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## THE FOUNDATION OF BAYBARS AL-JASHANKIR: ITS WAQF, HISTORY, AND ARCHITECTURE

The purpose of this study is to examine one of the earliest extant Mamluk khanqahs, that of Baybars al-Jashankir (*Index of Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo*, no. 32; built in 1306-10), in the light of its endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) and the historical sources contemporary to it. The reasons for selecting this particular foundation are three: first, the building is in fairly good condition; second, its waqfiyya and contemporary sources provide information that allows us to determine its plan and functions with a reasonable degree of clarity; and third, both the building and the sources enable us to determine how the monument was inserted into a complex urban fabric and thus grasp the difficulty of the task the "architect"<sup>1</sup> was given when he was asked to put up a building that would satisfy both his patron and the unwritten architectural laws defining funerary architecture of the period.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the political considerations that reinforced the historical importance of this particular Sufi foundation will be examined in the light of the development of organized orthodox Sufism and the evolution of the khanqah, its official institution.

The introduction of the khanqah into Egypt by Salah al-Din in 1173 and its establishment as a religious institution officially sponsored by the state set the precedent for patronizing Sufi foundations. Although it was not until the Mamluks came to power that the institution underwent the full development that led to its complete acceptance by the religious class and its integration into Egyptian society,<sup>3</sup> from the early Ayyubid period onward, the ruling class nurtured a growing interest in Sufism in the popular form expressed by the orders (*ṭarīqa*). Accordingly a special relationship developed between some Sufi shaykhs and members of the ruling elite who sought to extend their patronage to their mentors by building them foundations (*zāwiya*) and providing them with rich endowments (*waqf*). Shaykh al-Khidr (d. 1277), a protégé of Baybars al-Bunduqdari, for example, built a number of zawiyas for Baybars in Egypt and Syria.<sup>4</sup> Al-Nasir

Muhammad is known to have built or restored several zawiyas, among them those for the two Tarturiyya brothers, Muhammad and Ahmad, and for Shaykh Taqiy al-Din Rajab al-ʿAjami.<sup>5</sup>

Despite their sponsoring of shaykhs, however, and their involvement in the construction of zawiyas, sultans as well as amirs were not yet ready openly to endorse the institution still disapproved of by the majority of the ulema and *fuqahāʿ*.<sup>7</sup> Only on rare occasions do we see the name of a royal or amirial patron appear on the inscriptions of zawiyas they built or endowed with waqfs. One of these rare exceptions is on the zawiya built in 1379 for Shaykh Hajji Rajab al-Shirazi al-Haydari by Amir Barquq.<sup>6</sup>

While patronage of popular Sufism by the ruling class was cautious and restrained, its endorsement of orthodox Sufism based on the Sunna was more open and led to the sponsorship of official Sufi foundations. Despite the founding of a number of khanqahs before Baybars's time, however, none had been built in the religious center of al-Qahira proper since Salah al-Din's transformation of the Fatimid palace of Saʿid al-Suʿada into a foundation for Sufis. It was precisely in an effort to identify himself with Salah al-Din, the great champion of Sunnism, that Baybars put up his monument to Sufism in the midst of Fatimid Cairo. By so doing he opened the way for the full integration of the khanqah institution into Mamluk society and ensured the historical importance of his foundation forever.

The building complex—khanqah, qubba, ribat—Baybars al-Jashankir had built lies within the walls of al-Qahira on Bab al-Nasr street in what is now the quarter of al-Jamaliyya. Like his peers, Baybars chose to build his religious foundation on a valuable site—his was once occupied by the Dar al-Wizara, a Fatimid palace. It had stood near the Rahbat Bab al-ʿId, the famous square from which the Fatimid caliph used to leave his palace surrounded by his private guard and retinue and, joined by the rest of the army, attend the prayers of ʿId.<sup>7</sup>

Between the Fatimid overthrow in 1171 and the year 1203, the morphology of the square (*rahba*) had remained practically unchanged. From the early thirteenth century, however, urban development began to encroach upon it, and it was gradually filled in with houses, mosques, and other structures.<sup>8</sup> In the Ayyubid period, the sites occupied by the Fatimid palaces had attracted royal religious foundations, mainly madrasas. Salah al-Din, for example, soon after seizing power, authorized the building of a number of madrasas, and the capital of the Shi'ī caliphs was soon to become the main center for the diffusion of Sunni Islam.

At the end of the Ayyubid period a woman named Shajar al-Durr initiated a further development by adding a funerary dome to a madrasa that had been built in the center of al-Qahira by her husband, Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, the last of the Ayyubid sultans. This madrasa, the Salhiyya, which had been completed in 1243 on the Bayn al-Qasrayn,<sup>9</sup> was already the scene of an important ceremony—the swearing of the oath. By adding the mausoleum to commemorate her husband's death in 1249, Shajar al-Durr enhanced the importance of the street to the point where subsequently this parade route became the symbolic and visual locus for Mamluk claims to power and legitimacy.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the Qasaba, the main artery of al-Qahira, became the "royal avenue" along which Mamluk rulers built funerary foundations for themselves and their families. Baybars al-Bunduqdari built his madrasa in 1262-63 next to that of Salih Najm al-Din; Qala'un built his complex in 1284-85 opposite that of his former master; and al-ʿAdil Kitbugha began construction on his madrasa next to Qala'un's complex. Kitbugha's building was then bought and completed by al-Nasir Muhammad, son of Qala'un, in 1304. Later al-Zahir Barquq, who had usurped power from one of the descendants of Qala'un and put an end to Qala'unid rule, chose to build his funerary complex next to the madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad. The last royal construction on this main avenue is that of al-Ghawri at the end of the Circassian period.

While this avenue seemed at first to be reserved mainly for royal religious foundations, the rest of the area was covered by Fatimid palaces and attracted high-ranking amirs. As a mamluk slave who had gradually risen to power during his master's lifetime and reached high position under the latter's son al-Nasir Muhammad, Baybars was bound to follow the pattern adopted by his predecessors when choosing a location for his foundation. It had to be near his

master's complex and on a Fatimid palace site. In Baybars's case, other factors may also have affected his choice of location, the most important of them being his admiration for Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, whom he tried to emulate. Like him, Baybars was a strong supporter of the Shariʿa and was said to be fanatically religious;<sup>11</sup> he chose to build a khanqah to house Sunni Sufism, and he chose to place it near the Fatimid Dar Saʿid al-Suʿada<sup>2</sup> which had been transformed into a khanqah by Salah al-Din in 1173.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, a practical consideration may also have induced Baybars to choose the particular location he did: he was aware that building materials were available on the site ready to be reused. We are told by Maqrizi that Baybars did take a considerable amount of building material from the Fatimid Dar al-Wizara, including the famous Abbasid window, one of the insignia of the caliphate in Baghdad.<sup>13</sup> Creswell, who studied the architecture of this building, wrote: "Two pieces of woodwork from this building are preserved in the Museum of Muslim Art. One is a window shutter consisting of a frame and two leaves . . . (reg. # 480) . . . and is probably loot from a Fatimid palace, perhaps the Palace of the Wazirate which occupied the same site. Its measurements show that it would exactly fit the lateral window of this vestibule . . . The other piece . . . (reg. # 478) . . . appears to be the door of a cupboard. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

According to Maqrizi, the construction of the khanqah of Rukh al-Din Baybars al-Jashankir al-Mansuri was begun in the year 706 (1306), when the latter was still amir. The foundation consisted of a khanqah next to which Baybars built a large ribat, whose access was from inside the khanqah. Next to it he also erected a dome (*qubba*), under which his tomb is located. The dome has windows giving onto the street that runs between the Rahbat Bab al-ʿId and the Bab al-Nasr. Among them is a large window, the significance of which Maqrizi explains in his discussion of the khanqah:

... and this dome has windows giving onto the street [that runs] from the Rahbat Bab al-ʿId to Bab al-Nasr. Among the windows is the large window (*shubbāk*) brought by Abu'l Harith al-Basasiri<sup>15</sup> from Baghdad, when he defeated the Abbasid Caliph al-Qa'im and sent [to the Fatimid caliph] his turban and a window that had been in the Dar al-Khilafa in Baghdad and at which the caliphs used to sit. This is the window that I have mentioned in the section on Akhbar Dar al-Wizara in this book. When the window arrived from Baghdad, it was put in the Dar al-Wizara, and remained there until Amir Baybars built

the khanqah mentioned. He put the window in the qubba of his khanqah, and it is still there up to this day. It is a window of great value, with no ostentation, yet likely to reveal the pomp of the caliphate.<sup>16</sup>

In the section on the Dar al-Wizara he adds, "... it is the large window made of iron that is in the dome under which Baybars al-Jashankir was buried, in his khanqah ... and this is the window at which the readers (*qurrā*<sup>3</sup>) sit to read. ..."<sup>17</sup>

Maqrizi goes on to say that when Baybars planned his khanqah he did not appropriate building materials, but rather bought the Dar al-Amir 'Izz al-Din al-Afram which was located in Misr (Fustat) and the Dar al-Wazir Hibatallah al-Fa'izi, and took from them whatever reusable building material there was. Baybars also bought the Dar al-Inmat in the Harat al-Judariyya in al-Qahira, and took construction material both from it and from the surrounding buildings. In an effort to win Baybars's favors, Amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Baktash al-Fakhri told him of a cave (*maghāra*) underneath his father's palace (*qasr*). Since the grotto was believed to contain some Fatimid treasure, his father had had it opened, but he found only precious marble there and had it closed up again. When Baybars heard the story, he sent a number of his amirs to open the cave and check its contents, and they too only found marble, which they brought back to him. Baybars used it in his khanqah, his mausoleum (*qubba*), and his residence (*dār*). What was left over he had stored in the khanqah where it is still kept. To put up his complex, Baybars also had to buy and tear down a number of properties which stood on the land occupied by the Dar al-Wizara. In the end the total site for the khanqah-qubba-ribat complex covered about one and a third faddans (i.e., approximately 7,285 sq.m.).

When the khanqah was completed in 1309, four hundred Sufis were appointed to it, and a hundred soldiers (*junds*) and elderly people who were the "sons of amirs" (*abnā' al-nās*) were selected to live in the hospice (*ribāt*). A kitchen (*maṭbakh*) was installed in it to provide the meat, three loaves of bread, and sweets that were distributed daily to the Sufis. Arrangements were made for a lesson (*dars*) on the Prophet's Traditions (*hadīth al-nabawī*) to take place in the mausoleum, with a teacher (*mudarris*) and a number of students of tradition (*muḥaddithīn*). Readers (*qurrā*<sup>3</sup>) were appointed to read the Qur'an at the large window night and day, one group following the other. Baybars endowed the khanqah with a number of estates in Egypt and Syria.

When Baybars was killed in 1310, al-Nasir Muhammad closed down the foundation and confiscated its waqf. He also ordered the removal of Baybars's name from the inscription band (*ṭirāz*) above the window at the back of the khanqah. The khanqah remained closed for twenty years; then it was reopened at the beginning of the year 726 (1325) by al-Nasir, and its waqfs were restored to it.<sup>18</sup>

Maqrizi's account is corroborated by most other historical sources of the period, except for a slight discrepancy between his date and that which some of the others give for the start of construction. Ibn Iyas<sup>19</sup> reports that work had begun in 705 (1305); Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani pushes that date to 707 (1307).<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Maqrizi himself writes in his *Sulūk* under the year 707 (1307), "*wa fihā 'ammara al-amīr Baybars al-Jāshankīr al-khānqāh al-Rukniyya ... wa waqafa 'alayhā awqāf jalīla ...*" ("In it the amir Baybars al-Jashankir has founded the Khanqah al-Rukniyya...and endowed it with important waqfs").<sup>21</sup> This prompted Creswell to find disagreement between Maqrizi's account in the *Khiṭaṭ* and in the *Sulūk*.<sup>22</sup> A closer look at the terminology used in the two texts will clarify this apparent disagreement, however. In the *Khiṭaṭ*, Maqrizi writes, "*banāhā al-muzaffar Rukn al-Dīn Baybars ... fa bada' fī binā'ihā fī sanat 706 ...*"; in the *Sulūk* he writes, "*wa fihā 'ammara al-amīr Baybars al-Jāshankīr al-khānqāh ...*" The term *'ammara* has a broader connotation than *bana*, and implies not only building, but also making livable, refurbishing, and populating. In an attempt to explain the term *'imāra*, Nur al-Dīn al-Jawhari al-Maliki (d. 1655) writes, "*wa 'imāratuhā takūn bi inshā'ihā, wa barm ma tahaddamā minhā, wa tazyīnihā bi'l farsh wa ṣiyānatihā ...*" (Its *'imāra* is achieved by putting it up and renovating that part of it which has suffered damage by cleaning it, lighting it with lamps, and allowing discussions to take place in it, and by furnishing it with household effects, and maintaining it").<sup>23</sup> We can therefore understand Maqrizi's use of the term *binā'ihā*, under the year 706 (1306) as referring to the beginning of the construction and his use of *'ammarahā*, which occurs in the chronicles under the year 707 (1307), as referring to the foundation of the institution—that is, the drawing up of the legal documents whereby Baybars (the owner of the building) dedicated it to the Sufis and endowed it with sources of revenue to ensure its survival through the centuries.

The use of the term *'ammara* to mean the foundation of the building as a khanqah is confirmed by the

endowment deed in Baybars's name. The two waqfiyyas in the name of amir Baybars al-Jashankir bear the date Shawwal 707 (April 1308). Since Maqrizi was familiar with the waqfiyya documents, from which he often quotes, we can assume that his choice of terms in each case was deliberate and referred to two different events.

### THE WAQFIYYAS

The Dar al-Watha'iq in Cairo has two endowment deeds in the name of Baybars al-Jashankir,<sup>24</sup> both of them dated Shawwal 707 (April 1308), and drawn up when Baybars was still amir. A third document,<sup>25</sup> found among a group listed as miscellaneous, can now be identified as belonging to the same founder. The document bears the royal titles of Baybars, who is referred to as "*mawlānā al-sultān al-malik al-muzaffar Rukn al-duniyā wa'l-dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī*," and is dated 708-9 (1309-10).

The three documents are written on parchment in bold naskhi. The beginning of the first two is missing; the third consists of a very badly damaged text with very few complete lines. All three provide information on the construction of the building. The texts of the first two begin by listing the various endowments of the foundation. Among them are a residence (*dār*), shops (*hawānūt*), a bazaar (*qaysariyya*), two loggias (*maq'ad*), an oil press (*maṣara*), a tenement building (*rab*), two towers (*burj*), possibly pigeon towers or a water tower, and agricultural land in both Egypt and Syria.<sup>26</sup> All are stated to be legally in the possession of the founder and under his control at the time the document was drawn up. The section that follows deals with the information pertaining to the foundation itself. The building is described, the function of each of its units specified, the appointment of its personnel and their salaries explicitly defined. The part of the document pertaining to the khanqah reads as follows:

All of the place (*jami' al-makān*), land and building, part of it being known as Dar al-Wizara, is located in al-Qahira al-Mahrusa between the khanqah known by the name of Sa'id al-Su'ada,<sup>2</sup> to the right of the passerby [going] from the Rahbat Bab al-'Id, and the khanqah in the direction of the Jami' al-Hakim and the Bab al-Nasr and the rest. [It is] also located to the left of the passerby [going] from the place referred to above to the Rahbat Bab al-'Id, and the khanqah and the road branching off, and the rest. The [place] consists to this day of what the founder (*waqif*) put up (*ansha'ahu*), [that is] two iwans opposite each other built in limestone and brick.<sup>27</sup> In the back of the larger iwan is a mihrab. It is flanked by two vaulted wings (*janāḥayn*)

built in limestone. In the back of each of them is a wind-catcher (*bādhānāj*). The second iwan has three slightly raised steplike platforms (*marātib*). In one of the recesses is a windcatcher [the document does not specify in which of the three, but the structure is still extant in the back wall of the iwan]; all of this is built in limestone and arched. Between them [the two iwans] is an open courtyard (*dūrqa'a*) in which are sixteen rectangular doors, with doorsteps of limestone, giving onto the interior. Between them are two *majlis* [lit., a place to sit] located opposite one another. In each of them are three doors. [The place] also has a large iwan, older in construction, with a large wind-catcher in its back wall; and the large *majlis* in the large courtyard, also the latrines (*marāḥid*), the well (*bi'r ma' mu'in*), the wooden waterwheel (*sāqiya*) attached to it, and all the other dependencies and rights [pertaining to the place]. All this is bordered and limited by four boundaries. The qibla is limited by the ruined hammam and the residence (*dār*) known as al-Janāb al-'Āli al-Sayfi Sudun, and the place known as Dar al-Dawlab, and by the passageway (*zallāqa*) leading to the well (*bi'r*) in the street. The Bahri border is limited by the shops (*hawānūt*) and the Tariq al-A'zam. On this side is the main door, the passageway, and the well. It extends up to the Madrasa al-Shamsiyya al-Qarasunquriyya and the school for orphans (*maktab*) known to have been founded by al-Maqarr al-Shamsi Qarasunqur al-Mansuri. And the Sharqi side is bordered by the property known as [that of] al-Janāb al-'Āli al-Sayfi Sudun, referred to above, and by the passageway (*zallāqa*), the shops (*hawānūt*), and the stable (*istabl*) waqf; [it] comes to an end at the buttresses (*aktāf*) found there and the passage (*majāz*) of the hammam. The western border is limited by the passage (*dirkāh*) referred to above, followed by the shops of the waqf, the madrasa al-Shamsiyya, and the stable and the ruined property (*khirba*) of al-Maqarr al-Shamsi Qarasunqur al-Mansuri to the Tariq al-A'zam, and finally the buttresses which are in the southern border and passage of the hammam and public fountain (*mazmala*) below the school for orphans built by al-Maqarr al-Shamsi Qarasunqur al-Mansuri.

Having dealt with the layout of the complex and the delineation of the structure, the waqfiyya proceeds with the legal formulas confirming that the waqf is valid because it conforms to the Shari'a, that it is indisputable, and that it is founded in perpetuity. Thereafter the function of each of the units described, as well as the units yet to be put up, is clearly stated so that there can be no misinterpretation as to their purpose that might lead to misuse of the premises. Accordingly we read:

The newly erected place (*makān*) first described here above, the one that consists of the two iwans, the two *majlis*, the living units (*buyūt*, sing. *bayt*) and its [i.e., the *makān*'s] rights, be they on the upper or the lower floors, has been endowed by the founder [*waqif*] referred to above as legal waqf on the Sufis and the mystics (*mutaṣawwifs*). The old ones (*shuyūkh*), the middle-aged (*kuḥūl*), and the

youth (*shabāb*) who have reached puberty, the Arabs as well as the foreigners (*aʿjām*), and others of any race (*ajnās*),<sup>28</sup> regardless of the diversity of their rank (*taba-qāʾihim*) or their school of law (*madhhab*), [provided they themselves] conform to their own rules of conduct (*ādāb*) and orders (*tariqa*), both the residents in that location mentioned above [consisting of] inhabitants of al-Qahira, Misr (Fustat), and the surroundings (*zawāhirihiṁā*)<sup>29</sup> and outskirts and other parts of the country; and the ones [coming] to this place (*makān*) from khanqahs or from any other place, be it near or distant, [provided] they adhere to Sufi orders and their rules of conduct (*ādāb*), so that no one is admitted [among them] who is not of their own kind [*jins*, i.e., a Sufi],<sup>30</sup> [or accepted] because of the intervention of someone, or personal sponsor (*min ghayr jinsihim bi shafaʿat shāfiʿ wa lā waliy ʿamr*) unless he qualifies for it. . . . The founder sets as a condition that this place be a khanqah for the Sufis referred to and a place of residence for whoever is selected to live in it from among those who qualify for it from the destitute, the resident, and the transient, [provided that] none of the residents affiliated [to the khanqah] or of the ribat dependents mentioned here serve an amir or seek his protection:

The document specifies the number of individuals to be appointed to both the khanqah and the ribat:

Regarding the bachelors (*mujarrad*), the shaykh of the khanqah referred to above appoints 100 individuals to be residents in the khanqah. In doing so, he has to give precedence to the ones coming to the Egyptian land (*al-diyār al-Miṣriyya*) from foreign places over its own people. As for the ones who qualify and the bachelors [from among the local Sufis] who live outside the khanqah, they [may] be admitted to live in the khanqah by appointment of the shaykh, without any wife or concubine (*jawāri*) for the rest of their lifetime. Whoever from among them has been given priority over the others to occupy one of the cells (*bayt*) proper to the place mentioned and has occupied it cannot be evicted from it by anyone, and no one has the right to object to it [the shaykh's choice], and he cannot exchange it. Whoever from among them travels from the khanqah to another district of the Egyptian land and is given permission to do so, and has the intention of returning to it, has his cell and belongings kept [for him] by the shaykh until he returns. He should not exceed a month, and upon his return he can occupy it [the cell] again. Whoever from among them travels to a faraway country, such as the Syrian (*al-shām*) or other lands and comes back from his journey to this khanqah has the right to reside in it [but has to accept] any place assigned to him by the shaykh *al-sūfiyya* referred to [above], without causing any trouble to others with regard to their cells. Whenever one of them dies, the shaykh referred to above has [the right] to reassign his cell to whomever he chooses from among the Sufis. Whoever of them displays a behavior which is judged reprehensible and calls for his eviction from the khanqah shall be expelled and shall not be allowed to return to it before traveling to a destination selected by the shaykh *al-sūfiyya*, who also determines the period of time for his repentance.

According to the waqfiyya, the total number of Sufis, whether residents or affiliated bachelors and married men, should not exceed four hundred, and their shaykhs should be chosen from among the Sufis, and should be well known among other shaykhs.

The document also specifies the personnel to be appointed to the foundation, their functions, and their salaries. Except for the heads of the khanqah and ribat, the shaykh *al-sūfiyya* and the shaykh *al-ribāt*, as well as the personnel of the qubba, who were to be appointed by the supervisor (*nāzir*), all personnel for both foundations were to be selected by their respective shaykh. The personnel of the khanqah are listed as follows:

A shaykh *al-sūfiyya* appointed by the supervisor of the waqf at a salary of 100 dirhams nuqra<sup>31</sup> per month,<sup>32</sup> and a daily food allowance consisting of 6 ratls<sup>33</sup> of bread, and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a ratl of lamb meat. He will also receive an additional ration of bread and meat during the month of Ramadan.

Two prayer leaders (*imām*), one Shafiʿi and one Hanafi: the Shafiʿi imam will lead the five daily prayers as well as the prayers of Ramadan or other prayers, in the qibla iwan. The Hanafi<sup>34</sup> imam will lead the five daily prayers in either of the two *majlis*. [This explains why the two *majlis* have mihrabs.] Each of them will receive a monthly salary of 30 dirhams nuqra. In addition, the Shafiʿi imam will receive a sum not to exceed 40 dirhams per month at the discretion of the supervisor.

Two prayer repeaters (*muballigh*), to repeat the prayers after the two imams; each of them will receive an additional share to match their share as Sufis.

One hundred Sufi residents, who will have to meet after each of the five daily prayers to read the Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī*), say the *tasbīh* [formulas for the glorification of God] 33 times, praise God 33 times, invoke the Lord 34 times, as recommended in the sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth nabawi*). Once they are through with this, each of the two imams will utter "whatever supplications God puts on their tongue." Each Sufi will receive 60 dirhams per year for his clothing; this sum is to be distributed to them in monthly installments of 5 dirhams, paid to them at the beginning of each month. In addition to this, they will receive daily, 3 ratls of bread and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a ratl of lamb meat.<sup>35</sup> This group of Sufis will have to meet with the non-resident Sufis as well as the people of the ribat every afternoon, after the ʿAsr prayer. Each group will read from the Qurʾān whatever they can, according to what their respective shaykh sees as proper. Once the reading is over, one of them will invoke God in the name of the founder, the supervisor, and all Muslims.

An attendant (*khādīm al-sūfiyya*) whose job is to attend to the Sufis needs. He will receive a monthly wage of 20 dirhams nuqra.

A water attendant (*muzammalātī*) in charge of the distribution of water will receive a monthly salary of 12 dirhams nuqra.

A lamp lighter (*sirājī*) whose responsibility is to light the lamps and see that they are kept in good condition. His monthly salary will amount to 12 dirhams nuqra.

A janitor (*farrāsh*) in charge of taking care of the place. His monthly salary will be 15 dirhams nuqra.

A doorkeeper (*bawwāb*) in charge of controlling the traffic in and out of the khanqah. He will receive a monthly salary of 12 dirhams nuqra.

A man who sprinkles water (*rashshāsh*) in charge of sprinkling water in front of the entrance giving onto the main street. He will also be in charge of carrying the water to the lower and upper floors of the khanqah. His salary will be 10 dirhams nuqra.

A cook (*tabbākh*) in charge of the preparation of the daily meals of the Sufis. His salary will be 15 dirhams nuqra.

A supervisor of the Sufis' kitchen (*mushrif maṭbakh al-sūfiyya*) in charge of controlling the food brought in and its preparation in the Sufis' kitchen. He will receive a monthly salary of 15 dirhams nuqra.

A bread attendant (*khāzin al-khubz*) in charge of keeping the bread and of its distribution to the Sufis. His monthly salary will be 12 dirhams nuqra.

Two broth attendants (*maraqdār*) in charge of the distribution of the broth to the Sufis. Each of them will receive a monthly salary of 7 dirhams nuqra.

A weigher (*wazzān*) in charge of weighing whatever is needed to be weighed in the khanqah. If the weigher is not chosen from among the Sufis, he will receive a monthly salary of 15 dirhams nuqra. If the weigher is chosen from among the Sufis he will receive an additional share equal to his share as Sufi.

An eye doctor (*kahhāl ṭabaʿī*) who will receive a share equal to that of a Sufi.

A washer (*mughassil*) in charge of preparing the dead for burial. He will receive a share equal to that of a Sufi.

All of the Sufi residents were to receive at the beginning of each month a sum of 2½ dirhams for their laundry and oil for their lamps. In addition each was to receive one dirham to pay for their entrance to the hammam, if there was no hammam specifically reserved for them.

Each of the Sufis, both residents and non-residents, was to receive half a ratl of sweet <sup>ʿ</sup>*ajamiyya* (made of good wheat flour, honey, sugar, poppy seeds [*khashkhash*], saffron [<sup>za</sup>*ʿfarān*], and almonds), on the eves of <sup>ʿ</sup>Ashura and the first and last days of the month of Ramadan. If the last day of Ramadan was a Friday, they were to receive two shares instead of one. Each of them would receive an additional one-third ratl of meat daily during the month of Ramadan, for a total of two-thirds of a ratl. Provisions are also made for the buying of pastry (*harīsa*) to be distributed among the Sufis on the feasts of <sup>ʿ</sup>Id al-Fitr (Lesser Bairam), and <sup>ʿ</sup>Id al-Adha (Greater Bairam).

The waqfiyya specifies that the part of the complex consisting of the large iwan, the *dūrqa* opposite it, and the large *majlis* was to be established as a ribat for a hundred Muslims to be chosen from among the needy.

They had to display the same qualities as those embodied in the people of the zawiyas, and to show no inclination to *bidʿa* (innovation, reprehensible behavior). Thirty of them were to be offered residence in the ribat; the rest, affiliation with it. In selecting these residents, precedence would be given to the freedmen of the founder and their descendants, who would not be required to meet any of the pre-conditions imposed on the others. Following them, precedence should be given to the discharged military (*baṭṭāl*<sup>36</sup>) over the rest of the Muslims. All of the personnel of the ribat would be appointed by the head of the ribat, who would himself be selected by the superintendent.

The positions to be filled were as follows:

A *shaykh al-ribāt* who will receive a monthly salary of 60 dirhams nuqra in addition to a daily ration of bread and meat equal to that of his counterpart in the khanqah [i.e., two-thirds of a ratl of lamb meat and 6 ratls of bread]. During the month of Ramadan he will receive a double ration.

Thirty resident individuals who will receive monthly what has been assigned to the Sufi residents of the khanqah [i.e., 5 dirhams a month, and a daily ration of 3 ratls of bread and one-third of a ratl of lamb meat].

They will also receive 1 dirham for entering the hammam, and 2½ dirhams for laundry and oil monthly.

A custodian (*qayyim*) in charge of cleaning the ribat and of lighting the lamps. He will receive a monthly salary of 15 dirhams nuqra.

A doorkeeper (*bawwāb*) who will sit at the door of the ribat and will receive a monthly salary of 15 dirhams nuqra.

A man who sprinkles water (*rashshāsh*) in charge of sprinkling water in front of the entrance to the ribat and carrying water to its upper and lower floors to fill the jugs and pitchers of the ribat. He will receive a monthly salary of 10 dirhams nuqra.

A supervisor of the kitchen (*mushrif al-maṭbakh*) of the ribat who will receive a monthly salary of 10 dirhams nuqra.

A cook (*tabbākh*) to cook the meals for the people of the ribat. His monthly salary will be 15 dirhams nuqra.

A weigher (*wazzān*) in charge of weighing what has to be weighed for the ribat. He will receive a salary of 5 dirhams nuqra at the end of each month. However, if no weigher accepts this low salary, the supervisor can increase the amount by a sum not to exceed 12 dirhams nuqra.

Although the mausoleum and the minaret had not yet been built and their respective locations not yet selected, the waqfiyya provided for the appointment of their personnel. Appointing the qubba personnel was left to the supervisor, who was to appoint:

One iman in charge of leading the five daily prayers as well as other prayers taking place in the qubba. He will

receive a salary of 45 dirhams nuqra. In addition to this he will receive daily 3 ratls of bread.

Thirty-six Qur'an readers who will be divided into three groups, each group taking a shift, so that the reading of the Qur'an will be uninterrupted night and day, except during the Friday prayer. The total sum of 720 dirhams nuqra is to be distributed among them by the supervisor, in the manner he sees best for the interests of the waqf. In addition, each of them will receive 3 ratls of bread daily.

Two custodians (*qayyim*) in charge of tending to the needs of the qubba, and whose responsibility it is to clean it, take care of its furniture, light its lamps, and fill them with oil if needed. Each of them will receive a salary of 30 dirhams nuqra in addition to 3 ratls of bread daily. The two custodians will alternate shifts.

A doorkeeper (*bawwāb*) in charge of opening and closing the qubba and preventing undesirables from entering it. The doorkeeper will also have to keep an eye on the visitors' footwear, so that it is not stolen. His salary will be 30 dirhams nuqra; in addition to that he will receive the daily 3 ratls of bread.

Two caretakers (*zimmām*) to take care of the parts of the Qur'an (*rub'ca sharīfa*), candles, the draperies, the rugs, and other belongings of the qubba. They also are responsible for seeing that the Qur'an readers do not stop their reading at any moment during their shift. They will receive a salary of 30 dirhams each, in addition to the share of meat and bread they receive as Sufis. For the appointment to the position the supervisor will give precedence to the freedmen of the founder and their descendants.

A reader of the main Qur'an (*qārī' al-mushaf al-kabīr*) in charge of reading from the special Qur'an consisting of seven parts (*juz'*) written in gold and made waqf by the founder, to be used for the reading taking place on Fridays in the Jami' al-Hakim, restored by the founder.<sup>37</sup> He will receive a salary of 30 nuqra, in addition to the daily 3 ratls of bread.

Two callers to prayer (*mu'adhdhin*) responsible for the call to prayer from the minaret yet to be built. They will take shifts and will be paid 30 dirhams nuqra each.

Having listed the personnel as well as the duties and salaries of the khanqah, ribat, and qubba, the founder sets some conditions to serve as guidelines for future supervisors. They are advised not to appoint to any of the three foundations (khanqah, ribat, qubba) any individual showing in appearance features unacceptable to the Shar' (i.e., they cannot be disabled or handicapped), or displaying in his clothing elements that contradict what the Shari'a dictates. Whoever of the appointees to the foundations expresses the wish to go on a pilgrimage to the Hijaz, Jerusalem, or Hebron should be allowed to do so and will continue to receive his salary, provided he appoints someone to perform his duties while he is away. Should any Sufi or faqir from the ribat become sick and thus fail to attend to his

duties, he will still be entitled to his daily ration of bread and meat.

In addition to providing for the salaries of the personnel of the complex in return for the duties they perform, the waqfiyya allots a certain sum of money to cover the administrative requirements of the foundation. The administrator (in this case the founder himself) acting also as superintendant would receive a salary of 400 dirhams nuqra. Two notaries (*shāhid*) whose responsibility it would be to see that the money collected from the waqfs was spent on the beneficiaries, and to check all the accounts, were to receive a salary of 90 dirhams each. An alert and honest accountant (*sāmīl*) was to keep a record of the disbursements and revenues of the foundation. He was to receive a salary of 100 dirhams nuqra. A rent collector (*mushidd*) who would be responsible for collecting the rent from the properties of the foundation was to receive a monthly salary of 90 dirhams nuqra. A collector (*jābī*) and agent (*wakīl*) in charge of collecting the revenues from the lands and other properties located in the various districts of the Egyptian territory and the Bilad al-Shamiyya would receive salaries to be determined by the supervisor at his discretion.

Some additional unspecified amounts were also to be spent according to the administrator's discretion on the various needs of the foundations. These included:

Provision for the water to be carried from the Nile to serve for the daily drinking purposes of the personnel of the three foundations. The water consumed for uses other than drinking is to be provided by the well and waterwheel (*sāqiya*) of the khanqah.

Provision for the repair of the waterwheel's equipment, for buying cows (*baqar*) to run it, for paying the salary of its driver (*sawwāq*).

Provision for buying oil [preferably olive oil] to be used for lighting the lamps, for chains to attach them, for flasks, and candles.

Provision for buying household needs, mats, and rugs.

Other philanthropic contributions are given their share of waqf revenue. The waqfiyya provides for bailing poor prisoners out of jail; for ransoming Muslim prisoners of war; for equipping warriors for the Jihad; for equipping travelers for their pilgrimage to the Hijaz; for manumitting slaves; for obtaining medicine for the poor; for paying to shroud and bury those who die destitute.

To ensure the proper functioning of the foundation and that the founder's conditions would be abided by, the waqif introduces a clause stipulating the yearly reading of the waqfiyya in the presence of the personnel

of the entire complex. The reading was to be followed by the attestation of witnesses. All the necessary expenses for this procedure were to be paid for out of the revenues of the waqf.

Any surplus revenue of the waqf, once all expenses had been covered, was to be used by the administrator to buy property, or a share in property, or even some land wherever it suited him, and add it to the foundation's endowment. This clause, however, was not to come into effect until after the founder's death. While he was still alive, Baybars reserved the right to collect all the surplus revenues from the waqf for himself, in addition to the four hundred dirhams he was to receive as supervisor and the thousand dirhams he was to receive as founder.

In the document dated 26 Shawwal 707 (20 April 1308), Baybars stipulates that he, but no other administrator following him, has the right to add to the number of personnel in the foundation and make changes in their salaries. Exercising this privilege after he became sultan, Baybars wrote another waqfiyya.<sup>38</sup> Only parts of it are preserved, and even they are in very poor condition. From this damaged text we can infer that the document was primarily concerned with the unit referred to in the earlier waqfiyya of 707 (1307) as "the qubba yet to be built in a location chosen by the supervisor." For it, Sultan Baybars allots 240 dirhams nuqra to be distributed as salaries to a number of Qur'an readers he had newly appointed to the qubba, raising to five the total number of readers in each shift. In addition to his 20 dirhams nuqra, each reader would receive 3 rats of daily bread. This part of the document is dated 14 Dhu'l-Qa'da 708 (24 April 1309).

Another part of the damaged waqfiyya states that Sultan Abu'l-Fath Baybars ibn Abdallah al-Mansuri attested that he "has appointed in the vestibule [*riwāq*] in which are the windows giving onto the street and which is part of the qubba referred to above, a teacher of hadith (*shaykh muḥaddith*) qualified to teach the hadith. . . ." With him thirty students of the hadith and a tutor (*muʿid*) are to attend the class on the hadith. The sum of 500 dirhams is allotted to this class and is to be distributed as follows:

The shaykh of the hadith will receive a monthly salary of 130 dirhams. He will be required to appear in the vestibule on the usual school days and teach the students from books of his own choice.

A tutor who will explain to the students whatever escaped them during the main reading will receive 40 dirhams nuqra.

A reader (*qārīʿ*) who will read in front of the shaykh will receive a monthly salary of 30 dirhams.

The rest of the amount is to be distributed among the students as salaries at the shaykh's discretion. One of the thirty students is to be appointed as their leader (*naqīb*), and will be responsible for distributing and collecting the parts (*rubʿa*) of the Qur'an, and for repeating the invocations in the name of the founder after each reading.

In the event any of the students of the hadith indicated his wish to travel to another country to attend the hadith teaching and learn from another shaykh, he would be allowed to do so, and would still receive his salary, provided his absence did not exceed three months. If his journey should exceed that period, the student would be replaced. This part of the document is dated 14 Safar 709 (24 July 1309).

#### SITING AND LAYOUT

The khanqah of Baybars al-Jashankir<sup>39</sup> consists of a cruciform interior with an open courtyard in its middle (fig. 1). The courtyard façade bears the only decoration found in the interior of the khanqah (fig. 2). On either side of the north-south axis is a tunnel-vaulted iwan; the center of each of its lateral sides is occupied by a deep hall, the place referred to in the waqfiyya as a *majlis*. The southeast iwan (the qibla) is wider and deeper than its northwest counterpart. It is extended by two lateral vaulted recesses, one on either of its sides (fig. 3), referred to as *janāḥayn* (wings) in the document. Each of the recesses has a windcatcher in its back wall. In the middle of the qibla wall is the stone mihrab flanked by two marble columns (fig. 4). Except for the use of ablaq masonry and the two marble columns flanking the prayer niche, the qibla wall was not decorated, in contrast to the lavish treatment of the interior walls of the mausoleum. This absence of decoration is evidently intentional, since we know from Maqrizi that there was plenty of marble left over after the khanqah, the qubba, and the *dār* of Baybars had been decorated, and that the marble had been stored in the khanqah, so supplying decorative stone would not have been a problem. Rather, the absence of embellishment reflects an effort to maintain an overall austere and sober character. This effect was probably borrowed directly from the khanqah of Salah al-Din, Saʿid al-Suʿada<sup>2</sup>, which Baybars was trying to imitate and which seems to have set the proper tone for Sufi foundations. In an interesting comment on the decoration of two Mamluk foundations, Ibn Taghribirdi writes,<sup>40</sup>



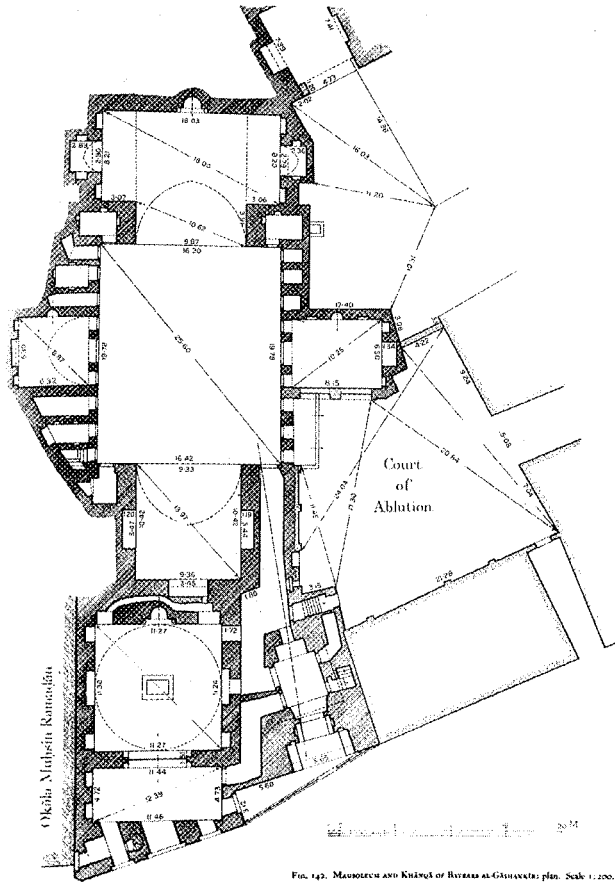


FIG. 142. MAQARATU AND KHANQA OF BAYBARS AL-JASHANKIR. PLAN. SCALE 1:1200.

Fig. 1. Cairo, complex of Baybars al-Jashankir. Plan from K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, fig. 142.

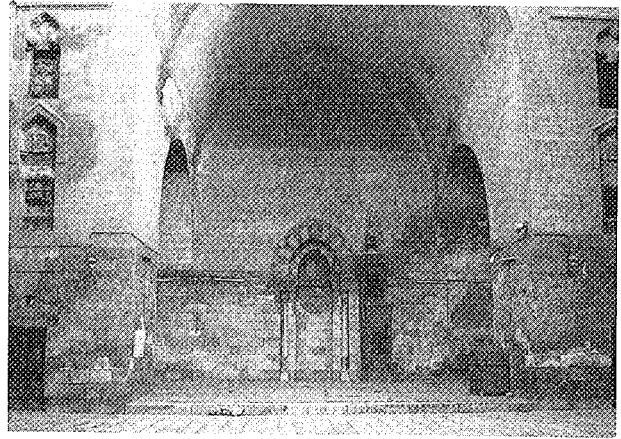


Fig. 3. Khanqah of Baybars. Qibla iwan with deep recesses on the sides. (Photo: Marie Sabongui.)

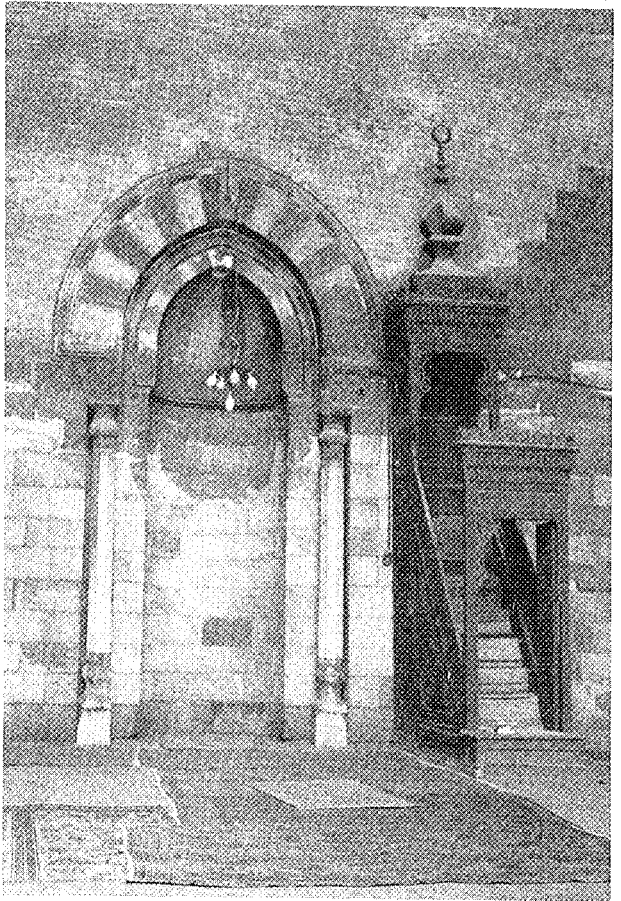


Fig. 4. Khanqah of Baybars. The mihrab.

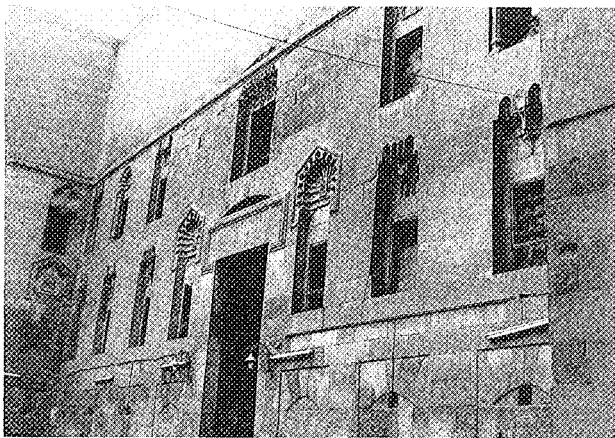


Fig. 2. Khanqah of Baybars. Decoration on the northeast façade. (Photo: Marie Sabongui.)

“In fact people’s hearts respond to the stone floor (*balāṭ*) of the vestibule (*dihlīz*) of the khanqah of Sa‘id al-Su‘ada’ and its bright whiteness more than they do to the lavish decoration and marble of the former [i.e., the Mamluk foundations].”

The northwest iwan of Baybars’s khanqah (fig. 5), which forms the counterpart of the qibla, has a tall arched recess with a windcatcher in its back wall and two tall arched recesses on either side. The lower part of each of the recesses is occupied by a steplike structure, referred to as a *martaba* in the waqfiyya.

The halls (*majlis*) in the center of the two lateral façades each have a prayer niche and a shallow recess in the back wall. On either side of the halls are doors opening onto tiny cells. The khanqah proper is reached from the street through a long bent corridor connected to the elaborate portal unit. Since the foundation was meant for Sufis in need of quiet and privacy, this type of entrance was very appropriate for a building erected in the midst of a busy area.

From the vestibule of the portal, another bent corridor leads to the mausoleum on axis in front of the khanqah. The mausoleum is preceded by the vestibule, referred to as a *riwāq* in the document, whose purpose is to connect the domed chamber with the street, but it also allows for the symmetrical arrangement of the Mecca-oriented interior as well as the street-aligned exterior façade.

To the west of the southwestern hall was the ablution unit with the latrines, courts, well (*bi‘r*) and waterwheel (*sāqiya*) called for in the waqfiyya. Today this part of the structure is occupied by modern ablution quarters. The



Fig. 5. Khanqah of Baybars. Northwest iwan.  
(Photo: Marie Sabongui.)

rest of the area lying between the qibla iwan and the southwestern hall was occupied by the ribat. Remains of the latter were still apparent when Creswell drew his plan (fig. 1).

The Sufis’ living quarters occupied the northeastern side of the complex. They were reached from inside the khanqah by a staircase from a door in the left corner of the northeastern façade. Remains of the staircase indicate that it led to an access passage located behind the front cells that are still apparent on the two upper floors of the northeastern façade (fig. 2). Although the living quarters are badly damaged, traces of cells can still be seen. By comparing them with other still extant Sufi quarters, one can perhaps reconstruct their arrangement.

We know from the waqfiyya that the khanqah had to house at least a hundred Sufis, and that they each had one cell (*bayt*). Hence, the foundation had to have had at least a hundred cells. Some of them were located on the southwest side, but the majority were clustered on the northeast side of the complex. These cells were originally arranged in two blocks, one giving onto the interior of the khanqah, the other onto the exterior, and each having three stories. The block giving onto the interior had a series of cells arranged along an access corridor, as do the cells of the khanqah of Shaykhu (1355; fig. 6), for instance. Each of these cells had a window overlooking the courtyard of the khanqah (fig. 7). The second block of cells was separated from the first by a passage located behind the front rows of cells and was reached by a staircase from a door in the courtyard.

A number of units are located above the entrance vestibule and long corridor leading to the khanqah. These units could be reached from the staircase leading to the roof and minaret, through the first door to the right of the portal vestibule (fig. 1). The units are now in very poor condition, and their windows have been blocked up. Judging from the size of two of them, however, they must have formed part of a riwāq rather than simple cells like those for the Sufis, and most probably were reserved for the shaykh.

Since Sufis were required to reside in the khanqah and since they were offered daily meals there, we know it had a kitchen and a place to gather for meals, but the waqfiyya provides no clue as to where they were located. Evidence from other foundations,<sup>41</sup> however, tells us that kitchens were usually placed near a source of water: a hammam, a waterwheel, or an ablution fountain (*mida‘a*). It is therefore safe to assume that the

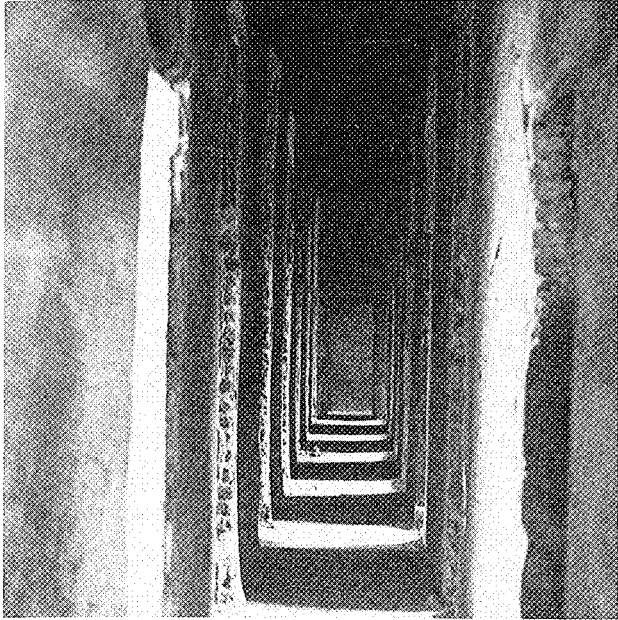


Fig. 6. Cairo, Khanqah of Shaykhu. Sufi cells opening onto the corridor. 1355.



Fig. 7. Khanqah of Baybars. Window of cells opening onto the courtyard.

kitchen was built to the west of the southwest *majlis*, probably close to the waterwheel. Other waqfiyyas dealing with khanqahs do not indicate where the Sufis ate, however, although some, such as that of al-Nasir Muhammad,<sup>42</sup> for instance, specify that the Sufis should meet for their meals (*simāṭ*, i.e., table, banquet) in any place assigned to them by the shaykh of the khanqah. In Baybars's khanqah, that place was most

probably either or both of the two *majlis*. For Muslim men of religion, any part, except possibly the qibla, of a religious building, whether mosque, madrasa, or Sufi foundation, could be used for a variety of functions, including meals. In a legal opinion of Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Uthman al-Wanughī al-Tunisi,<sup>43</sup> dated 803 (1399), "madrasas are not Friday mosques (*jāmi'*), but the *jāmi'* is to be restricted to the mihrab niche, and some say to the iwan of the mihrab in particular. The rest of [the building] is not a *jāmi'*, since gathering in it, eating in it, and holding meetings in it is allowed. . . ." Since there is no reason to assume that khanqahs would be any different from madrasas, Sufis would have been allowed to meet in any of the iwans, riwaqs, or other units.

Baybars's architect faced a number of problems in planning the layout of the complex, and came up with some inventive solutions to satisfy his patron's demands, without departing from the conventional architectural characteristics proper to funerary foundations of the period. The complex was planned in two stages, as is apparent from the waqfiyya. The first stage comprised the khanqah, the ribat, and their dependencies and was commissioned by Amir Baybars al-Jashankir. When these had been built, although not necessarily completely finished, a mausoleum and a minaret to be attached to them were commissioned by Baybars, now Sultan Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Mansuri. The hypothesis that the complex may have been laid out in one plan, but built in two stages, has to be dismissed, simply because the document clearly refers to the qubba and the minaret as yet to be built in a still to be designated location to be chosen by the waqf supervisor. Had the two units been planned together, we would have had at least a vague reference to the proposed site, as is the case in other waqfiyyas.

The plan of the khanqah proper is not new; it follows that of the madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad<sup>44</sup> (1295-1304), built a decade earlier. Because the entire complex had a difficult urban site, however, and because the architect had to integrate two different phases, an original plan emerged. It called for the addition of a second major unit (the mausoleum) in front of the already built khanqah, almost along its main axis. This plan succeeded in placing emphasis on the mausoleum, but because of the preexisting khanqah structure, it would have to project into the street. It is possible that the plan of the complex inspired the architect of Sultan Hasan's madrasa-mosque (1356-62); he not only planned the mausoleum along the same axis as that of

the madrasa-mosque, but allowed himself to place it behind the qibla iwan.

The architect Baybars chose produced a perfectly integrated complex and at the same time succeeded in turning what would otherwise have been wasted space into a functional unit by the simple device of the vestibule (*rivāq*). The unity of the complex was not achieved at the expense of either the esthetic appearance of the building or of the traditional features characterizing Mamluk architecture, but the latter were bound to impose constraints on the planning of the complex. Their most important features, or "unwritten laws" as Kessler calls them, are the following: (1) religious, including funerary, buildings had to be oriented toward Mecca; (2) their façades had to follow the alignment of the street; (3) if they were funerary structures, they had to have openings on the street sides for seating Qur'an readers who were to read there day and night; (4) the arrangement of the interior of the mausoleum had to be symmetrical; and, finally, (5) if there was to be a minaret, it had preferably to be placed above the portal or, barring that, at least on the main façade.

These "unwritten laws" posed a difficult problem for Baybars's architect, who had first to secure a proper location for the qubba along the main street; adjust it to the street course; and finally match its proportions with those of the previously built khanqah, while maintaining a unity of mass. In view of the street alignment and the need to orient the mausoleum toward Mecca, the architect was left with two possible locations for the qubba. As he had obviously been given permission by Sultan Baybars to infringe on the street space, he could have placed the dome either to the right or to the left of the present portal. Had he chosen the right, i.e., in front of the ablution court and water unit, which were already built, he would have been confronted with problems regarding the proper orientation of the qubba toward Mecca (fig. 1). In that particular spot, the structure would have been limited by an ablution court which was not properly oriented and by the street whose line ran at an angle to the direction of Mecca. As a result, putting the mausoleum there would have entailed a considerable loss of functional space on both sides. In view of the projected proportions envisaged for the structure, that location would also have involved a substantial infringement on the street rights. In addition, since the mausoleum—as all mausolea of the period—was founded as a masjid<sup>45</sup> and therefore allowed the ritual of the five daily prayers, it is difficult

to imagine that the architect would have chosen to place it there, knowing that the unit behind the prayer niche and the qibla wall would be used for latrines and the ablution fountain.

The most suitable location for the mausoleum in harmony with the imperative of the Mecca orientation that followed the street (even if it encroached upon it), while at the same time preventing an excessive waste of space, was to the left of the portal. But building the mausoleum there posed other problems. The architect still had to align the mausoleum with the street, while maintaining the symmetry of the interior. He had to find a way to secure enough light for a mausoleum which would be squeezed against the northwest iwan of the khanqah and against preexisting structures to its north. Thus planned, the mausoleum would receive its light only from the two remaining sides, one of which would give onto the interior of the complex, the other onto the street.

To comply with the other unwritten laws regulating the building of mausolea within urban settings, such as the need for openings onto streets and exterior walls following the street line, and at the same time to accommodate the need for light in the interior, the architect introduced a vestibule which extended from in front of the domed chamber to the street. He placed five windows and a lantern-like roof in this vestibule to light the interior. The addition of this vestibule allowed a subtle adjustment of the Mecca-oriented interior to the exterior street line without great loss of space. The adjustment, as Kessler explains, consisted of manipulating the walls so that their inner and outer faces, instead of being parallel, were allowed to diverge, one following the line of the street, the other that of the interior.<sup>46</sup> In our case the disparity between the depth of the three front windows of the vestibule (i.e., those facing Bab al-Nasr Street) and the slanting of their recesses conceal the adjustment. The greater the divergence from the Mecca orientation and the street line, the thicker the walls of the window recesses. In some places the recesses of the windows were so deep that one of the administrators of its waqfs. Shaykh Muhammad al-Ibrashi, sought to turn them into shops for the benefit of the waqf.<sup>47</sup>

Providing a vestibule for the mausoleum had a further practical intent. It allowed the architect to place the entrance to the domed chamber opposite the qibla wall and, more specifically, opposite the mihrab. In addition, the vestibule made access to the mausoleum indirect, through a bent corridor connected with the

main portal (*dihlīz*), thereby retaining the privacy of the mausoleum unit.

The mausoleum thus planned projected about 10 meters into the street. While the projection of this unit was dictated by necessity, that of the portal should be viewed as an attempt to satisfy the effect of the overall complex on the onlooker. The portal helps gradually to shift the line of the street from the ablution enclosure to the façade of the mausoleum vestibule. Its location was equally important for the building of the minaret which had yet to be put up. Once the mausoleum had been planned, the architect could proceed with the planning of the portal and minaret.

Another rule favored positioning the minaret on the main façade, preferably above the portal. Since the portal faced the Darb al-Asfar, it seemed logical that the architect would want to position his minaret there using the portal to provide the substantial base to sup-

port its mass. One might still be tempted to ask whether the portal unit had not been planned at an earlier stage, together with the khanqah. In fact, had the portal been put up, or even planned then, its location or existence would have been mentioned in the waqfiyya of 1307. It is difficult to see how such an elaborate portal, with its extensive use of polychrome marble, its engaged columns, side niches, semi-dome, muqarnas pendentives, and cushion voussoirs, would have been left out of the description (fig. 8). Considering that Baybars's was, as Creswell put it, a "new type of portal," it is even more unlikely that it existed before 1307.

The exact location of the portal was determined by taking two factors into account: the need to preserve the side window opening of the mausoleum vestibule, and the location of the minaret. Since there was enough room at the architect's disposal along the same axis, he could have shifted the portal unit either forward or backward. But if he had moved it forward to the line of the mausoleum façade, he would have blocked the southwest window of the vestibule and cut out much needed light. On the other hand, if he had pushed it backward, the minaret would not have been readily visible to the passers-by coming from the direction of the Bab al-Nasr, because of the mass of the dome standing in front of it. Minarets are religious and symbolic landmarks in Cairo, and as such are always planned to be seen from a distance. In our case it is even less likely that Baybars's architect would have wanted it to go unnoticed, for it presented two original features, as Creswell notes: a circular second story (fig. 9), and the earliest known example of the use of faience on the Muslim architecture of Egypt.

To focus attention on the portal formed by a deep entrance bay and a vestibule built along almost the same axis and on the minaret, the treatment of the façade is deliberately subdued. Except for the part immediately in front of the mausoleum, it was left plain. This part, which corresponds to the outer wall of the mausoleum's vestibule, has five tall recesses, three in front and one on either side. They are crowned by muqarnas tiers, and each has two windows; the upper window is much smaller than the lower. A tiraz band, which begins on the southwest end of the portal and runs for about 30 meters across the façade and across about 5 meters of the northeast wall of the complex, is set on a course of stone below the upper windows (fig. 10). All but one of the recesses have been given the same treatment. The middle front recess, however, is much larger; its lower window, relieving arch, and

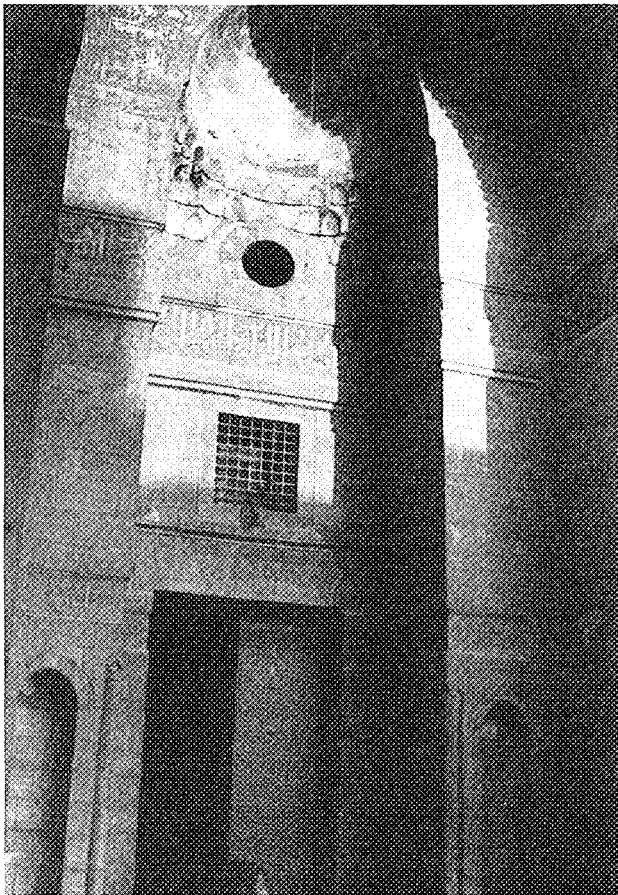


Fig. 8. Khanqah of Baybars. Portal. (Photo: Marie Sabongui.)

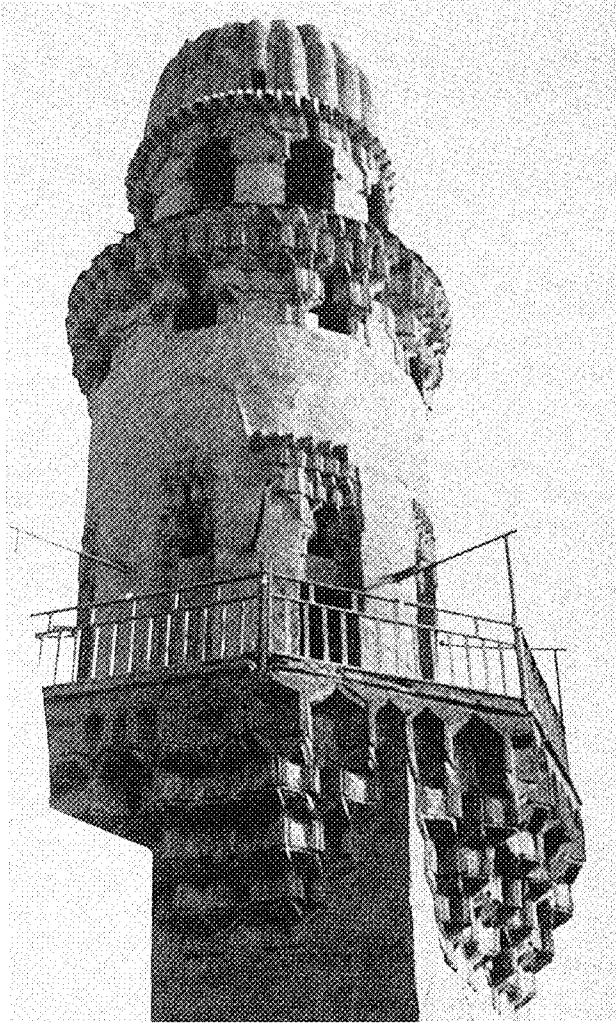


Fig. 9. Khanqah of Baybars. Minaret.

decoration have been given special attention. As it is set on the same axis as the entrance to the domed chamber, its width performs the practical purpose of letting light into the dome. The need for a larger window does not necessarily entail a special treatment of the recess itself, however.

Although undoubtedly the window enhanced the composition of the façade, it is its appropriation by Baybars that is significant here, for this is the window that had been in the Dar al-Khilafa and that Maqrizi tells us was brought by Abu'l Harith al-Basasiri from Baghdad, and it would have been a clearly understood symbol of power and legitimacy. One of the insignia of the Abbasid caliphate, its use would reflect once more

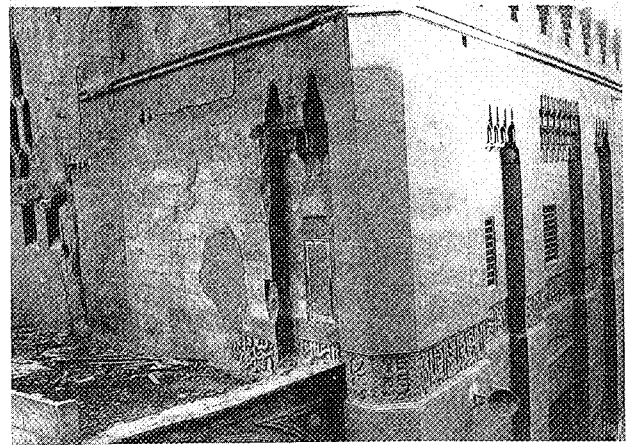


Fig. 10. Khanqah of Baybars. Tiraz on the façade.  
(Photo: Marie Sabongui.)

the Mamluks' need to impress upon the people the image of their special association with the Abbasid caliphs to whom they had extended their protection. In his diploma of investiture to Baybars, the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfi Billah refers to him as "the reviver of the Abbasid empire . . . the reviver of the Khilafa, and the defender of the Sharḥ."<sup>48</sup> Baybars's drastic measures against certain abuses had upset a large number of his subjects, and he needed desperately to repair his image, to appear once more as a devout Muslim who was the mere servant of God whose mercy and forgiveness he was seeking.

Like Salah al-Din, he assumed the role of protector of Sunni Islam and Sunni institutions as his construction of the khanqah to house Sunni Sufis suggests. Since the idea of providing buildings for Sufis was not yet fully accepted by the religious doctors in the early fourteenth century, Baybars had to make room for the teaching of a religious science in his complex. Lessons (*dars*) on the hadith were to be held in the vestibule of his mausoleum, as mentioned in his later waqfiyya. With lessons on the hadith taking place in the vestibule, the reading of the Qur'an going on at a large window, and the insignia of the Abbasid caliphate in evidence, there could remain little doubt that the patron Baybars was a righteous ruler.

The Abbasid window may also serve to explain the presence of a staircase found in the vestibule to its left (fig. 1). As it now appears, the staircase does not seem to have any useful purpose, since there were no cells above the vestibule. It goes up to the roof where its circular shaft ends abruptly (fig. 11). Since the roof of the

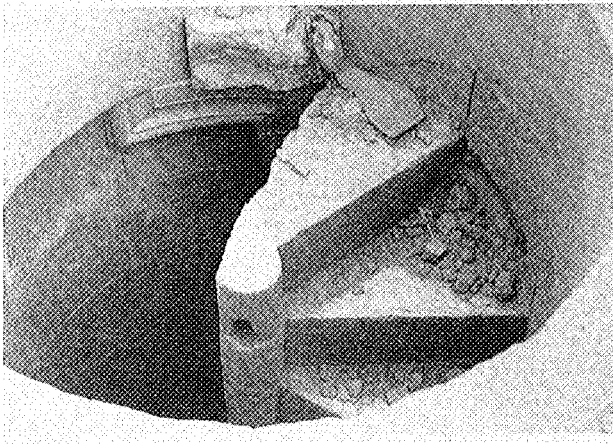


Fig. 11. Khanqah of Baybars. Staircases with circular shaft.

vestibule was heavily restored by the Comité de Conservation in 1892, there is no way of knowing how the shaft originally ended, but one can still ask why it might have been in that particular spot. Its first obvious use was to provide access to the roof. The roofed area is relatively small, however, and there was already one staircase leading to it and to the minaret from the vestibule. Why another? Certain Sufi practices required meditation in isolation, and some Sufi shaykhs chose the roof for their retreat. Could the staircase in the corner of the vestibule provide Sufis with easy access to the roof? Evidently not, since in order to reach the vestibule of the mausoleum they would have had to go back to the vestibule of the portal, then down the bent corridor.

The staircase beside the Abbasid window, we are tempted to suggest, indicates that a second minaret had been planned for the khanqah, but never built. Placing a minaret at the corner of the façade would not have been an innovation; the minaret of Qala'un's complex is sited thus. Since we are dealing here with a circular base (fig. 11), however, constructing a circular minaret, perhaps built in the Egyptian tradition, comparable to the one found on al-Nasir Muhammad's mosque (1318-35) at the Citadel, would have been an innovation. Creswell had already noted the innovative aspect of the present minaret, which had a circular second story and faience on its fluted dome.<sup>49</sup> We also know from the sources that there was a growing taste for Iranian-looking minarets among the Mamluks. Maqrizi<sup>50</sup> reports that in 730 (1329) Amir Qawsun used an architect from Tabriz to build the two minarets of his mosque on the model of the ones built for Khwaja

‘Ali Shah, vizir of Abu Sa‘id in Tabriz. It seems, therefore, that the idea of a circular minaret would have been a viable one. Perhaps two minarets could also have been intended here, although it is equally possible that the one minaret for the complex that was originally planned was first sited here and then abandoned when the portal and its vestibule had been built and could form the base for the minaret there. Having no further proof of the existence of a second minaret, or any clue in the waqfiyya as to its proposed location, we cannot now determine the ultimate purpose of the staircase.

### THE FOUNDATION INSCRIPTIONS

The two waqfiyyas in the name of Baybars al-Jashankir allow us to follow the stages of the construction of the complex and better understand its layout, but fall short of providing any useful information about its foundation inscriptions. Whenever a waqfiyya refers to an inscription, it is to record the medium (wood, marble, or other) on which it is to be written, since that could become the object of litigation. The text that was to appear on it, however, would not normally figure in a waqfiyya, first because waqfiyyas were generally written before a building had been completed, second because before a foundation inscription could be put up on a religious building, its owner (generally the founder himself) had to relinquish his title to the property in favor of the institution of his choice. Its waqfiyya had to be drawn up, legalized by the qadis in front of witnesses, and registered. At least in Mamluk Egypt, unless this procedure had taken place, the building was not considered a waqf.<sup>51</sup> This allows us to understand how Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad could buy the madrasa built by Kitbugha and make it his own. Maqrizi tells us that al-Nasir Muhammad bought the madrasa before it was completed, and before its founder had attested to its foundation in a waqf document.<sup>52</sup>

Once an inscription had been put up on a building, however, it became an indivisible part of the wall and therefore of the building. In the absence of any other legal document, the inscription could be relied upon to resolve any litigation pertaining to that building. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350)<sup>53</sup> writes, “If asked, what do they say about the residence [*dār*] that has an inscription on its door or stone walls, in which it is stated that it is a waqf or a masjid—do they decide on [the basis of] this inscription?—the answer is yes. The

reason given was that the stone wall is part of the building, and more likely to be contemporary with it." The inscriptions were given the status of legal instruments, which was probably what led some sultans to write parts of their waqfiyyas, short endowment formulas, and sometimes even decrees on the walls of religious foundations.<sup>54</sup>

The khanqah of Baybars has two dated inscriptions,<sup>55</sup> one of them on the tiraz band of the façade. Since it appears from the waqfiyya of Baybars that the two main units on the façade were not yet built, it is obvious that by 1307 the façade, and therefore the inscription on its tiraz, had been put up sometime after that date. Since the mausoleum was going to protrude about ten meters into the street and, as amir, Baybars would not have had the power to withstand the opposition of the ulema and the sultan to this appropriation of street space, the work on the structure could not have begun before Shawwal 708 (March 1309) when Baybars himself ascended the throne.

Work on the buildings probably lasted for at least a year. The historians are not clear about the exact date of completion either of the complex or of the tiraz inscription, but it must have been around the end of 1310. Under the year 707 (1307) Maqrizi writes: "In it, the amir Baybars al-Jashankir founded the Khanqah al-Rukniyya on the site of the Dar al-Wizara, in the Rahbat Bab al-Id, in al-Qahira. He endowed it with a number of waqfs, and its waqfs are important, but he died before its inauguration. . . ."<sup>56</sup> In a somewhat similar report Ibn Taghribirdi, quoting al-Nuwairi (d. 1331), writes under the obituaries for the year 709 (1309), "and this Baybars had begun the construction of his khanqah and turba, inside the Bab al-Nasr, on the site of the Dar al-Wizara in the year 706, and he endowed it with great waqfs but he died before completing it."<sup>57</sup> From these accounts it is clear that when Baybars was killed, on 15 Dhu'l Qa'da 709 (16 April 1310), the complex was not yet finished, nor had it been inaugurated.

A third account provided by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani,<sup>58</sup> who relies on a source contemporary to Baybars, reads as follows: "... and his is the well-known khanqah near the Bab al-Nasr . . . and its foundation was over, and the works on the qubba in it completed, in the month of Ramadan 709." Quoting al-Birzali, he adds, "and in the middle of Sha'ban, the khanqah al-Muzaffariyya Baybars was completed, and its lamps were hung up, and preparations were made for its opening, and the appointments of its leaders and

Sufis were made. . . . This had to be delayed because of the preoccupation of the sultan with the departure of al-Malik al-Nasir from Karak." It seems clear from this last account that the construction works on the khanqah and qubba were over by Ramadan 709 (February 1310), though minor work, such as placing the marble paneling, paving the floors, and installing the main foundation inscription on the tiraz may have continued after that.

Art historians who have studied this building have noted the dearth of foundation inscriptions in the complex. Only one, published by van Berchem, is accepted by most, including Creswell, as being the date the building was completed. This inscription is found in the vestibule of the mausoleum. It consists of four lines of naskhi script written on a wooden panel, part of the screen (*maqsûra*) separating the mausoleum from the vestibule, and placed right above the entrance to the domed chamber. The inscription begins with Qur'an 44:51-58, and then says, "The completion of this qubba and khanqah has taken place in the glorious month of Ramadan 709."<sup>59</sup> The foundation inscriptions of the khanqah, the time of the actual incorporation, and the date they bear have to be ascertained from the historical sources.

The inscription refers first to the qubba, which is part of the khanqah, and only then to the khanqah proper. The absence of any reference to the founder's name or title is unusual. Such a dating inscription on an elaborate piece of workmanship placed at the entrance of the qubba may even raise some questions as to whether the screen, which had probably been commissioned by Baybars when he was still sultan, had not been put up sometime after he had left the throne (i.e., after the middle of Ramadan 709). Regardless of the impersonal character of the inscription, we are still bound to retain the year 709 (1310) for the completion of the building. It is also accepted by the historians contemporary with the founder, though they do not agree either amongst themselves or with the inscription as to the month in which the work was brought to a halt. Even the inscription on the tiraz does not throw light on the matter. It was examined by van Berchem, who came to the conclusion that it must have been put up while Baybars was still on the throne. He bases his argument on the account which states that shortly after al-Nasir Muhammad had seized the throne, he ordered the removal of Baybars's name from the inscription on the façade of the khanqah. About one meter of it has in fact been obliterated, but van Berchem thinks the



missing words represent Baybars's titles as sultan rather than his name.<sup>60</sup>

Creswell, probably relying on van Berchem, writes that the inscription runs along the main façade on the Bab al-Nasr, "turns the corner to run along the N-W flank of the vestibule of the mausoleum, but almost immediately loses itself behind a large *okala* which was built in contact in 1233/1817-18."<sup>61</sup> The assumption that the *wikala* obstructs the view of the rest of the inscription can be dispelled by climbing on the remains of the *wikala* itself. Once on the roof of that building, one is faced by the rest of the cartouche left out by van Berchem. (fig. 10). Although about one meter of the inscription is still hidden by the abutting wall of the *wikala*'s façade, the end of the *tiraz* band is clearly seen and reads *wa kāna al-furāgh fī shuhūr sanat tis' mi'ah* ("The completion of the work took place in the months of the year 709") (fig. 12). The inscription does not tell us the exact month in which work on the complex ended, but it does confirm the year as 1310. Both the absence of a reference to a month of completion and the text of the

inscription itself suggest that the *tiraz* had been put up while Baybars was still sultan, as van Berchem stated, and probably a couple of months before he had to step down in favor of al-Nasir Muhammad.

The inscription's tone is subdued. It refers to the sultan as "the poor servant of God," "the one seeking his pardon and mercy," "the one longing for his forgiveness," "the one seeking his clemency on the day of judgment," all of which contrast with the royal titulature we would normally expect to find on the façade of such an important foundation. Perhaps here, as in the reuse of the Baghdad window, Baybars is trying to counteract the popular discontent with his efforts to rule according to the dictates of the Shari'a, which had forced him to adopt drastic measures against a number of abuses and caused many to turn against his rule. This time he does so by presenting himself as the humblest of the humble, whose goals are anything but worldly—though it somewhat detracts from the effect that he does so on a building that had robbed the street of a full ten meters.



Fig. 12. Khanqah of Baybars. Date of the *tiraz* on the façade.

Baybars was also aware that inscriptions were legal documents. It is possible that he was anticipating the end of his rule and the return of al-Nasir Muhammad, who had been hailed as sultan in Syria by a number of amirs, and was speeding things up by ordering the tiraz to be cut into the façade. The beginning of the text confirms Baybars's urgent need to secure this Sufi foundation for posterity under his own name. It reads, "Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Mansuri . . . has ordered the foundation of this blissful khanqah as waqf in perpetuity for the community of Sufis. . . ." By these words, Baybars made sure that, even if his waqfs were illegally appropriated, the building would still be known by his name.<sup>62</sup>

Baybars had very good grounds for hurrying up construction and the installing of the inscription, in view of what had happened to one of his predecessors. A few years earlier al-Nasir Muhammad had been able to buy the madrasa initiated by Kitbugha, complete it, and put up an inscription in his own name.<sup>63</sup> Although in Baybars's case the khanqah was almost completed and its waqf drawn up, al-Nasir would still have been able to usurp the privilege of its foundation so long as the inscription was not in place. He did not yet have a khanqah in his own name, nor had he yet been able to initiate a foundation in the prestigious location previously occupied by the Fatimid palaces.

Did the existence of Baybars's khanqah really matter to al-Nasir? It seems that it did—al-Nasir's actions speak for themselves. Shortly after his return to power, al-Nasir Muhammad ordered Baybars's capture and the removal of his titles from the inscription on the façade of the khanqah. He then closed the khanqah and confiscated its waqfs. It remained closed until, on al-Nasir's orders, it was reopened in 1325, only one year after al-Nasir had finally inaugurated his own khanqah at Siriyaqus.<sup>64</sup>

The foundation of the complex of Baybars al-Jashankir in the center of al-Qahira is unusual in many respects. Not since Salah al-Din had transformed the Dar Sa'ida al-Su'ada into a residence for Sufis (*duwayrat al-ṣūfiyya*), a haven for those coming from foreign lands, had such a foundation been built within the city walls. Whenever contemporaries talked about that part of the city, the term *khānqāh* invariably referred to Sa'ida al-Su'ada, as it appears in the waqfiyya of Qala'un.<sup>65</sup> It is obvious that, like Salah al-Din, Baybars wanted to single himself out by building a foundation for Sufis from foreign countries.<sup>66</sup> Like him, Baybars, that pious

amir known to be a fanatical Shafi'i, would avoid building a Friday mosque or having a khutba in his foundation, but would have the members of his khanqah walk every Friday to the mosque of al-Hakim, which he had had restored.

Nevertheless, one may still wonder whether the construction of the khanqah and ribat was not spurred by Baybars's awareness of the inherent power of Sufism which, when carefully manipulated, can be put to the service of political interests. With as many as four hundred Sufis drawn mostly from foreign lands and a hundred Muslims, mainly freedmen of the founder and men discharged from the army, are we not in the presence of a sort of stronghold built within the religious center?

During the first stage of the planning of the complex, i.e., when Baybars was still an amir in quest of power, this Sufi foundation was exclusive—there was no room in it for local members of the religious elite (*ulema* and *fuqaha*), who at this point would still be on the side of the reigning sultan. With time, however, as Maqrizi points out, its exclusive character was lost, and soon a number of commoners (including shoemakers) came to live in it. In the second stage of its planning—and probably as a result of his need to consolidate his shaky position as sultan—Baybars allocated space for the teaching of the traditions of the Prophet in his mausoleum, which was to be the next structure to be built. The introduction of members of the religious circle into his complex represented the beginning of a long process meant to integrate the khanqah into Mamluk society.

The complex itself was also planned in two stages, and its final integration represents an architectural tour-de-force. In the first stage, the architect was asked to produce a structure that would serve the purposes of the Sufis exclusively, that is, a khanqah to which a ribat, or sort of hospice, was to be attached. In the second stage he had to expand the plan to include a mausoleum for the founder and a minaret. Confronted with the problem of having to insert his building into a preexisting urban context, the architect had to make it comply with the requirements of the street alignment and at the same time satisfy the canons of religious architecture. In so doing he came up with the best possible plan that could have been devised, one that avoided any waste of functional space, satisfied the requirements of the patron, and still retained the characteristics of Mamluk funerary architecture. The result was an original building whose proportions had been carefully devised to convey the messages of legitimacy,

piety, and power to the onlooker.<sup>67</sup> Considering this, are we still entitled to regard the role of the architect at the time as merely technical and supervisory? It would be difficult to argue that Baybars's architect was no more than a skilled construction supervisor. Even though he was bound by the architectural canons of the time, the creativeness of his achievement is clear.

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#### EXCERPTS FROM THE WAQFIYYA

The text that follows is that part of the waqfiyya in the name of Sultan Baybars al-Jashankir (mahkama 22, mahfaza 4, dated 26 Shawwal 707) which deals directly with the foundation; the omitted parts deal with descriptions of properties, agricultural lands, and other charitable endowments. With a few minor variations the second copy of the 707 document (mahkama 23) has a text identical to the one reproduced below. The waqfiyya is written on parchment in bold naskhi and is fairly well preserved. The text has not been edited; formulas and other routine stylistic embellishments have been omitted.

مقتطفات من «حجة وقف السلطان بيبرس الجاشنكير»  
(٢٦ شوال سنة ٧٠٧ محكمة ٢٣ محفظة ٤)

فاما المكان المستجد المبدأ بوصفه أعلاه المشتمل على الايوانين والجلسين والبيوت وما هو من حقوق ذلك خاصة سفلا وعلوا فان الواقف المذكور ... وقف ذلك وقفا شرعيا على الصوفية والمتصوفة الشيوخ والكهول والشبان البالغين العرب منهم والعجم وغير ذلك من الاجناس على اختلاف طبقاتهم ومذاهبهم المترمين بأدابهم وطرائقهم المقيمين منهم بهذا المكان المذكور من أهل القاهرة ومصر المحروستين وظواهرهما وضواحيهما وغيرهما من البلاد والواردين الى هذا المكان من الخوانق وغيرها من أى مكان كان قريبا أو من بعيدا بطرائق الصوفية وأدابهم بحيث أنه لا يدخل عليهم أحد من غير جنسهم بشفاعة شافع ولا ولى أمر الا اذا كان فيه أهلية لذلك ومن فعل خلاف ذلك فوزره على الشافع والمشفوع له وشرط هذا الواقف ... أن يكون هذا المكان خانقاه للصوفية المشار اليهم ومسكنا لمن يختار سكنه به المتاهل منهم والمتجرد والمقيم والختاز بحيث لا يكون منهم ولا من أهل الرباط الذى ذكره فيه ممن يخدم عند الامراً ولا يتجوه فأما المجردون فيرتب منهم شيخ الخانقاه

المذكورة مائة نفر يقيمون بالخانقاه المذكور وله أن يقدم الوارد الى الديار المصرية على غيره من أهلها وأما المتأهلون ومن هو مجرد منهم وهو ساكن بغير الخانقاه فيترددون اليها ويسكنون بالخانقاه بتعين الشيخ من غير زوجات ولا جوارى على ممر الايام والشهور والاعوام على ان من سبق منهم الى بيت من البيوت المختصة بهذا المكان المذكور وسكن فيه فليس لغيره اخراجه منه ولا اعتراضه فيه ولا أن يبدل به غيره ومن سافر منهم من الخانقاه المذكورة الى عمل من أعمال الديار المصرية السفر المباح وله قصد في العودة أقر الشيخ المذكور عليه بيته ويستقر به اداته (ادامه ؟) الى حين عوده ولا يزيد عن مدة شهرين فيسكن به على عادته عند عوده ومن سافر منهم الى حيث شاء من البلاد البعيدة كالشام وغيره وعاد من سفره الى هذه الخانقاه فله السكن فيها بأى مكان يعينه له شيخ الصوفية المشار اليهم فيه من غير أن يشوش على أحد فى سكنه ومن توفى منهم كان للشيخ المذكور أن يسكن بيته من يختاره من الصوفية ومن بدا منه ما يوجب خروجه من هذه الخانقاه أخرج ولا يعود اليها الا بعد سفره الى جهة يعينها له شيخ الصوفية ويحد مدة توبته وشرط هذا الواقف المذكور ... أن يكون شيخ الصوفية منهم لا من غيرهم وهو ممن عرف بصحبة المشايخ وليس خرقه التصوف وأن يجتمع هو وجماعة الصوفية المنزلون بهذه الخانقاه من مقيم ومتردد وقت العصر كل يوم باسره مالم يكن لأحد منهم عذر أو ضرورة ويقروئن من القران المعظم ما تيسر على ما يراه شيخهم من ريع شريفه ويدعو أحدهم عقيب قرائتهم للواقف المسمى باعاليه وللناظر وللمسلمين بما يجريه الله على لسانه من الجبر وشرط هذا الواقف المذكور أن عدة الصوفية من المقيمين والمترددين والعزاب والمتزوجين لا يزيد عن أربع مائة نفس ويصرف لكل منهم ما يختص به على ما يشرح فيه ومتى تعذر اقاما الصوفية بهذه الخانقاه وتردهم اليها بوجه من الوجوه أو سبب من الاسباب والعياذ بالله تعالى عاد سكن هذه الخانقاه للفقراء والمساكين المسلمين على اختلاف طبقاتهم ومذاهبهم ويجرى حكمهم فى السكن بالخانقاه المذكورة حكم الصوفية المذكورين بشرط أن لا يكون لأحد منهم ولا من الصوفية ولا ممن يعين فيه من الفقرا ممن يكون زيه يخالف به الشرع المطهر الشريف فى جسده ولباسه ومتى عاد امكان اعادة الصوفية بالمكان المذكور عادوا على الحكم المشروح باعاليه فان تعذر ذلك عاد على الحكم المعين أعلاه ومن مرض منهم أو تعذر حضوره لضرورة أو عذر شرعى اجرى عليه نصيبه ما دام عذره وأما الايوان الكبير القديم البنا ودور القاعة التى هى أمامه والمجلس المجاور لذلك فان الواقف المسمى ... وقف ذلك رباطا على مائة نفر من المسلمين المتصفين بالفقرا والمسكنة يكون ظاهر منهم الخير وهم متصفون بصفة أرباب الزوايا غير مبتدعين ما لا يجوز شرعا أو عادة أو هو مشهور بذلك يكون منهم ثلثون نفرا بالصفة التى يراها

الناظر والشيخ يقيمون بالرباط المذكور وباقيهم مترددون لذلك ومن جميعهم الشيخ والامام والمؤذن والخدام والبواب ويقدم من يرغب الانقطاع بهذا الرباط من عتقا الواقف المذكور وذريتهم من الذكور ايضا على غيرهم من سائر الناس أجمعين ولا يكلفون اثياب استحقاق ولا زى الفقرا فان تعذر ذلك قدم من يرغب فى الانقطاع من الجند البطلان من المسلمين على غيرهم وأما بنا البير الماء المعين والساقية الخشب المركبة على فوهتها المذكور ذلك باعاليه فان الواقف ... وقف ذلك لينتفع به كل واحد من المقيمين بالخانقاه والرباط المذكورين باعاليه والواردين اليهما من أهل القاهرة ومصر المحروستين وغير ذلك انتفاع مثلهم بمثل ذلك وأما المكان الذى فيما بين الخانقاه والرباط ... الذى هو سفلى بغير علو الذى ذرع أرضه طولاً وعرضاً فى التكسير مائة ذراع واحدة بالعمل المعلوم ذلك فى مكانه فان الواقف ... أن ذلك من جملة المساجد والمعابد للصلاة والاعتكاف وأما باقى ما حدد أولاً فى هذا الكتاب فان الواقف المذكور شرط أن يبيناً بمكان يعينه الناظر قبه بها محراب وضريح برسم دفن الواقف ... وينشئ فى باقى ذلك ما يراه مصلحة الوقف وأهله فى سفلى ذلك وعلوه وكذلك ينشئ فى باقى الاماكن الموصوفة ما يراه مصلحته ويكون ذلك من ماله أو من مال الوقف أو من مجموعهما أو من غير ذلك مما يجوز شرعاً ويكون حكم ذلك حكم الوقف فى الحال والمآل

## NOTES

1. A satisfactory definition of who is to be considered an architect in Islam is yet to be produced. Qalqashandi writes: "The *muhandis al-ʿamāʾir* is the one who takes care of laying out (*tartīb*) the buildings and their appraisal. He rules over the people involved in the craft. *Handasa* is a well-known science, and there are monographs written on the subject (*al-Qalqashandi, Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshaʿ* [Cairo, 1914-28], vol. 5 p. 467). For further information about architects in Islam, see L. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneva, 1956).
2. Christel M. Kessler, "Funerary Architecture within the City," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, ed. André Raymond, J. M. Rogers, and M. Wahba (Berlin, 1973), pp. 257-67.
3. For further information about the evolution of the institution, see my "The Evolution of the Khanqah Institution in Mamluk Egypt," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1980.
4. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaʿ wa'l-Āthār* (reprt., Bulaq ed., 1977) (hereafter cited as *Khiṭaʿ*), vol. 2, pp. 430-31. For information on the shaykh, see Louis Pouzet, "Khadir ibn Abi Bakr al-Mihrani," *Bulletin des Études Orientales* 30 (1978): 173-83; P. M. Holt, "An Early Source on Shaykh Khadir al-Mihrani," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 46, pt. 1 (1983): 33-39.
5. *Khiṭaʿ* 2:432.
6. *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo, Survey of Egypt* (1951), no. 476; E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (henceforth *RCEA*) 17 (Cairo: IFAO, 1982), year 781H.
7. *Khiṭaʿ* 1:435, 438-39; 2:47, 362.
8. *Ibid.*, 2:47.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 374-75.
10. Adding al-Salih's mausoleum to his madrasa seems to have begun the custom of using the Salihiyya for the important ceremony of taking the oath. Maqrizi writes that, during the reign of Aybak (Shajar al-Durr's new husband), whenever a freed mamluk was promoted to the rank of amir, he would descend from the Citadel and ride through al-Qahira to the Salihiyya to take the oath of allegiance. A few years later, after Qalaʿun died, the ceremony was transferred to the qubba of Qalaʿun, where the oath was taken in front of his grave. This tradition came to an end with the Qalaʿunid dynasty (*Khiṭaʿ* 2:380-81).
11. For an insight into Baybars's personality, see Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cairo, 1348 H.), vol. 1, pp. 502-7; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo, 1963-72), 8:276; *Kitāb Shurūṭ al-Naṣāra*, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, ms. 3952 Taʾrikh, fol. 97-98; *Khiṭaʿ* 2:417.
12. For information on the Dar Saʿid al-Suʿada, see *Khiṭaʿ* 2:415.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
14. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (henceforth *MAE*) (Oxford, 1951), vol. 2, p. 251.
15. Abu'l Harith al-Basasiri had defeated the Abbasid caliph and established the khutba in Baghdad, in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustansir. Subsequently, he sent al-Mustansir bi Allah all the treasures and money and objects d'art belonging to the Abbasids. Among them were the turban of al-Qaʿim, his garment, and the window at which he used to sit (*Khiṭaʿ* 1:439).
16. *Khiṭaʿ* 2:416.
17. *Ibid.*, 1:439.
18. *Ibid.*, 2:416-18.
19. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Bulaq ed., 1311 H.), vol. 1, p. 147.
20. Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:507.
21. Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li Maʿrifat Duwwal al-Mulūk* (henceforth cited as *Sulūk*) (Cairo, 1936-73), vol 1, pt. 1. p. 36.
22. Creswell, *MAE*, 2:249.
23. Nūr al-Dīn al-Jawhari al-Maliki, *Risāla fī Faḍl Inshaʿ al-Masājid wa ʿImārathihā* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 4.
24. *Hujjat Waqf al-Sultān Baybars al-Jāshankīr*, Dar al-Wathaʿiq al-Misriyya, mahfaza 4, mahkama 22 and 23.
25. *Hujaj bidun Raqam*, Dar al-Wathaʿiq al-Misriyya, mahfaza 89.
26. It is perhaps proper to mention here that this diversification of waqf land is commonly found in Mamluk waqfs, contrary to what is suggested by Albert Arazī, "al-Risāla al-Baybarsiyya d'al-Suyuti," *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 332.
27. Maqrizi points out (*Khiṭaʿ* 2:417) that the khanqah was built of stone and that all of its structures had fine vaults rather than wooden roofs.
28. The reading of this word differs from the one provided by Muhammad Amin (*The Waqfs and Social Life in Egypt* [Cairo, 1980], p. 210). The word *ajnas*, rather than the *ahbāsh* suggested by him, is confirmed by the text of the second waqfiyya (mahkama 23, mahfaza 4) which shows very clearly the dot under the *jīm*.
29. This reading differs from the one provided by Amin (*ibid.*, p. 210), who reads it *tawābīḥihima*. He points out (n. 2) that the spelling of the word in the waqfiyya is wrong and that the *lāʾ*

- should be corrected into a *tāʿ*? In both copies of the waqf document, however, the word is spelled without an *ʿayn*. The only thing missing is the dot over the *tāʿ*, to make it a *zāʿ*?. We know from Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ* 2:108-11) that the Zahir al-Qahira referred to areas of the city extending outside the walls.
30. Al-Suyuti, writing two centuries later, deplored the situation at the khanqah, where in violation of the founder's stipulations, *fuqahāʿ* who were not Sufis and even individuals who were neither faqihs nor Sufis had been appointed to it (*al-Risāla al-Baybarsiyya*, p. 347).
  31. The waqfiyya specifies that all salaries should be paid in dirhams nuqra or equivalent currency. The *dirham nuqra* referred to was two-thirds silver and one-third copper (Ibn Faql Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Absār*, Dar al-Kutub, Maʿarif ʿamma ms. 8 mim, vol. 5, fol. 67 v. According to W. Popper (*Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468* [Berkeley, Calif., 1957], p. 43), before 1400 the silver dirham had a content of 1.983 grams of silver and 0.92 grams of copper.
  32. All salaries were paid at the end of the month (*salkh kul shahr*), as specified in the waqfiyya. This was the case in waqfs of the Mamluk period, contrary to what Arazi suggests (*Risāla*, p. 350, n. 7) in his criticism of Sartain's reading.
  33. The document indicates that the *raṭl* referred to should be weighed in *raṭl miṣrī*. The *raṭl miṣrī* was equal to 144 dirhams (*Masalik, al-Absār*, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>); see also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Ashā*, 3:345; Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, pp. 39-40.
  34. By the Ottoman period, this position—as most positions in religious foundations—had come to be shared by more than one person, a practice that had its roots in the early Mamluk period, as can be inferred from Mamluk sources. The court registers show that it had become legally acceptable to Ottoman qadis. For example, *mahkama sharʿiyya*, Bab ʿAli 19, no. 820, fol. 162, year 969 H.) says, “The Hanafi judge (*hakim*) referred to above has confirmed Shaykh Saʿad al-Din ... in the  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the position (*waqfiya*) of *imām al-hanafiyya* in the madrasa al-Rukniyya Baybars al-Jashankir, replacing Ibrahim b. ʿAbd al-[illegible] who vacated it ... with the salary attached to the position, and that is 10 nisf monthly.” Baybars's khanqah is here referred to as a madrasa; and from the late Mamluk period the same was true of many khanqahs.
  35. Maqrīzī informs us that in 776 (1374) drought caused the distribution of food to Sufis to be stopped, and the kitchen closed. They were given their daily bread in addition to 7 dirhams as a compensation. By 796 (1393) the distribution of bread was also suspended, and the Sufis were given 10 dirhams to compensate for both the food and bread (*Khīṭaṭ* 2:417).
  36. For further information on discharged military men, cf. David Ayalon, “Discharge from Services, Banishment, and Imprisonment in Mamluk Society,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 25-30.
  37. In his history of Egypt, Ibn Iyas writes in his *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* under the year A.H. 705 that Baybars had begun the construction of his khanqah in the Rahbat Bab al-ʿId opposite the Darb al-Asfar, and that Shaykh Sharaf al-Din b. al-Wajih wrote an entire Qurʾan (*khatma*) in 7 parts (*juzʿ*) for him, and that it was written in gold on Baghdad paper, in the *qalam al-shiʿr*. For this *qalam*, see Ibn Badīs, “Umdat al-Kuttāb,” ed. Abd al-Sattar al-Hahiji, *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhtūʿat al-ʿArabiyya* 17 (1971): 144-45. The Qurʾan of Baybars was the subject of a recent study (“Some Observations on the Calligraphers and Illuminators of the Koran of Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Jashankir,” *Muqarnas* 2 [1984]: 147-57) by David James who suggests that the Qurʾan must have been placed temporarily in, or donated to, the mosque of al-Hakim. It appears from the waqfiyya, however, that the Qurʾan was given to the khanqah to be used by the *qārīʿ al-mushaf al-kabīr* for the Friday reading in the mosque.
  38. *Hujjat bidūn Raqam*, Dar al-Wathaʿiq al-Misriyya, mahfaza 89.
  39. Creswell, *MAE*, 2:249-53; for an extensive bibliography on the foundation, see *ibid.*, p. 250, n. 1.
  40. Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 14: 152-54.
  41. Leonor Fernandes, “Three Sufi Foundations in a Fifteenth-Century Waqfiyya,” *Annales Islamologique* 17 (1981): 141-56.
  42. Dar al-Wathaʿiq al-Misriyya, *Hujjat Waqf al-Sultān al-Nāsir Muḥammad b. Qalāʾūn*, mahkama 25, mahfaza 4, dated 725 (1324); also Muḥammad Amīn, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih fī Ayyām al-Mansūr wa Banih* (Cairo, 1982), pp. 401-18.
  43. Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿUthman b. ʿUmar al-Wanughī al-Tunisi, *al-Masāʾil al-Malqūta min al-Kutub al-Mabsūta min Majālis al-Shaykh Muḥammad . . . al-Wanūghī*, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, ms. Fiqh Malik Talaʿat 61, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>.
  44. For the plan of Nasir's madrasa, see Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, fig. 137.
  45. Christel Kessler, “Mecca-Oriented Urban Architecture in Mamluk Cairo: The Madrasa of Sultan Shaʿban II,” *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Muhammad al-Nowahī*, ed. A. H. Green (Cairo, 1984).
  46. From reading Mamluk waqfiyyas, one comes to the conclusion that the qubba itself was rarely founded as a funerary chamber. It was invariably referred to as a mosque (*masjid*) and a house of God. The room underneath, the *fisqiyya*, was the burial chamber.
  47. ʿAli Pasha Mubarak, *al-Khīṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadida* (Bulaq ed., 1306 H.), vol. 4, p. 68. A plan of the Comité de Conservation (1892, pl. 10) shows the remains of the walls of these shops.
  48. Al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Cairo, 1931), vol. 8, pp. 130, 134-35.
  49. Creswell, *MAE*, 2:253.
  50. *Khīṭaṭ* 2:307.
  51. Leonor Fernandes, “Notes on a New Source for the Study of Religious Architecture during the Mamluk Period: Waqfiyyas,” *al-Abhath* 4 (Beirut, 1985).
  52. *Khīṭaṭ* 2:382.
  53. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Turuq al-Hukmiyya wa'l-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya* (Cairo, 1317 H.), pp. 190-91.
  54. Among the most interesting examples is that of al-Ashraf Barsbay who had a large part of his waqf document cover the walls of his madrasa (1425), Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Egypte* (Paris, 1922), no. 245. For other examples, see *ibid.*, no. 182; Jean Sauvaget, “Décrets mamlouks de Syrie,” *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 3 (1933): 14-15; 12 (1947-48): 36.
  55. Van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, nos. 108, 109. The text of the tiraz published by van Berchem is incomplete, however; it does not give the end of the cartouche which bears the date.
  56. *Sulūk*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 36.
  57. Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 8:276.
  58. al-ʿAsqalani, *Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:507.
  59. Van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, no. 109, *RCEA* 17, no. 5243.
  60. *CIA, Egypte*, pp. 163-66, and no. 108.
  61. Creswell, *MAE*, 2:250.
  62. The appropriation of waqfs and the removal of their founders'

names from inscriptions on their foundations were strongly condemned by the qadis. The confiscation of the waqfs of the madrasa-khanqah of Jamal al-Din al-Ustadar (1408) by Faraj ibn Barquq, who removed Jamal al-Din's name from the inscription and replaced it with his own after having written a new waqfiyya, must be regarded as an extreme example. Even in this case, the sultan encountered strong opposition from the qadis, and at his death the waqfs of the madrasa were reinstated. Years later a new waqfiyya in the name of Jamal al-Din was drawn up; in it the behavior of Faraj was described as an act of madness (see *Khīṭat* 2:401-3; also *Hujjat Waqf Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār*, mahkama 106, mahfaza 170).

63. *Khīṭat* 2:382.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

65. *Hujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Qala'ūn*, Wizarat al-Awqaf, Hujja 1010 Qadim.

66. In the mid-fourteenth century, the khanqah seems to have gained in importance. Among its residents were a number of *fuqahā'* and *'ulamā'* drawn from the local religious class (Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* [Princeton, 1981], pp. 145-48). By the fifteenth century it had declined, however, if al-Suyuti's comment is reliable.

67. For some proposed messages conveyed by Mamluk architecture, see R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica*, 1972, pp. 60-119.