SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE MADRASA

In the historical tradition Nizâm al-Mulk, who from 456 to 485 A. H. was Wazîr of the Seljuk sultans, is regarded as the founder of the Madrasa. Some historians, *e.g.*, al-Maqrîzî and al-Suyûtî, object to this tradition rightly that there were madrasas before the time of that great Wazîr. As a matter of fact Nizâm al-Mulk was not the founder of the Madrasa as an institution, but it was due to his interest that this institution attained such a flowering state in the east that it spread widely over the whole of Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. As the work of Nizâm al-Mulk, above all his madrasat-al-Nizâmîya in Baghdad contributed to the spread of these institutions in Egypt and Syria, where they assumed an immense importance, it is only natural that to those countries he appeared as the founder of the whole institution.

From the beginning, the science of Islâm was connected with the mosque. The main points of interest were the Qur'ân and Hadîth. In the Hadîth-collections we see a reflection of the mode of learning, when the Prophet is represented as sitting in the mosque with his halqa of listeners who repeat his words three times in order to memorise them[1], and people come and ask him about this or that hadîth[2]. As some learning about Islam was indispensable to every Muslim, 'Umar sent in the year 17 teachers of the Qur'ân in every region, and the people attended their lectures in the mosque every Friday. Lectures of this kind were called *mau'iza*, because there was no real difference between learning and edification[3]. Such edifying instruction was given in the mosques by the qussâs. In the time of 'Umar, Tamîm al-Dârîs spoke

(1) *Bukhari* ; *K.-al-'ilm* 8. 30. 35. 42.
(2) Ibid. 4. 14. 38. 50. 51. 53.
(3) Ibid. 12.

in the mosque of Medina as qâss. As early as 38 or 39 A.H. an official qâss was appointed in the 'Amr mosque in Cairo; it was the Qâdî Sulaini b. 'Itr al-Tujîbî, and after him several Qâdîs were qussâs as well: Ibn Hujayra, d. 83, Khayir b. Nu'aim in the year 120, Ibr b. Ishâq al-Qârî, d. 204, etc[1]. The qâss recited, standing, a part of the Qur'ân, and after that explained, sitting on his chair, what he had read, and edified the listeners with his mau'iza or dhikr. The qussâs or wu'âz acted still for centuries in the mosques; in 580 A. H. Ibn Jubayr listened with keen interest to some famous wu'âz in the mosques of Baghdad[2] and even afterwards we hear about them in Cairo. But they were preachers much more than teachers, and beside them other people had taken over the real instruction.

'Umar b. 'Abdal-Azîz sent a learned maulâ to Egypt in order to teach the Egyptians the sunan, and after that time we find a number of muftîs and Qâdîs sitting in their halqa in the 'Amr mosque and teaching their pupils Islamic Science[3]. It is not possible to trace the evolution of the instruction given in the mosques, in all its details. But in the 3rd century A.H., we find that all the mosques are centres of learning as well as of worship and jurisdiction. The instruction had a very free character. In the year 256 al-Tabarî dictated the poems of al-Tirimmâh in the 'Amr mosque, sitting near the Bait-al-mâl[4], and some years earlier the great al-Shâfi'î spent the most of his time in this mosque. Just after the Salât-al-Subh he taught the Qur'ân; at sunrise Hadîth; later, the subject of scientific method (*Mudhakara wal-nazar*), at duhâ came the ahl al-'Arabîya and learned with him grammar and poetry; at noontime he went home[5]. Every teacher had his special seat in the mosque, and after his death it was inherited by another.

When you entered a mosque you witnessed a very motley life. Nâsir i-Khosrau, of the 5th century, tells that 5,000 people daily visited the mosque of 'Amr, amongst them teachers, qurra', students, strangers, writers making contracts and bills, etc[6]. You found circles, halaq, of people attending lectures in all kinds of science, especially

(1) V. Maqrîzî, *Khitat*, Cairo, IV 17 f; Kindi. *K.-al-Untat* ed. Guest p. 303 f. 317, 427; Suyûtî, *Husn al Muhadara* I 131.
(2) *Rihla* ed.-de Qoeje 219 Q; 2247.
(3) *Husnal-Muhadara* I 130 134: Kindi, *untat* 89, 17.
(4) Yâqût, *Udaba'* VI 432.
(5) Yâqût *Udaba'* VI 383.
(6) Ed Schefer p. 50, 148.

as told by al-Maqdisi, Fuqahâ, Qurrâ, and Ahl al-Adab wal-Hikma[1]. Since the third century, after al-Shâfi'î, it was no more the Hadîth, but the more systematical fiqh that was the main subject. Famous scholars gathered a vast audience, like al-Na'âli, (d 380) whose attenders filled up the space of 17 columns[2]. Not only young people attended the lectures. Interested people of all social positions came to get the *baraka* of the great scholars. Discussions were not uncommon, and the great scholar won over the audience of his adversaries. When al-Shafi'i came to Baghdâd (195 A.H.) Al-Subkî tells, there were in the great mosque 20 halaq listening to Hanafitic teachers ; but al-Shâfi'î's argumentation won over so many of them that only 3 or 4 halaq stayed with the Hanafites.

Beside fiqh, the Hadîth, and of course the Qur'ân, formed still a very important subject in the lectures of the mosques. And the Arabic philology never failed to interest the Muslims who were very careful about their rich and difficult language. Some of the Fuqahâ, like al-Shâfi'î taught philology as well as fiqh, but there were also special philologists, lecturing in their own part of the mosque, as was the case in Basra[3] and a philologist renowned as al-Kisâ'î lectured in the mosque named after him in Baghdâd[4]. The Mu'tazilite Kalâm was taught in the mosque of Mansûr in Basra, where al-Ash'arî attended the lectures of al-Jubbâ'î. But also quite different subjects were treated in the Mosques. Al-Khatib al-Baghdâdî read his history of Baghdâd in the big mosque of that town[5]. Even medicine, (*Tibb*) was occasionally treated in the mosques. Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430) gave lectures upon that subject in al-Azhar in the time of al-Hâkim, and when Lâjîn restored the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn, he ordered lectures for medicine[6], a subject that otherwise was taught in the hospitals.

These examples show us to what a great extent the mosques were schools. We know not much about the organization of the instruction and of the teachers in the old time. But we can suggest that the organisation was a very free one. Every Muslim could enter the mosque and attend a lecture, the traveller could always go to the principal mosque in the town he visited to attend

(1) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab. III* 205.
(2) *Husn al-Muhadara* I 20.
(3) Yâqût *Udaba'* IV 135.
(4) Ib. 248 f.
(5) Yâqût *Udaba'* I 246 p.
(6) Maqrîzî. IV 41.

a lecture about hadith[1]. There was no examination, but when a pupil had finished a book he got the ijâza of his master, by which he was entitled to teach the book himself. Everyone could lecture on such a book. if anyone would listen to him, but in the big mosques it was necessary to get the permit of the leader in order to give lectures as we are told in the biography of al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdî[2]. In all mosques there were several waqfs for the professors, and these waqfs gave the background of the appointments. But a ruler or another mighty one of this world could always give an allowance for any scholar, enabling him to spend his time in giving lectures in a mosque. This was very important, as many of the great scholars spent their time in travelling. This is a main feature in the scholarly life of Islam, an inheritance from antiquity. It contributed to make a unity of Islam, and was always stimulating to the studies. In that way al-Shâfi'î, al-Ghazâlî, 'Abdal-Latîf, Ibn Khaldûn—just to name some few examples—could give their lectures in different parts of the Islamic world without difficulty.

The travelling of the scholars was facilitated in another way. The mosque was not only—to speak in the European way—church and school at once, but also hostel. Pious people could spend day and night in the mosque if they liked to do so, and it is told of some scholars that they never left the mosque. And when poor travellers came to a town it was their right to spend the night in the mosque. Therefore dwellings were arranged in connection with several mosques.

From the oldest time pious ascetics were living in the minarets, and in the mosque of the 'Umayyads at Damascus al-Ghazâlî as earlier al-Baghdâdî, lived in one of its minarets[3]. And Ibn Jubayr tells us about the well-equipped dwellings that were connected with that mosque, not only for ascetics, but also for scholars and students[4]. According to al-Wâqidî, as quoted by al-Suyûtî, there was very early a dwelling-house for the qurrâ' in Medîna, in which house 'Abdullah b. Umm Maktum was living[5]. Institutions of that kind may not have been uncommon in connection with a mosque. We know from Egypt in the time of the Fatimids 361 A.H. (*i.e.* 972 A.D.) that after the build-

(1) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab. III* 415.
(2) Yâqût *Udaba'* I 246 p.
(3) Yâqût *Udaba'* I 255.
(4) *Rihla* 269 cf. Ibn Battûta I 204.
(5) *Husn al-Muhadara* II 142.

ing of the Azhar Mosque had been completed the Shî'itic Qâdî of the new ruler, 'Alî b. al-Nu'mân, lectured about the fiqh-system of his madhab And in 378 the Caliph al-'Azîz and his Wazîr Ya'qûb b. Killis, inaugurated a foundation for 35 professors, giving them salaries and dwellings in a big house beside the mosque[1].

All branches of Islamic science found an asylum in the mosque. This was the meeting-place of all learned men, the place of devotion and study, of working and discussion, not strictly organised, open to every Muslim, and at the same time many of the students and teachers found a lodging in the mosque, appropriate to their humble pretensions. The mosque was a very cheap high-school, as the halaq were sitting only on the floor, mostly in the same big hall. A library was the only thing especially wanted for the students.

But science had other refuges besides the mosque. It is well known that al-Mâ'mûn (198-202) founded an academy, *Bait al-Hikma*, in Baghdâd. This institution that reminds us of the older, pre-Islamic one in Qundê Shâpûr, consisted mainly of a library, an astronomical observatory and dwellings for the scholars; their principal task was to translate the Hellenistic literature into Arabic[2]. A somewhat similar institution was founded much later by al-Mu'tadîd (279-289) who built a palace for himself and, in connection with it, rooms and dwellings for students of every branch of science, who got salaries for studies and instruction[3]. These institutions were of special importance because they were interested in studies that lay rather far from the main interest of the mosque, where the Qur'ân, Hadîth and Fiqh always stood in the foreground. The academies were occupied with the Hellenistic sciences like Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, Medicine and Alchemy, that were named "the old sciences" *al-'ulum al-qadima*.

Some wealthy people, scholars themselves, or interested in the studies, founded institutions of a similar kind. 'Alî b. Yahyâ, named the Astronomer, (*al-Munajjim*) d. 275, was the owner of a palace with a big library, *khizanat al-hikma*, that comprised a large collection of astronomical books; this library was open to every one who wanted to use it, and it was visited by scholars from every country. It is told that Abû Ma'shar the Astronomer arrived there

(1) Maqrîzî IV 49.
(2) Fihrist ed. Fluegel p. 243.
(3) Maqrîzî IV 192; *Husn al-Muhadara*, II 142.

from Khurâsân bound for Mecca to fulfil the Hajj. He was then not much versed in astronomical studies, but when he had stayed some time in this institution he was so affected with them that he never more went on pilgrimage and even left Islam[1]. In Mausil Ja'far b. Muhammad, (d. 323) founded a "dwelling of science", *dar al-'ilm* with a library, in which the students worked daily in every science and got paper gratuitously. The founder himself read papers to them about poetry[2]. In the 4th Islamic century we get information about several institutions of this kind, founded in the eastern countries. Al Maqdisî gives an account of a library, *khizanat al-Kutub*, arranged in Shîrâz by 'Adud al-Daula (367-72) and well organised with a director (wakîl), an assistant (khâzin) and an inspector (mushrif); every person of consideration could get admittance to it[3]. In those libraries splendid manuscripts of the Qur'ân and the classical authors were found. In the library of Bahâ al-Daula, son of 'Adud al-Daula, probably the same library as that just mentioned, Ibn al-Bawwâb found a very precious copy of the Qur'ân in 30 parts, written by Ibn Muqla on fine Kaghid paper, with golden letters; as one part was lacking, Ibn al-Bawwâb prepared that himself just like the other parts and stipulated as his reward a robe of honour and 100 dînârs[4]. In the year 383 the Wazîr Sâbûr b. Ardashîr founded a *dar al-'ilm* with a big library for the scholars[5], and in the same century a friend of science, Ibn Sanwâr founded a *dar al-kutub* in Basra and one in Râm Hurmuz with salaries for the scholars; and in Basra a Shaikh gave lectures about Mu'tazilite Kalâm[6]. In al-Rayy there was at the same time a library comprising more than 400 camel-loads of books, amongst them many of the Shî'a doctrine[7]. In other towns of the east we get information about such more or less public institutions.

In the west the Fatimids founded their renowned institutes on the same lines. Their aim was to support the Shî'a doctrine, but not only that. The institutions were real working places of science. In their palace in Cairo they had a library disposing of 40 rooms, as al-Maqrîzî tells us, and he mentions that there were not less

(1) Yâqût *Udaba'* V 467.
(2) Ibid II 420.
(3) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 449.
(4) Yâqût *Udaba'* V 446 s.
(5) Ibn al-Athîr IX 85.
(6) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 413, 15 ff.
(7) Yâqût *Udaba'* II 315 9. B.

than 1200 copies of Al-Tabarî's *Tarikh*, and—as in the east—the Hellenistic sciences, *al-'ulum al-qadima*, were represented by many volumes[1]. The Wazîr of al-'Azîz, Ya'qûb b. Killis, founded an institute that cost him 1000 Dînârs every month ; the money was spent on books and salaries for the scholars[2]. And in the year 395 A.H. (*i.e.* 1005 A.D.) al-Hâkim founded his famous academy, *dar al-'ilm* or *dar al-hikma*, in the northern part of the western palace in Cairo, containing a big library, a reading room and lecture rooms. A big staff of scholars were busy with studies, with lectures and with the administration of the library, that comprised all kinds of books of Muslim science, a large amount of books treating of Medicine, Astronomy and others of " the old sciences ", that were of little interest to studies connected with the mosque[3].

This splendid institution was in a flourishing state for half a century. During the frightful famine that devastated Egypt under the reign of Al-Mustansir (427-487) every thing fell in disorder and large parts of the rich library were spoiled[4]. But the institution still was preserved until the decline of the Fatimids. When Saladin took the power (567/1171) he put an end to this Shî'a-institute, and all the books were taken off. Some of them were burnt or thrown in the Nile, or heaped up in the sand, making " the Mound of books " ; the book-bindings were good enough for boots for the Turkish soldiers. But some of the books were saved, being sold and given over to the new institutions of learning that just then had appeared in Egypt, the *Madaris*. A lot of camel-cargoes were brought to Syria[5].

In spite of the decay under Al-Mustansir the Hâkim institute was still a very important one when it was closed. Abû Shâma says the library was the biggest one in Islam ; it sounds quite fantastical when he estimates the number of its books as 2 millions.

The institution called *dar al-hikma* or *dar al-'ilm* vanished from Egypt because the Fatimids had connected it with their propaganda, and the director of the institute was the Fatimid head missionary (*da'i'l-du'at*). But as we have seen, it was not solely that, and the institution was itself originally quite independent of doctrinal

(1) About 18,000 books Maqrîzî, *Khitat* II 253 sq.
(2) Yahyâ b. Sa'îd ed. Tallquist fol. 108 a.
(3) Maqrîzî *Khitat* II 334 sq.
(4) Maqrîzî II 254.
(5) Maqrîzî II 253 sq.; Abû Shâma *K.-al-Raudatain* I 200, 268.

controversies. There can be little doubt that with these academies Islam carried on old traditions from the Hellenistic period. Not only was the academy of Al-Mâ'mûn not very different from the pre-Islamic one in Qundê-Shâpûr, where Hellenistic scholars worked, but Ibn Abî Usaybi'a reckons natural science in Egypt under Islam as a continuation of an older *dar al-'ilm*, where Hellenistic science was taught[1], and also Al-Maqrîzî (Khitat IV 377) mentions the pre-Islamic *dar al-hikma* in Egypt as an institute that, according to the description, was nearly related to the Islamic academy. From other sources we know well the importance of such institutions in Alexandria and Pergamon in the old time.

So we find in the first centuries of Islam two kinds of seats of learning. One is the mosque, that is mainly but not only, interested in the special Muslim learning,and another is the more or less public *dar al-'ilm*, *dar-al-kutub* or *dar al-hikma*, that often, but not only, serves the interest of physical science, etc., but whose character is determined by its founder and his interests, as it is a quite independent institution. Of course many of these institutions served the same purpose as the Mosque. As the Shî'a Academy, so also the Sunnite *Madrasa* came into existence in close continuation of such institutions.

In his *Tabaqat al Shafi'iya* al Subbî relates of the foundation of institutes with libraries where learned men taught the subjects they were interested in. Some of them were founded in the 4th century. Abû Hâtim al-Bustî A. H. 277/890 founded such an institute with dwellings and scholarships for students from abroad. Sometimes wealthy people founded a special institute for a renowned scholar, as in Tâbarân for al-Hâtimî (d. 393/1003) or for al-Isfarâ'înî (d. 418/1027) in Baghdad or for al-Sâ'igh al-Nîsâbûrî (d. 349/960) in Nîsâbûr, where later on a splendid institute of that kind was built for al-Isfarâ'înî[2]. Some scholars were not content with the opportunity they had of giving lectures in the Mosque. If they were able to do so they built a house of their own, where they received the students and gave lectures on fiqh or dictated hadîth ; we know examples of that in Merw and Nîsâbûr from about 400 A.H[3].

As mentioned above there were given lectures in many of the institutions called *dar al-'ilm*, but the study in the

(1) I. 104.
(2) V. Wüstenfeld Der Mian Schafi'î II 163, 156, 204, 219, 217.
(3) Ibid. 203, 216, 232 ; III 284.

library was the principal thing. In the institutes here mentioned it was otherwise. Here the instruction was the main purpose, and they were especially interested in subjects of a more practical character, necessary for Muslim education. But that there was no fundamental difference between the two places of learning is seen by the fact that al-Hâkim established a Sunnite dâr al-'ilm in Cairo 400 A. H. for hadîth and Malikite *fiqh*, the scholars living in the institute[1]. They were named madrasa, a word that means place of study and instruction. When al-Maqdisî travelled in the eastern countries in the 4th Islamic century, these institutes were so developed that he can praise the excellent *madaris* of Irânshahr[2]. According to their character these Madaris were very nearly related to the mosques. The subjects taught in them were the same; in both places there were libraries and often dwellings for the students. And we may suppose that the madrasa had that very small apparatus making it fit for a Muslim worship place: the indication of the Qibla in a room large enough for the gathering in the prostrations of the Salât. The difference between the mosque and the madrasa was that in the first worship was the principal purpose, and also that it had a more public character. Like the above named institutions the madrasa was a private institution; even if the public was admitted in a liberal way, not every one could enter it who liked. Often a madrasa was founded, not separately, but in a mosque, a room being arranged in it and one or more scholars being appointed to give lectures and may be even to live there. This was the case with the Sunnite *dar al-'ilm* founded, but soon again abolished, in Cairo by Al-Hâkim. And later on a lot of madâris were founded in the big mosques, as in the mosques of Amr and Al-Azhar in Egypt and the Mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus.

The practice that a scholar founded a madrasa of his own or that an eminent scholar was given a madrasa by others developed to a high degree in the beginning of the 5th century. In the first half of this century there were 4 famous schools of that kind in Nîsâbur: Al-Bayhaqîya, founded by al-Bayhaqî 441, Al-Sa'îdîya by Nasr al-Dîn Subuktakîn, governor of Nîsâbûr 389, one founded by Al-Astarâbâdhî and one for Al-Isfarâ'înî[3]. All of these schools were, according to the development of Muslim

(1) Ibn Tagbribirdi II ed. Coppen. 64, 153, 105, 559; 106, 4 sq.
(2) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 315.
(3) V. Wüstenfeld *Schafii* III 270; Maqrîzî IV 192.

learning and the needs of the time, above all centres of fiqh-studies.

In this manner there developed from the private institutions of learning besides the mosque a definite type of school related to the mosque in its principal aims. The type was fully developed when Nizâm al-Mulk became Wazîr in the year 456. He saw clearly the importance of the school as an education-place for people determined to be functionaries of the State and leaders of the people. They were moulded on a frankly Sunnite type, and they received in a regular way the necessary Muslim knowledge, in a more regular way than in the mosque. This was important for the unity of the empire and the strength of its administration.

Nizâm al-Mulk founded several madâris, called after him al-Nizâmîya. We know of one in Nîsâbûr, founded for al-Yuwaynî, Imâm al-Haramayn, one in Balkh, one in Mausil, one in Herât[1]. Like the above mentioned, these also were mostly founded for a special scholar; the madrasa in Herât was destined for al-Shâshî (d. 485/1092), who came from Ghazna. The most famous Nizâmîya was that founded in Baghdâd. Its construction took two years, and it was inaugurated in the year 459. As its teacher was appointed Abû Ishâq al-Shîrâzî, who gave lectures in a mosque in Baghdad. It is told, as a proof of his scrupulosity, that he declined to take over the new professorship, because it was rumoured that the ground of the building was taken over by force without justice. Therefore Ibn al-Sabbâgh was instituted in his place, but after some few weeks he overcame his misgivings[2].

Beside Nizâm al-Mulk, many others founded madâris in his time as before him and a great number of them were raised in 'Iraq and the eastern countries, also in the same cities as those in which the great Wazîr founded his colleges. Only to mention one, the competitor of Nizâm al-Mulk, Tâj al-Mulk (d. 484/1093) founded in Baghdad his *Madrasa Tajiya*[3]. But the Nizâmîya in Baghdâd was the most splendid of them all, and after it had been repaired in 504/1110 it still was the most beautiful of the colleges whose number was about 30, found by Ibn Jubayr in

(1) Maqrîzî *Khitat* IV 192; Suyûtî *Husn al-Muhadara* II 141 sq. Wüstenfeld *al-Schafi'i* 240, 310, 319.

(2) Wüstenfeld cf. cit. 297 sq; Ibn. Khallikân *Wafayat* I Cairo ed. 148 sq.

(3) Wüstenfeld cf. cit: 311.

Baghdâd when he visited it in the year 581/1185 and also further on until the sumptuous Mustansirîyâ was founded 631/1234, a few years before the conquest of Baghdâd by Hûlâqû.

As the madrasa had become a stronghold of Sunni doctrine it is natural that it did not get any importance during the 5th century in Syria and Egypt, where the Fatimids were the rulers. But we find a *dar al-qur'an*, al-Rishâ'îya in Damascus about 400, arranged like the other *dar al-'ilm*, and in 491/1097 Shujâ' al-Daula Sâdir founded a madrasa for Hanafi fiqh in the neighbourhood of the mosque of the Umayyads[1] and various other madâris were founded in that city shortly after 500 A.H. The Shâfi'ite Amînîya was founded 514, the Hanafite Tarkhânîya 520, another Hanafite madrasa al-Khâtûnîya outside the town was founded 526, the Hanbalite Sharîfîya 536 and Al-'Umarîya before 528[2]. Some of them were founded by Turkish officers coming from the East, and when Nûr al-Dîn b. Zankî came to power in Syria 541/1146, he and his Emirs were not less keen on founding madâris than his eastern kinsmen, and his activity was continued by his successor Salâh al-Dîn (570-589).

It is only natural that we find still less traces of the Sunnite madâris in Egypt, the seat of the Fatimids, in the 5th and the first half of the 6th century. With exception of the above mentioned madrasa founded and again abolished by al-Hâkim, no Sunnite madrasa was established in that country before Salâh al-Din, before whose powerful ruling the Fatimid dynasty vanished. The first ones were the Malikite Rambîya, and the Shâfi'îte Nâsirîya founded by Salâh al-Dîn 566, and some few years later he founded the most splendid of them all, al-Salâhîya, that gave occasion for a most enthusiastic outburst of Ibn Jubayr, when he visited it some few years after its foundation. It is well known how splendidly the madrasa developed in Egypt during the next centuries, more than in any other country. At the end of the 6th century, after the fall of the Fatimids, the madrasa was introduced in Hijâz. In Tunis and the Maghrib it did not flourish before the 7th and 8th century; in Spain we do not find it before the 8th century when Yûsuf Abû'l-Hajjâj founded a madrasa in Granada in the year 750/1349. On the whole the madrasa was not of the same importance in the far West as in the eastern countries.

(1) *Journal Asiatique* Qsc'z Fome p. 266.
(2) Ibid. III 395, IV 254, 266, 467, 473.

A look at the history of the madrasa shows us a mighty development. Beginning as a private supplement to the mosque as a school, it grew to be the most important stronghold of Sunnite education. The interest of the rulers for it did not mean that it lost its original character and became a state institution, it only meant that it got better circumstances and a higher appreciation. With this great development the relation between mosque and madrasa became a different one. When the madrasa became bigger, it was not different from the mosque; like the latter it was a prayer-place as well as a school, and the qibla was indicated by a mihrâb. From the 5th century there even came a minbar (pulpit) in the big madrasas. In al-Nizâmîya in Nîsâbûr a sermon was delivered at its inauguration, and Ibn Jubayr attended a sermon delivered from the minbar of the Nizâmîya in Baghdâd[1]. Friday-khutba was not given in Cairo in more than one mosque from 569/665 in accordance with the Shâfi'ite doctrine, but after that time every big madrasa got its minbar for the weekly Friday-service. And we know of many madâris in Cairo that they were used for this service and that a Khutba was delivered in them.

So there was no difference between madrasa and masjid and often the madrasa could be a jâmi'. In the 8th century Ibn al-Hâjj tries to make a distinction between masjid and madrasa, saying that the masjid is more holy (*K. al-Madkhal* II 3. 48); this was true in the earliest time of the history of the madrasa, but at the time of Ibn al-Hâjj the distinction was quite artificial. The splendid mosques built during the Mameluke time in Cairo were alike prominent as jawâmi and madârîs, as for instance in the 8th century Jâmi' al-Hasan and in the 9th century Al-Jâmi' al-Mu'ayyadî. In the 9th century therefore the word masjid is used by Maqrîzî not only in a general sense of all the prayer-places as of old, but also in a special sense of only of quite insignificant small prayer-places.

The identification of madrasa and jâmi' was favoured by the fact that every important mosque still was a school. The development of the madrasa had not checked the interest for the learning in the old mosques, but rather promoted it. At the time of al-Maqrîzî there were 8 rooms for fiqh studies in the mosque of 'Amr in Cairo, and in the middle of the 8th century there were more

(1) *Rihla* 219 12.

than 40 *Halaqat* in it[1]. In the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn there was given instruction of fiqh according to the four madhâhib after its restoration by Lâjîn about 700 (cp. cit. 41). The same was the case in Al-Azhar, Al-Hâkimî, etc.[2], and as in the madâris there were stipends and dwellings for the students.

A madrasa might still be a small building in or near a big mosque, but when it was an independent institution, the only difference between the old great mosque or jâmi' and the madrasa was in the architecture. When the madrasa had finished its development and had become the same as the mosque, the special interest for it diminished. In Cairo most of the madâris decayed, and it was the Azhar *mosque* that once more became the central seat of learning. In other countries madrasa and mosque remained alike the focus of Muslim learning during the last centuries until new high-schools of a different type have come to existence in our days.

(1) Maqrîzî IV 20, 21.
(2) *cp. cit.* 52 57.

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