

## MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS IN THE MADRASAS OF LATE FĀṬIMID AND AIYŪBID EGYPT

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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.<sup>1</sup> The very term for travel, *riḥla*, had a technical meaning, namely, a journey to the Islamic East for the sake of learning.<sup>2</sup> Although most Andalusī 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.<sup>3</sup> These emigrants usually earned a living by teaching, thus putting to good use the fruits

<sup>1</sup> 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 Pérès' claim in *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1953, that the secular tendencies in al-Andalus were caused by the humanistic rather than the religious nature of Andalusī education. On the non-religious sciences that were studied in the East, see A. Ḍū N-Nūn Ṭāhā, «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 Sidarus ed., *Islām e arabismo 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.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of note that the two most famous works by Andalusīs describing travel to the East, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubair* and *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, are always translated, imprecisely, as *The Travels of Ibn Jubair* and *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. They did not travel aimlessly, but in order to acquire knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> Luis Molina has made a quantitative study of the places visited by the Andalusīs found in Ibn al-Faraḍī's (d. 403/1013) *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*. See his «Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el *Ta'rīj* de Ibn al-Faraḍī», *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*, 1 (1988), 585-610. Manuela Marín has studied the travels of one Andalusī in particular, «El viaje a Oriente de Abū Marwān al-Bāṣī (m. 635/1237)», same journal, 6 (1994), 273-304.

of their *riḥlas*. 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), Andalusī Muslims were in a position to play a noteworthy role in their development. This paper will describe that role.<sup>4</sup> The travel of North African Muslims to Egypt generally followed the same pattern as that of the Andalusīs. 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 (*madhhab*s) firmly took root there. The somewhat conservative Mālikī *madhhab* was the first to do so. Al-Maqrīzī says it was introduced by one ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Yaḥyā 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 Ḥanafī *madhhab*, which was the only other Sunnī school then in existence. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī goes so far as to say that the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa was not even known in Egypt at that time. The Mālikīs were unrivaled until the Imām al-Shāfi‘ī himself went to Egypt in 198/814. He studied and taught in Fuṣṭāṭ until his death in 204/820 and then was buried in the Qarāfa 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 Mālikīs. Meanwhile, the Ḥanafīs had established a presence, but remained relatively insignificant.<sup>5</sup> It is reported, for example, that in 326/938 the Mālikīs and Shāfi‘īs each had fifteen circles of students in the Mosque of ‘Amr in Fuṣṭāṭ while the Ḥanafīs had only three.<sup>6</sup> There were also a few Shī‘īs about, but they were of no consequence.<sup>7</sup>

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Bulaq, Egypt, 1270/1853, vol. 2, 334.

<sup>6</sup> Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. from German by Khuda Bakhsh and D. S. Margoliouth, 1937, rpt. Beirut, 1973, 214.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, 334.

Sunnīs. One reason for this was that the Fātimids were more interested in spreading their ideology abroad than at home where proselytizing was sporadic and usually halfhearted. Still, if the Fātimids did not convert the Sunnīs of Egypt, they at least tried to control them by repression or, it seems, playing one school against another. Al-Maqrīzī, again, states that in 381/991-992 a man was beaten because a copy of Mālik's great book of law, the *Muwatta'*, was found in his possession.<sup>8</sup> Around the same time, the well-known geographer al-Muqaddasī (fl. fourth/tenth century) passed through Egypt and reported that a Shāfi'ī was the *imām* (prayer leader) of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, which was essentially in Fuṣṭāṭ, and that until that time all the *imāms* had been Mālikīs. In fact, most of the jurists or *fuqahā'* were Mālikīs.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the Fātimids had appointed the Shāfi'ī *imām* for political reasons. Al-Muqaddasī also mentions that there were Ḥanbalīs in Fuṣṭāṭ.<sup>10</sup> As for the Ḥanafīs, the Fātimids especially disliked them because they were of the same *madhhab* as the 'Abbāsids, their archenemies in Baghdad.<sup>11</sup> On the whole, the well-being of the Sunnīs 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-Ḥākim (especially between 390-411/1000-1021), or very relaxed, such as during the vizierate of al-Afḍal (487-515/1094-1121).<sup>12</sup>

During the Fātimid period, the number of Shāfi'īs seems to have increased somewhat at the expense of the Mālikīs. Apart from this, the strength of each Sunnī *madhhab* appears to have remained at approximately the same proportion as before the Fātimid conquest. The Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs were the most important groups while the Ḥanafīs and then the Ḥanbalīs 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-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*.<sup>13</sup> Although he is late (d. 911/1505) and had a pro-Shāfi'ī bias, the author culled

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 341.

<sup>9</sup> *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. J. de Goeje, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leiden, 1906, 203-204; Mez, *Renaissance*, 214.

<sup>10</sup> *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 202. On the first appearance of Ḥanbalīs in Egypt, see Leiser, «Ḥanbalism in Egypt before the Mamlūks», *Studia Islamica*, 54 (1981), 155-181.

<sup>11</sup> Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr, *al-Dawla al-fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1965-1966, 85.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-85. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cairo, 1958, 218-225, 621-624; Marius Canard, «Fātimids», *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 2, 859. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1369-1393/1950-1973, vol. 2, 73, apparently referring to the last years of Fātimid rule, says, for example, that the people of Qifṭ in Upper Egypt were Sunnīs who openly displayed their beliefs. The Fātimids knew of this but did not bother them. So far, there has been no comprehensive study of the Sunnī *madhhabs* in Fātimid Egypt. Cf. Yaacov Lev, «The Fatimid Imposition of Ismā'īlism on Egypt (358-386/969-996)», *ZDMG*, 138 (1988), 313-325, and *idem*, *State & Society in Fātimid Egypt*, Leiden, 1991, chapter 8.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1387/1967-1968, vol. 1, 398-484.

material from many earlier works and drew up a list of the most famous *fuqahā'* of each Sunnī *madhhab* in Egypt. Here we find the following:

	NUMBER FROM EACH <i>MADHHAB</i>	NUMBER WHO DIED BEFORE 600/1203-1204
Shāfi'ī	202	59
Mālikī	92	53
Ḥanafī	58	10
Ḥanbalī	21	0

Al-Suyūṭī'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 Mālikī and Shāfi'ī territory.

With respect to the last years of Fāṭimid rule, the evidence at hand indicates that the Sunnīs 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-Ismā'īlīs —Sunnīs and Imāmīs— who served as vizier. The Sunnī viziers could more or less minimize Shī'ī interference in their affairs, while the Imāmī viziers had their own rivalry with the Ismā'īlīs and were unconcerned with the Sunnīs. Kutaiḫāt, al-Aḫḫāl's son and an Imāmī who served briefly as vizier from 524/1130 to 526/1131, appointed for the first time four chief judges in Egypt, that is, a Mālikī and Shāfi'ī in addition to an Imāmī and Ismā'īlī.<sup>14</sup> Not long afterward, in 532/1137-1138, the Sunnī vizier Riḍwān b. al-Walakhshī was

<sup>14</sup> See above all Samuel Stern, «The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the Claims of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of Tayyibī Ismailism», *Oriens*, 4 (1951), 193-207, and «al-Aḫḫāl... Kutaiḫāt», *El*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1, 216, to which add Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a*, ed. André Ferré, Cairo, 1972, 94-95 and al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, Cairo, 1387-1393/1967-1973, vol. 3, 128-130, 137-142. In Stern's two articles, he says on pp. 206 and 216, respectively, that the Sunnī judges were a Shāfi'ī and a Ḥanafī. This is a partial oversight because Ibn Muyassar, whom Stern cites, says in fact that they were a Shāfi'ī and a Mālikī, as does al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, vol. 3, 142. As we have noted above, Egypt was overwhelmingly Mālikī and Shāfi'ī, so there would have been no reason to appoint a Ḥanafī chief judge. Now see Adel Allouche, «The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in Fāṭimid Egypt», *JAOS*, 105 (1985), 317-320. For the decline of the Fāṭimid ideology and missionary work, see Hussain Akberali Ladak, «The Fāṭimid Caliphate and the Ismā'īlī Da'wa —From the Appointment of Musta'li to the Suppression of the Dynasty», Dissertation, Univ. of London, 1971.

the first government official to found a *madrassa* in Egypt. It was located in Alexandria for the Mālikīs.

The Sunnīs, therefore, remained the great majority in Egypt throughout the Fātimid 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 Maghribīs. And when the Hilālīan invasion put an end to Qairawān 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 Andalusīs are especially replete with people who went to Mecca or more distant Muslim cities via Egypt. Virtually all Mālikīs, many stayed in Egypt for many years or permanently. Indeed, one of the reasons given for Riḍwān's decision to establish a *madrassa* 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 Mālikī law and thus strengthened the Mālikī community.

Sunnīs, mainly Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs, 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-Āmir (495-525/1094-1101) to that of al-Āḍid (555-567/1160-1171), communications with the East were often partially or wholly interrupted.

In contrast to this, the movement of Andalusīs 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* *madrassa* in Egypt may have been the work of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Sulaimān b. Aiyūb al-Fihri

al-Ṭurṭūshī, also known as Ibn Abī Randaqa.<sup>15</sup> 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 (*qāḍī*) Abū 'l-Walīd al-Bājī (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 Khallikān, al-Ṭurṭūshī departed al-Andalus in 476/1083-1084.<sup>16</sup> He next appears in Mecca where one of his classmates under al-Bājī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Firrū (or Firruh [?], which derived from the Latin word for iron) al-Ṣadaḥ studied from him the *Sunan* (one of the six canonical works on *ḥadīth* [traditions] accepted by Sunnīs) of Abū Dāwūd according to ('an) al-Tustarī.<sup>17</sup> From there al-Ṭurṭūshī proceeded to Baghdad where the great vizier Nizām al-Mulk was in power. In his *Sirāj al-mulūk*, al-Ṭurṭūshī praises the vizier and takes special notice of the educational and religious facilities that he constructed, namely, a *dār al-'ilm* (library), *madrasas*, and *ribāṭs* (fortified Ṣūfī retreats).<sup>18</sup> Al-Ṭurṭūshī attributes to Nizām a resurgence in learning throughout the realm.

He naturally singles out the Nizāmiyya Madrasa.<sup>19</sup> In fact, although he was a Mālikī and this was a Shāfi'ī institution, he certainly studied there. Baghdad then had a relatively insignificant Mālikī community and no Mālikī *madrasas*. He therefore studied *fiqh* (jurisprudence) in that city from others, especially Shāfi'īs.

<sup>15</sup> He is frequently mentioned in the sources and deserves to be extensively studied. A list of the major works in which he appears can be found in Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *A'lām al-Iskandariyya fī 'l-'aṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1965, 114 (al-Shayyāl's reference to M. Ben Cheneb should be corrected to read, «Études sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Ijāza du cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsy», *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1905, vol. 3, pt. 2, 335-336 [1906-1908; rpt. Nendeln/Leichtenstein, 1968]), to which add the references in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968-1972, vol. 4, p. 262, vol. 7, 329; al-Ṣadāḥ, *al-Wāfi bi-'l-wafayāt*, ed. Hellmut Ritter *et al.*, Istanbul, 1931, vol. 5, 175, n. 1; s. v. in al-Silafī's *Mu'jam al-safar*, 'Arif Hikmet (Medina) MS. 176, *ḥadīth* (Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo, microfilm nr. 1234, *ta'rīkh*), now published in Beirut, 1993; *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 459 and *Supplement*, vol. 1, 829-830; Ben Cheneb, «Ibn Abī Randaqa», *El'*. Although useful, al-Shayyāl's chapter on him in *A'lām*, 50-100, is inadequately documented. Cf. Ét. Quatremère, «Notes de M. Étienne Quatremère sur divers sujets orientaux», *JA*, ser. 5, 17 (1861), 147-154. The most recent work related to al-Ṭurṭūshī is Maribel Fierro, ed. and Spanish trans. of his *Kitāb al-Ḥawādith wa 'l-bida'*, Madrid, 1993.

<sup>16</sup> *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, 262; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-ratīb*, ed. R. Dozy *et al.* as *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes d'Espagne*, 1855-1861, rpt. Amsterdam, 1967, vol. 1, 518.

<sup>17</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1873, vol. 3, 530.

<sup>18</sup> Cairo, 1306, 104, new ed. Muḥammad Faṭḥī Abū Bakr, Cairo, 1994, and al-Shayyāl, *A'lām*, 58. The *Sirāj* has been translated into Spanish by Maximiliano Alarcón as *Lámpara de los príncipes por Abubéquer de Tortosa*, Madrid, 1930-1931.

<sup>19</sup> *Sirāj*, 104-105; al-Shayyāl, *A'lām*, 60.

Among them were Abū Bakr al-Shāshī<sup>20</sup> and Abū Sa‘d al-Mutawallī.<sup>21</sup> The latter was the *mudarris* (professor) in the Nizāmiyya twice between 476/1083 and 478/1086 when he died.<sup>22</sup> The former, one of the leading Shāfi‘ī scholars in Baghdad, received the professorship in the Nizāmiyya in 504/1111.<sup>23</sup> Before that, he taught in a *madrasa* named after himself and then in the Tājiyya Madrasa starting in 482/1089.<sup>24</sup> Thus, al-Ṭurṭūshī studied in the Nizāmiyya and probably other *madrasas* in Baghdad.<sup>25</sup>

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-Makīn b. Ḥadīd, accompanied by a group of fellow townsmen, met him in al-Rashīd and encouraged him to settle in Alexandria.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, he moved to that city where he married a woman of wealth. She provided him with a large house (*dār*) of two stories. The upper floor was their living quarters while al-Ṭurṭūshī used the reception hall (*qā‘a*) and the rest of the lower floor as a *de facto* *madrasa* where he taught *fiqh*.<sup>27</sup> This «*madrasa*» was large enough to lodge at least some students, for we have the testimony of someone who stayed there many nights.<sup>28</sup> Nothing else is known of this «*madrasa*» except that it had a professional *mu‘adhdhin* (one who made the call to prayer).<sup>29</sup>

In their biographies of al-Ṭurṭūshī, both al-Ḍabbī and Ibn Farḥūn, who used different sources, say that he created a *madrasa* in Alexandria. Presumably, they mean this *dār*. After al-Ṭurṭūshī’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-Ṭurṭūshī seems to have set himself up in his *dār* as if it were a *madrasa*, inspired no doubt by his experience in Baghdad. His *dār* was certainly an independent Sunnī school, supported by private funds, with a single teaching

<sup>20</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 507/1114), *GAL*, vol. 1, 390-391, *Supplement*, vol. 1, 674.

<sup>21</sup> Abū Sa‘d ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma‘mūn b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Mutawallī (d. 478/1086), al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi‘iyya al-kubrā*, eds. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilū, Cairo, 1383-1396/1964-1976, vol. 5, 106-107.

<sup>22</sup> Makdisi, G., «Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad», *BSOAS*, 24 (1961), 38-39.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1203) says he studied *ḥadīth* in the ‘Ādiliyya Madrasa, which I have not been able to identify, *Bughyat al-multamis fī ta’rīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus*, Cairo, 1968, 135.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-137.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-mudhhab*, Cairo, 1351/1932, 277. Cf. al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 137.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 137.

<sup>29</sup> Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam*, s. v. Abū ‘I-Qāsim Najā b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ramlī.

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-Ṭurṭūshī attracted a large number of students, especially Andalusīs who found his *madrasa* a welcome place to study or visit on the way to Mecca or beyond.<sup>30</sup> He is described in an anecdote as walking in a garden with 360 students and admirers.<sup>31</sup> His popularity, combined with his self-centeredness, perhaps contributed to the growth of ill-will between him and Ibn Ḥadīd for they had a falling-out. This in turn brought him in conflict with the vizier al-Afḍal, whom he did not hesitate to lecture about what was religiously permissible.<sup>32</sup> After al-Afḍal was killed, al-Ṭurṭūshī composed his *Sirāj* which he then presented in Cairo to the new vizier al-Ma'mūn b. al-Baṭā'ihī, an Imāmī, as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*.<sup>33</sup> 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-Maqrīzī states that al-Ṭurṭūshī 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 Ismā'īlīs had been interfering in Sunnī affairs. Al-Ma'mūn also agreed to compensate for funds improperly taken from orphans during al-Afḍal'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-Ṭurṭūshī asked the vizier to build a *masjid* (neighborhood mosque) in Alexandria near the sea and he agreed.<sup>34</sup> Al-Ṭurṭūshī thus appears as a spokesman for the Sunnī community. A few years later in 520/1126, in his seventies, he died in Alexandria.

Al-Ṭurṭūshī's influence on the Sunnī, and especially the Mālikī, community of Alexandria was considerable. Indeed, he helped reorganize and rejuvenate the Mālikī intelligentsia of the whole country. Ibn Khaldūn credits him with assisting the revival of Mālikism in Egypt. He says, «in the sixth [twelfth] century (*sic*), Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī 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 Andalusī school (*madhhab*, i. e.,

<sup>30</sup> E. g., Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmilā li-kitāb al-Ṣila*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusainī, Cairo, 1956, vol. 2, 491. On leading Andalusīs who studied with al-Ṭurṭūshī in Egypt, see Lagardère, V., «L'unificateur du Malikisme oriental et occidental à Alexandrie: Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī», *ROMM*, 31 (1981), 47-61.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 277.

<sup>32</sup> Leiter, «Restoration», 119-122.

<sup>33</sup> See al-Shayyāl's analysis of it, *A'lām*, 87-93. It must have received wide circulation, for Ibn Khaldūn critically comments on it in his *Muqaddima*, see Rosenthal, F., trans. *The Muqaddimah*, New York, 1958, vol. 2, 87.

<sup>34</sup> *Itti'āz*, vol. 3, 88-92.



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».<sup>35</sup>

Al-Ṭurṭūshī taught for almost thirty years and therefore had hundreds of students. The most famous were his friend al-Ṣadafī, who may have visited him in Egypt and later became a great judge and traditionist in al-Andalus,<sup>36</sup> Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī, another Andalusī traditionist,<sup>37</sup> and Abū Ṭāhir b. 'Awf. He was also the teacher of Ibn Tūmart the Mahdī,<sup>38</sup> and gave an *ijāza* to the celebrated Mālikī jurist and biographer al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ from Ceuta, across the straits from Gibraltar.<sup>39</sup> The renowned al-Ghazzālī went to Alexandria when al-Ṭurṭūshī was there and they surely met, although al-Ṭurṭūshī was not pleased with al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and wrote a criticism of it.<sup>40</sup>

After al-Ṭurṭūshī, the earliest reference to a *madrasa* in Egypt concerns that of the Mālikī judge of Alexandria al-Makīn b. Ḥadīd (d. 529/1135), whose family apparently arrived from Toledo in the late fifth/eleventh century.<sup>41</sup> He may well have established it in reaction to the popularity of al-Ṭurṭūshī 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 Ḥadīd into the seventh/thirteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Muqaddimah*, Rosenthal trans., vol. 3, 17-18.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Ṣila*, Cairo, 1966, vol. 1, 144-146; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 269; Ben Cheneb, «Étude sur les personnages», 307-309.

<sup>37</sup> J. Robson, «Ibn al-'Arabī», *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 5, 46; J. F. P. Hopkins, «Ibn Tūmart», *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Ben Cheneb, «Étude sur les personnages», 336.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6, 242, 252; al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ asrār Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1893, rpt. Beirut, 1973, vol. 1, 28-29; Schreiner, M., «Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islam», *ZDMG*, 52 (1898), 502, n. 7; al-Shayyāl, *A'lām*, 82-86.

<sup>41</sup> Mentioned in passing in S. Abd al Aziz Salem, «D'Alexandrie à Almeria, une famille alexandrine au moyen âge: les Banu Khulayf», *ROMM*, 46 (1987), 65.

<sup>42</sup> 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 Shāfi'ī *madrasa* of the «Maqādisa» (Jerusalemites), which may have existed before 514/1120-1121. See *ibid.*, 130-131.

## MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS IN THE MADRASAS OF FĀTIMID 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.<sup>43</sup> It was built in Alexandria for the Mālikīs in 532/1137-1138 and was commonly known as the 'Awfiyya after its most outstanding *mudarris* al-Imām Ṣadr al-Dīn, or Ṣadr al-Islām, Abū Ṭāhir Ismā'īl b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī 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.<sup>44</sup>

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

After al-Ṭurṭūshī died, Ibn 'Awf emerged as the leading Mālikī scholar in Alexandria. Indeed, he became the most famous Mālikī of Egypt in the sixth/twelfth century. Even the renowned Andalusī traveler Ibn Jubair singled him out late in that century.<sup>45</sup> Ibn 'Awf's longevity certainly contributed to his far-ranging reputation. References to him in the sources, especially in the general or Mālikī biographical texts are legion. As with al-Ṭurṭūshī, a large number of Andalusīs sought him out.<sup>46</sup> After Saladin seized power and established the Aiyūbid dynasty, even he and his sons, although they were Shāfi'īs, attended one of Ibn 'Awf's classes. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Saladin's famous counsellor and secretary, praised the sultan for going to this class and compared this to Hārūn al-Rashīd's visit, with his sons, to hear Mālik himself.<sup>47</sup> Henceforth, whenever Saladin needed the Mālikī opinion in legal matters, he referred to Ibn 'Awf.<sup>48</sup> Saladin's brother al-Malik al-'Ādil, who was sultan from 596/1200 to 615/1218, studied *ḥadīth* with him<sup>49</sup> as did Saladin's nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī 'l-Dīn 'Umar b.

<sup>43</sup> Described in detail in *ibid.*, 131-150. The document ordering the construction of this college has survived and is translated in *ibid.*, 435-438.

<sup>44</sup> The primary biographical sources for Ibn 'Awf are Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 95-96, and al-Dhababī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Dār al-Kutub MS. 42, *ta'rīkh*, vol. 27, fol. 2b.

<sup>45</sup> *Rihla*, ed. W. Wright, London, 1907, 80.

<sup>46</sup> See, e. g., Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, vol. 1, 118.

<sup>47</sup> Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmy Aḥmad, Cairo, 1956, vol. 1, pt. 2, 24.

<sup>48</sup> See, e. g., al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6, 41-42.

<sup>49</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila li-Wafayāt al-naqala*, first four vols. ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Najaf, 1388-1391/1968-1971, vol. 4, 326-327; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, eds. M. Ziyāda and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Ashūr (1941-1972), vol. 1, pt. 1, 191.

Shāhinshāh (d. 587/1191).<sup>50</sup> The latter ruled Egypt for a short time during Saladin's absence and later became ruler of Ḥamāt. Ibn Mujāwir (d. 600/1204),<sup>51</sup> who was a vizier of al-Malik al-'Azīz, and Ibn Shukr, who was a vizier of both al-Malik al-'Ādil and al-Malik al-Kāmil, also studied *ḥadīth* from him.<sup>52</sup> 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 Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd b. al-Qā'id who was born in North Africa around 551/1156-1157. After studying *ḥadīth* with Ibn 'Awf, he became the drill master, or *mu'īd*, of the Mālikī *madrasa*, the Qamḥiyya, that Saladin built next to the Mosque of 'Amr in Fuṣṭāṭ. He later continued *ḥadīth* studies with the Andalusī Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Shātibī, whom we shall meet below, and eventually became the judge of Alexandria. He died in 645/1247.<sup>53</sup>

The 'Awfiyya remained in the hands of the Banū 'Awf throughout the Aiyūbid period. It is worthy of note that one of Ibn 'Awf's sons, Abū 'l-Ḥaram Makkī (d. 590/1194), who had an *ijāza* from al-Ṭurṭūshī, composed an immense work on Mālikī 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». <sup>54</sup>

The next *madrasa* to appear in Egypt was founded by another Fātimid vizier, Ibn al-Sallār. It was a Shāfi'ī institution created in 546/1151, also in Alexandria. Originally called the 'Ādiliyya, it soon became better known as the Ḥāfiẓiyya after the title of its first and most famous teacher, Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, who was called «al-Ḥāfiẓ (one who had memorized the Koran)». <sup>55</sup> He was born around 475/1082 in Isfahan and as a young man began to study *ḥadīth*. This pursuit took him to Baghdad where he studied in the Nizāmiyya with, among others, Abū Bakr al-Shāshī, one of the teachers of al-Ṭurṭūshī. <sup>56</sup> After more travels in search of *ḥadīth*, he reached Alexandria in 511/1118. Like al-Ṭurṭūshī, whom he met, he married a woman of means and thus settled in that city. For the next thirty years

<sup>50</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilā*, vol. 1, 292-293; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, 242.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilā*, vol. 3, 41-42.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya (Alexandria), MS. 1982, *dāl*, fols. 115b-116a; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 43; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 219, and *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, 371-373.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Ḥusainī, *Ṣilat al-Takmilā li-Wafayāt al-naqala*, Köprülü Mehmet Paşa MS 1101, fols. 42b-43a; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 17, fols. 255a and b.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilā*, vol. 1, 387; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Dār al-Kutub MS. 42, *ta'rīkh*, vol. 27, fols. 55b-56a; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 95-96; *GAL*, *Supplement*, vol. 2, 960, nt. 21.

<sup>55</sup> The fundamental study of al-Silafī is Sher M. Zaman, «Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī al-Iṣbahānī, His Life and Works, with an Analytical Study of His *Mu'jam al-Safar*», Dissertation, Harvard, 1968. See also Leiser, «Restoration», 151-184; Cl. Gilliot, «al-Silafī», *Et*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 1, 105; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6, 36.

he devoted himself chiefly to teaching *ḥadūh*. He attracted countless students and corresponded with scholars as far away as al-Andalus.<sup>57</sup> His fame in *ḥadūh* 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-Ṭurtūshī and Ibn ‘Awf, including dozens from al-Andalus. One of the most noteworthy of these students was Abū Muḥammad Jāmi‘ b. Bāqī al-Tamīmī. He traveled from his homeland to Egypt where he met al-Silafī and eventually became the *qāḍī* of Ikhmīm in Upper Egypt.<sup>58</sup> Another was Sābiq al-Dīn Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Sa‘dūn b. Tamām b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Qurṭubī. Born in Cordova in 486/1093, he studied *ḥadīth* with al-Silafī and went to Baghdad and finally Mawṣil where he settled and became known as a grammarian.<sup>59</sup> One generation removed from al-Andalus was Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-‘Uthmānī (d. 614/1218). He was born in Alexandria and studied *ḥadūh* from al-Silafī. He later taught that subject in Fuṣṭāṭ, Qūṣ 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.<sup>60</sup>

As a *mudarris* in a *madrasa*, al-Silafī’s main purpose was to teach *fiqh*. In addition to *ḥadūh*, he did indeed teach not only Shāfi‘ī law but also comparative law or *khilāf*. For the latter, he used Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *Kitāb al-Istidhkār*, which was a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa’* 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 *Muwaṭṭa’* and that he began lecturing on it twice a week in 551/1156-1157.<sup>61</sup> He adds that he subsequently became the subject of controversy and so he decided

<sup>57</sup> E. g., Abū ‘Umrān b. Abī Talīd. See Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu‘jam fī aṣḥāb al-qāḍī al-imām Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī*, Cairo, 1387/1967, 48.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 8, 137.

<sup>59</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1907-1926, vol. 7, 278-279; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, vol. 4, 38-39; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 6, 171-173; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 14, fol. 16b-17a.

<sup>60</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila*, vol. 4, 305-306; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, Dār al-Kutub MS. 42 *ta’rīkh*, vol. 30, fol. 210b.

<sup>61</sup> The manuscript is al-Silafī’s introduction to his lecture on *Kitāb al-Istidhkār*. It has been edited in Leiter, «Restoration», 444-470. In this lecture, al-Silafī also gives a brief description of the difference in technical terms used in *ijāzas* and *samā’*s (certificates of audition) between al-Andalus and the East and how to determine their validity (fols. 119a-b). He also tells us that he studied in Alexandria such Mālikī works as the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* of the *qāḍī* Abū al-Qāsim Ṣā‘id b. Aḥmad al-Ṭulaiṭulī from Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Yaḥṣubī al-Andalusī (fol. 120a). On the latter, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, vol. 2, 818. The Andalusīs from whom al-Silafī studied in Alexandria are found in Iḥṣān ‘Abbās, ed. *Akḥbār wa tarājim andalusīyya*, Beirut, 1963, which is extracted from al-Silafī’s *Mu‘jam al-safar*.

to base his lectures on Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's commentary on the *Muwatta'*. 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 taught 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 Ṣūfī, and used this college as a refuge from the world.<sup>62</sup>

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-Safāqūsī. His father's family came from Sfax in North Africa. Abū Bakr was born in Alexandria in 572/1176-1177 and, though little more than a baby, attended al-Silafī's courses. He went on to become *nā'ib al-ḥukm* (vicegerent) in Alexandria and died in 654/1256.<sup>63</sup>

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, probably the first of that school to be established anywhere in the Muslim world. Next to appear there were Shāfi'ī colleges. The other *madhhabs* were of no consequence, hence they had no such institutions. Relations between the Mālikīs and Shāfi'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.<sup>64</sup>

The outstanding teachers of these years, apart from al-Ṭurṭūshī, were the friends Ibn 'Awf and al-Silafī. They both had hundreds of students and made Alexandria a major center of Sunnī —Mālikī and Shāfi'ī— education.

<sup>62</sup> Al-Dabbī, *Bughya*, 219-222.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, Ahmet III MS. 2920, vol. 26, fols. 92b-93a.

<sup>64</sup> Andrew Ehrenkreutz' statement that Ibn al-Sallār «antagonized the Shiites by reestablishing officially a Sunnī 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 Ibrāhīm Ḥasan's *Ta'rīkh al-dawla al-fātimiyya*, 184, where that author says, «By this means Ibn al-Sallār prepared the way for the return of the Sunnī *madhhab* 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 (*madhhab*) development» cannot be maintained, «Ayyūbid Religious Policy and the Development of the Schools of Law in Cairo», in *Colloque International sur l'histoire de Caire*, Köln, Böhlau, 1974, 281-282.

## 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 Shī'ī 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 Shāfi'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 Shāfi'īs, 11 for the Mālikīs, two for both the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs, five for the Ḥanafīs, one for the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs, one for the Shāfi'īs, Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, and five of undetermined affiliation. Among these colleges, four were built in Alexandria, 14 in Fuṣṭāṭ, and 17 in Cairo.<sup>65</sup> With very few exceptions, each *madrasa* had one professorship which, in principle but not always in practice, was held for life. As Shāfi'īs, Saladin and his family did much to encourage the emigration of Shāfi'ī religious scholars from the Muslim East to Egypt.<sup>66</sup> 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 Fuṣṭāṭ (the Nāṣiriyya for the Shāfi'īs and the Qamḥiyya for the Mālikīs), one in Cairo (the Suyūfiyya for the Ḥanafīs), one in the nearby Qarāfa Cemetery (the Ṣalāhiyya for the Shāfi'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 Shāfi'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 Fuṣṭāṭ 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.

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix V in Leiser, «Restoration», 471-472.

<sup>66</sup> This was shown in Leiser, «Restoration».

Saladin's Mālikī *madrassa*, the Qamḥiyya (from *qamḥ*, wheat, a reference to the crop of its endowed village), was built near the Mosque of 'Amr in 566/1170.<sup>67</sup> Among the professors of this college was Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qaṣṭallānī. His family was originally from North Africa but he was born in Egypt in 559/1163-1164. He studied Mālikī law with his uncle, a *qāḍī*, and was initiated into Ṣūfism. He also had an *ijāza* from al-Silafī. He became a *mudarris* in the Qamḥiyya but later left it to go wandering about Mecca in the pursuit of further study and died there in 636/1239.<sup>68</sup> His son Tāj al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī also taught in this *madrassa*. He was born in Egypt in 588/1192 and later taught *ḥadīth* and was a *muftī* (one who gave legal opinions) before becoming the professor. Later he was appointed to the chair of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyya, which was an institution for teaching tradition, where he remained until his death in 665/1267.<sup>69</sup> His brother, Qaṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, became a Shāfi'ī and also held the teaching chair in the Kāmiliyya, probably succeeding Tāj al-Dīn. He died in 686/1287.<sup>70</sup>

I have discovered only one teaching assistant for the Qamḥiyya, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Hilālī al-Rīghī. He was a Mālikī from what is today Algeria. He was born there around 551/1156-1157. Al-Silafī sent him an *ijāza* and he eventually went to Alexandria and studied *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Awf. Afterwards, he went to Fuṣṭāṭ to pursue the same subject with Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī and serve as the *mu'īd* in the Qamḥiyya. He returned to Alexandria and became its chief *qāḍī* in 603/1206-1207. He also became the *khaṭīb* (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.<sup>71</sup>

Saladin founded his *madrassa* for the Ḥanafīs 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.<sup>72</sup> Its first professor was Majd al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-

<sup>67</sup> On this *madrassa* and its teachers, see *ibid.*, 201-211.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilā*, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya MS. 1982 *dāl*, 238; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 17, fol. 119a; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 7, 238; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 67.

<sup>69</sup> Al-Dimiyātī, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, ed. G. Vajda as *Le Dictionnaire des autorités*, Paris, 1962, 71; al-Yunīnī, *Dhail Mir'āt al-zamān*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1374-1380/1954-1961, vol. 2, 371-372; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 18, fol. 238b, and *idem*, *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar*, eds. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and Fu'ād Saiyid, Cairo, 1960-1966, vol. 5, 281; al-Tinbuktī, *Nail al-ibtihāj*, published on the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 63.

<sup>70</sup> Al-Dimiyātī, *Mu'jam*, 113; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 2, 132-135. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1973-1974, vol. 3, 310-312; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 8, 43-44.

<sup>71</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 17, fol. 255a and b; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, Paris MS. arabe 2144, fol. 179a.

<sup>72</sup> On this *madrassa* and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 211-225.

Khutanī, a scholar from Central Asia. His *nisba* (noun of relation, geographical nomenclature) derived from the city of Khutan (Khotan). After studying *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* in Transoxiana and Khurāsān, he went to Iraq and then Damascus where he fought against the Crusaders and Nūr al-Dīn appointed him to the Ṣādiriyya Madrasa. He later left to make the pilgrimage and then continued to Egypt where Saladin appointed him to the Suyūfiyya. His connection with al-Andalus was that he departed for that country —a rare occurrence for an Easterner— and asked Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Shātibī to go with him. He then returned to the Suyūfiyya and resumed teaching until his death in 586/1190.<sup>73</sup> One of his acquaintances in Egypt was the Andalusī Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Khidabb who went to Cairo on the way to Mecca. Al-Khutanī lodged him in the Suyūfiyya and he came to know al-Qāḍī al-Faḍīl and had access to al-Faḍīl's famous library. Al-Khutanī 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 (*dīnārs*) and gave them to the soldier. Al-Khutanī 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.<sup>74</sup>

In 575/1180 Saladin founded the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa for the Shāfi'īs in the Qarāfa Cemetery. It was his last major college and the most prestigious in Egypt throughout the Aiyūbid period.<sup>75</sup> Its prestige derived above all from its location next to the tomb of al-Shāfi'ī himself and the exceptionally high salary paid to its *mudarris*. The first to hold its professorship was Najm al-Dīn Abū 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. al-Muwaffaq al-Khabūshānī, a conceited and pugnacious man from Khurāsān who had a tumultuous career in Egypt from the day he arrived in 565/1169-1170 until his death there in 587/1191.<sup>76</sup> His reputation was such that Ibn Jubair had even heard of him in al-Andalus and later visited him in his *masjid*

<sup>73</sup> Al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Mirqāt al-wafīyya fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanaḥfiyya*, Dār al-Kutub MS. 4647 *ta'rīkh*, fols. 73b-74a; Ibn Abī 'l-Wafā', *al-Jawāhir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanaḥfiyya*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1332/1914, vol. 2, 125-126, who says he died in 576; Taqī 'l-Dīn al-Tamīmī al-Ghazzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-saniyya fī tarājīm al-ḥanaḥfiyya*, Süleymaniye MS. 829, fols. 443a and b; 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, *al-Aṭhmār al-janiyya fī asmā' al-ḥanaḥfiyya*, Şehid Ali Paşa MS. 1841, fols. 75b-76a; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. 2, 403; al-Nu'aimī, *al-Dāris fī ta'rīkh al-madāris*, ed. Ja'far al-Ḥasanī, Damascus, 1367-1370/1948-1951, vol. 1, 539.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn al Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, vol. 4, 188-189, where our shaikh is called al-Khanathī; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawīyyīn wa 'l-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1964-1965, vol. 1, 28.

<sup>75</sup> On this *madrasa* and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 225-262.

<sup>76</sup> On his life, see *ibid.*, 233-249, and *idem*, «The Madrasa and the Islamization of the Middle East: The Case of Egypt», *JARCE*, 22 (1985), 42-43.



in Cairo.<sup>77</sup> There is very strong evidence that al-Khabūshānī was the first to recite the *khuṭba* (Friday sermon) in Egypt in the name of the ‘Abbāsid caliph and thus officially signal the end of the Fātimid Caliphate. It is worthy of note, however, that according to Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260) the first to do this was one al-Yasa‘ b. ‘Isā b. Ḥazm al-Ghāfiqī al-Andalusī. He supposedly went to the *minbar* (pulpit, which one?) with a contingent of soldiers, swords flashing as a precaution against a potentially violent Shī‘ī reaction, and delivered the *khuṭba*.<sup>78</sup>

It should be mentioned here that the most famous woman traditionist during this period was Fāṭima bint Sa‘d al-Khair, who was a generation removed from al-Andalus. Her Ḥanbalī husband, ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Najā, was one of the signers of the *waqf* (endowment) of the Suyūfiyya and at one point had warned Saladin of an impending pro-Fātimid coup. He was also an enemy of al-Khabūshānī. As for Fāṭima, she was born in Isfahan in 522/1128. Her father Sa‘d al-Khair b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Maghribī al-Andalusī al-Anṣārī had set out from al-Andalus for China. He reached his destination after many hardships and was given the additional *nisba* of al-Ṣīnī. He studied *fiqh* from al-Ghazzālī and tradition from others in Baghdad on the way. When he returned from China, he studied *ḥadīth* in Isfahan where he was married and Fāṭima was born. He then settled in Baghdad and died there in 541/1146.<sup>79</sup> Sa‘d al-Khair made his daughter study under many notable teachers in Isfahan and Baghdad and she acquired *ijāzas* from dozens of other scholars. Although her husband was a Ḥanbalī, and one of her father’s students, she was apparently a Shāfi‘ī. She and ‘Alī later went to Damascus to teach tradition. Just before Saladin abolished the Fātimid Caliphate, they arrived in Egypt where they spent the rest of their lives. In Cairo, Fāṭima attracted a large following. Among her students were the son of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, and *muqri’s* (teachers of Koran recitation) in the Fāḍiliyya (see below) and Fakhriyya<sup>80</sup> *madrasas* and professors in the Suyūfiyya and Nāṣiriyya *madrasas*. She died in 600/1203.<sup>81</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī tells us that Saladin established a *māristān* (hospital) a «*dār* for the Maghribīs», and a *madrasa* at the tomb of his brother Tūrānshāh in Alexandria

<sup>77</sup> *Rihla*, 22-23.

<sup>78</sup> *Al-Mu‘jam*, 334-336; al-Maqqarī, *Nafti*, vol. 1, 713. Ibn al-Abbār’s authority here was one of his teachers, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Tujībī who claimed to have been told this by al-Andalusī himself in Egypt.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad, Decca, 1357-1358/1938-1940, vol. 10, 121; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, 90.

<sup>80</sup> On this *madrasa*, which was founded in Cairo in 622/1225 for the Shāfi‘īs and Ḥanafīs, and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 349-352.

<sup>81</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilā*, vol. 3, 111-116; ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālā, *A‘lām al-nisā’*, Damascus, 1959, vol. 4, 59-60, who says she was born in Baḥrain. Cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, 90.

in 577/1181-1182 when he went to that city and attended Ibn 'Awf's lectures.<sup>82</sup> No other information has come to light on any of these institutions.

#### MUSLIMS FROM AL-ANDALUS IN THE OTHER MADRASAS OF THE AIYÜBID PERIOD

After Saladin's Qamhiyya Madrasa, the second most important Mālikī *madrasa* was the Ṣāhibiyya founded in Cairo by the vizier al-Ṣāhib Ṣafī 'l-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Shukr (d. 622/1225) sometime between 596/1200 and 611/1214-1215.<sup>83</sup> As mentioned, he had studied *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Awf and al-Silafī. He also studied Mālikī *fiqh* from one Abū Bakr 'Atīq al-Bijā'ī, from Bijāya in North Africa.

There were surprisingly few Maghribīs associated with this college. Al-Mundhirī provides a brief notice of a man who was the *imām* of the Ṣāhibiyya. This was Abū Rabī' Sulaimān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Hawwārī al-Jalūlī (d. 612/1215). Chiefly known as a *muqri'*, he may have taught *qirā'a* (Koran recitation) in this *madrasa*. His *nisbas* refer to places in North Africa.<sup>84</sup>

In 580/1184, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil established a *madrasa* for the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs in Cairo.<sup>85</sup> As mentioned, he had studied tradition from Ibn 'Awf and al-Silafī. The Fāḍiliyya was especially known for *qirā'a*. Its first *muqri'* and *imām* was the famous Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Firrūh al-Ru'ainī al-Shātibī who overshadowed the first *mudarris* of this institution.<sup>86</sup> His *nisbas* indicate that he traced his descent from the Ru'ain tribe in Yemen and that he was from Játiva in al-Andalus. He was born in that city in 538/1144. He studied *qirā'a* there and became its *khaṭīb* while still a youth. Later he moved to Valencia where he studied the same subject as well as *ḥadīth*. In 572/1176-1177 he arrived in Alexandria where he studied tradition from al-Silafī. He then went to Cairo where al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil welcomed him. After al-Fāḍil completed his *madrasa*, he appointed al-Shātibī as *muqri'*. Al-Shātibī also made the pilgrimage and visited Saladin in Jerusalem in 589/1193. He died in 590/1194 and was buried in al-Fāḍil's grave plot in the Qarāfa Cemetery. An authority on Mālikī law, Arabic, grammar, *tafsīr* (Koranic exegesis), *ḥadīth* and even the interpretation of dreams, he was without peer in *qirā'a*, a subject in which he was described as the «top man

<sup>82</sup> *Al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 76.

<sup>83</sup> On this *madrasa* and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 317-327.

<sup>84</sup> *Al-Takmilā*, vol. 4, 176-177; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Dār al-Kutub MS. 42, *ta'rīkh*, vol. 29, fol. 192b.

<sup>85</sup> On this *madrasa* and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 334-347.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, 366. Cf. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, vol. 24, 146-148.

in Egypt».<sup>87</sup> He was succeeded as *muqri* by his student, the Mālikī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī (d. 631/ 1233). Born in 557 or 558/1161-1163 in Cordoba, al-Qurṭubī had studied *qirā'a* with 'Alī b. Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Naqrāt (d. 593/1196-1197), who had visited Egypt and later became the *khaṭīb* of Fez,<sup>88</sup> and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Hawzanī al-Ishbīlī (d. 602/1206), who had been a *muqri* in Ceuta.<sup>89</sup> He also studied tradition from a number of scholars. He taught for some time in the Fāḍiliyya and then left to make the pilgrimage. He spent the rest of his life in the Ḥijāz and died in Medina.<sup>90</sup>

Usually included in a catalogue of the *madrasas* of Egypt was the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyya, which, as mentioned, was a special institution for teaching *ḥadīth*, although Shāfi'ī 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.<sup>91</sup>

The first *muḥaddith*, or teacher of *ḥadīth*, was Majd al-Dīn Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar b. Diḥya. 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 *qāḍī* 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 Tilimsān, Bijāya and Tunis. He made the pilgrimage and then continued to Syria, Iraq and Iran pursuing *ḥadīth* studies in Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, Isfahan and Nīshābūr. 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 Kāmiliyya especially for Ibn Diḥya.

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

<sup>87</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila*, vol. 1, 383-385; Abū Shāma, *Dhail*, 7; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 4, 71-73; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. 6, 84-85; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 8, 270-272; al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Jabūrī, Baghdad, 1390-1391/1970-1971, vol. 2, 113-114; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, 224; Ibn Duqmāq, *Tarjumān al-zamān*, Ahmet III MS. 2927, vol. 13, fols. 12b-13b; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'*, eds. Gotthelf Bergstrasser and Otto Pretzel, Cairo, 1932-1935, vol. 2, 20-23; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssirin*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, Cairo, 1392/1972, vol. 2, 39-42; Angelika Neuwirth, «al-Shāṭibī», *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat*, vol. 1, 581-582.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 377-378.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila*, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya MS. *dāl*, 140; Abū Shāma, *al-Dhail*, 162; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat*, vol. 2, 219-220.

<sup>91</sup> On this *dār al-ḥadīth* and its teachers, see Leiser, «Restoration», 361-375.

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 Diḥya's knowledge of *ḥadūth*. To his dismay, he discovered that the charges were true. Consequently, Ibn Diḥya was dismissed and died shortly thereafter in 633/1235. He was a *Zāhirī*, which may have been a factor in the opposition to him.<sup>92</sup>

He was replaced at the Kāmiliyya 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 *qādī* 'l-'*askar* (judge of the army) Shams al-Dīn al-Armawī and that he taught *fiqh* in Saladin's Shāfi'ī Nāṣiriyya 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 Kāmiliyya. He followed his brother to the grave in 634/1237.<sup>93</sup>

One of the next to hold the position of *muḥaddith* was Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Shātibī. He was born into a family of *qādīs* and *faqīhs* in Játiva in 592/1196. He was a Mālikī who studied the *fiqh* of that school in his native land and then traveled to the East in pursuit of *ḥadūth*. 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 *qirā'a*. Afterwards, he went to Aleppo and took the chair of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Bahā'iyya. Finally, he moved to Egypt where he was appointed to the Kāmiliyya. He held that position until his death in 662/1263.<sup>94</sup> According to al-Suyūṭī, he was succeeded by the Mālikī, and former professor of the Qamḥiyya, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī who remained there until he died in 665/1267.<sup>95</sup>

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

<sup>92</sup> He is mentioned in many sources. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, 448-450; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, Paris MS. arabe 1703, fols. 3b-4b; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Dār al-Kutub MS. 549 *ma'rūf 'amma*, vol. 27, 51; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 22, 451-455; Abū Shāma met him in the Kāmiliyya and says it was built in 641, *al-Dhail*, 142; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Murshid al-zuwwār*, British Museum MS. OR. 4635, fols. 281a-283b; and see the references in Bashshār Ma'rūf, *al-Mundhirī wa kitābu-hu al-Takmila li-Wafayāt al-naqala*, Najaf, 1388/1968, 132-133; GAL, vol. 1, 310-312 and Supplement, vol. 1, 545-546; Goldziher, I., *The Zāhiris: Their Doctrine and Their History*, trans. Wolfgang Behn, Leiden, 1971, 161-164; Hans Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Weisbaden, 1958, 129.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, 450; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, Paris MS. arabe 1703, fols. 4b-5a; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 17, fols. 91b-92a; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 19, 479. Additional references are in Ma'rūf, *al-Mundhirī*, 134.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Dimyāṭī, *Mu'jam*, 124; al-Yunīnī, *Dhail*, vol. 1, 304-305; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 1, 208; Ibn Shākir, *Fawā'id*, vol. 3, 245-246; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo, 1351-1358/1932-1934, vol. 13, 243; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. 2, 262.

<sup>95</sup> *Ḥusn*, vol. 2, 262; al-Ḥusainī, *Ṣilat*, fols. 158b-159b; al-Yunīnī, *Dhail*, vol. 2, 271-272.

major cities, they rarely appear in the sources. One of them was the Mālikī Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Kūmī al-Maḥmūdī al-Fatazūsī al-Tilimsānī who taught in a Shāfi'ī *madrasa* in Munyat Banī Khaṣīb in Upper Egypt. From his home in North Africa, he journeyed to Egypt where he studied *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* in Alexandria and then made the pilgrimage. After a few years in the Ḥijāz, he moved to Baghdad to continue his tradition studies. He then returned to Egypt and taught *ḥadīth* in Fuṣṭāṭ before finally settling in Munyat Banī Khaṣīb where he died in 599/1203.<sup>96</sup>

An Andalusī who went to Upper Egypt was the Shāfi'ī Najm al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Faṭḥ b. Mūsā al-Umawī al-Jazīrī al-Qaṣrī. He was born in Algeciras (al-Jazīra al-Khaḍrā') 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 Kutāma, 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 'Isā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Juzūlī (d. 607/1210).<sup>97</sup> 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 Saif al-Dīn al-Āmidī in Ḥamāt. In 617/1220-1221 he became the professor of the *madrasa* of the *amīr* 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn al-Maṣṭūb in the city of Ra's al-'Ain between Ḥarrān and Naṣībīn. He held this post for many years and was placed in charge of the treasury of the eastern provinces (*bilād al-sharq*) under al-Kāmil. Al-Suyūṭī says he also went to Baghdad and was a *mudarris* in the Nizāmiyya. He returned to Egypt in 643/1245 and became the professor in the Fā'iziyya Madrasa, for Shāfi'īs, in Uṣyūt. He also became the *qāḍī* of that town and died there in 663/1265.<sup>98</sup>

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-Ṭurtūshī, 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 Fuṣṭāṭ/Cairo, helped make

<sup>96</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilā*, vol. 2, 411-412.

<sup>97</sup> On al-Juzūlī, see *GAL, Supplemet*, vol. 1, 541-542.

<sup>98</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. 4, 119-120, on Qaṣr 'Abd al-Karīm 116; al-Ba'labakkī, *Dhail 'alā Mir'ā' al-zamān*, Aya Sofya MS. 3199, fols. 73b-74a; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, Ahmet III MS. 2917, vol. 18, fols. 225a-226b; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 8, 348; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, vol. 2, 242; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *al-'Iqd al-mudhahhab fī ṭabaqāt jumilat al-madhhab*, Bodl. MS. Hunt 108, vol. 163a.

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.<sup>99</sup>

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 Shāfiʿī 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 Aiyūbid 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

<sup>99</sup> Given the *riḥla* and active role of Andalusīs in the Mālikī *madrasas* of Egypt, the question of why *madrasas* did not appear in al-Andalus itself until the eighth/fourteenth century, if at all, is especially curious. Cf. Makdisi, G., «The madrasa in Spain: Some Remarks», *ROMM*, 15-16 (1973), 153-158.

of Andalusī in the *madrasa* movement in Alexandria under Fāṭimid rule and then in the spread of this institution to Fuṣṭāṭ, Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt under Saladin and his Aiyūbid successors. The presence of Andalusī in all the leading Mālikī *madrasas* highlights their contribution to orthodoxy in general in Egypt and to its Mālikī community in particular.

#### RESUMEN

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