

CRIMEAN SCHOLARS IN MAMLUK SYRIA (13th–14th CENTURIES): CAREERS AND LEGACY

Mykhaylo Yakubovych

National University of Ostroh Academy

Ostroh, Ukraine

mykhaylo.yakubovych@oa.edu.ua

Abstract: *Objective:* Using the available manuscripts and historical biographies, this study is dedicated to covering the preliminary biographical data, career stories and the preserved written legacy of Crimean scholars who were active in the Syrian part of Mamluk Sultanate. A discussion of the Crimean families (both the “native” Crimeans and those who stayed there for some time) who settled in Syria and their impact on the social and intellectual life of the Mamluk Sultanate will show not only the level of relations between Mamluk Syria and the Crimean Ulus of the Golden Horde, but also how early Crimean scholars used their opportunities to make successful careers in their new homeland.

Research material: This article analyses two “Crimean” scholarly families (the one in Damascus and the second one in Tripoli). First, it is obvious that most of them were previously tied to Crimea and probably received an early education there, since their *nisbah* was more broadly used than the previous Central Asian ones (like *al-Turkistani* for those scholars who was born outside of Crimea). What seems to be a common feature for the scholars is that all of them were experts in Hadeeth and at least three of them were students of as renowned an authority as Ibn Shihnah (d. 1330). Even those who were of Sufi background continued to practice the teaching of Hadeeth (like Ahmad ibn ‘Uthman al-Qirimi and Muhammad al-Qirimi). Some of them (like Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi) were also teachers in Mamluk medrese. At least two of Crimean scholars were judges (Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi and Muhammad al-Qirimi) and probably received a patronage from the local Mamluk emirs.

Results and novelty of the research: It appears that the typical career pattern in medieval Damascus involved the necessity of obtaining some diplomas (*ijazah*) from local scholars, and the study of Hadeeth was a good point of entry because it opened the way for the prospective engagement in administrative positions (like being a judge) or at least to some paid position in medrese. These connections and patronage also provided good prospects for younger family members. Thus, we see how they continued along the same career path as their fathers. At least two Crimean scholars (Ahmad ibn ‘Uthman al-Qirimi and Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi) were also connected to another foreign figure in Mamluk Syria, a chief judge (*qadhi al-qudha*), Jalal al-Din al-Qazwini (d. 1337). Generally speaking, it could be said that Crimean scholars were welcomed into the type of “international scholarly community” that we encounter in the Syrian case. Similar words could be said about Mamluk Egypt which was also one of the most desirable destinations for Crimeans already in the fourteenth century. Further studies of the scholars who were of Crimean origin (like Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi al-Sulkhati) and travelled to Mamluk Sultanate could answer more questions about their primary education, interests and the legacy they left to the intellectual history of Islam.

Keywords: Golden Horde, Mamluk Sultanate, Crimea, Islamic law, Hadeeth Scholarship, Medrese, Manuscripts

For citation: Yakubovych M. Crimean Scholars in Mamluk Syria (13th–14th centuries): Careers and Legacy. *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie=Golden Horde Review*. 2018, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 719–728. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2018-6-4.719-728

It is widely known fact that the first waves of Islamisation in Crimean peninsula happened long before the “official” acceptance of Islam as a Golden Horde state religion (1313/1314). Some of the sources, including both the external ones (like *Rihlah* of Ibn Battuta [18, p. 157]) and the internal ones (for example, report of Ahmad al-Qirimi, d. 1474 to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror [19, p. 71]), reveal about “hundreds” of scholars operating in Crimea since the old times. Many of these scholars, as it is obvious from their nisbah, came to the peninsula from the Central Asia and Persia; for example, Ibn Battuta mentions the scholar with *nisbah* “Khorasani” [18, p. 157]; O. Aqçoqraqlı in his studies revealed research on a few tombstones, where scholars from Iraq and Anatolia were buried, while E. Goncharov and I. Zaytsev came to the conclusion that one of the oldest tombs in Eski-Yurt belongs to someone Ahmad ibn Mahmud al-Barjinligy from the old city of Barjinlig in Syr Darya shore [20]. Moreover, some of the oldest extant manuscripts where *nisbah* al-Qirimi is mentioned along with Central Asian ones are preserved in some of the Middle Eastern libraries. In the National Library of Israel (Jerusalem), there is a copy of famous Hadeeth collection *Jami’ al-Sahih*, written in Damascus by someone “Muhammad bin ‘Ali bin ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jandi by birth, Al Qirimi by origin, on the fourth day... of the blessed month Shaaban of 711 (December 15, 1311)”¹. Thus, this scholar has been born in Central Asian city of Jand or Jend, mentioned by many Arab geographers, then moved to Crimea and finally settled in Syria. Another scholar, Diya’ al-Din al-Qirimi (d. 1387) who spent last 20 years of his life in Cairo and left one of the works in Islamic law, belonged to the scholarly family from Qazwin in Persia and left his native city for Crimea around 1347².

Using available manuscripts and historical biographies, written by the later Mamluk historians such as Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (1274–1348), Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (1372–1449), Ibn Nasir al-Din al-Dimashqi (1375–1438), Ibn Qadi Shuhbah (1377–1448) and others, this study is dedicated to cover preliminary biographical data, career stories and preserved written legacy of the Crimean scholars who were active in Syrian part of Mamluk Sultanate. Since in the age of early Ottoman extension over Anatolia (14th century) Syrian cities of Aleppo and Damascus were important points in pilgrims way from Crimea to Makkah (as it is stated by Sharaf al-Din al-Qirimi in his work, who travelled by this road in 1407)³, for the Crimeans Syria was the most close part of Mamluk state. Description of the Crimean families (both the “native” Crimeans and those previously stayed here for some time) who settled here and their impact on the social and intellectual life of

¹ *Al-Jami’ al-Sahih*. The National Library of Israel (Jerusalem). Ms. Yah. Ar. 103. 405 ff.

² Al-Qirimi, Diya’ al-Din. *Talkhis minhaj al-wusul*. Khalidyah Library (Jerusalem). No. 459. 34 ff.

³ Al-Qirimi, Sharaf bin Kamal. *Sharh Manar al-Anwar*. Princeton University Library. Mss. No. 5738Y. 361 ff.

Mamluk Sultanate will show not only the level of relations between the Crimean Ulus of the Golden Horde and Mamluk Syria, but also how early Crimean scholars used their opportunities to make successful careers in the new homeland. Of course, the author is far from claiming this study to be finalizing and comprehensive (since many of the Mamluk sources still consist of uncatalogized manuscripts and, unfortunately, suffer from the war events in Syria), but even the exploration of the few Crimean scholarly families in medieval Damascus, Jerusalem and Tripoli may shed light on some previously unknown facts.

The earliest of the known Crimeans is ‘Abu Abdallah (and Abu l-‘Abbas) Ahmad ibn ‘Uthman al-Qirimi, who is mentioned by Ibn Nasir al-Din [4, p. 462] and Ibn al-Jazarri [15, p. 78]. Nothing is said about his past life, just that he was a Sufi (*al-Sufi*) and came to Damascus by 695 hijri (around 1296). Since he carry no other *nisbah* in both sources, it looks that his birthplace was some place in Crimea, and he was coming from Muslim family (however, some later sources ascribed to his son *nisbah* “Al-Turkistani” [7, p. 90]), so he could born in some Central Asian family of newcomers to Crimea. Ibn al-Jazarri said he was born after 660/1261; thus, he could be around thirty or little older when coming to Damascus. List of his teachers (mostly scholars of Hadeeth and Qur’anic recitation, *qira’at*) includes Ibrahim al-Badawwi (d. 1308), Ahmad ibn Jabbarah (1328) and Abu Bakr bin Qasim al-Tunisi (d. 1342) [4, p. 462]. What is also added by ibn al-Jazzari is that Ahmad ibn Uthman al-Qirimi was a close friend of *Qadhi al-Qudha’* (“Chief Judge”) Jalal al-Din al-Qazwini (d. 1337); this well-known Persian scholar and author of a few books on the rhetoric in Arabic language also was a foreigner, coming to Damascus around 1291 after being judge in “some part of the Rum” (meaning Anatolia) in a very young age, no more than twenty [10, p. 5]. It could be supposed that Ahmad ibn Uthman al-Qirimi meet Jalal al-Din al-Qazwini before coming of both to Damascus in the 1290s and then joined him here; nothing is said, however, about the students or works of Ahmad ibn Uthman al-Qirimi, who died “returning from Egypt” in Rabi al-Awwal 731/December–January of 1330 [4, p. 462].

A son of Ahmad ibn Uthman al-Qirimi, Muhammad al-Qirimi is known much better than his father. He was born in Damascus by Dhu l-Hijja 17, 720 (corresponding to January 17, 1321), studied Hadeeth along with his father in Omeyyad mosque and later became military judge in Cairo [17, p. 292]. Like his father, he belonged to Shafii school of Islamic law. However, it looks like the administrative or scholarly career was not of his main interest, so he finally settled in Jerusalem, devoting himself to the pious practices and ascetism. The place where he lived became known as *zawiyah* (“cell”) named after al-Qirimi; after his death (happened by Safar 9, 788/March 11, 1386 [5, p. 258]) he was buried here and until now all the neighbourhood in the old part of Jerusalem is known as *Hayy al-Qirimi* (not so far from Al-Aqsa Mosque). His tomb (*turbah*) is preserved here as well.

Muhammad al-Qirimi was a teacher of many students who later became experts in Hadeeth; they were al-Khalil bin Harun al-Jaza’iri and Ibn Arslan al-Ramalli (d. 1440) [1, p. 458]. Also one of his students was Sufi Abu Said bin Sari; in general, pious practices were the main point of interest for those who was describing Muhammad al-Qirimi’s biography. First of all it is said that he made all the Qur’nic recitation (*hatm*) three [5, p. 258] or five [7, p. 91] times in a day; also

some “wonders” are ascribed to him. The most comprehensive account of them is given by later Sufi scholar ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (1641–1731) in his *Al-Hadhrah al-Unsiyah fi l-Rihlatu l-Qudsiyah* (“Close Remembrance in the Journey to Jerusalem”), who visited tomb and mosque of Muhammad al-Qirimi in Rajab 1101 (April 1690) [9, p. 182–185]. Here he meet old Sheikh Ahmad al-Qirimi, great-grandson of Muhammad al-Qirimi, who informed Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi about some stories happened with his famous ancestor. True they or not, it is important to mention them here because this shows how Muhammad al-Qirimi was perceived in his times.

First of all, this is about some jurist Ahmad al-Fatawi who blamed Muhammad al-Qirimi for the common *dhikr* practice for both women and men at once, since this “mixing” (*ikhtilat*) is said to be prohibited in Islamic law. However, when a jar with this fatwah inside has been brought to Muhammad al-Qirimi and opened in a presence of this Ahmad al-Fatawi, the jurist was amazed: instead of the paper he saw there a set of fire, ice and cotton. Muhammad al-Qirimi then explained, that “cotton” means women, fire means men and the ice means “a state” (*hal*), which prevents cotton to be set on fire of passion. Following this wonder, Ahmad the jurist repented and became one of Muhammad al-Qirimi’s “representative” *naqib*. Later Muhammad al-Qirimi also instructed him by the knowledge of “great divine secret”, mysteriously bringing him to the legendary mountains of Qaf [9, p. 183–184].

Also there is a story where Muhammad al-Qirimi poses himself as authority for other Sufis; for instance, Sheikh Ibrahim al-Zaqa’ (1344–1414) from Gazza once brought him a copy of his commentary on *Al-Tanwir* by famous Ibn ‘Ata al-Iskandari (1259–1310). Muhammad al-Qirimi approved his text (*ajadta wa ahsanta*, “you have done it good and in a well manner”), but in response said that almost whole *Al-Tanwir* could be explained in two verses; their meaning could be translated in the following way: “what is not intended cannot be realized, then let your ardor to be avoided, then left those thoughts which occupy your heart, and then relax!” [9, p. 185]. There is also another story related to Sheikh Ibrahim al-Zaqa’: once Muhammad al-Qirimi was in pious isolation (*khulwa*) and asked God to sent him one of the saints with a shirt; the same moment Sheikh Ibrahim came from Gazza [13, p. 98]. What is interesting to note here, that nothing is known about past Sufi affiliation of Muhammad al-Qirimi, his Sufi mentors of belonging to any of the known tariqah; it looks that he was famous because of his personal qualities. ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi also mentions his son, ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Qirimi, who died in 843/1439 and was buried along with his father.

Another scholarly family from Crimea, settled in Mamluk Syria, takes its roots in the personality of Shafii scholar Hussam al-Din Al-Hasan bin Ramadhan bin al-Hasan Ibn Fad-in (or Ibn Fakih) al-Alani (or Al-‘Alai) al-Sulkhati al-Qirimi, who is mentioned by numerous biographers. According to Nasir al-Din al-Dimashqi, he was born after 670 hijri (i.e. after 1271) and came to Damascus in his “maturity” (*kuhulah*) to start his education [4, p. 462]. Among his teachers were such well-known scholars of Hadeeth as Ibn Shihnah (d. 1330), al-Wadi ‘Ashi (d. 1348), Al-Barazzali (d. 1338) and Jamal al-Din al-Mizzi (d. 1341). The later was a close friend of Ahmad ibn Taymiyah (1263–1328). Around 725/1325 Hussam al-Din al-

Qirimi already was a teacher of Hadeeth in *Ribat al-Nasiri* in Damascene area of Salihiyah, being examined and approved for the lessons by the aforementioned judge Jamal al-Din al-Qazwini [16, p. 257]. In some period of his life he became judge in Safed (it was in the times of its emir Seyf al-Din Jukandar, i.e. before 1334). Salah al-Din al-Safadi (d. 1362), who personally met Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi in Safed, describes him as “a handsome men with nice appearance and smile” [12, p. 18]. Later he moved to Tripoli (the one in Lebanon) and received a position of judge here, issuing also some fatwas. He died in Tripoli by Rabi al-Awwal 746 (July of 1345) [4, p. 462]. It looks that there is no other possible explanation for his *nisbah* than he could belong to the Alans and came from the well-known Crimean city of Solkhat. Unfortunately, none of his books are known.

The next well known member of this scholarly family was the son of Hussam al-Din, Abu l-Hummam Bahadir bin ‘Abdallah al-Qirimi. He started his teaching in Damascus (so it looks like he already was there before 1320, when his father studied under Ibn Shihnah) and then moved to Tripoli [4, p. 76]. His teacher also was well-known Hadeeth scholar Sadr al-Yasufi (d. 1387). In Tripoli, Bahadir bin ‘Abdallah al-Qirimi’s student was Ahmad ibn Badr (d. 1465), a Sufi scholar of Arabic grammar [13, p. 158]. Ibn Nasir al-Dimashqi also mentions that Bahadir al-Qirimi wrote *mukhtasar* of Jamal al-Din al-Mizzi’s *Tahzib al-Kamal fi ‘Asma’ al-Rijal* (“Correction of the Complete Outline in the Names of the Men”) in four volumes, one of the most popular books for Hadeeth studies, originally written by ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi (1146–1203). It looks like this *mukhtasar* (unfortunately, it is not known whether the text preserved or not) was among the earliest written on al-Mizzi’ *Tahzeeb*. Bahadir al-Qirimi died by Shawwal 776 (March of 1375) in Tripoli [4, p. 76]. Ibn Nasir al-Dimashqi personally met his son (and grandson of Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi), Muhammad bin Bahadir al-Qirimi. This happened in Damascus “after *fitnah*” (probably the siege of Damascus by Tamerlane in 1400 is meant), when Muhammad bin Bahadir al-Qirimi was going back from his pilgrimage to Makkah. Later he died in Tripoli. No other members of this family are known, but definitely some of their offspring were continued to live in Tripoli or other cities of *Sham*.

One of the earliest Crimean scholars in Mamluk Syria was also Sufi Salih Abu ‘Abdallah Muhammad bin Sheikh Mu’min bin Malik al-Qirimi; according to Ibn Nasir al-Dimashqi (the only biographer who mentions him), he lived in Jerusalem and studied under Ibn Shihnah in Damascus (this was before 1330, when Ibn Shihna died) [4, p. 463]. He was a Sufi and had some connection to the aforementioned Muhammad al-Qirimi, since his student Abu Said bin Sari mentions his teacher’s note (*hatt*) about death of Salih al-Qirimi [4, p. 463]. According to this report, he strangled while being in some “passionate extraordinary state” (*majzub shath*) [4, p. 463]. That happened on the hill in Damascus where death penalties were usually performed, but afterwards a mosque named Yalbugha has been build there (in 747/1346) and the place ceased to be a site for the punishments [4, p. 463]. This mosque, known as Yalbugha Jami (named after the ruler who built it, namely, Seyf al-Din Yalbugha, d. 1374) existed until 1974, when demolishing and further restoration took place [11, p. 216]. Other sources are silent about this personality.

One more scholar with *nisbah al-Qirimi* was ‘Ali bin Salah bin Abu Bakr bin Muhammad bin ‘Ali al-Sukhumi al-Qirimi. He is mentioned by the most of the Syrian Mamluk biographers and seems to be one of the most notable writers of time, since two of his known works are preserved. He is reported to be an expert in tafsir, *usul al-fiqh* and the Arabic language; most of the biographers mention his ascetism, wide knowledge of the subject, devoted worship and other moral qualities. Nothing substantial concerning his biography is known apart from the fact that he was living in Aleppo and died here by 774/1372 in the age of seventy and “something” (according to Al-Asqalani [1, p. 362]; Ibn Tagriberdi, however, provides date of 714/1314, [17, p. 223]; Al-Dawudi in his *Tabaqat al-Mufassirin* opts for the same date as Al-Asqalani [2, p. 410], so this seems to be preferable). What does “Al-Sukhumi” really means seems to be a question without any successful answer, since it is not known whether this is some place (well-known city of Sukhumi in the Kingdom of Georgia?) or merely family name.

There are two known works, written by ‘Ali bi Salah al-Qirimi. The first on is a commentary to well-known masterpiece of Hadeeth studies *Masabih al-Sunnah* by Muhi’ l-Din al-Baghavi (d. 1122), entitled *Manhal al-Yanabi’ fi Sharh al-Masabih* (“Source of Wells in the Commentary to Al-Masabih”), written in 762/1361 [6, p. 542]. One of the copies, dated back by 16th century, is preserved in Princeton University Library and contains more than eighty percent of the primary text (up to the chapter about the Day of Resurrection)⁴. The work provides many legal, grammatical and other issues of Hadeeth scholarship; *Manhal al-Yanabi’* was popular in the circles of later Hadeeth scholars, for example, some of Ali bin Salah al-Qirimi’s commentaries are mentioned as the most authoritative by Ibn al-Ajami (d. 884/1479) in his *Al-Nazir al-Sahih ‘an al-Jami’ al-Sahih* (“True Vision of the Collection of Sound Hadeeth”) [14, p. 373].

One more work preserved is *Maqasid al-Fuhul fi ‘Ilm al-Usul* (“Aims of ‘The Courageous in the Science of Law Principles’”). At least one copy is known, located in Islamic University of Madinah Library⁵. Copied in 773/1371 by Yunus bin Isma’il bin Ibrahim al-Hasani al-Dimashqi, this work provides an outline of Hanafi jurisprudence (basic principles, *usul*). Written as a commentary to the work by unknown author named *al-Fuhul fi ‘Ilm al-Usul*, the manuscript contains 114 folios with a discussion on the very principles of Islamic law. No other copies of this work are known.

Some kinds of scholarly ties between the scholars from Crimea and Mamluk Syria continued to be active in the next centuries as well. For example, the Crimean scholar Sharaf al-Din bin Kamal al-Qirimi (d. 1440), who authored *Manar al-Anwar fi Usul al-Fiqh*, a commentary over *Usul al-Fiqh* book by Abu al-Barakat al-Nasafi (d. 1310) provides a short outline of his pilgrimage to Makkah. He describes his stay in *diyar al-Sham* (“Lands of Syria”) around 1407, where he meet “big scholars” (*ulama’ al-kubbar*), who successfully accepted early drafts of his

⁴ Al-Sukhumi. *Manhal al-Yanabi’ fi Sharh al-Masabih*. Princeton University Library, Garrett 2603Yq. 247 ff.

⁵ Al-Sukhumi. *Maqasid al-Fuhul fi ‘Ilm al-Usul*. Library of Islamic University in Madinah. No. 3085, 114 ff.

work and asked him to write the final version “as soon as possible” (*fi aqrab al-azman*); finally, he made this on the way to Hijaz⁶. Later connections also could be found in Syria during the Ottoman times. For example, some of the Crimean scholars were settling here by 17th century. The one Lutf Allah ibn Mustafa al-Qirimi (1078/1667 – 1161/1748) was one of the most known preachers (*wa'iz*) in the Great Mosque of Damascus and wrote a few books including *Risalah fi Radd 'ala al-Shiah* (“Treatise on the Refutation of Shias”) [8, p. 15].

This short biographical outline of the scholars who made their career in Mamluk Syria during 13th and 14th centuries makes a basis for drawing some preliminary conclusions. Of course, some of the further research on this topic could be done, first of all, a more detailed exploration of the works preserved as well as location of some other manuscripts written by Crimean authors, which could be still uncatalogued.

At least two “Crimean” scholarly families (the one in Damascus and the second one in Tripoli) are known; moreover, there are some other scholars who probably had no family connections in Syria. First of all, it is obvious that most of them were previously related to Crimea and probably received an early education here, since their *nisbah* was more broadly used than the previous Central Asian one (like *al-Turkistani* for those scholars who was born outside of Crimea). What seems to be a common feature for most of the scholars is that all of them were scholars of Hadeeth and at least three of them were the students of such big authority as Ibn Shihnah (d. 1330). Even those who were of Sufi background continued to practice teaching of Hadeeth (like Ahmad ibn ‘Uthman al-Qirimi and Muhammad al-Qirimi). Some of them (like Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi) were also teachers in Mamluk medrese; and at least two of Crimean scholars were judges (Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi and Muhammad al-Qirimi) and probably were under the patronage of local Mamluk emirs. It looks that the pattern of doing career in medieval Damascus was consisted of necessity to obtain some diplomas (*ijazah*) from local scholars, and the study of Hadeeth was a good point because it was opening the way for prospective engagement in the administrative positions (like judge) or at least to some teaching in medrese. These connections and patronage provided also good perspectives for the younger family members, thus we see how they continued the same way of career as their fathers. At least two of Crimean scholars (Ahmad ibn ‘Uthman al-Qirimi and Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi) were also connected to another foreign figure in Mamluk Syria, a chief judge (*qadhi al-qudha'*) Jalal al-Din al-Qazwini (d. 1337). Generally speaking, it could be said that Crimean scholars were welcomed in such “international scholarly community” as it was the Syrian one. Similar words could be said about Mamluk Egypt, which also was one of the most desired destinations for the Crimeans already in the 14th century. Reception of some works (as the one by ‘Ali bi Salah al-Qirimi) and their further preservation seems to reflect a quite high level of integration of the Crimean scholars to the Mamluk scholarly community. Since development of the Islamic sciences in early medieval Crimea (specifically in the 13th/14th centuries) still poses many

⁶ Al-Qirimi, Sharaf bin Kamal. *Sharh Manar al-Anwar*. Princeton University Library. Mss. No. 5738Y. F. 2a–3b.

questions, further study of the scholars who were of the Crimean origin (like Hussam al-Din al-Qirimi al-Sulkhati) and traveled to Mamluk Sultanate could provide more answers about their primary education, interest and legacy they left in the intellectual history of Islam.

REFERENCES

1. Al-Asqalani, Ibn Hajjar. *Al-Durar al-Kaminah fi l-'Ayan al-Mi'yah al-Thaminah*. Vol. 1. Beirut, Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-Arabi [n. d.]. 458 p. (In Arabic)
2. Al-Dawudi, Muhammad. *Tabaqat al-Mufassirin*. Vol. 2. Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1983. 884 p. (In Arabic)
3. Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din. *Tarikh al-Islam*. Ed. M. Bawazir. Vol. 53. Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Arabi. 1990. 525 p. (In Arabic)
4. Al-Dimashqi, ibn Nasir al-Din. *Tawdih al-Mushtabih bi Dhibt Asma' al-Ruwwa wa Ansabihim wa Alqabihim wa Kinnahim*. Ed. by M. Al-Arqasusi. Vol. 7. Beirut, Mu'asasah al-Risalah. 1993. 371 p. (In Arabic)
5. Al-Hanbali, Mujir al-Din. *Al-Uns al-Jalil bi Tarikh al-Quds wa l-Khalil*. Ed. by M. Al-Ka'biah. Vol. 2. Amman, Maktabah Dandays. 1999. 526 p. (In Arabic)
6. Al-Kittani, Muhammad. *Al-Risalah al-Mustatrafah li-Bayan Mashhur Kutub al-Sunnah al-Musharrifah*. Ed. by M. Al-Zamzami. Beirut, Dar al-Basha'ir al-Islamiyah, 1993. 542 p. (In Arabic)
7. Al-Makki, Muhammad. *Zayl al-Taqaayid li-Ma'rifatu l-Rawwah al-Sunan wa l-Masanid*. Ed. M. Al-Murad. Vol. 1. Makkah, Jami'ah Umm al-Qura. 1990. 515 p. (In Arabic)
8. Al-Muradi, Abu l-Fadhl. *Suluk al-Durar fi 'Ayan al-Qarn al-Thani Ashar*. Vol. 4. Cairo, Bulaq, 1301/[1883]. 270 p. (In Arabic)
9. Al-Nabulusi, 'Abd al-Gnani. *Al-Hadhrh al-Unsiyah fi l-Rihlatu l-Qudsiyah*. Ed. by A. Al-'Ulbi. Beirut, Dar Sadir, 1990. 400 p. (In Arabic)
10. Al-Qazwini, Jalal al-Din. *Al-Idhakh fi 'Ulum al-Balagah*. Ed. I. Shams al-Din. Beirut, Maktaba al-Asriyah, 2002. 415 p. (In Arabic)
11. Al-Rihawi, Abd al-Qadir. *Madinat Dimashq: Tarikhuha wa-Tharwatuha wa-Tatawwuruha al-Umrani*. Damascus, Dar al-Basha'ir, 1996. 350 p. (In Arabic)
12. Al-Safadi, Salah al-Din. *Al-Wafi bi l-Wafiyat*. Ed. by A. Al-Arnaut, T. Mustafa. Vol. 12. Beirut, Dar Ihya al-Turath al-'Arabi, 2000. 300 p. (In Arabic)
13. Al-Zubayri, Walid et al. *Al-Mawsu'ah al-Maysirah fi tarajum a'imah al-tafsir wa l-iqra' wa l-nahw wa l-lughah*. London, Majallah al-Hikmah, 2003. 3149 p. (In Arabic)
14. Ibn al-Ajami. *Al-Nazir al-Sahih 'al al-Jami' al-Sahih*. Ed. by M. Sha'ban. Vol. 2. Damascus, Dar al-Kamal al-Muttahidah, 2016. 455 p. (In Arabic)
15. Ibn al-Jazarri, Muhammad. *Gayah al-Nihayah fi Tabaqat al-Qurra'*. Ed. by J. Bergstraesser. Vol. 2. Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah. 2006. 520 p. (In Arabic)
16. Ibn Kathir. *Al-Bidayah wa l-Nihayah*. Vol. 18. Ed. A. Al-Turki. Cairo, Dar Hajar, 1998. 753 p. (In Arabic)
17. Ibn Tagriberdi. *Al-Nujum al-Zahirah fi Muluk al-Misr wa l-Qahirah*. Ed. by M. Shams al-Din. Vol. 3. Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1992. 305 p. (In Arabic)
18. *Rihlah of Ibn Batutah*. Beirut, Dar Sadir, 1998. 747 p. (In Arabic)
19. Taşköprüzade, Ahmad. *Al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyah fi 'Ulama' al-Dawlah al-Uthmaniyyah*. Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1395/1975. 503 p. (In Arabic)
20. Zaytsev I.V., Goncharov E.Yu. Iz Bardzhinlyka v Eski-Yurt: mevlyana Akhmad bin Makhmud al-Bardzhinlygi [From Barjinlyk to Eski-Yurt: Mevlâna Ahmad ibn Mahmud

al-Barjinligy]. *Zolotoordynskaya tsivilizatsiya=Golden Horde Civilization*. 2014. Vol. 7, pp. 176–180. (in Russian)

About the author: Mykhaylo Yakubovych – Cand. Sci. (History), Director, Center for Islamic Studies, The National University of Ostroh Academy (2, Seminarskaya Str., Rovenskaya region, Ostroh 35800, Ukraine). E-mail: mykhaylo.yakubovych@oa.edu.ua

*Received September 6, 2018 Accepted for publication December 3, 2018
Published December 29, 2018*

КРЫМСКИЕ УЧЕНЫЕ В МАМЛЮКСКОЙ СИРИИ (XIII–XIV вв.): КАРЬЕРА И НАСЛЕДИЕ

М.М. Якубович

*Национальный университет «Острожская академия»
Острог, Украина
mykhaylo.yakubovych@oa.edu.ua*

Цель исследования: используя доступные рукописи и обширные биографии, это исследование призвано охватить биографические данные, истории карьеры и сохраненное письменное наследие крымских ученых, которые были активны в сирийской части Мамлюкского султаната. Описание крымских семей (как «коренных» крымчан, так и тех, кто оставался в Крыму некоторое время) и их влияния на социальную и интеллектуальную жизнь Мамлюкского султаната раскрывает не только уровень отношений между крымским улусом Золотой Орды и Мамлюкским султанатом, но и то, как ранние крымские ученые использовали предоставленные возможности для успешной карьеры на новой родине.

Материалы исследования: в этой статье анализируются как минимум две «крымские» научные семьи (одна в Дамаске и вторая в Триполи); кроме того, есть некоторые другие ученые, которые, вероятно, не имели семейных связей в Сирии. Прежде всего, очевидно, что все они были связаны с Крымом и, вероятно, получили раннее образование здесь, поскольку их нисба была более широко использована, чем предыдущая среднеазиатская (например, «аль-Туркестани» для тех ученых, которые родились за пределами Крыма). Для большинства ученых характерна общая черта: все они были учеными в области хадиса, и по меньшей мере трое из них были учениками такого значимого авторитета, как Ибн Шихна (ум. 1330). Даже те, кто принадлежали к суфиям, продолжали практиковать науку о хадисах (например, Ахмад ибн Усман аль-Кырыми и Мухаммад аль-Кырыми). Некоторые из них (например, Хуссам аль-Дин аль-Кырыми) были также учителями в мамлюкских медресе; и по крайней мере двое из крымских ученых были судьями (Хуссам аль-Дин аль-Кырыми и Мухаммад аль-Кырыми) и, вероятно, находились под покровительством местных эмиров.

Результаты и новизна исследования: карьера иностранца в средневековом Дамаске была связана с необходимостью получения некоторых дипломов (*иджаза*) у местных ученых, и исследование в области хадисов давало преимущество для получения перспективной работы на административных должностях (например, судья)

или, по крайней мере, преподавания в медресе. Эти контакты и покровительство обеспечивали также хорошие перспективы для молодых членов семей, которые продолжали карьеру отцов. Сохранность некоторых рукописных трудов и их дальнейшая рецепция показывают довольно высокий уровень взаимодействия крымских ученых с иными членами научной элиты мамлюкского сообщества. Поскольку развитие исламских наук в раннем средневековом Крыму (в частности, XIII–XIV веков) по-прежнему вызывает много вопросов, дальнейшее изучение ученых, происходивших из самого Крыма и переселившихся в Мамлюкский султанат, поможет ответить на вопрос об их начальном образовании, интересах и наследии, которые они оставили в интеллектуальной истории ислама.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Мамлюкский султанат, Крым, исламское право, изучение хадисов, медресе, рукописи

Для цитирования: Yakubovych M. Crimean Scholars in Mamluk Syria (13th–14th centuries): Careers and Legacy // Золотоордынское обозрение. 2018. Т. 6, № 4. С. 719–728. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2018-6-4.719-728.

Сведения об авторе: Михаил Михайлович Якубович – кандидат исторических наук, директор Центра исламоведческих исследований Национального университета «Острожская академия» (35800, ул. Семинарская, 2, Острог, Ровенская обл., Украина). E-mail: mykhaylo.yakubovych@oa.edu.ua

*Поступила 06.09.2018 Принята к публикации 3.12.2018
Опубликована 29.12.2018*