

DAVID C. REISMAN
YALE UNIVERSITY

A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "*Dhayl*"*

INTRODUCTION

The following is a study of a hitherto uncatalogued holograph manuscript of a later Mamluk history entitled "al-Dhayl" by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448). A description of the manuscript and a short bibliographical study of the author or authors is provided, and the work itself is discussed within the framework of a number of larger questions. These questions include the value Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work as a whole has for the modern historian of the Mamluk period; what the manuscript and other related manuscripts might offer studies of Mamluk historiography; and the place Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work occupies as a product of the particular genre of Mamluk historiography known as the "Syrian school." Such questions are addressed through an examination and comparative analysis of the manuscript, other related manuscripts, and other contemporary histories.

DESCRIPTION OF CHESTER BEATTY MS 5527

In the summer of 1995, I undertook research at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland. In the course of that research, I was informed by the library staff that there were a number of manuscripts acquired after A. J. Arberry had completed his *Handlist* and which, in addition, had not been included in the more thorough catalogue made by Paul Kahle (the one copy of which is held at the Library). Loosely bound slips of paper, usually with no more than the name of the author and a guess at the title of the work, are all that identify these manuscripts. The manuscript to be examined here is MS 5527. It was rightly identified by the anonymous cataloguer as a holograph copy of a work entitled simply "al-Dhayl" by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.¹ This manuscript is but one volume of a larger Mamluk

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¹There is, however, a parenthetical note which questions whether it might be "al-I'lām bi-Ta'rikh al-Islām," another work by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah which contains biographies extracted from the history of al-Dhahabī, with supplemental information taken from the works of Ibn Kathīr and al-Kutubī. For the "I'lām," see Adnan Darwich, ed., *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977-94),



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history which our sources tell us covered, in its various versions, the years 764-ca. 850/1362-ca. 1446. The Chester Beatty manuscript contains the years 797-810/1392-1407.

A brief autopsy of this holograph manuscript provided the following information. The manuscript measures 28 cm. by 19 cm. It is heavily wormed and water-stained, particularly in the later folios. It is bound in worn brown leather and board. The manuscript consists of 402 folios; the work begins on folio 1v. and ends, without colophon, on folio 402r. There are twenty-three lines to the page, with extensive marginalia on almost every page. The author's hand is an abysmal *naskh*;² there is one other hand (aside from ownership and readership notes): a poor *ta'liq*, in the margin of folio 20v. The upper right margin of the title page is torn away, leaving only part of the title: . . . *manhal min al-Dhayl baynahu wa-bayna al-mujallad alladhī qablahu naqṣ arba' wa-'ishrīn sanah*. Most of this would seem to be an added note to the actual title, of which all that remains is the word [al-]Manhal. The note indicates that between (at least) two volumes held in one place, there were missing volumes which covered the years 773-796/1371-1393. The actual title ends with *al-Dhayl*; prior to the title there may have been an indication of volume number.³ The word *manhal* is interesting here: a similar title is to be found in two other manuscripts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work. In his description of the holograph manuscript (Asad Efendi 2345) of the abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made of the "Dhayl," Adnan Darwich notes that he found:⁴ [*mu*]jallad thānī min al-Dhayl al-Wāfī fī al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī. In Chester Beatty 4125, which contains at least part of the "Dhayl" as well as other works by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, we find on the title page: *min al-Dhayl min Kitāb al-Manh[al] lil-Shaykh al-Imām Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanaḥī al-Ḥalabī*; which has been corrected to: *min al-Dhayl min Kitāb al-Tawārīkh al-Imām [sic] Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*. And on folio 179r. of the same manuscript: *al-mujallad al-thālith al-Dhayl [sic] min al-Manhal al-Ta'rikh li-Imām [sic] Ibn al-Shiḥnah [sic] al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanaḥī bi-khaṭṭih*. The title is incorrect and, in the last note, the author's name presumably confused with (Muḥibb al-Dīn) Ibn al-Shiḥnah.⁵ All of these notes are in different hands, so

vol. 2, French introduction, 23-27; and Caesar E. Farah, *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven, 1967), 21.

²Modern scholars are not alone in this judgement; see his student's comments in a manuscript of the *mukhtaṣar* of the "Dhayl" described by Darwich (vol. 2, Arabic intro., 70) and Darwich's own comments (ibid., 59). For specimens, see the plates in Darwich, 2:63-68 and in Georges Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe* (Paris, 1959), pl. 34.

³What remains of the bottom portion of the letters of the title would suggest *al-juz' al-rābi'*.

⁴Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 58.

⁵This Ibn al-Shiḥnah would seem to be Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad



ascription to one misguided owner or cataloguer is precluded, though there may have been a series of owners or cataloguers repeating an initial error. The note in the manuscript of the abridgement would suggest that the work was thought to be a *dhayl* of some sort to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfi ba'da al-Wāfi*.⁶

To the right of the title fragment in MS 5527 there is a brief note indicating the years 797-810 as those covered in the volume. One ownership note is clear: *min 'awārī al-dahr ladā al-faqīr shaykh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-shahīr bi-Chūyi Zādah*. This gentleman remains unidentified, though he did own other manuscripts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work.⁷ There are additional notes, now almost entirely effaced, in the upper and lower left corners. Additional information on the title page includes three catalogue numbers: one in Arabic, 44; and two others in Roman script, the Chester Beatty Library 5527 and what seems to read 2275. Four readership notes are found on folio 402r.: one by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazzī, dated 848/1444;⁸ the second by Ibrāhīm Ibn Mufliḥ, dated 849/1445;⁹ the third, undated, is for one Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (?); and the fourth by one 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, dated 873/1468.¹⁰

The identification of the work is a simple matter. Chester Beatty MS 5527 is unquestionably one of the later volumes, if not the last, of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work which came to be known alternately as "al-Dhayl" or simply "Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah."¹¹ The work is a history of the Mamluk period between the latter

(d. 890/1485), who wrote, among other works, a *dhayl* entitled "Nuzhat al-Nawāzīr fī Rawḍ al-Manāzīr" to the work by his grandfather Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 815/1412) entitled "Rawḍat al-Manāzīr fī 'Ilm al-Awā'il wa-al-Awākhir," itself a *dhayl* to Abū al-Fidā's history; see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1943-49; hereafter *GAL*), 1:377, 2:42, 44; and idem, *Supplement*, vols 1-3 (Leiden, 1937-42; hereafter *S1-3*), 2:40-41 for Muḥibb al-Dīn; for the grandfather see *GAL* 2:46, 141, *S2*:176, and Dominique Sourdel, "Ibn al-Shīḥna," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:938.

⁶Published Cairo, 1957.

⁷His ownership notes are found in Chester Beatty MS 4125 (on which see below) and in a copy of the *mukhtaṣar* of the "Dhayl" (see Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 71). Darwich records the name with a *jīm* but the *che* is clearly pointed in CB 4125.

⁸This is in fact Muḥammad *ibn Ibrāhīm* ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazzī (d. 864/1459) who, al-Sakhāwī tells us, "met with Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah"; see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1992), 6:324.

⁹This is Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mufliḥ al-Ḥanbalī (d. 884/1479); see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:152, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn al-Dimashqīyīn* (Beirut, 1978), 258.

¹⁰This is perhaps 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad, whom al-Sakhāwī mentions (*al-Ḍaw'*, 6:53) without birth or death dates.

¹¹Identification can be determined through: (1) references to such a work written by Ibn Qāḍī



half of the eighth/fourteenth and the first half of the ninth/fifteenth centuries and deals primarily with events in Syria and, more specifically, those centered on Damascus. The work was written jointly by Ibn Qādī Shuhbah and his master Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413) and was conceived as a supplement to the histories written by earlier Syrian traditionist-historians such as al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 765/1373).¹² The history of the work's composition is a rather convoluted one, exemplified by its many revisions and abridgements. This issue, along with brief biographies of the authors and additional description of the work, will be discussed further below. First, however, it might prove beneficial to examine some of the larger contexts in which this history may be situated in order to determine precisely what the discovery of this manuscript might mean for modern historians, whether concerned with Mamluk history or Mamluk historiography.

THE LARGER CONTEXTS OF THE "DHAYL"

One can approach a medieval Arabic history—whether hitherto unknown or not—with at least two initial goals: (1) to determine the importance the work might have as a historical source for the modern historian; and (2) to situate that history within the context of a study of medieval Arabic historiography, that is, to undertake a thorough examination of the conceptualizations of history, as well as the aims and methodology of the medieval Arab historian. It has long been accepted in the field of Mamluk studies that the first of these two aims represents the cornerstone of any research in Mamluk historical writing. The plethora of historical materials from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods prompted Claude Cahen over thirty years ago to set forth his suggestions for the editing of these materials and to call for a "repertorium" of sources.¹³ Such a repertorium, which would identify,

Shuhbah in autobiographical and biographical sources (see, e.g., his own introduction to the *mukhtaṣar*, Darwich, 2:111-12); (2) a comparison of the hand in MS 5527 with that of previously identified specimens of his hand (see above, note 2); (3) comparison of this portion of the work with other identified portions of the work (e.g. Köprülü 1027, Chester Beatty 4125).

¹²Indeed, the work is often titled "al-Dhayl 'alā Ta'rīkh al-Dhahabī wa-Ghayrih" (viz., al-Birzālī, Ibn Kathīr, al-Ḥusaynī, etc.); see, e.g., al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn*, 229, and Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 30.

¹³Claude Cahen, "Editing Arabic Chronicles: A Few Suggestions," *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962): 1-25. Cahen chose the term "repertorium" as well as the unusual plural form "repertoriums" (ibid., 4); while one might prefer the simpler "repertory" (which, it should be noted, Cahen used to describe Carl Brockelmann's *GAL* [ibid.]), Donald P. Little continued such a usage (*An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* [Montreal, 1970], 2) and so the term seems to have established itself in modern scholarly parlance. Cahen's call for this repertorium stemmed from his dismay at the haphazard way in which the editing of manuscripts has been undertaken in the field. On the question of whether or not to devote the requisite energy to editing a manuscript, Cahen offered



analyze, and prioritize Mamluk histories on the basis of the original material they contained, was undertaken some ten years after Cahen by Donald Little.¹⁴ While Little limited his research primarily to the early Baḥrī period historians, he did provide the field with a developed methodology for comparing our sources, with concrete examples of what such collation would produce and, most importantly, with a clear picture of the relations and interdependency of many major Mamluk histories. Work continues in this area, though largely confined to studies of individual historians and their histories; nothing on the scale of Little's production has been undertaken for the later Burjī period of Mamluk historiography. Thus, when approaching any historical source the student of Mamluk historiography must be prepared to present similar findings. The source's relation to and dependency on other sources of the period need to be outlined and a conclusion concerning the existence of any original material in that source should be provided.

The other aim, which Franz Rosenthal called the history of historiography,¹⁵ is concerned with developing an understanding of the contexts in which medieval Arab historians viewed history, and how they went about producing their works on history. The first of these questions is a large and formidable one and the present paper will not attempt to address it. The second of these questions, that concerning the methodology of medieval historians, cannot fail to be addressed in the course of analyzing the sources and dependencies of a medieval history. For instance, when reading Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah with an eye to identifying his sources, one is immediately presented with at least one aspect of his methodology, that is, the various ways in which he integrates his sources into a narrative (or not). Furthermore, in the case of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's 'Dhayl,' we are fortunate in that a number of the work's recensions have been preserved. As we shall see, the group of manuscripts in which the Chester Beatty manuscript finds a place provides a graphic representation of the development of the work. The various stages in the composition of the work are represented by different manuscripts containing revi-

the following guidelines: (1) if the manuscript preserves older, extant works, publish those first; (2) if the manuscript preserves an older lost work, it is worth publishing; and (3) if the manuscript contains original, contemporary (to the author) materials, publish those sections first. More recently, Li Guo ("Mamluk Historiographic Studies: the State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 [1997]: 15-43) has surveyed and critiqued a number of editions of Mamluk histories, reiterating Cahen's exhortations.

¹⁴*An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*; a year before Little's survey appeared, Ulrich Haarmann published a similar work, though one more narrow in scope: *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1 (Freiburg, 1969).

¹⁵See his *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, 1968); more recently, Tarif Khalidi has published his *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994).



sions, additions, and abridgements. These manuscripts are a virtual treasure trove for information on the craft of at least one Mamluk historian.

These are the two larger contexts, then, in which a study of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "Dhayl," and the portion of it represented by Chester Beatty 5521, needs to be placed. They are concerned largely with the uses modern historians may have for medieval Arabic chronicles, one for the study of history, the other for the study of historiography. We also need to situate the "Dhayl" and the Chester Beatty manuscript within more immediate contexts. On the one hand, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "Dhayl" needs to be placed within its proper historical genre. On the other hand, the Chester Beatty manuscript has to be viewed within that group of manuscripts which represents the development of the "Dhayl." The identification of genres of Mamluk historical writing is, again, a large one and will be touched upon only briefly here. An excursus on the authors and the background of the composition of the work will provide us with the arena in which to identify the manuscripts of the "Dhayl" in its various versions.

Historical sources for the Mamluk period can be situated within a wide variety of genres but two such genres concern us here. Again, it was Little who first emphasized the contrast between histories written by Egyptian historians and those written by Syrian historians.¹⁶ Broadly speaking, the former are chiefly political histories while the latter are intellectual histories. Such intellectual histories are by no means concerned with the history of ideas (which is a distinctly modern concept); rather, the primary intention of intellectual histories of the Mamluk period is to produce a record of events and people connected to the institutions and fields of religion, law, and education. Moreover, the "Syrian school" of historians, as distinct from its Egyptian counterpart, produced works which, in terms of their structure, devote much more attention to biographies and specifically to biographies of people from the intellectual class. While the division of historical writing into *ḥawāḍith* (reports of events) and *tarājim* (biographies) is common to both genres, the differences that allow us to speak of the "Egyptian school" and the "Syrian school" are really those of emphasis.¹⁷ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "Dhayl" is clearly a

¹⁶Little, *Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*, esp. 46; see also Li Guo, "The Middle Baḥrī Mamlūks in Medieval Syrian Historiography: The Years 1297-1302 in the 'Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān' Attributed to Qūṭb al-Dīn Mūsā al-Yūnīnī" (Yale University, Ph.D. diss., 1994), 117 ff.

¹⁷In "Mamluk Historiographic Studies," 29 ff., 37 ff., Li Guo has surveyed the scholarly debate over the existence of such "schools" and provided a detailed and convincing argument for the existence of a "Syrian school"; he is, however, less prepared to admit an Egyptian counterpart. There is a certain, admirable, hesitancy among those scholars who have addressed the question of the existence and nature of "schools" in Mamluk historiography in using the term "schools" to speak of what may very likely be no more than roughly discernible trends, concerns, and tendencies in conceptualizations of the aims, functions, and forms of historiography. While one is perhaps



conscious product of the "Syrian school." We shall see that, in his conception of the role of historical writing and in his identification of his predecessors, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah was himself aware that he was writing a specific type of history.

THE "DHAYL," ITS AUTHORS, AND THE MANUSCRIPTS

Before discussing the work of history represented in part by Chester Beatty MS 5527, a note concerning nomenclature would seem requisite, largely because the work exists or existed in a number of versions and chiefly because one of those versions has been edited and published under a somewhat misleading title. In the following pages, the title "Dhayl" (Supplement) refers to the history as represented by the Chester Beatty manuscript and the title *mukhtaṣar* (abridgement) to the version of the work represented by Adnan Darwich's three-volume edition which he chose to entitle *Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*. Admittedly, this choice of nomenclature might result in a certain degree of superficial confusion; however, it will prove to be of some importance not only for a discussion of the composition of the work but also when we draw conclusions about the importance the various versions of the work might have as sources for the modern historian. Our sources—both the biographical literature on or by Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah as well as later historians—equally show no unanimity in naming the work. It was undoubtedly known as "al-Dhayl" but we also find reference to it as "al-Ta'rīkh."¹⁸ That said, we can now turn to a background study of our two authors and their work with its various recensions.

The composition of the "Dhayl" was initially undertaken by Ibn Ḥijjī and later, at his request, it was enlarged and continued by his student Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.

bound to recognize and appreciate such scholarly caution by signalling the peculiar connotations of terms like "school" by the use of quotation marks (viz., "Egyptian school," "Syrian school"), it would seem equally appropriate to recall the words of the "literary critic" Qudāmah ibn Ja'far (d. 337/948) on technical terms, written in another time and another context (*Naqd al-Shi'r*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Khafājī [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, n.d.], 68): ". . . I needed to establish certain technical terms (*asmā'*) for what became apparent [in the course of the research]. . . I have, in fact, done so and there should not be any controversy with regard to them, since they are just labels (*'alāmāt*). If one is satisfied with the technical terms I have established, fine; if not, then anyone who objects to [them] can devise others, for surely no one would argue about *that*."

¹⁸See, e.g., al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris* (Beirut, 1990), passim; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:270, 11:22; Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bassām fī Dhikr Man Wulliya Qaḍā' al-Shām* (Damascus, 1957), passim; idem, *al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah* (Damascus, 1949-56), 1:178, 181. One would like to think that later historians distinguished between the "Ta'rīkh" as Ibn Ḥijjī had initially written it and the "Dhayl" as it was revised and supplemented by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, but this does not seem to be the case. In his biography of Ibn Ḥijjī, Ibn Ṭulūn (*al-Qalā'id*, 1:181), calls the work "al-Ta'rīkh al-Tadhyīl."



The works of Aḥmad ibn Ḥijjī ibn Mūsā al-Ḥusbānī (d. 816/1413)¹⁹ fall into a number of broad categories, including law, *ḥadīth* and, most important for our purposes, biography and history. He is credited with a "Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh," a biographical work of the scholars from whom he heard *ḥadīth*, and a work entitled "al-Dāris fī Akhbār al-Madāris"²⁰ on the *madrāsahs* of Damascus and their endowment deeds. The last of his historical works listed is the "Dhayl." We are told that nearly all of his works, excluding the "Dhayl," were destroyed in the sack of Damascus in 803/1400.

Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah²¹ was born in Damascus on 24 Rabī' al-Thānī 779/30 August 1377 and died on 11 Dhū al-Qa'dah 851/18 January 1448. The corpus of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's writings fall into three categories: works on Shāfi'ī theoretical and applied law (most of which were commentaries on or abridgements of Shāfi'ī textbooks), studies in *ḥadīth*, and works on biography and history. In the biography (*ṭabaqāt*) genre, his two most important works are the collection of biographies of grammarians and the collection of biographies of Shāfi'īs. His most significant contribution in the field of history is the "Dhayl," a work which, as we have noted, was a revision, enlargement, and continuation of his master Ibn Ḥijjī's work. He also compiled another type of historical work, one of which is important for our purposes here. This type is made up of small books, properly notebooks, which were entitled "Selections," or "Excerpts" (*muntaqā*) and, on the basis of what remains of them in manuscript form, they were just that: excerpts, usually verbatim quotes, taken from the works of other historians. He is credited with making excerpts of works by such authors as Ibn 'Asākir, al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Duqmāq, and al-Nuwayrī. Of these, three have been identified in manuscript form: "al-Muntaqā min Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt," "al-Muntaqā min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq," and "al-Muntaqā min Ta'rīkh al-Dhahabī." This last is identical to what has been called Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "al-I'lām bi-Ta'rīkh al-Islām," and

¹⁹Bio-bibliographical sources for Ibn Ḥijjī include: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah* (Beirut, 1987), 4:12-14 (no. 717); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr fī al-Ta'rīkh* (Cairo, 1969), 7:121-24; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 1:269-71; Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Qalā'id*, 1:178-82; al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 1:104-7; Brockelmann, *GAL* S2:50; al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn*, 229-30; 'Umar Riḍā al-Kahhālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, Tarājim Muṣannifī al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah* (Damascus, 1957), 1:188. The edition of *Inbā'* used here notes (7:122, n. 3) manuscript evidence for the *nisbah* al-Ḥushbānī rather than al-Husbānī, which latter all other sources provide, though in the same note al-Sakhāwī's *al-Daw'* is said also to indicate al-Ḥushbānī. It is not clear which edition of al-Sakhāwī's work was consulted by the editor of *Inbā'* but the one consulted for this article provides al-Ḥushbānī.

²⁰The title recalls the work by al-Nu'aymī (n. 18, above).

²¹Sources for the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah corpus have been treated in detail by Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic and French intros., *passim*.



includes extracts from al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rikh*, his *Mu'jam*, and his *al-Ibar*, with additions from Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* and al-Birzālī's "al-Muqtafā." The former two, extracts from Ibn al-Furāt and from Ibn Duqmāq, exist at least in part in another manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library, MS 4125. The importance of these notebooks will become clear in the discussion of the "Dhayl" and its recensions.

DESCRIPTION OF THE "DHAYL"

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah provides us with the most detailed description of the "Dhayl" in his introduction to its *mukhtaṣar*.²² The backdrop to this description is a brief excursus on the benefits to be had from writing and reading history. It is here that he clearly aligns his interests in historiography to those of the "Syrian school." Indeed, the chief benefit to be had from history books in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's eyes are the biographies. From biographies the common man learns of the people from whom he has received his religion. And on the basis of biographies, the scholar (and here he has in mind specifically the traditionist) can "give preference to the most learned and deserving in cases of conflict" (*ta'arūḍ*).²³ The historians of the "Syrian school" were all traditionists first and foremost. The value of history books for these traditionists lay in the use to which they could be put in *ḥadīth* studies. But this did not mean, for Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah at least, that the reports of events (*ḥawādith*) in history books were of minor importance.²⁴ In fact, in his introduction, he proceeds to identify histories which have managed in an equitable manner to combine both *ḥawādith* and *tarājim*. Significantly, not one contemporary history produced by the "Egyptian school" is mentioned in this list, presumably because such works generally avoided detailed biographies. In fact, when he reaches the eighth century, the works mentioned are entirely products of the "Syrian school," some of which managed to strike a proper balance between *ḥawādith* and *tarājim* and others which fell short.

²²Darwich, 2:107-112.

²³Ibid., 107.

²⁴It is interesting to note that the benefits of such reports for Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah were akin to what *adab* works, for instance, provided the reader. The reader could "take the good qualities of human nature [recorded in history books] as examples, protect against what people condemn and censure, and learn profitable lessons from those who have passed away." Compare Ibn al-Athīr's discussion in his *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh* (Beirut, 1987), 1:9-10. The place of history in the education of rulers is an important element of this theme; see, generally, Rosenthal, *History*, 48 ff. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah also had recourse to the common argument of the traditionist-historian which notes al-Shāfi'ī's admiration of Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī's attention to history as an aid to legal studies (Darwich, 1:107-8); cf. Abū Shāmah's defense of historiography noted by Rosenthal, *History*, 41, n. 3.



This list prefaces a discussion of the "Dhayl." Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah presents Ibn Ḥijjī's work as one which struck the desired balance (though, as we will see, not as thoroughly as Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah would have liked). Noting that there were no such histories available in his lifetime which covered the years after 741/1340-1341, Ibn Ḥijjī began his "Dhayl," conceiving of it as a combined supplement to the works of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), Ibn Rāfi' (d. 774/1372), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372), and al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1363), all Syrian historians.²⁵ (See fig. 1.) Ibn Ḥijjī began his work with the block of years 741-747/1340-1346 and then took it up again from 769-815/1367-1412. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that Ibn Ḥijjī's method of presentation was characterized by the monthly division of the year, that is, he divided the year into months and further divided those months into days, providing reports (*ḥawādith*) on a daily basis. Ibn Ḥijjī then appended to each month the biography section (*tarājim*) in which he provided biographies of those who had died in a given month. On his deathbed, Ibn Ḥijjī entrusted the completion of the work to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. The latter had thought this task would involve the simple completion of the missing years 748-769/1347-1367. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that once he resolved to take up this task, he found his master's work to be less than adequate as a whole: many biographies had been neglected and accounts of events occurring outside of Syria had been omitted.²⁶ So he filled the lacunas, enlarged the existing biographies and added others; he also added reports concerning places beyond Syria and additional reports of events he had personally witnessed in Syria. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah indicates that in this revision he followed the structure of his master's work, that is, the monthly division with appended biographies.²⁷ He then tells us that he abridged the work

²⁵These authors are important because it is their works the "Dhayl" was designed to continue: al-Birzālī's "al-Muqtafā" (MS Ahmet III 2951) ended in 738; al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rikh al-Islām wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-A'lām* (Cairo, 1974-present), combined with his other work *al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar* (Beirut, n.d.), reached the year 740; al-Ḥusaynī's work was a *dhayl* of al-Dhahabī to the year 764 (published in the Beirut edition of al-Dhahabī's *'Ibar*, 4:119-207); Ibn Rāfi's work ("al-Wafayāt"; see Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn*, 208-9) was a *dhayl* of al-Birzālī's work to 774; and Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, 1988) ended in 767. But Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work begins with the year 741; why weren't the works of Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Rāfi' and al-Ḥusaynī taken into account? According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (Darwich, vol. 1, Arabic intro., 109-10), Ibn Kathīr's work was, up to the year 738, just an abridgement of al-Birzālī's "al-Muqtafā"; Ibn Kathīr's own additions to 767 were somewhat remiss in the quality of the biographies. One can only surmise that the reason Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah did not take up where the works of Ibn Rāfi' and al-Ḥusaynī ended was that the latter were concerned only with biography, without the historical record. Perceived deficiencies in the original work is a reason often cited by authors of *dhayls* for such overlapping (see Farah, *Dhayl*, 1, 8).

²⁶Again we see the emphasis on a balanced history.

²⁷He is said to have then continued the work from 815/1412 to shortly before his death in



and gives a brief description of that process: he reduced the "Dhayl" to about one-third, summarizing accounts of well-known events,²⁸ abridging the biographies and relocating them to the end of the year in alphabetical order. This alphabetical arrangement he tells us he copied from al-Dhahabī's method in his *Ta' rīkh al-Islām*.²⁹ Manuscript evidence indicates that he later made an abridgement of this abridgement.³⁰

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's description of the "Dhayl" clearly indicates his allegiance to a particular type of historiography in vogue among Syrian traditionist-historians. His description of his predecessors' work and his explicitly stated conceptualization of his own historical writing as a continuation of that genre is of great value to our understanding of the "Syrian school" of Mamluk historiography.

IBN QĀḌĪ SHUHBAH'S RECENSIONS OF THE "DHAYL"

This, then, is the broad trajectory of the composition of the "Dhayl": Ibn Ḥijjī's initial work; a recension by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah; an abridgement of that recension; an abridgement of the abridgement. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah also tells us what was involved in completing his master's work, viz., he added information to it from other histories, expanded the biographies and added additional biographies. Manuscript remains of the "Dhayl" tell us precisely how Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah went about that process. There exists an incomplete recension of Ibn Ḥijjī's work in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's hand and another recension which incorporated his additions. (See fig. 2.) Many of those additions (for the years 797 and following) can be traced to the works of excerpts noted above, specifically those made of the works of Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn Duqmāq. The details concerning this process will play a part in the analysis of selected years presented below. Here I will provide descriptions of the manuscripts which represent this process of revision. Manuscripts for the *mukhtaṣar* will not be dealt with here (nor certainly the *mukhtaṣar al-mukhtaṣar*) but the work will be used in the analysis.³¹

This group is made up of the following manuscripts: Berlin 9458, Köprülü 1027, Chester Beatty 5527, and Chester Beatty 4125:

851/1447. These last years seem to have been written out in a number of separate notebooks which, his son Badr al-Dīn tells us, could not be found in his library after his death; see Darwich, vol. 2, French intro., 21.

²⁸On the basis of Darwich's edition of the *mukhtaṣar*, it would seem that, beyond a summary of content, these synopses of events (the term Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah uses is *jumlah*; see Darwich, 1:14) involved the elimination of precisely identified dates.

²⁹Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 112.

³⁰Ibid., French intro., 27.

³¹Darwich has provided comprehensive descriptions of the various manuscripts of the *mukhtaṣar* in his edition, vol. 2, Arabic intro.



Berlin 9458: Wilhelm Ahlwardt, in his customary, detailed manner, provided a rich description of this manuscript.³² Though it was incorrectly identified as the history of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī,³³ Ahlwardt determined it to be Ibn Ḥijjī’s version of the “Dhayl,” covering the years 796-815/1393-1412. Unfortunately, I have not been able to examine the manuscript. I argue here—rather boldly—that those years found in the other manuscripts of this group which have been identified as the first recension by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah will be found to reflect closely the corresponding years in the Berlin manuscript. This hypothesis is based on characteristics of the first recension “Dhayl” outlined below.

Köprülü 1027: A detailed description of this holograph manuscript cannot be provided here.³⁴ Darwich described this manuscript as a copy of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah’s “Dhayl,” covering the years 787-812.³⁵ In fact, the years covered are 787, 788, 791, 792, 796, 797, 798, 803, 811, and another recension of 791, in that order. A thorough study of the manuscript has also shown that we have in this manuscript years that are part of the second recension by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (787-788, 792), years that are part of the first recension (791, 797; perhaps 796, which might also comprise no more than rough notes), years that are no more than rough notes (798, 803, 811) and finally one year—the second 791—which is probably from one of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah’s *muntaqās*, likely that of Ibn al-Furāt’s work, but might also prove to be no more than rough notes.

Chester Beatty 5527: A description of this holograph manuscript has been given above. It is the second recension of the “Dhayl” made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, covering the years 797-810/1394-1407.

Chester Beatty 4125: There is a brief identification of this holograph manuscript in Arberry’s *Handlist*³⁶ which lists the three works contained in it as: “al-Muntaqá min Ta’rīkh Ibn al-Furāt”; “al-Muntaqá min Ta’rīkh Ibn Duqmāq”; and a fragment

³²Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1887-99), no. 9458. Basing himself on Ḥājjī Khalīfah’s information, Ahlwardt identified Ibn Ḥijjī’s work as a *dhayl* to al-Ḥusaynī’s “Ibar al-A’sār wa-Khabar al-Amṣār”; see also Farah, *Dhayl*, 29.

³³Presumably, it was thought to be his *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-Umr*; the title page has: *min Ta’rīkh al-‘Allāmah al-Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar*.

³⁴A microfilm of the manuscript from Ma’had al-Makḥūfāt al-‘Arabīyah in Cairo (no. 99 *Ta’rīkh*) provided by the University of Chicago Library was used for the present article. A brief description of the manuscript can be found in *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library*, R. Şeşen et al. (Istanbul, 1986), 1:525-26, where it is incorrectly identified as “al-I’lām bi-Ta’rīkh Ahl al-Islām,” covering the years 787-791.

³⁵Vol. 2, French intro., 23.

³⁶A. J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1955-66), 4:40.



of a history of the ninth/fifteenth century. Darwich, for reasons unknown, believed this manuscript to be a copy of the "Dhayl" of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah covering the years 775-810/1373-1407.³⁷ This is clearly an error. The manuscript does indeed comprise three works, the first two of which Arberry correctly identified. The *muntaqá* of Ibn al-Furāt's work covers the years 773-793/1371-1390, that of Ibn Duqmāq's work the years 804-805/1401-1402. The last work in the manuscript comprises parts of both recensions of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "Dhayl." The first recension covers the years 801, 803-810 (fols. 206v.-325r.); the year 791 is found in its second recension (fols. 181v.-196r.). (See fig. 3.)

Two recensions of the "Dhayl" made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah have been identified here; what is the evidence for this hypothesis? First and foremost, obviously, is the existence of two versions of certain years in the manuscripts described above: the Chester Beatty MS 5527 contains the years 797-810; overlapping years include 797, 798, 803 (Köprülü 1027), 804-810 (CB 4125). It could be argued that one copy represents Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work copy, the second his clean copy, but nothing about either indicates this: the extent of marginalia is the same for both, the hand no neater, the material presented no more precisely. A beneficial starting point for determining recensions is marginalia. Marginal corrections (those ending with *ṣahḥ* and made by the copyist in the course of collation) are of little use here; both copies contain them and at any rate one cannot determine which copy served as the basis for correction.

However, marginal additions (those ending with the abbreviation *ḥ* for *ḥāshiyah*) can prove useful. The account of the year 810/1407 in the Chester Beatty MS 4125 (identified here as the first recension) contains lengthy *ḥāshiyah* marginalia which in the Chester Beatty MS 5527 are incorporated into the text.³⁸ The process does not work the other way: *ḥāshiyah* marginalia in Chester Beatty MS 5527 are not found in Chester Beatty MS 4125, either in the text or again in the margin.³⁹ Because these marginalia are not found anywhere in Chester Beatty MS 4125 and because they are clearly marked *ḥāshiyah* marginalia in Chester Beatty MS 5527, a hypothesis in favor of a mere copying process from Chester Beatty 4125 to Chester Beatty 5527 is untenable. We have before us, then, a clear recension process.

Other indications of a recension process from Chester Beatty MS 4125 to MS 5527 involve the wording of phrases, chiefly exemplified by a change from the first person to third person. Two examples from the year 810:

³⁷Darwich, vol. 2, French intro., 27.

³⁸E.g., CB 4125, 328r. marginalia incorporated into text of CB 5527, 392r., lines 19 ff.

³⁹E.g., two such *ḥāshiyah* marginalia in CB 5527, 392r.



1. In Chester Beatty MS 4125, 328v., lines 23-24, we find Ibn Ḥijjī's "quotation marks": *sami'tu min*. . . ("I heard from") which in Chester Beatty 5527, 393r., line 12, becomes: *hādhā kalām Ibn Ḥijjī* ("These are the words of Ibn Ḥijjī").
2. In Chester Beatty MS 4125, 327r., lines 5-6, Ibn Ḥijjī offers his opinion of someone: . . . *qubiḍa 'alā Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥājī wa-sullima ilā ustādhār al-ṣuḥbah wa-huwa min aẓlam khalq wa-alḥasihim*. In Chester Beatty MS 5527, 391r., lines 4-5, this becomes: . . . *qāla al-shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī taghammadahu Allāh fīhi wa-huwa min aẓlam khalq wa-alḥasihim*. This first person to third person process evinces Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's acquisition of the work. The original narrator has become just another source.⁴⁰ Obviously, it is a process that does not work the other way. Further, this process is one of the reasons for arguing that the Berlin manuscript of Ibn Ḥijjī's original version would, if compared to the first recension years, on the whole agree. The first recension made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah represents a *copy* of Ibn Ḥijjī's original which, with the marginal notes he added to it, formed the basis of his second recension.

There is one other very significant indication of the recension process. Again, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that one of the changes he made to Ibn Ḥijjī's work was to add material from other sources. We find graphic illustration of this in a comparison of Köprülü 1027 (the first recension) and Chester Beatty MS 5527 (the second recension), this time for the year 797 (the month is al-Muharram):

1. a. First Recension (Köprülü MS 1027, 166v., lines 15-16):

ويوم الخميس ثانيه وصل صاحبنا الشيخ محمد المغيربي عارف السلطان
يوم خروجه من حلب و أقام بحماة أياماً.

1. b. Second Recension (Chester Beatty MS 5527, 3r., lines 7-9):

ويوم الخميس ثالثه وصل الى مصر طلب الامير جمال الدين محمود
الاستاذ دار من الشام ويومئذ وصل الى دمشق الشيخ محمد المغيربي عارف
السلطان يوم خروجه من حلب و أقام بحماة أياماً.

1. c. The additional material can be traced to Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 396, lines 6-7:⁴¹

وفي يوم الخميس ثالث الحرم الشهر المذكور حضر الى مصر المحروسة طلب
الامير جمال الدين محمود الاستاذ الدار العالية من الشام.

⁴⁰It might also be noted that the optative following Ibn Ḥijjī's name indicates that this recension was begun after Ibn Ḥijjī's death.

⁴¹Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Furāt* (Beirut, 1936-42), vol. 9 pt. 2.



This process is repeated in our second example:

2. a. First Recension (Köprülü MS 1027, 166v., lines 16-18):

ويوم الجمعة قبل الصلاة ثلثه وصل قاضي القضاة بدر الدين بن أبي البقاء
عارف السلطان من حمص ويومئذ قدم آخر النهار الامير الكبير كمشْبُغا
فنزل بدار الحاجب على عادته.

2. b. Second Recension (Chester Beatty MS 5527, 3r., lines 7-13):

ويوم الجمعة رابعه توجه حاشية السلطان أحمد بن أويّس صاحب بغداد وحرّيمه
لقصد بلادهم حسب مرسوم السلطان ويومئذ قبل الصلاة وصل قاضي القضاة
بدر الدين بن أبي البقاء عارف السلطان من حمص ويومئذ قدم الامير الكبير
كمشْبُغا الاتابك فنزل بدار الحاجب على عادته وبكلمش العلائي أمير سلاح.

2. c. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 397, lines 3-4:

وفي يوم الجمعة رابع المحرم المذكور توجهوا غلمان السلطان مغيث الدين
أحمد بن أويّس صاحب بغداد وحاشيته وحرّيمه لقصد بلادهم حسب المرسوم
الشريف الظاهري

The formulations of the common report in the first and second recensions generally accord, though with minor modifications in the second recension. The second recension and Ibn al-Furāt are also in accord, showing a definite borrowing from Ibn al-Furāt in the wording of the report. Interestingly, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah adds the name of a second amir to the report common to the first and second recensions, *wa-Baklamish al-'Alā'ī amīr silāh*. The mention of this amir does not seem to find a place in the content of the report; certainly the intent might prove clear but the syntax is somewhat obscure. Turning to Ibn al-Furāt again (397, lines 5-6), we find Baklamish mentioned at the end of the report for 7 al-Muḥarram 797/2 November 1394, which immediately follows Ibn al-Furāt's report given above: . . . *dakhala al-Sultān al-Zāhir ilá Dimashq al-maḥrūsah wa-dakhala qablahu al-amīrayn* [sic] *Kamushbughā al-Ḥamawī atābak al-'asākir wa-Baklamish al-'Alā'ī amīr silāh*.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, in combining the report from his first recension (by way of Ibn Ḥijjī's original) with Ibn al-Furāt's report, has reduced the two reports in Ibn al-Furāt to one—with, it might be added, awkward results. In fact, we might have here a case of homoeoteleuton or homoeoarchon, though one would need to examine the copy of Ibn al-Furāt's history that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used, if indeed that copy has survived and could be identified.



This process is clearly one in which a second, expanded recension has been made from a first, more elemental one. Even more importantly perhaps, this examination of recensions has allowed us to identify one source Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used for his account of the year 797/1394 as Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'riḫ*. This should not come as a surprise; it has been noted above that he made a *muntaqá* of the Egyptian's history. But while he occasionally names his sources or alludes to them (e.g., *qāla ba'd al-mu'arriḫīn al-miṣrīyīn*), those instances in which he does not do so (as in the examples above) are far more numerous and they are almost exclusively—at least for the year 797—from Ibn al-Furāt.⁴²

It is clear, then, that manuscript remains of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's corpus include two recensions of the "Dhayl" and, as such, constitute an important source of information for the study of book composition in the Mamluk period.

IBN QĀDĪ SHUHBĀH'S SOURCES: SOUNDINGS OF THE YEARS 797, 801, 804, 810

In order to assess the importance the "Dhayl" may have for modern historians as a source for the Mamluk period, a number of soundings were made of Chester Beatty MS 5527. In what follows, an attempt is made to delineate the major sources Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah drew upon in composing the "Dhayl" and to determine what unique information the "Dhayl" has to offer.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's reliance on Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'riḫ* for his account of the year 797 is in fact far more pervasive than these minor reports might lead us to believe. The two examples which follow illustrate this reliance and, in addition, provide illustration of how Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reworked the information taken from Ibn al-Furāt for inclusion in the *mukhtaṣar*.

The first example is of a report about the clash between the Sharīf of Mecca 'Alī ibn 'Ajlān and his forces and the Banū Ḥasan in Shawwāl of 797/July 1395.⁴³

1. a. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ*, vol. 9, pt. 2, 413:

⁴²Darwich (vol. 2, French intro., 35-42) has rendered a valuable service in identifying many of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's sources. However, his list would seem to be based almost exclusively on citations in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *mukhtaṣar* in which the author explicitly names his sources. The degree of borrowing is in fact far greater than such citations suggest.

⁴³One correction to the text of each of the three works used for this example has been made. This concerns the place name *Baṭn Marr*. Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'riḫ* reads *m-r-w*, Chester Beatty 5527 likewise, while Darwich's edition of the *mukhtaṣar* reads *Murah*. Medieval Arab geographers would seem to agree that the correct name is the one given above; see, for instance, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1990), 1:533 and al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqāsīm* (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, [Leiden, 1906]), 106. B. A. Collins, in his translation of al-Muqaddasī (*The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions* [London, 1994], 97), transliterates the name as *Baṭn Marr*. It might be noted in connection with this that a manuscript variant in the account in Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā'* (1:495) is given as *m-r-w*.



في يوم الاربعاء أول ذي قعدة من شهور هذه السنة قدم مقبل مملوك عجلان وجماعة نجابة من الحجاز الشريف الى الابواب الشريفة وأخبروا أن في شوال المذكور وقعت وقعة بين بني حسن وقواد مكة ببطن مرّ وحصل بين الشريف علي سلطان مكة وبين شخص من بني حسن تماسك فوقعا عن الخيل فضرب كل منهما صاحبه فقتل علي بن عجلان وعاش غريمه وأن قواد مكة وعبيدها ملكوا وحصنوها ولم يمكنوا بني حسن منها ولا من الدخول اليها وأن لهم عن مكة ثلاثة عشر يوماً وكان الشريف حسن بن عجلان محبوباً فأفرخ السلطان عنه وأخلع عليه وولاه سلطنة مكة المشرفة عوضاً عن أخيه علي وأمره أن يسافر و يلحق الحجاج.

1. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (CB 5527), 24v., marg. and *mukhtaṣar* (ed. Darwich), 3:555; those parts in brackets are missing from the *mukhtaṣar*:

وفي يوم الاربعاء المذكور قدم الى مصر نجابة من الحجاز الى مصر وأخبروا أن [في شوال المذكور] وقعت وقعة بين بني حسن و قواد مكة ببطن مرّ [وحصل بين الشريف علي صاحب مكة وبين شخص من بني حسن تماسك فوقعا عن الخيل فضرب كل منهما صاحبه] فقتل علي بن عجلان [وعاش غريمه] وأن قواد مكة وعبيدها حموها [وحصنوها] ولم يمكنوا بني حسن منها وأن لهم عن مكة ثلاثة عشر يوماً وكان السيد حسن بن عجلان محبوباً فأفرج السلطان عنه وخلع عليه سلطنة مكة عوضاً عن أخيه علي وأمر أن يلحق الحجاج.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's reliance on Ibn al-Furāt for this report is clear; aside from some minor changes and omissions the two reports are identical.⁴⁴ The report in the *mukhtaṣar* evinces what one expects of an abridgement, namely, the exclusion of extraneous material. The report in the *mukhtaṣar* does, however, contain an additional sentence: *wa-sāra wa-ma'ahu Yalbughā al-Sālimī fī sābi' al-shahr al-ātī 'alā al-hujun*. This sentence is to be found in Ibn al-Furāt (p. 414), and consequently in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (fol. 26v., lines 1-7) under Tuesday, 6 Dhū al-Qa'dah as part of an account of the Amir Yalbughā's postponement of a trip to the Hijaz, a postponement occasioned by a dream in which his late master Abū Bakr al-Bajā'ī warned him against going before Dhū al-Qa'dah. He then duly set out with the new Sharīf of Mecca, Ḥasan ibn 'Ajlān.

⁴⁴It is worth comparing the reports of Ibn Ḥajar (*Inbā'*, 1:495) and al-Maqrīzī (*al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* [Cairo, 1934], 3:2, 841), who also relied on Ibn al-Furāt (see Jere L. Bacharach, "Circassian Mamluk Historians and their Quantitative Data," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 [1975]: 84), with those of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah to see the differences in approach the three authors have to quoting other historians' material.



The second example is a more complex one. It again demonstrates Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's reliance on Ibn al-Furāt for a report which he recorded in his "Dhayl" (under the month Sha'bān) and then abridged for the *mukhtaṣar*. But we also find additional related reports unique to the "Dhayl" (in both recensions). The background is the sultan's borrowing of money against *waqfs* established for orphans in Egypt and Syria to finance an expedition to Syria. The related reports in the "Dhayl" detail the legal and financial processes involved in such a transaction.

2. a. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 9 pt. 2, 410:

وفي يوم السبت تأسعه رسم السلطان الظاهر بردّ دراهم الايتام الذي كان اقتترضها من المؤدعين بمصر والشام عند توجّهه للشام، من مودع القاهرة خمسمائة الف وخمسين الف ومن مودع الشام ستمائة الف درهم فتسلّموها أمناء الحكم من مباشري السلطان.

2. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (CB 5527), 19v., lines 18-23 and *mukhtaṣar* (ed. Darwich), 3:551; again, those parts in brackets are missing from the *mukhtaṣar*:

وفي بعض تواريخ المصريين أن في يوم السبت تأسعه رسم السلطان الملك الظاهر بردّ دراهم الايتام الذي كان اقتترضها من المؤدعين بمصر والشام عند توجّهه للشام، من مودع القاهرة خمسمائة الف وخمسين الف [ومن مودع الشام ستمائة الف درهم] فتسلّم ذلك أمناء الحكم من مباشري السلطان.

The reports are nearly identical, though it is interesting to note that the *mukhtaṣar* has left out the sum borrowed from the Syrian depository, considering the usual emphasis Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah places on Syrian affairs.⁴⁵ Next we find an additional report (under Dhū al-Qa'dah) in the "Dhayl" and the *mukhtaṣar*, detailing the result of this order from the Sultan:

2. c. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (CB 5527), 26v., lines 7-13 and *mukhtaṣar* (ed. Darwich), 3:555:

ويوم الاربعاء سابعه وصل كتاب السلطان الى نائب السلطنة بأن يشتري ما أُبيع على الايتام وغيرهم من بيت المال عام أول وهو الطاحون بباب السلامة ونصف قرية الأقتريش ويبلغه خمسمائة الف درهم وأن يدفع الثمن اليهم من ثمن القند المبيع على نائب السلطنة ففعل ذلك بعد شهر وقبض المبلغ وأن يسامحوا بما قبضوا من الريع وكان السلطان فعل في شعبان مثل ذلك

⁴⁵There are other slight variations in the *mukhtaṣar*: for 'inda tawajjuhihi lil-Shām, there is *fi al-sanah al-khāliyah*; and in one of the MSS (as Darwich tells us [vol. 3, 551, n. 1]) the correction of *alladhī* to *allatī*.



بالقاهرة كما تقدّم.

We then find two additional reports (under Dhū al-Ḥijjah) in the "Dhayl" (both recensions) not found in the *mukhtaṣar*:

2. d. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (Köprülü 1027), 185v., lines 4-9 and (CB 5527), 27v., line 19-28r., line 2:

ويوم الثلاثاء خامسه جرى عقد التبائع لطاحون بباب السلامة ونصف قرية الأقتريش اشترى نائب السلطنة ذلك لمولانا السلطان بطريق الوكالة بمقتضى الكتاب الوارد في الشهر الماضي من المشتريين كذلك من بيت المال للايتام وغيرهم بحضور قاضي القضاة و القاضي المالكي و أحال النائب بالمال على المستلم من المشتريين للقند من النبات وقبلوا الحوالة وحصل القبض الشرعي وشرعوا في كتابة النسخ لذلك.

2. e. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (Köprülü 1027), 185v., lines 12-17 and (CB 5527), 28r., lines 6-11:

وليلة الثلاثاء ثاني عشره أندبت كتاب التبائع الصادر من النائب بطريق الوكالة عن السلطان من المتكلمين على الايتام وغيرهم من الاوصياء على مشتري الوقوف لما كان أشترى من بيت المال لهم في العام الماضي بعد أن يُندب وكيل السلطان للنائب عند القاضي المالكي وأندبت التبائع المذكور بعد استيعاء الشرائط الشرعية ونقد من الغد على القضاة الاربعة وكتب به نسخة أرسلت الى مصر ونسخة استمرت عند النائب ثم كتب به نسختان أخريان بخط العليلى [؟] وتلك النسختان احدهما بخط ابن غزّي و الاخرى بخط الرملي.

Two general conclusions can be drawn from these examples: (1) for the year 797/1394, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's source for much of the information in his "Dhayl," and so also in his *mukhtaṣar*, was Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta' rīkh*; (2) there is information, perhaps valuable information, to be had from the "Dhayl" (whichever recension) which cannot be found in the *mukhtaṣar*. With regard to the first conclusion, the reliance upon Ibn al-Furāt is much more pervasive than two examples alone can demonstrate. In fact, a rough estimate of the combined *ḥawādith* and *tarājim* taken from Ibn al-Furāt for the year 797 is *fully half* of the "Dhayl" and *fully half* of the *mukhtaṣar*. The second conclusion, too, has further implications: *there is no information in the mukhtaṣar which is not to be had from the "Dhayl."* Moreover, the "Dhayl," as we have seen, contains information not taken from Ibn al-Furāt (or it seems from any other source) and which was not incorporated into the *mukhtaṣar*.



Such information is of two types: (1) information which expands upon the brief accounts found in the *mukhtaṣar*; (2) fully unique reports and biographies. The first type of information is akin to our second example above. The second is reports centered around academic, legal, and religious life in Damascus. These are accounts of who taught where and what was taught, legal and teaching appointments received and lost (and often the scandals which occasioned such changes), daily activities of the chief judges, lists and descriptions of letters received from travelling scholars, and bureaucratic information. There are some thirty such reports. Next, there are some twenty biographies unique to the "Dhayl," biographies of usually minor figures who were involved, again, in the intellectual life of Damascus.

So far, we have dealt with the historical importance of the "Dhayl" in relation to its *mukhtaṣar*, but what of the relative importance of the two recensions of the "Dhayl"? We have already seen that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah filled out his first recension with information taken from Ibn al-Furāt. There is, however, material in the second recension for the year 797 not to be had from the first recension. Such additions are largely biographies: of the twenty biographies unique to the two recensions of the "Dhayl," roughly half are found only in the second recension represented by Chester Beatty 5527. These are Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's own additions to the first recension.

But, admittedly, none of the information unique to the "Dhayl" for the year 797 is of a particularly profound nature. The *mukhtaṣar* records the most important events and biographies.⁴⁶ The information in the "Dhayl," then, helps to flesh out more fully the social and intellectual dimensions of Damascene life at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Granted, it is unfortunate that for the years 797-810/1394-1407 a manuscript of the "Dhayl" was not available when the decision to publish the *mukhtaṣar* was made, but such is the state of the field. However, it should be clear now that for the year 797/1394, only half of the information in the *mukhtaṣar* is of real worth as unique information for modern historians: the rest can be had from Ibn al-Furāt. Such a judgement most likely is also applicable to those years preceding 797/1394 and covered by Ibn al-Furāt. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *muntaqá* of Ibn al-Furāt's *History*, found in Chester Beatty MS 4125, covers the years 778-793/1376-1390, and so it is for those years that we can assume there was borrowing. And though not found in Chester Beatty MS 4125, we can surmise that information for the years 794-799/1391-1396 were also "selected" by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah on the basis of the presence of such information in the account of the year 797 in both the "Dhayl" and the *mukhtaṣar*. But—and this has significance beyond the question of the relative worth of the "Dhayl" and *mukhtaṣar*—no manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rikh* have come to light for the years 698-789/1298-

⁴⁶Such a qualitative judgement is, however, relative to what one wants from a Mamluk history.



1387.⁴⁷ A thorough investigation of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *muntaqá* of Ibn al-Furāt, his *mukhtaṣar* (as edited by Darwich) and the Köprülü MS of his "Dhayl" (which includes the years 787-788) for borrowings from Ibn al-Furāt would prove invaluable in reconstructing Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rikh* for that period.⁴⁸

To return to the "Dhayl" and Chester Beatty MS 5527, what can be said about the years after 800, the year the published edition of the *mukhtaṣar* ends?⁴⁹ For content concerning events in Syria and particularly Damascus, they resemble closely the preceding years and so equally have a value for the social and intellectual life of that city. It is not necessary to provide as detailed a study of those years as has been done for the year 797 as we are no longer constrained to a comparative study of the "Dhayl" and the *mukhtaṣar*. The pattern of expansion from first recension to second recension has also been established and need not be illustrated further.

We know the value of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's history for events and biographies close to home, but as for those areas beyond Syria, and most especially Egypt, a pattern of borrowing from other histories has been established; thus, it would seem wise to determine just which histories he used to this end. Again, his *muntaqás* provide a good starting point. The *muntaqá* of Ibn Duqmāq in Chester Beatty MS 4125 covers only two years, 804-805. A brief analysis of the year 804 indicates Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's reliance on Ibn Duqmāq in the "Dhayl." One example, dealing with a minor rebellion by a group of amirs, will suffice. Ibn Duqmāq's version is given first, followed by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's version from the Chester Beatty MS 5527, with sections in brackets indicating elements missing from his *muntaqá*.

1. a. Ibn Duqmāq, "al-Jawhar al-Thamīn,"⁵⁰ 219v., line 9 - 220r., line 4:

وفيهما في يوم الجمعة ثاني شوال حصل كلام بين الامير نوروز الحافظي وجمك
الدوادار وبين الامير سودون طاز أمير أخور وحصل سر كبير الى أن لبسوا
ونزل السلطان الى الاصطبل وأقام بالمقعد وتراموا بالنفط والنشاب. ثم إن
أمير المؤمنين وشيخ الاسلام والقضاة دخلوا بينهم ومشوا بالصلح فاصطلحوا
وطلع السلطان الى القلعة ونزل كل من الامراء الى بيته. ثم طلب السلطان

⁴⁷I rely on Cahen's somewhat dated article on Ibn al-Furāt in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., but I am not aware of any further discoveries. Within that roughly hundred year gap, it is the latter half coinciding with the author's life that might prove of most importance.

⁴⁸Other historians, e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī, and al-'Aynī, also used Ibn al-Furāt (see Bacharach, "Circassian Mamluk Historians," 48), and so should be included in such a comparative study.

⁴⁹Darwich tells us (vol. 2, Arabic intro., 57) that the holograph manuscript of the *mukhtaṣar* ends with the year 808; it is not at all clear why he chose not to continue editing the work to this year.

⁵⁰A microfilm of the Bodleian MS Digby Or. 28 of Ibn Duqmāq's "al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa-al-Salātīn" was kindly provided by The University of Chicago Library.



الخليفة وقاضي القضاة فطلعوا الى السلطان. ثم نزلوا فحلفوا الامراء.

1. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (CB 5527), 247r., lines 3-11 (brackets enclose major omissions in "al-Muntaqā min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq" [CB 4125], 201r., line 20-201v., line 2):

في يوم ثانيه حصل بين الامراء نوروز وجكم وقاني بيه ومن معهم وبين الامير سودون طاز أخور ومن انضاف اليه سر كبير ولبسوا في اليوم المذكور ونزل السلطان الى الاصطبل السلطاني وأقام به ويقا تل الامراء والماليك السلطانية وتعس الامراء في ذلك اليوم. ثم إن الخليفة والقضاة وشيخ الاسلام دخلوا بينهم ومشوا بالصلح فاصطلحوا في ذلك اليوم وطلع السلطان عشية النهار الى القلعة. ثم راح كل واحد منهم الى بيته وفي صبح الغد طلب الخليفة والشيخ والقضاة الى القلعة فاجتمعوا بالسلطان. ثم نزلوا الى بيت الامير [نوروز ثم الى بيت الامير ولي الدين الاتابك والى بيوت مهمة الامراء] وحلفوهم.

Clearly, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's version displays a few substantive differences, chiefly with regard to other people involved in the event. While the *muntaqā* made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reflects some of these changes (viz., Qānī Bāy, *mamālik sulṭānīyah*), it does not include them all (e.g., the last line⁵¹). Two possibilities arise. The most obvious is that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used a version of Ibn Duqmāq other than that represented by the Bodleian MS used here. This, however, does not explain the changes from the *muntaqā* version to the "Dhayl" version. In other words, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah drew either entirely on another source which also used Ibn Duqmāq but which also added the other elements, or he added the additional information from another source. This process could have begun with the *muntaqā* version which was then expanded for the "Dhayl" version using additional sources. For the example above, the problem is a minor one; the report agrees almost exactly with Ibn Duqmāq in substance and wording. But the implications for other borrowed elements found in the account for the year 804 are significant: it is likely that he used more than one source (Ibn Duqmāq) for the version he provides in the "Dhayl." This other source remains unidentified.

What of those years not treated in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's books of excerpts? There is evidence that for the year 810 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah relied at least in part on al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*. For instance, the reports of the sultan's hunting trip in

⁵¹The last line in the *muntaqā* in fact reads: *thumma nazalū bi-dār wa-a'lá buyūt al-umarā' fa-hallafūhum*.



al-Muḥarram of that year in al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah agree almost exactly:

1. a. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1, 54:

وفي يوم الاثنين ثامن عشرينه سار السلطان من قلعة الجبل في آخر الثانية بطالع الاسد ونزل بمخيمه من خارج القاهرة تجاه مسجد تبر. وقد بلغت النفقة على الممالك الى مائة ألف دينار وثمانين ألف دينار وبلغت عدة الاغنام التي سيقت معه عشرة آلاف رأس من الضأن [الخ].

1. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "Dhayl" (CB 5527), 390v., lines 5-10:

ويوم الاثنين سابع عشرينه خرج السلطان من قلعة الجبل ونزل بمخيمه خارج القاهرة قال بعضهم وبلغت النفقة على الممالك الى مائة ألف دينار وثمانين ألف دينار وبلغت عدة الاغنام التي سيقت معه عشرة آلاف رأس من الضأن [الخ].

Aside from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's editorial note, his report is very similar to that of al-Maqrīzī. But we also find in the "Dhayl" a marginal note listing which amirs accompanied the sultan and which of them stayed behind; no such list is found in al-Maqrīzī. There are additional reports for the year 810 that can be traced to al-Maqrīzī, but, significantly, others which cannot. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah introduces these other reports with the words *wa-fī tawārīkh al-miṣrīyīn*, "and in the Egyptian histories." Some biographies, like that of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Iskandarī, the *muhtasib* of Cairo, are verbatim copies of al-Maqrīzī. Biographies for other, perhaps more significant individuals, such as that for the *atābak* of the Egyptian army Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish, cannot be found in al-Maqrīzī. This suggests that either Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used a common source with al-Maqrīzī or that he added these additional elements from another source altogether. This common or other source remains unidentified.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's account of the year 801 is replete with references to Egyptian histories. It seems that for this year, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's source recorded events with a date differing from the one established by him, so we find phrases such as *wa-yawm al-aḥad sādisuhu wa-huwa fī tawārīkh al-miṣrīyīn khāmisuhu* continually repeated. Perhaps the most significant event of this year was the death of Sultan Barqūq. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's biography does not, in even a general sense, reflect any of the other contemporary Egyptian sources (e.g., Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-'Aynī,⁵² Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, al-Maqrīzī) though he must certainly have had

⁵²A microfilm copy (Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabīyah 738) of the MS Ahmet III 2911 of



to rely upon an Egyptian source for this record. It is tempting to think that for 801/1398 and perhaps a few more years early in the ninth/fifteenth century, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah relied on Ibn al-Furāt who, as some sources tell us, wrote "a little" for the beginning of this century.⁵³ But as no manuscript remains of Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rikh* have come to light for the years after 799/1396, this is difficult to prove. Perhaps a stylistic study of these quotations in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's works might help in this regard.⁵⁴

In brief, then, we have evidence that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah relied on both Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī (or common sources) for certain years after 800, if only in part. It is also clear that other sources were used, but these remain to be identified. (See fig. 4.)

The soundings of Chester Beatty MS 5527 reveal a number of important facts. At least three contemporary historians were drawn upon in the composition of the "Dhayl." Modern historians' use of the "Dhayl" must, thus, be undertaken with a critical eye. Next, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's use of Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rikh* has secured for modern historians parts of an important Mamluk history no longer extant in their original form. Finally, information unique to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, and especially the information unique to the "Dhayl," can be added to the corpus of "Syrian school" histories upon which modern historians base analyses of the social and intellectual life of Mamluk Syria.

CONCLUSIONS

In drawing conclusions from the above analysis of Chester Beatty MS 5527 in particular and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "Dhayl" in general, it would be helpful to return to those larger contexts with which this study was introduced. Our first context is that of the modern study of Mamluk historiography, the immediate aim of which is to establish the general contours of relationship among Mamluk period histories. Precisely, one wants to know on the one hand what unique material is to be had from a Mamluk history and on the other what sources that Mamluk history drew upon. The above analysis has provided a number of answers to these questions. It has become clear that the historical information unique to the "Dhayl" (in its various recensions and including its abridgement) can be characterized largely as Damascene history for the latter half of the eighth/fourteenth century and the early

al-'Aynī's "Iqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rikh Ahl al-Zamān" was provided by The University of Chicago Library.

⁵³E.g., Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:72: *wa-kataba shay' yasīr minhu awwal al-qarn al-tāsi'*.

⁵⁴Ibn al-Furāt's style is very distinctive (contemporaries and later historians accused him of a certain vulgarity; see Cahen, "Ibn al-Furāt") and so might allow for fruitful comparison with quotations in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work.



part of the ninth/fifteenth century. Moreover, the "Dhayl" is a history concerned with the social and intellectual dimensions of life in that particular time and place. The nature of this history, and its strength, lies in its detailed record of the minutiae of daily life. This characteristic is perhaps the immediate result of the work's emphasis on prosopography, that is to say the overwhelming emphasis and space it assigns to biographies. This is not to diminish its importance for political history, but again, in the elements original to the "Dhayl," that political history is limited to the Damascus-Syria area. For political history beyond that geographical area, the "Dhayl" has been shown to rely on other, Egyptian historians. Often, such reliance makes the "Dhayl" redundant as an original source, but in such cases where the original work no longer exists—as in the case of portions of Ibn al-Furāt's history—the "Dhayl" along with its *mukhtaṣar* proves an invaluable repository for information which may not be had from other contemporary sources. In short, and as always when dealing with Mamluk histories, the "Dhayl" is a mixture of important and not so important information for the modern historian.

Studies on the aims and methodology of Mamluk historians do not as yet seem to have acquired cachet with modern historians.⁵⁵ The field as a whole is still in its infancy. The group of manuscripts of the various recensions, reworkings, revisions, and abridgements of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's historical legacy, collectively called the "Dhayl," will prove of enormous value to students and scholars who might direct their attention to such methodological studies. Obviously the process to which Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah subjected his historical information is a complex one and perhaps taxing to work through but, perhaps unlike other contemporary historians whose main historical work gained immediate popularity and so quickly became standardized in clean copy, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah has left us with a detailed record of his job as an historian. Such a detailed record is of immense value for an understanding of the craft of the Mamluk historian.

Our third larger context is that of genre. From the foregoing, we can identify Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah as a representative of the "Syrian school" of Mamluk historians. In his concerns and emphases, in the methodology and structure of his historical writing, he consciously aligns himself with the type of history common to the historians of that school. He, and his master Ibn Ḥijjī, were unquestionably important representatives of the "Syrian school." This is obvious from the readership notes in the manuscripts of his work, obvious even more in the extensive use later Syrian historians made of his work. Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) and al-Nu'aymī (d.

⁵⁵For an example of the directions in which such studies might proceed, see Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's analysis in "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*" in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4-5 December 1993* (London, 1995), 93-101.



978/1570) come to mind in this regard. Egyptian traditionist-historians, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1448) and al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1496) also quoted the "Dhayl" extensively.⁵⁶ For modern historians, then, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah represents the link between the earlier eighth/fourteenth century historians such as al-Birzālī, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Kathīr and the later ninth/fifteenth century historians such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ṭūlūn. The addition of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work to the corpus of "Syrian school" histories, for now in the form of the *mukhtaṣar*, should further contribute to our understanding of the nature and development of this type of Mamluk history writing.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and his "Dhayl," then, are important to the many different facets of the study of Mamluk history and historiography. The dimensions to this judgement of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's importance of course need to be more fully investigated and understood. Such work, in a profound sense, begins where this small study ends and it can only really begin with a critical edition of those years of the second recension "Dhayl" left to us in manuscript: 801-810/1398-1407.

⁵⁶For these authors in general see the articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *GAL*, and al-Munajjid's *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn*. The case of Ibn Ḥajar is an interesting one; in his *Inbā' al-Ghumr* he cites only Ibn Ḥijjī by name (and not Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah), a fact which leads one to suspect that he had access to the original draft of the "Dhayl" by Ibn Ḥijjī.



APPENDIX: WORKS BY IBN QĀDĪ SHUHBĀH

"Al-Dhayl."

Köprülü 1027 (microfilm: Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyah 99 Ta'rīkh).

Chester Beatty 5527.

Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 181v.-196r., 206v.-325r.

Fragments of unidentified historical and biographical works.

Chester Beatty 3151.

"Al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt."

Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 1v.-196r.

"Al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq."

Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 197v.-206r.

Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. 3 vols. Edited by Adnan Darwich. Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1977-1994.⁵⁷

Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah. 4 vols. Edited by 'Abd al-'Alīm Khān. Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1987.

⁵⁷Despite the title, this is the *mukhtaṣar* (abridgement) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made of the "Dhayl." The sequence of the volumes for this edition is somewhat misleading: vol. 1, published in 1977, covers the years 781-800; vol. 2, published in 1994, covers the years 741-750 and includes lengthy introductions (in Arabic and French) by the editor on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, the corpus of his works, and the manuscripts of the *mukhtaṣar*; vol. 3, published in 1994, covers the years 751-780.



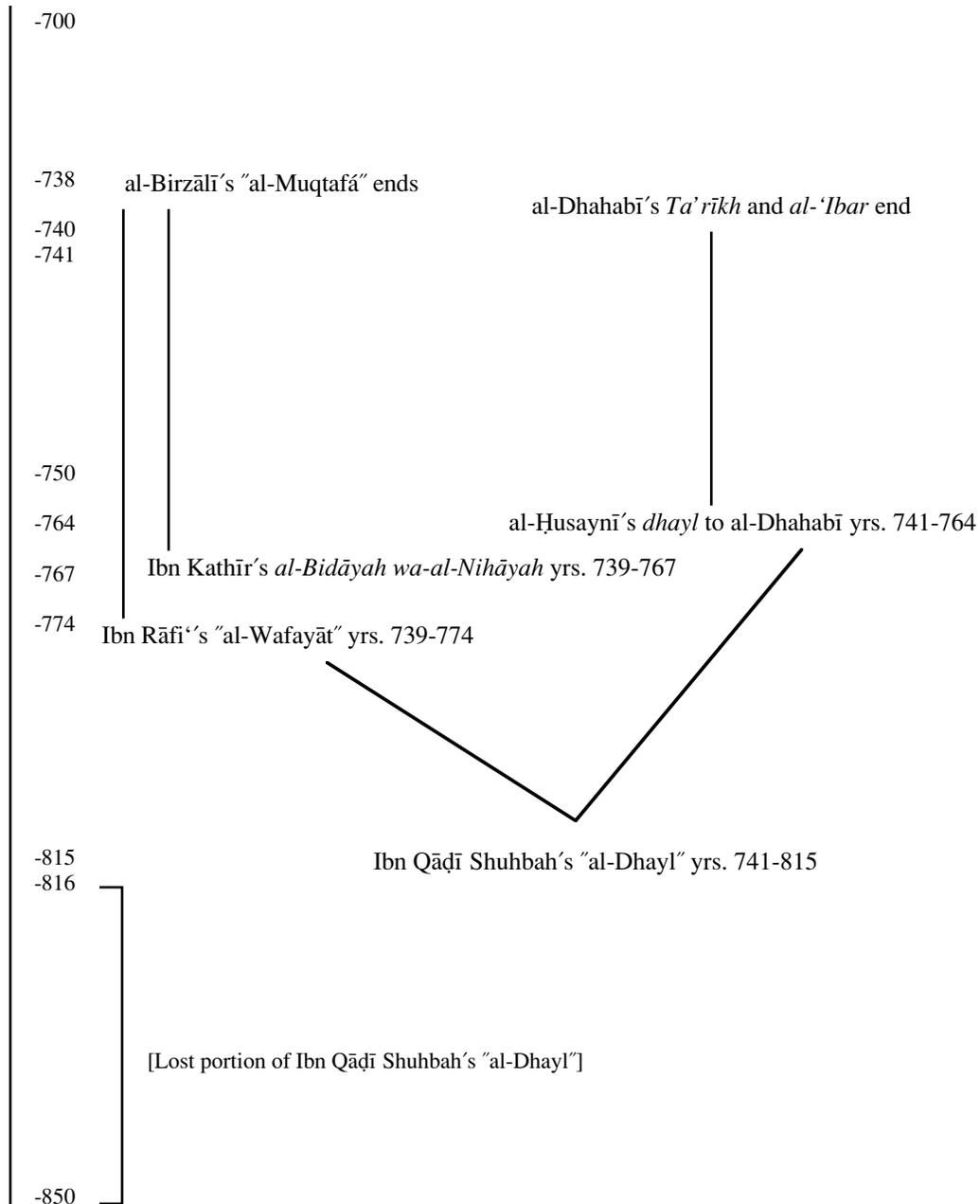


Figure 1. The "Syrian School" Histories Supplemented by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah



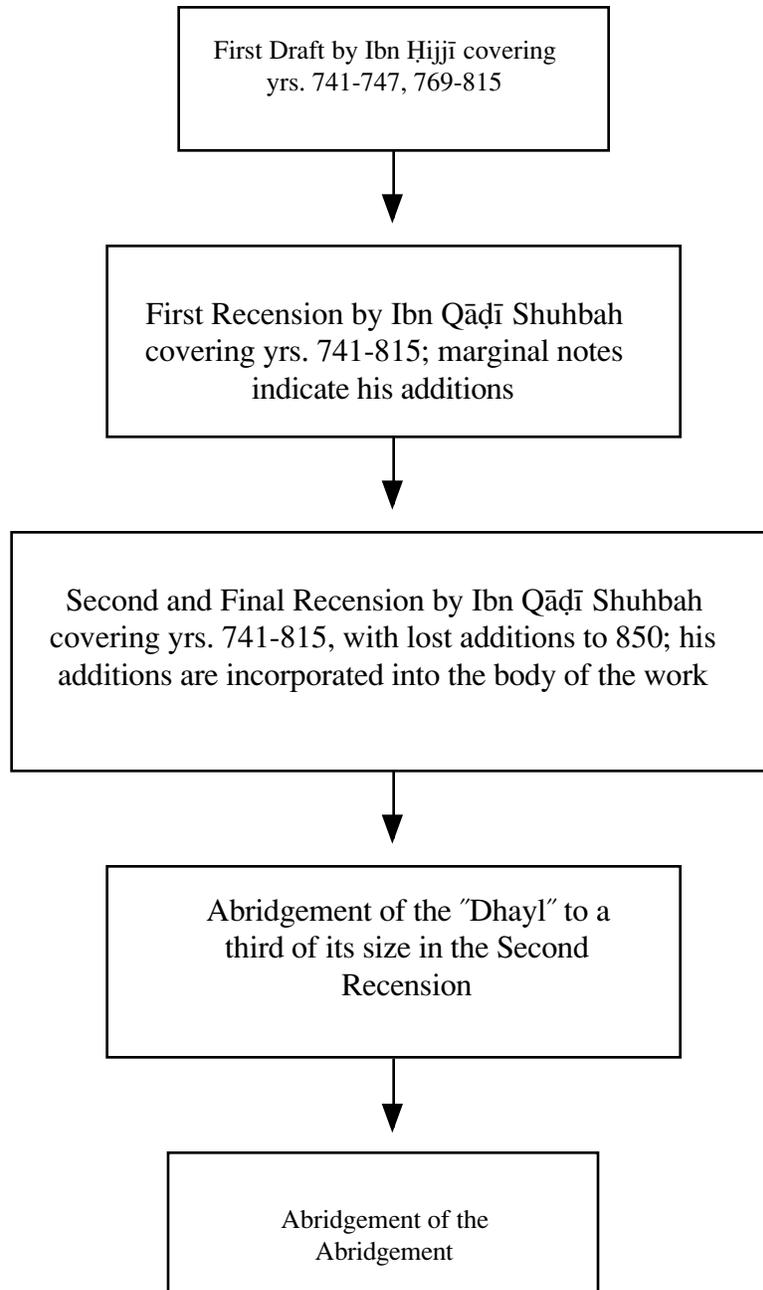
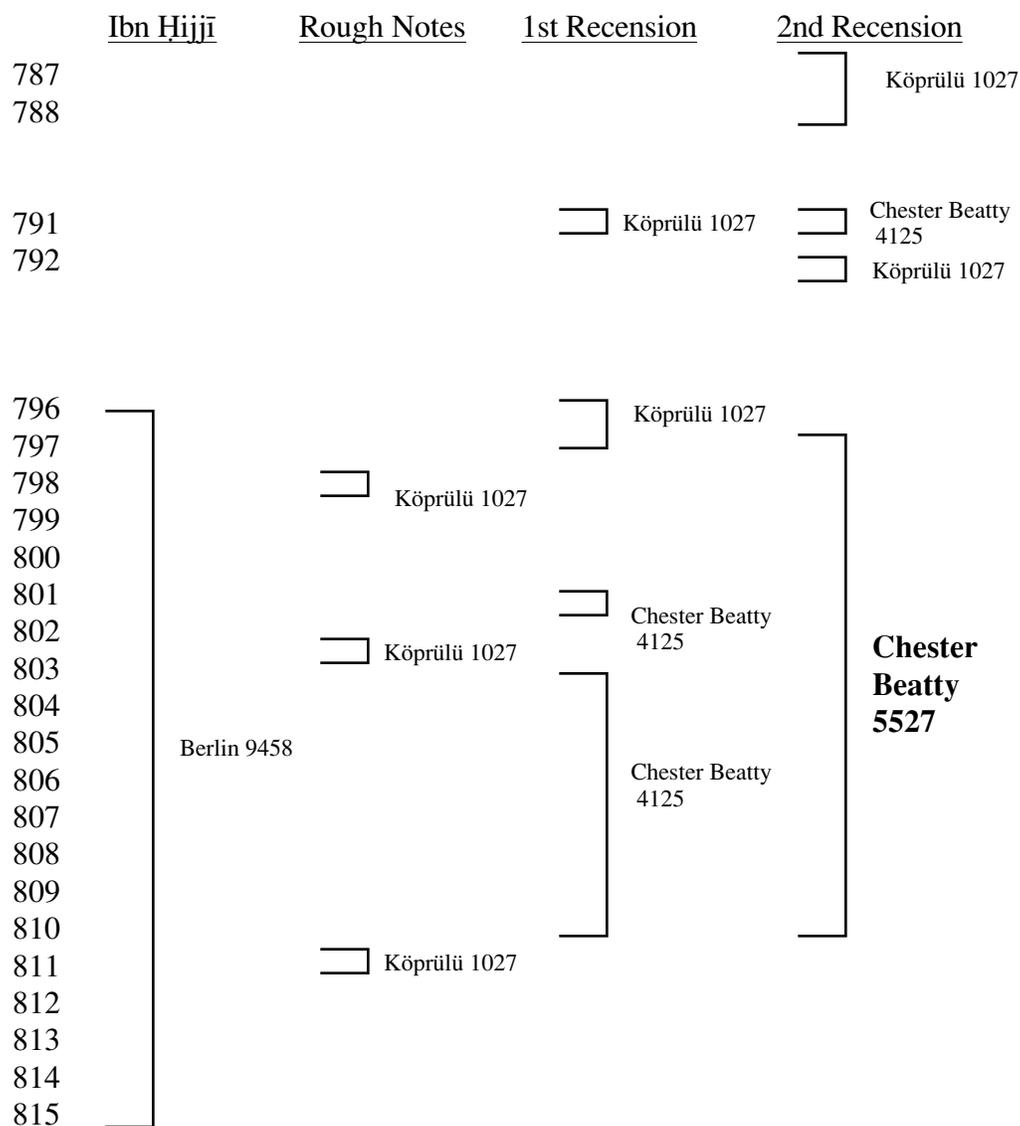


Figure 2. The Recensions and Versions of the "Dhayl"





Manuscripts

Chester Beatty 5527: "al-Dhayl" (Second Recension)

Chester Beatty 4125: "al-Muntaqā min Ta'rikh Ibn al-Furāt"; "Muntaqā min Ta'rikh Ibn Duqmāq";
Fragments of "al-Dhayl" (First and Second Recensions)

Köprülü 1027: "al-Dhayl" (First and Second Recensions)

Berlin 9458: Ibn Hġjġ's First Draft of "al-Dhayl"

Figure 3. Manuscript Remains of the "Dhayl" in its Various Drafts and Recensions



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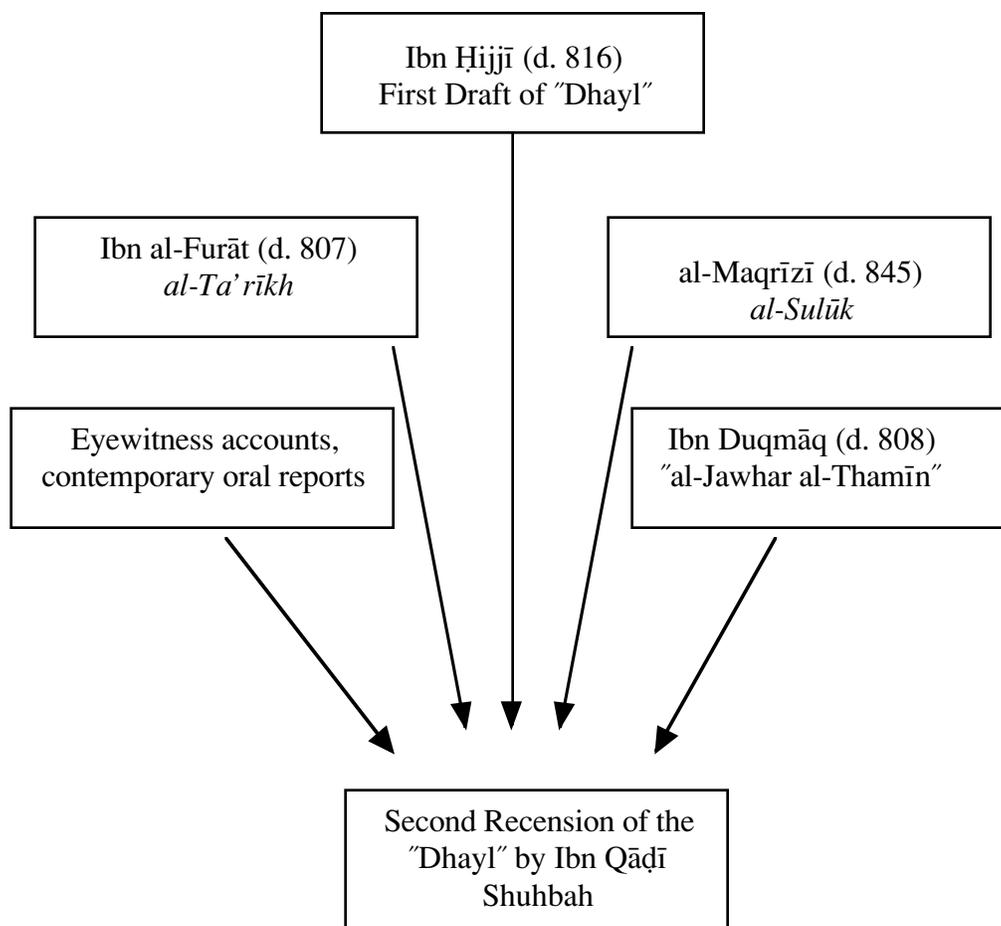


Figure 4. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's Major Sources for the Years 797-810

