**The Waqf-endowment strategy of a Mamluk military man:**

**The contexts, motives, and purposes of the endowments of Qijmās al-Isḥāqī (d. 1487)**

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**Appendix: The waqf-related documents of Qijmās al-Isḥāqī**

According to Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn’s *Fihrist Wathāʾiq al-Qāhira ḥattā Nihāyat ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (239–922h/853–1516m)* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1981), the catalogue of archival documents in medieval Egypt, 25 documents relating to Qijmās are held by the Ministry of Waqfs (*Wizārat al-Awqāf*) in Egypt (j670–680, 682–687, 689–695, 735). However, at the Ministry I could access only 20 of these, since the others (j675, 676, 678, 680, 694) were either missing or under restoration. Instead, deed j676 has been copied and edited by Amīn and printed in his catalogue (pp. 383–406), and a microfilmed copy of deed j680 is included in the collection of the Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC) of the University of Chicago. Thus, I used these two deeds in these formats.

The microfilm collection of MEDOC includes copies of a part of the waqf documents held by the Ministry of Waqfs, among which nine are documents relating to Qijmās (j670, 671, 672, 677, 679, 680, 682, 684, and 689). Although I was not allowed to photocopy the original documents at the Ministry of Waqfs, I could re-examine the nine microfilmed copies, comparing them with the notes I took during my investigation of the original documents at the Ministry.[[1]](#footnote-1) However, while comparing the original deeds, the microfilmed copies, and the catalog, I encountered two major problems. First, probably because of an error from the restoration, the original document j670 was divided into two, and the latter half was erroneously attached to j689. However, this document has been presented correctly in the microfilmed copy held by the MEDOC. The current article draws from this version. Second, a comparison with the date and content of each deed found in Amīn’s catalogue revealed that documents j685 and j686 are wrongly numbered. The reason for this is not clear. Did Amīn make a mistake in the numbering when compiling the catalogue, or was it an error that occurred during the restoration? The current article uses the present numbering at the Ministry.

In addition to these documents, a document relating to Qijmās is included in the *hujaj* collection of the Monastery of St Catherine (No. 272). This document validates the istibdāl (transfer) of a waqf-endowed building in the Bāṭiliyya area of Cairo, that the asset finally became a part of the waqf of Qijmās. The description of the document gives us valuable information about the process through which Qijmās acquired and endowed the asset as a waqf. The building appears in the waqf deed j670 as an asset endowed by Qijmās, but the deed does not include information on how he acquired the asset. However, the reason why the document is held by the Monastery is unknown.[[2]](#footnote-2)

These documents, which were all drawn up in Egypt, include various types of deeds, such as those related to the establishment of the waqf, istibdāl, and the change in the waqf’s stipulations regarding beneficiaries. In addition to the cases in which Qijmās was personally involved, these deeds contain those of waqfs founded by people who had close connections with him. In contrast, the documents relating to Qijmās’s waqfs in Syria are undiscovered.

**Table 2. Details of Waqf I**

Asset numbers correspond to the serial numbers of assets mentioned in Table 1.

The numbers in square brackets indicate the priority assigned to beneficiaries.

The data in round brackets indicate the supplied amounts: df = dirham min al-fulūs (copper dirham), /m = per month, /y = per year.

The rules are valid for Tables 2 to 15.

Date of endowment: 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 869

Source: j679

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 1–3

Beneficiaries:

[1] Qijmās

[2] al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Qijmās’s son

[3-1] Three-quarters of the income: the male-line descendants of Qijmās

[3-2] One-quarter of the income: Barsbāy and Dawlatbāy, Qijmās’s mamluks

[4-1] Half of the income: twenty-nine qāriʾs (Quran reciters; 75 df/m per capita) and their shaykh (150 df/m), who performed services at the Maqṣūra of the Azhar mosque

[4-2] Half of the income: The poor people of Medina

[5] The poor (anywhere)

Administrators:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Qāytbāy

[3] The most qualified descendant of Qijmās

[4] Barsbāy and Dawlatbāy, Qijmās’s mamluks

[5] Al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad ibn Arghūn al-Qarmī

[6] Chief Maliki Judge of Egypt and the khāzindār thānī (second treasurer)

[7] Chief Maliki Judge of Egypt (by himself)

Appendix: From the 29 qāriʾs, three are selected for performing the following tasks: (1) checking the attendance of the qāriʾs; (2) serving as a khādim al-rubʿa; and (3) reciting the Quran and dedicating its reward to Prophet Muḥammad, the ṣaḥāba and ṭābiʿūn, Qijmās, and the descendants of Qijmās. In addition to their regular monthly salaries, they receive 10 df/m.

**Table 3. Details of Waqf II**

Date of endowment: Unknown

Source: j670

Founder: al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad ibn Arghūn al-Qarmī

Assets: Unknown

Beneficiaries:

[1] The founder’s daughter (Qijmās’s wife) and

1 nāẓir (administrator) of the waqf (300 df/m)

[2] Al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Qādir, Qijmās’s sons

[3] Descendants of Qijmās’s sons

[4] The slaves freed by Qijmās

[5] The slaves freed by Qāytbāy

[6] The poor people of Ḥaramayn

[7] The poor (anywhere)

Administrators:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Qāytbāy

[3] Chief Maliki Judge of Egypt

**Table 4. Details of Waqf III**

Date of endowment: Unknown

Source: j677

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 4–6

Beneficiaries:

[1] Ten orphans (a total of 100 df/m)

One muʾaddib (maktab teacher; 150 df/m)

One muzammalāṭī (the man in charge of water distribution; 300 df/m)

Ten sufi qāriʾs (a total of 600 df/m) and their shaykh (150 df/m), who perform services at a place specified by the founder

One qāriʾ, who performs services at a place specified by the founder (200 df/m)

One qayyim (guard) of the place where the founder would be buried (150 df/m)

One cook at the place where the founder would be buried (120 df/m)

The cost of fresh water to be supplied at a place stipulated by the founder (600 df/m)

One nāẓir of the waqf (200 df/m)

The cost of cloth supplied to the ten orphans during ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (5,200 df/y)

The cost of mats (ḥuṣur) supplied to the orphans (200 df/y)

[2] Qijmās

[3] Qijmās’s descendants

[4] The slaves freed by Qijmās

[5] The poor people of Ḥaramayn

[6] The poor (anywhere)

Appendix: From the ten sufi qāriʾs, three are selected for performing the following tasks: (1) distributing rubʿas among the sufis; (2) reciting the juzʾ of the Qurʾān and concluding it by performing taḥlīl, tasbīl, and ṣalāt for the Prophet, the ṣaḥāba, Qijmās, the descendants of Qijmās, and all the Muslims who have passed on; and (3) checking the attendance of the sufi qāriʾs. In addition to their regular monthly salaries, they receive 10 df/m.

**Table 5. Details of Waqf IV**

Date of endowment: 16 Muḥarram 874

Source: j670

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 4–11

Institution: Turba (tomb) in the Ṣaḥrāʾ area, Cairo

Beneficiaries:

[1] One qayyim of the turba (500 df/m)

 Equipment for the ṣihrīj (50 df/m)

 Fuel oil (200 df/m)

 Five qāriʾs (300 df/m per capita)

 Water for the ṣihrīj (6,000 df/y)

 Bread distributed every Friday to the poor visitors to and staff of the turba (200 df per week)

 Kaʿk and bread distributed during ʿĪd al-Aḑḥā to the poor who visit the turba and the staff (1,000 df/y)

 Meals distributed during ʿĀshūrāʾ (the 10th Day of Muḥarram) (1,000 df/y)

 Sacrificial cow offered during ʿĪd al-Aḑḥā (3,000 df/y)

 Qijmās’s wife (500 df/m)

 One nāẓir (500 df/m)

 One accountant (500 df/m)

 The poor people of Ḥaramayn (10,000 df/y)

 Maintenance costs of the waqf (10,000 df/y)

[2-1]: Two-thirds of the amount remaining after paying for [1]

(1) Qijmās

(2) Qijmās’s descendants

(3) The slaves freed by Qijmās

(4) Descendants of the slaves freed by Qijmās

[2-2]: One-third of the remainder after paying for [1]

(1) The slaves freed by Qijmās

(2) Qijmās’s descendants

[3] Ḥaramayn (10,000 df/y) and the poor (anywhere)

Administrator:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad al-Qarmī

[3] The most qualified descendant of Qijmās

[4] The most qualified slave freed by Qijmās

[5] Khāzindār thānī (second treasurer) of Egypt

[6] Nāʾib al-qalʿa (governor of the citadel) of Cairo

**Table 6. Details of Waqf V**

Date of endowment: 15 Ṣafar 874

Source: j687, j695

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 12 and 13

Beneficiaries: Waqf IV (turba)

**Table 7. Details of Waqf VI**

Date of endowment: 23 Muḥarram 875

Source: j670

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Number 14

Beneficiaries:

The following staff of the turba:

Nine sufi qāriʾs (50 df/m per capita) and their shaykh (300 df/m)

One farrāsh (janitor)-waqqād (lamp-lighter)-muzammalātī (500 df/m)

One accountant

**Table 8. Details of Waqf VII**

Date of endowment: 13 Dhū al-Qaʿda 876

Source: j670

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 15–18

Beneficiaries:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Waqf IV

**Table 9. Details of Waqf VIII**

Date of endowment: 19 Shaʿbān 879

Source: j683

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 20–23

Institutions: Jāmiʿ, Mīḑaʾa, Ḥawḑ al-sabīl for livestock, Sāqiya for providing drinking water to people, Ḥānūt, Zāwiya for the poor and passers-by, and Bustān in Alexandria

Beneficiaries of the asset numbers 20–22:

The following staff of the Jāmiʿ:

One imām (200 df/m)

One muʾadhdhin (200 df/m)

One khaṭīb (100 df/m)

One muraqqī (assistant) at the khuṭba (sermon) (50 df/m)

Two muʾadhdhins at the Friday prayer (100 df/m for each)

One farrāsh (100 df/m)

One sawwāq (the man in charge of activating the waterwheel, 200 df/m)

One waqqād of the Jāmiʿ and Zāwiya (100 df/m)

Distribution of food to the poor every Friday (300 df/m)

Mats and lamps (50 df/m)

One nāẓir (100 df/m)

Provision of fodder for livestock, requisites such as qawādīs (waterwheel buckets) and ropes, wages for carpenters, etc. (300 df/m)

Maintenance costs of the institutions (50 df/m)

Beneficiaries of the asset number 23:

Distribution of bread to the poor at the Jāmiʿ

Administrator:

[1] Qijmās

[2] The most qualified descendant of Qijmās, and the Viceroy of Alexandria

[3] Viceroy of Alexandria

**Table 10. Details of Waqf IX**

Date of endowment: Unknown

Source: j683

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 24 and 25

Beneficiaries:

[1] Jāmiʿ (Waqf VIII), and the distribution of bread, water, and the dashīsha soup to the poor at the mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Barq

**Table 11. Details of Waqf X**

Date of endowment: 18 Shaʿbān 881

Source: j670, j672, j674, j685, j691

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 26–39

Beneficiaries:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Waqf IV (Turba)

**Table 12. Details of Waqf XI**

Date of endowment: 19 Shawwāl 883

Source: j670

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Assets: Numbers 40–43

Beneficiaries:

[1] Waqf IV (turba)

[2] The remainder of [1]

1 qayyim

1 waqqād

1 muzammalātī

The cost of oil, lamps, water, and so on

Bread, kaʿk, and qurṣa distributed at the turba during ʿĪd al-Fiṭr

Slaughter of animals during ʿĪd al-Aḑḥā

Food distributed during ʿĀshūrāʾ

The poor people of Ḥaramayn

Maintenance costs of the waqfs

Sufis at the turba

Sufis at Azhar mosque

One imām, one qayyim, and one muzammalātī of the Zāwiya al-Shaykh Mūsā

The cost of lamp oil, and so on, at the Zāwiya

Supply of water for Ḥawḑ al-Sabīl near the Zāwiya

One shāhid (notary) of the waqf

One nāẓir of the waqf

One shādd (overseer) of the waqf

Two qāriʾs of the Quran in Mecca and Medina

[3] The remainder after paying for [2]

Qijmās

[4] Qijmās’s descendants

[5] The slaves freed by Qijmās

[6] The descendants of the slaves freed by Qijmās

Administrator:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Qāytbāy

[3] Nāʾib al-Qalʿa of Egypt and the most qualified descendant of Qijmās

[4] al-Sayfī Shādbak Khāzindār, a slave freed by Qijmās

[5] Nāʾib al-qalʿa of Egypt

**Table 13. Details of Waqf XII**

Date of endowment: Unknown

Source: j670

Founder: Qijmās

Assets: Unknown

Institution: Jāmiʿ, Ṣihrīj, and the Maktab at al-Darb al-Aḥmar, Cairo (Qijmāsiyya Madrasa)

Beneficiaries: The Qijmāsiyya Madrasa

**Table 14. Details of Waqfs XIII and XIV**

Founder: Qijmās al-Isḥāqī

Beneficiaries: Waqf XII (the Qijmāsiyya Madrasa)

**Waqf XIII**

Date of Endowment: 15 Muḥarram 885

Source: j670

Assets: Number 45

**Waqf XIV**

Date of Endowment: 29 Muḥarram 886

Sources: j671, j680, j682, j684, j689, j690, j692

Assets: Numbers 46–49

**Table 15. Details of Qāytbāy’s Waqfs for Qijmās**

Source: j670

Founder: Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy

**Waqf XV**

Date of endowment: 22 Shaʿbān 877

Assets: Numbers 52–57

Beneficiaries:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Qijmās’s descendants

[3] Food for the poor

Administrators:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Administrator of Qijmās’s waqf

**Waqf XVI**

Date of Endowment: 19 Shawwāl 883

Assets: Number 58

Beneficiaries:

[1] Qijmās

 One shāhid of the waqf (300 df/m)

[2] Qijmās’s descendants

Administrators:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Administrator of Qijmās’s waqf

**Waqf XVII**

Date of endowment: Unknown

Assets: Number 59

Beneficiaries:

Waqf IV (Qijmās’ turba) and Waqf XII (the Qijmāsiyya Madrasa)

Administrators:

[1] Qijmās

[2] Administrator of Qijmās’s waqf

1. I thank Bruce Craig, Marlis Saleh, and the staff of MEDOC for their valuable assistance. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The document has been examined by Toshimichi Matsuda in his Japanese article titled “Wakufu no Kaishou ni tsuite (The Cancellation of Waqf)”, *Chuo Journal of Asian History*, 15, 1991, 35–50. I thank Prof. Matsuda for giving me a copy of the document. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)