

# Andalusian and Maghribi Scholars in Ayyubid and Mamluk Syria (Bilad al-Sham)

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## Abstract

This study discusses the emigration of Muslim Andalusians and Maghribis to the major cities in Syria, such as Damascus and Jerusalem (al-Quds), focusing on the upper class of ulama and other intellectuals, and the various factors affecting this process and their absorption in the area. Political and economic reasons were the main factors motivating Maghribis to move to Syria and Egypt during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, while others moved to areas within the Ottoman domain.<sup>1</sup> Factors, such as seeking religious knowledge (*al-rihla fi talab al-'ilm*) were also important. Stability prevailed, relatively speaking, in late medieval Syria, and numerous favorable political, financial, and educational conditions served to attract many Maghribis and Andalusians from different regions, who left their impact on various aspects of life in Syrian cities, particularly in the educational and religious fields.

## Keywords

Scholars; Muslim Maghribis; Muslim Andalusians; emigration; Medieval Bilad al-Sham; Jerusalem; Ayyubids; Mamluks; religious effect.

The emigration of Muslim scholars and intellectuals from one region to another was a regular phenomenon in the medieval Islamic world. This movement changed over the course of time, both in direction and character. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the factors causing scholars

and other elites to leave Islamic Spain (al-Andalus) and North Africa (the Maghrib) and move eastward gradually grew stronger and Syria (Bilad al-Sham) and Egypt under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks became a desirable destination for intellectuals, pilgrims, and others.<sup>2</sup> Egypt and Palestine also drew Maghribi and Andalusian Jews, some of whom reached high positions, including Nathan and Ishaq Sholal, who each served as *nagid* (head of the Jewish community) in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Numerous factors affected their movement and attracted them to new locations. This study addresses the primary motivating factors for the emigration of Muslim Maghribis and Andalusians to the East, and especially to Syria; the absorption and treatment of Maghribi migrants once they arrived; and the impacts and status of Maghribis in late medieval Syria.

Throughout the Mamluk period, Syria enjoyed relative stability, while the rest of the Islamic world was precarious and plagued by conflicts, including those with the Mongols in the east and within Islamic Spain and North Africa in the west. These conditions served as an important factor of Andalusian and Maghribi migration to Syria and Egypt. Motivation to migrate was also influenced by the treatment of Muslim scholars or *ulama* and other intellectuals by Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers who displayed a benevolent and encouraging attitude toward scholars and professionals. Rulers, emirs, and other benefactors in Syria and Egypt increased the number of available opportunities by establishing Islamic institutions and positions as pious endowments (*awqaf*; singular, *waqf*), and consequently broadened Islamic educational and cultural activities. Thus, Syria drew many scholars from across the Islamic world who sought positions in educational institutions (*madaris*; singular, *madrasa*).<sup>4</sup>

## Migration Factors

Medieval sources, including travel accounts and scholars' biographies, indicate that a combination of factors made Syria the primary destination for Maghribi migrants traveling east, before and after the fall of Granada in 1492. Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari's seventeenth-century treatise *Nafh al-tib* offers several reasons why Andalusian emigrants and scholars moved to the East and settled in Syria,<sup>5</sup> while 'Ali al-Muntasir al-Kattani mentions that prophetic hadiths and religious narrations had granted Syria a special place in the hearts of Moroccans and Andalusians from a religious point of view.<sup>6</sup> Although these movements were initially individual affairs, by the second half of the thirteenth century, the migration grew into a phenomenon of mass movement.<sup>7</sup> During this period, the Spaniards increased their attacks and pressure on the southern Muslim areas around Granada, continuing until the ultimate defeat of Islamic rule at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Spanish confiscation and expropriation of Muslim and Jewish property caused Muslim and Jewish residents tremendous suffering and made it difficult for them to find adequate sources of income. Thus, they were motivated to emigrate, in the hope of finding a safer and a more politically stable place to dwell, as well as the opportunity to earn a decent living. These pressures continued to dominate the lives of Muslims

in Spain and in the Maghrib areas until the end of Muslim rule there, and affected life in North Africa even afterward. The political disintegration of the Maghrib after the fall of the Muwahhidun dynasty (Almohads, r. 1121–1269) was also a strong cause of migration to the East. After the fall of Cordoba and Seville in the mid-thirteenth century, Arab Muslims fled Andalusia for North Africa in uninterrupted waves. Most of the refugees made Tunisia their home, and there they remained a distinct group, keeping an identity separate from the local society of Tunisia and establishing their own villages and separate quarters in the cities of Tunisia and in other areas in North Africa.<sup>9</sup> They were also organized politically as an independent community under a leader known as *shaykh al-Andalus*.

From the second half of the fifteenth century, Andalusian mass migration into the Maghrib continued, sparked by political crises and conflicts among Islamic emirates brought on by persistent Spanish and Portuguese attacks. Economic and social crises, in addition to famine and epidemics, left their impact further on Andalusian and Maghribi communities.<sup>10</sup> The fall of Muslim Andalusia in 1492, and the subsequent persecution of Muslims, prompted the migration of many Andalusians to Morocco and then toward the East.

These conflicts had a direct impact on the emigration of the educated class, ulama and government officials, who feared hostility and revenge. However, educated and wealthy Maghribi migrants could also afford the dangers of a long trip to rebuild their lives in Mamluk, and later Ottoman, Egypt and Syria. There they settled in separate quarters in the main cities of Syria and Egypt, such as in Jerusalem, Cairo, and others.<sup>11</sup> The case of the Abu al-Walid family is an example of forced migration from Andalusia in the thirteenth century. Abu al-Walid Muhammad b. Ahmad arrived in Damascus in 1285, after his pilgrimage to Mecca. His migration with his family occurred in several stages; first, he fled to Seville (Ishbiliyya) when the Spaniards conquered his hometown of Cordoba (Qurtuba) in the first half of the thirteenth century. There, he lost his property to the local Muslim governors (amirs), who forced him to emigrate again with his family to Syria and settle in Damascus.<sup>12</sup>

In times of difficulty in Andalusia and the Maghrib, then, the Mamluk state in Egypt and Syria offered relative political stability. As Ibn Jubayr wrote:

Whoever wants to succeed, from the origin of our Maghrib, should travel to this country [Syria] to seek knowledge [*ilm*], and he will find that supporting matters are many, first of all, the peace of mind regarding living matters, which is the biggest and most important assistance.<sup>13</sup>

During the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, the major cities of Syria – Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem – absorbed the largest number of Maghribi immigrants. Biographies of Maghribi and Andalusian immigrants to Syria suggest that until the fourteenth century the majority of the Maghribis indeed preferred to settle in Damascus. Ibn Kinan, for instance, stated that Damascus had a separate place for settling Maghribis.<sup>14</sup> From the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, Jerusalem became the preferred destination for Maghribis.<sup>15</sup> The Maghribi community in

Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis) continued to expand throughout the later Mamluk period, while it decreased in other Syrian cities.<sup>16</sup> This was linked to Timur's conquest of Syria in 1400 and the subsequent damage to the educational system, especially in the cities of northern Syria. Jerusalem was unharmed and its institutions were relatively well protected. The last Mamluk sultans preserved religious and educational institutions and their waqf system in the city.<sup>17</sup> Beyond political stability, however, historians of the period and biographies of Maghribis who immigrated to Syria have noted some of its attractive features, including its natural beauty, which evoked their places of origin; the chance to visit holy sites; local rulers' and residents' favorable treatment of Maghribis; and employment opportunities.

## The Appeal of Syria

On their visits and travels to Syria, many Maghribis found similarities between the Syrian and Andalusian scenery, a factor that may have helped the newcomers' assimilation. The eleventh-century traveler Abu Hamid al-Gharnati praised Damascus and its landscape, comparing it to the city from which he originated, Granada: "Granada is the base of Andalusia, and it is like Damascus in the plentifulness of its fruits."<sup>18</sup> Two of the most famous travelers from the Muslim West, Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta, also describe the beauty of the Syrian landscape and its many similarities to that of al-Andalus. Ibn Jubayr, who traversed Egypt, Syria, and Iraq from 1182 to 1187, compared the city of Qinnasrin in northern Syria with Jiyān in al-Andalus, writing: "Jiyān of the Andalusian countries is like it [Qinnasrin]. So, it is mentioned that the people of Qinnasrin, at the conquest of al-Andalus, settled in Jiyān feeling at ease in the semi-homeland."<sup>19</sup> Ibn Jubayr also compared the Syrian city of Homs to Seville in al-Andalus, noting that, "You find in these countries [surrounding Homs], when you view them from afar, in their plan and view and their shape of location, some similarity to Seville of al-Andalus."<sup>20</sup> The Moroccan Ibn Battuta travelled throughout Africa and Asia from 1325 to 1354 and he, too, was fascinated by Syria's natural and urban landscapes.<sup>21</sup> He praised the beauty of Damascus, citing Ibn Jubayr's description and lauding its location, orchards, and flowers: "The best of all countries, the paradise of the East and the bride of all cities."<sup>22</sup>

Beyond its natural beauty, the religious sites of Syria also drew visitors and migrants. In the medieval Muslim era, historians and scholars composed and collected writings praising the virtues of Jerusalem (*fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*). Jerusalem served as a destination for many travelers and pilgrims, including Maghribis, who undertook religiously motivated visits of various lengths known as *ziyara*, *mujawara*, and *qurba* (visiting or being in proximity to) to the holy sites of al-Aqsa Mosque and al-Haram al-Sharif.<sup>23</sup>

The customs and friendly conduct of the residents and rulers of Syria toward the Maghribis and Andalusians also served as a major attraction for many. During the Crusader period, Syrians viewed it as generous, even honorable, to support the release and redemption of Maghribi prisoners (*iftikak al-Maghariba*). Muslim rulers of Syria,

their princesses (*al-khawatin min al-nisa'*), and people of wealth (*ahl al-thara' wal-yusur*) spent their money for that purpose already from the time of Sultan Nur al-Din Zangi (d. 1174).<sup>24</sup> Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta both describe Syrians as treating migrants with trust and provided extensive accounts of locals' enthusiastic welcome of Maghribis. Ibn Jubayr, for instance, states that Syria's gates were always open to the Maghribis (*hatha al-mashriq babuhu maftuh*).<sup>25</sup> Likewise, both Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta note that Syrians preferred employing Maghribis in a wide range of positions, because of their reputation as trustworthy and honorable. Rulers of Syria and Egypt extended a welcoming hand to foreigners in general and to Andalusians and Maghribis in particular. Maghribis could be found in many occupations such as agriculture, security and defense, business, or government service, in addition to various posts in religious and educational institutions.<sup>26</sup>

Medieval Arabic and Islamic sources, including Ibn Abi Usaybi'a and al-Maqqari, provide examples of many Maghribi scholars and high-ranking immigrants who moved to Egypt and Syria. The case of the Maghribi physician Abu Zakariyya Yahya al-Bayasi al-Andalusi who served in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din (d. 1193), is but one example among many.<sup>27</sup> Abu al-Walid, mentioned above, served as the *imam* at the *mihrab* of the adherents to the Maliki rite in the Umayyad Mosque upon his arrival in Damascus. To pay for the studies of his two sons, he took on additional work as a transcriber of books. Another example was the *qadi* (judge) of Granada, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Azraq (d. 1490), who was forced to leave Andalusia after his city was conquered by the Spanish, and moved to Egypt. When he arrived in Egypt, the Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay (d. 1496) appointed him *qadi* of the Maliki community in Jerusalem, enabling him to earn a decent living.<sup>28</sup> Such accounts suggest that Maghribi scholars underwent a relatively painless process of acclimation to their new environment. Attractive employment opportunities compensated for the pitiful economic circumstances to which they had been reduced in their homeland and encouraged others to follow in their footsteps.

## Integration into Syrian Society

Pious endowments (*awqaf*) played an important role in the development of the urban infrastructures of the Middle Eastern cities, including during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, and were fundamental to the integration of Andalusians and Maghribis into Syrian society.<sup>29</sup> Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers dedicated various educational and religious institutions for the Maghribis in Syria and allocated important endowments to support them. Ibn Jubayr presents a fine description of the endowments established by Sultan Nur al-Din Zangi in Syria and his favorable attitude toward the ulama. He referred particularly to al-Malikiyya zawiya (a prayer corner, often a Sufi building) at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and the special waqf allocated for it.<sup>30</sup> Such endowments provided all services and means of subsistence, including food and drink, clothing, accommodations, and opportunities to study and work, to those coming from the Maghrib and Andalusia, whether students, ulama, or pilgrims, as well as the poor

and needy members of this community residing in Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup>

After Salah al-Din's conquest of Jerusalem in 1187, the number of Maghribis in the city increased. The Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Afdal (d. 1225), Salah al-Din's son, dedicated the Afdaliyya madrasa as an endowment for the Maghribis in Jerusalem in 1195 and designated a quarter for the Maghribi community in the city, just west of al-Aqsa mosque, which became known as *harat al-Maghariba* (the Mughrabi Quarter). Since then, this quarter attracted Maghribis who came to Jerusalem for religious purposes, employment, education, and trade, among other reasons.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the affiliation of the majority of Maghribis and Andalusians with the Maliki school of law (*madhhab*), and the dominance of the Shafi'i and Hanafi schools in Syria, the rulers of Syria did much to accommodate them. Sultan Salah al-Din established two institutions in Damascus to serve the Maliki school: the Malikiyya zawiya and the Salahiyya madrasa, both founded in 1193. Several other institutions of the Maliki school were established during the Mamluk period, particularly during the reign of Sayf al-Din Tankiz (d. 1340) as governor of Damascus, such as the Samsamiyya madrasa in 1317 and the Sharabishiyya madrasa in 1333.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Battuta noted in his account that there were three Maliki madrasas in Damascus, adding the al-Nuriyya madrasa of Sultan Nur al-Din Zangi, and mentioned that, during his stay in the city, he himself had lodged at the Maliki madrasa, al-Sharabishiyya.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, despite the generally good treatment of Maghribis in Syria, some tensions may have arisen between the immigrants and the locals due to differences in culture, Arabic dialect, school of Muslim law and more that may have encouraged conversions.<sup>35</sup> Despite the good treatment of Maghribis in Syria, some (though apparently the number is relatively small) changed their affiliation from the Maliki madhhab to adapt to the Shafi'i or, to a lesser degree, the Hanafi schools. The sources do not provide a detailed account of the reasons for these shifts, though 'Ali Ahmad argues that they were economically motivated, serving as a pathway to obtain positions, the assumption being that these individuals were candidates for higher-level and better-paying positions in Shafi'i or Hanafi madrasas.<sup>36</sup> Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Malik (d. 1274), for example, changed his affiliation to the Shafi'i school when he arrived in Syria and succeeded in obtaining teaching positions in Aleppo and Damascus.<sup>37</sup> Another Andalusian, Shihab al-Din ibn Muhajir al-Wadi Ashi (d. 1338), converted to the Hanafi school. Undoubtedly, the main reason for his change of affiliation during his stay in Aleppo was to teach in the madrasas of the Hanafi judge Ibn al-'Adim, as in fact occurred.<sup>38</sup>

As the number of Andalusian and Maghribi migrants in Syria grew, meanwhile, they not only sought to attach themselves to existing institutions, but established their own. One example of this is the waqf of Abu Madyan in Jerusalem, which served the city's Maghribis in various ways. Shaykh Abu Madyan (d. 1320), who established the endowment in Jerusalem, was a grandson of the shaykh and mystic Madyan al-Ghawth Shu'ayb bin al-Hasan al-Andalusi (d. 1197), whose grave in the Algerian city of Tlemcen in Algeria is visited by many of his followers.<sup>39</sup> The Abu Madyan

endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) allocated endowments from the lands of ‘Ayn Karim (a village in Jerusalem) including houses, orchards, and other assets, to the interests of the Maghribis. Abu Madyan also dedicated a *zawiya* – consisting of an *iwan*, a house, a yard, and private facilities, below which is a store and a cellar – as a *waqf* to serve Maghribi men, providing for their needs, including food, drink, and clothing.<sup>40</sup> The dedication of *zawiyas* and other special areas such as the *mihrab* in the major mosques of Syrian cities to serve the Maliki school was another indication of the rising status of Maghribis in the region. Prime examples were the Maliki *zawiyas* in the Umayyad mosques of Damascus and Aleppo, and in the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. Establishing such institutions was one of several ways in which the impact of Andalusian and Maghribi scholars was felt in Syria.

## Education and Law

Andalusians who were able to escape their homeland and the Inquisition had a remarkable influence on societies to which they emigrated. Andalusians helped Arabicize parts of Africa, including Sudan and Mauritania. In his study on the history of the Maghrib, Jamil Abun-Nasr discusses the influence that Andalusians had on sailing and navigation.<sup>41</sup> More generally, Andalusians introduced and preserved their heritage in the places they resettled. They also revolutionized politics, loosening its ties with religion. Unlike most Muslims of that time, Maghribis had regarded religion as a private concern – a far cry from the view held in the countries of Christian Europe and the Muslim East. As Andalusians and Maghribis migrated in greater numbers to Syria, it is thus unsurprising that they would have an impact, and this impact was perhaps felt more strongly in the realm of education.

The biographies of Maghribi intellectuals who migrated to the East emphasized their proficiency in the Arabic language. These scholars specialized in teaching Arabic in the Syrian madrasas, and some had a tremendous impact on the pedagogic materials used to teach Arabic, not only within Syria but also in other parts of the Islamic world. A particularly renowned figure was Jamal al-Din ibn Malik (d. 1273) who held various teaching positions in Aleppo and Damascus.<sup>42</sup> His *al-Alfiyya* was considered one of the most important grammar textbooks, and was later used as a foundational text by the Andalusian teacher Athir al-Din Muhammad Abu Hayyan al-Jiyani (d. 1344), who was given the title *sultan ‘ilm al-nahu* (sultan of Arabic grammar).<sup>43</sup> Knowing Andalusians’ and Maghribis’ reputation for expertise in the Arabic language, Nasir al-Din ibn al-‘Adim, qadi of Aleppo, appointed the Andalusian Shihab al-Din ibn Muhajir al-Wadi Ashi (d. 1338) to various teaching positions in the madrasas of that city.<sup>44</sup>

The Maliki madhhab also gained strength in the region, thanks to the Maghribi ulama, and the Ayyubid and Mamluk policies of reinforcing the Sunni stream of Islam enabled Malikis to participate in the propagation of Sunni Islamic education in the area. In 1263, Sultan Baybars executed a judicial reform in Egypt, appointing four main *qadis* from the four major Sunni schools of law to create a uniform legal system.

The first independent judges were appointed in Damascus in 1265, which further contributed to the growing power of the Maliki madhhab in the city. Subsequently, in other cities in Syria, judges from the other schools joined the Shafi'i qadi according to the size of the community following that rite in each city. Along with attending to the interests of their community members, qadis also strived to promote the principles of their respective schools by means of educational and religious activities.<sup>45</sup>

Maliki judges in Syria applied themselves energetically to strengthening their school and to providing educational and religious services to its adherents. Medieval scholars and historians such as Ibn Kathir and Ibn Hajar mention Jamal al-Din Muhammad al-Zawawi al-Maghribi (d. 1317), who moved from Cairo to Damascus in 1288 to assume the office of Maliki qadi after it had remained vacant for three years. While in office, he reinforced the Maliki educational and religious institutions in Damascus, introducing innovations and supervising the renovation of al-Samsamiyya and al-Nuriyya (also known as al-Salahiyya or al-Malikiyya) madrasas. The curriculum he implemented in these madrasas aimed to meet the needs of the Maliki community and included the study of the Maliki legal doctrine based on *Muwatta' Malik*, the writings of its founder Malik ibn Anas (d. 795).<sup>46</sup>

The growing number of Maghribis in Jerusalem, meanwhile, bolstered the status of their community in the city and allowed them to achieve independence in judicial matters. The city's first Maliki qadi, Ibn al-Shahhada, was officially appointed in 1399 and was entrusted with managing the affairs of the Maliki community in and around Jerusalem. In the Ayyubid period, the Maghribis also succeeded in obtaining a separate prayer area for the Maliki rite in the western side of the al-Aqsa Mosque, known as *jama'at al-Maghariba*. The Maliki shaykh Musa al-Maghribi (d. 1397) was the first imam to organize prayers there. Maghribis administered all the educational and religious institutions connected to the Maliki school in the city.<sup>47</sup> The head of the Maghribis (*mashyakh al-Maghariba*) became an office appointed by the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo at the end of the Mamluk period, and those who held it could intervene in appointing and dismissing the qadis who had jurisdiction over the Maghribi community and the Maliki madhhab.<sup>48</sup>

'Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) is a prominent example of a Maghribi scholar whose family had made its way from Andalusia to North Africa, and who then proceeded from there to the Mamluk domain of Egypt. In 1382, after serving in a number of positions in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, Ibn Khaldun felt that his influence with the ruler and popularity among his students had provoked court intrigue and left Tunis for Egypt under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was granted several educational posts at the famous *madrasas* in Cairo and was appointed chief Maliki judge (*qadi qudat al-Malikiyya*) several times. He enjoyed the favor of the sultans Barquq and Faraj. Sultan Faraj had Ibn Khaldun accompany him to Damascus in his campaign against Timur's invasion of Syria in 1400 where, because of Ibn Khaldun's high rank and fame (*min a'lam al-a'yan*), Timur invited him to his camp outside Damascus.<sup>49</sup>

## Sufis and Mystics

From the Zangid regime onward, Syrian rulers' policies were tolerant and supportive of Sufis, both as individuals and organized Sufi orders. Syria became a magnet for Sufis, both students and shaykhs, from around the Muslim world. Sultan Nur al-Din Zangi provided the Sufis with the moral and economic support they needed, both in funding and in building institutions throughout Syria.<sup>50</sup> Ibn Zangi was a strong believer in the spiritual-religious powers of the Sufi shaykhs and their miracles (*karamat*) and would visit them to receive their blessings (*baraka*). During his journey to Syria in 1184, Ibn Jubayr describes Sufism as strong in the region, with shaykhs' status as high as kings (*hum al-muluk bi-hathihi al-bilad*) and Sufi institutions like elaborately decorated palaces (*wa-hiya qusur muzakhrifa*).<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps the best known Sufi shaykh to exemplify the links between al-Andalus and the Maghrib and Bilad al-Sham is Muhyi al-Din ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240). Ibn 'Arabi began his journey from Andalusia in 1201–2 and ended up in Syria, where he remained until his death. He left a controversial legacy in Syria, and throughout the Islamic world, because of his views and ideas about pantheism (*wihdat al-wujud*), which aroused sharp differences among the ulama. Some scholars considered Ibn 'Arabi a "friend of God" (*waliyy*), while others, such as Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi, 'Izz al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Salam, Ibn Taymiyya, and Badr al-Din ibn Jama'a, saw him as a heretic. Ibn 'Arabi's tomb on Mount Qasiyun in Damascus became, especially after the Ottoman conquest of Syria, a site for visitation (*ziyara/mazar*) and pilgrimage by his followers, who gave him the title *al-shaykh al-akbar* (the Greatest Shaykh) and believed in his philosophy and miracles.<sup>52</sup>

The Maghribi mystic Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 1258) offers a somewhat different case. It is not known whether al-Shadhili ever lived in Syria or only stayed there on a visit. Al-Shadhili died in Egypt, while on his way to make pilgrimage to Mecca, and was buried there, his shrine becoming highly venerated, and a site visited by his followers ever since. Still, al-Shadhili left his impact on the public sphere throughout Syria as a result of the *zawiyas* established by his followers in the Shadhuli Sufi order (al-Shadhiliyya).<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, the growing population of Sufi immigrants from the Maghrib and Andalusia, together with the increasing number of their local adherents, brought about the construction of new institutions. Those Sufi institutions were known either by the name of the main Maghribi Sufi shaykh with whom each was affiliated or by the place of origin of its adherents. Maghribi Sufis and mystics also dedicated *awqaf* for religious and educational aims in Jerusalem. In the Mamluk era, the *waqf* of the Maghribi Sufi shaykh 'Umar b. 'Abdallah al-Masmudi, whose *zawiya* was built in the Maghribi quarter in Jerusalem in 1303, became a center for Sufis and Maghribi visitors. The *zawiya* was built with the shaykh's private funds and known as *zawiyat al-Masmudi* or al-Maghribiyya.<sup>54</sup> The *zawiya* of Abu Madyan, endowed in 1320 and mentioned above, also serves the Maghribi community in Jerusalem, whether locals or visitors.<sup>55</sup> In 1352, a Maghribi ruler, 'Ali b. 'Uthman, the sultan of Marin, endowed

a copy of the Holy Qur'an that he had copied and dedicated for the Maghribi students, scholars, and worshippers in Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup>

In Damascus, too, a number of institutions were established by and for Sufis from the Islamic West. In 1399, Shaykh 'Ala' al-Din 'Ali ibn Watiyya founded al-Watiyya zawiya, which became known as zawayat al-Maghariba.<sup>57</sup> Shaykh 'Ala' al-Din dedicated stores and houses around the zawiya for the use of all classes of Maghribis, on condition they were not heretics or evil (*bi-shart an la yakun al-nazil bi-ha muftadi'an wa-la shirriran*).<sup>58</sup> Other Sufi institutions established by Maghribis included a zawiya in the Baqa'a, a region in Lebanon, built to accommodate foreigners passing through the area, and the Andalusiyya khankah in Damascus. Aleppo also had numerous institutions for adherents of the Maliki madhhab, although these were shared by the other schools of Islamic jurisprudence. These included the madrasas of al-Zajajiyya, al-Salahiyya, al-Nafisiyya, al-Jubayl, al-Sayfiyya al-Juwvaniyya, and a zawiya in the Umayyad Mosque in Aleppo.<sup>59</sup>

## Conclusion

The waves of migration of Maghribis and Andalusians to Syria in late medieval times were affected by several factors. Migrants' main motives were political crises in their home environments and the generous opportunities for livelihoods, though the attractive landscape of Syria and the sites of religious significance found there were also draws. It is important to stress the significance of Bilad al-Sham as a place that attracted Maghribis and Andalusians, especially in the Mamluk era, when its cities were a safe haven, providing opportunities for work and education. Further, Maghribis showed ingenuity in adapting to life in the Syrian cities and in their dedication to their positions and occupations, becoming prominent in religious and educational spheres. They were a significant force and excelled in Arabic language and literature, for which they received acceptance and respect from both the rulers and the local people. Finally, most Andalusians and Maghribis maintained their affiliation with the Maliki madhhab and contributed to strengthening it in the cities of Syria, in terms of the administration and endowment of religious and educational institutions such as mosques, madrasas, and zawayas for Sufis. The extent of their influence can be seen in the establishment of separate quarters in major cities, such as in Jerusalem and Cairo. The political crisis of the Islamic West was thus, in many ways, a boon to the Mamluks and would have long-lasting influence on the cities of Greater Syria for generations before and after the fall of al-Andalus.

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## Endnotes

- 1 Because of the close connection between both the Maghrib and Andalusia and their people, the term Maghribis (*al-maghariba*) could be used to refer to both North Africa and Andalusia. See 'Ali al-Muntasir al-Kattani, *Inbi'ath al-Islam fi al-Andalus* [The emergence of Islam in al-Andalus] (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2005), 15–19.
- 2 On the mobility of ulama to Central Asia and the Middle East, see: Richard W. Bulliet, "A Quantitative Approach to Medieval Muslim Biographical Dictionaries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13 (1970): 195–211; Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and Hatim Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics in Late Medieval Syria* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing, 2013), 7–54.
- 3 See Joseph R. Hacker, "Maghribi Jews in Egypt and in Jerusalem in the Late Fifteenth Century and Intellectual Activity Under Mameluke Rule," in *Atara L'Haim: Studies in the Talmud and Medieval Rabbinic Literature in Honor of Professor Haim Zalman Dimitrovsky*, ed. Daniel Boyarin et al., (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2000): 573–603 (in Hebrew). Various scholars have highlighted the good Islamic-Jewish relationship at the time, especially in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. See, for example, the work of David Wasserstein, including: "How Islam Saved the Jews," Opening Lecture, Department of Religions and Philosophies, School of History, Religions, and Philosophies, SOAS University of London, 14 May 2012, online at (soas.ac.uk) bit.ly/3NhxuGQ (accessed 8 February 2021); *The Jewish Communities of the Early Islamic World* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014); "The Muslims and the Golden Age of the Jews in al-Andalus," in *Dhimmi and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, ed. David Wasserstein and Uri Rubin (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 179–96.
- 4 On developments of waqf and education in Syria (Bilad al-Sham) at the time, see: Hatim Mahamid, "Waqf and Madrasas in Late Medieval Syria," *Educational Research and Review* 8, no. 10 (23 May 2013): 602–12; and Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 130–92.
- 5 See Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib min ghusn al-Andalus al-ratib* [The breath of perfume from the branch of flourishing al-Andalus] (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1968), 8 vols. On such biographies, see, for instance, Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, vol. 2, 502–704.
- 6 Al-Kattani, *Inbi'ath al-Islam*, 406–9. Many medieval Muslim scholars dealt with the topic of the virtues of the Levant and its advantages (*fada'il al-Sham*). See, for example, the virtues of Syria (*al-Sham*) by al-Badri in the late Mamluk period: Abu al-Baqa' 'Abdallah al-Badri, *Nuzhat al-anam fi mahasin al-Sham* [Mankind's promenade through the merits of Greater Syria] (Beirut: Dar al-Ra'id al-'Arabi, 1980). On the virtues of Jerusalem in particular (*kutub fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*), including published writings, manuscripts, and lost books from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, see Amina Sulayman al-Badawi, "Kutub fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis fi al-'asrayn al-Ayyubi wa-l-Mamluki" [Books on the virtues of Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods], *Majallat al-Jami'a al-Islamiyya* 2 (June 2013): 295–314.
- 7 'Ali Ahmad, *al-Andalusiyyun wa-l-maghariba fi bilad al-Sham min nihayat al-qarn al-khamis wa hata nihayat al-qarn at-tase' al-hijri* [Andalusians and Maghribis in Greater Syria] (Damascus: Dar Tlas, 1989); see also Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 29–39. For examples of early immigrants to Syria, see al-Kattani, *Inbi'ath al-Islam*, 406–9.
- 8 On the internal political conflicts and the external threats in Andalusia, see: Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 189–304; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); and Muhammad 'Abdallah 'Anan, *Dawlat al-Islam fi al-Andalus* [Islam's state in al-Andalus] (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1997), 6 vols.
- 9 On relations between Andalusia and the Maghrib, see Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 71–143. On similar concepts, see Beebe Bahrami, "The Persistence of the Andalusian Identity in Rabat, Morocco" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995), online at repository.upenn.edu/

- edissertations/1176 (accessed 4 July 2020).
- 10 See Muhammad Razzuq, *al-Andalusiiyyun wa-hijratuhum ila al-maghrib khilal al-qarnayn 16–17* [Andalusians and their migrations to the Maghrib during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Casablanca: Afriqiya al-sharq, 1998), 141–73.
  - 11 On the Maghribi quarter in Jerusalem, for instance, see: Huda Lutfi, *al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya: A History of Mamluk Jerusalem Based on the Haram Documents* (Berlin: Schwarz, 1985), 235–36, 246–47; Hatim Mahamid, “Developments and Changes in the Establishment of Islamic Educational Institutions in Medieval Jerusalem,” *Annales islamologiques* 37 (2003): 34–46; Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 32; Mahamid, *Dirasat fi tarikh al-Quds al-thaqafi fi al-‘asr al-wasit* [Studies in Jerusalem’s Cultural History during the Middle Period] (Amman: Dar Ward al-‘Urduniyya, 2009): 112–14; and Thomas Abowd, “The Moroccan Quarter: A History of the Present,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 7 (Winter 2000): 6–16. On the Mughrabi quarter in Jerusalem and its demolition by the Israeli authorities in 1967, see Noura al-Tijani, “The Moroccan Community in Palestine,” *This Week in Palestine*, online at ([thisweekinpalestine.com](http://thisweekinpalestine.com)) [bit.ly/3LbRoBx](http://bit.ly/3LbRoBx) (accessed 12 March 2018).
  - 12 Abu al-Fida’ Isma‘il Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya wa-l-nihaya fi al-tarikh* [The beginning and the end in history] (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma‘arif, 1988), vol. 14, 91; Ahmad Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalani, *al-Durar al-kamina fi a‘yan al-ma‘a al-thamina* [Pearls hidden in the notables of the eighth hundred] (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1993), vol. 3, 350–51; and ‘Abd al-Qadir b. Muhammad al-Nu‘aymi, *al-Daris fi tarikh al-madaris* [A guide in the History of Schools] (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, 1988), vol. 2, 6. See also on this concept: Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 29–30.
  - 13 Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut: Dar Beirut, 1984), 258.
  - 14 Muhammad b. ‘Issa ibn Kinan, *al-Mawakib al-Islamiyya fi al-mamalik wa-l-mahasin al-Shamiyya* [Islamic processions in Damascene kingdoms and attractions] (Damascus: Wizarat al-Thaqafa, 1993), vol. 1, 85.
  - 15 ‘Ali Ahmad argues that most Maghribis in Syria chose Damascus as their destination during the Mamluk period. However, apparently his study does not consider the historical changes and circumstances that occurred during the fifteenth century in the Syrian regions. Ahmad, *al-Andalusiiyyun wa-l-Maghariba*, 111–16.
  - 16 See Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 21 (table 1), 24 (table 2). On the demographic situation in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period, see also Lutfi, *al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya*, 217–58.
  - 17 On the political, religious, and educational developments in Jerusalem in this period, see Mahamid, *Dirasat*, 103–40.
  - 18 Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, vol. 4, 307.
  - 19 Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 228.
  - 20 Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 232–33.
  - 21 See Muhammad b. Ibrahim Ibn Battuta, *Rihlat ibn Battuta: tuhfat al-nuthar fi ghara‘ib al-amsar wa ‘aja‘ib al-asfar* [The journey of Ibn Battuta: a masterpiece to those who contemplate the wonders of cities and the marvels of traveling] (Beirut: Dar Beirut, 1985). A number of scholars have studied Ibn Battuta’s travelogue; see, for instance: Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); David Waines, *The Odyssey of Ibn Battuta: Uncommon Tales of a Medieval Adventurer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
  - 22 See their descriptions of Damascus: Ibn Battuta, *Rihlat*, 84–87; and Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 234–35.
  - 23 On the establishment and development of the Maghribi quarter in Jerusalem and the factors attracting Maghribis and Andalusians to the city at that time, see: Kadrya Bendary, “Hayy al-maghariba bi-l-Quds al-sharif: dirasa athariyya” [The Moroccan quarter in Jerusalem: an archaeological study], *Dirasat fi athar al-watan al-‘Arabi* 11 (2008): 839–45, online at [cguaa.journals.ekb.eg/article\\_38268.html](http://cguaa.journals.ekb.eg/article_38268.html) (accessed 16 November 2021); and al-Ju‘beh, *Harat al-Yahud wa harat al-Maghariba*, 149–256. On the virtues of Bayt al-Maqdis, see for example: ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada’il al-Quds* [The virtues of Jerusalem] (Beirut: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, 1980); and Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam ila ziyaret al-Quds wa-l-Sham* [Amorous to visiting Jerusalem and Greater Syria] (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1994). See also the study on *kutub al-fada’il* on Jerusalem, including published writings, manuscripts, and lost books, in the

- Ayyubid and Mamluk periods: al-Badawi, "Kutub," 295–314.
- 24 See Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 280–81.
- 25 For descriptions regarding the good treatment of strangers in Syria, see Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 258, 259, 261, 280–81.
- 26 On popular occupations of Maghribis in Syria, see: Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 250–51; and Ibn Battuta, *Rihlat*, 104–6.
- 27 See Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, *'Uyun al-anba' fi tabaqat al-atibba'* [Sources of accounts on the classes of physicians] (Beirut: Dar Maktabat al-Hayat, 1965), 637.
- 28 Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali al-Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil bi-tarikh al-Quds wa-l-Khalil* [The glorious history of Jerusalem and Hebron] (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1973), vol. 2, 255; al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, vol. 2, 699–704.
- 29 See Toru Miura, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus* (Brill: Leiden, 2015), especially 11–49. On contribution and endowing educational institutions in late medieval Syria, see Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 130–92.
- 30 Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 257. See also: 'Abd al-Rahman Abu Shama al-Maqqasi, *'Uyun al-rawdatayn fi akhbar al-dawlatayn: al-Nuriyya wa-l-Salahiyya* [The springs of two meadows in the accounts of two states: those of Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din] (Damascus: Wizarat al-Thaqafa, 1991), vol. 1, 381–82. On the Maliki madrasa al-Sharabishiyya in Damascus, see Nu'aymi, *al-Daris*, vol. 2, 7–8. Most of the Maghribis and Andalusians were affiliated to the Maliki school of law.
- 31 See Abdul-Latif Tibawi, *The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem: Origins, History, and Usurpation by Israel* (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1978), 10–15. On the waqf of the Maghribis in Jerusalem, see Bendary, "Hayy al-Maghariba," 845–48.
- 32 See Francis E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 357–59, 394–96; al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, vol. 2, 46, 51–52. See also: Lutfi, *al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya*, 235–36, 246–47; Mahamid, "Developments and Changes," 345–46; Mahamid, *Dirasat*, 112–14; Tijani, "Moroccan Community"; and Abowd, "Moroccan Quarter." On the Maghribi waqf in Jerusalem, see: "Waqf harat al-Maghariba," online at (moghrabi-jerusalem.com) bit.ly/357JYzO (accessed 5 July 2020); Tibawi, *Islamic Pious Foundations*; Abdul-Latif Tibawi, *al-Awqaf al-Islamiyya bi-jiwar masjid al-Aqsa bi-l-Quds* [Islamic pious endowments in the vicinity of al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem] (Amman: Wizarat al-Awqaf, 1981); and Bendary, "Hayy al-Maghariba," 835–81. The Maghribi quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem continued serving the Maghribis and other Muslims until June 1967. When the 1967 war ended, Israeli authorities destroyed all its buildings, institutions, and endowments. Its inhabitants were expelled to establish a courtyard for Jewish worshipers in front of the Western Wall (*ha'it al-Buraq*). See: Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, "The Mughrabi Quarter Digital Archive and the Virtual Illés Relief Initiative," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 81 (Spring 2020): 52–76; and al-Ju'beh, *Harat al-yahud wa harat al-maghariba*, 257–87.
- 33 See al-Nu'aymi, *al-Daris*, vol. 2, 3–10.
- 34 Ibn Battuta, *Rihlat*, 84, 97.
- 35 On differences and tensions in Cairo in late Mamluk and early Ottoman Egypt, see H. Z. Hirschberg, "The Agreement between the Musta'ribs and the Maghribis in Cairo 1527," in *Salo Wittmayer Baron's Jubilee Volume*, ed. Saul Lieberman (New York: Columbia University, 1974), 577–90.
- 36 See Ahmad, *al-Andalusiyyun wa-l-Maghariba*, 129–31.
- 37 Muhammad Ibn Tulun, *Al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya fi tarikh al-Salihiyya* [The gem necklaces in the history of al-Salihiyya] (Damascus: Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, 1979), 2: 532–33. See also the example of the Maliki scholar, Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad al-'Innabi (d. 776/1374), who was educated according to the Shafi'i school of law; Waliyy al-Din Abu Zur'a Ibn al-'Iraqi, *al-Thayl 'ala al-'ibar fi khabar man 'abar* [The tail on the lessons in the news of those who crossed] (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1989), vol. 2: 392.
- 38 Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, 1: 182–83; al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, 2: 653–55.
- 39 On the waqf of Abu Madyan in Jerusalem, see: Gideon Weigert, "On Waqf Abu Madyan in Jerusalem," *Cathedra* 58 (1990): 25–34 (Hebrew); Za'im Khanshalawi and Muhammad al-Hizmawi, *Waqf Sidi Abu Madyan fi al-Quds al-sharif 720 h./1320 AD* [The waqf of sidi abu madyan in Jerusalem]

- (Algiers: al-Markaz al-Watani li-l-Bahth, 2009).
- 40 See the waqf deed (*waqfiyya*) of Abu Madyan in Jerusalem, its details, and conditions: Bendary, "Hayy al-Maghariba," 870–72. On the waqf of the Maghribis in Jerusalem, see: al-Ju'beh, *Harat al-Yahud wa harat al-Maghariba*, 165–84. On the alleged mismanagement of the Abu Madyan waqf in Jerusalem, which contributed to the confiscation of waqf property, allocated to a waqf, and, thus to the gradual disintegration of the waqf system in early twentieth-century Jerusalem, see: Serife Eroğlu Memiş, "Petitioning the Waqf Cases: Conflict over the Abu Madyan Waqf, Old City of Jerusalem, at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *Die Welt des Islams*, 8 November 2021, online at doi.org/10.1163/15700607-61040013 (accessed 14 February 2022).
- 41 See Abun-Nasr, *History*, 71–143. Ibn Kinan also stated that the Maghribis in Damascus as a community formed a military group, from which soldiers were recruited, see Ibn Kinan, *al-Mawakib*, 1: 85.
- 42 See: al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, vol. 2, 222–34; Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id*, vol. 2, 532–34; and Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya*, vol. 13, 240.
- 43 Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, vol. 4, 303–4; al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, vol. 2, 535–84.
- 44 Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, vol. 1, 182. Many examples of Maghribis who became experts in the Arabic language in Syria are known, such as Ahmad b. Sa'id al-Andarushi, who brought his books with him from Andalusia and dedicated them as waqf for the use of his students, see Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, vol. 1, 135–36.
- 45 On Sultan Baybars's judicial reforms in Egypt and Syria, see: Jonathan P. Berkey, "Mamluk Religious Policy," *Mamluk Studies Review* 13, no. 2 (2009): 12–13; Yossef Rapoport, "Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlid: The Four Chief Qadis under the Mamluks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2003): 210–28; Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Sultan al-Zahir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief Qadis, 663/1265," *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984): 167–76; and Sherman Jackson, "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-A'azz and the Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 52–65. On appointments of independent judges from the other Sunni rites of Islam (*mathahib*), in the major cities of Syria, see Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 37 (table 3).
- 46 Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya*, vol. 14, 97; Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, vol. 3, 448; al-Nu'aymi, *al-Daris*, vol. 2, 25.
- 47 On judges and jurisprudence in Jerusalem and in the surrounding cities, such as Gaza, Safad, and Tripoli, during the Mamluk period, see: Ahmad, *al-Andalusiyyun wa-l-maghariba*, 48–49; Yusuf al-Ghawanma, *Tarikh niyabat bayt al-maqdis fi al-'asr al-mamluki* [A history of the district of Jerusalem in the Mamluk period] (Amman: Dar al-Hayat, 1982), 38–40; Mahmud 'Atallah, *Niyabat Ghazza fi al-'ahd al-mamluki* [The district of Gaza in the Mamluk period] (Beirut: Dar al-Afaq, 1986), 142–59; Taha al-Tarawna, *Mamlakat Safad fi 'ahd al-Mamalik* [The realm of Safad in the Mamluk period] (Beirut: Dar al-Ittifaq al-'Arabiyya, 1982), 251–55.
- 48 See several examples of appointments of Maghribis in Jerusalem to various service positions: al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, vol. 2, 244, 249, 252, 254, 267.
- 49 On Ibn Khaldun's meeting with Timur, see: Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn 'Arab-Shah, *'Aja'ib al-maqdur fi nawa'ib Taymur* [Wonders of fate in the vicissitudes of Timur] (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1986), 252–57; and al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, vol. 2, 521–23. Regarding Ibn Khaldun's biography, see: Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur fi waqa'i' al-duhur* [Marvelous blossoms in the chronicles of the ages] (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'amma lil-Kitab, 1983), vol. 2, 754; 'Abd al-Hayy b. Ahmad Ibn al-'Imad, *Shatharat al-thahab* [Fragments of gold] (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), vol. 7, 76; Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-lami' li-ahl al-qarn al-tasi'* [The shining light for the people of the ninth century] (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1992), vol. 4, 145–49.
- 50 See: al-Maqqari, *'Uyun*, vol. 1, 348, 369.
- 51 For examples of his description, see Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat*, 215, 220, 256–57.
- 52 On conflicting interpretations of Ibn 'Arabi's philosophy and ideas in the three centuries following his death, see Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id*, vol. 2, 537, 541. On Ibn 'Arabi's philosophy and thought, see: Caner K. Dagli, *Ibn al-'Arabi and Islamic Intellectual Culture: From Mysticism to Philosophy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016); Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic*

- Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1999), 87–112; William C. Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets* (Oxford: One World Publication, 2005); Salman H. Bashier, *Ibn al-'Arabi's Barzakh: The Concept of the Limit and the Relationship between God and the World* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2004); Salman H. Bashier, *The Story of Islamic Philosophy: Ibn 'Arabi, Ibn Tufayl, and Others on the Limit between Naturalism and Tradition* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2012); and Cyrus Ali Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Iraqi* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011). See also examples of Sufis from the Muslim West who migrated to Syria, like Shaykh Abu 'Ali b. Hud al-Mursi (d. 1299), who was from a family of Andalusia rulers, and the Andalusian Shaykh Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Ansari. Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id*, vol. 2, 625; and Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, vol. 1, 66.
- 53 On al-Shadhili and his thought and *tariqa*, see: Muhammad b. Abi al-Qasim Ibn al-Sabbagh, *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili: Including His Life, Prayers, Letters, and Followers*, ed. and trans. Elmer H. Douglas and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi' (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993); Amir al-Dasuqi, *al-Turuq al-sufiyya fi Misr: nash'atuha wa nuzumuha wa ruwwaduha – al-Rifa'i, al-Jilani, al-Badawi, al-Shadhili, al-Dasuqi* [Sufi orders in Egypt: their emergence, their regulations, and their leaders – al-Rifa'i, al-Jilani, al-Badawi, al-Shadhili, al-Dasuqi] (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1998); and Ahmad Farid al-Mazidi, *Qutb al-mashriq wa-l-maghrib Sidi Abu al- Hasan al-Shadhili* [Axis of the Mashriq and the Maghrib, Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili] (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2017).
- 54 Al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, 2: 243; Bendary, "Hayy al-Maghariba," 846–47.
- 55 Khanshalawi and al-Hizrawi, *Waqf Sidi Abu Madyan*. See also: Weigert, "On Waqf Abu Madyan," 25–34; and Bendary, "Hayy al-Maghariba," 846–48.
- 56 On the waqf dedicated for the Maghribis in Jerusalem, see: Peters, *Jerusalem*, 394–99.
- 57 See: Muhammad ibn Tulun, *I'lam al-wara* [Informing Humankind] (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1984), 121; Ibn Kinan, *al-Mawakib*, vol. 1, 85. Al-Nu'aymi mentioned this zawiya as zawiya al-Watiyya, from the name of its founder Ibn Watiyya, see al-Nu'aymi, *al-Daris*, vol. 2, 204.
- 58 Al-Nu'aymi, *al-Daris*, vol. 2, 204; Ibn Kinan, *al-Mawakib*, vol. 1, 85.
- 59 On the institutions that served the adherents of the Maliki rite and the Maghribis in Aleppo, see Abu al-Wafa' al-'Urdu, *Ma'adin al-thahab fi-l-a'yan al-musharrafah bihim Halab* [The golden notables honoring Halab] (Amman: al-Jami'a al-'Urduniyya, 1992), 173. On Maliki institutions in general in Syria, see Mahamid, *Waqf, Education, and Politics*, 29–39.