Medieval Arabic sources record the first trips by Muslims from al-Andalus (Spain) to the Islamic East and back around the middle of the second/eighth century. This travel increased in intensity during the following two centuries and then gradually declined. By the end of the sixth/twelfth century, it had slowed to a trickle. There were many reasons for this travel, above all the pilgrimage to Mecca, trade, and the pursuit of knowledge. Among these major reasons, the last, which meant chiefly the study of the religious sciences, stands out as the most important. Indeed, this type of travel to the East was critical for the Islamization of al-Andalus.¹ The very term for travel, riḥla, had a technical meaning, namely, a journey to the Islamic East for the sake of learning.² Although most Andalusí Muslims who set out for the East appear to have returned to their homeland, some were emigrants. Their preferred places of settlement, often after traveling throughout much of the Middle East, were Mecca and Alexandria.³ These emigrants usually earned a living by teaching, thus putting to good use the fruits

¹ This phenomenon has been described in excellent fashion by Michael Lenker in his doctoral dissertation, «The Importance of the Riḥla for the Islamization of Spain», University of Pennsylvania, 1982. Lenker, who concentrates on the second-sixth/eighth-twelfth centuries, shows that learning in al-Andalus was thoroughly Islamic thanks to the riḥla and completely refutes Henri Péres’ claim in La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au xiᵉ siècle, Paris, 1955, that the secular tendencies in al-Andalus were caused by the humanistic rather than the religious nature of Andalusí education. On the non-religious sciences that were studied in the East, see A. Dû N-Nûn Tâhâ, «Importance des voyages scientifiques entre l’Orient et l’Andalus», ROMM, 40 (1985), 39-44. For some general remarks on travel to the East after the sixth/twelfth century, see Rachel Arié, «Notes sur les échanges culturels entre al-Andalus et l’orient musulman au bas moyen âge», in Adel Siddar ed., Islâh o arábismo na península ibérica, Évora, 1986, 133-146. For a very general overview with no documentation, see Gamal Eldin Elshayyal, «The Cultural Relations between Alexandria and the Islamic West in al-Andalus and Morocco», Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, 16 (1971), 61-69. For a broader view of riḥla within the Muslim world, see Sam Gellens, «The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: A Comparative Approach», in Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori eds., Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination, London, 1990, 50-65.

² It is worthy of note that the two most famous works by Andalusís describing travel to the East, Rihlat Ibn Jubair and Rihlat Ibn Batūtā, are always translated, imprecisely, as The Travels of Ibn Jubair and The Travels of Ibn Batūtā. They did not travel aimlessly, but in order to acquire knowledge.

³ Luis Molina has made a quantitative study of the places visited by the Andalusís found in Ibn al-Farâdî’s (d. 403/1013) Ta’rikh ‘andaluṣ al-Andalus. See his «Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el Ta’rīj de Ibn al-Farādī», Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus, 1 (1988), 585-610. Manuela María has studied the travels of one Andalusí in particular, «El viaje a Oriente de Abū Marwān al-Bāṭi (m. 635/1237)», same journal, 6 (1994), 273-304.
of their riylas. Consequently, when madrasas, or Islamic colleges of law, first appeared in Alexandria in the late Fātimid period (495-567/1101-1171) and then spread throughout Egypt during the Aiyūbid era (567-648/1171-1250), Andalusî Muslims were in a position to play a noteworthy role in their development. This paper will describe that role. The travel of North African Muslims to Egypt generally followed the same pattern as that of the Andalusîs. They will be included in this study as well, although their number was much smaller.

BACKGROUND

The rudiments of the Islamic sciences were taught in Egypt from the moment the Arabs conquered it in 20/641, but more than a century passed before any of the law schools (madhhabs) firmly took root there. The somewhat conservative Mâlikî madhhab was the first to do so. Al-Maqrîzî says it was introduced by one ‘Abd al-Rahîm b. Khālid b. Yâzîd b. Yâhîyâ who died in 163/779-780. Because of the zeal of its adherents, it quickly spread throughout Muslim Egypt and was never challenged by the less conservative IJâfi madhhab, which was the only other Sunnî school then in existence. Indeed, al-Maqrîzî goes so far as to say that the madhhab of Abû Ḥanîfa was not even known in Egypt at that time. The Mâlikîs were unrivaled until the Imam al-Shâfi’î himself went to Egypt in 198/814. He studied and taught in Fustâṭ until his death in 204/820 and then was buried in the Qârâfî Cemetery nearby. His teachings became the basis of the second major law school in Egypt, which was named after him, and his followers eventually became the chief competitors of the Mâlikîs. Meanwhile, the Ḥanafîs had established a presence, but remained relatively insignificant. It is reported, for example, that in 326/938 the Mâlikîs and Shâfi’îs each had fifteen circles of students in the Mosque of ‘Amr in Fustâṭ while the Ḥanafîs had only three. There were also a few Shi‘îs about, but they were of no consequence.

In 358/969 the Fātimids invaded Egypt and introduced major changes. Most importantly, they replaced Sunnî Islam with the Ismâ‘îlî version of Shi‘ism as the official state religion. Sunnism was technically forbidden and Shi‘ism was encouraged. Nevertheless, the great majority of Egyptian Muslims remained

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4 Most of the data in this study are extracted from my dissertation, «The Restoration of Sunnism in Egypt: Madrasas and Mudarrisûn 495-647/1101-1249», University of Pennsylvania, 1976.


Sunnis. One reason for this was that the Fatimids were more interested in spreading their ideology abroad than at home where proselytizing was sporadic and usually halfhearted. Still, if the Fatimids did not convert the Sunnis of Egypt, they at least tried to control them by repression or, it seems, playing one school against another. Al-Maqrizi, again, states that in 381/991-992 a man was beaten because a copy of Malik’s great book of law, the *Muwatta*, was found in his possession. Around the same time, the well-known geographer al-Muqaddasi (fl. fourth/tenth century) passed through Egypt and reported that a Shafi‘i was the imam (prayer leader) of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, which was essentially in Fustat, and that until that time all the imams had been Maliki. In fact, most of the jurists or fuqaha were Malikis. Perhaps the Fatimids had appointed the Shafi‘i imam for political reasons. Al-Muqaddasi also mentions that there were Hanbalis in Fustat. As for the Hanafis, the Fatimids especially disliked them because they were of the same madhhab as the Abbaisids, their archenemies in Baghdad. On the whole, the well-being of the Sunnis in Egypt depended on the authority, power, or whim of the caliphs and their viziers. State policy could be extremely repressive, such as during the reign of the notorious caliph al-Hakim (especially between 390-411/1000-1021), or very relaxed, such as during the vizierate of al-Afdal (487-515/1094-1121).

During the Fatimid period, the number of Shafi‘is seems to have increased somewhat at the expense of the Malikis. Apart from this, the strength of each Sunni madhhab appears to have remained at approximately the same proportion as before the Fatimid conquest. The Malikis and Shafi‘is were the most important groups while the Hanafis and then the Hanbalis lagged far behind. For the sixth/twelfth century, and to some extent earlier, we can get a rough idea of the relative strength and vitality of each school from al-Suyuti’s *Husn al-muhaddara*. Although he is late (d. 911/1505) and had a pro-Shafi‘i bias, the author culled...
material from many earlier works and drew up a list of the most famous fuqaha’ of each Sunnî madhhab in Egypt. Here we find the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Madhhab</th>
<th>Number From Each</th>
<th>Number Who Died Before 600/1203-1204</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shâfi'î</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâlikî</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanafi</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanbalî</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Al-Suyûtî’s list is more weighted, naturally, as he approaches his own time and, to repeat, he does not include the jurists who did not become famous. Still, it is clear that Egypt was predominantly Mâlikî and Shâfi’î territory.

With respect to the last years of Fâtimid rule, the evidence at hand indicates that the Sunnîs endured little, if any, oppression. In fact, they seem to have thrived and to have had at least as much freedom as any other tolerated religious community. This condition was facilitated, no doubt, by a declining caliphate and the many non-Ismâ’îlîs—Sunnîs and Imâmîs— who served as vizier. The Sunnî viziers could more or less minimize Shi’î interference in their affairs, while the Imâmî viziers had their own rivalry with the Ismâ’îlîs and were unconcerned with the Sunnîs. Kutaifat, al-Afdal’s son and an Imâmî who served briefly as vizier from 524/1130 to 526/1131, appointed for the first time four chief judges in Egypt, that is, a Mâlikî and Shâfi’î in addition to an Imâmî and Ismâ’îlî. 14 Not long afterward, in 532/1137-1138, the Sunnî vizier Ridwan b. al-Walakhshî was

14 See above all Samuel Stern, «The Succession to the Fâtimid Imam al-Àmir, the Claims of the Later Fâtimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of Tayyibi Ismailism», Oriens, 4 (1951), 193-207, and «al-Afdal... Kutaifat», El 17, vol. 1, 216, to which add Ibn Zafir, Akhâr al-dawal al-munqâ’i’i’i’a, ed. André Feré, Cairo, 1972, 94-95 and al-Maqrizî, Itti’îd al-hunafî, Cairo, 1387-1395/1967-1973, vol. 3, 128-130, 137-142. In Stern’s two articles, he says on pp. 206 and 216, respectively, that the Sunnî judges were a Shî’î and a Hanafi. This is a partial oversight because Ibn Muyassar, whom Stern cites, says in fact that they were a Shâfi’î and a Mâlikî, as does al-Maqrizî, Itti’îd, vol. 3, 142. As we have noted above, Egypt was overwhelmingly Mâlikî and Shâfi’î, so there would have been no reason to appoint a Hanafî chief judge. Now see Adel Allouche, «The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in Fâtimid Egypt», JAOS, 105 (1985), 317-320. For the decline of the Fâtimid ideology and missionary work, see Hussain Akberali Ladak, «The Fâtimid Caliphate and the Ismâ’îlî Da’wa—From the Appointment of Musta’îlî to the Suppression of the Dynasty», Dissertation, Univ. of London, 1971.
the first government official to found a madrasa in Egypt. It was located in Alexandria for the Mâlikîs.

The Sunnîs, therefore, remained the great majority in Egypt throughout the Fāṭimid period. Apart from politics, one important reason for this was that they were strengthened by a continuous stream of adherents from abroad. In particular, Egypt lay on the pilgrimage route to Mecca for the Muslims of al-Andalus and North Africa, collectively known here as Maghribîs. And when the Hilâlî invasion put an end to Qairawân as a great center of Islamic civilization in 449/1057, Egypt, above all Alexandria, became the only major center of learning for these Muslims in the vast area between al-Andalus and heartlands of the Islamic East. The biographical dictionaries of Andalusîs are especially replete with people who went to Mecca or more distant Muslim cities via Egypt. Virtually all Mâlikîs, many stayed in Egypt for many years or permanently. Indeed, one of the reasons given for Ridwân’s decision to establish a madrasa in Alexandria was that it would serve as a rest house and hostel for pilgrims and travelers. It also served, of course, as a meeting place and center of Mâlikî law and thus strengthened the Mâlikî community.

Sunnîs, mainly Shâfiîs and Hanafîs, also went to Egypt from the East. Some were pilgrims from Syria and beyond who preferred to take a boat to Alexandria rather than go directly overland. But travelers of other kinds arrived as well. The coming of the Crusades, however, made the land and sea routes between Egypt and Syria hazardous, so that from the reign of al-Àmir (495-525/1094-1101) to that of al-’Àdid (555-567/1160-1171), communications with the East were often partially or wholly interrupted.

In contrast to this, the movement of Andalusîs to Egypt during this time was generally unhindered. Consequently, as we shall see, they were able to play a significant role in the early development of madrasas in Egypt and to some degree in the subsequent pedagogical function of these institutions. Their activity appears to have been in proportion to the intensity of the riḥla, which, as noted, declined in the sixth/twelfth century.

MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE MADRASA MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

The first de facto madrasa in Egypt may have been the work of Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walîd b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Sulaimân b. Aiyûb al-Fihrî
al-Ṭurṭūshî, also known as Ibn Abî Randaqa. He was born around 451/1059 in Tortosa. He spent his early life there and then traveled about al-Andalus until he became a student of the Mālikī theologian and judge (qādī) Abū ‘l-Walîd al-Bâjî (d. 474/1081) in Saragossa. After completing his studies with him and receiving an ijāza (authorization to teach certain books), he went to the East and made the pilgrimage.

According to Ibn Khallikan, al-Ṭurṭūshî departed al-Andalus in 476/1083-1084. He next appears in Mecca where one of his classmates under al-Bâjî, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusain b. Muhammad b. Firru (or Firru [?], which derived from the Latin word for iron) al-Ṣadafî studied from him the Sunan (one of the six canonical works on hadîth [traditions] accepted by Sunnîs) of Abū Dâwûd according to (‘an) al-Tustan. From there al-Ṭurτūshî proceeded to Baghdad where the great vizier Niẓâm al-Mulk was in power. In his Sîrāj al-mulûk, al-Ṭurτūshî praises the vizier and takes special notice of the educational and religious facilities that he constructed, namely, a dâr al-‘ilm (library), madrasas, and ribâts (fortified Sûfî retreats). Al-Ṭurτūshî attributes to Niẓâm a resurgence in learning throughout the realm.

He naturally singles out the Niẓâmiyya Madrasa. In fact, although he was a Mâlikî and this was a Shâfi‘î institution, he certainly studied there. Baghdad then had a relatively insignificant Mâlikî community and no Mâlikî madrasas. He therefore studied fiqh (jurisprudence) in that city from others, especially Shâfi‘îs.

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19 Sîrâj, 104-105; al-Shayyâl, A‘lâm, 60.
Among them were Abū Bakr al-Shâshrī and Abū Sa’d al-Mutawallī. The latter was the mudarris (professor) in the Niżāmiyya twice between 476/1083 and 478/1086 when he died. The former, one of the leading Shāfi’i scholars in Baghdad, received the professorship in the Niżāmiyya in 504/1111. Before that, he taught in a madrasa named after himself and then in the Tājiyya Madrasa starting in 482/1089. Thus, al-Ṭurtūshī studied in the Niżāmiyya and probably other madrasas in Baghdad.

From Baghdad he went to Baṣra. Later he turned up in Syria and taught fiqh in Jerusalem. He went on to Antioch and then apparently went by sea to Egypt, reaching al-Rashīd (Rosetta) around 490/1097. His reputation had preceded him. Consequently, the judge of Alexandria, al-Makîn b. Ḥâflî, accompanied by a group of fellow townsman, met him in al-Rashīd and encouraged him to settle in Alexandria. Therefore, he moved to that city where he married a woman of wealth. She provided him with a large house (dâr) of two stories. The upper floor was their living quarters while al-Ṭurtūshī used the reception hall (qâṣa) and the rest of the lower floor as a de facto madrasa where he taught fiqh. This madrasa was large enough to lodge at least some students, for we have the testimony of someone who stayed there many nights. Nothing else is known of this madrasa except that it had a professional mu’adhdhin (one who made the call to prayer).

In their biographies of al-Ṭurtūshī, both al-Dabbī and Ibn Farḫûn, who used different sources, say that he created a madrasa in Alexandria. Presumably, they mean this dâr. After al-Ṭurtūshī’s death, however, there is no echo of the existence of this madrasa in any source. This suggests that it was not an endowed institution. Nevertheless, al-Ṭurtūshī seems to have set himself up in his dâr as if it were a madrasa, inspired no doubt by his experience in Baghdad. His dâr was certainly an independent Sunni school, supported by private funds, with a single teaching
position mainly for *fiqh*, and providing lodging for students. It was only one step away from a fully endowed traditional *madrasa*. Indeed, as we shall see, it laid the ground work in Egypt for the traditional *madrasas* that soon began to appear.

Al-Ṭūrūshî attracted a large number of students, especially Andalusîs who found his *madrasa* a welcome place to study or visit on the way to Mecca or beyond. He is described in an anecdote as walking in a garden with 360 students and admirers. His popularity, combined with his self-centeredness, perhaps contributed to the growth of ill-will between him and Ibn Ḥaḍīd for they had a falling-out. This in turn brought him in conflict with the vizier al-Âfdal, whom he did not hesitate to lecture about what was religiously permissible. After al-Âfdal was killed, al-Ṭūrūshî composed his *Sirāj* which he then presented in Cairo to the new vizier al-Maʿmūn b. al-Âṣrâfī, an Imâmî, as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*. As mentioned, this work includes the author’s account of his visit to Baghdad and his respect for the institutions of learning in that city. Al-Maqrîzî states that al-Ṭūrūshî and the vizier reached an agreement on the rules of inheritance according to which an estate would be apportioned in accordance with the rules of the *madhhab* of the deceased. This suggests that the Ismāʿīlîs had been interfering in Sunnî affairs. Al-Maʿmūn also agreed to compensate for funds improperly taken from orphans during al-Âfdal’s vizierate. A *sijill* (edict) with the signatures of the vizier and caliph was sent to all the judges of the country ordering them to abide by this agreement. Finally, al-Ṭūrūshî asked the vizier to build a *masjid* (neighborhood mosque) in Alexandria near the sea and he agreed. Al-Ṭūrūshî thus appears as a spokesman for the Sunnî community. A few years later in 520/1126, in his seventies, he died in Alexandria.

Al-Ṭūrūshî’s influence on the Sunnî, and especially the Mâlikî, community of Alexandria was considerable. Indeed, he helped reorganize and rejuvenate the Mâlikî intelligentsia of the whole country. Ibn Khaldûn credits him with assisting the revival of Mâlikism in Egypt. He says, «in the sixth [twelfth] century (sic), Abû Baqr al-Ṭūrūshî traveled from al-Andalus (to the East). He stopped and settled in Jerusalem. The Egyptians and Alexandrians studied with him and took over from him elements of the Andalusî school (*madhhab*), i. e.,

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31 Ibn Fârûn, *al-Dîdaj*, 277.
the Mālikism of al-Andalus) into their own Egyptian school. One of his most important followers was the jurist Sanad, the author of the Ṭirāz and his companions. A number of people studied with them. They included the ‘Awf family and their followers.\(^3\)

Al-Ṭurtūshī taught for almost thirty years and therefore had hundreds of students. The most famous were his friend al-Ṣadafr, who may have visited him in Egypt and later became a great judge and traditionist in al-Andalus,\(^3\) Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, another Andalusī traditionist,\(^3\) and Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAwf. He was also the teacher of Ibn Tūmart the Mahādī,\(^3\) and gave an ḫāṣṣa to the celebrated Mālikī jurist and biographer al-Qādī ʿIyād from Ceuta, across the straits from Gibraltar.\(^3\) The renowned al-Ghazzālī went to Alexandria when al-Ṭurtūshī was there and they surely met, although al-Ṭurtūshī was not pleased with al-Ghazzālī’s Iḥyāʿ ‘ulūm al-dīn and wrote a criticism of it.\(^3\)

After al-Ṭurtūshī, the earliest reference to a madrasa in Egypt concerns that of the Mālikī judge of Alexandria al-Makīn b. Ḥāḍīd (d. 529/1135), whose family apparently arrived from Toledo in the late fifth/eleventh century.\(^3\) He may well have established it in reaction to the popularity of al-Ṭurtūshī and his dār/ madrasa, that is, because of professional jealousy. As the chief Mālikī official in Alexandria, he could not have been pleased to see numerous members of his madhhab flock to this Andalusī and needed a means to help retain his patronage over his community. As far as we know, it remained in the hands of the Banū Ḥāḍīd into the seventh/thirteenth century.\(^3\)


37 J. Robson, «Ibn al-ʿArabī», EI².


42 On this madrasa and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 126-130. The only reference, rather vague, to an earlier madrasa in Egypt, again in Alexandria, is to the Shafiʿī madrasa of the «Maqādīsī» (Jerusalemites), which may have existed before 514/1120-1121. See ibid., 130-131.
MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS IN THE MADRASAS OF FÀTIMID EGYPT

The first full-fledged madrasa in Egypt about which we are well informed was established by Riḍwān b. al-Walakhshī, the first Sunnī vizier of the Fātimids in the sixth/twelfth century. It was built in Alexandria for the Màlikīs in 532/1137-1138 and was commonly known as the ‘Awfīyya after its most outstanding mudarris al-Imām Șadr al-Dīn, or Șadr al-Islām, Abū Tāhir Ismā’īl b. ‘Awf al-Zuhārī al-Iskandarī. Born to a family of prominent jurists, he held his teaching post in this college from the time it opened until his death in 581/1185, almost fifty years.

As mentioned, Ibn ‘Awf was a student of al-Ţurtūshī. In fact, he became al-Ţurtūshī’s foster son. Furthermore, it seems that al-Ţurtūshī’s wife was his maternal aunt. Consequently, there was a strong alliance between the ‘Awf family and the Andalusī.

After al-Ţurtūshī died, Ibn ‘Awf emerged as the leading Màlikī scholar in Alexandria. Indeed, he became the most famous Màlikī of Egypt in the sixth/twelfth century. Even the renowned Andalusī traveler Ibn Jubair singled him out late in that century. Ibn ‘Awf’s longevity certainly contributed to his far-ranging reputation. References to him in the sources, especially in the general or Màlikī biographical texts are legion. As with al-Ţurtūshī, a large number of Andalusīs sought him out. After Saladin seized power and established the Aiyūbid dynasty, even he and his sons, although they were Shafi‘is, attended one of Ibn ‘Awf’s classes. Al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, Saladin’s famous counsellor and secretary, praised the sultan for going to this class and compared this to Hàrūn al-Rashīd’s visit, with his sons, to hear Malik himself. Henceforth, whenever Saladin needed the Màlikī opinion in legal matters, he referred to Ibn ‘Awf. Saladin’s brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who was sultan from 596/1200 to 615/1218, studied hadith with him as did Saladin’s nephew al-Malik al-Muţaffar Taqī ‘l-Dīn ‘Umar b.
Shâhinshâh (d. 587/1191).\textsuperscript{30} The latter ruled Egypt for a short time during Saladin’s absence and later became ruler of Hamât. Ibn Mujâwar (d. 600/1204),\textsuperscript{31} who was a vizier of al-Malik al-‘Azîz, and Ibn Shukr, who was a vizier of both al-Malik al-‘Adîl and al-Malik al-Kâmil, also studied hadîth from him.\textsuperscript{32} Many others who acquired government positions studied with him as well.

Although Ibn ‘Awf had many students from the Muslim West, I have only discovered one who was associated with a madrasa. This was ‘Abd Allâh b. Ibrâhîm b. Sa’îd b. al-Qâ’îd who was born in North Africa around 551/1156-1157. After studying hadîth with Ibn ‘Awf, he became the drill master, or mu’îd, of the Mâlikî madrasa, the Qamhîyya, that Saladin built next to the Mosque of ‘Amr in Fustat. He later continued hadîth studies with the Andalusî Abû Mu’tammad al-Qâsim al-Shâhîbî, whom we shall meet below, and eventually became the judge of Alexandria. He died in 645/1247.\textsuperscript{33}

The ‘Awfiyya remained in the hands of the Banî ‘Awf throughout the Ayyûbid period. It is worthy of note that one of Ibn ‘Awf’s sons, Abû ’l-Haram Makki (d. 598/1194), who had an ijâza from al-‘Urfûshî, composed an immense work on Mâlikî law known as the ‘Awfiyya. It was based on the fiqh lessons that he gave in his father’s madrasa. It was so highly prized that a special copy was made for the library of the Sultan of Fez.\textsuperscript{34}

The next madrasa to appear in Egypt was founded by another Fâtimid vizier, Ibn al-Sallâr. It was a Shâfî’î institution created in 546/1151, also in Alexandria. Originally called the ‘Adiliyya, it soon became better known as the Hâfiiziyya after the title of its first and most famous teacher, Abû Tâhir al-Silâfî, who was called ‘al-Hâfiiz (one who had memorized the Koran).\textsuperscript{35} He was born around 475/1082 in Isfahan and as a young man began to study hadîth. This pursuit took him to Baghdad where he studied in the Nizâmîyya, and among others, Abû Bakr al-Shâhîbî, one of the teachers of al-‘Urfûshî.\textsuperscript{36} After more travels in search of hadîth, he reached Alexandria in 511/1118. Like al-‘Urfûshî, whom he met, he married a woman of means and thus settled in that city. For the next thirty years

\textsuperscript{31} Al-Mundhîrî, al-Takmîla, vol. 3, 41-42.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibn Khallikân, *Wafsayti*, vol. 1, 105; al-Subkî, Ta’bâqat, vol. 6, 36.
he devoted himself chiefly to teaching hadīth. He attracted countless students and corresponded with scholars as far away as al-Andalus. His fame in hadīth eventually brought him to the attention of Ibn al-Sallār.

An overwhelming success as a teacher, al-Silafī died in 576/1180 after teaching in Egypt for almost sixty years, twenty-two of them in his madrasa. He had many of the same students as al-Turtūshî and Ibn ‘Awf, including dozens from al-Andalus. One of the most noteworthy of these students was Abū Muḥammad Jāmī b. Bāqī al-Tamīmī. He traveled from his homeland to Egypt where he met al-Silafī and eventually became the qādī of Ikhmīm in Upper Egypt. Another was Sābiq al-Dīn Abū Bakr Yahyā b. Sa’dūn b. Tamām b. Muḥammad al-Azdi al-Qurtubī. Born in Cordova in 486/1093, he studied hadīth with al-Silafī and went to Baghdad and finally Mawṣil where he settled and became known as a grammarian. One generation removed from al-Andalus was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī al-Jabbār b. Abī Allāh al-Qurashi al-Umawi al-Uthmānī (d. 614/1218). He was born in Alexandria and studied hadīth from al-Silafī. He later taught that subject in Fuṣṭāt, Qīṣ in Upper Egypt, and even Yemen, but was by profession a cloth merchant and member of the Kārimī merchants who were involved in the trade between Egypt and India.

As a mudarris in a madrasa, al-Silafī’s main purpose was to teach fiqh. In addition to hadīth, he did indeed teach not only Shāfi‘ī law but also comparative law or khilāfī. For the latter, he used Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr’s Kitāb al-īstidhkār, which was a commentary on the Muwatta’ of Mālik. In a manuscript fragment that has survived, he states that he had never seen a book more worthy of lecturing on than the Muwatta’ and that he began lecturing on it twice a week in 551/1156-1157. He adds that he subsequently became the subject of controversy and so he decided

58 Al-Ṣaḥīḥ, Tabaṣṣūq, vol. 8, 137.
61 The manuscript is al-Silafī’s introduction to his lecture on Kitāb al-ʿIstidhkār. It has been edited in Leiser, «Restorations», 444-470. In this lecture, al-Silafī also gives a brief description of the difference in technical terms used in ʿjdās and ʿandās (certificates of audition) between al-Andalus and the East and how to determine their validity (fol. 119a-b). He also tells us that he studied in Alexandria such Mālikī works as the Tabaqāt al-umān of the qādī Abū al-Qāsim Ṣaʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tulaʾaṭuṭī from Abū Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Yahṣūbī al-Andalusī (fol. 120a). On the latter, see Ibn al-Abbār, al-Taʾkīmā, vol. 2, 818. The Andalusīs from whom al-Silafī studied in Alexandria are found in ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Saḥīḥ, ed. Akhbār wa tarājīm andalusīyya, Beirut, 1963, which is extracted from al-Silafī’s Muʾjam al-safar.
to base his lectures on Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa*’. He also
cites on this matter the remarks of a correspondent of his in al-Andalus, which was
Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s homeland. These lectures, in addition to those on ḥadīth,
would have made him doubly attractive, of course, to students of Mālikī law. One
of al-Silafī’s assistants in his *madrasa* was probably the Andalusī Abū Ishāq
Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Balansī (d. 590/1193-1194), a traditionist who
traught in Valencia before going to Alexandria. He stayed in al-Silafī’s *madrasa*
for twenty years. He was an ascetic, although not described as a Šūfi, and used
this college as a refuge from the world.⁶²

The students of al-Silafī who were trained in ḥadīth became collectively
known as «the disciples of al-Silafī» (*aṣḥāb al-Silafī*). They carried his name and
teaching throughout much of the Islamic heartland. The man described as the last
living member of the *aṣḥāb* was the Mālikī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-
Tamīmī al-SafSqusī. His father’s family came from Sfax in North Africa. Abū
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Colleges of law first took root and flourished therefore in Alexandria where
they served chiefly the Mālikīs. The Mālikī *madrasas* of that city were, in fact,
probable the first of that school to be established anywhere in the Muslim world.
Next to appear there were Šafī’ī colleges. The other *madhhabs* were of no
consequence, hence they had no such institutions. Relations between the Mālikīs
and Šafī’īs were cordial and attending each other’s *madrasas* for subjects other
than *fiqh* was commonplace. In the last seventy years of the Fātimid Caliphate,
these two *madhhabs* were, judging from the evidence at hand, well organized,
vigorous, and generally unhindered.⁶⁴

The outstanding teachers of these years, apart from al-Ṭūrūshī, were the friends Ibn ‘Awf and al-Silafī. They both had hundreds of students and made
Alexandria a major center of Ṣūnni —Mālikī and Šafī’ī— education.

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⁶⁴ Andrew Ehrenkreutz’ statement that Ibn al-Sallār «antagonized the Shiites by reestablishing
officially a Sunni juridical school (madrasa) of the Shafite rite in Cairo», *Saladin*, Albany, New York,
1972, 14, requires qualification apart from his oversight of mentioning Cairo instead of Alexandria. He
cites Ḥasan ʿIbrāhīm Ḥasan’s Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fātimiyya, 184, where that author says, «By this
means Ibn al-Sallār prepared the way for the return of the Sunni madhab to Egypt», which is mistaken.
Ira Lapidus’ assertion that when Saladin came to power the *madhhabs* «scarcely existed» and that he
tried to «recapitulate centuries of school (niadhhab) development» cannot be maintained, «Ayyūbid
Religious Policy and the Development of the Schools of Law in Cairo», in *Colloque International sur
MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS IN SALADIN’S MADRASAS IN EGYPT

In 567/1171 Saladin suppressed the moribund Fātimid Caliphate in Egypt and founded the Aiyūbid dynasty. The end of this Shi’i caliphate and the official return of Egypt to the Sunnī fold had a number of consequences for the religious life of that country. Among them, the number of madrasas, above all for the Mālikī and Shafi’ī schools of law, increased dramatically. And these institutions played a major role in the restoration of Sunnism. I have found reference to at least 48 colleges built in Egypt during the time of the Aiyūbid dynasty: 23 for the Shafi’īs, 11 for the Mālikīs, two for both the Shafi’īs and Mālikīs, five for the Ḥanafīs, one for the Shafi’īs and Ḥanafīs, one for the Shafi’īs, Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, and five of undetermined affiliation. Among these colleges, four were built in Alexandria, 14 in Fustat, and 17 in Cairo. With very few exceptions, each madrasa had one professorship which, in principle but not always in practice, was held for life. As Shafi’īs, Saladin and his family did much to encourage the emigration of Shafi’ī religious scholars from the Muslim East to Egypt. This helps explain the large increase in the number of their colleges. The Aiyūbids made no attempt, however, to encourage the emigration of Mālikī scholars from the West, that is, al-Andalus and North Africa, which were almost exclusively Mālikī. Nevertheless, because of the long and continuous tradition of the riḥla, this was not necessary. In what follows, we shall focus on the Maghribīs who were associated with some of these new Mālikī, and a few other, madrasas and reveal their continuing presence in these institutions in Egypt.

We know that Saladin built at least five madrasas in Egypt: two in Fustat (the Nāṣīriyya for the Shafi’īs and the Qamhiyya for the Mālikīs), one in Cairo (the Suyūfiyya for the Ḥanafīs), one in the nearby Qarāfa Cemetery (the Ṣalāḥiyya for the Shafi’īs), and one in Alexandria. We have substantial information on the first four, but the one in Alexandria is much of a mystery. With each of the others, the sultan took great care in choosing its site and provided it with a handsome endowment. In fact, these four colleges emerged as the wealthiest and most prestigious in the country throughout the Aiyūbid period. Although Saladin was a Shafi’ī, he clearly took account of all the leading Sunnī madhhabs except the Ḥanbalīs, who continued to be of little significance in Egypt. Thus, one of his madrasas in Fustat was for the Mālikīs and the one in Cairo was for the Ḥanafīs, their first college in Egypt. The sultan more or less hand-picked their professors. Their lines of succession, however, are difficult to determine.

65 See Appendix V in Leiser, «Restoration», 471-472.
66 This was shown in Leiser, «Restoration». 
Saladin’s Mālikī madrasa, the Qamhiyya (from qamh, wheat, a reference to the crop of its endowed village), was built near the Mosque of ‘Amr in 566/1170. Among the professors of this college was Kamāl al-Dîn Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Ahmad b. ‘Ali al-Qastallânî. His family was originally from North Africa but he was born in Egypt in 559/1163-1164. He studied Malikī law with his uncle, a qātî, and was initiated into Sīfīsm. He also had an ijāza from al-Silafî. He became a mudarris in the Qamhiyya but later left it to go wandering about Mecca in the pursuit of further study and died there in 636/1239. His son Tāj al-Dîn Abū ‘l-Hasan ‘Ali also taught in this madrasa. He was born in Egypt in 588/1192 and later taught hadîth and was a muftî (one who gave legal opinions) before becoming the professor. Later he was appointed to the chair of the Dār al-Ḥadîth al-Kâmiliyya, which was an institution for teaching tradition, where he remained until his death in 665/1267. His brother, Qutb al-Dîn Muḥammad, became a Shâfi‘ī and also held the teaching chair in the Kâmiliyya, probably succeeding Tāj al-Dîn. He died in 686/1287.

I have discovered only one teaching assistant for the Qamhiyya, Abū Muḥammad Abū Allâh b. Ibrâhîm al-Hilâlî al-Rîghî. He was a Mālikī from what is today Algeria. He was born there around 551/1156-1157. Al-Silafî sent him an ijāza and he eventually went to Alexandria and studied hadîth from Ibn ‘Awf. Afterwards, he went to Fustāṭ to pursue the same subject with Abū Muḥammad al-Qâsim al-Shâfi‘î and serve as the mu’îd in the Qamhiyya. He returned to Alexandria and became its chief qâdî in 603/1206-1207. He also became the khaṭîb (the one who gave the Friday sermon) of that city. He held both posts for some forty years, retiring a few years before his death in 645/1247.

Saladin founded his madrasa for the Hanafis in Cairo in 572/1176-1177. Because it was next to the market of the sword makers (suyūf, swords), it was called the Suyūfiyya. It was a short distance from the former Fātimid palace. Its first professor was Majd al-Dîn Abū ‘Abbād Allâh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-
Khutanî, a scholar from Central Asia. His *nisba* (noun of relation, geographical nomenclature) derived from the city of Khutan (Khotan). After studying *hadîth* and *fiqh* in Transoxiana and Khurasan, he went to Iraq and then Damascus where he fought against the Crusaders and Nûr al-Dîn appointed him to the Şâdîriyya Madrasa. He later left to make the pilgrimage and then continued to Egypt where Saladin appointed him to the Suyûfiyya. His connection with al-Andalus was that he departed for that country — a rare occurrence for an Easterner — and asked Abû 'l-Qâsim al-Shâtîbî to go with him. He then returned to the Suyûfiyya and resumed teaching until his death in 586/1190. One of his acquaintances in Egypt was the Andalusî Muḥammad b. Tâhir al-Khidabb who went to Cairo on the way to Mecca. Al-Khutanî lodged him in the Suyûfiyya and he came to know al-Qâdî al-Fâdîl and had access to al-Fâdîl's famous library. Al-Khutanî again befriended him on his return from the pilgrimage. It seems that he was traveling with a slave girl and when they reached the boat on the Nile that was to take them downstream, she was smitten by a young soldier whom she met on the boat. She then stole all of her master's gold (*dînars*) and gave them to the soldier. Al-Khutanî helped him get his money back and prepared him for his return to al-Andalus. He died around 570/1174-1175 while on the way.

In 575/1180 Saladin founded the Şâlâhîyya Madrasa for the Shaftîs in the Qarâfa Cemetery. It was his last major college and the most prestigious in Egypt throughout the Ayyubid period. Its prestige derived above all from its location next to the tomb of al-Shîfî himself and the exceptionally high salary paid to its *mudârris*. The first to hold its professorship was Najm al-Dîn Abû 'l-Barakât Muḥammad b. al-Muwaffaq al-Khabûshânî, a conceited and pugnacious man from Khurasan who had a tumultuous career in Egypt from the day he arrived in 565/1169-1170 until his death there in 587/1191. His reputation was such that Ibn Jubair had even heard of him in al-Andalus and later visited him in his *masjid*.
There is very strong evidence that al-Khabûşânî was the first to recite the *khutba* (Friday sermon) in Egypt in the name of the ‘Abbâsîd caliph and thus officially signal the end of the Fâtimid Caliphate. It is worthy of note, however, that according to Ibn al-Abbar (d. 658/1260) the first to do this was one al-Yasa’ b. ‘Isâ b. Ḥāzm al-Ghâfiqi al-Andalusî. He supposedly went to the *minbar* (pulpit, which one?) with a contingent of soldiers, swords flashing as a precaution against a potentially violent Shi‘î reaction, and delivered the *khutba*.

It should be mentioned here that the most famous woman traditionist during this period was Fâtîma bint Sa’d al-Khair, who was a generation removed from al-Andalus. Her Hanbalî husband, ‘Alî b. Ibrâhîm b. Najâ, was one of the signers of the *waqf* (endowment) of the Suyûfiyya and at one point had warned Saladin of an impending pro-Fâtimid coup. He was also an enemy of al-Khabûşânî. As for Fâtîma, she was born in Isfahan in 522/1128. Her father Sa’d al-Khair b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Maghrîbî al-Andalusî al-Ansârî had set out from al-Andalus for China. He reached his destination after many hardships and was given the additional *nisba* of al-Šînî. He studied *fiqh* from al-Ghazzâlî and tradition from others in Baghdad on the way. When he returned from China, he studied *hadith* in Isfahan where he was married and Fâtîma was born. He then settled in Baghdad and died there in 541/1146.

Sa’d al-Khair made his daughter study under many notable teachers in Isfahan and Baghdad and she acquired *ijâzas* from dozens of other scholars. Although her husband was a Hânâbî, and one of her father’s students, she was apparently a Shâfi‘î. She and ‘Alî later went to Damascus to teach tradition. Just before Saladin abolished the Fâtimid Caliphate, they arrived in Egypt where they spent the rest of their lives. In Cairo, Fâtîma attracted a large following. Among her students were the son of al-Qâdî al-Fâdîl, and *muqârîs* (teachers of Koran recitation) in the Fâdîliyya (see below) and Fakhriyya* madrasas* and professors in the Suyûfiyya and Nâsiriyya *madrasas*. She died in 600/1203.

Al-Maqrîzî tells us that Saladin established a *mâristân* (hospital) a *dâr* for the Maghribîs, and a *madrasa* at the tomb of his brother Tûrânsâhî in Alexandria.
in 577/1181-1182 when he went to that city and attended Ibn 'Afw's lectures.  
No other information has come to light on any of these institutions.

MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS IN THE OTHER MADRASAS OF THE AYÚBID PERIOD

After Saladin's Qamhîyya Madrasa, the second most important Mâlikî madrasa was the Sâhibiyya founded in Cairo by the vizier al-Šâhib Šafî 'l-Dîn 'Abd Allâh b. 'All b. Shukr (d. 622/1225) sometime between 596/1200 and 611/1214-1215.  
As mentioned, he had studied hadîth from Ibn 'Afw and al-Silafi.  
He also studied Malikî fiqh from one Abû Bakr 'Atîq al-Bijâ'î, from Bijâya in North Africa.

There were surprisingly few Maghribîs associated with this college.  
Al-Mundhirî provides a brief notice of a man who was the imâm of the Sâhibiyya.  
This was Abû Rabî' Sulaimân b. 'Abd Allah b. Yüsuf al-Hawwârî al-Jâlûlî (d. 612/1215).  
Chiefly known as a muqrî, he may have taught qirâ'a (Koran recitation) in this madrasa.  
His nisbas refer to places in North Africa.

In 580/1184, al-Qâdî al-Fâdil established a madrasa for the Mâlikîs and Shâfi'îs in Cairo.  
As mentioned, he had studied tradition from Ibn 'Afw and al-Silafi.  
The Fâjiîîyâ was especially known for qirâ'a.  
Its first muqrî and imâm was the famous Abû Muhammad al-Qâsim b. Fîrûh al-Ru'ainî al-Shâtibî who overshadowed the first mudarris of this institution.  
His nisbas indicate that he traced his descent from the Ru'ainî tribe in Yemen and that he was from Jâtiva in al-Andalus.  
He was born in that city in 538/1144.  
He studied qirâ'a there and became its khatîb while still a youth.  
Later he moved to Valencia where he studied the same subject as well as hadîth.  
In 572/1176-1177 he arrived in Alexandria where he studied tradition from al-Silafi.  
He then went to Cairo where al-Qâdî al-Fâdil welcomed him.  
After al-Fâdil completed his madrasa, he appointed al-Shâtibî as muqrî.  
Al-Shâtibî also made the pilgrimage and visited Saladin in Jerusalem in 589/1193.  
He died in 590/1194 and was buried in al-Fâdîl's grave plot in the Qarâfa Cemetery.  
An authority on Mâlikî law, Arabic, grammar, taṣfîr (Koranic exegesis), hadîth and even the interpretation of dreams, he was without peer in qirâ'a, a subject in which he was described as the «top man
He was succeeded as muqri' by his student, the Mālikī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Qurtubī (d. 631/1233). Born in 557 or 558/1161-1163 in Cordoba, al-Qurtubī had studied qirā‘a with 'Ali b. Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Naqrāt (d. 593/1196-1197), who had visited Egypt and later became the khaṭīb of Fez, and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Hawzanī al-Ishbīlī (d. 602/1206), who had been a muqri' in Ceuta. He also studied tradition from a number of scholars. He taught for some time in the Fāḍliliyya and then left to make the pilgrimage. He spent the rest of his life in the Hijāz and died in Medina.

Usually included in a catalogue of the madrasas of Egypt was the Dār al-Hadith al-Kāmilīyya, which, as mentioned, was a special institution for teaching hadîth, although Shafī‘i law was taught there as well. It was built in 622/1225 by Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil. No other facility like it was established during the period in question.

The first muhaddith, or teacher of hadîth, was Majd al-Dīn Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar b. Dihya. He was born in Valencia around the middle of the sixth/twelfth century. He spent his early years traveling around al-Andalus studying grammar and tradition. He twice became the muftī of Denia, on the coast south of Valencia, before finally leaving for North Africa. He journeyed east, no doubt studying en route, and stopped in Tīlimsān, Bījāyā, and Tunis. He made the pilgrimage and then continued to Syria, Iraq, and Iran pursuing hadîth studies in Baghdad, Wāṣīt, Isfahan, and Nishābūr. He finally settled in Egypt during the reign of al-Malik al-'Ādil (596-615/1200-1218) who had heard of him and encouraged him to move to Cairo. Subsequently, al-'Ādil asked him to tutor his son al-Kāmil. Later, when the latter became sultan, he built the Kāmilīyya especially for Ibn Dihya.

Unfortunately for our shaikh, he eventually fell from favor. Many of the 'ulamā‘ (religious scholars) accused him of being a charlatan. They charged that he had falsified his educational background and that his confusing lectures revealed that he did not know what he was talking about. At least one of them went to al-Andalus and began to inquire about him. The Andalusī shaikhs denied
all of his claims including his descent. Al-Kāmil at first refused to believe the charges, but the religious scholars raised such an outcry that he gave in to their pressure and decided to test Ibn Dihya’s knowledge of hadīth. To his dismay, he discovered that the charges were true. Consequently, Ibn Dihya was dismissed and died shortly thereafter in 633/1235. He was a Zāhiri, which may have been a factor in the opposition to him.\(^2\)

He was replaced at the Kāmilīyya by his older brother Muḥyī ‘l-Dīn Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān. The two had apparently left al-Andalus and traveled together until settling in Cairo. Ibn Wāṣil says he was in the service of the qāḍī ‘l-‘askar (judge of the army) Shams al-Dīn al-Armāwī and that he taught fiqh in Saladin’s Shāfī’ī Nāṣīriyya Madrasa next to the Mosque of ‘Amr. In spite of his relatively high standing, he too was branded an impostor and an incompetent after he became the muḥaddith of the Kāmilīyya. He followed his brother to the grave in 634/1237.\(^3\)

One of the next to hold the position of muḥaddith was Muḥyī ‘l-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Shāṭībī. He was born into a family of qādīs and faqīḥs in Jātiva in 592/1196. He was a Màlikī who studied the fiqh of that school in his native land and then traveled to the East in pursuit of hadīth. His goal was Baghdad where he studied that subject with a number of scholars. In 626/1228-1229 he was in Irbil where he studied qira‘a. Afterwards, he went to Aleppo and took the chair of the Dār al-Hadīth al-Bahā‘īyya. Finally, he moved to Egypt where he was appointed to the Kāmilīyya. He held that position until his death in 662/1263.\(^4\) According to al-Suyūtī, he was succeeded by the Màlikī, and former professor of the Qamḥīyya, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Qāṭṭāliānī who remained there until he died in 665/1267.\(^5\)

I have not discovered any other Maghribīs associated with the madrasas of Alexandria, Fuṣṭāt, or Cairo for our period. As for those in madrasas outside these

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major cities, they rarely appear in the sources. One of them was the Mālikī Abū
in a Shāfi‘i madrasa in Munyat Banī Ḫaṣṣāb in Upper Egypt. From his home in
North Africa, he journeyed to Egypt where he studied hadīth and fiqh in
Alexandria and then made the pilgrimage. After a few years in the Hijāz, he
moved to Baghdad to continue his tradition studies. He then returned to Egypt and
taught hadīth in Fustāṭ before finally settling in Munyat Banī Ḫaṣṣāb where he
died in 599/1203.\(^6\)

An Andalusi who went to Upper Egypt was the Shafī‘ī Najm al-Dīn Abū Naṣr
Fāṭḥ b. Mūsā al-Umawī al-Jazīrī al-Qāṣrī. He was born in Algeciras (al-Jazīra al-
Ḫadhrā‘) in al-Andalus in 588/1192. His father took him to Qaṣr ‘Abd al-Karīm,
near Ceuta and opposite Algeciras, and when he was around five years old to Qaṣr
Kūtāma, which Yāqūt says was a city on Algeciras. Al-Qaṣrī grew up in the latter
Qaṣr. When he was fifteen, he returned to Algeciras and studied grammar there.
It was perhaps about that time or a bit later that he studied tradition from ‘Īsā b.
‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Juzūlī (d. 607/1210).\(^7\) In 609/1212-1213 he headed east. He
stayed a while in Tunis and then continued to Egypt. He reached Damascus in
610/1213-1214 and studied fiqh and khilāf from Sa‘īf al-Dīn al-‘Āmidī in Ḥamāt.
In 617/1220-1221 he became the professor of the madrasa of the amīr ‘Īmād al-
Dīn Ibn al-Maṣḥūṭ in the city of Ra‘ṣ al-‘Ā’in between Harrān and Naṣībīn. He
held this post for many years and was placed in charge of the treasury of the
eastern provinces (bildūd al-sharq) under al-Kāmīl. Al-Suyūṭī says he also went
to Baghdad and was a mudarris in the Niẓāmiyya. He returned to Egypt in
643/1245 and became the professor in the Fā‘īzīyya Madrasa, for Shāfi‘īs, in
Usyūţ. He also became the qāḍī of that town and died there in 663/1265.\(^8\)

These then are the Muslims from al-Andalus, and a few from North Africa,
who, so far, have come to light as being associated with the rise and spread of
madrasas in Egypt. They were especially important in the beginning, notably in
the person of al-Ṭūrjaṭī, in preparing the foundation for this development.
Subsequently, they appeared in teaching positions in all the leading Mālikī and
a few Shāfi‘ī madrasas in Egypt until late into the seventh/thirteenth century,
although in fewer and fewer numbers which reflected the decline in the riḥla.
Their presence, almost exclusively in Alexandria and Fustāṭ/Cairo, helped make

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\(^{7}\) On al-Juzūlī, see GAL, Supplemet, vol. 1, 541-542.

\(^{8}\) Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-buldān, vol. 11, 119-120, on Qaṣr ‘Abd al-Karīm 116; al-Ba‘labakki, Dhill
al-Dīr‘at al-wartān, Aya Sofya MS. 3199, fols. 73b-74a; al-Dhahabī, Ta‘rīḥ, Ahmet III MS. 2917,
vol. 18, fols. 225a-226c; al-Ṣahābī, Taḥaqīq, vol. 8, 348; al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, vol. 2, 242; Ibn al-
Egypt a thriving center of Mālikī law, perhaps the most important in the Islamic world. This resulted not only from the ideas that they brought from al-Andalus but also from those acquired in the centers of learning, including madrasas, that most of them had visited in the further Islamic East. In addition, by teaching in madrasas, these Muslims also played a prominent role in the restoration of Sunnism in Egypt after the abolition of the Fātimid Caliphate. The fact that they were appointed to positions in madrasas, positions which were few and difficult to obtain, by the ruling authorities, was tantamount to official recognition of the importance of their community.99

It should be emphasized that the Andalusīs who taught in madrasas were not, of course, the only ones in Egypt. For every Andalusī who taught in a madrasa, there were many others who taught elsewhere, such as in mosques. In addition, for every Andalusī teacher, there were unquestionably dozens of Andalusī students, although most were not emigrants. Those who held positions in madrasas were, therefore, indicators of a substantial group of Andalusī religious scholars and students in Egypt. It would be reasonable to assume that without them Egypt would probably have become an overwhelmingly Shāfi‘ī country. In other words, the Andalusīs strengthened a conservative element that might have been lost. They also established and maintained intellectual, religious, and no doubt other, bonds between Egypt and the West that were stronger than those between the latter region and any other part of the Islamic «East». They thus helped give Egypt an intellectual and religious personality that was noticeably different from that of its eastern neighbors.

**ABSTRACT**

This article describes the role of Muslims from al-Andalus in the early development and the subsequent pedagogical function of the madrasas (Islamic colleges of law) in Egypt from the late Fātimid period (495-567/1101-1171) to the end of the Ayyūbid era (567-648/1101-1250). This role is connected with the riḥla, the travel of Andalusīs to the Islamic East for the sake of learning. This article begins with a brief overview of the status of the law schools (madhhabs) in Egypt under the Fātimids. This is followed by an account

of Andalusîs in the madrasa movement in Alexandria under Fâtimid rule and then in the spread of this institution to Fusţât, Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt under Saladîn and his Aiyûbid successors. The presence of Andalusîs in all the leading Mâlikî madrasas highlights their contribution to orthodoxy in general in Egypt and to its Mâlikî community in particular.

RESUMEN
Este artículo describe el papel representado por los musulmanes andalusîes en el desarrollo temprano y posterior función pedagógica de las madrasas (colegios de ley islámica) en Egipto, desde el período fâtimî tardío (495-567/1101-1171) hasta el final de la época ayyûbî (567-648/1101-1250). Este papel está relacionado con la riḥla, el viaje que hacían los andalusîes a Oriente «en busca de la ciencia». El artículo se inicia con una breve exposición de la situación de las escuelas legales (madhab) en el Egipto fâtimî. A esto sigue el estudio de los andalusîes que participaron en el movimiento de las madrasas en Alejandría (bajo los fâtimîes) y la difusión de esta institución en Fusţât, El Cairo y otros lugares en Egipto, bajo Saladîn y sus sucesores ayyûbîes. La presencia de andalusîes en las madrasas mährîkes más importantes subraya su doble contribución, en general, a la ortodoxia en Egipto y, en particular, a la comunidad mährî.

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