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Reviewed work(s):
Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (1998), pp. 29-50
Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3107290
Accessed: 26/02/2012 05:59

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Ribāṭs in Mecca during the medieval period: a descriptive study based on literary sources

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The Islamic institution of the *ribāṭ* appears to have made its initial appearance along the North African coast, in what is today Tunisia, during the second/eighth century.[1] In the first phase of its development, the *ribāṭ* was essentially a fortress located at a sensitive point along the Islamic frontier, garrisoned by pious individuals who envisaged their vocation as participation in the *jihād*, the defence of the lands of Islam against external foes.

In the eastern Islamic lands, the character of the *ribāṭ* underwent a dramatic transformation as early as the fourth/tenth century.[2] From that time onward, a *ribāṭ* is to be understood as a pious foundation set up by a Muslim ruler or—as was more generally the case—a wealthy individual, in order to provide free accommodation for travellers, the poor and the indigent and, particularly in the late medieval period, persons belonging to the numerous Sufi orders. Muḥammad M. Amīn, in his painstakingly researched study of Egyptian *waqfs* (pious endowments) during the Mamluk period, takes great care to distinguish between the *khānqāh* and the *ribāṭ* in the Cairene environment, arguing that the former was a mosque combined with a Sufi hospice, whereas the latter was simply a hospice for the general poor, whether or not they were members of Sufi orders. By the time of al-Maqrīzī, in the ninth/fifteenth century, Amīn proposes that the *ribāṭ* had metamorphosed into a miniature *khānqāh*.[3] Whereas Amīn's argument may be accepted as valid for the specific case of Mamluk Cairo, it cannot with certainty be applied to other Muslim lands and other time periods. Thus, as the following discussion of the *ribāṭs* of Mecca will I hope demonstrate, from as early as the year 529/1134–35, during the Fatimid period, the *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht in Mecca was founded solely to provide lodging for Sufis. It is also noteworthy that there is no record of a single *khānqāh* being established in Mecca before the Ottoman annexation of the Hijaz in 923/1517.

Al-Maqrīzī provided an invaluable definition of the *ribāṭ* as it was understood in ninth/fifteenth-century Cairo. His characterization is, I believe, generally applicable to the phenomenon of the Meccan *ribāṭ* during the medieval period and hence is worth quoting in full. 'The *ribāṭ*,' al-Maqrīzī begins, 'is a dwelling inhabited by the people of the path of Allah ... . He who dwells in a *ribāṭ*, practising obedience to Allah, preserves the servants (of Allah) and the lands (of Islam) from calamity through his supplications ... . The conditions pertaining to the residents of a *ribāṭ* are the severance of relations with (other) people and the opening of relations with the Truth (i.e. Allah); the abandonment of acquisitiveness relying upon the protection of the Causer of all causes;

[1] For a discussion of the *ribāṭ*, cf. G. Marcais, 'Ribāṭ', in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st. ed. (hereafter *EI*[1]), cf. also art. 'Ribāṭ' in *EI*[2]; 'Abd Allāh al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur al-kitābāt wa'l-nuqūsh fī 'l-Ḥijāz mundhu fajr al-Islām ḥattā muntaṣaf al-qarn al-sābi' al-Hijrī* (Jedda, 1405 A.H./1984), 285–6.

[2] Marcais, in *EI*[1], preferred to date this transformation substantially later, to the sixth/twelfth century, but the following discussion will show that the earliest Meccan *ribāṭ*—datable to the year 395/1004–5—was already an institution radically different from its North African antecedents and essentially in the form in which it was to persist at least until the end of the Mamluk era in 923/1517.

[3] cf. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa'l-hayāh al-ijtimā'iyya fī Miṣr, 648–923/1250–1517, dirāsa ta'rīkhiyya wathā'iqiyya* (Cairo, 1980), 204–21.

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the avoidance of all manners of associations ... the performance of acts of worship day and night in lieu of all other normal activities; keeping (oneself) occupied with maintaining the timings (of prayer), performing private worship, waiting for the time of prayer, shunning heedlessness, thereby becoming a *murābiṭ* (i.e. a dweller in a *ribāṭ*) and a defender of the faith .... The *ribāṭ* is the home of the Sufis and their halting-place, for every class of people has a dwelling-place, and the *ribāṭ* is their dwelling-place.'[4]

Accommodation in a particular *ribāṭ* would be provided, as outlined in the *waqfiyya*, or deed of endowment, for either a limited, or open-ended, period of time. Frequently, conditions were also specified regarding the sort of person who would be eligible for gratis accommodation in a given *ribāṭ*.

The premier location for the establishment of a *ribāṭ* in Mecca would naturally be expected to be the immediate proximity of the Great Mosque, or Ḥaram. However, because of the scarcity of available sites in that very congested area, many hospices occupied sites some distance away from the mosque.

The subtitle of this article has been selected—after careful consideration—for several reasons, the most important being that an archeological or art-historical study of the 59 *ribāṭ*s known to have been founded in Mecca before the Ottoman takeover of the Ḥijaz in 923/1517 is impossible, seeing that, with a single exception known to this writer,[5] no vestige of the *ribāṭ*s mentioned herein remains today, except for a limited number of foundation inscriptions preserved in the Museum of the Great Mosque (Maṭḥaf al-Ḥaram al-Makkī) in Mecca.[6] Although we are certain that a number of these institutions did remain until the middle of the twentieth century, most, if not all of them disappeared during the ambitious expansion projects undertaken in the Ḥaram of Mecca by the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia beginning in the 1950s. Numerous other structures of historical significance in the vicinity of the Great Mosque were destroyed during other large-scale municipal development projects.

Consequently, it is only through a descriptive study, based on the extant literary sources, of the *ribāṭ*s founded in Mecca during the medieval period that the historian of today is able to form any idea of their character, physical appearance, location, conditions of endowment, purpose, function and—in limited instances—subsequent development over time.

This task is undoubtedly facilitated by the writings of the two ninth/fifteenth-century historians of Mecca, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī[7] and Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Fahd,[8] the two pillars of medieval Meccan historiography. Al-Fāsī, in particular, deserves to be singled out for what can without exaggeration be characterized as his pioneering art-historical efforts. On numerous occasions, al-Fāsī reported that the information he provided regarding a particular *ribāṭ* was copied from the original foundation or endowment inscription, which he had seen *in situ*, thereby preserving for us today

[4] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa'l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār* (Cairo, 1270 A.H.), II, 427.

[5] The *ribāṭ* of al-Muwaffaq, or, as it was also known, the *ribāṭ* al-Maghāriba (cf. *infra*), existed until at least 1980; cf. al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur*, 319.

[6] cf. ibid., *passim*, with relevant photographs and sketches.

[7] cf. 'Abd Allāh 'Aqīl 'Anqāwī, 'al-Mu'arrikh Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī wa kitābuhu "Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām",' in *Dirāsāt ta'rīkh al-Jazīra al-'Arabiyya*, I, part 2, *Maṣādir ta'rīkh al-Jazīra al-'Arabiyya*, ed. Abdelgadir M. Abdalla, Sami al-Sakkar and Richard T. Mortel (Riyadh, 1979), 61–7.

[8] cf. Nāṣir b. Sa'd al-Rashīd, 'Banū Fahd, mu'arrikhū Makka al-Mukarrama wa'l-ta'rīf bi-makhṭūṭ al-Najm b. Fahd "Iṭḥāf al-warā fī akhbār Umm al-Qurā",' in *Dirāsāt ta'rīkh al-Jazīra al-'Arabiyya*, I, part 2, 69–90.

historical evidence of inestimable importance which—were it not for his efforts—would have presumably been lost forever.

In what follows, the 59 *ribāṭs* known to have been founded in Mecca during the medieval period will be discussed, in chronological sequence. As much relevant information as is furnished by the available sources will be mentioned in each instance, including the date of foundation or endowment of the institution, the identity of its founder, the building's location *vis-à-vis* the Great Mosque, and any conditions or restrictions governing the usage of the facility, usually mentioned in the endowment inscription.

The ribāṭ of Ibn Manda (before 395/1004–5)

The earliest *ribāṭ* for which literary evidence exists is that established by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Manda of Isfahan sometime before 395/1004–5, the year of his death. Ibn Manda, a *ḥāfiẓ*—one who has committed the entire Quran to memory—wrote numerous books and travelled widely throughout the Islamic world,[9] during which time he had the opportunity to study with 1,600 shaykhs.[10]

Ibn Manda's *ribāṭ* was situated along the northern facade of the Great Mosque, directly adjacent to the third/ninth-century Abbasid expansion of the Ḥaram known as the Dār al-Nadwa extension.[11] The door of the *ribāṭ* adjoined the door of the Abbasid extension, and both led to the Suwayqa, a market street extending to the north of the Great Mosque.[12]

Al-Fāsī, who had the opportunity to examine the foundation inscription of this hospice, located above its entrance way, reported that it was endowed in order to provide free lodging to travellers from Isfahan for 40 days of each year—presumably during the pilgrimage season—and for needy Muslims unconditionally during the remaining ten months and 20 days of the year.[13]

By the first part of the ninth/fifteenth century, if not earlier, the original name of this *ribāṭ* had fallen into disuse and it had come to be called the '*ribāṭ* of al-Burhān al-Ṭabarī',[14] after Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, a rather obscure Meccan legist and *ḥadīth* scholar of the late seventh/thirteenth century,[15] who had taken up residence in it.

The ribāṭ of al-Sidra (prior to 400/1009–10)

Very little is known about the *ribāṭ* of al-Sidra, or 'the Lotus-Tree', although we do know that it was built on the site of Dār al-Qawārīr, a residence built in the second/eighth century by Ja'far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, during the reign

[9] Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar* (Kuwait, 1960–66), III, 59–60.

[10] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafāyāt* (Istanbul, 1949), II, 190–1, who gives the date of his death as 396/1005–6; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Beirut, 1987), V, 81–3; Abū al-Falāḥ 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), III, 146.

[11] Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* (Beirut, 1985), I, 528; idem, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkh al-Balad al-Amīn* (Cairo, 1959–69), I, 119. The Dār al-Nadwa extension was constructed by the caliph al-Mu'taḍid in 284/897; cf. Hassan Mohammed El-Hawary and Gaston Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.* Part 4, *Arabie, inscriptions et monuments de la Mècque: Ḥaram et Ka'ba*, I, fasc. 1 (Cairo, 1985), 61, 76–8. Dār al-Nadwa had been a council hall for prominent Meccans in pre-Islamic times; the site it occupied became part of the Ḥaram during al-Mu'taḍid's expansion; cf. Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh Bā Salāma, *Ta'rīkh 'imārat al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* (3rd. ed., Jedda, 1980), 54–63.

[12] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 20, 61.

[13] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528.

[14] ibid.

[15] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, III, 275–6.

of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.[16] From al-Azraqī's description of the latter edifice, it can be deduced that the *ribāṭ* in question must have been situated in the open area extending from the eastern facade of the Ḥaram to the *mas'ā*, the wide street, running parallel to the Mosque in a north-to-south direction, which is intimately associated with the rituals of the pilgrimage.[17]

The identity of the founder of this hospice was unknown to al-Fāsī, as was the date of its endowment, although he was of the opinion that its foundation should be dated no later than 400/1009–10.[18] During the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl (743/1342–746/1345) evidently carried out restoration work of an unknown nature on the *ribāṭ* of the Lotus-Tree, as his name is reported to have been inscribed on it.[19]

The ribāṭ of al-Fuqqā'iyya (492/1098–99)

One of several Meccan *ribāṭ*s to have been established by women, the *ribāṭ* of al-Fuqqā'iyya was founded in 492/1098–99[20] by a stewardess (*qahramāna*)[21] of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadī (467/1075–487/1094). It was constructed next to the entrance of the third/ninth century Dār al-Nadwa Extension to the Great Mosque, along its northern side, and provided accommodation for poor widows who had dedicated themselves to divine worship and devotion.[22]

The ribāṭ of al-Zarandī (before 529/1134–35)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Zarandī was situated near the hill called Ajyād, south of the Ḥaram, in a district which contained a large group of similar foundations.[23] Its benefactor was Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Jibrīl, a native of the Iranian town of Zarand, between Isfahan and Sāwa,[24] who founded it in order to make free accommodation available to descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad coming to Mecca from Zarand to perform the pilgrimage.

Although al-Fāsī was unaware of the precise date of foundation of this hospice, he believed it to have been at least 300 years old in his time.[25] Since the *terminus ad quem* for al-Fāsī's latest additions to both his history of Mecca and his biographical dictionary of eminent Meccans is known to be Dhū

[16] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 527; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 118. For Ja'far al-Barmakī, see D. Sourdel, 'Barāmika', in *EI*^{2}; idem, *Le vizarat 'Abbāside de 749 à 936* (Damascus, 1959–60), I, 135–81 *passim*; Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphate: the Islamic Near East from the sixth to the eleventh century* (London, 1986), 141–4.

[17] Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka wa mā jā'a fīhā min al-āthār* (3rd. ed., Mecca, 1978), II, 75, 87 (n. 6); Quṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī al-Nahrawālī, *al-I'lām fī a'lām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām*, in the margins of Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-kalām fī bayān umarā' al-Bayt al-Ḥarām* (Cairo, 1304 A.H.), 77; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 54.

[18] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 527.

[19] Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo, ?–1972), X, 96.

[20] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 529; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119.

[21] For the meaning of this term, see Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. Manẓūr, *Līsān al-'Arab* (Beirut, n.d.), III, 180; Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), II, 423.

[22] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 529.

[23] For Ajyād, see 'Atiq b. Ghayth al-Bilādī, *Ma'ālim Makka al-ta'rīkhiyya wa'l-athariyya* (Mecca, 1980), 14–15; idem, *Mu'jam ma'ālim al-Ḥijāz* (Mecca, 1978–82), I, 53–6; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 56.

[24] Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut, n.d.), III, 138; G. LeStrange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), 308.

[25] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 535; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122, where the name of the founder of the *ribāṭ* is given as 'al-Dawazī'.

'l-Qa'da 829/September–October 1426,[26] it can be concluded that the *ribāṭ* of al-Zarandī was founded no later than the year 529/1134–35.

The ribāṭ of al-Sabtiyya (529/1134–35 or earlier)

Situated south of the Great Mosque in the Ajyād quarter, the *ribāṭ* of al-Sabtiyya was endowed by a woman from the Moroccan town of Ceuta.[27] It is known to have been in existence since at least 529/1134–35.[28]

The ribāṭ of al-Dimashqiyya (529/1135)

This *ribāṭ* was endowed by a Damascene woman in the month of Rajab 529/April–May 1135 to provide refuge for Sufis, ulama, Quran reciters and the poor in general, provided they were natives of Damascus, Iraq or western Iran. It is, therefore, the oldest *ribāṭ* in Mecca known to have been dedicated—at least in part—to Sufis. The *ribāṭ* of al-Dimashqiyya was located in Ajyād, south of the Great Mosque, in an area known as al-Ḥizāmiyya.[29]

The ribāṭ of Rāmisht (529/1135)

In Ramaḍān 529/June–July 1135, Shaykh Abū 'l-Qāsim Rāmisht b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 534/1139–40) founded a *ribāṭ* near Bāb al-Ḥazwara,[30] one of the entrances to the Great Mosque on its western side.[31] Fortunately, the deed of endowment of this *ribāṭ*, carved in stone and originally positioned on its facade, has been preserved in the Museum of the Great Mosque in Mecca. In this inscription, Rāmisht has been granted several titles, reflecting not only his pre-eminence in religious affairs, but also his many charitable deeds in both Mecca and Medina, i.e., 'the noble shaykh, supporter of the faith, Shaykh al-Islām, succour of the two Ḥarams.'[32] In addition to his endowment of a *ribāṭ* adjacent to the Meccan Ḥaram, Rāmisht donated a new rain spout (*mīzāb*), and in 532/1138, a *kiswa*, or silken covering, for the Ka'ba when the Abbasids failed to send one from Baghdad, as had been their custom.[33] Al-Fāsī praised Rāmisht as one of the greatest and most benevolent merchants of Iran.[34]

The *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht was endowed to provide lodging for male Sufis—regardless of the mystical order to which they belonged—who had arrived in Mecca from Iraq, Iran or Khurāsān, either to perform the pilgrimage, or to take up residence in the holy city. The deed of endowment specifically disallowed women from residing in this *ribāṭ*,[35] which is the earliest known example of a hospice in Mecca founded exclusively for Sufis.

One of the more prestigious *ribāṭ*s in Mecca, the *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht was

[26] This date has been derived from internal evidence in both works; cf. *Shifā'*, II, 335; *'Iqd*, IV, 153, for the latest date mentioned in either work.

[27] Arabic Sabta; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 182–3.

[28] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 535; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122.

[29] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 535; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122; for the Ḥizāmiyya district of Mecca, cf. al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, II, 81, 91–2.

[30] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 530; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119; IV, 385.

[31] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 383; Ibrāhīm Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn* (Cairo, 1344 A.H./1925), I, 233; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 58.

[32] al-Fa'r, *Tatawwur*, 287.

[33] cf. Richard T. Mortel, 'The *Kiswa*: its origins and development from pre-Islamic times until the end of the Mamlūk period', *Ages*, 3/2, 1988, 38.

[34] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, IV, 385–6. For further information on the career of the Iranian merchant Rāmisht, cf. S. M. Stern, 'Rāmisht of Sīrāf, a merchant millionaire of the twelfth century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1967, 10–14, which also includes a discussion of this *ribāṭ*. I have elected to follow Stern's vocalization of the name of this merchant, as opposed to the version 'Rāmusht' found in al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, IV, 385.

[35] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 530; al-Fa'r, *Tatawwur*, 287.

renovated and restored on at least two occasions during the time frame of this article. Thus, when it suffered severe damage during a fire which also destroyed part of the Great Mosque in Shawwāl 802/May–June 1400, several individuals contributed towards its rebuilding,[36] the most notable of whom was the reigning amir of Mecca, the sharif Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān, who towards the end of 817/beginning of 1415 donated the sum of 200 *mithqāls*,[37] which proved sufficient to reconstruct most of the edifice.[38] Nevertheless, less than 40 years later, the *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht had again fallen into disrepair; it was renovated in 855/1451 under the supervision of Bard Bak al-Tājī al-Ashrafī, the Mamluk-appointed supervisor of the Great Mosque, during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq.[39]

In addition to the periodic restoration of this *ribāṭ*, additions were also made to its endowment. The Museum of the Great Mosque preserves an endowment deed, carved in stone and dated Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 614/March 1218, wherein the Iranian *ḥadīth* scholar and the shaykh of the Sufis in the Great Mosque, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Hamadhānī,[40] and the *nākhudā*, or ship's captain, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṭūr al-Salamī, each donated one-half of a dwelling located in the lane called Zuqāq Bādhān in Mecca, to the *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht.[41] The revenue accruing from the rental of the endowed property was to be used to defray a portion of the expenses incurred in maintaining the *ribāṭ*.

The ribāṭ of al-Arsūfī (571/1175–76)

During al-Fāsī's time, this hospice was known as the *ribāṭ* of Abū Ruqayba, after one of its residents.[42] One of its two co-founders was al-ʿAfīf ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Arsūfī (d. 593/1196–97),[43] a rich merchant of Syrian origin[44] settled in Egypt. Al-Arsūfī was renowned for the many charitable works he undertook in Egypt and the Hijaz.[45] In addition to endowing half of this hospice in the year 571/1175–76, al-Arsūfī independently founded a madrasa in Mecca, probably in the same year.[46]

The second co-founder of the *ribāṭ* of al-Arsūfī was the illustrious belle-lettrist, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Baysānī (d. 596/1199–1200),[47] perhaps best renowned as the wazir of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and secretary of the Ayyūbid chancellery. He was, moreover, a wealthy merchant, whose mercantile contacts extended from India in the east to Morocco in the west.[48]

[36] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, IV, 385–6.

[37] The *mithqāl* refers to a theoretical gold standard coin weighing 4.25 grams, or to a real dinar whose weight was intended to be 4.25 grams; cf. Jere L. Bacharach, 'The dinar versus the ducat', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 4, 1973, 80, 83–5.

[38] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, IV, 155.

[39] ibid, IV, 308–9; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Beirut, n.d.), III, 6.

[40] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, VIII, 16–17.

[41] al-Faʿr, *Taṭawwur*, 350–1.

[42] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, I, 122.

[43] ibid.; idem, *Shifāʾ*, I, 527.

[44] Arsūf: a Palestinian coastal town; cf. H. A. R. Gibb, 'Arsūf', in *EI*²; G. LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Boston and New York, 1890), 399.

[45] Zakī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila li-wafāyāt al-naqala* (Beirut, n.d.), I, 277.

[46] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 526–7.

[47] ibid., I, 527; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 122.

[48] cf. his biography in al-Mundhiri, *Takmila*, I, 351; Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān wa anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān* (Beirut, 1968–72), III, 162; al-ʿImād al-Aṣfahānī al-Kātib, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa jarīdat al-ʿaṣr, qism shuʿarāʾ Miṣr* (Cairo, n.d.), I, 35–54; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (Cairo, 1923–), VIII, 1–51; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*

Although the *ribāṭ* of al-Arsūfī was still extant in the early decades of the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Fāsī omitted any reference to its location, but he was able to study the endowment inscription carved in stone above its portal and record its principal provisions. Accommodation in this *ribāṭ* was available to all poor and destitute men, whether Arabs or non-Arabs, who had travelled to Mecca for any reason whatsoever, including the desire to reside in the vicinity of the Ḥaram. Women were expressly excluded from this privilege, which was in any case not to exceed three years. Finally, if a resident of this hospice were to travel outside Mecca for a distance equal to or greater than that which would legally permit him to abridge and combine certain of his obligatory daily prayers, he would automatically forfeit his right to a room in the *ribāṭ* upon his eventual return to Mecca.[49]

The ribāṭ of al-Marāghī (575/1180)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Marāghī was located directly adjoining the *ribāṭ* of al-Sidra (cf. *supra*), next to one of the eastern entrances of the Great Mosque, Bāb al-Janā'iz.[50] It was endowed in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 575/April–May 1180[51] by the grand qadi of the Azerbaijani town of Marāgha, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Marāghī (d. 590/1193–94).[52]

Although all traces of the *ribāṭ* of al-Marāghī have disappeared, the endowment deed, inscribed on a stone tablet, is preserved in the Museum of the Great Mosque in Mecca.[53] In it, the *ribāṭ* is said to have been founded to accommodate Sufis, of Arab or non-Arab origin. Equal rights to lodging therein were to be extended to those who intended to reside in the holy city, as well as to those individuals who only intended to remain in Mecca for a short time.[54]

During the early decades of the ninth/fifteenth century, this hospice also became known as the *ribāṭ* of al-Qaylānī, after an obscure personage who had at one time resided in it.[55]

The ribāṭ of the Khātūn (577/1181–82)

The sharifa Fāṭima, daughter of the Ḥasanid sharif Abū Laylā Muḥammad b. Anūshirwān, founded the *ribāṭ* of the *Khātūn*, or noblewoman, in 577/1181–82 to provide shelter for pious male Sufis, both Arabs and non-Arabs. Although this *ribāṭ* was visited by al-Fāsī, who recorded the provisions of its endowment inscription, carved in stone above its entrance, he failed to identify its location with reference to the Ḥaram. During al-Fāsī's time, it was popularly known as the '*ribāṭ* of Ibn Maḥmūd', presumably after one of its occupants.[56]

(Beirut, n.d.), IV, 253–4; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* (Cairo, 1956–73), I, 153–4; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VI, 156–8; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, IV, 324–7.

[49] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 536.

[50] ibid., I, 527; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 118. Bāb al-Janā'iz (the Door of Funerals); funeral processions customarily exited the Ḥaram by this door, and proceeded northwards to the cemetery of al-Ma'lā; cf. al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 381; Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, I, 230; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 54.

[51] al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur*, 298.

[52] al-Mundhirī, *Takmila*, I, 215. Al-Marāghī was buried inside another *ribāṭ* he built next to the Prophet's Mosque at Medina; this is a rare instance of a *ribāṭ* incorporating a tomb, a phenomenon unheard of in Mecca.

[53] al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur*, 296–302.

[54] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 527–8; al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur*, 298.

[55] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 527.

[56] ibid., I, 529; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119; VIII, 293; Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Fahd, *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā* (Jedda, n.d.), II, 544.

The ribāṭ of Abū Samāḥa (578/1182–83)

Generally known during the time of al-Fāsī after one of its inhabitants, a certain 'Abū Samāḥa', this *ribāṭ* was situated some distance to the north of the Great Mosque, near the main slaughterhouse, east of the road leading to the cemetery of al-Ma'lā. It was founded in 578/1182–83 by Amīr Qaymāz b. 'Abd Allāh, a *mamlūk* of Kilij Arslān (551/1155–588/1192), the Seljuq sultan of Rūm.[57]

Qaymāz is almost certainly to be identified with the *de facto* ruler of Mosul from 571/1175–76 to 595/1198–99, who is also credited with the foundation of a mosque, a madrasa, a *khānqāh* and a hospital (*bīmāristān*) in the outskirts of that city, and who was considered to be a generous, just and pious prince.[58]

Al-Fāsī, who had read the endowment inscription of this hospice, wrote that it was established by Amīr Qaymāz, 'the supporter of the poor and indigent', to offer free accommodation to both temporary and long-term residents of Mecca who adhered to the Ḥanafī school of law and who had consecrated their lives to divine worship. It appears likely that this institution was established in a pre-existing house belonging to a certain al-Qifṭī, which was modified to conform to its new purpose.[59]

The ribāṭ of the mother of the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir (579/1183–84)

Zumurrud Khātūn (d. 599/1203), the mother of the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir,[60] endowed this *ribāṭ* in Mecca in 579/1183–84. According to its foundation inscription—an inscribed wooden plaque set above its doorway, seen by al-Fāsī—this *ribāṭ* provided free accommodation to the poor in general and to Sufis in particular. A person admitted to the hospice should, moreover, be pious, devout, virtuous and abstemious, give evidence of probity, integrity and a capacity to raise himself above the distractions of the mundane world, and live in isolation.[61]

It remains unclear exactly how long this institution continued to serve the purpose for which it was originally endowed. During the time of al-Fāsī, it was generally known as the '*ribāṭ* of 'Uṭayfa', after an amir of Mecca who had converted it into his personal residence sometime during the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century.[62]

The ribāṭ of al-Zanjīlī (579/1183–84)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Zanjīlī was situated directly opposite his madrasa, near the door of the Ḥaram known as Bāb al-'Umra, at its north-western extremity.[63] Al-Fāsī believed that both institutions were endowed in the same year, 579/1183–84.[64] In his day, the *ribāṭ* of al-Zanjīlī was commonly known as '*ribāṭ* al-Hunūd', i.e. the *ribāṭ* of the Indians,[65] which is probably an indication

[57] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 533; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 120; VII, 83–4. For the reign of Kilij Arslān, cf. Holt, 171–2.
[58] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, IV, 82–4; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VI, 144; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, IV, 317–18.
[59] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, VII, 83–4.
[60] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VI, 182.
[61] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 118.
[62] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528. 'Utayfa b. Abī Numayy ruled Mecca at times independently and at others jointly with his brother Rumaytha, from 719/1319 until 737/1336–37; cf. Richard Mortel, *al-Ahwāl al-siyāsiyya wa'l-iqtiṣādiyya bi-Makka fī 'l-'aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Riyadh, 1985), 79–89.
[63] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 529. For Bāb al-'Umra, cf. ibid., I, 383; Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, I, 233; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 13, 14, 60.
[64] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 529; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119; VI, 35.
[65] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, VI, 36.

of the origin of the majority of its occupants. The *ribāṭ* was supported by the revenue from numerous *waqfs* in the southern Yemeni port of Aden.[66]

Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Zanjīlī (d. 583/1187–88), the founder of this hospice, had been appointed governor of Aden by the Ayyubid Tūrānshāh, upon the latter's return to Egypt in 571/1175–76 after a successful campaign in the Yemen.[67] There is also evidence that the Ayyubid sultan, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, extended al-Zanjīlī's mandate to encompass the Hijaz as well.[68]

The ribāṭ of al-Mayānishī (before 583/1187–88)

The person whose name was associated with this hospice, Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Mayānishī, was a scholar of *ḥadīth* who had taken up residence in Mecca; he eventually became the shaykh of the holy city as well as its *khaṭīb*, it being his responsibility to deliver the weekly oration at the Friday prayers in the Great Mosque.[69] Al-Fāsī was uncertain whether al-Mayānishī himself founded this *ribāṭ*, or whether he was merely one of its more illustrious inhabitants, although he did estimate that it was at least 230 years old in his day.[70]

The *ribāṭ* of al-Mayānishī was located near the earlier *ribāṭ* of Ibn Manda (cf. *supra*), adjacent to the door of the third/ninth century Abbasid expansion of the Ḥaram known as the Dār al-Nadwa extension.[71] Two houses in Shāri' al-Suwayqa, the market street immediately north of this extension,[72] also formed part of the *ribāṭ* under consideration,[73] which may be interpreted to be an indication that it was not purpose-built, but rather incorporated pre-existing structures into its fabric.

The ribāṭ of Ibn al-Sawdā (590/1194)

Ibn al-Sawdā was an inhabitant of this hospice, which was also known as the *ribāṭ* of al-Harrīsh. It was founded in the month of Rabī' I 590/February–March 1194 by Umm Khalīl Khadīja and Umm 'Īsā Maryam, daughters of the Meccan *qā'id*[74] Abū Thāmir al-Mubārak b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qāsimī, and provided lodging at no cost for pious unmarried Sufis who followed the Shāfi'ī school of law. The *ribāṭ* was in the proximity of Bāb Durayba, one of the entrances of the Ḥaram at its north-eastern corner.[75]

[66] ibid., VI, 34.

[67] Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib, Bā Makhrama, *Ta'rīkh thaghr 'Adan* (Leiden, 1936), II, 132.

[68] cf. al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, VI, 34, where al-Zanjīlī is referred to as the 'amir of the two Ḥarams' in a *waqf* document seen by al-Fāsī himself.

[69] ibid., VI, 334–5.

[70] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528–9; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119.

[71] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119.

[72] El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 20, 61.

[73] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 528.

[74] The precise meaning of the term *qā'id* (i.e., leader, commander) in medieval Meccan remains unclear. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubh al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā* (Cairo, 1910–20), IV, 276, claims that the word referred to an important follower of a Ḥasanid sharif of Mecca. On the other hand, a cursory review of some biographical notices of individuals identified as *qā'ids* in the historiographical literature forces us to modify al-Qalqashandī's definition and conclude that the *qā'id* was, in fact, a slave or freedman of one of the sharifs; cf. al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, II, 73; IV, 71; Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Fahd, *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, MS King Saud University Libraries, no. *fā'* 19, ff169b, 172a; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, 1896), 26, 128, 139.

[75] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 537; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 123. For Bāb al-Durayba, cf. Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, I, 234; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 61.

The ribāṭs of al-Akhlāṭī (590, 591/1193–95)

A cluster of three hospices north of the Ḥaram, founded in 590/1193–94 and 591/1194–95 were collectively known as the *ribāṭ*s of al-Akhlāṭī, an attribution indicative of an eastern Anatolian origin for their original benefactor(s).[76] One of these *ribāṭ*s was established in order to lodge non-Meccan women following the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, whereas another was restricted to upright natives of Akhlāṭ.[77]

The ribāṭ of Rabīʿ (594/1198)

The *ribāṭ* of Rabīʿ, located near the hill called Ajyād south of the Great Mosque, was named after the deputy of its actual benefactor, al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 622/1225–26), the eldest son of the Ayyubid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and the ruler of Damascus.[78] Rabīʿ had been entrusted with the responsibility of travelling to Mecca to supervise the establishment of al-Malik al-Afḍal's *ribāṭ*, including the promulgation of its *waqf*, in accordance with which it offered shelter to needy Muslims from outside Mecca. The date of its foundation was Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 594/October–November 1198.[79] In the month of Ramaḍān 809/February–March 1407, the amir of Mecca, Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān, added to the *ribāṭ*'s endowments.[80]

The ribāṭ of Ibn Ghanā'im (600/1203–4)

Endowed in the year 600/1203–4, the *ribāṭ* of Ibn Ghanā'im was situated in the Durayba quarter north of the Ḥaram. As this *ribāṭ* was still extant in the early ninth/fifteenth century, al-Fāsī was able to visit it and record the information contained in its foundation inscription which was carved in stone above its entrance way. The name of the founder of the hospice is given therein as Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAlī, who is described as 'the just king, king of the mountains, Ghūr and India'.[81]

Usually known as Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, he ruled the Ghūr hill region of Afghanistan between Hirat and Kabul from his capital at Ghazna from 569/1173 until his death in 602/1206.[82] The deed of endowment of his Meccan *ribāṭ* limited the number of residents permitted at any given time to ten, all of whom were required to be male members of Sufi orders, but they could be either Arabs or non-Arabs. Travellers passing through Mecca, as well as those who intended to take up residence in it, were equally eligible.[83]

The ribāṭ of al-Muwaffaq (604/1207–8)

Al-Muwaffaq Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 624/1226), a qadi and legist of the Egyptian city of Alexandria,[84] founded the

[76] Akhlāṭ: a town and fortress at the north-western corner of Lake Van; cf. *EI*², 'Akhlāṭ'.

[77] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 533; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 120–1.

[78] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 534–5; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 121–2. For al-Malik al-Afḍal, cf. al-Mundhirī, *Takmila*, III, 140; Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl, Abū Shāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-Rawḍatayn* (Beirut, 1974), 145; Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb* (Cairo, 1953–72), II, 423; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ Dimashq fī 'l-Islām* (Damascus, 1955), 58; al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tarwīḥ al-qulūb fī dhikr mulūk Banī Ayyūb* (Damascus, 1969), 89; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VI, 262.

[79] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 534–5.

[80] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, IV, 104.

[81] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 537.

[82] cf. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VI, 191; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, V, 7–8; C. E. Bosworth, 'Ghūrids', in *EI*²; S. A. A. Rizvi, *The wonder that was India*, II (London, 1987), 16–24; *The Cambridge history of India*, III, *Turks and Afghans*, (ed.) Wolseley Haig (2nd. Indian ed., Delhi, 1965), 38–45.

[83] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 537; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 123; II, 223.

[84] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, VI, 204–5.

ribāṭ bearing his name in the Misfala district of Mecca,[85] to the west of Bāb Ibrāhīm,[86] one of the western entrances to the Great Mosque.[87] Despite the massive recent urban renewal projects undertaken in Mecca, the *ribāṭ* of al-Muwaffaq remained extant until at least 1984, when its location was more precisely identified as 200 metres west of the Ḥaram in the area known as al-Sūq al-Ṣaghīr. It appears that the original name of this *ribāṭ* gradually fell into disuse and that it came to be known as the *ribāṭ* of the Moroccans, or the *ribāṭ* of 'Uthmān.[88]

The *ribāṭ* of al-Muwaffaq—to call it by its original name—was established in the year 604/1207–8 to furnish rent-free accommodation to needy unmarried Muslims of North African extraction, who had disassociated themselves from the temptations of the mundane world.[89] The Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa lodged in it during his sojourn in Mecca in 726/1325–26, when he praised it as being one of the foremost hospices in the holy city.[90]

In Ramaḍān 809/February–March 1407, the sharif Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān endowed the *ribāṭ* of al-Muwaffaq with the revenues from a number of plots of agricultural land;[91] further enrichment of its financial resources occurred at the hands of the wealthy Meccan merchant 'Aṭiyya b. Khalīfa al-Muṭaybīz (d. 827/1423–24).[92] These later additions to the endowment of the *ribāṭ* of al-Muwaffaq are a clear indication of its continued prestige more than two centuries after its foundation.

The ribāṭ of Bayt al-Mu'adhdhinīn (617/1220–21)

Identified as a *ribāṭ* by al-Fāsī, the 'House of the Prayer Callers' was founded in the year 617/1220–21 by Amir Qarāmar b. Maḥmūd al-Aqdarī al-Fārisī. Its location was Sūq al-Layl (the Night Market), a district of Mecca which lay to the north and east of the Ḥaram,[93] and it accommodated poor Sufis who had renounced worldly attachments.[94]

The ribāṭ of al-Khūzī (617?/1220–21?)

Amir Qarāmar b. Maḥmūd al-Aqdarī al-Fārisī also endowed this *ribāṭ*, dedicated to the Sufi poor who had given up worldly concerns. Although al-Fāsī studied the foundation inscription carved in stone above the doorway of this hospice, he was only able to suggest 617/1220–21 as the probable year of its foundation, from which it may be reasonable to conclude that the inscription in question, already more than two centuries old at the time of al-Fāsī, was only partly legible. The *ribāṭ* was located west of the Great Mosque, near the annex to the Ḥaram built by the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir in 306/918, known as the Bāb Ibrāhīm annex.[95] During the ninth/fifteenth century, it had come to be known as the *ribāṭ* of al-Khūzī, after one of its occupants[96] who otherwise remains unknown.

[85] ibid., I, 122.
[86] Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharā'ib al-amṣār wa 'ajā'ib al-asfār* (Beirut, 1964), 140.
[87] For Bāb Ibrāhīm, cf. Rif 'at, *Mir'āt*, I, 233; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 59.
[88] al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur*, 318–19.
[89] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 536; idem, *'Iqd*, VI, 204–5; al-Fa'r, *Taṭawwur*, 319–20.
[90] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfa*, 140.
[91] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, IV, 104.
[92] ibid., VI, 107; cf. his biography in ibid., VI, 106–7; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, V, 148.
[93] El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 15.
[94] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 534; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121.
[95] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 529–30. For the annex, cf. El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 59; Bā Salāma, *Ta'rīkh*, 63–8.
[96] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, I, 119.

The ribāṭ of al-Tamīmī (620/1223)

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muṭarrif al-Qanjayrī al-Tamīmī al-Marī (d. 627/1229–30), an Andalusian scholar and Sufi mystic, travelled east to the Islamic heartlands on several occasions after 570/1174–75, and visited the two holy cities of the Hijaz, Mecca and Medina.[97] Al-Tamīmī was a person of significant wealth, which enabled him to found a *ribāṭ* in Mecca in Shawwāl 620/1223.

The *ribāṭ* of al-Tamīmī, as it was known, occupied a site directly to the west of the hillock called al-Marwa, at the northernmost end of the *masʿā*. Its foundation inscription, carved in stone, was studied by al-Fāsī, according to whom the *ribāṭ* was established in order to provide shelter for virtuous and pious poor people, Arabs or non-Arabs, married or unmarried, each in accordance to his requirements. Revenue from a public bath in Ajyād, south of the Ḥaram, financed its maintenance and operation.[98]

The ribāṭ of al-Banyāsī (625/1227–28)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Banyāsī was founded in 625/1227–28 by Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Iyāz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Banyāsī (d. 633/1235), an influential figure at the Ayyubid court in Cairo during the reigns of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-Kāmil.[99] Located near Bāb al-Ṣafā, one of the southern entrances of the Ḥaram,[100] this hospice furnished free lodging to the pious and godfearing poor.[101]

The ribāṭ of Bint al-Tāj (before 629/1231–32)

Located south of the Great Mosque in Ajyād, the *ribāṭ* of Bint al-Tāj was estimated by al-Fāsī to be more than 200 years old. According to its foundation inscription, it afforded accommodation to pious Sufi women, and non-Sufi women as well, who had made the journey to Mecca in order to gain spiritual merit by living in the shadow of the Ḥaram.[102]

The ribāṭ of al-Sharābī (641/1243–44)

Amīr Iqbāl al-Sharābī (d. 653/1255–56), a *mamlūk* of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustanṣir, built a *ribāṭ* near Bāb Banī Shayba, also known as Bāb al-Salām, one of the most famous entrances of the Great Mosque at its north-eastern angle, directly facing the *masʿā*,[103] in 641/1243–44.[104] The *ribāṭ* of al-Sharābī accommodated Sufis and contained a library of books in various branches of knowledge, donated by the founder himself. Income to support this foundation was obtained from a *waqf* consisting of agricultural lands in Wādī Marr al-Ẓahrān and Wādī Nakhla, both of which are in the vicinity of Mecca.[105]

[97] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Abbār, *al-Takmila li-kitāb al-Ṣila* (Cairo, 1955), I, 117–18; al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, III, 5–8.

[98] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 532; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 120; III, 6, 8.

[99] al-Mundhirī, *Takmila*, III, 408–9.

[100] cf. Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt*, I, 231; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 56.

[101] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 532; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 120.

[102] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 535; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 122.

[103] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 381; Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt*, I, 230; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 53.

[104] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 528; ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid al-munaẓẓama fī akhbār al-ḥājj wa tarīq Makka al-Mukarrama* (Riyadh, 1983), I, 595.

[105] al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd*, III, 324–5; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 60. Wādī Marr al-Ẓahrān intersected the old road to Madina 24kms, or more than one day's travel in the pre-modern era, north of Mecca. Cf. al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Ismāʿīl, Abū 'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Paris, 1840), 95; al-Bilādī, *Muʿjam maʿālim al-Ḥijāz*, VIII, 102; Richard T. Mortel, 'Maṣādir al-tamwīn al-ghidhāʾī li-imārat Makka (358/969–923/1517)', *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Jāmiʿat al-Malik Suʿūd*, 12/1, 1985, 196. Nakhla al-Shāmiyya, another major wadi of the Hijaz, opened into Wādī Marr 43kms north of Mecca; cf. Abū 'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm*, 95; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 259; al-Bilādī, *Muʿjam maʿālim al-Ḥijāz*, IX, 42; Mortel, 'Maṣādir', 196–7.

The eighth/fourteenth century was a time of great political instability in the amirate of Mecca; intense rivalry among a number of sharifian factions led to a breakdown not only of law and order but also of religious and civic institutions, including charitable endowments. Thus, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Mecca in 726/1325–26, remarked that the *ribāṭ* of al-Sharābī had been converted into a residence by one of the two co-amirs of the holy city, Rumaytha b. Abī Numayy.[106] Mention has already been made of his brother 'Uṭayfa's occupation of the *ribāṭ* of the Mother of the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

After the imposition of Mamluk hegemony over the amirate of Mecca in 826/1423 and the restoration of stability in the political arena, efforts were undertaken by the Mamluk authorities to restore some of the city's charitable foundations. Amīr Bard Bak al-Tājī al-Ashrafī, the Mamluk supervisor of the Great Mosque, who, it will be recalled, renovated the *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht in 855/1451, reconstructed the *ribāṭ* of al-Sharābī in the following year, and carried out significant alterations to its original fabric.[107]

The ribāṭ of Ghuzzī (642/1244–45)

The *ribāṭ* of Ghuzzī, endowed by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī in 642/1244–5, was situated south of the Ḥaram in Ajyād. According to its foundation inscription, which was seen by al-Fāsī, it afforded shelter to poor and destitute Muslim men, regardless of their place of birth, provided that they had forsaken worldly attachments.[108]

The ribāṭ of al-Ṭībī (644/1246–47)

Little is known about the *ribāṭ* of al-Ṭībī (or al-Ṭabībī). Founded in 644/1246–47 by Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim b. Kalāla al-Ṭībī (or al-Ṭabībī), it occupied a site close to the later *ribāṭ* of al-'Abbās (cf. *infra*), adjacent to the *mas'ā*.[109]

A ribāṭ for women (seventh/thirteenth century?)

Al-Fāsī mentioned a *ribāṭ* endowed for women behind the earlier *ribāṭ* of al-Zarandī (cf. *supra*) in Ajyād, dating from at least the seventh/thirteenth century.[110]

The ribāṭ of al-Qazwīnī (seventh/thirteenth century?)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Qazwīnī was situated on the northern side of the Great Mosque, close to the entrance known as Bāb al-Sudda. Although the identity of its benefactor, as well as the date and conditions of its endowment, were not known to al-Fāsī, he conjectured that it probably dated from the seventh/thirteenth century, if not earlier.[111]

The ribāṭ of al-Sāḥa (seventh/thirteenth century?)

The exact date for the foundation of the *ribāṭ* of al-Sāḥa eluded al-Fāsī, who believed that it dated from the seventh/thirteenth century or earlier. Located

[106] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfa*, 148; Rumaytha b. Abī Numayy ruled Mecca intermittently from 701/1301 until his death in 746/1345; at times he reigned as sole amir, and at other times in concert with one of his brothers, Ḥumayḍa or 'Uṭayfa; cf. Mortel, *Aḥwāl*, 66–92.

[107] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 318.

[108] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 534; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121; VI, 260.

[109] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 532; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 120; VIII, 90.

[110] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 535; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122.

[111] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 529; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119. For Bāb al-Sudda, cf. al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 383–4; Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, I, 234; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 60.

south of the Ḥaram in Ajyād, it was endowed by several women, one of whom was identified as the mother of the renowned legal scholar, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn al-Qasṭalānī (614/1218–681/1282).[112] This hospice provided lodging exclusively for pious and impoverished women who were not natives of Mecca.[113]

The ribāṭ of al-'Abbās (c. 698/1299–726/1325–26)

The Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lājīn (696/1296–698/1299) built a public lavatory in the area between the eastern facade of the Great Mosque and the *mas'ā*. His successor, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn (698/1299–708/1309; 709/1309–741/1341) then replaced that structure with a *ribāṭ*[114] sometime between his accession to the throne in 698/1299 and 726/1325–26, when it was mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[115] who noted that its occupants were mainly *mujāwirūn*, i.e. persons who had travelled to Mecca in order to acquire spiritual merit through either temporary or long-term residence near the Great Mosque.

During the ninth/fifteenth century, the endowments which provided the income required to operate this *ribāṭ* were enriched on at least two occasions. In Ramaḍān 809/February–March 1407, the ruling amir of Mecca, Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān, added some plots of agricultural lands in the amirate to its *waqfs*.[116] Then, in 875/1470–71, the eminent Meccan merchant, the *khawājā* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Zaman[117] endowed the *ribāṭ* of al-'Abbās with several shops near Bāb 'Alī, at the south-eastern corner of the Ḥaram.[118]

The ribāṭ of al-Aṣbahānī (749/1348)

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Aṣbahānī (d. 756/1355), a scholar and a prosperous merchant of Mecca who specialized in trade with the Yemen,[119] founded a *ribāṭ* in Rajab 749/September–October 1348 to offer free accommodation to the pious poor and indigent members of the community, and to those who had travelled to Mecca with the intention of living in the vicinity of the Ḥaram. A potential resident could be either Arab or non-Arab.

The *ribāṭ* of al-Aṣbahānī was situated to the north of the Great Mosque, in the lane called Zuqāq al-Ḥajar.[120] In accordance with the conditions governing its endowment, supervision of the affairs of this hospice was to remain the prerogative of the founder himself and pass to his offspring after his death. In the event that al-Aṣbahānī's direct bloodline were to die out, the right of supervision would be automatically transferred to the ruler of Mecca, i.e. to a sharif of the Ḥasanid line. Revenue to operate the *ribāṭ* was to be derived from the rental of two rooms in the building itself.[121]

[112] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, I, 321–30.
[113] ibid., I, 121; idem, *Shifā'*, I, 534.
[114] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 532.
[115] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfa*, 141.
[116] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, V, 109.
[117] cf. his biographical notice in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, VIII, 260–2. The term *khawājā*, as used in Mecca, was a title of respect, bestowed on a prominent merchant by his peers, in recognition of his wealth and influence; cf. Richard T. Mortel, 'The mercantile community of Mecca during the late Mamlūk period', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd. series, 4/1, 1994, 17ff.
[118] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 527. For Bāb 'Alī, cf. al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 382; Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, I, 231; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 55.
[119] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, III, 239–40.
[120] cf. El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 16.
[121] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 533; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121; III, 240; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 238–9.

By the year 826/1422–23, the *ribāṭ* of al-Aṣbahānī had largely fallen into ruin and was being used to tether draft animals. Shaykh Ja'far al-Rūmī then assumed legal control of what remained of the structure from the chief Shāfi'ī qadi of Mecca and undertook its complete renovation at his own expense until it was once again suitable to fulfil its original function.[122]

The ribāṭ of al-Ṭawīl (760s/c. 1358–68)

Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl (d. 769/1368), a Mamluk amir who was appointed to the vice-sultanate of Aleppo shortly before his death,[123] founded this *ribāṭ* during the 760s/*c.* 1358–68, in the district of Mecca known as al-Shubayka,[124] one of the oldest quarters of the city, lying to the west of the Great Mosque.[125]

The ribāṭ of al-Abarqūhī (771/1369–70)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Abarqūhī was named after Shaykh Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Abarqūhī al-Shīrāzī (d. 785/1383). A protégé of the Muzaffarid ruler of Shiraz, Shāh Shujā' (d. 786 or 787/1384–85 or 1385–86),[126] a student of medicine, and a longtime resident of Mecca, al-Abarqūhī was charged by his patron with the responsibility of supervising the construction and subsequent endowment of his *ribāṭ*,[127] opposite Bāb al-Ṣafā,[128] one of the southern entrances of the Ḥaram.[129] Residence in this hospice was formally restricted to ten needy Iranians, on the condition that they give evidence of piety and a withdrawal from any sort of preoccupation with mundane matters. Indians were explicitly excluded.[130]

The zāwiya of Umm Sulaymān the Sufi (772/1370–71)

Umm Sulaymān (d. 802/1399), a Sufi devotee, probably of Iranian origin, who had spent much of her life in Mecca, founded a *zāwiya* in 772/1370–71 in the quarter north-east of the Ḥaram known as Sūq al-Layl. It is clear from al-Fāsī's treatment of this foundation that he understood the term *zāwiya*, used here, to be synonymous with *ribāṭ*, in the Meccan context.[131]

The ribāṭ of Umm al-Ḥusayn (784/1382)

In Sha'bān 784/October–November 1382, Umm al-Ḥusayn (d. 786/1384), daughter of the Meccan qadi Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, and wife of qadi Abū al-Faḍl al-Nuwayrī, founded a *ribāṭ* bearing her name in the lane known as Zuqāq al-Ḥajar, north of the Great Mosque, dedicated to providing rent-free lodging for the poor and destitute members of society.

Umm al-Ḥusayn also endowed a primary school (*kuttāb*) for orphans and a public water fountain (*sabīl*) in Mecca. A noted *ḥadīth* scholar, she was granted licences (sg. *ijāza*) to teach by several learned Syrian and Egyptian shaykhs.[132]

[122] Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf*, III, 239, note 1.
[123] cf. his biography in al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, V, 75–6; VIII, 161; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, III, 165. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a al-thāmina* (Cairo, 1966), II, 332.
[124] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 537.
[125] cf. El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 6, 12, 13, 14; al-Bilādī, *Mu'jam ma'ālim al-Ḥijāz*, V, 18.
[126] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, III, 284–5.
[127] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 532; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 409–10.
[128] Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf*, III, 311.
[129] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 382; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 40.
[130] Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf*, III, 311–12.
[131] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 534; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121; VIII, 343; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, XII, 147.
[132] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 534; idem, *'Iqd*, VIII, 331–2; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf*, III, 340.

The ribāṭ of Ibn Ba'aljad (787/1385–86)

Situated near Bāb al-Ḥazwara on the western side of the Meccan Ḥaram,[133] this hospice was founded in 787/1385–86 by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Faraj b. Ba'aljad al-Makkī (d. 795/1392), a merchant whose commercial ventures took him frequently to the Yemen. Ibn Ba'aljad stipulated in the endowment deed of his *ribāṭ* that he would retain supervision of its affairs until his death, after which it would automatically be transferred to his male progeny and after them to the chief Shāfi'ī qadi of Mecca.[134]

The ribāṭ of al-Watsh (late eighth/fourteenth century)

The *ribāṭ* of al-Watsh, which was founded late in the eighth/fourteenth century, was located to the north of the Great Mosque, close to the three *ribāṭ*s attributed to al-Akhlāṭī (cf. *supra*).[135]

The ribāṭ of al-'Aṭṭār (801/1399)

'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-'Aṭṭār al-Makkī (d. 801/1399), a wealthy merchant of Mecca, converted a house north of the Great Mosque near the *mas'ā* into a hospice for the poor. The legal proceedings involved in its endowment were completed in 801/1399, shortly after the death of al-'Aṭṭār.[136]

The (first) ribāṭ of Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān (803/1400–1)

In 803/1400–1401, the amir of Mecca, Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān,[137] endowed a *ribāṭ*, which was constructed according to his directives, close to his madrasa, near the southern facade of the Ḥaram. Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān was the only sharif of Mecca to have founded a *ribāṭ*, a point emphasized by the historian Ibn Fahd. The hospice was supported by the income from *waqfs* in Mecca itself, as well as neighbouring Minā and Wādī Marr al-Ẓahrān.[138] Then, in the month of Ramaḍān 809/February–March 1407, Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān added to these endowments several plots of agricultural land in Wādī Marr al-Ẓahrān and Wādī 'Aqīq, west of Mecca.[139]

The ribāṭ of al-Ba'dānī (806/1403–4)

Farḥāt, the wife of the Rasūlid sultan of the Yemen, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'īl (778/1376–803/1400), founded a *ribāṭ* in 806/1403–4 for poor women in need of accommodation, provided that they were not natives of Mecca. This foundation came to be known as the *ribāṭ* of al-Ba'dānī, after the individual empowered by Farḥāt to supervise its establishment.[140]

[133] cf. al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 383; El-Hawary and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 58; Bāb al-Ḥazwara took its name from a pre-Islamic market on the site.

[134] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 530–1; idem, *'Iqd*, II, 254–5; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 349.

[135] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 533; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121.

[136] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 533; idem, *'Iqd*, VI, 147; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, V, 205–6.

[137] Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān's lengthy reign, 798/1395–818/1415; 819/1416–829/1426, was of pivotal significance in the history of the amirate of Mecca, in that it witnessed the *de facto* imposition of Mamluk hegemony over Mecca and Jedda; cf. Mortel, *Aḥwāl*, 119–40; Aḥmad al-Sibā'ī, *Ta'rīkh Makka* (4th. ed., Mecca, 1979), 290–300. For an in-depth contemporary biography of Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān, cf. al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, IV, 86–155.

[138] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 383, 530; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 119; IV, 96; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 423; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, III, 104.

[139] al-Fāsī, *'Iqd*, IV, 104. For Wādī 'Aqīq, cf. al-Bilādī, *Mu'jam ma'ālim al-Ḥijāz*, VI, 134; G. Rentz, ''Aqīq', in *EI*^{2}.

[140] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 537; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 123; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 438.

The ribāṭ of Ibn Abī Shākir (815/1412–13)

Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Abī Shākir, a Cairene legist, began the construction of a *ribāṭ* in Mecca opposite the southern side of the Great Mosque in Ajyād in the year 815/1412–13. Work on the building progressed slowly and by the time of Ibn Abī Shākir's death, in the month of Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 819/December 1416–January 1417—less than one year after being forced to accept an appointment as wazir by Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh—the ground floor had still not been completed.[141]

Legal ownership of the unfinished *ribāṭ* of Ibn Abī Shākir then passed to Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *ustādār* (major-domo) and later wazir under Sulṭān Shaykh, who entrusted the task of its completed to one of the slaves of the sharif of Mecca, Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān. Construction of the hospice was eventually completed in 821/1418, shortly before Fakhr al-Dīn's own death in Shawwāl 821/November 1418.[142]

The (second) ribāṭ of Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān (822/1419–20)

Construction of the second *ribāṭ* to be endowed by the sharif Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān commenced in 816/1413–14, on a site adjacent to his own residence in Ajyād, south of the Ḥaram, near the sixth/twelfth century *ribāṭ* of Rabīʿ. It was endowed to afford shelter for the homeless upon its completion in 822/1419–20.[143]

The ribāṭ of ʿAṭiyya b. Khalīfa (before 827/1423–24)

Aṭiyya b. Khalīfa al-Muṭaybīz (d. 827/1423–24) was the greatest merchant of Mecca during the lifetime of al-Fāsī. He derived his fortune from the spice trade with India as well as extensive real estate holdings in Mecca and the nearby *wādīs*, Marr al-Ẓahrān and Nakhla. The *ribāṭ* he founded in Mecca, located to the north-east of the Great Mosque in the Sūq al-Layl quarter, offered cost-free accommodation to needy Muslim women. In an unusual provision not encountered elsewhere, residents of this hospice were permitted to rent their quarters for profit during the pilgrimage season, as well as other periods of congestion in the holy city. The exact date of foundation for this *ribāṭ* remains unknown.[144]

The ribāṭ of Ṣāliḥa (before 829/1426)

Both the date of foundation and the identity of the founder of this *ribāṭ* were not known to al-Fāsī. It was located near the fifth/eleventh-century *ribāṭ* of al-Fuqqāʿiyya (cf. *supra*), next to the entrance of the Dār al-Nadwa extension of the Ḥaram.[145]

Dār al-Khayzurān (before 829/1426)

Identified as a *ribāṭ* by al-Fāsī, this foundation occupied a site to the south of the Ḥaram close to Bāb al-Ṣafā. The date of its foundation and the identity of its benefactor are unknown.[146]

[141] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 531; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, IV, 345, 378; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 500; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, IV, 250; V, 103.
[142] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 531; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, IV, 475; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 500; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, XV, 152–4; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, IV, 249–50; V, 103.
[143] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 535; idem, *ʿIqd*, IV, 115; Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, III, 508.
[144] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 533; idem, *ʿIqd*, VI, 106–8; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, V, 148.
[145] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 529; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 119.
[146] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, I, 532; idem, *ʿIqd*, I, 120.

The ribāṭ of Sa'īd al-Hindī (before 829/1426)

The *ribāṭ* of Sa'īd al-Hindī was located in Sūq al-Layl, north-east of the Ḥaram. Al-Fāsī was unaware of the date of its endowment or the identity of its patron,[147] although it is probable that he was Indian by origin.

The ribāṭ of Oil (before 829/1426)

An obscure *ribāṭ* in Ajyād, south of the Ḥaram, the date of its foundation and the identity of its founder were both unknown to al-Fāsī.[148]

The ribāṭ of al-Musaykīna (before 829/1426)

Also located in Ajyād, the identity of the benefactor of this hospice, as well as the date of its foundation, were unknown to al-Fāsī.[149]

The ribāṭ of Bint al-Ḥarābī (before 829/1426)

Bint al-Ḥarābī was one of the residents of this *ribāṭ* in Ajyād; the identity of its founder and the date of its endowment were not known to al-Fāsī.[150]

The ribāṭ of al-Warrāq (before 829/1426)

Another obscure hospice in the Ajyād quarter of Mecca, al-Fāsī was unaware of the date of its foundation or the identity of its benefactor.[151]

The ribāṭ of al-Ṭāhir (843/1439–40)

One of the leading merchants of Mecca during the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the *khawājā* Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ṭāhir (d. 871/1466–67) travelled extensively in Egypt, the Yemen, East Africa and India, and gradually became the acknowledged leader of the Meccan mercantile community. In addition, he held a Mamluk appointment as supervisor of the Great Mosque.[152]

Al-Ṭāhir acquired legal control of the ancient (fourth/tenth-century) *ribāṭ* of Ibn Manda (cf. *supra*) north of the Ḥaram, adjacent to the entrance of the Dār al-Nadwa extension, undertook its complete renovation, and then formally endowed it as a *ribāṭ* on 5 Rajab 843/12 December 1439, for a period of 95 years, 10 months and 20 days. The operation and maintenance of the *ribāṭ* were financed from the rental of a shop, a warehouse and some arable land.[153]

Residence in the *ribāṭ* of Ibn Ṭāhir was open to poor Muslim men, provided they agreed to abide by certain conditions. A prospective resident must not only be actually homeless but also financially unable to afford to rent his own accommodation. Furthermore, individuals already considered residents in other hospices would not be considered. Once a person was granted permission to take up residence in the *ribāṭ*, he could not be evicted. However, if he were to leave Mecca on a journey expected to last longer than six months, he would automatically forfeit the right to his room which would then be granted to someone else.[154] It is safe to deduce that conditions such as these—never before

[147] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 534; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121.
[148] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 534; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 121.
[149] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 535; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122.
[150] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 536; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122.
[151] al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 536; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 122.
[152] Ibn Fahd, *Durr*, ff. 103a–b; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, III, 127.
[153] Ibn Fahd, *Durr*, f. 103b; idem, *Itḥāf*, IV, 151–3.
[154] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 151–3.

encountered in connection with any of the other *ribāṭs*—were designed specifically to combat the misuse of such endowed facilities, which may have increased in Mecca during the ninth/fifteenth century.

The ribāṭ of Shukr (852/1448–49)

The *qā'id* Shukr was a freedman of Sharif Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān and one of his most influential followers. He was eventually acknowledged as the sharif's wazir, a position he continued to occupy during the sharifate of his patron's son and successor, Barakāt. Shortly before his death in Jumādā I 845/September–October 1441, Shukr gave instructions for the conversion of one of his residences, located immediately to the south of the Great Mosque, into a *ribāṭ* to be operated and maintained by the income derived from the rental of a second house across from it. Implementation of this project was, however, suspended due to Shukr's sudden demise, only to be revived and successfully completed by his son, Budayd, in 852/1448–49.[155]

The ribāṭ of the Khawand (865/1460–61)

In 865/1460–61 the *khawand*,[156] or princess, Zaynab bint Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Khāṣṣ Bak (d. 884/1479–80), the extremely wealthy and powerful wife of the Mamluk sultan Īnāl (857/1453–865/1461), ordered the construction of a *ribāṭ* in her name in Mecca. Not long thereafter, Īnāl was deposed by his son Aḥmad (Jumādā I 865/February 1461–Ramaḍān 865/June 1461) and work on the *ribāṭ* was halted and never resumed.[157]

The ribāṭ of Qadi Ibn Muzhir (871/1466–67)

Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muzhir al-Dimashqī al-Anṣārī, a Shāfi'ī qadi, held the post of *kātib al-sirr*, or secretary of the chancellery,[158] in the Mamluk administration in Cairo from 866/1461–62 until his death in Ramaḍān 893/August–September 1488.[159] A liberal and energetic patron of religious and charitable foundations, the qadi Ibn Muzhir was responsible for the construction, at his own expense, of madrasas in Cairo, Jerusalem and Medina, two *sabīls* in Mecca, and *ribāṭs* in both Mecca and Medina.[160] The Meccan *ribāṭ*, which occupied a site south of the Ḥaram near al-Ṣafā, was endowed in the year 871/1466–67.

The ribāṭ of Ibn al-Zaman (875/1470–71)

The *khawājā* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Zaman (d. 897/1492), a native of Damascus, became one of the richest and most influential merchants of Mecca during the last few decades of the ninth/fifteenth century.[161] In the year 875/1470–71, he sought and obtained legal control of the *mīḍa'a*, or

[155] ibid., IV, 277; idem, *Durr*, f. 111b; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, III, 306.

[156] cf. Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-Islāmiyya fī 'l-ta'rīkh wa'l-wathā'iq wa'l-āthār* (Cairo, 1957), 280–1; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 414.

[157] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, XII, 44–5; Abū 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr* (Cairo, 1982–84), III, 156–7; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1857–61), II, 111.

[158] cf. Gaston Wiet, 'Les secrétaires de la chancellerie (*kuttāb al-sirr*) en Égypte sous les Mamlouks Circassiens (784–922/1382–1517', in *Mélanges René* Basset (Paris, 1923–25), I, 271–314; P. M. Holt, *The age of the Crusades: the Near East from the eleventh century to 1517* (London, 1986), 145; Muḥammad Qandīl al-Baqlī, *al-Ta'rīf bi muṣṭalaḥāt Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo, 1983), 282; Carl F. Petry, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later middle ages* (Princeton, 1981), 205–9.

[159] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, XI, 88–9; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, III, 255.

[160] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, XI, 89.

[161] ibid., VIII, 260–2.

ablutions fountain, erected in 776/1374–75 by the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān between the *mas'ā* and Bāb 'Alī at the south-eastern extremity of the Great Mosque, as well as the *rab'*, or apartment block, located above the *mīḍa'a*—which formed part of its original endowment—and four shops adjacent to it, from the *waqf* of the earlier *ribāṭ* of al-'Abbās (cf. *supra*). After the demolition of these structures, Ibn al-Zaman built a *ribāṭ* on the site.[162]

The ribāṭ of Sultan Qā'itbāy (884/1480)

Al-Malik al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy was only the second Mamluk sultan to found a *ribāṭ* in Mecca, in spite of the close relationship between the Mamluks and the Hasanid sharifs dating back to the reign of Sultan Baybars in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century[163] and subsequently strengthened by the imposition of *de facto* Mamluk hegemony over the amirate in 826/1423.

In 882/1447–48, Qā'itbāy charged his commercial representative in the Hijaz, the *khawājā* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar, known as Ibn al-Zaman, with the task of selecting an appropriate location in the immediate vicinity of the Great Mosque for the construction of a madrasa and a *ribāṭ*.[164] Ibn al-Zaman selected a suitable site on the eastern side of the Ḥaram, which was then occupied by three structures, namely a house belonging to the sharifa Shamsiyya, the *ribāṭ* of al-Sidra (cf. *supra*), and the *ribāṭ* of al-Marāghī (cf. *supra*).[165]

Founded *c.* 400/1009–10, the *ribāṭ* of al-Sidra was one of the most ancient hospices in Mecca,[166] but had fallen into ruin by the late ninth/fifteenth century, so Ibn al-Zaman was able to purchase the property for the sum of 3,000 dinars through the legal artifice known as *istibdāl*,[167] or substitution, by means of which a previously endowed property could be sold under the condition that the revenue resulting from the sale be used to purchase another property to be endowed according to the conditions laid down in the *waqfiyya* of the original foundation.[168] Upon the acquisition of the *ribāṭ* of al-Marāghī (through means left unexplained in the sources available) and the acquisition of the residence of the sharifa Shamsiyya, Ibn al-Zaman proceeded with the demolition of all three buildings, which was completed in the following year, 883/1478–79.[169]

The *ribāṭ* of Qā'itbāy was erected on a portion of the site earlier occupied by the *ribāṭ* of al-Sidra.[170] After the completion of its construction in 884/1480,[171] it was dedicated by Qā'itbāy himself in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja/February–March, after he had performed the rites of the pilgrimage. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ẓahīra (d. 891/1486), a Shāfi'ī qadi and the supervisor of the Great Mosque,[172] was designated supervisor of the *ribāṭ*, while Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Masīrī (d. 885/1480) was appointed to be its shaykh.[173]

[162] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 527–8; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, VIII, 261.
[163] Relevant aspects of this relationship have been summarized in Richard T. Mortel, 'Prices in Mecca during the Mamlūk period', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 32, 1989, 279–88.
[164] al-Nahrawālī, *I'lām*, 151–2.
[165] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 619–20, 638.
[166] cf. al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, 527; idem, *'Iqd*, I, 118.
[167] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 620.
[168] cf. Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 341ff., for a detailed explanation of *istibdāl*.
[169] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 620, 624; al-Nahrawālī, *I'lām*, 152.
[170] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 639; al-Nahrawālī, *I'lām*, 151–2.
[171] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 644.
[172] cf. his biography in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, I, 88–99.
[173] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, IV, 648; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, VI, 290.

Having surveyed the 59 *ribāṭ*s founded in Mecca prior to the Ottoman takeover of the Hijaz in 923/1517, it may be useful to attempt some generalizations. First, of the 54 *ribāṭ*s whose locations are known, 24 (44.4%) were situated to the north of the Great Mosque, while another 20 (37%) were located to its south, primarily in the Ajyād district. Just five hospices (9.3%) were founded east of the Ḥaram, and a further five west of it.

Whereas madrasas founded in Mecca during the same time frame were preferentially sited as close to the Ḥaram as possible, so as to allow both professors and students to participate to a greater degree in its unparalleled sanctity, the *ribāṭ*s, endowed in order to provide accommodation for the poor and for travellers, could be—and quite frequently were—located at a distance from the mosque. The observed concentration of hospices in the districts lying directly to the north and south of the Ḥaram is to be explained by reference to the topography of Mecca, free land being available primarily in those directions.

Turning our attention to the dates of foundation of the Meccan *ribāṭ*s, it has been seen that the most ancient *ribāṭ* of which we have record is that of Ibn Manda, thought by al-Fāsī to have been established before the year 395/1004–5. The temporal distribution of the 49 *ribāṭ*s whose foundation dates are known can be tabulated fashion as follows:

Fourth century A.H.
Ibn Manda (before 395); al-Sidra (before 400)

Fifth century A.H.
al-Fuqqā'iyya (492)

Sixth century A.H.
al-Zarandī (before 529); al-Sabtiyya (before 529); al-Dimashqiyya (529); Rāmisht (529); al-Arsūfī (571); al-Marāghī (575); the *Khātūn* (577); Abū Samāḥa (578); the Mother of al-Nāṣir (579); al-Zanjīlī (579); al-Mayānishī (before 583); Ibn al-Sawdā (590); al-Akhlāṭī (3 *ribāṭs*) (590, 591); Rabī' (594); Ibn Ghanā'im (600).

Seventh century A.H.
al-Muwaffaq (604); Bayt al-Mu'adhdhanīn (617); al-Khūzī (617); al-Tamīmī (620); al-Banyāsī (625); Bint al-Tāj (before 629); al-Sharābī (641); al-Ghuzzī (642); al-Ṭībī (644); al-'Abbās (ca. 698).

Eighth century A.H.
al-Aṣbahānī (749); al-Ṭawīl (760s); al-Abarqūhī (771); Umm Sulaymān (772); Umm al-Ḥusayn (784); Ibn Ba'aljad (787); al-Watsh (late eighth century).

Ninth century A.H.
al-'Aṭṭār (801); Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān (803); al-Ba'dānī (806); Ibn Abī Shākir (815); Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān (822); 'Aṭiyya b. Khalīfa (before 827); al-Ṭāhir (843); Shukr (852); the *Khawand* (865); Ibn Muzhir (871); Ibn al-Zaman (875); Qā'itbāy (884).

From the foregoing tabulation, it can be seen that the sixth century A.H. and then the ninth century were the periods that witnessed the greatest activity in *ribāṭ* foundation in Mecca, 17 hospices being founded in the former and 12 in the latter. The sixth century was, of course, a period of primarily Abbasid and, later, Ayyubid, influence in the Hijaz, while the ninth century saw western Arabia fall definitively into the Mamluk sphere of influence. Significantly, the eighth century, a time of serious internal instability in Mecca, witnessed the foundation of just seven *ribāṭ*s.

Finally, we may consider the various sorts of individuals who chose to endow *ribāṭ*s in Mecca. The identities of the founders of 46 hospices are known. Of these, eight (17.4%) were founded by merchants; another group of eight (17.4%) were endowed by amirs or local rulers and seven (15.2%) were established by members of the class of ulama. Despite the strength of Mamluk relations with Mecca, which reached their apogee during the ninth/fifteenth century, only four *ribāṭ*s can be associated with the Mamluks, two of which were founded by sultans (*ribāṭ*s of al-'Abbās and Qā'itbāy) one by a Mamluk princess (*ribāṭ* of the *Khawand*) and another by a leading amir (*ribāṭ* of al-Ṭawīl). Two hospices were established by Sharif Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān, the amir of Mecca. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that the great majority of the *ribāṭ*s founded in Mecca prior to the Ottoman annexation of the Hijaz in the year 923/1517 were endowed as acts of personal piety by private individuals, a large percentage of whom were not natives of the holy city.