Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz in the 17th Century

The Works and Thought of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-1690)

Naser Dumairieh

Institute of Islamic Studies

McGill University, Montreal

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[آنچه امیدوارم انجام داده باشم]

جمع در بعض امهات مطالب میان حاصل و ثابت بطریق برهان

و میان حاصل از طریق کاشفه محقق و عیان [است]

"I had hoped to combine the conclusions derived from logical proofs and the fruits of unveiling and direct vision"

Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī
The Qūnawī-Ṭūsī correspondence, p. 131.

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to situate the Ḥijāz within a broader narrative of Islamic intellectual history by demonstrating that the intellectual sciences, transmitted knowledge (i.e., from scripture), and Sufi theories and practices flourished there and together made the region one of the most intellectually dynamic centers of the 17th-century Islamic world. By exploring this understudied aspect of the history of post-classical Islamic thought, the dissertation aims to correct the tendency in both Western and Muslim scholarship to ignore this region and this time period. By showing that prejudices about the supposed decline of post-classical Islamic intellectual life are not based on solid evidence, my research offers convincing proof that this period witnessed interesting and original philosophical contributions that warrant further investigation. The principle case study used to support this argument revolves around the works and ideas of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, a leading scholar who is representative of Ḥijāzī intellectual activities in that period.

The dissertation begins by investigating the local and global factors that transformed the Ḥijāz into one of the primary scholarly destinations of that era, and hence into a meeting point for all the major intellectual trends in the Islamic world during the 16th and the 17th centuries. Then it focuses on the life and writings of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in order to explore the extent to which philosophical, theological, and Sufi texts were disseminated, studied, and discussed. On the basis of a detailed account of around 80 of al-Kūrānī's works - mostly still in manuscript – the dissertation ultimately synthesizes his ideas into a coherent philosophical system, and shows that intellectual life in the Ḥijāz during the post-classical period was rich and dynamic.

Résumé

La vie intellectuelle dans le Ḥijāz au 17ᵉ siècle

L'Œuvre et la pensée d'Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-1690)

Cette thèse s'efforce de situer le Ḥijāz au sein du champ plus vaste de l'histoire intellectuelle islamique et entend démontrer que les sciences intellectuelles, les connaissances transmises (par exemple, à partir des écritures), et les théories et pratiques Sūfīes y étaient florissantes et qu'elles contribuèrent à faire de cette région l'un des centres intellectuels les plus dynamiques du monde musulman au 17ᵉ siècle. Grâce à l'exploration de cet aspect sous-étudié de l'histoire de la théologie islamique post-classique, cette thèse vise à corriger la tendance qu'ont en partage les universitaires occidentaux et musulmans, à ignorer cette région et cette époque. En montrant que les préjugés concernant la période post-classique ne se fondent ni sur une documentation précise ni sur un examen détaillé de la vie intellectuelle, ma recherche offre l'évidence manifeste que cette période a connu des contributions philosophiques intéressantes et originales qui mériteraient un examen plus approfondi. La principale étude de cas utilisée ici pour étayer cet argument gravite autour des travaux et des idées d'Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, un érudit de premier plan, représentatif des activités intellectuelles d'un Ḥijāzī de cette époque.

Cette thèse s'ouvre sur une recherche consacrée aux facteurs locaux et globaux grâce auxquels le Ḥijāz est devenu une destination savante de premier plan à cette époque, et conséquemment, un point de confluence de toutes les principales tendances intellectuelles représentées au sein du monde musulman durant les 16ᵉ et 17ᵉ siècles. Elle s'attache ensuite à étudier la vie et les écrits d'Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī afin de déterminer dans

quelle mesure les textes philosophiques, théologiques et Sūfīs étaient alors diffusés, étudiés et discutés. Sur la base d'un compte-rendu détaillé d'environ 80 œuvres d'al-Kūrānī — pour l'essentiel encore manuscrites — cette recherche se clôt sur une synthèse de ses idées en un système philosophique cohérent, synthèse qui permet de montrer que la vie intellectuelle dans le Ḥijāz durant la période post-classique était riche et dynamique.

Acknowledgment

During the several years of this project, when asked about my work, I used to reply that I was investigating the intellectual life of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century. The usual reaction was: Was there anything in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century? I have realized how I have been extremely lucky that my supervisor, Professor. Robert Wisnovsky, accepted this topic, encouraged me to continue my research in this understudied area, and cared so much about my work. I am sincerely grateful for Wisnovsky's acceptance, patience, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout this long process of study and research. Without his confidence, knowledge, discussions, comments, corrections, and verification of every technical term, this dissertation would not have been possible.

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Lastly, and most importantly, a special thanks to my family in Syria, who were the source of love, encouraging, and inspiration, I will always be thankful for all of them. Especially I am thankful for my father, who was my first supporter in my academic life, constantly encouraging me, and who passed away before the completion of this work. His love and guidance are with me in whatever I pursue.

I can not express how thankful and grateful I am to my loving and supportive wife, for her unconditional love, support, encouragement, and inspiration. And to the light of our life, Neijem, who provides us with unending inspiration and joy. I dedicate this work to Florence and Neijem, the two stars of my life.

Introduction: The 11th/17th Century between Two Narratives

In the beginning of their *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Louis Gardet and Georges C. Anawati state that the Islamic sciences started in the Ḥijāz, specifically in Medina, the capital of the state established by Muḥammad.[1] Soon after the death of Muḥammad, the political and intellectual centers of the Islamic world as it developed and matured shifted to Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Isfahan, Shiraz, and other cities. Despite Gardet and Anawati's welcome reminder of the birthplace of the Islamic sciences, neither they nor any other scholars, to the best of my knowledge, have mentioned the important role played by the Ḥijāz and by Ḥijāzī scholars in the intellectual activities of the Islamic world after this early formative period. In this dissertation, I argue that during the 17th century, the Ḥijāz, and in particular Medina, returned to the center of Islamic intellectual life.

This dissertation aims to situate the Ḥijāz within larger narrative of Islamic intellectual history by demonstrating that the intellectual sciences, transmitted knowledge, and Sufi theories and practices flourished there and together made the Ḥijāz one of the most intellectually dynamic centers of the 17th-century Islamic world. The principle case study on which my argument is based revolves around the works and ideas of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, a leading scholar who is representative of Ḥijāzī intellectual activities in that period. This dissertation will argue that the 17th-century Ḥijāz was also one of the most active Sufi centers of its time, with scholars heavily influenced by the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. Through these arguments, I hope to extend research on post-classical Islamic thought to include new geographical zones, principally the Ḥijāz, as well as new disciplines that I argue contain important philosophical discussions, such as

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[1] Louis Gardet and Georges C. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane; essai de théologie comparée* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1970), p. 22.

debates over different aspects of the Ibn ʿArabī tradition. As I will elaborate below, I will also show the utility of a new research tool, the *isnād,* in tracing scholars and texts for achieving a more precise understanding of how knowledge circulated between different parts of Islamic world.

"The Ḥijāz" in the current study refers mainly to the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. However, the Ḥijāz also contains other important cities such as Jeddah, the main port city serving Mecca;[2] al-Ṭāʾif, the summer residence of the emirs of the Ḥijāz and a destination of many who settled there because it contains the tomb of the Prophet's companion Ibn ʿAbbās;[3] and Yanbūʿ, the port city serving Medina.

Studying intellectual life in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century directly challenges two narratives that have dominated both Western and Muslim studies related to this geographical zone during this century. For most of the 20th century, Western studies of Islamic intellectual history were dominated by a narrative of "decline" or "stagnation," the assumption being that intellectual life in the Islamic world entered a long period of decline after the 13th or 14th century, a decline that lasted until the 19th century. In the Islamic world, another narrative of "decline" dominated studies of the pre-modern era, namely, the Wahhābī narrative of "ignorance" (*jāhiliyyah*) that considered the Islamic world before Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his movement to be in a period of ignorance for several centuries. The 11th/17th century thus suffered in both narratives,

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[2] Jeddah played an important role in Red Sea trade, in addition to serving as the main port for pilgrims who came from the Indian Ocean. See: A. Pesce, *Jiddah: Portrait of an Arabian City* (London: Falcon Press, 1974); A. al-Anṣārī, *Tārīkh madīnat Jiddah* (Cairo: Dār Miṣr li-l-Ṭibāʿah, 1982); A. Bokhari, *Jeddah, A Study in Urban Formation* (University of Pennsylvania, PhD Dissertation, October 1978); D. Howell, *City of the Red Sea* (Essex: Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1985); Muḥammad ʿAlī Maghribī, *Malāmiḥ al-ḥayāt al-ijtimāʿiyyah fī al-Ḥijāz* (KSA, Jeddah: Dār al-ʿIlm, 1985).

[3] Henri Lammens, *La Cité arabe de Tāif à la veille de l'Hégire* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1922); Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Ḥasan Kamāl, *al-Ṭāʾif fī kutub al-muʾarrikhīn* ([KSA, Mecca]: Nādī Makkah al-Thaqāfī al-Adabī, 1995).

albeit for different reasons, as we shall see. This dissertation builds on the efforts of several prominent scholars to challenge these established narratives.

The Western narrative of decline is based on several prejudices dominating the discipline of Islamic studies through most of the 20th century. Dimitri Gutas in "The study of Arabic philosophy in the twentieth century" refers to several reasons for the spread of this narrative. Among these reasons is the assumption that Islamic philosophy came to an end with Averroes, "Ibn Rushd," an idea that spread with Ernest Renan's *Averroes et l'averroisme*, which was published in 1852. In Renan's narrative, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) was blamed for contributing to the demise of philosophy in the Islamic world. When Henry Corbin attempted to demonstrate the fallacy of this view in his *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, he focused on the Illuminationist tradition and its Safavid developments.[4] Corbin's efforts carried assumptions that philosophy only survived, in mystical form, in a very limited geographical zone, namely Safavid Iran, and within only the Twelver-Shiʿite tradition, in a sort of parallelism with Renan's idea above.[5]

A second reason for the narrative of decline is the idea that Islamic philosophy was only an intermediary between Greek and Medieval Latin philosophy. Gutas gives the example of De Boer's *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, which considered Islamic philosophy as philosophically insignificant in itself and as merely an intermediary between Greek philosophy and later Latin scholasticism.[6]

A third reason for the "decline" narrative in Islamic studies after its classical period is not mentioned in Gutas' article but is highlighted instead by Robert Wisnovsky in "The

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[4] Dimitri Gutas, "The study of Arabic philosophy in the twentieth century: An essay on the historiography of Arabic philosophy," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (2002), 29 (l), 5-25, p. 15.

[5] Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicennism and exegetical practice in the early commentaries on the *Ishārāt*," *Oriens* 41 (2013) 349–378, p. 351.

[6] Gutas, "The study of Arabic philosophy in the twentieth century," p. 10.

nature and scope of Arabic philosophical commentary in post-classical (Ca. 1100-1900 AD) Islamic intellectual history."[7] Wisnovsky argues that because most scholarly production in the post-classical period took the form of commentaries, glosses, and superglosses on earlier works, numerous contemporary Western scholars considered them to be unoriginal and uninteresting. This opinion can be seen in W. Montgomery Watt's words: "little originality was shown, and the chief effort of theologians went into the production of commentaries, super-commentaries and glosses on earlier works."[8] In general, the "decline" narrative, as El-Rouayheb has pointed out, came most prominently from Ottomanist, Arabist, and Islamist viewpoints.[9]

Even fifty years ago, scholars were beginning to challenge this narrative. Marshall Hodgson, for example, in *The Venture of Islam*, argues that the traditional notion of a post-Mongol decline of Islamic civilization does not do justice to the intellectual and cultural florescence of 16th-and 17th-centuries Ottoman Turkey, Safavid Persia, and Moghul India.[10] More recently, Frank Griffel in *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* rejects the accusation levelled against al-Ghazālī, that he was the main contributor to the demise of philosophy in the Islamic world.[11] Griffel argues rather that al-Ghazālī helped to spread

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[7] Robert Wisnovsky, "The nature and scope of Arabic philosophical commentary in post-classical (CA. 1100-1900 AD) Islamic intellectual history: Some preliminary observations," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies,* Supplement, no. 83, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 149-191.

[8] W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: 1981), p. 134.

[9] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 1.

[10] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

[11] "Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) has always played a leading role in Western attempts to explain the assumed decline of philosophy in Islam. Ernest Renan described al-Ghazālī as an enemy of philosophy who set off its persecution. "[He] struck a blow against philosophy from which it never recovered in the Orient." Watt wrote that al-Ghazālī argued powerfully against the philosophers, "and after this there was no further philosopher of note in the eastern Islamic world." See: Frank Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 5.

philosophy and integrate it into Islamic religious studies, "by criticizing a selected number of teachings in the *falāsifa*'s metaphysics and the natural sciences."[12] Al-Ghazālī singled out a limited number of theological or philosophical positions as unbelief, opening the door for all teachings other than the three condemned topics to be parts of Islamic religious studies and the religious sciences. Thus, not only did al-Ghazālī promote philosophy as an integral part of Islamic studies, but - on Griffel's reading - he also facilitated the integration of philosophy into other Islamic disciplines as well.

The call to extend the study of Islamic philosophy after al-Ghazālī to include other disciplines came a few years before Griffel's book, in Wisnovsky's aforementioned article. Wisnovsky argues that scholars should extend their research in post-classical Islamic philosophy to include, in addition to philosophy and *kalām*, subjects such as dialectic, logic, psychology, *adāb al-baḥth*, and semantic theory (*ʿilm al-waḍʿ*).[13] In his various writings, Wisnovsky attempts to show the lineage of Islamic philosophy as beginning with the Greeks and carried on to the present, or as he puts it, from Aristotle to Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905).[14] In this same vein, in his book *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context* he attempts to show the continuity of Greek philosophy in Islamic philosophy up through Ibn Sīnā. In later writings, he attempts to show the continuity up through Muḥammad ʿAbduh by focusing on Ibn Sīnā's commentary traditions.[15] The fact that almost one-half of the philosophical activity that took place in post-classical Islamic intellectual history was expressed in some form of exegetical work including

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[12] Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology,* p. 99.

[13] Wisnovsky, "The nature and scope of Arabic philosophical commentary," p. 156.

[14] Ibid., p. 150.

[15] Robert Wisnovsky, "Towards a genealogy of Avicennism," *Oriens* 42 (2014) 323-363; Wisnovsky, "Avicennism and exegetical practice in the early commentaries on the *Ishārāt*," *Oriens* 41 (2013) 349-378; Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception," in *Interpreting Avicenna: Critical Essays*, ed. P. Adamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 190-213.

commentaries, glosses, and superglosses[16] has been understood by some scholars, such as Watt, as a sign that the work of Islamic philosophers was unoriginal and uninteresting. Wisnovsky provides his readers with a long list of commentaries to show how much work will need to be done before such remarks can be justified.[17] He argues that the Ancient Commentators Project has shown that philosophical commentaries can - and often do - contain innovative and exciting thought.[18] Analyzing manuscripts of texts and commentaries of the post-classical period also "confirms that post-classical philosophical commentaries, including commentaries by *mutakallimūn* and commentaries on *kalām* texts, do contain serious and sophisticated discussions worthy of philosophical analysis."[19]

One of the most recent academic contributions challenging the narrative of decline is related directly to this dissertation, since it focuses on the 17th century and discusses some intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz, as part of its main geographic focus on the Ottoman and Arab lands. Arguing against the narrative of decline, El-Rouayheb in *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century* writes that the "rational sciences" were cultivated vigorously in the Ottoman Empire throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. With numerous examples from throughout the Ottoman Empire including North Africa, Cairo, and the Ḥijāz, he convincingly demonstrates that the intellectual history of these regions during this period needs to be fundamentally re-examined.

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[16] Wisnovsky, "The nature and scope of Arabic philosophical commentary," p. 152.

[17] In recent years, Wisnovsky has conducted a project to improve the list of the scholars and their works in which other researchers and I participated. The initial results of this study have produced a list ten times longer than the one mentioned in the article.

[18] Wisnovsky, "The nature and scope of Arabic philosophical commentary," p. 152.

[19] Wisnovsky, "Avicennism and exegetical practice," p. 351.

Thus, a growing number of prominent scholars, by exploring the impact and development of intellectual traditions in the Islamic world after the 13th century, have extended the borders of their research to include, in addition to philosophical and theological texts, works from disciplines such as logic, mathematics, astronomy, and psychology. In their efforts, these scholars have focused their attention on areas throughout the Islamic world, such as Ottoman Turkey, Safavid Persia, Mughal India, and North Africa. And yet, in contrast to these regions, the Ḥijāz, lying at the epicenter of the Islamic world, remains understudied.

Currently the two cities of Mecca and Medina are part of Saudi Arabia, which is politically and religiously dominated by the ideology of Wahhabism. Wahhābī scholars established the legitimacy of their control over the Arabian Peninsula through the claim that this area before Wahhabism was a land of "ignorance," a term that not only indicates the absence of any intellectual activity, but also means that the intellectual environment before the 18th century was as bad as, if not worse than, that of pre-Islamic Arabia in the 7th century CE. This description was later used to justify branding the opponents of the founder of the Wahhābī Movement, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1791), and his political ally Ibn Saʿūd, as "polytheists" (*mushrikūn*) or apostates (*murtaddūn*). As will be seen below, this Wahhābī description of polytheism and disbelief in Arabia and the Ḥijāz was mainly applied to Sufis, as the phenomena of polytheism (*shirk*), innovations "*bidaʿ*," and superstition were held by them to stem from popular Sufi practices and ideas.[20]

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[20] ʿAlī b. Bakhīt al-Zahrānī, *al-Inḥirāfāt al-ʿaqadiyyah wa-l-ʿilmiyyah fī al-qarnayn al-thālith ʿashar wa-l-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijriyyan wa-āthāruhā fī ḥayāt al-ummah* (KSA, Mecca: Dār al-Risālah li-l-Ṭabʿ wa-l-Tawzīʿ), pp. 269-435.

The narrative of "ignorance" (*jāhiliyyah*) can be traced to the writings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. In a short treatise, *al-Qawāʿid al-arbaʿ,* he states:

> The disbelievers (*mushrikīn*) of our time are worse in *shirk* than the previous generations because the former generations committed *shirk* during times of ease but they would become sincere during difficult times, unlike the disbelievers of today, whose *shirk* is continuous; at times of ease and of hardship.[21]

In his commentary, Ṣāliḥ al-Fawzān, who is a member of Saudi Arabia's Committee of Senior Scholars (*hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ*), gives examples of people who lived at the time of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, saying that "they are never sincere to God, not even during times of hardship. Rather, whenever their affairs become difficult for them, their *shirk* becomes even more severe and also their calling upon al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Abd al-Qādir [al-Jīlānī], al-Rifāʿī and others."[22] These examples refer to Shiʿites, who seek intercession from al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and to Sufis of the Qādiriyyah and Rifāʿiyyah orders. Al-Fawzān's later examples all come from Sufi tales. It seems that for him the disbelief of the Shiʿite does not need further evidence in order to be made obvious, but with respect to the Sufis, he adds:

> Read, if you wish, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shaʿrānī.* In it is what causes the skin to shiver. They call these incidents miracles (*karāmāt*) of the *awliyāʾ*. They rescue the people from the sea, extending their hands to the sea and carrying the whole ship to the shore, and many other fables of this sort.[23]

Al-Fawzān then concludes in the same way as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, that the disbelievers of the latter's time were worse than the disbelievers of pre-Islam Arabia.[24]

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[21] Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Ṣāliḥ al-Fawzān, *Sharḥ al-Qawāʿid al-arbaʿ* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2003), p. 31.

[22] Ibid., p. 34.

[23] Ibid., p. 34-5.

[24] Ibid., p. 35.

In another work, entitled *Kashf al-shubuhāt*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb states a similar idea, citing two reasons. The first is the same mentioned in *al-Qawāʿid al-arbaʿ*, that the disbelief of polytheists before Islam was only during times of ease, while the disbelief of polytheists of his time occurs during both times of ease and of hardship. The second reason is that the previous generations worshipped righteous people from among the angels, prophets, and *awliyāʾ*, whereas the disbelievers of his time worship the most deviant people who do not pray or fast, and who have committed adultery, sodomy, and other disgraceful deeds.[25] Al-Fawzān defines these people as those whom they call *al-quṭb* and *al-ghawth*, and as the vilest people like al-Ḥallāj, Ibn ʿArabī, al-Rifāʿī, al-Badawī, and others.[26]

The description of the situation before Wahhabism as a period of ignorance and disbelief became a common theme among most Wahhābī historians and scholars, who extended the period of ignorance beyond Arabia to include all of the Muslim world. Ibn Ghannām (d. 1225/1810), a historian of the Wahhābī movement who lived at the same time as Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, dedicated the first chapter of his history to clarifying that *shirk* and those led astray (*ḍalāl*) at his time were repeating the same type of disbelief as the pre-Islamic Arabians, yet the situation now was worse than the old *jāhiliyyah*.[27] Ibn Ghannām says that at the beginning of 12th/18th century, most people were in fact engaged (*inhamakū*) in polytheism (*shirk*) and had thus returned to the state of ignorance that obtained before Islam. The lights of Islam and Sunnah were thus erased.[28] His

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[25] Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Kashf al-shubuhāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀyiḍ al-Qaḥṭānī (KSA, al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Ṣumayʿī, 1998), pp. 77, 79.

[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and al-Fawzān, *Sharḥ al-Qawāʿid al-arbaʿ*, p. 35.

[27] Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr Ibn Ghannām, *Tārīkh Ibn Ghannām al-musammā Rawḍat al-afkār wa-l-afhām li-murtādd ḥāl al-Imām wa-tiʿdādd ghazawāt dhawī al-Islām*, ed. Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Kharāshī (KSA, al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Thulūthiyyah li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2010), p. 171 and after.

[28] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 171.

principal target is the same as that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: the Sufis. Ibn Ghannām claims that the people replaced worshipping God with the worship of saints and pious people, alive or dead, along with many other Sufi practices such as visiting shrines or calling for the intercession of figures other than God. In Ibn Ghannām's eyes, what was happening in the grand mosque (ḥaram) in Mecca was the worst, and he gives several examples of people visiting the tombs of the Prophet's Companions and praying to them. He says that what was happening at the Prophet's tomb and in the cemetery of *Baqīʿ* and at other Companions' tombs is well known. All these acts may be described as *shirk.* Ibn Ghannām mentions not only popular Sufi practices in Arabia, but also refers to Sufis in Egypt, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, and the Maghrib in order to support his idea that the situation of Muslims is worse than the situation of polytheists before Islam.[29] Another historian of the Wahhābī movement, Ibn Bishr (d. 1290/1873), has the same narrative of the spread of *shirk* in Arabia.[30]

A similar narrative can also be found in the work of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1242/1826), the son of the founder of the Wahhābī movement. He states that "the situation of the people before this religion [i.e., the Wahhābī movement], is largely similar to that of the people of ignorance."[31] We notice here that Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's son calls the new movement a religion that came in the time where the people's lives were similar to the first ignorance of the time of the Prophet. We can find the same narrative in some treatises of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 1292/1876),

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[29] Ibid., vol. 1, 5-25, 137.

[30] ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-majd fī tārīkh Najd*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh (KSA, Riyāḍ: Maṭbūʿāt Dārat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 4th ed., 1982), vol. 1, p. 6-7.

[31] Ibn Ghannām, *Tārīkh Ibn Ghannām*, p. 110, cf. the editor's introduction.

the grandson of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.[32] Over around 50 pages, Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbūd's *ʿAqīdat al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-salafiyyah wa-atharuhā fī-l-ʿālam al-Islāmī* collects evidence from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and historians of his life and movement, as well as from his followers and other authors, to prove that Arabia specifically and the Islamic world generally was in a period of "ignorance" worse than the actual *jāhiliyyah* before the Prophet Muḥammad.[33] This narrative continued to dominate most of the Wahhābī and Salafī literature of the 20th century,[34] including the work of the late Saudi *muftī* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (d. 1999)[35] and other scholars.[36]

Sulaymān al-Kharāshī, the editor of Ibn Ghannām's text, which was published in 2010, explains that the situation before the Wahhābī movement was described as "an age of decline" (*ʿuṣūr al-inḥiṭāṭ*), in which Muslim countries (*bilād al-Muslimīn*) suffered a complete decline in all aspects of life: religious, political, social, and economic. The most prominent manifestation of this decline was the resurgence of polytheism and disbelief.[37] All the examples he gives are related to popular Sufism, such as visiting tombs and shrines, and seeking the intercession of figures both dead and alive. After citing the

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[32] *Majmuʿat al-Rasāʾil wa-l-masāʾil al-Najdiyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Manār, 1345/[1927]), vol. 3, pp. 381-388. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā edited this collection of treatises by Najdī scholars and the publication was sponsored by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

[33] In this context it is not my intention to discuss Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's attitude towards Sufism. It is sufficient to note that he repeats Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, that their disbelief is worse than that of Christians and Jews. See Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Rasāʾil al-shakhṣiyyah*, ed. Ṣāliḥ al-Fawzān and Muḥammad al-ʿUlayqī (KSA, Riyāḍ: Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyyah, 1976), p. 189.

[34] Among those who used this description were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh (d. 11 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1285/1869), the grandson of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Ibn Ghannām, *Tārīkh Ibn Ghannām*, p. 110, cf. the editor's introduction.

[35] Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbūd, *ʿAqīdat al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-salafiyyah wa-atharuhā fī al-ʿālam al-Islāmī* (KSA, Medina, al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, PhD dissertation 1408/1987-8), p. 45.

[36] Ibid., pp. 45-61. Pages 21-61 are all citations from different scholars about the situation of *jāhiliyyah* before Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

[37] Ibn Ghannām, *Tārīkh Ibn Ghannām*, p. 101.

spread of shrines in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and the Maghrib, the editor mentions that when Najdīs (i.e., followers of Wahhabism from Najd in central Arabia, its birthplace) entered Mecca, they destroyed 80 domes built over the tombs of people from the house of the Prophet (*āl bayt al-nubuwwah*).[38] In general, Wahhābīs consider visiting shrines and tombs as a form of worship, calling Sufis *qubūriyyah* or "tomb-worshippers" from the word *qabr* "tomb."

Similar to the narrative of "decline" in Western studies, the Wahhābī narrative of "ignorance" has also been challenged, in this case by a few studies that tried to show that Najd, and Arabia more broadly, were actually full of scholars engaged in various activities. For example, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUthaymīn in an article entitled "Najd mundhu al-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī ḥattā ẓuhūr al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb" [Najd from the 10th century until Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb] tries to demonstrate that there were numerous such scholars in Najd.[39] The book *ʿUlamāʾ Najd khilāl thamāniyat qurūn* [*Najdī Scholars During Eight Centuries*] by Āl Bassām mentions around 100 scholars from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century. These and other studies focus mainly on Ḥanbalī scholars, and were targeted by Wahhābī researchers in an effort to discourage what the Wahhābīs considered to be a pernicious direction of study. They argued that such works have the potential to cast doubt on the movement of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his role in combating *shirk* and in guiding people back to the Quran and the Sunnah. They also argued that these studies would undermine the accounts that speak about the spread of *shirk* before the Wahhābī movement, and might suggest that its founder simply sought

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[38] Ibid., p. 102, cf. the editor's introduction.

[39] ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUthaymīn, "Najd mundhu al-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī ḥattā ẓuhūr al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb," *al-Dārah*, September 1978, pp. 32-46.

fame and leadership.[40] The defenders of the Wahhābī narrative usually list numerous citations to prove that the Najd was in fact in a period of *jāhiliyyah*.[41]

Current academic research may find it difficult to change the Wahhābī perspective by demonstrating that the Ḥijāz was a center of intellectual activities of philosophy, *kalām*, and Sufism, as Wahhābīs actually condemn intellectual activities as factors of decline rather than of progress and prosperity. Many Wahhābī writers consider the efforts of Wahhabism to be directed mainly against these disciplines. In *ʿAqīdat al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-salafiyya*, the author has a chapter entitled: "[Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's] refutation of the methods of *jāhiliyyah* and of the theologians (*ahl al-kalām*)."[42] Another work has a chapter dealing with the role of the Shaykh al-Islām [Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb] in combating philosophy, logic, and *ʿIlm al-kalām*.[43]

As we see from these two narratives, the 17th-century Ḥijāz has historically been described as a time and place of "decline" or of "ignorance," with few serious attempts to explore its actual intellectual life.

If Islamic intellectual history does not mention the Ḥijāz due to the dominant narratives of decline and ignorance, and more recent studies challenging these narratives still do not include this geographical zone as a significant subject of study, one would still expect to find a mention of the Ḥijāz in the works that deal with Sufism. Given that Sufism was an essential part of religious life in the Ottoman Empire and many Sultans were inclined towards Ibn ʿArabī's thought, it is unsurprising that Sufism spread to the Ḥijāz when it was under the control of Ottomans. In 1887, Alfred Le Chatelier

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[40] Ibn Ghannām, *Tārīkh Ibn Ghannām,* p. 108, cf. the editor's introduction.

[41] Other examples of articles that attempted to refute the claim that the Najd had many scholars before Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb can be found in the introduction of *Tārīkh Ibn Ghannām*, p. 107, fn. 1.

[42] Al-ʿAbbūd, *ʿAqīdat al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-salafiyya,* p. 198.

[43] Al-Zahrānī, *al-Inḥirāfāt al-ʿaqadiyya wa-l-ʿilmiyya,* p. 244.

published *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz,* in which he mentioned 18 Sufi orders active in the Ḥijāz at that time.[44] With the increased interest of Western academic studies in Sufism and Akbarian studies,[45] one would expect to find some further interest in the diffusion of Ibn ʿArabī's thought in the Ḥijāz, which was known as a center of Sufi orders before the days of Wahhabism, but, to my knowledge, there is no mention of the spread and influence of Ibn ʿArabī's thought in the Ḥijāz in the existing scholarly work on the region. For example, in a comprehensive study about Ibn ʿArabī and his commentators, James Morris moves from Jāmī (d. 1492) to the late 19th-century figure ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1883), who is credited by Morris for reviving the teachings of the Ibn ʿArabī.[46] However, Morris acknowledges that more research is needed to bridge the gaps in the Akbarian tradition:

> If the Sufi writings of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1300/1883) discussed in the following section appear to us today as a sudden, mysterious "renaissance" of the creative study of Ibn ʿArabī in the Arabic world, that is simply a reminder of how much research remains to be done in this (and other) areas of later Islamic thought.[47]

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[44] Alfred Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz* (Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur, 1887). This text seems to be motivated partly by political consideration, as the author was a soldier who engaged in colonial projects before becoming a professor of Islamic Sociology at the Collège de France from 1902 to 1925. Le Chatelier collected his information by interviewing pilgrims who returned from the Ḥijāz to Cairo. He gives a general overview about each order and was interested if it was independent or still connected to its place of origin, such as Iraq for the Qādiriyyah and India for the Naqshbandiyyah. In the introduction he refers to the Tijāniyyah order in North Africa and mentions two *zāwiyās,* saying that one of them has good relationships with the colonial powers while the other rejects the French presence in North Africa. Then he says that he has good knowledge about these orders in North Africa but not in other places in the Islamic world, and therefore he had decided to interview pilgrims who returned from Mecca to gather information about Sufi orders in the Ḥijāz.

[45] One can mention the contributions of Henry Corbin, Michel Chodkiewicz, Toshihiko Izutzu, Osman Yahya, William Chittick, Jan Clark, Alexander Knysh, James W. Morris, and Claude Addas.

[46] James W. Morris, "Ibn ʿArabī and his interpreters: Part II (Conclusion): Influences and interpretations," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar. 1987), pp. 101-119, p. 115.

[47] Ibid., p. 114.

With the dominance of the anti-Sufi ideology of Wahhabism in the Arabian Peninsula, including the Ḥijāz, almost all historical and Sufi sites have been destroyed and most forms of Sufi activity are currently prohibited. As mentioned above, approximately 80 shrines in Mecca were destroyed the first time Wahhābīs entered the city in 1803, and although the Wahhābīs were pushed out after a few years, in 1923 they once again began destroying the remaining historical sites with advent of the third Saʿūdī kingdom, which still rules the country. The last of these sites - the numerous mausoleums and raised graves of the *Baqīʿ* cemetery - were destroyed in 1925. Given that it is forbidden for non-Muslims to travel in the Ḥijāz and the relative paucity of historical archeology in this region, the sources for the history of the area are largely limited to literary sources, such as travel accounts, books of history, bio-bibliographical works (*ṭabaqāt*), and manuscripts. However, these literary sources are very rich and are sufficient to construct a detailed picture of the vibrant intellectual life in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century. A substantial number of primary sources for the 17th-century Ḥijāz's history and social life have been edited and published. There is also an increasing number of secondary studies based on these primary sources, as well as Western travelers' accounts, and manuscripts that have recently became accessible. More important for this research and for intellectual studies in general are the actual texts produced during the 17th century, most of which, fortunately, are still extant in various libraries and archives around the world.

After laying out the historical context and the intellectual milieu of the 17th-century Ḥijāz, this research will then focus on one particular scholar who was active in the intellectual life in the Ḥijāz and the entire Muslim world in the 17th century: Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690). Al-Kūrānī is a key figure in Islamic intellectual history during the 17th century, and was one of the most important scholars of that period. His

philosophical contributions are a genuine synthesis of different intellectual traditions of Islamic history, mainly the philosophy-*kalām* tradition that extended from Ibn Sīnā until al-Dawānī and included al-Ṭūsī, al-Ījī, al-Taftāzānī, and al-Jurjānī; and the Akbarian tradition that extended from Ibn ʿArabī and included al-Qūnawī, al-Qāshānī, al-Qayṣarī, and Jāmī. Centuries before al-Kūrānī, Sufism had become increasingly philosophical due to the efforts of al-Qūnawī and his circle, and theologians were also discussing various Sufi ideas as *kalām* itself had become increasingly philosophical after al-Ghazālī and al-Rāzī. With al-Kūrānī, there was little to separate theology from Sufism, and no attempt was made to reconcile Ibn ʿArabī's ideas with theology. Rather, Ibn ʿArabī's ideas *became* Islamic theology. Thus, al-Kūrānī can be seen as the culmination of the philosophized Akbarian tradition, at least in the Sunni world.

Focusing on al-Kūrānī's efforts does not mean underestimating the efforts of other scholars at that time. Rather, my aim is to extend research on post-classical Islamic intellectual life to include other regions and scholars that have received less interest, and thereby gain a better picture of intellectual life in the Islamic world during the 17th century. The limitations of time made it impossible for me to compare al-Kūrānī's efforts with those of other scholars who were active during the same period or earlier, such as Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640). However, I hope that my work will motivate further comparative research that can shed more light on the scholarly activities in the 17th century throughout the Islamic world.

In my research, I attempt to reconstruct al-Kūrānī's theological-Sufi thought in a coherent way, working from the 100 treatises that constitute the totality of his work. Fortunately, almost all of these treatises still exist in manuscript form in different libraries around the world. I was able to collect, analyze, and study around 80 treatises

by al-Kūrānī, as well as dozens of manuscripts by other scholars relevant to this topic. This effort gave me a clear sense of his engagement in discussions with scholars from different parts of Islamic world, including Southeast Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, Iran, Yemen, Syria, and North Africa.

I thus explore intellectual developments in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century by addressing questions related to intellectual life in the Ḥijāz in general, and al-Kūrānī's contribution to Islamic intellectual history in particular. Among the questions posed are: How was the Ḥijāz configured as a center of Islamic intellectual life in the 17th century? Who were the main figures in the Ḥijāz during this period, and what were their activities? Which texts did they study or teach, why, and to whom? To what extent were they aware of, and connected to, contemporary intellectual activities in Ottoman lands, Safavid Persia, and Mughal India? What were the main influences on al-Kūrānī's thought? And what were al-Kūrānī's main contributions to Islamic intellectual debates?

In order to address these questions in a systematic way, this dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first two chapters are intended to contextualize and situate al-Kūrānī's efforts within a broader historical and intellectual framework, whereas the remaining three chapters are dedicated to examining his life, works, and thought, in order to give a precise account of his contributions to various Islamic disciplines, mainly theology, Sufism, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and Arabic grammar.

In Chapter One, I aim to situate the 17th-century Ḥijāz within local and global contexts in order to explore the factors that contributed to the Ḥijāz's emergence as a center that attracted scholars and students from all around the Islamic world. After setting these historical and political scenes, in Chapter Two I examine intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz during that century. In this chapter I show that Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, the focus of the

remaining chapters, was not an exception in the 17th century. Rather, a consideration of the wider intellectual framework of the 17th-century Ḥijāz reveals a region full of active scholars who taught and studied the rational sciences, and in which intellectual institutions such as madrasas, libraries, and dormitories in the form of *ribāṭ*s and *zāwiyā*s flourished.

In Chapter Three, I focus on the life, education, teachers, students, and works of al-Kūrānī. By investigating his teachers and students, I show how rich and diverse the Ḥijāz was in the 17th century. Keeping in mind that al-Kūrānī never left the Ḥijāz after he settled in Medina, it is significant that most of these teachers and all of these students studied with him there. The number of scholars who studied with him in the Ḥijāz thus exceeds the number of those mentioned in Chapter Two, reaching a total of more than 100. These scholars and students came from almost the entire span of the Islamic world, a fact that supports the arguments of the first two chapters concerning the centrality of the Ḥijāz during the 17th century for both intellectual activities and the circulation of knowledge throughout the Islamic world.

In Chapter Four, I examine in detail the philosophical arguments in al-Kūrānī's works in order to explore to what extent philosophical and Sufi ideas were discussed in the Ḥijāz and the nature of these discussions. This chapter demonstrates the depth and importance of intellectual discussions in the 17th-century Ḥijāz. In my analysis of al-Kūrānī's ideas, I refer to the main sources that al-Kūrānī used in order to contextualize his thought within the general landscape of Islamic intellectual history. However, my attempt is limited to pointing out essential background questions involved in al-Kūrānī's discussions, since an effort to provide a comprehensive discussion of any philosophical issue would have to include a long history of arguments interconnected with other

philosophical debates. To be clear, if a certain idea is ascribed below to al-Taftāzānī or Ibn ʿArabī, that does not mean that this idea was their original contribution; rather, it means that al-Taftāzānī's or Ibn ʿArabī's writings were, in my opinion, the direct and immediate sources of these ideas for al-Kūrānī. The complete narrative of these ideas and their intellectual contexts cannot be addressed in this limited work.

Chapter Five is dedicated to other topics that al-Kūrānī addressed in his works. Theology and Sufism were his main interests, but as a scholar, *muftī*, and Sufi leader he received questions related to different disciplines. As a result, his works include treatises on *ḥadīth, fiqh*, and Arabic grammar. This chapter also challenges the assumption of some scholars that the Ḥijāz in the 17th century was a center of revival in *ḥadīth* studies.

Finally, in the conclusion I present the general results of my research and open the horizon toward further studies on the intellectual life in the Ḥijāz, suggesting that we sorely need a study that lays out in detail how Ibn ʿArabī's thought reached the Ḥijāz, a topic that I hope to investigate further in the future.

Chapter One: The 17th-Century Ḥijāz in its Local and Global Context

Despite the special status of Mecca and Medina for Muslims, Western studies of this region are limited mainly to the formative period of Islam or to the Arab Revolt (1916–1918) initiated by the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 1931). A general overview of the history of Islamic civilization may justify the lack of interest in this region since soon after its beginnings, the centers of political, cultural, social, and economic activities moved to Damascus, then Baghdad, Cairo, Isfahan, and ultimately to other cities around the Muslim world. For almost thirteen centuries, the Ḥijāz played no essential role in the political life of the Islamic world, primarily important only to pilgrims or visitors to the tomb of the Prophet.

Another reason for the scholarly inattention to the Ḥijāz is the fact that it is forbidden for non-Muslims to enter these two cities, considered holy by all Muslims. Moreover, given the absence of scientific archeological evidence of their history, due to the destruction of historical sites by the Wahhabis, the historian is reduced principally to literary texts based on history, travel, and bibliographical (*ṭabaqāt*) books.[1] Arab scholars were no more interested in the history of the Ḥijāz than Western scholars. The Ottoman rule of the Arab World for almost 400 years is ignored or even criticized by Arab nationalists who consider the Ottomans the oppressors of the Arab people. The non-

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[1] William Ochsenwald says that "outside the Arabian Peninsula, most Western scholars have also generally ignored the history of Ottoman Arabia, partially because of the difficulty of research access but also because as compared to such places as Egypt, Arabia before the era of oil production was deemed not worthy of attention. It was only the end of Ottoman Arabia during World War I and in particular the adventures of T. E. Lawrence, Lawrence of Arabia, that captured much attention." Willaim Ochsenwald, "Ottoman Arabia and the Holy Hijaz, 1516-1918," *Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective*: Vol. 10: No. 1, 2015, pp. 23-34, p. 24.

nationalist modern state in Saudi Arabia is ruled by a dynasty that was a historical enemy of the Ottomans and, as mentioned in the introduction, considers the pre-Wahhābī movement a period of ignorance.

Due to the lack of studies on the Ḥijāz, I have found it useful to present an overview of its history by focusing on the fundamental phenomena that contributed, in my opinion, to transforming the Ḥijāz into a desirable center that would attract scholars and students from all around the Muslim world in the 17th century. The general outline of the history of the Ḥijāz is arranged chronologically with special focus on some regional religious, economic, and political factors that led it to be a center for intellectual life in the 17th century. The first part of this chapter will deal with these regional factors that contributed to the prosperity of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century. These factors were to a great extent a reflection of a larger global context that is presented in the second part of this chapter, in which the main worldwide changes that occurred in 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries and that affected, directly or indirectly, the situation in the Ḥijāz during the 11th/17th century are pointed out. These factors distinguished the success of the Ḥijāz in attracting scholars and students, which in turn transformed the Ḥijāz into a center of intellectual activity and of knowledge transmission through the annual season of pilgrimage.

This chapter aims to situate the 17th century Ḥijāz within these local and global contexts to show that the Ḥijāz was not isolated from its geographical and historical milieux. Moreover, as we shall see in Chapter Two, nor was it isolated from the intellectual and philosophical discussions that were taking place in other regions of the Islamic world. As an introduction to these matters, a general review of some secondary

and primary sources about the history of Mecca and Medina relevant to the current study will be presented.

[1.1] Literature Review

[1.1.1] The Ḥijāz in Western Literature

Earlier Western studies mostly depended on travelers' accounts and literary sources in manuscript form, many of which have now been edited and published.[2] Mecca was a forbidden city for non-Muslims, which encouraged many non-Muslim adventurers to try to reach the city and write about their experiences. Many of them were scholars who wrote accurate and valuable accounts that, together with local primary sources, became the basis for other studies. In the following paragraphs are listed some of the main English-language studies that present valuable information about the history of the Ḥijāz.[3]

Michael Wolfe has compiled many of these travelers' narratives in the 500-page *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage*. This book contains a list of 23 voyages to Mecca by Muslims and non-Muslim scholars, from classical travelers such as Naser-e Khosraw, Ibn Jubayr, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah to twentieth-century travels.[4] *Rulers of Mecca* by Gerald de Gaury, first published in 1951, may be one

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[2] Mecca was chosen in 2005 as Capital of Islamic Culture, celebrating this occasion by editing and publishing several works about the history of the city; see below for the main sources on the history of the Ḥijāz.

[3] Probably the earliest traveler to arrive in Mecca was the Italian Ludovico di Varthema, who visited the city in 1503. After Varthema, an anonymous Westerner came to Mecca with the *ḥajj* caravan from Cairo in 1575 and recorded his impressions. In 1678 an Englishman, Joseph Pitts, was captured aboard a ship by Algerian pirates and sold as a slave, professed Islam, and then accompanied his master on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1685. John Lewis Burckhardt (1814-15), Sir Richard Burton (1851), Snouck Hurgronje (1885), and many others of those who reached Mecca and Medina wrote about their adventure. For additional accounts of travelers who reached the Ḥijāz, see Augustus Ralli, *Christians at Mecca* (London: W. Heinemann, 1909).

[4] Various accounts from different periods in chronological order have been selected to give the reader a sense of the changing nature of the *ḥajj* over the centuries. All the accounts are taken from material

of the most comprehensive works about the history of Mecca from the perspective of its rulers and their conflicts and relations with powers outside of the Ḥijāz.[5] F.E. Peters in *Mecca: A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* mentions that travel literature is an important resource for his enterprise.[6] This book covers the history of the Ḥijāz from pre-Islamic period to 1925, and it is a good reference for Western contact with the Ḥijāz starting from the 16th century.

One of the main sources for the social life in Mecca among the accounts of western travelers who reached the Muslim holy cities and wrote about them is C. Snouck's work *Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century*.[7] Snouck lived in Mecca for six months in 1884-1885 and wrote from personal experience of Meccan life.[8] This work is volume two

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published in or translated into the English language. Michael Wolfe, *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage* (New York: Grove Press, 1997).

[5] Gerald De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca* (London: George G. Harrap & CO. LTD. [1954]). The author mentions in the introduction that his account of medieval history is based on a manuscript loaned to him in confidence in Baghdad. He also used well-known historical works by Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Khaldūn, and al-Jabartī, as well as accounts of other western travelers who visited Mecca and wrote about their journeys. The manuscript that he used as the main source is published; see: Raḍī al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Mūsawī and Mahdī Rajāʾī, *Tanḍīd al-ʿuqūd al-saniyyah bi-tamhīd al-dawlah al-Ḥasaniyyah* (Qum: Maʿhad al-Dirāsāt li-Taḥqīq Ansāb al-Ashrāf, 2010). Gerald de Gaury's *Rulers of Mecca* has been translated into Arabic and published, see: Gerald de Gaury, *Ḥukkām Makkah*, tr. Muḥammad Shihāb (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 2000).

[6] F.E. Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), xxii. In this volume, Peters focuses on the geography and history of the city. The author has an earlier (1994) study, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places,* in which he focuses on the experience of the pilgrimage.

[7] The book originally appeared in Germany in two volumes; the first is about the history of the city until the 19th century, and the second is about the 19th centuary. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). The two volumes have been translated into Arabic and according to the translators, Snouck's description of the history of the city agrees to a large extent with sources that have so far been edited and printed. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Ṣafaḥāt min tārīkh Makkah al-mukarramah,* tr. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Suryānī and Miʿrāj Nawwāb Mirzā (KSA, al-Riyāḍ: Dārat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1999).

[8] The book discusses four topics: daily life in Mecca, family life in Mecca, learning in Mecca, and the Javanese in Mecca.

of the original German text. Volume one covers the history of Mecca from the time of Muḥammad until 1885.

These, then, are some of the main studies about the history of the two most important cities in the Ḥijāz.[9] Travelers' narratives, manuscripts, and the works of Arab historians are the primary sources for those scholars who want to investigate the history of the changing nature of the Ḥijāz.[10] Some primary sources related to the current study are presented below.

[1.1.2] Some of the Main Primary Sources of the History of the Ḥijāz

As mentioned in the preceding, in the last 30 years numerous Arabic texts on the Ḥijāz have been edited and published in the Arabic-speaking world.[11] Note that these examples do not include the wide range of literature related to virtues, rituals, or archeological descriptions of the historical sites in these two cities.

[1.1.2.1] Main Sources of the History of Mecca during the Ottoman Period

1-   *Al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī tārīkh al-balad al-amīn*, by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429). He was the judge of the Mālikiyyah in Mecca and his work is one of the most comprehensive works on the history of Mecca. He also wrote *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*.[12]

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[9] More references about different aspects of the Ḥijāz, such as politics, history, geography, customs, rulers, land, inhabitant, ecology, etc., can be found in William Ochsenwald, Hijaz, Oxford Bibliography. http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780195390155/obo-9780195390155-0085.xml

[10] Other aspects from the history of the Ḥijāz can be found in sources related to Mamlūk, Ottoman, and Wahhābī studies.

[11] For more information about the authors and their other works see: Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Haylah, *al-Tārīkh wa-l-muʾarrikhūn bi-Makkah min al-qarn al-thālith al-hijrī ilā al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1994).

[12] Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī tārīkh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Farī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2ed, 1986); Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām,* ed. ʿAlī ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, 2007).

2-   *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār umm al-qurā*[13] by al-Najm ʿUmar b. Fahd (d. 885/1480-1). His full name was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Najm, Taqī al-Dīn b. Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, but he was better known as ʿUmar in all bibliographical works. The book is divided chronologically from the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad until the death of the author. It presents a clear image of the political, social, cultural, economic aspects of Meccan life between 830/1427 and 885/1480-1, and it is the source for all the historical works that mention this area in this period.[14] Ibn Ḥajar, who was one of the author's teachers, used to correspond with him to ask about the events in Mecca, the Ḥijāz, and Yemen.[15] ʿUmar's son wrote a supplement, using his father's draft, entitled *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī tārīkh al-balad al-amīn.*[16]

3-   *Bulūgh al-qirā fī dhayl Itḥāf Umm al-Qurā*[17] by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Najm ʿUmar b. Fahd (d. 922/1516) covers the period between 885/1481-922/1516. He also wrote another supplement entitled *Nayl al-munā bi-dhayl Bulūgh al-qirā,*[18] which deals with the period from 922/1516 to 946/1540.

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[13] ʿUmar b. Fahd al-Makkī, *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al., (KSA: Maṭābiʿ Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā: 1408/1988). This book is published in five volumes; the first two volumes are edited by Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, and the rest are edited by several persons.

[14] The editor of the last two volumes mentions numerous later historians who used this work, including Ibn Tughrī Baradā in *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*; al-Maqrīzī in *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat dwual al-mulūl,* Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī, and Ibn Iyās. See vol. 4, pp. 10-13.

[15] ʿUmar b. Fahd al-Makkī, *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā*, vol.1, the editor's introduction, pp. 11, 16.

[16] ʿUmar b. Fahd al-Makkī, *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī tārīkh al-balad al-amīn,* ed. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Duhaysh (Beirut: Dar Khiḍr, 2000).

[17] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. Fahd, *Bulūgh al-qirā fī dhayl Itḥāf Umm al-Qurā,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Khuyūr (KSA, Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, 2001). "Master Thesis".

[18] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. Fahd, *Nayl al-munā bi-dhayl bulūgh al-qirā,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Haylah (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2000).

4- *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*[19] by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582). He describes ʿUmar b. Fahd, the previous author, as his shaykh and depends on him totally for the period covered by ʿUmar b. Fahd.

5- *Ṣimṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī fī anbāʾ al-awāʾil wa-l-tawālī*[20] by ʿAbd al-Malik al-ʿĀṣimī al-Makkī (d. 1111/1699-1700). This is a general history in four volumes. It starts with Adam, with special concern about the beginning of Islam, leaving the last volume to cover Ayyubied, Mamlūk, and Ottoman history. The author dedicated a special part at the end of the book to the history and genealogy of Hashemites until his time.

6- *Manāʾiḥ al-karam fī akhbār Makkah wa-l-bayit wa-wilāyat al-ḥaram*[21] by ʿAlī b. Tāj al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb al-Sinjārī (d. 1125/1713). This book is a valuable source on political life in Mecca in the 16th and 17th centuries, around the period in which the author lived. The book deals with Meccan history up to 1125/1713, the year of the death of the author.

7- *Al-Azhār al-ṭayyibah fī dhikr al-aʿyān min kull ʿaṣr*[22] by ʿAbd al-Sattār b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Dahlawī al-Makkī (d. 1355/1936). The importance of this book is that the author uses many works that are considered missing or are still in manuscript form, such as *Tanzīl al-raḥamāt ʿalā man māt* by Aḥmad al-Qaṭṭān (d. 1109/1697-8) and *Anbāʾ al-bariyyah bi-l-akhbār al-Ṭabariyyah* by ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 1033/1624), both still in manuscript form, and *Zahr al-khamāʾil fī dhikr man bi-l-ḥaramayn min ahl al-faḍāʾil* by ʿUmar b. ʿAṭāʾ-Allāh Khūj (d. 1175/1761-2), which is considered missing.

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[19] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Nahrawālī, *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt Allāh al-ḥarām,* ed. Hishām ʿAṭā (KSA, Mecca: al-Maktabah al-Tijāriyyah, 1996).

[20] ʿAbd al-Malik al-ʿĀṣimī al-Makkī, *Ṣimṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī fī anbāʾ al-awāʾil wa-l-tawālī*, ed. ʿĀdil ʿAbd al-Mawjūd & ʿAlī Muʿawwaḍ (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998).

[21] ʿAlī b. Tāj al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb al-Sinjārī, *Manāʾiḥ al-karam fī akhbār Makkah wa-l-bayit wa-wilāyat al-ḥaram*, ed. Jamīl ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī (KSA, Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, 1998).

[22] Part of the book was presented as a PhD Dissertation at Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca, 1429/2008. The editor is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣawwāf. The edited part covers the years between 1000 and 1200 AH, which covers the period of this study.

8- *Ifādat al-anām bi-dhikr akhbār balad Allāh al-ḥarām*[23] by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāzī al-Makkī (d. Shaʿbān 1365/July 1946).

9- *Tārīkh Makkah*, by Aḥmad al-Sibāʿī, a modern study that gives a general idea about political, historical, economic, social, and religious aspects of life in Mecca. The author used numerous manuscripts of primary sources, most of which have been published.

[1.1.2.2] Main Sources of the History of Medina during the Ottoman Period

1- *Al-Tuḥfah al-laṭīfah fī tārīkh al-Madīnah al-sharīfah*[24] by Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497). Al-Sakhāwī mentions scholars who used to live in or visit Medina. Al-Sakhāwī was an important scholar in transmitted knowledge; he mentions that he studied with 1200 teachers. He was also a student of the prominent scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449).

2- *Wafāʾ al-wafā fī akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*[25] by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1505) is one of the main sources for the history of Medina; the author finished it in 888/1483. Al-Samhūdī abridged this book in 891/1486 in a book entitled *Khulāṣat al-wafa bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*.

3- *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn wa-l-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat mā li-l-madaniyyīn min ansāb*[26] by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī (d. 1197/1783). A fascinating description of the famous families of Medina arranged in alphabetic order, it contains valuable information about intellectual

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[23] ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāzī al-Makkī, *Ifādat al-anām bi-dhikr akhbār balad Allāh al-ḥarām,* ed. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Duhaysh (KSA, Mecca: Maktabat al-Asadī li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2009).

[24] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfah al-laṭīfah fī tārīkh al-Madīnah al-sharīfah*, ed. Asʿad Ṭarabzūnī al-Ḥusaynī, (n.p: 1979).

[25] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā fī akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥiyy al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, n.d).

[26] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn wa-l-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat mā li-l-madaniyyīn min ansāb,* ed. Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Maṭawī (Tunisia: al-Maktabah al-ʿAtīqah, 1970).

life in Medina through the genealogy of the families and the activities of their members for several generations.

4- *Tarājim aʿyān al-Madīnah fī al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar al-ḥijrī*[27] by an unknown author.

5- *Al-Tārīkh al-shāmil lil-Madīnah al-munawwarah*[28] by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr in three volumes.

6- *Fuṣūl min tārīkh Makkah*[29] by ʿAlī Ḥāfiẓ.

7- *Al-Madīnah bayn al-māḍī wa-l-ḥāḍir*[30] by Ibrāhīm al-ʿAyyāshī.

8- *Mawsūʿat tārīkh al-madīnah al-munawwarah qadīman wa-ḥadīthan*[31] by ʿAbd Allāh Faraj al-Khazrajī.

It is clear from these lists that what was written about Mecca was more detailed and comprehensive, and sequentially without interruption. While we do not find a comprehensive history of Medina after the 10th/16th century, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, the author of *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil lil-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, mentions that after Medina became practically dependent on the Sharīfs of Mecca, the main sources of information on 11th/17th century Medina were travellers and bio-bibliographical (*tarājim*) works. The political importance of Mecca and the continued conflicts among its Sharīfs attracted more historians than the quiet situation in Medina.[32]

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, travel narratives about the *ḥajj* amount to hundreds if not more, from all parts of Islamic world and in almost every decade. From

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[27] Anonymous, *Tarājim aʿyān al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah fī al-qarn 12 al-Hijrī*, ed. Muḥammad Tūnjī (Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2008).

[28] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil li-l-Madīnah al-munawwarah* ([KSA: Medina], 1993).

[29] ʿAlī Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min tārīkh Makkah* (KSA, Jeddah: Sharikat al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah li-l-Ṭibāʿah, 1985).

[30] Ibrāhīm al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Madīnah bayn al-māḍī wa-l-ḥāḍir* (KSA, al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, al-Maktabah al-ʿImiyyah, 1972).

[31] ʿAbd Allāh Faraj al-Khazrajī, *Mawsūʿat tārīkh al-madīnah al-munawwarah qadīman wa-ḥadīthan* (KSA, al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: n.d).

[32] Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil li-l-Madīnah al-munawwarah,* vol. 2, p. 345.

the 6th/12th century to the 14th/20th, one book presents one hundred and one journey (*riḥlah)* to Mecca from the Maghrib alone.[33] There is no doubt that the selection of travellers' accounts depend on the authors' interests, and as a result they reflect different aspects of history of the Ḥijāz.[34]

Among the most valuable travel accounts to the present work is al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥlah.* Al-ʿAyyāshī was an established scholar when he did his third *ḥajj* and stayed as a *mujāwir* for one year in 1072-1073/1661-1662. In this year, he tried to meet scholars of the Ḥijāz along with the visiting scholars who came to perform the *ḥajj.* His intellectual inclination, alongside his Sufi affiliation, was a vital factor in the recording of all his intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz and of the encounters with the Sufi shaykhs he met.[35] Another important account is that of the Ottoman traveller Evliyā Çelebī, who was interested in historical and archeological aspects of the two holy cities alongside his interest in Ottoman administration. He did not mention scholars but he provided us with valuable information about schools, libraries, and institutions in his descriptions of the two cities.

The following chapters show numerous historical sources related to the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, but one source deserves to be mentioned here as the most comprehensive work on the history of 11th/17th century, especially for the Ḥijāz and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī since the author was one of his students: the six-volume *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl wa-natāʾij al-*

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[33] ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *Riḥlat al-riḥalāt: Makkah fī māʾat riḥlah maghribiyyah wa-riḥlah* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005).

[34] The other advantage of travel account, is the description of the roads to the Ḥijāz, which provides us with valuable information about the political, economic, and social situation in different parts of the Islamic world.

[35] Al-ʿAyyāshī also mentions 7 *ribāṭ*s and 21 *zāwiya*s in his *Riḥlah.* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah 1661-1663*, ed. Saʿīd al-Fāḍilī and Sulaymān al-Qurashī (UAE: Abū Dhabī, Dār al-Suwaydī li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2006), vol. 2, p. 637.

safar fī akhbār al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar by Muṣṭafā b. Fatḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1123/1711).[36] Unfortunately, the currently available edition of this work does not have detailed indices, hence it requires careful reading in order to collect information about the intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz in general and about everything related to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in particular.

[1.2] The 17th Century Ḥijāz in its Local Context

This section will offer a brief overview of the history of the Ḥijāz starting from the appointing, by the Abbasids, of the first local noble family, the Hashemite Sharīfs, as rulers the Ḥijāz. This dynasty would be the actual and direct rulers of the Ḥijāz with an almost unbroken succession from the 4th/10th century until 1925.

The Abbasids claimed legitimacy through their familial connection to Muḥammad, so most Shiʿites supported the Abbasid revolution of 750/1349. However, once in power, the Abbasids excluded them from authority, so many Shiʿites returned to the Ḥijāz, the center of their tribe where they were respected as descendants of the Prophet. The Hashemites, among them the descendents of the Prophet Muḥammad, remained in the Ḥijāz after losing their hope to share power with the Abbasids. To secure the season of *ḥajj*, after the Qarāmiṭa's attack on Mecca, the Abbasids found it important to formally put in place a powerful and respected family. Thus, Kāfūr, an Abbasid vassal and ruler of Egypt, chose one of the Sharīfs of the Ḥijāz, Jaʿfar al-Mūsawī of the Ḥasanid family, and appointed him emir of Mecca around the year 353/964. The dynasty of Ḥasanid Sharīfs thus ruled the Ḥijāz with almost unbroken succession until 1925.[37]

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[36] Muṣṭafā b. Fatḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl wa-natāʾij al-safar fī akhbār al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kandarī (Damascus: Dār al-Nawādir, 2011).

[37] G. Rentz, "Hāshimids," *EI2*. Rentz starts from al-Ḥasan bin ʿAlī and follows his dependents until they become the main four branches: the Mūsawyds, the Hawāshim, the Qatādids, and the Sulaymānids. They

The Ḥijāz was officially under the patronage of a stronger power, but the Hashemite Sharīfs were the actual and direct rulers of the Ḥijāz, for most of this period, they were a "semi independent emirate"[38] or "a state within a state."[39] The rulers of the Ḥijāz were forced to accept this kind of domination because of the scarcity of economic sources in the Ḥijāz and the need for stronger powers to secure the roads of trade and pilgrimage, the main sources for the life of the Ḥijāz, and to support the Ḥijāz with almost every kind of economic resources. When the Abbasid Caliphate disintegrated, the governors of Syria, Egypt, and Yemen attempted to take control over the Ḥijāz to legitimize their power through symbolic authority over the most important places for Muslims.

The Sharīfs were Shīʿī; most probably the Ḥasanid Sharīfs of Mecca were Zaydī, while the Ḥusaynid Sharīfs of Medina were Imamis, or Twelver Shiʿites.[40] In spite of the fact that there is no unequivocal identification of Sharīfs as one or the other, historical

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all descended from Mūsā I al-Jawn, a grandson of al-Ḥasan and a younger brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah.

[38] Werner Ends describes the emirs of Medina as "semi-independent Emirate." Werner Ende, "The Nakhāwila, a Shiite community in Medina past and present," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 37, Issue 3, Shiites and Sufis in Saudi Arabia (Nov., 1997), pp. 263-348, p. 272.

[39] Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashimite Kingdom of Arabia* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 11. The same description is in *The Ḥijāz under Ottoman Rule 1869-1914: Ottoman Vali, the Sharif of Mecca, and the Growth of British Influence,* where the author, Saleh Muhammad al-Amr, also says that "the Sharīfs were not merely Arab princes living in the shadow of the Turkish *valis*; on the contrary the Turkish *valis* were fore most of the time living in the shadow of the Sharīfs," PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 1974, p. 11-12.

[40] Richard T. Mortel, "The Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamlūk Period," *Studia Islamica*, No. 80 (1994), pp. 97-123. Richard T. Mortel in "Zaydī Shiʿism and the Ḥasanid Sharīfs of Mecca" attempts to identify the creed of Meccan Sharīfs through their allegiance to Fatimide Shīʿī Caliphs in Cairo instead of the Sunni Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad. While Mortel argues that Ḥasanid Sharīfs of Mecca were Zaydī, he confirms in another study that "the Sharīfs of Madina themselves were originally Imamis, or Twelver Shiʿites." Richard T. Mortel, "The Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamlūk period," *Studia Islamica*, No. 80 (1994), pp. 97-123. Werner Ende in "The Nakhāwila" follows Mortel and argues that the Ḥusaynid emirs of Medina were Twelver Shiite. Ende, "The Nakhāwila, a Shite community in Medina past and present," p. 272.

evidence supports that possibility. The call for prayer (*adhān*) was the Shiʿī formulation of "Hasten to the best of works" (*ḥayy ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal*).[41] Many historians have mentioned that the Imām of the Friday prayer in the Prophet's mosque in the Medina was Shīʿī.[42] Al-ʿAyyāshī, in his account of his travel to the Ḥijāz, mentioned that Zayd b. Muḥsin b. Abū Numayy (1014-1077/1605-1666), who was the emir of Mecca from 1041/1631 until his death, was a Zaydī in *ʿaqīdah* as was all his family, but he became a Sunni and followed the religious school (*madhhab)* of Abū Ḥanīfah.[43] Due to this sectarian aspect, there was a sort of migration of Shiʿites between Egypt and Medina during the Fatimid period. With the deposition of the last Fatimid caliph in 567/1171 more Shiʿites moved to the Ḥijāz.

This sectarian side seems significant in later developments of intellectual life in the Ḥijāz. The Mamlūk Sultanate of Egypt, which lasted from the overthrowing of the Ayyūbid dynasty in 1250 until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, initiated a policy of sending Sunni scholars to Medina to counter the influence of the local Shiʿite rulers.[44] The relationship between Mecca and Cairo was strengthened during the Malmūk period. The Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (d. 676/1277) was the first to employ the title "servant of the two noble sanctuaries" (*khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn)*. Before using this honorific title, the names and titles of the Mamlūk sultans were beginning to be mentioned in the sermons delivered during the Friday prayer in the Great Mosque in Mecca and during

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[41] Ayyūbids and Mamlūks attempted to omit this formulation but it seems that it returned to being performed after each attempt until the end of the Mamlūk period. Richard T. Mortel, "The Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamlūk period," p. 117-118.

[42] Ende in "The Nakhāwila," mentions Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) and Qalqashandī (d. 1418)," p. 272.

[43] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol.1, p. 326.

[44] Ende, "The Nakhāwila," p. 276.

the pilgrimage. The name of al-Ẓāhir Baybars was mentioned in this way as early as 662/1264.[45]

After the death of Baybars (676/1277), and the later destabilization of the internal situation in Egypt, the Rasūlid Sultan of Yemen attempted to expand his sphere of influence to include the Ḥijāz.[46] Abū Numayy, the emir of Mecca, shifted his allegiance from the Mamlūks to the Rasūlids and back again several times, for economic reasons and possibly because of his concerns about the ever-increasing influence of the Mamlūks in Meccan affairs.[47] Despite the official domination, the Mamlūk presence in Mecca, until the early 9th/15th century, did not amount to a military occupation.[48] The interest of the Mamlūk, in the Ḥijāz and their generous support made the region flourish and attracted many scholars and students.[49] We shall return to this subject in the next chapter.

The Mamlūk rule came to its end with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 923/1517. The emir of Mecca, Barakāt II Ibn Muḥammad b. Barakāt (r. 1495-1524), proclaimed his allegiance to Sultan Selim. Mecca thereby became part of the Ottoman Empire and it was known as the Vilayet (Ottoman administrative district) of the Ḥijāz, which extended from the border of the Vilayet of Syria to the northern border with the Vilayet of

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[45] Richard T., Mortel, "Prices in Mecca during the Mamluk period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Oct., 1989), pp. 279-334, 281.

[46] The Rasūlids took power over Yemen after the end of Ayyūbid control between 569/1173 and 626/1229. In G. R. Smith's article "The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids, the transfer of power in 7th/13th Century Yemen," he mentions the conflict between Rasūlides and Ayyūbids around 629/1232 to take control over the Ḥijāz. G. R. Smith, "The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids, the transfer of power in 7th/13th Century Yemen," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3, July 1969, (175-188). For more details about Ayyūbid and Rasūlid history, see the first chapter of Muhammad Ali Aziz, *Religion and Mysticism in Early Islam: Theology and Sufism in Yemen: The Legacy of Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlwān* (London: I. B Tauris, 2011).

[47] Mortel, "Prices in Mecca during the Mamluk Period," p. 284.

[48] Ibid., p. 285.

[49] See Aḥmad Hāshim Badrshīnī, *Awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn fī al-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī (648-923/1250-1517)*, (KSA, Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿah wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah, PhD Thesis, 2001).

Yemen.[50] The names of Sultan Selim and his successors were henceforth mentioned in public prayers in Mecca and Medina. The Sharīfs continued to rule the urban centres in the Ḥijāz and the appointment of a new emir of Mecca was left to the Sharīfian family.[51]

When Barakāt II was a child, his father sent him for several years to study in Egypt, and more importantly to establish connections in the center of power that dominated the Ḥijāz. This strategy worked. The Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, Muḥammad b. Kaitbey, approved Barakāt II as the emir of Mecca after the death of his father.[52] As the situation had always been in the Ḥijāz, the conflicts among Sharīfs never stopped, but Barakāt II manage to control the Ḥijāz for long time. He sent his son Abū Numayy to Egypt at the age of eight for education and to prepare him to be his successor. When Sultan Selim took over Egypt, Barakāt II sent Abū Numayy, now aged thirteen, to the court of Sultan Selim, who was pleased to receive the homage of the Sharīf of Mecca. Sultan Selim acknowledged the Sharīf's position and confirmed his independence in the district of Mecca.[53]

Less than a month after the Ottomans ended Mamlūk rule in Egypt, the Portuguese fleet sailed to the Red Sea. On March 1517, the fleet reached Bāb al-Mandab, and on April 12th they were eight miles from Jeddah.[54] The Portuguese threat made the Ottomans, who were newly-established in Istanbul and Cairo, the best hope for the Sharīfs.[55]

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[50] Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History*, p. 200; De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, p. 113.

[51] Abir M., "The 'Arab Rebellion' of Amir Ghālib of Mecca (1788-1813)," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (May 1971), pp. 185-200.

[52] De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca,* p. 114.

[53] Ibid., p. 124.

[54] See: Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History,* p. 210 and after; De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, p. 121.

[55] The Turks were driven out of Yemen in 1636 by the independent Zaydī Imamate. This event was a turning point in the history of the area. Yemenite rulers, in order to take the advantage of the India trade, allowed British and French ships to enter Yemenite ports and soon they were installed at Mokha. Like most of the other European trading posts, they attempted to negotiate their way into northerly, Ottoman-controlled

In 1525, Sharīf Barakāt II died in Mecca.[56] His son Muḥammad Abū Numayy II now became the ruler of Mecca, and with the strong support of the Ottomans and other parties throughout Islamic world, the situation in Mecca changed rapidly. De Gaury describes the situation in the time of Abū Numayy as follows:

> Owing to the great wealth and success of Ottoman arms, Mecca had been strikingly embellished and had otherwise prospered under Abū Numayy [...] The history of this time is largely a tale of new works in Mecca, the building of almshouses, and of pilgrim khans, of schools and courts built or repaired, of great works inside the temple itself and on water channels between the hills and Mecca. The city was probably never so happy as it was under the Sharīf Abū Numayy II, who ruled until he was eighty years of age.[57]

Abū Numayy died in 1584. After a period of conflict among Abū Numayy's sons, Sharīf Zayd b. Muḥsin became the Sharīf of Mecca.[58]

The Ottomans tried to distance themselves from the conflicts among Sharīfs of the Ḥijāz. However, the Ḥijāz was not far from political conflicts outside of its borders. The confrontation between Sunni Ottomans and Shīʿī Safavids made the Ottomans increase

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Red Sea ports. They did not approach the Sultan in Constantinople, however, but various Mamlūk Beys in Cairo. British commercial companies were increasingly doing business in Indian goods with the Sharīf through this port of Jeddah. Due to conflicts and competition between the Sharīfs in the Ḥijāz and the Mamlūks in Egypt, Muḥammad Bey issued a royal decree in February 1773 permitting English ships to sail to and land at Suez and prescribing an 8 percent custom duty on their goods, in contrast to the 14 percent being levied at Jeddah. Murād Bey, in 1785, granted to the French what had thirteen years earlier been given to the British. On 1 July 1798, a French expeditionary force under the command of the twenty-six-year-old Napoleon Bonaparte appeared off the coast of Alexandria. By the end of July 1798, the French had crushed the Mamlūk army of the Ottomans at the pyramids and then occupied Cairo. More details about European trades in the Red Sea and the conflict between the Sharīfs and the Mumlūks can be found in Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History*, p. 205-218, and p. 228 and after.

[56] For more information about him see: Peters, *Mecca: A literary history*, p. 200; De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, p. 114.

[57] De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, p. 131-2.

[58] About these conflicts see: Ibid., p. 132 and after.

the Mamlūk policy of "Sunnification" through sending scholars from Cairo, Damascus and Istanbul to the Ḥijāz as *muftīs* or *qāḍīs.*[59]

The first century of Ottoman rule over the Ḥijāz was quite successful and the region witnessed great stability and improvement. From the 17th century onward, Ottoman authority in Arabia started to decline after Yemen became fully independent in the second quarter of the century. By the 18th century, the power of the Ottoman Empire was rapidly declining. Throughout that century there were a large number of instances in which the Turkish representatives in the Ḥijāz were either killed, driven out of the country, or forced to hand over their share of Jeddah's revenue.[60]

At the beginning of 19th century, Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz bin Saʿūd I (d. r. 1803-1814), under the influence and the inspiration of the principles of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al Wahhāb, succeeded in occupying the Ḥijāz, Mecca in 1803 and then Medina in 1805.[61] Ibn Saʿūd forbade the mention of the Sultan's name in the Friday prayer.[62] However, the

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[59] Ende, "The Nakhāwila," p. 277-278. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1567) migrated to Mecca and wrote a devastating polemic against the Shīʿītes; Ende considers this work in the context of Ottoman-Safavid conflicts. Twelver clerics in Mecca wrote to the ʿulamāʾ of Isfahan: "You revile their imams (the first three caliphs) in Isfahan, and we in al-Ḥaramayn are chastised for this cursing and reviling." Ende, "The Nakhāwila," p. 278.

[60] Two distinct processes that had begun in the 18th century greatly influenced the position of the Ḥijāz and the Sharīfate by the end of the century. The first, and the more important, was the emergence and growth of Wahhabism in Arabia. The second was the growing interest of European powers in the Red Sea; the Suez Canal was opened in 1869.

[61] Al-Amr, *Ḥijāz under Ottoman Rule 1869-1914: Ottoman Vali, the Sharif of Mecca, and the Growth of British Influence,* p. 49. In March 1803, emir Ghālib was forced to evacuate Mecca and the town fell to Ibn Saʿūd, who then followed Ghālib to Jeddah. Soon afterwards, when Ibn Saʿūd returned to Darʿiyyah, Ghālib reconquered Mecca, annihilating the small Wahhābī garrison. The enraged Wahhābīs returned to the town and after a long siege a *modus vivendi* was reached in 1806 leaving Ghālib in control of the Ḥijāz and Jeddah on condition that Wahhābī principles would be upheld in those towns.

[62] For more information about the contact between the Wahhābī movement and the Ḥijāz see Abir, "The 'Arab rebellion' of Amir Ghālib of Mecca (1788-1813)," pp. 185-200; George Rentz and William Facey, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703/4-1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia* (London: Arabian Pub, 2004), pp. 139-146.

Ottomans managed to drive the Wahhābīs out of the Ḥijāz through the intervention of the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. Egyptian troops had captured Medina, and one year later they occupied Mecca.[63] The Egyptians remained in the Ḥijāz until 1840, and during Muḥammad ʿAlī's control over the Ḥijāz the Sharifate became merely an honorary position. With the Egyptians' evacuation of the Ḥijāz, the Ottomans attempted to impose a new policy to have more direct control. The new policy, which made the Sharīfs' authority merely nominal,[64] motivated the Sharīfs to rise against the Ottomans at the beginning of 20th century.[65]

This quick survey of the political history of the Ḥijāz attempts to give an idea about the developments of the political situation in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century. These developments cast their shadow on the intellectual situation on these two cities. As shown in the preceding paragraphs, the history of the Ḥijāz seems mainly to be a history of Mecca more than of Medina. By the time the Ḥijāz was under the Ottoman control, Medina had already lost its independence and had become subject to the central authority of the Ḥijāz in Mecca. Abū Numayy declared his loyalty to the Ottomans in the name of both cities. Some historical evidence proves that the Ḥusaynī Sharīfs of Medina lost their actual power and retained only nominal authority. They used to be mentioned third in the great mosque prayer, after the Ottoman Sultan and the ruler of Mecca.[66] On some occasions, the ruler of Mecca would send some of his relatives to work as his representatives in Medina and they would have stronger power than the Sharīf of

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[63] Al-Amr, *Ḥijāz under Ottoman Rule 1869-1914,* p. 51.

[64] They ordered the Ottoman governor to transfer his headquarters from Jeddah to Mecca, they choose an old and weak Sharīf, and they used intrigues to play one tribe against another and chief against rival. Al-Amr, *Ḥijāz under Ottoman Rule 1869-1914,* p. 54.

[65] Ibid., pp. 52-55.

[66] Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil li-l-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, vol. 2, pp. 333, 341.

Medina himself. In records of major historical events that occurred in Medina during this period, the name of the Sharīf of Medina is not mentioned at all, for example the building of the wall surrounding the city and of the citadel of Medina, both of which happened under the supervision of Egypt without any mention of the Sharīfs of Medina.[67] And when the Ottomans rebuilt the wall surrounding Medina to protect it from Bedouins, they also established a citadel and sent an Ottoman officer to be the emir of the citadel.[68] He also had more power than the Sharīf of Medina. Therefore, it has been difficult for historians to uncover the names of the Sharīfs of Medina since 9th/14th century.[69]

The loss of its political power actually had positive effects on intellectual activities in Medina. This political marginalization of the city protected it from the many bloody conflicts happening in Mecca between competitors over authority, creating a more stable environment for visitors, students, and scholars. While Mecca was the primary destination of merchants, Medina became the main destination of *mujāwirūn,* who contributed significantly to transforming the city into a center for intellectual studies.

While political reasons participated in making Medina more attractive for some scholars and students, other scholars mentioned other advantages for Medina over Mecca that helped to focus intellectual activities in Medina. Several historians from different periods observed differences between the behavior of the people of Mecca and the people of Medina. Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1396), *qāḍī* of Medina in 793/1390, said that the people of Medina respected visitors and *mujāwirūn* and helped them; they developed good opinions of them and used to ask them for prayers and blessings. In return, those

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[67] Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 333, 341.

[68] Building the wall and the citadel started in 938/1531 and took seven and a half years. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 335, 342.

[69] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 334.

visitors usually had pure intentions and demonstrated good behaviour. Another scholar from Medina, Muḥammad Kabrīt (d. 1070/1659), said that Medina often stood by its visitors even against its local inhabitants. He describes this behaviour as altruism. This noble behaviour is the reason for which, in his opinion, the people who came to Medina preferred to settle there and treat it as their own hometown.[70]

This opinion of local scholars about the welcoming environment in Medina was a characteristic that was confirmed by travelers who compared the situations in both cities. When al-ʿAyyāshī asked his Shaykh, al-Thaʿālibī, why he chose to live in Mecca instead in Medina, he replied that the people of Medina had become highly cosmopolitan, dominated by foreign cultural practices, and their tendency leaned toward luxury and excess. They appeared foreign in their dress as well as in the majority of their circumstances, as opposed to the people of Mecca, who remained attached to their Bedouin and Arab roots. Their culture remained dominated by that of the Bedouins due to their constant interaction with Bedouins and their life in the desert, even on the part of their Sharīfs, who used to live most of their lives in the desert even if they had houses in Mecca. And, in general, the people of Mecca had habits that were quite close to those of the Bedouins, unlike the people of Medina. The domination of Arab-Bedouin culture is another reason one finds fewer foreigners in Mecca than Medina. Another reason given by al-ʿAyyāshī is that Mecca, being the residence of the local rulers and their families and relatives, was dominated by their authority, while the presence of Ottoman rulers in Medina is more direct, so most foreigners (ʿajam) preferred Medina.[71]

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[70] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 346.

[71] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 457.

The same observation is repeated by Evliyā Çelebī during his trip to the Ḥijāz, almost ten years after al-ʿAyyāshī's, where he mentions that the people of Mecca do not like *mujāwirūn* from Ottoman lands (*rūm*) and that the people of *rūm* find tranquility and purity in Medina.[72] According to Çelebī, the people of Mecca are not friendly with foreigners because, in his opinion, most of them have a "black temper" due to the harsh weather that makes it difficult to be cordial with strangers.[73] The people of Medina, according to Evliyā Çelebī's description are quite different:

> This Medina is a very unprofitable place and a haunt of dervishes. There are no arguments, disagreements or differences of opinion. The inhabitants are all good tempered, honest people. If there is a legal claim required to be registered by the *qadi* it is resolved quickly and easily, then everyone says a *Fātiḥa* and the parties go their separate ways.[74]

The preference of Medina by foreigners may explain the fact that the estimated population of Medina was higher than that of Mecca. Faroqhi in *Pilgrims & Sultans* estimates the population of Mecca in the time of Sultan Salem to amount to 15,000 regular inhabitants at the very least, without the merchants, who were numerous in Mecca, or their households. In Medina, the Ottoman authority assumed that in 1579-80 8000 people lived in the city in pious retreat (*mujāwir*). From this number, Faroqhi estimates the number of the Medinan inhabitants to be around 40,000 people, not counting merchants and solders.[75]

With the great support and donations that reached the Ḥijāz, well-being increased and Medina became more diverse. The Ḥijāz, and mainly Medina, became very

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[72] Awliyā Jalabī, *al-Riḥlah al-ḥijāziyyah*, translated from Turkish to Arabic by al-Ṣafṣāfī Aḥmad al-Mursī (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabiyyah, 1999), p. 276.

[73] Ibid., p. 275.

[74] Evliya Çelebi, Nurettin Gemici, and Robert Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Medina: The Relevant Sections of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 37.

[75] Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Pilgrims & sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), p. 85.

cosmopolitan, with various communities from different parts of the Islamic world. More schools, *ribāṭs* (inns for travelers, hospices), which used to work as student residences, and soup kitchens, features of Ottoman institutions, were established.[76] However, Mecca and the season of *ḥajj* remained the main site and the main occasion for scholarly exchanges and knowledge circulation.

[1.3] The 17ᵗʰ Century Ḥijāz in its Global Context

By the end of the 16ᵗʰ century, most of the Islamic world was dominated by three strong empires: Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal. The Indian Ocean, after ceasing to be controlled by the Egyptian and Ottoman-Gujarati forces, was dominated by Western powers. These historical changes in widely separated areas of the Islamic world may look far and scattered, but they contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formation of the Ḥijāz as a center of intellectual activity in the 17ᵗʰ century. In the following, some major changes in the history of the world outside of the Ḥijāz are given, which I argue directly affected its situation. I shall start with the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and how the spread of European navies in the Indian Ocean strengthened the connection of India and Southeast Asia with Arabia, which in turn increased the number of pilgrims, merchants, and students who travelled to study in the Arab world. Then I shall mention the effects of the conversion of Iran to Shiᶜism, which forced Sunni scholars to seek refuge outside of Iran in other parts of the Islamic world, carrying with them their knowledge and establishing new centers of intellectual activity, the Ḥijāz being the principal of these in my reading. I shall next discuss the generous support of the Mughals to the Ḥijāz, which helped to establish many educational institutions and the setting up of endowments to support these institutions, their teachers, and their students. Finally, I will consider the

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[76] Ibid., p. 106.

Ottoman expansion in the Ḥijāz, as well as into the Levant, Egypt, and most of North Africa, which facilitated travel across these areas and was supplemented by the Ottomans' efforts to secure the roads for pilgrimage and by their generous economic support of the Ḥijāz.

[1.3.1] European Navies in the Indian Ocean

Europeans rounding Southern Africa and travelling across the Atlantic brought revolutionary change in world history. But the consequences were slow to appear in the Arab world in general and the Ḥijāz in particular. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope strengthened the connection of the Ḥijāz with the Indian Subcontinent and the Southeast Asian Islamic world, which in turn encouraged more pilgrims, merchants, students, and scholars to head toward Arabia. Moreover, this discovery, along with the rise of the Safavid Empire, which closed the land route to India, pushed the Ottomans to turn towards Egypt and Arabia to have access to Indian trade through the extended coastal regions of Arabia from the east, south, and west.

The Indian Ocean has always been a place of movement, circulation, contacts, and trade over great distance. The great discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries of the Europeans of new routes to the East were mainly aimed to link European countries with other countries known to be of economic importance, mainly in the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia. For the Portuguese, who were the first to reach India, "direct maritime trade with India would eliminate Arab, Levantine, and Venetian middlemen and the profits of the spice trade would accrue to long voyage merchants operating out of Lisbon and other port cities of Portugal."[77] Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good

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[77] Ronald E.Seavoy, *Origin and Growth of the Global Economy from the Fifteenth Century Onward* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), p. 10.

Hope in 1487 and returned in 1488. Later, Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498. Portuguese merchant ships had to have naval protection, so "a secure base meant a fortified enclave around capacious harbor where there was always a garrison of European soldiers and a flotilla of armed ships."[78] Before the arrival of Portuguese, there is very little evidence of a landed state attempting to extend their power to control over the Indian Ocean. With the Portuguese attempts to monopolize the ocean trading in some products and directly taxing other trade, the Ocean was transformed from *mare liberum*, where all might travel freely, to an arena of conflict between Western powers attempting to monopolize the trade movement.[79]

For several years after the arrival of the Portuguese, Indian and Arab navies were still sailing in the Indian Ocean, but Portuguese ships dominated the sea.[80] The Portuguese built up their eastern empire speedily using their naval power and by occupying a number of strategic points. Thirty years after their arrival in India, the Portuguese had forcibly displaced Arab and Gujarati merchants.[81] Until the arrival of the Dutch in 1499, Portuguese merchants controlled the spice trade. The arrival of Dutch and English ships diminished Portuguese powers and reduced the Muslim route, from Aceh to the Mediterranean, to insignificance.[82]

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[78] Seavoy, *Origin and Growth of the Global Economy*, p. 13.

[79] M. N. Pearson, "The Indian Ocean and the Red Sea," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), p. 42.

[80] Shortly after Portuguese merchants arrived in Southeast Asia, the Spanish arrived. Magellan sailed to the Philippines in 1519 where he was killed, and only one of his ships returned to Spain in 1522.

[81] For the process and the reasons see Seavoy, *Origin and Growth of the Global Economy,* p. 14; Lindsay, W. S. *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1874), vol. 2.

[82] Anthony Reid, "Rum and Jawa: The vicissitudes of documenting a long-distance relationship," in *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks, and Southeast Asia* (UK, Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 29.

With the hostile relations between the Safavids and the Ottomans and Central Asian Sunni dynasties, the Indian Ocean became more important as a main road for pilgrimages for Central Asian pilgrims instead of the road through Iran, as "Safavid authorities were reluctant to allow 'Tatars' to pass through Iran on the way to Mecca."[83] Western navies did not consider transporting Muslim pilgrims a problem; they saw in the transport costs of the journey a very profitable business enterprise:[84]

> It is true that sometimes pilgrims were occasionally dissuaded from embarking for Mecca on political grounds, but more often than not, the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie/Dutch East India Company) stated that Hajjis were welcome, partially because the sums of money they spent on such voyages helped out the company's exchequer in increasingly lean times.[85]

While the Portuguese extended their influence over the sea routes taken by pilgrims in the Indian Ocean, the Mughal empire conquered the province of Gujarat in 1573, which included Surat, the main port used by South Asian pilgrims. Surat's capture led to an increased interest in the *ḥajj* among the Mughal ruling class.[86] Portuguese records note in March 1663 the sailing of a ship carrying the Queen Mother of Bijapur, who wanted to go to Mecca.[87] The Queen Mother undertook a series of *ḥajj*s; English records tell us that she went off through the Red Sea on a small Dutch vessel in 1661, reaching Mocha in March. The sea became the main road from India even for trips to Iran. In 1640, the ruler

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[83] Thomas Welsford, "The re-opening of Iran to Central Asian pilgrimage traffic, 1600-1650," in *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, ed. Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012), p. 154.

[84] Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 29 and after.

[85] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, p. 43. For an opposing account of the idea that Portuguese did not interfere in the "religious" *ḥajj* affairs see Mahmood Kooria, "'Killed the pilgrims and persecuted them': Portuguese estado da India's encounters with the hajj in the Sixteenth century," in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire,* ed. Umar Ryad (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017).

[86] Welsford, "The re-opening of Iran to Central Asian pilgrimage traffic, 1600-1650," p. 155.

[87] Michael N.Pearson, *Pious Passengers, the Hajj in Early Times* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1994), p. 116.

of Golconda[88] sent the ladies of his court to Iran to see the Shiʿite shrines and then to go on to Mecca. They traveled by sea from Golconda to Bandar Abbas.[89] Aurangzeb appeared in the Dutch documents when he informed them he was going to commence his own *ḥajj* as a ninety-year-old man with fifty-seven ships in attendance upon him, and he was in need of a Dutch sea-pass to make the journey.[90] Not only the ruling class was increasingly interested in pilgrimage; due to improved shipping facilities, the number of pilgrims from the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia steadily increased. By the 17th century, the Ḥijāz had a considerable Javanese community; an estimate of the population of Javanese students in the Ḥijāz will be discussed in the third chapter.

A description of a journey from Mecca to the Indian Subcontinent in the middle of the 11th/17th century is presented by Ibn Maʿṣūm, who documented his trip from Mecca to join his father in Gujarat. It was almost three months between his leaving Mecca and his arrival in India. He mentions that he left Mecca on Shaʿbān 24, 1066/June 17, 1656 and that he arrived at the first port, Jaitapur, on Dhū al-Qaʿdah 27 of the same year/September 16.[91] Another trip from Singapore to Mecca that happened in 1854 took almost the same time, three months. The journey by sea was made in sailing vessels before the changes brought about in pilgrim transport by the international steamboat companies, which allows us to expect that Ibn Maʿṣūm's trip represents those of many generations of pilgrims from Southeast Asia before this date.[92]

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[88] The kingdom of Golconda in the southeastern Deccan of India was the capital of the medieval sultanate of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty (c.1518–1687).

[89] Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, p.115.

[90] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey,* p. 29.

[91] See his departure in p. 37, and his arrive to the first port, he called it Jaitapur, in p. 142. ʿAlī Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī, *Riḥlat Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī*, or *Salawat al-gharīb wa-uswat al-arīb*, ed. Shākir Hādī Shākir (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub/Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1988).

[92] Jan Just Witkam, "The Islamic pilgrimage in the manuscript literatures of Southeast Asia," in *The Hajj: Collected Essays,* ed. Venetia Porter and Lians Saif (London: The British Museum, 2013), p. 216. This long trip

It is worth mentioning that Southeast Asia from the 14th and 15th centuries considered Mecca as a source of legitimacy rather than Baghdad or Istanbul. Generous gifts and tribute used to be sent to the Sharīfs of the Ḥijāz and "the attachment to Mecca as a source of Islamic legitimacy for Southeast Asia did not go away in the sixteenth century, but resurfaced to play a significant role in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[93]

Tagliacozzo suggests several changes in navigating the Indian Ocean that directly affected the situation in the Ḥijāz. The first change was that the danger of "piracy" reduced, due to *cartaz* system adopted by the Portuguese, meaning that passports were needed for certain parts of the Indian Ocean that allowed heavily laden pilgrimage ships to navigate toward the Red Sea safely. The second change that made the long water-voyage safe and easier was the increase of knowledge about Indian Ocean weather, currents, and wind systems. The third change was the improving commercial conditions along vast stretches of the sea, a boon for everyone that allowed people to earn money to pay, often along the way, for their journeys to the Ḥijāz. However, wars, rivalry, coercion, and outright extortion still happened on the routes, but the gradual upturn in trade conditions all along the Indian Ocean sea-lanes made the pilgrimage certainly better than it once had been.[94]

The reasons mentioned above may justify the expectation of increasing numbers of pilgrims after the 16th century. Much earlier than the 16th century, the Indian Ocean was

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includes several lengthy stays ashore: Allepey (5 days), Calicut (8 days), al-Mukha (13 days), al-Hudayda (7 days), and finally Jeddah (9 days). Some of these stays were to change ship or to pick up more pilgrims or to do business matters. Ibid.

[93] A. C. S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop, "Introduction, Islam, trade and politics across the Indian Ocean: Imagination and reality," in *From Anatolia to Aceh*, p. 26-27.

[94] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey,* p. 24-25.

a networked place,[95] where Muslims from the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia found their way by sea to the Ḥijāz. However, extant records about pilgrims from the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia are so fragmentary, in larger works of geographers and travelers,[96] and so incomplete that it is difficult to give any reasonable estimate of the number of pilgrims or travelers from either region. There are no marine records, nor any mention of Indian or Southeast Asian communities in the Ḥijāz. By the later 16th century, Western historical records mention the flow across the Indian Ocean,[97] and Arabic sources from the Ḥijāz and southern Arabia provide us valuable information. By the 17th century, al-Kūrānī talks about Jāwī students in the Ḥijāz, which suggests that they were large in number. The names of some scholars from Southeast Asia, including Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (d. 1590), ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkilī (d. 1693), al-Maqassarī (d. 1699), will come up later in the chapter about al-Kūrānī and his students. By the 19th century, the Javanes community was so extensive as to earn a substantial consideration in C. Snouck Hurgonje's work *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*.

The economic factors that attracted Europeans to the Indian Ocean played an essential role in attracting the Ottomans as well. The extent of Portuguese influence in the Red Sea made the Ottomans more interested in western Arabia, so their army arrived in Yemen where they prevented Portuguese navies from entering the Red Sea. The Ottomans tried to re-establish the old trade route from India through the Near East. The

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[95] Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993); Chaudhuri, K. N. *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); George Fadlo Hourani and John Carswell, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[96] See some names before 16th century in Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey,* p. 26-27.

[97] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey,* p. 22. The most important and compulsive keepers of records about the early history of *ḥajj* were the Dutch through the correspondence and detailed bookkeeping of the VOC. Ibid.

campaign, which was originally directed against the Safavids, eventually resulted in the conquest of Syria and Egypt. Behind the political factors that brought the Ottomans to Egypt there were, no doubt, economic activities and links.[98] The Indian ports, however, were under the control of the Portuguese, who were also controlling the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. It was necessary then for the Ottomans to combat the Portuguese; the monarchs of India had been repeatedly sending embassies to the Ottoman Sultans for aid against them.[99]

[1.3.2] Iran's Conversion to Shiꜥism

Iran's conversion to Shiꜥism played a role in the journey of some important texts from Iran to the Ḥijāz through Ottoman lands and the Indian Subcontinent. It also forced Sunni scholars to find alternative centers for scholarly activities and exchange, the Ḥijāz being one of these centers.[100] Tracing scattered scholars from Safavid Iran is not part of this study, yet some examples are offered below to represent those Sunni scholars who moved outside of Iran to other Islamic centers, carrying with them their intellectual heritage. Eventually the texts they carried would reach the Ḥijāz through connectable chains to great intellectual scholars in 14th and 15th century Iran and Central Asia.

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[98] Salih Özbaran, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands during the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), p. 90.

[99] About Ottoman-Portuguese conflicts in Indian Ocean see Özbaran, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion,* chapters VIII, IX, X and XIII; George William Frederick Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511-1574* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942), chapter IV. About the correspondence between Indian Subcontinent rulers and Ottomans concerning the Portuguese see Naimur Rahman Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556-1748* (University of Wisconsin-Madson, Ph.D Thesis, 1987), p. 22 and after.

[100] Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception," in *Interpreting Avicenna*, ed. Peter Adamson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 209.

After entering Tabriz in 1501, Shāh Ismāʿil (d. 1524) had announced that the official religion of his kingdom would be Shiʿism. The application of this policy meant replacing the Sunni ʿulamāʾ with Shiʿite ones, which forced Sunni scholars either to convert or to migrate to the neighbouring Ottoman lands, Central Asia, or the Indian Subcontinent. The hostility toward Sunni scholars had become even more ruthless at the time of Shāh Ismāʿil's successor, Shāh Ṭahmāsb (r. 930/1524-984/1576),[101] who forced even more scholars to flee from Iran. These migrations helped spread Sunni theology outside of the famous centers of Shiraz, Tabriz, and Isfahan.

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī (d. 979/1572) is one of the scholars who left Iran and settled finally in Ottoman lands. He studied with the famous scholars Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Dashtakī (d. 949/1542) and Shams al-Dīn al-Khafrī (d. 942/1535-6). Al-Lārī's life sheds light on one way that knowledge circulated from Shiraz and Central Asia to the Indian Subcontinent and Ottoman lands. It seems that the hostile environment toward Sunni scholars was the reason behind his decision to leave Iran.[102] At first Lārī went to India, where he spent more than a decade. Then on 11 Rabīʿ II 963/22 February 1556, he left India, and after making the pilgrimage and some months' stay in Aleppo, moved on to Istanbul.[103] While al-Lārī eventually decided to head toward Istanbul, many scholars settled permanently in the Indian Subcontinent. Two of al-Dawānī's students, Mīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (the great-grandson of al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī) and a certain Mīr

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[101] Reza Pourjavady and Asad Q. Ahmad, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," in *The Oxford handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke (UK, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 608.

[102] Pourjavady writes: "the discrimination of Sunnī scholars during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [r. 929/1524 to 984/1576] conforms to the account of Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī (d. 995/1587) in his *Nawāqiḍ li-bunyān al-rawāfiḍ*. The latter points to a number of royal policies at this time meant to pressure the Sunnī population, including scholars, to accept Twelver Shīʿism. Therefore, it seems to be safe to assume that such religious intolerance was one of the reasons, if not the only one, for Lārī to leave Safavid Iran." Reza Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," *Oriens.* 42 (3-4): 292-322, p. 295.

[103] Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and his samples of the sciences," p. 296.

Muʿīn al-Dīn, headed to India and eventually were present at Niẓām al-Dīn Shāh Sindī's (r. 866/1461-914/1508) court.

The two other main Iranian scholars who were principal sources for the transmission of scholastic theology into the Indian Subcontinent were Mirzā-Jān Ḥabīb Allāh Baghnawī (d. 995/1587) and Fatḥ Allāh al-Shirāzī (d. 998/1590), the latter a student of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī who moved from Shiraz to teach theology in India.[104] The following is the chain of transmission that connects the prominent Indian Scholar al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1067/1656-7) with Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī. Later, we will find some of al-Siyālkūtī's direct students in the Ḥijāz.[105]

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dastakī ⟵ Fatḥ Allāh al-Shīrāzī ⟵ ʿAbd Salām al-Lāhūrī ⟵
ʿAbd Salām al-Kirmānī al-Diwī (d. 1039/1629-30) ⟵ ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī

In spite of the fact that after the emergence of the Safavid Empire the interacting scholarship between Ottoman and Safavid empires quickly declined, some scholars argue that interactions between scholars of the Safavid Empire and the Indian Subcontinent became more frequent and intense.[106] As Francis Robinson suggests, "if the Safavid state was an obstacle across the paths of international scholarship, it was also a stimulus to it."[107] The travels of scholars between Iran and the Indian Subcontinent were not negatively affected by the conversion of Iran; on the contrary, it seems that the migration of scholars increased.[108] It is worthy of mention that in the Indian

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[104] Pourjavady and Ahmad, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," p. 612.

[105] Ibid., p. 613.

[106] Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: shared knowledge and connective systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8: 2 (1997) pp. 151-184, p. 156-7.

[107] Ibid., p. 157.

[108] Ibid., p. 157 and after; and Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā ʿAsharī Shīʾīs in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1986).

Subcontinent, the texts that received the attention of many scholars and several commentaries and glosses were al-Taftazānī's commentary on *al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyyah*, al-Dawānī's commentary on *al-ʿAḍudiyyah,* and al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's commentary on *al-Mawāqif*.[109] Later, we will see that these same texts were the most studied and taught in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century.

While these scholars decided to move to the Indian Subcontinent, others headed directly toward Ottoman lands. In fact, the Ottomans had established connections with some prominent scholars in Iran starting in the late 15th century. The two most eminent philosophers of Shiraz in the late 9th/15th century, Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1502) and Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1498), enjoyed the patronage of the Ottoman court during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (re. 886/1481-918/1512). Dawānī dedicated three of his works to the Sultan and Dashtakī dedicated one.[110]

Alongside al-Lārī mentioned above, three native Ottoman scholars played a significant role in promoting the thought of these two philosophers in Istanbul: Muʾayyadzāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendī (d. 922/1516), Katkhudāzāde Girmiyānī (d. c. 940/1533-4), and Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Āydīnī (d. c. 935/1528-9). Moreover, in the early Safavid era, two outstanding students of Dawānī, Ḥakīm Shāh Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. after 926/1520) and Muẓaffar al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 922/1516), al-Dawānī's son-in-law and his successor as the head of his madrasa in Shiraz, left Safavid Iran to live under Ottoman rule.[111] As a result, the works of eminent philosophers of Shiraz were well known to the scholars of the Ottoman Empire.

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[109] Pourjavady and Ahmad, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," p. 611 and after.

[110] Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and his samples of the sciences," p. 293.

[111] Ibid., p. 293. Also: Judith Pfeiffer, "Teaching the learned: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī's *ijāza* to Muʾayyadzāda ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi and the circulation of knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the turn

Among the scholars who moved from the Safavid court to Ottoman lands and eventually settled in Mecca was Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī (d. 995/1587). Mīrzā Makhdūm, as he was known, entered Safavid politics in about 975-76/1568-69 and served as vizier under Ṭahmāsb until the death of the latter in 984/1576, and during the short period of the reign of Ismāʿīl II, who ruled for fourteen months and died in November 985/1577. After Ismāʿīl's death in 985/1577, Mīrzā Makhdūm, who had been imprisoned twice, escaped Iran with his life. He subsequently settled in Ottoman territory. Later he moved to Mecca, where he became a judge and *shaykh* of the *ḥaram* until his death in 995/1587.[112] Mīrzā Makhdūm represents an example of the transmission of scholarly tradition. His family, on his father's side, boasted of descent from the famous 15th century theologian Sayyid al-Sharīf ʿAlī al-Jurjānī (816/1413).[113] On his mother's side, Mīrzā Makhdūm tells us that "the mother of his grandmother" was a daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr, the son of Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī.[114] Mīrzā Makhdūm wrote a polemic treatise against Shiʿism entitled *al-Nawāqiḍ li-bunyān al-rawāfiḍ.* Later, one of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's prominent students, Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī (d. 1103/1691), wrote an abridgment of this work against Shiʿism, entitled *al-Nawāfiḍ li-l-rawāfiḍ.*[115] Mīrzā Makhdūm also wrote several other works, among them a commentary on al-Jurjānī's *Risālat al-manṭiq.*[116] Thus,

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of the Sixteenth Century," in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, ed. Wadād Qāḍī, Maurice A. Pomerantz, and Aram A. Shahin (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), p. 291.

[112] Rosemary Stanfield Johnson, "Sunni survival in Safavid Iran; anti-Sunni activities during the reign of Tahmasp I," *Iranian Studies*, 27 1–4 (1994), 123–133, p. 124.

[113] Rosemary Stanfield, *Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th Century Sunni Sadr at the Safavid Court* (Ph.D Thesis, New York University, Department of Near Eastern Language and Literature, 1993), p. 32.

[114] Ibid., p. 39; also: Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-l-muṣannifīn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, [re-print of Istanbul 1950 edition])., vol.1, p. 258.

[115] Edited by Muḥammad Hidāyat Nūr Waḥid as part of his PhD Thesis in al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah, Medina, KSA, 1412-13/[1991-2].

[116] Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, vol.1, p. 224.

he himself was a means of intellectual transmission from Iran to Ottoman lands, and eventually to the Ḥijāz.

Converting Iran not only forced Sunni scholars to leave Iran, it also prevented them from heading toward what had been main centers of intellectual activity for the last few centuries. Iran was no longer a destination for Sunni scholars who wanted to study Islamic theology and philosophy in an open atmosphere where commentaries on al-Ṭusī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and Ibn Sīnā and glosses and super glosses had been produced by Sunni and Shīʿī scholars for several centuries. Now, Shīʿī tendencies dominated intellectual activity in Iran, with official support. As we have shown in the preceding, this new situation forced Sunni scholars to find alternative centers in which to gather, teach, study, and exchange knowledge, which in turn contributed to the flourishing of other Islamic cities after the 16th century. The famous traditional intellectual centers such as Cairo and Damascus attracted scholars, but the Ḥijāz in the 17th century had some advantages over these traditional intellectual centers. The location of the Ḥijāz in the growth of Indian Ocean trade coupled with the special interest of two of the greatest Islamic empires, Ottoman and Mughal, in supporting the holy cities of Mecca and Medina helped establish the Ḥijāz as an attractive center for scholars and students.

[1.3.3] Mughal Empire

The huge economic support produced by numerous rulers from the Indian Subcontinent, especially the Mughals,[117] to the Ḥijāz during 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries contributed directly to the transformation of the Ḥijāz into a hub for students and scholars from all

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[117] Muslims reached India long before the Mughals. In the late 16th and 17th centuries, the Mughal Empire grew out of descendants of the Mongol Empire who were living in Turkestan in the 15th century. For a general overview of Islam in India see: Barbara D. Metcalf, "A historical overview of Islam in South Asia," in *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

around the Islamic world. In this dissertation, I do not intend to investigate the entirety of Mughal relations with the Ḥijāz, but rather to focus on the nature of this support and how it helped the Ḥijāz to attract more students and scholars.

The rulers of India carefully gave attention to the Ḥijāz. All Mughal emperors were generous in their donations to the Ḥijāz. They established close links with the two holy cities without interruption, except for a short period in Akbar's time when he lost interest in the affairs of Ḥijāz altogether due to his own religious policies.[118] Mughal relations with the Ḥijāz show a mix of piety as well as economic, political, and cultural interests. Copying the Quran in one's own hand and sending the copy to Mecca was a popular practice.[119] Sultan Muẓaffar II of Gujarat (r. 1511-26) used to transcribe the Quran every year and send copies to Mecca and Medina.[120] He appointed the Ḥanafī Imām of the grand mosque of Mecca to recite this Quran; the Imām was generously paid by the Sultan.[121] Babur (d. 1530), the first Mughal emperor, sent to Mecca a copy of the Quran, transcribed by himself in the script that he invented called *khaṭṭ-Bābūrī* (Bābūrī Script).[122] The practice of copying the Quran in one's own hand and sending the copies to Mecca and Medina may have been a pious act that did not have much of a direct effect on the life of the Ḥijāz; however, other aspects of Mughal involvement in the area had more direct consequences. The economic aspects of Indian support of the Ḥijāz can be seen in the sponsoring of *ḥajj* travel; constructions of schools, *ribāṭs*, and different charitable

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[118] See some aspects of Akbar's relation to religion in J.F. Richards, "The formulation of imperial authority under Akbar and Jahangir," in *The Mughal State 1526-1750*, ed. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (India: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 132 and after.

[119] Aurangzeb also did the same thing. Pearson, *Pious Passengers,* p.113-114.

[120] Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, p. 114.

[121] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 229, fn. 25.

[122] Ibid., p. 191; also: M. N. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, 1500-1800* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), p. 107.

institutions in the Ḥijāz; and the distribution of large amounts of goods and cash donations among the residents of Mecca and Medina.[123]

Support of the Ḥijāz by Indian rulers started earlier than the Mughal Empire. Several charitable institutions were built in the holy cities by these earlier Sultans. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahmān Shāh (1347-1358), the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, is reported to have built a *ribāṭ* in Mecca in 1354.[124] A hospice, to which a madrasa was also attached, was built by Sultan Aḥmad I (1410-1441) in Mecca.[125] Sultan Muẓaffar II of Gujarat (r. 1511-26) constructed a hospital complex in Mecca, consisting of a school, a place for the distribution of water to pilgrims, and other buildings, and he set aside endowments for the maintenance of teachers and students.[126] Many more institutions were built in the Ḥijāz by rulers of the Indian Subcontinent.[127] The list of people who built and endowed *ribāṭs*, schools, or other institutions to help students, scholars, and poor people extends to include rich people and even many scholars. As we will see in the next chapter, the *ribāṭs* in Mecca alone in the Ottoman period numbered 156, and many of these *ribāṭs* were established by Indians.[128]

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[123] A large portion of the donations was directed to the Sharīfs of the Ḥijāz. Alongside their spiritual and religious position as descendants of the Prophet, the Sharīfs played a major role in guaranteeing the security of the pilgrims.

[124] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 189.

[125] Ibid., p. 188.

[126] Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, p. 114.

[127] Muẓaffar Shāh II also allotted a fixed sum for the poor of Mecca and Medina, and occasionally he dispatched a shipload of costly cloth for distribution among the residents of these cities. His son Bahādūr Shāh (1526-1537) is reported to have sent to Mecca in 1536 his harem (seraglio) along with his treasure, consisting of 700 chests of gold and jewels. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 189. For more examples see Ibid., p. 188-9; Z. A Desai, "India and the Near East during 13th-15th centuries," in *A Quest for Truth: A Collection of Research Articles of Dr. Z. A. Desai* (Ahmadabad: Hazrat Pir Mohammed Shah Dargah Sharif Trust), pp. 114-115.

[128] See Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Shāfiʿī, *al-Arbiṭah bi-Makkah al-mukarramah fī al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005), for example: pp. 58, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 98, 108, 116, 117, 119, 124, 180, 182, 183,198.

Beside, the institution of buildings, goods, presents, and cash were frequently sent to the Ḥijāz. For instance, "the Sultans of Gujarat used to send 70,000 *mithqāls* (a gold coin, equal to one and a half drachm) annually for the residents of Mecca and Medina; out of this 25,000 *mithqāls* were given to the Sharif of Mecca."[129] Bahādur's successor, Maḥmūd III (1537-1553), excelled his predecessors in displaying benevolence to the people of the Ḥijāz. He had reserved the income of Gandhara, a village near the port of Cambay, as an endowment for the Ḥijāz. According to Haji al-Dabir,[130] the income of this village was invested in indigo and textiles and the merchandise transported to Jeddah on royal boats and sold in Jeddah's market at considerable profit, its proceeds then being distributed in the holy cities. Haji al-Dabir writes:

> During his [Maḥmūd III's] regime, the residents of Mecca and Medina enjoyed extensive means of livelihood. They were free from debts. The Usmani (Ottoman) endowments came with the Egyptian Amir of Hajis to help them at the time of Hajj and some months of the year; while the Maḥmūdi endowment freed them from debt for the remaining months.[131]

The Mughal Empire was richer in resources and more benevolent than their predecessors. The Mughals would organize annual *ḥajj* caravans to Mecca, and on many occasions the government would sponsor all the pilgrims. The first Mughal *ḥajj* caravan left the imperial capital Fatehpur Sikri in 1576, with 600,000-rupees in cash and 12,000 *khilᶜats* (dresses of honour) for distribution among the deserving people of Mecca and Medina; the Emperor also gave a substantial amount of money for the construction of a

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[129] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 188.

[130] The author of the most detailed history of Gujarat, entitled *Ẓafr al-wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-ālih*. It was published under the title *A History of Gujarat*, ed. E. Denison Ross (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909).

[131] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 190. Moreover, the Sultan ordered that two poor-houses be set up at Mecca. In 1553 he sent 1000 sacks of indigo to Jeddah for sale; the income from this sale was to be spent on digging wells along the road to Medina. Ibid.

khānqāh (dervish convent) in Mecca.[132] Moreover, the Mir Haj (*ḥajj* leader) was instructed to prepare a list of the needy and the poor of the holy Cities and present it, upon his return, to the Emperor.[133] Babur would send *nudhūr* (vows) to the Sufi men of Mecca and Medina and solicited them to pray for his well-being.[134]

When Akbar conquered Gujarat in 1573 and dominated the port of Surat, which was known as the gateway to Mecca, he approved the continuance of the previous *waqf* properties dedicated to the *ḥaramayn* by Sultan Maḥmūd III. Akbar also added a few more villages to the *waqf*.[135] When members of royal houses or their households went on pilgrimage to Mecca, they were usually provided with lavish supplies, and in some cases expenses and provisions were supplied from the State exchequer for all men and soldiers who had the intention of making the pilgrimage.[136] The sultans would appoint a man, designated by the title "Mir Haj" to serve as their personal representative in the pilgrimage. The Mir Haj was entrusted with enormous amounts of money for apportionment among the inhabitants of the *ḥaramayn*. In 1577, the Mir Haj was entrusted with 500,000 rupees and 10,000 *khilʿats;* for the Sharīf of Mecca, a cash award of 100,000 rupees and several splendid gifts were also dispatched.[137]

In general, all Mughal Emperors were very generous in their donations to the Ḥijāz, despite some political tensions. Even when Akbar lost interest in the affairs of the Ḥijāz altogether and his successor Empire Jahangir showed no inclination to resume relations

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[132] Robert Irwin, "Journey to Mecca: A history (Part 2)," in *Hajj Journey to the Heart of Islam*, ed. Venetia Porter (UK: The British Museum Press, 2012), p. 171; Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 193.

[133] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 193.

[134] Ibid., p. 191.

[135] Ibid., p. 192.

[136] Ibid., p. 193. Besides Muslims from Indian Subcontinent, many Central Asians and Khurasanis were also given provisions and expenses for the journey from the public treasury. A special royal ship, the 'Ilahi,' was arranged for carrying the pilgrims to their destination. Ibid. Also: Pearson, *Pious Passengers*, p. 115.

[137] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 195.

with the region, Indian Muslims continued to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Jahangir occasionally sent donations.[138] The donations that arrived to the Ḥijāz from Shahjahan, who became emperor in 1628, and Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) exceeded those from all their predecessors.[139] The money would be sent as cash, or goods that were supposed to be sold in Jeddah or in the Ḥijāz; the profits from these sales together with the cash would be distributed among the Sharīfs, the poor, and the pious men living in retreat in Mecca and Medina.[140] A large number of these pious men were permanently employed on daily stipends to act as the Emperor's deputies in walking around the *kaʿbah*, bowing to the Prophet's tomb, and reading the two copies of the Quran written by his own hand and presented to Medina. The Emperor had also appointed a special officer to take care of the endowments sanctioned for the holy sanctuaries.[141]

By 1694, Aurangzeb's enthusiasm for the Sharīfs of Mecca had begun to fade when he received several reports that the current Sharīf had appropriated all the money sent to the Ḥijāz for his own use. Aurangzeb expressed his disgust at the unethical behavior of the Sharīf, who was depriving the needy and the poor of their due share in the royal endowments.[142] In this same year, the Sharīf of Mecca sent one of the Ḥijāz's scholars, Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, on a mission to Aurangzeb. Probably the issue of economic support was his main concern, but al-Barzanjī's own motivation was to intervene in debates over al-Sirhindī's thought raised in the Ḥijāz by some of al-Sirhindī's students in which al-Barzanjī and his teachers al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī engaged as we

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[138] In 1622, he sent 200,000 rupees to Cambay, a famous port of Gujarat. The money was to be invested in the Red Sea trade; its proceeds were to be distributed among the poor of Mecca. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman relations*, pp. 203-205.

[139] Ibid., pp. 205-214.

[140] Ibid., pp. 205-208.

[141] Ibid., pp. 210-211.

[142] Ibid., p. 214.

shall see in the coming chapters. Unfortunately, the emperor refused to meet the delegation, and al-Barzanjī returned through Yemen to the Ḥijāz.[143] After Aurangzeb, donations and presents continued to be sent to the Ḥijāz.[144] In return, the Sharīfs of Mecca used to send missions and presents to Mughal emperors, mainly Arab horses, fancy swords, and some sacred relics.[145]

Not only cash was sent to the Ḥijāz, but various goods, alms, and presents as well. Once among the gifts was a candlestick studded with diamonds, which weighed 100 carats according to some historians. Among the gifts which Shahjahan sent to the Hijāz were amber candlesticks that he had amongst his private property, "the largest of them all which weighed 700 tolas (unit of weight, about 12 grams), and was worth 10,000 rupees, it was covered with a network of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers, and studded with gems."[146] Aḥmad I of Gujarat dispatched a large, beautiful red-colored canopied tent to provide shadow to the pilgrims performing circumambulation of the *kaʿbah*.[147] Al-ʿAyyāshī in his account of his travel to the Ḥijāz says that the carpets and most of the furniture of the Prophet's mosque in Medina, very luxurious furniture one otherwise cannot see except in King's houses, had come from India and its kings.[148]

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[143] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 307.

[144] "In November 1709, Emperor Bahadur Shah I sent gifts worth of 500,000 rupees to Mecca and Medina. An annual subsidy of 100,000 rupees was also sanctioned for the Sharif." "In 1717 Farrukhsiyar dispatched Muhammad Hafiz Khan to Mecca; he was entrusted with 500,000 rupees for disbursement among the destitute and recluses of the Haramayn." Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman relations*, p. 215-16. According to Haji a-Dabir "Every year, he [Asaf Khan] distributed one hundred and fifty boxes of gold, so much so that residents of Mekka and their women and servants were dressed in gold. He gave them sumptuous feasts on a very grand scale." Ibid., 229, fn. 26.

[145] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 212.

[146] Ibid., p. 207.

[147] Desai, "India and the Near East during 13th-15th centuries," p. 114.

[148] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 436.

Alongside pious and economic elements, patronage of the Ḥijāz had a political significance for the Mughals, which in turn had economic consequences for life in the Ḥijāz, as the *ḥajj* was often an acceptable method to move a person out of the way for a time, or to punish him.[149] This politically-motivated practice was used by the Mughals, and earlier rulers, to exile some unfortunate members of royal families, court persons, and elites.[150]

The policy of using the Ḥijāz as an exile place for political reasons increased with the Mughals, as "Emperor Humayun exiled two of his own brothers, Mirza Kamran and Mirza Askari to Mecca; the Mirzas had incurred the Emperor's displeasure for treasonable conduct."[151] Many leading nobles of Akbar's court had gone into voluntary exile in Mecca owing to their differences with the Emperor. Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar's foster brother and the Governor of Gujarat, was one of them.[152] Akbar also deported several other grandees of his court to the Ḥijāz. They were charged with opposing the Emperor's religious policies.[153] Aurangzeb had likewise expelled many undesirable persons to the holy land. On many occasions, the selection of some famous name as representative of the empire to Mecca or as a leader of *ḥajj* caravans was actually a respected way to expel them from

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[149] Similar incidents can be found in several Central Asian dynasties, see some examples in Welsford, "The re-opening of Iran to Central Asian pilgrimage traffic, 1600-1650," p. 153, 158.

[150] Among the exiled people was Ilhamullah, the son of the Bahmani Sultan Kalimullah (1526-1538), who probably died in Mecca. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 189.

[151] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 217.

[152] Ibid., p. 218.

[153] Ibid., p. 218

India.[154] Usually the emperors also instructed the Ḥijāz's authorities to keep an eye on them and detain them in Mecca.[155]

A major consequence of this behavior is, given that these people were very wealthy, they consequently spent a great deal of money in the Ḥijāz. Such was the case of Mirza Aziz Koka, who was very generous with the charitable organizations of the holy cities, as well as donating to the Sharīf of Mecca.[156] Likewise, when ʿAbd al-Azīz Asraf Khān, the Prime Minister of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, was sent to Mecca, he was accompanied by 1,000 knights and soldiers and an equally sized retinue and attendants in ten vessels, along with the royal Seraglio and royal treasures in hundreds of chests full of cash, textiles and like material, and jewels; he stayed there for over a decade before he returned to Ahmadabad in A.H. 955. Asaf Khān's stay in Mecca was marked by his piety and religiosity, and his lavish patronage of learned men, grants to scholarly establishments, and by assistance to the deserving and the needy, which was unheard of in the history of the holy city.[157]

Another interesting aspect of Mughal relations with the Ḥijāz is the exchange of scholars and ideas. People from the Indian Subcontinent visited Muslim countries in the

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[154] ʿAbd al-Nabī and Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Sultanpuri, the leading scholars of the court, were chosen as Akbar's permanent representatives in Mecca; the proper disbursement of the royal *sadagat* was to be the main duty of the imperial agent. The selection of these men was based on their being leaders of the orthodox group at the court; due to their opposition to Akbar's religious aberrations, they had fallen from imperial grace. Hakimul Hulk Gilani, a distinguished physician and scholar, was commissioned as the royal Mir Haj for the year 1580. The Hakim had also incurred Akbar's displeasure for his outspoken criticism of the Emperor's religious innovations; he was therefore conveniently exiled to Mecca. Jahangir deported Abdul Aziz Khan, the Governor of Qandahar, for having surrendered a coveted fort to Shah Abbas I of Persia. Sheikh Adam Bannoori, a leading Sufi of the 17th century, was banished, along with his many followers, by Shahjahn; the Sheikh died at Medina in 1643. Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, pp. 196-7-8

[155] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 217. This policy seems to have been abandoned by Aurangzeb's successors. Ibid., p. 218.

[156] Ibid., p. 218.

[157] Desai, "Relations of India with Middle-Eastern countries during the 16th-17th centuries," p. 145.

Middle East for religious reasons, some of them becoming very distinguished scholars in the Arab World.[158] Several names of Indian scholars will appear in the next chapter, including ʿAbd Allāh al-Lāhūrī, one of al-Kūrānī's teachers; al-Sayyid Ghaḍanfar al-Naqshbandī; Ṣibghat Allāh al-Hindī; Ādam Bannūrī; Muḥammad al-Ḥindī al-Shaṭṭārī;[159] Jamāl al-Dīn al-Hindī al-Naqshbanī; and Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, the son of al-Sirhindī.[160] In the other direction, numerous Arab scholars selected to move to and settle under the patronage of different rulers of the Indian Subcontinent. The most famous of these is Shaykh al-ʿAydarūs, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn (d. 1048/1639), the author of *al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-qarn al-ʿāshir,* in which he mentions many Arab scholars who lived in the Indian Subcontinent.[161]

In the next section, I will mention the contribution of the Ottomans to the situation in the Ḥijāz. It is interesting to note that the Ottoman traveler Evliyā Çelebī, in his account of his trip to the Ḥijāz, after describing the generosity of the Ottoman Sultans in their donations to the Ḥijāz, says that *ṣurra* arriving from India exceeded that which arrived from Ottoman rulers, except for the food supplies (*ghilāl*).[162]

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[158] For the names of several of these visitors see Desai, "India and the Near East during 13th-15th centuries," p. 117 and after. Desai includes special sections for those who went to Mecca to study with its scholars such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Fahd. Ibid., p. 120.

[159] Muḥammas Ḥasan Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Zawāyā al-taṣawwuf wa-l-ṣūfiyyah al-musammā Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, ed. Aḥmad al-Sāyiḥ and Tawfīq Wahbah (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, 2009), p. 293.

[160] For names of other Indian scholars who studied, learned and lived in the Middle East see Desai, "Relations of India with Middle-Eastern countries during the 16th-17th centuries," p. 138 and after. The main destinations of these scholars were Mecca, Medina, Damascus, and Cairo. Some well-known names include Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1583), who wrote a history of Mecca entitled *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*; ʿAlī al-Muttaqī, famous as al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, who wrote *Kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aqal wa-l-afʿāl*; and Ibrāhīm al-Manikpur, who studied in Baghdad, Cairo, and the Ḥijāz and taught finally in Cairo for 24 years.

[161] Many names of Arab scholars who settle and worked in Indian courts can be found in Desai, "Relations of India with Middle-Eastern countries during the 16th-17th centuries," p. 133

[162] Jalabī, *al-Riḥlah al-ḥijāziyyah*, p. 276.

[1.3.4] Ottomans and the Ḥijāz

The Ḥijāz was constantly receiving supplies and support from surrounding countries, mainly Egypt, but also Yemen and Syria. The Ottomans increased the finances of the Ḥijāz, and numerous pilgrimage-related projects were supported by many Ottoman sultans, princes, wealthy people, scholars, and even women of the court.[163] Much of this funding was directed toward educational institutions that supported students and scholars. Some of these institutions, including schools, libraries, *ribāṭs*, and even soup kitchens, will be mentioned in the next chapter. For now, other aspects of Ottoman support to the Ḥijāz will be presented, mainly the Ottoman securing of the pilgrimage routes; the direct support of the people such as Sharīfs, scholars, students, and poor people; and large-scale construction projects.

The Ḥijāz was crucial to the Ottomans for several reasons. From a religious perspective, by the 16th century the Ottoman empire had expanded into Christian Europe and was fighting against Safavid Shīʿī Iran, so they strove to establish their legitimacy as representatives of Sunni Muslims. From a political and economic perspective, it was important for the Ottomans to reach the Indian Subcontinent by sea, since the establishment of the Safavid dynasty closed the way by land. At the same time, the Portuguese ambition to extend their domination to the Red Sea in order to reach the closest point to the Mediterranean Sea was critical in Ottoman strategic calculations.

One of the Sultan's obligations as "Servant of the Holy Places" was to protect the pilgrims during the session of the *ḥajj* and through their long journey. The Ottomans in

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[163] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans*, p. 10, 79. According to the Ottoman system, the expenditures of the budget of Egypt were divided into four categories: 1- Salaries, wages and pensions; 2- Expenditures for purposes in Egypt; 3- Expenditures for purposes in Mecca and Medina and for the pilgrimage to the holy cities; 4- Expenditures for purposes elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. Stanford J. Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597* (The Hague: Mouton,1968), pp. 7, 13.

the 17th century controlled Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, the main gates of pilgrims from most of the Islamic world, except for Indian and Southeast Asian pilgrims who would arrive through Yemen. The pilgrims' caravans had to cross the desert in which the Ottoman Sultans had only limited control.[164] Many caravans, especially those from Syria, were accompanied by soldiers and cavalrymen, but this protection was not enough to guard them from Bedouin attacks.[165] To ensure the safety of pilgrims and to secure the roads, the Ottomans offered official subsides, the ṣurra,[166] to the Bedouins living along the ḥajj route.[167] The ṣurra was offered as a token in recognition of the food and water that the Bedouins delivered to the caravans, but actually it was a means of protecting the caravans from Bedouin attacks. The money that was used to pay the Bedouins came with almost every caravan passing through the desert, and "between 1596-7 and 1614, 5100-5800 Ottoman gold coins were assigned every year from Egyptian provincial revenues as ṣurre payment to Bedouins."[168] In spite of gaps in the sources, Suraiya Faroqhi suggests

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[164] The interior of Arabia was desert with a small population consisting mostly of nomadic or semi-nomadic Bedouins and few natural resources. Before the discovery of oil, neither the Ottomans nor preceding empires had been very interested in ruling this desert, which remained mainly under the control of the Bedouin. See Ochsenwald, "Ottoman Arabia and the Holy Hijaz, 1516-1918," pp. 23-34. P. 25.

[165] In the 13th century, political divisions within the Islamic world and the threats posed to it by the Mongols and Crusaders were severe. This made performing the ḥajj difficult. Under the Ottomans the bounderies between different regions were lifted, thus facilitating the move from one place to another. Robert Irwin, "Journey to Mecca: A history (Part 2)," p. 137.

[166] Ṣurra or ṣurre means traditional purse or money bag. It used to be sent to the Ḥijāz with a procession ceremony. The name ṣurra used to be used for the money paid to the Bedouin as well as the money and gifts sent to Sharīfs, scholars, and needy people in Mecca and Medina. See Syed Tanvir Wasti, "The Ottoman ceremony of the royal purse," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Mar., 2005), pp. 193-200.

[167] For more information about the recipients, the amounts paid in certain years, and the source of these monies see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans,* p. 55 and after. A document from Ottoman archive records the ṣurra of 1192/1778 for Bedouin, including lists of names of the tribesmen and the amount they received. This is discussed in Suheyl Sapan's study, "Mukhaṣṣaṣāt al-qabāʾil al-ʿArabiyyah min wāqiʿ al-ṣurrah al-ʿUthmāniyyah li-ʿām 1192/1778," *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*, Jamiʿat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, n. 20, 1428-1429 [2007-2008].

[168] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans*, p. 56.

that payments from Syrian revenues were usually higher than those derived from Egypt. Securing the routes was but one aspect of Ottoman interest in the Ḥijāz; other aspects included supporting the Sharīfs, scholars, students, and the poor of the Ḥijāz as well as constructing mosques, schools, *ribāṭs*, kitchens, libraries, water supplies, and other infrastructural works.

Ottoman support of the Ḥijāz started before the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. Bāyazīd I (r. 792/1389-805/1402) and then his son Muḥammad (r. 816/1413-824/1421) started to send the *ṣurra*, although irregularly and without specific amounts. In the time of Murād II (r. 824/1421-848/1444), the *ṣurra* became regulated; in 855/1451 he sent the equivalent of 3500 florin.[169] After Sharīf Barkāt II (1497-1525) acknowledged the authority of the Ottoman Sultan over the Ḥijāz, he was duly confirmed in his position and was given the honorary rank of *wazīr* in the Ottoman government, an annual salary of 25,000 *kurush* (a Turkish piaster) being assigned to him.[170]

Tables of amounts show the increase of the payment almost every year.[171] In 1517, Selim I is reported to have sent 200,000 gold coins to Mecca and Medina for distribution among the residents of these cities. The *ṣurra* was sent annually with the *Amīr al-ḥajj* and was distributed under his supervision. At the same year, a sum of 450,000 *paras* (a Turkish coin of the value of one fortieth of a piaster or 1/100 of a pound) was sanctioned for the *ḥajj* expenses. In 1533-34, the *ṣurra* sent to the holy cities amounted to 560,000 paras. In

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[169] Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Huraydī, *Shuʾūn al-ḥaramayn fī al-ʿahd al-ʿuthmānī fī ḍawʾ al-wathāʾiq al-Turkiyyah al-ʿUthmāniyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Zahrāʾ, 1989), p. 11. The Florentine florin was a coin struck from 1252 to 1533. It had 54 grains of nominally pure or 'fine' gold (3.5 grams, 0.1125 troy ounce) worth approximately 140 modern US dollars. Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 48.

[170] Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, p. 185. Rulers based in Baghdad, Cairo, and Istanbul could not control the Ḥijāz and guarantee the safety of their pilgrims without the cooperation of the Sharīfs.

[171] Ibid.

1595-96 the total expenditures for the *ḥajj* at the holy cities was estimated to be 4,358,025 paras. By 1798, it had increased to 29,956,017 paras a year.[172] Shaw's work in *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597* indicates that the total revenues amounted to 66,180,576 paras and the total expenditures 44,702,421 paras, of which the expenditures of the holy cities amounted to 1,327,240 paras.[173] According to Faroqhi, "of the 300,000-385,000 gold pieces sent to the Hejaz every year, at least 120,000 or about one third were derived directly from Egyptian sources."[174] For example: "according to the budget of 1596-7, subsidies sent to Mecca and Medina out of official Egyptian revenues amounted to at least 903,892 *pārā* or 22,597 gold pieces... almost 10 per cent of the Egyptian budget of these years."[175] Other amounts from the central administration's budget for 1527-8, 1653, 1660-1, and 1690-1, and expenditures on behalf of the holy cities in the early 17th century from the Egyptian budget can be found in Faroqhi's book.[176] Among the recipients of the donations were the Sharīfs, imāms of the *ḥarams*, *muftīs*, judges, scholars, students, *mujāwirūn*, pilgrims, and the poor.[177] Worthy of mention is that the imperial *ṣurra* continued to be sent to the Ḥijāz until 1334/1915, one year before Sharīf Ḥusayn's revolution.[178]

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[172] S.J. Shaw, *The Financial Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 239-271.

[173] Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597*, p. 21.

[174] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans*, p. 90.

[175] Ibid., p. 79. More detail on subsides that were sent to the Ḥijāz can be found in Suraiya Faroqhi's *Pilgrims and Sultans* and Huraydī's *Shuʾūn al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn fī al-ʿahd al-ʿuthmānī.*

[176] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans*, pp. 78, 81. Faroqhi, based on Ottoman archives, has written the most comprehensive account of the political and socio-economic aspects of the Ḥijāz during the 17th century.

[177] For lists of some names and their allowances see Muḥammad ʿAlī Fahīm Bayyūmī, *Mukhaṣṣaṣāt al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn fī Miṣr ibbān al-ʿaṣr al-ʿUthmānī bayn 923-1220/1517-1805* (Cairo: Azhar University, Master thesis, 1999).

[178] Huraydī, *Shuʾūn al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn fī al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī,* p. 36.

The direct donations of Sultans or government revenues were not the only ways of supporting the Ḥijāz under Ottoman control. One of the most important methods of funding the Ḥijāz was *waqf*, which existed in every Islamic country. With the expansion of Islam, donations would arrive from all parts of Islamic world. In almost every country there were what are known as *waqf al-ḥaramayn*, consisting of public endowments designed to support schools, scholars, students, institutions, buildings, and the poor in the two holy cities.[179] A French officer in Algiers claimed that the poor of the holy cities of Islam were the beneficiaries of no less than three-quarters of the town's endowments.[180]

More important than monetary donations were food supplies. The scarcity of natural resources in the Ḥijāz made it depend entirely on support from foreign rulers. Ottoman administrators did not deviate radically from the Mamlūk-established system of supplying the Ḥijāz. Faroqhi describes how the Ottomans reformed and expanded on Mamlūk foundations, ultimately subsuming them under the overall heading of the Greater Deshīshe foundation. Usually Egyptian foundations had been assigned to villages whose taxes constituted their yearly revenues. Many Sultans used to enlarge these foundations by the addition of new villages.[181]

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[179] An excellent study of *waqf al-ḥaramayn* in one region is Miriam Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers, and Community: Waqf al-Ḥaramayn in Ottoman Algiers* (Leiden: Brill. 1998).

[180] Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers, and Community*, p. 88. However, the author thinks the amount is somewhat exaggerated and she provides other amounts with which to compare; for example, in Aleppo they constituted 9.6 % of all the *khayrī* beneficiaries; in a pilot quantitative project comprising 104 endowments deeds collected from Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Istanbul and Anatolia, ranging in date from 1340 to 1947, the *ḥaramayn* were 5% of the primary and 17% of the subsequent charitable beneficiaries. Ibid. Algerian annual allocation varied between 1,100 and 1,500 gold *dīnār*, this for the years between 1667-1780. Ibid, p. 145-6.

[181] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans*, p. 80.

Egypt was the source of most subsidies remitted to the holy cities, including grain and other foodstuffs.[182] Evliyā Çelebī in his visit to the Ḥijāz in 1082/1671 gives valuable information about some administration expenses. For example, he states:

> When it is not the pilgrimage season, 14,000 men—great and small, rich and poor—reside here as listed in the court register. The supply of food and drink for this population is covered by the endowments of Sultan Salem, the conqueror of Egypt, Sultan Sulaymān, Sultan Mūrad III and Sultan Aḥmed. The endowments known as the Great Dashīsha and the Little Dashīsha, Murādiyya, Meḥemmediyye and Khāṣṣakiyya provide annually 14,000×100,000 *ardebs* of wheat. The grain is brought from Cairo to Suez, thence to Yanbūʿ and from there by camel to Medina. Everyone receives his share according to the imperial warrant (*berāt-i pādishāhī*) in his possession and in return prays for the Sultan.[183]

According to Çelebī, "1,000 gold pieces from the imperial *ṣurre* (the sultan's annual gift to the holy cities) and 200 bushels of wheat from Egypt are set aside for the Molla and the same for the *shaykh al-ḥaram.*"[184]

Along with direct money support and food supplies, unique gifts would also be sent to the two great mosques in Mecca and Medina. Evliyā Çelebī gives a description of a prayer niche and golden candles in the room of the Prophet's tomb, saying: [185]

> The tomb is also adorned with many valuable chandeliers, each the memento of a sultan. Only God knows how much each one is worth. There are thousands of jewel-encrusted lamps, golden balls, seals of Solomon and decanter-shaped jewelled lamps that dumbfound the viewer. Since there is no room for all the many chandeliers under this high dome, some of them are hanging by jewelled chains in seventy or eighty places in the various corners of the nine-arched dome and they have been adorned with even more gifts that were brought in later.[186]

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[182] Ibid., p. 79. For more detail concerning the Ḥijāz's subsidies and their recipients, see Ibid., p. 74 and after.

[183] Çelebī, *Evliyā Çelebī in Medina,* pp. 119-121.

[184] Ibid., p. 37.

[185] Records of gifts and donations from Ottoman Sultan to Mecca and Medina in 1503-4 can be found in Faroqhi's *Pilgrims & Sultans,* p. 77.

[186] Çelebī, *Evliyā Çelebī in Medina,* p. 107. More description can be found on p. 105.

Along with sending money, food supplies, and gifts to rulers, scholars, and to the two great mosques, the establishment of schools, *ribāṭs*, and various institutions increased due to the generous support of many sultans, princes, the wealthy, and even court women. Construction in the Ḥijāz was quite expensive. Apart from building stones, everything else, i.e., timber, iron, bricks, and marble, had to be imported from distant provinces.[187] Qualified workers on Ottoman construction sites in the Ḥijāz often came from Syria or Egypt.[188] The renovation of the great mosques of Mecca and Medina was especially costly due to special decorations and the materials used.[189]

The Ottomans maintained the numerous already established Mamlūk *waqf* foundations in Mecca and Medina, and added many more to them.[190] Some of these foundations were ruined when the Ottomans took power, and others were functioning or reparable.[191] Water supplies, public baths, and soup kitchens were among common projects.[192] In these charitable projects several women of the court played an important role. For example, Hurrem Sultan (d. 965/1558), the wife of Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent (d. 1566), built two institutions in Mecca and Medina, each one consisting of a mosque, school, kitchen, and *ribāṭ*, and attached to them many endowments that covered all their expenses.[193]

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[187] About the sources of these materials see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans,* p. 94.

[188] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans,* p. 96.

[189] For some data concerning the construction expenditures see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans,* p. 97. She also offers some comparison with the building expenses of two major Istanbul mosques, the Sulaymaniyya complex and the Sultan Aḥmad mosque. Ibid., p. 98.

[190] For a detailed study of Mamlūk *waqfs* for the Ḥijāz see the doctoral thesis of Aḥmad Hāshim Aḥmad Badrshīnī, *Awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn fī al-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī (648-923/1250-1517)* (KSA, Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿah wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah, PhD Thesis, 2001).

[191] See some examples in Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans,* p. 106.

[192] Ibid., p. 106-112.

[193] See the *waqf* conditions in Majidā Makhlūf, *Awqāf nisāʾ al-salāṭīn al-ʿuthmāniyyin, waqfiyyat zawjat al-Sulṭān Sulaymān al-Qānūnī ʿalā al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabiyyah, 2006).

Among the institutions that received donations from Egypt in the Ottoman period were primary schools (*kuttāb*s), schools, libraries, *ribāṭs*, *zāwiyās*, hospitals, and water supplies. These institutions were usually established by sultans or rulers and took their names, as in the case of such establishments as *maktab* al-Sultan Murad,[194] the schools of Sultan Sulaymān al-Qānūnī,[195] Madrasat Dāwwud Bāshā,[196] and al-madrasah al-Ḥamīdiyyah established by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Awwal (r. 1773-1788), and many other schools, libraries, and *ribāṭs.* Moreover, there were seven primary schools established in Mecca and three in Medina; four regular schools in Mecca and six in Medina are mentioned by Bayyūmī in his *Mukhaṣṣaṣāt al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn.* Bayyūmī likewise mentions the libraries attached to schools or *zāwiyā*s. He also mentions three *takiyyahs* (hospices) in Mecca and three in Medina, three *ribāṭ*s in Mecca and four in Medina, one *zāwiya*, one hospital (*bīmāristān*), water supplies, and even specific amounts for two parks, one in Mecca and one in Medina.[197] Bayyūmī also mentions the institutions about whose endowments he found documents in Egyptian Archives. Discussion of the many other educational institutions in the Ḥijāz is reserved for the following chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to show that several seemingly scattered and separated events, such as the conversion of Iran to Shiʿism and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, contributed to transforming the Ḥijāz into a centre of intellectual life in the 17th century. As shown above, local factors played a very limited role in this transformation; the impetus for the Ḥijāz's development during the 17th century was primarily external.

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[194] Bayyūmī, *Mukhaṣṣaṣāt al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn,* p. 343.

[195] Ibid., p. 346.

[196] Ibid., p. 346.

[197] Ibid., p. 337 and after.

The Sharīfs had a long history of dealing with foreign powers striving for dominance in the two most important centres for Muslims in the world. This competition enabled the Sharīfs to receive substantial economic support for the Ḥijāz. However, this two-way relationship depended on the willingness and the ability of the other side to offer support. As of the 16th century, the Ḥijāz served as a focus of interest for two great and wealthy empires, the Moghul and the Ottoman. The interest and support of these two empires were factors contributing to the growing importance of the Ḥijāz. Others include global changes that resulted in an increasing number of scholars and intellectual texts circulating outside of Iran and facilitating transportation between different regions around the Indian ocean, as well as increasing the number of pilgrims and students visiting the Ḥijāz.

During the 17th century, scholars from all over the Islamic world settled in the Ḥijāz, sometimes for a short period, and other times for longer. As a centre for the annual meeting of pilgrims from all around the world, the Ḥijāz played an essential role in gathering scholars and in spreading and circulating knowledge. Pilgrims, students and scholars brought with them their particular scholarly traditions, and later these students and scholars carried these scholarly experiences back to their regions. As we will see in the next chapter, some scholars describe this movement as one from the centre to the periphery. Some of these students became distinguished scholars and leaders of Islamic movements. In fact, "the Hajj acted as the perfect vehicle for building Muslim networks across the Indian Ocean and even beyond. The History of Islam spilled out from Mecca and also came back to the same place."[198] To show the significant role the Ḥijāz began to play in the circulation of knowledge among different parts of Islamic world, one can

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[198] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, p. 29.

mention the controversial work of Mīrzā Makhdūm entitled *Nawāqiḍ al-rawāfiḍ,* the anti-Shiʿite work, which was completed in 988/1580 in the Ottoman Empire, had become popular in India soon after its completion, when about a hundred copies of it were taken to India by those who had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca.[199]

In the following chapter, I shall demonstrate that the Ḥijāz was one of the main centres for intellectual life in the 17th century by examining a number of examples of scholars, texts, educational institutions, and intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz during that period.

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[199] Pourjavady and Ahmed, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," p. 610.

Chapter Two: Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz in the 17th Century

The previous chapter has shown some of the main changes in the 10th/16th century that impacted life in the Ḥijāz, either directly or indirectly. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the spread of European navies in the Indian Ocean strengthened the connection of the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia with Arabia. These changes increased the number of pilgrims, merchants, and students who travelled to study in the Arab world. The rise of a powerful and wealthy Islamic dynasty, the Mughals, and their massive donations to the Ḥijāz helped establish numerous educational institutions and maintain endowments to provide for them, their teachers, and their students. The Ottoman expansion into the Ḥijāz, as well as to all of the Levant, Egypt, and most of North Africa, also facilitated travel across these areas. Alongside facilating travel, the Ottomans made numerous efforts to secure pilgrimage routes and provided generous economic support for pilgrims. Finally, the conversion of Iran to Shiʿism and the persecution of Sunni scholars there forced them to disperse to other parts of the Islamic world, carrying with them their knowledge and establishing new centers of intellectual activity.

Moreover, Iran was no longer a destination for Sunni scholars who sought to pursue the intellectual sciences. During this period, the Ḥijāz, Cairo, and Damascus replaced many previous centers of intellectual activity in Iran such as Shiraz and Isfahan. In addition to these new centers, Sunni scholars were also attracted to the Indian Subcontinent and Anatolia. The stable situation in the Ḥijāz, increasing investments in its educational institutions, and the relative ease of travel to Mecca encouraged more Muslims to come to the area and spend time studying with scholars there. Some of them

even made it their home and integrated into local society. These reasons made the Ḥijāz a central scholarly community for intellectual exchange in the 11th/17th century.

This chapter takes a step further by exploring these activities and the scholars who contributed to this transformation, and how these sciences and texts reached the Ḥijāz. It begins with a short review of the secondary literature that has speculated about intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century, with a focus on the educational institutions found there during this period. These institutions formed the infrastructure that offered scholars and students support during their time in the Ḥijāz. Lodging, food supplies, and even fixed stipends from the sources mentioned in the previous chapter allowed increasing numbers of students and scholars to spend time studying and teaching in the Ḥijāz. Madrasas, libraries, *ribāṭs,* and *zāwiyyahs* are therefore mentioned in order to shed light on the diversity of these institutions, which were associated with crafts such as book binding and manuscript copying.

To gain a better idea of the intellectual life in the Ḥijāz, I am focusing on the following theoretical and practical intellectual activities that existed in Mecca and Medina: medicine, agriculture, astronomy, chemistry, and music theory. Then I discuss twenty-three scholars from 17th century Ḥijāz who taught intellectual sciences, mainly *kalām*, logic, and philosophy. In both cases I have excluded the intellectual circle around Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, which will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters. In this one century and in the one small geographical zone of Mecca and Medina, approximately 50 scholars taught intellectual sciences, including the works of Ibn Sīnā, al-Suhrawardī, al-Dawānī, al-Taftazānī, al-Jurjānī, and many others. How the texts of these philosophers and scholars reached the Ḥijāz will be explored by analysing a source that is usually not associated with intellectual sciences: the *isnād* "chain of transmission". This science is

used with the intention of drawing attention to *isnād*s as an important source for the study of post-classical Islamic philosophy.

[2.1] Speculation about Intellectual Activities in the Ḥijāz in the 17th Century

As mentioned above, until the rise of the Arab Revolution of Sharīf Ḥusayn (d. 1350/ 1931), the Ḥijāz had always been mentioned in academic studies in relation to some more important authority. The recent interest in some aspects of the history of pre-Wahhabi Ḥijāz, mainly in the 11-12th/17-18th centuries, has come as a side interest to other studies. Here, I will mention two fields of study that led scholars to speculate about intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz in the 11th/17th century.

[2.1.1] Southeast Asian Studies

Probably the first mention of the Ḥijāz as a center of intellectual activity in the 17th century came from Southeast Asian studies. Scholarly studies of Sufism in Indonesia started with Dutch colonialism in the second half of the 19th century, as Sufi orders played a significant role among resistance movements against the Dutch.[1] This interest in Sufism and Sufi orders in Indonesia led scholars to the prominent Sufi ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkili (1620-1695). A PhD thesis from Leiden University was written about al-Singkili in 1909 by D. A. Rinkes, who reconstructs the man's life, especially his period of study in Medina with its scholars.[2]

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[1] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 38, Issue 2 (Jul., 1998), pp. 192-219. Van Bruinessen notices that all the earliest titles deal with politically suspect Sufi orders or actual rebellions; he describes the first studies as: "made by civil servants (and an occasional missionary) and primarily inspired by security concerns." Ibid., p.192. The early studies were in Dutch, which prevented their wide publication. After Indonesia's independence in 1949, publications in English increased, but most works were done in Indonesian.

[2] D.A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de mystiek op Sumatra en Java.* Heerenveen: "Hepkema" (Leiden: doctorate dissertation, 1909).

Studying al-Singkili and other Javanese and Malay Sufis resulted in expanding the study to include their connections with Middle Eastern and Indian-subcontinent Sufism in the 16th and 17th centuries. For example, A.H. Johns, in writing his thesis at University of London entitled *Malay Sufism as Illustrated in an Anonymous Collection of 17th Century Tracts* (1957) discovered *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah* by the Indian Sufi al-Burhānbūrī (d. 1620), which Johns published in 1965. In the introduction to his edition of al-Burhānbūrī's text, Johns mentions nothing about the Ḥijāz; the only note is that the text became so popular in Jāwā that al-Kūrānī in Medina composed a commentary on it for the Indonesian students some time before 1661.[3] Later, in 1978, Johns attempted to clarify the relationship between al-Kūrānī and al-Singkili in order to explain the connection between an Indonesian Sufi and a scholar from the Ḥijāz.[4] However, Johns did not consult any sources about the Ḥijāz, and his sources about al-Kūrānī are from the Maghrib, India, and Southeast Asia.[5]

Azyumardi Azra, in his book *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia, Network of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ʿUlamāʾ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century,*[6] examines the connections between Southeast Asia and the Middle East, especially the

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[3] Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh Burhānpūrī and Anthony H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1965).

[4] A. H. Johns, "Friends in grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkeli," in *Spectrum: Essay presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), pp. 469-485. Other sources which the author used were in manuscript form but many of them were printed later.

[5] The main sources about al-Kūrānī's life and thought in this article are two Maghribī scholars, Ibn al-Ṭayyib and al-Ifrānī, and the Indian Dictionary *Abjad al-ʿulūm*. The Maghribī account is significant because it mentions theological disputes about several topics such as *kasb*, the material character of non-existence, and the faith of Pharaoh. Ibid., p. 474. The rest of the article is about *al-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah.*

[6] Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ʿUlamāʾ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Australia: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin), 2004. Originally a PhD dissertation at Columbia University in New York City, defended in 1992.

Ḥijāz, in order to clarify the transmission of religious ideas from centers of Islamic learning to other parts of the Muslim world. Azra, following Voll's assumptions, which will be mentioned below, argues that the 17th and 18th centuries constituted one of the most dynamic periods in the socio-intellectual history of Islam, and that "the origins of Islamic dynamic impulses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were networks of Muslim scholars (ʿulamāʾ), centered in Mecca and Medina."[7]

[2.1.2] Reform Movements of the 18th Century

In the 18th century, numerous reform movements burst across the Muslim world.[8] The rise of all these movements during the same century in different parts of the Islamic world has made some scholars question whether a connection between them existed. In *The Cambridge History of Islam,* published in 1970, Fazlur Rahman wrote a chapter entitled "Revival and reform in Islam."[9] In this chapter he listed many of these intellectual and militant movements as pre-modernist reform movements.[10] Rahman mentions some common characteristics among them, such as a concern with socio-moral reconstruction, reform of society on the basis of a "return" to pristine Islam in terms of the Quran and the Sunna, and proclamation of the right of *ijtihād.* However, Rahman did not try to establish connections between these movements and scholars.

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[7] Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia,* p. 1.

[8] Among the leaders and movements that arose in this century are Wahhabism, the movement led by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, (d. 1792); al-Sanūsiyyah in North Africa led by ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859); al-Tijāniyyah led by Aḥmad al-Tijānī (d.1815); the Mahdist movement in the Sudan; as well as reformist figures such as Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703-1762) in India, and ʿUthmān Ibn Fūdī (1754-1817) in West Africa.

[9] Fazlur Rahman, "Revival and reform in Islam," in *The Cambridge History of Islam,* ed. Holt, P. M., Ann K. S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis (UK: University Press, 1970).

[10] He presented the same ideas in *Islam*, chapter 12, "Pre-Modern Islam reform," where he talked about "orthodox Sufism" based on the Quran and Islamic doctrine. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 194.

Since many of the reform movements were in Africa, Africanists have been attracted to study these movements. As in the case of Southeast Asia, resistance movements against colonialism were the first motivation for these studies.[11] John Voll, a historian of the Islamic world with special interest in African history and the 18th century, was the first to connect these movements with other figures and movements in different parts of the Islamic world. He suggested that a scholarly community in Mecca and Medina played a critical role in these movements. This group and their connections came to be known as the al-Ḥaramayn circle or network. Per Voll, Mecca and Medina as centers for the annual meeting of pilgrims from all around the world provided a basis for revivalism in the 18th century. Students and pilgrims carried a spirit of Islamic revivalism back to their homelands and some of them became leaders of Islamic movements. Voll describes this direction as "from the center to the frontiers of Islam."[12] These movements, in Voll's words, "represent a climax of developments in earlier centuries."[13]

Voll pursued his thesis about the Ḥijāz network in several articles that sought to link several reform movements and intellectual figures in the Muslim world with the Ḥijāz in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1975, he wrote an article about Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1750), the common teacher of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Arabia and Shāh

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[11] In "Neo-Sufism reconsidered," the authors mention that the early studies about these movements came from French administrators and appeared in missionary reviews. R. S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, "Neo-Sufism Reconsidered," *Der Islam* 70 (1) (1993): 52-87, p. 61 and after.

[12] Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 8. This description of knowledge circulation from the center to the frontiers is close to Suraiya Faroqhi's description of study of *ḥajj* as part of the history of human communication. She discusses different levels of this connection. One of these levels, which is less visible than the religious and economic levels, is the communication between returning pilgrims and their neighbors. It is a kind of transformation of immaterial resources. See: Faroqhi, *Pilgrims & Sultans*, p. 3.

[13] Levtzion and Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, p. 6.

Walī Allāh Dihlawī in India.[14] In this article, he focuses on the spread of *ḥadīth* studies in the Ḥijāz which formed an intellectual community through patterns of student-teacher relationships. Besides the interest in *ḥadīth* studies, most of the teachers and students were affiliated with Sufi orders.[15] In 1980, Voll published "Hadith scholars and Tariqah: an *ulama* group in the 18th century Ḥaramayn and their impact in the Islamic world."[16] In this article he argues that the activist style of Sufism in the 18th century can conveniently be called "Neo-Sufism,"[17] and that the scholars of the Ḥaramayn formed a cosmopolitan core for the development of *ḥadīth* studies and neo-Sufism.[18] It seems that Voll wanted

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[14] John Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: an analysis of an intellectual group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1975), pp. 32-39. Ḥayāt al-Sindī studied with one of the keenest Ḥanbalī shaykhs against Wahhabism, Muḥammad Ibn Fayrūz al-Aḥsāʾī (1729-1801), who was the subject of several Wahhabi assassination attempts. See: David Commins, "Traditional anti-Wahhabi Ḥanbalism in Nineteenth Century Arabia," in *Ottoman Reform and Muslim Regeneration: Studies in Honour of Butrus Abu Manneh*, ed. Itzchak Weismann and Fruma Zachs (London & NY: I.B. Tauris, 2005); Muḥammed bin ʿAbdullāh bin Ḥamīd al-Najdī al-Makkī, *al-Suḥub al-wābilah ʿalā ḍarāʾiḥ al-Ḥanābilah*, ed. Bakr Abū Zayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUthaymīn (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1996), vol. 3, p. 972.

[15] Through tracing 27 of al-Sindī's teachers and 20 of his students Voll tried to show that there was a cosmopolitan network of scholars and students from all parts of the Islamic World. The main interests of this intellectual community were *ḥadith* studies and Sufism.

[16] John Voll, "Hadith scholars and Tariqah: an ulamā group in the 18th century haramayn and their impact in the Islamic world," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Jul 1, XV, 3-4 (1980), pp. 264-273.

[17] The term is very controversial; it became widespread without clarification or examination of its meaning. Some scholars refute the term and its usage except with clear and strict definition. See: R. S. O'Fahey, and Bernd Radtke, "Neo-Sufism reconsidered," and John Voll, "Neo-Sufism: Reconsidered again," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines,* Vol. 42, No. 2/3, Engaging with a Legacy: Nehemia Levtzion (1935-2003) (2008), pp. 314-330.

[18] For more studies in the same vein, see Voll's 1987 "Linking groups in the networks of Eighteenth-Century revivalist scholars: The Mizjājī family in Yemen," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*. All the articles in the book are along the same lines; they present different reform movements in the Islamic world during the 18th century. In his 2002 article, "ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī and 18th Century Ḥadīth scholarship," *Die Welt des Islam* 42:3 (2002), Voll sees in these activities support for his thesis that *ḥadīth* studies reached a particular climax in the 18th century. The article is about a *ḥadīth* scholar and Sufi in the Ḥijāz and his wide range of students from different regions of the Islamic world. Voll also wrote "Scholarly Interrelations between South Asia and the Middle East in the 18th Century," in *The Countries of South Asia: Boundaries, Extensions and Interrelations*, Peter Gaeffke and David A. Utz (eds.), (USA, Philadelphia: 1980), pp.

to challenge the idea of a Wahhābī influence on later movements in various parts of the Islamic world by considering the environments from which Wahhabism as well as these other movements emerged.[19]

These scholarly studies soon shifted focus to activist involvement in revivalism through neo-Sufi organizations.[20] Many scholars from North Africa, the Eastern

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49-59. In 2002 he also wrote "ʿUthmān B. Muḥammad Fūdī's *Sanad* to al-Bukhārī as Presented in Tazyīn al-Waraqāt," *Sudanic Africa*, Vo. 13, (2002), pp. 111-115. In this article he examines an *isnad* of a scholar and activist in Central Africa to demonstrate his connection with the Ḥaramayn group.

[19] Aḥmad Dallal begins his article "The origin and objectives of Islamic revivalist thought, 1750-1850" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (3) 1993, 341-359, p. 341) by mentioning some studies that emphasize the Wahhābī influence over later movements. Dallal also refuses to consider teacher-student relationships as a sign of similarities reflected in the results. Thus, Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Walī Allāh Dihlawī studying with the same teacher of *ḥadīth* in Medina does not signify any similarity between the two movements. Dallal emphasizes reading these movements within their specific social and political contexts. Through analyzing four movements he shows the differences between their programs which arose from different contexts and objectives. Mainly, he focuses on topics of *takfīr*, Sufism, and social reforms, to show that each movement has a different ideology. Bernard Haykel in his study on al-Shawkānī agrees with Dallal's view that the substantive content of the ideology of Islamic revival needs to be thoroughly researched before any broad generalization can be made about the nature of Islamic thought in a given period or across a vast expanse of geographic space. Haykel emphasizes the importance of viewing al-Shawkānī's life and work "within his local context and intellectual tradition." Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam: the Legacy of Muḥammad al-Shawkānī* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[20] O'Fahey, in *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and Idrisi Tradition* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1990), presents the life and works one of the most influential scholars in North Africa. To situate him in the context of the al-Ḥaramayn network, Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs al-Fāsī spent 30 years of his life in the Ḥijāz (from 1799 to 1827-8) where he was in contact with most of the Ḥaramayn scholars, he even engaged in debates with some Wahhabi ʿulama. Ibid. 65. Aḥmad b. Idrīs is a key figure in the "Neo-Sufi" reform Sufi orders among whom were the Tijāniyyah, Khatmiyyah, Sanūsiyyah, Rashīdiyyah, Ṣāliḥiyyah, and Dandarāwiyyah, to name only a few. His main students were ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859), the founder of the Sanūsiyyah order in North Africa, and ʿUthmān Marghānī (1793-1853), the founder of the Khatmiyyah order in Sudan. Both orders played a significant role in political life in Libya and Sudan. The influences of *ḥadīth* studies on African activist movements can be seen in the title of sheikh ʿUthmān Ibn Fūdī's book *Iḥyāʾ al-Sunnah wa Ikhmād al-Bidʿah* in 1793. See Louis Bernner, "Muslim thought in Eighteenth-Century Africa: The case of shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, pp. 39-58. Studying the developments of Ibn Fūdī's thought reveals an important link between *ḥadīth* studies and militant movements. After a period of tolerant writings, the shaykh's teaching shifted from "commanding the right and forbidding the wrong" and criticizing the ʿulamāʾ to inciting criticism of state leaders. Government reactions to the activities of these reformists occasionally forced them to resist, sometimes through militant action. For example, when the number of Ibn Fūdī's followers increased, the rulers of the state of

Mediterranean, and the Indian Subcontinent settled in the Ḥijāz and brought with them their scholarly traditions. Later, students and pilgrims brought these studies back to their regions. The *ḥadīth* studies, according to Voll, "provided the basis for socio-religious purification programs and were undertaken within a clearly fundamentalist spirit."[21]

Another important source that examines some aspects of the intellectual activities in the 17th century Ḥijāz is the recent work by Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb*, published in 2015. El-Rouayheb's work is the most detailed work that attempts to challenge the narrative of "decline" in the 17th century in the region of the Ottomans and in Arab lands. El-Rouayheb argues that "rational sciences" were cultivated vigorously in the Ottoman Empire throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. These sciences were actually reinvigorated by an infusion of books and scholars from the Persian, Azeri, and Kurdish regions in the east. In North Africa, the rational sciences in Cairo were stimulated by incoming scholars from the Maghreb; these scholars were known by local students for their mastery of especially logic and rational theology (*kalām*).

Part III of the book is related to intellectual life in the Ḥijāz. According to El-Rouayheb, the spread of Sufi orders from India and Central Asia into the Arab-speaking areas of the Near East in the 17th century strengthened the influence of Ibn ʿArabī, which led eventually to the weakening of the hold of Ashʿarī and Māturīdī theology in these areas and to the reassertion of more "traditionalist," near-Ḥanbalī positions on a range of core

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Gobri considered them a political threat and sought to limit their growing influence despite the fact that Ibn Fūdī's activities were apolitical and he made no mention of the state in his discourse. The shaykh committed to *jihād* against the State, but, when the ruler changed a few years later, shaykh ʿUthmān's writings resumed their former tolerant tone. Ibid., 40-41.

[21] Voll, "Hadith scholars and tariqah," p. 265.

theological issues. El-Rouayheb discusses two main aspects of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's thought in the Ḥijāz. In theology, El-Rouayheb examines al-Kūrānī's criticism of later Ashʿarī radical occasionalism in the creation of human acts in favor of giving human power an effect on their acts. This position of al-Kūrānī was inspired by Ibn ʿArabī's thought, according to El-Rouayheb, and weakened the Ashʿarī position and played an essential role in rehabilitating the ideas of the Ḥanbalī thinker Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328). The other aspect that El-Rouayheb examines is al-Kūrānī's attitude toward the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd;* he refutes some studies that suggest that al-Kūrānī's attitude toward the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was less "pantheistic" and more "orthodox" than those of earlier mystics, arguing that al-Kūrānī's interpretation of *waḥdat al-wujūd* agreed with defending the Qūnawī-inspired interpretation of Ibn ʿArabī, including its most controversial aspects such as *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the Faith of Pharoah, and the end torments of infidels in Hell.[22]

Apart from the work of El-Rouayheb, interest in the intellectual activities in the 17th century Ḥijāz has come as side interest to other studies, mainly Southeast Asian studies and studies of the reform movements of the 18th century. These studies were interested in the Ḥijāz in as much as it influenced other regions. Scholars of these two fields have supposed that intellectual activities were happening in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, but their works consist in mere insights and suggestions, since hardly any of the texts and scholars of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century have been studied. In order to bridge this gap, the following section will mention educational institutions in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, mainly madrasas, *ribāṭ*s, *zāwiyā*s, libraries, and some professions that are usually associated with intellectual activities, such as book-binders and book scribes. Some

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[22] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 320.

theoretical and practical sciences in the Ḥijāz will be mentioned in order to shed more light on the intellectual environments in general.

[2.2] Educational Institutions in the Ḥijāz in the 17th Century

[2.2.1] Madrasas, *Ribāṭs*, and *Zāwiyās*

From the late 6th/12th century, individual Muslim rulers, as well as representatives of the wealthy elite, began to endow madrasas in the holiest of all Muslim cities: Mecca. These schools played a central rode in the transmission of knowledge.[23] Richard T. Mortel studied 23 madrasas founded in Mecca prior to the Ottoman takeover of the Ḥijāz in 923/1517. Through surviving literary sources, he attempted to describe their character, physical appearance, location, the conditions attached to the endowment, their purpose, function, and, in a limited number of cases, subsequent development over time.[24] These Pre-Ottoman Meccan madrasas generally were centralized around the *ḥaram* and taught all four schools of *fiqh.*

Alongside the madrasas, numerous *ribāṭs* were associated with these schools to provide students and teachers a residence and the means of living. Some of these *ribāṭs* provided special places for Sufis to gather and recite the Quran.[25] *Ribāṭs* in Mecca were the subject of another article by Mortel. In this article, he argues that the *ribāṭs* of Mecca

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[23] Richard T. Mortel, "Madrasas in Mecca during the medieval period: A descriptive study based on literary sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 60, No. 2 (1997), pp. 236-252, 236. The author uses mainly the writings of the 9th/15th century historians of Mecca, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī and Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Fahd. They are regarded as the pillars of medieval Meccan historiography. Both works are published. Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* (Beirut: 1985). Al-Najm b. Fahd, *Itḥāf al-warā fi akhbār Umm al-Qurā*, ed. Fahīm Shaltūt and others (Mecca: Maṭābiʿ Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, 1988).

[24] The 23 madrasas that are known to have been founded in Mecca during the medieval period are dealt with in chronological order. The list starts with "the madrasa of al-Arsūfī (571/1175-76)," which is regarded as the earliest madrasa known to have been founded in Mecca.

[25] Mortel, "Madrasas in Mecca during the medieval period," p. 247-8.

from as early as the year 529/1134-35, during the Fatimid period, were founded solely to provide lodging for Sufis.[26] He mentions 59 *ribāṭs* that are known to have been founded in Mecca before the Ottoman takeover of the Ḥijāz.

The 59 *ribāṭs* in medieval Mecca are discussed in chronological sequence. The earliest *ribāṭ* for which literary evidence exists is the *ribāṭ* of Ibn Mandā. It was established by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Mandā of Isfahan sometime before 395/1004-5. The *ribāṭ* of al-Dimashqiyyah (529/1135) is the oldest *ribāṭ* in Mecca known to have been dedicated, at least in part, to Sufis. In the same year (529/1135), the *ribāṭ* of Rāmisht was founded exclusively for Sufis.[27] Worthy of mention is that several Meccan *ribāṭs* were established by women. Many of these *ribāṭs* were founded in order to make free accommodations available to people coming to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. Outside of pilgrimage season, they were occupied by scholars and students who decided to stay as *mujāwirūn.*

Ribāṭs in Mecca were the subject of two academic studies by Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Shāfiʿī, who dedicated his Master's thesis to the *ribāṭs* in pre-Ottoman Mecca and his PhD dissertation to *ribāṭs* in Mecca during the Ottoman period.[28] Ḥusayn A. Shāfiʿī counted 80

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[26] He mentions a distinction between the *khānqāh* and the *ribāṭ*; the former was a mosque combined with a Sufi hospice, whereas the latter was simply a hospice for poor people in general, whether or not they were members of Sufi orders. Later, the *ribāṭ* metamorphosed into a miniature *khānqāh.* He argues that this may be accepted as valid for the specific case of Mamlūk Cairo, it cannot be applied with certainty to other Muslim lands nor other time periods.

[27] Richard T. Mortel, "Ribāṭs in Mecca during the medieval period: A descriptive study based on literary sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 61, No. 1 (1998), pp. 29-50, p.33.

[28] The two studies try to be comprehensive in collecting all the historical information and archival materials related to *ribāṭs* in Mecca. Unfortunately, he ignored any information about Sufi activities in these *ribāṭs* even though some of his sources, such as *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, exclusively talk about *ribāṭs* and *zāwiyās* of Sufis. Additionally, Mortel's description of Sufi aspects of *ribāṭs* in Mecca, alongside the Sufi names of numerous *ribāṭs*, leaves no doubt that most of these *ribāṭs* were centers of Sufi practices.

*ribāṭ*s in Mecca before the Ottomans took over control of the Ḥijāz, 39 of them still open and working at the beginning of Ottoman era.[29] During the Ottoman period, Shāfiʿī counted 156 *ribāṭs* in Mecca alone.[30] These *ribāṭ*s were established by rulers, scholars, and wealthy people from all around the Islamic world. They were dedicated to use by various groups: students, pilgrims from certain places, women, and poor people. Unfortunately, there are no similar academic studies about madrasas, *ribāṭ*s, and *zāwiyā*s in Medina; such a study would require more research into works of history and travelers' accounts to collect information about these institutions.

Evliyā Çelebī, the Ottoman traveler, in recounting his trip to the Ḥijāz in 1082/1671, says that in Mecca there were 40 great schools, and he gives the names of more that 20 of them.[31] Also mentioned are more than 78 *takiyyah*s; the greatest one is that of the Mūlawiyyah.[32] Moreover, he says that there were 150 primary schools (*katātīb*), 40 schools teaching the Quran, and 40 schools teaching *ḥadīth*.[33] He mentions that despite these many institutions the people of Mecca do not care much for science, since they are mainly occupied with commerce and building high houses, and that most of the people who are busy with knowledge are the *mujāwirūn* from outside of the Ḥijāz.[34] Alongside these educational institutions, there were 53 commercial agencies (*wakālah tijāriyyah*) and each one consised of between 100 and 200 shops.[35]

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[29] Ḥusayn A. Shāfiʿī, *al-Arbiṭah fī Makkah al-mukarramah mundhu al-bidāyāt ḥattā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī: dirāsah tārīkhiyyah ḥaḍāriyyah* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005).

[30] Ḥusayn A. Shāfiʿī, *al-Arbiṭah bi-Makkah fī al-ʿahd al-ʿuthmānī: Dirāsah tārikhiyyah ḥaḍāriyyah 923-1334H/1517-1915* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005).

[31] Jalabī, *al-Riḥlah al-ḥijāziyyah*, p. 265.

[32] Ibid., p. 265.

[33] Ibid., p. 278.

[34] Ibid., p. 278-279.

[35] Ibid., p. 266.

Regarding Medina, Evliyā Çelebī says that inside and outside the walled city there are 118 madrasas.[36] He describes these schools saying that "there are 20 primary schools; 7 Quran schools [...] and 7 ḥadīth schools."[37] Then he turns to the schools outside of the wall, saying that "some of the 46 madrasas here have been turned into homes. There are 6 Quranic schools, 11 ḥadīth schools and 20 schools for abecedarians. The annual ṣurre provides all of them with specified gifts and clothing."[38] We have to take into consideration that Evliyā Çelebī also estimates the population of Medina in his trip as 14,000 outside of the pilgrimage season, "as listed in the court register."[39]

In *Waṣf al-Madīnah al-munawwarah* ("Description of Medina"), written in the year 1303/1885, ʿAlī b. Mūsā, an administrative employee in Medina, paints a picture of Medina in his time from social, geographical, and generic descriptions of the important historical sites.[40] This work also includes some information about the educational institutions of Medina at the author's time. In his talk about *makātib al-ṣubyān*, which can be considered elementary schools, we find that there were 24 in Medina, without mentioning girls' schools.[41] When the author talks about libraries (*kutubkhānāt*), he mentions 8, then he says there are many more in different schools, but compared to these larger ones, their collections are small.[42] Then he mentions 11 schools and says that there

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[36] Çelebī, *Evliyā Çelebi in Medina*, p. 112-113.

[37] Ibid., p. 113.

[38] Ibid., p. 117.

[39] Ibid., p. 120.

[40] The editor of the book says that the description of Medina does not differ from its subsequent situation until almost the time of the Ḥijāz railway. This allows us to assume that the situation earlier would not have been much different.

[41] He says, "except the schools of girls." ʿAlī b. Mūsā, *Waṣf al-Madīnah al-munawwarah fī sanat 1303/1885*, in *Rasāʾil fī tārīkh al-Madīnah*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (KSA, al-Riyāḍ: Manshūrāt Dār al-Yamāmah, [1392/1972]), p. 51.

[42] Ibid., p. 52.

are many others but that these are the most famous and well-organized.[43] He also mentioned 12 *zāwiyā*s and says "and other *zawāyā* for Shādhilī groups and others, if I mention them it will be too long."[44] Most of the names of these *zāwiyā*s belong to Sufi shaykhs such as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, al-Qushāshī, al-Badawī, al-Dusūqī, al-Mulawiyyah, al-Rifāʿī, and al-Junayd. When he came to *ribāṭ*s, he said "About *ribāṭ*s, they are many and there is no need to mention them."[45] However, we can find mention of several in the same text, including *ribāṭ* al-shaykh Maẓhar al-Naqshbandī (p. 46, 53), which he describes as the greatest *ribāṭ* in Medina (p. 46); a *ribāṭ* close to the mosque of Sayyidunā ʿAlī (p. 41); the *ribāṭ*s of *zāwiyat* al-Sammān (p. 47); *ribāṭ* ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (p. 47); *ribāṭ al-ʿajam* (p. 47); a *ribāṭ* in Qibāʾ (p. 45); and *ribāṭ* Ibn al-Zamān (p. 55).

What I have mentioned are only a few examples of the schools, *ribāṭ*s, and *zāwiyā*s in Medina during the 11th/17th century. Further detailed studies are needed to have a more comprehensive picture. However, in my estimation the number of schools, *ribāṭ*s, and *zāwiyā*s in Medina was higher than that in Mecca. In Chapter One I mentioned two testimonies from the 17th century, al-ʿAyyāshī and Jalabī, that explicitly mention that most *mujawirūn*, who were mainly scholars and students, preferred to stay of in Medina.

[2.2.2] Libraries, Book-Binders, and Book Scribes in Medina

Almost every scholar in Medina used to have his own private library alongside the public libraries in schools, *ribāṭ*s, and mosques. Most of the books in these institutions were donated as *waqf* by Medinan scholars or by scholars from outside the Ḥijāz. One such scholar was Dāwūd Āghā (d. 1102/1690) who was the Imām of the *ḥaram* in Medina and

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[43] Ibid., p. 52.
[44] Ibid., p. 53.
[45] Ibid., p. 53.

gave all his books as *waqf* for students in Medina.[46] Another scholar who collected numerous books and then donated them as *waqf* to the *ḥaram* in Medina was ʿAbd Allāh al-Jawharī al-Miṣrī (1155/1742)[47] and another was Muḥammad al-Sammān.[48] Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that a scholar from Morocco named Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (d. 1064/1653)[49] left behind around 1,500 books upon his death and in his will mentioned that these books should be moved to the Prophet's mosque in Medina. These books were collected by Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl mainly from Istanbul. Al-ʿAyyāshī says that he saw some of them (around 170 only) in Medina.[50] Al-Ḥamawī in *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl* mentions that some *waqf* libraries in Medina were sent there from far away, mentioning the library of Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, which was under the supervision of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fazārī.[51]

In al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥlah* we notice that almost every scholar in the Ḥijāz had his own library. He specifically mentioned the *khizānat kutub* of Abū ʿĪsā al-Thaʿālibī in Mecca, which contained around 80 volumes. Unfortunately, it was kept in the mosque and one year a flood destroyed it. Al-ʿAyyāshī also mentions the library of Ṣibghat Allāh, which was under the supervision of al-Qushāshī in the Prophet's mosque in Medina. When he discusses the season of the celebration of the Prophet's birthday in Rabiʿ I, he describes how they began cleaning the mosque and cleaned out the libraries (*khazāʾin al-kutub*) that were endowments to the mosque.

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[46] ʿAbdl-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn wa-l-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat mā li-l-madaniyyin min al-ansāb,* ed. Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Maṭawī (Tunisia: al-Maktabah al-ʿAtīqah, 1970). p. 63.

[47] Al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, p. 147.

[48] Ibid., p. 279.

[49] About him see al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 221.

[50] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol.1, p. 108.

[51] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 186.

In al-Anṣārī's book about the families of Medina we can find names of book-binders (*mujallid al-kutub*) in Medina. He mentioned four names: Ibrāhīm Awliyāʾ (d. 1150/1737),[52] Muṣṭafā al-Qalʿī,[53] ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāghistānī (d. 1178/1764),[54] and Muṣṭafā al-Sarāylī (d. 1187/1773). Al-Anṣārī also mentioned some people who worked as scribes (*nāsikh al-kutub*). Among the people who did this work in Medina were Aḥmad al-Bukhārī (1136/1723),[55] Abū al-ʿIzz al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1133/1720),[56] and one of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's grandsons, Abū al-Barakāt b. Abī al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1168/1754).[57]

Collecting, copying, and binding books are clear indications of the great interest in education and an increased demand for these tools thereof. This interest in books also indicates the growth in the number of students and scholars in the Ḥijāz. Before mentioning some of these scholars who were active in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, a short review of some theoretical and practical sciences in the Ḥijāz in the same period can shed more light on the flourishing of intellectual activities in this geographical zone during this specific period.

[2.2.3] Some Theoretical and Practical Sciences in the Ḥijāz

The following are some of the sciences that were studied in Medina during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, excluding philosophy, logic, theology, and Sufism, which will be mentioned later in accounts of al-Kūrānī's teachers and students and through the discussions of intellectual currents in the coming chapters. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Al-Anṣārī's (d. 1197) *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn wa-l-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat mā li-l-madaniyyīn min ansāb* is one of the

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[52] Al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, p. 78.

[53] Ibid., p. 401.

[54] Ibid., p. 230

[55] Ibid., p. 108.

[56] Ibid., p. 170.

[57] Ibid., p. 457.

most valuable sources for information about Medina's families and the profession of each person. Al-Anṣārī tried to follow the genealogy of each family in Medina for several generations with some information on the name and profession and a short biography of each person in each family. Al-Anṣārī was himself from a scholarly family; both he and his father were teachers in the great mosque in Medina.[58] The information in the book is from his direct connection with the people of Medina in the 12th/18th century. What he mentioned about scholars of 11th/17th century is most probably from the sons and grandsons of these scholars.

Medicine

1. Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Kaylānī (1016/1607).[59] Al-Muḥibbī in *Khulāṣat al-athar* describes him as al-Kaylānī *al-ṭabīb,* "the physician." He moved to Mecca where he became famous for his work in medicine and many people studied with him. He was also famous for his work in logic.

2. Ibrāhīm Awliyāʾ al-Rūmī (d. 1150/1737)[60] was a *mujāwir* in Medina, then traveled to Yemen and worked as a physician (*taʿāṭā ṣanʿat al-ṭibb*). Later, he returned to Medina and stayed there until his death.

3. Muḥammad al-Baytī Bā-ʿAlawī (d. 1135/1722).[61] Al-Anṣārī says that he was interested in medicine.

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[58] Al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, p. 27-28.

[59] Al-Dihlawī, *al-Azhār al-ṭayyibah*, p. 101; Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (Egypt: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Wahbīyah, [1868]), vol. 2, p. 244; ʿAbd Allāh Mirdād b. Abī al-Khayr, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar fī tarājim afāḍil Makkah min al-qarn al-ʿāshir ilā al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar,* ed. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿĀmūdī and Aḥmad ʿAlī (KSA, Jeddah: ʿĀlam al-Maʿrifah, 1986), p. 221; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-makkiyyin min al-qarn al-tāsiʿ ilā al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrī* (London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2000), vol. 2, p. 816.

[60] Al-Anṣārī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn*, p. 78.

[61] Ibid., p. 123.

4. Jaʿfar b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Baytī Bā-ʿAlawī (d. 1182/1768-9).[62] Al-Anṣārī describes him as excellent in medicine (baraʿa fī ʿilm al-ṭibb).

5. ʿAlawī b. ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Bā-ʿAlawī[63] became very good in medicine, probably the best in Medina.

6. Muḥammad al-Shāmī (d. 1170/1756-7)[64] was working in medicine.

Agriculture (ʿIlm al-filāḥah)

1. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī, known as "Kibrīt" (d. 1070/1659).[65] Al-Anṣārī describes him as a scholar who wrote many useful books, among them one entitled Kitāb al-filāḥah.

2. Khayr al-Dīn b. Tāj al-Dīn b. Ilyās al-Rūmī (d. 1113/1701)[66] composed many treatises, among them one in ʿilm al-filāḥah.

Astronomy

1. Muḥammad Abū al-Nūr al-Hindī (d. 1144/1731).[67] Al-Anṣārī says that he had complete knowledge of astronomy (ʿIlm al-falak wa-l-aḥkām).

2. Ibrāhīm al-Mināstīrly (attribution to Mināstir in Bilād al-Rūm) (d. 1150/1737)[68] had complete knowledge of astronomy.

3. Muḥammah al-Shirwānī (d. 1186/1772).[69] He worked in ʿilm al-falak wa-l-nujūm.

4. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Shirwānī (the previous).[70] He worked in ʿilm al-falak wa-l-aḥkām.

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[62] Ibid., p. 123.

[63] Ibid., p. 124.

[64] Ibid., p. 363.

[65] Ibid., p. 412.

[66] Ibid., p. 42.

[67] Ibid., p. 478.

[68] Ibid., p. 462.

[69] Ibid., p. 302.

[70] Ibid., p. 304.

5. Munajjim Bāshī (1113/1702). More information about him will be mentioned below.

6. Al-Rūdānī al-Fāsī (d. 1094/1683), who invented a tool to be used in observation. He will be mentioned among al-Kūrānī's teachers.

Chemistry (ṣanʿat al-kīmyāʾ)

1. ʿAbd Allāh al-Lublubī (d. 1187/1773).[71]

2. Aḥmad al-Mughayrabī (d. 1186/1772).[72]

Music theory and practice

1. Ṣiddīq b. Hishām al-Hindī (his father died 1160/1747),[73] who learned ʿūd, kamanjah, and ṭanbūr, and became famous for his work with these instruments.

2. Muḥammad al-Rūmī (d. 1172/1758)[74] from the family of shaykh al-qurrāʾ. Al-Anṣārī describes him as perfect in ʿilm al-musīqā.

3. ʿAlī al-Dāniq al-Yamanī (d. 1140/1727)[75] was perfect in nāy, and wherever there was a concert you would find him.

4. Muṣṭafā al-Makkī al-Sindī (d. 1186/1772)[76] learned the science of music and became incomparable in this science in Medina.

5. Abū al-Ḥasan Ḥammād, who used to play ṭanbūr in the sessions of amusements.[77]

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[71] Ibid., p. 422.

[72] Ibid., p. 467.

[73] Ibid., p. 323.

[74] Ibid., p. 317.

[75] Ibid., p. 239.

[76] Ibid., p. 237.

[77] Ibid., p. 193.

Al-Anṣārī also mentions a person who was working in ṣanʿat al-sāʿāt (clock making or reparation).[78] In addition, there were others who worked in traditional crafts that existed in every city such as dressmakers, jewelers, wax makers, etc.

The purpose of this information is to explain how intellectual life evolved within a stable and prosperous society, with all the requirements not only for knowledge, but for entertainment as well.

[2.3] Scholars in the Ḥijāz

Sources on the history of the Ḥijāz during 11th/17th century contain numerous names of scholars who used to teach the intellectual sciences. The following list is not a comprehensive survey of the sources or the scholars, nor does it contain any scholars from al-Kūrānī's circle, i.e., none of his teachers or students. I have arranged the names chronologically according to the date of death and included only the scholars who lived in the Ḥijāz, for a short or long period, and who had some kind of intellectual activity and exchange while there. The list contains the scholars who died in the 11th/17th century and the first half of the 12th/18th century, since they spent part of their life in the Ḥijāz during 11th/17th century.

1.   ʿAlī b. Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfrāyyinī (Ibn ʿArab-shāh), known as al-ḥafīd (d. 1007/1599 in Mecca).[79] He was the grandson of the famous scholar ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfrāyyinī. He wrote a gloss on his grandfather's Sharḥ al-Istiʿārāt.

2.   Dāwūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1600), known as the philosopher.[80] Al-Ḥamawī describes him as a specialist in the sciences of the ancient (ʿulūm al-awāʾil), especially

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[78] Ibid., p. 302.

[79] Al-Ḥamawī, Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl, vol. 5, p. 392.

[80] Darwīsh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭālawī al-Dimashqī, Sāniḥāt dumā al-qaṣr fī muṭāraḥāt banī al-ʿaṣr, ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khūlī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1983), vol. 2, p. 32.

philosophy, *al-ʿulūm al-ḥikamiyyah*, and physiology (*ʿilm al-abdān*). He was born in a village in the north of Syria, then his family moved to Anṭākiyyah. Later, he moved to Damascus and finally to Cairo. Even though he was blind, it seems that he was the most important physician of his time. He used to say that "If Ibn Sīnā meets me he will stand in front of my door."[81] Several historians describe him as a philosopher (*ʿalā madhhab al-ḥukamāʾ*) and mostly with a negative connotation.[82] Darwīsh al-Ṭālawī (d. 1014/1605), who accompanied him and studied with him for several years, mentions some of his early life and his early education as al-Anṭākī told him. He was disabled when he was born and could not move. His father used to take him every morning and put him close to a shrine in his region. One time a foreign gentleman (*afāḍil al-ʿajam*) called Muḥammad Sharīf stayed in that shrine and started to teach some theology and metaphysics (*ʿulūm ilāhiyyah*) to visitors. When he noticed the intelligence of this boy, he treated him until he was healed and was able to move again. Then he started to teach him logic, mathematics and natural philosophy. Al-Anṭākī said that he wanted to learn Persian from him but this teacher told him that Persian is easy and anyone could learn it. Instead of Persian, he offered to teach him Greek, and said that he does not know anyone on the earth who currently knew it. Al-Anṭākī claims that he is in the position of his teacher concerning this language. This information is all that al-Anṭākī mentioned about this mysterious scholar.[83] Al-Anṭākī wrote several works in medicine, the most famous of which was the *Tadhkirat al-Anṭākī*. He also wrote a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's poem on the soul, and another poem in which he presents his theory of the soul.[84] Al-Ṭālawī says that

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[81] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, 135. This idiom means that Ibn Sīnā would be among his students who wait for him to leave his house so they can learn from him.

[82] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, Ibid, (*illā annahu ʿalā madhhab al-ḥukamāʾ*).

[83] Al-Ṭālawī, *Sāniḥāt dumā al-qaṣr,* vol. 2, p. 36.

[84] Some of its verses can be found in al-Ṭālawī, *Sāniḥāt dumā al-qaṣr,* vol. 2, p. 39.

in Cairo he studied with Dāwūd al-Anṭākī the books of peripatetic and illuminationist philosophy, the *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafā,* and then works of al-Majrīṭī. He read with him as well the works of Ibn Sīnā, and he lists the following: *al-Shifāʾ, al-Qānūn, al-Najāh, al-Ḥikmah al-mashriqiyyah, al-Taʿlīqāt, Risālat al-ajrām al-samāwiyyah, al-Risālah al-nadhiriyyah, al-Risālah al-ʿalāʾiyyah* in Persian, *al-Ishārāt* with the commentaries of al-Ṭūsī and al-Rāzī, and the *Muḥākamāt* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī and its glosses by al-Jurjānī.[85] Among the works of al-Suhrawardī he mentions *al-Mashāriʿ wa-l-muṭāraḥāt, al-Talwīḥāt* with Ibn Kammunah's commentary, *al-Alwāḥ al-ʿimādiyyah, al-Rumūz al-lāhūtiyyah, Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī's commentary, and *Hayākil al-Nūr* with al-Dawānī's commentary.[86] Beside these works that al-Ṭālawī studied with al-Anṭākī, al-Ḥamawī mentioned some of his other works, from which we can mention *al-Tadhkirah,* in which he compiled medicine and wisdom, *Sharḥ al-Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥukamāʾ, Ghāyat al-marām fī taḥqīq al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām, Zīnat al-ṭurūs fī aḥkām al-ʿuqūl wa-l-nufūs*, a commentary on a poem by al-Suhrawardī (*khalaʿat hayākilihā bi-jarʿāʾ al-ḥimā*), a treatise in Astronomy (*hayʾah*), and a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's poem on the soul entitled *al-Kuḥl al-nafīs li-jalāʾ ʿayn al-Raʾīs.* Al-Anṭākī finally moved to Mecca, where he spent less than one year before he died in 1008/1600. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions in his *Riḥlah* that al-Anṭākī had a prestigious position among the princes of Mecca.

3.　　Muḥammad Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī al-Astarābādhī (d. 1033/1623-4). Al-Ḥamawī in *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl* describes him as one of the greatest scholars of ʿajam (not Arab). He came to Mecca as a *mujāwir* and stayed there until the end of his life. His famous

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[85] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 139.

[86] al-Ṭālawī, *Sāniḥāt dumā al-qaṣr,* vol. 2, p. 44 and after; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 140.

work is *al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyyah*.[87] Al-Astarābādhī was a scholar of *uṣūl* and *ḥadīth* and is considered the founder of the Shiʿi Akhbārī school.

4.   ʿAbd al-Qādir, Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (d. Ramaḍān, 1033/July 1624).[88] During his education, he memorized *al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyyah.* He studied with ʿAlī al-ʿIṣāmī[89] parts of *Sharḥ al-Fanārī* on al-Abharī's *Īsāghūjī*, known as *al-Fawāʾid al-Fanāriyyah*, and parts of *al-Shamsiyyah*, as well as the *Sharḥ ādāb al-baḥth* of Mullā Ḥanafī.[90] Later, at a more advanced level, he was interested in [Qāḍīzādah's?] *Sharḥ al-Jaghmīnī* in astronomy, and he read parts of al-Qūshjī's *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd*. He studied these works with al-Sayyīd Naṣīr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī.[91] Additionally, he studied with him parts of a treatise on the astrolabe. He also read parts of *Sharḥ Kulliyāt al-Mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* of Ibn al-Nafīs with Yūsuf al-Kaylānī al-Ṭabīb, the physician. He also read parts of *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikmah* of Mīr Qāḍī Ḥusayn with Sayyid Ghaḍanfar.[92]

5.   Muḥammad Ḥijāzī known as al-Wāʿiẓ al-Anṣārī al-Shaʿrānī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 16 Rabīʿ I, 1035/16 December 1625).[93] Al-Ḥamawī says that he performed the *ḥajj* in 1018/1610 and

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[87] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 125. Muḥammad Amīn ibn Muḥammad Sharīf Astarābādhī, *al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyyah* ed. ʿAlī ibn ʿAlī ʿĀmilī (Iran, Qum: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 2003). Introduction.

[88] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 45; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 2, p. 457.

[89] ʿAlī al-ʿIṣāmī was the grandson of ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarāyyīnī, known as Ibn ʿArabshāh. ʿAlī wrote a commentary on his grandfather's *Risālat al-istiʿārāt.* He died in Mecca in 1070/1659. Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 392. Among the scholars of the al-ʿIṣāmī family was ʿAbd al-Malik al-ʿĀṣimī (d. 1111/1699), the author of a history of Mecca entitled *Samṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī fī anbāʾ al-awāʾil wa-l-tawālī.*

[90] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 48.

[91] Ibn Maʿṣūm, Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 1120/1709) b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1086/1675) b. Muḥammad Maʿṣūm al-Madanī, in his account of his trip to India entitled *Salwat al-gharīb wa-uswat al-arīb,* says that his grandfather Muḥammad Maʿṣūm moved from Shirāz. Ibn Maʿṣūm, Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Riḥlat Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī aww Salwat al-gharīb wa-uswat al-arīb,* ed. Shākir Hādī Shukr (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyyah li-l-Mawsūʿāt, 2006), p. 72, 74.

[92] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 49.

[93] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 116.

that many people studied with him on this occasion, among them Muḥammad b. ʿAllān.

The importance of al-Wāʿiẓ is that he is a link between the generation of al-Kūrānī's

teachers, i.e., al-Bābilī, al-Shabramallisī and al-Mazzāḥī, and the great scholars of the

9th/15th century. Al-Wāʿiẓ studied with Muḥammad b. Arkumās, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's

student, and additionally he studied with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī, one of the

main links in the intellectual sciences, as we will see below in the *isnād* chains. He also

studied with the great Sufi ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, Muḥammad al-Ramlī, Jamāl al-

Dīn b. Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, and many other scholars.[94]

6.　　ʿAbd al-Malik b. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn b. ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfrāyyinī (d.

1037/1628).[95] Al-Ḥamawī describes him as an *imām* in *ʿaqlī* and *naqlī* sciences. He was born

in Mecca in 978/1571 and studied with scholars there. During his life ʿAbd al-Mālik

composed around 60 treatises, mainly on language. He also wrote a commentary on

Īsāghūjī and two commentaries on *Risālat al-istiʿārat* by al-Samarqandī.

7.　　ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā b. Murshid al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī, known as al-Murshidī (d. 11

Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1037/12 August 1628).[96] His grandfather was shaykh Murshid al-ʿUmarī, a

student of al-Dawānī. He studied *ādab al-baḥth* with Mullā ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī and read

Sharḥ Īsāghūjī in logic and *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* with Sayyid Ghaḍanfar. He was a teacher

in the grand mosque in Mecca (*al-ḥaram*), and later became the *imām* and the preacher of

that mosque.

8.　　Al-Qāḍī Tāj al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mālikī al-Madanī, then al-Makkī, known

as Ibn Yaʿqūb (d. Rabīʿ I 1066/January 1656).[97] Even though he is famous in the field of

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[94] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 116.

[95] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 253; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 3, p. 87.

[96] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 124.

[97] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 1, p. 457.

adab (literature), he also wrote on Sufism and *ʿaqīdah*. He wrote a commentary on one of ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilmisānī's poems entitled *Taṭbīq al-maḥw baʿd al-ṣaḥw ʿalā qawāʿid al-sharīʿah wa-l-naḥw.* He also wrote a reply to a letter that arrived from Java containing questions about *wujūd* and God's eternal power, as well as a treatise on doctrine entitled *Bayān al-taṣdīq.* Al-Ḥamawī describes it as very useful.[98]

9.   Muḥammad b. ʿAllān (d. 11 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1058/27 December 1648 in Mecca),[99] He was born in Mecca in the month of Ṣafar 996/January 1588 and studied with the scholars of the Ḥijāz as well as with those who visited this region until he became a teacher in the Grand Mosque (*al-ḥaram*). He is famous as a *mufassir*, a *faqīh*, and a scholar of *ḥadīth*. He also wrote many texts on doctrine in versified form (*naẓm*) and then commented on these poems. Among these texts are a versification (*naẓm*) of al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* and a commentary on this *naẓm*, a versification of al-Nasafī's *ʿaqīdah* and a commentary on it, and a versification on *Īsāghūjī* and a commentary on it. He also wrote a versification of *al-Istiʿārāt* and commented on it.

10.   ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 27 Jumādā II 1070/10 March 1660).[100] *Imām* of the *ḥaram*, he studied with his father and the scholars of the Ḥijāz, including Aḥmad b. ʿAllān with whom he studied jurisprudence and logic; he read parts of al-Taftāzānī's *al-Tahdhīb* and al-Yazdī's commentary with Mullā Ḥusayn al-Kurdī, the resident of Mecca.

11.   Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 14 Ramaḍān 1078/27 February 1668).[101] *Imām* of the *ḥaram* in Mecca, he came

[98] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 395.
[99] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 157.
[100] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 334.
[101] Ibid., vol. 4, p. 196.

from a distinguished family. He studied with his father and other scholars in the Ḥijāz. At the time of his education and preparation, he studied with Mullā Qāsim al-ʿAjamī *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī* and parts of *Sharḥ* Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī on *al-Shamsiyyah*. He also read logic with Ibn ʿAllān and all of the *Sharḥ ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafī* by al-Taftazānī. Among the people who studied with him are Muḥammad al-Shullī, Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī and ʿĪsā al-Maghribī.

12.   Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, known as Ibn. al-Tāj (d. 1081/1670).[102] He held the position of *raʾīs al-muwaqqitīn* in the Prophet's mosque (*ḥaram)* and he was famous in the fields of *ḥisāb*, *tawqīt*, and astrology (*tanjīm*). Among his works are *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj fī aʿmāl al-azyāj* and *al-Jafr al-kabīr.*[103] Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī studied with him a book in algebra and *muqābalah.*[104]

13.   Muḥammad Mīrzā b. Muḥammad al-Surūjī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1088/1677).[105] He was born in Damascus and studied with scholars there such as al-Shams al-Maydānī and the Maghribī scholar Muḥammad al-Muqrī al-Tilmisānī al-Fāsī when the latter came to Damascus. He studied as well with the famous scholar and historian al-Najm al-Ghazzī. Interestingly, he studied with ʿAbd Allāh al-Būsnawī, the commentator on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and read with him most of his works. He also collected the books of Ibn ʿArabī. Then, he traveled to the Ḥijāz and lived there for a long time,[106] mainly in Medina where he studied with most of its scholars, including Tāj al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī, Sālim b.

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[102] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 632; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 1, p. 178; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 363; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1731.

[103] A short description of this book is in al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1732.

[104] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 632.

[105] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 69; Al-Shullī, *ʿAqd al-jawāhir wa-l-durar*, p. 364; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 4, p. 202.

[106] Al-Shullī says that he stayed in Medina forty years then a few years in Mecca where he died.

Aḥmad Shaykhān, and al-Qushāshī. Al-Ḥamawī read with al-Surūjī parts of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* and other Sufi commentaries in Medina in 1083/1673.[107]

14.   Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shullī (d. 19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1093/19 December 1682, in Mecca).[108] He is the author of *ʿAqd al-jawāhir wa-l-durar fī akhbār al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar,* one of the main sources for the history of the 11th/17th century, especially for scholars in the Ḥijāz, Yemen, and the Indian Subcontinent. He was born and studied in Yemen, then he moved to India where he studied Arabic and Sufism with several teachers. Later, he moved to the Ḥijāz and studied with its scholars, including al-Bābilī, ʿIsā al-Thaʿālibī, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and many others. He studied *ʿilm al-mīqāt* and *ḥisāb* with al-Rūdānī and he composed a work in *ʿilm al-mīqāt* and commented on it for students. He also wrote *Risālatayn muṭawwalatayn fī ʿilm al-mīqāt bilā ālah, Risālah fī maʿrifat ẓil al-zawāl kull yawm li-ʿarḍ Makkah al-musharrafah, Risālah fī ittifāq al-maṭāliʿ wa-ikhtilāfihā, Risālah fī al-muqanṭar, Risālah fī al-asṭurlāb* and a commentary on al-Suyūṭī's treatise on logic, as well as several texts in the disciplines of language, *ḥadīth, fiqh* and *tafsīr.*

15.   Muḥammad Shafīʿ b. Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādhī (d. 1106/1695).[109] Originally from Astarābādh, he was born and raised in Iṣfahān. He studied with many scholars, among them his father and Āghā Ḥusayn al-Khwansārī.[110] He wrote several works including a gloss on al-Ṭusī's

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[107] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl,* vol. 2, p. 69.

[108] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 175.

[109] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 172; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: Tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-ʿarabiyyah* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1993), vol. 3, p. 345.

[110] Āghā Ḥusayn b. Āghā Jamāl al-Khwansārī (d. Jumādā II, 1098/April 1687) studied with Mīr Dāmād, Jaʿfar b. Luṭf Allāh al-ʿĀmilī, and Abū al-Qāsim al-Findariskī. He wrote *Ḥāshiyah ʿalā al-Ḥāshiyah al-qadīma ʿalā Sharḥ al-Tajrīd, Ḥāshiyah ʿalā al-Ishārāt,* from natural philosophy (*al-ṭabīʿī*) to the end of the book, and *Ḥāshiyah on Ilāhiyyat al-Shifāʾ.* Among his students are Jamal al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāfīʿ, his son Āghā Jamāl and Mullā Mirzā al-Sharwānī. His son Āghā Jamāl arrived in Mecca in 1114/1702 and al-Ḥamawī met him.

commentary on al-*Ishārāt*, *Risālah fī ithbāt iʿādat al-maʿdūm*, *Risālah fī ṣifāt Allāh Taʿālā*, *Risālah fī taḥqīq al-dalālāt*, *Risālah fī ithbāt al-Wājib*, and others. He came to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj* in 1104/1692 and stayed one year as *mujāwir*. Al-Ḥamawī read with him parts of *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikmah* by al-Maybudī, and he attended Muḥammad Sharīf's lessons on al-Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*. In his lessons, he used to mention the opinions of other commentators alongside al-Quṭb al-Rāzī's ideas in *al-Muḥākamāt* and he used to answer all the questions and the problems. He wanted to return to his home, but he became sick and he died along the way, in Baḥrayn.

16.   Muḥammad Bayk b. Yār Muḥammad b. Khwājah Muḥammad b. Mīr Mawāhib al-Burhānbūrī al-Naqshbandī (d. 1110/1698-9).[111] He was one of the great scholars from the Indian Subcontinent who studied intellectual works alongside his Sufi activities. Al-Ḥamawī dedicated almost ten pages to him, mainly quoting from an autobiography by the shaykh himself. He studied with numerous scholars, among whom were ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī's students and Muḥibb Allāh al-Ilāhābādī, the commentator on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.[112] Among the works he studied, al-Ḥamawī mentions *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, *Sharḥ al-Jaghmīnī*, *Sharḥ al-Tadhkirah fī ʿilm al-hayʾah*, *Taḥrīr Iqlīdis fī ʿilm al-handasah*, *Sharḥ al-ʿaḍudī* (not specified whether *Risālat al-waḍʿ* or on *ʿaqīdah*) with al-Jurjānī's commentary, *Zīj* of Ulugh Beg, parts of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifāʾ*, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, and parts of al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Ḥāshiyah al-qadīmah ʿalā Sharḥ al-Tajrīd*. He studied these works alongside Sufi texts, mainly Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt* and *al-Fuṣūṣ*, which he studied with Muḥibb Allāh al-Ilāhābādī. He arrived in Mecca in 1075/1665, and then he

Among his works are *Ḥāshiyah ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* and *Muḥākamah bayn al-Sayyid al-Sharīf and Mirzājān*. Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, p. 19-20.
[111] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 104; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 306.
[112] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 106.

travelled to Medina. In the Ḥijāz, he mainly studied *ḥadīth*. He returned again to the Ḥijāz in 1084/1674; this time, he settled there until the end of his life and wrote many works, among them a commentary on the last two parts of al-Taftāzānī's *Tahdhīb al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām,* entitled *Zubdat ʿaqāʾid al-Islām fī sharḥ Tahdhīb al-kalām*, *Sharḥ Ashkāl al-taʾsīs* of al-Samarqandī in the discipline of *handasah*, *Risālah fī al-isṭurlāb*, *Risālah fī sayr al-shams wa-l-qamar wa-taqwimimā*, and many other works in different disciplines.[113]

17.   Munajjim Bāshī, Aḥmad b. Luṭfullāh, (d. 1113/1702).[114] He achieved the position of chief court astrologer (*müneccimbaşi*) in 1667-8, and became close to Sultan Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87). Later, he was dismissed and banished to Egypt in Muḥarram 1099/November 1687. After some years in Egypt, he migrated to Mecca, where he became the Shaykh of the Mawlawī order. In 1105/1693-94 he moved to Medina for seven years. Soon after his return to Mecca, he died on 29 Ramadan 1113/27 February 1702.

18.   Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī.[115] Al-ʿAyyāshī describes him as *Imām* in the two *aṣlayn* (*al-fiqh and al-dīn*), and excellent in the intellectual sciences (*maʿqūlāt)*. He arrived in Medina in the year 1068/1658 with shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindīs's son, Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, after the debate about al-Sirhindī in the Ḥijāz. He was considered one of al-Sirhindī's greatest students and played an important role in spreading the Naqshbandiyyah in the Ḥijāz. Badr al-Dīn studied with ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Hindī al-Siyālkūtī (d. 18 Rabīʿ I, 1067/4 January, 1657) [116] and said that al-Siyālkūtī wrote a commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr* in four

[113] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 113-114.

[114] S. A. Hasan, "Münejjim Baṣhī: Turkish Historian of the Saljūqids of Īrān," *Islamic Studies.* 2 (4): 1963, 457-466. Kramers, J.H. (1993). "Münedjdjim Baṣhī," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition, Volume VII: Mif–Naz.* Leiden and New York: BRILL. pp. 572–573. See also the introduction of Hatice Arslan-Sözüdoğru, and Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh Munajjim Bāshī, *Müneccimbaşı als Historiker: arabische Historiographie bei einem osmanischen Universalgelehrten des 17. Jahrhunderts: Ğāmiʿ ad-duwal (Teiledition 982/1574-1082/1672)* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2009); al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 383.

[115] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 231; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1731.

[116] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 232.

volumes full of *taḥqīqāt*.[117] Badr al-Dīn was well-versed in *ʿulūm al-munāẓarah*, "the science of debate." Al-ʿAyyāshī attended his lessons on the following works: al-Fanārī's commentary on *Īsāghūjī*, *Mukhtaṣar al-Saʿd* on *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, and *Sharḥ al-Manār* in Ḥanafī *uṣūl al-fiqh* by Ibn al-Mulk. Moreover, al-ʿAyyāshī read with him the beginning of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by al-Jurjānī and he was encouraged by al-Hindī to focus on this book. Also, he started to read with him *Sharḥ al-Quṭb on al-Shamsiyyah*. Al-ʿAyyashī mentions that he asked Badr al-Dīn to teach him al-Abharī's *al-Hidāyah fī al-ḥikmah*,[118] and *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* by Quṭb al-Dīn, and to give him the *dhikr* of the Naqshbandiyyah. Badr al-Dīn agreed and suggested that he read *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by al-Jurjānī instead of *al-Hidāyah*. Some people told al-ʿAyyāshī that shaykh Badr al-Dīn was a famous scholar in India and he had a great position among its scholars.[119] In the course of talking about Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī, al-ʿAyyāshī mentions an interesting story about a dispute that happened between Badr al-Dīn and shaykh Abū Mahdī al-Thaʿālibī al-Maghribī about a question of logic related to the hypothetical syllogism raised by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī.[120] Later, another scholar, Aḥmad b. al-Tāj, wrote a treatise on this topic with a kind of arbitration (*muḥākamah*) between the two scholars.[121]

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[117] Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1731.

[118] *Al-Hidāyah fī al-ḥikmah* was one of the most popular texts in Ottoman intellectual circules. See El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 22.

[119] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 634.

[120] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 631.

[121] El-Rouayheb mentions this anecdote to support his argument that North African logician had a different tradition from that which was current in the Ottoman and Mughal empires. The two main texts that were widely used in the Islamic East (but not in the Maghrib) were al-Abharī's *Īsāghūjī* with the commentary by Mullā Fanārī and *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah* by Kātibī with the commentary by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The treatment of hypothetical syllogism in both is perfunctory, whereas the North African commentaries on Khūnajī's *al-Jumal* deal at great length with the topic. El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 157.

19.   Muḥammad Shafīʿ b. Faḍl Allāh al-Shāh-bāzī al-Hindī,[122] was born and studied in India then moved to the Ḥijāz. He taught *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* in the *ḥaram,* as well as logic. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī mentions that he studied with him the *Ashkāl al-taʾsīs fī ʿilm al-handasah* by Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī and of Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī's commentary. He also studied with him large parts of Qāḍī-zādah's commentary on Jaghmīnī's work on astronomy, and while studying they used to check Birjandī's gloss and al-Jurjānī's commentary.

20.   Mullā Iskandar al-ʿAjamī,[123] studied with Mullā Yūsuf al-Qarabāghī, the great student of the prominent scholar Mullā Ḥabīb Allāh Mirzājān. In Medina, he studied with Ṣibghāt Allāh al-Hindī. Al-Ḥamawī mentions that he wrote treatises in logic and *ḥikmah*, but he does not specify any titles. Al-ʿAjamī died in Medina and was buried in the *baqīʿ*.

21.   ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Sijlmāsī al-Mālikī al-Maghribī (1118/1706)[124] studied with the scholars of the Maghrib then traveled to perform the *ḥajj* in 1083/1673, spending one year in the Ḥijāz as a *mujāwir*. Al-Ḥamawī attended his lessons in al-Taftazānī's *Tahdhīb al-manṭiq.*

22.   ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥakamī, Muṭayr. He was the teacher of Mullā Sharīf al-Kūrānī and was connected to Ibn Ḥajar.[125] His name appears frequently as a teacher of logic and other intellectual sciences.

23.   Sayyid Ghaḍanfar b. Jaʿfar al-Kujarātī al-Nahrawālī[126] studied with Muḥammad Amīn, the nephew of Jāmī. He was a teacher of prominent scholars in the Ḥijāz such as

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[122] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 290.

[123] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 190. Al-Ḥamawī does not mention the date of his death.

[124] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 255.

[125] Al-Kūrānī's chain of transmission will be mentioned later.

[126] ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man fī tārīkh al-Hind min Aʿlām al-musammā bi-Nuzhat al-khawāṭir wa-bahjat al-masāmiʿ wa-l-nawāẓir* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), vol. 5, p. 599; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 144.

al-Shinnāwī and Ṣibghat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Hindī. As we can see in these entries, many scholars studied philosophical and logic texts with him.

The names mentioned above do not include al-Kūranī's circle of teachers, students, and peers, which comprise a larger number than those mentioned above. These names will be mentioned in the next chapter, which deals with al-Kūranī's life, works, teachers, and students.

From the works these scholars composed or taught we notice that *al-Shamsiyyah*, *Īsāghūjī,* and their commentaries were the most popular texts in logic. *Al-Shamsiyyah* is mentioned five times while *Īsāghūjī* is mentioned four. *Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* is repeated twice. We will see later that many of al-Kūrānī's students and colleagues were from the Maghrib and that they taught *Mukhtaṣar al-Sanūsī* in logic and al-Khunajī's *al-Jumal.* As in the Ottoman and Mughal empires, in theology the works of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 1389) and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) were the most prominent.[127] Ibn Sīnā's name is mentioned 6 times, al-Samarqandī 3 times, and there is also mention of al-Dawānī, al-Fanārī, al-Jaghmīnī, al-Qushjī, al-Ṭūsī, and almost all the previous theologians and philosophers. However, the popularity of some names and texts in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century cannot be comprehensively covered before including al-Kūrānī and his circle, who were more inclined to intellectual sciences.

Another note is that although some scholars were originally from the Ḥijāz, the majority were emigrants who settled in the Ḥijāz and made it their home. To keep the research limited to the period under investigation, it is useful to mention some scholars from the 16th century who moved to and settled in the Ḥijāz. These scholars played a

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[127] About the spread of these two authors' text see Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safawids-Mughals," pp. 151-184; Wisnovsky, "The nature and scope of Arabic philosophical commentary in post classical (ca. 1100-1900 ad) Islamic intellectual history."

significant role in attracting other scholars and students to the Ḥijāz and in transforming it into a center of intellectual activities that attracted more and more scholars. Among the most famous of these were Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1567), who moved to Mecca in (940/1534); ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, known as, al-Muttaqī al-Hindī (d. 975/1567), who moved from Burhānpūr and settled in the Ḥijāz for the rest of his life; ʿAlī al-Qārī al-Harawī (1014/1606), who moved from Herat and settled in Mecca to the end of his life; and ʿAbd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642), who went for *ḥajj* in 996/1587 and spent four years in the Ḥijāz. Later, we will see the names of Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī, the teacher of al-Qūshāshī, as well as al-Qushāshī's family, besides al-Kūrānī, al-Barzanjī, al-Bābilī, ʿIsā al-Maghribī and many of al-Kūrānī's teachers, students, and peers originally from outside of the Ḥijāz.

In the following section, I will try to trace these texts from the scholars who taught them in the Ḥijāz to their authors in Central Asia in order to construct an image of the transmission of knowledge from different parts of the Islamic world between the 14th and 17th centuries. In order to draw the lines of knowledge transmission, I am using a science that usually has nothing to do with the intellectual sciences but rather is one of the main features of transmitted knowledge, namely *isnād*. I therefore begin with an introduction to this science and how it became relevant to the rational sciences.

[2.4] *Isnād* as a Source for Intellectual Life in 17th Century Ḥijāz

Isnād is an essential term of art in the science of transmitted knowledge (*manqūlāt*) and refers to the chain of authorities going back to the source of the tradition. It started as part of *ḥadīth* studies, but later became an independent science that newly adapted many of the rules originally pertaining to *ḥadīth*. Later, Sufis became very interested in connecting their chains with their masters in order to extend these chains back in time to the Prophet. Studying the works of *isnād* reveals that scholars throughout the course

of Islamic history slowly began to integrate new fields into works of *isnād.* By the 11th/17th century, one can notice that *isnād* works contain chains of transmission for the intellectual sciences, including *kalām*, philosophy, and logic, alongside the traditional sciences. Studying the developments of this specific genre of literature is not a part of this current study. However, some remarks may shed light on this valuable source for studying knowledge transmission and may reveal a number of new scholars who studied and taught these texts.

From the outset, it is necessary to define some essential technical terms in this science. There are two types of *isnād*, *isnād ʿālī* or "high *isnād,*" and *isnād nāzil* or "low *isnād.*" The former, or "high *isnād,*" is a term used when there are very few links between the transmitter and a certain source of authority, i.e. the Prophet in the case of *ḥadīth*, or the author of a certain book or the founder of a specific order. The "low *isnād*" is the term used when there are many links between the transmitter and a certain source of authority.[128] Teachers with whom a certain scholar met and the books that he studied with them would be organized in different ways. [1] A *mashyakhah* is the work in which a person mentions the names of his teachers and what he learned from them. After traveling to study and meet teachers, and upon returning home, scholars would be asked by community members to mention the people they had met and which texts they had studied. [2] A *thabat* mainly refers to the curriculum vitae of a person, with whom and what they studied. In many cases, the author offers some information about his teacher's life and those of the teachers of his teacher to link the chain. In the Maghrib, they call

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[128] As is the situation in *ḥadīth* studies, the quality of the mediators is important; fewer links means fewer chances of error. Also, proximity to the source of knowledge is more important, particularly if the source is the Prophet himself.

such a work *fahrasah*.[129] [3] A *muʿjam* is a term used if the author arranged the collection of biographical accounts of his teachers, students, friends, or colleagues in alphabetical order. In Andalusia, they used the term *barnāmaj*. The early type of *muʿjam*s were mainly collections of *ḥadīth*s arranged according to the names of shaykhs with whom the person studied these *ḥadīth*s.[130] We can also consider *ijāzah* as a kind of *isnād* since it links the student to the teacher, who may mention his own teachers in order to establish his authority.

These terms are not exclusive and many scholars used them interchangeably.[131] However, in general *mashyakhah* and *muʿjam* are ordered according to the name of the *shaykhs* while a *fahrasah* is ordered according to the books the author studied. The term *thabat* can be used for all of the above, since it served as proof for the knowledge that the scholar acquired. *Isnād* literature usually starts with an introduction in which the author expresses his esteem and even affection for the persons from whom he learned. Then he starts to mention the names of his teachers and what he studied with them, along with some information about their lives and their intellectual activities.

To gain a more precise idea about the corpus of this genre of literature, we can turn to ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kittānī (d. 1382/1962), whose work *Fahras al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt wa-*

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[129] ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt wa-muʿjam al-maʿājim wa-l-mashyakhyāt wa-l-musalsalāt,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2ed, 1982), p.67.

[130] For example, *Muʿjam shuyūkh Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī* (d. 307/919-20), *al-Muʿjam al-ṣagīr* by al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/970-71), and *Mashyakhat Ibn al-Jawzī* (d. 597/1200-01).

[131] Some scholars write different kinds of *isnād*s. For example, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Fihrī al-Lublī (d. 691) wrote a *mashyakhah* that contains his teachers' names and their biographies. He also wrote a *barnāmaj* that contains the works he studied during his trip to meet new teachers. See: Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī, *Barnāmaj Abī Jaʿfar al-Lublī al-Andalusī*, ed. Muḥammad Būzayyān Bin ʿAlī (Ṭanjah: Maṭbaʿat Isbārṭīl, 2011); Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī, *Fahrasat al-Lublī*, ed. Yāsīn Yūsuf ʿAyyāsh and ʿAwwād ʿAbd Rabbuh Abū Zaynah (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988). Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī wrote a *muʿjam* of his teachers and then extracted the books he studied from his *muʿjam* and mentioned them separately in a *fahrasah,* which is ordered according to the books. See below.

mu'jam al-ma'ājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-l-musalsalāt mentions 1200 *thabat*s.[132] These *thabat*s

are only his *isnād*s of these works. He mentions that he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-*

awwaliyyah, "the first *ḥadīth* to be transmitted from a certain scholar," from 70 shaykhs,

but he recorded only some of them, mostly the high *isnād*s.[133]

A short introduction of the development of *isnād* as a scholarly tool up to the 11th/17th

century may exaplain how it became a means to understand the transmission of

intellectual sciences. *Ḥadīth*s in the 1st/7th century existed without the supporting *isnād*.

By the 3rd/9th century, the *ḥadīth*s had been collected, systemized, and classified. By the

end of the 3rd/beginning of the 10th century, several collections had been produced, six

of which were regarded as being especially authoritative and are known as "the six

authentic ones" (*al-ṣiḥāh al-sittah*). These collections were presented with their complete

chains of transmission. *Ḥadīth* works continued to be transmitted with their full *isnād*s.

The only change that happened in these later centuries is that a certain author no longer

needed to continue his *isnād* until the Prophet; it was enough now to connect his own

isnād to these works that were already connected to the Prophet. It became sufficient to

connect the chain of transmissions with al-Bukhārī or Muslim, as the rest of the chain

was already well-established. This creation of milestones in the chains would be repeated

later, after a few centuries, with other generally accepted and fully connected chains.

Alongside this continuing interest in *ḥadīth*, studying this type of literature reveals

that the works of *isnād* started to contain more varied sciences. By the 7th/13th century,

alongside *ḥadīth* works, other works related to *ḥadīth* studies started to be included in

isnād works, such as works of linguistics and even some Sufi texts, including the works of

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[132] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 51.

[133] Al-Kittānī's works cover the period from the middle of the 9th/15th century until his time. He ordered it alphabetically, not chronologically, which makes it difficult to follow the development of this science.

Sībawayh, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Ghazāli, and al-Qushayrī.[134] Obviously, scholars mention what they studied according to their own interests. In the 8th/14th century, I found the works of al-Qushayrī and al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif,* in addition to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* and al-Ghazālī's *Iḥiyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* mentioned among the books in many *muʿjams.* Works of linguistics and many *dīwāns* continued to be mentioned alongside the other sciences such as *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, and *uṣūl.*

The 9th/15th century was one of the richest periods of the production of *isnād* works. Scholars of later centuries often tried to connect their chains to one of the famous 9th/15th century scholars who became widely accepted and considered "authentic." The main *isnād*s in the 9-10th/15-16th centuries are the chains of Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1566). Al-ʿAsqalānī's *muʿjam* contains the names of 730 teachers, making it one of the biggest *muʿjams.* Any scholar who can connect his chains to al-ʿAsqalānī thereby connects himself to most of the scholars before him. Al-ʿAsqalānī wrote another *fahrasah* ordered alphabetically by works studied. However, he mentions that he extracted it from his *muʿjam* of his teachers.[135] In this *muʿjam,* he mentions many texts of *ʿaqīdah*,[136] a section on Sufism and books on asceticism,[137] and *uṣūl al-dīn* works. Among the texts of *kalām* that he mentions with their *isnād*s are *Abkār al-afkār* by al-Āmidī; *al-Burhān*, *al-Talkhīṣ,* and *al-Shāmil* by al-Juwaynī; and *Sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal* and *Sharḥ al-*

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[134] The works I examined were: *Thabat masmūʿāt al-Ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī* (d. 643/1245-6), *Mashyakhat al-Naʿʿāl al-Baghdādī* (d. 659/1261), *Barnāmaj shuyūkh al-Ruʿaynī* (d. 666/1267-8), and *Barnāmaj al-Lublī* (d. 691/1292).

[135] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Majmaʿ al-mūʾassis li-l-muʿjam al-mufahris: Mashyakhat Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773-852),* ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Marʿashī (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1992), pp. 11, 12.

[136] Ibid., pp. 54-57.

[137] Ibid., pp. 401-403.

Mulakhkhaṣ by al-Kātibī al-Qazwinī. Works by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, al-Ghazālī, al-Qarāfī, Ibn al-Ḥājib, Ibn ʿAqīl, and other theologians are also mentioned.[138]

[2.4.1] The *Isnād* of Intellectual Texts

Chains of transmission for the intellectual sciences were not an innovation of the 11th/17th century, but it was during this time that they increased in prevalence and became more widespread. Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) mentions that he read part of *al-Ishārat* by Ibn Sīnā with Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) and he lists Ibn al-Akfānī's *isnād* of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt*.[139] Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr al-Dashtakī (d. 949/1542) also mentions his *isnād* going back to Ibn Sīnā.[140] Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī (d. 979/1572) mentions his *isnād* in the intellectual sciences. Among the five teachers with whom he studied, he traced back the *isnād*s of three of them to: 1) al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, through al-Dawānī; 2) Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī; and 3) al-Ījī, through Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr al-Dashtakī.[141]

However, one can notice a tone of hesitation from al-Dawānī's (d. 908/1502) *ijāzah* to Muʾayyadzadah, in which he mentions the *isnād*s of intellectual works, probably one of the oldest mentions of the *isnād*s of intellectuals. After establishing his own genealogy and authority in the *naqlī* sciences, he says: "and about ʿ*aqliyyāt* even the *riwāyah* is not very relevant to them but I studied them with my father, etc." [142] Dawānī ends his chains of transmission for the rational sciences with Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413).

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[138] Ibid., pp. 408-409.

[139] Gerhard Endress, "Reading Avicenna in the madrasa," in *Arabic Theology Arabic Philosophy from the Many to the One, Essays in Celebrations of Richard M. Frank*, ed. James E. Montgomery (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), p. 411 and after. See also Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception," p.196.

[140] See: Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī, *Muṣannafāt Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Husienī Dashtakī Shirāzī*, ed. Abdollah Nourānī (Tehran: Tehran University: 2007), vol. 1, p. 69-70.

[141] Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī," pp. 303-304, 318-319.

[142] Pfeiffer, "Teaching the learned," p. 322.

A significant change can be found in the works of *isnād* by the 11th/17th century. Most of the scholars in the Ḥijāz mentione their *isnād*s of *maʿqūlāt* (intellectual) works beside the *manqūlāt* (transmitted) ones. They included everything they studied with chains of transmission going back to the author. With this information, we can map the transmission of knowledge through time and across geographic regions. This will help us to trace scholars and texts from across Islamic world to the Ḥijāz.

Among the *isnād* works that are relevant to the Ḥijāz and which I have consulted for this project are:[143]

1. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *thabat* entitled *al-Amām li-Īqāẓ al-himam.* One of the most comprehensive *isnād*s of works of the intellectual sciences, it is particularly useful in following the path of intellectual texts from Central Asia to the Ḥijāz.

2. Shams al-Dīn al-Bābilī's *fahrasah* contains chains of transmission of many kalām and Sufi texts, including those by Ibn ʿArabī, al-Taftazānī, al-Ījī, and other scholars. These two disciplines came after the regular chains of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr,* and *adab.* Al-Bābilī moved to the Ḥijāz and many scholars studied intellectual texts with him.

3. Abū al-Mawāhib al-Baʿlī's *mashyakhah,* which contains 35 teachers, all of whom were contemporary with al-Kūrānī and many of whom were in contact with him. Even though Abū al-Mawāhib is a Ḥanbalī *shaykh*, he mentions at the end of his *mashyakhah* his *isnād*s of works of Ibn ʿArabī.[144]

4. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī's *mashyakhah* contains the chains of transmission of many *kalām* texts, such as the works of al-Ījī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, and al-Sanūsī. ʿAbd

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[143] More information about each author will be presented in the following chapter.

[144] Abū al-Mawāhib Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī (1044-1126)*, ed. Muḥammad Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ (Syria, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1990)*.

al-Qādir moved from the Maghrib to Egypt and then to the Ḥijāz, which may offer alternative routes of circulation for these texts.

5. Al-Rūdānī's *thabat,* known as *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf.* His interest in the intellectual sciences makes this *thabat* valuable in tracing many different disciplines, including logic, mathematics, astronomy, *kalām,* and philosophy. He lived half of his life in the Maghrib and the other half in the Ḥijāz and serves as a unique source on the scholars of the 17th century.[145]

6. Salim al-Baṣrī's *thabat,* known as *al-Imdād bi-maʿrifat ʿuluw al-isnād.* Al-Baṣrī mentions individual works and sometimes all the works of certain author. We can find in his *thabat* works of al-Saʿd al-Taftazānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, as well as works of al-Ghazālī, Ibn ʿArabī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Mullā Jāmī, and ʿIṣām al-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh, among others. With his shaykh, Muḥammad al-Bābilī, he studied *Tafsīr al-Rāzī,* and his shaykh studied it with Aḥmad al-Sanhūrī, who studied it with Ibn Ḥajar.[146] Moreover, in this *thabat* we can find works such as *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī, al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah, al-Mawāqif* by al-Ījī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* by al-Taftazānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by al-Jurjānī, *al-Musāyarah* by Ibn al-Humām, and *Sharḥ Jawharat al-tawḥīd,* which he studied with al-Bābilī, who had studied it with its author, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī.[147]

These are some examples of works of *isnād* in the Ḥijāz during the 11th/17th century, and more works containing chains of transmission in the intellectual sciences will appear

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[145] Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988).

[146] Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, *al-Imdād b-maʿrifat ʿuluw al-isnād*, e. al-ʿArabī al-Dāyiz al-Firyāṭī (KSA, Riyāḍ: Dār al-Tawḥīd, 2006), p. 82.

[147] Al-Baṣrī, *Al-Imdād bi-maʿrifat ʿuluw al-isnād*, p. 85-86.

below.[148] It is important to mention that many *isnād*s repeat the same chains so there is no need to mention the *isnād*s of the teacher and the student again, except when the student had more chains and from different teachers, such as in the case of al-Bābilī and his student Sālim al-Baṣrī.

[2.5] How the Rational Sciences Reached the Ḥijāz

Based on the previously mentioned works of *isnād*, the following is an attempt to draw the main lines of transmission of some rationalist works.

[2.5.1] Al-Taftāzānī's (d. 793/1390) Works

Al-Kūrānī in his *thabat* mentions the following works by al-Taftazānī: *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafiyyah*, and al-Taftazānī's abridgment (*al-mukhtaṣar* aka *al-ṣaghīr*) of al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī's (d. 739/1339) *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Talkhīṣ* of *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), with a gloss by Mullā Zādah ʿUthmān al-Khaṭṭāʾī, and super glosses of Mullā ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazadī, Mullā Mīrzājān, and Mullā Yūsuf b. al-Qāḍī Maḥmūd al-Kūrānī (the father of Mullā Sharīf, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's teacher). His chain for these works to al-Taftazānī passes through Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī in the following manner:

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī ⟵ Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Kūrānī al-Ḥusaynī ⟵ Al-Shams al-Ramlī ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī

From this chain of transmission, we know that Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm, about whom we have scarce information outside of al-Kūrānī's *thabat*, studied with the Egyptian scholar al-Ramlī. Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm was from Kurdistan and his father studied in Iran, but he chose to go to Egypt instead of following in the path of his father. As Iran was much closer to Kurdistan, and a center of intellectual sciences in the Safavid period, this supports my

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[148] Al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s and contributions in the science of *ḥadīth* will be discussed in Chapter Five.

claim from the first chapter that the conversion of Iran to Shiᶜism forced Sunni scholars to change their direction toward other Sunni intellectual centers.

Al-Kūrānī also read parts of *Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar* with Mullā Sharīf at the end of Ramaḍān in 1050/1640. He studied with al-Qushāshī other works of al-Taftazānī such as the *Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143), *al-Talwīḥ*, *al-Muṭawwāl*, *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* of al-Qazwīnī, *al-Irshād fī al-naḥw*, *al-Tahdhīb*, and *Sharḥ Taṣrīḥ*, for all of which the chain of transmission extended to Ḥusām al-Abyurdī.[149] Another chain of transmission for al-Taftazānī's *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, through Ibn Ḥajar, is mentioned in al-Bābilī's and al-Baṣrī's *thabats*:[150]

Sālim al-Baṣrī ⟵ Muḥammad al-Bābilī ⟵ Aḥmad al-Sanhūrī ⟵ Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Makkī ⟵ ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī ⟵ Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī ⟵ Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥājirī ⟵ Saᶜd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī

Al-Baṣrī also has an *isnād* in al-Tafazānī's commentaries *al-Muṭawwal* and *al-Mukhtaṣar*[151] on *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ.*

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[149] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 102.

[150] Al-Thaᶜālibī al-Maghribī, *Thabat al-Bābilī*, p. 99. Al-Baṣrī, *Thabat Sālim al-Baṣrī* entitled *al-Imdād bi-maᶜrifat ᶜuluw al-isnād*, p. 86.

[151] Al-Baṣrī, *al-Imdād*, p. 93.

Sālim al-Baṣrī

↓

Muḥammad al-Bābilī

↙ ↘

ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Zayādī   Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shalabī

↘ ↙

Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Armayunī

↓

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī

↓

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAqīlī

↓

Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Abyurdī

↓

Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī
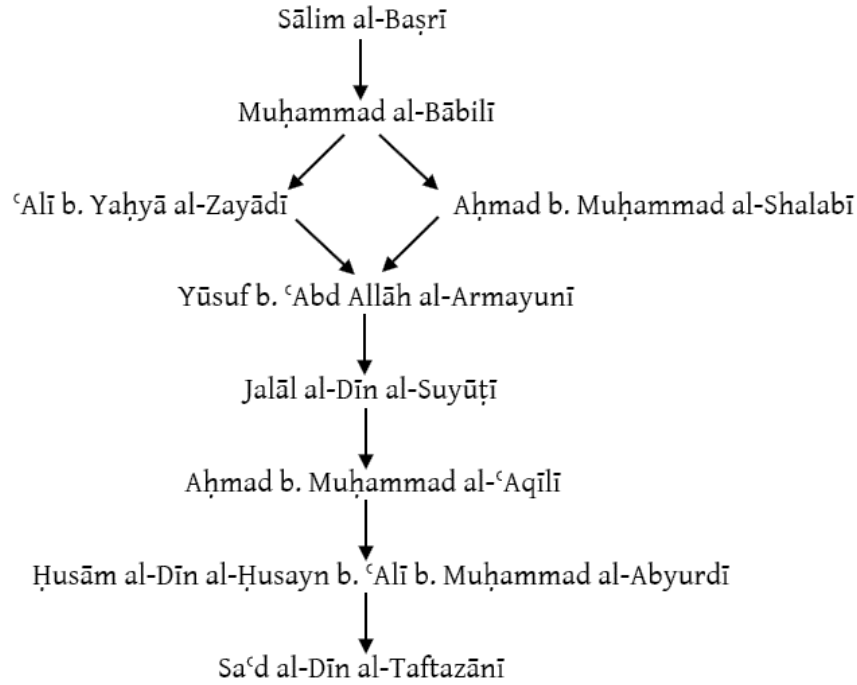
[2.5.2] Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's (d. 816/1413) Works

Al-Kūrānī has two chains of transmission to al-Jurjānī: one through Mullā Sharīf and the other through al-Qushāshī. With Mullā Sharīf he read parts of *Ḥāshiyah ʿalā Sharḥ al-Maṭāliʿ*, *Ḥāshiyah ʿalā Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, and *Ḥāshiyah ʿalā Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah,* with Mullā Dāwūd al-Harawī's gloss on the latter two. This reading occurred in Muḥarram 1052/1642. Additionally, he read with him parts of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. With al-Qushāshī, he read parts of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, as well parts of al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshiyah* on al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Sharḥ al-qadīm* on *al-Tajrīd*, with an *ijāzah* for all of al-Jurjānī's works, including *Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf*, *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā*, *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* of al-Ṭūsī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Muṭawwal*, *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ*, and others (*wa-ghayruhā*).[152]

   His chains of transmission through these two teachers are the following:

(1) Al-Kūrānī's *isnād* through Mullā Sharīf

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[152] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 102-103.

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī

↓

Mullā Sharīf al-Kūrānī

↙   ↘

ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī   ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī

↓   ↓

Muḥamma b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bābilī   ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fahd al-Makkī

↓

Sālim al-Sanhūrī

↓

Najm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī
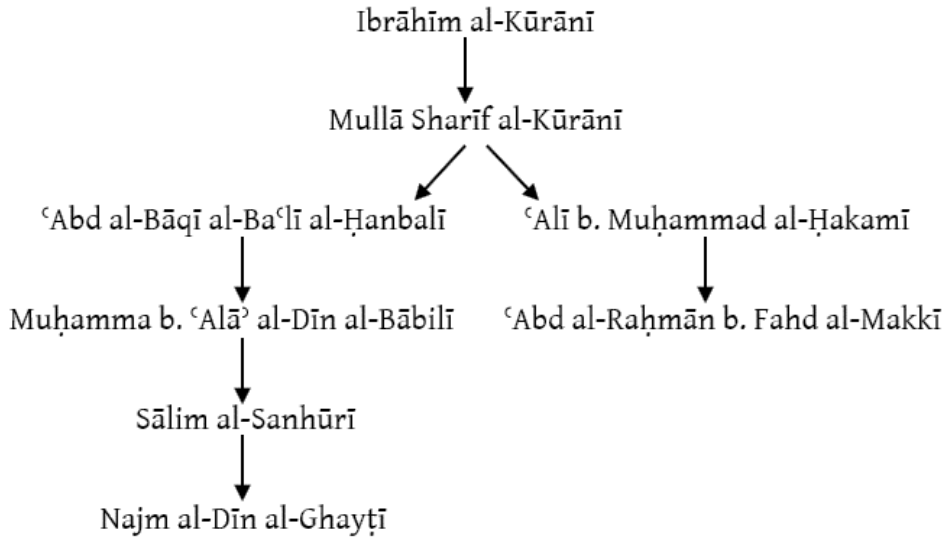
Two aspects of the above *isnād* are worth highlighting. First, Mullā Sharīf al-Kūrānī studied with ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī, which makes a Ḥanbalī scholar one of the main sources of transmission of Ashʿarī texts. This scholarly relationship requires more study regarding the Ḥanbalite-Ashʿarite relationship, and an investigation as to the existence of any commentaries on Ashʿarī texts by Ḥanbalī scholars. In Abū al-Mawāhib b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī's *thabat* we find that his father, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, studied with al-Bābilī and scholars of the Ḥijāz at the beginning of 11th/17th century, such as Muḥammad b. ʿAllān al-Ṣiddīqī, and that his *isnād*s reach al-ʿAsqalānī, Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, and Ibn Ḥajar.[153] As all of them are Ashʿarites in doctrine and none Ḥanbalī in *fiqh*, it is unclear what he studied with them. Since all these scholars were famous as scholars of *ḥadīth*, I suggest that they were his teachers in this science. Second, there are two links between Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and al-Bābilī in receiving al-Jurjānī's works even though al-Kūrānī studied directly with al-Bābilī, but it seems that al-Kūrānī did not study al-Jurjānī's works with al-Bābilī directly.

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[153] Al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib*, p. 34-35.

(2) Al-Kūrānī's *isnād* through al-Qushāshī

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī

↓

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī

↓

Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī

↓

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī

↓

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Fahd al-Makkī

↓

(His uncle) Jārullāh b. Fahd al-Makkī, who studied al-Jurjānī's works with four scholars

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

[1] ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qāhirī al-Madanī

[2] Al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-ʿAfīf ʿAbd Allāh Bā-mukharramah b. Aḥmad al-Saybānī al-ʿAdanī

[3] Abū al-ʿAbbās Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāshirī al-Zabīdī

[4] Al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Sharʿabī al-Taʿzī

Al-Ghayṭī + al-Sunbāṭī + ʿUmar al-Qāhirī al-Madanī
(All of them studied al-Jurjānī's works with al-Sunbāṭī's father)

↓

ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad al-Sunbāṭī

↙ ↘

Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣkafī al-Qāhirī   Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shirwānī

↓   ↓

Al-Jalāl Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn   Muḥammad al-Jurjānī
al-Ḥalwānī al-Shafiʿī

↘   ↙

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī

[2] al-Ṭayyib al-ʿAdanī

↓

Al-Sharīf Hibat Allāh b. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh b. Sālām Allāh al-Shīrāzī al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī

↓

(His maternal grandfather) Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭāwusī al-Abraqūhī al-Shīrāzī

↓

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī

[3] Al-Nāshirī

↓

Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan al-Kāzarūnī

↓

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī

[4] Al-Sharʿabī

↓

ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Ījī

↓

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī

↙ ↘

(His father) Asʿad al-Dawānnī   Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī

↘ ↙

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī

Several aspects of the chains above deserve to be mentioned. Firstly, most of the *isnād*s go through Jārullāh b. Fahd, the historian of Mecca and student of al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497). He had four teachers: three from Yemen (ʿAdanī, Zabīdī, and Taʿzī) and one from Cairo. However, the latter moved to Medina, and this *isnād* is the only one available through someone from Cairo. Secondly, from these Yemeni scholars the chains go back to Central Asia. Did these authors study in Central Asia or were their teachers in Yemen?

Thirdly, based on what I have mentioned in Chapter One about the relationship between the Indian Subcontinent and Arabia in the 16th and 17th centuries, most probably these works arrived in the Ḥijāz through Indian Subcontinent and Yemen. By the 10th/16th century, al-Jurjānī's works were well known in the Indian Subcontinent, and al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* was one of the most studied and commented on texts.[154] The popularity of this work appears to be reflected in the anecdote mentioned above in which al-ʿAyyāshī asks Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī to teach him al-Abharī's *al-Hidāyah fī al-ḥikmah*;[155] Badr al-Dīn agrees, but nevertheless suggests he read *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by al-Jurjānī instead of *al-Hidāyah*.[156] Fourthly, these students of al-Jurjāni, al-Dawānī, etc. are supposed to have been established scholars. They did not transmit *ḥadīth*s that they memorized, they were instead teaching the most sophisticated theological and philosophical texts. Their lives and intellectual activities, including the possibilities of commenting or glossing on the texts they taught, need more research.

More Chains of Transmissions of al-Jurjānī's Works to the Ḥijāz

What I have mentioned above are Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's chains of transmission of al-Jurjānī's works. Here I will mention more chains of transmission through other scholars in the Ḥijāz, beginning with al-Bābilī.[157]

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[154] Al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, al-Dawānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*, and al-Taftazānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyyah* were the most popular works in the Indian Subcontinent in the 16th century; see Ahmad and Pourjavady, "Theology in the Indian Subcontinent," pp. 607-624.

[155] Al-Abharī's *al-Hidāyah fī al-ḥikmah* was one of the most popular texts in the Ottoman empire. El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 22.

[156] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 634.

[157] ʿĪsā al-Maghribī was a student of a Bābilī, and the one who collected the *isnād*s of his teachers, so his *thabat* always starts with the statement: "I read with him...". This means that al-Maghribī read with al-Bābilī, then continues the chain until reaching the author of the work. Al-Thaʿālibī al-Maghribī, *Thabat al-Bābilī*, p. 99. Also, al-Baṣrī, Sālim, *al-Imdād*, p. 86. Sālim al-Baṣrī also has *isnād*s of al-Kūrānī. See al-Baṣrī, *al-Imdād*, p. 140. He also lists his *isnād*s in works of al-Dawānī, Jāmī, ʿIṣām al-Dīn, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and others from al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s.

Al-Bābilī

$\downarrow$

Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Subkī

$\downarrow$

Al-Najm Muḥammad b. Aḥmad

$\downarrow$

ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī

$\downarrow$

Shams al-Dīn al-Shirwānī (d. 873)

$\downarrow$

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Jurjānī

$\downarrow$

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī
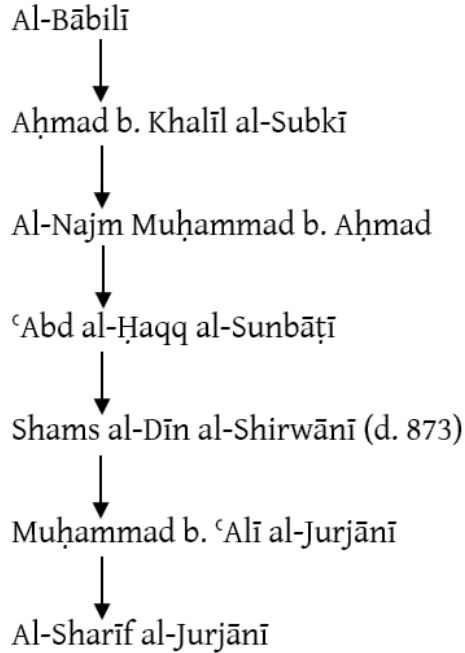
Shams al-Dīn al-Shirwānī[158] studied the works of al-Jurjānī with Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Khawāfī al-Ḥanafī (d. 852/1448), one of al-Jurjānī's students. Al-Khawāfī studied with al-Jurjānī some of his own works, including the *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Sakkākī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* of al-Ījī, *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Maṭāliʿ* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī on al-Urmawī's *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār*, and *Sharḥ al-Tadhkirah* of al-Ṭūsī. And he, al-Khawāfī, wrote works in Arabic and logic, as well as glosses on unspecified work by ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* by al-Taftazānī, al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār,* and *al-Minhāj* by al-Bayḍāwī.[159]

[2.5.3] Al-Ījī's (d. 756/1355) Works

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[158] He is different from Shams al-Dīn al-Shirwānī (d. 699/1299), al-Ṭūsī's student, who was a Sufi and astronomer with interest in philosophy and the intellectual sciences. Al-Tusī's student is already mentioned in the chain of Ibn al-Akfānī in *al-Ishārāt.* Al-Ṣafadī in *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafāyāt* says that Ibn al-Akfānī told him about the place and the date of his studying with al-Shirwānī. It was in the Khanqāh Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ in Cairo at the end of [6]98/[1299] and the beginning of [6]99/[1299-1300]. See Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafāyāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arnaʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā (Beirut: Dār al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), vol. 2, p. 101.

[159] Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Naẓm al-ʿiqyān fī aʿyān al-aʿyān*, ed. Philip Hitti (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1927), p. 149.

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī

Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf   Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī   Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī

Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī   Ḥasan al-Danjihī

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Fahd al-Makkī

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī   Jārullāh b. Fahd al-Makkī

Al-Sakhāwī

Al-Shams Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Makhzūmī

Abū al-Faḍl b. Naṣr Allāh al-Baghdādī al-Qāhirī al-Ḥanbalī

Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kirmānī

(His father) Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī

ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī

Two aspects of the *isnād* above are worth mentioning. Firstly, the chain through al-Qushāshī goes back to Jārullāh b. Fahd, the historian of Mecca, and to his teacher, the famous historian al-Sakhāwī. Secondly, al-Sakhāwī's chain of transmission of *al-Mawāqif* is through a Ḥanbalī scholar, who connects him to al-Kirmānī, the student of al-Ījī.

[2.5.4] Al-Dawānī's (d. 908/1502) Works

I will start with al-Kūrānī's chain of transmission of al-Dawānī's works and then determine whether these works reached the Ḥijāz through other chains of transmissions as well. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī studied some of al-Dawānī's works with Mullā Sharīf al-Kūrānī

and others with al-Qushāshī.[160] With Mullā Sharīf, al-Kūrānī read all *al-Zawrāʾ* with al-Dawānī's own gloss, most of *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah* (in 1045/1635) with Mullā Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Qarabāghī's and al-Khalkhālī's glosses, parts of al-Dawānī's gloss on *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, parts of al-Dawānī's gloss on al-Taftazānī's *al-Tahdhīb*, and parts of *al-Risālah al-jadīdah fī ithbāt al-wājib* (in 1053/1643). With al-Qushāshī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī read parts of *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah* and parts of *al-Zawrāʾ* with an *ijāzah* for the rest of al-Dawānī's books that he transmited.

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī

Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf   Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī   Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Fahd al-Makkī

(His uncle) Jārullāh b. Fahd al-Makkī

Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm   Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Sharʿabī
al-ʿAlawī al-Zabīdī al-Yamanī   al-Hamadānī al-Taʿzī

ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ījī al-Shāfiʿī

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī
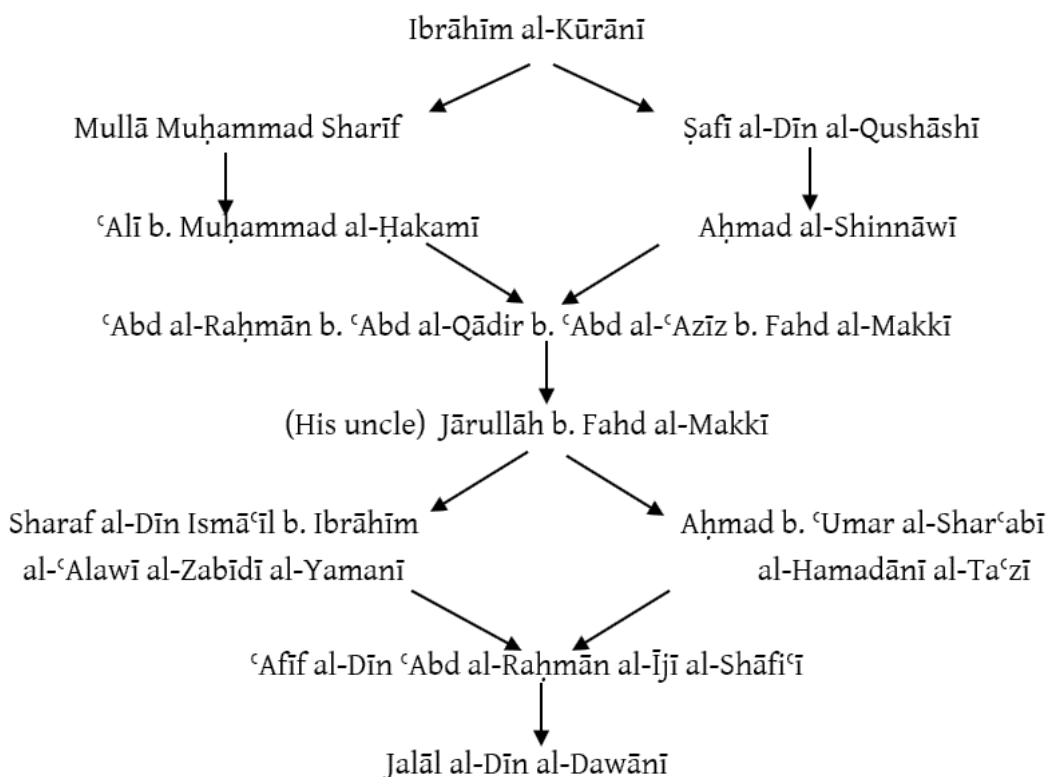
Several aspects of the *isnād* above deserve to be highlighted. Firstly, many links to Ashʿarī texts were through Ḥanbalī scholars. Secondly, al-Jurjānī's and al-Ījī's texts were known in the Ḥijāz probably one or two centuries before al-Kūrānī. Jārullāh b. Fahd al-

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[160] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 104-105.

Makkī (d. 15 jumādā II, 954/2 August 1547)[161] is the main link for both. Jārullāh, a Shāfiʿī Sufi scholar, studied with his father, as well as with ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī, the historian of Medina ʿAlī al-Samhūdī, al-Suyūṭī, and with Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497). He traveled to Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and the Ottoman lands (*bilād al-rūm*) and wrote about 50 works. Thirdly, al-Ḥakamī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī al-Yamanī (950/1543-1041/1632),[162] was a Yemeni scholar who studied with al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm Muṭayr, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Nazīlī, and others. Among his works are *al-Īǧḥāf*, an abridgment of Ibn Ḥajar's *Tuḥfat al-Minhāj; al-Dībāj ʿalā al-Minhāj* in Shāfiʿī *fiqh*; and *Sharḥ Minhāj al-Nawawī.* Ibn Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī is one of the main and high links between Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī, thus:

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī ◄—— Mullā Sharīf ◄—— ʿAlī b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī ◄—— Ibn Ḥajar

More chains of transmission can be established for the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, ʿIṣām al-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh, Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn ʿArabī, and other prominent authors depending on *thabat*s and works of *isnād*s, some of which were mentioned above.

To conclude this section on chains of transmission, I would like to mention additional types of information that can be obtained through this genre of literature. *Isnād* works not only help to establish the routes through which knowledge was transmitted, they can also provide information on other historical issues. Obviously, this genre is a crucial

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[161] See Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), vol. 3, p. 52; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, p. 301; al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, p. 241-242; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾirah*, vol 2, p. 131; Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hīlah, *al-Tārīkh wa-l-muʾarrikhūn bi-Makkah min al-qarn al-thālith al-hijrī ilā al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1994), p. 195.

[162] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 3, p. 189. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣanʿānī, *Mulḥaq al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-qarn al-sābiʿ* (Cairo: Dār al-Saʿādah, 1348), p. 176. [Printed after the second volume of *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*].

source for establishing the names of authors and the titles of their works, since the author was writing about his direct teachers. This tool can help researchers to discover the names of scholars who were interested in these intellectual texts and who studied and taught them. With this information in hand, we can begin to draw a map of knowledge circulation through geographical zones and from one century to another. For example, as we have seen above, some Ḥanbalī scholars participated in the transmission of Ashʿarite texts, and some were even interested in Ibn ʿArabī's writing. Studying these surprising connections may change our perception of the relations between different scholars of theology and Sufism. In addition, detailed information concerning some scholars can only be found in this kind of literature, since the entries were written by direct students who strove to establish their own authority through the chains of their teachers. Some of these works also contain theological and philosophical discussions, similar to bibliographical (ṭabaqāt) works that contain theological discussions. Moreover, some non-extant works are mentioned in some of these texts. For example, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī's *ijāzah* to his student ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Ījī is mentioned by Judeth Pfeiffer without any further information about it, and Reza Pourjavadi did not even mention it. Although the actual *ijāzah* or its copies are missing, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī quotes all of it in his *thabat* entitled *al-Amam*.[163] As a result, the study of *isnād* is critical to the construction of intellectual history, and it is hoped that in the future this genre of literature can be used by scholars to discover more, particularly with relation to post-classical Islamic philosophy.

El-Rouayheb, by tracing the chains of transmission of several Ottoman scholars from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, notes that their intellectual lineage extended to Persian

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[163] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 105.

scholars such as al-Dawānī, ʿIsām al-Dīn Isfarāʾiynī, and Mīrzā Jān Bāghnawī. However, the ethnicity of the scholars shifts in the course of the 17th century. The 15th and 16th century scholars are Persian; in the early 17th century they are Kurdish or Azeri; and in the second half of the 17th century scholars of Ottoman Turkish background begin to appear.[164] As we have seen in this chapter, most of philosophical texts in the Ḥijāz arrived through India, Cairo, and Damascus. In the chains of transmission of these philosophical texts we noticed that the direct teachers of al-Kūrānī studied with scholars from the Arab world, mainly from the Ḥijāz, Yemen, Syria, and Egypt. One generation earlier, the teachers of al-Kūrānī's teachers most likely received their intellectual preparation in Iran, particularly for teachers from his hometown in Kurdistan. Many other chains move to India after two or three generations. This supports my assertion that the conversion of Iran to Shiʿism moved the centres of intellectual sciences outside of Iran. The Indian Subcontinent and Ottoman lands were the first recipients of these scholars. From there, these texts found their way to the Ḥijāz alongside numerous scholars, some of whom were mentioned above.

Conclusion

The presence of more than 50 scholars in a small region of the Ḥijāz during the 17th century is clear evidence that support the speculations of researchers in the past few decades regarding intellectual activities in the 17th century Ḥijāz, and allows us to argue for the prominent place of the Ḥijāz in post-classical Islamic thought. Until recent years, the intellectual life of the 17th century Ḥijāz was unexplored territory. The two fields of studies mentioned above, i.e Southeast Asian Studies and the study of reform movements of the 18th century, have speculated about some activities in the Ḥijāz at that time, yet

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[164] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 52, 56.

mostly they refer to *ḥadīth* and Sufi movements. Recently, Khaled El-Rouayheb's *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century* explored some aspects of intellectual life in the Ḥijāz. These were approached within the context of comparing some theological topics between North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. El-Rouayheb mentions that even older studies that perpetuated the image of 17th century intellectual stagnation or decline were sometimes prepared to admit that there were "exceptions." El-Rouayheb gives several examples to show that the list of "exceptions" has simply become too long for the idea to be taken seriously,[165] mentioning as specific examples Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and his student Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī. In this chapter I gave more examples to show that al-Kūrānī and his circle were not exceptions in the Ḥijāz itself. Interestingly, to counter the idea of decline of interest in "rational sciences," El-Rouayheb cites a Meccan scholar from 17th century, Muḥammad ʿAlī b. ʿAllān al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1648), who was complaining that in his time the people who are innocent of wisdom (*ḥikmah*) are considered as ignorant.[166] The number of schools, *ribāṭs*, libraries, and the scholars mentioned show the extent of activity in the Ḥijāz during that period. Each scholar needs to be investigated in detail to show his education, teachers, students, works, and influence, to allow us to have a complete picture of intellectual life in the Ḥijāz.

This chapter also introduced a valuable source for studying post-classical intellectual activities in some parts of Islamic world where the *isnād* tradition was common. This source has rarely been used by Western scholars to investigate intellectual history. However, this study has shown that *isnād* works are a promising source that may change our perspective about the transmission of knowledge between different parts of the

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[165] Ibid., p. 5.

[166] Ibid., p. 19.

Islamic world. I should also mention that *isnād* was valuable for this research because of its relationship to *ḥadīth* studies. As I mentioned above, some scholars considered the scholars from the Ḥijāz in the 17th century as revivers of *ḥadīth* studies. Yet, scholars in some regions, such as the Indian Subcontinent, were more interested in a different aspect of *ḥadīth* studies, namely contemplation (*dirāyah*), i.e. considering the meaning of the *matn*, instead of chains of transmission (*riwāyah.*) As a result, this source is generally confined to areas where chains of transmission were popular and where intellectual sciences appear in these chains.

Another important set of sources that can reveal information about intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz is the manuscripts that are contained in several collections in Mecca and Medina and other libraries around the world. For example, the manuscripts of Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca are catalogued in six volumes.[167] This collection contains numerous works in philosophy, *kalām*, logic, astronomy, and medicine. Unfortunately, the catalogue does not mention the places where the works were copied. Many of these works are from the 11th/17th century and earlier, but without examining the actual copies it is difficult to determine whether they were copied in the Ḥijāz or simply brought to the Ḥijāz by scholars who visited the region or who moved there and made it their home. The libraries of Medina contain numerous collections of manuscripts; 34 collections of them are located in the library of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz alone. This library contains 15,722 manuscripts, according to the municipal authority's website;[168] but unfortunately there is no complete catalogue for this library to date.[169]

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[167] *Fahras makhṭūṭāt Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā* (Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, al-Maktabah al-Markaziyyah, Qism al-Makhṭūṭāt, 1983).

[168] http://www.amana-md.gov.sa/Pages/AboutMadinah/ReligiousTourism/KingAbdulAzizLibrary.aspx

[169] Manuscript catalogues in general can provide valuable information about works that were copied or possessed by scholars in the Ḥijāz. For example, there is a copy of *Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya fī (ʿilm) al-hayʾa* by Quṭb

However, scholars' names and books' titles are not enough to gain a precise idea of the intellectual debates without examining these scholars' works in detail. In order to explore this understudied period and geographical zone, this thesis now turns to an examination of the life and thought of one of the most prominent scholars of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

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al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī in Istanbul's Kandilli Collection that was possessed by the Qāḍī of Mecca Muḥammad ʿĀrif. The manuscript was copied on 9 Dhū-Ḥijja 1073 (15 July 1663). See: *Kandilli Rasathanesi el yazmaları: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Kandilli Rasathanesi ve Deprem Araştırma Enstitüsü, astronomi, astroloji, matematik yazmaları kataloğu,* vol. 2, p. 136-137.

Chapter Three: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's Life, Teachers, Students, and Works

As mentioned in the previous chapter, some of the main sources for speculation on intellectual activities in the Ḥijāz during the 17ᵗʰ century come from the study of Southeast Asia. Al-Kūrānī's role in these activities is highlighted by some scholars in particular. Antony Johns, who wrote to clarify the relationship between Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and the Jawi scholar ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkeli, is one of the most prominent of these voices.[1] In "Friends in grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkeli," Johns provides basic information about al-Kūrānī's life and focuses on his relationship with Jawi students, introducing the text that al-Kūrānī wrote at the request of Jawi students in Medina, *Itḥāf al-dhakī.* In "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and new directions,"[2] Johns offers an outline of *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, mentioning that he is preparing a critical edition of this text, but this promise was never actualized.[3] Johns also wrote a short entry on al-Kūrānī in *EI²*, less than one page, in which he mistakenly said that al-Kūrānī studied in Turkey and Persia.[4]

The notices that Johns collected in order to prepare his edition of *Itḥāf al-dhakī* were given to Omen Fathurahman, who published al-Kūrānī's text in 2012.[5] During the preparation of this edition and after its publication, Fathurrahman published several

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[1] Anthony. H. Johns, "Friends in Grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkeli,"in *Spectrum. Essays presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjah-bana,* ed. S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), pp. 469-485.

[2] Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and new directions," *Indonesia*, No. 19 (Apr., 1975), pp. 33-55.

[3] Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and new directions," p. 51.

[4] Johns, Anthony. "Al-Kurani." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. V. Leiden: Brill, 1986.

[5] Oman Fathurahman, *Itḥāf al-dhaki: tafsir wahdatul wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara* (Sheffield, Eng: Society of Glass Technology, 2012).

articles to clarify different aspects of the text and its manuscripts.[6] Fathurahman's interest at this point seems to be focused on al-Kūrānī's connection with Southeast Asia. *Ithāf al-dhakī*, in his reading, appears to play an important role in the conflict over Ibn ʿArabī's thought in Ache, a role that I will analyse in Chapter Four.

Scholars have approached different aspects of al-Kūrānī's works; some of these scholars are mentioned here. Alfred Guillaume's article "*al-Lumʿat al-sanīya fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fī-l-umnīya*"[7] was one of the earliest publications of a text by al-Kūrānī with a summary of the arguments. Guillaume gives a brief introduction to the incident of the Satanic verses, then he summarizes the arguments of al-Kūrānī's text with the Arabic edition from one manuscript. Guillaume's interest in this text will be discussed later. Alexander Knysh's "Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), an Apologist for '*waḥdat al-wujūd*',"[8] is a short study that emerged in the context of Knysh's interest in the reception of Ibn ʿArabī's thought in later centuries. Knysh uses one manuscript from the Yahuda Collection to present some aspects of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's dealing with the problematic doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, without any further interest in al-Kūrānī's thought. Basheer Nafi's article "Taṣawwuf and reform in pre-modern Islamic culture: in search of Ibrāhīm

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[6] Oman Fathurahman, "*Ithaf al-dhaki* Ibrahim al-Kurani: a commentary of *wahdat al-wujud* for Jawi audiences," *Archipel: Études Iinterdisciplinaires sur le Monde Insulindien,* n. 81, (2011), pp. 177-198; Fathurahman, "New textual evidence for intellectual and religious connections between the Ottomans and Aceh," in *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks, and Southeast Asia,* ed. Peacock, A. C. S. and Annabel Teh Gallop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Fathurahman, "Further research on *Ithāf al-dhakī* manuscripts by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī," in *From Codicology to Technology: Islamic Manuscripts and their Place in Scholarship,* ed. Stefanie Brinkmann and Beate Wiesmüller (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009), pp. 47-58.

[7] Alfred Guillaume and Ibrāhīm Al-Kūrānī, "Al-Lumʿat al-sanīya fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fī-l-umnīya," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 20, No. 1/3, Studies in Honour of Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1937-57 (1957), pp. 291-303.

[8] Alexander Knysh, "Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), an apologist for '*waḥdat al-wujūd*'," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, vol. 5, No. 1 (Apr., 1995), pp. 39-47.

al-Kūrānī"[9] was the first attempt to examine some of al-Kūrānī's theological ideas. Nafi elaborates on the issues of *kalām nafsī*, God's attributes, and *waḥdat al-wujūd*. He also tries to shed some light on intellectual life in the Ḥijāz by mentioning four scholars active there in the 17th century.[10] Nafi studies al-Kūrānī through the current of "neo-Sufism" studies and the posited connection between Sufism and reform, an interpretation that is refuted by Khaled El-Rouayheb.

El-Rouayheb's project to reject the narrative of "decline" and "decadence" (*inḥiṭāṭ*) in Arab and Ottoman history was mentioned in the previous chapter. Al-Kūrānī's place in this project occupies a substantial portion in part III, almost one third of *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, in which El-Rouayheb discusses some of the essential theological and Sufi aspects of al-Kūrānī's thought. With regard to theology, he discusses al-Kūrānī's contribution to the theories of God's attributes, *kasb*, and *kalām nafsī,* while in the field of Sufism he focuses on the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd.* El-Rouayheb explains clearly that the suggestion made by Fazlur Rahman in the 1960s, and repeated by several scholars, that neo-Sufism was more restrained and less "pantheistic," and that these neo-Sufis quietly abandoning the controversial aspects of the monistic worldview of Ibn ʿArabī and his disciples, is not correct.[11] El-Rouayheb

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[9] Basheer Nafi, "Taṣawwuf and reform in pre-modern Islamic culture: In search of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 42, issue 3, Arabic Literature and Islamic Scholarship in the 17/18 Century: Topics and Biographies (2002), pp. 307-355.

[10] These scholars are al-Qushāshī, al-Bābilī, al-Rūdānī, and ʿĪsā al-Thaʿālibī. More information about each one will be offered in this chapter.

[11] O'Fahey and Radtke survey the main characteristics of the movements which are described as neo-Sufi before they refute the term "neo-Sufism" without clarification or examination of its meaning. Among these characteristics is the rejection of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings, especially his doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd.* R. S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, "Neo-Sufism reconsidered," *Der Islam.* 70 (1), 1993: 52-87.

argues that al-Kūrānī stood firmly in the tradition of Ibn ʿArabī, al-Qūnawī, and the later *Fūṣūṣ* commentators.[12]

Alongside these articles and studies, a number of dissertations have been written about al-Kūrānī or related to his thought. Probably the first doctoral dissertation dedicated to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's thought is Atallah Copty's dissertation from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2004 entitled *Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Shahrazūrī (1025-1101/1616-1690) and his intellectual heritage: ḥadīth and Sufism in Medina in the 17th Century.*[13] Unfortunately, I was not able to examine this dissertation.

Two other doctoral dissertations about different aspects of al-Kūrānī's thought were written in Turkey. Omer Yilmaz wrote a dissertation entitled *Ibrahim Kurani: Hayati, Eseri Ve Tasavvuf Anlayişi* ("Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's life, works, and analysis of his Sufism"). In it, he mentions 5 teachers and 6 students. He mentions 74 works by al-Kūrānī and classifies them according to their topic (26 Sufism, 24 *kalām*, 6 *tafsīr*, 8 *ḥadīth*, 6 linguistic, and 4 other topics), in addition to 5 works attributed to al-Kūrānī, and gives a short description of all these works. Then, he lists 22 works to which he did not have access; ten of these works are described in this current work. Yilmaz's classification of al-Kūrānī's works according to their topics can be very misleading, since he combines theological discussions with Sufi thought based on the Quran and the Sunnah. Nevertheless, Yilmaz's descriptions of al-Kūrānī's works and his attempt to mention the libraries that contain copies of these works are a valuable contribution to al-Kūrānī studies. The other dissertation is Ahmet Gami's editing of al-Kūrānī's main grammar text *Inbāh al-anbāh ʿalā taḥqīq iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh.* This dissertation did not contain a study or an analysis of the

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[12] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 312 and after.

[13] the Ph.D. / אבראהים אבן חסן אלכוראני אלשהרזורי (1025-1101/1616-1690) : חדית' וצופיות באלמדינה במאה ה-11/17 Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004.

text. The author offered instead a short introduction of 35 pages for al-Kūrānī's life, teachers, students, and works.[14]

Another work related to al-Kūrānī is Saʿīd al-Sarrāj's dissertation, entitled *Maslak al-sadād li-l-Kūrānī wa-rudūd ʿulamāʾ al-maghrib ʿalayhi: Dirāsah wa-taḥqīq.*[15] The work is primarily about al-Kūrānī's main text on the theory of *kasb* and the refutation of Maghribī scholars. This work consists of two parts, the first part being the study and the second part the editions of three texts: al-Kūranī's *Maslak al-sadād* and two refutations by Maghribī scholars, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī's *al-Nubdhah al-yasīrah wa-l-lumʿah al-khaṭīrah* and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī's response. However, the author had limited access to manuscripts, which resulted in his editing of al-Kūrānī's text from only two manuscripts and led him to ignore more refutations from Maghribī scholars such as Yaḥyā al-Shāwī, a refutation that will be mentioned in chapter four.[16] Al-Sarrāj did not try to be comprehensive in listing al-Kūrānī's students, teachers, or even his works.

These are the main contributions to al-Kūrānī studies. Except for the articles mentioned above and the parts of El-Rouayheb's book, there is no academic work in any western language that attempts to offer a comprehensive study of al-Kūrānī's life, teachers, students, and thought. These are gaps that this present work aims to address.

[3.1] Al-Kūrānī's Life

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[14] Ahmet *Gemī*, *Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī: Inbāh al-anbāh ʿalā taḥqīq iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh*, Ph.D. thesis, Ataturk University in Erzurum, 2013. Gemī mentioned 8 teachers but he mistakenly included al-Shinnāwī (who died in Medina 1028/1619), among al-Kūrānī's teachers. He also mentioned 6 students and a list of 79 works by al-Kūrānī without any descriptions.

[15] The dissertation was submitted to The University of ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Saʿdī in Taṭwān, Morocco, in the academic year 2010-2011.

[16] Many thanks to Mohamed Outaher who provided me with parts of this thesis.

The previous chapter displayed how the Ḥijāz was very active intellectually in the 17ᵗʰ century. This chapter is dedicated to the life, teachers, students, and works of one of the the leading representative of a scholarly life in the Ḥijāz, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. His full name is Mullā Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kūrānī al-Shahrazūrī al-Kurdī al-Shāfiʿī al-Madanī, Abū Isḥāq, also known as Abū al-ʿIrfān.[17] His life and a number of his works are mentioned by several scholars and in various historical, travel, and bio-bibliographical (ṭabaqāt) works.[18] Several of the historians and travelers who mentioned him were his direct students; these provide us with relatively reliable information about his life. The most important sources from which other historians draw their material are al-ʿAyyāshī's *Riḥlah* and al-Ḥamawī's *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*. Moreover, al-Kūrānī's *thabat,* entitled *al-Amam li-īqāẓ al-himam*, in which he mentions some of the works he studied as well as some of his teachers, provides us with a more detailed picture of his life and works.

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[17] About Shahrazūr see Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), vol. 3, p. 375. About Kūrān see V. Minorsky, "The Guran," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943), pp. 75-103. See also Martin Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh, and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London: Zed Books, 1992), p. 109.

[18] See al-Kūrānī's life and works in: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Shullī Bā-ʿAlawī, *ʿAqd al-jawāhir wa-l-durar fī akhbār al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī (Yemen, Ṣanʿāʾ: Maktabat al-Irshād, 2003), p. 384; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-qarn al-sābiʿ* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, n. d), vol. 1, p. 11; Muḥammad Khalīl b. ʿAlī al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, n. d), vol. 1, p. 5; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār fī al-tarājim wa-l-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah bi-l-Qāhirah, 1997), vol. 1, p. 125; Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn, asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn* (Istanbul: Wakālat al-Maʿārīf al-Jalīlah, 1951), vol. 1, p. 35; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, ed. Aḥmad Būmizkū (Morocco, al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāḥ al-Jadīd, 2006), vol. 1, p. 141; Muḥammad b. al-Tayyib al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa-l-thānī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī & Aḥmad Tawfīq, in *Mawsūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996), p. 1787. This Encyclopedia, i.e., *Mawsūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib,* contains nine books of Moroccan biographies, *Nashr al-mathānī* is in volumes 3-6. The entry about al-Kūrānī is in vol. 5. Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 54; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 99; al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol.1, p. 478.

Al-Kūrānī's life can be divided into four phases: his early life and studies in his homeland, his work teaching in Baghdad for one year and a half, his residence in Damascus for four years, and finally his move to the Ḥijāz passing through Jerusalem and Cairo, before settling in Medina for the rest of his life.

[3.1.1] Al-Kūrānī's Early Life and Studies in his Homeland

Al-Kūrānī was born in Shawwāl 1025/October 1616 in the town of Shahrān in the Kurdish mountains. His initial studies with local teachers were relatively broad and comprehensive. He studied most of the intellectual sciences in his hometown, mainly from Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Kūrānī (d. 1078/1667) and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Kūrānī (d. 1050/1640).[19]

Al-Kūrānī states that he studied all the sciences of his time during this period except two: Prophetic Tradition (ḥadīth) and Sufism. He studied the Arabic language and the intellectual disciplines of *kalām*, logic, and philosophy, along with geometry (*handasah*) and astronomy (*hayʾah*). He then read lexicology, principles of jurisprudence, and Shāfiʿī *fiqh*. According to al-Ḥamawī and al-ʿAyyāshī, he studied all of these sciences in his homeland, then learned *tafsīr* from the scholars of his country without mentioning where or with whom.[20] However, in his *thabat* he mentions that he studied part of *Anwār al-tanzīl* by al-Bayḍāwī with Mullā Sharīf in Baghdad in 1055/1645. Later, he obtained another, higher *isnād* of this work through al-Qushāshī in Medina.[21]

Concerning the sciences of *ḥadīth* and Sufism, al-Ḥamawī and al-ʿAyyāshī report that al-Kūrānī did not think that studying *hadīth* in the traditional way through a chain of transmission still existed, stating that "I did not think that there is on earth anyone says:

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[19] For more information about these two scholars see the section about his teachers.

[20] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 476.

[21] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 73.

[someone] told us and recounted (*ḥaddathanā wa-akhbaranā*)."[22] Later, in Syria, Egypt, and the Ḥijāz, al-Kūrānī found that this science was still alive and taught with the traditional method of transmission. He says the same about Sufism: "I thought there was no one still reading, composing, and actually practicing it; I thought there are only the books which we have or some isolated people on mountaintops."[23] (*mā kunt aẓunn aḥadan yatadāwaluhu bi-l-qirāʾah wa-l-taṣnīf wa-l-munāzalah bi-l-fiʿl illā mā fī buṭūn al-dafātir aw ʿinda al-munqaṭiʿīn fī ruʾūs al-jibāl*).

[3.1.2] Al-Kūrānī in Baghdad

After the death of his father and the completion of his studies in his homeland, al-Kūrānī left with the intention of performing the pilgrimage and visiting the Prophet's tomb in Medina. During this time, he married and had a son. Upon arriving in Baghdad, he waited for several days with his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 12th/18th C.),[24] intending to join the *ḥajj* caravan. On the way to Mecca, his brother became very sick and could not continue the trip, so Ibrāhīm returned with him to Baghdad without performing the *ḥajj* that year.[25]

While taking care of his brother, al-Kūrānī extended his stay in Baghdad for two years. The people of Baghdad asked him to teach and he obliged, albeit with initial troubles teaching in Arabic. After much effort, he was able to teach in Arabic without difficulty. At this point of his life he was able to teach in Kurdish, Persian, and Arabic. Later, some Turkish students asked him to teach them in Turkish and using their own books, so he

[22] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol.1, p. 479-480.

[23] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 55; al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 480

[24] Also a scholar in his own right, see Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar*, p. 246; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 206.

[25] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 480.

learned yet another foreign language in a short time.[26] Learning these languages would enable him to compose all his works in Arabic during his life in the Ḥijāz, and to translate one text from Persian to Arabic alongside using the Persian texts that he mentioned in various works.[27]

Alongside his teaching, he continued to study in Baghdad. In *al-Amam* he mentions that he studied parts of al-Bayḍāwī's Quranic commentary *Anwār al-tanzīl* with Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Ṣiddīqī in both his hometown and in Baghdad in 1055 AH.[28] During his time in Baghdad, he became interested in Sufism due to his proximity to one of the most famous Sufi shrines, that of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166). One night, al-Kūrānī was contemplating his situation and his lack of knowledge about Sufism and his need for a master who could guide him. In front of the tomb of shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir, he asked God to lead him and direct him to the best path. In a dream, he saw shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir pointing in the direction of the West. When he awoke, he prepared himself to travel to Damascus. Al-Kūrānī states in *Masālik al-abrār* that he remained in Baghdad for almost a year and a half.[29] As mentioned above, he was in Baghdad in 1055. Probably he left Baghdad at the end of 1056/1647, because he mentions that he spent around four years in Damascus and another three months in Cairo before he arrived in Mecca in the season of *ḥajj* 1061. That means he left his hometown in 1054-55/1644-5, when he was around 30 years old.

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[26] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 56; al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 480.

[27] For example, he used *Dānish-nāme ʿAlāʾī* of Ibn Sīnā in *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, Ms: KSA, Medina: ʿĀif Ḥikmat 231, fol. 27b.

[28] Al-Kūrānī, *Amam*, p. 73.

[29] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār* (Ms: Istanbul: Koprulu 279), fol. 106b.

[3.1.3] Al-Kūrānī in Damascus

While in Damascus, al-Kūrānī lived in al-Madrasah al-Bādrāʾiyyah[30] in a *khalwah* that belonged to shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī (d. 1071/1661).[31] Shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī mentions in his *ijāzah* to al-Kūrānī that the latter was teaching in Damascus, and that numerous people studied with him.[32] Al-Kūrānī's *thabat* mentions that he studied with some distinguished scholars in Damascus, including ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī and the famous historian Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651),[33] between 1059 and 1060 AH.

Alongside his teaching in Damascus, he showed a special interest in Ibn ʿArabī's works, and frequently visited his tomb. In a discussion with a friend about some of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas, the friend mentioned that a contemporary scholar discussed this topic, and he brought up some of al-Qushāshī's (d. 1071/1661) treatises. Al-Kūrānī seemed interested, but he doubted that any of his contemporaries would be able to write such words, even suggesting that al-Qushāshī might have plagiarized them from earlier writers. Al-Kūrānī confessed his doubts to his friend, who brought him another treatise by al-Qushāshī entitled *al-Hālah fī dhikr huwa wa-l-jalālah.* This treatise shocked him and convinced him that this person was the teacher for whom he had been looking, the one to whom shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī had been referring in his dream.[34] While al-Kūrānī was in Damascus, he began to correspond with al-Qushāshī in Medina and received his books,

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[30] Established by the Baghdadi judge Najm al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bādrāʾī (d. Dhū al-Qaʿdah 655/November 1257). For more about this school and its history see ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī al-Dimashqī, *al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1990), vol. 1, p. 154.

[31] See ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī's *ijāzah* to al-Kūrānī: Ms. Jāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd 4849. [3a]; and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī*, p. 103.

[32] Ms. Jāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd 4849. [3a].

[33] More information about these scholars and other names that appear in his life will be provided in the section about his teachers and his students.

[34] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 58.

all of which increased his confidence and certainty that this person was the person for whom he was looking. After four years in Damascus, al-Qushāshī requested that he move to Medina, so he prepared himself and left Damascus for Egypt through Jerusalem and Hebron.[35]

[3.1.4] Through Cairo to the Ḥijāz

In Egypt, al-Kūrānī was preoccupied with his ultimate destination, so he did not intend to meet any scholars. Eventually, he needed to check some books that existed in some private libraries, so he met and studied with two Egyptian scholars: Shihāb al-Din al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) and Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī (d. 1075/1665). In *al-Amam* al-Kūrānī mentions that he read al-Tirmidhī's *ḥadīth* with Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī in 1061/1651. In *Masālik al-abrār* he says that he studied with al-Mazzāḥī works in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, without specifying any titles, and that he attended his lessons in al-Qasṭalānī's *al-Mawāhib al-ladunniyyah*.[36] Al-Ḥamawī added that al-Kūrānī read with al-Mazzāḥī parts of *al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* *ḥadīth* collections and some of *al-Minhāj*.[37] Al-Kūrānī mentioned also that he attended the celebration of completing reading the Quran (*khatm al-Qurʾān*) in al-Azhar with shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Shabrāmallisī.[38] In *Masālik al-abrār,* he specified that he remained in Egypt for three months minus three days. Since he left directly to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj*, we can assume that he left Cairo at the end of Shawwāl 1061/September 1651.[39] He travelled by sea from Suez to Jeddah and finally to Mecca where he performed the *ḥajj* and ʿ*umrah* before heading to Medina.

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[35] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 478 and after.

[36] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār,* fol. 105b.

[37] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 60. *Al-Minhāj* is al-Nawāwī's commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.

[38] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār*, fol. 125a.

[39] Ibn Iyās in his history entitled *Badāʾiʿ al-zuḥūr* describes the celebration for the departure of the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan in the middle of Shawwāl; see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuḥūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Ḥalabī, 1986), vol. 5, p. 278.

In Medina, he spent most of his time in the company of his teacher and spiritual guide Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī. He married his shaykh's daughter and became his *khalīfah* in several Sufi orders. He had three sons, all of them named Muḥammad: Muḥammad Abū Saʿīd, Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥasan, and Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir.[40] Al-Kūrānī died on Wednesday 18 *Jumādā I* 1101/27 February 1690, and was buried in the famous cemetery of *al-Baqīʿ*.[41]

[3.2] Al-Kūrānī's Education

Al-Kūrānī was well-versed in the intellectual sciences before leaving his hometown. He taught wherever he lived, first in Baghdad, then in Damascus, and finally in Medina. During the first period of his time in Baghdad and Damascus he was also looking to augment his spiritual education, which came to revolve around the person of al-Qushāshī.

His studies in his hometown were comprehensive, and he attempted to master every science related to the texts that he was studying. For example,[42] when he read *al-Hidāyah al-athīriyyah* by al-Abharī he studied with it geometry (*handasah*) and did not continue reading until he had consumed all that he could on the science of geometry and mastered it. During his readings in geometry, whenever he came across a reference to an astronomical idea, he would begin to study astronomy. Thus, he did not leave any science until he mastered it and verified it (*yūḥaqqiqahu*).[43] Al-Ḥamawī reports a statement by his

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[40] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 496.

[41] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 62.

[42] This is just an example of a text that he studied in his hometown. The texts that he read as well as his teachers will be mentioned later in the relevant chapters.

[43] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vo.3, p. 55; al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 479. For the concept of *taḥqīq* in intellectual sciences see Khaled El-Rouayheb, "Opening the gate of verification: The forgotten Arab-Islamic florescence of the 17th century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (May., 2006), pp. 263-281, p. 267; Robert. Wisnovsky, "Avicennism and exegetical practice in the early commentaries on the *Ishārāt*," *Oriens* 41 (2013), 349-378, p. 354; and Wisnovsky, "Towards a genealogy of

teacher Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf in which he says that al-Kūrānī's memory was strong so that if he read about a topic in a book and someone would ask him about it seven years later, he would tell him about the book with the exact page number.[44]

It seems that the formative period in his hometown was essential for his intellectual foundation, even though he mentioned reading some theological and philosophical texts with his teacher Mullā Sharīf in Medina. However, in my opinion his reading with his teacher Mullā Sharīf in Medina, and with al-Qushāshī, should be understood as a practice of the tradition of student-teacher relations out of respect for his teachers more than as a real learning activity. Its purpose may also have been to have higher *isnād*, as he mentioned in *al-Amam* that he read parts of al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl* with Mullā Sharīf in Baghdad, and again by a higher *isnād* with al-Qushāshī in Medina.[45]

In Baghdad, his interest in Sufism increased and he started reading Sufi texts on his own. It also seems that the idea of a spiritual guide (*murshid*) was important to him, and he began looking for a spiritual guide at an early stage, which led him to al-Qushāshī. In Damascus, he continued to teach and to read Sufi texts. His proximity to Ibn ʿArabī's tomb made him more interested in Akbarian thought. He also became more interested in *ḥadīth* studies while in Damascus. Al-Kūrānī admitted several times that he lacked knowledge in *ḥadīth* and Sufism. He would continue studying these two sciences until the

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Avicennism," *Oriens* 42 (2014) 323-363, p. 326. For the concept of *taḥqīq* in Sufism see Eric Geoffroy, "Spiritual realization (*al-tahqiq*) through daily awakening," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, vol. 53 (2013), pp. 37-47; William Chittick, *Ibn ʿArabi: Heir to the Prophets* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), pp. 69, 78; Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-ʿArabī's Cosmology* (State University of New York Press, 1998), in several places, see the index of Arabic words, p. 452; Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-ʿArabī's Metaphasic of Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), see (*ḥaqq*) in the index of names and terms, p. 452; Chittick, *Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul: The Pertinence of Islamic Cosmology in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld 2007), chapter three.

[44] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 480.

[45] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 73.

end of his life. It also appears that he began to be interested in collecting *ijāzah*s during his time in Damascus. In Cairo he met just two scholars of *ḥadīth*, most probably to ask them for *ijāzah*s since he read with them parts of *ḥadīth* works.

Al-Qushāshī's task to lead al-Kūrānī along the spiritual path was not easy, since the latter was already an established scholar in the intellectual sciences. Al-Qushāshī began by preventing al-Kūrānī from teaching the exoteric sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ẓāhirah*). He also prevented him from attending lessons in these subjects. Teaching intellectual sciences was al-Kūrānī's main career and he was a talented teacher, but al-Qushāshī wanted to train him to control his desires. Next, he encouraged him to enter *khalwah* (seclusion for spiritual contemplation) in *ribāṭ al-sulṭān* close to *bāb al-raḥmah*, one of the doors of the Prophet's mosque.[46] Al-Kūrānī told al-ʿAyyāshī that when he entered in the *khalwah*, al-Qushāshī sent another person in with him. This person was allowed to leave after 40 days, but al-Kūrānī was not allowed to leave until he had completed 70 days, which upset him greatly.[47] Al-Qushāshī later told him that educated people need more time because their minds are preoccupied by the intellectual sciences, while simple, ignorant people have clearer and purer minds on which it is easier to imprint divine knowledge.[48] Al-Ḥamawī mentions that al-Kūrānī entered the *khalwah* forty times, each time for forty days![49] Even if this number is an exaggeration, it reveals al-Kūrānī's desire to follow the path of Sufism and his seriousness in following the teachings of his teacher.

This new direction was not easy for al-Kūrānī. From his writings, it seems that he was frustrated with *waḥdat al-wujūd*, *waḥdat al-ṣifāt*, and other topics that were not structured

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[46] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 485.

[47] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 486.

[48] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 485.

[49] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 62.

as intellectual proofs. Al-Qushāshī encouraged him to be patient, with a promise that God would illuminate his heart. Al-Qushāshī described these efforts as a conversion from one religion to another, because conviction is a very high level of belief; no one would leave his conviction unless it were for a more convincing one,[50] and the new conviction should not contradict the first. In al-Kūrānī's case, he was moving within the various beliefs of the people of Sunnah and Jamāʿah, which are established in decisive proofs. The difference now was that the new conviction was higher, clearer, and more perfect.[51] After this period of training, al-Qushāshī allowed al-Kūrānī to teach and give *fatwā*s again. His *ḥadīth* and Sufi training appear clearly in all his works; Ibn ʿArabī and other Sufis such as al-Ghazālī and al-Qushayrī are mentioned frequently and almost all his works end with citations of several *ḥadīths* that fit the topic he is discussing, and he supports his arguments through prophetic statements.

Al-Kūrānī now had the advantage of having mastered the intellectual sciences in addition to gaining Sufi knowledge. His talent in the intellectual sciences allowed him to present Sufi ideas in a more convincing way. Al-ʿAyyāshī describes the great efforts al-Kūrānī made to present the ideas of Sufi scholars (*ʿārifīn*) in a way that was compatable with the view of the Mutakallimūn form (*qālib ārāʾ al-mutakallimīn*).[52] He compares the different styles in which al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī wrote by saying that the works of al-Kūrānī are more comprehensible because al-Qushāshī mainly depended on *kashf* and the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī alongside the evidence in the Quran and the Sunnah, and he rarely mentioned the proofs of the theologians. By contrast, al-Kūrānī was well established in intellectual topics and acquainted with the ideas of the theologians, and easily

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[50] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 531.

[51] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 531.

[52] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 533.

distinguished the true from the false. He was therefore able to present topics in the form of *kalām* discussions and to use the proofs of the theologians; his writings were thus understandable by exoteric scholars.[53]

Al-Kūrānī's style differs from that of his teacher al-Qushāshī in a way similar to the diference between the writings of al-Qūnawī and those of Ibn ʿArabī, as described by Chittick:

> Ibn ʿArabī's style resembles the stringing together of flashing jewels of inspiration far more than purely reasoned and logical discourse. But Qunawi from first to last is precise, orderly and logical in his argumentation, and his style often resembles that of a systematic philosopher much more than that of a visionary mystic.[54]

Al-Kūrānī's clear style of writing may explain why, a few years before al-Qushāshī's death, al-Kūrānī was responsible for answering the letters al-Qushāshī received. Still, the latter edited them by adding or deleting material, although sometimes he simply approved them without any change. Close to al-Qushāshī's death, he presented al-Kūrānī as his *khalīfah* and appointed him to teach in his place, to lead the sessions of *dhikr*, and to perform other duties of a Sufi leader such as to give guidance, to provide companionship (*ṣuḥbah*), or to dress the cloak (*al-khirqah*).[55]

Alongside his interest in Sufism, al-Kūrānī continued to teach the intellectual sciences. Several reports mention his teaching philosophical and theological books in Medina. In an *ijāzah* al-ʿAyyāshī obtained from al-Kūrānī[56] (dated 2 Muḥarram, 1074/6 August 1663), al-ʿAyyāshī lists many intellectual and Sufi texts that he studied with al-Kūrānī. Among these are parts of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by al-Jurjānī, *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah* by

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[53] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 530.

[54] William Chittich, "The last will and testament of Ibn ʿArabī's foremost disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī," *Sophia Perennis,* Volume IV, number 1, 1978, pp. 43-58, p. 43.

[55] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 486.

[56] Abū Sālim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī, *Itḥāf al-akhillāʾ bi-ijāzāt al-mashāyikh al-ajillāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), p. 122.

Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānbūrī, parts of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*[57] by Ibn ʿArabī,[58] and parts of *Anwār al-tanzīl* by al-Bayḍāwī.[59] In addition, he read with al-Kūrānī the *ijāzah* of Ibn ʿArabī to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Bahāʾ al-Din Ghāzī and he listed all the *ijāzah*.[60] In many cases, he mentions his *isnād* of these works, going back to their authors.[61] Elsewhere, al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that he read *al-Hidāyah al-athīriyyah* with al-Kūrānī during his year in Medina[62] and describes his study with al-Kūrānī as a reading for the purpose of verification and contemplation.[63]

By the time of al-Kūrānī, Sufi texts were suffused with philosophical and theological discussions. Jāmī's style in *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*, in which he discussed each idea from the point of view of philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*), theologians, and Sufis, became a model for future works. Al-Kūrānī went a step further and attempted to show the fundamental agreement of these three directions in seeking the truth. Al-ʿAyyāshī in his *Riḥlah* dedicated a few pages to discussing the differing methodologies of philosophers, theologians, and Sufis. He explains that he attended to this topic because some ignorant person may object to his including the ideas of philosophers with those of Sufis. He says that reading the works of *ḥukamāʾ* helps us to understand truths. Such reading is especially helpful with a shaykh like al-Kūrānī, who surpasses his companions and contemporaries because of his companionship with the great Sufi of his time (*ʿārif zamānihi*) after he mastered the intellectual sciences and grasped the ideas of the

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[57] Al-ʿAyyāshī says that the best commentary on this book is Jāmī's commentary. Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 524.

[58] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *Itḥāf al-akhillāʾ*, pp. 123-124.

[59] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 525.

[60] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 505.

[61] See his *isnād* in *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* to Ibn ʿArabī in *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 513.

[62] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 479.

[63] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 493.

ḥukamāʾ.[64] Al-ʿAyyāshī compares al-Kūrānī's path to that of al-Ghazālī, who mastered the intellectual sciences and then moved to the Sufi path.[65]

Beside his later interest in Sufism, and his resumption of teaching the intellectual sciences, al-Kūrānī continued to study ḥadīth by looking for possessors of ijāzahs in ḥadīth to study with them and obtain their ijāzahs. When al-ʿAyyāshī met al-Kūrānī in 1072-1073, al-Kūrānī himself asked al-ʿAyyāshī to guarantee him an ijāzah in his isnāds.[66] Al-ʿAyyāshī was originally from Morocco and had isnāds of the scholars of that region that al-Kūrānī did not have from his Mashriqī shaykhs. Al-Kittānī says that through al-Kūrānī the sciences of ḥadīth, riwāyah, and isnād were disseminated throughout the Islamic World. He used to ask for ijāzahs from the visitors to the Ḥijāz and from its residents. He also used to correspond with scholars in India and the Maghrib and other places to ask for their ijāzahs.[67] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nadawī in his thabat entitled Nafaḥāt al-Hind wa-l-Yaman bi-asānīd al-shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan repeats al-Kittānī's idea about al-Kūrānī's role in spreading the science of ḥadīth and isnād and described al-Kūrānī as the musnid of the 11th/17th century.[68] Al-Kūrānī's contribution to ḥadīth studies will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Al-Kūrānī's most famous thabat is al-Amam, but he also mentions his isnāds in other works, including his Janāḥ al-najāḥ (also called Lawāmiʿ al-laʾālī fī al-arbaʿīn al-ʿawālī) and Masālik al-abrār min aḥādīth al-Nabī al-mukhtār. His student al-Shams al-Dakdakjī al-Dimashqī mentions that al-Kūrānī also had al-thabat al-awsaṭ and al-kabīr.[69] Al-Kūrānī

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[64] Al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah, vol. 1, 496.

[65] Ibid., vol. 1, 496.

[66] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 489.

[67] Al-Kittānī, Fahras al-fahāris, p. 494.

[68] Muḥammad Akram al-Nadawī, Nafaḥāt al-Hind wa-l-Yaman bi-asānīd al-shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan (KSA, Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 1998), p. 20.

[69] Al-Kittānī, Fahras al-fahāris, p. 494.

wrote all these works on *ḥadīth* and *isnād* motiviated by the conviction that this science is distinct in the Islamic World.

Al-Kūrānī taught in Arabic for most of his life, and he composed several treatises on grammar and linguistics. In fact, the first work he composed was a linguistic treatise, even though he was not a native speaker of Arabic. It seems that he continued to have some difficulties with pronunciation, and al-ʿAyyāshī in the course of mentioning some notices on Quran readings (*qirāʾāt*) mentions how al-Kūrānī was happy to know that pronunciation of (*hāʾ*) can be different between a pure *hāʾ* and slant to *hamzah* (*hamzah musahhalah*). Al-ʿAyyāshī then comments that because of the dominance of the ʿujmah on al-Kūrānī's tongue, he could not pronounce *hamzah musahhalah.*[70]

As a teacher, he did not try to impose his thought in a domineering way. On the contrary, he preferred that a person not accept his ideas if he was not convinced.[71] He was humble in his teaching, and used to teach through discussion and to present his ideas by saying "maybe this," "this can be understood in this way," and "probably that means."[72] When al-Kūrānī was trying to explain to al-ʿAyyāshī the idea of *shayʾiyyat al-maʿdūm* (thingness of the nonexistent) in order to explain *waḥdat al-wujūd*, al-ʿAyyāshī felt upset with this idea because it looked similar to that of the Muʿtazilite school. Al-ʿAyyāshī in answer mentioned that al-Qushāshī had written a treatise to explain the difference between the Sufi idea of reality in knowledge (*lahu ḥaqīqah ʿilmiyyah*) as a level of existence and the idea of the Muʿtazilites. Al-Qushāshī's work on this topic is entitled *Nafḥat al-yaqīn wa-zulfat al-tamkīn li-l-muwaffaqīn.*[73]

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[70] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 472-473.

[71] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 533.

[72] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vo. 3, p. 62.

[73] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 536. For detailed discussion of this topic see Chapter Four.

Al-Kūrānī used to wear clothes like those of ordinary people in the Ḥijāz, and did not insist on wearing clothes that distinguished him as a scholar or Sufi.[74] Nor was he insistent upon occupying a special place while teaching, so if a stranger were to enter his circle it was difficult to know who was the teacher. His student al-Budayrī described him as one of the most generous people of his time, comparing him with Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī and other persons who are famous in Arabic tradition for their generosity. He says that al-Kūrānī used to receive enormous gifts and donations from Sultans, viziers, and princes, and that he used to spend everything on *mujāwirūn*, poor people, and visitors to Medina. He even used to borrow money to help others, so he was always in debt because of his generosity. Alongside his generosity to others he himself was an ascetic in his food and clothing.[75] Al-Barzanjī similarly records that during his 30 years in the Ḥijāz al-Kūrānī never went to a Ruler to ask him anything. He received huge numbers of presents and donations, which he used to distribute among needy people, and he never changed his way of clothing himself to use more expensive garments.[76] Al-Kūrānī used to read the books in the *waqf* of the Prophet's mosque and the books in the *khalwah* of Ṣibghat Allāh, a *khalwah* that later belonged to al-Shinnāwī and then to al-Shinnāwī's student Asʿad al-Balkhī.[77]

Al-Kūrānī did not travel too much, and he never studied in Turkey or Persia as A. H. Johns erroneously suggested.[78] Most of his intellectual preparation was in his homeland, and then in Medina with al-Qushāshī. Nevertheless, his humble personality made him

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[74] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vo. 3, p. 61-62.

[75] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Budayrī, *Bulghat al-murād fī al-taḥdhīr min al-iftitān bi-l-amwāl wa-l-awlād* (Egypt, Ṭanṭā: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah, 1992), p. 84.

[76] Al-Barzanjī, *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī ʿalā al-thaʿlab al-ghāwī* (MS: Istanbul: Laleli 3744), fol. 36a.

[77] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 61.

[78] A. H. Johns, "al-Kūrānī," *EI*, 2nd. Vol. v, pp. 432-3.

continue reading and asking scholars and visitors of the Ḥijāz for *ijāzahs.* He also received questions from a scholar from Yemen, and in his reply he described the questioner as his teacher. When a scholar famous in Quranic reading (*qirāʾāt*) came to the Ḥijāz, al-Kūrānī was keen to meet him and study with him, as we will see in the list of his teachers.

[3.3] Al-Kūrānī's Teachers[79]

1-Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Ṣiddīqī,[80] (d. 18 Ṣafar 1078/9 August 1667) b. Mullā Yūsuf[81] al-Qāḍī b. *al-qāḍī* Maḥmūd b. Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī al-Dawānī was the most influential person in the formative period of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's intellectual life. Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf was a Shāfiʿī scholar distinguished in the rational sciences. He was also interested in *tafsīr,* mainly al-Bayḍāwī, which had a clear rationalist tendency.[82] Later in life, Mullā Sharīf seems to have followed the path of Sufism, probably after his *ḥajj* in 1055 AH. What al-Kūrānī says about the lack of Sufi interest in his own hometown may explain why he became interested in Sufism in a later period of his life. When Ibn al-ʿUjaymī asked him about his Sufi shaykh, Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf replied that he followed this path through knowledge (*sulūkī bi-l-ʿilm*).[83]

Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf wrote two superglosses on al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr*, one of which discusses some of Saʿdī Afandī's gloss and the other some of Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb al-

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[79] I begin with his main teachers in the rational sciences: Mullā Sharīf and Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm; then I mention the most influential scholar in al-Kūrānī's life, al-Qushāshī. The rest of his teachers are arranged alphabetically.

[80] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 128; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 271; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 4, p. 280; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa-l-thānī*, p. 1788; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 325; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn,* vol. 10, p. 68; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 291.

[81] Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf's father Mullā Yūsuf was a scholar as well, writing glosses on al-Khayālī, al-Khaṭāʾī, and al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr* as well as a treatise on logic. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 326. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 128.

[82] El-Rouayheb mentions al-Bayḍāwī as the one of the most widely studied Quran commentaries in Ottoman scholarly. El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 118.

[83] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 325.

Kazarūnī's glosses. He also wrote a gloss on al-Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* as an arbitration (*muḥākamah*) between al-Ṭūsī and al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, as well as another gloss on *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* by Khawājah Zādah al-Rūmī,[84] as an arbitration between him and al-Ghazālī.[85]

Detailed information about his life and his intellectual preparation is lacking. We know only that he lived for a period of time in Damascus, and that he performed the *ḥajj* twice: the first time through Baghdad in 1055 AH, where he stayed in the Ḥijāz as a *mujāwir* for two years, and then returned to his home. The second time, he stayed in the Ḥijāz for a short period, then after the *ḥajj* he left for Yemen, where he traveled according to the Sufi way of *siyāḥah* until his death in the Yemeni town of Abb, on the 18th of Ṣafar 1078/9 August 1667.[86]

In *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, Ibn al-ʿUjaymī mentions that al-Kūrānī studied the following works with Mullā Sharīf: *Sharḥ Ādāb al-baḥth*, *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikmah* with parts of Mullā Zādah's and al-Maybudī's commentaries, parts of *Tahāfūt al-falāsifah* by Khwājah Zādah, *Ashkāl al-taʾsīs* by al-Samarqandī, parts of al-Jaghmīnī's commentary, all *al-Zawrā'* and its commentary by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, all of al-Fanārī's commentary on *Īsāghūjī*, the *Ḥāshiyah* of *al-Burhān*, *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī and the glosses of al-Jurjānī as well as those of others, part of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, parts of *al-Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī, and parts of *al-Futūḥāt* of Ibn ʿArabī.[87] During Mullā Sharīf's *mujāwarah,* we know that al-Kūrānī read with him parts of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif,* parts of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah,*[88] and

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[84] About Khawājah Zādah al-Rūmī see: International Symposium on Khojazāda Bursa, Turkey, Yücedoğru Tevfik, Koloğlu Orhan Ş, U. Murat Kılavuz, Gömbeyaz Kadir, Uludağ Üniversitesi. İlâhiyat Fakültesi, and Bursa (Turkey). *Uluslararası Hocazâde Sempozyumu (22-24 Ekim 2010 Bursa) Bildiriler,* 2011.

[85] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 128; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 272.

[86] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 272; al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam,* p. 129.

[87] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 99.

[88] Ibid., p. 325.

parts of *Fatḥ al-bārī* by Ibn Ḥajar.[89] These texts represent the extent of Mullā Sharīf's interest in Medina. One text is in intellectual theology, another is by Ibn ʿArabī in Sufism, and the third is a *ḥadīth* text. His interest in Sufism in the later period of his life prompted him to ask for the *ijāzah* from al-ʿAyyāshī, who was a student of al-Kūrānī.[90] As mentioned above, it seems that the transmitted sciences were not popular in his region, so he tried to acquire *isnād*s from people who possessed more.

2. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abū Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Kūrānī (d. 1050/1640).[91] He was one of al-Kūrānī's early teachers. Al-Kūrānī studied the Arabic language, rhetoric, logic, principles of religion, and principles of jurisprudence with him.[92] ʿAbd al-Karīm's father Mullā Abū Bakr (d. 1014/1605), known as *al-muṣannif* (the author), wrote a commentary on *al-Muḥarrar* by al-Rāfiʿī.[93] He also wrote two works in Persian: *Sirāj al-ṭarīq*[94] and *Riyāḍ al-khulūd*.[95] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī describes Mullā Abū Bakr as the scholar and the saint (*al-ʿālim al-walī*).[96] After studying with his father, ʿAbd al-Karīm traveled to study with Mullā Aḥmad al-Kurdī al-Mujalī, with whom he studied *Ithbāt al-wājib, Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, and *Sharḥ al-ʿAḍud* on *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥājib. Mullā Aḥmad al-Kurdī al-Mujalī was the student of Mirzājān al-Shirāzī, the student of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shirāzī, the

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[89] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 271; al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 129.

[90] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 326,

[91] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 129; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 2, p. 474; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 222; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, p. 99; al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib*, 103. All these works repeat *al-Amam* without any additional information.

[92] Ibn-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 99.

[93] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 129; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 1, p. 110; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 263.

[94] See: Muṣṭafá Dirāyatī and Mujtabá Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān: nuskhahʾhā-yi khaṭṭī-i Īrān (Fankhā) = Union catalogue of Iran manuscripts = Fihris al-muwaḥḥad li-l-makhṭūṭāt al-Īrānīyah*. 2011, vol. 17, p. 1000.

[95] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 129. One of his books in Arabic is published without any further information about him in the introduction. See Abū Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shafiʿiyyah*, ed. ʿĀdil Nuwayhiḍ (Beirut: Dār al-āfāq al-Jadīdah, 3ed, 1983).

[96] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 129.

student of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī. ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote a commentary on the Quran in three volumes in which he reached *sūrat al-naḥl*, as well as a book of sermons (*fī al-mawāʿiẓ*). Among his best-known students were Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣaffūrī al-Shāmī.[97]

One of al-Kūrānī's rational sciences *isnād* that traces back to al-Dawānī is through ʿAbd al-Karīm:

1- Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī ⟵ 2- ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kūrānī ⟵ 3- Mullā Aḥmad al-Kurdī al-Mujalī ⟵ 4- Mīrzājān al-Shīrāzī ⟵ 5- Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī ⟵ 6- Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī.
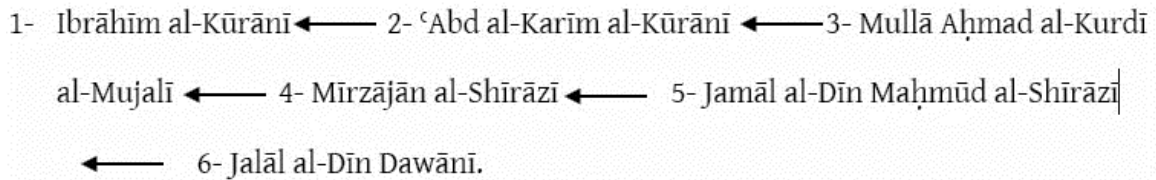
3. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī (12 Rabīʿ I, 991-19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071/5 April 1583-15 August 1661),[98] Aḥmad b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Badrī al-Dajānī, was from a distinguished scholarly family: his brother,[99] father, grandfather, and

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[97] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 226.

[98] See: Ṣiddīq b. Ḥasan al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-ʿulūm, al-Washī al-marqūm fī bayān aḥwāl al-ʿulūm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah), vol. 3, p. 165. The first volume of this book was edited by Suhayl Zakkār and published in Syria, Damascus, Wazārat al-Thaqāfah wa-l-Irshad al-Qawmī, 1978. Then Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah published the second and the third volumes without a date of publication. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 125; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 4, in *Mausūʿat Aʿlām al-Maghrib* and in vol. 2 in *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1492; al-Ifrānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj b. Muḥammad, *Ṣafwat man intashar min akhbār ṣulaḥāʾ al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd Khayālī (Morocco, al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Markaz al-Turāth al-Thaqāfī al-Maghribī, 2004), p. 217; al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 578; al-ʿAyyāshī, *Iqtifāʾ al-athar baʿda dhahāb al-athar: Fahras Abī Sālim al-ʿAyyāshī (11ᵗʰ/17ᵗʰCentury)*, ed. Nufaysah al-Dhahabī (Morocco, al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāḥ al-Jadīdah, 1996), p. 158; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 970; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 1, p. 343.

[99] Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Dajānī al-Qushāshī was born in Medina where he started as a Mālikī student with his teacher Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Tilmisānī. In 1011/1592 he traveled to Yemen to study with scholars who included al-Amīn b. al-Ṣīddīq al-Mirwāḥī, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-ʿAzib, Aḥmad al-Saṭīḥah al-Zaylaʿī, al-Sayyid ʿAlī al-Qabʿ, and ʿAlī b. Muṭayr. Among his works are a commentary on Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's *Ḥikam* in two volumes and a Sufi commentary on *al-Ajrūmiyyah*, similar to *Naḥw al-qulūb* by al-Qushayrī. Among his students are al-Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Ahdal and Muḥammad al-Farawī from Yemen. After studying with several scholars, he settled in Ṣanʿāʾ until his death on 1044 AH. See al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 300.

great-grandfather were all prominent scholars. His great-grandfather Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yāsīn (d. Jumādā I, 969/January 1562)[100] left the suburb of al-Dajāniyyah and moved to Jerusalem. Henceforth, al-Dajānī became the surname of his descendants. Aḥmad al-Dajānī, also known as Shihāb al-Dīn, was a Shāfiʿī scholar and was described as the pole (*al-quṭb*).[101] He studied with two distinguished Sufis, Muhammad Ibn ʿArrāq of Damascus (878-933 / 1473-1526)[102] and Ibn ʿArraq's own shaykh ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Fāsī (854-917/1450-1511),[103] both of whom were known as defenders of Ibn ʿArabī in the 16th century.

One of Shihāb al-Dīn's many sons, Yūnus, left Jerusalem and traveled to the Ḥijāz and Yemen and finally settled in Medina, where he came to be known as ʿAbd al-Nabī. In Medina, he sold second-hand wares known as *qushāshah* (old shoes, used clothing, and so on), which is why he became known as al-Qushāshī. His son Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Nabī, known as Muḥammad al-Madanī,[104] (i.e., Ṣafī al-Dīn's father), studied with his father and other scholars in the Ḥijāz and then traveled to Yemen to study with Sufi scholars there such as Bā-ʿAlawī, al-ʿAydarūs, and al-Jabartī.[105] Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qushāshī was born

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[100] See: Najm al-Dīn Muḥamad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾirah bi-aʿyān al-māʾah al-ʿāshirah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1997), vol. 3, p. 108; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ (Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1993), vol. 10, p. 518; Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Jāmiʿ karāmat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwah ʿAwaḍ (India, Gujarat: Markaz-e ahl-e Sunnat Barakat-e Reza), vol. 1, p. 547.

[101] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 578.

[102] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was born in Damascus and died in Mecca where his descendants continued to live until the time of al-Kūrānī. For more information, see: Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾirah*, vol.1, 59. Al-Ghazzī mentions his birth in 898/1492, vol. 1, p. 60.

[103] For more information about his life and works see Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab fī tārīkh aʿyān Ḥalab*, ed. Maḥmūd Ḥamad al-Fākhūrī and Yaḥyā Zakarīyā ʿAbbārah (Damascus: Wazarat al-Thaqāfah, 1972), vol. 1, p. 951. Also see the introduction of the edition of his book *Bayān ghurbat al-Islām*, ed. Ḥakīmah Shāmī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2007). Alongside Ibn ʿArraq, the other famous student is Shaykh ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1530), Ibid., p. 24.

[104] See: al-Nabhānī, *Jāmiʿ karāmat al-awliyāʾ*, vol. 1, p. 330.

[105] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 581.

on 12 Rabīʿ I 991/5 April 1583. First, he studied with his father and with several Yemeni scholars. After the death of his father in Ṣanʿāʾ in 1044, he returned to the Ḥijāz and accompanied his teacher Abū al-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī.[106] He married al-Shinnāwī's daughter and became his *khalīfah* in the Shaṭṭāriyyah order.[107]

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī was, like his forefathers, Qādirī in *ṭarīqah* and Mālikī in *fiqh*. When he met his shaykh, al-Shinnāwī, and followed him in the Shāṭṭāriyyah *ṭarīqah*, he followed him also with the legal school of the Shāfiʿites.[108] Henceforth, he would give *fatwās* in Mālikī and Shāfiʿī *fiqh*. Ṣafī al-Dīn became *muftī* of both the Mālikī and Shāfiʿī *madhāhib* in Medina, and the shaykh of the Naqshbandī and Shaṭṭārī orders.

Among the important shaykhs of al-Qushāshī were: (1) Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Nāfiʿ b. (the famous Sufi) Muḥammad b. ʿArrāq; (2) ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kujarātī, the student of al-Ghawth, the author of *al-Jawāhir al-khams*; and (3) al-Sayyid Ghaḍanfar al-Nahrawālī al-Sīrāwī, who studied with Muḥammad Amīn, the nephew of the great Sufi Mullā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.[109] Another important teacher of Ṣafī al-Dīn in the Ḥijāz was Ṣibghat Allāh al-Hindī al-Barrūjī (d. 1015/1606),[110] who studied with Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī al-

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[106] Abū al-Mawāhib Al-Shinnāwī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs (d. 1028/1619) studied with the scholars of Egypt of his time such as al-Shams Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ramlī, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, and Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-ʿAbbādī, Ḥasan al-Danjīhī (al-Suyūṭī's student). His father studied with the famous scholars Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, both of whom studied with Shaykh al-Islām Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī. Al-Shinnāwī also studied with Ṣibghat Allāh al-Hindī (d. 1015/1606) and through him became affiliated to Sufism and wore the *khirqah*. Al-Shinnāwī was buried in the famous cemetery of *al-Baqīʿ* in Medina. He wrote numerous books in *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, and Sufism such as: *Naẓm al-zawrāʾ* of al-Dawānī, *Minhāj al-taʾṣīl*, *Manẓūmah* entitled *Ṣādiḥat al-azal* and its *Sharḥ*, a *Dīwān* of poems, *Risālah fī waḥdat al-wujūd*, and a gloss on *al-Jawāhir al-khams* by al-Ghawth. About al-Shinnāwī see: Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah*, vol. 1, p. 588; al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 127; al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 216; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1244; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 221; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 1, p. 243; Al-Shullī, *ʿAqd al-jawāhir wa-l-durar*, p. 148; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1244.

[107] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 126.

[108] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 581.

[109] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 970.

[110] About Ṣibghat Allāh see: al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1245; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, p. 336.

Aḥmadābādī and who was also the direct connection to the Shaṭṭāriyyah order and its leader. He had in turn studied with al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī from India, known as al-Ghawth, the author of the main text in the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, *al-Jawāhir al-khams*. Ṣibghat Allāh arrived in Medina in 1005/1596 and built a *ribāṭ* that became a major Sufi center. He attracted a number of remarkable disciples, the foremost of whom was Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī, and through him the prominent scholars of the Ḥijāz Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.[111]

Al-Qushāshī was a prolific author with more than 50 works in *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl*, and Sufism.[112] Among his works are the *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-ʿaṭāʾiyyah* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Sharḥ ʿaqīdat Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī*, *Sharḥ ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafī*, a gloss on *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyyah* by al-Qasṭalānī, a gloss on *al-Insān al-kāmil* by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, and a *dīwān* of poetry.[113] Moreover, he is the author of the *Kalimat al-jūd fī al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd*; *al-Durrah al-thamīnah fī-mā li-zāʾir al-Madīnah*;[114] *al-Samṭ al-majīd*;[115] *al-Ifāḍah al-raḥmāniyyah ʿalā al-Kamālāt al-ilāhiyyah*, a gloss on ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jilī's work *al-Kamālāt al-ilāhiyyah*; and a poem in doctrine on which al-Kūrānī wrote an extended commentary, and which the latter then abridged.[116]

His students were most of the promenint scholars of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, and most of the scholars who visited Mecca or Medina were interested in meeting him or

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[111] See: Itzchak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (NY: Routledge, 2007), pp. 14, 69, 70.

[112] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, 126; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 122; al-Ifrānī in *Ṣafwat man intashar* says that his works total around 70, p. 219.

[113] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 126.

[114] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qushāshī, *al-Durrah al-thamīnah fī-mā li-zāʾir al-Nabī ilā al-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum Muḥammad ʿAzab (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 2000).

[115] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qushāshī, *al-Samṭ al-majīd fī shaʾn al-bayʿah wa-l-dhikr wa-talqīnihi wa-salāsil ahl al-tawḥīd* (India, Ḥaydarābād al-Dakan: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmiiyyah, 1910).

[116] For more information, see al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 597.

obtaining *ijāzah* from him. Al-Kūrānī studied with him, and attended readings of his lessons on more than one hundred works in various sciences.[117] Other distinguished students of al-Qushāshī were Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, Ibn al-ʿUjaymī (the author of *Khabāyā al-zawāyā),* and al-Ḥamawī (the author of *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl).* As a Sufi, al-Qushāshī and his student al-Kūrānī would become pivotal links between Sufi groups in India, Southeast Asia, and Arabia, as we will see in Chapter Four.

Al-Qushāshī is also described as *ṣāḥib al-zāwiyah*, because he had a *zāwiyah* in Medina.[118] Al-Ḥamawī described him as *al-ghawth* and *al-quṭb*.[119] There was a correspondence between al-Qushāshī and the famous Sufi Ayyūb al-Khalwatī (d. Ṣafar, 1071/1660), the founder of the Khalwatī order.[120]

As mentioned above, al-Kūrānī composed responses to the letters that al-Qushāshī received in the last years of his life, and then al-Qushāshī would approve them. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that most of these letters were questions and *istiftāʾ* (requests for legal opinions) from different parts of the Islamic World. Responding to questions from all around the Muslim world resulted in the spread of his works to Syria, Yemen, and many other parts of Muslim world. Al-ʿAyyashī says that some of these works were unknown to the people of the Ḥijāz, which is why al-Kūrānī later tried to collect them.[121]

4.   **ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī**. Al-Kūrānī mentioned that he studied *ḥadīth* with him in Medina in 1082/1672.[122]

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[117] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 100.

[118] Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1492.

[119] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 578.

[120] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 579; al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib*, p. 88.

[121] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 486.

[122] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 109b.

5.   ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685). He wrote an *ijāzah* to al-Kūrānī and al-Kūrānī's son Abū Ṭāhir. In the *ijazah* he listed the *isnād*s of Mahgribī scholars.[123]

6.   Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī al-Shāfiʿī al-Azharī (1014-1086/1606-1675).[124] Al-Kūrānī mentioned in *al-Amam* that he studied with him.

7.   Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Nāṣir.[125]

8.   Al-Bābilī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāhirī al-Azharī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1079/1668)[126] was from Bābil, a town in Egypt. He was a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* and studied with al-Nūr al-Zayādī, ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī, al-Burhān al-Laqqānī, Sālim al-Sanhūrī, ʿAlī al-Ajhūrī, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Mināwī, Ṣāliḥ al-Balqīnī, and other scholars.[127] He performed the *ḥajj* several times, and once he stayed as a *mujāwir* for ten years when numerous scholars from the Ḥijāz and elsewhere studied with him.[128] His student ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī al-Maghribī al-Makkī (d. 1080/1669-70) collected his *isnād*s and Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) collected the names of his students.[129] Al-Bābilī is an essential link between numerous scholars of the Ḥijāz and the scholars of Cairo.

9.   Al-Baʿlī, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī (18 Rabīʿ II 1005/9 December 1596 -17 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071/13 August 1661)[130] was known as Ibn Faqīh Fiṣṣah (a town in Baʿalbak). He studied

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[123] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 735.

[124] Ibid., pp.148, 166.

[125] Ibd., p. 166.

[126] See: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 4, p. 39; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-ʿulūm*, vol. 3, p. 166; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, vol. 2, p. 208; al-Shullī, *ʿAqd al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar,* p. 323; al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī*, p. 58; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, 296; Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 210.

[127] More names can be found in *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 4, p. 40.

[128] See some of them in *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 4, p. 40.

[129] Both of them are published; see ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī al-Maghribī al-Makkī, *Thabat Shams al-Dīn al-Bābilī al-musammā: Muntakhab al-asānīd fī waṣl al-muṣannafāt wa-l-ajzāʾ wa-l-masānīd*, and Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *al-Murābbā al-Kābulī fī-man rawā ʿan al-Shams al-Bābilī*, ed. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿAjamī (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2004).

[130] For further information about al-Baʿlī see *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī*, p. 32 as well as the introduction of the edition of this work: ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī, *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar fī ʿaqāʾid ahl al-athar,* ed.

with his father, and then moved to Damascus to study with scholars there such as Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī and al-Shams al-Maydānī. In Damascus he wore the Sufi *khirqah*. In 1029/1619, he travelled to Cairo where he studied with the famous Ḥanbalī scholars Manṣūr al-Buhūtī, Yūsuf al-Fattūḥī, and Mirʿī al-Karmī. He also studied with Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Muḥammad al-Bābilī, and other scholars.

ʿAbd al-Bāqī was one of al-Kūrānī's teachers in Damascus and, as was mentioned in his biography, it seems that al-Kūrānī stayed at a *khalwah* dedicated to shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī during his residence in Damascus.[131] ʿAbd al-Bāqī was also the teacher and foster father of the famous Sufi ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī.

10. Al-Daybaʿ, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaybānī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ashʿarī al-Zabīdī (d. 1076/1665).[132] He was well-known for his expertise in Quranic variant readings *(qirāʾāt)*. Al-Kūrānī used to read with him during his visits to Medina.[133]

11. Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī (2 Ramaḍān 1007 - 8 Ramaḍān 1091/29 March 1599 - 2 October 1680).[134] His *isnād* is the most important among the Maghribī *isnād*s; it links him to most of the of 10th/16th century Maghribī scholars.[135] Al-Kūrānī obtained an *ijāzah* from him by a request *(istidʿāʾ)* through Abū Sālim al-ʿAyyāshī.

ʿIṣām Rawwās Qalʿajī (Damascus: Dār al-Maʾmūn li-l-Turāth, 1987), p. 16; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 99; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, p. 482; al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Suḥub al-wābilah*, vol. 1, p. 183.

[131] Al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib*, p. 103.

[132] This is his name as listed in his *ijāzah* to al-ʿAyyāshī; after it are mentioned his chains in *qirāʾat*. Al-ʿAyyāshī, *Al-Riḥlah*, vol. 1, p. 476.

[133] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *Al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 473.

[134] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, 166.

[135] See: ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, *Fahrasat ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī wa-tusammā bi-l-ijāzah al-kubrā wa-maʿahā ijāzāt ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī li-Abī Sālim al-ʿAyyāshī wa-tusammā bi-l-ijāzah al-ṣughrā*, ed. Muḥammad bin ʿAzūz (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003), p. 15. This edition contains valuable information about ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī written by his son and edited from a manuscript, see pp. 17-70. The Algerian scholar Muḥammad Abī Shanab studied this *ijazah*; see *Etudes sur les personnages dans l'Idjaza du cheikh Abde-El Quadir El Fassy* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907).

12. **Al-Ghazzī, Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad** (977-1061/1570-1651).[136] From a distinguished scholarly family, his father Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 984/1577) was a student of Ibn Ḥajar, and all his brothers were scholars.[137] Najm al-Dīn studied with the scholars of Damascus such as Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yūnus al-ʿĪthāwī, Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Sulṭān, Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥamawī, and others.[138] He wrote around 80 books including *al-Kawākib al-zāhirah fī akhbār al-miʾah al-ʿāshirah*, *Sharḥ lāmiyyat Ibn al-Wardī*, *Sharḥ alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, and *Luṭf al-samar wa-qaṭf al-thamar min tarājim aʿyān al-ṭabaqah al-ūlā min al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar.*[139]

13. **Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Jamʿān al-Zabīdī** (d. 1076/1665).[140] In al-Kūrānī's works we will see that Isḥāq b. Jamʿān wrote several questions to al-Kūrānī and that the latter described him in his responses as his teacher. Also, al-Kūrānī mentioned him in *Masālik al-abrār* several times as his teacher.[141]

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[136] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, 129; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl,* vol. 1, p. 148, vol. 2, p. 144; ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 99. Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 4, p. 189. See also Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī's introduction of *Luṭf al-samar wa-qaṭf al-thamar min tarājim aʿyān al-ṭabaqah al-ūlā min al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Shaykh (Damascus: Ministry of Culture, n.d), vol.1, p. 11; al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī*, p. 63; Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 669.

[137] For his brothers see al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, vol. 1, p. 92.

[138] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 31.

[139] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 104.

[140] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 195.

[141] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 103b.

14.   **Al-Lāhūrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Mullā Saʿd Allāh** (d. 3 Ṣafar 1083/31 May 1672).[142] Al-Kūrānī mentioned him among his teachers in *al-Amam*.[143] Al-Lāhurī studied with the great Indian scholar Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī.[144] Al-Kittānī mentioned his birth year as 985/1577.[145]

15. **Al-Maghribī, ʿIsā al-Shādhilī** (d. Rajab 1080/December 1669)[146] was born in Morocco where he studied language, *fiqh*, and logic with scholars of that region. He then traveled to Algeria to study with its *muftī* Saʿīd Qaddūrah. He accompanied Abū al-Ṣalāḥ ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Waḥīd al-Sijilmāsī for more than ten years and studied *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, and *ʿaqīdah* with him. Among the texts he studied are *Ūṣūl Ibn al-Ḥājib* and al-Ījī's commentary with al-Taftazānī's gloss on Ibn al-Ḥājib; *Umm al-Barāhīn* and its commentary by al-Sanūsī, and his *al-Kubrā*; and the abridgment of *Ṭawāliʿ al-Anwār* by al-Bayḍāwī. He also studied *al-Jumal* by al-Khūnajī with its commentaries by al-Tilmisānī, Ibn Marzūq, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Qusanṭīnī.[147] In 1062/1652, he completed the *ḥajj* and stayed as *mujāwir* for three years. He then traveled to Cairo where he studied with scholars there such as ʿAlī al-Ajhūrī, Aḥmad al-Khafājī, Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī, and al-Shabrāmallisī. Then he returned to Mecca where he studied with scholars such as Tāj al-Dīn al-Mālikī, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ṭabarī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zamzamī, and ʿAlī Bā-Jamāl. He accompanied al-Bābilī and wrote his *thabat*. He also studied in Medina with al-Qushāshī. The literature of the 17th century in general and on the Ḥijāz in particular shows that many people studied

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[142] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 496; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, p. 424; al-Kūrānī, *Janāḥ al-najāḥ* (Ms. Koprulu 279), fol. 6b .

[143] Al-Kūrānī, *Amam*, p. 4.

[144] For more on al-Nahrawālī, see al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 944; al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Barq al-yamānī fī al-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (KSA, Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1967), the introduction.

[145] al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 949.

[146] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 3, p. 240; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-ʿulūm*, vol. 3, p. 166; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 564; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1561.

[147] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 3, p. 241.

logic with him.[148] Many of the scholars of the Ḥijāz were his students, including Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Nakhlī, and Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī.[149] ʿĪsā al-Maghribī was the main *shaykh* of this last, who was the author of *Khabāyā al-zawāyā.*

16. **Al-Mazzāḥī, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad, Abū al-ʿAzāʾim al-Qāhirī** (d. 17 Jumādā II 1075/January 1665)[150] was an Azharī Shāfiʿī and Shaykh al-Qurrāʾ in Egypt. Among his teachers were the famous Egyptian Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Sālim al-Sanhūrī, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Zayādī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Subkī, and Sālim al-Shabshīrī. Al-Muḥibbī mentions that al-Mazzāḥī studied the rational sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyyah*) with more than 30 scholars before he started the *iftāʾ* and teaching in al-Azhar.[151] Many famous scholars studied with him, including al-Shams al-Bābilī, al-Shabrāmallisī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣaffūrī, Manṣūr al-Ṭūkhī, Muḥammad al-Buhūtī al-Ḥanbalī, and most of the Shafiʿī scholars in Egypt during his lifetime.[152] He wrote a gloss on *Sharḥ Manhaj al-ṭullāb,* a Shāfiʿī *fiqh* text by Zakariyā al-Anṣārī, and a treatise on four readings of the Quran in addition to the ten famous readings. Al-Kūrānī read with him parts of *al-Ṣaḥīḥayn, Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī,* parts of *al-Rawḍah,* and *Sharḥ al-Minhāj* of al-Muḥallī.

17.   **Mubārakah al-Ṭabariyyah,** the sister of Quraysh al-Ṭabariyyah.[153]

18.   **Muḥammad b. Mḥammad al-Dimashqī.[154]**

19.   **Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ al-Dalāʾī.[155]**

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[148] See, for example: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 3, p. 241; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, pp. 254, 378.

[149] Al-Muḥibī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 3, p. 242.

[150] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 130; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 2, p. 210; al-Shullī, *ʿAqd al-jawāhir wa-l-durar*, 315; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, p. 237.

[151] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 2, p. 210.

[152] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 211.

[153] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 166.

[154] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 70b.

[155] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 166.

20.   Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Mirghanī al-Sūsī.[156]

21.   Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sawdah al-Fāsī.[157]

22.   Nūr al-Dīn b. Muṭayr.[158]

23.   Quraysh bint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabariyyah (d. 1107/1696).[159] She was the daughter of Imām ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, a scholar of ḥadīth. Moreover, she was considered one of the seven Ḥijāzī scholars who revived ḥadīth studies in the 11th/17th century.[160]

24.   **Al-Rūdānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Fāsī al-Makkī** (1037-1094)[161] was born in Tarūdānat in the Maghrib and traveled in North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Istanbul, and finally settled in the Ḥijāz. He studied with ʿAlī al-Ajhūrī, Khayr al-Dīn al-Ramlī, al-Bābilī, Aḥmad al-ʿAjamī, Abū Mahdī al-Thaʿālibī, Saʿīd Qaddūrah al-Jazāʾirī, Aḥmad al-ʿAjamī, and other scholars. Among his students were Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī, Ilyās al-Kūrānī, Abū al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī, and Sālim al-Baṣrī. He wrote a book to combine the six ḥadīth works entitled *Jamʿ al-fawāʾid li-jāmiʿ al-uṣūl wa-majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*.[162] His *thabat*, entitled *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf*, has been edited and published. He was famous for his work in astronomy and invented a special astrolabe, and wrote a treatise to explain his invention, entitled *al-Nāqiʿah ʿalā al-ālah al-jāmiʿah*.[163]

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[156] Ibd., p. 166.

[157] Ibid., p. 166.

[158] Ibid., p. 167.

[159] Ibid., p. 941.

[160] Ibid., p. 941.

[161] Al-Nadawī, *Nafaḥāt al-Hind wa-l-Yaman*, p. 81; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 425.

[162] Khālid al-Kurdī al-Naqshbandī wrote a gloss on it.

[163] The text has been published and translated into French. See: Charles Pellat, « L'astrolabe sphérique d'al-Rūdānī, » *Bulletin d'études orientales*, T. 26 (1973), pp. 7-10, 12-80, 82; Charles Pellat, « L'astrolabe sphérique d'al-Rūdānī, » *Bulletin d'études orientales*, T. 28 (1975), pp. 83-165.

25. **Al-Ṣaffūrī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Dimashqī** (d. Ramaḍān 1082/January 1672).[164]

Al-Muḥibbī describes him as the great *muḥaqqiq* and as one of the best scholars of his time, *faqīh*, *muḥaddith*, *uṣūlī*, and *naḥawī*.[165] He studied the Quran and *tajwīd* with his father, and then he travelled to al-Azhar where he accompanied ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī. He also attended the lessons of Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Aḥmad al-Muqrīʾ, Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wārith al-Bakrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Maydānī, Ismāʿīl al-Sanjīdī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Anṣārī al-Maghribī, and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kūrānī. He wrote *ijāzas* to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Muḥammad al-Barzanjī, and Ibn al-ʿUjaymī.[166] Al-Muḥibbī mentions that he wrote many treatises, but only listed by name a commentary on al-Ghazālī's statement "*laysa fī al-imkān abdaʿ mimmā kān.*" Kaḥḥālah, in *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, adds to this list *Nashr al-aʿlām bi-bayān ishārāt al-aʿlām*, and *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.[167]

26. **Zayn al-Sharaf al-Ṭabariyyah**, the sister of Quraysh al-Ṭabariyyah.[168]

Al-Kūrānī's contacts with other scholars of his time

Alongside the above-mentioned scholars, al-Kūrānī was in contact with other distinguished scholars of his time, but without having a student-teacher relationship. He is said to have met Muḥammad al-Khalwatī, although intellectual exchange was said to have taken place.[169] He also was in correspondence with the famous Sufi ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī about some theological issues that will be mentioned in Chapter Four.

Another important scholar with whom al-Kūrānī met and had intellectual discussions is Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khātūnābādī (d. 1116/1704), who commented on al-Kūrānī's gloss

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[164] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 2, p. 467.

[165] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 467.

[166] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 226.

[167] Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn,* vol. 2, p. 199.

[168] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 166.

[169] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 484.

on al-Dawānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah.*[170] Khātūnābādī mentions at the beginning of his work, entitled *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah,* that he met al-Kūrānī in Medina when he went for pilgrimage and that they had discussions that motivated him later to comment on al-Kūrānī's gloss. It seems that al-Kūrānī's influence extended to other topics, for Khātūnābādī wrote two works on determination and free well (*al-jabr wa-l-ikhtiyār*), the topic that brought al-Kūrānī much criticism. Khātūnābādī also wrote a treatise on a topic that al-Kūrānī addressed in several works: anthropomorphism (*tajsīm*). From the title of the work, it seems that Khātūnābādī wrote it as a response to a question from al-Kūrānī; it is entitled *Risālah fī jawāb al-Kūrānī fī nafy luzūm al-tajassum wa-l-ittiḥād wa-l-ḥulūl.*

This wide list of teachers reveals al-Kūrānī's excellent preparation in various intellectual and transmitted fields. In his homeland, Kurdistan, al-Kūrānī received training in most of the intellectual sciences. Kurdistan, as explained by El-Rouayheb, was an important center of intellectual activity in the 16th century and played a significant role in reviving intellectual life in the Ottoman Empire, the Ḥijāz, and Southeast Asia.[171] In Damascus and Cairo, al-Kūrānī began to pay more attention to the transmitted sciences, especially jurisprudence and *ḥadīth*. In the Ḥijāz, al-Kūrānī received his main Sufi training and preparation, although his interest in Sufism had begun many years earlier. His interests in the Ḥijāz were not limited to Sufism; he continued his interest in *ḥadīth*, along with pursuing intellectual and transmitted sciences through several scholars mentioned above. This great knowledge brought him numerous students from all over the Islamic world, as we will see now.

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[170] MS. Daneshgah-2386 M.

[171] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 13 and after.

[3.4] al-Kūrānī's Students

ʿAbd Allāh Mirdād b. Abī al-Khayr in *Nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar fī tarājim afāḍil Makkah min al-qarn al-ʿāshir ilā al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar* says that most of the *isnād*s of the scholars in Syria, Egypt, Yemen, and the Ḥijāz return back to three persons: ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad al-Nakhlī, and Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī.[172] All of them were students of al-Kūrānī and numerous of their *isnād*s go through him. Al-Kittānī in *Fahras al-fahāris* repeats the same claim and attributes it to Abū al-Fayḍ al-Zabīdī in one of his *ijāzah*s.[173] He says that al-Nakhlī and al-Baṣrī are the sources of the *isnād* in the 12th/18th century.[174] One can also include India in the influenced areas, since most of the *isnād*s in India go back to Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, who gained his *isnād*s through Abū Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.[175]

Numerous scholars studied with al-Kūrānī for short periods of time during the *ḥajj* season in order to obtain an *ijāzah*. Thus, many scholars mention al-Kūrānī in their *isnād*s as their teacher. It is difficult to list all of them, since almost any scholar who passed through the Ḥijāz for the *ḥajj* probably met al-Kūrānī or attended his lessons and later mentioned him in their *ijāzah*s. For example, his name appears about 90 times in al-Kittānī's book *Fahras al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt.*[176] Therfore, I will mention his most prominent students, who met him and studied with him at some length. I will then mention other students who obtained an *ijāzah* from al-Kūrānī but for whom we do not have a clear idea regarding the nature of their studies with him. Both groups will be ordered

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[172] Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar,* p. 167.

[173] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 199.

[174] Ibid., p. 251.

[175] Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Dihlawī, *al-Irshād ilā muhimmāt al-isnād*, ed. Badr b. ʿAlī b. Ṭāmī al-ʿUtaybī (N.P: Dār al-Āfāq, 2009), p. 25.

[176] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris,* vol.3, p. 8. The book is published in three volumes, but the first two volumes that contain the text have continuous pagination so I have not mentioned the volume, while the third volume contains the indices and its pagination starts from the beginning so it is necessary to mention volume number.

alphabetically. In cases where a person has a well-known nickname, I mention it at the beginning for ease of reference.

His Prominent Students:

1. **ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkīlī** (d. 1104/1693). He spent about 20 years in the Ḥijāz. In his work *ʿUmdat al-muḥtājīn* he provides glimpses of life in the holy cities, names the teachers with whom he studied, and lists the Sufi orders with which he became acquainted. He first studied the Shaṭṭāriyyah with the nominal head of the order, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, in Medina, and continued under his successor Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. It was especially with the latter, to whom he owed his *ijāzah* to teach the *ṭarīqah*, that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf established a close relationship.[177] Rinkes says that al-Kūrānī sent ʿAbd al-Raʾūf his *Kashf al-muntadhir limā yarāhu al-muḥtaḍir*, which the Malay duly adapted to correct the beliefs of the Sumatrans with relation to death.[178]

2. **ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Khānī al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī** (d. 1095/1684) was born in Aleppo and studied with scholars there. Then he traveled as a trader to Egypt, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Turkey (*al-Rūm*), and the Ḥijāz. Later, he left the world of business and returned to study with his brother, the scholar Qāsim al-Khānī.[179] He moved to the Ḥijāz for *mujāwarah* and settled there until the end of his life. In Medina, he accompanied Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī until he became a famous scholar in his own right and obtained some

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[177] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Kurdish ʿulama and their Indonesian disciples," in *De Turcicis aliisque rebus commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati* [= Utrecht Turcological Series, vol. 3]. Utrecht: Instituut voor Oosterse Talen en Culturen, 1992, pp. 205-227. The citation is from an e-copy on the author website. It is a revised version also published in *Les Annales de l'Autre Islam* 5 (1998), 83-106.

[178] Douwe Adolf Rinkes, "Abdoerraoef van singkel; bijdraqe tot de kennis van de mystiek op Sumatra en Java," Directrische Drukkerij Nieuwsblad van Friesland, 1909. From Elizabeth Anne Todd, *Sullam al-Mustafidīn,* Master's thesis at The Australian National University, 1975, xxi.

[179] See El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 235.

official positions.[180] Before his death on 12 Ṣafar 1095/30 January 1684 in Medina, he spent several years in Egypt as a representative of Medina in the Ottoman Empire. Al-Ḥamawī says that he corresponded with him on many occasions and that they even exchanged poetry, but he mentions only one book, entitled *al-Risālah al-laṭīfah fī al-funūn al-munīfah.*[181]

3. **ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī al-Makkī, Abū Sālim** (d. 4 Rajab, 1134/20 April 1722)[182] was one of the main *ḥadīth* scholars in the Ḥijāz. He studied with 70 different scholars; among the most famous were ʿIsā al-Maghribī al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bābilī, ʿAbd Allāh Bā-Qashīr al-Makkī, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. His *thabat* is entitled al-*Imdād fī maʿrifat ʿulū al-isnād.*[183]

4. **Abū al-Mawāhib al-Baʿlī, Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī** (d. 28 Shawwāl 1126/6 November 1714)[184] was the son of shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī, who was listed among al-Kūrānī's teachers. He wrote a treatise on *Qirāʾat Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim*, and completed some commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* that his father had begun. Abū al-Mawāhib studied with numerous

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[180] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah,* vol. 1, p. 436; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 2, p. 434; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 156.

[181] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 157.

[182] For more information about him, see al-ʿArabī al-Dāʾiz al-Faryāṭī, *al-Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī al-Makkī, Imām ahl al-ḥadīth bi-l-masjid al-ḥarām* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 1426/2005). Also his *thabat* entitled *al-Imdā fī maʿrifat ʿulū al-isnād*, ed. Al-ʿArabī al-Dāʾiz al-Faryāṭī (KSA, Riyāḍ: Dār al-Tawḥīd li-l-Nashr, 2006); Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjlūnī, *Ḥulyat ahl al-faḍl wa-l-kamāl bi-ittiṣāl al-asānīd bi-kummal al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusayn (Jordan, ʿAmmān: Dār al-Fatḥ li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 2009), p. 104; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 193; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4, p. 440; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar,* p. 290; Voll, "'Abdullah ibn Salim al-Basri and 18th century hadith scholarship," pp. 356-372. See also the introduction of Muḥammad Muḥammadī al-Nūristānī of al-Baṣrī's' book *Khatm Sunan al-Imām Abī Dāwūd* (KSA, Riyāḍ: Dār Aḍwāʾ al-Salaf, 2004), p. 4 and after.

[183] Al-Baṣrī, *al-Imdā fī maʿrifat ʿulū al-isnād*, p. 122.

[184] For his life, teachers, and study, see al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib*; al-ʿAjlūnī, *Ḥulyat ahl al-faḍl wa-l-kamāl*, p. 52; al-Najdī, *al-Suḥub al-wābilah,* vol. 1, p. 333; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar,* vol. 1, p. 67; al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār,* vol. 1, p. 135; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris,* p. 505.

scholars in Syria, Egypt, and the Ḥijāz, some of whom are mentioned in his *thabat*.[185] Among his teachers were Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī (ʿAbd al-Ghanī's father), Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, al-Shams al-Bābilī, Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laqqānī, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

5.   **Abū Ṭāhir, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Samīʿ b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** (d. 1081-4 Ramaḍān 1145/1671-18 February 1733)[186] was born in Medina and studied with his father, along with Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, and numerous scholars of the Ḥijāz such as al-Nakhlī and Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī.[187] Al-Kittānī mentions that Abū Ṭāhir copied more than 70 books by his own hand, and that he – al-Kittānī – has a *majmūʿ* written in Abū Ṭāhir's hand containing collections of *al-Fuṣūṣ* commentaries. Abū Ṭāhir played an essential role in spreading the *ḥadīth isnād* in India and Indonesia. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1176/1762) studied with him in Medina and then returned to India charged with a vision of reviving Islam in that region.[188]

6.   **Al-ʿAyyāshī, Abū Sālim,**[189] ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-ʿAyyāshī al-Maghribī (d. 1090/1679),[190] studied in Fās with his brother ʿAbd al-Karīm and many other scholars, including Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Abbār, shaykh Mayyārah, Abū Zayd b. al-Qāḍī, and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī. Then he traveled to the East and studied in Egypt with most of its distinguished scholars, including al-Nūr al-Ajhūrī, al-Shihāb al-Khafājī, ʿAlī al-Shabrāmallisī, al-Shams al-Bābilī, and Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī. In 1072/1661 he

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[185] Al-Baʿlī, *Mashyakhat Abī al-Mawāhib.*

[186] Anonymous, *Tarājim aʿyān al-madīnah al-munawwarah fī al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, p. 105; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 4, p. 27; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 495. In *Tarājim aʿyān al-madīnah* there are entries for three grandsons of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī

[187] See al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 496.

[188] Ibid*.,* 136; also, al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 321.

[189] Even though Al-ʿAyyāshī was one of al-Kūrānī's students, al-Kūrānī asked him to guarantee him his *ijāzah*s.

[190] Al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, p. 396; al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār*, vol. 1, p. 123.

performed the *ḥajj* and stayed for one year in the Ḥijāz as *mujāwir*.[191] He visited Damascus, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Egypt and collected a vast number of *ijāzah*s and *isnād*s. In his travels for the *ḥajj*, when the caravan entered Cairo, al-ʿAyyāshī attended the lessons of ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī[192] and Mūsā al-Qulaybī al-Mālikī, who was one of the greatest students of al-Ajhūrī.[193] Shaykh Mūsā was affiliated with the Shaṭṭārī order through al-Shabrāmallisī, who took it from al-Shinnāwī.[194]

7.   **Al-Barzanjī, Muḥammad b. Rasūl**, (d. 1103/1691).[195] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī was born on Friday night, 12 Rabīʿ I 1040/19 October 1630. He received his early education from his father and other *ʿulamāʾ* of Shahrazūr such as Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Kūrānī. He traveled to Hamadan, Baghdad, Damascus, Constantinople, and Egypt, where he learned from renowned scholars. He arrived in Medina around 1068/1658 and studied there with Mullā Ibrāhīm, and was initiated into Sufism by Ṣafī al- Dīn al-Qushāshī. Al-ʿAyyāshī describes him as al-Kūrānī's most outstanding student.[196] Al-Barzanjī wrote around 80 treatises, the most famous of which is *al-Ishāʿah fī ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*, which has been printed several times. Among his other printed works are *Sadād al-dayn wa-sidād al-dīn fī ithbāt al-najāt wa-l-darajāt li-l-wālidayn*,[197] *al-Sanā wa-l-sunūt fī-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-qunūt*,[198] *al-Ṣāfī ʿan al-kadar fī-mā jāʾa ʿan*

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[191] This was not his first visit to the Ḥijāz, but it was the one during which he wrote all the details of the trip and his life.

[192] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 228.

[193] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 242.

[194] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 243.

[195] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 286; al-ʿAjlūnī, *Ḥulyat ahl al-faḍl wa-l-kamāl,* p. 128; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 479.

[196] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥla al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol.2, p. 77.

[197] Published in Egypt by Maṭbaʿat al-Liwāʾ in the year 1323/1905, and more recently in Lebanon by Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2006.

[198] Published in Beirut by Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2004.

sayyid al-bashar fī al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar,[199] *al-Qawl al-mukhtār fī ḥadīth: "taḥājjat al-jannah wa-l-nār,"*[200] *Al-Nawāfiḍ li-l-rawāfiḍ (Mukhtaṣar al-Nawāqiḍ ʿalā al-rawāfiḍ* by Mīrzā Makhdūm),[201] and *Najāt al-hulk fī fahm maʿnā "mālik al-mulk."*[202] To date, only the above works have been studied or published.[203] Another important book that should be mentioned is *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī ilā al-Jānib al-gharbī fī ḥall mushkilāt Ibn ʿArabī.* The basis of this work is al-Kāzarūnī al-Makkī's *al-Jānib al-gharbī fī ḥall mushkilāt Ibn ʿArabī* ("The Western Approach to Solving the Problems of Ibn ʿArabī"). *Al-Jābnib* was written in Persian at the request of the Sultan Selim. Al-Barzanjī translated the book into Arabic and provided it with various additional explanations and comments. The influence of al-Kūrānī is evident in the frequent citations and references to his opinions. Al-Barzanjī died in Muḥarram, 1103/September 1691, and was buried in the famous cemetery of *al-Baqīʿ* in Medina.

8. **Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, Muḥammmad Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī,** (d. 1113/1702).[204] He was the author of one of the most important Sufi bio-bibliographies about Sufi centers and Sufis of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, entitled *Khabāyā al-zawāyā,* in which he describes 15 Sufi *zāwiyahs* in Mecca along with their sheikhs and their activities. He also mentions the chains of transmission of the leaders of these *zāwiyahs* and gives us a clear idea about the transmission of these Sufi orders and their arrival in the Ḥijāz. Moreover, the book

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[199] A critical edition of this book was prepared as part of a Master's thesis in the department of ʿAqīdah, al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah in Medina, Saudi Arabia, in the year 1415/1994.

[200] Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, *Al-Qawl al-mukhtār fī ḥadīth: "taḥājjat al-jannah wa-l-nār,"* published with other works as a collection entitled *Liqāʾ al-ʿashr al-awākhir bi-l-masjid al-ḥarām*, ed. Al-ʿArabī al-Dāʾiz al-Firyāṭī (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2003).

[201] A critical edition of this book was prepared as part of a PhD dissertation in the department of ʿAqīdah, al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah in Medina, Saudi Arabia, in the year 1412/1991.

[202] Beirut, Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2005.

[203] For a list of his other works see: al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, p. 303.

[204] See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar*, p. 167.

contains about 120 names of sheikhs who lived in Mecca and with whom the author met personally and studied.[205]

9. **Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm b. Khiḍr b. Dāwūd al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī** (1138/1726).[206] A Sufi and Shāfiʿī by law. He studied in his homeland and then moved to Damascus after 1070/1660. In Damascus he studied with several distinguished scholars such as Najm al-Dīn al-Faraḍī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣaffūrī, Muḥammad al-Balbānī, and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. He then traveled to the Ḥijāz and studied with Aḥmad al-Nakhlī al-Makkī, Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, Sulaymān al-Maghribī, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. Most of his works are in the rational sciences. Al-Murādī in *Silk al-durar* mentions the following works by him: a supergloss on ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarāyinī, up to the chapter about *Istiʿārāt*; a gloss on *Sharḥ al-Istiʿārāt*; a commentary on al-Dawānī's *Sharḥ a-ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafiyyah*[207] and a gloss on it; a supergloss on Mullā Yūsuf al-Qarābāghī; a gloss on *Sharḥ al-ʿawāmīl al-Jurjāniyyah* by Saʿdullāh; a gloss on *Sharḥ jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*;[208] a gloss on al-Fanārī's *Shraḥ Īsāghūjī*; a gloss on ʿIṣām's *Sharḥ* on *Risālat al-waḍʿ*; a gloss on al-Tafazānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid*; a gloss on al-Qayrawānī's *Sharḥ al-Sanūsiyyah*; and others.[209]

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[205] His entry about al-Kūrānī is relatively short, but he mentions some of al-Kūrānī's teachers and what he studied with them. The names which he mentions are ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Kūrānī, Muḥammad Sharīf al-Ṣiddīqī, and al-Qushāshī.

[206] Al-ʿAjlūnī, *Ḥulyat ahl al-faḍl wa-l-kamāl*, p. 85; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 1, p. 272; Samer Akkach, *Intimate Invocations: al-Ghazzī's Biography of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731)* (Leiden: Brill: 2012), p. 224.

[207] In the margin of the edited copy of *Silk al-durar* he mentions that another copy says: "probably [al-ʿAqāʾid] al-ʿAḍudiyyah," vol. 1, p. 272.

[208] *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* is a book in *uṣūl al-fiqh* by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) that received numerous commentaries. One of the main commentaries is Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1459) a*l-Badr al-ṭāliʿ fī ḥall Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, on which Ilyās al-Kūrānī wrote his gloss.

[209] Al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 1, p. 272-273.

10. **Al-Nakhlī, Aḥmad,** (1044-1130/1635-1718).[210] "Al-Nakhlī" refers to Nakhlah, a town in Yemen. He was born and raised in Mecca and studied with ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd Bā-Qashīr al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī al-Maghribī al-Miknāsī (known as al-Maḥjūb), Muḥammad al-Rūdānī al-Maghribī, al-Bābilī, ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī, Muḥammad b. ʿAllān al-Ṣiddīqī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and others,[211] and later became a teacher in the *ḥaram*. Al-Nakhlī was affiliated with the Naqshbandiyyah through Mīr Kulāl b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī.[212]

11. **Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Qalʿī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī** (d. 1149/1737).[213] The judge of Mecca, he studied with ʿĪsā al-Maghribī, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī, Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī, ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and others.

12. **Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Qāḍī-Jān al-Dihlawī.** Born circa 1020/1612. He studied with his father, his uncle, and other scholars in India. He arrived in the Ḥijāz for *ḥajj* in 1090/1679 and stayed the year after as a *mujāwir*. In the Ḥijāz, he studied with Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maghribī al-Rūdānī, and attended the lessons of Ibn al-ʿUjaymī. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī says that he left after that year for India and he has no further information about him.[214]

13. **Muṣṭafā b. Fatḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī** al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. 1123/1711).[215] The author of the most comprehensive bibliographical book on the 11th/17th century, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl.*

[210] Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar,* p. 120; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar,* vol. 1, p. 171; al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 528; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 251.
[211] See: Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar,* p. 120-121.
[212] Ibid., p. 120-121.
[213] Ibid., 148; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 97.
[214] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 332.
[215] Al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār*, vol. 1, p. 134; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 4, p. 178. Also see the introduction of the edition of his work *Fawāʾd al-irtiḥāl* by ʿAbd Allāh al-Kandarī.

He was born in Ḥamāh in Syria, then moved to Damascus where he studied with its scholars, and later he moved to Mecca, where he settled and studied with the scholars in the Ḥijāz: Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, al-Bābilī, al-Nakhlī, al-Baṣrī, al-Thaʿālibī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and others.

14. Yūsuf al-Tāj b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn b. Abī al-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqassarī al-Khalwatī (d. 1110/1699).[216] Born on 18 Shawwāl 1135/ 3rd of July 1626 in the town of Makassar in south Celebes in the Malay Archipelago. In 1054/1644 he left Makassar to pursue his Islamic education and to perform the pilgrimage. In Acheh he was initiated into the Qādiriyyah order by shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. Then he traveled from Banten to Arabia via Ceylon and Yemen. He is primarily known in Indonesia as the propagator of the Khalwatiyyah order. In his *Safīnat al-najāh*, he lists the orders into which he was initiated, including the Shaṭṭāriyyah, for which he also received an *ijāzah* from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. He also studied *al-Durrah al-fākhirah* by Jāmī with al-Kūrānī and copied it in his own hand.[217] Al-Maqassarī led military resistance against Dutch authority for almost two years. He was arrested and sent to the Cape of Good Hope in 1693, after spending 9 years in exile in Ceylon, and arrived there in 1694. Al-Kūrānī's thought thus found its way to South Africa through al-Maqassarī and his students.

Other Students:

15. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685).[218]

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[216] Mustapha Keraan and Muhammed Haron, "Selected Sufi texts of Shaykh Yusuf: Translations and commentaries," *Tydskrif vir letterkunde*, 45 (1), 2008. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 383.

[217] See Rudolf Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1977), p. 205, No. 2393, 1(3872), No. 2394, 1(3872), and p. 267, No. 3123, 1(3872). The collection contains three treatises: *al-Durrah al-fākhirah, Risalah fi al-wujūd* both by Jāmī, and al-Lārī's *Commentary on al-Durrah al-fākhirah.* All are dated 1075/1664-5.

[218] Al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, p. 402; al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar min akhbār ṣulaḥāʾ al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, p. 338.

16. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maynbārī.[219]

17. ʿAbd Allāh b. Munlā Saʿd Allāh al-Lāhūrī, Jārullāh (d. 1083/1672).[220]

18. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Tajmūʿatī al-Sijilimāsī (d. 1118/1706).[221]

19. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-ʿUmarī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dimashqī.[222] He studied with ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maghribī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī. He wrote *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib*, *Alfiyyah fī ʿilm al-kalām*, and *Naẓm Risālat al-waḍʿ* of al-Ījī.

20. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī read with al-Kūrānī parts of *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and some *dhikrs*.[223]

21. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Taghlibī al-Dimashqī, Abū al-Tuqā (d. 1135/1723).[224] A Sufi Ḥanbalī from Damascus, he studied with ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī and his son Abū al-Mawāhib, as well as with al-Kūrānī.

22. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Mawāhīb b. Muḥammad Abī al-Suʿūd al-Kazarūnī al-Madanī (1044-1114/1634-1703 in Medina and buried in the cemetery of *al-Baqīʿ*).[225] He was born in Medina and studied with its scholars. With al-Kūrānī he studied the *Kifāyat al-ʿābid* by his grandfather al-Ṣafī al-Kazarūnī, *al-Muntaqā*, *al-Mawārid al-haniyyah*, and *al-Arbaʿīn al-nawawiyyah*. Al-Kūrānī gave him the *khirqah* and *ijāzah* with some prayers.

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[219] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 208. Al-Kittānī mentions that he has a copy of al-Kūrānī's work *Īqāẓ al-qawābil li-l-taqarrub bi-l-nawāfil* in the handwriting of al-Kūrānī's student ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maynbārī.

[220] Al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, p. 503.

[221] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 255.

[222] Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 191.

[223] Ms. Princeton: Yahuda, Garrett, 2514. Al-Kūrānī's autograph at the front page of this work mentions this reading.

[224] Al-Najdī, *Al-Suḥub al-wābilah*, vol.2, p. 564.

[225] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 4. P. 560.

23. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī,[226] the brother of Mullā Ibrāhīm. He studied with his brother and Mullā Sharīf, and traveled to Syria and Egypt where he studied with their scholars.

24. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Dhahabī.[227]

25. ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-Bānitnī. Al-Kūrānī wrote *Kashf al-mastūr fī jawāb suʾāl ʿAbd al-Shakūr,* probably at the request of this student. At the end of one of his other works, *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ,*[228] there is a reading by ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-Bānitnī.

26. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabī, known as Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Fāsī (d. 1109/1697).[229]

27. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dirʿī (d. Rabīʿ II, 1128/March 1716).[230]

28. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. Shaʿbān 1134/1722).[231]

29. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Dallāʾī, known as al-Murābiṭ (d. 1089/1678).[232]

30. Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tatawī al-Madanī (d. 1139/1727).[233]

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[226] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 145; al-Mirdād, *Mukhtaṣar min kitāb nashr al-nawar wa-l-zahar*, p. 246; al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 578; ʿAbd al-Sattār b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Dihlawī, *al-Azhār al-ṭayyibāt al-nashr fī dhikr al-aʿyān min kull ʿaṣr*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣawwāf (KSA, Mecca, Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿah wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah, 1429 [2008], PhD Thesis), p. 105.

[227] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 92.

[228] Ms. Aḥqāf, Yemen, Tarīm, majāmīʿ 132, n. 11.

[229] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 353; al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, p. 91; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 117.

[230] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 351, 364; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, 677; al-Ifrānī mentions his date of death as 1128, and al-Kittānī as 1129.

[231] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 369; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 183.

[232] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 309; al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, p. 305.

[233] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 148.

31. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥusaynī al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī, (known as Ibn al-Mayyit and al-Burhān al-Shāmī), (d. 1140/1728).[234]

32. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Darʿī, (known as al-Sibāʿī), (d. 1155/1742).[235]

33. Abū Marwān al-Sijlimāsī.[236]

34. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Gharbī al-Ribāṭī.[237]

35. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḥakamī.[238]

36. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī, known as al-Bannā (d. 1116/1704).[239]

37. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Majlīdī (1094/1682).[240]

38. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (known al-Ṣaghīr) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1134/1722).[241]

39. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Darʿī al-Tamagarūtī (d. 18 Rabīʿ II, 1129/1 April 1717).

40. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlwān al-Shāfiʿī, known as al-Sharābātī (d. 1136/1723-4).[242]

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[234] Ibid., 216-217. See his *fahrasah* entitled *al-Jawāhir al-ghawālī fī al-asānīd al-ʿawālī*. Ms. Azhariyya 317819.

[235] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 1094.

[236] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 351.

[237] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 98.

[238] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 494.

[239] See his *isnād* entitled *Kifāyat al-ṭālib al-qanūʿ bi-badāʾiʿ ʿawālī al-isnād al-marfūʿ*. Ms. Azhariyyah 309791, (4a). Also: al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 240.

[240] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 420.

[241] Ibid., p. 595.

[242] Al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 1, p. 171.

41.   Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Makīldī[243] was the judge of Fās for forty years. He traveled to Egypt and the Ḥijāz and studied with their scholars. Among his students is Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (d. 1102).

42.   ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī.[244]

43.   ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Daybaʿ al-Shaybānī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1072/1661-2) studied in Medina with al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī mentioned that he read Īsāghūjī with al-Kūrānī.[245]

44.   ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿUqaybī al-Anṣārī al-Taʿzī al-Shāfiʿī (born around 1030/1621). He met al-Kūrānī and each learned from the other.[246]

45.   Al-Dakdakjī, al-Shams Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī (d. 1131/1719).[247] A Sufi Ḥanafī from Damascus. He studied with Abū al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī and Muḥammad al-Maydānī, then he became a student of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and copied many of the latter's works.

46.   Al-Hashtūkī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Jazūlī al-Tamlī (d. 1127/1715).[248]

47.   Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Dirʿī (1155/1742).[249]

48.   Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn known as Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī (d. 1120/1708).[250] He was born in Damascus in 1054/1644 and studied with its

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[243] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 557.

[244] Ibid., p. 208.

[245] Ibn ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 242.

[246] Ibid., p. 244.

[247] Akkach, *Intimate Invocations: al-Ghazzī's Biography of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731),* p. 159; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 4, p. 25; al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 493.

[248] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 167. More information can be found in El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 135.

[249] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 416-419.

[250] Al-Dihlawī, *al-Azhār al-ṭayyibāt al-nashr,* p. 70.

scholars, including ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḥaṣkafī, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maghribī. Then he traveled to Egypt where he studied with its scholars before he headed to the *Ḥaramayn* where he studied with al-Nakhlī, Sālim al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

49.   Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fāsī (d. 1110/1698-9).[251]

50.   Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1134/1722).[252]

51.   Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mizjājī.[253]

52.   Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Maktabī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 12 jumadā II, 1096/16 May 1685).[254]

53.   Muḥammad al-Khalīfatī (d. 1130/1718). He studied with al-Kūrānī and al-Barzanjī. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī mentioned him in the report of his journey to the Ḥijāz.[255]

54.   Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Al-Kinānī al-Khalwatī (d. 1153/1740).[256]

55.   Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāwī al-Bantanī. He copied some of al-Kūrānī's works in Medina during the latter's life, such as *al-Isfār ʿan aṣl istikhārat aʿmāl al-layl wa-l-nahār*. The date of the copy is 15 Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 1093. The copy is collated in the house of al-Kūrānī by Mūsā b. Ibrāḥīm al-Baṣrī al-Madanī, who can also be considered a student of al-Kūranī.[257]

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[251] Al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī*, P. 312.

[252] Ibid., P. 360.

[253] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 953.

[254] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 1, p. 144, 559.

[255] Ibid., vol.4, 59.

[256] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 738.

[257] ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Muḥammad Jān Muḥammad Ẓāhir, "al-Makhṭūṭāt al-mansūkhah fī al-Madīnah al-munawwarah al-maḥfūẓah fī maktabat ʿĀrif Ḥikmat, part I," *Majallat al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, n. 19, 1427 [2006]), p. 72. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf copied other works in the Medina, for example al-Kūrānī's treatise *al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī*, ibid., (part II, n. 21, 1428 [2007]), p. 70. He also copied al-Barzanjī's work *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī ilā al-Jānib al-gharbī*, Ms. Manisa 45HK6230 in 1097.

56. Muḥammad b. Abd al-Hādī al-Sindī, Abū al-Ḥasan, (d. 1138 or 1139/ 1726-7), a Ḥanafī scholar and a renowned Madinan scholar of *ḥadīth*. Al-Sindī had studied with some of the most influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Madina, including Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Sindī emerged as the principal teacher of *ḥadīth* at the Prophet's mosque, attracting a large number of students from various parts of the Muslim world.[258]

57. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-Madanī was a copyist of some of al-Kūrānī's works. He copied them and collated them in Medina and in some cases in the home of al-Kūrānī. The main work by al-Kūrānī that he copied is *al-Ilmām bi-taḥrīr qawlaī Saʿdī wa-l-ʿIṣām* in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1093/December 1682.[259] Additionally, he collected al-Kūrānī's gloss on *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*, as is mentioned in Princeton's copy.[260]

58. Al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī.[261] He traveled to the Ḥijāz and studied with al-Kūrānī, among other scholars. Al-Ḥamawī met him in 1094/1683.

59. Walī al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Jārullāh al-Rūmī (1151/1738).[262] In the front page of ms. Carullah 2102, Jārullāh says that he is the last person who studied with Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. Jārullāh spent seven years in the Ḥijāz as *mujāwir*. Among his works are a gloss on al-Taftazānī's *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, a gloss on *Ādāb al-baḥth* by al-Burkawī, a gloss of *al-Fawāʾid al-Fanāriyyah*, and a gloss on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*.[263]

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[258] Basheer Nafi, "A teacher of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: Muhammad Hayāt al-Sindī and the revival of aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth's methodology," *Islamic Law and Society,* 2006,13 (2): 208-241, p. 213. Al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 4, p. 66.

[259] Jān Muḥammad Ẓāhir, "al-Makhṭūṭāt al-mansūkhah fī al-Madīnah," Part I, p. 73. Another work by al-Kūrānī copied by Mūsā al-Baṣrī is *Niẓām al-zabarjad fī al-arbaʿīn al-musalsal bi-Aḥmad*, ibid., part II, p. 79.

[260] See the section about al-Kūrānī's works.

[261] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 5, p. 480.

[262] Berat Açıl, *Osmanlı kitap kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve derkenar notları* (Ankara: Ilem kitapliği: Nobel), 2015.

[263] Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-malayyīn, 2012, ed. 15), vol. 8, p. 118.

These are some of al-Kūrānī's students. More names can be found in *ijāzah*s and *isnād*s works,[264] and many others can be found in *Fahras al-fahāris*, some of them through *ijāzah ʿāmmah* (general *ijāzah)* that may not refer to personal study with al-Kūrānī but could be an *ijāzah* for a person and his family, or in some cases an *ijāzah* for anyone who wants to transmit the work with its chain of transmission.[265] ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. ʿAlī b. al-Zayn al-Mizjājī (d. 1201/1787), in his chain of transmission of *aḥādīth al-Bukhārī,* mentioned two teachers: his father Shams al-Islām ʿAlī b. al-Zayn al-Mizjājī and his teacher Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mizjājī. Both had *ijāzah*s from al-Kūrānī.[266] Al-Mizjājī said in his *thabat* that the people who studied with al-Kūrānī are countless, most of them great scholars.[267]

Later, after about one century, we find that *isnād*s of most of the scholars, whether in *manqūlāt* or *maʿqūlāt*, go back to al-Kūrānī and his students, mainly al-Nakhlī, al-Baṣrī, and Ibn al-ʿUjaymī. The following are some distinguished scholars and their links to al-Kūrānī. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), in his poem (*manẓūmah*) of his *isnād*s, entitled *Alfiyyat al-sanad*, mentions his *isnād*s. Among his teachers were Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf al-Dinjāwī and Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Manzilī, with whom he studied in the town of Dimyāṭ; both of them studied with Abū Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad al-Budayrī, who studied with al-Kūrānī.[268] Actually, al-Zabīdī considers that the first level (*al-ṭabaqah al-ūlā*) of his teachers were Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ b. Yūsuf al-Majarī al-Malawī, Ḥamad b.

[264] See for example some names in an *ijāzah* al-Kūrānī gave for some Damascene scholars in *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 167.
[265] About different kinds of *ijāzah*s see Pfeiffer, "Teaching the learned," p.302, fn. 71.
[266] ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. ʿAlī b. al-Zayn al-Mizjājī, *Nuzhat riyāḍ al-ijāzah al-mustaṭābah bi-dhikr manāqib al-mashāyikh ahl al-riwāyah wa-l-iṣābah*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭīb and ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī al-Yamanī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1997), p. 29. Also p. 183.
[267] Al-Mizjājī, *Nuzhat riyāḍ al-ijāzah,* p. 147.
[268] Muḥammad Murtaḍā Al-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat al-sanad*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAzūz (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2006), p. 32.

Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khālidī al-Jawharī, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir al-Shibrāwī;[269] these studied with al-Kūrānī's students, especially al-Baṣrī, al-Nakhlī and Ibn al-ʿUjaymī.[270] Al-Zabīdī has also a direct link to al-Kūrānī through the latter's grandson, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. This person studied with his uncle Abū Ṭāhir, as well as the distinguished scholars of the Ḥijāz and Mullā Ibrāhīm's students Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, al-Baṣrī, and al-Nakhlī.[271]

Al-Shawkānī's chains of transmission pass through al-Nakhlī and al-Baṣrī.[272] He always mentions the *isnād* to these two scholars and then to al-Bābilī instead of al-Kūrānī. Although most of what he mentions about al-Nakhlī and al-Baṣrī is traced through al-Kūrānī, tracing his chain of transmission directly to al-Bābilī makes his *isnād* higher. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, the founder of Sanūsiyyah order (d. 1276/1859), mentions al-Kūrānī in many of his chains of transmission.[273]

[3.5] Al-Kūrānī's Works

Al-Kūrānī was a prolific author. He wrote more than 100 works, most of them still in manuscript form and dispersed in libraries around the world. Al-Shawkānī in *al-Badr al-*

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[269] See more names in al-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat al-sanad*, p. 22.

[270] Al-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat al-Sanad*, p. 21.

[271] Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-mukhtaṣṣ*, ed. Niẓām Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Yaʿqūbī and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿAjamī (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2006), p. 202.

[272] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf al-akābir bi-isnād al-dafātir*, ed. Khalīl b. ʿUthmān al-Subayʿī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), for example, pp. 63, 65, 84, 109, 110, 116. In many *isnād*s he just says: "by the same *isnād* to al-Bābilī," e.g., pp. 65, 89, 106, 107

[273] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī al-Idrīsī, *al-Manhal al-rawī al-rāʾiq fī asānīd al-ʿulūm wa-uṣūl al-ṭarāʾiq* (Algeria: Dār al-Tawfiqīyyah, 2011). pp. 19, 20, 27, 31, 33, 34, 46, 49. Later, he says several times *bi-l-isnād al-sābiq* (by the same previous *isnād*).

ṭāliʿ reported that his works number around 80.[274] Brockelmann lists 42 titles,[275] while Anthony H. Johns mentions that 100 works are attributed to al-Kūrānī.[276] A short description of the works that I have been able to access will be presented below, followed by a list of the works that I found in catalogues or historical sources without having access to the works themselves. There is no need to mention the place of composition, since all of his works were written in the Ḥijāz. The only work that he mentions having started before moving to the Ḥijāz is *Inbāh al-anbāh ʿalā iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh,* which he finished in Medina. In this description, I mention only the main topics; the arguments will be presented where relevant in the coming chapters. The works are arranged chronologically to allow us to follow the developments of al-Kūrānī's thought and interests during the time. It is important to note that I mention only the copies that I used in my description, and in some cases more copies that I obtained, without an attempt to be comprehensive regarding al-Kūrānī's manuscripts in libraries and catalogues.

1.   INBĀH AL-ANBĀH ʿALĀ IʿRĀB LĀ ILĀH ILLĀ ALLĀH.[277] Al-Kūrānī started composing this work when he was in Damascus in 1061. He finished its first draft in Medina in 1062, then edited the work again in 1071.[278] As al-Kūrānī explains in the introduction, he called the work at

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[274] Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, vol. 1, p. 12. Al-Shawkānī mentioned just seven titles by names.

[275] C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, 5* vols (Volumes I-II: Weimar 1898 and Berlin 1902 [first edition], Leiden 1943 and 1949 [second edition]; Supplementary Volumes I-III: Leiden 1937, 1938 and 1942), II, p. 505 and S. II, p. 520.

[276] Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and new directions," *Indonesia*, No. 19 (Apr., 1975), pp. 33-55, p. 49.

[277] This work was edited by Ahmet Gemī as part of his Ph.D. Dissertation at Ataturk University in Erzurum, 2013.

[278] Ibrahim Kûrânî, *Inbâhu'l-Enbâh ʿAlâ Taḥḳîḳi Iʿrâbi Lâ Ilâhe Illallah*, ed. Ahmet Gemi, Doktora Tezi, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2013, p. 291. (Henceforth al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh).*

the beginning *Rafʿ al-ishtibāh ʿan qawāʿid iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh,*[279] then he changed the title to *Inbāh al-Anbāh.* Al-Kūrānī edited the text in Medina immediately after his arrival in 1062, and then he wrote parts of chapter 9 and chapters 10, 11, and 12 in Medina in 1071. As usual, al-Kūrānī concludes his work with some *ḥadīths*, collecting here more than 40 *ḥadiths* on the virtues of *lā ilāh illā Allāh.* He mentions that he started to collect these *ḥadīths* at his shaykh's request, and because he did not have many *isnād*s at that time, he thought it would be difficult to reach ten *ḥadīths* with their chains of transmission. Eventually, he collected more than 40 *ḥadīths.*[280] Most probably the shaykh who asked him to do this is al-Qushāshī because, at the end of the work, one of al-Kūrānī's students, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī al-Makkī, asks him to mention the form and the chain of *dhikr*, so he does, with the permission of his teacher al-Qushāshī. The work ends with al-Qushāshī's chain of transmission of *dhikr.*

2.   Jawāb Suʾālāt ʿan qawl "taqabbal Allāh" wa-l-muṣāfaḥah baʿd al-ṣalāwāt.[281] Also known as Rafʿ al-Rayb wa-l-Iltibās ʿan dalīl al-duʿāʾ wa-l-muṣāfaḥah baʿd al-ṣalah li-l-nās. Al-Kūrānī received a question about the handshake after the prayers and the saying *taqabbal Allāh*, "may God accept your prayer," specifically as to whether these habits had a legal source and whether the *salaf* did them or not. This work was completed in Shaʿbān 1063.

3.   Ijāzat al-Kūrānī li-ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Zubayrī. At the beginning of this work, al-Kūrānī mentions that al-Zubayrī asked him for an *ijāzah* in the *ḥadīth* works and instrumental sciences, "*al-ʿulūm al-āliyyah*," which he studied. Al-Kūrānī mentions some

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[279] MS: Cairo: Azhariyyah 41950, fol. 1-187. This copy is entitled *Rafʿ al-Ishtibāh.*

[280] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh*, p. 264.

[281] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, raqam musalsal 28, 7 folios. In the ms. card, it is mentioned that the source of this copy is Maktabat Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, Lakhnaw, India, no. 120.

of his *isnād*s in *ḥadīth* works, as well as some of his *isnād*s for texts in logic, theology, and philosophy, mainly through Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm and Mullā Sharīf. This work was written in 20 Shawwāl 1063.

4. Taḥqīq al-tawfīq bayn kalāmai ahl al-kalām wa-ahl al-ṭarīq.[282] Also mentioned as Tuḥfat al-tawfīq bayn kalāmai ahl al-kalām wa-ahl al-ṭarīq. This work is about a question on some poetic verses by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) related to the meaning of *takhayyul*, *taṣawwur*, and *wahm*, and whether Sufis consider them to have different meanings than do theologians. Al-Kūrānī explains the different levels of existence, then cites the commentary of al-Farghānī on these verse from Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *al-Tāʾiyyah al-kubrā*. This work was composed on 11 Shawwāl 1066.

5. Qaṣd al-sabīl ilā tawḥīd al-Ḥaqq al-Wakīl[283] is al-Kūrānī's longest and most comprehensive work, a commentary on his teacher al-Qushāshī's *ʿaqidah* poem. At the beginning of the work al-Kūrānī mentions that one brother from Damascus named ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Baʿlī sent to al-Kūrānī with the *ḥajj* caravan of the year 1065 and asked him to write a commentary of this poem, because some students were studying it in Damascus. Al-Qushāshī gave his permission, so al-Kūrānī wrote this comprehensive commentary, which, according to him, is not suitable for beginners. Al-Kūrānī started composing this work on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1065 and finished it on Monday 14 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1066. The fact that al-Qushāshī asked al-Kūrānī to write this commentary just three years after the latter arrived to the Ḥijāz reveals the advanced degree of al-Kūrānī's education and the confidence of al-Qushāshī in his new student.

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[282] MS: Pakistan: Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī's library, no number, 6 folios.

[283] MS: KSA: Maktabat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿĀrif Ḥikmat Collection, ʿaqāʾid/231, 126 folios. A copy of *Qaṣd al-sabīl* that was copied by al-Kūrānī's student ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-Bāntīnī mentions another title: *al-Ghāyah al-quṣwā fī kalimat al-sawāʾ wa-l-taqwā*. MS: Indonesia: National Library of Jakarta, Van den Berg collection.

6.   AL-JAWĀB AL-MASHKŪR ʿAN AL-SŪʾĀL AL-MANZ̤ŪR.[284] Al-Kūrānī received a question from Yemen about the purpose of creating Ādam and Iblīs, specifically as to why God would allow Ādam and his wife to dwell in Paradise and then allow Satan to deceive them, and why God then sent them to Earth and allowed Satan to deceive people again, although He sent messengers and prophets to guide the people. Al-Kūrānī's answer is related to the question of whether God acts for a purpose or not. He presents the Ashʿarite and Muʿtazilite opinions about this matter and he discusses the question of good and bad deeds and whether they are determined by reason or revelation. This discussion leads to the topic that al-Kūrānī always discusses, *kasb* and the free will of human acts. This work was completed on Friday at the end of Ṣafar 1067.

7.   ISHRĀQ AL-SHAMS BI-TAʿRĪB AL-KALIMĀT AL-KHAMS.[285] Al-Kūrānī mentioned to his teacher al-Qushāshī a treatise in Persian by a certain scholar, Niʿmat Allāh al-Walī, which explains the five words that Imām ʿAlī mentioned to his student Kumayl. Al-Kūrānī had initially read these words at the end of al-Dawānī's work *Risālat khalq al-aʿmāl*.[286] Kumayl asked Imām ʿAlī, "What is the truth (*mā al-ḥaqīqah*)?" Imām ʿAlī replied to Kumayl and said, "The truth is the revelation of the Splendor of the Divine Majesty without a sign." Kumayl said, "Tell me more." Imām ʿAlī said, "It's the defacement of the conjectured through the clearing of the known; it is the rending of the veils by the triumph of mystery; it is the Divine Attraction, but through the apprehension of the known; it is the light of the morning eternity, that continues to radiate through the unity of the temples

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[284] MS: Pakistan: Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī's library, no number, 5 folios.

[285] MS: Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyyah, majmūʿ 16, treatise 3, fols. 267-275. The numeration is for each page not for folios.

[286] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Risālat khalq al-aʿmāl* in *al-Rasāʾil al-Mukhtārah*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Tuisarkānī (Iṣfahān, Imām ʿAlī Public Library, 1405), p. 76.

and their disunity."[287] Al-Qushāshī asked al-Kūrānī to translate Niʿmat Allāh's commentary in Arabic. As far as I know it is the only translation al-Kūrānī did in his life. This work is dated Thursday, 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1068.

8. MUKHTAṢAR QAṢD AL-SABĪL. AKA AL-SHARḤ AL-ṢAGHĪR.[288] One of his friends, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kayyāl, asked al-Kūrānī several times to abridge *Qaṣd al-sabīl*. One year after this request, at the end of 1069, al-Qushāshī asked al-Kūrānī to write this abridgement. This work was completed on 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1069. A few years later, the text was translated into the Malay language; the translation is entitled *Sullam al-mustafidīn*, "The Ladder of the Zealous."[289]

9. AL-JAWĀBĀT AL-GHARRĀWIYYAH LI-L-MASĀʾIL AL-JĀWIYYAH AL-JUHRIYYAH.[290] Al-Qushāhsī received questions to which he wrote brief replies and asked al-Kūrānī to expand these answers and add more detail. The first question is about the fixed entities (*al-aʿyān al-thābitah*). The second question is about the intention (*niyyah*) at the beginning of the prayer. The third question is about the person who says God is ourselves and our existence and that we are Himself and His existence. The fourth question is about the

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[287] Al-Kūrānī mentioned these five words in *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 200 of Fathurahman's edition. See also Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and new directions," p. 49.

[288] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 62b-124b. Al-Ḥamawī in *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 62, names it *Zād al-masīr wa-l-asfār ʿan aṣl istikhārat aʿmāl al-layl wa-l-nahār*, which obviously is a mistake, probably on the part of the editor of the work, who edited the text from only one manuscript.

[289] An edition of this work with a translation of Chapters 1 to 7 (out of 14) was submitted by Elizabeth Anne Todd in 1975 as a part of her master's thesis at The Australian National University. The author is anonymous, but the editor argues that a closer study of the issue appears to support the attribution of the authorship to al-Kūrānī's student ʿAbdurraʾuf Fanṣūrī (p. xviii) since one manuscript ascribed it to him and the author mentioned al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī as his teachers. The editor suggests that the date of composition is between 1661 and 1690.

[290] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5345, fols. 20-71. On the front page there is a note says that Gharrāwiyyah is a name of al-Madīnah and that al-Sanhūdī mentioned it in his history of Medina. In the text al-Kūrānī mentions that he received questions from the town of (Juhr) "Johora" from *bilād Jāwah* in *baḥr al-Ṣīn*. He even mentioned that those who came from there mentioned that between them, meaning Jāwah and China, are 13 days by sea.

Friday prayer. The fifth and final question is about the validity of the marriage contract if the man wore a cloth of gold or silver. This work was dated Tuesday, 25 Ṣafar 1070.

10. ʿUJĀLAT DHAWĪ AL-INTIBĀH TAḤQĪQ IʿRĀB LĀ ILĀH ILLĀ ALLĀH.[291] This work is an abridgment of his original work in the same topic, *Inbāh al-anbāh.* This work was completed on Sunday, 29 Rabīʿ I 1070.

11. AL-ʿUJĀLAH FĪ-MĀ KATABA MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-QALʿĪ SUʾĀLAH.[292] Al-Kūrānī mentioned that his teacher, al-Qushāshī, received a question from the Maghrib about whether one worships the essence or the attributes. Al-Kūrānī said that al-Qushāshī wrote a sufficient reply for this question. After almost ten years, al-Kūrānī and al-Qushāshī found a copy of the question but they did not find the answer that the latter had previously composed. At the end of the 1070s, a relative of the questioner came to the Ḥijāz and asked al-Qushāshī for the reply. Al-Qushāshī asked al-Kūrānī to write an answer. Al-Kūrānī mentions that the reality (*ḥaqīqah*) of God is unknown for us. We know attributes and relations (*nisab*), which indicate that there is an inner reality that is in itself distinct (*ḥaqīqah mutamayyizah bi-dhātiha*), different from all other inner realities (*al-ḥaqāʾiq*). Since the essence is not known except through the attributes, it is impossible to worship the unknown, i.e., the essence. Al-Kūrānī says that it is not necessary to know the essence to worship God; it is enough to know some of His attributes. We worship Allāh, and this name refers to the essence that has all the attributes of perfection. Al-Kūrānī at the end of his answer says that this question was raised in the Maghrib after some scholars read in a refutation of Christianity that we worship God, not His attributes. Al-Kūrānī mentions that the Ashʿarities accepted some eternal attributes, and Christians

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[291] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *ʿUjālat dhawī al-intibāh taḥqīq iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh,* ed, Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm al-Farrāj, *Majallat al-Dirʿiyyah,* KSA, no. 47-48, 2009-2010, pp. 315-366.

[292] MS: Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, ms. *al-Tawḥīd: al-milal wa-l-niḥal*, 3000/1, fols. 295-304.

say that God has three *aqānīm*, not as attributes of God but as three distinguished essences.[293] Al-Kūrānī mentions this argument about Christianity in less than one page. This is may be the only mention of Christian doctrine by al-Kūrānī. This work was written on 24 Shawwāl 1070.

12.   AL-QAWL AL-MUBĪN FĪ TAḤRĪR MASʾALAT AL-TAKWĪN.[294] This work is an answer to a question about a statement in Ibn Ḥajar's commentary on al-Bukhārī, entitled *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. Ibn Ḥajar says that God creates by His attributes, actions, order, and speech. This question is related to the attributes of acts (*ṣifāt al-afʿāl*). How can God be eternally described as Creator, without there being any creation eternally, since otherwise the world would be eternal? In other words, how can we describe God as Creator without creating? Al-Kūrānī explains different ideas about creation. This work was completed on 8 Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 1070.

13.   al-ʿAYN WA-L-ATHAR FĪ ʿAQĀʾID AHL AL-ATHAR.[295] Al-Kūrānī attempts in this work to reconcile the Ashʿarite and Ḥanbalite positions on the controversial topic of God's speech. He wrote to his Ḥanbalite teacher in Damascus ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī and asked him to provide a summary of Ḥanbalite doctrine with special attention to the question of God's speech. Al-Baʿlī responded to this request by composing a treatise entitled *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar fī ʿaqāʾid ahl al-athar*. Al-Kūrānī said that al-Baʿlī allowed him to edit the work (*yaʾdhan lī bi-taḥrīrihā*), which may mean to verify the Ashʿarite position. Al-Kūrānī edited it in a comprehensive way. He kept the first section on Ḥanbalite

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[293] MS: Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, ms. *al-Tawḥīd: al-milal wa-l-niḥal*, 3000/1, fol. 301.

[294] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 178b-185a. This copy does not have the date of composition. The date is mentione in another copy MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 166a-172a.

[295] MS: Pakistan: Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī's library, no number, 55 folios. Another copy is MS: UK: University of Birmingham, Mingana collection, 176, 46 folios. This copy contains only the old conclusion.

doctrine without any major changes, but afterwards he changed almost everything. He wrote extensively on the doctrine of the Ashʿarites concerning God's attributes, and then he expanded upon the topic of God's speech to prove the Ashʿarite position by using the refutations of the Ḥanbalite critics. Al-Kūrānī completed the original text on the 15th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1070. After one year, when he had obtained some of Ibn Taymiyyah's works, he edited the conclusion on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.

14.   IFĀḌAT AL-ʿALLĀM BI-TAḤQĪQ MASʾALAT AL-KALĀM.[296] When al-Kūrānī sent the edited version of the previous work, i.e. *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar*, back to Damascus, his Ḥanbalite teacher al-Baʿlī, unsurprisingly, would not put his name on a text that supported the Ashʿarite position and criticized Ḥanbalite doctrines. On the contrary, al-Baʿlī put the name of al-Kūrānī on the work and sent it back to Medina. The result now is a strange amalgamation, an Ashʿarite work on God's speech with an introduction to Ḥanbalite doctrine. It seems that al-Kūrānī preferred not to place his name on a work that begins with Ḥanbalite doctrine. Therefore, he deleted the first part that explains the Ḥanbalite doctrines and began directly with the topic of God's speech, and called the treatise *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām bi-taḥqīq masʾalat al-kalām.* The first draft of this work was completed on Sunday, 14 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1070, and he edited the conclusion on Tuesday, 4 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 1071.

15.   ITḤĀF AL-DHAKĪ BI-SHARḤ AL-TUḤFAH AL-MURSALAH ILĀ AL-NABĪ, or ILĀ RŪḤ AL-NABĪ is a commentary on Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh Burhānbūrī's *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah ilā rūḥ al-Nabī.* Al-Kūrānī wrote this work for the Javanese community in Medina (*jamāʿat al-Jāwiyyah*). Burhānbūrī's text triggered debates in Java about the concept of *waḥdat al-*

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[296] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 185b-249a. See also: Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 570.

wujūd and the different grades of existence.[297] *Itḥāf al-dhakī* describes the misunderstanding of Ibn ʿArabī's thought in Java and tried to offer a legally-oriented interpretation.[298] Later, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī commented on the same text in his work *Nukhbat al-masʾalah sharḥ al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah*. Oman Fathurahman edited the text and mentioned 31 manuscript copies in existence around the world, which points to its wide dissemination. 17 of these manuscripts were used in preparing his edition.[299] Fathurrahman does not offer a specific date of its composition. He suggests that it was written before 1660 since it was composed at the request of al-Qushāshī who died in 1071/1660.[300]

16.   AL-MUTIMMAH LI-L-MASʾALAH AL-MUHIMMAH[301] is a discussion of al-Kūrānī's opinion on *kasb* and the extent to which human beings effect their actions. This work is a response to someone who criticized al-Kūrānī by stating that al-Ghazālī and other Ashʿarite scholars differ in their opinions with those of al-Kūrānī. Al-Kūrānī attempts to prove that his ideas agree with the Ashʿarites' ideas and that they refused to accept an independent effective power, like the Muʿtazilites, but that they did not deny that man does have effect by the permission of God (*bi-idhn Allāh*). This copy is not dated.

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[297] A summary of this small treatise is offered by Johns in "Friends of grace" and in the introduction to his edition of this text: Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh Burhānpūrī and Anthony H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1965).

[298] Antony H. Johns, "Friends in grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkeli," pp. 469-485.

[299] Fathurahman, *Itḥāf al-dhaki: tafsir wahdatul wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara*, p. 23 and after. For a summary of this text see Fathurahman, "Itḥāf al-dhaki by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī," 177-198.

[300] Fathurahman. "Ithaf al-dhaki Ibrahim al-Kurani: a commentary of Wahdat al-Wujud for Jawi audiences," p. 183. Basheer Nafi claimed that *Itḥāf al-dhakī* was written in 1072/1661. Nafi, "Taṣawwuf and reform in pre-modern Islamic culture," p. 334.

[301] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 129a-145b.

17.   DHAYL AL-MUTIMMAH, known as ITMĀM AL-NIʿMAH BI-ITMĀM AL-MUHIMMAH.[302] In this work al-Kūrānī continues his attempt to explain that human beings effect their acts by the permission of God, and that this position agrees with Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī's position. This manuscript has no date of composition. However, he mentions his teacher, al-Qushāshī, and asks for God to keep him in good health (abqāh Allāh fī ʿāfiyatihi), which suggests it was written before the end of 1071/1660.

18.   TAKMILAT AL-QAWUL AL-JALĪ FĪ TAḤQĪQ QAWL AL-IMĀM ZAYD B. ʿALĪ.[303] Al-Kūrānī found a citation attributed to Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī supporting his understanding of the idea about the extent to which humans effect their actions. He showed it to al-Qushāshī, who wrote about one folio and asked al-Kūrānī to expand upon it in detail.[304] The treatise is mainly about the theory of human acquisition (kasb) and argues for a human effect on actions in a way that differs from the Muʿtazili and later Ashʿarī perspectives. Al-Kūrānī refutes the idea of good and bad according to the intellect (al-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqliyyayn). At the end, he discusses, in detail, the topic of seeing God, and briefly the un-uttered speech. No date of composition is found in this manuscript, but since it has a folio by al-Qushāshī and was written at his request, it was most likely written before the end of 1071.

19.   RISĀLAH ILĀ AL-ʿAYYĀSHĪ is one page sent from Medina to Mecca when al-ʿAyyāshī was there. It is friendly letter to ask about the latter's situation and to offer some advice. Al-

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[302] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 146a-150b.

[303] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 296a-346b.

[304] In MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, this part is between 296b-301. Since the work title is *Takmilat al-Qawul al-jalī* one supposes there should be another treatise entitle *al-Qawl al-jalī*. However, *al-Qawul al-jalī fī taḥqīq qawl al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī* is probably al-Qushāshī's first part of the work as explained above.

ʿAyyāshī listed it in his *Riḥlah*.[305] Al-ʿAyyāshī was in the Ḥijāz for the *ḥajj* seasons of 1072-1073.

20. AL-ILMĀʿ AL-MUḤĪṬ BI-TAḤQĪQ AL-KASB AL-WASAṬ BAYN ṬARAFAY AL-IFRĀṬ WA-L-TAFRĪṬ.[306] After the criticism of some Maghribī scholars of al-Qushāshī's work on *kasb*, al-ʿAyyāshī's teacher ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī suggested it would be better if al-Kūrānī abridged it and explained its main arguments. So, when al-ʿAyyāshī met al-Kūrānī, he asked him to summarize the objectives of al-Qushāshī's treatise. Al-Kūrānī wrote this work for al-ʿAyyāshī, who included a copy of the entire text in his *Riḥlah*.[307] This text was composed on Wednesday at the end (*salkh*) of Rajab 1073.

21. AL-ISFĀR ʿAN AṢL ISTIKHĀRAT AʿMĀL AL-LAYL WA-L-NAHĀR.[308] The work is dedicated to the prayer of *Istikhārah* (seeking God's guidance before making a decision). It was completed on Tuesday, 15 Ramaḍān 1073.

22. IʿMĀL AL-FIKR WA-L-RIWĀYĀT FĪ SHARḤ ḤADĪTH INNA-MĀ AL-AʿMĀL BI-L-NIYYĀT[309] explains the meaning of *niyyah* (intention) from linguistic, juristic, and Sufi perspectives, based on several *ḥadīth*s. Al-Kūrānī in other works uses the idea of intention to argue for *kalām nafsī*. This work was completed on Sunday, 12 Shawwāl 1073.

23. RISĀLAT SŪʾĀLĀT WARADAT MIN MAḤRŪSAT ZABĪD MIN AL-YAMAN MIN AL-SHAYKH ISḤĀQ B. JAMʿĀN AL-DAWĀLĪ.[310] In this text al-Kūrānī mentions the full name of the questioner, describing him as his teacher (*shaykhunā*), Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b.

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[305] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, 514.

[306] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 151a-161b.

[307] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p 604. The treatise is between 604-620.

[308] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 1b-24a.

[309] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt fī sharḥ ḥadīth inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt,* ed. Aḥmad Rajab Abū Sālim (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2013). See also Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 575.

[310] MS: KSA, Medina: Al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, no. 5345, *majmūʿ*, fols. 1b-6a.

Jaʿmān/Jaghmān [Jamʿān] al-Ṣiddīqī al-Dawālī al-ʿAkkī al-ʿAdnānī al-Zabīdī. The first question is about some diminutive names they used in Yemen for children, such as Jubayyir for ʿAbd al-Jabbār or Mughaynī for ʿAbd al-Mughnī, and whether it is allowed for them to change the name of God in this way. The second question is about a person who was born blind, deaf, and mute, what his situation concerning faith is (*mā al-ḥukm fī īmānihi*?), and whether he is allowed to marry. The third question is about a person who hit another man or women and caused them to become ill. The fourth question is about the Prophet's prayer in the cave of *ḥirāʾ* before he received the revelation. The last question is about when the end of Ramaḍān should be observed by a person who started his Ramaḍān fast in Yemen but at the end of Ramaḍān was in Mekka, where Ramaḍān ends on a different day than in Yemen. This work was completed at the end of Ṣafar 1074.

24.   AL-LUMʿAH AL-SANIYYAH FĪ TAḤQĪQ AL-ILQĀʾ FĪ AL-UMNIYYAH.[311] This is the first work to be published and analyzed by Western scholars. The work deals with the story of the satanic verses, the words that Satan put upon the tongue of Muḥammad while the latter was reciting the beginning of *sūra* 53. In the published text, the first draft (*taswīd*) of the work was completed in Medina on Thursday, 7 Muḥarram 1074, and the fair copy (*tabyīḍ*) on Thursday, 14 Muḥarram 1075.[312] This text received several refutations, one of them from the Moroccan scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1116), who sent his refutation to al-Kūrānī during the latter's life.[313]

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[311] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and Alfred Guillaume, "*al-Lumʿat al-saniya fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fi-l-umniyya*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 20, No. 1/3, Studies in Honour of Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1937-57 (1957), pp. 291-303. This text is published from one manuscript.

[312] In MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 291b-295b, the date of finishing the first draft is Thursday, 5 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 1076.

[313] See Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir's *Taʿqīb ʿalā al-Lumʿah al-nūrāniyyah*, MS: Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyyah, *majāmīʿ* 11, fols. 16-22.

25.   MASLAK AL-IʿTIDĀL ILĀ FAHM ĀYĀT KHALQ AL-AʿMĀL.[314] This work discusses the theory of *kasb*. Al-Kūrānī mentions at the beginning of the text that he will refute the theory of the Muʿtazilites as articulated in al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf*, that human beings act independently. This work is dated Thursday at the end of Shaʿbān 1075.

26.   AL-MASLAK AL-QARĪB FĪ AJWIBAT AL-KHAṬĪB.[315] This work contains al-Kūrānī's answers to several questions about al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar, the seal of sainthood in Ibn ʿArabī's writings, the celebration of *mawlid* (Prophet's birthday), the vow (*al-nadhr*), drumming, and the recitation of poems with a musical melody. This work was completed on Sunday, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1076.

27.   RISĀLAT IBṬĀL MĀ ẒAHARA MIN AL-MAQĀLAH AL-FĀḌIḤAH FĪ-MĀ YATAʿALLAQ BI-L-KAʿBAH AL-MUʿAẒẒAMAH.[316] Also known as SHARḤ AL-KALIMAH AL-WĀḌIḤAH ʿALĀ AL-MAQĀLAH AL-FĀḌIḤAH. Ādam Bannūrī, one of al-Sirhindī's students, arrived to the Ḥijāz and started to teach the idea that the *kaʿbah* is superior to any human, including the prophets. Al-Qushāshī responded to him, as did al-Kūrānī. The most powerful reaction came from Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī who wrote several refutations against al-Sirhindī until he proclaimed al-Sirhindī to no longer be a Muslim. Later, the sons of Aḥmad Sirhindī, including Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, arrived in Medina with their families in the year 1068/1658. Discussions occurred between them and the scholars of the Ḥijāz, leading them to discover that some of al-Sirhindī's enemies had changed his ideas in the course of translation. This problem made ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī ask for a new translation of all the *Maktūbāt* of Sirhindī. This work was completed on Wednesday, 4 Rabīʿ I 1078.

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[314] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 162a-174a.

[315] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 48a-62a.

[316] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 347a-356a. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that al-Kūrānī composed it at the order of al-Qushāshī after his arguments with Ādam Bannūrī; see the details on the section on Theology and Sufism below.

28.   NASHR AL-ZAHR BI-L-JAHR BI-L-DHIKR.[317] Some Ḥanafī scholars say that vocal *dhikr* (*jahrī*) in mosques is forbidden, so al-Kūrānī wrote this treatise and cited several *ḥadīth*s to argue that vocal *dhikr* is not forbidden. This work was completed on Monday, 22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1078.

29.   FAYḌ AL-WĀHIB AL-ʿALĪ FĪ JAWĀB SUʾĀL ABĪ AL-MAWĀHIB AL-ḤANBALĪ.[318] Abū al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī asked al-Kūrānī about the angels described in *sūrat al-infiṭār* (82:11) as honorable writers (*kirāman kātibīn*), specifically whether these angels who record man's deeds also record the heart's diseases such hypocrisy (*riyāʾ*), arrogance, and envy. Abū al-Mawāhib mentioned different opinions by several scholars and asked how can we reconcile them. Al-Kūrānī's opinion is that these angels do not record the diseases of the heart, because these diseases are among the unknown things (*ghayb*) that only God knows. This work was written on a Sunday at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1078.

30.   MIRQĀT AL-ṢUʿŪD ILĀ ṢIḤḤAT AL-QAWL BI-WAḤDAT AL-WUJŪD.[319] Al-Kūrānī in the year 1078/1667-8 received a question from the far east islands (Java?), which said that a Sufi in that region claimed that Muḥammad possessed the qualities of divinity attributed by Christians to Jesus, and this Sufi claimed further that Muḥammad's possession of divine aspects is the meaning of *waḥdat al-wujūd.* Al-Kūrānī says that this claim contradicts the *sharīʿah* and reason. Then he mentions the main ideas of absolute existence, manifestations in forms, and accepting the ambiguous or anthropomorphic Quranic verses that describe God in human terms without figurative interpretation. The answer is very short and al-Kūrānī refers in it to his work *Ithāf al-dhakī,* written a few years earlier for Javanese students in Medina. This copy is not dated, but in the introduction al-Kūrānī

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[317] MS: Istanbul: Resid Efend I996, fols. 104a-128b.

[318] MS: Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, *majāmīʿ* 16/2, fols. 258-267.

[319] MS: UK: British Library, India Office, Delhi-Arabic 710c, fols. 20a-21b.

mentions that he received the question in 1078/1667-8, which probably is the date he composed this work since he used to receive questions with *ḥajj* caravans and replied to these questions quickly so the caravans could carry the answers with them.

31.   NIBRĀS AL-ĪNĀS BI-AJWIBAT AHL FĀS.[320] When al-ʿAyyāshī came to the Ḥijāz for the *ḥajj* in 1071/1661, he brought with him a question from a certain Moroccan scholar about two treatises that al-Kūrānī had sent to him earlier. The two works are *Itḥāf al-dhakī Sharḥ al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah ilā rūḥ al-Nabī* and *al-Lumʿah al-saniyyah. Itḥāf al-dhakī* was well-received by the Moroccan scholars, but the treatise of *al-Lumʿah al-saniyyah*, in which al-Kūrānī confirms that the incident of satanic verses is historically correct, raised questions among Maghribī scholars. The sender of this letter mentioned that he asked Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī to compose objections to al-Kūrānī's treatise. This letter was sent to al-Kūrānī and he was asked for his opinion. He wrote this work to answer the questions of Moroccan scholars and to clarify his ideas. This work is dated 27 Muḥarram 1079.[321]

32.   ĪQĀẒ AL-QAWĀBIL LI-L-TAQARRUB BI-L-NAWĀFIL.[322] Sufis often cite the *ḥadīth* from Bukhārī's collection called *ḥadīth al-nawāfil* which states that God has said: "My servant keeps on coming closer to Me through performing *nawāfil* [extra deeds besides what is obligatory] until I love him. When I love him, I become his hearing with which he hears, his seeing with which he sees, his hand with which he strikes, and his leg with which he walks; and if he asks [something] from Me, I give [it to] him, and if he asks My protection,

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[320] MS: Istanbul: Laleli 3744, fols. 7a-25b.

[321] At the beginning of this work, al-Kūrānī mentions that he received this letter with al-ʿAyyāshī on 7 Muḥarram 1079. And at the end, he mentioned that he wrote this treatise as an answer on 27 Muḥarram 1079. However, al-ʿAyyāshī performed the *ḥajj* for the last time on 1072-1073. So, more manuscripts need to be checked for the date of composition of this work.

[322] MS: Germany, Leipzig: or. 383–02, 5 folios.

I protect him." Among these extra deeds al-Kūrānī mentions *dhikr* in specific times and forms, reading some specific Quranic chapters on specific days or times, some prayers, and fasting some days out of the month of Ramaḍān. This work is related to *dhikr*, and he tries to support his ideas through extensive citations from *ḥadīth*s. This work is dated 18 Rajab 1079.

33.   Itḥāf al-munīb al-awwāh bi-faḍl al-jahr bi-dhikr Allāh[323] is another treatise on vocal *dhikr*. One year after writing the previous treatise, al-Kūrānī found a text from the 9th/15th century by a Ḥanafī scholar from Central Asia ("from the land of Mirzā Ulugh Bek bin Shahrukh"), saying that vocal *dhikr* is a forbidden innovation. Al-Kūrānī wrote this work to provide a detailed explanation of and reply to that text. Most of the text is *ḥadīth*s about *dhikr*. This work was completed on Saturday, 24 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1079 and edited on the 17th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1080, and again in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1083.

34.   al-Tawjīh al-mukhtār fī nafy al-qalb ʿan ḥadīth ikhtiṣām al-jannah wa-l-nār.[324] A Prophetic tradition says: "Paradise and the Fire [Hell] argued, and the Fire said, 'I have been given the privilege of receiving the arrogant and the tyrants.' Paradise said, 'What is the matter with me? Why do only the weak and the humble among the people enter me?' On that, God said to Paradise. 'You are My mercy which I bestow on whoever I wish of my servants.' Then God said to the Fire, 'You are My (means of) punishment by which I punish whoever I wish of my servants. And each of you will have its fill.' As for the Fire, it will not be filled till God puts His foot over it whereupon it will say, 'Qati, Qati' At that time it will be filled, and its different parts will come closer to each other; and God will not wrong any of His created beings. With regards to Paradise, God will create a new

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[323] MS: Istanbul: Resid Efendi 996, fols. 129b-200a.

[324] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Tawjīh al-mukhtār fī nafy al-qalb ʿan ḥadīth ikhtiṣām al-jannah wa-l-nār,* ed. al-ʿArabī al-Dāʾiz al-Firyāṭī (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2005).

creation to fill it with." This *ḥadīth* is related to Ibn ʿArabī's idea of the end of punishment in hell. Al-Kūrānī refers to this *ḥadīth* in several contexts to support his idea that God manifests in any form He wishes without any restrictions or conditions. This work was completed on Friday, 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1081.

35.   IKHBĀR AL-AḤBĀR BI-AJWIBAT SŪʾĀLĀT AHL ĀṬĀR[325] also mentioned as JAWĀB SUʾĀL WARADA MIN BAʿḌ FUḌALĀʾ AL-MAGHRIB,[326] or RISĀLAH FĪ JAWĀZ RUʾYAT ALLĀH TAʿĀLĀ FĪ AL-DUNYĀ WA-L-ĀKHIRAH.[327] At the beginning of this treatise al-Kūrānī mentions that in Muḥarram 1082/ May 1671, he received with a Maghribī *ḥāj* from Āṭar in far Maghrib (Ātār being at the time in Mauritania) a treatise by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaḍramī/al-Ḥaḍralī, which contained several points controversial among the scholars of his town. These points are related to the possibility of seeing God in this life; the receiving of knowledge from a dead person; whether the substance, like the accident, does not remain for two instants (*al-jawhar ka-l-ʿaraḍ lā yabqā zamānayn*); and the relation of God's eternal attributes to the created world, i.e., how God can be seeing and hearing without the existence of things that He sees or hears. This work was written on Friday, 5 Muḥarram 1082.

36.   AL-MASLAK AL-MUKHTĀR FĪ AWWAL ṢĀDIR MIN AL-WĀJIB BI-L-IKHTIYĀR[328] Also known as AL-MASLAK AL-MUKHTĀR FĪ MAʿRIFAT AL-ṢĀDIR AL-AWWAL WA-IḤDĀTH AL-ʿĀLAM BI-L-IKHTIYĀR. Al-Kūrānī received a question about two statements by Ibn ʿArabī and al-Qūnawī that look contradictory. Ibn ʿArabī says that whoever accepts the principle "from the One emerges only one" is ignorant, and al-Qūnawī accepts this principle but says that the first that emerged is the general existence (*al-wujūd al-ʿāmm*) not the first intellect. So, how can we

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[325] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 162-165b.
[326] MS: Istanbul: Atif Efendi 2441, fols. 136a-151b.
[327] MS: Istanbul: Kasideci Zade 734, fols. 18a-23b.
[328] MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin 1815, fols. 7a-32a.

reconcile these two positions? This work contains long discussions of al-Dawānī's and Ibn Sīna's opinions about how God perceives things. This work was completed on Friday 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1082.

37.   Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ.[329] Also known as al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan al-ʿawālī and Lawāmiʿ al-laʾālī fī al-arbaʿīn al-ʿawālī. Al-Kūrānī mentions forty ḥadīths with their high isnāds. At the end of the book al-Kūrānī lists thulāthiyyāt of al-Būkhārī, then mentions 21 ḥadīths with their isnāds through Sufis. This work was completed on Monday, 8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1083.

38.   Al-Kashf al-muntaẓar li-mā yarāh al-muḥtaḍar[330] is a response to a question about some statements that spread among the people of Java about the moribund (muḥtaḍar) person and if they have a legal source. Al-Kūrānī's student ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkilī wrote a treatise entitled Sakarāt al-mawt and sent it to al-Kūrānī in Medina to verify it; al-Kūrānī wrote Kashf al-muntaẓar to validate al-Singkilī's approach.[331] The date at the end of the treatise is 1083.

39.   Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār,[332] or Itḥāf rafīʿ al-himmah bi-waṣl aḥādīth shafīʿ al-ummah. Al-Kūrānī mentions that he will list his isnāds in ḥadīth, tafsīr, uṣūl, furūʿ, and other arts of manqūl and maʿqūl. The work is useful in establishing the chronology of al-Kūrānī's life because he mentions each ḥadīth with the date of receiving it and the name of the teacher, with the full isnād of each ḥadīth. This work is dated 1083.[333]

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[329] MS: Istanbul: Koprulu 279, fols. 1a-33b.

[330] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 38a-41b.

[331] See: Oman Fathurahman, "New textual evidence for intellectual and religious connections between the Ottomans and Aceh," in From Anatolia to Aceh, Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia (UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 297.

[332] MS: Istanbul: Koprulu 279, fols. 34a-125a.

[333] There is an omitted line which can be read as awākhir Ṣafar.

40.   NIẒĀM AL-ZABARJAD FĪ AL-ARBAʿĪN AL-MUSALSALAH BI-AḤMAD[334] comprises forty *ḥadīth*s that were transmitted by people with the name Aḥmad. Al-Kūrānī selected these *ḥadīth*s from al-Nasāʾī's book *al-Mujtabā*.[335] This work was completed on Sunday, 17 Muḥarram 1085.

41.   JALĀʾ AL-FUHŪM FĪ TAḤQĪQ AL-THUBŪT WA-RUʾYAT AL-MAʿDŪM.[336] At the beginning of this work, al-Kūrānī states that someone asked about ʿAlī al-Ūshī's (d. 569/1173-4) statement in his *ʿaqīdah* poem *Badʾ al-amālī* that a nonexistent can neither be seen, nor is it a thing, "*wa-mā al-maʿdūm marʾiyyan wa-shayʾan*." Most of the discussions are about *al-maʿdūm*, *nafs al-amr*, *al-shayʾ*, mental existence, and fixed entities. The work was completed on Tuesday, 28 Rabīʿ I 1085.

42.   MASLAK AL-SADĀD ILĀ MASʾALAT KHALQ AFʿĀL AL-ʿIBĀD.[337] This is al-Kūrānī's main work about the theory of *kasb* and the creation of human acts. His idea is that man does have an effect on his action "by God's permission" (*bi-idhn Allāh*). He refutes later Ashʿarite occasionalism and claims that Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī did not deny that humans have an effect on their actions, but merely denied the claim that this effect is independent of God's will.[338] The work was completed on Tuesday, 23 Jumādā II 1085.

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[334] MS: KSA, Medina: Maktabat ʿĀrif Ḥikmat, no. 313/80 *ḥadīth*, *majmūʿ*, 13 folios. The treatise is the first work in this *majmūʿ*.

[335] Also known as *Sunan al-Nasāʾī* or *al-Sunan al-ṣughrā* or *al-Mujtabā min al-Sunan al-kubrā*. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), was a collector of *ḥadīth*.

[336] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 52a-83a. In MS: Cairo: Azhariyyah, Ḥalīm, majāmīʿ 34795, fols. 1b-42b, it is called *fī Rūʾyat al-maʿdūm*.

[337] MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin 1815, fols. 32b-64a; MS: Istanbul: Resid Efendi 996, fols. 2a-37a; MS: Istanbul: Carullah 2102, fols. 2a-40b.

[338] MS: Istanbul: Resid Efendi 996, fols. 1a-37a.

43. JALĀʾ AL-NAẒAR FĪ BAQĀʾ AL-TANZĪH MAʿ AL-TAJALLĪ FĪ AL-ṢUWAR.[339] Most of this treatise is composed of citations from the Quran and *ḥadīth*s about the topic of divine manifestation in forms, with an emphasis on dissimilarity (*tanzīh*) on the basis of the verse "nothing is like Him" (*laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾ*). The work discusses the *ḥadīth* of transformation in forms, which is held to be an authentic *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī and Muslim. In this *ḥadīth*, the Prophet says that God on the Day of Judgment would "come to them in a form other than His own form, recognisable to them, and would say: I am your Lord. They would say: We take refuge with God from thee. We will stay here till our Lord comes to us, and when our Lord would come we would recognise Him. Subsequently God would come to them in His own form, recognisable to them, and say: I am your Lord. They would say: Thou art our Lord." This work was completed on Tuesday, 11 Ṣafar 1086.

44. ḤUSN AL-AWBAH FĪ ḤUKM ḌARB AL-NAWBAH.[340] Al-Kūrānī received a question about using drums in the vanguard of the army or in front of the *ḥajj* caravan. His answer is that the permissibility of using drums depends on the intention, and that there is only one type of drum that is forbidden. This work was written on 14 Rabīʿ I 1086.

45. IJĀZAT-NĀMAH, or AL-KŪRĀNĪ'S IJĀZAH TO WAJĪH AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-MALIK B. SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-SIJLIMĀSĪ.[341] In his request for the *ijāzah*, the Moroccan scholar mentioned above asked al-Kūrānī to mention his *isnād*s in books of *ḥadīth* through the *mashriqī* scholars. Al-Kūrānī mentions here his *isnād*s for numerous works of *ḥadīth*, then

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[339] MS: Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787, fols. 32a-33a; MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 27b-29a; MS: USA, Princeton University Library, NS 1109, fols. 324b-326b; MS: Istanbul: Ragip Pasa 1464, fols. 29a-30b.

[340] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, no. 5345, fols. 16-17; MS: Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, *al-taṣawwuf wa-l-ādāb al-sharʿiyyah*, 665, fols. 257-8.

[341] MS: Istanbul: Esad Efendi 3626, fols. 1a-22b. At (1a) of this manuscript there is a statement that this is the *ijāzah* of Ilyās al-Kūrānī through his shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. The actual work, as explained above, is an *ijāzah* of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī to a Moroccan scholar. However, the last folio of this work contains the *ijāzah* of Ilyās al-Kūrānī to Muṣṭafā ʿIffatī. (MS: Istanbul: Esad Efendi 3626), fols. 23a-23b

his *isnād*s in works of other scholars such as al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, al-Ījī, al-Dawānī, ʿIṣām al-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh, al-Ghazālī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, and Ibn ʿArabī. In some cases, al-Kūrānī mentions his *isnād*s in individual works, including *Manāzīl al-sāʾirīn* by Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* by ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. In general, this work is a shorter copy of al-Kūrānī's main *thabat*, entitled *al-Amam li-īqāẓ al-himam*, that would be written 10 years later. This work is dated Sunday, 5 Shawwāl 1086.

46.   AL-MASLAK AL-JALĪ FĪ ḤUKM SHAṬḤ AL-WALĪ.[342] In 1086, al-Kūrānī received a letter from Java asking about some statements related to *waḥdat al-wujūd*, in answer to which he wrote this work. Later, on 13th Shaʿbān 1139, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī wrote another answer to the same question, mentioning at the beginning that al-Kūrānī received this question and replied to it, and now he, al-Nābulusī, would like to answer according to what God inspired him (*yafīḍu ʿalaynā*).[343]

47.   ITḤĀF AL-KHALAF BI-TAḤQĪQ MADHHAB AL-SALAF.[344] A short work of 3 folios in which al-Kūrānī replies to a question about interpreting ambiguous verses and the attitude of the *salaf* toward these verses. His idea, which he repeats in different works, is that the *salaf* confirm the apparent meaning and confirm that "there is nothing like Him." He connects this idea with his interpretation of absolute existence as the One who is not restricted or conditioned by anything. This idea allows him to defend the Sufi idea that God manifests Himself in whatever He wants. The date of this work is Monday, 11 Muḥarram 1088.

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[342] MS: UK: British Library, India Office, n. 2164; MS: Istanbul: veliyuddin 1815, fols. 137a-146b.

[343] Al-Nābulusī's treatise has been published by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-ṣūfiyyah* (Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbuʿāt, n. d), p. 189.

[344] MS: Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787, fols. 34b-35b.

48.   IMDĀD DHAWĪ AL-ISTIʿDĀD LI-SULŪK MASLAK AL-SADĀD.[345] Several years after his main work on the creation of human acts, *Maslak al-sadād*, al-Kūrānī continued to receive questions and criticisms of his position. In this work, he tries to explain again, in detail, his ideas. This work was completed on Friday, 13 Jumādā II 1088.

49.   JALĀʾ AL-NAẒAR BI-TAḤRĪR AL-JABR FĪ AL-IKHTIYĀR.[346] This work is about free will, predetermination, and *kasb*. It was completed on Friday, 20 Jumādā II 1088.

50.   RISĀLAH FĪ BAYĀN AL-MUQADDIMĀT AL-ARBAʿAH LI-L-TAWḌĪḤ.[347] Ṣadr al-Sharīʿah, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (d. 747/1346) in his work *al-Tawḍīḥ fī ḥall ghawāmiḍ al-Tanqīḥ*, which is a commentary on his own book *al-Tanqīḥ fī al-uṣūl* [in Ḥanafī *uṣūl al-fiqh*], mentions that the al-Ashʿarities have four proofs that a human is compelled (*majbūr*) in his acts, in order to refute the Muʿtazilite idea of human free will. Ṣadr al-Sharīʿah then mentions four premises to refute this Ashʿarite position. Al-Kūrānī disagrees with Ṣadr al-Sharīʿah in his understanding of the Ashʿarite position and says that there are mistakes (*khalal*) in these four premises that he will expose. In general, this work is about the theory of *kasb*. This work was completed on Friday, 20 Jumādā II 1088.

51.   MAṬLAʿ AL-JŪD BI-TAḤQĪQ AL-TANZĪH FĪ WAḤDAT AL-WUJŪD[348] comprises a quotation from Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt* concerning the opinion of some commentators, especially the criticism of al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336). This work discusses God's existence and human existence, with discussions as well of non-existence and absolute existence. Al-Kūrānī compares Ibn ʿArabī's ideas with Ashʿarite ones through *al-Ibānah* of Abū al-Ḥasan and

[345] MS: USA, Princeton University Library, Garret Y3867, fols. 31a-87b.
[346] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 36a-47a. MS: Istanbul: Ragip Pasa 1464, fols. 63a-73b; MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin 1815, fols. 135a-136a. This copy is not completed.
[347] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 177a-188a.
[348] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 123b-153b; MS: Istanbul: Carullah 2102, fols. 178a-220a; MS: Istanbul: Ragip Pasa 1464, fols. 97a-129a.

al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif.* Additionally, al-Kūrānī discusses the topic of God's knowledge. The work was completed on 22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1088.

52. IBDĀᵓ AL-NIʿMAH BI-TAḤQĪQ SABQ AL-RAḤMAH.[349] This work discusses Ibn ʿArabī's opinion about the end of suffering in Hellfire, even though it will continue to be the abode of its inhabitants. Discussing this topic requires al-Kūrānī to include a discussion about *waʿd* (God's promise of reward) and *waʿīd* (God's threat of punishment). This work was completed on Tuesday, 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1088.

53. AL-QAWL BI-ĪMĀN FIRʿAWN.[350] This work is about the faith of Pharaoh, a controversial topic in Ibn ʿArabī's thought. Many scholars wrote about this topic, among them al-Dawānī, al-Kūrānī, and the latter's student al-Barzanjī. Al-Kūrānī starts his work with a citation from al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir* in which al-Shaʿranī denies that Ibn ʿArabī says that Pharaoh died as a believer. Al-Shaʿrānī cites Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* to confirm that Pharaoh is eternally in Hell. Al-Kūrānī replies with several citations from Ibn ʿArabī's works to support the idea of Pharaoh's faith. There was a harsh reaction against this idea from Moroccan scholars. This work was written in 1088.

54. KASHF AL-MASTŪR FĪ JAWĀB SUᵓĀL ʿABD AL-SHAKŪR.[351] This work is an answer to a question about fixed entities. Al-Kūrānī mentions Platonic forms and says that the difference between the two concepts is explained in *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd.* This work was completed on Thursday, 30 Muḥarram 1089.

55. AL-IʿLĀN BI-DAFʿ AL-TANĀQUḌ FĪ ṢŪRAT AL-AʿYĀN FĪ JAWĀB SUᵓĀL ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN[352] is a short treatise on fixed entities with reference to his earlier works *Jalāᵓ al-fuhūm, Qaṣd al-sabīl,*

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[349] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 23a-28a.

[350] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 96a-97a. And in MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5345, fols. 73-74.

[351] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 30b- 31.

[352] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 31b-33b.

Jalā al-naẓar*, and *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*. It has the same date of composition as the previous work, which means he answered the questions about fixed entities asked by two of his students at the same time. This work is dated Thursday, 30 Muḥarram 1089.

56.   AL-MASLAK AL-WASAṬ AL-DĀNĪ ILĀ AL-DURR AL-MULTAQAṬ LI-L-ṢĀGHĀNĪ.[353] Al-Ṣāghānī (d. 650/1252-3) wrote a work about fabricated *ḥadīth*s (*mawḍūʿāt*). A student of al-Kūrānī asked him to review these *ḥadīth*s and to confirm if all of them were fabricated. In this work al-Kūrānī mentions Ibn Taymiyyah's idea about some *ḥadīth*s and talks about some famous Sufi *ḥadīth*s, such as the *ḥadīth* of the hidden treasures. This work was completed on Sunday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1089.

57.   MASHRAʿ AL-WURŪD ILĀ MAṬLAʿ AL-JŪD.[354] This work was written as a reply to some questions concerning al-Kūrānī's works *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd* and *Ibdāʾ al-niʿmah.* He received questions about some points in these works, mainly about some statements of Ibn ʿArabī about creation, fixed entities, the faith of Pharaoh, and the end of the punishment in Hell. Al-Kūrānī criticizes Ibn ʿArabī's commentators in their explanations, stating that their interpretations agree with Ibn Sīnā's ideas, not Ibn ʿArabī's. He also mentions that he had refuted some of Jāmī's ideas in his work *al-Maslak al-mukhtār.* Then he talks about the precedence of mercy (*asbaqiyyat al-raḥmah*) so he can mention the topic of the faith of Pharaoh. The work was completed on Sunday, 14 Muḥarram 1090.

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[353] MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 255a- 291a. Preceding this treatise in the same collection, there is a treatise entitled *Risālat al-Durr al-multaqaṭ wa-tabyīn al-ghalaṭ wa-nafy al-laghaṭ*, fols. 249b-254b, which is almost identical to al-Ṣāghānī's work *Mawḍūʿāt al-Ṣāghānī,* which is edited and published with *al-Durr al-multaqaṭ* by al-Ṣāghānī. Abū al-Faḍāʾil al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣāghānī, *al-Durr al-Multaqaṭ fī tabyīn al-ghalaṭ wa yalīhi al-mawḍūʿāt*, ed. Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1985). Did al-Kūrānī try to abridge the work of al-Ṣāghānī? Or was it a part of the question? Al-Kūrānī in *al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī* follows the order of this work, *ḥadīth* by *ḥadīth,* and give his opinion about it.
[354] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 15b-22b. MS: UK: British Library, India Office, no. 2163.

58.   KASHF AL-LABS ʿAN AL-MASĀʾIL AL-KHAMS.[355] Al-Kūrānī received questions about some aspects of al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*. The first question is about the punishment of the people who did not receive a prophet from God. The last four questions are related to linguistic aspects of some Quranic verses in which al-Kūrānī discusses the opinions of al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī. The second question is about the Quranic verse related to God's order to the angels to prostrate before Ādam (Q 18:50), particularly what the meaning is of the *hamzah* in ʾafatattakhidhūnah (أفتتّخذونه), "will you then take him [Iblīs] and his offspring as friends (awliyāʾ)." Al-Bayḍāwī says that the *hamzah* is for interrogation and interjection, but al-Taftāzānī says that humanity was not created yet at that time, so that cannot have happened during the same occasion, but only much later. Al-Kūrānī mentions the opinions of several scholars concerning its meaning. The third question is about the meaning of a word in (Q 5:41,42) *(sammāʿūn li-l-kadhib),* "they are listeners of falsehood," and whether the participle "listening" refers to their ability to listen or to their actual listening. The fourth question is about the Quranic verse *Huwa aʿlam bikum*, "He knows you best" (Q 53:32). The fifth question is about some grammatical aspects of the verse (Q 9:63). This work was completed on 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1090.

59.   MASLAK AL-TAʿRĪF BI-TAḤQĪQ AL-TAKLĪF ʿALĀ MASHRAB AHL AL-KASHF WA-L-SHUHŪD AL-QĀʾILĪN BI-TAWḤĪD AL-WUJŪD.[356] This work is an answer to a question about the concept of legal responsibility (taklīf) from the *wujūdī* viewpoint. To explain the concept of *taklīf* it was necessary to prove that man acquires his acts. That led al-Kūrānī to the topic of "creating human acts." His opinion is that *taklīf* is a combination of absolute existence and

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[355] MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 42a-45a. The copyist of this MS is Abū Ṭāhir, Ibrāhīm's son. This work is edited and published by ʿĀdil Maḥmūd Muḥammad, "Kashf al-Labs ʿan al-masāʾil al-khams: dirāsah wa-taḥqīq," *Journal of Surra man Raa*, University of Samerra, Iraq, vol. 9, no. 35, November 2013, pp. 45-66.
[356] MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869, fols. 59a-72a.

nonexistent quiddity. He talks about nonexistence and interpreting ambiguous verses (*taʾwīl al-mutashābihāt*), and he ends with a discussion on the topic of interpreting Sufi words, and some scholars' statements about Ibn ʿArabī. This work was completed at noon on Sunday, 24 Muḥarram 1091.[357]

60. AL-MASLAK AL-ANWAR ILĀ MAʿRIFAT AL-BARZAKH AL-AKBAR.[358] Al-Kūrānī received a question about two statments of Ibn ʿArabī that appears contradictory. The first statement is in his work *Inshāʾ al-dawāʾir*, in which he talks about a thing that cannot be characterized as existent nor nonexistent, and neither as eternal nor created. According to Ibn ʿArabī, this thing is the origin of the world, and he described it as *al-ḥaqq al-makhlūq bi-hi* (the truth which is created through it) . In *Laṭāʾif al-aʿlām*, atributed to al-Qāshānī, Ibn ʿArabī says that *al-ḥaqq al-makhlūq bi-hi* is the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), which is descibed as existent. This work was completed on Monday, 8 Rabīʿ I 1091.

61. MADD AL-FAYʾ FĪ TAQRĪR "LAYSA KA-MITHLIHI SHAYʾ." Also known as RISĀLAH FĪ QAWLIHI TAʿĀLĀ "LAYSA KA-MITHLIHI SHAYʾ."[359] In this work, al-Kūrānī tries to explain that the "*ka*" in the word "*ka-mithlihi*" does not change the meaning that nothing is similar to Him. His argument runs that if the *kāf* is additional to "*zāidah*," which means nothing like him (*laysa mithlihi shayʾ*), and the "*ka*" is not an addition, so the meaning will be that nothing like the things are like Him (*laysa mithla mithlihi shayʾ*), which means the negation of any similarity to His similar. This work was completed on 13 Rabīʿ I 1092.

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[357] MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869, fol. 72a.

[358] MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869Y, fols. 76a-79a.

[359] MS: Istanbul: Nuruosmaniye 2126, fols. 67b-68b.

62.   IsʿĀf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk Maslak al-taʿrīf[360] is a continuation of the discussion in the *Maslak al-taʿrīf* treatise after a question about some points in it. This work was composed on Monday, 2 Rabīʿ II 1092.

63.   Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl ʿalā tanzīh al-ṣūfiyyah ʿan iʿtiqād al-tajsīm wa-l-ʿayniyyah wa-l-ittiḥād wa-l-ḥulūl.[361] This work was printed several times. In it, al-Kūrānī defends Ibn ʿArabī and his followers against accusations of anthropomorphism, pantheism, immanentism, and incarnationism. His argument is the same in his theological treatise, that God is absolute existence in the sense that He is not restricted or conditioned by any other things outside of Himself. Thus, the Quranic verses and the Prophetic *ḥadīth*s that describe God in bodily or human form or in spatial location should be accepted as manifestations of God, without figurative interpretation. This work was completed on Saturday, 8 Muḥarram 1093.[362]

64.   Al-Ilmām bi-taḥrīr qawlay Saʿdī wa-l-ʿIṣām.[363] Al-Kūrānī recieved a question about two statements by al-Fāḍil al-Rūmī Saʿd Allāh b. ʿĪsā and ʿIṣām al-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh. In the first statement, al-Bayḍāwī says in his interpretation of the word '*rabb*' that it comes from *tarbiyah*, "education," which means guiding the person until his perfection. Al-Bayḍāwī concluded that contingents (*al-mumkināt*) need God in their existence and in their persisting. ʿIṣām al-Dīn argues that contingents need God in their creation and in their reaching perfection, but that there is no indication that they need God in their persisting. Al-Kūrānī says that reaching perfection depends on persisting in time for a while, which

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[360] MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869, fols. 73a-75b.

[361] Al-Kūrānī, Ibrāhīm, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl ʿalā tanzīh al-ṣūfiyyah ʿan iʿtiqād al-tajsīm wa l-ʿayniyyah wa-l-ittiḥād wa-l-ḥulūl*, edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusayn (Damascus: Dār al-Bayrūtī, 2009).

[362] See El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 277.

[363] MS: Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Taymūriyyah, 1/10, majāmīʿ 92, 5 folios. For three more copies see *al-Fahras al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-ʿArabī al-makhṭūṭ: ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (Jourdan: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt, 1989), vol. 2, p. 739.

is a proof that contingents need God in their persisting. The other question is about a comment of al-Fāḍil al-Rūmī Saʿd al-Allāh's on al-Bayḍāwī's comment on the Quranic verse "Who perfected everything which He created" (Q 32:7), and the meaning of "thing" (*shayʾ*). This work was composed on Thusday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1093.

65. AL-MASLAK AL-QAWĪM FĪ MUṬĀBAQAT TAʿALLUQ AL-QUDRAH BI-L-ḤĀDITH LI-TAʿALLUQ AL-ʿILM AL-QADĪM,[364] or AL-MASLAK AL-QAWĪM FĪ MUṬĀBAQAT AL-QUDRAH BI-L-ḤĀDITH LI-TAʿALLUQ AL-ʿILM AL-QADĪM.[365] This work is an answer to a question concerning some statements from al-Shaʿrānī's book *al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir* about God's eternal knowledge, and some verses in the Quran stating how God will know something. Al-Kūrānī discusses the connection (*taʿalluq*) between God's eternal knowledge and the essences of contingents, which are immutable nonexistents that have essential dispositions to be what they are. Al-Kūrānī uses Ibn ʿArabī's texts beside al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* to explain how God's knowledge is posterior to the occurrence of something. He composed this work on Wednesday, 11 Ṣafar 1094.

66. SHAWĀRIQ AL-ANWĀR LI-SULŪK AL-MASLAK AL-MUKHTĀR.[366] A certain scholar commented, critically, on al-Kūrānī's work *al-Maslak al-mukhtār*. Al-Kūrānī received this gloss and replied to its critiques. He does not mention the name of this scholar but calls him *al-muḥashshī*. Most of the discussions are related to the theory of perception in Ibn Sīnā's works and God's knowledge of particulars, as well as creation and time. This work was completed on Thursday, 5 Rabīʿ I 1094. There is an interesting note in one of the

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[364] MS: Cairo: Azhariyyah, 41976, 8 folios.
[365] MS: Cairo: Azhariyyah, 3988, jūharī 41976, 6 folios.
[366] MS: Istanbul: Laleli 722, fols. 108a-147b. MS: Istanbul: Carullah 2102, fols. 221a-265b. This *majmūʿ* contains another work that has the same title, fols. 41a-121b. After examining this work I found that it is al-Kūrānī's work *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād li-sulūk maslal al-sadād*.

manuscrips[367] says that the glossator (*al-muḥashshī*) is an eminent person (*fāḍil*) from Iṣfahān, and that he is a student of the famous Āghā Ḥusayn Khwānsārī (d. 1099/1687-8) and wrote on the instruction of the latter (*al-muḥashshī kataba bi-mushāwaratin ʿan Āghā Ḥusayn*). This gloss came to Medina with the glossator's son.

67.   AL-TAWAṢṢUL ILĀ ANNA ʿILM ALLĀH BI-L-ASHYĀ' AZALAN ʿALĀ AL-TAFṢĪL.[368] This work is an answer to a question about fixed entities and God's knowledge of particulars. The text was composed on Tuesday, 26 Jumādā II 1094.

68.   AL-TAḤRĪR AL-ḤĀWĪ LI-JAWĀB ĪRĀD IBN ḤAJAR ʿALĀ AL-BAYḌĀWĪ.[369] This work is in *fiqh*. Ibn Ḥajar rejected one of al-Bayḍāwī's ideas that repentance (*tawbah*) may save a person in cases of legal retribution (*qiṣāṣ*). Al-Kūrānī distinguishes between cases in which the repentance occurred before the murderer was captured and after he was. This work was composed in Medina on Friday, 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1094.

69.   AL-AMAM LI-ĪQĀẒ AL-HIMAM. Al-Kūrānī's main *thabat*. It is a record of his various chains of transmissions for a large number of scholarly works and contains full *isnād*s of works in the rational sciences. The work was completed on Monday, 8 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1095.

70.   IZĀLAT AL-ISHKĀL BI-L-JAWĀB AL-WĀḌIḤ ʿAN AL-TAJALLĪ FĪ AL-ṢUWAR.[370] This relatively long text is dedicated to the question of God's manifestation in forms and the ambiguous verses (*mutashābihāt*). Al-Kūrānī discusses several *ḥadīth*s that mention God's manifestation in different forms, and argues that God manifests in whatever form He wants since He is not restricted or conditioned by anything. However, he says clearly

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[367] MS: Istanbul: Laleli 722, fol. 108a.

[368] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 34b-35b; MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin 1815, fols. 132b-134a.

[369] MS: Cairo: Azhariyyah 10046, 2 folios.

[370] MS: Istanbul: Nafiz Pasa 508, 47 folios.

that accepting that God manifests in material forms does not mean He is material nor is there any kind of anthropomorphism or inherence; rather, there is always "nothing like Him." This work was completed on Monday, 25 Rajab 1097.

71.   AL-TAḤRĪRĀT AL-BĀHIRAH LI-MABĀḤITH AL-DURRAH AL-FĀKHIRAH,[371] or TAḤRĪRĀT ʿALĀ AL-DURRAH AL-FĀKHIRAH. A gloss on Jāmī's *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*, thus mostly about the concept of *wujūd*. It contains discussions from the Ashʿarite perspective about essence, existence, quiddity, God's unity, knowledge, and will, as well as about seeing God, with several citations from Ibn ʿArabī. It seems that al-Kūrānī's students used to collect his comments from the margins of the copies he used. There is no date of composition of this work, but two copies collected from al-Kūrānī's text are dated 19 Jumādā II 1120 by a certain Yaḥyā who was living in the Zāwiyah of Muḥammad Āghā in Istanbul. Another copy mentions that Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī, al-Kūrānī's student, collected al-Kūrānī's comments from the margins of *al-Durrah al-fākhirah* for the Shaykh al-Islām in Istanbul, Aḥmad Afandī, and collated the copy with Abū Ṭāhir, al-Kūrānī's son, in 14 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1118.

72.   MAJLĀ AL-MAʿĀNĪ ʿALĀ ʿAQĪDAT AL-DAWĀNĪ.[372] A commentary on some sections of al-Dawānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*. The second part of this commentary is about the topic of knowledge (*mabḥath al-ʿilm*), and is sometimes treated as an independent work.

73.   ḤĀSHIYAH ʿALĀ MABḤATH AL-ʿILM MIN SHARḤ AL-ʿAQĀʾID AL-ʿAḌUDIYYAH LI-L-DAWĀNĪ, or RISĀLAH FĪ AL-BAḤTH ʿAN AL-ʿILM.[373] Al-Kūrānī received a question about the topic of knowledge (*mabḥath al-ʿilm*) from al-Dawānī's commentary on *al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*. The question was whether it is possible for things to be generated by the free will of the

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[371] MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Garrett, 4049Y, 20 folios; MS: Istanbul: Hudai Efendi I381, fols. 1b-38a; MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 5373Y, fols. 189b-203a.

[372] MS: Istanbul: Nuruosmaniye 2126, fols. 1b-50b.

[373] MS: Istanbul: Laleli 722, fols. 71a-107a.

necessary, and whether free choices are always preceeded by knowledge, which would mean all created things exist externally in God's knowledge, for otherwise God's knowledge would be related to absolutely nothing, which is obviously imposible. The work is mainly about human acts, free will, and God's knowledge. This copy was copied on the last night of Jumādā I 1149.

74. SHARḤ AL-ʿAQĪDAH ALLATĪ ALLAFAHĀ MAWLĀNĀ AL-ʿALLĀMAH AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ ALLĀH ISMĀʿĪL [B. AL-MANṢŪR BI-ALLĀH] AL-QĀSIM RIḌWĀN ALLĀH ʿALAYHIM.[374] At the beginning of this work, al-Kūrānī mentions that after the season of the ḥajj, he received an ʿaqīdah in two folios; its author says that it is the doctrine of the "saved sect" (ʿaqīdat al-firqah al-nājiyah). Al-Kūrānī found some mistakes in this text, so he decided to comment on it. Al-Kūrānī also has another commentary on a longer work by al-Mutawakkil entitled *al-Asās li-ʿaqāʾid al-akyās*. This copy is not dated.

75. AL-NIBRĀS LI-KASHF AL-ILTIBĀS AL-WĀQIʿ FĪ AL-ASĀS LI-ʿAQĀʾID ṬĀʾIFAH SAMMŪ ANFUSAHUM BI-L-AKYĀS. Al-Imām al-Qāsim, known as al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the ruler of Yemen (d. 1029/1619),[375] composed a treatise entitled *al-Asās li-ʿaqāʾid al-akyās*.[376] Several scholars in Yemen wrote commentaries on this work. Al-Kūrānī wrote a commentary and interpreted it in an Ashʿarite way.[377] Al-Kūrānī's commentary was rejected by Zaydī scholars and some of them wrote refutation of his work, such as *al-*

[374] MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Garrett 224Y, fols. 147a-174b.

[375] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 6, p. 76; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 3, p. 293; Al-Shawkānī, *al-Bard al-ṭāliʿ*, vol. 2, p. 47; Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-Allāh, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh (Amman, Jordan: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyyah, 2001), vol. 2, p. 860.

[376] Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Muʿtazilī, *Kitāb al-asās li-ʿaqāʾid al-akyās*, ed. Alber Nadir (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1980).

[377] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 6, p. 80.

Iḥtirās min nār al-Nibrās by Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-ʿAbdī (d. 1115).[378] I was not able to examine this work.

76. AL-IʿLĀM BI-MĀ FĪ QAWLIHĪ TAʿĀLA "ʿALĀ ALLADHĪN YŪṬĪQŪNAHU" MIN AL-AḤKĀM[379] is a response to a question about the interpretation of a Quranic verse (Q 2:184) about fasting: "And upon those who are able [to fast, but with hardship] - a ransom [as substitute] of feeding a poor person [each day]." This copy is not dated.

77. IBRĀHĪM AL-KŪRĀNĪ'S IJĀZAH TO AL-DAKDAKJĪ. As mentioned in the section about al-Kūrānī's students, al-Dakdakjī was a Sufi Ḥanafī from Damascus. He was the main student of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and the scribe of his works. This work is only one page in which al-Kūrānī replies to a request for *ijāzah* from al-Dakdakjī. Al-Kūrānī wrote this *ijāzah* for all of his works and *riwāyāt*. Also in this *ijāzah,* al-Kūrānī asked al-Dakdakjī to extend his greetings to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī.[380]

78. NAWĀL AL-ṬAWL FĪ TAḤQĪQ AL-ĪJĀD BI-L-QAWL.[381] This work is an answer to a question about some verses by Ibn ʿArabī related to the notion of creation through the word "Be" (*kun*). Al-Kūrānī repeats his idea about the absoluteness of God and that He can manifest in whatever way He wants. Then he mentions the origin of contingents (*mumkināt*) from mutually distinct nonexistents (*maʿdūmāt mutamayyizah*). Al-Kūrānī also mentions *al-kalām al-nafsī* in this text. This copy is not dated.

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[378] Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī and others, *Fahras al-makhṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyyah li-Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktabah al-Gharbiyyah bi-l-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr-Ṣanʿāʾ* (Irān, Qum: Maktabat Samāḥat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā al-Marʿashī al-Najafī al-Kubrā, 2005), vol. 1, p. 241.

[379] MS: Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787, fols. 1b-2b.

[380] This work is number 375682 in the Juma al-Majed Center for Culture and Heritage in Dubai. Inside the work is written that this work is originally from the library of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī (d. 1935).

[381] MS: Ireland, Dublin: Chester Beatty, no. 4443/9, fols. 112-116.

79. AL-TASHĪL, SHARḤ AL-ʿAWĀMIL AL-JURJĀNIYYA[382] is a commentary on a famous grammar (naḥw) manual. The original work, *al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾah*, also known as *al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah*, was written by ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078). It was the subject of numerous commentaries by scholars such as Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, ʿIṣām al-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh, Khālid al-Azharī, and ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī.[383] This copy is not dated.

80. TAKMĪL AL-ʿAWĀMIL AL-JURJĀNIYYA,[384] also known as AL-FAWĀḌIL AL-BURHĀNIYYA FĪ TAKMĪL AL-ʿAWĀMIL AL-JURJĀNIYYA. This work is a short commentary by al-Kūrānī on *al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah*. This copy is not dated.

81. IJĀBAT AL-SĀʾIL ʿAMMĀ ISTASHKALAHU MIN AL-MASĀʾIL.[385] This work is missing a few folios from its beginning, and the author is not mentioned in the colophon. However, most probably the text is by al-Kūrānī. The author used the sources that al-Kūrānī usually uses, such as the works of al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, al-Dawānī, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn ʿArabī. The clearest evidence of al-Kūrānī's authorship is that the author concludes with a citation of a *ḥadīth* saying that he read it with his teacher al-Qushāshī in Medina in 1062 AH. The work contains comments on several topics, and seems related to al-Subkī's book *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*, a work in *uṣūl al-fiqh* but containing numerous discussions of theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*). The topics are related to the faith of the imitator (*īmān al-muqallid*) and the state with respect to Hell of the people who lived in the time between two prophets, usually called *ahl al-fatrah* (people of the interregnum), i.e., those who did not hear the message of the prophet after them and did not receive the messages of earlier prophets. This

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[382] MS: UAE, Dubai: Juma al-Majed Center for Culture and Heritage, no. 232146, 52 folios. On the first folio is written that the origin of this MS is *Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah*, without specifying which one.

[383] For a list of commentators see ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ḥabashī, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī: muʿjam shāmil li-asmāʾ al-kutub al-mashrūḥah fī al-turāth al-Islāmī wa-bayān shurūḥihā* (UAE, Abū Dhabī: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfī, 2004), vol. 2, p. 1421.

[384] MS: Istanbul: Atif Efendi 2441, fol. 238a-249b.

[385] MS: UK: British Library, India Office, Delhi-Arabic 710j, fols. 86-108.

question is also related to the state of the Prophet's parents. Another question that is raised in this work is related to the issue of the first obligation of the law (*taklīf*). This work is not dated.

82. Iṭḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh.[386] Al-Kūrānī received a question about divine manifestation (*tajallī*), specifically about how the eternal non-created God can be manifest in created form. Al-Kūrānī replied by explaining that God is an absolute existence, not conditioned or restricted by others, so He can manifest in forms and His transcendence (*tanzīh*) remains because His absoluteness is essential and what is essential never ceases. This work is dated 22 Rabīʿ I 1060, which is obviously wrong, because the text concludes with some *ḥadīths* that al-Kūrānī received from al-Qushāshī, who he did not meet until 1062.

Alongside the aforementioned texts that I obtained and examined, historical sources mention further works by al-Kūrānī that I was not able to examine:[387]

1. Ḍiyāʾ al-miṣbāḥ fī sharḥ Bahjat al-arwāḥ.[388]

2. Al-Jawāb al-ʿatīd li-masʾalat awwal wājib wa-masʾalat al-taqlīd.[389] From the title, this work could be the same as the one mentioned above under the title *Jawāb al-sāʾil ʿammā istashkalahu min al-masāʾil*, since both of them deal with the same topics.

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[386] MS: Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, *majāmīʿ* 11/2, fols. 351-362; MS: Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787, fols. 30a-33a.

[387] I used two lists of al-Kūrānī's works alongside manuscript catalogues and bio-bibliographies in order to collect the works that are attributed to al-Kūrānī, but I was not able to gain access to all of these works. The first list is MS: KSA: Riyāḍ University, 3881. This ms is attributed to al-Kūrānī's student ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Abī Bakr, and it is dated on Friday 22 Rabīʿ II 1122. The second list is Aloys Sprenger, *A catalogue of the Bibliotheca Orientalis Sprengeriana* (Berlin: Giessen: W. Keller, 1857), p. 21, n. 299.

[388] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[389] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

3.   AL-JAWĀB AL-KĀFĪ ʿAN IḤĀṬAT AL-ʿILM AL-MAKHLŪQ BI-L-GHAYR AL-MUTANĀHĪ.[390]

4.   SHARḤ AL-ANDALUSIYYAH[391] by al-Qayṣarī. Al-Andalusiyyah is a text in ʿarūḍ written by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Abū al-Jaysh al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (d. 626/1228-9). The commentator is ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad al-Qayṣarī (d. 872/1467-8).[392]

5.   TAYSĪR AL-ḤAQQ AL-MUBDĪ LI-NAQD BAʿD KALIMĀT AL-SIRHINDĪ.[393]

6.   TAKMĪL AL-TAʿRĪF LI-KITĀB FĪ AL-TAṢRĪF.[394]

7.   AL-JAWĀB ʿAN AL-SUʾĀL AL-AWWAL MIN AL-ASʾILAH AL-MAKKIYYAH.[395]

8.   IZĀLAT AL-ISHKĀL.[396] Probably is the same text mentioned above as *Izālat al-ishkāl bi-l-jawāb al-wāḍiḥ ʿan al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar.*

9.   GHĀYAT AL-MARĀM FĪ MASʾALAT IBN AL-HUMĀM.[397]

10. FAYḌ AL-WĀHIB LI-AFDAL AL-MAKĀSIB.[398]

11. DHAYL AL-MAQĀLAH AL-WĀḌIḤAH FĪ NADB AL-ḤIRṢ ʿALĀ AL-MUṢĀFAḤAH.[399]

12. ḌAWʾ AL-AʿYĀN FĪ AJWIBAT AL-SHAYKH ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN.[400]

13. AL-KANZ AL-MUʾTAMAN FĪ JAWĀB SUʾĀLĀT AHL AL-YAMAN.[401]

14. BULGHAT AL-MASĪR ILĀ TAWḤĪD AL-ʿALĪ AL-KABĪR.[402] Probably this work is another title for al-Kūrānī's short commentary on al-Qushāshī's poem on ʿaqīdah, since his long

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[390] Brockelmann, GAL II, p. 505.

[391] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[392] See Ḥabashī, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī*, vol 1, p. 293.

[393] MS: KSA: Riyāḍ University Library, 3881.

[394] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[395] MS: KSA: Riyāḍ University Library, 3881.

[396] MS: KSA: Riyāḍ University Library, 3881.

[397] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[398] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[399] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[400] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[401] MS: Berline Spre. 299.

[402] Al-Kūrānī mentions this title in *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 205 of Fathurrahman's edition. Also it is mentioned in MS: Berline Spre. 299.

commentary entitled, *Qaṣd al-sabīl ilā tawḥīd al-ʿAlī al-Kabīr* and al-ʿAyyāshī mentions the short commentary as *Zād al-masīr*.

15.   IẒHĀR AL-QADR LI-AHL BADR.[403]

16.   JALĀʾ AL-AḤDĀQ BI-TAḤRĪR AL-IṬLĀQ.[404]

17.   IQTIFĀʾ AL-ĀTHĀR [BI-TAWḤĪD AL-AFʿĀL MAʿ AL-KASB BI-L-IKHTIYĀR].[405]

18.   AL-IHTIMĀM BI-ḤUKM IDRĀK AL-MASBŪQ AL-RUKŪʿ LAM YARA AL-IMĀM.[406]

19.   MASLAK AL-IRSHĀD ILĀ AL-AḤĀDĪTH AL-WĀRIDAH FĪ AL-JIHĀD.[407]

Alongside these works, there are some attributed to al-Kūrānī, although I doubt the validity of the attribution.

1.   SHARḤ NUKHBAT AL-FIKAR, or ḤĀSHIYAH ʿALĀ NUKHBAT AL-FIKAR. The author of this work is Ibrāhīm al-Kūrdī; this is why several catalogues attribute it to al-Kūrānī. Many manuscripts mention the name of the author as Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrdī, usually refering to him as a resident of Aleppo; clearly he is a different person. Still other catalogues mention two commentaries entitled *Sharḥ nukhbat al-fikar*, one attributed to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrdī and another to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. They may be two different commentaries. However, I examined three different copies[408] attributed to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and all of them are the same as the one attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-

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[403] MS: Berline Spre. 299; MS: KSA: Riyāḍ University Library, 3881. A copy of this work is in MS: Yemen, Trem: Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, n. 2681, majāmīʿ, 2 folios.

[404] MS: Yemen, Trem: Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, n. 2681, majāmīʿ, 3 folios.

[405] MS: KSA: Riyāḍ University Library, 3881; MS: Berline Spre. 299. A copy of this work is in MS: Yemen, Trem: Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, n. 2716, majāmīʿ, 4 folios. It was composed in 1091.

[406] MS: Yemen, Trem: Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, n. 2678, majāmīʿ, 5 folios.

[407] Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, vol. 2, p. 12.

[408] One is under the number 237343 in the Juma al-Majed Center for Culture and Heritage in Dubai; the origin of this work is al-Maktabah al-Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus, no. 7676. The second is from the Azhariyyah library, *khāṣṣ* 823, *ʿāmm* 53071. The last one is in Maktabat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz bi-l-Riyāḍ, n. 1501.

Kūrdī. In *Al-Fahras al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī al-makhṭūṭ*, in the section about *ḥadīth* and its sciences, there are 3 copies attributed to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and 18 copies attributed to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrdī.[409] On page 1026 of the same catalogue, there is a mention of another copy of *Sharḥ nukhbat al-fikar*, and it is attributed to al-Kūrānī with a note that the name listed in the original index of *Awqāf al-Mawṣil* is al-Kurdī. This work is a commentary on Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-fikar fī muṣṭalaḥ ahl al-athar.* The original work, *Nukhbat al-fikar,* is a small treatise by al-ʿAsqalānī, who wrote it to summarize the terms of the science of *ḥadīth.* But it was very condensed, so some students asked him to write a commentary to explain it. The original work of al-ʿAsqalānī and his commentary received a good number of commentaries and glosses.[410] This work, *Sharḥ nukhbat al-fikar,* that is attributed to al-Kūrānī contains some references to philosophical-theological works such as al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif.* It does not have an incipit or a colophon, neither does it end as al-Kūrānī ends his works, by citing some *ḥadīth*s with their full *isnād*s. However, missing the colophon can be normal if this commentary was collected from a margin of the author's copy with no intention by the author to make it a separate work. Also, there is no date of composition.

2.   SHUMŪS AL-FIKR AL-MUNQIDHAH ʿAN ẒULUMĀT AL-JABR WA-L-QADAR[411] was most probably not written by al-Kūrānī. In both manuscripts examined there is no clear attribution of this work to al-Kūrānī, even though it is mentioned in *majmūʿ* of his texts, probably because it agrees with his idea of *kasb.* Furthermore, the style of the text is different from

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[409] *Al-Fahras al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī al-makhṭūṭ, al-ḥadīth al-nabawī al-sharīf wa-ʿulūmahu wa-rijālahu* (al-Majmaʿ al-Malakī li-Buḥūth al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmiyyah, Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt, 1991), vol. 2, p. 694.

[410] See al-Ḥabashī, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī*, vol. 3, p. 2012.

[411] MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 47b-50a; MS: Istanbul: Ragip Pasa 1464, fols. In the margin of fols. 63a-67a.

al-Kūrānī's when he discusses this topic, and there is no reference to any of al-Kūrānī's longer texts that explain this topic in detail. *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* and *Kashf al-ẓunūn* attribute this text to Ibn ʿArabī.[412]

As a conclusion of this section about al-Kūrānī's work, we can remark on the fact that he wrote in numerous disciplines of the Islamic sciences, including philosophy, theology, grammar, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, Sufism, and *fiqh*. This combination of intellectual sciences with transmitted knowledge, alongside his mystical interest, makes his works very unusual; he also deals with all these disciplines in the same texts in a coherent way. The next chapter will show how Ibn ʿArabī's ideas provided the basis for al-Kūrānī's theological discussions, and how he used the whole of the Islamic intellectual tradition to explain and interpret Ibn ʿArabī's thought. In both cases, he supported his arguments with numerous Quranic verses and *ḥadīths* to show how the rational sciences and transmitted knowledge are in harmony.

We can notice from al-Kūrānī's works that many works are dated during Dhū al-Ḥijjah, which is understandable since numerous treatises were written as answers to questions posed during the season of the *ḥajj.* During this season, al-Kūrānī used to receive inquiries and requests for his legal opinion (*istiftāʾ*) from different parts of the Islamic world with the travelers arriving for *ḥajj.* He would answer these questions quickly so that the pilgrims might carry the responses back with the caravan that brought them to the Ḥijāz. The works dated in the *ḥajj* seasons are relatively short and deal with specific questions. Another note about al-Kūrānī's works is that he only translated one text, *Ishrāq al-shams bi-taʿrīb al-kalimāt al-khams*, a short Sufi text that was translated at the request of his teacher al-Qushāshī. Another interesting note that reveals an additional

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[412] Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 116; Ḥajjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn,* vol. 2, *p. 1065.*

aspect of al-Kūrānī's personality is the fact that he did not dedicate any of his works to any ruler, *amīr*, or Sultan. This is the case despite the fact that he used to receive large donations from numerous rulers and wealthy people.

Conclusion

Al-Kūrānī's life and curriculum vitae display that he was an established scholar in the rational sciences before leaving his hometown. He continued his intellectual studies with his teacher al-Qushāshī, who was famous as a Sufi but also wrote several works in theology, some of which are mentioned above. Al-Kūrānī mentioned al-Qushāshī in many of his *isnād*s of intellectual texts. Al-Kūrānī probably read these texts, mainly by al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, and al-Dawānī, again through the Sufi eyes of al-Qushāshī. The following chapters will display that he used these texts to interpret Ibn ʿArabī and to situate him within the Islamic intellectual tradition. It is difficult to determine the influence of al-Qushāshī on al-Kūrānī's thought since almost all of the latter's writings were in Medina after his meeting with al-Qushāshī. The only work that he wrote before meeting al-Qushāshī is *Inbāh al-anbāh*, a work of grammar.

The list of al-Kūrānī's teachers and scholarly contacts reveals his familiarity with the traditions of Kurdistan, Persia, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, North Africa, Yemen, the Ḥijāz, and India. This wide range of teachers and students illustrates the centrality of the Ḥijāz as a meeting point for all the intellectual trends in the Muslim world during the 16th and the 17th centuries. The list of his students displays how his influence extended to even more regions to include Istanbul, Southeast Asia, and even Southeast Africa.

One aspect concerning al-Kūrānī's students that scholars have examined is his Javanese students in Medina. These investigations are related to the topic of the Islamization of Indonesia and the role of Ḥijāzī scholars in forming the religious identity

of Southeast Asia. Many of al-Kūrānī's students were from Southeast Asia. Johns has suggested that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkīlī in Mecca was a teacher of "hundreds if not thousands"[413] of Indonesian students. However, Syed Hussein Alatas in a review of Johns' book, and based on Dutch documents, offers some statistical data on pilgrims. In the years 1852-1859 the average number of pilgrims was 2,164 per year. Between 1873 and 1881 the average figure was 3,628. In 1880, 7,327 were reported, the highest figure attained. In 1858 there were 3,317 persons registered, approximately 200 years after 1661. And in his opinion "if we were to project it back two centuries, excluding the facilities of modern steamships and stabilized political and commercial relations between Arabia and Indonesia [...] it is unlikely that a few hundred pilgrims went to Mecca every year."[414] This assumption may agree with Snouck's suggestion that "although the period in which Jawah pilgrims could be counted annually in thousands may be recent, a fairly active traffic had certainly endured over two centuries."[415] Van Bruinessen suggests two reasons behind the popularity of Kurdish scholars for Indonesian students: the first is the fact that Indonesians have adhered to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* since at least the 16th century, as did the Kurds, unlike most Arabs, Turks, and

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[413] Johns, *The Gift Addressed*, p. 11. Sayed Hussein Alatas in his review says: "In another instance Dr. Johns offered a statistical speculation on the number of Indonesians in Mecca around 1661, 'hundreds if not thousands'." Syed Hussein Alatas, review "The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet by A. H. Johns," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Mar., 1968), p. 183. Later Johns responded to Alatas saying: "Nowhere did I suggest that hundreds if not thousands of Indonesians came to Mecca every year or that these numbers were resident in Mecca during any one year. My only suggestion (speculation?) was that during his nineteen years in Mecca he could reasonably have been expected to have met a number of pilgrims and students of this order of magnitude." Manuel Sarkisyanz, A. H. Johns and Syed Hussein Alatas, "Correspondence," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Sep., 1968), pp. 381-385, p. 383.

[414] Syed Hussein Alatas, review "The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet by A. H. Johns," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Mar., 1968), p. 184.

[415] Snouck, Hurgronje C., *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning, the Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, tr. J.H. Monahan (Leiden: Brill. 2007), pp. 219-220. The original text was published in German in two volumes, under the title "Mekka," in 1888–1889.

Indians, who followed the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. However, this reason is limited to *fiqh*-related matters. The second reason, according to him, is that Indonesian and Kurdish Muslims had a common attraction to mysticism and metaphysical speculation and a firm belief in miracles and sainthood.[416]

In the list of al-Kūrānī's students many of his Javanese students were mentioned, and the list of his works show that four texts were written especially for a Javanese audience in Medina, or to reply to some questions that arrived directly from Java. The Ḥijāz was a religious reference for Javanese scholars and even Sultans. For example, the Sultan of Banten, Sultan Pangeran Ratu (r. 1626-1651 CE), dispatched a special delegation to Mecca in 1638, carrying a number of inquiries about al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*. In the following century, Arshād al-Banjarī also asked for a *fatwā* from his teacher Sulaymān al-Kūrdī (1715-1780 CE) regarding the policy of the Sultan of Banjar to prioritize taxes over *zakat*.[417]

Al-Kūrānī's teachers and students embody the active scholarly environment in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century. Among all these scholars, al-Kūrānī stands as a unique person who combined intellectual sciences (*maʿqūlāt*) with transmitted sciences (*manqūlāt*), alongside practicing Sufism as a way of life. In spite of the fact that he was an established scholar in the rational sciences, he appears from the evidence to have been very sincere in his search for a spiritual guide, for reasons he did not mention. When he met al-Qushāshī, he showed complete commitment to the Sufi path in his personal modest and ascetic life and through his humble character.

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[416] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Kurdish ʿulama and their Indonesian disciples," electronic copy from the author's website. Revised version of: "The impact of Kurdish ʿulama on Indonesian Islam," *Les Annales de l'Autre Islam* 5 (1998), 83-106.

[417] Fathurahman. "*Itḥāf al-dhaki* by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī," p. 181.

The other advantage of focusing on al-Kūrānī over other scholars in the Ḥijāz is his prolific textual production. He wrote over one hundred works in several different disciplines. I mentioned al-ʿAyyāshī's description of al-Kūrānī's style of writing as one that makes his texts accessible for all readers. Through a careful reading of his works, one notices his efforts to provide clear explanations and his willingness to repeat and explain again and again all the aspects of these topics. His works demonstrate his engagement in actual debates from different regions of the Islamic world. Several treatises are written to Javanese students or to answer questions from Java. At least two works written in Iran were commentaries on al-Kūrānī's works. His debate with Maghribī scholars was the reason behind several of his works. He had a debate with Indian Mujaddidī scholars in the Ḥijāz over the topic of the *kaʿbah*, as well as on his commentary on al-Burhānbūrī's *al-Tuḥfah*. For Yemeni Zaydī scholars he wrote at least three works to refute some aspects of Imāmī theology, and Yemeni schools replied to his works. We need hardly mention Damascus, Cairo, and Baghdad, the cities from which many of his teachers and students came.

His active correspondence and debates with scholars from different Islamic regions indicates that he was well known in almost the entire Islamic world during his life. His works reached the Maghrib very early in his career and he continued to correspond with Maghribi scholars until the end of his life. He also received, and responded to, two letters from Āṭār, a city that is currently located in Mauritania. Al-Kūrānī also was well known in Southeast Asia through his students, mainly al-Singkīlī and Maqassarī. The fact that Damascene students asked him to comment on al-Qushāshī's *ʿaqīdah* poem, and later to abridge this commentary, attests to his reputation in Damascus. The list of his students who are originally from Egypt, or who moved to Cairo, also reveals that he was well

known in Cairo during his lifetime. The specification of his name in the request for the *fatwā* about al-Sirhindī's *Maktūbāt* means he was known and respected among Indian scholars as well. The last important facet of al-Kūrānī's work is that almost all his works are preserved in several libraries in different parts of the world. The diffusion of his works over such a wide geographic area indicates that his works were frequently copied and studied in different parts of the Islamic world.

Al-Kūrānī was one of the most influential figures in the 17th century not only in the Ḥijāz, but in the entire Islamic world. The spread of his works and ideas from the Ḥijāz to almost every part of the Islamic world displays the centrality of the Ḥijāz, not only for the annual pilgrimage, but also for intellectual exchange among scholars from different parts of the Islamic world. Al-Kūrānī's engagement in debates and discussions related to other regions speaks to the interconnectedness of the Islamic intellectual world of his time. These are the reasons why looking at his theories in the next chapters is foundational to re-evaluating Islamic intellectual life of the 17th century, when the Ḥijāz was especially vibrant.

Chapter Four: Al-Kūrānī's Theological and Sufi Thought

This chapter was initially intended to be two chapters dealing respectively with al-Kūrānī's theological ideas and his Sufi thought. During the research process, it became clear that al-Kūrānī's theology cannot be separated from his Sufi thought. This chapter will show that, while his main concern was theology, al-Kūrānī's theological arguments are in fact largely based on Ibn ʿArabī's thought. It seems that Ibn ʿArabī's ideas are the true reference and the main theological authority for al-Kūrānī's theological discussions. Al-Kūrānī discussed almost every topic in theology and Sufism in such an interconnected way that it is difficult to separate them into different categories. He established a coherent structure in which each part is at once based on another idea and foundational to still others. Presenting all his ideas with their supporting demonstrations would mean reproducing all his treatises in this limited chapter, which is not possible. This chapter aims instead to present al-Kūrānī's main theology and Sufi arguments, those that occupied much of his intellectual life, and their interaction with the intellectual debates among contemporary scholars. Al-Kūrānī was most interested in the subject of existence (*wujūd),* which was a major concern, with its other related concepts, of Islamic philosophers, most theologians (*mutakallimūn*), and Sufis for almost eleven centuries. Discussing the concept of *wujūd* means dealing with philosophical and theological discussions of quiddity, nonexistence, creation, God's attributes, predetermination, and human will. All these topics had become part of Sufi discourse, beginning with ʿAyn al-Quḍāt and continuing on to Ibn ʿArabī and the tradition of philosophical commentaries.

Al-Kūrānī describes God as "absolute existence" (*wujūd muṭlaq*) in the sense that He is not restricted or conditioned by anything outside of His essence. Since God is not

restricted by others, He can become manifest in any restricted form He wants without this manifestation affecting the absoluteness of His existence. So, the ambiguous verses (*mutashābihāt*) and the prophetic *ḥadīth*s that contain apparently anthropomorphic meanings should be accepted as Divine manifestations without any need for allegorical interpretation. Beginning with this idea, we will discuss the main three topics of God as absolute existence, the interpretation of the ambiguous verses, and God's manifestations in conceivable forms.

According to Ashʿarī theology, God's attributes are neither other than God's essence nor identical with God's essence, or, in al-Kūrānī's expression, *laysa ghayr al-dhāt wa-lā ʿayn al-dhāt.* Consequently, God as absolute existence can be considered from two points of view. The first is God's essence without any regard to His attributes, names, relations, or anything else. From this perspective, He is absolutely indeterminate; no label, name, or attribute can be ascribed to Him. The second perspective is that God can be known and perceived through His attributes, names, and relations. For example, knowledge is one of God's attributes, and God's knowledge has two aspects; in one aspect it is identical to, and in the other different from God's essence. God's knowledge, as identical to His essence, is called *nafs al-amr. Nafs al-amr* contains the realities (*ḥaqāʾiq*), quiddities (*māhiyyāt*), nonexistents (*maʿdūmāt*), or fixed entities (*aʿyān thābita*) of all contingent beings. All these terms refer to the same thing in al-Kūrānī's writings.

God's knowledge is eternal; thus, the realities or quiddities of all contingent beings are eternal and unmade (*ghayr majʿūlah). Al-Kūrānī even describes a reality as a "thing" (*shayʾ*), an idea that looks similar to the Muʿtazilite idea of the "thingness of nonexistent" (*shayʾiyyat al-maʿdūm). Al-Kūrānī not only explains the meaning of "thing" (*shayʾ*), he also tries to prove that Ashʿarites actually accepted the idea that a nonexistent can be

described as a "thing" and thus that they accepted the concept of "mental existence" *(wujūd dhihnī).* After establishing the idea that realities are uncreated and individuated in God's knowledge, al-Kūrānī moves toward an explanation of creation as a manifesting of these realties in the external world. God creates them as their quiddities require, which provides an answer to the question of destiny and predestination, and will be reflected in al-Kūrānī's theory of *kasb* and his affirmation of human freedom with regards to actions. Holding that the eternal realities subsist in God's knowledge also provides al-Kūrānī with a solution to the question of God's knowledge of particulars.

This structure will lead us to discuss in detail almost every topic mentioned in this paragraph: God's knowledge, which contains the realities or uncreated quiddities, the nature of these realities, creation, destiny, human freedom, and God's knowledge of particulars. This metaphysical or cosmological structure, starting from absolute existence and moving to human existence, represents the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in al-Kūrānī's thought.

Along with these main topics, al-Kūrānī discussed many other theological and Sufi topics including the faith of Pharaoh, the satanic verses, *kalām nafsī,* the precedence of God's mercy and the annihilation of Hellfire (*fanāʾ al-nār*), and the preference between the reality of the Kaʿbah and the reality of Muḥammad. There is no doubt that all these topics are essential parts of al-Kūrānī's theological and Sufi efforts. They are connected directly to the main arguments mentioned above. However, I have decided to separate them from the previous arguments in order to keep the flow of the previous arguments from the main idea of God as absolute existence until the natural result of his system in *waḥdat al-wujūd,* a phrase that serves as the foundation of his whole philosophical system.

Thus, I divide this chapter into two parts: Part One is dedicated to al-Kūrānī's metaphysical and cosmological thought, and Part Two to other theological and Sufi ideas.

Part Two can be considered a consequence of Part One, but listing each idea directly after the relevant section in Part One would create an interruption of the general argument. For example, *kalām nafsī* is clearly part of the discussion of God's attributes. But listing a few pages about *kalām nafsī* after the topic of God's attributes would distract al-Kūrānī's readers from main aim when explaining the topic of God's attributes, which is God's manifestation in conceivable forms. We have to keep in mind that numerous treatises by al-Kūrānī were written as replies to questions that he received related to different topics that are part of theology or Sufi thought. These treatises may concern certain topics that do not fit directly in the general arguments, even though al-Kūrānī's main philosophical and theological doctrines clearly appear even in his answers to these specific questions.

Before moving on to a detailed discussion of all these aspects, I must remark on the manuscript sources used here. I do not claim that the manuscripts that I use in this chapter are superior to other extant manuscripts of the same work. I attempted to collect a simple of al-Kūrānī's works that are available in libraries and archives around the world as I could; the texts that I gathered amount to 80 treatises, some of them only a few folios, others dozens of folios, and some reaching more than 200 folios. For the most part I did not intentionally collect different copies of the same work; however, I have several copies of some works and in a few cases I consulted different copies intentionally.

[4.1] Part One: al-Kūrānī's Metaphysical and Cosmological Thought

[4.1.1] God is Absolute Existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq* or *al-wujūd al-maḥḍ*)

Ibn ʿArabī repeatedly describes God as absolute existence, saying, among other expressions, that "the Truth Almighty is existent by its essence, for its essence, absolute existence, not restricted by others."[1] His use of the term "absolute existence" (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*) provoked strong attacks against him. These attacks came from numerous scholars in different intellectual traditions, including the Ḥanbalite jurist and theologian Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328), the Maturidite theologian al-Taftāzānī (792/1390), and even from Sufis such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dawalah al-Simnānī (739/1336).

Ibn Taymiyyah interpreted absolute existence as a universal concept, meaning an abstract concept that exists only in the mind and that can never exist in the external world. Universals are nothing more than common, general meanings that the mind retains to signify individuals in the real, external world. For Ibn Taymiyyah, universals exist only in the mind and thus there are no universals in the external world; universal statements are the result of generalizations made by the mind on the basis of empirical observation of particulars that share certain attributes. In the external world, only individuated particulars exist, particulars that are specific, distinct, and unique.[2] Since abstract meaning exists solely in the mind, it does not have any actual real meaning in the world. In other words, Ibn Taymiyyah's objection to Ibn ʿArabī is that if we say that God is absolute existence, then God is just an idea or a concept in our mind without any external existence.

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[1] Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* (Cairo: Būlāq edition, 1911), vol.1, p. 90; vol. 1, p. 118; vol. 3, p. 162.

[2] Wael B. Hallaq, "Ibn Taymiyya on the existence of God," *Acta Orientalia,* Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, (52) 1991, p. 51.

Al-Taftāzānī in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* discusses this idea extensively and argues that absolute existence belongs to the second intelligibles (*al-maʿqūlāt al-thāniyah*), which do not have any real existence outside the mind.[3] The universal concept (*mafhūm kullī*) does not exist extramentally, apart from its particular instances.[4] Al-Taftāzānī rejects the attempts of Ibn ʿArabī's followers to interpret the concept philosophically. Pseudo-Sufis, according to al-Taftāzānī, tried to use the philosophers' claim that God's quiddity is identical to God's existence and that He has no contrary, no analogue, no genus, and no differentia. However, the arguments of pseudo-Sufis, as El-Rouayheb explains, established that something can be true both of absolute existence and God, but it does not follow from this establishment that absolute existence and God are identical.[5]

Al-Simnānī also rejects the description of God as absolute existence. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that Ibn ʿArabī's commentator ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 730/1330) met with one of al-Simnānī's students and asked him about the latter's opinion of Ibn ʿArabī and his thought. Al-Simnānī's student replied that his shaykh, al-Simnānī, believed that Ibn ʿArabī was a great person (*rajul ʿaẓīm al-shaʾn*) but that he was mistaken in his idea

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[3] Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayrah (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1989), vol. 4, p. 59. Knysh thinks that the major source of al-Taftāzānī's knowledge of his opponent's views is the work of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, who took a strictly rationalist approach to his master's legacy. That makes al-Taftāzānī's criticism, according to Knysh, a superficial acquaintance with the Sufi's original work. Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 162.

[4] For al-Taftāzānī's refutation of Ibn ʿArabī's thought see Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition*, p. 146 and after. It is important to mention that Knysh used *Risālah fī waḥdat al-wujūd* as the main source to present al-Taftāzānī's refutation. This treatise was actually written by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 730/1330). Al-Bukhārī was a student of al-Taftāzānī and he repeated several of his teacher's ideas, which perhaps is the cause of this confusion. For further information about this epistle, its different titles, and to whom it has been attributed, see the French introduction by Bakri Aladdin to al-Nābulusī's book *al-Wujūd al-ḥaqq* (Damascus: IFPO L'institut Français D'études Arabes De Damas, 1995), p. 18 and after.

[5] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 315 and after. El-Rouayheb argues that from the perspective of al-Kūrānī and other early modern defenders of ontological monism, the most prominent and formidable opponent of the view that God is identical to absolute existence was not Ibn Taymiyyah but al-Taftāzānī, Ibid., p. 283.

that God is absolute existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*). Al-Qāshānī replied that this idea is the

foundation of all of Ibn ʿArabī's thought, and further that there is no better than this idea

(*aṣl jamīʿ maʿārifihi hādhā al-kalām, wa-lā aḥsan min hādhā al-kalām*).⁶ Al-Qāshānī continues

on to say that the idea that God is absolute existence is the doctrine of all prophets, saints

(*awliyāʾ*), and Imāms. When al-Simnānī's student conveyed this opinion to his teacher, al-

Simnānī said that in all the doctrines and religions there is no worse than this idea; even

the materialists and the deniers of the Creator (*al-dahriyyīn wa-l-ṭabiʿiyyīn*) are better than

this idea.⁷

Describing God as absolute existence is associated with Ibn ʿArabī and his followers,

but, in fact, we can also find a description of God as "absolute" in al-Ashʿarī's thought.

Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015), in *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī* says that al-

Ashʿarī, after talking about created existents, says: "and the absolute existent, whose

existence does not depend on an existent of a Creator, is the affirmed being which is

neither negated nor nonexistent *(ammā al-mawjūd al-muṭlaq alladhī lā yataʿallaq bi-wujūd

al-wājid lahu fa-huwa al-thābit al-kāʾin alladhī laysā bi-muntaf wa-lā maʿdūm)*."⁸ In spite of the

fact that Ibn Fūrak was talking about the absolute existent (*mawjūd*) not absolute

existence (*wujūd*), what was controversial, as we shall see, was the meaning of absolute.

However, the term tends to be associated with Ibn ʿArabī, and all Ibn ʿArabī's

commentators and followers used this term and were obliged to reply to the critics and

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⁶ Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 509.

⁷ Al-Simnānī was a critic of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and actively corresponded with al-Qāshānī over the topic of the ontological relationship of God and the universe. See Jamal J. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ʿalāʾ Ad-Dawla As-Simnānī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), p. 44. About al-Simnānī and *waḥdat al-wujūd* see Hermann Landolt, "Simnānī on *waḥdat al-wujūd*," in *Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, ed. Hermann Landolt and M. Mohaghegh (Tehran: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch, 1971), pp. 91-112.

⁸ Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī: min imlāʾ al-Shaykh al-Imām Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Fūrak (t. 406/1015)*, ed. Daniel Gimaret (Beirut: Dār el-Mashriq, 1987), p. 27.

explain their understanding of it.[9] Some scholars dedicated specific treatises to demonstrating that absolute existence actually exists, among them ʿAlī al-Muhāʾimī (d. 835/1431-2), one of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*'s commentators, who wrote *Adillat al-tawḥīd* and commented on his own work in *Ajillat al-taʾyīd* to explain this topic.[10] Al-Kūrānī inherited this long tradition of interpreting Ibn ʿArabī's concept of absolute existence. Since his teacher al-Qushāshī discussed it, it is not surprising to find it in al-Kūrānī's early works.[11]

Al-Kūrānī explains in numerous contexts and in several works that absolute existence means unqualified and unconditioned existence.[12] In other words, the term "absolute" (*muṭlaq)* can be understood by its contrary; that is, the term "conditioned" or "restricted" (*muqayyad*). God cannot be restricted by anything other than Himself. That does not mean that God's absoluteness is a contrary or contradiction of restriction; in this case, He will be restricted by what He is not able to do. He is absolute in real absoluteness: He is not bounded or restricted, and at the same time He is capable of every form of absoluteness or restriction (*al-iṭlāq al-ḥaqīqī alladhī lā yuqābiluhu taqyīd, al-qābil li-kull iṭlāq wa-taqyyid*).[13] *Lā yuqābiluh taqyyid* is explained in *Itḥāf al-dhakī* as existence that is not

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[9] Al-Qūnawī used the same term of absolute existence in several contexts. See *Miftāḥ al-ghayb li-Abī al-Maʿālī Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Qūnawī wa-sharḥuhu Miṣbāḥ al-uns li-Muḥammad bin Ḥamzah al-Fanārī*, ed. Muḥammad Khvājavī (Tehran: Intishārāt Mawlā, 1416/[1995]). Al-Qūnawī, *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*, p. 19; and al-Fanārī's commentary *Miṣbāḥ al-uns*, p. 150 and after. See also William Chittick, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī on the Oneness of Being," *International Philosophical Quarterly*, XXI, 1, 1981, 171-184, p. 173. Also, William Chittick, "Mysticism versus philosophy in earlier Islamic history: al-Ṭūsī, al-Qūnawī correspondence," *Religious Studies* 17, 1981, 87-104, p. 92.

[10] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 232.

[11] Al-Qushāshī in his gloss on ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's *al-Kamālāt al-ilāhiyyah* discussed the concept of absolute existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*). See some aspects of his arguments in al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 600.

[12] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa-l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd* (MS: USA: Princeton Islamic_MSS_3869Y), fol. 60a.

[13] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh fī waḥdat al-wujūd* (MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440), fol. 124b.

conditioned (*la bi-shart shay*ᵓ).[14] Al-Kūrānī here wants to explain that absoluteness does not mean an opposite of restriction, because God is able to manifest Himself in a restricted form and in any form He so wishes without His absoluteness being affected. The primary and most important characteristic of God is that He will always and forever be without comparison; "nothing is like Him" (*laysa ka-mithlihi shay*ᵓ) (Q 42:11). God is unbounded; He is not determined or defined by any created form; He is an absolute existence that assumes every binding and every form without becoming bound or constricted.

Al-Kūrānī says that the issue of absolute existence is the foundation of all foundations (*aṣl al-uṣūl*);[15] thus, he tries to demonstrate this principle by reason and by scripture to assert that absolute existence is necessary and exists extramentally. Al-Kūrānī worked systematically to demonstrate that absolute existence exists, that absolute existence is necessary, and finally that the doctrine that God is absolute existence is in accord with al-Ashʿarī's doctrine that the existence of everything is identical to its essence.

Citing Jāmī in *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*, he says that existence must include necessary existence as well as contingent existence; otherwise, existence will be limited to contingents. The contingent does not exist by itself, and what cannot exist by itself cannot be a cause of the existence of others, so, that means nothing exists. And if there is no existence, either by itself or by others, that means there are no existents at all. But this assumption is not correct, because there are existents; thus, there is necessary existence.[16] Al-Kūrānī then says that the origin of existents (*mabda*ᵓ *al-mawjūdāt*), which should be the necessary existence, is existent. It is either the reality of existence (*ḥaqīqat*

[14] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 216.

[15] Ibid., p. 231.

[16] Ibid., p. 232. Jāmī, *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*, ed. al-Sāyiḥ and ʿAwaḍ, p. 7.

al-wujūd), or different than existence. The origin of existents cannot be nonexistent, because what is nonexistent needs existence in order to exist. And since it needs others, it cannot be necessary. Thus, the origin of existents exists and it is the reality of existence.[17]

Up until this point, al-Kūrānī has attempted to demonstrate that there is existence that is the origin of all existents, and that this existence is the reality of existence. Now, he needs to demonstrate that this existence that is the reality of all existents and the origin of existents is absolute existence. Al-Kūrānī offers two possible definitions for existence, either [1] absolute in the real sense of absoluteness that is niether restricted nor conditioned by anything apart from itself, and that is able to manifest itself in any restricted form without its absoluteness being affected. It is concretely individuated (*mutaʿayyin*)[18] by its essence, not by any addition to its essence; in itself it is neither universal nor particular. Or, existence is [2] restricted and concretely individuated by something added to its essence. If so, it is concretely individuated through composition and each composed item is in need, and what is in need cannot be a necessary existence.[19] In another context, al-Kūrānī gives more detail by stating that it is proven that the necessary existence is existent in itself. So, it is either:

a. Pure existence that exists by itself; or,

b. Existence that is attached to quiddity and is conditioned by its disposition (*istiʿdād*); or,

c. The quiddity that can be attached to the existence and which qualified it; or,

[17] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 231.

[18] Chittick says that in Ibn ʿArabī and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's writing this term signifies "to be or to become an entity," or "the state of being specified and particularized." William Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-ʿArabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press,1989), p. 83.

[19] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 232

d. The compound of quiddity and the existence which exists in accordance to it [the quiddity].

(d) is not correct because the compound is in need of others, so it cannot be necessary existence. (b) and (c) are also not correct because each one needs the other to be actualized, and being in need negates necessity (*al-iḥtiyāj yūnāfī al-wujūb*). Thus, it is (a) that is the correct definition of existence.[20] Thus God, the necessary existence, is a pure, absolute existence.

In *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd* al-Kūrānī repeats the same proof.[21] There, he adds that the necessary existence by itself is an existence that is devoid of quiddity (*wujūd mujarrad ʿan al-māhiyyah*), and concretely individuated by itself (*mutaʿayyin bi-dhātihi*).[22] God's existence is thus unprecedented (*ghayr masbūq*) by a quiddity, unlike all other existents. God is identical to pure, absolute existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq* or *al-wujūd al-maḥḍ*), in the sense that God has no quiddity (*māhiyya*) apart from unqualified existence as such.

Thus, the necessary existence is the absolute existence that is devoid of quiddity, self-subsisting (*qāʾim bi-dhātihi*), concretely individuated (*mutaʿayyan*) by itself, and absolute in the real sense of absoluteness.[23] This pure existence is necessary by virtue of itself and is an "individual" (*shakhṣ*) and "concretely individuated," but it is nevertheless not a "particular" (*juzʾī*), nor a universal; it is unqualified, pure existence and is a concrete entity in the extramental world.[24] God is a real external existence; He is neither an

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20 Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, p. 33.

[20] Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, p. 33.

[21] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*, fol. 124a.

[22] Ibid., fol. 124a-b.

[23] Ibid., fol. 124b.

[24] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 248. Translated by El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 329.

abstract idea nor a mere mental concept. His essence and His existence are the same. Existence is essential for God since it is the source of existence (ʿayn al-wujūd).[25]

After establishing the idea that God is absolute existence, al-Kūrānī attempts to demonstrate that this position is in accord with al-Ashʿarī's position in his famous formula that the existence of everything is identical with its quiddity.[26] Al-Kūrānī's argument for al-Ashʿarī's agreement with the idea that God is absolute existence always starts with al-Kūrānī's attempt to prove that Ashʿarites accept mental existence, even though they reject the term. This issue will be discussed separately below.

In *Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh*, al-Kūrānī supports his idea that God is absolute existence and that He may manifest Himself in any form, and His transcendence would not be affected because "nothing is like Him." (Q 42:11). After demonstrating through reason that God is absolute existence, al-Kūrānī attempts to prove this position through several ḥadīths and Quranic verses referring to apparent anthropomorphic descriptions of God. He says that God, as absolute existence, can manifest in any form and that there is no need for allegorical interpretation (taʾwīl) of these verses or ḥadīths. These descriptions should be accepted literally while maintaining that "there is nothing like Him." Al-Kūrānī states that the *salaf*, the first three pious generations, accepted these verses and hadīths without allegorical interpretation, a position he holds as correct.[27] Thus, God defined as absolute existence leads us to two main ideas in al-Kūrānī's thought: God's manifestations in forms, or *tajalliyyāt* in Sufi terms, and his articulation of the

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[25] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 228.

[26] Ibid., p. 235.

[27] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh* (MS: Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, majāmīʿ 11/2), fols. 352-4.

attitude of the *salaf* as acceptance of the ambiguous verses (*mutashābihāt*) without allegorical interpretation. These topics will be discussed separately in the coming pages.

[4.1.2] God's Attributes and Allegorical Interpretation (*taʾwīl*)

The Quran (Q 3:7) mentions that it contains two kinds of verses: those that are precise or specified (*muḥkam*) and those that are unspecific or ambiguous (*mutashābihāt*). These ambiguous verses usually refer to descriptions of God as possessing sensible attributes, such as a hand (Q 48:10) or an eye (Q 20:39), or that He descends to the lower heavens. The Quran also says that "there is nothing like Him" (Q 24:11). Scholars disagree about how one should understand these attributes that God ascribes to Himself so that no kind of comparison, likeness, or analogy is implied between God's attributes and human attributes. Indeed, understanding these apparently anthropomorphic attributes has been one of the most controversial topics in Islamic theology.

The Quran says about the ambiguous verses that "no one knows its interpretation except God and those firm in knowledge say, 'we believe in it'." (Q 3:7). According to al-Kūrānī, the dispute among theologians starts from reading this verse. The *salaf* attitude is that we have to stop the reading after the word "God"; thus, the only one who knows the true interpretation is God. And those who are "firm in knowledge" accept how God describes Himself and believe in it without any interpretation. Theologians who favour allegorical interpretation, including the Muʿtazilites and the majority of Ashʿarites, maintain that during our reading of the verse the stop should be after "those firm in knowledge." That means that those who know the interpretation of the ambiguous verses include both God and those who are firm in knowledge.[28]

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[28] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-khalaf bi-taḥqīq madhhab al-salaf* (MS: Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787), fols. 34b-35b.

El-Rouayheb gives a clear description of the Ashʿarite view of the apparent anthropomorphic verses, stating that summarizing their position with the formula *bilā kayf,* which means these verses should be accepted "without [asking] how," is not accurate. The mainstream Ashʿarite position from at least the 11th century onward was that such passages in the Quran and *hadīth* should not be taken in their apparent (*ẓāhir*) sense. Rather, one should either reinterpret them allegorically (*taʾwīl*) or entrust their meaning to God (*tafwīḍ*); but such passages should not be accepted literally. This position was the view propounded in such standard handbooks of Ashʿarite and Māturīdite theology as *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyyah* by Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), the creedal works of Sanūsī (d. 1490), and the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 1631).[29] El-Rouayheb also clarifies that some Ḥanbalite thinkers were satisfied with the position of *tafwīḍ*, but more radical Ḥanbalites like Ibn Taymiyyah rejected *tafwīḍ.* Ibn Taymiyyah insists that the apparent (*ẓāhir*) sense of passages that state that God has an eye, hands, and feet should simply be accepted in the same way that one should accept passages that state that God knows or wills or speaks. If theologians say that God's knowledge, will, and speech are unlike human knowledge, will, and speech, why can one not say similarly that God has eye, feet, and hands but that these are very unlike human eye, feet, and hands?[30]

Al-Kūrānī disagrees with later Ashʿarite allegorical interpretations of the ambiguous verses, nor was he satisfied with the attitude of *tafwīḍ*, which some Ashʿarite and Ḥanbalite theologians adopted. Al-Kūrānī instead embraces the position of the radical Ḥanbalites like Ibn Taymiyyah, and claimed that accepting these ambiguous verses and

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[29] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 275-6.
[30] Ibid., p. 276-7.

apparently anthropomorphic descriptions of God without any allegorical interpretation is the true position, not only of the *salaf*, but even of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī himself.

According to al-Kūrānī, al-Ashʿarī's position toward God's attributes is the same as that of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and all of the *salaf*. Each scholar would argue that his understanding agreed with that of the *salaf* because a prophetic tradition says that the best generations (*khayr al-qurūn*) are those of the first three generations, known as the pious ancestors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*).[31] This preference for the first generations refers to their understanding of the scripture: they were the closest people to the Prophet and understood the scripture in the "best" way. Al-Kūrānī, in most of his works, puts an emphasis on following the doctrine of the *salaf*, and reminds his readers that accepting the apparent meaning of the Quranic verses without any allegorical interpretation is the position of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī.[32] There is no likening or comparing of God to His creatures. One should describe God as He describes Himself in the Quran or as the Prophet described Him, and always remember that "there is nothing like Him."

Al-Kūrānī was aware of the opinion of what he called the "later Ashʿarites" (*mutaʾakhkhirī al-Ashāʿirah*) that the apparent sense should not be accepted literally. In his opinion, they promoted allegorical interpretations of the ambiguous verses and *ḥadīths* because they thought that accepting their apparent meaning contradicted intellectual demonstrations that it is impossible for God to have material descriptions.[33] Al-Kūrānī says that intellectual contemplation and reasoning (*al-naẓar al-ʿaqlī*) are not sufficient to provide understanding of the ambiguous verses and *ḥadīths*. We should

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[31] In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: "The best people are those living in my generation, and then those who will follow them, and then those who will follow the latter." Similar narrative can be found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.

[32] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 196.

[33] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl bi-l-jawāb al-wāḍiḥ ʿan al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar* (MS: Istanbul: Nafiz Pasa 508), fols. 5a-b.

believe in these verses without interpreting them allegorically and at the same time we should reject both assimilation and likening of God with his creatures. Al-Kūrānī repeats frequently that reason as a means of thinking is limited, but it is limitless as a receiver of God's grace (*lahu ḥudūd min ḥaythu huwa mufakkir la min ḥaythu huwa qābil*).[34]

How does al-Kūrānī defend his claim that al-Ashʿarī's position towards the ambiguous verses is to accept their apparent meaning without any allegorical interpretation? And why? Al-Kūrānī bases his attempt at reconciliation between the Ashʿarites and the *salaf* concerning God's attributes mainly on al-Ashʿarī's book *al-Ibānah*. In *al-Ibānah*, al-Ashʿarī acknowledges that he is following Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal,[35] and that he accepts the attributes that have apparent anthropomorphic meaning as the attitude of the *salaf* concerning the ambiguous verses. According to al-Kūrānī, al-Ashʿarī thereby affirms the apparently anthropomorphic passages in the Quran and *hadīth* without allegorical reinterpretation of them, all the while simultaneously affirming that "there is nothing like Him."

Al-Ashʿarī's *al-Ibānah* was not the only Ashʿarite book to say that the attitude of the *salaf* is to accept the Quranic verses that have apparent anthropomorphic meaning without the need for allegorical interpretation. Al-Kūrānī also cites Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī's *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyyah*, in which al-Juwaynī says that the attitude of the *salaf* is to accept the apparent meaning without interpretation and that they entrusted their meaning to God.[36] Al-Kūrānī connects the idea of accepting apparently

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[34] Ibid*.,* fol. 5b.

[35] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, *al-Ibānah ʿan uṣūl al-diyānah*, ed. Bashīr Muḥammad ʿYūn (Damascus: Dār al-Bayān, 3ed, 1990), p. 43.

[36] Imām al-Ḥaramayin ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Juwaynī, *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid Kawtharī (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li-l-Turāth, 1992), p. 32. This edition is a reprint of the al-Kawtharī edition, with his comments, in addition to the collation of the edition with a new manuscript. Al-Kawtharī considers al-Juwaynī's position to be a precaution (*iḥtiyāṭ*), lest one accept a less preferable meaning (*marjūḥ*) among the different possible allegorical interpretations that respect the transcendence of God. *Ibid*., p. 32, fn.1; p. 33, fn. 1. Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 222.

anthropomorphic meanings with his interpretation of absolute existence as the One who is not restricted or conditioned by anything and who can manifest Himself in any conceivable form, without His absoluteness being affected.[37] Al-Kūrānī's opinion is that the later *mutakallimūn* interpreted these ambiguous verses and *ḥadīths* because they thought accepting their appearance contradicted the transcendence (*tanzīh*) of God. But according to al-Kūrānī, God's manifestation in forms does not contradict His transcendence, as we shall see in the related section.[38]

Al-Ibānah and *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyyah* were also the sources for al-Kūrānī's theory of *kasb*, in which he affirms that man has effects in his acts, not independently, but rather by the permission of God. This topic will be discussed later; it is mentioned here simply to indicate that the doubts cast on *al-Ibānah* and *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyyah*, which we shall mention soon, are related mainly to these two topics: interpreting God's attributes and the theory of *kasb*.

In every context where al-Kūrānī promotes the attitude of the *salaf* regarding God's attributes and related topics such as the concept of absolute existence and of manifestation in forms, he cites a few lines from *al-Ibānah* in which al-Ashʿarī says that he is following the *salaf*. The works in which these citations occur include *Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh*, *Itḥāf al-dhakī* (before 19 Dū al-Ḥijja 1071), *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar fī ʿaqāʾid ahl al-athar* (written in 1070), *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām* (written in 1070), and *Itḥāf al-khalaf bi-taḥqīq madhhab al-salaf* (written in 1088), just to name a few. In *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar* and *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām*, al-Kūrānī quotes almost two pages from *al-Ibānah*, but he mentions that he is

[37] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-khalaf bi-taḥqīq madhhab al-salaf*, fols. 34b-35b. See also al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 196; al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām* (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol. 247a. See also Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, p. 45-46. Translated by El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 279.
[38] Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl,* fol. 24a.

citing *al-Ibānah* from the text of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī*.[39] In one of al-Kūrānī's last texts, *Izālat al-ishkāl*, written in 1097, almost four years before his death, he repeats his ideas about al-Ashʿarī's doctrine of accepting apparent descriptions without allegorical interpretation.[40] Interestingly, al-Kūrānī was still citing *al-Ibānah* from Ibn ʿAsākir's book *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī*. Does that mean al-Kūrānī did not have access to *al-Ibānah*?

In reading al-Kūrānī's works, I have noticed that he never mentions a direct citation from *al-Ibānah,* or cites text from *al-Ibānah* that was not itself first cited in Ibn ʿAsākir's text. What al-Kūrānī needed from *al-Ibānah* was only al-Ashʿarī's doctrine and his statement that he follows the *salaf,* mainly the first two chapters that Ibn ʿAsākir lists in his book. In *Maslak al-sadād,* the text that was written in 1085, when al-Kūrānī wanted to cite *al-Ibānah*, he mentioned that Ibn ʿAsākir cited the beginning of *Kitāb al-Ibānah* in his book *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī.* Then al-Kūrānī mentioned his *isnād* of reading the beginning of *al-Ibānah* that Ibn ʿAsākir listed, starting with his teacher al-Qushāshī, and continuing until Ibn ʿAsākir.[41] *Al-Ibānah,* as we shall see soon, is a controversial text in the Ashʿarite tradition. Does that mean it was not popular in Ashʿarite history? Which texts of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī were used to present his thought in Ashʿarite history cannot be discussed here. This note aims to draw the attention of scholars to this topic, especially given the fact that while modern scholars discuss the place of *al-Ibānah* in al-Ashʿarī's thought, as far as I know there are no studies about the use of *al-Ibānah* in presenting al-Ashʿarī's thought among later Ashʿarites.

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[39] Al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām*, fol. 189a-190a.

[40] Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl,* fol. 20a-21b.

[41] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-sadād ilā masʾalat khalq afʿāl al-ʿibād* (MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin 1815)*,* fol. 33a.

Even though al-Kūrānī's position regarding the anthropomorphic attributes seems to depart from mainstream Ashʿarism as it developed in later centuries, al-Kūrānī does not consider himself to be abandoning Ashʿarism. On the contrary, he considers this position as representing the true and final position of al-Ashʿarī himself. Like Ibn ʿAsākir in *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī* and Ibn Taymiyyah in several places of his writings, al-Kūrānī was convinced that *al-Ibānah* was al-Ashʿarī's last book and thus represented the most definitive expression of his thought.[42] This approach concerning the place of *al-Ibānah* among al-Ashʿarī's works has been challenged by contemporary scholars.

Goldziher regards *al-Ibānah* as the first attempt to reconcile the Ashʿarites with the Ḥanbalites, an attempt that later Ashʿarites did not pursue.[43] Zāhid al-Kawtharī also regarded *al-Ibānah* to be the first book Abū al-Ḥasan composed after his conversion from Muʿtazilism.[44] Anawati and Gardet agree with them.[45] Gimaret in *La doctrine d'Ashʿari* is uncertain about the dating of the book and in his later article "Bibliographie d'Ashʿari" says that we do not have enough information to order his works chronologically.[46] Most of these scholars based their suggestions that *al-Ibānah* is Abū al-Ḥasan's first work after his conversion from Muʿtazilism on an anecdote mentioned by Abū Yaʿlā al-Ḥanbalī in

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[42] ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī fī-mā Nusiba ilā Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li-l-Turāth, 2010), p. 121. Aḥmad Ibn Ibn Taymiyyah, *al-Risālah al-Ḥamawiyyah al-kubrā* in *Majmūʿ fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim (KSA, Medina: Mujammaʿ al-Malik Fahd, 2004), vol.5, p. 93.

[43] Ignac Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 106.

[44] Al-Kawtharī's comment on Ibn ʿAsākir *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī*, p. 392; al-Kawtharī's comment on *al-Lumʿah fī taḥqīq mabāḥith al-wujūd* by Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Madhārī, p. 57. Al-Kawtharī repeated this note in several works. For example, in his introduction to *Ishārāt al-marām min ʿibārāt al-Imām* by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bayyāḍī, (Pakistan, Karachi: Zam Zam Publisher, 2004), p. 7; also, al-Kawtharī's footnote on al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyyah li-l-Turāth, n.d), p. 297, fn. 1.

[45] Anawati and Gardet, *Introduction a la theologie musulmane*, p. 56.

[46] Daniel Gimaret, "Bibliographie d'Ashʿari," *Journal Asiatique*, n° 273, 1985. 278.

his book *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah.* Abū Yaʿlā says that when Abū al-Ḥasan converted from Muʿtazalism he came to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941), the head of the Ḥanbalities in Baghdad, and presented his book *al-Ibānah* to him, but al-Barbahārī rejected it.[47] So, while al-Ashʿarī announces specifically in *al-Ibānah* that he is following Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and that he accepts the *khabarī* attributes, that does not seem to be enough for the Ḥanbalites. Al-Ashʿarī's attempt at reconciliation was not received positively, which is the reason al-Ashʿarī did not try again and continued on his own.

Not only has the place of *al-Ibānah* in the chronology of al-Ashʿarī's works been challenged, some scholars have claimed that various ideas were interpolated in the edited text of *al-Ibānah*.[48] Al-Kawtharī asserts that the edition from India contains interpolations.[49] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī agrees with him. McCarthy has similar doubts, at least about the text published in India.[50] Allard suggests that parts of *al-Ibānah* were possibly written by some of al-Ashʿarī's students.[51]

Al-Kūrānī's position, based on *al-Ibānah*, seems to have been following Ḥanbalī thought on the issue of God's attributes, but the fact is that he was following Ibn ʿArabī. El-Rouayheb points out that Sufi attitudes about God's attributes, especially those having an apparent anthropomorphic sense, are close to the Ḥanbalites' position, but the two positions are based on different reasons. While the Ḥanbalite position arose from their

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[47] Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Faqī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunnah al-Mḥammadiyyah, 1952), vol. 2, p. 18.

[48] Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwajī, *Naẓrah ʿilmiyyah fī nisbat kitāb al-Ibānah jamiʿahu ilā al-imām al-jalīl nāṣir al-sunnah Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1989).

[49] In a footnote in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tabyyin kadhib al-muftarī* published in Damascus, 1347/1928, p. 28, fn.1. The Indian edition is published by Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmiyyah, Ḥaydar Ābād al-Dakan, 1903.

[50] Richard McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī: The Arabic Texts of al-Ashʿarī's Kitāb al-Lumaʿ and Risālat Istiḥsān al-khawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām* (Beirut: Impr. Catholique,1953), p. 231-2.

[51] Michel Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿarī et de ses premiers grands disciples* (Beirut: Impr. Catholique, 1965), p. 52.

idea that one should describe God as He describes Himself in scripture, the Sufi position emerged from their idea that God can manifest Himself in any form He wishes without any restrictions. Thus, al-Kūrānī was not actually following Ibn Taymiyyah, but Ibn ʿArabī and his followers, who were adamant that the apparent sense of the Quran and the ḥadīth should be accepted. El-Rouayheb states that even though Ibn ʿArabī and his followers regularly proposed hidden meanings in the Quran and ḥadith, they also accepted the apparent sense of both and criticized rational theologians and philosophers for their refusal to do so when they deemed the apparent sense to be rationally impossible.[52]

By way of a summary, for al-Kūrānī God is the absolute existence that may manifest in a limited form without being Himself limited or restricted. Not only does reason affirm that absoluteness is not restricted, but the Quran and the ḥadīth are full of evidence that God manifests in conceivable forms. There is no need to interpret these verses and ḥadīths allegorically because manifestation in forms does not entail any kind of corporealism, incarnationism, or anthropomorphism, as we shall see in the next section about God's manifestations in forms.

[4.1.3] God's Manifestations in Sensible and Conceivable Forms

As explained above, later Ashʿarites thought that accepting the apparent meaning of these verses and ḥadīths would contradict the principle of God's transcendence (tanzīh); thus, we have to interpret these descriptions allegorically. For al-Kūrānī, God is absolute existence and He may manifest Himself in a limited form while being free from any likeness to creatures by virtue of there being "nothing is like Him." He can manifest Himself in sensible and conceivable forms, and both revelation (sharʿ) and mystic

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[52] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 275.

unveiling (*kashf*) affirm that He does manifest Himself in restricted forms. In almost every context where al-Kūrānī tries to demonstrate that God is absolute existence, he follows his demonstration with several Quranic verses and *ḥadīth*s that appear to support anthropomorphism in order to show that the identification of God and absolute existence is contrary neither to reason nor to religious texts.

Prophetic *ḥadīth*s on manifestation in forms can be found in all authentic *ḥadīth* collections including al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, and al-Bayhaqī.[53] Al-Kūrānī dedicated several treatises to clarifying the idea of God's manifestations in forms, including *Jalāʾ al-naẓar fī baqāʾ al-tanzīh maʿ al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*,[54] *Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh*,[55] *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl ʿalā tanzīh al-ṣūfiyyah ʿan iʿtiqād al-tajsīm wa-l-ʿayniyyah wa-l-ittiḥād wa-l-ḥulūl*,[56] and *Izālat al-ishkāl bi-l-jawāb al-wāḍiḥ ʿan al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*.[57] This last treatise is relatively long and detailed. It is one of al-Kūrānī's later works, written in 1097/1685-6, which means that until almost the end of his life, al-Kūrānī was still receiving objections and inquiries related to this topic.

Alongside the Quranic verses that ascribe to God hands, a face, and the actions of sitting on the throne, descending to the lower heaven, hearing and seeing, al-Kūrānī usually mentions several *ḥadīth*s that contains descriptions of God with anthropomorphic qualities, including:

- "my Lord came to me in the best of appearances" (*atānī Rabbī fī aḥsan ṣuwra*).[58]

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[53] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 225.

[54] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-naẓar fī baqāʾ al-tanzīh maʿ al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar* (MS: Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787), fols. 32a-33a.

[55] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh*, fols. 351-362.

[56] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl ʿalā tanzīh al-ṣūfiyyah ʿan iʿtiqād al-tajsīm wa-l-ʿayniyyah wa-l-ittiḥād wa-l-ḥulūl*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusayn (Damascus: Dār al-Bayrūtī, 2009).

[57] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl bi-l-jawāb al-wāḍiḥ ʿan al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*, 47 folios.

[58] Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2ed, 1998), vol. 5, p. 283, *ḥadīth* no. 3234.

- "He placed His hand between my shoulders, until I sensed its coolness between my breast."[59]

- The Prophet said that "God is not one-eyed," and pointed with his hand toward his eye.[60]

- "The hellfire will keep on saying: 'Are there any more (people to come)?' Till the Lord puts His foot over it and then it will say, 'Qat! Qat!' (enough! enough!)."[61]

- "God created Adam in His own image."[62]

Many other *ḥadīths* are mentioned in al-Kūrānī's treatise mentioned above. Almost all the content of al-Kūrānī's *Izālat al-ishkāl* and *Jalāʾ al-naẓar* consist of citations from *ḥadīths* related to God's manifestation in forms. One specific *ḥadīth* deserves to be mentioned separately because al-Kūrānī refers to it frequently. It is known as the *ḥadīth* of transformation in forms *(ḥadīth al-taḥawwul fī al-ṣuwar)*. This *ḥadīth*, which is from the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, says that on the Day of Judgement God appears to people in different appearances, but they keep on denying Him until He transforms Himself into the form in which they recognize Him.[63] Al-Kūrānī says that the *ḥadīth* of transforming in forms is *mutawātir*; as an expert in *ḥadīth*, he dedicates several pages in *Izālat al-ishkāl* to the *isnād*s of the *ḥadīth* and its different sources.[64]

Another Quranic verse through which al-Kūrānī attempts to show how later Ashʿarites departed from the attitude of the *salaf* concerning the interpretation of

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[59] Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 282, *ḥadīth* no. 3233.

[60] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Bughā (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1976), vol. 6, p. 2696, *ḥadīth* no. 6972.

[61] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Nisābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1991), vol. 4, p. 2186-7, *ḥadīth*s no. 36-37.

[62] Ibid., vol. 4, p. 2017, *ḥadīth* no. 115.

[63] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 163, *ḥadīth* no. 299. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1672, *ḥadīth* no. 4305.

[64] Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl,* fols. 2a-5a.

Quranic verses that contain some apparent anthropomorphism is the verse that states that "when he [Moses] came to it [the fire], he was called: blessed is whoever is at the fire and whoever is around it, and exalted is God, Lord of the worlds." (Q 27:8). Al-Kūrānī mentions that al-Bayḍāwī's interpretation, and those of most later exegetes, proposed that "in the fire" (*fī al-nār*) means "in the vicinity of the fire" (*fī makān al-nār*); those "in the vicinity of the fire" would thus be Moses and possibly also other humans and angels. Al-Kūrānī says that an early interpretation that goes back to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 687) instead considered "the one who is in the fire" to be God.[65] For al-Kūrānī, there is no need to depart from apparent sense (*al-ẓāhir*) in this latter interpretation, because God can manifest in the fire.[66]

God is absolutely transcendent and independent and yet is in whichever direction one faces and is with His servants wherever they are; He sits on His throne and He descends to the lower heavens. All these Quranic verses and *ḥadīth*s should not be interpreted allegorically because "if you know that the Real has the true absoluteness that is not restricted, you know that the Real manifests in forms and other attributes that came in *ḥadīth*s such as laughing, wondering, coming, descending, ascending; all these descriptions do not negate [His] transcendence (*lā tunāfī al-tanzīh*)."[67] All passages in the Quran and *ḥadīth* that suggest that God has bodily or human form or spatial location should, on this account, be understood as descriptions of the manifestations or epiphanies of God. After mentioning the Quranic verses and *ḥadīth*s that contain an apparent anthropomorphic sense, al-Kūrānī always reminds his readers that the *salaf's*

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[65] Al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām*, fol. 231b. Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl*, fol. 38b.

[66] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 278.

[67] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 225.

attitude is to accept the literal meaning of these verses and *ḥadīth*s and simultaneously to negate any similarity between God and His creature, because "nothing is like Him."[68]

According to al-Kūrānī, accepting anthropomorphic descriptions of God does not entail that we affirm that God has corporeal organs (*jāriḥah*); rather, we affirm that God can manifest in a phenomenon that has corporeal organs, and His transcendence remains because "there is nothing like Him."[69] God's essence is different than the essence of creatures: He is independent by Himself, concretely individuated by Himself, and nothing conditions or restricts Him, while the essences of creatures are nonexistent quiddities with specific dispositions for specific forms of actualization.[70] Every creature is restricted by a form that fits with the essential dispositions of its quiddity (*istiʿdād dhātī li-l-māhiyyah*).[71] God is not restricted by any manifested form because essentially He has no form (*lā tuqayyiduhu ṣuwrat al-tajallī idh lā ṣuwrah dhātiyyah lahu*).[72] God's manifestation in forms is something added to His essence that does not change the essence; what He has essentially (*bi-l-dhāt*) never ceases because "His absoluteness is essential for Him and what is essential never ceases to be."[73] Since manifestation in restricted forms does not change the essence, it does not affect God's transcendence (*tanzīh*).[74]

Al-Kūrānī does not ignore the *mutakallimūn*'s proofs that God is not in a specific place or direction. He mentions these proofs, mainly from al-Ījī's *al-Mawāqif* and al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ*, and confirms them. He says that it is true that we cannot say that God is in a

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[68] Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl,* fol. 5a.

[69] Ibid.*,* fol. 7b.

[70] Ibid.*,* fol. 6a.

[71] Ibid.*,* fol. 13a.

[72] Ibid., p. 219.

[73] Al-Kūrānī, *Nawāl al-ṭawl fī taḥqīq al-ījād bi-l-qawl* (MS: Juma al-Majed Center for Culture and Heritage, no. 375046), fol. 2b. The number of the folio is for this specific treatise because the numeration of all the *majmuʿ* is not clear.

[74] Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl,* fol. 15b-16a.

specific place or direction, but this is only true about God's essence. Refusing to describe God as being in a specific place or direction does not mean that He cannot manifest Himself in an appearance or form that has a specific place and direction. We affirm place and direction, not for God's essence, but for the form. In addition, al-Kūrānī accepts that God's essence is not a locus for temporally generated things (*la taqūm bi-hā al-ḥawādith*), but again, that does not mean He cannot manifest in forms.[75] In *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl,* al-Kūrānī defends Ibn ʿArabī and his followers against accusations of anthropomorphism, pantheism, immanentism, and incarnationism. His argument is the same in his theological treatise, that God is an absolute existence in the sense that he is not restricted or conditioned by any other things outside of Himself.[76] In general, all the proofs that negate that God is in space and direction are accepted by al-Kūrānī, but for him they do not negate God's manifestation in an appearance or form that has place or direction.[77] What al-Kūrānī means is that absoluteness is essential for God, and what is essential never ceases.[78]

It is obvious that the matter at stake is the proper way of describing God and the relationship between God and the world. This topic was one of the main discussions in Islamic theology. Between anthropomorphism, which describes God in human characteristics, and absolute transcendence, such as that propounded by the Jahmiyyah, who refused to describe God with any description that would be applied to a human,[79]

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[75] Ibid., fol.16a-b, 17a.

[76] Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl,* p. 48.

[77] Al-Kūrānī, *Izālat al-ishkāl,* fol. 19b.

[78] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*, fol. 125b.

[79] Ibn Ḥanbal states the idea of Jahm about God is that: "He is not described or known by any attribute or act, nor has He any term or limit; ... and whatever may occur to your thought as a being, He is contrary to it." Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Radd ʿalā al-jahmiyyah wa-l-zanadiqah*, ed. Ṣabrī bin Salāmah Shāhīn (KSA, al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Thabāt, 2003), p. 98.

was a spectrum of different opinions regarding how to describe God using negative or positive statements. As mentioned above, the *salaf*'s attitude was to accept these descriptions without allegorical interpretation. But al-Kūrānī's reason to accept these verses without allegorical interpretation is different from that of the *salaf*, and most probably his source is not Ibn Taymiyyah's writings. Rather, he used the *salaf* and Ḥanbalī writings to support an idea that has its source in Ibn ʿArabī's texts.

Alongside describing God as absolute existence, Ibn ʿArabī in *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* says, "the Real's (*al-Ḥaqq*) [manifestation] is limited through all limits." (*al-ḥaqq maḥdūd bi-kull ḥadd*).[80] In the Quran and *ḥadīth*, God describes Himself by saying that He has "established Himself firmly on the Throne," and that "He descends to the nearest heaven"; that "He is in the heaven and in the earth," and that "He is with us wherever we are." In all these verses, God describes Himself by His apparent limits or boundedness.[81] Ibn ʿArabī writes that we can know God through the limited forms in which He reveals Himself. Everything is a locus of manifestation (*majlā, maẓhar*) of Divine Being: God displays Himself outwardly in the form of existent things. So, each thing shows us something about God Himself. And yet, "nothing is like Him." In other words, we are talking about the two main ways to talk about God, *tashbīh* "immanence" or "similarity" and *tanzīh* "transcendence" or "incomparability." These two attitudes were very well known in Islamic theology. Chittick explains that Ibn ʿArabī's writings address the two primary modes of human understanding, "imagination" (*khayāl*) and "reason" (*ʿaql*). God discloses

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[80] Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. ʿAfīfī, p. 68. In Austin's translation: "He may be defined by every definition." Ibn ʿArabī *The Bezels of Wisdom,* tr. R. W. J. Austin (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), p. 73.

[81] Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, p. 111. "Then He says: 'He established Himself on the Throne,' which also represents a Self-limitation. He then says that He descended to the lower heaven, also a limitation. He says further that He is in the heaven and on the earth, that He is with us wherever we are [...] We are limited beings, and thus He describes Himself always by ways that represent a limitation on Himself." Austin, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, p. 134-5.

Himself to humans in two ways: firstly, He discloses His undisclosability, and thereby we come to know that we cannot know Him. This way of describing God is the route of negative theology, and Ibn ʿArabī frequently takes it. Secondly, God discloses Himself to human beings through scripture, the universe, and their own souls. To the degree that He does so, people can and do come to know Him.[82]

These two ways were known long before Ibn ʿArabī; asserting God's incomparability had been normative for most versions of Islamic theology, and asserting His similarity was often found in Sufi expressions of Islamic teachings, especially poetry. But Ibn ʿArabī's contribution, according to Chittick, was to stress the need to maintain a proper balance between the two ways of understanding God. As Chittick says, "when reason grasps God's inaccessibility, it 'asserts his incomparability' (*tanzīh*). When imagination finds him present, it 'asserts his similarity' (*tashbīh*)."[83] According to Chittick, *tanzīh*, "incomparable," and *tashbīh*, "similar," are the two theological terms that played major roles in Ibn ʿArabī's vocabulary.[84] Similarly, in al-Kūrānī's works, the perfect faith (*al-īmān al-kāmil*) is a combination of transcendence (*tanzīh*) and a confirmation of the *mutashābihāt* in a way that is suitable for the majesty of God's essence, which means in a way that does not negate the transcendence expressed by "nothing is like Him."[85]

Ibn ʿArabī was accused of *ḥulūl* "incarnationism," and *tajsīm* "anthropomorphism." In *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, al-Kūrānī defends Ibn ʿArabī and his followers against accusations of anthropomorphism, pantheism, immanentism, and incarnationism. His argument is the

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[82] William Chittick, *Ibn Arabi, Heir to the Prophets* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2005), p. 18-19.

[83] Ibid., p. 19.

[84] Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 9. For more discussion on *tashbīh* and *tanzīh* in Ibn ʿArabī's thought see William Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-ʿArabī's Cosmology* (Albany: State University of New York Press,1998), p. xxi.

[85] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 219.

same in his theological treatise, that God is an absolute existence in the sense that He is not restricted or conditioned by any other thing outside of Himself.[86] Al-Kūrānī faced similar accusations. Al-Shāwī, who dedicated a treatise to refuting al-Kūrānī's thought, mainly his theory of *kasb*, accused al-Kūrānī of anthropomorphism (*al-tajsīm*). Al-Barzanjī in his reply to al-Shāwī's work mentioned that there were different opinions about God's attributes and that al-Kūrānī had selected the opinion of the *salaf*.[87] Al-Shāwī went on to say that al-Kūrānī arose (*taraqqā*) in disbelief (*ilḥād*) by saying that God exists in everything. Al-Barzanjī rejected these accusations and repeated that God can manifest in any form because He is absolute existence, without any assimilation.

To gain a wider perspective on God's relation to the cosmos and to connect this idea with the next discussion concerning the status of the "nonexistent," we need to have an idea about the different categories of existence in Ibn ʿArabī's thought. In *Inshāʾ al-dawāʾir*, Ibn ʿArabī talks about three metaphysical categories of existence. The absolute being, which exists through itself and through which everything else exists, is God, the Creator, with whom nothing is equal. The second metaphysical category is the opposite of the first; it is "limited being" (*wujūd muqayyad*): the material universe and everything it contains. It has no existence in itself, so it is essentially nonbeing; it exists through the absolute and depends for its existence upon the absolute. The third metaphysical category is neither nonbeing nor being. It is some sort of intermediary between the first and the second category. Among the expressions that Ibn ʿArabī uses to describes this third category are the "breath of the Compassionate" (*nafas al-Raḥmān*), the "essence of

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[86] Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl,* p. 48 and after.

[87] Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī ʿalā al-thaʿlab al-ghāwī wa-l-nashshāb al-kāwī li-l-aʿshā al-ghāwī wa-l-shahāb al-shāwī li-l-aḥwal al-Shāwī* (MS: Istanbul: Laleli 3744), fol. 37b.

all essences" (ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāʾiq), and "the cloud" (al-ʿamāʾ).[88] One problem with these categories is the relation between the first and the third categories. Both are different from the second, which is the limited being of the world, and at the same time this third category is neither nonbeing nor being, and cannot be described as either created or uncreated, as we will see below. Ibn ʿArabī's idea of this relation is based on the concept of tajallī, divine manifestation.

Conceptualizing God's relationship to the cosmos raised several problems for Sufis, who used theological terms in specific ways. According to Louis Massignon, mystics were obliged to have recourse to the theological vocabulary of their time. They borrowed technical terms and twisted the sense a little, without giving a fixed meaning to them, and "in doing this, primitive Muslim mysticism involved itself in the snares of the metaphysics of the first Mutakallimūn: atomism, materialism and occasionalism in metaphysics."[89] Their use of theological terms may be one of the main reasons behind the conflict between Sufis and theologians, which became violent on several occasions. Many centuries before al-Kūrānī, Sufism moved beyond spiritual exercises (mujāhadāt) to discuss topics related to theology and philosophy such as knowledge, existence, sainthood, or theological doctrines in general on the knowledge of God, as well as on the relationship between the Creator and the cosmos. As we will see later, Sufism became increasingly philosophical after Ibn ʿArabī, due to the efforts of al-Qūnawī and his circle, and theology, which had also become increasingly philosophical after al-Ghazālī, was discussing many Sufi ideas. Chittick states that "Ibn ʿArabī's writings mark Sufism's

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[88] Landolt argues that this category has many aspects in common with that mysterious entity that was known in Greek as Logos. Hermann Landolt, "Simnānī on waḥdat al-wujūd," pp. 91-112.101.

[89] Louis Massignon, "Tasawwuf", Encyclopedia of Islam, 1ed, 1913-1936, vol. VIII, p. 683.

massive entry into theoretical discussions of the meaning and reality of *wujūd*."[90] Discussing *wujūd* meant that they needed to deal with most of the major philosophical and theological discussions regarding topics such as essence, existence, nonexistence, quiddity, creation, God's attributes, predetermination, and human will; all had become integrated into Sufi discourse, as we will see in the coming pages. This is one reason why it is difficult to separate al-Kūrānī's theological ideas from his Sufi thought.

To repeat al-Kūrānī's position, manifestation in forms does not restrict God because He is absolute existence, which is not restricted or conditioned by anything other than Himself.[91] In other words, only absolute existence itself is unrestricted, and anything other than Him is forever restricted. God's manifestation is always restricted by the form in which it occurs. Thus, the Quranic verses and the Prophetic *ḥadīth*s that describe God in bodily or human form or in spatial location should be accepted as manifestations of God, without allegorical interpretation.

One of the sources that al-Kūrānī uses frequently to cite *ḥadīth*s that appear to promote anthropomorphism is al-Bayhaqī's book al-*Asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt*, which contains numerous *ḥadīth*s concerning God's relation with the cosmos. This book was published with comments by Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (d. 1952), who was an ardent Ashʿarī and a critic of Ibn Taymiyyah. Al-Kawtharī in his comments on this book and on several *kalām* texts represents the attitude of later Ashʿarites. He rejects the literal meanings and emphasizes allegorical interpretations of all the descriptions of God that use human or creaturely attributes. It is therefore unsurprising that he was not sympathetic to al-Kūrānī's efforts to look closely at Ḥanbalite positions on several theological topics.

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[90] William Chittick, "Waḥdat al-wujūd in India," *Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook* 3 (2012), pp. 29-40, p. 29.
[91] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd ilā ṣiḥḥat al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd* (UK: British Library, India Office, Delhi-Arabic 710c), fol. 21b.

Al-Kawtharī actually mentions al-Kūrānī in several contexts, and for the most parts rejects his ideas. According to al-Kawtharī, anyone who tries to reconcile the ideas of Sufis with those of theologians (and he specifies al-Kūrānī) is attempting the impossible and this person is devoid of reason and scriptural knowledge.[92] Al-Kawtharī describes al-Kūrānī as *al-Mutaṣawwif* (the Sufi) as a way to discredit his theological efforts.[93] He says that al-Kūrānī's words in *Qaṣd al-sabīl* cannot convey al-Juwaynī's ideas from *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyyah*.[94] He holds that al-Kūrānī, who believed in *waḥdat al-wujūd*, tried to interpret al-Ashʿarī's ideas (*yukharrij kalām al-Ashʿarī*) according to the idea of *waḥdah*. Then he says that al-Kūrānī's position is merely a personal whim (*hawā*) that changed the clear meaning of the text. Manifestation in forms according to al-Kawtharī is incarnation (*ḥulūl*),[95] so for him, al-Kūrānī's idea of manifestation in forms is buffoonery and craziness (*mujūn fī mujūn wa junūn laysa fawqahu junūn*).[96] However, al-Kawtharī does not disagree with al-Kūrānī on everything. Abū al-Thanāʾ al-Ālūsī in his Quranic commentary entitled *Rūḥ al-maʿānī* includes several pages on the topic of *kalām nafsī*,[97] almost literally copied from *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām* by al-Kūrānī. Al-Kawtharī mentions al-Ālūsī's explanation of the meaning of Quran and *kalām nafsī* and praises it, albeit without acknowledging or perhaps even realizing that these are al-Kūrānī's ideas.[98]

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[92] Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *al-Sayf al-ṣaqīl fī al-radd ʿalā Ibn Zafīl*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li-l-Turāth, n. d), p. 86, fn. 2 by al-Kawtharī.

[93] Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Madhārī, *al-Lumʿah fī taḥqīq mabāḥith al-wujūd wa-l-ḥudūth wa-l-qadar wa-afʿāl al-ʿibād*, ed. Muḥamad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo: Dār al-Baṣāʾir, 2008), p. 56, fn. 1. by al-Kawtharī.

[94] Ibid., p. 56, fn. 1. by al-Kawtharī.

[95] Al-Subkī, *al-Sayf al-ṣaqīl*, p. 86, fn. 2 by al-Kawtharī.

[96] Ibid., p. 109.

[97] Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa-l-sabʿ al-mathānī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Munīriyyah, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 10-16.

[98] Al-Subkī, *al-Sayf al-ṣaqīl*, p. 27, fn. 1 by al-Kawtharī.

[4.1.4] *Nafs al-amr* in al-Kūrānī's Thought

The concept of *nafs al-amr* became the subject of heated debates during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. İhsan Fazlıoğlu in "Between reality and mentality: Fifteenth century mathematics and natural philosophy reconsidered" argues that the concept of *nafs al-amr* came to assume the role that the active intellect had played in the Avicennian system, after the declining role of the active intellect as a guarantor of certain knowledge in classical (i.e. Avicennian) epistemological systems.[99] Fazlıoğlu states that the concept of *nafs al-amr* took on a variety of meanings depending on the author, which makes a coherent, historical account of this term difficult. However, he presents the views of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) as starting points from which to examine the development of this concept. Fazlıoğlu mentions a Sufi who dealt with the concept of *nafs al-amr*, namely, one of *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* commentators, Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350). In his work entitled *Maṭlaʿ khuṣūṣ al-kilam fī maʿānī Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, al-Qayṣarī uses the concept of *nafs al-amr* to refer to the knowledge of God or divine knowledge.[100] More texts and works about the concept of *nafs al-amr* are now available in printed form.[101] However, in this context, I will limit my inquiry to al-Kūrānī's understanding of the concept of *nafs al-amr* and its related topics.

In *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, al-Kūrānī says that *nafs al-amr* refers to God's knowledge, which encompasses all objects of knowledge, "*nafs al-amr huwa ʿilm al-Ḥaqq subḥānah al-muḥīṭ bi-*

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[99] İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Between reality and mentality: Fifteenth century mathematics and natural philosophy reconsidered," *Nazariyat: Journal for the History of Islamic Philosophy and Sciences*, 1/1 (November 2014), p. 24 and after.

[100] Fazlıoğlu, "Between reality and mentality," p. 25-26.

[101] At least five works on the concept of *nafs al-amr* are printed. See Ḥasan Zādah Āmulī, "Nafs al-amr," *Majallat Turāthunā*, Iran, Qum, No.1 (second year), Muḥarram, 1407, pp. 62-96; Ṭūsī, Jurjānī, Dawānī, Kalanbawī, *Thalāth rasāʾil fī nafs al-amr*, ed. Saʿīd Fūdah (Jordan: Dār al-Aṣlayn, 2017).

kull maʿlūm."[102] He interprets this Sufi understanding, as mentioned by al-Qayṣarī above, through an Ashʿarite perspective. God's attributes in the Ashʿarite tradition were usually described as being neither other than God's essence, nor identical with God's essence itself,[103] or in al-Kūrānī's expression *laysa ghayr al-dhāt wa-lā ʿayn al-dhāt.*[104] So, God's knowledge has two aspects:

1. God's knowledge is not other than God's essence (*laysa ghayr al-dhāt*). In other words, knowledge in this respect is identical to the essence. Knowledge as identical to God's essence is called *nafs al-amr.* God's essence contains all statuses (*shuʾūn),* considerations (*iʿtibārāt),* and relations (*nisab),* expressions that refer to God's relation to things other than Himself. The object of this knowledge is the essence with all its perfection. In this aspect of knowledge, there is no distinction, even mentally (*iʿtibārī),* between knowledge and its object. Thus, we cannot say that knowledge follows the object of knowledge because the relation of following requires multiplicity and differentiation (*taʿaddud wa-mughāyarah*), which does not exist, even conceptually, because the knowledge is not other than the essence.[105] Al-Kūrānī states that *nafs al-amr* is neither the preserved tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*)[106] nor the active intellect (*al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl*).[107] In *nafs al-amr* there is no intermediate state (*wāsiṭa*) between existence and nonexistence, which means that either a reality exists eternally, or has never and will never exist in *nafs al-*

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[102] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 51b.

[103] For the developments of this formula in Ashʿarī's thought see Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 207 and after.

[104] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 51b.

[105] Ibid., fol. 52a.

[106] Ibid., fol. 51b.

[107] Ibid., fol. 52a.

amr, or in the external world, as we shall see below.[108] In other words, a certain reality must exist eternally in *nafs al-amr*; otherwise, it will never exist in any form.

2. When God's knowledge is not construed as identical to His essence, this conceptual differentiation (*mughāyarah iʿtibāriyyah*) means that there is a kind of conceptual multiplicity (*taʿaddud iʿtibārī*).[109] This kind of knowledge is also eternal, but since there is differentiation (*tamāyuz*), we can say that this kind of knowledge follows its object, which is, in this case, the essence.[110] The object of knowledge (*al-maʿlūm*) is the essence with all its perfection and its states (*shuʾūn*) that contain all the realities (*al-ḥaqāʾiq*).

So, for al-Kūrānī, *nafs al-amr* is God's knowledge in the sense that it is not other than God's essence, and since God's knowledge eternally compasses everything, the realities of everything are affirmed in this knowledge eternally. Thus, the realities of everything are uncreated (*ghayr majʿūlah*) because they eternally exist in *nafs al-amr,* or in God's eternal knowledge, in the sense that it is identical to His essence.

The existence of realities, which are also described as relations (*nisab* and *iḍāfat*), in God's knowledge, in so far as this knowledge is identical to His essence, does not imply any plurality in the Divine essence. Al-Kūrānī refers to *al-Mawāqif* to indicate that this kind of relation is possible within God. Al-Ījī states that "it is generally agreed that relations can be renewed in God's essence" (*al-iḍāfāt yajūz tajadduduha ittifāqan*).[111] Al-Jurjānī explains the word *iḍāfāt* as *al-nisab* and says that intellectuals (*al-ʿuqalāʾ*) agree

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[108] Ibid., fol. 60b.

[109] Ibid., fol. 52a.

[110] Ibid., fol. 52a. Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm fī taḥqīq al-thubūt wa-ruʾyat al-maʿdūm* (MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440), fols. 52a-83a.

[111] Al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif*, p. 275.

that it is possible for these relations to be renewed in God's essence.[112] Al-Kūrānī uses their theological authority to confirm that this kind of renewal in God's essence is accepted. A similar idea can be found in Ibn Sīnā's writings, as we will see in the section related to the topic of creation.

However, I think his main source, which has not been mentioned in this context, is Ibn ʿArabī. Al-Kūrānī uses Ibn ʿArabī's terminology to refer to the affirmation of contingents in *nafs al-amr* or, in Ibn ʿAraī's term, *al-dhāt al-aqdas*.[113] God's attributes in Ibn ʿArabī's works can be described as relations. So, if we say "God knows," that means the relation of knowledge is established between Him and what He knows. The same thing can be said when saying that God creates, so the attribute or relation of creativity is established between Him and His creation.[114] In other words, God has always been and will always be a Creator, as He creates in every moment and new relations with creatures are renewed forever, but being a Creator eternally does not imply any change in His essence. Creating one person and then another person does not make the Creator multiple. Again, the realities of everything eternally exist in God's knowledge as it is identical to His essence. So, what does creation mean, what kind of existence do these realities have? They are not existents in the external world, thus they are nonexistent, yet they have a kind of existence in *nafs al-amr*; are we talking about the Muʿtazilite conception of the nonexistent? Also, if the realities of everything exist eternally in God's knowledge, are we not left with a form of predestination? Can man act with free will if everything already exists eternally in God's knowledge? All these topics are

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[112] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* with al-Siyalkūtī and Jalabī's glosses (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿImiyyah, 1998), vol. 8, p. 36. See also Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, *Ghāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. Ḥasan Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (Cairo: al-Majlis al-Aʿlā li-l-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah, 1971), p. 193.

[113] Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm*, fol. 54b-55a.

[114] Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God,* p. xvii.

interconnected and al-Kūrānī's opinion concerning each topic will be discussed and clarified.

Before moving on to these points, I should clarify an expression that al-Kūrānī uses frequently, that knowledge follows the object of knowledge (*al-ʿilm yatbaʿ al-maʿlūm*).[115] This idea can be traced to early theologians. Al-Shahrastānī, in his discussion of Ibn Sīnā's idea that God does not know things through the things themselves, or else His knowledge would be passive, replies that this issue of the relationship between knowledge and the object of knowledge is a topic of discussion between philosophers and theologians (*mutakallimūn*). Then, al-Shahrastānī mentions several options that theologians discussed, "whether He knows things prior to their coming into being, or with their coming into being, or after it; and whether the knowledge follows the object of knowledge, so that it discovers the object of knowledge as it is, or whether the object of knowledge follows the knowledge."[116] This idea of knowledge following its object can be traced to Aristotle's claim that the object of God's knowledge is Himself, and because He knows Himself He knows everything.[117] Ibn ʿArabī in *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* says, "Knowledge follows the object of knowledge; the object of knowledge does not follow

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[115] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 208.

[116] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics: A new Arabic Edition and English Translation of Muhammad b. Abd al-Karīm b. Ahmad al-Shahrastānī's Kitāb al-Muṣāraʿa,* edited and translate by Wilferd Madelung (London: I.B. Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001), p. 70-71.

[117] W. D. Ross, *Aristotle* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 189. Frank Griffel in "Al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) Incoherence of the philosophers," says that in discussing Ibn Sīnā's idea that God knows "particulars" (*juzʾiyyāt*) only "in a universal way," al-Ghazālī "draws on ideas and solutions that were developed earlier in *kalām* literature. He denies the Aristotelian understanding that "knowledge follows the object of knowledge." Frank Griffel, "Al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) Incoherence of the Philosophers," *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 203.

knowledge."[118] When Ibn ʿArabī says that God's knowledge follows the realities of things, that does not mean that God has acquired His knowledge from externally existent things. Rather, God's knowledge follows the object of knowledge as it eternally exists in God's knowledge in so far as it is identical to His essence. Thus, God does not make a thing the way it is; rather, He knows the way it is in His knowledge through knowing Himself, because "God is all-knowing, and He is all-knowing always and forever. The choices He makes are based on the realities of the entities, which are fixed in His knowledge. His choices follow what He knows about the entities, because knowledge follows the known."[119] In creation, God's power creates according to His will, and His will follows His knowledge, and His knowledge follows the object of knowledge or the known itself.

Nafs al-amr understood as God's knowledge is related to two main topics in theology, with respect to both of which al-Kūrānī received severe criticism. If the realities of things exist eternally in *nafs al-amr*, does that mean that the nonexistent is a "thing," as the Muʿtazilites argue? If the realities of things are not created, what is the meaning of creation? If realities are eternals in this way, should we not say that everything is predestined? And in this case how can man be responsible for his acts?

[4.1.5] Ashʿarites and Mental Existence

Al-Kūrānī makes an effort to prove that Ashʿarites accept mental existence. This step is vital for him in his attempt to prove that the nonexistent has a kind of affirmation outside of the mind, which will lead him to the idea of affirmation of the nonexistent (*thubūt al-maʿdūm*).

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[118] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 4, p. 16. Ibn ʿArabī repeated this expression several times in *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah,* see for example vol. 4, p. 228, 247, 258, 318.

[119] Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, p. 186.

Al-Kūrānī mentions both the arguments of the people who accept mental existence and of those who reject it. Those who affirm mental existence usually refer to some ideas that do not correspond to anything extramental, which means they must have another kind of existence, either in the human mind or in God's knowledge. By contrast, those who reject the idea of mental existence argue that if we have the idea of whiteness and blackness in our minds that means the co-existence of contradictions, and if we have the idea of sky or mountain that means the occurrence of these huge entities in our minds.[120] Al-Kūrānī explains that existence and their concomitants are of different kinds:

1. There are concomitants of the quiddity of the thing. This type of concomitant is related to the quiddity whether it is in the external world or in the mind, such as the evenness of four.

2. There are concomitants for things that exist in the mind. They are concomitants of quiddities in the case where quiddities exist only in the mind, such as universal concepts.

3. There are concomitants of things in the case of a thing that exists only in the external world such as whiteness, blackness, heat, and cold.

From this classification, it is not necessary that contradictory things will exist in the mind if we have the idea of white and black. Neither the actually existing white and black nor the actually existing sky will exist in the mind; what we have in our minds is the quiddity, not the actual being, and what is described as huge, hot, or white is the actual being (al-huwiyyah not al-māhiyyah).[121] Al-Kūrānī cites al-Ījī in al-Mawāqif saying that the mistake of the theologians is that they use the term "quiddity" (māhiyyah) for the

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[120] ʿAḍūd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ījī, al-Mawāqif fī ʿilm al-kalām (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, n.d.), p. 52.

[121] Al-Kūrānī, Qaṣd al-sabīl, fol. 54a-b.

concepts that exist in mental existence as well as for what corresponds to these concepts in the external world. This equivocation in the term is the cause of the mistake.

External existence is individual (ʿaynī) and fundamental (aṣīl), such as the existence of the sun. This kind of existence has effects, so the existence of the sun is connected with lighting and heating. Mental existence is shadowy (ẓillī), not fundamental (ghayr aṣīl); the mental existence of the sun is a concept that does not have concomitants such as lightning and heating. These concomitants are related to external existence.[122] This distinction is essential for al-Kūrānī because his next step is to argue that Ashʿarites actually accept mental existence. What they reject, in his reading, is the idea that existence always has concomitants, but according to his explanation, only external existence has concomitants.

For al-Kūrānī, what some people affirm is not exactly what other people reject. The dispute is simply verbal, because those who affirm "mental existence" and those who reject it are talking about two different things. Those who reject mental existence reject the meaning that existence necessitates its concomitants, and those who accept mental existence affirm the meaning that existence does not necessitate its effects.[123] Through this discussion, al-Kūrānī argues that Ashʿarites accept mental existence in their writings on metaphysics (ilāhiyyat). What they reject is the concept of mental existence in the sense that such existence is followed by its concomitants or external effects. Al-Kūrānī says that what the Asʿarites reject is not the correct concept of mental existence: whoever affirms mental existence actually affirms a concept that does not necessitate its concomitants and effects.[124] They accept that God's knowledge encompasses everything,

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[122] Ibid., fol. 52b.
[123] Ibid., fol. 54b.
[124] Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm*, fol. 53a.

so they admit that there is a kind of knowledge different from external existence. They acknowledge that God's knowledge is eternal, without external existence. Also, they frequently talk about different kinds of existence such as existence in the external world, in the mind, in spoken, and in written form. In *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, al-Kūrānī says that on the topics of God's knowledge and God's will, Ashʿarites accept "mental existence," and in their arguments for mental speech (*kalām nafsī*) they explicitly say that we have our ideas in our minds before we utter them.[125]

Al-Kūrānī says that Ashʿarites reject that a nonexistent is a thing or has a kind of affirmation in the state of nonexistence. He mentions two of their objections from al-Ījī's *al-Mawāqif*, against the affirmation of the nonexistent. The first objection is that affirming the nonexistent undermines God's omnipotence because in this case God is not the creator of the nonexistent realities. The other objection is that if we accept that there are affirmed contingent nonexistents (*maʿdūm mumkin thābit*), the absolute nonexistent is more general than the contingent nonexistent, because the absolute nonexistent includes both affirmed and negated nonexistents. Thus, the absolute nonexistent would be distinct (*mutamayyiz*) from the possible nonexistent, and this is a contradiction, since whatever is distinct is contingent because it is known and could be willed.[126]

Al-Kūrānī replies to these objections that quiddities are not created by their affirmation, but they are created by their external existence, which is identical to the existence of individuals in the external world as Ashʿarites believe. The essence of everything is identical to its existence, and existence in the external world is created; thus, the quiddities in this sense are created. They are created in respect of their

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[125] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 55a. Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 235.

[126] Al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif*, p. 55. Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm*, fol. 57b-58a.

existence, not in respect of their affirmation.[127] It is true that our minds may assume things that do not have affirmation in *nafs al-amr*, such as the names of the impossible and their concepts, and we can even describe them in written form. But the impossible by itself does not have affirmation in any kind, neither mental or external nor in *nafs al-amr*.[128] So, concerning the second objection, al-Kūrānī says that the affirmed thing is what possesses an affirmed attribute in *nafs al-amr*, by itself, not as a result of a mental supposition.[129]

However, al-Kūrānī thinks that Ashʿarite writings demonstrate that they accept that the contingent nonexistent (*al-maʿdūm al-mumkin*) is a thing, and that it is affirmed outside of our minds.[130] As mentioned before, existence could be in the mental, external, or *nafs al-amr* worlds. An absolute nonexistent could exist in the mind as a delusion (*wahm*), but never in the external world or in *nafs al-amr*. Contingent nonexistence does not exist in the external world by the virtue of its definition as nonexistent, yet, as al-Kūrānī attempts to prove, it exists outside of the mind. Thus, it must exist in *nafs al-amr*.

The idea that the contingent nonexistent is a thing and is affirmed leads to another discussion about the possibility of seeing the nonexistent, or what he calls *ruʾyat al-maʿdūm*. The cause of seeing, according to Ashʿarites, is external existence, but al-Kūrānī thinks that the cause of seeing is mere existence, which means that the contingent nonexistent can be seen since it has a kind of existence in minds or in *nafs al-amr*. Since Ashʿarites accept mental existence, as al-Kūrānī argues, so all existents in knowledge, in mind, or in the external world can be seen. Al-Kūrānī uses an analogy between *kalām*

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[127] Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm*, fols. 58a-59a.
[128] Ibid., fol. 59b.
[129] Ibid., fol. 59a.
[130] Ibid., fol. 53a.

nafsī, in which God knows our unuttered speech, and seeing the ideas and forms in our minds before they come to the external world. According to al-Kūrānī, all Ashʿarites agree that believers can see God, and they agree that God is not a body, nor a substance or accident; He is not in space nor in a direction, but He can be seen, thus there is no reason not to see the mental existent that is a form in the mind.[131] The Quran says, "We show Abraham the realm of the heavens and the earth" (Q 6:75), meaning that seeing is not exclusive for things that exist in the external world. Any *ḥadīth* referring to things that will happen in the future or on the day of judgment also refers to the possibility of seeing the nonexistent. In short, al-Kūrānī's idea is that vision is related to existence in general, not only to external existence.

Again, similar to what he does in the argument for *kalām nafsī*, al-Kūrānī uses *fiqh* and the concept of *ijtihād* to explain that Ashʿarites actually accept mental existence. Any *mujtahid* orders the arguments in his mind before he speaks or writes them; if these ideas do not have a kind of existence before they come into the external world they will be pure nonexistence, and that means they will never come to exist in the external world, but this is not the case, so they must have existed in minds before their external existence.[132]

As mentioned in the section related to absolute existence, al-Kūrānī believes that al-Ashʿarī's idea that "the existence of everything is identical with its essence" confirms his own idea that God is absolute existence. He repeatedly asserts this connection without explaining how the two ideas are connected.[133] But as explained before, for al-Kūrānī,

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[131] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 65b.

[132] Ibid., fol. 65b.

[133] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabil*, fol. 12a. For al-Ashʿarī's idea see ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī, *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār, along with Maḥmūd Iṣfahānī's Commentary, Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār, Sharḥ Ṭawāliʿ al-Ānwār*, trans. Edwin Elliott Calverley and James W. Pollock (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 187.

only God has a quiddity that is identical to his existence. Everything else has an eternal uncreated quiddity in *nafs al-amr*. These quiddities will have external existence when God bestows His existence on them. To say that the existence of everything is identical with its essence can be understood in two ways. The first way is to say that there are actually no two distinct existing identities in the external world; whatever can be truly said to have an existence in the external world will also be truly said to have a quiddity that is not distinct from its existence (*mā yaṣduq ʿalayhi al-wujūd fī al-umūr al-khārijiyyah yaṣduq ʿalayhi al-māhiyyah*).[134] The second way is to say that the existence of everything in the external world will be exactly the same as its essence in God's Knowledge.[135] What changes in the latter is only the reality manifested in the external world: "if it became clear that existence exists and that the contingent nonexistent is affirmed, it should follow that the existence of everything, as al-Ashʿarī said, is identical to its essence."[136] So in this way al-Kūrānī is able to argue that nonexistent quiddities or realities exist eternally in God's knowledge, which allows him to argue for *thubūt al-maʿdūm,* affirmation of the nonexistent in knowledge (*wujūd ʿilmī*), not in external existence.[137]

[4.1.6] Realities: Uncreated Nonexistent Quiddities

Al-Kūrānī was accused of reviving Muʿtazilite thought, mainly the idea of "thingness of the nonexistent" *(shayʾiyyat al-maʿdūm).*[138] The Moroccan theologian al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (d. 1691) said that al-Kūrānī revived a moribund innovation and ascribed a partner to God

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[134] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 235.

[135] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 55a.

[136] Ibid., fol. 56b. (*Idhā tabayyana anna al-wujūd mawjūd wa-l-maʿdūm al-mumkin thābit, falā budda an yakūn wujūd kull shayʾ, kamā qāla al-Ashʿarī, ʿayn ḥaqīqatihi).*

[137] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 235.

[138] Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī,* p. 1789. (In vol. 5 of *Mawsūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib).*

in acts and a companion in intermediary effects (*sharīk al-afʿāl wa-sharīk al-wasāʾiṭ*).[139] The first part of this accusation is based on al-Kūrānī's idea that things have a kind of eternal, uncreated reality (*taḥaqquq*), affirmation (*thubūt*), and existence (*wujūd*) in *nafs al-amr*.[140] The second part is clearly referring to al-Kūrānī's interpretation of *kasb* and humans' effect in their actions, a topic that will be discussed later.

The previous section about *nafs al-amr* explained that God's knowledge eternally compasses the realities of everything. If the realities of everything eternally exist in God's knowledge, and God's knowledge is not created, that means realities, or quiddities as al-Kūrānī describes them sometimes, are not created.[141] Al-Kūrānī talks about existence in knowledge (*wujūd ʿilmī*), and confirms repeatedly that what exists in God's knowledge is the realities, not the actual things themselves.

Recall that for al-Kūrānī, existence can be of three kinds: mental existence, external existence, and existence in *nafs al-amr*. *Nafs al-amr* is more general than mental or external existences because there is no eternal mental or external existence. However, "external" includes both existences in *nafs al-amr* and in the external word in that he understands it as opposite to mental existence. Both are external in the sense that they are not mere mental existence. It is thus important to notice that when al-Kūrānī sometimes talks about existence in the external world, *al-wujūd fī al-khārij*, he also implies existence in *nafs al-amr*, which is nevertheless distinct from external existence in the actualized world.[142]

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[139] Ḥasan al-Yūsī, *Rasāʾil Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī*, vol. 2, p. 616-17. Al-Yūsī's letter is also mentioned in Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī,* p. 1790. (In vol. 5 of *Mawsūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib).*
[140] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 51b.
[141] Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, p. 33.
[142] Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm*, fol. 55b.

Al-Kūrānī attempts to prove that the realities of all contingents exist eternally and are uncreated (*ghayr majʿūlah*). If the realities of contingents did not exist in *nafs al-amr*, they would be pure, or absolute nonexistence, and a pure nonexistent can never come to exist in the external world. Because creation, which brings realities from God's knowledge to the external world, occurs by God's potency (*qudra*), and His potency follows His will, and the will chooses from the objects of knowledge, without affirmed realities in God's knowledge there is no creation. In other words, the absolute unknown can never be willed; thus, creation is not possible for an absolute nonexistent. But this assumption contradicts the reality that there are existents. The existence of real concrete existents in the external world means that the realities or quiddities of every contingent exist in God's knowledge eternally as distinct (*mutamāyiz*) individuals.[143] The eternal existence of distinct individuals is essential for al-Kūrānī's arguments for God's knowledge of particulars, as we shall see. Al-Kūrānī's teacher al-Qushāshī tried to prove that realities are uncreated (*ghayr majʿūlah*) by saying that if they were created they would be known before creation, because creating is a voluntary act (*fiʿl ikhtiyārī*) and each voluntary act is preceded by potency and will, and these are in truth preceded by knowledge of the object that is willed and created. Willing the unknown is not possible. Thus, to say that entities are created in knowledge means that they should be known to be willed, which means in turn that they need to be created before they were created, and the series continues ad infinitum.[144]

The realities never change, because they are objects of God's knowledge, and God's knowledge, like God's essence, is eternal and unchanging. Al-Kūrānī uses several terms

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[143] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 52b-53a.

[144] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī, *Nafḥat al-yaqīn wa-zulfat al-tamkīn li-l-mūqinīn* (MS: Princeton: NS 1114), fol. 6a.

to refer to these realities in his writings: realities (*ḥaqāʾiq*), nonexistents (*maʿdūmāt*), quiddities (*māhiyyāt*), essences (*dhawāt*), and meanings *(maʿānī);* he also uses Ibn ʿArabī's term "fixed entities" *(aʿyān thābitah).* Using these terms synonymously is also observable in Ibn ʿArabī's writings, where "the entity" is also referred to as the "possible-existence" (*mumkin*) or the "quiddity" (*māhiyyāh*), or simply as the "thing" (*shayʾ*).[145] Al-Qūnāwī, the foremost student of Ibn ʿArabī, says that "the term *aʿyān* is synonymous with what the philosophers refer to as quiddities *(māhiyyat)*."[146] Al-Qushāshī also says that "realities" (*al-ḥaqāʾiq*), "objects of knowledge" (*al-maʿlūmāt*), and "fixed entities" (*al-aʿyān al-thābitah*) are all expressions referring to the same thing.[147] These realities are described as nonexistents (*maʿdūmāt*) because they do not have external existence.

God's knowledge is essential and eternal (*azalī dhātī*). Nothing in the extramental world exists eternally, and at the same time nothing in the world is absent from God's knowledge eternally. Thus, realities are present in God's knowledge eternally by their essences (*dhawātihā*), which means their realities and quiddities (*ḥaqāʾiqihā wa-māhiyyātihā*). These realities are nonexistents that are essentially distinct in and of themselves (*maʿdūmāt mutamayyizah fī anfusihā tamayyuzan dhātiyyan*).[148] They should be distinct by themselves; otherwise, they would be absolute nonexistents, which cannot be objects of the knowledge. Knowledge is a relation between two extremes (*ṭarafayn*) and absolute nonexistence cannot be part of a relation because it is impossible to refer to it. Thus, these essences or quiddities that are known to God are not absolute nonexistents but contingent nonexistents that are essentially distinct in themselves. Al-Kūrānī's

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[145] William Chittick, "Commentary on a *hadith* by Sadr al-Din Qunawi," *Alserat 4/1*, (1980), pp. 23-30, p. 24.

[146] Chittick, "*Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī on the Oneness of Being*," p. 176.

[147] Al-Qushāshī, *Nafḥat al-yaqīn wa-zulfat al-tamkīn li-l-mūqinīn*, fol. 6a.

[148] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād li-sulūk Maslak al-sadād* (MS: Princeton, G, Yahuda 3867), fol. 32b.

classification of nonexistents will be discussed soon. For now, we can say that God eternally knows, and in eternity none of the contingents exist, thus the quiddities that are eternally known by God should be nonexistents, distinct, and not created.[149] The distinction between the thing itself and the existence of the thing was well known to Muslim philosophers. Wisnovsky suggests that this distinction was influenced by *kalām* discussions of existence and *shayʾ*,[150] the problematic term that will be discussed soon.

Affirmation is different from existence, because affirmation covers the existent and the distinct nonexistent (*maʿdūm mutamayyiz*).[151] God knows all things as concomitants of His knowledge of Himself, but this knowledge does not give them any existence that is separate from God's existence, in a similar way that our knowledge does not give self-existence to what we know. These fixed entities cannot be described as created (*majʿūlah*), because what is created is what has an actual existence. Whatever does not have an actual existence cannot be described as created.[152] Al-Kūrānī says that the idea that quiddities are uncreated (*ghayr majʿūlah*) is the doctrine of the Sunnis (*Ahl al-Sunnah wa-l-Jamāʿah*). He explains this idea by saying that since God is eternally knowing, and the world is created, what is present in God's knowledge are the eternal realities of things (*ḥaqāʾiq al-ashyāʾ*), not the created existents. These realities must be distinct, in order that knowledge can be connected to them (*yataʿallaq bi-hā*),[153] so they are differentiated by themselves in the state of nonexistence.[154] Al-Kūrānī says that the connection of

[149] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd,* fol. 127a.

[150] Robert Wisnovsky, "Notes on Avicenna's concept of thingness (shayʾiyya)," *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, vol. 10 (2000), pp. 181-221,

[151] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Tawaṣṣul ilā anna ʿilm Allāh bi-l-ashyāʾ azalan ʿalā al-tafṣīl* (MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440), fol. 34b.

[152] Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, p. 36.

[153] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*, fol. 128a.

[154] Ibid., fol. 127a.

knowledge means revealing these realities;[155] it is part of the creation process, as we will see later.

After establishing that entities exist in God's knowledge eternally, as present in knowledge (ḥuḍūrī) not through acquisition (ḥuṣūlī) such that they are meanings free of forms (maʿāni muḥaqqaqah khāliyah ʿan al-ṣuwar),[156] al-Kūrānī explains that each entity has a specific disposition (istiʿdād). This disposition is part of their quiddity, uncreated and not acquired; it is what prepares quiddity for the effusion of existence and knowledge. Since everything is the object of God's knowledge for all eternity, then entities or "things" are not "made" (majʿūl). God did not "make" them the way they are; instead, they are "concomitants" (lawāzim) of the very nature of God's essence Itself. Thus, the quiddities of nonexistent things are known to God eternally, distinguished in themselves by unmade eternal distinct dispositions (istiʿdādāt dhātiyyah ghayr majʿūlah),[157] and their eternal distinctness and their eternal dispositions are uncreated (laysat majʿūlah fī tamayyuzihā al-azalī wa-lā fī istiʿdādātihā al-azaliyyah).[158]

The idea that realities are affirmed eternally in distinct individual ways in God's knowledge and that they are uncreated is frequently expressed in Ibn ʿArabī's writings and the tradition that follows him. Realities are the fixed entities that remain always in the state of nonexistence; in Ibn ʿArabī's words, "they have never smelt the breath of existence."[159] Realities never change or transform; what transforms are the forms "lā tabdīl li-kalimāt Allāh" (Q 10:64). Al-Qūnawī also says that the fixed entities (al-aʿyān al-thābitah), which are called by the philosophers "essences" (māhiyyāt), "with respect to

[155] Ibid., fol. 127a.
[156] Al-Kūrānī, Qaṣd al-sabīl, fol. 52a.
[157] Al-Kūrānī, Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād, fol. 32b.
[158] Ibid., fol. 33a.
[159] Ibn ʿArabī, al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah, vol. 2, p. 404.

being delineated within the knowledge of God, are not created [...] and in their entity (*bi-ʿaynihā*), with regards to their becoming entities and manifest in the knowledge of those other than Him, they are created."[160] These entities are the "objects of God's knowledge" (*maʿlūmāt*), and God's knowledge does not change.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, establishing that these realities are eternal, uncreated quiddities will have a direct impact on several topics, such as creation, destiny, predestination, and God's knowledge of particulars. Al-Kūrānī is interested in demonstrating that theologians, and specifically Ashʿarites, accept the idea that there are eternal, nonexistent quiddities. He does not mention the philosophers' arguments, since for him, anyone who differentiates between the contingent and the impossible cannot reject the distinction between the contingent nonexistent and the impossible nonexistent.[161]

The classification of existents or intelligibles was one aspect of Ashʿarite Muʿtazilite disputes. The other two aspects related to our discussion are how we can classify nonexistents and how we can describe them.

[4.1.6.1] Classifications of Nonexistents

This section aims to display that al-Kūrānī's differentiation between contingent nonexistents and impossible nonexistents is not new in the *kalām* tradition.

The Muʿtazilite theologian Ibn Mattawayh distinguishes between two kinds of nonexistents: a nonexistent whose actual existence can possibly be created under the potency of God, and a nonexistent for which it is impossible to have an actual existence. Both are nonexistents but the first can possibly exist, while the latter will never come to

[160] Al-Qūnawī, al-*Nafaḥāt al-ilāhiyyah,* p. 143.

[161] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 57a.

be.[162] From the Ashʿarite side we can mention al-Bāqillānī's classifications of nonexistents according to their possibility of existence:

a) Never existed and impossible for it to exist; logically impossible.

b) Never existed; even if it is possible, it will never exist, like when God says that something will never happen.

c) Nonexistent in our time and will be "existent" in the future, like the Day of Judgment.

d) Nonexistent in our time but was "existent" in the past, like the events of the past.

e) Nonexistent that is possible but depends on God's will, and we do not know if it will happen or not.[163]

Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāʾīnī gives a similar classification of nonexistents.[164]

Classification of nonexistents was therefore not an innovation of al-Kūrānī's. He actually was following the long *kalām* tradition of classifying nonexistents. However, al-Kūrānī's classification of nonexistents into contingent nonexistent and impossible nonexistent was probably influenced by Ibn ʿArabī. Ibn ʿArabī talked about two kinds of nonexistence: absolute nonexistence (*al-ʿadam al-muṭlaq*), which is nothingness, pure and simple; and relative nonexistence (*al-ʿadam al-iḍāfī*), which is the state of things

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[162] Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Mattawayh, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa al-aʿrāḍ*, ed. Daniel Gimaret (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2009), vol.1, p. 17.

[163] Al-Bāqillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, p. 40.

[164] Nonexistents are spoken of under several categories (*aqsām*): 1- The non-actuality in being (*intifāʾ*) of what was and is in the past is known. 2- The non-actuality in being of what shall be is known as one posits the actuality of an entity and then known that it does not exist; and 1: The non-actuality in being of what will not be of those beings whose existence is possible, how it would be were it to be (*mā lā yakūnu mimmā jāza an yakūna an law kāna kayfa kān yakūn*); and 2: The non-actuality in being of those things whose existence in impossible (*mā yastaḥīl kawnuh*) is known. See, Richard M Frank, "The non-existent and the possible in classical Ashʿarite teaching," *MIDEO* 24, Louvain, 2000. Republished in: *Texts and Studies on the Development and History of Kalām*. USA & UK: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), p. 3.

considered as Not God.[165] In other words, only God has true existence, and everything else is nonexistence in one way or another.

As we have seen, Muʿtazilites and Ashʿarites had different categories and descriptions for nonexistents. So, where is the problem and why was al-Kūrānī considered to be reviving the Muʿtazilites's position? It seems that the main problem was the use of the concept of "thing" (shayʾ) to describe nonexistents.

[4.1.6.2] The Description of Nonexistent and the Concept of "Thing" (shayʾ)

Sunni theologians of the Ashʿarī and Māturidī schools believed in a strong identification of "thing" and "existent."[166] In this framework, a nonexistent cannot be described by any term that refers to any kind of existence. Al-Juwaynī says that "nonexistence is an unqualified negation and does not embrace any of the positive attributes of existent entities. Since it is nothing at all, it has no essential attribute by which it can be described."[167] For Muʿtazilites, a nonexistent has a kind of affirmation that allows it to be described. However, they disagree about how to describe a substance without the attribute of existence.[168] Ibn Mattawayh says that the description of the substance in the state of nonexistence is possible by any term, with the condition that this term does not refer to existence through its expression or meaning. It is a matter of language, and since it does not refer to actual existence it is possible to call accidents 'accidents' even if they

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[165] Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge, p. 7.

[166] Robert Wisnovsky, Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context (NY: Cornel University Press, 2003), p. 148.

167 Imām al-Ḥaramayin ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Juwaynī, Al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn, ed. A.S. al-Nashshār (Cairo: 1969), p. 609-10. Al-Juwaynī said similar things in al-Irshād. See al-Juwaynī, al-Irshād ilā qawaṭiʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-iʿtiqād, ed. M. Yūsuf Mūsā and A. A. ʿAbd al-Hamīd (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1950), p. 31. Ibn Fūrak said that Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī held that a nonexistent cannot be described as a substance nor as an accident. Ibn Fūrak, Mujarrad maqālāt al-Ashʿarī, p. 246.

[168] See Ibn Mattawayh, al-Tadhkira, vol.1, p. 13; Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, al-Masāʾil fī al-Khilāf bayna al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn, ed. Maʿn Ziyādah and Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: Maʿhad al-Inmāʾ al-ʿArabī, 1979), p. 37.

are nonexistents, since we do not understand from these names or descriptions that they have an actual existence.[169]

However, as mentioned above, Ashꜥarites classified nonexistents in different categories, so they found a way to describe them. Ibn Fūrak summarizes the description of nonexistents in Ashꜥarite doctrine as "hav[ing] in common that they can be known and that they can be spoken of, made the subject of a predication and referred to, and they are potential objects of God's power."[170] But one cannot describe those nonexistents with other names and descriptions, specifically with the descriptions that imply the assertion of the actual existence of entities such as "thing" (*shayʾ*). Al-Bāqillānī says that the existent is the established existing thing (*al-mawjūd huwa al-shayʾ al-thābit al-kāʾin*) and the nonexistent is a negation and not a thing (*maꜥdūm muntafī laysa bi-shayʾ*). *Shayʾ* according to al-Bāqillānī, and Ashꜥarites in general, is the existent (*maꜥnā al-shayʾ ꜥindanā annahu mawjūd*).[171]

Ibn Mattawayh adds a new expression to describe the nonexistent, "as it is possible to call it substance when it is nonexistent, it is possible to call it "thing" (*shayʾ*), because its inner-reality (*ḥaqīqatuh*) is known and can be spoken of."[172] A new term thus became the center of controversy between Muꜥtazilites and Ashꜥarites, the term "thing" (*shayʾ*).[173]

Ibn Mattawayh was aware of the controversial use of this term so he tried to justify using it through lexicographic and Quranic sources. He says that "thing" does not refer

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[169] Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Tadhkira*, vol.1, p. 22.

[170] Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad maqālāt*, p. 252, (from Frank, "The non-existent and the possible in classical Ashꜥarite teaching," p. 2).

[171] Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī, *Al-Tamhīd fī al-radd ꜥalā al-mulḥidah wa-l-rāfiḍah wa-l-khawārij wa-l-muꜥtazilah*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī and Muḥammad ꜥAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīdah (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ꜥArabī, 1947), p. 40.

[172] Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Tadhkira*, vol.1, p. 23.

[173] For more discussions about the concept of "thing" (*shayʾ*) and the role these discussions played in *kalām* and philosophy developments, see Wisnovsky, "Notes on Avicenna's concept of thingness (*shayʾiyya*)."

to actual existence because we say "existent thing" (*shayʾ mawjūd*), and if these two words had the same meaning that would be a useless repetition. Also, we say "I knew of a nonexistent thing" (*ʿalimtu shayʾan maʿdūman*), and there is no contradiction in this sentence as there would be if we were saying "I knew of a nonexistent existent." Moreover, when lexicographers say "nothing" (*lā shayʾ*), they do not mean nonexistent (*maʿdūm*).[174] From the Quran, Ibn Mattawayh uses many verses where the word "thing" refers to nonexistents such as: "God is able to do all things," (Q 2:284), (Q 3:29) and that which is under the ability of God could be nonexistent; "and never say of anything 'I shall do such and such thing tomorrow,' except [with the saying] if God wills." (Q 18:23-24). He confirms through this reasoning that "thing" can come before acting or existing. He also gives many other examples where "thing" refers to a nonexistent, such as the verses (Q 16:40), (Q 36:82), (Q 22:1), and (Q 19:9).[175]

It is not clear whether al-Kūrānī had direct access to Muʿtazilite texts, but certainly he knew their arguments through the texts of their opponents, and he refers to their arguments in al-Ījī's *al-Mawāqif* and its *Sharḥ*, and many other Ashʿarite texts that reject Muʿtazilite doctrines. Al-Kūrānī uses the same Quranic verses that refer to *shayʾ* in the state of nonexistence. He also uses the theologians' discussions and the lexicographers' views to argue that *shayʾ* can be used to describe the nonexistent in the external world. From the linguistic perspective, al-Kūrānī says that al-Zamakhsharī in *al-Kashshāf* mentions that the meaning of *shayʾ* is what can be known and talked about (*mā yaṣiḥḥu an yuʿlama wa-yukhbara ʿanhu*). Al-Kūrānī says that *shayʾ* is originally from *shāʾ* which means "he wills or desires." So, *shayʾ* is the thing that the will or the desire attaches to.

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[174] Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Tadhkira*, vol.1, p. 23.

[175] Ibid., vol.1, p. 23.

But the will attaches to what is known, because no one can desire what is unknown for him. Since the will is attached to what is known, every intelligible can be called *shayʾ*.[176]

Similar to the Muʿtazilites, al-Kūrānī holds that "thing" (*shayʾ*) is the most broadly applicable category of intelligibles, and that "thing" is divisible into "existent" and "nonexistent." Al-Kūrānī says that *shayʾ* can be used to describe every intelligible, whether eternal or created, substance or accident, even the nonexistent, be it a possible nonexistent or an impossible nonexistent; all intelligibles can be described by the term *shayʾ* in a literal sense, not simply metaphorically (*ḥaqīqatan lā majāzan*).[177] According to al-Kūrānī, the use of the term *shayʾ* for all intelligibles is confirmed by linguistic scholars like Sibawayh, so there is no reason for Ashʿarites to say that *shayʾ* can only be used in its literal sense for existents and metaphorically for nonexistents. Again, al-Kūrānī repeats that al-Ashʿarī's doctrine is to accept the apparent without allegorical interpretation, and since the word *shayʾ* occurs in the Quran and in the Sunnah to refer to extramental nonexistents, there is no need to say it can only be used metaphorically.[178] Al-Kūrānī says that what al-Ījī and al-Jurjānī mention about the Ashʿarite position is that saying, "every existent is a thing," means that we cannot say that an existent "is not a thing/is nothing" (*laysa bi-shayʾ*). Al-Ījī's and al-Jurjānī's idea does not mean that everything is existent; it is possible to use the term *shayʾ* for existents in the extramental world and also for a nonexistent in the extramental world. The only difference is that the existent in the extramental world cannot be called "nothing".[179]

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[176] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 67b.
[177] Ibid., fol. 67b.
[178] Ibid., fol. 67b.
[179] Ibid., fol. 68a.

The concept of "thing" played an essential role not only in *kalām*, but in Islamic philosophy as well. As Wisnovsky has shown in "Notes on Avicenna's concept of thingness (shay'iyya)," *kalām* discussions of "thing" and "existent" were the backdrop against which Avicenna made his distinction between essence or quiddity and existence. The discussions about existence came to encompass general questions of ontology, and the metaphysical notions used in the debate among *mutakallimūn* became more sophisticated.[180] These discussions of *wujūd*, *shay'*, and the nonexistent found their way into Sufism through theoretical discussions of the meaning of *wujūd*. Sufi engagement in philosophical arguments can be seen in the following section, which deals with the topic of God's knowledge of particulars, famously associated with Ibn Sīnā's philosophy.

[4.1.7] God's Knowledge of Particulars

Ibn Sīnā's theory that God knows particulars "in a universal way" has attracted considerable attention from Muslim and Western scholars.[181] God is always described as perfect; thus, He cannot change. But particulars change, so knowledge of particulars will change with the change of particulars, thus implying that a change occurs in God. In order to solve this apparent contradiction, Ibn Sīnā asserts that God's knowledge only contains eternal truths, which he understands to be "universals" (*kulliyyāt*). God thus knows individual objects and their attributes "in a universal way" only. Al-Ghazālī understands Ibn Sīnā's position as entailing the denial of God's knowledge of

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[180] Wisnovsky, "Notes on Avicenna's concept of thingness (*shay'iyya*)," p. 187.

[181] Michael E Marmura, "Some aspects of Avicenna's theory of God's Knowledge of particulars," *Journal of the Americal Oriental Society* 82 (1962), pp. 299–312; Peter Adamson, "On knowledge of particulars," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 105 (3):273–294 (2005); Rahim Acar, "Reconsidering Avicenna's position on God's knowledge of particulars," in *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Avicenna Study Group* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); S. Nusseibeh, "Avicenna: Providence and God's knowledge of particulars," in *Avicenna and his Legacy: A Golden Age of Science and Philosophy*, ed. Langermann, Y. Tzvi (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009), pp. 275-288.

individuals.[182] Al-Shahrastānī in *Struggling with the Philosopher* mentions the traditional argument as follows: the change in the object of knowledge will necessitate a change in the knowledge, and the multiplicity of the objects of knowledge will necessitate a multiplicity in knowledge. So, it would follow that the essence is multiple by virtue of the multiplication of the objects of knowledge.[183]

Al-Kūrānī's solution to this argument is embedded in his theory of realities and their eternal affirmation in God's knowledge and in his theory of creation. Creation occurs by God's power or potency (*qudrah*). Power acts according to God's will. And God's will follows God's knowledge. As explained above, no one wills things that are unknown to himself. For the will, in order to choose something from the knowledge, this "thing" should be distinct from other things (*mutamayyiz*). In the external world, there are only particulars, which means that everything is individuated eternally in God's knowledge that never changes. Recall that realities, quiddities, or fixed entities in al-Kūrānī's thought are uncreated (*ghayr majʿūla*h); they are nonexistents that are distinct by themselves, affirmed in God's knowledge.[184] As the existence of God is necessarily eternal, so the reality of a contingent that is nonexistent, affirmed, and individuated (*mutaʿayyin*) is eternal in God's knowledge; if there is no individuation and distinctiveness from other contingents, the word "Be" would not have a specific entity to address, or to make manifest in the external world.

Al-Kūrānī cites several statements from Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt* that confirm the idea that contingents are distinct individually and eternally in God's knowledge. Ibn ʿArabī in

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[182] Frank Griffel, "Al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) Incoherence of the Philosophers," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 203.

[183] Al-Shahrastānī, *Struggling with the Philosopher*, p. 70.

[184] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Tawaṣṣul ilā anna ʿilm Allāh bi-l-ashyāʾ azalān ʿalā al-tafṣīl* (MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin Ef 1815), fol. 132b.

chapter 373 of *al-Futūḥāt* says that contingents are themselves mutually distinguishable in the state of nonexistence, and God knows them as they are; He sees them and orders them to be. Everything exists in a detailed way in God's knowledge. Again, in chapter 297, Ibn ʿArabī says that in God's knowledge there is no general knowledge (*ijmāl*).[185] So, fixed entities according to Ibn ʿArabī are affirmed, distinct, uncreated nonexistents in God's knowledge, and knowledge follows the object of knowledge, in the sense that it is attached to it and reveals it as it is. Thus, God knows every particular thing eternally. Since God's knowledge encompasses every particular reality eternally, God knows every particular thing whether this particular was only in His knowledge or was manifested and actualized in the external world. In other words, God's knowledge of all particularities does not need the realities of things to be actualized, or moved from the state of fixed entities (*ʿayn thābitah*) to the state of existent entities (*aʿyān mawjūdah*).

Al-Kūrānī says that knowledge in Ibn ʿArabī's thought is a relation (*iḍāfah*) not an acquired form (*ṣūrah ḥāṣilah*); the eternal relation is revealing things as they are and according to their eternal dispositions.[186] As knowledge in Ibn ʿArabī's thought follows the object of knowledge, this knowledge is attached to its object and reveals it. So, the source of God's knowledge of the world is His very knowledge of Himself. Al-Kūrānī mentions that this idea is different from al-Ṭūsī's argument in *Tajrīd* that knowledge and its object correspond to each other (*mutaṭābiq*), and that the object is the origin of this identification, because the basis of this latter idea is that knowledge is a form (*ṣūrah*). In Ibn ʿArabī's thought, knowledge is a relation that reveals the affirmed nonexistent, not the existent forms (*al-ṣuwar al-wujūdiyyah*). After these clarifications, al-Kūrānī returns

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[185] All these citations and more are mentioned by al-Kūrānī, Ibid., fol. 133a.
[186] Ibid., fol. 133b.

to the main topic of God's knowledge of particulars to conclude that detailed knowledge (al-ʿilm al-tafṣīlī) does not depend on existent forms, but, on the contrary, the existent forms emanate (fāʾiḍah) from detailed knowledge according to their quiddities, which are the affirmed, uncreated nonexistents.[187]

[4.1.8] Creation

As mentioned above, the Quran describes creation as consisting in God saying "Be" to a "thing." A thing is thus nonexistent before God says "Be" to it and existent after God says "Be" to it. The question that arose was whether the world was created *ex nihilo* (*min lā shayʾ*), or from a nonexistent (*min al-maʿdūm*)? If the world was created from a nonexistent, can we regard that nonexistent as prior, pre-existent matter? Nicholas Rescher summarizes the challenge of the idea of a nonexistent to the theory of creation *ex nihilo* as implying a version of a doctrine of pre-existent substances.[188] If God created the actual existent world out of "something" that means there is "something" uncreated and co-eternal with Him. That also implies that God's potency is limited to moving the nonexistent into the state of the actual existent, rather than creating from nothing. This question about God's power to change anything in creation is important for the concept of God's omnipotence in Islamic theology.

The connection between the nonexistent and creation was clear in the minds of the Muʿtazilites' opponents; al-Baghdādī in *al-Farq bayn al-firaq* says:

> All Muʿtazilites, except al-Ṣāliḥī, claim that all originated things (ḥawādith) were "*things*" before they come to be. [...] That means God creates things from things. God creates things from "nothing" according to our colleagues (aṣḥābunā) who confirmed the attributes and denied that the nonexistent is a "thing".[189]

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[187] Ibid., fol. 133b.

[188] Nicholas Rescher, *Studies in Arabic Philosophy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966), p. 71.

[189] ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyyah, 1995), p. 116.

According to al-Kūrānī, things have uncreated quiddities prior to their actual existence; these quiddities are uncreated and exist eternally in God's knowledge. Creation in this case means a transformation of entities from fixed entities to existent entities (*aʿyān mawjūdah*) God gives each entity within His knowledge its existence in the universe without any change in its reality. In other words, realities that are affirmed in God's knowledge will be manifested in the external world.

In *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, al-Kūrānī says that quiddities are created from one perspective and uncreated from another. Quiddities are not created in their eternally known affirmation (*thubūt ʿilmī azalī*) and created in their external or mental existence.[190] Creating does not mean that the exact quiddities will move from eternal knowledge to external existence. The affirmation in knowledge (*al-thubūt al-ʿilmī*) of quiddities is essential (*dhātī*), eternal, and forever. Affirmed quiddities are not preceded by possibility; in that case, they would be considered created. Rather, affirmation precedes their possibility. In other words, eternal quiddities are possible nonexistents because they are affirmed eternally in God's knowledge; otherwise, they would be absolute nonexistents.

These entities are concretized in the external world, in accordance with their dispositions, through the light of the absolute existence. The absolute existence effuses His light on the contingent realities according to their dispositions and makes them ready to receive His own act of creation. Then God, by His will, effuses on the entity its hearing (*al-samʿ*). At this point God says to it "Be" (*kun*), which means its specific individuation (*taʿayyun khāṣṣ*) according to the disposition of its reality. In this way, it will appear in an individual form in "the general existence" (*al-wujūd al-ʿāmm*),[191] the first

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[190] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 59a.
[191] Ibid., fol. 59a-b.

creature according to al-Kūrānī. This first creature is called in Ibn ʿArabī's writings "the cloud" (al-ʿamāʾ), among other terms.

Ibn ʿArabī uses the famous ḥadīth of the hidden treasure to explain the reason for creation. This ḥadīth states that God "loved" to be known, so He created creatures in order to be known by them or through them. This love, through His mercy (raḥmah), formed an abstract space in which creations would appear; this abstract place is named by Ibn ʿArabī "the cloud" (al-ʿamāʾ).[192] Ibn ʿArabī uses the term "effusion" (fayḍ) to describe the act of generating this abstract space. He talks about two levels of effusions: in the first effusion the realities manifest in "the cloud," and in the second the realities manifest in the external world.

The first effusion, which caused the "the cloud," is called "the most holy effusion" (al-fayḍ al-aqdas); that effusion is the manifestation of the Divine essence to Itself. Through this effusion, "God discloses Himself, through Himself, to Himself" *(tajallā bi-dhātihi li-dhātih).* God knows Himself and all His perfections as concomitants of His essence, which is nothing but Himself. The entities stand in relation to His knowledge, so, when God knows Himself, He knows all the entities. This self-knowledge that embraces the knowledge of all the latent existents is the source of plurality that emerged from the One, which is the essential point in the discussion of how plurality emerged from the One, as will be explained below. The realities are subsistent (qāʾimah) in this effused existence and God is the sustainer (Qayyūm) of them; God's essence is not the locus of creation.[193] So, through the holy effusion, the nonexistent entities become "connected" *(iqtirān)* with

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[192] Mohamed Haj Yousef, *Ibn ʿArabī -Time and Cosmology* (NY: Routledge, 2008), p. 8.

[193] Al-Kūrānī, *Isʿāf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk maslak al-taʿrīf* (MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869), fol. 75a.

existence, or they act as "receptacles" to the extent that their disposition allows. But the existence they now possess is only "lent" to them temporarily.[194]

The second effusion of the absolute existence is called "the holy effusion" (*al-fayḍ al-muqaddas).* This effusion causes the manifestations of creatures in the external world according to their eternal dispositions, so that reality becomes manifest outwardly as an existent (*mawjūd*) or form (*ṣūrah*).[195] When God bestows existence upon these nonexistents and nonmanifest entities, they become manifest outwardly. So, every existent entity, every existent thing, is the outward manifestation of a reality existing eternally in God's knowledge.

The process of creation thus has absolute existence on one side and the created material world on the other side, and there is a world between them, which is "the cloud" (*al-ʿamāʾ*) or "general existence" (*al-wujūd al-ʿāmm*).[196] This intermediary world plays an essential role in Ibn ʿArabī's thought: it is the limit (*barzakh*) (literally "isthmus") between God and the world.[197] Ibn ʿArabī calls the *barzakh*, or the "supreme *barzakh*," by several

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[194] The ontology of creation in Ibn ʿArabī's thought can be found in Chittick's *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn Al-ʿArabī's Cosmology* and *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination*, mainly chapter three.

[195] Ibn ʿArabī also talks about the perpetual effusion, which means the continued creation, renewed at each moment. See Souad Hakim, "Unity of being in Ibn ʿArabī - A humanist perspective," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, Volume 36, 2004, pp. (15- 37), p. 22.

[196] A short description of creation can be found in Ibn ʿArabī's *Inshāʾ al-dawāʾir*, in which he talks about three metaphysical categories of existence: the absolute existence, the material universe and everything it contains, and the third metaphysical category is neither nonexistence nor existence. It is some sort of intermediary between the first and the second categories. Ibn ʿArabī calls it the essence of all essences (*ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāʾiq*), which may be said for both God and the world, or neither God nor the world, but a third entity that comprehends everything. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Kitāb inshāʾ al-dawāʾir* in *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn Al-ʿArabī, ed.* H S Nyberg (Leiden, 1919), p. 15 and after. Landolt argues that this category has many aspects in common with that mysterious entity which was known in Greek as *Logos.* Hermann Landolt, "Simnānī on waḥdat al-wujūd," pp. 91-112.101.

[197] One of the most common classifications is that of the five divine presences (*al-ḥaḍarāt al-ilāhiyyah al-khams*), the first of which is the uncreated knowledge of God. The next three are created: the spiritual world, the world of images or imagination, and the corporeal world. The world of imagination acts as a

other names, such as the "reality of the perfect man" and the "Muhammadan Reality,"[198] the "reality of realities" *(haqīqat al-ḥaqāʾiq),* the "universal reality" *(al-haqīqah al-kulliyyah),* the "breath of the Compassionate" *(nafas al-Raḥmān),*[199] and the origin of everything. Ibn ʿArabī does not use the term "creation" in discussing the formation of the cloud, but the term "manifestation," *"tajallī."* This cloud appeared *(ẓahara)* through the All-Merciful breath *(nafas al-Raḥmān),* and everything else appeared in the cloud by the Divine word "Be" *(kun).* Al-Kūrānī calls the first creature "general existence" *(al-wujūd al-ʿāmm)* and he acknowledges that *al-wujūd al-ʿāmm* is exactly what Ibn ʿArabī called *al-ʿamāʾ.*[200] In fact, Ibn ʿArabī sometimes calls *al-ʿamāʾ* "emanated existence" *(al-wujūd al-mufāḍ).*[201] Al-Kūrānī says that the existence of all creatures is from the emanated

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barzakh or isthmus between the other two created worlds; since it comprehends the attributes of both, it allows them to become interrelated. The fifth presence is the Perfect Man, who is both created and uncreated since he comprehends the other four levels within himself. About seven stages doctrine see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia,* p. 136; Megawati Moris, "Islamization of the Malay worldview: Sufi metaphysical writings," *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, 1 (2): 108-116, 2011, pp. 108-116; and Chittick, "The five divine presences: from al-Qunawi to al-Qaysari," *Muslim World* 72 (1982): 107-128.

[198] Ibn ʿArabī begins chapter 27 of *al-Fuṣūṣ* by saying about the Prophet: "he is the most perfect existent of this human species, which is why the matter begins and ends with him, for he was a Prophet while Adam was between clay and water." Qayṣarī explains this statement by saying: "It is the wisdom of singularity because of his singularity in the station of Divine All-Comprehensiveness *(al-jamʿiyya al-ilāhiyyah),* above which is nothing except the level of the Essence of Exclusive Oneness *(al-dhāt al-aḥadiyyah).*" "The Prophet is the receptacle for all the Divine names, since he receives the Name Allāh, which is the name which brings all the other names together [...] he stands alone at the top of the cosmic hierarchy of God's Self-Disclosures." Mohammed Rustom, "The cosmology of the Muhammadan Reality," *Ishraq, Islamic Philosophy Yearbook*, Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, Issue 4; 2013, pp. 540-545, p. 540-1. About Muḥammadan Reality see, Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabi*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (Cambridge, 1993), ch. 4 in particular.

[199] Ibn ʿArabī usually maintains that "the cloud" is identical with "the breath of the All-Merciful," although sometimes he distinguishes between the two and says that "the cloud" comes into existence through the breath. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 126.

[200] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Tawaṣṣul ilā anna ʿilm Allāh bi-l-ashyāʾ azalān ʿalā al-tafṣīl,* fol. 133b.

[201] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 3, 467-468.

existence (*al-wujūd al-mufāḍ*), which is also known as the added light (*al-nūr al-muḍāf*), the cloud (*al-ʿamāʾ*), and the breath of the Compassionate (*al-nafas al-raḥmānī*).[202]

The cloud is also called the "absolute imagination" (*al-khayāl al-muṭlaq*), so when Ibn ʿArabī refers to the cosmos as "imagination," he does not mean that the world has no external real existence, but that it is a never-ending transformation. Al-Kūrānī says that imagination (*khayāl*) means everything within the "absolute imagination" is constantly transforming from one state to another and from one form to another, while the *khayāl* itself is fixed because its reality is the breath.[203] The perpetual transformation of forms explains that the real existence is only God and everything else is in the absolute imagination.[204]

This intermediary world was a subject of different treatises by al-Kūrānī, in which he replied to questions about this world. In *al-Maslak al-anwar ilā maʿrifat al-barzakh al-akbar*[205] al-Kūrānī received a question about a statment of Ibn ʿArabī in his work *Inshāʾ al-dawāʾir*, which talks about a thing that cannot be characterized as existent or nonexistent, nor as eternal or created. According to Ibn ʿArabī, the first emanated creature, "the cloud," is the origin of the world, and he describes it as *al-ḥaqq al-makhlūq bihi* "the real through which creation occurs."[206] But al-Kāshānī in *Laṭāʾif al-aʿlām* says that *al-ḥaqq al-makhlūq bihi* is the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), who is descibed as existent. The question was whether this third realm can be characterized as existent or nonexistent in the external world. Al-Kūrānī says that this third realm is not characterized as existent or

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[202] Al-Kūrānī, *Isʿāf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk maslak al-taʿrīf*, fol. 75a.

[203] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*, fol. 126b.

[204] Al-Kūrānī, *Isʿāf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk maslak al-taʿrīf,* fol. 73a.

[205] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-anwar ilā maʿrifat al-barzakh al-akbar* (MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869), fols. 76a-79a.

[206] About this concept see Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, p. 17-18; *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 132 and after.

nonexistent, because according to *Inshāʾ al-dawāʾir* only the first is existent by itself in, that is God, and the second realm is existent by God. The existence of that which exists by itself is not different from its reality and the existence of that which exists by God is different from its reality, because realities of contingents are nonexistents that are essentially distinguishable (*maʿdūmāt mutamayyizah fī dhātiha*), affirmed in *nafs al-amr*, which is God's knowledge in so far as it identical to His essence, or the most holy essence (*al-dhāt al-aqdas*).[207] If this third realm, which is described as "the reality of all realities," is characterized as existent or nonexistent, as generated or eternal, then the reality of all realities would not be inclusive of all realities. The universal reality comprehends all the individual realities, which it encompasses without being exclusive to any individual reality within it. So, by itself it cannot be characterized as existent or nonexistent, or as eternal or created. For the eternal, it is eternal, and for the generated it is generated, and by itself is an intellectual concept that has no external existence (*maʿqūl ghayr mawjūd al-wujūd al-ʿaynī*).[208]

What attaches to the realities in creation and actualizes their realities according to their eternal disposition is general existence, not absolute existence. Al-Kūrānī says that actual existence in the external world consists of the eternal nonexistent and existence, which means the eternal nonexistent quiddities and general existence, or emanated existence, and not absolute existence. In the section related to legal responsibility, we will see that al-Kūrānī received a question related to this exact point.

The entities are either nonmanifest and "nonexistent," although known in God's knowledge, or outwardly manifest and existent. In either case, they are the same entities;

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[207] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-anwar*, fols. 76b-77a.
[208] Ibid., fols. 77a.

in the first case, they have no independent or outward existence, and in the second case God has given them existence outside of His knowledge. Creating means giving these quiddities the accidents and the forms that their eternal essential dispositions (*istiʿdādāt dhātiyyah*) require. God's knowledge of these entities does not change, and He knows them in the same way before and after their coming into existence. God is the Knower, always and forever, so the realities or the quiddities never leave God's knowledge. What comes to exist in the cosmos are not the things in themselves, for nothing is found in itself other than God. Ibn ʿArabī urges the reader of *al-Futūḥāt* to

> Know that the entities always remain in their original state of nonexistence. They never go outside the presence of knowledge, and they have never smelled the breath of existence. The only existence they have in the external world is the existence of God (*Ḥaqq*) clothed in the forms of the states of the possible. So, no one takes delight in or is pained by His manifestations except Him.[209]

Al-Qushāshī says that in existence there is nothing but God and His objects of knowledge (*maʿlūmātihi*); the objects of His knowledge are His words. They are the realities of everything. If God wants to manifest any of them in the external world, He will say to it, "Be," and it is.[210] Al-Qushāshī says that creating in the external world is not *ex nihilo*, or from pure nonexistence (*ʿadam ṣirf*), but from an affirmed existence (*wujūd thābit*) in God's knowledge and a veritable nonexistence (*ʿadam muḥaqqaq*) into the external world.[211]

Al-Kūrānī says explicitly that "nothing is made except the external forms of things" (*lā majʿūl illā al-ṣuwar al-wujūdiyyah li-l-ashyāʾ*).[212] Each creature manifests its properties to the extent of its own dispositions, "so the human being comes to be according to the

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[209] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 404.

[210] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī, *Nafḥat al-yaqīn wa-zulfat al-tamkīn li-l-mūqinīn*, fol. 6a.

[211] Ibid., fol. 6a.

[212] Al-Kūrānī, *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād*, fol. 33a.

property of the disposition to receive the divine command."[213] The eternity of realities does not mean the eternity of the world, because the dispute is not regarding the eternity of the realities but the eternity of the forms of those realities in the external world. Al-Qushāshī mentions that some philosophers (ḥukamāʾ) say that some external forms are eternal, such as the celestial spheres (al-aflāk).[214]

According to his interpretation of creation as being due to the realities' uncreated disposition, al-Kūrānī interprets al-Ghazālī's statement "there is nothing in [the realm of] possibility (imkān) more wondrous than what is" (laysa fī al-imkān abdaʿ mimmā kān) as an affirmation that God bestowed upon each creature what it was able to accept, without any deficiency at all, and since everything received what was suitable for it, that means it reached its perfection.[215]

Closely connected to the entities' disposition is the question of "destiny" (qadar). God brings the entity from nonexistence in His knowledge to existence in the world, so that these uncreated entities have specific dispositions. Is destiny therefore determined and foreordained? This topic will be discussed below. But the question of creation still has an important side that needs to be investigated: how plurality proceeds from unity.

[4.1.9] Unity and Multiplicity

In al-Maslak al-mukhtār al-Kūrānī received a question about an apparent contradiction between Ibn ʿArabī and al-Qūnawī. Ibn ʿArabī states that whoever says, "from the One proceeds only one" is ignorant, while al-Qūnawī says that philosophers (ḥukamāʾ) are correct in this statement, but they are mistaken in identifying the first emanation (al-

[213] Ibn ʿArabī, al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah, vol. II, p. 272. Translated by Chittick, The Self-Disclosure of God, p. 272.
[214] Al-Qushāshī, Nafḥat al-yaqīn wa-zulfat al-tamkīn li-l-mūqinīn, fol. 8b.
[215] Al-Kūrānī, Itḥāf al-dhakī, p. 207.

ṣādir al-awwal). Philosophers say that the first emanation is the first intellect, but according to al-Qūnawī the first emanation is general existence (*al-wujūd al-ʿāmm).*[216]

Al-Kūrānī states that according to al-Qūnawī the first and the vastest manifestation is the essential manifestation (*al-tajallī al-dhātī).*[217] Al-Kūrānī then cites several works in which al-Qūnawī says that from the One proceeds only one. In *Tafsīr sūrat al-fātiḥah*, al-Qūnawī says that plurality cannot issue from the One, as one, because unity negates plurality, and it is impossible for there to emerge from a thing that which negates it.[218] The One in respect of His absoluteness is not named by any name, nor is any proposition ascribed to Him, He is One for Himself without rationalizing His unity as an attribute or a property or a state; His existence is absolutely for Himself. But in another respect, He knows Himself by Himself, and He knows that He knows that; He knows His unity and that the unity is a fixed relation (*nisbah thābitah*) or an attribute in which nothing else participates. He knows that he is independent (*ghanī*) from anything outside of Himself. From this relative plurality (*taʿddud nisbī*), plurality emerges.[219] Another citation that al-Kūrānī makes is from al-Qūnawī's work *Miftāḥ al-ghayb,* in which the latter says that from the unity of God's existence proceeds only one because from the One only one proceeds. This emanation is the general effused existence (*al-wujūd al-ʿāmm al-mufāḍ*); this general existence is effused upon the eternally nonexistent individual entities that become externally existent (*aʿyān al-mawjūdāt*).[220] Another long citation is from *al-Nuṣūṣ,* which

[216] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār* (MS: Istanbul, Veliyuddin Ef 1815), fol. 7b-8a.

[217] Ibid., fol. 9a.

[218] Ibid., fol. 9a. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, *Iʿjāz al-bayān fī tafsīr Umm al-Qurʾān*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Ashtiyānī (Iran, Qumm: Bustan-e Ketab Press, 1423/[2002]), p. 104.

[219] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 9b. Al-Qūnawī, *Iʿjāz al-bayān fī tafsīr Umm al- Qurʾān*, p. 105.

[220] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār*, fol. 9b. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, *Miftāḥ al-ghayb li-Abī al-Maʿālī Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Qūnawī wa-sharḥūhu li-Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah al-Fanārī*, p. 20-21.

repeats the same idea that God, with respect to His essential absoluteness, cannot be recognized by any description, while from the standpoint of the essential relation of knowledge (*al-nisbah al-ʿilmiyyah al-dhātiyyah*) there is a relative (*nisbī*), not a true, distinction.[221] So, it is true that from the One only one proceeds, which is the effused general existence.[222] And the first emanation is not the active intellect, but "the cloud," which is general existence, the All-Merciful Breath, the actualized absolute imagination (*al-khayāl al-muṭlaq al-muḥaqqaq*). This general existence is the first existent and it is common among all creatures, including the active intellect.[223]

Concerning Ibn ʿArabī's idea that whoever accepts the idea that "from the One only one proceeds" is ignorant, al-Kūrānī cites Ibn ʿArabī's statement that philosophers never accepted absolute unity from all aspects, and explains that the philosophers who accept this principle say that the First has relations (*nisab*), additions (*iḍāfāt*), and negations (*sulūb*).[224] He probably refers to Ibn Sīnā's statement in *al-Ishārāt*: "A multiplicity of relative and nonrelative concomitants as well as a multiplicity of negations occur to the First. This causes a multiplicity of names [for him], but it does not affect the unity of his essence."[225] However, al-Kūrānī says that all these concomitants are rational

[221] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 9a. Al-Qūnawī, *al-Nuṣūṣ fī taḥqīq al-ṭawur al-makhṣūṣ*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Yasīn (Cairo: Munshaʾat al-Maʿārif, 2003), p. 39. *Al-Nuṣūṣ* is translated into English by Chittick and published in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Amin Razavi, *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2008), vol. 4, p. 416. The version printed in this volume was abbreviated because of publishing constraints.

[222] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 10a.

[223] Ibid., fol. 12a.

[224] Ibid., fol. 12b.

[225] Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt, maʿ Sharḥ Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Nuʿmān li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr, 2ed, 1993), vol. 3, p. 285; Avicenna and Shams Constantine Inati, *Ibn Sina's Remarks and Admonitions: Physics and Metaphysics: An Analysis and Annotated Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 174; Avicenna and Michael E. Marmura, *The Metaphysics of the Healing: A Parallel English-Arabic Text = al-Ilahīyāt min al-Shifāʾ* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press. 2004), book 8, chapter 4, p. 273.

considerations (*iʿtibārāt ʿaqliyyah*), which are not enough to cause external entities. And if we consider these considerations as conditions that necessitate external existence, God will be the necessary cause by His essence, not an agent who creates by His will, a claim that is rejected by Ibn ʿArabī.[226]

Here al-Kūrānī moves to the idea that God is not a cause, which is clearly contrary to the citation from *al-Ishārāt* mentioned above that states that "multiplicity comes as a necessary consequence." For al-Kūrānī, following Ibn ʿArabī, God or the first principle is not a cause that necessitates by its essence (*ʿillah mūjibah bi-l-dhāt*).[227] If God creates by the necessity of nature, nature could be understood to be opposed to will, which means that the world would be created whether God wills or not. The idea of the necessity of nature is understood to mean that God is a necessary cause of the effect, which in turn means that God, with respect to His essence, is necessarily attached to the world, and that He is not perfect. But God is independent (*ghanī*) and perfect, according to reason, revelation, and unveiling (*kashf*). Even philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*) acknowledge that God is essentially perfect (*kāmil bi-l-dhāt*).[228] Al-Kūrānī mentions several citations from Ibn ʿArabī in which he refuses to describe God as the cause of creation.[229] In *al-Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī states that "He is not caused by anything, nor is He the cause of anything. On the contrary, He is the Creator of the effects and the causes."[230] For Ibn ʿArabī, cause and effect require each other in existence, and "cause and effect play roles within the cosmos, but not in the relation between God and the cosmos."[231] Why is God not the cause? Ibn

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[226] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 13a.

[227] Ibid., fol. 14a.

[228] Ibid., fol. 13b.

[229] Ibid., fol. 13a.

[230] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 90.

[231] Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, p. 17.

ʿArabī says: "we do not make Him a cause of anything, because the cause seeks its effect, just as the effect seeks its cause, but the Independent is not qualified by seeking. Hence it is not correct for Him to be a cause."[232]

After emphasizing that God acts by His will, al-Kūrānī addresses Ibn Sīnā's idea of the impossibility of plurality proceeding from the One without any intermediary.[233] Ibn Sīnā in *al-Ishārāt* says:

> Since his knowledge of his essence is by his essence, and [since] his subsisting as an intellect by himself due to his essence necessarily leads to his knowledge of multiplicity, multiplicity will come as a necessary consequence posterior to and not included in the essence as a constituent of it. Further, multiplicity proceeds in a hierarchy. The multiplicity of concomitants due to the essence—be they separate or nonseparate—do not cause a breach in the unity. A multiplicity of relative and nonrelative concomitants as well as a multiplicity of negations occur to the First. This causes a multiplicity of names [for him], but it does not affect the unity of his essence.[234]

This statement is important for al-Kūrānī in his argument that Ibn Sīnā also accepts the idea that the concomitants of God's essence are the source of "relative plurality" that allows plurality to proceed from the One without need of any intermediary. Al-Kūrānī then cites al-Ṭūsī, calling him the commentator *(al-shāriḥ)*, stating: "the necessary is one, and His unity does not cease by the multiplicity of the intellectual forms affirmed to Him (*mutaqarrirah fihi*)."[235] Then al-Ṭūsī says, continues al-Kūrānī, there is "no doubt that affirming concomitants to the first in his essence is saying that the same thing is receptive and active (*qābil wa-fāʿil*) together, and that the first is described by attributes that are not relations or negations."[236] Al-Kūrānī considers al-Ṭūsī's ideas to be objections

[232] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 57. More passages with the same meaning are in Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, p. 17.

[233] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 14a.

[234] Avicenna, *Ibn Sina's Remarks and Admonitions: Physics and Metaphysics,* p. 174. In *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt,* vol. 3, p. 283-4. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 14a.

[235] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt, maʿ Sharḥ Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, vol. 3, p. 282

[236] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 282.

to Ibn Sīnā's idea. This is confirmed by al-Ṭūsī's statement a few lines later that he would explain these difficulties (*maḍāyiq*), except he had committed himself to a condition that he would not mention his own opinion in case he found some arguments against Ibn Sīnā's theory.[237]

What is more important for al-Kūrānī is that Ibn Sīnā's text and al-Ṭūsī's objection allow him to argue that the meaning of the former is that God's essence eternally has these concomitants, i.e., *nisab*, *iḍāfāt*, *sulūb*, which for al-Kūrānī accord with the idea of eternal uncreated realities. Also, since God's essence has "relative plurality," it is possible that the plurality proceeds from Him directly without any need for an intermediary. But how can the idea that plurality proceeds from the First without an intermediary agree with the idea that from the One only one proceeds? Al-Kūrānī makes an analogy between God's perception of individuals all at once (*dufʿatan*) and multiplicity's proceeding from the one all at once (*dufʿatan*). This should be similar to the first divine effusion, the essential manifestation that bestowed existence on the realities, not in the external world, but in the "cloud." Al-Kūrānī says that things, "creatures," proceed from God all at once (*dufʿatan*) because God's knowledge of things is "comprehensive and instantaneous" (*dafʿī*); things are even arranged by themselves through God's wisdom.[238] Al-Kūrānī cites Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifāʾ*, book eight, chapter seven, which says: "He intellectually apprehends things all at once, without being rendered multiple by them in His substance, or their becoming conceived in their forms in the reality of His essence."[239]

Al-Kūrānī wants to demonstrate that Ibn Sīnā accepts that from the One multiplicity proceeds all at once (*dufʿatan*). He says this explicitly in his work *Shawāriq al-anwār li-sulūk*

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[237] Ibid., 3, p. 283.

[238] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol.14 a.

[239] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing,* p. 291.

al-Maslak al-mukhtār.[240] This text was written as a response to a gloss that was written on his work *al-Maslak al-mukhtār.*[241] Al-Kūrānī says that multiplicity can issue from God all at once because God's knowledge is instantaneous (*dafʿī*) and eternal.[242] The glossator objected to al-Kūrānī's analogy, saying that if God intellectually apprehends things all at once, that does not mean that multiplicity issues from Him all at once, without an intermediary.[243] Al-Kūrānī replied that God intellectually apprehends things all at once because they issue from Him all at once. Ibn Sīnā says that the intellectual forms (*al-ṣuwar al-ʿaqliyyah*) issue from Him, and that their effusion was not temporal (*laysa zamāniyyan*), because temporal effusion necessitates change in the essence, and as he explains in *al-Shifāʾ* God's knowledge of particulars is not temporal:

> It is not possible that He would apprehend intellectually these changeables with the changes [they undergo] (inasmuch as they are changeable) in a temporal, individualized manner but in another manner we will be [shortly] showing. For it is not possible that at one instance in a temporal [act] of intellectual apprehension He would apprehend them as existing, not nonexisting, and at another instance [in a state of] nothingness, nonexisting. For then each of the two situations would have an intellectual concept apart from the other, neither of the two concepts remaining with the other, and thus the Necessary Existent would be of a changeable essence.[244]

This text, according to al-Kūrānī, indicates that the effusion cannot be a temporal (*zamānī*) because this would necessitate change in the essence, just as apprehending individuals intellectually would make the essence changeable. According to al-Kūrānī, perception cannot be temporal, because Ibn Sīnā's idea of perception would entail the imprinting of forms in God's essence. Due to the coming to be of some forms and the

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[240] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār li-sulūk al-Maslak al-mukhtār* (MS: Istanbul: Laleli 722), fol. 109a.

[241] Al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār,* fol. 108a. The glossator is not mentioned, but as I discussed in the description of al-Kūrānī's works in Chapter Three, in one manuscript it is mentioned that the glossator is from Iṣfahān and that he is one of Aghā Ḥusayn Khawānsārī's students.

[242] Al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār,* fol. 109a-b.

[243] Ibid., fol. 109b.

[244] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing*, p. 287.

passing away of others, change would occur in God's essence. But God's essence is not a locus of change; thus, individuals should be considered to be imprinted in God's essence eternally. There is another aspect of this analysis. Imprinted forms in God's essence will cause change in God's essence, which is not accepted either by al-Kūrānī or by Ibn Sīnā. Thus, al-Kūrānī says that forms should be considered to be imprinted eternally, and instantaneously (*dafʿī*), in a comprehensive way (*bi-wajh kullī*), yet restricted in respect of a particular (*munḥaṣir fī juzʾī*), so that there would be no change in the essence.[245] Al-Kūrānī's idea is that according to Ibn Sīnā, emanation occurs all at once (*dufʿatan*), which means that creatures issue from God all at once. Thus, it is not true that from the One only one proceeds. The first effused, as explained above, is general existence where all the realities manifest.

After arguing for Ibn Sīnā's idea "from the One only one proceeds," construed as meaning that multiplicity proceeds from the One all at once, and that God creates not by His nature, but by His will, al-Kūrānī says that Ibn Sīnā accepts that the world was created. Al-Kūrānī says that Ibn Sīnā says that the contingent cannot exist eternally, that the world is generated (*muḥdath*), and that God was and nothing was with Him.[246] Ibn Sīnā in *al-Shifāʾ* states: "everything is generated (*ḥādith*) from that One, that One being the

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[245] Al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār,* fol. 109b.

[246] In book eight, chapter three of *al-Shifāʾ* Ibn Sīnā says: "everything, with the exception of the One who in His essence is one and the existent who in His essence is an existent, acquires existence from another, becoming through it an existent, being in itself a nonexistent. This is the meaning of a thing's being created that is, attaining existence from another. It has absolute nonexistence which it deserves in terms of itself; it is deserving of nonexistence not only in terms of its form without its matter, or in terms of its matter without its form, but in its entirety. Hence, if its entirety is not connected with the necessitation of the being that brings about its existence, and it is reckoned as being dissociated from it, then in its entirety its nonexistence becomes necessary. Hence, its coming into being at the hands of what brings about its existence is in its entirety. No part of it, in relation to this meaning, is prior in existence neither its matter nor its form, if it possesses matter and form."

originator of it, since the originated (*muḥdath*) is that which comes into being after not having been."[247] Al-Kūrānī says that the meaning of our saying that the world is originated is that it exists after it was nonexistence (*kān baʿda an lam yakun).* This posteriority was imagined to be temporal (*baʿdiyyah zamāniyyah mutawahhamah*), in which that which is before and that which is after cannot be together; what is after is posterior not in the sense of actual time, but as today is posterior to yesterday.[248] Al-Kūrānī here refers to Ibn Sīnā's idea of "essential posteriority" (*al-baʿdiyyah bi-l-dhāt*), and he will attempt to demonstrate that essential posteriority means the world is not eternal, since it is preceded by nonexistence.

After attempting to prove that Ibn Sīnā claims that God's knowledge of everything is imprinted eternally in His essence, al-Kūrānī says that Ibn Sīnā accepts that the world was created. His idea is that essential origination (*al-ḥudūth al-dhātī*) actually means that the world was preceded by nonexistence (*ʿadam).*

In his comments on al-Dawānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah,* al-Kūrānī cites several statements in which Ibn Sīnā says that the contingent by its essence does not exist, but it exists instead by its cause, which is the necessary. For example, from *al-Shifāʾ*

> [As for] the rest of things, their quiddities, as you have known, do not deserve existence; rather, in themselves and with the severing of their relation to the Necessary Existent, they deserve nonexistence. For this reason, they are all in themselves nugatory, true [only] through Him and, with respect to the facet [of existence] that follows Him, realized. For this reason, "all things perish save His countenance" [Qur'an 55:26].[249]

And from *al-Ishārāt:*

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[247] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing,* p. 272.

[248] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār*, fol. 16b.

[249] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing*, p. 284. In Marmura's edition this paragraph is in book eight, chapter six, while al-Kūrānī says book eight, chapter seven. Al-Kūrānī, *Ḥashiyat al-Kūrānī ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah* (MS: Istanbul: Nur Uosmaniye 2126), fol. 14b.

Whatever exists due to something other than itself merits nonexistence if taken on its own, or existence does not belong to it if taken on its own. Rather, existence belongs to it only due to something else. Therefore, it has no existence before it has existence. This is the essential beginning of existence.[250]

Al-Kūrānī then says that there was an objection to this opinion. The objection is by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, but al-Kūrānī does not mention him by name and probably he found this objection in al-Ṭūsī's commentary. Al-Rāzī's objection is that it is wrong that something merits nonexistence if taken on its own. In al-Rāzī's opinion, if something is considered only by its essence, it does not merit either existence or nonexistence; if it merits nonexistence, that means it is nonexistent, not contingent. Al-Rāzī continues to say that if Ibn Sīnā means that we consider the essence with the absence of its cause, that means it is not isolated.[251] Al-Ṭūsī replies to this objection by saying that quiddity isolated from any other considerations cannot be confirmed in the external world; thus, mentally it should be considered either with the existence of another thing, or with the absence of the other thing, or it could be considered with neither of them, but in the external world there is no difference between the last two possibilities. If it is not considered with another, it will not exist at all. Thus, to be taken on its own means it will not exist, and that is the meaning of saying that it merits nonexistence.[252]

Al-Kūrānī replies to this objection by saying that what Ibn Sīnā actually meant is the second possibility proposed by al-Rāzī, namely considering the essence with the absence of its cause. For al-Kūrānī, Ibn Sīnā says explicitly in the above cited paragraph of *al-Shifāʾ*: "in themselves and with the severing of their relation to the Necessary Existent,

[250] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*, vol. 3, p. 89-90, Avicenna, *Ibn Sina's Remarks and Admonitions: Physics and Metaphysics*, p. 137. Al-Kūrānī, *Ḥashiyat al-Kūrānī ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*, fol. 15a.

[251] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*, vol. 3, p. 89, al-Ṭūsī's commentary. Al-Kūrānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Kūrānī ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*, fol. 15a.

[252] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt*, vol. 3, p. 89, al-Ṭūsī's commentary.

they deserve nonexistence."[253] Thus, what Ibn Sīnā means by a quiddity that is taken on its own, is that it is isolated from the necessity of the one who gave it its existence (*ījāb al-mūjid*).[254] For al-Kūrānī, what is important is proving that Ibn Sīnā actually accepts that the world was generated by demonstrating that the world is preceded by nonexistence. Al-Kūrānī cites al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's commentary on the relevant section of *al-Mawāqif* in which al-Jurjānī says that it seems that the essential origination (*al-ḥudūth al-dhātī*) according to them [philosophers] means preceding existence by nonexistence, like temporal origination (*ḥudūth zamānī*), except that preceding by essence is by the essence, and preceding by time is by time.[255]

Two topics arise from this argument. The first is the need to prove that multiplicity exists in God's essence as concomitants. The second is an objection raised by the glossator who denies that Ibn Sīnā accepts the idea of "impressing" or "stamping" (*irtisām*) anything in God's essence.

Ibn Sīnā in *al-Ishārāt* says, "A multiplicity of relative and nonrelative concomitants as well as a multiplicity of negations occur to the First,"[256] and in *al-Shifāʾ* he says, "He intellectually apprehends things all at once, without being rendered multiple by them in His substance, or their becoming conceived in their forms in the reality of His essence."[257] Al-Dawānī in *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍūdiyyah* says that the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the words of *al-Ishārāt* is that the conceived forms subsist in God's essence, but that Ibn Sīnā's

[253] Al-Kūrānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Kūrānī ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah,* fol. 15.
[254] Ibid., fol. 15a.
[255] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif wa-maʿahu ḥāshiyatā al-Siyalkūtī wa-l-Jalabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998), vol. 2, part 4, p. 4.
[256] Avicenna, *Ibn Sina's Remarks and Admonitions: Physics and Metaphysics*, P. 174. In Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt, maʿ Sharḥ Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, vol. 3, p. 283-4. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 14a.
[257] Ibn Sīnā, *The Metaphysics of the Healing,* p. 291.

argument in *al-Shifāʾ* negates this opinion.[258] Al-Kūrānī rejects al-Dawānī's objection and explains that there is no contradiction between Ibn Sīnā's two statements. What Ibn Sīnā rejects in the statement of *al-Shifāʾ* is that the essence will be formed by the multiplicity that is conceived in the essence. In other words, al-Kūrānī thinks that Ibn Sīnā does not reject the idea that multiplicity subsists in the essence, but he rejects that the essence would be formed according to the multiplicity that God conceived. Ibn Sīnā in *al-Shifāʾ* does not reject that multiplicity could be within the essence (*dākhila fī al-dhāt*), he only rejects that His Essence would be formed by the forms of the multiplicity (*fa-mā nafā illā kawn al-awwal mutaṣawwaran fī ḥaqīqat dhātihi bi-ṣuwarihā*).[259]

In other words, multiplicity can subsist in the essence, but the essence will not be made multiple by this conceiving.[260] Al-Kūrānī continuous citing from *al-Shifāʾ*, book eight, chapter seven, including: "Nor should it be thought that, if the intelligibles with Him have forms and multiplicity, the multiplicity of the forms He intellectually apprehends would constitute parts of His essence. How [can this be] when they are posterior to His essence?"[261] Al-Kūrānī cites a further long quotation from *al-Shifāʾ* in which Ibn Sīnā discusses the locus of perceived forms:

> It remains for you to examine the state of their existence as intellectually apprehended, as to whether they [1] exist in the essence of the First as necessary concomitants that are consequent on Him; or [2] whether they have an existence separate from His essence and the essence of other[s] as separate forms, having an order placed in the region of Lordship; [3] or [to examine them] with respect to their existing in an intellect

[258] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyya*, in *al-Taʿlīqāt ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah, al-Aʿmāl al-Kāmilah li-l-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, ed. Sayyid Hādī Khusrū-shāhī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Shurūq al-Dawliyyah, 2002), p. 76.

[259] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 14a.

[260] Ibid., fol. 14b.

[261] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing*, p. 292. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 14b-15a.

or soul, becoming imprinted in either one of the two when the First apprehends these forms."[262]

According to al-Kūrānī, Ibn Sīnā lists these possibilities and then refutes all of them except one, by saying:

> If you make these intelligibles parts of His essence, then multiplicity will take place. If you make them consequential [concomitants] of His essence, then there would occur to His essence that which would not be a necessary existent with respect to them-[this] because of its adhesion to the possible existent. If you make them things separated from every entity, then the Platonic forms would occur. If you render them existent in some mind, then there would take place the impossible [consequences] we have [just] mentioned before this.[263]

Al-Kūrānī says that Ibn Sīnā in this text refutes all these possibilities except the idea that forms exist in the essence of the First as necessary concomitants that are consequent to Him, because Ibn Sīnā replies to the objection that might arise to this possibility by saying:

> You must, hence, exert your utmost effort to extract yourself from this difficulty and guard yourself against [the error of] rendering His essence multiple. You must not heed [the fact] that His essence is taken conjoined to some relation whose existence is possible. For [His essence] is not a necessary existent inasmuch as it is a cause for the existence of Zayd, but with respect to itself.[264]

So, if all possibilities are refuted, except that multiplicity exists in God's Essence as concomitants to His essence, there is no contradiction between *al-Ishārāt* and *al-Shifāʾ*,[265] and God's essence has a kind of relation that justifies the claim that multiplicity directly proceeds from the One.

The glossator denies that Ibn Sīnā accepts the idea of "impression" (*al-irtisām*) in this context, but admits that it could be a consequence of his ideas (ʿalā sabīl al-ilzām).[266] The

[262] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing*, p. 293.

[263] Ibid., p. 294.

[264] Ibid., p. 294. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 15b.

[265] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*, fol. 16a.

[266] Al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār,* fol. 114a.

glossator says that Ibn Sīnā does not say that the forms are imprinted in the essence; rather, he rejects this idea. Ibn Sīnā says about the first: "He intellectually apprehends things all at once, without being rendered multiple by them in His substance, or their becoming conceived in their forms in the reality of His essence. Rather, their forms emanate from Him as intelligibles."[267] The cause of the mistake, according to the glossator, is reading the "or" in "or their becoming..." as "and." The statement from *al-Shifāʾ*, as understood by al-Dawānī, negates the idea of "impression" (*al-irtisām*), as does the statement from *al-Ishārāt*, which is "that whose existence is necessary knows everything, then he is not truly one, but a multiplicity." However, according to al-Kūrānī Ibn Sīnā rejected this possibility by saying: "The multiplicity of concomitants due to the essence — be they separate or nonseparated — does not cause a breach in the unity,"[268] Al-Kūrānī repeats that Ibn Sīnā in *al-Shifāʾ* mentions four possibilities and rejects three of them, and replies to the objections that may be raised against the forth possibility, which means that he accepts the idea that forms are imprinted in the essence of the First.[269] Al-Kūrānī cites also Ibn Sīnā's statement in *al-Taʿlīqāt* that knowledge is the existence of its configuration in the essence of the knower (*al-ʿilm wujūd hayʾatahu fī dhāt al-ʿālim*,[270] and says that the statement from *al-Ishārāt* is repeated verbatim in *al-Najāh*.[271]

This is essential step in al-Kūrānī's attempt to interpret Ibn Sīnā in a way that agrees with his own explanation of creation as mentioned above. God's essence is beyond any change, and at the same time, it has relations as concomitants. These concomitants are

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[267] Avicenna, *The Metaphysic of the Healing*, p. 291.

[268] Avicenna, *Ibn Sina's Remarks and Admonitions: Physics and Metaphysics,* p. 174.

[269] Al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār,* fol. 114b.

[270] Al-Taʿlīqāt statement is: *"al-ʿālim inna-mā yaṣiru muḍāfan ilā al-shayʾ al-maʿlūm bi-hayʾatin taḥṣulu fī dhātihi."* Ibn Sīnā, *al-Taʿlīqāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Beirut: al-Dār al-Islāmiyyah, n.d), p. 13.

[271] Al-Kūrānī, *Shawāriq al-anwār,* fol. 114b.

the relative plurality that allows plurality to proceed from the One directly. These concomitants are the eternal, uncreated quiddities of all creatures. Al-Kūrānī says that accepting temporal creation does not contradict the idea of divine generosity, as deniers of temporal creation claim,[272] because generosity is a beneficent act devoid of intention (*qaṣd*) or end (*ghāyah*) beyond the act itself.[273] Generating the world in specific time is generosity itself because it agrees with wisdom. There was no generating in eternity because the world was not ready to receive the existence that is bestowed by God, and bestowing existence on what is not ready for it is neither generosity nor wisdom.[274]

As mentioned above, the issue of creation and God's foreknowledge is closely connected with the question of "destiny" *(qadar)*, the topic that will be discussed now.

[4.1.10] Destiny and Predetermination

"Realities do not change," as Ibn ʿArabī, al-Qushāshī, and al-Kūrānī often repeat. If they did, they would not be realities.[275] Al-Kūrānī explains that knowledge follows the object of knowledge, meaning it reveals the object as it is in itself. Knowledge in this conception is revealing the distinct, essential quiddities that were affirmed in *nafs al-amr*.[276] Al-Kūrānī cites Ibn ʿArabī to say that "existents have fixed entities in the state of nonexistence, the nonexistence of contingents, not the absolute nonexistence."[277] Creation by God's potency and Will follows His knowledge, and if knowledge follows the

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[272] Usually the argument for the eternity of the world says that since God creates on account of His goodness and, since divine goodness is eternal, God creates eternally, so there must be an eternal effect. This effect is the world, and thus the world is eternal.

[273] For the idea of creation as an act of pure generosity in the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā see Jonathan Samuel Dubé, *Pure Generosity, Divine Providence, and the Perfection of the Soul in the Philosophy of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)*, M.A thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 2014.

[274] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-mukhtār*, fol. 17a.

[275] Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, p. 187.

[276] Al-Kūrānī, *Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl*, p. 34.

[277] Ibid., p. 34.

object of knowledge, that means God's knowledge follows reality or quiddity; thus, creatures determine their own destiny: "when a bird, a tree or a man enters into existence, God does not 'make' it a bird, a tree or a man. He only bestows existence upon a reality that He has known for all eternity."[278] By giving existence to things, God simply makes the realities of the things known to them; He does not make their realities what they are, since their realities are what they have always been and will forever be.

Ibn ʿArabī says that among those who uncover the mystery of destiny are "those who know that God's knowledge of them, in all their states, corresponds to what they themselves are in their state of preexistent latency."[279] The entities' state prior to creation can be understood on the basis of "simultaneity," which means that God's knowledge of Himself is the same as His knowledge of the world. Al-Kūrānī states that the *muḥaqqiqūn*'s idea is that God's eternal knowledge of everything is identical to His knowledge of Himself, which means that God knows Himself by Himself, and through knowing Himself He knows everything, because everything is related to His knowledge insofar as His knowledge is identical to His essence. In other words, as discussed above, God knows everything through knowing His essence.[280] Realities exist in the eternal, Divine knowledge as possible things, and everything has its own independent character and disposition, and its own specific destiny. As for its subsequent state after being created, or after its existence in the external world, the state of the created things will be as it eternally. Thus, God's knowledge of things, or of the known things, after they are created is exactly His knowledge of them before creation.

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[278] Chittick, "Commentary on a hadith by Sadr al-Din Qunawi," in *Alserat 4/1*, (1980), pp. 23-30, p. 25.

[279] Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, p. 64; *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, p. 60.

[280] Al-Kūrānī, *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm*, fol. 54a.

The thirteenth chapter of *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, dedicated to al-ʿUzayir (Ezra,) Ibn ʿArabī calls "the wisdom of destiny in the word of Ezra" (*faṣṣ kalimah qadariyyah fī ḥikmah ʿUzayriyyah*). At the beginning of this chapter, Ibn ʿArabī says: "His knowledge of things is dependent on what that which may be known gives to Him from what they are [eternally] in themselves [essentially]."[281] Then he says that determination (*qadar*) means "the precise timing of [the manifestation and annihilation of] things as they are essentially,"[282] which is what he calls "the secret of destiny" (*sirr al-qadar*). Destiny, then, consisting in the transition between the two states of entities from fixed entities to existent. Between these two states Ibn ʿArabī sees the balance between theodicy and the human freedom: "God does not compel his servants to behave in a certain way, He simply allows them to be what they are; 'God does not treat his servants unjustly,' for He only knows what the objects of knowledge provide to Him, since knowledge follows the object of knowledge."[283] Each creature has a corresponding established entity in the eternal knowledge of God, and the creature's appearance in the world conforms to its eternal state. God "effused His existence upon these entities in keeping with what their own preparedness requires, so they come to be for their own entities, not for Him."[284] In short, God's knowledge exposes these quiddities as they are according to their own dispositions (*istiʿdādāt*).[285]

Existent things in the external world are determined by their quiddities or entities, and the entities differ in their capacities or dispositions. At the same time, God is absolute existence and everything else is restricted, yet God is manifested in restricted forms. The

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[281] Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezeles of Wisdom*, p. 165; *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, p. 131.

[282] Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezeles of Wisdom*, p. 165; *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, p. 131.

[283] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 4, p. 182.

[284] Ibid., vol. II, p. 55. Translated by Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, p. 182.

[285] Al-Kūrānī, *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād*, fol. 32b.

divine Self-disclosure is always conditioned by the disposition of the receptacle entities. We have to remember that God

> gives constantly, while the loci receive in the measure of the realities of their preparednesses. In the same way we say that the sun spreads its rays over the existent things. It is not miserly with its light toward anything. The loci receive the light in the measure of their preparednesses.[286]

Those with the greatest disposition display the perfections of God in the fullest measure, while those with a more limited capacity disclose God's perfections in accordance with their own limitations. As Chittick explains: "God created the universe to manifest the fullness of His generosity and mercy."[287] But as explained above, manifested realities reflect only some aspects of Divine perfection, according to the realities' own dispositions. In Ibn ʿArabī's thought, the only reality that is able to receive and actualize every divine attribute is the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*). Al-Kūrānī does not elaborate on this Akbarian concept, but al-Qushāshī does in his commentary on chapters of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's treatise *al-insān al-kāmil*.[288]

The questions of destiny, predetermination, and human freedom are essential topics of any theology. Yet we see that in al-Kūrānī's writings, these issues are intertwined with Sufi arguments for fixed entities, God's manifestation, and the perfect man, making it difficult to separate each topic according to the traditional disciplinary boundaries between philosophy, Sufism, and *kalām*. The borders between these disciplines faded away with the historical development of Ibn ʿArabī's metaphysics. This topic will be discussed again in the conclusion, but in this context I cite this paragraph that sheds light on some aspects of the developments of Ibn ʿArabī's metaphysics among his followers:

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[286] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 287. Tr. by Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 91-2.

[287] Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 30.

[288] Al-Qushāshī's commentary can be found in Ms. Istanbul: Resid Efendi 428, fols. 45a-82a.

An important transformation in the school of Ibn al- ʿArabī that takes place over time is that its representatives not only engage with the ideas and concepts usually associated with *falsafah*, which Ibn al-ʿArabī also did, but they gradually adopt a mode of discourse that in tone and in technical style begins to mirror, at least in the realm of the metaphysics of existence and related concepts, the already well developed and increasingly influential discourse of *falsafah*, which since the time of Ghazali had also been taken over by *kalām*.[289]

The question of destiny is interconnected with the question of human freedom, and al-Kūrānī was inspired by Ibn ʿArabī to develop his position on the freedom humans have to create their actions.[290] It is true that we can find in Ibn ʿArabī's writing some texts supporting the idea of predetermination. But these texts should be understood in the context of Ibn ʿArabī's distinction between God's engendering command *(al-amr al-takwīnī),* through which He gives existence to the entity, and His prescriptive command *(al-amr al-taklīfī),* through which He requires people to follow religious law. The former cannot be resisted because it is tied to the command "Be." As for the prescriptive command, it can be obeyed or disobeyed by the believer.[291] Ibn ʿArabī says that during a discussion with his student Ibn Sawdakīn, the latter proposed a way to construe the believer's ability to choose Ibn ʿArabi says:

> Ismāʿīl Ibn Sawdakīn discussed this matter with me. He said: "What stronger proof could there be in attributing the actions to the servant and relating it to him and the theophany in him? It was part of his attribute since God "created man in His own image." If he didn't have action attributed to him, it wouldn't be true that he is in His image and he wouldn't have accepted being qualified by the Names. But it is accepted by you, and all the people of this Way, without doubt, that man was created in the [Divine] image and it is right that he is qualified by the Names.[292]

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[289] Caner K. Dagli, *Ibn al-ʿArabī and Islamic Intellectual Culture: From mysticism to philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 3.

[290] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 302.

[291] Bakri Aladdin, "The mystery of destiny, sir al-qadar in Ibn ʿArabi and al-Qunawi," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, vol. 49 (2011), pp. 129-146, p. 138.

[292] Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. IV, p. 681.

Here again, Sufism, philosophy, and *kalām* overlap in an inseparable way. God created man in His image; thus, man's action be attributed to him, and this in turn consolidates evidence that man has power over his actions.

[4.1.11] *Kasb*: Free Will and Predestination

In the Quran, we can find several verses referring to human freedom of action, and at the same time verses indicating God's absolute power over human destiny. Different suggestions have been offered by Muslim theologians to solve this apparent contradiction. From one side, there is the determinist (*jabriyyah*) position that human actions are determined eternally by God, and that God directly creates humans and their actions; from the other side are most of the Muʿtazilite school, who believe that a human's actions are derived from their own free well. Between these two sides more ideas were proposed. This topic is intimately related to that of legal responsibility (*taklīf*) and God's omnipotence. If God creates all things, including a human's actions, then humans cannot be held legally responsible for their actions. If a human acts independently, they may act against God's will, and then God would not be omnipotent. In order to save both, God's omnipotence and human responsibility, the Muʿtazilite solution was to affirm the human capability of creating their own works as granted to them by God. For the Ashʿarites, this solution preserved God's justice, but detracted from God's omnipotence. The Ashʿarites taught that since God is the sole creator, He creates human actions. Al-Ashʿarī developed a theory of *kasb*, "acquisition," according to which God creates human actions while humans appropriate them, and thus become legally responsible for them.[293] The Ashʿarite belief that only God has causal powers came to be

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[293] Binyamin Abrahamov, "A Re-examination of al-Ashʿarī's theory of 'kasb' according to 'Kitāb al-Lumaʿ'," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1989), p. 210.

known as "occasionalism," which means there is no natural necessity between a cause and its effect; it is God who in fact brings about the effect in conjunction with the cause.

Al-Kūrānī discusses the topics of *kasb* and *taklīf* in various context, beginning in his early works. His addressing of these topics at this stage is understandable since the topic was actually raised by his teacher al-Qushāshī, who wrote several treatises on it.[294] Al-Kūrānī dedicated some treatises specially to this controversial topic, including *al-Mutimmah li-l-masʾalah al-muhimmah*, *al-Ilmāʿ al-muḥīṭ*, *Takmilat al-qawl al-jalī*, *Maslak al-sadād*, and *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād li-sulūk maslak al-sadād*. These works were received in a negative way, mainly by Ashʿarite theologians who felt that al-Kūrānī was betraying the official Ashʿarite position. Objections to these works may explain why al-Kūrānī wrote several treatises to reply to his critics and to explain his ideas.

Probably one of the earliest works by al-Kūrānī in which he tries to explain the theory of *kasb* is his attempt to summarise one of al-Qushāshī's three works on this topic, *ṣughrā*, *wusṭā*, and *kubrā*. In al-ʿAyyāshī's opinion, the *ṣughrā* is the most completely verified and perfectly analyzed (*atammuhā taḥqīqan wa akmaluhā tadqīqan*).[295] Al-Qushāshī says that the followers of al-Ashʿarī were very confused on the topic of *kasb* and that al-Juwaynī's theory as set out in *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyyah* is the closest to the truth.[296] Al-Qushāshī also wrote a treatise to defend al-Juwaynī's position in *al-Niẓāmiyyah* that humans actually have effects in their actions, entitled *al-Intiṣār li-Imām al-ḥaramayn fī-mā shannaʿ bi-hi ʿalayhī baʿḍ al-nuẓẓār.*

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[294] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī, *al-Ifādah bi-mā bayn al-ikhtiyār al-ilāhī wa-l-irādah* (MS: Istanbul, Resid Efendi 428), 35a-44a; al-Qushāshī, *al-Intiṣār li-Imām al-Ḥaramay fīmā shannaʿ ʿalayhi baʿḍ al-nuẓẓār* (MS: Istanbul, Resid Efendi 428), fols. 112a-135a.

[295] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, pp. 575, 598.

[296] Ibd., vol. 1, p. 616.

Al-Qushāshī's works, or at least some of them, arrived in the Maghrib and were not well received among Maghribī scholars. Since there were various critics of the author (*kathrat al-ṭāʿinīn ʿalā ṣāḥibihā*), al-ʿAyyāshī asked his teacher Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī al-Fāsī for his opinion of one of al-Qushāshī's treatises on this topic, the medium-length one (*al-wusṭā*) entitled *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan masʾalat al-kasb bi-l-īqān*. Al-Fāsī found it long and not easy to read, because it has no chapter headings or any kind of division between its ideas. So he said to al-ʿAyyāshī that if this work were summarized and its objectives clarified, he would return to look at it. When al-ʿAyyāshī met al-Kūrānī, he therefore asked him to summarize the objectives of al-Qushāshī's treatise. Al-Kūrānī wrote this work, i.e., *al-Ilmāʿ al-muḥīṭ*, to al-ʿAyyāshī, who included a copy of the entire text in his *Riḥlah*.[297] Al-Kūrānī says that he composed this treatise to express his teacher's ideas, as if al-Qushāshī himself had spoken it with al-Kūrānī's tongue (*ka-annahu al-qāʾil ʿalā lisānī*). This work is thus a good place to start explaining the *kasb* theory as al-Qushāshī explained it. The Sufi temper of this work is perceptible through the repeated claim that knowing the meaning of the ambiguous verses (*mutashābihāt*) is possible through divine bestowal (*wahb ilāhī*) and that understanding the topic of *kasb* is based on divine inspiration rather than on reasoning (*fikr*).[298] Al-Kūrānī begins this work by refuting the two extreme positions that human beings act independently, or that their acts are completely determined by God. This attempt at compromise is clear from the title of the treatise, *al-Ilmāʿ al-muḥīṭ bayna ṭarafay al-ifrāṭ wa-l-tafrīṭ,* which refers to a middle position between two extremes. This middle position according to al-Kūrānī is to

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[297] Ibid., vol. 1, p 604. The treatise is between pp. 604-620. Another copy is in (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol. 151a-161b.

[298] Ibrāhīm Al-Kūrānī, *al-Ilmāʿ al-muḥīṭ bayna ṭarafay al-ifrāṭ wa-l-tafrīṭ* (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol, 152b.

accept the idea that humans have effects in their actions, not independently, but with God's permission. This compromise position is supported by the *shar*ʿ and can be justified by reason.[299]

El-Rouayheb mentions that al-Juwaynī's *al-ʿAqidah al-niẓāmiyyah*, in which al-Juwaynī suggests that humans have the capacity to perform an act "by God's permission" (*bi-idhni Allāh*), was not widely copied or studied in later centuries. However, this alternative position survived in the works of the later Ashʿarī theologian Shahrastānī (d. 1153) and of Ibn Taymiyyah's student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah.[300] We can add that al-Juwaynī's suggestion in *al-ʿAqidah al-niẓānmiyyah* was actually well-known among later Ashʿarite theologians, long before al-Qushāshī's treatise in defence of al-Juwaynī. Al-Taftazānī in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* says that it is well known (*mashhūr*) that the doctrine of Imām al-Ḥaramayn is that a human's action occurs by their will and potency, similar to the opinion of the philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*).[301] Attempts to distinguish al-Juwaynī's opinion from that of the Ashʿarites can also be found in al-Rāzī's *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*[302] and al-Āmidī's, *Abkār al-afkār*.[303] Al-Dawānī in *Risālat khalq al-aʿmāl* also considers al-Juwaynī's position to be similar to that of the philosophers, who affirm human effects on their actions.[304] Al-

[299] Ibid., fol. 152a.

[300] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 297.

[301] Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayra, (Beirut, ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 2ed, 1998), vol. 4, p. 224.

[302] Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*, ed. Saʿīd Fūdah (Beirut: Dār al-Dhakhāʾir, 2015), vol. 2, p. 42;

[303] Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, *Abkār al-afkār fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Mahdī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wāthāʾiq al-Qawmiyya, 2004), vol. 2, p. 384;

[304] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Risālat khalq al-aʿmāl,* in *al-Rasāʾil al-mukhtārah,* ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Tuwaysirkānī (Iṣfahān: Imam Ali Public Library, 1400/[1979]), p. 69.

Dawānī's *Risālah fī khalq al-aʿmāl* was already circulating in Medina during al-Qushāshī's life, as we know from al-Kūrānī's work *Ishrāq al-shams bi-taʿrīb al-kalimāt al-khams.*[305]

Al-Kūrānī's argument for his interpretation of *kasb* is examined closely in El-Rouayheb's *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century.* Here I will simply mention the main lines of this theory, and then try to shed more light on different aspects of al-Kūrānī's theory of *kasb* and the influence of al-Kūrānī's works on his contemporaries and successors. Al-Kūrānī rejected both the Muʿtazilite view that humans create their actions independently of God (*bi-l-istiqlāl*), and the later Ashʿarites view that human actions are the direct creations of God and that human intentions and abilities have no effect (*taʾthīr*) on the created action.[306] Al-Kūrānī cites many Quranic verses and *ḥadīths* that support his idea that God granted humans the power to act. However, as mentioned above, al-Kūrānī bases his interpretation of *kasb* on two Ashʿarite works in order to confirm his adherence to "early" Ashʿarī theologians: *al-Ibānah* of al-Ashʿarī and *al-ʿAqidah al-niẓāmiyyah* of al-Juwaynī. As explained above in the section related to God's attributes, these two texts are controversial. Al-Kūrānī, basing his arguments on al-Ashʿarī and al-Juwaynī, nevertheless considers himself faithful to the original Ashʿarī position, and suggests that later Ashʿarites who refuse to accept that humans have any real effect on their acts are the ones actually departing from Ashʿarī's doctrine.

As mentioned already, this topic was one of the most controversial among Ashʿarite scholars contemporary to al-Kūrānī and after him. El-Rouayheb lists the positions of some opponents, such as the Tunisian contemporary ʿAlī al-Nūrī al-Ṣafāqisī (d. 1706),[307]

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[305] MS: Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyyah, majmūʿ 16, treatise 3, fols. 267-275, fol. 267-8. The numeration is for each page not for folios.

[306] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 298.

[307] Ibid., p. 299.

and discusses in detail al-Nābulusī's opinion and his correspondence with al-Kūrānī concerning this topic.[308] The topic was too important to al-Nābulusī to deal with it in one or two works. He wrote several treatises that deal directly with the topic that came to be known as "*al-irādah al-juzʾiyyah*": *al-Kawkab al-sārī fī ḥaqīqat al-juzʾ al-ikhtiyārī*,[309] *al-Durrah al-muḍīʾah fī al-irādah al-juzʾiyyah, Taḥqīq al-intiṣār fī ittifāq al-Ashʿarī wa-l-Māturīdī ʿalā khalq al-ikhtiyār, Radd al-jāhil ilā al-ṣawāb fī jawāz iḍāfat al-tāʾthīr ilā al-asbāb*, and *Taḥrīk silsilat al-widād fī masʾalat khalq afʿāl al-ʿibād.*[310]

The most severe criticism of al-Kūrānī's interpretation of *kasb* came from Moroccan scholars, who were acquainted with the theory through al-Qushāshī's works and through those of al-Kūrānī's works that reached the Maghrib during the latter's life.[311] Ibn al-Ṭayyib mentions some citations by scholars who rejected al-Kūrānī's ideas, including Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, who had been in contact with al-Kūrānī previously, and who sent with al-ʿAyyāshī to al-Kūrānī several questions concerning his ideas about the satanic verses, to which al-Kūrānī replied in *Nibrās al-īnās.* The other scholar mentioned by Ibn al-Ṭayyib is Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī (1109/1697), who wrote a refutation of al-Kūrānī's interpretation of *kasb* entitled *al-Nubdhah al-yasīrah wa-l-lumʿah al-khaṭīrah fī masʾalat khalq al-afʿāl al-shahīrah.*[312] Al-Yūsī wrote in praise of al-Fāsī's *al-Nubdhah*[313] and in another letter to two Qādirī brothers, Abū Muḥammad al-ʿArabī and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām, he mentions that he saw some of al-Kūrānī's works and

[308] Ibid., 302.

[309] Edited by Sami Turan Erel in *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 34 (2015): 135-174.

[310] About al-Nābulusī's works see Bakri Aladdin, *ʿAbdalgani an-Nâbulusî: Oeuvre, Vie et Doctrine* (Université de Paris, 1985).

[311] Al-Shāwī says that Abū Sālim al-ʿAyyāshī is the person who introduced al-Kūrānī's works to Morocco. Yaḥyā al-Shāwī, *al-Nubl al-raqīq fī ḥulqūm al-sābb al-zindīq* (MS: Istanbul: Laleli 3744), fol. 53b.

[312] These works, as mentioned in Chapter Three, were topic of a doctoral dissertation in Morocco.

[313] Al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, *Rasāʾil Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī*, ed. Faṭimah Khalīl al-Qiblī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1981), vol. 2, p. 613-615.

that he would look at them to ascertain the truth in them. This letter is only one page, like the previous one, and does not contain any actual discussion. He only says that al-Kūrānī revived a dead innovation and ascribe a companion (*sharīk*) to God in the causation of human acts.[314] Among the Moroccan scholars who praised al-Fāsī's *al-Nubdhah* is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qusanṭīnī.[315] *Al-Nubdhah* featured al-Sanūsī's ideas on the refutation of al-Kūrānī's arguments, al-Sanūsī being the main source of Ashʿarite doctrine for later Maghribī scholars. However, al-Sanūsī says that human beings' possessing effective power over their actions is an idea mistakenly attributed to Imām al-Ḥaramayn.[316] Many other scholars repeated al-Sanūsī's claim, such as Yaḥyā al-Shāwī in his refutation of al-Kūrānī, and Shaykh Khālid Naqshbandī in *al-ʿIqd al-Jawharī fī al-farq bayna qudrat al-ʿabd wa-kasbuhu ʿind al-Māturīdī wa-l-Ashʿarī*.[317] Al-Ifrānī offers an important hint about the reason for the contention of Fāsī scholars with al-Kūrānī saying that the latter interpreted *kasb* in a way that differed from al-Sanūsī's interpretation. The student of Fās was here standing in for al-Sanūsī's position. Al-Ifrānī reports that al-Kūrānī was amazed that he was responding to al-Sanūsī and the student of Fās responded to him with al-Sanūsī's ideas.[318]

One of the harshest criticisms against al-Kūrānī came from the Algerian theologian Yaḥyā al-Shāwī. Al-Barzanjī, al-Kūrānī's foremost student, replied to al-Shāwī saying that al-Kūrānī's theory is that God creates by causes and in conjunction with causes (*yakhluq*

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[314] Al-Yūsī, *Rasāʾil Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī*, vol. 2, p. 616-17. Al-Yūsī's letter is also mentioned in Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1790. (in vol. 5 of *Mawsūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib).*

[315] See his praise in Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī*, p. 1791. (in vol. 5 of *Mawsūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib).*

[316] Muḥamma b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, *ʿUmdat ahl al-tawfīq wa-l-tasdīd fī sharḥ ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-kubrā* (Egypt: Jarīdat al-Islām bi-Miṣr, 1316/[1898]), p. 186.

[317] Khālid Naqshbandī in *al-ʿIqd al-Jawharī fī al-farq bayna qudrat al-ʿabd wa-kasbihi ʿind al-Maturidī wa-l-Ashʿarī*, ed. Saʿīd Fudah (Jordan: Manshūrāt al-Aṣlayn, 2016), p. 42.

[318] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar min ṣulaḥāʾ al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, p. 350.

bi-l-asbāb wa ʿinda al-asbāb) and that humans have effective power over their acts by the permission of God (*bi-idhn Allāh*).[319] Al-Shāwī says that al-Kūrānī relies on a statement falsely attributed to Imām al-Ḥaramayn. Here al-Shāwī follows al-Sanūsī in trying to rehabilitate al-Juwaynī.[320] Al-Barzanjī rejects this claim on the grounds that whoever reads *al-ʿAqīdah al-niẓāmiyya* knows that it is al-Juwaynī's work, and that many scholars have transmitted this work in interconnected *isnād*s. Al-Barzanjī goes on to ask what right al-Sanūsī has to evaluate Imām al-Ḥaramayn, and whether or not anyone has even heard about al-Sanūsī except in the Maghrib.[321] Al-Shāwī says that al-Kūrānī even attributed this idea to al-Ashʿarī himself in al-Ashʿarī's book "*al-Burhān*." Here, al-Barzanjī starts to mock al-Shāwī, saying that he does not even know the title of al-Ashʿarī's book *al-Ibānah.*

In spite of the fact that al-Kūrānī's theory concerning human effects on their acts was rejected by several proponents of traditional Ashʿarite thought, it actually revived discussion of this topic, and many works in his time and after him continue to debate the issue, for example, Khālid al-Naqshbandī's work mentioned above, *al-ʿIqd al-jawharī,* also known as *al-Risālah al-kasbiyyah fī al-farq bayna al-jabr wa-l-qadar*; and al-Ṣanʿānī's (d. 1182/1768-9) treatise *al-Anfās al-raḥmāniyyah al-Yamāniyyah fī abḥāth al-ifāḍah al-Madaniyyah*,[322] in which he commented on an earlier work on human actions by Muḥammad al-Sindī al-Madanī.

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[319] Al-Barzanjī, Muḥamma b. Rasūl, *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī ʿalā al-thaʿlab al-ʿāwī wa-l-nashshāb al-kāwī li-l-aʿshā al-ghāwī wa-l-shihāb al-shāwī li-l-aḥwal al-Shāwī* (MS: Istanbul: Laleli 3744), fol. 37a.

[320] Al-Shāwī, *al-Nubl al-raqīq,* fol. 54a.

[321] Al-Barzanjī, *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī,* fol. 37a-37b.

[322] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Anfās al-raḥmāniyyah al-Yamāniyyah fī abḥāth al-ifāḍah al-Madaniyya,* ed. ʿAlī b. ʿAbduh al-Almaʿī (KSA: Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2007).

Al-Kūrānī's conception of *kasb* also found some supporters, and it continued to spread and became an opinion that would usually be mentioned in any discussion of the topic after the 11th/17th century. In *al-Lumᶜah fī taḥqīq mabāḥith al-wujūd wa-l-ḥudūth wa-l-qadar wa-afᶜāl al-ᶜibād* by Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī al-Madhārī (d. Rabīᶜ II, 1190/May 1776),[323] one of al-Nābulusī's students, mentions al-Juwaynī's opinion on *kasb* and says that it is the true position of al-Ashᶜarī as explained in his last book *al-Ibānah*. Al-Madhārī cites al-Kūrānī's *Qaṣd al-sabīl* and *Maslak al-sadād* as his sources for this information and mentions that al-Kūrānī in *Qaṣd al-sabīl* was himself citing Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's *Shifāʾ al-ᶜAlīl*.[324] ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Mijjāwī al-Tilmisānī (d. 1913) in *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fī-mā yataᶜallaqu bi-l kasb wa-l-ikhtiyār* also mentions al-Kūrānī's ideas on *kasb*.[325] Al-Kawtharī comments in a footnote that al-Juwaynī encountered some difficulties from his students about this idea, but that some later scholars supported him, such al-Qushāshī, who wrote *al-Intiṣār li-Imām al-Ḥaramayn fī-mā shannaᶜ ᶜalayhi baᶜḍ al-nuẓẓār*.[326]

Some contemporary scholars interpret al-Ashᶜarī in a way that is similar to that of al-Kūrānī. Frank's article "The structure of created causality according to al-Asᶜarī, an analysis of Kitab al Lumaᶜ pars. 82-164" says that the term *kasb* is used to denote free human action that is brought to realization through human created power. It follows

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[323] Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī al-Madhārī was born in Aleppo and studied with scholars there, then he moved to Damascus where he studied with ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Abū al-Mawāhib al-Baᶜlī, Ilyās al-Kūrānī and others. Later he traveled to Cairo and the Ḥijāz where he studied with several students of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, among them his son Abū Ṭāhir, Sālim al-Baṣrī, and Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī. This information is from Muḥammad Zāhir al-Kawtharī's introduction to the edition of *al-Lumᶜah fī taḥqīq mabāḥith al-wujūd wa-l-ḥudūth wa-l-qadar wa-afᶜāl al-ᶜibād*. Al-Kawtharī mentions that Abū Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī studied with ᶜAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī's son. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī al-Madhārī, *al-Lumᶜah fī taḥqīq mabāḥith al-wujūd wa-l-ḥudūth wa-l-qadar wa-afᶜāl al-ᶜibād* (Cairo: Dār al-Baṣāʾir, 2008), p. 3.

[324] Al-Madhārī, *al-Lumᶜah*, p. 54-56.

[325] ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Mijjāwī al-Tilmisānī, *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fīmā yataᶜallaq bi-l-kasb wa-l-ikhtiyār* (al-Jazāʾir: Maṭbaᶜat Biyyr Fulṭānah al-Sharqiyyah, 1905), p. 10-11.

[326] Al-Madhārī, *al-Lumᶜah*, p. 55, fn. 2 by al-Kawtharī.

that God's omnipotence is not impaired, while human responsibility is preserved, too.[327]

Frank understands *qudrah* to mean a power of efficient causality. However, Frank's interpretation of human *qudra* in Ashʿarī thought as an efficient cause is not convincing for Binyamin Abrahamov.[328] Abrahamov says that "it is true that nowhere does al-Ashʿarī indicate that the created power to appropriate has no effect on the appropriation, and this may allow the possibility that al-Ashʿarī thought of a human's using a power granted to him by God to effect in his acts."[329]

Another point that El-Rouayheb does not discuss is the possibility that a human by their free will to act may act sometimes against God's will and decree. This idea is related to the discussion of good and bad according to the intellect (*al-ḥusn wa-al-qubḥ al-ʿaqliyyayn*), as will be discussed below.

[4.1.11.1] Good and Bad According to the Intellect (*al-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqliyyayn*)

One point related to the topic of acquisition (*kasb*) is the possibility that humans, by their free will to act, may act sometimes against God's will and decree. This idea is related to the discussion of good and bad according to the intellect (*al-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqliyyayn*).

Al-Kūrānī says that human power does not have an effect on its object unless it agrees with God's will, justifying this position with a prophetic *ḥadīth* that says: what God wills will surely happen, and what He does not will, will not happen (*mā shāʾ Allāh kān wa-mā lam yashaʾ lam yakun*).[330] In another context, al-Kūrānī cites the same *ḥadīth* and says that

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[327] Richard M. Frank, "The structure of created causality according to al-Ašʿarî: An analysis of the 'Kitâb al-Lumaʿ' §§ 82-164," *Studia Islamica*, No. 25 (1966), pp. 13-75.

[328] Abrahamov, "A Re-examination of al-Ashʿarī's theory of 'kasb'," p. 214.

[329] Ibid., p. 212.

[330] Abū Dāwud Sulaymān al-Sajistānī, Sunan Abī Dāwud, ed. ʿIzzāt ʿUbayd al-Daʿʿās and ʿAdil alSayyid (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997), no. 5075, vol.5, p. 199.

we reach this conclusion by conversion of the opposite (ʿaks al-naqīḍ).[331] Thus, anything made to happen by human action is happening by God's will. It is not true that humans can act independently, as Muʿtazilites and Zaydīs believe.[332] The Quran also says that "there is no power except in God" (lā quwwa illā bi-Allāh), and since there is no power except in God, there is no power except God's. Since there is no action without power, there is no action without God.

He also makes another refutation of the Muʿtazilite idea that humans act independently. According to al-Kūrānī, all actions are by God; as such, all actions by definition are beautiful and good (ḥasanah wa-kayyirah).[333] These actions can then be attributed to humans, and, as such, they are divisible into good and bad. What is good for humans is action that agrees with the law (sharʿ), and what is bad is action against the law; the good is what God has commanded and the bad is what He has forbidden.[334] The Quran states that "decision [authority] belongs only to God" (inna al-ḥukm illā li-Allāh) (Q 6:56) (Q 12: 67); this verse is essential to al-Kūrānī's argument about the good and bad deeds of humans. Al-Kūrānī says that this verse is an explicit refutation of the idea that the good and bad are determined according to human reason; what is good and what is bad are determined by God, through His law.[335] Authority belongs only to God, and no one has authority over Him, so God's actions do not enter under the division of human actions. Everything God does is of one kind, good and beautiful (al-khayr wa-l-ḥasan). Eventually everything belongs to God, so He is acting in His own property and "He is not

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[331] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Sharḥ al-ʿaqīdah allatī allafahā mawlānā al-ʿallāmah al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ismāʿīl [b. al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh] al-Qāsim riḍwān Allāh ʿalayhim (MS: USA: Princeton University Library, Garrett no. 224Y), fols. 147a-174b.

[332] Al-Kūrānī, al-Qawl al-jalī (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol. 306.

[333] Al-Kūrānī, Sharḥ al-ʿaqīdah allatī allafahā mawlānā al-ʿallāmah al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh, fol. 153a.

[334] Ibid., fol. 153a.

[335] Ibid., fol. 153a.

questioned about what He does." (Q 21:23).[336] There are numerous Quranic verses and Prophetic *ḥadīth*s that attribute all acts to God; they are used in Ashʿarite-Muʿtazilite debates over the issue of human actions and the capacity of reason to determine what is good and what is bad. Among these verses and *ḥadīth*s are "All [things] are from God" (Q 4:78); "God created you and that which you do" (Q 37:96); "God is the Creator of all things" (Q 39: 62); and "all goodness is in Your hands, and evil is not attributed to You."[337]

Al-Kūrānī explains that the idea that whatever God does is good does not contradict the Quranic verse, "He is not satisfied with disbelief from His servants." (Q 39:7) (*lā yarḍā li-ʿibādihi al-kufr*). In the same verse, directly before this sentence, the Quran says, "If you disbelieve, then verily, God is not in need of you [independent/literally, All Rich]." (*ghanī ʿankum*). (Q 39: 7). God is independent from His creatures and not in need of them, so whatever the creatures do does not affect Him. Human actions are part of this world and God is totally independent of everything outside of Himself.

God specifies in the Quran some acts that He loves and some acts that He does not love, acts with which He is satisfied (*riḍā*) and acts with which He is dissatisfied, along with His orders and prohibitions. For example, we can find several verses in the Quran that say, "God loves..." (Q 3:134), (Q 5:93), (Q 9:108), (Q 60:8), (Q 61:4), and other verses that say that "God does not like ..." (Q 2:205), (Q 3:57), (Q 7:55), (Q 30:45), (Q 57:23). Similarly there are statements about what He is satisfied with and what He is not satisfied with. But God does not specify similar things relating to His will, potency, and knowledge. God does not say that He wills one thing and does not will another thing. So, God may will something and this thing could be loved by God or unloved, forbidden or obliged. Al-

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[336] Ibid., fol. 153b.
[337] Ibid., fol. 153a.

Kūrānī distinguishes between God's attributes that are totally independent of His creatures, which means they encompass all human actions, and those that constitute relations with creatures. God's will is different from His satisfaction, command (*al-amr*), and loved actions. This specification of some Divine attributes that encompass all human actions explains why disbelieving could be willed by God, yet still something He is not satisfied with, does not like, or does not command.[338] What is attributed to God is the act itself, not the human-centric value of the act, which is divided into bad and illegal or good and legal, since these are categories that apply only to humans. God is totally independent and there is no obligation on God; thus, there is no badness in his actions. God acts according to His wisdom by His mercy, not because He is obliged to do something. Humans, being legally responsible, act in a way that can be described as constituting obedience or disobedience, which depends on how the action accords with God's law. No one gives orders to God, so His actions can not be described as exceeding any limits.[339]

In conclusion, al-Kūrānī emphasises that the authority over, and the evaluation of, actions (*al-ḥukm*) belongs only to God, and is not derived from reason, because evaluating actions as bad and good according to reason subordinates God to the categories of the human intellect, and God is independent according to the Quran and *ḥadīth*s. God is not subject to human standards of good and bad. What is bad according to human reason could not be thus described were it attributed to God; for example, there may be wisdom in this action that we do not perceive.[340] Good and bad are not essential to actions;

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[338] Ibid., fol. 154a.

[339] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa-l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd,* fol. 61a.

[340] Al-Kūrānī, *Sharḥ al-ʿaqīdah allatī allafahā mawlānā al-ʿallāmah al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh,* fol. 155b.

instead, it is God who determines their moral qualities. To describe an action as good or bad is dependent on how God describes it in the Quran or in law.[341]

The contention between Muʿtazilites and Ashʿarites revolve around human reason's capacity to recognize the badness or goodness of human actions. This doctrine is intertwined with the issue of justice. If a human is capable of recognizing the good and the bad by their reason, that means they should be legally responsible even if there is no revelation or Divine law. Also, if all power belongs to God, how can a human be responsible for his actions?

[4.1.11.2] Legal Responsibility (*al-taklīf*)

Al-Kūrānī received a question about the concept of legal responsibility (*taklīf*) from the *wujūdī* viewpoint, to which he replied in his work *Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa-l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd.*[342] The question about legal responsibility from the *wujūdī* perspective recalls Ibn Taymiyyah's understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and his interpretation of it as "the existence of objects is the essence of God." (*wujūd kull shayʾ ʿayn wujūd al-Ḥaqq*).[343] For Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers, the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd* means that God and the world are identical. In such a doctrine, there is no distinction between the Creator and the creature, thus there is no responsibility because there is no distinguishing between the one who gives the orders (*āmir*) and the one who receives the orders (*maʾmūr*). The connection between the theological idea of *kasb*, the legal idea of *taklīf*, and the Sufi idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd* becomes very clear with this explanation in mind. Al-Kūrānī attempts to prove that the

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[341] Ibid., fol. 154a.

[342] Al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa-l-shuhūd,* fols. 59a-72a.

[343] Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah, *Ḥaqiqat madhab al-ittiḥādiyyah*, in *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim, and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Qāsim (KSA, 1977), vol. 2, p. 112, and p.140.

human actor is responsible by showing that there is an essential distinction between the Creator and His creatures; this distinction is essential to defending the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and to refuting the pantheistic understanding, as we will see soon.

Al-Kūrānī acknowledges that legal responsibility assumes distinguishing between two realities: the one who assigns legal responsibility (*al-mukallif*), and the one to whom the legal responsibility is assigned (*al-mukallaf*).[344] Without a clear distinction, there will either be no responsibility, or we will fall into pantheism in the way that Ibn Taymiyyah explained, with no commands, no obligations, no prohibitions, and no law or *sharīʿah*. Al-Kūrānī's task, to demonstrate the essential distinction between God as absolute existence and humans, was not difficult because he had already established all the required elements for his arguments. From one side, we have God whose essence is identical to His quiddity or reality; He is absolute in the real sense of absoluteness. From the other side, there is the contingent whose existence is distinct from its inner-reality; this inner-reality is nonexistent, essentially distinguishable by its eternal dispositions, and its existence is not absolute but restricted by the disposition of its inner-reality.[345] This essential distinction between the necessary and the contingent is the condition for legal responsibility.

The one who is legally responsible (*mukallaf*) is a composite of existence and nonexistence; in their reality, they are nonexistent and in their apparent form they are existent. Al-Kūrānī cites Ibn ʿArabī to support his idea. The first sentence of Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt* states: "praise be to God who made things exist from a nonexistence and [from] its (nonexistence's) nonexistence" (*al-ḥamdu li-Allāh alladhī awjada al-ashyāʾ ʿan ʿadamin*

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[344] Al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-taʿrīf*, fol. 60b.

[345] Ibd., fol. 60b.

wa-ʿadamihi).[346] The non-nonexistence of nonexistence is existence, so God created the world from nonexistence and existence: the inner-reality of the contingent is nonexistence and its form is existence.[347] It is important to remember that the combination of the nonexistent inner-reality and existence does not equal absolute existence. Al-Kūrānī in fact received an inquiry specifically about this idea. The questioner asked how absolute existence could be part of a combination and thus be considered legally responsible. Al-Kūrānī replied that the existence that becomes part of external existence is emanated existence (*al-wujūd al-mufāḍ*), or *al-ʿamāʾ* in Ibn ʿArabī's terms.[348]

The other topic related to human responsibility is that of the ability to act, and the idea that action should be attributed to the actor. This point was not a problem for al-Kūrānī, since he had previously established that humans have effects in their actions. He repeats several verses that attribute action directly to humans: "are you being recompensed except for what you used to earn?" (Q 10:52), "And you will not be recompensed except for what you used to do" (Q 37:39), and many other verses ending with the statement "for what you used to do." (Q 16:32), (Q 43:72), (Q 77:43). Thus, humans are legally responsible, and reward or punishment depends on human actions.[349]

The two assertions that all power belongs to God and that all perfections belong only to God are called *tawḥīd al-afʿāl* and *tawḥīd al-ṣifāt*. Neither assertion undermines the essential difference between the absolute and the contingent. All human powers are manifestations of God's power, but these manifestations are not the same as the reality

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[346] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 2.

[347] Al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-taʿrīf*, fol. 60b.

[348] Al-Kūrānī, *Isʿāf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk maslak al-taʿrīf*, fols. 75a.

[349] Al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-taʿrīf*, fol. 61a.

of the attribute itself; as al-Kūrānī explains, something appearing or reflected in a mirror does not mean that the thing itself is in the mirror.[350] With this example, al-Kūrānī enters into the most controversial topic associated with Ibn ʿArabī's legacy: the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd.*

[4.1.12] The Unity of the Attributes *(waḥdat al-ṣifāt)*

The expression "the unity of the attributes" (*waḥdat al-ṣifāt*) was coined as response to the expression *waḥdat al-wujūd,* "the unity of Being" or "Oneness of Being," which is closely associated with Ibn ʿArabī's thought. The idea of *waḥdat al-ṣifāt* is one of al-Qushāshī's doctrines; al-Kūrānī said, according to al-ʿAyyāshī, that no one explained the idea of *waḥdat al-ṣifāt* better than al-Qushāshī. Al-Kūrānī referred to *waḥdat al-ṣifāt* as the "sister" of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and thought al-Qushāshī's efforts in laying the basis for the former were similar to Ibn ʿArabī's efforts in laying the basis for the latter.[351] Al-Kūrānī also names the theory *tawḥīd al-ṣifāt*, which is closer to the theological term used to express *tawḥīd al-afʿāl*, "the unity of God's actions" or the uniqueness of God's actions; and *tawḥīd al-dhāt*, "the oneness of God's essence." These different types of unity are interconnected.

All prophets assert God's unity, or Divine unity (*tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya*), in other words a belief in God's oneness. God's oneness entails that He be described by all the attributes of perfection, including necessity of existence. Being described by all the attributes of perfection is called "the unity of the attributes of perfection" *(tawḥīd ṣifāt al-kamāl). In al-Qawl al-jalī*, al-Kūrānī explains that the unity of the attributes means that the attributes of perfection belong exclusively and essentially (*bi-l-dhāt*) only to God, (*qaṣr al-kamālāt*

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[350] Ibid., fol. 62a.

[351] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 590. Also, al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 2, p. 327.

kullihā bi-l-dhāt ʿalā Allāh taʿālā).[352] He is omnipotent, the necessary existence by Himself, the absolute existence that exists by His essence (*mawjūd bi-dhātihi*), independent by essence (*ghanī bi-l-dhāt*), and perfect by essence (*kāmil bi-l-dhāt*).[353] It seems that the rider (*bi-l-dhāt*) is what distinguishes God from His creatures. Humans can have power, will, and knowledge, but only as reflections of their divine counterparts. Human powers are instances of divine power; they are loci of manifestation (*maẓāhir*), specifications (*taʿayyunāt*), or revelations (*tanazzulāt*).[354]

The unity of the attributes entails the unity of God's actions (*tawḥīd al-afʿāl*). According to al-Kūrānī, the unity of God's actions allows us to talk about the human capacity to act by God's permission. As explained in the previous sections about *kasb* and *taklīf*, humans have power that is given to them by God, but the true attribute of power belongs only to God; humans do not have power and cannot act except through by the power granted to them by God.[355] Thus, there is only one unqualified power in existence, and that is God's power.

Given this connection with the topic of *kasb*, it is not surprising to find the main discussion of *waḥdat al-ṣifāt* in al-Kūrānī's corpus in his works that deal with the issue of *kasb*, i.e., in *Maslak al-sadād* and *Takmilat al-qawl al-jalī*. In *Maslak al-sadād* al-Kūrānī says that accepting that human power (*qudrah*) has an effect on their actions - by God's permission, not independently - does not contradict the claim that God is the Creator of everything. For al-Kūrānī this is "the unity of actions" (*tawḥīd al-afʿāl*).[356] Al-Kūrānī means

[352] Al-Kūrānī, *Takmilat al-qawl al-jalī fī taḥqīq qawl al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī* (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol. 303a.

[353] Al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-sadād,* fol. 34b.

[354] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 301.

[355] Al-Kūrānī, *Takmilat al-qawl al-jalī,* fol. 303b.

[356] Al-Kūrānī, *Maslak al-sadād,* fols. 32b.

that the actions of all creatures are ultimately reducible to God's power. The human power that causes an action is therefore not independent of God's power, as the early Muʿtazilites wrongly supposed, but is instead a manifestation of God's absolute power. The human act results from a particular manifestation or instance of divine power and is not independent of God's power. Al-Kūrānī states:

> It is clear that power is one in essence but manifold in its specifications. If that is the case, it will be correct to say that actions are one while also affirming the human's acquisition (*kasb*) in virtue of the effect of his power by God's permission, and not independently.[357]

Attributes such as power are not essential to human beings, but are instead bestowed on them by God. Humans have power (*qudrah*) through God (*bi-Allāh*) and potency (*quwwah*) through God. What is given to humans by God belongs essentially only to God; thus, power is only one by essence, but it can be multiplied by its specifications (*taʿayyunāt*). On this understanding, al-Kūrānī was able to argue that human power and potency have effects on human actions by God's permission. As mentioned above, this is called the unity of actions (*tawḥīd al-afʿāl*). Humans cannot act without power, and "there is no power except in God," (Q 18:39); thus, there is no human action except through God's power. This is how "God is the creator of all things" (Q 13:16) while at the same time humans have effects on their actions.[358]

Al-Kūrānī says in *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād* that he is still receiving questions about *kasb* because the main principle (*aṣl*) of the unity of attributes (*waḥdat al-ṣifāt*) that he explained in *Maslak al-sadād* was unclear. He repeats his idea about accepting the ambiguous verses (*mutashābihāt*) without allegorical interpretation, and says that this

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[357] Ibid., fol. 34b.
[358] Ibid., fol. 34b.

principle is a result of conceiving of God as absolute existence.[359] The unity of God's actions thus depends on the unity of God's attributes, and the latter depends on the idea that God is absolute existence, or on the unity of God's essence (*tawḥīd al-dhāt*), which indicates that God's essence and His attributes are incomparable with their human counterparts and bear no likeness to the essences and attributes of creatures because "there is nothing like Him."

A contemporary of al-Kūrānī, al-Kafawī (d. 1683), explains in his dictionary *al-Kulliyyāt* the three kinds of unity, or three levels (*marātib*), as he calls them: (1) *tawḥīd al-dhāt*, "the unity of God's essence," which is the highest level of divine unity, at which everything is annihilated and vanishes in God (*fanāʾ wa-istihlāk fī Allāh*), and where the only real being is God (*lā wujūd fī al-ḥaqīqah illā Allāh*); (2) *tawḥīd al-ṣifāt*, "the unity of God's attributes," which is the level at which the believer perceives every perfection in the world as a reflection of the light of God's perfection; and (3) *tawḥīd al-afʿāl*, "the unity of God's acts," which is the level at which the believer realizes (*yataḥaqqaq*) and knows with certainty that nothing can have an effect in the universe except God.[360]

God's essence is identical to His existence, so we can say that the first level of unity is the unity of God's existence, or Oneness of Being, the most controversial idea in Akbarian tradition.

[4.1.13] *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

It may be surprising that al-Kūrānī, who has been described as "the leading representative of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrines in Medina and perhaps throughout the entire

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[359] Al-Kūrānī, *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād*, fol. 32a.

[360] Ayyūb Ibn Mūsā Kaffawī, *al-Kulliyyāt*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 2ed,1998), p. 931-2.

Muslim world,"[361] did not dedicate more than two short treatises to the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd.* However, Ibn ʿArabī himself, so far as we know, never used this term specifically in his writings.[362] Al-Kūrānī nevertheless mentions the term *waḥdat al-wujūd* in the titles of two of his works:

1.   The first work is *Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd ilā ṣiḥḥat al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd,*[363] which is only two folios long. In this treatise, al-Kūrānī rejects an extreme idea proposed by some Javan Sufis who claimed that Muḥammad possessed divine aspects, and that this is the true meaning of *waḥdat al-wujūd.* Al-Kūrānī then states that "the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is correct on legal ground (*sharʿan*) because it agrees with the Quran and the Sunna. Its gist (*ḥāṣiluh*) is to believe in the ambiguous verses while confirming God's transcendence by virtue of [the statement] "there is nothing like Him" and to affirm the apparent meaning of these verses.[364] Then he says that the followers of *waḥdat al-wujūd* believe that God Almighty is the absolute existence in the true sense of absoluteness – namely that which is not restricted by anything in the cosmos - and that He manifests Himself in created forms without being restricted by these forms. According to al-Kūrānī, this is the belief of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa-l-Jamāʿah, who reject both assimilating (*tashbīh*) God to his creatures through their confirmation that "there is nothing like Him," and striping away the Divine attributes (*taʿṭīl*) through their confirmation that He manifests Himself

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[361] Martin Van Bruinessen, "The impact of Kurdish ʿUlama on Indonesian Islam," *Les annales de l'autre islam* 5, 1998, pp. 83-106.

[362] William C. Chittick, "A history of the term *Waḥdat al-Wujūd,*" p. 73; Caner K. Dagli, *Ibn al-ʿArabī and Islamic Intellectual Culture: From mysticism to Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 2.

[363] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd ilā ṣiḥḥat al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd* (MS: UK, British Library: India Office, Delhi-Arabic 710c), fols. 20a-21b.

[364] Ibid*.,* fol. 21a.

in whatever forms He wills.[365] Al-Kūrānī then says that he has expanded on the topic in *Itḥāf al-dhakī* and in *Qaṣd al-sabīl*.

2.   The second work is *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh fī waḥdat al-wujūd*,[366] in which al-Kūrānī emphasizes the transcendence of God according to the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. This work is divided into several chapters. In chapter one, al-Kūrānī discusses the idea of God's absoluteness. In chapter two, he talks about general existence (*al-ʿamāʾ*) that is emanated from the absolute existence. In chapter three, he talks about the quiddities or inner-realities of contingents and how they are uncreated nonexistents. In chapter four, he explains creation as the emanation of existence from the absolute existence in accordance with the disposition of the nonexistent inner-realities. He also explores the main topics related to "necessary existence," "contingent existence," and creation.

Those are the only two treatises that contain the term "*waḥdat al-wujūd*" in their titles. And as mentioned above, al-Kūrānī in *Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd* refers his readers to two other works for more detail about the meaning of *waḥdat al-wujūd*: *Itḥāf al-dhak* and *Qaṣd al-sabīl*. Both are doctrinal surveys that discuss most of the topics in this chapter: the idea of absolute existence, manifestations in forms, and accepting the ambiguous or anthropomorphic Quranic verses without allegorical interpretation.

Another text that deals directly with the term *waḥdat al-wujūd* is al-Kūrānī's treatise *al-Maslak al-jalī fī ḥukm shaṭḥ al-walī*. In this treatise, al-Kūrānī mentions that he received a letter from Java asking about some statements related to *waḥdat al-wujūd*. The question refers to the fact that some people in Java say that "God is ourselves and our existence and we are Himself and His existence."[367] This treatise is one of only a few texts that

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[365] Ibid., fol. 21b.

[366] Al-Kūrānī, *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*, fols. 123b-153b.

[367] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-jalī fī ḥukm shaṭḥ al-walī* (MS: Istanbul: Veliyuddin Ef 1815), fol. 137b.

address *waḥdat al-wujūd* explicitly. Al-Kūrānī says that this idea is spreading in that country, i.e., Java, among the educated and the common people (*al-khāṣṣ wa-l-ʿāmm*) so it needs to be clarified.[368] What al-Kūrānī accomplishes in this treatise is an explanation that *waḥdat al-wujūd* should be construed in such a way that God, the absolute existence, is different from the human, and from contingent existence generally.[369] The absolute existence exists by Himself for Himself; His essence is identical to His existence. The contingent existent has a distinct essence that is an uncreated nonexistent; "nonexistent" cannot be predicated of God, and absolute existence cannot be contingent upon an existent.[370] So, God cannot be us. The second part of the Javans' claim, namely that we are Himself and His existence, is similarly impossible. "We," whether it refers to the inner-realities or to the existent forms, cannot be predicated of God; the inner-realities are nonexistents, and the apparent forms are created, and God can be neither nonexistent nor created.[371] Here, al-Kūrānī has not stated anything new concerning *waḥdat al-wujūd*. He is simply restating the ideas he explained in *Itḥāf al-dhakī* and *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd*.

We should note that the two treatises that refute the pantheistic interpretation of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, i.e., *Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd* and *al-Maslak al-jalī fī ḥukm shaṭḥ al-walī*, were written as responses to questions from Southeast Asia, which suggests that this understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was spreading in Java in the 17th century. Al-Kūrānī also wrote to a Javan student in Medina, at his request, his main text relating to the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, i.e., *Itḥāf al-dhakī*. Writing about *waḥdat a-wujūd* to a Javan audience implies that

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[368] Ibid., fol. 137b-138a.
[369] Ibid., fol. 138a.
[370] Ibid., fol. 139a.
[371] Ibid., fol. 139a.

the pantheistic interpretation of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was an important topic in Java. This active engagement of al-Kūrānī in Sufi-theologian debates in Southeast Asia requires some clarification of the context of *waḥdat al-wujūd*'s reception in Java.

In *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses*, Riddell gives a general overview of prominent Malay religious scholars and their writings during the late 10th/16th and the 11th/17th century. Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (c. 1690) and Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrānī (d. 1630), two important Sufis in Southeast Asia, were accused by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658) of heresy. Al-Rānīrī devoted several works, including *Ḥujjat al-ṣiddīq li-dafꜤ al-zindīq,* to refute what he considered to be the pantheistic teachings of al-Fanṣūrī and al-Samatrānī. Al-Rānīrī distinguished between two groups of *wujūdiyyah*: "the true" and "the heretical." Ibn ꜤArabī belongs to the former according to al-Rānīrī, who himself was a Sufi.[372] Al-Rānirī launched an attack on the heretical *wujūdiyyah*, targeting Ḥamza Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrānī by accusing them of collapsing the correct multiplicity-within-unity viewpoint into a simple equation of God and the world by saying: "the world is God and God is the world."[373]

Al-Kūrānī did not only participate directly in this argument through the texts mentioned above. Another of his important contributions to the *wujūdiyyah* debate was through his main student, ꜤAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī (c. 1615-93), who spent 19 years in the Arabian Peninsula and studied in a variety of centers there. He was the preeminent Islamic scholar dominating the religious life of the Acehnese sultanate during the latter half of the 17th century. ꜤAbd al-Raʾūf reaffirmed the reformed Sufi approach initiated by

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[372] Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses*, p. 120.

[373] Ibd., p. 122. However, al-Attas argued that al-Rānīrī misunderstood the essential orthodoxy of Hamza's position. Ibid., p. 119 and after.

al-Rānīrī and emphasised the importance of adhering to the *sharīʿah*.[374] Al-Singkilī is probably the translator of al-Kūrānī's short commentary on al-Qushāshī's creed into the Malay language. This translation, in the context of the debate over the *wujūdiyyah* and al-Kūrānī's other treatises that were addressed to Javan audience, can be considered an attempt to correct the excesses of certain Sufis. These efforts can also be seen in the Malay translation of al-Nasafi's creed at the end of the 16th century.[375]

To summarize al-Kūrānī's understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd,* we can look at chapter 12 of *Inbāh al-anbāh*, one of the chapters that were added in 1072/1661-2, almost 10 years after his companionship with al-Qushāshī. Al-Kūrānī says that *tawḥīd al-wujūd* means that God Almighty does not have a partner in existence in the real sense of existence (*lā sharīk lahu fī al-wujūd, ayy [al-wujūd] al-ḥaqīqī*).[376] Al-Kūrānī cites al-Ghazālī's interpretation in *Mishkāt al-anwār* of the Quranic verse "everything perishes except His Face" (Q 28:88), claiming that it does not mean that everything will perish at some future point; it has actually perished eternally in the past (*azalan*) and forever in the future (*abadan*). Everything but God, if you consider it in term of its essence, is nonexistent.[377] Al-Kūrānī says that al-Ghazālī's words mean that the universe's (*al-ʿālam*) existence is not independent but emanated from God, so its existence cannot be described as existent with God but it is existent by God. Al-Kūrānī concludes this section by saying:

> The statement "no God except God" means that there is no essential perfection except for God, just as there is no existence for anything except through God, so too there is no perfection except through God. And whatever does not exist except through another, then the existence as truly belongs to that other; similar things can be said about the perfection [it has].[378]

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[374] Ibid., p. 125 and after.

[375] Ibid., p. 132.

[376] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh*, p. 226.

[377] Ibid., p. 228.

[378] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh*, p. 233.

Again, when al-Kūrānī tries to explain *waḥdat al-wujūd,* he returns to explanations of his ideas about absolute existence, realities, manifestations in forms, and other topics mentioned in this chapter.

To contextualize al-Kūrānī's understanding of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd,* we can look at the works of some of his contemporary scholars and how they understood this doctrine. I will mention briefly the ideas of al-Qushāshī, al-Barzanjī, and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī concerning the meaning of *waḥdat al-wujūd.*

Al-Qushāshī in *Kalimat al-jūd bi-l-bayyinah wa-l-shuhūd ʿalā al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd* says that there is no existence by itself and for itself except for God's existence, and the cosmos is His action (*fiʿluhu*); thus, it exists through God, not by itself. There are therefore no two existences, only one existence - God's - through which everything exists.[379] Then, after one folio, he states that if all existents possess existence neither by themselves nor in themselves, but their existence is instead contained in God's knowledge, then they do not exist in themselves or for themselves, but are rather through Him and for Him. Then he continues to say that this is what is meant by *waḥdat al-wujūd*: it means that there is no other partner for God in His existence; the contingents consist entirely in His objects of knowledge, His actions, and His creatures. The action of an agent does not exist without the agent, but instead exists only through the existence of the agent.[380] Drawing closer to the philosophers' language, al-Qushāshī says that there is a division between [1] the necessary for whom it is impossible to imagine His nonexistence even mentally, His existence is for Himself and by Himself (*li-dhātih wa-bi-dhātih*) not for a thing, nor from a thing; this necessary existence is God Almighty. And there is [2] the contingent which

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[379] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī, *Kalimat al-jūd bi-l-bayyinah wa-l-shuhūd ʿalā al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd* (MS: Istanbul: Reside Efendi 428), fol. 2b.
[380] Ibid., fol. 3b.

could potentially exist or not, as its existence or nonexistence depends on the *murajjiḥ*.[381] Existence is essentially one (*al-wujūd wāḥid bi-l-dhāt*); there is nothing in it except the truth by its essence (*al-ḥaqq li-dhātihi*).[382] True existence belongs to God alone and anything other than Him does not have any part in it in any way.[383] Al-Muḥibbī described al-Qushāshī as the Imām of all those who believe in *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[384]

ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) dedicated a special book to explaining the concept of "the True Existence" (*al-Wujūd al-Ḥaqq*) that applies only to God. Possible existence does not exist independently from True Existence. Contingents are existent, but they do not possess existence by themselves. Al-Nābulusī says that "if you heard us saying that 'Existence is God,' do not think that we mean 'all existents are God,' regardless of whether these existents are material or mental. Rather, existence is God through whom all other existents subsist."[385] Al-Nābulusī distinguishes clearly between oneness of existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) and multiplicity of existents (*kathrat al-mawjūd*); existence is one and God alone deserves the title *wujūd,* since his existence is from Himself and does not depend on anything else; multiplicity lies in existent things, which are absolutely not God.[386] Al-Nābulusī says:

> Know that the difference between existence (*wujūd*) and existent (*mawjūd*) is necessarily demarcated. Existents are numerous and differentiated, while existence is one, neither multiple nor diverse in itself; it is one reality undivided and indivisible according to the multiplicity of existents. Existence is an origin and existents are succeeding, proceeding from and based on Him. He controls them according to His will and He is able to change and replace them. The meaning of existent is a thing that has

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[381] Ibid., fol. 8b.

[382] Ibid., fol. 9a.

[383] Ibid., fol. 9b.

[384] Al-Muḥibbī, *Kulāṣat al-athar*, vol. 1, p. 345.

[385] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *al-Wujūd al-Ḥaqq*, ed. Bakri Aladdin (Damascus: IFPO L'institut Français D'études Arabes De Damas, 19995), p. 11.

[386] Ibid., pp. 13, 17.

existence; it is not the essence of existence. Our discussion is concerning *waḥdat al-wujūd* not *waḥdat al-mawjūd*, since *al-mawjūd* is not one but multiple.[387]

Al-Barzanjī dedicates numerous pages of his work *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī* to the discussion of the concept of "absolute existence" and the distinction between different types of existence. Based on al-Kūrānī's works, al-Barjanzī distinguishes between two kinds of absolutes: absolute in contrast to particular, which means that the absolute here does not exist in reality except by its individuals. God is not absolute in this sense. The other type is absolute in the sense that God does not have any restriction. The latter is the meaning Ibn ʿArabī had in mind when he said in *al-Futūḥāt* that "the Truth Almighty is existent by its essence, for its essence, absolute existence is not restricted by others."[388] Al-Barzanjī thinks that the vilification of Ibn ʿArabī came from misunderstanding the difference between these two senses of "absolute." Absolute existence, as al-Barzanjī describes it, exists in reality, necessarily, individually, and it differs from the existence that is common to all quiddities. God is one without any duality; so, al-Barzanjī, following al-Kūrānī, argues that the existence of God is identical to His essence, and that this is exactly the idea of al-Ashʿarī that the existence of everything is identical to its essence.

We can note that these three scholars, and al-Kūrānī, were all from the 17th century and residents in the Arabic-speaking part of the Ottoman empire. Three of them were active in the Ḥijāz, and al-Nābulusī lived and died in Damascus close to Ibn ʿArabī's tomb. The agreement with *sharīʿah* was a central aspect of all of their efforts to explain *waḥdat al-wujūd.* Numerous contemporary scholars interpreted *waḥdat al-wujūd* similarly.[389]

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[387] Ibid, p. 19.

[388] Al-Barzanjī, *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī ilā al-Jānib al-gharbī*, fol.139b and after.

[389] For the term *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Ibn ʿArabī's tradition see William Chittick, "*Waḥdat al-wujūd* in Islamic thought," *Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies*, 10 (1991), pp.7-27. Revised copy entitled "Rūmī and Waḥdat al-Wujūd," *Poetry and Mysticism in Islam, The Heritage of Rūmī*, ed. Amin Banani, Richard Hovannisian, and George Sabagh (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Another revised copy in *In Search*

Chittick in "A history of the term *waḥdat al-wujūd*" traces the evolution of the phrase *waḥdat al-wujūd* and its use among the direct disciples of Ibn ʿArabī. Chittick observes that:

> Ibn ʿArabī and his immediate followers upheld a doctrine which we can call *waḥdat al-wujūd*, since they maintained that there in only one true *wujūd* and that the multiplicity of the world manifests the one *wujūd*, without introducing any ontological plurality into it. But Ibn al-ʿArabī never employs the term *waḥdat al-wujūd*, while Qūnawī only mentions it in passing. When Faraghānī begins to employ the term repeatedly, it refers to a relatively low station of spiritual realization, since the adept who realizes the Oneness of Being still has to ascend to the Manyness of Knowledge and beyond.[390]

This series of commentaries shows a process of evolution that reaches maturity with Qayṣarī, who played an essential role in shaping Ottoman religious attitudes, especially towards Ibn ʿArabī as we will see shortly.

Ibn ʿArabī describes God as the truly real *wujūd*. Thus, the word *wujūd* could be applied to God and to everything else as well. God is *wujūd*, and everything else has *wujūd* in one mode or another; "Ibn al-ʿArabī employs the term *wujūd* in two basic senses. First, the term refers to God, who is the Real Being (*al-wujūd al-ḥaqq*) or Necessary Being (*wājib al-wujūd*) who is impossible not to be. Second, the term may also refer to the universe or the things within it."[391] Souad Hakim, in "Unity of being in Ibn ʿArabī - A humanist perspective," states that being (*al-wujūd*) is the Divine essence itself (*ʿayn al-dhāt al-ilāhiyyah*). Ibn ʿArabī considers that only He who possesses being in himself (*wujūd dhātī*) and whose being is his very essence (*wujūduhu ʿayn dhātihi*) merits the name of being.[392] For Ibn ʿArabī, the created does not deserve the attribution of being. Only God

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of the Lost Heart, chapter eight "A history of the term *waḥdat al-wujūd.*" Also, Souad Hakim, "Unity of being in Ibn ʿArabī - A humanist perspective"; and Bakri Aladdin, "Oneness of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) the term and the doctrine," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, vol. 51 (2012), pp. 3-26.

[390] Chittick, "Waḥdat al-wujūd in Islamic thought," p. 15.

[391] Chittick, "A history of the term *waḥdat al-wujūd.*" p. 75.

[392] Hakim, "Unity of being in Ibn ʿArabī - A humanist perspective," p. 18-19

is being, and all the rest is in reality a possibility (*imkān*), a relative, possible nonexistence.[393] His being is not other than His essence. But His essence cannot be known; it is known neither by proof nor by intellectual argument, and cannot be defined. Only His attributes are knowable.

In sum, *waḥdat al-wujūd* in the 17th-century Arab World was understood as existence being nothing but the existence of God. Existence is a single reality that manifests in other entities, without itself becoming many. Existence belongs only to God; thus, everything other than God is nonexistent in itself, although it is existent to the extent that it manifests the real existence. The absolute existence is the source of all existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq aṣl kull wujūd*); thus, in themselves, creatures are entities (*aʿyān*) that possess no existence of their own. The inner-reality of possible existents remains nonexistent, or as Ibn ʿArabī describes them, "the contingent beings are, in the final analysis, nonexistent, since the only [true] existence is the existence of the Reality in the forms of states in which the contingent beings are in themselves and in their [eternally latent] essences."[394] External existence has no being or meaning apart from God, the absolute existence, who is the only real existence; the world is merely a manifestation of the absolute, or an expression of Divine external existence.

[4.2] Part Two: al-Kūrānī's other Theological and Sufi Thought

[4.2.1] The Faith of Pharaoh

The faith of Pharaoh is one of the topics that caused al-Kūrānī to be criticized by several scholars, mainly Moroccans.

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[393] Ibid., p. 19.

[394] Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, p. 115; Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, p. 96.

The particular controversy over the issue of Pharaoh's faith, at least as it related to al-Kūrānī's ideas, first arose in Ibn ʿArabī's works. In *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, Ibn ʿArabī lists Pharaoh among the four groups that will remain forever in Hell because he was arrogant (*mutakabbir*) and because he asserted his own divinity.[395] Yet in chapter 25 of *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, which is devoted to Moses, Ibn ʿArabī argues for the validity of Pharaoh's confession of faith. Ibn ʿArabī says that God had granted Pharaoh belief and that he died a believer, pure and cleansed of his sins. The *Fuṣūṣ* statement is:

> Pharaoh's consolation was in the faith God endowed him with when he was drowned. God took him to Himself spotless, pure and untainted by any defilement, because He seized him at the moment of belief, before he could commit any sin, since submission [to God: Islam] extirpates all that has occurred before. God made him a sign of His lovingkindness to whomever He wishes, so that no one may despair of the mercy of God, for indeed, no one but despairing folk despairs of the spirit of God (12:87). Had Pharaoh been despairing, he would not have hastened to believe.[396]

The faith of Pharaoh became a topic of several independent treatises and attracted numerous interpretations from Ibn ʿArabī's supporters and detractors.

The arguments are related to several Quranic verses and Prophetic *ḥadīths*. The Quranic verse in *Sūrat Yūnus* says: "And We took the Children of Israel across the sea, and Pharaoh and his soldiers pursued them in tyranny and enmity until, when drowning overtook him, he [Pharaoh] said, 'I believe that there is no deity except that in whom the Children of Israel believe, and I am of the Muslims'." [10: 90]. God replied, saying: "Now? And you had disobeyed before and were of the corrupters?"[397] [10: 91]. These verses seem to indicate that Pharaoh announced his belief in the God of Moses, which means he

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[395] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyah*, vol. 1, p. 301.

[396] Ibn Arabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom,* p. 255.

[397] For Ibn ʿArabī's approach to these verses see Denis Gril, "The Quranic figure of Pharaoh according to the interpretation of Ibn ʿArabī," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, volume 60 (2016), pp. 29-52.

became a believer. No one can deny that God blamed him for delaying his repentance until the last minute, but blaming his delay cannot be equated with a rejection of his faith. The argument cannot be about his announcement of the statement of belief in the God of Moses, because it is confirmed by the Quran. According to a *ḥadīth* considered authentic in the collections of Muslim and *musnad* of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, the Prophet says: "that embracing Islam wipes out all that has gone before it (previous misdeeds)." Since Pharaoh died immediately after his announcement of belief, all his previous sins are forgiven and he is saved. Not only saved, but without any sin.

The center of the argument was not so much about the fact of Pharaoh pronouncing his faith in the God of Moses, but about the timing of this faith. The Quran says: "But repentance is not [accepted] of those who [continue to] do evil deeds up until, when death comes to one of them, he says, 'Indeed, I have repented now'" [4: 18]. In another *ḥadīth*, the Prophet says: "God accepts the repentance of His servant so long as the death rattle has not yet reached his throat," which means until the point of his death when, according to tradition, the dying person sees the signs of the truth of the religion. In another Quranic verse, it is said: "But never did their faith benefit them once they saw Our punishment (*baʾsunā*)" [Q 40:85]. The faith in this context is called "*īmān al-baʾs*." *Baʾs* is usually rendered into English as duress or force, and also refers to the moment of death. So, the faith that occurs due to duress or due to expecting punishment or certain death is not accepted because it is not a free choice. Does the faith of Pharaoh therefore constitute the faith of *baʾs*?

Muslim scholars generally hold that Pharaoh's faith was invalid on the grounds that it had been extracted from him under duress or at the moment of his death. But the topic became controversial after Ibn ʿArabī. Several Muslim theologians and Quranic

interpreters argued extensively about the validity of Pharaoh's faith. Numerous scholars defended Ibn ʿArabī's position and numerous others refuted his argument. Most of the authors and commentators who defended Ibn ʿArabī and tried to support his idea that the faith of Pharaoh was valid discussed the idea from the perspective of God's mercy. Accepting the repentance of Pharaoh is proof that even the worst sinner can be forgiven if he repents at the last minute. Among the scholars who wrote to defend Ibn ʿArabī's position is Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī. Mullā ʿAlī b. Sulṭān al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605) wrote a refutation of al-Dawānī's work entitled *Farr al-ʿawn min al-qāʾilīn bi-īmān Firʿawn*.[398] Both works are published and have been analysed briefly in academic articles.[399] A further list of 20 scholars who participated in the debate is provided in Eric Ormsby's article "The faith of Pharaoh: a disputed question in Islamic theology." Al-Kūrānī is not mentioned in the list, but his student al-Barzanjī is.[400]

Al-Kūrānī's work defending the faith of Pharaoh is extremely short, only one folio: it is entitled *Bayān al-qawl bi-īmān Firʿawn,* and was written in 1088/1677 However, his student al-Barzanji wrote one of the most detailed and comprehensive studies defending the faith of Pharaoh, entitled *al-Taʾyyid wa-l-ʿawn li-l-qāʾilīn bi-īmān Firʿawn*.[401] Al-Barzanjī summarizes the main arguments in his work *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī*.[402]

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[398] Both texts are printed in one volume. See *Īmān Firʿān li-l-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī wa-l-radd ʿalayhi li-l-ʿallāmah ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī*, ed. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Miṣriyyah wa-Maktabatuhā, 1964.

[399] See for example Eric Ormsby, "The faith of Pharaoh: a disputed question in Islamic Theology," *Studia Islamica*, No. 98/99 (2004), pp. 5-28; and Carl W. Ernst, "Controversies over Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*: The faith of Pharaoh," *Islamic Culture* CIX (3): 1985, 259–66.

[400] Ormsby, "The faith of Pharaoh," p. 27-28.

[401] MS copy in Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyyah in Cairo in 20 folios, no. 303 (tawḥīd, al-milal wa-l-niḥal).

[402] Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī ilā al-Jānib al-gharbī fī ḥall mushkilāt Ibn ʿArabī* (MS: Suleymaniye, Istanbul: Manisa 45HK 6230), fols. 114a-130b.

Al-Kūrānī, following the long tradition of commentators on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, argues that scripture and logic prove that Pharaoh's last-minute belief was both sincere and accepted as such by God.[403] Al-Kūrānī starts his work with a citation from al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir* in which al-Shaʿranī denies that Ibn ʿArabī says that Pharaoh died as a believer.[404] Al-Shaʿrānī mentions the idea of Pharaoh's faith in the section about the words that were posthumously added to Ibn ʿArabī's writings, which means al-Shaʿrānī believes that the sections related to this topic in Ibn ʿArabī's writings are not authentic, but forged.[405] Al-Shaʿrānī cites Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah,* chapter 62, to confirm that Pharaoh is eternally in Hell. Al-Shaʿrānī claimed that several controversial ideas of Ibn ʿArabī's were heretical interpolations by later hands,[406] an idea that al-Kūrānī and al-Barzanjī would reject. Al-Barzanjī says that al-Shaʿrānī claimed that some ideas are interpolations in Ibn ʿArabī's works in order to protect the reputation of al-Shaykh al-Akbar, or because he could not reconcile these ideas with *sharīʿah*.[407] This is why al-Kūrānī lists several passages from Ibn ʿArabī to demonstrate that the idea of Pharaoh's faith actually occurs in several contexts in Ibn ʿArabī's writings, especially in *al-Futūḥāt* and *al-Fuṣūṣ*. Al-Kūrānī, always attempting to reconcile the different ideas, suggests that al-Shaʿrānī should try to reconcile the citation he mentioned about the four doomed groups

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[403] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Bayān al-qawl bi-īmān Farʿawn* (Ms: KSA, al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293), fol. 96a.

[404] Ibid., fol. 96a.

[405] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir fī bayān ʿaqāʾid al-akābir* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī), p. 33.

[406] Al-Shaʿrānī used this strategy also to refuse Ibn ʿArabī's idea that the torment of infidels in Hell would eventually come to an end. El-Rouayheb mentions that al-Shaʿrānī usually uses *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* and avoids *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Al-Shaʿrānī wrote an abridgment of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* in two works *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar fī bayan ʿulūm al-Shaykh al-Akbar* and *al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir fī bayan ʿaqāʾid al-akābir* in which he did not mention *al-Fuṣūṣ* at all or any of Ibn ʿArabī's commentators. See El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 238.

[407] Al-Barzanjī, *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī*, fol. 111a.

in Hell, in which Ibn ʿArabī mentioned Pharaoh, with other citations in Ibn ʿArabī's writings that suggest the acceptance of his faith, instead of trying to deny the authenticity of some of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas.

Al-Kūrānī also cites the Damascene scholar Sirāj al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī (d. 885/1480) as saying that several scholars of the *salaf* accepted that Pharaoh died a believer, since his last words in this life were his declaration of following Moses. Al-Makhzūmī said that there are reports that al-Bāqillānī suggested that the possibility of the faith of Pharaoh is stronger by inference, because we do not have explicit scriptural evidence that he died an unbeliever. In al-Kūrānī's opinion, the Quran confirms that Pharaoh pronounced the statement of faith explicitly, and the Quran does not say explicitly that he died an unbeliever. Thus, the question at stake is whether his faith is the faith of a dying person (*īmān baʾs*)[408] or not.

Al-Kūrānī thinks that Pharaoh believed while he was convinced that he could be saved, which is not the faith of a person who is certain that he is dying at that moment. Several arguments support this idea: Pharaoh saw the believers cross the sea that was parted for them, so he knew that this was due to their belief. He then repented with the hope of being saved, not with fear of the arrival of death. Pharaoh was in front of his army, which means he was physically the closest person to the believers who were passing onto land in front of him. Al-Kūrānī also thinks that God did not deny his faith, but only reproached him for delaying it to this time. The Quran says: "Now? And you had disobeyed [Him] before and were of the corrupters?" [10: 91]. When God did not accept

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[408] Some scholars read it as *yaʾs* "desperation," but it is "*baʾs*" which literally means "power or force," but in the Quran it is used to refer to those who believe only when they see God's power over them. The faith at this moment is not accepted because it is not an act out of free choice. Carl Ernst read it also as "the faith of despair" (*īmān al-yaʾs*). Carl Ernst, "Controversies over Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*: The faith of Pharaoh," *Islamic Culture* CIX (3): 1985, 259–66. p. 262.

from other people their claim of faith, He explicitly rejected it; "The Bedouins say, 'we have believed.' Say, 'You have not [yet] believed'." [49: 14].

Another proof that the faith of Pharaoh was not occasioned by his death is the fact that he was able to pronounce his faith by a long statement as recorded in the Quran: "I believe that there is no deity except that in whom the Children of Israel believe, and I am of the Muslims." [10: 90]. Al-Barzanjī says that this verse contains three confirmations of faith: his confession of faith, his specifying that he believed in the God of the Children of Israel, and his repeating again that he is a Muslim.[409] Al-Barzanjī was clear that accepting the idea of the faith of Pharaoh does not mean he will not enter Hell; rather, it means that he will not remain in Hell forever. It is similar to the believers who were disobedient or committed sins. Their punishment will be according to their sins, but after that they will be taken to Paradise.[410]

This view was mentioned among the others criticized by scholars of the Maghrib. Ibn al-Ṭayyib in *Nashr al-mathānī* mentions theological disputes concerning several topics in al-Kūrānī's thought, such as his interpretation of *kasb*, the material character of nonexistence, the satanic verses, and the faith of Pharaoh.[411] I do not believe there is any specific refutation of this work, probably because of its brevity and the fact that al-Kūrānī's student al-Barzanjī wrote one of the most detailed and comprehensive defenses of Pharaoh's faith, a defense that may have been a more attractive target for critics.

Al-Kūrānī's short work on the faith of Pharaoh may seem like a mere defense of one of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas, but it is easy to find some connections with al-Kūrānī's main interest in theology, by which I mean the question of human free will and the theory of *kasb*, and

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[409] Al-Barzanjī, *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī*, fol. 117a.
[410] Ibid., fol. 115b.
[411] Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī,* p. 1789 (in vol. 5 of *Mausūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib).*

God's eternal knowledge and predestination. If God knows from all eternity that Pharaoh will not believe, how then can Pharaoh be considered responsible for his disbelief? This question also relates to the question of whether divine foreknowledge is itself causative. None of these questions is mentioned explicitly in al-Kūrānī's text, but the question of Pharaoh's faith could be a starting point for extending the discussion to more controversial theological arguments.

The faith of Pharaoh can also be situated in relation to Ibn ʿArabī's idea that the punishment of all the people in Hell will come to an end, even though the people of the Fire, who will remain eternally in the Hell, will live in blessing also.

[4.2.2] Precedence of God's Mercy and the Vanishing of the Hellfire (*fanāʾ al-nār*)

Al-Kūrānī received a question concerning Ibn ʿArabī's idea that the punishment of the people in the Hellfire will come to an end while there exists a Quranic verse stating: "So taste [the penalty], for all you will get from Us is more torment." (Q 78:30). The questioner seems to consider Ibn ʿArabī's idea contradictory the Quranic verse. Al-Kūrānī replied with his main treatise that discusses this topic, *Ibdāʾ al-niʿmah bi-taḥqīq sabq al-raḥmah*.[412]

Al-Kūrānī states that Ibn ʿArabī repeated this idea in several places in *al-Fuṣūṣ* and *al-Futūḥāt*, then he lists several citations from these two books related to this topic. For example, Ibn ʿArabī in *Fūṣūṣ al-ḥikam* says: "as for the people of the Fire, they will return to bliss, but it will be in the Fire since after the end of the duration of punishment, it must become cold and peaceful according to the mercy which preceded it."[413] Then Ibn ʿArabī continues with an example of Ibrāhīm (Abraham) who was thrown into the fire; from

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[412] Al-Kūrānī, *Ibdāʾ al-niʿmah bi-taḥqīq sabq al-raḥmah* (MS: Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440), fols. 23a-28a.

[413] Ibn ʿArabī, *Fūṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, p. 169.

outside it looked like a punishment, but actually it was cool and peaceful.[414] In another chapter of *al-Fuṣūṣ*, Ibn ʿArabī says: "the hope of the people of the Fire lies in the removal of pains. Even if they still dwell in the Fire, that is pleasure, so wrath is removed when the pains are removed since the source of pain is the source of wrath."[415] Again in another context Ibn ʿArabī states: "God says, 'My mercy embraces everything' (Q 7:156), and His wrath is a thing. Hence His mercy embraces His wrath, confines it, and rules over it. Therefore, wrath disposes itself only through mercy's ruling property. Mercy sends out wrath as it will."[416] He also says, "the final issue of the cosmos will be at mercy (*li-l-raḥmah*), even if they take up an abode in the Fire and are among its folk."[417]

Ibn ʿArabī emphasises the precedence and predominance of God's mercy according to several Quranic verses and *ḥadīths*.[418] The main Quranic verse that Ibn ʿArabī repeats frequently is "'My mercy embraces everything" (Q 7:156), and the prophetic *ḥadīth* is the one in which God says, "My mercy takes precedence over My wrath." However, the topic is more complicated than this and contains controversial theological aspects, which we will discuss shortly.

The precedence of God's mercy is also related to the topics of human freedom and predestination. Chittick states that there are two basic sorts of worship and servanthood: the "essential" sort that follows upon created nature, and the "accidental" sort that derives from God's commandments delivered by the prophets. The existence of accidental servanthood depends on a number of factors, not least of which is free choice.

[414] Ibid., p. 169.
[415] Ibid., pp. 93-4, 172.
[416] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 9.
[417] Ibid., vol. 4, p. 434.
[418] For a clear discussion of this topic in Ibn ʿArabī's thought see Chittick, *Ibn ʿArabī: Heir to the Prophets*, chapter 9, p. 123 and after.

In the next world, whether people go to paradise or hell, they will lose their freedom of choice and return to worship through their essences. "This is why the final issue for the wretched will be at mercy (*al-maʾāl fī al-ashqiyāʾ ilā al-raḥmah*), for the essential worship is strong in authority, but the commandment [to worship God in this world] is accidental, and wretchedness is accidental. Every accidental thing disappears."[419]

Ibn ʿArabī's opinion is that suffering in Hell will come to an end, even though the people in Hell will stay in it and it will be their homestead. This is not the destiny of believers who committed sins or who were disobedient. Ibn ʿArabī and his followers were talking about unbelievers who were threatened to remain forever in Hell. Ibn ʿArabī says, yes, unbelievers will remain forever in Hell, but they will not be suffering and tortured forever. One day the fire will pass away and the people in Hell will live in bliss.

In the Quran, there are several verses in which God promises to reward the obedient, and there are verses where He threatens to punish the disobedient and sinners. This topic is known as *waʿd* (God's promise of reward) and *waʿīd* (God's threat of punishment). According to the Muʿtazilite principle of theodicy, God does not break His own promises or forgo His threats, as stated by the Quranic verses regarding Divine promise: "Indeed God does not break the promise" (Q 13:31), and "do not think that God will fail in His promise to His messengers" (Q 14:47). Indeed, this became one of the five principles of Muʿtazilite theology, known as *al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*.[420] According to the Muʿtazilites, all threats addressed to the sinners and the wicked should be carried out without fail, except when the sinner repents before death. There is no pardon without repentance. From the viewpoint of the Muʿtazilites, pardon without repentance implies failure to carry out the

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[419] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 402; tr. Chittick, *Ibn ʿArabī: Heir to the Prophets,* p.134.

[420] See Richard C. Martin, Mark R. Woodward, and Dwi S. Atmaja, *Defenders of Reason in Islam: Muʿtazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol* (Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 1997), p. 103.

threats (*waʿīd*), and breaking of the promise (*khulf al-waʿd*), and it is bad (*qabīḥ*), therefore it is an impossible occurrence.

For Ibn ʿArabī and his followers it is true that God says, "as for the wretched they will be in the Fire" (Q 11:106), but, immediately, in the following verse, He says: "they shall remain there forever, as long as the heavens and the earth remain intact, unless your Lord wills otherwise." (Q 11:107). Ibn ʿArabī and his followers, including al-Kūrānī, say that every threat of punishment in the Quran is restricted and conditioned by God's will: "unless your Lord wills otherwise."[421] Al-Kūrānī supports his idea by a Prophetic *ḥadīth* saying "the verse 'unless your Lord wills otherwise,' overrules every threat in the Quran."[422] So, God is not obliged to punish the sinner as the Muʿtazilites argue, but He can forgive them. On the other hand, the Quran states concerning the rewards of obedience that "as for those who have been blessed, they will be in Paradise, there to remain as long as the heavens and earth endure, an award never to be ceased" (Q 11:108). The Quran says that the reward of God is "never to be ceased" with no restriction or condition, but there is no similar verse regarding the punishment of the people of the Fire.

Al-Kūrānī repeats the same idea that God's threat is conditioned by God's Will.[423] Then he says that according to Arab custom, forgiveness of a threat does not constitute a falsehood; on the contrary, they consider refraining from carrying out threats as praiseworthy, while failure to fulfill a promise is blameworthy.[424] Al-Kūrānī then cites a few verses from an Arabic poem that considers a man of honour who is obliged to keep

[421] Al-Kūrānī, *Ibdāʾ al-niʿmah*, fol. 25b.
[422] Ibid., fol. 25b.
[423] Ibid., fol. 26a.
[424] Ibid., fol. 26a-b.

his word if he promises to do some good, and on the other hand, his failure to carry out a threat is considered an act of generosity.[425] According to al-Kūrānī, waʿd and waʿīd are true, but God's promise is the right of the people from God that if they do such and such they will be rewarded, and God fulfills His promise. Although God's threat to punish people if they do not obey His orders is God's right over people, He can carry out his threat or He can forgive them.[426]

Interestingly, Ibn Taymiyyah seems to hold an opinion close to Ibn ʿArabī's.[427] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/1350), the foremost student of Ibn Taymiyyah, in two of his books, *Ḥādī al-arwāḥ* and *Shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, is inclined toward this view, outlining the evidence in support of it, and attributing this position to his teacher Ibn Taymiyyah. Several scholars used Ibn al-Qayyim's texts to argue that Ibn Taymiyyah actually believed that the punishment of the Hellfire comes to an end, the topic that came to be known as the vanishing of the Hellfire (*fanāʾ al-nār*). Ibn Taymiyya's main work on this topic is *al-Radd ʿalā man qāla bi-fanāʾ al-jannah wa-l-nār*. This text, which was edited and published in 1995, is probably the last treatise that Ibn Taymiyyah wrote before his death in 728/1328,[428]

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[425] Ibid., fol. 26b.

[426] Ibid., fol. 26b.

[427] Several studies explored Ibn Taymiyyah's and Ibn al-Qayyim's opinions in this topic; see for example: Jon Hoover, "Islamic universalism: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Salafī deliberations on the duration of Hell-Fire," *The Muslim World*, 2009, 99 (1), pp. 181-201; Hoover, "Against Islamic Universalism: ʿAlī al-Ḥarbī's 1990 attempt to prove that Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya affirm the eternity of Hell-Fire," in *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,* ed. Krawietz, B. and Tamer, G., (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), pp. 377-399; Binyamin Abrahamov, "The creation and duration of Paradise and Hell in Islamic Theology," *Der Islam*, 79 (2002): 87–102; and Muhammad Hassan Khalil, *Muslim Scholarly Discussions on Salvation and the Fate of Others*, (PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 2007) that was published later under the title *Islam and the Fate of Others: The Salvation Question* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter two of this book discusses Ibn ʿArabī's opinions and chapter three discusses Ibn Taymiyya's and Ibn al-Qayyim's opinions.

[428] Hoover, "Islamic universalism: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Salafī deliberations on the duration of Hell-Fire," p. 184.

and it seems to be the source of Ibn al-Qayyim's arguments in the two aforementioned books.[429] Hoover discusses the topic in several studies and argues that "the evidence might be thought sufficient to report that Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Qayyim believe that the Fire will pass away."[430]

Ibn Taymiyyah's position is relevant to our discussion because al-Kūrānī's student, al-Barzanjī, used both of Ibn al-Qayyim's texts to argue that Ibn Taymiyyah also believed that the punishment of Hellfire will come to an end.[431] Al-Barzanjī explains that Hell is the place of the fire and not the fire itself and that Ibn ʿArabī's opinion is that the people who will remain eternally in Hell will not be punished eternally but will stay there since it is their home, but the punishment will turn sweet. Meanwhile, Ibn Taymiyyah's idea is that Hell will be empty after the period of punishment.[432]

After al-Kūrānī and Barzanjī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī also wrote on this topic. He wrote a treatise entitled *al-Qawl al-sadīd fī jawāz khulf al-waʿīd wa-l-radd ʿalā al-Rūmī al-zindīq*.[433] Al-Nābulusī repeats that God's refraining from his threat is generosity on His part, and is one of the qualities of perfection. Al-Nābulusī adds that God's refraining from his threat was the opinion of the Sunnī *ʿulamā'*.[434]

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[429] Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-Radd ʿalā man qāla bi-fanāʾ al-jannah wa-l-nār,* ed. Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Simharī (KSA, Riyāḍ: Dar Balansiyyah, 1415/ 1995).

[430] Hoover "Against Islamic universalism: ʿAlī al-Harbī's 1990 attempt to prove that Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya affirm the eternity of Hell-Fire," p. 378.

[431] Al-Barzanjī, *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī*, fol. 92a and after. Al-Barzanjī cites many pages from Ibn al-Qayyim's *Ḥādī al-arwāḥ*, almost 10 folios in the manuscript that corresponds with the pages 309-327 in Ibn al-Qayyim's edited copy. Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ḥādī al-arwāilā bilād al-afrāḥ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf āl Muḥammad al-Fāʿūr (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1987).

[432] Al-Barzanjī, *al-Jādhib al-ghaybī*, fol. 104b.

[433] About this treatise see Michael Winter, "A polemical treatise by ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī against a Turkish scholar on the religious status of the ḏimmīs," Brill, *Arabica*, T. 35, Fasc. 1 (Mar., 1988), pp. 92-103,

[434] Winter, "A polemical treatise by ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī," p. 100.

[4.2.3] Satanic Verses

The satanic verses, known in the Islamic tradition as *qiṣṣat al-gharānīq*, "the story of the cranes," refers to an incident in which Muḥammad was reciting some verses of the Quran, Sura 53: 19-20, and he recited mistaken words suggested by Satan. These verses that were inspired by Satan praise the pagans' idols and acknowledge their power to intercede with the supreme God. Al-Kūrānī's treatise on this topic, entitled *al-Lumʿah al-saniyyah fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fī al-umniyyah*, is one of the earliest of his texts to be published, with a summary of the arguments by Alfred Guillaume.[435] Guillaume gives a brief introduction to the incident of the satanic verses, and then summarizes al-Kūrānī's arguments and provides an Arabic edition based on only one manuscript. It may seem strange that the first text by al-Kūrānī to be edited and published is a short treatise that does not relate to his main interests in Sufism, theology, or *ḥadīth.* In my opinion, Guillaume's interest in the topic is related to the fact that he translated Ibn Isḥāq's lost biography of the Prophet (*sīrah*). Guillaume extracted Ibn Isḥāq's *sīrah*, which mentions this incident, from the *sīrah* of Ibn Hishām, in which the story is omitted.[436] Al-Ṭabarī in his history mentions it and attributs it to the authority of Ibn Isḥāq.[437] It seems that Guillaume searched in other historical documents to restore the *sirah* of Ibn Isḥāq. The omission of the incident of the satanic verses from Ibn Hishām's *sirah* can be considered representative of later attitudes toward the authenticity of the incident, a topic that has been studied by Shahab Ahmad.

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[435] Alfred Guillaume and Ibrāhīm Al-Kūrānī, "Al-Lumʿat al-sanīya fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fi-l-umnīya," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 20, No. 1/3, Studies in Honour of Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1937-57 (1957), pp. 291-303.

[436] ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq, and Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation [from Ibn Hishām's Adaptation] of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[437] Guillaume, "al-Lumʿat al-sanīya fī taḥqīq al-ilqāʾ fi-l-umnīya," p. 291.

The attitude of Muslims toward the historicity of this incident changed completely between the early generations and contemporary Muslims. Shahab Ahmad planned to follow the incident of the satanic verses and its reception within Muslim sects and groups. Ahmad studied fifty historical reports from the first two hundred years of Islam to reach what he called the fundamental finding of his research: that the Muslim attitude toward the satanic verses incident, which is collectively rejected by contemporary Muslims, was to accept it as a true historical event.[438] In Ahmad's opinion, objections to the historicity of the satanic verses incident were raised as early as the 4th/10th century and continued to be raised in subsequent centuries. Several historians, theologians, and Quran commentators from the 12th and 13th centuries argued against the historicity of the incident, an attitude that eventually became the only acceptable orthodox position.[439]

In another study, Shahab Aḥmad confirms that Ibn Taymiyyah accepted the historicity of the Satanic verses incident; the latter's argument is that the incident cannot be rejected on the basis of weak *isnāds* because the transmission of the reports is sound. According to Ibn Taymiyyah, the incident does not undermine the concept of infallibility (*ʿiṣmah)*, because Prophets are not infallible in the transmission of divine revelation but rather are protected only from any error coming to be permanently established in divine revelation.[440] Ibn Taymiyyah's attitude toward the incident is misunderstood by some of the modern Salafi scholars who understood that Ibn

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[438] Shahab Ahmed, *Before Orthodoxy: The Satanic Verses in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), p. 2-3. Ahmad uses the reception of the satanic verses incident among Muslims as a case study of constituting an instance of contemporary Islamic orthodoxy. However, he does not mention al-Kūrānī's treatise in his publications on this topic.

[439] Shahab Ahmed, "Satanic Verses," in J. D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Quran* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2001–2006), V, pp. 531–536.

[440] Shahab Ahmad, "Ibn Taymiyyah and the Satanic verses," *Studia Islamica* 87 (1998), pp. 67-124.

Taymiyyah's stand on the incident was that Satan uttered the verses and not the Prophet.[441] This idea is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, who said that Satan imitated the voice of the Prophet in reciting the words of the *gharānīq*,[442] a position that al-Kūrānī rejected, as we will see shortly.

Al-Kūrānī confirms the authenticity of the story of the satanic verses in divine revelation.[443] He rejects Ibn Ḥajar's interpretation that Satan imitated the voice of the Prophet in reciting the words of the *gharānīq*.[444] Al-Kūrānī also rejects al-Bayḍāwī's idea that the story is not true. However, al-Bayḍāwī also suggests that if the story were true then it was a test by which those of firm faith could be distinguished from the waverers.[445] Al-Kūrānī agrees with this idea and believes that the true tradition supports it.[446] He cites *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī to support the idea that it was a test that increases the doubts and obscurity of the half-hearted and the light and certainty of believers.[447]

Al-Kūrānī argues that Muḥammad uttering these words does not contradict the fact that the Prophet does not speak from his own inclination or out of vain desire, nor does he utter lies against God, and that whatever Muḥammad says "is not but a revelation

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[441] Ahmad, "Ibn Taymiyyah and the Satanic verses," p. 119.

[442] Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Minaḥ al-makkiyyah fī sharḥ al-Hamziyyah al-musammā Afḍal al-qirā li-qurrāʾ Umm al-Qurā*, ed. Aḥmad Jāsim al-Muḥammad and Bū-Jumʿah Makrī (Beirut: Dār al-Minhāj, 2005), p. 258. *Umm al-Qurā* is a poem by al-Būṣīrī (d. 696/1294). Ibn Ḥajar repeats the same idea in *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Shaybah al-Ḥamad, (al-Riyāḍ: 2001), vol. 8, p. 303.

[443] About early records of the incident see Shahab Ahmad, *Before Orthodoxy;* Shahab Ahmad, "Ibn Taymiyyah and the Satanic verses;" Guillaume, "Al-Lumʿat al-sanīya."

[444] Al-Haytamī, *al-Minaḥ al-Makkiyyah* p. 258. Ibn Ḥajar repeated the same idea in *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Shaybah al-Ḥamad (KSA, al-Riyāḍ: 2001), vol. 8, p. 303.

[445] Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl al-musammā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣubḥī Ḥallāq and Muḥammad al-Aṭrash (Beirut: Dār al-Rashīd/Dār al-Īmān, 2000), *sūrat al-ḥajj*, vol. 2, p. 454.

[446] Al-Kūrānī, "Al-Lumʿat al-sanīya," p. 299.

[447] Abū al-Qāsim Jārullāh Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʾwīl* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 2009), p. 699.

revealed" [Q, 53: 3-4]. God says in the Quran that "We did not send before you any messenger or prophet except that when he spoke [or recited], Satan threw into it [some misunderstanding]. But Allāh abolishes that which Satan throws in; then Allāh makes precise His verses. And Allāh is knowing and wise." [Q, 22:52] The uttering of the words that Satan suggested by the Prophet's tongue does not contradict the Prophet's infallibility, in al-Kūrānī's view, nor can it be inferred that revelation is mingled with Satanic whispering. God tells us that He cancelled what Satan had suggested and then He established His own verses. This confirmation by God removes the feeling of uncertainty.

The Moroccan historians al-Ifrānī, in *Ṣafwat man intashar*,[448] and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, in *Nashr al-mathānī*,[449] mention theological disputes that arose concerning several of al-Kūrānī's positions, including that regarding the satanic verses. Most of the Moroccan refutations of al-Kūrānī's thought were against his theory of *kasb*, however, and only briefly mentioned other topics, such as the satanic verses and the Faith of Pharaoh, as examples of topics that al-Kūrānī supported in order to discredit his reputation.[450]

In *Nibrās al-īnās bi-ajwibat ahl Fās*,[451] al-Kūrānī tries to clarify his position concerning the satanic verses after receiving some questions from the Moroccan scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1116/1704).[452] In his reply, al-Kūrānī confirms that the incident of the satanic verses is historically correct. He mentions several historical sources to support his idea, mainly the works of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, al-Suyūṭī, and al-Sakhāwī. Al-Fāsī mentions that al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (544/1149) claimed that this story was fabricated. But,

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[448] Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar min ṣulaḥāʾ al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, p. 350.

[449] Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī,* p. 1789 (in vol. 5 of *Mausūʿat aʿlām al-Maghrib*)

[450] See, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī,* p. 1792.

[451] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Nibrās al-īnās bi-ajwibat ahl Fās* (MS: Suleymaniye, Istanbul: LaLeLi 3744), fols. 7a-25b.

[452] A copy of al-Fāsī's treatise can be found in Cairo, Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, ms. majāmīʿ 11/5 (fols. 374-386).

according to al-Kūrānī, there are numerous *isnād*s for this story in works of history and of *ḥadīth*s, and that the numerous accounts of this story indicate that there is an origin for all these accounts.[453] Al-Fāsī claims that this story contradicts the Quranic verses about protecting the Prophet, so we cannot accept the story at face value (*imtināʿ ḥaml al-qiṣṣah ʿalā ẓāhirihā*). Al-Kūrānī replies that there is no contradiction, and that accepting the incident does not undermine the theory of prophethood or the concept of infallibility. Al-Kūrānī says that this deception from God to His Prophet is a kind of education because Muḥammad was very eager to see all the people accept his call to Islam, whereas in God's foreordained plan there were different receptions by different people.[454] It is a kind of purification and elevating of his Prophet's position by educating him to be in accord with God's decree; accepting God's will is a higher degree of perfection. It is proven in the same verse that God abrogated the false and that He established the true.[455]

In general, most of the discussions relate to evidence mentioned in historical records and whether accepting this incident affects the authenticity of prophetic revelation. Later, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī wrote a refutation of al-Kūrānī, but only concerning the idea of *kasb*.[456] Al-Fāsī's objections to al-Kūrānī on this topic and others took the form of polite scholarly discussions with mutual respect. But another North-African scholar, Yaḥyā al-Shāwī, accused al-Kūrānī of *kufr*, mainly due to his ideas on the satanic verses. Al-Shāwī was a prominent scholar who studied with scholars of Algeria

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[453] Al-Kūrānī, *Nibrās al-īnās,* fol. 12a.

[454] Ibid., fol. 13a.

[455] Ibid., fol. 14b.

[456] See *Radd Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī ʿalā al-Maslak* [*Maslak al-sadād* by al-Kūrānī] in Saʿīd al-Sarrāj, *Maslak al-sadād li-l-Kūrānī wa-rudūd ʿulamāʾ al-Maghrib ʿalayhi: dirāsah wa-taḥqīq*, PhD Thesis, Kulliyyat al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyyah, Jāmiʿat ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Saʿdī, Taṭwān, 2010-2011, pp. 418-429.

and Morocco. He went for pilgrimage in 1663 and then settled in Egypt where he taught Malikī law, grammar, rational theology, and logic at Azhar.[457] He traveled to Istanbul two times and had good relations with the scholars there. He used to return to teach in the great schools of Cairo. But in the final years of his life, he was excluded from all his positions. Al-Shāwī seems to have written more than one treatise against al-Kūrānī. *Al-Nabl al-raqīq fī ḥulqūm al-sāb al-zindīq*[458] is the one that al-Barzanjī refuted. There is another work entitled *Tawkīd al-ʿaqd fī-mā akhadha Allāh ʿalaynā min al-ʿahd,* in which he defends the traditional Ashʿarī position concerning God's attributes.[459]

In the same anthology that contains al-Kūrānī's *al-Lumʿah al-saniyyah*[460] and *Nibrās al-īnās*, Laleli 3744, there are two more treatises related to the same topic. The fourth is by Yaḥyā al-Shāwī (d. 1096/1685), and the third is a reply to this work by al-Kūrānī's prominent student Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī. Al-Barzanjī's refutation, written in 1093/1682,[461] is entitled *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī ʿalā al-thaʿlab al-ʿāwī wa-l-nashshāb al-kāwī li-l-aʿshā al-ghāwī wa-l-shahāb al-shāwī li-l-aḥwal al-Shāwī.* The title and the content of this work confirm al-Barzanjī's reputation as a person of quick-temper; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī describes him as adopting the caliph ʿUmar's position (*ʿUmarī al-maqām),*[462] that his insistence on

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[457] El-Rouayheb, *Intellectual Islamic History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 157 and after. Also see Amaḥamad Qrūd, "al-Dawr al-thaqāfī li-l-shaykh Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Shāwī fī al-Jazāʾir wa-l-Mashriq al-ʿArabī," in *Mujallat Ansanah li-l-Buḥūth wa-l-Dirāsāt*, Algeria, No. 15, December, vol. 2, 2016, (87-118).

[458] Yaḥyā al-Shāwī, *Al-Nabl al-raqīq fī ḥulqūm al-sāb al-zindīq* (MS: Suleymaniye, Istanbul: Laleli 3744), fols. 55b-72a.

[459] Amaḥamad Qrūd, "al-Dawr al-thaqāfī li-l-shaykh Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Shāwī," p. 97. Qrūd thinks it is addressed against anthropomorphists (*mujassimah*) and Muʿtazilites because it addressed the topic of God's attributes and the creation of man's acts. These two topics were refuted by several Maghribī scholars.

[460] In the margin of al-Kūrānī's *al-Lumʿah al-saniyyah,* (fol. 2b) the scribe says that al-Kūrānī's ratification of this story was a trial (*ibtilāʾ*) from God for al-Kūrānī in spite of the abundance of his knowledge.

[461] Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī, *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī ʿalā al-thaʿlab al-ʿāwī wa-l-nashshāb al-kāwī li-l-aʿshā al-ghāwī wa-l-shahāb al-shāwī li-l-aḥwal al-Shāwī (*MS: Suleymaniye, Istanbul: LaLeLi 3744), fol. 53b.

[462] This refers to a statement attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Caliph in Islam, who said: *mā tarak lī al-ḥaqq ṣāḥiban,* "announcing the truth did not leave me any friends".

the truth did not leave him any friends.[463] Al-Barzanjī accuses al-Shāwī of being jealous of al-Kūrānī and says that it is due to his envy that he wrote a treatise accusing al-Kūrānī of *kufr*. Al-Barzanjī says that al-Shāwī visited al-Kūrānī and kissed his hands several times, and that he praised his works, including the one he criticized. But when al-Shāwī went to Istanbul and saw how al-Kūrānī was respected there, envy burned in his heart.[464]

Al-Shāwī accuses al-Kūrānī of disparaging prophets through the story of the satanic verses. He says that Moroccan scholars refuted the story and insulted (*shatama*) al-Kūrānī. Al-Barzanjī in turn says that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī wrote a very respectful letter to al-Kūrānī to ask him about some points, mentioning the beginning of this letter and recalling that al-Kūrānī replied to these points in a work entitled *Nibrās al-īnās bi-ajwibat suʾālat Ahl Fās*, which the other scholars received and accepted. Al-Barzanjī mentions that al-Kūrānī also sent them his work *Maslak al-sadād ilā masʾalat khalq afʿāl al-ʿibād*, on which Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir also had some questions. In order to clarify his theory of the creation of human acts, al-Kūtānī responded with *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād li-sulūk maslak al-sadād* and sent it to Morocco.[465] Al-Shāwī lists several sources in order to refute the story of the satanic verses, and he ends his work by saying that al-Kūrānī should be executed and that even if he repented, his repentance would not be accepted. In his reply, al-Barzanjī mentions several prophetic *ḥadīth*s indicating that the Prophet can forget some Quranic verses, and he confirms the historicity of the satanic verses with several citations from prominent scholars.[466]

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[463] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, p. 287.

[464] Al-Barzanjī, *al-ʿUqāb al-hāwī,* fol. 36a.

[465] Ibid., fol. 41a.

[466] Ibid., fol. 32b.

It is important to place al-Kūrānī's position on this topic in the context of his general approach to the figurative interpretation of Quranic verses. In *Nibrās al-īnās,* al-Kūrānī mentions several times that the Moroccan scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī suggested that even if we accept the historicity of the incident we need to interpret it figuratively (*taʾwīl*) and we do not have to accept it at face value.[467] Al-Kūrānī's position on *taʾwil* was explained earlier and there is no need to repeat it here. He simply thinks that accepting the historicity of this incident will not undermine the concept of infallibility.

[4.2.4] Preference for the Reality of the Kaʿbah or for the Muḥammadan Reality

In *Tāj al-rasāʾil wa-minhāj al-wasāʾil*, Ibn ʿArabī addresses eight love letters to the Kaʿbah. The circumstances in which he composed this work are explained in chapter 72 of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, which deals with the pilgrimage and its secrets. He says that he used to consider his own origin (*nashʾah*) and rank to be more excellent than those of the Kaʿbah, given that as a locus for the theophany of divine realities it was inferior to him. Once when he was circumambulating around the Kaʿbah, he had a mystical vision and heard it [the Kaʿbah] saying to him: "How you underestimate my value and overestimate that of the Sons of Adam, when you consider that those who have knowledge are superior to me!" Ibn ʿArabī says that he realised that God wished to correct him. After this vision, he then composed eight love-letters explaining the Kaʿbah's high rank.[468] In these letters, as Denis Gril explains:

> The Kaʿba appears there above all as a *majlā*: a place where theophanies (*tajalliyāt*) occur. Ibn ʿArabī recognises the high rank occupied by the Kaʿba

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[467] Al-Kūrānī, *Nibrās al-īnās*, fol. 11b, 14b.

[468] Denis Gril presented and analyzed Ibn ʿArabī's *Tāj al-rasāʾil*, which contains these eight letters. See Denis Gril, "Love letters to the Kaʿba: A presentation of Ibn ʿArabi's Tāj al-Rasāʾil," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, vol. 17 (1995), pp. 40-54.

in the hierarchy of levels of Being, since he considers it to be the heart of existence (*qalb al-wujūd*; cf. Futūḥāt, I, 50). On a higher plane he even converts it into a symbol of the Essence, where the seven ritual circumambulations correspond to the seven major divine attributes.[469]

The Kaʿbah thus has a mystical dimension beyond its physical, surface appearance.[470] The status of the Kaʿbah compared to the status of human beings, including all the prophets and Muḥammad, was discussed by Aḥmad al-Sirhindī and engendered intense debate in the Indian Subcontinent.[471] When al-Sirhindī's thought reached the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, it created considerable controversy there as well. In the context of this present study, only the topics that are related to al-Kūrānī will be discussed. One of the most controversial ideas was the superiority (*afḍaliyyah*) of the Kaʿbah, or the superiority of the reality of the Kaʿbah (*ḥaqīqat al-Kaʿbah*) over the Muḥamadan Reality (*ḥaqīqah Muḥamadiyyah*) and the reality of the other prophets.[472]

One of al-Sirhindī's leading students, Ādam al-Bannūrī (d. in Mecca in 1073/1663-4) arrived in the Ḥijāz and started spreading Sirhindī's views to the ʿulamāʾ of Mecca and Medina; among these was his theory of the superiority of the reality of the Kaʿbah. Al-Qushāshī was in the audience on one occasion and publicly challenged al-Bannūrī on his

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[469] Gril, "Love letters to the Kaʿba," p. 45.

[470] For this mystical aspect of the Kaʿba see Stephen Hirtenstein, "The mystic's kaʿba: The cubic wisdom of the heart according to Ibn ʿArabī," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, vol. 48 (2010), pp. 19-43; and for other aspects of the relations between *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* and the kaʿba see Michel Chodkiewicz, "The paradox of the kaʿba," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, vol. 57 (2015), pp. 67-83.

[471] Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: An Outline of his Thought and a Study of his Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, Doctoral Thesis, McGill University, 1966, p. 130 and after; Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978), vol.2, p. 218 and after provides a clear idea about the controversy over al-Sirhindī's thought in the Indian Subcontinent.

[472] The controversy over al-Sirhindī's thought in the Ḥijāz is discussed in several studies, mainly, Friedmann's *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī*; Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India;* and Atallah S. Copty's "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot, the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ḥaramayn in the 11th/17th Century," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 43, Issue 3, Transformations of the Naqshbandiyya, 17th-20th Century (2003), pp. 321-348.

theory. He partially convinced shaykh Ādam of the superiority of the Prophet Muḥammad over the Kaʿbah, but not of the superiority of other prophets or *awliyāʾ*.[473]

Ibn al-ʿUjaymī mentions in *Khabāyā al-zawāyā* that once al-Qushāshī met with Ādam al-Bannūrī in the presence of an African man and he said to al-Bannūrī that this black man is better than the Kaʿbah and that even his dress is better than the cover of the Kaʿbah. When al-Bannūrī wondered about his dress being better than the cover of the Kaʿbah, al-Qushāshī replied that this superiority was because his dress covered him so that he could perform his obligations to God.[474] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī participated in the debates occurring in the Ḥijāz over al-Sirhindī's ideas, and he may be the author of one treatise that describes al-Sirhindī's ideas as contradicting Islamic law (*kufriyyāt)*, as we will mention shortly. Concerning the topic of the Kaʿbah, in *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, Ibn al-ʿUjaymī wonders what al-Sirhindī means by the Kaʿbah, whether its appearance, which consists of stones and clay and the roof, or its reality, which is mentioned by some Sufis such as Ibn ʿArabī. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī says that in both cases, the Prophet Muḥammad is better than the Kaʿbah because there is a consensus that he is the best creature in the universe.[475] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī goes on to say that if al-Sirhindī meant the first meaning, i.e. the appearance of the Kaʿbah, then any living creature is better than it, even a dog, since a living creature is better than a non-living one. He says that ensouled (i.e., animals) creatures are better than inanimate (*jamad*) creatures.[476]

Atallah S. Copty in his article "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot, the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ḥaramayn in the 11th/17th Century" divides the

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[473] Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, p. 339. More detail can be found in Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabayā al-Zawāyā*, p. 151.

[474] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā*, p. 153.

[475] Ibid., p. 151-2.

[476] Ibid., p. 152.

debates over al-Sirhindī's thought in the Ḥijāz into two phases. The debates over the status of the Kaʿbah were essential in both phases. The first phase is associated with the arrival of Shaykh Ādam Bannūrī and the debates with al-Qushāshī that ended by convincing al-Bannūrī of the superiority of the Prophet Muḥammad over the Kaʿbah.[477] Copty mentions that the debates in this phase did not reach the degree of declaring al-Sirhindī an unbeliever (takfir).[478] In the year 1067/1656-7, during the time of shaykh Ādam, al-Sirhindī's son and khalīfah Muḥammad Maʿṣūm (d. 1079/1668) arrived in the Ḥijāz and calmed the situation by avoiding the most controversial topics, mainly the criticism of waḥdat al-wujūd in favor of al-Sirhindī's idea of waḥdat al-shuhūd, and the issue of ḥaqīqat al-Kaʿbah.[479] Muḥammad Maʿṣūm also sent his son to visit al-Qushāshī, who received him with great honour. Later, al-Qushāshī sent Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and Muhannā ʿAwaḍ Bā-Mazrūʿ al-Ḥaḍramī to visit Muḥammad Maʿṣūm.[480]

The second phase is associated with the request that reached the Ḥijāz in Jumādā 1093/June-July 1682, asking for the legal opinion (istiftāʾ) of the Ḥijāzī scholars on 32 points from al-Sirhindī's Maktubāt, including his idea about the status of the Kaʿbah.[481] Al-Kūrānī's student Muḥammad b. Rasūl al Barzanjī was one of the most energetic scholars opposing al-Sirhindī. Al-Ḥamawī mentions that al-Barzanjī wrote ten treatises in response to al-Sirhindī, some in Arabic and some in Persian.[482] Less than one month after the istiftāʾ reached the Ḥijāz in 1093/1682, al-Barzanjī wrote Qadḥ al-zand wa-qadaḥ

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[477] Atallah S. Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot, the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ḥaramayn in the 11th/17th Century," p. 332.

[478] Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot," p. 334.

[479] Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot," p. 335-6, 338.

[480] Al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah, vol. 1, p. 405-6.

[481] For more detail on al-Barzanjī's treatise and al-Ūzbakī's reply see Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot," p. 338 and after. And for the controversies over al-Sirhindī's thought in India see Friedmann, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, p. 130 and after.

[482] Al-Ḥamawī, Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl, vol. 1, p. 479.

al-rand fī radd jahālāt ahl Sirhind. Another scholar from the Ḥijāz called Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [maybe Ibn al-ʿUjaymī?] wrote *al-ʿAṣab al-hindī li-istiʾṣāl kufriyyāt Aḥmad al-Sirhindī* around the same time. The two treatises were sent on behalf of the Sharīf of Mecca, with a personal letter to "the chief qadi of India."[483] As mentioned in chapter one, al-Barzanjī was among the delegation that traveled to meet the Mughal Sultan, but he was not able to see him.

Al-Kūrānī's contribution to this debate is a treatise entitled *Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahar min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah fī-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-kaʿbah al-muʿaẓẓamah,* written on Wednesday, 4 Rabīʿ I 1078/ 24 August 1667.[484] It seems that al-Kūrānī wrote another work entitled *Taysīr al-Ḥaqq al-mubdī li-naqḍ baʿḍ kalimāt al-Sirhindī,* which may contain a discussion of the Kaʿbah's status, but I was not able to find it in any library catalogue.[485] The former work was written after the death of al-Qushāshī and before the debate ignited by the *istiftāʾ* from Indian scholars. This indicates that the debate over the status of the Kaʿbah went on for almost half a century.

Al-Kūrānī starts his text by indicating that when a certain scholar from India announced his scandalous opinion (*maqālah fāḍiḥah*) about preferring the Kaʿbah over human beings, even prophets and the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Qushāshī responded in a treatise entitled *al-Maqālah al-fāḍiḥah.* In his treatise, al-Qushāshī states that in 1053/1643-4, a person came from India who held the opinion of his teacher [al-Sirhindī] that the Kaʿbah is preferable to human beings. Al-Qushāshī mentions that this Indian scholar turned from his preference for the Kaʿbah over the Prophet Muḥammad but not

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[483] Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot," p. 339.

[484] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahar min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah fī-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-kaʿbah al-muʿaẓẓamah* (Suleymaniye, Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fols. 347a-356a.

[485] It is mentioned in a list of al-Kūrānī's works by his student ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Abī Bakr, MS. Riyāḍ University Library, 3881.

over the rest of the prophets and all other human beings.[486] This person, i.e. al-Bannūrī, had been following the opinion of his teacher for years, based on the idea that all humans prostrate themselves to the Ka'bah, and he agreed to exclude the Prophet Muhammad because the latter is the origin of all creatures.

Al-Kūrānī then said that after a few years he found two pages in which al-Bannūrī tried to interpret al-Sirhindī's opinion as referring only the preference for the reality (*ḥaqīqah*) of the Ka'bah over the reality of the Prophet Muḥammad, not for the form (*ṣurah*) of the Ka'bah over the form of the Prophet Muḥammad.[487] Al-Kūrānī thinks that this text aimed to rectify the mistake that had occurred earlier, so he decides to mention these ideas to clarify their confusions and contradictions.[488] But two years later, al-Kūrānī obtained the original texts of al-Sirhindī, in which al-Sirhindī states his opinion that the form of the Ka'bah is preferable over human forms because man prostrates himself (*yasjud*) to the Ka'bah; this text is al-Sirhindī's *Risālat al-mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*.[489] In this treatise, al-Sirhindī says that the reality of the Quran and the reality of the Ka'bah are above (*fawq*) the Muḥammadan Reality. Al-Sirhindī's argument for preferring the reality of the Ka'bah over the Muḥammadan Reality is that because everything prostrates itself to the Ka'bah, every reality therefore prostrates itself to the reality of the Ka'bah, including the Reality of Muḥammad.[490]

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[486] Al-Kūrānī, *Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahar min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah,* fol. 347a. Al-Kūrānī in folio. 350b mentions that al-Qushāshī sent his replay to the author, supposed to be Ādam al-Bannūrrī since al-Sirhindī died in 1034/1624, and that al-Bannūrī responded to his letter.

[487] Ibid., fol. 348b.

[488] Ibid., fol. 347b.

[489] Ibid., fol. 348b. Al-Sirhindī's *Risālat al-mabda' wa-l-ma'ād* is published in *Kitāb al-raḥmah al-hābiṭah fī aḥwāl al-Imām al-rabbānī qaddas Allāh sirrah* (Turkey, Istanbul: Waqf al-Ikhlāṣ, 2002), p. 167.

[490] Al-Sirhindī, *Risālat al-mabda' wa-l-ma'ād,* p. 167-8.

Another point that al-Sirhindī raises in this work and which al-Kūrānī refutes is his idea that one thousand and some years after Muḥammad, the Muḥamadan Reality will ascend (taʿruj) from its status (maqām) and unite with the reality of the Kaʿbah and it wil became known as the Aḥmadan Reality (al-ḥaqīqah al-Aḥmadiyyah).[491] This text clearly says that the status of the reality of the Kaʿbah is higher than the Muḥammadan Reality. Al-Sirhindī then says that the maqām of the Muḥamadan Reality will be empty until the return of ʿĪsā who will apply the Sharīʿah of Muḥammad and his Reality will ascend to occupy the place of the Muḥammadan Reality.[492] These are the points that al-Kūrānī discusses and refutes in his treatise al-Maqālah al-fāḍiḥah.

Al-Kūrānī replies to the first claim - that the form of the Kaʿbah is preferable over all other forms because all prostrate themselves to it - by saying that Muslims used to prostrate themselves to bayt al-maqdis in Jerusalem before they changed the direction of the prayer to Mecca. Also, he points out that the angels were ordered to prostrate themselves to Ādam.[493] Al-Kūrānī says that al-Sirhindī admits that the Muḥamadan Reality is the origin of all realities, so the reality of the Kaʿbah must therefore be included among the things that are inferior to the Reality of Muḥammad; thus, there is nothing superior to the latter.[494] Concerning the idea about the future ascent of the Muḥamadan Reality and its unification with the reality of the Kaʿbah, al-Kūrānī says that the realities (al-ḥaqāʾiq) are fixed (thābitah) in God's knowledge and there are no transformations or ascent with regard to realities.[495] Al-Kūrānī also criticises the idea that the status of the Muḥamadan Reality will be void from the millennium until the descent of ʿĪsā. The void

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[491] Ibid., p. 168.

[492] Ibid., p. 168.

[493] Al-Kūrānī, Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahar min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah, fol. 349b.

[494] Ibid., fol. 350a.

[495] Ḥaqīqa may also mean reality, essences, or quiddity.

status of the Muḥamadan Reality means that the law of Muḥammad will be interrupted, and this contradicts Prophetic *ḥadīth*s that the religion will continue until the Day of Judgement.[496] It is worth mentioning that al-Barzanjī in *Qadḥ al-zand* says that al-Sirhindī's theory of *ḥaqīqah Muḥammadiyah* changing to *ḥaqīqah Aḥmadiyyah* is a nod to himself, and that al-Sirhindī claimed to be a prophet.[497]

From al-Kūrānī's text, it seems that he had several conversations with Shaykh Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, al-Sirhindī's son, who tried to interpret several of his father's controversial ideas, but al-Kūrānī thinks they are mere contradictions.[498]

As mentioned above, the controversy over al-Sirhindī's idea of *ḥaqīqat al-Kaʿbah* did not come to an end with al-Kūrānī's work. It became more inflamed in 1093-4/1682-3 with the arrival of the *istiftāʾ* from India and the severe reaction by al-Barzanjī that culminated with proclaiming al-Sirhindī a *kāfir*, although that proclamation was made primarily because of other Sirhindian ideas.[499] Shortly after the appearance of al-Barzanjī's work *Qadḥ al-zand*, Muḥammad Bēg al-Ūzbakī came from India to the Ḥijāz and wrote a book entitled *ʿAṭiyyat al-Wahhāb al-fāṣilah bayn al-khaṭaʾ wa-l-ṣawāb* to show that the *fatwā*s issued against al-Sirhindī were based on a faulty translation of his *Maktūbāt* into Arabic and on the willful misrepresentation of his views.[500] After al-Ūzbakī's campaign to correct al-Sirhindī's image in the Ḥijāz, al-Barzanjī wrote *al-Nāshirah al-nājirah li-l-firqah al-fājirah*, completed in Muḥarram 1095/December 1683, with the intention of countering al-Ūzbakī's efforts.[501] Al-Barzanjī in *al-Nāshirah* listed 16 scholars

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[496] Al-Kūrānī, *Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahar min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah,* fol. 351a.
[497] Al-Barzanjī, *Qadḥ al-zand* (MS: Istanbul: LaLeLi 3744), fol. 87b.
[498] Al-Kūrānī, *Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahar min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah,* fol. 354a.
[499] See Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī,* p. 148 and after.
[500] Muḥammad Bēg Al-Ūzbakī, *ʿAṭiyyat al-wahhāb al-fāṣilah bayna al-khaṭaʾ wa-l-ṣawāb*
[501] See Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī,* p. 11.

from the Ḥijāz who rejected and refuted al-Sirhindī's thought, including Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.[502]

This controversy over al-Sirhindī's *Maktūbāt* made the celebrated Sufi ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī request a new translation of all the *Maktūbāt* of Sirhindī, and he commented on some parts of *al-Maktūbāt* in his work *Natījat al-ʿulūm wa-naṣīḥat ʿulāmā al-rusūm*.[503]

[4.2.5] God's Speech (*kalām Allāh*)

The question of God's speech is related to two main debates in Islamic theology, over God's attributes and over the createdness (or un-createdness) of the Quran. *Kalām Allāh* was one of the central theological topics ever since the inquisition *(miḥna)* instituted by the Abbasid Calipha al-Maʾmūn in 833 CE. Later, discussions concerning God's speech detached from both topics and became an independent subject of debate between the Ḥanbalities and the Ashʿarites. Discussions of God's speech found their way into works of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as well. *Uṣūl al-fiqh* scholars investigated the meaning of God's speech in the context of their discussions about the Quran as the first source of Islamic law (*maṣādir al-tashrīʿ*).[504]

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[502] Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī,* p. 12. Copty in his article "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot" says, based on Friedmann's work, that the 16 scholars accused al-Sirhindī of being *kāfir*. But Friedmann's text does not mention the idea of *takfir*. Friedmann's words do not suggest this idea after referring to al-Barzanjī's works against al-Sirhindī, Friedmann adds, "many more works of the same kind seem to have been written at that time. A list of authors containing 16 names is given in *al-Nāshirah al-Nājirah*. The most prominent among them seems to have been al-Barzanji's teacher, Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī," p. 12.

[503] ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man fī tārīkh al-Hind min aʿlām al-musammā bi-Nuzhat al-khawāṭir wa-bahjat al-masāmiʿ wa-l-manāẓir* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), vol. 5, p. 481-2.

[504] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Futūḥī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Ibn al-Najjār (d. 972/1564-5) dedicated more than one hundred pages to the topic of *kalām Allāh* in his book *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-munīr al-musammā bi-Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr aw al-Mukhtabar al-mubtakar Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fī uṣūl al-fiqh,* ed. Muḥammad al-Zuḥaylī and Nazīh Ḥammād (KSA: Wazārat al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah wa-l-Awqāf wa-l-Daʿwah wa-l-Irshād, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 7-115. Ibn al-Najjār has another book entitled *Muntahā al-irādāt* a famous commentary on this book was written by Manṣūr al-Bahūtī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1051/1641) the teacher of ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī, al-Kūrānī's teacher in Damascus. Ibn al-Najjār and al-Bahūtī's works were the main sources for al-Baʿlī's arguments against *kalām nafsī* in his original work *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar*. So al-Kūrānī therefore mentioned

Al-Jurjānī in *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* mentions four different positions on the issue of God's speech, and classifies them according to those who promoted them:

1. Ḥanbalites: His speech is eternal. Extreme Ḥanbalis: even the cover and the paper are eternal.

2. Karrāmiyyah: His speech is created, but it subsists in God's essence.

3. Muʿtazilites: His speech is created.

4. Ashʿarites: *kalām nafsī* is unuttered speech.

Al-Jūrjānī found that all the positions concerning *Kalām Allāh* are reducible to two syllogisms:

1- His speech is an attribute; all attributes are eternal; therefore, His speech is eternal.

2- His speech is composed of ordered, sequential parts; whatever is composed is created; therefore, His speech is created.[505]

Each one of the four groups accepted some parts of the syllogism and rejected others. The two syllogisms used to explain the different positions concerning *Kalām Allāh* became the norm when presenting this topic. Jāmī in *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*,[506] al-Qushjī in *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd*[507] on al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd,* and al-Dawānī in *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*[508] repeat them verbatim.

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them frequently in his *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar* and in *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām. Al-Kawkab al-munīr* is Ibn al-Najjār's abridgment of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mirdāwī al-Maqdisī's (d. 885/1480-1) *Taḥrīr al-manqūl wa-tahdhīb ʿilm al-uṣūl.* Ibn al-Najjār then commented on his own Mukhtaṣar and called the commentary *al-Mukhtabar al-mubtakar Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fī uṣūl al-fiqh.*

[505] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, with al-Siyālkūtī and al-Fanārī's glosses (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998, vol. 4, part 8, p. 103-104.

[506] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *al-Durrah al-fākhirah*, ed. Aḥmad al-Sāyiḥ & Aḥmad ʿAwaḍ (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, 2002, p. 36.

[507] ʿAlī al-Qushjī, *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd* (MS: Tehran: Tehran 1884), fol. 353a.

[508] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah*, in *al-Taʿliqāt ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah* by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, ed. Sayyid Hādī Khusrū-Shāhī (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2001), p. 112.

In the 17th century, al-Kūrānī, who we must recall studied with the Ḥanbalī scholar ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī, attempted to reconcile the Ashʿarite and Ḥanbalite positions on this controversial topic. As explained earlier, al-Kūrānī's position concerning the issue of God's attributes is closer to the Ḥanbalite position than it is to the latter Ashʿarite position. Both Ashʿarites and Ḥanbalites agreed that God is "speaking" (*Mutakallim)* and both considered the Quran to be divine speech. However, they disagreed over the meaning of *kalām*. The word "speech" may taken to refer to two things:

1- God's attribute of "speech" or

2- The Quran as the word of God.

Al-Kūrānī in *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar* and *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllān* refers respectively to these two senses as *kalām bi-maʿnā al-takallum* (speech in the sense of "speaking") and *kalām bi-maʿnā al-mutakallam bihi* (speech in the sense of "what is spoken").[509] And according to him, both God and man have these two kinds of *kalām*, and both kinds have uttered (*lafẓī*) and unuttered (*nafsī*; literally, "mental") aspects.[510]

Ḥanbalites accepted that God has uttered speech because it is mentioned frequently in the Quran and in *ḥadīth* that God speaks. But as Ibn al-Najjār explained, we cannot call "speech" the meaning that we have within ourselves before it is uttered. If we call unuttered speech *kalām*, this will only be metaphorically.[511] For Ashʿarites, speech can refer to uttered and unuttered speech. Later Ashʿarites emphasize that unuttered speech is the true meaning of *kalām*, and uttered speech can be said to be God's speech metaphorically. El-Rouayheb presents the position of several later Ashʿarites concerning *kalām nafsī,* saying that their idea is that *kalām nafsī* does not consist of sounds and letters

[509] Al-Kūrānī, *Qaṣd al-sabīl*, fol. 140b. al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllān*, fol. 190b; 208a.

[510] Al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllān*, fol. 191b.

[511] Ibn al-Najjār, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-munīr,* vol. 2, p. 14.

(ṣawt wa ḥarf) and that the Arabic Quran that is recited, written, and memorized is an articulation of this eternal spiritual speech that in itself is not ordered spatially or aurally.[512] Uttered speech requires organs such as a tongue, a throat, and a mouth, all anthropomorphic descriptions that cannot be ascribed to God. Therefore, al-Kūrānī dedicates part of his work in al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar and Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām to responding to Ashʿarite arguments that God's speech refers only to kalām nafsī.

Al-Kūrānī discusses the topic of God's speech and unuttered speech (kalām nafsī) in different works,[513] but his main discussion is in three works: Qaṣd al-sabīl, and the two-other works that are dedicated specifically to the topic of God's speech (kalām Allāh) namely al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar fī ʿaqāʾid ahl al-athar and Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām fī taḥqīq masʾalat al-kalām. These latter two works are interconnected, as explained in the discussions of al-Kūrānī's works in Chapter Three. In Qaṣd al-sabīl, al-Kūrānī mentions the main arguments about kalām nafsī, without attempting to compare it to the position of Ḥanbalite theologians.[514]

Al-Kūrānī's attempt to reconcile the Ashʿarites and Ḥanbalites on the question of God's speech came from two angles. From one angle, he tried to prove that al-Ashʿarī's position on God's attributes is to affirm the attributes of God as they exist in the Quran without any figurative interpretation, meaning that al-Ashʿarī accepts that God has uttered speech composed of sounds and voices, not only unuttered speech as some later Ashʿarites suggested. God said explicitly in the Quran that He is speaking, and that others heard Him, so there is no need to interpret these verses as if they refer to kalām nafsī. Al-

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[512] El-Rouayheb, Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century, p. 283.

[513] For example, al-Kūrānī, al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī ilā al-Durr al-multaqaṭ li-l-Ṣāghānī (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fols. 286b-287a; al-Kūrānī, Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt, p. 74-75, 146; in Takmilat al-qawl al-jalī (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol 345a; al-Kūrānī mentioned a title Fī ithbāt al-kalām al-nafsī al-qadīm. This work is not dated, but it was apparently written at the request of al-Qushāshī, which means it is close to the other works, al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar and Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām.

[514] Al-Kūrānī, Qaṣd al-sabīl, fol. 15a-b; fol. 40a-50b.

Kūrānī here argues on the basis of his fundamental idea about accepting the anthropomorphic verses without figurative interpretation, and his idea that God manifests Himself in any form He wills without restriction because "nothing is like Him." As explained before, *al-Ibānah* is taken by al-Kūrānī to represent the final, definitive expression of al-Ashʿarī's view.

From the other angle, al-Kūrānī tries to prove that not only do the Ashʿarites accept *kalām nafsī* but the Ḥanbalites do as well, whether they acknowledge it or not. After repeating the Ashʿarite proofs for *kalām nafsī* from the Quran, *ḥadīth*, statements by many of the Prophet's companions, and poetry, he cites numerous Ḥanbalī scholars who effectively endorsed *kalām nafsī* even though they did not accept the term.

Al-Kūrānī starts his argument by defining unuttered speech (*kalām nafsī*) as mental words that are ordered in a way such that if a person pronounces them with his voice they will correspond exactly to his mental words.[515] That means the uttered words are an expression of the words that we have in our minds. Al-Kūrānī is saying that for every speech act, we first have the words in our minds before they are uttered, so that when we pronounce it audibly this will be our uttered speech (*kalām lafẓī),* and if we do not pronounce it, it will remain mental speech (*kalām nafsī).* That means that anyone who accepts that man and God have uttered speech must also accept that man and God have unuttered speech, whether they admit it explicitly or not. And since all Ḥanbalites accept uttered speech, they also must accept unuttered speech.[516]

Al-Kūrānī's reply to the Ashʿarites who refused to ascribe sounds and voices to God is easy to anticipate. From one side al-Ashʿarī follows Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the *salaf* in

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[515] Al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām*, fol. 190b.

[516] Ibid., fol. 204a.

accepting the verses that appear to have an anthropomorphic sense without figurative interpretation.[517] From the other side, God manifests Himself in restricted forms without Himself being restricted or conditioned.[518]

Al-Kūrānī's attempt to prove that *kalām nafsī* thus comes from both a traditional angle that repeats the Ashʿarites' arguments for *kalām nafsī* and from a new angle that shows that even Ḥanbalities accept *kalām nafsī*. Al-Kūrānī mentions several Quranic verses that can be interpreted as referring to *kalām nafsī* in this sense. Every verse or story that indicates how a person keeps a secret inside himself can be interpreted as *kalām nafsī,* because we keep these words in our minds without uttering them. For example (Q 12:77) "Joseph kept it within himself (*asarrahā*) and did not reveal it to them. He said [without uttering the words] 'You are worse in position'." In this verse Yūsuf did not utter any words, but the Quran says that he "said" them to himself. Thus, the Quran describes these unuttered words as speech. The same situation occurs in (Q 43:80), (Q 20:7), (Q 2:248), and numerous other verses.[519] Al-Kūrānī mentions more prophetic *ḥadīths* and stories of the Prophet's companions that all refer to thought that is not uttered vocally.[520]

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal accepts that God speaks by words and voices. This implies that he should also accept that God has *kalām nafsī*, because God speaks according to His eternal knowledge, and the existence of the words in God's knowledge precede their external existence. Uttered speech is a form of eternal unuttered speech.[521] Al-Kūrānī regards the Ḥanbalites' creed of the uncreated and eternal speech of God as enough to prove *kalām nafsī*; it was the Quran in God's knowledge, exactly as we have it now, but it was without

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[517] Ibid., fol. 188a.

[518] Ibid., fol. 220b-221a.

[519] Ibid., fol. 192a.

[520] Ibid., fol. 193a-b.

[521] Ibid., fol. 200b.

voices or letters, and Ḥanbalites cannot deny that.[522] Al-Kūrānī cites several statements from Ḥanbalī scholars who in effect accepted this sense of *kalām nafsī*. For example, al-Kūrānī believes that when Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 513/1119) states, "The Quran is divine speech before it is recited to us, when it is still in the hearts, not uttered in voice and letters," is an implied recognition of *kalām nafsī*.[523]

The interesting new contribution of al-Kūrānī is his heavy use on Ḥanbalite *fiqh* texts to prove that they accept *kalām nafsī*. He refers to various texts with a citation of several legal situations in which they acknowledge *kalām nafsī*, at least according to his interpretation. He starts from the issue of intention (*niyyah*) in worship (*ʿibādat*), citing several statements indicating that intention in fasting or prayer is necessary, and that it is enough for the intention to simply come to the person's mind (or heart). In its legal effect, therefore, it is equivalent to an articulated intention.[524] Another example brought from law is that if a person is in the washroom, it is discouraged (*makrūh*) that he talk or that he respond to the *adhān*, or to thank God with a loud voice if he sneezes. In these cases he is recommended to do it in his heart.[525] Yet another example is that of a disabled person or a prisoner, who should perform the prayer in his heart, silently recalling the *fātiḥah*; it is required as part of the prayer and it is accepted without being made vocal.[526] Al-Kūrānī cites all these examples from Ḥanbalite *fiqh* books to prove that they do in fact accept *kalām nafsī* and elaborate upon it, even though they do not acknowledge the use of the term.

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[522] Ibid., fol. 200a-b.
[523] Ibid., fol. 204a.
[524] Ibid., fol. 204b.
[525] Ibid., fol. 205a.
[526] Ibid., fol. 205a-b.

Al-Kūrānī's *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar* and *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām* each contain an interesting conclusion in which al-Kūrānī examines the accusation of anthropomorphism levelled against Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Qayyim, and defends both of them. Al-Kūrānī seems not to have possessed any of Ibn Taymiyyah's works initially, so he used Ibn al-Qayyim's texts instead and took him to be representative of his own and his master's ideas. Later, al-Kūrānī modified his conclusion, mentioning that he had obtained some of Ibn Taymiyyah's works.[527] According to al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Kūrānī said that he looked carefully at the works of the Ḥanbalites, and found them innocent of many of the charges brought forth against them by Shāfiʿites, such as corporealism (*tajsīm*) and anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*). He found the Ḥanbalites adhering to the position of the *ḥadīth* scholars, which is to accept Quranic verses and *ḥadīth* reports as they stand, while entrusting to God the meaning of passages that seem anthropomorphic.[528] Al-Kūrānī in *al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar* and *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām* quotes extensively from Ibn Taymiyyah's works *al-Risālah al-tadmuriyyah*, *al-Risālah al-Ḥamawiyyah*,[529]*Risālah fī rajulayn tanāzaʿā fī ḥadīth al-nuzūl*, and *Risāla fī rajulayn ikhtalafā fī al-iʿtiqād.* Al-Kūrānī also quotes from Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works *al-Rūḥ* and *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl.* He shows that they went to great length to distance themselves from corporealism and anthropomorphism, and that they affirmed how God describes Himself in the Quran and negated what He negates in the Quran without interpreting these

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[527] MS: Pakistan: Maktabat Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī, *Al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar fī ʿaqāʾid ahl al-athar,* no number. Two copies in this library contain the conclusion that mentions Ibn Taymiyyah's works. MS: UK: University of Birmingham, Mingana 176, contains the old conclusion in which al-Kūrānī used Ibn al-Qayyim's texts and regarded him as representative of his own and Ibn Taymiyyah's ideas. All mss of *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām* that I examined contain al-Kūrānī's edited conclusion in which he uses Ibn Taymiyyah's works.

[528] Al-ʿAyyashī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 271. I benefited from El-Rouayheb's translation in *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 274.

[529] Al-Kūrānī does not mention this work in his text, but examining the quotations from Ibn Taymiyyah's works I found him quoting from this text.

descriptions allegorically. This is the position of the *salaf*, and even that of al-Ashʿarī, concerning towards the verses that appear to endorse anthropomorphism.

Al-Kūrānī's defense of Ibn Taymiyyah's position regarding apparently anthropomorphist statements in the Quran and *ḥadith*, as El-Rouayheb explains, aims to support al-Kūrānī's idea that God manifests Himself to whomever He chooses and in whichever way He chooses, while being devoid of any likeness to creatures by virtue of the Quranic statement "There is nothing like Him," even when manifesting Himself in phenomenal appearances.[530] Al-Kūrānī's position on this issue is thus consistent with his position on God's attributes and on God's manifestation in forms (*al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*). Both positions are representative of the broader Ibn ʿArabī tradition. Moreover, in his defence of Ibn Taymiyyah against the accusation of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*), al-Kūrānī quotes, with approbation, that likeness and similarity *(tashbīh wa tamthīl)* only occur when one says: "a hand like my hand, or a hearing like my hearing." If you say that God has a hand, hearing, and seeing, but also that they are different from the hand, hearing, and seeing of creatures, then, given that the attributes differ just as the objects of the attributes differ, this is not *tashbīh* with God.[531] This linguistic approach is in fact attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in Ibn Qayyim's book *al-Rūḥ* as cited by al-Kūrānī.[532] We can also find it in Ibn ʿArabī's writings. In *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* Ibn ʿArabī says that likeness (*tashbīh*) does not occur except when saying the word *mithl* ("like") or the *kāf* of similarity ("just as"), and these prepositions are very rare in the statements that they considered to be indicating an apparent similarity between God and man. Ibn ʿArabī then

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[530] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 282.

[531] Al-Kūrānī, *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām*, p. 245b-246a.

[532] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Kitāb al-rūḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Ajmal Ayyūb al-Aṣlāḥī (KSA, Mekka: Dār ʿĀlam al-Fawāʾid, 1432 [2011]), p. 729.

continues to criticize Ashʿarism, saying that when they apply figurative interpretation (*taʾwīl*) they think they have escaped from anthropomorphism, when in fact they have simply moved from the drawing of corporal likeness to the drawing of semantic likeness (*intaqalat min al-tashbīh bi-l-ajsām ilā al-tashbīh bi-l-maʿānī*).[533]

[4.2.6] Al-Kūrānī and Sufi Orders

In top of al-Kūrānī's interest in theoretical Sufism, he was a devoted Sufi practitioner. He entered the *khalwah* several times and was initiated into several Sufi orders; he then became head of some of them and he initiated disciples into several. Affiliation with Sufi orders was a common practice among religious scholars in the Ottoman empire. The Ḥijāz was no exception: most of the scholars of the 17th-century Ḥijāz were practicing Sufis, in addition to their other activities. Sufi orders were probably more active in the Ḥijāz than in any other place in Islamic world. Due to its religious significance, almost all the Sufi orders from around the Islamic world attempted to establish *zāwiyah*s and *khalwah*s in the Ḥijāz. The *ḥajj* season and the intellectual centrality of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century were important factors in spreading Sufi orders to different parts of Islamic world. It has been documented that one example of this is the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, which is originally from the Indian Subcontinent, and which reached Southeast Asia not directly from India but through the Ḥijāz.[534]

In Chapter Two, I mentioned that some scholarly studies counted 59 *ribāṭ*s that are known to have been founded in Mecca before the Ottoman takeover of the Ḥijāz.[535]

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[533] Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 43.

[534] Fathurahman, *Shaṭṭariyah Silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao* (TOKYO: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2016), p. 105.

[535] Mortel, "Ribāṭs in Mecca during the medieval period: A descriptive study based on literary sources," p.33.

Another academic study counted 80 *ribāṭ*s in Mecca at the same period.[536] During the Ottoman period the number of *ribāṭ*s in Mecca alone reached 156.[537] The Ottoman traveler Evliyā Çelebī, in his trip to the Ḥijāz in 1082/1671, mentioned more than 78 *takiyyah*s, the greatest one being that of the Mawlawiyyah.[538] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī's *Khabāyā al-zawāyā* is the most important Sufi bio-bibliography devoted to Sufis of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century. In it, he describes 15 Sufi *zāwiyah*s in Mecca along with their shaykhs and their activities. The book contains the names of about 120 shaykhs who lived in Mecca and with whom the author met and studied.

Al-Kūrānī was affiliated with numerous Sufi orders and he mentions his chains of transmissions (*silsilah*s) of these orders in some of his works. Scholars have examined some of the Sufi orders in the Ḥijāz, the most famous being the Naqshabandiyyah and the Shaṭṭāriyyah, studied by Copty[539] and El-Rouayheb[540] respectively. Alongside these two main orders, al-Kūrānī mentions his *isnād*s in the following orders: al-Qushayriyyah;[541] al-Suhrawardiyyah, attributed to ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, through al-Qushāshī and through al-Shaʿrānī to its founder;[542] al-Kubrawiyyah, attributed to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā;[543] al-Rifāʿiyyah;[544] al-Uwaysiyyah;[545] al-Khiḍriyyah, attributed to al-Khiḍr;[546]

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[536] Ḥusayn, *al-Arbiṭah fī Makkah al-mukarramah mundhu al-bidāyāt ḥattā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī: Dirāsah tārīkhiyyah ḥaḍāriyyah.*

[537] Ḥusayn, *al-Arbiṭah fī Makkah fī al-ʿahd al-ʿuthmānī: Dirāsah tārīkhiyyah ḥaḍāriyyah 923-1334H/1517-1915.*

[538] Jalabī, *al-Riḥlah al-ḥijāziyya*, p. 265.

[539] A. Copty "The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoot the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya in the Haramayn in the 11th/17th Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 43 (2003): 321–348.

[540] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 249.

[541] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 75b.

[542] Ibid., fol. 75b.

[543] Ibid., fol. 76a.

[544] Ibid., fol. 76b.

[545] Ibid., fol. 76b.

[546] Ibid., fol. 76b.

and al-Qādiriyyah, attributed to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Al-Kūrānī received his initiation into all these orders from al-Qushāshī.

The chains of transmissions of all these orders are stated in the references mentioned above so there is no need to repeat them here. It is enough to give just one example that displays the richness of studying these chains. For that, we turn to the three different *isnād*s that al-Kūrānī mentions in the Qādiriyyah order.

1. The first *isnād* goes back through Yemeni scholars, with whom Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī's father spent several years.

    Al-Kūrānī --- Al-Qushāshī --- (his father) Muḥammad b. Yūnus --- al-Amīn b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Yamanī al-Mirwāḥī --- Shujāʿ al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Aḥmad Jibrāʾīl --- ʿAbd al-Qādir b. al-Junayd --- (his father) al-Junayd b. Aḥmad --- (his father) Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Musharriʿ --- Ismāʿīl b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Jabartī --- Muḥammad al-Mizjājī --- Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Maʿrūf Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Jabartī --- Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Salāmī --- Muḥyī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Asadī --- Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Yaghnam --- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh --- (his father) Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allah b. Yūsuf --- (from his father) ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf and his shaykh ʿAbd Allah b. Qāsim b. Dharba --- (both from) Abū MuḥammaʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Asadī --- ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.[547]

2. The second isnād is through al-Qushāshī's main teacher, al-Shinnāwī. This chain passes through highly celebrated scholars such as al-Shaʿrānī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Jazarī, and Ibn ʿArabī.

    Al-Kūrānī --- Al-Qushāshī --- al-Shinnāwī --- (his father) ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs --- (his father) ʿAbd al-Quddūs --- ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī --- Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in

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[547] Ibid., fols. 74a-74b. Al-Kūrānī continues the *silsilah* until the Prophet. Ibid.

Egypt in 13 Rabīʿ I, 911 AH – Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad known as Ibn Imām al-Kāmiliyyah --- al-Shams Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī --- ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī --- Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārūqī --- Myḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī --- Jamāl al-Dīn Yūnus b. Yaḥyā al-Hāshimī --- ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.[548]

3. The third chain, like the first, goes back through Yemeni shaykhs. This chain agrees with al-Kūrānī's first *isnād* mentioned above until Ismāʿīl al-Jabartī, and then it departs as follows: Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Zabīdī --- Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhim b. ʿUmar al-Zabīdī --- Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ātishghāhī --- Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī --- ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Fārūqī --- Myḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī --- Jamāl al-Dīn Yūnus b. Yaḥyā al-Hāshimī --- ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.[549]

Since most of al-Kūrānī's chains of transmissions of Sufi orders are through his teacher al-Qushāshī, these chains can be examined again through al-Qushāshī's own *thabat*, entitled *al-Samṭ al-majīd*, to trace the transmission of these orders from their birthplaces until they reached the Ḥijāz.

By reconstructing the circulation of these Sufi orders and their paths to the Ḥijāz, we will be able to link most of the Sufi orders in Southeast Asia to their founders. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Al-Singkilī mentions the *isnād* of two Sufi orders: al-Qādiriyyah and al-Shaṭṭāriyyah, both of them through al-Qushāshī.[550] Fathurahman attempts to construct the Shaṭṭāriyah chains in Aceh; he states that he studied "12 Shattarryah *silsilah*s developed in Aceh through ʿAbd al-Raʾuf's and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's lines."[551] It is

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[548] Ibid., fol. 75a.

[549] Ibid., fol. 75a-b.

[550] Oman Fathurahman and Abdurrauf Singkel, *Tanbih al-Masyi: menyoal wahdatul wujud: kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh abad 17* (Bandung: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient,1999), p. 158-160.

[551] Fathurahman, *Shaṭṭariyah Silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao,* p. 10.

important to mention in this context that al-Kūrānī was one of the four main lines of the Shaṭṭāriyah *silsilah* in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao from the 7th century.[552] However, according to Fathurahman, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf received most of his *ijāzās* in Sufi orders from al-Qushāshī, not al-Kūrānī. This is normal when the original master was still alive and his chain would be shorter. However, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf had also an *ijāzah* for the Shaṭṭāriyyah from al-Kūrānī.[553] Fathurahman says that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf received most of his spiritual knowledge and authority from al-Qushāshī and the intellectual aspects of speculative mysticism from al-Kūrānī.[554]

Al-Kūrānī was affiliated with all the above-mentioned Sufi orders through his teacher al-Qushāshī. The Ḥijāz, however, was full of other Sufi shaykhs who were active in affiliating disciples. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that when he entered Mecca, he asked about the shaykhs of the Naqshbandī order. Two were mentioned to him, the first one being Jamāl al-Dīn al-Hindī.[555] Al-Hindī and the other unnamed shaykh were both students of shaykh Tāj al-Dīn. Al-ʿAyyāshī became affiliated with the Naqshbandiyyah through shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn.[556] In Mecca, al-ʿAyyāshī became affiliated with three more orders: al-Qādiriyyah, al-Suhrawardiyyah, and al-Kubrawiyyah. His initiations into these three orders were taken from shaykh Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 1078/1667-8).[557] Later, al-ʿAyyāshī mentions his affiliation with eight orders through shaykh ʿIsā al-Thaʿālibī. These eight orders are mentioned by Aḥmad b. Abī al-Futūḥ al-Ṭāwusī al-Ḥanafī in his

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[552] Ibid., p. 110. Al-Kūrānī's line can be found on page 118.

[553] Ibid., p. 106.

[554] Ibid., p. 106.

[555] Al-Qādirī, *Iltiqāṭ al-durar*, 167. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 2, p. 151.

[556] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 333.

[557] About him see: al-Qādirī, *Iltiqāṭ al-Durar*, 172. Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 2, p. 195.

book *Jamʿ al-firaq li-rafʿ al-khiraq*, with their *isnād*s to each order's founder and then to the Prophet.

This information about some Sufi shaykhs aims to emphasize that al-Qushāshī was only one shaykh among many who need to be investigated, explored, and studied in order to produce a clear picture of Sufism and intellectual life in the 17th century Ḥijāz.

Conclusion

Al-Kūrānī mentions that his interest in Sufism started in Baghdad when his travel to the *ḥajj* was interrupted because of his brother's illness. He was already an established scholar in the intellectual sciences, as discussed in Chapter Three. His exploration of Sufism would continue until the end of his life and would dominate both his intellectual production and his personal life. He never abandoned the rational sciences; rather, he used his intellectual knowledge to clarify and explain the theories of Ibn ʿArabī. He did not see Sufism as in competition with the rational sciences but as complementary to them. However, he maintained that there is a higher knowledge than intellectual knowledge: divine emanation (*fayḍ ilāhī*). This higher kind of knowledge can be perceived by human intellects, not from their thinking faculty, but as the intellect's divinely gifted ability to receive this divine knowledge.[558] This "received knowledge" is in turn presented and demonstrated using systematic, intellectual arguments, with supporting evidence from all Islamic intellectual traditions. Al-Kūrānī was an Ashʿarite theologian and he cited most of the famous Ashʿarite texts, including those of al-Ashʿarī, al-Juwaynī, al-Ghazālī, al-Ījī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, and al-Dawānī. Along with these famous theologians, al-Kūrānī used Ibn ʿArabī, al-Qūnawī, Jāmī, and other Akbarian scholars and

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[558] Al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, p. 197.

commentators when making theological arguments. These arguments are presented side by side with Quranic verses and Prophetic ḥadīths that buttress al-Kūrānī's theories.

To argue that a specific text belongs to specific discipline, or that a specific scholar is a Sufi, or a theologian, or a philosopher, has become more difficult and complex in the field of Islamic intellectual history, especially for the post-classical period. Some have attempted to establish parameters with which to differentiate between Sufism, theology, and philosophy, such as their distinctive objectives, sources of authority, technical terminology, and the literary style that they employ.[559] But these parameters overlap and cannot be detached one from the other. William Chittick explains the complexity of classical classification into Sufism, theology, and philosophy stating:

> [The] relatively clear distinction among the three perspectives of philosophy, Sufism and theology becomes increasingly clouded with the passage of time. From the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.) onward, more and more figures appear who speak from the points of view of two or even all three schools, and who gradually begin to combine the perspectives. In later Islamic history, especially from the Safavid period onward in Iran, it is often impossible to classify a particular thinker as only a philosopher, or a theologian, or a Sufi.[560]

Franz Rosenthal expresses a similar idea, saying, "it is not always absolutely clear why an individual was considered a *faylasūf* or a Sufi, or into which category he would fall according to our understanding of philosophy and mysticism."[561]

Immediately after the death of Ibn ʿArabī, his thought was philosophically grounded through the efforts of commentators such as al-Qūnawī and some of his students. By that time *kalām* had already been largely philosophized. Al-Qūnawī and his circle played a

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[559] Caner K. Dagli, *Ibn al-ʿArabī and Islamic Intellectual Culture: From Mysticism to Philosophy,* p. 8. Dagli talks about five parameters of belief, mode of inquiry, goal, authority, and terminology as they concern the three communities of *taṣawwuf*, *kalām*, and *falsafah*.

[560] Chittick, "Mysticism versus philosophy in earlier Islamic history," p. 88.

[561] Franz Rosenthal, "Ibn Arabi between 'Mysticism' and 'Philosophy'," *Oriens* 31 (1988), p. 1.

central role in interpreting Ibn ʿArabī's thought and establishing the later direction of the entire Akbarian school. Most studies stress the idea that al-Qūnawī wrote in a relatively systematic way and focused mainly on philosophical issues rather than, like his master, on the Quran and ḥadīth.[562] According to Knysh, al-Qūnawī's emphasis on the ontological elements of Ibn ʿArabī's mysticism sprang from his proficiency in and preoccupation with the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā, who exercised enormous influence, both directly and indirectly, on subsequent generations of Muslim thinkers.[563] Al-Qūnawī, Knysh states, "took a strictly rationalist approach to his master's legacy, treating it from the perspective of Avicennian philosophy with its persistent ontological bent."[564] Similarly, James W. Morris, in "Ibn ʿArabī and his interpreters," states that the school of Ibn ʿArabī developed "from the very beginning in extremely close interaction with the separate intellectual traditions of Avicennian *falsafa* (especially as transmitted by N. Ṭūsī) and of later *kalām* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Ījī, etc.)."[565]

In the introduction to this chapter, I mentioned that it was initially intended to be two chapters examining al-Kūrānī's theological ideas and his Sufi theories. Now, with the conclusion of this chapter, it has become clear that al-Kūrānī's theological and mystical thought cannot be separated. Al-Kūrānī without a doubt belongs to the long-standing

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[562] Al-Qūnawī's will display his intensive education in different fields of Islamic studies, certain works on philosophy from Qūnawī's endowed works are preserved in Qūnawī's endowed trust, including a copy in his own handwriting of *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* of Suhrawardī along with *Lubāb al-Ishārat wa al-Tanbīhāt* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, copied in 640/1242-3. William Chittick, "The last will and testament of Ibn ʿArabī's foremost disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī," *Sophia Perennis,* Volume IV, number 1, 1978, pp. 43-58.

[563] Alexander Knysh, "Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), an apologist for '*waḥdat al-wujūd*'," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Apr., 1995), pp. 39-47, p. 39. For the same idea See, e.g. J. Morris, "Ibn ʿArabī and his interpreters," *JAOS*, CVI/3 (1986), pp. 539-64; CVI/4 (1986), pp. 733-56; CVII/i (1987), pp. 101-20; W. Chittick, "Mysticism versus philosophy in earlier Islamic history," pp. 87-104.

[564] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition*, p. 162.

[565] James W. Morris. "Ibn ʿArabī and his interpreters," part II-A, p. 752.

intellectual tradition of interpreting Ibn ʿArabī. He found Ibn ʿArabī's writings to be already very philosophized. Al-Kūrānī mentioned many of al-Qūnawī's disciples and used their texts, which were already systemized in an intellectualizing manner. What changed in al-Kūrānī's thinking is the prioritization of all the topics discussed in this chapter. Al-Kūrānī considers God, as absolute existence, to be the foundation of all foundations (*aṣl al-uṣūl*). Indeed, the doctrine of absolute existence serves as the foundation of al-Kūrānī's thought. It is his main underlying principle that existence is nothing but God's existence, the absolute existence, the real existence, the source of all existence.

All the topics of this chapter lead to this interpretation of the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. The idea of nonexistent eternal realities, or fixed entities, has a clear connection with the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. External existence has neither being nor meaning apart from God, the absolute existence, who is the only real existence outside of the mind. The idea of God's manifestation establishes that all things other than God are loci of manifestation (*majlā*) of God's attributes, in which God discloses Himself in accordance with the thing's dispositions. So, the world does not actually have an existence; it is merely a manifestation of the absolute, the only true existence. In the progression of creation, we saw that everything other than the essence of God is in a perpetual process of transformation. And as explained in the sections on *waḥdat al-ṣifāt*, *kasb*, and *taklīf*, the power of the human agent comes from God, the only essential power in the world. The idea of *waḥdat al-ṣifāt*, which is intimately connected with the idea of absolute existence and God's attributes, is related to the first kind of *tawḥīd*, that is *tawḥīd al-dhāt*, "the unity of the essence." Since God's essence is identical to His existence, it can be called "the unity of existence."

The fact that al-Kūrānī did not dedicate a special treatise to discussing and explaining the term is very significant to his understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* not as a matter of a single term, but as a complete doctrine. Al-Kūrānī and other Sufis claimed that the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is the subject of Sufi experience through *kashf* or *dhawq*. However, the manifestation of this Sufi experience is clearly expressed by a systematic intellectual structure. Al-Kūrānī may well have thought that he was only revealing the coherent system that lies behind Ibn ʿArabī's mystical language, as some contemporary scholars read Ibn ʿArabī. Chittick writes that "[Ibn ʿArabī's] writings are clear, consistent, and logically structured, even though they may appear opaque to those not familiar with them."[566] James Morris remarks that describing Ibn ʿArabī as "incoherent," "pantheist," or "heretic" is not based on reasoned judgments; rather, the use of these terms amounts to a reaction to the difficult task of unifying and integrating such diverse and challenging materials.[567] These difficulties forced generations of Ibn ʿArabī's followers to explain his ideas and to reconcile them with the Islamic intellectual traditions of *kalām* and philosophy. But with al-Kūrānī there is no attempt to reconcile theology and Sufism, or to interpret Ibn ʿArabī in a philosophical or *kalām* way. Instead, theology and Sufism were one.

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[566] William C. Chittick, "A history of the term *Waḥdat al-Wujūd,"* in *Search of the Lost Heart* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), p. 72.

[567] James W. Morris, "Ibn ʿArabi and his interpreters: Part I: Recent French translations," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 106, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1986), pp. 539-551, p. 540, n. 4 (Part I).

Chapter Five: Al-Kūrānī's Efforts in *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh*, and Arabic Grammar

Alongside theology and Sufism, al-Kūrānī was interested in almost all fields of Islamic studies. This chapter examines his works in the three fields of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and Arabic grammar.

[5.1] Al-Kūrānī's Efforts in *Ḥadīth*

As mentioned in Chapter Two, intellectual activity in the 17th-century Ḥijāz has largely been investigated as a result of the interest of several scholars in the reform movements of the 18th century. Among the common characteristics that are ascribed to these movements is a concern with socio-moral reconstruction. These movements attempted to reform society on the basis of a "return" to pristine Islam, in the form of the Quran and the Sunnah, and therefore the study of *ḥadīth* was of critical importance. *Ḥadīth* formed the basis for an imagined ideal society, and during this period attempts to outline what such a society would look like appeared.[1] One example of such a work is the Nigerian reformist ʿUthmān Ibn Fūdī's (d. 1232/1817) work *Iḥyāʾ al-Sunnah wa-ikhmād al-bidʿah*.[2] Ibn Fūdī is an example of an 18th-century activist who was associated with the spread of *ḥadīth* studies and who was connected with the Ḥaramayn circle.[3]

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[1] An emphasis on *ḥadīth* studies is considered one of the major factors in these movements. For these main characteristics see R.S. O'Fahey and B. Radtke, "Neo-Sufism reconsidered," *Der Islam*, University of Bergen. vol. 70, (1993), pp. 52-87, p. 57 and after.

[2] Louis Brenner, "Muslim thought in Eighteenth-Century Africa: the case of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, eds. Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 39-58.

[3] John Voll, "ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fūdī's *sanad* to al-Bukhārī as presented in *Tazyīn al-waraqāt*," *Sudanic Africa*, Vo. 13 (2002), pp. 111-115.

However, while interest in the *ḥadīth* was certainly a motivating factor in some reform movements in the 18th century, each movement should be studied individually within its particular historical and social context in order to understand its development into political activism. Chapter Two mentioned the attempt by John Voll to connect several reform movements in the 18th century with the spread of Sufi orders and the flourishing of *ḥadīth* studies in the Ḥijāz in the 17th and 18th centuries.[4] *Ḥadīth* studies, according to Voll, "provided the basis for socio-religious purification programs."[5] The assumption that *ḥadīth* studies flourished in the 17th-century Ḥijāz will be critically evaluated below, after having examined the contributions made to them by al-Kūrānī.

In Chapter Three, I showed that al-Kūrānī's education was mostly in his homeland of Kurdistan, except for two sciences: *ḥadīth* and Sufism. He states that he did not think, before leaving his hometown, that these two sciences continued to exist in the traditional sense of transmission of authority. A confirmation of al-Kūrānī's unfamiliarity with *ḥadīth* studies at the beginning of his career can be found in his first treatise, *Inbāh al-anbāh ʿalā iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh*, in which he states that at the request of his master, al-Qushāshī, he started to collect *ḥadīths* that dealt with the virtues of the key

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[4] Voll tried to show that there was a cosmopolitan network of scholars and students from all parts of the Islamic world. The main interest of this intellectual community was *ḥadīth* studies and Sufism. Later, he published several articles about intellectual activities in different parts of the Islamic world in order to show their connection with the Ḥaramayn circle. John Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: an analysis of an intellectual group in Eighteenth-century Madīna," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1975), pp. 32-39; "Hadith scholars and Tariqah: an ulama group in the 18th Century Haramayn and their impact in the Islamic world," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Jul 1, XV, 3-4 (1980), pp. 264-273; "Linking groups in the networks of Eighteenth-century revivalist scholars: the Mizjājī family in Yemen," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam,* pp. 68-115; "ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī and 18th century *ḥadīth* scholarship," *Die Welt des Islam* 42:3 (2002); "Scholarly interrelations between South Asia and the Middle East in the 18th Century," in *The Countries of South Asia: Boundaries, Extensions and Interrelations*, eds. Peter Gaeffke and David A Utz (Philadelphia: 1980), pp. 49-59; "ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fūdī's *sanad* to al-Bukhārī as presented in *Tazyīn al-waraqāt*."

[5] Voll, "Hadith scholars and Tariqah," p. 265.

phrase in Islam, the *shahādah, lā ilāh illā Allāh,* "there is no god but God." At this early phase of his time in Medina, when he began to seek *isnād*s and *ijāzah*s, he thought it would be difficult to construct 10 *ḥadīth*s with their full *isnād*s. Eventually, he collected more than 40.[6]

Concluding a treatise with the *ḥadīth*s related to the main topic discussed therein became a usual characteristic of almost all of al-Kūrānī's works. By concluding his works in this way, al-Kūrānī aimed to support his rational arguments with transmitted evidence, and to show that his ideas therefore agreed with the *sharīʿah.* It seems that in this practice he was following his teacher al-Qushāshī, who would rely extensively on both the *ḥadīth* and the Quran. Al-Qushāshī, as mentioned above, asked al-Kūrānī to collect these *ḥadīth*s after the latter finished his treatise *Inbāh al-anbāh.* Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that al-Qushāshī's commentary on Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's *al-Ḥikam* has a special advantage over other commentaries in that al-Qushāshī ends his comment on each *ḥikmah* with a *ḥadīth* that fits the topic.[7] Al-ʿAyyāshī adds that he has not found anyone like al-Qushāshī for mingling the science of truths, i.e., Sufism, with prophetic *ḥadīth*s. Almost all of al-Qushāshī's works conclude with a citation of a *ḥadīth* or Quranic verses; it is as if all the works of *ḥadīth*s are present in front of him so that he can select whichever ones he wants, always mentioning them with their full *isnād*s.[8]

This style of ending every treatise with prophetic *ḥadīth*s is also one of the main characteristics of Ḥijāzī scholars who investigated Ibn ʿArabī's works, in order to show how Ibn ʿArabī's thought conformed to the Quran and the Sunnah. We notice this feature not only in the works of al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī, but also in those of Muḥammad b.

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[6] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāhu'l-Enbāh*, p. 264.

[7] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 298.

[8] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 592-3.

Rasūl al-Barzanjī, who was their student. However, this combination of Sufism with the *ḥadīth* did not seem to be a standard practice of Ibn ʿArabī himself. In *Rūḥ al-quds*, the book that contains the names of some of Ibn ʿArabī's teachers, he mentions a shaykh called Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ṣāʾigh and says that he is considered to be a scholar of the *ḥadīth* but is in fact a Sufi, adding that "it is among the wonders to find [a person who is] a scholar of *ḥadīth* and a Sufi at the same time (*nisbatahu ilā al-muḥaddithīn wa-huwa ṣūfī, huwa min al-uʿjūbāt: muḥaddīth ṣufī!*)"[9]

Al-Kūrānī, who did not learn anything about the *ḥadīth* tradition when he was living in his own hometown, became a major source of *isnād* in later centuries. He is regarded, alongside other scholars in the Ḥijāz, as responsible for the revival of *ḥadīth* studies in the 11th/17th century. Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176/1762) mentions seven scholars who were the main authorities in *ḥadīth* in this century: (1) Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Bābilī, (2) ʿIsā al-Maghribī, (3) Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī, (4) Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, (5) Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī, (6) Aḥmad al-Nakhlī, and (7) ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī.[10] All these scholars were residents of the Ḥijāz, which may support Voll's assumption of a revival of *ḥadīth* studies in the region in the 17th century. A full account of *ḥadīth* studies in the 17th-century Ḥijāz would, however, require a comprehensive study both of developments of *ḥadīth* literature as well as of similar studies in the Ḥijāz, both of which are beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, examining al-Kūrānī's efforts in this area may act

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[9] Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī and Maḥmūd Ghurāb, *Sharḥ Risālat Rūḥ al-quds fī muḥāsabat al-nafs* (np, 2ed, 1994), p. 125.

[10] Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, *al-Irshād ilā muhimmāt al-isnād*, ed. Badr b. ʿAlī b. Ṭāmī al-ʿUtaybī (KSA: Dār al-Āfāq, 2009), p. 25-26. A similar list is by shaykh Fāliḥ al-Ẓāhirī, but instead of al-Bābilī, he adds Quraysh al-Ṭabariyyah. Fāliḥ al-Ẓāhirī considers al-Bābilī an Egyptian and thus replaces him with a Ḥijāzī scholar; See al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, p. 942.

as an introduction to such studies in the 17ᵗʰ-century Ḥijāz and thereby help situate Ḥijāzī *ḥadīth* scholars within the broader framework of *ḥadīth* studies.

In order to explore al-Kūrānī's work in *ḥadīth* studies I shall start by mentioning his main *ḥadīth* teachers, then give a general outline of his different works in *ḥadīth*, moving then to his main interest in the *isnād* aspect of *ḥadīth*, by establishing his highest *isnād*s,[11] which connect him with main *ḥadīth* scholars before him and provide an example of al-Kūrānī's interest in and his search for high *isnād*s. Then we will broadly look at *ḥadīth* studies in the 9ᵗʰ/15ᵗʰ century to be able to understand the changes that occurred in the 11ᵗʰ/17ᵗʰ century and that have allowed some scholars to talk about a revival of *ḥadīth* studies in the Ḥijāz in that century.

Al-Kūrānī's *thabat,* entitled *al-Amam li-īqāẓ al-himam,* contains his *isnād*s for almost all the main *ḥadīth* collections. For example, he studied different parts of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* with al-Qushāshī, Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī, and ʿAbd Allāh al-Lāhūrī;[12] he studied parts of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* with al-Mazzāḥī and al-Qushāshī;[13] he studied parts of *Sunan Abī Dāwud* with al-Qushāshī; and *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī* with al-Mazzāḥī and al-Qushāshī.[14] Al-Kūrānī's other works of *ḥadīth* contain more names of *ḥadīth* scholars with whom he met and studied, or to whom he asked for an *ijāzah* in *ḥadīth*, including:

- Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAfīf al-Anṣārī al-Yamanī al-Taʿzī al-ʿUqaybī, with whom al-Kūrānī studied *ḥadīth* in his own house in Medina in 1072/1661-2, after the *ḥajj* season.[15]

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[11] "High *isnād*," as explained in Chapter Two, refers to an *isnād* with only few links between the transmitter and a certain source of authority, i.e. the Prophet in the case of *ḥadīth*.

[12] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 3.

[13] Ibid., p. 6.

[14] Ibid., p. 7-8.

[15] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-Nabī al-mukhtār* (MS: Istanbul: Koprulu 279), fol. 36b.

- Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Mirghatī al-Marākishī al-Mālikī, who wrote an *ijāzah* to al-Kūrānī from Marākish in 1076/1665-6.[16]

- Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Maghribī al-Dallāʾī al-Mālikī. Al-Kūrānī received the *ijāzah* from him in his own house in Medina in 1080/1669-70 when al-Dallāʾī visited him after the *ḥajj* season.[17]

- Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī. Al-Kūrānī received an *ijāzah* in *ḥadīth* from him in Rabīʿ I 1073/October 1662.[18]

- Mubārakah and Zayn al-Sharaf, daughters of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Makkī. Al-Kūrānī received an *ijāzah* in *ḥadīth* from them in Rabiʿ I 1080/July 1669.[19]

- Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Daybaʿ al-Shaybānī al-Zabīdī.[20]

Even though some of these scholars, such as Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī, were more famous as *ḥadīth* scholars than al-Qushāshī was, most of al-Kūrānī's *ḥadīth isnād*s in his works are through the latter. This is to be expected, since al-Kūrānī spent only a few months in Cairo and while there he was not yet interested in attending *ḥadīth* lessons or asking for *ijāzah*s. He mentioned to al-ʿAyyāshī that during his time in Cairo he met Shihāb a-Dīn al-Khafājī because he was composing his first treatise on Arabic grammar and needed to check a book by the famous grammarian, Sibawayh, which existed in al-Khafājī's library. Al-Kūrānī explicitly says: "this is what I was looking for, and *isnād* (*riwāyah*) was not my interest."[21] While he was living in the Ḥijāz, he did meet other scholars during the *ḥajj*

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[16] Ibid., fol. 37a.

[17] Ibid., fol. 37a.

[18] Ibid., fol. 37b.

[19] Ibid., fol. 37b.

[20] Ibid., fol. 41b.

[21] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 483.

season, and he did attempt to obtain their *isnād*s in order to become connected with earlier scholars. With al-Qushāshī, however, he spent almost ten years reading and revising the main works of *ḥadīth*.

Al-Kūrānī's list of works contains numerous titles specifically in *ḥadīth*. The dominant topic of these works is *isnād*; good examples are *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ*, which, as is clear from its title, contains al-Kūrānī's highest *isnād*s; *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-Nabī al-mukhtār*, which contains 101 *ḥadīth*s with their *isnād*s; and *Niẓām al-zabarjad fī al-arbaʿīn al-musalsalah bi-Aḥmad*, which contains 40 *ḥadīth*s that were transmitted by scholars named Aḥmad. Al-Kūrānī has also some works that discuss specific *ḥadīth*s, such as *Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt fī sharḥ ḥadīth "inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt"*[22] and *al-Tawjīh al-mukhtār fī nafy al-qalb ʿan ḥadīth ikhtiṣām al-jannah wa-l-nār*.[23] Both of these works on *ḥadīth*s were used by al-Kūrānī to argue in favor of theological topics such as using the concept of intention *(niyyah)* to argue for *kalām nafsī,* and using the *ḥadīth* of transformation in forms[24] to support his idea that God manifests in any form He wishes without any restrictions or conditions. The *ḥadīth* were always used by al-Kūrānī to support his arguments in theology and Sufism, and indeed some topics are discussed primarily through citations from the *ḥadīth*. For example, two of his treatises on vocal *dhikr*, a topic that had been controversial for almost two centuries among the Naqshabandī order,[25] are based on several *ḥadīth*s, that he cites to argue that vocal *dhikr*

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[22] Ibrāhīm Al-Kūrānī, *Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt fī sharḥ ḥadīth inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt,* ed. Aḥmad Rajab Abū Sālim (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2013). See also Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 575. Al-Kūrānī explains the meaning of *niyyah* (intention) from linguistic, juristic, and Sufi perspectives, based on several *ḥadīth*s.

[23] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Tawjīh al-mukhtār fī nafy al-qalb ʿan ḥadīth ikhtiṣām al-jannah wa-l-nār,* ed. al-ʿArabī al-Dāʾiz al-Firyāṭī (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2005).

[24] This *ḥadīth* is mentioned in al-Kūrānī's works, no. 43.

[25] Jürgen Paul, *Doctrine and Organization: The Khwājagān/Naqshbandīya in the First Generation after Bahāʾuddin* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1998), p. 18.

is permissible.[26] In one of his treatises, al-Kūrānī mentions that he received a treatise of a Ḥanafī scholar from Central Asia who says that vocal *dhikr* is forbidden. Al-Kūrānī was aware that practical topics related to public behaviour and addressed to a general audience could be addressed using theological arguments, but still required authoritative references to prophetic *ḥadīths* in order to prove that such *dhikr* is not an innovation (*bidʿah*).

Another work on *ḥadīth* in al-Kūrānī's list of works is *al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī ilā al-Durr al-multaqaṭ li-l-Ṣāghānī*,[27] which discusses the authenticity of *ḥadīth*. This work indicates the advanced level that al-Kūrānī reached in *ḥadīth* studies by revealing that he was asked to evaluate an earlier work that collected fabricated *ḥadīths* (*mawḍūʿāt*) and to give his opinion about the accuracy of classifying them as indeed fabricated. In total, Al-Kūrānī analyzed some 145 *ḥadīths* that al-Ṣāghānī (d. 650/1252) had collected and considered to have been fabricated.[28] Al-Kūrānī also used this opportunity to address theological and Sufi topics, such as those related to the *ḥadīths* suggesting that the first created thing was the intellect (fol. 260a), that whoever knows himself knows his God (fol. 262a), and that God created Adam in his image (fol. 263a). However, he does not engage in theological debates in these texts; rather, he simply refers to the idea and says that he has explained it in *Qaṣd al-sabīl* or other works.

Even though al-Kūrānī became an authority in *ḥadīth*, especially regarding the issue of *ḥadīth* authenticity, his Sufi affiliation dominated his thought. In several places in his

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[26] Al-Kūrānī, *Nashr al-zahr bi-l-jahr bi-l-dhikr* and *Itḥāf al-munīb al-awwāh bi-faḍl al-jahr bi-dhikr Allāh.*

[27] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslāk al-wasaṭ al-dānī ilā al-Durr al-multaqaṭ li-l-Ṣāghānī* (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fols. 255a- 291a.

[28] Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāghānī, *al-Durr al-multaqaṭ fī tabyīn al-ghalaṭ*, ed. Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1985). Al-Ṣāghānī's book mainly traces the work of al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) entitled *Shihāb al-akhbār fī al-ḥikam wa-l-amthāl wa-l-ādāb* and its supplement by al-Aqlishī (d. 550/1155) entitled *al-Nujam min kalām sayyid al-ʿArab wa-l-ʿAjam.*

al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī, he asserts that the authenticity of a certain *ḥadīth* was revealed by *kashf,* "unveiling," even though there are doubts regarding its *isnād.*[29] He also mentions the famous Sufi *ḥadīth* regarding the "hidden treasure" and says that this *ḥadīth* is correct by *kashf* and not by transmission.[30] In general, though, al-Kūrānī depends upon previous scholars in *ḥadīth,* such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Sakhāwī, al-ʿIrāqī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Suyūṭī, and even Ibn Taymiyyah. What I mean is that al-Kūrānī did not independently research the transmitters list in the *isnād* and thereby try to evaluate the transmission by himself on the basis of *ḥadīth* criticism *(jarḥ wa-taʿdīl).* Instead, he used his wide knowledge of early scholarly works to indicate his preferences among them.

The *isnād* was the main interest of al-Kūrānī's works in the study of the *ḥadīth,* and as mentioned above he dedicated a number of treatises specifically to this aspect of *ḥadīth.* His work *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣīḥāḥ* reveals from its title that al-Kūrānī wanted to mention his highest *isnād*s in *ḥadīth.* The high *isnād* is preferred for its spiritual value as it brings the person closer to the Prophet, and because the possibility of error in transmission is reduced. For these reasons, scholars used to seek high *isnād*s and to classify their *isnād*s according to the number of transmitters in the chain. For example, if there are three persons between the scholar and the Prophet, a *ḥadīth* will be called *thulāthī,* "triple"; if there are four persons a *ḥadīth* is *rubāʿī,* "quaternary," etc. When the *ḥadīth*s were beginning to be recorded, the smallest number of transmitters was three, which means that the scholar who undertook the recording actually met one of *tābiʿ al-tābiʿīn,* i.e., those who studied with a member of the generation that studied with one of the Prophet's Companions.

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[29] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī ilā al-Durr al-multaqaṭ li-l-Ṣāghānī,* fol. 261b, 262a.
[30] Ibid., fol. 266a-b.

Because of their high spiritual value, scholars would collect the "triple" (*thulāthiyyāt)* *ḥadīth* and separate them in special treatises such as *thulāthiyyāt al-Bukhārī* by ʿAlī Bayyūmī,[31] *al-Farāʾid al-marwiyyāt fī fawāʾid al-thulāthiyyāt: Sharḥ thulāthiyyāt al-imām al-Bukhārī* by al-Ḥaḍramī,[32] and *Taʿliqāt ʿAlī al-Qārī* (d. 1014/1605) *ʿalā thulāthiyyāt al-Bukhārī.*[33] *Rubāʿiyyāt,* "quaternary" *ḥadīth* also received much attention from scholars, so that one finds *rubāʿiyyāt al-imām al-Bukhārī* in *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣīḥāḥ.* One of the most famous *thulāthiyyat* was al-Ṭabarānī's (d. 360/970), which became the standard of high *isnād* for later scholars. Al-Ṭabarānī, who wrote *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr, al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr* and other works on *ḥadīth,* lived almost one century after al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), yet he has some *isnāds* that are equal in the number of transmitters to those of al-Bukhārī, which made al-Ṭabarānī's *thulāthiyyāt* the model that later generations tried to emulate.

Until 700/1300, scholars of the *ḥadīth* would reach *thumāniyyat* (eightfold). After this date, it is difficult to find less than *tusāʿiyyāt* (ninefold). So, after 700/1300, most of the *isnād*s will contain more than 8 persons. This is why al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) was very glad when he was able to reach *ʿushāriyyāt* (tenfold), which means that between him and the Prophet there were only ten intermediaries. He separated these *ḥadīth*s into a specific treatise entitled *al-Nādiriyyāt min al-ʿushāriyyāt.*[34] Al-Kūrānī asserts that these *ʿushāriyyāt* of al-Suyūṭī are actually based on the *thulāthiyyāt* of al-Ṭabarānī, there being 6 persons between al-Ṭabarānī and al-Suyūṭī. Al-Kūrānī then relates several of his own *isnād*s to

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[31] Ms. Azhariyya 322992. This work was composed in 1199/1784.

[32] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥmmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaḍramī and Muḥmmad Shāyib Sharīf, *al-Farāʾid al-marwiyyāt fī fawāʾid al-thulāthiyyāt: Sharḥ thulāthiyyāt al-imām al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2014).

[33] See ʿAlī Riḍā and Aḥmad al-Bizrah, *al-Thulāthiyyāt: thulāthiyyāt al-aʾimmah: al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Dārimī, Ibn Mājah, ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd al-Kishī, al-Ṭabarānī* (Damascus: Dār al-Māʾmūn, 1986).

[34] This work by al-Suyūṭī is listed entirely in al-ʿAyyāshī's *thabat* entitle *Iqtifāʾ al-athar baʿda dhahāb ahl al-athar,* p. 214.

these *thulāthiyyāt* of al-Ṭabarānī and, since the *isnād* between al-Suyūṭī and al-Ṭabarānī is the shortest, al-Kūrānī's highest *isnād* is through whichever chain has the fewest scholars between him and al-Suyūṭī.

He mentions that he has three different *isnād*s in these *ḥadīth*s: one is through 15 transmitters, another is through 14, and the last one is through 13. The shortest *isnād* through 13 transmitters is by a general *ijāzah* (*ijāzah ʿammah*)[35] of Ibn Muṭayr, who also had a general *ijāzah* from Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī, by another general *ijāzah* from al-Suyūṭī.[36] These three different *isnād*s are the following:

1- Al-Kūrānī ⟵ al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Fahd al-Makkī ⟵ (his uncle) Jārullāh b. Fahd ⟵ al-Suyūṭī.[37]

Through this *isnād* there are 15 transmitters between al-Kūrānī and the Prophet.

2- Al-Kūrānī ⟵ al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ Ḥasan al-Danjīhī ⟵ al-Suyūṭī.[38]

Through this *isnād* there are 14 transmitters between al-Kūrānī and the Prophet. Here is al-Kūrānī's highest *isnād* through general *ijāzah*:

3- Al-Kūrānī ⟵ (general *ijāzah*) Muḥammad b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī ⟵ (general *ijāzah*) Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytanī ⟵ (general *ijāzah*) al-Suyūṭī.[39]

Al-Kūrānī has several other *isnād*s for these *thulāthiyyāt*, which he mentions in *Janāḥ al-najāḥ*. For example, al-Qushāshī had an *ijāzah* from Ibn Muṭayir, but this *isnād*, which al-

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[35] The general *ijāzah* (*ijāzah ʿāmmah*) usually includes anyone alive who wants to transmit certain *ḥadīth*, and some scholars - although only children at the time - were considered as part of the *ijāzah*, so it is normal to find 70 or 80 years between scholars on some chains in order to make the *isnād* higher.

[36] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ* (MS: Istanbul: Koprulu, 279), fol. 6a.

[37] Ibid., fol. 6a.

[38] Ibid., fol. 6a. Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 18.

[39] Al-Kūrānī, *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ*, fol. 6a.

Kūrānī mentions, would raise the number of links, while al-Kūrānī is connected directly with Ibn Muṭayr by *ijāzah ʿāmmah*.[40] Al-Kūrānī also received these *thulāthiyyāt* from ʿAbd Allāh al-Lāhūrī, who had an *ijāzah ʿammāh* from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, and that *isnād* extends to reach al-Ṭabarānī.[41]

After first explaining the importance of the high *isnād,* and how scholars should strive for it as soon as they begin to record and collect the *ḥadīth*, and then listing his *isnād*s in the *thulāthiyyāt* of al-Ṭabarānī, al-Kūrānī goes on to list 40 *ḥadīth*s with their *isnād*s, probably the highest *isnād*s he obtained. He admits that his *isnād*s mostly contain 15 transmitters, but sometimes he has 14 or 13, if he counts the general *ijāzah*s.

In *Masālik al-Abrār*, al-Kūrānī lists 101 *ḥadīth*s with their *isnād*s and classifies them according to different categories, which is not new in *isnād* literature. One of his categories is the *isnād*s of only Shāfiʿī scholars. Other examples include *ḥadīth*s that are transmitted only by Damascene scholars or only by Sufis, and chains that contain only transmitters with the name Muḥammad, Aḥmad, or scholars whose names start with a specific letter.[42] These *ḥadīth*s usually have different *isnād*s through different scholars, and can thus be classified in a specific way following the *isnād*s through scholars who fit the criterion of the category. This classification system is of course artificial, and scholars' attempts to find specific *isnād*s that contain certain characters will make the *isnād* longer than direct chains that passed through a diverse group of scholars. These long chains are the reason that al-Kūrānī, after almost every *isnād,* says that he has a higher *isnād* for this *ḥadīth* and mentions this higher *isnād.*

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[40] Ibid., fol. 6b.

[41] Ibid., fol. 7a.

[42] Al-Kūrānī has a specific treatise, mentioned earlier, entitled *Niẓām al-zabarjad fī al-arbaʿīn al-musalsalah bi-Aḥmad.*

Al-Kūrānī's high *isnād*s are mentioned above, but we can add the following chains:

1. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ al-Ramlī (general *ijāzah*) ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī ⟵ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī.[43]

2. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ al-Qushāshī ⟵ (general *ijāzah*) al-Ramlī ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.[44]

Numerous of al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s pass through famous Sufis, including al-Shaʿrānī, al-Jīlānī, ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, and Ibn ʿArabī. Ibn ʿArabī's name frequently appears in these *isnād*s.[45] Even though he is not famous as a scholar of *ḥadīth*, it was one of his interests. In *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn Arabi*, Osman Yahya mentions 17 works of *ḥadīth* by Ibn ʿArabī including *al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-jamʿ bayn al-ṣiḥāḥ* (no. 478), *Ikhtiṣār al-Bukhārī* (no. 274), *Ikhtiṣār Muslim* (no. 278), *Ikhtiṣār al-Tirmidhī* (no. 277), *al-Arbaʿūn al-mutaqābilah fī al-ḥadīth* (n. 37), and *al-ʿAwālī fī asānīd al-ḥadīth* (no. 60).[46]

One example of *ḥadīth*s that are mentioned by al-Kūrānī with their full *isnād* also shows his interest in the discipline and his search for high *isnād*. This famous *ḥadīth* is known as *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-awwaliyyah* because it was normally the first *ḥadīth* that the student recieved from the teacher. This *ḥadīth* is also known as *ḥadīth al-raḥmah*, "the *ḥadīth* of mercy," because it states that: "The Compassionate One has mercy on those who are merciful."

Al-Kūrānī received *ḥadīth al-raḥmah* from the following scholars:

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[43] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fols. 43a-44a.

[44] Al-Kūrānī, *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ*, fol. 6b.

[45] For example, in chains mentioned in *Masālik al-abrār* in fols. 44b, 66a, 69b, 75b.

[46] Osman Yahya, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī; étude critique* (Damas: Institut français de Damas, 1964), vol. 1, p. 109. See also: Denis Gril, "Hadith in the works of Ibn ʿArabī: The uninterrupted chain of prophecy," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*, 50, 2011, pp. 45-76.

1. From Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAfīf al-Anṣārī, al-Yamanī al-Taʿzī al-ʿUqaybī, in his own house in Medina in 1072, after Nūr al-Dīn's performance of the *ḥajj*.[47] Al-Kūrānī extended the *isnād* through al-Sakhāwī.

2. Al-Kūrānī mentioned that he had another *isnād* that is higher than that of his teacher mentioned above, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī, by one person, through the Moroccan scholar Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Mirghatī al-Sūsī al-Marākishī al-Mālikī. Al-Kūrānī recieved this *ḥadīth* through correspondence in 1074,[48] and its chain extends through Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.

3. Another *isnād* is through Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Maghribī al-Dallāʾī al-Mālikī, again received in his own house in Medina on the 5th of Muḥarram, 1080, when al-Dallāʾī visited him after the season of *ḥajj*.[49] The *isnād* extends through al-Suyūṭī and is detailed below because it contains two female scholars:

    Al-Kūrānī◄——Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ al-Maghribī al-Dallāʾī ◄——(1) Mubārakah, and (2) Zayn al-Sharaf, daughters of Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭabarī al-Ḥusaynī al-Makkī (al-Kūrānī recieved this *ḥadīth* in Mecca in the end of the year 1079/1669)◄—— both from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ibrāḥīm al-Ḥaṣārī al-Miṣrī, by a general *ijāzah* in 1011/1602-3 ◄—— Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUmarī ◄—— al-Suyūṭī.

4. Al-Kūrānī studied directly with these two female scholars and their brother Zayn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, so he has other *isnād*s higher than the one mentioned above. The first *isnād* was obtained in 1073/1662-3:

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[47] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 36b.
[48] Ibid., fol. 37a.
[49] Ibid., fol. 37a.

Al-Kūrānī ←——— Zayn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī ←——— ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣārī al-Miṣrī. The second *isnād* was obtained in 1080/1669-70:

Al-Kūrānī ←——— (1) Mubārakah and (2) Zayn al-Sharaf ←——— ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣārī al-Miṣrī.[50]

5. Another *isnād* is through Ḥanbalī scholars:

Al-Kūrānī ←——— ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī (in a letter sent from Damascus in 1064/1753-4) ←——— ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Buhūtī al-Ḥanbalī ←——— Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.[51]

6. Yet another *isnād* is through the Moroccan scholar al-ʿAyyāshī, on Friday afternoon, 19 Ṣafar, 1073; this *isnād* is mainly through the al-Ṭabarī family in Mecca.

Al-Kūrānī ←——— al-ʿAyyāshī ←——— Zayn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī ←——— ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī ←——— Yaḥyā b. Mukarram al-Ṭabarī ←——— Muḥammad al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī [...] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ←——— the Prophet Muḥammad.[52]

These are some *isnād*s for a single *ḥadīth.* Al-Kūrānī mentions that he has only listed his high *isnād*s, stating that al-ʿAyyāshī received this *ḥadīth* from several scholars. Al-Kūrānī means that he can list more *isnād*s through al-ʿAyyāshī, but that he was interested only in the highest *isnād*, the one mentioned above.[53]

We can also notice the diversity and the interconnectedness of scholars from different parts of the Islamic world through the *isnād*s of this single *ḥadīth.* Al-Kūrānī received it from a Yemeni scholar, several Maghribī scholars, a Ḥanbalī scholar from Syria, and

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[50] Ibid., fol. 37b.

[51] Ibid., fol. 37b.

[52] Ibid., fol. 38b.

[53] Ibid., fol. 38a.

women scholars from the Ḥijāz. The interest in *ḥadīth* seems to be general in the Islamic world, but there is no doubt that the *ḥajj* season played an essential role in making the Ḥijāz the point of connection for all these scholarly traditions, and motivated scholars who came to perform the *ḥajj* to spread the *isnād*s they had received there from scholars coming from other parts of Islamic world.

The centrality of the Ḥijāz in the exchange of *isnād*s may support Shāh Walī Allāh's claim that the revival of *ḥadīth* studies in the 11th/17th century was begun in the Ḥijāz. While most other scholars met and exchanged *ijāzah*s only over the course of one *ḥajj* season, the scholars based in the Ḥijāz had the advantage of meeting new scholars every year, which allowed them to obtain a broad variety of the highest *isnād*s. However, tracing *isnād*s that emerged after the 11th/17th century or outside of the Ḥijāz is not part of this study. Instead, I shall return to two centuries earlier, to those scholars to whom, according to Shāh Walī Allāh, most of the *isnād*s of the scholars of *ḥadīth* in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century return, in order to compare this record with the revival that is ascribed to *ḥadīth* studies in the 17th-century Ḥijāz.

[5.1.1] Some Aspects of 9th/15th Century *Ḥadīth* Studies

The two main scholars to whom most of the *isnād*s of the 11th/17th century Ḥijāzī scholars return, according to Shāh Walī Allāh, are Shaykh al-Islām Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).[54] These two scholars were of course not the only *ḥadīth* commentators in the 9th/15th century. Many other scholars produced multi-volume works of *ḥadīth* commentaries during that period. In fact, the 15th century was a time that witnessed the composition of some of the most influential *ḥadīth* commentaries in Islamic history. Among those who wrote *ḥadīth* commentaries in that

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[54] Al-Dihlawī, *al-Irshād ilā muhimmāt al-isnād*, p. 29.

century were Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923/1517), who wrote *Irshād al-sārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, and Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451), who composed *ʿUmdat al-qārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in Cairo.

The Egyptian scholar Zakariyā al-Anṣārī was born around the year 1423 in a town close to Cairo and studied in al-Azhar with several celebrated scholars, such as the famous *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī.[55] Al-Anṣārī was a Sufi with deep interests in *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and *ḥadīth*. His works amount to around 74, including a commentary on al-Abharī's *Īsāghūjī*, a commentary on al-Kātibī's *al-Shamsiyyah*, a commentary on al-Bayḍāwī *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* (entitled *Lawāmiʿ al-afkār*), a commentary on Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's *ʿAqāʾid*, a commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*, and a commentary on al-Samarqandī's *Ādāb al-baḥth* entitled *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb bi-sharḥ al-Ādāb*. His works on *ḥadīth* include *Tuḥfat al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn al-Nawawiyyah*, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *al-Iʿlām bi-aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, and a commentary on one of his own books, entitled *Fatḥ al-ʿAllām bi-Sharḥ aḥādīth al-aḥkām*.[56]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) was an Egyptian scholar and one of the most productive authors of the pre-modern Islamic world.[57] He is well known as a jurist of the Shāfiʿī school, but he was also a scholar of *ḥadīth* and was described as "a master of prophetic narrations (*ḥadīth*) who claimed to have memorized all *ḥadīth*s in existence."[58]

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[55] For a sketch of Zakariyā al-Anṣārī's life and works see Matthew B. Ingalls, "Zakariyā al-Anṣārī and the study of Muslim commentaries from the later Islamic middle period," *Religion Compass* 10 (5): 2016, pp. 118-130.

[56] A list of his works with short descriptions is provided by Māzin al-Mubārak in the introduction to his edition of al-Anṣārī's work *al-Ḥudūd al-anīqah wa-l-taʿrīfāt al-daqīqah*, ed. Mazīn al-Mubārak (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir, 1991), pp. 19-46.

[57] E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and background* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Oriental Publications 23, 1975).

[58] Aaron Spevack, "Al-Suyūṭī, the intolerant ecumenist: Law and theology in *Taʾyīd al-ḥaqīqa al-ʿaliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya*," in *Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period Proceedings of the themed day of*

Al-Suyūṭī describes the discipline of ḥadīth as "the noblest of sciences" because it is related to the prophetic model.[59] He commented on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, alongside a commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī called al-Tawshīḥ, and commentaries on the collections of Ibn Mājah and al-Nasāʾī.[60] Together with his interest in the ḥadīth, al-Suyuṭī was also famous as a Sufi and was described as "the most prominent scholar involved in taṣawwuf of the Mamlūk era, and he acted as a pioneer in this field."[61] Some of al-Kūrānī's isnāds to al-Suyūṭī have already been mentioned above, and others through the Ḥijāzī scholar Jārullāh b. Fahd will be mentioned below.

In addition to al-Anṣārī and al-Suyūṭī, and the other scholars mentioned above, there is the most important ḥadīth scholar of all, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), the teacher of al-Anṣārī, al-Suyūṭī (through general ijāzah), and other scholars, and the author of the most widespread and famous ḥadīth commentary in all Islamic history, Fatḥ al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.[62] Fatḥ al-Bārī has been described as "the crown both of its genre and of the Imam's academic career."[63]

This flourishing of ḥadīth studies in the 15th century was a result of long efforts by the Ayyubids and Mamluks to support ḥadīth studies. The Ayyubids were very interested in

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the First Conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014), ed. Antonella Ghersetti (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), p. 15-16.

[59] Eric Geoffroy, "Al-Suyūṭī as a Sufi," in Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period, p. 8.

[60] Joel Blecher, "Usefulness without toil: Al-Suyūṭī and the art of concise ḥadīth commentary," in Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period, p. 182-3.

[61] Geoffroy, "Al-Suyūṭī as a Sufi," p. 8.

[62] For information about Ibn Ḥajar and his book see Joel Blecher, Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary across a Millennium (California: University of California Press, 2018); Blecher, "Ḥadīth commentary in the presence of students, patrons, and rivals: Ibn Ḥajar and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī in Mamluk Cairo," Oriens 41 (2013) 261–287; Sabri Kawash, Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī: A study of the background, education, and carrer of a ʿālim in Egypt (Princeton: Princeton University, PhD diss., 1968).

[63] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Selections from the Fatḥ al-Bārī by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, tr. Abdal-Hakim Murad (UK: Muslim Academic Trust, 2000), p. 1.

such studies, focusing on Sunni traditions as a way to counter any lingering Shīʿī influence after Fatimid rule in Egypt. The first school of ḥadīth was established by Nūr al-Dīn Zinkī (d. 569/1173-4) and it was named, after him, al-Madrasah al-Nūriyyah. The Ayyubid king al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 622/1225) established Dār al-Ḥadīth in Cairo and then al-Madrasah al-Ashrafiyyah in Damascus.[64] In the 7th/13th century, Egypt and Syria became the centers of ḥadīth studies with the spread of schools and the patronage of the Sultans "where the genre of hadith commentary came of age under the patronage of the Mamluk sultanate."[65] The recitation of books of ḥadīth, mainly Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, and the annual appearance of new commentaries on these books, often with students' marginal notes, added new layers of glosses alongside systematic commentaries such as those mentioned above. The interest in that period was not only in explaining the meaning of the ḥadīth themselves, but also the systematic analysis of each hadīth's chain of transmission.[66]

The Mamluk period in Egypt has been described as a golden age of Arabic encyclopaedic literature. Some scholars have attempted to explain the rise of encyclopaedism in the Mamluk Empire by focusing on social and political factors. Other scholars argue that after the fall of Baghdad in the year 1258, Cairo inherited its mantle as the political and cultural epicentre of the Muslim world. Scholars and poets fled from Iraq, finding a welcome home in the colleges of the Mamluk realms in Egypt and Syria.[67] Elias Muhanna in "Why was the fourteenth century a century of Arabic

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[64] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Ijāzāt al-samāʿ fī al-makhṭūṭāt al-qadīmah," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt*, 1955, n. 1, vol. 2, p. 233.

[65] Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God*, p. 7.

[66] Ibid., p. 9-10.

[67] Elias Muhanna, "Why was the fourteenth century a century of Arabic encyclopaedism?" in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Jason König and Greg Woolf (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 347.

encyclopaedism?" focuses on social and political factors, and the increasing build up of institutionalised scholarly systems.[68] The result was a boom of encyclopedic and compilatory literature during the 14th century, especially as, to quote Muhanna, "the stability and security provided by a rapidly consolidating imperial state represented a fundamental break with several centuries of fractiousness and political turmoil in the central Islamic lands."[69]

In one sense, therefore, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Anṣārī, al-Suyūṭī, and other scholars in the 15th century built on the efforts of early generations of ḥadīth scholars. Their new works became the main reference works for subsequent generations, and as a result of their efforts, the 15th century represents the climax of ḥadīth studies in the Islamic world as far as the large numbers of ḥadīth commentaries being produced by different scholars is concerned. What happened in the immediate aftermath of this period is thus essential to evaluating the efforts of the scholars of the Ḥijāz in the 17th century. For the Ḥijāz, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567) played a pivotal role, since he belonged to the great tradition of ḥadīth commentary of 15th-century Cairo, yet went on to settle in Mecca.

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī moved in 940/1533-4 from Cairo to Mecca, where he lived until his death. Al-Haytamī says that after moving to Mecca, he focused mainly on the sciences of the Sunnah teaching to the residents of the city and to its visitors.[70] He mentions that scholars of the Sunnah as well as Sufis would travel to seek this knowledge, but that in his time people's enthusiasm (himmah) was at a low ebb, to the extent that this science, i.e. the science of ḥadīth, almost disappeared.[71] Al-Haytamī continues by saying that after

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[68] Ibid., p. 349.

[69] Ibid., p. 348.

[70] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar, *Thabat al-Imām Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī (909-974) min taṣnīfihi*, ed. Amjad Rashīd (Jourdan: Dār al-Fatḥ, 2014), p. 88.

[71] Ibid., p. 89.

stopping their travels to seek the Sunnah, people would ask for *isnād*s by corresponding with scholars from different parts of the Islamic world; but even seeking *isnād*s by correspondence had fallen into disuse, and the great *musnid*s (the scholars with numerous *isnād*s) had disappeared.[72] Al-Haytamī then mentions the main scholars in *ḥadīth* with whom he connects the *isnād*, namely Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī, and then al-Suyūṭī through an *ijāzah ʿāmmah*.[73] Al-Haytamī is perhaps the scholar who motivated a resurgence in *ḥadīth* studies, this time not in Cairo, where most *ḥadīth* scholars of the 15th century were concentrated, but in the Ḥijāz.

In light of our general overview of *ḥadīth* studies in the 15th century and al-Haytamī's description of the decline of interest in *ḥadīth* studies, we might wonder if students in the 16th century felt intimidated by the prospect of competing with the efforts of their great predecessors during the flourishing of *ḥadīth* studies in the 15th century, thinking perhaps that they could not add anything to the efforts of their immediate predecessors. An anecdote in al-Kittānī's *Fahras al-fahāris* reflects the attitude of the later generation toward the efforts of *ḥadīth* scholars in the 15th century. Al-Kittānī reports that when al-Shawkānī was asked by his students to write a commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, he responded, "'there is no migration after *al-Fatḥ*,'" referring to *Fatḥ al-Bārī*."[74] Thus overcome by the sense that nothing could be done after these great commentaries, students became less actively involved in *ḥadīth* studies in the 16th century.

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[72] Ibid., p. 90.

[73] Ibid., p. 91. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī was not yet three years old when al-Suyūṭī died, but al-Suyūṭī gave an *ijāzah* for all the people who were alive during his life, and al-Haytamī considered himself included in this *ijāzah*.

[74] Al-Kittānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 323. "there is no migration after *al-Fatḥ*" is reference to a prophetic *ḥadīth* that refers to the conquest (*fatḥ*) of Makkah.

However, the efforts of the scholars of the Ḥijāz in the 17ᵗʰ century, as exemplified by al-Kūrānī and his compilation of *isnād*s, suggests that after a period that culminated in the production of multi-volume commentaries in the 15ᵗʰ century, scholars and students became convinced that these commentaries were sufficient, and that they only needed to connect themselves via *isnād* to them. We can thus say that *isnād* literature flourished in the 17ᵗʰ-century Ḥijāz, but not the commentaries on the *ḥadīth*s themselves.

Accounts from scholars from the Indian Subcontinent in the Ḥijāz during the 17ᵗʰ century confirm that the topic of interest in the Ḥijāz at that time was mainly *isnād*. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions that *ḥadīth* scholars in India were interested in *dirāyah*, which means investigation and contemplation, more than *riwāyah,* meaning chains of transmission.[75] Scholars from the Indian Subcontinent regarded working on chains of transmission as insufficient (*quṣūr*). Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī said to al-ʿAyyāshī, "if Indian students attend your lessons in *ḥadīth,* they will be surprised and will make fun of you. What is the benefit of reading a *ḥadīth* without investigating its meaning and discussing its details in order to obtain its benefits?"[76] Al-Ḥamawī says that Badr al-Dīn al-Hindī did not find value in reading *ḥadīth* based on *isnād* alone (*lā yastaḥsin qirāʾat al-ḥadīth riwāyatan*). Al-Hindī also used to ask what the point is of listening to a *ḥadīth* without investigating its meaning and its concepts, and without discussing what is general and what particular in this *ḥadīth* and what judgments we can infer from it.[77] This remark from a scholar from the Indian subcontinent supports the general view that al-Kūrānī was more interested in *isnād* than in the text of the *ḥadīth* (*matn).*

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[75] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 630.
[76] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 633.
[77] Al-Ḥamawī, *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl*, vol. 3, p. 233.

Since the main interest of the scholars in the 17th century was the *isnād*, their focus was on attempting to extend their *isnād*s to the main scholars of *ḥadīth* in the 15th century. Below are al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s to al-Anṣārī, al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī.

Al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s to al-Anṣārī:

1- Al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shams al-Ramlī ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.

2- Al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ Aḥmad b. Ḥajr al-Haytamī al-Makkī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī ⟵ (both from) Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.

3- Al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shams al-Ramlī ⟵ al-Ramlī's father ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.

4- Al-Qushāsh ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī ⟵ his father ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.

5- Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī ⟵ Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Subkī ⟵ al-Najm al-Ghayṭī ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.[78]

6- Al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ al-Ramlī ⟵ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.[79]

We can note that the first *isnād* is the highest, since there are only two persons between al-Kūrānī and al-Anṣārī, while chain number four is the lowest *isnād* because it contains 4 persons. Al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s to al-Anṣārī are through Egyptian scholars, as al-Qushāshī connects him with al-Shinnāwī and al-Ramlī, and he studied directly with al-Mazzāḥī.

Some of al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s to al-Suyūṭī are mentioned above in his highest *isnād*s, and others through the Ḥijāzī scholar Jārullāh b. Fahd will be mentioned below. There is no need to repeat al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, since all the *isnād*s to al-Ansārī

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[78] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, p. 3-4.

[79] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fols. 35a-b.

and al-Suyūṭī are connected to al-ʿAsqalānī. Moreover, al-Kūrānī has other *isnād*s that connect him with al-ʿAsqalānī through Ḥijāzī scholars. The closest student to al-ʿAsqalānī, and the person who wrote his biography, is the famous historian Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497).[80] Among the closest students to al-Sakhāwī is the Ḥijāzī historian Jārullāh Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Makkī, who is connected to al-Kūrānī in two ways:

1. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ al-Qushāshī ⟵ al-Shinnāwī ⟵ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fahd al-Makkī ⟵ (his uncle) Jārullāh Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Makkī ⟵ al-Sakhāwī ⟵ al-ʿAsqalānī.

2. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ Mullā Sharīf al-Kūrānī ⟵ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī ⟵ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fahd ⟵ (his uncle) Jārullāh Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Makkī ⟵ al-Sakhāwī ⟵ al-ʿAsqalānī.

Al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s to Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī are through Ḥijāzī and Yemeni scholars:[81]

1. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAfīf al-Anṣārī al-Yamanī ⟵ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī ⟵ Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī.

2. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ (general *ijāzah*) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī[82] ⟵ Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī.

3. Al-Kūrānī ⟵ Muḥamad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bābilī ⟵ Abū Bakr al-Shinwānī ⟵ Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī.

I conclude this section about al-Kūrānī's efforts in *ḥadīth* with an attempt to examine the claim of some scholars that the Ḥijāz was a center of a revival movement in *ḥadīth*

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[80] Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar fī tarjamat Shayk al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Majīd (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999).

[81] Al-Kūrānī, *Al-Amam*, p. 80.

[82] Al-Kūrānī did not meet Ibn Muṭayr, but the latter gave a general *ijāzah* to all those who wanted to transmit from him, and as al-Kūrānī was alive at the time, he considered himself included in this *ijāzah*.

studies in the 17ᵗʰ century. For this purpose, it is important to emphasize that while the *isnād* is indeed an essential part of *ḥadīth* studies, without efforts to produce new *ḥadīth* commentaries, or without contributions in other aspects of *ḥadīth* studies, such as new criteria for *ḥadīth* criticism, it is not obvious that we can use the term "revival" in relation to *ḥadīth* studies in this period. I shall leave this question to scholars of *ḥadīth* studies, fully acknowledging that my research is limited only to one scholar, al-Kūrānī, who was just one among many scholars of *ḥadīth* in the Ḥijāz that should be studied before developing a clear, definitive thesis about *ḥadīth* studies in the Ḥijāz during the 17ᵗʰ century.

Al-Kūrānī's almost exclusive focus on *isnād* does not undermine his efforts in this field. His most important contribution was that, as a result of his interest in *isnād*, the intellectual texts that are traced to al-Kūrānī reached the peak of precision in listing the chains of transmissions of all the works that he studied. I assume that al-Kūrānī's later interest in *ḥadīth* and Sufism, the two disciplines in which *isnād* plays an essential role, motivated him to create the *isnād*s of almost all works dealing with rational sciences that he studied. Al-Kūrānī's work *al-Amam* and other treatises that contain his *isnād* in works of rational sciences are, to my knowledge, the first attempt to establish the *isnād* of all works of rational sciences that any given scholar might mention. Al-Kūrānī's example in *al-Amām* motivated other scholars to follow him in mentioning the *isnād*s of their intellectual education. This contribution, which still requires further study, can help trace the circulation of the works of rational sciences and lead to the construction of a more complete picture of the transmission of knowledge between different parts of the Islamic world.

[5.2] Al-Kūrānī's Efforts in *Fiqh*

Al-Kūrānī was a Shāfiʿī scholar, but his education included traning in all four schools of *fiqh.* Even though his main interests were theology and Sufism, he would still receive inquiries related to *fiqh* given his scholarly eminence. Most of these questions were related to different types of public behavior that some scholars considered to be innovations (*bidʿah*), such as celebrating the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid*), vocal *dhikr,* using musical instruments, and shaking hands after prayer. Al-Kūrānī's opinions on these topics will be discussed after first establishing his *isnād*s in the four *fiqh* schools, which he mentions in his work *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār.*

In the case of Shāfiʿī *fiqh,* al-Kūrānī studied with:

1. Sulṭān al-Mazzāḥī in al-Azhar in Cairo in the year 1061/1651.[83]

2. Nūr al-Dīn al-Shabramallisī, also in Cairo in 1061/1651.[84]

From both of these scholars al-Kūrānī received an *ijāzah* to give *fatwā*s and to teach.[85]

3. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿmān al-Zabīdī. Al-Kūrānī received an *ijāzah* from him in Shāfiʿī *fiqh* in Medina in 1067/1657.[86]

4. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAfīf b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Taʿzī al-Anṣārī al-ʿUqaybī.[87]

Al-Kūrānī traces the *isnād*s of each of these scholar to al-Shāfiʿī through numerous other famous Shāfiʿī scholars, such as al-Balqīnī, al-Fayrūzābādī, al-Ghazālī, al-Juwaynī,[88] and even Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī.[89]

As for Ḥanafī *fiqh,* al-Kūrānī studied with:

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[83] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 87a.

[84] Ibid., fol. 87a.

[85] Ibid., fol. 87a.

[86] Ibid., fol. 87b.

[87] Ibid., fol. 87b.

[88] Ibid., fol. 87b-91b.

[89] Ibid., fol. 88b.

1. Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī al-Makkī, who was his student in other fields, but had better *ijāzah*s in Ḥanafī *fiqh*.[90]

2. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī al-Azharī al-Shāfiʿī, who had an *ijāzah* from Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār al-Shanbalānī al-Ḥanafī, the author of *Ḥāshiyat al-Durar wa-l-ghurar*.[91] It is worth noting that al-Kūrānī received this *ijāzah* in Ḥanafī *fiqh* from a Shāfiʿī scholar who had studied with a Ḥanafī.

3. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī. This *isnād* is one of the oddest of his *isnād*s, where a Shāfiʿī scholar, i.e., al-Kūrānī, received *ijāzah* in Ḥanafī *fiqh* from a Ḥanbalī. ʿAbd al-Bāqī attended the lessons of al-shaykh al-Muḥibbī, the head of the Ḥanafī School in Egypt, and received an *ijāzah* from him in Ḥanafī *fiqh*. He was thus qualified to teach and transmit Ḥanafī *fiqh*, and in al-Kūrānī's case, al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī transmitted the Ḥanafī *fiqh* to a Shāfiʿī scholar.[92]

In the case of Mālikī *fiqh*, al-Kūrānī received his *ijāzah*s from:

1. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfarī al-Thaʿālibī al-Maghribī.[93]

2. His main teacher, al-Qushāshī, who also used to give *fatwā*s in line with the Mālikī and Shāfiʿī *madhhab*s.

Finally, in the case of Ḥanbalī *fiqh*, al-Kūrānī studied with his teacher in Damascus, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī.[94]

Al-Kūrānī's education in the four schools of *fiqh* reveals the close connections between these schools in 17th century, not only in the Ḥijāz but, it seems, in different parts of

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[90] Ibid., fol. 92a.

[91] Ibid., fol. 93b. *Ḥāshiyat al-Durar wa-l-ghurar* is a gloss on *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām* by Muḥammad b. Faramūz b. ʿAlī, known as Mullā Khusrū (d. 885/1480). The book and the gloss are published alongside *Ḥāshiyat Ibn ʿĀbidīn* (Karachi: Mīr Muḥammad Kutub-khānih, 1308/[1890]).

[92] Al-Kūrānī, *Masālik al-abrār*, fol. 92a.

[93] Ibid., fol. 94a.

[94] Ibid., fol. 95b.

Islamic world, since al-Kūrānī's teachers were from Syria, Egypt, Yemen, and North Africa. Relations between the different schools of law were not always positive, but the conflicts were mostly motivated by scholastic doctrinal disputes rather than political competition.[95] Al-Kūrānī, the Ashʿarī, Shāfiʿī, Sufi adherent of Ibn ʿArabī's school, was a student of a Ḥanbalī scholar, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī, and their relationship was sufficiently strong that ʿAbd al-Bāqī's son, Abū al-Mawāhib al-Baʿlī, later studied with al-Kūrānī. The relations between Ḥanbalīs and Sufis were also mostly positive. As mentioned above, Abū al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī listed his *isnād*s for Ibn ʿArabī's works in his *thabat*.[96] I also mentioned the correspondence between al-Kūrānī and al-Baʿlī concerning the topic of God's attributes, mainly God's speech, in al-Kūrānī's attempt to reconcile the two doctrines.

In response to a question related to shaking hands after prayers and saying "*taqabbal Allāh*," "may God accept your prayer,"[97] al-Kūrānī starts his answer by citing a prophetic *ḥadīth* that states: "If anyone introduces in our matter something which does not belong to it, [that] will be rejected." Al-Kūrānī then mentions al-Shāfiʿī's opinion that "introduces" refers to the development of something opposed to the Quran, the Sunnah, and scholarly consensus, or what he labels a "bad" innovation. If it does not contradict

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[95] For example: "During the course of the notorious inquisition (*miḥna*), inaugurated by the Caliph al-Maʾmūn in 833 to force persons of rank to make public profession of the doctrine of the createdness of the Quran as expounded by the Muʿtazilite school of theology, the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* al-Layth, who himself espoused the Muʿtazilite creed, refused to allow Maliki and Shafiʿī scholars to hold audience in the mosque. Some years later, after the end of the inquisition, the Mālikī *qāḍī* al-Ḥārith retaliated by expelling the Ḥanafī teachers from the mosque, and is also said to have rejected in his court the evidence of witnesses who were known to have Ḥanafī affiliations." Noel J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (NY: Routledge, 2017 [Originally published in 1964 by Edinburgh University Press]), p. 88.

[96] ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī was the foster father of the famous Sufi ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī.

[97] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Jawāb Suʾālāt ʿan qawl "taqabbal Allāh" wa-l-muṣāfaḥah baʿd al-ṣalāwāt* (MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, raqm musalsal 28), 7 folios.

any of these sources, then for him it is a "good" innovation. Al-Kūrānī cites Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī's opinion that good innovations are recommended (*mandūb*), stating that a distinction should therefore be made between good innovations and bad ones.[98] Al-Kūrānī then divides the question into two parts, explaining first that saying *"taqabbal Allāh"* is a prayer, which is a recommended act, and that shaking hands is a greeting, which is also recommended. After that, he cites several *ḥadīth*s and stories from the Prophet's companions to support his view.

One of the features of al-Kūrānī's method of dealing with *fiqh* questions is that he begins his responses by discussing the meaning of Sunnah and *bidʿah*. Another feature is that he divides the topic at hand into its basic elements, similar to what he did in response to the issue above. In another treatise related to a person who takes a vow (*nadhr*) to celebrate the *mawlid*, which includes the question of whether it is necessary to prepare food for invited guests and if it is lawful for poems to be recited with a musical melody and tambour (*duff*),[99] he again begins his answer by clarifying the meaning of Sunnah and *bidʿah*. Al-Kūrānī then says that inviting guests to gather to read the Quran, to recall stories of the Prophet, and to eat is lawful and does not contradict any principle of Islam, even though it did not occur in the first generations after the Prophet. The Quran says: "In God's grace and mercy let them rejoice," (Q 10:58), and the Prophet is among God's graces in which we should rejoice.

Al-Kūrānī also mentions some *ḥadīth*s about the virtues of gatherings to read the Quran and remember God, such as: "any group of people that assemble in one of the Houses of God to recite the Book of God, learning and teaching it, tranquility will descend

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[98] Ibid., fol. 2a.

[99] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-qarīb fī ajwibat al-Khaṭīb* (MS: Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722), fol. 56a.

upon them, mercy will engulf them, angels will surround them and God will make mention of them to those [the angels] in His proximity." He continues to mention other *ḥadīth*s that encourage people to feed others, including "feed the people, spread the [greeting of] *Salām*." Concerning the food offered to the people during the *mawlid*, al-Kūrānī says that offering food for guests during a *mawlid* ceremony is a customary habit. For example, if people of a certain town understand from an invitation to a *mawlid* ceremony that there will be food, then there should be.[100] Playing drums is also allowed, and it is even a Sunnah at weddings. In al-Tirmidhī's collection of *ḥadīth,* a slave girl (*jāriyah*) says to the Prophet that she took an oath that if God returned the Prophet safely, she would beat the tambour and sing before him. The Prophet says to her: "if you have taken an oath, then beat it." Al-Kūrānī says that scholars say it is lawful to beat drums to show the happiness of the coming of a scholar or a Sultan. Beating drums, if it is done with a good intention, is thus lawful and encouraged (*mandūb*).[101] Beating drums and reciting poems with a musical melody occurred when the Prophet arrived at Medina, and the Prophet did not object; therefore, the practice is lawful as long as it is with a good intention.[102]

Another example of al-Kūrānī's arguments is his response to a question that he received about hitting drums in the vanguard of the army or in front of the *ḥajj* caravan.[103] He says that there is only one type of drum that is forbidden (*muḥarram*); he calls it *al-kawbah* and described it as wide on two sides and narrow in the middle. Other

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[100] Ibid., fol. 57b.

[101] Ibid., fol. 58a-b.

[102] Ibid., fol. 59a, 60b.

[103] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Ḥusn al-awbah fī ḥukm ḍarb al-nawbah* (MS: KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, no. 5345, fols. 16-17).

kinds are allowed in war, in weddings, and with the caravans of pilgrimage.[104] However, the permissibility of using drums depends on the intention. If the intention is for entertainment and amusement, then it will be forbidden; but if it is to terrify the enemy or awaken the pilgrims and indicate the times to move or to rest, then it will be lawful.[105] In his reply, al-Kūrānī relies on a Shāfiʿī book entitled *al-ʿAzīz sharḥ al-Wajīz* by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī (d. 623/1226).[106]

We can see from these examples that al-Kūrānī answered questions by first dividing them into their constituent parts, and then discussing each part independently in order to show that there is nothing forbidden in inviting people to read the Quran, remember the Prophet, or feed visitors.[107] The thread linking all these acts together is intention (*niyyah*), which serves as the starting-point for al-Kūrānī's replies to most of the questions. As mentioned earlier, he composed a specific treatise dedicated to the *ḥadīth* "*inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt*," that is, "[The value of] an action depends on the intention behind it."[108] In this work, al-Kūrānī explains the meaning of *niyyah,* starting with some lexicographical considerations, and then lists the full *isnād*s of the *ḥadīth*.

The topic of intention is commonplace in *fiqh* texts, and is also one of the main interests of Sufis, as it is related to works of the heart. Al-Kūrānī, discussing God's speech, appeals to the concept of *niyyah* when arguing for *kalām nafsī*. His conclusion to this work is that all voluntary actions (*al-afʿāl al-ikhtiyāriyyah*), whether by the bodily organs (*al-arkān*), by the tongue, or by the heart, whether in obedience or disobedience (*ṭāʿat aw*

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[104] Ibid., fols. 16-17.

[105] Ibid., fols. 16-17.

[106] ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, *al-ʿAzīz sharḥ al-Wajīz,* ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ and ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1997).

[107] Al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-qarīb fī ajwibat al-Khaṭīb*, fol. 56b-57b.

[108] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt fī sharḥ ḥadīth inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt.* See also Al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 575.

maʿāṣī), from a believer or an unbeliever, all depend on the intention of the action.[109] In his explanation, he mentions two main *ḥadīth* commentaries: al-ʿAynī's *ʿUmdat al-qārī*, in which is specified the *ḥadīth* for particular actions, and al-ʿAsqalānī's *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, in which he says the *niyyah* is only required in *ʿibādāt* (acts of ritual worship). Al-Kūrānī's assessment is that these opinions are not accurate (*kalām ghayr muḥarrar*).[110] His discussion of early *ḥadīth* commentators displays his independent character in *ḥadīth* scholarship. At the time he composed the treatise in 1073/1662-3, al-Kūrānī was mainly interested in high *isnād*. Therefore, after mentioning the *ḥadīth inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt* with its full *isnād* through his teacher al-Qushāshī, al-Kūrānī says that the latter taught him the *ḥadīth* in another *isnād* higher than this *isnād* by three degrees and another *isnād* higher by four.[111]

In *al-Taḥrīr al-ḥāwī li-jawāb īrād Ibn Ḥajar ʿalā al-Bayḍāwī*,[112] al-Kūrānī occasionaly discusses the relationship between repentance (*tawbah*) and legal retribution (*qiṣāṣ*). Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, in *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj*, a book of Shāfiʿī *fiqh*, in the section related to "bandits" (*qaṭʿ al-ṭarīq*), cites an opinion that the necessity of killing as legal retribution (*qiṣāṣ*) may be dropped in the case of repentence. Ibn Ḥajar rejects this opinion, saying that it is strange (*ʿajīb*) because there is no relation between repentance (*tawbah*) and legal retribution (*qiṣāṣ*). Al-Kūrānī says that scholars distinguish between cases if the accused person - in this case the "bandit" - killed someone or not, and if repentance occurred before the murderer was captured or after. This demonstrates al-Kūrānī's specific knowledge of Shāfiʿī *fiqh*.

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[109] Al-Kūrānī, *Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt*, p. 128.
[110] Ibid., p. 130.
[111] Ibid., p. 97.
[112] MS: Cairo: Azhariyyah 10046, 2 folios.

Having said this, al-Kūrānī did not actually composed any independent works in *fiqh*, but mainly replied to questions that were related to specific issues. In his replies, he divides the question into its basic elements and discusses each part separately, and in the end, as far as he concerned, the intention of any act is the main creterion.

[5.3] Al-Kūrānī's Efforts in Arabic Grammar

In his four treatises on Arabic grammar, al-Kūrānī discusses two topics: *iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* in two original works and ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's (d. 471/1078) *al-ʿAwāmil al-māʾah,* which is also known as *ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah*, in two commentaries.

Al-Kūrānī's very first work was a grammar text on *iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* entitled *Inbāh al-anbāh ʿalā iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh*.[113] Later, he abridged the text in a treatise entitled *ʿUjālat dhawī al-intibāh taḥqīq iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh.* As mentioned in chapter three, al-Kūrānī started to teach in Arabic in Baghdad, and he probably became interested in this topic at that time, intending to prove his proficiency in Arabic grammar. Al-Kūrānī started composing the main work in 1061/1651 while he was in Damascus, and when he arrived in Cairo he searched for Sibawayh's book to check some topics. The first draft was completed in Medina in 1062/1652, and was edited again in 1071/1660-1. In this second edition, al-Kūrānī added two folios to the middle and the end of the first chapter and another two folios to the end of the second chapter. Alongside this modification, he changed parts of the ninth chapter and added three additional chapters.[114] The modifications in the first, second, and ninth chapters are easy to identify because in these parts al-Kūrānī addresses theological topics in ways that shows the influence of al-

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[113] This work was edited by Ahmet Gemī as part of his PhD dissertation at Ataturk University, Erzurum, 2013.

[114] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh*, p. 291.

Qushāshī in Medina. The last three chapters also show clear evidence of al-Qushāshī's influence. In the tenth and eleventh chapters, he addresses the topics of *kasb*, God's manifestation, and the generating (*jaᶜl*) of contingents, and in the final chapter the topic of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.

Since the first chapter was modified almost ten years after al-Kūrānī's arrival in Medina, we can expect to find some theological discussions in the new edition. The first chapter is about negating the genus (*nafy al-jins*), and al-Kūrānī starts with a citation from al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshiyah ᶜalā al-Muṭawwal Sharḥ Talkhīṣ Miftāḥ al-ᶜulūm*[115] in which al-Jurjānī says that the rarest essences (*anfas al-dhawāt*) cannot be negated; what is negated are only their attributes. But what does essence (*dhāt*) mean in this context? Al-Kūrānī says that scholars disagree, mentioning an opinion that essences mean the inner-realities of things, because inner-realities according to Muᶜtazilites are uncreated (*ghayr majᶜulah*) so they cannot be negated, and what can be negated or affirmed about these essences is existence and what follows is the existence of other attributes.[116]

Since the discussion moves into theology, we also find citations from al-Jurjānī's gloss on al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Sharḥ al-qadīm* on al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tajrīd*, al-Rāzī's *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, al-Dawānī's gloss on al-Qūshjī's *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd*, and al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif,* concerning the meaning of negation. For example, al-Kūrānī cites al-Rāzī's discussion of the view that negating the quiddity (*māhiyyah*) is not possible and that we cannot say that the blackness is not blackness because a thing cannot become its opposite, but we can say that blackness does not exist. Al-Rāzī refutes this argument, saying that it is not correct that the quiddity cannot be negated because when we say that blackness does

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[115] *Miftāḥ al-ᶜulūm* is by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1228), *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* is by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), and *al-Muṭawwal* is by al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1389).

[116] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh,* p. 66.

not exist that means we negate the existence, but the existence is the existence of the quiddity. It is incorrect to claim that our saying that blackness does not exist means that we negate neither quiddity nor existence. Rather, we negate the attribute of the quiddity by existence. Al-Rāzī replied by wondering whether this attribute is identical to the quiddity and the existence or different from them. If it is identical, that means we negate the quiddity; if it is different, that means it has its one quiddity and we negate it.[117] This is only an example of how the discussion of grammatical matters quickly evolved into a discussion of some of the main philosophical arguments of the day. This in turn prompts us to look closely at grammatical texts, especially those written by theologians such as al-Jurjānī and al-Taftāzānī, for more philosophical arguments in the post-classical period. After mentioning the opinions of several scholars, al-Kūrānī presents his idea on realities in a way that is similar to the way he explains his view in other theological texts, as mentioned in Chapter Four.

The second chapter deals with the subject of *lā al-nāfiyah li-l-jins*. This chapter is based on Sibawayh's, Ibn Hishām's, and Jāmī's commentaries on Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Kāfiyah*, and on al-Sirāfī's *Sharḥ kitāb Sibawayh*. The third chapter concerns the meaning of exception (*istithnāʾ*), while the fourth chapter explains that exception of negation means affirmation and vice versa. Al-Kūrānī discusses all the grammatical aspects of the sentence using al-Taftāzānī, Sibawayh, al-Zamakhsharī, and other grammarians. The eighth chapter is the longest, numbering 85 pages, and contains the *iʿrāb* of *lā ilāh illā Allāh*, listing the first two chapters of al-Dawānī's treatise about the same topic and discussing some of al-Dawānī's ideas.

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[117] Ibid., p. 69.

While the first eight chapters contain citations from Sibawayh, Ibn Hishām, and al-Zamakhsharī, as well as al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī and other theologians who wrote commentaries on grammatical texts such as *al-Miftāḥ*, the last three chapters mainly contain theological-Sufi discussions. Here al-Kūrānī cites al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār* and *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*[118] alongside Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*.[119] Chapter ten explains that *lā ilāh illā Allāh* refers to the unity of existence, while the eleventh chapter explains that *lā ilāh illā Allāh* refers to the unity of actions (*tawḥīd al-afʿāl*), and the last chapter explains that *lā ilāh illā Allāh* refers to the unity of attributes. Thus, al-Kūrānī concludes this treatise on Arabic grammar with the same result as his theological-Sufi arguments for God's unity of existence, actions, and attributes. Without providing more detail and without discussing any aspects of the text, the editor states that the work is original and contains philosophical discussions, even though there are many other works on the same topic.[120]

The scholarly writings on the subject of *iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* are indeed various and always contain some theological discussions. One of the oldest texts on *iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* is Zamakhsharī's small treatise entitled *Masʾalah fī kalimat al-shahādah*.[121] In this text, al-Zamakhsharī replies to a critique that the sentence *lā ilāh illā Allāh* is not complete, because (*lā*) *al-nāfiyah li-l-jins*, "the negation that denies genus," (or "the *lā* of absolute negation") needs a predicate (*khabar*), so it should be assumed that there is a deleted *khabar* (*lā ilāh mawjūd*).[122] Al-Zamakhsharī says that this objection is not correct because

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[118] Ibid., p. 228 and after.
[119] Ibid., p. 230 and after.
[120] Ibid., p. 41.
[121] Jārullāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī, "Masʾalah fī kalimat al-shahādah," *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī*, ed. Bahījah al-Ḥasanī (Iraq, Baghdad: al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī, 1387/1967), pp. 37-42.
[122] Ibid., p. 39.

the origin of the statement is that *lā ilāh illā Allāh (ilāh)* negates a god who deserves to be worshipped.[123] Al-Zamakhsharī discusses only one point related to *khabar lā al-nāfiyah li-l-jins.* Many other works were written afterwards to discuss each word and aspect of the statement including: *Risālah fī iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* by Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1359); *Risālah fī iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* by al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391); *Risālah fī iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* also known as *al-Tajrīd fī iʿrāb kalimat al-tawḥīd* by ʿAlī b. Sulṭān al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605). Al-Dawānī's work was originally written in Persian[124] but an Arabic edition exists as well.[125] Al-Kūrānī says that he has included what Nāẓir al-Jaysh[126] mentioned about this topic in *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* and what al-Dawānī mentioned in his treatise. He seems to disagree with al-Dawānī on some points, because he says that al-Dawānī rejected some well-known ideas for unconvincing reasons and instead selected unaccepted opinions; therefore al-Kūrānī promises that he will clarify his ideas in the relevant sections.[127]

The abridged text *ʿUjālat dhawī al-intibāh taḥqīq iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh* contains only the grammatical aspects of the first work. Since it was completed in 1070, the last chapters added to the longer text are not reflected in it, since they were not written until 1071. In these two works, al-Kūrānī depends on the works of early grammarians, but his independent character appears in his preference for and discussion of these ideas and his explanations of the reasons for his preferences. He usually defines all the terms he

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[123] Ibid, p. 40.

[124] Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in early Safavid Iran: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Nayrīzī and his Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 7.

[125] Al-Dawānī's treatise can be found in (MS: Istanbul: Atif Efendi 2441), fols. 142a-145a.

[126] Nāẓir al-Jaysh is Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad (d. 778/1376-7) and his work *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* is a commentary on *al-Tashīl* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik (d. 672/1273-4), the author of *al-Alfiyyah.*

[127] Al-Kūrānī, *Inbāh al-anbāh*, p. 64.

uses in the text, and he employs the *kalām* style of argumentation to discuss some ideas by saying "if you say" and "I say."[128]

The other two works that al-Kūrānī wrote to comment on ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's *al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah* seem to have had a pedagogical purpose, as is clearly shown by his title, *al-Tashīl*, "the Facilitation," of *Sharḥ al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah*. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī is the author of several books on the Arabic language including *Asrār al-balāghah* and *Iʿjāz al-Quran*, but *al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah* seems to have been written for non-Arab speakers who wanted to learn Arabic grammar to understand the Quran. As a result, the text is short and clear, and it was later translated into Persian and Turkish.[129] Since it was written for a non-Arab students of Arabic grammar, the text became famous in non-Arabic-speaking regions. This can be confirmed by two reports, one from al-Kūrānī himself about the study of Arabic grammar in Kurdistan and the other from Southeast Asia. Al-ʿAyyāshī mentions, reporting from the former, that students in his hometown in Kurdistan start their Arabic studies with *al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah* and then move on to their main text, *Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥājib*.[130] A similar note can be found in a later commentary by a Javanese scholar, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Faṭṭānī al-Jāwī (d. 1300/1882), entitled *Tashīl nayl al-amānī fī Sharḥ ʿAwāmil al-Jurjānī*, which says that this small treatise is very useful for beginners, especially for the people of Malaya (*abnāʾ jinsinā maʿāshir al-malāyawiyya*). He mentions that students in Malaya start their Arabic studies with this work even before the famous 13th-century book of Arabic grammar *al-Ājrūmiyyah* by the Moroccan Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd al-Ṣanhājī (d. 723/1323-

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[128] Ibid., pp. 92, 104-5, 110. Al-Kūrānī, *ʿUjālat dhawī al-intibāh,* p. 322.

[129] ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī and Khālid al-Azharī, *al-ʿAwāmil al-māʾah al-naḥwiyyah fī uṣūl al-ʿarabiyyah Sharḥ al-Shaykh Khālid al-Azharī al-Jarjāwī (d. 905/[1499])*, ed. Al-Badrāwī Zahrān (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 2ed, 1988), p. 4.

[130] Al-ʿAyyāshī, *Al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 479.

4).[131] Al-Kūrānī's text does not contain any historical context to clarify whether he taught or wrote this text for Javanese students.

ʿAwāmil is a plural of ʿāmil, which means an agent or a factor. In grammar, ʿāmil refers to the factor that causes changes that occur at the end of words, such as fatḥah, ḍammah, or kasrah. Al-Jurjānī was trying to present in a simple way the main factors that affect the grammatical situations of words in a sentence. Al-Jurjānī's al-ʿAwāmil is only five pages, and he commented on his own work with another treatise entitled al-Jumal, which is also relatively short at around 20 pages.[132] Later, this latter work was the subject of numerous commentaries by scholars including al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, ʿIṣām al-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh, Khālid al-Azharī, and ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī.[133]

While al-Kūrānī in al-Tashīl was trying to explain al-ʿAwāmil, his other work, entitled Takmīl al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah,[134] seems designed to show his proficiency in Arabic by adding more factors to the one hundred mentioned by al-Jurjānī. According to al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Kūrānī supplemented (istadrak ʿalayhi) many other ʿawāmil that al-Jurjānī did not mention.[135] However, examining the text reveals that he simply added more examples to clarify the roles, rather than adding anything new in terms of grammatical theory.

Conclusion

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[131] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Faṭṭānī, Tashīl nayl al-amānī fī sharḥ ʿAwāmil al-Jurjānī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah bi-Miṣr, 1301/[1883-4]), p. 3.

[132] ʿAbd al-Qāhir Al-Jurjānī, al-Jumal, ed. ʿAlī Ḥaydar (Damascus: Dār al-Ḥikmah, 1972).

[133] For a list of commentators see ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ḥabashī, Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī: muʿjam shāmil li-asmāʾ al-kutub al-mashrūḥah fī al-turāth al-Islāmī wa-bayān shurūḥihā (UAE, Abū Dhabī: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfī, 2004), vol. 2, p. 1421.

[134] MS: Istanbul: Atif Efendi 2441, fol. 238a-249b.

[135] Al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Riḥlah al-ʿayyāshiyyah, vol. 1, p. 479.

Al-Kūrānī's interest in *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and Arabic grammar was of a different nature than his main interest in theology and Sufism. His interest in the former seems to have been only insofar as they related to other topics, rather than a result of a genuine desire to contribute to them. The same is true for al-Kūrānī's contribution to Quranic commentary (*tafsīr*), which was always subordinated to other topics. Many of his theological and Sufi works were written as replies to questions regarding specific Quranic verses, or as replies to other questions in which he stated Quranic verses that he interpreted in a way that confirmed his ideas. We can see this in his works related to topics such as God's attributes and their figurative interpretation, God's manifestation in conceivable forms, the faith of Pharaoh, the precedence of God's mercy, the vanishing of Hellfire, the Satanic verses, and God's speech.

Al-Kūrānī's *ḥadīth* works were mainly an opportunity for him to elucidate and expound upon his theological and Sufi thought and to display the agreement of his thought with the *sharīʿah*. His main interest in the *ḥadīth* was in the *isnād*, and the search for higher *isnād*s in *ḥadīth* was at least partly motivated by the tendency among the Sufi orders to abbreviate mystical chains in order to get as close as possible to the Prophet or to the founder of the order. We notice that al-Kūrānī's efforts in *ḥadīth* studies were not extensive, as we can see by considering his work *Niẓām al-zabarjad fī al-arbaʿīn al-musalsalah bi-Aḥmad,* in which he simply selects these *ḥadīth*s from al-Nasāʾī's book *al-Mujtabā.* This work is dated 1085, which means it is not an early work from when he was not very familiar with *ḥadīth* literature.

This chapter has presented a challenge to early studies that assume as a starting point the flourishing of *ḥadīth* studies in the 17th-century Ḥijāz and al-Kūrānī's role in this movement. The claim of some scholars about a renewal of *ḥadīth* studies in the 17th-

century Ḥijāz lacks evidence, particularly when compared to the status of the discipline in the 9th/15th century. Even if *ḥadīth* studies indeed flourished in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, it is difficult to argue that al-Kūrānī should be credited for it. That does not mean al-Kūrānī did not participate in this science. In fact, al-Kūrānī's contribution to some aspects of *ḥadīth* studies extended beyond the science of *ḥadīth*. His later interest in connecting *ḥadīth* and Sufism, both in *isnād* and *silsilah,* is essential to his larger project, and is what motivated him to mention the *isnād*s of almost all the works he studied. As explained in Chapter Two, the practice of tracing the *isnād* of works of the rational sciences existed before al-Kūrānī, but these *isnād*s were not as comprehensive as al-Kūrānī made them in his *thabat* entitled *al-Amam.* This work became a model for later scholars who attempted to connect their *isnād*s in all fields of knowledge. This practice offers observers a unique literature that traces the rational sciences from the 17th-century Ḥijāz back to the 12th and 13th centuries and serves as a source that can help us bridge many gaps in post-classical Islamic intellectual history.

In *fiqh,* al-Kūrānī did not produce any independent works, but only replied to some questions related to controversial topics such as *mawlid*, *dhikr*, and the use of musical instruments at special occasions. Al-Kūrānī's method, as stated above, was to divide questions into several parts, then discuss each one individually, focusing primarily on intent as the main factor in evaluating the issue according to the *fiqh*. This interest in intent, in my opinion, can be considered to be subordinate to his interest in Sufism, and not as a sign of some general engagement with *ḥadīth* or *fiqh* in and of themselves.

All the same, al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* are valuable documents that shine light on the relations between scholars and different schools of thought in the 17th century. A Shāfiʿī scholar receiving an *ijāzah* in Ḥanafī *fiqh* from a Ḥanbalī scholar is

evidence of long process of confidence-building that resulted in relatively open and positive relations between different schools of *fiqh*. More important is the relationship among different doctrinal schools as reflected in the relationship between al-Kūrānī, the Ashʿarite theologian and Sufi adherent of Ibn ʿArabī's school, and his Ḥanbalite teacher in Damascus. El-Rouayheb focuses on the role of al-Kūrānī in rehabilitating Ibn Taymiyyah by defending him against the charge of anthropomorphism, which allowed Ibn Taymiyyah's works to spread in later generations. But more studies are needed on the relationship between Sufis and Ḥanbalis before the 17th century, which, as we have seen, were already positive.

In Arabic grammar, al-Kūrānī displayed a comprehensive knowledge of the works of grammarians and their opinions, discussing them in detail in his own works and citing them as evidence for his opinions. Aside from the main texts by al-Sirāfī, Sibawayh, and Ibn Hishām, he depended mainly on texts written by theologians such al-Taftāzānī and al-Jurjānī. As in his other works, everything served theological-Sufi ends. His *Inbāh al-anbāh,* with its theological and Sufi content, suggests that historians of post-classical Islamic philosophy should extend their research to include more Arabic grammar texts, especially those written by theologians such as al-Jurjāzī, al-Taftāzānī, Jāmī, and al-Dawānī.

In general, these three fields were among al-Kūrānī's interests, but they should be considered secondary sources from which he would draw evidence to reinforce his theological and Sufi theories. Their importance lies in their use as historical evidence reflecting scholarly relationships and doctrinal connections that can help us better understand the intellectual environment of the 17th century Islamic world in general, and in that of the Ḥijāz in particular.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation has been to explore understudied aspects of the history of post-classical Islamic theology by examining a centrally located geographical zone, the Ḥijāz, in the 17th century, a century that has been described as a period of decline. I have focused on the life and writings of one important and influential scholar of that period in order to explore the extent to which philosophical, theological, and Sufi texts were spread, studied, and discussed. The resulting account has revealed that during this one century, and located in this one area - Mecca and Medina - approximately one hundred scholars studied and taught classical works of the intellectual sciences, including texts by Ibn Sīnā, al-Suhrawardī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, al-Dawānī, and others. This intellectual activity produced commentaries, glosses, and new works related to the classical texts they studied. Hundreds of titles, mostly from the Ḥijāz and mostly related to intellectual topics, have been mentioned in this dissertation. However, the majority of these works have not been published or extensively studied. Since a survey of scholars' names and books' titles alone cannot convey the depth or extent of intellectual life, this dissertation has drilled down and analyzed the life and works of one of the most prominent scholars in the Ḥijāz in the 17th century, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. On the basis of detailed account of around 80 of al-Kūrānī's works - mostly manuscripts - I have attempted to synthesise his ideas into a coherent philosophical system, in order to show that intellectual life in the Ḥijāz during the post-classical period was rich and dynamic.

Al-Kūrānī's life and works provide an entry point into intellectual discussion in the 17th century, both in terms of scholarly activities in general and in terms of the details of the rational sciences that were studied and taught and the philosophical and theological topics that were discussed. In order to present a case study that demonstrates the

originality of Islamic intellectual life in the post-classical period, this dissertation has focused on al-Kūrānī's synthesis of several of the major traditions of Islamic thought in the post-classical period, namely the *kalām* and the Akbarian appropriations of Avicennian metaphysics. Al-Kūrānī's discussions of almost all topics of Islamic philosophy and theology, including quiddity, existence, creation, God's attributes, God's knowledge of particulars, unity and multiplicity, and predestination, provide an example of post-classical *kalām* and Sufism that demonstrates that the rational sciences continued to be studied, discussed, and taught in the Islamic world during the so-called period of "decline."

Situating al-Kūrānī's work in the particular context of the Ḥijāz requires a deeper understanding of the Ḥijāz itself, and the local and global elements that contributed to making it a place that was fertile for thinkers like al-Kūrānī. Chapter One argued that several factors, primarily external, contributed to transforming the Ḥijāz into a centre of intellectual life in the 17th century. The spread of European navies and merchant fleets in the Indian Ocean reinforced the connection of the Ḥijāz with the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia and facilitated the circulation of knowledge through different parts of the Islamic world. These enhanced opportunities for safe travel resulted in an increase in the number of pilgrims, students, and scholars who journeyed to study in the Ḥijāz. At the same time, Iran's conversion to Shiʿism forced numerous Sunni scholars to flee to other parts of the Islamic world, carrying with them their knowledge to other intellectual centers in the Indian Subcontinent, Anatolia, Damascus, or Cairo.

The stable political situation in the Ḥijāz, along with generous donations from the Mughals and the Ottomans, helped increase investments in the region's educational institutions and maintain endowments that provided their teachers and students with

living stipends. The institutions and the scholars who through the institutions contributed to this intellectual transformation of the Ḥijāz were discussed in Chapter Two, with a focus on diverse range of madrasas, libraries, *ribāṭ*s, and *zāwiyā*s. This chapter also mentioned 23 scholars from the 17th-century Ḥijāz who taught in areas such as *kalām*, logic, and philosophy, without including Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's own circle, which exceeds this number. These factors transformed the Ḥijāz into one of the primary scholarly destinations of that era; it became a meeting point for all the major intellectual trends in the Islamic world during the 16th and the 17th centuries, partly during the annual *ḥajj* season, which continued to play an essential role in gathering scholars together and circulating knowledge.

Chapter Two also attempted to trace the circulation of some of the main texts from 13th- and 14th-century Central Asia to the 17th-century Ḥijāz, using a historical source that is not normally associated with the intellectual sciences: the chain of transmission *(isnād)*. The *isnād*, as shown in this chapter, represent fertile and promising textual evidence that has the potential to change our perspective on the transmission of knowledge between different parts of the Islamic world. The *isnād* is also an important source for the study of post-classical Islamic philosophy, as it associate names of authors and the titles of their works with particular theological and philosophical discussions.

After setting the stage for al-Kūrānī's life and work, Chapter Three revealed further aspects of intellectual life in the Islamic world through tracing al-Kūrānī's background and education in his hometown. Then, through a detailed discussion of the wide range of al-Kūrānī's teachers and students, this chapter documented the active scholarly environment in the Ḥijāz during the 17th century, illustrating the centrality of the Ḥijāz for intellectual exchange and knowledge circulation. The list of al-Kūrānī's students

displays how his influence extended across almost the entire Islamic world. His works show that he was actively engaged in ongoing debates from different regions, from Java and the Indian Subcontinent to Iran, Yemen, North Africa, and the Maghreb. His correspondence with scholars from different regions further indicates that almost all the Islamic world was engaged in these various theological debates and, further, that many of the theological arguments travelled from one region to another and prompted responses by different scholars in geographically distant regions. The intellectual interconnectedness of the Islamic world emerges clearly from the fact that al-Kūrānī was well-known during his lifetime and that he engaged in theological discussions then current in Southeast Asia, Iran, Yemen, and North Africa.

After situating al-Kūrānī within his local and global contexts, Chapter Four focused on his theological arguments, which provide clear evidence of the sophistication of theological discussions in the 17th-century Ḥijāz. Al-Kūrānī discussed almost all the main topics of Islamic theology and Sufism including existence, quiddity, non-existence, creation, God's attributes, predetermination, and human will. His discussions display a wide knowledge of all the intellectual arguments and the diffusion of the ideas of most of the early Muslim philosophers and theologians in the Ḥijāz. As an established scholar in the rational sciences before arriving in the Ḥijāz, al-Kūrānī was convinced that Ibn ʿArabī's thought did not contradict the rational sciences. Indeed, while al-Kūrānī's main concern was theology, his theological arguments are heavily influenced by the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī, showing the latter to be the central reference-point for al-Kūrānī's theological discussions. Al-Kūrānī uses his textual background to clarify, explain, and interpret the theories of Ibn ʿArabī and present them in a systematic fashion, supporting his theories with numerous Quranic verses and *ḥadīths* as a way of creating harmony between the

rational sciences and transmitted knowledge. Chapter Four, through this investigation, provides clear evidence of the depth and influence of theological-philosophical discussions emerging from the 17th-century Ḥijāz.

Chapter Five discussed al-Kūrānī's role in *ḥadīth* studies and challenged previous scholarship that suggests that the 17th-century Ḥijāz represented a flourishing of this science. In spite of my doubts about the claim by some scholars that a renewal of *ḥadīth* studies took place there and then, and specifically about the role ascribed to al-Kūrānī in such a claim, I do suggest that al-Kūrānī's interest in some aspects of *ḥadīth* studies, namely the *isnād*, made valuable contributions that extended beyond the science of *ḥadīth* to be a useful tool for the study of post-classical Islamic philosophy. His later interest in connecting *ḥadīth* and Sufism, both in the *isnād* and the *silsilah,* motivated him to record the *isnād*s of almost all the works he studied and prompted other scholars to do the same thing. The result was a reviving of an *isnād* literature with a unique feature - providing the *isnād* of most of the rational sciences – that allows the tracing of scholars and texts across different centuries and between different regions. Additionally, Chapter Five argued that al-Kūrānī's interest in *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and Arabic grammar seems to have been largely instrumental, motivated by the need to buttress his theological-Sufi arguments and to prove that they were in accord with the *sharīʿah.* In other words, al-Kūrānī's interests here did not spring from a genuine desire to make original contributions to these fields.

This dissertation has argued that the nature and scope of the intellectual activities that took place in the Ḥijāz, and more specifically the texts that were studied and taught there, allows us to claim that the Ḥijāz played a prominent role in the evaluation of post-classical Islamic thought. The findings and conclusions of this research also show that

most of the scholars who taught and the topics that were studied there remain largely unexamined by the day's scholars. It is likely that the narratives of decline and ignorance in the existing scholarly literature have played a role in the dearth of studies on what was in fact such a rich time and place. The fact that most of the texts authored by scholars mentioned in this work are still in manuscript form is another challenge faced by those exploring intellectual life in this region.

My arguments for the flourishing of intellectual life in the 17ᵗʰ century Ḥijāz reveal that Southeast Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, North Africa, and other parts of the Muslim world were actively engaged in intellectual discussions, which means more scholars, texts, and debates will need to be integrated into the general narrative of Islamic thought if we wish to develop a more accurate picture of Islamic intellectual history during the post-classical period. This dissertation has contributed to these efforts by systematically treating, for the first time, and in all their depth and breadth, al-Kūrānī's discussions of central problems of Islamic philosophy and theology, and placing al-Kūrānī in dialogue with scholars from around the entire Islamic world. Examining al-Kūrānī's theories lays a foundation for future scholars to further re-evaluate Islamic intellectual life in the 17ᵗʰ century, when the Ḥijāz was especially vibrant.

In the course of undertaking this case study, I came across new information that I did not predict. Among my unexpected conclusions was a clearer sense of the essential role that *isnād* literature can play in constructing scholars' connections and tracing philosophical and theological texts across different centuries and geographical regions. The *isnād*, which is usually considered the main feature of transmitted knowledge (*manqūlāt*), also appears to be a very valuable source for studying the rational sciences (*maʿqūlāt*) in post-classical Islamic history. The *isnād* can help fill in lacunas in Islamic

intellectual history, allowing us to map the circulation of scholars, texts, and knowledge between the 12th-13th centuries and the 17th-18th centuries. Following scholars' travels through their *isnād*s also reveals the names of many previously unknown figures who studied and taught these rational texts.

This dissertation has also argued for including new sources for studying Islamic intellectual life in the post-classical period. Sufi texts, mainly those of the Ibn ʿArabī tradition, should be understood as a valuable source of philosophical discussions. The Ibn ʿArabī tradition, steered largely by al-Qūnawī's rationalist inclination, became increasingly philosophical and discussed almost all philosophical and theological matters. Ibn ʿArabī's thought became the main basis of al-Kūrānī's works, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. This dissertation has also shown that a consideration of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and Arabic grammar texts, alongside Sufi texts, can contribute to the investigation of post-classical Islamic intellectual activities. Some of these texts contain obviously theological discussions, as we have seen in the Arabic grammar section, while others help us to understand the broader intellectual environment and scholarly relations in a given time and place.

Another important finding is that the Ḥijāz was one of the most active centers of Ibn ʿArabī studies in the 17th century, to such an extent that one could argue convincingly for the existence of what I term "The Ibn ʿArabī School in the Ḥijāz." Al-Kūrānī's thought was unique, in terms of its integration of theological ideas with Sufi thought, and he without a doubt belongs to the intellectual trend of the Ibn ʿArabī tradition. But his intellectual preparation in Kurdistan did not actually include any of Ibn ʿArabī's texts or any works of his disciplines, meaning that his Akbarian efforts emerged from his time in Medina. His works from that period show that he mastered not only Ibn ʿArabī's works

but almost all the main commentaries including those of al-Qūnawī, al-Qāshānī, al-Qayṣarī, and al-Shaʿrānī. In fact, this dissertation has shown that Ibn ʿArabī's ideas became the main source of al-Kūrānī's *ʿaqlī* writings and formed the basis of his intellectual reasoning. How exactly did Ibn ʿArabī's works and thought reach the 17th century Ḥijāz and to what extent was Ibn ʿArabī's influence widespread there? I have alluded to some of the major links in the chain during the course of the dissertation, but giving a full answer to these questions requires further study.

Ultimately, my dissertation has attempted to shift the dominant perspective of the history of the Ḥijāz during the 17th century, correcting the tendency of both Western and Muslim scholarship to ignore this region and this historical period. These prejudices about the post-classical period are not based on accurate information or on any detailed examination of intellectual life. Rather, the description of this period as a time of decline has been due to the negative assumptions mentioned in the introduction of this work. More studies are required, and hopefully, this research has offered convincing evidence that this period contained interesting original philosophical contributions that would warrant such study.

Appendix A: al-Kūrānī's Teachers

1. Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Ṣiddīqī, (d. 18 Ṣafar 1078/9 August 1667).

2. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abū Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Kūrānī (d. 1050/1640).

3. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī (12 Rabīʿ I, 991-19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071/5 April 1583-15 August 1661).

4. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī.

5. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685).

6. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī al-Shāfiʿī al-Azharī (1014-1086/1606-1675).

7. Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Nāṣir.

8. Al-Bābilī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāhirī al-Azharī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1079/1668).

9. Al-Baʿlī, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī (18 Rabīʿ II 1005/9 December 1596 -17 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071/13 August 1661).

10. Al-Daybaʿ, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaybānī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ashʿarī al-Zabīdī (d. 1076/1665).

11. Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī (2 Ramaḍān 1007 - 8 Ramaḍān 1091/29 March 1599 - 2 October 1680).

12. Al-Ghazzī, Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad (977-1061/1570-1651).

13. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Jamʿān al-Zabīdī (d. 1076/1665).

14. Al-Lāhūrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Mullā Saʿd Allāh (d. 3 Ṣafar 1083/31 May 1672).

15. Al-Maghribī, ʿIsā al-Shādhilī (d. Rajab 1080/December 1669).

16. Al-Mazzāḥī, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad, Abū al-ʿAzāʾim al-Qāhirī (d. 17 Jumādā II 1075/January 1665).

17. Mubārakah al-Ṭabariyyah.

18. Muḥammad b. Mḥammad al-Dimashqī.

19. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murābiṭ al-Dalāʾī.

20. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Mirghanī al-Sūsī.

21. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sawdah al-Fāsī.

22. Nūr al-Dīn b. Muṭayr.

23. Quraysh bint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabariyyah (d. 1107/1696).

24. Al-Rūdānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Fāsī al-Makkī (1037-1094).

25. Al-Ṣaffūrī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Dimashqī (d. Ramaḍān 1082/January 1672).

26. Zayn al-Sharaf al-Ṭabariyyah.

Appendix B: al-Kūrānī's Students

His Prominent Students:

1. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkīlī (d. 1104/1693).

2. ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Khānī al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1095/1684).

3. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī al-Makkī, Abū Sālim (d. 4 Rajab, 1134/20 April 1722).

4. Abū al-Mawāhib al-Baʿlī, Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī (d. 28 Shawwāl 1126/6 November 1714).

5. Abū Ṭāhir, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Samīʿ b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1081-4 Ramaḍān 1145/1671-18 February 1733).

6. Al-ʿAyyāshī, Abū Sālim, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-ʿAyyāshī al-Maghribī (d. 1090/1679).

7. Al-Barzanjī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī, (d. 1103/1691).

8. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, Muḥammmad Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī, (d. 1113/1702).

9. Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm b. Khiḍr b. Dāwūd al-Kūrdī al-Kūrānī (1138/1726).

10. Al-Nakhlī, Aḥmad, (1044-1130/1635-1718).

11. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Qalʿī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. 1149/1737).

12. Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Qāḍī-Jān al-Dihlawī. Born circa 1020/1612.

13. Muṣṭafā b. Fatḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. 1123/1711).

14. Yūsuf al-Tāj b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn b. Abī al-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqassarī al-Khalwatī (d. 1110/1699).

Other Students:

15. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685).

16. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maynbārī.

17. ʿAbd Allāh b. Munlā Saʿd Allāh al-Lāhūrī, Jārullāh (d. 1083/1672).

18. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Tajmūʿatī al-Sijlimāsī (d. 1118/1706).

19. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-ʿUmarī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dimashqī.

20. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī read with al-Kūrānī parts of *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and some *dhikrs*.

21. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Taghlibī al-Dimashqī, Abū al-Tuqā (d. 1135/1723).

22. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Mawāhīb b. Muḥammad Abī al-Suʿūd al-Kazarūnī al-Madanī (1044-1114/1634-1703 in Medina and buried in the cemetery of *al-Baqīʿ*).

23. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī,

24. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Dhahabī.

25. ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-Bānitnī.

26. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabī, known as Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Fāsī (d. 1109/1697).

27. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dirʿī (d. Rabīʿ II, 1128/March 1716).

28. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. Shaʿbān 1134/1722).

29. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Dallāʾī, known as al-Murābiṭ (d. 1089/1678).

30. Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tatawī al-Madanī (d. 1139/1727).

31. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥusaynī al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī, (known as Ibn al-Mayyit and al-Burhān al-Shāmī), (d. 1140/1728).

32. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Darʿī, (known as al-Sibāʿī), (d. 1155/1742).

33. Abū Marwān al-Sijlimāsī.

34. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Gharbī al-Ribāṭī.

35. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḥakamī.

36. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī, known as al-Bannā (d. 1116/1704).

37. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Majlīdī (1094/1682).

38. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (known al-Ṣaghīr) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1134/1722).

39. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Darʿī al-Tamagarūtī (d. 18 Rabīʿ II, 1129/1 April 1717).

40.   Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlwān al-Shāfiʿī, known as al-Sharābātī (d. 1136/1723-4).

41.   Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Makīldī.

42.   ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī.

43.   ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Daybaʿ al-Shaybānī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1072/1661-2).

44.   ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿUqaybī al-Anṣārī al-Taʿzī al-Shāfiʿī (born around 1030/1621).

45.   Al-Dakdakjī, al-Shams Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī (d. 1131/1719).

46.   Al-Hashtūkī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Jazūlī al-Tamlī (d. 1127/1715).

47.   Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Dirʿī (1155/1742).

48.   Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn known as Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī (d. 1120/1708).

49.   Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fāsī (d. 1110/1698-9).

50.   Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1134/1722).

51.   Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mizjājī.

52.   Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Maktabī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 12 jumadā II, 1096/16 May 1685).

53.   Muḥammad al-Khalīfatī (d. 1130/1718).

54.   Muḥammad b. ʿIsā Al-Kinānī al-Khalwatī (d. 1153/1740).

55.   Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāwī al-Bantanī.

56.   Muḥammad b. Abd al-Hādī al-Sindī, Abū al-Ḥasan, (d. 1138 or 1139/ 1726-7).

57.   Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-Madanī.

58.   Al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī.

59.   Walī al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Jārullāh al-Rūmī (1151/1738).

Appendix C: al-Kūrānī's Works

	The title	The date of composition	Notes
1.	*Inbāh al-anbāh ʿalā iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh*	1061 and 1071.	He wrote eight chapters in 1061, and completed the work in 1071.
2.	*Jawāb suʾālāt ʿan qawl "taqabbal Allāh" wa-l-muṣāfaḥah baʿd al-ṣalāwāt*; OR *Rafʿ al-rayb wa-l-iltibās ʿan dalīl al-duʿāʾ wa-l-muṣāfaḥah baʿd al-ṣalah li-l-nās.*	Shaʿbān 1063.	
3.	*Ijāzat al-Kūrānī li-ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Zabīdī*	20 Shawwāl 1063.	
4.	*Taḥqīq al-tawfīq bayn kalāmay ahl al-kalām wa-ahl al-ṭarīq*. OR *Tuḥfat al-tawfīq bayn kalāmay ahl al-kalām wa-ahl al-ṭarīq*	11 Shawwāl 1066.	
5.	*Qaṣd al-sabīl ilā tawḥīd al-Ḥaqq al-Wakīl*	Monday, 14 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1066.	
6.	*Al-jawāb al-mashkūr ʿan al-suʾāl al-manẓūr*	Friday, at the end of Ṣafar 1067.	
7.	*Ishrāq al-shams bi-taʿrīb al-kalimāt al-khams*	Thursday, 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1068.	
8.	*Mukhtaṣar Qaṣd al-sabīl; OR al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*	13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1069	
9.	*Al-Jawābāt al-gharrāwiyyah li-l-masāʾil al-Jāwiyyah al-juhriyyah*	Tuesday, 25 Ṣafar 1070.	
10.	*ʿUjālat dhawī al-intibāh taḥqīq iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh*	Sunday, 29 Rabīʿ I 1070.	
11.	*Al-ʿUjālah fī-mā kataba Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qalʿī suʾālah*	24 Shawwāl 1070.	
12.	*Al-Qawl al-mubīn fī taḥrīr masʾalat al-takwīn*	8 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1070.	

13.	*Al-ʿAyn wa-l-athar fī ʿaqāʾid ahl al-athar*	15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1070.	Edited again on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.
14.	*Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām bi-taḥqīq masʾalat al-kalām*	14 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1070.	Tuesday, 4 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.
15.	*Itḥāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah ilā al-Nabī*; OR *ilā rūḥ al-Nabī*	Before 19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.	
16.	*Al-Mutimmah li-l-masʾalah al-muhimmah*	Before 19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.	
17.	*Dhayl al-mutimmah*; OR *Itmām al-niʿmah bi-ikmāl al-muhimmah*	Before 19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.	
18.	*Takmilat al-qawl al-jalī fī taḥqīq qawl al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī*	Before 19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1071.	
19.	*Risālah ilā al-ʿAyyāshī*	1072-73.	
20.	*Al-Ilmāʿ al-muḥīṭ bi-taḥqīq al-kasb al-wasaṭ bayn ṭarafay al-ifrāṭ wa-l-tafrīṭ*	Rajab, 1073.	
21.	*Al-Isfār ʿan aṣl istikhārat aʿmāl al-layl wa-l-nahār*	Tuesday, 15 Ramaḍān 1073.	
22.	*Iʿmāl al-fikr wa-l-riwāyāt fī sharḥ ḥadīth inna-mā al-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt*	Sunday, 12 Shawwāl, 1073.	
23.	*Risālat suʾālāt waradat min maḥrūsat Zabīd min al-Yaman min al-shaykh Isḥāq al-Dawālī*	Ṣafar 1974.	
24.	*Al-Lumʿah al-saniyyah fī taḥqīq ilqāʾ al-umniyyah*	Thursday, 7 Muḥarram 1074.	Edited again on Thursday, 14 Muḥarram 1075.
25.	*Maslak al-iʿtidāl ilā fahm āyat khalq al-aʿmāl*	Thursday, at the end of Shaʿbān 1075.	Dated in another copy Thusday, 10 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1075.
26.	*Al-Maslak al-qarīb fī ajwibat al-Khaṭīb*	Sunday, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1076.	

27.	*Risālat Ibṭāl mā ẓahara min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah fī-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-kaʿbah al-muʿaẓẓamah*	Wednesday, 4 Rabīʿ I 1078.	
28.	*Nashr al-zahr bi-l-jahr bi-l-dhikr*	Monday, 22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1078.	
29.	*Fayḍ al-Wāhib al-ʿAlī fī jawāb suʾāl Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī*	End of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1078.	
30.	*Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd ilā ṣiḥḥat al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd*	1078.	
31.	*Nibrās al-īnās bi-ajwibat ahl Fās.*	27 Muḥarram 1079.	
32.	*Īqāẓ al-qawābil li-l-taqarrub bi-l-nawāfil.*	18 Rajab 1079.	
33.	*Itḥāf al-munīb al-awwāh bi-faḍl al-jahr bi-dhikr Allāh*	Saturday, 24 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1079.	Edited again on 17 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1080, and again in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1083.
34.	*Al-Tawjīh al-mukhtār fī nafy al-qalb ʿan ḥadīth ikhtiṣām al-jannah wa-l-nār.*	Friday, 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1081.	
35.	*Ikhbār al-aḥbār bi-ajwibat sūʾālāt Ahl Āṯār.* OR *Jawāb suʾāl warada min baʿḍ fuḍalāʾ al-Maghrib.* Or *Risālah fī jawāz ruʾyat Allāh taʿālā fī al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah*	Friday, 5 Muḥarram 1082.	
36.	*Al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī awwal ṣādir min al-wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār;* OR *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat al-ṣādir al-awwal wa-iḥdāth al-ʿālam bi-l-ikhtiyār.*	Friday 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1082	
37.	*Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ;* OR *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan al-ʿawālī;* OR *Lawāmiʿ al-laʾālī fī al-arbaʿīn al-ʿawālī.*	Monday, 8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1083.	
38.	*Al-Kashf al-muntaẓar li-mā yarāh al-muḥtaḍar*	1083.	

39.	*Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-Nabī al-mukhtār; Or Itḥāf rafiʿ al-himmah bi-waṣl aḥādīth shafiʿ al-ummah.*	1083.	
40.	*Niẓām al-zabarjad fī al-arbaʿīn al-musalsalah bi-Aḥmad*	Sunday, 17 Muḥarram 1085.	
41.	*Jalāʾ al-fuhūm fī taḥqīq al-thubūt wa-rūʾyat al-maʿdūm*	Tuesday, 28 Rabīʿ I 1085.	
42.	*Maslak al-sadād ilā masʾalat khalq afʿāl al-ʿibād*	Tuesday, 23 Jumādā II 1085.	
43.	*Jalāʾ al-naẓar fī baqāʾ al-tanzīh maʿ al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*	Tuesday, 11 Ṣafar 1086.	
44.	*Ḥusn al-awbah fī ḥukm ḍarb al-nawbah*	14 Rabīʿ I 1086.	
45.	*Ijāzat-nāmah*, OR *al-Kūrānī's ijāzah to Wajīh al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sijlimāsī*	5 Shawwāl 1086.	
46.	*Al-maslak al-jalī fī ḥukm shaṭḥ al-walī*	1086.	
47.	*Itḥāf al-khalaf bi-taḥqīq madhhab al-salaf*	Monday, 11 Muḥarram 1088.	
48.	*Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād li-sulūk maslak al-sadād.*	Friday, 13 Jumādā II, 1088.	
49.	*Jalāʾ al-naẓar bi-taḥrīr al-jabr fī al-ikhtiyār*	Friday, 20 Jumādā II 1088.	
50.	*Risālah fī bayān al-muqaddimāt al-arbaʿah li-l-tawḍīḥ*	20 Jumādā II 1088.	
51.	*Maṭlaʿ al-jūd bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh fī waḥdat al-wujūd*	22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1088.	
52.	*Ibdāʾ al-niʿmah bi-taḥqīq sabq al-raḥmah*	Tuesday, 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1088.	
53.	*Al-Qawl bi-īmān Firʿawn*	1088.	
54.	*Kashf al-mastūr fī jawāb suʾāl ʿAbd al-Shakūr*	Thursday, 30 Muḥarram 1089.	
55.	*Al-Iʿlān bi-dafʿ al-tanāquḍ fī ṣūrat al-aʿyān fī jawāb sūʾāl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*	Thursday, 30 Muḥarram 1089.	

56.	Al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī ilā al-Durr al-multaqaṭ li-l-Ṣāghānī	Sunday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1089.	
57.	Mashraʿ al-wurūd ilā Maṭlaʿ al-jūd	Sunday, 14 Muḥarram, 1090	
58.	Kashf al-labs ʿan al-masāʾil al-khams	9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 1090	
59.	Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa-l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd	Sunday, 24 Muḥarram 1091.	
60.	Al-Maslak al-anwar ilā maʿrifat al-barzakh al-akbar.	Monday, 8 Rabīʿ I 1091.	
61.	Madd al-fayʾ fī taqrīr "laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾ;" OR Risālah fī qawlihi taʿālā "laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾ"	13 Rabīʿ I, 1092.	
62.	Isʿāf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk maslak al-taʿrīf	Monday, 2 Rabīʿ II 1092.	
63.	Tanbīh al-ʿuqūl ʿalā tanzīh al-ṣūfiyyah ʿan iʿtiqād al-tajsīm wa-l-ʿayniyyah wa-l-ittiḥād wa-l-ḥulūl.	Saturday, 8 Muḥarram 1093.	
64.	Al-Ilmām bi-taḥrīr qawlay Saʿdī wa-l-ʿIṣām	Thursday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1093.	
65.	Al-Maslak al-qawīm fī muṭābaqat taʿalluq al-qudrah bi-l-ḥādith li-taʿalluq al-ʿilm al-qadīm	Wednesday, 11 Ṣafar 1094.	
66.	Shawāriq al-anwār li-sulūk al-Maslak al-mukhtār	Thursday, 5 Rabīʿ I 1094.	
67.	Al-Tawaṣṣul ilā anna ʿilm Allāh bi-l-ashyāʾ azalan ʿalā al-tafṣīl	Tuesday, 26 Jumādā II 1094.	
68.	Al-Taḥrīr al-ḥāwī li-jawāb īrād Ibn Ḥajar ʿalā al-Bayḍāwī	Friday, 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1094.	
69.	Al-Amam li-īqāẓ al-himam	Monday, 8 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1095.	
70.	Izālat al-ishkāl bi-l-jawāb al-wāḍiḥ ʿan al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar.	Monday, 25 Rajab 1097.	
71.	Al-Taḥrīrāt al-bāhirah li-mabāḥith al-Durrah al-fākhirah		
72.	Majlā al-maʿānī ʿalā ʿaqīdat al-Dawānī		

73.	*Ḥāshiyah ʿalā mabḥath al-ʿilm min Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah li-l-Dawānī; OR Risālah fī al-baḥth ʿan al-ʿilm*		
74.	*Sharḥ al-ʿaqīdah allatī allafahā mawlānā al-ʿallāmah al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ismāʿīl [b. al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh] al-Qāsim riḍwān Allāh ʿalayhim.*		
75.	*Al-Nibrās li-kashf al-iltibās al-wāqiʿ fī al-Asās li-ʿaqāʾid ṭāʾifah sammū anfusahum bi-l-akyās.*		
76.	*Al-Iʿlām bi-mā fī qawlihī taʿāla "ʿalā alladhīn yūṭīqūnahu" min al-aḥkām*		
77.	*Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's ijāzah to al-Dakdakjī*		
78.	*Nawāl al-ṭawl fī taḥqīq al-ījād bi-l-qawl*		
79.	*Al-Tashīl, Sharḥ al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah.*		
80.	*Takmīl al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah. Or al-Fawāḍil al-burhāniyyah fī takmīl al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah*		
81.	*Ijābat al-sāʾil ʿammā istashkala min al-masāʾil*		
82.	*Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh*		
Works by al-Kūrānī that I was not able to examine			
83.	*Ḍiyāʾ al-miṣbāḥ fī sharḥ Bahjat al-arwāḥ*		
84.	*Al-Jawāb al-ʿatīd li-masʾalat awwal wājib wa-masʾalat al-taqlīd*		
85.	*Al-Jawāb al-kāfī ʿan iḥāṭat al-ʿilm al-makhlūq bi-l-ghayr al-mutanāhī*		
86.	*Sharḥ al-Andalusiyyah*		
87.	*Taysīr al-ḥaqq al-mubdī li-naqḍ baʿḍ kalimāt al-Sirhindī*		
88.	*Takmīl al-taʿrīf li-kitāb fī al-taṣrīf*		

89.	Al-Jawāb ʿan al-suʾāl al-awwal min al-asʾilah al-makkiyyah		
90.	Izālat al-ishkāl		
91.	Ghāyat al-marām fī masʾalat Ibn al-Humām		
92.	Fayḍ al-Wāhib li-afḍal al-makāsib		
93.	Dhayl al-maqālah al-wāḍiḥah fī nadb al-ḥirṣ ʿalā al-muṣāfaḥah		
94.	Ḍawʾ al-aʿyān fī ajwibat al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān		
95.	Al-Kanz al-muʾtaman fī jawāb suʾālāt ahl al-Yaman		
96.	Bulghat al-masīr ilā tawḥīd al-ʿAlī al-Kabīr		
97.	Iẓhār al-qadr li-ahl badr		
98.	Jalāʾ al-aḥdāq bi-taḥrīr al-iṭlāq		
99.	Iqtifāʾ al-āthār [bi-tawḥīd al-afʿāl maʿ al-kasb bi-l-ikhtiyār]		
100.	Al-Ihtimām bi-ḥukm idrāk al-masbūq al-rukūʿ lam yara al-Imām		
101.	Maslak al-irshād ilā al-aḥādīth al-wāridah fī al-jihād		
Works attributed to al-Kūrānī, although I doubt the validity of the attribution			
102.	Sharḥ Nukhbat al-fikar, or Ḥāshiyah ʿalā Nukhbat al-fikar.		
103.	Shumūs al-fikr al-munqidhah ʿan ẓulumāt al-jabr wa-l-qadar		

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17.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-jawāb al-mashkūr ʿan al-sūʾāl al-manẓūr*. MS. Pakistan: Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī's library, no number, 5 folios.

18.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Jawābāt al-gharrāwiyyah li-l-masāʾil al-Jāwiyyah al-juhriyyah*. MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5345, fols. 20-71.

19.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Kashf al-muntaẓar li-mā yarāh al-muḥtaḍar*. MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 38a-41b.

20.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Maslak al-anwar ilā maʿrifat al-barzakh al-akbar*. MS. USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869Y, fols. 76a-79a.

21.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-maslak al-jalī fī ḥukm shaṭḥ al-walī*. MS. UK: British Library, India Office, n. 2164; MS. Istanbul: veliyuddin 1815, fols. 137a-146b.

22.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī maʿrifat awwal ṣādir min al-Wājib bi-l-ikhtiyār*. MS. Istanbul, Veliyuddin Ef 1815, fol. 7a-32a.

23.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Maslak al-qarīb fī ajwibat al-Khaṭīb*. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 48a-62a.

24.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Maslak al-qawīm fī muṭābaqat al-qudrah bi-l-ḥādith li-taʿalluq al-ʿilm al-qadīm*. MS. Cairo: Azhariyyah, 3988, jūharī 41976, 6 folios.

25.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Maslak al-qawīm fī muṭābaqat taʿalluq al-qudrah bi-l-ḥādith li-taʿalluq al-ʿilm al-qadīm*. MS. Cairo: Azhariyyah, 41976, 8 folios.

26.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Maslak al-wasaṭ al-dānī ilā al-Durr al-multaqaṭ li-l-Ṣāghānī*. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 255a- 291a.

27.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Mutimmah li-l-masʾalah al-muhimmah*. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 129a-145b.

28.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Qawl al-mubīn fī taḥrīr masʾalat al-takwīn*. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 178b-185a.

29.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Qawl bi-īmān Firʿawn*. MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 96a-97a. And in MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5345, fols. 73-74.

30.	Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Taḥrīr al-ḥāwī li-jawāb īrād Ibn Ḥajar ʿalā al-Bayḍāwī*. MS. Cairo: Azhariyyah 10046, 2 folios.

31.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Taḥrīrāt al-bāhirah li-mabāḥith al-Durrah al-fākhirah.* MS. USA: Princeton University Library, Garrett, 4049Y, 20 folios.

32.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Tashīl, Sharḥ al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah.* MS. UAE, Dubai: Juma al-Majed Center for Culture and Heritage, no. 232146, 52 folios. On the first folio is written that the origin of this MS is *Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah*, without specifying which one.

33.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-Tawaṣṣul ilā anna ʿilm Allāh bi-l-ashyāʾ azalan ʿalā al-tafṣīl.* MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 34b-35b.

34.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Al-ʿUjālah fī-mā kataba Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qalʿī suʾālah.* MS. Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, ms. *al-Tawḥīd: al-milal wa-l-niḥal,* 3000/1, fols. 295-304.

35.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Bayān al-qawl bi-īmān Farʿawn.* Ms. KSA, al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fol. 96a.

36.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Dhayl al-Mutimmah,* known as *Itmām al-niʿmah bi-itmām al-muhimmah.* MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 146a-150b.

37.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Fayḍ al-Wāhib al-ʿAlī fī jawāb suʾāl Abī al-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī.* MS. Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, *majāmīʿ* 16/2, fols. 258-267.

38.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ḥāshiyah ʿalā mabḥath al-ʿilm min Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah li-l-Dawānī.* Or, *Risālah fī al-baḥth ʿan al-ʿilm.* MS. Istanbul: Laleli 722, fols. 71a-107a.

39.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ḥashiyat al-Kūrānī ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyyah.* MS. Istanbul: Nur Uosmaniye 2126.

40.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ḥusn al-awba fī ḥukm ḍarb al-nawba.* MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, no. 5345, fols. 16-17.

41.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ibdāʾ al-niʿmah bi-taḥqīq sabq al-raḥmah.* MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 23a-28a.

42.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ifāḍat al-ʿAllām bi-taḥqīq masʾalat al-kalām.* MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 185b-249a.

43.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ijābat al-sāʾil ʿammā istashkalahu min al-masāʾil.* MS. UK: British Library, India Office, Delhi-Arabic 710j, fols. 86-108.

44.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ijāzat-nāmah,* or *al-Kūrānī's ijāzah to Wajīh al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sijlimāsī.* MS. Istanbul: Esad Efendi 3626, fols. 1a-22b.

45.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ikhbār al-aḥbār bi-ajwibat suʾālāt ahl Āṭār*. MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 162-165b.

46.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Imdād dhawī al-istiʿdād li-sulūk maslak al-sadād*. MS. USA, Princeton University Library, Garret Y3867, fols. 31a-87b.

47.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Īqāẓ al-qawābil li-l-taqarrub bi-l-nawāfil*. MS. Germany, Leipzig: or. 383–02, 5 folios.

48.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Isʿāf al-ḥanīf li-sulūk Maslak al-taʿrīf*. MS. USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869, fols. 73a-75b.

49.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Ishrāq al-shams bi-taʿrīb al-kalimāt al-khams*. MS. Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyyah, majmūʿ 16, treatise 3, fols. 267-275. The numeration is for each page not for folios.

50.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Itḥāf al-khalaf bi-taḥqīq madhhab al-salaf*. MS. Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787, fols. 34b-35b.

51.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Itḥāf al-munīb al-awwāh bi-faḍl al-jahr bi-dhikr Allāh*. MS. Istanbul: Resid Efendi 996, fols. 129b-200a.

52.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Itḥāf al-nabīh bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh*. MS. Cairo: Maʿhad Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī, *majāmīʿ* 11/2, fols. 351-362.

53.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Izālat al-ishkāl bi-l-jawāb al-wāḍiḥ ʿan al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*. MS. Istanbul: Nafiz Pasa 508, 47 folios.

54.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Jalāʾ al-fuhūm fī taḥqīq al-thubūt wa-ruʾyat al-maʿdūm*. MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 52a-83a.

55.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Jalāʾ al-naẓar bi-taḥrīr al-jabr fī al-ikhtiyār*. MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 36a-47a.

56.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Jalāʾ al-naẓar fī baqāʾ al-tanzīh maʿ al-tajallī fī al-ṣuwar*. MS. Istanbul: Halet Efendi 787, fols. 32a-33a.

57.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-ʿawālī al-ṣiḥāḥ*. MS. Istanbul: Koprulu 279, fols. 1a-33b.

58.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Jawāb Suʾālāt ʿan qawl "taqabbal Allāh" wa-l-muṣāfaḥah baʿd al-ṣalāwāt*. MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, raqam musalsal 28, 7 folios. In the ms. card, it is mentioned that the source of this copy is Maktabat Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, Lakhnaw, India, no. 120.

59.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Kashf al-labs ʿan al-masāʾil al-khams.* MS. KSA, Medina: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 5293, fols. 42a-45a.

60.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Kashf al-mastūr fī jawāb suʾāl ʿAbd al-Shakūr.* MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 30b- 31.

61.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Madd al-fayʾ fī taqrīr "laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾ."* MS. Istanbul: Nuruosmaniye 2126, fols. 67b-68b.

62.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Majlā al-maʿānī ʿalā ʿAqīdat al-Dawānī.* MS. Istanbul: Nuruosmaniye 2126, fols. 1b-50b.

63.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Masālik al-abrār ilā aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār.* MS. Istanbul: Koprulu 279, fols. 34a-125a.

64.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Mashraʿ al-wurūd ilā Maṭlaʿ al-jūd.* MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 15b-22b.

65.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Maslak al-iʿtidāl ilā fahm āyāt khalq al-aʿmāl.* MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 162a-174a.

66.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Maslak al-sadād ilā masʾalat khalq afʿāl al-ʿibād.* MS. Istanbul: Veliyuddin 1815, fols. 32b-64a.

67.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa-l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd.* MS. USA: Princeton University Library, Yahuda 3869, fols. 59a-72a.

68.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Maṭlaʿ al-jūd bi-taḥqīq al-tanzīh fī waḥdat al-wujūd.* MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 123b-153b.

69.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Mirqāt al-ṣuʿūd ilā ṣiḥḥat al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd.* MS. UK, British Library: India Office, Delhi-Arabic 710c, fols. 20a-21b.

70.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Mukhtaṣar Qaṣd al-sabīl.* AKA al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 62b-124b.

71.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Nashr al-zahr bi-l-jahr bi-l-dhikr.* MS. Istanbul: Resid Efend I996, fols. 104a-128b.

72.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Nawāl al-ṭawl fī taḥqīq al-ījād bi-l-qawl.* MS. Ireland, Dublen: Chester Beatty, no. 4443/9, fols. 112-116.

73.　Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Nibrās al-īnās bi-ajwibat ahl Fās.* MS. Istanbul: Laleli 3744, fols. 7a-25b.

74.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Niẓām al-zabarjad fī al-arbaʿīn al-musalsalah bi-Aḥmad*. MS. KSA, Medina: Maktabat ʿĀrif Ḥikmat, no. 313/80 *ḥadīth*, *majmūʿ*, 13 folios. The treatise is the first work in this *majmūʿ*.

75.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Qaṣd al-sabīl ilā tawḥīd al-Ḥaqq al-Wakīl*. MS. KSA: Maktabat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿĀrif Ḥikmat Collection, ʿaqāʾid/231, 126 folios.

76.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Rafʿ al-Ishtibāh ʿan qawāʿid iʿrāb lā ilāh illā Allāh*. MS. Cairo: Azhariyyah 41950, fol. 1-187.

77.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Risālah fī bayān al-muqaddimāt al-arbaʿah li-l-tawḍīḥ*. MS. Istanbul: Hamidiye 1440, fols. 177a-188a.

78.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Risālat ibṭāl mā ẓahara min al-maqālah al-fāḍiḥah fī-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-kaʿbah al-muʿaẓẓamah*. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 347a-356a.

79.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Risālat sūʾālāt waradat min maḥrūsat Zabīd min al-Yaman min al-shaykh Isḥāq b. Jamʿān al-Dawālī*. MS. KSA, Medina: Al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah bi-l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, no. 5345, *majmūʿ*, fols. 1b-6a.

80.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Sharḥ al-ʿaqīdah allatī allafahā mawlānā al-ʿallāmah al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ismāʿīl [b. al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh] al-Qāsim riḍwān Allāh ʿalayhim*. MS. USA: Princeton University Library, Garrett 224Y, fols. 147a-174b.

81.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Shawāriq al-anwār li-sulūk al-Maslak al-mukhtār*. MS. Istanbul: Laleli 722, fols. 108a-147b.

82.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Taḥqīq al-tawfīq bayn kalāmaī ahl al-kalām wa-ahl al-ṭarīq*. MS. Pakistan: Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī's library, no number, 6 folios.

83.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Takmīl al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyya*. MS. Istanbul: Atif Efendi 2441, fol. 238a-249b.

84.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Takmīl al-ʿAwāmil al-Jurjāniyyah*. MS. Istanbul: Atif Efendi 2441, fol. 238a-249b.

85.   Kūrānī (al-), Ibrāhīm. *Takmilat al-qawul al-jalī fī taḥqīq qawl al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī*. MS. Istanbul: Sehid Ali Pasa 2722, fols. 296a-346b.

86.   Qushāshī (al-), Ṣafī al-Dīn. *Al-Ifādah bi-mā bayn al-ikhtiyār al-ilāhī wa-l-irādah*. MS. Istanbul, Resid Efendi 428, 35a-44a.

87.   Qushāshī (al-), Ṣafī al-Dīn. *Al-Intiṣār li-Imām al-Ḥaramay fī-mā shannaʿ ʿalayhi baʿḍ al-nuẓẓār*. MS. Istanbul, Resid Efendi 428.

88.   Qushāshī (al-), Ṣafī al-Dīn. *Kalimat al-jūd bi-l-bayyinah wa-l-shuhūd ʿalā al-qawl bi-waḥdat al-wujūd.* MS. Istanbul: Reside Efendi 428.

89.   Qushāshī (al-), Ṣafī al-Dīn. *Nafḥat al-yaqīn wa-zulfat al-tamkīn li-l-mūqinīn.* MS. Princeton: NS 1114.

90.   Qushjī (al-), ʿAlī. *Al-Sharḥ al-jadīd.* MS. Tehran: Tehran 1884.

91.   Shāwī (al-), Yaḥyā, *al-Nubl al-raqīq fī ḥulqūm al-sābb al-zindīq.* MS. Istanbul: Laleli 3744.