JURNAL EL TARIKH
JOURNAL OF HISTORY, CULTURE AND ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION
Department History Islamic Civilization Faculty of Adab
UIN Raden Intan Lampung

P-ISSN: 2774-7999 E-ISSN: 2774-8723
http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/eltarikh/index
DOI: https://doi.org/10.24042/00202562702700

Productive Waqf and Its Management in Bimaristan al-Manshuri During the Time of Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun 1284-1290 AD

Wakaf Produktif dan Pengelolaannya di Bimaristan al-Mansuri Pada Masa Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun 1284-1290 M

Roihan Fadhil Kusuma[1], Kholili Badriza[2]
[1] Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia
[2] Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia
*Author Correspondence: roihanf31@gmail.com

Submit: 25 April 2025 Received: 26 April 2025 Accepted: 15 May 2025 Published: 30 May 2025

Abstract

This article aims to analysis the management of productive waqf in Bimaristan al-Mansuri during the timeof Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun. This article is unique and interesting because no yet one has studied about bimaristan in terms of its funding. This article uses the historical research method which consists of heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The approaches and theories used are Islamic philanthropy and productive waqf theory from Mundzir Qahaf. The result of the discussion from this article is that Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun endowed his assets at the Egypt and Levant regions in the form of farms land, water wells, markets, shops, inns, and baths which were managed using two methods, namely 'aqd al-ijarah (lease contract) and 'aqd al-ijara al-'amal (lease contract by providing salary/wages). Interestingly, the number of its waqf actually increased in the period after the death of Sultan Qalawun. This was possible because the waqf was managed in transparent manner, that is the tight separation of authority to manage the finances of the bimaristan between the party who issued the nominal amount of money expenditure (mubasyir idarah) with the party who disbursed the money expenditure (mubasyir shunduq), making the occurrence of fraud and corruption from the bimaristan employees to be minimized, allowing Bimaristan al-Manshuri can be operate to carry out its function as hospital for centuries.

Keywords: *Productive Waqf, Bimaristan al-Manshuri, Qalawun.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menganalisis pengelolaan wakaf produktif di Bimaristan al-Manshuri pada masa Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun. Artikel ini unik dan menarik karena belum ada yang mengkaji mengenai bimaristan dari sisi pendanannya. Artikel ini menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah yang terdiri dari heuristik, verifikasi, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Pendekatan dan teori yang digunakan adalah pendekatan filantropi Islam dan teori wakaf produktif dari Mundzir Qahaf. Hasil dari pembahasan artikel ini adalah Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun mewakafkan hartanya di wilayah Mesir dan Syam dalam bentuk berupa tanah pertanian, sumur air, pasar-pasar, toko-toko, penginapan-penginapan, dan pemandian-pemandian yang dikelola dengan menggunakan dua metode cara, yaitu akad *al-ijarah* (akad sewa menyewa) dan akad *al-ijarah al-'amal* (akad sewa menyewa dengan memberikan gaji/upah). Menariknya, jumlah wakaf tersebut justru bertambah pada periode setelah wafatnya Sultan Qalawun. Hal itu dapat terjadi karena wakafnya dikelola dengan cara yang transparan yakni adanya pemisahan wewenang untuk mengelola keuangan bimaristan secara ketat antara pihak yang menerbitkan jumlah nominal pengeluaran uang (*mubasyir idarah*) dengan pihak yang mencairkan pengeluaran uang (*mubasyir shunduq*) membuat terjadinya tindak penyelewengan maupun korupsi dari para pegawai bimaristan bisa diminimalisir sehingga memungkinkan Bimaristan al-Manshuri dapat beroperasi menjalankan fungsinya sebagai rumah sakit selama berabad-abad.

Kata Kunci: Wakaf Produktif, Bimaristan al-Manshuri, Qalawun.

INTRODUCTION

Waqf management in Islamic history has undergone significant adaptation and development. It evolved from a simple system in early Islam into a structured, institutionalized model in later periods, and continues to experience modernization today. The peak of waqf management manifested in state-sponsored institutions like the *Diwan al-Ahbas* or *Diwan al-Auqaf*, which financed numerous socio-religious buildings—mosques, madrasas, khanqahs, mausoleums, sabils, libraries, and bimaristans—across Muslim regions (Kasdi 2018:73–78). Historically, waqf has played a crucial role in supporting the socio-religious welfare of Muslim communities (Nazmi & Juliati 2024:12).

In terms of management, waqf divides into two categories: consumptive and productive. Consumptive waqf directly serves the community and typically funds religious activities, such as mosques, tombs, or madrasas. While beneficial, its impact on economic welfare remains limited. In contrast, productive waqf involves developing assets to generate income, which is then allocated according to the waqf's purpose. This model holds greater potential to enhance socio-economic welfare through sustainable income generation (Septiara, Baining, & Istiqomah 2023:296).

As a form of Islamic economic practice, waqf supports various social needs, including healthcare. Its structure is more flexible and enduring than zakat, infaq, or sadaqah. Unlike zakat, waqf has no requirements for specific time intervals (*haul*) or minimum thresholds (*nishab*), nor is it restricted in distribution. Thus, waqf offers longer-lasting and broader benefits, especially when directed toward the health sector (Pamungkas 2022:125–26). When managed productively, waqf assets generate surplus funds, prompting rulers to recognize waqf as an effective funding source for bimaristans (Ichsan 2018:105).

Waqf played a pivotal role in advancing healthcare quality in Islamic civilization. Muslim rulers actively contributed wealth to establish bimaristans. Egypt, in particular, saw multiple dynasties constructing bimaristans: Bimaristan Fustat during the Thuluniyah Dynasty, Bimaristan an-Nashiri during the Ayyubid period, and Bimaristan al-Manshuri under the Mamluks. Of these, Bimaristan al-Manshuri—founded by Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun in Cairo in 1284 AD—stood out as the largest and most renowned (Gibb 1986:1224).

Sultan Qalawun built Bimaristan al-Manshuri in Cairo during the Bahri Mamluk Dynasty Period. The institution offered free and high-quality healthcare to Muslims regardless of social class. Due to its superior services and size, contemporary historians referred to it as *Bimaristan al-Kabir al-Manshuri*. This success stemmed from its reliance on productive waqf as its primary funding source (Miller 2006:615).

Besides Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad also emerged as key centers for waqf-funded bimaristans. In Damascus, Caliph Walid ibn 'Abdul Malik initiated the first bimaristan building in 707 AD, that not funded by waqf but still financed by *baitul mal* (Fauziah 2018:133–34; Zein 2022:36). It was not until several centuries later, Sultan Nuruddin Mahmud Zanki built Bimaristan an-Nuri that truly financed through waqf in 1154 AD, although he focused more on founding madrasas (Al-Ansari 2013:69; Ibnu 2022:60–62). In Baghdad, Caliph al-Muqtadir Billah established the first waqf-financed bimaristan in 919 AD after a malpractice incident. Amir 'Adhud ad-Daulah of the Buwaihiyah Dynasty later built Bimaristan al-'Adhudi in 981 AD (Maravia & Al-Ghazal 2021:7; Miller 2006:616).

However, the waqf management practices in Damascus and Baghdad remain unclear. Historical records emphasize healthcare procedures rather than administrative details. Surviving documentation mentions income and allocation but omits the nature and management of the waqf assets. Most original waqf contracts no longer exist. Today, these bimaristans have ceased functioning as hospitals. The Mongol invasion in 1258 AD destroyed many of them, including Bimaristan al-Muqtadiri and Bimaristan al-'Adhudi (Miller 2006:615). Bimaristan an-Nuri in Damascus lost its primary waqf documents and the remaining records date to the Ottoman period and refer to a bimaristan in Aleppo (Halb) not Damascus (Çakar 2024:216) and even the Syrian government instead converted the building into a medical history museum in 1900 AD (Al-Ansari 2013:69).

In contrast, Bimaristan al-Manshuri still preserved its waqf contract document records, which remain accessible now and even still operate as eye hospital today (Ibrahim, Asslan, & Nassef 2023:81). Due to the availability of comprehensive waqf management documentation, the author chose Bimaristan al-Manshuri as the research object. No previous studies have explored bimaristan through the lens of waqf management.

Based on a search of previous references, the author found several literature in Indonesian that so far has only been known to discuss bimaristan that can be used as a literature review for this research, namely: (1) Nursilam's thesis entitled "Transformasi Bimaristan di Baghdad dari Pusat Medis menjadi Pusat Pendidikan Medis (Abad Ke-2 – 7 H / 8 – 13 M)" (2017); (2) Ismi Fauziah's article on *Jurnal Hikmah* entitled "Institusi Pendidikan Islam II: Darul Hikmah, Darul Ilmi, dan Bimaristan" (2018); and (3) Abdul Jalil AG's thesis entitled "Eksistensi Bimaristan sebagai Institusi Pendidikan Islam dalam Kitab Tarikh al-Bimaristanat Fi al-Islam" (2024). Those works mainly portray bimaristans as medical-educational institutions not as waqf-managed entities. In contrast, this study offers a novelty contribution by analyzing waqf management in Bimaristan al-Manshuri.

As for literature that is not in Indonesian, the author found that there are several literature in Arabic and English, discussing waqf and bimaristan that can be used as a literature review for this research, namely: (1) *al-Auqaf wa al-Hayat al-Ijtimai'yah fi Mishr 1250–1517 M* by Muhammad Muhammad Amin (1980); (2) *Tarikh al-Bimaristanat fil Islam* by Ahmad 'Isa Bik (2011); (3) Mustafa al-Ansari's thesis entitled "Bimaristans and Waqf in Islam: Case Studies of Hospital Endowments During 9th-13th Century in the Muslim World" at University of Sydney (2013); (4) *The Medieval Islamic Hospital : Medicine, Religion, & Charity* by Ahmed Ragab (2015); and (5) Enver Çakar's article on *Journal of Ottoman Civilization Studies* entitled "The Waqf of Nuri Bimaristan in Aleppo in the Mid-16th Century" (2024). Those studies discuss the existence of waqf in bimaristans but lack detail on how waqf was managed and generated income.

This study further distinguishes itself by referencing *Watsa'iq Waqf as-Sulthan Qalawun 'alal Bimaristan al-Manshuri*, a primary source rarely cited in existing research. This adds significant value and originality to the current study.

The study's significance lies in highlighting how waqf can fully fund hospital operations, eliminating the need to charge patients. In Islamic history, rulers rarely invested in healthcare facilities. Most focused on religious institutions like mosques and madrasas. This rarity adds another layer of importance to the study.

The research addresses three key questions. First, it introduces the concept of productive waqf in Islam to establish a theoretical framework. Second, it traces the founding of Bimaristan al-Manshuri, analyzing Sultan Qalawun's motivations and detailing the contents of his waqf contract documents—an invaluable primary source outlining waqf management mechanisms. Third, it investigates how Bimaristan al-Manshuri managed and sustained its waqf assets, revealing the mechanisms that enabled its long-term healthcare operations.

METHODS

This article is historical research and explores past events related to productive waqf in Bimaristan al-Manshuri during the time of Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun. The study use an Islamic philanthropic approach and Mundzir Qahaf's theory of productive waqf. The author employs the historical method, which consists of four stages. First, in the heuristic stage, the author collects primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include documents from the Mamluk era, such as Sultan Qalawun's waqf documents for Bimaristan al-Manshuri (*Watsa'iq Waqf as-Sulthan Qalawun 'alal Bimaristan al-Manshuri*), supported by the works of contemporary Mamluk historians, including an-Nuwairi (*Nihayat al-Arab fi Funun al-Adab*); al-Maqrizi (*Al-Mawa'izh wal I'tibar bi Dzakar al-Khithath wal 'Atsar*); Khalil ibn Syahin azh-Zhahiri (*Zubdah Kasyf al-Mamalik wa Bayan ath-Thuruq wal Masalik*); as-Sakhawi (*At-Tibr al-Masbuk fi Dziyal as-Suluk*); and as-Suyuthi (*Husn al-Muhadharah fi Tarikh Mishr wal Qahirah*). Secondary sources include scholarly books such as *As-Sulthan al-Manshur Qalawun: Tarikh Ahwal Mishr fi*

'Ahdih – al-Mansyatuh al-Mu'amariyah; Poverty & Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt 1250–1517; and The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Medicine, Religion, & Charity. Second, during the verification stage, the author conducts source criticism by analyzing Sultan Qalawun's waqf contract documents to extract authentic information. Third, in the interpretation stage, the author interprets data from the waqf contract documents and the contemporary historical records to clarify how the productive waqf functioned in Bimaristan al-Manshuri. Fourth, in the historiography stage, the author presents the interpreted data in the form of a scientific article (Gottschalk & Notosoesanto 1975:23).

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

The Concept of Productive Waqf in Islam Based on the Theory of Mundzir Qahaf

In essence, waqf in Islam refers to the act of withholding assets with economic value and lasting benefits for voluntary distribution to the community for the common good (Hazami 2016:178). Unlike general philanthropic donations, the concept of productive waqf emphasizes the management and development of waqf assets to generate optimal and sustainable economic value. This approach aims to increase the benefits received by the community and broaden their impact.

Mundzir Qahaf defines productive waqf as property that is managed to generate a surplus whose benefits can be sustained over time (Hakim & Nawawi 2024:7). These proceeds can fund various community needs in line with the purpose of the waqf, including non-religious sectors such as healthcare. In this context, waqf represents a philanthropic practice grounded in Islamic values and teachings.

As a form of Islamic philanthropy, waqf can support health services, including financing health institutions like bimaristan. Accordingly, this study use an Islamic philanthropic approach, drawing from the historical example of Sultan Qalawun's productive waqf, which funded Bimaristan al-Manshuri.

History of the Establishment of Bimaristan al-Manshuri

Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun, who ruled Egypt, Levant, and Hijaz from 1279 to 1290 AD was a founder of Bimaristan al-Manshuri. He is widely known for leading major campaigns against the Mongol Army and the Crusaders to summarize one sentence about his reign (Al-Ansari 2013:76). Before reign as sultan, while on a campaign in Syria, Qalawun suffered severe abdominal pain and received treatment at Bimaristan an-Nuri in Damascus. After recovering, he vowed (*nadzar*) to establish a similar hospital if Allah granted him power. Upon becoming sultan, he fulfilled his vow (*nadzar*) by building Bimaristan al-Manshuri in Cairo (Al-Maqrizi 1998:268).

Sultan Qalawun selected a site formerly to be a remained of Fatimid building located in Bainal Qashrain (between two palaces). The site choosed because featured a spacious hall measuring 10,600 cubits so that it can ideal for accommodating patients. During Sultan Qalawun's reign, the building is owned by an Ayyubid noble. Later, Sultan Qalawun acquired it by purchase and then instructed 'Alamuddin Sinjar asy-Syuja'i to begin constructing the building of bimaristan. He also commissioned the development of additional facilities in the complex, including madrasas, mosques, domes, towers, and tombs (Al-Maqrizi 1998:268).

Today, the site is known as the Qalawun Complex, located on al-Mu'izz Street in Cairo. Construction began in Rabi'ul Awal 683 AH (July 1284 AD) and finished in Rabi'ul Awal 684 AH (June 1285 AD), taking 11 months to complete. Sultan Qalawun celebrated the inauguration with a grand ceremony attended by officials, amirs, judges, and scholars. During the event, he announced the endowment of all buildings in the complex for public use and appointed Amir 'Izzuddin al-Afram as the *nazhir* in charge of managing the waqf.

Among the attendees was an Egyptian scholar and poet, al-Bushiri, who was so impressed by the complex that he composed a poem of praise for the sultan. The poem begins with the following lines follows (As-Suyuthi 1968:264):

أنشأت مدرسة ومارستانا # لِتصحّح الأديان والأبدانا

"You founded a madrasa and bimaristan to set right religions and bodies."

Not only that, after the construction was completed, above the main entrance of the madrasah and bimaristan complexes was engraved in Arabic writing, which reads as follows (Bik 2011:76–77):

أمر بإنشاء هذه القبة الشريفة المعظمة والمدرسة المباركة والبيمارستان المبارك، مولانا السلطان الأعظم الملك المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين قلاوون الصالحي. وكان ابتداء عمارة ذلك في ربيع الآخر سنة ثلاث وثمانين وستمائة والفراغ منه في ربيع اللأوال سنة أربع وستمائة.

"The erection of this noble dome, blessed madrassas and blessed bimaristan was ordered by our lord, the supreme sultan, *al-Malik al-Manshur Saifud Dunya wad Din Qalawun ash-Shalihi*. Its construction began in the month of Rabi'ul Akhir in the year six hundred and eighty-three and completed in the month of Rabi'ul Awal in the year six hundred and eighty-four."

Bimaristan al-Manshuri provided comprehensive health facilities for its patients, including wards for various illnesses, laboratories, pharmacies, kitchens, baths, storage rooms, libraries, and teaching rooms. The wardrooms could accommodate up to 8,000 patients, and on one day, it can treated patient up to as many as 4,000 peoples. It welcomed individuals from all social classes. Each patient who recovered received monetary compensation and new clothes to offset income lost due to illness (Donzel 1997:485). In addition to inpatient care, Bimaristan al-Manshuri offered outpatient services that is treating patients at home. At times, the number of home-care patients even exceeded those hospitalized at the bimaristan (An-Nuwairi 2004:72).

The excellence of Bimaristan al-Manshuri's health services impressed many scholars of its time. Mamluk-era scholars such as Muhyiddin ibn 'Abdi azh-Zhahir, Khalid ibn 'Isa al-Balawi, Ibn Syakir al-Kutubi, Ibn Fadhlillah al-'Umari, al-Qalqashandi, 'Abdul Basith al-Malthi, and Ibn 'Iyas consistently described it as the greatest and most unparalleled bimaristan in the Islamic world (Al-Hadad 1998:133–35). Compared to other renowned bimaristans—such as Bimaristan al-'Adhudi or Bimaristan an-Nuri—Bimaristan al-Manshuri not only stood out in size and service quality but also offered the most extensive historical documentation. As a result, historians referred to it as *Bimaristan al-Kabir* ("the Great Hospital") and praised its unique contributions to healthcare in the Islamic world.

Forms of Productive Waqf in Bimaristan al-Manshuri

Throughout Islamic history, rulers typically established bimaristans and funded them using their waqf properties. This trend was evident across many Muslim regions. Bimaristan al-Manshuri, founded by Sultan Qalawun, followed the same pattern and received financial support through the sultan's endowed assets.

To ensure the sustainability of his waqf and prevent future disputes, Sultan Qalawun issued a series of official waqf contract documents. Muhammad Muhammad Amin successfully documented these in 1976 and included them as an appendix to Ibn Habib al-Halabi's historical work *Tadzkirat an-Nabih fi Ayyam al-Manshur wa Banih*, published in volume one under the title *Watsa'iq Waqf as-Sulthan Qalawun 'alal Bimaristan al-Manshuri* (Sultan Qalawun's Waqf Documents for Bimaristan al-Manshuri).

The documented waqf contracts include the following (Amin 1976:295–96):

1. Waqf contract document dated 12 Shafar 685 H (9 April 1286 AD)
2. Waqf conctract document dated 21 Shafar 685 H (18 April 1286 AD)
3. Waqf contract document number 1010 from the Old Waqf Archive, Egyptian Ministry of Waqf
4. Waqf contract document number 1011 from the Old Waqf Archive, Egyptian Ministry of Waqf dated 14 Rajab 686 H (25 August 1287 AD)

Unfortunately, only two of these documents have been fully preserved and transcribed. Firstly, the waqf contract document dated 12 Shafar 685 H (9 April 1286 AD) contains 375 number lines and Secondly, the waqf contract document dated 21 Shafar 685 H (18 April 1286

AD) contains 108 number lines. Those records identify six types of waqf assets: a fruit orchard, three *al-Qaisariyyat* markets, a bathhouse, and a rental shop. At the time the contract was written, one of the *Qaisariyyat* markets and the bathhouse had not yet been completed (Ragab 2015:114–15).

For a clearer picture, the Mamluk historian, an-Nuwairi, summarized these productive waqf assets of Sultan Qalawun in Bimaristan al-Manshuri on the following excerpt (An-Nuwairi 2004:70):

> ولما كملت العمارة، وقد السلطان من أملاكه القياسر والرباع، والحوانيت، والحمامات، والفنادق والأحكار، وغير ذلك من الضياع بالشام، ما يحصل من أجر ذلك وريعه وغلاته، في كل شهر جملة كثيرة، وجعل أكثر ذلك على البيمارستان ثم التربة بالقبة.
>
> "When the building (*Qalawun Complex*) was completed, the Sultan (Qalawun) allocated his property in the form of *qiyasir* (markets), property, shops, baths, inns, agricultural land, and so on in Levant every month in large quantities and from the amount of the budget allocation the most was for Bimaristan (al-Manshuri) and then followed by a domed tomb (*Dome of al-Manshuriyyah*)."

The waqf contract documents reveal that although Sultan Qalawun initially endowed only six properties, these assets sufficiently funded Bimaristan al-Manshuri. All six were strategically located in the Bainal Qashrain Complex, at the heart of Cairo. Their central location made them among the most valuable properties in Egypt, generating substantial income to sustain the bimaristan's operational (Ragab 2015:114–15).

Additional records from an-Nuwairi show that Sultan Qalawun's waqf assets expanded significantly over time. Within twenty years of becoming *nazhir* (administrator) of Bimaristan al-Manshuri, the waqf assets significantly expanded from six properties in Cairo become into the various properties reaching as far as Levant. Al-Maqrizi reported that these waqf assets generated an annual income of one million dirhams (Al-Maqrizi 1998:268–69). An-Nuwairi also noted that the number of waqf properties continued to grow even after Sultan Qalawun's death (An-Nuwairi 2004:75).

Productive Waqf Management in Bimaristan al-Manshuri

This section analyzes how productive waqf management sustained Bimaristan al-Manshuri, drawing on primary sources such as Sultan Qalawun's waqf contract documents and historical accounts from the contemporary scholars. Since the sultan documented his waqf assets through contracts, identifying the specific management methods used is essential for understanding its approach. Dahwan (2008:71): identifies seven common contract types in productive waqf management.

1. *Al-Ijarah* (Lease Agreement)
2. *Al-Ijarah al-'Amal* (Lease with Wages)
3. *Al-Ijarah al-Muntahiyah bi at-Tamlik* (Lease-to-Own Agreement)
4. *Al-Murabahah* (Profit-Based Sale Agreement)
5. *Al-Musyarakah* (Trade Partnership Agreement)
6. *Al-Mudharabah* (Profit-Sharing Business Agreement)
7. *Al-Muzara'ah* (Agricultural Profit-Sharing Agreement)

Based on an analysis of Sultan Qalawun's waqf contract documents and historical records by an-Nuwairi, the author discovered that the sultan used two types of contracts to manage his productive waqf assets: *al-ijarah* (rental contract) and *al-ijarah al-'amal* (rental with wages) (Kusuma 2024:viii). This finding adds new insight to the study of Bimaristan al-Manshuri, as no previous research has examined the hospital's waqf management in such contractual terms.

The *al-ijarah* contract appears in the waqf contract document dated 12 Shafar 685 H (9 April 1286 AD), specifically in line number 238 to 240. In this section, Sultan Qalawun provides specific instructions to the *nazhir* on managing the waqf property, as documented by Amin

(1976:361):

> وسيأتي ذكر مفصلا فيه مبينا ومشروحا معينا، على الناظر في هذا الوقف والمتولي عليه يؤجر العقار من هذا الوقف المذكور، وما شاء منه، بنفسه أوبنائبه، مدة ثلاث سنين فما دونها بأجرة المثل فما فوقها، ويأجر الأرضي مدة ثلاث سنين فما دونها بأجرة المثل فما فوقها، ولا يدخل عقدا على عقد.
>
> "It shall be stated in detail clearly and clearly that the *nazhir* and *mutawali* of this waqf shall rent the property of the waqf, and whatever he desires, either directly or through his representative, for a period of three years or less, at a rent equal or more, and he (*nazhir* also) lease the land for a period of three years or less, at an equivalent rental price or more. And he (*nazhir*) does not include any contract with any contract (other than this waqf)."

And it is also mentioned again in another the waqf contract document of Sultan Qalawun dated 21 Shafar 685 H (18 April 1286 AD) in line number (53) to line number (55), about the same thing, which is as follows (Amin 1976:391):

> وتحديده فيه، على لِلناظر في هذا الوقف والمتولي عليه تأجير ذلك بنفسه أوبنائبه مدة ثلاث سنين فما دونها بأجرة المثل فما فوقها، ولا يدخل عقدا على عقد.
> "With the provisions therein to the *nazhir* and *mutawali* of this waqf to rent (the waqf property) either directly or through his representative for a period of three years or less at a rental price equal or more and he (*nazhir*) shall not enter any contract with a contract (other than this waqf)."

The two waqf contract documents of Sultan Qalawun indicate that he managed his productive waqf property through the *'aqd al-ijarah* (lease agreement contract) method. Under this system, the *nazhir* (administrator) acts as the first party who leases the waqf property to a tenant (the second party), while the tenant must return the agreed-upon profit to the *nazhir*.

Sultan Qalawun instructed both the *nazhir* and *mutawalli* to lease out the waqf property—either land or buildings—at appropriate (possibly higher) rental prices. He also imposed a strict limitation: the rental period could not exceed three years. Furthermore, he prohibited the *nazhir* from entering into any other type of contract with the tenant. Sultan Qalawun likely implemented this rule to prevent tenants from monopolizing the property and to ensure the *nazhir* would not misuse or divert the waqf assets.

By limiting leases to three years, Sultan Qalawun sought to promote the renewal and development of waqf assets, potentially increasing their productivity through reinvestment and expansion. These provisions confirm that the Sultan applied the *al-ijarah* (lease) contract model as they detail how he expected the *nazhir* or *mutawalli* to manage the leased waqf property.

The second method Sultan Qalawun used was *akad al-ijarah al-'amal* (lease contract with wages). This appears in his waqf contract dated 12 Shafar 685 H (9 April 1286 AD), specifically in line number 247 to 249. In this section, he outlines how the *nazhir* should distribute profits from the waqf assets (Amin 1976:362):

> ثم ما فضل بعد ذلك صرف منه الناظر ما يرى صرفه لِمن يتولي إيجار ذلك واستخراج أجرته وعمارته وصرف ريعه في وجوهه المشترطة فيه وتفرقة أشربته وأدويته من مشد. وناظر ومشارف وشاهد وكاتب وخازن، فيصرف لكل منهم من رابع هذا الوقف أجرة مثله عن تصرفه في ذلك وفعله.
> "Then after that, *the nazhir* may budget whatever he feels necessary to spend on the *mutawali* who rents (waqf property) and then takes the rent from the building (which has been waqf) to be issued the results for the conditions that have been set in it such as separating drinks and medicines from suppliers. (As for the employees of bimaristan such as)

nazhir, a supervisor, a witness, a clerk, and the treasurer each received a salary of a quarter of the waqf according to the position of employment. ”

This is also further strengthened by the statement of an-Nuwairi (a historian at that time who was a *nazhir* in Bimaristan al-Manshuri) in his article on the management of employing administration in Bimaristan al-Manshuri which also touched on the issue of waqf, which is as follows (An-Nuwairi 2004:70):

قد باشرته في شوال سنة ثلاث وسبعمائة، وإلى آخر رمضان سنة سبع وسبعمائة. ..... ورتب في البيمارستان من المباشرين والأمناء، من يقوم بوظائفه، واتباع ما يحتاج إليه من الأصناف، وضبط ما يدخل إلى المكان، وما يخرج منه خاصة، من غير أن يكون لهم تعلق في استخراج الأموال، وإنما يبتاعون الأصناف، ويحيلون بثمنها على ديوان صندوق المستخرج، ويكتبون في كل شهر، عمل استحقاق لِسائر أرباب الجامكيات والجرايات من سائر أرباب الوظائف ،والمباشرين، يكتبه العامل، ويكتب عليه الشهور. ويأمر الناظر بصرفه، ويخلد (في) ديوان الصندوق ويصرف على حكمه. وهذه الطائفة من المباشرين بالبيمارستان، هم مباشرو الإدارة.

وأما مباشرو الصندوق والرباع، فإليهم يرجع تحرير جهات الأوقاف، في الخلق والسكون والمعطل، واستخراج الأموال، ومحاسبات المستأجرين وصرف الأموال، بمضي حوالة مباشري الإدارة، ومباشرة العمارة، وعمل اللاإستحقاق لا يتصرفون في غير ذلك، كما لا يتصرف مباشرو الإدارة، في صرف الأموال، إلا حوالة بأوراقهم.

وأما العمارة، فلها مباشرون ينفردون بها، من ابتياع الأصناف، واستعمال الصناع، ومرمّة الأوقاف، وغير ذلك مما يدخل في وظيفتهم، كما يفعل في الإدارة، وينقل عليهم من الصندوق من المال، ما يصرفونه لِأرباب الأجر خاصة. ويكتبون في كل شهر، عمل استحقاق، بثمن الأصناف وأرباب الأجر، ويخصمونه بما أحالوا به على الصندوق، وما وصل إليهم من المال ويسوقونه إلى فائض أو متأخر.

وترفع كل طائفة من هؤلاء المباشرين حسباناتهم، مياومة ومشاهرة ومساناة إلى الناظر والمستوفي.

هذا ما يتعلق بالبيمارستان.

"I (an-Nuwairi) started (becoming *a nazhir* in Bimaristan al-Manshuri) from Shawwal in 703 until the end of Ramadan in 707 AH. ..... (In Bimaristan al-Manshuri) He (the sultan) appointed the people who worked as *al-mubasyirin* (employees) and *al-umana'* (recorders) according to their respective positions. Their task is to keep records of incoming goods and especially those that leave Bimaristan without being involved in money collection. They only buy goods (from suppliers) and send the nominal price to *the diwan shunduq al-mustakhraj* (the office of the expenditure fund) and every month *'amil* (distributor) records the salary expenditure (*'amal al-istihqaq*) for the employees (in bimaristan). *Nazhir* ordered the distribution of all kinds of necessary expenses (by bimaristan) to *the diwan shunduq* (fund office) according to the amount that had been determined. Those who are in charge of distributing the distribution are *mubasyirul idarah* (administrative employees).

The *mubasyirul shunduq wa riba'* (employees of the fund and property section) are in charge of surveying waqf (*tahrir*) assets, both maintained, uninhabited, damaged, spending money, calculating the nominal for rentals, and disbursing money bills from *mubasyir idarah* (administrative employee) and *mubasyir imarah* (building employee). They have no authority other than that like *mubasyirul idarah* (administrative employees) who do not have the authority to disburse money but only have the authority to issue bill notes on them (*haulah bi auraqihim*).

As for the building, it has its own employees (*mubasyir imarah*) who are in charge of buying goods (building materials), hiring builders, applying for waqf nominals, and other things included in their work. As in *the idarah* (administrative section), money is disbursed to them from *the shunduq* (fund section), which they specifically distribute to the

> craftsmen. Every month they record the nominal bill for the price of the goods (building materials they buy) and the salary for the craftsmen. Then measure the expenditure and the amount of money they receive from *the shunduq* (part of the fund) to calculate whether it is a surplus or deficit.
> Each group of employees reported their work on a daily, monthly, and yearly basis to *the nazhir* and *mustaufi* (head of the recording department). That is about (the management of employing administration in) Bimaristan."

Based on the waqf contract document and an-Nuwairi's statement, Sultan Qalawun also managed his productive waqf assets using the *'aqd al-ijarah al-'amal* method (service rental contract with salary/wages). This method involves a cooperation contract between the *nazhir* (service provider) and employees (*ajir*) who perform agreed tasks. The *nazhir* as the employer (*musta'jir*) must pay salaries or wages (*'amal al-istihqaq*) to the workers through a distributor (*'amil*).

In the first example from the waqf contract, Sultan Qalawun allowed the *nazhir* to take one-fourth of the rental income from shop buildings to pay their salaries and those of bimaristan staff—supervisors, clerks, witnesses, and treasurers. In the second case, an-Nuwairi noted that the *nazhir* hired employees such as *mubasyirul shunduq* (fund employer), *mubasyirul idarah* (administration employer), *mubasyirul imarah* (building employer), and *al-umana'* (recorders) to handle bimaristan's daily administration. These employees received wages based on their roles but only after the *diwan shunduq* (fund office) approved the disbursement. Thus, the *nazhir* had no unilateral authority to set or issue payments.

This strict and structured system ensured transparency in managing waqf assets and minimized corruption or fund misuse among employees—*nazhir*, *mutawali*, *al-umana'*, *mubasyir idarah*, and *mubasyir shunduq*. Furthermore, *mubasyirul shunduq wa riba'*, tasked with inspecting and maintaining waqf properties, helped preserve assets and ensured their benefits could support bimaristan operations. This careful oversight allowed the waqf at Bimaristan al-Manshuri to sustain itself for centuries.

Thus, these examples confirm that Sultan Qalawun applied the *'aqd al-ijarah al-'amal* method, as seen in the wage-based interactions between *nazhir* and bimaristan staff.

The author do not know exactly why Sultan Qalawun favored these two waqf management methods. However, his contract clearly rejected all other forms. He likely considered these methods the most effective for managing his primarily property-based waqf assets. Other methods likely emerged only in the modern era explaining their absence from those waqf practices.

Interestingly, as an-Nuwairi observed, Sultan Qalawun's waqf allocation to Bimaristan al-Manshuri increased over time. This growth stemmed from transparent financial practices. Specifically, the separation between those who approved expenditures (*mubasyir idarah*) and those who disbursed funds (*mubasyir shunduq*) limited corruption and strengthened the waqf's sustainability.

A clear example of this endurance appears in the account of Mamluk historian Khalil ibn Syahin azh-Zhahiri (lived 1410–1468 AD). During the reign of Sultan an-Nashir Muhammad (reign 1293–1341 AD), the waqf allocation for Bimaristan al-Manshuri rose to 40,000 *mitsqal* gold dinars per year and kept increasing to the point where Khalil could no longer track the total in his time (Mid-9th century AH / Mid-15th century AD) (Azh-Zhahiri 1894:29).

Another Mamluk historian, as-Sakhawi (lived 1428–1497 AD), reported a surplus income of 14,000 dinars in 1447 AD during the reign of Sultan azh-Zhahir Saifuddin Jaqmaq (reign 1438–1453 AD). When informed, the Sultan expressed gratitude to the *nazhir* for successfully growing the waqf income (As-Sakhawi 1896:87).

The most significant addition to the waqf occurred in the 18th century during the

Ottoman period. Amir 'Abdurrahman Katkhuda (lived 1699–1776 AD) added a new waqf to Bimaristan al-Manshuri in 1175 H / 1761 AD when he renovated the fire-damaged building. His waqf contract document contained 110 number lines, like Sultan Qalawun's owned. However, it focused only on new healthcare service procedures, without discussing waqf asset types or waqf management methods (Bik 2011:97–102).

Bimaristan al-Manshuri's exemplary waqf management, facilities, and reputation inspired later rulers. For example, Amir Arghun al-Kamili, Governor of Halb, built Bimaristan al-Arghuni in 1354 AD and Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Syaikh, the Burjid Mamluk Sultan, built Bimaristan al-Mu'ayyadi at Cairo in 1418 AD. However, neither matched the excellence of Bimaristan al-Manshuri.

Bimaristan al-Arghuni, in particular, lagged behind in service quality and facilities. Unlike Bimaristan al-Manshuri, it lacked baths for patients, offices for the *nazhir*, a medical school, a library, doctors' rooms, and a *sabil* (public water place) (Ibrahim et al. 2023:95). This gap likely reflects its limited service area—only a city or province—unlike Bimaristan al-Manshuri, which served the entire country.

Bimaristan al-Mu'ayyadi failed shortly after its completion in 1420 AD. It did not function long as a hospital and eventually ceased to operate altogether. This failure occurred because its waqf contract document lacked clear and detailed terms, leaving its management disorganized and neglected (Behrens-Abouseif 2007:244–45).

In contrast, Bimaristan al-Manshuri succeeded because its waqf contract contained specific and thorough conditions. It also maintained transparent and well-structured management, enabling it to continue operating as a hospital in modern times.

This contrast further highlights the effectiveness of Bimaristan al-Manshuri's waqf governance. In the closing section of the waqf contract, Sultan Qalawun explicitly prohibited future officials—sultans, viziers, military officers, *qadhis*, *muhtasibs*, heads of *Baitul Mal*, and *amirs*—from altering or revoking any of its provisions from his waqf contract policy (Amin 1976:370–71). As a result, historical records show no indication of misappropriation by the *nazhir* managing the waqf. The contract itself provided strong safeguards against corruption.

Therefore, it is no exaggeration that Mamluk historian Ibn Taghribardi (1411–1470 AD) praised Bimaristan al-Manshuri as having the bimaristan with best waqf management in both the Eastern and Western Islamic worlds of its time (Al-Hadad 1998:134).

Two main factors supported the success of Bimaristan al-Manshuri's productive waqf. First, its asset management remained transparent, as explained above. Second, its waqf contract required the *nazhir* to be the most trustworthy individual available. Typically, the sultan appointed an *amir* or a *Qadhi al-Qudhat* from his preferred *madhhab* as a *nazhir* who managed his waqf, for ensuring the waqf assets managed in trust (Ṣabrah 2000:70).

As Fuat Sezgin—a scholar of Arab-Islamic science history—has argued, this legacy of waqf management in Bimaristan al-Manshuri can serve as a model for modern health policymakers. It provides a strong foundation for developing sustainable funding systems in contemporary Islamic hospitals (Ansori et al. 2024:9).

However, despite its impressive management and services, Bimaristan al-Manshuri excluded non-Muslims from care. The waqf contract explicitly prohibited Jews and Christians from receiving any health services (Amin 1976:367). It also barred them from working as *nazhir* or doctors in the hospital (Amin 1976:362). This exclusion is ironic, considering that Jewish and Christian physicians made significant contributions to Islamic medicine—particularly through the translation of Greek and Latin medical texts into Arabic (Hasanah 2022:4).

That discrimination likely stemmed from Sultan Qalawun's political context. At the time, he was engaged in conflict with the Crusaders and became suspicious of non-Muslims, including those within his realm. While the waqf contract opened services to people across social classes, it simultaneously excluded other religious groups, casting doubt on Bimaristan al-Manshuri's image as an inclusive institution (Al-Ansari, 2013:85).

In addition to religious discrimination, Bimaristan al-Manshuri also discriminate gender. The waqf contract stipulated that all staff, including nurses, must be men. Historical records mention no female participation in patient care. This stands in contrast to early Islamic

history, which saw figures like Rufaidah al-Aslamiyyah serve as nurses who treated wounded-muslim soldiers on the battlefield (Al-Ansari 2013:88).

CONCLUSION

Bimaristan al-Manshuri, a hospital founded during the Mamluk Dynasty in Egypt, introduced a new paradigm in the historical narrative of bimaristan. Traditionally, historians have depicted bimaristans as free health institutions in Islamic history known for providing superior services. However, many narratives overlook the crucial factor behind their sustainability: the funding that enabled them to operate freely and effectively over long periods.

In the case of Bimaristan al-Manshuri, waqf served as the primary funding source. Sultan Qalawun endowed various types of properties and managed them effectively. His waqf ensured the hospital's prosperity and longevity, earning it recognition as the best bimaristan of its time in the Islamic world.

Sultan Qalawun funded Bimaristan al-Manshuri by leasing waqf assets through two contract methods: *al-ijarah* (property lease) and *al-ijarah al-'amal* (service lease with wages). These waqf contracts covered operational expenses such as patient care, facility maintenance, and staff salaries. This study identifies these two waqf management methods as new findings.

Interestingly, the waqf contributions increased after Sultan Qalawun's death due to the transparency of the waqf asset management. Within two years of the bimaristan founding, the waqf consisted of six types of property in the Cairo area and twenty years later, it had expanded significantly to include various properties reaching as far as Levant region (Syria). The total accumulated assets generated income of up to one million dirhams annually.

Despite its prosperity, Bimaristan al-Manshuri also had shortcomings—not in its waqf management system but in its service and staffing policies. The hospital prohibited Jews and Christians from receiving treatment or working as staff, and it excluded women entirely from serving as doctors or nurses.

This study offers a unique perspective, as few scholars have analyzed bimaristans from the funding angle. The author hopes this research will benefit future generations.

Based on these findings, the author offers two recommendations. First, policymakers—especially in the health sector—can take inspiration from this model. Waqf-based funding could help reduce hospital treatment costs while maintaining high service standards. Second, the author encourages researchers to use this study as a reference for developing similar work on the history of bimaristan in Indonesian language given the current lack of literature on the topic.

REFERENCE

Al-Ansari, Mustafa. 2013. "Bimaristan and Waqf in Islam: Case Studies of Hospital Endowments During 9th-13th Century CE in the Muslim World." Thesis on Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Sydney.

Al-Hadad, Muhammad Hamzah Isma'il. 1998. *As-Sulthan al-Manshur Qalawun: Tarikh Ahwal Mishr fi 'Ahdih – al-Mansyatuh al-Mu'amariyah*. Kairo: Maktabah Madbuli.

Al-Maqrizi. 1998. *Al-Mawa'izh wal I'tibar bi Dzakar al-Khithath wal Atsar*. Vol. 4. Beirut: Darul Kutub al-'Ilmiyah.

Amin, Muhammad Muhammad. 1976. *Watsa'iq Waqf as-Sulthan Qalawun 'alal Bimaristan al-Manshuri*. Kairo: Mathba'ah Darul Kutub.

An-Nuwairi. 2004. *Nihayat al-Arab fi Funun al-Adab*. Vol. 31. Beirut: Darul Kutub al-'Ilmiyah.

Ansori, Fahmi Mohammad, Muhammad Arman Al Jufri, Muhammad Hidayat, & Anun Bidl Maknunah. "Charting Science: Fuat Sezgin's Contribution to Science History Writing in the Islamic World (1250-1800)." *El Tarikh: Journal of History, Culture, and Islamic Civilization*, Volume 5, Number 1 (2024): 1–13. DOI: 10.24042/002024519242oo.

As-Sakhawi. 1896. *At-Tibr al-Masbuk fi Dziyal as-Suluk*. Mesir: Mathba'ah al-Amiriyah.

As-Suyuthi. 1968. *Husn al-Muhadharah fi Tarikh Mishr wal Qahirah*. Vol. 2. Kairo: Mathba'ah Musthafa al-Habi al-Halabi.

Azh-Zhahiri, Khalil ibn Syahin. 1894. *Zubdah Kasyif al-Mamalik wa Bayan ath-Thuruq wal Masalik*. Paris: Mathba'ah Jumhuriyah.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. 2007. *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of Architecture and Its Culture*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Bik, Ahmad Isa. 2011. *Tarikh al-Bimaristanat fil Islam*. Kairo: Mu'asasah Hindawi.

Çakar, Enver. "The Waqf of Nuri Bimaristan in Aleppo in the Mid-16th Century." *Journal of Ottoman Civilization Studies*, Number 21 (2024):216–29. DOI: 10.21021/osmed.1443943.

Dahwan. "Pengelolaan Benda Wakaf Produktif." *Aplikasia*, Volume 9, Nomor 1 (2008):71–85.

Donzel, Emeri J. van, ed. 1997. "Encyclopaedia of Islam. 4: Iran - Kha / Ed. by E. van Donzel." Leiden: Brill.

Fauziah, Ismi. 2018. "Institusi Pendidikan Islam II: Darul Hikmah, Darul Ilmi, dan Bimaristan." *Hikmah* 15(2):128–36.

Gibb, Hamilton A. R., ed. 1986. "Encyclopaedia of Islam. 1: A - B / Ed. by H. A. R. Gibb." Leiden: Brill.

Gottschalk, Louis, & Notosoesanto. 1975. *Mengerti Sejarah: Pengantar Metode Sejarah*. Jakarta: Yayasan Universitas Indonesia (UI-Press).

Hakim, Lukman, & Kholil Nawawi. "Finding Solutions to Productive Waqf Management Problems: A Case in Indonesia." *International Journal of Waqf*, Volume 4, Number 1:1–12. DOI: 10.58968/ijw.v4i1.508.

Hasanah, Uswatun. "Islamic Intellectual Development during the Abbasid Dynasty (750 AD-861 AD)." *El Tarikh : Journal of History, Culture, and Islamic Civilization*, Volume 3, Number 1 (2022):1–8. DOI: 10.24042/jhcc.v3i1.11700.

Hazami, Bashlul. "Peran dan Aplikasi Wakaf dalam Mewujudkan Kesejahteraan Umat di Indonesia." *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Volume 16, Nomor 1 (2016):173–204. DOI: 10.24042/ajsk.v16i1.742.

Ibnu, Muhammad Iqbal. "The Role of Nur ad-Din Zanki in Establishing the Sunni School in Aleppo and Damascus in 1146-1174 AD." *El Tarikh : Journal of History, Culture, and Islamic Civilization*, Volume 3, Number 1 (2022):56–67. DOI: 10.24042/jhcc.v3i1.11345.

Ibrahim, Maha, Hala Asslan, & Mazen Nassef. "Comparative Analysis between the Architecture of Bimaristans in Egyptian and Syrian during Mamluk's Era." *Journal of Mediterranean Cities* Volume 3, Number 1 (2023):75–100. DOI: 10.38027/mediterranean-cities_vol3no1_6.

Ichsan, Wahyu. "Sumbangan Wakaf Terhadap Peradaban Islam dan Barat." *Bidayah: Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, Volume 9, Nomor 2 (2018):101–12.

Kasdi, Abdurrohman. "Dinamika Pengelolaan Wakaf di Negara-Negara Muslim." *Ziswaf: Jurnal Zakat dan Wakaf*, Volume 4, Nomor 1 (2018):73–86. DHoi: 10.21043/ziswaf.v4i1.3032.

Kusuma, Roihan Fadhil. 2024. "Wakaf Produktif dan Pengelolaannya Pada Bimaristan al-Manshuri Masa Sultan al-Manshur Qalawun Tahun 1284 - 1290 M." Skripsi pada Program Studi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam, Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

Maravia, Usman, & Sharif Kaf Al-Ghazal. "Bimaristans: Services and Their Educational Role In Islamic Medical History and Their Influence on Modern Medicine and Hospitals." *Journal of the British Islamic Medical Association*, Volume 8, Number 3 (2018):1–15.

Miller, Andrew C. "Jundi-Shapur, Bimaristans, and the Rise of Academic Medical Centres." *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Volume 99, Number 12 (2006):615–17. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/014107680609901208.

Nazmi, Luthfiah, & Yenni Samri Juliati. "Sejarah dan Perkembangan Wakaf dalam Islam." *Menawan: Jurnal Riset dan Publikasi Ilmu Ekonomi*, Volume 2, Nomor 2 (2024):01–14. DOI: 10.61132/menawan.v2i2.227.

Pamungkas, Muhammad Sena Nugraha. "Peran Wakaf sebagai Penggerak Fasilitas Kesehatan dalam Peradaban Islam dan Penerapannya di Indonesia." *Al-Kharaj: Jurnal Ekonomi, Keuangan, & Bisnis Syariah*, Volume 4, Nomor 1 (2022):120–35. DOI: 10.47467/alkharaj.v4i1.466.

Ragab, Ahmed. 2015. *The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Medicine, Religion, and Charity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ṣabrah, Ādam ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. 2000. *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt 1250-1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Septiara, Anissa Ika, Mellya Embun Baining, & Khusnul Istiqomah. "Sistem Pengelolaan Wakaf Secara Produktif dalam Perspektif Ekonomi Islam (Studi Pada Masjid Abu Bakar Sari Kecamatan Telanaipura Kota Jambi)." *Journal of Student Research*, Volume 1, Nomor 6 (2023):295–311. DOI: 10.55606/jsr.v1i6.1810.

Zein, Nashrurrahman. "Contribution of the Umayyad Dynasty to the Development of Islamic Civilization (661-750 AD)." *El Tarikh : Journal of History, Culture and Islamic Civilization*, Volume 3, Number 1 (2022):31–40. DOI: 10.24042/jhcc.v3i1.8532.