
**Schluss**


Dass die ada‘ als solche Gedanken eine gewisse Distanz hatten, lässt sich u. a. daran erkennen, dass kein adib gleichzeitig Sufi war. Einige arbeiten zwar als ṣulūn‘, ich habe aber den Verdacht, dass sie dies vorzugsweise deswegen taten, weil sie von etwas leben mussten.

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*Ibrahim Ibn Hasan al-Kurānī’s Attitude to the Vocal Remembrance (dhbir jahri)*

**Atallah S. Copty**

Ibrahim Ibn Hasan al-Kurānī is a Shāfi‘ī who was born in 1025/1616 in Shahrān, one of the villages in the mountainous region of the province of Shahrazur, Kurdistan. He left his village Shahrān in 1055/1645 to perform the commandment of pilgrimage to Mecca. On his way to Mecca, he stayed in Baghdad for about a year and a half until the middle of 1057/1647, and then continued to Damascus, where he remained for more than four years, learning the writings of the famous theo-sufī, Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and studying mainly ḫudūth with established scholars there. Al-Kurānī left Damascus for Medina. On his way he visited Cairo for a period of less than three months. By the beginning of the year 1062/1651, al-Kurānī had already arrived at al-Ḥaramayn. He became in Medina a neighbour in the holy place in order to lead a life of asceticism and religious contemplation (mujawwir) where he remained until his death in 1101/1690.

The about forty-year stay of al-Kurānī in Medina as mujawwir is very important in his intellectual career as a mubaddith, a ṣāḥib and a theologian (muṣṭakallīm). In Medina Ahmad Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Qushāshī (d. 1071/1661) was his chief Shaykh. Al-Qushāshī was the scion of a well-known family from the village Dajāna (or Dājāniyya), apparently, it is "Bayt Dagon" in the middle of the between Ramla and Jafa, that belonged to the district of Jerusalem. He guided him into ṣafīn and taught him ḫudūth and theology (ḥalām). At the end of al-Qushāshī’s life, he appointed him as his deputy (khalfā). His main ṣafī order (tarīqa, pl. ṣafā) was the Naqshbandiyah one, which he affiliated to by al-Qushāshī.

Al-Kurānī was very productive, one estimation indicated that he wrote more than eighty treatises, while the other one says that he wrote more than one hundred. Most of these treatises reflect his legacy in the fields: ḫudūth, ṣafīn and ḥalām.

The vocal remembrance (dhbir jahri) was one of the issues which al-Kurānī dealt with in the ṣafī field of his treatises. But before I go on to explain his attitude to

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53 Ebd., I, 113.

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this "ṣūfī" issue, let me trace the development of the term "remembrance" (dhikr) in general over "ṣūfī" tradition in Islam until al-Kūrān’s period (11th/17th century).

The remembrance (dhikr) among "ṣūfī" tradition until 11th/17th century

Dhikr, remembrance many times of God’s name, or a sacred formula such as the negation (la ilah) and the affirmation (illa Allāh), or other formulas is of two methods: the first one is the vocal, which is known in Arabic in different words such as jabrī, lisānī, jādī and ‘alānī. This method of dhikr was practiced by the majority of the "ṣūfī" tradition in Islam, and it is related to "Ali Ibn Abī Tālib (the last fourth khalīfah of the rightly-guided rāṣūlidūn), who was said to have kneel before the Prophet and repeated after him three times the sacred formula and from ‘Ali this vocal dhikr passed on. The second method of dhikr is the silent or hidden one, which is also known in Arabic by different names such as khaftī, gatlī, sirī (khaftāfī lisānī), riṭī (najistī). By contrast, it is derived from the Prophet through Abū Bakr (the first khalīfah of the rightly-guided) when the two stayed in the cave on their way in the Hijra to Medina.2

Until the 9th/15th century, the two methods of dhikr (jabrī and khaftī) had co-existed in Islam. The Shaykhīs of the Naqshbandīyya tarīqa, for example, before Khoja Bahā’ al-Din Naqshband (d. 792/1389), performed the two methods of dhikr at the same time.3 Khoja Bahā’ al-Din Naqshband, who was one of the deputies (khuljātī, sing. khuljā) of Khoja Amir Kulā, used to leave the session when Kulā performed dhikr in the ‘alāīnīyya manner without argument. He didn’t declare it as innovation (bid’ā) that is forbidden religiously. Before Kulā’s death, he ordered his followers to follow Khoja Bahā’ al-Din. Despite that, Khoja Bahā’ al-Din did not force his followers to accept dhikr khaftī, and he was satisfied with a remark that the method that he chose for himself was dhikr khaftī, which is superior to jabrī in his view.4

Whenever the two methods of dhikr had co-existed in "ṣūfī" tradition side by side, apparently in modus vivendi, we see in the 9th/15th century that the distinction and separation between them became quite clear.5 Then strong criticism was directed in Transoxania against dhikr jabrī. We learn about this from a treatise written by Ibrahim Ibn Hasan al-Kūrānī titled Ishaf al-muṣnad al-awwāb bi-faṣal al-jahr bi-dhikr Allāh.6 He relates that one of the motives that made him write the treatise was that on the 7th of Dhu al-Hijja 1079/8 May 1679 he found a treatise from the 9th/15th century that was written by a ‘ālim from the followers of the bānūfī school of law of the dignitaries (qāʾīn) of the government of Mirzā Ulugh Bég Ibn Shāh Ruhk (ruled 1447-1462). This anonymous ‘ālim, whom al-Kūrānī calls "the denier" (al-muskbīr) stressed in his treatise that dhikr jabrī was not considered only a bid’ā forbidden in religion, but also an absolute crime (jarr īlāj). He judged that categorically with no limitation to any school of law in Islam.7

It is important to point out that that ‘ālim, after putting forward so many arguments that dhikr jabrī is a bid’ā, stated that there was no place to count its evils (mahfīz) depending, according to his view, on the Qur’ān and the Sunna, and the Muslims consensus (ijma’). He reached this, as he said, by "legal opinions" (fāṣīr, sing. fāṣd) of more than forty bānūfī Imams, who come from Samarqand, Bukhara, Ush, Farghāna, Turkestan, Khawārizm, Khurasan, Nasa, Timurid, Sagān, and other places.8 It is interesting that most of the cities that appear in this list are located geographically in the district of Transoxania, the stronghold of the Naqshbandīyya tarīqa.

After the 9th/15th century, the debate regarding dhikr jabrī, continued to occupy the minds of the "ṣūfī" in Islam. This debate, continued also in the 11th/17th century as expressed by one of the disciples of al-Kūrānī, the Moroccan Abu Sālim al-‘Ayyāshī (d. 1090/1679) who said that "the question of dhikr was largely discussed by the latters."9

Al-Kūrānī’s legacy of the dhikr jabrī

Al-Kūrānī’s interest in the issue of dhikr jabrī, like other issues that he verified in his treatises, stemmed from the contemporary necessity of the Islamic world. He dealt with this issue in his two treatises, which he wrote with a difference of one year: Nasib al-sahr fi al-dhikr bi-al-jahr,10 he wrote it apparently in 1078/1668 and Ishaf al-muṣnad which I had mentioned before. In Nasib al-sahr al-Kūrānī related to a request which he received from an anonymous person from the city of

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3 Saḥāb, al-Dīn Ibn al-Mūbirāk, Maqṣūmat al-Dīrāṣa Bāhā’ al-Dīn wa-maṣāpiḥan, transl. by Ibn ‘A’in, St. Petersburg 1901, 6: hāna al-dhikr bi-al-ṣūfīyya maqṣūmat ma’ūn al-dīrāṣa.4
5 Togan, The Khaft, Jahrı Controversy, 31.
8 Ibd., fol. 127b.
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b) The medium level in which we utter dihir to the “necessary standard” (âlâ qâdî al-âbâjû). Al-Kurâni uses the term “istîdâ” or “mutâdîl” (moderation in order to emphasize this level).

c) The high level which is “above the necessary standard” (al-za’â’îd’ âlâ qâdî al-âbâjû) even to the degree of exaggeration (mubâlâgah) to which the commandment of “Don’t do” applies.

From this point, Al-Kurâni starts refuting the arguments of al-munkir that dihir jibrî is a bid’a, depending in this on Qu’ran, Sunna, ways of the worthy ancestors (al-sâlih al-sâlihî) and on Sufism:

a) Qu’ran and Sunna

Regarding the Qu’ranic verse “wa-al-dâkhîr rabbaba fi nasîhata tâdarrus an wa-khîfûtah wa-dînâ al-jâhî min al-qâdî...”16 on which al-munkir depends, Al-Kurâni comments that humbleness (tâdarrus) to God is something likeable (muhabbah) to God. In order to prove this, he quotes several verses from the Qu’ran such as: “Indeed We sent to nations before thee, and We seized them with misery and hardship, that haply they might be humble; If only, when Our might came upon them, they had been humble.”17

However, the meaning of tâdarrus is “raising one’s voice when calling God in moderation (rista’î).”18 Al-Kurâni’s view is that the allowed dihir according to that verse “wa-al-dâkhîr rabbaba...” is of three kinds: dihir by tongue (al-lisân) with two components: secret (srîri), this is a kind of khafl lisânî and vocal (jibrî), this is a kind of jibrî lisânî that includes the lowest standard of jibrî and the moderate (mutsâdîl), but not the absolute jibrî (mu’ta’l al-jâhî). It means that noisy jibrî which is “above the necessary standard” (al-za’â’îd’ âlâ qâdî al-âbâjû) to which the commandment of “Don’t do” applies.19 Besides, the nida’ in the Quranic verse “When he [Zakariyya] cried unto his Lord a cry in secret...” 20 indicates, according to al-Kurâni, the lowest standard of jibrî because the meaning of nida’ according to the dictionary (al-Qamus) by al-Fayruzabadi, with dama ( ) on the letter nin or kasra ( ) is a voice (sâ’ab), which is something “concrete” from the auditory point of view, but the Prophet’s Companions explained the word as an equivalent to “munâjât,” which means “raising one’s voice” during praying to God
(dē'ā) in order to give to the listener the opportunity to hear even by the lowest degree of jahār.  

Moreover, there are two verses that reflect Al-Kūrān’s last opinion that dhikr jahār, to which the commandment of “Don’t do” applies, is the one that is “above the necessary standard.” The two verses that he quotes are the ones on which al-munkhir depends. The first one, which has been mentioned before, is “wa-aa-dhikar rabbuka fi nafsika...”. The second one is “[And be thou Muhammad], not loud voiced in thy prayer, nor yet silent therein, but seek thou for a way be between that.” In his explanation of these two verses, Al-Kūrān depends on a number of interpreters. The most important of them is ‘Abdallah Ibn ‘Abbas Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 68/687), who is said to be the spiritual source for Al-Kūrān, because he is considered by the Prophet as “the interpreter of the Qur’ān and the grand learned of this nation – the Islam.” Ibn ‘Abbas explained the verse “wa-aa-dhikar rabbuka fi nafsika...” to be similar to “lā taqab har bi-jalālīka wu-lā tuḥštīfa...”. The two are Meccan verses but the second verse was revealed to the Prophet while he was reading the Qur’ān in a vocal voice (yaḥṣūra bi-āl-Qur’ān). When the disbelievers (kufr) of Mecca heard this from him, they started cursing (yuqabbūna) the Qur’ān and the one who revealed it to him. Thus, God ordered the Prophet to leave this reading in order to block the means which might possibly lead to undesired consequences (la’dal-adhārs). This was expressed in the verse “wa-aa-dhikar rabbuka fi nafsika...”.

According to Al-Kūrān, the above-mentioned verses prove undoubtedly that the forbidden dhikr according to the “obligatory commandments” and “prohibitory commandments” (“Do, or not do”) is the one that is “above the necessary standard.” It was hard for the Companions of the Prophet not to hear the Prophet when he mentioned the name of God because of the verse “lā taqab har bi-jalālīka wu-lā tuḥštīfa” so God adds “nor yet silent therein.” Therefore, he was raising it, so “to let them hear him he raised his voice to the necessary standard undoubtedly.” With regard to the same verse “wa-aa-dhikar rabbuka fi nafsika...” Al-Kūrān tried to prove to that hānafi scholar and to the fifty hānafi ‘ulamā’, who judged the dhikr jahār to be a bid’, that they were not proficient even at the principles of the founder of the hānafi school of law, al-Nu’mān Ibn Thābit Abū Hanifa (d. 150/767), whom they follow. For this sake, he quoted from the book of Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Nujaym,25 al-Bahār al-dā’ilī fi sharh al-da’qīqī, Abū Hanifa’s words “raising your voice in dhikr is a bid’a. It is contrary to the order of Allāh (sa-‘īdhu rabbuka fi nafsika tadarrūr wa-hāshiṣatan wa-dinka al-jahār min al-qawd...).” Al-Kūrān said: “What Abū Hanifa intended was the exaggerated jahār which is more than the necessary standard” and not jahār mus’udd. Al-Kūrān added, “this is a proof that (for Abū Hanifa) jahār mus’udd is a desirable thing – because man is not punished for not doing it – and not because jahār is a bid’a in an absolute way.”  

Moreover, Al-Kūrān maintains that there is no limitation of any kind, whether it is for the kinds of dhikr (excepting the noisy jahār), or for the mystical states of those who perform it (dhuwāl al-dīdārīn). As it is emphasized in the Qur’ān in the verse: “When ye have performed the act of worship, remember Allāh, standing, sitting and reclining.”26 Here also Al-Kūrān depends on the interpretation of Ibn ‘Abbās of the same verse in order to prove that here it has nothing to do with dhikr jahār as included in the things to which the commandment of “Don’t do” applies.  

Al-Kūrān also quoted hadīths for the same purpose, and this emphasizes his expertise in the field. So he noticed that it is appropriate to be brief because a more detailed way needs more time. In the two treatments also Nasīr al-zahra and Ibḥāf al-mustah, Al-Kūrān closes by a series of hadīths, which appeared largely in his treatise Musāli al-aḥrār ilā ahbādh al-nabī al-mukhākhā. In these hadīths, he mentioned the same hadīth on which al-munkur depended “ya ayyāh Allāhu n-nīr ‘a-sā dhikr” according to the explanation of Ibn Hajr al-‘Askālānī (d. 852/1449), Al-Kūrān said, “the Prophet asked one of his Companions (ṣāliba) to say “Have Mercy” (irḥa’) on themselves and not to dissipate their energy more than necessary.” From this, he understood that this hadīth demands only to “nullify the exaggerated shouts in dhikr but not to nullify dhikr basically” (ṣark al-ṣāliḥ al-muṣrīf lā tark ēl al-jahār). Thus, on one occasion, the Prophet remarked to someone who raised his voice “above the necessary standard” saying, “You are not calling a deaf or absent.”

From these things, one can conclude that Al-Kūrān tried to prove that the Prophet performed the dhikr mus’udd of the jahār according to the “necessity standard” in every condition that the word “jumāhīb” implied, such as: in the learning session that the Prophet held with his Companions, during the pilgrimage rites and processions, at his home, at the mosque and on his travelling.27 There is some evidence here that the Prophet did not ban performance of dhikr jahār in the above-mentioned issue including the mosques. This was also Al-Kūrān’s...
answer to the request which he received from an anonymous person from the city of Amid, which was expressed in the treatise Naṣr al-zahr.

Besides, the hadīth that al-Kūrānī quoted proves this rule. He quoted the hadīth that was related by the Prophet’s Companion Jābir Ibn ‘Abdallāh (d. 78/697) about a prayer in the Prophet’s time who used to raise his voice in his recitation of the sacred formula lā ilāha illā Allāh. One of the prayers noted to him to lower his voice. In reaction to his note, the Prophet said, “let him, because he is awrāh,” one of whose meanings is “calling the name of Allah many times.” This explains the title of the treatise Iḥāf al-munīth al-awrāh. Al-Kūrānī said, “this is evidence by the Prophet that we should perform the ḍhikr jābri in the mosque,”33 to the “necessity standard” of course.

b) Ways of “the worthy ancestors” (al-salaf al-sālih)

In addition to the hadīth that al-Kūrānī quotes to prove that ḍhikr jābri in the mosques is not included in the commandments of “Do not,” he brings further proofs that are taken from the ways of “the worthy ancestors” (al-salaf al-sālih). He quoted in different versions the episode given by ‘Ubayd Ibn ‘Umray about the reading-manner of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the second khamis of the rightly-guided. While he was reciting ‘Allāh ‘Abdūr (laḥabīr) under a one dome (qubba) of Mina near Mecca (which is one of the stations of the pilgrimage ceremony), the people in the mosque of Mecca were repeating the same call. The call was repeated also by the people in the market who heard the calls “till Mina shakes.”34

According to al-Kūrānī, the ways of the Prophet’s Companions also emphasize the verse of the Qur’ān that ordains the Muslims who are performing the ceremony of the pilgrimage to perform takbīr. Besides, they used to mention the names of their ancestors in the ḍhikr jābri as the Qur’ānic verse demanded; “And when ye have completed your devotions, then remember Allāh as ye remember your fathers or with a more lively performance.”35

c) Sūfism

Al-Kūrānī depends also on Sūfism to refute the arguments of al-munkhīr. He argues that ḍhikr jābri is included in the commandments of “Do, not do,” according to the textual (msāhah) and rationally (nashq wa’l-qāgh). For example, al-munkhīr depended on the ideas of the Shaykh of the ṭarīqa Khuwāriyya, Najīn al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221) from Khawārizm, who said in one of his writings called al-

Risāla tī al-ḥā’īm al-khāṣf min ʾaṣma al-lā’īm, that “he who is reciting the name of God has to recite it strongly (bi-qawma khudāh) so that the spirit of the ḍhikr flows in his veins, but without raising his voice.” Thus the words “without raising his voice,” according to al-munkhīr, express the view of Najīn al-Dīn against the ḍhikr jābri. Al-Kūrānī found in the words of al-munkhīr that in his previous quotation of al-Kubrā he omitted the words “ḍhikr bi-al-lāsīn,” which Najīn al-Dīn emphasized, and even added that “one must continue reciting the name of God, be He exalted, ḍhikr bi-al-lāsīn, together with the presence of the heart and strong, but without raising one’s voice.” In another treatise by Najīn al-Dīn, Fawwād al-jamāl wa-fawwād al-jalāl,36 he talks about “the advantage of immersion of the self-existence of the sīn unto the ḍhikr (istiʿbārāt al-wajīl fi al-ḍhikr).” During the ḍhikr that stems from reciting the name of God strongly through ḍhikr bi-al-lāsīn.” Al-Kūrānī remarked that in the last quotation, Najīn al-Dīn did not mention specifically “without raising one’s voice” as he did in the quotation from al-Risāla tī al-ḥā’īm. One can conclude from the sentence “reciting the name of God strongly” that he refers to ḍhikr jābri, and the intention of Najīn al-Dīn by saying “without raising one’s voice” is “above the necessary standard” because as al-Kūrānī said it is inappropriate for Najīn al-Dīn, who is considered an outstanding ṣafīf, ṣafīs, ṣafīfīs, masbaṭahīs and sīn to denounce the ḍhikr jābri as an absolute way and the evidence as that he said, “The ways to God (be He glorified) are as the number of the breaths of the created being without limitation.”37

From the rational point of view, al-munkhīr argued that the advantage that arises from staying at the seclusion (khutba) is the stoppage of the “external senses” (al-bawāsīs al-zahrīn) in order that the “internal senses” (al-bawāsīs al-bātin) will be revealed to the recite. However, in the ḍhikr jābri stoppage of hearing (ṣafī al-sama’), which is one of external senses, doesn’t take place. By this argument, al-munkhīr tried to prove that the commandment “Do, not do” applies to ḍhikr jābri. Against this, al-Kūrānī argued that ḍhikr jābri is allowed according to the Sunna: in the khutba, outside it, on travel, on sitting, during the day, at night, during buying, selling and by practicing the sīn way. However, it’s not included in the commandment of “Do, not do” at all. For al-Kūrānī, the benefit that arises from ḍhikr jābri in the khutba is the participation of the tongue and of hearing together with the heart. This doesn’t exist in the ḍhikr ḍhikr nafsī, which is only for the secluded in the khutba, as al-Kūrānī said, is “halting of hearing” so that one will not hear anything except the name of God, and “halting of the

33 Ibn, fol. 123a.
34 Ibid., fol. 116b: ḥarāṣa yarīa Minā.  
38 Al-Kūrānī, Iḥāf al-munīth, fol. 149b: al-ṭarīq tī Allāh ʿalāla ba’r ṣafīs ʿalāla ḍhikr wa-tabīr.
acts of worship (al-nawâfîl). In this way, they bring every Muslim/ṣafî nearer to God and give him God’s love and His help as the ḥudâth qudis says. “My servant, still does not stop coming closer to me by the nawâtîl until I love him and when I love him, I change into his sense of hearing through which he hears, and to the sense of sight, through which he sees, and to his hand, by which he does things and his leg, by which he walks.”

Conclusion

Al-Kurâni’s treatment of the dhikr jabri as I have tried to show is interesting in itself. First, he denies the categorical statement that al-munjîr made regarding dhikr jabri as bid’at that is forbidden by Islamic religion. This is reflected in his attempt to make order regarding the concept of dhikr jabri. He divides it into three different levels, the lowest one “adâ‘a al-jabri,” the medium one “al-ma‘tâdîl,” and the highest one, which is “above the necessary standard.” The commandment of “Don’t do” applies only to the third level. This division of the dhikr jabri into three levels is, apparently, originally and unique for al-Kurâni and his main contribution to a new understanding of the term dhikr jabri. Moreover, al-Kurâni does not find it, totally, as a bid’at a forbidden by Islamic religion as al-munjîr did, who depended on the judgment of the fifty buanî witrîs. Al-Kurâni not only refuted al-munjîr’s arguments, but also tried to prove that the same fifty buanî witrîs, on whose judgment he depended, were not proficient at even in the teachings of Abu Hanîfah, the founder of the buanî school of law. Al-Kurâni also emphasizes that the other two levels – the lowest and the medium – are not included in the commandment of “Don’t do.” He tries to prove this by depending on various verses from the Qur’ân and hadîths, which al-munjîr himself uses. He also depends on the ways of “the worthy ancestors” (al-salaf al-sâlih) and Sufism. In this way, al-Kurâni gives religious authorization to dhikr jabri, except the type of “above the necessary standard.”
In summary, we can say that the issue that al-Kurānī verified in show his attempt to annul the claim of bi‘dā from dihāk jahri. Due to his contribution to this issue, as well as to others which they are out of the border of this article, he reinforces the Sunnī orthodox trend in Islam, which brought him credit and appreciation from his followers, and has gained him the most supreme title which a ‘ulām can acquire in Islam, and first of all from some of his students. I mean he is entitled to the be called the “renueve (muqaddid) of the 11th/17th century” in Islam.45