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# *Waqf* in Higher Educational Institutions: Factors of Development in the Abbasid Era (334-656 AH)

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## Abstract

*This study investigates the historical context of the development of* waqf *educational institutions during the Abbasid era from the fourth century* AH *to the seventh century* AH*. This study focuses on two parts. The first part investigates the internal and external factors that contributed to the development of* waqf *institutions and discusses the impact of political conflicts between (local) rival powers on* waqf*-related institutions. The second part demonstrates the unique development that educational institutions witnessed and their organizational structures. These political factors and external challenges had the greatest impact on the establishment of these schools, the multiplicity of their fields of specialization, and the diversity of their educational programmes. This qualitative development that occurred in the structure of the* waqf *institution and its administrative system had a limited previous existence and appeared in the form of individual initiatives before it was generalized due to the wide official support. The findings show the leading role of endowment in the development of those institutions. The history of the emergence of schools and their development as higher educational institutions independent of the mosque shows that they were indebted in their development to endowment activities, both voluntary and governmental.*



## Keywords

*waqf*, endowment, education, *madrasah*, socio-political changes.


## Introduction

Endowment institutions of higher education experienced unprecedented development during the Abbasid era, beginning in the fourth century AH/tenth century CE. This period, which lasted for three centuries, started with the emergence of the Buyid state in 334/1055 and continued until the end of the Seljuk era in 656/1258. This research aims to understand this unique historical phenomenon by examining the internal and external factors that contributed to the significant development in the relationship between endowments and educational institutions.

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Several important studies exist on the Islamic endowment (*waqf*) experience, but their relevance to the subject of this paper is limited. Most of these studies are conducted by Jewish and Israeli researchers associated with research centres linked to Israeli universities. Examples include Yehoshua Frenkel's study titled "Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments (*awqāf*): Saladin in Cairo (1169- 73) and Jerusalem (1187-93),"[1] Michael Chamberlain's study titled *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*,[2] and Yaacov Lev in his study about "Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam."[3] Additionally, there is a collective study titled *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, edited by Miriam Frenkel and Yaacov Lev.[4] While these works offer precise and crucial information regarding Islamic charitable endowments, it is important to note that they are not free from bias.[5]

The most significant study directly related to the paper's topic is George Makdisi's book *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*.[6] This study primarily delves into understanding the nature of the educational system in the Islamic experience. It scrutinizes institutions, programmes, administrative services, categories of employees, teachers, participants in scientific activities among students, and other relevant aspects.

While I acknowledge the scientific significance of the previous studies, some aspects still require a deeper investigation to comprehend the factors that governed the paths taken by endowment educational institutions in the Arab East region. To address this gap, this paper concentrates on illuminating the political and social factors that prominently contributed to the evolution of endowment-based educational institutions. In his insightful analysis concerning the

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[1] Yehoshua Frenkel, "Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments (*awqāf*): Saladin in Cairo (1169-73) and Jerusalem (1187-93)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62, no. 1 (1999): 1-20.

[2] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[3] Yaacov Lev, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), 39.

[4] Miriam Frenkel and Yaacov Lev, eds., *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009).

[5] See Mohammed Amezzian, "The Official Endowment between Ethical Incentive and Paradigmatic Employment: A Study of Israeli Jewish Writings on the Crusader Era," *Islamic Studies* 63, no. 1 (2024): 9-39, https://doi.org/10.52541/isiri.v63i1.3052.

[6] George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1981).

interplay of social, political, and educational dimensions, Alatas acknowledges the challenge of conclusively demonstrating their relationship while refraining from outright denial. For him, "to prove that there is a strong correlation among the three is difficult, but to think that these three aspects of change have no connection at all is also impossible."[7] Indeed, confirming this relationship is precisely the objective of this paper. It aims to demonstrate the influence that endowments have exerted on the structural organization of educational institutions and their academic programmes and cognitive content.

As for the methodology, it combines a historical approach with data analysis to explore the historical contexts in which structural developments occurred within endowment educational institutions. Historically, this paper places a particular emphasis on elucidating the influence of political transformations and external challenges on the evolution of endowment-based education, with a specific focus on Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. Substantiating this hypothesis necessitates a comprehensive analysis encompassing various types of educational institutions, including jurisprudence schools, Qur'ānic and *ḥadīth* centres, and Sufi schools. This inductive study is primarily dedicated to highlighting the proportional relationship that exists between the observable proliferation of educational institutions and the factors that contributed to this expansion, intimately tied to both political shifts and external pressures. To provide well-documented evidence of this directly proportional relationship, an exhaustive inventory of school names, establishment dates where available, and donors' names is required. This information has been meticulously organized in the form of tables appended to the end of this paper.

## Theoretical Underpinning

The impact of endowments on educational institutions can be comprehended through three interrelated perspectives: political, cognitive, and organizational. On the political level, the establishment of endowment-based educational institutions was intricately tied to a prevailing political will that recognized the significance of investing in education as a means to rejuvenate internal cohesion within communities. This, in turn, empowered these communities to become proactive political entities capable of effectively pursuing their long-term strategic goals. From a cognitive standpoint, endowments played a pivotal role in shaping the intellectual pathways of educational

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[7] Alwi Alatas, "Education and Socio-political Change in the 11th and 12th Centuries Abbasid Realm," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 11, no. 1 (2021): 96, https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.111.05.

institutions. These pathways often mirrored the aspirations of the benefactors, encompassing their religious beliefs, scientific inclinations, and responses to prevailing official directives and orientations. At the organizational level, the influence of endowment activity coincided with structural transformations that ushered in profound changes to the educational institution's configuration. Traditionally confined within the confines of mosques, these institutions underwent a metamorphosis, giving rise to novel institutional models that were hitherto unprecedented.

### *Political Goals and Their Influence on Educational Endowments*

The history of educational institutions in the Islamic historical experience witnessed a notable involvement of political actors in educational endowments. This substantial engagement was a reflection of a conscious political determination rather than mere individual initiatives. It became particularly conspicuous during periods characterized by political and religious challenges that were historically linked to conflicts between ruling political systems, notably between competing Sunni and Shiite factions for political power. Additionally, this influence was notably pronounced during the era of the Crusades, a period marked by a profound transformation in the political landscape of the Arab East and the ascent of opposing political entities, particularly the Zengid and Ayyubid dynasties. In this intricate context characterized by religious and political conflicts, alongside external pressures, there was a remarkable surge in the establishment of educational institutions funded through endowments. This phenomenon underscored a comprehensive mobilization effort that encompassed all social and political actors. To emphasize the dynamic relationship between political shifts and endowment institutions, several key indicators can be highlighted as demonstrative of the robustness of this relationship.

The first indicator relates to understanding this relationship within the context of the reason of the state. This concept highlights the motives and reasons that led governments to take specific political actions or government decisions aimed at preserving their supreme interests. These actions could either be based on the religious ideologies they adopted and derived their political legitimacy from or on their responsibility to protect the higher interests of the societies they governed, in line with their moral duty. Both possibilities coexist and are supported by historical facts. The concept of the reason of the state can be used as a political framework to understand the relationship between political power and *waqf* educational institutions, as states often utilize these institutions to enhance their dominance and political objectives.

Moreover, these institutions were employed in some historical periods as tools of political struggle to achieve the liberation of their territories from foreign domination.

Regarding the second indicator, a direct and mutual relationship emerges between the ascent of new political powers, their attainment of authority, and the remarkable, sudden expansion of *waqf* educational institutions dedicated to serving the religious ideologies upheld by these emerging states. This phenomenon is conspicuously evident in various historical political instances. As we will mention in detail later, we can cite the establishment of al-Azhar University by the Fatimids, the concurrent creation of student quarters adjacent to mosques by the Buyids and the proliferation of Niẓāmiyyah schools during the Seljuk era. In the context of external pressures, we mention the growth of Sunni educational institutions in the Levant paralleling the rise of the Zengids, and the extensive expansion of Sunni *waqf* institutions orchestrated by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193) in Egypt following their reclamation from the Fatimids and in Jerusalem after wresting it from the Crusaders. *Waqf*-based educational institutions reached their zenith during the reign of the Zengids and throughout the tumultuous period of the Crusades during the sixth and seventh centuries AH. This trend persisted under the leadership of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who followed the path paved by his Zengid predecessors. A parallel pattern is observable in the context of the Mamlūk state, as contemporary research has indicated, particularly in regions where Mamlūk sultans assumed control, encompassing Egypt, Syria, and Palestine.[8]

The third indicator pertains to the opposite scenario, where emerging states intentionally close down endowment-based educational institutions that contradict their religious ideologies, especially when these institutions pose a threat to their political legitimacy. This situation, which we will delve into, suggests that it has been a recurring policy adopted by successive ruling states in various regions that experienced shifts in their political systems. It is essential to clarify that these repressive measures were not necessarily aimed at eradicating ideological opposition or dissenting communities. Instead, their primary objective was to weaken opposition forces by depriving them of a source of strength and neutralizing channels that could be used for rebellion against the state. For instance, some studies indicate that the Ayyubids in Egypt adopted a pragmatic approach towards Shiite and Christian communities, considering them no longer a significant threat to the

[8] Yehoshua Frenkel, "Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Egypt and Syria," in *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, ed. Miriam Frenkel and Yaacov Lev (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 196-99.

state, a policy subsequently continued by the Mamlūks.[9] This relationship between the political and the intellectual necessitates a discussion of the role of endowments in shaping intellectual content and educational programmes within endowment-based educational institutions.

### *The Influence of Endowments on Academic Disciplines*

Endowments played a pivotal role in providing financial support to scholars, thereby fostering a dynamic and diverse intellectual environment. From a legal perspective, Islamic jurisprudence mandates a profound respect for the donors. Consequently, the *waqf* deed functions as a reference document where the donors specify the type of institution they intend to establish, the academic specialization of the institution, as well as the regulatory and administrative provisions, among other details. It is worth noting that educational programmes within *waqf* institutions vary depending on the institution's specific specialization. Furthermore, even within a single institution, the programmes may differ based on the donor's intentions as outlined in the *waqf* deed. These institutions often encompass a wide range of fields of study, including schools specializing in jurisprudential studies with their various schools of jurisprudence (*madhāhib fiqhiyyah*), Qur'ānic studies, *ḥadīth* studies, Sufi schools, and even medical schools that emerged at a later stage. Certainly, the choice of one field of study over another was influenced by pragmatic considerations, the priorities of the era, and its internal and external requirements. However, it is essential not to overlook the religious, scholarly, and even personal inclinations of the donor, in addition to political and social considerations. Regardless of the motivations behind the choices made by donors, the selection of the academic field remained the most important factor that determined the content of the educational programmes.

The tables appended to the research vividly display the diversity of identities among donors, encompassing politicians, notables, jurists, scholars spanning various scientific disciplines, as well as ascetics and Sufi leaders. This diversity, reflecting active engagement from a wide spectrum of society, inevitably translates into a rich array of study programmes, both in terms of interests and fields of study. As evident from the tables, the political class, comprising sultans, kings, princes, army commanders, and state secretaries, alongside princesses, constitutes the most prominent segment engaged in educational

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[9] Nathan Hofer, *The Popularization of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173-1325* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 49.

endowment activities. This historical fact had an impact on education, as this class was driven by a profound sense of commitment to their political and religious responsibilities, assuming the role of patrons for all active intellectual and spiritual forces within society. Aligned with this societal commitment, their approach to educational endowments was inclusive, as they significantly contributed to the establishment of jurisprudential schools without any discrimination, as well as institutions dedicated to Qur'ānic studies, *ḥadīth* studies, and Sufi schools.

The data collected also highlight significant contributions from scholars and prominent jurists to the establishment of educational *waqf* institutions. It is plausible that these scholars were influenced by their jurisprudential affiliations when determining the type of school and its educational programmes, alongside their scholarly specialities. Hence, it is reasonable to infer that the jurists actively contributed to the establishment of specialized schools dedicated to teaching their respective schools of jurisprudence. Similarly, specialists in Qur'ānic studies and *ḥadīth* may have been instrumental in establishing institutions dedicated to these fields. This overarching principle underscores that the selection of specialization and the corresponding educational programmes were subject to the will of the donors. These choices were guided by considerations of public interest, personal and jurisprudential preferences, scholarly expertise, and religious motives.

To further validate the credibility of this understanding, I would like to provide some examples of various endowment cases that clearly illustrate how the donors' intentions influenced the determination of study programmes. These examples are not exhaustive but serve as indicative cases. In one of the endowment documents, scholarships were specified for three distinct categories of students: those specializing in the Qur'ān, those focusing on *ḥadīth*, and "listening" students.[10] This allocation demonstrates a deliberate effort to support students pursuing different predefined educational programmes. Another document establishes an endowment for a school specializing in Shāfi'ī jurisprudence for both jurists and students.[11] Many endowment documents use the term "establishment" to mention endowments. For example, when discussing al-Fatḥiyyah school, teaching Ḥanafī jurisprudence, al-Nu'aymī (d. 927/1521) noted, "It was established by al-Malik al-Ghālib Fatḥ al-Dīn, and it contains the tomb of the donor."[12]

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[10] 'Abd al-Qādir al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2001), 1:94.
[11] Ibid., 1:228.
[12] Ibid., 1:325.

Similarly, al-Qaṣṣāʿiyyah school, which also specializes in Ḥanafī jurisprudence, was mentioned as "it was established by Khalṭabulsī Khātūn."[13] These limited examples underscore how the intentions of donors played a fundamental role in shaping the educational programmes of endowment-based institutions, aligning with their preferences, scholarly traditions, and religious convictions, all of which are documented in *waqf* records.

### *The Impact of the Endowment on the Structure of Educational Institutions*

Some contemporary historians cast doubts on the existence of a well-organized institutional structure for *waqf* educational institutions. For instance, Michael Chamberlain argues that these schools did not possess a fully developed institutional character.[14] However, this perspective seems to be in contradiction with both the jurisprudential regulations related to endowments and the wealth of scholarly data available in the endowment documents. From a jurisprudential standpoint, legal scholars acknowledge the authority of donors to appoint a person responsible for managing the endowment, commonly referred to as the supervisor of the endowment (*nāẓir al-awqāf*). While donors could also assume this role, their authority was typically limited to executive functions. Jurisprudential provisions concerning endowment management were designed to be flexible, offering maximum safeguards to protect the endowment. They allowed for judicial oversight of this administration, which played a constructive role in preserving the endowment's assets and administrative autonomy. This, in turn, incentivized many property owners to establish endowments as a means of safeguarding their assets from arbitrary confiscations.[15]

Endowment-based educational institutions have drawn significant advantages from the legal framework regulating their establishment and delineating the authorities and responsibilities of those overseeing their administration. Several available documents shed light on numerous organizational facets aimed at structuring these endowment institutions from an administrative standpoint. These documents specify the categories of personnel and residents within the school entitled to regular compensation from the proceeds of the endowment. This indirectly unveils the array of permanent positions vital for the progress of education and the school's sustained functioning. These roles

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[13] Ibid., 1:434.

[14] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67-89.

[15] Pascale Ghazaleh, *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2011), 24.

encompassed a wide spectrum, encompassing administrative, academic, and service positions, alongside supplementary roles designed to serve the public interest and be accessible to the broader community.

According to some historical sources, Niẓāmiyyah school endowment documents provided crucial details about the sources of supplies, beneficiaries, and scholarships for students.[16] Al-Nuʿaymī also provided valuable samples of documents outlining these administrative responsibilities. For instance, the endowment document for al-Shāmiyyah al-Jawwāniyyah school meticulously specified the categories of personnel and beneficiaries, along with their entitlements. These included the supervisor and his deputy, who served as the financial and administrative affairs manager, the imam of the school, and muezzin. Regarding the academic staff, it mentioned teachers and the requirements they must meet, students and their requirements and teaching assistants. It also indicates some complementary functions such as the guardian responsible for school arrangements, daily cleaning, maintenance, and building-related tasks, as well as the provision of necessary supplies for the school's operation. The document also specified financial amounts to cover costs related to festive events.[17] Another endowment document refers to additional tasks related to controlling discipline within the school such as the person in charge of registration and admission requirements (*ṣāḥib al-dīwān*), and the person in charge of recording attendance and absence (*ṣāḥib al-ghaybah*).[18] In addition to these tasks related to administration, another document refers to some tasks related to the security and safety of the school, such as the person in charge of maintenance and his deputy (*mushayyid al-ʿimārah*), and the doorman (*al-bawwāb*).[19] Within the broader context of this theoretical framework, the data presented here, while offering only a limited glimpse of the wealth of information found in endowment documents, provides ample evidence to emphasize the crucial role that endowments played in organizing and structuring educational institutions.

## Political Transitions and Their Impact on Educational Endowment

North and West Arabia have witnessed serious sectarian and political conflicts associated with the power struggle. The main reason for this conflict was political, especially between the Sunnis and Shiites. This necessitated the recruitment of educational institutions to accomplish

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[16] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah al-Kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, n.d.), 4:314.

[17] Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris* , 1:228.

[18] Ibid., 1:308.

[19] Ibid., 1:94.

what the political and military plans failed to achieve, which made it one of the most important tools of control and power. Such a conflict took place on the vast frontlines of the territories of the Abbasid state, especially in Iraq, which had important geographic, political, and religious values. The collapse of centralized authority in Baghdad provided an opportunity for the rise of the rival Shiite forces that succeeded in establishing the Fatimid state in 296/909. The Fatimid state strategically employed Shiite ideology, invoking the name of Ahl al-Bayt, to reinforce its political authority while Fatimid forces were attacking the Alawite Idrisid state in Morocco in 348/959.

Since the emergence of the Shiite state mainly relied on Shiite ideology, the Shiites in charge needed to keep Shiite rituals alive. This necessity is justified by the cultural and religious hostility of the social environment by its saturation with the Sunni doctrine. The Fatimid state tried to resolve this contradiction by using intense religious coercion; hence, the state set up a special office called the "*dīwān al-kashf*" which was entrusted to search for hostile Sunni groups and to get rid of them.[20] No matter how severe religious coercion could be, it is still of little effect and with no guaranteed results, because it is impossible to change people's ideologies by compulsion. Therefore, there is an urgent need for organized work to reshape people's religious awareness according to the prominent political ideologies prevailing in society. Within this long-term strategic vision, the educational *waqf* was employed as a means of change and gaining power. This necessitated huge multipurpose facilities for *waqf*. Construction of the al-Azhar Mosque was the first and largest project in the history of the official Shiite *waqf*. Fatimid military commander Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī (d. 381/992) established the mosque before Cairo became the capital of the Fatimid state. Al-Azhar's main role was to spread Shiite ideology since its founding in 359/970. In this context, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) provides significant details about the endowment established by the Fatimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi Allah for a group of jurists teaching at al-Azhar. This endowment included salaries, a residence hall adjacent to the al-Azhar Mosque, mules for transportation, and a cloak for ʿĪd al-Fiṭr. Additionally, they received annual financial support.[21]

In the context of this political conflict, Āl ʿAmmār family, affiliated with the Fatimid influence in the second half of the fifth century AH,

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[20] Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib* (Beirut: Institute of Culture, 1983), 1:209-13.

[21] Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-Iʿtibār bi Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Āthār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1418/1998), 4:52.

established the Dār al-ʿIlm (House of Knowledge) in Tripoli in Lebanon. This library was established as the largest competitor to Bayt al-Ḥikmah (the House of Wisdom) in Baghdad in terms of size. According to some estimates, the number of books in this library exceeded three million copies,[22] a number that may have been exaggerated, but it indicates the richness of the library. The political gains accomplished by the Fatimid state against the Abbasid caliphate were not the end of the game since the Abbasids had confrontations with other hostile powers. After nearly four decades of the Fatimids' domination, the Sunni forces underwent a fiercer confrontation with the Buyids, the traditional allies of the Fatimids who both united for some political agenda.

The Buyids, who entered Baghdad in 334/945 during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustakfī (d. 338/949), took over the Sunni state in Baghdad and controlled all religious, political, and military affairs. Shiite Buyids were aware that political and even military domination was not sufficient to guarantee their long-term existence in a hostile religious environment. Hence, they began to find ways to control people using educational and cultural methods. Therefore, they constructed projects that were significant in promoting their ideology.

In this context, the Buyids engaged in building multi-functional endowment institutions, including mosques, *khān*s, libraries, and *bīmāristān*s, for use in supporting Shiite ideology and reshaping religious consciousness in society. ʿAḍud al-Dawlah (d. 372/983) and some of his ministers were in charge of achieving the aforementioned goals accurately and effectively. The largest project that the Buyid era had ever witnessed was accomplished by Badr b. Ḥasnawayh (d. 405/1015) who built three thousand mosques and *khān*s over thirty-two years.[23] Undoubtedly, the cost of these constructions exceeds that of individuals. Such costs covered construction projects, teachers, imams, muezzins, and administrative staff's wages, students' expenses, and residence. This clearly shows the government's support for these endowment projects.

Within the context of this political conflict, the rise of the Sunni Seljuks and their control of the central authority in Baghdad in 447/1056 represented a crucial political triumph over the Buyid Shiite state, which collapsed due to the impact of internal divisions and conflicts for power. With the retrieval of the Seljuks to the Sunni capital in Baghdad, the conflict between the Sunni political forces and the Ismāʿīlī Fatimids was

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[22] Saʿīd al-Daywah Jī, *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* (Baghdad: Mu'assasat Dār al-Kutub li 'l-Ṭibāʿah wa 'l-Nashr, 1972), 54-57.

[23] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1992), 15:105.

reignited. At the same time, scholars had to intensify their efforts on the home front to minimize the Shiite influences that remained from the Buyid presence within the cultural and social fabric. Some hostile intellectual associations were destroyed; for instance, the House of Knowledge (Bayt al-Maʿrifah) in Baghdad was destroyed by Ṭughrul Bik (d. 455/1063) and the al-Ray Library was demolished by Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī (d. 421/1030).[24] In the same context, al-Azhar was not allowed to be used after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seized power from Fatimids in Egypt.[25]

The British historian Andrew Peacock emphasized that it was the hectic religious fanaticism that led Seljuks to implement ideological eradication against their Buyid opponents to restore the Sunni influence.[26] This interpretation may not be accurate in understanding the nature of the conflict, which was political in essence, although it employs religion as an important factor for ideological mobilization and propaganda directed against political opponents. The political struggle in Islamic history between the ruling families was due to the struggle for power and not religious or national factors. This conflict reached its climax between followers of the same sect, as happened between the successive Sunni and Shiite families for power. The Fatimids, for instance, got rid of the Alawite Idrisid state in Morocco. Another example of such a conflict was the mother wars between the members of the Buyid family, which led to the disintegration and fall of their state. It is the same reason that also led to the disintegration of the Seljuk state.[27]

Understanding the Seljuk-Buyid conflict does not help explain the facts cited by Peacock in showing the Seljuks' tolerance of the Shiites. Based on a study exploring Sunni-Shiite relations during the Crusades era, the dynamic between Sunni Seljuks and Imāmī Shiite emirates in Aleppo and Tripoli was not consistently marked by conflict. The Buyid Shiites ceased to pose a political threat to the ascending Seljuk state; instead, they sought an alliance to safeguard their autonomy from the Fatimids. Additionally, the Crusader menace compelled them to form alliances against it.[28] At the level of domestic policy, the Seljuk authorities allowed the Shiites to freely practice their beliefs, and to

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[24] Lev, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam*, 95.
[25] Ibid., 148.
[26] Andrew Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 258.
[27] Mohammed Amezzian, *A Study in Political Jurisprudence: Historical Approach* (Casablanca: Al Najah Press, 2000), 187.
[28] Mohamed El-Moctar El-Shinqiti, "Rapprochement between Sunnīs and Imāmīs during the Crusades," *Journal of College of Sharia & Islamic Studies* 36, no. 1 (2018): 191, https://doi.org/10.29117/jcsis.2018.0206.

grant the Shiite elites high positions in the Seljuk state.[29] The Shiites were in control of some high positions in the Seljuk state, which was justifiable since they were not opponents of the Seljuks. However, this reconciliation did not dampen the enthusiasm of the Seljuks, who were active in building Sunni schools to promote and revive Sunni thought. As previously explained, the Seljuk enthusiasm for Sunni ideology cannot be understood outside the realm of the concept of reason of the state, which refers to the rationale by which a state constructs its policies to assert its sovereignty and establish political legitimacy. From this standpoint, ideology served as the unifying reference point for both the state and society, facilitating the consolidation of political influence within the governed group and ensuring the sustainability of its rule. Consequently, it was essential to undermine competing ideologies perceived as threats to the state's political legitimacy. In light of this ideological background, we can understand the extreme vitality that characterized the endowment activity directed at educational institutions after the rise of the Seljuks to power, especially by Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), the mastermind of the emerging state.

The mainstream schools of *waqf* extended beyond the borders of the Iraqi front to include large parts of the Abbasid province. During this era, an extensive network of Sunni schools was established. Such a remarkable development was very similar to what happened to Niẓāmiyyah schools in Baghdad, Balkh, Nishapur, Bahrah, Isfahan, Basra, Marv, Amal Tabaristan, and Mosul.[30] The Seljuk state reached its peak of power to lead the development of political and scientific institutions involved in promoting their ideology.

Niẓām al-Mulk, a Seljuk vizier, integrated both scientific and political institutions due to his deep-rooted culture and unique political acumen. His project of establishing mainstream schools was very significant in supporting the Seljuk state. Niẓāmiyyah school opened in 462/1067 in Baghdad was the first historic accomplishment to implement the aforementioned project. This was a milestone in the history of education. It was one of the largest colleges in size since it could accommodate six thousand students.[31] The school also includes housing facilities to provide students with accommodation and financial support. This could justify the special opening ceremony sponsored by Niẓām al-Mulk. On September 27, 1067, important figures were invited to

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[29] Peacock, *Great Seljuk Empire*, 259-60.
[30] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 15:105.
[31] Niẓām al-Mulk al-Ṭūsī, *Sīrat al-Mulūk aw Siyāsat Nāmah*, trans. Yūsuf Bakkār (Amman: Ministry of Culture, 2012), 22.

attend the ceremony.[32] The development of mainstream institutions was due to accurate planning and a strong political will to support *waqf*-related activities. Private institutions of *waqf* were smaller in size than mainstream institutions whose student numbers varied according to waqf revenues. Mainstream schools ensured permanent and regular education for full-time students, who were involved in what is currently equivalent to the level of university and postgraduate studies.

The network of Niẓāmiyyah schools constituted a pivotal transformation in the history of higher education. Such a network, therefore, represented an unprecedented state of intellectual and political awakening in the late Abbasid era and became a model for highly advanced schools at the administrative and scientific levels. The establishment of such a massive network required a huge budget to cover the cost of construction, teachers' and staff's salaries, students' accommodation and expenses, and library services. Endowments could afford this heavy financial burden by allocating various kinds of property (real estate) and markets. For instance, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) emphasized that Niẓām al-Mulk was the first to make regulations to support students' scholarship systems.[33]

## External Coercions and Their Effects on Educational Endowment

The military and religious threats imposed by the Crusades constituted a civilizational challenge to Islamic presence in the region, specifically in the Levant, which was the focal point of the conflict. In response to these threats associated with military action and religious cleansing, well-cultivated political leaders, distinguished scientists, and scholars realized that the absence of internal civilizational awareness of frontline societies was behind their military defeats. This required such societies to reunite to be spiritually motivated for *jihād*, which was undoubtedly the only way to end such an existential struggle. Crusaders took advantage of the sectarian fragmentation and political divisions that the region had gone through. In this context, the Zengid dynasty and later the Ayyubids followed the Seljuk dynasty's approaches in Baghdad.

Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (d. 569/1174) benefited from the experience of successful Niẓāmiyyah schools and worked to establish many similar schools in Syria. The reform of the Zengid family went beyond the Iraqi experience in many stages. While the Niẓāmiyyah schools promoted Shāfiʿī sectarian ideology, Levant's schools aimed to mobilize and unify all the Sunni forces in one front to confront external threats. This

[32] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 16:117.
[33] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah*, 9:314.

necessitated those in charge of establishing many institutions with multiple tasks and specializations to unite all trends of Sunni jurisprudence at the scientific, educational, social, religious, and political levels. Several types of educational institutions emerged as a result of this civilizational awareness.[34]

The city of Aleppo had a unique sectarian characteristic, serving as a centre for Shiite preaching, which became widespread during the Hamdanid state. It also became a hub for the more radical Ismāʿīlī movement, which further strengthened the Shiite presence in the region. Hence, Nūr al-Dīn Zankī formulated one united Sunni front to resist the presence of the Shiites and reduce the spread of its influence. He established a series of schools to accommodate the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence. Damascus witnessed an unprecedented construction and endowment movement in the region, which reached its climax during the reign of the Zengid and Ayyubid states, especially during the era of great political leaders, such as Nūr al-Dīn Zankī and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī. Many other senior state officials, including ministers, governors of regions, and emirs of the army, considered both Nūr al-Dīn Zankī and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn great models to follow.

This conscious behaviour of the ruling elite, which set the most wonderful examples of sacrifice, and which inclined to asceticism and righteousness, had a profound effect on sharpening social awareness. This was evident in the involvement of large groups of scholars, merchants, and nobles in enormous endowment projects. As a result of this endowment campaign, which was supported by the descendants of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Damascus became a city of knowledge and science. The significant value of Damascus encouraged al-Nuʿaymī to conduct a comprehensive study of schools for which Damascus was famous. He found approximately 310 schools and 588 mosques used for education.[35] In Egypt, the policy pursued by Nūr al-Dīn Zankī in restoring Sunni influence will continue with Ṣalāḥ al-Din, who began his reformist career as a vizier in the Fatimid court within a multiple hostile religious and political environment. In Cairo, he engaged in open confrontation against the Crusaders and the Fatimids, both united in their hostility towards the rising Sunni religious and political power in the Levant.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn arrived in Egypt in 559/1164 to participate in a military campaign. Having settled in Egypt in 1169, he was assigned as a vizier in

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[34] Nūr al-Dīn Zankī's comprehensive reformist vision is evident from the diverse range of schools he established. These included schools for Shāfiʿī, Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī as well as Sufi schools. For more detail, see the list of schools documented by al-Nuʿaymī in *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris*.

[35] Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris*, 2:232-343.

the Fatimid court. He directed his attention towards building a solid internal front to confront the Crusaders after uniting Egypt, Syria, Ḥijāz, Tihāmah, and Iraq. This enabled him to surround the hostile territories of the Crusaders. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was aware of the importance of religious and cultural dimensions in mobilizing societal forces to defeat the Crusaders; hence, he generously supported the educational institutions of *waqf*. Eddé undertook an extensive examination of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's endeavours. Despite harbouring doubts about Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's motives and character, she highlighted his earnest efforts to emulate the tactics of Nūr al-Dīn Zankī in combating various religious heresies. He diligently assembled a cadre of scholars whose backing proved essential for the reestablishment of Muslim unity, the preparation for *jihād*, and the fortification of Sunni doctrine, both within educational institutions and religious spheres.[36] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn needed to implement a comprehensive policy to eradicate all the Shiites' influential symbols widely spread in Egyptian society, especially symbols belonging to Ismāʿīlīs, against whom he was involved in military battles outside the Egyptian borders. These battles, however, were not decisive, which necessitated the implementation of firm policies to completely eradicate Shiite ideology and influence and deprive it of its religious and political institutional base.

In this particular context, al-Maqrīzī described the strictness of the measures taken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn over the time that the Fatimid state was still in existence. At the political level, he began by dismantling Fatimid rule and fought against the princes and the army. At the religious, intellectual, and judicial levels, he established in Cairo a school for the Shāfiʿī jurists and another for the Mālikī jurists, as well as the Yūsufiyyah school in Cairo, dismissed all the Shiite judges of Egypt, and delegated the judiciary to Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Dirbās al-Mārānī.[37] These purification measures led to the extinction of the Shiite, Ismāʿīlī, and Imamate doctrines in Egypt.

Furthermore, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made more serious decisions and removed the Shiite *adhān* (call for prayer), restarting the sermon in the name of the Abbasid caliph on the Friday pulpits, mentioning the names of the four Caliphs in the Friday sermon, and disrupting the Friday sermon and Ismāʿīlī lessons at the al-Azhar Mosque. As mentioned by Eddé, these changes, though severe, met with no resistance from the population that had adhered to their Sunni sect after more than two

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[36] Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin* (Paris: Flammarion, 2016), 463-64.

[37] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, 4 :166.

centuries of Shiite rule.[38] On the other hand, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn established many educational endowment institutions. This attracted the attention of some researchers who, according to historical Arabic sources, documented the establishment date of these institutions in both Egypt and the Levant.[39] According to some Western historians, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn settled in Egypt, he was not interested in building mosques but in establishing new schools. This justifies why he was very careful about his actions to successfully implement his new policy. He built a massive network of schools and Sufi schools (*zawāyā*). To fund these schools regularly, he invested in real estate, workshops, and businesses. He also successfully brought distinguished scholars (including Sufis) from different regions to these schools.[40] Such policies played a fundamental role in enabling him to unite the internal front in Egypt. This also motivated people to sympathize with and support him in battles against the Crusades.

According to Eddé's study, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn established many *waqf*-related facilities to bring the Holy City back to Muslims' hands. His contributions to the Holy City of Jerusalem included: 1) the renovation of mosques where he selected the Islamic staff to be responsible for all works and activities at al-Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock; 2) transforming the Church and Monastery of Saint Anne, situated in the northern part of the al-Aqsa Mosque courtyard, into a Shāfiʿī school; and 3) confiscation of the sources of income in favour of Islamic institutions for which he had already allocated large sums of money.[41] Based on all these changes, it is clear that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's mission was not only to liberate Jerusalem but also to re-Islamize its social life after having been subjected to the Crusaders' influence.

## Role of *Waqf* in Developing the Structure of Educational Institutions

In general, we know that endowments have been a familiar social practice since the time of prophethood, and there is no doubt that their prevalence increased over time. Based on this assumption, it is expected that educational endowments were not exempt from benefiting from this comprehensive trend, especially since education historically had strong ties to mosques and religious institutions. Mosques were likely

[38] Eddé, *Saladin*, 70, 464.
[39] Ibid., 469-76.
[40] Frenkel, *Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments*, 3. Also see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 3, 124.
[41] Eddé, *Saladin*, 476.

preferred venues for acts of charity and benevolence due to their religious nature.

In addition to mosques, new institutions emerged independently. These institutions used the name "*madrasah*" (school), which specialized in jurisprudence and medicine, in addition to other institutions bearing the name "*al-dār*" which specialized in Qur'ānic and *ḥadīth* sciences. In the same context, libraries emerged as service institutions that combined education and scientific research, even though the second aspect is dominant over the first.

The available data provides evidence of a strong relationship between *waqf* and the prosperity of educational institutions. Demonstrating this hypothesis convincingly necessitates precise statistics covering all educational endowment activities that emerged in the broader Levant region. However, due to the inherent challenges in tracking such activities across the entirety of Islamic societies during the period extending from the fourth to the seventh century AH, our focus will be directed towards institutions based in the city of Damascus. These institutions boast a well-documented and comprehensive history, serving as a substantial sample that offers ample proof of the association between endowments and educational establishments. The study sample encompasses detailed information on 223 such institutions. In the table below, I have excluded endowment data related to mosques, although they continue to function as educational institutions. This exclusion is to avoid lengthening this article, as the number of mosques in Damascus is approximately 588.

A table containing the number of educational institutions distributed by function and specialization is as below:

| Shāfiʿī Schools | Ḥanafī Schools | Ḥanbalī Schools | Mālikī Schools | Interdiscip-linary schools | Qur'ānic and *Ḥadīth* Schools | Sufi Schools |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 53 | 46 | 11 | 4 | 8 | 26 | 74 |

This table reflects the diversity of fields of interest among educational institutions and the variation in their numbers. In the appended tables at the end of this article, I have documented detailed data related to the mentioned schools, including the school's name, date of establishment, and the name of the founder. In cases where it was not possible to determine the date of establishment, I have indicated the date of the founder's death (D.O.D), date of birth (D.O.B), or the date of its existence. These indicators provide an approximate idea of the

establishment date of these *waqf* institutions, and all dates are in the Islamic calendar.

As shown in the table, the number of schools established varied significantly. Shāfiʿī schools held the highest number at 53, which is understandable since the Shāfiʿī school was the official state school. Additionally, the emphasis on establishing Shāfiʿī schools is attributed to the extensive experience of Shāfiʿī jurists in Niẓāmiyyah schools, which have a long and rich history of opposing Shiite thought. Ḥanafī schools followed with 46, reflecting the widespread influence of the Ḥanafī school of thought in the region. In contrast, there were only 11 Ḥanbalī schools and 4 Mālikī schools, indicative of the limited presence of their followers in the Levant. This means that these jurisprudence schools were primarily intended to serve the social segments to which they were affiliated. Regarding the interdisciplinary schools (8 schools), this likely signifies an effort to foster greater integration and understanding among followers of different jurisprudential schools, aiming to unify the internal front. The proliferation of Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* schools, numbering 26 in Damascus alone, aimed to strengthen the jihadist spirit and connect the educated elite with original, inspirational cultural sources. This was done by both the Qur'ān's exegesis and *ḥadīth*'s explanations and interpretations. Finally, the extensive spread of Sufi schools, numbering 75, can be understood within this mobilization context. Their educational role was to attract the general public, providing spiritual and cognitive training to nourish the jihadist spirit.

This comprehensive vision explains this feature, which is unique to the Levant in terms of the diversity of educational institutions. These institutions were integrated to accomplish this unitary project, each within its own area of study and specialization. This diversity was intended to graduate a new generation of young leaders capable of framing social life through their direct influence and control over decision-making processes and qualify the selected leaders to be ready for scientific, religious, spiritual, academic, and leadership positions. At the popular level, there was a need to develop Muslims' social awareness, unify the nation's culture, revive the spirit of *jihād*, and spread enthusiasm among individuals.

### *Mosque, the First Place for Education*

In the history of Islamic education, mosques were used for primary and advanced education for nearly four and a half centuries. Schools emerged as an alternative being as essential as mosques, but mosques continued to perform their educational function. As mosques were used as places for worship, they were built at a very high density to accommodate various daily religious and educational activities. For

instance, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī provides an astonishing estimate of three hundred thousand mosques in Baghdad.[42] Regardless of any reservations, we might have about this number, it serves as an indication of the vast scale of this institution and the extensive educational activity associated with it.

### *Emergence of the* Khān *as an Educational Space*

*Khān*[43] is usually used to house inmates in cities and along roadways. However, *khān* was developed to accommodate a large number of students travelling to seek knowledge outside their homeland, where there were no advanced educational institutions. For this purpose, special *khān*s were constructed to accommodate and serve the students. This unique development paved the way for the emergence of new structures to be demonstrated. Some historical sources have indicated that these endowment-related services in major cities were linked to mosques. Establishing such buildings served incoming students who had to spend many years in their formal education because mosques were not intended for permanent residence.

By using *khān* alongside the mosque, mosques were transformed into a "complex," comprising both "*masjid*/mosque" and "*khān*." It may be difficult to specify the exact date of the emergence of these complexes; however, there have so far been some sources which indicate that complexes were widely spread in the second half of the 4th/10th century during the era of the Buyid vizier Badr b. Ḥasnawayh, who had accomplished the largest project in the history of the Abbasid state as previously mentioned. According to Makdisi, the "complex" was a historic milestone in the history of education, which guaranteed students' long-term comfortable accommodation and regular education offered by both *masjid*s and *khān*.[44]

### *Emergence of* Fiqh *Schools* (Madāris)

Unlike other institutions, religious knowledge endowments received a lot of funding and support, because jurisprudence was considered the most prominent Islamic science that provided solutions to many social, administrative, and economic issues. This made educational institutions of *waqf* valuable to graduate a significant number of specialists in

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[42] Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 1:439.

[43] The *khān* is a multi-purpose building. It was mostly used as a hotel for people to stay in cities and along land roads. It was also used as a residence for students coming from outside the city to study in the mosques.

[44] Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, 27.

different fields. As a terminology, "*madrasah*" is the institution which was used to teach all *fiqh*-related subjects; while "al-dār/house" was used to teach Qur'ānic and *ḥadīth*-related studies.

According to Makdisi,[45] the emergence of the *madrasah* was a natural development stemming from two earlier institutions: the mosque, which served as a school of jurisprudence, and the *khān*, built adjacent to the mosque to house students studying jurisprudence. From these two institutions, the *khān*-mosque complex arose. This complex eventually evolved into a school that served dual functions: teaching and accommodation. Therefore, in addition to the mosque that continued to provide excellent education for students, the *madrasah* emerged as a unique expansion that met the needs of an increasing number of incoming students and helped them overcome the expenses of study and accommodation.

Nevertheless, some sources emphasize that *maḏrasah* had already been used within a limited range before it appeared in its final form as described by Makdisi. The emergence of *madrasah* has gone through two independent stages, unattached to the mosque. While the first stage was characterized as individual-based initiatives taken and accomplished by some scholars in different Abbasid regions, the second stage was characterized as organized teamwork extensively supported by the government. In the first stage, individual initiatives were scattered across different regions. This shows that some prominent scholars had a burning desire and strong determination to disseminate education in major cities such as Bukhara, Nishapur, and Damascus.

At a very early age, dating back to the second half of the second century AH, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bukhārī (d. 217/832) established a school in Bukhara named after him. Some authentic sources state that Nishapur witnessed remarkable educational activities run by four schools built and funded by individual scholars. As an individual initiative, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Ṭamīmī (d. 354/965) founded the first school in 305/917. Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, for instance, mentioned that Abū Ḥātim established the school as an endowment. He went on to report, "Today, the school is a residence for Imām Abū Ḥātim's companions and vagabonds eager on learning *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*."[46] Abū 'l-Walīd Ḥassān b. Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī (d. 349/960) established another similar school and another was founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥammād (d. 388/998).

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[45] Ibid., 27.

[46] Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), 1:418.

The Ghaznavids also founded al-Madrasah al-Sa‘diyyah, established by Prince Nāṣir b. Sibiktikīn (d. 976/1186), the brother of Sultan Maḥmūd. According to al-Nu‘aymī, al-Madrasah al-Rashā’iyyah was the first school to be built in Damascus. It was established by Rashā’ b. Naẓīf al-Dimashqī around 400/1010.[47] The school, known as Ḏār al-Qur’ān al-Rashā’iyyah, was used to teach Qur’ān-related sciences. In Baghdad, it is more likely that schools began to appear in the middle of the fifth-century AH. The emergence of al-Madrasah al-Ḥanafiyyah established by Abū Sa‘d b. al-Mustawfī almost coincided with the emergence of al-Madrasah al-Niẓāmiyyah.[48] These schools, despite the limited information available about them, were considered a model, which led to the establishment of mainstream schools during the second half of the eleventh century CE. Since then, mainstream schools have dramatically spread and extraordinarily developed.

### *Emergence of the* Khāniqāh, Ribāṭ, *and* Zāwiyah

The *khāniqāh* (pl. *khawāniq*), *ribāṭ*, and *zāwiyah* were among the institutions used for education in the past. The *ribāṭ* provided soldiers with military and educational services. It was supported by *waqf*-related donations and flourished in the third and fourth centuries AH. These headquarters initially served as destinations for students seeking accommodations and living services. Over time, these places were changed to education-related schools.[49] The *khāniqāh*, like a mosque but without a minaret, was compromised in several rooms to accommodate Sufis. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Damīrī (d. 1405 CE) refers to the historical sources of the different designations and functions of the *khāniqāh*, *ribāṭ*, and *zāwiyah*. According to him, there is no difference between them, since they were used for worship and philanthropy.[50] The justifications for the establishment of *khawāniq* are similar to those for the emergence of schools. There was a need for a dedicated place to accommodate the Sufi groups, who were increasingly recognized for their unique rituals and religious practices. These groups required permanent residence, which was not available within the confines of mosques.

Although al-Damīrī claimed that *khawāniq*’s role was narrowed to cover worship-related activities, this study argues that *khawāniq* provided multiple educational roles to help students. Those who joined the *khawāniq* received a comprehensive Islamic education, combining

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[47] Al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta’rīkh al-Madāris*, 1:9.
[48] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 16:100-101.
[49] Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ, *al-Waqf fī ’l-Sharī‘ah al-Islāmiyyah wa Atharuhu fī Tanmiyat al-Mujtama‘* (Riyadh: King Fahd National Library, 2001), 174.
[50] Al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta’rīkh al-Madāris*, 2:152.

religious studies with spiritual purification. Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) emphasized that after having arrived in Nishapur, Ibn Ḥibbān built a *khāniqāh* where he taught.[51] Similarly, al-Nuʿaymī stated some valuable information about the fact that *khawāniq* adopted an academic system that was very similar and equivalent to other license-based systems. This system strictly complied with a specific set of criteria for graduation.[52] The historical data clearly show that *khawāniq* were schools whose principals were senior jurists. This is clear, as demonstrated in the biographies of the leading figures and jurists of *khawāniq*. Moreover, those who were buried or prepared to be *shuyūkh* indicated that *khawāniq* were considered schools.[53] There were also eminent figures who had a significant role in politics, society, and sciences.[54]

### *The Emergence of the* Dār *(House) of the Qur'ān and* Ḥadīth

A new type of educational institution was created, some of which, with a difference in the designation, specialized in teaching the sciences of the Qur'ān and others with the sciences of *ḥadīth*. This type of institution was designated as *dār* instead of *madrasah*: "Dār al-Qur'ān/Dār al-Ḥadīth." Based on the information collected by al-Nuʿaymī about the schools in Damascus, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyyah was the first institution established by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zankī (d. 569 AH).[55] The dates mentioned by al-Nuʿaymī indicate that most of the *ḥadīth* schools were founded in the second half of the sixth century AH and later, and they were primarily established by rulers, with very few exceptions. As for the Qur'ān schools, their creation dates indicate that they appeared later, starting from the first half of the eighth century AH onwards. These were mostly established by scholars, with a few founded by notables. However, al-Nuʿaymī mentioned an unusual case with Dār al-Qur'ān al-Rshā'iyyah, which was founded in the year 400 AH,[56] which is a very early date.

### Conclusion

The above exploration of endowment relationships with educational institutions shows the leading role of endowment in the development of those institutions. The history of the emergence of schools and their development as educational institutions independent of the mosque

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[51] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalā'*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnā'ūṭ (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1985), 16:94.
[52] Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris*, 2:110.
[53] Ibid., 2:118-19.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., 1:9.

shows that they were indebted in their development to endowment activities, both voluntary and governmental. This study also shows that political factors and external challenges had the greatest impact on the establishment of these schools, the multiplicity of their fields of specialization, and the diversity of their educational programmes. This qualitative development that occurred in the structure of the institution and its administrative system had a limited previous existence and appeared in the form of individual initiatives before it was generalized due to the wide official support.

The scientific value of these historical practices lies in studying their positive effects on society, their contribution to formulating effective public policies, and the tangible and intangible benefits they offer for the public good. In reality, the value of such research goes beyond practical and procedural dimensions, especially considering the vast differences in complexity between contemporary educational institutions and their academic programmes and those that existed nearly eight centuries ago.

Their scientific value also lies in their ability to provide valuable insights into the kinds of policies that enable decision-makers to make well-informed choices, drawing from both past successes and failures, and the lessons and guidance they provide. Moreover, historical studies provide empirical evidence regarding the compatibility of governmental policies with the particular societal and cultural contexts they seek to address. Concerning this particular study, it seeks, through the historical material it presents to its readers, to provide a model for effective crisis management policies. It also seeks to explain how leaders and social influencers of the past understood and overcame the challenges of their time. Considering the remarkable parallels between the historical period under examination and our current era marked by intricate crises, enriching our historical awareness can serve as a wellspring of inspiration for contemporary leaders striving to design optimal strategies for today's surmounting challenges.

However, the importance of studying Islamic historical experience in the field of educational endowment lies not only in keeping it alive in our memory but also provides evidence of the possibility of recovering this pioneering experience to face our current challenges. On the research and educational levels, historical experience can be activated to achieve integration between the state and society to overcome the sources of funding that are considered the most serious obstacles in the development of this vital sector.

# Appendices[57]

## Shāfiʻī *Waqf* Schools in Damascus

| S. No. | Name of the Institution | Year AH | Name of the Founder |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | al-Madrasah al-ʻAṣrūniyyah | D.O.B 493 | Sharaf al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad |
| 2 | al-Madrasah al-Amīniyyah | 514 | Amīn al-Dawlah Kamushtikīn b. ʻAbd Allāh al-Tughtikīnī |
| 3 | al-Madrasah al-Dawlaʻiyyah | 555 | Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawlaʻī |
| 4 | al-Madrasah al-Kallāsah | 555 | Nūr al-Dīn Zankī/Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī |
| 5 | al-Madrasah al-Mujāhidiyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | D.O.D 555 | Mujāhid al-Dīn Bazzān b. Yāmīn |
| 6 | al-Madrasah al-Mujāhidiyyah al-Barrāniyyah | D.O.D 555 | Mujāhid al-Dīn Bazzān b. Yāmīn |
| 7 | al-Madrasah al-Ṭabariyyah | existing 657 | Unknown |
| 8 | al-Madrasah al-ʻImādiyyah | existing 567 | ʻImād al-Dīn Ismāʻīl/Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī |
| 9 | al-Madrasah al-ʻĀdiliyyah al-Kubrā | 568 | Nūr al-Dīn Zankī/al-Malik al-ʻĀdil Sayf al-Dīn/al-Malik al-Muʻaẓẓam |
| 10 | al-Madrasah al-Ghazzāliyyah | 572 | al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf |
| 11 | al-Madrasah al-Taqwiyyah | 574 | al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī ʼl-Dīn ʻUmar b. Shāhinshāh |
| 12 | al-Madrasah al-Qūṣiyyah | D.O.B 574 | Shihāb al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Qūṣī |
| 13 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣalāḥiyyah | 583 | Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zankī |
| 14 | al-Madrasah al-Akaziyyah | 586 | Asad al-Dīn Akaz |
| 15 | al-Madrasah al-ʻAzīziyyah | 592 | al-Malik al-ʻAzīz b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī |
| 16 | al-Madrasah al-Falakiyyah | 596 | Falak al-Dīn Sulaymān |
| 17 | al-Madrasah al-Masrūriyyah | 604 | al-Ṭwāshī Shams al-Dīn al-Khawwāṣ Masrūr |
| 18 | al-Madrasah al-Sharīfiyyah | 612 | al-Sharīf Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Ismāʻīl |
| 19 | al-Madrasah al-Ẓāhiriyyah al- | D.O.D | al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī |

[57] Al-Nuʻaymī, *al-Dāris fī Taʼrīkh al-Madāris*.

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|---|---|---|---|
| | Barrāniyyah | 613 | |
| 20 | al-Madrasah al-Shāmiyyah al-Barrāniyyah | D.O.D 616 | al-Khātūn Umm al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl |
| 21 | al-Madrasah al-Shāmiyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | D.O.D 616 | al-Khātūn Umm al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl |
| 22 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣārimiyyah | 622 | Ṣārim al-Dīn Jawhar b. ʿAbd Allāh/al-Sitt ʿIṣmat al-Dīn ʿAdhrāʾ bint Shāhinshāh. |
| 23 | al-Madrasah al-Rawāḥiyyah | 623 | Zakī ʾl-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rawāḥah |
| 24 | al-Madrasah al-Amjadiyyah | 628 | al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar |
| 25 | al-Madrasah al-Bahnasiyyah | 628 | Majd al-Dīn al-Ḥārith b. Muhallab al-Bahnasī |
| 26 | al-Madrasah al-Majnūniyyah | 630 | al-Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn b. al-Zurārī |
| 27 | al-Madrasah al-Jārūkhiyyah | D.O.D 639 | Sayf al-Dīn Jārukh al-Turkmānī |
| 28 | al-Madrasah al-Atābikiyyah | D.O.D 640 | Khātūn bint al-Malik ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd |
| 29 | al-Madrasah al-Karrūsiyyah | D.O.D 641 | Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl b. Kharrūs |
| 30 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣāliḥiyyah | D.O.D 648 | al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil |
| 31 | al-Madrasah al-Nāṣiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyh | 653 | al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf |
| 32 | al-Madrasah al-ʿĀdiliyyah al-Ṣughrā | 655 | Zahrah Khātūn bint al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn |
| 33 | al-Madrasah al-Rukniyyah al-Jawwāniyyah al-Shāfiʿiyyah | existing 660 | Rukn al-Dīn Mankurs |
| 34 | al-Madrasah al-Shūmāniyyah | 660 | Khātūn bint Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shūmān |
| 35 | al-Madrasah al-Qaymariyyah | 665 | Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī |
| 36 | al-Madrasah al-Ẓāhiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | 676 | al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Bībars |
| 37 | al-Madrasah al-Nujaybiyyah | 677 | Jamāl al-Dīn Aqqush al-Nujaybī |
| 38 | al-Madrasah al-Bādrāʾiyyah | – 594) (677 | Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bādrāʾī |
| 39 | al-Madrasah al-Aṣfahāniyyah | existing 689 | Unknown |
| 40 | al-Madrasah al-Mankalāʾiyyah | D.O.D | al-Amīr ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī al- |

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| | | 693 | Manṣūrī |
| 41 | al-Madrasah al-Tuqṭā'iyyah | existing 716 | Unknown |
| 42 | al-Madrasah al-Ḥimṣiyyah | 726 | Unknown |
| 43 | al-Madrasah al-Qallījiyyah | existing 726 | Mujāhid al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qallīj |
| 44 | al-Madrasah al-Qawāsiyyah | 733 | ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Qawwās |
| 45 | al-Madrasah al-Khalīliyyah | D.O.D 746 | Sayf al-Dīn Baktamr al-Khalīlī |
| 46 | al-Madrasah al-Ẓubyāniyyah | existing 774 | Unknown |
| 47 | al-Madrasah al-Ḥalabiyyah | قائمة 813 | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʻAbd al-Khāliq |
| 48 | al-Madrasah al-Khabīṣiyyah | D.O.D 814 | Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn Qāḍī al-Quḍāh |
| 49 | al-Madrasah al-Asʻardiyyah | 816 | Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Asʻardī |
| 50 | al-Madrasah al-Shāhīniyyah | D.O.D 816 | Shāhīn al-Shujāʻī al-Dawādār |
| 51 | al-Madrasah al-Fatḥiyyah | existing 827 | al-Malik al-Ghālib Fatḥ al-Dīn |
| 52 | al-Madrasah al-Khaḍriyyah | existing 834 | Unknown |
| 53 | al-Madrasah al-Fārisiyyah | 880 | Sayf al-Dīn Fāris al-Dawādār |

## Ḥanafī *Waqf* Schools in Damascus

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | al-Madrasah al-Qāhiriyyah | -- | Unknown |
| 2 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣādiriyyah | 491 | Shujāʻ al-Dawlah Ṣādir b. ʻAbd Allāh |
| 3 | al-Madrasah al-Balkhiyyah | 525 | al-Amīr Kukuz al-Daqqāqī |
| 4 | al-Madrasah al-Khātūniyyah al-Barrāniyyah | 526 | al-Amīrah Zumurrud Khātūn |
| 5 | al-Madrasah al-Ṭurkhāniyyah | D.O.D 528 | Nāṣir al-Dawlah Ṭarkhān b. Maḥmūd al-Shaybānī |
| 6 | al-Madrasah al-Tāshiyyah | 550 | al-Amīr al-Tāshī al-Daqqāqī |
| 7 | al-Madrasah al-Muʻīniyyah | 555 | Muʻīn al-Dīn Anar ʻAbd Allāh al-Ṭughtikiynī |
| 8 | al-Madrasah al-Nūriyyah al-Kubrā | 563 | al-Malik al-ʻĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zankī |
| 9 | al-Madrasah al-Nūriyyah al-Ḥanafiyyah al-Ṣughrā | existing 563 | al-Malik al-ʻĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zankī |

| 10 | al-Madrasah al-Rayḥāniyyah | 565 | Rayḥān al-Ṭawāshī |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | al-Madrasah al-Farkhashāhiyyah | 578 | Khātūn bint Ibrāhīm |
| 12 | al-Madrasah al-Jalāliyyah | D.O.D 581 | Khātūn ʻIṣmat al-Dīn bint Muʻīn al-Dīn Anar |
| 13 | al-Madrasah al-Khātūniyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | D.O.D 581 | Khātūn ʻIṣmat al-Dīn bint Muʻīn al-Dīn Aanr |
| 14 | al-Madrasah al-Maqdamiyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | 583 | al-Amīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muqaddim |
| 15 | al-Madrasah al-Ṭūmāniyyah | D.O.D 585 | Ṭūmān b. Mulāʻib al-Nūrī |
| 16 | al-Madrasah al-Qaṣṣāʻiyyah | 593 | Khaṭbulsī Khātūn Fāṭimah bint al-Amīr Kukjā |
| 17 | al-Madrasah al-Qaymāziyyah | D.O.D 596 | al-Amīr Ṣārim al-Dīn Qāymāz al-Najmī |
| 18 | al-Madrasah al-Maqdamiyyah al-Barrāniyyah | D.O.D 597 | Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Amīr Shams al-Dīn b. al-Muqaddim |
| 19 | al-Madrasah al-Mārdāniyyah | 610 | ʻAzīzat al-Dīn Khātūn bint al-Malik Quṭb al-Dīn |
| 20 | al-Madrasah al-ʻAzīziyyah | 621 | al-Malik al-ʻAzīz ʻUthmān b. al-Malik al-ʻĀdil |
| 21 | al-Madrasah al-Muʻẓamiyyah | 621 | al-Malik al-Muʻaẓẓam Sharaf al-Dīn ʻĪsā b. al-ʻĀdil |
| 22 | al-Madrasah al-Tājiyyah | existing 624 | Tāj al-Dīn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī |
| 23 | al-Madrasah al-Rrukniyyah al-Barrāniyyah | 625 | al-Amīr Rukn al-Dīn Mankūrs al-Falakī |
| 24 | al-Madrasah al-ʻAzziyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | -621) (625 | al-Amīr ʻIzz al-Dīn Aybak Astādār al-Muʻaẓẓam |
| 25 | al-Madrasah al-Zanjāriyyah | 626 | al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn ʻUthmān b. ʻAlī al-Zanjīlī |
| 26 | al-Madrasah al-Shibliyyah al-Barrāniyyah | 626 | Kāfūr Muḥammad b. Lājīn Shibl al-Dawlah al-Ṭawāshī |
| 27 | al-Madrasah al-Shibliyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | 626 | Kāfūr Muḥammad b. Lājīn Shibl al-Dawlah al-Ṭawāshī |
| 28 | al-Madrasah al-ʻAzziyyah al-Barrāniyyah | 626 | al-Amīr ʻIzz al-Dīn Aybak Astādār al-Muʻaẓẓam |
| 29 | al-Madrasah al-Fatḥiyyah | 626 | al-Malik al-Ghālib Fatḥ al-Dīn |
| 30 | al-Madrasah al-ʻIlmiyyah | 628 | al-Amīr ʻAlam al-Dīn Sanjar |

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| 31 | al-Madrasah al-mayṭūriyyah | 629 | al-Sitt Fāṭimah Khātūn bint al-Sallār |
| 32 | al-Madrasah al-Badriyyah | 638 | al-Amīr Badr al-Dīn alias Lālā |
| 33 | al-Madrasah al-Qallījiyyah | 645 | al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn ʻAlī b. Qallīj al-Nūrī/Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Sanī ʼl-Dawlah al-Shāfiʻī |
| 34 | al-Madrasah al-Yaghmūriyyah al-Ḥanafiyyah | existing 647 | Jamāl al-Dīn b. Yaghmūr al-Bārūqī |
| 35 | al-Madrasah al-Murshidiyyah | 654 | Bint al-Malik al-Muʻaẓẓam Sharaf al-Dīn ʻĪsā |
| 36 | al-Madrasah alʻAzziyyah al-Ḥanafiyyah | existing 626 | al-Amīr ʻIzz al-Dīn Aybak Astādār al-Muʻaẓẓam |
| 37 | al-Madrasah al-Jawhariyyah | 676 | Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jawharī |
| 38 | al-Madrasah al-Jarkasiyyah | D.O.D 680 | Fakhr al-Dīn Sharkas |
| 39 | al-Madrasah al-Safīyniyyah | -- | Unknown |
| 40 | al-Madrasah al-Jaqmaqiyyah | existing 761 | al-Muʻallim Sanjar al-Hilālī |
| 41 | al-Madrasah al-Minjikiyyah al-Ḥanafiyyah | D.O.D 776 | al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Manjak al-Yūsufī |
| 42 | al-Madrasah al-Jammāliyyah | 810 | al-Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf |
| 43 | al-Madrasah al-Āmidiyyah | 821 | Unknown |
| 44 | al-Madrasah al-Ḥājibiyyah | D.O.D 878 | Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nawrūzī |
| 45 | al-Madrasah al-Qajmāsiyyah | -- | Qajmās al-Isḥāqī al-Sarkashī |
| 46 | al-Madrasah al-Saybāʼiyyah | 914 | al-Amīr Saybāy b. Bakhtajā |

## Ḥanbalī *Waqf* Schools in Damascus

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | al-Madrasah al-Jāmūsiyyah | -- | Unknown |
| 2 | al-Madrasah al-Ḥanbaliyyah al-Sharīfah | D.O.D 536 | ʻAbd al-Wahhāb b. Abī ʼl-Faraj al-Ḥanbalī |
| 3 | al-Madrasah al-Mismāriyyah | D.O.D 546 | al-Ḥasan b. Mismār al-Hilālī |
| 4 | al-Madrasah al-Ḍiyāʼiyyah al-Muḥammadiyyah | D.O.B 567 | Ḍiyāʼ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī |
| 5 | al-Madrasah al-ʻUmariyyah al-Shaykhiyyah | -528) (607 | Abū ʻUmar al-Kabīr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad |
| 6 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣāḥibiyyah | D.O.D 643 | Rabīʻah Khātūn bint Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb |

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| 7 | al-Madrasah al-Ḍiyā'iyyah al-Maḥāsiniyyah | D.O.D 643 | Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Maḥāsin b. 'Abd al-Malik |
| 8 | al-Madrasah al-'Ālimah | D.O.D 653 | Amat al-Laṭīf bint al-Shaykh al-Nāṣir al-Ḥanbalī |
| 9 | al-Madrasah al-Jawziyyah | D.O.D 656 | Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. Abī al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī |
| 10 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣadriyyah | - 598) (657 | Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Manjā |
| 11 | al-Madrasah al-Manjā'iyyah | D.O.D 695 | Zayn al-Dīn al-Manjā b. 'Uthmān al-Ḥanbalī |

## Mālikī *Waqf* Schools in Damascus

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|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣalāḥiyyah al-Nūriyyah | D.O.D 589 | al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī |
| 2 | al-Zāwiyyah al-Mālikiyyah | existing 646 | al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī |
| 3 | al-Madrasah al-Ṣamṣāmiyyah | existing 717 | Shams al-Dīn Ghabriyyāl |
| 4 | al-Madrasah al-Sharābīshiyyah | existing 734 | Nūr al-Dawlah 'Alī al-Shrābīshī |

## Multidisciplinary *Waqf* Schools in Damascus

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | al-Madrasah al-Asadiyyah | D.O.D 564 | Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh b. Shādī |
| 2 | al-Madrasah al-'Adhrāwiyyah | 580 | al-Sitt al-'Adhrā' |
| 3 | al-Madrasah al-Iqbāliyyah | 628 | Jamāl al-Dawlah Iqbāl |
| 4 | al-Madrasah al-Farūkhshāhiyyah | 635 | Farūkhshāh b. Shāhinshāh |
| 5 | al-Madrasah al-Dammāghiyyah | 638 | 'Ā'ishah, the spouse of Shujā' al-Dīn b. al-Dammāgh al-'Ādilī |
| 6 | al-Madrasah al-Maqṣūrah al-Ḥanafiyyah | existing 664 | Unknown |
| 7 | al-Madrasah al-Ẓāhiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyah | 676 | al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Bībars |
| 8 | al-Madrasah al-Fakhriyyah | 821 | Fakhr al-Dīn |

## Sufi *Waqf* Schools in Damascus

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | al-Zāwiyyah al-Sirājiyyah | -- | Ibn al-Sirāj |
| 2 | al-Zāwiyyah al-Sharīfiyyah al-Taghārātiyyah | -- | Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Taghrātī |

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| 3 | Ribāṭ al-Ghars Khalīl | -- | Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl |
| 4 | Ribāṭ al-Bukhārī | -- | Unknown |
| 5 | Ribāṭ al-Saflāṭūnī | -- | Unknown |
| 6 | Ribāṭ al-Falakī | -- | Unknown |
| 7 | Ribāṭ Bint al-Sallār | -- | Unknown |
| 8 | Ribāṭ al-Ḥabashiyyah | -- | Unknown |
| 9 | Ribāṭ al-Qaṣṣā'īn | -- | Unknown |
| 10 | Ribāṭ Bint al-Dafīn | -- | Unknown |
| 11 | al-Ribāṭ al-Dawādārī | -- | Unknown |
| 12 | al-Khāniqāh al-Iskāfiyyah | -- | Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Iskāf |
| 13 | al-Khāniqāh al-Shanbāshiyyah | -- | Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Alī al-Shanbāshī |
| 14 | al-Khāniqāh al-Sharīfiyyah | -- | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Sharīfī |
| 15 | Khāniqāh al-Ṭāḥūn | -- | al-Sulṭān Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zankī |
| 16 | al-Khāniqāh al-Quṣā'iyyah | -- | Fāṭimah Khātūn bint khaṭaljī |
| 17 | al-Khāniqāh al-Sumaysāṭiyyah | D.O.D 453 | Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sulamī al-Ḥabashī |
| 18 | al-Khāniqāh al-Ṭawāwīsiyyah | D.O.D 497 | Daqqāq Shams al-Mulūk Tatash |
| 19 | al-Khāniqāh al-Duwayriyyh | D.O.D 524 | Ḥamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maqrī |
| 20 | Khāniqāh al-Qaṣr | D.O.D 529 | Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl b. Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī |
| 21 | Ribāṭ Jārūkh | -- | Sayf al-Dīn Jārūkh al-Turkmānī |
| 22 | al-Ribāṭ al-Bayānī | D.O.D 551 | Abū 'l-Bayān Bannā b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥūrānī |
| 23 | Ribāṭ Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh | D.O.D 564 | Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh al-Kabīr |
| 24 | al-Khāniqāh al-Asadiyyah | D.O.D 564 | Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh al-Kabīr |
| 25 | al-Khāniqāh al-Najmiyyah | D.O.D 568 | Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb |
| 26 | al-Khāniqāh al-Khātūniyyah | D.O.D 581 | Khātūn Zahrah 'Iṣmat al-Dīn |
| 27 | Ribāṭ Ṭammān | D.O.D 585 | Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭammān |
| 28 | Ribāṭ Zahrah | D.O.D 593 | Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl b. Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī |

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| 29 | Ribāṭ ʿAdhrāʾ Khātūn | D.O.D 593 | ʿAdhrāʾ Khātūn bint Shāhinshāh b. Ayyūb |
| 30 | al-Zāwiyah al-Qalandariyyah al-Darkizīniyyah | existing 616 | Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Darkizīnī |
| 31 | al-Khāniqāh al-ḥusāmiyyah | D.O.D 616 | al-Khātūn bint Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb |
| 32 | al-Zāwiyah al-Yūnusiyyah | D.O.D 619 | Yūnus b. Yūsuf al-Shaybānī |
| 33 | al-Khāniqāh al-Rūznahāriyyah | D.O.D 620 | al-Shaykh Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Rūznahārī |
| 34 | al-Zāwiyah al-Farnathiyyah | D.O.D 621 | ʿAlī al-Faranthī al-Zāhid |
| 35 | al-Khāniqāh al-Shibliyyah | D.O.D 623 | Kāfūr Muḥammad b. Lājīn Shibl al-Dawlah al-Ṭawāshī |
| 36 | al-Khāniqāh al-Nāṣiriyyah | D.O.B 627 | al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn |
| 37 | al-Zāwiyah al-Daynūriyyah | 629 | ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Daynūrī |
| 38 | al-Zāwiyah al-Armawiyyah | D.O.D 631 | ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus al-Armawī |
| 39 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ṭaybiyyah | D.O.D 631 | al-Shaykh Ṭayy al-Miṣrī |
| 40 | Ribāṭ Ṣafiyyah | D.O.D 633 | Ṣafiyah bint Qāḍī ʾl-Quḍāh ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAṭāʾ |
| 41 | al-Ribāṭ al-Fuqqāʿī | existing 635 | Unknown |
| 42 | Ribāṭ Bint ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd | D.O.D 641 | Turkān Khātūn bint ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd |
| 43 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ḥarīryyah al-Aʿqufiyyah | D.O.B 644 | Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥāmid al-Ḥarīrī |
| 44 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ḥarīriyyah | D.O.D 645 | ʿAlī b. Abī ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī |
| 45 | al-Khāniqāh al-Shumāniyyah | -- | Shūmān Ẓahīr al-Dīn |
| 46 | al-Zāwiyah al-Qalandariyyah al-Ḥaydariyyah | D.O.D 655 | al-Shaykh Ḥaydar |
| 47 | al-Khāniqāh al-Mujāhidiyyah | 656 | Mujāhid al-Dīn Ibrāhīm |
| 48 | al-Zāwiyah al-Qawwāmiyyah al-Bālisiyyah | D.O.D 658 | Abū Bakr b. Qawwām al-Bālsī |

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| 49 | al-Zāwiyah al-Daynūriyyah al-Shaykhiyyah | D.O.D 661 | al-Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Daynawarī |
| 50 | Ribāṭ Badr al-Dīn ʻUmar | D.O.D 668 | Badr al-Dīn ʻAmr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Saʻd |
| 51 | al-Ribāṭ al-Tikrītī | D.O.D 670 | Wajīh al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Tikrītī |
| 52 | al-Khāniqāh al-Shihābiyyah | D.O.D 677 | Aydikīn b. ʻAbd Allāh al-Shihābī |
| 53 | al-Khāniqāh al-Najībiyyah | 677 | Al-Najībī Jamāl al-Dīn Aqqūsh |
| 54 | al-Zāwiyah al-Fuqqāʻiyyah | D.O.D 679 | Yūsuf al-Fuqqāʻī al-Zāhid b. Najāḥ |
| 55 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ṭālibiyyah al-Rifāʻiyyah | D.O.D 683 | al-Shaykh Ṭālib al-Rifāʻī |
| 56 | al-Zāwiyah al-Rūmāniyyah al-Sharqiyyah | D.O.D 684 | Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʻUthmān |
| 57 | al-Zāwiyah al-ʻImādiyyah al-Maqdisiyyah | D.O.D 688 | Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ʻImād al-Dīn |
| 58 | al-Khāniqāh al-ʻIzziyyah | D.O.D 700 | ʻIzz al-Dīn Aydamr al-Ẓāhirī |
| 59 | al-Zāwiyah al-Suyūfiyyah | D.O.D 710 | Najm al-Dīn ʻĪsā b. Shāh al-Suyūfī |
| 60 | Ribāṭ al-Mahrānī | D.O.D 715 | Sitt al-ʻUlamāʼ bint Najm al-Dīn Ismāʻīl |
| 61 | al-Zāwiyah al-Dahistāniyyah | D.O.D 720 | al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Dahistānī |
| 62 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ghasūliyyah | D.O.D 737 | Muḥammad b. Abī ʼl-Zahr al-Ghasūlī |
| 63 | al-Khāniqāh al-Kajajāniyyah | 744 | al-Mujāhid Ibrāhīm al-Kjajānī |
| 64 | al-Zāwiyah al-Dāwūdiyyah | – 783) (856 | Zayn al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Qādirī |
| 65 | al-Khāniqāh al-Yūnusiyyah | 784 | al-Sharafī Yūnus |
| 66 | al-Zāwiyah al-Waṭiyyah | 802 | ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn ʻAlī alias Ibn Waṭiyyah |
| 67 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ḥuṣniyyah | D.O.D 824 | Taqī ʼl-Dīn al-Ḥuṣnī |
| 68 | al-Khāniqāh al-Nahriyyah | existing 825 | ʻUmar Shāh |
| 69 | al-Khāniqāh al-Bāsiṭiyyah | 836 | Zayn al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl |
| 70 | al-Khāniqāh al-Andalusiyyah | 837 | Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī |

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| 71 | al-Khāniqāh al-Naḥḥāsiyyah | D.O.D 862 | Shams al-Dīn b. al-Naḥḥās |
| 72 | al-Zāwiyah al-Saʿdiyyah | 914 D.O.D | Ḥasan al-Janānī al-Saʿdī |
| 73 | al-Zāwiyah al-ʿUmariyyah | 928 | ʿUmar al-Iskāfī al-Ḥamawī |
| 74 | al-Zāwiyah al-Ṣamādiyyah | 932 | al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Ṣamādī |

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