HOW AL-BUḤĀRĪ’S ṢAḤĪḤ WAS EDITED IN THE MIDDLE AGES: ‘ALĪ AL-YÜNĪNĪ AND HIS RUMŪẒ

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INTRODUCTION

The Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Buḥārī, containing the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (ḥadīt), is undoubtedly one of the most influential works of Muslim culture. It was copied innumerable times. Even if we assume that it was more or less definitely redacted by al-Buḥārī, it inevitably underwent alterations in the process of circulation. As early as the 13th century, Muslim traditionists were aware of the difficulties of referring to an authentic text of the Ṣaḥīḥ. An edition in the modern sense, i.e. the production of identical copies, could not be realized before the invention of the printing-press.

Books on ḥadīt, as well as on other fields of knowledge, were studied through reading by or before the author or an authorized master, who corrected the reading if necessary. Students wrote down the lecture, or compared it with copies which they already possessed. When they had heard the book (or parts of it) or read it aloud before the master, they received a certificate of audition (samā’) from the master and a licence (iǧāza) to transmit the book (or parts of it) on their part. By the time of al-Buḥārī, people could also obtain an iǧāza without having heard the reading of the book, but the samā’ was appreciated more. Alterations of the text could be caused by differences in presentation by the author in different classes, by discrepancies between written records of pupils and by mistakes, additions, omissions, or falsifications by transmitters and copyists.

So, several generations after al-Buḥārī, different versions of his collection circulated in the Muslim world. As Johann Fück pointed out in his treatise, Beiträge zur

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1. I want to thank the director of the Oriental Department of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, very much for permission to publish the manuscript Hs. or. 4460 (cf. my Arabische Handschriften, n° 60) as well as to use copies of the manuscripts Spr. 908, fol. 47a (cf. Ahlwardt n° 150) and WE 160, fol. 1b-4a (cf. Ahlwardt n° 1147). I am also grateful to Professor Dr. Ewald Wagner, University of Giessen, for some valuable advice.

2. In this study, the term ḥadīt is not translated. In the following, the word "tradition" designates the path of ḥadīt transmission.

3. For the method of transmission and teaching, v. Schoeler: Frage 204-205, 224-228; id.: Mündliche Thora 237; Makdisi 140-145.


5. Cf. infra facsimile fol. 7b line 22 the formulation iǧāza‘an in lam yakun samā’an (“by iǧāza though not by samā’”).


Überlieferungsgeschichte von Buhārī's Traditionssammlung, eminent traditionists like Ibn Ḥaḍār al-ʿAsqālānī (773-852/1372-1449), al-ʿAynī (762-855/1360-1451), and al-Qaṣṭallānī (851-923/1448-1517), all of them living and working in Cairo, each provided a recension on the basis of different transmitters. Ibn Ḥaḍār and al-ʿAynī were obviously unaware of the most diligent efforts of one of their predecessors, the Syrian traditionist Saraf al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī al-Ḥanbalī (621-701/1224-1302). Collating various manuscripts, al-Yūnīnī left a copy of the Ṣahīḥ which was probably very close to the original. This Yūnīniyya was solely used by al-Qaṣṭallānī to a decisive extent. It is only through his commentary on al-Buhārī that al-Yūnīnī's redaction of the Ṣahīḥ has been known to us. Nevertheless, the texts of the Ṣahīḥ available today are thought to be based on the Yūniniyya by scholars like Ignaz Goldziher, who erroneously takes ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī's father Muḥammad for the author, as well as by Carl Brockelmann and Fuat Sezgin. Judging from al-Qaṣṭallānī’s report, Franz Rosenthal calls it a «masterpiece of Muslim theological scholarship».

While cataloguing Arabic manuscripts left by the German orientalist Oskar (Osman) Rescher, I came across al-Yūnīnī’s treatise entitled al-Ruṣūḥ ‘alā Ṣahīḥ al-Buhārī (The Signs to al-Buhārī’s Ṣahīḥ). There he describes the paths of transmission of his handexemplar, the copy for his personal use (aṣl samāʿī), and of the versions with which he compared it in a far more detailed way than reported by al-Qaṣṭallānī. Although scholars have so far known of the existence of two other copies of the Ruṣūḥ — one in the library of al-Azhar, the other in Rāmāpur —, the treatise has not attracted their attention. Our manuscript, now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, under the signature Hs. or. 4460, deserves special attention due to a note by a Cairene contemporary of Ibn ʿAynī and al-ʿAynī, the muḥaddith Muḥammad al-Badrānī.

In the time after al-Badrānī, the Ruṣūḥ seems to have been completely disregarded. Alī al-Yūnīnī’s philological work occasionally fell into oblivion, even though al-Qaṣṭallānī’s commentary on the Ṣahīḥ, which does deal with him, was studied by generations of students at the various madrasas. So the 19th century Azharite al-ʿAbbās al-Badrānī (1236-1305/1821-1887)...

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7. ZDMG 92 (1938)/60-87.
8. As a study about the transmission of Ḥadīṯ inevitably contains numerous and mostly long personal names, I decided to give in the text only that part of the name by which a person is known best. The full name is consigned to the footnote, in order to improve the readability of the paper. Abū al-ʿAṣad Abūḥalīm ʿAbd ʿAllāh b. Ṭūḥa: GAL2 1/117; 2/71-72, 121; GAS 1/117; Kahhala 3/172-174; 6/203-204.
12. GAL2 1/164.
13. GAS 1/117.
15. GAL S 1/262, I, 4, b; GAS 1/117.
in his gloss to al-Qastallâni’s introduction\textsuperscript{18} confused ‘Ali al-Yûnînî with his maternal grandfather, ‘Abd Allâh al-Yûnînî.\textsuperscript{19}

In this article I wish to give proper attention to the life and work of ‘Ali al-Yûnînî and to examine his influence up to the 9\textsuperscript{th}/15\textsuperscript{th} century, when al-Badrâni copied the \textit{Rumûz}. As this Badrâni is the last known person who was concerned with al-Yûnînî’s treatise, I shall also focus on him. The research is based on the \textit{Rumûz}, the most important biographical literature, the information provided by the chains of transmission of al-Badrâni, and two other Berlin documents dealing with al-Yûnînî.\textsuperscript{20}

\textit{Al-Rumûz ‘alâ Şâhih al-Buhârî}

The \textit{Rumûz} is printed in facsimile at the end of the article. For comparison I took into account the Azhar manuscript \textit{maqâmi} \textsuperscript{21} 225, fol. 103b-105a\textsuperscript{21} which I was kindly permitted to read in the Azhar library in September 1991. It dates from 1172/1758 and was written by the jurisprudent Almâd al-Suḥaymi.\textsuperscript{22}

As for the numerals, five is written in two ways, one being the older form shaped like the European eight (8), the other the modern Arabic circular form. It even happens that both appear in one and the same numeral,\textsuperscript{23} in the Berlin manuscript as well as in the Azhar manuscript. The modern digit five can be confused with the older form of the zero which is likewise a circle. So the zeros in the dates 630 and 320 could also be read as fives.\textsuperscript{24} It is striking that the numerals in most cases are written in both manuscripts in the same way. This may be an indication that they were copied from the same book.

\‘Ali al-Yûnînî’s family and life

\‘Ali al-Yûnînî lived in the 7\textsuperscript{th}/13\textsuperscript{th} century, a time of memorable events in the Islamic world: the Reconquista in the West, reducing the Muslim territories in the Iberian peninsula to the kingdom of Granada, and the Mongol conquest of the Eastern Islamic lands, which extinguished the caliphate of Baghdad. These upheavals brought a considerable number of refugees to Egypt and Syria.\textsuperscript{25} There, when ‘Ali was young, the later Ayyubids were engaged in internal struggles while the crusaders still held the Latin Kingdom, even comprising Jerusalem for more than a decade, as well as the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch. They Crusaders were finally expelled by the Mamluks only at the end of the century.

During the first half of al-Yûnînî’s lifetime, Syria was the centre of the Islamic world. Sunni Islam had been revitalized through confrontation with Christian expansion. Madrasas and schools devoted especially to the learning of \textit{hadîth} were established. In Damascus, the first dâr al-\textit{ḥadîth} was founded by the Zangid atabeg Nûr al-Dîn (511-569/1118-1174) and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Abyârî 140-141. In \textit{EI} \textsuperscript{2} 4/736 al-Qastallâni’s \textit{muqaddima} is referred to as a particular treatise on \textit{ḥadîth}, whereas in \textit{GAL S} 1/262, it is correctly mentioned as the introduction to the \textit{Irsâd}.
\item \textsuperscript{19} For him v. \textit{infra} note 39.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Cf. note 1.
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{Fihris} 503.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Almâd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alî al-Suḥaymi al-Qala’wi al-Ḥasâni al-‘Arṣî al-Ṣâﬁ‘î al-Azhârî: \textit{GAL} \textsuperscript{2} 2/451 S 2/456; Kahjâla 2/130-131; Ziriklî\textsuperscript{2} 1/243.
\item \textsuperscript{23} V. \textit{infra} fol. 7a line 20.
\item \textsuperscript{24} V. \textit{infra} fol. 7a line 17, and fol. 8a line 2.
\item \textsuperscript{25} For refugees coming from the Maghreb to Syria v. Pouzet: \textit{Maghrèbins}.
\end{itemize}
remained under the leadership of the Ibn ‘Asākir family. Some decades later, in the 7th/13th century, however, not less than ten hadīt schools were set up. Men like Ibn al-Šalāḥ al-Sahrāzūrī (577-643/1181-1245), the author of the standard work on the science of hadīt, entitled al-Muqaddima fi ‘ulūm al-hadīt, and his commentator al-Nawawi (631-676/1233-1278), who also compiled the widespread Arba‘īn al-Nawawīyya, taught there. His predecessor was Abū Șāma (599-665/1202-1268), who is known mainly as a historian.

The 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries were the golden age of Hanbalism and the Syrian capital was an important centre of this madḥab. It was represented by some notable families, such as the Banū Munāǧǧā, and the Banū Taymiyya whose most eminent member, Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328), devoted his life to the struggle against external and internal enemies of Islam, preaching the ghīdād and combating what he perceived as unscriptural innovation in religion.

‘Ali al-Ŷūnīni had personal contacts at least with the Banū Qudāmā family, but it is likely that he also knew other important families as his father, himself a prominent Hanbalite, seems to have moved to Damascus with his family in ‘Ali’s youth. Later, however, ‘Ali moved back to his native town of Ba‘thakk, where he had been born on Raqāb 11th, 621/July 29th, 1224. His father, Muḥammad (572-658/1177-1269), was a member of a leading family of the nearby village of Yūnīn and had married a daughter of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ŷūnīni (ca. 533-617/1138-1221), a highly respected šayḥ in the region. Muḥammad was a Šūfī as well as a recognized scholar of hadīt and jurisprudence. He studied under the Damascene traditionist Abū Tāhir Barakāt al-Ŷūṣūrī (510-598/1116-1210), who is said to

27. For the teaching of hadīt in 7th/13th century Damascus v. Pouzet: Damas 182-199. Cf. also Goldziher 186-188.
31. A detailed picture of the origin and development of the Hanbalite madḥab in Damascus, its dogma and the relations to the other madāhib, as well as the engagement of Ḥanbalites in the city, is drawn by Pouzet: Damas 80-96. For the universal development of Ḥanbalism v. Laoust.
32. For this family v. MAL 1/54-61.
33. For the Banū Qudāmā and their origin v. Droy and Miura.
35. V. infra note 108-111, the transmitters of his hanexemplar.
38. Yaqūt 8/531; Dussaud 412.
40. Abū Tāhir Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm b. Tāhir al-Ŷusūrī al-Raffā‘: Wafayār 1/269-270; Siyar 21/355-357; Wāfī 10/117; Kaḥhāla 5/33; Zirīkli 7/3/220. For references to other members of the leading Damascene family of al-Ŷusūrī v. MAL 1/373.
have been the last person with an igāza of al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1122),41 the author of the famous Maqāmāt. The renowned jurist Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma (541-620/1147-1223)42 was Muḥammad’s teacher of fiqh.

One of Saraf al-Dīn ‘Ālī’s sisters was married to the governor of Ba‘lbak and Śawbak, a certain Aybak (d. 674/1275).43 The most renowned member of the family, however, was his younger brother, the historian Qutb al-Dīn Abū al-Fath Mūsā al-Ŷūnīnī, the author of the chronicle Dayl Mi‘rāt al-zaman. He was born in Damascus in 640/1242 and died in 726/1326.44

‘Ālī al-Ŷūnīnī did most of his studies in the Syrian capital. In Ramaḍān 630/June 1233, he stayed together with his father and other scholars in the Damascene citadel in order to study Buhārī’s Sahīh.45 Muḥammad al-Ŷūnīnī was on friendly terms with the Ayyubid governor of Damascus, al-Āṣraf I (regn. 625-635/1228-1238). In the same year, 630/1233, al-Āṣraf founded two institutions dedicated to the study of hadīth, which both were named after him. The šāyḥ of the first Damascene Dār al-hadīth al-āṣrafīyya, which was situated in the centre of the town near the citadel, was the leading Šāfi’ī jurist and traditionist, the above-mentioned Ibn al-Šalāh al-Ŝahrazūrī. The second school was built extra muros in the suburb of al-Šālihiyya on Mount Qāṣiyya founded by Hanbalite immigrants from Jerusalem and other places under Frankish rule.46 It became the preserve of the Hanbalite traditionists of the offspring of Ibn Qudāma and other Palestinian families.47 Damascus developed under the government of al-Āṣraf into the main cultural and religious centre of the Arab East and was only gradually replaced by the capital, Cairo, after the Mamluk victory over the Mongols in 658/1260.

44. GAL 2 1/425 n° 13, 1, c S 1/589; Khāhālā 13/45-46; Zīrikīli 7/328.
45. Cf. infra fol. 7a line 17-18. The Sahīh was transmitted on the authority of Abū al-Waqt al-Harawi (458-553/1066-1158; v. infra note 84), the šāyḥ of al-Ŷūnīnī’s teacher (Ibn) al-Zabīdī (546/1151 or 547/1152-631/1233; v. infra note 82), but not of Ibn al-‘Īzz (591-643/1195-1245; v. infra note 108), who was present at the reading. So Ibn al-‘Īzz was not a transmitter of the Sahīh, as the nominative ‘Abī al-‘Abbās […] Ibn al-‘Īzz » in both of the manuscripts of the Rumūz (v. infra fol. 7a line 11) suggests, but a reciter, and the Arabic text has to be read « wa [bi-qira‘at] Abī al-‘Abbās […] ». In our manuscript the six of the date is confused with the digit for two. The date in the Azhar manuscript can be read either as 635/1228 or as 630/1223 (cf. Irani 4-8). In Ramaḍān 635/April 1238, the political situation in Damascus was unclear. Some days before, the great emirs of the deceased Sultan al-Kāmil had gathered in the same place in order to elect a new ruler of the city. After the death of his brother al-Āṣraf, the Egyptian sultan had taken Damascus on Qumādā 19th, 635/January 7th, 1238 after a siege of nearly two months, but he had died there on Ragāb 21th/March 9th (Humphreys 234-242). I think it is unlikely in this situation that the Sahīh was studied in the citadel. So the date has to be read Ramaḍān 630/June 1233. At this date, (Ibn) al-Zabīdī was still alive. As we know that he lived in the Damascene citadel for some time, I assume that the lectures took place in his presence.
46. For the development of this suburb v. Miura.
47. Humphreys 211; Pouzet: Damas 188-189. The Banū Qudāma, though called Maqdisī, did not originate from Jerusalem but from the region of Nablus, cf. Drory 98; Miura 132-133.
About the other stations of ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī’s life, we only have incidental information. After the year 640/1242, he travelled to Egypt five times in order to improve his knowledge in ḥadīth.48 He refers to his sojourn in Cairo in 661/1263 in the Rūmūz.49 Apart from that, he seems to have spent most of his life in Syria. He visited Ḥmā at least twice: in the year 671/1272, in order to teach the Sahih there,50 and one year later, on Ramaḍān 9th, 672/March 19th, 1274, to attend a recitation by the poet Sadīd al-Dīn Ābū al-‘Abbās al-Ḥīdr b. ‘Ābd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥīdr al-Šayḥ al-Ṣāliḥ (584-681/1188-1283) in the Ḥanqāḥ al-Nūriyya, as his brother informs us.51 His place of residence, however, was Ba’lbaḵ, where he attracted travelling students. Nevertheless, he also went to Damascus to teach.52 Al-Yūnīnī had just returned from one of these journeys on Friday, Ramaḍān 5th, 701/May 4th, 1302, and was in the library of his house53 in Ba’lbaḵ when a certain Mūsā al-Miṣrī al-Nāṣif entered the room, drew a knife and stabbed him. He died from his wounds a few days later, on Thursday, Ramaḍān 11th/May 10th.54 He was buried in his native town at Bāb Baṯṭā’.55 Nothing is known about the motive for this murder. Sources suggest that it was the deed of a madman.

As a teacher of ḥadīth, al-Yūnīnī’s influence seems to have been rather limited. Nevertheless, some of his pupils are known to us: apart from his son ‘Ābd al-Qādir (672/1272 or 682/1283 or 683/1284-747/1346),56 his most prominent disciples were al-Bīrẓālī (665-739/1267-1339)57 and al-Dahābī (673-748/1274-1348),58 both authors of biographical encyclopaedias, but less influential as traditionists.

In Ḥmā in 671/1272, al-Yūnīnī taught the Sahih before a group of disciples, of whom a certain Muḥammad b. ‘Ābd al-Rahmān Ibn Qurnās and his father are named in a certificate of audition.59 Among his Damascene pupils was ‘Ali b. Ayyūb al-Maqqūsī (approx. 666-747/1272-1347),60 later a teacher in Jerusalem, who suffered in his last years from mental derangement except during sessions of ḥadīṯ lecturing, as his biographer assures us. In
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735/1334, the historian and geographer Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maqdisi al-Ḥawwāṣi (714-765/1314-1364) read al-Buḥārī’s book before ‘Alī al-Maqdisi in the Aqṣā Mosque. Twenty-two years later, in 757/1356, Ahmad transmitted the Sahih to an anonymous person in the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya in Jerusalem. At this date, this chain of transmitters of ‘Alī al-Yūnīnī’s tradition comes to an end. It is noted down in a Berlin manuscript of the Sahih, copied approximately in 900/1494.

A longer isnād leads from ‘Alī al-Yūnīnī to al-Qaṣṭallānī via the inspector of the Syrian treasury, Ibn al-Ṣayraḡī (682-770/1283-1368) and two younger traditionists. Ibn al-Ṣayraḡī was also among the teachers of Ibn Kaṭīr (701-774/1301-1373), the author of the chronicle al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya, and of Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī (725-806/1325-1404). This most influential muḥaddīt studied also with two other pupils of al-Yūnīnī, i.e. the judge ‘Umar Ibn Zabāṭīr (d. 764/1362) and Ahmad Ibn al-Ǧuwaḡī (673/1274 or 683/1284-764/1362), who had given up his function in the army and devoted his life to the study of hadīt. Both are named in the list of sayḥs of the Jerusalem jurist al-Qibābī (748-838/1348-1434) together with three other pupils of al-Yūnīnī: the Baʿlbakī civilian supervisor of the army office (nāẓīr al-ġayyāṣ), Sulaymān al-Ǧaʿlī (b. after 670/1271-755/1354), theDamascene teacher and muʿaddīn at the Umayyad Mosque, Ahmad al-Šaḥyūnī (682-761/1283-1359), and the wālī al-ḥisba of Damascus, Ibn al-ʿAffī (693-764/1293-1362).

‘Alī al-Yūnīnī’s teachers

‘Alī al-Yūnīnī’s first teacher was his father, who taught not only his sons but also his two daughters, among other pupils.

62. This madrasa, built on the orders of the Mamluk viceroy of Syria, Tankiz al-Nāṣirī, was completed in 729/1328, MAE 2/132.
63. Berlin manuscript WE. 160, fol. 2a (Ahlwardt n° 1147).
64. Cf. Fück Tafel III.
67. For him v. infra note 206.
74. Wāfī 2/121.
Like many other traditionists, 'Ali began his education very early in life. By the age of three or even less he attended lectures (sami‘a hudur an) given by the traditionist and jurist Bahā‘ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (555/1160 or 556/1161-624/1227) in Ba‘labakk. Together with his father, Bahā‘ had emigrated from his native village in the district of Nablus for fear of the Franks, first to Damascus and then to Egypt. In 572/1174, he went to Baghdād and later returned to Syria. He lived in Damascus, Nablus, and Ba‘labakk, and finally Damascus again, gathering students around himself. Bahā‘ is known as commentator of the Ḥanbali manual Kitāb al-muqni‘ of his teacher Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmā and the Kitāb al-‘umda about religious observances written by the same author.

In Ba‘labakk al-Yūnīnī also heard a certain ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī al-Md‘W al-Irbīli, and Ibn Rawāḥa (560-646/1164-1248), whose father had been a prisoner of the Franks in Sicily who, after his release, had gone to Alexandria. There he let his son hear the famous Persian scholar al-Silāfī (478/1085 or earlier-576/1180). Al-Silāfī taught for more than sixty years in Alexandria at a madrasa built for him by a Fatimid emir, which was the centre of transmission of his times. Sultan Šalāḥ al-Dīn (532-589/1138-1193) and his brother participated in his gatherings. Ibn Rawāḥa later turned from Egypt to Syria, lecturing in various towns. ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī’s Damascene teachers are:


75. Wāfī 21/421.
77. Hanābīla 345.
78. V. supra note 42.
83. V. infra the transmission of the handexemplar.
85. Fück 79.
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— Ibn al-Latti (545-635/1151-1238),86 who lived mainly in his native city of Baghdad, but also taught in Aleppo, Damascus and Karak. As a young boy, Ibn al-Latti heard the late Abī al-Waqt, and so he constitutes a second link between ‘Alī al-Yūnīnī and this important transmitter;

— Abū Sādiq Ibn Ṣabbāb al-Miṣrī (541-632/1156-1235),87 one of the shuhūd al-ḥizāna of Damascus;

— Al-Hammaḍānī (546-636/1151-1238),88 a scholar of Iranian origin, who was born in Egypt and lived in Damascus. He was a transmitter of his fellow-countryman al-Silāfī;

— Mukram89 Ibn Abī al-Ṣaqār (548-635/1153-1238),90 a merchant and collector of ḥadīṣ-s, who visited Egypt several times;

— Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣīrāzī (549-635/1156-1238),91 qāḍī of Syria and professor at the Madrasat al-‘Ijmād and later at the Šāmiyya al-kubrā in Damascus, who had an igāza from Abū al-Waqt among others;

— Al-Ṭarīf I (576-635/1180-1237),92 the governor of Damascus. He had met the above-mentioned Hanbalite (Ibn) al-Zabīdī in Baghdad and taken him along to Damascus. Al-Ṭarīf heard al-Buhārī’s Sahīh in eight days from al-Zabīdī, most probably in Ramadān-Sawwāl 630/June-July 1233.93 ‘Alī al-Yūnīnī is referred to as al-Ṭarīf’s only transmitter.94

All of his Egyptian teachers were, as far as we know, students of al-Silāfī, like Ibn al-Gummāyzi (558-649/1163-1252),95 who was also a pupil of the Damascene historian Ibn ‘Asākir (499-571/1159-1251),96 and himself a teacher in Damascus, Mecca, and finally in Cairo. Presumably it was in Alexandria that al-Yūnīnī heard Ibn Rāwaḡ (554-648/1159-1251).97 The last of these is the traditionist and biographer al-Mundūrī (581-656/1185-1229).
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1258), who was probably visited by al-Yūnīnī in Cairo. Al-Mundūrī was a teacher there for more than twenty years. But it was in Damascus that al-Yūnīnī maintained the most fruitful relations. There he met the famous grammarian Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (600 or 601-672/1203 or 1204-1275). It was in cooperation with him that he provided the text of Buḥārī’s Šāhīḥ.

The transmission of al-Yūnīnī’s handexemplar

In his efforts to correct later additions to, or omissions from al-Buḥārī’s Šāhīḥ as well as misreadings, al-Yūnīnī endeavoured to go back to the original as close as possible. Al-Buḥārī’s most important disciple, the principal transmitter of the "first layer", was al-Firābī (231-320/845-932). Al-Yūnīnī tried to establish his text by comparison with the traditions of his pupils, mainly of Ibn Ḥammūwayhi al-Ḥamāwī (293-381/905-991), al-Mustamli (d. 376/986), and Abū Ḥayṭam al-Kuṣmīhānī (d. 389/999) ("second layer"). He noted down in his handexemplar the variants of readings and marked them by special abbreviations.

The handexemplar reflected the tradition of al-Firābī’s pupil Ibn Ḥammūwayhi. He received (aḥbara-nī bi-hi) this text from his teacher (Ibn) al-Zabīdī through the reading (bi-qirā’a) of four scholars in the course of the above-mentioned session in the citadel of Damascus during Ramadan 630/June 1233. One of the scholars was his father, while the other three belonged to the Banū Qudāma clan: Ibn al-Ġizz (591-643/1195-1245), his cousin Sarāf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Maqdīsī (605-659/1208-660), and the calligrapher and author Sayf al-Dīn Abū Ḥaṃdāl al-Maqdīsī (605-673/1208-1245). The latter descended from the famous Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma, the other two were grandsons of

100. V. infra note 168.
101. Described in Rumūz, v. infra fol. 7a line 6-25.
102. For the classification of the transmission into different "layers" v. Fück, op. cit.
104. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāḥ b. Ḥaṃdāl Ibn Ḥammūwayhi al-Ḥamāwī al-Saraḥṣī: Siyar 16/492-493; Wāfī 17/45. For the manuscript of the Šāhīḥ, which Ibn Ḥammūwayhi read in Herat in 373/983 v. a note in MAL 1/88.
105. Abū İshāq İbrāhīm b. Abūm Ḥaṃdāl al-Balljī al-Mustamlī: Siyar 16/492; Fück 64; Kahḥāla 1/3; Zirīkli7 1/28-29.
106. Abū Ḥayṭam Muḥammad b. al-Makki al-Kuṣmīhānī: Siyar 16/491-492; Wāfī 5/57-58; Fück 64; Kahḥāla 12/49.
107. V. infra fol. 7a line 6-25. For the date v. supra note 45.
his maternal cousin, the pugnacious Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḡānī al-Maqdisī al-Ḡammāʿī (541-600/1146-1203), who was ousted from Damascus after being accused of heresy.

(Ibn) al-Zabīdī’s transmission of the Šahīḥ goes back to Ibn Ḥammuwayhi via two muḥaddīṭūn: in 553/1158, he read the text before Abū al-Waqt, who read it in Būṣāṅ before al-Dāwūdī (374-467/984-1075), who in Ṣafār 381/April 991 read it before Ibn Ḥammuwayhi. So the handexemplar had a relatively "high" isnād. Since the readers of the Šahīḥ in (Ibn) al-Zabīdī’s circle did not function as al-Yūnīnī’s transmitters, the chain contains only five links between him and al-Buhārī.

Confirming the lineage from Abū al-Waqt to al-Buhārī, al-Yūnīnī addsuce the testimony of another student of the former, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh (b.?). "Atīq b. Baqā’" al-Ḥaḡādāṭī.115

The versions of the Šahīḥ with which al-Yūnīnī compared his handexemplar

1st 116 — Taking the text of Ibn Ḥammuwayhi as the starting point, al-Yūnīnī compared the Šahīḥ with the version of al-Firaḥbī’s pupil al-Kušmīhānī. In 661/1262, al-Yūnīnī read the whole Šahīḥ before the late Darīr (572-661/1176-1263)117 from the handexemplar of the latter (aṣl samāʿī-hī). Al-Ḍarīr was a son-in-law of the famous Šāṭībī (538-590/1144-1194)118 and, as al-Yūnīnī points out, the greatest reciter of the Qurʾān in Egypt. He transmitted from three ṣayḥ-s: the first, the Cairene al-Būṣārī (500/1107 or 505/1112-985/1201) 119, one of al-Silāfī’s students, who was the sole transmitter of certain ḥadīth-s. His ṣayḥ-s were the grammarians al-Saʿīdī al-Nahwī (420-520/1030-1126)120 and Abū Ṣādīq al-Madānī (d. 517/1123),121 one of al-Silāfī’s teachers; the second, the al-Ḥaḍāṭī (507-601/1113-1205)122 from Artāḥ near Aleppo,123 who settled in Egypt and lectured on the basis of another handexemplar.

111. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḡānī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd b. ʿAlī b. Suʿūd. Surūr al-Maqdisī al-Ḡammāʿī: GAL 2/1437 S 1/605; Kahḥālā 5/275-276; Ziriklī 4/34; Dory 105-106, f; for the relation of Ibn Qudāmā and ʿAbd al-Ḡānī al-Maqdisī v. Pouzet: Damas 86. Three manuscripts written by him or read before him are dealt with by Leder. The Diyāʾiyya madrasa had been endowed with these manuscripts which are now preserved in the Syrian National Library, v. infra note 151.

112. Situated near Herat, cf. Yaqūt 2/304-305. In both of our manuscripts miswritten as Bu Sayh. The year is given in manuscript Berlin as Du al-Qaʿda 465/Juli 1073, and appears in manuscript Azhar mistakenly as Du al-Qaʿda 495/August 1102.


114. Bāfā in manuscript Azhar.

115. V. infra fol. 8a line 4-5. Maybe this obscure scholar is the son (or grandson?) of ‘Atīq b. Baqā’, teacher of a certain muḥaddīṭ who deceased in 685/128, cf. Dāyil Mirʿār 4/301.

116. Described in Rumiẓ, v. infra fol. 7b line 7, fol. 8a line 6.

117. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ṣuʿūd. Surūr al-Maqdisī al-Ḡammāʿī: GAL 2/1437 S 1/605; Kahḥālā 5/275-276; Ziriklī 4/34; Dory 105-106, f; for the relation of Ibn Qudāmā and ʿAbd al-Ḡānī al-Maqdisī v. Pouzet: Damas 86. Three manuscripts written by him or read before him are dealt with by Leder. The Diyāʾiyya madrasa had been endowed with these manuscripts which are now preserved in the Syrian National Library, v. infra note 151.


123. Yaqūt 1/177.
iğâza from al-Farrâ‘ (433-519/1041-1125)\textsuperscript{124}; and the third, Abû Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh (b.?) ‘Atīq b. Baqā‘ al-Bağḍādī. He obtained the Ṣahih from Abû al-Waqt, while the lineage of al-Ḍarîr’s other teachers went back through the famous Karîma al-Marwaziyya (d. 463/1070)\textsuperscript{125} to al-Kuṣmîhâni. Karîma heard al-Kuṣmîhâni in Ḥurâsân. In this book, the differences between the reading of the latter and that of Karîma were noted down. Al-Ŷûnînî marked the variants of this manuscript, which was also read to him (aṣl sama‘i), alluding to al-Sam‘âni’s honorific epithet al-ḥâfîz, by the letter ẓâ’.\textsuperscript{130}

3rd \textsuperscript{131}—Al-Kuṣmîhâni’s tradition was also incorporated into the transmission of Abû Ḍarr (355-434/966-1042),\textsuperscript{132} who had studied the Ṣahih under him as well as under al-Firâbî’s pupils Ibn Ḥammûwâyhî and al-Muṣtâmî. The differences in the readings of his three šayîhs were noted by Abû Ḍarr in his text. So his efforts «amount to the oldest verifiable attempt to establish a critical edition of the Ṣahih».\textsuperscript{133} Al-Ŷûnînî used a manuscript of Abû Ḍarr’s tradition, which was read before the calligrapher, reciter of al-Sâliṭî, Ibn al-Ḥuṭay’a (478-560/1085-1164),\textsuperscript{134} who had travelled from his native town, Fez, to Egypt, Mecca, and Syria, and finally settled in Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥuṭay’a had received the Ṣahih from Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍrâmî,\textsuperscript{135} who had got it from Abû

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\textsuperscript{124} Abû al-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar al-Farrâ‘: Siyâr 19/500-501. He had come from Mosul to Egypt.

\textsuperscript{125} Umm al-Kirâm Karîma bint Aḥmâd al-Marwaziyya: Siyâr 18/233-234; Fûck 69; Zîrîkî\textsuperscript{7} 5/225.

\textsuperscript{126} V. infra fol. 7b line 23-24.

\textsuperscript{127} Described in Rumiz, v. infra fol. 8a line 6-13.


\textsuperscript{129} Abû Sa‘d ‘Abd al-Karîm b. Muḥammad b. Maṃṣîr al-Sam‘âni: Waﬀâyât 3/209-212; Taḍkîra 4/1316-1318; Siyâr 20/456-650; Fûck 78; GAL\textsuperscript{2} 1/401-402 S 1/564-565; Kahhâla 6/4-5; Zîrîkî\textsuperscript{7} 4/55; EL\textsuperscript{7} 7/1024-1025. Cf. also Sam‘âni: Methodik. His presence in the Dâr al-Sumâsî is also documented by an iğâza, dated Dû al-Hâṣa‘a 20th, 535/July 27th, 1141, for another work of tradition, MAL 1/74.

\textsuperscript{130} V. infra fol. 6b line 9 and 12, fol. 8b line 5.

\textsuperscript{131} Described in Rumiz, v. infra fol. 8a line 13-19.

\textsuperscript{132} Abû Ḍarr ‘Abd b. Aḥmâd b. Muḥammad al-Harâwî: Siyâr 17/554-563; Fûck 72-75; GAS 1/231; Kahhâla 6/32; Zîrîkî\textsuperscript{7} 3/269.

\textsuperscript{133} Fûck 73.


\textsuperscript{135} Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. Maṃṣîr al-Ḥaḍrâmî is only mentioned in Siyâr 20/345 (as al-Ḥuṭay’a’s teacher).
al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Ġalil b. Abī Sa‘īd,\textsuperscript{136} who had obtained it from Abū Darr. Al-Yūnīnī prized this manuscript for its correctness and thoroughness as did the muḥaddīt al-Ṣarfīnī (581-641/1185-1243),\textsuperscript{137} who had studied in the eastern lands of the Islamic world and finally died in Damascus, and whom al-Yūnīnī calls « our șayḥ ». Its variants are marked in al-Yūnīnī’s text by the isolated version of the letter ẖā’.

4th\textsuperscript{139} — In addition, al-Yūnīnī was told (āḥbāra-nī) the tradition of Abū Darr by his teacher al-Ḥamadānī from al-Silāfī,\textsuperscript{140} who had an ǧāza from the Andalusian Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (476-544/1083-1149),\textsuperscript{141} the author of the renowned paraenetic poem about the observances of a Muslim towards the Prophet Muḥammad entitled al-Ṣifā‘ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā. In Cordoba, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ heard Ibn Sukkara (ca. 454-514/1062-1120),\textsuperscript{142} a student of the distinguished Andalusian theologian al-Bāği (403-474/1013-1081),\textsuperscript{143} who stayed for three years in Mecca, where he attended Abū Darr’s lectures. Through Ibn Sukkara and al-Bāği Abū Darr’s tradition of the Şahīh became the one preferred in Spain.\textsuperscript{144}

These were the ways of transmission by which al-Yūnīnī endeavoured to trace the versions of Ibn Ḥammuwayhi as conveyed by Abū Darr, al-Mustamli, and al-Kūṣmīhānī. For the variants of each of them, he used the initial versions of the letters ẖā’ for Ibn Ḥammuwayhi, ṣīn\textsuperscript{145} for al-Mustamli, and ẖā’ for al-Kūṣmīhānī, combining the letters where necessary. He wrote the abbreviation either over the word in question or in the margin. Where a word was missing in one of the texts, he added  lah to the abbreviation. In cases where all three șayḥ-s of Abū Darr diverged from his handexemplar, he wrote the variants in the margin together with saḥha.\textsuperscript{146}

5th\textsuperscript{147} — Beyond these three witnesses of the "second layer", al-Yūnīnī consulted the testimony of two others, namely al-Fīrābī’s disciples al-Marwāzī (301-371/913-982)\textsuperscript{148} and Abū ʿAhmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Ḡurğānī (d. 373/983).\textsuperscript{149} They were the

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\textsuperscript{136} This obscure individual must be much older than the only traditionist with a similar name I could find, the teacher of al-Samʿānī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī Saʿīd al-Muʿaddil Musnid Harat (470-562/1078-1166); Tadkira 4/1318; Siyar 20/451.


\textsuperscript{138} V. infra fol. 6b line 9,11 and 21; fol. 8b line 1.

\textsuperscript{139} Described in Rumūz, v. infra fol. 8b line 26; fol. 9a line 3.

\textsuperscript{140} For these two v. supra.

\textsuperscript{141} Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Muṣā b. ʿIyāḍ al-Yahṣūbī: Wafayāt 3/483-485; Tadkira 4/1304-1307; Siyar 20/212-217; Wafī 3/483-485; GAL\textsuperscript{2} 1/455-456 S 1/630-632; Kahḩāla 8/16-17; Ziriklí\textsuperscript{1} 5/99; EF\textsuperscript{2} 4/289-290.

\textsuperscript{142} Abū ʿAlī al-Husayn b. Muḥammad b. Fira al-Ṣadāfī Ibn Sukkara: Siyar 19/376-378; Wafī 13/43-44; Kahḩāla 4/56; Ziriklí\textsuperscript{2} 2/255; Fück 77; EF\textsuperscript{2} 8/707-708.

\textsuperscript{143} Abū al-Walīd Sulaymān b. Ḥaḷaf b. Saʿād al-Ǧābī: Wafayāt 2/408-409; Siyar 18/535-545; Wafī 15/372-374; GAL\textsuperscript{2} 1/534 S 1/743-744; Kahḩāla 4/261-262; Ziriklí\textsuperscript{3} 3/125; EF\textsuperscript{2} 1/864-865.

\textsuperscript{144} Fück 73-74.

\textsuperscript{145} Al-Qaṣṭallānī (Irṣād 34) reads it as ṣīn-tā‘.

\textsuperscript{146} V. infra fol. 6b line 9; fol. 7a line 5, where the choice of these letters and details of usage are explained. Cf. also Fück 80-81.

\textsuperscript{147} Described in Rumūz, v. infra fol. 8a line 19-23.

\textsuperscript{148} Abū Ẓayd Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāḥ al-Marwāzī: Wafayāt 4/208-209; Siyar 12/313-315; Wafī 2/71-72; Fück 65.

\textsuperscript{149} Fück 66.
Šayh-s of the Andalusian muhaddit and jurist al-Asili (314-392/926-1002),\textsuperscript{150} who heard the Šāhi in Mecca and Baghdad before al-Marwazi and also in Baghdad before al-Ḡurgānī. In the Madrasa al-Diyā‘iyya in Damascus,\textsuperscript{151} al-Yūnīnī found a manuscript endowed to it which contained al-Asili’s tradition together with marginalia written by the greatest muhaddit of his time in the Maghrib, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (368-463/978-1071).\textsuperscript{152} For the variants taken from this volume, al-Yūnīnī choose the letter šād.\textsuperscript{153}

6th\textsuperscript{154} — The tradition of al-Asili was verified by the transmission that ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī obtained (aljbarā-nī) from his father, related by al-Ḫusū‘i\textsuperscript{155} on the basis of an iğāza of Ibn ‘Attāb (433-520/1041-1126),\textsuperscript{156} who for his part had a licence from Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and was himself a teacher of Qādī ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī. In this instance, Ibn ‘Attāb transmitted on the one hand from his own father Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (383-462/978-1071),\textsuperscript{157} who got the Šāhi from al-Asili’s pupil al-Wasitī (d. 437/1045).\textsuperscript{158} On the other hand, he had obtained an iğāza from a certain Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Nābāt,\textsuperscript{159} another immediate disciple of al-Asili.

7th\textsuperscript{160} — Finally, al-Yūnīnī attended lectures (ḥaddaṭa-nī) from the handexemplar of the Damascene historian Ibn ‘Asākir (499-571/1106-1176)\textsuperscript{161} by Ibn ‘Allān al-Qaysī (573-652/1177-1254)\textsuperscript{162} on the basis of an iğāza. He is known for being the only disciple of the historian Ibn Ḥallikān (608-681/1211-1281).\textsuperscript{163} This manuscript was further transmitted to al-Yūnīnī (ḥaddaṭa-nī) by ‘Ali Ibn ‘Asākir’s nephew and pupil Zayn al-Umanā’ al-Ḥasan.
Al-Yūnīnī signed Ibn ʿAsākir's readings by the isolated version of the letter (ṣīn). So al-Yūnīnī did not establish a recension of his own, containing the wording that he considered to be authentic, but a text with variants and a critical apparatus. It is noteworthy that he marked only those variants he had extracted from written records available in Damascus. How far he took into account the versions n° 1, the manuscript which he only read at al-Ḍarīr's in Cairo, and n° 4 and 6, which he had received by oral transmission, is not clear.

The four manuscripts which he used for reference were approximately a hundred years old and older: n° 2 was written before 553/1158 (the year of death of Abū al-Waqīt), n° 3 before 560/1164 (the year of death of Ibn al-Ḥuṭayʿa), n° 5 before 463/1071 (the year of death of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr), and n° 7 before 571/1176 (the year of death of Ibn ʿAsākir). Moreover, they all had been read before and authenticated by outstanding traditionists. Two of them, n° 2 and 7, were read while al-Yūnīnī was listening. The versions of the other two (n° 3 and 5) he was, apparently, not able to hear himself. In these cases, he especially stresses the superior qualities of the manuscripts. So, even though al-Yūnīnī relied only on written records, he attached great value to the audition of the text in lectures. He himself had his reading scrutinized by the greatest grammarian of the time, Ibn Mālik, the author of the highly regarded poem about Arabic grammar entitled al-Alfīyya. During 71 sessions, Ibn Mālik listened to the reading of the volume by ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī in the presence of several learned men who compared it with their own verified manuscripts. Whenever there was a question concerning pronunciation or grammar, Ibn Mālik gave his expert opinion.

Al-Qaṣṭallānī lists two further manuscripts with which the handexemplar was collated. The first was read by ʿAbd al-Ḥanī al-Maqdīsī al-Ǧommāʿī (d. 600/1203) before al-Artāḥī, while the other one was a copy written by Abū Ṣādiq al-Madānī and endowed to the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Cairo. The variants of these two books were signed with red ink. Al-Artāḥī and al-Madānī belong to the chain of transmitters of al-Ḍarīr, whose tradition al-Yūnīnī read in Cairo (n° 1). One cannot rule out the possibility that he also used these two manuscripts during one of his sojourns in Cairo, but since he does not mention them in the Rūmūz, the red marks were most likely added by a later scholar. The same seems to be true of some additional abbreviations which al-Qaṣṭallānī could not interpret.

The fate of al-Yūnīnī's handexemplar

Al-Yūnīnī's personal copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ containing all the variants that he had found in the manuscripts was sold in Cairo after his death. In the introduction to his ʿIrṣād al-sārī fi ʿṣārh Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī, al-Qaṣṭallānī gives the following account of the fate of the

165. V. infra fol. 6b line 9 and 12: sīn; fol. 8b line 4: šīn.
166. Cf. also Fück 82.
167. For him v. supra note 99.
168. ʿIrṣād 34; Fück 81.
169. ʿIrṣād 34; Fück 80-81, n° 5-6.
170. V. supra note 111.
171. Maqrizi 2/246; Creswell: Chronology 41-42; Petry 340.
handexemplar which consisted of two volumes;\textsuperscript{172} according to a note al-Qaṣṭallānī saw on the back of a manuscript in al-Azhar, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aqbugā ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, an emir of the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (regn. 709-741/1310-1341), had bought the handexemplar for about ten thousand dinārs. He then endowed it to the madrasa founded by himself in 734/1333.\textsuperscript{173} At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, it was lost, but on Ġumādā I 13th, 916/August 18th, 1510, al-Qaṣṭallānī found the second volume. Some time later, he obtained the first one in the booksellers’ market. In the last ten days of Muḥarram 917/April 1511, he completed the collation with a manuscript of the Yūnāniyya copied by the imām and muḥaddīt Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Mizzī al-Gūzūlī.\textsuperscript{174} This book was endowed to the mausoleum of Amir Tankiz Buğa in the northern cemetery at the foot of the Muqaṭṭam outside al-Bāb al-Maḥrūq.\textsuperscript{175} Al-Qaṣṭallānī appreciated it even more than the handexemplar. Maybe it was more legible.

On the first page of al-Yūnīnī’s handexemplar, there was a certificate of audition in the hand of Ibn Malik, and at the end of the volume, al-Yūnīnī had written a note about his cooperation with Ibn Mālik.\textsuperscript{176}

The fate of the handexemplar after al-Qaṣṭallānī is obscure. According to Sezgin, at the time of the Ottoman Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II (regn. 1293-1327/1876-1909), it was kept in an Istanbul library until the Sultan sent it to Cairo to have the Ṣaḥīḥ printed. Since then the traces of the handexemplar have been lost. Sezgin speculates that the edition printed in Bulaq in 1313/1895-1896 is largely based on al-Yūnīnī’s efforts.\textsuperscript{177}

The explanation of the redaction (i.e. the Rumūz ‘alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buhārī) was not incorporated into the handexemplar, but had been composed by al-Yūnīnī as a separate treatise. Evidently, it was not known to al-Qaṣṭallānī. In the Berlin manuscript, the Rumūz forms the first part of a compound volume, followed by al-Buṭārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ. The whole book is written in the hand of a certain šayḫ Abū al-Rāgī Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Marqūbī al-Ḥanāfī al-Māturīdī, about whose identity I have been unable to find any information. He completed the manuscript on Safar 21st, 1241/October 5th, 1825, in an unnamed locality. As all manuscripts of Rescher’s collection whose provenance is given to have come from Anatolia or Rumelia, probably the same is true of this one. At the end of the Rumūz (fol. 9a) the writer copied a note stating that they were attached (to the Ṣaḥīḥ) by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Badrānī on Ġumādā I 21st, 835/January 1896-1897.

\begin{itemize}
\item 172. Irşād 33-35.
\item 173. Inscriptions in the madrasa, which was built against the north-west facade of al-Azhar, give the year 740/1339 as the date of the completion of the dome and the minaret; cf. Répertoire vol. 15, n° 5791 and 5800. MAE 1/38. See also Petry 335.
\item 174. Probably identical with Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sūfī (697-777/1298-1375), imām at the Hānjāh al-Baybarsīyya and known for his handsome writing; Durar 3/408-409. For the convent which was founded by the later Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Baybars II al-Ġāsīnkīr (regn. 708-709/1303-1304) in 706/1306-1307 in the north of the older Hānjāh Sa‘īd al-Ĥuṣayn b. Ṣa‘īd, and was considered as the most sumptuous one in Egypt in the end of the 14th century, v. Maqrīzī 2/416; Petry 328.
\item 175. The mausoleum of Amir Tankiz-Buğa was completed in 764/1362, cf. MAE 1/113 n° 85. Petry 340.
\item 176. The “burnt gate”, the former Bāb al-Qarrāṭīn, “gate of the merchants of clove”, got this name after a quarrelling group of mamluks had set fire to it in 652/1254, Maqrīzī 1/383. It was situated in the east of the Ayyubid city wall near the Mosque of al-Aslam al-Bahā‘ī, MAE 1/24-25 and fig. 10; Map H6; MAE 2/424-43.
\item 177. Irşād 34; Fück 81 n. 2 remarks that the year 676/1277 for the cooperation mentioned in Irşād is incorrect, for Ibn Mālik died in 672/1274, cf. supra note 99.
\item 178. GAS 1/117. As I only recently became aware of the Beirut edition (in the 70 s) prepared by Ahmad Muḥammad Ṣākīr, I could not take it into account for this study. According to the editor, it is based on the 1895-1896 print called al-Sultāniyya.
207th, 1432. Al-Badrānī lived most of his life as a muḥaddit and sufi in Cairo and died there in 837/1434. Unfortunately, we are not told how and where he had found the Rumūz and whether the handexemplar was available to him. So we have to search his biography and his isnād for a link with al-Yūnīnī.

Al-Badrānī

Al-Ǧamāl Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. (al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ali Al-Badrānī al-Šāfī‘i came from the village of Minyat Badrān at the eastern extremity of the Nile delta. There he was born on Sawwāl 23rd, 787/November 27th, 1385, and received his first instruction in jurisprudence, the Arabic language, and ḥadīth. Like most mediaeval scholars, he travelled for a time to various masters. Perhaps he accompanied his elder brother al-Šams Abū al-Ṭayyib Muhammad Ibn al-Faqqī (782-858/1381-1454), who went to Cairo in 795/1392 for the first time and definitely left Badrān after their father’s death in 808/1405 to go to Damietta and later on to Cairo. Al-Badrānī seems to have been in the Mamluk capital in 800/1397, for this is the year mentioned in the isnād of our Sahih (if we rightly assume that it is al-Badrānī’s isnād), and most likely it was in Cairo that he heard al-Buhārī’s collection. At any rate, it is certain that he finally settled in Cairo after a sojourn in Damietta.

Like his brother, Abū Ṭāhir took residence in the Ḥanqāḥa Sa’īd al-Su’adāʾ, living there as a sufi. This convent had been founded by Sultan Şalāh al-Dīn in 569/1173 in the northeast district of the old Fātimid city. It was the first one of similar institutions for the support of poor sufis, and by the turn of the 9th/15th century, it had become a centre for eminent scholars. One of the extraordinary persons of this convent was the master of caligraphy of his time, Ibn al-Šā’īg (b. bef. 770-845/1368-1442). Abū Ṭāhir became his pupil and copied many books for himself as well as for others.

Attending different masters, he improved his knowledge of Islamic learning. Al-Ṣaḥāwī gives a list of scholars from whom Abū Ṭāhir al-Badrānī received a note of audition. One of the most prominent of these was Muhammad Ibn al-Ǧazārī (751-833/1350-1429), the famous reciter of the Qur’ān and author of al-Muqaddima al-ǧazariyya and other relevant works on recitation. Ibn al-Ǧazārī was in Cairo in Mamluk service, but then had to flee from the hatred of his master. He went to the Ottoman Sultan Bāyāzīd I (regn. 791-805/1389-1403), was captured together with the Sultan by Timūr Lang (regn. 771-807/1370-1405) and deported to Samarqand. After Timūr’s death, he established himself as qāḍī in Shiraz.

179. His biography appears in Daw’ 7/227-228; Zirikli 7/687.
183. V. infra the transmission of the Sahih to al-Badrānī.
184. Petry 327-328; Fernandez 21-25. For the internal organization, administration and the influence of the ḥanqāḥ-s in the Mamluk state v. ibid., passim.
Al-Badrani’s most important šayḥ was Abū Zur’a Ibn al-‘Irāqi (762-826/1360-1423).187 He was a teacher at various madrasas in his native city of Cairo and deputy-judge (nā‘ib qāḍī).188 Finally, in the year 824/1421, Abū Zur’a became the Šāfi‘ite chief justice (qāḍī al-quḍāt) of Egypt and thus exercised the most influential civilian office in the Mamluk state,189 but was dismissed after only one year because he had a fall out with the Mamluk rulers. In his early youth, his father, whom we will introduce below as one of Abū Zur’a’s transmitters, had taken him on travels to Damascus and to the holy places Mecca and Medina.

Other scholars with whom al-Badrani studied were the traditionist, historian, and later qāḍī of Mecca, al-Makki (775-832/1373-1429),190 whom al-Maqrīzī calls an « ocean of knowledge without successor in the Hijāz »;191 the Cairene traditionist Ibn al-Kuwayk al-Raba‘i (737-811/1337-1418),192 who attracted pupils because in his last years he was the only one left to relate from certain šayḫ-s; ‘Īzz al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Ġamā‘a (741-819/1349-1416),193 originating from the great Syro-Egyptian learned family of the Banū Ġamā‘a and being a great-grand-son, grand-son, and nephew of chief justices of Egypt. Al-‘Īzz was educated in the traditional Islamic and Arabic sciences as well as in other sciences such as medicine and astronomy.

Further there are al-Sams al-Baygūrī (ca. 795194-863/1392-1459),195 a pupil of Šaraf al-Subkī as well as of Abū Zur’a and an expert in the Arabic language and prosody, and the Damascene ‘Ā‘īsa al-Maqdisiyya (723-816/1323-1413),196 who is said towards the end of her life to have been the outstanding traditionist of her time and the last one to transmit Buhārī’s Šaḥīḥ with a "high" isnād by hearing (‘āliyān bi-al-sama‘).

Al-Badrani also had some disciples of his own. He recited hadīt in al-Mizzi’s foundation in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim,197 for he had been the elementary teacher (faqīh) of the son of...
one of al-Mizzi's mamluks, and the muḥaddid and muqri' Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Nā'īm Riqwān b. Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-'Uqbi al-Mustamli al-Miṣrī (769-853/1367-1449) had his son hear him. The sons of a certain TL'WY, whom I could not identify, were taught by al-Badrānī the art of reciting the Qur'ān. In the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, al-Badrānī also functioned as preacher of the Friday sermon (ḥājit) together with an individual called al-Ṣadr b. Rawq, and later on with al-Ṣadr's son. Finally, he became prayer leader (imām) in a mosque called Ġāmi' Kamāl.

Before his death on Ramadan 20th, 837/April 30th, 1434, he had gone on a pilgrimage. He was buried in the enclosure of Saʿīd al-Suʿādāʾ. More than four decades later, his younger brother al-Zayn Abū al-Barakāt Muhammad was laid to rest at his side.

Al-Badrānī was succeeded as imām and reciter of ḥadīt by his son al-Ṣams Abū al-Ḥayr Muḥammad (810-856/1407-1452). This Ibn al-Badrānī, as he was called, had fallen in love with a poet named Abū al-Ḥayr Ibn al-Nahhas. In order to make him the gift of a horse, he sold a copy of al-Buhārī's Šāhīh and of another collection of ḥadīt-s, the Kitāb al-targīb wa al-tarhib of al-Yunīnī's teacher, al-Mundūrī, written in his father's own hand. Maybe this Šāhīh was to become the sample — or perhaps the sample of the sample... — of our copy, now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin.

The transmission of al-Buhārī's Šāhīh to al-Badrānī

At the beginning of Berlin copy (fol. 10b-11b), there is a three-fold chain of traditionists (ruwāt) which starts : « [...] Abū Zur'a Aḥmad Wali al-Dīn [...] Ibn al-ʻIrāqi [...] informed us [...] in the year 800/1397. » As Abū Zur'a is the šayḥ of al-Badrānī, we can proceed from the assumption that it is al-Badrānī who transmitted the book from which the Berlin manuscript was copied.

According to our manuscript Abū Zur'a himself received three different traditions of the Šāhīh. The first was up to Ibn al-Zabīdī i.e.; the same one as that of al-Yūnīnī's handexemplar, namely from Ibn Ḥammūwayhi to al-Dāwūdī to Abū al-Waqī to (Ibn) al-Zabīdī, the teacher of 'Alī al-Yūnīnī and his father. Abū Zur'a heard this version read by his own father, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahīm al-ʻIrāqī (725-806/1325-1404). Born near Cairo to a family of Kurdish origin, the young Zayn al-Dīn made extensive journeys to the places of learning in the Ḥijāz, Syria, the Elburz, and Tunisia. Several times he went on pilgrimage. From 788/1386 to 791/1389, he was qādī of Medina. Zayn al-Dīn's šayḥ, Bahā'

198. GAL2 2/92 S 2/84; Kahḥāla 4/166; Ziriklī7 3/27.
199. For this official v. Petry 260-262.
200. For the imāma v. Petry 258-260.
201. This mosque I was unable to identify.
202. For this youngest and apparently less renowned brother v. Daw' 7/228. The burial of a sufi inside the hānjāh seems to be an exception. There was a special cemetery called Turbat al-Sāfiyya outside the city for the residents of the Hānjāh Ša'īd al-Suʿādāʾ, cf. Fernandez 22.
203. Daw' 9/73.
204. GAL2 1/452 S 1/627.
205. V. supra the transmission of the handexemplar.
al-Din Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Subki (707-777/1307-1375), was a literary man as well as a legal scholar and temporary qāḍī al-quḍāt of Egypt and of Syria. He transmitted from two disciples of (Ibn) al-Zabidi: the rather unknown Ahmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Sālīḥī (d. 699/1299) and the Damascene muḥaddītā Sīt al-Wuẓūrā’ (624-717/1226-1317), a member of the above-mentioned Banū Munaḡğā family. Sīt al-Wuẓūrā’ spent most of her life in her native city, but for some time she also taught in Cairo.

The second tradition of the Ṣaḥīḥ was the "Meccan path" of Abū Darr. Abū Zur’a heard it for the first time as a little boy in Mecca in the year 768/1366, when it was read before a certain Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Anṣārī. Eight years later he attended the lectures of Aḥmad al-Makkl al-Mu’āḍḍin (696/1296 or 697/1297-778/1376), an official in the holy places charged with providing water for pilgrims. He as well as the former related the Ṣaḥīḥ from the imām in the holy mosque of Mecca, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī (636-722/1238-1322), who spent all his life in the Hīḍāz, and his brother Sāfī al-Dīn Aḥmad (633-714/1235-1315). Among the ṣayḥ-s of both brothers was Ibn al-Ǧummayzī, one of al-Yunīnī’s teachers, but the affiliation listed by al-Badrānī goes back to the less known ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Futūḥ al-Makkl (d. 645/1247). He studied the Ṣaḥīḥ with ‘Alī al-Ṭarābulusi (d. 571/1175 or 575/1179 or 576/1180), the last pupil of Abū Darr’s son and successor Abū Maktūm Ḵaṣa (b. 415/1024). The traces of Ḵa’s life disappear in the year 496/1102, shortly after he had sold his father’s personal manuscript of the Ṣaḥīḥ to one of his students.

Abū Zur’a thirdly received al-Buḥārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ in the tradition called the “Egyptian way” from Karīma to al-Naḥwī to al-Būṣīrī, and from Karīma to al-Farrā’ to al-Artāḥī, being up to these links the version al-Yunīnī read before al-Ḍārīr in Cairo. Abū Zur’a heard this version several times from his father and later read it himself before him. His father transmitted it from Ibn Sāḥīḥ al-Ǧayṣ (or: al-Ǧuyūs; d. 746/1345), the last individual with a “high” isnād in the “Egyptian” tradition. Besides having an iṯgāẓa of al-Yunīnī’s


210. For the tradition of Abū Darr v. supra n° 3. The lineage from him to al-Yunīnī is completely different, rather an “Andalusian” or at least “western” one.

211. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib b. Abū Muṣṭafī al-Anṣārī al-𝓜ālīkī is mentioned only in Daw’ 1/337 as Abū Zur’a’s teacher.


215. V. supra note 95.


218. Siyar 19/171; Fück 75. He gave an iṯgāẓa to al-Silāfī (v. supra note 81) when the latter made the pilgrimage.


Egyptian master al-Darīr, Ibn Šāhid al-Ǧayš obtained the Sahih from three sayḥ-s: the qāḍī al-ṣudāt Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Dīmaṣqī al-Mīṣrī (586/1190-670/1271); Ibn Ṭazzūn (b. before 590/1293-667/1268); and Abū ʿAmr ʿUṭmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rasīq, whose dates and circumstances of life are not known.

The same version was studied in Mecca in 776/1374 by Abū Zurʿa as a pupil of the Cairo-born jurist and philologist al-Amūṭī (Umyūṭī) (715-790/1315-1388), who is known for his commentary on the poem Bānāt Suʿād in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, composed by Muhammad's contemporary Kaʿb b. Zuhayr. Al-Amūṭī was a disciple of Badr al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Gamaʿa (639-733/1241-1333), the first outstanding member of the Ibn Gamaʿa clan of Sāfīʿī jurists in the Mamlūk era and great-grandfather of al-Brānī's teacher al-ʿIzza. Badr al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Gamaʿa began his career in Damascus as a teacher at various madrasas, became ḥāfīz at the Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem and was twice qāḍī al-ṣudāt of Egypt. Al-Amūṭī's second teacher was al-Ṣināḥī (658-724/1260-1324), the son of an emir of Sultan al-Maṣūr Qalāwūn (678-689/1279-1290). He transmitted from the same three sayḥ-s as Ibn Šāhid al-Ǧayš and Ibn Ṭamāna.

Al-Ṭūnī does not appear in the riwāya of the Berlin manuscript. Yet there exists a connection between him and the last link of all three chains of transmission, i.e. al-Brānī's sayḥ Abū Zurʿa. Abū Zurʿa's father and teacher, Zayn al-Dīn al-Brānī began his career in Damascus as a teacher at various madrasas, became ḥāfīz at the Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem and was twice qāḍī al-ṣudāt of Egypt. Al-Amūṭī's second teacher was al-Ṣināḥī (658-724/1260-1324), the son of an emir of Sultan al-Maṣūr Qalāwūn (678-689/1279-1290). He transmitted from the same three sayḥ-s as Ibn Šāhid al-Ǧayš and Ibn Ṭamāna.

Al-Ṭūnī seems to have been a central figure for the transmission of hadīṯ in the 8th/14th century. His travels in search of knowledge were more extensive than that of most of his contemporaries, and he attracted numerous pupils. Both of the great early 9th/15th century commentators of the Sahih, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī, were his disciples. During the years 820's and 830's, both al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar, who relationship was contentious, were in charge of the most influential office of qāḍī al-ṣudāt of their respective madhāb-s. Ibn Ḥaḡar composed a dirge expressing his deep veneration for his principal teacher, al-ʿĪraquī.

However, the affiliation to al-Ṭūnī was of minor importance in al-ʿĪraquī's teaching of the Sahih. Even when he refers to the tradition of (Ibn) al-Zabīdī, he quotes other pupils of

222. Abū al-Tāhīr Iṣmāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Qawi Ṭamāna ʿī, a descendant of al-Ṭūnī's son ʿAbd al-Qādī, ʿĪraquī seems to have been a central figure for the transmission of hadīṯ in the 8th/14th century. His travels in search of knowledge were more extensive than that of most of his contemporaries, and he attracted numerous pupils. Both of the great early 9th/15th century commentators of the Sahih, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī, were his disciples. During the years 820's and 830's, both al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar, who relationship was contentious, were in charge of the most influential office of qāḍī al-ṣudāt of their respective madhāb-s.

223. V. supra note 117.
225. Abū al-Tāhīr Iṣmāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Qawi Ṭamāna ʿī, a descendant of al-Ṭūnī's son ʿAbd al-Qādī, ʿĪraquī seems to have been a central figure for the transmission of hadīṯ in the 8th/14th century. His travels in search of knowledge were more extensive than that of most of his contemporaries, and he attracted numerous pupils. Both of the great early 9th/15th century commentators of the Sahih, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī, were his disciples. During the years 820's and 830's, both al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar, who relationship was contentious, were in charge of the most influential office of qāḍī al-ṣudāt of their respective madhāb-s.

226. V. supra note 117.
228. Abū al-Tāhīr Iṣmāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Qawi Ṭamāna ʿī, a descendant of al-Ṭūnī's son ʿAbd al-Qādī, ʿĪraquī seems to have been a central figure for the transmission of hadīṯ in the 8th/14th century. His travels in search of knowledge were more extensive than that of most of his contemporaries, and he attracted numerous pupils. Both of the great early 9th/15th century commentators of the Sahih, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī, were his disciples. During the years 820's and 830's, both al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar, who relationship was contentious, were in charge of the most influential office of qāḍī al-ṣudāt of their respective madhāb-s.

229. V. supra note 117.
231. Abū al-Tāhīr Iṣmāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Qawi Ṭamāna ʿī, a descendant of al-Ṭūnī's son ʿAbd al-Qādī, ʿĪraquī seems to have been a central figure for the transmission of hadīṯ in the 8th/14th century. His travels in search of knowledge were more extensive than that of most of his contemporaries, and he attracted numerous pupils. Both of the great early 9th/15th century commentators of the Sahih, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAṣqalānī, were his disciples. During the years 820's and 830's, both al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥaḡar, who relationship was contentious, were in charge of the most influential office of qāḍī al-ṣudāt of their respective madhāb-s.

232. V. supra note 117.
his and not ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī.233 As a result, in the isnād of Ibn Ḥaḡār and al-‘Aynī,234 al-Yūnīnī is not named. So, although there exists a relation from teacher to disciple between ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī and al-Badrānī mediated by traditionists of three generations, in the transmission of Buḥārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ, this relation did not take effect.

CONCLUSION

The Rumūz of ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī informs us about the endeavours of a 7th/13th century scholar to trace out the original text of al-Buḥārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ by comparing the inferred readings of the muḥadditūn of the "second layer", the pupils of al-Buḥārī’s principal transmitter, al-Firābārī. Since three of them were heard by Abū Ḍarr, al-Yūnīnī concerned himself especially with his tradition. The different paths of transmission of his authorities are given in full length. Of these, the "Andalusian connections" of al-Yūnīnī, which he orally obtained from his teacher al-Hamadānī, leading to Abū Ḍarr (n° 4) and from his father leading to al-Āṣilī (n° 6), have not been known up to now. Astonishingly, the "Meccan path" to Abū Ḍarr, as it is described by al-Badrānī, does not occur in al-Yūnīnī’s research. Maybe this is connected to the fact that he apparently did not make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Among the new pieces of information concerning the paths to al-Yūnīnī are the "Egyptian path" (n° 1), the chains of transmission of the manuscript of Abū Ḍarr’s tradition (n° 3) and of his handexemplar.

Evidently al-Yūnīnī did not gather as many variant readings as he could get of those circulating in his time, but he was looking for very reliable traditions. He relied only on written records that were available to him in Damascus, not on oral transmission. In his choice of manuscripts he was very particular. The copies he used had all been read and proved by renowned traditionists. Al-Yūnīnī seems to have attached great importance to this fact, as he did not content himself with the key of his authorities given in the handexemplar. Rather he composed the Rumūz to describe the special quality of each manuscript.

The outcome of his philological work was closely linked to the availability of his handexemplar. Containing variants with notes and signs in a critical apparatus, it was less suited for transmission by reading and listening. So, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, when al-Badrānī came across the Rumūz and Ibn Ḥaḡār and al-‘Aynī wrote their voluminous commentaries on al-Buḥārī, the transmission of the Ṣaḥīḥ passed by al-Yūnīnī. Only al-Qaṣṭallānī benefited from his efforts by using his handexemplar. If ‘Ali al-Yūnīnī had lived in our times and had had our modern methods of reproducing countless identical copies of an edition, his name as an editor of al-Buḥārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ would not have fallen into oblivion.

233. Cf. supra the first and third path of transmission of Abū Zur‘ā.
234. Fück 82. For the ṣayḥ-s of Ibn Ḥaḡār, v. Sublet passim.
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