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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 malikites de la Mosquée sacrée, vénérés entre tous les résidents mecquois par les pèlerins de Takrūr. À partir de relations de voyage et de dictionnaires biographiques, nous analysons les relations entre les imams malikites et les pèlerins d'Afrique de l'Ouest, puis l'impact qu'ont eu ces relations sur les affaires mecquoises. Il ressort finalement que : (1) les imams malékites et les pèlerins de Takrūr ont eu des relations mutuelles fructueuses à partir du viii<sup>e</sup>/xiv<sup>e</sup> 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 ix<sup>e</sup>/xv<sup>e</sup> 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 mecquois dans le choix des imams malékites à la fin du xiv<sup>e</sup> 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 mecquoises.

## خلاصة

ركزت هذه المقالة على الأئمة المالكية في المسجد الحرام في مكة الذين كانوا يحضون باحترام وتقدير الحجاج القادمين من تكرور ويعتقدون فضلهم على غيرهم من سكان مكة. اعتمدت المقالة على كتب الرحلات والتراجم والطبقات لعرض وفهم العلاقة بين أئمة الحرم المكي من المالكية وبين الحجاج من تكرور وغرب إفريقيا ومدى تأثير هذه العلاقة على شؤون

<sup>1</sup> This study is based on a part of a master thesis submitted to Kyoto University in 2016.

مكة. اكتشفت هذه المقالة أنه (1) كان بين الأئمة المالكية وبين الحجاج التكروريين علاقة مصالح متبادلة منذ القرن الثامن الهجري (القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي)؛ (2) حصل الأئمة المالكية على الصدقات والهبات المالية من الحجاج، كما حصل الحجاج على تعزيز سمعتهم ومكانتهم الدينية؛ (3) في بداية القرن التاسع الهجري (القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي) كان من المتوقع أن يتوسط الأئمة المالكية لدى أمير القافلة التكروري في حصول أمير مكة على الهبات والصدقات منهم. وربما شكّلت هذه العلاقة خلفية للتدخل في اختيار وتعيين الأئمة المالكية من قبل أمير مكة في نهاية القرن الثامن الهجري (القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي). ونستنتج من ذلك أن علاقات المصالح المتبادلة بين الأئمة المالكية والحجاج التكروريين أثرت على العلاقة بين الأئمة المالكية وأمير مكة. وهذه المقالة تقدم وجهة نظر جديدة حول كيفية تأثير الحجاج من المناطق البعيدة نسبياً على شؤون مكة المحلية.

## Keywords

Mecca, Mālikī imams, Sacred Mosque, pilgrimage, West Africa, Mali, Takrūr, Meccan *amīrs*, Mamluks, *‘ulamā’*, genealogy, Qaṣṭallānī family, Nuwayrī family, al-Fāsī, 8th/14th century, 9th/15th century, Hiḡāz

## Mots-clés

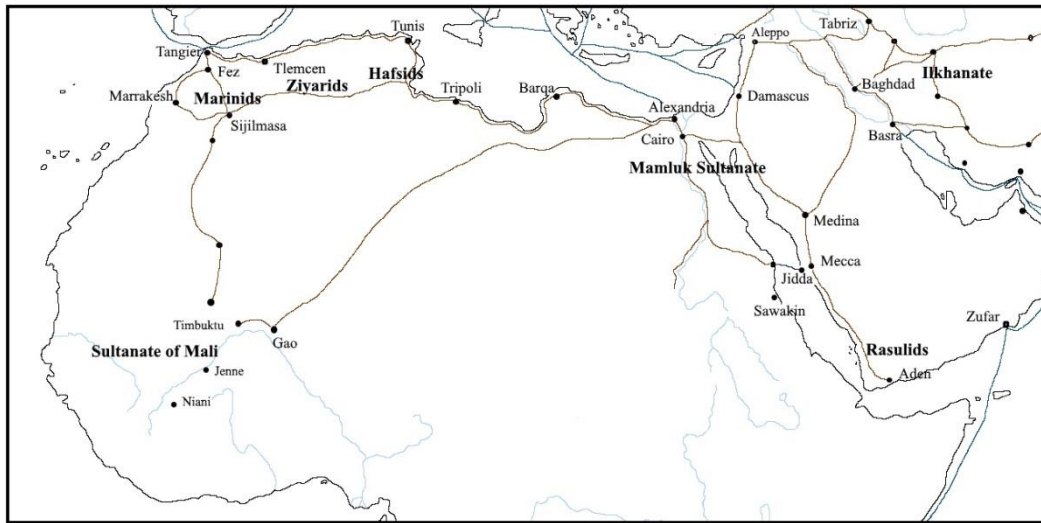
La Mecque, imams malekites, Mosquée sacrée, pèlerinage, Afrique de l'Ouest, Mali, Takrūr, émirs mecquois, Mamlouks, *‘ulamā’*, généalogie, famille Qaṣṭallānī, famille Nuwayrī, al-Fāsī, viii<sup>e</sup>/xiv<sup>e</sup> s., ix<sup>e</sup>/xv<sup>e</sup> s., Hiḡāz

## كلمات رئيسية

مكة، إئمة المالكية، المسجد الحرام، الحج، غرب أفريقيا، مالي، التكرور، أمراء مكة، الدولة المملوكية، علماء، أنساب، القسطلانيون، النويريون، الفاسي، القرن الثامن الهجري (القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي)، القرن التاسع الهجري (القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي)، الحجاز

## 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.



Map 1: the Muslim world ca. 700/1300 (based on Hugh Kennedy (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2002, p. 11).

Previous studies on Meccan history around the 8th/14th century can be divided into two groups: those that focus on Meccan *amīrs* 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.<sup>2</sup> However, as John Lash Meloy points out, his work has a “Cairo-centered view.”<sup>3</sup> Meloy’s studies of 9th/15th-century Mecca indicate that the sovereignty of the Mamluks was more limited than Mortel suggests, and that Meccan *amīrs* enjoyed autonomy as mediators between the Mamluks and other local parties.<sup>4</sup> Keiko Ota agrees with this theory and emphasizes the *amīrs*’ autonomy, analyzing their diplomatic relationships in the Bahri Mamluk period.<sup>5</sup> However, while these studies demonstrate that powerful neighboring dynasties including the Mamluks, Rasulids, and Ilkhanate were in conflict over symbolic hegemony in the holy city,<sup>6</sup> they do not

<sup>2</sup> Richard T. Mortel, *Al-aḥwāl al-siyāsiyya wa-al-iqtisādiyya bi-Makka fī al-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, Riyadh, Ġāmi‘at al-Malik Sa‘ūd, 1985.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> J.L. Meloy, *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade*.

<sup>5</sup> Keiko Ota, “The Meccan Sharifate and its Diplomatic Relations in the Bahri Mamluk Period,” *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 17/1, 2002, pp. 1–20.

<sup>6</sup> Éric Vallet’s detailed study explores the mercantile relationship between the Rasulids and Mecca, and the patronage of the Rasulids in Mecca. His work on Meccan *fitnas* provides essential information on various conflicts in Mecca (cf. Éric Vallet, *L’Arabie marchande : État et commerce sous les sultans rasûlides du Yémen (626–858/1229–1454)*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2010, pp. 425–469; É. Vallet, “Panique à La Mecque : Écrire la *fitna* au temps des chérifs hasanides (début IX<sup>e</sup>/XV<sup>e</sup> siècle),” in: Emmanuelle Tixier du Mesnil & Gilles Lecuppre (eds.), *Désordres créateurs: L’invention politique à la faveur des troubles*, Paris, Kimé, 2014, pp. 215–243). For information on conflicts in Mecca between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids, see Charles Melville, “The Year of the Elephant: Mamluk-Mongol Rivalry in the Hejaz in the Reign of Abū Sa‘īd (1317–1335),” *Studia Iranica* 21/2, 1992, pp. 197–214.

explore the relationship between Meccan residents and those of relatively distant regions, including West Africa, or Takrūr, as the region was known during the Mamluk period. According to Hadrien Collet, eastern Arabic historians used the name “Takrūr” 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, “Takrūr” referred to the Sultanate of Mali.<sup>7</sup> Nehemia Levtzion shows that every year a pilgrimage caravan from Takrūr joined the Egyptian caravan in Cairo. Records indicate that the number of pilgrims from Takrūr reached about 5,000 in 744/1344.<sup>8</sup>

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 Šāfi‘ī school of law.<sup>9</sup> However, as far as we know, no studies have inclusively analyzed Mālikī scholarly families. Second, several studies analyze or mention the roles and lives of intellectual elites.<sup>10</sup> How-

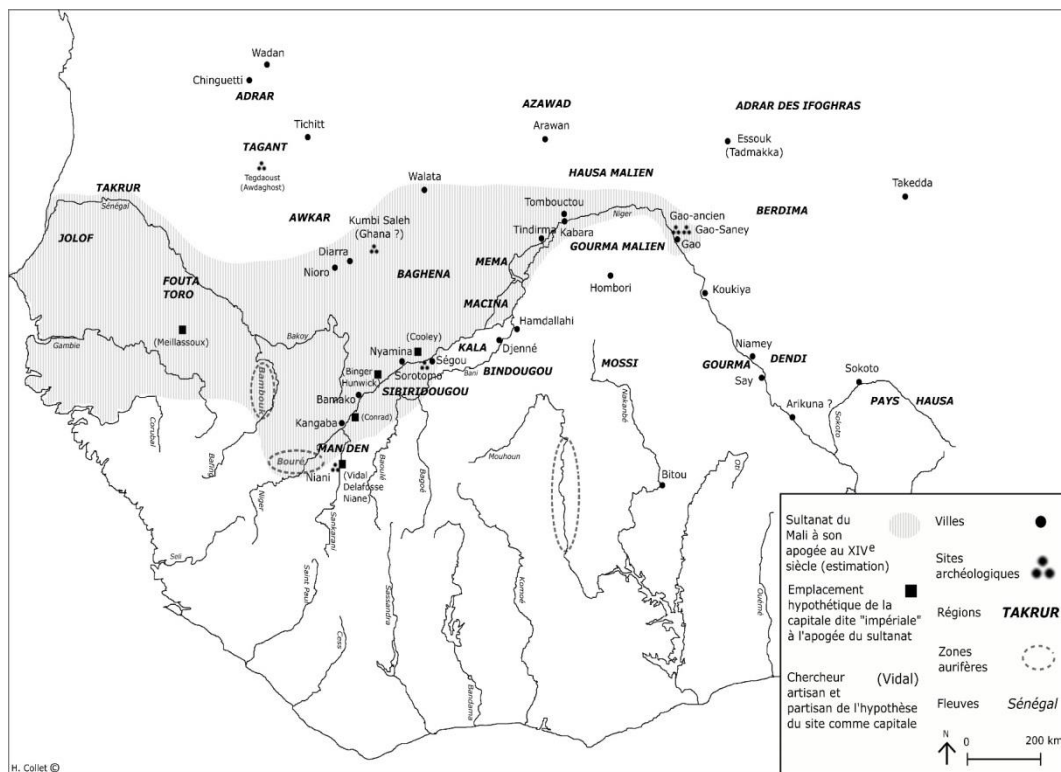
<sup>7</sup> Collet also indicates that since the Sultanate of Mali declined from 1430, the word “Takrūr” was sometimes used for the Sultanate of Borno (Hadrien Collet, “Le sultanat du Mali (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) : Historiographies d’un État soudanien, de l’Islam médiéval à aujourd’hui,”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

<sup>8</sup> Nehemia Levtzion, “Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr (West Africa),” in: Moshe Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986, pp. 183–208, p. 185, 190; David Courtney Conrad, *Empires of Medieval West Africa: Ghana, Mali, and Songhay*, New York, Chelsea House, 2010, p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> For specific studies on the Ṭabarī family, see Frédéric Bauden, “Les Ṭabariyya : Histoire d’une importante famille de La Mecque (fin XII<sup>e</sup>–fin XV<sup>e</sup> s.),” in: Urbain Vermeulen & Daniel De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras. Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd International Colloquium organized at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, May 1992, 1993 and 1994*, Leuven, Uitgeverij Peeters, 1995, pp. 253–266; Sulaymān ‘Abd al-Ġanī Mālikī, *Al-Ṭabariyyūn: Mu’arriḥū Makka al-mukarrama: Našā’atūm al-‘ilmīyya wa-waḥā’iḥum fī al-Ḥaram ḥilāla al-qarn al-tāmin al-ḥiḡrī*, al-Ṭā’if, Nādī al-Ṭā’if al-adabī, 2005. For more information on Banū Fahd, see Nāṣir ibn Sa’d al-Rašīd, “Banū Fahd: Mu’arriḥū Makka al-mukarrama, wa-al-ta’rif bi-maḥtūṭ al-Naḡm ibn Fahd *Iḥāf al-warā bi-aḥbār Umm al-Qurā*,” in: Abdelgadir Mahmoud Abdalla, Sami al-Sakkar & R. T. Mortel (eds.), *Sources for the History of Arabia/Dirāsāt tāriḡ al-Ġazīra al-‘Arabiyya*, Riyadh, Riyadh University Press, 1979, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 69–90.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Abd al-Maḡīd’s work describes 11 religious offices in Mecca including judges, preachers, and imams. Although his work is useful to know the outline, we should analyze further (Laylā Amīn ‘Abd al-Maḡīd, *Al-tanzīmāt al-idāriyya wa-al-māliyya fī Makka al-mukarrama fī al-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, 667–923 H/1268–1517 M, Riyadh, Mu’assasat al-Furqān li-al-turāt al-islāmī, 2010, pp. 189–298). Meloy’s forthcoming work will be a big step towards addressing the lack of studies on Meccan judges. His article argues Meccan judges as agents of the Mamluk hegemony. Here I show my sincere gratitude to Professor Meloy for sending me the draft of his article (J.L. Meloy, “The Judges of Mecca and Mamluk Hegemony,” in: Jo Van Steenberghe (ed.), *Whither the Early Modern State? Fifteenth-Century State Formations across Eurasia*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, forthcoming in 2018). Al-Ṭāsān’s work explores the role of the religious offices in the Sacred Mosque, including imams and preachers (Muḥammad Šāliḡ al-Ṭāsān, “Al-waḥā’if al-dīniyya wa-al-idāriyya bi-al-Masḡid al-Ḥarām fī ‘aḥd dawlat al-Mamālīk,” *Al-‘uṣūr* 5/2, 1990, pp. 283–310). Badrašinī’s work on the *waqf* for *Ḥaramayn* during the Mamluk period mentions religious elites such as judges, preachers, prayer leaders, and so on (Aḡmad Hāšim Aḡmad Badrašinī, *Awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-ṣarīfayn fī al-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī: Dirāsa tāriḡiyya waṭā’iqiyya ḥadāriyya*, Medina, Markaz buḡūṭ wa-dirāsāt al-Madīna al-munawwara, 2005, pp. 268–295). Al-Sulaymān’s research also refers to the judges of Mecca. However, it has many mistakes (‘Alī Ḥusayn al-Sulaymān, *Al-‘alāqāt al-ḥiḡāziyya al-miṣriyya zaman salāṭin al-Mamālīk*, Cairo, Al-Šarīka al-muttaḡida li-al-naṣr wa-al-tawzī, 1973, pp. 141–150). Christopher D. Bahl’s recent work on South Asian migrants explores the example of a scholar who

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 Šāfiʿī judgeship, and Šāfiʿī judges sometimes worked as preachers.<sup>11</sup> No judgeship except for deputy positions<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, prayer leaders of the Sacred Mosque seemed to be representatives of each school of law. However, previous studies tend to focus on Šāfiʿī 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).



Map 2: The Sultanate of Mali (H. Collet, “Le sultanat du Mali (XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle),” p. 25).

became a Ḥanafi 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. 234–275).

<sup>11</sup> Al-Ṭāsān, “Al-waṣāʾif al-diniyya wa-al-idāriyya,” p. 287.

<sup>12</sup> Some of the imams of the other Sunni schools of law worked as deputy judges. For example, see Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Makkī al-Fāsi, *Al-ʿiqd al-ṭamin fi tariḥ al-balad al-amin*, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Fuʿād Sayyid & Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī (eds.), Cairo, Maṭbaʿat al-sunna al-muḥammadiyya, 1959–1969; reprint, Beirut, Muʿassasat al-risāla, 8 vols., 1985–1986, vol. 6, p. 132. Further studies are needed.

<sup>13</sup> The Mamluks established the Ḥanafi judgeship in 806/1403, the Mālikī judgeship in 807/1405, and Ḥanbali judgeship in 809/1406 (A.H.A. Badraṣīmī, *Awqāf al-ḥaramayn*, p. 270). The first Mālikī judge was Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsi, the author of *Al-ʿiqd* (al-Fāsi, *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.<sup>14</sup> They have found that some medieval scholars from West Africa studied in Cairo with other prominent scholars on the way to pilgrimage in Mecca.<sup>15</sup> 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 Ḡubayr (d. 614/1217) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368–1369) contain valuable relevant descriptions.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, *Al-ʿiqd al-tamīn* is a biographical dictionary written in the 9th/15th century by a Mālikī jurist, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429).<sup>17</sup> 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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<sup>14</sup> For example, see N. Levtzion, "Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr." Warren Schultz's study analyzed the impact of Mansā Mūsā's gold in Mamluk Cairo from a numismatic point of view (Warren Schultz, "Mansā Mūsā's Gold in Mamluk Cairo: A Reappraisal of a World Civilizations Anecdote," in: Judith Pfeiffer & Sholeh Alysia Quinn (eds.), *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 2006, pp. 428–447). Collet analyzes descriptions of Mansā Mūsā's pilgrimage in Mamluk sources (H. Collet, "Le sultanat du Mali (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)," 2017). Rémi Dewièrè explores pilgrimage routes from Chad to Mecca in the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th century. He also shows roles of pilgrimage in legitimizing authority of the Sultanate of Borno (Rémi Dewièrè, *Du lac Tchad à la Mecque: Le sultanat du Borno (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017).

<sup>15</sup> N. Levtzion, "Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr," pp. 198–207. Elizabeth M. Sartain's study analyzes the relationship between Takrūr scholars and Ḡalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (Elizabeth M. Sartain, "Ḡalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's Relations with the People of Takrūr," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16/2, 1971, pp. 193–198). For more information on West African history, see John Spencer Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1962.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa al-musammāt Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fi ḡarāʾib al-amṣār wa-ʿaḡāʾib al-asfār*, ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī (ed.), Rabat, Akādīmiyya al-Mamlaka al-maḡribiyya, 5 vols., 1997; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ibn Ḡubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. revised by Michaël Jan de Goeje, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1907.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-ʿiqd*.



885/1480)<sup>18</sup> and those by Egyptian scholars, including Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) and al-Saḡāwī (d. 902/1497).<sup>19</sup>

## 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 Zaydī schools of law in general.<sup>20</sup> In biographical dictionaries, imams for the Mālikī school of law are called *imām al-maqām al-mālikīyya bi-al-Ḥaram al-Šarīf*. 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.<sup>21</sup> In addition, as we mentioned earlier, the imams represented their school of law not just to inhabitants but also to pilgrims and *muḡāwirs*,<sup>22</sup> 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 imamates. For example, two prominent families—the Qaṣṭallānīs and the Nuwayrīs—held the Mālikī imamate.

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

Term of office ( <i>hiḡrī/milādī</i> )		Name	Source
?–644	?–1246	Al-Taḡī ‘Umar b. Muḡammad al-Qaṣṭallānī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 6, pp. 358–360; <i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 8, p. 29
644–663	1246–1265	Al-Ḍiyā’ Muḡammad b. ‘Umar al-Qaṣṭallānī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 2, pp. 230–236
663–671	1265–1272	Al-Šihāb Aḡmad b. Muḡammad al-Qaṣṭallānī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 3, pp. 158–159

<sup>18</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḡammad b. Fahd, *Al-durr al-kamīn bi-dayl al-‘iqd al-tamīn fi tārikh al-balad al-amīn*, ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Duhayš (ed.), Beirut, Dār Ḥiḡr, 3 vols., 2000.

<sup>19</sup> Aḡmad b. ‘Alī ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mī’a al-tāmīna*, Muḡammad Sayyid Ġād al-Ḥaqq (ed. & ann.), Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-ḡadīṭa, 5 vols., 1966–1968; Muḡammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḡmān al-Saḡāwī, *Al-ḡaw’ al-lāmī’ li-aḡl al-qarn al-tāsī’*, Cairo, Maktabat al-Quds, 12 vols., 1934–1936.

<sup>20</sup> Both Ibn Ġubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mention the order of prayer at the Sacred Mosque in their travel books. First, the Šāfi’ī imam prayed, followed by the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī imams, and finally, the Ḥanafī imam (Ibn Ġubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 102; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḡlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 397–398). Meanwhile, the Mamluks tried to remove the Zaydī imams from the Sacred Mosque several times (R.T. Mortel, “Zaydī Shi’ism and the Ḥasanid Sharifs of Mecca,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, 1987, pp. 455–472).

<sup>21</sup> For more information on roles of the imams in the Sacred Mosque, see ‘Abd al-Maḡīd, *Al-tanzīmāt al-idārīyya*, pp. 229–242; al-Ṭāsān, “Al-waḡā’if al-dīniyya wa-al-idārīyya,” pp. 289–295. For more information on the imams in Mamluk Cairo, see Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 258–260.

<sup>22</sup> This term indicates a person who stays in a holy place, such as Mecca, in order to live a religious life (Werner Ende, “Muḡjāwir,” *EF*).

671–712	1272–1312	Al-Bahā' 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 5, pp. 405–406
713–760	1313–1359	Ḥalīl Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaṣṭallānī	<i>Al-durar</i> , vol. 4, p. 126; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 4, pp. 324–328
760–765	1359–1364	'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣṭallānī	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 6, p. 310
765–799	1364–March 1397	Al-Nūr 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī	<i>Al-durar</i> , vol. 3, p. 85; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 6, pp. 132–134
Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 799–799	March 1397–1397	Al-Bahā' 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (1)	<i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 4, p. 94; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 5, pp. 390–391
Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 799–799	March 1397–1397	Al-Šihāb Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (1)	<i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 2, p. 8; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 3, pp. 98–99
799–Šawwāl, 799	1397–July 1397	Abū al-Ḥayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḍahīra	<i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 9, p. 78; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 3, pp. 286–287
Šawwāl, 799–806	July 1397–1403	Al-Bahā' 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (2)	
Šawwāl, 799–Dū al-Ḥiġġa, 819	July 1397–February 1417	Al-Šihāb Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (2)	
806–Dū al-Ḥiġġa, 819	1403–February 1417	Al-Walī Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (1)	<i>Al-durr</i> , vol. 1, pp. 203–207; <i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 8, p. 162
Dū al-Ḥiġġa, 819–Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 820	February 1417–June 1417	Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī	<i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 9, pp. 104–105; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 2, pp. 312–313
Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 820–827	June 1417–1424	Al-Šihāb Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (3)	
Ġumādā al-Ūlā, 820–836	June 1417–1432	Al-Walī Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (2)	

\* 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 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Qaṣṭallānī (A<sub>1</sub>),<sup>23</sup> the founder of the Qaṣṭallānī 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, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (B<sub>1</sub>) tells us that he was born in Tozeur, Tuni-

<sup>23</sup> 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 Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (B1) inherited the office. He taught *ḥadīṭ* in the *madrasa Maṣṣūriyya*,<sup>24</sup> which was built in Mecca by the Rasulid Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Umar.<sup>25</sup> 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 Šāfi‘ī judge of Mecca, Naḡm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī. Ḥalīl Muḥammad (D2) learned Šāfi‘ī 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.<sup>26</sup> He evidently did not have a long-lived son, and his nephew ‘Umar (E2) inherited the job.<sup>27</sup>

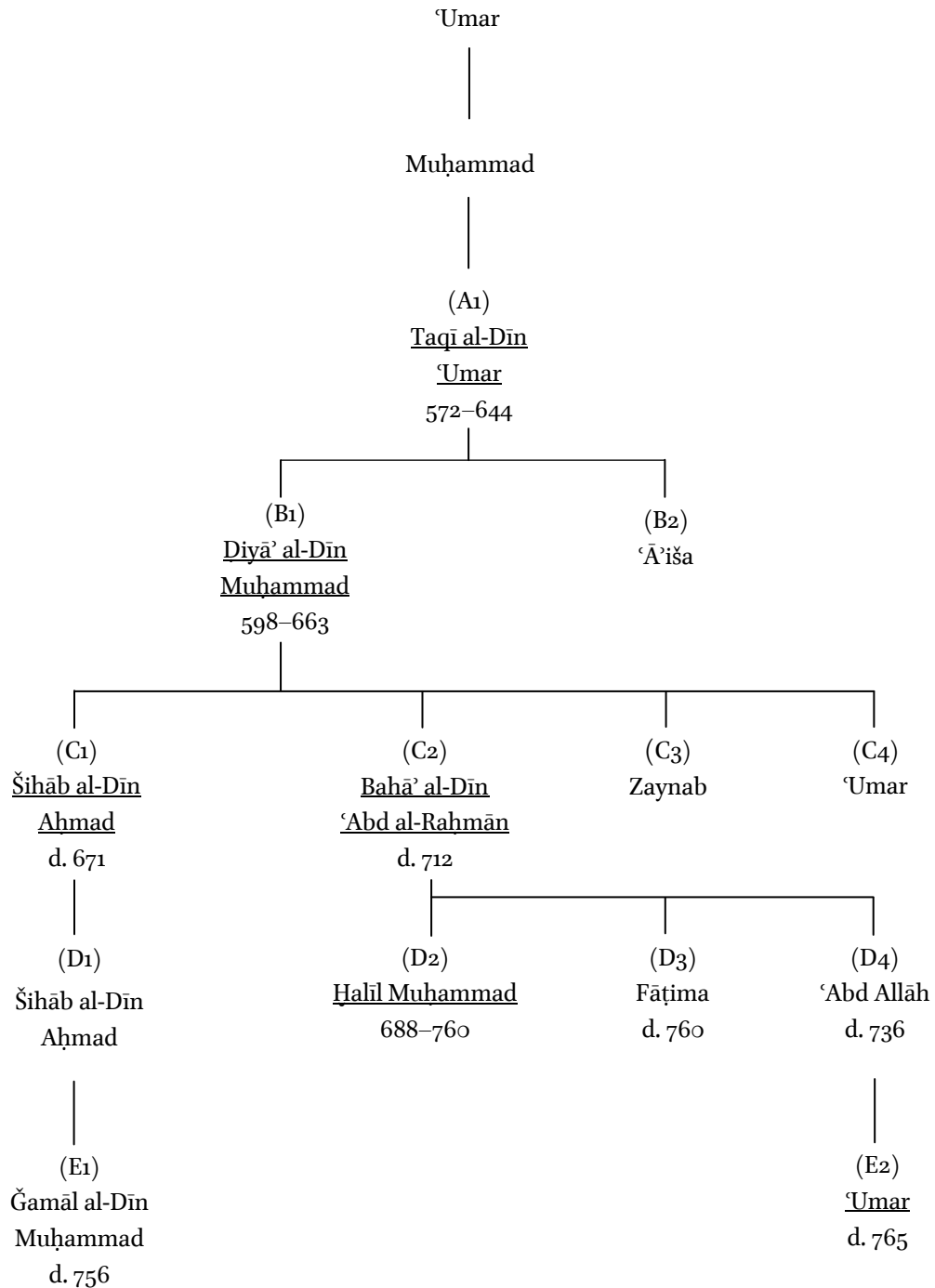
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<sup>24</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 2, p. 231.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Umar built his *madrasa* in 641/1243–1244 near the Sacred Mosque. Šāfi‘ī law and *ḥadīṭ* 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.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 4, pp. 324–325, 328.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 6, p. 310.

Table 2: The Qaṣṭallānī family<sup>28</sup><sup>28</sup> Underlined names indicate Mālikī imams (Table 2, and 3).

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 ‘Alī 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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 Šāfi‘ī judge Nağm 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 ‘Alī (B3) were brought up by their maternal uncle, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī.<sup>31</sup> The family eventually divided into two branches: the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (B2) adhered to the Šāfi‘ī school of law and became judges and preachers,<sup>32</sup> while the descendants of Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī (B3) held the Mālikī imamate.

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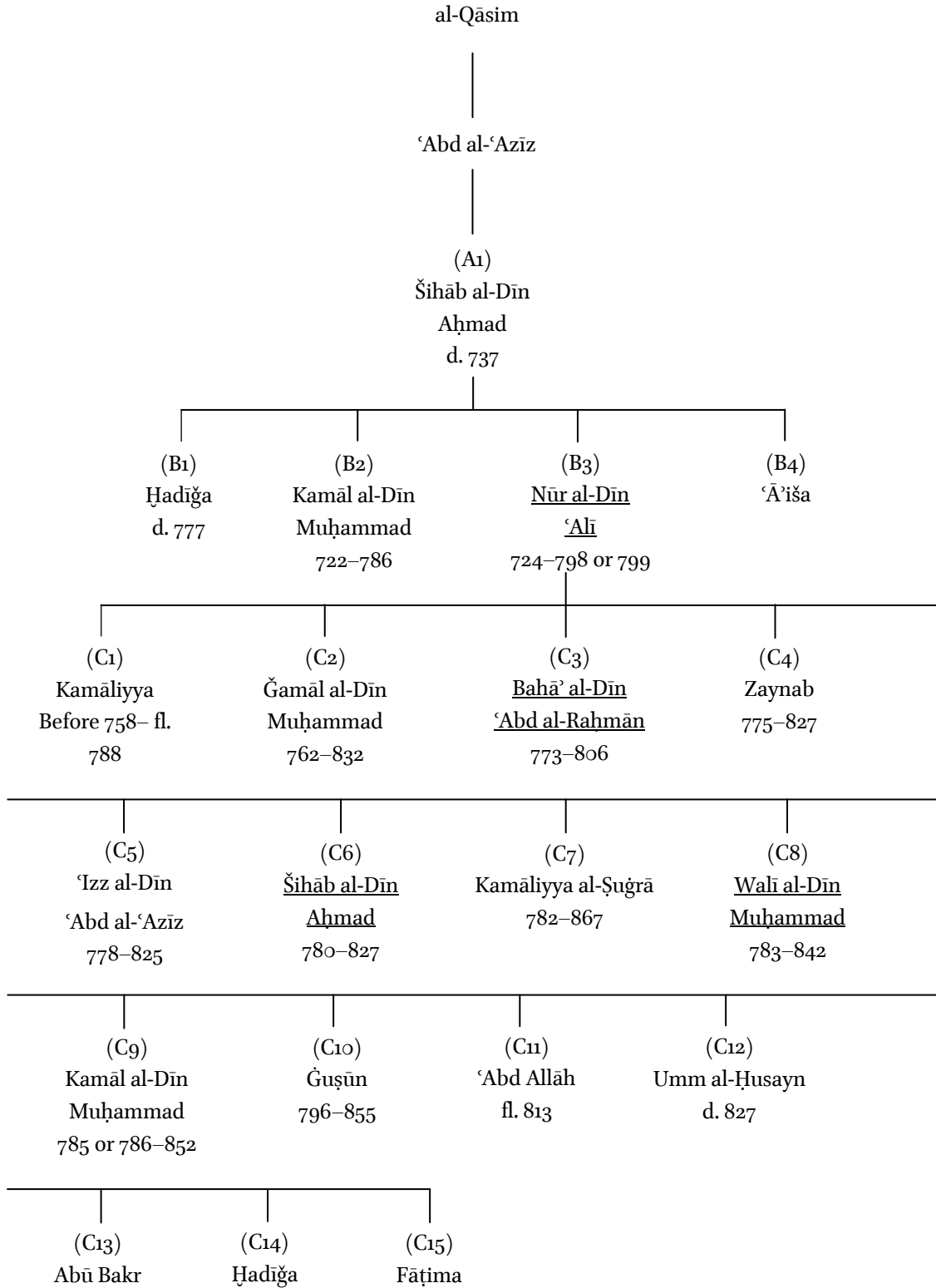
<sup>29</sup> F. Bauden, “Les Ṭabariyya,” p. 263.

<sup>30</sup> 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-‘Aqīlī 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-daw’*, vol. 7, p. 291).

<sup>31</sup> Al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-durar*, vol. 1, pp. 184–185.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Sulaymān, *Al-‘alāqāt*, 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 Nuwayrī family



These two families inherited the Mālikī 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 Mālikī imams and pilgrims from Takrūr

In this section, we analyze the relationship between the Mālikī imams and West African pilgrims. Travel accounts and biographical dictionaries offer some descriptions of the virtues of the Mālikī imams. Authors from Mağrib and Andalus, adherents of the Mālikī school of law, are especially apt to note their Meccan imams.<sup>33</sup> For example, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes Mālikī imams in his travel book, mentioning Ḥalīl Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī (D2), the Mālikī 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.<sup>34</sup>

Al-Fāsī's description of Ḥalīl 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 Mālikī imam as completion of their pilgrimage (*ḥaǧǧ*). They used to bring him many donations (*futūḥāt*).<sup>35</sup>

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

When the time of the *naḡr* (departure from Mina) came, the Mālikī 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.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> It is especially worth mentioning Hikoichi Yajima's studies of relevant travel books. He translated Ibn Baṭṭūṭa'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-Riḥlāt*," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 25, 1983, 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. 50–62.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, p. 388.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-'iqd*, vol. 4, p. 325.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Ğubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 175. We can find almost the same descriptions in the travel book of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, p. 409).

Thus, the imam indicated the start of *naḡr*. 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 Ḥalīl 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 Ṣayḥ Ḥalīl 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 Maḡrib and Takrūr. Most were from Takrūr. Nūr al-Dīn gained [annually] about 1,000 *mitqāls* of gold from the sultan of Takrūr in most of the years, apart from what he gained from the *ṣayḥ* 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.<sup>37</sup>

It is interesting that Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Nuwayrī (B3) acquired about 1,000 *mitqāls* of gold both from the Sultan and people in the caravan. He gained about 2,000 *mitqāls* 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-Malik al-Aṣraf II to the contemporary Ṣāfi‘ī judge and preacher of Mecca, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī. For some years, the Rasulid Sultan sent the judge 27,000 dirhams annually.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, as far as we know, there is no description indicating the exchange rates between gold *mitqāls* and dirhams in Mecca in the latter half of the 8th/14th century.<sup>39</sup> However, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s report in the first half of the 8th/14th century indicates that the exchange rate between gold *mitqāls* and *dirham nuqra* fell to 1:18 due to many donations of gold coins by the Ilkhanid Sultan Abū Sa‘īd.<sup>40</sup> Considering that the exchange rate in Cairo in the Bahri Mamluk period was

<sup>37</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 6, p. 133.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 1, p. 302. As Mortel shows, in the 8th/14th century, two kinds of dirhams circulated in Mecca: Kāmili and Mas‘ūdi. The Kāmili dirham was originally minted in Cairo by the order of the Ayyubid Sultan, al-Malik al-Kāmil in 622/1225 (R.T. Mortel, “Prices in Mecca during the Mamlūk Period,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 32, 1989, pp. 279–334, p. 300). In Mecca, in the 8th/14th century, “Kāmili” indicates the Mamluk dirhams, designated “*nuqra*” in the Mamluk sources (J.L. Meloy, “Money and Sovereignty in Mecca: Issues of the Sharifs in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53, 2010, pp. 712–738, p. 721; É. Vallet, *L’Arabie marchande*, pp. 231–232). Based on Mortel’s detailed work, we can assume the dirham in the above-mentioned description in the 8th/14th century refers to Kāmili dirhams (R.T. Mortel, “Prices in Mecca during the Mamlūk Period”). Meloy’s study supports this hypothesis, showing that the Kāmili is not mentioned in Meccan textual sources in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries while the Mas‘ūdi is mentioned in the 9th/15th century (J.L. Meloy, “Money and Sovereignty in Mecca,” pp. 721–722).

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 410–411.



relatively constant around 1:20<sup>41</sup>, 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.<sup>42</sup> The Mālikī Imam held the imamate from 765/1364 to 799/1397, while the Šāfi'ī judge held office from 763/1362 to 786/1384.<sup>43</sup> 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 Šāfi'ī 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 *amīrs* 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 'Alī al-Nuwayrī (B3), these groups did interfere. The descriptions of his son, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (C6), gives us a brief overview:

When his father (Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Nuwayrī) died in Ğumādā II 799/March 1397, his paternal uncle, the judge of Mecca, Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. *al-qādī* Abī al-Faḍl al-Nuwayrī established him and his brother, Bahā' al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, as the Mālikī

<sup>41</sup> W. Schultz, "Medieval Coins and Monies of Account: The Case of Large-Flan Mamluk dinars," *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* 12/2, 2000, pp. 29–33.

<sup>42</sup> Schultz' work on the Mamluk dinars indicates that the exchange rate between gold and silver coins was 1:20 in 694/1294–1295, 741/1340–1341, and 788/1386–1387 (W. Schultz, "Medieval Coins and Monies of Account," pp. 29–33). P. Balog finds the same rates in 745/1344–1345, 746/1346–1347, 751/1350–1351 to 753/1352–1353, 757/1356–1357 to 760/1358–1359, and 761/1359–1360. Moreover, he indicates that in 770/1368–1369 and 781/1379–1380, the exchange rate fell to 1:30 (Paul Balog, "History of the Dirhem in Egypt from the Fātimid Conquest until the Collapse of the Mamlūk Empire, 358–922 H./ 968–1517 A.D.," *Revue numismatique* (6th ser.) 3, 1961, pp. 109–146, p. 134).

<sup>43</sup> Al-Fāsi, *Al-'iqd*, vol. 1, pp. 301–302, p. 305.

imams, instead of their father. However, the *amīr* of Mecca, Šarīf Ḥasan b. ‘Aġlān opposed this choice, and appointed a jurist, Quṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥayr b. *al-qāḍī* Abī al-Su‘ūd b. Zāhira, to the Mālikī imamate. Thus, Abū al-Ḥayr held the position until the end of Šawwāl/August 1397. At that time, the abovementioned Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī assumed the imamate, due to a diploma of appointment (*tawqī‘*) that arrived from al-Malik al-Zāhir [Barqūq] of Egypt, requiring him and his brother Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to be established as the Mālikī imams.<sup>44</sup>

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 Zāhira, 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. Ḥasan b. ‘Aġlān was a powerful *amīr* at the end of the 8th/14th century and was nominated as the deputy of the Mamluk Sultan (*nā‘ib al-salṭana*) in Hiġāz in 811/1408.<sup>45</sup> He also attempted to marry into the Fāsī family in order to extend his power.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup>

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 Šāfi‘ī imams continued to be from the Ṭabarī family. Abū al-Yumn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī and Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī held the Šāfi‘ī 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-Yumn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī for some years.<sup>48</sup>

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

<sup>44</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 3, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> J.L. Meloy, *Imperial Power*, p. 94, 102; K. Ota, “The Meccan Sharifate,” p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> He got married to Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī’s sister, Umm Hāni’ (al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, 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 Ḥāmid al-Fāsī (al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 8, p. 313). The reason why he was married to women from the Fāsī family could be that this family is ḥasanid *šarīf*.

<sup>47</sup> J.L. Meloy discusses this in his forthcoming article (J.L. Meloy, “The Judges of Mecca and Mamluk Hegemony”).

<sup>48</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 2, p. 268.

Table 4: Šāfi'ī imams (before 681/1282 to 813/1410)

Term of office ( <i>hiğrī/milādi</i> )		Name	Source
Before 681–722?	Before 1282–1322?	Al-Rađi Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-durar</i> , vol. 1, p. 56; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 3, pp. 240–247; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 8, pp. 117–118
722?–750	1322?–1349	Al-Šihāb Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 3, pp. 9–10
750–?	1349–?	Al-Rađi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 1, p. 280
?–795	?–1393	Al-Muḥibb Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-durar</i> , vol. 3, p. 394; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 1, pp. 280–282
795–809	1393–1406	Abū al-Yumn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 6, pp. 287–288; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 1, pp. 282–285
795–822	1393–1419	Al-Rađi Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-daw'</i> , vol. 9, p. 2; <i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 2, pp. 267–269
809–813	1406–1410	Abū al-Ḥayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 8, p. 41

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

Term of office ( <i>hiğrī/milādi</i> )		Name	Source
Before 659?–after 675?	Before 1260?–after 1276?	Al-Tāğ 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Siğzi	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 6, pp. 277–278
After 675?–690s?	1276?–1290s?	'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Siğzi	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 5, pp. 214–215
690s?–before 710?	1290s?–before 1310?	Al-Badr al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Siğzi	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 4, p. 166
Before 710?–?	Before 1310?–?	Al-Šihāb Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Siğzi	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 3, pp. 111–113
?–763?	?–1361?	Al-Tāğ 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Siğzi & Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Yūsuf al-Siğzi	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 6, p. 151
?–773	?–1371	Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Yūsuf al-Siğzi	<i>Al-'iqd</i> , vol. 8, pp. 81–82

773–779	1371–1377	Al-Sirāğ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Šaybī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 6, pp. 355–356
780–813?	1378–1410?	Al-Šams Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥuwārazmī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 2, pp. 349–352
813?–850	1410?–1446	Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥuwārazmī	<i>Al-ḡaw’</i> , vol. 2, p. 207; <i>Al-durr</i> , vol. 1, pp. 554–556

Table 6: Ḥanbalī imams (674/1275 to 853/1449?)

Term of office ( <i>hiğri/milādī</i> )		Name	Source
674–731	1275–1331	Al-Ġamāl Muḥammad b. ‘Uṭmān al-Āmidī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 2, pp. 134–136
731–759	1331–1357	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Āmidī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 2, p. 316
759–772	1357–1371	Al-Sirāğ ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī	<i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 5, p. 487
772–806	1371–1404	Al-Nūr ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Fāsī	<i>Al-ḡaw’</i> , vol. 5, p. 244; <i>Al-‘iqd</i> , vol. 6, p. 187
806–853	1404–1449?	Al-Sirāğ ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī	<i>Al-ḡaw’</i> , vol. 4, p. 333; <i>Al-durr</i> , vol. 2, pp. 897–900

As the tables show, the situation at the end of 8th/14th century was similar for both the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī 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 Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad 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, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī was given a diploma of appointment to the Mālikī judgeship of Mecca, instead of me [the author of *Al-‘iqd*, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī]. However, he was not able to carry out the job [of the judgeship]. He hid, fearing the aforementioned Meccan *amīr* (Ḥasan b. ‘Ağlān). This is because he did not negotiate well for the Meccan *amīr* at the *amīr* of the caravan of Takrūr (*li-kawnihi lam yatawas-ṣaṭ 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*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 3, p. 99.

Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (C6) had trouble with the Meccan *Amīr* over the *Amīr* 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 *Amīr*.<sup>50</sup> No exact date is given and while we know he resigned from the Mālikī imamate in Dū al-Ḥiġġa 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 *Amīr* of the caravan possessed excess money for donation, and the Meccan *Amīr* tried to gain it from him through negotiation of the Mālikī imam. In this period, the Meccan *Amīr* Ḥasan b. ‘Aġlān extorted money from merchants.<sup>51</sup> He also demanded money when hostile forces surrendered to him when conquering political factions in Ḥiġāz.<sup>52</sup> Donation might be another way to gain assets in order to be a powerful *amīr*.

Thus, the imams were expected to stand in the middle of the Meccan *amīr* and pilgrims from West Africa, and help the Meccan *amīr* gain donation from the *amīr* of the pilgrimage caravan. For the Meccan *amīr*, who became the Mālikī imam mattered. We can assume that the Meccan *amīr*'s interference in choosing Mālikī imams at the end of the 8th/14th century might be the case.<sup>53</sup> 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 Nuwayrīs. 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 *amīr* and the Mamluks began to interfere in the choice of Mālikī imams. For the Meccan *amīr*, the Mālikī imam was expected to negotiate for him with the *amīr* of the pilgrimage caravan from West Africa in order to gain donations. This was probably the reason behind the Meccan *amīr*'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 *amīr*.

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<sup>50</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, vol. 2, p. 313.

<sup>51</sup> J.L. Meloy, *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade*, pp. 102–106; R.T. Mortel, “Prices in Mecca during the Mamlūk Period,” pp. 295–296.

<sup>52</sup> J.L. Meloy, *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade*, pp. 85–94.

<sup>53</sup> 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-Fāsī, *Al-‘iqd*, 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.