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Seventeenth-Century Islamic Teaching in Medina: The Life, Circle, and Forum of Ahmad al-Qushashi

Zacky Khairul Umam

Freie Universität Berlin

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لا تُعزِ عقلك لغيرك فترى من بعدُ تندم
إنما العقل ضياء يهدي للتي هي أقوم

أحمد القشاشي، ديوان شعره «سافر المحيا لمن طاف به وحيا»

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Introduction ►

By the time coffee reached Istanbul at the turn of the seventeenth century, it had been popular for more than a century in the Arabian Peninsula, late Mamluk Egypt, and Syria. Sufis and other groups used it to keep awake during spiritual exercises, and coffeehouse culture was on the rise. Pecevi, an Ottoman historian, noted that the people meeting in these places formed a circle of idlers and pleasure seekers, as well as intellectual luminaries. Some read books and manuscripts, some played backgammon and chess, and some brought new poems and talked of literature.¹ It is well known that some jurists prohibited the drinking of coffee, claiming that its addictiveness made it similar to smoking. Among those who boldly asserted the permissibility of coffee was Sufi-cum-muhaddith Ahmad al-Qushashi (d. 1660). He used to say:

“One of the blessings of Allah on the inhabitants of the Hijaz was coffee beans, because those people were mostly poor and weak, and people used to come to them from everywhere. It is a must for a host to offer food to his guests, but, due to poverty, those people could not afford to offer such food for every guest. Coffee is a light provision; people rich and poor; old and young, enjoy it. Hence [coffee] was a salvation for the poor, allowing them to perform their duty toward their guests coming to them from distant places. There was no doubt that the inhabitants of the Hijaz also favored coffee as an entertaining drink for their guests. And from a legal point of view, a man has to maintain his honor.”

In a period when coffee was an unusual product, associated with Sufis, al-Qushashi insisted on its permissibility.²

1. Kafadar, “A History of Coffee,” 50.

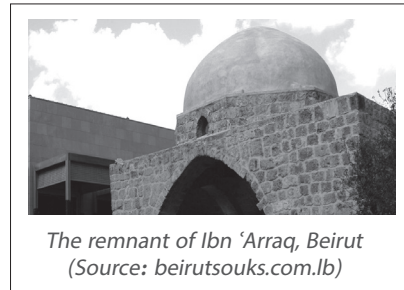
2. Al-Dihan, “Critical Edition of Muhammad al-Tayyib's Manuscript 'Travel to Hijaz,'” 64-5, 112.

Al-Qushashi was the most dominant Sufi scholar in seventeenth-century Ottoman Hijaz. He is depicted as merciful to other people in many biographical sources and writings, and his support for coffee culture was predicated on his concern for the economic welfare of the inhabitants of the Hijaz, who benefited from the production of coffee. His role in spreading knowledge as far as Indonesia cannot be ignored. Most later renowned Sufis and hadith scholars, to whom some modern historians refer as the proponents of “Islamic revival and reform,” transmitted certificates from Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1690) that originated in al-Qushashi’s scholarly genealogy. However, little research has been done on the life, writings, and legacy of al-Qushashi. This paper offers insights on the intellectual formation of this leading scholar.

Genealogy and Biography ▶

• *The Progeny of Jerusalem’s Sufi*

There is an interesting story that comes from the turn of the sixteenth century. A Sufi shaykh named Ahmad left the small district of al-Dajaniyya and migrated to Jerusalem; he was called Ahmad al-Dajani, after his place of origin, but became famous by his nickname, Shihab al-Din. Ahmad al-Dajani studied with the Circassian shaykh Muhammad Ibn ‘Arraq of Damascus (d. 1526 in Mecca) as well as Ibn ‘Arraq’s own shaykh, ‘Ali bin Maymun.³ These two scholars were Sufis and vocal advocates of the teaching of Ibn ‘Arabi in Syria and Turkey in the sixteenth century.⁴ Ibn Maymun’s tariqa, the Khawatiriyya (from



3. Ibn Maymun’s teaching was not subsequently institutionalized. No shrine, mawlid, or family order followed in his footsteps. See Winter, “Sufism in the Mamluk Empire,” 151.

4. Syrian and Ottoman historians such as Ibn Tulun, al-Ghazzi, and Taşköprüzade included ‘Ali bin Maymun in their collections of biographies or chronicles.

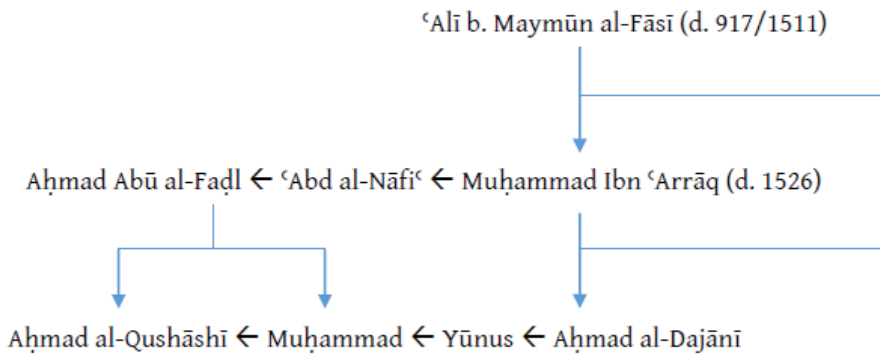
khawatir, notions; also called the ‘Arraqiyya after Ibn ‘Arraq), was one of the Sufi fraternities that the eighteenth/nineteenth-century North African Sufi al-Sanusi held in high regard and discussed in his work *al-Salsabil al-mu‘in*.⁵ Ibn ‘Arraq himself, with his religious authority, was central to the establishment of private madrasas and zawiyas in Beirut during the Mamluk architectural project that began in 1517, in the era of Ottoman conquest.⁶ It is said that Ibn ‘Arraq went to perform hajj in 1518 and remained in Mecca until his death. The teachers of Ahmad al-Dajani held prominent positions. This is especially true of Ibn ‘Arraq, who descended from a Mamluk amir and had considerable family wealth.

Ahmad al-Dajani, who descended from the Ansari kinsman Tamim bin Aws al-Dari (d. 661 AD), was, in political terms, close to the Ottoman authorities in Jerusalem. The Ottomans worried about the Christian laws in place in Jerusalem and wanted to diminish the Christian legacy in the city. The city was islamicized by a number of methods: the occupation of Christian holy places with Muslim tenants, the expulsion of Fransiscans from Mount Zion, the transformation of a church near David’s tomb into a mosque, the conversion of monastery buildings into dervish residences, and finally the issuance of Sultan Suleyman’s firman of 1549, which ordered all monks and other “Franks” to move away from the vicinity of the tomb and invited Sufis to occupy the monks’ residences. The property of the Christians was

5. See the MS of *al-Salsabil al-mu‘in* of al-Sanusi in the Library of King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz at the Umm al-Qura University, Mecca. Al-Sanusi listed forty “distinguished fraternities,” including al-Khawatiriyya and his own fraternity, al-Tariqa al-Muhammadiyya, to emphasize the many fraternities he officially recognized as well as to connect his Sufi fraternity to other major fraternities. He cited Ibrahim al-Kurani, the successor of al-Qushashi (discussed later), in the opening of the text to stress the plurality of fraternities and the idea that the essence of their teachings is one and the same (*anna al-turuq ila Allahi ta‘ala kathira... innaha bi-‘adad anfas al-khala’iq wa-hiya wa-in tasha‘‘abat fa-hiya fi al-haqiqa wahida*). The MS was stamped as having previously belonged to the Library of the Muhammadiyya School (*Kutubkhana-yi Madrasa-yi Muhammadiyya*).

6. For the life and architectural legacy of Ibn ‘Arraq, see al-Harithy, “Weaving Historical Narratives: Beirut Last Mamluk Monument,” in *Necipoğlu and Bailey, Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture*, 217–21.

confiscated and dedicated as a waqf to the Sufi Ahmad al-Dajani and his descendants and followers. In his own time, Ahmad al-Dajani was known as “the head of the gnostics” (qutb al-‘arifin) and “the paragon of mystics” (qudwat al-salikin).⁷ One of the sons of Ahmad al-Dajani, Yunus, migrated to Medina. His family settled there and were living in Medina at the time of the 1593 birth of Yunus’s grandson Safi al-Din, later called Ahmad al-Qushashi.



Ahmad al-Qushāshī’s familial and spiritual genealogy
 (Blue lines denote teacher-student relations; black lines indicate
 familial descendants)

7. Winter, “Sufism in the Mamluk Empire.”

• *Biography*

The *tabaqat* work *Khabaya al-zawaya*, by the Meccan scholar Hasan al-‘Ujaymi (d. 1702), is a valuable source on seventeenth-century Sufi figures and institutions especially in the Hijaz. Unfortunately, this rich, informative work has yet to be edited. What follows is some information on the life and intellectual activities of al-Qushashi, who was a favorite teacher of al-‘Ujaymi, based on a manuscript held at the Library of Medina Grand Mosque. This source complements the well-known biographies of al-Hamawi (*Fawa'id al-irtihal wa-nata'ij al-safar*) and al-Muhibbi (*Khulasat al-athar fi a'yan al-qarn al-hadi 'ashar*) and the travel literature of ‘Abdullah al-‘Ayyashi (*al-Rihla al-‘Ayyashiyya*).

Al-Qushashi was born on 12 Rabi‘ al-awwal 991 AH (April 5, 1583). He was called “the teacher of scholars” (*ustadh al-‘ulama*). Growing up in Medina, his father taught him the Qur’an and law according to the Maliki school. He attended the lessons of sayyid Muhammad bin ‘Isa al-Tilimsani during his childhood and also received instruction on the *madhhab* from him. Anthony Johns mentions that al-Qushashi spent part of his life as a soldier.⁸

In 1602 al-Qushashi traveled to Yemen with his father, Muhammad bin Yunus,⁹ to study with a number of scholars, particularly those with whom his father studied. When he arrived near Zabid, he met with Ahmad al-‘Ajl. With *al-shaykh al-muhaqqiq* al-Amin bin al-Siddiq al-Marwahi, he became immersed in the Sufi path. During his years in Yemen, al-Qushashi read

8. Johns, “Al-Kushashi.”

9. Muhammad bin Yunus, ‘Abd al-Nabi (d. 1634), was born and raised in Medina and memorized the Qur’an. He studied Maliki law like his teacher Muhammad bin ‘Isa al-Tilimsani al-Maliki. Muhammad bin Yunus traveled to Yemen in 1602 and took lessons with various scholars and Sufi masters, particularly al-Amin bin al-Siddiq al-Marwahi, Muhammad al-Gharb, Ahmad al-Satiha al-Zayla‘i, ‘Ali al-Qab‘, and ‘Ali bin Mutir. He received *ijazas* from several teachers. Those who learned from him include al-Tahir bin Muhammad al-Ahdal, and Muhammad al-Farawi. He resided in Sanaa among the Sufi nobility. see al-hamawi, *Fawa'id al-irtihal*.

books on hadith and Sufism under his father's guidance. He had encounters with Ahmad al-Satiha al-Zayla'i, *sayyid* Muhammad al-Gharb, and *sayyid* 'Ali al-Qab', from whom he witnessed saintly miracles (*karamat*). Afterward, he returned to Medina and devoted his time to the activities of his family's *zawiya*.

Al-Qushashi studied diligently with the teachers of his father, including 'Umar bin Badr al-Din al-'Adili, Muhammad bin 'Isa al-Marakishi, and Ahmad Abu al-Fadl bin 'Abd al-Nafi' bin Muhammad bin 'Arraq. It is interesting to see that al-Dajani's descendants (al-Qushashi and his father) learned from Ibn 'Arraq's descendants, revealing an unshakable affiliation between the two Sufi families. (see the genealogy above). One night, after praying and performing remembrance (*dhikr*), al-Qushashi dreamed that he met Abu al-Mawahib Ahmad bin 'Ali al-Shinnawi (d. 1619). In the early morning, after the dawn prayer, he visited the grave of the Prophet and then met with Ahmad al-Shinnawi, who shook al-Qushashi's hand and brought him to his house. Al-Qushashi recounted his dream to al-Shinnawi, who made him his student and initiated him into his school of spirituality. Al-Qushashi read a number of canonical works with al-Shinnawi, including *al-Sahihayn* and other compendiums of hadith, *Tafsir al-Fatiha* of Sadruddin al-Qunawi, *al-Jawahir al-Khams* of al-Ghawth Gwaliyari (d. 1563), *al-Zawra'* of Jalal al-Din Dawani (d. 1502), and other works from various scholars.

He also pursued the art of preaching (*da'wa*), philosophical knowledge (*'ilm al-hikma*), Shafi'i jurisprudence, and grammar. Al-Shinnawi brought al-Qushashi to meet Mulla al-shaykh al-Hindi and to read *Kafiya* of Ibn al-Hajib. Al-Shinnawi also compelled him to meet with 'Abd al-Halim al-Gujarati. Al-Ghawth's successor from India, who was visiting Medina, was also present at this meeting. Al-Qushashi dedicated his time to studying with al-Shinnawi until he married his teacher's daughter; after the marriage,

al-Shinnawi bestowed on him all the *ijazas* that he himself held,¹⁰ including those of the Shafi‘i school of law, with which al-Shinnawi was affiliated. Al-Shinnawi said, “*Ajztuka bi-hadrati ahadiyyat al-jam’ al-mushtamila ‘ala jami’ al-kamalat aw kalamam qariban min hadha.*” Al-Shinnawi passed away in 1619.

Al-Qushashi then attended the forum (*suhba*) of As‘ad and studied Ibn ‘Arabi’s *al-Fusus* and *Miftah al-Ghayb* as well as other writings by al-Qunawi. As‘ad gave him an *ijaza* along with the customary Sufi cloak (*khirqah*). Al-Qushashi also met Mahfuz bin ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Khalwati and joined the Khalwatiyya fraternity. He also learned from Nur Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ghawth and Shah Fadil al-Hindi, from whom he transmitted hadith from al-Shams al-Ramli, ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Fahd, and Muhammad al-Zamzami.

Al-Qushashi authored more than fifty books—according to Muhibbi, as many as seventy—on the subjects of divine remembrance, *usul al-din*, hadith, and Sufism. It is narrated that al-Qushashi told al-‘Ujaymi that he himself had performed saintly miracles, which were hidden from the knowledge of lay people. Al-Qushashi reported that he met with Ayyub al-Khalwati of Damascus, who told al-Qushashi that “in every age there is a *samad*, and you are the *samad* of this time” (*li-kulli zaman samadun wa-innaka samadu hadha al-waqt*). Al-Khalwati instructed al-Qushashi in the glosses of *Risalat shaqq al-jayb*. ‘Abd al-Khaliq al-Hindi reported that al-Qushashi witnessed the prophetic presence (*al-hadra al-muhammadiyya*). ‘Abdullah al-Jabarti said, “I haven’t seen anyone from the later period (*al-muta’akhhirin*) who has authored the sciences of truth (*al-haqqa’iq*) better than his [al-Qushashi’s] tasting (*dhawq*).”¹¹ ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maghribi said to al-‘Ujaymi that al-Qushashi mingled with the elites of *al-dhawq*,

10. The tendency to contract such marriages continued to the time of al-Kurani, who married al-Qushashi’s daughter and succeeded him in both the scholarly and spiritual realms.

11. «Ma r’aaytu ahadan min al-muta’akhhirin allafa fi al-haqqa’iq ‘an dhawqihi al-asahib al-tarjama».

including Ja‘far al-Sadiq, ‘Abd al-Kabir al-Hadrami, ‘Ali al-Kaziruni, and ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Bayruti. One of the Sufi masters (*ahl al-dhawq*) said, “If there is a seeker (*salik*) on the path of the fellows of Malamatiyya in this time, it is [al-Qushashi].” Al-Qushashi hid his saintly miracles even as he pointed out his own faults (*‘ayb*)—a common practice of the Malamatiyya fraternity, which valued the importance of self-blame to remind themselves of their imperfection. This practice led al-Qushashi, despite his prominent family status, to wear a layperson’s clothing instead of the cloak of jurists or nobles. He had many students from the Haramayn, Egypt, the Levant, Maghreb, al-Takrur (Sub-Saharan Africa), and Yemen, as well as from the Hadramawt nobility. A large number of Jawi Muslims coming from Jawa, Southeast Asia, also came to study with al-Qushashi, but the only one al-‘Ujaymi mentions explicitly is the celebrated Yusuf al-Jawi of Makassar (d. 1699), whom he may have encountered in person.

Among the students who emerged from al-Qushashi’s circle are Mulla Ibrahim al-Kurani, ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Ahmad al-Idrisi, Muhanna bin ‘Awd, ‘Isa, ‘Abd Allah Ahmad Bafaqih, Muhammad al-Kawafi al-Shami, and Muhammad al-Rudani. Other members of the religious elite who benefited from his scholarship include ‘Abdullah bin al-‘Aydarus, ‘Ali al-Dayba‘, Muhammad al-Rushli, ‘Abdullah al-‘Ayyashi, and Muhammad al-Barzanji. Some of these students, not all of whom were involved in the Hijazi milieu, became active as key intellectual figures during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Al-Qushashi passed away on 19 Dhu al-Hijja 1070 AH/August 26, 1680, and was buried in the eastern part of al-Baqi‘ al-Gharqad, near the graves of *al-sayyida* Halima al-Sa‘diyya and Fatima.

• *Intellectual Genealogy*

While studying in Yemen, al-Qushashi was disturbed by an incident whose details are unclear. Therefore, he returned quickly to Mecca and then to Medina. There he continued to study with Sufi masters, especially Abu al-Mawahib al-Shinnawi and Sibghatullah al-Baruchi or al-Barwaji in Arabic (of Bharuch, India, d. 1606). Through this circle, he read the works of Ghawth Gwaliyari, especially *al-Jawahir al-Khams*, whose Arabic translation was completed by al-Baruchi.¹² Accounts of the popularity of this Shattari text, even in other fraternities, appear in many sources. The text was circulated as far as Morocco and Indonesia via Qushashi's forum: Today's Moroccan and Indonesian libraries attest to the wide circulation of manuscripts of this text.¹³

Al-Qushashi was affiliated with a number of tariqas, including the Naqshbandiyya, the Qadiriyya, and the Shattariyya. While al-Qushashi was famous in the Middle East for his Naqshbandi tariqa, in Southeast Asia he was known as a Shattari master—his student 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fansuri of Singkel (the chief jurist of the seventeenth-century Aceh Imperium) spread his teachings there. His works were translated into the Jawi language and annotated, and they spread throughout Southeast Asian maritime culture. One of the books written by 'Abd al-Ra'uf, titled *Tanbih al-Mashi al-mansub ila Tariq al-Qushashi*, became the Sufi philosophical manual of the Shattari fraternity in the Malay world. It is also clear that a tariqa in Sumatra was named after him: al-Tariqa al-Qushashiyya.

12. See Carl Ernst, "Jawaher-e kamsa."

13. Manuscript catalogs at the Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc as well as al-Zawiya al-'Ayyashiyya, for example, provide evidence of how books originally written in India and Medina had circulated until the Maghreb. This circulation, from the Eastern to the Western post-classical Islamic world, occurred in large part thanks to the crucial role of al-Qushashi and his proponents in Medina.

A reading of Ibrahim al-Kurani's (d. 1690) intellectual genealogy doubles as a genealogy of al-Qushashi, because al-Kurani's intellectual maturity emerged after his intensive encounter with al-Qushashi in the early 1650s. Al-Kurani gained broad knowledge from many prominent teachers in Damascus, Cairo, and the holy cities. Al-Qushashi's guidance was especially significant: he not only transmitted hadith to al-Kurani but also instructed him in the rational sciences (*al-ma'qulat*). So far, no scholar has delineated al-Qushashi's intellectual genealogy. But through a reconstruction of his writings, especially his *al-Simt al-majid* (published in Hyderabad, India), and al-Kurani's biography *al-Amam li-iqaz al-himam* (also published in Hyderabad), we can trace his intellectual formation.

The following two lineages describe Qushashi's pursuit of knowledge — the first in hadith, the second in Sufism:

1. Al-Qushashi ← Ahmad al-Shinnawi ← al-Shams Muhammad al-Ramli ← Zakariyya al-Ansari ← Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani ← Abu al-Hasan al-Dimashqi ← Abu al-'Abbas al-Hijazi ← Abu 'Abdullah al-Zabidi ← Abu al-Waqt al-Sijzi ← Abu al-Hasan al-Dawudi ← Abu Muhammad al-Hamawi ← Abu 'Abdullah al-Farbari ← al-Bukhari (*al-Simt*, 45).
2. Al-Qushashi ← his father, Muhammad bin Yunus ('Abd al-Nabi) bin Wali Allah al-qutb al-rabbani al-sayyid al-hasib al-nasib Ahmad al-Dajani bin al-sayyid al-hasib al-nasib 'Ali bin al-sayyid al-hasib al-badri Hasan bin al-sayyid Yasin al-Badri ← 'Umar bin Shaykh Badr al-Din 'Umar al-'Adili ← 'Abd al-Latif ← Badr al-Din al-'Adili ← Ahmad bin Abu al-'Abbas al-Hurriyati from 'Ali bin Khalil al-Mirsafi ← Muhammad bin Shu'ayb al-Maghribi ← Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Da'im ← Hasan al-Tustari ← Jamal al-Din Yusuf bin 'Abdullah al-Kurani ← Najm al-Din Mahmud al-Isfahani ← Badr al-Din Mahmud al-Tusi ← Nur al-Din 'Abd al-Samad al-Tanzi ← Najib al-Din 'Ali bin Bazghash-i Shirazi ← Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (*al-Simt*, 65).

Other *ijazas*, recorded by al-Kurani in works such as *al-Amam* and *Ijazatnamah*, are remarkable in terms of the variety of first-rate scholars they feature. They link other types of scholarship with the tradition of philosophy and theology brought by the people of Persia (*al-‘ajam*), especially the *tahqiq* tradition.¹⁴ These *ijazas* in the rational sciences helped expand the scholastic discussion of rational theology, especially within the Ash‘arite tradition. Al-Qushashi transferred this knowledge to the Jawi people, who called him, along with al-Kurani, *shaykh kita* (our shaykh).

A Preliminary Account of al-Qushashi’s Works and Their Reception ►

Al-Qushashi’s works number more than fifty, but to my knowledge only one book has been edited so far: *al-Simt al-Majid*, published in the early twentieth century in Hyderabad. His oeuvre covers many branches of the Islamic sciences. Of particular interest is his explication of *wihdat al-wujud*, since he played a crucial role in spreading the doctrine throughout the Muslim world via his worldwide network of students. In addition, he proposed a Sufi exegesis of hadith, a rarity among Sufi authors, most of whom dedicate the majority of their hermeneutical skills to the Qur’an. There is a

limited number of places at which manuscripts attributed to al-Qushashi are available. I consulted the major existing copies at libraries in Istanbul, Medina, and Aceh. In addition, libraries in Damascus, Cairo, Rabat, Tarim,



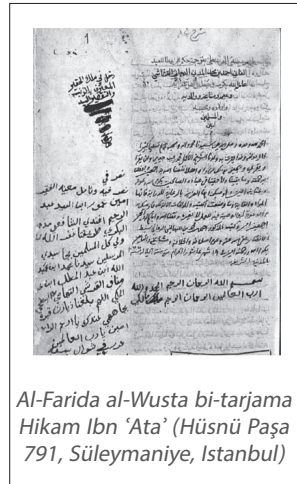
Al-Simt al-majid fi sha'n al-bay'a wa-l-dhikr wa-talqinihi wa-salasil ahl al-tawhid (Hyderabad edition, 1327 AH)

14. El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, includes seventeenth-century Medinan teachers like al-Qushashi and al-Kurani as proponents of “the gate of verification” (*bab al-tahqiq*). However, more research is needed on the conceptual history of *tahqiq* from the time of Avicenna until the eighteenth century, when its historical trajectory was radically transformed in multiple ways.

Sanaa, and some Indian cities have documents on al-Qushashi’s reception. Nonetheless, it is sufficient for scholars interested in al-Qushashi’s global reception to look at inventories of his writings in catalogs.

A brief look at manuscripts attributed to al-Qushashi reveals that they can be sorted into three categories. The first consists of Sufi texts. Al-Baghdadi lists some of al-Qushashi’s works, including *Hashiya ‘ala al-Insan al-Kamil li- ‘Abd al-Karim al-Jili, al-Kalima al-Wusta fi sharh Hikam Ibn ‘Ata’, and al-Kamalat al-ilahiyya*.

The collection listed in the Süleymaniye Library’s Hasan Hüsnü Paşa collection, no. 791, entitled *al-Farida al-Wusta bi-tarjama Hikam Ibn ‘Ata’,* is slightly different from the text al-Baghdadi mentions in his biographies.¹⁵ This long commentary on al-Hikam comprises 226 folios, or 452 pages



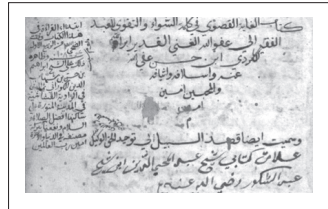
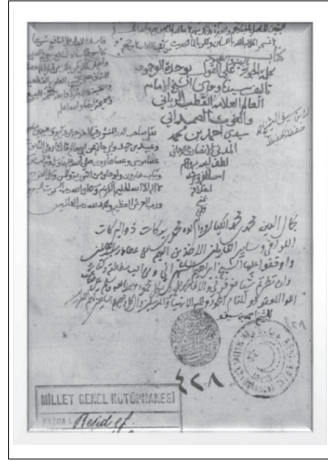
Al-Farida al-Wusta bi-tarjama Hikam Ibn ‘Ata’ (Hüsnü Paşa 791, Süleymaniye, İstanbul)

— one of the most extensive commentaries on Ibn ‘Ata’Allah’s sublime writing. The copy was completed in Medina on Muharram 1048 AH/ May 1638. No copyist is named on the manuscript. The work is one of the most important Sufi commentaries of the seventeenth-century Ottoman period. The copy I found in Istanbul is unique; the following description of the manuscript is, to the best of my knowledge, the only one available.

15. Al-Hamawi mentions that al-Qushashi’s father, Muhammad bin Yunus, also composed two volumes of commentary on Ibn ‘Ataïllah’s al-Hikam, in addition to Sharh ‘ala al-Ajurumiyya with Sufi interpretation in the style of “the grammar of the heart” (*Nahw al-qalb*) by al-Qushayri.

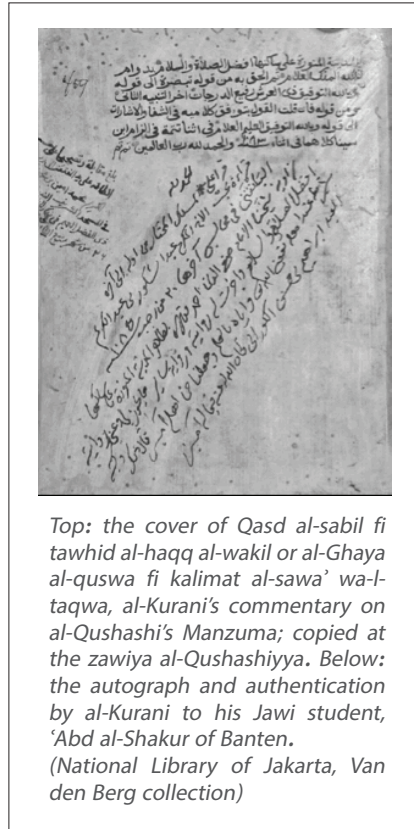
Al-Qushashi's other manuscripts on Sufism are:

1. *Miftah al-rahma fi idha'at karama min karamat al-umma* is stored at Hacı Selim Ağa Kutuphanesi, which is housed in a small building in Üsküdar on the Asian side of Istanbul. It was completed in Medina, *thani ayyam al-tashriq* 1043/Saturday, October 4, 1653. The cover says in Ottoman Turkish that belonged to the endowment of the Atik Valide Mosque.
2. The Reşid Efendi collection's MS no. 428 in the Süleymaniye Library contains many works on Sufism, including *Kalimat al-Jud 'ala al-qawl bi-wihdat al-wujud*, which is essential for understanding al-Qushashi's commentary on the doctrine of the "oneness of being"; *Ijabat al-akh al-fadil al-kamil bi-hall al-abwab al-arba'a min kitab al-insan al-kamil*; *al-Mikyās fi nayl ma'rifat al-'urafa' bi-llah al-akyas*; *Surat al-sa'ada bi-tilawat kitab al-ibda' wa-l-i'ada*; and *Risala fi tarjuman ba'd asrar al-dhikr*.



Kalimat al-jud 'ala al-qawl bi-wihdat al-wujud (Reşid Efendi 428/01, Süleymaniye, Istanbul)

The second group of texts deals with theology. Al-Qushashi's most famous theological writing is his poem explaining the Ash'arite perspective, called *al-Manzuma fi al-'Aqa'id*, which is extant in some Turkish library collections. Al-Kurani produced an extensive commentary on the work, entitled *Qasd al-Sabil*; an abridgment—*mukhtasar*—of it was translated into Malay by his student 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Jawi al-Fansuri (d. 1693) and titled *Sullam al-mustafidin*. It not clear, however, whether this poem is widely remembered, since the Jawis, for instance, were familiar with *al-'Aqida al-sanusiyya* rather than al-Qushashi's *Manzuma*. This fact does not undermine the irreplaceable



Top: the cover of *Qasd al-sabil fi tawhid al-haqq al-wakil* or *al-Ghaya al-quswa fi kalimat al-sawa' wa-l-taqwa*, al-Kurani's commentary on al-Qushashi's *Manzuma*; copied at the *zawiya al-Qushashiyya*. Below: the autograph and authentication by al-Kurani to his Jawi student, 'Abd al-Shakur of Banten. (National Library of Jakarta, Van den Berg collection)

status of al-Qushashi's body of work on Sufism in the imagination of early modern Jawi Islam. *Qasd al-sabil* itself became one of the most quoted treatises in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the Jawi ecumene, 'Abd al-Rauf was an important direct student of both al-Qushashi and al-Kurani; there were also other prominent students, whose full identities we do not know. One of these students was 'Abd al-Shakur al-Bantani (d. unknown; of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Fansuri's generation), but there are no further clues as to the identity of this Bantanese scholar, who copied *Qasd al-sabil* in al-Qushashi's *zawiya* and got an original autograph, or manuscript authentication, from al-Kurani. This copy is now stored at the National Library of Indonesia. 'Abd al-Shakur also posed some theological problems to al-Kurani, who wrote responses to them.

Other theological writings by al-Qushashi in the Reşid Efendi collection include *al-Ifada bi-ma bayna al-ikhtiyar wa-l-irada*; *Risala fi idah qawl al-Ghazali: laysa fi al-imkan ibda'*; and *al-Intisar li-imam al-haramayn fi radd man shanna 'a 'alayh*. The topic of human freedom (*ikhtiyar, irada, istita'a*) was one of the main subjects addressed by al-Qushashi and al-Kurani. They not only reformulated Ash'arite positions but also engaged in heated debates with other schools, including the Zaydi Shi'ites in Yemen. Al-Qushashi and later al-Kurani articulated some of their ideas in response to Zaydi positions. İnce, a Turkish scholar, has indicated that both al-Qushashi and al-Kurani were committed to the defense of al-Juwayni's (d. 1085) position in this matter and were targeted by their own contemporaries as a result. Their position was held not only by al-Juwayni but also by Zaydi scholars, whose stance was close to that of the Mu'tazila. The Zaydis considered al-Juwayni's view on human freedom identical to that of the Mu'tazila. Some of al-Qushashi's and al-Kurani's inquiries are concerned with these understudied topics. According to İnce, al-Qushashi's writings defend the opinion of al-Juwayni as articulated in 1050, soon after the establishment of Zaydi rule in Yemen.¹⁶

The rise of Zaydi rule in Yemen encouraged many scholars in the Hijaz to respond to their political ideology and policies. According to al-Hamawi, al-Qushashi's father had a bitter experience with Zaydi rule: while preaching in Yemen, his activities were abruptly blocked by the Zaydis and he never returned to the country. Al-Qushashi's arguments were in part triggered by such political concerns. This context also explains why al-Kurani wrote treatises to counter the Mu'tazilite position defended by Zaydi scholars. A treatise that al-Kurani authored in the year following his arrival in Medina (1651) evidently refers to theological questions of the Zaydis.¹⁷ Another treatise details al-Kurani's attempt to respond, at al-Qushashi's request, to

16. İnce, "Medina im 12./18. Jahrhundert," 120. The exact nature of the relationship between the Zaydis and al-Qushashi should be scrutinized separately by consulting extant manuscripts.

17. *Ibid.*, 323.

problems posed by Zaydi theological perspectives, such as the issue of the plurality of *madhahib*. The treatise can be found in some libraries, including the Süleymaniye Library and the Hans Daiber Collection at the University of Tokyo. As noted by İnce, this is further evidence of the close relationship between scholarly discourses in Yemen and the Hijaz.¹⁸

It would be naive to separate al-Kurani's writings in response to Jawi theological questions from those of al-Qushashi. These writings by al-Kurani include, for example, *Ithaf al-dhaki*, *al-Maslak al-jali fi hukm sath al-wali*, *al-Jawabat al-gharawiyya*, *Risalat al-su'ud ila sihhat al-qawl li-wihdat al-wujud*, and *Ijabat al-sa'il 'amma istashkalahu min al-mas'ail*. These treatises are important not only because they illustrate the connection between the Arabian and Indian Ocean cultural milieus, but also because some of them respond to larger seventeenth-century debates. Among them, only *Ithaf al-dhaki*, the significant commentary on al-Burhanpuri's *al-Tuhfa al-mursala 'ila ruh al-nabi*¹⁹ (which perplexed the Jawis due to its philosophical Sufism), was read widely. Numerous copies of this text survive around the world. If the Jawis had not posed religious problems to al-Qushashi, al-Kurani would not have written these texts. When the Jawis posed their questions, probably in the late 1650s, al-Qushashi was too old to spend his energy on writing long commentaries. Thus, his son-in-law and future successor was compelled to do so at al-Qushashi's special request. It is also reported that al-Kurani shared al-Qushashi's pedagogical approach: he was very generous to the Jawis and displayed a dialectical teaching method.

18. Ibid.

19. Al-Burhanpuri's treatise had been commented on transregionally, not only in Arabia, but earlier in Aceh, and later in the Syrian and Ottoman Anatolian contexts (so in Malay, Arabic, and Ottoman). It was also translated into the Javanese language. The reception of the text extended to the Maghreb, very likely because of its popularity in seventeenth-century Hijaz, where many Moroccan scholars studied and exchanged ideas.

The third and final group of texts by al-Qushashi deals with hadith and jurisprudence. Major bio-bibliographies describe al-Qushashi as a unique *muhaddith*, but we lack knowledge of his specific works on hadith. However, some clues can be found in his writings, including *al-Simt al-majid*, which often cite hadith with complete *isnads*. Following al-Qushashi's example, al-Kurani pursued the shortest and most reliable transmissions of the prophetic tradition. Al-Qushashi was regarded as superior in terms of hadith transmission, which connected him to a chain of Egyptian scholars up to Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani. Al-Qushashi very likely narrated hadith to Jawi scholars, in addition to teaching them Shafi'i jurisprudence.

Al-Qushashi is claimed as a jurist by both the Maliki and Shafi'i schools. But only the latter affiliation can be proven; his Jawi followers were Shafi'is. Some of al-Kurani's responses to Jawi problems, originally posed to al-Qushashi, pertain to legal issues as understood by the Shafi'i school. The *tabaqat* of the Shafi'is speak periodically about the special importance of al-Qushashi and al-Kurani in this school. More studies should be done on al-Qushashi's Shafi'i affiliation, especially in connection with the spread of works by Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (d. 1566) and of some Cairene scholars who were also critically important in the development of the school in the Indian Ocean world.

The Zawiya and the Scholarly Circle of al-Qushashi ►

There is no doubt that from the time of the Prophet until the present day, Medina played an important role in the transmission of Islamic knowledge. For the purpose of the present discussion, it is sufficient to address briefly the scholarly milieu in Mecca during Mamluk rule.²⁰

During the Mamluk era, each scholar had his own forum (*halqa*). Ibn Farhun (d. 1397) wrote about the scholarly culture that unfolded in the Prophet's Mosque. Another bibliographer, Ibn Rushayd (d. 1321), reported studying in two forums in his *Mil'u al-'ayba*: those of Abu Muhammad and

20. See al-Mudiris, *al-Madina al-munawwara fi al-'asr al-mamluki*.

Abu al-Qasim al-Zujajjiyyin. Both forums contributed to the crowded environment of Islamic education in the Prophet’s Mosque (*hadd al-jidar al-jawfi al-asli qabl al-ziyada min masjid al-mustafa sallallahu ‘alayhi wa-sallam*). Al-Balwi (d. after 1365) said that he attended the forum of Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Allah bin As‘ad al-Yafi‘i al-Yamani al-Shafi‘i (d. 1365), and heard from the latter his book on the virtues of reading Qur’an.



A Medinan teacher from India, Baha' al-Din ‘Umar bin Muhammad al-Hindi al-Hanafi (d. 1356) taught at the Prophet’s Mosque for some time. There was also a teacher there named Ibrahim al-Tilimsani (d. 1354), who taught Shafi‘i law. When Ibn Battuta visited the city in 1326, the Prophet’s Mosque was not closed even at night, and the scholarly forums were always buzzing with students.

Numerous sciences were taught in the city, including hadith, *tafsir*; the science of recitation (*‘ilm al-qira’at*), jurisprudence, *adab*, Arabic language and literature, and Sufism. Some scholars also taught other subjects, such as laws of inheritance (*al-fara'id*), mathematics (*al-hisab, al-jabr, al-muqabala*), and logic (*al-mantiq*). This teaching and reading tradition had no doubt continued since the post-classical period, or from the twelfth century onward. Marco Schöller notes that in the later Mamluk age and during the Ottoman period, Medina seriously rivaled Cairo and Damascus as a place of learning; the distance of Medina from the capitals of political power seems to have facilitated this development.²¹ In the seventeenth century, Ahmad al-Qushashi and Ibrahim al-Kurani continued the tradition

21. Schöller, “Medina.”

of Islamic education in Medina that had been previously spearheaded by Ibn Farhun, al-Sakhawi (d. 1497), and al-Samhudi (d. 1506).

In the second half of the seventeenth century, ‘Abdallah al-‘Ayyashi (d. 1680) reported in detail on the activities of a particular group of Medinan scholars, including al-Qushashi, al-Kurani, al-Tha‘alibi, and al-Rudani.²² There is much information to be found about the foundation of *al-zawiya al-qushashiyya* in a variety of Ottoman and Jawi manuscripts. It is not clear, however, whether the zawiya named after al-Qushashi replaced an established seminary. There is a report from around 1630 by a *sayyid*, Ibrahim al-Hindi al-Bengali, who came to Medina in 1630 and apparently attached himself to al-Qushashi. He bought several properties in Medina and donated them to charitable causes. The construction of the zawiya of al-Qushashi, as well as a tomb next to the Mosque of ‘Ali, were among Sayyid Ibrahim’s donations. Some houses at the zawiya, also donated by Sayyid Ibrahim, were probably intended to underwrite its maintenance.²³ Al-Qushashi, who married the daughter of his teacher, the famous Sufi master Ahmad al-Shinnawi, succeeded not only because of his predecessor’s spiritual legacy but because of the considerable wealth he inherited through the marriage.²⁴ Al-Shinnawi himself was a member of Medina’s wealthy class. It is assumed that he had no male heirs and that al-Qushashi therefore became the only beneficiary of al-Shinnawi’s family wealth. Al-Qushashi also enlarged the scope of al-Shinnawi’s endowment by establishing another family trust for his descendants. The total number of al-Shinnawi’s and al-Qushashi’s beneficiaries comprised about 120 people during the eighteenth century. Al-Qushashi had a son named ‘Ali, from whom he had

22. Ince, “Medina im 12./18. Jahrhundert.”

23. Ince, “Medina im 12./18. Jahrhundert.” Ibrahim apparently had no children. According to Ince, Sayyid Ibrahim also helped finance political rulers in the Hijaz, as well as freeing slaves and their descendants.

24. Ibid.

two grandchildren, ‘Abdullah and Jamal al-Din.²⁵ Both grandsons took on some responsibilities in al-Qushashi’s institutions: Jamal al-Din held a position as a Qur’an teacher at the rear of the mosque, while ‘Abd Allah was the shaykh of the zawiya. Al-Qushashi’s family and students kept in contact with followers of his teachings elsewhere, especially in India and Indonesia. ‘Abd Allah’s visit to India, where he stayed for a long time and enjoyed elevated status as the shaykh of his grandfather’s zawiya, shows the strength of this network. Abu al-Fath (d. 1743), a son of ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Ali bin al-Qushashi, visited Java and returned with generous gifts for his family, further cementing its transregional connections. However, there was a conflict in the zawiya over the office of shaykh between the second son of ‘Abd Allah, Ahmad, and the son of his uncle Abu al-Ma‘ali (d. 1755). In 2015, Annabel Gallop discovered evidence of another visit to Celebes and other islands by al-Qushashi’s descendant Ibrahim Zayn al-‘Abidin in the diary of a Jawi Muslim on the British Library website.²⁶ The diary mentioned the visit and the deliverance of news that the Wahhabis had demolished venerated tombs in Mecca and Medina. These ongoing connections attest to the close connection between al-Qushashi’s legacy and that of the Jawis. In the early twentieth century, Snouck Hurgronje called al-Qushashi a “remarkable personage” in his anthropological account, *Achehnese* (1906).

Johns observes that al-Qushashi attracted numerous students and enjoyed a reputation for extraordinary humility.²⁷ Students from far and wide studied in the circle of al-Qushashi, which was maintained because the zawiya and al-Kurani’s leadership strengthened an established transregional network. For the first time in the early modern world, people from Morocco to Indonesia were thoroughly connected through *ijazas* and Sufi traditions under the banner of the Medinan school, especially al-Qushashi’s zawiya. Many

25. Ibid.

26. For a digital copy of the diary and its explanation, see Gallop, “Malay Manuscripts on Bugis History.”

27. Johns, “Al-Kushashi.”

people and institutions participated in the transregional construction of Sufi scholarship, but al-Qushashi's circle and legacy were more celebrated than others. Al-Qushashi's circle was the only major school to spread to the Indian Ocean before the nineteenth century.

We can reconstruct al-Qushashi's teaching in seventeenth-century Ottoman Medina by reading his contemporary al-'Ujaymi's bio-bibliography, *Khabaya al-zawaya* (extant manuscript copies are located in Medina and Cairo; see Appendix 1 for a list of the books al-'Ujaymi studied with al-Qushashi). The syllabus was advanced, covering both *al-manqulat* and *al-ma'qulat*. This curriculum, later developed further by al-Kurani, made al-Qushashi's circle famous. Many students also copied manuscripts in the *halqa*, either of al-Qushashi's and al-Kurani's writings or of the classical canon and post-classical writings. Jawi associates such as 'Abd al-Shakur of Banten (d. unknown) and Yusuf of Makassar (d. 1699) read and copied manuscripts in this scholarly milieu. It is likely that al-Qushashi's family endowment partially funded these scholarly activities, including the production of ur-texts and many manuscript copies. We are also told of the existence of *khizanat al-waqf*, an endowed library, which was administered by al-Kurani and contained a variety of books that Hijazi scholars could not otherwise access. There is no doubt that this kind of "*bayt al-hikma*" existed in Medina, but its structure and activities should be explored further in order to shed light on the intellectual work that took place there. In addition, evidence of the relationship between the circle of al-Qushashi and al-Kurani and the Ottoman Köprülü viziers, who attempted political reform, needs to be investigated.²⁸ A relationship of that kind might improve

28. Basheer Nafi's study "Tasawwuf and Reform in Pre-Modern Islamic Culture" concluded with a remark on the unclear relationship between the intellectual dynamism of al-Kurani and the short Ottoman renaissance promoted by the Köprülü family. While I disagree with Nafi's reading of al-Kurani, his comment on this connection is plausible. For example, I found some indications in manuscripts that Muhammad bin Rasul al-Barzanji, a student of al-Kurani, had a close relationship with Kara Mustafa Paşa (d. 1683), the successor of his brother-in-law Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (d. 1676).

our understanding of the complexity of the social and political contexts of intellectual activity in Medina, especially since the major copies of al-Kurani's writings are located in Istanbul—perhaps another key to clarifying the blurry relationship between the imperial city and the Arabian Peninsula.

The following list provides a selective sample of al-Qushashi's intellectual heirs:²⁹

1. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Maghribi al-Idrisi (d. 1674)
2. 'Isa al-Ja'fari al-Maghribi (d. 1669)
3. Muhanna bin 'Awd Bamazru' (d. unknown)
4. 'Abd Allah Balfaḥih (d. unknown) and the community of Ba'alwi's scholars, jurists of Bani Jam'an, and other Yemenite scholars and Hadrami Sufis including 'Abdullah bin 'Alawi al-Haddad (d. 1720), the author of the celebrated *Ratib al-haddad* (see appendix 2 for clarifying al-Qushashi's authority in the chain of transmission of a Hadrami scholar resident in nineteenth-century Batavia, Java)
5. Ibrahim al-Kurani
6. 'Abd al-Quddus bin Mustafa al-Safuri al-Fardi (d. unknown)³⁰
7. 'Abd al-Rāuf al-Jawi al-Fansuri

Al-Qushashi shaped seventeenth-century Medina with his intellectual activities and teaching, which were supported by the development of the zawiya run by his descendants and students. While the research to uncover al-Qushashi's intellectual project and legacy in their entirety is still in its infancy because of the small number of existing manuscripts, the authority he exerted over the generations of students who followed him constitutes

29- Some names here were also mentioned in Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World*, 192. Azra read مهنا as Mihnān, but I read it as Muhanna bin 'Awd Bamazru'. There are other numerous scholars, who transmitted certain knowledge from al-Qushashi, from the whole Mediterranean cities, Ottoman Levant and Arabian Peninsula, as well as Indian and Southeast Asian cities.

30- See al-Nabulusi, *Tahrīk al-Iqlīd*, 42.

a longue durée of intellectual inspiration. While al-Kurani was cited until the early twentieth century because of his attempt to revive Ibn Taymiyya's ideas,³¹ al-Qushashi was quoted because of his links to Sufis such as the North African political Sufi al-Sanusi and a Malay fraternity that chose al-Qushashi's name as its *nisba* (for an example of al-Qushashi's Sufi legacy in Aceh, Indonesia, see appendix 3).

Concluding Remarks ►

The issue of Islamic education in the classical and post-classical periods has been prominent since the publication of George Makdisi's seminal *The Rise of Colleges* (1981).³² Further groundbreaking works have followed this book, either supporting its central argument or criticizing some of its crucial parts, providing us with valuable insights into how the making of Islamic culture is closely connected to the rich traditions of reading, teaching, writing, and manuscript-making. Post-classical Islam, however, needs to be reinvestigated in the light of new attempts to define the period. While the study of the whole post-classical period requires a rigorous, diachronic approach, attention to specific cases is useful.

Only a few scholars have explored the history of Islamic education in the holy cities and the history of Hijazi culture before the rise of the Saudi state. It should not be overlooked that the political rupture between the Mamluk and post-Mamluk/Ottoman periods did not substantially affect the continuation of Sunni scholarship in and between Cairo, Damascus, and the Hijaz. A diachronic view of the Islamic learned tradition between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries is thus necessary. More

31- Beyond this inclination, El-Rouayheb's juxtaposition of Mulla Sadra of Shiraz and Ibrahim al-Kurani should be considered. El-Rouayheb writes, "Had the antiphilosophical and antimystical trends of Safavid Iran emerged victorious in the modern period chances are that Mulla Sadra would have been as little known today as Kurani is" (*Islamic Intellectual History*, 332).

32- Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*. See also Makdisi, "Scholastic Method in Medieval Education;" Granara, "Islamic Education and the Transmission of Knowledge in Muslim Sicily;" Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*.

attention should be paid to the seventeenth century, especially given the perception of the period's decadence. Following a series of publications by Ottomanists such as Nelly Hanna and Peter Gran, Khaled El-Rouayheb offers several new analyses in his recent book *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century*. El-Rouayheb describes Medina as one of the centers of Islamic thought in this period, having reevaluated intellectual discourse through a close reading of Medina's scholarly fluorescence.

While El-Rouayheb's book provides a thorough examination, expanding the scope of detailed analysis to more seventeenth-century cities and scholars is a necessary task. The above discussion offers a glimpse into the history of Islamic learning in seventeenth-century Medina through a focus on the intellectual forum of Ahmad al-Qushashi. A more holistic approach to Hijazi intellectual heritage in the seventeenth century, however, must also integrate the later career of Ahmad al-Shinnawi, al-Qushashi's teacher, and the peak era of Ibrahim al-Kurani, al-Qushashi's successor. Only by taking into account the social and intellectual formation of these figures, too, can we talk confidently about this progressive epoch in Medina.

• **Appendix 1:**

Al-‘Ujaymi studied the following works and subjects with al-Qushashi:³³

1. *Al-Durr al-manthur [fi tafsir bi-l-ma’thur]* of Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti
2. *Ihyà ‘ulum al-din* of al-Ghazali.
3. *Al-Mawahib al-laduniyya* [*‘ala al-Shama’ il al-Muhammadiyya* of al-Tirmidhi] (recited in the *halqa* by Muhammad bin Ibrahim al-Rumi).
4. Commentary on *al-Fusus* by Mulla Jami (with the reading of Ahmad bin Taj al-Din).
5. *Sahih al-Bukhari* (reading by ‘Ali Bazaghifan).
6. *Al-Muwatta’* by Malik, with the *riwaya* of Yahya bin Yahya and the *riwaya* of ‘Abd Allah bin Wahb, al-Qa’ nabi, Abu al-Qasim al-‘Utaqi, Ma’an bin ‘Isa, ‘Abd Allah bin Yusuf, Yahya bin Bakir, and Sa’id bin ‘Afir.
7. *Al-Sahihayn*.
8. *Sunan Abi Dawud*.
9. *Jami’ al-Tirmidhi*.
10. *Al-Sunan al-kubra wa-l-sughra of al-Nasa’i*.
11. *Sunan Abi Majah*.
12. *Sahih Abi ‘Awana wa-l-Isma’ili wa-Ibn Hibban wa-Ibn Khuzayma*.
13. *Al-Mustadrak of al-Hakim*.
14. *Al-Mustadrak li-l-Muslim of Abu Na’im*.
15. *Sunan al-Daraqutni, al-Kishshi, and Sa’id bin Mansur*.
16. *Musannaf ‘Abd al-Razzaq wa-Ibn Abi Shayba*.
17. *Kitab al-ashraf lahu*.
18. *Al-Sunan al-kubra of al-Bayhaqi*.
19. *Ma’rifat al-sunan wa-l-athar lahu*.
20. *Al-Masabih wa-sharh al-sunna of al-Baghawi*.
21. *Musnad al-Shafi’i, Imam Ahmad, al-Darimi, al-Tayalisi, ‘Abd bin Hamid, Harith bin Abi Usama, al-Bazzar, and Abu Ya’la*.
22. *Al-Muntaqa of Ibn al-Jarud*.

33- See MS Khabaya al-zawayya.

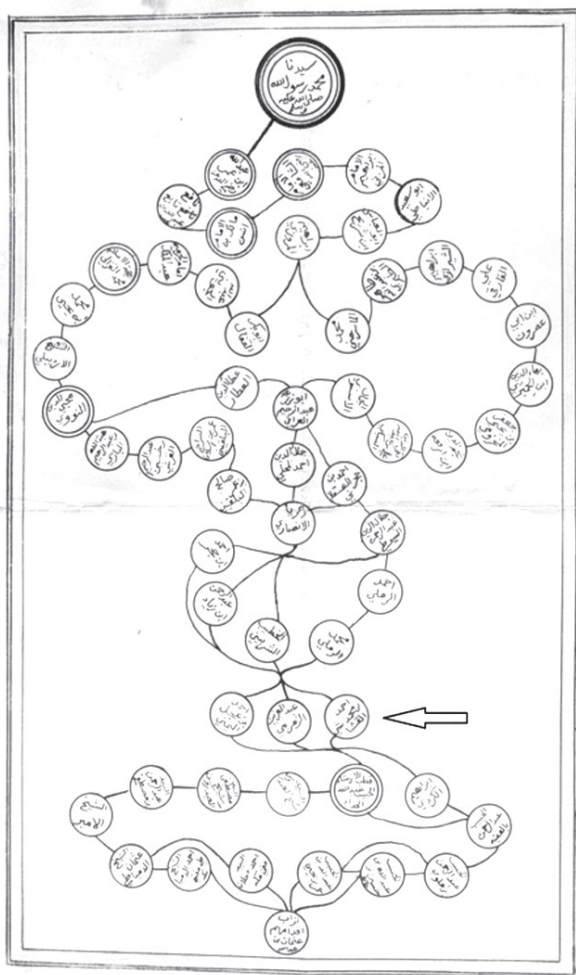
23. *Al-Mu`jam al-kabir* and *al-Mu`jam al-saghir* of al-Tabarani.
24. *Mu`jam al-Isma`ili wa-l-zuhd wa-l-raqa`iq* of Ibn al-Mubarak.
25. *Nawadir al-usul* of al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi.
26. *Al-Firdaws* of al-Daylami.
27. *Mujabi al-da`wa* of Ibn Abi al-Dunya.
28. *Al-Du`a* of al-Tabarani.
29. *Al-I`tiqad* of al-Tabarani.
30. *Iqtida` al-`ilm al-`amal* and *Tàrikh Baghdad* of al-Khatib al-Baghdadi.
31. *Tarikh Yahya bin Ma`in wa-l-Kuna wa-l-Asami* of *al-Nasa`i*.
32. *Tàrikh al-thiqat* of Ibn Hibban.
33. *Al-Irshad* of al-Khalil.
34. *Al-Isti`ab* of Ibn `Abd al-Barr.
35. *Amali al-Mahamili*, *Ruba`iyyat Abi Bakr al-Shafi`i*, and *`Amal al-yawm wa-l-layla* of Ibn al-Sunni.
36. *Al-Arba`un* by Ibn Aslam, al-Qushayri, and al-Ajurri.
37. *Nuzhat al-huffaz* of al-Madini.
38. *Muwafaqat al-a`imma al-Khamsa* of al-Diya' al-Maqdisi.
39. *Bughyat al-zaman min fawa'id Ibn Hibban*.
40. *Musalsalat Ibn al-Jazari*.
41. *`Ashariyyat al-hafiz Ibn Hajar wa-l-khisal al-mufakkira lahu*.
42. *Al-Nadiyat* of al-Suyuti.
43. *Al-Jiyad al-musalsalat lahu*.
44. *Al-Jam` bayna al-sahihayn lahu* of al-Hamidi.
45. *Jami` al-usul* of Ibn al-Athir.
46. *Al-Mishkat* of al-Khatib al-Tabrizi.
47. *Al-Jami` al-saghir li-l-Suyuti wa-dhayla lahu*.
48. *Al-Manhaj al-mubin* of *al-Sha`rawi*.
49. *Sharh al-Bukhari* by *hafiz* Ibn Hajar, al-Qastallani, al-Qadi `Iyad, and al-Kirmani.
50. *Hashiya* of *sharh al-Bukhari* by al-Badr bin al-Zarkashi, al-Damamini, al-Barmawi, and al-Suyuti.

51. *Al-Ahkam al-kubra* of al-Ishbili.
52. *Al-Shihab* of al-Qada'i.
53. *Al-'Umda* of al-Maqdisi.
54. *Mukhtasar Muslim* of al-Qurtubi.
55. *Mukhtasar Muslim* of al-Mundhiri *wa-l-tarhib lahu*.
56. *Al-Imam wa-mukhtasar al-ilmam* of Ibn Daqiq al-'Id.
57. *Ma'alim al-sunan* of al-Khitabi.
58. *'Aridat al-ahwadhi* of Ibn al-'Arabi al-Maliki.
59. *Al-Aqdiyya* of Ibn al-Talla'.
60. *Al-Shifa'* of al-Qadi Iyad.
61. *Sira Ibn Ishaq wa-l-rawd al-unf of al-Suhayli, wa-l-ta'rif wa-l-a'lam lahu*.
62. *Al-Mawahib* of al-Qastallani.
63. *'Uhum al-hadith* of al-Hakim.
64. *Ibn al-Salah wa-l-Jami'* of al-Khatib.
65. *Al-Muhdath al-fadil* of al-Ramhurmuzi.
66. *Alfiyyat al-mustalah* by al-'Iraqi and al-Suyuti.
67. *Kafiyat Ibn al-Hajib*.
68. *Alfiyyat Ibn Malik, Alfiyyat al-Suyuti*.
69. *Al-Kashshaf* of al-Zamakhshari.
70. *Al-Burda* of al-Busiri.
71. *Al-Qut* of Abu Talib al-Makki.
72. *Manazil al-sa'irin* of al-Harwi.
73. *Risalat al-Qushayri*.
74. *'Awarif* of al-Suhrawardi.
75. *Al-Hikam* of Ibn 'Ata' Allah.
76. *Hizb al-bahr* of al-Shadhili.
77. *Risalat al-zawra'* of Dawani.
78. *Al-Futuhah al-makkiyya* of *shaykh al-akbar* Ibn 'Arabi.
79. *Mawaqi' al-nujum, al-Fusus, and Tafsir al-Fatiha* of al-Qunawi.
80. *Ta'iyya* of Ibn al-Farid and its commentary by al-Farghani.

81. *Al-Jawahir al-Khams* of al-Ghawth.
82. *Al-Jawahir wa-l-durar* of al-Sha‘rawi.
83. *Manzumat al-Fusus* and its commentary by Ahmad al-Shinnawi .
84. *Nafahat al-yaqin* of al-Qushashi (recited by al-‘Ujaymi himself).
85. *Kitab maqalid al-asanid* of Shaykh ‘Isa.
86. *al-ijaza jami‘ risala Daw’ al-hala fi dhikr huwa wa-l-jalala, al-Simt al-majid* (recited by Ibrahim al-Kurani). *Daw’ al-hala* itself was of crucial importance for al-Kurani’s initial interest on al-Qushashi when the former read the latter’s book for the first time during his studies in Damascus in the late 1640s for the sake of Sufi learning.

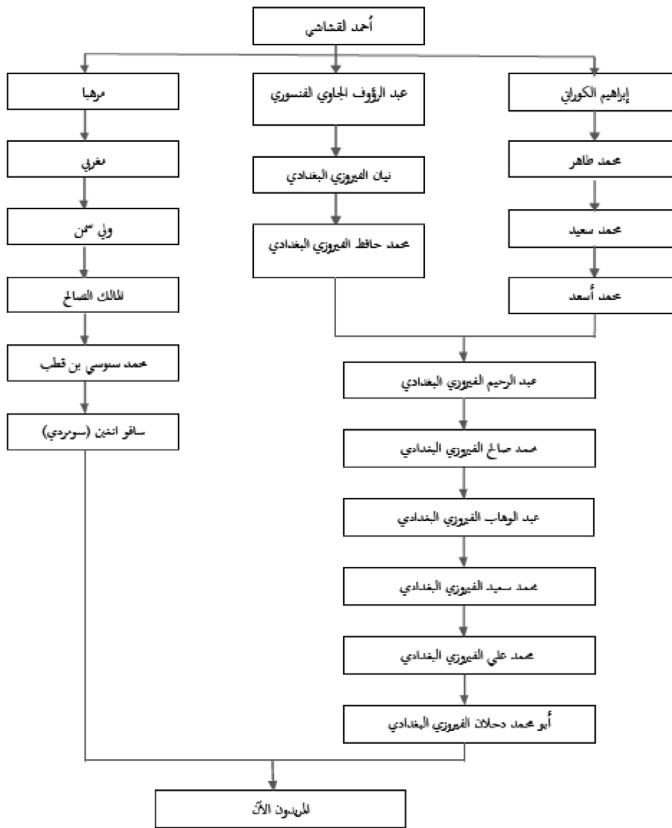
• *Appendix 2:*

An example of al-Qushashi's legacy among Hadrami scholars. The fourth row from below is al-Qushashi, while al-Kurani can be detected in the third row from below. This intellectual genealogy was charted by Sayyid Usman of Batavia (d. 1913). Source: Leiden collection, courtesy of Nico Kaptein.



• **Appendix 3:**

An example of al-Qushashi's legacy in Aceh (Zawiya Tanoh Abee, a Sufi institution originally built by a seventeenth-century Turkish follower, Baba Dawud al-Rumi (d. unknown), a student of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Fansuri).³⁴



34 Adapted from 'Abdullah, *al-Durra al-thamina*. The title of this book contains the words "critical edition," but there is no Arabic text of al-Qushashi's writing.

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P.O.Box 51049 Riyadh 11543 **Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**
Tel: (+966 11) 4652255 Ext: 6892 Fax: (+966 11) 4162281
E-mail: research@kfcris.com