

# Maqdisi Ulama Displaced during the Crusades and Their Influence on Intellectual Life in Damascus

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## Abstract

The cultural movement in Jerusalem stagnated following the migration of most of its scholars to the city of Damascus to escape from atrocities and massacres committed by the Crusaders. Meanwhile, the city of Damascus, which enjoyed security and stability during that period, became a homeland for construction, training, and cultural production, especially after the scientific and cultural centers in Jerusalem were destroyed by the Crusader occupation. Sultan Nur al-Din Mahmud Zangi was famous for his efforts in establishing schools and scientific centers, and known for his sponsorship and appreciation of scholars and students. Thanks to the efforts of the Qudama family Hanbalis, the city of Damascus became a famous scientific center in al-Mashriq al-Islami attended by scholars and seekers of knowledge from all over the Islamic world at that time, especially after the Jerusalemite scholars established al-Salihyya neighborhood in Damascus.

## Keywords

Crusaders; Jerusalem; Damascus; al-Salahiyya; al-Qudama; Nur al-Din Zangi; Hanbalis; ulama.

## Editor's Note

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After the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099 CE (492 AH), they committed massacres in the city, slaughtering many of the residents on ethnic and religious grounds.<sup>1</sup> Contemporary sources describe horrific scenes, with such gruesome bloodshed that Crusader

chroniclers themselves expressed shock at its excess.<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre (d.1185) – archbishop of Tyre, chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and a renowned Crusader chronicler – described the massacre of July 1099: “It was impossible to look upon the vast numbers of the slain without horror... Still more dreadful was it to gaze upon the victors themselves, dripping with blood from head to foot, an ominous sight which brought terror to all who met them.”<sup>3</sup> Fulcher de Chartes, Foucher of Chartres (d. 1127), a French priest and historian who accompanied the first Crusades, wrote that around ten thousand people were massacred in al-Aqsa compound.<sup>4</sup> Muslim historians put the number of dead at more than seventy thousand, including imams, ulama, Sufis, and other worshippers, many of whom had sought refuge from the Crusaders’ wrath near the holy sites.<sup>5</sup> Among the Muslim ulama killed in the massacre were: the imam, Abu al-Qasim al-Maqdisi; Makki ibn ‘Abd al-Salam ibn al-Husayn al-Ramli, the mufti of the Shafi‘i school of jurisprudence (Madhhab); jurist Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Tusi; judge Abu al-Qasim Sa’d ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Nasawi; jurist Daysam ibn Mujahid al-Nadri al-Maqdisi; and judge ‘Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Razi.<sup>6</sup>

News of the massacre at al-Aqsa, as well as other massacres, sparked waves of flight of residents from Jerusalem and its surroundings, who were already living under harsh conditions that affected all aspects of their lives. Frankish kings, feudal princes, and clergymen imposed additional taxes and fees, after settling in Jerusalem and other areas they had conquered, seized property and belongings as per the Law of Conquest, confiscated crops and livestock, and forced people to work as serfs and slaves.<sup>7</sup> These oppressive policies had a particularly negative impact on peasants. Some were forced to abandon their land because of the burden of taxes, some were conscripted to serve the Crusaders’ army, and others sought refuge after the Franks seized their lands.<sup>8</sup>

The Franks also enforced a settlement policy in and around Jerusalem, which brought new settlers from European countries, as well as local Christians, to establish villages and agricultural communities in the Holy Land.<sup>9</sup> These settlements were intended to make up for the shortage in human labor, rebuild the abandoned or evacuated villages and increase the revenues of the cavalry and clergymen fief.<sup>10</sup> When, for example, Baldwin I (d. 1118), king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, realized the imminent danger facing the Holy City because of the lack of men available to defend its entrances, gates, and towers from sudden attacks, he encouraged Christian communities east of the Jordan to immigrate to Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup>

Despite his short reign (1099–1100), Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100), first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, known as *advocatus* (defender or protector) of the Holy Sepulchre, established the foundations of feudalism in the Holy Land, bestowing on the church more than twenty villages belonging to Jerusalem. Under his brother, Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem (1100–1118), the features of the feudal system became even clearer. Baldwin I introduced an inheritance law whereby fiefs granted to feudal lords in the kingdom were handed down to their descendants. This was meant to ensure that the kingdom would benefit from the land and its financial resources, which increased the area of settlements in the Holy Land.<sup>12</sup>

Peasants, especially landowners, were the most affected by the Frankish settlement policy, which often meant vast stretches of their agricultural lands or other properties being taken from them and given to the new settlers. The people of Kafr Malik, located within the fief of Nablus in 1128, were forced to relocate to the village of Bayt Furik, for example, and their lands were transferred to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>13</sup> In 1114, King Baldwin I granted al-Ram village to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and Latin clergymen built an important settlement there called Ramathes.<sup>14</sup>

Scholarly life and Islamic practices were suspended, too, and religious freedoms were repressed and mosques converted into churches. Education in the the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was limited to religious education and restricted to churches.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, the Franks remained closed upon themselves, as their communities did not integrate or assimilate with the locals despite their long period of rule.

The adverse conditions that prevailed in Jerusalem and neighboring areas during Frankish rule drove many of its ulama to consider emigration, as they were no longer able to engage in scholarship and feared for their lives. Among those who looked to make their lives elsewhere was the Qudama family, whose patriarch, the pious shaykh Abu al-‘Abbas al-Maqdisi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qudama ibn Miqdam al-Jama‘ili al-Salihi (d.1163), decided to leave his village of Jama‘il (better known today as Jama‘in) for Damascus.<sup>16</sup> Shaykh Ahmad took this decision after it came to his knowledge that he and his family were in danger. He had been inciting peasants to rebel and urging them to embrace their faith and abandon working for the Franks, mobilizing people against repressive taxes, exploitation, and serfdom. Shaykh Ahmad’s lessons and speeches were becoming increasingly popular, attracting people from neighboring villages.<sup>17</sup> Eventually, his conduct became a source of concern for Balian of ‘Ibilin (known as Balian ibn Barisan) (d. 1193), the Crusader ruler of Nablus, who plotted to have him assassinated. However, one of Balian’s entourage informed Shaykh Ahmad of the scheme, and he fled for Damascus, which was ruled by Sultan Nur al-Din Mahmud Zangi (d. 1174), known for his fairness and for spearheading the fight against the Crusaders.

In 1156, the first convoy of the Qudama family arrived in Damascus, with Shaykh Ahmad at its head. As soon as he arrived, Shaykh Ahmad sent for his son, Shaykh Abu ‘Umar al-Maqdisi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qudama al-Jama‘ili al-Salihi (d. 1210), who brought the rest of the family to Damascus quickly, despite the difficult journey. Several scholars from the Qudama family arrived with this wave of immigrants, which was followed by further waves from five villages near Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup> Balian, the son of Barisan d‘Ibilin (Balian ibn Barzan) (d. 1193) reputation as one of the Frankish rulers most abusive and exploitative of Muslims, played a role in the migration.<sup>19</sup> And apparently the Qudama family inspired others in neighboring villages to relocate to Damascus. These immigrants later became known as Maqdisis (Jerusalemites), although most of them were peasants from villages around Nablus, including Marda, Yasuf, Dayr ‘Urif, al-Sawiyya, Jit, Zayta, Qarawa, Dayr Istiyya, and others.<sup>20</sup>

When the Qudama family first arrived in Damascus they were hosted by the

Hanabali family in Abu Salih mosque.<sup>21</sup> The Hanbalis were caretakers of the mosque and family members led prayers there.<sup>22</sup> The Qudama family may have chosen to stay with them because both families followed the same *madhhab* (a school of Islamic jurisprudence). Moreover, tensions seemed to be growing between the Qudama family and the Hanbalis. Apparently, Shaykh Ahmad ibn Qudama al-Maqdisi had begun to gain a following and the Hanbalis feared that he would take over the mosque and its endowment (waqf). This resulted in several quarrels between the two families; finally, the Hanbali family complained to Sultan Nur al-Din. When they went to make their complaint, the Sultan was sitting with his chief judge, Sharaf al-Din ibn Abi ‘Asrun, ‘Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Hibat-Allah al-Tamimi (d. 1189) a follower of the Shafi’i school who was not overly fond of the Hanbali family. Ibn Abi ‘Asrun grasped the opportunity to commend the immigrants, many of whom knew the Quran by heart, and Sultan Nur al-Din was so impressed he transferred the mosque and its waqf to the Qudama family.<sup>23</sup>

However, Shaykh Ahmad found this gift contrary to his purpose for coming to Damascus, as he had not come to compete with others over earthly possessions.<sup>24</sup> Thus, he left the mosque and moved outside the protected confines of the walled city of Damascus to the slopes of Mount Qasiyun. (An outbreak of disease in Damascus may have also encouraged the Qudama family to move to a more remote area.)<sup>25</sup> He settled with his family on a remote arid mountain, where wild beasts roamed and the only human inhabitants protected themselves behind fortifications. With their move to the mountain, a new era of this family’s life began. As Shaykh Ahmad’s fame spread and his name became well known, his visitors increased; he even impressed Sultan Nur al-Din, who started to visit him frequently, forging a close relationship with the “Jerusalemite” immigrants, and offering them support.<sup>26</sup>

Little by little, the core of a neighborhood started to develop outside the gates of Damascus on the slopes of Mount Qasiyun. This neighborhood became known as al-Salihyya, named after Mount Qasiyun, which was also known as the mountain of the Salihin (the virtuous ones); it was also said to have been named after Abu Salih mosque, where the Qudama family stayed upon their arrival in Damascus.<sup>27</sup> The Qudama family built a home that came to be known as Dayr al-Hanabila (the sanctuary of the Hanbalis),<sup>28</sup> and a school, al-Madrasa al-Hanbaliyya al-‘Umariyya,<sup>29</sup> named after Shaykh Abu ‘Umar.<sup>30</sup> It was a large school, supported by numerous endowments and offering a wide array of services. The school’s dormitories accommodated three hundred sixty poor students.<sup>31</sup> Further establishments arose around it, turning al-Salihyya into a hub for social, religious, and educational organizations, all of which were provided for by endowments (awqaf).<sup>32</sup>

The Qudama family also played a visible and influential role in spreading the Hanbali Madhhab in the Levant.<sup>33</sup> Members of the family authored several books that are still considered main Hanbali references to this day, especially those written by Muwaffaq al-Din al-Maqdisi, ‘Abdallah ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qudama al-Jama’ili al-Salihi (d. 1223). The most important of ibn Qudama’s works are: *al-Mughni*, an important reference book in Hanbali jurisprudence; *al-Mughni*, on the

jurisprudence of the imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal; and *Rawdat al-Nazir wa Jannat al-Munazir*, on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (Usul al-Fiqh).<sup>34</sup> Members of the Qudama family in al-Salihyya also founded schools for hadith, a field in which the Qudamas were considered pillars, renowned for their writing, teaching, and interpretation.<sup>35</sup> They also contributed to a women's intellectual renaissance in that period, as women from the Qudama family participated in establishing religious and educational centers and establishing endowments to support them. They also attended seminars and participated in teaching women the Quran and hadith.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, under its long subjection to the Franks, scholarship in Jerusalem withered away. Classes in al-Aqsa Mosque were abandoned, as were educational activities in other Muslim schools. Crusader rule also slowed the construction and development of educational establishments and prompted the immigration of ulama and students to neighboring centers, like Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, that were more stable and secure. Further, many scholars refrained from going to Jerusalem because most religious and educational institutions were controlled by the Franks, while others (and the awqaf that supported them) were destroyed.<sup>37</sup> Most Latin and Orientalist sources agree that the communities of the Latin East did not seek to become intellectual and cultural beacons in the Islamic world, nor were they concerned with leaving behind any monuments in this regard; rather, their goals were centered around warfare, religion, and trade.<sup>38</sup> Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), a French Crusade chronicler and bishop of Acre, described a Holy Land full of newcomers who indulged in a life of luxury and latitudes, and made wild claims of priests abandoning their faith and nuns turning to prostitution and indulging in lust, larceny, gambling, and drinking. According to de Vitry, these fallen figures desecrated the Holy Land with countless sins and accumulated unimaginable wealth.<sup>39</sup>

The immigration of the Qudama family, among them many ulama and other prominent figures in the Hanbali school of jurisprudence, from Jama'il in Mount Nablus to Damascus in 1156 is clear evidence of the deterioration of scholarship in and around Jerusalem under Crusader rule, and even the danger that Muslim scholars faced there.<sup>40</sup> Yet, the waves of migration of which the Qudamas were a part also contributed to reviving the scholarly environment in Damascus. The establishment of al-Salihyya neighborhood during the rule of Nur al-Din Zangi, and the educational institutions built in this period and after, can be attributed to the immigration of the Qudama family to Damascus. Exiled due to the repression of the Crusader regime in Jerusalem and its surroundings, they sought and contributed to more stable and secure hubs of scholarship in Damascus.<sup>41</sup>

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## Endnotes

- 1 Alan Tami, "L'art de la guerre au temps des croisades (491/1098–589/1193): Du théocentrisme irrationnel aux influences mutuelles et adaptations pragmatiques dans le domaine militaire" (PhD diss., Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III, 2012), 114; Rasha 'Abd al-Fattah Muhammad Husayn, "al-Athar al-ijtima'iyya lil-hurub al-salibiyyah: dirasa 'ala mujtami'at bilad al-Sham" [The social effects of the Crusades: a study of societies in the Levant] (MA thesis, Zagazig University, 2006), 41.
- 2 See, for example, William of Tyre, *al-Hurub al-salibiyya* [The Crusades], trans. Hassan Habashi (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'amma lil-kitab, 1992), vol. 2, 126. A famous contemporary account of this horrible massacre and other crimes committed by the Franks is "Qasidat al-Munfarijah" [Poem of Relief] by Abu al-Fadil al-Turzi, Yusuf ibn Muhammad Yusuf al-Tilmisani (Ibn al-Nahwi) (d. 1119 AD), though some attribute it to Imam Hijjat al-Islam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi al-Naysaburi (d. 1111). See also: Jamal Muhammad Salim Khalifa, "Hay'at 'ulama wa fuqaha' al-Sham: dirasa fi takwinihim al-ijtima'i wa al-iqtisadi wa al-'ilmi wa atharuh fi muwajihat al-ghazu al-salibi (491–690 AH/1097–1291 AD)" [Ulama and jurists of Damascus: a study of their social, economic, and scholarly formation and its role in confronting the Crusader invasion (491–690 AH/1097–1291 AD)] (PhD diss., Zagazig University, 2005), 270; and Javier Albarrán Iruela, "El renacimiento del yihad desde la conquista cruzada de Jerusalén hasta la muerte de Nur Ad-Din," *Revista del Departamento de Historia* (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, España), no. 3 (2014): 204.
- 3 William of Tyre, *al-Hurub al-salibiyya*, vol. 2, 127.
- 4 Fulcher de Chartres, *al-Istitan al-salibi fi Filastin: tarikh al-hamla ila bayt al-Maqdis (1095–1137 AD)* [The Crusader settlement of Palestine: a history of the expedition to Jerusalem], trans. Qasim 'Abduh Qasim (Cairo: Dar al-shuruq, 2001), vol. 1, 136–37.
- 5 'Izz al-Din ibn al-Athir, 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Jazrai al-Mosuli al-Shibani (d. 630 AH/1232 AD) writes: "The Crusaders killed in al-Aqsa Mosque more than seventy thousand people, including imams, ulama, worshippers, and Sufis who left their homes and countries to live near al-Aqsa Mosque"; see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-tarikh* [Complete account of history], ed. Muhammad Yusuf al-Daqqaq (Beirut: dar al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 2003), vol. 9, 9. Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Umari al-Maqdisi al-Hanbali (d. 928 AH/1522 AD) also writes that "more than seventy thousand people were killed," in *al-Uns al-jalil bi-tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil* [The splendid intimacy of the history of Jerusalem and Hebron], ed. 'Adnan Yunis 'Abd Majid Abu Tabbana (Hebron: Maktabat dandis, 1999), vol. 1, 447. It seems that the Crusader accounts are more accurate with regard to the number of dead. The area of Jerusalem was roughly one square kilometer and according to Nasir Khusraw in Safarnama, the population at the time was around twenty thousand, many of whom fled the city when they learned of the Crusaders' approach; see Muhammad Sami Ahmad Immtair, "al-Haya al-iqtisadiyya fi bayt al-Maqdis wa jiwariha fi fatrat al-hurub al-salibiyya (492–583 AH/1099–1187 AD)" [Economic life in Jerusalem and its vicinity in the Crusader period (492–583 AH/1099–1187 AD)] (MA thesis, al-Najah National University, 2010), 48.
- 6 Ibn Taghri Birdi, Jamal al-Din Yusuf Atabiki (d.874 AH/1470 AD), *al-Nujum al-zahira fi muluk Misr wa al-Qahira* [Bright stars among the kings of Egypt and Cairo] (Cairo: al-Mu'assasa al-Misriyya, 1963), vol. 5, 164; see also: Khalifa, "Hay'at 'ulama'," 268.
- 7 See: Immtair, "al-Haya al-iqtisadiyya," 125–42; de Chartres, *al-Istitan al-salibi*; William of Tyre, *al-hurub al-salibiyya*, vol.2, 128; Joshua Prawer, *al-Istitan al-salibi fi Filastin: mamlakat bayt al-Maqdis al-latiniyya* [The Latin Kingdom in Jerusalem: European colonialism in the Middle Ages], trans. 'Abd Hafiz 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Bana (Cairo: 'ayn lil-dirasat wa al-buhuth al-insaniyya, 2001), 56; Husam Hilmi Yusuf al-Agha, "al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya fi Filastin zaman al-hurub al-salibiyya (492–690 h./1099–1291 m.) [social conditions in Palestine during the Crusades (492–690 AH/1099–1291 AD)] (MA thesis, Islamic University of Gaza, 2007), 92–93; and Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Displacement of the Palestinians during the Crusades," *Muslim World Journal* 68, no. 3 (July 1978): 157–75.

- 8 Jihad Suleiman Salem al-Masri, "al-Ta'lim fi bilad al-Sham fi al-'ahd al-Ayyubi (570-648 AH/1174-1250 AD)" [Education in the Levant in the Ayyubid period (570-648 AH/1174-1250 AD)] (MA thesis., Al al-Bayt University, Jordan, 1999), 44.
- 9 For more on the Crusaders' colonial policy in the Holy Land and the Levant, see Immtair, "al-Haya al-iqtisadiyya," 54-68.
- 10 Prawer, *al-Istitan al-salibi*, 60, 93, 107; Husayn, "al-Athar al-ijtima'iyya," 47-49; Immtair, "al-Haya al-iqtisadiyya," 54-68.
- 11 Prawer, *al-Istitan al-salibi*, 60; de Chartres, *al-Istitan al-salibi*, 166, see also: Immtair, "al-Haya al-iqtisadiyya," 54-55; al-Agha, "al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya," 106-107.
- 12 Prawer, *al-Istitan al-salibi*, 93. On the Franks' feudalism in the Holy Land, see Husayn, "al-Athar al-ijtima'iyya," 115-17.
- 13 al-Agha, "al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya," 71, 95, 122, 196.
- 14 Immtair, "al-Hayah al-iqtisadiyya," 61.
- 15 al-Agha, "al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya," 265.
- 16 Shams al-Din ibn Tulun, Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Khamarwaya al-Dimashqi al-Salihi al-Hanafi (d.953 AH/1546 AD), *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya fi tarikh al-salihiyya* [The bejeweled necklace of the history of al-salihiyya], ed. Muhammad Ahmad Dahman (Damascus: mujamma' al-lugha al-'Arabiyya, 1980), vol. 1, 250, see also: Hatim Mahamid, *Franks' Effects on Islamic Spirit, Religious and Cultural Characters in Medieval Syria*, Nebula 4, no. 1 (March 2007): 167; and Ibrahim al-Zaybaq, "A'ilat ibn Qudama al-Maqdisiyya wa dawruha fi bina' salihyyat Dimashq wa nasr al-madhab al-hanbali" [The Jerusalemite ibn Qudama family and its role in building salihyya of Damascus and the spread of the Hanbali madhab], Mu'assasat Filastin lil-thaqafa, 16 January 2007, online at [www.thaqafa.org/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=2142#.X3-D-5NKjBI](http://www.thaqafa.org/site/pages/details.aspx?itemid=2142#.X3-D-5NKjBI) (accessed 8 October 2020).
- 17 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol.1, 67-68; see also: al-Agha, "al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya," 264; Shakir Mustafa, *Madinat lil-'ilm: al-Qudama wa al-salihiyya* [A city for knowledge: the Qudama family and al-salihiyya] (Damascus: dar tlass lil-dirasat, 1997), 12; Lu'ay Ibrahim Sulayman Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama' al-Muslimin fi muqawamat al-ghazu al-faranji al-salibi lil-Mashriq al-Islami (490-648 AH/1097-1250 AD)" [The role of the Muslim ulama in resisting the Frankish Crusader invasion of the Islamic East] (PhD diss., University of Jordan, 2006), 80-81; Khalifa, "Hay'at 'ulama'," 299.
- 18 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 70-76, see also: Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 81-82; Daniella Talmon-Heller, "The Shaykh and the Community: Popular Hanbalite Islam in 12th-13th Century Jabal Nablus and Jabal Qasyun," *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994): 103-120; and Khalifa, "Hay'at 'ulama'," 116-19.
- 19 On Balian's policies against Jama'il's population, see Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol.1, 67.
- 20 Mahamid, "Franks' Effect," 169-70; Mustafa, *Madinat lil-'ilm*, 54; Salah al-Din al-Munjid, "al-Laji'un al-Maqadisa ila Dimashq ba'd al-ghazu al-faranji wa nata'ij hijratihim" [Jerusalemite refugees in Damascus after the Frankish invasion and the effects], in *al-Mu'tamar al-dawli al-thalith li-tarikh Bilad al-Sham* [hird international conference on the history of Bilad al-Sham] (Amman/Irbid: University of Jordan/Yarmuk University, 1983), vol. 3, 719-20; and al-Agha, "al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya," 93-94.
- 21 Abu Salih Mosque was named after the pious shaykh Abu Salih Mifiih ibn 'Abdallah al-Hanbali (530 AH/1136 AD), who endowed it to the Hanbalis. See: Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 65, 250-52; and Khalid Kabir 'Allal, "al-Haraka al-'ilmiyya al-Hanbaliyya wa atharuha fi al-mashriq al-Islami khilal al-qarnayn 6-7 AH/12-13 AD" [The Hanbali scholarly movement and its impact in the Islamic East during the 6th-7th centuries AH/12th-13th centuries AD] (PhD diss., Universite d'Alger, 2003), 185-86; and Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 82.
- 22 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 79; al-Munjid, "al-Laji'un al-Maqadisa," 715; and al-Zaybaq, "A'ilat ibn Qudama."
- 23 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 79-80, see also Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 82-83.
- 24 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 80, see also Khalifa, "Hay'at 'ulama'," 117-19; and al-Zaybaq, "A'ilat ibn Qudama."
- 25 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 66, see also: Yusuf Ibrahim al-Zamili, "al-Awda' al-siyasiyya fi Bayt al-Maqdis wa in'akasatuha 'ala al-hayat al-'ilmiyya wa al-thaqafiyya bi-Dimashq fi fatrat al-hurub al-salibiyya" [The political situation in Jerusalem and its repercussions on the

- scholarly and cultural life of Damascus during the Crusades], in *al-Marakiz al-thaqafiyya wa al-'ilmiyya fi al-'alam al-'Arabi 'abra al-'usur* [Cultural and intellectual centers in the Arab world throughout the ages] (Cairo: ittihad al-mu'arikhin al-'Arab, November 2001), vol. 9, 385.
- 26 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 82; and Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 83.
- 27 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 66; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, *Munadamat al-atlal wa musamarat al-khayal* [Intimacy of Remnants and Conversations of Imagination], ed. Zuhayr al-Shawish (Beirut: al-maktab al-islami lil-tiba'a wa al-nashr, 1985), 247; and Hasan Shmaysani, *Madaris Dimashq fi al-'asr al-Ayyubi* [Damascus schools in the Ayyubid era] (Beirut: dar al-afaq al-jadida, 1983), 101; Toru Miura, "The Salihyya Quarter in the Suburbs of Damascus: Its Formation, Structure, and Transformation in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 47 (1995): 29–81.
- 28 Dayr al-Hanabila was also known as Dayr al-Salihin and Dayr al-Maqadisa. Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 253, see also: Mahamid, "Franks' Effect," 16; and al-Munjid, "al-Laji'un al-Maqadisa," 716.
- 29 For more on al-Madrasa al-Hanbaliyya al-'Umariyya, founded by Shaykh Abu 'Umar al-Maqdisi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qudama al-Jama'ili al-Salihi al-Hanbali (607 AH/1210 AD). See Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 248–74; see also: Mahamid, "Franks' Effect," 168; Badran, *Munadamat al-atlal*, 244–47; Shmaysani, *Madaris Dimashq*, 100–3; and Allal, "al-Haraka al-'ilmiyya," 210–212.
- 30 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 249.
- 31 Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-jawhariyya*, vol. 1, 273. Besides Ibn Tulun, other historical sources paid particular attention to the school, given its prominence in al-Salihiya, detailing the shaykhs who taught there and its endowments, libraries, and other benefits and services that it offered; see Badran, *Munadamat al-atlal*, 244–47.
- 32 For more on the role of waqf in establishing and financing mosques and schools in al-Salihiya in Damascus. See: Allal, "al-Haraka al-'ilmiyya," 182–188, 207–219; Miura, "Salihyya," 181–89.
- 33 The Hanbali madhhab was weakened in Jerusalem and grew stronger in Damascus as a result of the immigration to Damascus of the Hanbali Shirazi ulama and their followers from the families of Qudama, Miflih, Ghanim, and others during the Crusader period. Khalifa, "Hay'at 'Ulama'," 118.
- 34 Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 86.
- 35 al-Zamili, "al-Awda' al-siyasiyya," 386; al-Masri, "al-Ta'lim fi bilad al-Sham," 95–96; and al-Zaybaq, "'A'ilat ibn Qudama."
- 36 See: Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 86; and Talmon-Heller, "Shaykh and the Community," 103–20.
- 37 Fu'ad 'Abd Rahim al-Duwaykat, "Dawr al-mar'a al-maqdisiyya fi khidmat 'ulum al-hadith fi al-'asrayn al-Ayyubi wa al-Mamluki" [Jerusalemite women's role in the service of hadith scholarship during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras], *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences* 43, no. 1 (2016): 54.
- 38 Mahamid, "Franks' Effect," 173; Husayn, "al-Athar al-ijtima'iyya," 73, 78.
- 39 Jacques de Vitry, *Tarikh bayt al-Maqdis* [The History of Jerusalem], trans. Sa'id 'Abdallah al-Bishawi (Amman: dar al-shuruq, 1998), 134–36.
- 40 al-Masri, "al-Ta'lim fi Bilad al-Sham" 122–23. For more on the ulama of the Qudama family. See: Bawa'na, "Dawr al-'ulama'," 86; and Talmon-Heller, "Shaykh and the Community," 103–20.
- 41 Al Masri, "al-Ta'lim fi Bilad al-Sham," 35. Ulama and scholars moved to Damascus from several cities: Jerusalem, escaping the Crusader's invasion; Baghdad, escaping the Mongol invasion; Medina, escaping the dire economic situation and Shi'i control over religious institutions; and Andalusia and Morocco, escaping the turbulence after the fall of the Umayyad rule. Salah Adalaziz Salamah, "Medina in the Ayyubid Period and the Shi'a Influence upon It" (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2008), 285.