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**Kristina Richardson**

## **The Evolving Biographical Legacy of Two Late Mam- luk Ḥanbalī Judges**

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# The Evolving Biographical Legacy of Two Late Mamluk Ḥanbalī Judges

by Kristina L. Richardson (Queens College, The City University of New York)

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- *Difference and Disability in the Medieval Islamic World: Blighted Bodies*, Edinburgh/New York: Edinburgh/Oxford University Press, 2012.
- "Drug Overdose, Disability and Male Friendship in Late Medieval Cairo," *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 3/2 (2012), 168-81
- "Disability? Perspectives on Bodily Difference from the Middle East," in *Why the Middle Ages Matter: Medieval Light on Modern Injustice*, eds. Celia Chazelle, Simon Doubleday, Felice Lifshitz, Amy Remensnyder, New York: Routledge Press 2011, 121-9.
- "Singing Slave Girls (*qiyan*) of the Abbasid Court," in *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, eds. Joseph Miller, Suzanne Miers, Gwyn Campbell, Athens: Ohio University Press 2009, 105-18.

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*Abstract*

In 887/1482, two Damascene Ḥanbalī judges, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zurayq (d. 900/1495) and Nağm ad-Dīn ‘Umar b. Mufliḥ (d. 919/1513), stood accused of confiscation of waqf property and were summoned to Cairo to be interrogated and investigated by Sultan Qā’itbāy. In this article I investigate this incidence of waqf manipulation, the lives of the accused parties after this event, and the ways in which later biographers, particularly Ibn Zurayq’s favorite student Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) and Ibn Mufliḥ’s grandson Akmal ad-Dīn b. Mufliḥ (d. 1011/1603), sought to reframe the event and, thereby, the legacy of the participants.

## *Introduction*

After the death of al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. 463/1071), the author of *Taʿrīḥ Baġdād*, his biographers deployed various approaches to representing his life and writing. Fedwa Malti-Douglas has analyzed thirteen biographies written between the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> centuries that impugn his work and reputation, those that celebrate his life and accomplishments, and those that take a more tempered stance to it all. To understand the motivations for each biographer's narrative strategy, she has parsed the polemics and the praise, the silences and the chatter to show how local politics, *madḥab* affiliation and religious debates shaped the viewpoints of the biographers and led them to recount or omit certain details, allege or deny al-Ḥaṭīb's affair with a young boy, and support or discredit charges of drunkenness.<sup>1</sup>

In this article, I propose to apply this methodology to biographies of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zurayq (d. 900/1495) and Naġm ad-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muflīḥ (d. 919/1513), two Ḥanbalī judges in late Mamluk Damascus, whose engagement in waqf fraud came to a head in 887/1482. Although corruption in the handling of Damascene waqfs was rampant, this case was so egregious that contemporary chroniclers in Damascus and Cairo reported the incident. The judges' biographers later had to grapple with the politics of representing this event. In this particular historical moment, Arab biographers and autobiographers wrote more explicitly about their authorial subjectivity and the politics of (self-) representation. Dwight Reynolds has found that "beginning in the late fifteenth century, Arabic autobiographers become more and more concerned with the careful framing of their texts, the articulation of their motivations, and defending themselves from potential charges of vanity, falsification, and innovation."<sup>2</sup> In this regard, Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn ad-Dimašqī (d. 953/1546) is an exemplary author. He wrote biographical dictionaries and even composed an autobiography in which he theorized about the ethics of biographical and autobiographical writing. There, he claimed that biographies were ethically preferable to autobiographies, though he elected to write one all the same. Perhaps to offset the complicated associations of vanity, he incorporated a lengthy biography of his teacher Ibn Zurayq into his autobiography.

In addition to this biographical sketch of Ibn Zurayq, I have located two others that Ibn Ṭūlūn composed independently of his peers. (He also cited others' portraits of Ibn Zurayq in his works.) In each, Ibn Ṭūlūn honored his teacher by emphasizing his scholarly identity which threatened to be overshadowed by the crimes of 887/1482, and in each Ibn Ṭūlūn focused on a different strategy: his use of a particular performance-enhancing drug preferred by ḥadīth scholars, his deep entrenchment in the scholarly networks of 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup>-century Damascus and aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya, and his role as a mentor to young scholars. Ibn Ṭūlūn did not write an original biography of Naġm ad-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muflīḥ, but his grandson Akmal ad-Dīn b. Muflīḥ did wrestle with questions of representing his grandfather and chose a manner of representation that preserved the family's dignity.

## *Biography of Ibn Zurayq*

The available sources concur on various aspects of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Zurayq's biography. He was born in Ṣawwāl 812/February 1410 in aṣ-

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<sup>1</sup> Malti-Douglas, *Controversy*.

<sup>2</sup> Reynolds, et. al., *Interpreting the Self*, 66.

Şālihiyya, a Ḥanbalī enclave northwest of Damascus, and grew up there with his large extended family.<sup>3</sup> He appears to have been named after his paternal uncle, Nāşir ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zurayq, who died in 803/1400. His father, a judge also known as Ibn Zurayq, or Son of the Shiny Blue-Eyed Man, had a total of seven children with two wives; ‘Abd Allāh (d. 848/1444), ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān (d. 838/1434), and Sitt al-Quḍāt (d. 864/1459 or 1460) were full siblings, and our Nāşir ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 900/1495), Asmā’, ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb (d. 845/1441) and Aḥmad (d. 891/1486) constituted a younger set of full siblings.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Zurayq studied ḥadīth, jurisprudence, and the Quran in Aleppo, Cairo, Damascus, and Mecca with such luminaries of the time as Burhān ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 841/1438), Ibn Ḥaġar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), and Ibn Nāşir ad-Dīn ad-Dimaşqī (d. 842/1438). He wrote short ḥadīth compilations, kept audition notes (*ṭibāq*), and also wrote a *ṭabat*, or scholarly autobiography, in two volumes. Only the latter autograph volume survives, and it consists of a record of his teachers, the works they taught him, the dates of transmission, and the chains of authorities leading back to the original authors.<sup>5</sup>

He was a descendant of Şayḥ Abū ‘Umar b. Qudāma (d. 607/1210), one of the earliest and most venerated settlers of aṣ-Şālihiyya, and eventually became supervisor (*nazar*) of Abū ‘Umar’s eponymous school, al-Madrasa al-‘Umariyya. Ibn Zurayq’s student Ibn Ṭulūn claimed that the Zurayq family had been granted custodianship after a separate family line had run out. When Ibn Qāḍī al-Ġabal (d. 771/1370) married into the Zurayq family, he authorized one of them to control the waqf, and this unnamed person was corrupt in his handling of it.<sup>6</sup> After that, control passed into the hands of one ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Dāwūd (d. 856/1452), who, as supervisor of al-‘Umariyya “was good with his charge and grew the waqf.”<sup>7</sup> In fact, during ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān’s tenure, the madrasa opened up to non-Ḥanbalīs. Şāfi‘ī, Ḥanafī, and for a time even Mālikī teachers had designated days and places to teach their students there.<sup>8</sup>

Our Nāşir ad-Dīn b. Zurayq was this individual’s successor, and several contemporary observers indicate that his tenure as supervisor was fraught. An-Nu‘aymī (d. 927/1521) claimed that when Ibn Zurayq assumed the supervisorship, the mosque interior was orderly, and houses surrounded the mosque, but under his leadership, everything inside the mosque was broken, and the homes were destroyed. This destruction was especially lamentable because the madrasa had been built during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup>-century reign of the Zengid ruler Nūr ad-Dīn.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn related several anecdotes about Ibn Zurayq’s reputation for poor treatment

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaşkafī recorded his birth month as either Şawwāl or Dū l-Qa‘da. See al-Ḥaşkafī, *Mut‘at al-aḥḥān*, 2:593.

<sup>4</sup> as-Saḥāwī, *ad-Ḍaw‘ al-lāmi‘*, 11:44. Princeton Garrett MS 178B, which will be discussed and analyzed later, contains more details about some of these siblings. For ‘Abdallāh, see fols. 33v, 76v, 82r. For ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, see fols. 28r, 72v, 73v, 83v, 88v, 94v, 96v, 100r, 111r. For Sitt al-Quḍāh, see fol. 25r.

<sup>5</sup> Aside from this *ṭabat* volume (British Library MS OR 9792), few of Ibn Zurayq’s writings are known to have survived. King Saud University MS 2578 is a copy dated 1076/1665-6 of Ibn Zurayq’s collection of 40 ḥadīth. Among works that he copied are Ibn Ḥaġar’s *Ta‘ġīl al-manfa‘a bi-zawā‘id riġāl al-a‘immat al-arba‘a* in 839/1435-6 (al-Asad Library Maġmū‘a 12) and Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya’s *Kitāb al-ġuyūş al-islamiyya* in Ġumādā II 831/1428 (Berlin Ahlwardt MS 2090).

<sup>6</sup> On Ibn Qāḍī al-Ġabal’s history of issuing controversial opinions about selling waqfs, see al-Matroudi, *Hanbalī School*, 113-4.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Qalā‘id*, 1:269.

<sup>8</sup> an-Nu‘aymī, *ad-Dāris*, 2:84-5.

<sup>9</sup> an-Nu‘aymī, *ad-Dāris*, 2:80.

of religious property. First, he pilfered books from the library of al-Madrasa al-Ḍiyā'iyya, then he removed a stone at the base of the 'Umariyya's mihrāb, issued a fatwa stating that the distribution of meat at the 'Umariyya for 'Īd was not permitted. He ruled that dirhams must be distributed, but Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī reminded him that the waqf stipulated a feast for 'Īd, so eventually a cooked wheat dish was distributed.<sup>10</sup> However, none of this activity compares with an event widely recorded in late Mamluk chronicles. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 934/1527) noted in his diaristic chronicle that:

On Wednesday, 24 Ramaḍān 887 [6 November 1482], the viceregent of Syria (*nā'ib aš-šām*) detained a group of people from the Abū 'Umar madrasa in aš-Ṣālihiyya, Damascus, and he beat them with clubs and chained them up for one month. As he made a sudden attack on the madrasa, they [the detainees] escaped from him to the mountain. He managed to seize some of them again and then placed them in prison. The cause of all of this was a boy reciting the Quran at the Ḥanbalī Mosque in aš-Ṣālihiyya. When he had finished the recitation, people attacked a group who were stealing candles. Someone from the [Abū 'Umar] madrasa stood up to strike [them], but the blow fell on the lamps, breaking them. Oil splashed on the boy's robe of honor. So, they complained to the *nā'ib*, and it happened that someone said to the *nā'ib*: 'These people from the madrasa are bad news.'<sup>11</sup>

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, a historian who was living in Damascus at this time, anonymized all of the participants in this incident—the viceregent, the boy, the candle thieves, and the people attacking the thieves. Ibn Ṭūlūn, however, was only seven years old at the time of this incident, and, similar to the young boy in the anecdote, was reciting a portion of the Quran in al-Kawāfi Mosque in aš-Ṣālihiyya that same week on 21 Ramaḍān 887/3 November 1482.<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn inserted Ibn al-Ḥimṣī's episode into his own chronicle *Mufākahat al-ḥillān*, only altering it to specify the names of the protagonists and to shift the sequence of events. He identified the boy at the Ḥanbalī Mosque as someone nicknamed Ibn Mūsak, named chief judge Nağm ad-Dīn b. Muflīḥ (d. 919/1513) as an accomplice, and indicated that Ibn Muflīḥ had raided the madrasa before beating some of the congregants there.<sup>13</sup> However, even with these biographical details, Ibn Zurayq is not mentioned here by name. Ibn Ṭūlūn takes up the subject again in a chapter on the Abū 'Umar madrasa in *al-Qalā'id al-ğawhariyya*, his topography of aš-Ṣālihiyya. There, he named Ibn Zurayq as a key protagonist, described the event in greater detail and even attributed a strange motive to Ibn Zurayq.

When 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Dāwud died, the judge Nāṣir ad-Dīn b. Zurayq took control of it [the waqf]. He lost his mind. His mind and body were corrupted because he ate *balāḍur*, which corrupted his *ḥāl*. He sold much of the [madrasa's] *waqf*. His mind was the cause of its [the *waqf*'s] destruction, with help from his brother Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad [d. 891/1486].<sup>14</sup> It is cited from him awful words and deeds of unbelief, among which is: 'My intention was to destroy it [the madrasa].' Onto its door he nailed a piece

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā'id*, 1:138, 257, 267.

<sup>11</sup> al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādiṯ al-zamān*, 1:185.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-mašhūr*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-ḥillān*, 1:60.

<sup>14</sup> A treatise on exchange of waqf property has been attributed to this Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Zurayq. See his *Fī l-munāqala bi-l-awqāf*, 139-55. The treatise, being theoretical, does not reference this particular episode or even the 'Umariyya.



of paper addressed to the Turks that read: ‘In here with me are 500 pupils and teachers (*ḥirāmī*)’, so that the mamluks and others would hate them. He [Ibn Zurayq] and others helped until the group occupied [the madrasa]. He beat the people after they had ordered good and forbidden evil against anyone. They held their sovereignty over the madrasa so even if a criminal (*ḡarīm*) entered it, no one from the military or even the viceregent (*nā’ib*) could enter and take him. When a slain person floated by on the river, he was washed and buried against regulations(?). Eventually, its [the madrasa’s] sanctity was broken, and their affair was compromised. In this, he was supported by the Hanbalī judge an-Naḡm [‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad] b. Muflīḥ.<sup>15</sup>

Ibn Ṭūlūn admits that Ibn Zurayq and Ibn Muflīḥ committed crimes, specifically selling portions of a *waqf* and occupying the madrasa. According to the Syrian historian al-Buṣrawī (d. 905/1499-1500), these were sufficiently common occurrences in Damascus during the 880’s that student attendance at madrasas fell dramatically and daily operations in Syrian madrasas frequently came to a halt. He points to the year 890 as the moment when student attendance returned to normal levels.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, judges, who were appointed as custodians and upholders of the law, were often perpetrators of these crimes. Carl Petry recently identified six *waqf* manipulation cases from late medieval Syrian and Egyptian chronicles, and five of these featured judges who had been accused of mismanaging *waqf* funds.<sup>17</sup> So the incident at al-‘Umariyya was not singular for its time and for the high status of its accused. However, the justifications Ibn Ṭūlūn offered for Ibn Zurayq’s behavior are striking—eating *balāḍur* and keeping company with corrupt people. *Balāḍur* is a nut whose extract scholars frequently ingested to enhance their memorization capabilities.<sup>18</sup> Calculating the proper dosage was critical, because the drug had two well-known, frightening side effects: insanity or death. An anecdote from Ibn Ṣaddād (d. 632/1234) illustrates the convergence of scholarly identity around *balāḍur* usage, as well as the loss of mental stability such use could engender. One day, Ibn Ṣaddād observed four or five jurists at al-Madrasa an-Nizāmiyya in Baghdad, who were discussing appropriate dosages of *balāḍur*.

Because it strengthens one’s memory and comprehension, they had gathered with one of the physicians. They asked him about the amount of it that humans can use and about how to use it. Then they bought the amount that the physician had told them and drank it somewhere outside the school. Insanity overtook them. They dispersed and they did not know what had come over them. After some days, one of them—a tall fellow—came to the madrasa. He was naked, and wore nothing to cover his genitals. On his head was a large turban (*biqyar kabīr*) with a long piece of it hanging down, which was not custom. He threw it [the piece] behind him, and it reached his ankles. He was silent, exuding peace and dignity, not talking, not joking. One of the jurists present

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā’id*, 2:269. The ‘Umariyya’s endowment deed stipulated that two workers would be responsible for feeding 500 students, for which see Frenkel, *Awqāf*, 158.

<sup>16</sup> al-Buṣrawī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Buṣrawī*, 106, 180. Cited in Mahamid, *Waqf*, 119.

<sup>17</sup> Petry, *Criminal Underworld*, 75-81.

<sup>18</sup> The editor of *al-Qalā’id al-ḡawhariyya* transcribed this word as *bi-lā durr*, or ‘without pearls’, which makes no sense in this context. For more on the medicinal properties and medieval history of *balāḍur*, see Bos, *Balāḍhur*. Ibn Ṭūlūn also wrote a lost treatise on *balāḍur* titled *al-Lum’a an-nūrāniyya fī l-maqāla al-balāḍuriyya* (Luminous Shine: An Essay on Balāḍur). (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-maṣḥūn*, 129) For the history of a 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup>-century Cairene scholar who overdosed on *balāḍur*, causing temporary insanity and an outbreak of painful boils, see Richardson, *Difference*, 40-60.

approached him and asked him about his condition. He said to them: ‘We gathered together and drank the *balāḍur* nut. My friends became crazy, and I was the only one to escape. My mind grew strong and clear.’ The people mock him, and he is unaware of it. He firmly believes that he has escaped what afflicted his friends.<sup>19</sup>

The moral associations with *balāḍur* were neutral, but the professional associations with the scholarly class conveyed a certain degree of prestige. Al-Ġāḥiḏ and Ibn al-Ġawzī admitted to taking *balāḍur*, in spite of the side effects. (Ibn al-Ġawzī’s beard thinned, and Al-Ġāḥiḏ was irascible when not using it.) The 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup>-century Cairene poet admitted to overdosing on it and losing his mind. The grandfather of the famed historian al-Balāḍurī apparently “died mentally deranged through inadvertent use of *balāḍhur*,” and it is clear that the family took the name of the drug as their own, perhaps solidifying their connection to a serious scholar who ultimately martyred himself in pursuit of glory.<sup>20</sup> Still, in spite of these examples of proud scholars who took *balāḍur*, I have not previously seen it used as justification for criminal mischief. I read Ibn Ṭūlūn’s mention of his teacher’s purported *balāḍur* use as an attempt to absolve him of criminal responsibility, since an insane person is not usually liable for his actions in Islamic law, and also to emphasize his identity as a scholar. Using *balāḍur*, like wearing one’s turban a certain way, marked one as a dedicated scholar.<sup>21</sup>

No other chronicler of the period or biographer of Ibn Zurayq mentions his *balāḍur* use or attempts to explain the criminal behavior. The next known mentions discuss the events as they unfolded in Egypt. Ibn al-Ḥimsī noted that five months later “on Thursday, 24 Šafar 888[2 April 1483], the sultan decreed that Qāḍī al-quḍāt Nağm ad-Dīn b. Muflīḥ al-Ḥanbalī and Aqdā’ al-quḍāt Nāšir ad-Dīn b. Zurayq, supervisor of the Abū ‘Umar madrasa, be summoned. They both were brought to the Egyptian palaces because of a complaint from the people of the Abū ‘Umar madrasa who had been beaten with clubs, as previously mentioned.”<sup>22</sup> ‘Abd al-Bāsīt al-Ḥanafī (d. 920/1514) claimed that two months later, in Rabī‘ II 888/June 1483, “the Ḥanbalī judge arrived from Damascus. With him was Ibn Muflīḥ, who had been summoned because of a dispute among some Syrians there. Misfortunes befell him, because of his desire for property. He returned to Damascus after that.”<sup>23</sup> As-Sahāwī, a younger contemporary of Ibn Zurayq, offers more details, though he placed the events in the following year, 889/1484.

Al-Ašraf Qā’itbāy summoned him [Ibn Zurayq] there [to Cairo] in the year [8]89 because of a dispute between legal claimants (*mustahaqqī*) to a madrasa. For a while, while in public office, he was obsessed with money. He was forced to confess to a form of forcible confiscation of property. He endured hardships and was threatened with banishment and other things. We felt sorrow for him. Then he returned to his homeland. He was a good, faithful, humble and friendly man.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 7:94.

<sup>20</sup> Becker, *Al-Balāḍhurī*.

<sup>21</sup> Similarly, when Timur’s grandson Sulṭān Ḥusayn briefly defected to the Mamluks in 803/1400, Timurid chroniclers attributed this betrayal to drunkenness and corrupt counselors. Mamluk chroniclers did not attribute any motive to Sultan-Husayn’s actions. On this incident, see Broadbridge, *Spy or Rebel?* 30, 33.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn al-Ḥimsī, *Hawādiṯ al-zamān*, 1:188.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ḥalīl al-Ḥanafī, *Nayl al-amal*, 7:346.

<sup>24</sup> as-Sahāwī, *aḍ-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’*, 7:170-1.

As-Saḥāwī only wrote of threats of banishment, but on 6 Šafar 889/4 March 1484, Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509) recorded rumors that Sultan Qā'itbāy had banished Ibn Zurayq to Qus and Aswan in Upper Egypt.<sup>25</sup> Al-'Ulaymī (d. 928/1522) made no mention of banishment, but did confirm that Qā'itbāy treated Ibn Zurayq harshly, and he also dated Ibn Zurayq's return home to Ġumādā II 889/June-July 1484.<sup>26</sup>

*Nağm ad-Dīn b. Muflīḥ*

The sources reveal far less about Nağm ad-Dīn b. Muflīḥ's biography and involvement in the episode at the 'Umariyya and about his experiences in Cairo. He was born in aṣ-Šāliḥiyya in 848/1444-5 into a family of judges. His father, the Ḥanbalī chief judge of Damascus Burhān ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muflīḥ, and others taught him Quran and ḥadīṭ. He later taught at al-'Umariyya and at the Umayyad Mosque.

During his father's lifetime, Ibn Muflīḥ served as deputy judge, and after the death of his father in Ša'bān 884/October 1479, he was appointed chief judge. While chief judge, he had the occasion to hear Ibn Ṭūlūn, who was then a boy, recite from the Quran. Ibn Ṭūlūn recorded his praise in his autobiography: "This noble boy, a person of cultivation and intelligence, came before me and recited to me. May Allah guide him to obedience and urge him towards the people of tradition and unification."<sup>27</sup> Ibn Muflīḥ was removed from his position several times. He was last appointed in 910/1504-5 and remained in office until his death in 919/1513.<sup>28</sup>

The Damascene historian Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503) noted vaguely that "he appointed judges for money. He did things and committed crimes. May he seek refuge from this in Allah."<sup>29</sup> Paying for certain military, religious and administrative office had become standard procedure by the late Mamluk period. Ibn Ṭawq reported a rumor circulating in Rağab 888/August 1483, just ten months after the episode at al-'Umariyya, that Ibn Zurayq had paid 2,000 *ašrafīs* for his judgeship.<sup>30</sup> Ibn Muflīḥ could very well have sold Ibn Zurayq his judgeship, though Ibn Zurayq may also have purchased it from another official. However, this rumor may have simply arisen to justify the cooperation between the two judges in the takeover of al-'Umariyya.

In both known drafts of *at-Tağr al-bassām fī dīkr man wulliya qaḍā' aš-Šām*, a history of the judges of Damascus, Ibn Ṭūlūn made oblique references to Ibn Muflīḥ's takeover of al-'Umariyya. Though the specific incident goes unmentioned in the earlier draft of this work, Ibn Ṭūlūn mentioned al-Bahā' b. Qudāma's arrival in Damascus "after an-Nağmī b. Muflīḥ had been removed from office several times."<sup>31</sup> In the later draft Ibn Ṭūlūn only added that an-Nağm b. Muflīḥ "was a deputy judge (*nā'ib*) during his father's lifetime, then he was

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Ṭawq, *at-Ta'liq*, 1:334.

<sup>26</sup> al-'Ulaymī, *Manhāğ al-aḥmad*, 5:314. Unfortunately, *Ta'rīḥ al-Buṣrawī* is missing the pages describing events in Damascus between Ša'bān 884 and Šawwāl 888, which the author would likely have included information about this episode.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-mašhūn*, 31.

<sup>28</sup> For additional biographies of al-Nağm b. Muflīḥ, see Ibn al-'Imād, *Šaḍarāt ad-dahab*, 10:132; al-Ġazzī, *Kawākib as-sā'ira*, 1:284-5; and al-Ġazzī, *an-Na'at al-akmal*, 92-4.

<sup>29</sup> This comment is quoted in Ibn Ayyūb, k. Rawḍ al-'āṭir, fol. 186r, and in al-Ḥaṣkafi, *Mut'at al-aḍḥān*, 1:542.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Ṭawq, *at-Ta'liq*, 1:267.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt dimašq*, 304.

removed from his position (*‘azala*), but reclaimed it several times.”<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn based his discussion of Ibn Muflīḥ on a passage from an-Nu‘aymī’s *Dāris*, but he inserted the details about Ibn Muflīḥ’s dismissals and reappointments himself.<sup>33</sup> In neither version does Ibn Ṭūlūn discuss the crimes or the sultan’s interrogation of Ibn Muflīḥ. The move toward even greater anonymization arguably shows up in the commonplace book of an-Nağm’s grandson, Akmal ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Muflīḥ (d. 1011/1603), a student of Ibn Ṭūlūn and, like so many of his ancestors, a Damascene judge. His interest in the history of Damascene judges, particularly those of his own family, was strong enough that he annotated the margins of both drafts of Ibn Ṭūlūn’s history of Damascene judges, *at-Tağr al-bassām*, even writing the name of his paternal grandfather an-Nağm b. Muflīḥ in red ink next to his entry in both copies. In a volume of his own *Taḍkira*, Akmal ad-Dīn noted the following:

I saw a page in the hand of someone I did not know. This person related that the Ḥanbalī judge was in Cairo, his presence having been requested by the sultan. He was anguished by it. In his sleep one night, he heard someone recite verses. He memorized them. Even after he was released, what happened to him remained with him, and he feared it.<sup>34</sup>

The six verses quoted after this paragraph were composed by Imām aš-šāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) and they urge those suffering through trials to turn to God for succor and refuge.<sup>35</sup> The identity of the Ḥanbalī judge in this excerpt remains anonymous, but the summons to Cairo and the judge’s anguish are certainly suggestive of Nağm ad-Dīn b. Muflīḥ’s own ordeal. Several factors suggest that this may be an anonymized account of the aftermath of the ‘Umariyya incident. For one, Akmal ad-Dīn quoted extensively from his ancestors’ personal letters, fatwas, and notebooks in his *Taḍkira* and was knowledgeable about his family’s history.<sup>36</sup> Not only would he have learned about an-Nağm’s ordeal as family lore, but also from Ibn Ṭūlūn. Though Akmal ad-Dīn “undertook a multi-volume *Taḍkira*, following Ibn Ṭūlūn’s organization of day, month, year, in which he assembled many inappropriate things about people’s faults,” family members seem to have been spared such exposure.<sup>37</sup> Anonymizing the account of his grandfather’s summons to Cairo may have been Akmal ad-Dīn’s chosen method of preserving a particular legacy for his family. Secondly, Akmal ad-Dīn recorded later in this same *Taḍkira* volume another poem by aš-šāfi‘ī that he had found in an-Nağm’s father’s handwriting, suggesting a familial interest in aš-šāfi‘ī’s poetry.<sup>38</sup> If Akmal ad-Dīn has indeed anonymized his grandfather’s experiences of 887-88/1482-3, then it can be read as an interesting impulse to preserve a dignified legacy for the Muflīḥ clan.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Arf al-zaharāt*, fol. 97r.

<sup>33</sup> an-Nu‘aymī, *ad-Dāris*, 2:47-8.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Muflīḥ, Untitled, fol. 1v.

<sup>35</sup> aš-Šāfi‘ī, *Dīwān*, 52-3.

<sup>36</sup> For Ibn Muflīḥ’s notices on his children’s births, see *at-Taḍkira al-akmaliyya al-muflīhiyya*, American University of Beirut MS 1004, fols. 9r-10r. For death notices of family members, see Berlin Ahlwardt MS 8467, fol. 254v. For his transcriptions of his ancestor’s writings, see Berlin Ahlwardt MS 8467, fol. 61r-63r, 138r, and Bodleian Pococke MS 26, fol. 113r.

<sup>37</sup> Güneş, *Kitāb ar-rauḍ*, 106.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Muflīḥ, Untitled, fol. 40v.

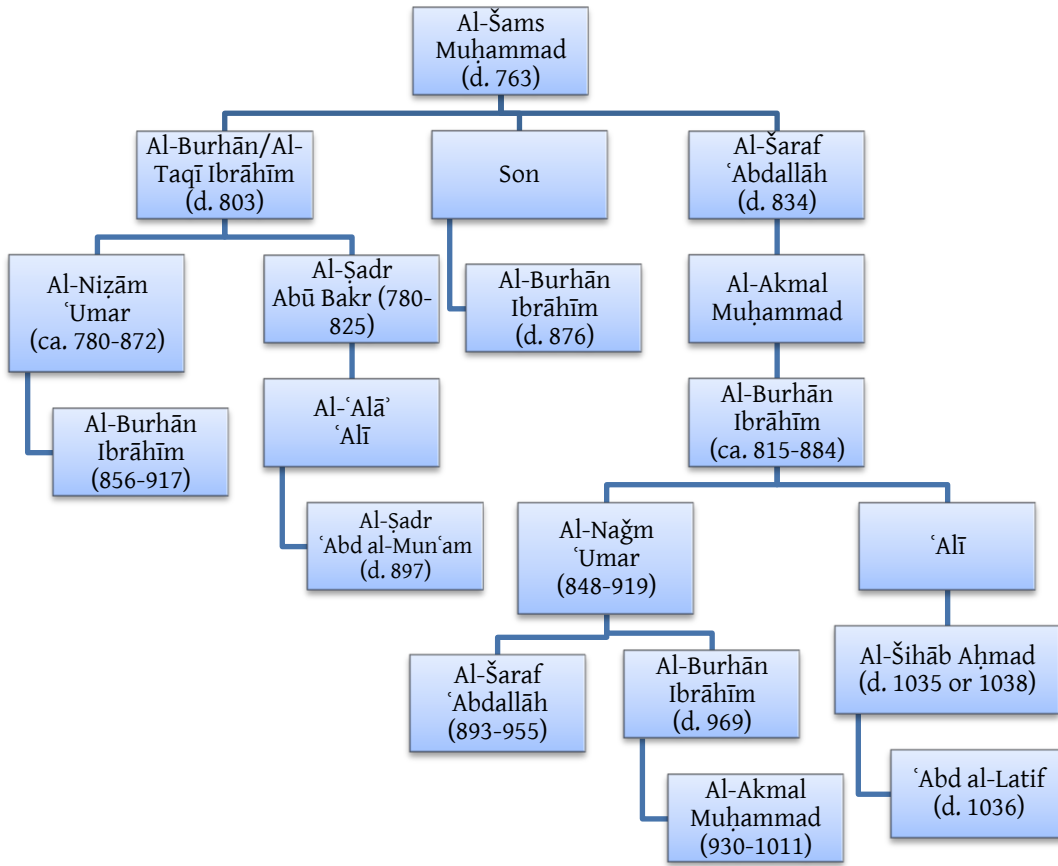


Figure 1: Banū Muflīḥ Family Tree

### *Aftermath of the ‘Umariyya Affair*

Ibn Muflīḥ was reappointed judge soon after the incident, as he is mentioned in chronicles as the Ḥanbalī judge of Damascus at the start of 889/1484.<sup>39</sup> Ibn Zurayq may have retained his judgeship, though I have found no explicit accounts of his subsequent involvement with the Abū ‘Umar madrasa.<sup>40</sup> His brother Aḥmad b. Zurayq retained his shares of the *waqf*, which his two sons inherited after his death two years later in 891/1486. Ibn Zurayq died in aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya, eleven years after returning there, on 9 Ğumādā II 900/7 March 1495, at the age of eighty-seven (lunar) years and seven months. He was survived by his sons Ğamāl ad-Dīn ‘Abdallāh (d. 921/1515) and Taqī ad-Dīn Abū Bakr (d. 917/1511) and by at least one daughter.<sup>41</sup> His biographical legacy was largely crafted by his student Ibn Ṭūlūn.

Of all the teachers Ibn Ṭūlūn named in his autobiography, he gave pride of place to Ibn Zurayq, penning a lengthy, laudatory biography of his cherished teacher. The portrait details Ibn Zurayq’s travels to study with scholars in Syria and Egypt and his competencies as a ḥadīth scholar; his judicial career, his legal troubles, and his supervisorship of the ‘Umariyya madrasa go unmentioned. Ibn Ṭūlūn proudly noted that he had read more than 700 *ağzā*’ with Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zurayq over a period of ten years (probably the last ten years of Ibn Zurayq’s life, after the incident at the madrasa, from 890 to 900) and eventually devoted a special *mašyāḥa* to him. Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote of his teacher and mentor:

I witnessed his compassion, his kindness and his welcoming attitude toward me. His care of me surpassed description. The scholar Šihāb ad-Dīn al-‘Askarī, a member of his circle, asked him: ‘Who is currently the most worthy from your group of students?’ Speaking candidly, he indicated me, bent towards me, and explained: ‘He, in spite of his youth, outdid his predecessors through his zeal, his striving, his decisions and his maturity—which I had wished for him.’<sup>42</sup>

Ibn Zurayq considered Ibn Ṭūlūn his most gifted student, and Ibn Ṭūlūn showed his considerable gratitude for this academic support by working in three ways to honor his teacher’s legacy. First, he downplayed the severity of the ‘Umariyya incident by blaming bad advisors and the ill effects of drugs. The *balāḍur* defense served to identify Ibn Zurayq to readers as a committed scholar. Secondly, Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote an extended biography for his teacher and placed it at the front of his own autobiography. Thirdly, he compiled an

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’līq*, 1:320; al-Buṣrawī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Buṣrawī*, 93.

<sup>40</sup> Bakhit’s chronology of the aftermath is certainly mistaken. According to him, “Janbirdi al-Ġhazali dismissed the dishonest endowments supervisor of the Abū ‘Umar school, Muḥammad b. Zurayq, who had sold many of its endowments. In this connection he appointed al-Najm b. al-Mātānī on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Ramaḍān 926/30<sup>th</sup> of August 1520.” Bakhit, *Ottoman Province*, 26-7. al-Ġazali was only appointed governor of Damascus in 924/1518, long after Ibn Zurayq’s death. However, Bakhit’s notes that “this appointment was surrounded with pomp to such an extent that when he passed through the streets of Damascus and al-Ṣāliḥiyya, flutes were blown, drums were beaten and town criers announced the appointment, which no doubt reflects the importance al-Ġhazālī attached to the post.”

<sup>41</sup> A death notice for ‘Abdallāh appears in Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādiṯ az-zamān*, 3:513. Biographical entries for Abū Bakr appear in Naḡm ad-Dīn al-Ġazzālī, *al-Kawākib al-sā’ira*, 1:114, and Ibn al-‘Imād, *Ṣaḍarāt ad-dahab*, 10:112. In *Daḥā’ir al-qaṣr fī nubalā’ al-‘aṣr* (Gotha MS 1779), Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote biographies for three of Ibn Zurayq’s grandsons, whose names indicate that a daughter of his bore them. They are Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Mūsā b. ad-Dabīs aṣ-Ṣāliḥī (fols. 17b-18b), Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Mūsā b. ad-Dabīs aṣ-Ṣāliḥī (fol. 75a), and Mūsā b. ‘Umar b. Mūsā b. ad-Dabīs aṣ-Ṣāliḥī (fols. 108b-109a).

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-mašḥūn*, 35-6.

innovative *mašyaḥa* for his teacher, a draft of which I will identify and analyze for its relationship to Ibn Ṭūlūn's project of shaping Ibn Zurayq's legacy.

#### *Codicology of Ibn Zurayq's Mašyaḥa*

The manuscript considered here, Princeton Garrett MS 178B, is catalogued as an anonymously authored, untitled 113-folio treatise. The entire volume, on glazed oriental paper and bound with cloth, measures 18.2 by 13.6 cm, with twenty-three lines to a page. The written surface is 14 by 10 cm. Though the two works bear no scribal statements and lack colophons, the distinctive handwriting and the trademark twenty-three lines per folio indicate that the copyist of the entire manuscript is Ibn Ṭūlūn.

It is provisionally titled in the catalogue *Tarāḡim šuyūḥ dimašq* (Biographies of the Šayḡs of Damascus), though no such title is to be found in the manuscript.<sup>43</sup> The manuscript opens with what can be considered the working title of the biographical dictionary from fol. 1r to 70v: *Awān aš-šurū' fī tarāḡim aš-šuyūḥ al-awwal* (The Moment to Start the Biographies of the Šayḡs, Part One). This portion is a continuous sequence of alphabetically arranged biographical entries of 24 female and 239 male Muslim ḡadīṭ scholars who died in the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century and taught ḡadīṭ to Ibn Zurayq. (The latest death date mentioned is Rabī' I 870/November 1465, the year of Ibrāhīm b. Aḡmad al-Bā'ūnī's death.<sup>44</sup>) The first biographical entry is for al-Bā'ūnī, and the last one for Muḡammad b. Yūsuf b. Salmān b. Muḡammad aš-Šālīḡī an-Nayrabī, who was also known as Zurayq.<sup>45</sup> The catchword at the bottom of fol. 70v is *wa-ibn* which *does* match up with the first word on fol. 71r, but fol. 71r is not the continuation of 70v. It appears that someone rubbed out the original catchword and overlaid it with one that makes the codex look intact. I would conjecture that the original catchword was *Allāh*.

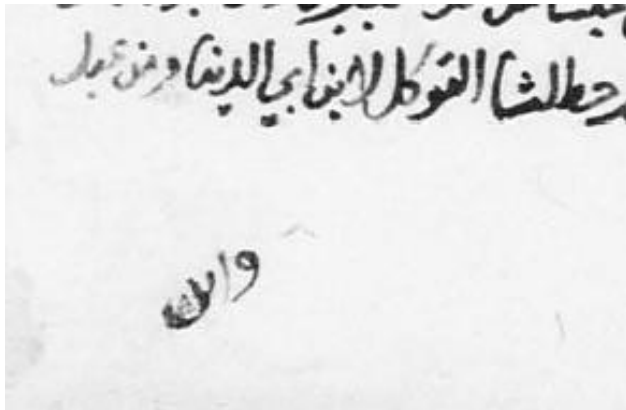


Figure 2: Princeton Garrett MS 178B, *Awān al-šurū'*, fol. 70v

<sup>43</sup> Hitti et al., *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 239; Baḡīt et. al., *Fihrist al-maḡtūṭāt*, 3:144-5.

<sup>44</sup> Princeton MS 178B, fol. 1v. On folio 2r, Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote that Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī az-Zamzamī was born in 797 AH and then received an *igāza* in the year 86, leading one to believe that the year 886 is meant. However, az-Zamzamī's birth year should read 777, which means that the *igāza* year should be understood as 786. With this correction, 870 stands as the latest date in the manuscript.

<sup>45</sup> The scribe erroneously transcribed the name as Muḡammad b. Yūsuf b. Salmān b. Fahd. Neither al-Biqā'ī nor as-Saḡāwī provided a death date for this individual, so the textual break in this manuscript, before Ibn Zurayq concluded the biographical entry with, presumably, a death date, is rather unfortunate. See al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-unwān*, 344, and as-Saḡāwī, *aḡ-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 10: 93-4.

The designation of this part as “the first” suggests that, at the very least, a related second part must follow, and the fragment running from fols. 71r to 111v is the second section of *Awān aš-šurū*. It is organized as a biographical dictionary combined with audition notes and comprises biographies of one female (Zaynab bt. al-Kamāl) and sixty-nine male Muslim scholars of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> through the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> centuries. This section is missing its beginning and end. The fragment opens in the middle of the biographical entry for Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), and the entries continue in alphabetical order until the end of fol. 111v, cutting off abruptly in the middle of the biographical entry for ‘Uṭmān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Baḡdādī (d. 344/955), a well regarded traditionist who was also known as Abū ‘Amr Ibn as-Sammāk. The catchword at the bottom of fol. 111v is *lā haqq*, but the first word on fol. 112a is *ḡamī*. Folios 112r-v are draft versions of fol. 75r and the first five lines of fol. 75v. The twelve lines of text on fol. 113r appear to be a series of notes about purchases. There are many lacunae in the text, suggesting that this was a draft version of the *mašyāḥa*.

Both fragments bear marginal additions from the same two writers. Because the marginalia are consistent throughout both fragments, it seems likely that they were originally bound together. One commentator only noted the name of each new biographee. The second commentator prefaced every comment with *qif*, often just marking the start of a female ḥadīṭ transmitter’s profile (“*qif ‘alā muḥaddita*”), but also noting when a profiled male scholar had studied with a women teacher. For instance, in the margin next to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī aš-Šāliḥī’s (b. 767/1366) profile is this note: “Take note of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uṭmān b. Ismā‘īl aš-Šāliḥī, originally Meccan, who was also known as Šams ad-Dīn al-Ma‘ālī. ... He recited from Umm al-Ḥasan and Umm al-Ḥusayn [banāt Aḥmad b. ar-Raḍī] *Musalsal al-awliyya* and their grandfather ar-Raḍī’s *as-Sabā ‘iyyāt*.”<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere, this second commentator interpreted first-person constructions in the text as references from Ibn Ṭūlūn. So, a marginal gloss next to Sitt al-Quḍāh bt. Ibn Zurayq’s biographical entry in *Awān aš-šurū*, wherein the author refers to her as “my sister,” reads, “on the sister of al-Ḥāfiẓ aṭ-Ṭūlūnī.” Similarly, a comment next to ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Zurayq’s profile describes him as someone “also known as Ibn Zurayq, the brother of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ṭūlūnī.”<sup>47</sup> The commentator was certainly familiar with Ibn Ṭūlūn’s handwriting, as s/he had also annotated one of his drafts of *aṭ-Ṭaḡr al-bassām*. Still, the details of Ibn Ṭūlūn’s biography must have eluded him or her, because additional textual clues pointing away from Ibn Ṭūlūn as author were determinedly ignored.<sup>48</sup>

The first half (*Awān aš-šurū ‘ al-awwal*) consisted of biographies of Ibn Zurayq’s teachers; the second half (likely titled *Awān aš-šurū ‘ al-tānī*) was a biographical dictionary of famous ḥadīṭ transmitters, combined with intellectual genealogies extending from Ibn Zurayq to the ḥadīṭ transmitter. These two draft fragments, originally bound together, formed a unique *mašyāḥa* that Ibn Ṭūlūn fashioned from Ibn Zurayq’s autobiographical writings and narratives. Such an endeavor was common. “It was in fact standard practice for a student to compile a biography of his teacher, sometimes on the basis of autobiographical materials

<sup>46</sup> Princeton MS 178B, fol. 60r. In the manuscript text, Ibn Ṭūlūn named the work *at-Tusā ‘iyyāt*.

<sup>47</sup> Princeton MS 178B, fols. 25r, 28v.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the scripts of the notes in Princeton MS 178B, fol. 6v, and Princeton MS 196b, fol. 29r. On the identification of MS 196B, fols. 10r-101v as a fragment of *Ṭaḡr al-bassām*, see Richardson, *Reconstructing*.



supplied by the teacher.”<sup>49</sup> However, the student's use of the first-person appears to have been unconventional. Jan Just Witkam has said of scholarly autobiographies: “Often these texts were compiled by the subjects themselves and were written in the first person, although the third person is used in the autobiography as well.”<sup>50</sup>

### *Contents and Analysis of Ibn Zurayq’s Mašyaḥa*

#### *Awān aš-šurū’ al-awwal*

The biographical dictionary of Ibn Zurayq’s teachers appears to have been greatly influenced by al-Biqā’ī’s (d. 885/1480) *Unwān al-’unwān*, an abridgement of his earlier and longer biographical dictionary *Unwān az-zamān*. Perhaps not incidentally, Ibn Ṭūlūn himself wrote a biographical dictionary, no longer extant, entitled *at-Tammatu’ bi-l-iqrān bayna tarāḡim aš-šuyūḥ wa-l-aqrān*, of which he said, “I had arranged it by the subjects’ birth dates, but that became too difficult, so I organized it alphabetically. It can be considered a continuation of al-Burhān al-Biqā’ī’s *Unwān az-zamān fī tarāḡim aš-šuyūḥ wa-l-aqrān*, a work that he then abridged and named *Unwān al-’unwān [bi-taḡrīd asmā’ aš-šuyūḥ wa-l-aqrān]*.”<sup>51</sup>

*Awān aš-šurū’ fī tarāḡim aš-šuyūḥ al-awwal* shares four important structural similarities with al-Biqā’ī’s *Unwān az-zamān*. First, both works are alphabetically arranged by the subjects’ *ism*. Secondly, they both, like Ibn Ṭūlūn’s lost work, have the phrase *tarāḡim aš-šuyūḥ* in their titles. Thirdly, when *Unwān al-’unwān* is read alongside *Awān aš-šurū’*, the order of the biographical entries track closely. Of the 263 biographical entries in *Awān aš-šurū’*, all but sixty-five are in *Unwān al-’unwān* and *Unwān az-zamān*. Very many of the entries in *Unwān al-’unwān* are brief, with blank spaces for the birth and death dates. In *Awān aš-šurū’*, this missing information is provided. Fourthly, in both works, men’s and women’s profiles are integrated into the volume, as opposed to placing the women’s biographies together at the end.

#### *Awān aš-šurū’ al-ṭānī*

In Part II, Ibn Ṭūlūn deftly integrated certificates of audition (*masmū’āt*) and scholarly genealogies (*silsilāt*) with biographies of ḥadīṭ specialists. Each person’s entry follows the same format. After briefly introducing the person, Ibn Ṭūlūn mentioned a work s/he wrote or a collection of ḥadīṭ that s/he transmitted, and then the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century scholar from whom Ibn Zurayq himself had heard it. All study sessions took place in Damascus, aṣ-Šāliḥiyya or Aleppo between Dū l-Qa’da 836 and Ša’bān 838 (between June 1433 and October 1434). The audition dates in Volume Two of Ibn Zurayq’s *tabat* overlap with these study session dates, suggesting that for whatever reason at the time of composition, Ibn Ṭūlūn did not have access to volume one.

After returning to aṣ-Šāliḥiyya from Cairo in 889/14??, Ibn Zurayq pawned his books and they remained so until his death in 900/1495. “I had started editing a mašyaḥa for him and I had named it *Qatf at-tamr min marwiyyāt aš-šayḥ Nāsir ad-Dīn b. Abī ‘Umar*. Its organization was based on that of his šayḥ Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī’s mašyaḥa *al-Mawrid al-‘Adb az-ḡammī fī marwiyyāt Abī l-Wafā Sibṭ b. al-‘Aḡamī*, which was edited by Naḡm ad-Dīn

<sup>49</sup> Reynolds, et al, *Interpreting the Self*, 67.

<sup>50</sup> Jan Witkam, *Human Element*, 127.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-mašḥūn*, 33.

Muḥammad (known as ‘Umar) b. Muḥammad b. Fahd, but he died before completing it. After his death, I requested from his son, the aforementioned at-Taḳawī Abū Bakr, the rest of his audition certificates that I did not have. He refused, and I ask God that he makes this easier.<sup>52</sup>

The title *Qatf at-tamr* does not appear in Ibn Ṭūlūn’s list of his publications. Where possible, Ibn Ṭūlūn traced the chain of transmission back to the biographee. For example, Ibn Zurayq profiled Zāhir b. Ṭāhir (d. 533/1138), the *musnid* of Khurasan, who had related many ḥadīṡs as the fifth or sixth narrator. These were collected as his *Ḥamāsiyyāt* and *Sadāsiyyāt* and taught to students. Ibn Zurayq noted that while at his own home in aṣ-Ṣālihiyya on Sunday, 21 Ğumādā I 837, he heard both works directly from Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimaṣqī (d. 842/1438).<sup>53</sup> He then named the six men who formed the chain of transmission back to Zāhir. The organization of these notices are singular, as they are ordered by biographies of past authorities, but the inclusion of the *asānīd* relentlessly draws the focus back to Ibn Zurayq – the teleological terminus of the network.

A *mašyaḥa*, such as this one, represents a perfect homage, as it only focuses on the successes of a scholar. The works he could not get authorized to teach, the teachers who rejected him are not addressed. In the Mamluk period, *mašyaḥāt* “were compiled by the individuals in question themselves, or by their students, or by some other interested party. as-Ṣaḥāwī, writing in the late 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, estimated that more than a thousand were extant.”<sup>54</sup> Ideally, a student or colleague would compile the *mašyaḥa* during a teacher’s lifetime and present it to the person as a gift, as in the case of Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aybak ad-Dumyāṡī who presented the mamluk Ḥāġ Āl Malik with a *mašyaḥa* and read it aloud to him.<sup>55</sup> Jacqueline Sublet has examined a *mašyaḥa* written by Ibn Ḥaġar al-‘Asqalānī before 827/1423-4 for two scholars, the Jerusalem-based ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Qibābī (748-838/1348-1434) and Fāṡima bt. Ḥalīl b. al-Kinānī al-‘Asqalānī (d. 833/1429). Although the two of them probably never met, Ibn Ḥaġar wrote a single *mašyaḥa* for them because they had studied with many of the same teachers. He wrote it in homage to them during their lifetimes.<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ḥaġar outlined his method in a biographical notice for al-Qibābī:

Je découvris ... un recueil de transmission (*tabat*) dans lequel était consignée une somme de ‘licences d’enseigner’ (*iġāza*) et de ‘certificats d’audition’ (*samā*); à partir de ce recueil, je rédigeai un dictionnaire de ses maîtres [=maîtres de Qibābī] dans lequel je mentionnai ses transmetteurs les plus anciens et ses chaînes de transmission concernant les *Musnad* et les *Ĝuz*.<sup>57</sup>

Ibn Ṭūlūn’s method appears to have been strikingly similar. A portion – 216 folios – of volume two of Ibn Zurayq’s autograph *Ṭabat* is preserved as British Library MS OR 9792. The copy bears copious notes that Ibn Ṭūlūn placed in margins, between entries and on blank pages.<sup>58</sup> Some of these notes made their way into the *mašyaḥa*. Above Ibn Zurayq’s notice

<sup>52</sup> an-Naġdī, *as-Suḥub al-wābila*, 2:896-7.

<sup>53</sup> Princeton MS 178B, fol. 92v. Ibn Ṭūlūn incorrectly rendered the date as Sunday, 21 Ğumādā I 837.

<sup>54</sup> Berkey, *Al-Subkī*, 6.

<sup>55</sup> Berkey, *Higher Islamic Education*, 102.

<sup>56</sup> Sublet, *Les maîtres*.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>58</sup> For Ibn Ṭūlūn’s notations, see Ibn Zurayq, *Ṭabat Ibn Zurayq*, fols. 4v, 122r, 180r-181v, 203v, 206v, 207r, 208r, 211r, 212r, 215v, 216r.

about a study session with Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimašqī on 11 Dū l-Qa‘da 836/29 June 1433, Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote

I saw this in the handwriting of al-ḥāfiẓ Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn, in a draft of his book *Tawḍīḥ al-muṣṭabih*. Under the letter *nūn* comes his descriptions of the last clients of King an-Nāṣir Muḥammad Qalāwun and others, such as the amir Yalbuḡā an-Nāṣirī, the rebel killed in Aleppo. ‘I was the first to write an-Nāṣirī as his lineage, then I returned to his book and found that an-Nāṣirī was for my grandfather an-Nāṣirī Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. May he rest in peace. End.’

The wording of this note suggests that Ibn Ṭūlūn personally viewed Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimašqī’s autograph. However, one finds this phrase nearly verbatim in Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimašqī’s profile in *Awān aš-šurū‘*. (The only change is the substitution of Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimašqī’s name for the pronoun ‘him’, as the referent is clear in the context of his biographical profile.) Most likely, Ibn Ṭūlūn’s marginalia are dictations from Ibn Zurayq that along with the *ṭabat* were used to craft the *mašyaḥa*.

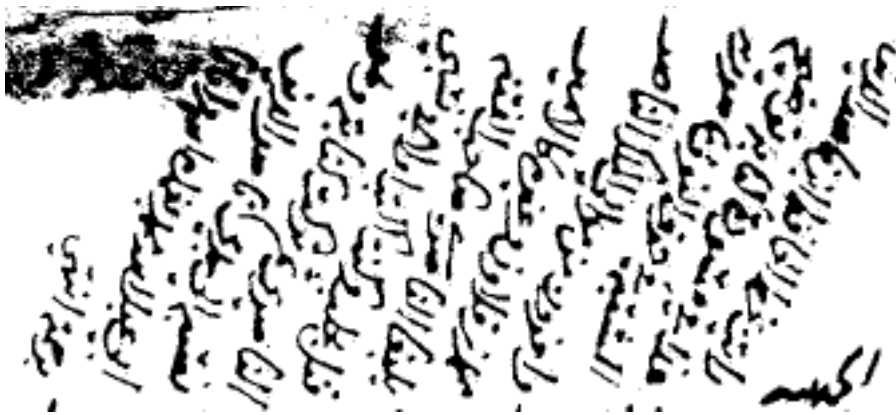


Figure 3: British Museum MS OR 9792, *Ṭabat Ibn Zurayq*, Volume 2, fol. 4v

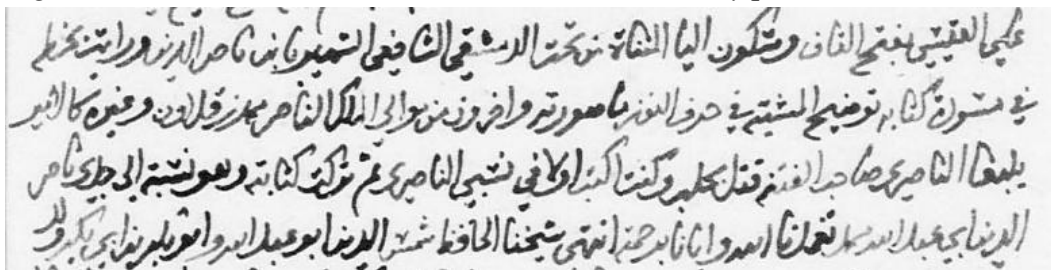


Figure 4: Princeton Garrett 178B, *Awān aš-šurū‘*, fol. 56v

Additional marginal comments from Ibn Ṭūlūn are incorporated into *Awān aš-šurū‘*. On folio 112r of *Ṭabat Ibn Zurayq*, Ibn Ṭūlūn completed a chain of transmission that Ibn Zurayq had left unfinished. Ibn Zurayq recorded hearing a section of the ḥadīṭ of ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥamamd b. Ishāq al-Fākihī (d. ca. 279/892), then listed a chain of three authorities who had transmitted this text. Appended to the end of Ibn Zurayq’s notice is a further extended chain, written by Ibn Ṭūlūn. The combined text from Ibn Zurayq and Ibn Ṭūlūn are seamlessly incorporated into a biographical notice for al-Fākihī.<sup>59</sup> Many of the passages in Part II come verbatim from Ibn Zurayq’s autograph entries in his *ṭabat* and also from Ibn

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, Princeton MS 178B, fols. 108r-v.

Ṭūlūn's notes there, and later used the entire manuscript to construct a separate work, which has survived as Part II.

Ibn Ṭūlūn's use of another notice suggests that much time may have passed between recording the notes and using them to compile his *mašyaḥa*. Next to a mention of al-Qibābī in *ṭabat Ibn Zurayq*, Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote: "He received an iḡāza from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Farḥūn b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Farḥūn al-Ya'marī l-Andalusī l-Madanī l-Mālikī Badr ad-Dīn, who was born in 693. He heard *aṭ-Ṭaqaḥiyyāt* from Ibn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭabarī. He received an iḡāza from Abī Aḥmad ad-Dimyāṭī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fuwwī. He died in Raḡab 767. His brother Muḥammad died sometime before 755, and before both of them in 746 [a brother] named 'Alī died."<sup>60</sup> The first sentence pertains to al-Qibābī, and the rest of this gloss actually describes Ibn Farḥūn. However, the biographical entry for al-Qibābī in *Awān aš-šurū'* works to make all of this information fit al-Qibābī's life. Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote: "He died on Tuesday, 7 Rabī' II, and it is also said in Raḡab, 838 in Jerusalem. His brother Muḥammad died before him in 755, and his brother 'Alī died in 746." Ibn Ṭūlūn does not appear to notice in this account that one brother died nearly 100 years before another. This example makes explicit Ibn Ṭūlūn's method of composition. Working from Ibn Zurayq's autograph *ṭabat* and his own additions to that text, Ibn Ṭūlūn compiled the *mašyaḥa* that has survived at Princeton University.

As further indication that Ibn Zurayq did not compile this work himself, errors abound in both sections of Princeton Garrett MS 178B, particularly in the reporting of names and dates.

- Az-zamzamī's birth year rendered as 797, instead of 777. (fol. 2r)
- Abū l-Wafā' Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī's birth year rendered as 853, instead of 753. (fol. 3r)
- Ḥadīḡa bt. Ibrāhīm b. Ishaq b. Sulṭān's name was incorrectly written as Ḥadīḡa bt. Ishaq b. Sulṭān (fol. 25a)
- Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Salmān b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣāliḥī an-Nayrabī's great-grandfather's name was rendered Fahd, instead of Muḥammad. (fol. 70v)
- An audition date is given as Thursday, 27 Dū l-Qa'da 837, but the day should be the 24<sup>th</sup>. (fol. 83r)
- An audition date is given as 737, instead of 837. (fol. 92v)

To counterbalance the laxity with dates, Ibn Ṭūlūn meticulously detailed the curricula of Ibn Zurayq's teachers, and in the case of the female teachers, this emphasis sheds light on the women's teaching competencies. Ibn Ṭūlūn's detailed lists differ from other biographical works of the period. For instance, a comparison of as-Saḥāwī's, al-Biqā'ī's, and Ibn Zurayq's biographies of Ša'bān b. Muḥammad al-Kinānī al-'Asqalānī (d. 859/1455) show interesting differences. As-Saḥāwī mentioned one woman teacher (Maryam al-Aḍra'ī), and al-Biqā'ī mentioned none. Ibn Ṭūlūn named not only four of Ša'bān's women teachers, but also the titles of the books that the women authorized him to teach.

1. Ḥadīḡa bt. Ishaq b. Sulṭān (d. 803/1400 or 1401) taught him *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*.
2. Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. al-Munḡā (d. 803/1400 or 1401) taught *al-Kaṭīr* from *Kitāb al-'ilm* by Yūsuf al-Qāḍī; *al-Qanā'a*, *Ḍamm al-lā'ir* (?), and *al-'uzla* by Ibn Abī d-Dunyā; *Kitāb al-bukā'* by al-Firyābī; *al-'ilm* by al-Muruti(?); *Faḍā'il al-iqrān* by Ibn

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Zurayq, *Ṭabat Ibn Zurayq*, fol. 208v.

al-Ḍurays(?); *Fadā'il aṣ-ṣaḥāba* by Ṭurād; [*Kitāb*] *al-aṭ'ima* by ad-Dāramī; *al-Ḥidāb* by Ibn Abī 'Āsim; and *Awā'il* by Ibn Abī Ṣayba.

3. Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 803/1401) taught *al-Maḡālis al-ḥamsa as-Salmāniyyāt* and *ad-Du'ā'*, by al-Maḥāmālī; *al-Arbi'in* by aṭ-Ṭā'ī; a *ḡuz'* of 'Alī b. Abī 'Āṣim; a *ḡuz'* of al-Aḡrī; *al-Ḥanafī*, *Rubā'iyāt aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* and the ninth section of a *Fawā'id* by Yūsuf b. Ḥalīl; and *al-'Aql* by Dāwud b. al-Muḡabbir.
4. 'Ā'īša bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 816/1413), the younger sister of the above Fāṭima, taught *al-Arbi'in* by aṭ-Ṭā'ī, a *ḡuz'* of 'Alī b. Abī 'Āṣim, and *Maḡlis Abī Mūsā al-Madīnī*.<sup>61</sup>

The curricular details about these women scholars of the late 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries confirm patterns that others have noted. In Damascus and aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya Ḥanbalī women taught at significantly high rates, and they were primarily teachers of ḥadīth and works on ascetic piety by Ibn Abī d-Dunyā.<sup>62</sup> The titles of books they were authorized to teach and names of their teachers are useful in reconstructing academic networks in late Mamluk Syria.

### *Reception of the Mašyaḥa*

This *mašyaḥa* does not appear to have been widely disseminated or taught. There are several possible reasons for this. First, Ibn Zurayq could have effectively discredited himself professionally, making the study of his scholarly biography an unpopular option for younger aspiring scholars. In spite of the marginal comments on the Princeton fragments, one cannot interpret these signs of interest in Ibn Zurayq's life. For one, one of the readers believed that s/he was reading Ibn Ṭulūn's scholarly autobiography. A second possibility for the lack of interest in this text may have been suppression of Ibn Ṭulūn's works. The Damascene scholar 'Abd al-Ġanī an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) alleged that many of his 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup>-century contemporaries were deliberately concealing the works of earlier Damascene writers, because they had lost respect for past scholars.

How many works of erudite men of knowledge, of men who grew up among them, have they disregarded and lost, neither respecting them nor taking note of their books and writings until they had all disappeared and perished? And surely there was among them the best man of knowledge and the pride of all ḥadīth scholars, Ibn Ṭulūn al-Ḥanafī, yet they disregarded him and lost his books and works, of which hardly any are now left; and those that are left are still in his own handwriting, since no-one cared to have them copied.<sup>63</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Ibn Zurayq is the only teacher that Ibn Ṭulūn biographized in his autobiography *Al-Fulk al-mašḥūn*, and in spite of the extraordinary length of the piece and the admiration and indebtedness Ibn Ṭulūn expressed in it, its significance has largely escaped notice. For one, modern interest in Ibn Ṭulūn has centered on his historical and biographical writings, though there is much evidence that Ibn Ṭulūn's reputation among early modern Ottoman Arabs was chiefly that of a learned ḥadīth scholar. Ibn Zurayq taught ḥadīth, not history, and he left scant

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, Princeton MS 178B, fols. 25r-v.

<sup>62</sup> Sayeed, *Women*, 180.

<sup>63</sup> an-Nābulusī, *Ġāyat al-maṭlūb*, 148-53. Translated in Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi Scholar*, 23.

manuscript traces, which likely explains the lack of interest in his influence on Ibn Ṭūlūn. However, Ibn Ṭūlūn's biographies of his teacher give insight into his personal networks and his motivations as an observer and documentarian of late Mamluk Damascus. Ibn Ṭūlūn and Ibn Mufliḥ inherited the reputations of their teachers and family members, so as maintainers of a certain legacy, it was in their personal interest to shape the legacy through narrative means.

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