Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (1377–1448): His Life and Historical Work

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1 Introduction

The Mamluk period witnessed a substantial number of scholarly families that appeared as dominant in many places in Egypt and Syria. This is due to several factors, such as the interest of sultans and amirs in promoting scholarship through the construction of madrasas and related infrastructures and the bestowal of money and gifts on scholars.¹ One of the most important factors that played a role in securing the prominence of scholarly families is the inheritance of religious positions among the family members, in which some of them inherited their fathers' positions while they were still younger than eight or nine years of age.² This played an important role in encouraging scholars to direct their children and grandchildren to study the Islamic sciences (e.g., jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, theology, literature, etc.) in order to take over their positions after them. Among the families that were famous during the Mamluk era is the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, which had a significant role and impact on the political and scientific life during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Qāḍī Shuhba (1377–1448) is probably the most famous person in this family, and perhaps he is the one who played the most prominent role in its fame. Since, to my knowledge, this scholar has not received much attention in modern academia, this paper is meant to be the first of several ones to follow that will shed light on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, his significance as a scholar, and his work as a historian.³ In the current paper, I will give an overview of his historical

1 Al-Ṣafaḍī reminds us of how the sultan, the amirs, and their wives bestowed money on the head of the doctor Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Maghribī and describes him as the saint of the century, al-Ṣafaḍī, *A'yān* i, 55.

2 See Berkey, formation 150–1. There are several examples, like Yūnus b. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Subkī, who took over his father's post after his death at the age of eight. Yūnus died as a young man at the age of twelve, and his stepfather Ibn Hījī inherited his functions after his death. Ibn Hījī, *Tārīkh* ii, 976.

3 There are no studies on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba in Arabic and only a handful of smaller studies in English that touch upon Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and even less on his work. One work that focuses

works as well as his life and family background. I believe that it is important to focus on his family's origins for several reasons, not just merely because he descends from a scholarly family, as I have mentioned above. It is also necessary to go back to his family's origin because it will help us to further understand Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's historiographical approaches, since my main argument in this paper is that his particular background had an impact on his equally particular writing and understanding of history. Hence, the paper consists of two major parts: The first deals with the origins of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family and their history until his lifetime. The second part addresses his life and his scholarly work, focusing on his history writings.

2 The Origins of the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba Family

The roots of the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba can be traced back to the tribe of Banū Asad⁴ from the branch of Banū Ghāḍira,⁵ which settled in Iraq during the era of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (634–44).⁶ In fact, many Arab tribes migrated from the Arabian Peninsula to Iraq and Syria during the reign of 'Umar (especially after the battle of Qādisiyya).⁷ Banū Ghāḍira was one of these tribes, as they migrated from Najd to Iraq and settled near Kufa and Karbala⁸ (and the place where they settled—al-Ghāḍiriyya—was named after them).⁹ The historian Muṣṭafā Jawād mentions that the village of al-Ghāḍiriyya was established in the early days of Islam after the migration of Banū Asad to it.¹⁰ Certainly, those

on his work as a faqih: Jaques, *Authority*; the superficial and at times incorrect introduction to the hitherto edited parts of the *Tarīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* by 'Adnān Darwīsh, published at the Ma'had al-'Ilmi al-Faransi li-l-Dirāsāt al-'Arabiyya; Reisman, in his article Holograph, studied some of the author's notes available at the Chester Beatty Library; and Massoud in his monograph *Chronicles*.

4 The tribe of Banū Asad is attributed to Asad b. Khuzayma b. Madraka b. Ilyās b. Muḍar al-'Adnānī and Asad b. Khuzayma, who had five children, namely Dūdān b. Asad, Kāhel b. Asad, 'Amr b. Asad, Sa'b b. Asad, and Ḥulma b. Asad. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family belongs to Dūdān b. Asad. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* xi, 153.

5 It is attributed to Ghāḍirab Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Dūdān b. Asad. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* xi, 84.

6 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān* v, 42; Jawād, *Mawsū'at* viii, 31.

7 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* iii, 487.

8 Ibn Ḥabīb mentions that there are three different branches called al-Ghāḍiriyya in the tribes of Banū Khuza'a, Banū Asad, and Banū Qays. The family of the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba is from al-Ghāḍiriyya of Banū Asad. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalaḥ* 35.

9 Al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam* iv, 183.

10 Jawād, *Mawsū'at* viii, 31.

FIGURE 4.1 The tribe of Ibn Qaḍī Shuhba

who settled there (or at least a significant number of them) were from the al-Ghāḍiriyya branch. Otherwise, the area would probably have been named after the main tribe (i.e., Banū Asad).

2.1 *The Intellectual and Political Doctrines of Banū Ghāḍira*

Arab tribes were split into two camps during the wars between ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his opponents (656–61), in which some of them supported ‘Alī while the others went against him.¹¹ Broadly speaking, most of the tribes that settled in Iraq are said to have supported ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, while the tribes that settled in Greater Syria supported his main contender for the caliphate, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. This is probably why many of the people who were inclined to accept the legitimacy of Mu‘āwiya migrated from Iraq to Syria.¹² Among the tribes that supported ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the tribe of Banū Asad, particularly the branch of al-Ghāḍiriyya, which supported him and his son al-Ḥusayn intellectually and militarily. By intellectually I mean that the well-known scholars from al-Ghāḍiriyya (re)produced the texts/chronicles that supported and praised ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and at the same time, they transmitted the chronicles that criticized Mu‘āwiya and delegitimized his rule.

A good example is that of Zirr b. Ḥubaysh al-Ghāḍirī al-Asadī,¹³ the famous scholar and companion of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and perhaps also one of his most fanatical supporters. This can be simply deduced from the fact that some historians gave Zirr b. Ḥubaysh the epithet of al-‘Alawī.¹⁴ More importantly, he also supported ‘Alī intellectually by transmitting narratives that praised ‘Alī or demeaned Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Al-Balādhurī, for instance, mentioned in his book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf a ḥadīth* transmitted by Zirr b. Ḥubaysh that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has said, “No one loves me except [a true] believer, and no one hates me except a hypocrite.”¹⁵ Furthermore, al-Balādhurī stated that Zirr b. Ḥubaysh added after this narrative that “[‘Alī] is the most knowledgeable judge among the Muslims.”¹⁶ Ibn al-Maghāzilī also reported in his book *Manāqib ‘Alī* (The virtues of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) two prophetic traditions transmitted by ‘Āṣim b.

11 The most famous battle that took place between ‘Alī and his opponents (‘Ā’isha, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, and ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās) is the war of Ṣiffin.

12 Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’it* 146.

13 Zirr b. Ḥubaysh is a well-known scholar and a disciple of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, which explains his hostility towards Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Anyway, his scholarship was highly regarded in both Sunni and Shi’ite circles.

14 The historians who described him as al-‘Alawī are: Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* xix, 29; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* ii, 935; al-Mazzī, *Tahdhīb* ix, 338; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* ii, 633.

15 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* ii, 97.

16 Ibid.

Abī l-Nujūd al-Ghāḍirī al-Asadī¹⁷ (who is one of the most prominent transmitters of the Quranic readings) from *Zirr b. Ḥubayṣh* and *ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd*. In the former, the Prophet tells ʿAlī, “your position to me is similar to Aaron’s position to Moses”;¹⁸ in the latter, the *ḥadīth* says, “Fāṭima has guarded her chastity therefore God forbade hellfire to accept her offspring.”¹⁹

On the other hand, *Zirr b. Ḥubayṣh* transmitted narratives that attacked and criticized Muʿāwiya. For example, al-Balādhurī and Nasr b. Muzāḥim mentioned a *ḥadīth* narrated by *Zirr b. Ḥubayṣh* (who heard it from ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd) that states: “If anyone sees Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān orating on a pulpit, [he must] beat his neck [with a sword].”²⁰ These types of narratives were transmitted not only by *Zirr b. Ḥubayṣh* from the al-Ghāḍiriyya tribe but also ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Nujūd al-Ghāḍirī al-Asadī, a student of *Zirr b. Ḥubayṣh*, who transmitted the abovementioned *ḥadīth* calling for people to kill Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān.

These texts show the tenacity of the remembrance of an unwavering stance of the scholars of Banū Ghāḍirain supporting ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and criticizing Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Thus, we can say with certainty that Banū Ghāḍira is remembered as having a clear affiliation with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib’s camp. This particular relation, which is imagined to have bound Banū Ghāḍira with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, can also be seen in the story that ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Nujūd taught—exclusively—to his stepson and student, Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Ghāḍirī al-Asadī. While they were taught the Quranic reading of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, his other students learned about a different Quranic reading, which had been transmitted by ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd.

During the early Islamic era, many scholars from Banū Ghāḍira are remembered as having engaged themselves in defending and supporting claims of Shiʿi leadership. These include the likes of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās al-Ghāḍirī²¹ and his father Abū Muḥammad ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā al-Ghāḍirī.²²

Militarily, Banū Asad in general and Banū Ghāḍira in particular are traditionally portrayed as having supported ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and his son al-Ḥusayn in their wars against their opponents. In the battle of Ṣiffin (and the other battles fought by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), for instance, most of Banū Asad are mentioned

17 ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Nujūd al-Ghāḍirī al-Asadī, one of the famous narrators of the Quran, died in 127/745.

18 Ibn al-Maghāzili, *Manāqib* 83.

19 Ibid. 417.

20 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* v, 130; Nasr b. Muzāḥim, *Waqʿit* 216.

21 He is the *muhaddith* and Quranic interpreter Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā al-Ghāḍirī, died in the year 300/913. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl* 326.

22 He is the *ḥadīth* specialist Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā al-Ghāḍirī. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl* 270.

FIGURE 4.2

Transmission of the Quranic reading of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

among his army, except Sammāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī²³ and a small group of Banū Asad (consisting of almost 100 people) who fled from Kufa to al-Raqqa—the stronghold of Mu'āwiya's supporters to join the camp of Mu'āwiya.²⁴

However, Banū Ghāḍira is not generally believed to have participated in al-Ḥusayn's army in his battle against Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. This was most probably due to their limited number since the battle of Karbala (61/680) occurred eleven years after the plague struck Kufa in the year 49/669.²⁵ This plague had a quite high mortality rate, especially among Banū Ghāḍira, as most of the tribe is reported to have vanished a few years before the battle.²⁶ Nonetheless, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī must have been aware of the relation between his father and Banū Ghāḍira as this may well be why he chose the area of the village of al-

23 Sammāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī, one of the chiefs of Banū Asad. He had a major role in converting many persons of his tribe from supporting 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān's camp. Some historians mention that 700 persons from Banū Asad moved from 'Alī's army to Mu'āwiya's army because of the incitement of Sammāk. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'it* 146; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* xxii, 294.

24 Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'it* 146.

25 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓim* v, 224.

26 Al-Mazzī, *Tahdhib* v, 53.

Ghāḍiriyya as a battleground for his war against the army of Yazīd.²⁷ Noticeably, Banū Ghāḍira are remembered as the ones who buried the body of Ḥusayn and his companions after their death in the battle.²⁸ Examining these texts makes it clear that the members of Banū Ghāḍira were so-called proto-Shiʿites and supporters of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the leadership of his family.²⁹

2.2 *The Migration of Members from the Tribe of Banū Ghāḍira to Greater Syria*³⁰

There are several reasons behind the migration of Banū Ghāḍira from Kufa to Greater Syria during the first and second Islamic centuries, such as ideological factors, natural disasters, economic factors, and exile. Here I will briefly discuss these reasons.

27 Al-Dīnūrī, *Akhbār* 263.

28 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* v, 455.

29 Here we must discuss what Shiʿism meant throughout Islamic history, and the difference between the terms “rāfiḍa” and “shīʿa.” The latter term (*shīʿa*) was used in the early Islamic era to describe those who supported ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib against his opponents. In this sense, using this term was not quite problematic in Sunni circles. For instance, many Sunni scholars (from early Islamic history till the Ayyubid era) were described as *shīʿa*, like Ismāʿīl al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), Abī Ishāq al-Subayʿī (d. 127/745), al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī (d. 349/960), and many others. Noticeably, being Shiʿites (or described as ones) did not negatively influence the status of those scholars during this era. On the other hand, at the beginning of the Ayyubid era, the term *shīʿa* acquired a more political connotation, especially after the abolition of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt. The accusation of being Shiʿite then had a serious repercussion since it implicitly meant that the person was affiliated with the Fatimids in some way or another, and in many cases those persons who were accused of being Shiʿites ended up in jail. (See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrīj* ii, 276). In the Mamluk period, being described as Shiʿites, was not to some extent problematic as we can see that al-Ṣafādī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mentioned some Shiʿite scholars in their books in a respectful manner (see al-Ṣafādī, *Aʿyān* i, 107; iv, 355; iv, 572; and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* i, 594; iii, 484; iv, 211). As for the term “rāfiḍa,” it always held a negative connotation in Sunni circles throughout Islamic history. This term was mainly used to describe persons who refused to accept the legitimacy of the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Therefore, any person accused of *rafīḍ* was regarded as a heretic, and there were many cases during the Mamluk period in which people who were accused of being *rāfiḍīs* were put on trial and executed (Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Hījī, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mentioned examples of this. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xviii, 965; Ibn Hījī, *Tārīkh* i, 254; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* i, 358; ii, 60).

30 The Ghāḍiriyya members who settled in Syria were from the branches of Banū Asad (whose members settled in al-Raqqa, Ḥūrān, and Damascus) and Banū Qays (whose members settled in Hums). Ibn Mandah, *Mustakhraj* ii, 231; ii, 254, 551; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* ii, 257.

2.2.1 The Ideological Factors

The majority of the members from Banū Ghāḍira who migrated from Kufa to al-Raqqā may have held different ideologies than their fellow tribesmen. In general, Banū Ghāḍira were loyal to 'Alī, as I have discussed above. Nonetheless, some of them, led by Sammāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī,³¹ appear to have been more inclined to support Mu'āwiya, which prompted them to migrate from Kufa, the stronghold of the loyalists of 'Alī in 36/656, to al-Raqqā, which was predominantly inhabited by Mu'āwiya's supporters at the time.

We can actually confirm that some members from Banū Ghāḍira or Banū Asad indeed migrated to al-Raqqā by checking their *nisba*. For instance, the *nisba* of one of the teachers of al-Balādhurī was al-Ghāḍirī al-Raqqī.³² Also, al-Qushayrī, in his history of al-Raqqā, mentions many scholars and poets from Banū Asad or Banū Ghāḍira who were from al-Raqqā.³³

2.2.2 Natural Disasters

As mentioned, in the year 49/669, a major epidemic of plague³⁴ broke out in Kufa and is reported to have caused the death of many people from Banū Ghāḍira. Therefore, some of them are said to have migrated from Kufa to the Levant to flee the plague. Among those who migrated from Kufa to Damascus seems to have been the aforementioned Zirr b. Ḥubaysh.³⁵

2.2.3 Economic Factors

Trading opportunities clearly were another motive behind the migration from Kufa to Damascus for some of the members from Banū Ghāḍira. Of course, Damascus was the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate and the center of commerce until the second half of the second Islamic century. This made it the mecca of merchants at this period; the famous merchant 'Abada b. Abī Lubāba al-Asadī al-Ghāḍirī,³⁶ like many other members of his tribe, reportedly moved there from Kufa.

31 Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'it* 146.

32 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* ii, 97.

33 Al-Qushayrī, *Tārīkh* 158, 173, 122, 110 67.

34 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓẓim* v, 224.

35 Al-Mazzī, *Tahdhīb* v, 53.

36 He is the merchant 'Abada b. Abī Lubāba al-Asadī al-Ghāḍirī (d. ca. 127AH). See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* iii, 459.

2.2.4 Exile

Exile seems to have been another reason that led some of the members of al-Ghāḍiriyya's tribe to leave their homeland. An example of this is the poet al-Ḥakam b. 'Abadal al-Asadī al-Ghāḍirī,³⁷ who was forced to leave Kufa and settled in Damascus because of his exile by the anti-Umayyad ruler 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in the course of the second civil war (680–92).³⁸

2.3 *The Family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and How They Reached and Settled in the City of Shuhba*

It is not known exactly when the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba settled in the village of Shuhba, in the region of Ḥawrān, close to today's Jordan border. One possible hypothesis is that they migrated from Kufa to Shuhba in two stages. The first stage must have been their migration from Kufa to al-Raqqā along with Sammāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī, who left due to his ideological disagreement with the rest of the tribe, as discussed above. The second stage represented their migration from al-Raqqā to the village of Shuhba, in which, meanwhile, the Banū Asad had centered. The migration of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's predecessors to Shuhba might be explained by their feeling of weakness in al-Raqqā where they must have settled far away from the rest of their tribe. As al-Qushayrī explains, until the Abbasid period, the Ghāḍiriyya branches who lived in al-Raqqā far from the rest of the tribe in the vicinities of Shuhba were unable to protect themselves from any aggression and they had to seek protection from the chiefs of some other tribes.³⁹

The weakness of al-Ghāḍiriyya and Banū Asad probably had a major impact on their decision to travel to the village of Shuhba, especially since they used to be a quite strong and influential tribe. Their choice of the village of Shuhba was perhaps also due to the presence of some of the branches of Banū Asad in this region, even before the emergence of Islam. The French historian René Dussaud has shown that there were some Arab tribes, including Banū Asad, in the village of Shuhba and its surroundings even before the emergence of Islam, as we can infer from the inscription found on the tombstone of the king of al-Ḥīra, Imru' al-Qays (d. 328).⁴⁰ Noticeably, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba in 759/1358 also affirms that Banū Asad lived in this area, as he mentions that war had erupted

37 He is the poet al-Ḥakam b. 'Abadal al-Asadī al-Ghāḍirī. He died in Damascus during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (686–705). See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* xxvi, 15.

38 Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh* xxvi, 15.

39 Al-Qushayrī, *Tārīkh*, 68, 96, 105, 169, 174.

40 Dussaud, *Arabes* 34–5.

between Banū Hilāl and Banū Asad near Shuhba and that there were many fatalities among the Banū Asad.⁴¹ This also suggests that some branches from Banū Asad lived in this area from (at least) 300 years before the emergence of Islam till the time of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba.

2.4 *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's Family in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*

The family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba is regarded as one of the most important families who played an important role in intellectual life during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. During the Ayyubid period, their role was confined to the area of Shuhba and its surroundings. Their great grandfather, Jamāl al-Dīn, was a well-known and influential shaykh in Ḥawrān.⁴² He was the first person in the family to pursue a scholarly career and be appointed as a judge. This allegedly happened after his travel to Baghdad in order to ask the Abbasid caliph to be assigned as the judge of the town of Shuhba.^{43,44} Thereafter, this position became hereditary among his family, as it was occupied by his son Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad⁴⁵ and later his grandson Najm al-Dīn 'Umar. Here, I will briefly speak about the role of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family during the period in which they lived.

2.5 *The Family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and Their Role in the Town of Shuhba and the Surrounding Areas*

The role of the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba was confined to the town of Shuhba and Ḥawrān during the Ayyubid era and the beginning of the Mamluk era. For instance, Jamāl al-Dīn was a judge in his hometown of Shuhba, and according to al-Jazarī, he was quite influential among his students and followers within

41 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* ii, 130.

42 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh* ii, 244.

43 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *I'lām* (Yeni Cami manuscript) 101^a.

44 During the Mamluk and Ayyubid periods, every village or town used to have an imam to lead the prayers and to work as a judge as well. The person who used to occupy the two positions did not used to be a well-known scholar but rather someone who memorized the Quran and had a knowledge of *fiqh* rulings.

45 There is not much information about him in the sources, but we can roughly estimate that he probably was a judge during the reign of Baybars (r. 1260–77), and we can say with certainty that he was a judge during the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalawūn until his death in 687. We can deduce this piece of information from Ibn al-Jazarī's biography of Sharaf al-Dīn's son Najm al-Dīn 'Umar as he mentions that the latter remained a judge for 40 years, which means that he inherited his father's position around the year 687 (since Najm al-Dīn died in 727), and probably this is the year in which his father died.

FIGURE 4.3 The extended family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba

the area of Ḥawrān.⁴⁶ As for his son, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, he inherited his father’s position as a judge after his father’s death, and he remained in this position until his death sometime around the year 687/1288. It is not known exactly when his father Jamāl al-Dīn died, but it was most probably at the beginning of the Mamluk era.⁴⁷

All branches of the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba actually descended from the abovementioned Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, judge of Shuhba in the Ḥawrān. He had four children, two of whom were to some extent well-known scholars, while the other two did not pursue scholarly careers (yet their descendants did).

Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar is probably the eldest son of Sharaf al-Dīn. We can deduce this from the fact that he inherited the position of a judge after the death of his father since, as we already know, it was custom that the eldest son inherit his father’s positions. Furthermore, he was named as one of his brother Kamāl al-Dīn’s (born in 653/1255)⁴⁸ teachers, which suggests that he was indeed the eldest, since it would not make sense that the younger brother taught the elder one.

Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar had two sons who pursued scholarly careers. The first one was ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī who became the judge of Shuhba in 727/1327 after the death of his father and remained in this position for 22 years until his death by the plague in 749/1348. The second one was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (born in 694/1295). Shams al-Dīn was the grandfather of Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba. He was sent to Damascus by his father who encouraged him to pursue a scholarly career in Damascus, which provided many more opportunities for a young scholar than the small town of Shuhba.⁴⁹

Shams al-Dīn had two sons, who also pursued scholarly careers, and a daughter who married ‘Alā’ al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī. Their son, Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī, also became a famous historian.⁵⁰ The first one was Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b.

46 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh* ii, 244. The source of al-Jazarī’s detailed information about the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba in his work *Tārīkh ḥawādith al-zamān* is Jamāl al-Dīn’s close friend Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, as they allegedly used to have long discussions about personal and scholarly issues (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh* ii, 172). Interestingly, Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba had no knowledge of the information al-Jazarī mentioned except the part about his grandfather’s travel to Baghdad, as he states in his book *al-I‘lām bi-Tārīkh al-Islām* (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *al-I‘lām bi-tārīkh al-islām* f. 101^a).

47 See note 44.

48 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh* ii, 172.

49 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* iii, 51.

50 Al-Ghazzī, *Bahjat* 71. For more information on Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī, see Massoud, Ibn Ḥijjī.

Muḥammad (720–89/1320–87).⁵¹ Jamāl al-Dīn had one son,⁵² Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf,⁵³ who was a judge in al-Zabadānī and died in Damascus in 788/1386. As for Shams al-Dīn's second son, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who died in Damascus in 737–90/1337–88,⁵⁴ only one of his sons, Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, showed interest in pursuing a scholarly career. Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba had three sons who pursued scholarly careers and a daughter. The first son was Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 874/1469),⁵⁵ who had two daughters and a son. The first daughter was Sa'ādāt bt. Badr al-Dīn (d. 897/1492),⁵⁶ who was married to al-Khawāja 'Abd al-Ghanī b. al-Muzalliq,⁵⁷ and they had one son, who died shortly after the death of his mother at the age of ten.⁵⁸ The second daughter (whose name is unknown) was married to Burhān al-Buṣrawī,⁵⁹ and the son was al-Zaynī 'Abd al-Qādir, who was killed in 909/1504.⁶⁰ Sarī al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Abī Bakr (d. 861/1457), the second son of Taqī al-Dīn,⁶¹ had only one son, whose name was Bahā' al-Dīn b. Sarī al-Dīn (905/1500).⁶² The third son was Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr whom we have no information about, but his name was mentioned in the work that his brother Badr al-Dīn wrote about the biography of their father.⁶³

The second son of the judge of Shuhba, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, was Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Born in Shuhba in 653/1255, he was a student of his brother in Shuhba before his migration to Damascus. He was the first person from the family to have the epithet of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba. The migration of Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb to Damascus actually marked the appearance of the family of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba on the scholarly scene in al-Sham. Kamāl al-Dīn was sent to Damascus by

51 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* iii, 237.

52 Ibid. 208.

53 Ibid. 207.

54 Ibid. 252.

55 Al-Baṣrawī, *Tārīkh* 44.

56 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* iii, 1128.

57 He is al-Khawāja Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghanī b. al-Muzalliq (d. 916/1510), the administrator of the religious endowment of Ibn Shams al-Dīn b. al-Muzalliq. See Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith* 457.

58 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* iii, 1131.

59 Burhān al-Dīn al-Buṣrawī was killed in 899/1493. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith* 240.

60 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufaḥḥat* 221.

61 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith* 79.

62 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mut'at*, ii 761.

63 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 475.

FIGURE 4.4 The first branch of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family

his father Sharaf al-Dīn in order to pursue a scholarly career there. Most probably, this was because there were no available scholarly posts in the small town of Shuhba in this period since the judgeship position was reserved for his brother, Najm al-Dīn 'Umar. Therefore, Kamāl al-Dīn moved to Damascus and worked as a tutor for the sons of amirs and elites, while his brother inherited their father's position as a judge and started to prepare his eldest son 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī to inherit the post after him. However, as mentioned above, Najm al-Dīn 'Umar's other son, Shams al-Dīn (who is the grandfather of the protagonist of this paper, Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba) was sent to Damascus to follow in the footsteps of his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn, who had been sent to Damascus for the very same reason (i.e., the lack of available posts

FIGURE 4.5

The second branch of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family

in Shuhba). Kamāl al-Dīn did not get married, and he had no children. He died in 726/1326.⁶⁴

The third son of Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad was ʿĪsā b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad. We have very little information about him, probably because, as far as we know, he did not pursue a scholarly career. ʿĪsā's son, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā, was a scholar whom we know very little about as well. However, the latter's son, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, was the chief of the chancellery (*kātib al-inshāʾ*) in Damascus and Gaza,⁶⁵ and he had quite a good relationship with the famous scholar al-Ṣafadī, as suggested by the many literary correspondences that the latter mentions in his work *al-Tadhkira*.⁶⁶ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad died in Gaza in 764/1363.⁶⁷

The fourth son of Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad was Abū Bakr b. Sharaf al-Dīn. We know almost nothing about him except that his grandson Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ishāq b. Abū Bakr (d. 785/1383) pursued a scholarly career.⁶⁸

64 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* xviii, 275.

65 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat*, f. 204^b; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* ii, 197.

66 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* v, 42.

67 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mistakenly mentions him in the obituaries of the year 762.

68 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* iii, 102.

FIGURE 4.6
The third branch of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family

FIGURE 4.7
The fourth branch of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family

3 The Life and Works of Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Qāḍī Shuhba al-Asadī

After the discussion of the origins and whereabouts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's family in the previous parts of this paper, I will now discuss in the next parts the life and works of Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba. I will focus in particular on examining his historiographical works, but I will not discuss his *Fiqhī* works.

3.1 *His Early Life*

His full name is Abū l-Ṣidq Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Dhu'ayb b. Mushar-

raf b. Qāḍī Shuhba al-Shāfiʿī al-Ashʿarī. He was born in Damascus in 779/1377. He learned the Quran and summaries of *fiqh* and principles of religious works while he was eight years old. His father also gave him special attention, as he seems to have hoped that his son would inherit his religious positions. Tellingly, Taqī al-Dīn's father reportedly already made him the imam of the prayers during the holy month of Ramadan when he was only nine years old, and he continued this for three years until his father's death.⁶⁹

3.2 *His Education and Main Teachers*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba studied under many scholars of his time, especially jurists, as he was interested mainly in studying Shāfiʿī jurisprudence. Therefore, he was more famous for being a jurist than a historian. Almost all the historians who discuss the biography of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba in their works described him as a jurist and not a historian. The only exception is al-Suyūṭī, who describes him in his work as “naẓm al-ʿuqyān” or “the historian of al-Sham.”⁷⁰ Some of Taqī al-Dīn's teachers influenced his personality and life substantially. Among other teachers he benefited from, his most important influencers were Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ghazzī,⁷¹ Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, who taught him jurisprudence and influenced his style, his father-in-law,⁷² Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maktūm,⁷³ who taught him jurisprudence and Arabic, and his cousin the historian, Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī, who taught him history and was one of the reasons why Taqī al-Dīn became a historian.

3.3 *His Career*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba assumed no less than 13 posts during his reign. His jobs were not limited to one particular specialty, as he worked as a judge, teacher, and orator. He occupied some of these posts until his death, such as teaching in schools and mosques, while he was deposed from other posts, such as the judiciary and oratorship. In this part, I will discuss briefly each of the different posts he occupied.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba started his career at the young age of twelve after he inherited his father's posts and while he remained under the guardianship of his

69 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamāt* 476.

70 Al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm* 49.

71 He is the jurisprudence scholar Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā al-Ghazzī (d. 799/1397). Al-Zarkalī, *Aʿlām* v, 105.

72 See Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamāt* 464. He is the judge of Greater Syria, Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403). Al-Zarkalī, *Aʿlām* v, 46.

73 Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maktūm al-Suwaydī (d. 797/1395). Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ* i, 502.

father's friend, Sarī al-Dīn al-Maslātī.⁷⁴ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba assumed his father's jobs after he reached puberty, sometime between 793/1391 and 798/1396, in a ceremony that was attended by his guardian Sarī al-Dīn al-Maslātī and many scholars and judges.⁷⁵ However, he only assumed his first real job, other than the ones he inherited from his father, after 800/1398, when he became a teacher in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. Hereafter, he occupied many other jobs.

Regarding his work in the judiciary, he at first worked as an assistant judge (ca. 820/1417).⁷⁶ Then, he officially became a judge in 842/1438 when Burhān al-Dīn al-Bā'ūnī⁷⁷ resigned from this position.⁷⁸ Regarding his career as a teacher in the mosques and schools, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba taught in several schools and mosques in Damascus. However, it appears that he did not officially teach in most of them. Rather, he is reported to have had to pay huge sums of money to the teachers so they would give their positions to him. According to his biographer, this is why he went through financial difficulties, as he had a lot of debts.⁷⁹ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba made sure his sons would occupy some of his positions, so he gave some of them to his sons Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Sarī al-Dīn Ḥamza, and Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf.⁸⁰

3.4 *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and the Science of History*

There are several factors that helped draw Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's attention to historiography, the most important of which were social ones, such as his kinship relation with the famous Damascene historian Ibn 'Asākir. His grandmother was allegedly related to Ibn 'Asākir's brother through marriage and was hence his descendant.⁸¹ This relationship probably motivated him to study history. For instance, many other Muslim scholars throughout Islamic history tried to link their genealogy to the Prophet Muḥammad, one of his companions, or one of the prominent scholars, since this was a matter of pride, as many biographical works clearly show. Anyway, the following chart shows the kinship relationship between Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and the Damascene historian Ibn 'Asākir.

74 He is the judge Sarī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Maslātī (d. 799/1397). Ibn Taghrī-birdī, *Nujūm* xii, 160.

75 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 486.

76 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 489.

77 He is the judge Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Bā'ūnī (d. 870/1465). Al-Zarkālī, *A'lām* i, 30.

78 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* vii, 391.

79 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 473.

80 Ibid. 475.

81 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Thaghr* 168.

FIGURE 4.8
The lineage of the mother of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba

Furthermore, there was his growing up in a house that probably contained a lot of historiographical books since his grandfather, Shams al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, was interested in studying history and owned many history and *sīra* works. Ibn al-ʿĀqūlī, who was one of the students of Shams al-Dīn, mentioned that the latter was interested in history and had good knowledge of it.⁸² Naturally, people would obtain historical knowledge through reading, and this would suggest, from my point of view, that Shams al-Dīn, like most other scholars, had quite a large collection of historiographical works in his library. Most probably, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba inherited this collection through his father, as both were the only heirs, and he then read historiographical and biographical dictionaries, which motivated him to study history.

Finally, there also was the fact that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba was a disciple of his cousin, the historian Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī, who seems to have been the main reason behind Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's decision to become a historian. Ibn Ḥijjī himself studied under many influential historians, like Ibn Kathīr⁸³ and Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī,⁸⁴ who in turn had studied under other influential historians, such as al-Dhahabī⁸⁵ and al-Birzālī.⁸⁶ This influenced his style of historiographical writing, since it combined the styles of the aforementioned historians. Ibn Kathīr, for instance, was mainly interested in recording political and social events, while he was less interested in biographies, as he borrowed the style and approach of his teacher al-Birzālī (except when it came to the scholars' biographies as al-Birzālī, unlike Ibn Kathīr, was interested in them as well). Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī,⁸⁷ on the other hand, was more interested in the biographies of scholars and some amirs and was less interested in recording political and social events. In this regard, Ibn Rāfiʿ followed in the footsteps of his teacher al-Dhahabī, who was broadly interested in the biographies of Muslim scholars, focusing especially on the biographies of *ḥadīth* scholars, as we can infer from his two works *Kitāb Tārīkh al-Islām* and *Sīyar aʿlām al-nubalā*. Moreover, one of al-Dhahabī's notebooks shows his interest in mainly *ḥadīth* scholars.

82 Ibn al-ʿĀqūlī, *Dirāya* 378.

83 He is the historian ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr (d. 774/1373). Al-Zarkālī, *Aʿlām* i, 320.

84 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* iv, 13.

85 He is the historian Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1339). Al-Zarkālī, *Aʿlām* v, 326.

86 He is the historian ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Barzālī (d. 739/1339). Al-Zarkālī, *Aʿlām* v, 182.

87 He is the historian Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ b. Hajras al-Sallāmī (d. 774/1372). Al-Zarkālī, *Aʿlām* vi, 124.

FIGURE 4.9 The chain of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's teachers of history

In his summary of Ibn al-Dubaythī's history work, *Dhayl tārikh Baghdad*,⁸⁸ al-Dhahabī chose to include the biographies of *ḥadīth* scholars, or people who had a broad interest in *ḥadīth*, instead of including significant poets, doctors, or authors.⁸⁹ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, however, combined both approaches as he started by mentioning the political and social events in a certain year, then proceeded with mentioning the biographies of the people who died during that year.

I will further expatiate on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's methodology when I discuss his historiographical works below.

3.5 His Death

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba died in Damascus in the year 851/1448 in his house in the neighborhood of al-ʿUqayba, outside the walls of Damascus, near the mosque of *al-Tawba* (in which he used to teach after *al-Fajr* prayer till *al-Ẓuhr* prayer). He apparently died quite suddenly, yet he had a major funeral. Also, when the news that he had died reached his friend Ibn Ḥajar, the latter is reported to have prayed *Ṣalāt al-Ghāʾib* (a prayer for the person who dies in a faraway land). Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba was buried in his family's grave at the Bāb Ṣaghīr cemetery, as established by Kamāl al-Dīn b. Qadi Shuhba, the first person from the family who migrated to Damascus. The burial was allegedly located near the graves of the martyrs of Karbala and the sons of al-Ḥusayn and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

88 Al-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar* i, 223.

89 Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Muqaddimat* i, 127.

3.6 *His Works and Drafts*

Ibn Qadi Shuhba was a prolific author despite the many positions he held. This was most probably a result of his excellent time management, as, according to his biography, he used to teach during the time between *al-Fajr* and *al-Ẓuhr* prayers, and from *al-Ẓuhr* till *al-ʿIshāʾ* prayers, he used to write and prepare for his coming classes.⁹⁰

All the works and drafts⁹¹ Ibn Qadi Shuhba wrote were either juristic or historiographical. It is noteworthy that most of these works were historiographical ones, and that he, nonetheless, was mostly known as a jurist, as I discussed above. In this paper, I will discuss his historiographical works and drafts, which will be divided into two categories: the works he wrote for the public and the works he wrote for his personal use.

3.6.1 His Nonhistoriographical Works

The following is a brief list of his nonhistoriographical works and drafts, which are mainly *fiqhī* ones:

1. *Kifāyat al-muhtāj ilā sharḥ al-minhāj (al-Sharḥ al-kabīr)*:⁹² This work is a commentary on the work of *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī. However, he did not finish it, as he stopped at the *Bāb al-Khulʿ*.⁹³
2. *Iqnāʿ al-muhtāj ilā sharḥ al-minhāj (al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr)*: Another work he did not finish, as he stopped at the *Bāb al-Sullam*.⁹⁴
3. *Nukat kubrā ʿalā al-tanbīh (al-Sharḥ al-kabīr)*: This work is a commentary on the work *al-Tanbīh fī l-fiqh* of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. He commented on the part from *Bāb al-Ṣiyām* to *Bāb al-Nikāḥ* (but he did not finish it).⁹⁵
4. *Kāfī al-nabīh fī nukat al-tanbīh (al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr)*.⁹⁶
5. *Fatawā Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*:⁹⁷ This work is a collection of his legal rulings. However, we are not sure if he compiled the work himself or if one of his students carried out this task.

90 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 480.

91 By drafts I mean the notes he wrote for his personal use.

92 This work is still a manuscript in Maktabat al-Asad in Damascus. It is written in two volumes, which have the shelf marks 9185 and 17635.

93 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 477.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 This work is still a manuscript in Maktabat al-Asad in Damascus. Its title is *Kāfī al-nabīh fī taḥrīr al-tanbīh*, which has the shelf mark 16878.

97 This work is still a manuscript in Maktabat the Mufti of Damascus, Abū l-Yusr ʿAbdīn, under the shelf mark 33.

6. *Nukat 'alā l-muhimmāt*:⁹⁸ Most probably, this work was compiled/written by one of his students as his son presages in his writing about his father.
7. *Tafsīr al-qur'ān*:⁹⁹ This is an unknown work, which has not been mentioned by either the contemporaries of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba or the people who are familiar with his works. It was only mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfa in his early modern bio-bibliographical work *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. Probably, Ḥājjī Khalīfa was mistaken since even Badr al-Dīn, the son of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, did not mention any *tafsīr* work in his list of his father's works. So, perhaps Ḥājjī Khalīfa had seen a *tafsīr* text in the hand of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and mistakenly thought that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba was the author, given that the latter used to copy many other scholars' works.¹⁰⁰ What we are sure about is that Ḥājjī Khalīfa was familiar with Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's handwriting, as the former had consulted the latter's works in his two works *Kashf al-ẓunūn*¹⁰¹ and *Sullam al-wuṣūl*.¹⁰²
8. *Sanad fī l-ḥadīth*:¹⁰³ This small treatise consists of ten folios in which he mentions the *ḥadīth* works he heard and for which he obtained *ijāzāt* (permissions).

3.6.2 His Historiographical Works

As suggested, this section will be divided into two categories: the works he wrote for the public and the works he wrote for his personal use.

3.6.2.1 *The Works He Wrote for the Public*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba wrote several historiographical works. The perspectives, forms, and authorship of these books varied. Some of them dealt with universal history, like his book *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh ahl al-islām*, in which he wrote about the history of Islam in general. Some other works were more specialized, like *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya*, in which he focused on the prosopography of Shāfi'ī scholars. Also, some of these works have remained just drafts, while others have been edited and formally published. Regarding the authorship, some of these works were written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba alone while he coauthored others:

98 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* i, 438.

99 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* ii, 1914.

100 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 476.

101 Ḥājjī Khalīfa copied many works of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba.

102 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Sullam* i, 62.

103 This treatise is still a manuscript and exists in the library of Princeton University under shelf mark 795H.

3.6.2.1.1 *Takmil tārikh ibn Ḥijjī*

This is Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's first historiographical work, and his starting point for many others to come. Furthermore, he trained and practiced writing history while conducting this work, which he wrote after his teacher Ibn Ḥijjī—just before his death—asked him to complete his unfinished work. Ibn Ḥijjī wrote a historiographical work that deals with the history of the years between 741/1340 and 815/1412. However, he died before completing his work, as he did not write anything about the events that occurred between the years 748/1347 and 768/1367.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba coauthored this work and completed it following the same style and approach of Ibn Ḥijjī in doing so.¹⁰⁵ Ibn Ḥijjī surely would not have asked Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba to complete his work if he did not believe the latter was qualified enough to carry out this task, since Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba showed great interest in history during the many years in which he was a student of Ibn Ḥijjī.

3.6.2.1.2 *Dhayl 'alā tārikh ibn Kathīr*¹⁰⁶

This seven-volume work was originally based on Ibn Ḥijjī's history, which they coauthored.¹⁰⁷ However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba added to his teacher's work many

¹⁰⁴ The reason behind Ibn Ḥijjī's decision to not record the events of that year is that he wanted to write a *dhayl* for Ibn Kathīr's work. However, there are two versions of Ibn Kathīr's history. The first version, which was widely circulated during the time of Ibn Ḥijjī, ends after dealing with events of the year 740, while the second version, where each year was listed separately, ends with the events of the year 768. I would suggest that Ibn Ḥijjī probably started writing a *dhayl* for the first version of Ibn Kathīr's work, then he discovered the second version of the work after writing about the events of the year 748. Therefore, he continued writing starting from 769 and did not deal with the period between 748 and 768. I came to this conclusion because I do not believe that it was a coincidence that Ibn Kathīr's second version of his history work ends with the year 768 and Ibn Ḥijjī's work starts with the year 769. The similarities in style and organization between the two works (except that Ibn Kathīr tended to neglect many biographies) further suggests that Ibn Ḥijjī aimed to write a *dhayl* of Ibn Kathīr's work.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* iv, 13.

¹⁰⁶ This work was mentioned by Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba. Three manuscripts of this work were found, all written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba: 1. The first one is located in Chester Beatty Library in Dublin under shelf mark 5527. This volume covers 14 years (the period between 797 and 810), and David C. Reisman wrote an article about it in the *MSR* (1998). 2. The second volume is located in Gotha Library under shelf mark 1574 and covers eleven years (between 824 and 834). (I am currently working on the edition of this manuscript.) 3. The third manuscript (which I have edited as well) is located in the collection of the India Office Library (Arab manuscripts) under shelf mark 3805. This volume covers three separate years (841, 842, and 846).

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* iv, 13.

events that occurred in al-Shām and elsewhere as well as biographies, which he collected from the works of, among many other historians, al-ʿIrāqī, al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥabīb, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn al-Furāt, and Ibn Duqmāq. This *Dhayl* covers the period from 741/1340 to 840/1437. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba kept recording the events that occurred after the year 840/1437, as I have found an autograph manuscript of his in which he records the events of several scattered years (i.e., 841, 842, and 846).¹⁰⁸ I have also noticed that some later historians quoted events from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's history that occurred in the year 851.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, it has become clear to me that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba continued writing his historiographical work until just before his death because it covered a period of around 110 *hijri* years.

When it comes to the methodology and organization of this work, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, as he mentions in his introduction to the work, followed the same methodology of his shaykh Ibn Ḥijjī in his work.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, probably under the influence of earlier historians, such as Ibn Aybak al-Dimyāṭī¹¹¹ and Ibn al-Misallātī,¹¹² gave special attention to the history of scholarly families.¹¹³ For instance, whenever he wrote a biography of a person from a scholarly family, he continued to mention other members of his/her family who also pursued a scholarly career.

3.6.2.1.3 *Mukhtaṣar dhayl tārikh Ibn Kathīr*

This book is an abridgment of his book *Dhayl ʿalā tārikh Ibn kathīr*, which, as just mentioned, was in turn built on the historiographical work of his teacher Ibn Ḥijjī. The size of this abridgment is almost one-third of the original work.¹¹⁴ As for the methodology and organization of this abridgment, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba followed a different organization method than the original work. He followed the organization method of his shaykh Ibn Ḥijjī in the original, whereas, in the abridgment, he decided to follow al-Dhahabī's organization of his *Tārikh al-Islām*, especially when it came to the biographical entries, which al-Dhahabī arranged alphabetically for each year in order to facilitate the search for a spe-

¹⁰⁸ This manuscript, which I have recently edited, is in the holdings of the India Office Library (Arab manuscripts) under the shelf mark 3805.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris* ii, 20; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Thaḡhr* 258.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārikh* i, 111.

¹¹¹ He is Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aybak al-Dimyāṭī (d. 749/1348). See al-Zarkalī, *Aʿlām* i, 102.

¹¹² He is Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Misallātī (d. 771/1370). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*.

¹¹³ See, for example, Ibn Aybak, *Tarājim* i, 243; Ibn al-Misallātī's manuscript of *Wafayāt* f. 246.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārikh* i, 111.

cific person in it.¹¹⁵ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also followed al-Dhahabī's organization in the way he detailed the works of each author he included in his biographical entries. This specific organization, in addition to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's explicit documentation of the sources for each piece of information he included in this work, was the reason behind Ḥajjī Khālifa's dependency on this work.¹¹⁶

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba only dealt with selected years from the original history, which are the 67 years from 741/1340 to 808/1406. Most of the information in this book was taken from the works of earlier historians, like al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥabīb, al-ʿIrāqī, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, al-Ḥusaynī, and Ibn Sanad. Anyhow, I cannot discuss here the full list of sources used in this work as this would probably require an entire article in itself.

3.6.2.1.4 *al-Iʿlām bi-tārīkh al-Islām al-muntaqā min tārīkh al-Islām li-l-dhahabī wa-mā uḍḍifa ilayhi min tārīkh ibn Kathīr wa-l-Kutubī wa ghayrihim*¹¹⁷

This book is the biggest and most comprehensive work of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba. As we can infer from the title, the historical materials in this work were collected from earlier sources such as, among many others, *Tārīkh al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* of Ibn Kathīr, and *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh* of Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī. *Al-Iʿlām bi-tārīkh al-islām* covers the period between 200 and 799.¹¹⁸

I must note that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's choice of the first year that this work covers (i.e., 200) is quite odd and unprecedented, since most of the historians who dealt with early Islamic history either started their works by dealing with the creation of the world up to their own eras (e.g., al-Balkhī in *Kitāb al-Badʿ wa-l-taʾrīkh*, al-Ṭabarī in *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, and Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*) or with the beginning of Islam up to their own eras (e.g., al-Dhahabī in *Tārīkh al-Islām* and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī in *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*). It is quite peculiar as well that the starting point of the three works that were Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's main sources in writing his

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Ibid., 196–9, 213, etc.

¹¹⁷ This work has several surviving manuscripts all of which are autographs of the author. These manuscripts exist in different libraries: 1. Two volumes are held in Morocco in *al-Khizāna al-ʿamma bi-l-Rabāt* under classmark (94), in which the first volume covers 109 years (from 451–560) and the second volume covers 69 years (561–630). 2. One volume is held in Sulaymanyeh library in Istanbul under classmark (1403), which covers 70 years (600–670). 3. One volume from the collection of Yeni Cami also in the Sulaymanyeh library under classmark (864) covers the period from 701–40 (though the last 20 folios of this volume are not written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba).

¹¹⁸ Badr al-Din b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 479.

work was the beginning of Islam, while *al-Iʿlām bi-tārīkh al-Islām* started by dealing with the year 200. One might speculate that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba tried to avoid dealing with the problematic period of early Islam (mainly starting from ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's reign until the early Abbasid era), especially when his tribe had a prominent role in the political turmoil in this era. As I have mentioned above, the branch of Banū Ghāḍira, from which Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba is descended, is remembered to have supported ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib against his opponents and his son Ḥusayn in his battle against Yazīd b. Muʿawiy and adopted Shiʿism after the formation/crystallization of the Islamic sects. Had Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba dealt with the first 150 years of Islamic history in this book, he would have been obliged to mention that the members of his tribe supported ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and later on became Twelver Shiʿites. Furthermore, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba concealed that he was from Shiʿite origins, as he mentions that he descended from Banū Asad without specifying whether he was from the Shiʿite or Sunni branches. This is also quite clear in his discussion of the biography of his relative Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Qāḍī Shuhba, as he was keen to hide that he was from Banū Ghāḍira, despite this piece of information being mentioned by al-Ṣafādī, who was Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's source for Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's biography.¹¹⁹

As for the organization of this book, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba again followed al-Dhahabī's organization of *Tārīkh al-islām*, as he mentions the historical events in a specific year followed by the obituaries.

However, unlike al-Dhahabī, he did not organize these obituaries alphabetically.

3.6.2.1.5 *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*

This book was extensively copied during the author's lifetime, and we found his handwriting on most of its surviving manuscripts. Anyhow, I will not discuss this book in detail here since ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm Khān made a very good study of it in his introduction to his edition of the work.¹²⁰

119 Al-Ṣafādī, *Aʿyān* v, 42. Al-Ṣafādī actually claims to have been a close friend of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

120 The manuscript of this work is held in al-Maktaba al-Zāhiriyya under classmark (438). There is manuscript in Chester Beatty library that has the title *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh li-ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*. However, after examining the manuscript, it turns out that it is rather a manuscript of al-Firūzābādī's work *al-Bulgha fī tarājīm aʿimmat al-naḥw wa-l-lughā*.

3.6.2.1.6 *al-Tabyīn fī ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh wa-l-lughawīyyīn*¹²¹

This book was written twice. At first, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba arranged it by annals. Then, he rearranged it alphabetically to ease the access to the biographies of specific persons. This book was written after *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* since we find many references in *al-Tabyīn* to the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*.¹²²

3.6.2.1.7 *Manāqib al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī wa-ṭabaqāt aṣḥābihi min tārikh al-Islām*

It is a selection of the biographies of Shāfiʿī scholars in al-Dhahabī's work *Tārikh al-Islām*.

3.6.2.1.8 *Lubāb al-tahdhīb*

In this work, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba summarizes and combines two different works: *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* of al-Mizzī and *Tadhhib tahdhīb al-kamāl* of al-Dhahabī.

3.6.2.1.9 *Tārikh bināʾ madīnat Dimashq*

This is a summary of the first volume of Ibn ʿAsākir's work *Tārikh Dimashq*, which deals with the urban history of the city of Damascus.¹²³

3.6.2.2 *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's Selections (Muntaqayāt)*

The literary genre of "selections" constitutes the majority of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's works. Nonetheless, most of the studies of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's life or works rarely discuss these works. I will start here by briefly discussing historians' perceptions of the difference between the genres of selections (*muntaqayāt*) and summaries/abridgments (*mukhtṣarāt*). When historians speak of an abridgment, it means that this work maintained the original work's structure, but it was shortened. In other words, if the original contained 200 biographical entries, the abridgment should also contain 200 entries but each entry would have less information. For instance, Ibn Ḥajar's abridgment of al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* contains 14,195 biographical entries, which is exactly as many as the original work.¹²⁴ Selections are quite different from abridgments in the sense that a work of the former genre consists of the information the author deems important for his personal use without being restricted by the original work's number of entries, chapters, etc. Many historians wrote selective works to use as a reference while writing their original work, like al-Dhahabī and

121 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 479.

122 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 61.

123 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārikh* (manuscript) 2^a.

124 Fayḍullah Effendi Library in Istanbul, shelfmark 1413. I have consulted the manuscript in Istanbul.

FIGURE 4.10 Selections by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya that informed his *al-Durr al-muntakhab*

many others. This working method (of producing selections) was adopted by many 15th-century historians, like Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, who made selections from historiographical works about the history of Aleppo and its elite in order to write his work *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī takmilat tārikh Ḥalab*. These selections were taken from several works, some of which have reached us as: 1. *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-Atrāk* of Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī from which Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya selected some biographies and records of historical events;¹²⁵ 2. *Tārikh Miṣr* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī¹²⁶ from which some of the biographies and records of historical events were selected as well;¹²⁷ 3. *al-Wafayāt* of al-‘Irāqī from which Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya selected some biographies of the scholars of Aleppo.¹²⁸ These three holographs were used by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya to write his work *al-Durr al-muntakhab* (see figure 4.10).

On the other hand, we can see that al-Maqrīzī used his selections from Ibn Muyassir’s work *Akhbār Miṣr* to write several works, such as *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*

125 This work (titled *Durrat al-aslāk*) is still a manuscript in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under classmark (9724). However, after examining it, it turned out that this is rather a manuscript of Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya’s selections.

126 He is the historian Quṭb al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Nūr al-Ḥalabī (d. 735/1335). See al-Zarkalī, *A‘lām* iv, 53.

127 The manuscript of this work is held in the Library of Khalidi in Jerusalem under classmark (31).

128 Ibid.

FIGURE 4.11 *Muntaqā* al-Maqrīzī used to inform his three mentioned works

bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fātimiyyīn al-khulafā',¹²⁹ *al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*,¹³⁰ and *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr l-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (see figure 4.11).¹³¹

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also wrote several selections that varied in size. Some of them were in several volumes, like his selections from *Tārīkh al-Islām* and *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, and others were written in just one volume. Noticeably, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba had a specific method of making these selections. For instance, when he wanted to write his book *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, he made several notebooks of selections of biographies of Shāfi'ī scholars from *Durrat al-aslāk*, *Dhayl al-rawḍatayn* of Ibn Abī Shāma, *Tārīkh al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī, and *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman* of Ibn al-Ja'dī.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also used to make selections from voluminous works he did not seem to have a copy of in his personal library, like *Tārīkh al-Islām*, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, and *Tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq*. Sometimes he made selections from the small works he did not need very often, like the biographies

129 The selections from Ibn Muyyasir that have been used in *Itti'āz al-hunafā'* are in al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz* ii, 296; iii, 69, 71, 86.

130 The selections from Ibn Muyyasir that have been used in *Itti'āz al-hunafā'* are in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* v, 89, 140, 300, 395, 431, 476, 505, 538, 684, 711; vi, 309.

131 The selections from Ibn Muyyasir that have been used in *Itti'āz al-hunafā'* are in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* i, 159, 222, 254, 269; ii, 386, 405, 422, 450, 452, 495, 529, 589, 600; iii, 51, 545, 727. With regard to the analysis of these working methods, I refer to F. Bauden's extensive and excellent work, who studied them in detail within the framework of the Maqriziana.

of the Shāfiʿī scholars from *Ṭabaqāt fuqahāʾ al-Yaman*¹³² and *Dhayl al-ʿibar*¹³³ of al-Ḥusaynī. However, if a book was small or medium-sized and he needed it very often, he would rather copy it in full, like *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-wuṣṭā*¹³⁴ of al-Subkī and *Kitāb al-Wafayāt*¹³⁵ of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Misallātī. On the other hand, if Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba had the book he needed as a reference in his library, he used to just make comments in its margins, without copying any part of it, as he did with *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ al-kubrā*¹³⁶ of al-ʿUthmānī and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*¹³⁷ of al-Maqrīzī.

Noticeably, when Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba wrote the selections for his work *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, he wrote each set of selections from each work in a separate notebook. However, this was not the case when he made a selection for his other works, as he used to combine selections from several works in one volume as he did with *Tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq* and *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*. Anyhow, in the following part, I will briefly discuss these selections and for which book he wrote them:

3.6.2.2.1 *al-Muntaqā min al-ansāb*¹³⁸

This work consists of selections from *Kitāb al-Ansāb of al-Samʿānī*. He used the selections from this book to write several works, such as *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*,¹³⁹ *al-Iʿlām bi-tārīkh al-islām*,¹⁴⁰ and *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt*.¹⁴¹

3.6.2.2.2 *al-Muntaqā min tārīkh al-Iskandariyya*¹⁴²

This work consists of selections from al-Nuwayrī's book *al-Ilmām bi-l-iʿlām fī mā jarat bihi al-aḥkām wa-l-umūr al-maḥdiyyāt fī wāqʿat al-Iskandariyya*. This *Muntaqā* was used in writing Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's work *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*.¹⁴³

132 The manuscript of this work is held in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under classmark (258).

133 The manuscript of this work is held in Chester Beatty Library under classmark (3151) (80–97).

134 The manuscript of this work is held in Chester Beatty Library under classmark (4922).

135 The manuscript of this work is held in Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) under classmark (172) (263–9).

136 The manuscript of this work is held in Sulaymanyeh library in Istanbul under classmark (159). There is an ownership statement of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba on this manuscript, and there are many comments of his in its margins.

137 The manuscript of this work is held in the collection of Gotha Research Library under classmark (1771). Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also commented in its margins.

138 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 478.

139 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 79, 121, 163.

140 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *al-Iʿlām* (Morocco manuscript) i 24^b, 42^b; ii 3^b, 6^b.

141 See for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt* 72, 105, 129, 145, 188, 212–3, 250.

142 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tarjamat* 478.

143 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* i, 136; ii, 77, 292, 309.

FIGURE 4.12 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's three mentioned works

3.6.2.2.3 *al-Muntaqā min tārīkh dimashq*¹⁴⁴

This work consists of selections from Ibn 'Asākir's work *Tārīkh dimashq*. I must note that this *muntaqā* is different from his other work *Tārīkh binā' madīnat dimashq*, as the former work consists of two volumes while the latter work is less than one volume. This *muntaqā* was used in writing Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's works *al-I'lām bi tārīkh al-islām*¹⁴⁵ and *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*.¹⁴⁶

3.6.2.2.4 *al-Muntaqā min durrat al-aslāk*

This work consists of selections from *Kitāb Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk*. To my knowledge, this work has never been mentioned in any of the studies of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's career. However, I found an autograph manuscript of it in the library of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹⁴⁷ He used the selections from this book when he wrote several works, such as *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*,¹⁴⁸ *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*,¹⁴⁹ *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām*,¹⁵⁰ and *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥā*.¹⁵¹ He probably also used this *muntaqā* to write his books *Dhayl al-tārīkh* and *Takmilat tārīkh Ibn Hījī*.

144 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Hayāt* 479.

145 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *al-I'lām* (Morocco manuscript) i, 15^a, 48^b, 49^b.

146 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 114, 128, 140, 171, 217.

147 Under classmark (1721).

148 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* ii, 69, 71, 73, 90, 137.

149 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 172–3, 182, 199.

150 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *I'lām* (Turkey manuscript) 2^b, 11^b, 14^b, 18^a.

151 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 95.

FIGURE 4.13
al-Muntaqā that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *al-l'lām* and *Ṭabaqāt*

FIGURE 4.14 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's four mentioned works

FIGURE 4.15 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's three mentioned works

3.6.2.2.5 *al-Muntaqā min 'uyūn al-tawārīkh*

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī's book *'Uyūn al-tawārīkh* was quite important for Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, who used information from it in most of his historiographical writings. Most probably, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba had some volumes of this work in his library, as I found his comments in the margins of a manuscript, which clearly indicate that he owned at least this manuscript.¹⁵² He also wrote a *muntaqā* from the volumes he did not own, which was then used by Ibn Ḥajar as a source for his work *al-Durar al-kāmina*¹⁵³ and by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba himself in writing several works, such as *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām*,¹⁵⁴ *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*,¹⁵⁵ and *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*.¹⁵⁶ He probably also used this *muntaqā* when writing his books *Dhayl al-tārīkh* and *Takmilat tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī*.

¹⁵² This manuscript is held in the Library of the British Museum under classmark (OR. 3005). I am grateful to Benedikt Reier, who informed me of this manuscript.

¹⁵³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 158.

¹⁵⁴ I did not mention the places where Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba uses information from *al-Muntaqā min 'uyūn al-tawārīkh* in his work *al-I'lām*, since the latter work is primarily based on the former work in addition to the histories of al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr.

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* ii, 23, 39, 57, 95.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 80, 173, 215, 239, 263.

FIGURE 4.16 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's three mentioned works

3.6.2.2.6 *al-Muntaqā min mu'jam shuyūkh Ibn Rajab*¹⁵⁷

This book is a *muntaqā* from the book *Mu'jam shuyūkh Ibn Rajab al-Hanbalī*. He used this book as a source for his work *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*¹⁵⁸ and probably for his works *Dhayl al-tārīkh* and *Takmilat tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī*.

3.6.2.2.7 *al-Muntaqā min tārīkh Ibn Kathīr*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba wrote this *muntaqā* from Ibn Kathīr's work *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*. To my knowledge, this *muntaqā* has not been mentioned in any work about Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba. I found the manuscript of this work in the Library of Chester Beatty. It had no title, but after examining it, I found out that it was an autograph manuscript of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, which contains a selection from *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*. This *muntaqā* is probably one of many. Anyhow, the info in this selection was used in his works *al-I'lām bi tārīkh al-Islām*,¹⁵⁹ *Mukhtaṣar*

¹⁵⁷ This work was edited and printed in Kuwait, but attributed to a different author. However, after examining it, I found out through his handwriting that it was actually written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba. The manuscript of this work is held in Yale University under classmark (292).

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, ii 23, 90, 252, 255, 280–1.

¹⁵⁹ I did not mention the places where Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba uses information from the history of Ibn Kathīr in his work *al-I'lām* since the latter work is primarily based on the former work in addition to the histories of al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kutubī.

al-dhayl,¹⁶⁰ and *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*¹⁶¹ (and probably in *Dhayl al-tārīkh* and *Takmilat tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* as well).

3.6.2.2.8 *al-Muntaqā min tārīkh al-Islām*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba was quite interested in al-Dhahabī's working methodology and approach, as we can infer from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's very frequent use of al-Dhahabī's works as sources for his historiographical writings. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's interest was not limited to al-Dhahabī's fair copies (*mubayyaḍāt*), but he was also interested in al-Dhahabī's drafts and *muntaqayāt*; the latter was often used as a source for his works. I would actually suggest that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba adopted al-Dhahabī's working method of using *muntaqayāt* as a source for his work, which further suggests Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's interest in al-Dhahabī's works¹⁶² since when the former (in his work *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*) mentions the latter's works, almost 75 percent are historiographical works. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba probably read these works, as he gave quite extensive descriptions of them in addition to a detailed description of al-Dhahabī's abridgements, such as *Mukhtaṣar dhayl tārīkh Baghdād*¹⁶³ of Ibn al-Dubaythī and *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Nisābūr*¹⁶⁴ of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, which Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba probably used as sources for his works as well. Anyhow, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *muntaqā* from *tārīkh al-Islām* was used as a source for his works *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām*,¹⁶⁵ *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*,¹⁶⁶ and *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh*.¹⁶⁷

3.6.2.2.9 *al-Muntaqā min muʿjam al-mukhtaṣṣ*¹⁶⁸

This book is a *muntaqā* from al-Dhahabī's work *Muʿjam al-mukhtaṣṣ*. Most probably, he wrote this work to use in his work *Dhayl al-tārīkh* as he referred to it in more than 100 places in *Mukhtaṣar al-tārīkh*.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, he also used this *muntaqā* in other historiographical works, such as *al-I'lām*

160 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* i, 122, 126, 140, 155.

161 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 6, 52, 75, 105.

162 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* 534.

163 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 25, 40, 46, 48; *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 36, 46, 59.

164 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 63, 71, 91, 99; *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 181, 288.

165 I did not mention the places where Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba uses information from *Tārīkh al-Islām* in his work *al-I'lām* since the latter work is primarily based on the former work (in addition to the histories of Ibn Kathīr and al-Kutubī).

166 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 63–5, 70, 73.

167 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 23, 49, 53, 55, 77.

168 The manuscript of this work is held in Maktabat al-awqāf al-ʿamma fi Baghdād under classmark 2841.

169 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* i, 141–2, 164, 171, 197.

FIGURE 4.17 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's three mentioned works

FIGURE 4.18 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's four mentioned works

FIGURE 4.19 *al-Muntaqā* that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's three mentioned works

bi-tārīkh al-Islām,¹⁷⁰ *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, and *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥā*,¹⁷¹ and most likely in *Takmilat tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* as well.

3.6.2.2.10 *al-Muntaqā min al-'ibar*¹⁷²

This book is a *muntaqā* from the book of al-Dhahabī's work *Kitāb al-'Ibar*. He used this *muntaqā* in other historiographical works, like *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām*,¹⁷³ *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*,¹⁷⁴ and *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥā*.¹⁷⁵

3.6.2.2.11 *al-Muntaqā min tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq*¹⁷⁶

This notebook is a *muntaqā* from Ibn Duqmāq's work *Nuzhat al-anām fī tārīkh al-Islām*. Most probably, the last volume of this work was sent to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba by Ibn Ḥajar. However, I can say with certainty that this *muntaqā* was written specifically for *Dhayl al-tārīkh* as he used it neither in *al-I'lām*

170 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *I'lām* (Suleymaniye Library manuscript) 3^a, 3^b, 5^b, 7^a, 134^a, 140^b.

171 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 289.

172 The manuscript of this work is held in the British Museum under classmark (Or. 3006).

173 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *I'lām* (Suleymaniye Library manuscript) 23^b, 35^b, 36^a, 38^b, 39^a.

174 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 283; ii, 136, 214, 260.

175 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāh* 89.

176 The manuscript of this work is held in the Chester Beatty Library under classmark (4125).

FIGURE 4.20
al-Muntaqā that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya* and
Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl

bi-tāriḫ al-islām or *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, but it was extensively used in *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*.¹⁷⁷

3.6.2.2.12 *al-Muntaqā min tāriḫ Ibn al-Furāt*¹⁷⁸

This notebook contains selections from *Tāriḫ b. al-Furāt* of historical events and biographies from the 8th/14th century. The original work is in four volumes that were sent to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba by Ibn Ḥajar one by one (i.e., once Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba finished taking the selections from one of the volumes, he would send it back to Ibn Ḥajar and receive the following volume).¹⁷⁹ Most probably, this *muntaqā* was originally in four notebooks, which were written to be used for his work *Dhayl al-tāriḫ*, but they were also used in *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*¹⁸⁰ and *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*.¹⁸¹

3.6.2.2.13 *al-Muntaqā min al-mudhayyal 'alā-l-rawḍatayn*¹⁸²

This notebook contains selections of the biographies of Shāfi'ī scholars from Ibn Abī Shāma's work *al-Mudhayyal 'alā-l-rawḍatayn*. Certainly, this *muntaqā*

177 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tāriḫ* ii, 486; iii, 130, 162, 366, 554, 556.

178 The manuscript of this work is held in the Chester Beatty Library under classmark (4125).

179 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tāriḫ* iv, 455.

180 Ibid., *Tāriḫ* ii, 235, 332.

181 Ibid., *Ṭabaqāt* iv, 5. With regard to the notes of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, see Reisman, Holograph.

182 The manuscript of this work is held in the Amirton University under classmark (203H).

FIGURE 4.21
al-Muntaqā that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya* and
al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām

was meant to be used in his work *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*.¹⁸³ However, it was also used in his book *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām*.¹⁸⁴

3.6.2.2.14 *al-Muntaqā min ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*¹⁸⁵

This notebook is a *muntaqā* from Ibn al-Ja'dī al-Yamanī's work *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mainly selected the biographies of Shāfi'ī scholars in order to use them in his work *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*.¹⁸⁶

3.6.2.2.15 *al-Muntaqā min mu'jam shuyūkh Ibn Rajab*

This notebook contains selections from *Mu'jam shuyūkh Shihāb al-Dīn b. Rajab*. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, however, rearranged the entries of the *Mu'jam* by annals instead of listing them alphabetically, as tends to be the case for most of the works of *Ma'ājam al-Shuyūkh*. I can say with certainty that this *muntaqā* was written to be used to write his work *Dhayl al-tārīkh* since both works started with the year 741 and that the information from *al-Muntaqā* was referred to more than 100 times in his book *Mukhtaṣar dhayl tārīkh Ibn Kathīr*.¹⁸⁷ In con-

183 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 55, 57, 66, 68, 70.

184 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *al-I'lām* (Suleymaniye Library manuscript) 2^b, 3^a, 4^a, 4^b, 5^a.

185 The manuscript of this work is held in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under classmark (258).

186 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 282, 305.

187 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* 141, 160, 169, 176, 177.

FIGURE 4.22

al-Muntaqā that informed Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* and *Mukhtaṣar al-dhayl*

trast, this *muntaqā* was used just once in his other work, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*,¹⁸⁸ which clearly shows that he made these selections for writing his work *Dhayl al-tārikh*, and he also might have used them in his writing of *Takmilat tārikh Ibn Ḥijjī*.

3.6.2.2.16 *al-Muntaqā min ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*

Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba mentioned that his father wrote a biographical dictionary of Ḥanafī scholars arranged by generation (*Ṭabaqāt*). However, I find this very unlikely, although he might have written a *muntaqā* from the Ḥanafī work *Ṭabaqāt* to use as a source for his historiographical works. In fact, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba frequently quoted the unnamed Ḥanafī *Ṭabaqāt* in his work *al-Iʿlām bi-tārikh al-Islām*. After examining these quotes, I found out that they were taken from al-Qurashī's work *al-Jawāhir al-muḍīʾa fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*.¹⁸⁹

3.6.2.2.17 *al-Muntaqā min nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr wa-l-baḥr*¹⁹⁰

This notebook is a *muntaqā* from Ibn Shaykh Ḥiṭṭīn's work *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr wa-l-baḥr*. I am not sure exactly in which book this *muntaqā* was used, but it was most likely used in *al-Iʿlām bi-tārikh al-Islām*.

188 Ibid., *Ṭabaqāt* iii, 14.

189 See, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Iʿlām* (Suleymaniye Library manuscript) 30^a.

190 Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ḥayāt* 478.

FIGURE 4.23 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's works

4 Epilogue

We can clearly notice that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba spent much of his career actively engaging with and writing historiographical works, which, as I will further clarify below, constituted a considerable portion of his total scholarly production. This shows that he was as much a historian as he was a *faqīh*. However, in scholarly circles, he was generally regarded as a *faqīh* because most of his historiographical works remained drafts circulating between the limited circles of his students, Damascene colleagues, and the students of his son Badr al-Dīn.¹⁹¹

The pie chart shows that 79 % of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's total literary production are historiographic works.

A closer look at his only work that deals with the history of Islam (i.e., *al-I'lām bi-tārīkh al-Islām*) reveals a striking peculiarity: his work avoids dealing with an important section of Islamic history, which witnessed the formation of the Shi'ites sects. Neglecting such a significant era in Islamic history sheds light on his approach to Islamic history and the underlying motives that influenced his historiographical works.

Also, he seems to have tried to conceal or obscure his Shi'ite family origin. As mentioned above, one of his older relatives, the chief of the Syrian chancery Shams al-Dīn, was actually the one who informed al-Ṣafaḍī that the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba family descended from Banū Ghāḍira. Interestingly, Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba copied most of the information about the roots of his family from

¹⁹¹ Only two works of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba were made fair copies (*mubayyḍāt*) of *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya* and *Mukhtaṣar dhayl al-tārīkh*.

al-Ṣafaḍī and Ibn Ḥabīb,¹⁹² but he omitted the part that links his family to the al-Ghāḍiriyya, without giving any justification for his choice. I would suggest that Taqī al-Dīn probably tried to obscure that his ancestors were Shi'ites. I believe his reluctance to reveal this fact was due to his fear that this might have negative consequences for his sons, who took over his position as *qāḍīs*. I must mention that during Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's era, the status of Shi'ites in Syro-Egyptian society was ambivalent since they did not suffer from systemized oppression. However, I cannot find any evidence to suggest that Shi'ites were appointed in governmental positions.¹⁹³ Of course, these initial thoughts and assumptions need further research. But I hope that I have shown in this introductory article that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba is certainly an important figure and significant historian in the intellectual history of the Mamluk period who needs further attention and study.

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192 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* ii, 197.

193 For further information on the history of the Shi'a and Shi'ites at that period, see Winter, Shams al-Din.

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