

al-ĠAZZĪ

Najmuddīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad
(b. 1570 , d. 1651)

LIFE¹

Ġ. was the most important historian of Damascus in the second half of the 10th/16th and the first third of the 11th/17th century. The only surviving detailed biography of Ġ. was written by Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), in his centennial biographical dictionary *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar fī a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī °ashar*.² Muḥibbī drew his information from two works written by Ġ. himself. The first is a biography of Badruddīn Muḥammad al-Ġazzī, Ġ.'s father, entitled *Bulġat al-wājjid fī tarjamat Shayḫ al-Islām al-wālid*, which did not survive to date. The second is Ġ.'s *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, his biographical collection about notables who lived in the 10th/16th century, in which much information is provided on the author and his family.³

Ġ.'s full name was Najmuddīn Muḥammad b. Badruddīn Muḥammad b. Raḍiyuddīn Muḥammad b. Shihābuddīn Aḥmad al-Ġazzī al-°Amirī al-Quraishī al-Dimashqī. The family produced members of °ulamā' for several generations. His father Badruddīn (904-984/1499-1577), a productive teacher and writer, also held the highest religious positions as the leader of the Qur'an readers, the imam of the Umayyad mosque, and the Shafi°i mufti.

Born on 11 Shaban 977/19 January 1570,⁴ Ġ. received his religious education from his father. Upon his death on 26 Shawwal 984/16 January 1577, his mother assumed the responsibility. Ġ.'s teachers were among the outstanding °ulamā' of the time. The first was the Hanafī mufti of Damascus while his principal teacher for at least 35 years was Shihābuddīn Aḥmad al-°Itāwī (d. 1025/1616), the Shafi°i mufti. Among his important teachers were Qāḍī Muḥibbuddīn b. Abi Bakr al-Ḥamawī (d. 1016/1608), the influential Arab scholar in Damascus; the city's Ottoman chief qadi, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Sa°udī (d. 999/1590) who taught Ġ. Quranic exegesis and whom Ġ. calls the most intelligent and knowledge-seeking of all the Turkish scholars;⁵ and several prominent Egyptian °ulamā' such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ramlī and Zaynuddīn al-Bakrī.

Ġ. gives a list of the history books that he read which inspired him and provided him with information for his own historical works. These were writings by Jalāluddīn al-Suyūtī, Muḥjiruddīn al-Ḥanbalī, Ibn Ṭulūn, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, °Umar al-°Urdī, al-Sha°-ranī, al-°Alā'ī, Aḥmad al-Ḥimsī, Taşköprizāde, Quṭbuddīn al-Nahrawalī, al-Nu°aymī, etc. Ġ. was also well-traveled, and went to many parts of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and to Istanbul. He performed the Hajj twelve times, and met many scholars and sufis of his time. Ġ. was on good terms with the Ottoman rulers. Like his father and grandfather and many °ulamā' at the time, Ġ. was also a sufi. He was an adherent of the Qādirī order.

Ġ. became a popular and famous scholar, teacher and author. He also officiated as imam, Friday preacher, and mufti. He held several positions at *madrasas*, some given to him by his shaykh al-°Ītāwī, who resigned from them in favor of him. As it was customary, Ġ. had to share such an appointment with another °ālim.⁶ Ġ. had many students and his reputation spread even in the Hijaz where he was known as “the hadith scholar of the age”, or “the scholar of al-Shām.”

Ġ. married a daughter of Shaykh al-°Ītāwī, but his wife died during a plague. Then he married another daughter of his shaykh. He died in the house of another wife about whom we have no information. Seven years before his death Ġ. was afflicted with light paralysis. He died on 18 Jumada II 1061/8 June 1651 when he was 83 years old. The information we have about his brothers, children and grandchildren indicates that they also continued the family tradition of learning and piety.⁷

As far as his attitude toward the Ottomans is concerned, Ġ. can be regarded as a loyal Ottoman subject. He included the biographies of a considerable number of Ottoman qadis who served some time in Damascus and more often than not he portrayed them as just, pious and learned. Sometimes their knowledge of Arabic won his admiration. There are several anti-Ottoman or anti-Turkish expressions - notably more in the earlier parts of *Kawākib* than in *Lutf*. Such expressions, where they occur, are ethnic or cultural, never political. They refer to such legal and administrative terms as *qānūn* and *yasaq* that are described as contravening the *shari°a* law.

Ġ. wrote biographical entries about seven Ottoman sultans, four in *Kawākib* (Bāyezīd II, v. 1, 122-124; Selīm I, v. 1, 208-211; Süleymān I, vol. 3, 156-157; Selīm II, vol. 3, 156), and three in *Lutf* (Murād III, 648-651; Meḥmed III, 152-156; Aḥmed I, 271-274). He praised Bāyezīd II for his religiosity, his support for mosques, sufi centers, as well as the Ḥaramayn, the two holy cities in the Hijaz. The image of Selīm I is positive for destroying the unjust rule of al-Ġawrī, the last Mamlūk Sultan, for defeating the Safawids, and for supporting sufis. In his short biography of Süleymān I (less than two pages), he praised this ruler for improving the conditions of the pilgrims on their way to the Hajj and for the many mosques which were built during his reign. He too gets credit for his patronage of sufis. His religiosity and justice are emphasized, but surprisingly his campaigns are not mentioned, which can be taken as an indication for the extent that Ġ. was obsessed with religious considerations to the exclusion of almost everything else.

Ġ.’s work is a rich source for political, social, religious, cultural, economic and urban history of Syria. Several biographies provide information about power struggles in Damascus and Greater Syria. Even though the world of the °ulamā’ is the one Ġ. knows best, his work includes much information about the sufis, their *tariqas* and their growing influence during his time.

WORKS

① *Al-Kawākib al-sā'ira fī a^ʿyān al-mi'a al-^ʿāshira*

In his introduction to the *Kawākib*,⁸ Ğ. explains that he decided to collect the biographies of distinguished *ʿulamā* of the tenth century because no one before him had done it. Ğ. reported what he himself saw and heard and what was reported to him by contemporaries as well as the information he received from scholars of Cairo, the Hijaz, and the Ottoman capital. He examined works of prominent scholars. Occasionally, Ğ. judges the authors of books that he uses. For example, he accuses Ibn al-Ḥanbalī of not knowing the art of history. Despite his justified doubts about al-Sha^ʿranī's historical accuracy (he says that the dates given by the latter are "approximate"),⁹ Ğ. cites him as a source not less than 90 times in the *Kawākib*. Ğ. praises Aḥmad al-Ḥimsī's (d. 934/1527) chronicle as a fine book,¹⁰ but adds that he chose the way of brevity and approximation.

While early authors of biographical collections took *ṭabaqa* to mean 20 years, or 10 years or more, Ğ. defined a *ṭabaqa* as 33 years, influenced by a *hadith* in which the Prophet says that a generation is 33 years. The first volume gives the biographies of those who died from 900/1494 until the end of 933/1527, the second volume is about those who died from 934/1528 until 966/1559, and the third volume gives the biographies of those who died from the beginning of 967/1560 until the end of 1000/1592. Within each *ṭabaqa*, Ğ. arranged the biographies alphabetically, beginning with those named Muḥammad, as was customary.

Ğ.'s concept of *a^ʿyān* was different from that of his near contemporaries Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and al-Muḥibbī. Ğ. argued that this term was reserved for the *ʿulamā* and military commanders, while true *a^ʿyān* were predominantly *ʿulamā* of all kinds and specializations, and sufis. He included also sultans and notable Ottomans, especially the Ottoman governors of Damascus. Only rarely does he write about military men, artisans, merchants and the like, whom he regarded generally as a part of the common people (*ʿawāmm*). He specifically says that he does not include the captains of the janissaries (*bölükbaşı*) and their like.¹¹ Ğ. recorded anecdotes about as well as personality characteristics of the figures he included in his work and mentioned their date of death and place of burial.

The typical structure of Ğ.'s biographies is as follows: Personal name, ancestors, dates of birth and death, place of birth and residence, his legal school (*madhab*), his virtues or characteristics, positions held, events related to him and the place of burial. While some notices are very short (not more than a line and a half), others, especially of famous persons, are extremely long.

The first volume *Kawākib* contains 652 biographical entries (three of which are repetitive, making the actual number of entries 649), the second volume contains 551,

and the third 345 entries (two of which are repetitive, making the actual number of entries 343). The three volumes of *Kawākib* include altogether 1543 biographies.

Jibrā'il Sulaymān Jabbūr, the editor of the *Kawākib*, who performed a pioneering service by publishing this important text, did so without having all extant manuscript copies of the work at his disposal. While the first two volumes were published in 1945 and 1948, the third was published much later, in 1959. He did not publish the Supplement (*Lutf al-samar*), which is a continuation of *Kawākib*, although the Zāhiriyya Library copy that he did use has it under the same cover as the three parts of *Kawākib*. This task has been completed very successfully in 1981 by Muḥammad al-Shayḥ, the editor of *Lutf*.

② *Lutf al-samar wa-qatf al-tamar min tarājim a'cān al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar*

It is important to note that Ġ. did not consider *Lutf* as a separate work, but as the natural continuation of *Kawākib* for another 33 years, as he clearly states at the beginning of *Lutf*.¹² Yet, *Lutf* is distinctly different from *Kawākib*, in that it is much less based on earlier biographers and much more on Ġ.'s own observations and experiences, because it describes Ġ.'s contemporaries and near contemporaries. There are fewer biographies of people who lived outside Syria. Though it covers one full generation, it is relatively limited in size and includes 283 biographies only (much less than 649, 551 and 343, the number of entries included in the three parts of *Kawākib*). In these four volumes we have a monumental work consisting of a total of 1819 biographical entries for a period of 133 years. The notables described by *Lutf* fall into three main categories: 50 members of the political and administrative establishment, 254 members of the religious establishment, and others, such as saintly people, poets and writers.

③ *Bulḡat al-wājid fī tarjamat Shayḥ al-Islām al-wālid*

Ġ.'s biography of his father was written intermittently, its title having been changed several times. The work in its final form also contains Ġ.'s autobiography until he reached the age of 27 (i.e. until 1004/1595-96).¹³

Although Maḥmūd al-Shayḥ, the editor of *Lutf*, who has written the most detailed bibliographical survey of Ġ.'s works states that *Bulḡat al-wājid* is lost (*mafqūd*),¹⁴ we know its contents from later sources that used *Bulḡat*. We also know that it was arranged in five fascicules. Following the historian Sharafaddīn Mūsā al-Anṣārī (d. after 1002/1593-94), al-Shayḥ states in his *Nuzhat al-nāzir* that "it seems that al-Ġazzī wrote it by installments. One part stops in the year 999/1590. The work consisted of 10 chapters: The father's lineage (*nasab*); his teachers; his writings (Ġ. mentions more than hundred, fifty of them in *fiqh*); his birth and death; his good qualities; his authorities in hadith. He named the work *al-Durr al-lāmi' bi-anwar al-badr al-sāṭi'*, the shining pearls about the bright moon."¹⁵

Ġ. also wrote three travelogues. Al-Shaykh writes in his introduction to *Lutf* that his journey to Istanbul took place in 1032/1622.¹⁶ A copy of this travelogue titled *Al-°Iqd al-manzūm fī al-riḥla ilā al-Rūm* is believed to be located in Köprülü Library (Istanbul), ms. no. 1390 and there is apparently also a Turkish translation of the work. Ġ. mentions a travel of his to Ba°albak in the year 1027/1618 with an official delegation to deal with the situation there in connection with the military and political activities of Emir Faḥraddīn II al-Ma°ni.¹⁷ He mentions that he described the event in a separate treatise. This work has not survived to date. And finally, Ġ.'s treatise about one of his pilgrimages is mentioned by al-Shayḥ¹⁸. An autograph copy of the work, in which he describes the stations on the hajj route, is at the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus (°Āmm 7930).

Ġ. wrote not less than 51 works altogether, many of which are lost. Apart from his historical works, he wrote on *hadith*, *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, Arabic language, literature, poetry, ethics, medicine, and sufism.¹⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

① *Al-Kawākib al-sā'ira fī a°yān al-mi'a al-°āshira*

Manuscripts: (1) Beirut, Beirut University Library [TBC]; 49 lines, nesih. One volume in 3 parts. The first part was completed at the end of Rabi° I 1159/April 1746, and the third on 1 Muharram 1161/2 January 1748. It is not clear when the second volume was completed. Includes the Supplement, *ḍayl* or *Lutf*, as well. The manuscript was the property of al-Gazzī family and was given to Beirut University Library in 1928. (2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, no. 9891; 49 folios, 25 lines, [TBC]. An excerpt of the *Kawākib* including only several shortened biographies of persons whose biographies are in the full work under the title *Nayyirāt al-kawākib al-sā'ira fī tarājim a°yān al-mi'a al-°āshira*. Copied in 1150/1737. (See W. Ahlwardt. *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Koenigl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Hildesheim, New York, 1980. Reprint of the 1897 edition, vol. 9), no. 9891.) (3) Cairo, al-Azhar Library, no. 348, Abaza 6646; 359 folios, 23 lines, nesih. (See *Fihris al-kutub al-mawjūda bi'l-Maktaba al-Azhariyya ilā 1368/1949*. Part 5 (Cairo, 1949), 533.) Copied in 1100 (1688 or 1689); so it may be the oldest available copy. The text reaches until the year 966/1559, the end of the second generation (*tabaqa*). Includes only the first parts of *Kawākib*. The first part has many lacunae. (4) Damascus, Maktabat Zāhiriyya, 41 Ta'rīḥ (also 3406 °Āmm); 217 folios (166 for *Kawākib*, 51 for *Lutf*), 45 lines, riq°a. (See Yūsuf al-°Ushsh. *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya: al-Ta'rīḥ wa mul-ḥaqātuhū* (Damascus, 1366/1947), Part 1: 187-188.) Copied between 1158-62/1745-49. The copying of the third volume of *Kawākib* was completed on 24 Jumada I 1161/22 May 1748. Both Jabbūr, the editor of *Kawākib*, and Maḥmūd al-Shayḥ, the editor of *Lutf*, relied on this most complete and accurate manuscript, while al-Shayḥ

compared the text with the Medina and Topkapı Sarayı mss. (5) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, no. 3708; 568 folios, 29 lines, nesih. Includes *Kawākib* (no. 3708/1, 451 folios) and *Lutf* (no. 3708/2, 117 folios). (See Arthur J. Arberry. *A handlist of the Arabic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin, 1955-66), vol. 3, 91.) Copied in 1108/1697. 6 biographies are missing. (6) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine 1286; 247 folios, [TBC], nesih. Includes the first two parts of *Kawākib*. (F.E. Karatay. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1966), vol. 3, 575-76; *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 175-180.) (7) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi 1220; 186 folios, 27 lines, [TBC]. Includes the third part of *Kawākib* (86 folios) and the *dayl* or *Lutf* (100 folios). (F.E. Karatay. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1966), vol. 3, 575-76; *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 175-180.) The manuscript is almost complete; only 4 biographies are missing. It includes one biography which is missing in all other manuscripts. (8) London, British Museum, no. 938; 738 folios, [TBC]. (See *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui Museo britannico asservantur, Pars 2. Arabic Manuscripts* (London, 1838-1871), 430-431, no. 938.) Completed in 1134/1722. (9) Medina, Maktabat Arif Hikmat, 182 Ta'riḥ; 329 folios, 31 lines, nesih. (See °Umar Rida Kahhala. *al-Muntaḥab min maḥṭūṭāt al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (Damascus, 1393/1973), 83.) Completed in 1173/1759. Unlike the Zāhiriyya manuscript, it does not include a list of contents. It is not a copy of the Zāhiriyya manuscript, nor do the two manuscripts have a common source. Hence its usefulness for a comparison to establish the text of the work. (10) Rampur, Rampur Library, no. 3708; [no further details available]. (See *Fihrist kitab Arabi, Catalogue of Arabic Books in the Rampur State Library*. Rampur, 1902); also see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplement 2 (Leiden, 1938), 402, for a statement that a copy of *Lutf* is located in the Rampur Library, India.)

Editions: Ed. Jibrā'īl Sulaymān Jabbūr, 3 vols. (Beirut et.al., 1945-59). Second edition in 1979. This edition includes a few footnotes indicating the difference between the original spelling in the manuscript and the editor's version; occasional references to other sources that have biographies on the same person, such as *Shadarāt al-dahab* by Ibn °Imād al-Ḥanbalī; as well as indices for *Kawākib* (personal names; place names, groups, institutions; titles of books). Although most manuscript copies of the work give its title as *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-manāqib a'c'yan al-mi'a al-°āshira*, the printed edition prepared by Jabbūr omitted the word “*bi-manāqib*”.

② *Lutf al-samar wa-qatf al-ṭamar min tarājim a'c'yan al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-qarn al-ḥādī °ashar*

Manuscripts: (1) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1345 Ta'riḥ; 186 folios, 21 lines, nesih. A copy of the Zāhiriyya manuscript, the manuscript was copied in 5 Sa-far 1342/ 17 September 1923. Its use for the edition, therefore, was minimal. (2) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 3402; [TBC]. Described by the catalogue with the

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copy date of Rajab 1108/February 1697. (See Supplement of the *Dār al-Kutub* catalog, p. 424) This seems to be the oldest copy. Al-Shayḥ tried to locate this manuscript without success. Jabbūr does not mention these two manuscripts at all and did not consult them for his edition of *Kawākib*. (3) Cairo, Maktabat Taymūriyya, 1420 Ta'rīḥ; [TBC]. A copy of the Zāhiriyya manuscript. (See *Fihris al-Ḥizāna al-Taymūriyya* (Cairo 1367/1947, 4 vols.) vol. 3, 220, 270.) (4) Damascus, Maktabat Zāhiriyya, no. 41 Ta'rīḥ (also 3406 °Āmm); 51 folios, 45 lines, nesih. Completed on 11 Safar 1162/3 February 1749. The editor relied mainly on this manuscript, since it is the fullest, except for two missing biographies that the editor located in the Medina manuscript. (5) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, no. 3708; 568 folios, 29 lines, nesih. (See Arthur J. Arberry. *A handlist of the Arabic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin, 1955-66), vol. 3, 91.) Identical with Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, no. 3402. It is a volume containing both the *Kawākib* (452 pages) and *Lutf* (116 pages). The date of completion is 12 Rajab 1108/4 February 1697. Six biographies are missing. (6) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi 1220; 186 folios, 27 lines, nesih. It is a volume containing both the *Kawākib* (86 pages) and *Lutf* (100 pages). The manuscript is not paginated. (7) Medina, Maktabat °Ārif Ḥikmat, 203 Ta'rīḥ; 114 folios, 27 lines, nesih. Unlike the Zāhiriyya copy, here the *Lutf* is presented as a separate volume. Since this manuscript was not copied from the same copy as the Zāhiriyya manuscript, the editor relied on it for comparing the two versions that have slight differences. Unlike the Zāhiriyya manuscript, it does not include a list of contents. Four biographies are missing. (8) Rampur, Rampur Library, no. 3708; [TBC]. Mentioned in Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Supplement 2 (Leiden, 1938), 402.

Edition: Éd. Maḥmūd al-Shayḥ, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1981). A thorough and meticulous work of critical edition. The long "Introduction" to this edition is an extensive and informative study of Ġ.'s life and works. Useful references to other biographical collections as well as to modern studies, mostly, but not exclusively, in Arabic, are provided in the footnotes. For each biography, the dates of birth and death according to the Hijri and the Christian calendars are given. There is information about topographical, historical and bibliographical terms that appear in the text. Textual variants between the manuscripts used for the edition are noted. Though the editor relied on the Zāhiriyya and Medina manuscripts, he also used *Hulāṣat al-aṭar* by al-Muḥibbī, who borrowed no less than 182 (out of 283) biographies from *Lutf*. The editor notes that there are several significant differences between the two biographers in that Muḥibbī tended to Arabicize Turkish and Persian terms and corrected some grammatical errors that can be found in the manuscripts of *Lutf*.

Appendices (by al-Shayḥ, at the end of his edition of *Lutf*): There are 9 appendices: 1) governors of Damascus since Ġ.'s birth until 1033/1624 when *Lutf* ends; 2) Hanafi (Ottoman) qadis for the same period; 3) Hanafi muftis for the same period; 4) Shafi'i muftis; 5) Hanbali muftis; 6) Maliki muftis; 7) the deputy qadis; 8) military

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judges (*qāḍī'asker*) in Damascus; 9) qadis who held positions outside Damascus. The editor provides dates of their terms. Indices to *Lutf* (by al-Shayḥ): Index of the biographies; index of persons who are mentioned in the text or the footnotes, but do not have a biographies; index of titles or nicknames (*alqāb*); place names; index of book titles; index of terms.

General Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld. *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen, 1882), 272-4 (no. 569). Ignaz Goldzieher. *Muhamedanische Studien* (Hildesheim, 1961), vol. IV, 189. Ṣalāḥaddīn al-Munajjid. *al-Mu'arriḥun al-Dimashqiyyūn fī'l-^cahd al-^cUṭmānī wa-^cātāruhum al-maḥṭūṭa* (Beirut, 1964), 53-54. Ḥayruddīn al-Zirikli. *al-A^clām*. Part 7 (Beirut, 1389/1969), 292. Ṣalāḥaddīn al-Munajjid. *Mu^cjam al-mu'arriḥīn al-Dimashqiyyīn wa-^cātāruhum al-maḥṭūṭa* (Beirut, 1398/1978), 319-320, 453. M. Winter. "Ta'rikh." *Encyclopaedia of Islam²*, vol. XII, *Supplement* (Leiden, 2004), 797-8. Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī. *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar fī a^cyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ^cashar* (Beirut, 2006), vol. IV, 188-200. M. Winter. "Historiography in Arabic during the Ottoman Period." Eds. Roger Allen and D. S. Richards. *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period* (Cambridge, 2006), 171-190.

¹ Much of this chapter is based on the long introduction of Maḥmūd al-Shayḥ, the editor of Ġ.'s *Lutf al-Samar* (Damascus, 1981), vol. I, 5-216.

² Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar fī a^cyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ^cashar* (Beirut, 2006), vol. IV, 189-200.

³ There are seven other biographies of Ġ. The best known among them are al-Ḥasan al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), Sharafaddīn Mūsā al-Anṣārī (d. 1000/1591) and another short biography by Muḥibbī that discusses Ġ. as a literary man and a poet.

⁴ Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat*, vol. 4, 189-192. Another date given is 13 Shaban/22 December of the same year. See Ġ., *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 22, note: 5.

⁵ Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat*, vol. 4, 192.

⁶ In one case, a teaching position at the prestigious *madrasa* al-Shāmiyya al-Barraniyya, held by al-^cĪṭāwī was disputed between Ġ. and Muḥammad al-Maydānī. Al-^cĪṭāwī appointed Ġ. shortly before his death to that position. Al-Maydānī went to Istanbul and came back with an appointment (*berāt*) for that *madrasa*. Ġ. too traveled to Istanbul and obtained the appointment. The two rivals asked the intervention of the Ottoman qadi of Damascus. The judge admitted that Ġ. was right, but asked him to divide that position with his rival in deference to his advanced age. After one year al-Maydānī died, and Ġ. had the teaching position for himself.

⁷ *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 92-94.

⁸ Ġ., *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira fī a^cyān al-mi'a al-^cāshira*, ed. Jibrā'il Sulaymān Jabbūr, (2nd edition: Beirut, 1979), vol. I, 5-7.

⁹ Ġ., *Kawākib*, ed. J.S. Jabbūr, vol. I, 35, 96, 121.

¹⁰ Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥimsī, a Syrian chronicler who covers the late Mamluk and the early Ottoman periods until 930/1524. His *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-wafayāt al-shuyūḥ wa'l-aqrān* was edited by ^cUmar ^cAbd al-Salām Tadmari (Beirut and Sayda, 1412/1999). See Ġ.'s opinion of al-Ḥimsī's book in *Kawākib*, vol. I, 5.

¹¹ *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. II, 610.

¹² *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 3-4.

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¹³ Al-Shayḥ states that, according to a later writer of al-Ġazzi family, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ġ. seems to have changed the title after five years, adding his autobiography, as well as a list of his own writings until 1004/1595-96, namely when he reached the age of 27. (See *Laṭāʾif al-minna fī fawāʾid ḥidmat al-sunna*, Zāhiriyya Library, Damascus, no. ʿĀmm 3876/141.) Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān also states that “Ġ. organized the biography in forty chapters in a big volume which he entitled *Bulġat al-wājid fī tarjamat al-Shayḥ al-wālid*.” See *Laṭāʾif al-minna*, quoted by *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 15, note: 1.

¹⁴ See *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 107.

¹⁵ “*Al-badr al-sāṭi*” refers to the *laqab* of Ġ.’s father, Badraddīn. See *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 107.

¹⁶ *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, pp. 107-108.

¹⁷ *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. II, p. 621.

¹⁸ *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, p. 14, note 1 and p. 108.

¹⁹ For a list, see *Lutf*, ed. al-Shayḥ, vol. I, 105-121.

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