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Roots of Ottoman Scholars in Mamlūk Cairo

Osmanlı Ulemasının Memlük Kahire'sindeki Kökleri

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Abstract

The eminent figures of early Ottoman scholarship, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), Molla Fenārī (d. 834/1431), Shaykh Bedreddīn (d. 823/1420), and Ḥaci Paşa (d. 827/1424), were educated in the special atmosphere of al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqāh in Cairo. This institution overwhelmingly embraced students and scholars coming from Anatolia and Persia and gave them a suitable environment to specialise in rational sciences and Sufism. The education they received from Mubārakshāh al-Manṭiqī (d. 775/1373) and Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384) determined the shaping of the early Ottoman scholarly milieu. Emphasising the special place of this institution in Mamlūk Cairo, this group is entitled in this work, *the al-Shaykhūniyya* Network, as a part of a larger scholarly atmosphere. However, *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians' exclusionary interpretation of biographical accounts of figures al-Shaykhūniyya reveals the bias against stranger scholars in Cairo. This atmosphere provided the emergence of âlim-Sufi scholar typology: Anatolian or Persian-origin, adhering to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and mostly interested in the rational sciences according to the al-Rāzī School and tasawwuf according to the İbn ʿArabī School. This typology was going to be seen in the Ottoman province, exactly, via scholars of *the al-Shaykhūniyya Network*. Discovering a special Ḥanafī milieu of Cairo gives a new approach to the two questions of how the early Ottoman scholarly milieu was based on the al-Rāzī School and why it had a wide tolerance for Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240) doctrine, unlike the dominant atmosphere in Cairo and Greater Syria at that time.

Öz

Osmanlı ilmiyesinin öncü figürleri, Seyyid Şerîf el-Cürcânî (ö. 816/1413), Molla Fenârî (ö. 834/1431), Şeyh Bedreddîn (ö. 832/1420) ve Hacı Paşa (ö. 827/1424) Kahire'deki Şeyhûniyye Medrese-hankâh'ında özel bir atmosferde eğitim gördüler. Bu kurum, çoğunlukla Anadolu ve İran'dan gelen öğrenci ve âlimleri kucakladı ve onlara akli ilimlerde ve tasavvufta uzmanlaşabilecekleri özel bir ortam sundu. Orada, Mübârekşâh el-Mantıkî (ö. 775/1373) ve Ekmeleddin el-Bâbertî'den (ö. 786/1384) aldıkları eğitim, erken dönem Osmanlı ilmî muhitinin şekillenmesini belirledi. Bu kurumun özel yerini vurgulamak için bu âlimler, bu çalışmada, daha geniş bir ilmî atmosferin parçası olarak *Şeyhûniyye* Ağı şeklinde adlandırıldı. Ancak *Şâfiʿî-muhaddis* âlim-tarihçilerin Şeyhûniyye'deki şahsiyetlerin biyografik kayıtlarını dışlayıcı bir biçimde yorumlamaları, Kahire'deki yabancı âlimlere karşı olan ön yargıyı göstermektedir. Bu ortam; Anadolulu veya İranlı kökene sahip, Hanefî mezhebine bağlı, çoğunlukla Râzî Ekolüne göre akli ilimlerle ve İbn Arabî ekolüne göre tasavvufla ilgilenen âlim-Sûfî tipolojisinin ortaya çıkmasını sağladı. Bu tipoloji, *Şeyhûniyye Ağı*'ndaki âlimler vasıtasıyla Osmanlı topraklarında aynı şekilde görülecekti. Kahire'de özel bir Hanefî muhitinin keşfi, iki önemli soruya yeni bir yaklaşım sağlayacaktır: Erken dö-

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nem Osmanlı ilmî muhitinin nasıl Râzî ekolüne göre kurulduğu ve neden İbn Arabî'nin (ö. 638/1240) öğretisine geniş bir tolerans gösterdiği.

Keywords al-Shaykhūniyya, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Molla Fenārī, Shaykh Bedreddīn, Ḥaci Paşa, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Ottoman İlmiye

Anahtar Kelimeler Şeyhûniyye, Seyyid Şerîf el-Cürcânî, Molla Fenarî, Şeyh Bedreddin, Hacı Paşa, Alâuddîn el-Rûmî, Osmanlı İlmiyesi

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Introduction

The Ottoman Empire's intellectual history has been neglected compared to its political and military history. But, in the past two decades, the number of works on Ottoman intellectual history has increased remarkably.[1] The bias toward the commentary tradition, which prevailed in the scholarly activities throughout the Mamlūk and Ottoman eras regarding its stagnant period, began to give its place to discovering this tradition's prolificity. Concerning rational sciences in the post-classic intellectual circles, lots of works have been published indicating its originality and suggesting new approaches to study this period.[2] As İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı stated, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210)'s legacy was a key for understanding the early Ottoman scholarly milieu. After him, lots of works verified his findings, showing al-Rāzī as a founder figure, especially Müstakim Arıcı's two articles, which are worth mentioning. Still, the question of how al-Rāzī's heritage reached the Ottoman province in the fourteenth century is bothering. Since the Ottomans expanded their power into territories that did not inherit any Islamic tradition or institution before, because these areas were converted to Islam at the hands of the Ottoman conquerors, it is worth considering which

1 Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1–2.

2 For the shift in the Orientalist perspective, see Ahmed, Asad Q. - Larkin, Margaret. "The Ḥāshiya and Islamic Intellectual History". *Oriens* 41/3-4 (2013), 213–216 and other articles in this volume; Khaled el-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)* (Basel, Switzerland: Schwabe Verlagsgruppe AG Schwabe Verlag, 2018), 17f.; Frank Griffel, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy in Islam.* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 1f..

intellectual traditions settled there initially and what networks shaped them. Scholars of the early Ottoman period were occupied with *kalām* (the rationalist theology) and Ibn ʿArabī's mystical school; the study of both requires knowledge of *manṭiq* (the logic) and the terminological language of *kalām*. But, instead of narrative sciences, why did these kinds of rationalist disciplines rise? What directed the early Ottoman scholars to specialise in these disciplines?

In this paper, I researched which intellectual networks contributed to the education of eminent scholars of the early Ottoman Empire in Cairo. Since the Ottoman madrasas at the beginning did not provide higher education, young students would go abroad to receive an education. Big names of the Ottoman scholarly circles, al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Molla Fenārī, Shaykh Bedreddīn, and Ḥaci Paşa, when they were students, travelled to Cairo for education and studied there together in al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqāh under Mubārakshāh al-Manṭiqī, and Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī, a Ḥanafī jurist and *mutakallim,* at some interval part of the last three decades of the VIII/XIV'th century. After studying, they moved to Western Anatolia. While Fenārī and Shaykh Bedreddīn settled in the Ottoman domains, al-Jurjānī, whose trip to the Ottoman grounds is suspicious, visited Bursa for a short time and left and Ḥaci Paşa, after spending a long time in İzmir, came to the Ottoman Capital only a very short time before his death. Nevertheless, all definitely shaped scholarly life there directly or indirectly and became the pioneers of scholarly activities and the founder figures in the Ottoman scholarly milieu. Al-Jurjānī, along with his famous contemporary rival al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), was regarded as proof in rational sciences. Fenārī held the first Şeyhülislâm position and educated students, who reached the top positions in the Ottoman *İlmiye*. And Shaykh Bedreddīn, despite his controversial role in a rebellion movement against the Ottoman State, his writings on Islamic law continued to attract the attention of Ottoman *faqīh*s after him. Their significance for Ottoman scholarly history was clear. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, the writer of the first important academic book on the Ottoman *ilmiye*, categorized them as members of the al-Rāzī School. Uzunçarşılı's assessment, based on the early Ottoman scholars' academic *silsilas* tracing back to al-Rāzī through his students' students in Cairo, remains valid. In addition to *silsilas*, the scientific engagement fields, as will be shown below, of these early Ottoman scholars were according

to the al-Rāzī School. I will attempt to show that this rigid categorization of the early eminent Ottoman scholars overlaps with the characteristics of al-Shaykhūniyya, which enabled them to gain expertise in rational sciences in Cairo and access the tradition that incorporated them into the al-Rāzī School through their two teachers, who taught there.[3] Hence, emphasizing the connection and function of this institution in nurturing numerous Turkish and Persian-origin students and scholars, I termed this group composed of four scholars *the al-Shaykhūniyya Network*.[4] They have common characteristics: they all adhered to the Ḥanafī madhhab and came from Turkish or Persian lands, and most of them mastered the rational sciences and Sufism. Discovering al-Shaykhūniyya's special function and place in Cairo explains why these scholars and other eminent Ottoman scholars, who became their pupils and followed them, specialized in the rational sciences and gravitated toward Sufism.

When we come to Cairo, we find that, along with the eminent place of the city among the Muslim cities during the Medieval Age, there was a deep struggle between two groups among the scholars of Cairo. The local Arab scholars, whom I refer to in this work as *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians[5], since the engagement of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (the tradition) was the defining hallmark, dominated the Mamluk scholarly milieu. The most eminent *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians of the period were al-Maqrīẓī (d. 845/1442), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), and al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497). The narrative sciences reached its peak at that time thanks to their efforts. Even some Turkish-origin Ḥanafī scholars, such as Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451), Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Humām (d. 861/1457) and Ibn Quṭlūbughā (d. 879/1474), followed the fashion and were able to specialize in these sciences as much as compete with the local scholars.[6] On the other hand, some other Turkish and Persian-origin scholars, particularly those who did not grow up in Egypt, represented a different scholarly tradition. When the Turkish and Persian-origin stranger

3 al-Rāzī's student al-Khūnajī (d. 646/1248) and other Persian-origin scholars after him, like Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (d. 688/1289) went to Egypt. However, the widespread research interests there were in *ḥadīth* and the other narrative studies in the Mamlūk period, contrary to the eastern grounds of Islamic world. Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. ʿAbdullah Muḥammad al-Darwīsh, (Damascus: Dār al-yaʾrūb, 2004), 2/251.

4 *Madrasa-khānqāh* institutions appeared in the Mamluk era as a new type of institution for Islamic education, which was peculiar to this period. Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 56–60.

5 I'm grateful to two esteemed specialists in *ʿilm al-ḥadith*, Prof. Serdar Demirel and Dr. Mucîr el-Hatîb for guiding me in using this term.

6 Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʾAyni, al-Maqrizi, and Ibn Hajar al-ʾAsqalani", *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999), 85–107.

students and scholars came to Cairo, as they represent the minority against the dominant atmosphere of Cairo's scholarly milieu, they had to congregate in some institutions, al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqāh and al-Ṣarghitmishiyya. This enabled them to pursue their academic activities in rational sciences within a homogeneous atmosphere, as well as engage in Sufi practices. The biographical accounts of teachers who lectured in the former of these two institutions, which I delve into a bit more in this paper, show how it housed the Turkish and Persian-origin scholars in one place under the patronage of the Mamluk military elite and how some of them were exposed to criticisms of *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians of Cairo. This reveals the unique function of al-Shaykhūniyya in Cairo's scholarly landscape. Notably, in addition to its role in Cairo, as indicated above, the institution's impact extended to the Ottoman province outside of the Mamluk domains through *the al-Shaykhūniyya Network*. Moreover, I argue that the contradiction between these and *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians stemmed not only from sectarian or doctrinal positions solely but more significantly from divergent fields of scholarly engagement. These "foreign" scholars specialized in rational sciences, as their education was prevalent in the East, and many followed Ibn Arabi's Sufi doctrine, a subject of debate in Mamlūk Cairo. As if these were not enough, their ability to speak Turkish gave them an advantage in approaching the Mamluk military elite and taking their financial patronage. Unsurprisingly, they drew the attention of *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians upon their arrival in Egypt. However, they were not alone; Turkish-origin *muḥaddith* scholars still faced criticisms of *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians along with them, because of their origins.

The article is composed of two main parts. In the first chapter, I delve into showing the characteristics of the *al-Shaykhūniyya Network*. In the second part, the conditions that shaped the orientation of Anatolian and Persian-origin students and scholars in Cairo will be presented by examining the biographical accounts of Mamlūk historians, from the chapter "Looking at the Anatolian and Persian-Origin Scholars through the Eyes of Mamlūk Historians."

1. The Early Ottoman Scholars Educated in Egypt

An examination of the biographies of scholars in the first 6 chapters of *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nuʿmāniyye*, which is our main source about the lives of the Ottoman scholars, reveals that most of the scholars either came to the Ottoman lands from elsewhere or left for further education.[7] The main reason behind this was that the Ottomans established their state and expanded it in the Byzantine area. Therefore, they did not inherit any Islamic educational institution established before.[8] In order to meet the demand for educated men in converted or newly opened madrasas and in the bureaucracy, they tried to attract famous scholars from Anatolia, especially the Karaman Principality, and from Damascus as well.[9] Beyond the necessity of scholars in bureaucratic affairs, rulers sought eminent scholars for the prestige they brought. While the Ottomans' dependence on immigrant scholars continued for a while, from Murad II's reign onward, the number of madrasas increased, and the Ottoman milieu reached a capacity that educated its students in its own institutions.[10] Nevertheless, a significant number of scholars continued to journey far for study, and many scholars came from the outside to teach until the mid-sixteenth century.[11]

Among the centers scholars preferred for education, Egypt, more precisely, Cairo, held a special place. Students who wanted to take a place in Ottoman madrasas in the future had to select a favorable place for their education, enabling them to receive education according to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* since the Ottoman jurists and jurisprudents were subjected to this *madhhab*.[12]

The journey to Cairo from Anatolia, which was near the pilgrimage road, was already known to Anatolian-origin scholars. Even famous

7 Ertuğrul Ökten, "Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of al-Shaqayiq al-Nu'maniyya", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 41 (2013), 55–70.

8 Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 28–32.

9 Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 32.

10 Abdurrahman Atçıl. "Mobility of Scholars and Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rūm During the Fifteenth Century", *In Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth-and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2016), 315–332; Guy Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Hanafi School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 11.

11 Ökten. "Scholars and Mobility"; 55–70; Atçıl, "Mobility of Scholars", 315–332.

12 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), 29, 83, 108 and 173f.; R. Peters, "What Does It Mean to Be an Official Madhhab? Hanafism and the Ottoman Empire", *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress*, eds. P. Bearman et al., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 147–158.

ones reached high-ranking positions in Cairo, the Mamlūk capital.[13] For instance, according to *Manāqib-i Shaykh Bedreddīn*, Shaykh Bedreddīn was aware of the presence of Turkish instructors and pupils in Cairo before his arrival there.[14] Moreover, as a residence of the Abbasid Caliph and under the governance of generous Mamlūk sultans, it can be considerably argued that Cairo appeared to Anatolian students and scholars as a privileged place. They may have believed, before making a choice among different places of *ʿilm,* that they could approach the ruler elite easily because among the sultans and amirs, who speak Turkish as their mother tongue.[15] Anatolians could communicate with rulers more effectively because of the same cultural background. Knowing Turkish brought an advantage for approaching sultans and amirs. For example, Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī was reading his Arabic history book before the sultan, and he was translating it for him into Turkish simultaneously.[16] In another example, Shaykh Bedreddīn became the tutor of Faraj, the son of Sultan Barqūq, after coming there.[17]

Additionally, prestigious institutions with considerable incomes endowed by Mamlūk sultans and amirs provided foreign students with opportunities by favoring them in accommodation.[18] Some Sufi *zāviyas* were removed for housing stranger Sufis.[19] For instance, al-Ṣarghitmishiyya Madrasa was allocated for Ḥanafī disciples. Al-Jamāliyya Khānqāh was providing accommodation to 20 students under the condition of being bachelors, ascetics, and strangers to Egypt.[20] All these elements attracted students of Islamic sciences from the Ottoman domains to Cairo.

The first scholar who went on a trip to Cairo for education was Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350-1), the first *mudarris* in the first Ottoman *madrasa*.[21]

13 Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī, Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kāfiyaji, and Kemāl al-Dīn b. al-Ḥumām were among Anatolian-origin scholars who reached top positions in Cairo.

14 Khalīl b. ʾİsmāʾil, *Manāqib-i Shaykh Bedreddīn b. Qāḍī*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, Yazma Eserler, 157), 11b–12a.

15 Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 70 and 157.

16 Ebū al-Khayr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2003), 10/122.

17 Khalīl b. ʾİsmāʾil, *Manāqib*, (Yazma Eserler, 157), 17a.

18 Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 83 and 91–92. This policy was carried out by Sultan Muʾayyad Shaykh especially. Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, s. 156

19 Muḥammad Muḥammad Emīn, *al-Awqāf wa al-ḥayāt al-ijtimāʿiyya fī Misr: 1250-1517/648-923*, (Cairo: Dār al-nahda al-ʿArabiyya, 1980), 210; Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 59-60.

20 Emīn, *al-Awqāf*, s. 91–92.

21 ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ebū al-Khayr Aḥmad Efendī Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-Dawla al-ʿUsmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Suphi Furat, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Şarkiyat Araştırma Merkezi, 1985), 7.

Qayṣarī before travelling to Cairo took his first education in Konya or Kayseri under the care of the logician and theolog Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283), who was also educated in Egypt.[22] We do not have detailed information about Qayṣarī's engagement in Cairo, but know only that he stayed there for a couple of years and studied *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* (the Quran commentary), and *uṣūl*. Then, he excelled in the rational sciences.[23] After obtaining ijāza, he came to Tokat in Anatolia, then to Tabriz, where he became a pupil of the famous Sufi ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. 736/1335) and benefited from the patronage of the Ilkhānid vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, to whom he dedicated some of his works.[24] At the earliest in 1337, he was in Nicaea, the Ottoman capital at the time, and there he was appointed mudarris at the İznik Madrasa, a position he held for 15 years until he died in 751/1350-1.[25]

The hallmark of Qayṣarī's scholarship is that he was *ʿālim-Sufi*. He was influenced by the Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī School.[26] His mastery of the rational sciences appears in the introduction that he wrote to his commentary upon *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.[27] It is asserted that arguably this commentary paved the way for spreading Ibn 'Arabī's discourse through Ottoman scholarly circles or at least contributed to its legitimation.[28] Furthermore, his pioneering role as a model for Ottoman scholars after him was substantial. After al-Qaysari, we do not have the name of any scholar from the Ottoman province who went to Egypt for education until the Shaykhūniyya Network.

1.2. The Members of the Shaykhūniyya Network

Although we do not know whether any scholar accomplished Qayṣarī during his trip to Egypt, after him, we see a group of famous scholars come together in Cairo. According to the Ottoman sources—Khalīl b. ʾIsmāʿīl, Taşköprizāde (d. 968/1561), and al-Kafawī (d. 990/1582)—, a group of

22 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "What Happened in Iznik? The Shaping of Ottoman Intellectual Life and Dâwûd al-Qayṣarî", *Nazariyat: Journal for the History of Islamic Philosophy and Sciences* 4 (2017), 15.

23 Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 7; Edirneli Mehmed Majdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq*, (İstanbul: Tabkhāne-i Āmira, 1269), 27; Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. M. A. Yekta Saraç, (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 3 vols., 2016), 1/69.

24 Only work concerning this important patron of followers al-Râzî Shool is Aḥmad ʿIzz al-ʿArab Suleymān's, "al-Vazīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Muḥammad wa dawruhū al-thaqāfī fī al-Dawla al-Ilkhāniyya (H. 727-736/M. 1326-1335)", *Majalla al-Muʾarrikh al-Misrī* 50 (2017), 101–135.

25 Ismāʿīl Belīgh, *Güldeste-i riyaḍ-i ʿirfān*, (Bursa: Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyet Matbaası, 1302), 20.

26 Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 76–77.

27 Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 7; Majdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq*, 27.

28 Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 228–229.

famous Ottoman scholars were classmates in Cairo. This group consisted of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Molla Fenārī, Shaykh Bedreddīn, and Ḥaci Paşa.[29] While al-Jurjānī came from Persia, others were from the western part of Anatolia. All, after mastering their education in Cairo, moved to the west side of Anatolia. When these scholars were in Cairo as students, they studied in *the al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqāh,* which determined their scientific orientation.

Although it is troubling to answer questions about when they went to Cairo, how long they stayed there, and when they came back,[30] according to the sources, except for Fenārī, they were classmates in the logic lectures of Mubārakshāh al-Manṭiqī[31] on the commentaries on *al-Risāla*[32] and *al-Maṭāliʿ*[33] and all were together in the lectures of Anatolian-origin Ḥanafī jurist and *mutakallim* Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī, approximately inside the last three decades of the eighth Hijri century and fourteenth century CE.[34]

Silsilas of the Shaykhūniyya Network reached via Mubārakshāh and al-Bābartī to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. When they moved to the Ottoman province, they had great influence by teaching students and writing treaties. Actually, they became the founders of the al-Rāzī School in the Ottoman milieu.[35] Besides their *silsilas* reaching Rāzī, examining their scientific pursuits reveals an intense occupation with the rational sciences. The followers of al-Rāzī were distinguished by their interest in the rational sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya*) of their time, *manṭiq*,

29 For elaborating biographies of Fenārī, al-Jurjānī and Haci Paşa see R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1986), 73–98; Josef van Ess, "Jorjānī, Zayn-Al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (accessed on 06.07.2023); Sara Nur Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Haci Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late Fourteenth Century", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25/3 (September 1, 2014), 263–97.

30 The elaborating works giving biographies of these scholars discussed the time when they were in Cairo. For the discussion see Repp, *The Müfti*, 78–90; van Ess: "Jorjānī"; Khaled El-Rouayheb, "'Mubārakshāh the Logician': An Elusive Teacher in Mamluk Cairo", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 9/1–2 (December 19, 2019), 115–137.

31 Despite being an important figure and top-ranking author in the rational sciences, there is an information scarcity about Mubārakshāh in Mamlūk biography sources with this name. Yet, an alternative suggestion for his name and biography in these sources, as Maḥmūd b. Quṭlūshāh al-Sarāʾī seems to be true. El-Rouayheb, "Mubārakhshāh", 115–137.

32 *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* by Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī.

33 *Maṭāliʿ al-Anwār* by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī.

34 Despite chronological difficulties in determining the time that they stayed there, we are not deprived of convincing narrations at all. But it is not easy to piece them together coherently. Among the first sources, the most elaborate depiction is in Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Kafawī's *Katāʾib al-aʿlām al-akhyār*, (İstanbul: Maktaba al-irshād, 2017), 4/74–75. Ṭaşköprizāde mentions in one ground that Fenārī, Aḥmadī, and Haci Paşa were classmates in al-Bābartī's course, while mentioning in another Haci Paşa and Bedreddīn, not Fenārī. Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 28 and 52. Mamlūk sources Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Taghrībardī say al-Jurjānī and al-Fenārī came to Cairo together. Ṭaşköprizāde relies on the former while giving Fenārī's biography, and perhaps al-Kafawī does also. According to Khalīl b. ʾIsmāʿīl, Bedreddīn when he was younger than thirty, and al-Jurjānī when he was younger than forty, came to Egypt. When Bedreddīn came to Cairo, al-Jurjānī was already in the lecture of Mubārakshah. After Bedreddīn made Mubārakshāh's acquaintance, he made the pilgrimage with him. Then came al-Quds. And passed to Cairo again. This second time he, al-Jurjānī, and Haci Paşa were classmates together in al-Bābartī's course. Khalīl b. ʾİsmāʿil, *Manāqib*, (Yazma Eserler, 157), 13b–16a.

35 Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 76–77; Müstakim Arıcı, "VII. / XIII. Yüzyıl İslâm Düşüncesinde Fahreddin Râzî Ekolü", *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 26 (2011), 17–20.

kalām, and *ādāb al-baḥth* (the disputation theory). They also studied *ʿulūm al-lugha* (linguistics and philology)—especially *ʿilm al-waḍʿ* (the science of the establishment of language(s))—and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (the principles of jurisprudence). Al-Rāzī and his followers not only put the rational sciences at the center of their research but also substantially changed and shaped them.[36] Certainly, Bābartī and Mubārakshāh's vast oeuvres in the rational sciences indicate they followed the legacy of al-Rāzī; moreover, the latter's name took place in *silsila*s of the Ottoman scholars reaching al-Rāzī.[37] Ḥaci Paşa, besides his works on medicine, wrote a commentary on Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī's (d. 685/1286), *Ṭawāliʿu'l-anwār* in *kalām,* and a gloss on Quṭbuddīn al-Rāzī's (d. 766/1365) commentary upon Urmāwī's book in logic.[38] Probably when writing the commentary, he benefited greatly from his teachers al-Bābartī, whose *silsila* reached al-Bayḍāwī, and for the gloss Mubārakshāh, who lectured in logic. Al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī studied *al-Mawāqif* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355) under Mubārakshāh, who had become the student of the former.[39] After years, when al-Jurjānī was brought by Timur to Samarkand, he wrote upon this text a glossary that became more famous afterwards than the text itself and was accepted as a standard textbook in the madrasa curricula. Actually, al-Jurjānī, with his vast oeuvre written largely for didactic purposes, contributed most to the spreading of the al-Rāzī School among the Ottoman scholars.[40] They showed him and his older contemporary al-Taftāzānī great respect and *regarded them as proof in their sciences*.[41] And Molla Fenārī, who was the first Grand Mufti of the Ottoman Empire, taught al-Ījī's glossary upon Ibn Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *al-Muḥtaṣar* in *uṣūl al-fiqh* for twenty years.[42] He also compiled a book in *uṣūl al-fiqh* and spent thirty years on it.[43] Interestingly, the glossary that he wrote just from

36 Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 76–77. *'Ahl al-naẓar wa al-istidlāl, who puts manṭiq in the center to obtain certain knowledge and research the problems within the scope of ādāb al-baḥth and al-munāẓara'* Müstakim Arıcı, "İslâm Düşüncesinde Fahreddin er-Râzî Ekolü", *İslâm Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Râzî*, eds. Ömer Türker and Osman Demir, (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2013), 175 and 183f; Arıcı, "VII. / XIII. Yüzyıl İslâm Düşüncesinde", 1–37. Arıcı's two works are quite helpful for tracing the al-Rāzī School. See also Eşref Altaş, "Fahreddin Er-Râzî'nin 13. Yüzyıldaki Mirası", *Uluslararası 13. Yüzyılda Felsefe Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, eds. Murat Demirkol and M. Enes Kala, (Ankara: Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi Yayınları, 2014), 319–331; For the appropriation of philosophy in *kalâm* under the influence of al-Rāzī see Frank Griffel, *The Formation.*

37 Arıca, "VII. / XIII. Yüzyıl İslâm Düşüncesinde", 19.

38 Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk", 278–287.

39 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 5/292.

40 Arıcı, "İslâm Düşüncesinde Fahreddin er-Râzî Ekolü", 196.

41 Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-qarn al-sābiʿ*, (Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmī, n.d.), 1/489.

42 Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa al-mustawfī baʿd al-wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Misriyya al-ʿāmma lil-kitāb, 1984), 10/41; Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr fī Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, (Cairo: Lajnat iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-Islāmī, 1969), 3/465.

43 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3/465; Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 23.

sunrise to sunset within a day upon the famous logic textbook, *Īsāghūjī*, made a deeper impact on Ottoman intellectual history. This glossary, *al-Fawāʾid al-Fenāriyya*, became a popular textbook in *madrasas* until its end, and several super-glossaries were written on it. His famous students in the Ottoman milieu became the most outstanding scholars, and via him, they obtained *the silsila that* reached al-Rāzī.[44] Even though Shaykh Bedreddīn did not compose a work either in *kalām* or in *manṭiq*, his fertile *fiqh* writings reserved a notable amount of his own preferences (*tarjīḥ*) inside the Ḥanafī *madhhab,* which can be evaluated as unusual for a Ḥanafī *faqīh* during his period.[45] He made so many comparisons with other Sunni schools of law in his glossary, *al-Tashīl,* upon his book *Latāʾif al-Ishārāt* that the quotes from other *madhhabs* he made reached nearly two thousand. In addition to being a student of the eminent jurist al-Bābartī, it is possible that the debates he participated in, when he was in Cairo, with one Shāfiʿī scholar,[46] and with his classmates, extended his knowledge and inquiry about *fiqh* and enabled him to make comparisons between two *madhhabs* and even in few cases to choose the view of Shāfiʿī *madhhab* over Ḥanafī. Lastly, his interrogative views about *ijtihad* attracted the criticism of his successor Ḥanafī colleagues.[47]

Besides the orientation of these scholars based on rational sciences, which appeared both in their writing fields and scientific interests, another common thread to all these scholars was their engagement with Sufism, especially the Ibn ʿArabī School. What is known is that all of them wrote on *waḥdat al-wujūd*, except for Ḥaci Paşa, whose connection with Sufism is unknown.[48] Even out of Anatolia, when Ibn Turka (d. 835/1432), one of their colleagues from Cairo days, was judged for engaging with Sufism and *ʿilm al-ḥurūf*, although being a prominent scholar, he defended himself exemplifying Fenārī and al-Jurjānī, saying that the former '*openly teaches mystical theory, and indeed discourses of nothing else—and yet he is held in the highest regard throughout the Ottoman domains!*' and the latter '*also has a very famous treatise on Sufism*'.[49] Ibn Turka did not

44 Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 76.

45 Mustafa Bülent Dadaş, *Şeyh Bedreddin: Bir Osmanlı Fakihi*, (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2018), 193f.; Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law*, 8.

46 In *Manāqib* said the Shāfiʿī mufti attended these debates frequently. Khalīl b. ʿİsmāʿil, *Manāqib*, (Yazma Eserler, 157), 15a–16b.

47 Ayhan Hıra, *Şeyh Bedreddin'in Fıkıhçılığı*, (İstanbul: Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, PhD. Dissertation, 2006), 238–264.

48 See *al-Risāla al-wujūdiyya* of al-Jurjānī, and *Miftāḥ al-uns bayn al-maʿqūl wa al-mashūd fī sharh Miftāḥ al-ghayb* of Fenārī, and *Wāridāt* of Bedreddīn.

49 Matthew S. Melvin-Koushki, *The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣāʾin Al -Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran*, (Connecticut: Yale University PhD. Dissertation, 2012), 64 and 67.

randomly use the names of Fenārī and al-Jurjānī to defend himself. He had traveled with his friend, famous Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yazdī (d. 858/1454) to Cairo for education, and the two became students of Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Akhlāṭī (d. 799/1397). That is why it is not surprising to see that he says their names in court. Ibn Turka was well known for the connection of the al-Shaykuniyya Network to al-Akhlâtî's teachings. al-Akhlāṭī was an important figure in Cairo. He was an old master in practicing occult sciences. Shaykh Bedreddīn, until meeting him in the court of Sultan Barqūq (r. 784-801/1382-1399), denied Sufism, but after getting to know him became one of his disciples.[50] Another scholar influenced by al-Akhlātī was lettrist ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1453). He spread his occultist and millenarist views in Anatolia, just as Ibn Turka and Yazdī did in Persia. Moreover, al-Bisṭāmī was the peer of Bedreddīn and Fenārī and his son Maḥmad Shah Fenārīzāde. al-Bisṭāmī was present in Cairo three times and got together with them in Anatolia separately, along with other peers of his clandestine network, *Ikhwān al-ṣafā wa khullān al-wafā*. Both al-Akhlāṭī and al-Bisṭāmī gave much respect to Ibn ʿArabī and were influenced by him.[51] This clandestine network consisted of another branch of the Egyptian influence on *the al-Shaykhūniyya Network*. Two networks were intertwined with each other.

As a result, the early Ottoman scholars al-Jurjānī, Fenārī, and Bedreddīn fit with *ʿālim-Sufi* typology, like Qayṣarī. They followed the al-Rāzī School in rational sciences and the Ibn ʿArabī School in Sufism. Their orientation was shaped in Cairo. Then, it was the early Ottoman scholar character until the increase of emphasis on *fiqh* in madrasas and the beginning of the disputes about Ibn ʿArabī, like in Cairo, in the Ottoman madrasa in the mid-sixteenth century. Now we can see what the conditions were in Cairo that influenced and shaped their scientific and religious orientation.

2. Looking at Anatolian and Persian-Origin Scholars through the Eyes of Mamlūk Historians

When Anatolian or Persian-origin students arrived in Cairo, they did

50 Khalīl b. ʾİsmāʿīl, *Manāqib*, (Yazma Eserler, 157), 20a.

51 See Ibid; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk dönem Osmanlı ilim ve kültür hayatında İhvânu's-safâ ve Abdurrahmân Bistâmî", *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 2 (01 June 1996), 229-40; İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 74–113; Veysel Kaya, "XV. Yüzyıl Ansiklopedisti Abdurrahman Bistâmî'nin Felsefe-Kelâm İlişkisine Bakışı", *Osmanlı'da İlm-i Kelâm: Âlimler, Eserler, Meseleler*, ed. Osman Demir et al. (İstanbul, 2016), 302–303.

not sail in smooth waters. To see the atmosphere that Ottoman scholars encountered, we need to deepen the geographical and denominational fault lines of Cairo. Even though some institutions encouraged the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholars reigned over the Egyptian scholarly milieu. They were not entirely pleased with the influx of Ḥanafīs and other Sunni scholars to Egypt from the Eastern Lands after the Mongol invasion. Ḥanafīsm was prevalent in the eastern part of the Islamic world, like Transoxiana and Iraq. However, the Mongolian invasion of these areas affected the Ḥanafī population the worst, which led to a flood of scholars from east to west and south in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[52] Ḥanafīs from Anatolia or Persian lands had one more advantage over scholars of other Sunni *madhhab*s. Despite the indisputable role of *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholars in the mediation between the mostly Arabic-speaking public and the stranger rulers, they could never match the advantage al-ʿAynī had in approaching sultans and amirs. But does this mean *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholars only watched the unpreventable rise of Ḥanafīs?

In fact, the existence of different Sunni *madhhab*s in one place began to shake the powerful throne of Shāfiʿīs. A prime example of this challenge among Sunni *madhhab*s was the reaction of Shāfiʿīs to the appointment of four chief *qāḍīs* instead of one chief *qāḍī* among them.[53] Though this reaction was not toward the scholars but toward the rulers initially, the displeasure of the Shāfiʿīs shifted towards the Ḥanafīs, who were the most prominent among Sunnis and got some amirs onside.

This displeasure originated not only from the disagreement deprived of historical roots between separate juristic *madhhab*s but also from specialization in divergent fields in obtaining religious knowledge by the two groups from different geographical and cultural backgrounds. On the one hand, in the Arab lands, particularly in the Mamlūk milieu, the transmitted sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naqliyya*) were on an upward trend, unlike the rational sciences in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as

52 Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 9; Mujāhid Muḥammad Saʿīd, *al-Ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya fī Dawla al-Mamālīk al-Baḥriyya*, (Omdurman: Omdurman Islamic University, Faculty of Letters, PhD. Dissertation, 2011), 80–82; Fazlıoğlu, "What Happened in İznik", 7. For some names from these Ḥanafī jurisprudents see: Bekir Karadağ, "Memlükler Dönemi Hanefî Fıkıh Düşüncesinin İlk Dönem Osmanlı Fıkıh Çalışmalarına Etkisi", *Cumhuriyet Ilahiyat Dergisi* 23/2 (December 2019), 819–20.

53 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 1/14 and 1/27–29; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Misriyya al-ʿāmma lil-kitāb, 1984), 5/322. See also Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Sultan Al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief Qāḍīs, 663/1265", *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984), 167–176.

we mentioned before.[54] Therefore, *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholars dominated this milieu, and correspondingly, most eminent works of the Mamlūk literature were written in *ḥadīth*, history, and encyclopedia genres. For *Shāfiʾī-muḥaddith* scholars, *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* was their main concern instead of *fiqh al-madhhab*. On the other hand, in Persian lands, from which Ḥanafīs came to Cairo, rational sciences were lively.[55] Most expected from a Ḥanafī pupil, who grew up in Transoxiana or Iran, to learn *manṭiq* and *kalām* through his education, even if he specialized in *fiqh* eventually.[56] To illustrate the consequences of this methodological difference between the two milieus, we will examine three scholars as examples.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d. 841/1438) was born in Anatolia, journeyed to Samarkand, Shiraz, and Herat, and studied under al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. After completing his lessons, he began to teach.[57] Then, he took off and came to Cairo. When he arrived there, it did not take long to shine as a 'triumphant' scholar thanks to his Anatolian roots and his education in Persian lands.[58] In Cairo, he was met by Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī and, through his mediation, made the acquaintance of Sultan al-Ashraf al-Barsbāy (r. 825-841/1422-1438) and shortly after was appointed as *shaykh* of madrasa al-Ashrafiyya, which was constructed by a very recent sultan. Notably, the duration between the entrance of al-Rūmī to Egypt and the appointment was only one and a half months approximately.[59] That, how quickly al-Rūmī obtained *mashyakha* of the new prestigious madrasa endowed by the Mamlūk sultan, and the sultan trusted him with it, shows the advantage of Anatolian and Persian origins in passing career steps.

Al-Rūmī's rapid rise gives an idea about his avail in terms of his Turkish roots. But as the Mamlūk sources focused on, his specialization in rational sciences and debates (*munāẓara*) he participated in are the main points in his life. When al-Rūmī held *mashyakha* of al-Ashrafiyya,

54 The reason behind this was possibly the worry of the scholars about the vanishment of the knowledge after the destruction of Bagdad by the Mongols which led to the disappearance of the scientific heritage there.

55 Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, 2/251.

56 It should be noted that the legitimacy of logic in the Eastern Muslim world did not be questioned, unlike in Egypt. K. el-Rouayheb, "Sunni Muslim Scholars on the Status of Logic, 1500–1800", *Islamic Law and Society* 11 (2004): 213–232.

57 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʾassas lil-muʿjam al-mufahras*, ed. Yūsuf Abd al-Raḥmān Marʿashlī, (Beirut: Dār al-maʿrifa, 1992), 3/198; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 6/38.

58 Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī tārikh ʾahl al-zamān*, (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Carullah Efendi, 1591), 817a–817b.

59 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3/328.

he got himself into a mess firstly by rebuking the Ḥanafī chief qāḍī during an appointment ceremony in al-Ashrafiyya in May 1425. Sultan nearly dismissed him, but by the mediation of *nāẓir al-jaysh*, he forgave him on the condition that he obeys the manner of debate (*ʾishtaraṭa ʿalayhi luzūm al-ʾadab fī al-baḥth*). But it did not continue for so long. According to the famous *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, it was narrated that he had committed corruption and inappropriate things. Then, by the order of the sultan, he was replaced in January 1426 with another Anatolian-origin scholar, Kamāl b. al-Humām.[60] Yet it should be remarked that, to Ibn Taghrībardī, al-Rūmī, by his own decision, gave up the position.[61] After taking a road to the Hejaz and then to Anatolia, he returned to Cairo. But in a meeting in the citadel of Cairo, he passed his lips some words, which were taken against him. And he did not obtain from the sultan what he wanted and went to his homeland, Anatolia.[62]

In the year 839/1435-36, he came to Egypt for the third time. To Ibn Ḥajar, this time al-Rūmī had an eye on al-Shaykhūniyya, attempting to be appointed to *mashyakha* of the madrasa instead of shaykh Bākīr.[63] During the annual *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* readings, which are held every Ramadan in the Mamlūk era, before beginning the twentieth day's reading in 20 Ramaḍān 840/28 March 1437, al-Rūmī and Bākīr debated with each other. We learn, after al-Rūmī's declaration of the apostasy of his rival in this debate, that Ibn Ḥajar not only narrates these events but was also involved in them. In this meeting, the Shāfiʿī chief qāḍī, who rejected the disclamation of apostasy, was none other than Ibn Ḥajar himself.[64] At this point, the debate between al-Rūmī and Bākīr turned into a debate between al-Rūmī and Ibn Ḥajar. Al-Rūmī gave some questions on the note to Ibn Ḥajar and wanted him to respond to them and then left the meeting. Afterward, Ibn Ḥajar showed this note to those in the meeting, and there was only arrogance and incorrect grammar usage (*laḥn*). And everybody agreed on al-Rūmī's blame.[65]

60 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3/345.

61 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nujūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Misr wa al-Qāhira*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, (Cairo: Wizārat al-thaqāfa wa al-irshād, 1929), 14/285.

62 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʾassas*, 3/198; Majdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq*, 69.

63 For the biography of Bākīr see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 4/218.

64 He held intermittingly this position until 852/1449. Halit Özkan, *Memlüklerin Son Asrında Hadis: Kahire 1392-1517*, (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014), 112.

65 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 4/48.

That is what Ibn Ḥajar tells us about the debate. We could settle for this story if we had only a narrative because this negative portrayal of al-Rūmī was highly followed and confirmed by the other two famous *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians, al-Sakhāwī and al-Maqrīẓī.[66] However, the pupil of Ibn Ḥajar, al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) says the questions on the note bothered his tutor so much. It is well known that success in debates depends on demonstrating the accuracy of the arguments to silence rivals. And those enterprises should have been well trained in rational sciences, especially in *manṭiq* and *ādāb al-baḥth*. Actually, the questions on the note were what ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn memorized from the debate between al-Jurjānī and al-Taftāzānī, with the answers.[67] Ibn Ḥajar could not answer these questions since he did not specialize in rational sciences in detail. According to the same renowned pupil, Ibn Ḥajar privately took help from those who specialized in the rational sciences (*ūlī al-maʿqūl*), like al-Kāyātī, for giving answers to the questions in order to avoid being attributed to insufficiency. Because '*al-Rūmī exaggerated that Ibn Ḥajar did not do well with answers. Even he managed to influence the sultan and high rank statesmen about it. And some obscene words reached Ibn Ḥajar's ears.*' al-Biqāʿī, eventually, as guilty of all that happened, blames his tutor's Anatolian-origin rival by saying, '*All was with the provocation of al-ʿAynī, his call to evil was plenty.*'[68]

Then, as it appears clearly that Ibn Ḥajar interprets the account of al-Rūmī with his own sight, one might be suspicious also of his depiction of al-Rūmī as an ambitious scholar to obtain positions and as arrogant in debates. Nevertheless, as the greatest *muḥaddith* and eminent historian of his time, he does not make a simple defamation about al-Rūmī. In fact, Ibn Ḥajar praises al-Rūmī as an advanced scholar.[69] But might the negative image that the former implies about the latter on so many occasions have occurred as a result of the rational-based questions given to him in a rude way? More broadly, as a reflection of divergence in methodology, may al-Rūmī's biography have been covered up with negative dress by

66 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Durar ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīda*, ed. Maḥmud al-Jalīlī, (Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 2/555; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 6/38-39. We should note that al-Sakhāwī is closer to the reconciliation.

67 Ibid, vi. 39; Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 47.

68 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 4/48, third footnote. For al-ʿAynī's biography and his relationship with Ibn Ḥajar see Clément Onimus, "Al-ʿAynī and His Fellow Historians: Questioning the Discursive Position of a Historian in the Academic Field in the Cairo Sultanate", *New Readings in Arabic Historiography from Late Medieval Egypt and Syria: Proceedings of the themed day of the Fifth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies*, ed. Jo Van Steenbergen and Maya Termonia, (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 349–374.

69 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʾassas*, 3/198.

Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith historians intentionally? Actually, if we give an ear to another Mamlūk historian from the opposite side, that is possible:

> ... He [ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī] had long troubles with jurisprudents of Egypt. They collected themselves against him. He did justice to them and destroyed them. Because he was an expert in the controversy (*ʿilm al-jadal*). He was binding his enemies with silencer answers. That is why one of the contemporary scholars attacked him by saying that he says obscene words. And did not attribute him to ignorance but rather ascribed to him plenty of knowledge.—The overcoming is what testified the enemies!—I [Ibn Taghrībardī] do not know about him anything makes him deficient except that he considered scholars of Egypt unimportant. He regarded nobody from them in the grade of perfection.[70]

This is a clear testimony that proves the superiority of al-Rūmī through debates over Egyptian scholars. The owner of the statement is mentioned above, Ibn Taghrībardī, who comes from Turkish roots, *awlād al-nās*. Needless to say, when he says 'one of the contemporary scholars', he refers to his tutor and contemporary Ibn Ḥajar. Note that this is not Ibn Taghrībardī's first and last confrontation with *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* historians about the interpretation of the Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars' accounts. The statement confirms that the latter group specialized in rational sciences, whereas the former did not, and this led to conflict between them.

Another two examples show the situation in transmitted sciences. A scholar from Herat, Muḥammad ibn ʿAṭāʾullāh al-Harawī (d. 829/1426), claimed that he memorized twelve thousand *ḥadīth*s and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in addition to *ḥadīth*s of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim* with all its *isnād*s. By the mediation of an amir, he captured a teaching position in a madrasa in al-Quds. When the news about him reached Cairo, the scholars there appealed to the sultan to bring him to Cairo so that they could test him. During the test before the sultan, al-Harawī could not recite even twelve ḥadīths, let alone twelve thousand. Ibn Ḥajar noticed some errors even in a single isnād, despite the fact that he recited it with preparation.[71] However, according to al-ʿAynī, this meeting was organized by those who were concerned that al-Harawī could capture a position.[72] Even so, this

70 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nujūm az-zāhira*, 15/216–217.

71 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3/57–64.

72 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3/57, second footnote.

anecdote also promotes the idea that Egypt and *ʿAjam*'s scholarly milieus are separated from each other, regarding perceptions of rational and transmitted knowledge, and the rising conflict between the two.

In 781/1379, a meeting was held for ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who was the successor of Ḥanafī mudarris of al-Bābartī in al-Shaykhūniyya. After his appointment to the position of teaching ḥadīth of al-Manṣūriyya Madrasa, some ḥadīth scholars claimed that he knows nothing of ʿilm al-ḥadīth. When he was brought to the meeting, one section (juzʾan) from Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī was given to him to read at the moment, after he began, misread clear points, and then he was disgraced, according to Ibn Ḥajar. To cover up the situation, Jalāl al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī undertook the position.[73] Some ḥadīth scholars used to come to his home and read and listen to them. After his death, his son was replaced by the position, then Ibn Ḥajar took over it.[74]

Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith scholar-historians stressed in their writings the weakness of stranger scholars in ḥadīth, as we have seen in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī, al-Harawī and ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Rāzī's stories. Besides the divergence in the methodological approach to the transmitted and rational sciences, there is one more distinguishing feature of Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars from *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddiths*. This is to be associated with the Akbarī doctrine. In the Mamlūk milieu, Ibn ʿArabī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), and their doctrines or the creed attributed to them were important dispute subjects between scholars.[75] In some biographical accounts of Anatolian-origin scholars, they were indicted for following Ibn ʿArabī. Some of these were famous scholars in Cairo like al-Bābartī[76], qāḍī of Damascus ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qunawī[77], and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kāfiyaji[78]. While some Anatolians really approved of Akbarī's thought, like al-Bābartī, Ibn Quṭlūbughā, and al-Kāfiyaji, indeed, establishing the association with Ibn ʿArabī was used

73 He was *muḥtasib* at the moment, but he was going to be the successor of ʿIzz al-Dīn, as it will come below.

74 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 1/196; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa al-durar fī tarjama Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Majīd, (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 2/594.

75 Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 54–58.

76 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 5/18

77 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jādalḥaq, (Cairo: Umm al-qurā lil-ṭibāʿa wa al-nashr, n.d.), 3/95.

78 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 7/229.

as a good tool for raising doubt against Anatolians.[79] For instance, while Molla Fenārī was in al-Quds al-Sharīf after he had made a pilgrimage, he received an invitation from the Mamlūk sultan. He accepted that, and long after his first education period there, he came to Cairo for the second time in 822/1419. But following his entry into the capital, his silence at a scholarly discussion during a meeting held before the sultan caused disputes about him. Ibn Ḥajar interpreted his silence as he feared. '*He was being condemned because he was on Ibn ʿArabī's trail and instructs Fuṣūṣ. But when he came to Cairo did not show anything about it... Someone who took care of him advised him not to speak about this subject.*'[80] In another place, he narrated his departure: '*He[Fenārī] concealed his love with Ibn ʿArabī and his occupying people with Fuṣūṣ and others. During the time he stayed in Cairo, he had influence and "did not become curious, so left Cairo safely.*"'[81] Actually, someone might find the last sentence threatening. Moreover, Ibn Taghrībardī, even though he was implacable against Ibn ʿArabī, did not share the same view with Ibn Ḥajar either. In his opinion, the reason for the silence of Fenārī was the eminence that he obtained without getting tired. He gained the favor of the ruler, for which scholars usually participate in debates in the presence of sultans. If he wanted to debate, he would not hesitate since he was a great scholar.[82]

It is evident that there was an ongoing conflict between two groups, who were interested in the divergent fields and had different geographical origins, as it turns out in the writings of *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians about the Anatolian and Persian-origins, but also appears in what they did not take down.[83] To my assessment, this exclusive attitude towards Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars by *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddiths* led to a certain level of separation between these strangers and the dominant milieu.

79 For Ibn Ḥajar's historian account of Akbarī scholars and Sufis, see Zacharie Mochtari de Pierrepont, "Ibn Ḥajar Al-ʿAsqalānī's Texts and Contexts: Producing a Sufi Environment in the Cairo Sultanate", *New Readings in Arabic Historiography from Late Medieval Egypt and Syria*, eds. Jo van Steenbergen and Maya Termonia (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 291–318.

80 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3/465.

81 Ibid, 3/217.

82 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, 10/40–41.

83 Ulrich Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks Tha the Righteousness of the Arabs- Changing Ùlama Attitudes towards Mamluk Rulein the Late Fifteenth Century", *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988), 76.

3. Shelters of Strangers: al-Shaykhūniyya and al-Ṣarghitmishiyya

Despite *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholars' dominance in Cairo, certain Mamlūk amirs in the eighth century of the Hijra built madrasas and khānqahs to promote the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Among these institutions, two were distinguished for hosting mostly students and scholars coming from Anatolia and Persia. These were al-Ṣarghitmishiyya Madrasa and al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqah.

Al-Ṣarghitmishiyya Madrasa, constructed in 757/1356, was allocated to Ḥanafī jurisprudents who came from outside.[84] 60 students were conditioned to study the books written in *al-fiqh al-Ḥanafī* only.[85] According to the endowment, the scholar who gives the lectures must be whoever is the best scholar at the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and is paid 300 *dirhams*, the best wage of this time.[86] The founder of the madrasa Amir Ṣarghitmish (d. 759/1358) was backing Persian-origin scholars with fanaticism.[87] His institution not only attracted scholars and pupils from Persian lands but also '*became a magnet for fuqahā' from all over the Turkish-speaking world*'.[88]

Whereas the institution backs Persian-origin scholars, the dominant view was still suspicious about them. The comparative reading between sources reveals another exclusionary attitude of one *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historian against a Persian scholar. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tabbānī at-Tabrīzī (d. 793/1391) was *mudarris* in al-Ṣarghitmishiyya.[89] According to Ibn Taghrībardī, he refused the proposal of the sultan appointing him as Ḥanafī chief qāḍī by showing the reason he is not suitable for this position solely, while, to al-Maqrīzī, he refused the proposal '*by excusing that scholars of Persia are unfamiliar with the convention of inhabitants of Egypt*'.[90] One should ask, is this excuse placed only in the latter's work,

84 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-iʿtibār bi-dhiqr al-khiṭaṭ wa al-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2013) 4-2/652.

85 Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, 339.

86 Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 76–77.

87 Taqī al-Dīn ʾAbd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-saniyya fī tarājim al-Ḥanafiyya*, ed. ʾAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, (Riyadh: Dār al-rifāʿī, 1983), 4/88.

88 Robert Irwin, "Mamluk Literature", *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/1 (2003), 4.

89 His biography in Abū al-ʾAdl Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim b. Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj al-tarājim*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān, (Damascus: Dār al-qalam, 1992), 148–149.

90 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, 2/37; cf. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿarifet duwel al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ʾAbd al-Qādir ʾAṭāʾ, (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʾilmiyya, 1997), 4/379.

as a piece of supplemental information that escaped from the former, or is it a reflection of the negative view of al-Maqrīẓī about Persian-origin scholars?

While al-Ṣarghitmishiyya Madrasa is worth examining, because Mubārakshāh al-Manṭiqī taught there and al-Ṣarghitmishiyya and al-Shaykhūniyya were not far from each other, I will present al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqah in outline, in which the early Ottoman scholars' common teacher al-Bābartī taught. Actually, both Mubārakshāh and al-Bābartī came from Turkish lands and were masters in rational sciences. In the complimentary words of Ibn Taghrībardī, they were '*like two competing racehorses*',[91] and it is plausible to think they worked within the boundaries of the same intellectual interests. And common points belonging to al-Shaykhūniyya's teachers show us this intellectual line.

Al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqah was built by Amir Shaykhū (d. 762/1360) in 756/1355. In the madrasa, courses consist of *fiqh* of the four *madhhabs*, *ḥadīth*, and *qirāʿat*, and for every course, an instructor is appointed.[92] Amir Shaykhū was also a fanatic Ḥanafī.[93] Al-Suyūṭī gives a list of 15 *mudarrises*, leading up to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī, whose biography was discussed above.[94] The first Ḥanafī *mudarris*, Sufi shaykh and trustee of the *madrasa* was Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī. '*Amir Shaykhū built al-Shaykhūniyya khānqāh for him and organized [the institution] at his pleasure...*'[95] Amir Shaykhū offered him the judgeship (*qaḍā'*) several times, but he refused every time.[96] The statesmen and other people from the upper classes gave al-Bābartī respect and regarded him among the jurisprudents (*fuqahā'*).[97] Sultan Barqūq and other sultans, until his time, used to not stand up when the judges came before them. But since Barqūq would only stand up for al-Bābartī, he spoke to the

91 El-Rouayheb, "Mubārakshāh the Logician", 14.

92 For this *madrasa-khānqāh* see Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 4-2/761-763; Abū al-Faḍl Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī tārīkh Miṣr wa al-Qahira*, (Cairo: Dār ihyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1967), 2/662-267. Two modern Arabic works are also so useful: ʿĀṣim Muḥammad Rizq, *Khānaqāwāt al-ṣufiyya fī Miṣr fī al-ʿaṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa al-Mamlūkī (567-923/1171-1517)*, (Cairo: Maktaba Madbūlī, 1997), 1/315–327; Zaynab Aḥmad ʿAlī Abū ʿAlī, "al-Khānqāh al-Shaykhūniyya [M. 1355-1517 / H. 756-923]", *Majalla al-qiṭāʿ al-dirāsāt al-ʿinsāniyya* 24 (2019), 287–376.

93 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4/157.

94 al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, 2/267.

95 ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-ʿamal fī dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī, (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿaṣriyya, 2002), 2/219.

96 al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn al-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, (Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-ʿaṣriyya, 1979), 1/239.

97 Walī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl Ibn al-ʿIrāqī ʿalā al-ʿibar*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ʿAbbās, (Beirut: Muʿssasa al-risāla, 1989), 2/560; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 5/173.

sultan, and then the sultans, who succeeded him, began to stand up when the judges came in, and it became regular.[98] After him, several Turkish or Persian-origin scholars held the Ḥanafī teaching position and Sufi hide: Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī al-Rūmī (d. 799/1396), or better known by his byname Ibn al-ʿAjamī, spoke Turkish and Persian very well. When he came to Cairo, he was poor, but after he became a tutor for servants (*mamālīk*) of certain amirs his conditions got better. According to al-Sakhāwī, he was completely corrupt in all of the positions he held, while Ibn Taghrībardī remains silent about the claims attributed to him.[99] Sayf al-Dīn al-Sīrāmī (d. 810/1407) grew up in Tabriz, studied *fiqh* there, and moved to Aleppo, then Sultan Barqūq called him to Cairo and granted him the teaching position of al-Ẓāhirriya Madrasa, along with *mashyakha* of al-Shaykhūniyya, which he held for a while. *He was excellent, especially in rational sciences (... ʿindahu faḍīla tāmma khuṣūṣan fī al-maʿqūl.)*[100] Maḥmūd al-Ghulustānī (d. 801/1398) held teaching Ḥanafī jurisprudence. '*His writing was nice. He spoke Turkish and Arabic very well. That is why Sultan Barqūq brought him close together.*' Another scholar is Shams al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī (d. 808/1405). The only thing al-Maqrīẓī says about him in his history is very briefly that '*He was one of the prominent Ḥanafis. He knows the philosophical sciences. Sultan [Barqūq] called him from Baghdad to Cairo.*'[101] In this madrasa, which is located at one of the liveliest centers of the Arab lands, even the position of teaching Arabic and rhetoric lessons was held by a scholar from Crimea.[102] This was perhaps to make the communication easier between the students and the teacher since most of their native language was not Arabic. Several other famous Anatolian-origin scholars, among them Kamāl b. al-Humām, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kāfiyaji, and Ibn Quṭlūbughā, lectured there. Whereas the first two were masters in rational sciences,[103] the latter, besides his deep engagement with ʿilm al-ḥadīth, was a defender of Ibn ʿArabī's thought.[104]

98 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira*, 11/303.

99 Rizq, *Khānaqāwāt al-ṣufiyya*, 1/324.

100 As quoted it al-Sakhāwī from Taqī al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 10/299.

101 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 6/187.

102 Abū ʿAlī, "al-Khānqāh al-Shaykhūniyya", 287–376.

103 al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya al-wuʿāt*, 1/117. Ibn al-Humām's brilliant education is a good example. He combined in himself the expertise of all sciences of his time. He specialized in both the rational and transmitted sciences, but in the end, he gravitated to the latter. But still, that being his three of five tutors in the rational sciences –al-Baghdādī, al-Hindī and al-Abarkūhī– coming from abroad to Cairo is remarkable. He also spoke Turkish and Persian fluently. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 8/108–113.

104 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 6/168; Muhyî-yi Gülşenî, *Menakıb-i İbrahim-i Gülşeni*, ed. Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014), 368.

It was not a coincidence to take place Turkish and Persian-speaking teachers, who specialized in the rational sciences, in al-Shaykhūniyya especially thanks to the efforts of Barqūq. It is also not surprising that the Ottoman scholars took their education there since they came from the same background as their tutors. The Ḥanafī branch of this madrasa-khānqah provided students with a suitable education to focus on rational sciences differently from the dominant milieu of Cairo. Moreover, several pieces of evidence proved that Sultan Barqūq backed *the al-Shaykhūniyya Network,* and he was interested in this kind of intellectual approach. Sultan demonstrated great respect for the abovementioned Shaykh al-Akhlātī; when passing his house by the Nile, he used to stop on horseback, and al-Akhlāṭī would go up to the roof to talk with him.[105] It seems he had made a deep impact upon Barqūq; even Ibn Khaldūn probably was disturbed by this circle closing in around the sultan, as suggested by his critique of lettrism.[106] Barqūq would stop in front of al-Shaykhūniyya on horseback to make conversation with al-Bābartī, just like he did with al-Akhlāṭī, and wait for him to leave and ride the same horse together.[107] As it was shown, he actively invited impoverished scholars speaking Turkish or Persian or both, who specialized in rational sciences, and helped them attend to the Cairo elite as much as possible. Even this attempt was confronted in his time by the blockage against those who affiliated with amirs by prohibiting them from attending *madrasas*,[108] but anyway, the fruits of the al-Shaykhūniyya bloomed in the Ottoman territories. Its significance in the Ottoman intellectual life was remembered even in the sixteenth century. Khalwatī-Gulshanī Order's Ottoman-origin shaykh, Muḥyī-yi Gulshanī, who lived in Cairo in the second half of the sixteenth century, remarked:

> It should be known that the jurist of Egypt (*Mısr ḳâżîsi*) Beg-zāde appointed this poor person [Muḥyī] to the administration of the endowment [al-Shaykhūniyya] of Shaykhū ʿUmar by saying '*Definitely, you have to keep [it]*'. Since '*the author of ʿInāya Sharh-i Hidāya, Akmal al-Dīn, rests there (anda āsūdedir) and half of the endowment belongs to him. He is yours and our teacher through the intermediaries. Great*

105 Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥim Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayk, Nejlā ʿIzz al-Dīn, (Beirut: American University in Cairo Press, 1938), 9–2/478.

106 Noah Gardiner, "Ibn Khaldūn versus the occultists at Barqūq's court: the critique of lettrism in al-Muqaddimah", *Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture*, ed. Stephan Conermann, (Berlin: Verlag, 2020), 20–26.

107 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 3/95.

108 Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt", *Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980), 38.

> *scholars (ʿulemā-yı kibār) did academic researches (iştıgāl) in his lodge. From all, Mubārakshāh, Sayyid Sharīf-i Jurjānī and the author of Jāmiʿ al-Fuṣūlayn and Wāridāt [Shaykh Bedreddīn] and numerous scholars and saints [ʿulemā vü meşāyih], each of them reached the highest degree of the knowledge.*' Then, even this poor person conducted the administration for several years and was enlightened spiritually (*istifāḍa-i ruḥāniyya*). When intended for the renovation and old stones were dismantled for repair in some places—to show the attention to the chamber of the late Sayyid Sharīf-i Jurjānī more at a certain extent (*nevʿan*)—, lots of collated outworn wet papers (*bir niçe maʿrūż ve bālī ve meblūl kürrās*), which were written with Sayyid's script, were found. Those were the last chapters of *Mawāqif-i ʿAḍudiyya*..."[109]

First, by taking into consideration that the mentioned qāḍī Beg-zāde was an Ottoman-appointed qāḍī, who was a member of the ʿulamāʾ family, came from the Ottoman capital according to the situated practice at this time, and Shaykh Muḥyī, also a Rūmī scholar, grew up in the former Ottoman capital Edirne, it is noteworthy how two Anatolian scholars embraced the tradition stemming from al-Bābartī. This shows the impact of al-Shaykhūniyya on the Ottoman milieu, even lived up to nearly two centuries. Secondly, when Muḥyī went to Cairo, he held the position of deputy judge (*kadı naibi*).[110] This lends credibility to the quoted anecdote between him and the jurist of Egypt. However, among the mentioned three scholars, according to one Mamlūk source, Mubārakshāh began to teach in al-Shaykhūniyya after al-Ṣarghitmishiyya until his death.[111] Yet, since al-Bābartī held it from the foundation until his death, Mubārakshāh's taking over it is a weak possibility. Lastly, al-Jurjānī's notes found beneath the old stones of the lodge provide clear evidence that he took lessons in al-Shaykhūniyya when he came to Cairo.

Conclusion

Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī was the first Ottoman *mudarris* at the first Ottoman madrasa. He took his further education in Cairo. He adhered to Akbarī thought and specialized in the rational sciences, and he became the first example of *ʿālim Sufi* typology in the early Ottoman era. After him, in the last thirty years of the eighth Hijri century and fourteenth century CE, al-

109 Muhyî-yi Gülşenî, *Reşehât-ı Muhyî*, 184–185.

110 Tahsin Yazıcı, "Muhyî-yi Gülşenî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (Accessed on 20.07.2025).

111 al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-saniyya*, (İstanbul: Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, 1113), 336a.

Jurjānī, Fenārī, Shaykh Bedreddīn, and Ḥaci Paşa converged in Cairo and studied under Mubārakshāh and al-Bābartī. They received their education in Cairo, where they could pursue a higher education in accordance with the al-Rāzī School and carried this knowledge to the Ottoman *madrasas*. When they came to Ottoman grounds, they became the founders and most eminent scholars of the early Ottoman milieu and also emerged as the most distinguished figures of the Ottoman scholar typology as *ʿālim Sufi* like Qayṣarī. The treatises they wrote show their intensive engagement with the rational sciences and İbn ʿArabī's doctrine.

While the Ottomans initially relied on foreign scholars, they reached the capacity to give sufficient education to local scholars in newly opened madrasas from the reign of Murad II onward. Among the destinations for the Ottoman-origin scholars seeking education, Egypt was the most prestigious among other choices due to some advantages, such as training in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, obtaining the patronage of the Turkish-speaking rulers, following in the footsteps of scholars from the same background, who had settled in Egypt before, and taking education in big institutions providing some additional opportunities for strangers. For these reasons, students from the west of Anatolia and the Persian lands came to Egypt for advanced study. However, not all Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars were welcomed by Egyptian scholars. Because these strangers were educated in the ratio-based methodology and were members of different *madhhabs*. Among these *madhhabs*, Ḥanafīsm was favourable by means of the patronage of some sultans and amirs. Consequently, *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholars reacted through the interpretation of biographical accounts of some Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars, as it appeared clearly in the selected anecdotes of al-Rūmī, al-Harawī, Fenārī and other examples. In addition to the existence of different *madhhabs* on a given ground, due to different approaches originating in specialized fields, some disputes arose between the two groups. This conflict led Egyptian *Shāfiʿī-muḥaddith* scholar-historians to follow an offensive discourse against strangers in their writings.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī, after studying under al-Jurjānī and al-Taftāzānī, came to Cairo and swiftly obtained a position in a high-ranking madrasa endowed by the Mamlūk sultan. Through the investigation of al-Rūmī's quarrels with Mamlūk scholars, it came out that the narrative about him

varied across the Mamlūk sources. While Ibn Taghrībardī disagreed with Ibn Ḥajar's negative comments on al-Rūmī as a voice of the opposite view, Ibn Ḥajar's pupil al-Biqāʿī accused an Anatolian rival of his tutor, al-ʿAynī, for all that transpired. The common point in his biography and the other two stranger scholars was the reflection of the difference between the two groups regarding specializing in the rational and transmitted sciences, which led to the conflict between them.

Al-Ṣarghitmishiyya and al-Shaykhūniyya were two institutions that embraced Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars in Cairo. The founders of these two institutions encouraged the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Under the patronage of two fanatic-Ḥanafī amirs, these institutions were established to encourage Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars. Al-Shaykhūniyya and al-Ṣarghitmishiyya were two important centers for Turkish and Persian students and scholars. Founded to back stranger Ḥanafī pupils, they attracted a lot of foreign learners and teachers. From Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī, we have seen several Anatolian and Persian-origin scholars held the Ḥanafī teaching position in al-Shaykhūniyya. Most of them spoke Turkish or Persian and mastered the rational sciences. Al-Shaykhūniyya Madrasa-khānqāh provided for al-Jurjānī, Molla Fenārī, Shaykh Bedreddīn and Ḥaci Paşa a special atmosphere. Madrasa-khānqāh emerged as a new type of institution in the Mamlūk era, combining the religious knowledge (*ʿilm*) and Sufism. And the teacher of these four students, al-Bābartī, held both a Ḥanafī teaching position and a Sufi hide. Consequently, *ʿālim-Sufi* members of *the al-Shaykhūniyya Network* grew up under the care of al-Bābartī and his colleague al-Mubārakshāh, whose influence extended to the Ottoman province and shaped their orientation. Even though there is a need for further research, after al-Bābartī continued al-Shaykhūniyya on making it possible to raise scholars who could specialize in the rational sciences, despite the mainstream interest in transmitted sciences, and provided a partly isolated environment, particularly under the favour of Sultan Barqūq.

It was pointed out through the research that the scholarly circles Anatolian and Persian-origin students engaged with were under the protection of rich state-funded institutions. This shows the significance of the institutional character of the education in the Mamlūk era, rather

than the individual.[112] I believe this article showed that *maddhab* rivalry among scholars was a very complicated fact at this time, a research about this fact requires delving deep into the faultlines of geographical roots and different specialization fields of scholars not focusing on ties to the rulers only as Mamlūk historians today tend to do. But also, al-Shaykhūniyya and al-Ṣarghitmishiyya revealed that some amirs took a clear stance on supporting Ḥanafīsm.

112 Fort the discussion see Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law*, 27–28.

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Ek/Appendix

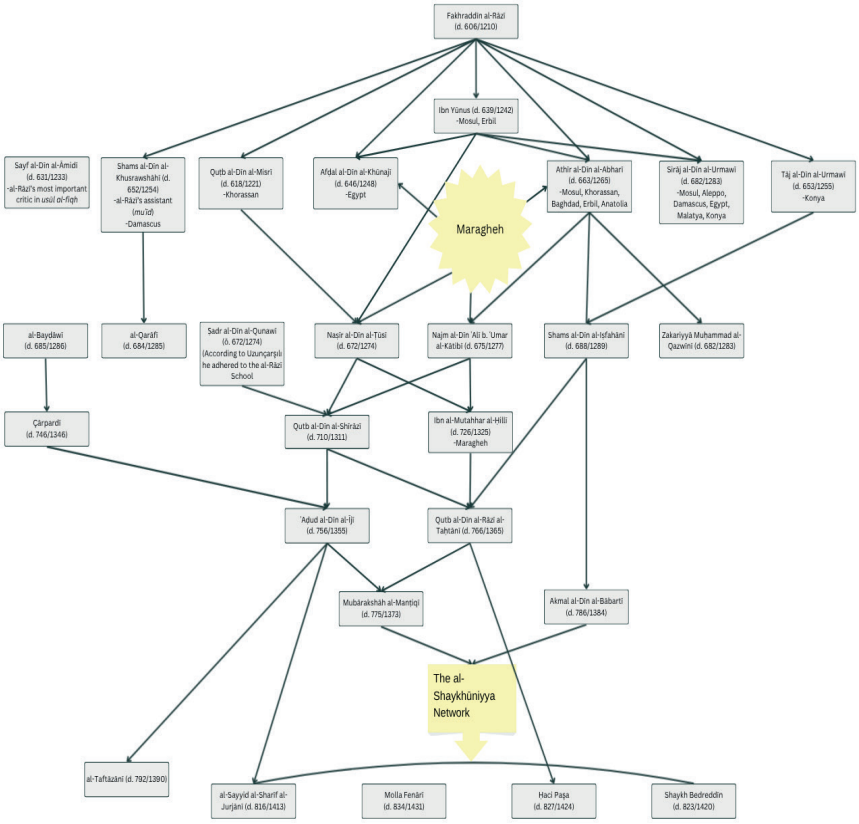


Figure 1: Scholarly Network and Pedigree of al-Shaykhūniyya