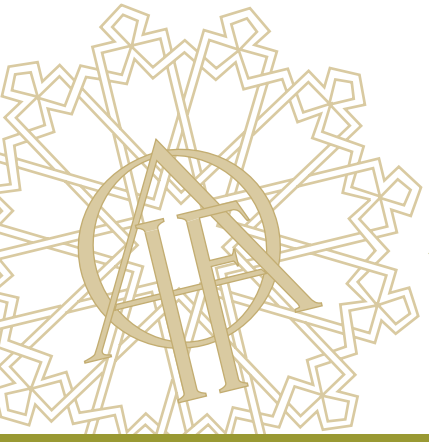
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AnIsl 21 (1985), p. 95-111

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TWO VARIATIONS ON THE SAME THEME: THE *ZĀWIYA* OF ḤASAN AL-RŪMĪ, THE *TAKIYYA* OF IBRĀHĪM AL-ĞULŠĀNĪ

Leonor FERNANDES

The religious architecture of early Ottoman Cairo presents roughly two major categories of buildings. The first, which consists of a set of foundations erected by members of the Ottoman ruling group and/or the religious elite, includes mosques, *madrasa*-s, *sabīl*-s. Most of these buildings were built either in a provincial style copying that of Istanbul or in a style which was a blend of Ottoman and Mamluk styles. Occasionally they were built in a style which was a pure imitation of the Mamluk style.

The second category consists of Sufi foundations — *zāwiya*-s, *ribāṭ*-s and *takiyya*-s — built in a style characterised by an eclecticism and a certain individualism dictated by the personality of their founders [1].

Although the buildings of this second category are, on the whole, less impressive in scale, they nevertheless deserve to retain our attention because they reflect best the religious mood of the society at the time.

Indeed, while the building of Ottoman mosques, *madrasa*-s or *sabīl*-s had a political motivation, namely, the display of the conquerors might and power [2], the sponsoring of sufi foundations by the Ottoman Pashas and Beys seemed to be dictated, rather, by their personal conviction or belief in certain sufi shaykhs. Moreover, as the sources note, the period had witnessed an outburst of sufism under all its forms (orthodox and popular sufism) and the number of sufi foundations built or restored was ever increasing [3].

It has been argued elsewhere that the architecture of sufi foundations of the Ottoman period was clearly inspired by the personal character of their founders [4]. By examining the foundation document (*waqfiyya*) of some of the foundations one can also come to

(1) D. Behrens-Abouseif - L. Fernandes, « Sufi Architecture in Early Ottoman Cairo », *Annales Islamologiques* XX, 1984, 103-114.

(2) Cf. André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Century, an Introduction*, (New York 1984), 105-107.

(3) ʿAlī Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyya*, (Bulaq 1306 h.), VI, 89; T. al-Tawil, *al-Taṣawwuf fī miṣr ibān al-ʿaṣr al-ʿUthmānī*, (Cairo 1946).

(4) Cf. note 1 above.

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the conclusion that the character of the founders did leave its imprint on the internal organization and function of the sufi institution.

The purpose of the present article is to examine two *waqfiyya*-s of the early Ottoman period (*waqf* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī, *waqf* of Ibrahīm al-Ḥalwātī) in order to show how the personality of the two *wāqif*-s has affected the internal organization of their foundations.

The reason for selecting these two foundations is threefold : first, both were founded by prominent individuals; second, both were built for sufis; and third, both have a *waqfiyya* whose date is very close.

I. — THE *ZĀWIYA* OF SHAYKH ḤASAN B. ILLIYĀS AL-RŪMĪ AL-ISTANBULLĪ (Index 258).

The *zāwiya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī located at the foot of the Citadel bears an inscription which dates it 929/1522-23 [1].

The endowment deed in the name of Ḥasan b. Illiyās is preserved in the form of an attestation dated 940/1533 [2]. The document contains references to waqfs donated by Sulaymān Bāshā in 933/1526, a detail which suggests that the original *waqfiyya* must have been drawn prior to that date.

The building itself has suffered severe damages and the structure extant represents the unit referred to in the document as the *zāwiya* proper. It consists of a prayer hall which is built in the Anatolian provincial style [3] responding to the taste of its alien patron : Ḥasan b. Illiyās al-Rūmī al-Istanbullī al-Ḥanafī.

Despite the references to the endowments by Sulaymān Pasha, it is clear from the text of the document that it is the shaykh who ordered the construction of the *zāwiya,* with his own money, and that subsenquently the Pasha had provided some sources of revenue to ensure the proper upkeep and functioning of the foundation.

Type of foundation

The foundation of Ḥasan al-Rūmī is referred to in the *waqfiyya* as *zāwiya* and as such its function is defined by the document as that of a *masǧid* where people would enter to

[1] Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.* Egypt pt. 1, 602.

[2] *Ḥuǧǧat Waqf Ḥasan b. Illiyās.* Wiẓārat al-Awqāf, Siǧil 1079.

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

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pray five times daily. Besides being a *masǧid,* the *zāwiya* functioned as a private *madrasa* which was exclusively reserved for non-Arab sufis residents of Egypt. Hence the appointment of a teacher well versed in the religious sciences, and the provision of a library. Finally, despite the absence of a domed mausoleum, the building was also conceived as a funerary foundation with a graveyard (*ḥawš*) with a number of tombs, including that of the founder, attached to it.

Personnel appointed to the foundation

Following the description of the architectural units of the building, the *waqfiyya* refers to the personnel to be appointed to the foundation. Accordingly, the supervisor of the *waqf* had to select :

- A *Mutawallī,* administrator of the *waqf.* The individual appointed to this position was entrusted with the responsibility of administering the revenues of the waqfs endowed by Sulaymān Pasha. In order to retain full control of the revenues, the *wāqif* who was also the supervisor (*nāẓir*) reserved this position for himself. After his death the position was to revert to the *Dāzdār al-Qalaʿa.*
- A teacher. The individual selected had to be a non-Arab (*ʿaǧamī*) who would enjoy certain moral qualities and would be knowlegeable. Hence he should be good, pious, competent in the science of *fiqh, ḥadīṯ, tafsīr, uṣūl, naḥw* and *maʿqūl.* He had to be bachelor and was forbidden to take up another position or even engage in any lucrative activity other than the ones which would not cause harm to the *zāwiya* or its residents. Among the permitted crafts which he could take up one reads : sewing, making cords or the similar, copying or abrogating books (*nasḫ*) [1]. The teacher would teach sufis all of the religious sciences mentioned above. Moreover, he was entrusted with the education of the slave attached to the foundation. The latter was taught the Quran, *adāb,* and *ʿilm.*
- An *Imām.* The non-Arab *imām* had to enjoy certain moral qualities, mainly, be good, just, and pious. He had to be bachelor and was not allowed to partake in any lucrative activity causing harm to the *zāwiya* or its people. The *imām* had to lead the 5 daily prayers, the other assigned prayers taking place in the *zāwiya,* and the special prayers during the month of Ramadan.

[1] For some information on the importance of *nasḫ,* cf. G. Makdisī, *The Rise of Colleges, Institution of Learning in Islam and the West,* (Edinburgh 1981), 104.

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— A *Mu'aḏḏin/Bawwāb/Waqqād.* This non-Arab individual had to enjoy the same moral qualities as the sufis mentioned above. The selected man was appointed to more than one position, and therefore had greater responsibilities. As a *mu'aḏḏin,* he was in charge of the call for prayer (*āḏān*) 5 times daily. In the absence of minaret, the *waqfiyya* specifies that the *āḏān* should take place at the door of the *zāwiya.* As *waqqād,* the individual was responsible for lighting the lamps of the foundation, putting them off, filling them with oil whenever needed, cleaning them etc. Finally as *bawwāb,* he was in charge of opening and closing the door of the *zāwiya* and of keeping the undesirables out.

— A *Tabbāḫ.* The non-Arab cook, had to enjoy the same moral qualities as his colleagues. He was in charge of cooking the daily food for the residents of the *zāwiya* as well as its visitors.

— A *Ḫabbāz.* This non-Arab individual was in charge of storing the wheat and of taking it to the mill to be ground whenever needed. He was also required to prepare the dough for the bread, bake it daily, and distribute it to the sufi residents and the visitors.

— A slave. The supervisor of the *waqf* was asked to buy with the money of the *waqf*-s, a slave who was attached to the foundation. The slave had the responsibility to clean and sweep the *zāwiya,* to carry the water from the cistern to the latrines and to the garden. He was also in charge of watering the trees and sprinkling water in front of the door of the *zāwiya.*

— A *Ǧābī/Mubāšir.* The non-Arab individual who had to enjoy the same moral qualities as his fellow sufis had also to be good in arithmetics since he was in charge of the accountings of the *waqf*-s. Accordingly, he was required to record the revenues of the *waqf*-s, itemize their distribution to the beneficiaries, and account for all the expenditures of the foundation. The same man was also required to travel to the various districts accompanied by the persons designated by the supervisor, in order to collect the revenues from the *waqf*-s.

Salaries of the personnel

The salaries of the personnel appointed to the foundation were paid in *anṣāf fiḍḍa Sulaymāniyya* [1], and except for the salary of the controller/supervisor of the *waqf*

[1] For some information on this currency, cf. Salwa ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Milād, « Registres judiciaires du tribunal de la Ṣālihiyya Nağmiyya, études des archives », *Annales Islamologiques* XII, 1974, p. 197 note 1; also, Çelebı, *Awdaḥ al-Ishārāt* (Cairo 1978), p. 108 note 55.

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who was paid on an annual basis, all of the beneficiaries received theirs on a monthly basis.

Position	*Nisf fiḍḍa*	
Nāẓir / Mutawallī	300	(per year)
Teacher	45	
Imām	18	
Mu'aḏḏin / Bawwāb / Waqqād ..	15	
Tabbāḫ	15	
Ḫabbāz	15	
Ğābī / Mubāšir	20	
Slave	10	(3 paid to him and 7 kept by the nāẓir who would use them for the slave's clothing)

OTHER EXPENDITURES OF THE FOUNDATION

The revenues of the *waqf*-s served also to cover the miscellaneous needs of the foundation as well as the daily needs of the sufi residents. This included the provision of food, clothe, medical care, books etc.

The price of the slave was also to be taken out of the revenues of the *waqf*. Although the document does not specify the sum of money to be payed for the acquisition of the slave we can get an estimate for the price from the court register of the period (1). In a register dated 933 H. we read : « Shaykh Ḥasan b. Illiyās b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī has bought for himself from ... ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ğalīl b. Quṭb al-Dīn the merchant in the *warrāqī* quarter an adolescent Ethiopian slave named Saʿīd for the sum of 1030 *nisf fiḍḍa ğadīd* ».

The *waqfiyya* provides us also with detailed information about the diet of sufis and the quantities of foodstuff bought and stored in the foundation for a whole year.

Foodstuff and other needs	*Quantities*	*Price in Nisf fiḍḍa*
Oil	1 additional *raṭl* for each *ʿĪd*	80 monthly
Water		5 monthly
Firewood		6 monthly
Cheese		50 yearly

(1) Maḥkama Šarʿiyya, Dašt 7, 703.

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Foodstuff and other needs	*Quantities*	*Price in Niṣf fiḍḍa*
Onion		20 yearly
Oregano		4 yearly
Chick peas		6 yearly
Salt		4 yearly
Additions for Ramadan		30 yearly
Additions for ʿĪd al-Fiṭr		20 yearly
Additions for ʿĪd al-Aḍḥa		30 yearly
Additions for ʿAšūra		12 yearly
Wheat	20 *irdabb* [1] yearly	
Lentil	1 *irdabb* yearly	
Butter	180 *raṭl* yearly (1 *raṭl* = 12 *ūqiyya* or 449.28 g.)	
Rice [2]	1 *irdabb* yearly	
For grinding wheat		6 monthly
Plumber and other needs		10 monthly
Coppersmith works		10 monthly
Buying household effect		5 monthly
Locks and carpentry works		50 monthly
Mats to cover the walls of the zāwiya		25 monthly

The *waqfiyya* indicates that the 20 *irdabb* of wheat were to be bought yearly and served for the preparation of the daily bread distributed to the sufis. Accordingly, each of them was to receive 4 loaves of bread, each loaf weighing 5 *ūqiyya* of dough. The daily consumption of butter to be used in the preparation of the food was fixed at ½ *raṭl* (224.64 gr.).

Diet of the Sufis

As it appears from the *waqfiyya* the only reference to any purchase of meat is the one associated with the additional expenses for the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥa. On that occasion the supervisor was entitled to spend 30 *niṣf fiḍḍa* to buy a sheep or meat for the meals of sufis on that day. Otherwise, the diet of the residents of the foundation is characterized by a

[1] Qalqašandī writes that every 16 *qadaḥ* is called *wayba* (33 lb.), every 96 *qadaḥ* is called *irdabb* (198 lb.). *Subḥ al-Aʿšā* III, 445. Cf. also W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, (Leiden 1955), 39.

[2] According to Çelebı (*Awdaḥ al-Ishārāt*, Cairo 1978, 108) in 941 / 1534, the price of 1 Raṭl of rice was 2 Niṣf.

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certain frugality which contrasts sharply with the diet of sufis living in *ḫanqāh* foundations of the mamluk period [1].

The meals of sufis consisted of rice, lentil and *muluḫiyya*. The *waqfiyya* indicates that each month, the sufis were to be served rice for 8 days, lentil for 8 days, and *muluḫiyya* for 8 days. For the remaining days, they would be served *rišta* (sort of dish prepared with lentil and dough, or dough, milk and rice). Besides the main dish, sufis were also served cheese, fried chick-peas and fresh thyme.

Personal effects

Since the sufis were required to take up permanent residence in the foundation, the *waqfiyya* provided for all their needs (food, clothe and medical care). In addition, every sufi received a skin (*ǧilda*) on which he would sit, and a cushion made of leather. In the event one of them became sick and whenever there was a need, the supervisor had to buy him 2 straw mats, 2 carpets, a blanket, a mattress, a pillow case, a pillow, and a copper chamber pot.

Furniture and Household effects bought for the zāwiya

Among the furnishings and household effects used in the foundation one finds :

Mats with geometrical designs to cover the walls of the *zāwiya*, oil lamps, jars, brooms, glass lanterns, jugs, small tin mugs, earthenwares, pottery bowls, locks, 2 carpets to cover the floor of the *zāwiya*, a rug for the *miḥrāb*, 6 sheep skin and 3 leather cushions for the visitors, a copper tray, a leather as dining table, 3 copper pans, 3 copper pots, 4 copper dishes, 2 containers, one copper sauce-pan, a ladle, a spatula, a colander, a copper pail, 2 frying pans, a small caldron, a mortar, a wash basin, a ewer, a knife, an iron hoe, a flint, 2 basins, a riddle for grain, a sieve for flour, 2 large baskets made of palm-leaves, 2 large straw trays placed on tables standing on either sides of the *miḥrāb* and used for the collection of offerings and other donations from the public.

Internal organisation of the zāwiya

The internal organisation of the *zāwiya* and the austere life within the foundation offered the individual sufi the opportunity to devote part of his time to meditation in order to

[1] For further information cf. *The evolution of the Khanqah institution in Mamluk Egypt.* Ph. D. dissertation (Princeton 1980) by this writer.

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fulfill his aspirations and reach union with God. Such a union was indeed foreseen by the *wāqif* who inserted a clause in his *waqfiyya* stipulating that : « Whenever one of the sufis turns silent or reaches a state of ecstasy which prevents him from attending to his responsibilities or his study, he should be left undisturbed since his silent may be due to the fact that his heart is with his God ».

Once they had attended to the daily requirements of their positions within the foundation, the sufis, whose number was not to exceed 10, were expected to spend their time in attending the lessons taught by the appointed teacher.

The teaching of the religious sciences adds a new dimension to the *zāwiya-masǧid* which is called upon to perform the function of a private institution for learning. The importance of learning is undescored by the fact that the *wāqif* stipulates that : « whenever a sufi expresses the wish to attend the teaching of some shaykhs in the Ǧāmiʿ al-Azhar or any other foundation he should be allowed to do so provided he be back for the noon prayer taking place in the *zāwiya* ».

In order to encourage sufis to show further interest in learning, the *wāqif* put at their disposal a library which was equipped with books to serve their needs. Moreover, he also stipulated that if a sufi was in need of a book which did not exist in the foundation's library, the *nāẓir* should buy it and endow it on the *zāwiya*. The book would then remain with the sufi until he is through with its reading.

Since the residents of the *zāwiya* were sufis, they were required to meet with their shaykh every afternoon. The sufis and the shaykh would gather in the *zāwiya* proper to perform the sufi ritual of *ḥuḍūr*. The Shaykh would sit in the *miḥrāb* while the sufis would sit in front of him according to their ranks, each on his sheep skin. The transient sufis, and visitors related to the residents, were asked to sit at the back of the hall on leather cushions.

All the sufis were required to eat together at the same *sufra* (table) as indicated in the document, and none of them was allowed to receive his daily ration of food and bread unless he ate with the others.

The sufis who were selected by the controller of the *waqf* had to take up residence in the foundation, and according to the document, none of them was allowed to spend the night outside the *zāwiya* unless he was given permission by the controller to do so, and/or if he had good reasons. Should any sufi spend the night outside the *zāwiya* the supervisor is advised to cut his daily allowance of bread and food.

As indicated in the document, the sufis appointed to the *zāwiya* were secure for their lifetime. However, they were asked to abide by the strict regulations imposed by the *wāqif*, and any improper conduct was bound to call for a reprimand by the supervisor.

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The latter was given the power to expell the sufi from the foundation if his behaviour was judged unacceptable.

Interestingly, the document specifies that no sufi could be expelled from the foundation because of sickness. Rather, it was the responsibility of the *nāẓir* to provide the sick man with full medical care until he recovered or died. If the recovery of the sufi did not recur within three months, during which he was still entitled to receive his salary, the supervisor was asked to transfer him to the bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī. In the event of the sufi's death, the *nāẓir* had to provide for his shrouding and burial.

The Shaykh al-Sufiyya

The selected group of sufis were put under the guidance of a shaykh to be appointed by the controller of the *waqf*. At the death of this shaykh the sufis were called upon to select from among themselves a qualified sufi to replace him. The designated individual would then be officially appointed by the *nāẓir* [1].

The appointed shaykh was entrusted with many responsibilities. Some of them were purely administrative, others dealt with the spiritual life of the sufis. Thus, it was the shaykh's responsibility to guide the sufis and see that they pursue their education. The shaykh was also in charge of leading the sufi rituals, of assigning the texts to read during the session of *ḥuḍūr* and so forth.

The administrative duties of the shaykh entailed the supervision of the library and the control of the books in circulation. Since these books were endowed on the foundation, the shaykh was required to ask the sufis borrowing a book, to write a note bearing their name and the title of the work. This note was to be kept by the shaykh until the book was returned.

It was also the duty of the shaykh to control the collection of revenues from the *waqf*-s, and their distribution to the beneficiaries according to the stipulations of the founder. Indeed, the *waqfiyya* indicates that the controller of the *waqf* had to hand out a copy of his registers (*daftar*) to the shaykh with whom he was asked to meet daily in order to update the latter's copy.

[1] This procedure of selection of the shaykh by the sufis and his appointment by the *naẓir* according to their decision was particular to *ḫānqāh* foundations of the mamluk period. In *zāwiya* foundations which served popular sufism the position of *Šayḫ al-siğğada* was either inherited by the son of the deceased shaykh, or was based on the choice of the latter.

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The shaykh was also required to check the surplus revenues and the way they were disposed of. Such surpluses came from two different sources : the first consisted of revenues from the *waqf*-s endowed on the foundation, while the second consisted of donations from the public.

The donations made by the lay individuals were in kind or species. Whenever they consisted of edible food, the supervisor of the *waqf* was asked to see to its distribution among the sufis of the foundation. Whatever exceeded their needs was then, to be sold by the *nāẓir* and its revenue was added to the donations in species. At the end of the year the *nāẓir* was advised to spend from the amount saved from the donations, the total sum of 500 *niṣf fiḍḍa*. That sum had to be distributed among the residents of the *zāwiya* in proportion to their salaries. The remaining sum was entrusted to the *nāẓir* who would have to spend it in accordance with the dictates of the *Šarʿ*.

The document indicates that no share of the donations should be appropriated by the supervisor, and that donations made in the name of a particular individual should revert to him.

As far as the surpluses from the *waqf*-s revenues are concerned, the *waqfiyya* indicates that they should be reckoned in the presence of the shaykh and the beneficiaries. Then, they should be placed in a bag which should be sealed with the seal of the shaykh, and the bag would be entrusted to the *nāẓir*. Should the surplus exceed 20,000 *niṣf ʿUṭmānī*, the supervisor should use 10,000 *niṣf* to buy a plot of land in the outskirts of al-Qāhira and endow it on the *zāwiya*. The rest of money would have to be saved by the *nāẓir* who would use it in emergencies, and to provide for the needs of the foundation. It is interesting to note that the *waqfiyya* bears a stipulation prohibiting the purchase of a garden (*bustān*), a bath-house (*ḥammām*) or even a property (*musaqqaf*, lit. a building with a ceiling).

Since the provisions of some foodstuff were made annually and because they were kept in the *zāwiya*, the shaykh was asked to assign the appropriate cells for their storage. Such cells were located in the kitchen or above it. All of the cells used as storage were to be locked and their keys kept with the shaykh. The remaining cells in the *zāwiya* were occupied by the sufis according to the shaykh's decision.

It appears from the preceding that the *zāwiya* of Ḥasan b. Illiyās al-Rūmī had an internal organisation and a function which was close to that of *madrasa-ḫānqāh*-s of the mamluk period. Such foundations were built by a royal patron who imposed a strict discipline within the foundation; that is actually the case with the *zāwiya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī. Furthermore just like the *ḫānqāh*-s of the early mamluk period, the foundation of Ḥasan al-Rūmī was exclusively reserved for non-Arab sufis as appears

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from the original attestation. However, a few years later, the founder chose to abrogate the stipulation limiting the appointment of sufis to ʿAǧam, and to bachelors. In the text of a document drawn on the margin of the attestation, the *wāqif* decides that the appointees could be sons of *al-ʿArab, al-Arwām,* or *al-Aʿǧām,* provided they qualify for it. In addition they could be selected regardless of their being married if that was the case. Nevertheless despite the acceptance of non-Arabs, the *zāwiya* with its rigid internal discipline, which called upon the sufis to take up a permanent residence within the foundation, and to refrain from taking part in any lucrative activity other than the ones mentioned in the document, could very well be mistaken for a *ḫānqāh.*

The similarity between the organisation of this *zāwiya* and any *ḫānqāh* of the mamluk period is further stressed by fact that no mention of any order (*ṭarīqa*) is made. One should perhaps remember here that the absence of reference to a *ṭarīqa* was common to all *ḫānqāh* foundations of the mamluk period.

While the existence of foundations which resembled that of Ḥasan al-Rūmī was becoming widespread, another type of sufi foundation centered on the *ṭarīqa* and on its founders was concurrently gaining in importance. The foundations commonly referred to as *takiyya*-s and sometimes as *ribāṭ*-s were characterized by the presence of living quarters for the sufis of a particular order.

The sufi residents of such foundations relied almost totally on the *waqf*-s revenues for all their needs, and were not allowed to take part in any lucrative activity.

In an attempt to explain the term *takiyya* ʿAlī Mubārak writes « and the term *ḫānqāh* is not anymore in use in Egypt nowadays, and the term used in that sense is *takiyya* or *zāwiya* » (1). Elsewhere he writes that other houses performing the same function as the *ḫānqāh*-s are referred to in Egypt as *takiyya* (2).

It is not clear whether the term *takiyya* was to be understood as being the equivalent of the Ottoman *tekke* and whether the function of the two foundations were the same. One is indeed intrigued by the comment of Muṣṭafā Pasha, a turkish traveller who visited Cairo in the 16th Century, who noted the differences which existed between the type of sufi practices of the *ḫalwātī* and *naqšabandī* orders of Egypt and those of the Ottomans (3).

(1) ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Ḫiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyya,* op. cit., VI, 49.

(2) ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Ḫiṭaṭ,* VI, 54.

(3) *Muṣṭafā ʿAlī's description of Cairo.* Ed. A. Tietze, (Vienna 1975), 47.

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II. — THE *TAKIYYA* OF IBRĀHĪM AL-ǦULŠĀNI.

One of the earliest extant *takiyya* referred to by this term in its foundation document is that of Ibrāhīm al-Ḫalwātī known as al-Ǧulšānī [1] (dated 926-31/1519-24, index 332).

The *waqfiyya* extant is in the name of the children of Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ḫalwātī [2] and could be dated 948/1541. The document which post-dates the death of al-Ǧulšānī (d. 940/1533) refers to him as « *Sayyidna al-Šayḫ al-Ṣāliḥ ... Ibrāhīm al-Ḫalwātī ... aʿādāna Allāh min barakātih ... wa askanahu fasīḥ al-Ǧannāt* ».

Although the end of the document does not give the exact date of the original *waqfiyya* the attestations it bears are dated 15 of Ramaḍān 948/1541. The text of the document itself represents an attestation by two members of al-Ǧulšānī's family (his son and grandson) whose intent was to confirm all of the founder's previous *waqf*-s.

Type of foundation

The *takiyya* of Ibrāhīm al-Ǧulšānī is located in the street of Taḥt al-Rabʿ nearby the Bāb Zuwāyla. The building consists of a funerary dome reserved for the *wāqif* and his descendants. Around this central dome are the living quarters of the sufis. These quarters are referred to by the *waqfiyya* as the *takiyya*.

Besides the living quarters of sufis, the grain-mill and the bath, there were two residential appartments for the members of al-Ǧulšānī's family.

Unlike the *zāwiya* of Ḥasan b. Illiyās al-Rūmī, this foundation was conceived as a « family trust » whose aim was to sponsor the spreading of an order, and which was controlled by the founder and his descendants. For that purpose, the supervisor of the *waqf*-s was also the head of the order; a position which was to be inherited by the founder's descendants. Moreover, the supervision and administration of the revenues of the foundation were entrusted to the son, the grand-son and the founder's grand daughter's husband.

Personnel appointed to the foundation

Unlike Ḥasan al-Rūmī who at first reserved his foundation for *Aʿǧām* residents of Egypt, the founder of the *takiyya* al-Ǧulšāniyya does not show any preference for non-Arabs. However, Ibrāhīm al-Ǧulšānī's foundation does present another exclusive character.

[1] A detailed study of the architecture of the *Takiyya* is undertaken now by D. Behrens-Abouseif.

[2] Wiẓārat al-Awqāf, Siǧil No. 432.

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Indeed as it appears from his *waqfiyya*, the appointees to the *takiyya* had to be from the sufis known to be his own disciples and those affiliated with his order (*ṭarīqa*).

The appointments to any of the positions was made by the supervisor who was also the head of the order. The personnel appointed included :

— An *imām*, whose function was to lead the 5 daily prayers taking place in the outer *masǧid*.
— A *mu'aḏḏin* in charge of the call for prayer.
— A *waqqād* in charge of lighting and putting off the lamps. He also had to buy the necessary oil to fill the lamps, clean them and so forth.
— Two *bawwāb* (door-keepers). One of them was in charge of keeping the door of the *takiyya*, while the other controlled the door of the outer *masǧid*.
— One *dā'i*, whose job was to invoke God after each of the five daily prayers.
— A *qāri'* who had to read after the sufi ritual whatever he could read. He had to close his reading by invoking God in the name of the founder, his descendants, and all muslims.
— A *ḫabbāz* who was in charge of the preparation of the dough for the bread and of baking it daily.
— A *sufraǧī* in charge of dressing the table and cleaning it after each of the meals (*ṣimāt*).
— A *mubāšir al-waqf* in charge of keeping the accounts of the *waqf*-s.
— A *Ǧābī* in charge of collecting the revenues from the various *waqf*-s.
— A *wakīl al-ḫarǧ*. This individual was in charge of running the errands for the foundation. He had to buy the daily provisions of food needed by the cook and bring them to the kitchen of the foundation. He also had to buy the flour and deliver it to the baker of the foundation.
— A *ǧanaynī* (gardener) in charge of taking care of the garden.
— 2 *Qayyim*-s. The two individuals were put in charge of the ablution fountain and the latrines. Both of them had to clean them daily and fill them with water whenever needed.
— A *ṭabbāḫ*, a cook in charge of cooking the daily meals for the resident sufis and the visitors.
— A *muzammalātī*, to take care of the drinking water of the foundation. He had to fill the jars of the *mazmala* and clean them.
— A *farrāš* in charge of cleaning the foundation.

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SALARIES OF THE APPOINTED PERSONNEL

Unlike the personnel appointed to the foundation of Ḥasan al-Rūmī, each of the appointees of al-Ǧulšānī's *takiyya* were in charge of one position only. Accordingly their salaries were smaller than the ones distributed to the appointees of the *zāwiya*. Moreover all the salaries were paid in *niṣf fiḍḍa* on a monthly basis.

	Niṣf fiḍḍa
Imām	10
Mu'aḍḍin	5
Waqqād	15
Farrāš and his aid ..	12 (for the two)
2 Bawwāb	10 (5 each)
Dā'ī	5
Qāri'	5
Ḫabbāz and his aid ..	5 (for the two)
Ǧanaynī	5
Sufraǧī	5
2 Qayyim	10 (5 each)
Tabbāḫ and his aid ..	15 (this included salary of his aid)
Mubāšir..	10
Ǧābī	10
Wakīl al-Ḫarǧ	12
Nāẓir	30
Mutawallī	30
General supervisor ..	22

OTHER EXPENDITURES

A few other expenditures are listed in the *waqfiyya*. Most of them deal with foodstuff bought for the meals of sufis. Among them :

— One *buṭṭa* [1] of flour for the preparation of the daily bread for sufis.
— 3 ½ *qadaḥ* of rice and butter (1 *qadaḥ* = 8,25 lb.) daily for their lunch and dinner (*ġadā' wa 'ašā'*).
— 10 *raṭl* of oil daily.

[1] For information on the *buṭṭa*, cf. Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 37.

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In addition the *waqfiyya* mentions the purchase of meat and produce to be bought for the meals of transient sufis, admitted into the *takiyya*. The amounts to be spent are not specified but are rather left to the discretion of the supervisor of the *waqf*. Once these expenditures had been covered, the surplus money would have to be used in the purchase of a property which would then be endowed on the foundation.

Internal organization

The sufis of the Ǧulšāniyya were the disciples and followers of the founder. Their selection was made by the founder who was also the *nāẓir*, the *šayḫ al-siǧǧāda* / *šayḫ ṭarīqa*. Upon his death, the position of *šayḫ ṭarīqa* was to revert to his son Shaykh Šihāb al-Dīn who was appointed as administrator (*mutawallī*) of the *waqf* during his father's lifetime. Šihāb al-Dīn was also provided with an apartment (*riwāq*) within the foundation. Such a residence was to be inherited by his sons and their descendants. At their extinction, the *riwāq* would revert to the *ḫalīfa* of the *takiyya* i.e. the shaykh of the order.

Since the foundation was run as a « family trust » other members of the founder's family were given positions within the foundation. Hence, al-Ǧulšānī's grand-son (his daughter's son) al-Zaynī Fatḥī Ǧalabī, was appointed as *nāẓir* of the *waqf* and he too was given a residence — a *riwāq* — within the foundation. This *riwāq* was to be inherited by his sons and their descendants.

In order to consolidate the « family trust » the founder appointed an overall supervisor to check on both his son and his grand-son. The chosen individual was also related to al-Ǧulšānī since he was married to his grand-daughter (the daughter of his son). The individual chosen, Qāḍī al-Quḍāt ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, had to control all of the expenditures on the foundation. Although he was not given a residence within the foundation his position was to be inherited by the sons he got from the founder's grand-daughter.

The *waqfiyya* gives almost no detail about the occupations of the sufis within the foundation, nor did it limit the number of the sufis to be appointed in it. However judging from the number of cells mentioned in the *waqfiyya*, and since every sufi was left to enjoy one cell, one can infer that there were no more than 24 sufis.

Since the document does not refer to the appointment of a *faqīh*, to any teaching taking place in the foundation, or even to the existence of a library, one may assume that sufis devoted most of their time in meditation following the practice of their order. i.e. seclusion in *ḫilwa* (cell), and attendance of the sufi rituals.

It appears from the *waqfiyya* that the *takiyya* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḫalwātī was a *ṭarīqa*-centered foundation sponsoring the Ḫalwātī order. Accordingly, its function was no

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different from that of any *zāwiya* built in the mamluk period [1]. However, the inclusion of living quarters within the building, as well as the allocation of a cell to individual sufis who kept them for their lifetime — a feature of *ḫānqāh* foundations of the same period — points out to the similarity between the Ottoman Takiyya and the Mamluk Ḫānqāh.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the text of the two *waqfiyya*-s that both sufi foundations, that of Ḥasan al-Rūmī and that of Ibrāhīm al-Ǧulšānī, had different focuses, and that they represented two variations of the same phenomenon : Sufism. The first, the *zāwiya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī focused on the education of the sufis (even the slave attached to the foundation, had to be educated). By sponsoring the instruction of sufis in the various religious sciences, providing them with all the necessary books needed for their studies, and encouraging them to attend lessons of shaykhs in other foundations, the founder deliberately chose to stress the educational role of his *zāwiya*. The latter's function becomes that of a small *madrasa* for orthodox sufis.

It seems clear that the personal character of the founder has not only influenced the choice of the location and the architecture of the building, but determined as well the function of his foundation. Indeed, since Ḥasan al-Rūmī was an official of the Ottoman administration, his main interest as an educated sufi shaykh was to encourage the expansion of sufism, but within the framework of orthodox teaching.

The function of Ibrāhīm al-Ǧulšānī's *takiyya* also reflects the personality of the founder. Indeed, al-Ǧulšānī was the head of his order — the Ǧulšāniyya — and therefore it is not surprising that the dominant function of the foundation was the expansion of his *ṭarīqa*. Moreover, we know from Ša'rānī that al-Ǧulšānī was illiterate (*ummī*) inarticulate (*aġlaq al-lisān*) and unable to express his thoughts. Ša'rānī adds that he was known to have been a great advocate of long uninterrupted sessions of meditations.

It is therefore logical that his followers would be required to spend most of their time in seclusion struggling against their inner self. It is equally improbable that being himself an illiterate, al-Ǧulšānī would have cared to educate his sufis in any of the religious sciences, let alone syntax.

One can finally conclude that during the Ottoman period and due to the downfall of the mamluk centralized power, popular sufism was left to grow and evolve in many

[1] For information on the *zāwiya* in Cairo, cf. « The *Zāwiya* in Cairo », *Annales Islamologiques* XVIII, 1982, 116-121.

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different directions. Sufi institutions such as the *zāwiya,* the *takiyya* or the *ribāṭ,* were founded by both the Ottoman Pashas and high religions officials.

Nevertheless, along with these foundations small *zāwiya*-s built for, or by some sufi shaykhs continued to exist, and as a result the number of sufi foundations was ever increasing. Some of these sufi foundations were conceived as *masǧid*-s, others as *ṭarīqa*-centered *zāwiya*-s, or even *zāwiya-madrasa*-s. The diversification in the function of these sufi foundations was favoured by the type of popular sufism widespread at the time; a sufism which due to its loose organization would attract the patronage of different classes of the Ottoman society, giving each patron the opportunity to shape his foundation the way he liked it.

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