

From Learning Circles to Endowed Institutions: Zāwīyas of the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās in the Ayyubid and Mamlūk Cairo*

İlim Halkalarından Vakıfla Desteklenen Kurumlara: Eyyûbî ve Memlûk Kahire’inde Amr b. Ās Camii’nin Zâviyeleri

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ABSTRACT

Zāwīya, as a polysemous term, refers to a Sufi institution, as well as to the concepts of *khanqāh* and *ribāṭ* (Sufi lodges). On the other hand, however, it also denotes more modest architectural and organizational institutions built in suburban areas. Nevertheless, the term *zāwīya* has also been employed in the Syro-Egyptian region for describing the institutions of the central mosques of cities, in which scholars and their lessons in religious disciplines were supported regularly by endowments. This article deals with the eight *zāwīyas* of the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās in Cairo, and particularly the most significant of them, the *Zāwīya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. By analyzing the narratives of two major *khiṭāṭ* (topographical urban history) works compiled by Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī and comparing them with other chronicles and biographical dictionaries of the period, this article argues that the mosque-*zāwīyas* differed from the Sufi *zāwīyas* and that the *zāwīyas*, which formerly only denoted study circles held by scholars with their own initiatives in the mosques, turned into endowed, long-lasting, and prestigious institutions of learning with the proliferation of madrasas in Egypt during the 6th/12th century.

Keywords: *Zāwīya*, Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās, *Waqf*, Madrasa, Cairo

ÖZ

Modern literatürde çoğunlukla sūfilerle ilişkilendirilen zāviyeler, zaman zaman hankah ve ribāṭla aynı yapıya işaret etmekle birlikte daha ziyade şehir merkezlerinin dışında ve geçiş güzergāhlarında kurulan, hankaha kıyasla mimari ve teşkilatlanma bakımından daha mütevazı olan sūfi kurumları olarak tanımlanmışlardır. Bununla birlikte Mısır ve Bilādüşşam şehirlerinin merkezi camilerinin içerisinde şer‘î ilimlere dair vakıfla desteklenen derslerin yapıldığı ve müderrisine düzenli tahsisat sunan müesseseleri ifade etmek üzere de zāviye terimi kullanılmıştır. Bu makalede, Kahire’de Amr b. Ās Camii’nde bulunan sekiz zāviyenin ve özellikle bunların en önemlisi olan İmam Şāfi‘î Zāviyesi’nin tarihi, vakıfları ve geçirdiği dönüşümler inceleme konusu edilmiştir. Bu zāviyelerin tarihi hakkında İbn Dokmak ve Makrīzī’nin

hıtat türü eserlerinde yer alan kayıtlar incelenmiş, bu kayıtlar dönemin diğer tarih ve tabakat kaynaklarındaki bilgilerle mukayese edilmiştir. Buradan yola çıkarak Mısır-Şam bölgesinde cami zâviyelerinin, sūfî kurumu olan zâviyelerden farklı bir müessesese türüne işaret ettiği ve önceleri sadece âlimlerin camilerde şahsi imkânlarıyla sürdürdüğü ilim halkalarını ifade eden zâviyelerin Mısır’da medreselerin yaygınlaşmaya başladığı 6./12. yüzyıldan itibaren vakıfla desteklenen birer ilim kurumuna dönüştükleri tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zâviye, Amr b. Âs Camii, Vakıf, Medrese, Kahire

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Mısır’ın müslümanlar tarafından fethinin hemen ardından inşa edilen Amr b. Âs Camii’nde başta Şâfiî mezhebinin kurucusu Muhammed b. İdrîs eş-Şâfiî (ö. 204/820) ve talebeleri olmak üzere hicrî ilk asırlardan itibaren âlimler ilim halkalarını kurmuşlardır. Önceleri camilerde kurulan bu tür halkaları ifade etmek üzere kullanılan zâviye terimi Mısır’da medreselerin yaygınlaşmaya başladığı 6./12. yüzyıldan itibaren vakıfla desteklenen ilim kurumlarını ifade etmeye başlamıştır. Mısır ve Şam bölgesinde Emeviyye Camii, Mescid-i Aksâ ve Amr b. Âs Camii başta olmak üzere Kahire Dımaşk, Kudüs ve Halep gibi şehirlerin merkezî camileri içerisinde vakıfla desteklenen derslerin yapıldığı müesseseleri ifade etmek üzere bu terim kullanılmıştır. Bu makalede Kahire’de Amr b. Âs Camii’nde kurulan sekiz zâviye (İmam Şâfiî/ Haşşâbiyye Zâviyesi, Mecdiyye Zâviyesi, Sâhibiyye Zâviyesi, Kemâliyye Zâviyesi, Tâciyye Zâviyesi, Muîniyye Zâviyesi, Alâiyye Zâviyesi ve Zeyniyye Zâviyesi) ve bilhassa İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi’nin tarihi ve vakıfları ele alınmıştır.

Bu zâviyelerin tarihi hakkında derli toplu bilgi veren iki kaynak bulunmaktadır. Bunların ilki İbn Dokmak’ın (ö. 809/1407) *el-İntisâr li-vâsıtati ‘ikdi ‘l-emsâr’*1, ikincisi ise Makrîzî’nin *el-Hıtat* ismiyle meşhur olan *el-Mevâ ‘iz ve ‘l-i ‘tibâr fi zikri ‘l-hıtatı ve ‘l-âsâr* adlı eseridir. Her iki müellif de Memlûkler döneminde Kahire’nin tarihi ve topografyası hakkında telif ettikleri eserlerinde tespit edebildikleri kadarıyla Amr b. Âs Camii’ndeki zâviyelerin kuruluş tarihleri, vâkıflarının isimleri, hangi ilimlerin eğitimi için vakfedildikleri, vakıf mülkleri ve camideki konumları hakkında bilgi vermişlerdir. Ancak İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi’nin vâkıfı, kuruluş tarihi ve zâviyeye vakfedilen mülkler gibi hususlarda daha ayrıntılı bilgi bu iki hıtat eserinde değil Sehâvî’nin (ö. 902/1497), hocası İbn Hacer el-Askalânî’nin Mısır kadınlarının biyografilerini ele aldığı *Ref‘u ‘l-isr an kudâti Mısır* adlı eserine yazdığı zeylde bulunmaktadır. Sehâvî, Mısır’ın Şâfiî kâdilkudâtlarından Alemüddin el-Bulkînî’nin (ö. 868/1464) hayatı hakkında bilgi verirken onun İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi’nde müderrislik yaptığını belirtmiş, daha sonra bir fasıl (*fâide*) açarak zâviyenin tarihi ve müderrisleri hakkında ayrıntılı bilgiler vermiştir. Makalede İbn Dokmak ve Makrîzî’nin hıtat türü eserlerinde yer alan kayıtlar başta Sehâvî’nin bahsi geçen zeyli olmak üzere dönemin diğer tarih ve tabakat kaynaklarındaki bilgilerle mukayese edilerek incelenmiştir.

Cami zâviyeleri ve özellikle İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi hakkındaki bu inceleme zâviye-tasavvuf ilişkisi, zâviye-fıkıh ilişkisi, zâviye-vakıf ilişkisi ve zâviyenin muteberliği meseleleriyle irtibatlandırılabilir. Her ne kadar modern çalışmalarda zâviye terimi genellikle şehir merkezlerinin dışında kurulan, belirli bir şeyh ve ona bağlı dervişlere tahsis edilen ve hankaha kıyasla daha

mütevazı olan sûfi kurumlarını ifade etse de Memlûkler döneminde Mısır-Şam bölgesinde telif edilen eserlerde görülen zâviye terimi her zaman bu tür müesseseleri ifade etmeyebilir. Zira zâviye kelimesi, camilerin içerisinde bulunan çeşitli ilimlere dair düzenli derslerin yapıldığı eğitim mekânlarına da işaret ediyor olabilir. Dolayısıyla bu dönemde Kahire şehri için bir eğitim kurumları tipolojisi hazırlanacak olursa cami zâviyeleri, sûfi kurumu olan zâviyelerden farklı bir müessese türü olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Cami zâviyelerinin fıkıh eğitimiyle ilişkisine gelince bu mekânların çoğunlukla fıkıh ilminin tedrisi için vakfedildiği ve bu bağlamda George Makdisi'nin zâviyeyi tıpkı medrese gibi bir "hukuk okulu" olarak gören yaklaşımının önemli ölçüde doğru olduğu söylenebilir. Ancak Amr b. Âs Camii'ndeki örneklerde görüldüğü üzere zâviyeler fıkıh ilminin yanı sıra usûlü'd-dîn ve mîâd dersleri için de vakfedilmişlerdir. Örneğin İbn Hacer el-Askalâni *Ref'u'l-İsr'* da Vecîhüddin el-Behnesî'nin (ö. 685/1286) hayatı hakkında bilgi verirken onun Mecdiyye Zâviyesi'nin müderrisliğine tayin edildiğini, burada verdiği açılış dersinde önce camiye gelen herkese açık, umumi bir ders verdiğini, ardından da vâkıfın şartına uygun olacak şekilde "usûlü'd-dîn"e dair hususi bir ders verdiğini kaydetmiştir. Diğer taraftan camideki Alâiyye ve Zeyniyye zâviyeleri ise hadis ve tefsire dair metinler üzerinden nasihat içerikli derslerin yapıldığı mîâd meclisleri için vakfedilmişlerdir. Dolayısıyla cami zâviyelerinin mutlak anlamda sadece fıkıh eğitimine hasredilmiş mekânlar olmadıkları söylenebilir.

Kahire, Dımaşk, Halep ve Kudüs gibi şehirlerde camilerdeki ilim halkalarının belirli bir dönemden sonra vakıflarla desteklenir hâle gelmesi ise cami zâviyelerinin kurumsallaşması bakımından özellikle önemlidir. Eyyübîler ve Memlûkler döneminde Amr b. Âs Camii'nde kurulan zâviyeler, daha önceki dönemlerde camilerde âlimlerin kişisel tercihleriyle başlattıkları, çoğunlukla bir tahsisat almadan gönüllü olarak sürdürdükleri ve dilediklerinde sona erdirdikleri ilim halkalarından farklılaşmaktadır. Öncelikle zâviyeler cami içerisinde kendilerine ayrılmış belirli bir mekâna, muhtemelen bir tür kapalı hücreye veya eyvâna sahiptirler. Makrîzî ve İbn Dokmak'ın her bir zâviyenin camideki mekânını özellikle zikretmesi ve Selâhaddin Eyyübî'nin İmam Şâfiî'nin ilim meclisini kurduğu mekânın üzerine bir maksûre inşa ettiğinin belirtilmesi bu bağlamda değerlendirilmelidir. Üç yüzyılı aşan bir süre boyunca İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi'nin müderrislerinin düzenli bir şekilde takip edilebiliyor oluşu da buradaki vakfın, dersin ve müessesenin sürekliliğini göstermektedir.

Son olarak Kahire'nin mimari olarak görkemli ve zengin vakıflara sahip medreseleriyle karşılaştırıldığında Amr b. Âs Camii'nin içinde bulunan bir zâviye daha önemsiz ve kenarda kalmış bir ilim mekânını çağrıştırmalıdır. Ancak İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi, Selâhaddin Eyyübî gibi önemli bir hamî ve vâkıf tarafından Şâfiî mezhebinin kurucusu Muhammed b. İdris eş-Şâfiî'nin ilim halkasını kurduğu mekâna vakfedilmiştir. Ayrıca zâviyenin müderrisliği Kahire'de Şâfiî ulemânın en önde gelen ismine şart koşulmuş ve bu mansıba tayinler bizzat sultan tarafından yapılmıştır. Başta Benî Cemâa ve Bulkînî ailesinin mensupları olmak üzere Şâfiî ilim çevresinin seçkin isimleri zâviyede müderrislik yapmışlardır. Bütün bu hususlar İmam Şâfiî Zâviyesi'nin Kahire ilim kurumları arasındaki muteber konumunu teyit eder niteliktedir.

1. Introduction

Study circles (*halaqas*) held in mosques were the major venues for the transmission of knowledge in the early centuries of Islamic history. The Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās, the first mosque built in Fuṣṭāṭ after the conquest of Egypt, was home to the study circles of eminent scholars, starting with Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī, the founder of the Shāfi‘ī school of law (*madhhab*), and his followers (*aṣḥāb*). The first madrasas of Egypt began to appear in the 6th/12th century. During the Mamlūk Period, in addition to madrasas, various institutions of learning supported by endowments, such as mosques, *khanqāhs*, mosque-madrasas, and mosque-*khānqāh*-madrasas, began to appear as well.¹

Among these institutions is what could be labelled as “zāwiya.” As a polysemous term, it could refer to a Sufi institution, such as *khanqāh* and *ribāṭ*. On the other hand, however, it could also denote more modest architectural and organizational institutions built in suburban areas. In addition, by the 6th/12th century, the term *zāwiya* had also been employed in the Syro-Egyptian region for describing certain places within mosques, such as the Mosque of ‘Amr in Cairo, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, al-Masjid al-Aqsā in Jerusalem, and al-Jami‘ al-Kabīr in Aleppo, where lessons and scholars were supported regularly by endowments. Although extensive studies have been devoted to the *zāwiyas* established for Sufis in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria,² no single study exists which discusses the institutionalisation of mosque-*zāwiyas*. Therefore, this article first deals with the contexts in which the term “zāwiya” has been used in the sources, before investigating the formation of mosque-*zāwiyas* in the Syro-Egyptian region as institutions of learning supported by endowments. Lastly, it scrutinizes the eight

- 1 On the first madrasas of Egypt, see: Gary La Viere Leiser, *The Restoration of Sunnism in Egypt: Madrasas and Mudarrisūn 495-647/1101-1249* (University of Pennsylvania, PhD Thesis, 1976). On the proliferation of comprehensive educational institutions in Mamlūk Cairo, see: Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), esp. chapter three. Muhammet Enes Midilli, ‘Ulemānın Memlük Coğrafyasına Yönelmesi ve Memlükler Döneminde Kahire İlim Kurumları’, *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi* 10/1 (2020), 389–412.
- 2 On the zāwiya as a sufi institution, see: Évariste Lévi-Provençal, ‘Zāwiya’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936)*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936 1913); Leonor E. Fernandes, ‘The Zāwiya in Cairo’, *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982), 116–121; id. ‘Some Aspects of The Zāwiya in Egypt at the Eve of the Ottoman Conquest’, *Annales Islamologiques* 19 (1983), 9–17; id. *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1988), 13–16; Donald P. Little, ‘The Nature of Khānqāhs, Ribāṭs, and Zāwiyas under the Mamlūks’, *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. Wael B. Hallaq - Donald P. Little (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 91–106; Éric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme En Égypte et En Syrie: Sous Les Derniers Mamelouks et Les Premiers Ottomans* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1995), 166–175; Th. Emil Homerin, ‘Sufis and Their Detractors in Mamluk Egypt a Survey of Protagonists and Institutional Settings’, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, ed. Frederick De Jong - Bernd Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 225–247; Sheila S. Blair, ‘Zāwiya’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Accessed 22 December 2021); Nathan Hofer, *The Popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173-1325* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 51–54; Daphna Ephrat - Hatim Mahamid, ‘The Creation of Sufi Spheres in Medieval Damascus (mid-6th/12th to mid-8th/14th Centuries)’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25/2 (2015), 189–208; Zacharie Mochtari De Pierrepont, ‘Tales of Reverence and Powers: Ibn Ḥajar’s Narratives of Religious Charismatic Authority’, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 23 (2020), 103–131; Daphna Ephrat - Paulo G. Pinto, ‘Šūfi Places and Dwellings’, *Sufi Institutions*, ed. Alexander Papas (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2021), 105–144; Peyvand Firouzeh, ‘Šūfi Lodges’, *Sufi Institutions*, ed. Alexander Papas (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2021), 157–173.

zāwīyas in the Mosque of ‘Amr, including the most significant of them, the *Zāwīya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. In this way, this article argues that the study circles formerly known as *zāwīyas* in the mosques of Cairo turned into endowed, long-lasting, and prestigious institutions of learning from the 6th/12th century on.

2. *Zāwīya* at Various Contexts

Historians of the Syro-Egyptian cities, such as al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) for Cairo, al-Nu‘aymī (d. 927/1521) for Damascus, and al-‘Ulaymī (d. 928/1522) for Jerusalem, do not make any clear distinction between institutions devoted to Sufis, i.e., *khanqāh*, *ribāt*, and *zāwīya*. In his *al-Khiṭaṭ*, the leading source for the history of educational institutions in Cairo, al-Maqrīzī first surveys mosques and madrasas, then deals with *khanqāhs*, *ribāts*, and *zāwīyas* respectively; however, he does not differentiate them in terms of their functions, considering all three as institutions where Sufis pray, perform their *dhikr*, and live in seclusion (*inziwā*).³ Furthermore, al-Nu‘aymī, in his *al-Dāris fī tāriḫ al-madāris*,⁴ elucidates that all these three types of institutions are allocated to Sufis so that they maintain their good deeds and prayers.⁵

However, modern studies on the history of sufi institutions in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria underline the differences between the *khanqāh* and *zāwīya*. According to this understanding, *khanqāhs* featured a formal education curriculum which was regulated with endowment provisions and were subjected to the strict supervision of political elite; *zāwīyas*, on the other hand, were more modest institutions, free from such control mechanisms.⁶ Another view is that *khanqāhs* made the institutionalised Sufism (*tasawwuf*) which was supported by political elite more visible, and attracting the particular attention of legal scholars (*fuqahā*), who held the prestigious positions in these institutions. On the contrary, popular Sufi practices were maintained in modest and autarchic *zāwīyas* that remained distant from the support and supervision of political elite.⁷ Unlike *khanqāhs*, *zāwīyas* were mostly endowed for Sufi shaykhs, which became their residence and a mausoleum after their death.⁸

3 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, critical ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid (London: Mu‘assasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2013), 4/724-826.

4 The full title of the book includes *zāwīyas*: Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris li-aḥwāl mawāḍi‘ al-fā‘ida bi-Dimashq ka-dūr al-Qur‘ān wa-al-ḥadīth wa-al-madāris wa-mā yaltaḥiq bi-dhālika min al-rubuṭ wa-al-khawāniq wa-al-turab wa-al-zawāyā min bayān amākinihā wa-awqāti inshā‘ihā wa-tarājim wāqifihā wa-dhikr awqāfihim wa-shurūṭihim Bk. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, critical ed. Ja‘far al-Ḥasanī (Damascus: al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī, 1948-1951), 1/5.

5 Al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2/195. The same approach can be seen in Šibt Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s (d. 841/1438) work on the history of Aleppo, see: Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Šibt b. al-‘Ajamī, *Kunūz al-Dhabab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, critical ed. Shawqī Sha‘th - Fāliḫ al-Bakkūr (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-‘Arabī, 1996), 1/384.

6 Blair, ‘Zāwīya’.

7 Fernandes, ‘Some Aspects of The Zāwīya’, 11; ‘The Zāwīya in Cairo’, 118; Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme En Égypte et En Syrie*, 167–169. In contrast, according to Hofer, the number of *zāwīyas* endowed by amīrs increased from the 9th/15th century onwards, and they competed with each other for the patronage over sufis through these institutions, see: Hofer, *The Popularisation of Sufism*, 53.

8 Fernandes, ‘The Zāwīya in Cairo’, 118–119; Ephrat - Mahamid, ‘The Creation of Sufi Spheres’, 201–202.

Khanqāhs were especially built in central locations of cities and established mostly by wealthy rulers. On the other hand, small settlements and villages in the Syro-Egyptian region were full of *zāwiyas*. Sufis who devoted themselves to an ascetic life preferred to remain in their shaykhs' houses or in *zāwiyas*, rather than benefiting from the endowments of *khanqāhs*.⁹

As has been explained, there are certain differences between *khanqāhs* and *zāwiyas* in terms of their endowments, locations, resources, and functions. Nevertheless, the *zāwiya*, just like the *khanqāh*, were home to Sufis and offered venues for the collective Sufi practices they performed. Based on these functions, both were significant institutions associated with Sufis in both Mamlūk sources and modern literature. However, Sufi institutions labelled as *zāwiya* in Mamlūk sources also had other functions. For instance, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Nu‘mānī (d. 898/1492), a Sufi, legal expert, hadīth scholar, and philologist, endowed a *zāwiya* in the Nile riverbank. Al-Sakhāwī labels al-Nu‘māniyya as both a *zāwiya* and a *madrasa*; moreover, he says that the *zāwiya* functioned at the same time as mosque where Friday prayers performed.¹⁰ In a similar vein, Shāfi‘ī jurist, hadīth scholar, and Sufi Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Abnāsī (d. 802/1399) built a *zāwiya* in the Maqs region outside Cairo. He founded an endowment for this *zāwiya*, gathered his students there, gave them *fiqh* lessons, and allocated to them monthly salaries and daily provisions. In addition, he endowed a considerable number of books to this institution. Prominent scholars of Cairo, such as, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Zahīra (d. 819/1416), Walī al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (d. 826/1423), Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), and Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), received *fiqh* courses from Burhān al-Dīn al-Abnāsī in this *zāwiya*.¹¹ These cases reveal that at least a number of *zāwiyas* performed the functions of both madrasa and mosque. Furthermore, these examples are in harmony with the ideal of a non-rigid and comprehensive scholarly institution in the Mamlūk period, when the functions of madrasa, mosque, *dār al-ḥadīth*, *dār al-Qur‘ān*, and Sufi institutions intertwined.¹²

Apart from these *zāwiya*-madrasas, Mamlūk sources mention another type of institution, which is also named *zāwiya* and endowed for *fiqh* and other religious disciplines, instead of for Sufis and Sufi practices. In this context, the term *zāwiya* is employed for institutions of

9 Ephrat - Pinto, ‘Šūfi Places and Dwellings’, 107–114. 8. One of the leading scholars of the 14th century, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, also points out this nuance between *khanqāh* and *zāwiya* in his *Mu‘īd al-ni‘am wa mubīd al-niqam*, in which he discusses the etiquette of the professions of his period. Al-Subkī draws attention that sufis who prefer to be stay in *khanqāhs*, should do this not to get worldly benefits from these institutions, but to turn away from the world for dedicating themselves to worship. In addition, he describes *zāwiyas* as modest institutions mostly established in locations distant from the central settlements (*bariyya*, plural *barārī*), see: Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Mu‘īdū n-Ni‘am: Makam ve Meslek Ahlākı*, trans. Harun Yılmaz - Muhammet Enes Midilli (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019), 230–233.

10 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘ al-Lāmi‘ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi‘* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, no date), 1/79.

11 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā‘ al-Ghumr bi-Anbā‘ al-‘Umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Majlis al-‘Ālī lil-Shu‘ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1969-1998), 2/112; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘ al-Lāmi‘*, 1/173.

12 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ‘Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions’, *Annales Islamologiques* 21 (1985), 73–93; Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 56–60.

learning, established within the major mosques of the prominent cities of the Syro-Egyptian region and were supported by endowments which ensured their continuity.¹³

3. Mosque-Zāwiyas in Egypt and Syria

Although their architectural features are not exactly known, mosque-zāwiyas may have been endowed to a corner or a column within mosques in accordance with the lexical meaning of the word “zāwīya”, i.e., “corner” and “nook.” However, based on the detailed description of the location of some mosque-zāwiyas in the sources, it can be thought that enclosed cells were built in certain parts of the mosques for them. Either way, mosque-zāwiyas were envisaged and endowed to be an internal part of mosques, rather than being separate from them.¹⁴

In his *al-Dāris*, al-Nu‘aymī labels the eight zāwiyas (al-Ghazzāliyya, al-Asadiyya, al-Munajjā‘iyya, al-Qūṣiyya, al-Safīniyya, al-Ḥanafīyya, al-Mālīkiyya, and al-Shaykhiyya) in the Umayyad Mosque as madrasas.¹⁵ Among them, the Zāwīya of al-Ghazzāliyya is also known as al-Naṣriyye. This is because Shāfi‘ī legal scholar Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḥdīsī (d. 490/1096) first gave lectures in this zāwīya, before al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) arrived to do the same. As such, the name of the zāwīya was attributed to the names of these two scholars.¹⁶ This zāwīya and the Zāwīya of al-Asadiyya, which was founded by al-Malik al-Muzaffar Asad al-Dīn, were dedicated to the education of Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*.¹⁷ The zāwīya, named as al-Munajjā‘iyya after its first *mudarris*, Ḥanbalī jurist Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Munajjā‘ (d. 695/1296), was endowed

13 In the studies examining the history of zāwīya during the Mamlūk period, this type of institution has been either not mentioned or touched upon very briefly. For instance, while the first and second editions of *Encyclopaedia of Islam* include separate “zāwīya” entries, there is no information on zāwīyas formed within mosques, see: Lévi-Provençal, ‘Zāwīya’; Blair, ‘Zāwīya’.

14 This practice can be seen as the continuation of the tradition of forming scholarly circles in mosques starting from the first Hijri centuries. Besides, a great number of mosques in Cairo, such as the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the Mosque of al-Hākīm, the Mosque of al-Azhar, the Mosque of Ṣūltan Ḥasan and the Mosque of al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh gained the function of madrasas supported by endowments. For detailed information on these types of mosques, see: Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 50–56; Muhammet Enes Midilli, ‘Mamlükler Döneminde Bir İlim Kurumu: İbn Tolun Camii ve Ulemaya Sunduğu Mansıplar’, *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 44 (2020), 37–73. On the other hand, concurrently, madrasas gained the function of mosques where Friday prayers performed during the Mamlūk period. Minbars were added to many madrasas and preachers (*khatīb*) were appointed to them. For this practice, see: Mahamid, ‘Mosques as Higher Educational Institutions’.

15 al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2/412.

16 Taj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘īyya al-Kubrā*, critical ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāh Muḥammad al-Ḥulw - Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī (Cairo: Maṭba‘at ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964), 6/187. This zāwīya is also known as “al-Zāwīya al-Gharbiyya,” “al-Zāwīya al-Dawla‘ī,” and “Zāwīya al-Quṭb al-Naysābūrī” in relation to its location in the Umayyad Mosque or the name of the scholar gave lectures there, see: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-A‘lām*, critical ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 17/182.

17 Al-Nu‘aymī mentions the Zāwīya of al-Ghazzaliya among the Shāfi‘ī madrasas and provides information about the *mudarrises* appointed to this zāwīya, see: Al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, 1/413–426. Although it is stated by the editor that the endower of the Zāwīya of al-Asadiyya was Asad al-Dīn Shirqūh, who was the *amīr* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zangī and the uncle of Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2/412), the title of Shirqūh was not “al-Malik al-Muzaffar” but “al-Malik al-Mansūr”. Therefore, the endower of the zāwīya of al-Asadiyya must probably be another *amīr* that we could not identify.

for the education of Ḥanbalī *fiqh*.¹⁸ The *Zāwiya* of al-Qūṣiyya, al-Safīniyya, and al-Maqṣūra al-Kubrā were dedicated to Ḥanafīs, and the *Zāwiya* of al-Mālikiyya, which was founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (567-589/1171-1193), was dedicated to Mālikīs.¹⁹ Al-Nuʿaymī does not provide information about the *madhhab* affiliation of the *Zāwiya* of al-Shaykhiyya, which was attributed to a scholar named Ibn Shaykh al-Islām.²⁰

Al-Nuʿaymī, who classifies the madrasas according to their school of law in his book, understands these *zāwiyas* in the Umayyad Mosque to be madrasas, includes them among the madrasas of the school of law that they were related to, and provides detailed information on the *mudarrises* appointed to them. This approach of al-Nuʿaymī and the systematic appointments made to the positions of *mudarris* indicate that these *zāwiyas* were institutions of learning supported by endowments, not the scholarly circles that the scholars temporarily established with their personal preferences.

Apart from the *zāwiyas* in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, there was a famous *zāwiya* called al-Naṣriyye or al-Ghazzaliyya at al-Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem. Similar to the *zāwiya* in the Umayyad Mosque, first Shāfiʿī jurist Naṣr al-Maqdisī and then Ghazzālī gave lectures here. Thus, the *zāwiya* was called al-Naṣriyya and al-Ghazzaliyya in relation to the names of these two scholars.²¹ In a later period, this *zāwiya* was transformed into an institution of learning where recitation (*qirāʾa*) and grammar (*naḥw*) lessons were taught, with an endowment established by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā (615-624/1218-1227).²²

In Aleppo, there were three *zāwiyas* in al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr, which were the endowments of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī (541-569/1146-1174). One of them was dedicated to the members of the Mālikī school of law, another to the members of the Ḥanbalī school of law, and the other for hadīth education.²³ These three examples indicate that the practices of establishing *zāwiyas* within mosques and founding endowments for them can be traced back at least to the middle of the 6th/12th century. When it comes to Cairo, there are records of at least two *zāwiyas*

18 al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 2/120-123; Muhammed Usame Onuṣ, *VI. ve VII. Asırlarda Dimaşk Hanbeliliği* (Istanbul: Marmara University, Ph.D. Thesis, 2020).

19 In the section of al-Nuʿaymī's book where he deals with Ḥanafī madrasas, he names al-Qūṣiyya and al-Safīniyya as madrasas and gives information about their *mudarrises*, see: Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 1/438-440, 529-530. Al-Maqṣūra al-kubrā was in the same place as the *miḥrāb* allocated to Ḥanafīs in the mosque. Al-Nuʿaymī also mentions in detail the *mudarrises* who served here, see: Al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 1/604-606. However, there is no information on the endowments of these three *zāwiyas*. On the other hand, he mentions the *Zāwiya* of al-Mālikiyya among the Mālikī madrasas and provides information on its *mudarrises* (al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 2/3-7).

20 al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 2/412.

21 Muḥir al-Dīn Abū al-Yumn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, ed. ʿAdnān Yūnus ʿAbd al-Majīd Abū Tabbāna (Amman: Maktabat Dandīs, 1999), 2/68-69; Mahamid, 'Mosques as Higher Educational Institutions', 201.

22 al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2/76-77.

23 Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, critical ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, no date), 3/1293; Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-Dhahab*, 1/234, 371. Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī lists the *zāwiya* that Nūr al-Dīn Zangī dedicated for the Mālikīs among the Mālikī madrasas in his book on history of Aleppo.

endowed by the Mamlūks in the Mosque of al-Azhar. One of them was founded by Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk al-Zāhirī (d. 676/1277), one of the high-ranking *amīrs* who served as treasurer (*khāzindār*) and viceroy (*nā'ib al-ṣaltana*), for the education of Shāfi'ī fiqh.²⁴ The other was founded in 761 (1359-60) by Sa'd al-Dīn Bashīr al-Nāsirī for the education of Ḥanafī fiqh and was supported by rich endowments.²⁵

The most important, and perhaps the only, attempt in modern scholarship to explain mosque-*zāwiyyas* belongs to George Makdisi. He regards the *zāwiyyas* in the Umayyad Mosque and the Mosque of 'Amr as venues specifically devoted to the instruction of *fiqh*. For him, from the very beginning of the Islamicate history, the mosque had been an educational institution with various study circles on religious disciplines. However, the Damascene and Cairene mosques differed from their counterparts in terms of having *zāwiyyas* in which courses for each of the four schools of law organized.²⁶ Moreover, Makdisi considers madrasas as institutions endowed for the education of *fiqh*, the foremost discipline in the Islamic sciences. In other words, in line with his *fiqh*-centered madrasa model, he describes the madrasa as a college of law.²⁷ According to him, *zāwiyyas* in the Umayyad Mosque and the Mosque of 'Amr were colleges of law that functioned exactly like madrasas.²⁸ Although Makdisi's emphasis on the *fiqh*-centered instructional function of the mosque-*zāwiyyas* appears mostly justified, these *zāwiyyas* were also endowed to the education of religious disciplines other than *fiqh*, as can be seen in the Mosque of 'Amr.

4. *Zāwiyyas* of the Mosque of 'Amr b. al-ʿAṣ in Cairo

There are two major topographical urban history works that feature the history of *zāwiyyas* in the Mosque of 'Amr and provide detailed information on them: the first is Ibn Duqmāq's (d. 809/1407) *al-Intiṣar li-Wāṣiṭati 'Iqd al-Amṣār*, and the second is al-Maqrīzī's work *al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. Both authors record the establishment

24 Ṣalāh al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, critical ed. Aḥmad al-Arnāūt - Turkī Mustafā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Arabī, 2000), 10/227; Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-Nihāya*, critical ed. 'Abdullah b. Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Jīza: Dār Hijr, 1997), 17/537; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfi*, critical ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1984-2009), 3/513.

25 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/103-104. Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791) said that this lesson, which was allocated to Hanafis by Amīr Ṣa'd al-Dīn in al-Azhar Mosque, continued in his own time and that their endowment were still in place, see: Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Khalīl b. 'Alī al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Thānī 'Ashar* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya - Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1988), 3/270-271.

26 George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 12-13, 20.

27 George Makdisi, 'Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24/1 (1961), 10-14; Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 9. Some scholars criticise Makdisi's madrasa approach by emphasising the flexible, non-curricular, and teacher-centered character of Islamic education, see: A. L. Tibawi, 'Origin and Character of "al-Madrasah"', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 25/1/3 (1962), 225-238; Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 70, 78-79.

28 Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 20.

dates of the *zāwiyas* in the Mosque of ‘Amr, their locations, endowers, endowed properties, and lessons in their works on the history and topography of Cairo during the Mamlūk period.

After discussing the mosques and madrasas in Cairo, Ibn Duqmāq records this information under a section called “*Zāwiyas of al-Jāmi‘ al-Atīq in al-Fuṣṭāṭ*,” and after that, he deals with Sufi institutions, i.e., *khanqāhs*, *ribāṭs*, and *zāwiyas*. In this way, he clearly distinguishes between mosque-*zāwiyas* and the Sufi *zāwiyas*.²⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, provides information about the eight *zāwiyas*, after saying that “there are *zāwiyas* in which *fiqh* is taught in the mosque” at the end of the long chapter dedicated to the Mosque of ‘Amr in the section where he deals with the mosques of Cairo.³⁰ Both authors begin with the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī because of its prestige. That said, the remaining seven *zāwiyas* are presented below, before the detailed discussion of the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, as there are more extensive narratives on the history, endowment, *mudarrises*, and students of this *zāwiya*.

4.1. The *Zāwiya of al-Majdiyya*

This *zāwiya* was endowed by Majd al-Dīn al-Bahnasī (d. 628/1230-1), one of the viziers of al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaḥfar al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 635/1237) from the Ayyubid dynasty who ruled in al-Jazīra and Damascus. Although the establishment date of the endowment is not known with precision, considering the death date of the endower, it can be said that the *zāwiya* was established before 635/1237. According to the information provided by al-Maqrīzī, some estates in Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ were endowed to this *zāwiya*. The *zāwiya* was located in the central enclosure (*maqṣūra*)³¹ between *al-mihrāb al-kabīr* (the large prayer niche) and *mihrāb al-khams* (the fifth prayer niche). Majd al-Dīn al-Bahnasī appointed Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī (d. 685/1286), one of his relatives, as the first *mudarris* of the *zāwiya*.³² Al-Dhahabī, on the other hand, says that Majd al-Dīn endowed this *zāwiya* to the place where his father Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥasin Muhallab Ḥasen (d. 576/1181), a prominent grammar scholar, gave lectures in the Mosque of ‘Amr.³³

Although al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq do not provide any information on the type of lessons endowed to the *zāwiya*, it can be identified from an anecdote about Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī that the *zāwiya* was endowed for the instruction of “*uṣūl al-dīn*” (the principles of religion).

29 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiyat ‘Iqd al-Amṣār*, ed. Karl Vollers (Bulaq: al-Maṭba‘at al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1310/1893), 4/79-104.

30 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

31 Enclosure (*maqṣūra* or *maḥḥil*) refers to the private parts of the mosques that are reserved for the caliphs or rulers to pray, which are enclosed and sheltered. However, in Egypt and Damascus, *maqṣūras* also had educational functions. In other words, some *maqṣūras* in mosques were built in this region for study circles and endowments were established for them. See: Jonathan Bloom, ‘Maqṣūra’, *Grove Art Online* (Accessed 22 June 2022). For example, Bīlik al-Khāzindār, one of the *amīrs* of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (658-676/1260-1277), endowed a *maqṣūra* in al-Azhar Mosque for the education of the Shāfi‘ī *fiqh* and hadīth. See: Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/101-102.

32 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36. Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī is one of the leading Shāfi‘ī jurists of the period who undertook the position of Shāfi‘ī chiefjudgeship in Cairo at the end of his life. See: Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8/317.

33 al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 13/859.

In his book *Raf' al- 'Işr 'an Quḍāt al-Mişr*, a book on the biographies of the judges of Egypt, Ibn Ḥajar al- 'Asqalānī includes the biography of Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī. He narrates that when al-Bahnasī was appointed as the *mudarris* of the *zāwiya*, he first gave an opening lecture before a large number of people before organizing a private lecture on *uşūl al-dīn*. Ibn Ḥajar says that he gave this private lecture in accordance with the provisions of the endowment deed. After narrating this, he states that al-Bahnasī was a competent name in “*aşlayn*,” that is, in the disciplines of “*uşūl al-dīn*” and “*uşūl al-fiqh*” (legal theory), and that he studied these two subjects with his teacher Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī (d. 646/1248) according to the methods elaborated by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (ö. 631/1233).³⁴ In this anecdote, the phrase underlining the compatibility of the subject of the lesson, that is “*uşūl al-dīn*,” with the provisions of the endowment deed largely removes the ambiguity related to which discipline’s instruction the *zāwiya* was endowed for.

The appointments to the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya* can be regularly traced from the 7th/13th century to the end of 9th/15th century through chronicles and biographical dictionaries. This reveals that the endowment of the *zāwiya* and the lessons held here continued steadily for at least two centuries.³⁵

4.2. The Zāwiya of al-Şāhibiyya

This *zāwiya* was endowed by the vizier Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Ḥinnā (d. 707/1307) for the instruction of Şhāfi'ī and Mālikī *fiqh*. In line with this, a Şhāfi'ī and a Mālikī *mudarris* were both appointed. It is recorded that some of the properties (*funduqs*/caravanserais, inns, cellars, mills, and bakeries) located just outside of Cairo were endowed to generate revenue to the endowment

34 Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al- 'Asqalānī, *Raf' al- 'Işr 'an Quḍāt Mişr*, critical ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1998), 257. The term *uşūl al-dīn* here is generally used in the sense of ‘*aqā'id*’, that is, the discipline that deals with the principles of faith. Furthermore, during the Mamlūk period, some scholars took a standpoint against the philosophical theology developed after al-Ghazzālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and tried to keep this field separate from *uşūl al-dīn*. See: al-Subkī, *Mu' idū'n-Ni'am*, 142–147; Murat Kaş, ‘Kelam İlminin Bilimsel Kimliğiyle İlgili Tartışmaların Memlūk Coğrafyasındaki Yansımaları’, *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 24/3 (15 December 2020), 1059–1080. On the other hand, the emphasis on Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī’s teacher al-Khūnajī and the methods he acquired from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī indicated that al-Bahnasī’s lessons in the *zāwiya* were probably based on the same approaches. If so, this means that the term *uşūl al-dīn* can be used in different contexts during the Mamlūk period.

35 Some of the names recorded in the sources as a *mudarris* at the Zāwiya of al-Majdiyya are as follows: Wajīh al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Ḥusayn al-Bahnasī, Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abdullah al-Aslūjī (d. 717/1317), Şadr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad b. 'Umar Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317), Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Labbān (d. 749/1349), Tāj al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad b. Işḥāq al-Munāwī (d. 765/1364), Şadr al-Dīn Abū al-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Munāwī (ö. 803/1401), Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Munāwī, Bahā' al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Munāwī (d. 825/1422), Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān al-Munāwī (d. 877/1472), and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bāmī (d. 885/1480-1).

of the *zāwiya*. In addition, the location of the *zāwiya* is indicated as “*hawla al-ghurfā*,”³⁶ that is, in the vicinity of a certain cell within the mosque.³⁷

4.3. The Zāwiya of al-Kamāliyya

This *zāwiya* was endowed by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Samannūdī, who allocated a *funduq*/caravanserai in Egypt (Fustaṭ) to generate revenue to support the endowment. The *zāwiya* is located in an enclosure (*maqṣūra*) within the mosque near the door opening to Sūq al-Ghazl.³⁸ According to what Ibn Duqmāq recorded, the first *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* was ‘Alam al-Dīn ‘Abdullah al-Samannūdī, the son of the uncle of the endower, and the second *mudarris* was Sharaf al-Dīn al-Samannūdī, the son of ‘Alam al-Dīn ‘Abdullah. However, there is no information in the sources of the period about neither the endower Kamāl al-Dīn al-Samannūdī nor these two *mudarrises* of the *zāwiya*.³⁹ Nevertheless, considering the death date of Najm al-Dīn al-Qamūlī (d. 727/1327), who was appointed as the *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* after the two mentioned figures, it is highly probable that the *zāwiya* was endowed in the first quarter of the 8th/14th century. In addition, it can be said that the *zāwiya* was endowed for the teaching of Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*, since al-Qamūlī was an important Shāfi‘ī jurist who served as a Shāfi‘ī judge in various cities in Upper Egypt and was later appointed as the *muḥtasib* (the supervisor of public spaces) of Cairo.⁴⁰

4.4. The Zāwiya of Tājīyya

This *zāwiya* was close to “*al-Mihrāb al-Khashab*” (the wooden *mihrāb*) in the mosque and endowed by Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṣaṭḥī. One house (*dār*) in Bayn al-Qasrayn and another in al-Ḥajjārāyyn were endowed to generate revenue to support the endowment of the *zāwiya*. The first

36 In the final years of his life, Ibn Bābshāz (d. 469/1077), a prominent grammar scholar who served as a clerk in *dīwān al-inshā* during the Fatimid period, settled in a cell (*al-ghurfā*) in the Mosque of ‘Amr, where he wrote a work on grammar that is said to be in 15 volumes. Later, this work was named as *Ta’līq al-Ghurfa* by Ibn Bābshāz’s students, see: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān wa-Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, critical ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968-1972), 2/515-517. While the “*ghurfā*” mentioned when describing the location of the *Zāwiya* of al-Ṣāhibiyya in the mosque may not be the same as the “*ghurfā*” that Ibn Bābshāz used to live in, this record shows that such cells existed in the mosque from earlier times. In addition, the word “*ghurfā*” was used in the endowment deeds from the Mamlūk period to refer to the small cells on the upper floors or roofs of the buildings. See: Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn - Leila Ibrahim, *al-Muṣṭalahāt al-Mi’ariyya fī al-Wathā’iq al-Mamlūkiyya* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 1990), 83.

37 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36. In addition, Ibn Duqmāq records that the first Shāfi‘ī *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* was ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn Miskīn (d. 710/1310), one of the leading Shāfi‘ī jurists of the time (*aḥadu a’yān al-fuqahā al-Shāfi’iyya*), and the first Mālikī *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* was a scholar called al-Būshī. On the biography of ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn Miskīn, see: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafādī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr wa-A’wān al-Naṣr*, critical ed. ‘Alī Abū Zayd (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu’āṣir, 1998), 5/263; Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi’iyya*, critical ed. al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-‘Alīm Khān (Hyderabad: Maṭba‘at Majlis Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Uthmāniyya, 1978-1980), 2/213.

38 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

39 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100.

40 On Najm al-Dīn al-Qamūlī, see: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9/30-31.

mudarris of the *zāwiya* was Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Qābila.⁴¹ There is no information available in the sources of the period about neither the endower nor the *mudarris*. However, Ibn Duqmāq stated that Ibn al-Qābila was a jurist. Therefore, although it is not known exactly to which school of law the *zāwiya* was endowed, the lessons in the *zāwiya* were probably related to *fiqh*. In addition, Ibn Duqmāq provides information on the properties endowed for the *zāwiya* from Taj al-Dīn Ibn al-Mutawwaj's work on the history of Egypt (*Īqāz al-Mutagaffil wa-Itti'āz al-Muta'ammil*). Considering that Ibn al-Mutawwaj died in 730/1330, it can be said that the *zāwiya* was endowed at least before this date.⁴²

4.5. The *Zāwiya of al-Mu'iniyya*

This *zāwiya*, located in the middle of the two doors on the east side of the mosque, was established by Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Dahrūfī, who endowed some properties in Fustāt to the *zāwiya*. Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Armantī was appointed as the first *mudarris* of this institution.⁴³ No information could be obtained about the endower from the sources of the period. However, it is known that the *mudarris*, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Rahīm Ibn al-Athīr al-Armantī, originally came from Upper Egypt, served as a judge in this region, was a Shāfi'ī jurist, and died in 706 (1306-7).⁴⁴ Accordingly, it can be inferred that the *zāwiya* was endowed for the teaching of Shāfi'ī *fiqh* at either the end of the 7th/13th century or the beginning of the 8th/14th century.

4.6. The *Zāwiya of 'Alā'iyyā*

This *zāwiya*, located in the western part of the courtyard of the mosque, was endowed by Amīr al-Hāj 'Alā al-Dīn al-Ḍarīr for *mī'ād* (text-based public lesson). Ibn Duqmāq stated that the Shāfi'ī jurist 'Alam al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (d. 704/1304) was appointed as the shaykh of the *zāwiya*.⁴⁵ In addition, Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī, the first *mudarris* of the *Zāwiya* of al-Majdiyya, also served as a shaykh in this *zāwiya*.⁴⁶ Although there is no information about the endower 'Alā al-Dīn al-Ḍarīr, based on the fact that Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī passed away in 685 (1286), the *zāwiya* was probably endowed before this date.

4.7. The *Zāwiya of al-Zayniyya*

This *zāwiya* was in the vicinity of *al-Mihrāb al-Khashab* (the wooden *mihrāb*) in the mosque, just as the *Zāwiya* of al-Tājīyya, and was endowed by al-Şāhib Zayn al-Dīn. Similar

41 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/101; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

42 On Ibn al-Mutawwaj, see: Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, critical ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2006), 6/87; Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhira*, critical ed. Muḥammad Abū Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Arabī, 1967), 1/555-556.

43 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/101; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

44 al-Şafādī, *A'yān al-'Aşr*, 3/412-413.

45 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/101; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

46 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-Işr*, 257.

to the *Zāwiya* of ‘Alā’iyya, it was established for the teaching of *mī‘ād* lessons.⁴⁷ Since no information could be obtained about neither its endower nor its shaykhs, the establishment date of the *zāwiya* could not be determined.

As it can be seen, the *zāwiyas* of ‘Alā’iyya and Zayniyya were endowed not for the lessons of *fiqh* but for *mī‘ād* gatherings. *Mī‘ād* gatherings were text-based lessons for preaching (*wa‘z*) and advice, and were ubiquitous in mosques and madrasas during the Mamlūk period. Since these sessions are held in particular places on certain days of the week, they were expressed with the word of “*mī‘ād*,” which means meeting place and time. In *mī‘āds*, generally a *ḥadith* or *tafsīr* (exegesis) text was followed, a reader (*qārī*) would read the text in the presence of a shaykh (*shaykh al-mī‘ād*), and the shaykh would give a lecture on the part being read.⁴⁸

When the chronicles and biographical dictionaries are examined, it is seen that the records regarding the appointments of *mudarrises* to the six *zāwiyas* other than the *Zāwiya* of al-Majdiyya and the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī are extremely limited. This might be because the endowments of these six *zāwiyas* came to an end at some point. However, since there is no clear record on this issue, it is not possible to make any definite claim on the matter. Nonetheless, there are consistent and detailed records on the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī and its *mudarrises*.

5. The *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī

The seven *zāwiyas* presented above are listed in accordance with their order in the works of Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī. As mentioned before, they listed the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī before these seven. Al-Maqrīzī provides the following information on the *zāwiya*:

“There are *zāwiyas* where *fiqh* is taught in the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās. One of them is the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. This *zāwiya* is known by the name of al-Shāfi‘ī. It is said that al-Shāfi‘ī gave his lessons here and that the *zāwiya* was known by his name for this reason. There is a land in Sandabīs district endowed for this *zāwiya* by al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān, son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb. [Today] prominent jurists and significant scholars continue to hold the position of *mudarris* in this *zāwiya*.⁴⁹”

Ibn Duqmāq, on the other hand, records the name of the *zāwiya* as “the *Zāwiya* of al-Khashshābiyya,” states that this place was famous before with the name the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, and lists the names of *mudarrises* who taught in the *zāwiya* until his own time.⁵⁰ However, he does not provide information on the endower, the establishment date, and the properties endowed for the *zāwiya*. More detailed information on these issues does not exist in these two major sources, but rather in an addendum (*dhayl*) written by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) on the work of his principle teacher Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Raf‘ al-iṣr ‘an quḍāt al-Miṣr*, in which he presents the biographies of Egyptian judges. While giving information on the life of

47 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/101; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

48 Midilli, ‘Memlūkler Döneminde Bir İlim Kurumu’, 50–51.

49 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4/36.

50 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100.

‘Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 868/1464), one of the Shāfi‘ī chief judges of Egypt, al-Sakhāwī states that he was a *mudarris* at the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, and then introduces a section (*fā’ida*) that deals with the history of the *zāwiya* and its *mudarrises* in detail.⁵¹

5.1. The Establishment of the *Zāwiya* and Its Endower

Al-Sakhāwī first states that the place known as al-Khashshābiyya was one of the *zāwiyas* in the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, where al-Shāfi‘ī held his scholarly sessions (*majālis*). He then gives information on the founder of the *zāwiya*. He indicates that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī built an enclosure (*maqṣūra*) on this place where al-Shāfi‘ī taught, appointed a *mudarris* (*shaykh*) and students there, and endowed the land known as al-Khariba to this *zāwiya* to generate revenue for its *waqf*.⁵² Al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, states in his chronicle *al-Sulūk* that the district of al-Khariba was endowed in 592 (1196) by al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān, the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī.⁵³ These two different views can be reconciled as follows. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī probably first built an enclosure (*maqṣūra*) in the place where al-Shāfi‘ī held his scholarly circle, establishing an endowment for the education of Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*. Afterwards, his son al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān could have endowed al-Khariba, a piece of land in al-Manūfiyya region of Egypt, to the *zāwiya*.

However, Ibn Duqmāq, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Sakhāwī did not record the establishment date of *zāwiya*’s endowment. Yet, the establishment date was probably after 567 (1171), when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took over the administration in Egypt. This can be understood because, while narrating the history of the Mosque of ‘Amr in his *Khīṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī says that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn reconstructed many parts of the mosque in 568 (1172-3). Fustāṭ had been under the occupation of the Crusaders for a while, during which some parts of the mosque were burned. It was probably during this reconstruction process that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built the aforementioned enclosure and established an endowment for it.⁵⁴ Indeed, the statement “the *Zāwiya* of al-Ṣalāḥiyya, also known as the *Zāwiya* of al-Khashshābiyya,” which al-Qalqashandī used while mentioning the *zāwiya* in his chancery manual, confirms that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī was the endower of the *zāwiya*.⁵⁵

51 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl ‘alā Raf’ al-Isr aw Bughyat al-‘Ulamā’ wa-al-Ruwāt*, critical ed. Jawda Hilāl - Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ (Cairo: Dār al-Ta’āwun, 1966), 182–184.

52 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl ‘alā Raf’ al-Isr*, 182.

53 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-Ma’rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafa Ziyāda - Sa’id ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Āshūr (Cairo: Maṭba’at Dār al-Kutub, 1934-1973), 1/130.

54 On the destruction of the Mosque of ‘Amr during the Crusader attack and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s reconstruction, see: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khīṭaṭ*, 4/23-24.

55 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-‘A’ shāfi’īnā’ at al-Inshā’*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1987), 4/40. In another chancery manual written in the 9th/15th century, it is clearly stated that the *zāwiya* was endowed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, see: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim fī Ṣinā’at al-Kātib wa-al-Kātim*, critical ed. Ashraf Muḥammad Anas (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyya, 2009), 1/407. While explaining the word “*al-Khariba*” in *Tāj al-‘arūs*, al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) also stated that it was the name of one of the Egyptian villages, and that this village was endowed for al-Khashshābiyya, one of the madrasas in the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī. See: Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Irshād wa-al-Anbā’, 1965-2001), 2/340.

5.2. The Location of the Zāwiya in the Mosque

Although both Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī describe the locations of the other seven zāwiyas in the mosque, they do not mention about the location of the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. Instead, they state that the zāwiya was a place surrounded with “*baraka*” (divine blessings) and that the most prominent Shāfi‘ī jurists of Cairo taught in the zāwiya from the day it was founded to the time they lived. Presumably, since the venue of the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī in the mosque was quite famous and well-known, they did not feel the need to make a detailed description on its location.

5.3. The Names Attributed to the Zāwiya

In the sources that have survived from the Mamlūk period, the zāwiya is called by two names, and both names are used quite frequently. As mentioned above, the first of these is “the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī” and the second is the “the Zāwiya of al-Khashshābiyya.” The name al-Khashshābiyya derives from one of the *mudarrises* of the zāwiya, Majd al-Dīn ‘Īsā Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 711/1311), who held this position for a long time. While the zāwiya is mentioned in the sources, from time to time, both names are specified together in order to avoid a possible confusion. For example, while detailing information on the appointment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317) as the *mudarris* of the zāwiya, al-Maqrīzī said, “The sultan appointed him to the position of *mudarris* in the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, also known as al-Khashshābiyya, which is located in the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.”⁵⁶ In a similar vein, while stating that Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403) was a *mudarris* of the zāwiya, it was said that “he worked as a *mudarris* at the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, also known as al-Khashshābiyya.”⁵⁷

5.4. Mudarrises, Repetitors (Mu‘īd), and Students

It is possible to say that the *mudarrises* of the zāwiya were recorded in detail in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries. From the end of the 6th/12th century, when it was founded, to the middle of the 10th/16th century, that is, for about four centuries, the names and appointment records of the *mudarrises* can be traced. These consistent records show the continuity of the endowment of the zāwiya, the courses and the positions of those who worked

56 The original phrase is as follows: “ثم إن السلطان ولّاه تدريس زاوية الإمام الشافعي المعروفة اليوم بالخشابية من جامع عمرو بن العاص” (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, 6/232). Jonathan Berkey stated that al-Maqrīzī, in his *al-Khiṭaṭ*, did not mention all the zāwiyas in the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ because al-Khashshābiyya was not among them. (Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 52). However, the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī and the Zāwiya of al-Khashshābiyya refer to the same zāwiya, and as can be seen in the quote above, al-Maqrīzī points out this situation in his another book.

57 The original phrase is as follows: “درس بزواية الشافعي المعروفة بالخشابية” (Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhira* [Cairo: al-Mu‘assasat al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma, 1929-1972], 13/30). Likewise, it was stated before that the zāwiya where Naṣr al-Maqdisī and al-Ghazzālī taught in al-Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem was called both al-Naṣriyye and al-Ghazzālīyya.

there.⁵⁸ The records of appointments are included in the chronologically arranged historical books between the events of a certain year, and in the biographical dictionaries when the biography of a *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* is given.⁵⁹ Apart from these, Ibn Duqmāq in *al-Intiṣār* and al-Sakhāwī in *al-Dhayl ‘alā Raf‘ al-īsr* present a list of *mudarrises* who taught in the *zāwiya* until their time.⁶⁰ Based on these records, the names of the *mudarrises* in the *zāwiya* can be listed as follows:

1. Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasen ‘Ali b. Hibatullah Ibn al-Jummayzī (d. 649/1252)
2. Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Saniyy al-Dawla (d. 680/1281)
3. Majd al-Dīn ‘Īsā b. ‘Umar Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 711/1311)
4. Ziyā’ al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ‘Abdullāh al-Nashā’ī (d. 716/1316)
5. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317)
6. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Anṣārī (d. 749/1348)
7. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā’a (d. 733/1333)
8. Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Labbān (d. 749/1348)
9. ‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Isnawī (d. 764/1363)
10. ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad Ibn Jamā’a (d. 767/1366)
11. Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn ‘Aqīl (d. 769/1367)
12. Sirāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥafs ‘Umar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403)
13. Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Fadhl ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Bulqīnī (d. 824/1421)
14. ‘Alam al-Dīn Abu al-Baqā’ Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Umar al-Bulqīnī (d. 868/1464)
15. Faṭḥ al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bulqīnī (d. 892/1487)
16. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Makīnī (ö. ?)
17. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shābān Ibn ‘Arūs al-Dayrūtī (d. 949/1543)
18. Shihān al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abd al-Ḥaq al-Sunbātī (ö. 950/1543)
19. Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ṭabalāwī (d. 966/1559)

58 In 824 (1421), a member of al-Khāṣṣakiyya, i.e. the sultan’s guard units, made an objection regarding the land endowed to the al-Khashshabiyya, claiming that the current right holders could not benefit from this endowment, since the madrasa, which is the principle beneficiary of the waqf (*mawqūf ‘alayh*), was unknown. Accordingly, the endowed land was ordered to be converted into an *iqṭā’*. However, after a while, the income obtained from this land continued to be offered to the beneficiaries of the *zāwiya* as an intercession (*shafā’a*). See: Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 3/277. It is difficult to determine exactly the basis of the objection here. If the objection was made because a part of the mosque could not be defined as a madrasa, the later decision taken for the continuation of the endowment confirms that the *zāwiya* can be defined as such.

59 For some examples from historical works, see: Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-Nihāya*, 18/210; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2/340; Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, critical ed. ‘Adnān Darwish (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1977-1997), 2(1)/568, 629, 3/331; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1/46-47; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 13/33; ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, critical ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (Beirut: al-Maktabat al-‘Aṣriyya, 2002), 8/79. For examples from biographical dictionaries, see: al-Ṣafādī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 4/327, 5/680; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, 6/232; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-Lāmi’*, 3/313, 4/86, 109; Abū al-Makārim Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā’ira bi-A’yān al-Mi’a al-‘Ashira*, critical ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1997), 2/33.

60 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl ‘alā Raf‘ al-īsr*, 182-184.

One of the most striking aspects of this list is the names which belonged to the leading Shāfi‘ī scholarly families of Cairo who served as *mudarrises* in the mosque during the Mamlūk period. For example, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā‘a and his son ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn Jamā‘a, who were members of the Banū Jamā‘a family, served as *mudarrises* in the *zāwiya*. These two names were also appointed as Shāfi‘ī chiefjudges in Cairo and undertook important bureaucratic and scholarly positions.⁶¹ Later, throughout the 9th/15th century, scholars belonging to the al-Bulqīnī family served as *mudarrises* of the *zāwiya*. Members of the al-Bulqīnī family were also Shāfi‘ī chiefjudges in Cairo and became prominent figures in the scholarly circles in the city.⁶² The first member of this family, Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, was appointed to the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya* after his father-in-law’s death (d. 769/1367), continuing this duty for 36 years.⁶³ Then, his two sons, first Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān between 805-824 (1403-1424), then ‘Alam al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ between 824-868 (1421-1464), and later Faṭḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of ‘Alam al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, worked as *mudarrises* at the *zāwiya*.⁶⁴ As a result, the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya* remained in the hands of this elite and powerful scholarly family of Cairo for more than a century.

An anecdote narrated by Ibn Taghrībardī (d. 874/1470) clearly reveals the influence of the al-Bulqīnī family on the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. In 853 (1449), Shāfi‘ī chiefjudge ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī was dismissed from his duty of chiefjudgeship by the sultan due to some high-ranking *amīrs* taking positions against him. Although his exile to Tarsus or Jerusalem was on the agenda, he was later allowed to remain at his house in Cairo, after being dismissed (*ma‘zūl*). It seems that while ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī was dismissed from the position of chiefjudge, he was also dismissed from some of the positions he had. Immediately following his dismissal, the sultan took away the position of *mudarris* in the *Zāwiya* of al-Khashshābiyya from him and appointed ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī (d. 856/1452) instead. However, when ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī learned about this, he asked for forgiveness, citing the fact that this

61 About the family of Banū Jamā‘a, see: Kamal S. Salibi, ‘The Banū Jamā‘a: A Dynasty of Shāfi‘īte Jurists in the Mamluk Period’, *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958), 97–109; ‘Ibn Djamā‘a’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Accessed 28 July 2022). For the biography of ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Jamā‘a, see: Muhammet Enes Midilli, *İzzeddin İbn Cemâa (Öl. 767/1366)* (İstanbul: Siyer Yayınları, 2021), 21–44.

62 About the al-Bulqīnī family, see: Robert Moore, ‘Al-Bulqīnī Family’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Accessed 1 February 2021).

63 Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Makkī al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-Taḥqīd fī Ruwāt al-Sunan wa-al-Masānīd*, critical ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1990), 2/240; Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīda fī Tarājim al-A‘yān al-Muḥadda*, critical ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 2/432; Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 13/33; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, 1/329. al-Sakhāwī states that Ibn ‘Aqīl, before his death, left the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya* to his son, Faṭḥ al-Dīn, and he continued this duty for a short time, but Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī had him dismissed from this position, citing the inadequacy of Faṭḥ al-Dīn in knowledge, and later he was appointed here. See: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl ‘alā Raf‘ al-Isr*, 183.

64 al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, 1/444; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘ al-Lāmi‘*, 7/269; id. *al-Dhayl ‘alā Raf‘ al-Isr*, 183–184.

duty had been in the hands of al-Bulqīnī family for about 60 years.⁶⁵ As a result, the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya* remained in the hands of ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī. Taken together, this anecdote suggests that since the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya* was in the hands of al-Bulqīnī family for many years, this duty had come to be considered as belonging to the family in the eyes of other scholars.

The sources mention not only *mudarrises*, but also other scholars who served as repetitors (*mu’īd*), attendance keepers (*naqīb*), and students (*faqīh*) in the *zāwiya*. By way of illustration, it is recorded that Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. As’ad al-Manṣūrī (d. 730/1330) was appointed to the position of *mu’īd* in both the *Zāwiya* of Imam al-Shāfi‘ī and the *Zāwiya* of al-Majdiyya.⁶⁶ Similarly, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Nūn Yūnus b. Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī (d. 725/1325), Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Şāhib (d. 788/1386), and Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abbās b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tamīmī (d. 802/1400) served as *mu’īds* in the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī.⁶⁷

When it comes to the students of the *zāwiya*, while the biographical dictionaries record in detail from which teachers a scholar received education in his early stages, they rarely mention in which madrasas he had been as a student.⁶⁸ Despite this, some students of the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī can be identified. For instance, Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Maymūnī, one of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī’s leading students (*min a’yān al-ṭalaba al-Shāfi‘iyya ‘inda shaykhinā Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī*), served as *naqīb* in the *zāwiya* while al-Bulqīnī was in the position of *mudarris*.⁶⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, in his book *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjumat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Hajar*, which he compiled on the biography of his teacher, states that the first position (*manṣīb*) that Ibn Hajar was appointed to was the studentship of the *Zāwiya* of al-Khashshābiyya.⁷⁰ This record shows that the studentship of the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī was

65 Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādīth al-Duhūr fī Maḍā al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr*, critical ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1990), 1/214-215; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-Lāmi’*, 5/162.

66 al-Şafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aşr*, 4/320.

67 al-Şafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aşr*, 5/680; Abū Zur’a Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-‘Irāqī, *Al-Dhayl ‘alā al-‘Ibar fī Khabar Man ‘Abar*, critical ed. Şālih Mahdī ‘Abbās (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1989), 2/504; Ibn Qāḍī Şuhba, *Tārīkh*, 3/92. Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-Şāhib was the *mu’īd* of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī. During the debate between these two names in a lesson in the *zāwiya* in 784 (1382-3), al-Bulqīnī accused Ibn al-Şāhib of blasphemy because of some of his words. As a result, the event was transferred to a *mazālim* session where four chiefjudges and the leading jurists of the city were present, and finally it was decided that Ibn al-Şāhib did not fall into blasphemy. See: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3(2)/481; Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1/262; Ibn Qāḍī Şuhba, *Tārīkh*, 3/92; ‘Alī b. Dāwūd Ibn al-Şayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-‘Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, critical ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (al-Hay’ at al-Mişriyya al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1970-1973), 1/284. Although the subject of the case could not be determined, this event is remarkable in that a scholarly debate between the *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* and his *mu’īd* became the agenda of the Cairene scholars.

68 Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*, 80–81; Harun Yılmaz, *Zengī ve Eyyūbī Dimaşq’ında Ulema ve Medrese (1154-1260)* (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2017), 298–299.

69 Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 3/349, 4/87. In the endowment deeds survived from the Mamlūk period, it is stated that the duty of *naqīb* is to ensure the order of the lesson and to keep the records of attendance. See: Midilli, ‘Memlūkler Döneminde Bir İlim Kurumu’, 48–49.

70 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Hajar*, critical ed. İbrāhīm Bājis ‘Abd al-Majīd (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 2/588.

a stipendiary position offering a certain scholarship.⁷¹ Moreover, according to al-Sakhāwī's report, after Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jawjarī (d. 889/1484) was a Sufi at the Madrasa of al-Muʿayyadiyya, he wanted to be included as one of the students of the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfiʿī after making a certain progress in his education.⁷² This anecdote suggests that on the one hand, being a student of the zāwiya was seen as a privilege among Shāfiʿī students, and on the other hand, there was a type of scholarly hierarchy among the institutions of learning in Cairo.

5.5. The Place of the Zāwiya among the Institutions of Learning in Mamlūk Cairo

Above all, the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfiʿī is the place where Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, the founder of the Shāfiʿī school of law, established his scholarly circle (*majlis*) in Egypt. Al-Shāfiʿī and, after him, his disciples (*aṣḥāb*) maintained the learning circle up in this place.⁷³ Therefore, in the eyes of Shāfiʿī jurists, this zāwiya is significant in terms of the history of the Shāfiʿī school. In Ibn Duqmāq's words, it is a blessed (*mubārak*) venue believed to be scholarly and spiritually fruitful.⁷⁴

When the biographies of the *mudarrises* of the zāwiya are examined, one can discern that they were chosen either from the prominent families of Cairo, such as the Banū Jamāʿa and the al-Bulqīnī family, from those who served as chief judges in Egypt, or from those whose competencies in Shāfiʿī fiqh were well-known. Therefore, it is possible to say that the zāwiya was an institution of learning favored by the leading figures in the Shāfiʿī circle in the city. In fact, some sources state that the position of *mudarris* was stipulated for the most prominent name of the Shāfiʿī scholars in Egypt, according to the endowment deed of the zāwiya.⁷⁵ It is also stated that the position of *mudarris* in the zāwiya was the highest position dedicated to the Shāfiʿīs in Egypt.⁷⁶ Such records clearly indicate the fame and prestige of the zāwiya.

Another significant issue worth mentioning is that the appointments to the position of *mudarris* of the Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfiʿī were made by the sultan himself. Al-Qalqashandī, after stating in his famous chancery manual that the sultan appointed only the most respected teaching positions, gives examples to these positions and among them, he mentions the *mudarris*

71 An anecdote of a student from the Zāwiya of al-Majdiyya in the Mosque of ʿAmr clearly indicates that the studentship is a paid position. Once, one of the students in the Zāwiya of al-Majdiyya came to the *mudarris* Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnāsī and reproached him by saying that he had been a student in this zāwiya for four years, that he memorized four books, and that despite this, he received a small stipend of four dirhams. See: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8/317.

72 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 8/125. The phrase is as follows: “وكان صوفية المؤيدية قديما ثم بعد تقدمه رغب أن يكون في طلبه الخشائية”

73 Abū'l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākīr, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, critical ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-2001), 53/359.

74 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 4/100.

75 al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sāʿira*, 2/35. The phrase is as follows: “ولي تدريس الخشائية بمصر بعد الشيخ الضيروي وهي مشروطة لأعلم علماء الشافعية”.

76 al-Sahmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1/407; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sāʿira*, 2/33.

of the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī.⁷⁷ In addition, in another section of his book, al-Qalqashandī included an example of a decree of appointment (*tawqī‘*) related to the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya*. This decree, organized in 730 (1330), documents that ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn Jamā‘a was appointed by the sultan as the *mudarris* of the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, in the place of his father, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā‘a.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the author of the another Mamlūk chancery manual, al-Sakhmāwī (d. 868/1464), indicates that the position of *mudarris* in the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī was one of the affiliated positions (*muḍāfāt*) to the Shāfi‘ī chiefjudgeship, that is, those who were appointed to the chiefjudge were also appointed to the position of *mudarris* in the *zāwiya*.⁷⁹

6. Conclusion

As the first comprehensive investigation of mosque-*zāwiya*s in Ayyubid and Mamlūk Cairo, this study contributes to our understanding of the relationship between the *zāwiya* and Sufi institutions, *zāwiya* and *fiqh* education, *zāwiya* and endowment, and of the prestige of the *zāwiya* as an institution of learning.

Although the term *zāwiya* in modern scholarship generally refers to Sufi institutions established outside the city centers and devoted to a Sufi shaykh and his disciples, Mamlūk sources do not explicitly employ the term as such. It may also refer to certain venues in the mosques where regular lessons on religious disciplines were held. Therefore, if a typology of institutions of learning is to be developed for Ayyubid and Mamlūk Cairo, mosque-*zāwiya*s should be considered as a distinct type of institution from sufi-*zāwiya*s.

In terms of the relation of mosque-*zāwiya*s with *fiqh* education, it can be said that these places were mostly dedicated to the instruction of *fiqh*, and in this context, the approach of George Makdisi, which sees the *zāwiya* as a “school of law,” is mostly accurate. However, as seen in the *zāwiya*s in the Mosque of ‘Amr, these institutions were also dedicated for the lessons of *uṣūl al-dīn* and *mī‘ād*. Therefore, it is not possible to say that mosque-*zāwiya*s were institutions endowed solely for the instruction of *fiqh* in an absolute sense.

In terms of the institutionalisation of the mosque-*zāwiya*s, it is significant to point out that scholarly circles held in mosques in cities such as Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem turned into institutions of learning supported by endowments in the 6th/12th century. The *zāwiya*s established in the Mosque of ‘Amr during the Ayyubid and Mamlūk periods differ from the scholarly circles that were formed by scholars, which were often continued voluntarily without any lasting support and ended whenever the scholar wished. Moreover, the *zāwiya*s had a specific venue reserved for them within the mosque, possibly some kind of closed cell or *ḥwān*. It should be noted in this context that al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq meticulously recorded the location of each *zāwiya* in the mosque. The continuity of the endowment and lesson in the

77 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, 4/40, 9/258.

78 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, 11/225-227.

79 al-Sakhmāwī, *al-Ṭaḥḥir al-Bāsim*, 1/407.

Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfiʿī is another indicator of the institutionalisation of mosque-*zāwiyas*, considering the regular records on *mudarris* appointments for over three centuries.

Lastly, when compared to the architecturally magnificent madrasas of Cairo with rich endowments, a *zāwiya* within the Mosque of ʿAmr may evoke a less significant venue of scholarly activity. However, the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfiʿī was endowed by a significant patron and endower, Şalaḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, to the location where the founder of the school of law which bears his name, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, established his scholarly circle. In addition, the position of *mudarris* of the *zāwiya* was stipulated for the most prominent name of the Shāfiʿī scholars in Cairo, and the appointments to this position came from the sultan himself, at least in principle. Accordingly, distinguished names of the Shāfiʿī scholarly circle, especially members of Banū Jamāʿa and al-Bulqīnī families, served as *mudarrises* in the *zāwiya*. All these points confirm the prestigious position of the *Zāwiya* of Imām al-Shāfiʿī among the institutions of learning in Cairo.

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Appendix

1. Zāwiya of Imām al-Shāfiʿī	Endower:	Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193)
	Endowment Date:	568 (1172-3)
	Endowed Properties:	A piece of land in the village of al-Khariba in Egypt
	Endowed Lesson:	Shāfiʿī law
	Location in the Mosque:	Unknown

2. Zāwiya of al-Maǧdiyya	Endower:	Majd al-Dīn Abu al-Ashbāl Ḥārith b. Muḥallab al-Bahnasī (d. 628/1230-1)
	Endowment Date:	Before 635 (1237)
	Endowed Properties:	Estates in Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ
	Endowed Lesson:	<i>Uṣūl al-dīn</i>
	Location in the Mosque:	Within the central <i>maqṣūra</i> (enclosure) between <i>al-mihrāb al-kabīr</i> (the grand mihrāb) and <i>al-mihrāb al-khams</i>

3. Zāwiya of al-Ṣāhibiyya	Endower:	Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Ḥinnā (d. 707/1307)
	Endowment Date:	Before 707 (1307)
	Endowed Properties:	<i>Funduqs</i> /caravanserais, inns, cellars, mills, and bakeries located in the vicinity of Cairo
	Endowed Lesson:	Shāfiʿī and Mālikī law
	Location in the Mosque:	In the vicinity of a certain cell (<i>hawla al-ghurfa</i>) within the mosque

4. Zāwiya of al-Kamāliyya	Endower:	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Samannūdī
	Endowment Date:	Before 727 (1327)
	Endowed Properties:	A <i>funduq</i> /caravanserai in Egypt (Fuṣṭāṭ)
	Endowed Lesson:	Shāfiʿī law
	Location in the Mosque:	Located in an enclosure (<i>maqṣūra</i>) within the mosque near the door opening to Sūq al-Ghazl

5. Zāwiya of al-Tājiyya	Endower:	Tāj al-Dīn al-Saṭḥī
	Endowment Date:	Before 730 (1330)
	Endowed Properties:	One house (<i>dār</i>) in Bayn al-Qasrayn and another in al-Ḥajjārayn
	Endowed Lesson:	Shāfi'ī law
	Location in the Mosque:	Close to " <i>al-Mihrāb al-Khashab</i> " (the wooden <i>mihrāb</i>)

6. Zāwiya of al-Mu'iniyya	Endower:	Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Dahrūfī
	Endowment Date:	Before 706 (1306-7)
	Endowed Properties:	Estates in Fuṣṭāṭ
	Endowed Lesson:	Shāfi'ī law
	Location in the Mosque:	Between the middle of the two doors on the east side of the mosque, one facing Dār 'Amr al-Sughrā and the other facing Zuqāq Ḥammām Shamūl

7. Zāwiya of al-'Alā'iyya	Endower:	Amīr 'Alā al-Dīn al-Ḍarīr
	Endowment Date:	Before 685 (1286)
	Endowed Properties:	Unknown
	Endowed Lesson:	<i>Mī'ād</i>
	Location in the Mosque:	Located in the western part of the courtyard of the mosque

8. Zāwiya of al-Zayniyya	Endower:	al-Şāhib Zayn al-Dīn
	Endowment Date:	Unknown
	Endowed Properties:	Unknown
	Endowed Lesson:	<i>Mī'ād</i>
	Location in the Mosque:	In the vicinity of <i>al-Mihrāb al-Khashab</i> (the wooden <i>mihrāb</i>)

