairo names several foundations under both labels. Sanğar al-Ğawlī's construction (703/1303), for example, is designated as *madrasa* and *ḫānqāh* [2]. The building's epigraphy gives no further designation. Its plan, with a single *īwān* courtyard surrounded on the other sides by cells, suggests that it may have been a *ḫānqāh* to which classes in law and theology were introduced. The same was probably true of the *ḫānqāh* of Muġulṭāy al-Ğamālī (730/1329) [3]. The Aqbuġā foundation (740/1340), on the other hand, was originally a *madrasa* to which the Sufi exercise of *ḥuḍūr* was introduced [4], as also happened at the mosque of Šaiḫū [5].

Ibn al-Ḥāğğ writes that at his time — the early 14th century — it was common for Sufi performances including dance and music to be held at mosques as well as *madrasa*(s) [6]. In its *waqfiyya,* the complex of Sultan Barqūq at the Coppersmiths (786-88/1384-86) is called *madrasa-ḫānqāh*. Both curriculae were practiced and both communities, the students and the Sufis, dwelt under the same roof [7]. Some religious rites such as Koran recitations

(1) Doris Behrens-Abouseif, « Note sur la fonction de la cour dans la maison du Caire Ottoman », paper presented at the colloque « Habitat Méditerranéen Comparé », Aix-en-Provence 1984; publication in progress by the C.N.R.S.

(2) See note 1.

(3) L. Fernandes, *Ḫānqāh,* p. 85 f.; Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ,* II, p. 418.

(4) Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ,* II, pp. 383, 426.

(5) *Ibid.,* p. 313.

(6) *al-Madḫal,* III, p. 99.

(7) Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ,* II, p. 418; Saleh Lamei Mostafa, « Madrasa, Hanqa und Mausoleum des Barquq in Kairo » mit einem Beitrag von Felicitas Jaritz, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts Kairo,* Islamische Reihe, Band 4, 1982, pp. 118-39, (with *waqf* text).

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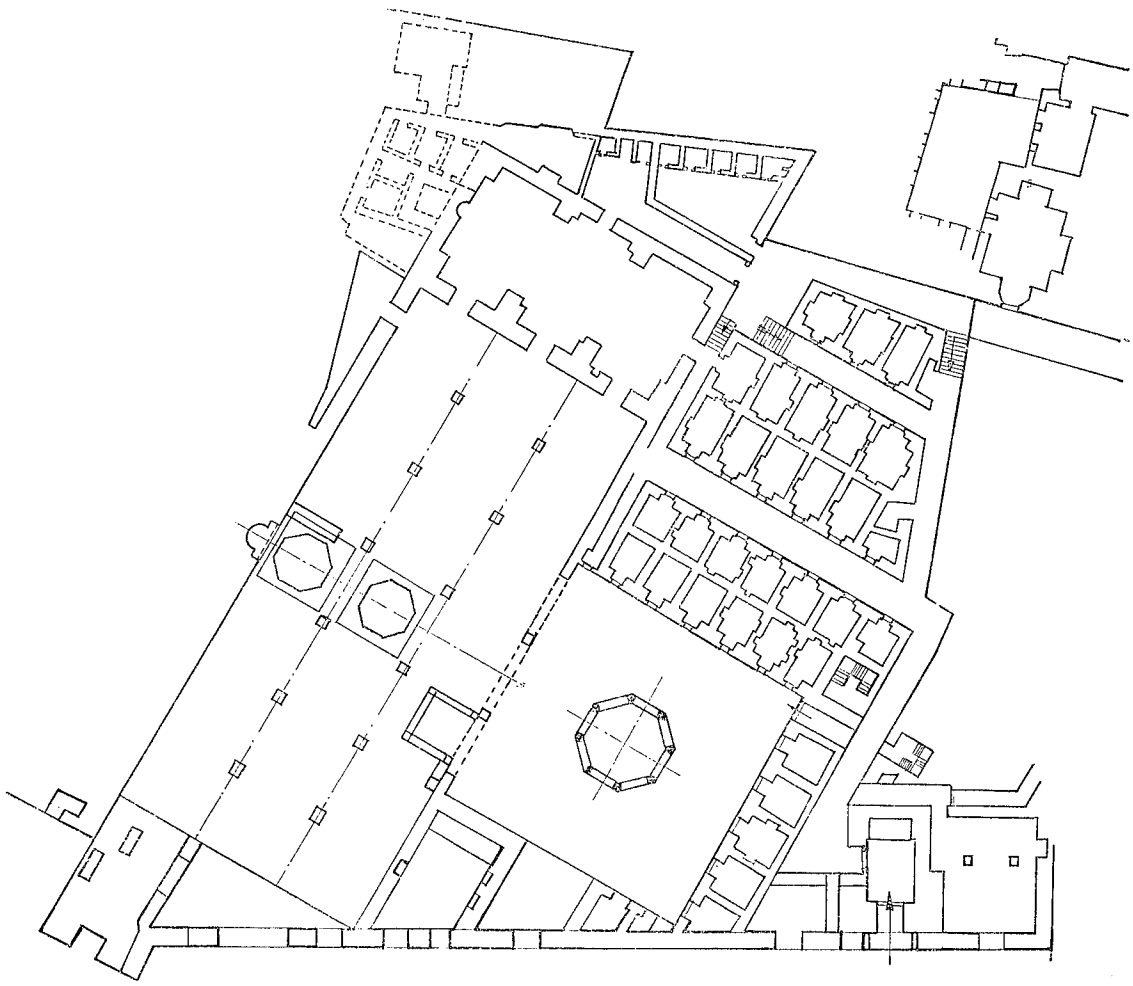


Fig. 4. — The ḫānqāh of Šaiḫū (1355) (Comité).

were intended for both groups. The structure also included a Friday mosque and the mausoleum of its founder.

As in the previous examples, the Barqūq complex's living quarters are not situated around the courtyard, but rather at the corners of the building overlooking inner openings or passages. Many cells were without windows and acquired their light through the door. This was perhaps due to the lack of façade space in this very densely populated part of town. Interestingly, the *waqf* deed describes the dwelling complex as a *rabʿ*, the term used in domestic architecture for an apartment building. Here, however, instead of the term *ṭabaqa* usually applied to the separate units of a *rabʿ*, the *waqf* uses the term *bayt*. In *waqf* documents the terms *bayt* and *ḫalwa* are used interchangeably to denote

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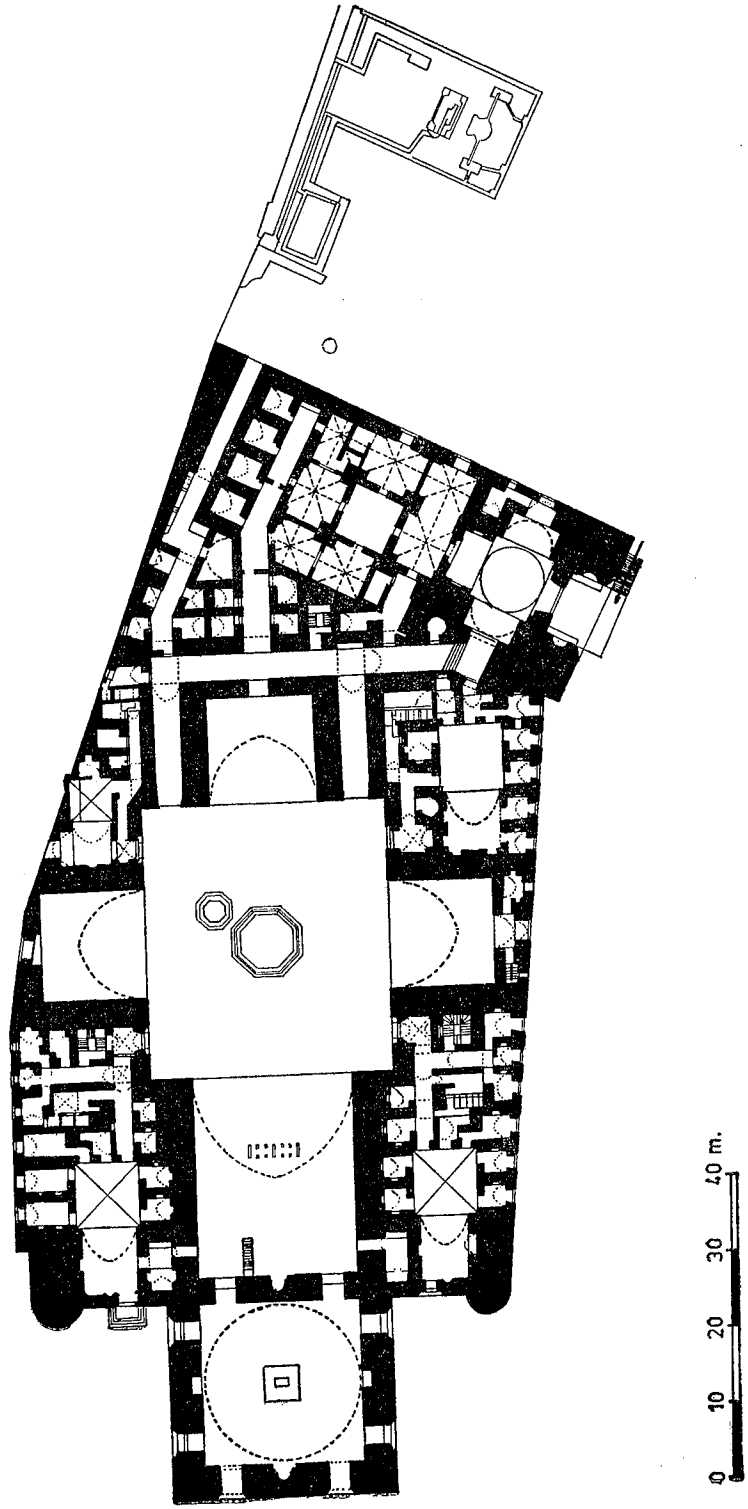


Fig. 5. — Madrasa-ǧāmiʿ of Sultan Ḥasan (1356-62) (Comité).

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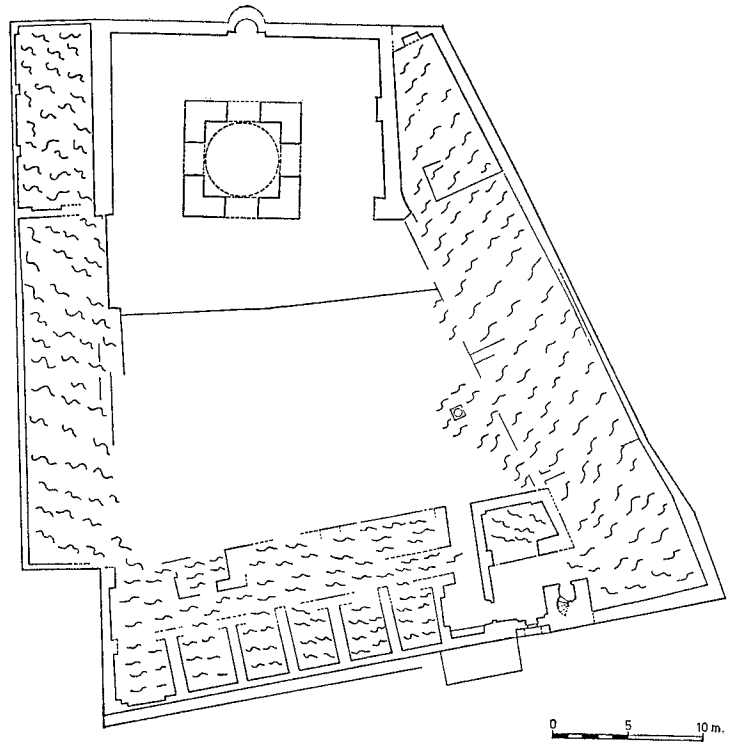


Fig. 6. — Ḫānqāh of Amir Tankizbuġā (1362) (Kessler).

living units in both *madrasa*(s) and *ḫānqāh*(s). Besides the cells, apartments of larger size were dedicated to the Barqūq foundation's teachers and staff. There were also two stables for their horses.

It is clear that this *madrasa-ḫānqāh,* where students outnumbered Sufis two to one (125 students, 60 Sufis), was conceived of more as a *madrasa* with Sufi services available as an added program. As in all other *madrasa*(s) and *ḫānqāh*(s) lodging was provided for only a portion of those attached to the foundation. Those for whom no space could be found had to be lodged elsewhere at their own expense. Priority was granted to unmarried Sufis. The community was provided with food and clothing. Besides this and their stipend, Sufis were given the opportunity to earn additional income from various activities in the service of the *ḫānqāh.* This was not the case for the students.

This complex clearly indicates an integration of Sufism into urban life : The Sufi began to follow the *madrasa* regime, acquiring in the process a worldly education which enabled him to advance his career. At the same time the *madrasa* students gained exposure to the Sufi approach to religion. Evidently, with the evolution of this type of foundation Sufism was bound to partially abandon its exclusive nature.

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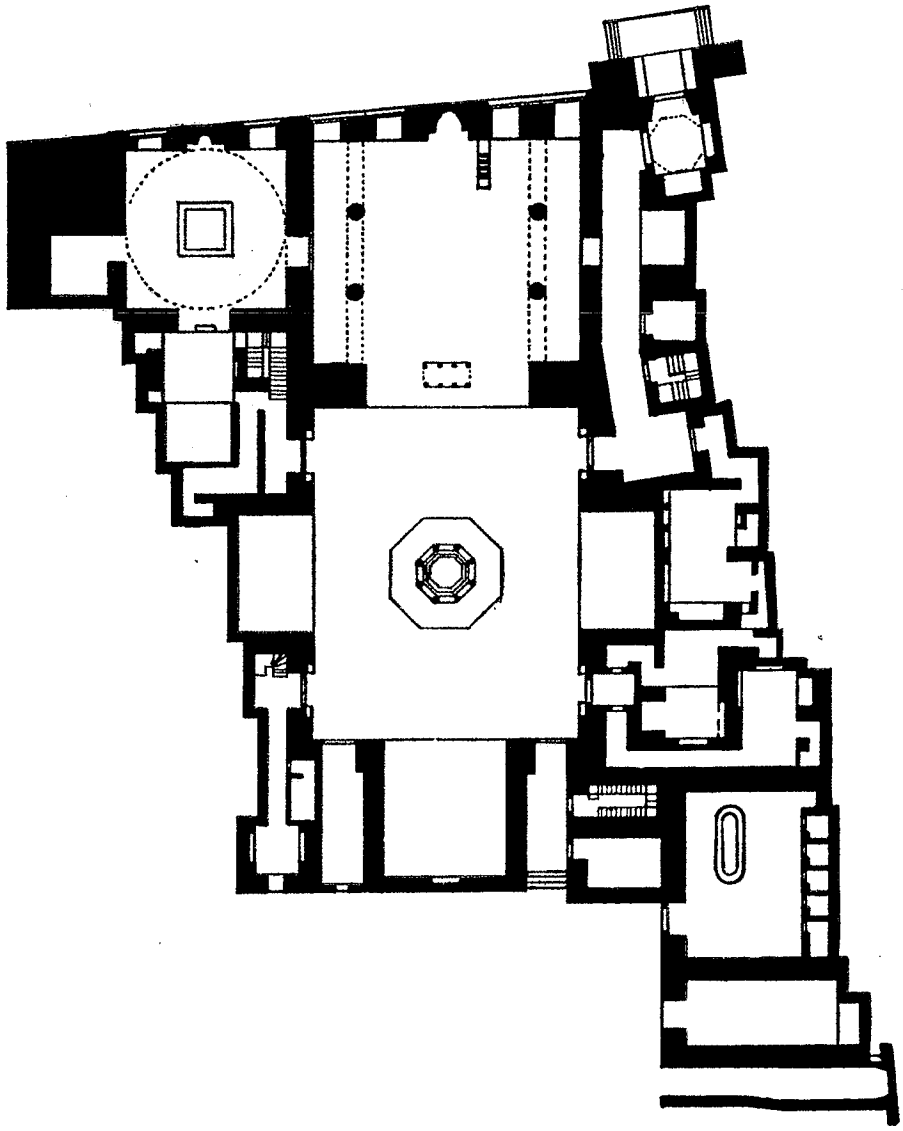


Fig. 7. — Madrasa-ḫānqāh of Sultan Barqūq at the Coppersmiths' (1384-6) (Comité).

The foundation of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Šaiḫ (818-23/1415-20) [1] is similarly located in the city's center. A further step is taken here towards the integration of Sufism into official religion. Instead of a *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa* under the same roof as at the Barqūq complex, we have a *madrasa* with the four rites specifically dedicated to Sufi students. Although the building centers on a courtyard surrounded by the arcades of the mosque,

[1] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 328; Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 938, d. 823 H.

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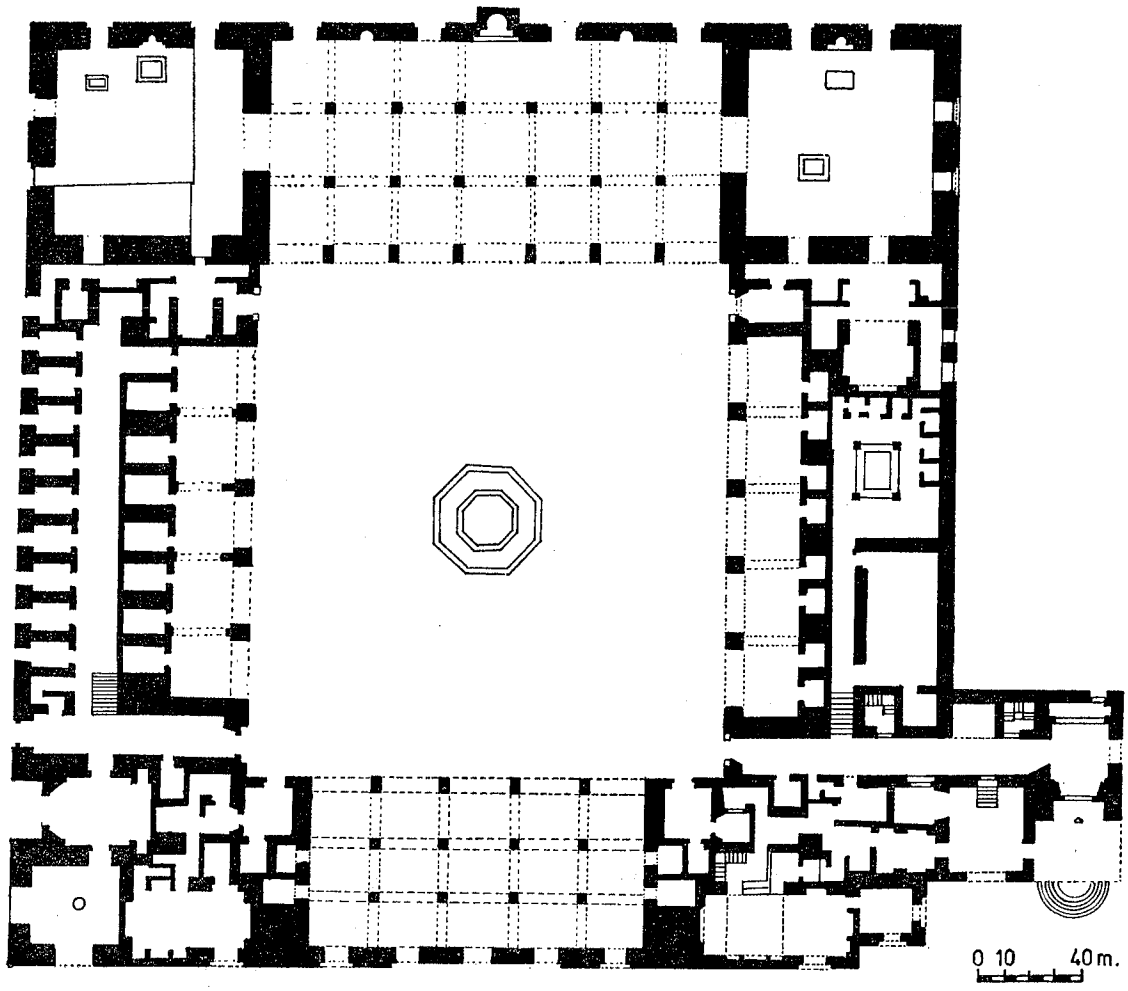


Fig. 8. — Ḫānqāh of Sultan Farağ Ibn Barqūq (1400-11) (Comité).

the two hundred cells were planned to be located elsewhere in a separate structure. The *waqfiyya* indicates that they were built around a courtyard and took up several stories.

Sultan Barsbāy built a great *madrasa* in the city center (829/1425) [1] resembling Sultan Barqūq's in design but more similar in function to the foundation of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad. Again, its students were Sufis who were taught the four rites of Islamic law. The *waqf* does not use the term *madrasa*, but rather *ğāmi'*; the building's own inscriptions, however, make use of the term *madrasa*.

[1] v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, p. 350.

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Small in comparison, the *ḫānqāh* of Barsbāy in the cemetery[1] lodged only four — as opposite to sixty five — Sufi students who had to adhere, as well as their shaikh, to the Ḥanafī rite. This number apparently justified the use of the term *madrasa* in the *waqf* to designate the prayer hall of the complex which also played the role of a congregational mosque with *ḥuḍūr* performed daily in the afternoon by seventeen Sufis.

Sultan Barsbāy's *ḫānqāh* in the cemetery introduced an innovation to the royal Mamluk religious complex : in addition to the *ḫānqāh*, two *zāwiya*(s) were attached to the foundation which also included the mausoleums of the founder and his family. One of these *zāwiya*(s) was dedicated to the Rifā'iyya order. Each *zāwiya* provided lodging for its shaikh and rooms for visiting Sufis. The reduced size of the *ḫānqāh* seems to have been related to the addition of the two *zāwiya*(s). This feature reflected a significant development : while monasticism was on the decline, a new *zāwiya*-centered Sufism was emerging. *Zāwiya*(s) were Sufi foundations of a more informal and sectarian type, which attracted a large audience by propagating the ideology of a particular order or shaikh [2].

Architecturally, the *ḫānqāh* of Barsbāy introduces two innovations : the inclusion of an entirely covered mosque and the adoption of *rab'* architecture for the living quarters. Each Sufi here had an apartment on two stories with its own latrine, a considerable improvement on the single rooms and common latrines which had hitherto prevailed in *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa* architecture. This type of living units is referred to in the *waqf* as *ṭabaqa* which is also the term used to describe *rab'* apartments rented on a monthly basis. Since the *waqf* does not, as at the *madrasa* of Barqūq, dictate the condition of celibacy for the dwellers, it is likely that these quarters were used by married Sufis and their families. This would certainly account for their size [3]. As in the Barqūq complex, Sufis here could earn an income by providing services within the foundation. It should be pointed out that this was not the case in early *ḫānqāh*(s).

The new architectural layout, with a covered prayer hall and a detached *rab'*, indicates an intent to segregate the functions of the institution. The *ǧāmi'* was open to the public. The living units, overlooking the street of the cemetery, form an independent block, while Sufi gatherings were held in a further separate hall. In early *ḫānqāh*(s), living space and prayer halls centered on a common courtyard. No architectural effort was made to

[1] This foundation has been studied by L. Fernandes, see note 2 p. 74 above; Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 880 copy dated 1030 H.

[2] L. Fernandes, «Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century *Waqfiyya* », *Annales Islamologiques* XVII (1981), pp. 141-56; p. 149 f.

[3] The *ḫānqāh* of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at Siryāqūs included living quarters for married Sufis with their families; Dār al-Waṭā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Citadel, Ḥuǧağ, No. 25, d. 717/1307 H.

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differenciate between private and communal space, and in this way the Sufi community was provided with a climate of unified seclusion. Once the exclusive character of the prayer hall was abandoned in favor of the congregational mosque, (this by the late 14th century being considered an integral part of any *madrasa* or *ḫānqāh*), the climate of seclusion was no longer provided and the living quarters were followingly separated from the main part of the building. This led to the creation of separate living quarters where the secular form of the *rabʿ* was adopted. This architectural development echoes the transformation of the *ḫānqāh*'s inner nature. The institutional Sufi now looked much the same as the *madrasa* student; involved with worldly concerns, he was integrated in the urban milieu.

In the next phase, the prayer hall of the mosque itself borrows a feature from domestic architecture : the *qāʿa* or main reception room of the Mamluk house. The complex of Sultan Ināl in the northern cemetery (855-60/1451-6) has a mosque — termed *madrasa* by its inscription — with a *qāʿa* plan. Here the living units of the *ḫānqāh* are also built as separate « duplex » apartments.

D — Religious foundations of the late Mamluk period.

Later Mamluk religious foundations show an obvious abandonment of the original strict discipline of *ḫānqāh* and *madrasa* life. The *waqfiyya*(s) of the later foundations such as those of Qāytbāy, Qānibāy, Qurqumās, Azdumur, al-Ġūrī and Ḫāyrbak, describe their functions in a different manner than in the previous examples. Details concerning specific regulations are omitted altogether. At the same time, the value of grants for the communities' upkeep tends to diminish. Sultan Qāytbāy's religious funerary complex in the cemetery (877-79/1472-4) contains a mosque, again identified by the epigraphy as *madrasa,* built on a *qāʿa* plan. The *waqfiyya,* however, describes its function as only that of a *ǧāmiʿ* [1]. No teaching and no specific rite of Islamic law is mentioned in connection with the duties of the appointed shaikhs. A number of Sufis with their shaikh were, however, expected to attend the daily Sufi exercise of *ḥuḍūr* in the mosque. A *rabʿ* located near the mosque was reserved for the Sufis and other members of the staff according to the estimation of the *nāẓir* or chief administrator of the foundation.

Sultan Qāytbāy's foundation was not intended to be a *ḫānqāh; ḥuḍūr* sessions, i.e. Sufi performances, no longer exclusive to Sufi institutions, were common in most of the mosques of the period. No kitchen was included in the complex, to which the mausoleum

[1] Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 888, d. 879 H.; van Berchem, *C.I.A.*, p. 431.

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of the founder, a fountain (*sabīl*) and a primary school for orphans (*maktab* or *kuttāb*) also belonged. The Sufis attached to the mosque were thus ordinary people, paid only to attend the *ḥuḍūr*. They could marry and engage in the occupation of their choice, since the *waqf* made no stipulations concerning their status. Their dwelling in the *rab*ʿ together with other staff members indicates that they probably had their families living with them.

The *waqfiyya*(s) of the foundations of Amir Qānibāy al-Rammāḥ near the Citadel [1] (908/1503) and Amir Qurqumās in the cemetery (911-13/1506-7) [2] present similar features. Both include a prayer hall designated in the *waqf* as *madrasa* although its functions are described as those of a *ǧāmi*ʿ. A number of Sufis with their shaikh are appointed to make the *ḥuḍūr* every afternoon, and a *rab*ʿ is set aside to lodge those attached to the foundation, Sufis or other employees.

As at the Qāytbāy establishment, no kitchen was attached to either building.

The funerary complex of Amir Azdumur in the cemetery which is no more extant has a foundation deed dated 912/1507 which mentions a mosque (*madrasa*) with Sufi performances [3]. Lodging was provided only for a certain shaikh, whose name is mentioned in the *waqf*, and his descendants, like in *zāwiya* foundations. The Sufis appointed to the usual afternoon *ḥuḍūr* received besides their stipend bread and meat which the foundation also provided to the poor who came searching food. No lodging, however, was included in the complex for the Sufis. Distribution of bread was often part of the charitable deeds carried by religious foundation of any kind.

Flexibility in the use of terms designating religious institutions is particularly obvious in the case of Sultan al-Ġūrī's foundation (909/1504) [4]. It is a complex built on both sides of the main street of Cairo. The western block includes a prayer hall designated as *madrasa* with the function of a congregational mosque. Its seventeen cells are dedicated to students and other members of the staff attached to the foundation. No teaching, however, is referred to in the *waqf* stipulations. The only reference to scholarly activity mentions the library, whose theological and legal books were to be read within the premises and not lent outside.

The building across the street includes funerary structures, a *sabīl*, a *kuttāb* and a structure described in the *waqfiyya* as *ḫānqāh*. This *ḫānqāh* is no more than a large hall, with no living quarters attached, where Sufi gatherings were held. In this foundation the *ḥuḍūr* was to take place twice daily, performed by two different groups under different shaikhs.

[1] Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 1019, d. 910 H.

[2] Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 901, d. 898 H.

[3] Dār al-Waṯā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Citadel, Ḥuǧağ, No. 240-241, d. 912 H.

[4] Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daft., No. 883, d. 907 H.

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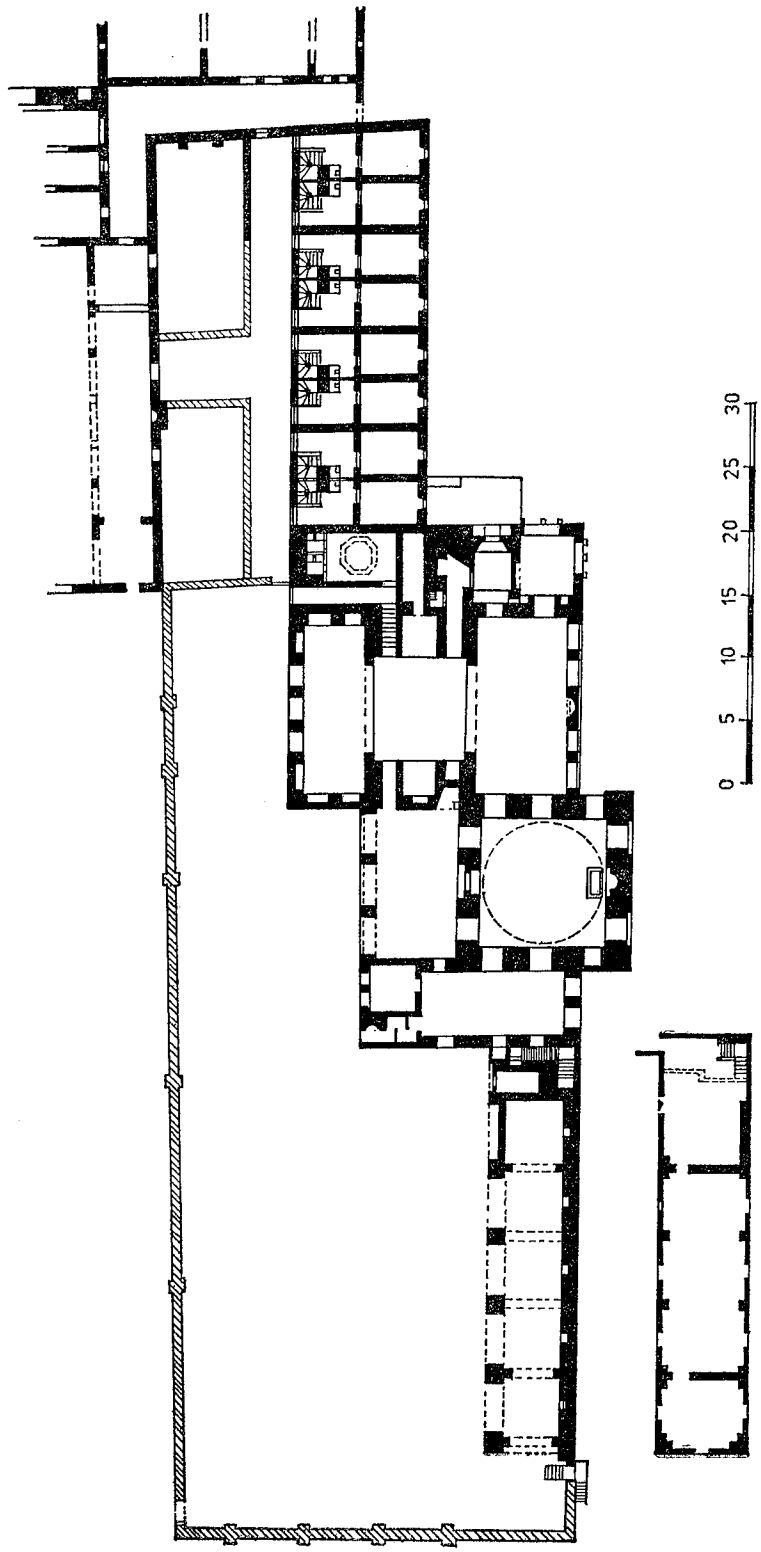


Fig. 9. — Funerary complex of Amir Qurqumās (1507) (Comité).

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The *madrasa* of Ḫāyrbak at Tabbāna, completed after the Ottoman conquest, (927/1520) [1] was also a congregational mosque with *ḥuḍūr;* it had only 5 cells located underneath the floor of the mosque.

The foundations of Qāytbāy (1474), Qānibāy (1503), al-Ġūrī (1504), Qurqumās (1507), Azdumur (1507), Ḫāyrbak (1520), are merely congregational mosques with *ḥuḍūr* sessions; they are neither *madrasa*(s) nor *ḫānqāh*(s) in the original sense. None of their *waqfiyya*(s) dictates any schedule except *ḥuḍūr* sessions and the traditional Koran reading which takes place in all mosques. None of them is linked to a specific rite of Islamic law. They do not stipulate that the Sufis engaged should live without their families or that they should refrain from any lucrative activities. On the other hand, the Sufis received only a stipend. No further obligations such as clothes, food (except at Azdumur's) or lodging are carried by the founder. The *rabʿ* is not exclusively dedicated to the use of the Sufis but to any person working in the foundation according to the *nāẓir*'s estimation. Thus the Sufi has no right *a priori* to be lodged.

Comparing these later foundations with the mosque of Amir Azbak min Ṭuṭuḫ (890/1476), the terminological free-handness of the period becomes even more obvious.

Amir Azbak's mosque did not survive, its *waqfiyya,* however, remains [2]. The foundation in question was a *ǧāmiʿ* — its plan was that of a hypostyle mosque. A *sabīl* and a *kuttāb* were attached to it as well as a library. Aside from its normal functions, this mosque sponsored *ḥuḍūr* sessions every afternoon to be performed by twenty Sufis and their shaikh. The foundation provided lodging only for the *imām* and the *ḫaṭīb.* There is no functional difference between this mosque, properly termed *ǧāmiʿ* by the *waqf,* and the six above mentioned late Mamluk foundations, which went by the name *madrasa.* Interestingly, the *waqf* of Azbak states that the *ḥuḍūr* of the Sufis should take place in the mosque in the same manner as in all the *madrasa*(s) of Cairo. On the other hand religious foundations sponsored by sufi shaikhs of the type originally known as *zāwiya* came also to be designated as *madrasa* [3].

[1] Dār al-Waṯā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Citadel, Ḥuǧağ, No. 292, d. 927 H.

[2] Dār al-Waṯā'iq al-Qawmiyya, Citadel, Ḥuǧağ, No. 198, d. 890 H.

[3] Ibn Iyās calls Šayḫ Dašṭūṭī's foundation a *madrasa, Badā'iʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'iʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. M. Mostafa, Cairo 1961, V, p. 316; Šayḫ Šaʿrānī calls his own a *madrasa, al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,* Cairo 1954, II, p. 140; s. also p. 121 on Šayḫ al-Ġamrī's foundations; the mosque of the sufi shaikh Abū'l-ʿIlā called by Šaʿrānī *zāwiya* (II, p. 87) designated by its inscriptions as *madrasa,* Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīḫ al-Masāǧid al-Aṯariyya,* Cairo 1946, p. 277.

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Religious institutions of the late Mamluk period differ to a great extent from the *madrasa* and *ḫānqāh* of the earlier period. Teaching of Islamic law (*fiqh*) is no longer included in the *waqf* stipulations of later Mamluk *madrasa*(s). At the same time the monastic *ḫānqāh* — in fact the *ḫānqāh* altogether — disappears.

With education provided in the 14th century *ḫānqāh* and Sufism practiced in *madrasa*(s) and mosques of the same period, a Sufi sponsored by such organizations could gain access to any public or official position. He could be anybody from any origin or profession. No doubt the fusion of *madrasa* and *ḫānqāh* led to the assimilation of their Sufis into practical life and contributed decisively to their abandonment of such ideals as *ḫulwa* and *zuhd* which Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ associates with classic Sufi training [1]. (This practical-minded attitude only characterized official institutions not, however, the *zāwiya*). With assimilation replacing seclusion, monasticism lost its meaning and gradually disappeared.

On the other hand, the absence of *dars* or classes for the study of *fiqh* in the later so-called *madrasa*(s) does not necessarily imply that teaching as such declined. Saḫāwī's biographies of the 15th century scholars [2] show very clearly that the education of a *faqīh* or scholar was more associated with individual teachers than with institutions. It has always been the teacher and not the *madrasa* who issued the *iǧāza*.

The situation was similar for Sufis. The official *ḫānqāh* and mosque were not the only places where Sufism was practiced. Charismatic shaikhs attracted masses of disciples around their *zāwiya*(s) which gradually acquired the status of *madrasa* and *ǧāmiʿ*. By building a *ḫānqāh* of small size and adding two *zāwiya*(s) to his complex, Sultan Barsbāy was probably responding to the needs of his time. This means that the rulers of the 15th century no longer controlled all aspects of religious life as did those of the 12th and 13th centuries.

With these final developments, the Cairene mosque has returned full circle to its original pluralistic function where prayer, teaching and Sufi rituals took place within the public frame of its premises. An important evolution is, however, the transfer of this function from one main mosque within an urban agglomeration to a multitude of smaller mosques all over the city.

Regarding our initial question on the architectural development of living units in *ḫānqāh*(s) and *madrasa*(s), investigation has indeed revealed the extent to which religious

[1] See note 4 p. 74 above.

[2] *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ li Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ*, Cairo 1354 H.

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and social change was reflected in these buildings. The living quarters of early foundations were rows of cells built around a courtyard and a gathering hall, the ensemble forming a closed space dedicated to a select community and its activities. At the end of the Mamluk period, we find a religious foundation annexed to a congregational mosque, next to which stands an apartment building vaguely dedicated to the community associated with the foundation. Both the mosque and the dwellings appear in the forms of secular architecture : the *qāʿa* and the *rabʿ*. This change of form reflects the change in the meaning of the institutions they represent. The *qāʿa* plan symbolizes a less formal approach to the mosque; every district of the crowded city by then had its own *ǧāmiʿ*. The *rabʿ* reflects the loose relation of the Sufi to the foundation that sponsores him.

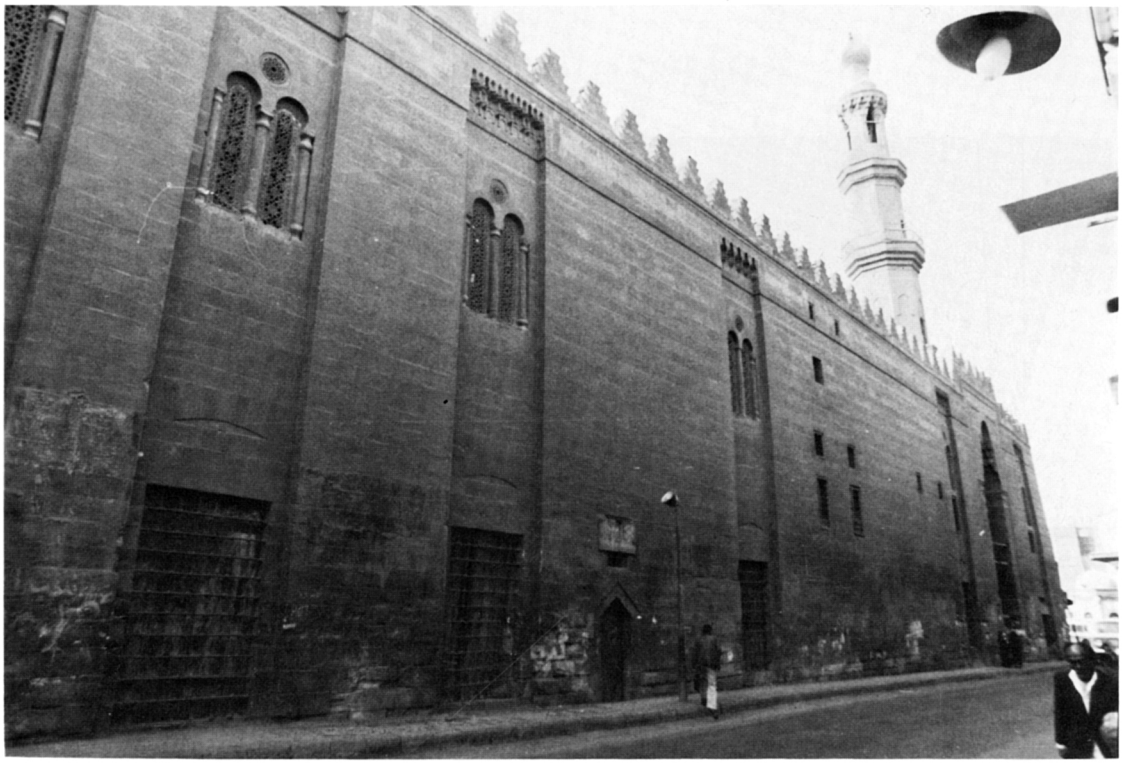
Flexibility in the design and function of these buildings is mirrored in the terminology used to describe them. The use of the term *madrasa* on inscriptions and in *waqfiyya*(s) of mosques which did not have a definite scholarly role, like the application of the term *ḫānqāh* to the hall in al-Ġūrī's complex, which has no living quarters, does not necessarily indicate a lack of precision. Architectural epigraphy was a matter of protocol, and *waqf* were legal documents that could not have been treated with carelessness. Rather, the persistance in the use of these terms shows that the functions they describe had evolved in such a natural and gradual manner — from the 12th century when they were introduced by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to the early 16th century — that the change was not registered by the society around them.

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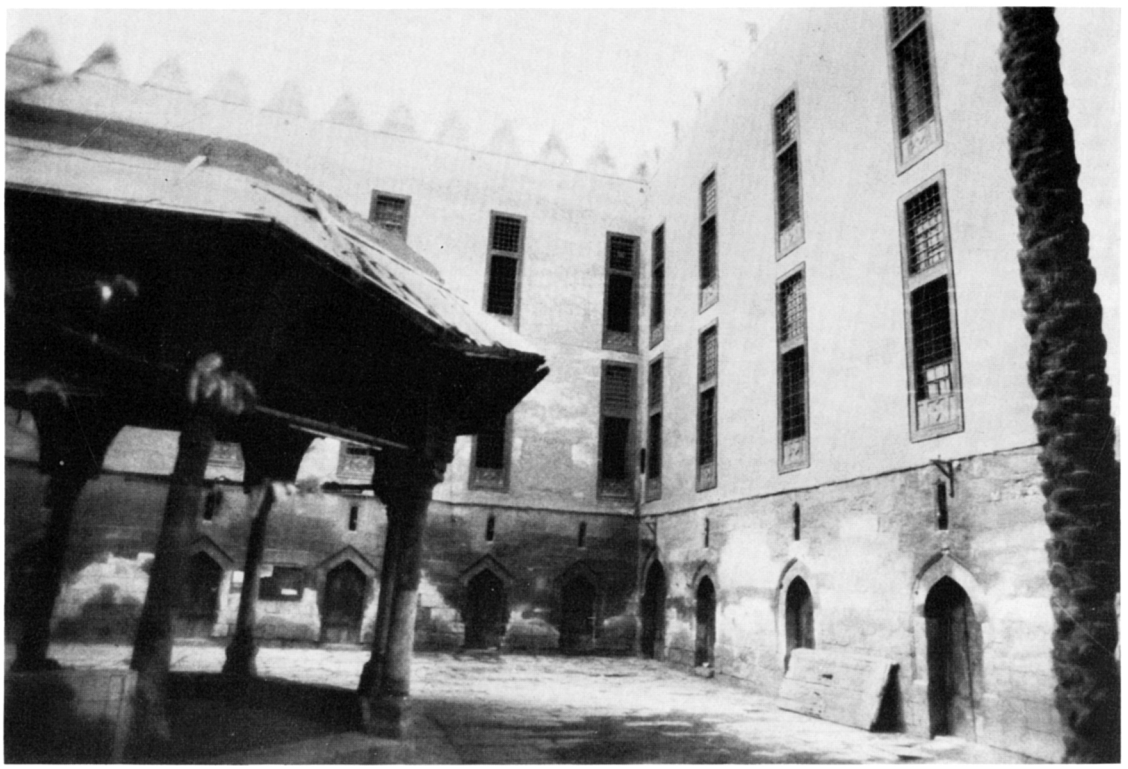


Madrasa of Sultan Qalāwūn with living units overlooking the courtyard.

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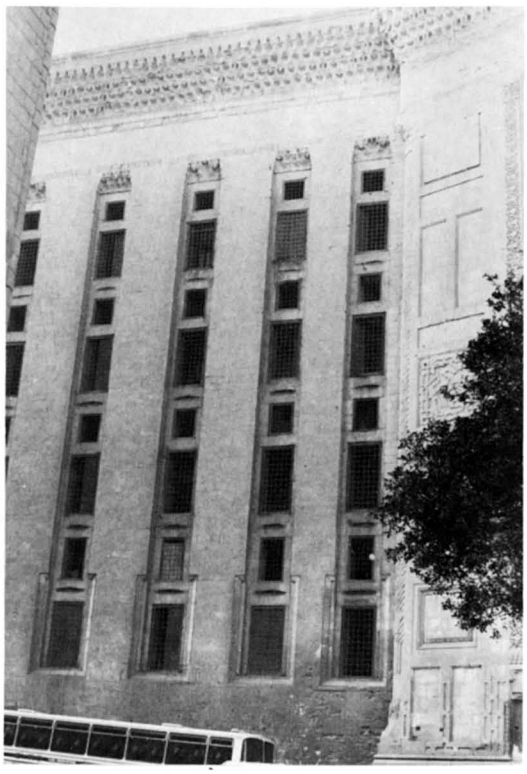


a. — Façade of the Ḫānqāh of Šaiḫū.

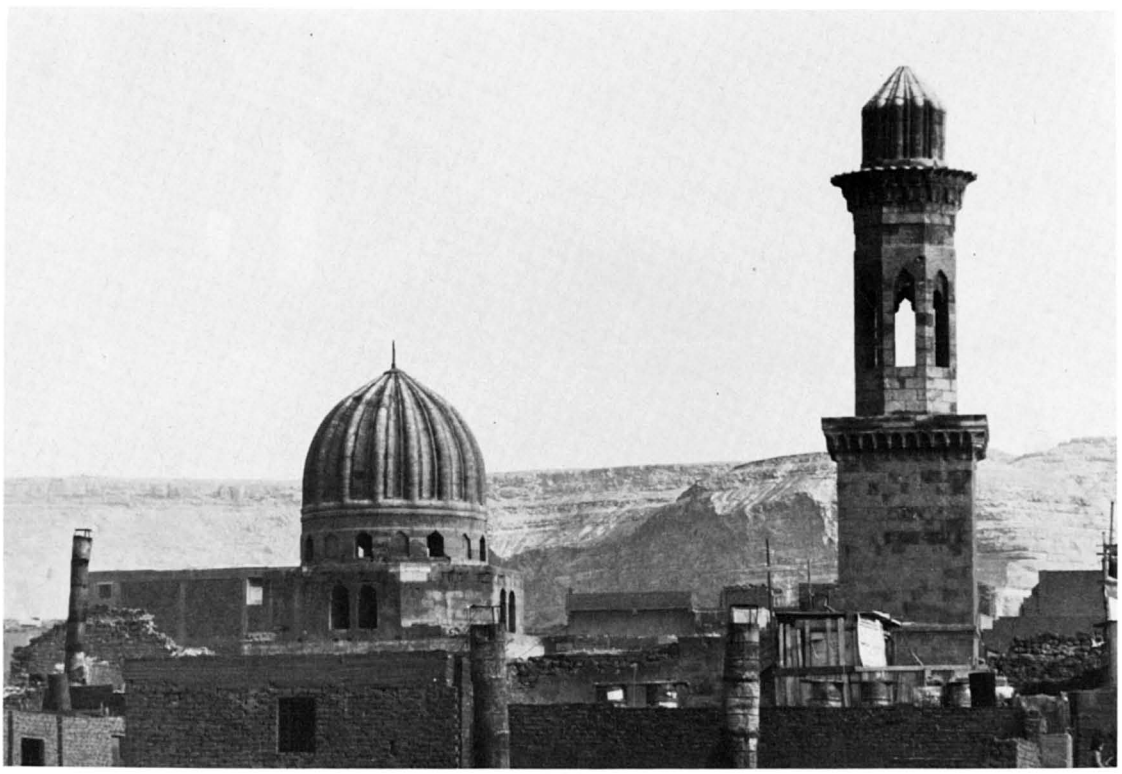


b. — Interior of the Ḫānqāh of Šaiḫū with cell windows overlooking the courtyard.

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a. — Façade of the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan with living units overlooking the street.



b. — The Ḫānqāh of Tankizbuġā in the Cemetery.

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a. — Interior of the Ḫānqāh of Farağ Ibn Barqūq in the Northern Cemetery. The lateral (to the right) used to be surmounted by cells.



b. — Rabʿ attached to the Ḫānqāh of Barsbay in the Northern Cemetery.

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