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MĀLIKĪ IMAMS OF THE SACRED MOSQUE AND PILGRIMS FROM TAKRŪR

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the Mālikī imams of Mecca's Sacred Mosque, whom pilgrims from Takrūr believed to be among the most venerable Meccan residents. We analyze descriptions in travel books and biographical dictionaries in order to understand the relationship between Mālikī imams and West African pilgrims and the influence of this relationship on Meccan affairs. This paper finds that: (1) the Mālikī imams and Takrūr pilgrims had a mutually beneficial relationship from the 8th/14th century onwards; (2) the imams gained respect and monetary donations from pilgrims, while the pilgrims could enhance their religious reputation; and (3) in the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the Mālikī imam was expected to negotiate for the Meccan amīr with the amīr of the pilgrimage caravan from West Africa in gaining donations. This was probably the background of interference in the choice of the Mālikī imams by the Meccan amīr in the end of the 8th/14th century. We deduce that the mutually beneficial relationship between the Mālikī imams and Takrūr pilgrims influenced the relationship between the Mālikī imams and the Meccan amīr. Thus, this paper provides a new perspective on how pilgrims from relatively far-off regions influenced local Meccan affairs.

Résumé

Cet article se penche sur les imams malékites de la Mosquée sacrée, vénérés entre tous les résidents meccoises par les pèlerins de Takrūr. À partir de relations de voyage et de dictionnaires biographiques, nous analysons les relations entre les imams malékites et les pèlerins d’Afrique de l’Ouest, puis l’impact qu’ont eu ces relations sur les affaires meccoises. Il ressort finalement que : (1) les imams malékites et les pèlerins de Takrūr ont eu des relations mutuelles fructueuses à partir du viiiᵉ/xivᵉ s. ; (2) les imams étaient respectés et ont reçu des donations monétaires de la part des pèlerins, tandis que ces derniers y gagnaient une réputation religieuse ; (3) au début du ixᵉ/xvᵉ s., l’imam malékite était pressenti comme négociateur pour le compte de l’Émir de La Mecque avec l’Émir de la caravane du pèlerinage venue d’Afrique de l’Ouest et obtenir des donations. C’est certainement ceci qui est à l’origine de l’interférence des émirs meccoises dans le choix des imams malékites à la fin du xivᵉ s. Nous en déduisons que les relations mutuellement bénéfiques entre les imams malékites et les pèlerins de Takrūr ont joué à leur tour sur les relations entre les imams malékites et les émirs de La Mecque. En conséquence cet article offre une nouvelle perspective sur la façon dont des pèlerins de régions relativement éloignées ont influencé les affaires locales meccoises.

خلاصة

ركزت هذه المقالة على الأئمة المالكية في المسجد الحرام في مكة الذين كانوا يحصولون بأحترام ويدبر الحجاج القادمين من تكرور ويعتقدون فضلهم على غيرهم من سكان مكة. اعتبرت المقالة على كتب الرحلات والنزوات والطبقات لأرض وفهم العلاقة بين آلة الحرم المكي من المالكية وبين الحجاج من تكرور وغرب إفريقيا ومدى تأثير هذه العلاقة على شؤون

¹ This study is based on a part of a master thesis submitted to Kyoto University in 2016.
K. Otsuya

Mālikī imams of the Sacred Mosque and pilgrims from Takrūr

Keywords

Mecca, Mālikī imams, Sacred Mosque, pilgrimage, West Africa, Mali, Takrūr, Meccan amirs, Mamluks, ʿulamā’, genealogy, Qaṣṭallānī family, Nuwayrī family, al-Fāṣi, 8th/14th century, 9th/15th century, Hiḡāz

Mots-clés

La Mecque, imams malekites, Mosquée sacrée, pèlerinage, Afrique de l’Ouest, Mali, Takrūr, émirs mecc quois, Mamlouks, ʿulamā’, généalogie, famille Qaṣṭallānī, famille Nuwayrī, al-Fāṣi, viiiî/viix s., ixiv/ixv s., Hiḡāz

I. Introduction

Muslims from around the world make pilgrimages to Mecca. However, while Mecca is generally acknowledged as one of the most important sacred sites in the Muslim world, few have studied the city’s history during the late medieval period. In the 8th/14th century, official pilgrimage caravans were sent to Mecca from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Maḡrib, and other regions. Local affairs in Mecca reflected global relationships.
Previous studies on Meccan history around the 8th/14th century can be divided into two groups: those that focus on Meccan amirs and those that examine prominent scholars or scholarly families of that time. Richard T. Mortel is still a good example of the former; his detailed research provides us with basic information on Meccan politics and economics. However, as John Lash Meloy points out, his work has a “Cairo-centered view.” Meloy’s studies of 9th/15th-century Mecca indicate that the sovereignty of the Mamluks was more limited than Mortel suggests, and that Meccan amirs enjoyed autonomy as mediators between the Mamluks and other local parties. Keiko Ota agrees with this theory and emphasizes the amirs’ autonomy, analyzing their diplomatic relationships in the Bahri Mamluk period. However, while these studies demonstrate that powerful neighboring dynasties including the Mamluks, Rasulids, and Ilkhanids were in conflict over symbolic hegemony in the holy city, they do not

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2. Meloy indicates that Mortel’s analysis follows a traditional view in Mamluk studies, which overemphasizes Cairo’s sovereignty over Mecca (John Lash Meloy, *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade: Mecca and Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Chicago, Middle East Documentation Center, 2010, p. 4).


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explore the relationship between Meccan residents and those of relatively distant regions, including West Africa, or Takurūr, as the region was known during the Mamluk period. According to Hadrien Collet, eastern Arabic historians used the name “Takurūr” throughout the Mamluk period. However, what was designated by the name varied depending on regions and time periods. From the 8th/14th century to 833/1430, for example, “Takurūr” referred to the Sultanate of Mali.7 Nehemia Levtzion shows that every year a pilgrimage caravan from Takurūr joined the Egyptian caravan in Cairo. Records indicate that the number of pilgrims from Takurūr reached about 5,000 in 744/1344.8

The other group of studies, those that focus on prominent scholars, can be divided into two groups. First, some focus on famous authors and scholarly families from Mecca, including the Ṭabarī family, who adhered to the Ṣafī’i school of law. However, as far as we know, no studies have inclusively analyzed Mālikī scholarly families. Second, several studies analyze the roles and lives of intellectual elites.9 How-

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7 Collet also indicates that since the Sultanate of Mali declined from 1430, the word “Takurūr” was sometimes used for the Sultanate of Borno (Hadrien Collet, “Le sultanat du Mali (XIVe–XVIe siècle) : Historiographies d’un État soudanien, de l’Islam médiéval à aujourd’hui,” PhD dissertation, Panthéon Sorbonne University, 2017, pp. 146–149).


ever, no study has yet examined these topics in depth. In Mecca, scholars held legal or religious offices, including judges (sg. qāḍī), preachers (sg. ḥaṭīb), prayer leaders (sg. imām), and so on. The most prominent office was the Ṣafī‘i judgeship, and Ṣafī‘i judges sometimes worked as preachers. No judgeship except for deputy positions existed for the other Sunni schools of law until the Mamluk sultans began to appoint judges for them in the beginning of the 9th/15th century. Therefore, prayer leaders of the Sacred Mosque seemed to be representatives of each school of law. However, previous studies tend to focus on Ṣafī‘i judges and analyze the relationships between them, the Meccan amīr, and the Mamluks. By focusing on the Mālikī imams, we can explore the relationship between scholars and rulers of relatively distant regions, who adhered to the Mālikī school of law, including the Sultanate of Mali, and its famous king, Mansā Mūsā (fl. 724/1324–1325).


became a Ḥanafī judge in the beginning of the 9th/15th century (Christopher D. Bahl, “Reading tarājim with Bourdieu: Prosopographical Traces of Historical Change in the South Asian Migration to the Late Medieval Hijaz,” *Der Islam* 94/1, 2017, pp. 234–273).


The Mamluks established the Ḥanafī judgeship in 806/1403, the Mālikī judgeship in 807/1405, and Ḥanbalī judgeship in 809/1406 (A.H.A. Badrašīnī, *Awqāf al-ḥaramayn*, p. 270). The first Mālikī judge was Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Fāsī, the author of *Al-ʿiqd* (al-Fāsī, *Al-ʿiqd*, vol. 1, p. 338).
Mansā Mūsā’s pilgrimage attracted much attention, as he spent so much gold that it deflated the value of gold in Cairo for several years. Some studies on the history of West Africa focus on the relationship between the Sultanates of Mali and Songhay and the Mamluks. They have found that some medieval scholars from West Africa studied in Cairo with other prominent scholars on the way to pilgrimage in Mecca. However, none of these studies focus on the relationship between Meccan scholars and West African pilgrims, although this viewpoint can provide us with a much broader picture of the human network around Mecca.

Therefore, this study explores the relationship between the Mālikī imams of the Sacred Mosque and pilgrims from West Africa, as well as the influence of this relationship on Meccan affairs. We also examine the roles played by religious elites in Mecca and the conditions of some scholarly families that followed the Mālikī school of law.

In the next section, we will provide a basic history of the Mālikī imams of the Sacred Mosque and the scholarly families that inherited the Mālikī imamate. The third section analyzes descriptions of the relationship between the Mālikī imams and pilgrims from West Africa. Finally, in the fourth section, we give examples of the Mālikī imams’ roles and demonstrate how the Meccan amīr and the Mamluks were involved with the imams in order to show how the relationship described in the second section influenced local Meccan affairs.

Our main sources for this study are travel books and biographical dictionaries. For example, travel books by Ibn Ǧubayr (d. 614/1217) and Ibn Batṭīta (d. 770/1368–1369) contain valuable relevant descriptions. Meanwhile, Al-ʿiqd al-ṭamin is a biographical dictionary written in the 9th/15th century by a Mālikī jurist, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429). We also analyze descriptions in biographical dictionaries written by a Meccan scholar, Naḡm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Fahd (d.

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7 Al-Fāsī, Al-ʿiqd.
885/1480) and those by Egyptian scholars, including Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) and al-SAḥāwī (d. 902/1497).

II. Inheritance of the Mālikī imamate

In the 8th/14th century, the Sacred Mosque had one prayer leader (imam) for each of the four Sunni and Zaydi schools of law in general. In biographical dictionaries, imams for the Mālikī school of law are called Ḣimām al-maḏāqām al-mālikīyya bi-al-Haram al-Ṣarīf. They seemed to play a similar role to that of imams at the other great mosques in the Mamluk Sultanate, although there is little specific information. In addition, as we mentioned earlier, the imams represented their school of law not just to inhabitants but also to pilgrims and muǧāwis, since there was no office for the Mālikī judgeship until the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

In the 8th/14th century, particular families inherited the imamate. For example, two prominent families—the Qaṣṭallānīs and the Nuwayris—held the Mālikī imamate.

Table 1: Mālikī imams (before 644/1246 to 836/1432)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term of office (hiǧrī/miḥādī)</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?–644</td>
<td>?–1246</td>
<td>Al-Taqī ʿUmar b. Muhammad al-Qaṣṭallānī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 Both Ibn Ḥubayr and Ibn Ṣawdāṭa mention the order of prayer at the Sacred Mosque in their travel books. First, the Ṣaḥīḥ imam prayed, followed by the Mālikī and Ḥanbali imams, and finally, the Ḥanafī imam (Ibn Ḥubayr, The Travels of Ibn Jubayr, p. 102; Ibn Ṣawdāṭa, Riḥlat Ibn Ṣawdāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 397–398). Meanwhile, the Mamluks tried to remove the Zaydi imams from the Sacred Mosque several times (R.T. Mortel, “Zaydi Shiʿism and the Ḥasanid Sharifs of Mecca,” International Journal of Middle East Studies 19, 1987, pp. 455–472).
22 This term indicates a person who stays in a holy place, such as Mecca, in order to live a religious life (Werner Ende, “Muǧāwir,” EF).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>713–760</td>
<td>1313–1359</td>
<td>ʿAlāʾ Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qaṣṭallānī</td>
<td><em>Al-ʿiqd</em>, vol. 4, p. 126; <em>Al-ʿiqd</em>, vol. 4, pp. 324–328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>760–765</td>
<td>1359–1364</td>
<td>ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaṣṭallānī</td>
<td><em>Al-ʿiqd</em>, vol. 6, p. 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šawwāl, 799–806</td>
<td>July 1397–1403</td>
<td>Al-Bahāʾ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Nuwayrī (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 820–827</td>
<td>June 1417–1424</td>
<td>Al-Šīhāb ʿAḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Nuwayrī (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 820–836</td>
<td>June 1417–1432</td>
<td>Al-Wâlī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nuwayrī (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* When the same person held the same office more than one time, I indicate the first time by putting (1) after his name, the second time by (2) and the third time by (3).

It is probable that ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Qaṣṭallānī (A1), the founder of the Qaṣṭallāni family, settled in Mecca and held the imamate during the first half of the 7th/13th century. There is no information about his origin, although the description of his son, ʿAbd al-Dīn Muḥammad (B1) tells us that he was born in Tozeur, Tun-

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23 For convenience, I assign a letter to each generation in the included family trees. Every member of the generation, meanwhile, is assigned a number.
sia in 598/1201–1202, and came to Mecca before 620/1223–1224. After the death of ‘Umar (A1), his son Diyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (B1) inherited the office. He taught hadīth in the madrasa Mansūriyya, which was built in Mecca by the Rasulid Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Umar. After his death, the office of the Mālikī imamate was inherited by his son, Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (C2), followed by Ḥalīl Muḥammad (D2).

Ḥalīl Muḥammad (D2) was born in Mecca in 688/1289. His maternal uncle was the Šāfiʿī judge of Mecca, Naǧm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī. Ḥalīl Muḥammad (D2) learned Šāfiʿī jurisprudence from his maternal uncle and his maternal grandfather. Subsequently, he learned Mālikī jurisprudence from the judges of Alexandria and Damascus, who visited Mecca for pilgrimage. According to custom, he became the Mālikī imam after his father died in 712/1312–1313 and held the position for 47 years, until his death. He evidently did not have a long-lived son, and his nephew ‘Umar (E2) inherited the job.

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25 Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Umar built his madrasa in 641/1243–1244 near the Sacred Mosque. Šāfiʿī law and hadīth were taught there. For more information on madrasas built in Mecca during this period, see R.T. Mortel, “Madrasas in Mecca during the Medieval Period: A Descriptive Study based on Literary Sources,” Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 60, 1997, pp. 236–252.
27 Al-Ḥāsa, Al-‘iqd, vol. 6, p. 310.
Table 2: The Qaṣṭallānī family

| Underlined names indicate Mālikī imams (Table 2, and 3). |

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\`Umar} \\
&\text{Mu\`ammad} \\
&(\text{A1}) \text{Taqi al-Din} \\
&\text{\`Umar} \quad 572–644 \\
&(B1) \text{Diyā’ al-Din} \\
&(\text{C1}) \text{Shihāb al-Din} \quad \text{Ahmad} \quad d. 671 \\
&(D1) \text{Shihāb al-Din} \quad \text{Alhmad} \\
&(E1) \text{Gamāl al-Din} \quad \text{Mu\`ammad} \quad d. 756 \\
&(\text{B2}) \text{\`A`i\`sa} \\
&(\text{C2}) \text{Bahā’ al-Din} \quad \text{\`Abd al-Rahmān} \quad d. 712 \\
&(D2) \text{Halil Mu\`ammad} \quad 688–763 \\
&(E2) \text{\`Umar} \quad d. 765 \\
&(\text{C3}) \text{Zaynab} \\
&(D3) \text{Fā\c{c}ima} \quad d. 760 \\
&(\text{C4}) \text{\`Umar} \\
&(D4) \text{\`Abd Allāh} \quad d. 736
\end{align*}
\]
In the middle of the 8th/14th century, after the death of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaṣṭallānī (E2), the Nuwayrī family began taking over the imamate. Although the sources are silent on the reason for this shift, it was probably because the last Mālikī imam, Ḥalīl Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaṣṭallānī was the former husband of the mother of the new Imam, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Ali b. Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (B3). As Frédéric Bauden discusses in his work on the Ṭabarī family, the most prominent scholarly family in Mecca at the time, most marriages were between cousins. However, marriage could also be an important tool to connect with other scholarly families.

Sources suggest that the Nuwayrī family were originally from Nuwayra, Egypt. The founder was Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (A1), who settled in Mecca at the beginning of the 7th/13th century and married a daughter of the Meccan Šāfiʿī judge Naǧm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī. Later, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (A1) divorced his wife. His two sons, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (B2) and Nūr al-Dīn ‘Ali (B3) were brought up by their maternal uncle, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī. The family eventually divided into two branches: the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (B2) adhered to the Šāfiʿī school of law and became judges and preachers, while the descendants of Nūr al-Dīn ‘Ali (B3) held the Mālikī imamate.

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30 This view is supported by the description of Muḥammad b. Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aqlī al-Nuwayrī, a relative of this family. It is mentioned that he was a relative of the ḥaṭīb from the Nuwayrī family in Mecca (al-Saḥāwī, Al-dawʾ, vol. 7, p. 291).
32 Al-Sulaymān, Al-ʿalāqāt, pp. 145–147. The descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (B2) were omitted from the family tree. The Nuwayrī family’s relationships with the Ṭabarī family seemed to give them a great chance of obtaining the judgeship. This is because the Ṭabarī family was prosperous and judgeship was the most prominent legal office.
Table 3: The Nuwayri family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period (Begins-End)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Qāsim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al-'Azīz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A1) Sīhāb al-Dīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad d. 737</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B1) Ḥadiğa</td>
<td>d. 777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B2) Kamāl al-Dīn</td>
<td>Muḥammad 722–786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B3) Nūr al-Dīn</td>
<td>'Ali 724–798 or 799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B4) 'Āiša</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C1) Kamāliyya</td>
<td>Before 758–fl. 788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C2) Šīhāb al-Dīn</td>
<td>Muḥammad 762–832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C3) Bahā‘ al-Dīn</td>
<td>Muḥammad 773–896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C4) Zaynab</td>
<td>775–827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C5) ‘Īzz al-Dīn</td>
<td>‘Abd al-'Azīz 778–825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C6) Šīhāb al-Dīn</td>
<td>Muḥammad 780–827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C7) Kamāliyya al-Ṣuğrā</td>
<td>782–867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C8) Wali al-Dīn</td>
<td>Muḥammad 783–842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C9) Kamāl al-Dīn</td>
<td>Muḥammad 785 or 786–852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C10) Ǧūsūn</td>
<td>'Abd Allāh fl. 813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C11) ‘Abd Allāh</td>
<td>Umm al-Ḥusayn d. 827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C12) Umm al-Ḥusayn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C13) Abū Bakr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C14) Ḥadiğa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C15) Fāṭima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These two families inherited the Mālíki imamate in the 8th/14th century, and the position continued to be passed down, usually from father to son or from older brother to younger one. There is no evidence that this custom was violated until the end of the 8th/14th century.

III. Relationship between the Mālíki imams and pilgrims from Takrūr

In this section, we analyze the relationship between the Mālíki imams and West African pilgrims. Travel accounts and biographical dictionaries offer some descriptions of the virtues of the Mālíki imams. Authors from Mağrib and Andalus, adherents of the Mālíki school of law, are especially apt to note their Meccan imams.32 For example, Ibn Baṭṭūta notes Mālíki imams in his travel book, mentioning Ḥalil Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī (D2), the Mālíki Imam at the time:

He is one of the prominent figures in Mecca. He is, rather, the only one according to the consensus of the Meccan people. He is always immersed in worship. He is modest, generous, excellent, and compassionate. He does not disappoint anyone who asks him for alms.33

Al-Fāṣi’s description of Ḥalil Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī (D2) also indicates that he was respected among the people from West Africa:

He had indescribable sublimity and power among notable and ordinary people, especially among people from the western regions such as Takrūr and Sūdān. Thus, they regarded meeting with the Mālíki imam as completion of their pilgrimage (hqāy). They used to bring him many donations (futūḥāt).34

Pilgrims from Takrūr and Sūdān considered visiting the Mālíki imam an essential part of completing their pilgrimage. This indicates that the Mālíki imams had a special role during the pilgrimage seasons, as Ibn Ḥubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūta describe:

When the time of the nafr (departure from Mina) came, the Mālíki imam made a sign with his hand and descended from his position. Then, people suddenly rushed to depart. Because of this, the earth shook and the mountains trembled.35

32 It is especially worth mentioning Hikoichi Yajima’s studies of relevant travel books. He translated Ibn Baṭṭūta’s work into Japanese, publishing it between 1996 and 2002. He also researched 64 travel books written by authors from Mağrib and Andalus by the end of 13th–14th/19th century. According to his article, pilgrims, scholars, and merchants from Mağrib visited Egypt and Syria from the middle of the 7th/13th century to the middle of the 8th/14th century. In addition, the number of immigrants to the eastern region increased, and immigrant communities formed in big cities such as Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus (Hikoichi Yajima, “On the Importance of the Maghribian Books of Pilgrimage al-Rihlat,” Journal of Asian and African Studies 25, 1989, pp. 194–216, pp. 205–208 [In Japanese]). For more information on H. Yajima’s studies, see Tamon Baba, “Publications in Japanese Language on Yemen History and its related Regions mainly based on Manuscripts and Sources from Yemen (1964–2014),” Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen 19, 2015, pp. 33–56, pp. 59–62.
34 Al-Fāṣi, Al-tiqd, vol. 4, p. 325.
Thus, the imam indicated the start of nafr. It is likely that such a role enhanced their position among pilgrims.

There are other examples of the relationship between the imam and pilgrims from the western regions. For example, al-Fāsī refers to a Mālikī Imam, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Nuwayrī (B3), whose mother was the former wife of the Mālikī Imam Ḥalil Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī (D2):

He was in charge of the Mālikī imamate until his death after ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mālikī, a nephew of Šayḫ Ḥalil al-Mālikī [al-Qaṣṭallānī]. He served for 33 years and a few months. By the virtue of his status as imam, he gained many worldly goods (dunyā) from people from Mağrib and Takrūr. Most were from Takrūr. Nūr al-Dīn gained [annually] about 1,000 mīṭqālās of gold from the sultan of Takrūr in most of the years, apart from what he gained from the šayḫ of the caravan of Takrūr and eminent people in the caravan. He probably obtained from people in the caravan approximately as much donation as from the sultan. It made his worldly situation and that of his families quite good.³⁷

It is interesting that Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Nuwayrī (B3) acquired about 1,000 mīṭqālās of gold both from the sultan and people in the caravan. He gained about 2,000 mīṭqālās of gold annually. The value of this donation can be estimated by comparing it with another donation to Meccan scholars, that from the Rasulid Sultan of Yemen, al-Mālik al-Aṣrāf II to the contemporary Šāfī‘i judge and preacher of Mecca, Kāmil al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī. For some years, the Rasulid Sultan sent the judge 27,000 dirhams annually.³⁸ Unfortunately, as far as we know, there is no description indicating the exchange rates between gold mīṭqālās and dirhams in Mecca in the latter half of the 8th/14th century.³⁹ However, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s report in the first half of the 8th/14th century indicates that the exchange rate between gold mīṭqālās and dirham nuqra fell to 1:8 due to many donations of gold coins by the Ilkhanid Sultan Abū Sa‘īd.⁴⁰ Considering that the exchange rate in Cairo in the Bahri Mamluk period was

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³⁷ Al-Fāsī, Al-ʿiqd, vol. 6, p. 133.
³⁹ For the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, we have some textual evidence indicating the exchange rates as Meloy’s study on monetary system in Mecca shows (J.L. Meloy, “Money and Sovereignty in Mecca,” pp. 712–738). For the monetary system in Mecca in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th century, also see J.L. Meloy, Imperial Power and Maritime Trade, pp. 197–199, 226–227.
relatively constant around 1:20⁴¹, we can try to compare these amounts, based on the exchange rate in Cairo. Based on W. Schultz and Paul Balog’s study, we can estimate the exchange rate was between 1:20 and 1:30.⁴² The Mālikī Imam held the imamate from 765/1364 to 799/1397, while the Šāfiʿī judge held office from 763/1362 to 786/1384.⁴³ Based on the 1:20 rate, 2,000 mitqāls of gold is equivalent to 40,000 dirhams, while based on the rate 1:30, 2,000 mitqāls of gold is equivalent to 60,000 dirhams. Although we cannot know the exact value, it is safe to say that the Mālikī Imam gained a considerable amount of money, far more than the Šāfiʿī judge. This account indicates that the Mālikī imams received many donations from West African pilgrims probably as a sign of their religious devotion.

This evidence suggests that there was a mutually beneficial relationship between the Mālikī imams and West African pilgrims in the 8th/14th century. This was a mutually beneficial exchange: the Mālikī imams gained respect and monetary donations from the pilgrims, while the pilgrims could enhance their religious reputation by associating with the imams. The next section analyzes how this mutually beneficial relationship between the Mālikī imams and Takrūr pilgrims affected the inheritance of the imamate.

IV. Influence of the relationship between Mālikī imams and Takrūr pilgrims on the Imams

To examine the effects of the mutually beneficial relationship described in the previous section, we first give an example of a Meccan amīr’s interference in the choice of a Mālikī imam. We then explore the context for this interference, describing how it relates to the aforementioned relationship.

As described earlier in this study, two specific families inherited the Mālikī imamate. Until the end of the 8th/14th century, there is no evidence that political authorities, such as the Meccan amīr or the Mamluk Sultanate, interfered in the passing down of this position. However, at the end of the 8th/14th century, after the death of the Mālikī Imam Nūr al-Dīn ‘Ali al-Nuwayrī (B3), these groups did interfere. The descriptions of his son, Šihāb al-Dīn ʿAḥmad al-Nuwayrī (C6), gives us a brief overview:

When his father (Nūr al-Dīn ‘Ali al-Nuwayrī) died in ʿUmādā II 799/March 1397, his paternal uncle, the judge of Mecca, Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAḥmad b. al-qāḍī Abī al-ʿAfdal al-Nuwayrī established him and his brother, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān, as the Mālikī

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imams, instead of their father. However, the amīr of Mecca, Ṣarīf Ḥasan b. ‘Ağlān opposed this choice, and appointed a jurist, Qūṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥayr b. al-qāḍī Abi al-Suʿūd b. Zahira, to the Mālikī imamate. Thus, Abū al-Ḥayr held the position until the end of Sawāwī/August 1397. At that time, the abovementioned Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī assumed the imamate, due to a diploma of appointment (tawqīʿ) that arrived from al-Malik al-Zāhīr [Barqūq] of Egypt, requiring him and his brother Bahāʾ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to be established as the Mālikī imams.⁴⁴

After the Imam’s death, the position was passed to his two sons. As we mentioned, this was the normal pattern of inheritance. However, the Meccan Amīr interfered in this succession, and appointed an imam from another family, Banū Zahira, who seems to have had no marital relationship with the Nuwayrī family. This violation of custom resulted in the Mamluks issuing a diploma of appointment to ensure that tradition was preserved.

It seems that this interference was influenced by the conflict between the Meccan amīr and the Mamluks. Hasan b. ‘Ağlān was a powerful amīr at the end of the 8th/14th century and was nominated as the deputy of the Mamluk Sultan (nāʿīb al-saltānā) in Hijāz in 811/1408.⁴⁵ He also attempted to marry into the Fāsī family in order to extend his power.⁴⁶ At the same time, the Mamluks changed their policy towards legal or religious offices, including judgeships. From the end of the 8th/14th century to the 9th/15th century, the Mamluks frequently changed judges, the most prominent position for scholars. Evidence shows that the amīr and the Mamluks came into conflict over choosing judges and preachers.⁴⁷

However, such conflicts did not seem to influence the imams of other Sunni schools of law, where the same families continued to inherit imamates. For example, all Šāfiʿī imams continued to be from the Ṭabarī family. Abū al-Yumān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī and Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī held the Šāfiʿī imamate at the end of the 8th/14th century. This family’s inheritance of the imamate is described in the biography of Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad:

He (Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī) worked as his father’s a deputy in the imamate for some years. Then, his father ceded the imamate to him shortly before his death. After that, he worked together in the imamate with his paternal uncle al-Šayḥ Abū al-Yumān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī for some years.⁴⁸

Thus, the imamate was usually passed down from father to son or older brother to younger one before the current imam’s death.

⁴⁶ He got married to Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī’s sister, Umm Hāniʾ (al-Fāsī, Al-ʿiqd, vol. 8, p. 355; J.L. Meloy, “The Judges of Mecca and Mamluk Hegemony”). In addition, he was married to Kamāliyya, the sister of the Mālikī judge, Abū Hāmid al-Fāsī (al-Fāsī, Al-ʿiqd, vol. 8, p. 313). The reason why he was married to women from the Fāsī family could be that this family is hasanid šarīf.
⁴⁷ J.L. Meloy discusses this in his forthcoming article (J.L. Meloy, “The Judges of Mecca and Mamluk Hegemony”).
Table 4: Šafi‘i imams (before 681/1282 to 813/1410)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term of office (hiǧrī/mīlādī)</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>722?–759</td>
<td>1322?–1349</td>
<td>Al-Šīhāb ʿAhmād b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>759?–?</td>
<td>1349?–?</td>
<td>Al-Raḍī Muḥammad b. ʿAhmād al-Ṭabarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>809–813</td>
<td>1406–1410</td>
<td>Abū al-Ḥayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Ḥanafi imams (before 659?/1260? to 850/1446)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term of office (hiǧrī/mīlādī)</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?–773</td>
<td>?–1371</td>
<td>Abū al-Fath b. Yūsuf al-Ṣīgāzī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the tables show, the situation at the end of 8th/14th century was similar for both the Ḥanafi and Ḥanbali imams. In addition, we cannot find a similar mutually beneficial relationship between the imams of these three Sunni schools of law and political authorities, as one that exists with the Mālikī imams. In sources, there is no evidence for why the Meccan amīr interfered in choosing the Mālikī imam. However, the case of Shāh al-Dīn Ahmad al-Nuwayrī (C6), a Mālikī imam described above, may provide a clue:

In the beginning of the second half of al-Muḥarram 820/February 1417, Shāh al-Dīn Ahmad al-Nuwayrī was given a diploma of appointment to the Mālikī judgeship of Mecca, instead of me [the author of Al-‘iqd, Taqi al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Fāsī]. However, he was not able to carry out the job [of the judgeship]. He hid, fearing the aforementioned Meccan amīr (Ḥasan b. ‘Aǧlān). This is because he did not negotiate well for the Meccan amīr at the amīr of the caravan of Takrūr (li-kawnihī lam yatawas-saṭ la-hu bi-ḥayr ‘inda amīr al-rakb al-Takrūrī), who had much money for alms (ṣadaqa) in 819/1417. (…) He continued to hide [from the Meccan amīr and was not able to carry out the job of the judgeship]. This pleased the Meccan amīr.49

Şihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (C6) had trouble with the Meccan Amir over the Amir of the Takrūr caravan in 819/1417, before his appointment as judge. Another description says that in ġumādā 820/June 1417, when he was reappointed to the Mālikī imamate after a few months of resignation, he was not able to carry out the job of the imamate because he hid in Mecca for fear of the Meccan Amir.59 No exact date is given and while we know he resigned from the Mālikī imamate in Dū al-Ḥiǧgā 819/January 1417, we cannot know whether he was the Mālikī imam at the time. However, he was the Imam for 20 years, and had relations with pilgrims from Takrūr as we have seen in the previous chapter. The Amir of the caravan possessed excess money for donation, and the Meccan Amir tried to gain it from him through negotiation of the Mālikī imam. In this period, the Meccan Amir Hasan b. ‘Āglān extorted money from merchants.9 He also demanded money when hostile forces surrendered to him when conquering political factions in Hiğāz.92 Donation might be another way to gain assets in order to be a powerful Amir.

Thus, the imams were expected to stand in the middle of the Meccan Amir and pilgrims from West Africa, and help the Meccan Amir gain donation from the Amir of the pilgrimage caravan. For the Meccan Amir, who became the Mālikī imam mattered. We can assume that the Meccan Amir’s interference in choosing Mālikī imams at the end of the 8th/14th century might be the case.53 This interference had a permanent effect on the inheritance of the imamate within a particular family and is only seen in the Mālikī imams.

V. Conclusion

In the 8th/14th century, two scholarly families served as Mālikī imams: the Qaṣṭallānīs and the Nuwayris. Evidence shows that each had a strong, mutually beneficial relationship with Takrūr pilgrims; the Mālikī imams were respected among pilgrims and received donations, while pilgrims enhanced their religious reputation by associating with the imams.

However, at the end of the 8th/14th century, the Meccan Amir and the Mamluks began to interfere in the choice of Mālikī imams. For the Meccan Amir, the Mālikī imam was expected to negotiate for him with the Amir of the pilgrimage caravan from West Africa in order to gain donations. This was probably the reason behind the Meccan Amir’s interference at the end of the 8th/14th century. We deduce that the mutually beneficial relationship between the Mālikī imams and Takrūr pilgrims influenced the relationship between the Mālikī imam and the Meccan Amir.

57 J.L. Meloy, Imperial Power and Maritime Trade, pp. 85–94.
53 The Mamluks also interfered in choosing the imams in 819/1417. Although the sources do not say why, it may be for similar reasons (al-Fāṣi, Al-ʿiqd, vol. 3, p. 99).
This study shows us the ties between local Meccan scholars and pilgrims from other parts of the Muslim world, and how they influenced local Meccan affairs; the Mālikī imam was expected to stand in the middle of the Meccan amīr and the amīr of the pilgrimage caravan from West Africa in order to help the Meccan amīr obtain donations. Focusing on this relationship between Meccan scholars and pilgrims from distant regions provides a new perspective on how pilgrimage influenced the local affairs of the holy city. Although previous studies tend to focus on neighboring dynasties including the Mamluks, the Rasulids, and the Ilkhanids, and ignore the impact of people from other regions with no direct political influence on Mecca, such influence cannot be overlooked.