

DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH

Qāyṭbāy's Foundation in Medina, the *Madrasah*, the *Ribāṭ* and the *Dashīshah*

Muslim rulers have always endowed the shrines of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, competing, and even fighting, for the privilege to be titular custodians of the Ḥaramayn. With the annual pilgrimage caravan, gifts and donations of all kinds were sent to maintain, enlarge, and embellish the shrines, sponsor various religious and philanthropic institutions, support the inhabitants of the holy cities, and assist the pilgrims and the sojourners (*mujāwirūn*) settled there. Pious as well as private endowments, i.e., *awqāf*, from the entire medieval Muslim world generally include a clause stating that in case the primary beneficiary of the endowment or the designated alternatives, whether individuals or institutions, no longer exist, the *waqf* revenue should revert to the Ḥaramayn. Another endowment possibility frequently used was the allocation of a share of a *waqf* revenue, whether a family or a philanthropic *waqf* or a combination of both, for the benefit of the Ḥaramayn in order to provide a specific service, such as the supply of water, the purchase of candles, or the distribution of alms or food. But there were, of course, also direct endowments which were intended primarily for the benefit of the holy cities. The Mamluk sultans, who considered themselves the heirs of the Abbasid caliphs as guardians of the Ḥaramayn, and who did not allow other Muslim rulers to share this prerogative with them, constantly contributed to the architectural, philanthropic, and scholarly promotion of the Holy Cities, including Jerusalem and Hebron, which they had reconquered from the Crusaders.

One of the most prominent sponsors of Muslim holy places all over the Mamluk empire was Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy, the only sultan of the Circassian period to have performed the pilgrimage.¹ His endowments for Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron have been emphasized in contemporary sources,² and some of them

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¹Of the Bahrī Mamluk sultans, al-Zāhir Baybars, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and al-Ashraf Sha'bān are reported to have performed the pilgrimage.

²Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā' i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961-75), 3:164f., 329f.; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 480f.; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1896), 6:205ff.; Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-I'lām bi-A'lām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Tübingen, 1857; repr. Beirut, 1964), 104f., 223, 225f., 229ff.; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā bi-Akhhār Dār al-Muṣṭafā* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1401/1981), 2:639-47,

Article: http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MSR_II_1998-Behrens-Abouseif.pdf

Full volume: http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MamlukStudiesReview_II_1998.pdf



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are also documented by extant *waqf* documents. The *waqf* deeds of Qāyṭbāy's *madrasahs* in Jerusalem and Gaza have been published,³ while that of the *madrasah* in Mecca is not yet known. Qāyṭbāy's opulent endowment for Medina is the subject of this study.

The substantial *waqf* deed of Qāyṭbāy at the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) in Paris, which has so far not been taken into consideration, opens up a new perspective for a study of Qāyṭbāy's pious works.⁴ It describes an endowment made for the benefit of a *madrasah*, a *ribāṭ*, and a charitable kitchen in Medina. But of course the value of the document goes beyond the religious and charitable aspects. The considerable real estate alienated in Cairo to finance this foundation reveals another interesting aspect of *waqf* administration in this period, and, moreover, the architectural descriptions of secular and religious buildings can significantly contribute to our knowledge of late Mamluk architecture.⁵

Like his earlier *waqfiyah* endowing his religious-funerary complex in Cairo, Qāyṭbāy's *waqfiyah* (235 fols.) at the BN consists of a collection of consecutive endowments dated between 889 and 899.

Qāyṭbāy's charitable works in Medina received particular attention in the chronicles because of the circumstances that accompanied this initiative and the way Qāyṭbāy himself advertised it. The sultan was deeply moved during his pilgrimage in 884/1480 by the poverty and deprivation he saw there. A few months later, in Rabī' I 885/1480, during the traditional banquet given by the sultan for the celebration of the Prophet's birthday and in the presence of the four chief *qādīs* and the great amirs, six slaves came in carrying dishes on their heads. When the dishes were uncovered, heaps of gold *dīnārs* were revealed to the guests. According to Ibn Iyās's account, Qāyṭbāy asked the Shāfi'ī *qāḍī* to keep the money (60,000 *dīnārs*) in trust, but he declined. Jawharī adds that none of the four *qādīs* was willing to keep this amount in trust, nor the three highest amirs, the great *dawādār*, the *atābak*, and the *rās al-nawbah*. Finally it was the treasurer, or *khazindār*, who agreed to take it in order to conduct the transactions necessary for the *waqf*. This is confirmed by the *waqf* deed which mentions the name of the *khazindār*, Barsbāy al-Maḥmūdī,⁶ as having purchased estates in his function as proxy for the sultan.

710-17; Muḥīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rikh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 2:325ff.

³Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Wathīqat al-Sulṭān Qāyṭbāy, Dirāsah wa-Taḥlīl: al-Madrasah bi-al-Quds wa-al-Jāmi' bi-Ghazzah," *Dirāsāt fī al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 1979), 483-538.

⁴Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Ar. No. 471.

⁵See my forthcoming article "Qāyṭbāy's Real Estate in Cairo: *Waqf* and Power." The architecture of the Ashrafiyah of Medina will be discussed in another study now in progress.

⁶BN *waqf*, fol. 22.

Jawharī reports, furthermore, that the sultan urged his officials to acquire any decaying estate they might find, even by the means of *istibdāl*, i.e. exchange, and to restore it and invest it for the *waqf*. The Ḥanafī chief *qādī*, however, aware of the abuses that an *istibdāl* transaction usually led to, warned the sultan that this should not be practiced, unless it were fully justified.⁷ *Istibdāl* is the exchange or sale of an alienated estate that is no longer profitable, in order to allow the endower to substitute for it another more lucrative estate. Alienated or *waqf* estates were not allowed to be objects of transactions under normal conditions. In case the estate had deteriorated to the extent of no longer yielding a revenue, it could be sold in order to allow the acquisition of a better investment. This device was, however, regularly misused to release alienated estates for other purposes, for example when a sultan or an amir became interested in it.

Jawharī praised Qāyṭbāy for having established a *waqf* in the first instance for the benefit of Medina, and not as "other kings and people nowadays do" who dedicate the *waqf* to themselves, their family, and descendants in the first place, leaving to the holy cities only the remainder. The sultan meant to support the people of Medina by making them the first beneficiary of the *waqf* before its yield was consumed, and Jawharī adds: "if only it remains safe from *istibdāl*!" It is interesting to note that the sultan himself in his own *waqf* deed strictly prohibited the use of *istibdāl* without his permission, at any time and not even after his death.⁸ This did not prevent him, however, from making use of *istibdāl* in order to acquire the plot he wanted for his complex in Medina; a *madrasah*, a *ribāṭ*, and a house had to be demolished and rebuilt elsewhere to make place for Qāyṭbāy's constructions.⁹

THE MAWQŪFĀT OR ALIENATED ESTATES

When Qāyṭbāy pledged to donate the sum of 60,000 *dīnārs* to the people of Medina, he stressed that this entire sum came from his own private account, not from the *bayt al-māl*.¹⁰ This is interesting because his previous endowment, dedicated to his funerary complex in Cairo, included both personal property as well as estates from the *bayt al-māl*. Some of the agricultural land alienated for the Medina foundation was *arāḍī kharājīyah*, that is, it belonged to the *bayt al-māl*, which means that Qāyṭbāy did not finance his philanthropic works exclusively with his private funds, but used also property of the *bayt al-māl*. The inclusion of *kharāj* land that had not been purchased in a *waqf* meant that only its tax revenue

⁷Ibn Iyās, 3:164f.; Jawharī, 480.

⁸BN *waqf*, fol. 17.

⁹Samhūdī, 2:643.

¹⁰Ibn Iyās, 3:165.

was alienated, not the land itself which remained in the possession of the state.¹¹ Without entering into the discussion over the complex subject of land property in medieval Islam and its evolution, one may generally say that in medieval Egypt land was considered property of the state. The *kharāj* or tax revenue of land was thus the property of the *bayt al-māl*, held in trust by the ruler for the community. The ruler had the right to lease the land in the name of the *bayt al-māl*, leasing only its usufruct to the holder who would pay the *kharāj* tax. Under the military *iqṭā'* system applied in Egypt since the Ayyubid period, the tax revenue of the land belonging to the *bayt al-māl* was granted as *iqṭā'* to the amirs as remuneration for maintaining the army.¹²

Theoretically the alienation of an estate as *waqf* could take place only when the estate had been acquired as private property, otherwise it was not *waqf* but *irṣād*. The latter was applied prior to the Ayyubid period, whenever the rulers financed institutions for the public interest or for philanthropic purposes. According to Muḥammad Amīn it was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who began to alienate *bayt al-māl* property for the benefit of members of the ruling establishment and their descendants. From that time on, the line between *bayt al-māl* and the sultan's private property was blurred; the Mamluk sultans alienated *bayt al-māl* estates and included them in their *waqfs* in which they themselves and their families were beneficiaries. The sultans were also authorized to sell property of the *bayt al-māl*, which officially opened the way for its alienation as *waqf*. At the end of the Mamluk period, half of Egypt's *kharāj* land was alienated in *waqfs*. Even when the purpose was a philanthropic one, the alienation of a *bayt al-māl* estate was subject to criticism because of its detrimental effect on the *iqṭā'* system and thus on military potential.¹³ As a result, it happened that in times of military emergency the state treasury was found empty, and the sultans had to request from the religious and administrative establishment authorization to confiscate *waqf* funds in order to pay the soldiers, a measure which was of course illegal. Sultan Qāyṭbāy himself, during his wars with the Dhū al-Qadr, found himself in such a situation and had to confront the violent opposition of the 'ulamā'.¹⁴ Thus when he declared that the 60,000 *dīnārs* he had sponsored came exclusively from his private purse, he was probably aiming

¹¹BN *waqf*, fol. 13v.

¹²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853-54), 1:85ff.; A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon (1250-1900)* (London, 1939; repr. 1977); Abdalaziz Duri, *Arabische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Zurich, 1979), chap. 4; Claude Cahen, 'Iḳṭā'', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 3:1088-91.

¹³Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'iyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1980), 32f., 300f.

¹⁴Amīn, 326f.; Jawharī, 33ff.

to avert criticism from this side. He did, nonetheless, alienate *kharāj* land for his Medina foundation, as he had done earlier for his funerary complex.

Concerning the legal problems involved in the alienation of *bayt al-māl* property in *waqfs*, Jawharī reports a heated debate between the jurists of the four rites in which Qāyṭbāy himself participated. It dealt with the question of the extent to which the endower was allowed to modify the stipulations of a *waqf* in which *bayt al-māl* estate is included. He does not inform us, however, about the outcome of the debate.¹⁵

Apart from the agricultural land, the sultan alienated substantial commercial complexes within the city of Cairo, which shows that he did acquire buildings previously alienated and included them in his own *waqf*. There were also a few estates in Damascus, Aleppo, and in Medina itself.¹⁶ In Medina there were shops, a *ḥammām*, an apartment complex (*rab'*), as well as individual apartments, a house for rent, and three orchards whose revenue served the trust.¹⁷ A *wakālah* with a mill and a bakery were dedicated to the storage and preparation of the wheat for the *dashīshah*.

STIPULATIONS

The BN *waqf* document states that this endowment should follow the same stipulations established in the sultan's previous great *waqf* for his funerary complex.¹⁸ This seems to suggest that no other important *waqf* was established by Qāyṭbāy between that of the funerary complex dated 879, 881, and 884, and the Medina endowment. As supervisor (*nāẓir*) of the foundation, Qāyṭbāy nominated himself, to be succeeded by future sultans.¹⁹ The deputy-supervisors (*nā'ib nāẓir*) were to be the Chief of the Armies (*atābak*), the Chief Secretary (*dawādār kabīr*), and the Privy Secretary (*kātib al-sirr*). In his first endowment for the funerary complex there is no mention of future sultans as succeeding supervisors. As for the deputy supervisors, they are the same in both endowments. The four chief *qādīs* were to act as *shāhids* or notaries of the endowment.

THE DASHĪSHAH

Qāyṭbāy employed his public kitchen in Medina for the distribution of the *dashīshah*, a dish made of wheat and fat, following the model of the Hebron kitchen. The sultan had restored the shrine of al-Khalīl, or Hebron, but his chroniclers do not

¹⁵Jawharī, 354f.

¹⁶BN *waqf*, fols. 13v.-15.

¹⁷Ibid., fols. 30ff.

¹⁸Ibid., fols. 8v., 16v.

¹⁹Ibid., fol. 15v.

provide details about a public kitchen there. Mujīr al-Dīn, however, writes that Sultan Barqūq (r. 1382-1399) had made an endowment specifically for the *simāt* in Hebron, i.e., for the distribution of food, and that he inscribed the endowment text at the doors of the shrine of Abraham.²⁰ This *simāt* was still going on during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 1438-1453).²¹ This could have been the model for Qāyrbāy's *dashīshah*. In his earlier endowment in Mecca, Qāyrbāy also included a kitchen for the distribution of *dashīshah*.²² The word *dashīshah* derives from the verb *dashsha* meaning to crush. The *dashīshah* was thus a kind of porridge made of wheat and fat, perhaps something like the *harīshah* common in Syria today.

Qāyrbāy commemorated his endowments for the *dashīshah* in Medina in a long inscription at the entrance of his *wakālah* near Bāb al-Naṣr, which is unique in Cairene epigraphy.²³ It states that the sultan alienated this structure to serve bread and *dashīshah* to the pilgrims and the needy of Medina. It ends with a kind of prayer written as a poem in the first person, in which the sultan beseeches God to acknowledge his piety and reward him. This poem, of mediocre quality, could have been composed by Qāyrbāy himself, for Ibn Iyās writes that he was the author of religious poems which were recited in mosques.²⁴

The *waqf* stipulates, furthermore, that six hundred *ardabbs* of Upper Egyptian wheat should be sent every year for *dashīshah* and bread to be distributed at Qāyrbāy's *madrasah* in Mecca, also called al-Ashrafīyah, and that funds should be added to the endowment of the Meccan foundation whenever necessary. This *madrasah* is not included in this deed; it was begun in 883/1478-1479 and completed by the time Qāyrbāy arrived in Mecca.²⁵

Seventy-five hundred *ardabbs* of wheat were to be shipped yearly to Medina for the preparation of *dashīshah* and bread (two loaves daily per person), to be distributed to the poor and the visitors (*al-ghurabā' wa-al-fuqarā' al-āfāqīyah*). Also the community of the *madrasah* was to benefit from this wheat, which was to be distributed indiscriminately to all of these people, whether rich or poor, big or small, male or female, free or slave, so that no one would need to buy food, "as is the case for the *simāt* of Hebron."²⁶ Whatever remained of the wheat was to be stored in order to be used when needed. The reference to women in this stipulation

²⁰Mujīr al-Dīn, 2:94.

²¹Ibid., 2:97.

²²Quṭb al-Dīn, 106.

²³Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, vol. 1: Égypte (Cairo, 1894-1903), 4:494ff.

²⁴Ibn Iyās, 3:326.

²⁵Quṭb al-Dīn, 225.

²⁶BN *waqf*, fol. 15.

is noteworthy, but because of its singularity it does not allow more than speculation about a possible presence of women among the *madrasah's* community.

The *waqf* was responsible for the transportation costs of the wheat from Suez to Yanbu', through Jiddah and on to Mecca and Medina, including the cost of its storage, the purchase of oil and kitchen utensils, the upkeep of mills and bakeries, and the cooking and the distribution of the *dashīshah*. It seems that the wheat was to be processed in Cairo, as the *waqf* mentions among the alienated estates a large *wakālah* for wheat and its processing south of Bāb Zuwaylah. Qāyrbāy moreover alienated two ships (*markab mismār*) for the transportation of the wheat. The one was called Abū Salāmah, the other Abū al-Sa'ādāt. The first was twenty-nine *dhirā' bukhārī* long, and the other twenty-six.²⁷ One thousand *ardabbs* of wheat were to be granted yearly to the amir of Medina.

THE TAX EXEMPTION

A decree dated 890/1485 is included in the BN *waqf* document stipulating that the amir of Medina should free the city from all taxes.²⁸ The tax exemption was not an innovation of Qāyrbāy; al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his son Sultan Ḥasan, as well as al-Ashraf Sha'bān, had coupled their endowments in the Holy Cities with a tax exemption.²⁹ It is interesting to note that the text of Qāyrbāy's decree included in his deed is almost identical with the one in Sultan Sha'bān's endowment deed for the Ḥaramayn, with one important difference, however. Sha'bān's decree excludes from this privilege persons adhering to Shi'ism (*zaydīyah wa-al-rāfidīyah*). There is no such exclusion in Qāyrbāy's endowment.

THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

Qāyrbāy's buildings at Medina consisted of a *madrasah*, a *ribāṭ*, and a so-called *'imārah*, which is described as a public kitchen and its annexes.³⁰ They were built as a complex adjoining the mosque of the Prophet. According to Ibn Iyās the building of the *madrasah* had already begun in Rabī' I 883/June 1478 and it was completed in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482,³¹ which, by Mamluk standards, is a long period. The reason for the delay could have been the fire which destroyed the

²⁷The Ottoman sultans took over the tradition of alienating ships for the transportation of the *dashīshah* to the Hijaz. Muḥammad 'Afīfī, "al-Awqāf wa-al-Milāḥah al-Baḥrīyah fī-al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī al-'Aṣr al-'Uthmānī," in *Le Waqf dans l'espace islamique: Outil de pouvoir socio-politique*, ed. Randi Deguilhem (Damascus, 1995), 87-100.

²⁸BN *waqf*, fol. 98v.

²⁹Rāshid Sa'd Rāshid al-Qaḥṭānī, *Awqāf al-Sultān al-Ashraf Sha'bān 'alā al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh, 1994), 40, 46, 229f.

³⁰BN *waqf*, fols. 28v.- 31v.

³¹Ibn Iyās, 3:145, 196.

prayer hall of the Prophet's Mosque and his funerary chamber in 886/1481, which Qāyṭbāy began immediately to rebuild. The earliest date mentioned in the *waqf* deed is 889/1484, two years after the date of the *madrasah*'s completion as reported by Ibn Iyās.

The restoration works were completed at the end of 887 and cost as much as 100,000 *dīnārs*.³² A second fire which broke out in Rabī' II 898 was followed by a new restoration. The rebuilding of the mosque, which required craftsmen and funds from Egypt, may have delayed the construction of the *madrasah*. Another, though less likely, reason for this delay was the legal problem that obstructed the acquisition of the land for the *madrasah*. To build this complex, Qāyṭbāy, as stated in the *waqf* deed, purchased and demolished several buildings, including houses. This did not occur without difficulty, however. Ibn Iyās reports that the *qāḍī* who authorized, or rather forced, the transaction was eventually killed by a Shi'ite (*rāfiḍī*) who owned one of these houses.³³ Similarly, the sultan had to dismiss a *qāḍī* in Mecca who tried to stop construction because the new *madrasah* encroached upon a public passage.³⁴

Next to the *madrasah*, which adjoined the Prophet's Mosque, was a *majma'* described as a shelter for the poor and the visitors coming to the *madrasah* (*ma'wan lil-fuqarā' wa-al-wāridīn min zuwwār al-madrasah*).³⁵ The complex also included a *sabīl*, and a *ribāṭ* consisting of eighty cells to be used as a hostel for visitors (*al-fuqarā' wa-al-wāridīn*), "as is the custom in the *arbiṭah*."³⁶ It included an ablution fountain and a small bath (*mustahamm*). Opposite the *madrasah* was a second building consisting of a *wakālah* with ten rooms for storing wheat above which was an apartment complex (*rab'*) with ten living units. The building included also a *sabīl* with a primary school (*maktab*) above it. The vestibule of this '*imārah* opened on to a mill, a bakery, the *dashīshah* kitchen, and a stable.

Unlike his *madrasah* in Cairo, Qāyṭbāy's *madrasah* in Medina was not a Friday mosque; neither a *khaṭīb* to preach the Friday sermon nor an *imām* to lead the prayer were appointed. The staff consisted of thirty Sufis and their shaykh who were to perform the daily *ḥuḍūr al-taṣawwuf*³⁷ and to dedicate the *thawāb*, that is, the blessing, to the founder and his descendants, as well as a reader of

³²Ibid., 3:187, 188, 294.

³³Ibid., 3:145.

³⁴Quṭb al-Dīn, 104f.

³⁵BN *waqf*, fol. 29.

³⁶Ibid., fol. 229v.

³⁷The *ḥuḍūr* consists of reading of specific Quranic texts followed by prayers, invocations, and chanting. J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 204ff.; Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khānqāh* (Berlin, 1988), 57.

ḥadīth. The Quran reader appointed in this *waqf* was to perform in the Prophet's Mosque. The Sufis were to meet daily in the afternoon with their shaykh in the *madrasah* and to perform the *ḥudūr*, dedicating their prayers to the Prophet, to the founder and his descendants, and to all Muslims. The shaykh of the *ribāṭ*, who was not identical with that of the *madrasah*, was required to have scholarly qualifications (*min ṭalabat al-'ilm*), to assist visitors, and to perform the *dhikr* ceremony with them.

The functions of the *majma'* and the *ribāṭ* seem to have been complementary. The first is described as a shelter but without living units, perhaps only a gathering place like the *majma'* at Qāyṭbāy's *madrasah* in Jerusalem.³⁸ The *ribāṭ*, however, was a complex of living units with domestic facilities but does not seem to have included a gathering room. The complex thus hosted a permanent *madrasah* community which consisted of the thirty Sufis and their shaykh who all received allowances, and served visiting scholars and Sufis for whom the *majma'* was the meeting place. These were entitled to food but they received no stipend.

It is noteworthy that the term *ribāṭ* here does not refer to a well-defined Sufi institution but rather to a boarding facility connected with the *madrasah* and the *majma'*. The *madrasah* itself, as far as the stipulations indicate, did not include the teaching of *fiqh*, as in earlier academic institutions, as none of the four rites of Islamic law is mentioned in this context, but only *ḥudūr* and *ḥadīth* reading. The only reference to *madhhabs* is made in connection with the ablution fountains, one consisting of a basin and called *shāfi'īyah*, and the other a fountain with running water of the *ḥanafīyah* type. The *madrasah*, however, had a library for the use of students and scholars (*ṭalabat al-'ilm*).

The term *madrasah* here should not be taken in its classical sense, but rather in the sense of a *khānqāh*. The fact that it did not include a *khuṭbah* may be explained by its close vicinity to the Prophet's Mosque, because the community could attend the Friday sermon and prayer there. In the Ashrafīyah of Jerusalem, however, the shaykh of the Sufis was in charge of teaching (*tadrīs*) as well as reading the *ḥadīth*; at the same time, he held the office of the *mashyakhah* of the Sufis. This *madrasah* included, according to the original stipulations of 878/1473, sixty Sufis and ten students, but later in 896/1491 the sultan changed the stipulations and appointed only Sufis.³⁹ However, at the *madrasah* in Mecca, which was planned to house forty students, the curriculum included the four rites of Islamic law.⁴⁰ The program offered by Qāyṭbāy's *madrasah* in Medina could be found in any mosque of this period and was no longer that of the thirteenth and fourteenth

³⁸Mujīr al-Dīn, 2:238.

³⁹Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, 505, 525.

⁴⁰Quṭb al-Dīn, 225.

century orthodox institutions of this name. The loosening of the *madrasah* curriculum in favor of Sufi rituals was a development of the late fifteenth century.⁴¹

THE EXPENDITURES

The revenue of the *waqf* was to cover all expenses of the alienated agricultural land, including the expenses for peasants, fertilizers, dams, bridges, water ways, and waterwheels. The salaries of the staff appointed in Egypt were paid in silver *dirhams* on a monthly basis; the Medina staff was paid yearly in gold *dīnārs*. The latter must have received their pay upon the arrival of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. Allowances of the Cairene staff were paid in *dirhams* on a monthly basis.⁴²

2,000	each of the four chief <i>qāḍīs</i> of Egypt
3,000	each of the two prime deputy-supervisors, the <i>atābak</i> Azbak and the <i>dāwādār</i> Aqbardī; their successors were to receive only 2,000 <i>dh.</i> each
2,000	the Privy Secretary for his function as second deputy-supervisor
2,000	the secretary Abū al-Baqā ibn al-Jī'ān (<i>mubāshir</i>)
3,000	the intendant of the <i>waqf</i> (<i>shādd al-waqf</i>) Janbalāṭ min Yashbak (his successors were to receive only 2,000 <i>dh.</i>)
1,000	an administrator to collect the rents and oversee the craftsmen (<i>shādd al-mustakhraj wa-al-'imārah</i>)
1,000	an overseer of the silo (<i>mubāshir al-shūnah</i>)
500	a clerk (<i>muwaqqi'</i>)
1,500	two notaries (<i>shāhid 'adl</i>) to oversee the maintenance of the buildings (<i>taṣqī' [?] al-musaqqafāt</i>) ⁴³

Allowances of the staff of Medina paid in gold *dīnārs*, on a yearly basis:⁴⁴

44	the four chief <i>qāḍīs</i> of Medina as notaries (<i>shāhid</i>) of the endowment ⁴⁵
20	the <i>shaykh ṣūfīyah</i>
6	each of the thirty Sufis
24	a reader of <i>Ḥadīth al-Bukhārī</i> in the <i>madrasah</i>
24	a Quran reciter in the Prophet's Mosque
10	a custodian for the Quran (<i>khādim al-muṣḥaf</i>) in the Prophet's Mosque
36	a shaykh of the <i>ribāt</i>

⁴¹See Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions," *Annales islamologiques* 21 (1985): 73-93.

⁴²BN *waqf*, fols. 184v.-186v.

⁴³I was not able to find the exact meaning of *taṣqī'* in this context.

⁴⁴BN *waqf*, fols. 187ff.

⁴⁵The sums indicated for several persons were to be shared equally among them.

- 10 a custodian for the Qurans in the Prophet's Mosque (*khādim rab'a*)
- 30 a librarian (*khāzin kutub*)
- 20 a teacher in the primary school for orphans (*mu'addib aytām*)
- 90 thirty orphaned schoolboys
- 32 four *mu'adhdhins*
- 8 a chief *mu'adhdhin* and time-keeper (*mu'aqqit*)
- 50 the shaykh of the Prophet's Mosque to supervise the *madrasah* and the *ribāt*
- 30 a eunuch to supervise the trust in Medina (*shādd al-madrasah wa-al-awqāf*)
- 20 two attendants for the two fountains (*muzammilātī*)
- 84 cost of refilling the cisterns
- 32 two overseers of the *dashīshah* (*amīn*)
- 32 two accountants for the bakery (*shāhid makhbaz*)
- 16 an accountant for the warehouses in Medina (*amīn ḥawāṣil*)
- 12 a rent collector (*jābī*)
- 20 two sweepers for the *madrasah* (*farrāsh*)
- 8 a sweeper for the ablution fountain of the *madrasah* (*farrāsh mīdā*)
- 4 a sweeper around the *madrasah* (*kannās*)
- 20 two persons in charge of the lighting (*waqqād*)
- 32 two doormen (*bawwāb*)
- 6 a craftsman to repair the marble of the *madrasah* (*murakkhim*)
- 6 a plumber (*sabbāk*)

The expenditures enumerated in the *waqfiyah* do not indicate the salaries of the personnel working in the bakery and the *dashīshah* kitchen, or the staff in charge of transportation of the wheat and its processing and the maintenance of the *wakālah* and its kitchen, all of whom were to be remunerated by the *waqf*.

Less than a century later, Quṭb al-Dīn (d. 988/1580) wrote that the funds of the Meccan endowment were already exhausted; the pots of the *dashīshah* kitchen as well as *waqf* real estate were being sold.⁴⁶ A few years after these words were written, in 997/1589, another sultan, the Ottoman Murād III (r. 1574-1598) made a large endowment for Medina for which he alienated large plots of Egyptian agricultural land, to sponsor renovations at the mosque of Medina and a large public kitchen which served not just *dashīshah*, but an extensive menu including meat and sweets.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Quṭb al-Dīn, 106, 226.

⁴⁷Wizārat al-Awqāf, Cairo, *waqf* deed no. 906.