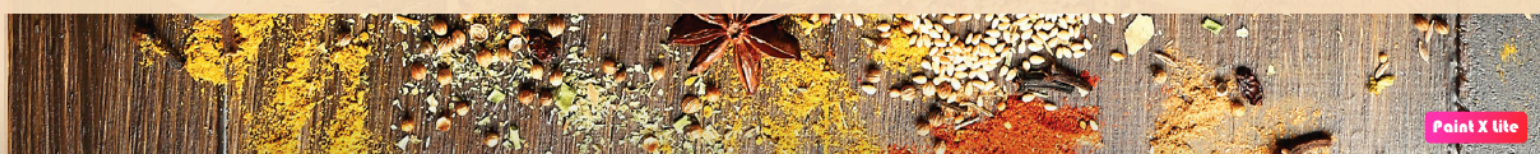
University of Bucharest
Center for Arab Studies

Romano-Arabica XXI

The Outsiders' Arabic: From Peripheral to Diaspora Varieties

EDITURA UNIVERSITĂȚII DIN BUCUREȘTI
BUCHAREST UNIVERSITY PRESS



UNIVERSITY OF BUCHAREST
CENTER FOR ARAB STUDIES

ROMANO-ARABICA

XXI

The Outsiders' Arabic:
From Peripheral to Diaspora Varieties

EDITURA UNIVERSITĂȚII DIN BUCUREȘTI
BUCHAREST UNIVERSITY PRESS
2022

Published by:
© Center for Arab Studies
7-13, Pitar Moș Street, District 1, 010451, Bucharest, Romania Website: http://araba.lls.unibuc.ro

EDITURA UNIVERSITAȚII DIN BUCUREȘTI
BUCHAREST UNIVERSITY PRESS

B-dul Mihail Kogălniceanu 36-46, Cămin A (curtea Facultății de Drept), Corp A, Intrarea A, etajele 1-2, Sector 5, București, România; tel.: + (4) 0726 390 815 E-mail: editura@g.unibuc.ro Web: https://editura-unibuc.ro
Centru de vânzare: Bd. Regina Elisabeta nr. 4-12, 030018 București, ROMÂNIA Tel. +40213053703;
Tipografia EUB: Bd. Iuliu Maniu nr. 1-3 061071 București, ROMÂNIA Tel./Fax: +40213152510.

The official website of Romano-Arabica
https://romanoarabica.academy

ISSN 1582-6953

Romano-Arabica is an **A-class Academic Journal**, according to the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes – Anvur, Italia: http://www.anvur.it/en/homepage/

Romano-Arabica is a **Category A Academic Journal**, according to the Romanian National Council for Scientific Research – CNCS, Romania: http://www.cncs-nrc.ro/publicatii-stiintifice/

Contents

JALĀL AL-DĪN AL-SUYŪṬĪ: AN HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION BETWEEN LIFE AND WORKS

ANTONIO CUCINIELLO

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milan

Abstract: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, as a religious scholar of the Egyptian Mamluk era, one of the most prominent scholars of the pre-modern Islamic world, is the most prolific author in all of Islamic literature, with both a rich and diverse literary output. After a brief outline of the life, works and historical period in which the late-fifteenth century polymath lived, in the present essay attempts have been made to explore and highlight all the episodes of al-Suyūṭī's personal life and the background and context in which he operated that, most likely, influenced him to the point of making him reflect, argue and debate on life after death and, consequently, produce literature focused on eschatological themes, with the specific mention of some of these works.

***Keywords**: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Mujaddid for the ninth century, Mamluk era, Cairo, Apocalyptic and eschatological works*

1. Ibn al-kutub. Biographical traits of a scholar who lived his life to the full

His full name was Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī[1]. In particular his *nisba*, al-Suyūṭī, designated his family's place of origin, namely the town of Asyut in upper Egypt, which his father had left when he moved to Cairo[2]. He was born in Cairo on the night of Saturday, 1st Rajab 849/3rd October 1445. According to a story that circulated about this well-known scholar of the Mamluk era, he appeared to have been destined for greatness in learning and a fertile career. His mother, a Circassian slave, was said to have given birth to him in his father's library, where she had been sent to retrieve a book. Most likely, for this reason (or due to his subsequent passion for learning and strong attachment to books) he was nicknamed

---

1 Besides many books and articles about specific topics and aspects of al-Suyūṭī's works, his life has been described in great detail in different works. *Al-Taḥadduth bi-niʻmat Allāh*, his own autobiography, was introduced and edited by Sartain in 1975; he also features himself in his *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (1997). Moreover, two of his students, al-Shādhilī (1998) and Shams al-Dīn al-Dāwūdī, wrote biographies of him. Specifically, Sartain (1975) accessed microfilms of al-Dāwūdī's work (*Tarjamat al-Suyūṭī*) from Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Depot der Staatsbibliothek. Modern biographies include those by: Ḥammūdah 1989, Abd al-Muʻṭī 1992, Abū Ḥabīb 1993, al-Maṭwī 1995, al-Ṭabbāʻ 1996, Shalabī 1998.

2 His *nisba* might be "al-Asyūṭi"; nevertheless "al-Suyūṭī", representing a smoother pronunciation, is the *nisba* that his father decided on to identify his family.

ibn al-kutub, "son of the books". In addition, he came to be called Jalāl al-Dīn, "the glory of the religion", in recognition of his scholarship.

Al-Suyūṭī, through his father, belonged to a Persian family of bureaucrats and religious scholars who lived in Baghdad (his ancestors lived in the district of al-Khuḍayriyya) before coming to Asyut. Abū Bakr Kamāl al-Dīn, his father, moved to Cairo to complete his education in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). He then became an adjunct judge (*qāḍī*) and professor of Shāfi'ī jurisprudence[3] at the Shaykhū mosque in Cairo[4], and occupied the position of preacher at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn[5], the most important 'Abbāsid monument outside Mesopotamia, from the time of its establishment. In 855/1451 when he died prematurely, al-Suyūṭī was only six years old. Thanks to financial arrangements his father had made, al-Suyūṭī could pursue a path of scholarship. He was brought up with several teachers as his guardians, so that he could receive the education usual for his background. They were all recognized experts in their respective fields, some of whom were his father's scholarly friends or his former students.

During the fifteenth century, Cairo was the center of academic knowledge and genuine Islamic learning[6]. Whilst the Mamluks faced growing political, social and economic difficulties, the scholarly élite remained quite strong and productive. Moreover, institutions of higher education gradually became independent thanks to the establishment of inalienable charitable endowments (*awqāf*, sing. *waqf*). Thus, al-Suyūṭī had the opportunity to grow up in a highly literate and educated environment (see Petry 1980: 140; Makdisi 1981; Berkey 1992: 24). The great Egyptian polymath effectively began his education at the very early age of three, when his father took him to the lectures of some of the notable religious scholars of Cairo, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), one of the most celebrated scholars of *ḥadīth* in the Muslim world. By his eighth birthday, al-Suyūṭī had accomplished the customary memorization of the Qur'ān. Then, owing to his father's reputation, but also because of the great promise he was showing, he was welcomed to attend seminars on a variety of religious topics (e.g. jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, Qur'ānic exegesis, theology), as well as on Arabic language, grammar, literature (see Sartain 1975: 138), with some of the renowned scholars of his time, for example: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459)[7] who had risen to prominence as a specialist in

[3] Founded by the Arab scholar Muḥammad ibn Idrīs Al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) in the early 9th century, the Shāfī'ī *madhhab* is one of the four schools of Islamic law in Sunni Islam. Even though the demographic data for each nation is unavailable, Saeed (2008: 17) states that Shāfī'ī school is the second largest school by number of adherents.

[4] Shaykhū al-'Umarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 757/1357) was a high-ranking Mamluk emir during the reigns of sultans Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī (1346–1347), Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (1347–1351, 1354–1361) and Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (1351–1354); see Levanoni 1995.

[5] According to Sartain (1975: 42, 46, 99–100, 105, 111) he occupied a room there until his death.

[6] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Cairo produced some prominent scholars. Along with al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), the most significant included Ibrāhīm al-Qalqashandī (d. 921/1516), Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 952/1545) and Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 958/1551): it is meaningful that all these scholars were Shāfi'ī, except al-Laqani who was Mālikī; see Hrbek 1975: 418.

[7] He authored numerous works on various branches of Islamic Studies, including *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, the most popular exegesis of the Qur'ān, due to its simple style and conciseness as it is only one volume in length. As a classical Sunni interpretation of the Qur'ān, it was composed first by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī in 863/1458 and then completed after his death by his student al-Suyūṭī in 911/1505. Therefore, this work's title, which means "*Tafsīr* of the two Jalāls", contains the combined efforts of both scholars.

diverse Islamic disciplines, especially principles of Islamic law; chief-judge ʻAlam al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn ʻUmar al-Bulqīnī (d. 868/1464) (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: III, 312–4); judge Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad al-Munāwī (d. 871/1467) (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: X, 254–7); and the dean of the Shaykhūniyya school Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Kāfiyajī (d. 879/1474) (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: VII, 259–61). He reportedly learnt from over one hundred teachers. As a consequence, al-Suyūṭī became a specialist in different areas: *ḥadīth*[8], law, Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), as well as in Arabic.

His teaching career started early. At the age of sixteen he was given his first license (*ijāza*) to teach grammar and literature and the following year ʻAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī allowed him to teach Shāfiʻī *fiqh* and issue legal opinions (*fatāwā*, sing. *fatwā*). At eighteen, al-Suyūṭī was appointed to his deceased father's post as professor of Shāfiʿī *fiqh* at the mosque of Shaykhū in Cairo and gave juridical consultations[9]. He added the teaching of *ḥadīth* (by taking up again the tradition of dictating), along with other subjects, at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (from 872/1467) (see Sartain 1975: 42, 46, 99–100, 105, 111), where his father had preached, and at the prestigious Shaykhūniyya school (from 877/1473) (see al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 56), next to the Shaykhū mosque. Later, he was also appointed to two other positions of a more administrative nature: *shaykh* of sufis at the mausoleum of Barqūq al-Nāṣirī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 877/1473) in al-Qarāfa (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: III, 12; al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 59)[10], and *shaykh* of the al-Baybarsiyya Sufi lodge (*khānqāh*), a prominent center of learning in Cairo[11] from where he was dismissed in 906/1501. When the incomes of the institution declined, the Sufi residents demanded al-Suyūṭī negotiate on their behalf. Al-Suyūṭī accused him of ignoring his duties, prioritizing some persons over others in determining how the salaries were to be paid. The polymath made his opinion clear with three different legal treatises about the award of stipends, by underlining that priority should be given to the *shaykh* on the basis of his learning; on the contrary, people with a low level of knowledge did not deserve an entitlement. A revolt broke out and al-Suyūṭī was caught by his clothes and hurled into a fountain (*fasqiyya*) by the Sufis of the Baybarsiyya: he was nearly killed (see Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL G* II, 143; Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 388, 471)[12]. He was then

[8] Al-Suyūṭī claimed to have memorized all *ḥadīth*s in existence; see Ibn al-ʻImād 1986–95: X, 76. He studied *ḥadīth* through a dozen women specialising in this discipline; see Shakʻa 1981: 35–40.

[9] For examples of *fatwā*s given at that early age, see Saʻdī 1993: 189–93.

[10] Though al-Suyūṭī at first hesitantly accepted the position (see Sartain 1975: 45, 81, 89), al-Sakhāwī (2003: III, 12, 67) mentions that Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Asyūṭī/al-Suyūṭī (d. 893/1488), a powerful judicial scribe from the province of Asyūṭ, recommended al-Suyūṭī to Barqūq.

[11] Notwithstanding a rather problematic relationship, al-Suyūṭī was appointed to this post in 891/1486 through the intermediation of Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–1496); see Sartain 1975: 44–5; al-Malaṭī 2002: VIII, 26; al-Sakhāwī 2003: IV, 69. In addition, as far as the stipulation of the endowment deed of this *khānqāh* was concerned, the *shaykh* should have been chosen only from among the Sufis of the monastery, as would happen later, in 791/1389, with Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406); see Fernandes 1988: 48.

[12] In a strongly worded letter, al-Suyūṭī replied that his position was due to the fact that many so-called Sufis of the institution were not worthy of this title, because of their low level of knowledge; see Arazi 1979: 347. According to Sartain (1975: 101) this certainly did not happen because of mismanagement of the finances of the establishment. Therefore, the efforts of his enemies seem to have been the main reason for his dismissal. In this incident, perhaps, among his adversaries, Ibn al-Karakī can be added: before al-Suyūṭī went into hiding and was dismissed, he was appointed, after a bribe, as Ḥanafī chief judge by Ṭumānbāy; see Ito 2017: 56–9. Hernanedez (2017: 27, 34–5) emphasizes that this episode (and its

forced to hide to escape the harassment of the sultan who also supported his enemies. Al-Malik al-ʻĀdil (d. 906/1501)[13], formerly Amīr Ṭūmānbāy, had searched for him with the aim of slaying him. Since the time when al-ʻĀdil had been executive secretary (*dawādār kabīr*)[14], there had effectively been bitterness between them. Al-Suyūṭī reappeared later, after the sultan's death (see Garcin 1967: 37; Sartain 1975: 97–102; Saleh 2001: 75; Spevack 2009: 407).

Due to the various problems al-Suyūṭī had experienced with the different sultans, in addition to the scandal provoked by his claims to have reached the level of *mujtahid*, he decided to reduce and, in the end, leave his public offices and activities in the last years of his life. The polymath withdrew from his teaching positions and issuing legal opinions in response to queries presented to him, to dedicate himself to research, writing and revising his works and seeking consolation in mysticism. He also rejected honorary posts, favors and gifts of money that sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (d. 922/1516), the last sultan in office (r. 906–922/1501–1516) as long as al-Suyūṭī was alive, wanted to bestow on him[15]. Nevertheless, it was not complete retirement from public life, since he still held a mainly administrative role at al-Khānqāh al-Baybarsiyya and at the mausoleum of Barqūq (see Sartain 1975: 25–6, 44–5, 82). Moreover, al-Suyūṭī wielded significant influence over the intellectual life of the sultan's court concerning religious issues discussed in the sultan's educated salons (*majālis*), as the members of the Mamluk court recognized him as a leading scholar. Yet, given his previous experiences with rulers, he always tried not to get too caught up in the Mamluk power apparatus (see Mauder 2017: 82–3)[16]. Furthermore, his antipathy of the intellectual communities in Cairo got worse with age, as criticism of him did not abate. He spent the rest of his days in seclusion in his house on Rawḍa Island (near Cairo) overlooking the Nile, until 911/1505 when he died at the age of 60. Despite condemnation during his later years, he was subsequently rehabilitated in the minds of many, gaining saintly status[17].

Finally, it is equally interesting that al-Suyūṭī adopted the mystic approach to life and was certainly the most well-known scholar involved in Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) of the Mamluk era, acting as a pioneer in this field. Indeed, mysticism had become very influential and for this reason almost all scholars had a mystical affiliation. In 869/1465,

consequences) is indicative not only of al-Suyūṭī's position related to several legal disputes on the administration of waqf revenues, but it also highlights broader dynamics of how power was distributed among the different levels of Mamluk society and institutions in Egypt.

13 As the twenty-fifth Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, he ruled for about one hundred days in 1501; see Garcin 1998.

14 The *dawādār kabīr* was the most important office after the sultan's, since it controlled the state's finances and Egypt's regions; see Igarashi 2017. His occupation of offices such as *amīr silāḥ*, *ustādār*, *vizier* and viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces, continued under governments until the end of the Mamluk sultanate; see Daisuke 2009: 38.

15 On al-Suyūṭī and al-Ghawrī, see al-Shādhilī 1998: 164–5, 167, 261; al-Shaʻrānī 2005: 17–8; Sartain 1975: 81, 98, 103–6, 110–1, 145; Garcin 1967: 37–8; Spevack 2009: 407. Among the monographs devoted to al-Ghawrī, see Petry 1993.

16 On al-Suyūṭī's relations with various rulers, see Sartain 1975: 42–5, 71, 89, 94, 109, 196.

17 One of the main manifestations of his holiness were the miracles attributed to him; see Geoffroy 2017: 10. His mausoleum built to house his tomb, erected due to the wishes of his mother, became a popular attraction; see Mourad *2008*: 383.

during his first visit to Mecca, al-Suyūṭī was clothed in the *khirqa*, the initiatory cloak of the Sufi chain of spirituality, by Ibn Imām al-Kāmiliyya (d. 874/1470), who in turn gave him a license to bestow the Sufi cloak on whomever he wanted (see Geoffroy 2017). Although his Sufism was rooted in several orders, his preferred mystical tradition was the Shādhiliyya order (*ṭarīqa*), the most popular mystical tradition in Egypt[18]; his *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 910/1504) was an outstanding Shādhilī master in Cairo during that time. Al-Suyūṭī never taught mysticism, even though he wrote several short pamphlets on the topic, defending the authenticity of the mystical tradition as dating back to Muḥammad. He is said to have seen the Prophet while awake more than seventy times: in one of those visions the Prophet gave him the honorary epithet *Shaykh al-Sunna*, "Doctor of the Prophetic Way"[19].

2. Al-Suyūṭī's relations with the circle of power holders and scholars

Al-Suyūtī's reputation during his lifetime was distinguished by controversy. His relationships with the sultans of his time, as well as with some scholars (whom he described as ignorant and corrupt)[20], were not particularly cordial, due to his confrontational personality and convictions. It is generally held that this peculiarity of his biography also found space in some of his scholarly works. Although he did not address rulers directly, but rather his academic colleagues and rivals, he expressed his political critique, along with a clear hostility, against those in power: former slave-soldiers and usurpers (see Banister 2017: 108; Mauder 2017: 86). Indeed, he opposed what he defined the illegal character of the Mamluk sultans' power because of the usurpation of caliphal rights, while standing up for the claims of the 'Abbasid caliphate[21]. The different holders

[18] The founder was Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258): it was (and still is) the most popular mystical tradition in Egypt; see Taleb 2020. By emphasizing the orthodoxy of this Sufi path, al-Suyūṭī praised all the virtues of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* in one of his important works (2006); see also Spevack 2017.

[19] To defend the reality of seeing the Prophet and the angels in visions, al-Suyūṭī wrote a small book (1993a). On the importance that the polymath attributed to the complementarity between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of the Prophet, see al-Suyūṭī 1998. al-Shaʿrānī (2003: 15–7), in addition to seeing visions of Muḥammad, reports other miracles that the polymath is said to have performed, such as traveling from Cairo to Mecca in an instant and foreseeing the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans in 923/1517; see also Geoffrey 1996: 296–7.

[20] His colleagues often made accusations against him to key political and official figures in Cairo: this resulted in much enmity among the governing class to the point that he lost the support and privileges that these figures conferred on the scholarly community; see Mourad 2008: 371. The majority of al-Suyūṭī's opponents represented historical figures (e.g., al-Jawjarī, Ibn al-Karakī and al-Sakhāwī, to name only a few); however, it is interesting to report that they also included one, considered a despicable person even to be mentioned by name, to whom the polymath gave the epithet of Abū Jahl or al-Jāhil, "the Ignoramus". Through the scarce biographical details provided, he was probably a man named Shams al-Dīn al-Ṭūlūnī; see Sartain 1975: 56–7; Hernandez 2017: 69.

[21] The Mamluks for al-Suyūṭī were the heirs of the Turkish soldiers who in the 9th and 10th centuries had humiliated and eclipsed the Caliphate in Baghdad, rather than the saviors of Islam; see Garcin 1967. Furthermore, he drew a stark contrast between the piety of Saladin, the restorer of Sunnism in Egypt, and his contemporary rulers; see Black 2011: 148. For his caliphate-centric worldview, see al-Suyūṭī 1992; Arazi, Elʿad 1978; Garcin 1967: 66; Geoffroy 1997: 914; Black 2011: 148; Banister 2017. The polymath,

of worldly power with whom he had a conflicting relationship included Qāytbāy (d. 901/1496), a long-ruling sultan (r. 872–901/1468–1496)[22], with whom contacts were as lasting as they were difficult, due to the scholar's haughtiness. As previously reported, al-Suyūṭī was appointed at the tomb of Barqūq with the position of *shaykh*. When Barqūq died, the sultan became the supervisor of the mausoleum, following the founder's indication, and Qāytbāy in his position required al-Suyūṭī to join him at the Citadel at the beginning of each month to greet him and collect his own salary[23]. Yet, as a representative and interpreter of God's Law and *Sunna*, together with great self-confidence in his own abilities and his God-given "mission" (see Jackson 2006: 138), he stubbornly refused to pay a customary once-a-month visit to the sultan's palace like a common state employee. Furthermore, joining the court would also have forced him to acknowledge the scholars who advised Qāytbāy, whom he detested. Consequently, using a large number of anecdotes, he composed tractates on the question to rid himself of this obligation. The polymath underlined that, except when absolutely necessary, frequenting the holders of worldly power was condemned by the first Muslims, and ridiculed those scholars who made themselves part of a court's retinue (see Mourad 2008: 371; Mauder 2017). In doing so, al-Suyūṭī refused to submit to the sultan's authority and legitimized his own behavior (and power), by proving that he was merely following Muḥammad's instructions and the ancestors' conduct[24]. Al-Suyūṭī even declared that Qāytbāy delegated the responsibility for meeting him to 'Alī Bāy (897/1492), Barqūq's eldest son. Thus, it is likely that 'Alī Bāy visited the sultan in place of the polymath (see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 288–9; al-Sakhāwī 2003: V, 150; Ito 2017: 52). Nevertheless, when in 899/1493 al-Suyūṭī was summoned again by Qāytbāy, he presented himself to him wearing over his shoulders a shawl called *ṭaylasān*, "the small hermitage" (*khuluww al-ṣughrā*) and "the dormitory of life" (*manām al-ḥayāt*), as named by al-Suyūṭī[25]. It was a cloth of honor

in the introduction to his *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* (2003) refers to all the caliphs of history as persons who stood in authority over the *umma*.

22 Among the monographs devoted to Qāytbāy, see Petry 1993.

23 It is interesting to mention that by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, caliphs and *qāḍī*s were expected to visit the sultan once a month at the Citadel to renew his proximity to religious notables; see Banister 2014–15: 234–5.

24 Thereby, al-Suyūṭī lost no opportunity to demonstrate his vast knowledge through publications (as well as in public through debates) to prove that he was right while his opponents were wrong, see al-Suyūṭī 1992; Sartain 1975: 89–90; Saleh 2001; Geoffroy 1997: 914; Hernandez 2013: 360; Mauder 2017: 84–7. Al-Shādhilī, one of al-Suyūṭī's students, records that the sultan sent (without succeeding) several envoys to try to persuade him to change his mind, but he vowed never to attend the sultan's court; see Sartain 1975: 87–90.

25 The *ṭaylasān*, a shawl-like head-cover worn in many ways, such as wrapping it around the neck, wearing it over the turban or draping it over the head as a hood, was generally restricted to *qāḍī*s and *faqīh*s; see Schimmel 1942: 78–9. The use of this visible marker of religious membership had already sparked heated debates. Indeed, Qāytbāy and his entourage considered the *ṭaylāsan* to be at best a garment particular to the Mālikī school of law; in particular, Qāytbāy's Ḥanafī imam explained to him its possible Jewish origin, attacking the Shāfi'ites' privileged position and throwing down a challenge to al-Suyūṭī's knowledge on the Prophetic traditions, see Sartain: 1975, 86–94; Kindinger 2017: 75; Mauder 2017: 82. As stated by al-Suyūṭī, the Shāfi'ī law school maintained that wearing a *ṭaylasān* is an established prophetic tradition; in fact, the *Sunna* offers anecdotal evidence for its wearing in the Muslim community since the lifetime of Muḥammad. Moreover, the frequent presence and defense of the *ṭaylasān* in the writings of the Shāfi'ī law school could show how wearing this ceremonial garnment is rooted in the Shāfi'ī tradition, the symbol of their special status in Egypt, see Young 1986; Assmann 2011: 38.

worn by the learned only, a very uncommon practice at the time. By accusing him of arrogance, which brought about a dispute with the sultan and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Karakī (d. 922/1516), a Ḥanafī judge and the sultan's personal imam, one of al-Suyūṭī's chief opponents[26]. There can be no doubt that this emblematic incident gives some ideas about the behavior of the polymath towards scholars, officials and even sultans. Indeed, even though he would still be invited to join the sultan's court at the Citadel, he refused obstinately and his rejection was interpreted as disobedience to the sultan. As a consequence, his salary was stopped and al-Suyūṭī resigned from the post of the *shaykh* at Barqūq's mausoleum in 901/1495. Finally, it is worth reporting that when a huge fire destroyed Qāytbāy's storehouse and burnt many of his war tents[27]: the event was interpreted by al-Suyūṭī in his autobiography as divine retribution for the sultan's misdeeds. He gave the same interpretation after Qāytbāy fell sick, not long after the blaze, and eventually died of a throat-related affliction (see Sartain 1975: 88–91).

As far as al-Suyūṭī's complicated relationships and disputes with opposing scholars are concerned, he mostly debated with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Munʻim al-Jawjarī (d. 889/1484) (see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 208; al-Suyūṭī 1975: 183–5; al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 383; al-Sakhāwī 2003: VIII, 123–6), a scholar appointed to teaching posts in various institutions who, like al-Suyūṭī, delivered many *fatwā*s and wrote numerous works (see Ito 2017: 50). In 886/1481, the Prophet's mosque was damaged due to a fire caused by lightning. Therefore, Qāytbāy, in addition to its renovation, ordered a madrasa to be built adjacent to it. It was precisely the placement of its door and windows, designed to open on to the Prophet's mosque, that provoked debates between al-Jawjarī and al-Suyūṭī (see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 196; al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 321–2): the former and the chief judges of Cairo agreed with this, while the latter, the inhabitants of Medina and some jurists claimed that this proposal was not acceptable, since al-Suyūṭī maintained that the Prophet forbade doors and windows opening on to his mosque, excluding a door or a small window of Abū Bakr and a door of ʻAlī (see al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 14–30; Ito 2017: 51–2; Behrens-Abouseif 1999: 129–47). Moreover, the polymath also claimed that everything in the hand of a sultan belonged to the Public Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*): for this reason he rejected the idea that the sultan could do what he wanted to a wall shared by Muḥammad's mosque and the madrasa only because it was built with his money. Consequently, the wall was not his private property.

Therefore, those who supported the use of *ṭaylasān* stressed its accordance with the *Sunna*; on the contrary, those who did not accept its use regarded it as a deviation from true belief (*bidʻa*) emphasizing its deep rootedness in its Persian and Jewish origins, see Levy 1935: 334, n. 5; Kindinger 2017: 77; Mauder 2017: 82. Finally, it is highly probable that it was this very incident that inspired the polymath to write his apologia on the *ṭaylasān* later in 899/1492 (al-Suyūṭī 1983a; see also Arazi 1976), in which he listed a number of traditions attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions, during a decline of the position of the Shāfiʻī law school; see Young 1986.

[26] Ibn al-Karakī was given various teaching, religious and administrative posts by Qāytbāy. Yet, in 886/1481 when he lost the sultan's favor, he went into hiding until 891/1486, see al-Sakhāwī 2003: I, 59–64; Ibn Iyās 1960–75: V, 96. On Ibn al-Karakī's relationship with Qāytbāy, see Hallenberg 2000. Specifically, on conflicts with al-Suyūṭī, see Sartain 1975: 77–80, 88–90.

[27] Qāytbāy himself supposedly blamed the caliph al-Mutawakkil II (d. 902/1497) for the fire and, as a direct result, he expelled the caliph and his family to another residence near the shrine of Sayyida Nafīsa; yet, Ibn Iyās (1960–75: III, 300–1) insisted on the innocence of the caliph.

3. The polymath's controversial claims

In an age characterized by widespread ignorance and corruption[28], in addition to relative intellectual decline because of scholars close to the regime, the polymath considered himself a talented scholar (particularly in the fields of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and the Arabic language), the most knowledgeable and educated Islamic thinker of his time. Indeed, he sought to differentiate himself from his contemporary colleagues of whose low standard of learning he disdained (see Barry, Hunwick 1978: 81; Brustad 1997: 329)[29]. Accordingly, he thought he had a special mission given to him by God: it was his task to assemble, safeguard and transmit the fundamentals of the Islamic cultural patrimony to future generations, before it disappeared entirely. This conviction of his own superiority was most likely the cause of the scholarly disputes on the part of his opponents; however, the polymath was no stranger to debate (see Sartain 1975: 24, 61, 70–1, 115; Saleh 2001: 76; Geoffroy 1997: 914; Irwin 2006: 169; Banister 2017: 110).

Among his several controversial positions concerning matters of law that led to significant controversies, of great interest is his claim to have achieved, as divinely granted, the lofty status of independent juristic reasoning (*ijtihād*). Al-Suyūṭī considered it the backbone of *Sharī'a* without which legal decisions cannot be made (see Sartain 1975: 63; Barry, Hunwick 1978: 98). Yet, he was heavily criticized for allegedly claiming that he had attained this rank. In particular, probably in 888/1483, he declared he was a jurist capable of independent reasoning (*mujtahid*)[30] in the Shāfiʿī legal school (*madhhab*), with which he was affiliated, and he claimed to be able to practice the highest degree. Like some earlier leading Shāfiʿī jurists such as al-Muzanī (d. 264/878), al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1356). It means that, by following Shāfiʿī principles of jurisprudence, al-Suyūṭī could derive law and theology directly from Islam's primary sources (Qur'ān and *Sunna*), without being bound to any precedents from al-Shāfiʿī or other independent jurists (see Sartain 1975: 63; Hallaq 1984: 27–8; Spevack 2009: 401; Idem 2017: 23–5). To be clearer, as he explained to his student al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565)[31] as well as in his writings, he did not put forward claims affirming the right to independent *ijtihād* (*ijtihād istiqlāl*), for he was a follower of the Shāfiʿī school, instead he defended the right to the rare and highest level of "absolute

[28] According to Jackson (2006: 138), mainly blaming the ignorance of religious scholars, al-Suyūṭī saw a series of signs prophesied by Muḥammad (greed, materialism, pride, falsehood, great dispute) that urged scholars to stay in their homes, withdrawing from public affairs. Indeed, he devoted a considerable section of his *al-Tanbi'a* (1990a) to this issue, chronicling all of the trials and disasters that the community has to face at the turn of each century.

[29] According to Bahl (1975: 125), pointing to deep-rooted intellectual responsibilities, al-Suyūṭī represented the last bulwark of Islamic leadership based on the transmission of an authoritative Islamic corpus of knowledge mastered to perfection.

[30] In his autobiography the polymath specified that he had achieved this rank in the three disciplines of religious law (*al-aḥkām al-shar'iyya*), Prophetic traditions (*al-ḥadīth al-nabawī*) and the Arabic language (*al-'arabiyya*); see Sartain 1975: 205.

[31] Al-Shaʿrānī (2005: 7, 13), an Egyptian Shāfiʿī scholar and mystic, founder of an Egyptian Sufi order, *Sha'rāniyya* or *Sha'rāwiyya*, reported that the polymath never issued a *fatwā* outside the Shāfiʿī legal school, as a qualified jurist in response to questions posed by a judge, a government or a private individual.

affiliated" *ijtihād* (*ijtihād muṭlaq muntasib*) (see al-Suyūṭī 1983b: 116; Sartain 1975: 63–4. See also Barry, Hunwick 1978: 95–8; Pagani 2004: 189–201). It is likely that several of his contemporary scholars misunderstood his assertion, namely they thought that he had reached the level of an independent jurist in the sense that he intended to produce his own methodology, just like the early founders of the legal schools[32]. Otherwise, it is probable that his enemies proved him undeserving of the title, so they tried to discredit him (see Sartain 1975: 61–71; Saleh 2001: 79). As a reaction, al-Suyūṭī wrote a polemical treatise entitled *al-Radd 'alā man akhlada ilā l-arḍ wa jahila anna l-ijtihād fī kull 'asr farḍ* ("Refutation of those who cling to the earth and ignore that independent juridical reasoning is a religious obligation in every age") (see Sartain 1975: 63–4)[33], criticizing his defamers and defending his claim, not only through Qur'ānic references but also with an appeal to previous scholars. As a matter of fact, he stated that the level of school-affiliated independent exertion of juristic effort, as a communal obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) to be fulfilled by the Muslim community, was still possible and necessary in every age, unlike the founder-level independence. Paradoxically, the absence of independent jurists would mean that the community had agreed upon error (see Hallaq 1984: 27; Spevack 2017: 24). Moreover, it is equally important that his opponents firmly assumed that the gates of *ijtihād* had been closed for half a millennium (see Sartain 1975: 66); thus, nobody could allege having attained the level of an independent *mujtahid* after the representatives of the four dominant schools of Sunni jurisprudence.

A well-known *ḥadīth* attributed to the prophet Muḥammad reports that at the turn of every century of the Muslim calendar there would appear a restorer (or renewer) of religion (*mujaddid al-dīn*) appointed by God to restore Islam to its straight path and prevent the Muslim community from going astray: "God will send to this community at the turn of every century someone (or "people") who will restore religion" (*Inna Allāh yab'ath li-hadhihi al-umma 'alā ra's kull mi'a sana man yujaddid lahā amr dīnihā*) (Abu Dāwūd 2008: Book 37, no. 4278)[34]. Based on the same saying of the Prophet, shortly

---

[32] On the contrary, assuming that his opponents really understood the level he had claimed, they were not sure of such a possibility, since it was generally believed that the founder-level independent legal reasoning was no longer possible; see Spevack 2017: 24. Moreover, they also used al-Suyūṭī's earlier statements (al-Suyūṭī 2007) against the study of logic, in order to demonstrate that he was lacking in that area of knowledge. In particular, al-Sakhāwī (2003: IV, 65–70), one of al-Suyūṭī's rivals, attacked his qualifications as a *mujtahid*, pointing to his lack of accomplishments in logic, therefore, he did not possess one of the skills required to attain this status; see Sartain 1975: 69. On the contrary, al-Suyūṭī stated that the noble sciences required of the aspiring *mujtahid* are: Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and training in the Arabic language, see al-Suyūṭī 2000: I, 244–8; Sartain 1975: 203–5; Hernandez 2017: 63–4. Hallaq (1984: 27) suggests that the antagonistic attitude towards his claim was due to his boastfulness and immense self-confidence. Indeed, he was often in conflict with many of his colleagues, see Sartain 1975: 61; Barry, Hunwick 1978: 80–1, 98–9. It can be concluded that, among opponents, there were those who disproved the possibility of the existence of any *mujtahid*, while others accepted that possibility but thought that al-Suyūṭī was unworthy of it.

[33] Al-Suyūṭī also mentioned the question of *ijtihad* in his *Ta'yīd* (2006), a personal manifesto on Sufism; see Spevack 2017: 17. Calder (1996: 143–52), at least in terms of the strength of his argument, considers al-Suyūṭī's claim to appear well-founded.

[34] This *ḥadīth* is regarded as authentic by Sunni Muslim scholars and is included in a collection considered one of the six authentic sources in Sunni thought; interestingly, the saying is not present in any Shiite collection; see Algar 2001: 292, n. 3. There is discussion as to whether *ra's*, "head", refers to the

before the advent of the tenth century of the *hijra* (900/1494), the polymath's conviction that theological knowledge was falling into oblivion, along with his assumed intellectual superiority, led him to make an audacious statement, namely, that God had chosen him to be the ninth *mujaddid* of the Islamic faith. Following previous restorers, such as al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820), the renewer for the third century, or al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the renewer for the sixth century, al-Suyūṭī gave quotations to show that the *mujaddid* had to be a scholar of religious disciplines, recognized by his contemporaries as having benefited the Muslim community through his knowledge[35]. However, to be a *mujaddid* for the ninth century, he first had to be recognized as a *mujtahid*. Hence, the close relationship between the two concepts *tajdīd* and *ijtihād* (see al-Suyūṭī 1975: 203; Hallaq 1984: 27–8; Hernandez 2017: 19)[36] represents the "linchpin of his self-framing enterprise and it is these elements of his legal persona that bear the most significant implications for his legacy" (Hernandez 2017: 101). Finally, there is no doubt that, given the appearance every hundred years of the *mujaddid*, the gates of *ijtihād* could never have been considered closed.

Al-Suyūṭī's own claims made him a *persona non grata* in numerous Cairo circles. Among his adversaries, al-Sakhāwī deprecated his conceited claims and Ibn al-Karakī criticized al-Suyūṭī, affirming that the announcement of his status had not been made by

beginning or the end of a century; see Barry, Hunwick 1978: 85 n. 20. According to Voll (1983: 33), *tajdīd* in Medieval Islam, as a call for reform, was based on the concept that the Muslim community always strays from the path of the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*. On the contrary, Landau-Tasseron (1989: 79–80) states that it is a hard interpretation to accept, since it is based on the assumption that Islam admits its own imperfection, although the prevailing idea is that the Community does not err, as a *ḥadīth* reports: "My community will never agree on an error" (*la tajtami' ummatī 'ala ḍalāla*); Ibn Māja: 2013, Book 36, no. 3950. Poston (2010: 100–1) declares that this saying of the Prophet has two advantages: "it establishes a cyclical pattern in history according to which both people and events may be categorized. Second, it affords a psychological advantage in that events in any given time period may be understood and explained in accordance with how far a particular century has progressed. Since one knows beforehand that decline will inevitably occur over the course of a century, it becomes easier to adjust both psychologically and sociologically to catastrophic events which are experienced in perpetuity by the human race. Without such a system of historical interpretation, these events will appear arbitrary, chaotic, and even capricious". Finally, Friedmann (1989: chap. 1, section 1) highlights the eschatological elements of this *ḥadīth* and Bahl (1975: 125) writes that the *mujaddid*-complex has to be seen in the broader framework of an Islamic premillennialism and a transregional eschatological conjunction; see Poston 2010. Indeed, this *ḥadīth* was placed by Abu Dāwūd at the head of *Kitāb al-malāḥim* ("The Book of [Apocalyptic] Battles"), a section comprising different sayings by the Prophet on conflicts and calamities that portend the end of days. For various objections raised on the relationship between the concept of *mujaddid* and eschatology, see Landau-Tasseron 1989: 80–2. No less interesting is the fact that some scholars give Jesus the role of *mujaddid*. In fact, after his second coming, he will renew Islam by using Qur'ānic law, instead of bringing new laws; see, e.g., Al-Qurtubī 1967: XVI, 107.

35 He also supported his claim in one of his treatises: al-Suyūṭī 1990a; see Sartain 1975: 69–72, 113; Hernandez 2017: 106–12.

36 Landau-Tasseron (1989: 83–4, 94) underlines that, despite such a connection, the concept of *ijtihād* was widely discussed, developed and systematized by Islamic scholars, but the same cannot be said of the *tajdīd*, since it was rather an honorary title to designate the most outstanding scholar of the age; despite this, interesting elements are found in Barry, Hunwick 1978. Quite a significant phenomenon is that half of the *mujaddid*s were Egyptian; thus, it seems that it was also a regional Islamic phenomenon and not just a general one. Finally, even though most of the *mujaddid*s were *Shāfi'ites*, the use of this title was not limited to the Shāfi'ī legal school; see Landau-Tasseron 1990: 248; Spevack 2017: 34.

any angel. He replied saying that previous *mujaddid*s were recognized by their knowledge and the circulation of their books in different countries, as was his case (see Sartain 1975: 62, 78–80; Banister 2017: 110. See also Barry, Hunwick 1978: 81, 87–8; Jackson 2006: 139). It is conceivable that, as a self-professed *mujtahid* and *mujaddid*, al-Suyūṭī may well have seen himself as authorized by the Prophet's *ḥadīth* that "whoever is asked about knowledge and conceals it shall receive a bridle of hellfire on the Day of Judgment" (*Man shu'ila 'an 'ilm 'alimahu thumma katamahu uljima yawma al-qiyāma bi-lijām min nār*) (al-Tirmidhī 2001: Book 5, no. 2649; see Banister 2017: 111, n. 61).

In 901/1496 the adolescent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad IV (d. 904/1498), following the death of his father Qāytbāy, became the forty-eighth Mamluk sultan. At a chaotic and confused time for the sultanate, al-Suyūṭī plotted to advance the political power of the caliph al-Mutawakkil II (d. 903/1497), a former student of his father, to see at least some power restored to the caliphate (see Margoliouth 1921: 335; Schimmel 1942: 31-2; Garcin 1967: 65–6; Levanoni 2010: 264)[37]. By using his ties to the caliph, moreover, the polymath tried to secure religious authority for himself in Egypt, advancing the idea to be named as a kind of "grand qadi" (*qāḍī kabīr*), so as to achieve esteem and wider scholarly acknowledgement amongst his contemporaries (see Saleh 2001: 78). He was effectively convinced that he himself was the most skilled scholar, so he had to take the post of *qāḍī kabīr* as an obligatory deed performed by a few or even one person (*farḍ kifāya*), which relieves all other Muslims of this its burden (see Banister 2017: 111). However, that way the authority of the four chief *qāḍī*s[38] could be put into the hands of one man who theoretically would have had the power to appoint and dismiss magistrates all over Islamdom. Accordingly, given that the four chief *qāḍī*s viewed it as a threat to their own position, they rapidly blocked the move and denounced the caliph's authority[39].

4. Islamic religious works and eschatology

Al-Suyūṭī is one of the most prominent and prolific religious scholars of the pre-modern Islamic world who flourished in Mamluk Egypt[40]. He authored works on a wide variety

[37] However, the caliphs of the later fifteenth century had not aspired to a greater role, see Chapoutot-Remadi 1972: 18; Garcin 1967: 62–3. See also Ayalon 1960; Holt 1984.

[38] The Ayyubid predecessors of the Mamluks bequeathed a judicial system with a single Shāfi'ī chief *qāḍī*. In 663/1265, instead, the sultan Baybars (d. 676/1277) decided that each of the four Sunni schools of law should have had a chief *qāḍī*, so as to introduce more flexibility into the legal system, see Tyan 1960: 38–42; Escovitz 1982: 529–31; Nielsen 1984: 167–76; Jackson 1995: 52–65; Rapoport 2003: 210–28; Berkey 2009: 14–7; Hernandez 2017: 57. Nevertheless, the sultan's decision to establish four chief *qāḍī* posts had no historical precedent, but it eased the efforts of sultans to have the religious establishment under control by dividing and ruling, see Garcin 1967: 64–5, 70–1; Arjomand 2010: 252.

[39] According to Banister (2017: 109–10) this incident provides further insight into al-Suyūṭī's conception of the contemporary caliphate; see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 339; Margoliouth 1921: 335; Schimmel 1965: 357; Garcin 1967: 37, 64–5; Sartain 1975: 91–3; Saleh 2001: 78; Hernandez 2013: 361–2; Banister 2014–15: 244.

[40] Considered for a long time a mere compiler, a judgment that undervalues his scholarly contributions, al-Suyūṭī's works (encyclopedic works, short tracts and *fatwā*s included) deal with a wide range of subjects, covering the whole field of Islamic religious learning; see Sartain 1971: 39–41; Hrbek 1975*:* 67. He has also been attributed a significant role in conveying the ideas (especially in the field of the Arabic language) of many lost or forgotten manuscripts; see Jackson 2006: 137. Finally, the number of his works is not agreed

of genres of literary production (from shorter treatises to multivolume compendiums) with an evident predominance in almost the entire gamut of the Islamic sciences. He often compiled *ḥadīth* collections on topics that had not previously received attention, including: angels, cosmology, earthquakes, *jinn* and turbans. In fact, his bibliography ranges from jurisprudence to theology, from linguistic arts to history, together with Sufism, geography, cosmology and so on[41]. Although his writing was always anchored in Tradition, his approach to specific topics often reflected multi-disciplinary perspectives, thanks to his own wide-ranging education. Al-Suyūṭī's great ability was also to produce concise but authoritative writings; in a short work he was able to collect the most relevant and important material on a given topic (see Mourad 2008: 380). Furthermore, his "procedure is scientific in so far as he quotes his sources with precision and presents them in a critical way. In the introduction to a work, he often defines the method which he is going to follow. His works benefit from a clear structure, and he often broke new ground by expounding his material according to its alphabetical order" (Geoffroy 1997: 914–5). Finally, his prolific output brought him both acclaim and criticism. In particular, his rapid rise to notoriety, achieving a significant level of popularity throughout the Islamic world[42], was believed to be the basis of his arrogance, as perceived by many of his contemporary colleagues.

A quick and non-exhaustive rundown of the polymath's best known and most widely circulated works, from his numerous writings, follows, along with a more specific examination of some works with supernatural themes. He also dealt with theological topics, including the subject of eschatology.

---

on, with estimates ranging from 550 and 981. The first modern Western attempt to list his works was carried out by Flügel (1832), with more than 500 titles, and later by Brockelmann (1937–49: *GAL G* II, 180–204, *GAL S* II,179–98), concerned only with extant manuscripts, with 415 works. See also Sartain 1971: 193–8; Idem 1975: 46; Barry, Hunwick 1978; Shaybānī, al-Khāzindār 1995; Geoffroy 1997; Saleh 2001: 83; Spevack 2009.

41 With the premise that each list of al-Suyūṭī's works contains and omits works respectively omitted and contained in all other lists, Sartain (1975: 46–7) reports that in his autobiography the polymath gives a (not complete) list of his works, following an extremely interesting way in which he classifies the works. He lists seven classes: unique works, i.e., those which, as far as he knows, are unparalleled (18 in number); notable but not unique works of about one volume in length, which are complete or nearly so (50); notable works of smaller size, from two to ten quires in length (60); works of about one quire in length, excluding those on legal opinions, fatwas (102); works of about one quire in length about the disputes which occurred concerning fatwas (80); works, written when al-Suyūṭī was a student, which he now considers mediocre (40); works which he never finished because he lost interest in them (83). Specifically, as for the first class, al-Suyūṭī (1975: 105) writes: "Those for which I claim uniqueness. The meaning of this is that nothing comparable has been composed in the world, as far as I know. This is not due to the incapability of those who came before – God forbid – but it simply did not happen that they undertook anything like it. As for the people of this age, they cannot produce its like due to what that would require of breadth of vision, abundance of information, effort, and diligence".

42 His works contributed to disseminating Sunni religious thought and worldview in the pre-modern Muslim world, even in areas outside the Arab world, stretching from East Africa to India; moreover, his already numerous travels increased as his reputation developed, taking him all over Egypt, Damascus, Hijaz, Yemen, Morocco and beyond, see Hunwick 1970; Sartain 1975: 40–1, 50–2; Bahl 2017: 124–5; Geoffroy 2017: 8. For this reason, he was highly respected in his lifetime, but not always in Egypt, especially in Cairo; on this, Saleh (2001: 78) writes: "It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either time or distance". In fact, his career developed much more smoothly abroad than in his country of origin, where he was often at the center of numerous controversies.

Al-Itqān fī ʻulūm al-Qurʼān ("The Perfection in the Sciences of the Qurʼān") (al-Suyūṭī 2012) is a well-known work in the field of Qurʼānic sciences, which deals particularly with the language and grammar of the Qurʼān. Moreover, his specialty in Qurʼānic exegesis can also be found in two other works: *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-maʼthūr* ("The Scattered Pearls of Tradition-Based Exegesis") (al-Suyūṭī 2001a), with a specific commentary according to the well-established prophetic traditions; *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* ("The Exegesis of the two Jalāls") (al-Suyūṭī 2002), a word-by-word commentary, that is the continuation of the short exegesis of his teacher and guardian Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459): it is a very popular work thanks to its relative conciseness, if compared to most Qurʼānic exegeses.

Among the works that deal with law, *al-Hāwī li-l-fatāwī* ("The Receptacle of Juristic Determinations") (al-Suyūṭī 2000) is a collection of legal opinions, with a great variety of statements on spiritual matters, as a result of requests by officials, colleagues or students and, in some cases, written to defend his attitude concerning a particular case.

Al-Muẓhir fī ʻulūm al-lugha wa anwāʻihā ("The Luminous Work Concerning the Sciences of Language and its Subfields") (al-Suyūṭī 1971), his most important philological work, is a compendium of linguistic works covering issues such as the history of the Arabic language, phonetics, semantics, and morphology.

Al-Suyūṭī also produced different historical works, supplemented with relevant documents and panegyrics: *fi l-Tārīkh al-khulafāʼ* ("History of the Caliphs") (al-Suyūṭī 2003) is a popular history of caliphs who ruled in the Muslim world, and *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa l-Qāhira* ("The Eloquent Exposition on the History of Egypt and Cairo") (al-Suyūṭī 1997), in which he himself is featured, is a local history of Egypt; both of them give a clear picture of the Cairene 'Abbasid caliphs' careers and their relationships with the Mamluk sultans.

The polymath, who was an apocalypticist in certain areas of his scholarship, was undoubtedly also interested in exploring and describing the otherworldly realities. Indeed, he devoted himself to writings dealing with issues related to the mysteries of the supernatural, the apocalyptic and eschatology, such as the events in the grave, *jinn*, the *Mahdī*, the *Dajjāl* (the "deceiver", the Antichrist), the second coming of Jesus, Paradise and Hell and so on. *Al-Hayʼa al-saniyya fi l-hayʼa al-sunniya* ("The Radiant Cosmology: On Sunni Cosmology") (al-Suyūṭī 1982) is a religiously-oriented account of cosmology, namely, celestial and terrestrial entities from the perspective of *ḥadīth*, which reflects the position of Sunni religious scholars, and *al-Ḥabāʼik fī akhbār al-malāʼik* ("The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels") (al-Suyūṭī 1988; see Burge, 2012), essentially based on *ḥadīth* literature, is focused on the role angels play in Islam. *Laqṭ al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn* ("Collection of Precious Pearls Concerning the Legal Ordinances of the Jinn") (al-Suyūṭī 2004) is al-Suyūṭī's abridged version of a compilation by a famous Ḥanafī jurist, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shiblī (d. 769/1367), *Ākām al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn* ("The Hills of Precious Pearls Concerning the Legal Ordinances of the *Jinn*") (al-Shiblī 1991; see the first critical edition al-Shiblī 2017), an overview of all religious, denominational and philosophical theories and ordinances about the *jinn* and all types of satanic creatures in Islam.

Furthermore, several works on apocalyptic and eschatological themes are found in his collection of *fatwā*s, *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī* (al-Suyūṭī 2000), in which he delivered a

variety of statements on spiritual matters. For instance, *al-ʻArf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* ("The Rose-like Fragrance in the Reports of *al-Mahdī*") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 55–81; see Petrone 2013) deals with the figure of *al-Mahdī*, "the rightly guided one", the restorer of religion and justice who will rule before the end of the world (see, e.g., Madelung 1986); *al-Kashf ʻan mujāwazat hadhihi al-umma al-alf* ("Revelation concerning this community's passing the Year 1000") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 81–7), as a portion of a more comprehensive genealogical work, *Lubb al-lubāb fī taḥrīr al-ansāb* ("The essence of constructing genealogies"), is a *fatwā* on the Last Day, with reference to some of the major signs of the Hour (*al-sāʻa*) such as the *Dajjāl*, the second coming of Jesus (*nuzūl ʻĪsā*), the rising of the sun from its setting point (*ṭulūʻ al-shams min maghribihā*), and the need for a *mujaddid* for the ninth century[43]; *Raf*ʻ *al-sawt bi-dhabḥ al-mawt* ("The Cry in the Slaughtering of Death") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 90–6) is a booklet about the people of Paradise (*janna*) and Hell (*jahannam*) that al-Suyūṭī wrote after he was asked about the *ḥadīth* in which death will appear as a ram in the otherworldly abodes: finally the ram will be slaughtered (see, e.g., al-Bukhārī 1990: *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* ["The Book of Commentary"], 65. For similar narratives, see Suyūṭī 1994: 44–5); *Kitāb al-iʻlām bi-ḥukm ʻĪsā ʻalayhi al-salām* ("The Book of Declaration of the Rule of Jesus, Peace Be Upon Him") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 146–58), a relatively short religious-legal text on Jesus' return to earth, specifically explores matters in relation to the judgement of Jesus on his second coming before the Last Day, following evidence from the *ḥadīth* literature. Since the issue of law and jurisdiction after the second coming of Jesus (see, e.g., al-Bukhārī 1990: *Kitāb aḥādīth al-anbiyāʼ* ["The Book of the Traditions of the Prophets"], 50) has been a topic of interest to many commentators, many have come to the conclusion that Jesus will take, as a reference for his ruling system, the Islamic law. Confident of this, al-Suyūṭī authored this work.

As an eschatologist, al-Suyūṭī related numerous traditions describing life after death, Resurrection, the Day of Judgement and the different modalities of traversing paradisiacal and hellish spaces, for instance, in his *Manẓūmat al-qubūr* ("The Poetry of the Graves") (Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL G* II, 143–58; *GAL S* II, 178–98), *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi-sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa l-qubūr* ("The Opening of Hearts by Means of Explaining the Condition of the Dead and the Graves") (al-Suyūṭī 1994), also known as *Kitāb al-Barzakh* ("The Book of *Barzakh*"), in which more than eleven thousand traditions on the authority of various collectors are reported, and in *al-Budūr al-sāfira fi umūr al-ākhira* ("The Shining Full Moons on the Sciences of the Afterlife") (al-Suyūṭī 1990b), that is a sort of "a practical guide to paradise and hell" (Lange 2016: 89). In *al-Taʻzīm wa al-minna fī anna abaway rasūl Allāh fī l-janna* ("That the Prophet's parents are in Paradise") (Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL G* II, 143–58; *GAL S* II, 178–98), al-Suyūṭī claims that the parents of the Prophet attained Paradise despite dying before the coming of Islam. With reference to the heavenly abode, he also wrote *Kitāb al-durar al-ḥisān fī l-baʻth wa naʻīm al-jinān* ("Book of the Beautiful Pearls During the Resurrection

[43] Notwithstanding increasing anxiety about the coming apocalypse, as the millennium was drawing to a close, the polymath set out to prove that the End Times were still at least two hundred years away and he had an especially crucial role to play in the Islamic community. According to the interpretations given by al-Suyūṭī, the year 1500/2076 is universally considered the end of the world; see al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 81–7.

and the Blessing of the Garden") (al-Suyūṭī 1993) and *Miftāḥ l-janna fī al-iʿtiṣām bi-l-Sunna* ("The key to paradise which consists of clinging to the *Sunna* of the Prophet") (al-Suyūṭī 2013). Prominent among this type of literature is a treaty dealing with the death and afterlife of children, *Faḍl al-jalad ʿinda faqd al-walad* ("Virtue of Remaining Steadfast when Losing a Child") (al-Suyūṭī 2008). Finally, in the last period of his life the polymath wrote *Tāʾkhīr al-ẓulāma ilā yawm al-qiyāma* ("Delaying Injustice until Judgment Day") (al-Suyūṭī, *Tāʾkhīr*, ms.; Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL S* II, 188), a short book against the criticisms of his opponents that reflects bitterness and a sense of desperation, as well as his conviction that God is definitely on his side and will take revenge for him on the Day of Judgment.

References

Primary Sources

Abu Dāwūd, al-Sijistānī. 2008. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

al-Bukhārī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad. 1990. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. 6 vols. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr.

Ibn al-ʿImād, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad. 1986–1995. *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*. 10 vols. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr li-l-ṭibāʿa wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzīʿ.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. 1960–1975. *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr wa-waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Ibn Māja. 2013. *Sunan Ibn Māja*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-nawādir.

al-Malaṭī, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl. 2002. *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*. 9 vols. Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿaṣrīyya.

al-Qurṭubī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad. 1967. *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*. 20 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-ʿarabī.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. 2003. *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ fī aʿyān al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*. 12 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

al-Shaʿrānī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. 2005. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-ṣughrā*. Cairo: Maktabat al-thaqāfa al-dīniyya.

al-Shādhilī, ʿAbd al-Qādir. 1998. *Bahjat al-ʿābidīn bi-tarjamat ḥāfiẓ al-ʿaṣr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*. Damascus: Majmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya.

al-Shiblī, Muḥammad ibn'Abd Allāh. 2017. *Ākām al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn*. Edited with an introduction by Badeen, Edward. *The Hills of Precious Pearls Concerning the Legal Ordinances of the Jinn*. Beirut: Tawzīʿ dār al-Fārābī.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Tāʾkhīr al-ẓulāma ilā yawm al-qiyāma*. Ms., Library of Congress. Mansuri Collection, 1-296, "9. II 648 = 1.296", fol. 1b–5a.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1971. *al-Muẓhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa anwāʿihā*. Cairo: Dār iḥyā' al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1975. *al-Taḥadduth bi-niʿmat Allāh*. Sartain, Elizabeth M. (ed.), *Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī: al-Taḥadduth bi-niʿmat Allāh*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1982. *al-Hayʾa al-saniyya fī l-hayʾa al-sunniyya*. Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary by Heinen, Anton. *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of al-Suyūṭī's al-hayʾa al-sannīya fī l-hayʾa al-sunniyya*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1983a. *al-Aḥadīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān*. Edited by Arazi, Albert. Jerusalem: The Max Schloessinger memorial series 5, Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1983b. *al-Radd ʿalā man akhlada ilā l-arḍ wa-jahila anna l-ijtihād fī kull ʿasr farḍ*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1988. *al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1990a. *al-Tanbiʾa bi-man yabʿathuhu Allāh ʿalā raʾs kull miʾa*. Mecca: Dār al-thiqa li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzīʿ.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1990b. *al-Budūr al-sāfira fi umūr al-ākhira*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1992. *Mā rawāhu l-asāṭīn fī 'adam al-majī' ilā l-salāṭīn*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-al-tawzī'.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1993a. *Tanwīr al-ḥalak fī ru'yat al-nabī wa-l-malak*. Cairo: Dār al-amīn.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1993b. *Kitāb al-durar al-ḥisān fī l-ba'th wa na'īm al-jinān*. Cairo: Dār al-Amīn.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1994. *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi-sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa-l-qubūr*. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1997. *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1998. *al-Bāhir fī ḥukm al-nabī bi-l-bāṭin wa-l-ẓāhir*. Cairo: Dār al-salām.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2000. *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2001a. *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2001b. *al-'Arf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī*. Damascus: Dār al-kawthar.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2002. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Riyad: Dār al-salām li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2003. *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*. 7 vols. Beirut: 'Ālam al-kutub.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2004. *Laqṭ al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn*. Riyad: Maktabat al-rushd nāshirūn.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2006. *Ta'yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-'aliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīqa al-shādhiliyya*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2007. *Ṣawn al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām 'an fann al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2008. *Faḍl al-jalad 'inda faqd al-walad*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risāla li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'. [Editor not identified]. 2016. *The Virtue of Remaining Steadfast When Losing a Child*. London: IMPRINT (IZ).
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2012. *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya. Lagarde, Michel (ed.). 2018. *Le parfait manuel des sciences coraniques: al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān de Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505)*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2013. *Miftāḥ al-janna fī l-i'tiṣām bi-l-sunna*. [Place of publication not identified]: Turath for Solutions. [Editor not identified]. 2017. *Authority of The Sunnah*. *The Key to Paradise*. [Place of publication not identified]: Dār al-Sunna.
al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. 2001. *al-Jami'*. Amman: Dār al-a'lām li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

Secondary Sources

'Abd al-Mu'ṭī, Fāruq. 1992. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī Imām al-mujaddidīn wa-l-mujtahidīn fī 'aṣrih*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
Algar, Hamid. 2001. "The Centennial Renewer: Bediüzzaman Said Nuri and the Tradition of Tajdīd", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 12 (3). 291–311.
Arazi, Albert. 1976. "Noms de vêtements et vêtements d'après *al-Aḥādīṯ al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān* d'al-Suyūṭī", *Arabica* 23. 109–155.
Arazi, Albert. 1979. "Al-Risāla al-Baybarsiyya d'al-Suyūṭī: Un Document sur les Problèmes d'un Waqf Sultanien sous les Derniers Mamlūks", *Israel Oriental Studies* 9. 329–354.
Arazi, Albert & El'ad, Amikam (eds.). 1978. "Al-Ināfa fī rutbat al-xilāfa de Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī", *Israel Oriental Studies* 8. 230–265.
Arjomand, Saïd. 2010. "Legitimacy and Political Organisation: Caliphs, Kings and Regimes", Irwin, Robert (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Vol. IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 225–273.
Assmann, Jan. 2011. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ayalon, David. 1960. "Studies on the Transfer of the Abbasid Caliphate from Bagdad to Cairo", *Arabica* 7. 41–59.
Bahl, Christopher D. 2017. "Preservation through Elaboration: The Historicisation of the Abyssinians in al-Suyūṭī's *Raf' sha'n al-Ḥubshān*", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk*

Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014). Leiden: Brill. 118–142.

Banister, Mustafa. (2014–2015). "Naught Remains to the Caliph but His Title": Revisiting Abbasid Authority in Mamluk Cairo. *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18. 219–245.

Banister, Mustafa. 2017. "Casting the Caliph in a Cosmic Role: Examining al-Suyūṭī's Historical Vision", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 98–117.

Barry, Michael & Hunwick, John O. 1978. "Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī", *The Muslim World* 68 (2). 79–99.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. 1999. "Qāytbāy's *Madrasahs* in the Holy Cities and the Evolution of Ḥaram Architecture", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3. 129–147.

Berkey, Jonathan. 1992. *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Berkey, Jonathan. 2009. "Mamluk Religious Policy", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13 (2). 7–22.

Black, Antony. 2011. *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Brockelmann, Carl. 1937–1949. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* [*GAL G*], 2 vols. and *Supplement-bände* [*GAL S*], 3 vols. Leiden: Brill; translation by Lameer, Joep. 2018. *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Brustad, Kristen. 1997. "Imposing Order: Reading the Conventions of Representation in al-Suyūṭī's Autobiography", *Edebiyāt* 7. 327–344.

Burge, Stephen R. 2012. *Angels in Islam: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. London: Routledge.

Calder, Norman. 1996. "Al-Nawawi's Typology of Muftis and its Significance for a General Theory of Islamic Law", *Islamic Law and Society* 3. 143–152.

Chapoutot-Remadi, Mounira. 1972. "Une institution mal connue: Le Khalifat abbaside du Caire", *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 20 (77–78). 11–23.

Escovitz, Joseph. 1982. "The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamluk Empire", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102. 529–531.

Fernandes, Leonor. 1988. *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamlūk Egypt: The khanqah*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag.

Flügel, Gustav. 1832. "Sojuti's Leben und Schriften", *Jahrbuucher der Literatur, Anzeige-Blatt* 58. 25–40; 59. 20–36; 60. 9–29.

Friedmann, Yohanan. 1989. *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Garcin, Jean-Claude. 1967. "Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le Husn al-Muhadarat de Suyûti", *Annales Islamologiques* 7. 33–89.

Garcin, Jean-Claude. 1998. "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks", Petry, Carl F. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*. Vol. I, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 290–317.

Geoffroy, Eric. 1996. *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie*. Damascus: Institut français de Damas.

Geoffroy, Eric. 1997. "al-Suyūṭī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*^{2}. Vol. IX. Leiden: Brill. 913–916.

Geoffroy, Eric. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī as a Sufi", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 8–14.

Hallaq, Wael B. 1984. "Was the Gate of Ijtihād Closed?", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16. 3–41.

Ḥammūdah, Ṭāhir S. 1989. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: 'Aṣruhu wa-ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruhu wa-juhūduhu fī l-dars al-lughawī*. Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī.

Hernandez, Rebecca S. 2013. "Sultan, Scholar, and Sufi: Authority and Power Relations in al-Suyūṭī's Fatwā on Waqf", *Islamic Law and Society* 20. 333–370.

Hernandez, Rebecca S. 2017. *The Legal Thought of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Authority and Legacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holt, Peter M. 1984. "Some Observations on the 'Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo", *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47. 501–507.

Hrbek, Ivan. 1975. "Egypt, Nubia and the Eastern Desert", Oliver, Roland (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa: From c.1050 to c.1600*. Vol. III. London: Cambridge University Press. 10–98.

Hunwick, John O. 1970. "Notes on a Late Fifteenth-Century Document Concerning 'al-Takrūr'", Allen, Christopher & Johnson, Wally R. (eds.), *African Perspectives: Papers in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa Presented to Thomas Hodgkin*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 7–33.

Igarashi, Daisuke. 2009. "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13 (1). 27–51.

Igarashi, Daisuke. 2017. "The Office of the *Ustādār al-'Āliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era", Ben-Bassat, Yuval (ed.), *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*. Leiden: Brill. 115–142.

Irwin, Robert. 2006. "Mamlūk History and Historians", Allen, Roger & Richards, Donald S. (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*: *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 159–170.

Ito, Takao. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī and Problems of the *Waqf*", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 47–63.

Jackson, Roy. 2006. *Fifty Key Figures in Islam*. London: Routledge.

Jackson, Sherman. 1995. "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-A'azz and the Establishment of the Four Chief Judgeships in Mamluk Egypt", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115. 52–65.

al-Khāzindār, Aḥmad & al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. 1983. *Dalīl makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amākin wujūdihā*. Kuwait: Maktabat Ibn Taymīyah.

Kindinger, Judith. 2017. "*Bid'a* or *Sunna*: The *ṭaylasān* as a Contested Garment in the Mamlūk Period (Discussions between al-Suyūṭī and Others)", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 64–80.

Landau-Tasseron, Ella. 1989. "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition", *Studia Islamica* 70. 79–117.

Landau-Tasseron, Ella. 1990. "Zaydī Imams as Restorers of Religion: *Iḥyā'* and *Tajdīd* in Zaydī Literature", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (3). 247–263.

Lange, Christian R. 2016. *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Levanoni, Amalia. 1995. *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Ḳalāwūn (1310–1341)*. Leiden: Brill.

Levanoni, Amalia. 2010. "The Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria: The Turkish Mamlūk Sultanate (648–784/1250–1382) and the Circassian Mamlūk Sultanate (784–923/1382–1517)", Fierro, Maribel (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 237–284.

Levy, Reuben. 1935. "Notes on Costume", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1. 319–338.

Madelung, Wilfred. 1986. "al-Mahdī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*^{2}. Vol. V. Leiden: Brill. 1230–1238.

Makdisi, George. 1981. *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam in the West*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Margoliouth, David S. 1921. "The Caliphate Historically Considered", *The Muslim World* 11. 332–343.

al-Maṭwī, Muḥammad al-'Arūsī. 1995. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*. Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī.

Mauder, Christian. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī's Stance Toward Worldly Power: A Reexamination Based on Unpublished and Understudied Sources", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 81–97.

Mourad, Suleiman A. 2008. "Al-Suyūṭī", Rippin, Andrew (ed.), *The Islamic World*. London: Routledge. 378–383.

Nielsen, Jørgen S. 1984. "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of four chief *Qāḍīs*, 663/1265", *Studia Islamica* 60. 167–176.

Pagani, Samuela. 2004. "The Meaning of the *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib* in 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī's *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*", *Islamic Law and Society* 11 (2). 177–212.

Petrone, Michele. 2013. "A Note on Authorship in al-Suyūṭī's Works: Observations on the *'Arf al-wardī fī aḫbār al-Mahdī*", Melis, Nicola & Nobili Mauro (eds.), *Collectanea Islamica*. Roma: Aracne. 227–233.

Petry, Carl. 1980. "Geographical Origins of Academicians in Cairo during the fifteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 23 (1–2). 119–141.

Petry, Carl. 1993. *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashrāf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Popper, William. 1956. "Sakhāwī's Criticism of Ibn Taghrī Birdī", *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*. Vol. II. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente. 371–389.

Poston, Larry. 2010. "The second coming of 'Isa: An Exploration of Islamic premillennialism", *The Muslim World* 100. 100–116.

Rapoport, Yossef. 2003. "Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlīd: The Four Chief Qāḍīs under the Mamluks", *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2). 210–228.

Sa'dī, Abū Ḥabīb. 1993. *Ḥayāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, ma'a al-'ilm min al-mahd ilā al-laḥd*. Damascus: Dār al-manāhil li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

Saeed, Abdullah. 2008. *The Qur'an: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Saleh, Marlis J. 2001. "Al-Ṣuyūṭī and his Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamlūk Times to the Present", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5. 73–89.

Sartain, Elizabeth M. 1971. "Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (2). 193–208.

Sartain, Elizabeth M. 1975. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background*. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schimmel, Annemarie. 1942. "Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten", *Die Welt des Islams* 24. 1–128.

Shak'a, Muṣṭafā. 1981. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Masīratuhu al-'ilmiyya wa-mabāḥithuhu al-lughawiyya*. Cairo: Sharikat maktaba wa maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.

Shalabī, Muḥammad. 1998. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Nādirat zamānih wa mujtahid 'aṣrih*. Beirut: Dār al-jil.

Spevack, Aaron. 2009. "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī", Lowry, Joseph E. & Stewart, Devin J. (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography 1350–1850* (Mîzân. Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt 17: Essays in Arabic literary biography). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 386–409.

Spevack, Aaron. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī, the Intolerant Ecumenist: Law and Theology in *Ta'yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-'aliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīqah al-Shādhiliyya*", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 15–46.

al-Ṭabbā', Iyad Khālid. 1996. *Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Ma'lamat al-'Ulūm al-Islāmīyah*. Damascus: Dār al-qalam.

Taleb, Lahouari R. 2020. "The Shādhiliyya: Foundational Teachings and Practices", Ridgeon, Lloyd (ed.), *Routledge Handbook on Sufism*. London: Routledge. 269–282.

Voll, John O. 1983. "Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: Tajdīd and Iṣlāh", Esposito, John L. (ed.), *Voices of Resurgent Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 32–47.

Young, Michael J. L. 1986. "Review of *al-Aḥadīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān*", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1. 102–103.

tipografia.unibuc@unibuc.ro

Bd. Iuliu Maniu 1-3, Complex LEU
tel: 0799 210 566

Tiparul s-a executat sub cda 4995/2022
la Tipografia **Editurii Universităţii din Bucureşti – Bucharest University Press (EUB-BUP)**