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DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

THE TAKIYYAT IBRAHIM AL-KULSHANI IN CAIRO

The Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani (1519-24, Index 332[1]), also known as the Takiyyat al-Kulshaniyya, was the first religious foundation established in Cairo after the Ottoman conquest in 1517 and the first to be designated a *takiyya* by its foundation deed. Ibrahim al-Kulshani, a Sufi shaykh who escaped the Safavid conquest of Azerbayjan to find refuge in Mamluk Cairo was its sponsor. The shaykh had been born in Diyarbakir in eastern Anatolia, but at an early age had moved to Azerbayjan where he lived in Tabriz, under the patronage of Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, and his qadi ʿAskar Mawlana Hasan. When Uzun Hasan had gained confidence in him, he assigned him some diplomatic missions, which gave the shaykh the status of a government official. One of those missions was to escort Shaykh ʿUmar Rawshani, a Khalwati Sufi whom Uzun Hasan had invited to Tabriz. Ibrahim al-Kulshani himself subsequently became a disciple of ʿUmar Rawshani at his zawiya, and after Rawshani's death in 1486 succeeded him as teacher at the Muzafariyya mosque.

As the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty lost its power, however, al-Kulshani's position became more and more precarious, and when the Safavids finally conquered Tabriz, he fled to Diyarbakir. This too fell into Safavid hands in 1507, and he departed for Egypt, which was at this time ruled by Sultan Qansuh al-Ghuri (1501-16). Al-Kulshani was not the first Khalwati Sufi and disciple of ʿUmar Rawshani to settle in Cairo. He had been preceded by Shaykh ʿAbd Allah al-Damirdash and his companion Shahin al-Khalwati in the reign of Sultan Qaytbay (1468-96).[2] Both of them were said to have been mamluks of Qaytbay who had gone to Tabriz and were initiated there by ʿUmar Rawshani into the Khalwati order of Sufism.[3] When they returned to Egypt, each of them established a zawiya in the outskirts of Cairo, al-Damirdash at Khandaq al-Mawali (today, 'Abbasiyya), and Shahin on the slope of the Muqattam Hill (Index 212). The connection between these two shaykhs and Qaytbay could have been political, for Uzun Hasan and Qaytbay were both enemies of the Ottomans.[4]

Ibrahim al-Kulshani is said to have met in Cairo a Khalwati shaykh—perhaps Shahin or al-Damirdash? —of Shirwani origin, who helped him procure the zawiya outside Cairo known as Qubbat Mustafa. It had been built by Sultan Qaytbay at the village of Marg al-Zayyat for a shaykh named ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-ʿAjami[5] who also functioned as a diplomat, having been sent by Qaytbay on missions to the Ottoman court. The chief qadi, ʿAbd al-Barr ibn Shihna, is also reported to have invited Ibrahim al-Kulshani to Egypt. During his stay at Qubbat Mustafa, Ibrahim al-Kulshani met Sultan al-Ghuri while the latter was out hunting. The sultan granted him living quarters at the khanqah-madrasa of Sultan al-Muʾayyad at Bab Zuwayla. After the Ottoman conquest, al-Kulshani built a zawiya in the same quarter.

The shaykh soon became very popular among the soldiers and officers of the Ottoman army. As a result he was suspected by Governor Ibrahim Pasha of aspiring to political power and was summoned to Istanbul by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-66) to explain himself. While he was in Istanbul he is reported to have founded three tekkes. In the meantime the sultan interviewed him, and his treatises were examined for heresy. He was later allowed to return to Egypt, but to satisfy the sultan he dismissed many of the soldiers from the ranks of his disciples.

Al-Kulshani died in a plague epidemic in 1534; by that time he had reached the extraordinary age of more than a hundred years and seems to have acquired considerable social standing, for his son Ahmad was married to the widow of the last Mamluk sultan Tumanbay. Al-Kulshani was rich and powerful enough not to need the financial help of a sponsor; money was always miraculously multiplying under his prayer carpet. Although he was also the author of several theological and poetical works, Shaʿrani, the Egyptian hagiographer, described him as "an ignoramus who spoke an obscure language and did not articulate his thoughts."

Luckily the takiyya of Ibrahim al-Kulshani itself and its waqfiyya with a description of the original building,

its dependencies, and its functions have both survived.[6] The waqfiyya is also the first attested foundation deed in Cairo to use the arabicized form of the Turkish *tekke* to refer to a religious foundation. To describe the role the takiyya played in Cairene religious life according to historic and waqf sources. one has first to look at comparable institutions in the Mamluk period. Variation in the terminology attached to both Mamluk and Ottoman religious foundations in Cairo complicates the effort, for different institutions sometimes used the same term, and similar institutions different ones.

The Mamluks ruled Egypt long enough (1250-1517) for important changes in social and political life to have occurred. By the end of their 267 years of reign, the khanqah, madrasa, zawiya, and even masjid no longer had the same functions they had filled three centuries earlier.[7] The khanqah[8] was originally a monastic institution, sponsored by members of the ruling class, in which Sufis could retreat and worship as long as they remained dedicated exclusively to religion. In time, it also introduced the teaching of law, thus enabling its Sufi community to become professional scholars and administrators, but at the expense of the original principles of seclusion and asceticism connected with earlier Sufism.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century, the madrasa-khanqah, such as that of Sultan Barquq[9] (1384-86, Index 187), became the common form of religious foundation. As a college for Sufi students with a Friday mosque attached, it integrated Sufism into urban life by dedicating itself to scholarship as well as mystic practice and attaching itself to a jamiᶜ, in contrast to the earlier Sufi masjid, which offered no Friday sermon. Although the term *khanqāh* became rare in the late Mamluk period while the term *madrasa* remained in common use, by its end neither word meant what it had originally designated. The khanqah of Sultan al-Ghuri was not monastic; it had no living quarters; and its Sufis lived and worked outside it except for the daily *ḥuḍūr* session. Similarly later Mamluk waqf documents no longer refer to a madrasa as having a strict teaching program in law, as was common in the fourteenth century; it seems to have become nothing more than a Friday mosque.[10]

The zawiya was also modified as the role Sufism and Sufi shaykhs played in society changed. In the late-Mamluk period Sufi shaykhs, by then recognized as scholars, sponsored madrasas and jamiᶜs.[11] By the eve of the Ottoman conquest, religious life in Cairo was dominated by Sufi shaykhs with large followings, rather than by institutions sponsored by rulers; rulers had long lost their influence in the political-religious sphere.[12] As the hagiography of Shaykh Shaᶜrani shows, the shaykhs spread a personal, esoteric type of Sufism adapted to the requirements of the masses of people who venerated the numerous shrines that were scattered along the fringes of Cairo's urban core.[13] Under these circumstances the Khalwatiyya Sufi order was introduced to Cairo during the last decades of Mamluk rule.

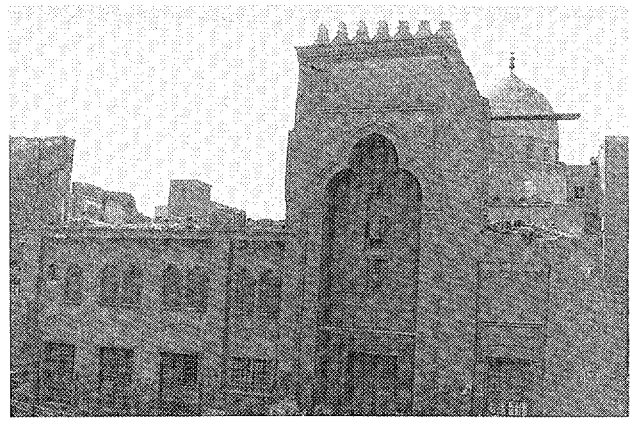
Although the foundation of Ibrahim al-Kushani is designated a takiyya in its waqfiyya, the shaykh's biographers usually call it a zawiya, the term generally used in historic sources for individual Sufi foundations, but rarely applied in architectural epigraphy.[14] There is at least one contemporary zawiya that was so called in its waqfiyya, however, and this was the zawiya of Shaykh Hasan al-Rumi[15] (1522-23, Index 258). The foundation of al-Kushani was very much like it and can therefore be called a zawiya as well. Both were built by shaykhs, both included living quarters for a Sufi community, and both held the tomb for the founder. The term *takiyya* in the waqfiyya thus seems to be a borrowing from Turkish used as a synonym for zawiya.

There may be an other reason for the use of the two terms, however. Other institutions in early Ottoman Cairo known as takiyyas were all built by members of the ruling class.[16] The Takiyyat Sulayman Pasha, or Takiyya Sulaymaniyya (built in 950/1543, Index 225), is called in its inscription a *madrasa*.[17] It was popularly known as *al-takiyya al-Sulaymāniyya*, however, and that is also the phrase used by the historian Shalabi.[18] The founder, Sulayman Pasha, was a governor of Egypt. Another governor, Iskandar Pasha, built a Friday mosque with a takiyya (965/1557), which has not survived.[19] The takiyya, according to the waqfiyya attached to the jamiᶜ, was dedicated to Turkish Sufi students, as was its Hanafi-rite shaykh who taught Islamic law and theology. The Sufis in this takiyya were expected to devote themselves exclusively to learning and worship, and the institution was very similar to the madrasa-khanqah of Sultan Barquq at the end of the fourteenth century.

Mahmud Pasha, another governor, erected a mausoleum (1568, Index 135) attached to a jamiᶜ for sixty non-resident Sufis who attended daily *ḥuḍūr* sessions with their shaykh and received salaries. This foundation is comparable to many mosques of the Mamluk period and also to the khanqah of Sultan al-Ghuri. It had no living quarters, but interestingly, the

waqfiyya stipulates that Sufi performances should take place "as is usual in all khanqahs."[20]

Masih Pasha, also a governor, founded a ribat-takiyya (983/1575, Index 160). *Ribāṭ* is the word used in the waqf for the mosque attached to the complex; the waqf states it was to be used by the *fuqarāʾ*, i.e., the Sufis, implying that its function was limited and did not include a Friday sermon. The same document, another example of the flexibility of terminology, also calls this takiyya a madrasa. Both the ribat and the takiyya-madrasa were dedicated to Shaykh Badr al-Din al-Qarafi and his descendants to administer according to their wishes.[21] A similar Mamluk foundation dedicated by a high-ranking person to a shaykh, the mosque-madrasa of Amir Azdumur (912/1506, Index 174), did have a Friday mosque.



1. Façade of the Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani. Mosque windows are to the left.

PLAN AND ARCHITECTURE

The waqf document of the Takkiyat al-Kulshani is in fairly good condition, though the first part of the manuscript roll is missing. ʿAli Mubarak[22] published a resume of the document in 1888. The waqf is dated Ramadan 948 (1541), eight years after the founder's death and seventeen years after the building was completed (in 931/1524-25 according to its inscription). The document, which is in the name of al-Kulshani's son al-Shahabi Ahmad, states that Ibrahim al-Kulshani sponsored the endowment; its dependencies and other buildings are enumerated. The waqfiyya also declares the sponsor to have been in full possession of his health, sanity, and vitality at the time he established the waqf, and as no reference is made in the text to a previous document, one can assume that this is the original foundation deed.

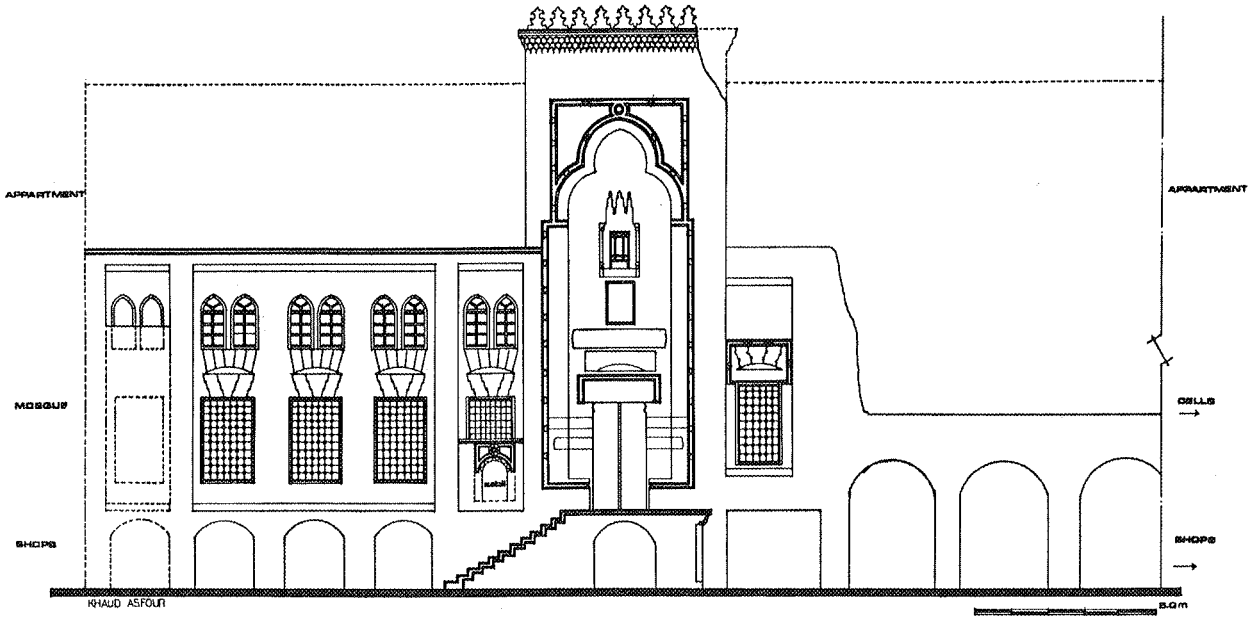
The Takkiyat al-Kulshani (figs. 1-5) stands on the western side of Taht al-Rabʿ Street opposite the site of the Rabʿ al-Zahiri and the western façade of al-Muʾayyad's mosque. As it originally stood, a flight of steps led to the building where it was met by a vestibule with two doors. The door to the right opened onto a second flight of steps to the platform at the center of the complex. The platform, paved with stone, had a prayer niche on the left side of the entrance. The waqf does not specify whether this niche was in a free-standing or a building wall (fig. 4). In the middle of the platform was a mausoleum dome, behind which was a garden. The left door of the entrance vestibule opened onto a masjid situated at a level lower than the platform. Its windows overlooked Taht al-Rabʿ Street. Latrines, ablution fountains, a bath, and a well constituted the western side of the mosque.

On the upper floor above the mosque was an apartment overlooking Taht al-Rabʿ Street. On the southern (left) side of the platform were twelve cells on two floors; on the northern, eight cells on two floors. To the right of the vestibule on the ground level of the platform were four more cells and a kitchen. On the upper floor above them as on the other side of the vestibule was a second apartment overlooking the street.

At ground level, below the mosque on the southeastern corner of the complex, were three shops and a booth (*maqʿad*); four more shops are located under the mosque's windows. A row of shops began to the right of the vestibule, at street level and below the kitchen, and continued under an apartment building (*rabʿ*) adjoining the takiyya.

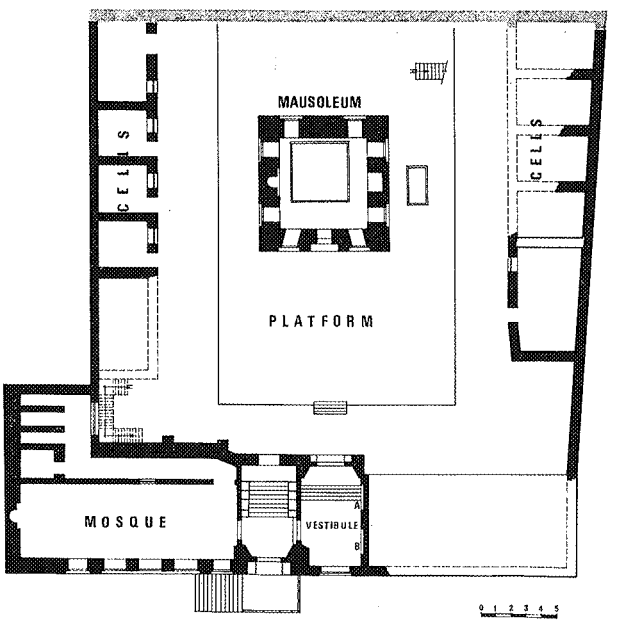
Such was the building as it originally stood insofar as it can be reconstructed from the waqfiyya and the surviving ruins. Today almost all the living quarters have vanished. The upper floor of the entire complex with the two apartments on the street side have disappeared, as have the four cells near the kitchen. Of the other twelve cells only a few rooms on the ground floor have survived (fig. 5). The eight cells on the northern side no longer exist, though the ruins of two still stand. One of them has graffiti written in Arabic and Persian by the Sufi dwellers. The mausoleum dome and the mosque are well preserved, but the prayer niche of the platform is no longer extant.

According to the foundation deed, several structures in the neighborhood of the takiyya belonged to the waqf

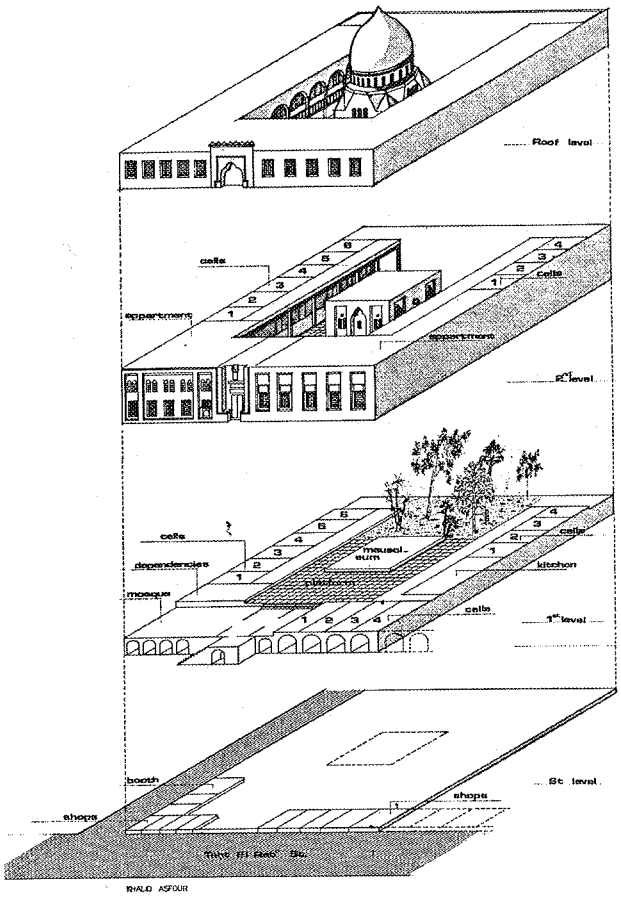


2. The main façade of the takiyya.

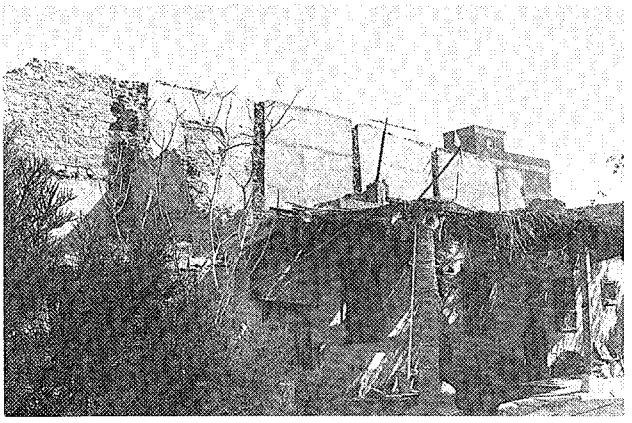
of Ibrahim al-Kulshani, endowed upon the Kulshani family and the takiyya. They also owned a masjid at al-Darb al-Ahmar. None of them has survived. The structures around the takiyya were (1) an apartment complex (*rabᶜ*) composed of eight living units occupying two stories, built partly above shops dealing in offal and partly above an eight-room commercial complex (*wakāla*); (2) a large apartment (*qāᶜa*) together with two smaller apartments attached to the wakala, most likely built around a courtyard surrounded on the ground floor by storerooms and on the upper floors by three apartments and the rabᶜ, and attached to the takkiya on its western side; (3) a row of eleven shops for offal traders, which began underneath the entrance vestibule of the takkiya; (4) a second rabᶜ joining the southern end of the wakala, which had four living units built above a stable; (5) a house with a shop near the Wakalat al-Tuffah, on the eastern side of the takiyya (fig. 13); (6) two apartments opposite the takiyya, near the side entrance to the mosque of al-Muʾayyad and the Rabᶜ al-Zahiri; (7) a house near the western entrance of the mosque of al-Muʾayyad on the side of the Mahmudiyya quarter; (8) a house between the quarters of Jawdariyya and Mahmudiyya, west of the mosque of al-Muʾayyad.



3. Reconstruction of the original layout of the takiyya.



4. Axonometric split-level reconstruction of the takiyya.



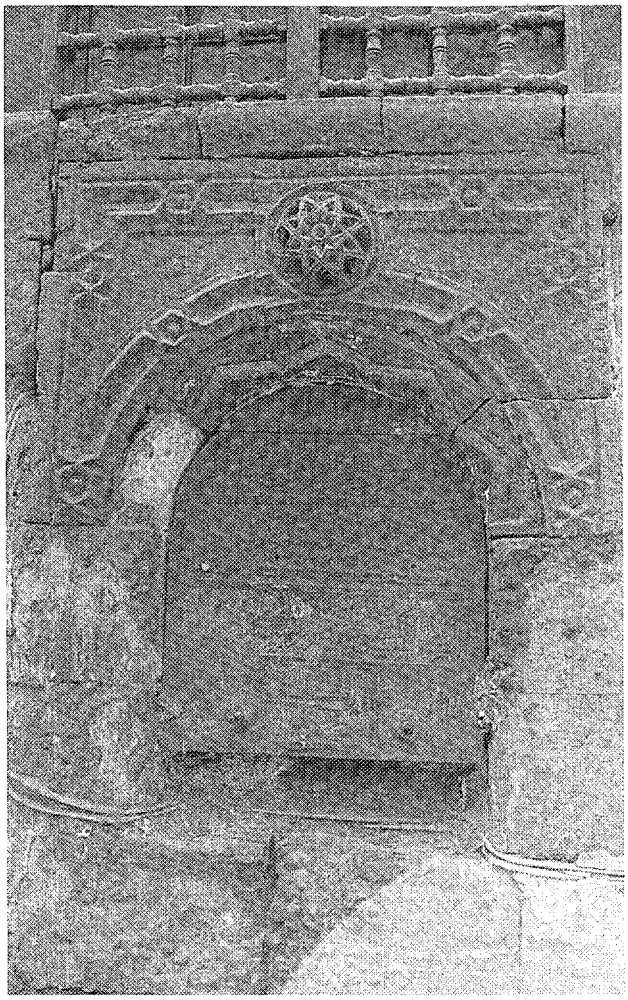
5. Remains of the southern cells.

Because the upper part of the building is missing, the façade lacks the two apartments on both upper sides of the entrance. The shops (fig. 14) and, above them, the mosque and the portal have survived, however. The entrance portal is enhanced by a pishtaq making the wall above the portal higher than the rest of the façade. A cornice of stalactites crowns the pishtaq underneath the crenellation. Compared to portals of the late Mamluk period, this one is quite plain. Instead of the usual half-dome above stalactites or the trilobed arch framing a groin vault, here there is a trilobed arch above a shallow recess without vault or stalactites. A similar device was used at the madrasa of Azbak al-Yusufi (1494-95, Index 211), though on a side entrance and not on the main portal.

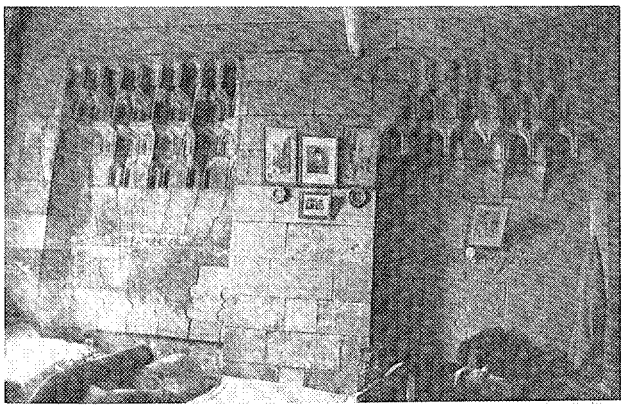
Also lacking the usual stalactites are the window recesses of the mosque. Above the entrance door is a small window with a small short stalactite cresting. Although less ornate than earlier Cairene façades, the façade of the Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani remains faithful to Mamluk tradition and betrays no Ottoman elements in its architecture and decoration. The limited use of stalactites can be explained by the transfer of craftsmen to Istanbul by Sultan Selim when he conquered Egypt two years before this building was started.

On the left side of the entrance, blocking the first window of the mosque, is a small fountain (fig. 6). Its inscription says that it dates from 1258 (1842-43), and was sponsored by Ibrahim ibn ʿAli, servant of the Kulshani order.

In the vestibule of the takiyya which connects the entrance to the platform the wall that faces the entrance has two recesses with openings that are now walled up (fig. 7), but must once have been windows or doors, judging from their joggled lintels. Only their upper parts are visible; the rest is buried under the floor of the vestibule. The two recesses are each crowned with a stalactite cornice; the one to the right has apparently been restored. Because decorations such as these were usually applied to exterior façades rather than interiors, and in this particular case the decoration also does not fit in with the plain façade of the takiyya, the openings must have predated the takiyya. The rest of the structure suggests this as well: the wall backs onto part of the place once occupied by one of the cells on the platform level and part of a shop on the street level. Since the shops already existed in that location when the foundation deed was written, the wall must almost certainly predate the building of the takiyya and its vestibule.



6. Nineteenth-century sabil on the left side of the entrance.



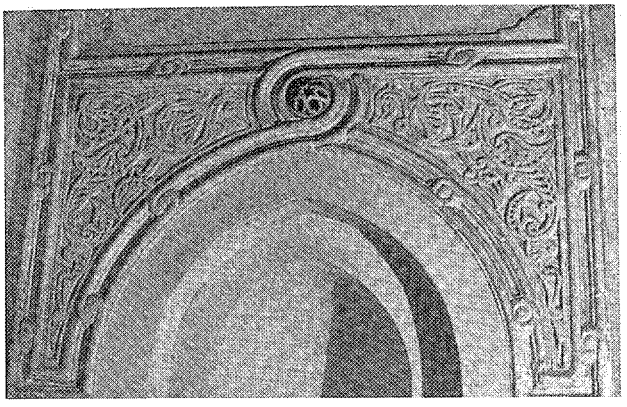
7. The vestibule of the takiyya. Walled-up windows with stalactite cornice.

That the blocked openings are more ornately treated than the façade, that they are walled up, and that their lintels differ from those of the mosque windows all strongly suggest that a pre-existing wall was incorporated into the masonry of the vestibule when the takiyya was erected.

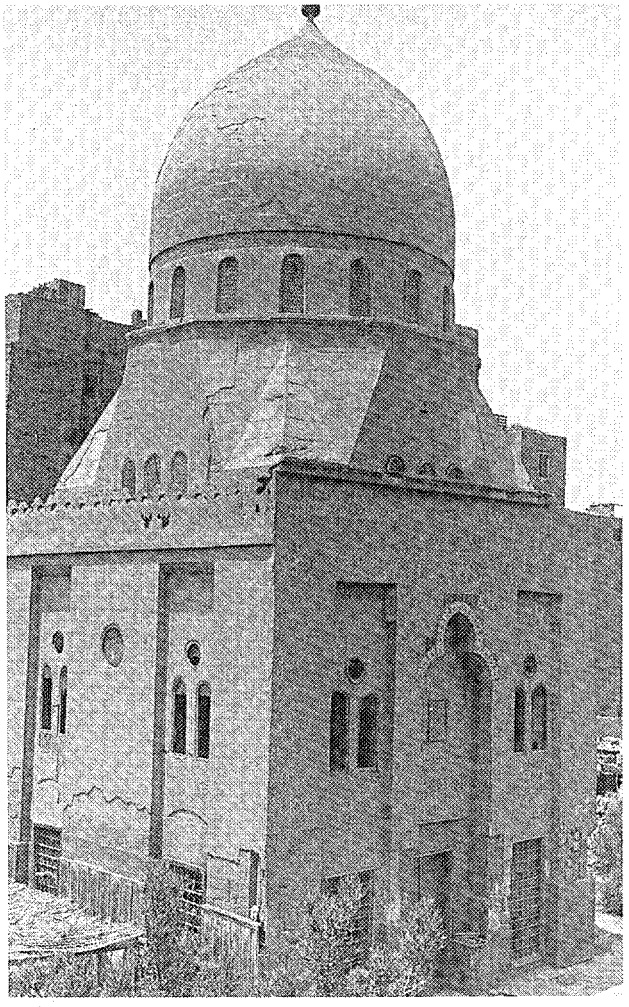
Other architectural features on this right side of the façade suggest that two different stages of construction are involved. The window to the right of the entrance is placed slightly higher than the mosque windows on the left side; its lintel is treated differently, and its size is not quite the same (fig. 2). The shops on the right side of the entrance are also higher than the ones on the left.

The mosque is informal in plan compared to other mosques of the time. The foundation deed calls it a masjid, and since it did not hold Friday prayer it was intended primarily for the use of the Sufis attached to the takiyya rather than for public functions. It is an oblong hall with windows overlooking the street on the south façade. It did not have a minaret. The mihrab on the back wall could well be original, judging from its Mamluk-style pointed arch and the carving on the spandrels (fig. 8).

An informal and most unusual feature was the apartment built above the mosque, the only surviving example of this arrangement. Mosques are often built above shops, but they are not themselves surmounted by commercial or residential structures. Most mosques of the Ottoman period, if they are not covered with a dome, such as those of Sulayman Pasha or Malika Safiyya, have a protruding lantern supported by columns in the center of the roof to provide light. Zarakhshi[23] of the Shafiʿi rite said that dwellings should not be built above mosques. In Egypt, Mamluks and Ottomans adhered to the Hanafi rite, but the Shafiʿi rite continued to play a major role. To find the mosque of al-Kulshani surmounted by an apartment for the shaykh is therefore surprising.



8. The conch of the prayer niche of the mosque.



9a. The mausoleum dome of Ibrahim al-Kulshani.

The great mausoleum dome (figs. 9-10a-d), free on four sides, stands in the middle of the platform. It was once surrounded by the living units, with the mosque on one side and a garden on the other. Like the entrance to the takiyya, its entrance is enhanced by a shallow trilobed recess. The façade of the mausoleum dome on the platform side is covered with Ottoman-style tiles of various types, periods, and colors, haphazardly applied. Most of them are of the Iznik type, though a few are monochrome green tiles reminiscent of the tiles on the mosque of Sulayman Pasha in the Citadel (1528, Index 142) and on the Qubbat Shaykh Saʿud (1534, Index 510), also sponsored by Sulayman Pasha. Neither the waqfiyya of al-Kulshani nor the detailed description of this building made by Evliya Çelebi[24] in the second half of the seventeenth century refers to the tiles. That they were a later addition is confirmed by the way they have been applied on the façade of the dome to hide the crenellation on that side of the building. A nineteenth-century photograph (fig. 11) tells us that the engaged columns at the corners and the original inscription band that flanks the entrance door were also once covered with tiles.

The architecture of the mausoleum is faithful to Mamluk funerary architectural style, except that it is free-standing, unlike funerary structures in the city. The dome itself is built in carved stone, which indicates the importance of the foundation, since most domes in the late Mamluk period that were not carved were built in brick covered with plaster. Examples are Qijmas al-Ishaqi (1480-81, Index 114) and Abu'l ʿIla (ca. 1485, Index 340). The mausoleum of Sultan al-Ghuri (1503-4, Index 67) was built in wood and then tiled. That of Qurqumas (1511, Index 170) near the mosque of al-Hakim (recently removed) was of plain stone construction similar to the Kulshani mausoleum. This mausoleum dome and the dome above the sabil of Yaʿqub Shah al-Mihmandar (901/1495, Index 303) are the only surviving plain stone domes of the late Mamluk period. The transitional zone of the Kulshani dome is segmented into twelve sides, one on each façade and two at each corner where a pyramidal structure leads from the rectangular chamber into the circular base of the dome.

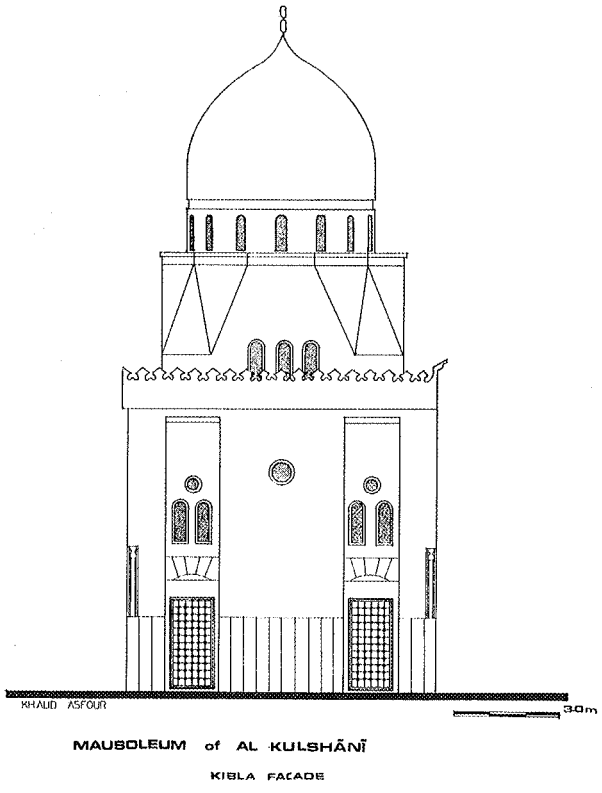
The interior of the dome is today occupied by an enclosure of later date which includes wooden cenotaphs, and the entire interior with stalactite triangular pendentives is painted in an early-nineteenth-century style. Two inscription bands, one on the upper part of the rectangular chamber just below

9b. The mausoleum dome of Ibrahim al-Kulshani surrounded by the platform (general view).

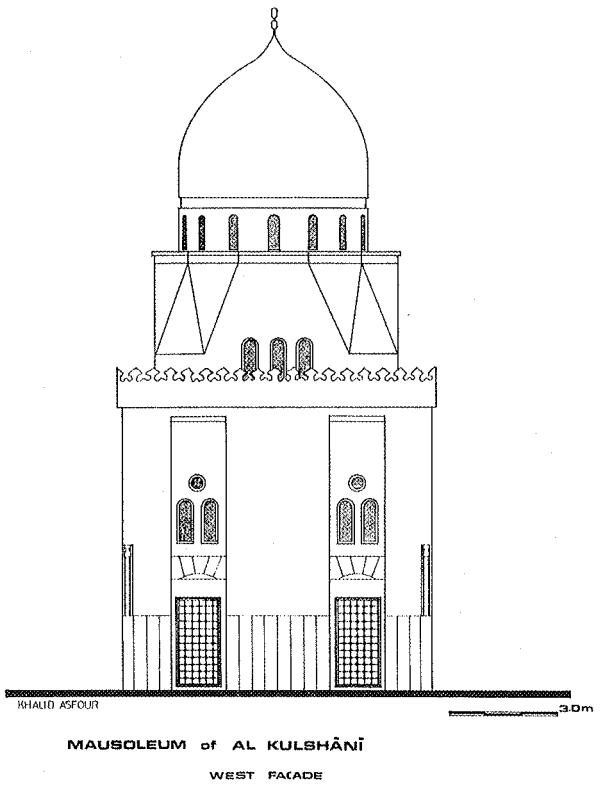
the transitional zone and the other between the lower and upper windows, are written in very heavily interlaced late Mamluk thuluth script. Underneath the upper windows of the rectangular chamber is a painted band of inscriptions set in cartouches, executed in nastaliq script. They are quotations from poetry and must have been put there when the interior was painted and tiled.

In the sanctuary of the mosque of al-Muʾayyad, an inscription decorated with tiles similar to those of the Kulshani mausoleum refers to a restoration made by Ibrahim ibn ʿAli, servant of the Kulshani order, in 1255 (1839),[25] presumably the same Ibrahim ibn ʿAli mentioned in the inscription on the sabil added to the façade of the Kulshaniyya. The use of the same types of tile suggests that the restorations of the Kulshaniyya and of al-Muʾayyad date from the same time and that they included painting, adding the tiles and the sabil, and most likely other work as well.

The nineteenth-century photograph (fig. 11) also shows part of the takiyya as it was more than a hundred years ago.[26] On the viewer's left (the south side of the building) are wooden columns carrying round arches and supporting a gallery that connects the cells on the upper floor. On the platform to the left is a prayer niche underneath a projecting structure; it must be that mentioned in the foundation deed and also in Evliya's description. The round arches in the photograph could have been added in the nineteenth-century restoration; the round arch characteristic of Ottoman architecture was not used in the late Mamluk period, though it was at the time of the Fatimids (the city gates) and the early Mamluks (the portal at the khanqah of Baybars al-Jashankir, 1306-10; the gate of Manjaq, 1346; the sabil of Shaykhu, 1354; etc.). The mosque of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel has the earliest surviving round arches from the Ottoman period in Cairo. A plan drawn by Patricolo[27] in 1916 shows additional structures at the Kulshaniyya which were later removed.



10a. The qibla façade of the mausoleum dome.



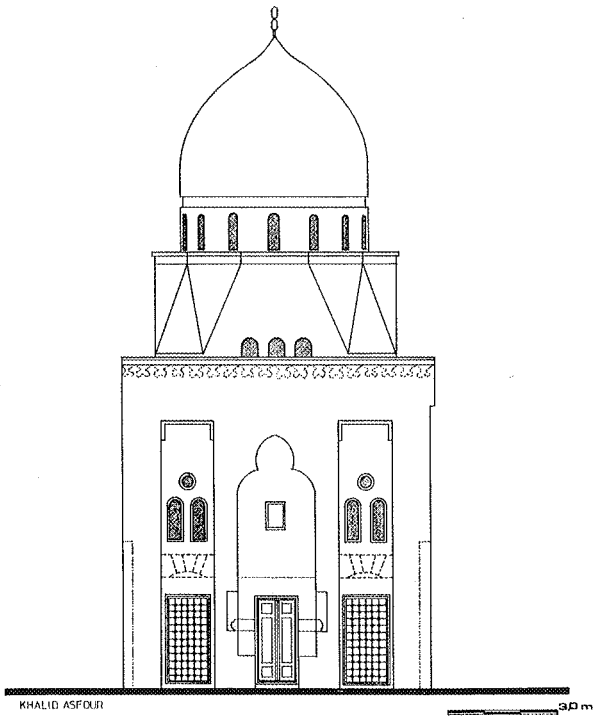
10b. The west façade of the mausoleum dome.

FUNCTIONS

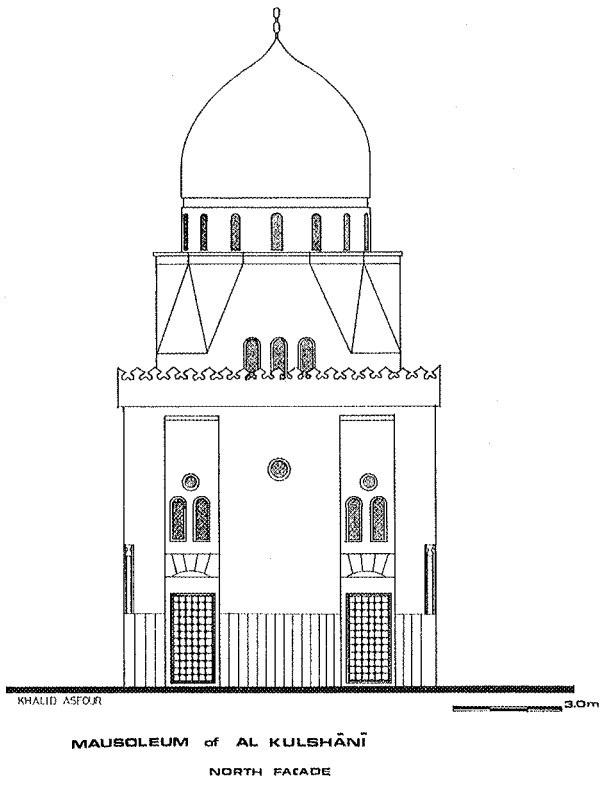
As is customary, the waqfiyya describes the premises and structures endowed by the pious foundation and stipulates the functions of both the building and the persons attached to it. The masjid is to observe the five daily prayers, and to be a place of gathering, seclusion, and worship; the dome is a mausoleum for the founder and his descendants; the space immediately in front of the dome (*ḥarām*) was not to be used for burial; the garden behind the dome was to be maintained. The cells and the platforms surrounding the dome and its *ḥarām* are to be used as a takiyya for all Sufis (*fuqarāʾ*) who follow Ibrahim al-Kulshani. The apartment above the mosque is for the founder's grandson, al-Zayni Fathi Jalabi, son of his daughter and of al-Zayni Darwish Ibrahim, and his descendants. In case there are no descendants, the apartment should be rented for the profit of the takiyya. The second apartment, located above the vestibule and the kitchen, is for the founder's son Shaykh Shahab al-Din and his descendants. If there are none, it should be used by whoever is head of the takiyya. The waqfiyya does not mention what Shaʿrani and Evliya tell us, that the Sufis of the takiyya were buried underneath the cells they occupied during their lifetime.

The persons employed at this takiyya, both religious and administrative, are enumerated together with their duties and followed by their monthly wages in *niṣf*:

an *imām* for the mosque, 10
a *muʾadhdhin*, to call the faithful to prayer, 5
a *waqqād* in charge of storing the oil and lighting the lamps, 15
two *farrāsh* to clean the premises, 12 each
a *dāʿī*, in charge of prayers for blessings after the usual prayer, 5
a *qāriʾ* or reader of the Quran, 5
a *mubāshir* in charge of financial matters, 10
a *jābī* to collect the rents, 10

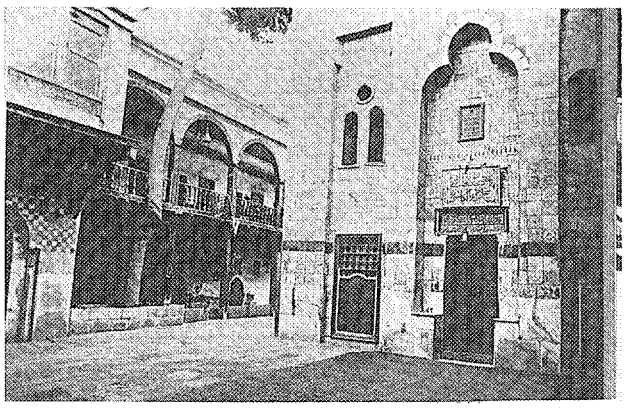


10c. The east façade of the mausoleum dome.



10d. The north façade of the mausoleum dome.

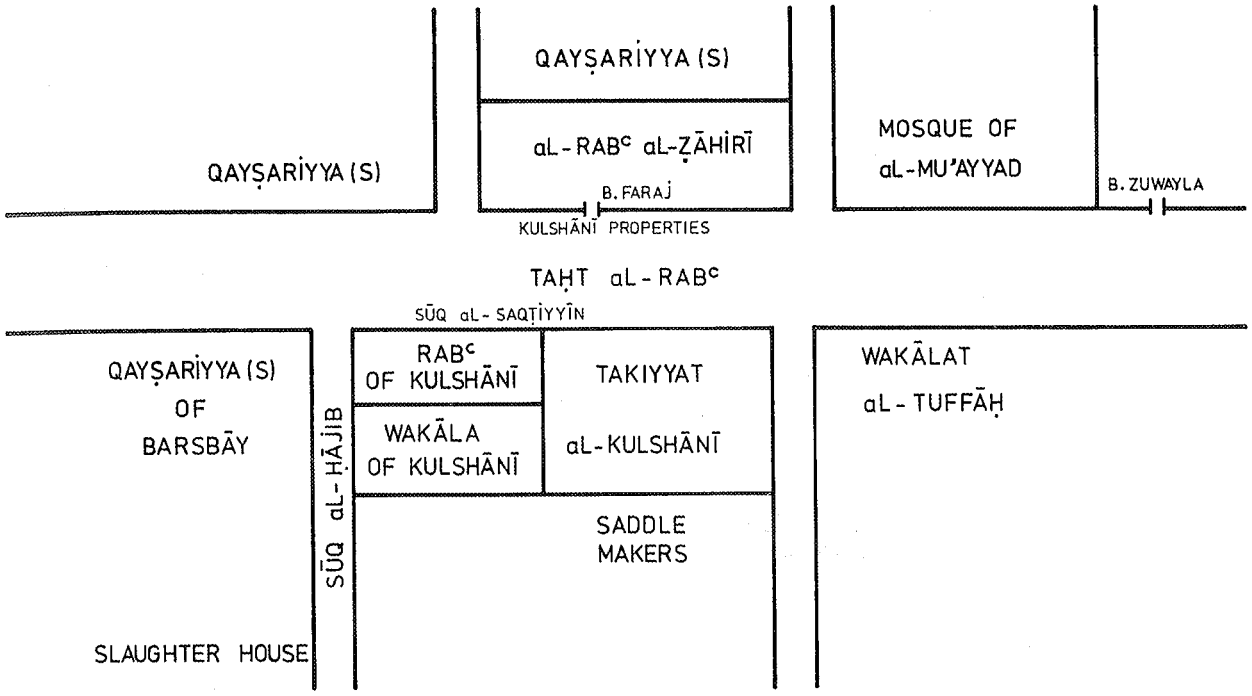
a *wakīl khurj* to provision the kitchen, 12
a baker, 10
two *sufrajī* in charge of serving the meals, 5 each
two servants in charge of cleaning the ablution fountains and latrines, 12
a gardener, 5
a cook, 15
a *muzamallātī*, in charge of distributing drinking water from the fountain at the vestibule (wages not indicated)



11. Nineteenth-century photograph with the mausoleum to the right; the cells and a prayer niche are to the left. (Courtesy Department of Antiquities, Cairo.)

Shaykh Shahab al-Din, son of Ibrahim al-Kulshani, was entitled to 30 *niṣf* monthly, as was Ibrahim al-Kulshani's grandson Fathi Jalabi. Both salaries were to be paid to their descendants after their death, as follows:

> To Qadi ʿAbd al-Rahim, *nāẓir al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya* [i.e., supervisor of the courts] of the provinces of Buhayra, and [illegible name] and his descendants from his wife, the founder's daughter, 22 n.; to Makhdumazada [?] and her descendants, 22 n.
>
> The supervisor (*nāẓir*) of the foundation should fill the function of head of the takiyya and should receive 30 n.
>
> The grandson of Ibrahim al-Kulshani, Fathi Jalabi, and his descendants should fulfill the function of secretary (*mutawallī*) of the waqf.
>
> Qadi ʿAbd al-Rahim, mentioned above, should oversee both the supervisor and the secretary, who should not dispose of anything from the waqf without his permission.



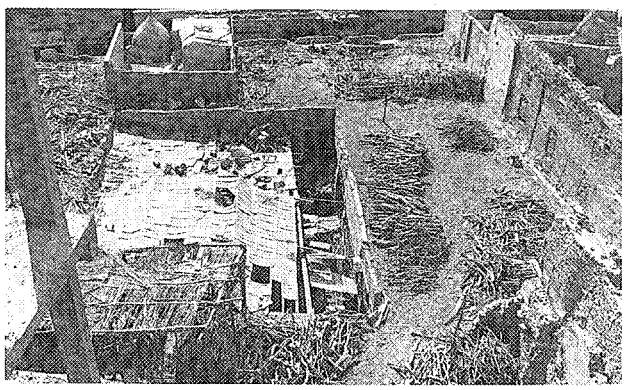
12. A schematic plan of the environs of the Takiyyat al-Kulshani in the early sixteenth century.

These stipulations show that the family of the shaykh received the largest share of the foundation's salaries and were, moreover, entitled to occupy the two large apartments on the north side of the building. What the waqfiyya does not specify is exactly what the duties and curriculum of the Sufis admitted to the takiyya were to be, both items that generally were included in waqfiyyas of this type from Mamluk and Ottoman times. One may assume that the head of the takiyya coordinated these duties. Unlike other Sufi institutions, no salaries were provided for the Sufis of the takiyya. It is not clear from the document whether or not the staff mentioned were to be recruited from the Sufis attached to the takiyya. Visiting Sufis were allowed to stay and be fed for three days, as stipulated in passages dealing with kitchen expenses. It is not stated that the Sufis should be Turks, as it was for the zawiya of Hasan al-Rumi, but Evliya writes that no Arabs were included, and Kulshani's biography refers only to Turkish disciples.

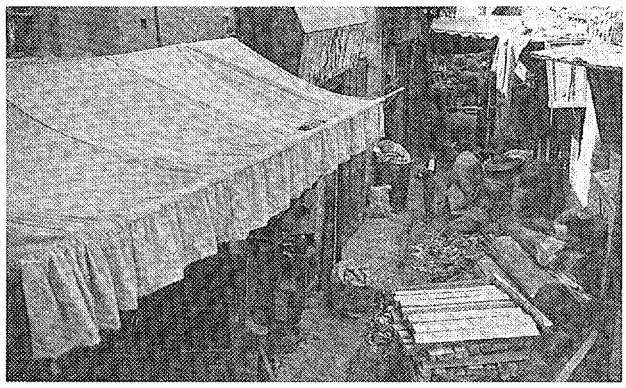
Al-Nabulsi, who visited the takiyya in 1693-94, calls it a "zawiya" having a "masjid without a roof," referring to the platform with the prayer niche.[28]

Evliya[29] dedicates a long paragraph of his description of Egypt (1672-80) to the Takiyyat al-Kulshani, which he tells us has three doors (those at the entrance, to the mosque, and to the platform) and an upper inscription band quoting sura 41:33. He also writes that the second door leads to a fountain. The waqf deed refers to a *mazmala*, or place for the distribution of drinking water, located in the vestibule. The mihrab of the platform carried an inscription, sura 2:144.

Evliya, like Shaᶜrani before him, says that under each of the Sufi cells were tombs. When a Sufi died he was buried beneath his cell, and his belongings were sold for the benefit of the foundation. He further reports that three hundred Sufis dwelled there and that on Fridays the platform was covered with luxurious silk carpets. The evening prayer (*ᶜishā'*) took place there, followed by recitations, *dhikr*, and reading of the Surat al-Mulk. The Sufis held hands, formed two circles, and recited and chanted accompanied by flutes. The hall was perfumed with incense; rosewater was sprinkled on the audience's faces; and sweet drinks were served. The performances lasted seven or eight hours, during which the poetry of al-Baghdadi and ᶜUmar al-Khayyam was



13. Remains of the Wakalat al-Tuffah.



14. Shops underneath the takiyya as they appear today.

recited. The Sufis of the takiyya had to be Turks, learned men, and notables; no "Arabs" were admitted.

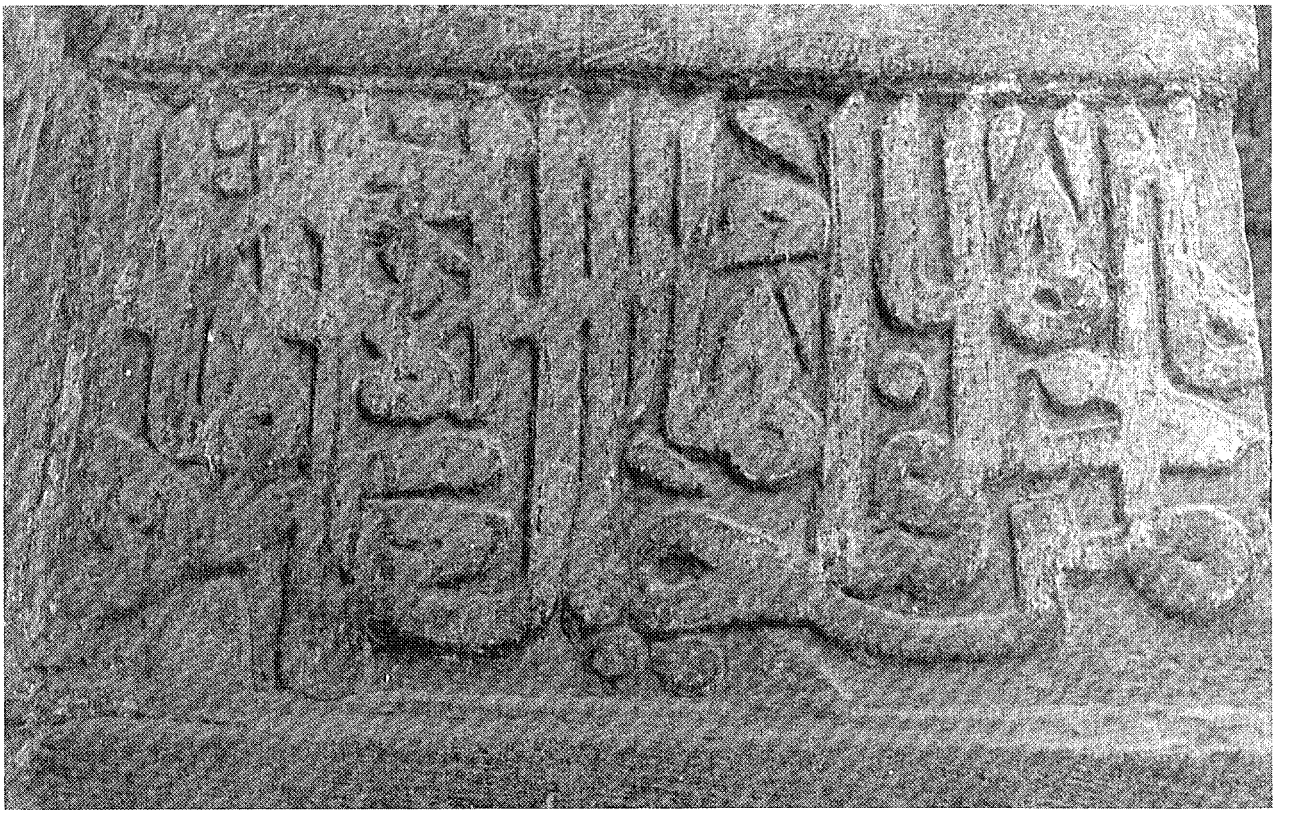
LOCATION

The Takiyyat al-Kulshani stands in a bustling street in what is today the Taht al-Rabᶜ quarter, originally Taht al-Rabᶜ al-Zahiri, which stretches beyond the walls from Bab Zuwayla to the gate of Bab al-Kharq.[30] The quarter south of the gates was called Harat al-Sudan in Fatimid times; its buildings were demolished by Salah al-Din who laid out gardens on the site. The street, Taht al-Rabᶜ al-Zahiri, owes its name to the Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Baybars (1260-77), who built a large rabᶜ there to endow his madrasa at Bayn al-Qasrayn. It must have been a substantial structure, as it was built above two qaysariyya intended to lodge a commercial or industrial center, one of which was the Qaysariyyat al-Fuqaraᵓ. The rabᶜ of al-Zahir was two stories high and had 120 apartments. It was burned down during the religious riots of 1321.[31] A waqf deed dated 865 (1460)[32] dealing with its restoration mentions the markets located in the neighborhood in the fifteenth century: headgear makers (*zumutiyyīn*), vegetable dealers, and shoemakers (*adamiyyīn*). According to Maqrizi's account, the street between Bab Zuwayla and Bab al-Kharq was an important commercial artery including several qaysariyyas, no doubt owing to its proximity to the city gates and to the Khalij of Cairo. Qaysariyyat al-Hasani, Qaysariyyat al-Fuqaraᵓ, Qaysariyyat al-Muhsini, Qaysariyyat Bashtak, and Funduq al-Tuffah are mentioned. Maqrizi also refers to the Suq al-Saqtiyyin, the offal market, above which Kulshani later erected his complex, and the Suq al-Aqbaᶜiyyin, or market of headgear makers.

All the buildings on the south side of Taht al-Rabᶜ Street belonged to a pious foundation established by Amir Aqbugha ᶜAbd al-Wahid, an amir of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, for his madrasa near the mosque of al-Azhar (1339, Index 97). Some other structures belonged to a woman called Dunya. The buildings on the north side of the street were part of the endowment for the madrasa of al-Zahir Baybars until Sultan al-Muᵓayyad began to destroy several structures in the vicinity to build his own mosque and its dependencies (1415-20, Index 190). The waqfiyya of al-Muᵓayyad[33] mentions a market for straw mats opposite the western side of the mosque and a qaysariyya opposite its southern façade.

Al-Muᵓayyad acquired the Dar al-Tuffah (also called Funduq al-Tuffah or Wakalat al-Tuffah), which had been a waqf of Amir Tuquzdumur (1339) to endow his khanqah in the cemetery. The Dar al-Tuffah was the center of trade in fruit coming from the Egyptian provinces. The market was in poor repair at the time, and al-Muᵓayyad acquired it by means of *istibdāl*. Waqf property cannot be sold, but under certain conditions it can be exchanged, and *istibdāl*, the procedure for doing so, has often been used as a disguised form of purchase. He ordered it pulled down so it could be rebuilt, but he died before the scheme was completed. Today a few massive walls of the building remain (fig. 13). Al-Muᵓayyad also owned two rabᶜs in the neighborhood, one near Bab Zuwayla and the other near Dar al-Tuffah.

That the street was commercially important is indicated by the concentration of prominent names



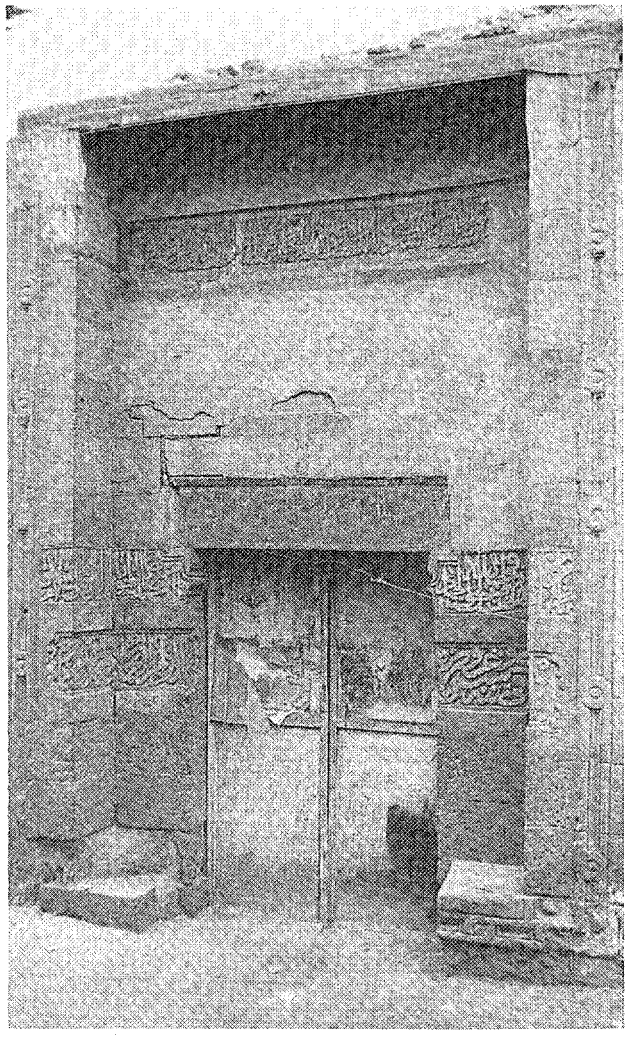
15. Lower inscription band to the left of the main entrance.

among the building owners in the neighborhood. Most of them were sultans or amirs: Sultan Barsbay (1422-38) owned two qaysariyyas south of the Suq al-Hajib near the offal market. His waqfiyya mentions a slaughterhouse west of the Saqtiyyin,[34] which explains the presence of the offal trade, shoemakers, and saddlemakers in the neighborhood in Kulshani's time. Sultan Qaytbay (1468-96)[35] built a mosque, a primary school, and two public fountains on the north side of the street. Sultan al-Ghuri also had properties in the quarter. His waqfiyya[36] mentions forty-four shops located under the rabᶜ of al-Zahir in the headgear-makers' market, which means that he acquired them from al-Zahir's or al-Muʾayyad's foundation. He also had thirteen shops on the opposite side of the street occupied by the offal market, and later by the Kulshaniyya and four shops further west, at Suq al-Hajib. Today Taht al-Rabᶜ is still a busy street with small shops and workshops dealing with cloth, metal, and wood.

INSCRIPTIONS

The Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani's inscriptions are Quranic and historic. The lower of the two inscription bands carved on either side of the main entrance (fig. 15) does not, as is customary, include the foundation date; the date is instead inscribed on the wall of the vestibule that faces the platform inside the takiyya (fig. 16). Of the inscriptions at the entrance, the upper band is Quranic and the lower is a text written in rhythmic prose in so obscure a style and with so many serious grammatical mistakes in the Arabic that it is impossible to make it all out.

The subject of the inscription is land ownership. The first phrase, *man aḥyā arḍān maytā*, poses no problem; it is the first part of a hadith of the Prophet, *man aḥyā arḍān maytā* [sic] *fa hiya lahu*, "He who revives a dead land is entitled to own it";[37] the second part was left out. The next phrase is the most difficult. It could read, "just as the land we have revived," if one assumes an



16. Façade of the vestibule toward the platform with its inscriptions.

orthographic error in the carved text, or, "just as whoever digs it out," followed by a sentence which could be interpreted as "The mountain was of dust so he built it [the land] up...." The biography of Kulshani refers to a mountain of dust as high as the dome itself that had to be removed before starting construction.[38] Then, after a missing word, the text can be easily read, "from its lower to its upper part for the sake of the foundation we have erected...." The band on the right side of the door is completed by the band opposite. It reads, "after it became the property of the one who revived it from its decay, revived it by taking as a property of his own, we have revived it with God's mercy as a home ..." (the remainder of the phrase is unintelligible).

Though interpretation of a part of the inscription remains conjectural, one thing is certain: it presents in poetic form a justification or apology by the founder for having built this takiyya on land which did not belong to him. The hadith inscribed signifies that whoever exploits land, whether public or private, is entitled to take it as his property. The Hanafi rite, to which Ibrahim al-Kulshani probably adhered, states on the contrary, that there is no such thing as *arḍ mawāt*, dead land, in a city. The particular plot was originally the waqf of Aqbugha, part of which was taken by Sultan al-Ghuri by legal or illegal means. Therefore it had an owner, and, according to Islamic law, even if an owner neglects his property, it still cannot be considered as dead land. A free and unconventional interpretation of a hadith here allows the founder to justify his appropriation of land on the grounds that its structures were in ruin when he occupied it and that he dedicated it to pious purposes.

Both historic documents and the waqfiyya from the Mamluk period testify that Taht al-Rabᶜ Street was a very lively commercial artery before Shaykh Ibrahim al-Kulshani erected his complex there. The Takiyyat al-Kulshani is built immediately next to the Wakalat al-Tuffah, the center of the fruit trade. Maqrizi writes that al-Muʾayyad was not able to complete his scheme for rebuilding it because he died just as the upper walls were being pulled down.[39] We do not know whether it was left in ruins until Kulshani came to build his takiyya, but there are still remains of an important commercial building on the site. The waqfiyya of al-Muʾayyad mentions a market (*funduq*) for offal near the Wakalat al-Tuffah, and perhaps this was the structure incorporated by Kulshani into his building.

Shaykh Ibrahim al-Kulshani's biography tells us that he first lived at al-Muʾayyad's mosque, but that the local shaykhs there objected. Since he was familiar with the quarter and had the support of the newly arrived conquering troops of the Ottoman army, he looked for a site in the same neighborhood to establish his own takiyya. The waqf of Sultan al-Muʾayyad mentions ownership of properties on both sides of Taht al-Rabᶜ Street. Both Maqrizi and the waqfiyya of Barsbay record that the offal market belonged to Amir Aqbugha's foundation. Sultan al-Ghuri and before him al-Muʾayyad managed to acquire shops there. As al-Kulshani's waqf states, his takiyya was erected above the offal shops; other properties were situated on the

opposite side of the street and thus the Kulshani estate included structures on the waqfs of Aqbugha, al-Mu'ayyad, and al-Ghuri.

Ibrahim al-Kulshani would not have been able to build a large complex in this crowded and prestigious area on sites totally covered by pious foundation endowments unless the property was obtained from earlier waqfs, and that was ostensibly illegal. Maqrizi writes that Taht al-Rab' Street boasted "one of the most glorious markets, very much in demand for dwellings ... people would fight for the right to dwell there and carry their quarrels up to the rulers...."[40]

The history of the great religious foundations of the Mamluk period shows that it was not at all uncommon for someone as important as a sultan or amir to build on illegally acquired land, but al-Kulshani was only a Sufi shaykh. A look at the circumstances tells us how he got away with it. He started to built his takiyya in 1519, two years after the Ottoman conquest and completed it according to the same inscription in 931 (1524), five years later. Five years is rather a long time to take for constructing a building in Cairo. There must have been some reason for the long delay, and the entrance inscription suggests that it was a legal problem. Legal problems had already confronted the shaykh during his stay at the Mu'ayyadiyya.

In 931 when the takiyya was completed the governor of Egypt, Ahmad Pasha[41] (nicknamed al-Kha'in, the Traitor) was accused, along with others, of collaborating with the Shi'ite Safavid rulers of Iran, the greatest enemies of the Ottomans. A new governor, Ibrahim Pasha, was then delegated to inspect the Egyptian province, including its legal and financial matters, and to establish the reforms (*qānūn nāmeh*) of Sultan Süleyman. During this inspection, Ibrahim's suspicions were directed toward Ibrahim al-Kulshani, who was accused of aspiring to rule Egypt, and he sent Kulshani to Istanbul for interrogation by the sultan. The lower inscription band at the entrance could well have been added during this clash between al-Kulshani and the Ottoman authorities, when it became necessary for him to justify himself; the unusual reference to the "mountain of dust" was one of his arguments.

Mamluk history is in fact replete with accounts of usurpation of waqf land by amirs and sultans. Maqrizi, speaking of Sultan Qala'un's complex, relates the sultan's illegal acquisition of building materials and of the land itself on which the complex stands, commenting, "a thief stealing from another, a usurper usurping the other...."[42] Sultan al-Mu'ayyad, whose property was later acquired by al-Kulshani, had illegally acquired the beautiful bronze doors and a chandelier from Sultan Hasan's mosque, and his waqf refers to estates previously owned by al-Zahir Baybars and Aqbugha. Maqrizi especially takes to task Amir Aqbugha, whose offal market is also mentioned with al-Mu'ayyad's properties, and on which al-Kulshani later established his takiyya. When Aqbugha was put in charge of royal buildings (*shad al-'amā'ir*) under Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad,[43] he usurped the land upon which he built his madrasa and exploited his masons by not paying them fairly. Illegalities such as these figure prominently in his biography.[44]

Al-Kulshani is a special case, as he was neither amir nor sultan, but a Sufi shaykh and Anatolian immigrant who had managed to acquire a position in Cairo society sufficiently powerful to marry his son off to a sultan's widow. His power was based on his popularity among the Ottoman soldiers garrisoned in Cairo. In the first five years after the conquest, just before the Mamluk regime was overthrown and before the Ottoman administrative reforms were introduced, a vacuum must have existed which the Ottoman army tried to fill. Ibrahim al-Kulshani, unlike his companions Shahin al-Khalwati and 'Abd Allah al-Damirdash, chose the city for his activities and played a role in its politics and problems.

SYMBOLISM

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt did not change local architectural traditions, but as is common in a change of regime, it did add new forms. In some cases, the forms were adopted faithfully, as in the mosque of Sulayman Pasha in the Citadel. In others, they were mixed with local elements, as in the mosque of Sinan Pasha at Bulaq (1571, Index 349). The usual mosque plan was Mamluk, however, with some modifications that were the result of natural evolution rather than foreign influence. The only striking change in religious buildings after the Ottoman conquest was the replacement of the Mamluk minaret by the pencil-shaped Ottoman one. Until the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, architectural decoration remained essentially Mamluk, with the addition of a few Ottoman patterns.

No Ottoman influence can be seen in the architecture of the Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani. What survives of it—the dome, the façade composition, and the portal—all use a Mamluk architectural vocabulary. Its plan, however, and in particular the location of the

mausoleum dome as a free-standing structure in the middle of the complex, is unparalleled in Cairo.

In her study of urban religious-funerary architecture,[45] Christel Kessler showed that the mausoleum domes of sultans and amirs were located on either side of the prayer hall and open to the street. If the Mecca orientation of the religious building did not coincide with a view onto the street, the street orientation was favored and the mausoleum was detached from the prayer hall so that the founder of the mausoleum could have the prestige of a tomb visible to the public. Kessler showed that this characterized Mamluk ruling-class funerary architecture in the urban core. In the course of the fifteenth century, as part of the cemeteries acquired an urban character, the mausoleum was also attached to the prayer hall so that windows could be opened onto the main road, as in those of Barsbay, Qaytbay, and Qurqumas.

No such set rules applied to religious foundations established by the religious class. Most of the buildings erected by shaykhs became shrines, and thus over the years underwent restorations and embellishments that often destroyed their original character. The mausoleum attached to it was often added later by his disciples (e.g., Zayn al-Din Yusuf, Shahin al-Khalwati, Abu'l ʿIla). Finally, religious buildings erected by shaykhs were usually outside the urban center where street orientation was less of a problem. However, the mausoleum domes of Shaykh Dashtuti (1506, Index 12) and Shaykh Shaʿrani (ca. 1567, Index 59) both overlook the street and adjoin the qibla wall. Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani was the first foundation to be built by a shaykh in such a central location, yet it still does not follow either the pattern of mausoleums of the ruling class or of other shaykhs. At Takiyyat al-Kulshani, the founder could well have located his mausoleum near the prayer wall, and it could easily have overlooked the street, but he chose to do neither. Instead he made it invisible to passersby and detached it from the mosque.

The effect of the layout is that the mausoleum dome, already impressive in its size, dominates the whole complex, while the mosque, both in its architecture and its location, occupies a subordinate position. This conception of religious architecture reflects the personality of the founder, who designed the building as a place in which to propagate his own interpretation of Khalwatiyya Sufism, to provide his descendants with an income and living quarters, and in particular to leave a shrine for himself. As Ibrahim al-Kulshani had the means to erect a rather large foundation, we have here a prominent example of a category of religious architecture quite different from that sponsored by members of the ruling class. Those built by his two companions, Shahin al-Khalwati and ʿAbd Allah al-Damirdash, also survive and are also revealing.[46] Shahin al-Khalwati, a strict ascetic, built his mosque perched on the Muqattam Hill overlooking the cemetery and remote from the bustle of the city. Damirdash's chapel, originally built in an orchard, is the only mosque in Cairo to include tiny cells for the *khalwa*, the Sufi seclusion exercise which characterizes this order.

Al-Kulshani saw his role in society very differently, and, it appears, he also considered himself almost holy—his disciples are said to have quarreled for the right to drink the remains of his washing water![47] His unorthodox religious attitude is witnessed by Shaʿrani,[48] who writes that al-Kulshani told his disciples not to make the pilgrimage to Mecca for the sake of a more genuine approach to God. Could it be that the large mausoleum, free standing in the middle of the complex, is meant to be reminiscent of the Kaʿba?

Munich
Federal Republic of Germany

APPENDIX: EPIGRAPHY

Only the inscriptions of the takiyya that are obviously original will be dealt with here; the others, primarily inside the mausoleum, appear to have been added during the nineteenth-century restoration and are of no interest in this context.[49] The original inscriptions are written in a tightly interlaced thuluth which is extremely difficult to read at a distance.

A. MAIN ENTRANCE

Upper band: [Quran, Sura 41:33; 3:171.]
Lower band, right side of door:

من احيا ارضا ميتا مثل الذى (sic) احييناها كان الجبل من تراب
اذ بناها ..... اسفل لاعلاها لاجل العمارة التى بنيناها

Lower band, left side of door:

بعد ان صارت ملكا لمن احياها من فناها احيا العمارة باخذها
كالملك في ملكه عمرناها من رحمة الله دارا .....
.....

[The poetic text of this inscription has been discussed and part of it translated above.]

B. FAÇADE OF THE VESTIBULE ON THE PLATFORM SIDE

Above the door:

انشأ هذا المقام الشريف برهان الملك ومريد الدين الفقير السالك بتوبة رفيق هدى رب العالمين ادخلوها بسلام امنين

"Has built this noble shrine, the "evidence of power" the aspirant of religion, the ascetic (*faqir*), the pursuer with repentence, companion of God's inspiration, enter it in peace and faith." [The last phrase is from the Quran.]

Lower band, right side of door:

ابتدأ بنا هذا المكان المبارك فى سنة ست وعشرين وتسعمائة

"The beginning of construction of this blessed foundation was in the year 926."

Lower band, left side of door:

وكان الفراغ من العمارة فى سنة احدى وثلاثين وتسعمائة

"The completion of the foundation was in the year 931."

Upper band, right side:

بتاريخ بناء هذه المنشأه لجماعة الخلوتيين المجاهدين فى سبيل الله حق الجهاد

"With the date of construction of this foundation for the community of the Khalwati, those who fight for God's sake, the worthiest fight."

Upper band, left side:

صارت بامر رب العالمين جوابا للسالين ادخلوها بسلام آمنين

"It has become by God's order an answer to the askers, enter it with peace and faith."

C. THE DOME

Above the door: [A frame with nastaliq script, Sura 39:73.]
The entrance, right side of door:

يا مفتح اللابواب افتح علينا برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين

"O you who open all doors, open upon us your mercy, thou the most merciful of all."

Left side: [The last part of Sura 12:101, preceded by *ṣuḥbat al-ṭayyibīn al-ṭāhirīn*, "together with the good and pure ones."]
Drum of the dome, outside: [Sura 48:1-5.]
Inside the dome: [The inscriptions could not all be read because of the wooden enclosure that blocks part of the view. They consist of a series of Quranic fragments.]
Upper band: [Fragments of Sura 3:191, 194, 196.]
Lower band: [Fragments of Sura 3:133-34, 198; 24:36-38.]

NOTES

1. Numbers in parenthesis throughout refer to the *Index of Muhammadan Monuments in Cairo*. For information on al-Kushani, see Muhyi-yi Gülseni, *Menâḳib-i Ibrâhim-i Gülseni*, ed. Yazici (Ankara, 1982): 323 ff., 357 ff., 440 ff.; Kasim Kufrali, "Gulşeni," in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*; Tahsin Yazici, "Gulshānī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed.; B. D. Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes," In Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints and Sufis* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), pp. 275-305; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Jadīda al-Tawfīqiyya* (Bulaq ed., 1306 H.), vol. 6, p. 54; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Cairo, 1954), p. 148; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira bi Aʿyān al-Miʾa al-ʿĀshira*, vol. 2 (Beirut, 1979), p. 84.
2. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, pp. 147, 184; Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira*, pp. 192, 150; Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Jadīda*, 5:30; 3:112.
3. Ernst Bannerth, "Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdashiyya in Kairo," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 62 (1969): 116-32.
4. Ibid., p. 118.
5. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, ed. M. Mostafa (Cairo, 1963), vol. 3, pp. 181, 315 ff.; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, n.d.) vol. 6, p. 209.
6. Egypt Ministry of Waqfs (Wizārat al-Awqāf), Daftarkhāna, waqf 432.
7. J. Pedersen, "Masdjid," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st. ed.; Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (henceforth *MCIA*), Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique au Caire (Cairo, 1903), pt. 1, pp. 253 ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa'l-Athar* (Bulaq, 1270 H.), vol. 2, pp. 262 ff.
8. Leonor Fernandes, "The Evolution of the Khanqah Institution in Egypt," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1980, pp. 82 ff., 92; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, pp. 414 ff.
9. Saleh Lamei Mostafa, "Madrasa, Hanqah und Mausoleum des Barquq in Kairo," *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe* 4 (1982): 118-29 (with waqf text).

10. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Function and Change in Mamluk Religious Institutions," *Annales Islamologiques* 21 (1985): 73-93; discussion of this evolution based on waqf documents of the period.
11. For example Shaykh Shaʿrani calls his own foundation a madrasa (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, 2:140); the mosque of Shaykh Abu'l ʿIla is called a madrasa in its inscription (Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Athariyya* [Cairo, 1946], p. 277).
12. Leonor Fernandes, "The Zawiya in Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 116-21.
13. Jean-Claude Garcin, "Histoire et hagiographie musulmane à la fin de l'époque mamelouke et au début de l'époque ottomane," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976,* vol. 2, *Egypte post-pharaonique* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1979), pp. 287-316.
14. The zawiya of Zayn al-Din Yusuf is the only surviving Mamluk building that has the term *zāwiya* in its inscriptions (cf. Laila Ali Ibrahim, "The Zawiya of Šaiḫ Zain al-Din Yusuf in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 34 (1978): 79-110.
15. Wizaret al-Awqāf, Daftarkhāna, waqf 1079.
16. In the Mamluk period only one foundation, Khanqah Nizamiyya, is recorded as having been founded as a khanqah by a shaykh; all the others were sponsored by members of the ruling class (van Berchem, *MCIA*, pp. 242 ff.).
17. Aḥmad Shalabī ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Awḍaḥ al-Ishārāt fī man Tawallā Miṣr al-Qāhira min al-Wuzarāʾ wa'l-Bāshāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Cairo, 1978), p. 107.
18. Wizarat al-Awqāf, Daftarkhāna, waqf 919, pp. 11 ff., 53 ff., 62 ff.
19. Ibid., waqf 1022.
20. Ibid., waqf 2836, pp. 27, 49, 133, 154.
21. Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya (Citadel, Ḥujjaj al-mulūk wa'l-umarāʾ), no. 281.
22. Cf. note 1.
23. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zarakhshī, *Iʿlām al-Sājid bi Aḥkām al-Masājid* (Cairo, 1397 H.), p. 407.
24. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyāhatnamesi*, vol. 10, *Misir, Sudān, Habeş 1672-90* (Istanbul, 1938), pp. 243 ff., 467.
25. Van Berchem, *MCIA*, p. 343, identifies this Ibrahim ibn ʿAli as Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad ʿAli, viceroy of Egypt. This is, however, doubtful, as Ibrahim Pasha was not known by this name at the time, nor is a connection between him and the Kulshani order documented. ʿAli Mubarak does not refer to any restoration (*Khiṭaṭ* 5:130) done by him at the mosque of al-Muʾayyad.
26. Courtesy of the Antiquities Department, Cairo, Egypt.
27. Courtesy of the Antiquities Department, Cairo, Egypt.
28. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī, *al-Ḥaqīqa wa'l-Majāz fī Riḥlat al-Shām wa Miṣr wa'l-Ḥijāz 1105-6*, mss., Dār al-Kutub, Jughrāfīa 344, 1213 H., p. 123.
29. Ibid.
30. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:363 ff.; 2:270, 91, 93, 100, 105, 106, 379; André Raymond and Gaston Wiet, *Les Marchés du Caire* (Cairo: IFAO, 1979), pls. 1 and 2.
31. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:514.
32. Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya (Citadel: Ḥujjaj al-Mulūk wa'l-Umarāʾ), no. 126.
33. Wizarat al-Awqāf, Daftarkhāna, waqf no. 882 (copy), pp. 8 ff; also Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Jadīda*, 5:124 ff.
34. Wizarat al-Awqāf, Daftarkhāna, waqf no. 881, pp. 101 ff.
35. Ibid., no. 888, pp. 41 ff.
36. Ibid., no. 883, p. 45.
37. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Masʿūd al-Kasānī al-Ḥanafī, *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ fī Tartīb al-Sharāʾiʿ* (Cairo, 1910), vol. 6, p. 194.
38. *Menakib*, p. 440 f.
39. Martin, *Short History of the Khalwati Order*; Shalabī, *Awḍaḥ al-Ishārāt*, pp. 103 ff.; al-Isḥāqī, *Akhbār al-Uwal fī man Taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min Arbāb al-Duwal* (Cairo, 1311 H.), p. 156.
40. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, p. 93.
41. Ibid., p. 379.
42. Ibid., p. 408.
43. Ibid., p. 384.
44. Ibn Iyās, *Badaʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 4:53.
45. Christel Kessler, "Funerary Architecture within the City," *Colloque international sur l'Histoire du Caire* (German Democratic Republic, 1969), pp. 257-68.
46. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "An Unlisted Monument of the Fifteenth Century: The Dome of Zawiyat al-Damirdash," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 105-15; see also idem and Leonor Fernandes, "Sufi Architecture in Early Ottoman Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 20 (1984): 103-14.
47. Al-Manāwī cited by Tawfīq al-Ṭawīl, *al-Taṣawwuf fī Miṣr Ibān al-ʿAṣr al-ʿUthmānī* (Cairo, 1946), p. 163.
48. See above n. 1.
49. A. F. Mehren published an inscription with a text of Persian poetry above the portal of the dome (*Cahirah og Kerafat* [Copenhagen, 1897], vol. 2, p. 19).