Sonderdruck aus

Stephan Conermann (ed.)

Everything is on the Move

The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-)Regional Networks

With 19 figures

V&R unipress

Bonn University Press

ISBN 978-3-8471-0274-8
ISBN 978-3-8470-0274-1 (E-Book)
Contents

Introduction
Stephan Conermann (Bonn)
Networks and Nodes in Mamluk Times: some introductory remarks . . . 9

Global Context
Georg Christ (Manchester)
Beyond the Network – Connectors of Networks: Venetian Agents in Cairo and Venetian News Management .................... 27

Yehoshua Frenkel (Haifa)
The Mamluks among the Nations: A Medieval Sultanate in its Global Context .......................................................... 61

Networks
Henning Sievert (Bonn/Zürich)
Family, friend or foe? Factions, households and interpersonal relations in Mamluk Egypt and Syria ........................................ 83

Johannes Pahlitzsch (Mainz)
Networks of Greek Orthodox Monks and Clerics between Byzantium and Mamluk Syria and Egypt ........................................ 127

Michael Winter (Tel Aviv)
Sufism in the Mamluk Empire (and in early Ottoman Egypt and Syria) as a focus for religious, intellectual and social networks ................................. 145

Carl F. Petry (Northwestern University, Evanston, IL)
“Travel Patterns of Medieval Notables in the Near East” Reconsidered: contrasting trajectories, interconnected networks ............... 165
Miriam Kühn (Berlin)
“Stars, they come and go, […] and all you see is glory” – minbars as Emblems of Political Power in Intra-Mamlûk Strife ............ 181

**Ego-Networks**
Thomas Bauer (Münster)
How to Create a Network: Zaynaddîn al-Āṭârî and his Muqarrîzûn .... 205

Mohammad Gharaibeh (Bonn)
Brokerage and Interpersonal Relationships in Scholarly Networks. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqâlânî and His Early Academic Career ............... 223

**Mental Networks: Travelling Concepts – Actor-Network-Theory**
Albrecht Fuess (Marburg)
Ottoman Ğazwah – Mamlûk Ğîhâd. Two Arms on the Same Body? ...... 269

Torsten Wollina (Beirut)
News and Rumor – local sources of knowledge about the world ........ 283

Richard McGregor (Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee)
Networks, Processions, and the Disruptive Display of Religion ........ 311

Bethany J. Walker (Bonn)
Mobility and Migration in Mamlûk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers ‘on the Move’ ...................................................... 325

Authors ................................ 349
Ego-Networks
How to Create a Network: Zaynaddin al-Âťârî and his Muqarrizûn

1. Introduction

A taqârîz (pl. taqârîz) is a text that praises an author on one of his works. Gathering taqârîz was a practice that often served to create, consolidate and document a network. Despite growing interest in taqârîz in recent years, the practice of asking for and granting taqârîz might have been more important than the still small number of studies dedicated to it suggests. An extraordinarily successful collector of taqârîz was Zaynaddin al-Âťârî, who managed to induce fifteen renown scholars to grant him a taqârîz. This is a comparatively large number of taqârîz written for a single work and therefore reason enough to make al-Âťârî the subject of this case study. I will introduce this scholar very briefly and dedicate the rest of the paper to an analysis of the taqârîz and the network they represent. Who were the scholars that praised al-Âťârî and his work, what were the criteria of al-Âťârî’s selection, and how was his network related to others? Attention will also be given to the aspect of transregionality, which will appear several times.


The young scholar who received fifteen taqârîz around the year 796/1394 is Zaynaddin Ša’bân ibn Muĥammad al-Âťârî.1 Despite the number of works preserved to this day, he is one of the lesser known figures among the ʿulamâ’ in the Mamluk period. This may be due to several reasons, among them his turbulent life, his inability to keep a stable network and the fact that for whatever reason he attracted the disdain of Ibn Haĝar al-ʾAsqalâni, who wrote about him in an unusually deprecatory way. Because almost all other sources depend on the

latter’s account, it is quite difficult to gain a more objective picture of al-Átârî’s life and character. Fortunately, al-Átârî’s works fill some of the gaps left by Ibn Ḥaḡar. Al-Átârî’s father came from Mosul to Cairo where Ša'bân was born and also died. By the year 796 – the year in which he received most of his taqârîz – his father had already died. Though his father is called aš-šayḥ al-afdîl in two of the taqârîz 1 I could not find him in any of the biographical dictionaries. Obviously, he remained a scholar of lower rank and it is probable that Ša'bân al-Áṭārī did not inherit a network of considerable importance.

Al-Áṭārī was the author of some thirty works, more than half of which are still preserved. In these works al-Áṭārī displays two interests: The prophet Muḥammad and adab. As for the first, he wrote a number of poems in praise of the prophet – a taḥmîṣ of Ka'b ibn Zuhayr’s burda, a taḥmîṣ and a muʿarada of al-Bûṣîrî’s burda etc. He is also the author of three badiyyât, the largest number of badiyyât ever composed by a single author, in which he could combine his interest in the prophet and in adab. As for adab, the term must be taken here not in the sense of belles-lettres, but as designating the scientific fields of penmanship, linguistics and rhetoric. One of al-Áṭārî’s works is a didactic poem in the form of an urğûza (a poem composed in the metre raḡaz), which is meant to provide an introduction to the field of adab. It is called Maḡma' al-Arab fi Ulûm al-Adab and gives the shortest possible introduction to all fields of adab in hardly more than sixty pages with the exception of lexicography (ʿilm al-luḡa). Its ten chapters deal with 1. morphology (at-tasrîf), 2. orthography (al-ḥatt), 3. syntax (an-nahw), 4. phonetics (maḥrîq al-ḥurûf), 5. metre (al-ʿarûd), 6. rhyme (al-qawāfî), 7. poetic licenses (ḏarīrat al-ašʿâr), 8. – 10. rhetorics and stylistics (al-maʿānî, al-bayān, al-badi).

The work is characteristic for al-Áṭārî, as firstly, its comprehensive approach towards the disciplines of adab shows, and secondly, as demonstrated through its didactic intention. In addition to this summary of adab, al-Áṭārî authored separate works, mostly again didactic poems on each of these fields. Finally, he wrote a treatise on lexicography by which he finally managed to cover the entire field of scholarly adab. In a certain way, this is also a kind of a “network” in so far as he cast a net of works in order to cover a complete scholarly department (just as Ibn Ḥaḡar did in the field of Ḥadîṯ at the same time). I am sure that striving for completeness was a purposeful enterprise, meant to contribute to the scholar’s

2 According to Hilâl Nâgı (introduction to al-ʿInâya ar-Rabbâniyya, p. 221 and in other texts) al-Áṭārî was born in Mosul, but this cannot be corroborated from the sources, which claim that al-Áṭārî’s father came from Mosul but he himself was born in Cairo (al-Maqrîzî, Durar al-ʿUqûd, 2:122 – 123 and others). My article in EI Three, for which I had trusted Nâgı, has to be corrected accordingly.

distinction and certify him as a unique and universal authority for all linguistic matters.

3. **Debut-Taqārīz**

But let us go back to Cairo to the 790s, when al-Āṭārī still had a long way to go before he achieved universal expertise. In 790, aged 25, he had finished what was probably his first publication: a didactic poem on writing and penmanship (*al-ʾInāya ar-Rabbāniyya fī t-Ṭariqa aš-Šaʿbāniyya*). As far as we know, he did not try to collect taqārīz for this work – and indeed – the age of 25 seems to be too young for such an initiative. Instead, he made his – so to say – ‘official’ debut with his second work, a didactic poem on prosody and rhyme in the meter ṭāqārīz. It is an alfīyya fī l-ṭarāj, a “thousand-line-urğūza on metre”, as it is called in the colophon and bears the title *al-Waḡh al-Ǧamīl fī Ilm al-Ḥalil* “The Beautiful Face: On the Discipline of al-Ḥalil.” The reference is to al-Ḥalil ibn Ahmad al-Farahīdī (2nd/8th century) who is credited with inventing the theory of metre. A looser translation would be “A Nice Way to Learn the Principles of Prosody.” Al-Āṭārī finished the book in Raḡab 793/June 1391 and it took exactly three years before the first of the fifteen taqārīz arrived. At this point, we have to distinguish between two different types of taqrīz. First, there is the ordinary taqrīz, which an author can get from anyone at any time, whether as a sign of friendship or esteem or because the person who writes the taqrīz wants to foster his relation with the person praised. In addition to this, there is the institution of the debut-taqārīz. In this case, a young (but not too young) scholar who has not yet acquired an established place among elite ʿulamāʾ actively goes in search of taqārīz, sends around a recently completed work and asks his colleagues to write a taqrīz for him. Having collected a reasonable number of them, he would publish them either as a separate publication – as in the case of Ibn Nubāṭa – or as an appendix to the work itself – as in the case of Ibn ad-Damāmīnī and al-Āṭārī. One could consider these debut-taqārīz as a sort of initiation rite by which the aspirant is accepted as a full member of the ʿulamāʾ establishment.

The most spectacular (and perhaps even the first) case of debut-taqārīz are the eleven taqārīz Ibn Nubāṭa al-Miṣrī received for his *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid wa-Maḡmaʿ al-Farāʾid* in the year 719 when he was 34 years old. Ibn Nubāṭa made

---

5 See EI, 4:962 – 964 (R. Sellheim); GAS, 8:51 – 56.
7 Ǧalāladdīn al-Buḫqīṇī wrote a taqrīz, praising *Kifāyat al-Ǧulām fī Irāb al-Kalām* (as-Šaḥāwī, *ad-Dawʿ*, 3:303), another urğūza by al-Āṭārī, which he had finished in Mecca in 809 (al-Āṭārī, *Kifāyat al-Ǧulām*, 110). This is clearly a case of a single taqrīz which is not a debut-taqārīz.
these *taqārīz* the starting point for a new book called *Sağ' al-Muṭawwaq*. In his thirties aṣ-Ṣafāḍī finished his *Gīnān al-Gīnās* and proudly mentions several *taqārīz* he had received for this book. It may well be another case of debut-*taqārīz*. Badraddin Ibn Ḥabīb was already praised by the two greatest living poets when he was only about 18 years old. This is probably not a real case of debut-*taqārīz* and Ibn Ḥabīb himself strove to receive more *taqārīz* for later works. At the age of 33 Ibn ad-Damāmīnī gathered the same amount of *taqārīz* as Ibn Nubāta did. This case of debut-*taqārīz* has been analysed in detail by Franz Rosenthal. It proves of primary significance for al-Āṭār’s debut-*taqārīz*, as we will see. Rosenthal’s study from 1981 was the first ever study of the *taqrīz*. He had, however, not enough material to recognize the institution of the debut-*taqrīz*. And, contrary to Rosenthal, I do not believe that *taqārīz* were “solicited for the promotion of a newly published work,” but rather to create or fasten network-relations. It is for this reason that I feel uncomfortable with his translation of *taqārīz* as “blurbs”. Perhaps the expression “commendations” would fit better. In the meanwhile, several studies have established the importance of *taqārīz* among Mamluk scholars and *hommes de lettres*. In 2003 Rudolf Veselý reported that he had come across about 59 *taqārīz*. Fifteen of them can be found in his 2005 edition of Ibn Ḥiğğa’s *Qahwat al-Inšā’.* I myself edited and translated the two texts dedicated to Ibn Ḥabīb by Ibn Nubāta and Şafiiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī and gave an overview of Ibn Nubāta’s *Sağ’ al-Muṭawwaq* in 2008 and 2013 respectively.

4. **Structure and style of *taqārīz***

The length of a *taqrīz* may vary between a few words and a number of pages. A *taqrīz* of the average length of about a page or two consists of several clearly discernible parts. The average *taqrīz* would fit the following pattern:

(1) *Ḥamdala:* The author may confine himself to two words or elaborate this part to greater length. In Mağدادdin Iṣmā’īl al-Ǧūbaysī’s (Q5) *taqrīz* the

---

13 I owe this suggestion to Adam Talib.
14 Veselý, *Das Taqrīz*.
15 Ibn Ḥiğğa, *Qahwat al-Inšā’,* nos. 34a, 34c, 67a, 112a, 112b, 121c.
17 The abbreviations refer to the list of al-Āṭār’s *muqarrīzūn* below. They consist of a letter or
hamdala amounts to half of the whole text. Longer hamdalas are regularly connected with the following part by the formula wa-ba’du.

(2) Introduction: The introduction, in which the title of the book and its author are presented, starts with an introductory formula, most commonly wa-qafū ’alā “I read…”, followed by the title of the book and its author.

(3) Summary: Syntactically connected to waqafū ’alā is the formula that introduces the summary, which may be fa-waḡadtuḥā, wa-ra’aytuḥā, fa-iḍā hiya “and I found it to be …”, whereupon the author says that he found it to be good.

(4) – (5) Development I and II: Longer taqāriz go on to elaborate the praise of the work and the praise of its author. After the appraisal of the work, the muqarriz (= the commender) may lead to the praise of the author with a formula like wa-kayfa lā wā “(a great work) and how could it be different, since its author is so-and-so.” It is mostly here, where we find what I call the superiority passages, a feature rather indispensable for a longer taqāriz. In a superiority passage, the muqarriz says that the author is superior or at least equal to famous poets or scholars from past times, that they would admire his work, it would render them speechless, it would make them disdain their own creations, they would wish to have written it themselves, etc.

(6) Blessing: A blessing, in which the muqarriz expresses his hopes for the author and thereby adds the future dimension to the dimension of the present (in the praise of the work) and the dimension of the past (in the superiority passages).

(7) Signature: At the end, the muqarriz mentions his name, continues with a formula of devotion and may add the date of his taqrīz. A typical example would be: “This has been written by X with his own hands, ḥāmidan wa-musalliyan wa-musalliman ‘praising (God) and sending prayers and greetings to the Prophet’, at day/month/year.”

Parts 4 and 5 (Development I and II), sometimes also part 6 (the Blessing), may be omitted. Some taqāriz are short and show little ambition; others are carefully devised, beautiful and original works of literature. Al-Ǧumārī’s taqrīz, with which the series of the taqāriz dedicated to al-Āṭārī starts, is clearly one of the more ambitious. Here is the beginning of his ḥamdala:18

18 al-Āṭārī, al-Waḡh al-Ǧamīl, 13. In my translation | separates colons, || separates rhyme groups.
The passage, which continues in this manner for quite a while, is a nice example of an elevated inšā’ style. The first three colons form a rhyme group, the last colon being longer than the first two. The resulting rhythm seems to have had most appeal. Two rhyme groups, each consisting of two rather short colons, continue the text. The most conspicuous stylistic device in these lines is the use of tawğīh, i.e. technical terminology that is used in its non-technical meaning. In this case it involves using the ordinary meanings of seven nouns, which otherwise serve to designate certain metres of Arabic poetry (tawīl, madīd, basīt, wāfīr, kāmil, muqāttūt, muqtaḍāb). This indirect reference to the terminology of metrics is not only fitting for the subject of the urgūza being praised, it is also a direct intertextual reference to it since al-ʿĀṭarī makes use of the same stylistic device in his introduction to his work. These few lines are already sufficient to show that a good taqrīz is not something that is left for a lazy afternoon, but that it is hard work and therefore a precious gift for the recipient.

Very characteristic for the Textsorte taqrīz is the superiority passage, in which the commender states that the author of the work is superior or at least equal to his predecessors in the same field. Superiority passages constitute the very core of many taqārīz and may reach considerable length. I will give short examples from two superiority passages. It is no coincidence that both contain an allusion to al-Ḥalil ibn Aḥmad, who, besides writing on metre, is also famous for conceiving of the first Arabic dictionary, the Kitāb al-ʿAyn. Both texts allude

---

19 I use the theoretically well established German term ‘Textsorte’ (text type) in order to avoid the term ‘genre,’ which would be too broad.
20 See GAS, 8:52 – 56.

---

Having praised God, whose benefits are persistent, | whose favors are spread out, | and who generously grants his creature’s subsistence in each single case and on the whole, || and having evoked God’s blessing upon our Lord Muḥammad, whose attributes are abundant, | whose essence is perfect, || who was plucked from a highborn lineage | and cut from sublime roots, || …"
to this title, taking 'āyn in the sense of 'eye,' not as name of the letter 'āyn, which is its meaning in al-Ḥalīl’s title. Sibt Ibn at-Tanāsī (Q3) writes: 21

فَلَيْهُ دُرُّ هَذَا النَّظَمُ وَالنَّاطِمُ الَّذِي تَجْمَلَ مَنْهُ أَبْنَاءُ العَصْرُ بَالْزَينَ * وَأَبْدَعَ مَا
قَالَ - فَلَوْ رَأَى الْخَليْلُ لِفَدْى نُظْمَهُ الْمَحْكُوْمٌ بِالْزَينَ *

“By God, how excellent is this poetry and this poet who makes the people of this age adorn themselves with beauty | and is inventive in what he says. If al-Ḥalīl had seen him, he would have given his eye (or: his Kitāb al-‘Āyn) as ransom for his accurate verses! ||”

In his corresponding passage, Mağdaddīn Ismā‘īl al-Bilbaysī (Q5) escalates from ‘seeing’ to ‘hearing’ to personal encounter: 22

فَلَوْ رَأَى مَنْشِئَهَا النَّاشِئُ لَأَقَرَّهُ عَلَى مَا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ * وَلَوْ سُمَى الْخَليْلُ لِقَبْلَ
بِنِينْ عَيْنِيَّهِ * وَلَوْ أَدْرَكَ الْصَّاحِبُ بِنْ عِبَادِ لَجِلْسَ بَيْنَ يَدِيَهِ

“If an-Nāṣī’23 had seen its author, he would have confirmed his rank; | if al-Ḥalīl had heard him, he would have kissed him between his eyes; | and if as-Sahih Ibn ‘Abbad24 had lived long enough to meet him, he would have taken seat in front of him. ||”

As usual in insā’ texts, lines of poetry are interspersed among the colons of rhymed prose. These verses may be of the author’s own making, but more often are anonymous quotations from older poetry. In the following example, the line quoted is by ‘Alī ibn Ġahm, a poet who died in 249/863.25 This excerpt is also interesting because it incorporates the subject of transregionality. Here it is the praised work itself that transcends borders, a topos used by several muqarrizūn. This example is from al-Qalqašandī (Q7): 26

---

21 al-Āṭārī, al-Waḥī al-Ḡamīl, 16.
22 al-Āṭārī, al-Waḥī al-Ḡamīl, 17.
23 an-Nāṣī’ al-Ākbar (d. 293/906), philosopher, Mu’tazilī theologian and poet, interested also in grammar and metrics, see EI1, 7:975 (J. van Ess); GAS, 2:564 – 566.
24 as-Sahih Ibn ‘Abbād (326 – 385/938 – 995), one of the greatest littérature of his time, see EI2, 3:671 – 673 (Cl. Cahen and Ch. Pellat); GAS, 2:636 – 637; he was also the author of a work on prosody (al-Iqna‘ fi l-‘Arūḍ wa-Taḥrīg al-Qawāfī), see GAL, S I 199 (no. 5).
Many a rider has spread news about this urğuz; in every country reverberates the noise of students memorizing it; sheikhs study it well and boys rush to learn it. So it travelled, like the sun, in every place and moved, like the wind, around in land and sea.

5. Al-Āṭārī’s muqarrızūn

Al-Āṭārī managed to persuade fifteen scholars and hommes de lettres to write taqārīz for him, more than Ibn Nubāta and Ibn ad-Damāmī had gathered. Among them are luminaries still famous today like Ibn Ḥaldūn and al-Qalqašandi, as well as those like Ibn ad-Damāmī and Ibn Ḥaṭīb Dārayya, who are familiar to people interested in adab and poetry. Others are less famous, but it is quite significant that all of them can be found in the biographical dictionaries such as al-Maqrızī’s Durar al-Uquḍ, in which all fifteen are treated. In the order of their taqārīz they are: 27

Q1: ʿŚamsaddin al-Gumārī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAṭār (720 – 802/1320 – 1400) studied in the Maghrib with Abū Ḥayyān al-Ḡarnāṭī and met Ibn Nubāta in Cairo. He transmitted Ḥadīt and became one of the leading scholars of grammar and lexicography. 28

Q2: Waliyyaddin Ibn Ḥaldūn, ʿAbdarrāḥmān ibn Muḥammad (732 – 808/1332 – 1406), the famous historian, came to Egypt in 784/1382 and became Mālikī chief qāḍī in 786/1384. 29

Q3: Naṣīraddin Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, known as at-Tanāsī or Sībṭ Ibn at-Tanāsī (740 – 801/1339 or 1340 – 1399) was a scholar with a wide range of interests, author of commentaries on works of grammar. After he had been

28 al-Maqrızī, Durar al-Uquḍ, 3:76 – 77; Ibn Ḥaḡar, Ḏayl ad-Durar, no. 88; as-Sahāwī, ad-Daw’, 9:149 – 150; Rosenthal, Blurbs, 186.
qāḍī in his native town Alexandria, he held the office of chief Mālikī judge in Cairo from 794/1392 until his death.  

Q4: Badrāddīn (Ibn) ad-Damāmīnī, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (763 – 827/1362 – 1424), son in law of the preceding, was a famous poet and author of adab works, a number of which still exist. He would play a decisive role in the creation of al-Āţārī’s network, as we will see.

Q5: Maĝdāddīn Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Kiṁānī al-Bilbaysī (729 – 802/1329 – 1399) was a Ḥadīṭī scholar and jurist, and was also interested in mathematics and the law of inheritance. He held the office of Ḥanafī chief judge for less than a year until he was deposed in Șa’bān 793/July 1391 on the pretext that he was too corpulent.

Q6: Ṣadrāddīn al-Abštī, Sulaymān ibn ˘Abdanna˙sir (c. 730 – 811/c. 1329 – 1408 or 1409) was a scholar proficient in law and many other fields, as well as a şūfi and gifted preacher.

Q7: Šihābaddin al-Qalqasandī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī (756 – 821/1355 – 1418), jurist and secretary in the Cairene chancellery, author of several books of which Şubh al-Âšā is the most famous.

Q8: Badrāddīn al-Bastākī, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (748 – 830/1347 – 1427) earned his living as a copyist. Perhaps his best selling products were manuscripts of his teacher Ibn Nubātā’s Diwān, of which he produced several recensions. He was also a prolific poet in his own right.

Q9: Šihābaddin Ibn al-Hā‘īm al-Qarqāfī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (756 – 815/1355 – 1412) was especially interested in mathematics and the law of inheritance. A number of his publications have been preserved.

Q10: Šamsāddīn al-Garrāqī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 816/1413), Ḥadīṭī scholar and faqīh who held several teaching posts in Mecca and Cairo.

---

31 al-Maqrīzī, Durar al-Uquḍ, 3:103 – 104; Ibn Ḥaḡār, Daṣy al-Durar, no. 599; as-Saḥāwī, ad-Ḍaw’, 7:184 – 187; Rosenthal, Blurbs, 180; GAL, II 26 f., S II 21. He is often referred to as ‘ad-Damaqnī’ though the correct form is with ‘Ibn’.
Mk: Nağmaddín al-Marğâni, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (760 – 827/1359 – 1424) was born and died in Mecca. He became renowned for his expertise in the field of language.38

Md: Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Wānnūḡi al-Maḏribī at-Tūnīsī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (759 – 819/1358 – 1416), was a scholar interested in many fields. He was born in Tūnīs and spent many years in Mecca and Medina.39

D1: Ġalāladdīn Ibn Ḥāṭib Dārayyā, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (745 – 810/1344 – 1407), the “most outstanding Syrian poet of his day”. Besides his poetry, for which he was famous, he also wrote books on lexicography and other fields.40

D2: Burhānaddīn al-Bāʿūnī, Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad (777 – 870/1375 – 1465), a prominent member of the famous al-Bāʿūnī family, was especially known for his poetry and prose.41

Ḥl: Abū l-Walīd Muḥibbaddīn Ibn as-Šīḥna, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (749 – 815/1348 – 1412), a kinsman of a dynasty of Aleppan scholars. He was an adib and wrote a number of didactic poems (just as al-Āṯārī did), of which many have been preserved. He held the position of judge in Aleppo several times. In 793/1391 he was arrested and brought to Cairo, where he wrote his taqrīz on al-Āṯārī from prison.42

The following chart presents an overview of the fifteen muqarrızūn. In addition to their name, it also shows their madḥhab affiliation, their age (according to the hiğra-calendar) in the year 796, and the length of their taqrīz in lines based on Hilāl Naḡī’s edition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Madḥhab</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 Šamsaddīn al-Ǧumārī</td>
<td>Ṭāḥiṭi</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 Walīyyaddīn Ibn Ḥalḍūn</td>
<td>Ṭāḥiṭi</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 Naṣīraddīn (Ṣibṭ Ibn) at-Tanāsī</td>
<td>Ṭāḥiṭi</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4 Badraddīn Ibn ad-Damāmīnī</td>
<td>Ṭāḥiṭi</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5 Maḏdaddīn Ismāʾīl al-Bilbaysī</td>
<td>Ṣaḥābī</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6 Ṣadraddīn al-Abšīṭī</td>
<td>Ṣaḥābī</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently not only did al-Āṭārī carefully select the persons whom he asked for a taqrīz, he also arranged the list deliberately. In the following, I will try to detect the motifs for the sequence in which the commendations are arranged, thereby gaining more insight into the motives for collecting and offering taqrīz. First, it is not difficult to find a reason for the starting point: Šamsaddīn al-Ǧumārī was al-Āṭārī’s teacher in the field of prosody and he is mentioned as the first link in an isnād in which al-Āṭārī traces back his knowledge of the discipline to al-Ḥālīl.\textsuperscript{43} Since he was kind of a ‘Doktorvater,’ it was only appropriate to start with him (otherwise he would have come probably as no. 6, as we will see). It is obvious, however, that no such reason is behind the arrangement of the rest of the taqrīz. They are not ordered according to the importance of the scholar or his closeness to al-Āṭārī. Instead, the main organizing principle is geography: the taqrīz are explicitly ordered according to location. The first group is constituted by ten taqrīz from Cairo, the second by five taqrīz from other places.\textsuperscript{44} These “other places” are Mecca, Medina, Damascus and Aleppo. Damascus is represented by two taqrīz, the others by one each. The geographical sequence is self-evident. Cairo is the center of the empire, the place where al-Āṭārī lived, had studied and intended to pursue his career. The two Holy Cities follow Cairo, followed in turn by the two largest towns in Syria in order of their importance. In this way, al-Āṭārī’s muqarrizūn represent the five most important places in the Mamluk Empire. Transregionality was obviously a major concern for our author. In this respect he was not the first; he had a predecessor in Ibn Nūbātā, who had also applied this criterion, albeit to a much more limited extent. Ibn Nūbātā al-Miṣrī had intended to establish himself in Syria and therefore not only asked nine scholars from Damascus for a taqrīz, but also one each from Ḥamāh and Ṭarābulus. Both are unknown figures who neither made their way into the biblio-

\textsuperscript{43} al-Āṭārī, \textit{al-Waḡh al-Ǧanīl}, 147 (line 1042).

\textsuperscript{44} al-Āṭārī, \textit{al-Waḡh al-Ǧanīl}, 13 and 22.
graphical dictionaries nor did they play any role in Ibn Nubâta’s later life. Their only function seems to be to represent Syria’s smaller towns. Al-Âtârî was more ambitious and covered more or less the whole of the empire. Previous debut-taqârîz did not reflect a similar tendency. It is my impression that al-Âtârî had a strong desire to cover entire fields, be it intellectually, as we have seen, or geographically.

Transregionality is obviously the main principle of organization and it explains completely the sequence of all muqarrizûn who represent towns other than Cairo. As for Cairo itself, the organizing principle for the second degree is madhab. The list starts with four Mâlikîs, followed by a Hânaﬁ. The Sâﬁîs, al-Âtârî’i’s own madhab, constitute the large final group. This was not a sign of politeness and humility (traits for which al-Âtârî was not particularly known), but rather a consequence of his decision to start with his teacher al-Gumârî, who was a Mâlikî. This leads us to the third organizing principle, the student-teacher relationship. In general, the relationship between a student and a teacher is not at the forefront of the taqârîz since their main purpose is to establish a network which reaches beyond the already established connections between a student and his teachers. This is obviously also the case with al-Âtârî’s debut-taqârîz, in which only a few of his teachers are represented; those who are represented are given a place of honor, however. Al-Âtârî himself gives a list of his most important teachers; it intersects with the list of his muqarrizûn at only three points, but these are telling. As we have already seen, al-Gumârî heads the list, followed by the rest of the Mâlikîs; the next is al-Âtârî’i’s second teacher, Mağdaddîn Ibrahîm al-Bilbaysî, proudly introduced as qâdi l-quḍâh al-Hânaﬁ, although he had held this office for less than a year and had already been deposed at the time he gave his taqrîz. The group of the Sâﬁîs is again headed by another teacher, al-Âbsîti. As we see, al-Âtârî had to start with the Mâlikîs as a consequence of the prominent position of al-Gumârî, and he had to place the only Hânaﬁ in front of the Sâﬁîs because otherwise Mağdaddîn al-Bilbaysî would have come at the very end of the Cairenes. Obviously, the three parameters transregionality, madhab and teacher-student relationship explain a lot, but still not everything. Therefore other possible criteria have to be tested.

Seven of the taqârîz are dated. Most of them were presented in 796 or in the following year. The first taqrîz – unsurprisingly that of al-Gumârî – was issued exactly three years after the completion of the urğûza. Only one taqrîz sticks out: this one is again by a teacher, the ex-chief Hânaﬁ judge al-Âbsîti, who did not deliver his text until 801. The retired qâdi is also one of the eldest contributors, as the chart above shows. Not unsurprisingly, the three teachers, Q1, Q5 and Q6, are

---
45 Bauer, Mamluk Literature as a Means of Communication, 47 – 48.  
46 See the introduction to al-Âtârî, al-Manhag al-Maṣhûr, 600.
also the three eldest *muqarrızûn*. Most of the others are in their fifties or are a few years younger. Two are in their thirties and it is hardly a coincidence that they are the ones representing Mecca and Medina. It seems quite probable that al-‘Āṭārī had no contact with established scholars in these places and was therefore happy to be able to mobilize two of his peers in these towns. Most peculiar is the case of the 20-year old Burhānaddīn al-Bā‘ūnī [D2]. At the age of 20, one would have not even been considered worthy of getting a *taqrîz*, let alone giving one. But there are exceptions to this rule. There are also two persons in their twenties among those who wrote commendations for Ibn ad-Damāmīnî: Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānî and Ibn Makānis. For at least the last of these, Rosenthal gives a good reason for his inclusion. The Ibn Makānis who praises Ibn ad-Damāmīnî is not the famous poet Faḥraddīn Ibn Makānis, but his son Maḏdaddīn. Rosenthal assumes that Ibn ad-Damāmīnî did not get a *taqrîz* from the senior and by then more famous Ibn Makānis, so he therefore contented himself with the son who stepped in after his father’s death.\(^47\) In al-‘Āṭārī’s case, a similar motivation may have been behind his choice of the young al-Bā‘ūnī since he was the offspring of an already famous family of *‘ulamā’* and *udabā’*. For al-‘Āṭārī, the prospect of securing his ties with this family may have seemed attractive and for the young Ibrāhîm, who wrote the second longest *taqrîz* of all, it might have been an early opportunity to display his skill in *insâ’*. We have to keep in mind that *taqrîz* were not a one-sided affair; they may have been more important for the recipient, but they could also be a means of distinction for the writers.

This brings us to the next point: length. The range is enormous. It is perhaps not too daring to assume a rather close mutual interest in the case of the three longest *taqrîz*, which were written by al-Qalqâshandî and the two Damascenes, followed closely by al-‘Gumârî. Equally interesting are the shortest *taqrîz*. I have little to say about Q9 and Q10, who were perhaps included only to complete the number of ten representatives from Cairo. The extraordinary brevity of the *taqrîz* from Mecca and Medina, however, corroborates the assumption that they were included only in order to represent the two Holy Cities.

6. **From Ibn ad-Damāmīnî to al-‘Āṭārī**

So far we have only considered relationships between individuals; but every individual is in turn part of a network. This leads us to the fourth and final organizing principle: the network of Ibn ad-Damāmīnî. Badraddîn Ibn ad-Damāmīnî was two years older than al-‘Āṭārī and life had granted him a better position to launch a career. He was the offspring of an old and influential family of scholars.

and a relative of the chief Maliki judge. Therefore, building a network was probably easier for him than it was for al-Atari. Ibn ad-Damami and al-Atari knew each other, as is proven by Ibn ad-Damami’s taqriz for him and they must have been friends at the time of the taqariz, as the following will show. Ibn ad-Damami had almost simultaneously to al-Atari collected eleven taqariz in 795. It is interesting to see that both groups of commendations greatly overlap, as the following chart shows. It presents the eleven muqarizun of Ibn ad-Damami.48

The right column indicates whether they also wrote a taqriz for al-Atari:

| 1 | Ibn Haldun | = Q2 |
| 2 | (Sibt Ibn) at-Tanas = Q3 |
| 3 | al-Gazari - |
| 4 | Ibn a-Sihna = H1 |
| 5 | Magdaddin al-Bilbaysi = Q5 |
| 6 | Samsaddin al-Gumari = Q1 |
| 7 | Ibn Makannis the younger - |
| 8 | al-Bastaki = Q8 |
| 9 | Ibn Hagar al-Asqalan = - |
| 10 | Ibn al-Agami = - |
| 11 | az-Zarkashe = - |

As we see from the chart, six scholars contributed both to the taqariz for Ibn ad-Damami and al-Atari. Thus, it is clear that al-Atari benefited from the network of his peer. As a matter of fact, Ibn ad-Damami’s taqariz-network is the very basis of al-Atari’s as shall be demonstrated. First, let us take another look at the four shortest taqariz for al-Atari (Q9, Q10, Mk, Md): none was issued by a contributor to Ibn ad-Damami. The same is true for the three longest commendations (Q7, D1, D2). Instead, all Damami-contributors wrote taqariz for al-Atari that were 14 to 33 lines long, the only exception being the teacher al-Gumari. On the other hand, the only person who was not among those who praised Ibn ad-Damami to write a taqriz of similar length is al-Abstiti (Q6), another teacher, who – as we have seen – is an outlier in several respects. The same picture evolves when we consider the age of the muqarizun. All contributors aged 41 or younger (Q7, Q9, Mk, Md, D2) are non-Ibn ad-Damami praisers (with the obvious exception of Ibn ad-Damami himself). On the other hand, all commenders of al-Atari older than 55 were also muqarizun of Ibn ad-Damami. The only exception again was al-Abstiti. Obviously, the taqariz-net-

48 See Rosenthal, Blurbs.
work of Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯ was the basis for al-Āt¯ărı¯’s, to which he added his own “special cases”. Having gleaned this, we can reconstruct the genesis of al-Āt¯ărı¯’s taqārı¯z-network in detail. By applying the following eight transformations to Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯’s taqārı¯z group, we arrive at al-Āt¯ărı¯’s:

1. Take Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯’s network as starting point and cancel no. 3, 7, 9, 10 and 11. No. 10, Ibn al-˘Agˇamı¯, was already dead when al-Āt¯ărı¯ asked for his taqārı¯z. Ibn Makânis junior and Ibn Ḥağar were still too young. The reasons why Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯ asked them for a taqrı¯z have been discussed by Rosenthal; al-Āt¯ărı¯ did not share them. We can only speculate whether al-Āt¯ărı¯ asked al-˘Ğazarı¯ and az-Zarkaśli and, if so, why they did not contribute.

2. Place Ibn aš-ˇŞih˙na (Hı) at the end of the list in order to arrange it according to the principle of geography in which Aleppo comes last.

3. Put al-˘Güm¯ărı¯ at the top of the Mālikıs and add Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯’s name at the end of them. Al-˘Güm¯ărı¯ was al-Āt¯ărı¯’s principal teacher and thus, has to lead the list; Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯ was the youngest of the Cairenes and a newcomer to the list so he is included at the end of the group of Mālikı¯s. The ˘Hanaﬁ Mağdaddın Ismāı̇l al-Bilbaysı is already in the right place at no. 5.

4. Add the teacher al-Abṣı¯ṭı̇ and let him lead the ˘Ṣaﬁ¯ıs.

5. Add al-Qalqas¨andı and give him preference over al-Baṣtakı¯, who consequently remains at his place in the list.

6. Add the two contributors from Damascus.

7. Add two more Cairenes (Q9, Q10) to yield ten contributors from the capital in total, even if their contributions are short and insignificant.

8. Add a representative from each of the two Holy Cities, again with very short contributions.

The result of these transformations is exactly the list of al-Āt¯ărı¯’s taqārı¯z. The names of those included and the order in which they come can be thoroughly explained by the parameters (1) geography, (2) madhhab, (3) teacher-student relationship, and (4) transformation of al-At¯ărı¯’s friend Ibn ad-Dama¯mı¯nı¯’s group of muqarrıžun.

7. Conclusion

In order to create a network at the beginning of his scholarly career, al-Āt¯ărı¯ collected taqārı¯z for one of his early works. In order to do so, he began by asking those scholars who had already provided a taqrı¯z for his friend Ibn ad-Damāmı¯. In addition, he asked scholars from Damascus, Mecca and Medina in order to have the main cities of the Mamluk Empire represented. It can be shown with ample detail how he transformed Ibn ad-Damāmı¯’s group of muqarrıžun
into his own. With fifteen scholars, most of them of high renown, al-Āṭārī was able to boast an influential network from which he could have benefited a lot. He did so only for a short time, however. When he attained the post of muḥtasib in 799/1397, only three years after the first taqāriz were written, it was less thanks to his network than to the large sum of money he paid. Unable to pay back his debts, he was forced to flee Cairo in 801/1398 – 9. From then on, he led an uneven life and probably never met his erstwhile muqarrızūn. The main stations in his life of ‘transregionality’, as one could say, were the court of the Rasūlids in Yemen, from which he was forced to flee once more, this time to Thana in India, from which he returned to the Arabian Peninsula, trading in foodstuffs from the Wādi Qanūnā49 and settling in Mecca for most of the period between 808 and 820 / 1405 – 6 and 1417. He spent the last years of his life in Damascus and Cairo, where he died on 17 Īṣlām 828 / 6 May 1425. One year before his death in 827/1424, the friend of al-Āṭārī’s youth, Ibn ad-Damāmīnī died in Gulbarga, India. Al-Āṭārī owed him for his assistance in helping to create a network. Though the two men may have never met again after their youthful networking efforts, their fates had remarkable parallels. Both Ibn ad-Damāmīnī and al-Āṭārī had to flee from their creditors, both earned money by trading, both lived a life of ‘transregionality’ that led them to India (obviously not too exotic a choice for a scholar from the Mamluk empire in those times), and both died rich, despite earlier bankruptcy. Their efforts as aspiring young scholars to get taqāriz from influential scholars have a lot to teach us about the creation of scholarly networks. It is an irony of history that neither of them seems to have profited very much from it.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Al-Āṭārī, Zaynaddin Ṣa’bān, Mağma’al-Arab fī Ulūm al-Adab, MS Istanbul Laleli 3701, fol. 94a – 124b. 49 Ibn Fahd, Ḍayl al-Ṯaq fī-Ṭamīn, 768.


Secondary Sources


