

Maqriziana XVII: Al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥajar, and the Man Who Pretended To Be the Sufyānī

An Insight into Source Criticism in the Late Mamlūk Period

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1 Introduction

With the professionalization of history at the end of the nineteenth century, the role played by source criticism as one of the methodological norms to assess the reliability of sources (written, oral, material, dematerialized) has been central to the field, whatever trends and theories have prevailed and continue to prevail. Obviously, in methodological terms, medieval and premodern historians were already aware of the importance of establishing ways to check their sources against one another well before this notion was conceptualized by their modern successors.¹

With regard to Islam, Franz Rosenthal has improved our knowledge of the historians' views on this subject with his work, *A history of Muslim historiography*, in which he translated three treatises composed by late Mamlūk authors. Figuring prominently among Rosenthal's sources, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and his vision of the proper methodology for historians includes a note that it is necessary to critically investigate, first and foremost, the trustworthiness of the historical information and consider its possibility, and only then begin to engage in impugning and approving (*al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*).² Personality criticism (*al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*) was a sub-field of *ḥadīth* studies believed to afford room for the establishment of a transmitter's reliability. In the traditionists' mind, accuracy, reliability, and integrity were the essential values that had to be identified in any transmitter's profile. Whoever would forge a tradition, falsify a chain of transmitters, or claim to have learned a tradition from a person he had hardly met, would be labeled as an unreliable person.

In light of the intrinsic link between tradition and history in the framework of Islamic thought, any prospective historian who approached their work

¹ For this issue considered in a global perspective, see Donnelly and Norton, *Doing history*.

² Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah* i, 71ff.

in an uncritical manner would have been deemed to be in contravention of the established values. As brilliantly exposed by Ulrich Haarmann, this view was challenged by some historians who did not necessarily have a background in *ḥadīth* studies and who introduced literary features in their work. The traditionists-cum-historians took a dim view of this trend.³ The late Mamlūk period witnessed several cases of historians who were considered unreliable by their contemporaries because they blindly accepted and reported information that was transmitted to them by questionable informants. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) is the historian who attracted the most attention of his peers in the late Mamlūk period; one of the harshest critics of his method is al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), who never studied under his guidance but who was the pupil of one of al-Maqrīzī's closest friends and colleagues, Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449).

The nature of the relationship between Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī has received little attention from scholars.⁴ While Ibn Ḥajar seldom gave vent to his criticism of al-Maqrīzī's methodology in his works, al-Sakhāwī never lost an occasion to spread negative judgments of his master in this regard, proof that his master had an opinion on al-Maqrīzī and that this opinion was not entirely positive.⁵ This study aims to provide a more nuanced characterization of Ibn Ḥajar's opinion of al-Maqrīzī, together with insight into al-Maqrīzī's approach to source criticism by looking into a case that involved both scholars and a Maghribi informant named al-Furriyānī.

2 A Derogatory Marginal Note and the Identity of Its Author

The starting point for this inquiry into source criticism in the late Mamlūk period is a marginal note found in one of al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscripts of *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr al-muqaffā* (The great history in continuation, henceforth *al-Muqaffā*), a biographical dictionary that al-Maqrīzī conceived as a supplement to the all-encompassing chronicle he devoted to his homeland, Egypt, from the Islamic conquest up to his own time. The triptych was comprised of *Iqd jawāhir al-asfāt*, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, and *al-Sulūk*. Though he initially planned to fill eighty volumes of this biographical dictionary dedicated to Egyptians, al-

3 See, more recently, Hirschler, "Studying Mamluk historiography"; Van Steenberghe, "History writing."

4 See, however, for the issue of professional competition, Broadbridge, "Academic rivalry." For a translation and brief study of al-Maqrīzī's biography by al-Sakhāwī, see Bauden, "al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442)."

5 Regarding the question of plagiarism, see Bauden, "Maqriziana ix." For a translation and brief study of al-Maqrīzī's biography by al-Sakhāwī, see Bauden, "al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442)."

Maqrīzī completed only sixteen volumes before his death, and only a portion of this has reached us.⁶

The leaf where the marginal note in question appears (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Or. 14533, fol. 87a; see **figure 1**) is at the beginning of a biography of one of the most enigmatic figures of occultism in Islam: al-Būnī (d. after 622/1225). Many aspects of the life of this Ifrīqī Sufi who devoted several works to the science of letters remain obscure as he is absent from the usual medieval biographical dictionaries. The mention of his name and his works in several texts from the Mamlūk period and beyond is well attested. Moreover, we can catch a few glimpses of his life from personal information interspersed in some of his works and paratextual notes related to the copy and distribution of his texts.⁷

But besides the biography written by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Muqaffā*, if we look for an entry with additional details, we are left with only one source contemporary with al-Maqrīzī: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454),⁸ a commentator of al-Būnī’s work and an impassioned defender of the occult sciences, in particular of the science of letters. Al-Biṣṭāmī’s career mainly unfolded in Ottoman lands. Al-Būnī’s biography appears in his yet unpublished *Shams al-āfāq fī ‘ilm al-ḥurūf wa-l-awfāq* (The sun of the distant lands regarding the science of letters and magical squares). This short entry is closer to what could be characterized as a hagiography, as it does not contain any substantial historical information, other than a very detailed list of book titles attributed to al-Būnī.⁹

In the light of this, and with its 635 words, al-Būnī’s entry in *al-Muqaffā* appears to be the most complete biography we have of him. Given its value,

6 On *al-Muqaffā*, see Bauden, “Maqriziana x” part 1; Bauden, “Maqriziana x” part 2.

7 Two scholars have recently exploited the material provided by the manuscripts of al-Būnī’s works in this sense: Jean-Charles Coulon and Noah Gardiner, who each prepared a PhD dissertation on al-Būnī. See Coulon, *Intégration et réception*; Coulon, *La magie islamique*; Coulon, “Building al-Būnī’s legend”; Coulon, “L’ésotérisme shi’ite”; Coulon, “Magie et politique”; Gardiner, “Forbidden knowledge?”; Gardiner, *Esotericism*; Gardiner, “Esotericist reading communities”; Gardiner, “Stars and saints”. See also Hamès, “al-Būnī.”

8 On him, see Gril, “Ésotérisme contre hérésie”; Gardiner, “The occultist encyclopedism”; Gardiner, “Lettrism and history.”

9 The text of this entry was edited by Coulon, “Building al-Būnī’s legend” 19–20. The same author translated it into French: Coulon, *La magie islamique* iv, 1219–1221. Al-Biṣṭāmī’s entry on al-Būnī was later used by al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621) in his *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tarājīm al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya* without adding anything new. See Coulon, “Building al-Būnī’s legend” 8. Besides al-Biṣṭāmī and al-Munāwī, Coulon identified two additional biographical entries written by two later authors, one from the eighteenth century and another from the twentieth century. See Coulon, *La magie islamique* i, 403.

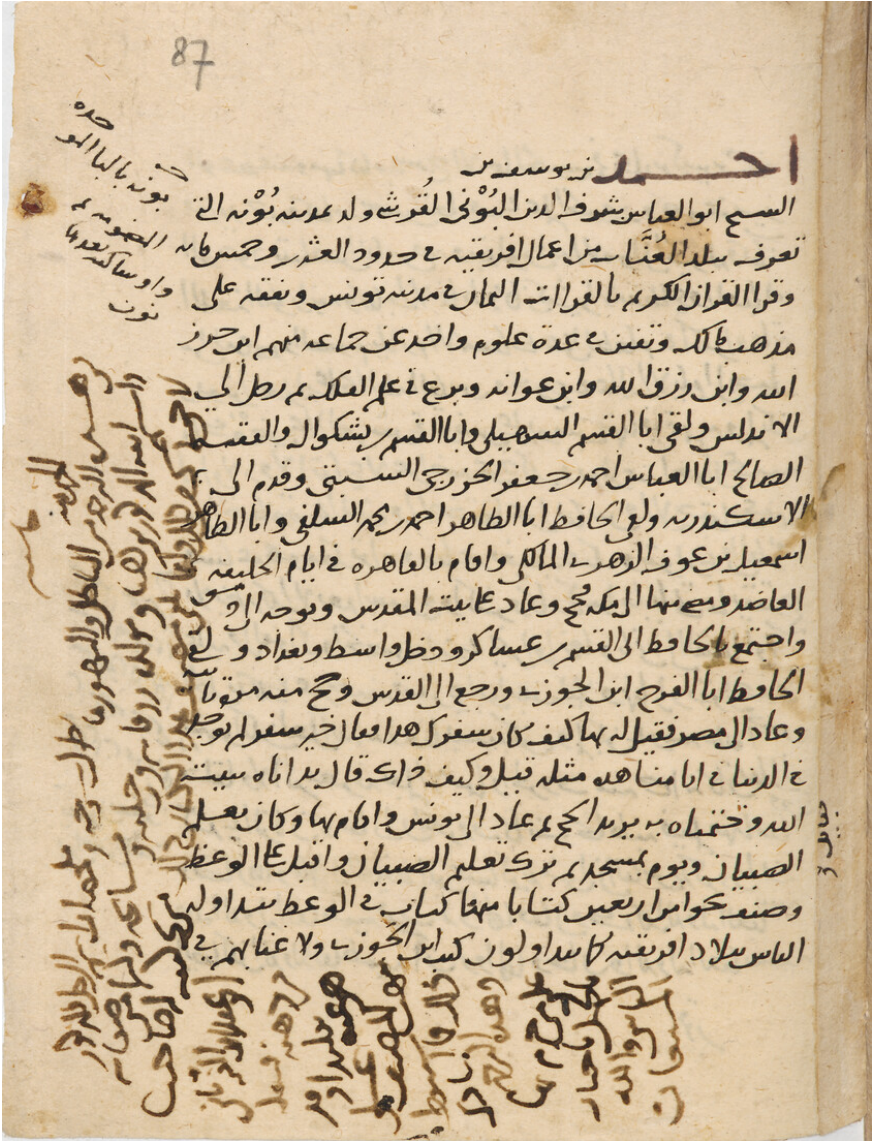


FIGURE 6.1 Beginning of al-Būnī's biography in al-Maqrizī's *al-Muqaffā* (Courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS OR. 14533, fol. 87a)

it is all the more strange that, until very recently, it remained unnoticed by all the scholars who wrote on al-Būnī, and this despite the fact that the *editio princeps* of *al-Muqaffā* appeared in 1991.¹⁰ The reason al-Būnī's entry in *al-Muqaffā* was not added earlier may be because al-Maqrīzī gave al-Būnī's name as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf instead of Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf as it occurs in all the other sources and in his own texts. Hence, anyone looking for al-Būnī's name in the volume of indices of *al-Muqaffā* would be misled if he/she searched under the correct form of his name. In 2012, the two scholars who dedicated most of their research to al-Būnī were alerted to the existence of this biography.¹¹ The degree of accuracy of this comprehensive biographical account will become increasingly apparent in the course of this article; the specialists of al-Būnī have already demonstrated that its content is largely unreliable, by comparing the data provided by al-Maqrīzī with what we know of al-Būnī's life on the basis of details offered by the author's texts and information provided by some paratexts found in copies of his works.¹²

When he published his *editio princeps* of *al-Muqaffā* in 1991, Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī relied on the holograph volumes preserved in Leiden (MSS Or. 1366a, 1366c, 3065) and Paris (MS Arabe 2144). He also took into consideration an apograph held in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Pertev Paşa 496), as it covers a section of al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary missing in the above-mentioned holograph volumes: this apograph contains the biographies starting with *alif*, *bā*, *tā*, *thā*, *jīm*, *ḥā*, and *khā*. By the time al-Ya'lawī started his editorial work, he knew that in 1978 the curator of Oriental manuscripts in Leiden, Jan Just Witkam, had bought another holograph volume (at Christie's) covering the letters *alif* to *ḥā* inclusively (MS Or. 14533).¹³ Unfortunately, he was not allowed to consult this new addition to the Leiden collection because the manuscript needed to be restored before becoming accessible to researchers.¹⁴ Al-Ya'lawī's edition of al-Būnī's biography thus reproduced the text found in

10 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.).

11 I personally informed Noah Gardiner. See Gardiner, "Forbidden knowledge?" 86n14. At that time, Coulon seemed to have already been conscious of the presence of al-Būnī's biography in *al-Muqaffā*. See Coulon, "Intégration et réception" 435.

12 Gardiner announced a forthcoming article devoted to al-Būnī's biography in *al-Muqaffā*. See Gardiner, "Forbidden knowledge?" 86n14. In the meantime, he addressed some issues linked to its accuracy in his dissertation. See Gardiner, *Esotericism* 71, 225, 243–244, 247, 251, 254. Coulon had done the same thing and also provided a French translation of al-Būnī's entry in *al-Muqaffā*. See Coulon, *La magie islamique* i, 403–415, and 1222–1224 (for the translation).

13 The purchase was announced in Witkam, "Discovery."

14 On the restoration, see Keus and Clements, "The Maqrīzī."

the apograph.¹⁵ When he was finally allowed access to MS Or. 14533, al-Yaʿlāwī realized that the manuscript contained some additional biographies not found in the apograph and in some cases provided better readings; these two factors motivated him to prepare a new edition of *al-Muqaffā* in 2006.¹⁶ Al-Būnī's biography was purportedly amended following the readings found in the holograph, including al-Maqrīzī's marginal additions that al-Yaʿlāwī inserted in the footnotes.¹⁷ However, it does not seem that he fully collated his edition with the holograph, as one consequential mistake made by the copyist of the apograph remains in the second edition. When speaking of al-Būnī's expertise, al-Maqrīzī says that no one was more knowledgeable in the science of the [divine] names (*al-asmāʾ*) and of the letters (*al-ḥurūf*). In the apograph, "the science of the [divine] names" (*ʿilm al-asmāʾ*) strangely became "the science of calculation" (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*), i.e., numerology.¹⁸ While the reading is clear in the holograph, al-Yaʿlāwī did not correct the word in his new edition.¹⁹ On the basis of this misleading reading, al-Būnī is thus wrongly regarded as skilled in mathematics.²⁰ Therefore, it is necessary to offer a new critical edition of al-Būnī's biography based on the holograph with a reproduction of the manuscript to show where al-Maqrīzī added his marginal notes (see appendix 1).

The marginal note that is of interest for this study was written by a different hand in the left margin of the first leaf (see figure 2). No particular expertise in Arabic paleography is required to notice the difference between al-Maqrīzī's hand, which penned al-Būnī's biography, and the hand that wrote the marginal note.²¹ In terms of its contents, the note confirms that its author is referring to the author of the biography, al-Maqrīzī, using the term *al-muṣannif* (the author). We propose a complete edition of the note for the first time (see below). Previously, two attempts to decipher it were made. The first to notice it was Qāsim al-Sāmarrāʾī in a review article of Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid's edition of the draft of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār* published in 1995 and of Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī's edition of *al-Muqaffā* that appeared in 1991.²² Al-

15 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, MS Pertev Paşa 496, fols. 194a–195a; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) i, 750–753 (no. 689).

16 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.).

17 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) i, 462–464 (no. 689).

18 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, MS Pertev Paşa 496, fol. 164b, line 20.

19 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) i, 463, line 2 of the second column.

20 Gardiner, *Esotericism* 246 ("al-Maqrīzī emphasizes al-Būnī's skill in mathematics"). Coulon, *La magie islamique* i, 1223, more correctly interpreted *al-ḥisāb* as meaning *ḥisāb al-jummal*, i.e., numerology.

21 On al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, see Bauden, "Maqriziana xv."

22 Al-Sāmarrāʾī, "Musawwadat" 512.

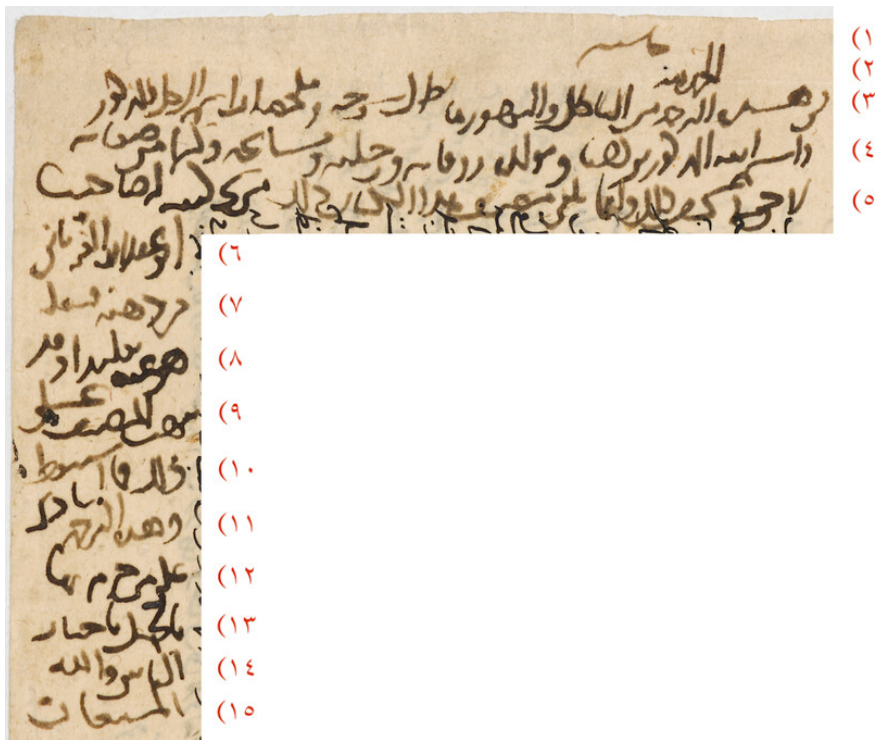


FIGURE 6.2 The marginal note regarding al-Būnī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*

Sāmarrā'ī read most of the note but failed to read some parts. In Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī's revised edition of *al-Muqaffā*, for which he had access to MS Or. 14533 where the note is preserved,²³ his reading contains more mistakes and is more tentative than that of al-Sāmarrā'ī.²⁴ These attempts remain valuable and praiseworthy considering the poorly legible handwriting, which is almost completely devoid of diacritical dots.

- | | |
|---|---|
| حاشية ²⁵ | ١ |
| الحمد لله | ٢ |
| في هذه الترجمة من الباطل والتهور ما يطول شرحه وملخصه ²⁶ أن اسم الرجل المذكور | ٣ |

23 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) i, 462.

24 I shared my reading of the note with Noah Gardiner in 2013 and he quoted it in his dissertation (Gardiner, *Esotericism* 251), though without acknowledgment.

25 *Ḥāshiya*: not read by al-Sāmarrā'ī and al-Ya'lāwī.

26 *Wa-mulakhkhaṣuḥu*: read وملخصها by al-Ya'lāwī.

- ٤ واسم أبيه المذكورين²⁷ هنا ومولده ووفاته ورحلته ومشايخه وكثيرا من صفاته
 ٥ لا حق في شيء من²⁸ ذلك²⁹ وإنما تلقى مصنف هذا الكتاب ذلك من شيء³⁰
 كتبه³¹ له صاحبنا
 ٦ أبو عبد الله الفرياني³²
 ٧ من ذهنه فنقل
 ٨ هو عنه تقليدا وقد
 ٩ نبهت³³ المصنف على
 ١٠ ذلك³⁴ فما استيقظ³⁵
 ١١ وهذه الترجمة مما دل³⁶
 ١٢ على من جزم³⁷ بها
 ١٣ بالجهل بأخبار
 ١٤ الناس والله
 ١٥ المستعان

Comment. Praise be to God! In this biography, there is untruth and carelessness beyond explanation. In short, the name of the man who is mentioned here as well as his father's name, his [dates of] birth and death, his trip [in search of knowledge], his masters, and countless of his qualities are baseless allegations. In fact, the author of this book obtained this [data] from something our colleague, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Furriyānī, wrote at his request from memory. Nevertheless, he transmitted this from him uncritically. I warned the author about this but he did not pay attention. This biographical entry bears witness to someone who [is prone to] accept it authoritatively while ignoring people's facts. God is the One whose help is sought!

- 27 *Al-Madhkūrayn*: read المذكور by al-Sāmarrā'ī. The author of the note obviously made the past participle agree with the two subjects that precede (the name of al-Būnī and of his father), forgetting that he had already used the same past participle after the first subject.
 28 *Lā ḥaqqā fī shay' min*: not read by al-Sāmarrā'ī.
 29 *Lā ḥaqqā fī shay' min dhālik*: not read by al-Ya'lāwī.
 30 *Wa-innamā talaqqā muṣannif ḥadhā l-kitāb dhālik min shay'*: partially read by al-Ya'lāwī as وإنما تلقى بمصر.
 31 *Katabahu*: read كتب by al-Ya'lāwī.
 32 *Al-Furriyānī*: read الغرياني by al-Sāmarrā'ī; read بن الغرياني by al-Ya'lāwī.
 33 *Nabbahtu*: read نبهنا by al-Ya'lāwī.
 34 *'Alā dhālik*: not read by al-Sāmarrā'ī.
 35 *Istayqaḥa*: read است [....] نبهت [....] by al-Ya'lāwī.
 36 *Mimmā dalla*: the first word not read by al-Sāmarrā'ī who interpreted the second as بدل, placing the word between parentheses to express his doubt about this reading; not read by al-Ya'lāwī.
 37 *Jazama*: not read by al-Ya'lāwī.

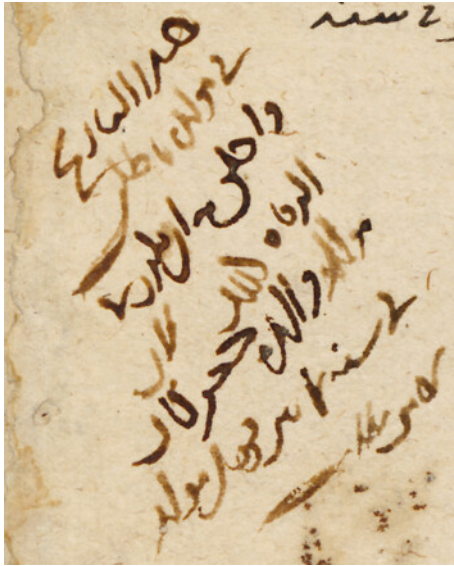


FIGURE 6.3

A marginal gloss added by Ibn Ḥajar in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*

The person who wrote this comment expressed that little of what is said of al-Būnī's biography as given by al-Maqrīzī is reliable. The expressions he chose to characterize his appraisal of this text go well beyond mere criticism: "untruth and carelessness beyond explanation," "baseless allegations," "transmitted ... uncritically," "accept it authoritatively while ignoring the facts of the people." These are bitter, fierce, and disparaging words of someone who personally knew al-Maqrīzī, as he states that he had warned him (al-Maqrīzī) of the unreliability of his informant: "I warned the author about this but he did not pay attention." In order to unveil the identity of its author and his appreciation of al-Maqrīzī, it is necessary to turn to similar notes in the same handwriting found elsewhere in the holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā*. I selected two such notes that are particularly useful for my purpose.

In the first of these notes, the author stresses once again the untruth (*bāṭil*) of a detail reported by al-Maqrīzī (see figure 3).³⁸

١ هذا التاريخ
٢ في مولده باطل
٣ وأخلق به³⁹ أن يكون في

38 Partially read by al-Sāmarrā'ī, "Musawwadat" 513, who identified the author of the note as Ibn Ḥajar, and by al-Ya'lāwī (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) ii, 34 (no. 717), n. 4), who tentatively identified Ibn Ḥajar as the author of the note.

39 *Wa-akhliq bi-hi*: read به وأخرى by al-Ya'lāwī. On the expression *akhliq bi-hi*, see Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon* ii, 800.

٤	الوفاة كذلك ⁴⁰ لأن ⁴¹
٥	مولد والده جعفر كان
٦	في سنة ثمانين فهل يولد
٧	لأبن ثلاث ⁴²

This date of his birth is invalid and is it likely that the same is [true] for his death because his father's birth was in the year 80. Could he be born to a three-year-old child?

The note is on the biography of a person who, according to al-Maqrīzī, was said to have died in 168/784–785 at the age of eighty-five (lunar years). The person in question was thus born in 83/702–703. The author of the note doubted that this could be correct as it is known that the biographee's father was reportedly born in 80/699–700, and he could not refrain from expressing his disagreement.

The second note I selected (see **figure 4**) is more personal.⁴³ There, its author indicates that his father composed a *qaṣīda*, which is found in his collection of poems entitled *Dīwān al-Ḥaram*. In this case, the author of these lines felt the need to indicate his identity: *k* (for *kataba*) *Ibn Ḥajar* ("written by Ibn Ḥajar").

١	حاشية ⁴⁴
٢	نسج أبي رحمه الله
٣	على هذا المنوال قصيدة
٤	نبوية هي ⁴⁵ في ديوانه
٥	المسمى ديوان الحرم
٦	ك[تب] ابن حجر ⁴⁶

Comment. My father—may God have mercy upon him—composed in this fashion a poem on the Prophet that is in his collection entitled *Dīwān al-Ḥaram* (The collection of the sanctuary). Ibn Ḥajar wrote [this].

40 *Ka-dhālik*: not read by al-Sāmarrā'ī or al-Ya'lāwī.

41 *Li-anna*: read *فإن* by al-Sāmarrā'ī; not read by al-Ya'lāwī.

42 *Fa-hal yūlad li-ibn thalāth*: read *مولد الابن ثلاث* by al-Sāmarrā'ī; read [...] by al-Ya'lāwī.

43 Read by al-Sāmarrā'ī, "Musawwadat" 513 (who identified Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting); read by al-Ya'lāwī (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) i, 210 (no. 407), n. 1), who also recognized Ibn Ḥajar's signature.

44 Not read by al-Sāmarrā'ī or al-Ya'lāwī.

45 *Hiya*: read *وهي* by al-Sāmarrā'ī.

46 *Ka[taba]*: read *كتبه* by al-Sāmarrā'ī.

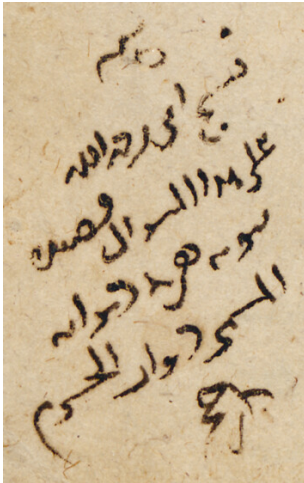


FIGURE 6.4

A marginal gloss added by Ibn Ḥajar in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*

Thanks to this signature and a comparison of the handwriting, we can ascertain that the two preceding notes were also written by the same well-known traditionist and judge, Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449).⁴⁷ Ibn Ḥajar befriended al-Maqrīzī (at an unspecified date) and their relationship was so profound that Ibn Ḥajar characterized it as “beyond words.”⁴⁸ Though he was trained in the art of calligraphy when he was a teenager, Ibn Ḥajar prioritized speed in writing once he became a scholar and was eager to copy as many texts as possible. Even though his disciple, al-Sakhāwī, described Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting as elegant despite its hurriedness,⁴⁹ for a contemporary eye, his pen strokes look more like chicken scratches. Unsurprisingly, his holograph manuscripts are challenging, even for the most experienced paleographer; the usual lack of diacritical dots further complicates the decipherment.

Besides the above-mentioned marginal notes, Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting can also be identified in biographies entirely in his hand in other parts of *al-Muqaffā*. This confirms that he perused the work and that he could not refrain from adding entries that he considered missing in this unfinished work of al-

47 About Ibn Ḥajar's habit of writing marginal comments in books (*ta'arqub*, i.e., the fact to find a fault; or *i'tirād*, i.e., objection or attribution of an error), see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhīr wa-l-durar* i, 377–390.

48 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma' al-mu'assis* iii, 60 (*wa-baynanā min al-mawadda mā lā yasa'uhu al-waraq*).

49 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhīr wa-l-durar* i, 167 (*sur'at al-kitāba ma'a ḥusniḥā*). Al-Maqrīzī himself witnessed that Ibn Ḥajar had the ability to write and read quickly. See al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr* i, 27 (*kāna sarī' al-kitāba sarī' al-qirā'a*).

Maqrīzī.⁵⁰ The issue of when he did this is investigated later. Now that we have uncovered the identity of the person who so severely criticized al-Būnī's biography, we can address the issue, according to Ibn Ḥajar, of the unreliable source on which al-Maqrīzī based his biographical entry.

3 A Mysterious Maghribi Informant

The name of this informant is the most puzzling and challenging part of deciphering this note: this demonym (*nisba*) may be easily confused with several possibilities. What follows is a list of options based on the ductus (العرباني or العرابي) and attested by two dictionaries of demonyms composed by two authors who were contemporary with the person referred to in the note, one of these authors being Ibn Ḥajar himself. The possibilities are al-'Uryānī, al-Gharyānī, al-'Arabānī, al-Firyābī, al-Qarattā'ī, al-Qarnānī, al-Firyānī, al-Firiyyānī, al-Furriyānī, al-Qurnānī.⁵¹ This list shows how difficult the identification of this person can be in the absence of additional information. We should not forget that the demonym is only preceded by the teknonym (*kunya*), Abū 'Abdallāh; that is, we lack the name (*ism*) of the person and his father, two elements that would be helpful in correctly identifying the person mentioned in the note. Al-Sāmarra'ī and al-Ya'lāwī, the two scholars who previously attempted to read the note, proposed to interpret the name as al-Ghuryānī, a reading that takes into account the two diacritical dots and the vowel indicated by Ibn Ḥajar to disambiguate the name. The name al-Gharyānī is documented in the dictionaries of demonyms⁵² and could be valid if one looks carefully at the ductus of the word. However, Ibn Ḥajar took the time to put a vowel *u* above the first letter and he does not mention the form al-Ghuryānī in his dictionary of demonyms, which seems to invalidate this proposal. The solution could lie in the value of the first letter that looks more like a *fā'* than a *ghayn*. In such a case, taking into consideration the possible options listed above, the name can only be read al-Furriyānī, a demonym recorded by Ibn Ḥajar.⁵³

50 On this, see Bauden, "Maqriziana x" part 2, 196–203. For the list of the biographies added by Ibn Ḥajar in *al-Muqaffā*, see Bauden, "Maqriziana x" part 2, 253–258.

51 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih* iii, 1003 and 1107–1108; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vi, 278–279 and vii, 92–97.

52 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih* iii, 1003; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vi, 278–279 (Gharyān is the name of a hill located in the vicinity of Tripoli, Libya).

53 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih* iii, 1108.

In his dictionary of demonyms, Ibn Ḥajar mentions two contemporaries who were known by the name al-Furriyānī:⁵⁴

- a) ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī l-Tūnisī, a Mālikī scholar from Ifrīqiya who died, according to Ibn Ḥajar, on his way back from pilgrimage in 812/1409.
- b) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Furriyānī, whom Ibn Ḥajar characterizes as the nephew of the former and for whom a date of birth is given (780/1378).

Not knowing the teknonym of these two scholars, the identification of al-Maqrīzī’s informant for al-Būnī’s biography remains elusive. Fortunately, other sources prove useful in this matter, as it appears that the first was named Abū Muḥammad⁵⁵ while the second bore two teknonyms, Abū ‘Abdallāh and Abū ‘Alī, hence his characterization as *Dhū l-kunyatayn* (The one with two teknonyms). The second piece of information helps to identify the Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Furriyānī mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in his marginal note as this person. Further elements of his biography confirm that this identification makes sense.

As the detailed biographies of this scholar (i.e., Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Furriyānī) testifies, “The one with two teknonyms” made a lasting impression on Egyptian and Syrian historians, the majority of whom encountered him.⁵⁶ From these sources, we know that he was born in Ifrīqiya in 780/1378 to a family of Mālikī scholars that originated from Furriyāna. According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, this locality was situated between Qafṣa (now Gafsa in Tunisia) and Tabasta (the Theveste of antiquity and nowadays Tébessa, in present-day Algeria) in the Ifrīqī Jerid.⁵⁷ Looking like an oasis, the city, located at 800 m above sea level

54 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih* iii, 1108.

55 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 440 (no. 8); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* v, 13 (no. 43).

56 Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vii, 94–95; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Durr al-muntakhab* v, 2040–2041 (no. 1194); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* ii, 146–147 (no. 1030); Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 517 and iv, 228–229; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 308–309; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi* ii, 600; Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 266–267; al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 71–77 (no. 475); al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-unwān* 245–246; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vii, 67–70 (no. 131); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk* i, 225–227; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 198–199 and vi, 32; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 25b–26a = i, 300–302; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* ix, 381; al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-‘arūs* xxxv, 502.

57 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vii, 68 locates it with more precision but the text is corrupted in the available edition: *iḥdā madā’in Ifrīqiya fīmā bayna Qafṣa wa-Bisha* (read *Tabasta*) *bi-l-qurb min Quṣṭanṭīniyya* (read *Qasṭīliya*) *bilād al-Yaman* (read *al-tamr*). He appears to be copying from al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 75. The name Qasṭīliya derives from the Latin *castella* (sing. *castellum*), a term used in the pre-Islamic period to designate four Roman fortified towns located in the Jerid region. Some medieval authors referred to this area with the Arabic equivalent *al-Quṣūr*. See Prévost, “La Qasṭīliya médiévale.” On Furriyāna,

and watered by channels, is a short distance from the ancient city of Thelepte.⁵⁸ However, al-Furriyānī's⁵⁹ birthplace remains controversial: for al-Maqrīzī, who knew him personally (as I establish next), he was born in Tunis,⁶⁰ while Ibn Ḥajar states that he was informed by al-Furriyānī himself that his birthplace was Feriana.⁶¹

Whatever the case, he came from a well-established family. We saw that his uncle made the pilgrimage in 812/1409 and the Meccan historian al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429), who met him on that occasion, praised his knowledge in law and mathematics, fields to which Ibn Ḥajar added grammar.⁶² Their great-great-

see El Bahi, "Feriana (Furriyāna)." This Furriyāna should not be mixed up with another Ifriqī city with the same name located near Sfax. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* iv, 259 ("Furriyāna: a large village from Ifriqiya, close to Sfax"); al-Baghdādī, *Marāsid al-iṭṭilā'* iii, 1034 (same as the previous source).

58 For a description of the city in the nineteenth century, see Lallemand, *La Tunisie* 195. The city is still extant today (5 km south of Talābt/Thelepte).

59 The name of the remote and rather unknown place from which the demonym is taken perplexed most Egyptian and Syrian historians who, in most cases, felt the need to specify its correct reading—even though they do not always agree on this point—to avoid wrong interpretations by their readers. Some indicated that the demonym taken from this place read al-Firriyānī (Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vii, 94: *bi-kasr al-rā' wa-tashdīd al-muthannāt taḥt wa-l-bāqī sawā'*), al-Furriyānī (al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* ii, 146: *bi-ḍamm al-fā' ukht al-qāf wa-tashdīd al-rā' al-muhmala wa-kasrihā wa-fath al-yā' ākhir al-ḥurūf thumma alif ba'dahā nūn wa-yā' nisba*; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 309: *bi-ḍamm al-fā' wa-tashdīd al-rā' al-muhmala wa-kasrihā wa-fath al-yā' ākhir al-ḥurūf wa-ba'dahā alif wa-nūn wa-hā'*; al-Biqāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-ʿunwān* 246: *bi-ḍamm al-fā' wa-tashdīd al-muhmala al-maksūra thumma taḥtāniyya wa-ākhiruhu nūn*; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* vii, 68: *bi-ḍamm al-fā' wa-rā' mushaddada maksūra thumma taḥtāniyya wa-ākhiruhu nūn*; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk* i, 225: *bi-ḍamm awwalihi wa-tashdīd al-rā' wa-taḥtāniyya wa-nūn baynahumā alif*; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 25b = i, 300: *bi-ḍamm al-fā' wa-tashdīd al-rā' ba'dahā yā' ākhir al-ḥurūf wa-ba'd al-alif nūn*), or even al-Furayyānī (Ibn al-Abbār, *Tuḥfat al-qādīm* 244 for a person from Seville: *bi-ḍamm al-fā' wa-fath al-rā' wa-tashdīd al-yā' ākhir al-ḥurūf wa-ba'd al-alif nūn*). Whenever the author did not indicate the correct reading, editors rendered the name in various ways: al-Ghuryānī (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iv, 228; Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 267; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 198–199), al-Gharnāṭī (Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 266), or even al-Firyābī (Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* 64). Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* v, 13 already stressed that the demonym was misread by some of his colleagues as al-Gha/uryānī.

60 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* ii, 146 (*wulida bi-madīnat Tūnis*). Al-Biqāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-zamān* v, 71 and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 308 report the same information on the basis of what al-Furriyānī told them, while al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* vii, 68, read it from al-Furriyānī's own hand (*kamā qara'tuhu min khaṭṭihī*).

61 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 517 (*dhakara lanā anna mawlidahu sanat thamānīn bi-baladihi*).

62 Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn* iii, 303–304; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* ii, 440 (no. 8). See also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* v, 13 (no. 43).

grandfather, Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī (d. 609/1212–1213), was renowned as a poet.⁶³ In the sixth/twelfth century, after coming from Malaga, the family seems to have settled in Sfax; then a branch moved to Feriana and another to Tunis.⁶⁴ Al-Furriyānī’s father was a jurist who took care of his son’s education, providing him with private lessons in the fields of *ḥadīth*, law, and Quranic orthodoxy, fields in which he improved his knowledge under the direction of several other masters in Tunis.⁶⁵ The boy was apparently precocious: in his own words, he started to study *ḥadīth* at the age of eight (788/1386–1387), then practiced the readings of the Quran at ten years old (790/1388), and took his first lessons in law at fourteen (794/1391–1392).⁶⁶ Nothing is known of the subsequent years except that he proceeded with his training in the above-mentioned fields.

When al-Furriyānī turned thirty-two, he headed for Cairo, where he arrived in Shawwāl 812/February 1410.⁶⁷ He probably aimed to amplify his network with a trip in search of knowledge, though his departure might have been prompted by his uncle’s death earlier that year⁶⁸ and the necessity to settle his uncle’s affairs. Indeed, he soon left for Mecca, where he fulfilled the pilgrimage. The next year (813/1410), he traveled back to Cairo where he lived, making frequent trips to Syria, where he roamed far and wide.⁶⁹ He forged a close bond with members of two prominent local families, the Banū l-Bārīzī and the Banū l-Kuwayz, who took the side of Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī when the latter rebelled against the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj and eventually took over the throne in 815/1412.⁷⁰ In the Banū l-Bārīzī, he struck an acquaintance with Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārīzī (796–856/1394–1452), the son of the incumbent head of

63 Al-Wazīr al-Sarrāj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya* i, 326.

64 Ṭawīlī, *al-Ḥayāt al-adabiyya* i, 49. Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vii, 94 indeed adds the demonym “al-Andalusī” to al-Furriyānī’s *nasab*, information he knew from al-Furriyānī himself.

65 Part of his curriculum is detailed by al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* ii, 146–147; al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-zamān* v, 71–72; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vii, 68.

66 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vii, 68.

67 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* ii, 147; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 308; al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-zamān* v, 71 (though al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-‘unwān* 246, contradicts himself by indicating that his arrival in Cairo took place in 813/1411, but he perhaps confused his arrival in Cairo from Ifrīqiya and his return from pilgrimage).

68 His uncle died on his way back from Mecca in the second half of Muḥarram 812/early June 1409 and was buried west of ‘Aqabat Ayla. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 440.

69 Al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-zamān* v, 72, (*wa-kāna yataraddad ilā bilād al-Shām fa-ṭawwafa ghāl-ibahā wa-nazala bi-kathīr minhā*).

70 On these two families and their role in the administration, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils* 239–248 (Banū l-Kuwayz) and 249–266 (Banū l-Bārīzī).

the chancery, Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 823/1420).⁷¹ Kamāl al-Dīn was elevated to his father's position after the latter's death. Among the Banū l-Kuwayz, he built a strong relationship with Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (805–877/1402–1473).⁷² Both people proved influential later in his life.

Sometime after 820/1417, al-Furriyānī returned to Egypt and settled for a while in Cairo,⁷³ though in 823/1420 he was again in Syria (his presence is confirmed in Damascus).⁷⁴ He appears to have earned his living as a popular peripatetic preacher holding public sessions during which he exhorted those in attendance with traditions and stories.⁷⁵ He took care to carry out his preaching activity far from the large cities: villages around Cairo and Damietta as well as Syrian coastal towns were among his favorite places.⁷⁶ His acquaintance with al-Maqrīzī dates from this period. Al-Maqrīzī specifies that beginning in Sha'bān 822/August–September 1419, al-Furriyānī looked for his company, and they forged a bond of companionship.⁷⁷ In early 836/late 1432, al-Furriyānī appeared in Aleppo: Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya (d. 843/1440) took him as a guest in the Madrasa al-Sharafiyya.⁷⁸ He also stressed that al-Furriyānī held preaching and teaching sessions in several places, including the Great Mosque, during which he transmitted works and traditions to various people.⁷⁹

He benefited from his relationship with Ibn al-Kuwayz and Ibn al-Bārīzī too, sometimes wavering between the two by reserving the exclusivity of his atten-

71 See Wiet, "Les Secrétaires" 286–291, 299–300, 303.

72 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 229 (*ṣaḥība kātīb al-sirr Ibn al-Bārīzī fī ḥayāt wālidihi ... thumma ṣaḥība al-amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Kuwayz*); al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 72 (*ḥaṣalat lahu ḥaḍwa min Banī l-Bārīzī wa-Banī l-Kuwayz wa-ghayrihim*); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 199 (*ṣaḥība jamā'a min ru'asā'ihā*). The Banū l-Kuwayz were originally Christians from the region of al-Karak. 'Alam al-Dīn married a sister of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārīzī and became head of the state chancery when his brother-in-law was dismissed. See Wiet, "Les Secrétaires" 299–300.

73 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 308 (*thumma 'āda ilā l-diyār al-miṣriyya ba'da sanat 'ishrīn wa-aqāma mudda*).

74 Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vii, 94.

75 Such sessions were known as *mawā'id* (sing. *mī'ad*). On these preaching sessions, see Quatremère in al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire* ii, 47–48 (n. 8) for a list of examples showing the wide variety of activities implied by the term; Berkey, *Popular preaching* 38–39.

76 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 517 (*kāna yata'ānā 'amal al-mawā'id bi-qurā Miṣr wa-bi-Dimiyāt wa-bilād al-sawāḥil*); Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 229 (*wa-wāḍaba al-jawālān fī qurā l-rif' al-adnā ya'milu al-mawā'id*).

77 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ūqūd al-farīda* ii, 147 (*lāzamanī*). On the *mulāzama*, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 118; Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic historiography* 19–20.

78 On this *madrasa*, see Sauvaget, "Inventaire" 86.

79 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Durr al-muntakhab* v, 2040.

tion to the first or the second when the relationship soured.⁸⁰ In these circumstances, in Dhū l-Qa‘da 837/June 1434 he secured a judgeship in Nablus, thanks to Ibn al-Bārīzī; for this position he opportunely switched from the Mālikī to the Shāfi‘ī *madhhab*.⁸¹ He did not necessarily settle in Nablus; rather he moved back and forth regularly between Cairo and Nablus. The position was particularly enviable,⁸² but al-Furriyānī lost it shortly thereafter because, on his second visit to Nablus, he designated a deputy from whom he levied a fee (*ḍarība*). His protector, Ibn al-Bārīzī, could not accept such behavior and discharged him immediately.⁸³ As a consequence, al-Furriyānī broke with Ibn al-Bārīzī and became closer to Ibn al-Kuwayz for the next ten years,⁸⁴ until a radical change took place in his life.

Most of the scholars who frequented al-Furriyānī’s lectures appreciated him and conveyed positive comments. Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya described him as a distinguished person (*fāḍil*);⁸⁵ al-Maqrīzī characterized him as a shaykh and a learned man (*ḥāfiẓ*),⁸⁶ while Ibn Ḥajar depicts him as a man of good company (*ḥasan al-ishra*), above reproach (*nazih*), and righteous (*ʿafīf*).⁸⁷ These characterizations do not tally with the depiction of his unreliability in the marginal note quoted above, written by Ibn Ḥajar. However, each coin has two sides: it appears that al-Furriyānī managed to deceive his circle of friends and companions up to a point, though, as usually happens with cheaters, the truth eventually comes out.

80 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iv, 229 (*ṣaḥība al-amīr Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Kuwayz wa-inqāṭaʾa ilayhi mudda thumma fāraqahu ... wa-waliya qaḍāʾ Nābulus bi-ināyat al-qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn thumma ṣurriḥa ʾanhā fa-inqāṭaʾa ilā Ibn al-Kuwayz wa-hajara al-Kamāl*).

81 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 517; and iv 229 (where he seems to doubt the sincerity of this change: *wa-kāna qabla dhālika taḥawwala ʾan madhhab Mālik wa-iddaʾā annahu taqallada al-Shāfiʿī*).

82 Al-Biqāʾī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 72 (*wilāya mustaqilla min al-sultān*). Al-Biqāʾī goes on to say that, according to al-Maqrīzī, he was the first to enjoy this privilege in Nablus. Al-Maqrīzī’s statement cannot be found in the biography of al-Furriyānī in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* or in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*.

83 Al-Biqāʾī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 72.

84 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iv, 229 (*fa-inqāṭaʾa ilā Ibn al-Kuwayz wa-hajara al-Kamāl*).

85 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Durr al-muntakhab* v, 2040.

86 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* ii, 146.

87 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 517. In his *Tabṣīr al-muntabih* iii, 1108, he even depicts him as a man of erudition (*min ahl al-faḍl*).

4 Letting the Cat out of the Bag

In the year 836/1433, al-Furriyānī's reputation was definitively tarnished by revelations made by Ibn Ḥajar. In the context of acts of violence perpetrated by the ruler of the Aq Qoyunlu against the northern border of the Mamlūk Sultanate, the then-ruling sultan Barsbāy (r. 815–841/1422–1438) took the head of the army and departed for Syria in Rajab 836/March 1433.⁸⁸ The sultan was accompanied by the caliph and the four chief judges, among whom was Ibn Ḥajar. The army reached Aleppo on 5 Ramaḍān/25 April and Ibn Ḥajar took advantage of his presence in the city to meet with various scholars and hold numerous reading sessions. Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya hosted him and Ibn Ḥajar extended his stay until the army departed for Cairo on 7 Dhū l-Ḥijja/25 July.⁸⁹ During this stay, Ibn Ḥajar was informed by some Aleppan scholars that al-Furriyānī had recently been transmitting traditions and works in the city. After examining the chains of transmitters (*isnād*), Ibn Ḥajar expressed his doubts about the validity of al-Furriyānī's transmission. As he put it himself:

He related traditions in Aleppo from Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baṭranī⁹⁰ but I do not believe that he heard from him as he mentioned to us that he was born in [7]80 in his town while al-Baṭranī was in Tunis and died after [7]90. I also saw in Aleppo one of his chains of transmitters for *al-musalsal bi-l-awwaliyya*⁹¹ fabricated up to al-Silafī⁹² as well as another one even more contrived up to Abū Naṣr al-Wā'ilī.⁹³ They asked for my opinion about

88 See Darrag, *L'Égypte* 373–381.

89 During the time spent in Aleppo, Ibn Ḥajar also made short trips to other local cities. On Ibn Ḥajar's travel to Syria, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar* i, 176–191; Jaques, *Ibn Hajar* 112–115.

90 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Baṭranī (b. 703/1303–1304; d. 793/1391), a famous traditionist of Tunis. See Ibn Qunfudh, *al-Wafayāt* 378 (no. 793); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* iii, 214–216 (no. 1122); Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* (ed. Jād al-Ḥaqq) iii, 460 (no. 3495) = (ed. al-Karnūkī) iii, 370–371 (no. 976); al-Tinbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* ii, 461–462 (no. 573; his *nisba* is wrongly given as al-Baṭrūnī).

91 Also known as *Ḥadīth al-raḥma*. According to Reichmut, "Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī" 74, "This saying of the Prophet ... had come to be widely used as an initiation into the transmission of prophetic traditions. Each transmitter who is mentioned in the chain explicitly claims that this is the first *ḥadīth* which he heard from his authority." Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 93 stresses that "it was often the first hadith an authority would transmit to a student coming to hear hadith from him."

92 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī, a well-known transmittter from Alexandria who appears in numerous chains of transmission. He died in 576/1180. See Gilliot, "al-Silafī."

93 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Wā'ilī l-Sijzī, a famous Ḥanbalī scholar (d. 444/1053). See Brown,

both of them [the chains of transmitters] and I exposed to them that they were false. Then, with Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Sābiq al-Ḥamawī⁹⁴ I examined a quire in which he [Ibn al-Sābiq] had taken note of his [al-Furriyānī's] chains of transmitters for the six books⁹⁵ and most of them were fabricated and the majority was forged.⁹⁶

Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, who had accommodated al-Furriyānī before Ibn Ḥajar's arrival in Aleppo, was one of the scholars who consulted Ibn Ḥajar about the soundness of al-Furriyānī's transmissions. In his biographical dictionary, he reports that al-Furriyānī related the *musalsal bi-l-awwalīyya* to several students, pretending to transmit it from al-Baṭranī whom he heard in Tunis, and that he took note of the chain of transmitters. When Ibn Ḥajar reached Aleppo, he examined the chain and contested it. According to Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, Ibn Ḥajar said to him:

I have doubts about the authenticity of his claim that he heard Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baṭranī because he was a young boy when the latter died and he was not from the same town. ... Regarding the first chain of transmitters, it is probable, though it is far-fetched and it needs to be verified. As for the second chain of authorities, it is completely false. I have no qualms about this. Most of the masters who are named in it are otherwise unknown. Even if it were the case, something is missing in the chain of authorities. If I had my books at hand, I would expound the falseness of this chain of transmitters with eloquent proofs. I will do that, if God wills.⁹⁷

The canonization 196–200. He is the transmitter of *al-musalsal bi-l-awwalīyya*. See al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi* xix, 372 (no. 350).

94 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Sābiq al-Ḥamawī (d. 877/1473). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* ix, 305–306 (no. 756), where al-Sakhāwī stresses that Ibn al-Sābiq studied al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's (d. 544/1149) *al-Shifā'*, a biography of the Prophet, under al-Furriyānī.

95 The six canonical collections of prophetic traditions (al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Māja).

96 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 517 (*wa-qad ḥaddatha bi-Ḥalab 'an Abī l-Ḥasan al-Baṭranī wa-mā azunnuhu sami'a minhu fa-innahu dhakara lanā anna mawlidahu sanat thamānīn bi-baladihi wa-kāna al-Baṭranī bi-Tūnis wa-māta ba'da sanat tis'in wa-ra'aytu lahu bi-Ḥalab isnād lil-musalsal bi-l-awwalīyya mukhtalaq ilā l-Silāfi wa-ākhar ashadd ikhtilāq minhu ilā Abī Naṣr al-Wā'ilī wa-su'iltu 'anhumā fa-bayyantu lahum fasādahumā. Thumma waqaftu ma'a Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Sābiq al-Ḥamawī 'alā kurrāsa katabahā 'anhu bi-asānīdihī fī l-kutub al-sitta aktharuhā mukhtalaq wa-jalluhā murakkab*).

97 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Durr al-muntakhab* v, 2040–2041 (*anā ashukku fī ṣiḥḥat qawlihi annahu sami'a min Abī l-Ḥasan al-Baṭranī liannahu kāna ṣaghīr ḥīna tuwaffīya al-Baṭranī wa-lam yakun baladiyyahu. Qāla: wa-ammā l-isnād al-awwal fa-muḥtamal ma'a annahu*

One of the participants to whom al-Furriyānī related the *musalsal bi-l-awwaliyya* was the seventeen-year-old Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī (818–884/1415–1480), a scion of a leading Aleppan family, who later authored a history of Aleppo.⁹⁸ In this work, he reports that he heard the tradition in question on 9 Rajab 836/1 March 1433 from al-Furriyānī and that Ibn Ḥajar invalidated it claiming that two of al-Furriyānī's transmitters were completely unknown.⁹⁹ Al-Biqāʿī (809–885/1406–1480), one of Ibn Ḥajar's students and later a Quran commentator, submitted the material to Ibn Ḥajar for his judgment. In al-Biqāʿī's biographical dictionary, *Unwān al-zamān*, he later recorded that, during his stay in Aleppo, his eyes fell on an attestation al-Furriyānī had written about his transmission of the *musalsal bi-l-awwaliyya* via two chains of authorities. The document was in Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī's possession and al-Biqāʿī took note of the two chains.¹⁰⁰ He also showed them to his master Ibn Ḥajar whose reaction was as follows: "He declared that it [the chain of transmitters] was false and swore that there were two [transmitters] in the chain who never existed and whom he [al-Furriyānī] had made up."¹⁰¹ To a *ḥadīth* specialist like Ibn Ḥajar, the two chains of authorities invoked by al-Furriyānī to transmit the *musalsal bi-l-awwaliyya* were flawed by irregularities. First, al-Furriyānī claimed that he heard it from al-Baṭranī, who was known as the *musnid al-Maghrib* (the transmitter of the Maghrib),¹⁰² even though al-Furriyānī was only thirteen years old when al-

baʿd jiddan yaḥtāju ilā taḥqīq wa-ammā l-isnād al-thānī fa-bātil qaṭʿan lā taradduda ʿindi fī dhālika wa-aktharu man summiya fīhi min al-shuyūkh lā wujūda lahu fī l-khārīj wa-in yakun faqad saqaṭa min al-isnād shayʿ wa-law lā ghaybat kutubī la-aḥartu fasād ḥadḥā l-isnād bi-l-adilla al-bayyina wa-lākin sa-afʿalu dhālika in shāʾa allāh).

98 His full name was Abū Dharr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Ṭarābulusī l-Ḥalabī. See al-Biqāʿī, *Unwān al-zamān* i, 38–39 (no. 1); al-Biqāʿī, *Unwān al-unwān* 10 (no. 1); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* i, 198–200. According to al-Sakhāwī, he worked as a secretary for Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya (i, 198) and frequented (*lāzama*) Ibn Ḥajar during his visit in Aleppo (i, 199).

99 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 266–267. The text was badly edited: al-Furriyānī's name is rendered either as al-Gharnāṭī or as al-Gharyānī and, in this particular passage, several words are garbled. Here is the passage in question: *wa-waqafa shaykhunā Abū l-Faḍl Ibn Ḥajar* [add: *ʿalā*] *sanadihi wa-qaraʿa* [the editors left a blank in the text claiming that some words could not be read, the last of which must have been *ʿalā*] *al-Baṭralī* [read *al-Baṭranī*] *ʿan al-Tamīmī wa-Ibn* [add *ʿAbd*] *al-Sattār fa-qāla lā yuʿraf lahumā dhikr*. Al-Tamīmī was Abū l-ʿAzam/al-ʿAzāʾim Māḍī b. Sulṭān al-Marzūqī (d. 718/1318), a follower of al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), the founder of the Sufi order (Shādhiliyya). Ibn ʿAbd al-Sattār was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Tamīmī (d. 737/1337).

100 Al-Biqāʿī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 73–74.

101 Al-Biqāʿī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 74 (*wa-ṣarraḥa bi-takhdhībī wa-aqsama bi-allāh anna fī l-sanad ithnayni ikhtalaqahumā wa-lā ḥaqīqata lahumā fī l-wujūd wa-lā kānā qaṭṭu*).

102 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* vii, 68.

Baṭranī died and he did not grow up in Tunis where al-Baṭranī lived.¹⁰³ Second, his chain of authorities included two people whom Ibn Ḥajar clearly knew nothing about. Another element that must have greatly annoyed Ibn Ḥajar was al-Furriyānī's claim to transmit the tradition with a higher degree of elevation (*ʿuluww*), because his chain was shorter by two transmitters as compared to the Egyptian transmission, which was considered by far the shortest one.¹⁰⁴ As such, his chain fell under the category of unqualified elevation.¹⁰⁵

Beside the transmission of *al-musalsal bi-l-awwalīyya*, al-Furriyānī also transmitted the six canonical books with chains that raised the alarm. During his time in Damascus in 823/1420, al-Furriyānī purportedly related the small version of al-Nasāʾī's *Sunan* (*al-Mujtabā*) with a chain that contained only five transmitters between him and the author, who died in 303/915. The shortness of this chain led one of the attendees, the traditionist Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 842/1438), to take note. He detected that the chain contained people he had never heard of and that some of the other people were not known to have transmitted the whole of al-Nasāʾī's shorter version of his *Sunan*.¹⁰⁶ For this work, Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn himself could not claim a chain shorter than six authorities between him and the author, and he was older than al-Furriyānī.¹⁰⁷ It did not take long for Ibn Ḥajar to reveal al-Furriyānī's duplicity as a traditionist and to declare invalid the transmission of most of the material that he related on the grounds that they were fabricated chains, but he stressed that he needed access to his library in Cairo to demonstrate it undeniably, a task that he promised himself he would do when he returned home. In the meantime, al-Furriyānī's reputation was badly tarnished, at least in Aleppo. Yet we learn that by the time the sultan's army arrived in Aleppo, he had already left, thus cleverly eluding a confrontation with Ibn Ḥajar.¹⁰⁸

103 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* vii, 68.

104 Al-Biqāʾī, *ʿUnwān al-zamān* v, 74 (*wa-qad waṣala fī l-ṭarīq al-thāniya ilā Ibn Bilāl al-Bazzār bi-khamsat rijāl*) and 75 (*fa-ʿalā ṭarīq al-miṣriyyīn al-latī lā yūjad fī l-dunyā mithluhā bi-darajatayn*).

105 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 33.

106 Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih* vii, 94–95.

107 Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Asānīd al-kutub al-sitta* 280. The harm was done in any case: al-Furriyānī features as a transmitter in a chain of authorities for several books including the six canonical collections of traditions. See al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris* ii, 838.

108 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Durr al-muntakhab* v, 2041 (*wa-kāna al-Furriyānī hādihā qadima ʿalaynā Ḥalab fī hādhihi al-sana wa-hiya sanat sitt wa-thalāthīn fa-aqāma mudda thumma sāfara minhā qabla ḥuḍūr al-sulṭān bi-qalīl*).

On 20 Muḥarram 837/8 September 1433, Ibn Ḥajar was back at home in Cairo and, with his books at hand.¹⁰⁹ Whether or not he engaged in an inquiry to prove the fraudulence of al-Furriyānī's chains of transmission we cannot know. At the end of the same year (20 Dhū l-Qa'da 837/28 June 1434), al-Biqā'ī had the opportunity to meet with al-Furriyānī at the main market in the city center, close to al-Madrasa al-Šāliḥiyya. Of course, al-Biqā'ī was already aware of Ibn Ḥajar's opinion about al-Furriyānī, as he had accompanied him to Aleppo and witnessed his master's reaction when al-Furriyānī's chains of transmission were submitted to him. On the occasion of his meeting with al-Furriyānī, al-Biqā'ī's impression was that he was a cunning man. Nevertheless, he requested that al-Furriyānī grant him a license of transmission (*ijāza*), a request the Maghribi scholar gladly satisfied. However, he declined to grant it in written form. According to al-Biqā'ī, "This was his habit. He refrained from discussing and talking about people in Cairo because it is the home of learned men and of the critic of his time, Ibn Ḥajar. But he did so and similar things in other places."¹¹⁰ Al-Furriyānī was undoubtedly aware of Ibn Ḥajar's opinion of him and al-Furriyānī preferred to maintain a low profile while in Cairo to avoid any criticism. In any case, Ibn Ḥajar's verdict did not prevent al-Furriyānī from being designated as judge of Nablus shortly after his encounter with al-Biqā'ī, thanks to al-Furriyānī's privileged relationship with the then-head of the chancery, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārīzī.¹¹¹

We know that Ibn Ḥajar exposed al-Furriyānī as a cunning man during his trip to Syria in 836/1433, but, we must understand why and when he wrote his derogatory note beside al-Būnī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*. I address each question separately, as they did not necessarily take place at the same moment. The reason Ibn Ḥajar could not refrain from making his accusations in his marginal note on al-Būnī's biography lies in a piece of information that he provides in his chronicle. Under the year 837/1433–1434, at the end of his report on al-Furriyānī's designation as judge of Nablus, where he reveals the occasion on which he discredited him as a transmitter, he adds the following:

109 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhīr wa-l-durar* i, 190; Jaques, *Ibn Ḥajar* 115.

110 Al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 73 (*wa-kāna hādhā da'bahu yamna'u min al-taḥadduth wa-l-takallum 'alā l-nās bi-l-Qāhira liannahā dār al-'ulamā' wa-bi-hā nāqid al-zamān Ibn Ḥajar wa-yaf'alu dhālika wa-mā ḍāhāhā fī ghayrihā min al-bilād*).

111 Another case of a scholar whose credentials as a *ḥadīth* scholar were fabricated and then identified by Ibn Ḥajar must be mentioned here. As in the case of al-Furriyānī, the scholar in question still attained positions even after his qualifications as a transmitter were exposed. See Blecher, *Said the prophet of God* 83–89.

“The shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī gave me some of his [al-Furriyānī’s] biographies that [al-Furriyānī] had written for him [al-Maqrīzī, and] which were in his [al-Maqrīzī’s] handwriting. Most of these were invented. Then I read this in the hand of the above-mentioned al-Furriyānī.”¹¹² From this passage, we can grasp, at least in part, the significance of what happened. Al-Maqrīzī showed Ibn Ḥajar some biographies provided to him by al-Furriyānī, of which he had made a copy. Al-Maqrīzī probably intended to include some of them in his *al-Muqaffā* after rewording the texts. This is confirmed by al-Būnī’s biography that was written on two small sheets of paper and pasted by al-Maqrīzī at the right place in the quire to which it belonged according to the alphabetical order.¹¹³ At that time, Ibn Ḥajar was clearly not aware that their author was al-Furriyānī, something that he only discovered later, when he saw the same texts in al-Furriyānī’s hand. Of course, by the time of his discovery, Ibn Ḥajar already knew that al-Furriyānī was a cheat. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥajar did not disclose the absolute truth. He did not say that he felt tricked by his colleague and friend al-Maqrīzī, and that this was the reason he disparaged him in such vehement terms in his marginal note.

To understand why Ibn Ḥajar felt tricked and what really happened and when, it is necessary to turn our attention to a testimony given by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, who knew Ibn Ḥajar well, as Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī took part in the teaching sessions organized with Ibn Ḥajar during his stay in Aleppo in 836/1433. In his *Kunūz al-dhahab fī ta’rīkh Ḥalab* (The treasures of gold in the history of Aleppo), Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī indicates that a letter from Ibn Ḥajar arrived in Aleppo in Sha’bān 840/February 1437. In this letter, Ibn Ḥajar instructed the addressee to delete the biography of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Būnī he had previously inserted in his *Lisān al-mizān* (The tongue of balance). He wrote that he had discovered that it was inaccurate and that he had copied it from al-Maqrīzī who himself got it from al-Furriyānī.¹¹⁴ This testimony helps us understand some-

112 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 517 (*wa-awqafānī l-shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī lahu ‘alā tarājim katabahā lahu bi-khaṭṭihī kullihā mukhtalaqa illā l-shay’ al-yasīr thumma waqaftu ‘alā dhālika bi-khaṭṭ al-Furriyānī l-madhkur*).

113 See figure 1. The two leaves were pasted on a guard. To make this guard, al-Maqrīzī reused a sheet of paper that contained a text written in his hand. Two words, written vertically, are still visible (قبائل صح) and indicate that they corresponded to a marginal correction.

114 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 267 (*thumma innahu qadima minhu kitāb ilā Ḥalab fī Sha’bān sanat arba’in an yushṭab ‘alā tarjamat Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī min Lisān al-mizān fa-qad tabayyana li annahā lā ḥaqīqa wa-annahū naqalahā min khaṭṭ al-Maqrīzī wa-annahū talaqqāhā min al-Gharyānī (sic for al-Furriyānī)*).

thing Ibn Ḥajar did not mention in his own assessment of the affair; namely, that he had used the biographies al-Maqrīzī had shown him. On this basis, he added a biography of al-Būnī in his *Lisān al-mīzān*, a work dedicated to the assessment of the reliability of traditionists and conceived of as an enlarged revision of al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) *Mīzān al-ʾitidāl* (The balance of moderation).¹¹⁵ By sending this letter, Ibn Ḥajar wanted to remedy the situation by canceling al-Būnī's biography in the copies of his work that were already circulating among his disciples. Similar letters with the same request were most certainly dispatched to other cities too. Indeed, Ibn Ḥajar seems to have been successful in having his text corrected because the available editions of *Lisān al-mīzān* do not feature al-Būnī's biography.

The most recent and accurate edition of *Lisān al-mīzān*, published in 2002, is based on several copies, some of which were prepared under the supervision of Ibn Ḥajar. One of these, in three volumes (MSS 347–349, Raḡib Paşa Kütüphanesi), was copied by one of Ibn Ḥajar's students: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. al-Qalqashandī (b. 817/1414; d. 871/1467).¹¹⁶ According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Qalqashandī copied several of Ibn Ḥajar's works that he or someone else read aloud to him, among them, *Lisān al-mīzān*.¹¹⁷ The copy in question was made over a period of three years, between 845/1442 and 848/1445. As the colophon at the end of the first volume demonstrates (see appendix 3), the copy was read aloud to Ibn Ḥajar and collated with his personal copy a few months after its completion in the presence of another student.¹¹⁸ A few years later (851–852/1447–1448), shortly before Ibn Ḥajar's death, Ibn al-Qalqashandī iterated the collation process, inserting in the margins all the additions that the author had inserted in his personal copy in the meantime. The copy does not include al-Būnī's biography: if Ibn Ḥajar had kept it, it would

115 On the genre, see Robson, "al-Djarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl." On *Lisān al-mīzān*, see Jaques, *Ibn Ḥajar* 130–132. The date of completion (Ramaḍān 805/March–April 1403) indicated by Ibn Ḥajar at the end of this work (*Lisān al-mīzān* ix, 246) should not be taken as the final date: it refers to the initial stage of the work, when Ibn Ḥajar summarized al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān al-ʾitidāl*. As he states, he later added his own material. Medieval authors often continued to improve their works, in some cases until death. For al-Maqrīzī, see Bauden, "Maqriziana x" part 1. In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, see Blecher, "Revision"; Blecher, *Said the prophet of God* 77.

116 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* iv, 46–48 (no. 148).

117 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* iv, 46 (*ḥamala ʿan shaykhinā bi-qirāʾatihi wa-qirāʾat ghayrihi min taṣānīfihi wa-ghayrihā jumla wa-minmā qaraʾahu ʿalayhi min taṣānīfihi al-Lisān* ...).

118 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar al-Qāhirī l-Husaynī, known as Ibn Qamar (803–876/1400 or 1401–1471). On him, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* viii, 176–178 (no. 438).

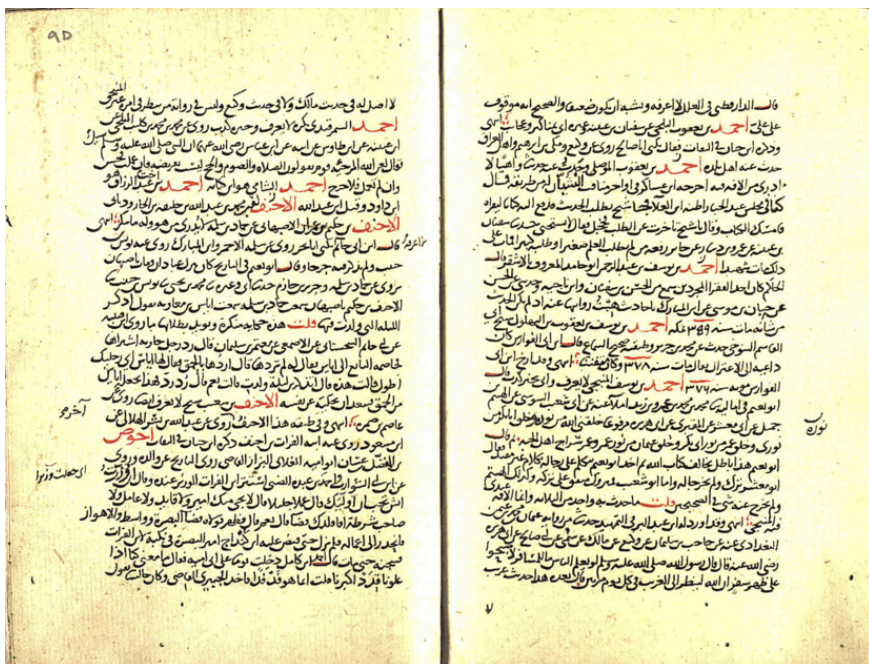


FIGURE 6.5 Ibn Hajar's final version of *Lisān al-mizān* where al-Būnī's biography was withdrawn

have appeared before the biography of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Manbijī (fol. 94b) (see figure 5).

Another copy of the first volume of *Lisān al-mizān*, one that was not considered by the editor of the 2002 edition (with good reason given that the beginning and the end of the text are missing) is preserved at the Köprülü Kütüphanesi in Istanbul (Ms Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 462). On the lower edge, someone identified the text as a fragment of al-Dhahabī's *Mizān al-ʿitidāl* and under this title it was wrongly recorded in the published catalog.¹¹⁹ A simple comparison of the text demonstrates that this is a copy of the first volume of Ibn Hajar's *Lisān al-mizān*, but it represents an older version of the text. Marginal additions present in this copy were indeed inserted at the right place in the copy made by Ibn al-Qalqashandī between 845/1442 and 848/1445 (see figures 6 and 7).

This older version of *Lisān al-mizān* includes a biography of al-Būnī that was inserted later. Indeed, it is found on a slip of paper that was pasted between

119 Şeşen, İzgi, and Akpınar, *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu* i, 236.

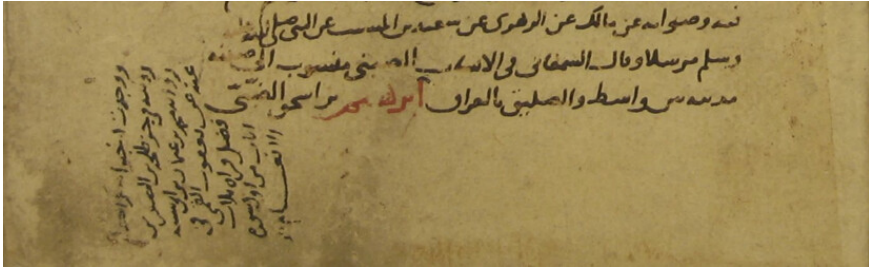


FIGURE 6.6 A marginal addition in an intermediary version of Ibn Ḥajar's *Lisān al-mizān*

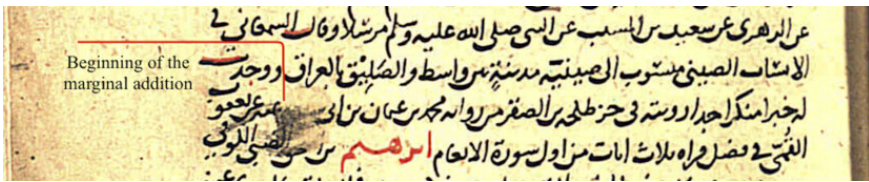


FIGURE 6.7 Ibn Ḥajar's final version of *Lisān al-mizān* where the marginal addition was inserted in the text

two leaves where the biography belongs according to alphabetical order (see figure 8). It is edited and translated in appendix 2. The comparison of this text with al-Būnī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* demonstrates that both were based on the same material, though Ibn Ḥajar neglected some parts that he considered irrelevant to his work.¹²⁰ Interestingly, he concludes the biography with a personal note: "I say: His biography is hard to find. I mentioned him here because he fulfills the conditions set by al-Dhahabī for his book."

With this note, Ibn Ḥajar corroborates that details of al-Būnī's life were hard to find in Egypt, even in Cairo where he was supposed to have lived and to have been buried. All in all, this copy of *Lisān al-mizān* confirms that Ibn Ḥajar included an entry on al-Būnī after reading it among texts submitted to him by al-Maqrīzī. This copy also substantiates Ibn Ḥajar's wish to see this biography deleted, once he realized that the informant who provided al-Maqrīzī with the material was al-Furriyānī. At the end of the biography, the following note was added in red ink by another hand: "Our master withdrew this biography as I was informed. Abū Dharr wrote this." The author of this note, Abū Dharr, must be

¹²⁰ Ibn Ḥajar also relied on the material written by al-Furriyānī and not on al-Būnī's biography reworded by al-Maqrīzī for *al-Muqaffā*; this is proven by the fact that their respective versions of al-Būnī's biography differ in some details. For instance, Ibn Ḥajar refers to one of al-Būnī's works on the Quran that al-Maqrīzī decided not to mention.



FIGURE 6.8 The insert containing al-Būnī's biography in an intermediary version of Ibn Ḥajar's *Lisān al-mizān*

identified with Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī¹²¹ who revealed in his *Kunūz al-dhahab* that a letter from Ibn Ḥajar reached Aleppo in Shaʿbān 840/February 1437, in which Ibn Ḥajar expressly requested that al-Būnī's biography be canceled from *Lisān al-mizān*. Fortunately for us, Ibn Ḥajar's request was not fully fulfilled, as the biography was not removed from this copy, but just marked "to be deleted." All the other copies preserved and collated in Ibn Ḥajar's presence lack this entry. Ultimately, Ibn Ḥajar managed to control the final version of his text, and this was the version that was finally published.¹²²

121 For his full name, see above, n. 99.

122 In this respect, it should be mentioned that Ibn Ḥajar had exploited other biographies written by al-Furriyānī through al-Maqrīzī. One of these relates to one of al-Furriyānī's masters in Tunis: al-Baṭṭarī. Ibn Ḥajar dedicated a biography to this scholar in his *al-Durar al-kāmina*: Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* (ed. Jād al-Ḥaqq) iii, 460 (no. 3495) = (ed. al-Karnūki) iii, 370–371 (no. 976). At the beginning of the biography, he states that his source was something that al-Furriyānī had written (*qaraʿtu bi-khaṭṭ Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Gharyānī* (sic in both editions for *al-Furriyānī*)). At the end of the biography, he added: "I copied this from something he wrote but most of it is invented as I will

The reason and the circumstances that led Ibn Ḥajar to scribble his marginal note in front of al-Būnī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* have been detailed. We must now turn our attention to the moment when this took place. Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajāmī's testimony helps us date precisely when Ibn Ḥajar discovered that several biographies shown to him by al-Maqrīzī were in fact based on material written by al-Furriyānī: shortly before Sha'bān 840/February 1437. Furthermore, the copy of *Lisān al-mizān* that still contains al-Būnī's biography clearly predates this point. We can also establish that this took place in Aleppo because Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajāmī was able to add his note regarding Ibn Ḥajar's request to cancel it.

But did Ibn Ḥajar write his marginal note in *al-Muqaffā* in 840/1437? As noted, Ibn Ḥajar states that al-Maqrīzī gave him biographies to read, not that he gave him *al-Muqaffā*. We know that Ibn Ḥajar had access to al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* during its author's lifetime and that he benefited from the data it contained for his own works.¹²³ Given that *al-Muqaffā* was a work in progress and that it was still unfinished when he died, Ibn Ḥajar was aware that it was being expanded by its author over the years. After al-Maqrīzī's death, he read the volumes left by al-Maqrīzī. On that occasion, he added some biographies to the work and penned marginal comments in the manuscript.¹²⁴ During his perusal of the text after al-Maqrīzī's death, Ibn Ḥajar found al-Būnī's biography in *al-Muqaffā*, despite his warning to al-Maqrīzī (when al-Maqrīzī had shown Ibn Ḥajar some biographies that he had written), as his note proves. That is, when Ibn Ḥajar discovered that the biographical material al-Maqrīzī gave him to read stemmed from al-Furriyānī, he informed al-Maqrīzī and cautioned him against relying on this man, who was a liar. Ibn Ḥajar did not expect to find that al-Maqrīzī had continued to utilize material from al-Furriyānī. Unable to conceal his outrage at al-Maqrīzī's negligence, he expressed his disappointment in derogatory terms: "Nevertheless, he transmitted this from him [al-Furriyānī] uncritically. I warned the author about this but he did not pay attention. This biographical entry bears witness to someone who [is prone to] accept it authoritatively while ignoring people's facts. God is the One whose help is sought!"¹²⁵ The harshness of these words is another argument that Ibn Ḥajar could not have written them during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime. Al-Maqrīzī was not meant to read them.

prove if God wills" (*naqaltuhu min khaṭṭihi wa-aktharuhu mukhtalif* (sic in both editions for *mukhtalaq*) *wa-sa-ubayyinuahu in shā' Allāh*).

123 See Bauden, "Maqriziana x" part 2, 196–203.

124 Bauden, "Maqriziana x" part 2, 202–203.

125 See p. 269.

Al-Maqrīzī may have expressed doubts when Ibn Ḥajar warned him, around 840/1437, that al-Furriyānī was a liar who transmitted highly unreliable material. In any case, al-Maqrīzī did not remove the data he had used, as Ibn Ḥajar noted when he saw al-Būnī's biography in *al-Muqaffā*. Moreover, al-Maqrīzī died five years later and did not know how al-Furriyānī's life would unfold. As we see, the man had more surprises in store.

5 Where One Learns That al-Maqrīzī's Informant Pretended To Be the Sufyānī

In the aftermath of Ibn Ḥajar's revelations that he was a liar who forged chains of authorities, al-Furriyānī did not lose all his support.¹²⁶ As noted, a few months after Ibn Ḥajar's return from Aleppo in 837/1433, al-Furriyānī's interpersonal skills and connections enabled him to be nominated as a judge in Nablus, a position that he did not keep for more than a few months. For the next ten years, his whereabouts remain unknown, though he must have stayed in Cairo from time to time, as al-Biqā'ī met him there in 846/1442.¹²⁷ During these years, his intelligence, one of the main qualities some of his contemporaries recognized,¹²⁸ enabled him to maintain a low profile, probably blending in with the rest of the population because neither his words nor his deeds drew the attention of the chroniclers. This state of affairs radically changed in 848/1444.

Three years after al-Maqrīzī's death, al-Furriyānī was again in the public eye and, once again, Ibn Ḥajar felt obliged to report on him. According to Ibn Ḥajar's report, al-Furriyānī left Cairo in 848/1444 and headed for Syria, to an area in the mountains of the Banū Ḥamīda (*jibāl Banī Ḥamīda*).¹²⁹ In one of his marginal annotations to his master's text *Inbā' al-ghumr*, al-Biqā'ī highlighted

126 Not everyone agreed with Ibn Ḥajar's view. One of Ibn Ḥajar's students, Ibn al-Munayyir, maintained that his accusation regarding al-Furriyānī's transmission from al-Baṭranī was baseless. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* vii, 70 (*wa-qad ittahamahu Ibn Ḥajar fī samā'ihi min al-Baṭranī wa-lā wajha li-ittihāmihi*). Al-Sakhāwī could not refrain from expressing his feeling: "The person who said this still has much to learn, particularly because I know what his [Ibn Ḥajar's] argument was" (*wa-yaḥtāju hādihā l-qā'il ilā ta'dīb kathīr siyyamā wa-qad 'alimtu wajhahu*). On Ibn al-Munayyir, whose full name was Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Mālaqī l-Ḥaḍramī l-Su'ūdī l-Ṣūfī, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar* iii, 1141 (no. 413).

127 Al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 74.

128 Al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 73 (*fa-wajadtuhu min duhāt al-'ālam*); al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301 (*wa-kāna al-Furriyānī hādihā dāhiyan min al-dawāhi*).

129 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 228–229.

that this area was well-known for being inaccessible; it could only be reached through a narrow track just wide enough for one person. Located on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, north of al-Karak, the region was known for being remote and for its intransigent, uncontrollable Bedouins.¹³⁰ Thanks to their geographical position, they eluded any kind of control from the Mamlūk authorities, a situation that drove fugitives to seek protection from them.¹³¹ By the end of the year, news reached Cairo that a man who presented himself as a messianic figure was exhorting the local Bedouins with sermons (*mawā'id*), thus generating unrest in the region. Apparently, no one knew who this agitator was.

The sultan ordered the governor of Jerusalem to launch an inquiry to identify the perpetrator. The authority representing the Bedouins (*shaykh al-'Arab*) of Nablus was summoned to Jerusalem. During the cross-examination, he stated that a man had come to him with loads of what appeared to be scholarly books (*kutub 'ilmiyya*) and specifically asked to be accompanied to the mountains of the Banū Ḥamīda. The shaykh had sent people to take the man to his destination, without investigating why he wanted to reach the Banū Ḥamīda.¹³² The governor asked for a physical description of the man and reported to the authorities in Cairo what he had learned. The physical description confirmed that the man in question was al-Furriyānī. At the end of Dhū l-Ḥijja 848/early March 1445, an order was issued requesting his arrest and his dispatch to Cairo.¹³³

According to al-Sakhāwī, al-Furriyānī, who met some success among the Bedouins where he had settled, soon realized that their support was disintegrating.¹³⁴ As for al-Malaṭī, the fear of being arrested and brought before the sultan drove al-Furriyānī to leave the area and lie low, drifting between Damascus and Tripoli.¹³⁵ In Tripoli, he even found a benevolent protector in

130 On the tribe, which is still extant nowadays, see Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'Arab* i, 305; Peake, *A history* 174–175, 193; van der Steen, *Near Eastern tribal societies* 113, 125–126, 153–155, 164. In the nineteenth century, the French photographer Louis Vignes (1831–1896) stated that the Banū Ḥamīda tribe was the most savage that he had met. See Vignes, *Extrait* 19n1. In the same period archeologists approached the tribe because an ancient Semitic inscription was discovered by some of its members: this was the famous stele of the Moabite king Mesha dated 896 BCE and now held by the Louvre Museum in Paris. See, for instance, Tristram, *The land of Moab* 230–233; Bellisari, *Raiders* 104–109.

131 Al-Biqā'ī in Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 228n1.

132 Al-Biqā'ī, in Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 229n1, maintains that the shaykh of the Arabs had sided with him.

133 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 228–229; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* i, 225; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 198–199; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 300–301.

134 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* v, 70 (*thumma aḥassa minhum bi-inḥilāl 'anhu*).

135 Al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301.

the local army inspector who hosted him for the remainder of his life and to whom he entrusted his numerous books.¹³⁶ During these years, he successfully lived underground, to such an extent that most Mamlūk historians do not agree on the exact date of his death. The eighteen-year-old al-Malaṭī, who was living in Tripoli at that time, appears to be the most well-informed:¹³⁷ he places al-Furriyānī's death in Ṣafar 862/December 1457–January 1458 in Latakia.¹³⁸

The story of al-Furriyānī's final years outlines his appearance as a messianic figure who endeavored to unify a group of Bedouins under his leadership. The revolt that he sought to foment was nipped in the bud well before he succeeded in creating unrest in the region.¹³⁹ One may legitimately ask, did he wait until 848/1444 to openly declare his status or had he started to spread this representation of himself before then. Indeed, years before this point, there are indications that he believed that he would have a great future. In the short biography that he dedicated to al-Furriyānī, al-Maqrīzī mentioned that the former informed him that he had a dream in which a man declaimed two verses; he memorized them when he woke up:

136 Al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301. The army inspector of Tripoli was from a Christian family from al-Shawbak, thus from a territory that was close to the one of the Banū Ḥamīda. This origin could explain his desire to help al-Furriyānī. The army inspector in question died a few months later, in Rajab 862/May–June 1458 (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* x, 192, no. 809). These repeated links with Christian converts from the region of al-Karak (like Ibn al-Kuwayz mentioned earlier) are worth stressing.

137 Al-Malaṭī stresses that he was well-informed because at the time he was in Tripoli where his father had been designated as an amir. See also Kikuchi, "An analysis" 41–42.

138 Al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301. Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 266 notes that he died in Shawwāl 858/September–October 1454 in a Syrian littoral town; al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-unwān* 246 registered his death in Latakia too in 859/1455, but says that he was later informed that it in fact took place in 862/1457–1458; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* vii, 70 lists two possibilities: Muḥarram 859/December 1454–January 1455 or Ṣafar 862/December 1457–January 1458, both of them in Latakia, stressing that those who reported his death in Cairo in Rabī' 1 854/April–May 1450 were just speculating. Though his tomb was not preserved in Latakia, a local historian proposed to identify it with the mausoleum known as Qabr al-Baṭranī, on the basis that al-Furriyānī studied under al-Baṭranī (who died in Tunis and was buried there), that al-Furriyānī was buried in Latakia, and that the name of his master might have been applied to his tomb by popular tradition ('Uthmān, *al-Abniya* 126). This is, of course, pure conjecture.

139 Though not called a *fitna* (civil strife, revolt) by the sources, it turns out that al-Furriyānī's attempt could have led to civil unrest. Such events multiplied during the ninth/fifteenth century for various reasons. The Bedouins played a significant role in these events. See Elbendary, *Crowds and sultans*, particularly 48–54.

I will strike the western realm eastward and westward
 I will strike the north (al-Shām), then I will revolt
 I will request the eastern realm too in its entirety
 I will demand Sanaa and the kings will whirl¹⁴⁰

Al-Maqrīzī did not comment on the verses, or the event, but he was fully aware of the meaning of the poem. Another testimony confirms that al-Furriyānī's claim predated the year 848/1444. Evoking a meeting with him that occurred before he went to the Banū Ḥamīda, al-Biqā'ī explains that several people informed him that al-Furriyānī's reluctance to discuss his genealogy (according to him some of his ancestors were rulers (*mulūk*)) was linked to his messianic pretensions.¹⁴¹ Thus, al-Furriyānī was not afraid to present himself as a messianic figure in some circles, though he was careful not to reveal this in front of some scholars.¹⁴²

To sustain his claim to be a messianic figure, al-Furriyānī indeed invoked some genealogical links. As stated by al-Biqā'ī, he sometimes passed himself off as a scion of the Lakhmids, at other times of the Hāshimīyyūn, and yet on other occasions of the Umayyads.¹⁴³ His link with the Lakhmids was attested by the genealogy he gave to al-Maqrīzī, in which he maintained that he was a scion of the 'Abbādids of Seville.¹⁴⁴ This dynasty, which ruled over southwestern al-Andalus during the fifth/eleventh century, traced its origin to 'Iṭāf b. Nu'aym,

140 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 147 (*sa-aḍribu mulka al-gharbi yumnan wa-yasrat-an / wa-aḍribu* [add *mulka*; otherwise the meter, which is *ṭawīl*, is defective] *al-Shāmi thumma athūrū, wa-aṭlubu mulka al-sharqi ayḍan bi-asrihi / wa-aṭlubu Ṣan'ā wa-l-mulūku tadūrū*). *Ṣan'ā* (for *Ṣan'ā'a*) can also be read *ṣin'an* (a turban, a garment) or *ṣun'an* (a favor), but I follow the editor's suggestion and vocalization of the word that this is a reference to Yemen: it is clear that the author is evoking the four cardinal points.

141 Al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 76.

142 See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301 (*wa-lam yakun yukhfi dhālika bal yuṣarriḥ bi-hi lākin li-aṣḥābihi wa-man yaṭma'innu ilayhi*).

143 Al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301. (*fa-qad wazza'a nafsahu fī l-qabā'il fa-tāratan lakhmīyyan wa-tāratan hāshimīyyan wa-tāratan umawīyyan*).

144 As mentioned by al-Biqā'ī, al-Furriyānī later canceled part of his genealogy in al-Maqrīzī's manuscript, thus, it does not appear in his entry in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 146. However, the cancellation did not prevent al-Biqā'ī from reading the words and taking note of it. Al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 73 (*wa-kuntu qad ra'aytuhu min ba'd dhālika 'inda shaykhinā l-Maqrīzī kāna qad amlāhu 'alayhi thumma ḍaraba 'alā mā fawqa 'Alī ba'da mudda ḍarban lam yamna'ni min qir'atihi fa-katabtuhu min thamma kamā taqaddama sawā'*). His full genealogy was (al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 71): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad [this is where it stops in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*] b. Abī l-Naṣr Futūḥ b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh Abī 'Amr

the leader of Lakhmids who conquered medieval Iberia in the second/eighth century (together with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr); thus, the ‘Abbādids claimed to be descendants from the Lakhmids.¹⁴⁵ During their encounter in 846/1442, al-Furriyānī told al-Biqā’ī a different story, in which he revealed that he was a scion of the Prophet’s grandson al-Ḥusayn and, consequently, a Hāshimī. Al-Biqā’ī could not help pointing to the obvious contradiction between the two genealogies: how could he purport to be both a Lakhmid and a Hāshimī? Confronted by his own lies, al-Furriyānī desperately tried to provide al-Biqā’ī with some explanation, but failed to convince him.¹⁴⁶

This exposure of the contradictory nature of al-Furriyānī’s genealogical pretensions did not prevent him from selling himself as a messianic figure whose identity changed depending on this genealogical link and his interlocutor. On the authority of Ibn Ḥajar, al-Furriyānī presented himself as the Mahdī or the Qaḥṭānī, while for al-Biqā’ī and Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī he professed to be the Sufyānī.¹⁴⁷ Even though the three messianic figures feature side by side in prophecies,¹⁴⁸ he could hardly be all three, given that some of these messianic figures were antagonists of one another. Whatever the case may be, a person asserting to be the Mahdī did not need a specific genealogical relationship, except for the mainstream Sunnī tradition that states that the Mahdī had to belong to the family of the Prophet. However, as noted by David Cook, this requirement did not prevent Arabs and non-Arabs alike from making such claims.¹⁴⁹ When al-Furriyānī affirmed that he was the Mahdī, he relied on his presumably Hāshimī pedigree as, on one occasion, he stated to al-Biqā’ī that he was a descendant of al-Ḥusayn and that his family was known to be one of the most prominent among the *ashrāf* (descendants of the Prophet).¹⁵⁰

‘Abbād b. al-qāḍī bi-amr Allāh Abī l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Quraysh b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Amr b. Aslam b. ‘Amr b. ‘Itāf b. Nu‘aym.

145 On the ‘Abbādids of Seville, see Levi-Provençal, “‘Abbādids.” For the claim to be of Lakhmid origin, see Lammens and Shahid, “Lakhm.”

146 Al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 74–76. As a result, al-Furriyānī ran away from al-Biqā’ī (*fa-kāna ba’dā dhālika idhā ra’ūnī zahara ‘alayhi al-inzī‘āj wa-naḥara minnī nafra shadīda*).

147 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iv, 228 (*wa-da’ū ilā nafsīhi annahu al-mahdī wa-qīla idda’ū annahu al-qaḥṭānī*); al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 76 (*akhbaranī bi-hi ghayr wāḥid annahu al-sufyānī*); Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 267 (*wa-idda’ū fī ba’d al-bilād annahu al-sufyānī*).

148 Roggema, *The legend of Sergius* 77.

149 Cook, “The apocalyptic year.”

150 Al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 74–75 where al-Furriyānī is reported to have said that the Ifrīqīs regarded his family as *min akbar al-ashrāf*.

By contrast, the other two titles required a genealogical relationship. The Qaḥṭānī was a Yemeni (from Qaḥṭān, the mythical ancestor of the South Arabians) apocalyptic leader, often connected with (but subordinate to) the Mahdī. This figure was pre-Islamic and embodied the messianic hopes of the people of Yemen during the Islamic period.¹⁵¹ In this case, al-Furriyānī invoked his Lakhmid lineage. If we accept his allegedly 'Abbādid roots, this claim may have been the most truthful, because his uncle also bore the demonym al-Lakhmī.¹⁵² The name was derived from the Lakhm, an Arab tribe of Yemeni origin, who, in the pre-Islamic period, rose to power as clients of the Sasanians and in the early decades of the Islamic conquest played a significant role as supporters of the Umayyads. As such, al-Furriyānī's family took advantage of the aristocratic connotation that the 'Abbādid of Seville also exploited. Obviously, al-Furriyānī had the requisite credentials to present himself as the Qaḥṭānī.

The Sufyānī, an apocalyptic figure whose name derives from Abū Sufyān (Mu'āwiya's father), dates to the late Umayyad period. He was seen as a messianic restorer of the Umayyad caliphate, a role that was particularly appealing to those in the region of al-Shām.¹⁵³ As stressed by Cook, the Sufyānī "would be from the descendants of Mu'āwiya, and would fight the Shi'ites and the 'Abbāsids together."¹⁵⁴ Apart from his Lakhmid descent (the Lakhm were among the local Syrian tribes to support the Sufyānid and Marwānid caliphs),¹⁵⁵ al-Furriyānī could hardly demonstrate any genealogical link with Mu'āwiya's offspring.

Be that as it may, al-Furriyānī's claim to be one of these three figures was not an innovation.¹⁵⁶ In 816/1413, after his arrival in Cairo from Ifrīqiya (812/1410),

151 On this figure, see Cook, *Studies* 179–180; Roggema, *The legend of Sergius* 77–81.

152 Already mentioned above (see p. 274). On him see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* v, 13 (no. 43).

153 On the complicated history of the origin of this figure, see Madelung, "The Sufyānī"; Cook, "Early Islamic" 275–276; Cook, *Studies* 122–136; and more particularly for a new interpretation, see Shaddel, "The Sufyānī."

154 Cook, "The apocalyptic year" 50.

155 Genequand, "Elites" 259. The Lakhm appear among other Yemeni tribes who will accompany the Sufyānī in an account found in a pro-Umayyad book spotted by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/956). See Shaddel, "The Sufyānī" 7–8.

156 For would-be Mahdis, see the list drawn up by the editor in al-Suyūṭī, *al-'Arf al-wardī* 8–41 (38 people are detailed, including al-Furriyānī, al-Suyūṭī, *al-'Arf al-wardī* 27–28). As for the Qaḥṭānī, Cook, "Early Islamic" 275 states that few classical claimants are known but not listed, while for the Sufyānī, he counts (Cook, "Early Islamic" 276) at least nine documented appearances between 132/749 and 816/1413, but does not specify them. Shaddel,

a scholar from Damascus named Ibn Thuqqāla¹⁵⁷ claimed to be the Sufyānī. To fulfill the prophecy, he went to ‘Ajlūn, a place in northern Jordan that corresponds to the region with which the Sufyānī was associated in ancient traditions reported in, among others, Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād’s (d. 227/842) *Kitāb al-Fitan*.¹⁵⁸ There Ibn Thuqqāla proclaimed a messianic state and behaved as a ruler. The authorities quickly put an end to his revolution and he was imprisoned but not put to death.¹⁵⁹ Al-Furriyānī must have been aware of this case while he was roaming Syria. Even if Ibn Thuqqāla’s genealogical credentials were not more convincing than al-Furriyānī’s,¹⁶⁰ he still managed to lure some people—Bedouins, settled Arabs, as well as Turks—into supporting his claim which included certain social tenets. His relative success demonstrates that the role of a messianic savior still appealed to some Syrians, and it was proof that the discourse related to the Sufyānī still circulated widely in some circles.¹⁶¹

When al-Furriyānī proclaimed himself the Sufyānī some thirty years later, he deliberately chose a region associated with prophecies, and a place where a minority of the population would be inclined to welcome his message. The

“The Sufyānī” 9n38 provides a list of six people between 132/749 and 848/1444, the last of whom was al-Furriyānī.

157 For the pronunciation of his name, see al-Biqā’ī, *‘Uwān al-zamān* iii, 171.

158 See Madelung, “The Sufyānī.”

159 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 262–263; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 9–10 (where he characterizes Ibn Thuqqāla as a *khārījī*); al-‘Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 183 (who copies Ibn Ḥajar); al-Biqā’ī, *‘Uwān al-zamān* iii, 171–175 (no. 347); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* v, 125–126 (no. 446); Cook, “Early Islamic” 276; Shaddel, “The Sufyānī” 1–2; Van Steenberghe, “Revisiting” 83–85.

160 His full name, as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 262 and al-Biqā’ī, *‘Uwān al-zamān* iii, 171, who are the only contemporary historians to detail it, was ‘Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Faḍl b. Rabī‘a al-Dimashqī l-Naqqāsh. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* v, 125 adds to his name the demonym al-Umawī, perhaps on the basis of Ibn Thuqqāla’s claim to be the Sufyānī. Al-Biqā’ī, *‘Uwān al-zamān* iii, 171, who met him on two occasions after his uprising (first in Damascus in 826/1423, then in Cairo the very next year), reports that Ibn Thuqqāla informed him of a dream in which he saw his father telling him that his *nasab* went back to ‘Abd Manāf, the common ancestor of the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsids.

161 Broadly speaking, the ninth/fifteenth century is now seen as a period when several messianic movements, sometimes linked to occultism (particularly the science of letters) and Sufism, flourished. In some cases, these movements drew the attention of rulers with imperial ambitions, like the Ottomans and the Tīmūrids. On this, see DeWeese, “Intercessory claims”; Fleischer, “Mahdi and millenium”; Fleischer, “Shadow of shadows”; Fleischer, “Ancient wisdom”; Fleischer, “A Mediterranean apocalypse”; Gardiner, “Lettrism and history”; Melvin-Koushki, “Toward a neopythagorean historiography”; Melvin-Koushki and Pickett, “Mobilizing magic”; Tucker, “The Kūfan *ghulāt*.”

Banū Ḥamīda among whom he settled belonged to the Judhām tribe of Yemeni origin¹⁶² who had absorbed the Lakhm at the beginning of Islam.¹⁶³ Presenting himself as a scion of Lakhm, he addressed an audience already disposed to listen to his claims, be it in his capacity as the Qaḥṭānī, the Mahdī, or the Sufyānī.¹⁶⁴

Al-Furriyānī was well-prepared and endowed with a great talent for narrating stories. Some of the scholars who had occasion to meet him noted his loquacity, his good sense of humor, his eloquence and polished language, his good company tinged with virtue and honesty, his ability to beguile his audience with anecdotes and historical facts, and his ability to tour various regions, all of which was combined with his cunning.¹⁶⁵ According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, he could surprise his interlocutor by answering a question without hesitation or pause.¹⁶⁶ Evidently, al-Furriyānī had refined his skills as an entertainer and storyteller while roaming through villages and towns as a performer of *mīʿād* sessions, i.e., as a popular preacher. His knowledge of *ḥadīths*, of various stories like that of al-Ḥinn and al-Binn,¹⁶⁷ and of history in general, enabled him to impress the public.¹⁶⁸ He could invoke accounts like the one in al-Būnī's biographical details that he provided al-Maqrīzī, in which he said al-Būnī

162 Peake, *A history* 174.

163 Lammens and Shahid, "Lakhm" 632.

164 Here it should be stressed that he could not be unaware of the 551/1156–1157 uprising against Norman rule in Sfax, a city where a branch of the Furriyānī family had settled, led by a certain 'Umar al-Furriyānī whom Brett, "Muslim justice" 355 regarded as a "native mahdi."

165 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 267 describes him as a babbler (*mihdār* [read *mihd-hār*]); al-Biqāʿī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 73 (*kathrat al-ḥifẓ lil-akhbār al-qadīma wa-l-quwwa ʿalā jawb al-bilād wa-l-quḍra ʿalā mudākhalat al-nās*); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 309 (*wa-kānat ʿindahū faṣāḥa wa-ṭalāqa wa-tanmīq fī kalāmihi maʿa hadr* [read *hadhr*] *wa-mujāzafa*); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Dalil al-shāfi* ii, 600 (*wa-l-ẓāhir li annahu kāna mihdhār mujāzif*); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 199 (*kāna kathīr al-mudākhalat lil-nās maʿa al-nādīra wa-ḥusn al-muḥāḍara wa-l-fakāha wa-l-ʿishra wa-l-ʿiffa wa-nazāhat al-naṣ wa-istiḥdār al-kathīr al-kabīr min al-taʿrīkh wa-ghayrihi*).

166 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 309 (*yujīb ʿammā yusʿal ʿanhu bi-surʿa min ghayr tawaqquf*).

167 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 267 (*ijṭamaʿa ʿalayhi al-ʿamm limā yanquluḥu min al-ashyāʾ al-gharība ka-qīṣṣat al-Jinn* (read *al-Ḥinn*) *wa-l-Binn wa-ghayr dhālika*). Al-Ḥinn wa-l-Binn were two pre-Adamic beings who were eradicated by God after they lived a corrupt life on earth. See Graf, *Die Epitome* 97–99; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Durar al-tijān* 11–18; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* i, 232–237.

168 On the relation between knowledge and preaching/storytelling, see Berkey, *Popular preaching* 70–87.

announced the downfall of the Fāṭimids and the ‘Abbāsids alike, and the coming of an apocalyptic figure.¹⁶⁹ Though the sources remain silent on this issue, his acquaintance with al-Būnī’s life and works could not be the result of simple book learning; he might have been an expert in the science of letters himself, a trait that also characterized Ibn Thuqqāla, his predecessor as the Sufyānī.¹⁷⁰

According to prominent transmitters of prophetic traditions like Ibn Ḥajar, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, and al-Biqā‘ī, al-Furriyānī was seen in an entirely negative light, without redeeming features. As noted by Jonathan Berkey, “since much of what the preachers and storytellers recited took the form of hadiths, the concerns of their critics focused on the untrustworthy character of the material transmitted.”¹⁷¹ Being unmasked as a forger of chains of transmitters and a liar, al-Furriyānī had no chance of gaining their favor. It is no wonder that they perceived him as irrational,¹⁷² or someone with a vivid imagination. Al-Malaṭī thought that he was driven to declare himself a messianic character because of his thorough immersion in popular stories and his knowledge of the events linked to those people who claimed to be the Mahdī, like the founder of the Fāṭimid caliphate ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 322/934) in Ifrīqiya, the founder of the Muwaḥḥid (Latinized as Almohad) movement Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130) in the Maghrib, and others.¹⁷³ In short, his claim was a figment of his overheated imagination.¹⁷⁴ Such a judgment was quite common among traditional schol-

169 See appendix 1.

170 According to al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-zamān* iii, 171, Ibn Thuqqāla was said to have mastered astrology and to have been a practitioner of the *zā’irja*, a form of letter-number manipulation so complicated to perform that Kātib Çelebī stated that only the Mahdī would understand its true meaning, thus strengthening Ibn Thuqqāla’s claim. See Savage-Smith, “Magic and divination” xxxv–xxxvi. In this context, it is worth mentioning that al-Furriyānī also stated that the Banū l-Wafā’, founder of the Wafā’ Sufi order in Egypt, shared a common genealogical link with the Banū l-Furriyānī (al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-zamān* v, 75). They also came from Ifrīqiya (Tunis and Sfax). See McGregor, *Sanctity and mysticism*, particularly ch. 3. It was indicated above (see n. 100) that al-Furriyānī claimed a chain of transmission linking him with al-Baṭranī and a direct follower of al-Shādhili.

171 Berkey, *Popular preaching* 28.

172 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* ii, 267 (*kāna nāqiṣ al-‘aql*).

173 On those who claimed to be the Mahdī or a prophet in the Maghrib, see Ferhat and Triki, “Faux prophètes.” The list includes a person who called himself Sayyid Qaḥṭān and who died at the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century. Ferhat and Triki, “Faux prophètes” 17. See also García-Arenal, *Messianism*.

174 Al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* 26a = i, 301 (*wa-aẓunnu anna al-ladhī awqa’ahu fī dhālika kathrat iṭṭilā’ihi ‘alā akhbār al-nās wa-ma’rifatuhu bi-aḥwāl man qāma mithla al-Mahdī ‘Ubayd Allāh bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Tūmart wa-ghayrihimā fa-tashabbatha bi-mukhayyilatihi annahu idhā qāma jā’a minhu ‘alā anna dhālika min al-mumkin*

ars when they looked into such cases: at best scholars regarded such people as eccentric men who failed where others were successful.¹⁷⁵ The epilogue of al-Furriyānī's life did not belie their opinion.¹⁷⁶

6 By Way of Conclusion: Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī, Two Opposite Views of Source Criticism

Al-Furriyānī's case, thoroughly examined in the previous pages, brings us back to the issue of source criticism. In his marginal note to al-Būnī's biography, penned by Ibn Ḥajar in *al-Muqaffā*, Ibn Ḥajar could not restrain himself. He was perfectly aware that this biography was entirely based on something written by al-Furriyānī—a man that he had revealed to be a complete charlatan; thus, he could not help reviling al-Maqrīzī for keeping data provided by such an unreliable informant.

As demonstrated, Ibn Ḥajar did not pen his harsh criticism during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, rather he wrote it after his death, when he had access to the text of *al-Muqaffā* as al-Maqrīzī had left it before passing away. While Ibn Ḥajar forebore from openly criticizing his colleague and friend in his works, and only stressed that al-Furriyānī visited al-Maqrīzī frequently,¹⁷⁷ he chose to reveal his grievance in a way that could not escape the attention of scholars who were aware of his habit of writing marginal remarks in books he read whenever he found a mistake or a flaw.¹⁷⁸

Ibn Ḥajar could not bear seeing a scholar like al-Maqrīzī trusting a liar like al-Furriyānī.¹⁷⁹ Ibn Ḥajar's approach to source criticism was, of course, deeply influenced by his education as a traditionist. Recognized as an unparalleled

wa-lam yakun shay' mim mā ḡannahu wa-takhayyalahu); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 199 (*wa-kāna fī qaṣḍihi wa-ḡamīrihi an yabluḡha sha'nān 'aẓīman ka-l-Mahdī bi-l-Maghrib aw naḡwahu fa-mā arāda Allāh ta'ālā lahu dhālika*).

175 According to al-Biqā'i, *Unwān al-zamān* iii, 171, who reports this on the authority of a witness, Ibn Thuqqāla talked to himself and frothed at the mouth in certain circumstances.

176 The idea of apocalypticism raised al-Maqrīzī's interest at some point. This will be the object of my Maqriziana vi.

177 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 229 (*wa-akthara al-taraddud ilā l-shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī*).

178 Al-Sakhāwī collected those that he spotted in some books in *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar* i, 377–390.

179 Al-Maqrīzī might have been pleased to see al-Furriyānī supporting his claim to be of Fāṭimid descent by bringing evidence from Ifriqiya. This will be the subject of my Maqriziana v dealing with al-Maqrīzī's genealogy.

specialist of *ḥadīth* beyond the geographical limits of the Mamlūk Sultanate thanks, among other achievements, to his commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ibn Ḥajar built his reputation as a traditionist over several decades by adhering to the strict rules applied in the field of *ḥadīth*, particularly through the discipline of the impugnement and approval of transmitters (*al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*).¹⁸⁰ He put this into practice in several of his works, particularly *Lisān al-mīzān*, in which he assessed the trustworthiness of transmitters of *ḥadīth* up to the eighth/fourteenth century. As shown, this work initially included an entry on al-Būnī, before Ibn Ḥajar realized that he had been mistaken in taking it for granted because it came from al-Maqrīzī, who had, in fact, relied on al-Furriyānī.

This affair was a major blow to Ibn Ḥajar's scrupulousness; he tried to work this out by addressing letters to his students and colleagues asking them to cancel the entry in question in their personal copies. In the introduction to his chronicle entitled *Inbā' al-ghumr*, Ibn Ḥajar clearly laid out the principles he followed, first and foremost of which was his reliance on his personal experience and knowledge of people and events.¹⁸¹ As a specialist of *ḥadīth*, al-Sakhāwī followed in his master Ibn Ḥajar's footsteps.¹⁸² Unsurprisingly, he vehemently denounced those historians who did not practice the basic rules of assessing transmitters:

Indeed, a great many defects have become apparent, and reprobable attitudes of the ugliest sort have spread. This noble branch of learning (that is, history) has been cultivated by those who accept misspellings and misreadings, because they do not have an exact knowledge of the rules of transmission and trust transmitters who are not recognized as trustworthy and sensible. They have come to write down both substantial and inconsequential things as well as both proven and shaky, unsound traditions. If I were here to set down what happened to the leading historian,

180 For its implementation by Ibn Ḥajar in his various works, see al-Shaykh, *al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar* 176–181; for his view of historical criticism in *Inbā' al-ghumr*, see 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *Ibn Ḥajar* 242–270. Ibn Ḥajar explained in precise terms his philosophy of source criticism with regard to history in a *fatwā* published by Sayyid, "Shurūṭ al-mu'arrikh" 168–169. More generally, see Rosenthal, *A history* 60 ("More important, the theories about historical truth developed in connection with the science of *ḥadīth* entered historical thinking").

181 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* i, 3–5 (for a translation of the beginning of this passage see Jaques, *Ibn Hajar* 17).

182 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk* i, 36–37.

Taqî-ad-dîn al-Maqrîzî, you would be amazed, and you would avoid looking for his works.¹⁸³

With these words, which take on their full meaning in the context of this article, al-Sakhâwî did not hesitate to point an accusing finger at al-Maqrîzî. Indeed, al-Sakhâwî detailed some misspellings and misreadings that al-Maqrîzî made in the transmitters' names in entries al-Sakhâwî dedicated to al-Maqrîzî in his biographical dictionary,¹⁸⁴ though, first and foremost, he reproached al-Maqrîzî for his reliance on untrustworthy informants like al-Furriyânî: "Our shaykh [Ibn Ḥajar] did his utmost to expose him (al-Furriyânî) as a liar and a cheat while al-Maqrîzî did exactly the opposite in relying on him and calling him 'the learned.'"¹⁸⁵ These two opposite views of how to approach source criticism appear in broad daylight: on one side, the traditionist-cum-historian Ibn Ḥajar, was a guardian of the science of tradition and one who implemented its methods, including in the field of history; on the other side, the historian-cum-traditionist al-Maqrîzî, tirelessly spotted rare sources and continued to look for good stories, but was careless of source criticism.¹⁸⁶ Most of all, Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhâwî blamed al-Maqrîzî for his reluctance to reveal his

183 Rosenthal, *A history* 356 = al-Sakhâwî, *al-I'ân* 105 (*na'am qad zahara al-kathîr min al-khalal wa-intashara min al-manâkir mā ishtamala 'alā aqbaḥ al-'ilal ḥaythu intadaba lihādihā l-fann al-sharīf man ishtamala 'alā l-taḥrīf wa-l-taḥḥīf li-'adam itqānihim shurūṭ al-riwāya wa-l-naql wa-ittimānihim man lā yūṣaf bi-amāna wa-lā 'aql bal ṣārū yaktubūna al-samīn ma'a al-hazil wa-l-makīn ma'a al-muzalzal al-'alīl wa-law sawwadtu laka mā waqa'a li-shaykh al-mu'arrikhīn al-Taqī l-Maqrîzî la-qaḍayta al-'ajab wa-tajannabta litaṣānifihi al-ṭalab*). Al-Sakhâwî recycled part of this passage, without the personal criticism of al-Maqrîzî, in his introduction to *al-Tibr al-masbūk* i, 37.

184 Al-Sakhâwî, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* ii, 23. See also Bauden, "Al-Maqrîzî (d. 845/1442)" 48. In the same passage, al-Sakhâwî denigrated al-Maqrîzî's knowledge of the transmitters, their names, the impugnement and approval (*jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*) of them, etc.

185 Al-Sakhâwî, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* vii, 70 (*wa-bālagha shaykhunā fī takdhībīhi wa-ikhtilāqīhi wa-ammā l-Maqrîzî fa-'alā l-didd min dhālika fī i'timādihi wa-talqībīhi bi-l-ḥāfiẓ*). Al-Maqrîzî referred to him as a learned (*ḥāfiẓ*), precise, and accurate (*dābiṭ*) man. See below n. 191.

186 In a very pragmatic way, Ibn Khaldūn claimed that before any impugnement and approval (*al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*), historians should first and foremost resort to critical investigation to distinguish truth from untruth, a method that he describes as normative. In other words, they should first establish whether the event they are reporting could have taken place or not. He then gives several examples including the story of the City of Brass reported by al-Mas'ūdī, whom he criticizes for swallowing such a story. See Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah* i, 71–77. The three stories mentioned below and reported by al-Maqrîzî would have been labeled by Ibn Khaldūn as "idle talk of storytellers" (*The Muqaddimah* i, 75).

sources. Al-Sakhāwī expressed his view in clear terms, particularly regarding al-Furriyānī: “Al-Taḳī l-Maqrīzī heavily relied on this [person; i.e., al-Furriyānī] for everything he reported to him regarding history and the like, without clearly stating that he [al-Maqrīzī] was relating from him, as usual.”¹⁸⁷ In al-Būnī’s entry—let us stress again: it was one of a kind among medieval sources—al-Maqrīzī failed to quote his source, leaving his medieval and modern readers blind to the truthfulness of his words.¹⁸⁸ In other words, beyond his reliance on deceitful informants, al-Maqrīzī’s deliberate concealment of the identity of his informants was what irked traditionists-cum-historians like Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī.

To be fair, al-Maqrīzī stated that he relied on al-Furriyānī on three occasions in *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār*. As is well known, this work represents an exception to the rule in terms of his quotation of sources. Thus, it is not surprising to see al-Maqrīzī overtly mentioning the Maghribi scholar.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the three reports attributed to al-Furriyānī corroborate Ibn Ḥajar’s assessment of the man.

In the first, al-Furriyānī relates a story on the authority of his father who witnessed a grave being dug in Carthage. The grave contained a gigantic skull and a Himyaritic inscription that, once read, revealed that it was the tomb of a biblical figure (Cush).¹⁹⁰ The second report regards a discovery in Palestine of another Himyaritic inscription (this one a parchment scroll found in the shaft of a mine). Someone who could decipher this Himyaritic handwriting was spotted in the region and said it revealed several details about Moses’ exodus. Al-Furriyānī narrated the story on the authority of a man who saw and mem-

187 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk* i, 227 (*wa-qad kāna l-Taḳī l-Maqrīzī kathīr al-i’timād ‘alā hādhā fīmā yukhbīru bi-hi mim mā yata’allaq bi-l-ta’rīkh wa-naḥwahu min ghayr ifṣāḥ bi-l-naql ‘anhu ‘alā ‘ādātihi*). Al-Sakhāwī repeats this statement verbatim in his *al-Jawāhīr wa-l-durar* i, 191.

188 As already indicated, paratexts allow modern scholars to invalidate some biographical details reported by al-Furriyānī/al-Maqrīzī.

189 Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, the editor of al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār*, sees in these three quotations a reason to dismiss al-Sakhāwī’s accusation as another proof of his bias against al-Maqrīzī. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār* i, 437n2 (*wa-wāḍiḥ taḥāmūl al-Sakhāwī ka-‘ādātihi ‘alā l-Maqrīzī ḥaythu nasaba l-Maqrīzī mā afādahu bi-l-ḥāfiẓ al-Furriyānī kamā wāḍiḥ bi-l-naṣṣ al-ladhī amāmanā*). Of course he did not consider that most of the time in *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār* al-Maqrīzī quotes his sources, while he does not do this in most of his other books. In fact, we are not able to detect the material transmitted by al-Furriyānī in his other works.

190 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār* i, 437 (*wa-qad ḥaddathanī l-ḥāfiẓ Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Furriyānī ...*).

orized parts of the text.¹⁹¹ According to the third report, al-Furriyānī said he named a man who repeated the story three times in the same words—this was a device aimed at raising doubt about the seriousness of the informant. The story explains that, sometime after 810/1407–1408, two men from Bahnasā traveled westward in the desert to seek a livelihood. They discovered an abundant valley with a walled city that they were unable to enter. Returning to their point of departure after leaving signs so they could find their way back to the valley, when they wanted to return to the valley with their people they realized that their signs had all been gathered in a single place. Consequently, they could not follow the track to the valley.¹⁹²

The materiality of these notes in some copies of the text helps to demonstrate that they were additions al-Maqrīzī made after 831/1428, when he prepared the new version of his text;¹⁹³ this helps to broadly date the moment when he received them from al-Furriyānī.¹⁹⁴ When he heard the first report, al-Maqrīzī jotted it down on the title page of his new version of *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, with the intention of later inserting it in the right place in the text. Two apographs—copies made on the basis of the author's original—preserve the various notes that al-Maqrīzī added to the title page, including the first report (see figures 9 and 10).¹⁹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī added the second report in the text, probably on a slip of paper, and the copyists did not fully understand where it needed to be inserted.¹⁹⁶ Finally, the third report was given to al-Maqrīzī in written form, in all likelihood by al-Furriyānī himself. Al-Maqrīzī slipped it in where he planned to include it. After he had done so, he apparently did not remove the sheet in al-Furriyānī's hand. One copyist saw it and took note of this feature (see figure 11).

191 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār* i, 511 (*ḥaddathānī bi-ḥādhā l-khabar al-ḥāfiẓ al-mutqan al-dābiṭ Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Furriyānī l-Tūmīsī l-Mālikī*).

192 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār* i, 646–647 (*yaqūlu al-shaykh al-imām Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Furriyānī ... wa-ḥādhā mā ḥaddathānī bi-hi*).

193 For the dating of this version, see Bauden, “Maqriziana IX.”

194 As we saw, al-Maqrīzī received several biographies written by al-Furriyānī, including al-Būnī's, shortly before 837/1433–1434.

195 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, ms Feyzullah 1538 (Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, ms Ayasofya 3478 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul).

196 To link it to the text on the main page, al-Maqrīzī inscribed on the top *baqiyyat khabar madīnat Madyan*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār* i, 511, n c.

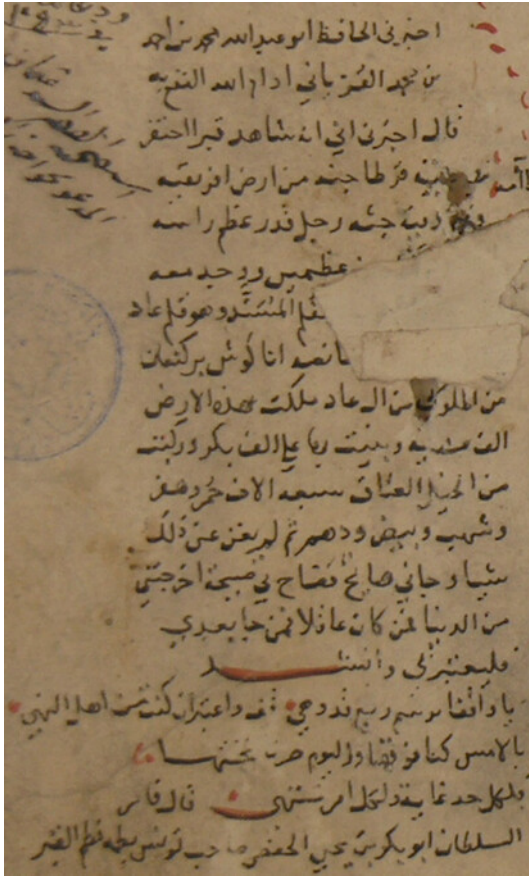


FIGURE 6.10
Detail of al-Furriyānī's report
found on the title page of al-
Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*

ح (حاشية) / وبأصل المصنف ورقة فيها مكتوب ما مثاله بخط أظنه / مغربي الحمد لله وحده
يقول محمد بن أحمد / الفرياني حدثني علي بن حسن الحديث المذكور برمته / إلى قوله ما أظنه¹⁹⁷
والله أعلم هـ

Note. In the author's copy there is a sheet on which is a text of which a copy follows in a handwriting I guess is *maghribī*: "Praise be to God alone. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Furriyānī says: 'Alī b. Ḥasan reported to me' [then follows] the herein-mentioned report in its entirety up to his words that I guess to be "God knows best."

197 The editor, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, did not read the two preceding words. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār* i, 646n1.

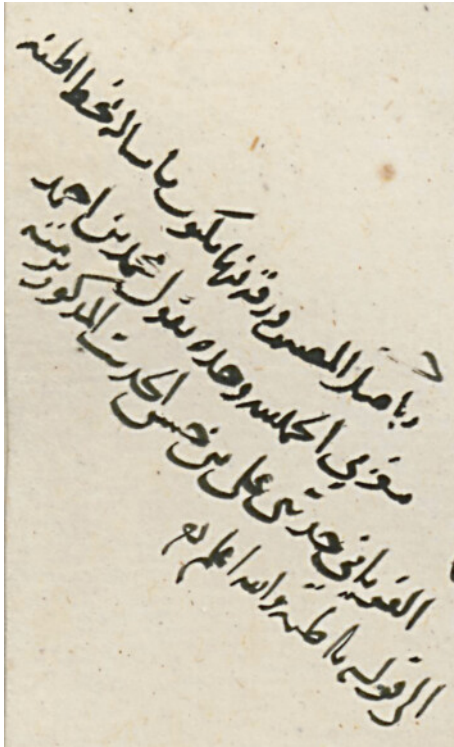


FIGURE 6.11

Indication of the presence of a slip of paper in the holograph of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*

The last report was also fully quoted by al-Biqā'ī at the very end of al-Furriyānī's entry in his biographical dictionary, as a typical example of the latter's "exaggerations" (*tahāwīl*); he concludes that if it was not true it remains an entertaining piece, thus substantiating Ibn Ḥajar's opinion of the man.¹⁹⁸ In fact, this is the bone of contention: in the eyes of the traditionists-cum-historians, a good story does not justify sacrificing basic principles of source criticism for the sake of entertainment. Even someone like Ibn Taghrī Birdī, who studied with al-Maqrīzī in the twilight of his life and was not a traditionist, could not be fooled by al-Furriyānī:

198 Al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān* v, 76–77 (*wa-huwa in lam yakun ṣaḥīḥ fa-huwa taṣnīf malīḥ*). There is evidence that al-Biqā'ī quoted the report from the version he found on the title page of al-Maqrīzī's own copy (*qara'tu bi-khaṭṭ shaykhinā l-Maqrīzī*), and not the one al-Maqrīzī finally inserted in the right place in his text: indeed it corresponds with this version in which al-Maqrīzī appends to al-Furriyānī's name a benedictory formula (*adāma Allāh al-naḥḥ bi-hi*). This formula does not appear in the version of the report al-Maqrīzī inserted in his text.

I saw him conferring with the shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī. I did not like his attitude and the only thing I took note of is what regards his biography, nothing more ...¹⁹⁹ The shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī took from him what he needed regarding the Maghribis and asked him to give him an account of most of the affairs related to the Maghrib ...²⁰⁰ He [al-Furriyānī] did not trace back what he reported to any history of one of the prominent Maghribis. If he was called to account for the authenticity of what he was saying, he made strange quotes and dodged [the question] if his interlocutor was knowledgeable about what he was saying. Otherwise, if it dealt with the events of the West, he could go on forever. Generally speaking, he is not a trustworthy source as far as I could judge. But God knows best.²⁰¹

In this case as in others, the manuscripts help disentangle fact from fiction. In this affair, al-Maqrīzī once again appears in an unfavorable light; by contrast, Ibn Ḥajar's probity is fully confirmed. For a traditionist of Ibn Ḥajar's caliber, reliability remained essential and source criticism was a unique means by which to reach one's aim. Moreover, his appreciation of al-Maqrīzī, as expressed in some of his works, should perhaps be reconsidered in light of what precedes and, particularly, in what he said in his marginal note regarding al-Būnī. This should lead us to take into account the period when personal appreciation is expressed and not generalize such an expression of appreciation for the whole lifetime of its author.

In the same vein, it must be stressed that our vision, and reconstruction, of al-Furriyānī's affair and its corollary (i.e., source-criticism and its impact on historical writing in the Mamlūk period) represents just one side of the coin. The discourse on this issue at our disposal in the sources overwhelmingly reflects the point of view of the scholarly elite as manifested by Ibn Ḥajar and his followers. We clearly lack the opinion of those who did not follow the "standards" embodied by the traditionists-cum-historians. Though it would be thrilling to know what they thought of the prevailing discourse over source-criticism, al-

199 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 308 (*ra'aytuhu yudhākīr al-shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī fa-lam yu'jibnī ḥālūhu wa-lam aktub 'anhu illā mā awradtu fī tarjamatihi lā ghayr*).

200 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 308 (*wa-kāna l-shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī ya'khudhu 'anhu mā yahtāju ilayhi min aḥwāl al-maghāriba wa-yastahkihi ghālib aḥwāl al-Maghrib*).

201 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 309 (*wa-lā yusnīdu mā yaḥkihi ilā ta'rīkh aḥad min al-a'yān al-maghāriba wa-in ṭūliba bi-ṣiḥḥat mā yaqūluhu yughribu fī l-naql wa-yarūghu ḥādḥā idḥā kāna fīmā yadrīhi l-mutakallim ma'ahu wa-in kāna mā huwa muta'alliq bi-waqā'i' al-Gharb fa-qad inṭalaqa hattā ka'annahu l-baḥr al-zakḥkhār wa-fī l-jumla huwa ghayr thiqa fī l-naql fīmā zahara lī wa-Allāh a'lam*).

Furriyānī did not have any input in the matter: he did not express in writing his position which might have been as refreshing as that voiced by another of al-Maqrīzī's associates, Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī (d. 888/1483).²⁰²

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202 See Haarmann, “Al-Maqrīzī, the master.”

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Appendix 1: A Critical Edition of al-Būnī's Biography in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*

أحمد بن يوسف بن (...) ^a الشيخ أبو العباس شرف الدين البوني القرشي ولد بمدينة بونة^b التي تعرف ببلد العنّاب من أعمال إفريقية في حدود العشرين وخمس مائة وقرأ القرآن الكريم بالقراءات الثمان^c في مدينة تونس وتفقه على مذهب مالك وتفنن في عدة علوم وأخذ عن جماعة منهم ابن حزالله وابن رزق الله وابن عوانة وبرع في علم الفلك ثم رحل إلى الأندلس ولقي أبا القسم السبيلي وأبا القسم ابن بشكوال والفقهاء الصالح أبا العباس أحمد بن جعفر الخرجي السبتي وقدم إلى الإسكندرية ولقي الحافظ أبا الطاهر أحمد بن محمد السلفي وأبا الطاهر إسماعيل بن عوف الزهري المالكي وأقام بالقاهرة في أيام الخليفة العاضد ومضى منها إلى مكة فحج وعاد على بيت المقدس وتوجه إلى دمشق واجتمع بالحافظ أبي القسم بن عساكر ودخل واسط وبغداد ولقي الحافظ أبا الفرج ابن الجوزي ورجع إلى القدس وحج منه مرة ثانية وعاد إلى مصر فقبل له بها: "كيف كان سفرك هذا؟" فقال: "خير سفر لم يوجد في الدنيا في أيامنا هذه مثله." قيل: "وكيف ذاك؟" قال: "بدأناه ببيت الله وختمناه به"،

a بياض في المخطوط بقدر خمس كلمات.

b بونة: أضاف المقرئ الحاشية التالية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح (لـ) حاشية" بونة بالباء الموحدة المضمومة ثم واو ساكنة بعدها نون.

c الثمان: كذا في الأصل لـ "الثماني".

Aḥmad b. Yūsuf ..., the shaykh Abū l-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn al-Būnī l-Qurashī, was born in Bone (Būna)¹—known as the land of the jujubes² and one of the provinces of Ifrīqiya—around 520[1126]. He learned to recite the Quran with the eight readings in Tunis, studied law according to the Mālikī school, and became an expert in numerous sciences. He studied under many persons including Ibn Ḥirz Allāh, Ibn Rizq Allāh, and Ibn ʿAwāna.³ He excelled in astrology. He then traveled to al-Andalus where he encountered Abū l-Qāsim al-Suhaylī,⁴ Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Bashkuwāl,⁵ the virtuous jurisconsult Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar al-Khazrajī l-Sabtī.⁶ [Afterwards], he reached Alexandria, where he met the learned Abū l-Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī⁷ and Abū l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. ʿAwf al-Zuhri l-Mālikī.⁸ He settled in Cairo at the time of the caliph al-ʿĀḍī⁹ [and] from there he proceeded to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. On his way back, he went to Jerusalem. [Then] he headed for Damascus where he met with the learned Abū l-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir.¹⁰ He entered Wāsiṭ and Baghdad. There he encountered the learned Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī.¹¹ He went back to Jerusalem and from there he performed the pilgrimage for the second time. He thus returned to Cairo where he was asked: “How was this trip?” “Excellent and incomparable for our time,” he replied. He was asked: “What do you mean?” “We started and concluded it—i.e., the

1 Marginal note in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: “Būna with a *bāʾ* with vowel u and a *wāw* without vowel followed by a *nūn*.”

2 ‘Unnāb in Arabic. The city of Bone is nowadays called Annaba (ʿAnnāba).

3 None of these people could be identified in the sources.

4 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185), an Andalusī scholar who specialized in the Quran and *ḥadīth*. He authored a commentary of Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet. See Raven, “al-Suhaylī.”

5 Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183), an Andalusī traditionist known for his biographical dictionary entitled *al-Ṣila*. See Ben Cheneb and Huici Miranda, “Ibn Bashkuwāl.”

6 A Sufī saint from Marrakesh (d. 601/1205). See Ben Cheneb, “al-Sabtī.”

7 A traditionist from Isfahan who lived most of his life in Alexandria (d. 576/1180). See Gilliot, “al-Silafī.”

8 Ismāʿīl b. Makkī b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAwf al-Zuhri (d. 581/1185), a Mālikī jurist from Alexandria. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffāʾ* (2006 ed.) ii, 106–107 (no. 783).

9 The Fāṭimid caliph (r. 555–567/1160–1171).

10 ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), the famous traditionist of Damascus who authored *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dīnashq*. See Elisséeff, “Ibn ʿAsākir.”

11 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), a renowned traditionist from Baghdad. See Laoust, “Ibn al-Djawzī.”

يريد الحج. ثم عاد إلى تونس وأقام بها وكان يعلم الصبيان ويؤم بمسجد ثم ترك تعليم الصبيان وأقبل على الوعظ وصنف نحواً من أربعين كتاباً منها كتاب في الوعظ يتداوله الناس ببلاد إفريقية كما يتداولون كتب ابن الجوزي ولا غناء بهم في الوعظ عنه ومنها كتاب شرح الأسماء الحسنى في مجلدين كبيرين ضمنه فوائد جمّة وكتاب شمس المعارف في علم الحرف وهو عزيز الوجود يتنافس الناس فيه ويبدلون فيه الأموال الجزيلة وكتاب اللعة النورانية وكتاب الأنماط وكان كثير الانقطاع والعبادة من التهجّد والصوم يلازم الإمساك عن الطعام في أكثر أوقاته ويؤثر العزلة على مخالطة الناس ويخرج في غالب^d الأيام إلى جبل مأكوّض على البحر شرقي تونس على يومين منها فيقيم به ولم يكن له أولاد ولا أتباع لإعراضه عن ذلك وتؤثر عنه أحوال عجيبية من الخطوة في المشي والاختفاء عن الناس والاحتجاب عنهم فساعة هو معك تراه وساعة يغيب عنك ويتوارى في الطريق فلا يظهر لك إلا بعد أسبوع وأكثر وكان كثيراً ما يأتي بما يقترح عليه من الفواكه والخضراوات في غير أوانها ويأتي إلى النساء أولات الحمل بذلك في غير حينه فيقرع أبوابهن ليلاً ونهاراً ويقول: "خذوا شهواتكن. لعل الله ينفعنا بسببكن." ولم يكن في زمنه ببلده أحسن خلقاً ولا أكثر معرفة بالأسماء^e والحروف منه حتى إنه كان يقال له كندي الزمان^f ويقال إن الحروف كانت تخاطبه فيعلم منها منافعها ومضارها^g وقال له الحافظ ابن عساكر بدمشق: "إن الناس يذكرون أن هذه الدولة الفاطمية

d غالب: في تحقيق البعلاوي "أغلب".

e الأسماء: في تحقيق البعلاوي "الحساب".

f كندي الزمان: أضاف المقرئ الحاشية التالية في الهامش الأيمن: "ح (ل "حاشية") يعنون يعقوب بن إسحق الكندي".

g ومضارها: أضاف المقرئ الحاشية التالية في الهامش الأيمن منقولة: "ح (ل "حاشية") هم يزعمون أن لكل حرف ملكاً وأن الذي كان يخاطبه روحانيات الحروف الموكل بها".

pilgrimage—with the Temple of God.” Afterwards he went back to Tunis and settled there. He worked as a school teacher and as an imam in a mosque. Later, he gave up teaching and dedicated himself to preaching. He composed some forty books among which *Kitāb al-Waʿz* [The book of preaching]. In Ifrīqiya, people circulate it just as they do with Ibn al-Jawzī’s books. They cannot do without it for preaching. Among them there is also *Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* [The commentary of [God’s] beautiful names] in two large volumes in which he included plenty of useful notes; the book *Shams al-maʿārif* [The sun of knowledge] dealing with the science of letters—this one is hard to find and people compete for it and are ready to spend huge amounts for it—; the book *al-Lumʾa al-nūrāniyya* [The luminous radiance] and the book *al-Anmāt* [The forms]. He often stayed away and [was] committed to worship, even praying the night through, and to fasting. Most of the time, he adhered to abstinence from food and preferred solitude to interactions with people. Most days, he would go to Mount Mākūḍ,¹² on the seashore, at a distance of two days east of Tunis, [and] stayed there. He had no children and no followers to distract him from this. Odd qualities are reported about him such as [his capacity] to stride along, to disappear, and to conceal himself in the presence of people: in this instant he is with you and you see him and an instant later he vanishes from your sight. He could conceal himself on the road, reappearing in front of you one week later or even later. He often brought out of season fruits and vegetables to pregnant women. He would knock on their door night and day and say: “Take what you have been longing for. Maybe God will help us because of you.” In his time and in his country, nobody had a better character or had a greater knowledge of the science of the [God’s] names and the science of letters, so much so that people said of him that he was the Kindī¹³ of his time. Some said that the letters talked to him to such an extent that he knew their positive and negative effects.¹⁴ The learned Ibn ʿAsākir told him in Damascus: “People report that the Fāṭimid

12 The name of this mountain is mentioned in reference to a jurist, ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh al-ʿUbaydī, from Kairouan (d. 748/1347). See Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* ii, 469. Like al-Būnī, he used to travel to Mount Mākūḍ, accompanied by disciples, to carry out his devotions. The mountain is also described as a place where Sufi saints (*awlīyāʾ*) retreated and is located in what is nowadays called Cape Bon, the Jazīrat Shakīr of the medieval sources. See al-Kinānī, *Maʾālim al-īmān* 102. The name of this mountain also appears in Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmārī, *Masālik al-abṣār* xxii, 76 for a plant said to grow there.

13 Marginal note in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting: “They mean Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī.” Better known for his philosophical works, he died in the middle of the third/ninth century. See Jolivet and Rashed, “al-Kindī.”

14 Marginal note in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting: “They pretend that each letter has a ruler and what talked to him were the spirits of the letters who are in charge of them.”

قرب زوالها. فقال: "وكذلك الدولة العباسية أيضا لكن الدولة الفاطمية آن زوالها وحان والدولة العباسية قرب وكاد وليس بين الدولتين إلا قريبا من تسعين سنة." قال: "فمن يكون بعدهم؟" h قال: "قوم لا يعبأ الله بهم وإن أحسنوا هم كالنمر مع البقر أو كالذئب مع الغنم. يؤيد الله بهم هذا الدين ويعمر بهم الشام والحجاز واليمن ومصر والجزيرة. هم الذين وقعت فيهم الإشارة من صاحب الشريعة حيث قال صلى الله عليه وسلم: 'إن الله ليؤيد هذا الدين بالرجل الفاجر'، فما رأيت أكثر منهم عملا تظاهرا بفجور إذا ظهروا." فقال له ابن عساكر: "فلاذك أنت؟" قال: "يظهر فيها بعد هؤلاء الذين بها قوم سوء ثم قوم سوء ثم قوم سوء." k قال: "فما وراء ذلك؟" قال: "كذلك حتى ينزل عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام." وقال له الحافظ السلفي يوما: "إن أهل بلدنا—يعني الإسكندرية—يذكرون عنك أن عندك شيئا من علم الغيب." فقال له: "قال الله عز وجل: ﴿قُلْ لَا يَعْلَمُ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ الْغَيْبَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ﴾." l قال الحافظ أبو الطاهر: "صدق الله وأنت تكلمت بالحق. فما هذا الذي يقوله الناس؟" قال: "تصحييف وتحريف. وإنما أعلم علم الشاهد لا علم الغيب." m قال: "وما علم الشاهد؟" قال: "ما أظهره الله لي ولأمثالي ممن كان قبلي وفي زمانني." وله أخبار كثيرة وتوفي رحمه الله سنة اثنتين وستمائة عن نحو ثمانين سنة بمدينة تونس.

Appendix 2: al-Būnī's Biography in Ibn Ḥajar's Intermediary Version of *Lisān al-mizān*

أحمد بن يوسف القرشي أبو العباس البوني بضم الموحدة وسكون الواو بعدها نون نسبة إلى بونة قرية بالمغرب تعرف ببلد العناب من أعمال إفريقية. ولد في حدود العشرين وخمسمائة وقرأ القراءات

h بعدهم: أضاف المقرئ الحاشية التالية في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل: "ح (ل) حاشية" يعني بعد الدولة الفاطمية. ساقط من تحقيق اليعلاوي.

i عملا: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر + خ (أي مخطوط آخر) ويشير إلهارمز - بعد "منهم".

j قوم سوء: أضاف المقرئ فوق هذه العبارة "صح".

k قوم سوء: أضاف المقرئ الحاشية التالية في الهامش الأيسر: "ح (ل) حاشية" كذا كان ظهرت [اليعلاوي: يظهر] بالمغرب دول منتشرة [لم يقرأ اليعلاوي هذه الكلمة] وهم الميُورقي وبنو عبد الواد وبنو مري وبنو عمر وبنو الأحمر ونحوهم من الثوار.

l سورة النمل، الآية ٦٥.

m قال: كتب المقرئ في آخر السطر "قال"، ثم شطبها، وكرها في أول السطر التالي.

dynasty will soon come to its end.” And he replied: “The same is valid for the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty. However, the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty is for now while the end of the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty is close. There will not be more than ninety years between the two dynasties.” He [Ibn ‘Asākir] asked: “Who will come after them?”¹⁵ He answered: “A people who God will not care about even if they did well. They are like the tiger with the cow, like the wolf with the lamb. God will strengthen this religion with them and will populate with them the Shām, the Hijaz, Yemen, Egypt, and the Jazīra. They are those concerned by the indication of the master of the path (*sharī‘a*) when he said—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—: ‘Truly God will strengthen this religion with the villainous.’ I have not seen more shameless acts than those committed by them when they will appear.” Ibn ‘Asākir told him: “What about your country?” He answered: “After those who are currently there, there will appear an evil people who will be followed by an evil people followed by an evil people.”¹⁶ He [Ibn ‘Asākir] asked: “And after that?” He replied: “Likewise until Jesus, son of Mary,—peace be upon him—will come down [to earth].” One day, the learned al-Silafī told him: “Some in our city [i.e., Alexandria] report about you that you have some knowledge of the science of the Unseen.” He answered him: “God—Powerful and Lofty is He—says: Say: ‘No one in the heavens or the earth knows the Unseen, except God.’”¹⁷ The learned Abū l-Ṭāhir [al-Silafī] said: “God speaks truth and you have spoken by the truth. But what is this that people say [about you]?” “This is a misrepresentation and a distortion, he replied. I only have knowledge of the science of the Present not of the Unseen.” “And what is the science of the Present?” asked [al-Silafī]. He replied: “What God made visible to me and those like me from the past and the present.” Numerous stories exist about him. He passed away—may God have mercy of him—in 602[/1205–1206], at almost eighty years old, in Tunis.

Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī Abū l-‘Abbās al-Būnī—with the vowel u above the single-pointed letter (*bā’*) and no vowel above the *wāw* followed by a *nūn*—a demonym derived from Bone (Būna), a town in the Maghrib known as the land of the jujubes and part of the provinces of Ifrīqiya. He was born around 520[/1126]. He learned to recite the Quran with the [various] readings;

15 Marginal note in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting: “i.e., after the Fāṭimid dynasty.”

16 Marginal note in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting: “And so it was. Torn apart dynasties appeared in the Maghrib: al-Mayūrqī [the Banū Ghāniya], the Banū ‘Abd al-Wād [the ‘Abd al-Wādids], the Banū Marīn [the Marīnids], the Banū ‘Umar [the Ḥafṣids?], the Banū l-Aḥmar [the Naṣrids of Granada], and other rebels like them.”

17 Quran 27:65.

وتفقه وتفنّن في علوم منها علم الفلك ودخل الأندلس فلقى السهيلي وابن بشكوال وأحمد بن جعفر الخزرجي السبتي وقدم السكندرية فلقى السلفي وابن عوف وحج فدخل دمشق فأخذ عن ابن عساكر ثم دخل العراق وأخذ عن ابن الجوزي ثم رجعⁿ فحج وعاد إلى تونس فأقام بها يعلم الصبيان ويؤم في مسجد ويعظ ثم اقتصر على الوعظ وصنف التصانيف المشهورة في علم الحرف منها شمس المعارف وقد اشتهر وتنافس الناس فيه ومختصره اللوحة النورانية وشرح الأسماء الحسنى وله كتاب في الوعظ حافل وله فضائل القرآن ومنافعه ويشتمل كلامه على عجائب مرجعها إلى ما يزعمون من استيطان الحروف وكان كثير الانقطاع عن الاجتماع بالناس والعبادة والإمسك عن الطعام ولم تكن له زوجة ولا ولد ولم يترك أحدا يتبعه ويقم في جبل على البحر شرقي تونس لا يجتمع بأحد وتذكر عنه أحوال عجيبة من الخطوة في المشي والاختفاء عن الناس والإحضار لما يقترح عليه من الفواكه والخضراوات في غير أوانها وكان يحضر ذلك إلى من يعرف أنها حامل وتكون قد اشتهت ذلك ويلتمس منها الدعاء. ويحكى أنه سئل في دولة العاضد الفاطمي عن حال الناس فقال: "إن هذه الدولة قرب زوالها وكذلك تزول دولة بني العباس." فقليل له: "فمن يجيء بعدهم؟" قال: "قوم لا يعبأ الله بهم. يؤيد بهم هذا الدين مع أنه لا يرى أكبر منهم فجورا إذا ظهروا مصداق قول صاحب الشريعة: 'إن الله يؤيد هذا الدين بالرجل الفاجر'." فسئل عن بلاده فقال: "يظهر فيها بعد الدين هم بها قوم سوء ثم قوم سوء إلى أن ينزل عيسى بن مريم." فأخبره^o حبرة⁺ وتوفي بتونس سنة اثنتين وستمائة.

n رجع: كذا في الأصل لـ "رجع"؟

o حبرة: كذا في الأصل لـ "كثيرة"؟

he studied law and became an expert in several sciences, including astrology. He went to al-Andalus where he met al-Suhaylī, Ibn Bashkuwāl, and Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar al-Khazrajī l-Sabtī. He then came to Alexandria where he met al-Silafī and Ibn ʿAwf. He performed the pilgrimage and went to Damascus where he studied under Ibn ʿAsākir. Afterwards, he traveled to Iraq and studied under Ibn al-Jawzī. He then came back, performed the pilgrimage, and returned to Tunis where he settled, teaching children, directing the prayer in a mosque, and preaching. He then limited himself to preach and composed famous works in the science of letters. Among them are the *Shams al-maʿārif* [The sun of knowledge]—which is renowned and for which people compete—, its summary *al-Lumʿa al-nūrāniyya* [The luminous radiance], and *Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* [The commentary of [God's] beautiful names]. He also wrote a book on preaching that is rich in content as well as one on the virtues and the positive effects of the Quran. His utterances include many unheard-of things that originate in what is claimed about the fact that the letters can be embodied. He often stayed away from people and [was] committed to worship and abstinence from food. He had no wife and no child[ren] and did not let anyone become his disciple. He would stay on a mountain on the seashore, east of Tunis, meeting no one. Odd qualities are reported about him such as [his capacity] to stride along and to disappear in the presence of people, and the fact that he would bring fruits and vegetables that were given to him out of season [and give them] to a woman he knew was pregnant and longing for them, [and] solicit her prayers in exchange. It is reported that he was asked about the conditions of the people during the reign of al-ʿĀḍid the Fāṭimid [caliph] and he replied: “This dynasty will soon come to its end as will also the ʿAbbāsīd dynasty.” He was told: “Who will come after them?” “A people who God will not care about, he said. God will strengthen this religion with them even though no one will have seen more shameless acts than those committed by them when they will appear lending credence to the words of the master of the path (*sharīʿa*): ‘Truly God will strengthen this religion with the villainous.’” He was then asked about his country and he answered: “After those who are currently there, there will appear an evil people who will be followed by an evil people until Jesus, son of Mary, comes down [to earth].” Numerous stories exist about him. He passed away in Tunis in 602[/1205–1206].

قلت: وترجمته عزيزة. فذكرته هنا لأنه على شرط الذهبي^p في هذا الكتاب. صح.
رجع شيخنا عن هذه الترجمة كما بلغت عنه. كتبه أبو ذر.

Appendix 3: Final Paratexts at the End of Volume 1 of the Final Version of Ibn Hajar's *Lisān al-mizān* (MS 347, Rağıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Fol. 253a).

1. Copyist's colophon:

آخر الجزء الأول ويتلوه في الجزء الثاني إن شاء الله تعالى / حرف السين المهملة وكان الفراغ من
تعليقه في اليوم / المبارك يوم الأحد التاسع عشر من شهر ذي القعدة / الحرام أحد شهر عام خمسة
وأربعين وثمانمائة / على يد الفقير إلى الله تعالى عبد الرحمن بن / أحمد بن إسماعيل بن محمد بن إسماعيل
بن علي / القلقشندي الآثري القرشي الشافعي / تلميذ المؤلف عفا الله عنه / الحمد لله وحده وصلواته /
على سيدنا محمد وآله / وصحبه وسلامه / حسبنا الله تعالى.

2. Ibn Hajar's attestation:

بلغ الشيخ الفاضل المحترم المكرم / البارع المعتبر تقي الدين كاتبه وصاحبه قراءة / علي وعرضا بالأصل
في مجالس آخرها / في السابع والعشرين من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة / ست وأربعين وثمانمائة وكتب /
أحمد بن علي بن حجر الشافعي عفا الله تعالى عنه / وسمع معه ذلك الشيخ شمس الدين ابن قرسوى
الخطبة كتبه ابن حجر.

3. Copyist's note of second collation:

الحمد لله / مررت على الأصل مرة ثانية وقابلت هذه النسخة وألحقت ما ألحقته / شيخنا بعد مقابلتي
معه على هوامش هذه النسخة وحررتها / فصحت وكان ذلك في شهر رجب الفرد الحرام سنة إحدى
ونخسين وثمانمائة / من الهجرة النبوية قاله وكتب عبد الرحمن بن القلقشندي / حامدا ومصليا ومسلما
ومحسبلا ومحوقلا.

^p الذهبي: كتب الناسخ أولا "الذهبي"، ثم كشط الكلمة حالا وكررها مصححة.

I say: His biography is hard to find. I mentioned him here because he fulfills the condition set by al-Dhahabī for this book.¹⁸ It [this addition] is correct.¹⁹ Our master withdrew this biography as I was informed. Abū Dharr²⁰ wrote this.

End of volume one. The unpointed letter *sīn* follows in volume two if God the Exalted wills. Its copy was completed on the blessed Sunday nineteenth of the sacred month of Dhū l-Qa'da, one of the months of the year eight hundred forty-five by the hand of the needy of God the Exalted 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Alī l-Qalqashandī l-Ātharī l-Qurashī l-Shāfi'ī, pupil of the author—may God forgive him. Praise be to God the Unique and may He bless our lord Muḥammad, his family, his companions and grant them salvation. God the Exalted is sufficient for us.

The learned, respected, venerated, excellent, esteemed shaykh Taqī l-Dīn, its copyist and owner, completed its reading to me and its collation with the original during sessions, the last of which was on the twenty-seventh of the month of Rabī' II of the year eight hundred forty-six. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-Shāfi'ī—May God the Exalted forgive him—wrote [this]. The shaykh Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qamar heard this [book] with him, except for the introduction. Ibn Ḥajar wrote it (this).

Praise be to God. I went through the original a second time, collated this copy [with it], and appended to it what our shaykh added on the margins of this copy after I had [already] collated [it] with him. I corrected it so that it is now accurate. This was during the sacred month of Rajab the unique of the year eight hundred fifty-one of the Prophet's Hijra. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qalqashandī said this and wrote [it] praising God, asking for His blessings and His salvation [of Muḥammad], stating that God is sufficient to us and that there is no power and no strength save in God.

18 In his introduction to *Mizān al-i'tidāl* i, 2–4, al-Dhahabī explains the criteria he used for including transmitters in his book. The one referred to here relates to those of whom little is known (*al-majhūlūn*).

19 This refers to the whole biography that is located on a slip of paper pasted in the copy, a further proof that this is a later addition.

20 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī. See n. 99.

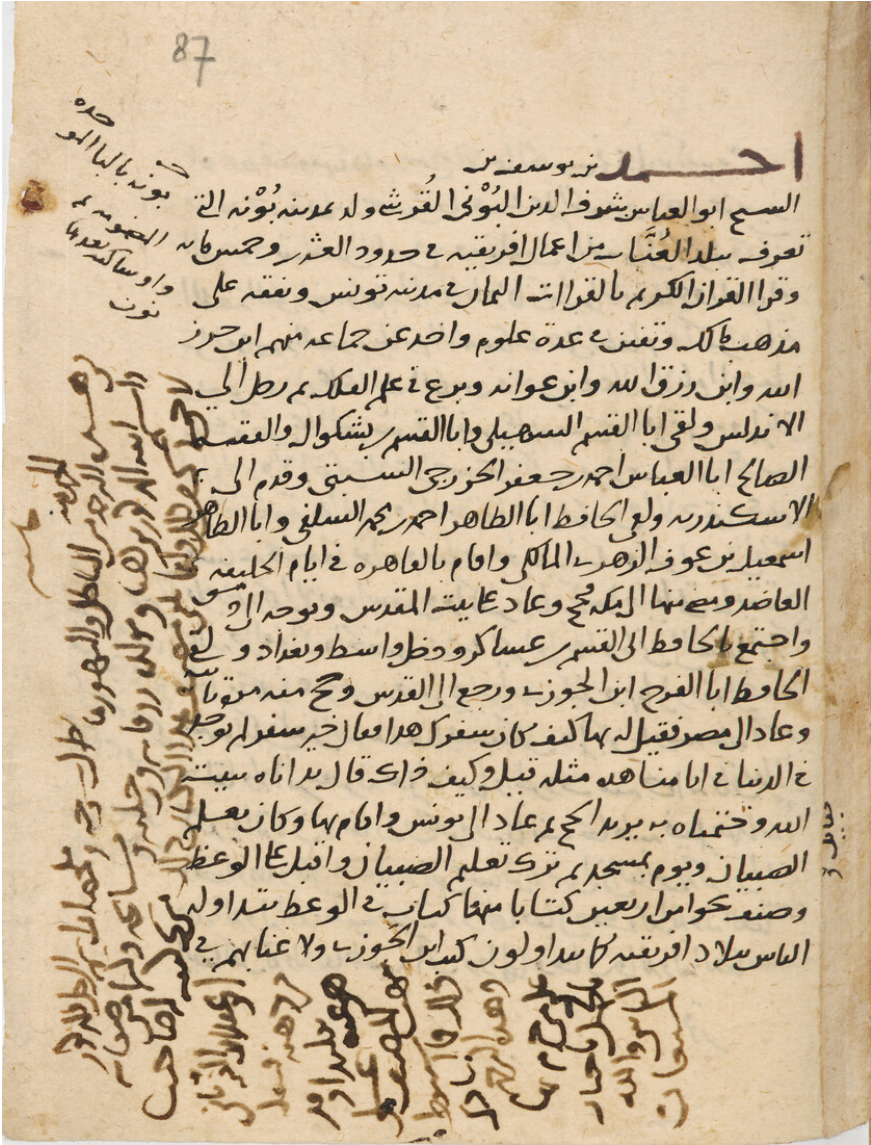


FIGURE 6.12 Al-Būnī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* (Courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Or. 14533, fol. 87a)

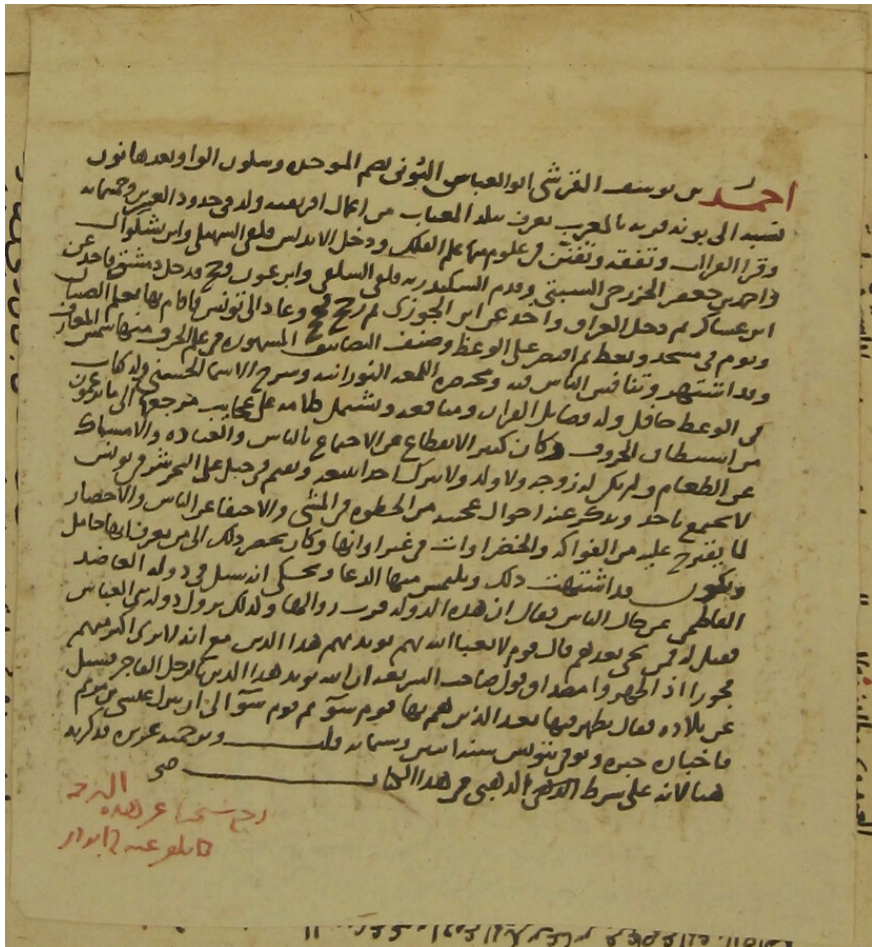


FIGURE 6.15 Al-Būnī's biography in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Lisān al-mizān* (Courtesy of Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 462, unnumbered slip inserted between fols. 51–52)

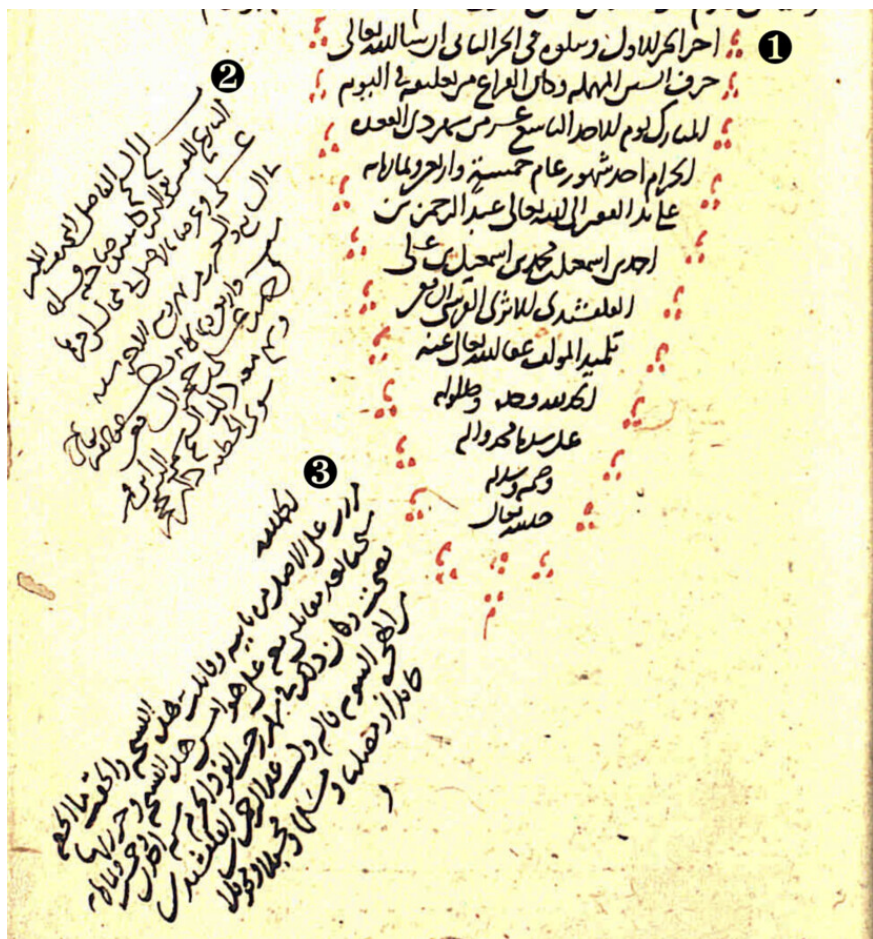


FIGURE 6.16 Final Paratexts at the End of Volume 1 of the Final Version of Ibn Hajar's *Lisān al-mizān* (Courtesy Rağıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, MS 347, fol. 253a)