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# **CORRESPONDANCES DIPLOMATIQUES ET TRAITÉS DE CHANCELLERIE**

Textes réunis par Denise Aigle et Michele Bernardini



LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON  
THE CHANCERY MANUAL (*QALĀ'ID AL-JUMĀN*) OF  
AL-QALQAŠANDĪ'S SON AND ITS VALUE FOR THE STUDY  
OF MAMLUK DIPLOMATICS (NINTH/FIFTEENTH CENTURY)  
(*STUDIA DIPLOMATICA ISLAMICA*, I)<sup>1</sup>

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0. INTRODUCTION

Diplomatics is a discipline that has, over the past two centuries, seldom been addressed in the field of Islamic studies. It has been repeatedly argued that this disinterest was mainly due to the paucity of primary Islamic sources before the Ottoman period. Though it is true that original documents represent the lion's share of diplomatics, it must also be recognized that studies based on chancery manuals can lead to stimulating results, keeping in mind their prescriptive, rather than descriptive, function. Thus, we note the important step represented by the publication, exactly one hundred years ago, of a manual considered by most scholars as the cornerstone of the field of diplomatics: al-Qalqašandī's *Šubḥ al-aṣā fī ḥinā'at al-inṣā*.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, its publication has had a counteractive result: due to its size and comprehensiveness, it is considered an indispensable, if not unique, source for the study of documents produced in Egypt and Syria from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period, with the effect that other manuals were not sought for publication. This long-standing impression was only overcome thirty years ago with a movement toward the publication of major works of the Mamluk period, which is generally recognized as an essential time for the development of the chancery.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article was written in the course of a research program at the Università di Pisa financed by the Italian Government ("Incentivazione alla mobilità di studiosi stranieri e italiani residenti all'estero").

<sup>2</sup> (Al-Qāhira: al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya, 1913-9): 14 vols.

<sup>3</sup> The Czech scholar, Rudolf Veselý, was certainly one of the most active. Beside the *editio princeps* of Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš's chancery manual (*Kitāb Tatqīf al-ta'rīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-ṣarīf* [al-Qāhirah: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1987]), he also published two minor treatises attributed to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749/1349) ("Zwei Opera Cancellaria Minora des Šihābuddīn Ahmād b. Faḍlullāh al-‘Umarī", *Ar Or*, LXX [2002]: pp. 513-57). It is also during the same period that the first critical edition of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī's major chancery treatise entitled *al-Ta'rīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-ṣarīf*

In any case, there remain many works in manuscript form that await analysis in order to appraise their value for the field. We have good reason to believe that no new major progress will be made in the discipline of diplomatics in Islam until some of these unpublished sources are taken into consideration, studied and, if necessary, critically edited. This article is the first in a series of studies devoted to the scrutiny of various chancery manuals and collections of letters that remain in manuscript form and that have received little if no attention thus far.

The object of this study is a treatise attributed to al-Qalqašandī's son, Najm al-dīn Muḥammad (d. 876/1471), and entitled *Qalā'id al-jumān fi muṣṭalaḥ mukātabāt ahl al-zamān* ("The pearl necklaces regarding the conventions of present-day epistolography"). Known from a *unicum* preserved at the British Library (London), it has not received a great deal of attention since it was catalogued at the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, it was only quoted quite recently by three scholars: Veselý,<sup>4</sup> Broadbridge,<sup>5</sup> and al-Durūbī.<sup>6</sup> With the exception of al-Durūbī, who gave, for the first time, a list of the main chapters and made a very brief comparison with the chancery manuals written by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī and the author's father, al-Qalqašandī, no thorough study of the MS, its text, and its author has been carried out.<sup>7</sup> This article aims to provide the reader with an exhaustive description of the MS and its history since the date of its production, a meticulous reconstruction of the author's life and works, and an accurate account of the contents of his manual with an appraisal of its originality and value for the field of diplomatics.<sup>8</sup>

## 1. DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The MS is held in the collections of the British Library under the shelf mark OR.3625.<sup>9</sup> It is composed of 165 leaves, of which two at the beginning and

appeared (edited by al-Durūbī, Samīr [Mu'tah: Jāmi‘at Mu'tah, 1992: 2 vols.]).

<sup>4</sup> Veselý, Rudolf, "Die *inšā*-Literatur," in Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, III. Supplement (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1992): pp. 188-208 (the text is mentioned on p. 201).

<sup>5</sup> Broadbridge, Anne F., "Diplomatic Conventions in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Annales islamologiques*, XLI (2007): pp. 97-118 (the text is quoted on p. 98).

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta‘rīf*. I, pp. 77-8.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Richards is the only one who made use of it in his *Mamluk Administrative Documents from St Catherine's Monastery* (Louvain-Paris-Walpole (MA): Peeters, 2011) upon my recommendation (see *ibid.*: p. 13).

<sup>8</sup> A critical edition of this MS will be prepared in the frame of a research project dealing with the diplomatics and diplomacy of the Mamluk sultanate.

<sup>9</sup> Rieu, Charles, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1894): pp. 642-3 (no. 1020); Brockelmann, Carl,

two at the end were added when the MS received its actual binding. The leaves were numbered from 1 to 162 by an English hand, who neglected the second initial added leaf and the last two leaves. For the sake of convenience, I refer to these additional leaves with the letters A (corresponding to the numbered leaf 1) and B for the first two, and C and D for the last two. The MS is made up of 17 quires, which were numbered with Indo-Arabic digits in the upper left corner of the recto of the first leaf by the copyist.<sup>10</sup> The latter also added the catchword in the lower left margin of each verso. Thanks to these two systems, it has been possible to determine that two quires were misplaced when the MS received its actual binding.<sup>11</sup> The MS measures 18 by 13.5 centimeters and the binding is Oriental though the flap is now missing. The inside covers are decorated with a colored printed paper, with a design made of strips composed of three lines, the central one being thicker, together with a motif repeated between each group of lines. Each leaf contains 15 lines of text. The text is written in black ink with some parts, usually the titles, in red ink.<sup>12</sup> The title is provided on the title page (fol. 2a) in the same handwriting as the text, as well as in the body of the introduction (fol. 3a): *Kitāb Qalā'id al-jumān fi muṣṭalah mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*.<sup>13</sup> The copyist also wrote, on the right upper part of the former page, a phrase indicating that a note had to be added<sup>14</sup> and, on the left upper part, two verses of poetry dealing with the evanescence of the written words.<sup>15</sup> The colophon (fol. 162a) gives the name of the copyist and the date when he finished this copy.<sup>16</sup> The copyist's

*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Grundwerk: 2 vols.; Supplementbände: 3 vols.* (Weimar-Leiden: Emil Felber-E.J. Brill, 1898-1949): G II, p. 134 (no. 3.1).

<sup>10</sup> These digits are only visible starting from quire 3 (fol. 25a).

<sup>11</sup> Thus the following leaves should be placed in this order: fol. 75, 87-94, 86, 76-85, 95.

<sup>12</sup> As usual, the spaces reserved for the parts to be written in red ink were left blank by the copyist, who indicated in the margins, vertically, the text that had to be written later on in that ink. These indications would normally have been trimmed off when the MS received its binding. In this particular case, it seems that the binder did not want to cut off too much paper because these indications are still visible in some places.

<sup>13</sup> The word *ahl* is missing on the title page.

<sup>14</sup> [...] 'alā dālika l-wajh al-malīh tahiyya mubāraka min rabbīnā wa-salām, «[...] on this nice side [of the leaf comes] a blessed greeting from our Lord and a salutation».

<sup>15</sup> Part of the first hemistich of the second verse is now unreadable due to the worn state of that part of the page:

ستبقى خطوطي في الدفاتر نزهة	على أنها تفني وتفني أنا ملي
لكتابها المدفون تحت الجنادلي	فيها دعوة [.....]

<sup>16</sup> 'Allaqahu li-nafsihi faqīr rahmat rabihi Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Āṣajj latāfa llāh bihi wa-bi-l-muslimīn ajma 'in wa-kāna al-farāg minhu yawm al-iṭnayn sābi' 'aṣar ṣahr dī hijjat al-harām sanat 868 tāliban min Allāh al-tawba wa-l-maḡfira wa-l-sitr wa-l-ġinā

name is Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Aṣajj, the last part remaining conjectural. Rieu proposed to read it b. Ṣayḥ<sup>17</sup> but this interpretation must be rejected for at least three reasons: the *ductus* does not contain the necessary slope for the middle *yā'*, the name Muhammad is followed by something that differs from the word *ibn*, which appears at the end of Ahmad, and the word *ṣayḥ* is seldom ever used as an *ism*. Considering the way the copyist writes the *alif-lām-alif* group, once it is connected to the last letter of the preceding word (as on line 4: 'alā *l-islām*, or on line 5: *sayyid al-awwalīn wa-l-āhirīn*), it appears that what ends the name Muhammad might be interpreted as the said group. In this case, the only solution that comes to mind is *al-Aṣajj* (the one with a mark or a wound on his forehead), a name, or rather a nickname in this case, attested in the sources.<sup>18</sup> Be that what it may, he copied the text for his own purpose ('*allaqahu li-nafsihi*) and the work was finished on Monday 17 Dū l-Hijja 868 corresponding to 21 August 1464. Rieu describes the handwriting as "cursive and not very legible [...], often wanting in diacritical points",<sup>19</sup> which is a fairly accurate description of its main features. It is clear that the copyist must have been a trained secretary who was active at a lower level, perhaps serving an emir; this would justify his interest in having a copy of the treatise. Consequently, it is no coincidence that his handwriting tallies the one that is idiosyncratic of the documents preserved for the same period. This is particularly visible in the addresses ('*unwān*) placed at the beginning of letters where the copyist made every effort to faithfully reproduce the model provided by the author.

Thanks to several inscriptions found mainly on the title page, the history of the manuscript can be traced back from the time it was produced until it entered the collections of the British Museum in 1888.<sup>20</sup> Eight years after its copy (in the month of Rabī' II 876/between 17 September and 15 October 1471), it entered into the ownership of a certain Muhammad b. Īnāl, whose *nisba* is unfortunately illegible, but who was most probably the son of a Mamluk, if the name of his father has been correctly deciphered.<sup>21</sup> This

<sup>17</sup> 'an al-nās wa-l-mawt 'alā l-islām wa-l-lutf fī jamī' al-umūr mustajīran bi-jāh sayyid al-awwalīn wa-l-āhirīn sayyidinā Muḥammad ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-'alā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma 'in wa-ḥasbunā llāh wa-ni 'ma l-wakīl.

<sup>18</sup> Rieu, *Supplement*: p. 643.

<sup>19</sup> For instance, the companion Mundir b. 'Ā'id b. Mundir b. al-Hārit, whom the Prophet called al-Aṣajj (see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī, Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-Iṣtī'āb fī ma'rīfat al-ashhāb*, edited by al-Bijāwī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad [Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1992, 4 vols.]: IV, pp. 1448-9 [no. 2488]).

<sup>20</sup> Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 642.

<sup>21</sup> The title page also features a poem composed of six verses with rhyme in *mū*.

<sup>22</sup> His ownership mark is to be found on f. 2a, on the lower left side: *intaqala ilā milk / al-faqīr ilā llāh ta'ālā Muḥammad b. Īnāl al-... / laṭafa llāh ta'ālā bihi wa-bi-l-muslimīn / fī šahr rabī' al-āhir sanat 876 / min tarikat al-marhūm Muhyī l-dīn b. 'Abd al-... / b. al-*

*walad al-nās* acquired it from the legacy of a man whose name (Muhyī l-dīn ... al-Ḥarrānī?) is barely legible, but cannot be identified with the copyist, which means that the latter died or sold this copy shortly after he completed it. In 892/1487, it was owned by a certain al-Mar‘aṣī.<sup>22</sup> The al-Mar‘aṣī family was well established in Aleppo from the time of Ṣihāb al-dīn Ahmad b. Abī Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ al-Mar‘aṣī (786-872/1384-1467), a prominent scholar born in Mar‘aṣī, settled there in 812/1409-10.<sup>23</sup> It is highly probable that the owner was one of his sons.<sup>24</sup>

The next possessor of the manuscript should be identified in the third ownership mark. His name has been tentatively read as al-‘Ājizī.<sup>25</sup> Though it is not dated, the position of this mark on the title page, in comparison with the two previous ones, leads us to consider that it was added after the latter and before the fourth that provides the name of the next holder. This one, found on the right, in the lower part of the title page, is very neatly written so that the name can be read without difficulty as Muḥammad b. Zayn al-dīn al-Šāmī.<sup>26</sup> He bought it at the beginning of Ramaḍān 1007, i.e. 28 March-6 April 1599. The mark of an Arabic stamp is also conspicuous on the upper left side, but it is barely legible nowadays.<sup>28</sup> There is still a note of consultation that can be found on f. 162, in the right margin, where Yūsuf al-Kirmānī acknowledged that he consulted the manuscript at an unknown date.<sup>29</sup>

If we take for granted that the last owner, in chronological order, was residing in Syria (*al-Šāmī*), it might be that the manuscript remained in that

*M. b. ... al-Harrānī (?) taġammada[hu] llāh bi-rahmatihi ... / wa-l-ham̄d li-llāh.*

<sup>22</sup> The ownership mark is located just below the previous one: [...] min Allāh ta‘ālā ‘alā ‘abdihi al-faqīr ilayhi / [...] b. Aḥmad al-Mar‘aṣī al-Ḥanafī ‘afā llāh ‘anhum / sanat 892.

<sup>23</sup> Nowadays Kahramanmaraş, in southern Anatolia, at the foot of the Taurus Mountains.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Saḥāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi‘* (al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1934-6, 12 vols.): I, p. 254.

<sup>25</sup> In 1557, the Meccan scholar Quṭb al-dīn al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), who was on his way to Istanbul as ambassador of the Meccan ḥarīf, met a Ṣams al-dīn b. al-Mar‘aṣī, the *shayh al-islām*, during his stay in Aleppo saying: «He and his distinguished and excellent sons belong to a cultured and prominent family». See Blackburn, Richard, *Journey to the Sublime Porte. The Arabic Memoir of a Sharifian Agent’s Diplomatic Mission to the Ottoman Imperial Court in the era of Suleyman the Magnificent* (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2005): p. 99.

<sup>26</sup> The mark is found on the right of the two previous ones: *al-ham̄d li-llāh ‘alā ni‘amihi / fī nawbat / Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Ājizī / laṭafa llāh bihi / āmīn.*

<sup>27</sup> *Dāḥala fī nawbat al-‘abd al-faqīr ilayhi ta‘ālā / Muḥammad b. Zayn al-dīn al-Šāmī / fī ḥb [8+2=10] min awā’il ramadān sanat sab‘ wa-alf.*

<sup>28</sup> The first line seems to correspond to the name Husayn.

<sup>29</sup> *Tāla‘ahu Yūsuf al-Kirmānī ḡafara llāh lahu.*

region until it was finally bought by a European collector<sup>30</sup> at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two *ex libris*, pasted on the inside of the first cover, provide enough information for the identification of this collector. The first one represents an oval globe azure, on a chevron between three lozenges *or* an anchor erect with cable sable. The crest is a demi-horse rampant, charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lys sable, on a wreath of the colors. Beneath is the following text: “John Fiott, B.A. / S<sup>t</sup> John’s College. Cambridge / 1806.” The second one depicts the shield of a coat of arms with two crests. The shield is in quarters, with first and fourth quarters azure, two bars *or*, over all a bend chequy gules and of the *second*, and the second and the third quarters azure, on a chevron between three lozenges *or* an anchor erect with cable sable. The crests consist of a bear passant sable, muzzled, collared, and chained, the chain reflexed over the back argent, on a wreath of the colors and a demi-horse rampant, charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lys sable, on a wreath of the colors. Beneath the shield is the motto (*Verum atque decens*<sup>31</sup>) with the name of the engraver (“Mutlow Sc. [read *Sculpsit*] York St[reet]”). Both bookplates were described by Edward Almack as early as 1904 on the basis of two books where the author found them.<sup>32</sup> As for the first book, he said:<sup>33</sup>

The first volume has three bookplates, all armorial. First, the plate of Sir William Lee, Knight, with the motto ‘verum atque decens.’ ‘Mutlow, sculp., York Street, Covent Garden.’ Then a smaller and different plate, but by the same engraver, and with the same arms, crest, and motto, but pertaining to ‘William Lee Antonie, Esq.’ After this, again, comes the third *ex libris* in the book, and this is without name engraving, but is evidently Lee quartering Fiott. John Fiott, a London merchant who died at Bath in 1797, married Harriet, second daughter of William Lee, of Totteridge Park, Hertfordshire. Their son John, fifth wrangler at St. John’s College, Cambridge, in 1805, and LL.D. in 1816, assumed, in 1815, by royal licence, the name of Lee under the will of William Lee Antonie, of Colworth House, Bedfordshire, his maternal uncle. At the same time he acquired the estates of Colworth in Bedfordshire, and Totteridge Park, Hertfordshire. He lived eighty-four years,

<sup>30</sup> On leaf Aa, an English hand added with a pencil: “No. 72 from Damascus.” The same number is repeated, preceded by the letters “D<sup>s</sup>”, on f. 2a (lower right side).

<sup>31</sup> From Horace, *Epistles*, book 1, ep. 1, v. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Almack, Edward, *Bookplates* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904). For the armories, see also Fairbairn, James, *Fairbairn’s Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, rev. Laurence Butters, ed. Joseph MacLaren (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1968, 2 vols. in 1): I, p. 335.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*: pp. 94-6.

and in 1863, at the age of eighty, he was admitted a barrister of Gray's Inn. Between 1807 and 1810 he held a travelling bachelorship from Cambridge, and made a learned tour through the Ionian Isles and other parts. In 1828 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and he left valuable collections to the Society. He was even more interested in science than in antiquities, and in 1830 built an observatory in the south portico of Hartwell House. Leaving no children, his property passed to his brother, the Rev. Nicholas Fiott, who took the surname of Lee. The Lee crest is a bear with a chain. Guillim has recorded: 'Hee beareth Sable, a Beare passant, Argent, ... The Shee Beare is most cruelly imaged against any that shall hurt her yong, or dispoile her of them: as the Scripture saith, in setting forth the fierce anger of the Lord, that he will meete his aduersaries, as a Beare robbed of her whelps. Which teacheth vs how carefull Nature would haue vs to bee of the welfare of our children, sith so cruell beasts are so tender harted in this kind'.

For the second book he had in hand, Almack described another bookplate as follows:<sup>34</sup>

The second [...] has two *ex libris*. The first is that of John Fiott before he took the name of Lee. It is the plate of 'John Fiott, B.A. / St. John's College, Cambridge, / 1806 /.' The plate shows a globe floating in the air, with the Fiott arms engraved on it, and the crest, a horse coupé, over it. Of course, as a wrangler he could not help being an astronomer; but this indicates his early taste for studying the heavens. Of this crest Guillim tells us: – 'A horse erected boulte vpright may bee termed enraged, but his noblest action is expressed in a saliant forme. This of all beasts for mans vses, is the most noble and behoofefull either in Peace or Warre. And sith his service and courage in the Field is so eminent, it may bee maruelled why the Lion should be esteemed a more honourable bearing. But the reason is because the horse's seruice and strength is principally by helpe of his Rider, whereas the Lions is his owne: and if the Horse be not mounted, he fights auerse turning his heeles to his aduersary, but the Lion encounters affront, which is more manly.'

From all this, it may be concluded that the manuscript was the ownership of John Lee, born Fiott (1783-1866). Depicted as an antiquary and an astronomer,<sup>35</sup> John Lee studied at St. John's College in Cambridge, where

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.: p. 98. This bookplate is reproduced in front of p. 96.

<sup>35</sup> Hence the choice he made for his coat of arms at the beginning of his career, before he became Lee: an oval globe suspended in the air.

he was admitted in 1801. In 1806, he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts as fifth wrangler, i.e. the fifth student in order who earned the best grades during the third year of mathematical studies (the mathematical tripos). Consequently, he chose for his first ex libris the representation of the horse coupé for the crest, echoing his title of wrangler, a word whose first meaning refers to a man in charge of horses, with the globe floating in the air to reflect his interest in astronomy. He then traveled to Ireland and the next year (1807), he went to Denmark and Sweden as Worts traveling bachelor. He subsequently returned to Stockholm and Uppsala after he was elected fellow of St. John's College in 1808.<sup>36</sup> Upon his homecoming, he decided to tour parts of Europe and the Near East, where between 1810 and 1815 he visited Turkey, Egypt, and Syria acquiring manuscripts and artifacts along the way.<sup>37</sup> Back to England in July 1815, he resumed his law studies. In the same year, his maternal uncle, William Lee Antonie, died. He inherited all his uncle's wealth and according to the latter's will, he changed his name from John Fiott to Lee by royal mandate in 1816. His second ex libris found in the manuscript reflects this change: the motto, the coat of arms and the bear belonged to the Lee family and he added the horse coupé which was his crest since he graduated in Cambridge in 1806. He later succeeded to all the estates of the Lee family on the death of Sir George Lee, sixth and last baronet. On this occasion, he became Lord of the Manor of Hartwell (Buckinghamshire), among others. Thanks to his wealth, he was able to devote himself to his scientific activities, mainly as an astronomer. He also played a major role as a founder and a member of numerous scientific institutions and societies. Hartwell House, his residence, was renowned among scholars for the quality of its library and museum.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The diaries and sketchbooks detailing his travels in Ireland and Scandinavia during these years (1806-9) are now preserved in the library of St. John's College in Cambridge under the shelfmark U.30. See also Mead, W.R., "The Finnish Journey of Dr John Lee in 1808", *Publ. Inst. Geogr. Univ. Turkuensis*, CLXIV (2001): pp. 145-52; Id., "Dr John Lee of Hartwell and His Swedish Journey 1807-1809," *Records of Buckinghamshire*, XLIII (2003): pp. 9-26; Id., "A British Visitor to Skane in 1807," *Geografiska Notiser*, III (2004): pp. 161-4; Kirby, David G., *The Baltic World, 1772-1993: Europe's Northern Periphery in an Age of Change* (London: Longman, 1995): p. 37.

<sup>37</sup> A witness of his arrival in Smyrna, in 1812, was the Cornish author and traveler, James Silk Buckingham (1786-1855), who related their encounter in his *Autobiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 2 vols.; orig. pub. 1855): II, pp. 14-5. At the very end of 1810, he must have been in Athens where he made the cognizance of Lord Byron, who mentioned him in a letter dated 20 January 1811. See Lord Byron, *Selected Letters and Journals*, edited by Marchand, Leslie A. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982): p. 46.

<sup>38</sup> See McConnell, Anita, "Lee, John (1783-1866)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., May 2009 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16297>, accessed 12 December 2010). For his collections, see

During his stay in Aleppo, John Lee met with the famous Swiss traveler John Lewis Burckhardt (1784-1817). It is he who advised Lee to purchase the manuscripts and coins that later formed the core of his collections in Hartwell House.<sup>39</sup> He certainly followed Burckhardt's advice. In 1831, he published a catalogue of his Oriental manuscripts<sup>40</sup> mainly acquired in Aleppo and Damascus, as he confessed in the foreword, in the years 1811 and 1812, «many of them by the assistance and recommendation of the late Mr. J.L. Burckhardt».<sup>41</sup> This catalogue was followed, ten years later, by an updated version comprising 213 manuscripts mainly acquired on the London bookmarket.<sup>42</sup> Our manuscript appears in both versions<sup>43</sup> and the pencil note added on fol. Aa consisting of a number (72) and the text “from Damascus” confirms that this manuscript was bought by Lee, in that city, in 1812, probably thanks to the good offices of Burchkhardt.

Another interesting feature regards the description in both versions of the printed catalogue which exactly tallies with the inscription written in ink on fol. Aa.<sup>44</sup> This note is signed “G.C.R.”, a group of letters that is repeated, in

Filippoupoliti, Anastasia, “Spatializing the Private Collection: John Fiott Lee and Hartwell House,” in Potvin, John and Myzelev, Alla (eds.), *Material Cultures, 1740-1920. The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting* (Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2009): pp. 53-70.

<sup>39</sup> Their relationship must have been strong enough to persuade Burckhardt to entrust his own collection of manuscripts, his papers, and letters with Lee, who was specifically asked to keep them until Burckhardt's return to England, planned in 1820. The belongings were dispatched from Damascus in June 1812 and were received by Lee while in Malta in 1814. Learning of Burckhardt's death in 1819, Lee opened the parcels and proceeded to reordering the contents in several categories. Some documents as well as all the manuscripts purchased by Burckhardt in the Near East were given to the University of Cambridge where they are still available. See Browne, Edward G., *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts Including All Those Written in the Arabic Character Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900): pp. 342-3.

<sup>40</sup> [Lee, John], *Oriental Manuscripts purchased in Turkey* (London: R. Watts, s.d. [1831]). The catalogue contains 22 pages and lists 113 manuscripts and 3 printed books arranged according to subject matters. The foreword is dated November 1830.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., first page not numbered.

<sup>42</sup> [Lee, John], *Oriental Manuscripts purchased in Turkey* (London: R. Watts, s.d. [1840]). The catalogue consists of 71 pages where 201 manuscripts are described with an appendix of 12 Hebrew and Arabic scrolls. The foreword is dated June 1840.

<sup>43</sup> [Lee], *Oriental Manuscripts* (1831): p. 18, no. 90, seventh section dealing with grammar; [Id.], *Oriental Manuscripts* (1840): p. 41, no. 131, eighteenth section covering rhetoric.

<sup>44</sup> “Kalayidu 'l jumán fí mustalahi mukátabáti 'z-Zemán – Rules for Letter-writing, Formularies, &c. Dated A.H. 868 = A.D. 1464. Very difficult hand. Bernú and Tokrú are mentioned as African Sovereignties. Small 4to”.

the same handwriting, in the upper right corner of the same leaf with numbers: “G.C.R. / N°. 76. / New Cat<sup>e</sup> / N°. 90.” These letters were recently noticed by Emilie Savage-Smith in a manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* held at St. John’s College in Oxford, where an entry signed “G.C.R.” provides a short description of the contents of the book (f. iiia) and the annotation “G.C.R. / N°. 97 / New Cat. / N°. 52.” is found on the preceding folio (f. i).<sup>45</sup> Another manuscript kept in Oxford, but in the Bodleian Library, presents the same series of letters and characteristic numbers. R. Brünnow, who edited the text it contains, described it saying that it bears the following inscription: “G.C.R. N°. 8, New Cat<sup>e</sup> N°. 87.”<sup>46</sup> Neither Savage-Smith nor Brünnow could identify the person who initialed these notes though the answer is provided by Rieu in the description he gave of our manuscript, where he indicated that its last owner was G.C. Renouard.<sup>47</sup>

George Cecil Renouard (1780-1867) studied at Trinity College in Cambridge; soon after he graduated, he went to Constantinople as chaplain to the British embassy between 1804 and 1806. After his return to England, he set sail to the Levant for the second time: from 1810 to 1814 he was chaplain to the factory at Smyrna. He then returned to Cambridge to become Lord Almoner’s professor of Arabic, a position he held until 1821. At that time, he transferred to a college in Swanscombe, Kent, until he died in 1867, one year after John Lee.<sup>48</sup>

Renouard could not have been the owner of these manuscripts because Lee’s collection was eventually sold by his heirs. John Lee, who was married twice, died without children. His brother, Reverend Nicholas Lee,

<sup>45</sup> Savage-Smith, Emilie, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts at St John’s College, Oxford* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005): pp. 72-3 (MS 370). The no. 52 corresponds to the number of the manuscript in the 1831 catalogue. See [Lee], *Oriental Manuscripts* (1831): p. 12.

<sup>46</sup> Brünnow, R., «Das Kitābu-l-Itbā’i wa-l-Muzāwāqati des Abū-l-Husain Aḥmed ibn Fāris ibn Zakariyā nach einer Oxfordner Handschrift herausgegeben», in *Orientalischen Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern und in Ihrem Auftrag herausgegeben*, ed. Bezold, Carl (Gieszen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, 2 vols.): I, p. 225. The no. 87 corresponds to the number of the manuscript in the 1831 catalogue. See [Lee], *Oriental Manuscripts* (1831): p. 17. In the 1840 catalogue, it bears no. 120. See Id., *Oriental Manuscripts* (1840): p. 38. Brünnow couldn’t provide the class-number of the manuscript once it entered the collections of the Bodleian Library because, in 1889, it was not yet catalogued as it had been bought a year before (see below, note 50).

<sup>47</sup> Rieu, *Supplement*: p. 642.

<sup>48</sup> Boase, G.C., “Renouard, George Cecil (1780-1867)”, rev. Matthew, H.C.G. , *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., October 2006 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23380>, accessed 12 December 2010).

inherited Hartwell House the year of his death<sup>49</sup> and the collection of Oriental manuscripts was offered for sale at Sotheby & Co. in 1888.<sup>50</sup> Even though it looks as if Lee and Renouard did not know each other, it is certain that they were acquainted when they were both in Smyrna. Renouard stayed there from 1810 to 1814 and Lee's sojourn in the city is attested by a manuscript containing sketches he made during his tour in the Levant.<sup>51</sup> His presence in Smyrna in 1812 is confirmed by another handwritten document that also demonstrates the link that tied Lee and Burckhardt.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> It remained in the Lee family until 1938 when it was sold by the then proprietor, one of Lee's parents, Evelyn Kate Lee, wife of Arthur Charles Benedict Eyre. It was acquired by Ernest Cook, who gave it to his trust. It now belongs to the National Trust and the house serves as a hotel. All the furniture was sold in 1938 by Sotheby's: *Catalogue of the Valuable Contents of Hartwell House, Near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, Sold by the Trustees of Mrs. Benedict Eyre* (London: Sotheby & Co., 1938). However, the correspondence and the family papers of her ancestor, John Lee, were given to the British Library (Add. MSS 47490-47493D).

<sup>50</sup> *Catalogue of a valuable collection of Oriental and other Manuscripts, from the Library of a late well-known Collector [John Lee of Hartwell House] which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, Auctioneers of Literary Property and Works illustrative of the Fine Arts, at their house, No. 13, Wellington Street, Strand, W.C. On Thursday, the 8th, and Saturday, the 10th day of November, 1888, at one o'clock precisely. Days of Sale. First day: Thursday, 8th November, Lots 1 to 375. Second day: Saturday, 10th November, lots 376 to 741* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1888). Most of the Western manuscripts had already been sold at an auction organized by Sotheby's from 7 to 11 April 1876.

<sup>51</sup> It is the no. 252 sold at Sotheby's in 1888: *Catalogue of a valuable collection of Oriental and other Manuscripts*, p. 17 ("Fiott [J.] Sketches made on the Tour from Gibraltar to Malta, Smyrna, Constantinople, &c. Autograph MS. with drawings, oblong 12mo.").

<sup>52</sup> This is MS Arabic 46 from the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University. This is a translation in Arabic of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* carried out by Burckhardt as an exercise and it is dated A.H. 1227 (A.D. 1812). On a lining paper, one reads: "Síret Róbinsón A Tale, in Arabic, founded on Daniel Defoe's Romance of Robinson Crusoe — This work was composed as an Exercise in the Arabic language, by John Lewis Burckhardt during his residence at Aleppo in 1810". On another lining paper, it is indicated: "Three copies of it were sent by him [Burckhardt] to his friends, under the care of Mr. Fiott of St. John's College, Cambridge (now Dr. Lee of Doctors' Commons and Hartwell House) who had been his traveling companion in Syria. Of these copies one is now in Dr. Lee's possession, the second was delivered to the R. [Right] H. [Honourable] Sir Joseph Banks, and the third (which is this book) was brought by Mr. Fiott to Smyrna in 1812, where by J.L. Burckhardt's direction, it was delivered to his faithful friend George Cecil Renouard, Chaplain to the British Factory at that place. Rectory, Swanscombe. 5 April 1838. G.C.R." Burckhardt's translation was eventually published on the basis of the Yale manuscript by 'Id 'Abd Allāh Dahiyāt under the title *Durr al-buhūr: Sīrat al-Šarīf Yūsuf Rūbīnsūn* (Bayrūt: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Našr, 2010).

What must now be established is Renouard's relationship to Lee beside their acquaintance in Smyrna in 1812, given that Renouard must have been the cataloguer of Lee's manuscripts. If Renouard played that role for Lee, it must have taken place after their respective return to England. This role is evidenced by the testimony of a contemporary witness who knew both Renouard and Lee and the correspondence exchanged between Renouard and Edward Hincks (1792-1866), the Irish Assyriologist.

The witness is none other than Captain William Henry Smyth (1788-1865), the English sailor who had an interest in astronomy, a passion he shared with Lee. In 1851, Smyth published a book devoted to the history of Lee's residence, Hartwell, where he provided several details regarding the library, the museum, and the observatory. Describing the library, he mentions some of the Oriental manuscripts dealing with astronomy, details he was able to give, as he said, thanks to Renouard: «In this selection the task has been easy enough, the titles having been accurately translated, with lucid comments, by that learned Orientalist and critical Classic scholar, the Reverend George Cecil Renouard, the highly-prized and long-tried friend of both Dr. Lee and myself».<sup>53</sup> This is an obvious reference to the notes one finds in all of Lee's manuscripts, as with the one quoted for the manuscript under discussion here.

However, the correspondence Renouard exchanged with Hincks is also informative in that it confirms that the manuscripts remained available to him for some time. In 1844, Hincks contacted Lee about one of his manuscripts, al-Qazwīnī's *Āṭār al-bilād wa-ahbār al-ibād*, as he desired to get information he was interested in. Most probably, Lee did not know Arabic, as he transmitted the letter to Renouard, who answered Hincks in these terms: "Having at present, in my custody, a fine copy of Al Ḥazwīnī's work purchased for Dr. Lee at Damascus, by Burckhardt, the African traveller about 30 years ago, & transcribed A.D. 1329 only 53 years after Ḥazwīnī's death, I can in a great measure, meet your wishes".<sup>54</sup> It is interesting to note that on the basis of Renouard's letters to Hincks, where he provides some translations from Arabic, Cathcart concludes that his knowledge of that language was far from satisfactory.<sup>55</sup> Whatever it may be, it is clear that Renouard had at his disposal at his home at least part of Lee's collection of Oriental manuscripts as far as the year 1844. Moreover, his role

<sup>53</sup> Smyth (Captain), W.H., *Ædes Hartwellianæ, or Notices of the Manor and Mansion of Hartwell* (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1851): pp. 127-8.

<sup>54</sup> The letter is dated Swanscombe Rectory, Dartford, Kent, 21/12/1844. See Cathcart, Kevin J., "Nineteenth-Century Exchanges on Himyaritic Inscriptions," in Netton, Ian Richard, *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. I: *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000): p. 379.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.: p. 377.

as the cataloguer of Lee's collection is confirmed by the famous German Orientalist Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, to whom Lee lent his copy of al-Qazwīnī's text to allow him to prepare his edition of the said work.<sup>56</sup> In his introduction to the second volume, Wüstenfeld acknowledges his debt to Lee for sending him his own private copy of the work<sup>57</sup> and said a few words about the catalogue of Lee's collection: «Das Verzeichnis dieser kostbaren Privat-Sammlung, von G.C. Renouard entworfen: Oriental Manuscripts purchased in Turkey. November, 1830; neue vermehrte Ausgabe June, 1840, enthält über 200 Nummern».<sup>58</sup> It clearly confirms that Renouard was behind the identification of all of Lee's manuscripts purchased during the latter's tour in the Near East and later on in London, and that he prepared the catalogue which was first published in 1831 and, in an expanded version, in 1840.<sup>59</sup>

We have already seen that Lee's Oriental manuscripts were auctioned at Sotheby's in 1888. Several of them were purchased by the University of Cambridge.<sup>60</sup> Others found their way into the collections of the University of Oxford Library,<sup>61</sup> the British Library, and other libraries.<sup>62</sup> It seems that

<sup>56</sup> *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, edited by Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand (Göttingen: Druck und Verlag der Dieterischen Buchhandlung, 1848-9), 2 vols.

<sup>57</sup> Lee was not greedy with his manuscripts. For instance, he lent a copy of al-Zamāḥṣarī's *al-Kaššāf* to Pierre Burggraff (1803-81), the first holder of the chair of Arabic at the University of Liège, who prepared a partial critical edition of the text with a French translation. Burggraff probably learned about the existence of this copy through Wüstenfeld, who had been his master of Arabic in Göttingen. Lee's letters to Burggraff are preserved in the collections of the University of Liège, MS 2844, ff. 34, 36, and 38. He did the same thing with his copy of al-Ta‘ālibī's *Yatimat al-dahr*, which he loaned to Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820-83) in 1846 and to William Wright (1830-89) in 1854. See Browne, *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, p. 247.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*: II, p. vi, note \*. The first volume to appear in 1848 was the second one.

<sup>59</sup> In the auction catalogue of Lee's collection, the following items were offered for sale: p. 12, n° 161: "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts purchased in Turkey by Dr. J. Lee, Manuscript, folio; and printed copy of the same, 4to. 1831."; "Renouard (G.C.) Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Hartwell Library, Autograph MS. folio". See *Catalogue of a valuable collection of Oriental and other Manuscripts*, respectively p. 12 (no. 161) and p. 39 (no. 600).

<sup>60</sup> Exactly twelve manuscripts were purchased (now MSS Add. 2921-32). See Browne, *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, p. 391. A Syriac manuscript later reached the Cambridge University Library, after having been in the collection of Robert Lubbock Bensly (1831-93). It was given by Bensly's widow in 1895. This is now MS Add. 3269 (it was copied at Lee's request in Aleppo in 1812 because he was not able to purchase the original). See Wright, William *et al.*, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1901, 2 vols.): II, p. 1238.

<sup>61</sup> There is the manuscript now in the library of St. John's College described in Savage-

some of Renouard's personal papers were in Lee's possession and that he did not seek to get them back, either because he was no longer interested in them or because his own death took place shortly after that of Lee.<sup>63</sup> Beside the autograph catalogue of Lee's Oriental manuscripts already mentioned, the 1888 auction catalogue also lists an account of Renouard's travel to Egypt as well as various other notebooks, papers, etc.<sup>64</sup>

As for our manuscript, it entered the collections of the British Library on 8 November 1888, after having been acquired during the sale of Lee's Oriental manuscripts auctioned by Sotheby's.<sup>65</sup> It was catalogued as MS Or.35A.d. in November of the same year, as is evidenced by a handwritten note on fol. Ca,<sup>66</sup> and, as a consequence, the stamp of the British Museum was added on fol. 162b.

To conclude with this part, it is now ascertained that the manuscript was purchased in Damascus, most probably by Burckhardt for Lee during the latter's stay there in 1812 and, according to the various ownership notes in Arabic, that it must have been in Damascus well before that period. The history of the manuscript having been traced back in detail, it is now time to identify its author.

Smith's catalogue (see above, note 45) and the manuscript edited by Brünnow (see above, note 46).

<sup>62</sup> A Persian manuscript was bought by Leone Caetani (1869-1935). It is now in the collections of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome. See Piemontese, Angelo Michele, *I Manoscritti persiani dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei (Fondi Caetani e Corsini)* (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1974): p. 58, no. 48 (MS Caetani 41, bearing John Lee's *ex-libris* and the letters G.C.R.).

<sup>63</sup> Renouard died on 15 February 1867 and Lee on 25 February 1866.

<sup>64</sup> *Catalogue of a valuable collection of Oriental and other Manuscripts*, nos. 598-610 (the account of Egypt is no. 598). The Library of the University of Cambridge now holds two of Renouard's manuscripts: *African Memoranda* (MS Add.441) and a Turkish-Latin vocabulary (MS Add.444), but they were apparently bequeathed by Renouard as their provenance is clearly indicated as being Renouard and not Lee and they entered the collections between 1867 and 1868. See Browne, *A Hand-List of the Muhammadian Manuscripts*, respectively p. 349 (no. 1515) and p. 314 (no. 1414), and p. 384 for the provenance. On the other hand, the British Library owns a glossary of Arabic words, with philological notes and extracts, relating chiefly to the languages of North Africa and the Canary Islands, with a few private accounts, datable to c. 1810-4 and in Renouard's handwriting (MS Add.27619).

<sup>65</sup> *Catalogue of a valuable collection of Oriental and other Manuscripts*, p. 25, no. 376 ("Kalayidu'l juman fi mustalahi mukatababi-z-zenian [sic], Rules for Letter-writing. Formularies, &c. in Arabic. Manuscript, Oriental binding. 4to. A.H. 868 (1464)"). On fol. Db, one reads: "B[ough]l at Sotheby's 8 Nov. 1888".

<sup>66</sup> "162 Folios Nov 1888. J-C. Exmd. AG".

## 2. THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK

## a. The author's identity

Though the title of the work is indicated on the title page in the copyist's handwriting, the name of its author is missing. It is not even found in the introductory part (*hutba*), where an author usually reveals his identity. In this particular case, he speaks in the first person (*wa-ba'd fa-innī ...*) but does not provide any clue about himself. It is only through the perusal of the whole text that one discovers three passages that allow his identification with certainty.

In the first passage (fol. 108a), the author reveals his name in the heading of the copy of a document, which he is said to have redacted, as *Najm al-dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Qarqašandī*.<sup>67</sup> Beside the spelling with a *rā'*, the *nisba* clearly reminds us of the name 'al-Qalqašandī' and the two remaining passages corroborate that there exists a family tie between this person and the author of the celebrated chancery manual entitled *Şubh al-a'sā fī şinā'at al-inşā*, the famous *al-Qalqašandī* (d. 821/1418). On fol. 96b, the author quotes a document (a deed of nomination to the charge of preacher at the Umayyad mosque in Damascus) composed by *Şihāb al-dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Qarqašandī al-Şāfi'i*, the father of the author.<sup>68</sup> On another occasion, he specifies that his father is the author of *Şubh al-a'sā* and that he made two copies of it: one in 11 volumes on Egyptian paper and another in 7 volumes on Syrian paper.<sup>69</sup> Each copy found its way into the libraries of two renowned heads of the chancery of state in Cairo.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> "Nushat tawqī' şarīf bi-musāmaḥa min inşā' mu'allifihi sayyidinā al-'abd al-faqīr ilā llāh ta'ālā al-şayh al-imām al-'ālim Nağm al-dīn Abī l-faḍl Muḥammad al-Qarqašandī".

<sup>68</sup> "Hutbat tawqī' bi-hiṭābat jāmi' Banī Umayya min inşā' sayyidinā al-şayh al-imām al-'ālim al-'allāma Şihāb al-dīn Abī l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Qarqašandī al-Şāfi'i wālid mu'allifihi tağammadadhu llāh bi-raḥmatihi wa-nafa'a l-muslimīn bi-barakāt 'ulūmihi wa-stamra sanaduhu fī waladīhi mu'allifihi".

<sup>69</sup> According to Kātib Çelebī, *Kaşf al-żunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, edited by Yaltkaya, Şerefettin and Bilge, Rifat (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941, 2 vols.): II, col. 1070, the *Şubh al-a'sā* consisted of 7 volumes (*ajzā'*), while Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, *al-Majma' al-mu'assis li-l-mu'ğam al-mufahras*, ed. Yūsuf 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mar'aşī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1992-4, 4 vols.): III, p. 54, established that it was composed of 4 volumes (*mujalladāt*).

<sup>70</sup> Fol. 125a: "Fa-inna wālidī rahimahu llāh qāla fī kitābihi al-musammā Şubh al-a'sā fī şinā'at al-inşā' alladī mā ṣunnīfa mi'lūhu fī hādihi l-şinā'a wa-qad katabtu minhu nushatān [sic for nushatayn] iḥdāhumā fī aḥada 'aṣara muğallad fī l-waraq al-baladī kānat fī hizānat al-maqarr al-aşraf al-marḥūm al-nāṣirī al-Bārizī nāżir dawāwīn al-inşā' al-şarīfa kāna bi-l-diyār al-miṣriyya tağammadadhu llāh ta'ālā bi-raḥmatihi wa-l-uhrā fī sab'at aġzā' fī l-waraq al-şāmī kānat fī hizānat al-maqarr al-aşraf al-marḥūm Ibn Muzhīr nāżir dawāwīn al-inşā' al-şarīfa bi-l-diyār al-miṣriyya kāna ayḍan tağammadadhu llāh ta'ālā bi-raḥmatihi ...". Al-Bārizī is Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-

There is no doubt that the al-Qarqašandī who is the author of the *Qalā’id al-jumān* was the son of the al-Qalqašandī who wrote the *Šubh al-ašā*. The spelling of the *nisba* with a *rā’* is not problematic, as this reflects a well-known phonetic phenomenon related to the two liquid consonants *lām* and *rā’*.<sup>71</sup> Incidentally, al-Qalqašandī’s name is spelled with a *rā’* by al-Maqrīzī, a fact that demonstrates that both pronunciations were valid.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the geographical name, which corresponds to an ancient village located in the province of Qalyūbiyya, in the district of Tūh, and from which the *nisba* is derived, is now spelled Qarqašanda,<sup>73</sup> but there is evidence that this orthography was already attested in the 13th c.<sup>74</sup>

Bārizī and he was the chief secretary in Cairo from 815/1413 to 823/1420, when he died. On Ibn al-Bārizī, see Wiet, Gaston, “Les Secrétaires de la chancellerie (Kuttâb-el-Sirr) en Égypte sous les Mamlouks circassiens (784-922/1382-1517),” in *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1923, 2 vols.): I, pp. 286-8; Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette, *Les Civils et l’administration dans l’état militaire mamlūk (IX<sup>e</sup>/XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Damas: Institut français d’études arabes, 1991): pp. 249-66 and add to the sources mentioned there the following account by al-Maqrīzī who was associated with him: al-Maqrīzī, Ahmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarāġīm al-a'yān al-muſīfa*, edited by al-Jalīlī, Mahmūd (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ğarb al-Islāmī, 2002, 4 vols.): III, pp. 115-7; Id., *al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*, edited by al-Yā'lāwī, Muhammād (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ğarb al-Islāmī, 1411/1991, 8 vols.): VII, pp. 71-2. As for Ibn Muzhir, he must be identified with Badr al-dīn Muhammād b. Muhammād Ibn Muzhir. He directed the chancery of state in Cairo from 828/1425 to 832/1429, date of his death. On him, see Wiet, “Les Secrétaires de la chancellerie”: p. 294; Martel-Thoumian, *Les Civils et l’administration*: pp. 267-82 and add the following source: al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd*: III, pp. 442-3. These two offerings also prove that al-Qalqašandī’s text was valued by secretaries working in the chancery and as such it provides an answer to Van Berkel’s speculation: “However, to what extent and in which way the abstract or the text as a whole has been used by contemporaries remains unknown to us”. See Van Berkel, Maaike, “al-Qalqashandī,” in Lowry, Joseph & Stewart, Devin J., *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography, 1350-1850* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009): p. 338.

<sup>71</sup> Maṭar, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, *Lahn al-‘āmma fī daw’ al-dirāsāt al-luġawīyya l-hadīṭa* (al-Qāhira: al-Dār al-Qawmiyya, 1966): pp. 229-30 (the author refers to the fact that this phenomenon is attested in Spain, Sicily and Iraq, but he does not mention Egypt or Syria). Quite interestingly, al-Qalqašandī’s son, Ibn Abī Ḡudda, quotes al-Maqrīzī’s name with a *lām* (al-Maqrīzī). See fol. 27b.

<sup>72</sup> See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda*: I, p. 312; Id., *al-Muqaffā*: I, p. 512 (the MS bears this reading, but it was corrected in al-Qalqašandī by the editor who thought it was a mistake).

<sup>73</sup> See Ramzī, Muhammād, *Al-Qāmūs al-juḡrāfi li-l-bilād al-miṣriyya min ‘ahd qudamā’ al-Miṣriyyīn ilā sanat 1945* (al-Qāhira: al-Hay’ā al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 2 vols. in 6 parts): II.1, p. 46.

<sup>74</sup> See Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Mu’jam al-bulḍān* (Bayrūt: Dār Ihyā’ al-Turāṭ al-‘Arabī, 1979, 5 vols.): IV, pp. 327-8.

b. The author's life

Our knowledge of the life and works of al-Qalqašandī's son would be extremely limited without the data supplied by the great biographer of the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Sahāwī. The most comprehensive presentation appears in his *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* with part of the information repeated in his other books.<sup>75</sup> One of the sources he exploited in this particular case was certainly al-Biqā'ī's *'Unwān al-zamān*, which has recently been made available.<sup>76</sup>

His full name, according to both authors, was Najm al-dīn<sup>77</sup> Abū l-Faḍl<sup>78</sup> Muhammad b. Šihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-dīn Abū l-Yumn 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl b. Sulaymān al-Qalqašandī al-Qāhirī al-Šāfi'ī, also better known as Ibn Abī Ḡudda.<sup>79</sup> He was born in Cairo in Rabi' I 797/December 1394-January 1395, according to his own words, but this

<sup>75</sup> Al-Sahāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*: VI, pp. 322-3 (no. 1057); Id., *Waḡīz al-kalām fī l-dayl 'alā Duwal al-islām*, edited by 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Baššār, al-Harastānī, 'Iṣām Fāris, and al-Ḥaṭīmī, Aḥmad (Bayrūt: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1995, 4 vols.): II, p. 834 (no. 1912); Id., *al-Dayl al-tāmm 'alā Duwal al-islām li-l-Dahabī*, edited by Muruwwa, Hasan Ismā'īl (al-Kuwayt-Bayrūt: Maktabat al-'Urūba/Dār Ibn al-'Imād, 1992, 3 vols.): II, p. 256. All the later authors rely on the data provided by al-Sahāwī: Ibn al-'Imād, 'Abd al-Hayy ibn Aḥmad, *Šadarāt al-dahab fī aḥbār man ḏahaba*, edited by al-Arnā'ūt, 'Abd al-Qādir and al-Arnā'ūt, Maḥmūd (Dimāṣq: Dār Ibn Kaṭrīn, 1986-93, 10 vols.): IX, p. 480; Kahhāla, 'Umar Rīdā, *Mu'ğam al-mu'allifīn: tarāğim muşannifī al-kutub al-'arabiyya* (Bayrūt: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1414/1993, 4 vols.): III, p. 74.

<sup>76</sup> Al-Biqā'ī, Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar (d. 885/1480), *'Unwān al-zamān bi-tarāğim al-ṣuyūḥ wa-l-aqrān* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Watā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2001-, 5 vols. published so far): V, pp. 21-3 (no. 456). The author also produced a summarized version of the latter entitled *'Unwān al-'unwān aw al-mu'jam al-ṣagīr*, edited by Ḥabašī, Ḥasan (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Watā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2003), where our author is briefly mentioned on p. 234 (no. 551). For al-Biqā'ī and the appraisal of another of his historical work (a chronicle), see Guo, Li, "Al-Biqā'ī's Chronicle: A Fifteenth Century Learned Man's Reflection on His Time and World," in Kennedy, Hugh (ed.), *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950-1800)* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001): pp. 121-48.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn al-'Imād, *Šadarāt al-dahab*: IX, p. 480 is the only one to say that his *laqab* was Šams al-dīn.

<sup>78</sup> In his youth, he seems to have born another *kunya* (Abū l-Faṭḥ). See note 82.

<sup>79</sup> A comparison of this genealogy with the one featured in his father's biography in the same book (*al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, I, p. 355 and II, p. 8) shows a discrepancy in the *ism* of the grandfather, given here as 'Abd Allāh, while in the biography of his father al-Sahāwī explicitly states that it should be 'Alī and that those authors (al-Maqrīzī and al-'Aynī) who give it as 'Abd Allāh are mistaken. Al-Sahāwī relied, in this particular case, on his master, Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Majma' al-mu'assis*: III, p. 53. Al-Sahāwī does not seem to have noticed that he contradicts himself in the biography of Najm al-dīn al-Qalqašandī. That the name of the grandfather was 'Abd Allāh is supported by the full genealogy given by Najm al-dīn al-Qalqašandī on the title page of another of his works (see below).

was more probably in the year 795/January-February 1393 or 796/January 1394, because al-Sahāwī discovered that he was mentioned in a certificate of audition dated Rabī‘ II 799/January 1397 as being in his fourth year.<sup>80</sup> Najm al-dīn followed the path of most of the scholars’ sons at that time. Having learnt the Quran by heart, he focused on the memorization of the most important legal books, like *al-‘Umda* by Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdīsī (d. 620/1223), and *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278), mainly under his father’s supervision.<sup>81</sup> In 813/1410-1, at the age of 17, he was examined by several of his masters and received a license of transmission (*ijāza*). His father recorded the document that was issued on that occasion by Šams al-dīn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im al-Birmāwī (d. 831/1428).<sup>82</sup> and ‘Izz al-dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Jamā‘a (d. 819/1416).<sup>83</sup> Diploma in hand, Najm al-dīn could start a career. He attained his first position in the very same year, becoming a professional witness (*ṣāhid ‘adl*).<sup>84</sup> This position allowed him to move up the ladder in the judicial milieu. He soon acted as a

<sup>80</sup> This is how the following sentence must be interpreted: “wa-lākinna muqtaḍā waṣfihi fī rabī‘ al-āhir sanat tis‘ wa-tis‘īn wa-sab‘imī‘a bi-kawnihi fī l-rābi‘a an yakūn qabla dālika immā fī sanat sitt aw ḥams bi-l-Qāhira”. Al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘*: VI, p. 322. A copy of the said certificate is provided by al-Biqā‘ī, *‘Unwān al-zamān*: V, p. 23, who corroborates that he was born in 795/1393 (*ibid.*: p. 21).

<sup>81</sup> For the latter, the part dealing only with the applied *fiqh* or substantive law (*furu‘ al-fiqh*): “*al-Minhāj al-far‘ī*”. See al-Sahāwī, *ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> On him, see al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘*: VII, pp. 280-1 (no. 725). It is al-Qalqašandī who provides the date of the document. See al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-aṣā’*: XIV, pp. 329-30: “wa-min dālika mā kataba bi-hi l-ṣayḥ Šams al-dīn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Dā’im li-waladī Najm al-dīn Abī al-Fath Muḥammad ḥīna ‘araḍa ‘alayhi al-Minhāj fī l-fiqh li-l-Nawawī fī sanat ṭalāṭa ‘aṣrata wa-ṭamānīmī‘a”. The document attests that Ibn Abī Ġudda was examined on the said work and that he knew it by heart. It must be noted that at that time he bore another *kunya* (Abū l-Fath) which became later on Abū l-Faḍl.

<sup>83</sup> On him, see al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘*: VII, pp. 171-4 (no. 417). See al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-aṣā’*: XIV, pp. 330-1: “wa-kataba ‘alāmat al-‘aṣr al-ṣayḥ ‘Izz al-dīn Ibn Jamā‘a mā ṣūratuhu”. The document, which was written on the back of the previous attestation, certifies the same thing, but Ibn Jamā‘a also gave him the right to transmit the said work and a general license (*ijāza ‘āmma*) valid for all the works he was allowed to transmit and his own books.

<sup>84</sup> On this function, see Cahen, Claude, “À propos des *shuhūd*,” *StIs*, XXXI (1970): pp. 71-9. The official document (*sijill*, i.e., record) that was issued on that occasion was composed by his father who records it in his chancery manual. It is dated 28 Rajab 813/26 November 1410. The authority who validated the record was Walī l-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī (d. 826/1423). On him, see al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘*: I, pp. 336-44. For the record, see al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-aṣā’*: XIV, pp. 346-9: “qultu wa-hādihi nusḥat sijill anša‘tuhu kutiba bi-hi li-waladī Najm al-dīn Abī l-Fath Muḥammad wa-kutiba la-hu bi-hā ‘inda ṭubūt ‘adālatihi ‘alā al-ṣayḥ al-‘allāma Walī al-dīn Aḥmad ibn al-ṣayḥ al-imām al-hāfiẓ Zayn al-dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī ḥalīfat al-hukm al-‘azīz bi-Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira al-maḥrūsatayni fī šuhūr sanat ṭalāṭa ‘aṣrata wa-ṭamānīmī‘a wa-hiya ...”.

deputy judge for some important magistrates, like Jalāl al-dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 824/1421)<sup>85</sup> and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1448). His other functions included the administration (*mubāṣara*) of the inalienable properties whose revenues were reserved to pious foundations (*aḥbās*).<sup>86</sup> He also accompanied the sultan Barsbāy in his expedition against the Aqquyunlu Qara Yūlūk, who was in Āmid, in 836/1433, probably as judge of the army.<sup>87</sup> However, the most interesting occupation for our purpose regards his role as a secretary, a position he enjoyed in the service of several emirs.<sup>88</sup> According to al-Biqā‘ī and al-Sahāwī, he performed the pilgrimage in 844/1441,<sup>89</sup> but he must have repeated the rite toward the end of his life as his presence in Minā is confirmed in 870/1466.<sup>90</sup> His house was located near

<sup>85</sup> On him, see al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḏaw’ al-lāmi‘*: IV, pp. 106-13 (no. 301).

<sup>86</sup> Al-Sahāwī specifies that he was nominated in the *dīwān al-aḥbās* at the same time as Ibn al-‘Absī (on whom see below) and others when Ibn Āqbars was the head (*nāṣir*) of the said bureau. See al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḏaw’ al-lāmi‘*: IV, p. 231. Ibn Āqbars (‘Alā’ al-dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, d. 862/1458; see al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḏaw’ al-lāmi‘*: V, pp. 292-3, no. 987) was appointed to that position in Rajab 853/September 1449. See Ibn Taqrībī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, edited by Šams al-dīn, Muḥammad Husayn (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1992, 16 vols.): XV, p. 148.

<sup>87</sup> See Darrag, Ahmād, *L’Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay (825-841/1422-1438)* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1961): p. 375; Woods, John E., *The Aqquyunlu Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999, rev. and expanded ed.): p. 53.

<sup>88</sup> Al-Biqā‘ī, ‘*Uwān al-zamān*’: V, p. 22 (“yuwaqqī‘ fī buyūt al-umarā”’). On the basis of the data provided by al-Sahāwī (“bāšara [...] l-tawqī‘ li-l-umarā”’), al-Durūbī rapidly concludes that he was a *kātib al-dast* (court-secretary), and that this hints at his working in the state chancery as a secretary. See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Umarī, *al-Ta’rif*: I, p. 77. This is obviously erroneous. It is known that high ranked emirs had their own secretary. It is also true that al-Qalqašandī’s son quotes, in his *Qalā’id al-jumān* (fol. 108a-b), a document he drew up for a merchant (*musāmaha*, i. e., a duty remission for goods to be imported or exported), but he specifically states that this was a *tawqī‘*, which means that it was issued at the request of a governor in Syria. The *musāmaha* (duty remission) was indeed called a *tawqī‘* in these conditions. See al-Qalqašandī, *Šubh al-aṣā’*: XIII, p. 39. This further proves that he must have been employed in the chancery bureaux of a governor in Syria at some time in his life.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Biqā‘ī, ‘*Uwān al-zamān*’: V, p. 22; al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḏaw’ al-lāmi‘*: VI, p. 322.

<sup>90</sup> He is mentioned as teaching *hadīt* to a certain Ahmād b. Muḥammad al-Maḥarrāqī (b. in 844/1440-41) on that date in Minā. See al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḏaw’ al-lāmi‘*: II, p. 172. His activity as an occasional transmitter (*haddatā bi-l-yasīr*) is also confirmed by al-Sahāwī, who says he learned something from him. See al-Sahāwī, *al-Ḏaw’ al-lāmi‘*: VI, p. 322. See also *ibid.*: III, p. 188, where he is mentioned as teaching a traditional book, the *Rubā’iyyāt al-Nasā’ī*, i.e., traditions reported by al-Nasā’ī with only four transmitters in the chain (see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Majma‘ al-mu’assis*: II, p. 25) to a certain Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Bahūtī (b. in 836/1433).

the madrasa of Faḥr al-dīn.<sup>91</sup> Najm al-dīn drowned in the Nile in Rabī‘ I 876/August-September 1471.<sup>92</sup> The flood was particularly impressive in that year: it caused the death of numerous persons, children and men, including some women, who drowned in the river and the canals. Several boats also sank.<sup>93</sup>

*c. The author’s works*

In the biography he devoted to al-Qalqašandī’s son, al-Saḥāwī only hints at one work he composed: an amplification (*tahmīs*)<sup>94</sup> of al-Būṣīrī’s *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madh̄ hayr al-bariyya*, better known as *al-Burda*,<sup>95</sup> of which a copy is held in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.<sup>96</sup>

Besides the *Qalā’id al-jumān*, Brockelmann also refers to another work he might have written entitled *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma’rifat ansāb al-‘Arab*, of which an autograph copy is preserved in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (MS Ar.2049).<sup>97</sup> Some authors doubt his authorship, as his father is also known to have composed a text on the same subject with a similar title (*Nihāyat al-arab fī ma’rifat qabā’il al-‘Arab*).<sup>98</sup> According to his own testimony, al-Qalqašandī completed this book in 812/1409-10.<sup>99</sup> Seven years later, he again tackled the topic of the Arab tribes with *Qalā’id al-jumān fī l-ta’rif bi-qabā’il al-‘Arab*,<sup>100</sup> and one cannot

<sup>91</sup> For this *madrasa*, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-l-i‘tibār fī ḥikāyat wa-l-āṭār* (Būlāq: s.l., 1853, 2 vols): II, p. 367. Al-Biqā‘ī heard him reciting some poems of his composition there in 846/1442. See al-Biqā‘ī, ‘*Uwān al-zamān*: V, p. 22.

<sup>92</sup> Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*: VI, p. 323; Id., *Wajīz al-kalām*: II, p. 834; Id., *al-Dayl al-tāmm*: II, p. 256.

<sup>93</sup> See al-Zāhirī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Ḥalīl, *Nayl al-amal fī dayl al-duwal*, edited by ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, ‘Umar (Ṣaydā-Bayrūt: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 2002, 9 vols.): VII, p. 17.

<sup>94</sup> See Kennedy, Philip F., “*Takhmīs*”, in *Et*<sup>2</sup> (2002): X: pp. 123-4.

<sup>95</sup> Kāḥhāla only refers to that work too. See Kāḥhāla, *Mu’gam al-mu’allifin*: III, p. 74.

<sup>96</sup> MS 1410. See *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-mawjūda bi-l-Dār* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1924-63, 10 vols.): III, p. 52 (no. 5).

<sup>97</sup> Brockelmann, *Geschichte*: G.II, p. 134 (no. 3.2); S.II, p. 165 (no. 3.2); Mac Guckin de Slane, William, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883-95): p. 365. Other copies are to be found in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, MSS Ta’rīḥ 329, 374 and 375. See *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*: V, p. 397.

<sup>98</sup> Edited by al-Abyārī, Ibrāhīm (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1980; first ed. al-Qāhira, 1959).

<sup>99</sup> Ahlwardt, Wilhelm, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* (Berlin: A.W. Schade’s Buchdruckerei; A. Asher, 1887-99, 10 vols.): IX, p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> Finished on the 13th of Rajab 819/6 September 1416. Ed. al-Abyārī, Ibrāhīm (al-Qāhira; Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣri; Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1982; first ed. al-Qāhira, 1964).

refrain from noting that this title is echoed in the first part of the title of his son's chancery manual (*Qalā'id al-jumān fī muṣṭalaḥ mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*). These coincidences must be analyzed closely in order to understand the relationship between the father's and his son's works.

Al-Qalqašandī's *Nihāyat al-arab* was composed for the library of Abū l-Mahāsin Yūsuf al-Umawī al-Qurašī, as he declares in his introduction.<sup>101</sup> The text consists of three parts (introduction/*muqaddima*, central part/*maqṣūd*, and conclusion/*hātimā*): the central part corresponds to an alphabetical list of the Arab tribes, while the third is devoted to various aspects of the life of the ancient Arabs (religion, competition, days, fires, and markets). Al-Qalqašandī's *Qalā'id al-jumān* is quite similar to the preceding one, though the author dedicated it to another important person, Nāṣir al-dīn al-Bārizī, the secretary of the state chancery at that time (819/1416),<sup>102</sup> explicitly stating that it should enrich the latter's library.<sup>103</sup> The author refers (p. 1) to his previous book, *Nihāyat al-arab*, stating that this work is somewhat different in that it is not just an abridgement (*muḥtaṣar*) as it also contains an update dealing with other tribes like those of the West (*Mağrib*). However, the organization of the material differs, as the author chose to give a panorama of the various tribes according to the tribal subdivisions. The conclusion (pp. 179-206) also contrasts with the latter, given that it deals with the genealogy and biography of Nāṣir al-dīn al-Bārizī, the dedicatee.

Yet, the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Qalqašandī's son is problematic, in that the text is, in large part, similar to his father's work bearing the same title<sup>104</sup> with the only difference that the dedicatee is different.<sup>105</sup> As a matter of fact, Najm al-dīn addressed it to an Abū l-Jūd Baqar b. Zayn al-dīn Rāšid,<sup>106</sup> emir of the Arabs of the western and eastern provinces in Egypt (*amīr al-‘Urbān bi-l-bilād al-ğarbiyya wa-l-ṣarqiyya*).<sup>107</sup> This is confirmed

<sup>101</sup> This person was not identified in the traditional biographical dictionaries. Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, p. 2. See below, appendix 1, first column.

<sup>102</sup> See note 70. Al-Qalqašandī's dedication might be interpreted as a political initiative to attract al-Bārizī's benevolence in favor of his son, Najm al-dīn, who, as we saw, started his career as a professional witness a few years before (813/1410-11).

<sup>103</sup> Al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-jumān*, pp. 2-4. See below, appendix 1, second column.

<sup>104</sup> The title page of the autograph bears (Paris, BnF, MS 2049, fol. 1a): *Kitāb Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rīfat ansāb al-‘Arab ta'līf aqall ‘abīd Allāh ta‘ālā l-rājī ‘afw rabbīhi l-karīm al-mahdī Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Qalqašandī baladān al-Šāfi‘ī madhabān ğafara llāh lahu wa-li-wālidayhi wa-li-Muhammad wa-ālihi āmīn.*

<sup>105</sup> See the appendices 1 and 2. One will notice that even in these parts of the text, most of the words are already found in his father's version.

<sup>106</sup> Not Zayn al-dīn Abū l-Jūd Maqarr b. Rašid al-Zaynī as in Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, S.II, p. 165.

<sup>107</sup> Paris, BnF, MS Ar.2049, fols. 1b-2a.

on the title page of the autograph, where the dedication, which has been partially erased by a later owner, reads “*bi-rasm al-ḥizāna [...] Baqar ibn Rāšid*.” The manuscript remained in the ownership of the family of the emir for some time: at the end of the text, another hand added a note stating that it belonged to a descendant of Baqar whose name was Muḥammad.<sup>108</sup> The author also reveals, in the colophon, his identity as being Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qalqašandī al-Šafī‘ī and he states that he completed this copy in 846/1442-43.<sup>109</sup>

Nevertheless, several scholars remain suspicious about the authorship of the book, given the similitude between his text and that of his father. Indeed, a comparison of his text with his father’s book of the same title shows that they are similar, save for some passages that were adapted in the introductory part regarding the dedicatee, for instance. Al-Abyārī, who edited al-Qalqašandī’s *Nihāyat al-arab*, inclined to the view that the son’s text was nothing but a copy of his father’s text, which he made to offer to the emir of the Arabs.<sup>110</sup> If it were the case, the son would not pretend in his introduction, as he does, that his work is more comprehensive and clearer than his father’s *Qalā’id al-jumān*.<sup>111</sup> Yet, beside the colophon, where the son states that he finished the work on the said date, another internal element corroborates that he saw the text as a result of his personal effort. In his introductory part, he declares that he met the emir Baqar in the house of Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Absī, one of the functionaries in charge of the inalienable properties.<sup>112</sup> This person must be identified with ‘Izz al-dīn

<sup>108</sup> Fol. 187b: “malaka hādā l-kitāb al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā llāh ta‘ālā Šams al-dīn Muḥammad b. al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā llāh ta‘ālā al-Zaynī Qāsim b. al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā llāh ta‘ālā Baybars b. Baqar taġammadahum Allāh bi-raḥmatihī ajma‘īn āmīn āmīn āmīn wa-ġafara li-mālikihī wa-li-jamī‘ al-muslimīn ajma‘īn āmīn”. This person was not identified in the traditional biographical dictionaries. His father, Qāsim, occupied the same position as the dedicatee, who was his grandfather, i.e., emir of the Arabs, but only for the eastern province (*al-Šarqiyā*). He was imprisoned under Qā’itbāy’s rule and was hanged in Jumādā I 885/July-August 1480. See al-Sahāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*: VI, p. 180 (no. 611). Qāsim’s father, Baybars, who is described as the *šayh al-‘urbān bi-l-Šarqiyā*, died in 866/1461-62. See Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirā*: XVI, p. 282.

<sup>109</sup> Fol. 187a-b: “najizat kitābatuhu ‘alā yad mu’allifihi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qalqašandī al-Šafī‘ī fī šuhūr sanat sitt wa-arba‘īn wa-tamānīmi‘a”.

<sup>110</sup> See al-Abyārī’s introduction to his edition of al-Qalqašandī’s *Nihāyat al-arab*: pp. *šīn-tā‘*. This view is also adopted by Bosworth, Clifford E., “al-Ķalķashandī,” *El*<sup>2</sup> (1978): IV, p. 510.

<sup>111</sup> See appendix 2, third column: “wa-sammaytu Nihāyat al-arab fī ma‘rifat ansāb al-‘Arab anhā fī l-bayān awdāh min Qalā’id al-jumān fī l-ta‘rif bi-qabā‘il ‘Arab al-zamān ta‘līf wālidī rāhimahū llāh wa-ja‘ala l-janna ma‘wāhū”. Kātib Çelebi insisted on this difference (“wa-dakara fīhi annahu awdāh min Qalā’id al-jumān li-wālidihī”). See Kātib Çelebi, *Kašf al-żunūn*: II, col. 1986.

<sup>112</sup> See appendix 2, third column: “wa-kuntu qad ijtama‘tu ‘alayhi fī bayt al-janāb al-‘ālī

‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Absī al-Qāhirī (born in 819/1416-17; d. 898/1492-93), whose *nisba* refers to al-‘Absī, a village located in the eastern province (*al-Ğarbiyya*).<sup>113</sup> His origin constitutes the clear link between him and the emir of the Arabs and, unsurprisingly, it is at Ibn al-‘Absī’s home that Najm al-dīn al-Qalqašandī met the latter. Moreover, al-Qalqašandī’s son knew Ibn al-‘Absī quite well, as they were both working in the same *bureau*, the *dīwān al-ahbās*.<sup>114</sup>

From all this, it can be concluded that al-Qalqašandī’s son appropriated his father’s book entitled *Nihāyat al-arab*, as the contents tally exactly with the original, and changed only the dedication and the circumstances that prompted him to compose it. He may have done this because he was seeking to secure a position as a secretary of the said emir – and we saw that he was at that rank for several emirs.<sup>115</sup>

The third work al-Qalqašandī’s son composed is his manual on letter-writing. We will now present its contents and assess its originality and value for the field of diplomatics.

### 3. *The Qalā’id al-jumān fī muṣṭalah mukātabāt ahl al-zamān and its value for the study of Mamluk diplomatics*

The originality and value of the treatise composed by al-Qalqašandī’s son can only be appraised by taking into consideration similar works composed by his predecessors. In the following pages, we thus compare it with Ibn Fadl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s *al-Ta‘rīf*, Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš’s *Tatqīf al-ta‘rīf*, al-Qalqašandī’s *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, and al-Sāhmāwī’s *al-Taqr al-bāsim*.<sup>116</sup> In order to understand if and how this treatise is essential for the field of diplomatics in the Mamluk period, we must first address the question of the date when its author might have composed it and the reasons that prompted him to do so.

l-qādā’ī l-kabīrī l-fāqīlī l-aṣīlī l-‘arīqī l-ra’īsī l-nāṣirī Muḥammad b. al-‘Absī aḥad a‘yān mubāširī al-ahbās al-mabrūra bi-l-diyār al-miṣriyya”.

<sup>113</sup> See Ramzī, *Al-Qāmūs al-juğrāfī*, II.1, p. 99.

<sup>114</sup> On Ibn al-‘Absī, see al-Sāhmāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*: IV, pp. 231-2 (no. 597). When he fell ill at the return from the pilgrimage, it is his son, Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded him in his position. See *ibid.*: XI, p. 214.

<sup>115</sup> It is noteworthy that the passage where he gives the title and expresses that his book is more comprehensive and clearer than his father’s *Qalā’id al-jumān* was added in his own handwriting in the margin, thus at a later date. It is doubtful that this points to an omission in the text, rather that he decided to add that after he finished the copy.

<sup>116</sup> This is the famous MS 4439 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, usually referred to as *Dīwān al-inṣā* or *al-Maqṣid al-rafi‘* and tentatively attributed to a given *al-Ḥālidī*. The real author of this *unicum* was recently identified as being Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sāhmāwī (d. 868/1464) and the title of his book as being *al-Taqr al-bāsim fī ḥinā’at al-kātib wa-l-kātim* by the editor of the text Ašraf Muḥammad Anas Mursī (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā’iq al-Qawmiyya, 2009, 2 vols.).

*a. The date of composition and the nature of the treatise*

The date of the composition can only be surmised approximately, thanks to a few chronological indications that the author disseminated throughout his text. The *terminus ante quem* corresponds to the date of the colophon (867/1464), which indicates that the copy was completed during the author's life (d. 876/1471). As for the *terminus post quem*, it can be deducted from the formula he uses when he speaks of his father (fol. 96b: *tağammadahu llāh bi-raḥmatihi* ["May God encompass him with His grace"] and fol. 27b and 125a: *raḥimahu llāh* ["May God have mercy upon him"]), meaning that his father was dead at the time he wrote that part, that is, after 821/1418. The same expression is helpful to narrow the span of time between his father's death and the date of the colophon. When he names the two secretaries, for each of whom he prepared a copy of his father's *Şubh al-a'sā* (fol. 125a), he describes the both of them as *al-marḥūm*, indicating that they were dead at the time he was writing his book. The first one, Ibn al-Bārizī, died in 823/1420 while the second, Ibn Muzhir, passed away in 832/1429. Moreover, on fol. 27b, he mentions an exchange of letters between his father and al-Maqrīzī, the latter's name being followed by the same expression as above (*tağammadahu llāh bi-raḥmatihi*). Given that al-Maqrīzī died in 845/1442, the treatise was clearly written after this date. It might be that he wrote this work at an advanced age, if we take for granted a date given in a sample letter written to the caliph (3 Rajab 863/6 June 1459), which brings us very close to the date mentioned in the colophon.

We have already seen that al-Qalqašandī's son plagiarized a book from his father (*Nihāyat al-arab*) in 846/1442-3, with the probable goal of attaining a position. The chancery manual entitled *Qalā'id al-jumān* was composed after that date, with what must have been a different goal.<sup>117</sup> In the introduction (fol. 2b-3a), he explains that he took the decision to write a treatise on official correspondence after having requested one from those who master this art; thus this treatise would have allowed him to become one of them, but they declined his invitation.<sup>118</sup> Far from feeling repelled by this refusal, because he was aware that this is the noblest art, he continued to frequent their company, seeking their knowledge and begging everyone, until he managed to compose his own treatise.<sup>119</sup> Here the author uses

<sup>117</sup> It has also already been stressed (see note 70) that he prepared two copies of his father's *Şubh al-a'sā* for two important secretaries who were consecutively at the head of the state chancery. Both copies ended in their private libraries and must be seen as an example of *captatio benevolentiae*.

<sup>118</sup> Fol. 3a: “ṭalabtu minhum dustūr yakūn i‘timādī fī l-duḥūl ma‘ahum ‘alayhi wa-rukn šadīd āwī fī hādīhi l-ṣinā‘a ilayhi fa-lam yasmaḥū ilayya bi-dālik wa-lam yaṭṭalī‘ū fiyya ‘alā ḥaqīqat mā hunālik”.

<sup>119</sup> Fol. 3a: “fa-lam azal arid fī mawāridihim wa-ataṭaffal ‘alā mawā‘idihim wa-as‘al al-

rhetorical devices that do not necessarily reflect the real cause that prompted him to pen this book. Whatever the case may be, he indeed makes references to his predecessors' compositions, corroborating that he was aware of his predecessors' and contemporaries' production in the said field. For example, the first sentence of the *ba'diyya* perfectly echoes Ibn Hijja's introductory words to the collection of his letters (*Qahwat al-inšā'*):<sup>120</sup>

wa-ba'd fa-innī mā <b>adartu ka's al-inšā'</b> hunā illā li-yaṭib al-ta'ammul bi-tanaqqulihī min <b>šuṭūṭ al-buḥūr</b> <i>(Qahwat al-inšā': p. 4)</i>	wa-ba'd fa-lammā <b>udīrat ku'ūs al-inšā'</b> 'alā <b>šuṭūṭ al-buḥūr</b> wa-l-ḥūlān wa-'arbada / min ṣāfi' naš'atihim ṣāhib kull tarassul wa- dīwān <i>(Qalā'id al-jumān: fol. 2b-3a).</i>
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This is even more discernible a few lines later (fol. 3a):

salaktu fī **ḍaw'** **ṣubḥihim al-musfir** wa-tafakkahtu min **janā'**  
**dawḥihim al-mut̄mir** wa-nṭaṣa'tu min **qahwat inšā'iḥim** wa-  
 zahara lī mā lāḥa min **ṣubḥ a'ṣā'iḥim** ... yastaḡnī bihi al-nāzir fīhi  
 'an **husn al-tawassul**.

The parts emphasized correspond to titles of books dealing with the art of correspondence, all composed in the Mamluk period. The first one is the *Daw'* *al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-janā' al-dawḥ al-mut̄mir*, an abridgment al-Qalqāsandī made of his *Ṣubḥ al-aṣā'*,<sup>121</sup> the latter being mentioned in the third place. The second refers to Ibn Hijja's *Qahwat al-inšā'*, while the fourth and last one is Ibn Fahd's *Husn al-tawassul ilā ḥinā'at al-tarassul*.<sup>122</sup> This last reference, where the author states that the reader will no longer need to consult it, might indicate that his main aim was to produce an updated tool for the chancery scribes. As such, he considers his treatise to be a *dustūr*,<sup>123</sup> a technical term used by those who worked in the chancery. The word refers to a formulary that was probably established for the use of each

qāṣ [sic for al-qāṣī] wa-l-dān [sic for al-dānī] wa-asma' kull kalima minhum bi-dīwān".

<sup>120</sup> Ibn Hijja, Abū Bakr b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 837/1434), *Das Rauschgetränk der Stilkunst oder Qahwat al-inshā'*, edited by Veselý, Rudolf (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1426/2005).

<sup>121</sup> For this abridgement, see van Berkel, "al-Qalqāsandī": p. 338; Bosworth, "al-Kalqāsandī": p. 510; Veselý, "Die inšā'-Literatur": p. 201. Its value has not yet been assessed in comparison with the *Ṣubḥ*. The full text was published in Cairo (Sharikat Nawābiq al-Fikr, 2009).

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Fahd, Maḥmūd b. Salmān al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325), *Husn al-tawassul ilā ḥinā'at al-tarassul*, ed. Akram 'Uṭmān Yūsuf ([Bağdād]: Dār al-Raṣīd, 1980). On this work, see Veselý, "Die inšā'-Literatur": p. 198.

<sup>123</sup> The word is quoted twice on fol. 3a ("yakūn dustūr", "azamtu 'alā l-duḥūl baynahum bi-dustūr") and once more at the end (fol. 161b: "fa-qad tamma l-dustūr al-mubārak").

secretary active in the chancery.<sup>124</sup> Some decided to publish it while others just meant it as a personal *vade mecum*. Among those who crossed the threshold of publication, we find Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī<sup>125</sup> and Ibn Nāzir al-Jayṣ.<sup>126</sup> The others are only known because authors occasionally referred to these personal *vade mecum*s.<sup>127</sup>

According to the conclusions drawn above, the *Qalā'id al-jumān* may be seen as a treatise written by its author, who had reached the end of his career and wanted to transmit the result of his activity as a secretary who was active in the service of different emirs and local chanceries. He probably did so based on the example of his father, who had done the same way.

#### *b. The structure and contents of the treatise*

Besides the introduction, the author divided his work in eight chapters, which he calls *maqāla*, and an epilogue (*ḥātimā*):

1. Legal background for the art of letter writing (fol. 3b): The aim of this chapter is to state that the correspondence finds its justification in the Quran (27:29-31) and the Tradition, where the Prophet is recorded for having written to various rulers. The author also lists the different formulas of *invocatio* and the addresses used by the Prophet, as well as by his secretaries, followed by the names of those credited with creating the various calligraphic styles used in the chancery.

2. Correspondence issued in the name of the caliphs (fol. 7a): It is divided into four categories organized according to the protocol of introduction.

3. Correspondence addressed to the caliphs and their designated heirs as well as the designated heirs of the sultans and the Zaydī imam (fol. 7b): These four categories are considered separately.

4. Correspondence issued in the name of the sultan and addressed to state

<sup>124</sup> See Veselý, “Die *inšā'*-Literatur”: p. 200.

<sup>125</sup> *Al-Ta'rīf*: II, p. 3-4, where he states that people heard of his *dustūr* and asked him to give them access to it widely, which determined him to revise it and to publish it. It is also the case with his *'Urf al-ta'rīf*, recently published by Veselý, “Zwei Opera Cancellaria Minoru”: pp. 513-57 (see p. 517: “fa-qad amara man amruhu tā'a ... an u'alliq dustūr fī rutab al-mukātabāt”).

<sup>126</sup> *Tatqīf al-ta'rīf*, p. 87 (“al-qism al-ṭānī min al-dustūr al-mubārak”). The author composed his book for his son, who followed his father’s footsteps and was working at the time the book was written as a secretary of the second category (*kātib al-darj*) at the state chancery in Cairo. Ibid.: p. 3.

<sup>127</sup> For instance, see al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a'sā*: VI, pp. 131-2, where he quotes a *dustūr* of al-Fāriqī, another one of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362), and another one whose author was unknown (“fī ba‘d al-dasātīr”). See also Björkman, Walther, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg : J.J. Augustin, 1928): p. 75 and note 4.

officials and foreign rulers (fol. 13b): This chapter is devoted to letters initiated by the state chancery in Cairo for a large variety of recipients, including foreign rulers. It is subdivided into eight sections which respectively deal with the military officeholders, state civilians, and religious representatives, each of these according to several levels, then the “open” correspondence directed to several recipients and not one in particular (*mutlaq*),<sup>128</sup> decrees (*marsūm*), messages to be delivered by pigeons (*bitāqa*),<sup>129</sup> letters issued for ladies belonging to the family of the sultan (*hawand*), and last but not least, those for foreign rulers.

5. Various kinds of documents like treaties, safe conducts, deeds of nomination, etc. (fol. 48a): The author details in this chapter documents that are issued by the state chancery but that may not be truly considered correspondence.

6. Correspondence exchanged by the state officials (fol. 122b): Though not specifically designated as such in the title, these are the letters that are known as the *iḥwāniyyāt*.<sup>130</sup> They are detailed in seven hierarchical levels according to given formulas (*exordium* and *narratio*) allocated to the recipients. They are followed by two sections, where the author tackles the decrees and the “open” correspondence redacted by order of state officials and not of the sultan.

7. Various levels of addresses regarding the previous correspondence (fol. 128b):<sup>131</sup> Linked to the previous chapter, this one considers the various categories of recipients in compliance with the level of the sender and the *invocatio* that fits them.

8. Various forms of *invocatio* (*du‘ā’*) regarding the previous correspondence (fol. 131a): This chapter tallies in its organization with what precedes it, with the exception that here several forms of invocation are considered with the same hierarchical order, each divided into two sections considering initiatory letters and answers.

The object of the epilogue (fol. 137b) is to present the topics that may prompt the writing of a letter pertaining to the previous category of correspondence, i.e., *iḥwāniyyāt* letters.

In its organization, the treatise shares a common feature with al-Qalqašandī’s *Šubh al-a‘šā* and al-Sahmāwī’s *al-Taqr al-bāsim* in that it is structured in multi-layered patterns with divisions, subdivisions, sub-subdivisions, etc., each referred to with a technical term (*maqāla*, *madhab*, *naw‘*, *uslūb*, *tabaqa*, *martaba*, *qism*), sometimes expressing the idea of rank

<sup>128</sup> See Richards, *Mamluk Administrative Documents*, p. 18.

<sup>129</sup> This section also contains a list of the postal stations (fol. 32-34a).

<sup>130</sup> See below.

<sup>131</sup> Rieu, *Supplement*: p. 643, claims that the seventh chapter is wanting in the MS. This is a mistake as only the title is missing.

or level. The adoption of this arrangement is typical of Mamluk chancery treatises redacted in the ninth/fifteenth century and it might reflect the complex hierarchical nature of the Mamluk society, a system that reached its apex in the Circassian period.

Compared to the other chancery manuals, it is not surprising that the *Qalā'id al-jumān* appears to be built in a very similar fashion. However, even though it follows more particularly the organization adopted by Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umarī and Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš in their respective manuals, it differs from them in the way the data is presented. This is particularly conspicuous in the section devoted to the correspondence exchanged by the chanceries of the officeholders, which is not fully considered by the two manuals just mentioned.<sup>132</sup> Al-Qalqašandī and al-Sāhmāwī do tackle this issue, but in a different and less clear way. As a consequence, the *Qalā'id al-jumān* gives a more intelligible presentation of the various categories of correspondences exchanged by the vast array of chanceries that were active in the Mamluk lands and it is instrumental in outlining the different categories of letters: respectively the letters issued for and addressed to the caliph (*halīfatiyyāt*), those issued for and addressed to the sultan (*sulṭāniyyāt*), and those issued for and addressed to officeholders (*iḥwāniyyāt*). This means that a letter redacted by a governor's chancery and addressed to the sultan was regarded as a sultanian letter, exactly as in the reverse case: a letter sent from the state chancery in Cairo in the name of the sultan was a sultanian letter. Consequently, a letter issued for a governor by his chancery and addressed to another governor or any other officeholder was categorized as a "fraternal" letter (*iḥwāniyya*). So far, this structure had not been understood in these terms, not even in modern research on Mamluk diplomatics.<sup>133</sup> *Ihwāniyyāt* letters, at least in the Mamluk period, were misunderstood by scholars as referring to private letters as exchanged by friends, taking the word at face value (*iḥwān* = brothers, i.e., friends), while it should be interpreted with the hierarchical conception of the Mamluk state in mind: caliph, sultan, others. The secretary of a governor or of an emir corresponding on administrative affairs with a colleague working in the state chancery in Cairo, for instance, was sending him an *iḥwāniyya*, because the both of them, as functionaries, belonged to the same category (none of them was the caliph or the sultan and none of them was writing to the caliph or the sultan). As such their correspondence was nevertheless official because it dealt with the affairs of state.<sup>134</sup> Of course, private affairs could prompt an

<sup>132</sup> Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš added a small chapter dealing with the *iḥwāniyyāt* at the end of his manual (*Tatqīf al-ta'rīf*. pp. 206-9) but no definition of this category is provided and the data is crudely presented.

<sup>133</sup> For a major misunderstanding, see Björkman, *Beiträge*: p. 135 and note 1.

<sup>134</sup> Richards' proposal that what is intended by *iḥwāniyyāt* "is a range of semi-official, on certain occasions almost obligatory, letters, exchanged by the upper ranks of Mamluk

officeholder or a functionary to address a letter to one of his peers and this letter was obviously still regarded as an *iḥwāniyya* for the reason just mentioned. The same rules were applied as if it were a letter on official matters. The topics listed in the epilogue of the *Qalā'id al-jumān* take into consideration the different reasons that resulted in this kind of correspondence (grief for the death of a dear one, apology, the sending of a gift, etc.). The mention of these topics are one of the main reasons why the *iḥwāniyyāt* have been regarded by modern scholars as private letters, neglecting the fact that the authors of the chancery manuals did not list the official topics because these were impossible to detail.<sup>135</sup>

### c. The sources exploited by the author

As this was the case with the majority of his predecessors, al-Qalqašandī's son relied on the manuals that were available to him. These sources may be divided into two categories: explicitly quoted sources and unquoted sources.

Those belonging to the first category are quite scarce because, unlike his predecessors and particularly his father, the author did not systematically reveal his authorities. On fol. 5a, he cites the *ṣāḥib Nihāyat al-arab*, i.e., al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), whose encyclopedia is referred to here for the way the companions of the Prophet used to address him in their letters. On the same folio, he then mentions a work that no one besides him seems to know: *I'ānat al-munšī' wa-hizānat al-mūšī* of Šams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Bāranbārī. The author is to be identified with Tāj al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Sa'dī Ibn al-Bāranbārī (d. 756/1355),<sup>136</sup> who worked in the state chancery in Cairo before being nominated chief secretary of the chancery in Tripoli. Al-Ṣafadī, who provides the most detailed biography, does not mention his works,<sup>137</sup>

society, both military and civilian" is too restrictive in this sense (Richards, *Mamluk Administrative Documents*: p. 14).

<sup>135</sup> For more details about this category of correspondence, see Bauden, Frédéric, "Ikhwāniyyāt Letters in the Mamluk period: A Document (*Muṭāla'a*) Issued by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's Chancery and a Contribution to Mamluk Diplomatics", in Levanoni, Amalia (ed.), *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule: Political, Social, and Cultural Aspects* (in press).

<sup>136</sup> Brockemann, *Geschichte*, S.II, p. 3-4; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, pp. 36-37. His *Dīwān* is preserved in a manuscript in Cairo and his collection of sermons is to be found in Leiden.

<sup>137</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, Ḥalīl b. Aybak, *al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner; Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1931-2010, 30 vols.): I, pp. 249-58 (no. 162); Id., *A'yān al-āṣr bi-a'wān al-naṣr*, edited by Abū Zayd, 'Alī et. al. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir; Dimašq: Dār al-Fikr, 1997, 6 vols.): V, pp. 170-80 (no. 1751). See also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā'*: VII, pp. 64-6.

but it is clear from the title mentioned by al-Qalqašandī's son that he composed at least one work in which he tackled the art of letter writing, as the extract cited regards the secretaries who may be considered as the ruler's tongue. Among the other sources, one also finds mentioned (fol. 31b and 35a) 'Alā' al-dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, i.e., Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī's brother, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā (d. 769/1367), who succeeded his father as head of the state chancery in Cairo in 738/1337.<sup>138</sup> The author does not allude to any specific work of his, but we know that 'Alī wrote a formulary (*dustūr*) that had previously been used by al-Qalqašandī.<sup>139</sup> It has also been said that the author was aware of the existence of Ibn Ḥijja's *Qahwat al-insā* as he indirectly alludes to it in his introduction. On fol. 114a-120b, he reproduces a bulletin of victory (*bišāra*) Ibn Ḥijja addressed to Tūgān, the emir who was replacing the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ during his absence from Cairo, to inform him that the sultan had defeated his enemies.<sup>140</sup> This document appears in Ibn Ḥijja's *Qahwat al-insā*, where the author of the *Qalā'id al-jumān* found it, though he does not expressly state it.<sup>141</sup>

The unquoted sources are obviously more difficult to identify. Among those that can certainly be singled out, one finds the *Subh al-aṣā* of the author's father. It has already been stressed that the work was not unfamiliar to the son, who prepared two copies of his father's *magnum opus* and that, in one place, he quotes a document redacted by his father.<sup>142</sup> The latter (fol. 96b-98b) is found word for word in the *Subh al-aṣā*,<sup>143</sup> but it is noteworthy that the son adds at the end a formula which is indeed requested in this case (*wa-l-i 'timād fī dālik 'alā l-haṭṭ al-ṣarīf a'lāhu ḥuḡġa bi-muqtaḍāhu in ṣā'a llāh*). Whether he did so because he knew the procedure by heart or because his copy of the *Subh al-aṣā* was more complete is unknown, but it is a fact that his copy is more faithful to the patterns of the chancery. Other documents have their origin in the *Subh al-aṣā*, though this is not stated by the author. For instance, the safe conduct (*amān*) cited in the chapter dealing with various kinds of documents (fol. 67b-69a) exactly tallies with the one appearing in the *Subh al-aṣā*.<sup>144</sup> Another source about which al-Qalqašandī's son remains silent is Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī's *al-Ta'rīf*, though it must have been among the texts he consulted. On fol. 36a-39a, the

<sup>138</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*: II, pp. 501-5 (no. 815).

<sup>139</sup> *Subh al-aṣā*: VII, p. 305 and VIII, p. 8. Al-Qalqašandī always specifies that this formulary was attributed to 'Alī b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī.

<sup>140</sup> And not sent by Tūgān to al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ as stated in Rieu, *Supplement*: p. 643.

<sup>141</sup> Pp. 231-9. The date provided by Ibn Ḥijja is somewhat different: 9 Rajab 820 against 29 Rajab 820 in the *Qalā'id al-jumān*.

<sup>142</sup> See above, p. 195.

<sup>143</sup> XII, pp. 74-7.

<sup>144</sup> XIII, pp. 346-9.

text of a letter addressed to the Ilkhanid Abū Sa‘īd is said to be Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s composition. This letter does not appear in *al-Ta‘rīf*,<sup>145</sup> but in *Šubḥ al-aṣā*, where al-Qalqašandī states that it was redacted by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī without indicating if he found it in his *al-Ta‘rīf*. In this specific case, it might be that al-Qalqašandī’s son was content with the data he found in his father’s work. However, a close examination of both texts shows discrepancies in the presentation of the various parts of the letter. Whereas al-Qalqašandī renders the text from the *hamdala*, his son starts it with the *basmala*, the first line of the *hamdala* which is separated from the second line by the *tuğrā* of the Mamluk sultan with all his titles and epithets (*alqāb*). This part of the text is written with larger margins on both sides. This presentation exactly tallies with the description provided by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī in *al-Ta‘rīf* and is repeated by the other authors,<sup>146</sup> but none of them, apart from al-Qalqašandī’s son, gives the text of the *tuğrā* as it must have appeared on the original document when it was produced. Again, this could be attributed to al-Qalqašandī’s son, who interpolated data he knew from other sources, but it could be too that he had access to another copy of the document which reproduced more faithfully its constituent parts. This singularity gives to the *Qalā‘id al-jumān* its importance. While it is true that he copied a vast array of letters originating in his predecessors’s manuals, without always indicating the source, he must be commended for his great scrupulousness in the reproduction of the different parts of the letters as these should have stood on the original. Other examples of this idiosyncrasy will be supplied below.

#### *d. The originality of the treatise*

Besides being instrumental for the understanding of the hierarchy of letters in three main levels (caliph, sultan, officeholders), the treatise is essential for the update it provides for the period considered. Given that this thematic volume is dedicated to the diplomatic correspondence, our focus in the following pages is on the part of the treatise where the letters exchanged with other rulers are detailed (fol. 35a-47b).

The author ordered this section into two main categories: rulers from the *dār al-islām* (*mulūk al-islām*) and those from the *dār al-harb* (*mulūk al-kufr*). The first category is subdivided according to a geographical criteria: east and west of Egypt. In each of these two subdivisions, the author follows a hierarchical order based on a tradition that goes back to the seventh / thirteenth c.: the greatest rulers are the offspring of Činggis Ḥān, starting with

<sup>145</sup> For the correspondence exchanged with the Ilkhanids, see *al-Ta‘rīf* II, pp. 57-61.

<sup>146</sup> See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta‘rīf* II, pp. 58-9; Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš, *Tatqīf al-Ta‘rīf* p. 10; al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-aṣā* VII, pp. 251-2; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Tagr al-bāsim* II, pp. 739-40.

the Ilkhanids. They are followed by the other rulers up to those who reign in the Anatolian region.<sup>147</sup> As for the West, he starts with the Merinids and ends with Nubia and the ruler of Dongola (*Dunqula*), “if he is a Muslim”. The second category deals with the non-Muslim rulers of the West, starting with the Pope (*sāhib al-bāb*) and ending with the Doge of Genoa.<sup>148</sup>

In its organization, this section of the correspondence with foreign rulers is closer to the one adopted by Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš, who, however, devoted a third subdivision for the Muslim rulers, in which he considers those from India, Yemen, and Nubia together. Besides this, it appears that the author somewhat updated his material for some rulers,<sup>149</sup> while he should have done for others, like the Ilkhanids who are still mentioned in place of the Timurids.

There are other discrepancies that surface when one compares the data provided in the treatise with that of the other chancery manuals. For instance, while all the other authors devoted some lines to the geographical description of each land and tried to document the rulers who reigned in the described regions, al-Qalqašandī’s son focused his attention on the correspondence itself and the rules to be adopted for the issue of a letter: usually the format of the paper, the formulas to be used (address, epithets, invocation), and their place on the document (number of the sheet in the scroll and the place where a given formula must be written).

Let us take as an example the correspondence exchanged with the ruler of Bornu (*Barnū*). It is mentioned in all the chancery manuals whose authors mainly based their data on what Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī said in his *al-Ta‘rīf*.<sup>150</sup> Ibn Nāzir al-Jayš limited himself to quoting the latter’s words, confessing that he was unable to add new material given that he did not find any letter addressed to this ruler nor did he have to write one when he served in the chancery.<sup>151</sup> Al-Qalqašandī was able to provide some fresh data because this ruler had sent a letter to Cairo during the reign of Barqūq and because the author got access to a formulary attributed to ‘Alī Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, thanks to which he was aware of the format of paper, the ‘*alāma*,

<sup>147</sup> In this case, all those mentioned in the treatise do not appear in the table of contents (Appendix 3) where only the titles of chapters are reproduced.

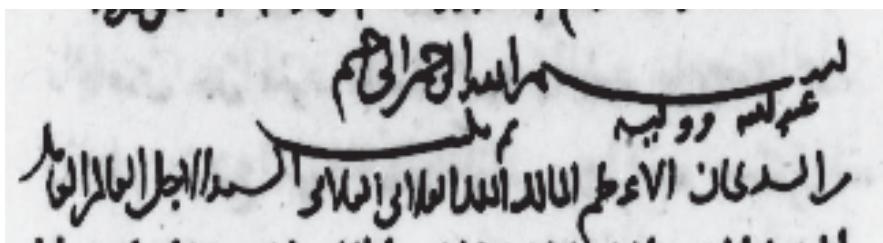
<sup>148</sup> In the same part follows the Doge of Venice (fol. 48a), where the name of the Venetians is corrupted: *hākim tā‘ifat al-bayādiyya* for *al-banādiqa*, the copyist having messed up the diacritical dots of the second and fourth letters and misunderstood the penultimate one.

<sup>149</sup> Among these, one finds a *Fahr* Bey b. ‘Alī Bey and a ‘Alī Bey b. ‘Isā Bey al-Ūyrātī, probably from the northern Jazira/Southern Anatolia. Both are unknown to al-Qalqašandī and al-Saḥmāwī.

<sup>150</sup> II, pp. 37-8. The material was translated by J.F.P. Hopkins, in Levzion, N. and Hopkins, J.F.P. (eds.), *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge, 1981; reprint Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000): pp. 276-7.

<sup>151</sup> *Tatqīf al-ta‘rīf*: p. 26.

and the address reserved to this ruler by the chancery in the eighth / fourteenth c.<sup>152</sup> As for al-Sahmāwī, the only details he is able to add to al-Qalqašandī's information relate to another initial formula he found in a formulary (*ba'd al-dasātīr*) and to a historical update.<sup>153</sup> None of these authors says anything about the physical arrangement of the various formulas used by the chancery when writing to this ruler. Here, the *Qalā'id al-jumān* contributes to the question, as the author details the steps to be followed by the secretary: inscribe the different forms of addresses (title + epithets + form of address)<sup>154</sup> on top of the scroll; leave three sheets blank; inscribe the *basmala* on top of the fourth sheet, followed by the first line of the invocation (*adāma llāh ta 'ālā nuṣrat al-janāb al-karīm*); leave a blank space for the sultan's *'alāma*; proceed with the rest of the invocation and the text of the letter. The author ends with the format of paper reserved to this ruler (format of one third) and the sultan's *'alāma*, which had to be in this case *ahūhu*. Al-Qalqašandī's son shows his preference for the shape to be given to the document while the other authors concentrate on the elements that constitute the letter. This idiosyncrasy can be seen in other parts of the treatise<sup>155</sup> and is confirmed by the frequent use of the formula "wa-ṣūratuhā" ("and its illustration [is as follows]"). Given that the author made every effort to reproduce the physical appearance of the initial parts of the letters, it is fortunate that the copyist of the manuscript was responsive to this effort, as can be seen in the following example regarding the Merinid sultan:



Courtesy The British Library, MS OR3625, fol. 42a

<sup>152</sup> *Subh al-a'sā*: VIII, pp. 7-8. See also pp. 116-7 and translation in Hopkins, *Corpus*: pp. 346-8.

<sup>153</sup> *Al-Taqr al-bāsim*: II, pp. 794-5.

<sup>154</sup> There are some significant discrepancies with the copy found in al-Qalqašandī's *Subh al-a'sā* and al-Sahmāwī's *al-Taqr al-Bāsim*.

<sup>155</sup> See for example the details provided for the letter sent to the Zaydi Imam of Yemen (fol. 12b-13b) or to the Merinid sultan (fol. 42a-43a).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
عبد الله ووليه  
ثم يكتب

من السلطان الأعظم الملك الملک الفلاّنی السید الأجل العامل العامل

In this case, the author stipulates that the formula “‘abd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu” needs to be written beneath the *basmala*, starting between the second (*sīn*) and the third letter (*mīm*) of the *bism*. This tallies exactly with the recommendations found, in a less clear fashion, in the other manuals.<sup>156</sup>

### Conclusion

While al-Qalqašandī’s reputation as a major chancery author be can no longer be demonstrated, there remain several authors who deserve our attention. The son of this revered secretary, Ibn Abī Ġudda, is an example among many. Ibn Abī Ġudda’s life can be described as typical for the period considered: that of a scholar trying to secure a position in the society where he lived, a society based on patronage. A scholar did not have many methods of drawing an emir’s attention: one consisted in dedicating a book to a potential supporter. In doing so, Ibn Abī Ġudda revealed himself as a poorly-inspired author, limiting himself to plundering the work of his father on the Arab tribes in Egypt. For his treatise on the official correspondence, *Qalā’id al-jumān*, he found inspiration in his predecessors’ books – those of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī and his own father. However, given his activity as a secretary managing the correspondence of the emirs, he provides us with useful updates on the rules that prevailed a few decades after his father’s death, particularly on the internal correspondence exchanged by the various functionaries and emirs. For the letters exchanged with foreign rulers, his originality lies in the data he provides on the paper formats, the size of the reed pen, the position of the formulas in the letter; all features that are not necessarily found in his father’s manual for each kind of letter. Once his work has been edited and studied, it will contribute to our knowledge of the precise, and sometimes obscure, practices of the Mamluk chancery.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta’rīf*: II, pp. 30-1 (no reference to the place of the formula); Ibn Nāzīr al-Jayš, *Tatqīf al-ta’rīf*: pp. 21-2; al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-aṣā*: VII, pp. 378-9 (on the latter page starts the copy of a letter issued at the time of Barqūq where the formula is below the *basmala*, but the printed text does not reproduce faithfully what one finds in comparison in the *Qalā’id al-jumān*); al-Sahmāwī, *al-Taqr al-bāsim*: II, pp. 806-8 (no reference to the place of the formula).

## APPENDIX 1

A comparative table showing the dependency of al-Qalqašandī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, his *Qalā'id al-jumān*, and his son's *Nihāyat al-arab*

160	وكان العزيز الأشرف العالى المولوى	158	العالى المولوى
	وكان 159 المقر الأشرف العالى المولوى		الأمير الكبير النصيري الرعيمى
	القاضوى الكبير النظami المدري		الأميري الكبير الأوحدى الأشمى
	الأعري الأخضى العياتى الملاذى فخر		النظامي المدري المشيرى الأصيلى
	القبائل زين العشائر زين الدين عمدة		الكھيلى العزيزى أبو المحاسن يوسف
	السلوك والسلطانين ملاذ الفقراء		الأموي الفرشى عزيز المملكة المصرية
	والمساكين أبو الجود بقر / بن الربي		وسفيرها ومدير الممالك الإسلامية
	العالى محمد الجھي البارزى الشافعى		ومشيرها بلغه الله تعالى من متنهى أدبه
	راشد أمير العربان بالبلاد الشرفية		غاية الأمل ورفع قدره فوق المساكين
	والغربية بلغه الله في الدارين غاية الأمل		وقد فعل قد ألقى إليه من الممالك
	وجعل رقاب أعدائه المارقين تحت		الإسلامية مقاليدها ودانت له الأقطار
	أقدامه وقد فعل قد ألقى إليه العربان		في ارتكابه بيقانه وأدام علوه ولا رتبة
	مقالاتها ودانت له القبائل المتقاعسة		المتقاعسة أقربها وبعيدها واتقادت له
	قربها وبعيدها واتقادت له شم الأروف		شم الأنوف الأنفة فاتوه طائعين وتليت
	الأية فاتوه طائعين وكف يده الباطشة		في ارتكابه قد ألقى إليه من الممالك
	مقالاتها ودانت له الأكف العادية واستؤصلت بسيمه		الإسلامية مقاليدها ودانت لسورة كتبه
	القاضب شأفة أهل الفساد ...		أعناقهم لها خاضعين وغلت يد
			الأقطار المتقاعسة قربها وبعيدها ...
			المتعادى بكفه الأكف العادية
			وستؤصلت بسيمه القاضب شأفة أهل
			الفساد ...

160 *Nihāyat al-arab*, MS BnF Ar.2049, fols. 1b-2a.

159 Al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-jumān*, ed. al-Abyārī, p. 2

157 Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Abyārī, p. 2

158 in al-Abyārī's edition, but this is a mistake.

## APPENDIX 2

A comparative table showing the dependency of al-Qalqašandī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, his *Qalā'id al-jumān*, and his son's *Nihāyat al-arab*

<p>163 هذا وقد اقتفى سين الملوك من العربان الماضية في الاعباء بسائر المعرفة الباقية والاحتقال من صالح الأعمال بما لا يقطع ثوابه من علم ينفع به أو صدقة جارية وكانت قد اجتمعت عليه في بيت الجناب العالمي القضائي الكبيري الفاضلي الكاملي الأصيلي العربي الرئيسي الناصري محمد بن العسبي أحد أعيان/ مبادري الأحسان السبرورة بالديار المصرية آدم الله تعالى مجده وأسعده على توالي الرمان جده [...]</p>	<p>162 وكانت خواتمه العالية عمرها الله تعالى بدوراً أيامه وأزاه من محسناتها في البقلة ما يمتنع أن يراه الفاضلي الفاضل في مقامه قد سعدت بإسعاد جدوده وخصت من نفائس الوجود نظيرها وراق منظرها وألهم نظيرها [...]</p>	<p>161 هذا وقد اقتفى سين الملوك الماضية في الاعباء بسائر المعرفة الباقية والاحتقال من صالح الأعمال بما لا يقطع ثوابه من علم ينفع به أو صدقة جارية فابنها المدرسة الغراء التي عز في التأليف بكل نفيس لا سيما مصنفات آنائه وجدوده [...]</p>
<p>فأحببت أن أخدم خواتمه العالية عمرها الله تعالى ببقاء منشئها وأدام عمرها بدوراً أيام بانيها بتأليف كتاب في معرفة قبائل الرمان الآن وجودهم والمحبطة بعن الآفاق في هذا العصر عقودهم مصدراً له بذكر طرف من أنساب الأسم ليتم بذلك منه الغرض [...] ليكون كلمة الأئل نجومها ليكون باختصاصه بوضعه كالغرة في وجه كتبه ويدخره بخواتمه السعيدة [...]</p>	<p>أحببت أن أخدم خواتمه العالية عمرها في ذكر قبائل العرب المنظم في سلك الرمان الآن وجودهم والمحبطة بعن الآفاق في هذا العصر عقودهم مصدراً له بذكر طرف من أنساب الأسم ليتم بذلك منه الغرض [...] ليكون كلمة الأئل نجومها ليكون باختصاصه باقية في عقبه على أنني في ذلك كناقل التمر إلى هجر ومدم البحر ببلادة القطر ثم إن هذا الكتاب وإن كان قد جمع فأوعى وطبع في الاستكفار فلم يكن بالقليل نوعاً فإنه متأت على قبائل العرب بأسرها [...] وسميه الأرب</p>	<p>أحببت أن أخدم خواتمه العالية عمرها الله تعالى ببقاء منشئها وأدام عمرها بدوراً أيام بانيها بتأليف كتاب في معرفة الأنساب خلد الله تعالى أيامه في معرفة الأنساب هو واسطة عقدتها التمن ووجهة أخبارها وعدد جهينة الخبر اليقين وسميه قلائد الجنان في التعريف بقبائل العرب الرمان والله تعالى يقرنه بال توفيق ويرشد فيه إلى أوضح طريق قد رتبته على مقدمة ومقصود وخاتمة.</p>
<p>الآرب في معرفة أنساب [الآرب] أئل في البيان أوضح من قلائد [الجنان] في التعریف بقبائل العرب الرمان والله تعالى يقرنه على مقدمة ومقصود وخاتمة.</p>	<p>162 Al-Qalqašandī, <i>Qalā'id al-jumān</i>, ed. al-Abyārī, pp. 3-4.</p>	<p>161 Al-Qalqašandī, <i>Nihāyat al-arab</i>, ed. al-Abyārī, pp. 3-4</p>
<p>وختامة</p>		

163 Ibn Abī Ḡudda, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Ms. BnF Ar.2049, fol. 2b-3a

162 Al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-jumān*, ed. al-Abyārī, pp. 3-4.

161 Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Abyārī, pp. 3-4

## APPENDIX 3

List of contents of *Qalā'id al-jumān fī muṣṭalah mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*<sup>164</sup>

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المذهب الثاني أن يفتح المكابية بلفظ أما بعد (٧)

المذهب الثالث أن يفتح المكابية بخطبة ثم يبعدية ويخلص منها إلى مقصد الكتاب (٧)

المذهب الرابع أن يفتح المكابية بسلام الله ورحمةه وبركاته (٧)

المقالة الثالثة في المكابيات لمن جرت العادة بالكتاب إليه من الخلفاء ولادة العهود ومن في معناهم وهي على أربعة طبقات (٧)

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<sup>164</sup> The folio where the title appears is indicated between parentheses at the end of it. ئ refers to the recto and ب to the verso.

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الكافل بالديار المصرية ونائب الشام وأتابك العساكر المنصورة بالديار المصرية وهو على تسع

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المرتبة الثالثة من يكتب له عن السلطان أدام الله تعالى نعمة الجناب العالمي (١٣٠ أ)

المرتبة الرابعة من يكتب له عن السلطان أدام الله تعالى نعمة المجلس العالمي (١٣٠ أ)

المرتبة الخامسة من يكتب له عن السلطان صدرت والعلمي (١٣٠ أ)

المرتبة السادسة من يكتب له عن السلطان صدرت والسامي (١٣٠ أ)

المرتبة السابعة من يكتب له عن السلطان هذه المكتبة (١٣٠ أ)

المرتبة الثامنة من يكتب له عن السلطان بعلم مجلس الأمير الأجل (١٣٠ أ)

الطبقة الرابعة من يكتب له عن السلطان أدام الله تعالى نعمة الجناب العالمي وهي على سبع مراتب

(١٣٠ أ)

المرتبة الأولى من يكتب له عن السلطان الديوان العزيز وأعز الله تعالى أنصار المقر

الكريم أو أعز الله تعالى نصرة الجناب الكريم وضاعف الله تعالى نعمة الجناب

العلمي (١٣٠ ب)

المرتبة الثانية من يكتب له عن السلطان أدام الله تعالى نعمة الجناب العالمي (١٣٠ ب)

المرتبة الثالثة من يكتب له عن السلطان أدام الله تعالى نعمة المجلس العالمي (١٣٠ ب)

المرتبة الرابعة من يكتب له عن السلطان صدرت والعلمي (١٣٠ ب)

المرتبة الخامسة من يكتب له عن السلطان صدرت والسامي (١٣٠ ب)

المرتبة السادسة من يكتب له عن السلطان هذه المكاتبة (١٣٠ ب)

المرتبة السابعة من يكتب له عن السلطان بعلم مجلس الأمير الأجل (١٣٠ ب)

المقالة الثامنة فيما يناسب الإخوانيات من الأدعية ابتداء وجوابا وهو على ستة أساليب (١٣١ أ)

الأسلوب الأول فيما يناسب الأخرى الفلانى وهو على نوعين (١٣١)

النوع الأول الابتداءات (١٣١)

النوع الثاني الأجوبة (١٣٢)

الأسلوب الثاني فيما يناسب الفلانى بمطالعة وهو على نوعين (١٣٢ ب)

النوع الأول الابتداءات (١٣٢ ب)

النوع الثاني في الأجوبة (١٣٢ ب)

الأسلوب الثالث فيما يناسب الأبواب الكريمة والعالية وهو على نوعين (١٣٤)

النوع الأول الابتداءات (١٣٤)

النوع الثاني الأجوبة (١٣٤ ب)

الأسلوب الرابع فيما يناسب الباسط وبالبسطة وهو على نوعين (١٣٥)

النوع الأول الابتداءات (١٣٥)

النوع الثاني الأجوبة (١٣٥)

الأسلوب الخامس فيما يناسب اليد الكريمة وهو على نوعين (١٣٦)

النوع الأول الابتداءات (١٣٦)

النوع الثاني الأجوبة (١٣٦ ب)

الأسلوب السادس فيما يناسب الجناب العالى والمجلس العالى والمجلس السامى وهو على نوعين

(١٣٧)

النوع الأول الابتداءات (١٣٧)

النوع الثاني الأجوبة (١٣٧)

الخاتمة في فصول التشوق والحب والاعتذار والتوبخ والتزييج والتهادى والتعازى والتهانى وما في معنى ذلك

(١٣٧ ب)

الفصل الأول في التشوق (١٣٧ ب)

الفصل الثاني في العتاب والتوبیخ (١٣٩)

الفصل الثالث في الاعتذار (١٤٢ ب)

الفصل الرابع في التهادي (١٤٣)

الفصل الخامس في الوصية بالأصحاب والمعارف (١٤٥)

الفصل السادس في التعازی (١٤٦ ب)

الفصل السابع في التهانی (١٤٩)

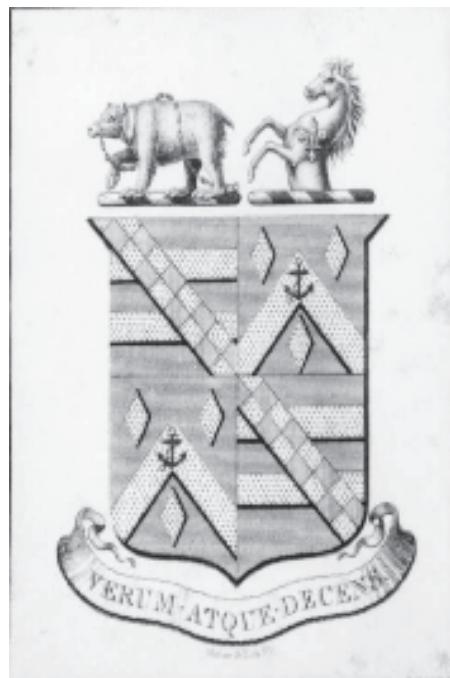
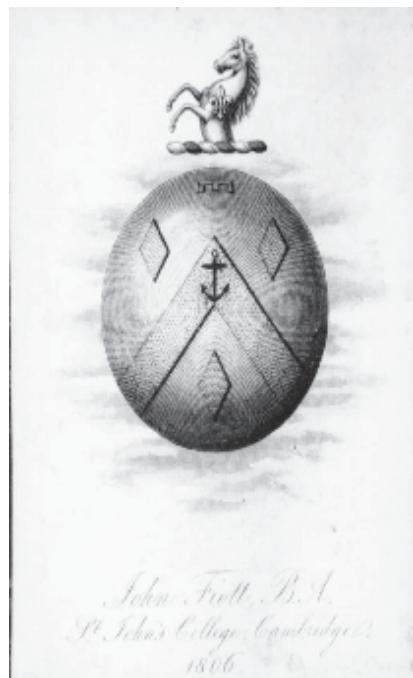


Fig. 1

MS OR3625, first bookplate  
(Courtesy of the British library)

Fig. 2

MS OR3625, second bookplate  
(Courtesy of the British library)

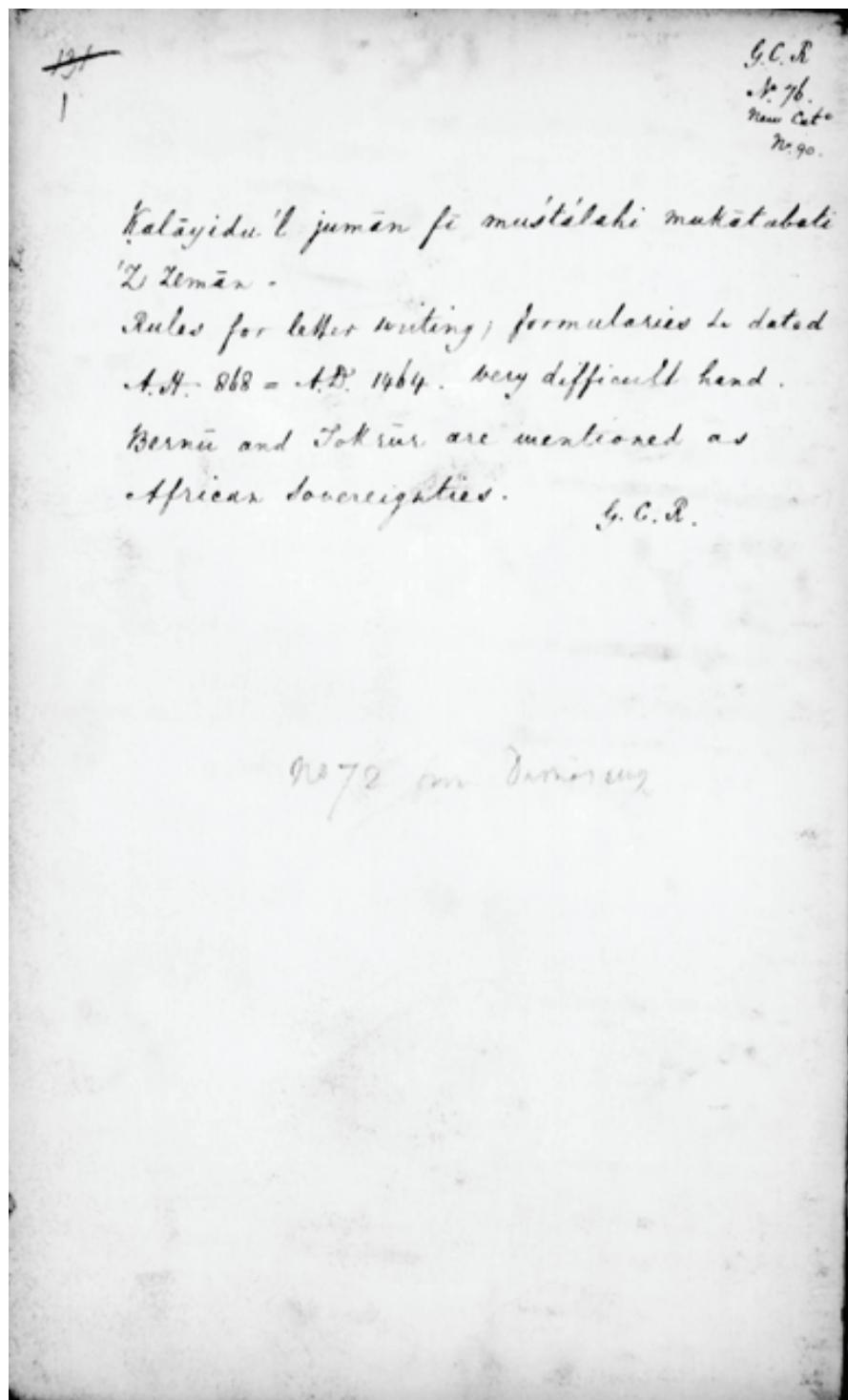


Fig. 3  
MS OR3625, fol. 1a  
(Courtesy of the British library)

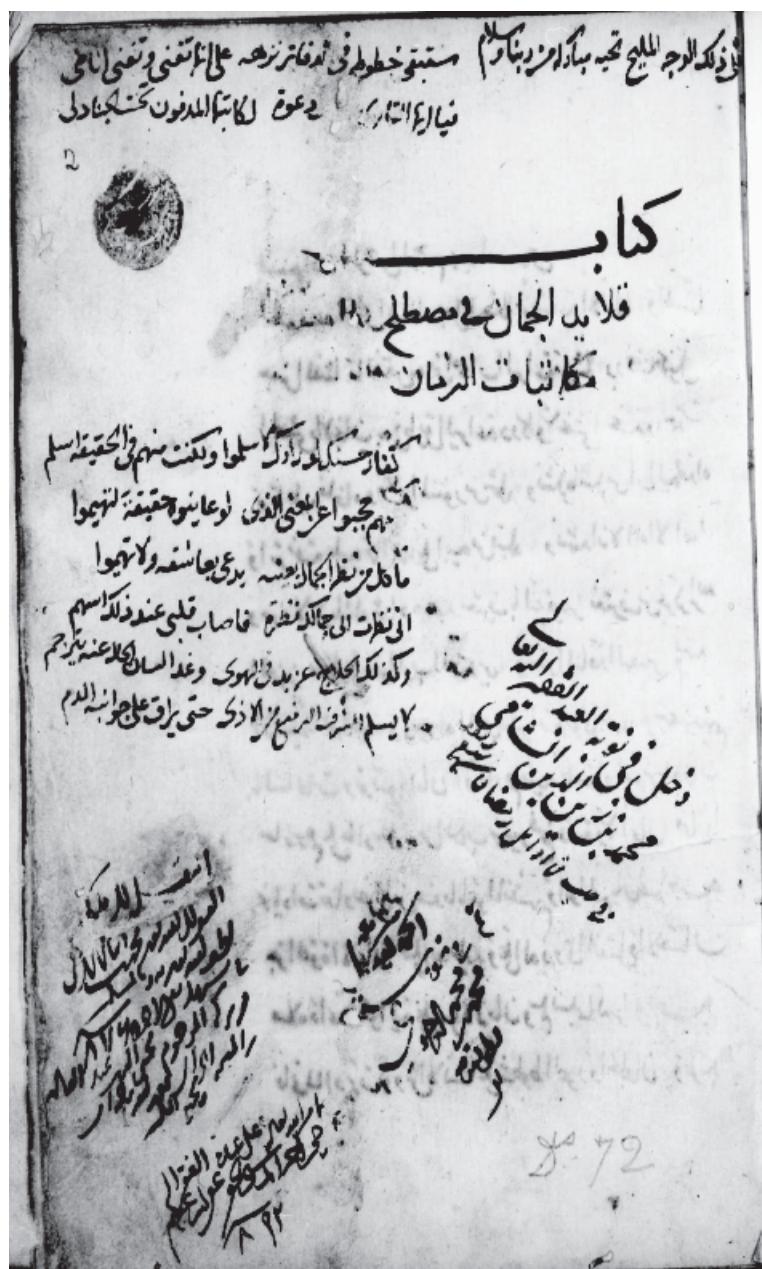


Fig. 4  
MS OR3625, fol. 2a (title page)  
(Courtesy of the British library)

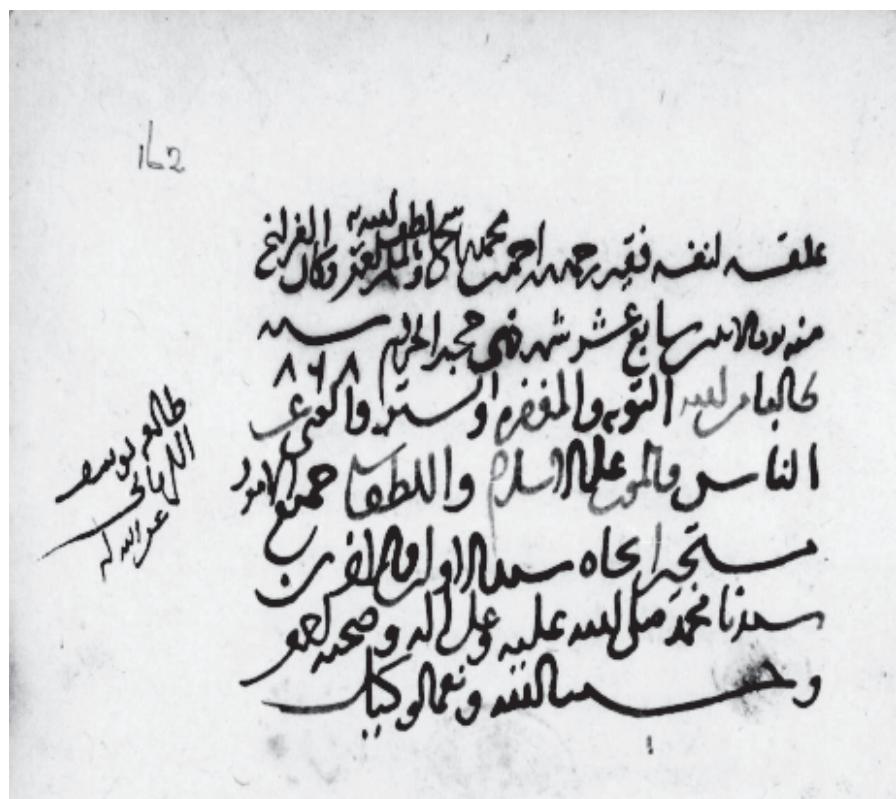


Fig. 5  
MS OR3625, fol. 162a (colophon)  
(Courtesy of the British library)