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Azyumardi Azra

Networks of the *Ulama* in the Haramayn: Connections in the Indian Ocean Region

Abstraksi: *Dalam konteks transmisi keilmuan Islam, sejak awal, Haramayn (Makkah dan Madinah) menduduki posisi yang sangat istimewa dan penting. Hal ini, antara lain, karena dalam sejarah Islam, Haramayn dianggap sebagai tempat suci yang memiliki beberapa keistimewaan dan keutamaan (*faḍâ'il*). Selain sebagai tempat diturunkannya Islam, Haramayn, dengan datang dan perginya jamaah haji setiap tahun, menjadi tempat pertemuan terbesar kaum Muslim dari berbagai penjuru dunia. Tidak heran kemudian, jika Haramayn pernah menjadi pusat intelektual Dunia Muslim, di mana para ulama, sufi, filosof, penyair, pengusaha, dan sejarawan muslim bertemu, berbagi pengetahuan, saling menukar informasi, dan melakukan berbagai aktifitas, baik perdagangan, politik, maupun keagamaan.*

Dalam hal keilmuan Islam, aktifitas yang terjadi di Haramayn tersebut pada gilirannya berimplikasi atas terciptanya jaringan intelektual antara para ulama yang terlibat di dalamnya, termasuk para ulama dari wilayah Anak Benua India, khususnya Asia Tenggara, di mana Melayu-Indonesia berada di dalamnya. Menguatnya saling silang hubungan ulama di Haramayn ini, antara lain, didukung oleh munculnya beberapa institusi pendidikan tradisional seperti madrasah dan ribât, tempat di mana seorang ulama mengajarkan dan mentransmisikan berbagai pengetahuan Islam kepada murid-muridnya yang datang tidak saja dari wilayah terdekat, melainkan juga dari berbagai tempat di belahan dunia.

Artikel ini menghadirkan satu pembahasan penting tentang proses terbentuknya jaringan keilmuan di antara para ulama Timur Tengah tersebut dengan murid-muridnya di wilayah lain, terutama yang terjadi mulai sekitar akhir abad ke-16 hingga paruh kedua abad ke-17.

Pembahasan artikel ini menjadi begitu penting ketika dikaitkan dengan dinamika keilmuan Islam di wilayah Melayu-Nusantara, yang pada periode awal banyak merujuk ke Haramayn sebagai pusat intelektual Islam. Kendati penulisnya mengakui bahwa jaringan keilmuan yang terbentuk tersebut dipengaruhi juga oleh faktor non-keagamaan, seperti aktifitas ekonomi dan politik, namun artikel ini lebih memfokuskan pembahasannya pada faktor keagamaan saja.

Dijelaskan bahwa jaringan keilmuan di antara para ulama Timur Tengah dengan para ulama wilayah lain tersebut terbentuk dalam dua pola hubungan: pertama, *hubungan vertikal: guru-murid; dan* kedua, *hubungan horizontal: guru-guru, atau murid-murid. Berawal dari dua pola hubungan inilah, semangat pembaruan, khususnya di bidang kegamaan kemudian merembes ke berbagai wilayah lain, termasuk ke wilayah Anak Benua India, terutama sejak paruh pertama abad 17 hingga abad 18, ketika murid-murid Haramayn tersebut banyak yang kembali ke 'kampung halamannya', dan membentuk jaringan keilmuan baru dengan para ulama dan murid-murid setempat. Tidak heran kemudian, jika saling silang hubungan keilmuannya menjadi sangat rumit dan kompleks, tetapi pada saat yang sama juga menjadi sangat penting.*

*Dalam konteks jaringan keilmuan ini, peranan para ulama Melayu-Nusantara terlihat sangat signifikan, terutama karena banyak di antaranya yang datang ke Haramayn, dengan membawa tradisi-tradisi keilmuan dari wilayahnya, kemudian belajar dengan para ulama terkemuka, bahkan beberapa di antaranya menetap dan menjadi shaikh di sana. Tradisi-tradisi "bawaan" ini kemudian berinteraksi dengan tradisi keilmuan dari wilayah lain dan tradisi Haramayn sendiri yang telah mapan. Dengan demikian, maka Haramayn menjadi semacam "panci pelebur" (*melting pot*), di mana berbagai tradisi keilmuan Islam, seperti tasawuf dan hadis, sama-sama lebur membentuk tradisi baru, yang menafikan batas-batas wilayah, perbedaan etnis, serta kecenderungan-kecenderungan keagamaan dalam hal mazhab dan afiliasi tarekat.*

Selain itu, pembahasan artikel ini juga menggarisbawahi bahwa salah satu faktor yang menjadi sarana terpenting dalam menghubungkan para ulama yang terlibat dalam jaringan keilmuan di Haramayn, khususnya pada abad ke-17 dan 18, adalah adanya peranan krusial isnâd dalam tradisi hadis dan silsilah dalam tarekat. Hal ini terjadi karena hampir semua ulama yang terlibat dalam jaringan keilmuan tersebut memiliki mata rantai yang kuat antarsatu dengan lainnya, baik melalui periwayatan hadis maupun karena masuk dalam silsilah tarekat.

Azyumardi Azra

Networks of the *Ulama* in the Haramayn: Connections in the Indian Ocean Region

خلاصة: إن للحرمين (مكة ومدينة) مكانة مهمة للغاية من ناحية النقل العلمي، وذلك باعتبارهما مكانين مقدسين لهما ميزات وفضائل. وبالإضافة إلى كونهما محلين نزل فيهما الإسلام، فإنهما أصبحتا بذهاب الحجاج وإيابهم أكبر محلات يجتمع فيهما المسلمون من بقاع الأرض بأسرها. وليس من المعجب به إذن، أن أصبحت الحرمان مركزين للعقلانية في العالم الإسلامي بحيث اجتمع فيهما العلماء والصوفيون والفلاسفة والشعراء ورجال الأعمال والمؤرخون، وهم مع ذلك تبادلوا العلوم والأخبار واشتغلوا بعديد من النشاطات كالتجارة والسياسة والممارسات الدينية.

وتولدت من ناحية النشاطات العلمية الصلة العقلانية بين العلماء المشتغلين بتلك النشاطات ومن ضمنهم العلماء الذين أتوا من شبه قارة الهند وعلى رأسها من آسيا الجنوبية الشرقية التي تشمل ملايو-إندونيسيا. ومن الدوافع التي أدت إلى متانة الصلة بين العلماء في الحرمين مثول المؤسسات التربوية التقليدية المختلفة كالمدرسة والرباط. وألقى العلماء في مثل هذا النوع من المؤسسات العلوم الإسلامية إلى طلابهم الذين جاءوا من سائر البلاد.

ويتقدم هذا البحث بمعالجة الدراسة الهامة عن عملية نشأة الشبكة العلمية بين علماء الشرق الأوسط وبين تلاميذهم في غيرها من بقاع الأرض وخاصة الدراسة عن الصلة التي حدثت في أواخر القرن السادس عشر إلى النصف الثاني من القرن

السابع عشر. وترجع أهمية هذه الدراسة إلى ديناميكية النشاطات العلمية الإسلامية في قطاع ملايو _نوسنتارا (إندونيسيا القديمة) التي اتصلت إلى حد بعيد بالحرمين بوصفهما مركزين للعقلانية الإسلامية. ورغم أن الباحث يعترف بأن الصلة العلمية الموجودة تتأثر بالدافعين الديني واللاديني كالنشاطات الاقتصادية والسياسية إلا أن الباحث يركز افتراضه على الدافع الديني.

وعلاوة على ذلك يبين هذا البحث أن الصلة التي حدثت بين علماء الشرق الأوسط وبين غيرها من العلماء جرت على نموذجين: نموذج بشكل عمودي ونموذج بشكل أفقي؛ والمراد بالأول هو الصلة التي جرت بين المدرس وبين الطالب، وأما المراد بالثاني فهو الصلة التي جرت بين العلماء أو المدرسين فحسب أو بين الطلبة فقط. وإلى هذين النموذجين من الصلة يرجع الفضل في انتشار حماسة التجديد ونشاطاته وفي مقدمتها في الحقل الديني إلى سائر بقاع الأرض ومن ضمنها شبه قارة الهند وخاصة في النصف الأول من القرن السابع عشر إلى القرن الثامن عشر في حين رجع فيه طلاب الحرمين إلى بلادهم وشكلوا الصلة العلمية الجديدة بغيرهم من العلماء والتلاميذ المحليين. فيترتب على ذلك حدوث التعقيد والتواشج في الصلة العلمية التي بنوها، ولكن مع ذلك فإن للتعقيد والتواشج أهميتهما في بناء النشاطات العقلانية الإسلامية.

وبناء على تلك الصلة العلمية يبدو أن لعلماء ملايو-نوستتارا أهمية كبرى في النشاطات السابق الذكر، وذلك نتيجة تلمذتهم بعلماء الحرمين وحملوا معهم العرف العلمي، وفضلا عن ذلك أصبح بعض منهم علماء مقيمين بهما وفيما بعد حدث الاحتكاك والامتزاج بين العرف العلمي الذي جاء به الطلاب من بلادهم وبين العرف العلمي المحكم به في الحرمين. ومن أجل ذلك، صارت الحرمان بوتقتين (*melting pot*) اجتمعت فيهما الأعراف العلمية الإسلامية كالتصوف والحديث. وبموجب ذلك، بدا من الامتزاج عرف علمي جديد نفى الحدود الدولية والتفريق الجنسي والنزعات الدينية من المذاهب والطرق.

وأضف إلى ذلك أن البحث يؤكد أن من الدوافع الهامة في ضم العلماء ذوي دور هام في النشاطات العلمية وخاصة في القرنين السابع عشر و الثامن عشر هي دور السند في الحديث والسلسة في الطريقة. وحدث هذا الأمر لكون معظم العلماء الذين اشتغلوا بالصلة العلمية لهم صلة بعضهم مع بعض، إما الصلة التي حدثت بوساطة رواية الحديث وإما بوساطة الطريقة.

The Indian Ocean region plays an important role in networks of the *ulama* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were a number of *ulama* from the Indian Ocean region—particularly, the Yemen, the Indian sub-Continent and Southeast Asia—who were involved in international networks of the *ulama*.

The involvement of the *ulama* of the Indian Ocean region took at least two forms. Firstly, through their travelling or migrating to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina (the Haramayn). I found that a great number of *ulama* and students from the Indian Ocean region came to and later settled in the Holy Cities to study and teach. Secondly, students who felt that they possessed sufficient knowledge returned to their place of origin in the Indian Ocean region, teaching and forming networks of *ulama* and students in their own area. As a consequence, through these two methods, there appeared a complex criss-crossing of networks of *ulama* in the Indian Ocean region and other areas of the Muslim world.

The emergence of networks of the *ulama* in Mecca and Medina, which included a substantial number of non-Middle Eastern scholars, particularly from the Indian Ocean region, was not independent of other developments in both the Haramayn and Muslim societies as a whole. Their rise can be attributed to several important factors which were not only religious, but also economic, social and political in nature, and which operated both at the regional level in a given Muslim society and at the level of larger Muslim world.

Contacts and relations between Muslims in the Indian Ocean region and the Middle East began to gain momentum with the flowering of Muslim kingdoms in South and Southeast Asia in the late sixteenth century. The intensification of their participation in the trade of the Indian Ocean brought them into closer contact not only with Muslim traders, but also with political authorities in the Middle East. The increasing presence of Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, was also an important factor which pushed their relations much further into the politico-diplomatic realm. The intensification of these relations significantly contributed to the growth of the *ḥâjj* pilgrims from the Indian Ocean region to the Haramayn, which in turn spurred their involvement in the scholarly networks.

The growth of international networks of the *ulama* in the Haramayn, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, therefore, should be viewed not only from a wider perspective but also through the longer span of historical discourse between Muslim societies both of the Middle East and the Indian Ocean region.

Early Networks of *Ulama*

The tradition of learning among the *ulama* throughout Islamic history has been closely associated with religious and educational institutions such as mosques, *madrasahs*, *ribâṭs*, and even the houses of the teachers. This is particularly evident in the Haramayn, where the tradition of learning created a vast network of scholars, transcending geographical boundaries as well as differences in religious outlooks. I will discuss how networks of the *ulama* developed surrounding these institutions, and how leading scholars in the Haramayn, through their traditions of learning, created links which connected them with each other as well as with earlier and later scholars.

There is no doubt that the two great mosques in Mecca and Medina were the most important loci of scholars involved in the networks from the last decades of the fifteenth century onwards. Despite the fact that the number of *madrasahs* and *ribâṭs* continually increased after the the first and second *madrasah* in Mecca were built in 571/1175 and 579/1183 respectively, the Haram Mosques continued to be the most important centers for the process of learning. The *madrasahs* and *ribâṭs* by no means replaced the two great mosques as far as the process of learning is concerned. However, they became vital complements to the scholarly world in the Holy Land.

It is important to note that the *madrasahs* tended to be organized in a more formal way. They had their offially appointed heads of *madrasah*, teachers, *qâḍî*s, and other functionaries. Furthermore, they each had their own curriculum, and even a certain quota of students, as well as an exact allocation of the time of study according to their *madhhab*. This is particularly true for *madrasahs* which consisted of four divisions of Sunni legal *madhhabs*. The Madrasah al-Ghiyâthiyyah, for instance, had a quota of 20 students for each *madhhab*. The Shâfi'î and Ḥanafî students had their classes in the morning while the Mâlikî and Hanbalî students had theirs in the afternoon.[1] Similar arrangements were also applied at the Sulaymâniyyah *madrasahs*.[2] It is also clear from our sources that these *madrasahs* were mainly devoted to teaching basic and intermediate levels of various Islamic disciplines. With all their formality, the *madrasahs* had few opportunities to take their students to higher levels of Islamic learning.

However, such a disadvantage, which resulted from the nature of the Haramayn *madrasahs*, was soon overcome by the *ribâṭs*, and more importantly, by the two great mosques. As a rule, those who aspired

to seek advanced learning joined the *ḥalqah*s in the Haram Mosques, or the *ribâṭ*s, and in many cases, they also studied privately in teachers' houses. As can be expected, there was little formality in such *ḥalqah*s. Personal relationships were formed and became the ties that connected them to each other. Teachers were well acquainted personally with each of their students and thus they recognized the special needs and talents of each student, and attempted to meet these needs. The significance of this should not be underestimated: it is through these processes that the teachers issued *ijâzah* (authority) to their students or appointed them the *khalîfah* (successor or deputy) of their *ṭarîqah*s.

Al-Fâsî relates many examples of teachers in the Haram Mosque in Mecca who were authorized to teach privately not only advanced students, but also rulers and traders who intended to pursue special Islamic disciplines. Among them was 'Alî b. Aḥmad al-Fuwwiyyî (d. 781/1389), who was authorized to teach a ruler of Shirâz, Shâh Shujâ' b. Muḥammad al-Yazdî, about the Ḥadîth of the Prophet. So satisfied was he with the way al-Fuwwiyî taught him that the ruler granted 200 *mithqâl* of gold, a portion of which was spent on building a *ribâṭ*.[3] Similarly, when Bashir al-Jumdar al-Nasir, a Mamluk ruler in Egypt, wished to study various Islamic disciplines in Mecca, several *Qâḍîs* were assigned to teach him. The most important among them was Qâḍî al-Quḍâh Muḥammad Jamâl al-Dîn al-Ẓâhirah (d. 817/1414).[4] Another scholar, Muḥammad Ḍiyâ' al-Dîn al-Hindî (d. 780/1378) and his son, Muḥammad b. Ḍiyâ' al-Dîn al-Saghânî (d. 825/1422), were also appointed to teach Ḥanbalî *fiqh* to several members of the Egyptian Mamluk ruling dynasty.[5]

Furthermore, scholars who taught in the Haram Mosques were also often asked to answer questions coming from many parts of the Muslim world. As a rule, they held special *majlis* (sessions) to discuss these matters. In many instances, they issued written *fatwa*s, but it was also not unusual for them to write special books which attempted to answer the questions in detail. Al-Fâsî again relates the story of Jamâl al-Dîn al-Ẓâhirah, one of his teachers, who received hundreds of questions from various parts of the Middle East.[6] Such an important role played by the scholars in the Haram Mosques *vis-a-vis* many believers, becomes a distinctive feature in later periods when the scholarly networks increasingly gained momentum. I found several leading scholars in seventeenth century Haramayn wrote about and discussed certain religious issues which arose among Indian and Malay-

Indonesian Muslims. For example, at the end of seventeenth century, the Chief Qâḍî of Mecca issued a *fatwa* on the deposition of Sultanah Kamalat Shâh (of the Acehnese Sultanate) stating that, in his opinion, an Islamic kingdom could not be ruled by a woman.[7]

One essential question worth asking is how scholars who came from many different places in the Muslim world were able to obtain teaching positions in the Haramayn *madrasah*s and at the Haram Mosque of Mecca and the Prophet Mosque in Medina. In order to be allowed to teach, a teacher, either in the *madrasah* or at the Holy Mosques, was required to have *ijâzah*, which established the academic credentials of the holder. The most important credential was the *isnâd*, namely, the chain of authority which indicated the unbroken link of teacher-student in the transmission of certain books or teachings. As a rule, the *ijâzah* was issued by a recognized teacher to his students, generally after they studied with him.[8] However, there were a few cases which demostrate that the *ijâzah* might also be issued through relatively short meetings, and even through written correspondence with teachers.[9]

The appointment of scholars to teaching positions at the Holy Mosques in Mecca and Medina was decided by a religious bureaucracy which was responsible not only for administration of the Holy Mosques, but also for religious life in the Haramayn as a whole. The highest official in the bureaucracy was the Qâḍî (judge), often called Qâḍî al-Quḍâh (Chief Qâḍî), who was in charge of religious laws and of the leadership of the four Qâḍîs, each of them representing a Sunni legal school. It appears that prior to the Ottoman period, the Qâḍî al-Quḍâh also held the office of Mufti. Next came the Shaykh al-Haramayn, the two directors of the Haram Mosque in Mecca and Medina. In each city there was a *Shaykh al-'Ulamâ'* (chief of scholars) who oversaw all scholars.[10]

There is no information as to when such a religious bureaucracy was instituted, but it is clear that it was already well established from at least the fifteenth century onwards. When the Ottomans rose to power in the Hijaz, this structure was largely maintained. Although the holders of most of the top posts needed to be confirmed by the Ottoman authorities, the Haramayn scholars were relatively free to choose those who would fill these positions. There was a tendency however, for those positions to be dominated by scholars who belonged to certain families. This is demonstrated in the careers of many *ulama* in the Haramayn. For instance, Jamâl al-Dîn al-Ẓâhirah, the

Qâḍî of Quḍâh mentioned above, was succeeded to the position by his son Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ẓâhirah in the early fifteenth century.[11] Similarly, the historian Al-Fâsî, whose father Aḥmad (d. 819/1416) happened to be related by marriage to the Chief Qâḍî of Mecca, Muhmmad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Nuwayrî, was appointed the Mâlikî Qâḍî of Mecca in 807/1405 with a letter of investiture from al-Malik al-Nâsir Faraj b. Barqûq, a Mamluk ruler in Cairo.[12] An important scholar in the networks, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî, who migrated to the Haramayn in the second half of the seventeenth century, led scholars of the Barzanjî family to prominence in Mecca. Three members of this family dominated the office of the Shâfi'î Mufti after 1269/1852.[13] 'Abd al-Ḥâfiẓ al-'Ajamî (or Ujaymi) became a mufti of Mecca after Ḥasan b. 'Alî al-'Ajamî, a prominent scholar in the networks, established the fame of the 'Ajamî family towards the end of the seventeenth century.[14]

It was the Shaykh al-*'ulamâ'*, the Qâḍî al-Quḍâh, Shaykh al-Haramayn and the four *Qâḍî*s of the four *madhhab*s who collectively made decisions on the appointment of scholars to teaching positions in the Haram Mosques. Once or twice a year, they sat together to examine candidates for future teachers. The candidates, as a rule, were long time students of the Mosques who were well acquainted with senior teachers. The examiners, in addition to checking the *ijâzah* of the candidates, posed a number of questions concerning various branches of Islamic discipline to the candidates. If the candidates were able to answer all questions satisfactorily, they were issued *ijâzah*, or permission to teach in the Holy Mosques. The names of these new teachers were made public, and students were able to begin their studies with them.

There is no data of the number of teachers in the Haram Mosques in the period under discussion. However, an Ottoman report for the year 1303/1884-5 mentioned that there were 270 teachers in that year. Snouck Hurgronje considers this number unreliable, "for many of those men are named professors because the Governor [Ottoman] wished to favor them with a salary from a fund destined for the advancement of science".[16] Thus, Snouck Hurgronje believes that the total number of actual teachers was only somewhere between 50 and 60 teachers.[17] There is no way we can substantiate this number. However, I would suggest that the average number of teachers at any given time during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were between 100 and 200. If this number is added to the number of teachers who

taught only in the *madrasah*s and to the number of visiting teachers, then the total number of teachers in the Haramayn was clearly quite large.

Personage and Linkages in the Networks

There is little doubt that some of the scholars mentioned above, in one way or another, had connections with each other. What is important is that several leading scholars of that period had linkages to the core of scholarly networks in the seventeenth century. We have noted that Al-Fâsî for instance, was a student and good friend of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî and Shihâb al-Dîn al-Ramlî, two great *muhaddith*s who lived in Egypt. Similarly, al-Nahrawalî, a leading scholar in the sixteenth century Haramayn, had extensive connections not only with earlier scholars such as Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî, but also with those of the seventeenth century such as Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî. Almost all scholars who constitute the core of the seventeenth century networks of *ulama* traced their ḥadîth *isnâd* and *ṭarîqah silsilah* to these scholars.

The scholarly networks in the seventeenth century had cosmopolitan origins. There were at least two non-Hijazi scholars who appear to have largely contributed to the growth of the networks in this century. The first was Indian by birth and Persian (Isfahan) by origin, named Sayyid Ṣibghat Allâh b. Rûḥ Allâh Jamâl al-Barwajî (some spell it al-Barujî or modern Barauch in Gujarat), and the second was an Egyptian named Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. 'Abd al-Quddûs al-Shinnâwî al-Miṣrî al-Madanî. Their relationship represents a good example of how scholarly interactions resulted both in exchanges of knowledge and in the transmission of the "little" traditions of Islam from the Indian Ocean region to the Haramayn.

Sayyid Ṣibghat Allâh (d. in Medina in 1015/1606) was undoubtedly a typical wandering scholar who ended up being a "grand immigrant" in the Haramayn. Hailing from a Persian immigrant family in India, one of his famous Indian teachers was Wajîh al-Dîn al-Gujarati (d. 997/1589), a leading Shattariyyah master, who lived in Aḥmadabad. For several years ṣibghat Allâh, under the patronage of the local ruler, taught the Shaṭṭâriyyah doctrines in the town of his birth. In 999/1591 he traveled to Mecca in order to make the ḥajj pilgrimage. After returning to India, he traveled to various places before staying in Ahmadnagar for one year. Later, he moved to Bijapur, a strong Sufi

center in India, where he won the favor of Sultan Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who then made a special arrangement for him to travel back to the Haramayn in the royal ship during the *ḥâjj* season of 1005/1596.[18]

After performing the pilgrimage, Ṣibghat Allâh decided to settle in Medina, where he built a house and a *ribâṭ* from the *waqf* and gifts he received from the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and from Ottoman officials in Medina. Ṣibghat Allâh was generally known as a leading Shaṭṭâriyyah Shaykh. He was regarded as being responsible for introducing the *Jawâhir-i Khamsah* of the famous Shaṭṭâriyyah Shaykh, Muḥammad Ghauth al-Hindî (d. 970/1563), and other Shaṭṭâriyyah treatises to Haramayn scholars. However, he also initiated disciples into the Chishtiyyah, Suhrâwardiyyah, Madariyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Hamadaniyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, and Firdausiyyah orders. This is not surprising since his teacher, Wajîh al-Dîn, had also been initiated into all eight orders.[19] In Medina, ¢ibghat Allâh was active in teaching at the Nabawi Mosque. He also wrote several works on Sufism, theology, and a commentary on the Baydawi Qur'anic exegesis.[20]

The diversity of Ṣibghat Allâh's most prominent disciples clearly reflects the cosmopolitan nature of the scholarly discourse in the Haramayn. Among his disciples were Aḥmad al-Shinâwî, Aḥmad al-Qushâshî, Sayyid Amjad Mirza, Sayyid As'ad al-Balkhî, Abû Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Nasfî al-Miṣrî, Ibn 'Abd Allâh b. Walî al-Ḥaḍramî, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥaḍramî, Ibrâhîm al-Hindî, Muḥy al-Dîn al-Miṣrî, al-Mulâ Shaykh b. Ilyâs al-Kurdî, Mulâ Niẓâm al-Dîn al-Sindî, 'Abd al-Aẓîm al-Makkî, and Ḥabîb Allâh al-Hindî[21] His *halqah*s were also attended by some students and pilgrims from the Sultanate of Aceh who in turn provided information about Islam in the archipelago.[22] It is worth mentioning that Ṣibghat Allâh was also a friend of Faḍl Allâh al-Burhânpûrî al-Hindî (d. 1029/1620),[23] whose work entitled *al-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilâ Rûḥ al-Nabî*[24] had provoked intense discussion at the time, including in the Indian Ocean region.

At least two prominent scholars were responsible for the spread of ¢ibghat Allâh's teachings in the Haramayn, these being Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî and Aḥmad al-Qushâshî. Born in 975/1567 from a noted scholarly family in Egypt, Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. 'Abd al-Quddûs Abû al-Mawâhib al-Shinnâwî acquired his early education in his own land.[25] His grandfather, Muḥammad al-Shinnâwî, a prominent Sufi shaykh, was a master of the famous Egyptian Sufi 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha'rânî. The latter, in turn, initiated Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî's father, 'Alî al-

Shinnâwî, into the Ahmadiyyah ṭarîqah.[26] Even though Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî was exposed extensively to Sufism from an early age, he had an interest in studying ḥadîth. Among his teachers in ḥadîth were two leading Egyptian *muḥaddiths*: the Shâfi'î *muftî* Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî (d. 1004/1596),[27] and Muḥammad b. Abi al-Ḥasan al-Bakrî, who was also known as a sufi.[28] Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî traveled to the Haramayn and took up residence in Medina, where he died in 1028/1619.

There can be no doubt that Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî attained fame in the City of the Prophet. He established a friendship and studied with Ṣibghat Allâh, who initiated him into the Shattariyyah order. His erudition in the Shattariyyah and other orders led him to earn the title of the *al-Bahir al-ṭarîqah* ("the dazzling light of the sufi order"). With his expertise in ḥadîth and Sufism, he attracted numerous students to his *hallqahs*. Among his leading students were Sayyid Salîm b. Aḥmad Shaykhânî, Aḥmad al-Qushâshî, and Sayyid al-Jalâl Muḥammad al-Ghurabî.

Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî's scholarly connections through ḥadîth studies and *ṭarîqah* were extensive. For instance, he had *isnâd*s with earlier scholars and sufis such as Muḥammad Zâhirah al-Makkî, Quṭb al-Dîn al-Nahrawalî, Ibn ḥajar al-'Asqalânî, al-Suyûṭî, and Ibn al-'Arabî.[29] He wrote several works dealing with theology and Sufism; al-Baghdadî and Brockelmann list 16 and 5 of them respectively.[30] One of his works was *Tajalliyah al-Baṣâ'ir Ḥâshiyat 'alâ Kitâb al-Jawâhir li al-Ghauth al-Hindî*, a commentary on the *Kitâb al-Jawâhir* [*al-Khamsah*] of Muḥammad Ghauth al-Hindî.

The Expansion of Networks

How the scholarly networks in the Haramayn developed further can be seen in the experience of Aḥmad al-Qushâshî. His career demonstrates how the web of scholars was becoming wider and more pregnant with intellectual exchanges. Undoubtedly, he was the most influential among the disciples of Ṣibghat Allâh and Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî. In the colophon of one of al-Qushâshî's works, *al-Simṭ al-Majîd*,[31] we are told about the career of this great scholar. The most complete biography of al-Qushâshî, however, was provided by Muṣṭafâ b. Fatḥ Allâh al-Hamawî al-Makkî (d. 1124/1712), a leading *muḥaddith* and historian in Mecca. Al-Hamawî himself was also a student of Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî, the most prominent and influential disciple of al-Qushâshî.[32] In his yet unpub-

lished three-volume biographical dictionary entitled *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl wa Natâ'ij al-Safar fî Akhbâr Ahl al-Qarn al-Ḥâdî 'Ashar*,[33] al-Hamawî devotes a long account (no fewer than 13 folios-26 pages) to the biography of al-Qushâshî, which is based mostly on the recollection of al-Kurânî.[34] Al-Kurânî himself includes biographical notes of his great shaykh toward the end of his work *al-Umam li Iqâẓ al-Himam*.[35] Al-Hamawî's accounts were later condensed by al-Muḥibbî in his *Khulâṣat al-Athar fî A'yân al-Qarn al-Ḥâdî 'Ashar*.[36]

Ṣâfî al-Dîn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Yûnus al-Qushâshî al-Dajânî al-Madanî was born in Medina in 991/1838 of a Palestinian family whose genealogy traced his ancestry back to Tamîm al-Dârî, a prominent Medinan companion of the Prophet. His grandfather, Yûnus al-Qushâshî, a sufi, decided to take his family back to Medina from Dijana, a village near Jerusalem. In the City of the Prophet, Shaykh Yunus, who had also been known as 'Abd al-Nabî, earned his living by selling *qushâsh*, second hand goods, from which Aḥmad got his first *laqab*. Our sources suggest that he took this lonely position in order to retain his anonymity as a great sufi.[37]

Aḥmad al-Qushâshî acquired his rudimentary religious knowledge according to the Mâlikî school of law from his father and Muḥammad b. 'Isâ al-Tilmisânî, a renowned 'âlim in Medina. In 1011/1602, his father took him on a trip to Yemen where he studied with most of the *ulama* with whom his father had studied, such as al-Amîn b. Ṣiddîqî al-Marwahî, Sayyid Muḥammad Gharb, Aḥmad al-Sathâh al-Zailâ'î, Sayyid 'Alî al-Qab'i, and 'Alî b. Mutayr. They stayed in Yemen for some years before returning to Mecca where he made the acquaintance of many of Mecca's leading scholars such as Sayyid Abî al-Ghayth Shajr and Sultan al-Majzûb. Although he spent the rest of his life in Medina, al-Qushâshî frequently visited Mecca, particularly during the pilgrimage seasons.[38] It was in Medina that he established his scholarly career. As al-Hamawî tells us, he associated himself with the city's leading *ulama*, exchanging knowledge and information. Among them were Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Nafi', Wali 'Umar b. al-Quṭb Badr al-Dîn al-'Adalî, Shihâb al-Dîn al-Malka'i, Sayyid As'ad al-Balkhî and, of particular importance, Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî. Al-Shinnâwî taught him not only *ḥadîth*, *fiqh*, *kalâm* and other sciences related to Islamic law and theology, but also initiated him into and appointed him his *khalîfah* of the Shaṭṭâriyyah ṭarîqah. The relationship between these two scholars went beyond the scholarly realm; al-Qushâshî married al-Shinnâwî's daughter.

Despite their very close relationship, al-Qushâshî differed from al-Shinnâwî in that he maintained his adherence to the Mâlikî school of law. Only after al-Shinnâwî's death did he adopt the Shâfi'î *madhhab*, the legal school his father-in law adhered to. In long accounts of al-Qushâshî's change of *madhhab*, al-Hamawî reports that al-Qushâshî adopted the Shâfi'î *madhhab* after he received guidance from the Prophet Muḥammad himself through his reading of the whole Qur'an in one single night. Al-Qushâshî also gives several other valid reasons to change one's *madhhab*.[39] It is evident that Aḥmad al-Qushâshî was a scholar of extraordinary erudition and humility. This is confirmed, for instance, by Ayyûb al-Dimashqî al-Khalwatî (994-1071/1586-1661), a great Sufi who was a teacher of the Indonesian al-Maqassarî. Ayyûb al-Dimashqî points out that he had never met a scholar as learned as al-Qushâshî.[40] Al-Qushâshî was also a prolific writer. The number of his works is listed as 16 by al-Baghdadî,[41] 19 by Brockelmann,[42] and more than 50 by other sources.[43] These works deal with taṣawwuf, ḥadîth, fiqh, uṣûl fiqh, and tafsîr. To date, only *al-Simṭ al-Majîd* has been published.

Although al-Qushâshî is generally known as a shaykh of the Shaṭṭâriyyah ṭarîqah, he was actually affiliated with almost a dozen other sufi orders. It must be admitted, however, that he was particularly instrumental in the transmission of the Shaṭṭâriyyah ṭarîqah, through his students, to many different parts of the Muslim world. According to al-Hamawî, his principal disciples were no fewer than 100. They came from many regions of the world,[44] and they constituted crucial links among scholars in the networks.[45] The most well-known among his disciples were Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî (1023-1101/1614-1690), 'Abd Allâh b. Shaykh al-'Aydâr's (1027-1073/1618-1662 - a teacher of Bâ Shaybân who was a teacher of the Arab-Malay Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî;[46] Ḥasan b. 'Alî al-'Ajamî (1049-1113/1639-1701)[47]; al-'Allamâh al-Walî Barakat al-Tûnisî; 'Abd al-Khâliq al-Hindî al-Lahûrî (d.1059/ 1649)[48]; 'Abd al-Raḥmân [al-Maḥjûb] al-Maghribî (1023-1085/ 1614-1674);[49] 'Isa b. Muḥammad al-Maghribî al-Ja'farî al-Makkî (1020-1080/1611-1669)[50]; Mihnan b. 'Awd Bâ Mazrû'; 'Abd Allâh Bâ Faqîh, Sayyid 'Alî al-Shaybanî al-Zâbidî (d. 1072/1662) and a number of other leading Yemeni scholars, especially those of the 'Alawî and Ja'mân families[51] including Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî al-Kurdî (1040-1103/1630-1692),[52] and the Indonesian 'Abd al-Ra'ûf al-Sinkîlî and Muḥammad Yûsuf al-Maqassârî. Al-Qushâshî died in Medina in 1071/1661.

The scholarly networks gained strong impetus when Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî, the most celebrated student of Aḥmad al-Qushâshî, established his career in Medina after traveling in quest of Islamic sciences in various places in the Middle East. The fact that al-Kurânî occupied a position of extraordinary importance in the further development of the scholarly networks is shown not only by the large number of students he had and his vast connections, but more importantly by his numerous works. He was the common starting point for the lines of linkage of many scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Being a scholar of intellectual distinction, al-Kurânî made a substantial contribution to the further growth of the intellectual currents developed by al-Shinnâwî and al-Qushâshî.

By all accounts, Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî was a great scholar. Al-Murâdî calls him "a mountain among mountains of *'ilm* and a sea among seas of *'irfân* (spiritual knowledge)".[53] A prominent nineteenth century scholar, Abî Ṭayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaq al-'Azimabadi (born 1273/1857), a noted Indian *muḥaddith*, has singled out al-Kurânî as the reformer (*mujaddid*) of the eleventh century A.H./ seventeenth century C.E.[54] Discussing extensively the ḥadîth which states that "God sends to this community (*ummah*) at the 'head' [*ra's*] of each century one who regenerates its religion for it," al-'Azimabadi provides a list of Muslim scholars who have been considered as the *mujaddids* of Islamic beliefs and practices at the end of each hundred years after the Hijrah. It is important to note that for the ninth century A.H/ fifteenth century C.E. *mujaddid*, al-'Azimabadi states a preference for Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûṭî (d.911/1505) over Zakariyyâ al-Anṣârî (d. 926/1520), who had been chosen by other scholars.[55] Despite this difference in preferences, the two great *muḥadditḥs* were recognized by the leading exponents of the networks as their intellectual and spiritual precursors.

As for the *mujaddid* of the tenth century A.H./sixteenth century C.E., al-'Azimabadî follows al-Muḥibbî's lead[56] in choosing Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî, the great Egyptian *muḥaddith*, who was a teacher of Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî. In the twelfth century A.H/eighteenth century C.E., according to al-'Azimabadî, there were two *mujaddids*: the first was the great lexicographer, theologian and historian Murtaḍâ al-Zâbidî (d. 1205/1791), a Hadrami migrant in India; and the second was the West African *muḥaddith* who settled in Medina, Ṣalîḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullânî (d. 1218/1803-4). These two scholars were

among the most prominent personages in the international networks of *ulama* in the eighteenth century.

Why is al-Kurânî chosen as the *mujaddid* of the eleventh century of the Islamic calendar? According to al-Kattânî, al-Kurânî was a Shaykh al-Islâm and a teacher of the scholarly world who was a "proof of Sufism" (*ḥujjat al-ṣûfiyyah*) and a reviver of the Sunni sufistic tradition. Furthermore, he was one of the scholars most responsible in Islamic history for spreading the science of ḥadîth studies, ḥadîth narration and its *isnâd*s in the Muslim world.[57] Al-Zarkalî credits him with being a leading *mujtahid* among the Shâfi'î *fuqahâ* and *Muḥaddiths*.[58]

Burhân al-Dîn Ibrâhîm b. Ḥasan b. Shihâb al-Dîn al-Kurânî al-Shâhrazurî al-Shâhranî al-Kurdî, later also al-Madanî, was born in Shâhrin, a village in the mountainous region of Kurdistan close to the border of Persia.[59] Our sources provide no account of his background. He initially studied Arabic, *kalâm* (theology), *manṭiq* (logic), philosophy and, curiously enough, also *handasah* ("engineering") in his own region (*quṭr*). Thus in his early studies he had already explored various sophisticated subjects, but he seems to have had a special interest in languages. He pursued rather detailed studies of Arabic such as *ma'ânî* and *bayân*, and at the same time studied Persian and Turkish. He later concentrated on uṣûl al-fiqh, fiqh, ḥadîth, and taṣawwuf, mainly under the guidance of al-Mulâ Muḥammad Sharîf al-Kurânî al-Ṣiddîqî (d. 1078/1667).[60]

After the death of his father, Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî left for Mecca to perform the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. His younger brother, who traveled with him, became gravely ill, which caused him to go to Baghdad instead of going to Mecca. He remained there for a year and a half and took this opportunity to advance his knowledge of Arabic and Persian as well as to observe more closely the practice of the Qâdiriyyah *ṭarîqah*. Al-Kurânî met 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jaylânî in one of his dreams. He was going westward, and al-Kurânî followed him to Damascus, where he lived for the next four years. During this period, he became increasingly interested in sufistic doctrines, particularly in that of Ibn al-'Arabî (562-638/1165-1240). His main teacher in Sufism was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Âmirî al-Ghâzî. However, as he told al-Hamawî, it was al-Qushâshî, whom he met later in Medina, who was largely responsible for instilling in him and understanding of the intricate mystico-philosophical doctrine of Ibn al-'Arabî.[61]

Despite his growing fascination with Sufism, al-Kurânî did not

put aside his genuine interest in ḥadîth. For this reason, he traveled to Egypt in 1061/1650, where he studied ḥadîth with its great *muḥadditḥs* such as Muḥammad 'Alâ' al-Dîn Shams al-Dîn al-Bâbilî al-Qâhirî al-Azharî (1000-1077/1592-1666),[62] Aḥmad Shihâb al-Dîn al-Khafâjî al-Ḥanafî al-Maṣrî (d. 1069/1659),[63] and Shaykh Sultan b. Aḥmad b. Salâmah b. Ismâ'îl al-Mazzâhî al-Qâhirî al-Azharî (987-1075/1577-1644).[64] As al-Kurânî tells us in his *al-Umam li Iqâẓ al-Himam*, these scholars issued him *ijâzah*s to teach ḥadîth, after he had studied not only the standard books on the subject such as the *Kutub al-Sittah* (six canonical books of the Tradition of the Prophet), but also a great number of lesser known ḥadîth books with them. They connected him with many leading Egyptian *isnâd*s including Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî and Zakariyyâ al-Anṣârî.[65] It is important to note that al-Kurânî was also linked with the Egyptian *isnâd*s by way of al-Qushâshî, who received them from al-Shinnâwî, who in turn obtained them from his teacher, Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî. In addition to ḥadîth, he studied tafsîr (until 1087/1677) with the Azhâr Imâm, Nûr al-Dîn 'Alî al-Shabramalisî and 'Abd al-Raḥmân Shihadha al-Yamanî.[66]

In 1062/1651 al-Kurânî returned to Mecca and then proceeded to Medina where he attended the *ḥalqah*s of al-Qushâshî, and 'Abd al-Karîm b. Abî Bakr al-Kurânî, among others. He was also appointed by al-Qushâshî as his *khalîfah* in the Shaṭṭariyyah order. Despite this, al-Kurânî was better known as a shaykh of the Naqshbandiyyah order. Later, he taught in the Nabawi Mosque at the site where Ṣibghat Allâh, al-Shinnâwî and Aḥmad al-Balkhî had taught. Al-Kurânî devoted his *ḥalqah*s to teaching various Islamic sciences.[67]

Because of his intellectual distinction and personality, he attracted scholars and students from distant parts of the Muslim world to attend his *ḥalqah*s or *majlis* to study and learn from him. As a friend and a teacher, he was extraordinarily humble. He loved to intermingle with his students. Furthermore, instead of simply swamping them with all the necessary sciences, he preferred to discuss them. As al-Hamawî puts it, to be present in his *majlis* was like being in "one of the gardens of paradise" (*rawḍah min riyâḍ al-jannah*).[68]

Our sources do not tell us the exact number of al-Kurânî's students. However, al-Kattânî points out that practically all seekers of *'ilm* during his time in the Haramayn were his students. Therefore, his networks were enormously extensive.[69] The most well-known among his disciples were Ibn 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî, Aḥmad al-Nakhlî (1044-1130/1639-1701)[70], Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hâdî al-Sindî

or Abû al-Ḥasan al-Sindî al-Kabîr (d. 1138/ 1726)[71] 'Abd Allâh b. Sa'd Allâh al-Lahûrî (d. in Medina in 1083/1673),[72] 'Abd Allâh al-Bâsî (1048-1134/1638-1722),[73] Abû Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî (1081-1145/1670-1732),[74] 'Alî al-Shaybânî al-Zâbidî (d. 1072 /1662),[75] Isḥâq b. Muḥammad b. Ja'mân al-Yamanî (d. 1096/ 1685),[76] al-Sinkîlî, and al-Maqassârî.

Al-Kurânî wrote numerous works which added to his intellectual importance in the networks. He is said to have written at least one hundred works:[77] al-Baghdâdî provides 49 titles,[78] while Brockelmann lists 42 of them.[79] Most of his works deal with ḥadîth, fiqh, tawḥîd (and kalâm), tafsîr and taṣawwuf. In addition, he wrote a number of works which were intended to be his reply or explanation of certain problems either directly posed to him or contained in particular works of other scholars. Although many of his works are available in manuscript form, so far only two have been published.[80]

So far our discussion has centered on the networks in Medina. This does not mean that those of Mecca were not important. Before discussing the networks in Mecca, it should be remembered that even though all the great scholars mentioned earlier had settled and taught in Medina, they regularly visited Mecca. During these visits they made contact with other scholars and taught students as well. We should not underestimate the significance of such contacts in the scholarly networks: they were not only an important means of exchanging information on various issues, but more importantly, of linking scholars. And for students from the Indian Ocean region like al-Sinkîlî and al-Maqassârî, contacts with a number of great *ulama* in the networks significantly contributed to their learning.

A great scholar of enormous importance in connecting scholars both in Mecca and Medina with Egyptian ḥadîth scholarship was Muḥammad b. 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî al-Qâhirî al-Azharî (d. 1077/1666). He was a disciple of Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî, Abû Bakr al-Shinnâwî, and a number of other leading Egyptian scholars.[81] Both al-Ramlî and al-Bâbilî have been mentioned as teachers of al-Shinnâwî and al-Kurânî respectively. Muḥammad b. 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî al-Qâhirî al-Azharî was acclaimed as a superior *isnâd* and as one of the most reliable memorizers of the ḥadîths (*al-ḥâfiẓ*). He was even compared to the *ḥâfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî. Murtaḍâ al-Zâbidî, another *ḥâfiẓ* of ḥadîths, maintains that there were no other great *ḥâfiẓ*s except al-Bâbilî after the death of the *ḥâfiẓ* and historian al-Sakhawî in 902/ 1497. As a testimony to al-Bâbilî's eminent position in ḥadîth studies,

al-Zâbidî wrote two works entitled *al-Murabbî al-Kâmil fî man rawâ 'an al-Bâbilî* and *al-Fajr al-Bâbilî fî Tarjamat al-Bâbilî*.[82]

Hailed as a major *muḥaddith* in the seventeenth century, al-Bâbilî traveled to various cities in Arabia and thus he had extensive networks of colleagues and disciples.[83] Later, he mostly lived in his home town of Bâbil, and held a teaching post in the Salahiyyah Madrasah until his death. However, he regularly visited the Haramayn where he established contact with prominent scholars as well as taught. The most well-known among his students in Mecca were Aḥmad al-Nakhlî and Ḥasan al-'Ajamî, and in Medina al-Kurânî. Al-Sinkîlî tells us that he also came into contact with this eminent scholar. Al-Bâbilî was a very dedicated teacher who preferred to meet students in person rather than by way of writing. Although he actually discouraged writing, he wrote a work entitled *al-Jihâd wa Faḍâ'ilih*.[84]

Another great scholar who played a remarkable role in connecting the scholarly networks in Mecca, this time with the Indian tradition of Sufism, was Tâj al-Dîn b. Zakariyyâ b. Sultan al-'Uthmânî al-Naqshbandî al-Hindî (d. in Mecca in 1052/1642). He hailed from Sambhal, India and migrated to Mecca when he was unable to secure the position of highest ranking master in the Indian Naqshbandiyyah order after the death of Muḥammad Bâqî bi Allâh (971-1012/1563-1603).[85]

In Mecca, Tâj al-Dîn al-Hindî succeeded in initiating a number of prominent Haramayn scholars into the Naqshbandiyyah ṭarîqah: the most prominent were Aḥmad b. Ibrâhîm b. 'Alân (d. 1033/1624), a noted Meccan sufi and *muḥaddith*; and Aḥmad al-Nakhlî. These two disciples largely helped the Naqshbandiyyah become more commendable to the Arabs. Thanks to Ibn 'Alân's prestige and influence in the Haramayn, Tâj al-Dîn al-Hindî's translation of Persian Naqshbandiyyah texts into Arabic won a much wider audience.[86] As for al-Nakhlî, who was also known as a *muḥaddith*, such a connection helped not only to bring about the Naqshbandiyyah reorientation, but also to link the community of ḥadîth scholars to the sufis. He had also silsilahs of the Naqshbandiyyah and Shaṭṭâriyyah from Sayyid Mir Kalal b. Maḥmûd al-Balkkhî, connecting him to Ṣibghat Allâh.[87]

Scholars from the Maghrib region also played a substantial role in the networks. Like the Egyptian scholars mentioned earlier, they were responsible for introducing the North African tradition of ḥadîth studies to the Haramayn, and thus for strengthening the intellectual trend of returning to a more shari'ah-oriented Islam. There were two

prominent Maghribî scholars whose names have been mentioned earlier in passing: 'Îsâ b. Muḥammad al-Maghribî al-Ja'fari al-Tha'alibi al-Maghribî (1020-80/1611-69) and Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Raddânî al-Maghribî al-Makkî (1037-94/1626-83). By settling down in Mecca, they not only brought the North African tradition of ḥadîth scholarship to the Haramayn, but also helped create more linkages among scholars from many regions of the Muslim world.

'Îsâ al-Maghribî, and later also al-Makkî, traced his ancestors to Ja'far b. Abî Ṭâlib, a cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad. He spent most of his early years studying with local *ulama* in his home town in the al-Jazirî region.[88] Of all the branches of Islamic science, he was particularly interested in fiqh and ḥadîth. For this reason, he first traveled to Algiers where he studied ḥadîth and other Islamic religious sciences, mostly with its Muftî Sa'îd b. Ibrâhîm Qaddûrah. After continuing his studies in Tunis and other places in this region, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1062/1652. After the pilgrimage, he extended his sojourn for one year at the Dawudiyyah *ribât*, where he taught ḥadîth and fiqh. Again he went traveling, this time to Cairo where he attended *ḥalqah*s of great Egyptian *ulama* such as Qâḍî Aḥmad al-Shihâb al-Khafâjî, Sultan al-Mazzâhî, and Nûr 'Alî al-Shabramalisî, all of whom were also teachers of al-Kurânî.

Having gained from them *ijâzah* to teach and to relate ḥadîth, 'Isa al-Maghribî returned to Mecca. In the Holy City, he exchanged knowledge and studied with prominent Haramayn scholars such as Tâj al-Dîn b. Ya'qûb al-Mâlikî al-Makkî (d. 1066/1656),[89] Zayn al-'Âbidîn al-Ṭabarî (1002-78/1594-1667),[90] 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Zamzamî (997-1072/1589-1662),[91] and 'Alî al-Jamâl al-Makkî (1002-72/1594-1661).[92] All of these scholars also authorized him to teach and to relate hadiths through their *isnâd*s which mostly began with 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî.

The significance of 'Isâ al-Maghribî in the scholarly communities in the Haramayn can not be overestimated. He was acclaimed as one of the most prominent Mâlikî legal scholars in his time. In the Holy Cities he was known by the honorary title "Imâm al-Haramayn". He taught at the Holy Mosques in Mecca and Medina. He attracted many Haramayn students to his *ḥalqah*s. Al-Kurânî, Ḥasan al-'Ajamî, and Aḥmad al-Nakhlî were among his best-known students. Al-Sinkîlî also established contacts with al-Maghribî while he was studying in Mecca. Al-Maghribî taught in Medina for a certain period every year, and he enjoyed a warm friendship with al-Qushâshî in Medina.[93]

All biographers of al-Maghribî are in accord that he was of great

importance in connecting the tradition of ḥadîth studies in the Maghrib region and Egypt with that of the Haramayn, and further to the Indian Ocean region. The scope of his narration (*riwâyah*) was enormously wide; as al-Kattânî puts it, "nobody was more learned than he in these matters during his time". Because of his extensive travels, Murtaḍâ al-Zâbidî believes that al-Maghribî was a "musnad al-dunyâ" (ḥadîth narrator of the world).[94] These claims find their support in one of al-Maghribî's own works entitled *Kanz al-Riwâyat al-Majmû' fî Durar al-Majâz wa Yawâqit al-Masmû'*. This work consists of two volumes and, as its title indicates, is indeed concerned with the ḥadîth narration. Al-Maghribî not only lists his ḥadîth teachers in his book, but more importantly, draws a picture of their complex connections with one another. In addition, he provides the titles of the books which were produced by scholars involved in these ḥadîth networks.[95] The *Kanz al-Riwâyat*, therefore, is an important work which sheds more light on the role of ḥadîth narration in the growth of the scholarly networks.

In terms of his educational background, our next scholar, Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Raddânî al-Maghribî, was not so very different from 'Isâ al-Maghribî. However, in contrast to 'Isâ, who preferred to lead a quiet life, Sulaymân was an outspoken scholar; he had a strong tendency to exercise his religious influence in the political realm. As al-Sibâ'î points out, he was the only scholar in Mecca who dared to speak out against the abuse of power among the ruling Sharîfian family, with their continuous struggles amongst themselves. He also attempted to bring about radical changes in the religious life of the Holy City. His close relations with the Ottoman ruling elite gave him additional weight in launching his reforms in Mecca.[96]

After studying in his home region, Sulaymân traveled to al-Jazâir and Egypt where he learned from leading *ulama* such as Shaykh al-Islâm Sa'îd b. Ibrâhîm Qaddûrah, Aḥmad al-Khafâjî, al-Bâbilî and al-Mazzâhî. These same men, as mentioned earlier, were also the teachers of al-Kurânî and 'Isa al-Maghribî. In 1079/1668 Sulaymân traveled to the Haramayn where he remained for two years. After long travels to Istanbul and other cities in Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon, he finally returned to Mecca. There he built a *ribâṭ* which was known as the Ibn Sulaymân *ribâṭ*. However, he did not confine his activities to just scholarly and religious matters; he was also occupied with public affairs, which led to open conflicts with the Sharîfs of Mecca.[97] As a result, he was expelled from Mecca and died in Damascus.

In addition to his activism, Sulaymân was known as a distinguished *muḥaddith* who had strong linkages with superior *isnâd*s in ḥadîth narration. Among his works, two were devoted to ḥadîth studies: *Jam' al-Fawâ'id fî al-Ḥadîth* and *Ṣilat al-Khalaf bi Mawṣûl al-Salaf*. In both works, the author described, among other things, his connections with a number of earlier prominent *muḥaddith*s such as Ibn Ḥajar, as well as the ḥadîth books he studied.[98] The biographical accounts of Sulaymân do not explicitly mention the names of his students in the Haramayn. However, according to al-Muhibbî (1061-1111/1651-99), the author of *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, who was himself a student of Sulaymân, the latter had numerous students in the Haramayn including al-Nakhlî and Ḥasan al-'Ajamî.[99] And, as al-Kattânî shows us, Sulaymân had vast connections by way of ḥadîth studies with his contemporaries and later scholars in the networks.[100]

So far we have seen that many leading scholars in the seventeenth century networks were "grand immigrants", including those from the Indian Ocean region. This does not mean, however, that native scholars from the Haramayn did not play an important role in this cosmopolitan scholarly community. There were a number of native scholars of Mecca and Medina who took part actively in the networks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

One of the leading scholars of Meccan origin was Tâj al-Dîn b. Aḥmad, better known as Ibn Ya'qûb. He was born in Mecca, and died there in 1066/1656. He studied primarily in Mecca with its leading scholars such as 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Ṭabarî, 'Abd al-Mulûk al-'Asamî and Khali al-Mâlikî, who issued *ijâzah* for him to teach in the Haram Mosque. Ibn Ya'qûb had close relationships with scholars who were involved in the networks, particularly with 'Isâ al-Maghribî. Similarly, his connections through ḥadîth studies were extensive. Known as an expert on the sharî'ah, kalâm and taṣawwuf, Ibn Ya'qûb was later appointed to the office of the Qâḍî al-Quḍâh of Mecca. In addition to this position, he taught in several *madrasah*s in Mecca. He was a prolific writer on various topics from Arabic to Sufism. One of his works was devoted to answering religious questions from Malay-Indonesian Muslims.[101]

Another important scholar of Meccan origin was Zayn al-'Âbidîn al-Ṭabarî (1002-78/1594-1667), a leading scholar of the Ṭabarî family in Mecca. This family traced their ancestors to 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib. Zayn al-'Âbidîn's principal teacher was his own father, 'Abd al-Qâdir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ al-Ṭabarî (976-1033/ 1568-1624). It is clear that

Zayn al-'Âbidîn was also involved in scholarly discourse with other prominent scholars in the Haramayn. By virtue of the scholarly reputation of his family, he was able not only to gain a great deal of benefit from many prominent scholars in the Haramayn, but also to assert his own role and that of the Tabarî family in the networks. Being a *muḥaddith* of distinction in Mecca, Zayn al-'Âbidîn was a teacher of the next generation of scholars including Ḥasan al-'Ajamî, Aḥmad al-Nakhlî, 'Abd Allâh al-Basrî, and Abû Ṭâhir al-Kurânî.[102]

It is worth noting that Zayn al-'Âbidîn's father, 'Abd al-Qâdir (976-1033/1568-1624) was also a major scholar: he was a *muḥaddith* whose *isnâd*s included great traditionists like Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî, Zakariyyâ al-Anṣârî and Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûṭî. He also inherited the Meccan scholarly tradition from the Zâhirah family, mentioned earlier. Thus, 'Abd al-Qâdir was a scholar of special importance in connecting the scholarly networks of an earlier period with those under discussion here. 'Abd al-Qâdir was also an historian of Mecca; several of his numerous works were devoted to exploring the history of Mecca.[103]

Another son of 'Abd al-Qâdir, 'Alî (d. 1070/1660), was also a noted scholar, especially in *fiqh*. With expertise in this field, he was often asked to give religious opinions (*fatwa*) on various matters. Like his brother Zayn al-'Âbidîn, in addition to studying with his father, he gained a great deal of benefit from scholars in the Haramayn. If Zayn al-'Âbidîn inherited his father's expertise in ḥadîth, 'Alî took over his father's talent as an historian. Thus, 'Alî wrote several works on the history of Mecca and its notables.[104] 'Alî was also one of al-Sinkîlî's teachers.

It is obvious that the Ṭabarî family played a significant role in scholarly discourse in the Haramayn. Al-Sibâ'î points out that the three Ṭabarî scholars above revived the reputation of the Ṭabarî family as an old scholarly family in Mecca. Sayyidah Mubarakah, a daughter of 'Abd al-Qâdir, was also a noted scholar.[105] The Ṭabarî family continued to maintain its eminence in subsequent periods. One such well-known later Ṭabarî scholar was Muḥammad b. al-Muhib al-Ṭabarî (1100-73/1689-1760), a *faqîh* and an historian.[106]

The list of scholars who were involved in the networks in the second half of the seventeenth century is a very long one. For the purpose of our discussion, it suffices to say that all the scholars discussed above played major roles in the networks during the period.

Scholars at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

Most scholars of Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî's generation died in the second half of the seventeenth century. But the chains of the networks continued with their students who, in turn, became crucial links with scholars into the eighteenth century. These students were generally at the peak of their scholarly careers at the turn of the seventeenth century or in the early decades of the eighteenth century. We will now deal briefly with some of the most prominent among these scholars.

There is no doubt that Ḥasan b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-'Ajamî (some spell his name al-'Ujaymî al-Makkî) was one of these prominent scholars at the turn of the seventeenth century. He was also known as "Abû al-Asrâr" ("Father of Spiritual Mysteries"). Born in Mecca, Ḥasan hailed from a noted scholarly family in Egypt. His great grandfather, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Majîd al-'Ajamî (d. 822/1419), was a well-known scholar in Cairo. Ḥasan studied with virtually every leading scholar in the Haramayn. In addition to al-Qushâshî and al-Kurânî, he studied with other prominent scholars such as 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî, 'Abd al-Qâdir and Zayn al-`Âbidîn al-Ṭabarî, 'Isâ al-Maghribî, 'Alî al-Shabramalisî, Sa`îd al-Lahûrî, 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Khâṣṣ, and Ibrâhîm b. 'Abd Allâh Ja'mân. The last two were also teachers of al-Sinkîlî. Ḥasan al-'Ajamî clearly possessed a thorough knowledge of various branches of Islamic discipline. He was renowned as an outstanding *faqîh*, *muḥaddith*, sufi and historian. In ḥadîth studies, al-Kattânî regards him as one of the few scholars in his time blessed by God to be a "lighthouse of the ḥadîth". He died in Taif in 1113/1701-2.[90]

Ḥasan al-'Ajamî played an important role in connecting the scholarly networks in the seventeenth century with those of the eighteenth century, particularly by way of ḥadîth studies and *ṭarîqah silsilah*s. He was a meeting point of various traditions of ḥadîth studies: Syria, Egypt, the Maghrib, the Hijaz, Yemen and the Indian sub-continent. It is not surprising, as al-Kattânî points out, that students in the Haramayn did not feel satisfied in their ḥadîth studies until they met and received ḥadîths from him. They flocked to his *ḥalqah*s in proximity to the Gate of al-Wada' and the Gate of Umm Hani' at the Haram Mosque in Mecca.[108] As a result, al-'Ajamî's *isnâd*s and narrations of ḥadîths were very extensive.[109]

To demonstrate the importance of the connections in the *ṭarîqah*s, Ḥasan wrote a special work entitled *Risâlat al-'Ajamî fî al-Ṭuruq*, which deals with the *silsilah*s of 40 *ṭarîqah*s which existed in the Muslim world

up until his time.[110] In this work, in addition to discussing special distinctions of the teachings of each *ṭarîqahs*, the author provides the *silsilah*s to shaykhs of the *ṭarîqahs,* and the benefits of affiliating with them. This is one of the main reasons why al-'Ajamî was also known as "Abû al-Asrâr". By virtue of his works, namely the *Risâlat al-'Ajamî fî al-Ṭuruq* together with the *Ihdâ' al-Laṭaif min Akhbâr a-Ṭâ'if*, Ḥasan established himself as a historian in his own right.

Ḥasan al-'Ajamî's most well-known disciples were, among others, Muḥammad Ḥâyyah al-Sindî (d. 1163/1653); Abû Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî (1081-1145/1670-1732); Tâj al-Dîn al-Qal`î, Qâḍî of Mecca;[111] al-Maqassârî and the historian Fatḥ Allâh a-Hamawî. Ḥasan al-'Ajamî built the reputation of the 'Ajamîs as a noted scholarly family in Mecca. Among the most prominent members of the 'Ajamî family in later periods were the Mufti of Mecca 'Abd al-Ḥâfiẓ al-'Ajamî as well as Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-'Ajamî and Abû al-Fatḥ al-'Ajamî.[112]

The next scholar worth mentioning was Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî. Tracing his ancestry to 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, he was born in Shâhrazurî, Kurdistan. He acquired his early education in his own region and later he traveled to Iraq, Syria, the Haramayn and Egypt. His teachers in the Haramayn included al-Mulâ Muḥammad Sharîf al-Kurânî, Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî, Isḥâq b. Ja'mân al-Zâbidî, 'Isâ al-Maghribî and several other scholars. While he was in Egypt, al-Barzanjî studied with, among others, 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî, Nûr al-Dîn al-Shabramalisî and Sultan al-Mazzâhî.[113]

After studying in Egypt, al-Barzanjî returned to the Haramayn and later settled in Medina, where he died. He was a noted *muḥaddith*, *faqîh* and *shaykh* of the Qâdiriyyah order. He devoted his life to teaching and writing. He was a prolific writer, indeed. Al-Baghdâdî lists fifty-two of his works, two of which were devoted to refuting Aḥmad Sirhindî's claim as the "Renewer of the Second Millennium of Islam." Al-Barzanjî's connections in the networks were enormous.[114] Al-Barzanjî was the earliest scholar of the Barzanjî family to settle down and become famous in the Haramayn. One of the most prominent scholars of the Barzanjî family in Medina after 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî was Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karîm al-Barzanjî (1103-80/1690-1766), the Shâfi`î Mufti in Medina and author of the *'Iqd al-Jawâhir*, a famous text relating about the birthday of the Prophet.[115]

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 'Alî al-Nakhlî al-Makkî was also evidently one of the most prominent scholars in the networks after the generation of al-Kurânî. He was born and studied mostly in Mecca

and became known as a *muḥaddith* sufi.[116] In his work entitled *Bughyat al-Ṭâlibîn li Bayân al-Mashâyikh al-Muḥaqqiqîn al-Mu'tamidîn*, al-Nakhlî provides the complete list of his teachers, his *isnâd*s in various branches of Islamic discipline, and his *silsilah* in a number of *ṭarîqah*s.

It is of particular importance that in the *Bughyat al-Ṭâlibîn*, al-Nakhlî also gives an account of the learning at the Haram Mosque of Mecca. For instance, he tells us that he attended lectures held in the *ḥalqah*s in proximity to the Gate of Peace (*Bâb al-Salam*). Lectures were given by his teachers every day after the *Subḥ* (dawn), *'Asr* (afternoon), *Maghrib* (sunset) and *'Ishâ'* (night) prayers. It was in the *ḥalqah*s that he received some of his *ijâzah*s in the exterior sciences such as shârî'ah or fiqh, and was initiated into several *ṭarîqah*s: the Shâdhiliyyah, Nawâwiyyah, Qâdiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, Shaṭṭâriyyah and Khalwatiyyah. And it was also in the Haram Mosque that he did most of his practice of the *dhikr* of these *ṭarîqah*s.[117]

Like al-'Ajamî and al-Barzanjî, al-Nakhlî studied with most of the leading Haramayn scholars of his time. The list of his masters includes al-Bâbilî, al-Qushâshî, al-Kurânî, Tâj al-Dîn al-Hindî, 'Isa al-Maghribî, Muḥammad 'Alî b. 'Alân al-Ṣiddîqî, Zayn al-`Âbidîn Ṭabarî, 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Zamzamî and 'Alî al-Jamâl al-Makkî. Al-Nakhlî also had numerous teachers from Egypt, the Maghribî region, Syria and Iraq. Thus, as Murtaḍâ al-Zâbidî correctly puts it, al-Nakhlî linked numerous scholars by way of his ḥadîth studies.[118] Likewise, his students came from various parts of the Muslim world and carried the networks even further.[119]

Another important scholar who belonged to the group discussed under this heading was 'Abd Allâh b. Salîm b. Muḥammad b. Salîm b. 'Isâ al-Baṣrî al-Makkî. He was born and died in Mecca. As one can see in al-Baṣrî's own work, *Kitâb al-Imdâd bi Ma'rifah 'Uluw al-Isnâd*, his education was thorough; he studied many sciences including ḥadîth, tafsîr, fiqh, the history of the Prophet (*sirah*), Arabic, and taṣawwuf. In the *Kitâb al-Imdâd*, he devotes long pages to providing the titles of ḥadîth books he studied along with the *isnâd*s to each of them. He then goes on to mention books in other fields. As for taṣawwuf, he studied books written by such scholars as al-Ghazalî, al-Qushayrî, Ibn 'Atâ' Allâh, and Ibn 'Arabî.[120]

Though al-Baṣrî was an expert in various branches of Islamic science, he was mainly known as a great *muḥaddith*; he was called an *Amîr al-Mu'minîn fî al-Ḥadîth* ('Commander of the Believers in the Ḥadîth'). Al-Sibâ`î points out that al-Baṣrî was one of the greatest

ḥadîth teachers in the Haram Mosque in the early eighteenth century.[121] Through the *Kitâb al-Imdâd*, he contributed significantly to ḥadîth studies by providing the names of scholars who were included among the superior *isnâd*s. But like other scholars in the networks, al-Baṣrî was an eminent sufi. He was a master of several *ṭarîqah*s such as the Naqshbandiyyah, Shâdhiliyyah and Nawâwiyyah. Furthermore, he established the reputation of the Baṣrî family in the scholarly discourses in the Haramayn.[122]

Al-Baṣrî played an important role in connecting the earlier generation of seventeenth century scholars with later networks. This can be seen in the composition of his teachers and disciples. Besides al-Kurânî, his principal teachers also included familiar names such as al-Bâbilî, 'Isâ al- al-Maghribî, Sulaymân al-Maghribî, and 'Alî al-Ṭabarî. Among his disciples were 'Alâ' al-Dîn b. 'Abd al-Bâqî al-Mizjâjî al-Zâbidî of Yemen, Abû Ṭâhir al-Kurânî, Muḥammad Ḥayyah al-Sindî of the Indian Sub-continent, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhâb of the Wahabi movement, all of whom were leading exponents of the networks in the eighteenth century.[123]

The last scholar to be dealt with here is Abû Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî (1081-1145/1670-1733). Abû Ṭâhir was born and died in Medina. It appears that he studied mostly in the Haramayn. His principal teachers were his father, Ibrâhîm, Sulaymân al-Maghribî, Ḥasan al-'Ajamî, Ibn 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî, 'Abd Allâh al-Baṣrî, and Aḥmad al-Nakhlî. We have no detailed information on his studies with them, but there is no doubt that his religious learning was thorough.[124]

Abû Ṭâhir was primarily known as a *muḥaddith*, but he was also a *faqîh* and a sufi. He was the heir to much of his father's expertise in ḥadîth studies. As a *faqîh*, he occupied the post of Shâfi'î Mufti of Medina for some time. He was a prolific writer as well. According to al-Kattânî, he wrote about a hundred treatises, the most important among them being *Kanz al-'Amal fî Sunan al-Aqwâl* and *Shurûḥ al-Fuṣûṣ al-Shaykh al-Akbar*. This last work was apparently intended to explicate the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabî. It also reflects Abû Ṭâhir's learning in the realm of philosophical Sufism. Abû Ṭâhir had wide connections in the networks both by way of ḥadîth *isnâd*s and *ṭarîqah silsilah*s. Among his best-known students were Muḥammad Ḥayyah al-Sindî, Shâh Walî Allâh (both from the Indian sub-continent), and Sulaymân al-Kurdî.[125]

The Networks: Basic Characteristics

After discussing a number of the most important *ulama* involved in the networks, it is useful to make some generalizations about the basic characteristics of the networks. The scholarly networks became increasingly extensive in the seventeenth century. It is clear that there had been some connections between earlier scholars and the ones who were involved in seventeenth century scholarly networks. However, networks which developed during the seventeenth century appear to have been much more complicated; the crisscrossing of linkages by way both of ḥadîth studies and *ṭarîqah* affiliations was enormously complex. Despite the historiographical problems one finds in sources providing information on these scholars and their networks, their connections with one another can even be traced down to our time. And there is no doubt that students and scholars from the Indian Ocean region were involved and played a significant role of the networks of the *ulama*.

The crisscrossing of scholars who were involved in the networks produced intertwined, international intellectual communities. Relations among them generally existed in conjunction with the quest for learning through religious educational institutions such as the mosques, *madrasah*s and *ribâṭ*s. The very basic linkages among them, therefore, were "academic" in their nature. As a rule, their connections with each other took the form of teacher-student (or "vertical") relationships. This academic linkage also included other forms: teacher-teacher, which may also be termed "horizontal links"; and student-student relations, all of which could also crisscross each other. Such forms of linkages were not strictly or formally organized in any kind of hierarchical structure. The relatively high mobility of both teachers and students allowed the growth of vast networks of scholars transcending geographical boundaries, ethnic origins and religious leanings.

Even though the relationships among scholars probably seem quite formal, especially from the point of view of the modern academic world, their common interest in regenerating the *ummah* (Muslim "nation") stimulated cooperation which in turn resulted in closer inter-personal relationships. These close personal relationships were maintained in various ways after scholars or students in the networks returned to their own countries or traveled elsewhere following their sojourn in the Haramayn. The need to establish stronger ties with scholars in the centers was increasingly felt when the returning teach-

ers and students frequently faced problems in their homelands and thus needed the guidance of their former teachers and colleagues in the Haramayn. All this helps explain the continuing scholarly connections in the networks.

Furthermore, as we have seen, two important vehicles that made the linkages of the networks relatively solid were the ḥadîth *isnâd*s and *ṭarîqah silsilah*. Voll has pointed out that both played crucial roles in linking scholars involved in the networks centered in the Haramayn in the eighteenth century.[126] My own research for the same period supports this conclusion.

The same was true for the seventeenth century scholarly networks. In this period, scholars of the networks brought together Egyptian and North African traditions of ḥadîth studies, thus connecting them with those of the Haramayn, which had been known in the early period of Islam as the strongest center of ḥadîth scholarship. The scholars in the networks played a crucial role in reviving the position of Mecca and Medina as centers of ḥadîth scholarship.

As for the *ṭarîqah silsilah*s, traditionally they had been an important means of creating close linkages between scholars. Disciples of the Sufi way, by definition, must succumb to their master's will. This created a very strong bond between those who followed the *ṭarîqah*s. Voll emphasizes that this type of relationship "provided a more personal tie and a common set of affiliations that helped to give the informal groupings of scholars a greater sense of cohesion".[127]

The increasing importance of the esoteric way (*ḥaqîqah*) in the Haramayn, introduced for instance by scholars of the Indian Ocean region, resulted in the linking together of scholars who had been mainly associated with the exoteric way (shârî'ah) in an even more personal way. The involvement of the Indian Ocean region scholars in the networks certainly helped widen the reach of the networks. Not least importantly, they expanded the realm of influence of *ṭarîqah*s, in particular the Shaṭṭâriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah orders, previously mostly associated with the Indian sub-continent version of Sufism which had been almost unknown in the Haramayn in earlier periods. However, it must be kept in mind that by entering the realm of Mecca and Medina which now, once again, had become important centers of ḥadîth scholarship, these *ṭarîqah*s underwent a sort of reorientation. In short, they became more "shârî'ah-oriented *ṭarîqah*s."

One should also be aware that despite their close relations, there

was a great deal of diversity among scholars involved in the networks. They were different from each other not only in terms of their places of origin, but also in *madhhab*s and *ṭarîqah* affiliations. While a certain teacher might be a Ḥanafî in terms of his adherence to Islamic legal doctrine, his student might be a Shâfi'î. While a teacher might be a Shaṭṭâriyyah sufi, his student might follow the path of the Naqshbandiyyah. Despite all these differences, however, they shared a general tendency toward Islamic reformism.

Endnotes:

1. Al-Fâsî, *Shifâ' al-Gharam*, I, 329.
2. See, al-Nahrawalî, *Kitâb al-A'lâm*, in Wustenfeld, *Die Chroniken*, III, 353-4.
3. Al-Fâsî, *al-'Iqd al-Thâmin*, VI, 130. For information on the Shujâ' *ribâṭ*, see, Al-Fâsî, *Shifâ' al-Gharam*, I, 333.
4. Al-Fâsî, *al-'Iqd al-Thâmin*, II, 53-8.
5. *Ibid*, II, 293; III, 168-9.
6. *Ibid*, II, 56.
7. See, R.H. Djajadiningrat, *Kesultanan Aceh: Suatu Pemba¦asan tentang Sejarah Kesultanan Aceh berdasarkan Bahan bahan yang terdapat dalam Karya Melayu*, trans. Teuku Hamid, Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1982-3, 60. Cf. D. Crecellius & E.A. Beardow, "A Reputed Sarakata of the Jamâl al-Lail Dynasty", *JMBRAS*, 52, II (1979), 54.
8. For a discussion of *ijâzah*, see, Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education*, 40-46; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, esp. 31-3, 176-8.
9. See, the case of Ṣaliḥ al-Fulânî and his teacher, Ibn Sinnah, in Azra "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian *ulama* in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", PhD diss, Columbia University, chapter 4:2.
10. See, 'Abd al-Raḥmân Ṣâliḥ 'Abd Allâh, *Târîkh al-Ta'lîm fî Makkah al-Mukarramah*, Jeddah: Dâr al-Shurûq, 1403/1982, 41; Gibb & Bowen, *Islamic Society*, esp. 98-100. Cf S. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 173-86; W. Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984, 50-4.
11. Al-Fâsî, *al-'Iqd al-Thâmin*, III, 139-42.
12. *Ibid*, I, 335-63.
13. A biography of 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî below. Cf. Ochsenwald, *Religion and Society*, 52.
14. A biography of Ḥasan al-'Ajamî will be given below.. For further role of scholars of the 'Ajamî family in the religious offices in Mecca, see, al-Sibâ`î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 469-70.
15. 'Abd Allâh, *Târîkh al-Ta'lim*, 41-2; Abdullatif Abdullah Dohaish, *History of Education in the Hijaz up to 1925*, Cairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-Arabî, 1398/1978, 189-90. Cf. Snouck Hurgonje, *Mekka*, 174-5.
16. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 183; Dohaish, *History of Education*, 180.
17. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 183.
18. For Ṣibghat Allâh's biography and works, see Muḥammad Amîn al-Muhibbî (1061-1111/1651-99), *Khulâṣat al-Athar fî A'yân al-Qarn al-Ḥâdî 'Ashar*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1248/1867-8, repr. Beirut: Dâr Sadir, n.d., II, 243-4; 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dîn al-Ḥasanî (d. 1923), *Nuzhat al-Khawâṭir fî Buhjat al-Masâmi' wa al-Nawâzir*, 7 vols, Hayderabad: Dâ'irat al-Ma`ârif al-'Uthmâniyyah, 1931-59, V, 175-7; Ṣiddîq b. Ḥasan al-Qannûjî (d. 1307/1889), *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, 3 vols, Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d., III, 225; Ismâ`îl Bashâ al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn: Asmâ' al-Mu'allifîn Athar al-Musannifîn*, 2 vols., Istanbul: Milli Egitim Basimevi, 1951, I, 425; Khayr al-Dîn al-Zarkalî (al-Zereklî), *al-A'lâm: Qâmus Tarâjîm*, 12 vols, Beirut: n.p., 1389/1969, III, 287. Cf. S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, 2

vols., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983, II, 329-30.

19. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism*, II, 130.
20. For a list of his works, see, al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifin*, I, 425.
21. Al-Muhibbî, *Khulâsat al-Athar*, II, 234-4; al-Ḥasanî, *Nuzhat al-Khawâṭir*, V, 185-6.
22. See, T. Iskandar, *De Hikajat Atjeh*, 's-Gravenhage: N.V. de Nederlandsche Boek-en Steendrukkerij, 1959, 167-8; Djajadiningrat, *Kesultanan Aceh*, 47.
23. For al-Burhânpûrî's complete biography, see, Muṣṭafâ Fatḥ Allâh al-Hamawî (d. 1123/1711), *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl wa Natâ'ij al-Safar fî Akhbâr Ahl al-Qarn al-Ḥâdî 'Ashar*, 3 vols., Cairo, MS. Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣrîyyah, Târîkh 1093, I, fols. 166-8; al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, IV, 110-11; al-Ḥasanî, *Nuzhat al-Khawâṭir*, V, 352-3; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifin*, II, 271
24. See, A.H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, Canberra, The Australian National University, 1965. For its commentaries, see, al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifin*, II, 271; Brockelmann, GAL, S. II, 617. In addition to Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî, 'Abd al-Ghân& al-Nabulûsî wrote another commentary on it entitled *Nuhabat al-Mas'alah*.
25. For al-Shinnâwî's biography and works, see al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣaṭ al-Athar*, I, 243-6; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 165; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, I, 174-5.
26. On Muḥammad al-Shinnâwî's and Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî's's relationship with al-Sha'rânî, see M. Winter, *Society and Religion in early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha'rânî*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1982 30, 51, 57, 95, 98, 99, 126, 129, 138-40. Cf. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 319, 1052.
27. For a biography of Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî, who played a significant role in the networks as we will see in due course, see, 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha'rânî (899-973/1493-1565), *al-Ṭabaqat al-Sughrâ*, ed. 'Abd al-Qâdir Aḥmad `Ata, Cairo: Maktabah al-Qâhirah, 1390/1970, 121-3; al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 342-7; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifin*, II, 261; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, VI, 235; Brockelmann, GAL, II, 418.
28. For further information on Abû Ḥasan al-Bakrî, see al-Sha'rânî, *al-Ṭabaqat al-Sughrâ*, 78-80. It is curious that according to al-Sha'rânî, al-Bakrî died in 950/1543 (?). If this is true, Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî was unlikely to have met him. Or perhaps another Muḥammad b. 'Alî Abû al-Ḥasan al-Bakrî al-Maṣrî died in 1087/1676, who seems to be younger than al-Shinnâwî. In any case, the Bâkrî was a noted *muḥaddith* of a sufi family in Egypt. See, al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 465-8.
29. For Aḥmad al-Shinnâwî's connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 296, 319; II, 734, 865, 957, 958, 1022, 1051.
30. Al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifin*, I, 154-5; Brockelmann, GAL, II, 514; S. II, 534. See also a description of his work entitled *Bughyat al-Iṭlâq fî al-Salâsil wa al-Khirâq*, in al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 254.
31. Its complete title is *al-Simṭ al-Majîd fî Sha'n al-Bay'ah wa al-Dhikr wa Talqînih wa Salâsil Ahl al-Tawḥîd*, Hayderabad: Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif al-Niẓâmiyyah, 1327/1909. A short description of the *al-Simṭ* is also given in al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, II, 1061.
32. For al-Hamawî's biography, see Muḥammad Khalîl al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar fî A'yân al-Qarn al-Thânî 'Ashar*, 4 vols., Beirut: Dâr Ibn al-Ḥazm, 1408/1988, IV, 178; 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Jabartî (1169-1239/1754-1822), *Târîkh `Ajâ'ib al-Athar fî Tarâjim wa al-Akhbâr*, 3 vols., Beirut: Dâr al-Jil, n.d., I, 125. The last work is

available in several editions, in a different number of volumes. On the importance of the *'Aja'ib al-Athar* for the history of Arabia, see Muḥammad Maḥmûd al-Sarwajî, "Kitâb `Aja'ib al-Athar fî al-Tarâjim wa al-Akhbâr li al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Jabartî ka-masdar li Ahdâth al-Jazîrat al-'Arabiyyah fî al-Qarn al-Thâlith 'Ashar al-Ḥijrî (al-Tâsi` 'Ashar al-Mîlâdî)", in *Maṣâdir Târîkh al-Jazîrat al-'Arabiyyah*, Riyaḍ: Maṭbû`ât Jâmi'ah al-Riyâḍ, 1279/1979, II, 279-301. It should be noted, however, that al-Jabartî also provides accounts of prominent scholars in the 17th and 18th centuries.

33. MSS Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣrîyyah, Cairo, Târîkh 1093.
34. Al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fols. 320-33.
35. Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî, *al-Umam li Iqâẓ al-Himam*, MS Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣrîyyah, Muami' Tal'at 933. For practical reason, we cite its published edition in Hayderabad, 1328/1910. Aḥmad al-Qushâshî's biographical note is provided below.
36. Cf. al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 343-6.
37. Al-Qushâshî, *al-Simṭ al-Majîd*, 181; al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 323; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, II, 970-1; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, I, 228. The same account is also found in Shâh Walî Allâh al-Dihlâwî (1114-76/1702-62), *Anfâs al-'Ârifîn*, Delhi: 1315/1897, 179-80.
38. Al-Qushâshî, *al-Simṭ al-Majîd*, 181-2; al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 231; al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 344.
39. Al-Qushâshî, *al-Simṭ al-Majîd*, 182; al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 324. On further reasons of the change of his *madhhab*, see al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fols. 324-6, 327.
40. Al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 321; al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 344-5. For Ayyûb b. Aḥmad b. Ayyûb al-Khalwatî al-Hanafî's biography, see al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, II, fols. 87-8; al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 428-33..
41. Al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 161.
42. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 514-5; S. II, 535; Cf. 'Abd al-Salâm Hâshim Ḥâfiẓ, *al-Madînat al-Munawwarah fîTârîkh*, Cairo: Dâr al-Turâth, 1381/1972, 149.
43. A.H. Johns, "al-Kushashi, Safi al-Dîn A¥mad b. Muhammad b. Yunus, al-Madanî al-Dadjani", *EI2*, V, 525.
44. Al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 321.
45. For Aḥmad al-Qushâshî's connections and role in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 166, 208, 254, 319, 347; 415, 449, 480, 502, 505: II, 552, 558, 583; 587; 620, 734, 811, 914, 927, 957, 958, 1022, 1027, 1053, 1082. 232
46. For 'Abd Allâh b. Shaykh al-'Aydarûs' biography, see al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 51; al-Ḥasanî, *Nuzhat al-Khawâṭir*, V, 53-4. On Bâ Shaybân, al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 214-5; al-Ḥasanî, *Nuzhat al-Khawâṭir*, V, 288-9. The role of the 'Aydarûs scholars and their connections with Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian scholarly networks is discussed in greater detail in Azra, "The Transmission", Chapter 5:3.
47. All al-'Ajamî's complete biography is given below.
48. He later became a leading shaykh of the Chishtiyyah order in Lahore. See, Rizvi, *A History of Sufism*, II, 267.
49. 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Maḥjûb was a good example of the scholars who were successful in harmonizing ḥadîth and Sufism. He was reported to have numerous miracles (*karâmah*) in the Haramayn. For his biography, see, al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat*

al-Athar, II, 346-8; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 166.

50. We will examine 'Isâ al-Maghribî's biography below.
51. Several leading scholars of these families were also teachers of al-Sinkîlî and al-Maqassârî. Their role in the networks is discussed in Azra, "Transmission" Chapter 5:2.
52. The complete biography of al-Barzanjî will be provided below.
53. Al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, I, 6.
54. Abû Ṭayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaq al-'Azimabadî, *'Awn al-Maḥbûb: Sharḥ Sunan Abî Dâwûd*, 14 vols., Medina: Maktabat al-Salafiyyah, 1389/1969, IV, 395. Cf. another four-volume repr. ed. publ. in Delhi 1323/1905, Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî, n.d., IV, 181. I am most grateful to Prof. J.O. Voll, who brought to my attention an article by Hunwick which mentions these *mujaddid*s. See, J.O. Hunwick, "Salih al-Fullani (1752/3-1803): The Career and Teachings of a West African 'Alîm in Medina", in A.H. Green (ed.), *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihi*, Cairo: The American University Press, 1984, 139-53.
55. For an account of preference for Zakariyyâ al-Ansârî, see for instance, al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 346. For a biography of Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûṭî, see al-Sha'rânî, *al-Ṭabaqat al-Sughrâ*, 17-36; E.M. Sartain, *Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûṭî*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975. For Zakariyyâ al-Ansarî's biography, see al-Sha'rânî, *al-Ṭabaqat al-Sughrâ*, 37-45. The *al-Ṭabaqat al-Sughrâ*, is published in 2 vols., Cairo: Maktabah wa Maṭba'ah Muḥammad 'Alî Sabih wa Awlâduh, (1965?), II, 111-3.
56. See, al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 242.
57. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 494.
58. Al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, I, 28.
59. Al-Hamawî devotes a long account to Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî's biography. See his *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fols. 21-32. Al-Kurânî's biography is also given in the colophon of his own work, *al-Umam*, 131-3; al-Murâdî, *Silk al -Durar*, I, 5-6; al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-Athar*, I, 117; al-Shawkânî, *al-Badr al-Ṭâlî'*, I, 11; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 167; Hafiz, *al-Madînat al-Munawwarah fî al-Târîkh*, 150; A.H. Johns, "Al-Kurânî, Ibrâhîm b. al-Shâhrazurî al-Ḥasan Shâhranî, al-Madanî (1023-1101/1615-90", *EI2*, V, 432-3; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 166-8, 493-4; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, I, 28.
60. Al-Mulâ Muḥammad Sharîf al-Kurânî appears to have been a teacher of numerous scholars in the Haramayn, including Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî. See his biography in al-Kurânî, *al-Umam*, 128-9; al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fols. 93-3; al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, IV, 280-1. For a list of his works which includes a commentary on the Baidawi Tafsir (*Anwâr al-Tanzîl*), see, al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, II, 291.
61. Al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, II, fol. 22; Cf. Al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, I, 5.
62. Al-Bâbilî's biography will be given shortly.
63. Mainly known as an *adîb* (man of letters) and a *Qâḍî*, al-Khafajî was an important chain in the networks. He lived mainly in Cairo, though he regularly traveled to the Haramayn and other centers for Islamic learning in the Middle East. He was a disciple of the *muḥaddith* Shams al-Dîn al-Ramlî, who in turn connected him, among others, to Zakariyyâ al-Anḍârî. See al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 331-43. For a list of his works, see, al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 160-1.

64. Al-Mazzâhî was professor of fiqh at the Azhar after studying with almost 30 scholars. He was also learned in ḥadîth. He wrote a commentary on the *Minhâj of Zakariyyâ al-Ansârî*. Among his prominent students were 'Alâ' al-Dîn al-Bâbilî and Nur al-Dîn al-Shabramalisi. See al-Muhibbî, *Khulasatt al-Athar*, II, 210-1; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, I, 394.
65. Al-Kurânî, *al-Umam*, 3-13; al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 23.
66. Al-Kurânî, *Masâlik al-Abrâr ila Ḥadîth al-Nabî al-Mukhtâr*, MS. Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣrîyyah, ḥadîth 2283, Microfilm 14904.
67. Al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. 25.
68. *Ibid*, I, fols. 24-5; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 167.
69. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras*. I. 494. For Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî's connections in the networks, see, *Ibid*, I, 92, 96, 115, 116, 118, 148, 166, 167, 68, 169, 170, 171, 183, 194, 203, 208, 218, 225, 226, 242, 252, 255, 301, 312, 316, 319, 326, 343, 415, 423, 427, 447, 451, 480, 493-4, 495, 496, 502, 505, 508, 512, 534; II, 555, 557, 559, 586, 588, 595, 634, 671, 679, 683, 714, 727, 734, 735, 738, 760, 767, 770, 771, 808, 878, 914, 941, 942, 948, 951-954, 957-958, 971, 1005, 1027, 1061-1062, 1075-1076, 1094, 1103, 1115-1116, 1157-1158.
70. The complete account of al-Nakhlî will be given below.
71. Nur al-Dîn Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hâdî al-Sindî, better known as Abû al-Ḥasan al-Sindî al-Kabîr, was a *muḥaddith*. He was also a student of al-Bâbilî and al-Barzanjî. One of his well-known students was Muḥammmad Ḥayyah al-Sindî, an important figure of in the scholarly networks in the 18th century. For his life and works, see al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, III, 66; al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-Athar*, I, 135; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, II, 318. One of his work was a commentary on the *Kutub al-Sittah*. See al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 148. Abû al-Ḥasan al-Sindî (al-Kabîr) should not be confused with Abû Ḥasan al-Sindî al-Ṣaghîr (or Muḥammad Ṣadîq al-Sindî, 1125-87/1713-73), a disciple of Muḥammad Ḥayyah al-Sindî and a teacher of Ṣâliḥ al-Fullânî. See, al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 148-9.
72. 'Abd Allâh b. Sa'd Allâh al-Lahûrî, a *muḥaddith*, was known to be very active in introducing to the Haramayn *ulama* the teachings of such Indian scholars as Mulâ 'Abd al-Ḥakîm al-Siyalkutî and 'Abd al-Ḥaq al-*Muḥaddith* al-Dihlâwî. Among his students in the Haramayn were Abû Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî and Shâh Walî Allâh. See, Walî Allâh, *Anfâs al-`Ârifîn*, 190-2. For al-Lâhûrî's connections in the networks, see, al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 166, 168, 495, 496; II, 948, 949, 951, 953, 957, 958, 960.
73. 'Abd Allâh b. Salîm al-Baṣrî's complete biography will be given shortly.
74. Abû Ṭâhir's biography is provided below.
75. The *muḥaddith* 'Alî al-Zâbidî appears to be one of the earliest Zâbid scholars who were involved in the networks in this period. The Zâbidî scholars of Yemen increasingly played an important role in the subsequent periods. His teachers also included al-Qushâshî, al-Barzanjî and al-Nakhlî. See, al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 192-3.
76. Isḥâq b. Ja'mân al-Yamânî, a leading scholar of the Ja'mân family, was the Qâḍî of Zâbid. In the Haramayn, he also studied with 'Isâ al-Maghribî and al-Barzanjî. See al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 394-6; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, I, 202. Among his student in the networks was al-Sinkîlî.
77. Al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fol. *Silk al-Durar*, I, 6.
78. Al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 35-6.

79. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 505-6; S. II, 520.
80. They are: *al-Umam*, cited earlier, and Alfred Guillaume, "Al-Lum'at al-Saniya fi Tahqiq al-Ilqa' fi-l-Umniya by Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî", *BSOAS*, XX (1957), 291-303.
81. For al-Bâbilî's's detailed biography, see al-Hamawî, *Fawâ'id al-Irtiḥâl*, I, fols. 201-4; al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, IV, 39-42; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 166. For his works; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, II, 290; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 210-12; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, VII, 152.
82. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 210.
83. For al-Bâbilî's connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Ibid*, I, 194; 213, 217, 219, 233, 252, 255, 327, 328, 339, 345, 405, 411, 425, 452, 457, 480, 502, 505, 521, 533, 536, 538; II, 558, 562, 583, 587, 589, 590, 592, 605, 620, 739, 784, 807, 851, 890, 916, 918, 935, 941, 942, 964, 987, 1094, 1127, 1132, 1134, 1151.
84. Al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, 41; al-Zarkalî, *al A'lâm*, I, 152.
85. For Tâj al-Dîn al-Hindî's life and works, see al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 464-70; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 244. Cf. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism*, II, 336-8; Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders*, 93-4
86. For more information on Aḥmad b. 'Alân, see Azra, "Transmission", Chapter 5:1 note 39. For an account of the prominence of the 'Alân family in Mecca, see al-Sibâ`î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 468.
87. On al-Nakhlî's becoming a disciple of Tâj al-Dîn al-Hindî, see Walî Allâh, *Anfâs al-'Ârifîn*, 188. Cf. al-Nakhlî, *Bughyat al-Ṭâlibîn li Bayân al-Mashâyikh al-Muḥaqqiqîn al-Mu'tamidîn*, Hayderabad: Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif al-Niẓâmiyyah, 1328/1910, 73-6, 80.
88. For detailed accounts of 'Isâ al-Maghribî's career and works, see al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 240-2; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 166-7; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, V, 294-5; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 500-3; II, 589-90, 806-9; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S. II, 691, 939.
89. Tâj al-Dîn ibn Ya'qûb's career will follow shortly.
90. Zayn al-'Âbidîns's biography is given below.
91. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Zamzamî was a leading scholar of the Zamzamî family, the guardian of the Zamzam well. He was a grandson of the *muḥaddith* Ibn Ḥajar through the maternal family line. As a renowned scholar, he wrote a number of works. See al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, II, 426-7; Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 379. On the role of the Zamzamis in Islamic learning in Mecca, see al-Sibâ`î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 470. Cf. Al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, I, 584, 737.
92. 'Alî b. Abî Bakr al-Jamâl al-Makkî, also known as al-Jamâl al-Maṣrî, was born in Mecca. After studying with various teachers, he taught at the Haram Mosque. Among his students were Ḥasan al-'Ajamî, Aḥmad al-Nakhlî, and 'Abd Allâh b. Salîm al-Baṣrî. He wrote numerous works dealing with various topics. See al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 128-30; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, I, 759-80. For his connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 194, 252, 502, II, 583, 811.
93. Al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 242; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 166.
94. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, II, 806-7.
95. For a quite lengthy description of the contents of the *Kanz al-Riwâyat*, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 500-3.
96. For Sulaymân al-Maghribî's complete biography, see al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, IV, 204-8; Dahlân, *Khulâṣat al-Kalâm*, 87-104; al-Sibâ'î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 378-83; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 95, 425-9; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, VII, 22.

97. Al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, IV, 204-5; Dahlân, *Khulâṣat al-Kalâm*, 103-4; al-Sibâ'î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 380.
98. For a description of the contents of these works, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 95, 426-7.
99. See, al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, IV, 207. Cf. Al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, IV, 82.
100. For detailed accounts of Sulaymân al-Maghribî's connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 90, 95, 97, 98, 101, 116, 131, 156, 160, 194, 209, 211, 237, 252, 298, 301, 302, 309, 326, 339, 343, 351, 378, 386, 401, 425-429, 474, 475, 496, 505, 518, II, 567, 576, 582, 583, 595, 711, 716, 736, 784, 805, 808, 811, 838, 903, 941, 942, 973, 988, 1028, 1093, 1134.
101. For Ibn Ya'qûb's detailed biography and works, see al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, I, 457-64; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 245; Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 379. For his further connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 198, 501; II, 576, 587, 865.
102. Zayn al-'Âbidîn al-Ṭabarî's complete biography is given in al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, II, 195-6. For his connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 119, 166, 169, 183, 194, 196, 209, 252, 296, 327, 415, 502; II, 583, 587, 685, 811, 992, 1022.
103. For 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Ṭabarî's biography and works, see al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, II, 457-64; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 600; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, IV, 168-9; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S II, 509. For his further scholarly connections, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 209, 518; II, 685, 781, 935.
104. For biography and works of 'Alî al-Ṭabarî, see al-Muḥibbî, *Khulâṣat al-Athar*, III, 161-6; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 759; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, V, 115. For his scholarly connections, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 194, 415; II, 587, 811, 941-4, 1000.
105. For further accounts of the role of the Ṭabarî family in Islamic learning in Mecca, see al-Sibâ'î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 466.
106. For al-Muḥibbî al-Ṭabarî, see al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, VII, 189.
107. For more detail on al-'Ajamî, see al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-Athar*, I, 123; al-Qannuji, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 167-8. His more complete biography is provided by the editor of his work, *Ihdâ' al-Laṭâ'if min Akhbâr al-Tâ'if*, ed. Yaḥyâ Maḥmûd Junayd Sa'atî, Tâif: Dâr Thâqif, 1400/1980, 9-24; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, II, 810-3. For lists of his works, see al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 294; and *Ihdâ' al-Laṭâ'if*, 17-23; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, II, 223; al-Kattânî¥, *Fahras*, I, 209, 4479, 504-5; II, 810-13.
108. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras*. II. 810-11; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, II, 223.
109. For al-'Ajamî's further connections in ḥadîth studies, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 209; II, 811-13; III, 66.
110. A short description of the contents of the *Risâlat al-'Ajamî fî al-Ṭuruq* is given in al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, II, 447-9. This work is not listed either in al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 284, nor in al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, II, 223.
111. For a biography of Tâj al-Dîn, who was also known as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qâl'i, see al-Kattânî, I, 978; al-Qanmûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm,* III, 168-9.
112. For an account of the scholarly role of 'Ajamî family in Mecca, see al-Sibâ`î, *Târîkh Makkah*, I I, 469-70; al-Kattânî¥, *Fahras*, 813.
113. For al-Barzanjî's biography and work, see the colophon of his own work, *Kitâb al-Ishâ'ah li Ishârat al-Sâ'ah*, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dîn al-Na'sânî, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'âdah, 1325/1907; al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, IV, 65-6; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, II, 303-4; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, VII, 75.

114. Al-Barzanjî's connections in the networks is provided in al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 98, 148, 301, 302, 314, 427, 447, 451, 495; II, 767, 828, 840, 1095.
115. Further information on Ja'far al-Barzanjî is given in al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, II, 9; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, I, 255; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, II, 117. For a history of the Barzanjî family, see C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs*, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, esp. 68-79.
116. For al-Nakhlî's complete biography, see his *Bughyat al-Ṭâlibîn li Bayân al-Mashâyikh al-Muḥaqqiqîn al-Mu'tamidîn*, Hayderabad: Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif al-Niẓâmiyyah, 1328/1910; al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, I, 171-2; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 177; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 251-3; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, I, 230. Among his works was *al-Tafsîr al-Aḥmadiyyah fi Bayân al-Âyat al-Shar'iyyah*. See al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, I, 167.
117. Al-Nakhlî, *Bughyat al-Ṭâlibîn*, 5-9, 65-80.
118. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras* I, 252.
119. For al-Nakhlî's connections in ḥadîth studies, see *Ibid*, I, 98, 101, 118, 168, 199, 211, 213, 224, 234, 251-3, 256, 302, 339, 411, 447, 487, 495, 497, 502, 511, 518, 533; II, 559, 589, 590, 607, 608, 609, 702, 734, 751, 792, 805, 809, 829, 865, 919, 942, 976, 985, 1007, 1076, 1133, 1135, 1147, 1156.
120. For 'Abd Allâh b. Salîm al-Baṣrî's biography and works, see his *Kitâb al-Imdâd bi Ma'rifah 'Uluww al-Isnâd*, Hayderabad: Dâ'irat al-Ma`ârif al-Niẓâmiyyah, 1328/1910; al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-Athar*, I, 132-3; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-`Ârifîn*, I, 480; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 177; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, IV, 219-20; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S. II, 521; al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 95-6, 193-9.
121. Al-Sibâ'î, *Târîkh Makkah*, II, 469.
122. *Ibid*.
123. For al-Baṣrî's connections with his contemporaries and earlier scholars, see his *Kitâb al-Imdâd*. For his connections with later scholars, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, esp. 95-6, 193-9; III, 113.
124. For Abû Ṭâhir's biography and works, see al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar*, IV, 27; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, II, 321; al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, III, 168; al-Kattânî, *Fahras* I, 494-6; al-Zarkalî, *al-A'lâm*, 6, 195.
125. For Abû Ṭâhir's connections in the networks, see al-Kattânî, *Fahras*, I, 98, 101, 110, 119, 166, 167, 178, 195, 219, 253, 289, 356, 423, 427, 483, 505, 511, 514; II, 559, 605, 735, 743, 760, 770, 811, 812, 829, 850, 903, 951, 976, 986, 1048, 1070, 1076, 1111.
126. J.O. Voll, "Ḥadîth Scholars and *ṭarîqah*s: An Ulama Group in the 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact in the Islamic World", *JAAS*, XV, 3-4 (1980), 246-73; "Muhammad Ḥayyâ al-Sindî and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth Century Madina", *BSOAS*, 38 (1975), 32-9.
127. Voll, "Ḥadîth Scholars", 267.

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