INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.
Late Mamluk patronage: Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī’s waqf and his foundations in Cairo

Alhamzeh, Khaled Ahmad, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1993
LATE MAMLUK PATRONAGE:
QANSUH AL-GHURI'S WAQF AND HIS FOUNDATIONS
IN CAIRO

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Khaled Ahmad Alhamzeh, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1993

Dissertation Committee: Approved by

Howard G. Crane
Mathew Herban III Adviser
Timothy McNiven Department of History of Art
To
Sa'diyaa Hamid
For her unlimited support, kindness and encouragement
In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All praise be to Almighty God for His favours upon me.

Dr. Howard Crane, my adviser and chairman of my Doctoral Committee, fully guided, supported, and encouraged me throughout the research and during the graduate study as well. I express sincere appreciation to him for his advices and cherished friendship. His demands for excellency and perfection enriched my study. All his precious comments and criticism will remain effective for my future scholarly works. I extend gratitude to the committee members. I deeply appreciate the encouragement and support of Dr. Herban III throughout my entire doctoral program as well as this study; and Dr. Timothy McNiven and Dr. Stephen Dale for their valuable comments. A special appreciation goes to Dr. Christine Verzar and other faculty members for their encouragement throughout the program.

To family and friends, I am particularly indebted to my father, father-in-law Ali Alkholy, my wife Inas and my brother Majed, Dr. Hussin Rizq, Ahmad al-Urqan whose help and on-going inspiration are highly appreciated. Thank you Noha, Nida and Nile for respecting your father's time and work.
VITA

January 10, 1955 ............................................... Born- Ramth, Jordan
1977 ............................................................. B.A. Helwan
1984 ............................................................. M.A. Helwan
1985-1987 ......................................................... Instructor, Yarmouk

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History of Art
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ................................................................. ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ...................................................... iii
VITA ................................................................................ iv
LIST OF FIGURES ........................................................ vi

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION ..................................................... 1
II. QANSHUH AL-GHURI'S LIFE, CHARACTER AND PATRONAGE ........................................ 34
III. THE WAQFIYYA OF THE GHURIYYA COMPLEX :

| Introduction | 73 |
| The Introductory Protocol | 75 |
| The Description of the Building in al-Ghuri's Waqfiyya | 80 |
| Properties and Lands Bequeathed to the Waqf | 105 |
The Stipulations and Expenditures of the Waqf................................. 143
The Conditions of the Waqf......................................................... 175

IV. CONCLUSION................................................................. 182

BIBLIOGRAPHY................................................................. 201

APPENDIX................................................................. 208
**LIST OF FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Map of the Mamluk state in al-Ghūrī's reign</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sultan al-Ghūrī sitting on the mašāba and receiving the Venetian ambassador, 1512, painting, Louvre, reproduced in Schéfer 203.</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The first page of al-Ghūrī's waqfiyya as it appears in waqfiyya 882.</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Al-Qaṣaba al-ʿUzma or al-Muʿizz li Dīn Illāh Street, Cairo, plan.</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The site of the Ghūriyya complex, plan, Revault, Maury and Zakariya 33.</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bazaar of the Silk Mercers, painting, David Roberts, From an Antique Land 79.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Ghūriyya complex, plan, Briggs 128.</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The main façade of the madrasa, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Misr, pl. 145.</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The minaret of the madrasa after restoration, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Miṣr, pl. 251.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The minaret of the madrasa in its original form, painting, Avennes, Atlas, I, pl. XXIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The façade of the madrasa, detail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The portal of the madrasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The door of the madrasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Interior of the madrasa, facing east, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Miṣr, pl. 146.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>One of the small iwāns of the madrasa, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Miṣr, pl. 148.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The main iwān of the madrasa, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Miṣr, pl. 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The mihrāb of the madrasa, Hauteœur and Wiet, pl. 210.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The minbar of the madrasa, Hauteœur and Wiet, pl. 211.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>The eastern part of the Ghūriyya complex, plan, Kessler 263.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The eastern part of the Ghūriyya complex, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Miṣr, pl. 149.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The main façade the eastern part of the Ghūriyya complex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>The portal of the eastern part of the Ghūriyya complex, Hauteœur and Wiet, pl. 208.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
27. The sabīl and kuttāb of the Ghūriyya complex, Revault, Maury and Zakariya, pi. XXIV-B. 
28. The courtyard and Maq'ad of al-Ghūrī, Revault, Maury and Zakariya 41. 
   1. Vestibule 4. Staircase leading to the khanqāh. 
   2. Gallery 5. Staircase leading to the maq'ad. 
   3. Courtyard 
29. The facade of the maq'ad on the courtyard, Revault, Maury and Zakariya, pl. XXII. 
30. The Maq'ad of al-Ghūrī, plan, Revault, Maury and Zakariya 43. 
   10. Entrance 14. Staircase 
   11. Open area 15. The roof of the dependences 
   12. The main hall 16. Shaft for light and air 
   13. Dependences 
31. The hall of the maq'ad, interior, Revault, Maury and Zakariya, pl. XXIII-A. 
ix
32. Wakālāt al-Ghūrī, plan, the first story,
Meinecke-Berg, Architecture of the Islamic
World, ed. G. Michell 229. ......................... 239

33. Wakālāt al-Ghūrī, view to the east,
Meinecke-Berg, Architecture of the Islamic
World, ed. G. Michell 229. ......................... 240
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Arabic words appear in transliterated form in this text. I have followed convention used in the International Journal of Middle East Studies without any modifications. The reader is referred to the above-mentioned journal.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Mamluk Dynasty ruled Egypt and Syria for some two and a half centuries, between c. 1260 and 1517 (Fig. 1). The period is divided into two moments on the basis of the place of residence of two groups of Mamluks involved in the ruling institution. The first of these, the Bahri Mamluks, were brought by the preceding Ayyubid rulers as slave soldiers. Chiefly Turks and Mongols, they ruled from c. 1260 to 1382. Their residence was on the Island of ar-Rawda in the Nile where they got the name *bahri*, meaning the River. The later Mamluks, who ruled from 1382 to 1517, were Circassians and Kipchak Turks from the the Caucasus and south Russian steppe. They were quartered in the towers or *burjs* of Cairo's Citadel as the result of which they are named the Burji Mamluks. After the convulsions of the reign of

---

1 The date 1250 given for the beginning of the Mamluk regime is debatable since none of the five rulers of Egypt in the decade 1250-60 is a Bahri Mamluk. See Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois UP, 1986) 26.

Sultan Faraj (1399-1412), the Circassians regained their supremacy and maintained it without any serious challenge till the end of the Mamluk period.

During the Burji period the sense of racial solidarity among the Mamluks is far more pronounced than it is during the Bahri period. Al-jins meaning the Race and al-qawm meaning the People are terms applied only to the Circassians, and the title at-ta'ifa, meaning the Sect or Community was used to describe them as well.

These Burji Mamluks like their predecessors the Bahris, were purchased as children and educated in the Qur'an and religious matters, and in al-furusiyya or horsemanship. Being brought up under arms and keeping themselves distinct from the people they ruled, the Mamluks filled the ranks of the army. The most able, especially those favoured by the sultan, were freed and made officers as amirs of ten, fifty, a hundred, or a thousand.

The Mamluk sultans themselves usually sprang from the higher

---

3 Ibn Iyäs asserts that Sultan Qalāwūn was the first Mamluk ruler to use the towers of the Qal'ah as a barracks for his slave soldiers whom he refers to as al-Mamalik al-Burjiyya. See Ibn Iyäs, Bada'i' az-Zuhūr fi Waqā'i' al-Duhūr, ed. Muhammad Mustafa, 2nd ed., vol. 1, part 1 (Cairo: al-Hai'ah al-Miṣrīyya al-ʿAmma al-Kitāb, 1982) 362. They were presumably numbered at between 6,000 and 12,000. See Irwin 69; and Sir John Glubb, Soldiers of Fortune: The Story of the Mamlukes (New York: Stein and Day, 1873) 134.


5 Muir 4. These are ranks indicating the number of the soldiers under an officer's command.
ranks of the officer corps after frequently bloody struggles for succession to the throne among competing factions and claimants. As the Mamluk institution was not hereditary, the Mamluks renewed their ranks through the purchase of fresh slaves, who in turn, should circumstances be favourable and their own abilities sufficient, could rise to liberty, high office and fortune.

Throughout this period Cairo was the capital of the Mamluk state and seat of the sultan. In time the city became one of the largest metropolitan centers of the late medieval and early modern world. Although there were times of turbulence, Cairo knew under the Mamluks long periods of stability and prosperity. This Glorious or Protected City, as it is often called in the contemporary chronicles and documents, was a major intellectual center for the Islamic world. Muslim scholars, sufis and students came from all parts of the Mamluk empire as well as from other parts of the Islamic world such as North Africa, Spain, and Turkey to study, teach and work.

The Mamluks were great patrons of monumental architecture and fine arts. They adorned Cairo during this period with a variety of types of buildings for both public and private use. The amirs built large and beautiful palaces to accommodate their official, state activities and family life. Both the sultans and the amirs were also frequent patrons of mosques, khanqāhs, fountains, hospitals, and schools.
The year 1516 was a decisive date for the Mamluk state. In that year the Mamluk regime in Egypt and Syria under Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī (1501-1516) was militarily defeated and the Mamluk state was overthrown by the Ottoman army led by Sultan Selim I. The defeat and with it the collapse of the Mamluk state were ultimately, however, the result of a number of factors, both internal and external. Among these, the shift in the routing of the international trade between Europe and the East from the eastern Mediterranean to the passage around the Cape of Good Hope after 1499 caused Egypt to lose its most important sources of income, those derived from the transportation of trade goods and from customs taxes. In addition the growing power of the Ottoman state on the Mamluk's northern frontiers undermined Mamluk military security, culminating in the invasion of Syria in 1516, the rout of Mamluk forces at Marj Dābiq north of Aleppo and the death of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī. The army fled back to Cairo and Selim, following it, marched south into Egypt and entered the Mamluk capital. Although some resistance led by Tümānbây continued for a few months, even this was soon brought to an end. Tümānbây was captured by Selim and put to death at Cairo's Bāb Zuwaylah. Al-Ghūrī, who was killed at Marj Dābiq, is thus considered the last real ruler of the Mamluk state.

* * *


The earliest descriptions of Mamluk architecture were impressionistic accounts of nineteenth-century European travellers that alluded to its importance, while at the same time dealing with it as something alien and exotic. Among the foremost examples of this genre are the account of David Roberts entitled *Egypt and Nubia* (1846-49) and of Prisse d'Avennes published as *L'Art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VII siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII* (1869-77). Of special interest for their illustrations, they introduced the European public to an architectural tradition previously virtually unknown to it.

A more systematic approach to the study of Mamluk architecture starts to make its appearance late in the nineteenth century when monuments began to be examined formally, stylistically and archaeologically. The aim of this approach was to study systematically the typological elements of this architecture and to arrange them chronologically and regionally. An early example of this sort of survey was that done by Stanley Lane-Poole. Entitled *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (1886), it discusses

---


7 Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1886).
different aspects of Islamic art and architecture in Egypt in chapters devoted to materials and techniques. Despite its brevity and superficiality, the book was, nonetheless, a pioneering work in that it for the first time explored in a systematic manner the defining qualities of the monuments with which it dealt.

Paul Casanova's *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* (1894-97) is another work very much in the same spirit as Lane-Poole’s work, although it deals with a single monument rather than larger groups of works. As its title shows, it covers the planning and architectural evolution of the Citadel of Cairo from the Ayyūbid period to the period of Ottoman rule. To do so the author relies on both a close archeological study of the complex and on the examination of contemporary literary sources as they have a bearing on the site. The same techniques are used by Max van Berchem in his important, three-volume work entitled *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (1894-1903). Although conceived of fundamentally as a study of epigraphy, recording and analyzing the historical inscriptions and verses from

---


the Qur'ân found on the Islamic monument of Cairo, van Berchem also describes the location of the inscriptions, that is their architectural and archaeological settings. This book sheds light on the iconographical problems involved in the study of the inscriptions and their relationship with the monuments as well.

Martin Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (1924)\(^{10}\) is another important early work that follows a more or less the formal and stylistic approach. Organized chronologically by dynasty, it makes no attempt to deal with the social or economic context of the architecture with which it deals but rather identifies the key Islamic monuments of the geographical region under consideration and describes the stylistic qualities which serve to characterize each period. Louis Hauteœur and Gaston Wiet's survey, *Les mosquées du Caire* (1932),\(^{11}\) approaches its subject in much the same manner, describing the evolution and key examples of Cairene mosque architecture from the middle of the seventh century through the Ottoman period. It includes chapters covering aspects of use, construction and historical development, but is principally useful for its excellent photographs.


The culmination of this approach is to be found in the monumental studies of K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (1932-40) and *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (1952-60). The first of these, consisting of two enormous folio volumes, deals with the evolution of Islamic architecture from the seventh through the tenth century. Although it includes the entirety of the Islamic East in its coverage, it nonetheless is of fundamental importance to the student of Cairene architecture for its exhaustive studies of such key monuments as the Azhar Mosque and the Mosque of Ibn Tulun. *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* is narrower in its focus, surveying the Islamic monuments of Egypt in the period between the coming of the Fatimids (960) and the end of the Bahri Mamluk period (1326).

Although the work of Creswell, Wiet, van Berchem and other practitioners of the stylistic and formal approach is of fundamental importance to any student of Muslim architecture in Egypt, it is rigidly archaeological methodology excludes from the field of legitimate examination many of the broader implications of the monuments with which it deals. Thus, the formal and stylistic approach fails to explain or even confront the whole issue of the dynamics of change, that is how and why style evolves over time.

---

from dynasty to dynasty. Likewise, regional variations in style, i.e. questions having to do with the varieties of styles within and between provinces in any particular period, are largely ignored. The reason for this shortcoming would seem to have to do with the very nature of the archaeological approach itself, with its emphasis on the positivistic documentation of the specifics of particular monuments and its avoidance of broader speculation.

Oleg Grabar, in his critical article, "Reflections on Mamluk Art," points out that although the bibliography dealing with the field is extensive, its intellectual shortcomings are strikingly apparent. He asserts that with the new approaches --cultural and iconographical-- introduced into the study of art history in recent years make it necessary that almost every aspect of Mamluk art be restudied. Indeed, he goes further and declares that the masterpieces of Mamluk architecture require more speculative treatment in order to address the full range of complex questions they raise and concludes with the thought that in suggesting different interpretations we may, perhaps, add to our knowledge both of the nature of Islamic art and of the methods of the history of art in general.

* * *

The historian of world systems and Islamic cultures Marshall Hodgson, in his study *The Venture of Islam*, reviewed briefly the scholarship on Islamic art and expressed his dissatisfaction with it for its lack of concern with the cultural environment which produced this art. Hodgson's critique should come as no surprise given the fact that he was a historian who viewed culture as the expression of complex systems molded by a variety of intellectual, social, and economic forces. What, in fact, Hodgson (and Grabar) called for was an approach to Islamic art and architecture which took into consideration the cultural environment which produced it.

As applied to Mamluk architecture, such a cultural approach would involve a study of the whole range of factors --stylistic, iconographic, social, economic, intellectual-- that went into the shaping a specific building or group of buildings at any one place or time. Thus, the social and political context in which a specific monument was produced, including its religious, economic, and intellectual environment, can serve as vital supplements to the formal approach for an understanding of matters such as the attitude of the patron or changes in style. Indeed, it is precisely

---

14 Hodgson says that although there are competent surveys of architectural monuments and art objects, interpretations show little acquaintance with the rest of Islamic culture, and are characterized by a stereotyped response to aesthetic problems. See Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol.2 (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1974) note 2 in 503.
these sorts of issues which are raised by Grabar in his essay on Mamluk architecture when he notes that if we accept the proposition that Mamluk architecture is a classical moment of formal poise and equilibrium, then the question must be asked as to why this stage is found in Mamluk architecture and not in other contemporary Islamic architectural traditions such as the Ottoman or Ilkhanid. Such a cultural approach could perhaps explain such seemingly contradictory tendencies as the acute contrast between the cruelty of most of the Burji Mamluk sultans on the one hand and the generous patronage they gave to religious buildings, a problem which seems inexplicable to a scholar such as Briggs.

Traditionally a variety of types of sources have been used by students of architectural history to reconstruct the modes of life of medieval Muslim societies and to understand the character and meaning of Islamic art and architecture. Among these sources the buildings themselves are, of course, of primary importance. Obviously, the standing monuments, even ruined buildings, provide the physical basis for any study of planning, of the forms and techniques of decoration and of the methods and materials of construction. This type of source material has been used with great

15 Grabar 8.

16 Briggs 114.
care and insight by architectural historians such as Creswell and Casanova, who approach the study of monuments formally.

Literary sources can be used to advantage as well, however. These range over a variety of literary genres, including chronicles, travellers' accounts, geographies, and topographies. From these sources we can derive important information concerning the original setting of the monuments, their function, and their meaning for their contemporaries, either users or visitors.

Finally a third category of potential source material bearing on architecture is constituted by official state documents and the records of religious courts. These include chancery correspondence, petitions, peace treaties, decrees, tax registers, court registers and waqfiyyas or deeds of foundations. Of all these, it is perhaps this last category — waqf documents— that constitute, at least potentially, the most valuable single type of material for the study of architecture. This is because they frequently contain not only descriptions of specific monuments, but stipulations defining in the most precise detail the types of activities which were to take place within the confines of these monuments. They provide, in other words, a means by which not only the broad outlines of function can be postulated but even the most minute and

concrete details of the life lived within a foundation can be ascertained. As such they have the potential not only to enhance our understanding of the particular monuments and institutions for which they were drawn up, but by analogy and generalization to provide insights into the functional specifics of Mamluk architecture as a whole.

* * *

The terms *waqf* and *habb* are Arabic masders meaning to prevent or to restrain. *Waqf* is charity, and as such real estate or other properties made *waqf* cannot be sold, bought, presented as a gift, or inherited. The basic element of *waqf* in Islamic Law is that the foundation or donation be publicly promulgated before witnesses. By this act the *waqf* becomes *'aqd lazim*, that is an irrevocable legal transaction. This promulgation can be only made by a person who is free and independent, sane, mature, a Muslim, and without debt. The *waqf* is legitimate when it is implemented on real estate or movables, or on what the people have customarily made *waqf*. The purpose of the making of *waqf* is to restrain the *mawqūf*, that is the object of the endowment, to separate it from
private ownership and to make charity of its substance or of the
incomes produced by it. 18

Generally speaking, there is an agreement between the four
schools of Sunni Islam on these principals, although Hanifite jurists
also consider waqf to be legally a form of lending. Thus, according
to jurists of the Hanifite school, the usufruct of the mawqûf goes to
the waqf but the mawqûf itself stays in the property of the wâqif or
the donor. 19

There are two kinds of waqf. One is called waqf khayrî, that
is endowment for buildings of a religious purpose or public nature,
such as mosques or madrasa. The other is called waqf dhuri or
wqf ahli, a family endowment for the relatives of the wâqif. 20
The idea that served as the basis of both kinds of waqf is an old one,
that can be traced back to pre-Islamic times. Indeed, pious
foundations similar to the waqf khayrî are attested as far back as the
Fourth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom in Egypt, while family
endowments begin to make their appearance in the Fifth Dynasty.
Institutions similar to waqf are also found in the Roman and

18 Bûrân ad-Dîr at-Târibîlsî, Al-lsâf fi 'Akhâm al- 'Awqâf (Beirut:
Dar ar-Râ'id al-'Arabî, 1981) 14; W. Heffening, "Wakf," Encyclopedia of
Islam, IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1934) 1096-1103; Mûhammad M. Amin, 'Al-
Awqâf wa al-Hayâk al-'Ijtimâ'iyah fi Misr 1250-1517 (Cairo: Dîr an-Nâhîah
al-'Arabiyya, 1980) 1.

19 At- Târibîlsî 7.

20 Amin 11-12; Heffening 1198.
Byzantine periods. However, there exist significant differences between the Byzantine pious endowment and the Islamic waqf, especially with respect to the notion inherent in the latter that God is the actual owner of the waqf, and with regard to the manner in which the two were made legal, the ways in which they impacted on society and the nature of their administrations.21

The earliest Islamic waqfs date back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad, and in Egypt the first waqfs were established at time the Muslims entered the country in the fifth decade of the seventh century. In earliest Islamic times waqfs were limited to charity and to the care and maintenance of mosques.22 However when the Ayyûbids came to power in the twelfth century, they began to use waqfs in their struggle against Shi'ism, in particular

21 Amin 12-13.

22 The Mosque of ‘Amr at Fustât is considered the first waqf foundation in Egypt. The earliest surviving document of waqf is preserved in al-Maqrizi’s Khita^, (part 2, 135), which concerns the Well of al-Waṭâwiṭ and the remains of its inscription dated 355/965. The first known assignment of agricultural lands in Egypt to a pious endowment is attested in the waqf of Abû Bakr Muhammad bin Ḥalâl al-Muhtar’i, an employee of the kharâj or land tax administration who started his job in 318/930, that is after the fall of Ibn Tulûn’s state. The lands themselves were located at Birkat al-Ḫabash. The endowment document is recorded in al-‘Umari’s book al-‘Intisâr li Wasi^- al-‘Amsar, (part 1, 55-56) and is dated 307/919. See Amin 33-39. The earliest example of a document for a family waqf in Egypt is the one established by a certain ash-Shâfi’i, who made his house in Fustât along with its furnishings an endowment for his descendants. The act is recorded in ash-Shâfi’i al-‘Umm, (vol.3, 281-283), quoted in W. Heffening 1100.
for the building schools to teach orthodox Sunni Islam, and for the freeing the prisoners of war who had been taken by the Franks.23

During both the Fatimid and the Ayyūbid periods (969-1260) waqf was administered by the head of a branch of the central government known as the Diwān al-'Aḥbās or Department of Waqfs headed by the Nāzir al-'Aḥbās or superintendent for charitable foundations who had beneath him a subordinate official responsible for turning over to the state treasury a portion of the usufruct of the waqf. It was required that the Nāzir al-'Aḥbas be a person of high morality and have a thorough knowledge of the religious sciences and of the regulation and legalizing of waqf. That he enjoyed an unusual degree of independent authority is clear from the fact that his orders were to be executed even without the permission of the sultan.24

Although agricultural lands were made waqf for religious and charitable foundations already in Fatimid and Ayyūbid periods, during the Mamluk period, not only were agricultural lands given as waqf but other types of real estate were placed under restraint on a large scale as well.25 In time, it seems, the majority of urban real

23 Amin 1, 180-1.

24 Amin 1, 65-67.

25 Amin 12, 52; Heffening, 1198; Ahmad Darrāj, L'Acte de Waqf de Barsbay (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1963) 13.
estate, including houses (dūr), shops (hawānīs) and residential palaces (rab') in Mamluk Egypt came to be owned and administered by and through pious or family endowments. In addition, it is estimated that almost half of the agricultural land in the countryside was made waqf. As a result the waqf institution came to play a role of enormous political, social, economic and religious importance in the life of the Mamluk period.

The Diwan al-'Awqāf in the Mamluk period came to be staffed by a variety of officials. Especially important among these was the shādd al-'amāra or overseer and the mu'allim or muhandis, who visited the various buildings and properties of a particular waqf and reported to the qādi or religious judge before whom the waqf had been registered on their condition. Fernandes assumes that the qādi's approval was necessary for repairs or other alterations to be made. The diwan had to ensure that waqf incomes were spent legally and that building alterations and repairs did not violate the strictures of Islamic Law. The reports of the muhandis were kept in the court where they were witnessed and registered.27

26 Amin 1.
27 Fernandes 7-8. The state in Egypt did not interfere in the establishment or administration of waqfs until the time of the Umayyad judge Tawba bin Nimr in the reign of Hishām bin 'Abd al-Malik, who established a special diwan or office and registers. This was, in fact, the first such diwan in the Islamic state. See Amin 1, 48.
In the very late Mamluk period the job of *Nāżir al-Awqāf* was eliminated because bribery and corruption became widespread even among the people who filled religious jobs. It was abolished in Dhul-Ḥijja 901/1496, but revived by the last Mamluk sultan, Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī, who appointed Muhammad bin Yūsuf to the office for less than a year in 907/1501. He was followed by ʿal-Muʿiz ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn ʿAlī bin al-ʿImām who remained in this position until the end of the Mamluk era.28

There were several reasons why *waqfs* were so extensive in the Mamluk period. Of particular importance was the political situation, especially the relationship between the rulers and their subjects and the relationship among the people of the ruling class. The sultan or his amirs, in order to compensate for their alien origin and to legitimate their rule in the eyes of their Egyptian and Syrian Arab subjects, established many endowments for both religious and public purposes. Moreover, the Mamluks found in the *waqf* a useful means of protecting their personal wealth from confiscation by the sultan and the state, events which frequently took place in the environment of intense competition for control of the sultanate which existed among members of the Mamluk ruling elite.

28 Amin 122-24.
Mamluk waqfs, more often than not, combined both khayri and ahli elements, in that where the usufruct of the mawqüf surpassed the need of the waqf, this extra income would go to the wāqif and his family. Thus, family self-interest guided the Mamluks in making donations to religious institutions, for this activity was also as a way of providing for the future of the donor's family. The need to make such provision is apparent given the fact that the children of the Mamluks were excluded from high positions in the army and the state bureaucracy. The provisions of pious endowments, however, could stipulate that the founder's heirs serve in perpetuity as the administrators of the waqf with a certain fixed income, thus enabling Mamluk founders to assure the material security of their descendants.29

A second motive animating the Mamluk founders of waqfs was surely religious. As most waqf documents make abundantly clear, the Mamluk sultans and the amirs founded places of worship and established institutions for charity and religious learning as good deeds for the expiation their sins. The waqf of Amir Qarâqja al-Ḥusnî, the supervisor of the stables of Sultan Jaqmaq (842-57/1438-53) and the builder of a madrasa near Bāb Qaṭṭarat al-

Jamāmīz in Cairo, illustrates the way in which piety was explicitly identified as a motive for the establishment of a pious foundation. Known from contemporary historical accounts as a generous patron, he in fact states specifically in his waqfiyya that the act of foundation is made in the hope of attaining God’s favour as a reward for the performance of pious charity.30

Finally, waqfs were also used as a device for protecting the donor’s wealth and for enhancing his political power and prestige. As is well known, trade, both internal and international, flourished under the Mamluks and was engaged in by many members of the ruling elite, including the sultans themselves. Although normally the profits of such enterprises would have been subject to various state-imposed dues and tariffs, when they were carried on under the guise of waqf ahlī, since such foundations were in principal, charitable acts, and since, according to Islamic Law charity is a sort of self-taxation, the income of such enterprises would have escaped state taxes. Likewise, waqfs were used as a device for political self-

30 See ‘Abd al-Laʾīf Ibrāhīm, “Wathīqat al-ʾAmīr Ākhūr ʿAbbās Qarāqja al-Ḥusnī,” Majallat Kuliyyat al-Ādāb, Cairo U., 18. 2 (1956): 187, 194-5. That the founder’s motives were not entirely guided by disinterested piety, that the waqf was also established out of a concern for the well-being of his heirs, is clear from the fact that in his waqfiyya Qarāqja al-Ḥusnī assigned the office of nāẓir or supervisor of the pious foundation first to himself for his own lifetime, and after his death to his descendants in perpetuity, assuring in this way that his descendants would be guaranteed at least a modest income in all succeeding generations. The document itself, dated to the year 845/1441-42 is numbered 92 in archives of the Ministry of Waqfs, Cairo.
promotion and self-aggrandizement. In the atmosphere of political infighting and competition that existed between the Mamluk sultans and the amirs, the building of splendid architectural settings for charitable and religious institution and the provision of those institution with lavish endowments served to enhance the donor’s prestige and power.\textsuperscript{31}

Given these realities, it is clear that \textit{waqf} documents constitute a potentially valuable source of insight into the social and political history of the Mamluk period and that they can provide a great amount of information relevant to the biographies of founders and builders. A useful source for the prosopography, titulature and protocols of the Mamluk sultans, \textit{sufi} shaykhs, \textit{qâdis}, \textit{‘ulama}, and members of other classes, \textit{waqf} documents are also a valuable source for the names of the offices in the state ruling institution and the parallel religious institution, for the definition of criteria for the appointment of persons to these posts, for an explanation of the ways in which these jobs were filled, and for their salaries and perquisites. In addition, these documents give a detailed picture of the daily life of the people, of the media of exchange, and of the prices of land and buildings.\textsuperscript{32} Finally, \textit{waqf}

\textsuperscript{31} Amin 88-97.

\textsuperscript{32} Amin 3.
documents are a potentially rich source for the study of Islamic architecture since all these factors have a bearing in one way or another on building activities and on architecture as an expression of function, that is on architecture's context and meaning in terms of the social and economic life of the period.

***

Not surprisingly, given the prominent place occupied by waqf in Mamluk society, there exists an extensive scholarly literature on both the institution of waqf and on waqf documents, their legal status, their importance as sources for social, economic and political history, for understanding of chancery practices and for the religious life of the Mamluk state.\footnote{Amin notes three distinct approaches used by modern scholars in dealing with \textit{waqf} documents: 1) the publication of parts of \textit{waqf} document without annotations; 2) the use of \textit{waqf} documents as a source for the general or social history of the Islamic Middle Ages; and 3) the publication of \textit{waqf} with annotation. See Amin 6-7.} There also exists a somewhat more limited literature which seeks to exploit \textit{waqfiyya} as a source for the study of Mamluk architecture and architectural history.

Recognition of importance for the \textit{waqf} for the study of Islamic civilization is in no way the invention of modern scholarship. Mamluk historians were well aware of its importance
and considered waqf documents to be one of their most valuable sources. Among historians of the Mamluk period al-Maqrizi devotes a section of his book Al-Khitat to the administration of waqfs, and relies on waqf documents for the description of the monuments in Cairo.34

In modern scholarship, the earliest scientific and systematic work on Mamluk waqfs was published by L. A. Mayer in his book entitled The Buildings of Qâytbây as Described in his Endowment Deed. Mayer asserts that the greatest value of Sultan Qâytbây's waqfiyya lies not so much in the fact that it lets us visualize the buildings, that it makes it possible for us to restore them to their original form, as it does in its clarification for us the functions and functionaries connected with them, the workings of the institution for which the structures served as an architectural setting and the very life for whose sake these buildings were erected.35

Ahmad Darrâj published a summary of the waqf of Sultan Barsbây in his book entitled L'acte de waqf de Barsbây. In it he gives excerpts from the waqfiyya in its original language combined with an introduction and annotation in French. Unfortunately, the


study depends on the summary of the waqfiyya found in Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyya rather than on the full text of the original document itself.\footnote{Darrāj 13. The summary is catalogued 3390, Tarikh, in the Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyya, Cairo, and the unabridged waqfiyya is numbered 880 in the Ministry of Waqfs, Cairo.} The work is useful to shed some light on the history of Barsbāy’s reign but is of relatively little value for its architectural insights.

It is the work of ‘Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm more than any other that revolutionized the study of Mamluk waqf documents as they relate to architecture. Of particular significance were his dissertation \textit{Dirāsāt Ta‘rikhiyya wa ‘Athāriyya fi Wathā‘iq min ‘Aṣr as-Sultan al-Ghūrī} (Historical and Archeological Studies on the Documents of al-Ghūrī’s Reign), and the paper entitled "Al-Wathā‘iq fi Khidmat al-Āthār, al-‘Aṣr al-Mamluki" (Documents in the Service of Archeology: The Mamluk Period) which he presented in Baghdad in 1957.\footnote{‘Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm, “Dirāsāt Ta‘rikhiyya wa ‘Athāriyya fi Wathā‘iq min ‘Aṣr as-Sultan al-Ghūrī,” diss., Cairo U, 1956. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to look over this dissertation since I was informed that the Cairo University no longer holds it. The paper was presented to \textit{al-Mu'tamār ath-Thānī lil Āthār fi al-Bilād al-'Arabiyya}, 18-28 feb. Baghdad, 1957. ‘Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm, “Silsilāt ad-Dirāsāt al-Wathā‘iqiyya, 1: al-Wathā‘iq fi Khidmat al-Āthār, al-‘Aṣr al-Mamluki” (Cairo: Jami‘at ad-Duwal al-'Arabiyya, 1958) 205-287.} The latter discusses, with extracts quoted from Mamluk waqfs, the importance of waqf documents as a source for the description of different types of buildings.
including secular structures such as palaces, apartment complexes, inns, shops, and public baths, and religious and commemorative buildings such as madrasas, mosques, and tombs. He also describes ways in which these documents can be used as sources for the reconstruction of city planning for a number of Middle Eastern cities.

Other important articles published by Ibrāhīm on the subject, include "Wathiqat al-'Amir Ākhūr Kabīr Qarāqja al-Ḥusnī" (The Document of The Supervisor of Stables Amir Qarāqja al-Ḥusnī) which gives the entire text of the waqfiyya of the Amir Qarāqja al-Ḥusnī preceded by an introduction and followed by a full annotation,38 and "At-Tawthiqat ash-Shar'īyya wa al-Ishhādat fi Zahr Wathiqat al-Ghūrī," (The Attestation and the Registration on the Verso of the Main Waqfiyya of al-Ghūrī) in which he gives both the original text and annotations.39

Muhammad M. Amin likewise has published several valuable works on waqfs. In addition to his index of the documents found in various Cairo collections and the dictionary devoted to the architectural terms in Mamluk documents which he published with Laila A. Ibrāhīm, he wrote a book on the relationship between

38 Ibrāhīm, see note 29.

wāqfīyāt and social life. In it he shows how the wāqf institution as well as specific wāqfīyāt affected different aspects of the life in the Mamluk period. He discusses the relationship between wāqfīyāt on the one hand and religious, cultural, social, and economic activities on the other, and in doing so supports his arguments with extensive quotations from the wāqfīyāt themselves.

S.L. Muṣṭafa, in his study of the White Mosque in the Citadel of Cairo, published extracts from the wāqfīyāt of the Mamluk sultan Faraj bin Barqūq (801-815/1398-1412). In his book Al-wathāʾiq wa al-ʿAmāra, Dirāsa fi al-ʿAmāra al-ʾIslamiyya fi al-ʿAsh al-Mamlūki al-Jarkāsī, al-Jāmiʿ al-ʾAbyad bil-Ḥawsh as-Sultāni bi Qalʿat al-Qāhirah (The Documents and Architecture; Studies in Islamic Architecture of the Circassian Mamluk Period. The White Mosque at the Sultan’s Courtyard at Cairo’s Citadel), he uses the wāqfīyāt along with contemporary chronicle accounts to reconstruct the plan and the physical character of the building.

---

40 Muhammad M. Amin, Fihrist Wathāʾiq al-Qāhirah ʿhtta Nihāyat Asr Sulṭān al-Mamlāk 239-922 / 853-1516 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale, n.d.); Muhammad M. Amin and Laila A. Ibrāhīm, Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents 648-923 / 1250-1517 (Cairo: The American U in Cairo P, 1990). This dictionary has been awaited for a long time and has presented special difficulties because so many of the terms, which are scattered through Mamluk documents, are not classical Arabic. Rather, they are for the most part of Persian and to a lesser degree of Turkish origin, and have long been obsolete. See also note 18 above.

41 Amin, ‘Al-ʾAwqāf wa al-Ḥayāt, see note 18 above.
Likewise M. A. 'Uthmān published the full text of the waqfiyya of Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf al-‘Ustadār, who was appointed controller of the palace (‘ustadār) in 1405, played an important role in the reign of Faraj bin Barqūq, and was killed in 1409. In his study he examines the waqfiyya as a historical and archaeological source and shows how the document reflects the tumultuous moment in Mamluk history at which it was produced. In addition, he considers the document as a source for his study of Jamāl’s madrasa and for his other ruined and demolished buildings.43

L. Fernandes in her article “The Foundation of Baybars al-Jāshankīr: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture,” examines one of the earliest Mamluk khanqāh, built over a period of four years between 1306 and 1310. She considers the building of this khanqāh on this specific site, the Bayn al-Qāsrayn, and at this historical moment, as a turning point in the development of sufism and sufi foundations in Cairo, and as an indicator of the


43 Muhammad ‘Abd as-Sattār ‘Uthmān, Wathiqat Waqf Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf al-‘Ustadār (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1983). The waqfiyya is numbered 107 in the Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya, Cairo. The original waqfiyya was torn to pieces by Sultan Faraj bin Barqūq who made the madrasa and its properties his own waqf. Its text was subsequently reconstituted and rewritten in the reign of al-Muʾīyyad Shaykh (815-824 /1412-1421) in 815 / 1412. It is this version which we have today. See ‘Uthmān 141.
rising importance of the Cairene 'ulama in relation to the Mamluk ruling class. In the light of the waqfiyya and other historical sources contemporary with it, she tries to explain how the architect of the khanqâh fit the building into its complex urban fabric. 44

For the past several decades, then, a handful of scholars have sought to exploit waqf documents as a source for our understanding of Mamluk architecture. The results of such efforts have demonstrated the extraordinary value of such materials as a means by which scholars can approach monuments from the point of view of function as well as form, and have shown that waqf documents can be used as a tool for placing specific monuments in a wider social and economic contexts. Yet the exploitation of such sources has hardly begun. Literally thousands of waqfiyyas dating to the Mamluk period are preserved in the Egyptian Ministry of Waqfs and National Library in Cairo as well as in court archives in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. The vast majority of these remain untouched by historical scholarship.

* * *

44 Leonor Fernandes, “The Foundation of Baybars al-Jâshankîr: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture,” Muqarnas 4 (1987): 21-42. There are two waqfiyyas for the foundation, both dated 707/1308, and numbered 22 and 23 in the Dâr al-Wathâ’iq al-Qawmiyya, Cairo. A third waqfiyya, this one without number, is in MaMazah 89 in the same archive.
There remains a strong need for a thorough and systematic survey of the Mamluk architecture in Egypt and Syria, particularly the monuments of the late period. Before this can be realized, however, monographs on specific monuments or groups of buildings must first be produced. The formal and stylistic approach to architecture is, of course, fundamental to the formal description of these monuments. As noted, however, it has serious shortcomings when it comes to explaining function and the life and activity of people within the context of these institutions.

Sultan Qânsūh al-Ghûrî, the last of the Mamluk rulers, was like his predecessors, a great patron of building. He erected several foundations, mostly in Cairo, the Mamluk capital and the sultan's residence. Of these, the most important was the Ghûriyya complex, located in Cairo on al-Qasaba al-'Uzma, the main street near the Azhar Mosque. The complex accommodates a variety of functions and includes a mosque, a madrasa, a kuttâb or school for children where they were taught the Qur'ān and given a primary-level religious education, a sabîl or public fountain for the provision of fresh water, and a wakâla or inn for travelling merchants.

The importance of the Ghûriyya in the context of Mamluk architecture is related to a number of factors. First, in terms of its scale, its formal and stylistic refinements and the range of its functions it constitutes one of the largest and finest of late Mamluk royal foundations. Indeed, the Ghûriyya is in a very real sense the
climax and culmination of the "classical" phase of Islamic architecture in Egypt and Syria. The immediately subsequent collapse of the Mamluk state and its takeover by the Ottoman Turks transformed Egypt from a major independent power in the Islamic East to the status of a mere province in an expanded Ottoman Empire. From this point on, significant architectural activity in Egypt declined both in scale and frequency. Even more importantly, what activity there was increasingly fell under the influence of the Ottoman Turkish style as formulated in Istanbul.

At the same time, the Ghüriyya complex is of interest and significance because of its relatively good conservation. All major parts of the complex are still not only extant but, indeed have undergone only minor formal modification. These include the madrasa with a modern reconstruction of the upper part of its minaret, the tomb with its collapsed dome above the drum, the khanqāh, and sabil and kuttāb above it. Because of this, it is possible to relate the standing monuments as they exist today to descriptions and accounts of their physical character as found in sixteenth century sources. It becomes possible, therefore, to significantly enhance our understanding of the monuments by reference to texts and vice versa, to gain insight into the texts, in particular the waqfiyya, through examination of the standing monuments.
Given these rather unique circumstances, it will be the purpose of this study to inquire into the structure and functions of the constituent elements of the Ghûriyya complex through the medium of contemporary literary sources—in particular its waqfiyya—and in doing so to define the motives and attitude of the patron, his goals and his ambitions. In addition, the dissertation will seek to place the monuments of the Ghûriyya complex in broader context and to examine them within the more extended social, economic, and cultural environment of al-Ghûrî's reign.

The key source for the study will be al-Ghûrî’s waqfiyya, which contains detailed and specific information concerning the goals of the patron, the original form and setting of the buildings constituting the complex, the functions which took place within their walls, the incomes derived from the properties held by the foundation established by the sultan for the complex, and the disbursements made from these incomes in the form of stipends of the foundation's employees and expenditures for the upkeep and restoration of the buildings which housed the institutions created by the foundation.45

45 The original waqfiyya of al-Ghûrî on his main foundations at al-Jarâbshîn is found today at The Ministry of Waqfs, Cairo under the number 883, a full copy of it is found in Şûrat Kitâb Waqf al-Ghûrî, The Ministry of Waqfs, Cairo which is numbered 882.
A second primary source of fundamental importance for the study of al-Ghūrī’s patronage is the contemporary history of Ibn Iyās (1448-1524), entitled Badā‘i’ az-Zuhūr fi Waqā‘i‘ ad-Duhūr (The Amazing Blossoms on the Events of Times). Known as the Chronicle of Ibn Iyās, the book covers the history of Egypt through the ages with special emphasis on the details of the events of the author’s own time.46

Finally, the writings of late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century scholars—archaeologists and historians—dealing with the general political history of the Mamluk regime, the social and the economic history of the period, and the history of Mamluk architecture and art will be used to reconstruct the larger context of al-Ghūrī’s reign and the late Mamluk period. Of particular importance amongst these are Prisse d’Avennes, Max van Berchem, Briggs, Hautecoeur and Gaston Wiet.

This study will consist of three additional chapters. Chapter two will provide an outline of al-Ghūrī’s biography and will include an account of what we know of the sultan’s origins, his early life and training, the key events and outstanding features of his reign, the circumstances of his defeat and death at the hands of the Ottomans and an evaluation of his character, personality and patronage as suggested in contemporary sources.

46 For full citation see note 3 above.
This will be followed by a chapter consisting of a detailed study of al-Ghūri’s waqfiyya. The study will centered on the content of its main sections, most notably its introduction, the statement of the purpose of the waqf, the protocol of the patron, the description of the buildings making up the Ghūriyya complex, the list of the lands and properties bequeathed to the waqf, the stipulations and expenditures, and the regulations and conditions made by the patron to secure the waqf.

A last chapter will attempt to pull together facts of special importance for an understanding al-Ghūri’s foundations. It will consist of an analysis of the purposes and motives behind al-Ghūri’s foundation of the waqf. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the usefulness and shortcomings of waqfiyya for the study of architecture and specifically of how al-Ghūri’s foundation deed is useful for the understanding of his foundations.
CHAPTER II
QANSUH AL-GHURI’S LIFE, CHARACTER AND
PATRONAGE

This chapter attempts to reconstruct al-Ghūrī’s life and character and will touch on a variety of topics pertinent to an understanding of his career, motivations, ambitions and personality. These issues will be discussed in two sections. The first will consist of al-Ghūrī’s biography and will include an account of his origins, the early years of his career, his sultanate and his economic policies, religious outlook and personality. Part two will concern itself with his activities as a patron of the arts and architecture, including his support for architectural projects and his patronage of manuscript illustration, of literature and learning and of the decorative arts.

The primary sources available for the reconstruction of the life of Qānsūh al-Ghūrī are surprisingly few and fragmentary. Essentially, they are two in number: the previously mentioned chronicle of Ibn Iyās entitled Badā‘i‘ az-Zuhūr fi Waqā‘i‘ ad-Duhūr; and al-Ghūrī’s waqfiyyas. Unfortunately the great
historians of Mamluk period such as Ibn Taghri Berdi, al-Maqrizi, and Ibn Khaldún, historians who provide us with such rich material for the study of the earlier Mamluk sultans, lived long before the time of al-Ghūrī’s reign. Indeed, from the year 1468 on Ibn Iyās’s book is virtually the only systematic chronicle source we have for the next forty-five years of Mamluk history.1

Like the great majority of Mamluk sultans and high officials, al-Ghūrī2 came from humble circumstances. In all likelihood he was born in the year 14413 in the region of the city of Gori in

---

1 Glubb 369-371.

2 Concerning the spelling of al-Ghūrī’s name Creswell notes that it is usually written as it is in the absence of any example of its being written in fully vocalized Arabic. However, he adds that Prince N.C. Radziwell in his account of his journey to the Holy Land made in 1583, entitled Hierosylvmitana Peregrinatio (p.184), calls him Gauro. A portrait of the sultan in Cesare Vecelli’s De Gii Habiti Antichi, et Moderni. [(Venice, 1590) fol. 477 b] reproduced in Marquet de Vasselot, “Un portrait de sultan,” Archives de l’Art Français, 4me série, 98-9, and quoted by Wiet, Syria, VII, 62, n. 1, bears the title Gauri. See Creswell, MAE, 1978, vol. I, 39. ‘Azzām writes that al-Ghawrī with the fatha on the letter (gh) is found in a copy of the Turkish Shāhnāma made for the Sultan housed in the National Egyptian Library, Cairo, and that there are many verses in the Turkish Shāhnāma where al-Ghawrī is rhymed with words such as dawr and ghawr. He notes as well that al-Ghūrī is written with a dammah on the letter (gh) in a verse composed by Ibn Iyās on the occasion of the sultan’s ascension to the throne. However, ‘Azzām does not give as much weight to the latter form of the name as he does to the former in the determination of its vocalization. See ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ‘Azzām, Majālis as-Sultān al-Ghūrī (Cairo: Maṭba’at at-Ta’līf wa-Tarjama wa-Nashr, 1941) note 1 in 8, 12. My own sense is that the name was probably vocalized in both forms but I have preferred al-Ghūrī in the following pages because of wide acceptance in the scholarly literature.

3 The sources tell us that he ascended to the throne in 1501 when he was about sixty-years old. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 4-5.
Georgia in the Caucasus. This city is located on the banks of the Kür (Ghür) River north-west of Tiflis. We know nothing about his childhood or how or when he came into the possession of the slave merchant named Bâberdi, who sold him in Egypt. But afterward, when he became a Mamluk of Sultan Qāytbāy (873-901/1468-95), we assume that he lived in the Ghür Tabaqah or barracks in Cairo’s Citadel, where those Mamluks brought from Gori were quartered.

The Mamluks of the Ghür Tabaqah were renowned for the excellence of their skills in war and were frequently known for

---

4 I assume because of his title al-Ghürī that if not actually in the city itself, the sultan was at least born in the province or a nearby region.

5 Ibrāhīm, Qarāqja 233. Al-Ghürī, to support his claim that he descends from the Ghassānids an Arab tribe, narrates in the his majlis or meeting of 27th Jumāda 1, 911/1505 that the Jarkas’ origin is Ghassānid and says that a person named Şarkas escaped after a quarrel with Caliph ‘Umar to the Caesar of Rûm and converted to Christianity, afterward he and his tribe were sent to ad-Disht land and the Jarkas are from their descendants. It is the same story of Jibillah bin al-‘Ayham. See ‘Azzām 85.

6 Al-Ghürī is referred to in Ibn Iyās as al-Ghürī min Bâberdī (al-Ghürī from Bâberdī), which means that the name of the merchant who brought him to Egypt was Bâberdī. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 2.

7 Ghür in the language of the Circassians is said to mean the Citadel or the Arms. See Ibrāhīm, Qarāqja 233.

8 It is possible that al-Ghürī was already owned by Qāytbāy prior the latter’s becoming sultan in 1468. When, in fact, Qāytbāy did become sultan al-Ghürī was about 27 years old. If al-Ghürī’s career followed normal Mamluk practise, al-Ghürī would have been purchased by Qāytbāy at a substantially younger age and would already at this date have been a member of the sultan’s household for some time.
their learning as well. Indeed, they were given special responsibility for the intellectual training of the younger Mamluks of the sultan in the Citadel. It is not surprising, therefore, that al-Ghūrī should have had special interest in learning, which circumstance may well have helped inspire his patronage of translation and the writing of books and have been at least a partial impetus for his establishing of the first Mamluk court atelier for the production of illustrated manuscripts.

As was the case with all Mamluk newcomers to Egypt, al-Ghūrī was instructed in the Qur‘ān and theological subjects. While still a young man he served as a KhasH or Sultan’s Lifeguard and subsequently as Sultan Qâytbāy’s Jamdār or Master of the Robe. In Dhul-Qi‘da, 886/1481 he was appointed Kāshīf al-Wajh al-Qibli or the Governor of the Southern District of Egypt, and shortly after he became the Governor of the Bahriyya Province, that is of northern Egypt.\(^9\) Finally, in the month of Rabī‘ II, 889/1484 Sultan Qâytbāy made al-Ghūrī an Amir ‘Asharah or Commander of Ten and sent him to Aleppo to protect this city from a possible attack by the Ottomans and their allies.\(^{10}\)

---


\(^{10}\) This expedition was a reinforcement of two earlier ones. Ibn Iyās (part 3, 205-7) tells us that the second of them was sent to Aleppo on 24
In Rabi’ II, 894/1489 al-Ghūrī was appointed Ḥājib al-Hujjāb or Grand Chamberlain of Aleppo, where he showed great energy in the suppression in Ramaḍān, 896/1493 of an uprising by the populace against the Mamluk soldiers of the governor. Some time before this he had also been appointed governor of Tarsus in Cilicia, and after he was dismissed from office in Aleppo he was made governor of Malatya.

It was probably in 903/1497, while residing in Aleppo, that al-Ghūrī became an Amir al-‘Alf or Commander of a Thousand, the highest rank in the military hierarchy and the one from which the Mamluk sultans usually came. In Sha‘bān, 905/1499 he was

Muharram, 889/1484 “in order to reinforce the soldiers who previously went there.... The reason for this expedition is that the sultan had heard that Ibn ‘Uthmān, the king of the Rūm, had reinforced ‘Ali Dūlat bin Dhulkadir with Ottoman soldiers, and this was considered the beginning of the attack of Ibn ‘Uthmān on the lands of the sultan.” In this connection, there is a certain irony in the fact that al-Ghūrī’s first important military appointment was as commander of a Mamluk force charged with the defence of Syria against the earliest serious Ottoman attack on the Mamluk state, and that his career was to end with his attempt to repulse the Ottoman invasion of 1516, which was in turn the immediate cause of the collapse of the Mamluk state.

11 Ibn Iyās, part 3, 264, 284; Sobernheim 720.

12 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 2.

13 Ibn Iyās writes that Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir bin Qāytbāy sent support to the amirs whom he had appointed to fight the rebellious ‘Aqberdī ad-Dawadār in Syria. He counts these as amirs of ‘alf or Commanders of a Thousand. It is clear that al-Ghūrī was in Aleppo at the time because Ibn Iyās writes that Qāytbāy sent him financial support there. See Ibn Iyās, part 3, 381.
further promoted by Sultan Qānṣūh (1498-99), the uncle of an-
Nāṣir Muḥammad bin Qāṭbāy, to the rank Ra’s Nawbat an-Nuwāb
or Commander of the Mamluk Officers. He remained in this
office through the short reign of Sultan Jānbalāt (1499-1500) and
participated in the expedition against Qaṣrūh, the rebellious
governor of Damascus, lead by Amīr Ṭūmānbāy in Rabī’ II,
906/1500.

When Sultan Ṭūmānbāy (1500-01) ascended to the throne in
Rabī’ II, 906/1500 he appointed al-Ghūrī to four high offices.
These included the offices of Dawādār al-Kubrā or Grand
Secretary, the official charged with holding the sultan’s ink-pot,
that of Wazīr or Vizier, who managed state taxes and supervised the
expenditures of the sultan’s kitchen, the office ’Uṣṭadar or Major
Domo, an official who dealt with important matters of the state in
consultation with the sultan, and that of Kāshīf al-Kusshāf or Chief
Inspector of Domains, the official charged with supervision of
provincial governors. Because Sultan Ṭūmānbāy treacherously

---

14 Ibn Iyās, part 3, 431. Curiously, Sobernheim states that the
promotion occurred during the reign of Jānbalāt. See Sobernheim 722.

15 Ibn Iyās, part 3, 450-1.

16 Ibn Iyās, part 3, 453; Glubb 407; M. Sobernheim 722. Mayer seems
in error when he says that al-Ghūrī was appointed by Sultan Jānbalāt in these
jobs and was subsequently dismissed from the office only to be reinstated by
Ṭūmānbāy; see Mayer, Saracen 178; for the names of the offices, see
‘Uthmān, note 2 in 12, and note 1 in 15.
betrayed his three Mamluk sultan predecessors, killed those who had supported him in his quest for the throne, and arrested large numbers of amirs, he was forced to flee Cairo and hide himself after ruling for only four months. On 1 Shawwāl, 906/20 April, 1501, at the time of the ḫid al-ḥīr, the amirs, therefore, chose al-Ghūrī to succeed him. The latter apparently ascended the throne despite considerable reluctance and hesitation. When, forty-two days later, Tūmānābāy was discovered hiding in Cairo, he tried to flee but was killed.

Given the title al-Malik al-'Ashraf 'Abu an-Nāṣr, al-Ghūrī thus became sultan when he was about sixty-years old. He was the forty-sixth sultan in the Mamluk state, and the twentieth of the Burjī sultans. On his elevation the people of Cairo showed much enthusiasm because he was extremely popular due to his long connection with the city while holding a succession of military and

17 Glubb 395-6.

18 Ibn Iyās writes that “the Shāfi‘i and Hanafi qādīs came and the covenant was taken for Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī and the Caliph agreed... Then the emblem of sultanate which is the garment and the black turban, was presented and put on him. All this happened while he was refusing and crying....” In another place Ibn Iyās adds that on 22 Shawwāl “the mischief of the Mamluks increased because of their requests for ‘iqṭā‘ and jobs so he exempted himself from the sultanate and started to think about hiding himself and letting them place (on the throne) whomever they choose from amongst the amirs.” Ibn Iyās, part 4, 4, 7.

19 According to Ibn Iyās, part 4, 2.
administrative offices. From the beginning of his reign al-Ghūrī made clear the fact that he personally would exercise authority and eliminate the power of the amirs. Nonetheless, he was generally able to maintain good relations throughout his reign with both the Mamluk ruling class and the populace at large. This relationship was enhanced by often lavish spending on public projects and by generous support of the amirs and the army with money and promises of future rewards.

When al-Ghūrī became sultan, the treasury was empty. To restore the state to solvency he imposed new taxes on property and merchandise and attempted to confiscate property held in pious foundations. These efforts failed, however, and as an alternative source of revenue al-Ghūrī next determined to seize one year's returns on agricultural lands and on the rental of property in Cairo. This latter move was considered so onerous by the populace of the capital that they rose in revolt, after which the period of confiscation of rents was reduced to seven months. Indeed, by Rajab, 907/1502 sufficient funds had been collected by means of these extraordinary taxes and levies as well as from the minting of depreciated coinage that the sultan was able to distribute iqṭāʾs and monetary gifts among at least some of his amirs and the Mamluks.

---

20 Glubb 407; Muir 188.
Mutiny had been suppressed and al-Ghūrī's government had been secured. 21

Nonetheless, al-Ghūrī continued with efforts to enhance the state's financial position and on 9 Sha'ban, 907/1502, on the advice of his 'Atābik Qayt ar-Rajbi, the sultan expropriated the iqṭā' incomes of most of the 'awlād an-nās. Not surprisingly, the move stirred up great resentment, such that al-Ghūrī moved to return the iqṭā's to their holders. In this reversal, however, al-Ghūrī was blocked by his 'atābik. Indeed, it was only late in Rabi' I, 908/1503, a year and a half after his accession to the throne, that al-Ghūrī was able to complete the distribution to the amirs and troops of the customary monetary gifts which were made when they swore their oaths of loyalty to a new sultan. 22

Nonetheless, financial crises continued to plague the regime, caused in part by changing patterns of international trade. Traditionally there were two routes used for the transshipment of Indian wares to Europe. One of these ran from Gujarat via Hurmuz to Basra and from thence overland to Aleppo and Damascus and the Syrian ports where the goods were purchased by

---

21 Al-Ghūrī complained in Dhul-Hijja 906 / 1501 in connection with an uprising of the Mamluks, that the treasury is empty. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 24 and part 5, 8, 13-14, 15; Amin, al-'Awqāf wa al-Hayāt 337, 340-1; Glubb 407; Sobermhiem 720.

Venetians and Genoese for distribution in Europe. The second route was went through the Red Sea via Jadda to Suez and from there the goods were transported cross the desert to the Nile at Cairo and to Alexandria. The trading activities along these routes generated enormous revenues for the Mamluk state, revenues which were now undermined, however, by the emergence of Portuguese naval power in the Indian Ocean. In particular, Portuguese attacks on Mamluk commercial vessels after 1499 and a Portuguese blockade of the Red Sea cut the Mamluk's trading link between the eastern Mediterranean and the Arabian Sea. Because this trade was a major source of the customs taxes which in turn constituted such a significant portion of the regime's revenues, its interruption after 1506 along with the costs incurred by the government in the construction of a large fleet to confront the Portuguese, again forced the Mamluk state to the verge of bankruptcy. The situation became particularly critical after the Portuguese defeat of the Egyptians in 1509 in the sea battle at Diu on the western shore of India.

---


24 Glubb 410; Sobemhiem 720-1.

Because of the financial crisis, the sultan was unable to gather sufficient revenues to support his bureaucracy and pay the army in a timely manner. Thus, for example, in the period immediately prior to the Ottoman invasion of 1516, the distribution of payments to the army was delayed by some ten months and was completed only in Muḥarram 922/1516.\textsuperscript{26} As a partial response to the chronic financial crisis, al-Ghūrī not infrequently made official appointments, including those to judicial offices, in return for monetary payments. Such corruption became widespread especially in late period of al-Ghūrī’s reign, and in order to recoup their initial expenses in procuring office, judges frequently took bribes for decisions, including those of a canonical nature.\textsuperscript{27}

The imminent Ottoman threat was a further cause of financial difficulties, for in order to obtain support from the populace, al-Ghūrī had to resort to the cancellation of various customs duties and taxes. As example, on 6 Ṣafar, 922/12 March, 1516, about one month before his departure to Syria, he cancelled the taxes on crops and those on the sellers of various goods.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26} Ibn Ṭayyib, part 5, 8-9.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibn Ṭayyib comments in this connection that, "The most valuable thing for the sultan is the person who offers him money whoever he is." See Ibn Ṭayyib, part 4, 471, 477.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibn Ṭayyib, part 5, 8-9.
Nonetheless, in the view of Ibn Iyās, al-Ghûrî's international prestige and power reached their apogee in the last years of his reign. Thus, in the single month of Rabî` II, 918/1512 fourteen foreign embassies were received by the sultan in Cairo. Glubb calls al-Ghûrî a man of peace interested more in building mosques, colleges, gardens and other public works than in the waging of expansionist wars in the manner of his Ottoman and Safavid neighbours. Still, the Ottoman threat on the northern border had developed by the spring of 1516 into preparations for a full scale invasion led by Sultan Selim I. In the middle of Rabî` I, 922/ May, 1516, therefore, al-Ghûrî marched out of Cairo to ar-Radâniyya on the outskirts of the city and five days later he left with the army for Syria.

On 10 Jumâda II, 922/1516 the sultan entered Aleppo, having passed through Damascus, Hims, and Hamâh. After resting in the city for several days, he continued north with the army on 20

---

29 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 268.

30 Glubb 415-6.

31 According to Ibn Iyās, there were two unusual features distinguishing this departure of the army from previous departures. First, although this time the sultan had exited through the city streets, normally the army departed on campaign through the Cemeteries of Cairo and returned through the city streets. And second, while the army customarily marched north to Syria in the spring, it now left in the heat of summer. Ibn Iyās comments on these anomalies with the words, "Sultan al-Ghûrî believed only in his own opinion in all matters." Ibn Iyās, part 5, 36-7.
Rajab, 922/19 August, 1516. It took one day to reach the plain of Marj Dābiq, where the army encamped for five days. Then on the morning of 25 Rajab/24 August the sultan drew the army up for battle. Because of their use of artillery, the Ottomans gained the day. The Mamluk field force was decisively crushed and al-Ghūrī lost his life. Indeed, the defeat at Marj Dābiq was so complete that following the battle it was impossible to find the sultan's body.

* * *

At his death al-Ghūrī was seventy-eight years old. His reign had lasted for fifteen years, nine months, and twenty-five days. Ibn Iyās comments on the period, with a certain hyperbole, to the effect that every day of al-Ghūrī's reign was for the people like one thousand years and he describes the sultan as the best of the Circassian rulers. Indeed, he asserts that none of his predecessors

32 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 40-2, 68-71; Muir, 169-9; Glubb, 423.

33 Ibn Iyās sees in the sultan's death a moral lesson. He notes that at-Tawāshî Mukhtas, the builder of the original foundation of the future Ghūriyya Madrasa, which al-Ghūrī then expropriated, had asked the sultan for permission to be buried in the finished madrasa when he died. Al-Ghūrī, however, had refused and God in turn prevented him from being entombed in his school as well. See Ibn Iyās, part 5, 78. Concerning al-Ghūrī's last moments, there are two stories. According to the first of these, because of the defeat one side of the sultan's body was paralysed and when he ordered some water to drink, he fell from his horse dead. The second story claims that in defeat the sultan swallowed a piece of diamond, went out of his mind and fell dead. See Ibn Iyās, part 5, 70, 78.
matched him in his abilities, his high aspirations, his determination or his works.34

Concerning al-Ghūrī’s character and personality, his private behaviour, religious interests and official activities, his concern with prestige and the public and private display of his piety, all important factors for an understanding his ambitions and the motives behind his patronage, it is once again Ibn Iyās who is our key source.35 With regard to the sultan’s appearance, he writes that al-Ghūrī was fair complected, had a round face, large eyes and a round beard. His voice was loud and in general he had the physical aspect of a respected and splendid king. In his travels he used a bedouin saddle, which was attached to his mount with a golden girth rather than a common belt of Baalbek leather. It was customary for al-Ghūrī to wear rings set with red rubies, turquoise, emeralds, diamonds, and cat’s-eyes, and he is described as scenting himself with perfumes of incense and musk. His taste in food, drink and dress was decidedly luxurious and at times

34 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 71, 87, 95.

35 It is true, of course, that Ibn Iyās is frequently subjective in his presentation of material. His accounts of the events he witnessed or had reported to him are always from the point of view of the ruling class. This is because Ibn Iyās was an ibn nās, that is the son of a Mamluk, which meant that although he was an Egyptian by birth, he was at the same time a descendant of the ruling class, enjoying a fief and having access to the information about affairs of state.
immoderate, to the extent that he even used golden cups to drink water from. Contemporary accounts tell us that al-Ghūrī did not like to sit in judgment or involve himself in the day-to-day details of affairs of state. Instead, he preferred to pass his time riding or watching sports, in particular *jarid*, a mounted game which took on the aspect of military training and involved the throwing of darts or spears at members of an opposing team.36 In addition, Ibn Iyās tells us that the sultan enjoyed planting trees and listening to the singing of birds.37

Perhaps because of his foreign background, Ibn Iyās states that al-Ghūrī enjoyed conversing with poets and religious scholars of *'ajam*, that is of non-Arab, Turkish and Persian extraction. It is perhaps for that same reason that he favoured the Nasimiyya Order and admired Persian literature and thought.38 Given his Turko-Persian religious and literary orientation, one might have expected that these tastes would extend to the visual arts as well. To what degree he was interested in or aware of contemporary Persian

36 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 249.

37 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 87-88.

38 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 88-89. The Nasimiyya Order is mentioned by Ibn Iyās only once, but its context suggests that it was a branch of Islamic thought related in some way to Shi‘ism. The name is not attested in other contemporary sources.
styles in the decorative arts and architecture, however, cannot be determined from the sources.

Among the sultan's positive traits Ibn Iyâs states that he was polite, that he held himself in check in times of anger, was benevolent toward the pious and the poor and that he dealt with all classes of people in a manner appropriate to their various stations. He had an understanding of poetics and wrote verse in his native Turkish. He enjoyed listening to instrumental music and singing and was deeply interested in the reading of histories, biographies, and books of poetry. At the same time he had a well developed sense of humour, enjoyed joking and buffoonery, was close to the common people and avoided arrogance, pride or foolishness. In comparison with earlier Turkish rulers, Ibn Iyâs states, he was both gentle and liberal.39

At the same time Ibn Iyâs is forthright in enumerating what he considers to be al-Ghûrî's deficiencies of character and policy. Among these he counts as most reprehensible al-Ghûrî's love of money, which caused the sultan to introduce new taxes, debase the coinage and seize inheritances left by deceased persons, even in cases where the heirs were children. He is described as appointing unjust and corrupt persons as inspectors, and accused of

39 Ibn Iyâs, part 5, 88-89.
confiscating the property of civil officials, merchants and others. Perhaps most unjust in Ibn Iyās' eyes was the fact that he confiscated the ʿiqṭā's, the feudal grants of land income, of the ʿawlād an-nās, the children of the Mamluks, the class to which Ibn Iyās himself belonged. We do not know if these defects sprang exclusively from the sultan's personal character or were the result of the economic situation in which al-Ghūrī found himself. Ibn Iyās does state, however, that the sultan lavished huge amounts of money on buildings with golden walls and ceilings that were erected not for the benefit of the Muslims but as expressions of personal vanity.\(^{40}\)

From the account of Ibn Iyās it is clear that one of Sultan al-Ghūrī's key concerns was to enhance his reputation for public piety and associate himself with the long tradition of Mamluk royalty through acts of public display. Exercising the propagations of the Mamluk ruler, al-Ghūrī occasionally revived earlier practices and customs which had fallen into abeyance or introduced new details of public ceremonial which served to enhance his prestige among the populace as well as among the military and scribal classes.

Thus, for example, in Jumāda I, 909/1503 he ordered that preparation of the mahmal and work on the kiswat al-Kaʿba, the

\(^{40}\) ibn Iyās, part 5, 89-91.
veil for the Ka'ba in Mecca, the provision of which had long been one of the privileges of the rulers of Egypt, be completed early so as to make possible its display to the populace of Cairo in processions through the streets of the city for a longer period of time than had been usual in the past. The preparation of the mahmal was an activity which conferred prestige on the sultan as the Protector of the Haramayn ash-Sharifayn, Two Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. The public display of the covering served to give expression to the Mamluk sultan's power and reinforce popular perceptions of his devotion to religion. According to Ibn Iyās, Sultan al-Ghūrī arranged that the mahmal procession through Cairo start in the month of Rajab rather than in Sha'bān so as to provide a month's time during which the kiswa could be put on public display before the mahmal caravan carrying it set out for Mecca. Likewise, he revived the rammāha, the corp of men who walked before the mahmal in its passage through the streets of Cairo playing with their lances. By doing so he reinstituted a part of the procession which had fallen into abeyance some thirty-six years earlier in 872/1467 and thereby linked himself with earlier Mamluk tradition.41

41 With regard to this revival of the rammāha, Ibn Iyās writes, "this institution had ceased to exist in the year 872/1467 in the last years of az-Zāhir Khūshqadam's reign and been forgotten since that time. The sultan (al-Ghūrī) wished to renew this institution so as to be remembered among the kings for the
Al-Ghūrī also sought to enhance his prestige by showing himself to the populace and by the enactment of formal public progresses in the capital. The earliest of these was not made until late in his reign, however, the first being staged through the main streets of Cairo only in Ṣafar 917/1511. Subsequently, on 3 Jumāda II, 917/1511 al-Ghūrī again came down from the Citadel and again proceeded with his entourage through Cairo’s decorated streets. In this instance he continued until he reached al-Jarābshīn where he inspected his new pious foundations (see below) and bestowed gifts on the doorkeepers, the servants, and the orphans of his maktab. He then granted each of the shaykhs of his foundation ten gold pieces. Ibn lyās was fascinated with this progress and tells us that it was not only the sultan’s first visit to his foundations since their construction had begun, but that it was also the most splendid and elaborate state progress of his reign.  

\[ \text{renewal of this art.} \] Thus, in the month of Rajab appointed rammāhas to play with lances near the Zāwiyyat ash-Shaykh Abu al-‘Abbās al-Jarrār. In the same month they played at the Ḍān on the occasion of the completion there by the sultan of the Maq’ād. See Ibn lyās, part 4, 59-60. These two performances, one in front of a religious foundation and the other in secular or state building, show how this revival had a dual purpose. These performances were no doubt a practice for the upcoming procession of the Mahmal.

42 Ibn lyās, part 4, 177.

43 Ibn lyās comments that because of the crowd, the marble balustrade of the staircase of the madrasa fell down and that one person was seriously injured and others were harmed, see Ibn lyās, part 4, 226.
Al-Ghūrī repeated his state progress a year later on 23
Ramadān, 918/1512 at which time he also visited his school and the
tomb of his dead sons, and ordered clothing be provided for the
orphans of his maktab.⁴⁴ On returning from Alexandria at the
beginning of Shawwāl, 920/1514 al-Ghūrī made still another
elaborate state progress through Cairo. It is described by Ibn Iyās
as almost unique for its splendour and as the first time that al-Ghūrī
made it with the amirs dressed formally. Ibn Iyās wrote a poem in
this occasion, and in one verse he says that if Alexander the Great
were alive, he would meet him (al-Ghūrī) with respect.⁴⁵ In later
years it seems that the sultan made several additional, informal
visits to his foundations without his official entourage. Ibn Iyās
records events of this sort for 24 Sha'bān, 917/1511 and 4 Rajab,
919/1513, and goes on to complain that because of their expense,
the sultan’s frequent state progresses harmed the people.⁴⁶ In
connection with his state progresses, and perhaps as a sign of his

---

⁴⁴ The orphans were, of course, given an annual kiswah by the sultan’s
waqf, but this one was given as a special sadaqah or act of disinterested charity
occasioned by the sultan’s visit to the tomb of his dead sons. See Ibn Iyās, part
4, 246; Chapter III, 169.

⁴⁵ Ibn Iyās, part 4, 417-422.

⁴⁶ Concerning his visits to his madrasa, see Ibn Iyās, part 4, 244, 328.
It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the one where Ibn Iyās states that
the sultan had never made a state progress through Cairo until Safar, 919/1513.
See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 284, 212.
piety, al-Ghūrī altered some of his official regalia. For example, at the time of the state progress of 920/1514, he had the bird which had traditionally been fixed above the qubba or the silk parasol carried over his head in parades replaced with golden crescent, the symbol of Islam.47

In addition to the enactment of public ceremonial for the purpose of enhancing his prestige and legitimacy, al-Ghūrī also sought to legitimate himself through acts of pious restoration and the luxurious display. As an example of the former, Ibn Iyās tells us that there was a well called Bi‘r al-Bilsān or the Well of Balsam and that the Franks regarded it as sacred because they believed that Jesus had been washed in its water. The flowers of the balsam trees were valued at their weight in gold because the Franks used to buy them and put them in the water of baptistries. The trees that stood by the spring had disappeared in the early fourteenth century, but was replanted by Sultan al-Ghūrī.48 Similarly, as an example of his public display of luxury, Ibn Iyās states that for a feast with his officers held in the Citadel in Muḥarram, 915/1509, the sultan ordered all the roses in Cairo to be collected and had them placed in the pool beside the hall in which the feast was held.49

47 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 412.

48 Ibn Iyās, part 1, vol.1, 34-5.
With regard to the sultan’s religious attitudes, reference was made above to the fact that as a young man al-Ghûrî received an education in theological and religious subjects. It seems that his interest in these subjects continued through his life, such that when he became sultan he frequently held meetings and discussions in the Duhaysha Hall at the Citadel, that discussions which dealt with a wide range of topics, particularly those of a religious nature. Al-Ghûrî’s inclination to piety and his deeply held religious faith are perhaps also attested by his behaviour in times of acute personal crisis. Thus, in Rabi’ II, 919/1513 the sultan fell ill with a disease of the eyes, possibly trachoma, and lost control of his eyelid. A month after of the onset of this illness, in hopes of gaining divine forgiveness for his past misdeeds, he freed prisoners and cancelled some taxes.51 Similarly, Ibn Iyâs describes the sultan while an old

---

49 Ibn Iyâs, part 4, 151.

50 Azzān gives extracts of the accounts of these meetings; see notes 57 and 59 below.

51 Within two months of these acts the sultan experienced a recovery to such a degree that he was again able to make a state progress through Cairo on 4 Rajab, 919/1513. Ibn Iyâs continues, however, that within a short time al-Ghûrî resumed his abusive ways and everything returned to its former state. The details of the circumstances surrounding the illness are described by Ibn Iyâs with particular care as are the events attendant on his return to good health. See Ibn Iyâs, part 4, 312, 328-32; also Karel Stowasser, “Manners and Customs at the Mamluk Court,” Muqarnas 4 (1984): 16.
man in acute pain and almost blind spending his nights in prayer and crying out, "O Thou, who canst not be an unjust tyrant, have mercy on thy slave, Qāṃṣūh al-Ghūrī. O Lord, we have shown ourselves wicked! We are certainly lost unless Thou wilt forgive us, unless Thy pity descends upon us!" Other accounts take note of the sultan’s canonical worship and his frequent night prayers and offerings of praise to God. In one such account we find him uttering these two couplets:

Pardon me and forgive my sin which is great.

[We need] Your guidance and kindness [to lead us] to the Right Path.

If You punish me, it is Your justice.

If You forgive me, it is by Your virtue.

Al-Ghūrī is also described as revering the pious saints, in particular the 'Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī, the founder of the Shāfi‘ite school of Islamic law, whose tomb had been erected in Cairo in 1217. He used to visit the 'Imam's tomb as well as other nearby tombs of saints whenever he felt worried. Among visits mentioned in Ibn Iyās are those of 24 Ramaḍān 913/1507, Rabī‘ II, 914/1508, 19

52 Glubb 419.

53 These are described in the introduction to al-Ghūrī's Shāhnāma. See 'Azzām 31.

54 'Azzām 147.
Jumāda I, 920/1514, and 14 Rabi' II, 922/1516, the last occurring one day before the sultan's departure for ar-Raydāniyya and Syria in the way to face the Ottoman invasion. On every visit to the tomb of ash-Shāfi'ī he is described as dismounting from his horse, entering the qubba, reading the Fātiha, the first chapter in the Qur'an, and giving money as charity.55

* * *

In his introduction to the Turkish translation of Firdawsi's Shāhnāma, the Iranian national epic, done for al-Ghūri by Ḥusayn bin Ḥasan bin Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī ash-Sharīfī, the translator describes the sultan's character and statesmanship and refers to his interest in learning and literature, his knowledge of languages, his taste for music and songs, his contributions to prose and to poetry, his achievements in architecture and his interest in history.56 Not surprisingly, these interests were reflected in al-Ghūri's activities as a patron, in his support for learning, poetry, the decorative arts and architecture. His patronage of learning is attested in a pair of manuscripts compiled during his reign and

55 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 126, 133, 382; part 5, 38, 40-2. In part 4, 382 he writes that al-Ghūri "was deeply anxious because of Ibn 'Uthmān [the Ottoman Sultan Selim I] and aṣ-Ṣūfī [Shah Ismā'īl Šafāvī of Iran]."

56 Among the languages al-Ghūri is reputed to have known are Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Armenian, Circassian and Awazah (?) and 'Akhukh (?); see 'Azzam 132-3.
reporting to be records of debates by learned scholars which he convened at the Mamluk court. The first of these, entitled Nafā'īs al-Majālis as-Sultāniyya fi al-'Asrār al-Qur'āniyya (The Best of the Sultan's Discussions in the Secret Meaning of the Qur'ān), compiled by the same Husayn bin Muhammad ash-Sharīfī who made the translation of the Shāhnāma referred to above, records al-Ghūri's discussions, mostly on religious matters, with members of the 'ulamā beginning on 23 Ramadan, 910/1504. Each of the book's ten chapters covers the meetings held over the course of a single month. Meetings generally began with the sultan posing a question, followed by responses on the part of various 'ulamā.57 A second account of court discussions, originally in two manuscript volumes (of which only one survives) is anonymously authored and entitled Al-Kawkab ad-Durri fi Masā'il al-Ghūri (The Brilliant Star in al-Ghūri's Issues). Completed in the year 919/1513, it covers some two thousand topics arranged by subject and describes the discussions around each of them. While many of these topics are religious in nature, other deal with history, geography, and literature.58

57 The description of each meeting includes the location of the debate, its date, the duration of the sitting, and the names of the people attending it. See 'Azzām 1-149; Mohammad Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri: His Place in Literature and Learning," The International Congress of the Orientalists 20 (1938): 322.

As noted, al-Ghūri was also interested in literature, in particular poetry. He is known to have supported literary translations and to have personally written verses in both Arabic and Turkish. These interests are again referred to in the introduction to a Turkish translation of the Shāhnāma which was done under his sponsorship. The sultan's literary interests are attested as well by his efforts at poetry, scattered examples of which are found in a number of sources. Perhaps most important is a manuscript found today in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Ms or. oct. 2744). An anthology of Turkish poetry commissioned by the sultan, it consists of a selection of ghazals or love poems by the renowned Turkish poets Aḥmad Pasha, Shaykhi, and Aḥmadi, and includes a number of al-Ghūri's verse compositions as well. Samples of the sultan's poetry are also included in the abovementioned Nafā'is and in Raghib at-Ṭabbākh's Tarikh Halab. The latter text includes poems and muwashshah (a type of versified

59 Although al-Ghūri knew Persian, his purpose in ordering Husayn bin Hasan bin Muḥammad ash-Sharīfī's translation of the Shāhnāma, according to the latter's introduction, was to make it accessible to non-Persian readers. See Atil, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteen Century" Mugarnas 2 (1984): 163.

60 Atil, Mamluk Painting 169.
composition invented in the Maghrib) in both Arabic and Turkish. 61

Al-Ghūrî had a keen interest in the art of manuscript illustration and was, in fact, the only Mamluk sultan to support a court atelier for painting. 62 Among the manuscripts produced in the workshop was the abovementioned Shāhnāma translated by Husāyn bin Hasan bin Muhammad ash-Sharifī, found today in Topkapi Palace Museum (Hazine 1519) in Istanbul. 63 The manuscript is illustrated with sixty-two miniature paintings, some of which are based on Aqqoyunlu models, while others are wholly original Mamluk compositions. These latter are particularly noteworthy for their divergence from the stereotyped repertoire of Shāhnāma illustrations that had long been in vogue in eastern

---

61 One of the sultan’s muwashshah in the Nafā’is consists of ten couplets, all invocations of God, requesting his forgiveness and satisfaction. A poem in the Tarikh Halab has twenty-two verses and begins with the couplet, 
"God gave (me) kingship. He is the Generous One and the Benefactor."
Followed by references by al-Ghūrî to his soldiers and his kingdom, it concludes with a request that God insure the loyalty of the army. Other poems and muwashshahs by al-Ghūrî in Rāghib at-Tabbākh’s book are of similar length and subject. See ‘Azzām 43-5, 148-9; Awad 321-2.

62 Esin Atil, Mamluk Painting 196.

63 Al-Ghūrî narrates, in his majlis of 25 Jumāda I, 911/1504 the story of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmūd (998-1030) and al-Firdawsi. He states that the sultan wanted to keep his name alive and for this purpose the people told him to build high edifices, but he replied that such monuments usually fell to ruin after three or four hundred years. Then they agreed upon sponsoring the writing of books, which lead to his patronage of the first Shāhnāma in Turkish. See ‘Azzām 81-2.
Islamic lands and also remarkable are the careful observation and realism with which they depict court ceremonial, a realism not hitherto achieved in Mamluk painting.\(^{64}\)

Al-Ghūrī is likewise described as an avid patron of the decorative arts. Among the surviving objects which were fashioned for him is a finely worked hexagonal wooden chest for the so-called Rabʿa ʾash-Sharīfah or the Honorable Books, a copy of the Qur’ān in several volumes which was transferred by him from the Khanqāh of Baktmar in the Cemetery of Cairo to his own khanqāh in 909/1503.\(^{65}\) Bound with leather decorated by gilded floral elements and bearing an inscription containing al-Ghūrī’s name, the chest can today be seen in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.\(^ {66}\) Similarly, he had the Mushaf al-ʿUthmānī, the Qur’ān

---

\(^{64}\) Testifying to al-Ghūrī’s interest in manuscript illustration and his patronage of the arts in general, one of these paintings, a miniature depicting Jamshid enthroned, includes the Mamluk ruler’s royal blazon and a cartouche inscribed with his name, devices which were intended, no doubt, to liken al-Ghūrī to the epic Persian ruler who was himself reputed to be a great patron of arts. The colophon at the end of the first volume gives the date 1 Shaʿbān, 913/6 December, 1507, and that at the end of the second reads 2 Dhul-Hijja, 916/2 March, 1511. See Atıl, Mamluk painting 163, 166-7.

\(^{65}\) Ibn Īyās says that many people had formerly visited Baktmar’s Khanqāh to see this rabʿa which was considered one of the most precious objects of the age. See Ibn Īyās, part 1, vol. 1, 467. Two other rabʿās were similar to it: one at khanqāh in Siryāqūs, purchased by al-Malik an-Nāṣir bin Qalāwūn for one thousand dinārs, the other in al-Medina in the Hijāz. See Ibn Īyās, part 4, 69.

\(^{66}\) Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 491, see Ibrāḥīm, al-Wathāʾiq fi Khidmat 264 and n. 2.
believed to be that of the third caliph, 'Uthmān bin 'Affān (644-56), rebound and a box inscribed with verses from the Qur'ān and his name fashioned to house it when the manuscript was moved to his tomb.67 The inscription on the Mushaf's cover reads, "This great and honorable Qur'ān is renewed ... Sultan al-Malik al-'Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī ordered [that it be done] and has been honored by binding it."68

A six-tiered chandelier made of yellow brass in 909/1503 and inscribed with the sultan's name and titles and dated Rabi' I, 909/1503 was suspended in al-Ghūrī's tomb.69 A second similar chandelier arranged in the form of pyramid of four stages is suspended by chains in his madrasa. Ornamented with chaising and repoussé decoration, it too is inscribed with the sultan's name.70


68 For the inscription see Ibrāhīm, al-Wathā'iq fi Khidmat 267 and note 1; Ibn Iyās, part 4, 69. 'Azzām believes that this Qur'ān is the one which was in Jāmi' al-Ḥusayn when 'Azzām wrote his book, note 2 in 26.

69 This chandelier was made for the tomb and not for the madrasa as Van Berchem has believed. See Van Berchem 682, n. 502. It is found today in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, see Ibrāhīm, al-Wathā'iq fi Khidmat 268-9, note 2; Waqfiyya 882, 24.
Finally, a footed copper bowl made by his order when he was Hajib al-Hujjâb of Aleppo, bears his blazon, a napkin on its upper field, a cup charged with a pen-box and placed between a pair of trousers on its middle field, and a cup on the lower field. Its inscription, intersected by two shields, reads, "This is one of the objects made for this Most Noble and Honourable and High Excellency, our Lord, the Well-served, Saif ad-Dîn Qânsûh al-Ghûrî, Amir Grand Chamberlain in Aleppo the Protected, may his victories be glorious." 71

* * *

For our purposes, however, the most important aspect of al-Ghûrî's patronage relates to his architectural projects and the waqfs he established to support them. Contemporary literary sources as well as surviving monuments suggest that al-Ghûrî's reign was one of the great moments of Mamluk architecture. Although his amirs shared in the architectural activity of the period, al-Ghûrî's patronage of building was particularly lavish. His main religious and pious foundations are those in al-Jarâbshîn, known today as the Ghûriyya complex, near the Azhar Mosque. The complex includes

---

70 Van Berchem, 682-3, n. 503. This chandelier is not mentioned by the waqfiyya.

71 Mayer, Saracenic 179, the translation of the inscription on the bowl is by Mayer.
a khanqāh, tomb, sabil-kuttāb and a madrasa, and was erected between 1503 and 1504, which is to say that they date to the early years of his reign. The madrasa and its dependences, according to Ibn Iyās, were built on land originally owned by a certain old Mamluk named at-Tawāshī Mukhtas. Al-Ghūrī confiscated the site, demolished the pre-existing buildings and annexed to it various adjoining parcels of real estate. In his construction of the complex, he lavished resources on both its materials and decoration such that on its completion the Ghūriyya was held to be one of the most beautiful building ensembles of the age. Among its outstanding features, Ibn Iyās notes its unique minaret crowned by four finials, the first of this kind in Egyptian architecture.

Al-Ghūrī's madrasa at al-Jarābshīn was inaugurated on the night of 'id an-nahr, the Feast of Sacrifice, that is on 9 Dhul-Ḥijja, 908/1503, with a night celebration attended by crowds of people including the puppet Abbasid caliph resident in Cairo. On the first

---

72 These key foundations are covered in the copy of al-Ghūrī's main waqfīyya found in waqfīyya 882, 10-36 in the Ministry of Waqfs in Cairo. For a complete summary account of al-Ghūrī's building activities see Ibn Iyās, part 5, 93-5. For a brief description of these key monuments see Mubarak, part 1, 61. For the architectural activity in Al-Ghūrī's reign and its place in Mamluk period, see Ira M. Lapidus, "Mamluk Patronage and the Arts in Egypt," Muqarnas 2 (1984): 173-5.

73 At-Tawāshī Mukhtas was a high official in the reign of Qānsūh the uncle al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 52-53, 58-59.
day of Rabî’ II, which was a Friday, the Jum‘ah Prayer was held in
it. Al-Ghûri invested the ‘Inâl Shâd al-’Imâra or Overseer of
Buildings with the rank of Amir of Ten and he along with the Qâdi
al-Qudâh or Chief Judge were given robes of honour. Robes in
great number were also distributed among the architects, masons,
marble-workers, carpenters, and their assistants and the sultan
granted every worker one thousand dirhams.\footnote{Ibn Iyâs
used the terms madrasa and jâmi‘ interchangeably for the

The tomb, khanqâh, sabîl, and kuttâb were completed in
Jumâda I, 910/1504. The site of these foundations had originally
been occupied by a qaysâriyya or roofed market which had been
one of the waqâfs of the early Mamluk sultan an-Nâṣir bin Qalâwûn.
Ibn Iyâs comments that the qashâni tiles covering the tomb of al-
Ghûri were not held in high regard by the people, but that
otherwise the building was considered to be extremely felicitous.

Ibn Iyâs describes the placement in the khanqâh of the ‘Athar
ash-Sharîf, the Honourable Relic (of the Prophet),\footnote{This relic consists of a piece of the Prophet’s stick and a piece of his shirt found in a bundle. See Mubârak, part 1, 61.} and the
abovementioned Mushaf al-‘Uthmâni. In attendance at this event
were the four chief judges of Cairo, the ‘Atâbik Qayt, a group of
the Amirs of a Thousand, the heads of various zâwiyas or khanqâhs
holding their banners and chanting the name of God, and large

\footnote{Ibn Iyâs used the terms madrasa and jâmi‘ interchangeably for the madrasa of the Ghûriyya complex. See Ibn Iyâs, part 4, 52-53, 58-59.}
numbers of pious persons. The buildings were enriched with al-
Ghūrī’s relief-carved blazons, reliefs which are probably those
housed today in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.76

Located near these foundations is Wakālat an-Nakhla or
Wakālat al-Ghūrī, built about the same time as the madrasa,
khanqāh and sabīl-kuttāb as an income-producing waqf for the
upkeep and support of the Ghūriyya complex. It stands today in
good condition and has most of its structural and decorative details
intact. It is a three story structure organized around a central
courtyard, the lower two stories of which were for commercial
purposes while the third story was used for apartments.77

Al-Ghūrī’s other religious foundations in the capital include
a mosque behind the Midān near Hawsh al-'Arab known as Jāmi’
'Arab al-Yasār, which was completed in Rabī’ II, 915/1509.78 In
addition, he is known to have restored a mosque near the Miqyās or

76 Ibn Iyās refers to this building as a madrasa and does not use the
term khanqāh, see Ibn Iyās, part 4, 58-9, 68-9. The blazons are inscribed,
"The Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf 'Qānsūh al-Ghūrī, may his victory be glorious,"
see Esin Atil, Art of the Mamluks (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press,

77 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 93; Waqfiyya 882, 337-341; 'Abd ar-Rahmān Zākī,
al-'Azhar wa ma Ḥawlahu min al-'Athār (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyyah al-
'Amāh lit-T'alīf wan-Nashr, 1970) 92. For its description see chapter III, note
88.

78 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 160; part 5, 94; Waqfiyya 882, 444; Mubārak, part
1, 61.
Nilometer on the Island of Rawḍah as well as the Miqyās itself, work on the mosque being started in Ṣafar, 917/1511 and completed in less than two years in Rabī' II, 919/1513. He is also described as adding a new minaret with a two-domed finial to the Azhar Mosque, restoring the tombs of the 'Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī and the 'Imām al-Layth, and renovating the Sabil al-Mu‘āmini located near the Citadel. This latter, completed in 909/1503, was vaulted in ashlar masonry and had added to it a fountain and a place for the washing the dead.

Al-Ghūrī was an equally lavish builder of secular foundations in the capital. Among his more notable projects was his rebuilding in the courtyard of the Citadel of the dikka or tribune in the form of a mastaba or stone bench in Dhul-Qi‘da, 916/1510. He is said to have decorated it with revetments of precious marble of several colors and inscribed on it a frieze with his name in gold letters. According to Ibn Iyās, it was noteworthy for its beauty, no

79 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 213; waqфиyya 882, 502-9;

80 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 93. Briggs describes al-Ghūrī's minaret on the Azhar Mosque as a hideous two-headed structure. See Briggs 128. Creswell on the basis of an undated epigraph attributes the dome in front of the mihrāb of Azhar Mosque to al-Ghūrī and finds confirmation of this attribution in its pendentives, which he states are not used in Mamluk architecture until 1 Rajab, 912/28th Nov. 1505 when they appear in the Mausoleum of 'Imām al-Layth, see Creswell, MAE, vol. I, 39-40; for the restoration of the Qubbat ash-Shāfi‘ī, see Creswell, MAE, vol. II, 65.

81 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 56; waqфиyya 882, 461-81.
previous kings having made anything similar to it. In fact, we have a remarkable painting, reputedly by a pupil of Bellini, showing al-Ghūrī seated on the mastaba wearing his turban and flanked by his Dawadar, and Amīr Ākhūr Kabīr in the act of receiving the Venetian ambassador, who stands in front of the sultan (Fig. 2). Al-Ghūrī also renewed the Qaṣr al-Kabīr or Great Palace of the Citadel in Rajab, 913/1507 and built a maq' ad or pavilion behind the Bahra Garden overlooking the Ḥawsh as-Sultanī with windows overlooking the garden of the pool and the hawsh. Called the Maq'ad al-Qibṭī or the Coptic Pavilion, supposedly because it did not have columns, the pavilion was completed in the first day of Ramadān, 915/1509, for which occasion the sultan held a great banquet to which the amirs were invited. Afterward in Jumāda

---

82 Ibn ʿIyās comments that many kings had sat on this dikka and claims that the people did not like its new mastaba form. Some of the military men declared that the dikka was more respect-worthy than the mastaba. See Ibn ʿIyās, part 4, 203, 207. The painting is believed to be done by one of Bellini’s pupils. The embassy entered Cairo on 6 May, 1512. See Charles Schéfer, “Note Sur un Tableau du Louvre,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts XIV, 3e (1896): 201-4.

83 Ibn ʿIyās states that the sultan held a great banquet on the occasion of its completion, to which high ranking officials, Qurʾān readers, and preachers were invited. See Ibn ʿIyās, part 4, 123. Elsewhere he states that al-Ghūrī renewed most of the buildings in the Citadel, including the Duhaysha Hall, the 'Awāmid Hall, the Bahra Hall, the kitchen, and all of houses of the Citadel. See Ibn ʿIyās, part 5, 94.

84 Ibn ʿIyās, part 4, 165.
II, 920/1514 he built the Palace of the Miqyās on the Island of Rawḍa. 85

According to Ibn Iyās, who devotes several pages of admiring description to it, al-Ghūrī lavished special attention on the Mīdān, the great open parade ground below the Citadel, which he transformed into an extensive garden. Work was started here on 10 Safar, 909/1503 and included the raising of the mīdān’s walls to a greater height, and the filling of its western side to extend its area. In addition, the sultan constructed on the western side a pavilion for use as a court of judgment and a palace in which he planted fruit and flowering trees and to which he brought water by canal from several distant wells. A second palace was built by al-Ghūrī near the entrance to the mīdān and the sultan also paved the staircases leading to it from the Citadel. Three years after the completion of these projects, in Sha’bān 912/1506, various kinds of fruiting and flowering trees were brought to Cairo from Syria and were planted in the Mīdān. In Jumāda II, 914/1508 work on the aqueduct bringing water from the Nile to the Mīdān and Citadel was finished and at about the same time the sultan initiated work there on a large pool with terraces. Finally, Ibn Iyās states that in the year 915/1509

85 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 384.
all the trees which he had planted ripened and the palace became so attractive that al-Ghūrī spent most of his days there.86

Other important secular projects undertaken by al-Ghūrī in Cairo included the renewal of the Mīdān al-Maḥāra near the Qanāṭer as-Sibā', begun in Shawwāl, 918/1512 and the construction of a large edifice on the site of Qubbat Yashbik, started one month later. Al-Ghūrī is also recorded as having built a great palace for his son in al-Bunduqānyīn.87

Among al-Ghūrī's commercial buildings one, the Khān al-Khalīlī, is of particular importance. The site it occupies was already owned by al-Ghūrī in Rabi' II, 917/1511, when the sultan started demolishing the pre-existing khān and building a new one in its place with booths and storage rooms. Today only the large entrance of this building with al-Ghūrī's blazon and an inscription including his name remains standing. In addition to the Khān al-

86 Ibn Iyās writes that about eighty thousand dinārs were spent on the mīdān. The plants were brought from Syria with their roots in earth kept in wooden boxes. The sultan installed a dikka inlaid with ivory in the garden and sat there among the fruits, flowers, cages of singing birds, other rare birds such as turkeys and Chinese ducks which wandered among the trees. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 56, 102, 110, 172-3, 176-7. There are six cartouches, unfortunately undated but inscribed with al-Ghūrī's name, in the spandrels of the arches of the Great Aqueduct; a seventh is found today in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. See Comité, Exercise 1907, Psc. 24 (1908): 135; also Creswell, MAE, vol. II, 256.

87 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 288-9; his son's palace is mentioned without description in ibn Iyās, part 5, 93-4.
Khalili, the sultan is known to have built other commercial structures of this kind as well as residential apartments (rab'1) in various parts of Cairo, although very few of these remain extant today. 88

Outside of the capital, the sultan undertook a number of architectural projects, several with pious connotations associated with the Pilgrimage. In 914/1508, for example, he started building a khān at ‘Aqaba at the northern end of the Red Sea, at the start of the Pilgrimage road leading south into the Hijāz. 89 A year later, in 915/1504, after completion of the work at ‘Aqaba, he initiated the construction of a maristān or hospital and a ribāt or lodging for resident pilgrims in Mecca, paved the Haram around the Ka‘ba and built an aqueduct to bring water to the city from the ‘Ayn Bazān. 90

To defend the Mamluk frontiers, the sultan built a series of coastal fortresses: at Ṭīna, where he also built a mosque, as well as at Rashīd, Jaddah, and Yanbu’. 91 At Suez he built a khān, shops, and houses, perhaps as base for his naval forces in the Red Sea. We 88 Zaki 107; Ibn Iyās, part 4, 230, 243.


90 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 163.

91 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 94-5.
know that twenty boats costing about four hundred thousand dinārs were based here under the command of the Admiral Salmān al-'Uthmānī.92 It also seems that restorations were made on the fortification of Aleppo during al-Ghūrī's reign, restorations which are not mentioned by Ibn Iyās, but which are attested by inscriptions published by Herzfeld.93 Finally, al-Ghūrī is recorded as having restored several bridges on the Nile including those at Bānī Wā'il, al-Jadīda, al-Ḥājib, al-Kharūbī, and as-Sibā'.94

---

92 Ibn Iyās, part 4, 366. According to Whiteway twelve vessels were built at Suez. See Whiteway 115-6; Boxer 15-6.

93 Foundation inscriptions with the sultan's name on the fortifications of Aleppo are dated 907/1501 (at the Bāb 'Intākya [Antioch] and Bāb al-Qinnasrin), 911-13/1505-07 (for the restoration of the tunnel around the Citadel and fortress), 915/1509 (at the Bāb al-Qanāt and on a tower on the north side of the Citadel), 917/1511, 918/1512, see E. Herzfeld, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep. Tome 1, vol. 1, (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1955), 44, 61-2, 73, 108-9. Other inscriptions in al-Ghūrī's name found in Aleppo record the restoration of a tomb, the conservation of the waqf of a madrasa and a decree ordering the governor and officials to keep metal-smiths in the employ of the arsenal (dated 914 / 1509), see also Herzfeld 104-5, 240-2.

94 Ibn Iyās, part 5, 94-5.
CHAPTER III
THE WAQFIYYA OF THE GHURIYYA COMPLEX

Al-Ghūrī left two hundred and ninety waqfiyyas, all of which survive today in the archives of the Ministry of Waqfs in Cairo. Although some of these exist only in copies, others are the original documents, drafted and registered during the sultan's lifetime. The longest and most extensive of these latter is a comprehensive document in the Ministry of Waqfs numbered 883.1 It consists of rolls of ḥamawi, a kind of paper produced in Syria and frequently used in Egypt during the Mamluk period, measuring between 35.5 and 36.8 cm. in the width and between 48.5 and 54.3 cm. in length with, in most cases, text inscribed on both sides.

A copy of this original waqfiyya was made by the Shaykh Muḥammad bin Muḥyī ad-Din 'Afandi bin 'Ilyās, known as Jawa Zādeh, an Ottoman qādi or religious judge appointed in Egypt in

---

1 Amin 91.

2 Ibrāhīm, at-Tawthiqāt 294. In addition, extracts from this waqfiyya were written on qashāni or fiancé tiles which were originally fixed into the walls of in the Ghuriyya complex in conformity with long-time practice in Mamluk period, as a permanent public promulgation of the waqf's content. These tiles are today housed in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, with the registration number 965. See Amin 85.
the year 987/1579 (Fig. 3). Transcribed from the original some seventy-six years after the date of the first document, the copy is numbered 882 in the archive of the Ministry of Waqfs in Cairo. It is this copy that will be used as the basis for this study of the content of al-Ghūrī’s main waqfiyya, the waqfiyya established for his major foundation, the Ghūriyya complex at al-Jarābshîn.

It will be the purpose of this chapter to describe this waqfiyya in detail. In doing so, the chapter will be divided into five sections following in broad outline the organization of the waqfiyya itself. The first of these will deal with the introduction, including a statement of the purpose of the waqf, an enumeration of the sultan’s titles, the declaration of the act of waqf, and explanation of the reasons behind the establishment of the foundation. Part two will consist of the descriptions of the buildings forming the Ghūriyya complex as given in the waqfiyya. In part three a listing of the

---

3 The prints of the seal of this judge, Jawa Zadeh, are found on the margins of the pages. See Ibrahim, at-Tawthiqat 406.

4 In addition to al-Ghūrī’s waqfiyya describing the endowments he established for his madrasa, mausoleum, khanqah, maktab, sabil and other foundations, Jawa Zadeh’s transcription includes: al-Ghūrī’s separate waqfiyya for the Sabil al-Mu’menin; his waqfiyya for the mosque and palace near the Miqyās [Nileometer]; and the waqfiyya of al-Ghūrī’s successor Sultan Tūmānībāy.

5 Khūṭ al-Jarābshîn was one of the largest khūṭs in Mamluk Cairo. It was found after the end of the Fatimids’ rule, and designated for selling the clothes and sharābīsh that is covers of head. Although this head cover went out of use in Circassian Period, the khūṭ kept its name which had derived from it. See Ibrahim, al-Wathāʾiq 229.
endowments, lands, buildings and other properties bequeathed to the waqf is given. This is will be followed by a discussion of the stipulations having to do with expenditures, the appointments of officials and employees and their responsibilities. And finally the fifth section will deal with the regulations and conditions established by the patron to secure the waqf and insure its continuity.

I. The Introductory Protocol

As is customary with Islamic documents, al-Ghūrī's waqfiyya begins with the basmala and hamdala, the invocation of God's name and his blessing, followed by an enumeration of some of God's attributes as they relate to alms-giving and charity. The text continues with a statement of the waqf's purpose, described as being sadaqa, the giving of disinterested and voluntary charity, the reward for which is explained by paraphrases of some verses from the Qur'ān and Traditions of the Prophet.

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. Gratitude is due God, the King, the Holy, the Peaceful, the Ever-Beneficent. He who stands at the door of His generosity [will] gain [his] desires. And he who offers even a little [good deed], God multiplies for him compensation and reward. [God] rewards him liberally from His bounties. [He who] spends for the sake of God even a seed of vanity, he will find it counted, written down [and] multiplied seven hundred
times over.⁶ [God] multiplies for him, if He wants, even more rewards, [that] save him from the fear and anxiety of the Day of Judgement. Whoever builds a mosque [where] the five prayers, the Friday Prayer, collective prayers, obligatory and traditional prayers, and night prayers would be performed, be it even the size of a bird’s nest, as it is said in a Tradition of the Prophet —peace be upon him—⁷ God builds for him an abode in the lasting home, where the salutation for him would be, “Peace!”⁸ What an abode is built by [the Lord] of Majesty and Honour! In it there are domes, palaces, mansions, drink, food, great favours such as no eye has ever seen and no ear has ever heard, such as have never been enjoyed by a human heart.⁹

The waqfīyya goes on to affirm on the shahāda —the act of witness to belief in the uniqueness of God and the messengership of Muhammad— by the formula, “There is no god but God and Muhammad — peace be upon him— is His servant and messenger.”

---

⁶ This is a paraphrase of Qur’ān II: 161, “The parable of those who spent their substance in the way of God is that of a grain of corn: it groweth seven ears, and each ear hath a hundred grains. God giveth manifold increase to whom He pleaseth: and God careth for all and He knoweth all things.” Here and throughout the study The Holy Qur‘ān. Text, Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, 2nd ed. (The Muslim Students’ Association of The United States and Canada: American Trust Publication, 1977) is used.

⁷ The Tradition, “Whoever builds a mosque for the sake of God, even in the size of a bird’s nest for her eggs, God will build a house for him in Paradise,” is recorded by Ibn ‘Abbās, and found in Musnad al-‘Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal. See Muhammad Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Albānī, Sahih al-Jāmi’ as-Saghīr wa Ziyādatihi, vol. 5 (Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmi, 1972) 265.

⁸ “But those who believe and work righteousness will be admitted to gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye with leave of their Lord. Their greeting therein will be Peace!” Qur’ān XIV: 23.

⁹ Waqfīyya 882, 1-2.
In addition, mention is made of several of His commandments, among them the injunctions to piety and to the giving of alms, and by reference to a well-known verse of the Qur‘ān, to the care of mosques by the Muslims.\textsuperscript{10} Prayers are invoked for the Prophet and al-Ghūrī himself is praised by reference to the Tradition asserting that at the beginning of each century there is one who renews religion for this people,\textsuperscript{11} al-Ghūrī being such a person at the end of the ninth century of the Hijra. The authority of this sultan, the text continues, has been given to him by people of influence and referring to Sura L of the Qur‘an, the waqfiyya acclaims the sultan’s victory over his enemies and his peaceful subjugation of fortresses such that their defenders greeted him with peace.

The waqfiyya’s preamble relates the founder to the Prophet Yūsuf, who like al-Ghūrī ascended the throne of Egypt. Among the founder’s outstanding attributes, it states, are the vast number of his troops, his wakefulness, the greatness of his position, his knowledge, justice, wisdom and kindness. He gives orders and they are executed without question because of his determination, because

\textsuperscript{10}“The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in God....” Qur‘ān IX: 18; Waqfiyya 882, 2.

\textsuperscript{11}The Tradition is, “God sends for this nation at the beginning of every century somebody who renews her religion.” It is narrated by Abu Hurayra, and found in Sunan Abi Dāüd and other collections of Traditions. See al-Albānī, vol. 2, 143.
they are well-conceived and because he rewards those who bow to his command and punishes those who do not. His orders were executed because of their sensible conception, and his powers of intimidation. He is obedient to God, brave and wise in the face of his enemies and shows himself worthy of respect in his public display.\(^12\)

However, life is short, the preamble continues, and the hereafter extends to eternity. If one performs good deeds in this life, that charity will be rewarded after death. The best sort of charity is \textit{waqf}, because a pious foundation assures that the almsgiving and its reward are repeated until the Day of Judgement. Moreover, the best type of \textit{waqf} is that for a mosque. Therefore, al-Ghūri has hastened to build as pious foundations and \textit{waqfs} a mosque, a mausoleum, a \textit{maktab}, and a \textit{sabil}. And he has appointed God-fearing and knowledgeable believers to staff them and has given generously in order to provide for them.\(^13\)

There follows an enumeration\(^14\) of the sultan's titles — the One Whose Position is Exalted,\(^15\) the Great Leader, His Highness

\(^{12}\) \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 4-5.

\(^{13}\) \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 6-7.

\(^{14}\) \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 7-8.

\(^{15}\) For a discussion of Mamluk protocols, see Hasan al-Bāsha, \textit{al-'Alqāb al-'Istāmiyya fi at-Tārikh wal-Wathā'iq wal-Āthār} (Cairo: Dār an-Nahḍa
the King, Supporter of the Righteous, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims,16 Fighter against the Infidels and Polytheists,17 Protector of Religion, Benefactor of Mendicants and Scholars, Follower of the Guidance of the Master of the Messengers, Shadow of God, Alexander of the Age,18 He who brings God's Justice to the World, Bearer of the Sword and Pen,19 Lord of the Kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs, Defender of the two Qiblas, the King of the Two Lands and the Two Seas,20 Servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries—21 concluding with his name, Qânsūh al-Ghūrî,
preceded by his agnomen (kunya) Abu an-Nasr, the Victorious, and the invocation, "May God make his victory glorious."

Finally, following the standard format for such a document and as testimony to the waqf's lawfulness, the preamble states that "the patron, who is in perfect health and has full control of his faculties, bequeathed, designated, dedicated, constrained and donated forever" to pious purposes buildings, lands and properties, including mosques, a madrasa, a khanqāh, mausoleum, maktab, sabil, roofed rental properties producing a monthly income, and agricultural lands producing an annual revenue. The incomes from these last two are to be spent on the abovementioned buildings. The waqfiyya asserts that all these waqfs are owned by the patron, that he has legal claim over them and that he has presented to the witnesses of this document legal title of his ownership.22

2. The Description of the Buildings in al-Ghūri's Waqfiyya

The Ghūriyya Complex, consisting of two units, the madrasa and the mausoleum and khanqāh, face one another across the Shari' Mu'iz li Dīn Illāh near the Azhar Mosque in Cairo. The madrasa is found on the western side of the street and the mausoleum of the founder, the khanqāh, sabil, and maktab are on the eastern side.

22 Waqfiyya 882, 9.
The complex is surrounded by markets and the Midân al-Azhar and the Shari' al-Azhar borders the madrasa on the north (Fig. 4).23

The waqfiyya describes the location of the complex as follows:

The madrasa24, mausoleum, khanqâh, maktab, sâbil, and those things connected to them such as markets, shops, houses, fountains, and other [buildings] to be described in the [waqfiyya], are located on the left and right of the al-Qaṣaba al-‘Uzma25 at Khūṭ al-Jarābshïn in Protected Cairo (Fig. 5). The madrasa is found on the right hand of the passer-by as he goes from the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn and 'Ashrafiyya Madrasa at

23 Nezar al-Sayyad has published an important study of the streets of Cairo. In a table entitled, "Generic Forms of the Major Burji Mamluk Visual Elements", he compares the Ghüriyya complex with other late Mamluk foundations and notes that its dome is small and in this respect it is rather typical of the domes of the period. The minaret is tall like other late Mamluk minarets. The fact that its entrances are recessed, however, is anomalous, given the fact that typically in late Mamluk architecture they protrude. The Ghüriyya's facade is parallel to the street centerline and in this respect, too, it is unusual for its time. Finally, in terms of overall size, it is large for the Burji period. See Nezar al-Sayyad, The Streets of Islamic Cairo, Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Studies in Islamic Architecture 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) 60, table no.3.

24 From the report of the Comité of 1882-3, it is clear that the madrasa, with the exception of the minaret, was at that time in a good state of repair. The report suggests in addition to the restoration of the minaret that changes which had previously been made, specifically, shops which had been built along the western façade of the madrasa be cleared, and that the staircase, the terrace of the eastern entrance, and the brass applique on the doors of the main entrance be repaired. This work was completed in 1906. See Comité, Exercice 1882-83, 1883, 50-1; Exercice 1905, I, 1906, 102. For general description of the complex see Mubârak, part 1, 61; The Ministry of Waqfs, Masājid Misr (Cairo: Maṣlāhat al-Masâḥah al-Miṣriyya, 1948) part 2, 170-5, Pls. 145-151, 233, 251. The minbar was repaired in 1902, see Comité, Exercice 1902, 1902, 117.

25 The Medieval Qaṣaba al-‘Uzma, which was the main street in Cairo and is today called the Shâri‘ al-Mu‘īz li Din ‘Illâh.
al-ʿAnbaryīn to the Bāb Zuwayla and the Muʿayyadiyya Madrasa. The mausoleum, khanqāh, maktab, and sabil, which are contiguous with one another and facing the mentioned madrasa, are on the right hand of the passer-by going from the Bāb Zuwayla to the Madrasa al-ʿAshrafiyya (Fig. 6).

The waqfiyya then goes on to describe the buildings one by one starting with the madrasa (Fig. 7). It states [10-20] that,

The outstanding feature of the madrasa is that it has four façades built in red and white ashlar stone. The main façade (Fig. 8), which is the southwest, has at its western end a square minaret, with three stages. There are four caps atop the third stage. Each cap is an independent unit supported by four piers (Figs. 9, 10). Three stakes are fixed into each cap.

Concerning the minaret, Behrens-Abouseif notes correctly that the restoration carried out by the Comité does violence to its original form. See Behrens-Abouseif 153-4. The reports of the Comité, give no explanation as to why the top of the minaret was rebuilt in the form it was when at least three
shops. Each one has doors of imported [wood]. There are also four doors along the base of the façade, and windows [11] above them (Fig. 11). There are two stairways built from hard stone at [the façade's] eastern end.

Ascending them, one reaches a large, paved platform (bastah)\textsuperscript{30} revetted in marble bonded with lead. Opening off this platform is a large post and lintel-framed doorway (murabba')\textsuperscript{31} built of white and black marble (Fig. 12). [The doorway] has a flint threshold and a lintel of white marble (yasmini).\textsuperscript{32} There are two door-posts with relief ornamentation in white and black marble, and a three-lobed arch\textsuperscript{33} with muqarnas above it. In this entrance there is [a door consisting of a] pair of leaves covered with hemispheres of yellow brass [decorated] with geometric forms, crests, and two stars (Fig. 13).\textsuperscript{34} Above this door there is a small,\textsuperscript{35} brass window.

sources, the waqfiyya, Ibn Iyäš, and the painting of Avennes, clearly represent it as having four caps. See Waqfiyya 882; Ibn Iyäš part 4, 84; and Prisse d'Avennes, Atlas, I, pl. XXIII. Ibn Iyäš in particular writes that "the minaret of the sultan's mosque which he built at al-Jarâbhîn leaned, and when it became crooked and it seemed to be falling [the sultan] ordered it demolished—it having become top-heavy because of its height and the four heads. When it was demolished it was rebuilt correctly ('ala as-sihha). Hence its top was built with brick and tiled with blue qashânil."

\textsuperscript{29} For a discussion of the term, see Amîn and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 113.

\textsuperscript{30} In this instance the bastah refers to the platform in front of the entrance of the madrasa. For a discussion of the term see Amîn and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 22.

\textsuperscript{31} For a discussion of the term, see Ibrâhîm, Qarâqja 224.

\textsuperscript{32} The term yasmini is used in the waqfiyya to describe a white marble like the color of jasmine flowers. See rukhâm in Amîn and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 53.

\textsuperscript{33} The term used is madâvnî, meaning an arch of three parts. See 'aqd in Amîn and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 81.
Beyond this entrance is a vestibule (durkah) with a small stone bench (mastaba). The floor of the vestibule is paved and the bench faced with colored marble. Above [the bench] is an inscription in two lines of kūfic [painted] in gold and azure. Below [the inscription] are vertical marble panels. These [panels] of the vestibule have rectangular vertical flint strips and relief work in sa‘idī and suwaysī marble.

Two arched doorways, each containing a single-leaf door, face each other across the vestibule. Passing through one of them, [12] the one on the right, one enters a paved gallery (dehliz) on the right. There is a small room opening off this gallery with two windows with brass grills overlooking the road. A second small room faces the room [on the right] without windows (habis). Beyond this,

---

34 Star is a translation of shamsah which is a circular decorative element with several sharp points. See shamsiyaa in ‘Abd ar-Rahîm Ghâlib, Mawsû‘at al-‘Imârah al-‘Arabiyya (Beirut: Jarrûs Press, 1988) 234.

35 The term used is lafif, which can mean either elegant or small. It is used here in the latter sense. See Ibrâhîm, Qarâqja 234.

36 For these terms see Ibrâhîm, Qarâqja 211.

37 The texts of the historical inscriptions of the madrasa were published by Van Berchem early in this century. See Van Berchem 572-4, no.382-5, 387.

38 Sa‘idî, a white marble from Sa‘id in the south of Egypt. Suwaysî is a black marble that used to be quarried in ‘Idfu. This is a local name deriving from the fact that its color is like that of the licorice tree. See rukhām in Amin and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 53.

39 For discussions of the term see Ghâlib 190; and in Amin and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 49.

40 Habis, specifically a room without exterior openings; see Amin and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 33.
[there is] an unfinished area, the construction of which remains to be completed.

The left entrance [of the vestibule] opens onto a gallery paved with colored marble, with a space (rihâb)\(^{41}\) at the beginning having a large brass window which overlooks the Süq al-Jamalûn. At the end of [the gallery] there is a post and lintel doorway with a marble threshold and a single-leaf door, which leads to a paved and vaulted flight of steps [built] of solid stone (kaddân).\(^{42}\) [These stairs] leads to a paved gallery off which two small rooms open on the right. One has no windows and the other has a brass window overlooking the road and a mosque which was [formerly] in ruins but was renovated by the patron in anticipation of the reward of Almighty God, the Lord of Majesty. The abovementioned stairs lead to two small rooms for the mu'adhdhins, to the roof of the abovementioned madrasa, and to the entrance to the minaret.

The abovementioned marble-paved gallery leads to a storage chamber for the cooling of water jugs (mazmalah) paved with marble with a façade made of imported wood. Beyond that, it leads to a large post and lintel doorway with a large, single-leaf door, which opens onto the [interior hall of] the mentioned madrasa with [13] two facing iwâns (Fig. 14). The south-eastern [iwan] is large and the north-western one is small. Between them is a central hall (durqâ'ah)\(^ {43}\) with two small iwâns (martabas)\(^ {44}\) facing each other (Fig. 15).\(^ {45}\)

---

41 Rihâb or rabba is a spacious area or anteroom in buildings. See rabba in Amin and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 53.

42 More specifically, kaddân is white, hard stone used usually for steps and the paving of floors; see kadhdhân in Ghâlib, 323.

43 Durqâ'ah means more precisely the central hall of a building from which one can enter its other parts. See Amin and L. Ibrâhîm, al-Mustalahât 50-51.
At the back of the large iwān is a mihrāb flanked by two marble columns (Fig. 16). The mihrāb’s niche and hood are covered with marble panels, and it is flanked by four brass windows overlooking the road (Fig. 17). On its right side [there is] a minbar with inlaid geometric ornament, crowned by a hood with geometric ornament (Fig. 18).^6

There are two platforms (martabas) in this iwān. [Above] the one on the right are two brass windows overlooking Sūq al-Khusaybah. [This platform] contains two doorways which face each other. One is decorative [i.e. a false door] and the other leads to a room for the khatib.^[7 which has a brass window overlooking Sūq al-Khusaybah. The second

---

^6 For a discussion of the term see the word in Amin and L. Ibrāhim, al-Mustalafaat 103.

^7 Briggs, at the end of the first quarter of this century, published a brief description of the madrasa and unique among modern scholars included a plan for the entire Ghūriyya Complex, although without scale. He describes it as being cruciform in arrangement with four iwāns, the sanctuary being the deepest and widest of the iwāns. He praises the interior of the madrasa for the elaborate carvings in low relief on its stone walls, for the marblework and woodwork, the horseshoe arches of the western and eastern iwāns and the stalactite corbels beneath them, and the stalactite cornice beneath the ceiling of the sahn. See Briggs 128, figs.125-7. Hauteceur and Wiet give the madrasa of al-Ghūri as an example of the Circassian style. They group the Burjā madrasas into four categories according to the form of the iwāns and the courtyard, and consider al-Ghūri’s as an example of that type characterized by a long flat-roofed iwān in the direction of the qibla. See Louis Hauteceur and Gaston Wiet, Les Mosquées du Caire (Paris: Librarie Ernest Leroux, 1932) 312.

^6 The authors of Palais et Maisons du Caire, while discussing the maq’ad of the Ghūriyya complex, note in passing the rich ornamentation of the madrasa’s tiled floors, the use of alternating courses of colored marble in its walls, the stained glass of its large windows, the woodwork of the doors, and the painted epigraphic friezes and ceiling. See Jacques Revault, Bernard Maury, and Mona Zakariya, Palais et maisons du Caire, du XIV au XVIII Siècle, t.I (Paris: Edition du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984) 32.

^7 Khatib, the preacher at the Friday Prayer.
platform is on the left. [Above] it are two brass windows, one of which can be opened in and out (rāji‘i). 48

There is large room [in this platform found on the left] for the storage of books, with shelves on the right, left, and at the back made of imported wood. [These shelves] are made and prepared to hold books used in the madrasa dealing with the Noble [Religious] Sciences. There is also a bookcase to store Qur’āns, and noble rab‘as [a Qur‘ān in thirty parts or juz‘], the sides of which are decorated with geometric ornament. In this south-eastern iwān there is also a great Noble Qur‘ān on a large wooden reading stand with inlaid geometric decoration. It is used by the Qur‘ān readers appointed to read in the madrasa.

14] The second iwān, the north-western one, is as mentioned above small. At its back below the elevated platform (dekka) of the mu‘adhdhins there is a platform with a large brass window [above it] overlooking the road [behind the madrasa]. There are entrances opening on this road, one of which is the rear entrance (bāb as-sir) 49 of the mentioned madrasa. At the end of this platform is a small marble-paneled room with two brass windows, one of them overlooking the mentioned road, and the other overlooking Sūq al-Jamālūn. On the right of one who prays in this iwān is a brass window looking the mausoleum which will be mentioned below. This mausoleum can be reached from the abovementioned rear entrance of the madrasa.

There are two platforms (martabas) 50 facing each other across the central hall. One of them has two doorways, one of which leads to a library, and the other to a room with

48 For discussion of the term, see Amin and L. Ibrāhim, al-Mustalahāt

49 Bāb as-sir, literally the "secret door", is an entrance found at one side of a building reserved for the use important personages and for the women.

50 The waqfīyya here means by martaba the two small iwāns open to the central hall.
a window overlooking Sūq al-Khushaybah. [Above] the eastern platform are two large brass windows overlooking Sūq al-Jamalūn.

The two iwāns, the two platforms of the central hall (durqā'ah), and the platform in the small iwān have arches of good, ornamented, gilded ashlar. The two iwāns are roofed with imported wood painted in harîrî technique.51 Above all the arches of the central hall is an Arabic date in gold and azure on stone. [15] Above this [band of Arabic] there is a square roof with painted ornament. It has a screen at its center to keep falling things and birds out of [the central hall].

All the floors of the mentioned madrasa and its platforms are revetted with colored marble. The panelling is done in white marble, porphyry, and gray [marble] with white spots.52 [The pavement is worked in] geometric patterns and frames in different shapes such as circles and other geometric forms. The dado, enclosing the entire [interior hall] of the madrasa except for the back [of the large iwān] which contains the mîhrâb, is faced with marble and framed above with a kufic inscription. It has vertical bands of flint and other [kinds of stone]. Above the mentioned dado at the back [of the large iwān], between the high panels above the arch of the mîhrâb and the arches of the windows, there is a second border with gilded relief carving and a third border of circular forms formed of porphyry and gray [marble] with white spots made by engraving the marble and filling in [colored paste].53 Above this there is a fourth border

51 A technique that involved first oiling a wooden surface, then drawing on the ornament and finally covering it with a layer of wax to produce a very smooth, silky surface. For the term see Ibrâhim, Qarāqa 232.

52 Terms used in the document for these materials are sumâqi for brownish porphyry, and zarzûrî, that is resembling the starling in color, i.e. gray with white spots. For discussion see rukhâm in Amin and L. Ibrâhim, al-Mujâlahāt 53.
connecting the windows in the back [of the iwan] made of vertical strips of porphyry and white [marble] with gray spots.

There are four post and lintel doorways opening on the central hall, each with a single-leaf door. One of them is the entrance mentioned above. The second [one] faces the first and leads to a gallery with steps descending to a place of ablution (mayda'a) with three latrines, a vaulted storage room under the khatib's room, and to a well for the mentioned place of ablution. The third [doorway] is beside the first and leads to a small chamber with a brass window overlooking Sūq al-Jamalūn. The fourth is a doorway from the side of the rear entrance which will be mentioned in this [document below].

Of the four entrances found on the [exterior] southeastern façade [of the madrasa], one on the [facade's] western side, is small and arched. It is an entrance from the Süq al-Khushaybah. A second [one] is a post and lintel doorway and leads to the small new süq with vaulted shops and storage rooms under the madrasa. The third doorway is also post and lintel [in form]. It is the entrance from the Sūq al-Jamalūn at al- QAṣaba.

The north-western façade [of the exterior of the madrasa] has nine shops like those on the south-eastern façade. One of them is a waqf of the Great 'Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad bin 'Idris ash-Shāfi'i—may God be pleased with him. It was in ruins and the patron whose noble name is mentioned in this [document],55 restored it. [This] façade has four entrances. One of them [17] is the rear entrance to Süq al-Khushaybah. The second is the rear entrance of the madrasa. The third is the rear entrance of the

---

53 This technique is called hafr wa tanzil. For discussion see hafr wa tanzil in Amin and L. İbrahim, al-Mustalahat 36.

54 See chapter II, 55-6.

55 i.e. al-Ghūrī.
new süq. The fourth is the rear entrance of the Süq al-Jamalûn. There are single-leaf doors in each of them except for the rear entrance of the madrasa which has a door of two leaves. This [last one] has two door posts built of hard stone. It is a post and lintel doorway which leads to a small marble-paneled vestibule with a brass window to admit light from the new süq. And a small stairway paved with marble leads up [from it] to a marble-paved gallery. [The gallery] has a brass window on the right overlooking Süq al-Khushaybah. And on the left there is an entrance leading to an ancient mausoleum of some of holy men of God -- be He exalted. It is a new built tomb. Opening off the mentioned gallery is a chamber with a window overlooking the Khushayba, and on the right two entrances. One of them will be mentioned below and the other leads to a small room which also overlooks the Khushayba. The gallery's floor is paved with colored marble, and it has another storage area for the cooling of water jugs with a facade of imported wood finished in mamûnî style, and below a marble threshold.

[There is] at [the gallery's] end a large post and lintel doorway, which is a second entrance to the madrasa. The doorway in the gallery referred to above leads [18] to another gallery off of which four small rooms open, two overlooking the road, and two without windows. And [this gallery] has a flight of steps which leads up to a story of small rooms in addition to the ones mentioned above. They number six, three overlooking the road, and three overlooking Süq al-Khushaybah. This gallery has a further flight of steps with a landing (mastaba) from which steps go in two directions, to the right and to the left. One [flight] leads to a tiled anteroom with stairs that lead [in turn] to a landing with two rooms, one overlooking Süq al-Khushaybah and the road and the other overlooking the road.

---

56 Small pieces of lath joined together to form lattices were usually used to cover windows; the mamûnî is one style of this woodwork, and as produced by craftsmen today, it is fashioned of very small pieces of wood and has very small openings. See khart in Amin and L. Ibrâhim, al-Mustalahât 40.
The mentioned anteroom connects to the dekka [in the rear iwan] from which the mu'adhdhins repeat the imam's movements [while performing communal prayers]. This dekka has a balustrade overlooking the madrasa, and two windows. One of them, the northern one, is large. The other is on the eastern side. [The dekka has another entrance which leads to a small room with three brass windows overlooking the road and the roof of Sūq al-Jamalūn.]

The [upper part of] the stairway leads to a gallery with three rooms overlooking Sūq al-Khushaybah. Then [the stairway] leads to a vaulted flight of steps ascending to another room overlooking Sūq al-Khushaybah and to the roof of the madrasa and the entrance of the minaret.

The waqfiyya goes on to state that al-Ghūrī founded this madrasa and consecrated the land around it to serve as "a congregational mosque and a house of [God], the Sustainer of the Worlds, where prayers, Friday prayer and congregational prayers will be performed." The patron gives his permission to the Muslims to enter and perform prayers in it. Indeed, the waqfiyya states, legally recognized Friday prayer has been performed here prior to the date of the waqfiyya, and by this action the madrasa has acquired the status of a masjid or jami'.

57 Waqfiyya 882, 19-20. Behrens-Abouseif notes that the names of religious institutions in Burji period were interchangeable and for this reason the madrasa as well as other parts of the complex could at times be referred to as a Friday mosque. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic Architecture in Cairo, Studies in Islamic Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas, vol. III (Leiden, New York, Koln: E.J. Brill, 1989) 19. That this sort of situation prevailed for al-Ghūrī's madrasa is clear from the fact that in the dedication of the institution it is called a Friday mosque (jami'). See waqfiyya 882, 19-20.
Concerning the function of various parts of the madrasa, the waqfiyya tells us that the patron dedicated its minaret to the praising of God at dawn and to the summoning of the Muslims to prayer by lawful adhān at the time of the five daily prayers. The patron also dedicated the ablution fountain (mayda'a) to the ritual removal of impurity. And he made all its rooms (khalwas) ready for use by the employees of the madrasa and students of the religious science in the ways stipulated by the patron and the superintendent (nāzir) of the waqf. 58

* * *

Turning to that part of al-Ghūrī's foundation 59 facing the madrasa and found on the eastern side (Fig. 19) of the al-Qaṣaba al-Ūzma the waqfiyya tells us that,

58 Waqfiyya 882, 20.

59 The report of 1882-3 of the Comité states that the monument had at that time been in the process of restoration for two years and that it had been brought to good condition in spite of long years of neglect. Restorations were mainly on the foundations and in the area of the collapsed dome. See Comité, Exercice 1882-3, 49-50. Further work was subsequently done by the Comité in the area of the eastern entrance of the musalla (1890), the arcades of the kuttāb (1897), the walls of the maq'ad (1900), and the fountain of the sabil (1906); see Comité, Exercice 1890, 109; Exercice 1897, 43; Exercice 1900, 81; Exercice 1906, 103. For a discussion of this mausoleum and others in Cairo see Christel M. Kessler, "Funerary Architecture within the City," in Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire, ed. André Raymond, J. M. Rogers, and M. Wahaba (Berlin: 1974) 262-3.
The mausoleum (qubba), khanqah, maktab, and sabil all face the mentioned madrasa (Fig. 20). They share a single north-west facade built of ashlar stone (Figs. 21, 22). The facade has at its eastern end a projection with three windows. It turns at this projection with the road leading to the Masbaghat al-'Araq and the Azhar Mosque. At the facade's western end it runs back to the end of a dead-end alley. This facade has series of circular brass windows. Along the western side of this facade there are nine shops similar to those described above in connection with the madrasa, and a post and lintel entranceway. The entranceway is preceded by a platform, and a flight of steps of solid stone, paved with black (siwāysi) and white (baladī) marble, and revetted with marble slabs. At this platform there is a large post and lintel entrance with two flint thresholds, the lower one black and the upper white. The entrance is framed with white and black marble, like the entrance of the madrasa, the two stone door jambs ornamented with a plated border carved in high relief and inlaid with black and white marble. Above there is a three-lobed arch with muqarnas and [an inscription reads] "Exalted is His Sublimity." There is a small brass window framed by two eight-sided marble columns above the entrance. The entrance has pair of doors covered by yellow brass [decorated] with geometric ornamentation, relief, and relief.

---

60 Hautecceur and Wiet divide the mausolea of the Burji period into two categories, those which are isolated and those attached to other buildings. They place al-Ghūrī mausoleum in the first category. See Hautecceur and Wiet 314, 328.

61 Abouseif mistakenly states that the dome was covered with green tiles. She further states that the dome collapsed at the beginning of this century, and that the zone of transition consists of stone pendentives. See Behrens-Abouseif 154.

62 Baladī, a white marble from southern Egypt, is also called sa'īdi. See rukhām in Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Muṣḥalāt 53.

63 There is a break in the text at this point.
crenellation and perforated stars similar to the doors of the madrasa.

This entrance leads to a marble-paneled vestibule with two doors facing each other, and a small stone bench (masāba) at its far end. [Behind the bench] is a brass window looking into the khanqāh. Each of these two entrances at the vestibule has pair of large doors of walnut, decorated with perforated circular forms (atrijah) and four triangles made of yellow brass. One of them, the one on the right, leads to the great mausoleum (Fig. 23). Its floor and the sills of the windows are panelled with marble. Some of the [marble panels around the graves] are pasted and fixed. [The tomb] was prepared by the patron, whose noble name has been mentioned above --may God give him a most long and pleasant life-- for the burial of himself, his children, and his harem. At the far end of this tomb there is a noble mihrāb [23] with a marble-revetted façade and hood. It is flanked by two chests, one for the noble Qur'ān of the [Caliph] 'Uthman, and the other for the Noble Relics of the Prophet [Muhammad]. Each [box] has a gold-colored door from imported wood.

There are series of brass windows in this tomb. One of them, to the right of the mihrāb, has small door, which can be opened and closed, through which the harem can enter the tomb to visit the graves of their deceased ancestors and the Noble Relics (Fig. 24). The other window, to the left of the mihrāb, overlooks the space behind the tomb on the south and the khanqāh which will be mentioned later. Two of the [tomb's] windows overlook the khanqāh, two open on the

---

64 Tria (pl. atrijah) from Persian, means lemon. As an architectural term it refers to a hemispherical boss, frequently made of brass and usually applied to doors or windows. See Amin and L. Ibrahim, al-Mustalahât 11.

65 For a discussion of the mihrāb and the decoration of the qibla wall, see Lane-Pool, Saracens 116.
prayer hall, three look out on al-Qaṣaba al-ʿUṣma, and three overlook the alley.

There are large windows (gamrawāt) with colored glass above the mentioned windows. There is [also] a dado of colored marble in this tomb and on some of its panels there are knotted and gilded inscriptions in various shapes. There are also along the mentioned dado [panels of] porphyry, of gray marble with white spots and of flint, and it is framed by an inscribed border in Arabic.

This tomb is domically vaulted with burnt brick and stucco. The exterior of [the dome] is revetted with blue and azure tiles (qashāni). The dome's interior [24] is covered with a wood decorated with geometric ornament in gold and silver (mūnabbāt) with a gold and silver Arabic inscription in large tūmār script. There are small upper and lower windows screened by grills and colored glass.

The stone muqarnas in the corners [of the tomb] and the colored stone panel are washed with gold, metallic azure, and other colors. In the center [of the tomb there is] a large chandelier of openwork yellow brass suspended by a chain from the apex of the dome (Fig. 25).

---

66 For a discussion of the inscriptions, see Van Berchem 572-4, no. 382-5, 387.

67 Al-jibs al-zujāji, a kind of stucco of good quality which dries quickly. It was used in this tomb as mortar for the bricks and tiles (among them the tiles numbered 986-1025 in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo). See Ibrāhīm, al-Wathaʾiq 222; also jibs in Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 28.

68 Tūmār, a style of calligraphy was used since the Umayyad period and favored in Mamluk period for the sultans' seals. See Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 78.

69 Briggs notes that it is richly decorated, especially the stalactite pendentives. See Briggs 128.
The khanqāh’s entrance in the abovementioned vestibule faces that of the tomb. This khanqāh has a central hall and two wings with a mihrāb at its center flanked by two marble columns and two brass windows overlooking the courtyard mentioned below. It has two other windows overlooking al-Qasaba al-‘Uzma, and other two windows overlooking the road which leads to the Azhar Mosque and the Maṣbāḥat al-‘Azraq. It has eight bookshelves which are similar one with the other and are used to store Qur’āns. The khanqāh is roofed by cross beams of imported wood on brackets (kurdīs) and on triangular pieces of wood at the corners (zāwiyas), ornamented with circular forms in relief (surrahās) and colored muqarnas. The entire ceiling is gilded (Fig. 26). [The khanqāh] has another entrance on the southeast similar in shape and form to the main entrance. It can be reached from the mentioned court behind [the tomb].

Briggs mistakenly calls the khanqāh a mosque. He describes its plan as consisting of a sahn with three iwāns opening off it, all of which are covered with flat ceilings. He is not impressed with the decorative details of the interior. See Briggs 128. Concerning the khanqāh, Behrens-Abouseif points out that, rather surprisingly, no living units were attached to it, and that only a few units were attached to the madrasa. See Behrens-Abouseif 154.

Oalb wa hanāyn is used in the text to describe the khanqāh, which literally means “heart and ribs.”

For the various meanings of kurdī (pl. karādi, a word of Persian or Turkish origin) see Amin and L. Ibrahim, al-Mustalahāt 94. From the usage of the waqfiyya it is clear that it is used here to describe a type of bracket.

For the term see Amin and L. Ibrahim, al-Mustalahāt 59.

Surrāh (pl. surrār), a term which generally means a cloth or leather (money) bag, is used in architecture to describe a circular element of decoration in relief on a ceiling. See Amin and L. Ibrahim, al-Mustalahāt 73

The ceiling is renovated but the ceiling of the saḥbīl in the same complex seems to be similar to it. See Ibrahim, al-Wathā’iq 264.
At the corner of the façade where it turns toward the Azhar Mosque is a post and lintel doorway leading to a gallery with stairs, which will be mentioned below and another post and lintel doorway which leads to the sabil, which is paved with geometrically patterned colored marble. [The sabil], which projects from the northern corner of the façade, is used for the distribution of water and has three large brass windows. Two [of the windows], the northeastern and south-western, are opposite one another, and the third opens on the north. In front of each of the three windows there is a marble fountain, each with water-jet spigot at the center. Every window has a marble sill (manbal), 76 a large marble shelf (masbala), 77 and wooden window shutters (kharkāh salari) (Fig. 27). 78

Adjacent to the entrance to the mentioned sabil is a gateway, which leads to a gallery which has a marble well head (kharazah) fixed over the opening of the large cistern built underground below the sabil and the khanqāh, and prepared to store potable water for the sabil. [The gallery] also contains a stone basin used to store the water raised from the cistern and a brass faucet connected by lead pipes to the mentioned water spouts. The sabil has two ornamental niches [26] facing one another containing four bookshelves. The sabil has a shadhrwān 79 and a ceiling of imported [wood], which is smoothly painted.

76 For manbal, a marble slab found on the bottom edge of a sabil’s window, see Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 116-7.

77 Masbala is a large sheet of marble below the window of sabil on the exterior. See Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 105.


79 For shadhrwān or shadrawān, Arabized term of Persian origin, an ornamental fountain, see Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 68-9.
The stairway, an account of which was promised above, leads to small apartment for the muzamilâtî\(^80\) for the storage of his belongings and the equipment of the sabil. The stairway ascends finally to a gallery with a tiled floor, which leads [in turn] to the maktab. 

[The maktab] has three façades, each with a lath screen of imported wood and two arches built with solid, relief-carved white and red ashlers above marble columns. In addition to the entrance, it has a gateway which leads to a small courtyard. It is paved with tiles and has a smoothly painted awning of imported [wood]. The abovementioned gallery leads to an windowless apartment with a bath and a small stairway. This [stairway] leads to a doorway closed by single-leaf door opening on a gallery and a large upper-story apartment (riwâq)\(^81\) complete with appurtenances and facilities. [The riwâq] has a large window overlooking the road.

At the corner of the façade, where it turns into the Shari' Mašbagahah, there are two small, red stone basins [27] under two small arches, which are apertures for the filling of the cistern. There is a projection in this [façade], facing the passer-by going toward the Mašbagahah, with a large, arched entrance leading to a vestibule roofed by vaults. On the right in this vestibule is a second doorway. It is large and arched, with a single-leaf door, and leads to a gallery (Fig. 28). At the beginning of this gallery there is a storage room for the doorkeeper. [The gallery] has an elevated entrance leading

\(\text{98}\)

---

\(^{80}\) For muzamilâtî, person who takes care of a mazmala or cool storage place for water jugs, see Amin and L. Ibrâhim, al-Mustalahât 104.

\(^{81}\) There are terms used for the three types of rental units in waqf documents: qâ'ah, tabaqa and riwâq. Qâ'ah, a large room, is usually found on the ground floor. Tabâqa was usually duplex, rarely triplex, and it consists of entrance, recess, latrine, small storages to screen the main room from the entrance, raised iwān, and mezzanine with staircase overlooking the main room. Riwâq is architecturally almost identical to tabaqa. See Laila Ali Ibrâhim, "Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo," Mugamas 2 (1984): 57.
to a spiral staircase (*mawādhin*)\(^82\) facing the mentioned storage room and descending to the cistern. The gallery then leads to a third arched doorway with a single-leaf door opening onto the courtyard behind [the khanqāh]. This [space] is an uncovered square court paved with red stone. It contains five graves for the dead.

On the right of the courtyard is a flight of steps built with red stone leading to a solid, paved landing with a large gateway leading to another vestibule also paved with solid stone. [The vestibule] contains two doorways facing one another. One of them is the second entrance of the khanqāh, which was mentioned above. The other opens on a passage leading to a stairway and sleeping quarter above the mentioned vestibule. [This quarter] has a large window above the entrance, a bedroom, gallery, and facilities.

[28] Along the facades of the courtyard, there are in addition to the [main] entrance three doorways. One of them, at the eastern corner of the south-eastern side, leads to an ablution fountain (*mawda'ah an afiw al*) with three latrines and a basin with spouts to be used for ablutions. The second is a rear entrance on the south side, which leads to the neighbouring house which was formerly owned by Mithqāl, who was the Muqaddam of Mamluks.\(^83\) The third entrance is to a storage room.

On the north-western side of the back courtyard there are three doorways. Each opens on a storage room and one of them has a fresh water well. Facing one who enters the area [i.e. the backcourt] from its mentioned eastern entrance, there are three doorways and a flight of steps (Fig. 29). One of them is a post and lintel doorway. It is the rear entrance and leads to the mentioned abandoned alley. The other two

---


entrances, each leads to storage rooms with windows for illumination (Fig. 30). The flight of steps, built of red stone, leads to an entrance opening on a stairway leading to a gallery [29] with a small window opening on the tomb. [The gallery] has a post and lintel doorway with doors of imported wood which leads to a Coptic hall\(^{84}\) with yellow iron windows overlooking the mentioned area behind [the khanqāh].\(^{85}\)

[The hall] has a platform facing the mentioned windows and six doorways (Fig. 31). One of [the doorways] is the entrance. The second is an ornamental [niche] facing it. The third from the entrance leads to a sleeping space with a window overlooking the back of the abandoned alley. The fourth, located near the third, leads to a rectangular gallery, which leads to a toilet and place for [water] jars with a mamūnī lath screen. The fifth door, located near the platform, leads to two small riwāqs. The sixth doorway, located near the fifth, leads to the second bedroom, and also to the rectangular gallery with place for water jars and a latrine, both of which were mentioned above. All are paved, [30] the walls are painted white and they have ceilings of imported [wood].

The façade leading to al-Maşbaghah has three arched doorways. Two of them each leads to a vestibule with a landing and two doorways. One of these [doorways] opens on a storage room and on a flight of steps leading to a small riwāq complete with facilities, overlooking the road. One of the [riwāqs] is designated as the dwelling of the ‘imām of the

---

\(^{84}\) Coptic hall or maq‘ad qibti, a screened pavilion without columns or arches, was usually used for women. See maq‘ad in Amin and L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 113-4.

\(^{85}\) Revault, Maury, and Zakariya in their study mention all the parts of the Ghuriyya complex, although their main concern is with the maq‘ad found behind the mausoleum. They publish plans for the site, for the complex facing madrasa, and for the two stories of the maq‘ad. See Revault, Maury, and Zakariya, figs. 9-12.
madrasa. The other is designated as dwelling for the shaykh of the mentioned khanqah [who is appointed] to attend [the meeting of sufi] at the time of late afternoon prayer.

The descriptive part of the waqfiyya concludes with reference to three small mosques in the neighbourhood of the Ghuriyya complex which were restored by the sultan. Adjacent to the khanqah-mausoleum complex, one was found along the street leading to al-Masbaghah, a second was located above two shops facing the entrance of Sūq al-Khushaybah and the third was situated at the end of the dead end alley to the south of the tomb. The text then goes on to explain the reason for the foundation of each of the units making up the Ghuriyya complex.

The tomb is bequeathed for the sake of God, [33] the Exalted, and is dedicated perpetually and for eternity. [The founder] prepared his place of burial on the right side of the mihrāb for himself if His Lord, the Majestic, the Compassionate, the Acceptor of Repentance decides his death. And he prepared the remainder of the burial places in this tomb for his children and harem as he decides and according to his noble opinion in this [matter]. And he established two cases to the right and left of the [the tomb's] mihrāb to house the noble Qur'ān of 'Uthmān and the honorable Relics of the Prophet which were mentioned above.

The khanqah is bequeathed as a place for the worship of God, the Exalted and as station (ribāt) to be used for the performance of the five prayers and for the attendance of the sufis, service masters, the Qur'ān reciters and eulogist in accord with customary practice.

The sabil is bequeathed for offering water to the passers-by on the road at all times of day until the people return to their homes and feet cease to walk the road at night.
Then, the fountain should be filled, and the cup should be put near it. It should always be thus except in the month of Ramadān, when [water] should be made available from the time of the evening meal until dawn.

He built the maktab for the education of orphans so that they may memorize the Exalted Qur'ān and learn Arabic calligraphy and necessary [34] matters relating to religion. He established the tombs in the mentioned back court for the burial of the deceased and he specified that some of them should be for his close relatives and for his emancipated slaves.

And he built the Coptic hall, and what is [connected] to it such as the sleeping rooms, riwāqs, and the back court, which can be reached from the back vestibule at the rear entrance of the khanqāh, for the benefit of his harem, his descendants' harems, his relatives, and whoever seeks shelter with them when they come to visit a son or relative.

Finally, the text describes the ablution fountain (mayda'a) built by al-Ghūrī at the back of the madrasa and the water wheel by which water was fed into the fountain.

[35] Among the noble buildings bestowed by this noble waqf is the ablution fountain facing the rear entrance of the mentioned madrasa. It is paved with red stone and has a circle of seats, each with a basin for ablutions. They number twenty-one. In addition there is a lavatory and a large square basin. Over [the basin] there is brass spigot fixed in a white marble plate. [The ablution fountain] is roofed with imported [wood] carried on marble columns. It has six brass spouts, a covered basin with spouts for the fountain, a platform for people performing ablutions to put their clothes on, and other appurtenances.

The ablution fountain is fed from a well out of which water was drawn by a water wheel (sāqiyyah). According to the text of
the waqfiyya, the water wheel,

...with two cogwheels, one large [36] and the other small, and other parts [86] is installed above the opening of a fresh water-well. [The well] is shared with the waqf of the High Honorable as-Sayfi Qulj ash-Sharefi. [87] Our Master the Sultan, the patron, whose noble name has been mentioned above, made it a condition [of his waqf] that for always and ever sufficient water should be provided from the cistern of his waqf to meet the needs of [Qulj's waqf]. There is a vaulted cistern under the fountain. There is also an apartment with all necessary facilities for the driver [of the animals used to power the water wheel]. [This apartment] contains shelves and small round windows overlooking the road...

This ablution fountain and water wheel are bequeathed by the patron, whose noble name was mentioned above, may God --be He exalted-- provide him with the best of everything he wishes, as a true and lasting waqf to be used so as to insure that pure water flow continuously for the ablution of ritual impurity and the removal of malignancy night and day. [88]

---


[87] It seems that this person was a military man who made waqf in the nearby area.

[88] It should be noted that in addition to the description of the structures making up the Ghuriyya complex noted above, the waqfiyya includes architectural descriptions of many of the buildings given by the founder as waqfs for the support of these foundations. These latter descriptions are found scattered throughout the remainder of the waqfiyya, in particular in the account of the properties bequeathed to the waqf, and in the appendix to the waqfiyya. The following description from the appendix to the waqfiyya (Waqfiyya 882, 337-341) of the still extant Wakalat an-Nakhla, known today as the Wakâlat al-Ghûri, located behind the khanqâh and mausoleum in the direction of the Azhar Mosque is an example of one of the more extended descriptions of this sort.
[The khan is located] on the right as one goes from al-Jarābshïn to the Azhar Mosque. This façade is built [338] in solid, white and red ashlar stone. It has three gateways. One of them is an entrance to the new khān which has a first floor and upper storage rooms (Fig. 32). There is a fountain for ablution at its center, and a mosque, which will be mentioned in [the waqfiyya]. The second [entrance] leads to the Masbaghat al-'Azraq. The third leads to a house which will be mentioneo in the [waqfiyya]. Their detailed description is as follows. The first gateway is large and of post and lintel construction. It is flanked by two door jambs, has a flint threshold and an iron chain above it. Its lintel is constructed of red stone with joggled joints and is decorated with carved ornaments in the shape of the [Arabic] letter dāl. It is closed by a pair of ironclad doors. [The doorway] leads to a gallery with two platforms which face each other. There is a place for water storage jars near one of them. The gallery is covered by groin vault.

The abovementioned gallery leads to square courtyard (rijāb) paved with red stone. Within the courtyard there is square fountain for ablution with running water, and a mosque with balustrade of stone (Fig. 33). Its floor is paved and its ceiling, standing over six columns, is roofed with imported (wood) painted smoothly. Four of [the columns] are of marble, and two are of ornamented red flint. [339] On the right as one proceeds to the abovementioned courtyard there is a gallery with three latrines and a stable roofed with local wood or palm branches (ghashim) for the animals of merchants [staying in the wakāla]

There are fifty-five storage rooms around the periphery of the wakāla in two stories. Twenty-six of them are ranged around (the court) on the first story and are preceded by a porch supported on horseshoe arches (qawāsir) and [covered with] vaults. Each of [the storage rooms] has a doorway and [is covered with a] vaulted ceiling. The [storage rooms] of the upper story number twenty-nine and can be reached from two entranceways facing one another on the right and left of the mentioned courtyard. Each of the [storage rooms in the second story] has an entrance, a tiled interior, and [is covered with a] vaulted ceiling. They are preceded by a hallway with a lath balustrade [overlooking the courtyard]. Above the mentioned storage rooms there are residential spaces which will be mentioned in the [waqfiyya]. There are [also] two latrines in this mentioned story.

The second entrance [to the building] is also large and is arched and has a flint threshold below. It is closed by a single-leaf door. [The entrance] opens on a gallery with a small platform and a place for [water storage] jars. The [gallery] leads to another courtyard with a fountain in its middle for filtering the indigo plant. There are eighteen storage rooms around [the courtyard] used to house the indigo dyers. [The courtyard] houses jars for dyestuff. There is a stairway in the mentioned courtyard which leads to the roof of the mentioned dyehouse...
3. Properties and Lands Bequeathed to the Waqf:

Conforming to the usual waqfiyya format, Sultan al-Ghūri's foundation document for the Ghūriyya complex includes a precise and detailed listing of the properties bequeathed to the waqf. These include properties in both Egypt and Syria and are both urban and rural in nature. Because a waqfiyya was, in fact, a deed to specific properties turned over to the support of a pious foundation, the description of each property would be made with considerable precision and the limits and boundaries of each piece of real estate would be specifically described. Where only a fraction of the income from a particular property was bequeathed to the waqf, this fraction would be specifically spelled out.

The properties bequeathed by al-Ghūri's waqfiyya were given at two places. The earlier and larger group of properties and

The third gateway [of the wakāla] is of post and lintel form with stairs and platform in front of it, and [is situated] at the end of the main façade. It has a pair of doors. It gives access to stairs which lead in turn to thirty houses, ten of them overlooking the mentioned façade. The first [house] consists of two iwns, a central hall, a small room with small round windows overlooking the road, [340] a spacious area with latrine, and an upper-story apartment covered by a roof. And nine [houses] overlook the mentioned wakāla from the right. Each of them consists of an iwan, a central hall, small upper-story apartment, a small room, a spacious area, an outdoor latrine and a roof. And nine [houses] overlook the wakāla from the left. Each of them has an iwan, a central hall, a small room, a spacious area and a latrine. They are covered by screened roofs. One of them overlooks the dyehouse, and another overlooks the alley with the façade of the hāmmām on its south side. Each of these houses and storage rooms is complete with doors, tiles, painted ceilings, upper room (takhānah), and facilities. The walls are painted white except for those built with ashlar stone.
their description is included in the main body of the waqfiyya dated on 20 Ṣafar, 911/ 23 July, 1505.  

A second, smaller group of properties was bequeathed in an appendix formalized by the sultan at ar-Radāniyya on the outskirts of Cairo on 18 Rabi‘ II, 922/ 21 May, 1516 just prior to the sultan’s departure for Syria at the end of his reign. The following is a listing of the properties, abridged so as eliminate the no-longer meaningful descriptions of the properties’ boundaries.

* * *

A large number of the properties given as waqf were located inside and in the immediate environs of Cairo, the Mamluk capital. Those listed in the main body of the waqfiyya are as follows:

1. Süq al-Jamalûn, containing forty-five shops.
2. Twenty-seven shops around a courtyard (tarbî‘ah) near al-Ghûrî’s madrasa.

---

89 They are found in the recto of the main waqfiyya 883; and in the Waqfiyya 882, 37-178.

90 At tarbî‘ah is a courtyard with storage rooms, shops, or apartments around it. See Amin and L. Ibrāhim, al-Mustalahāt 26. Here it means all the markets around the exterior of the madrasa and owned by the patron and bequeathed to the waqf.
3. Two storage rooms and twenty-seven shops of the new market under the madrasa, not including, however, a shop which was made waqf for the tomb of the 'Imām ash-Shāfi'i. 91

4. A loggia and thirty shops in the Sūq al-Khushaybah. 92

5. The new market at the rear entrance of al-Jamalūn, including forty-four shops, two halls (qā'ah) for silk, one for storage, a court for silk-spinning wheels, twenty residential quarters and a well. 93

6. Forty-seven shops on the exterior of this market (sūq). 94

7. Ten shops around the ablution fountain (maydā'a). 95

8. Five shops under the water wheel (sāqiyah). 96

9. Four shops near the rear entrance of the madrasa. 97

10. Four shops in the Sūq al-Warrāqīn. 98

---

91 See Chapter II, 55-6.

92 This sūq is found on the west-southern side of the madrasa.

93 Waqfiyya 882, 38-40.

94 Waqfiyya 882, 39.

95 Referred to above in the descriptive part of the waqfiyya, see page 101 above.

96 Referred to above in the descriptive part of the waqfiyya, see page 103 above.

97 Waqfiyya 882, 40.

98 This sūq starts at the end of Khūṭ al-Ashraf and ends at Al-Bunduqāniyīn. It is today the street which joins the Shāhī al-Mu'izz li-Dīn 'Ilāh and al-Ḥāmzāwī. See Ibrāhīm, al-Wathā'iq 231.
11. The wakāla known as the Waqf al-Mawārdī in the Süq al-Warrāqīn.99

12. Another shop in the Süq al-Warrāqīn.

13. The wakāla at the rear entrance of al-Jamālūn.100

14. Land and buildings at the Khut al-Bunduqiyīn101 near the Ḥammām as-Sultan, including a stable, three riwāq, three qā‘ah, fifteen tabaqas. Two stables, four riwāq and two qā‘ahs near the Madrasa as-Sayfiyya102 are also bequeathed.103

15. Two buildings, one near Bāb az-Zahūmah104 beside Ḥammām al-Khushaybah and the other at the beginning of Ḥārat Zuwaylah105 near Ḥammām al-Kuwayk. The first contains a

99 Waqfiyya 882, 42-3.

100 Waqfiyya 882, 44-6.

101 See above note 98.

102 Its place was the house of Ma‘mūn al-Btā’īhi, wazir of al-Āmir bi Aḥkām ‘Ilāh the Fatimid (495-524/1101-30), but from al-Maqrizī’s time on it was called the Sayfiyya or suyüfīyya Madrasa. See Creswell, MAE. II, 130. It is found at Khut as-Ṣanādiqiyīn. See Darrāj 4.

103 Waqfiyya 882, 446-53.

104 This is one of the gates of the Eastern Fatimid Palace in Cairo. It was called the Bāb az-Zahūmah after the smell of fatty meat as kitchen stuff used to be brought in through this gate. See Ibrāhīm, al-Wathā‘iq 258.

105 It is found near the Bāb Zuwaylah. It was named after the tribe by the same name which came with Jawhar as-Ṣiqilli in 969. See ‘Uthmān 26.
stable and riwaq, the second a stable, a storage room for straw and residential spaces. 106

16. Two buildings at al-Mihāmiziyin. 107 One, near Qaysāriyat Jānibek ad-Dawadar, consists of five shops and two riwaqs and the second consists of two shops. 108

17. Three riwaqs built by the patron in the Khut al-Mihāmiziyin plus three other shops and maq’ad. 109

18. A group of buildings at al-Mihāmiziyin inside the Darb Ibn Raslān, including a ruined qā’ah and five useless tabaqas. 110

19. Eight shops on the exterior of Sūq ash-Shurab at the Khut al-Jarābshīn. 111

20. A place located between the Madrasa al-Ḥalawāniyya and the beginning of the Khān al-Khalīlī, 112 including shops, a qā’ah for milk, a qā’ah for wax, a stable and a tabaqa. 113

106 Waqfiyya 882, 53-6.

107 Near the Khut aṣ-Ṣanādiqiyya, see ‘Uthmān 51.


109 Waqfiyya 882, 59-60.

110 Waqfiyya 882, 60-61.

111 Waqfiyya 882, 61.

112 This madrasa of ash-Shaykh Mubārak as-Su‘ūdī al-Ḥalāwī is found in Khut al-Khuwakh as-Sab’ and al-‘Abbārīn between the Azhar Mosque and the Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī. It is known today as Zāwyyat al-Halwaji; see Ibrāhim, al-Wathā’iq 215; and also below for the khuts mentioned.
21. Two buildings, the first near the Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī and the street of the same name, consisting of eight shops, fifteen tabaqa, two riwāq, and a large qā'ah. The second is located at the Darb al-Jabbāsah at the street entering the Khān al-Khalīlī. It consists of a two story khān with thirty-four storage rooms, six riwāqs, and three qā'ahs. 115

22. A two story khān including both land and building located at the Khut al-Khuwakhs-Sabb'. 116 It contains twenty-four storage rooms and above them twenty-five tabaqa. 117

23. A new khān, near the previous one, consisting of fifty-six storage rooms. 118

The khān is found today in a street by the same name starting to the west of the Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī.

113 Waqfiyya 882, 61-2.

114 The building was started in Fatimid period in 549/1155 to house the head of al-Ḥusayn. It is located to the north of Azhar Mosque on Azhar Street with large open space in front. See Creswell, MAE, I, 271-3.


116 Through these small gates the Fatimid caliphs used to go to the Azhar Mosque. The khut was between Khut Ṣtabl at-Ṭarmah and Khut az-Zarāksīnān. After the Fatimid period houses and a sūq were built there. This sūq was used for selling needles so it is named Sūq al-'Abbārīn. See Ibrahim, al-Wathā'iq 214.

117 Waqfiyya 882, 71-3.

118 Waqfiyya 882, 73-5.
24. A building located in the Rahbat al-‘Aydamury\footnote{119} contains a storage room and a qa‘ah.\footnote{120}

25. A building located at the beginning of the Khut Ḥarât Zuwaylah. It contains a qa‘ah, a workshop for the refining of sugar, storage rooms and two riwāqs.\footnote{121}

26. A factory in the Khut Ḥarât Zuwaylah used for the refining of sugar. It contains two shops, three storage rooms, a vault, a basin for the cleaning of jars, an oven and twelve tabaqas.\footnote{122}

27. A building located near the Khawkhat al-Wazawadār.\footnote{123} It includes a stable, three tabaqā and a riwāq.\footnote{124}

28. A house located in the Ḥarât ar-Rūm as-Sufla at Darb Sha‘shā’.\footnote{125} It includes a qa‘ah, two tabaqas and a new riwāq.\footnote{126}

\footnote{119} An open place situated near the Madrasat al-Malak on today’s Um al-Ghulâm Street in the north of old Cairo. See Creswell, MAE, II, 272.

\footnote{120} Waqfiyya 882, 75-6.

\footnote{121} Waqfiyya 882, 76-7.

\footnote{122} Waqfiyya 882, 77-80.

\footnote{123} This gate is found in the Jamāliyya district outside the Bāb an-‘Aṣr. See Creswell, MAE, II, 249.

\footnote{124} Waqfiyya 882, 80-1.

\footnote{125} This ḥāra is found outside Bāb Zuwaylah and stretched from it to the Bāb al-Faraj. See Creswell, MAE, I, 31.

\footnote{126} Waqfiyya 882, 81-3.
29. A house located at the same place with a stable, a vaulted room and other spaces. 127

30. Half of a building located near the Masjid Sidi Sām bin Nūh. 128 It includes an inn with storage rooms and a rah‘. 129 On its exterior there are shops, some of them ruined, which the patron will renovate. 130

31. A building in the Khut al-Buzayzāt at Darb Za‘rūr. 131 It includes a qā‘ah, a durqā‘ah, and a tabaqa. 132

32. Forty-four shops located outside the Bāb Zuwaylah under the Rab‘ az-Zāhiri in the Sūq as-Saqtiyīn. 133

33. Two thirds of Suwayqat al-‘Izā 134 outside the Bāb Zuwaylah and the Darb al-‘Aḥmar, including three shops, three

---

127 Waqfiyā 882, 83.

128 This mosque or zāwiyya is found near the old Bāb Zuwaylah. See Ibrāhīm, Qaraqja 222.

129 Rab‘ is a residential rooms around a courtyard.

130 Waqfiyā 882, 83-4.

131 This place was found inside Bāb Sa‘ādah in the south-west of old Cairo.

132 Waqfiyā 882, 84-7.

133 Waqfiyā 882, 87-8. This sūq was found outside Bāb Zuwaylah near the Mosque of ʿaš-Ṣāliḥ Ṭālāʾī‘. See Ibrāhīm, al-Wathā‘iq 276.

134 Suwayqa is a small market. The Suwayqat al-‘Izā was also called Sūq as-Silāḥ, and found below the Citadel near the Madrasat of as-Sultan Hasan. See Darrāj 54.
stables, two qā'ahs and storage room, two tabaqas, two riwāq, each with its facilities; also, above the shops known as the Hawānit al-Maṣrī eight tabaqas. 135

34. A building located outside the Bāb Zuwaylah at Ḥikr Bāqūsh al-Mūsoli. 136 The building has two parts, one of which is new and includes a vestibule, stable, pavilion, kitchen, and qaytūn, 137 while the other is old and consists of a balcony on stone consoles and six tabaqā. 138

35. A building located on the outskirts of Cairo in the Khūṭ Qantarat Sinjer and Qubw al-Kirmānī. 139 It includes nine shops, eighteen tabaqas and eight storage rooms. 140

36. Another building in the same street consisting of four large shops, each divided in two. 141

---

136 This site is found near the Jāmi' Quṣūn which overlooks the Birkat al-Fil.
137 Qaytūn is a place overlooking water such as canal or lake. See the word in Amin and L. Ibrahim, al-Mustalahā 92-3
138 Waqfiyya 882, 90-6.
139 Near Birkat al-Fil.
140 Waqfiyya 882, 96-7.
141 Waqfiyya 882, 97.
37. Another building near Sinjer. It consists of five shops and a balcony (rawshan) above them. 142

38. A building in the same street at Darb al-Bernāq. It includes four tabaqas, a riwāq, and a qā'ah. 143

39. Two buildings, one located on the outskirts of Cairo at the Süq as-Sāghah, 144 containing five sitting rooms, a tushkhānah, 145 two qaytūn, and other units; and the second, located in the Khut Dār an-Nahḥās on the bank of the Nile, with a stable, a riwāq, and a tabaq. 146

40. A mill outside Bāb Zuwaylah at the Khut al-Kabsh near the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn. It consists of a flat area, a wooden bin [for the grain], a stable and two tabaqas with milling machinery. 147

41. Half of a bakery in the same place. It includes a vaulted room, a qā'ah for kneading dough and a pit for the ash from the bake oven. 148

142 Waqfiyya 882, 97-8.

143 Waqfiyya 882, 98-100.

144 It is located south of the Madrasat of aš-Šāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb. See Ibrāhīm, al-Wathāʾiq 231.

145 Tushkhānah is a place or room where the pots for washing hands or cloths found. See the word in Amin & L. Ibrāhīm, al-Mustalahāt 77.

146 Waqfiyya 882, 100-3.

147 Waqfiyya 882, 103-4.
42. A building still to be completed, located on the outskirts of Cairo at the Jisr al-'A'zam. It consists of four storage rooms, four qā'ahs, two ṭabqas, and twelve ṭabqas.

43. A building outside the Bāb Zuwaylah, Bāb al-Kharq and Bāb al-Luq in the Khut Qantarat Qudādar. It has an uncovered qā'ah and two ṭabqas.

44. Another building located in the abovementioned street. It includes a stable, a new riwāq and two new qā'ahs.

45. A plot of land with its building located on the outskirts of Cairo, outside the Bāb al-Futūh. It consists of fourteen shops, two storage rooms, two shops and four qā'ah, two of which are used for the weaving of carpets.

148 Waqfiyya 882, 104-5.

149 A large bridge was built by Baybars (1260-77) outside Cairo on the south, and demolished by an-Nâṣir Muhammad (1293-4, 1298-1308). See Creswell, MAE. II, 153.

150 Waqfiyya 882, 105-6.

151 Or Bāb al-Khalq, that is Khut as-Sayyidah Zaynab. See Darrāj 61.

152 A gate was opening on the western side of the al-Khalij an-Nâširi. See Creswell, MAE. I, 129.


155 This is one of the main gates of the old Cairo built by Badr ad-Dīn al-Jamālī.

156 Waqfiyya 882, 109-11.
46. Half of a building on rented ground located on the outskirts of Cairo, outside Bâb al-Futûh, at al-Ḥusayniyya in the Darb ash-Shamsî Sungûr al-Budaywî. It consists of a house with courtyard. 157

47. Half of a building on rented ground outside the Bâb ash-Shi‘riyya at al-Kaddâshîn. 158 It consists of two storage rooms, a qā‘ah and two riwāqs. 159

48. A property outside the Bâb ash-Shi‘riyya at at-Ṭabbâlah, including two storage spaces, a sleeping space, two sitting rooms, a kitchen and a garden with fragrant plants and fruit trees such as date palms and vines. In addition, there is a qā‘ah, a riwāq, two qaytûns overlooking a pool and a hammâm. 160

49. Two buildings on rented ground located on the outskirts of Cairo outside the Bâb ash-Sha‘riyya at the Darb at-Ṭabbâkh including a qaytûn, a qā‘ah and a central hall. 161

158 A gate was found in Ayyûbid times in the western wall of Cairo. See Creswell, MAE, II, 53-4.
159 Waqfiyya 882, 113-14.
160 Waqfiyya 882, 114-20.
161 Waqfiyya 882, 120-22.
50. An oil press on the outskirts of Cairo, outside the Bāb al-Qantara\textsuperscript{162} at the Khut al-Maqsam. It is used for the pressing the linseed oil and sweet oil [such as olive oil]. It includes a storage space, two grinders, a stable, and facilities prepared for the processing of the pressing.\textsuperscript{163}

51. An oil press on the outskirts of Cairo at Būlāq.\textsuperscript{164} It has seven storages areas, a latrine, a fountain, a basin for the storage of oil and a stable. Above the press there are three riwāqs.\textsuperscript{165}

52. A sugar warehouse located at Būlāq near the Madrasa al-Qūṭbiyya. It includes eighteen storages bins, a qā'ah with equipment for pressing the sugar-cane, a large kitchen and fourteen places for brass kettles.\textsuperscript{166}

53. A building located on the outskirts Cairo at Būlāq. It includes a hammām with a garden of pomegranates and dates, a water-wheel and a storage room.\textsuperscript{167}

\textsuperscript{162} This gate was found in the north-western corner of the wall of Cairo.

\textsuperscript{163} Waqfiyya 882, 122-4.

\textsuperscript{164} Būlāq is a suburb situated outside the walls to the west of the old Cairo.

\textsuperscript{165} Waqfiyya 882, 123-4.

\textsuperscript{166} Waqfiyya 882, 124-6.

\textsuperscript{167} Waqfiyya 882, 127-30.
54. A building known as the Rab‘ bin Qurqūmās located on the banks of the Nile. It consists of sixteen qā‘ahs. 168

55. A hammām located on the island of Arwa. 169 Connected with this hammām are a courtyard, a furnace for heating the water, a water wheel, a well, a stable, and other units. 170

56. Half of a hammām known as al-Ḥalawiyīn located in Cairo in the Khūṭ al-Qaffāṣīn. 171 It includes a changing room, cool room, and hot room, a furnace, a water-wheel, a cistern. 172

57. A garden with buildings located on the outskirts of Cairo outside the Bāb Zuwaylah and the Bāb al-Khorq near Būlāq. It includes palm trees, a garden with jasmine, a large house, two water wheels, three storage spaces, a barn for cattle, an uncovered storage bin and a tabaqa. 173

58. Buildings and gardens on the outskirts of Cairo outside the Bāb ash-Shi‘riyya and Bāb al-Qaws, near the Birkat ar-Raṭli 174

168 Waqfiyya 882, 130-1.

169 It is known today by Jazīrat az-Zamālik. See Ibrāhim, Qarāqja 185.

170 Waqfiyya 882, 132-3.

171 This khūṭ was located between Azhar Mosque and al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī. See Ibrāhim, al-Wathā‘iq 215, 173.

172 Waqfiyya 882, 133-5.

173 Waqfiyya 882, 135-40.
at Khut al-Fawâkhîr. They contain palm, olive, pomegranate, lemon and other fruit trees, grapevines and rose-bushes. There are two water wheels, storage bins, a barn for cattle, and other units. 175

59. Three pieces of land at al-Maṭariyya176 located on the outskirts of Cairo.177

60. Two pieces of land near Menyat al-'Umara'178 on the outskirts of Cairo. The first, known as Birkat Qarrūṣ, measures ninety faddân, and the second, known as al-Bâkiyya, measures 110 faddân. 179

174 This bifkah or pool was also known as al-Ḥājib, the Chamberlain, for Saif ad-Din Baktamar al-Ḥājib who had separated it from al-Khalij an-Nâṣiri. See Darrâj 41.

175 Waqfiya 882, 140-2.

176 A south-eastern suburb of Cairo outside the walls.

177 Waqfiya 882, 142-3.

178 A village located on the route going from Cairo to Shubra and Qalyûb. See Darrâj 61.

179 Waqfiya 882, 144-5. Al-Qasabah al-Hâkimiyya is a unit to measure the land, named after the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥâkim bi 'Amr 'Ilâh. It is a reed measured six Ḥashimit dhîrâ’s, six and two thirds cloth-dhîrâ’s, or five trade-dhîrâ’s, eight hand-dhîrâ’s which is equal six fists. Every four hundred square qasabah equal one faddân, and every qasabah equals 3.85 m. See İbrahim, Qarâqja 236. Others counted the qasabah used to measure land as equal 3.99 m., and by this the faddân equals 6368 square m.. If the qirât equals 175.032 square meter, the faddân will measure 36.381 qirât. See Walther Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955) 65.
61. Two hundred faḍḍān known as the Qā‘ah al-Kubrā at Bahtit on the outskirts of Cairo. 180

62. Three and 1/9 saḥm181 located on the two islands of adh-Dhahab and as-Ṣābūnī in al-Jīzah182 near the Jāmi‘ al-Miqyās. 183

63. The new island near al-Quṭūrī in al-Jīzah. 184

64. The new island known as al-Malayḥiyā near as-Sukkariyya at al-‘Atfahiyā. 185

65. One and 1/3 qirāt186 of cultivated land at Bani Tamīm in al-Qalūbiyya. 187

180 Waqfiyya 882, 145.

181 Sahm equals 1/24 qirāt which measures 7.293 square meter. See Hinz 66.

182 Al-Jīzah (Giza) the city located on the western bank of the Nile opposite Cairo.

183 Waqfiyya 882, 145-7. The Jāmi‘ al-Miqyās (Mosque of the Nilometer) is located on the Island of ar-Rawdah. Al-Ghūrī established waqf for this mosque the terms of which are included in Waqfiyya 882, 438-484, and dated on 13 Sha‘bān, 909/1st. February 1504.

184 Waqfiyya 882, 147.

185 Waqfiyya 882,147-8.

186 For qirāt see notes 179, 181.

187 Al-Qalūbiyya is a province located north of Cairo, and its center is the town of Qalyūb.
66. Plots of cultivated land at Shalqān and Minyat ‘Āṣim both at al-Qalūbiyya.\textsuperscript{188}

In the province of ash-Sharqiyya in the eastern part of the Nile Delta in Lower Egypt the following properties were made \textit{waqf}:

1. A field at Balbīs.
2. A half share of cultivated land at Minyat Ḥabīb.\textsuperscript{189}
3. Two hundred \textit{faddin} of cultivated land at ‘Akbaḍ.\textsuperscript{190}
4. Two fifths of $4 \frac{2}{3}$ qirāṭ of cultivated land at Minyat al-Khanāzīr.
5. One and $1/2$ qirāṭ of cultivated land at Nashwān.
6. Three-fourths of a qirāṭ of cultivated land at Farsīs aş-Şughrā.\textsuperscript{191}
7. A half share of 12 shares of cultivated land at Sanbu Maqām.

\textsuperscript{188} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 148. Curiously, the dimensions of the plot are not given here nor are they given with regard to some of the other plots of cultivated land to be described below.

\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 149. \textit{Hissah} is apparently used here as a measurement but we do not know what it is.

\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 149-50.

\textsuperscript{191} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 150.
8. Three-tenths of the cultivated land of Qalyūb at ad-Daqhaliyya and al-Mirtāhiyya. 192

9. One-fourth share from 14 shares in the lands of Mina Sandūb at ad-Daqhaliyya. 193

In the province of al-Gharbiyya in the western part of the Nile Delta in Lower Egypt, the following lands were made waqf:

1. One-fortieth of the lands of Maḥallat Ruwih. 194

2. Three-fourths of a qirāt of agricultural land of Minyat Maymūn. 195

3. One qirāt of agricultural land in Maḥalat Ḥassān.

4. Three and 1/4 qirāt of agricultural land in Kunaysat Shubrāʾ Anṭu. 196

5. Two qirāt of agricultural land in Damaru al-Khammāra. 197

192 Waqfiyya 882, 151.

193 Waqfiyya 882, 151-2.

194 Waqfiyya 882, 152.

195 Waqfiyya 882, 152-3. Al-Gharbiyya is a province on the western side of the Nile Delta.

196 Waqfiyya 882, 153.

197 Waqfiyya 882, 153-4.

7. A plot of agricultural land in Mina Thawr.198

8. Five-eighths of a plot of agricultural land near Basahna and al-Manshiyya al-Qar'ā.199

9. A half share of each of the following: a plot of agricultural land known as as-Ṣakhriyy in Shubrā; a plot in Shubrā Zaytūn at Ḥawḍ al-Ḥajar; and the plots known as al-Liyyana, the Piece of the Masjid, al-Faras, al-Bīr, Ḥawḍ ash-Sha'īr, al-Bahr, al-Kūr and Sarḥ, all in Bastawīs.200

11. Twenty qirāt of agricultural land at Matbūl.201

12. Cultivated land in Simirbāy measuring 313 2/3 faddān.202

The following plots of agricultural land at al-Manūfiyya, a province located north of Cairo the center of which is Shibīn al-Kūm:

198 Waqfiyya 882, 154.
199 Waqfiyya 882, 154-5.
200 Waqfiyya 882, 155-6.
201 Waqfiyya 882, 156-7.
1. Three-eighths qirāṭ of agricultural land at Mit. 203
2. Three sahms of agricultural land at al-Barawy.
3. One-fortieth of the agricultural lands at ar-Rāhib. 204
4. The agricultural land valued at 133 diwāniyya dinārs. 205

In al-Buḥayra, a province in western Delta near Alexandria, the following was made waqf:

1. The lands of the village of ʿUm Ḥākim.
2. One-third of the agricultural land at Maḥalat Bishr.
3. One qirāṭ of agricultural land at al-Ḥāfir.
4. Seven-eighths of a qirāṭ in Minyat Yazīd. 207

203 Waqfiyya 882, 882, 158-9.
204 Waqfiyya 882, 159.
205 Dating from the early Islamic state, the standard coin had been the gold dinār which was divided into twenty silver dirhams. The number of dirhams to the gold dinār went up and down according to the percentage of copper mixed with silver. The silver dirham was fixed at one time at twenty-four copper dirhams. See Glubb 243.
206 Waqfiyya 882, 159-60. There is a lacuna in the text at this point.
207 Waqfiyya 882, 160.
In al-Bahnasäwiyya, a village in the province of the Fayyûm in Mamluk period but today in the province of Bani Suwayf, the following lands were made waqf:

1. The lands of Kûm Adrijah, measuring 1040 faddân.
2. One-eighteenth of the lands of Rana.
3. A piece of land known as al-Hiwaysha located in ‘Abu Jarjā and Dahruit.
4. One-twentieth of the land of Sharûnah.
5. A piece of land valued at 405 diwāniyya dinârs and located at Šaft al-‘Urafa.
6. Six sahms of land at Kafr Bani Šabi’ and Kafr ‘Ihrît and the new island near these places.
7. Three fourths of the land of Bani Šāmit on the eastern bank of the Nile.

---

208 See Darrâj 70.
210 *Waqfiyya* 882, 161.
211 *Waqfiyya* 882, 161-2.
212 *Waqfiyya* 882, 162.
213 *Waqfiyya* 882, 162-3.
214 *Waqfiyya* 882, 163.
From the province of al-'Ashmunin in Upper Egypt:
1. Three sahms of land in Sayf al-Mâs.\textsuperscript{215}
2. Nine twenty-eighths of the land of Jurays.\textsuperscript{216}
3. One sahm and 1 1/4 qirât of the land in Bani 'Aḥmad and Ṭahansha.\textsuperscript{217}
4. One-twelfth of the land of 'Inshāda.\textsuperscript{218}
5. The piece of land known as Sāqiyyat al-'Amīr.\textsuperscript{219}

In the province of Sayūt (Asyut) in Upper Egypt:
1. One-one hundred twelfth of the lands of Rifa and Durunka.\textsuperscript{220}
2. One-twentieth of the lands of Sadfā.
3. One and 1/4 qirât of the land located at Tama.\textsuperscript{221}
4. Two and 2/3 qirât of land on the island of al-Bayyaḍah near Sāy.\textsuperscript{222}

\textsuperscript{215} Waqfiyya 882, 163-4.
\textsuperscript{216} Waqfiyya 882, 164.
\textsuperscript{217} Waqfiyya 882, 164-5.
\textsuperscript{218} Waqfiyya 882, 165-6.
\textsuperscript{219} Waqfiyya 882, 166.
\textsuperscript{220} Waqfiyya 882, 166-7.
\textsuperscript{221} Waqfiyya 882, 167.
In addition to these properties in Egypt, the waqfiyya includes an extensive list of properties and lands in Syria which were made part of the endowment. These are found in the provinces of Ṣafad, Damascus, Tripoli, and Aleppo, and include the following:

In the province of Ṣafad:
1. Half of a village located between plain of Marj Bani ‘Āmir and Ṣafad.
4. Half of the farm of Dayr Qamās in Marj ‘Iyūn.
10. Two qirāt of agricultural land in the village of Kafr Ḥannūn in Nablus;

222 Waqfiyya 882, 167-8.
223 Waqfiyya 882, 168.
13. One and 1/2 qirāt at ad-Dabbāniyya in az-Zabadānī.\textsuperscript{224}

In the city of Damascus:
The 53 shops on rented ground at al-Qashshāshīn\textsuperscript{225} below the Citadel.\textsuperscript{226}

In the province of Tripoli:
1. The lands of the village of Shamrin.
2. Five qirāt of agricultural land in the village of Bakkās at Șaḥyūn.
3. Sixteen sahms in the village of Kafriyya at Șaḥyūn;
4. The farm of Marūdā at Șaḥyūn.
5. Eight qirāt of agricultural land in the village of ar-Raḥdānī [?].\textsuperscript{224} at Șaḥyūn.
6. Five-sixths of the farm of ‘Alu.
7. One-sixth of the farm of Qabīs, 1 qirāt from the lands of the village of Sharīfā, 10 qirāt from from the farm of ‘Awf, five qirāt of the lands of the village of Badīdās, 1/2 qirāt from the lands of Yan’amu [?], 1/4 qirāt from …? al-Ḥilwā, 3 sahms from the farm

\textsuperscript{224} Waqfiyya 882, 168.

\textsuperscript{225} This is a place outside Bāb al-Faraj which is located in the northeast of Damascus. See Darrāj 46.

\textsuperscript{226} Waqfiyya 882, 169.
of ...?, the village of as-Sukkari, and 3 sahms from the olive farm, all in Šahyūn.

8. Three and nine-sixteenths sahms from the lands of the village of al-Fuwaylā at al-Bazriyya.

9. Twenty-one sahms of agricultural land of the village of Ḥāṣūmat at Šahyūn; the farm of Khamīs; 1/16 of the village of Maʿrīthā; 10 1/4 qirāt from the village of Taʿnūna; 8 sahms of ‘Ayn al-Bunayya; 4 qirāt from al-Ḥayhāniyya; 12 sahms of the farm of Wādī Bādiʿah; 1/2 of the village of ‘Alwīs; 4 2/3 qirāt from the farm of al-Ḥarbādiyya; 1/3 of the farm of Ḥāri̇ū...?; 5/6 qirāt of the farm of al-Qurai; 5/6 qirāt of at-Tarma...?; 1 1/3 qirāt of the farm of an-Nāḥlā; 2 qirāt of al-Ḥallūf; 2 1/3 qirāt from Baslah...?; 1/4 of the lands of Kahta; 1/4 of the lands of ar-Rakrākiyya; 1/4 of the lands of ...?; the farm of Karā; 1/2 of the farm of Ballūṭah known Raʾs al-ʿAyn; 1/4 of ..?; 3 1/2 qirāt in the village of ..?; 2 qirāt of the farm of ..?; 1/4 of the farm of al-Qādiriyya; 1/6 of the village of al-Muṣallī; 2 qirāt in the village of al-Ḥassāniyya; 1/3 of the farm of ‘Urā at Šahyūn.227

Properties and lands in the province of Aleppo:

227 Waqīyya 882. 170-4.
1. Six villages of the districts of Tizin [?] and Jārim, including 'Irtāh, al-Būghāziyya, al-Ḥāṭabiyya, al-Mash'ufiyya, al-Jadīda, and al-Banqala.

2. The village of as-Simsima in the district of Baysān.

3. Four mills in 'Irtāh known as ash-Shaybānī, al-Gham, ..?, and ash-Sharīfa, along with their buildings and equipment.

4. The plot of land named Merzah in the village of 'Irtāh.228

At the end of this list there is a general statement that the properties are owned by the patron and that written evidence to this effect was presented at the time of the registration of this waqfiyya.

***

In addition to the lands and properties bequeathed in the main waqfiyya dated 20 Ṣafar, 911/23 July, 1505, a series of properties were added to the endowment in the appendices on the front and back of the document. As with the main waqfiyya, the appendices enumerate the properties bequeathed to the foundation, describes their boundaries, and in some instances gives details of their sale, although always without date. The properties mentioned in the appendix on the front of the waqfiyya are located in Cairo. They are as follows:

228 waqfiyya 882, 174-7.
1. A storage space and three shops in the Sūq al-Jamalūn along with a water-wheel (sāqiyyah).

2. A tabaqa above the shops facing the rear entrance of the madrasa.229

***

Further lands and properties were added to the waqf in an appendix on the verso of the main waqfiyya. The date of the registration of this appendix before the religious court is given as 18 Rabi’ II, 922/22 May, 1516.230 As was the case with the waqf properties enumerated in the main body of the waqfiyya, so to here a full description of the location of each property was given, along with the fraction of the whole given over to the waqf, and in some cases the date of its purchase or of its construction. The properties listed in this second appendix are as follows:231

In Cairo:

1. Three buildings built by the patron, including both land and buildings, on the western side of the 'Azhar Mosque. The first building is connected with the mentioned mosque. It includes 8

229 Waqfiyya 882, 231.

230 Waqfiyya 882, 452.

231 Waqfiyya 882, 275-457.
riwāqs, a tabaqa and 4 storage spaces. The second building faces the first and includes 17 shops, 9 tabaqa and 17 riwāqs. The third building faces the façade of the second and includes 3 storage spaces, a tabaqa, 11 shops, and 17 riwāqs. 232

2. A building located in the Khūṭ Jāmi’ al-‘Azhar at Raḥbat al-Mkāriyya. It includes a court, kitchen, 3 storage spaces and 3 riwāqs. 233

3. A building located on the outskirts of Cairo in the Khut Qanāṭir as-Sibā’, including 10 shops and above them 6 tabaqaṣ. 234

4. Four-fifths of two shops located in the Khūṭ al-Jāmi’ al-Azhār. 235

5. Seven additional shops in the same street. 236

6. A bakery located in the same street. 237

7. Three-fourths of four shops in the same street. 238

8. Four-fifths of two shops located in the same street. 239

232 Waqfiyya 882, 276-288.
233 Waqfiyya 882, 289-93.
234 Waqfiyya 882, 293-5.
235 Waqfiyya 882, 295-6.
236 Waqfiyya 882, 296.
237 Waqfiyya 882, 296-7.
238 Waqfiyya 882, 297.
9. Six shops on the street which leads to the 'Azhar Mosque and al-Khaymyín, as well as the 5 tabaqa above them.240

10. A building consisting of 2 qā'ah known as Qā‘it adh-Dhahab located in the Khut al-'Akfānyín and al-Khaymyín.241

11. One-third of the 4 shops, including both land and buildings, located inside the Süq al-Warrāqín.242

12. Five shops and a sitting room located inside the Süq al-Warrāqín.243

13. Nineteen shops and 6 storage rooms located inside the abovementioned süq.244

14. Three other shops in the same süq.245

15. Three additional shops with a sitting room in the same süq.246

239 Waqfiyya 882, 298.

240 Waqfiyya 882, 298-300.

241 Waqfiyya 882, 300-1.

242 Waqfiyya 882, 301-2.

243 Waqfiyya 882, 302-4.

244 Waqfiyya 882, 304-7.


246 Waqfiyya 882, 308.
16. Twenty sitting room and 26 tabaqaṣ in the southern side of the same sūq. 247

17. A building located at the Khuṭ al-Mihmāzyīn and al-‘Anbaryīn at Qaysāriyat al-‘Uṣfur It consists of 5 riwāqṣ and 2 storage spaces. 248

18. Two sitting room on the two sides of the entrance leading to the Qaysāriyat al-‘Uṣfur in the Sūq al-Warrāqīn. 249

19. A building located in the Khuṭ ar-Rassāmīn and al-Warrāqīn, consisting of 9 shops and a wakāla with 40 storage rooms in two stories. 250

20. A shop in the Sūq al-Warrāqīn near Qaysāriyat al-Ḥarīr. 251

21. Three shops located in the same street. 252

22. Three shops inside the Sūq al-Warrāqīn. 253

247 Waqfiyya 882, 312-3

248 Waqfiyya 882, 312-8

249 Waqfiyya 882, 318-9

250 Waqfiyya 882, 319-20

251 Waqfiyya 882, 320

252 Waqfiyya 882, 320-2

253 Waqfiyya 882, 322-3
23. A building located on rented ground in the Khut al-'Akhfāfiyīn and al-Warrāqīn. It contains 3 shops and a storage space.254

24. Another shop located inside the Sūq al-Warrāqīn.255

25. A sitting room located in the Sūq al-Warrāqīn near the rear entrance of Sūq al-Jamalūn.256

26. Five additional shops and a sitting room located inside the Sūq al-Warrāqīn.257

27. Three additional shops located inside the Sūq al-Warrāqīn.258

28. A building in the Khūt al-Ḥāmi' al-Azhar which includes a waqāla with 40 storage rooms around the courtyard in two stories, a rab' of two stories with facilities, and the storage rooms in the façade of the waqāla.259

254 Waqfyya 882, 323-4.
255 Waqfyya 882, 324.
256 Waqfyya 882, 324-5.
257 Waqfyya 882, 325-8.
258 Waqfyya 882, 327-8.
259 Waqfyya 882, 328-9.
29. A building known as the Khān az-Zarakishah, located in the Khūṭ al-Khaymiyīn. It includes 7 shops, a khān and tabaqas above them.260

30. A house located near the Ḥammām al-Kharāṭiq.261

31. A building connected with the previously mentioned ḥammām on the west and consisting of 3 riwāq.262

32. Two buildings built by the patron: the Wakālat an-Nakhla or Wakālat al-Ghūri, and a second building consisting of 2 shops, a qa‘ah and 3 tabaqa above them. The date of their construction is the end of Dhul-Hijjah, 913/1508.263

33. A building known as al-Mustakhraj located in the Khūṭ Bayn al-Qāṣrayn. It includes a wakāla with 23 storage rooms in two stories, 4 shops, a rab‘ with 24 houses, and second rab‘ with 17 tabaqas.264

34. Two shops and a riwāq located in the Khūṭ Ra‘s Khān al-Khalīlī near the Khān Bishbāy.265

261 Waqfiyya 882, 332-3.
262 Waqfiyya 882, 334-7.
263 Waqfiyya 882, 337-43; for the Wakālat an-Nakhla, see note 88 above.
264 Waqfiyya 882, 343-6.
265 Waqfiyya 882, 346-7.
35. Half of a ruined building known as the Khān Mālāk located at the Ra’s Ḫārāt ar-Rūm in the direction of the Sūq al-Bāṣīṭiyya near the Qubbat Sām bin Nūḥ. 266

36. A building on rented land located inside Saʿādah in the Khūṭ al-Wāzīrīyya. It includes a stable, a garden, a qāʿāh and a riwāq. 267

37. Thirty shops located outside the Bāb al-Qantārah and inside the Bāb ash-Shīʿrīyya. 268

38. Ten shops and a sitting room located in Khūṭ al-Wāzīrīyya. 269

39. A building consisting of 2 shops, 2 tabaqas and a storage unit, located between the Bāb ash-Shīʿrīyya and al-Qantārah. 270

40. A sabīl inside the Bāb ash-Shīʿrīyya and outside the Bāb al-Qantārah. It includes 22 large terracotta water containers and 2 qāʿāh. 271

266 Waqfiyya 882, 347-8.
267 Waqfiyya 882, 348-53.
268 Waqfiyya 882, 353-4.
269 Waqfiyya 882, 354-7.
270 Waqfiyya 882, 357-8.
271 Waqfiyya 882, 358-9.
41. Six shops facing each other outside Cairo near Bāb al-Qanṭarah.\textsuperscript{272}

42. The buildings located on the outskirts of Cairo between Bāb ash-Shi‘riyya and Bāb al-Qanṭarah. They are two stories each and include 14 \textit{riwāqs}.\textsuperscript{273}

43. Two shops, a sitting room, a storage unit and 9 \textit{tabaqas} built by the patron and located inside, above and outside the Bāb al-Qanṭarah.\textsuperscript{274}

44. A house located at 'Amīṛhawān. It includes a qā‘ah, several \textit{tabaqas}, and a \textit{riwāq}.\textsuperscript{275}

45. A buildings located in the Khūṭ al-Ka’kiyīn between Qaysāriyat Jarkas and the house of al-Qalawī bin Qāsim al-Mālikī. It includes 7 shops, a mill with two stones and storage bins, a bakery, 2 qā‘ah, a \textit{rab’} of 9 houses and a private \textit{hammām}.\textsuperscript{276}

46. A building located in the Khūṭ al-Jāmi’ al-‘Azhar near the Sabil Qāytbāy. It includes a two story \textit{wakāla} with storage rooms and a \textit{rab’} with uncompleted houses.\textsuperscript{277}

\textsuperscript{272} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 359-61.

\textsuperscript{273} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 361-3.

\textsuperscript{274} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 363.

\textsuperscript{275} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 363-9.

\textsuperscript{276} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 369-95.
47. A building with shops and tabaqā located at the end of the Sūq 'Amīr al-Jiyūsh in the direction of the Khān ar-Rawwāsin.  

48. A building located on the outskirts of Cairo at the Darb al-Ḥabbālin outside the Bāb al-Futūh. It consists of a garden with fruit trees, a large qā′ah, a tabaqā and a maqʿad.  

49. A building near the previous one which includes two qā′ahs, a riwāq, a courtyard, a stable, and uncompleted construction.  

50. Half of the building located in the Khut al-Bustiyīn near Zāwiyyat ash-Shādhiyya outside the Bāb Zuwaylah. It includes 9 shops with 3 storages units behind them and 8 tabaqas.  

51. Two buildings: a men's hammām with storage room and tabaqas, and a building with a shop, 4 storage rooms and tabaqas, a well and a sāqiyah outside the Bāb al-Baḥr near Jāmi' al-Khaṭīrī.  

In addition, the following properties outside of Cairo were made waqf:

277 Waqfiyya 882, 395-6.  
278 Waqfiyya 882, 396.  
279 Waqfiyya 882, 396-404.  
280 Waqfiyya 882, 404-7.  
282 Waqfiyya 882, 409-14.
52. Plots of agricultural land at Rifāḥ and 'Adrunkah in al-
'Asyūṭiyya in Upper Egypt.²⁸³

53. A plot of agricultural land at Manshiyyat Balkhā in al-
Buḥayrā in the Delta.²⁸⁴

54. Two saḥms of agricultural land at Diymā at al-
Gharbiyya in the western Delta.²⁸⁵

55. Six saḥms of agricultural land at at-Ṭaybah in al-
'Ashmunin near Asyut in Middle Egypt.²⁸⁶

56. Two qirāt at Bisāt and Minyat an-Naṣārā in ad-
Daqhalīyya in the Delta.²⁸⁷

57. One qirāt at Minyat Jināj at al-Gharbiyya in the western
Delta.²⁸⁸

58. One and a half qirāt at az-Zanūn in al-Bahnaṣāwiyya
near Cairo.²⁸⁹

59. A plot of land at …? in al-'Asyūṭiyya in Upper Egypt.²⁹⁰

²⁸³ Waqfiyya 882, 414.
²⁸⁴ Waqfiyya 882, 414-6.
²⁸⁵ Waqfiyya 882, 416.
²⁸⁶ Waqfiyya 882, 416-7.
²⁸⁷ Waqfiyya 882, 417.
²⁸⁸ Waqfiyya 882, 417-8.
²⁸⁹ Waqfiyya 882, 418.
60. One and a half qirāt at Minyat Kutāma in al-Gharbiyya.

61. A plot of agricultural land measuring 60 faddān at ‘Osīm in al-Jazīriyya, an island in the Nile north of Cairo. 291

62. One qirāt of agricultural land at Kufr Kala al-Bāb in al-Gharbiyya in the western Delta.

63. One-twentieth of the agricultural land of Shabās Kanārah [?] in al-Gharbiyya. 292

64. Two plots of agricultural land, one measuring 10 faddān and the second 17 faddān, located in Saft ‘Abu Jirja in al-Bahnasāwiyya. 293

65. Five qirāt of agricultural land at Qalata in al-Manūfiyya in the Delta. 294

66. One-tenth of the lands of Diya al-Kum in al-Gharbiyya. 295

67. Eleven qirāts of agricultural land at Saft al-Khamārah in al-‘Ashmūnin near Asyut. 296

290 Waqfiyya 882, 418-20.
291 Waqfiyya 882, 420-1.
292 Waqfiyya 882, 421.
293 Waqfiyya 882, 421-2.
294 Waqfiyya 882, 422.
295 Waqfiyya 882, 422-3.
296 Waqfiyya 882, 423.
68. One qirāt of agricultural land at Minyat ar-Rakhā in al-Gharbiyya. 297
69. Six and two-thirds sahms of agricultural land at Minyat Jināj in al-Gharbiyya. 298
70. Fourteen sahms of agricultural land at Sharrūnah in al-Bahnasawiyya. 299
71. One-fourth share of a plot of agricultural land at Manbūtin in al-Gharbiyya.
72. One-fourth share of a plot of agricultural land at Talbayt Qusaiyyer in al-Gharbiyya. 300
73. One and a half qirāt of land at Qrūsa in al-Gharbiyya. 301
74. One twenty-eighth of the land of Salaka in ad-Daqhaliyya.
74. Three-fourths qirāt at Kharshīt in al-Gharbiyya. 302
75. A plot of agricultural land at Bibā al-Kubrā in al-Bahnasawiyya. 303

297 Waqfiyya 882, 23-4.
298 Waqfiyya 882, 424.
299 Waqfiyya 882, 424-5.
300 Waqfiyya 882, 425; see note 171.
301 Waqfiyya 882, 425-6.
302 Waqfiyya 882, 426.
76. A plot of agricultural land measuring 100 faddān in Minyat Rāfīʾ in al-Jīziyya west of Cairo.304

77. The piece of land valued at 150 dinārs at Saft in al-Bahnasāwiyya.305

4. The Stipulations and Expenditures of the Waqf:

As is typical of documents of this sort, the fourth part of al-Ghūrī's waqfiyya is devoted to an enumeration and explanation of the stipulations and expenditures of the waqf. These include the regulations governing the appointments of waqf officials and employees, their job descriptions, that is the types of tasks each was responsible for, and the stipends and remuneration each received from the foundation. The officials and employees of the madrasa mentioned in the document are as follows:

1. The nāzir or superintendent of the waqf. It is his task to supervise the foundation and to carry out its regulations in conformity with Islamic Law (shariʿah). After collecting the revenue produced by the waqfs, he was to use these funds first to maintain the lands and buildings of the foundation in order to assure its profitability, then to pay rents on leased properties, to

303 Waqfiyya 882, 426-7.
304 Waqfiyya 882, 427-8.
305 Waqfiyya 882, 428-9.
make necessary improvements such as the digging of canals and building of bridges on agricultural lands, to pay the salaries of the employees of the foundation each month in gold and silver coins, to distribute bread to the employees each day, and to provide oil for lamps each day and for the nights of the month of Ramaḍān.306

2. The ʿimām al-madrasa or prayer leader of the madrasa. One thousand two hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for a prayer leader or ʿimām for the madrasa. He is to be a person learned in the Qurʾān and religious sciences and known for his good deeds, skilled in the correct recitation of the Qurʾān, with a good knowledge of the regulations of prayers, fasting and other practices of religion (ʿibādāt). He is to be appointed by the nāẓir to lead the five daily prayers, the prayers of the month of Ramaḍān in the madrasa and the two prayers of lunar and solar eclipses whenever they occur. 307

3. The khatib al-madrasa or preacher of the madrasa. Six hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for a preacher for the madrasa. He should be a person skilled in preaching at Friday prayer and is to deliver the sermon in the madrasa at that time. In addition, he is to lead the people in prayer at the time of the ʿid al-

307 Waqfiyya 882, 179-80.
fitr and the 'id al-adha (the Feasts of Breaking Fast and Sacrifice). 308

4. The muraqqi or repeater. Four hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for a repeater. He is to be a pious and virtuous man with a good voice and appearance. He is to be appointed by the nāzir and is charged with repeating to worshippers the invocation when the khatīb enters the madrasa for Friday prayer at the time of the first 'adhān. Then, after the khatīb sits on the minbar he is to make a second 'adhān and recite some Traditions. 309

4. The mu'adhdhins or muezzins. Five thousand four hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for sixteen muezzins. Each should have a pleasant voice, a good appearance, and know how to proclaim the 'adhān. They are to pronounce 'adhān together in four groups of four persons each, and praise God from the minaret of the madrasa. In addition to being responsible for the call to prayer, they are charged with praising God late at night at the usual time at which mu'adhdhins wake up in the congregational mosques of Protected Egypt. In addition, at times of prayer they are to repeat the words and movements of the 'imām to those who have come to pray but are too far away to either hear or see the

308 Waqfiyya 882, 180.

309 Waqfiyya 882, 180-1.
1. 'imām. Six of them are to be paid 400 dirhams a month and the remainder are to receive 300 dirhams. 310

5. The miqāṣis or time keepers. One thousand two hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for two time keepers. They should know how to determine the sun’s degrees during the day and the time of the rising of the stars at night. They should work at the madrasa in two shifts and wake up the muʾadhhdīnīs at the appropriate time. The chief miqāṣī should receive 800 dirhams a month and his assistant 400 dirhams. 311

6. The qurrāʾ or Qurʾān readers. One thousand two hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for three Qurʾān readers. The first reads loudly each day before Zuhr or noon prayer from the large Qurʾān bequeathed by the founder. The second reads each day before the afternoon prayer, and the third qāriʾ reads every Friday at the time when people gather in the madrasa for Friday prayer and concludes the reading when the khatib enters the madrasa. Each qāriʾ is paid 400 dirhams. 312

7. The hāmīls or Qurʾān reciters, twenty-two in number, are to be paid a total of 4600 dirhams. They should have memorised the Qurʾān perfectly and are to be organized into two groups, each

310 Waqfiyya 882, 181-2.
311 Waqfiyya 882, 182-3.
312 Waqfiyya 882, 183-4.
consisting of eleven persons including the group’s shaykh. The nāzir is to appoint one group to recite one seventh of the Qurʾān in the madrasa starting after the end of Fajr or morning prayer. The members of the group are to recite loudly and follow their shaykh with politeness, gravity, and devotion, taking the same amount of time in their recitation as is taken by the hāmils of the Azhar Mosque in their recitation. The shaykh should himself make the invocation, praise God and pray for the Prophet, his relatives, and his Companions or should appoint the member of his group who has the best voice to do so. The shaykh should assign hāmils the task making recitations from the Qurʾān for the sake of the Prophet, for other prophets and messengers, for the relatives and Companions of the Prophet, for his followers and ṭulema, for al-Ghūrī, his son an-Nāṣirī Muhammad and his daughter the late Khawand. The nāzir assigns the second group of hāmils to repeat these observances after Maghrib or evening prayer. Each shaykh should be paid 300 dirhams monthly and every qāri’ 200 dirhams. 313

8. The qurrāʾ mutribin or reciters and mādih or eulogist.

Eight hundred dirhams should be paid to three reciters and one eulogist. They are to gather at the madrasa after the Friday prayer to recite Surā al-Kahf (Qurʾān: XVII, The Cave). Then the eulogist is to stand and recite ten or more verses of poetry praising the

313 Waqfiyya 882, 184-6.
Prophet. Their chief will conclude with an invocation. The chief of the mutribin should be paid 200 dirhams a month, and the others 150 dirhams each. The mâdih should receive 300 dirhams. 314

9. The mufarrik ar-rab'ah or distributor of parts of the Qur'ān. Four hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly to the man assigned the task of distributing the parts of the Qur'ān to those who pray in the mosque every Friday. This should be done before the 'adhān and the books should be collected after the people finish reading from them.315

10. The mujammer al-mabkharah or the censer. Five hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly to a man of good appearance and free of physical defect to burn charcoal in the censer prepared for the fumigation of the madrasa every Friday before prayer. He should burn pure, clean charcoal and put in it pleasant smelling incense, the odor of which should delight the heart and encourages those who pray to seek pardon. He should pay 200 dirhams a month for the incense.316

11. The khāzin al-kutub or librarian. One thousand five hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for a knowledgeable, trusted, honest, just, orderly and chaste man to be appointed by the

314 Waqfiyya 882, 186.
315 Waqfiyya 882, 187.
316 Waqfiyya 882, 187-8.
nāzir as librarian for the books bequeathed to the madrasa. He should be charged with the care of all the books dealing with Commentary, Tradition, jurisprudence, the Arabic language, rhetoric, metaphor, the principals of religion, logic, grammar and morphology. He should prepare a list of the books in his care and present the nāzir with a copy of it. He should open the library two days a week, on the days when lectures are given to the students of the madrasa. If somebody requests a book, the librarian should give him the book for library use only and afterward the librarian should return it to its place in the library. He may pay for an assistant from his allowance.

12. The bawwābs or gatekeepers. One thousand two hundred twenty-four dirhams should be paid monthly to two devout and honest men appointed by the nāzir as gatekeepers for the two entrances of the madrasa. They are responsible for opening and closing the doors when necessary. In addition each is to serve the mazmalah or the place where the jars of water are placed near his door and to sweep and clean footprints from the marble pavement of the entrances. The gatekeepers should guard the furniture, lamps and other equipment of the madrasa. Each gatekeeper is to

receive an allowance of 600 dirhams a month and in addition receive 12 dirhams a month for cup and equipment.  

13. The saqqā or water carrier. Five hundred dirhams should be paid each month to two persons charged with the provision of potable water each day from the madrasa's two mazmals. Water is to be provided to those who come to pray and to whoever enters the madrasa.  

14. The farrāsh or mosque sweepers. Two thousand seven hundred dirhams should be paid each month to six rational and honest men to be appointed by the nāzir as sweepers. Four of the sweepers, each in his shift, are to serve the madrasa, wiping, sweeping, and cleaning its iwāns, corridors, and stairs. On Fridays they should sweep all the marble, spread all the carpets of the madrasa so as to make it ready for the performance of prayer. Then, after prayer is completed, they are to wipe, shake and roll up the carpets after worshippers leave. They should suspend an awning over the central hall (durqā'a) of the madrasa in summer and remove it in winter. Each farrāsh is to get an allowance of 400 dirhams a month plus 100 dirhams a month for supplies. The nāzir should appoint an additional farrāsh to serve the large ablution fountain (mayda'a) near the rear entrance to the madrasa, to clean

318 Waqfiyya 882, 189.

319 Waqfiyya 882, 189-90.
its floors and latrines and to wash its basins. This latter farrāsh should be paid an allowance of 700 dirhams a month which should include the cost of his supplies. The nāzir should finally appoint a sixth gatekeeper to serve at the ablution fountain (mayda’ā hanafiyya) inside the madrasa. He is to receive an allowance of 300 dirhams a month which includes the cost of his supplies. 320

15. The waqqād or lamp lighter. One thousand two hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a trusted, honest, and strong man appointed by the nāzir as lamp lighter. He should be a person knowledgeable in his trade and is charged with the lighting, extinguishing and cleaning of the lamps of the madrasa and the minaret. The allowance is paid for him and his assistants and for the cost of his equipment. 321

16. The shādd or overseer. Two thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to a trusted and honest servant appointed to the madrasa by the nāzir to supervise the other employees. He should motivate them to work and attend the preparing of the lamps with the designated daily oil. He should reprimand or refer to the nāzir any employee of the madrasa who fails to carry out his tasks with diligence.

320 Waqfiyya 882, 190-1.
321 Waqfiyya 882, 191-2.
17. The sawwāq or the worker on the water wheel. One thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to an honest and skilful person able to drive the water wheel (sāqiyyah). He should be physically strong and is appointed by the nāzir to work on the water wheel which brings water to the large ablution fountain (mayda'a), the mosque's ablution fountain located at its entrance and the house of the Prince Qilj. The allowance is to be used to pay for the sawwāq's services and for his equipment except for what is related to the water wheel itself. 322

18. The kannās rashshāsh or sweeper and sprinkler of water. Four hundred eighty dirhams should be paid monthly to a strong man appointed by the nāzir to sweep and wet down the roads near the entrance of the madrasa and around the tomb and the khangāh whenever there is a need for this. The allowance is to pay for the sweeper's salary and his equipment. 323

The waqfiyya also makes mention of persons attached to the mausoleum whose tasks included its maintenance, the recitation of prayers and the reading of scripture for the deceased. These personnel are as follows:

322 Waqfiyya 882, 192.
323 Waqfiyya 882, 192-3.
1. The khâdim al-harîm or servant of the harem. One thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to a eunuch known for his good deeds and appointed by the nāzir to serve the members of the sultan’s harem, day or night, when they visit the tomb, the Relics of the Prophet and the Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān. He should also oversee other employees of the mausoleum and supervise their work.\textsuperscript{324}

2. The hamalat kitâb Allah al-‘Azz or Qur’ān bearers. One thousand two hundred dirhams should be paid each month for three persons who are students of the religious sciences to hold the Qur’ān. They should be modest, pious and the performers of good deeds. They should recite from the Qur’ān in the tomb in three shifts: after Fajr or morning prayer; after the Zuhr or noon prayer; and after the ‘Asr or afternoon prayer. Each of them is to recite two complete sections of the Qur’ān during his shift. Each one is to receive an allowance of 400 dirhams. In addition, 200 dirhams should be paid for myrtle, basil, and green palm-leaf stalks to be put on the graves in the tomb on Friday nights.\textsuperscript{325}

\textsuperscript{324} Waqfiyya 882, 193. In the later appendix the waqfiyya states that one thousand dirhams should be paid to the khâdim al-harîm who is to be appointed from among the freed eunuchs such that his total stipend would be 2000 dirhams. See Waqfiyya 882, 443.

\textsuperscript{325} Waqfiyya 882, 193-4.
As to the staff of the khanqah, the waqfiyya gives the following enumeration:

1. The 'imām or prayer leader. Three hundred dirhams should be paid each month to a man knowledgeable of religion, who knows the Qur'ān by heart, knows how to recite it and performs good deeds. He should have a knowledge of the juridical basis of lawful prayer. He should be appointed by the nāzir as 'imām in the khanqāh. His duties are similar to those explained above in connection with the 'imām of the madrasa.326

2. The muballigh or prayer repeater. Three hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a man with a nice voice charged with repeating the 'imām words and postures during prayer in the khanqāh.327

3. The shaykhs or head masters. Six thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to two pious and pure men from the senior ranks of those persons knowledgeable in matters of religion appointed by the nāzir to serve as head masters of the sufis at the khanqāh. One of them should be assigned a morning shift and the other the afternoon one. The nāzir is to divide the 6000 dirham stipend equally. In addition, the shaykh of the afternoon shift will

326 Waqfiyya 882, 194-5.
327 Waqfiyya 882, 195.
be given a living quarter while the morning shaykh will be given a stipend for housing. 328

4. In addition, eighty needy and poor sufis, six servants (khuddâm), sixteen bench reciters (qurrâ’ as-suffa), and two eulogists (mâdihs) will be divided into two groups. One group should accompany the shaykh of the morning shift, and the other group should accompany the shaykh of the afternoon shift. The shaykh should sit at the head of the khanqâh on his carpet and the others should arrange themselves according to rank. Then, the servant of the Qur’an and the servant of the rab’ah come forward with the Qur’an and its stand and put the Qur’an between the hands of the shaykh. The servant of the rab’ah and the servant of the carpet (khâdim as-sijjâdah) go around with the parts of the two honorable Qur’âns, distributing them on the attendants. Each person takes his part and recites it till the shaykh ends the recitation and closes the Qur’an. Then the bench reciters on the right and left take shifts reciting and remembering God while raising their hands. When they finish reciting, the eulogist stands and recites commendations of the Prophet. Then the eulogist sits down and the invocation is given. The nâzir pays each of the servants of the Qur’an (khâdim ar-rab’ah) 400 dirhams a month, each of the two

328 It is mentioned in the appendix to the waqfiyya that 600 dirhams should be paid for the shaykh of the morning shift until the patron builds new place for him to live in. See Waqfiyya 882, 232.
servants of the carpet (khādim as-sijjādah) 300 dirhams a month, and each of the sufis, the bench reciters, and the two eulogists 300 dirhams a month.329

5. The kātib ghaybah or attendance keeper. Six hundred dirhams should be paid each month to an honest and watchful man appointed by the nāzir to keep a roll of absences among the employees of the madrasa, khanqāh, and mausoleum, including the 'imāms, mu'adhdhins, qāri's, sufis and other servants. If someone is absent, the kātib should forward his name on the same day to the bakery so that the absentee's allotment of bread will be stopped unless, in the event of a legitimate excuse such as illness, the person absent sends a replacement to assume his responsibilities. The kātib should perform his job in fear of God.330

6. The tabib or physician. Five hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a Muslim physician who is acquainted with surgery and internal medicine. He is to examine the sick sufis and other employees in this waqf, prescribe suitable medicines for each and treat them appropriately. He is to visit the maktab once a year at the time new orphans are to be taken and examine those whom he believes to have reached maturity. When an orphan has reached the

329 Waqfiyya 882, 195-7. In the appendix to the waqfiyya another sufi, ash-Sharifi Husayn al-'Ajami, was added with a stipend of 300 dirhams monthly and 3 loaves daily. See Waqfiyya 882, 438.

330 Waqfiyya 882, 197.
age of maturity, the physician should inform the näzir of this fact so that a new child can be accepted into the maktab in his place.331

7. The qâri' hadith or reader of the Tradition. Three hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a religious man with nice voice to be appointed by the näzir. He should be elegant in his speech and accomplished in the reading of Sahîh al-'Imâm Muslim, the Sahîh al-'Imâm al-Bukhârî332 and other books of the Traditions of the Prophet. He is to read these Traditions in the khanqâh in the three months of Rajab, Sha'bân, and Ramadân. He should be at the khanqâh during the daytime at hours specified by the shaykh at-tasawwuf or shaykh of the sufis, before whom he should read. After doing the readings, he should make an invocation and dedicate the reward for his reading to the patron.333

8. The farrâshs or sweepers of the tomb and the khanqâh. One thousand seven hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to four strong persons appointed by the näzir to serve the tomb and khanqâh. They should work in shifts to remove dust from the mats, spread the carpets and wipe and sweep the floors. Each sweeper

331 Waqfiyya 882, 197-8. This job was cancelled in a later appendix. See waqfiyya 882, 434-5.

332 Two of the most authentic books of the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.

333 Waqfiyya 882, 198.
should be paid 425 dirhams a month for his services and 25 dirhams for the cost of equipment.

9. The farrâsh al-mayda'a or the sweeper of the ablution fountain of the khanqâh. Three hundred twenty-five dirhams should be paid to a strong man appointed by the nâzîr as a servant at the ablution fountain (mayda'a) of the khanqâh to clean its floor and the latrines. Three hundred dirhams should be paid to him for his services and 25 dirhams for the cost of his equipment.334

10. The waqqâd or lamp lighter. Six hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a strong, honest man appointed by the nâzîr to serve the tomb and the khanqâh. He should be charged with the repair of the lamps and with the lighting and extinguishing of them. The six hundred dirhams are intended as payment for the lamp lighter himself, for an assistant and for the cost of equipment.

11. The bawwâbs or gatekeepers at the tomb and the khanqâh. One thousand two hundred dirhams should be paid monthly for two trusted, honest, and strong men to be appointed by the nâzîr as gatekeepers for the tomb and the khanqâh. They should watch over the doors and should care for the Qur'âns. Each gatekeeper should receive 600 dirhams a month.

12. The mufrriq al-khubz or the distributor of bread. Three hundred dirhams a month should be paid to a trusted man charged

334 Waqfiyyâ 882, 199.
with the distribution of bread to the sufis and other employees of
the tomb and khanqāh.335

The staffs of the maktāb and the sabil are also enumerated in
the waqfiyya and the salaries and duties of each of the personnel are
described.

1. The mu’addib al-‘aytām or the teacher of orphans. Six
hundred dirhams should be paid each month to a Qur’ān memoriser
who is also excellent in teaching this skill and Arabic calligraphy.
He should be a pious, trustworthy and sincere teacher. He should sit
in the maktāb every day except Fridays, religious holidays and
religious feasts which which can be taken off. He is to be at the
maktāb to teach the orphans there from the beginning of the day till
the time of afternoon prayer, except for Tuesdays and Thursdays
when he is to be there until the time of noon prayer. The students in
the maktāb should first be taught politeness, followed by the Qur’ān
and Arabic calligraphy.336

2. The ‘arif or assistant of the teacher. Two hundred
dirhams should be paid each month to a man with the same qualities
as the mu’addib. The nāzir should appoint him to assist the
mu’addib in the correction of the children’s exercises on their

335 Waqfiyya 882, 200.
336 Waqfiyya 882, 201.
writing boards and with the reciting and repetition of previous lessons. If one of the orphans memorizes the Qur’ān perfectly, the ʿarif will instruct him in the tenants of religion and books on the religious sciences.337

3. The ʿaytām or orphans. Four thousand dirhams should be paid each month to forty poor and needy Muslim orphans who are under the age of maturity and have the ability to learn. They should live at the maktab in order to learn the rudiments of culture, calligraphy and reading. Each of them is to receive a stipend of 100 dirhams a month. When any one of them reaches the age of maturity, he will be taken out of the maktab and replaced by another orphan with the same qualities of those mentioned above.338

4. The muʿallim al-khāt or calligraphy teacher. Three hundred dirhams should be paid each month to a pious and trustworthy calligrapher, knowledgeable in the science of fine writing and the seven styles of calligraphy. He is to be appointed by the nāẓir to the position of calligraphy teacher. He should visit the

337 Waqfiyya 882, 201-2. In the appendix to the waqfiyya it was further stipulated that the ʿrif was to be paid extra 100 dirhams a month for working with the ten extra orphans. See waqfiyya 882, 436-7.

maktab or the place designated for him by the nāzir two days a week and teach the people the arts of writing.339

5. The muzammilātī or water attendant. Two thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to a strong, honest and trustworthy man of good appearance, who is clean in dress, healthy and free of defects. He is to be appointed by the nāzir to raise water from the cistern to its storage basin at the sabīl, and to offer it daily to passers-by from sunrise until people return to their homes in the evening. He should perform this work every day except during the month of Ramadān, when he should offer water from sunset until people return to their homes and then again from the time of praising—that is before the call for morning prayer by the mu’ādhhdhīns—until the dawn. Each morning during summer months he should put up the two awnings prepared for the windows of the sabīl and then shake them out, roll them up and return them in the storage room at sunset. In addition, he is to wipe and sweep the sabīl to keep it clean. The allowance should be used to pay the muzammilātī himself plus his assistants and helpers and used as well to cover the cost of his equipment, including cup, rose water, and incense.340

339 Waqfiyya 882, 202-3.

340 Waqfiyya 882, 203-4. In the addition of waqf found on the recto of the main waqfiyya there extra 400 dirhams monthly for the muzammilātī to get assistants. And at the same addition there is amount of 300 dirhams monthly
In addition to each of the specific functional units of the Ghūriyya complex, the waqfiyya makes provision for a number of functionaries whose job it is to oversee the institution of the foundation itself. The functionaries enumerated are as follows:

1. The nāzir or superintendent. Eighty dinārs should be paid each month out of the income of the waqf for its supervision and should be distributed as follows: thirty dinārs should be paid to the patron for as long as he lives and to the sultans of Egypt after his death. The sultan of Egypt is to appoint a nāzir to supervise the waqf. The patron and after his death each of his successors as rulers of Egypt is designated primary supervisor (nāzir awwal kabīr). The patron’s son and after his death the wisest of his descendants should be appointed second supervisor (nāzir thānī) and be paid 20 dinārs a month. Two vice supervisor (nā’ib nāzir) chosen from among the patron’s confidants should be paid ten dinārs each month. The patron appointed as-Sayfi Tānībik min Yashbik to this job for as long as he lives, and afterward his stipend is to go to the waqf. 341

In addition, twenty-one thousand dirhams are to be paid monthly to the employees of the waqf as following:

341 Waqfiyya 882, 204-6.
2. The shādds or overseers. Four thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to two of the patron's freed male slaves appointed as shādds. They are responsible for the collection of incomes from the properties of the waqf to be spent on the maintenance of the waqf's buildings. Each is to receive two thousand dirhams a month.342

3. The mushrifs or inspectors. Four thousand dirhams should be paid each month to four of the patron's freed male slaves who are to inspect the condition of the waqf, oversee the duties of its employees and advise the nāzir on these matters. Each of them is to be paid 1000 dirhams a month.343

4. The office of daywanah or chief of the foundation. One thousand five hundred dirhams should be paid each month to the judge the Shaykh Ibn al-Jī‘ân who holds this position and to the eldest of his descendants after his death.

5. The office of 'istifā* or the high overseer of the foundation. One thousand five hundred dirhams should be paid each month to the person occupying this position. The patron first appointed the judge Muhyi ad-Din Abi ath-Thanā‘Abd al-Qādir al-Qaşrawî to it.344

342 Waqfiyya 882, 207.
343 Waqfiyya 882, 207-8.
6. The kātib al-waqf or accountant of the foundation. Two thousand dirhams should be paid each month to the person appointed as registrar and accountant of the waqf. The patron first appointed ‘Abi al-Fadl bin Gharib to the office. 345

7. The shāhidds or witnesses. Two thousand dirhams should be appropriated each month for two witnesses appointed by the nāzir to be present at the time when salaries and other expenses are paid. Each should receive 1000 dirhams a month.

8. The shāhidd al-waqf or witnesses of the foundation. Six hundred dirhams should be paid each month to two witnesses to enforce the terms of the waqf. 346

9. The shāhidd at-tasqi’ or witness of roofed places, and shahidd al-‘imarah or building witness. Four witnesses should be appointed by the nāzir, two to witnesses transactions relating to the rental of the waqf’s roofed properties (tasqi’), and two others to witness contracts for the construction of such places. Each should be paid 400 dirhams a month. 347

344 Waqfiyya 882, 208. We do not know exactly what tasks were connected with these two jobs, but it seems that the appointees were to work on rendering judgments and executing orders in the matters of dispute related to the waqf. The salaries paid to these Shāfi‘ite and Hanifite judges and the physician stipulated in the original waqfiyya are cancelled in the later appendix and the monies saved were to be returned to the waqf. See Waqfiyya 882, 434-5.

345 Waqfiyya 882, 208-9.

346 Waqfiyya 882, 209.

347 Waqfiyya 882, 209-10.
10. The birdārī or courier. One thousand eight hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a person appointed by the nāzir as a manager of the office work in the waqf. 348

11. The sarrāf or banker. One thousand eight hundred dirhams should be paid monthly to a person appointed by the nāzir to keep the collected rents on the waqf’s lands and buildings of the waqf, and to spend from them by the orders of the nāzir. 349

In addition to these administrative personnel, the waqfiyya makes provision for a number of craftsmen charged with the upkeep of the physical facilities of the foundation. A monthly allowance of 2350 dirhams is set aside for them.

1. The mi’māris or architects. Four hundred dirhams should be paid each month to two architects appointed by the nāzir to look after the buildings of the waqf, to estimate the cost of their repair, including the cost of building material and workmen, and to attend and to oversee the actual demolition, laying out and construction of buildings. 350

2. The sabbāks or plumbers. Four hundred dirhams should be paid each month to two plumbers charged with inspecting the

349 Waqfiyya 882, 210-1.
350 Waqfiyya 882, 211.
lead pipes, water spouts and joints in the piping of the complex and with their maintenance and repair. 351

3. The murakhkhim or marble workers. Four hundred dirhams should be paid each month to two marble workers. They should inspect the marble of the floors and dados in the madrasa and the tomb and make repairs to those parts that have fallen down or come out so that they are returned to their original state. 352

4. The najjār or carpenter. One hundred fifty dirhams should be paid each month to a skilful carpenter appointed to repair the water wheel at the complex and to take care of its equipment. 353

The waqfiyya also stipulates that the nāzis should distribute each day from the revenues of the waqf 785 loaves of pure well-baked bread from flour made of good grain. Each loaf should weight one Egyptian rat. 354 The bread is to be distributed as follows:

351 Waqfiyya 882, 211-2.
352 Waqfiyya 882, 212.
353 Waqfiyya 882, 212.
354 Rat equals 12 'awqiyyas, every 'awqiyya equals 12 dirhams, and every dirham about equals 3.125 Gm., so rat equals about 450 Gm. See Hinz 29.
1. Two hundred three loaves should be given daily to the personnel of the madrasa who number 66, ranging from the 'imām to the sweeper (kānās). Each of these persons should receive three loaves for a total of 198 loaves. In addition, one loaf each is to be distributed to the shādd and the chief mu'qqit, and three loaves are to be given to the waqqād.  

2. Twelve loaves should be given daily to the personnel of the tomb numbering 4. Each of these persons is to receive 3 loaves. In addition 3 loaves are to be given to the caretakers of the Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān.

3. Two hundred eighty-nine loaves should be distributed daily at the khanqāh. Of these, 4 are to be given to the 'imām, 4 for the muballigh, and 9 each to the two shaykhāh. In addition, 264 loaves should be distributed among the 88 servants, sufis, and eulogists. Each of them gets 3 loaves daily. The 16 qāri’s of the suffa should each get 4 loaves for a total of 64 loaves. The keeper of the roll of absences (kātib ghaybah) should get 6 loaves daily, for the physician (tabīb) 3, the reciter of Traditions (qāri hadith) 3, and the gatekeepers (bawwābs), janitors (farrāsnīn), lamp lighter (waqqād), and distributor of bread (mufriq al-khubz) 3 each (for a

---

355 *Waqqiyva* 882, 213.


357 *Waqqiyva* 882, 437.
total of 27 loaves). The teacher of the orphans (mu'ddiib) should receive 4 loaves daily, the teacher of calligraphy (mu'llim al-khat) 3, the assistant teacher ('arif) 3, the forty orphans 2 loaves each, and the water attendant (muzammilati) 6. The overseers (shaddals), inspectors (mubashirs), witnesses (shahids), and rent collector (jabir), totalling 8 persons, should receive 4 loaves each daily. The overseers (mushrifs), witnesses (shahids), courier (birdar), and rent collector (jabir), totalling 12 persons, should receive 3 loaves each daily, the architect (mi'mari) and the two marble workers (murakhims) 4 loaves each, the plumbers (sabbaks) and the shaykh of the Honorable Relics 3 loaves. Finally, 3 loaves should be provided daily for the noble simat (banquet). 2 loaves should be provided daily for al-'Ashrafi as-Sayfi Tanybek's simat, 4 loaves daily (2 a piece) for two extra orphans, and 6 loaves (3 a piece) for two additional persons, one of them being a sharif.

358 Waqfiyya 882, 213-4, 234.
359 Waqfiyya 882, 215.
360 Waqfiyya 882, 215.
361 These two loaves were to be sent daily to the banquet of al-Ghuri.
362 The Amir of Thousand who served as nabi nazir or vice supervisor of the waqf. See page 161 above; waqfiyya 882, 204-6.
363 Waqfiyya 882, 216. Sharif means a descendant of the Prophet.
Other daily, monthly or annual expenditures are stated in the waqfiyya as follows:

1. The nāzir should provide 6 1/6 ratls of oil for the madrasa, 2 ratls for the tomb and the khanqāh daily for lighting without regard to price. If there is a need for more oil he should purchase it. In addition, he should provide 15 1/2 qintārs of pure oil to illuminate the lamps of the minaret, the madrasa, the tomb, and the khanqāh on the night of the middle of Sha‘bān and the nights of Ramadān. The nāzir should also provide wood and glass for the minaret and other parts of the buildings, chains, ropes and other materials for lighting, white mats for the minaret, madrasa, tomb, and khanqāh, rush mats for the maktab and the stairs of the madrasa and the khanqāh, and two large wax candles for the mihrāb for the nights of Ramadān. Finally, three hundred dirhams should be paid annually for the purchase of furs for the mu‘qqīts and mu‘adhdhīns to protect them from the cold weather of winter nights.

2. During the month Ramadān a special expenditure (tawsi‘ah) totalling 11000 dirhams should be made, the amount being distributed as follows: 1200 dirhams are to be given to the

364 A qintār equals 100 ratls. See Hinz 24.

365 Waqfiyya 882, 216-7.

366 Waqfiyya 882, 439.
'imām: 4800 dirhams are to be distributed among the mu'adhdhins such that each receives 300 dirhams; 1000 dirhams is to be given the miqātis; 1000 dirhams are to be distributed among the servants of the madrasa and the two mayda'as: 300 dirhams are to be given to the waqqād and his assistants; and 3000 dirhams are to be expended on new clothing for the mu'ddib, the 'arif, and the orphans. This latter amount should be used to purchase a dark outer garment, white cloth for underwear, cloth for the shirt, a woollen cap, a kerchief, and a wooden clogs for each, and should be used as well to cover the wages of a fitter and a tailor. If after this extra money remains, it should be spent for the needs of other orphans not resident in the maktab.367

3. The nāzir should spend 12000 dirhams annually for the Feast of Sacrifice. This amount should be used to purchase three stall-fed animals for the 'imām of the madrasa and the two sufis-shaykhs. In addition, four cows should be purchased to be distributed along with other animals from the Dīwān adh-Dhakhīrah and the Dīwān al-Khāṣ368 for the employees and


368 Dīwān adh-Dhakhīrah is the office responsible for arms supplies of the state, and the Dīwān al-Khāṣ is the office responsible for the properties of the sultan.
attendants at the madrasa and the khanqāh. If there is an extra meat, it should be distributed to the poor.369

4. The nāzir should spend 62000 dirhams each solar year in January (Tūbah) to clean, wash and fumigate the cistern under the khanqāh and to fill it from the Nile. Of this amount, 2000 dirhams are to be used for the wages of the cleaners and price of the wax and incense for fumigation. If there is a need for more money, the nāzir should pay more. The water provided from the sabīl should in winter time be brought directly from the Nile, but in summer it should be from the cool water in the cistern.370

5. The nāzir should also purchase forage for the animals working on the water wheel of the madrasa and in the house near the khanqāh from which water for the khanqāh’s ablution fountain is drawn, and should replace these animals if necessary. He should pay for the transportation and storage of the crops collected from the agricultural lands belonging to the waqf, for the obtaining of official papers from the diwāns, and for the dispatch of employees of the waqf to collect crops from rented agricultural lands and rents from urban roofed properties.371

369 Waqfiyya 882, 219.
370 Waqfiyya 882, 219-20.
371 Waqfiyya 882, 220-1.
Finally, in the appendix to the *waqfiyya*, additional stipulations are made relating to expenditures superseding the ones contained in the main *waqf* document.

1. The annual expense of sending two *sahābas*\(^{372}\) to accompany the the Pilgrimage caravans in their trips from Egypt to the *Ḥijāz* and back are to be paid from the *waqf*. Their task is to help the poor and provide them with rides.\(^{373}\)

2. Three thousand one hundred *dirhams* are to be paid monthly and 30 loaves of bread are to be given daily to the employees of the minaret of the Azhar Mosque. This amount will be distributed as follows: 400 *dirhams* monthly and 3 loaves daily to *miqāṭî* at the minaret; 300 *dirhams* monthly and 3 loaves daily to the *kāṭib ghaybah* who is charged with checking on the attendance of the minaret’s employees; and 300 *dirhams* monthly and 3 loaves daily for each of the 9 muezzins (*mu‘adhdhins*). These latter should be divided into three groups every one of three persons each serving together for calling for prayers.\(^{374}\)

3. Twenty-four thousand *dirhams* are to be paid monthly to the *nāzirs* in addition to the allowances stipulated earlier. Six

---

\(^{372}\) Literally “cloud,” but here the term is used for team of persons charged to accompany the pilgrims to Mecca.

\(^{373}\) *Waqfiyya* 882, 435-6.

\(^{374}\) *Waqfiyya* 882, 440-1.
thousand dirhams are to be given to the nāẓir al-'akbar or the primary supervisor, who is the ruler of Egypt. 375 3000 dirhams are to be given to the nāẓir al-'asghar or second supervisor; 6000 dirhams should be paid to the dawādār kabīr or secretary of state; 4500 dirhams to the dawādār thānī or secretary second; and 4500 dirhams to the khāzīndār kabīr or the treasurer. 376 Fifteen hundred dirhams should be paid to the kāṭīb al-'asrār ash-sharīfā or the writer of the sultan’s orders, who is to give aid and council in matters relating to the waqf, write decrees bearing upon the foundation and dispatch them to their destinations. At present al-Maqr ash-Shihābī Ibn al-Jī‘ān occupies that position. After his death his successor’s stipend will be 1000 dirhams. 377

4. Eighteen thousand dirhams annually should be paid for water from the Nile to be distributed from the sabil daily during the five months from December through April. 378

5. After these expenditures money should also be spent on the employees at the new mosque built by al-Ghūrī in the Khūṭ Bāb al-

375 Waqfiyya 882, 441; from this and from page 204 in the Waqfiyya which tells us that his pay is 30 dinārs we now realize that 30 dinārs equal 9000 dirhams, so every dinār equals 300 dirhams.

376 Waqfiyya 882, 441-2.

377 Waqfiyya 882, 442.

378 Waqfiyya 882, 443-4.
Qarāfā,379 on the oil for its illumination, on mats, and on lamps.380

6. Concerning the miqāṭīs or time keepers Shams ad-Dīn bin Ḍāʾūr,380 ʿAbī al-Fath and Shams ad-Dīn bin al-Hunayd, the first gets 2/3 of the pay and loaves designated for their position and the second gets 1/3. Their successors in these offices are each to receive 400 dirhams a month and 3 loaves of bread daily.381

7. The kāṭib al-ghaybah or attendance keeper of the madrasa, khanqāh and tomb should be given an extra 100 dirhams a month and one loaf of bread each day.

8. The office of the 'istifā' should always be held by the supervisor of the army of Egypt (nāzir al-jiyūsh).

9. A house near the maktab is assigned for the use of the imām of the khanqāh.382

10. The new buildings, including a large qā’ah, private hammām and other units, located in Cairo between the tomb, the Sūq al-Kā’kiyīn and the house of a certain al-Walawī bin Qāsim, are bequeathed to al-Ǧūrî’s wife Khawand al-Kubrā Baysiwār.

379 Known also as Jāmiʿ ‘Arab al-Ysār, see Chapter II, 29.

380 Waqfiyya 882, 444.

381 Waqfiyya 882, 448-9. The total amount stipulated as pay for time keeper was 1200 dirhams a month. See waqfiyya 882, 182-3.

382 Waqfiyya 882, 449-50.
Should the patron predecease her, she is to benefit from them as long as she does not remarry. In the event she does remarry, or alternatively after her death, the buildings are to go to the patron's children and descendants and if they die out they are to return to the waqf. 383

11. Two plots of cultivated land in al-Bahnasawiyya, one of them in the village of Saft al-'Urafā, which is valued of 150 dinārs, and the other at the village of Bibā al-Kubrā, measuring 30 faddān, are bequeathed by the patron to three women, Jānkildī the wife of as-Sayfī Jānbalāt, Wardqān the wife of as-Sayfī Kartabāy, and Jānsukkar the wife of as-Sayfī Yūnus at-Turujmān, who were freed by him. If one of the women dies without descendants, the properties go to the other women, and if all three lines of descendants die out, the properties are transferred to the endowment of al-Ghūrī's complex at al-Jarābshīn. 384

5. The Regulations And Conditions:

As is typical of documents of this sort, the last part of the waqfiyya deals with the conditions and regulations intended to secure the foundation.

383 Waqfiyya 882, 430-1.
384 Waqfiyya 882, 431-4.
1. If there is an extra money, it should be spent on restoring
the buildings as necessary, or on buying a building or part of a
building to be added to the waqf and controlled by its conditions
and rules. If for some reason there is no way of doing this, the
money should be spent on the poor.  

2. The first nāzir (nāzir ‘a’lā ‘akbar) is to be the patron
himself who is also to receive whatever remains of the foundation’s
incomes after all expenditures have been met. After the
patron’s death, moreover, the office of nāzir is to be conferred on
al-Ghūrī’s successors as Muslim rulers of Egypt.

3. Al-Ghūrī’s son Muhammad is appointed nāzir thānī
(second supervisor) and his assistants (nā’ibs) are the amīr
khāzindār kabīr or treasurer as-Sayfī Khāyerbek ash-Sharīf.

385 Waqfīyya 882, 444-5.
386 Waqfīyya 882, 221-222.
387 Waqfīyya 882, 222-3.
388 We have very little information about Prince Muhammad. He
accompanied his father in a visit to the cemetery and the tombs of the venerable
people on 3 Muharram, 918/22 March, 1512. On 9 Ramadān, 920/29 October,
1514, when he was 13 years old, the sultan appointed him as amīr tabikhānah
and khāzindār kabīr. After he married and made pilgrimage in the year 920/
1514, he was appointed as amīr ākhūr kabīr on 29 Rabi’ 1, 921/14 May, 1515.
He left with his father to meet the Ottoman army in Syria. The Ottoman Sultan
Salem I granted him the madrasa as a dwelling-place after the conquest of
Egypt. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 253, 399, 406-7, 409, 453; part 5, 47, 139, 208.
389 Amīr khāzindār Kabīr as-Sayfī Khāyerbek ash-Sharīf filled this
position early in the reign of al-Ghūrī, and appointed as muqaddam alī in
and al-Ghūrî's cousin as-Sayfi Tūmānbāy. 390 If for any reason al-Ghūrî's son is unable to act as nāzir thāni, the best and wisest of the patron's other children is to assume the office. 391 If either of the assistants' offices falls empty, it is to be filled by one of the shādds, the shādd's vacant office is to be filled in turn by the best of the mushrifs, the mushrif's position is to be filled by the best of the patron's freed male slaves. If the line of al-Ghūrî's male descendants should die out, the position of nāzir thāni, originally filled by his son Muhammad, should be filled by one of the assistants to the nāzir and the nāzir thāni's salary should go to the waqf. 392 If line of descent of freed men of the patron should die out, their offices should be assumed by the Hanafite and Shafi'ite Chief Judges of Egypt and the salaries attached to the offices should go to these judges. 393

914/1509. He died after long illness in 9 Ramdān, 920/29 October, 1515 when he was about eighty years old. He was married to the sultan's sister. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 148, 203, 398.

390 Al-Ghūrî bought Tūmānbāy as salve and claimed him as relative. When he left to meet the Ottoman army in Syria al-Ghūrî appointed Tūmānbāy to be viceroy of Egypt. On 12 October, 1516, after al-Ghūrî's death, Tūmānbāy took the post as sultan. He attempted in several confrontations with the Ottoman army before Cairo to preserve the independence of Egypt but at last he was captured by Selim and executed on the Bāb Zuwaylah on 22 Rabi' 1, 923/15 May, 1517. See Ibn Iyās, part 5, 175; Muir 202-9; Glubb 395-7.

391 Waṣfiyya 882, 223.

392 Waṣfiyya 882, 223-4.

393 Waṣfiyya 882, 224-5.
4. If one of the dawadârs or khâzindârs' supervision stops because of travelling or legal excuse, one of the others takes his place in the same rule of promotion as explained in condition number three above.\textsuperscript{394}

5. The nâzir may not leave the supervision of the waqf for another person.\textsuperscript{395}

6. The reciters of the Qur'ân and others in the foundation, when they make invocation, should dedicate the reward first for the Prophet, then for his brothers the prophets and messengers, all the Companions, the sultan ruling the Kingdom of Egypt at the time, the patron and his descendents, his two brothers Ṭaqtabāy and the late Qânybāy, whoever is entombed in the patron's tomb and cemetery, al-'Ashraf Qâytbây and his son, the dead of the kings of Islam, and for the dead Muslims.\textsuperscript{396}

7. If one of the sufis or one of the reciters of the bench should die, his position should be filled by his son if he be fit for the job. If, however, the son is still a child, he should be enrolled in the maktab and after completion of his studies he should be appointed to his father's position. If the deceased does not have a son, the office should go to one of the reciters of the seventh of the Qur'ân

\textsuperscript{394} Waqfiyya 882, 446-7.

\textsuperscript{395} Waqfiyya 882, 447.

\textsuperscript{396} Waqfiyya 882, 448.
in the madrasa, then a new one who has memorised the Qur'ān should be appointed instead of the reciter of the seventh. 397

8. The nāzir should not appoint anyone even if he deserves the job if the applicant uses somebody to make good offices for his benefit. 398 The first nāzir has the right to discharge any of the other nāzirs who do not perform his duties seriously and he can appoint a replacement in the manner explained above with regard to the patron's son. 399

9. The nāzir is a trustee and should fear God. 400 Employees must not be replaced by substitutes and must perform their duties in person, except in cases of illness or in order to make the Pilgrimage. 401

10. Leases for roofed properties at a fixed rent must be for no more than one year. Leases for gardens and cultivated lands at a fixed rent must be for no more than two years. Roofed properties and cultivated lands should not be given to persons unable to pay the rent. 402

397 Waqfiyya 882, 225-6.
398 Waqfiyya 882, 226.
399 Waqfiyya 882, 226-7.
400 Waqfiyya 882, 227.
401 Waqfiyya 882, 227-8.
11. Any additions or changes to the *waqt* made by al-Ghūrī himself should be considered part of the *waqt*. He is the only one who has the right to make changes in his *waqt* either with regard to its terms or its conditions. No body can make replacement of a *mawqūf* after the patron's death except in the case of ruined one.

12. The *waqt* emphasizes that the *waqt* is made for all time and expresses the hope that the patron will be rewarded in the highest paradise. No one has the right to cancel or alter this *waqt* and he who does so will be punished by God. Finally, the *waqt* states that it was read and witnessed by al-Ghūrī and it is dated 20 Ṣafar, 911/23 July, 1505. Legal certifications are made by the chief judges of the four Schools of Sunni Islam and by their notaries.

13. The appendix to the *waqt* found on the verso of the *waqt* enumerates additional conditions and regulations relating to the *waqt*. It reiterates that the patron is in good health in both mind and body, that he is in full ownership of the buildings and

---

402 *Waqt* 882, 228.
403 *Waqt* 882, 230.
404 *Waqt* 882, 232.
405 *Waqt* 889, 237.
properties which he has made waqf, that it is prohibited sell, give as gifts, pawn or lend to another any properties of the waqf, and that the waqf is inviolable for all time.\textsuperscript{407}

14. The legality of the waqf is confirmed and the patron ceased his ownership of the properties given the endowment and assumed its supervision. He witnesses his waqfiyya and it is dated 18 Rabi' II, 922/21 May, 1516.\textsuperscript{408} The waqf is written in two copies on hamawai paper.\textsuperscript{409}

\textsuperscript{407} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 429.

\textsuperscript{408} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 451-2.

\textsuperscript{409} \textit{Waqfiyya} 882, 431.
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION: AL-GHURI'S MOTIVES AND THE USEFULNESS OF WAQFIYYA FOR THE STUDY OF MAMLUK ARCHITECTURE

In the previous two chapters dealing with Sultan al-Ghūrī's life and his main waqfiyya it was noted that virtually nothing is known about his childhood and but little is recorded as regards his life in the years immediately after he was brought to Egypt. Much more information is available with respect to his life and character once he enters upon the succession of the state appointments leading eventually to his designation as sultan. A military leader and statesman on the one hand, al-Ghūrī was also a man of peace, interested in learning, and a patron of the arts and of architecture.

Al-Ghūrī's main waqfiyya, which was examined and discussed in detail in chapter three, makes clear the lavish scale on which he built and the extent and richness of the endowments which he dedicated to his pious foundations. The description of the monuments at al-Jarābshīn is one of the important features in the waqfiyya. The madrasa and its dependences were systematically described, the elements of each unit enumerated and the character
of their construction, the kinds of stone used and the style and techniques of their decoration fully specified. Descriptions begin with the main façades, then proceed to the main entrances, to the interiors and finally to the upper storys of each building.

The waqfiyya also enumerates the personnel of the foundation, describes the tasks and duties of each, and specifies their stipends and remunerations. From this accounting we know that in the madrasa there were 53 religious positions and 13 positions for persons responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the building. Their monthly salaries ranged from 150 to 2000 dirhams and totalled for the madrasa as a whole 26880 dirhams a month. The tomb had 5 employees, their salaries ranging from 400 to 1000 dirhams a month, for a total of 2200 dirhams. The khanqāh had 111 religious employees plus 9 maintenance staff, whose monthly stipends ranged from 300 to 3000 dirhams and totalled 42300 dirhams. Concerning the sabil and maktab, they had 54 staff members and students with salaries ranging from 100 to 600 dirhams for a total of 8100 dirhams. And finally, the waqf institution itself employed 28 persons with monthly salaries ranging from 150 dirhams to 50 dinārs or 15000 dirhams and totalling about 165 dinārs.

Extra expenses relating to religious feasts and other special occasions were also covered by the waqfiyya. These included 11000 dirhams for the increase of expenditure (tawsi'ah) of
Ramadan, 30000 dirhams for clothing of the orphans and their teachers, 12000 dirhams for the purchase of animals slaughtered during the Feast of Sacrifice, 62000 dirhams for the purchase and transportation of water, and an unspecified amount of money for the animals used to work the water-wheels. These additional expenses come to a total of more than 115000 dirhams.

Thus, the total number of the employees at al-Ghûrî’s foundations came to 273 persons, and the total annual expenses including salaries was more than 5644.5 dinârs. Of this, the salary of the patron and his son was 960 dinârs or about 17% of the total annual expenses of the waqf.

The revenue of the foundation came from properties and cultivated lands in both Egypt and Syria. In Cairo and its outskirts the waqf’s properties included approximately 16 wakalas, 526 shops, 41 storage places, 6 loggias, 367 riwaqs, tabâqs, and qâ’ahs, 18 town houses, 5 hammâms, 2 oil presses, 2 sugar factories, 2 flour mills, 2 bakeries, and 8 pieces of land, three of them measuring 500 faddâns. Six pieces of land were held by the waqf at al-Manûfiyya, 5 at al-Buḥayra, 8 at al-Bahnsâwiyya (one of them measuring 1040 faddâns), 13 at al-Âsûṭîyya and in southern Egypt, 8 (including one plot measuring 200 faddâns) at ash-Sharqiyya; 4 at ad-Daqhaliyya, and 28 at al-Gharbiyya (including one plot measuring 313 faddâns). Further, the waqf held in its possession half of 8 villages and 6 pieces of land at Šafad, 7 villages
and 4 flour mills at Aleppo, 53 shops at Damascus and one village, 4 pieces of land at Tripoli.

What were the motives behind al-Ghūrī's donations? How do we explain the lavishness of his waqfs? On an explicit level, of course, the waqfs were intended to support the sultan's pious, educational and social establishments at al-Jarabshin—his madrasa, khanqāh, tomb, sabil and maktab. The waqfiyya suggests that at least implicitly more complex purposes, both public and private, were being served as well, however. Indeed, a close reading of the waqfiyya makes clear that at least three considerations were at work in the sultan's mind above and beyond the matter of simple support of his foundations. These include: first, a desire on al-Ghūrī's part to give expression and to reap divine reward for his personal piety; second, a wish to secure the material well-being of his family and descendants; and finally, a desire to enhance his legitimacy through the concrete expression of ideals of Mamluk and Islamic rulership.

With regard to the first of these considerations, that of personal piety, the terminology used in the waqfiyya to describe al-Ghūrī's character is particularly revealing. For example, the waqfiyya describes him as a person who remembers and praises God, performs night prayers, and as one who is not distracted from the goals and demands of the other world by the affairs and
temptations of this, the material world. Similarly, aspects of al-Ghūrī’s protocol as included in the waqfiyya serve to emphasize his personal piety. Thus, for example, he styles himself as the Lover of the Mendicants, Scholars and Venerable People, the Follower of the Guidance of the Master of the Messengers of God, and the Supporter of the Righteousness.

The very lavishness of the physical and institutional character of al-Ghūrī’s complex as described in the waqfiyya also suggest that personal piety and religious sentiment played an important role in the establishment of the foundation. This is the case, for example, with respect to the maktab and the sabīl, physical settings and institutional environments for the dispensing of charity to the needy and the support of learning, duties incumbent on all good Muslims. With regard to the maktab, as we have seen, the waqfiyya stipulates the number of the orphans to be educated by the institution, specifies their allowances and stipends, makes provision for the distribution to them of clothing and defines the subjects which they are to be taught. Similarly specific stipulations are made in the waqfiyya with regard to the workings, staffing and provisioning of the sabīl, the tasks and responsibilities of the

---

1 See chapter III, 77.
2 See chapter III, 79.
3 See chapter III, 159-61.
muzammilātī being explained twice in the document: once in the section dealing with the personnel and their duties, and again in that having to do with the conditions of the foundation at the end of the waqfiyya. ⁴

Or again, the waqfiyya makes lavish provision for the pious observance of the Islamic feasts and festivals such as the month of Ramadān and the Feast of Sacrifice. As noted, for example, the waqfiyya included stipulations that the nāźir of the waqf make provision for the tawṣīʿah, the increased expenditure at those times for oil for the lamps of the mosque, and for wax for the candles of the mihrāb, for extra money to be distributed in the form of gifts and bonuses to some of the foundation's employees, and for the purchase of animals to be sacrificed at the time of the feast.⁵

Of special note is the waqf provisions for support of the Pilgrimage, specifically the sending two relief teams to accompany the Pilgrims on the road to Mecca. ⁶ Similarly, the patron's personal piety is suggested in those provisions having to do the support of Qur'ān reciters in the madrasa, of sufis at the khanqāh and of qārī's in the tomb charged with reading the Qur'ān and praising God.⁷

⁴ See chapter III, 161.
⁵ See chapter III, 170-1.
⁶ See chapter III, 172.
Al-Ghūrī's personal devotion is also suggested in the waqfiyya by his efforts to preserve and restore pre-existing pious foundations. Thus, he took care to insure that the shop beneath on the site of his madrasa which had originally been a waqf of Qubbat ash-Shāfi‘ī not be destroyed and that it be built into the structure of the western part of his complex.\(^8\) Or again, the waqfiyya mentions that the mausoleum of some of pious persons was preserved and incorporated into the madrasa.\(^9\) And that three small mosques, one near the madrasa, and the other two mosques adjacent to the eastern part of the complex, were restored, acts which can again be taken as signs of al-Ghūrī’s piety and his hope for divine reward.\(^10\)

The suggestion that a genuine personal piety was an important factor in al-Ghūrī’s motivation as regards the establishment of his foundation conforms well with what we know of the sultan’s character and activities from other sources. Ibn Iyās, as we have seen, comments repeatedly on al-Ghūrī’s humbleness, modesty and devotion, his support for learning and charity toward the poor and needy. For example, al-Ghūrī humbly declined appointment to the throne at the time of his election as sultan by a

\(^7\) See chapter III, 145-8, 157.
\(^8\) See chapter III, 89; chapter II, 67.
\(^9\) See chapter III, 90.
meeting of the amirs in 906/1501. Or again, he is repeatedly described as having made visits, especially in times of personal crisis, to the tombs of saints, in particular to that of the great Islamic mystic and theologian the 'Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī at the Qarāfa aṣ-Ṣuqhrā, the Little Cemetery on the outskirts Cairo. Indeed, his last reported visits was made just prior to his departure for Syria in 1516 to meet the Ottoman army.

Elsewhere, Ibn Iyās, as we have seen, describes al-Ǧhūrī's charitable acts. Thus, for example, when he visited the mausoleum of his children, he is recorded as having given alms to the poor and to have ordered clothing for the orphans. His discussion meetings at the Citadel dealt for the most part with religious subjects and his poetry as reported by ash-Shai'ī is heavily infused with religious sentiments. Contemporary historical sources thus reenforce the view of the founder implied by the waqfiyya, namely that al-Ǧhūrī as an individual was not only formally devout but that he was a sincerely pious personality, who acted out of genuine religious motivation.

---

11 See chapter II, 40.
12 See chapter II, 56-7.
13 See chapter II, 53.
14 See chapter II, 57-9.
This is not to say, of course, that the founder was wholly disinterested in his piety. Indeed, in the introduction to his waqfiyya he states quite explicitly that it is hoped that by his act of charity the founder will enjoy God's continuing reward and benevolence. And elsewhere he states that he chose the kind of waqf he does, namely the foundation of a mosque, because it will insure reward in the highest Paradise. In other words, while the act of waqf described by the waqfiyya was certainly an act of piety, it should not be seen as an act wholly devoid of self-interest, since the text makes it clear that in part at least the foundation was motivated by an expectation of divine reward.15

While personal piety was thus, beyond question a motivating factor for al-Ghūrī, other more mundane and less altruistic factors were certainly important considerations as well. Foremost amongst these were what we might call considerations of family solidarity and security. As is well known, the amirs who constituted the elite in Mamluk society derived their incomes in large part from agricultural fiefs or revenue sources known as 'iqṭā', which were distributed and held in return for service. These lands were not regarded as legally private property but were rather state lands which were temporarily turned over to an amir, usually for his lifetime, for his use and support. If, of course, an amir-

15 See chapter III, 77-8.
founder were discharged for any reason or fell from favour, his fief would be confiscated. Further, these estates were not heritable and were returned to the state after the amir's death.

Although waqf properties were in theory inviolable to the Day of Judgement, frequently legal subterfuges were resorted to by the state and the ruler to break a waqf and confiscate its properties as well. Fearing this confiscation the waqif would often proclaim his waqf publicly, causing it to be promulgated by means of carrying the book of the waqf —the actual document itself— through the streets of Cairo in a procession to the accompaniment of music and song. Or alternatively, a public celebration would be held at the time of the foundation's inauguration. Perhaps the best attested means of public promulgation of the waqf, however, involved the inscribing of a summary of its principal conditions on the façades of the buildings, as was the case, for example, with the Madrasa of Barisbây and its associated complex.\footnote{See 'Uthmân 131.} Al-Ghûri also managed that extracts of his waqfiyya to be inscribed on the qashâni covering some parts of the complex at al-Jarâbshîn.\footnote{See chapter II, 62.}

In these circumstances, as well as in the environment of arbitrary power which existed in the Mamluk state, a member of
the military ruling elite had few options open to him to ensure the
material welfare of his descendants. Further, since the descendants
of the Mamluks were themselves excluded from the Mamluk army,
and thus frequently from 'iqṭā', and were unprotected from
confiscations, succeeding generations would be subject to a
powerful tendency toward downward social mobility.18

A hedge against this sort of circumstance was the so-called
waqf dhurri, the family waqf, which was set up as an endowment
for the descendants of a founder and which derived incomes from
land and property set aside by the patron for this purpose. Because
such family waqfs were of somewhat dubious legitimacy, however,
they were frequently subject to confiscation by the powerful amirs
or by the sultans. To enhance the security of such arrangements,
provisions amounting to waqf dhurri were often included within
waqf khayri, pious foundations established for public use. This was
done by reserving specific salaried functions in the waqf
administration to the founder and to his descendants.19

In conformity with just this sort of practice, al-Ghūrī
designated himself as the nāzir a'la or first supervisor of his waqf

18 See chapter II, 42.

19 It is interesting in this connection to note that neither Ibn Iyās nor
other, earlier historians criticise this sort of mixed waqf as established by al-
Ghūrī, one that includes both dhurri and khayri provisions. On the contrary Ibn
Iyās criticises the confiscations of waqfs, in one instance by al-Ghūrī himself
when he changed the qaysāriyya waqf of an-Nāṣir to make way for the building
of the eastern part of his own complex. See Ibn Iyās, part 4, 53.
with monthly allowance of thirty dinārs (later increased to 50 dinārs) plus whatever surplus income might be left after payment of all the foundation's expenses as stated in the conditions at the end of his waqfiyya. In addition, he appointed his son nāzīr thānī or second supervisor with monthly allowance of twenty dinārs (later increased to 30 dinārs). The waqfiyya further stipulated that after al-Ghūrī's death, the ruler of Egypt of the time would continue to be the foundation's first supervisor. Thus ensuring that the ruler would remain well disposed to the waqf. But to insure that his own descendants continued to enjoy at least a modest material security, he made it a provision of the waqf that his own sons and their descendants would continue in perpetuity to occupy the position of second supervisor. The guarantee of this sinecure assured the security of al-Ghūrī's family not only during the founder's own lifetime but also after his death. The importance of this stipulation, the fact that the sinecure brought with it substantial rewards, is clear from the fact that the accounts of the Ministry of Waqfs dated 1835, the oldest such set of accounts to survive in Egypt to the present day, reveal that al-Ghūrī's waqf was the richest

20 See chapter III, 162, 172-3.
21 See chapter III, 176.
22 See chapter III, 176-7.
in terms of income of all such foundations in Egypt, with an income for that year of 32,858 jinah and 12 mallim. 23

In addition to the stipulation that the office and stipend of nāzir thānī accrue to al-Ghūrī’s descendants, his waqfiyya also bequeathed to his wife a house near his mausoleum, with the restriction, however, that should she remarry or die, the house should go to the founder’s children and that on their deaths it is returned to the waqf. 24 The unspoken assumption here is that as long as al-Ghūrī’s wife remained independent and without other means of support, she should enjoy the benefit of the house, but that otherwise, should she come to be provided for by her spouse by another marriage, there would be no need for such support and no reason for her to keep it. Similarly, the waqfiyya makes provision for female slaves freed by the patron of the waqf. Specifically, al-Ghūrī stipulates that two plots of land be used to support three such women. 25

It is interesting to note in this connection that al-Ghūrī, perhaps anticipating his death and being especially concerned with the well-being of his family, greatly enlarged his waqf at the very

23 It is found in the pages 208-223 of the mentioned account, see Amin Al-'Awqāf wa 'Al-Hayāt 90. Jinah is an Egyptian pound which equals 1000 mallim.

24 See chapter III, 174-5.

25 See chapter III, 175.
end of his life. It is for this reason, presumably, that he transferred the extensive new properties enumerated in the appendix to the waqfiyya and made other changes in its provisions on 17 and 18 Rabi' II, 922/1516, while he was at Raydāniyya just prior to setting out for Syria with the Mamluk army to confront the Ottomans.26

Although al-Ghūrī was thus motivated in the establishment of his foundation by a variety of personal considerations, considerations of private piety and family solidarity, it is equally clear that his foundation was intended to give expression, at least implicitly and metaphorically, to notions of public power and social responsibility and that by doing so it served to emphasize his authority and legitimacy as a Muslim ruler. The Mamluks, as noted above, were an alien Turkish military elite ruling over a subject, largely Arab population. As such they clearly felt the need to proclaim publicly their bona fide as devout Muslims and as Islamic rulers. To this end and throughout their two hundred fifty year rule they used a variety of devices to legitimate their rule. An important device, for example, was the jihād. Mamluk campaigns against infidel alien powers. Such were the wars against the Crusaders and the Mongols in the later part of the thirteenth century and the struggle with the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia a

26 See chapter III, 131-43, 174-5.
century later. Quite different in character but no less charged metaphorically was the construction and endowment of pious foundations.

The jihād was, of course, a multipurpose device which had economic implications—the securing of trade routes—as well as implications relating to the power and prestige of the Mamluk state. Similarly, the construction of public buildings served a variety of ends, including the acquisition by the patron of the community's approval, support and cooperation, tolerance for the inevitable sins of public life, and influence over the Muslim religious elite through the distribution of posts in these institutions among members of the 'ulama.

This latter was a consideration of particular importance given the gulf that existed in Mamluk society between the elite of military rulers isolated from the subject society on the one hand, and the masses of the indigenous Arab population on the other. In this context the role of the 'ulama was of particular importance because they served as a link connecting these otherwise disparate worlds.


28 Lapidus, Muslim Cities 69, 74, 172.

29 For these aspects see the article of Lapidus, "Mamluk Patronage."
Al-Ghūrī inaugurated his foundations at the beginning of his reign, and shaped them to serve educational, charitable, and commemorative and worship-related functions. The *waqfiyya* reflected the patron’s concern for the approval of the *ulama* when it stated that “the patron chose from the knowledgeable believers the most pious and educated. And (he) increased their allowances, treated them with justice, and created recently for them a *waqf* which supports them.”\(^{30}\)

The salaries assigned to the large numbers of religious scholars and judges employed by the *waqf* were a means by which persons could be co-opted and brought to identify their interests with those of the founders, and more broadly with the ruling class.\(^{31}\) In other words, by sponsoring and providing remunerative positions to the *ulama*, the sultan was able to at least neutralize an important potential source of opposition, even if he was not necessarily capable by this means of garnering their active support.

***

\(^{30}\) *Waqfiyya* 882, 7; see chapter III, 78.

\(^{31}\) Little 172.
Finally, having examined the content of al-Ghūrî's *waqfiyya*, what can we say about the usefulness of documents of this sort for as a source of insights concerning Mamluk architecture? In what ways and to what extent can they serve to enhance our understanding of these monuments? As noted earlier, the traditional scholarship on Mamluk architecture has been concentrated most heavily in the matter of description of specific monuments—the approach of Briggs and Creswell, amongst others. The strength of this approach, where it was used with care, was in its archaeological documentation of the specifics of each particular building so examined. Its shortcomings, of course, had to do with the inability of this approach to provide a broader context for the study of architecture, to give insight into the motives of the patron or, at least in any specific way, into the specifics of the function of a monument. It is precisely these sorts of details and data which *waqfiyya* can provide.

Thus, as we have seen, the introduction to al-Ghūrî’s *waqfiyya* deals with the matter of motive. Admittedly, this is done in quite conventional terms: al-Ghūrî undertook to establish his foundation and to erect the buildings associated with it out of motives which were essentially grounded in personal piety and hope for divine reward. That in fact the truth was rather more complicated than this, however, is made clear from other passages in the *waqfiyya*, which at times explicitly and in other instances
implicitly make it clear that al-Ghūrī had purposes of family solidarity and political security in mind as well.

Part three of the waqfiyya, as described in chapter three, deals with the economic basis of the waqf, that is with the revenue sources which provided for both the physical upkeep of the buildings constituting the Ghūriyya complex and for the support of the staff and servants of the foundation. What is so striking about this part of the waqfiyya is the sheer scale on which the endowments were made. Properties were both urban and rural and were found in the main cities of the Mamluk state such as Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo as well as in all of the key agricultural regions such as the Nile Delta, Upper Egypt and Syria.

Likewise, the waqfiyya provides a very precise insight into the personnel of the Ghūriyya complex and the specific nature of the duties of each of them. Examining this list in part four of the waqfiyya, one is struck by what seems to be the redundancy of many of the positions: by the number of mu‘adhdhins or muezzins on the staff or the number of Qurā’ān or reciters of the Qur’an. In part, no doubt, this is to be accounted for by the founder’s aim of co-option, of securing at least the passive acquiescence of the ‘ulema class, even in the absence of its active support.

And finally, the waqfiyya is useful on the level of physical description, that is a description of the physical form and decoration of the monuments of the Ghūriyya complex. The extent
and very specific accounting of each of the buildings, if not particularly notable for their clarity, are nonetheless, remarkably precise and exacting. In this context, it should perhaps be noted that the inclusion of such descriptions in waqfiyya is a peculiarity of Mamluk foundation documents, and is rarely encountered in waqfiyya from other parts of the Islamic world. The presence of such passages are, in any case of the utmost usefulness to the architectural historian on a number of levels. Of particular importance is the fact that they provide an insight into the physical character of a building at the time of its initial foundation, prior to later modifications or reconstructions. And second, such accounts are a valuable source of technical terms as they relate to architecture.

Waqfiyyas are thus a useful source for the study of Mamluk architecture. They provide insight into the motives of the patron, into the physical form of architectural monuments at the time of their foundation, and into the functions carried out within the context of specific architectural settings. While not denying that careful examination of the standing physical remains is absolutely essential, the interpretation of the standing monument can almost always be enhanced through a simultaneous study of a monument's waqfiyya.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Casanova, Paul. Histoire et Description de la Citadelle Du Caire. Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission
Archéologique Française du Caire VI. Paris: Libraire De La Société Asiatique, de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, de l'École du Louvre, etc., 1894.


Lane-Poole, Stanley. The Art of the Saracens in Egypt. London: Chapman and Hall, 1886.


Fig. 1. Map of the Mamluk state in al-Ghūrī’s reign.
Fig. 2. Sultan al-Ghûrî sitting on the mastaba and receiving the Venetian ambassador, 1512, painting, Louvre, reproduced in Schéfer 203.
Fig. 3. The first page of al-Ghūrī’s waqfiyya as it appears in waqfiyya 882.
Fig. 4. Al-Qasaba al-‘Uzma or al-Mu‘izz li Din Illäh Street, Cairo, plan.
Fig. 5. The Site of the Ghüriyya complex, plan, Revault, Maury and Zakariya 33.

Fig. 6. Bazaar of the Silk Mercers, painting, David Roberts, *From an Antique Land* 79.
Fig. 7. The Ghüriyya complex, plan, Briggs 128.
Fig. 8. The main façade of the madrasa, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājīd Misr, pl. 145.
Fig. 9. The minaret of the madrasa after restoration, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Misr, pl. 251.
Fig. 10. The minaret of the madrasa in its original form, painting, Avennes, Atlas I, pl. XXIII.
Fig. 11. The façade of the madrasa, detail.
Fig. 12. The portal of the madrasa.
Fig. 13. The door of the madrasa.
Fig. 14. Interior of the madrasa, facing east, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Misr, pl. 146.
Fig. 15. One of the small iwâns of the madrasa, Wizârat al-Awqâf, Masâjid Misr, pl. 148.
Fig. 16. The main iwān of the madrasa, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Mīr, pl. 147.
Fig. 17. The mihrāb of the madrasa, Hautecœur and Wiet, pl. 210.
Fig. 18. The minbar of the madrasa, Hautecoeur and Wiet, pl. 211.
Fig. 19. The eastern part of the Ghüriyya complex, plan, Kessler 263.
Fig. 20. The eastern part of the Ghamriyya complex, Wizârat al-Awqâf, Masāijid Misr, pl. 149.
Fig. 21. The main façade the eastern part of the Ghuriyya complex.
Fig. 22. The portal of the eastern part of the Ghūriyya complex, Hautecœur and Wiet, pl. 208.
Fig. 23. The Mausoleum of al-Ghūrī, interior, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Misr, pl. 150.
Fig. 24. The mihrah of the mausoleum, Hautecoeur and Wiet, pl. 210.
Fig. 25. Chandelier of the mausoleum, Wizârat al-Aqwâf, Masâjid Misr, pl. 233.
Fig. 26. The ceiling of the khanqāh, restored, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Masājid Misr, pl. 151.
Fig. 27. The sabil and kuttâb of the Ghuriyya complex, Revault, Maury and Zakariya, pl. XXIV-B.
Fig. 28. The courtyard and maq'ad of al-Ghuri, Revault, Maury and Zakariya 41.

1. Vestibule
2. Gallery
3. Courtyard
4. Staircase leading to the khanqah.
5. Staircase leading to the maq'ad.
Fig. 29. The facade of the maq'ad on the courtyard, Revault, Maury and Zakariya, pl. XXII.
Fig. 30. The Maq'ad of al-Ghûri, plan, Revault, Maury and Zakariya 43.

10. Entrance
11. Open area
12. The main hall
13. Dependences
14. Staircase
15. The roof of the depences
16. Shaft for light and air
Fig. 31. The hall of the maq'ad, interior, Revault, Maury and Zakariya, pl. XXIII-A.
Fig. 32. Wakālat al-Ghūrī, plan, the first story, Meinecke-Berg, *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. G. Michell 229.